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ARISTOTLE'S
POLITICS AND ECONOMICS.

GEORGE BELL & SONS

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THE
POLITICS AND ECONOMICS
OF
ARISTOTLE.

TRANSLATED, WITH NOTES AND ANALYSES,

BY

EDWARD WALFORD, M.A.

WITH LIFE OF ARISTOTLE, AND INTRODUCTION.

By DR. GILLIES.

LONDON
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PREFACE.

THE present translation of Aristotle's Politics is based on the well-known version of Ellis, in the revision of which the translation of Taylor, and the polished paraphrase of Gillies, have been consulted. The text of Bekker has been followed, and only departed from where the emendations of Goëttling and others appeared preferable. Analyses of both the ~~Politics and~~ Economics have been prefixed, which, it is hoped, will be found of service to the student. The valuable Introduction to the Politics by Dr. Gillies is reprinted entire, and, throughout the whole, the clearest general view of the

E. W.

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LIFE OF ARISTOTLE

BY

JOHN GILLIES, L. L. D.

ARGUMENT.

Aristotle's birth-place.—His education at Atarneus.—at Athens—His residence with Hermeias.—Singular fortune of that prince.—Aristotle's residence at Lesbos—in Macedon.—Plan pursued in the education of Alexander.—Aristotle's residence in Athens.—Employment there.—Calumnies against him.—His retreat to Chalcis, and death.—His testament—sayings.—Extraordinary fate of his works.—Published at Rome by Andronicus of Rhodes.—Their number and magnitude.

It is my design in the present work to give a more distinct, and, I flatter myself, a juster view, than has yet been exhibited, of the learning of an age, the most illustrious in history for great events and extraordinary revolutions, yet still more pre-eminent in speculation than it is renowned in action. A century before the reign of Alexander the Great, there sprang up and flourished in Greece a species of learning, or science, totally unlike to any thing before known in the world. This science was carried to its highest perfection by Aristotle: it decayed with the loss of his writings, and revived with their recovery. But the imperfect and corrupt state of those writings rendered them peculiarly liable to be misinterpreted by ignorance, and misrepresented by envy; his philosophy, therefore, has been less frequently inculcated or explained, than disguised, perverted, and calumniated. It has not, certainly, since his own time, received any material improvement. To the philosophical works of Cicero, though that illustrious Roman professes to follow other guides, the world at large is more indebted for a familiar notion of several of Aristotle's most important doctrines, than to the labours of all his con-

mentators¹ collectively. But how loose and feeble, and often how erroneous, is the Roman transcript, when compared with the energetic precision of the Greek original! Yet the works of Cicero are known universally to the whole literary world, while those of Aristotle (with the exception of a few short and popular treatises) are allowed to moulder away in the dust of our libraries, and condemned to a treatment little less ignominious than that which, as we shall have occasion to relate, befell them soon after their composition, when they were immured in a dungeon, and remained for near two centuries a prey to dampness and to worms. It is time once more to release them from their *second* unmerited captivity; to revive, and, if possible, to brighten the well-earned fame of an author, sometimes as preposterously admired, as at others unaccountably neglected; and whose fate with posterity is most sin-

¹ All these commentators lived many centuries after Aristotle. They are Greek, Arabic, and Latin. The first began in the age of the Antonines, in Alexander Aphrodisiensis at Rome, and Ammonius Sacchus in Alexandria; they continued to flourish through the whole succession of Roman emperors, under the once revered names of Aspasius, Plotinus, Porphyry, Proclus, the second Ammonius, Simplicius, and Philoponus. Aristotle was ardently studied, or rather superstitiously adored, by the Saracens, during upwards of four centuries of their proud domination, till the taking of Bagdat by the Tartars in 1258. The names of the Arabian commentators, Alfarabius, Avicenna, and Averroes, long resounded even in the schools of Europe. But the Aristotelian philosophy, or rather logic, had early assumed a Latin dress in the translation of Boethius Severinus, the last illustrious consul of Rome, in the beginning of the sixth century. After a long interval of more than six hundred years, Latin translations and commentaries began to abound, through the industry of Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and the succeeding scholastics; and multiplied to such a pitch, that, towards the close of the sixteenth century, Patricius reckons twelve thousand commentators on different works of the Stagirite. (Discuss. Peripatet.) This vast and cold mass of Gothic and Saracenic dulness is now consigned to just oblivion. But even to the best of Aristotle's commentators there are two unanswerable objections: first, they universally confound his solid sense with the fanciful visions of Plato, thus endeavouring to reconcile things totally incongruous; secondly, they ascribe to their great master innumerable opinions which he did not hold, by making him continually dogmatize, where he only means to discuss. To the same objections those more modern writers are liable, who have drawn their knowledge of Aristotle's philosophy from any other than the original fountain.

gular in this, not that his authority should have been most respected in the ages least qualified to appreciate his merit, but that philosophers should have despised his name almost exactly in proportion as they adopted his opinions. The multiplied proofs of this assertion, which I shall have occasion to produce in examining his works, will not, it is presumed, appear uninteresting to men of letters. Those who know something of Aristotle, must naturally be desirous of knowing all that can be told; and of seeing, comprised within a narrow compass, the life and writings of a man, whose intellectual magnitude ought to have preserved and shown him in his proper shape to the impartial eye of history, but whose picture, beyond that of all other great characters, has been most miserably mangled.

Aristotle, who flourished in Athens when Athens was the ornament of Greece, and Greece, under Alexander, the first country on earth, was born at Stagira towards the beginning of the 99th Olympiad, eighty-five years after the birth of Socrates,¹ and three hundred and eighty-four before the birth of Christ. The city of Stagira² stood on the coast of Thrace, in a district called the Chalcidic region, and near to the innermost recess of the Strymonic Gulf.³ It was originally built by the Andrians,⁴ afterwards enlarged by a colony

¹ Socrates drank the hemlock, according to most authors, the first year of the 95th Olympiad; and, according to Diodorus Siculus, the first year of the 97th. Socrates therefore died at least eight years before Aristotle was born. The latter was one year older than Philip, and three years older than Demosthenes. Vid. Dionys. Halicarn. Epist. ad Ammæum. This chronology is clearly ascertained by various critics. See Bayle's Dictionary, article "Aristotle." I know not therefore why Lord Monboddo and the late Mr. Harris (two modern writers who have paid great attention to Aristotle's works) should say, and frequently repeat, on no better authority than that of the Life of Aristotle ascribed to Ammonius, or Johannes Philoponus, that the Stagirite was three years a scholar of Socrates.

² Strabo Excerpt. ex lib. vii. p. 331. He calls the place Stageirus.

³ Ptolemei Geograph. According to his division, Stagira was in the Amphaxetide district of Macedon.

⁴ Herodot. l. vii. ch. 115; and Thucyd. l. iv. ch. c.

from Eubœan Chalcis,¹ and long numbered among the Greek cities of Thrace, until the conquests of Philip of Macedon extended the name of his country far beyond the river Strymon, to the confines of Mount Rhodope.² Stagira, as well as the neighbouring Greek cities, enjoyed the precarious dignity of independent government; it was the ally of Athens in the Peloponnesian war, and, like other nominal allies, experienced the stern dominion of that tyrannical republic. It afterwards became subject to the city and commonwealth of Olynthus; which, having subdued Stagira and the whole region of Chalcidicé, was itself besieged by Philip of Macedon; and, with all its dependencies, reduced by the arms or arts of that politic prince, in the first year of the 108th Olympiad, and 348 years before the Christian era.³ That the resistance of Stagira was obstinate, may be inferred from the severity of its punishment; the conqueror rased it to the ground.⁴ Aristotle, who was then in his thirty-seventh year, had been removed from Stagira almost in his childhood; and he appears not, in that long interval, to have ever resided in it, and even rarely to have visited it.⁵ But the misfortunes which fell on that city gave him an opportunity of showing such ardent affection for his birth-place, as is the indubitable proof of a feeling heart. Through his influence with Alexander the Great, Stagira was rebuilt;⁶ both its useful defences and its ornamental edifices were restored; its wandering citizens were

¹ Justin. l. viii. c. 13.

² Thence the frivolous dispute among modern biographers, whether Aristotle, who was really a Greek, ought to be deemed a Macedonian or a Thracian. See Stanley and Brucker's *Lives of Aristotle*.

³ Gillies' *History of Ancient Greece*, vol. iv. c. xxxv.

⁴ Plutarch, *adversus Colot.* p. 1126; and *de Exil.* p. 605.

⁵ Dionys. *Halicarn. Epist. ad Ammœum.* Ammonius and Diogen. *Laert. in Aristot.*

⁶ Plin. *Nat. Hist.* l. vii. c. 29; and *Valer. Maxim.* l. v. c. 6. Plutarch prefers to all the pleasures of the Epicurean, the delights which Aristotle must have felt when he rebuilt his native city, and placed in their hereditary seats his expatriated countrymen. *Plutarch. advers. Epicur.* p. 1097. He ascribes the rebuilding of Stagira to Aristotle's influence with Philip.

collected, and reinstated in their possessions; Aristotle himself regulated their government by wise laws; and the Stagirites instituted a festival to commemorate the generosity of Alexander, their admired sovereign, and the patriotism of Aristotle, their illustrious townsman.¹

The city of Stagira indeed owes its celebrity wholly to Aristotle and his family; and, if its name is still familiar to modern ears, this proceeds merely from its having communicated to our philosopher the appellation of Stagirite.² His father, Nicomachus, who was the physician and friend³ of Amyntas, king of Macedon, is said to have derived his descent, through a long line of medical ancestors, from Æsculapius, the companion of the Argonauts, whose skill in the healing art had raised him to a seat among the gods.⁴ Nicomachus improved a branch of knowledge, which was the inheritance of his family, by writing six books on natural philosophy and medicine.⁵ To the same illustrious origin which distinguished Nicomachus, the testimony of one ancient biographer⁶ (but his only) traces up the blood of Phæstia, Aristotle's mother; who, whatever was her parentage, certainly acknowledged for her country⁷ the middle district of Eubœa, which lies within twelve miles of the Attic coast. Aristotle was deprived of his parents in early youth;⁸ yet it is an agreeable, and not altogether an unwarranted conjecture, that by his father, Nicomachus, he was inspired with that ardent love for the study of nature, which made him long be regarded as her best and

¹ Plutarch. advers. Colot. p. 1126; and Ammonius in Vit. Aristot.

² Strabo Excerpt. ex lib. vii. p. 331.

³ He was held by Amyntas, *εὐφίλου χριστήν*. Diogen. Laert. in Aristot.

⁴ Lucian. Jupiter Tragedus; and Suidas in Nicomach. It is interesting to observe that Aristotle himself is fond of noticing physicians and their operations in his explanatory comparisons by way of illustration.

⁵ Idem ibid.

⁶ Ammon. Vit. Aristot.

⁷ Dionys. Halic. Epist. ad Ammœum.

⁸ Diogen. Laert. in Aristot. The biography of Aristotle in the Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography states that Aristotle lost his father in his seventeenth year, and that his mother seems to have died at an earlier period.

chosen interpreter ;¹ while from his mother, Phæstis, he first imbibed that pure and sweet Atticism which every where pervades his writings.

Aristotle also inherited from his parents a large fortune ; and their early loss was supplied and compensated by the kind attentions of Proxenus, a citizen of Atarneus in Mysia, who received the young Stagirite into his family, and skilfully directed his education. These important obligations our philosopher, in whose character gratitude appears to have been a prominent feature, amply repaid to Nicanor the son of Proxenus, whom he adopted, educated, and enriched.² At the age of seventeen,³ the young Stagirite was attracted by the love of learning to Athens, and particularly by the desire of hearing Plato in the Academy, the best school of science as well as of morals then existing in the world ; and where the most assiduous student might find competitors worthy of exciting his emulation and sharpening his diligence. Plato early observed of him, that he required the rein rather than the spur.⁴ His industry in perusing and copying manuscripts was unexampled, and almost incredible ; he was named, by way of excellence, "the student or reader."⁵ Plato often called him the "soul of his school ;"⁶ and, when Aristotle happened to be absent from his prelections, often complained that he spoke to a *deaf audience*.⁷ As the student advanced in years, his acuteness was as extraordinary in canvassing opinions, as his industry had been unrivalled in collecting them :⁸ his capacious mind embraced the whole circle of science ; and, notwithstanding his pertinacity in rejecting every principle or tenet which he could not on reflection approve,

¹ Ἀριστοτέλης τῆς φύσεως γραμματεὺς ἦν. Anonym. apud Suid. in Aristot. Literally, "Nature's secretary."

² Diogen. Laert. in Aristot.

³ Idem ibid.

⁴ Dionys. Epist. ad Ammæum. Diogen. Laert. ibid.

⁵ Idem ibid.

⁶ Diogen. Laert. ibid.

⁷ Or rather, the mind or intellect, τοῦς τῆς διατριβῆς. Idem ibid.

⁸ Philoponus de Eternit. Mund. advers. Proclum, vi. 27.

⁹ Diogen. Laert. ubi supra.

his very singular merit failed not to recommend him to the discerning admiration of Plato, with whom he continued to reside twenty years, even to his master's death; alike careless of the honours of a court, to which the rank and connexions of his family might have opened to him the road in Macedon; and indifferent to the glory of a name, which his great abilities might early have attained, by establishing a separate school, and founding a new sect in philosophy.¹

At the same time that Aristotle applied so assiduously to the embellishment of his mind, he was not neglectful, we are told, of whatever might adorn his person. His figure was not advantageous; he was of a short stature, his eyes were remarkably small, his limbs were disproportionably slender, and he lisped or stammered in his speech.² For his ungracious person Aristotle is said to have been anxious to compensate by the finery and elegance of his dress; his mantle was splendid; he wore rings of great value; and he was foppish enough (such is the language of antiquity) to shave both his head and his face, while the other scholars of Plato kept their long hair and beards. To some learned men, the omission of such particulars might appear unpardonable; yet, in a life of Aristotle, such particulars are totally unworthy of being told; since his love for ostentatious finery (probably much exaggerated by his enemies) was in him merely an accessory, which neither altered his character, nor weakened that ardent passion for knowledge which reigned sole mistress of his soul. In men born for great intellectual achievements, this passion must, at some period of their lives, suppress and stifle every other; and, while it continues to do so, their real happiness is probably at its highest pitch. The pursuit of science indeed, not having any natural limitations, might be supposed to invigorate with manhood, to confirm itself through custom,

¹ οὐτε σχολὴν ἠγούμενος, οὐτε ἰδίαν πεποιηθεὶς αἵρεσιν. Dionys. Epist. ad Ammæum.

² Diogen. Laert. in Aristot.—Plutarch, de Discrim. Adulat. et Amic. p. 53, says, "that many imitated Aristotle's stuttering, as they did Alexander's wry neck."

and to operate through life with unceasing or increasing energy. But this delightful progress is liable to be interrupted by other causes than the decline of health and the decay of curiosity; for great exertions are not more certainly rewarded by celebrity, than celebrity is punished with envy, which will sometimes rankle in secret malice, and sometimes vent itself in open reproach; wrongs will provoke resentment; injuries will be offered and retorted; and, a state of hostility being thus commenced, the philosopher, in defending his opinions and his fame, becomes a prey to the wretched anxieties incident to the vulgar scrambles of sordid interest and senseless ambition. Of this melancholy remark, both the life and the death of Aristotle, as we shall see hereafter, will afford very forcible illustrations.

Plato died in the first year of the 108th Olympiad, and 338 years before the Christian era. He was succeeded in the Academy by Speusippus, the son of his sister Potona; a man far inferior to the Stagirite in abilities; and however well he might be acquainted with the theory, not strongly confirmed in the practice, of moral virtue, since he was too often and too easily vanquished both by anger and pleasure.¹ Aristotle appears not to have taken offence that, in the succession to his admired master, the strong claim of merit should have been sacrificed to the partialities of blood. In some of the latest of his writings, he speaks of Plato with a degree of respect approaching to reverence. Soon after that philosopher's decease, Aristotle wrote verses in his praise, and erected altars to his honour:² and the connexions which he himself had already formed with some of the most illustrious as well as the most extraordinary personages of his own or any age, might naturally inspire him with the design of leaving Athens, after he had lost the philosopher and friend whose fame had first drawn him thither, and whose instructive society had so long retained him in that celebrated city.

One of the memorable characters with whom Aristotle
· Diogen. Laert. in Speusipp. ² Idem; and Ammonius in Aristot.

maintained a close and uninterrupted correspondence, was Hermeias, styled, in the language of those days, tyrant of Assus and Atarneus; a man whose life forcibly illustrates the strange vicissitudes of fortune. Hermeias is called a slave and eunuch;¹ but he was a slave whose spirit was not to be broken, and a eunuch whose mind was not to be emasculated. Through the bounty of a wealthy patron, he had been enabled early to gratify his natural taste for philosophy; and, having become a fellow-student with Aristotle at Athens, soon united with him in the bands of affectionate esteem, which finally cemented into firm and unalterable friendship. Aristotle through life pursued the calm and secure paths of science, but Hermeias ventured to climb the dangerous heights of ambition. His enterprising spirit, seconded by good fortune, raised him to the sovereignty of Assus and Atarneus, Greek cities of Mysia, the former situated in the district of Troas, the latter in that of Æolia, and both of them, like most Grecian colonies on the Asiatic coast, but loosely dependent on the Persian empire. Hermeias availed himself of the weakness or distance of the armies of Artaxerxes, and of the resources with which his own ambition was supplied by a wealthy banker, to gain possession of those strong-holds, with all their dependencies; and endeavoured to justify this bold usurpation of the sceptre, by the manly firmness with which he held it.² Upon the invitation of his royal friend, Aristotle, almost immediately after Plato's death, revisited Atarneus,³ the same city in which he had spent the happy years of his youth under the kind protection of Proxenus; and might we indulge the conjecture that this worthy Atarnean still lived, our philosopher's voyage to Æolia must have been strongly recommended by his desire of repaying the favours of a man whom his gratitude always regarded as a second father, and of thus

¹ Ἐνωῦχος ὄν καὶ δοῦλος ἦρχεν Ἑρμείας. His master's name was Eubulus, a prince and philosopher of Bithynia. Suidas.

² Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. sect. 122. ³ Dionys. Epist. ad Ammœnæ.

propping, by his friendly aid, the declining age of his early guardian.

Aristotle found at Atarneus the wish of Plato realized; he beheld, in his friend Hermeias, philosophy seated on a throne. In that city he resided near three years, enjoying the inexpressible happiness of seeing his enlightened political maxims illustrated in the virtuous reign of his fellow-student and sovereign. But, to render his condition enviable, an essential requisite was wanting, namely, that of security. Artaxerxes, whose success against the rebels in Egypt had exceeded his most sanguine hopes, could no longer brook the dismemberment of the fair coast of Mysia, through the usurpation of a slave and a eunuch. Mentor,¹ a Greek, and kinsman of Memnon the Rhodian, a general so famous in the Persian annals, had signalized his zeal and valour in the Egyptian war. He was one of those crafty and unprincipled Greeks, whom the ambitious hopes of raising a splendid fortune often drew to a standard naturally hostile to their country; and his recent merit with Artaxerxes recommended him as the fittest instrument to be employed in chastising the Mysian usurper. This employment he did not decline, although the man whom he was commissioned to destroy had formerly been numbered among his friends.² Mentor marched with a powerful army to the western coast. He might have effected his purpose by open force; but to accomplish it by stratagem, was both more easy in itself, and more suitable to his character. He had been connected with Hermeias by the sacred ties of hospi-

¹ Aristotle himself brands with infamy this successful knave, by contrasting his profligate dexterity with the real virtue of prudence. ἄλλὰ δεινός μὲν καὶ ὁ φαῦλος λέγεται, etc. "A scoundrel may be clever; for example, Mentor, who seemed to be very clever, but surely was not prudent; for it belongs to prudence to desire and prefer only the best ends, and to carry such only into execution; but cleverness implies barely that fertility in resource, and dexterity in execution, by which any purpose, whether good or bad, may be fitly and speedily accomplished." *Magn. Moral.* l. i. c. 25, p. 171.

² *Diodor. Sicul.* l. xvi. sect. 122.

tality; the sanctity of this connexion was revered by the greatest profligates of antiquity; but the impious Mentor knew no religion but obedience to his master's commands. He employed his former intimacy with Hermeias as the means of decoying that unwary prince to an interview: Mentor seized his person, and sent him privately to Upper Asia, where, by order of Artaxerxes, he was hanged as a traitor.¹ The cruel artifices of Mentor ended not with this tragedy. Having possessed himself of the ring which the unfortunate Hermeias usually employed as his signet, he sealed with it his own despatches, and immediately sent them to the cities that acknowledged the sovereignty of a man, whose mild exercise of power tended, in the minds of his subjects, to justify the irregular means by which he had acquired it. In these despatches Mentor signified that, through his own intercession, Hermeias had obtained peace and pardon from the great king. The magistrates of the revolted cities easily gave credit to intelligence most agreeable to their wishes; they opened their gates without suspicion to Mentor's soldiers, who instantly made themselves masters both of those Mysian strong-holds, which might have made a long and vigorous resistance to the Persian arms, and of the powerful garrisons by which they were defended.² One further deception crowned the successful perfidy of Mentor. He affected to treat the conquered places with unexampled moderation. He was particularly careful to keep in their offices the same collectors of revenues and intendants who had been employed by Hermeias. Those officers, when they were first apprized of the danger which threatened their master, concealed their treasures under ground, or deposited them with their friends; but when they found themselves treated with so much unexpected generosity by the invader, they resumed their wonted

¹ Diodor. ubi supra. Helladius apud Phot. Biblioth. p. 56c. Polyacn. Stratag. vi. 48.

² Diodor. ubi supra.

confidence, and conveyed back into their own coffers their long accumulated wealth ; of which circumstance Mentor was no sooner informed by his emissaries, than he seized both the effects and the persons of those too credulous collectors.¹

The veil of moderation which Mentor's policy had assumed in his first transactions at Atarneus, enabled Aristotle to avoid the punishment which too naturally fell on the ambition of his friend. By a seasonable flight he escaped to Mitylene in the isle of Lesbos, in company with Pythias, the kinswoman and adopted heiress of the king of Assus and Atarneus, but now miserably fallen from the lofty expectations in which her youth had been educated. But this sad reverse of fortune only endeared her the more to Aristotle, who married the fair companion of his flight in his thirty-seventh year;² which is precisely that age pointed out by himself as the fittest, on the male side, for entering into wedlock.³ Pythias died shortly afterwards, leaving an infant daughter, whom Aristotle named after a wife tenderly beloved, and who repaid his affection with the most tender sensibility. It was her last request that, when Aristotle should die, her own bones might be disinterred, and carefully enclosed within the monument of her admired husband.⁴

The Stagirite passed but a short time in the soft island of Lesbos, in the tender indulgence either of love or of melancholy. During his residence in Athens, he had strengthened his hereditary friendship with Philip of Macedon, a prince one year younger than himself, who, having lived from the age of fifteen to that of two-and-twenty in Thebes and the neighbouring cities, ascended the throne of his ancestors in the twenty-third year of his age. The busy scenes of war and negotiation in which Philip was immediately after his

¹ We learn this particular, which is necessary to explain what follows in the text, from Aristotle himself, in his curious treatise *De Cura Rei familiaris*, p. 508.

² Comp. Dionys. *Epist. ad Ammæum*; et Diogen. Laert. in *Aristot.*

³ *Polit. l. vii. c. 16.*

⁴ Diogen. Laert. *ubi supra.*

accession engaged by necessity, and in which he continued to be involved during his whole reign by ambition, seem never to have interrupted his correspondence with the friends of his youth; with those who either possessed his affection, or who merited his admiration.¹ In the fifth year of his reign his son Alexander was born; an event which he notified to Aristotle in terms implying much previous communication between them: "Know that a son is born to us. We thank the gods for their gift, but especially for bestowing it at the time when Aristotle lives; assuring ourselves that, educated by you, he will be worthy of us, and worthy of inheriting our kingdom."² If this letter was written at the æra of Alexander's birth, it must have found Aristotle at Athens in his twenty-ninth year, still a diligent student in the school of Plato. But it is certain that the Stagirite did not assume the office of preceptor to the son of Philip till fourteen years afterwards, when the opening character of this young prince seemed as greatly to merit, as peculiarly to require, the assistance of so able an instructor.³ In the second year of the 109th Olympiad, Aristotle, probably in consequence of a new invitation from Philip, sailed from the isle of Lesbos, in which he had resided near two years, escaped the dangers of the Athenian fleet, which then carried on war against Macedon, and arrived at the court of Pella,⁴ to undertake one of the few employments not unworthy of an author qualified to instruct and benefit the latest ages of the world.

In the education of Alexander, the Stagirite spent near

¹ Gillies' *History of Ancient Greece*, vol. iv. c. 33.

² Aulus Gellius, l. ix. c. 3.

³ The chronology is clearly ascertained by Dionysius of Halicarnassus's letter to Ammæus; yet the accurate Quintilian, because it served to enforce his argument, says, "An Philippus, Macedonum rex," etc. "Would Philip, king of the Macedonians, have thought fit that Aristotle, the greatest philosopher of the age, should have been employed in teaching his son Alexander the first rudiments of learning, or would Aristotle himself have accepted of such an office, had he not believed it of the utmost importance to the success of our future studies, that their first foundation should be laid by a teacher of consummate skill?" *Quintil. Instit. l. i. c. 1.*

⁴ Dionys. Halicarn. ubi supra.

eight years;¹ during which long period, in an office of much delicacy, he enjoyed the rare advantage of giving the highest satisfaction to his employers, while he excited the warmest gratitude in his pupil.² The temper of Alexander, prone to every generous affection, loved and esteemed many; but Aristotle is the only one of his friends whose superior genius he appears unceasingly to have viewed with undiminished admiration, and whom he seems to have treated through life with uniform and unalterable respect. By Philip and his proud queen Olympias, our philosopher was honoured with every mark of distinction which greatness can bestow on illustrious merit. Philip placed his statue near to his own: he was admitted to the councils of his sovereign, where his advice was often useful, always honourable; and where his kind intercession benefited many individuals, and many communities.³ On one occasion the Athenians rewarded his good services, by erecting his statue in the citadel;⁴ and his letters, both to Philip and to Alexander, attested his unremitting exertions in the cause of his friends and of the public, as well as his manly freedom in admonishing kings of their duty.⁵ But the ruling passions of Philip and Alexander, the interested policy of the one, and the lofty ambition of the other, were too strong and too ungovernable to be restrained by the power of reason, speaking through the voice of their admired philosopher. The ambition of Alexander had early taken root; and the peculiarities of his character had displayed

¹ The author of the very able *Life of Aristotle* in the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, already quoted, says that "Aristotle spent seven years in Macedonia, but Alexander enjoyed his instruction without interruption for only four years." But the two statements are easily reconcilable; for he states below that even after the beginning of Alexander's regency, Aristotle continued to be the young prince's instructor, but that he probably "confined his instruction to advice and suggestion; which may possibly have been carried on by means of epistolary correspondence."

² Plutarch. in *Alexand.* tom. i. p. 668; and *advers. Colot.* tom. ii. p. 1126.

³ Ammonius, *Vit. Aristot.*

⁴ Pausanias *Eliac.*

⁵ Ammonius, *ibid.* See also the fragments still remaining in Du Valle's edition, p. 1102, et seq.

themselves, in a very public and very important transaction, which happened several months before the Stagirite arrived at the court of Pella. During Philip's Illyrian expedition, Macedon was honoured with an embassy from the great king. In the absence of his father, Alexander, at that time scarcely fourteen years old, received the ambassadors; and his conversation with those illustrious strangers, at a period in history when the public conferences of great personages consisted not merely in words of ceremony, afforded a just subject of praise and wonder. Instead of admiring their external appearance, or asking them such superficial questions as corresponded with the unripeness of his years, he inquired into the nature of the Persian government; the character of Ochus, who then reigned; the strength and composition of his armies; the distance of his place of residence from the western coast; the state of the intermediate country, and particularly of the high roads leading to the great capitals of Susa and Babylon.¹ To his premature love of aggrandizement, Alexander already added singular dexterity and unexampled boldness in his exercises, particularly in horsemanship; the most fervid affections, invincible courage, and unbending dignity.²

In training such a youth, the Stagirite had a rich field to cultivate; but he could only hope to give a new direction to passions, which it was too late to moderate or control. In his treatise on Politics, he has carefully delineated the plan of education best adapted to persons of the highest rank in society; and in performing the task assigned to him by Philip, this plan was to be skilfully modified, by adjusting it to the peculiar circumstances and extraordinary character of his pupil. Alexander's loftiness could not be conquered, but it might be made to combat on the side of virtue: if he was angry, it was proved to him that anger was the effect of insult, and the mark of inferiority.³ His love for military glory,

¹ Plutarch. in Alexand.

² Idem ibid.

³ *Ælian. Var. Hist. l. xii. c. 54.*

which, while it is the idol of the multitude, will always be the passion of the great, could neither be restrained nor moderated; but, to rival this tyrant of the breast, still more exalted affections were inspired, which rendered Alexander as much superior to conqueror as conquerors deem themselves superior to the lowest of the vulgar. Agreeably to a maxim inculcated in that book of Aristotle's Politics which relates to education, the two years immediately following puberty constitute that important period of life, which is peculiarly adapted for improving and strengthening the bodily frame, and for acquiring that corporeal vigour which is one mainspring of mental energy. During this interesting period of youth, with the proper management of which the future happiness of the whole of life is so intimately connected, Aristotle observes that the intellectual powers ought indeed to be kept in play, but not too strenuously exercised, since powerful exertions of the mind and body cannot be made at once, nor the habits of making them be simultaneously acquired. In conformity with this principle, Alexander was encouraged to proceed with alacrity in his exercises, till he acquired in them unrivalled proficiency; after which, the whole bent of his mind was directed to the most profound principles of science.

It is the opinion of many, that a slight tincture of learning is sufficient for accomplishing a prince. Both Philip and Aristotle thought otherwise; and the ardent curiosity of Alexander himself was not to be satisfied with such superficial and meagre instructions as have been sometimes triumphantly published for the use of persons destined to reign. The young Macedonian's mind was therefore to be sharpened by whatever was most nice in distinction, and to be exalted by whatever was most lofty in speculation;¹ that his faculties, by expanding and invigorating amidst objects of the highest intellection, might thereby be rendered capable of comprehending ordinary matters the more readily and the more

¹ Plutarch. in Alexand.

perfectly.¹ This recondite philosophy, which was delivered by the Stagirite, first to his royal pupil, and afterwards to his hearers in the Lyceum, received the epithet of *acroatic*;² to distinguish those parts of his lectures which were confined to a select audience, from other parts called exoteric, because delivered to the public at large. It has been supposed that, in those two kinds of lectures, the Stagirite maintained contradictory doctrines on the subjects of religion and morality. But the fact is far otherwise: his practical tenets were uniformly the same in both; but his exoteric or popular treatises nearly resembled the philosophical dialogues of Plato or Cicero; whereas his acroatic writings (which will be explained in the following chapter) contained, in a concise, energetic style peculiar to himself, those deep and broad principles on which all solid science is built, and, independently of which, the most operose reasonings, and the most intricate combinations, are but matters of coarse mechanical practice.³ The sublimity of this abstract and recondite philosophy admirably

¹ Aristot. de Animâ, l. iii. c. 5, 6, and Ethic. Nicom. l. x. c. 7 and 8.

² This division of Aristotle's works into *acroatic* and *exoteric*, has given rise to a variety of opinions and disputes; which all have their source in the different accounts given by Plutarch and Aulus Gellius, on one hand; and by Strabo, Cicero, and Ammonius, on the other. The former writers (Plutarch. in Alexand.; and Aulus Gellius, l. xx. c. 4.) maintain that the acroatic, or, as they call them, the acroamatic works, differed from the exoteric in the nature of their subjects, which consisted in natural philosophy and logic; whereas the subjects of the exoteric were rhetoric, ethics, and politics. But the opinions of both Plutarch and Gellius (for they do not entirely coincide) are refuted by Aristotle's references, as we shall see hereafter, from his *Ethical* to his exoteric works. The latter class of writers (Strabo l. xiii. p. 608; Cicero ad Attic. xiii. 19; and Ammonius Herm. ad Categor. Aristot.) maintain, that the acroatic works were distinguished from the exoteric, not by the difference of the subjects, but by the different manner of treating them; the former being discourses, the latter dialogues.

³ Simplicius and Philoponus allow other writings besides the dialogues to have been exoteric, as historical disquisitions, and whatever else did not require for understanding them intense thought in the reader. Simplicius says that Aristotle was purposely obscure in his acroatic writings: "ut signiores ab eorum studio repellerit et dehortaretur." Simplic. ad Auscult. Physic. fol. ii. This would have been a very unworthy motive in the Stagirite: but the truth is, that the obscurity of Aristotle's works proceeds from a corrupt text. When the text is pure, his writings

accorded with the loftiness of Alexander's mind; and how highly he continued to prize it, amidst the tumultuary occupations of war and government, appears from the following letter, written soon after the battle of Gaugamela, and while he was yet in pursuit of Darius: "Alexander, wishing all happiness to Aristotle. You have not done right in publishing your acroatic works. Wherein shall we be distinguished above others, if the learning, in which we were instructed, be communicated to the public. I would rather surpass other men in knowledge than in power. Farewell."¹ Aristotle, not considering this letter as merely complimentary, answered it as follows: "You wrote to me concerning my acroatic works, that they ought not to have been published. Know that in one sense this still is the case, since they can be fully understood by those only who have heard my lectures."² Of those much valued writings, the theological part, if at all published, was probably most involved in a sublime obscurity. To have maintained, in plain and popular language, the unity and perfections of the Deity, must have excited against the Stagirite an earlier religious persecution than that which really overtook him. Yet in this pure theology Alexander was carefully instructed; as his preceptor reminded him in the midst of his unexampled victories and unbounded conquests, concluding a letter with this memorable admonition; that "those who entertain just notions of the Deity are better entitled to be high-minded, than those who subdue kingdoms."³

Aristotle's love of philosophy did not, like that of Plato, set him at variance with poetry. He frequently cites the poets, particularly Homer; and he prepared for his pupil a correct copy of the Iliad, which that admirer of kindred heroes always carried with him in a casket, whence this transcript

are as easily intelligible, as a mere syllabus of lectures on most abstruse subjects can well be rendered.

¹ Aulus Gellius, l. xx. c. 5.

² Idem ibid. If these letters be ascribed to their right authors, they prove in what light Aristotle regarded his acroatic works; he considered them merely as text-books.

³ Plutarck. de Tranquillitate Animi, p. 474

was called "the Iliad of the Casket."¹ The Stagirite was not only the best critic in poetry, but himself a poet of the first eminence. Few of his verses indeed have reached modern times; but the few which remain prove him worthy of sounding the lyre of Pindar;² and it is not the least singularity attending this extraordinary man, that with the nicest and most suitable powers of discrimination and analysis, he united a vigorous and rich vein of poetic fancy.

Aristotle carefully instructed his pupil in ethics and politics. He wrote to him, long afterwards, a treatise on government; and exhorted him to adjust the measure of his authority to the various character of his subjects; agreeably to a doctrine which he frequently maintains in his political works, that different nations require different modes of government, respectively adapted to their various turns of mind, and different habits of thinking.³ From the ethical writings of Aristotle which still remain, and which are the most practically useful of any that pagan antiquity can boast, it is easy to detect that wicked calumny of his enemies, "that, for sordid and selfish purposes, he accommodated the tenets of his philosophy to the base morals of courts."⁴ It may be safely affirmed, that if Alexander is distinguished above other princes for the love of knowledge⁵ and virtue, he was chiefly indebted for this advantage to his preceptor: the seeds of his haughtiness and ambition were sown before Aristotle was called to direct his

¹ Plutarch. in *Alexand.* vol. i. p. 688.

² Menag. *Observat.* in *Diogen. Laert.* l. v. p. 189.

³ Plutarch. in *Alexand.*

⁴ This absurdity is brought forward and insisted on by Brucker, *Hist. Philosoph.* vol. i. p. 797. Nothing can be more erroneous or more unintelligible than Brucker's account of Aristotle's philosophy. I have heard it said in his own country, that this laborious German did not understand Greek.

⁵ See the proofs of this in Plutarch, p. 668. Alexander spared the house of Pindar, when he sacked Thebes; and the town of Ereasus in Lesbos, in his war with the Persians, because it was the birth-place of Theophrastus and Phanius, Aristotle's disciples. In the midst of his expedition, he wrote to Athens for the works of the tragic poets, with the dithyrambics of Telestes and Philoxenus, and the history of Philistus.

education; his excellencies therefore may be ascribed to our philosopher;¹ his imperfections to himself, to Philip, above all to the intoxicating effects of unbounded prosperity. This is the language of antiquity, and even of those writers who are the least partial to the fame of the Stagirite.

After the most intimate communication during the space of eight years,² the pupil and the preceptor separated for ever, to pursue, in a career of almost equal length, the most opposite paths to the same immortal renown; the one by arms, the other by philosophy; the one by gratifying the most immoderate lust of power, the other by teaching to despise this and all similar gratifications. During his eastern triumphs, terminated in the course of ten years by his premature death, Alexander (as we shall have occasion to relate) gave many illustrious proofs of gratitude to the virtuous director of his youth. One incident, and one only, seems to have occasioned some disgust between them. At leaving the court of Pella, Aristotle recommended, as worthy of accompanying Alexander in his Persian expedition, his own kinsman Callisthenes, an Olynthian; a learned and certainly an honest man, but of a morose, unaccommodating temper, pertinaciously attached to the old system of republicanism, which the father of Alexander had overturned in Greece; equally daring and inflexible in his purposes, and unseasonably bold in his speech.³ Aristotle himself perceived and lamented his faults, and admonished him in a line of Homer, "that his unbridled tongue might occasion his early death."⁴ The prophecy was fulfilled. Callisthenes, not reflecting that "he who has once condescended" (in the words of Arrian) "to be the attendant of a king, ought never to be wanting in due deference to his will," rudely and outrageously opposed Alexander's resolution of

¹ Ἀριστοτέλης τὰ δέοντα συμβουλευῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πολλοῖς ὠφέλιμος ἦν. *Ælian. Var. Hist. l. xii. c. 54.*

² *Dionys. Halicarn., and Diogen. Laert. ubi supra. See also note above, p. xiv.*

³ *Arrian. Exped. Alexand. l. iv. c. 8.*

⁴ Ὁκύμορος δὴ μοι τέκος ἔσσαι σὶ ἀγορεύεις. *Il. xviii. 95.*

exacting the same marks of homage from the Greeks which were cheerfully paid to him by the Persians.¹ The manner of Callisthenes's punishment and death is related more variously² than almost any historical event of such public notoriety; but most writers concur in opinion, that he met with the just reward of his rashness and arrogance. This transaction, it is asserted, much estranged Alexander from his ancient preceptor. The assertion however is not accompanied with any solid proof;³ and the absurd calumny, that Aristotle not only regarded this pretended displeasure as an injury, but even proceeded to the wickedness of joining in a conspiracy against Alexander's life, is warranted by nothing in history, but a hearsay preserved in Plutarch,⁴ and the affected credit given to the monstrous report by the monster Caracalla, for the unworthy purpose of justifying his own violence in destroying the schools of the Aristotelian philosophers in Alexandria, the burning their books, and depriving them of all those privileges and revenues which they enjoyed through the munificence of the Ptolemies, Alexander's Egyptian successors.⁵

Having taken leave of the Macedonian capital, Aristotle returned to his beloved Athens; where he spent thirteen⁶ years, almost the whole remainder of his life, instructing his disciples, and improving the various branches of his philosophy. His *acroatic* lectures were given in the morning to those who were his regular pupils.⁷ A considerable part of

¹ Arrian. ubi supra.

² By Arrian, Curtius, Justin, Diogenes Laertius, Philostratus, and Suidas.

³ Alexander's resentment is inferred from a vague and hasty expression in a letter to Antipater; "Τὸν δὲ σοφιστὴν ἐγὼ κολάσω, καὶ τοὺς ἐπέμ-
ποντας αὐτόν—I will punish the sophist (meaning Callisthenes) and those who sent him." Plutarch. in Alexand. p. 696. Alexander, it is true, sent presents to Xenocrates; but so did Antipater, who always remained Aristotle's sincere and confidential friend.

⁴ "Those who say that Aristotle advised Antipater to destroy Alexander by poison, cite for their authority a certain Agnothemis, who heard it from king Antigonus." Plut. in Alexand. p. 707.

⁵ Dion. in Caracall.

⁶ Dionys. Epist. ad Ammæum.

⁷ Aulus Gellius. xx. c. 5

them is still preserved in his works, which form an abstract or syllabus of treatises on the most important branches of philosophy. His *exoteric* discourses were held after supper with occasional visitors, and formed the amusement of his evening walks;¹ for he thought "exercise peculiarly useful after table for animating and invigorating the natural heat and strength, which the too rapid succession of sleep to food seem fitted to relax and encumber."² Before his arrival at Athens, Speusippus was dead; and Xenocrates, whose dull gravity and rigid austerity a man of Aristotle's character could not much admire, had taken possession of the Academy.³ The Stagirite, therefore, settled in a *gymnasium* in the suburbs, well shaded with trees, near to which the soldiers used to exercise, and adorned by the temple of Lycian Apollo, from whose *peripaton*, or walk, Aristotle and his followers were called *Peripatetics*.⁴ It is reported that he opened his school, observing, "That it would be shameful for himself to be silent while Xenocrates publicly taught."⁵ Aristotle is not likely to have uttered such a presumptuous boast; but if it was really made, even this arrogant speech was certainly very fully justified by the fame which the Lyceum speedily acquired, which the Stagirite himself maintained unimpaired through life, and which was ably supported by his disciple and successor Theophrastus.

Such is the genuine history of Aristotle's life, in the most important passages of which all the ancient writers,⁶ who

¹ Aulus Gellius, l. xx. c. 5.

² Plutarch. *Conjug. Precept.* p. 133. ³ Diogen. Laert. in *Xenocrat.*

⁴ Menagius ad Diogen. Laert. l. v. sect. 2.

⁵ Diogen. Laert. in *Aristot.* But Cicero, Quintilian, and Dionysius Halicarn. read "Isocrates" instead of "Xenocrates." The reading in the text is the more probable, for Isocrates and Aristotle, following very different pursuits, were not naturally rivals; besides, the former is said to have died soon after the battle of Chæronæa in extreme old age, and Aristotle did not return to Athens till three years after that decisive engagement. Compare my *Life of Isocrates*, and the *History of Ancient Greece*, vol. iv. c. 33.

⁶ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Diogenes Laertius, and Ammonius: the ancient Latin translation of this last, first published by Nunnesius,

have expressly treated his biography, unitedly concur. By arranging the subject, therefore, according to our present method, both my own labour will be abridged, and the reader's time will be saved; for the calumnies against Aristotle will be no sooner mentioned than they will refute themselves, and they could not pass unnoticed, because they are perpetuated in the sarcasms of Lucian,¹ and the lying whispers of Athenæus,² which have been too often mistaken, even by the learned, for true history.

The absurd reports that Aristotle first served in the army, that he there dissipated his fortune by low profligacy, and then followed for bread the trade of an apothecary,³ may be confidently rejected by those who know, on unquestionable authority, that he became, at the early age of seventeen, a diligent student in the Academy at Athens, where he remained during the long period of twenty years. The reader who has seen the testimonies of his gratitude to Plato, will not easily be persuaded that he could treat this revered master with the grossest brutality;⁴ and let him who reads and meditates on the Ethics to Nicomachus ask his own heart, as well as understanding, whether it is likely that the author of such a treatise should, instead of restraining and correcting, have flattered⁵ and fomented the vices of Alexander. Instead of further examining these wild fictions, which stand in direct contradiction

(Helmestadij, 1767,) contains some additional circumstances, but those of little value, and of doubtful authority.

¹ Lucian treats both Aristotle and his pupil with equal injustice. Vid. Dialog. Diogen. et Alexand. et Alexand. et Philip.

² Athenæus Deipnos. l. viii. p. 354.

³ Athenæus ubi supra, and Aristocles apud Eusebium. Their report rests on a supposititious letter of Epicurus on Study, and the assertion of Timæus of Tauromenon in Sicily; an author nicknamed Epitimæus, the Detractor. Diodorus Siculus, l. v. c. 1. Athenæus, l. vi p. 272.

⁴ Ἀριστοτέλης ἡμᾶς ἀπελάττισε—"Aristotle has kicked at us;" a strong metaphor. Diogenes Laert. l. v. sect. 2. Ælian, Var. Hist. l. iii. c. 19, ascribes both to Plato and to Aristotle a behaviour totally inconsistent with every thing that we know of their characters. Comp. Ælian, Var. Hist. l. iv. c. 19. Photius, Biblioth. c. 279. Augustin. de Civitate Dei, l. viii. c. 12. Such contradictory reports mutually destroy each other.

⁵ Lucian. Dial. Diogen. et Alexand.

to the matters of fact above related, it is of more importance to inquire whence such improbable tales could have originated; especially as this inquiry will bring us to the events which immediately preceded our philosopher's death.

From innumerable passages in the moral and political works of which we have presumed to offer the translation to the public, it will appear that Aristotle regarded with equal contempt vain pretenders to real science, and real professors of sciences which he deemed vain and frivolous. His theological opinions, also, were far too refined for the grossness of paganism. He fought only for truth, and was careless of the obstacles which stood in his way to attaining it, whether they were found in the errors of philosophers, or in the prejudices of the vulgar. Such a man, in such a city as Athens, where, since the days of Socrates, the learned taught publicly and conversed freely with all descriptions of persons, could not fail to have many rivals and many enemies. Sophists and sciolists, soothsayers and satirists, and that worst of banes satirical historians,¹ heaped obloquy on a character, the ornament of his own age, and destined to be the great instructor of posterity. But the name of Alexander, which then filled the world, was duly respected, even in the turbulent democracy of Athens; and it was not till the year following the death of that incomparable prince, that the rancorous malignity, which had been long suppressed, burst forth against Aristotle with irresistible violence. He was accused of irreligion (*ἀσεβείας*) before the Areopagus by the hierophant Eurymedon, abetted by Demophilus, a man of weight in the republic; and both of them were instigated to this cruel prosecution by our philosopher's declared enemies.² The

¹ Aristocles (apud Eusebium) says, that Aristotle was attacked by a host of writers, "whose books and memories have perished more completely than their bodies." Even his fellow-student, Aristoxenus, who had treated him most respectfully while he lived, heaped the most illiberal reproaches on his memory, because he preferred to himself Theophrastus for his successor. Suidas in Aristoxen. and Aristocles apud Eusebium.

² Diogen. Laert. l. v. sect.

heads of the accusation were, "that Aristotle had commemorated the virtues both of his wife Pythias and of his friend Hermeias, with such ceremonies and honours as the piety of Athens justly reserved for the majesty of the gods." To Hermeias, indeed, he erected a statue at Delphi; he also wrote an ode in his praise. Both the inscription and the ode have come down to modern times; the former simply relating "the unworthy and treacherous death of Hermeias;" and the latter "extolling virtue above all earthly possessions; and especially that generous patriotism, for the sake of which the native of Atarneus, rivalling the merit of Hercules and Achilles, had willingly relinquished the light of the sun; whose fame therefore would never be forgotten by the Muses, daughters of memory; and as often as it was sung would redound to the glory of *Hospitable Jove*, and the honour of firm friendship."¹ From the frivolousness of the accusation respecting Hermeias, which was considered as the chief article of the impeachment, we may warrantably conjecture that the reproach of worshipping Pythias with honours due to Eleusinian Ceres, was altogether groundless: but in a philosopher, whose intellectual rather than his moral virtues have been the object of panegyric, we may remark with pleasure both the strength of his friendship, and the sincere tenderness of his love, since both affections must have been expressed with an amiable enthusiasm, to enable even the malice of his enemies to interpret them into the crime of idolatry.

It must not be dissembled that the accusation, and consequent condemnation, of Aristotle by the Areopagus, has been ascribed to a different cause from that above assigned, and referred merely to the impiety of his tenets. He is said by those who have carelessly examined his works, to have denied a Providence, and thence to have inferred the inefficacy of prayers and sacrifices: doctrines, it is observed, which

¹ Laertius in Aristot. Athenæus, xv. p. 697.

could not but enrage the priesthood, as totally subversive of its functions, establishments, and revenues.¹ But never was any accusation urged more falsely or more ignorantly. Aristotle, as it will be shown, hereafter, enumerates the priesthood among the functions or offices essentially requisite to the existence of every community. In writing to Alexander he says, that those are not entitled to be high-minded who conquer kingdoms, but rather those who have learned to form just notions of the gods ;² and in his life, as well as in his works, he uniformly showed his veneration for religion in general, by treating with great tenderness,³ even that distorted image of it reflected from the puerile superstitions of his country.⁴

He is said to have written his own defence,⁵ and to have inveighed, in a strong metaphor, against the increasing degeneracy of the Athenians.⁶ His discourse, of which the boldness would only have inflamed the blind zeal of his weak or wicked judges, was not delivered in court : since he escaped his trial by seasonably quitting Athens for Chalcis in Eubœa, saying, in allusion to the death of Socrates, that he was unwilling to afford the Athenians a second opportunity of sinning against philosophy.⁷ He survived his retreat to the shores of the Euripus scarcely a twelvemonth ; persecution and banishment having probably shortened his days.⁸

¹ Origenes contra Celsum et Brukeri, Histor. Critic. vol. i. p. 790.

² Plutarch, in Alexand.

³ This tenderness, however, did not, probably, satisfy the Athenian priests ; who, as it will appear from the following analysis of his works, had more to apprehend from his real piety, than to fear from his pretended irreligion.

⁴ Diogen. Laert. l. v. sect. 16. But the best proof of this will appear hereafter, when we come to examine Aristotle's works.

⁵ His defence, (*ἀπολογία ἀσεβείας*), according to the biographical notice in the Dictionary above quoted, is still in existence. But its authenticity was doubted even by the ancients. Athen. xv. 16, p. 696.

⁶ Laert. l. v. sect. 16. Ὅχνη ἐπ' ὄχνη γηράσκει. Homer's description of the gardens of Alcinoüs. "The fig rotting on the fig," alludes to the Athenian sycophants, (*συκοφάνται*), so called originally from informing against the exporters of figs. Ælian, iii. 36.

⁷ Justin (in Admon. ad Gentes) and St. Gregory Nazianzen (contra Julian.) say that he died through the uneasiness of discontent at not being

His testament, preserved in Diogenes Laertius, accords with the circumstances related concerning his life, and practically illustrates the liberal maxims of his philosophy. Antipater, the confidential minister of Philip, regent of Macedon both under Alexander and after his demise, is appointed the executor of this testament, with an authority paramount, as it should seem, to that of the other persons who are afterwards conjoined with him in the same trust. To his wife Herpyllis, (for he had married a second time,) Aristotle, besides other property in money and slaves, leaves the choice of two houses, the one in Chalcis, the other his paternal mansion at Stagira; and desires, that whichever of them she might prefer, should be properly furnished for her reception. He commends her domestic virtues; and requests his friends that, mindful of her behaviour towards him, they would distinguish her by the kindest attention; and should she again think of a husband, that they would be careful to provide for her a suitable marriage. To Nicomachus, his son by this Herpyllis, and to Pythias, the daughter of his first wife, he bequeathed the remainder of his fortune, with the exception of his library and writings, which he left to his favourite scholar Theophrastus.¹ He desires that his daughter, when she attained a marriageable age, should be given to Nicanor, the son of his ancient benefactor Proxenus; and failing Nicanor, that his esteemed disciple Theophrastus should accept her hand and fortune. The bones of his first wife, Pythias, he ordered to be disinterred, and again buried with his own, as she herself had requested. None of his slaves are to be sold; they are all of them either emancipated by his will, or ordered to

able to explain the cause of the tides of the Euripus; upon which authority the puerile story is ingrafted of his throwing himself into that arm of the sea, saying, "You shall contain me, since I cannot comprehend you." Others say that he ended his life by poison to escape the vengeance of the Athenians. (Rapin's *Comparaison de Platon et d'Aristote.*) Such unwarranted reports would not be worthy of mention, did they not afford an opportunity of observing the extreme improbability that Aristotle should have been guilty of suicide, since he always speaks of it as of a shameful and cowardly crime.

¹ Strabo, xiii. 413.

be manumitted by his heirs, whenever they seem worthy of liberty; an injunction conformable to the maxims inculcated in his *Politics*, that slaves of all descriptions ought to be set free, whenever they merited freedom, and are qualified for enjoying it. He concludes with a testimony of external deference at least for the religion of his country, by ordering that the dedications which he had vowed for the safety of Nicanor, should be presented at Stagira to Jupiter and Minerva, the saviours.

Thus lived, and thus died, in his 63rd year, Aristotle the Stagirite. His enlightened humanity was often seasoned by pleasantry. Many strokes of genuine humour, little suspected by his commentators, will be found in his political writings. His smart sayings and quick repartees were long remembered and admired by those who were incapable of appreciating his weightier merits. Some of these sayings, though apparently not the most memorable, are preserved in Diogenes Laertius; of which the following may serve for a specimen. Being asked, What, of all things, soonest grows old?—Gratitude. What advantage have you reaped from study?—That of doing through choice what others do through fear. What is friendship?—One soul in two bodies. Why do we never tire of the company of the beautiful?—The question of a blind man! Such apophthegms would be unworthy of mention, had they not, by their perpetual recurrence in our philosopher's conversation, shown a mind free and unencumbered amidst the abstrusest studies; and, together with the most intense thought, a readiness of wit, which never failed to repel sneerers, and to abash arrogance.¹ He exhibited a character as a man, worthy of his pre-eminence as a philosopher; inhabiting courts, without meanness and without selfishness; living in schools, without pride and without austerity;² cultivating with ardent affection every domestic and every social virtue, while with indefatigable industry he reared that wonderful

¹ Diogen. Laert. in *Aristot. et Diogen.*

² Plutarch. de *Virtut. Moral.* p. 448.

edifice of science, the plan of which we are still enabled to delineate from his imperfect and mutilated writings.

The extraordinary and unmerited fate of these writings, while it excites the curiosity, must provoke the indignation of every friend to science. Few of them were published in his life-time; the greater part nearly perished through neglect; and the remainder has been so grossly misapplied, that doubts have arisen whether its preservation ought to be regarded as a benefit. Aristotle's manuscripts and library were bequeathed to Theophrastus, the most illustrious of his pupils. Theophrastus again bequeathed them to his own scholar Neleus, who, carrying them to Scepsis, a city of the ancient Troas, left them to his heirs in the undistinguished mass of his property. The heirs of Neleus, men ignorant of literature and careless of books,¹ totally neglected the intellectual treasure that had most unworthily devolved to them, until they heard that the king of Pergamus, under whose dominion they lived, was employing much attention and much research in collecting a large library.² With the caution incident to the subjects of a despot, who often have recourse to concealment in order to avoid robbery, they hid their books under ground; and the writings of Aristotle, as well as the vast collection of materials from which they had been composed, thus remained in a subterranean mansion for many generations, a prey to dampness and to worms.³ At length they were released from

¹ Strabo, lib. xiii. p. 608 and 609. Bayle gives too strong a meaning to *ἰδιώταις ἀνθρώποις*, when he calls them "gens idiots:" *ἰδιώτης* means one who confines his attention to the private affairs of life, in opposition to philosophers and statesmen. (See Pol. ii. sub fin.)

² Strabo, lib. xiii. p. 608.

³ Athenæus, l. i. p. 3, says, that Neleus sold Aristotle's books to Ptolemy Philadelphus; and Bayle (article Tyrannion) endeavours with Patricius (*Discuss. Peripatet. t. i. p. 29*) to reconcile this account with that of Strabo, by supposing that Neleus indeed sold Aristotle's library and works to king Ptolemy, but not before he had taken the precaution of having the whole carefully copied. According to those writers, the books thus copied, and not the originals, suffered the unworthy treatment mentioned in the text. This supposition seems highly improbable; for, not to mention the difficulty of copying, in a short time, many thousand volumes, it cannot be believed that Ptolemy, had he been in possession of

their prison, or rather raised from the grave, and sold for a large sum, together with the works of Theophrastus, to Apellicon of Athens, a lover of books rather than a scholar;¹ through whose labour and expense the work of restoring Aristotle's manuscripts, though performed in the same city in which they had been originally written, was very imperfectly executed. To this, not only the ignorance of the editors, but both the condition and the nature of the writings themselves, did not a little contribute. The most considerable part of his acroatic works, which are almost the whole of those now remaining, consist of little better than text books, containing the detached heads of his discourses; and, through want of connexion in the matter, peculiarly liable to corruption from transcribers, and highly unsusceptible of conjectural emendation.

What became of Aristotle's original manuscript we are not informed; but the copy made for Apellicon was, together with his whole library, seized by Sylla, the Roman conqueror of Athens, and by him transmitted to Rome.² Aristotle's works excited the attention of Tyrannion, a native of Amysus in Pontus, who had been taken prisoner by Lucullus in the Mithridatic war, and insolently manumitted,³ as Plutarch says, by Muræna, Lucullus's lieutenant. Tyrannion procured the

the genuine works of Aristotle, would have purchased at a high price those counterfeits, which had no other connexion with that philosopher than bearing his forged name on their title-page. (Ammonius ad Categor. sub init.) Had a correct copy of the Stagirite's works adorned the library of Alexandria under the first Ptolemies, his genuine philosophy would have struck deeper root, and made further progress than it ever did, in that Egyptian capital. Vossius (de Sect. Philosoph. c. xvi. p. 89) endeavours to prove that Atheneus's words (which are certainly incorrect) imply that Neleus retained Aristotle's works when he sold all the rest. ¹ Strabo says, "rather than a philosopher."

² Plutarch. in Sylla.

³ Plutarch speaks with the dignity becoming a man of letters, who feels himself superior to the prejudices of his times: "That to give liberty by manumission to a man of Tyrannion's education and merit, was to rob him of that liberty which he naturally and essentially possessed." Plutarch. in Lucull. p. 504.

manuscript by paying court to Sylla's librarian; and communicated the use of it to Andronicus of Rhodes, who flourished as a philosopher at Rome, in the time of Cicero and Pompey; and who, having undertaken the task of arranging and correcting those long-injured writings, finally performed the duty of a skilful editor.¹

Though the works which formed the object of Andronicus's labours had suffered such injuries as the utmost diligence and sagacity could not completely repair,² yet in consequence of those labours the Peripatetic philosophy began to resume the lustre of which it had been deprived since the days of Theophrastus; and the later adherents to that sect, as they became acquainted with the real tenets of their master, far surpassed the fame and merit of their ignorant and obscure predecessors.³ From the æra of Andronicus's publication to that of the invention of printing, a succession of respectable writers on civil and sacred subjects (not excepting the venerable fathers of the Christian church) confirm, by their citations and criticisms, the authenticity of most of the treatises still bearing Aristotle's name; and of more than ten thousand⁴ commen-

¹ Plutarch. in Syll. Porphy. in Vitâ Plotini. Boëtius in Proœmio libri de interpret. Strabo only says that Tyrannion, in the manner mentioned in the text, got possession of the manuscript; which was copied for the Roman booksellers by careless transcribers, who did not even take the pains of comparing their copies with the original: a negligence, he observes, too common among the transcribers both in Rome and Alexandria.

² Even after this publication, Aristotle's followers were obliged *να πολλα μειοτως λεγειν δια το πληθος των αμαρτιων*, "often to guess at his meaning, through the faultiness of his text." Strabo, in the place above cited.

³ Strabo, l. xiii. p. 609. He observes, "that the Peripatetic philosophers succeeding Theophrastus had, till this time, but few of their master's works, and those few chiefly of the exoteric kind; so that they were more conversant about words than things; and instead of reasoning accurately and profoundly, were contented with displaying their skill in dialectic and rhetoric."⁵ I have thus paraphrased the obscurity of the original *φιλοσοφειν πραγματικως* and *θεσεις ληκοθιζειν*, because Strabo, who had himself diligently studied Aristotle's philosophy, (Strabo, l. xvi. p. 757,) uses the word *πραγματικως*, most probably, in the same sense in which it occurs in Aristotle, as synonymous with *ακριβως, κατα αληθειαν*; and in opposition to *διαλεκτικως* and *το διαλεγεσθαι λογικως*.

⁴ Patricius Discuss. Peripatet

tators, who have endeavoured to illustrate different parts of his works, there are incomparably fewer than might have been expected, whose vanity has courted the praise of superior discernment by rejecting any considerable portion of them as spurious.¹ According to the most credible accounts, therefore, he composed above four hundred² different treatises, of which only forty-eight³ have been transmitted to the present age.⁴ But many of these last consist of several books, and the whole of his remains together still form a golden stream⁵ of Greek erudition, exceeding four times the collective bulk of the Iliad and Odyssey.

¹ Compare Diogenes Laertius in Vit. Aristot., Patric. Discuss. Peripatetic., Fabricius Bibliothec. Græc., and Bruckerus Histor. Philos. artic. Aristot.

² Diogenes Laertius (in Vit. Aristot.) makes Aristotle's volumes amount to four hundred; Patricius Venetus, a learned professor of Padua in the sixteenth century, endeavours to prove that they amounted to nearly double that number. (Patric. Discuss. Peripat.) The laborious Fabricius employs one hundred pages of his second volume in enumerating and ascertaining Aristotle's remains; which still exceed four times the collective bulk of the Iliad and Odyssey. The whole works of Aristotle, therefore, must have contained a quantity of prose, equal to sixteen times 28,088 verses; a fact the more extraordinary, since the greater part of his writings are merely elegant and comprehensive text books, containing the heads of his lectures; laborious, but clear reasonings; and often original discoveries in the most difficult branches of science. The following passage concerning him in the French Encyclopedie, (article Aristotelisme,) must excite a smile of something more than surprise. "Le nombre de ses ouvrages est prodigieux; on en put voir les titres en Diogène Laerce . . . encore ne sommes nous pas sûrs de les avoir tous: il est même probable que nous en avons perdu plusieurs," etc.

³ The treatises de Plantis et de Mundo are rejected by most writers. The former is, indeed, of little value; the latter, of the greatest; but I do not cite it as an authority, because it is my ambition to place my account of his philosophy beyond the reach of cavil.

⁴ A very excellent table of Aristotle's works, with a brief but accurate sketch of their contents, and an account of their transmission to the present time, will be found appended to the Life of the philosopher by Professor Stahr in the Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography.

⁵ Veniet flumæn orationis aureum fundens Aristoteles. Cicero, Academ. ii. 38.

INTRODUCTION,

BY

JOHN GILLIES, L. L. D.

THIS book embraces three subjects, the noblest and most interesting that civil science can boast: the origin of society and government; the distinction of ranks in a commonwealth; and a comparison of the best plans of political economy. On each of these topics I shall offer a few remarks, not with the presumption of interposing my own judgment, but with the hope of justifying or illustrating the decisions of my author.

In explaining the origin of political society, Aristotle writes neither the satire nor the panegyric of human nature; which, by writers of less wisdom than fancy, have been alternately substituted for plain history. In this, as in all other inquiries, his first question is, what are the phenomena? His second, what is the analogy of nature? Building on these foundations, he concludes that both society and government are as congenial to the nature of man, as it is natural for a plant to fix its roots in the earth, to extend its branches, and to scatter its seeds. Neither the cunning, cowardly principles asserted by Hobbes and Mandeville, nor the benevolent moral affections espoused by Shaftesbury and Hutcheson, according to our author's notions, ought to be involved in the solution of the present question: since the first political societies are as independent of human intelligence, and therefore of moral determination, as the instinctive actions of plants and insects, tending to the preservation of their respective kinds, are independent of any intelligence of their own; even when they move and operate conformably to the laws of the most consummate wisdom.

Government, then, is coeval with society, and society with

men. Both are the works of nature; and therefore, in explaining their origin, there cannot be the smallest ground for the fanciful supposition of engagements and contracts, independently of which the great modern antagonist of Aristotle declares, in the following words, that no government can be lawful or binding: "The original compact, which begins and actually constitutes any political society, is nothing but the consent of any number of freemen capable of a majority, to unite and to incorporate into such a society. And this is that, and that only, which could give beginning to any lawful government in the world."¹ From this maxim, which is perpetually inculcated in Locke's two treatises on government, is fairly deducible the inalienable right of mankind to be *self-governed*; that is, to be their own legislators, and their own directors; or, if they find it inconvenient to assume the administration of affairs in their own persons, to appoint representatives who may exercise a delegated sovereignty, essentially and inalienably inherent in the people at large. Thence results the new inalienable right of all mankind to be fairly represented, a right with which each individual was invested from the commencement of the world, but of which, until very recently, no one knew the name, or had the least notion of the thing.² From this right to fair representation, there follows, by necessary consequence, the right of universal suffrage, universal eligibility, and the universal and just preponderancy of majorities in all cases whatever.

Such is the boasted and specious theory begun in the works of our Locke and our Molyneux,³ continued in those of our

¹ Locke's Works, vol. ii. p. 185, edit. of 1714.

² According to the system of Locke and his followers, representatives are appointed by the people to exercise, in their stead, political functions which the people have a right to exercise in their own persons. They are elected by the people, they derive their whole power from the people; and to the people, their constituents, they always are responsible. Of this doctrine, Mr. Locke is the first or principal author. But the term representatives, in the usual and legal acceptation of the word in the English constitution, meant, and still means, persons in virtue of their election exercising political functions, which the people had not a right to exercise in their own persons, and so little responsible to their electors, that they are not even bound to follow their instructions. That the ancients were not unacquainted with representation in the usual and only practical sense of the word, will be shown hereafter.

³ See his Case of Ireland, reprinted by Almon, p. 113, and again, p.

Price¹ and our Priestley,² and carried to the utmost extravagance in those of (I wish not to say our) Rousseau,³ Paine,⁴ and the innumerable pamphleteers whose writings occasioned or accompanied the American and French revolutions.

Such works, co-operating with the peculiar circumstances of the times, have produced, and are still producing, the most extraordinary effects; by arming the passions of the multitude with a false principle, fortifying them by specious arguments, and thereby stirring into action those discordant elements which naturally lurk in the bosom of every community. It is not consistent with my design, in defending the tenets of my author, to answer his political adversaries with declamation and obloquy,—(a rash and dangerous attempt! since the voice of the multitude will always be the loudest and the strongest,)—but merely to examine whether the fundamental maxim of their great master, Locke, be itself founded in truth. To prove that government is merely a matter of consent, he assumes for a reality a wild fiction of the fancy; what he calls a state of nature, which he defines to be “men living together according to reason, without a common superior on earth with authority to judge between them.”⁵ But he himself seems aware that this supposed natural state of man is a state in which man never yet was found; and in which, if by violence thrust into it, he could not remain for a single day. Locke, I say, saw the difficulty, which, instead of meeting, he only endeavours to elude. “Where are there,” he asks, “or ever were there, any men in such a state of nature?”⁶ He answers, “that since all princes and rulers of independent governments, all through the world, are in the state of nature, it is plain the world never was, and never will be, without numbers of men in that state.”⁷ But this, I affirm, is not answer the proposed question; for princes and rulers of independent states do not live together, nor associate and “herd,” as he himself expresses it, in the same society. If they did so, they could not subsist without government: for government and

169. “I have no other notion of slavery, but being bound by a law to which I do not consent.”

¹ Observations on Civil Liberty, etc.

² Essay on the First Principles of Government.

³ Du Contrat Social, ou Principes du Droit Politique.

⁴ Rights of Man, etc.

⁵ Locke's Works, vol. ii. p. 164.

⁶ Ibid. p. 162.

⁷ Ibid.

society are things absolutely inseparable; they commence together; they grow up together; they are both of them equally natural; and so indissolubly united, that the destruction of the one is necessarily accompanied by the destruction of the other. This is the true sense of Aristotle, as understood and expressed by an illustrious defender of just government and genuine liberty. "As we use and exercise our bodily members, before we understand the ends and purposes of this exercise, so it is by nature herself that we are united and associated into political society."¹

Locke, who so severely, and, as I have endeavoured to prove, so unjustly arraigns what is called Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, appears to have equally mistaken his *Politics*. Had he understood² the invaluable work to which he refers in terms of commendation, this idol of modern philosophers, and especially of modern politicians, would not probably (since he was a man of great worth as well as of great wisdom) have produced a theory of government totally impossible in practice; a theory admirably fitted, indeed, for producing revolutions and sedition, but according to which, as is evinced by all history, no political fabric ever yet was reared; or if it were to be reared, could ever possibly be preserved.³ The neglect or misapprehension of some of the most important parts of Aristotle's writings is indeed most deeply to be lamented. Of the many thousand authors who have copied or commented on his *Logic*, the far greater number omit his interesting chapters on language; deeming the consideration of

¹ Quemadmodum igitur membris utimur, priusquam didicimus cujus ea utilitatis causâ habeamus; sic inter nos nostrâ ad civilem communitatem conjuncti et consociati sumus. De Fin. Bon. et Mal. lib. iii. c. 20. Conf. de Officiis, lib. i. c. 16, et seq. Cicero does not say "communitatem" simply, but "civilem communitatem," which agrees with Aristotle's definition of man, ζῷον πολιτικόν, not merely a *herding*, but a *political* animal. See the same doctrine in Polybius, lib. vi. c. 4, vol. ii. p. 460, edit. Sweigh.

² Among Locke's private letters, there is one to Mr. King, who had asked him for a plan of reading on morality and politics. "To proceed orderly in this," Mr. Locke observes, "the foundation should be laid in inquiring into the ground and nature of civil society, and how it is formed into different models of government, and what are the several species or it. Aristotle is allowed a master in this science, and few enter into this consideration of government without reading his *Politics*." How honourable a testimony!

³ Aristot. Polit. passim. See especially book iv. ch. , p. 126.

words below the dignity of philosophers. His profound observations concerning the nature and constitution of a family have been equally overlooked by his pretended followers in politics. Yet as his analysis of language has been proved to be the sole foundation of logic, so his analysis of a family, and his explanation of the causes through which its elements naturally and regularly combine, can alone enable us clearly to discern the analogous principles—(principles continually insisted on by himself)—which have raised and upheld the great edifice of civil society; which is not a mass, but a system, and which, like every system, implies a distinction of parts; with many moral as well as physical differences, relative and reciprocal; the powers and perfections of one part supplying the incapacities and defects of another. To form a commonwealth from elements of equal value, or of equal dignity, is an attempt not less absurd than that of composing a piece of music from one and the same note.

A difficult question follows, how far social inequality, whether civil or domestic, may be allowed to extend? It is with a trembling hand that I touch the delicate subject of slavery; an undertaking to which nothing could encourage me, but the utmost confidence in the humanity, as well as in the judgment, of my author. First of all, Aristotle expressly condemns the cruel practice, prevalent in his own days, of enslaving prisoners of war;¹ secondly, he declares, in the most explicit terms, all slaves fairly entitled to freedom, whenever it clearly appears that they are fitly qualified for enjoying it. But the benefits conferred on men, he observes, must in all cases be limited by their capacities for receiving them; and these capacities are themselves limited by the exigencies and necessities of our present imperfect condition. The helplessness of infancy and childhood, the infirmities of old age, and

¹ Locke says on this subject, "There is another sort of servants, which by a peculiar name we call slaves, who, being captives taken in a just war, are by the rights of nature subjected to the absolute dominion and arbitrary power of their masters. These men, having, as I say, forfeited their lives, and with it their liberties, and lost their estates, and being in a state of slavery, not capable of any property, cannot in that state be considered as any part of civil society." Locke's Works, vol. ii. p. 181. We should imagine that the *liberal* Locke and the *slavish* Aristotle had interchanged their ages and countries as well as their maxims and principles.

the urgencies attending mankind in every stage of their existence on earth, render it indispensably necessary that a great proportion of the species should be habitually employed in mere mechanical labour, in the strenuous exertions of productive industry, and the petty tasks of domestic drudgery. Nature, therefore, in whose plan and intention the system of society precedes and takes place of the parts of which it is composed, has variously organized and moulded the human character as well as the human frame, without setting other bounds to this variety, than are imposed by the good of the whole system, of which individuals are not independent units, but constituent elements. According to this plan or intention, the Stagirite maintains, that there is room for the widest of all discriminations, and the lowest of all occupations, domestic servitude, a species of labour not employed in production, but totally consumed in use; because solely, but not unprofitably, spent in promoting the ease and accommodation of life. In the relation of master and servant, the good of the master may indeed be the primary object; but the benefit of the servant or slave is also a necessary result, since he only is naturally and justly a slave, whose powers are competent to mere bodily labour; who is capable of listening to reason, but incapable of exercising that sovereign faculty; and whose weakness and short-sightedness are so great, that it is safer for him to be guided or governed through life by the prudence of another. But, let it always be remembered, that "one class of men ought to have the qualifications requisite for masters, before another can either fitly or usefully be employed as slaves." Government, then, not only civil but domestic, is a most serious duty, a most sacred trust; a trust, the very nature of which is totally incompatible with the supposed inalienable rights of all men to be self-governed.¹

¹ Politics would not be a science, unless it contained truths, absolute, universal, and unalterable. One of these is that in the text; because it essentially springs from the nature of society and of man. Another universal political truth is, that the good of the governed is the main end and aim of every good government. From these two premisses, it necessarily follows, that the main object of political society never can be effected on Mr. Locke's principles. But the good of the community (without supposing all sovereign power derived from the people at large, and of which each individual is entitled to participate) may, under many given circumstances, be highly promoted by giving to the people at large

Those rights, and those only, are inalienable, which it is impossible for one person to exercise for another: and to maintain those to be natural and inalienable rights, which the persons supposed to be invested with them can never possibly exercise, consistently either with their own safety, or with the good of the community, is to confound all notions of things, and to invert the whole order of nature; ¹ of which it is the primary and unalterable law, that forecast should direct improvidence, reason control passion, and wisdom command folly.² I now proceed to examine Aristotle's reflections on political economy, which are not less adverse than his long misunderstanding and often mistated vindication of slavery itself, both to the theories formerly prevalent, and to others which have begun recently to prevail among the civilized nations of modern Europe.

The northern conquerors who invaded and desolated the Roman empire, disdained to produce by slow industry, what they gloried in ravishing by sudden violence. War was their delight and their trade. They subsisted by rapine; and therefore cared not how far they were excelled by others in peaceful and productive arts, while gold, and all that it could purchase, might be conquered by iron. But the spoils of rapacity having supplied them with the instruments of luxury,

a control in the government. This control in all large communities can only be conveniently exercised, either by particular magistrates, or by representative assemblies. Things, therefore, that have not any necessary connexion with the origin of government, (so far from being its *only just principle*;) may be found admirable expedients for carrying it on. It will be shown hereafter, that assemblies elected by the people to provide for their interests, and thence called their representatives, are not so new in the world as is commonly imagined. In some republics we shall see a double row of delegates, representatives of representatives; in others we shall find representation and taxation regarded as correlatives; and even in some democracies, we shall meet with persons elected by the people, and representing them in the most useful sense of the word, "that of acting for the people at large, as the people at large, if the majority of them was wise and good, would act for themselves."

¹ Stat ratio contra, et secretam garrir in aurem,
Ne liceat facere id, quod quis vitiabit agendo.
Publica lex hominum, natura que continet hoc fas,
Ut teneat vetitus inscitia debilis actus. Persius, Satir. v. 96.

² Ἀρμυρον δὲ ὑπὸ θεῶν καὶ φρονίμου ἀρχεσθαι, μάλιστα μὲν δικαίων ἐχούτος ἐν ἑαυτῷ, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐξωθεν ἐπιστάτωρος. Plato in Re pub. ix. p. 590, D

they began to relish the pleasures of repose; and instead of courting new dangers abroad, to imitate at home those objects and conveniences which, though they had not the genius to invent, they gradually acquired the taste to approve, the vanity to display, and the desire to accumulate. Manufactures then were established: navigation was exercised for the purpose not only of war, but of traffic: an extensive commerce was introduced; and colonies were planted. The avowed purpose of all those operations was to augment in each country the quantity of gold and silver; since, with those precious metals, all other coveted objects might usually be procured. The business of each individual merchant is to get money; and commercial nations, it was thought, could not reasonably have any other end in view. This false principle was regarded as the basis of all sound political arithmetic; and the most conclusive reasoning of Aristotle, in the book now before us, would not perhaps have sufficed to prove, that national wealth consisted not in gold and silver, had not the ruined state of Spain confirmed experimentally the same important truth.

For many years back, political writers have acknowledged, with our author, that the real wealth of nations consists in the productive powers of their land and labour. They acknowledge also, with him, that the precious metals, in contradistinction to other useful commodities, have only the peculiar advantage of serving as the fittest instruments of exchange, and the most accurate measures of value; but that the quantity of number in which they ought to be desired or accumulated is, like the quantity and number of all other measures or instruments, naturally limited and fixed by the ends and operations which they are employed to answer or effect.¹ Yet, while they reason thus justly respecting gold and silver, the same writers have not sufficient enlargement of mind to generalize their assertion, and to perceive with our author that property itself is as much an instrument as money, though

¹ It is worthy of remark, that Locke is one of the most strenuous asserters of the now exploded doctrine concerning money, which he considers "as the most solid and substantial kind of wealth, regarding the multiplication of the precious metals as the great object of political economy." See the passage quoted and refuted in Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, vol. ii. p. 140, 8vo edit. It is time that, with regard to subjects still more important, men should return from the school of Locke to that of Aristotle.

nessing for a far more complicated purpose ; and therefore, if it be collected in greater quantities than that purpose requires, the surplus will be at best useless, most commonly pernicious ; will inflame desire, foment luxury, provoke rapacity, and produce that long train of disorders, which made our philosopher declare, "that the inhabitants of the Fortunate Isles, unless their virtue kept pace with their external prosperity, must inevitably become the most miserable of all mankind."¹ In the fashionable systems of modern politicians, national wealth is considered as synonymous with national prosperity. To the increase of productive industry and the augmentation of public revenue, both health, education, and morals are sacrificed without apology and without remorse ; since that trade is universally held to be the best, which produces most money with the least labour. But according to Aristotle, it is not the quantity or the value of the work produced, that ought to form the main object of the statesman's care, but the effect which the producing of that work naturally creates on the mind and body of the workmen. In the praises of agriculture and a country life, our author's sentiments and expressions have been faithfully and generally copied by the most judicious writers of antiquity ; many of whom mark with as much reprobation as Aristotle himself, that species of traffic which is cultivated, not for accommodation but for gain ; since such a traffic, universally diffused among a people, has a tendency to pervert their feelings, and to confound their principles ; to make them value as ends, things only useful as means ; and to debase and corrupt every part of their character ; because wherever wealth is the primary object of pursuit, luxury will naturally afford the principal source of enjoyment. In agriculture and pasturage, the energy of nature co-operates with the industry of man. They are, of all occupations, the most beneficial and most necessary, as well as the most agreeable and most salutary ; conducing, with peculiar efficacy, to the firmest and happiest temperament of the mind and body : and the property acquired by them is intrinsically more valuable, because essentially more useful, than any other property whatever. Our author likewise maintains, that those natural and primeval pursuits are of all the least likely to engender sloth, intemperance, avarice, and their concomitant vices ; and

that nations of husbandmen, in particular, afford materials susceptible of the best political form, and the least disposed to disturb, by sedition, any moderately good government under which it is their lot to live. In consideration of so many advantages attending it, he concludes that rural labour ought to be the most favoured branch of national industry; an opinion which nothing but the intrepidity of ignorance, fortified by false system, could venture to contradict. Yet, how far other methods of accumulating stock, beside those proposed by our author, ought to be admitted and encouraged, or discouraged and rejected, must depend on circumstances and events, the force of which the philosopher's experience could not supply him with the means exactly to appreciate. From the artifices and shifts which he explains,—(and he is the only writer that explains them,)—as practised by the republics and princes of his own and preceding times, for the purpose of raising money, it was impossible for him to conjecture that, in a future age of the world, monarchical government should attain such stability as would render the public revenues a safe mortgage to creditors; that the immense debts contracted through the facility of borrowing, would have a direct tendency, by interesting a great number of powerful individuals in the permanence of constituted authorities, to augment that facility itself, and thereby still further to accumulate the national debt; for discharging the interest of which, heavy taxes must necessarily, but not altogether unprofitably, be levied, since they would in some measure repay, in public security, the burdens which they impose on personal labour, or rather the sums which they withdraw from private property. But taxes to a great amount cannot possibly be raised, except in countries flourishing in such resources as agriculture and pasturage alone were never yet able to afford; resources, which can only be acquired by war and rapine on the one hand, or obtained on the other, by the powers of national industry, assisted and multiplied by the most complicated machinery, and an endless subdivision of allotted tasks; each individual performing his part quickly and dexterously, because each has but one, and that a small part, to perform; while the diligence of all is perpetually stimulated by the bait of gain, supplied from the exhaustless fund of an enlightened commercial spirit, as extensive as the

world, and as enterprising as those renowned adventurers who discovered and explored its remotest regions. It is in vain to inquire whether the plan of political economy proposed by Aristotle be in itself preferable to that which some modern nations pursue. Nations, circumstanced as they are, may derive armies chiefly from agriculture, but must principally depend for supplies on manufactures and commerce. The option of their own or a better system is now no longer in their power: the question of expediency has ceased: they must obey necessity.¹

This seems to me the only firm ground of defence for what is called the commercial system of economy; a system which has often been defended by very inclusive arguments. "Public wealth and prosperity," Mr. Hume observes, "is the end of all our wishes;" and this wealth or prosperity, both he and his follower, Dr. Smith, maintain, is only to be promoted by encouraging, with equal impartiality, all kinds of lawful industry; for though food be the great want of mankind, yet one man may produce as much food as will maintain many.²

¹ It is not difficult to explain why the doctrines of speculative politicians, respecting the wealth and economy of nations, should also differ so materially from the theory proposed by our author. Among the Gothic nations who subdued the Roman empire, every thing most valuable and most interesting is connected with the improvement of arts, and consequent extension of commerce; which were the only engines that could counteract without violence their peculiar and unnatural arrangements with regard to landed property. Previous to the refinement and luxury introduced by commerce and the arts, the great landholders, who had engrossed whole provinces, dissipated the superfluous produce of their grounds in maintaining idle servants and worthless dependents, ever ready to gratify the wildest and wickedest of their passions, to abet their insolence, to uphold their haughtiness, to encourage and second their violence and rapacity; and the governments of Europe, ignorantly termed aristocracies, formed the worst species of oligarchy; an oligarchy consisting, not in the collective authority of the whole body of landholders, but in the prerogatives and powers of each individual lord over his respective vassals and retainers. In such a condition of society the expensive allurements of luxury, produced by what Aristotle condemns as over-refinement in arts and manufactures, had the most direct tendency to remedy evils greater than themselves, to undermine the exorbitant power of the few, and to bestow consideration on the many. This particular case has been, by a very usual fallacy in reasoning, converted into a general political axiom.

² Hume's *Essays*, vol. i., "Refinement of Arts;" and Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, *passim*.

But this assertion is not true in the acceptation in which it must be taken, in order to recommend the commercial system above the agricultural. In agriculture, as we above observed, nature operates in concert with man; and though one family co-operating with nature, may, in a given piece of ground, produce as much food as will serve six, yet six families labouring the same ground, will not reap a proportional increase; and twenty families labouring the same ground, may find it barely sufficient to supply their own nourishment. The more that the land is laboured, it will be the more productive; and the more fitly and fairly it is divided,¹ (other circumstances remaining the same,) it will be the more laboured; and the same country or island will thus maintain the greater proportion of inhabitants employed in that kind of work, which, according to Aristotle, is the most favourable to health, morals, good government, the development of intellectual as well as corporeal powers, and the attainment of that measure of happiness which the general mass of mankind can ever in this world hope to reach.

¹ Does our author, therefore, propose an Agrarian law? No; he knew better. The second book of his Politics is, of all works ever written, the best adapted to prove to levellers themselves, that the measures from which they expect so much good, if carried into execution, would infallibly terminate in their own ruin and that of the community.

ANALYSIS

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ARISTOTLE'S POLITICS.

INTRODUCTORY.—Aristotle, in conformity with his usual custom, commences the first Book of his treatise with a practical inquiry into the parts or elements of which the state is composed; and having laid down a brief outline of the first principles of man's social nature, and of domestic life in its various relations, he shows how these relations naturally combine into that form of social existence which is called a state. But before entering theoretically into the nature of the best state, he gives, in Book II., a brief account of, and criticism upon, the various forms of government which have been devised by philosophers and politicians. In Book III. he proceeds to discuss in detail the state, the citizen, and the government, with its various forms, and their respective perversions and corruptions. In Book IV. he gives a brief outline of his "Polity," or perfect republic, (*πολιτεία*), with an enumeration of the magistrates necessary for carrying it out: while Book V. enters philosophically into the causes which tend to overthrow it. In Book VI. he returns to the subject of democracy and oligarchy; while in the two concluding books of his treatise—(which has evidently come down to us in a mutilated condition)—he enters into an elaborate discussion of the best regulations of government in his ideal polity, descending to the comparatively minute particulars of the sites necessary for towns and houses, and the laws requisite for regulating matrimony and the education of the young, with a special view to the interests of the community. In Book VIII. he commences his inquiry into the education of the young, which breaks off most abruptly just at

the point where we should most earnestly have desired to see our author's opinions fully and fairly worked out, in the development and practical application of those principles which he has so carefully laid down.

BOOK I.

INTRODUCTORY.—THE first book divides itself into three parts. (1.) Chap. i. and ii., concerning the family (*οἶκος*) and village (*κώμη*), as integral parts of the state (*πόλις*). (2.) Chap. iii.—vii. and xii. xiii., concerning the three domestic relations, the herile, conjugal, and paternal. (3.) Chap. viii.—xi., concerning the getting of money (*ἡ χρηματιστική*).

CHAP. I.—All society aims at some good end; therefore its best and highest form will aim at the best end.

Monarchical and republican governments do not differ in number alone, but also in kind.

To ascertain the nature of a state, we must first contemplate it in its component parts.

CHAP. II.—The first of domestic relations is the conjugal: this is both natural and necessary; the male being by nature formed and fitted to rule, the female to obey.

The second relation is the herile: the slave formed by nature to obey.

Yet the wife and the slave differ, (except among barbarians).

From the former of these relations springs the paternal tie:

And the combination of these three ties forms the family (*οἶκος*).

The gradual development of the family described, and the consequent formation of the village (*κώμη*), which is defined.

The antiquity of monarchical rule deduced from the fact that families were originally under one head.

The formation of the state (*πόλις*); and its definition; its test, *αὐτάρκεια*, (i. e. its power to supply its own wants).

The facts adduced here prove man to be a social creature, (*πολιτικὸν ζῷον*), and the founder of political life to be the greatest of benefactors to the human race.

CHAP. III.—In domestic rule, (*οἰκονομία*), the three relations of

the head as master, husband, and father, give the three kinds of government which it embraces.

These three relations further considered.

The art of getting money (*ἡ χρηματιστική*) comes partly under *οικονομία*.

CHAP. IV.—Possessions (*κτήματα*) are parts of a house; and hence *ἡ κτητική* is part of the economic art.

Possessions are either animate (*ἄψυχα*) or inanimate, (*ἔμψυχα*), and relate either to *ποιήσεις* or to *πράξεις*.

A slave (*δούλος*) is a living instrument for practical purposes, (*ἔμψυχον ὄργανον τῶν πρὸς τὴν πράξιν*), and he is a part of his master, though separable (*χωριστόν*).

The description of the characteristics of a good slave.

CHAP. V.—Some are slaves by nature and birth, (*φύσει*), as others are free and born to rule.

This point established by sundry analogies, from the soul with regard to the body, from the male with regard to the female, etc., and from inanimate things.

We infer, then, that subjection is a law of nature; and as some men are born wholly inferior to others in mental and moral endowments, it is clear that it is not only expedient but just that they should be slaves. ✓

Mental power and energy is the test of free birth; mere bodily efficiency marks the slave, whose whole excellence (*ἀρετή*) lies in mere bodily activity.

CHAP. VI.—There is also a second kind of slavery, which is not natural, but by compact and agreement, (*νόμῳ*), as for example, where prisoners taken in war are reduced to the rank of slaves.

Some persons think this slavery just, others unjust.

Aristotle attempts to reconcile the conflicting opinions by laying down, that while such slavery is abstractedly unjust, still to a certain extent it is defensible, because sanctioned by the common law of nations.

But it must be always unjust, when the war from which it results is unjust, or when persons of noble birth are enslaved.

Slaves and their masters can have an identity of interest, if they are such *φύσει*; but nothing of the kind can exist

between the conqueror and his captive, because that relation does not exist between them *φύσει*.

CHAP. VII.—Despotic and civil (*πολιτική*) rule differ; the former is over slaves, the latter over freemen.

The ruler of a household has monarchical or despotic power.

The test of political government is the alternation of power and office between the rulers and the ruled.

The science of ruling a household, so far as it relates to slaves, is of an inferior character.

CHAP. VIII.—Domestic rule is over, (1.) Persons; as wife, children, and slaves. (2.) Possessions.

Having already explained the herile relation, Aristotle postpones (to chap. xii.) the further discussion of the domestic rule over *persons*, and confines himself to that over *possessions*.

Money-getting (*ἡ χρηματιστική*) differs from the economic art, in that the work of the former is to *provide*, of the latter to *use* what has been already procured.

Ἡ *χρηματιστική* is divided into natural and artificial.

Its natural form divided "secundum vitæ, genera, et modos."

(1.) The pastoral life. (2.) The chase. (3.) Agriculture.

[The art of war (*ἡ πολεμική*) comes partially under the second of these heads; for it is just to hunt by war men who are born to be slaves.]

True wealth consists, not in money, but in the productions of nature.

CHAP. IX.—The artificial form of *ἡ χρηματιστική* considered.

Every possession has two possible uses: the one proper, the other improper, as a shoe may be used either to cover the feet or for exchange.

In the family all things were held in common; but as families and villages increased into states, a system of exchange grew up of necessity; and money was devised as the standard and common measure of this exchange.

The artificial form of *ἡ χρηματιστική* and the economic art differ in the fact that the former has no limit in its work of collecting money, whereas the latter is limited by the wants and necessities of man.

CHAP. X.—The money-getting art is subservient to the economic art, though not strictly a part of it.

But it is only in its natural form that this is true; for

Its artificial form (which is called ἡ καπηλική, traffic) does not directly contribute to the ends of nature; and besides,

In its furthest development, usury, (τοκισμός,) it is to be abominated, as being entirely unnatural (παρὰ φύσιν).

CHAP. XI.—ἡ χρηματιστικὴ practically divided into

(1.) Natural, embracing (α.) agriculture and (β.) cattle.

(2.) μεταβλητικὴ or mercatorial, embracing three kinds,

α. ἐμπορία, commerce.

β. τοκισμός, usury.

γ. μισθωνία, hiring, or contracting.

Besides these two divisions, there is a third or mixed kind, which is concerned with mining (ἡ μεταλλευτικὴ).

Division of labours into servile and noble.

The advantage of a practical knowledge of these matters shown by the example of the philosopher Thales.

CHAP. XII.—Aristotle here goes back to consider the conjugal and paternal relations.

In the former relation, the husband exercises political rule.

In the latter, the father exercises a despotic rule.

Where political rule prevails, the ruler for the time being is invested with external signs of dignity.

CHAP. XIII.—The master of a house should first regard the persons over whom he rules, next, the possessions.

He should strive to make each person perform his own ἔργον virtuously.

How a wife, a child, and a slave differ in their respective virtues (ἀρεταί).

Slaves must be forced by punishments to perform their work voluntarily; but wives and children must be virtuously trained.

Hence the necessity of a system of education for the women and children in every republic.

BOOK II.

(INTRODUCTORY.) This book is divided into two parts; (1.) chap. i.—viii., in which Aristotle discusses the ideal politics of Plato and of others, and (2.) chap. ix.—xii., in which he treats of the existing constitutions of Sparta, Crete, and Carthage.

CHAP. I.—In order to exhibit the best form of a state, we must examine the best existing states, and also the purely ideal state (*ἡ μάλιστα κατ' εὐχὴν*).

It is necessary that there should be in every state (1.) a community of all things, or (2.) of some things only, or (3.) of nothing.

The last of these three alternatives is contradicted by the very idea of a state, as being a community, and sharing therefore in site, etc.

Ought then some things, or ought every thing, to be in common in a good state?

In Plato's Republic all things are in common among the citizens, even their children and wives. Should this be so or not?

CHAP. II.—Plato's Republic discussed.

The opinion of Socrates and Plato as to the community of wives and children refuted.

Aristotle denies that a state is best in proportion as it is more entirely one; for, (1.) the very theory of a state excludes such a unity as Plato imagines; and (2.) a state is overthrown by too complete a unity (*πρῶϊουσα καὶ γιγνομένη μία μᾶλλον οὐδε πόλις ἔσται*).

A state is composed of persons differing in species (*ἐξ εἰδῶν διαφερόντων*); and it is the just balance (*τὸ ἴσον τὸ ἀντιπεπονηθός*) of the various elements which compose a state that preserves it.

Moreover a state must be self-dependent (*ἀνάρκης*). But all *αὐτάρκεια* would be destroyed by this Platonic unity.

CHAP. III.—But granting that this unity tends to preserve, and not to destroy a state; it does not follow that unity would be realized, though the citizens should call their property common (*ἐὰν πάντες ἅμα λέγωσι τὸ ἐμὸν καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐμὸν*).

For the word "all" (πάντες) is used in two senses: 1st, collectively, 2nd, distributively.

And as every thing, (as wives, children, etc.,) would belong to all the citizens collectively alone, and not distributively, they would not be cared for, since what is everybody's business is nobody's (ἡκίστα γὰρ ἐπιμελείας τυγχάνει τὸ πλείστων κοινόν).

Such a state of things, instead of binding families together, would do away with family affections, and so weaken the state.

CHAP. IV.—It would also give rise to incests and murders, which would be inexpiable.

Certain other difficulties and inconsistencies noticed in the Republic of Plato

How far the community of wives should be extended.

Evils arising from the interchange of children, and from the fact that nature will defeat the end proposed by Socrates, by the likeness of the children to individual citizens.

CHAP. V.—As to community of property, instead of bringing about unity, it will be the parent of discord.

It will also cause neglect, for what is everybody's business is nobody's.

It will deprive individuals of the pleasure derived from that which is τὸ ἴδιον καὶ τὸ ἀγαπητόν.

It will cut off opportunities of practising the virtues of temperance and liberality.

This too great unity, then, will destroy the very essence of a state, as harmony would be destroyed if all sounds were reduced to a single note.

A state then is not a mere individual, but a body composed of dissimilar parts, (πλήθος ἐξ ἀνομοίων,) and its unity is to be drawn "ex dissimilium hominum consensu."

The perpetuity of the magistrates in office, which flows as a consequence from the myth in Plato concerning the three classes of citizens, in whose natures gold, silver, and brass are blended, will be a further cause of strife.

It is also absurd to attempt to make the whole state happy, while its component parts are deprived of their proper happiness. γ

CHAP. VI.—Plato's book of Laws discussed.

It omits all mention of many important points; such as the discipline of the citizens.

It divides the citizens into two classes or castes, but says nothing of the lower class bearing arms.

It says nothing of the education of the lower class.

It confines itself to *laws*, and says little about *government*.

Some discrepancies noticed between the "Laws" of Plato and his "Republic."

General character of the Socratic dialogues.

Absurdity of framing polities which cannot be realized; and of using vague terms;

And of enforcing equality of property.

It is better to regulate the population. Pheidon the Corinthian. Plato.

Plato's state tends to a perfect community of goods, but does not approach the true standard of excellence.

Great merits of the Spartan constitution; it blends together a variety of forms.

The monarchical form has not justice done to it in the Republic of Plato.

Prevalence of the oligarchic principle in the election of senate.

CHAP. VII.—The ideal state of Phaleas; based on equality of property, as a guarantee against discord.

We object, first, that he limits the property, but not the number of the citizens;

And further, that an equality of property does not suffice to suppress discords;

Because, if men do not contend about goods, they will for honour.

Other points are left undefined by Phaleas, as to military affairs and external policy.

CHAP. VIII.—The ideal state of Hippodamus consisted of 10,000 citizens, divided into three classes, artisans, husbandmen, and soldiery.

The land of the state to be divided into three parts, sacred, common, and private.

Three kinds of law-suits to be admitted, with one supreme tribunal of appeal; and the amount of punishment

to be settled by the sentence of the judges written on a tablet

Honours and rewards to be given to those who have done good service to the state, and their children to be reared at the public expense.

The magistrates to be elected by the three classes of the people.

Objections of Aristotle against the system of Phaleas.

(1.) He has done wrong in giving full rights of citizens to the second and third class, though he has deprived them of arms.

(2.) The husbandmen till the land, not for themselves, but for the soldiery.

(3.) There is no class to till the public land, each being busied with its own duties.

(4.) The office of the judge is confounded with that of an arbiter.

(5.) The system of rewards tends to produce calumnies and detractions, and thus a premium is offered for innovations; but a change of laws and institutions is perilous in any state.

CHAP. IX.—In testing a constitution, we should ask, (1.) whether it is consistent with the idea of perfection or not? and (2.) whether it is consistent with itself?

All political writers agree that citizens should be exempted from illiberal arts and labours.

But they differ as to the means of effecting this end.

The Spartan constitution faulty, (1.) Because it allots the illiberal arts to strangers, and gives agriculture to the Helots.

(2.) It does not enforce authority over the women. Hence the women at Sparta, and indeed in all warlike states, grow licentious, owing to the long absence of the male population who are serving in arms.

(3.) Too great a share of property is given to the women at Sparta.

(4.) The choice of Ephors from the lower ranks is objectionable.

(5.) The senators retain their office when they are too old and past their work.

(6.) The common meals are open to objection as being defrayed by private and not public cost.

(7.) The permanency of the post of admiral of the Spartan fleet is objectionable.

(8.) The end of the Spartan constitution and of the institutions of Lycurgus, namely, war, is a wrong end. As was proved by fact: for Sparta throve, as long as she was engaged in war and acquiring power; but as soon as she had gained the summit of her ambition, she fell through luxury and licentiousness.

CHAP. X.—The constitution of Crete is like that of Sparta, though less skilfully contrived.

How Lycurgus became acquainted with the legislation of Minos.

The natural advantages of the situation of Crete.

Analogy between the Spartan Helots and the Cretan serfs—common tables—the Ephors and Cosmi.

Objections against the constitution of the senates of Sparta and Crete, as irresponsible (*ἀνυπεύθυνα*).

Practical evil consequences.

The insular position of Crete saves it from external attacks, and keeps the serfs from revolting.

CHAP. XI.—The constitution of Carthage is like the two above mentioned: but better; for it has remained a long time unchanged.

Common tables. Council of the "hundred and four," answering to the Ephors and Cosmi.

The kings or suffetes at Carthage chosen on a better principle than at Sparta.

The ruling body chosen on a good principle.

Tendency of this state to pass into an oligarchy.

Advantages of placing political power in the hands of those only who have a competency.

Two points to be remarked in the constitution of Carthage;

(1.) Admixture of oligarchic and democratical principles.

(2.) Pluralism, and its ill effects.

CHAP. XII.—Different writers on Politics, both statesmen and philosophers.

Various opinions concerning Solon. Fusion of different elements in the Athenian system.

Aristocratical tendency of the Areopagus; this was gradually diminished as the popular power increased after the Persian war.

Solon introduced a plutocracy. His different ranks.
Other legislators.

BOOK III.

THIS book naturally is divided into two parts. (1.) Chap. I.—v., in which the definition of a citizen and of a city or state is considered. (2.) Chap. vi.—xvii., which discuss successively the various forms of government.

CHAP. I.—First question, “what is a *state*?”

It is a whole body or system made up of citizens.

What then is a *citizen*? To answer this, let us first see who are *not* citizens.

Slaves, sojourners, children, degraded persons, (*ἀντιμοι*) are not called citizens, because they have no share in the government.

It is this share which constitutes a man a citizen. Objection answered.

But in different states it is not always the same persons who will have the rights of citizens; (e. g. in a tyranny the people have no share.)

Hence our definition of a citizen will only apply strictly to a democracy or polity; for no one can be truly a citizen who is absolutely excluded from obtaining civil power.

CHAP. II.—The popular definition of a citizen, as a person who has one parent at least a citizen, considered.

Its absurdity shown by considering the case of the first founders of a state or a family.

The true test of citizenship is the actual right of holding office; whether justly or unjustly, it matters not.

CHAP. III.—The identity of a state is not altered, though its outward form is changed.

When may a state be said to be the same?

Its identity does not consist in mere sameness of situation.

Is it then in containing the same inhabitants; as a river or fountain is still the same, though its waters are for ever changing?

No, for the form of government may be changed, though its material part continues the same.

It consists therefore, in the same form of government being preserved.

CHAP. IV.—The good man and the good citizen are not abstractedly (*ἀπλῶς*) the same; nor, consequently, is the virtue of the one and of the other the same.

For the virtue of a good man is always the same, since it is the union of all the moral virtues.

But that of a good citizen differs with the form of government; and in the same state the virtue of some citizens differs from that of others.

The virtue of a ruler in a state, and of a good man, may possibly be the same; and in the best ideal state, the good citizens must also be good men.

The peculiar virtue of a ruler is *φρόνησις*, or prudence.

Servile occupations do not befit citizens.

In a political government, or that of equals, the citizen must learn how to obey and command; and therefore, to some extent, the virtue of a good citizen and of a good man may be identical.

CHAP. V.—Reasons for regarding mechanics as citizens, and also for excluding them from citizenship.

In the best state, mechanics and tradesmen will not be citizens.

They may be admitted, however, to civil rights in an oligarchy or democracy, especially if they become rich.

CHAP. VI.—Being about to speak concerning the various forms of government, Aristotle now proceeds to define a commonwealth (*πολιτεία*).

The government differs according to the number of hands in which the supreme power is lodged.

Man is a social being, and has a natural tendency to associate with others, even apart from all consideration of personal wants and mutual benefits.

The rule of a master over his slave is primarily for the benefit of himself, and accidentally for that of his slave; but the master of a house rules over his wife and children for their common good as well as his own.

Just so, in states, the ruling body, be it composed of one or of many, may regard the interest of itself only, or that of the entire community.

All those forms of government which regard the common good, are right and proper forms.

And those which do not, are perversions or corrupt forms (*παρεβάσεις*).

CHAP. VII.—The various kinds of government.

There are three proper kinds, (1.) monarchy, (2.) aristocracy, and (3.) a commonwealth.

Corresponding to which are their three respective perversions, (1.) tyranny, (2.) oligarchy, (3.) democracy.

The latter are distinguished from the former, by their regarding the interest, not of the community in general, but of the rulers only.

CHAP. VIII.—Tyranny is a despotic monarchy: and the subjects of a tyranny are analogous to slaves.

The state is an oligarchy when power is exclusively in the hands of the rich; a democracy, when in the hands of the poor only; whether they be few or many, in either case it matters not.

Still it seldom happens that the rich in an oligarchy are many in number, or that the poor in a democracy are few.

CHAP. IX.—The Athenians held that a democracy was just; the Spartans thought in like manner of an oligarchy; the former considering that every thing should be equal, as the citizens were all equal in liberty; the latter, that things should be equal among those who were already equal in power and riches.

Now neither party are wholly right.

For firstly, individuals are bad judges in their own case.

And secondly, they are apt to confound what is relatively just with that which is so abstractedly.

Virtue and merit, not riches and liberty, ought to have supreme power in the state; and the best citizens are not the most wealthy or free, but those of the highest virtue.

This position proved from considering the end of a state; which is, not merely life, or mutual aid, or commercial intercourse, but a perfect and happy life, sufficiently supplied with external goods, and which looks to virtue as its aim.

CHAP. X.—In whose hands ought the supreme power of a state to be lodged? In the hands of one or of more?

The different inconveniencies which arise under each form of government.

Under a democracy, there is danger of the poor laying violent hands on the property of the rich.

Under an oligarchy, there is danger lest the wealthy few should tyrannize over the poor.

Under an aristocracy, lest the many should be left excluded from honours and office.

Under a monarchy, lest all but the reigning sovereign should be excluded.

But if any one says that the law should be supreme, the difficulty remains the same; for the law must be administered by men, under any form of government, and must be accommodated to that form.

CHAP. XI.—It is better to lodge power in the hands of the many than of the few.

For collectively the citizens will unite many points of excellence which one individual could not possess.

It is not however safe to intrust the highest magistracies to a poor and ignorant multitude, nor yet wholly to exclude them from office. They must therefore have a share in deliberative and judicial functions.

Thus Solon gave them at Athens the right of election and of scrutiny (*εὐθύνη*).

A fusion of the upper and lower classes is good for both and for the state.

Brief review of the constitution of Solon.

In the professors of the arts there are three grades; the lowest grade executes practically, another prescribes, while the third and highest studies the theory; and even the lowest grade, by mere experience, comes to be a fit judge of matters within its own sphere.

Just so in political matters, the multitude, even though they know nothing of the political science, and hold no magistracy, still can form a good practical judgment upon government in general, and even a better one than those in office, who cannot see their own defects and errors.

The supreme power should rest with the laws, if they are just.

CHAP. XII.—Justice (τὸ δίκαιον) is the end of the political science.

But justice is a certain equality; and equality is of two kinds, like justice itself.

In distribution of honours, mere equality or inequality of things is not to be regarded.

But the end and interest of the state itself must be taken into account.

CHAP. XIII.—If a state contains the rich, the noble, the good, and the multitude, to which of these classes shall the public honours be given?

To answer this, let us first settle whether upright laws ought to regard the interest of the good, or of the multitude.

Clearly they should refer to the common good: and a citizen will be one who has a share both in governing and in being governed.

The citizen differs in each different form of government, etc.

As to men of pre-eminent and heroic virtue, if such be found, the supreme power should be given to them; for they stand in the relation of gods to their fellow-men; and it is absurd to legislate for such individuals; for they are a law to themselves.

Great pre-eminence, however, in merit or civil power, is an object of suspicion among citizens.

Ostracism devised as a remedy against this evil in free states.

Corresponding methods adopted in other states.

The principle defended from the analogy of the arts.

Pre-eminence of political power not to be tolerated; but the man who is pre-eminent in virtue should be elected king, and receive perfect submission from all.

CHAP. XIV.—Discussion concerning particular forms of government; firstly concerning the right forms, secondly concerning their perversions.

Is monarchy better adapted for practical purposes than any other form?

To answer this question, we distinguish the different kinds of monarchy

- (1.) That established at Sparta ; which is, in fact, a perpetual generalship.
- (2.) Hereditary ; as among barbarians.
- (3.) Elective ; called *Æsymneteia* in ancient Greece.
- (4.) Limited monarchy, such as that of the heroic times
- (5.) Absolute and paternal.

CHAP. xv.—These five kinds may be reduced to two, the absolute and the Lacedæmonian forms.

Two questions proposed ; (1.) Is it for the interest of the state to have a perpetual monarchy established, as at Sparta ? This question postponed.

(2.) Is it better to be under an absolute king, or under the best of laws ?

The law does not enter into particular cases, but the king can do so in executing the law.

It is absurd, therefore, to go upon a mere written law.

On the other hand, the law is not affected by passion as a king is.

In the best state, the law and the king should conspire.

Is it better to leave the correction of the written law to one or to many ?

Three reasons in favour of the latter.

Monarchy, as compared with aristocracy, is free from factions ; though if the members of an aristocracy be good, they can be as one man ; hence aristocracy is to be preferred.

Monarchy proved to be the more ancient form ; for it was easier to find one good man than many ; and it is only as good citizens increased, that aristocracies supplanted monarchies, and in turn were supplanted by democracies.

The love of wealth and gain next paved the way for oligarchies, which soon were turned into tyrannies, and these at length reverted to the form of democracies.

Two questions proposed ; (1.) Whether upon the supposition of a monarchy being the best form, it ought to be made hereditary ? (2.) Whether a king has need of arms and soldiery to support him ?

The former question left unsolved : it is bad to have as kings the degenerate sons of noble parents ; but it is natural for a parent to bequeath his power to his son.

The second question solved: the king ought to have a sufficient guard to enforce the laws.

CHAP. XVI.—An absolute monarchy not natural. It is better that the law should be supreme, than any citizen.

(1.) The citizens being all equal, it is unjust not to give them equal dignity.

(The law should be supreme, and the magistrates ministers of the law.)

(2.) The law is intellect free from all passions, and the supremacy of the law is but the supremacy of God under another name.

(The argument supported by the analogy of the medical art.)

(3.) Many eyes see better than one eye.

(4.) Two good men are better than one.

(5.) The policy of kings in power proves the superiority of aristocracy; for they impart a share of their power to friends.

CHAP. XVII.—Men are not all fitted to one kind of government; but some to a despotism, others to a political state.

Three kinds of government are natural; monarchy, aristocracy, and a republic; the others are unnatural.

In a true and well-constituted republic, all the citizens should have a share of rule.

Any person of pre-eminent merit ought to be chosen king; for any other arrangement will involve an inequality and absurdity.

The same course of education and training which make a good man, will also make a good citizen or king.

BOOK IV.

INTRODUCTORY.—THIS book contains three parts: (1.) Chap. i.—iii., which treats of states in general. (2.) Chap. v.—xiii., of their different forms. (3.) Chap. xiv.—xvi., the component parts of a free state.

CHAP. I.—The politician ought to be acquainted with four things;

(1.) What is the best ideal and abstract polity.

(2.) What is the best viewed practically.

(3.) The nature of the constitution of his own state and its means of preservation.

(4.) What government is best suited to all states.

Argument drawn from analogy of the arts and sciences.

The medical art ought to ascertain the best abstract bodily condition, the same viewed practically, and so forth.

The politician ought to study existing forms of government, and existing laws.

CHAP. II. A repetition of what was said in the last book concerning monarchy and aristocracy, and the division of governments into natural and unnatural.

We come now to consider a polity properly so called; and also to treat of oligarchy, democracy, and tyranny.

A tyranny is the worst perversion, as being the corruption of the best form.

And consequently a democracy is the least bad perversion.

An outline of our future method.

CHAP. III.—A variety of constituent parts causes a corresponding variety in the forms of government.

The rich and the poor, the noble and ignoble, etc., constitute these different parts.

The noble, too, may be so called, from their riches, or their birth, or their personal merit.

The error of those who reckon only two forms of government, oligarchy and democracy.

CHAP. IV.—The test of a democracy is the supreme power being vested in its poor but free citizens, as superior in numbers to the rest.

That of an oligarchy in its being vested in the wealthy citizens, though inferior in numbers.

As the various genera of animals are distinguished by the varied composition of their bodily organs, so it is in polities.

And their different genera are subdivided into various minuter species.

The component parts of a state are eight different classes.

Plato censured for introducing into his state none but such as are employed in necessary matters of daily life, omitting such as belong to the liberal arts.

Five classes of democracies; the last of which is tyrannical, because the laws are not supreme in it.

CHAP. V.—Oligarchy distinguished into its four kinds.

- (1.) When its members are chosen from a high census.
- (2.) When its members are chosen from a low census, to supply vacancies.
- (3.) Hereditary.
- (4.) When the richest individual is chosen, without regard to the law or merit. This tyrannical, and called a dynasty.

CHAP. VI.—Democracy similarly distinguished into its four kinds.

In what cases the four kinds of oligarchy are respectively found.

CHAP. VII.—A polity, properly so called, very rarely found in existence.

There are three kinds of aristocracy, to be distinguished from each other.

CHAP. VIII.—A polity or republic.

It is an admixture or fusion together of oligarchy and democracy; its offices being open, as in the former, to the rich, and to the poor, as in the latter.

And hence, it is called an aristocracy or a democracy, according as it tends to the one or the other of these extremes.

But the name of an aristocracy is not rightly given to it; for an aristocracy and an oligarchy differ very widely.

CHAP. IX.—The origin of a polity considered.

It arises from a fusion of oligarchic and democratic principles; and this in three ways.

- (1.) Where a fine is laid on the rich, and pay is given to the poor.
- (2.) Where the standard is moderate for the admission of citizens to political power.
- (3.) Where an oligarchic principle (such as election by votes) is combined with a democratic principle (such as election of persons without an income).

The first test of a good admixture is, if you are able to call the same state by either name indiscriminately; for each extreme should be recognised in the mean.

CHAP. X.—Three kinds of tyranny. (1.) That among barbarians. (2.) The Esymnetic.

These are not tyrannies, but monarchies, if exercised over willing subjects.

Upon this point, see above, book iii.

(3.) The last kind is that which is the most perfect counterpart to monarchy; viz. where one individual is supreme and irresponsible, and consults his own interest, and not that of his subjects.

CHAP. XI.—The best practicable form of government and the happiest state is that in which the middle ranks are very numerous.

For the upper ranks, if many, become factious and despotic: the lower classes, if they preponderate, produce fraud and malice, and tend to servility.

The middle state safest and best.

This kind of republic is rarely found, because a large middle class is rare: so democracies and oligarchies prevail.

The best form of democracy, or of oligarchy, is that which most nearly approximates to this polity: the worst, which departs furthest from it.

CHAP. XII.—The conservative element ought to have greater weight and authority in a state than the element which is given to change.

There are two things in a state, quality and quantity.

By quantity is meant numbers; by quality, wealth, nobility, etc.

Sometimes the one party excels in quantity, and the other in quality.

A democracy is best where the popular party by its quantity surpasses the quality of the nobler class; an oligarchy, where the contrary takes place.

The law to be especially directed to the interests of the middle class.

The mistakes of statesmen who seek to bend states towards aristocracy.

The riches of the wealthy more to be feared than the humble state of the poor; for the people will easily rise against a wealthy nobility.



CHAP. XIII.—The tricks used by nobles against the poor, and by the poor against the nobles.

(1.) The rich nobles cajole the lower orders in matters connected with the assembly, the magistracies, the law courts, the arms, the exercises.

(2.) On the contrary, the people have their own weapons of defence; in oligarchies they fine the rich, in democracies they pay the poor for attendance at the council.

In a polity, rightly so called, the chief power lies in the hands of the soldiery.

After the cessation of monarchy in Greece, the soldiery constituted the state; first the cavalry, and second, the foot-soldiers.

CHAP. XIV.—There are three departments in every republic: the deliberative, the executive, and the judicial.

The first of these is the chief. A share in its deliberations is either given to all citizens, (in which case it is democratic;) or else to a few only, (which renders it oligarchic;) or such a share is given to all in certain matters only; or to a select few in certain matters.

The tendency of the state affected by the mode of election. It will be aristocratic, if the election is by vote; democratic, if by lot.

Democratical and oligarchical precepts.

In democracies pay should be given to the poor for attendance; the rich should be fined for absenting themselves.

Persons to be chosen from all ranks for deliberation.

In an oligarchy, some few members of the senate should be chosen by the people.

Power of deliberation to be given to all members of the state; but of execution, only to the magistrates.

The power of pardon to be given to the many; of condemnation, to the magistrates only.

CHAP. XV.—As to the magistracy, a question arises as to what and how many they should be, perpetual or not, and from what class they should be chosen.

A magistrate defined as one who has the right of deliberation, of judging, and of ordaining, but: especially the last right.

With respect to an union of more than one office in a

single magistrate, it is laid down that in large states such an arrangement is not proper, but necessary in a small one.

Different magistracies are necessary in different governments.

Magistrates to inspect the behaviour of the youths and of the women.

CHAP. XVI.—As to the judicial department, there are eight different courts and tribunals.

Courts for civil matters.

Different modes of electing judges.

What method suits a democracy, oligarchy, or aristocracy

BOOK V.

INTRODUCTORY.—THIS book, (which, together with the following one, Gillies regards as supplemental to the rest, and therefore places last in order, as Books VII. and VIII.,) contains two parts: (1.) Chap. i—iv. On the causes of the preservation and overthrow of democratic states; (2.) Chap. v.—xii. On those of a monarchy or tyranny.

CHAP. I.—The origin of all sedition lies in false views of equality.

Persons are apt to think that because they are equal in one point, they are equal in all.

And hence they desire complete equality.

Others, of higher rank, desire not equality, but superiority.

How changes of governments take place.

(1.) When their form is changed into another.

(2.) When the form remains, but the ruling body is changed.

(3.) When the form and the ruling body remaining, the government departs from its own theory, or carries out its own principles to a further length.

Democracy and oligarchy are practically the most common forms of government.

Governments generally fail through being based on a wrong principle at first.

An oligarchy is less safe than a democracy, because composed of a larger number of individuals of the middle class.

CHAP. II.—The first cause of sedition is a false idea of equality.

(see chap. i.,) when citizens forget that equality is not absolute, but relative.

Another is the desire of gain and honours, with fear of their opposites.

Several other causes enumerated.

CHAP. III.—Further exposition of the eleven causes of sedition mentioned in the preceding chapter, illustrated by examples.

Origin of ostracism.

Difference of race, or of site, or of merit, tends to sedition.

Historical examples of seditions.

CHAP. IV.—Republics are sometimes disturbed by seditions on trifling matters; e. g. by love affairs.

Dissensions are the bane of all states.

The state suffers perversion by changes of party or of ranks in the state.

Two special methods of overthrowing a state; treachery and violence.

Different kinds under each method.

CHAP. V.—Thus far as to the overthrow of governments in general: now of particular kinds.

As to a democracy, it is overthrown by the petulance of mob orators.

It generally becomes changed into a tyranny, or an oligarchy, or some better or worse form of democracy.

CHAP. VI.—As to an oligarchy; it is overthrown by two especial causes:

Either by the violence of the nobles towards the lower orders; or

By the internal dissensions of its rulers.

CHAP. VII.—An aristocracy is subverted by several causes.

By reason of the fewness of those who share in honours.

Through the nobles being partly rich and partly poor.

If one of the nobles is too pre-eminent; for so he comes to aim at a tyranny.

Through a transgression of justice. This cause is common also to a polity; and it arises in either case from the fact that the constituent parts of each are not well blended together.

All states are mostly changed into that form towards which they naturally incline.

Sometimes, however, it is otherwise ; e. g. an aristocracy changes into a democracy, when the popular party are not content with having crushed the nobles, but take the entire government into their own hands.

The same happens not only by internal causes, but also by the operation of external causes ; as through the proximity of a hostile state, or the plots of a powerful enemy though distant.

CHAP. VIII.—The causes of a state's preservation.

The exact observance of the laws, and precautions against innovations.

The prudent conduct of the magistrates towards their subjects.

The vigilance and concord of the rulers.

The settlement of differences by a legislator, and not by chance hands.

A fair and equitable census. Precaution against allowing any individual to grow too powerful.

The creation of a magistrate to see that the citizens conduct themselves aright towards the state.

Care to keep the various parts of the state in due proportion.

The prevention of persons from making a gain or traffic of government.

The good treatment of the ruled by their rulers.

Due regulation of property bequeathed.

If some advantages are bestowed on those who are not in office.

CHAP. IX.—The rulers in a state should be patriots, skilled in their duties, and virtuous.

To preserve states which are themselves deflexions, mediocrity must be observed. e. g. Into a democracy some anti-democratic principle should be infused.

Danger of an unmixed oligarchy and democracy.

In a democracy the demagogues should favour the powerful ; the opposite in an oligarchy.

In every state, whether oligarchic or democratic, the

citizens should be educated and trained in a matter suited to it.

CHAP. X.—Monarchy, and the causes of its destruction.

Monarchies reduced to two kinds : monarchy proper, and tyranny.

The same causes tend to overthrow a monarchy as other states ; for a monarchy follows the form of an aristocracy, a tyranny that of an oligarchy.

Hence tyranny is the worst of all bad forms of government.

Monarchy and tyranny have a different origin ; a king is chosen from the good, for protection ; a tyrant from the commons, for oppression.

A tyranny and a monarchy are different in their ends, objects, and circumstances.

A tyranny and an oligarchy have in common the pursuit of riches.

A tyranny and a democracy have in common their hatred towards the chiefs and leaders of the state.

The same things as those above related are the causes of the overthrow and preservation of monarchies. (See above, chap. ii. and iii.)

To the above causes we may add *φιλοτιμία*, or ambition.

The external and internal causes of the overthrow of tyrannies and of monarchies are different.

The causes which tend to overthrow tyrannies are the same as those which subvert extreme oligarchies and democracies.

Monarchies are seldom destroyed by external causes, but by two internal ones ; viz. discord between the heirs to a throne, and the assumption of illegal powers.

CHAP. XI.—The means of preserving monarchies are the contraries to the means of their overthrow.

The first cause of preservation is due moderation.

A tyranny may be preserved by great cruelty, or by great indulgence.

(The object of a tyranny is to corrupt its subjects, and to cause them to distrust each other.)

A monarchy is rule over a willing, tyranny over an unwilling, people.

A tyranny, in order to be stable, should assume, as far as possible, the appearance of a monarchy.

It should pretend to affability, moderation, and a regard for religion and virtue.

A tyrant should try to be neither exactly good nor bad but *ἡμιπονηρὸς καὶ ἡμιχρηστὸς*, half good and half wicked.

CHAP. XII.—Of all forms of government, oligarchy and tyranny are the least stable. Reason why such is the case.

Censure of the errors of Plato concerning the changes to which states are subject.

First, Plato assigns as a cause the general flux in which all things are, and explains the reason by his theory of harmonic numbers. But numbers cannot be causes of such changes.

Some are by nature so bad that they cannot be made good by any means.

Secondly, Plato asserts that these changes take place in a fixed order and method; but states do not always change into the same kind of forms.

Thirdly, He has laid down nothing concerning tyranny.

Fourthly, He has made oligarchy not one form of government, but two.

Lastly, He asserts that an oligarchy always changes into a democracy.

BOOK VI.

INTRODUCTORY.—THIS book comprises three parts; (1.) Chap. i. Explanation of the method and matter contained. (2.) Chap. ii.—vi. Further dissertations on democracy and oligarchy, which is a kind of appendix to Book IV. (3.) Chap. vii. viii. Treating of the various kinds of magistrates.

CHAP. I.—A brief repetition of what has been already laid down in books IV. and V., concerning the senate, the magistrates, and the judicial body, as also concerning the corruption and preservation of states.

The union and fusion of the democratic and oligarchic forms of government.

Democracies are of various kinds—reasons why such is the case.

CHAP. II.—Liberty the end of democracy.

Two notes of liberty: first, a share of governing and being governed alternately.

Second, the right of living at will.

Hence these two things are the concomitants of democracy.

The institutions of a democracy are,

(1.) The election of magistrates from the whole body of citizens.

(2.) That all shall have power over each and each over all

(3.) The election of magistrates by lot.

(4.) The absence of a fixed census as a qualification for office.

(5.) That no office be held twice, (6.) nor for a permanency.

(7.) That all shall have the right of judging over all causes.

(8.) The supremacy of the ecclesia, or popular assembly, over the βουλή, or senate.

(9.) Pay to be given to certain magistrates.

The βουλή will have greater power when no pay is offered to the people for their attendance in the ecclesia, or in the courts of justice.

CHAP. III.—The rights of the people in a democracy.

Is the decision of the majority, or of the leaders, or of the wealthy few, to be binding?

That which is affirmed by the majority of both rich and poor should be deemed binding.

One rich man's vote should be equal to that of two poor men.

If the votes are equal, the matter must be decided by lot, or by some other way.

CHAP. IV.—Of the four kinds of democracies, the earliest or agricultural kind is the best.

The people should have conceded to them the right of electing their magistrates and of calling them to account.

It is bad to exclude any section of the community from office, as such a proceeding tends to foster seditions.

The best method of appointing and regulating the magistrates.

Agrarian regulations—share of land held by each person to be limited by law.

Of the other kinds, that which is composed of shepherds is best.

Other kinds of democracies—the last and worst—the reason why it is not apt to be permanent.

A democracy should be strengthened by taking care that the plebs out-number the rest; by an increase in the tribes; by confiscating private sacred rights; by a general fusion of all ranks and classes; and by giving general licence to indulgence.

CHAP. V.—Care to be taken not only in appointing, but also in preserving a state.

The property of the citizens not to be confiscated, but to be consecrated.

Trials to be as few as possible—so also meetings of the popular assembly.

The people not to be suffered to sink too deeply into poverty.

Five means of preserving the people from poverty enumerated.

CHAP. VI.—As to an oligarchy, the means of preserving it are to be inferred from what has been said upon the subject of democracy.

In the best and purest oligarchy, the highest magistracies should be given to those who have the highest census, the lesser to those who are poorer.

It is for the interest of an oligarchy to confer some lesser offices on men of slender means.

In the second kind of oligarchy a higher census is to be required, so that fewer persons may be in office.

The third and worst kind is most tyrannical, and requires the greatest attention.

A large number of citizens suits a democracy, a smaller number, if well ordered, suits an oligarchy.

CHAP. VII.—The commonalty divided into four classes suited to a peaceable life, and four warlike classes.

The worst kind of oligarchy will arise where the land is suited to cavalry.

The middle kind of oligarchy, where the land is suited to foot-soldiers.

Light-armed troops and seamen suit a democracy.

Light-armed troops to be mixed with the hoplites and cavalry.

Circumstances under which the plebeians in an oligarchy may be chosen for office.

The duty of rulers in oligarchies to give sumptuous "liturgies."

CHAP. VIII.—Magistrates, civil, religious, and extraordinary.

What civil magistrates are indispensable to the existence of a state.

Six different offices enumerated.

Some other magistrates of a higher order enumerated.

Religious magistrates—priests.

Extraordinary magistrates—officers to superintend the women and children—the theatres and games—Nomo-phylaces.

What magistrates are suited to each respective form of government.

BOOK VII

INTRODUCTORY.—THIS book contains three parts. (1.)

Chap. i.—iv. Prefatory—concerning the best state and the best life. (2.) Chap. v.—xiii., containing certain principles as to the theoretic construction of a state. (3.) Chap. xiv.—xvii., in which Aristotle commences the practical consideration of the education, training, matrimony, etc., of the citizens of the best state, which he continues throughout the next book, to the end of his treatise, at least as it exists in its present state.

CHAP. I.—The politician should have clear views of the best life, for this and the best form of government cannot be disjointed.

The happiest life is that which is based on virtue; and our happiness is proportioned to our virtue.

That a life of virtue is best for a state, may be proved

by the same arguments which prove it to be the best for individuals.

External goods come in as auxiliaries (*χορηγία*).

CHAP. II.—The chief good of the state is identical with that of the individual; viz. happiness.

Those therefore who regard happiness as consisting in riches, make riches the end of a state; and so forth.

So also with reference to virtue.

Two questions proposed: first, Whether the philosophical or political life is superior?

Secondly, What is the best form of government?

That is to be regarded as the best government, in which a man can live the best.

But as to the former question, a dispute is raised.

Some propose dominion over neighbours, as the end of states, and estimate virtue by warlike prowess.

Reasons why the latter end cannot be right, and why such a state cannot be perfect or happy.

War not to be regarded as an end, but as a means.

The duty of a politician is to consider the true interest and happiness of the citizens.

CHAP. III.—Is the political or contemplative life to be preferred?

Reasons for preferring the latter—"the life of a citizen is servile."

Reasons for entertaining the contrary opinion—"the contemplative life is indolent, and works no good."

Aristotle answers that not all obedience to government is servile.

Reasons for preferring upon the whole the political and practical life.

Mistake of politicians as to the practical life.

There are higher kinds of actions even than the carrying out of the details of government.

Philosophers, in consulting and advising, follow this higher line of action.

Character of the actions of God.

CHAP. IV.—The best and most perfect form of government requires certain external conditions, e. g. population, a fit site, climate, etc.

Only things practicable are to be desired. Hence Plato's errors.

The real power of the citizens not to be reckoned by their mere numbers; the best city will be the greatest.

Slaves, and low mechanics, etc., are not parts of the state in reality.

Too large a population not to be regarded as a sign of strength: it is not easily managed by the law.

States, like every thing besides, should have a certain definite size—the best size is one such as can be controlled by the laws, while it makes the state independent, and enables the citizens to become known to each other.

CHAP. V.—The site of the city should possess various advantages.

It should be self-sufficient in productiveness:

Inaccessible to enemies; easy of access to its own members:

Commodious for sea and land traffic.

CHAP. VI.—Commerce by sea profitable to the state.

Advantages and dangers arising from commerce.

Too large a force of sailors not to be maintained in the best state.

CHAP. VII.—The citizens of this state ought to be ingenious and brave.

The particular merits of the European and northern nations; their bravery.

Character of the Asiatics; the reasons of it.

The middle position of Greece; its advantages.

Influence of climate on national temperament.

Civil war most deadly in its character and results.

CHAP. VIII.—Many things necessary to a state, but not parts of it; e. g. food.

Things necessary for a state.

CHAP. IX.—In a democracy, different offices may be combined in one individual.

Illiberal arts and trades forbidden to the citizens of the best state.

Military power to be intrusted to the young; political to the elder.

Some amount of wealth necessary for the citizens.

The priestly order to be chosen from the upper ranks.

CHAP. X.—Things invented at the earliest date are most necessary.

The land should be partly public and partly private; and each of these divided again into two portions.

The tillers of the land should be a servile race.

CHAP. XI.—In choosing a site, regard should be had to health, to security from attack, to a good supply of water, etc.

A lofty acropolis suits a monarchy or oligarchy; a level plain suits a democracy; a quantity of strong places suits an aristocracy.

Private houses how to be arranged.

CHAP. XII.—The public tables to be held on the ramparts.

Temples of the gods to be set apart from profane uses.

The gymnasia; the forum; syssities of the priests and magistrates.

Regulations for the country districts.

Temples to be consecrated to the gods and heroes.

CHAP. XIII.—To be happy, one must choose a good end and good means.

All seek happiness; but the good need fewer things than the bad in order to attain to it.

The test of a good state is the goodness of its citizens; and men become good by nature, by habit, and by reason.

CHAP. XIV.—Internal discipline. Interchange of government requisite, except where a person of heroic virtue is found.

Obedience the best stepping-stone towards command.

War to be sought for the sake of peace. Hence the error of the Spartan constitution.

CHAP. XV.—Philosophy more necessary in the time of peace.

Moral virtues required both in peace and in war.

The body to be taken care of before the soul in order of time; but only for the sake of the soul.

The passions to be disciplined for the sake of the intellect.

CHAP. XVI.—The legislator should regulate the marriage of the citizens.

Age for marriage—time of year—state of health.

Abortion allowed as a check to population.

CHAP. XVII.—Early rearing of children—diet—manner of life

Amusements—exercise—fables and stories.

Periods of life for a change in education; at seven; a fourteen; and at twenty-one. Manhood.

BOOK VIII.

INTRODUCTORY.—CONTAINS seven chapters, all on the instruction of the young; comprising gymnastics, grammar painting, and music. The book, as well as the entire treatise, has come down to us in a mutilated form. See observations above, p. xvii.

CHAP. I.—The legislator ought to take cognizance of the education of the youth; this proved by expediency.

All education should be directed by the same pattern and to the same end.

And, as the part exists for the sake of the whole, this end should be the good of the state.

CHAP. II.—Children first to be taught such useful arts as are not illiberal and mean.

It is not illiberal to study the liberal arts to a certain point; but they should not be studied to excess.¹

To study them for their own sake, or for one's own sake, or for that of one's friends, is not illiberal, but to do so for money is mercenary.

CHAP. III.—The arts to be learned by youths are, (1.) Grammar and painting.

(2.) Gymnastics.

(3.) Music for recreation, rather than as a mere diversion.

Youths to be handed over when young to the wrestler and trainer.

CHAP. IV.—Gymnastics not to be enforced so far as to injure health, and so defeat their end.

Mistake of the Spartans.

Bravery not so often to be found in fierce as in gentler creatures.

¹ Du Vallins in his *Synopsis* suggests as an example in point, the case of Louis XI. of France, who would not allow his son, afterwards Charles VIII., to study literature.

The same true of men.

After the fourteenth year, should follow a space of three years spent in harder exercises.

The body and the mind not to be severely exercised at once.

CHAP. V.—On what account should music be cultivated?

For recreation, and for moral improvement. The moral effects of music.

Moral effects produced by some paintings.

The Doric and Phrygian harmonies; their opposite effects.

The Pythagorean and Platonic schools identify the soul with harmony.¹

CHAP. VI.—Youths should learn music in order to practise it hereafter, as a source of amusement.

But not to an excess, nor on all instruments.²

CHAP. VII.—Three kinds of harmony: the moral; the practical; and the enthusiastic.

Various ends and objects of music: purification of the affections. (See Poetics.)

All harmonies to be used, but not in the same way.

The harmony to be suited to the hearer.

The Doric is of a moral kind, as between Lydian and Phrygian.

Different harmonies suit the old and the young.³

¹ Aristotle refutes this opinion in his first book de Animâ.

² Thus Alexander the Great, we are told, was severely censured by his father Philip, because he played skilfully on the lyre, "quod eximiè fidibus caneret." Plut. in Pericle.

³ We append here the remarks of the learned Du Vall on this last chapter. "Sic finit Politica sua Aristoteles, quibus multa deesse vel hinc apparet, quod in puerorum institutione adhuc versetur. Conatus est Cyriacus Stroza, Patricius Florentinus, ea supplere quæ deesse videbantur, duobus libris Græcè et Latinè a se ad Aristotelis miram imitationem editis; ubi agit de facultate militari, principali, et sacerdotali. In quos suos libros ipse posuit argumentum satis clarum et facile. Quanquam Hubertus Gifanius Jurisconsultus duos illos Strozae libros non satis convenienter instituto Aristotelis scriptos esse dicat."

ANALYSIS

ARISTOTLE'S ECONOMICS.

PREFATORY REMARKS.—Like "Politics," it is to be observed that the term "Economics," in the language of ancient Greek philosophy, had a much wider signification than it now bears with us. It is almost superfluous to remark that, in the language of Aristotle, it signifies the science or art (for it is both) of managing and providing for the well-being of a family, (*οἰκονομία*) the first natural combination to which man's social nature disposes him. See *Politics*, Book I. chaps. i. ii. viii. and xiii. If the *Politics* of Aristotle have come down to us in an imperfect state, much more is this the case with his *Economics*, which only just introduce the subject of domestic rule. The relation in which the *Economics* stand to the whole system of Aristotle's moral philosophy, as holding a middle post between his *Ethics* and *Politics*, has been already sufficiently touched upon in the introductory note, prefixed above, to the first book of the *Politics* (page xvii.). It only remains for the editor to add, that while some critics have gone so far as to doubt the genuineness of the first book of the *Economics*, a much greater suspicion, in the opinion of all, hangs over the second book; and that it existed for many ages only in a Latin version, from which it was translated back again into Greek by Aretinus or Tusanus. Sylburgius regards the whole of the second book as spurious, and in fact believes the chapters of which it consists to have been "supposita ab Aretino, non conversa." However, he follows Camerarius in admitting what is generally known as the first chapter, as standing on a somewhat different footing from the rest, and accordingly he prints it as belonging to Book I. It should be observed, however, that Plutarch, in his *Life of Aristotle*, expressly attributes to Aristotle two books on the subject of the economic art. We have, therefore, given the whole of the so-called second book in this edition; the translation of it is entirely original,

and it is believed that no attempt has hitherto been made to present the reader with an English version.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.—Economics distinguished from Politics, (1.) By their subjects. (2.) By their objects.

The economic art is one which both provides and executes.

It is anterior in point of time to the political art or science.

CHAP. II.—A repetition of sundry arguments already given in Politics, I. chaps. i. and ii., as to the origin of civil society.

CHAP. III.—The conjugal relation ; its ends and objects.

The providence of God shown in this respect.

The share of the man and of the woman as to property, and as to the education of children.

CHAP. IV.—The husband may not injure the wife by adultery.

It is better to marry a maiden. Display in dress to be avoided.

CHAP. V.—The herile relation. A master's duty towards his slaves.

Slaves of two kinds. Liberty ought to be given as the reward of good behaviour.

CHAP. VI.—The duty of an *oikónomos* is to procure, preserve, and use property.

Certain practical precepts relative to domestic economy.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.—Four kinds of economy : the monarchical, the satrapical, the political, and private or domestic.

Subdivisions of the above.

CHAP. II.—XLI.—Clever artifices by which individuals have collected large sums of money.

“ Sed hac solâ indigent lectione, ut intelligantur.”

the country. The generals accordingly supposing that they would have an opportunity of making money, sent the soldiers away as he ordered. And after a brief interval, and having collected them together, he said that neither a flute-player without a chorus, nor a general without private soldiers, was of any service; accordingly he bade them depart from the country.

CHAP. XLII.

DIONYSIUS, going round the temples, wherever Of Dionysius. he saw any table standing of gold or silver, ordered them to pour out a draught for good luck, and to carry them away; and if any of the statues held forward a cup in its hand, he would say, "I pledge you," and bid them to remove it. And the gilded garments and the crowns he stripped from off the shrines, saying that he would give them others, lighter and more fragrant; and then he clothed them with white robes and crowns made of white poplar.

APPENDIX.

[*Note on Book V., Chap. 12. See page 210.*]

THE passage of Plato here referred to by Aristotle, occurs in book viii. chap. 3, and is thus rendered in Mr. Burges's recent translation. "It is hard indeed for a state thus constituted to become disturbed; but as every thing generated is liable to corruption, even such a constitution as this cannot abide for ever, but must be dissolved; and its dissolution is as follows. Not only as regards terrestrial plants, but likewise terrestrial animals, a fertility and sterility both of soul and body take place; when

the revolutions of the heavenly bodies complete the periphery of their respective orbits, which are shorter to the shorter lived, and contrariwise to the contrary; and with reference to the fertility and sterility of your race, though those are wise whom you have trained as governors of the state, yet they will never, by intellect and sense united, observe the proper season for procreation, but let it slip by, and sometimes generate children when they ought not. To that, however, which is divinely generated, there is a period which is comprehended by the *perfect number*; whereas, to that generated by man, there is one, in which the augmentations of the surpassing and surpassed, after having received three separations and four boundaries of things similar and dissimilar, increasing and decreasing, will render all things correspondent and rational; of which the *sesquitercian root conjoined with the pentad, and thrice increased, affords two harmonies*; one of these, the equally equal, just a hundred times as much; while the other, of equal length indeed, but of oblong shape, is of a hundred numbers from effable diameters of the pentad, each wanting one, two of which are irrational, and of a hundred cubes of the triad. And the whole of this geometric number, having such an influence, is concerned with worse and better generations. Now, if our governors be ignorant of this, and join our couples together unseasonably, the children will neither possess talent nor be fortunate either." Mr. Burges remarks in a note that this passage of Plato, descriptive of the *geometric or fatal number*, has baffled the ingenuity of every commentator; but he gives, in an appendix at the end of his volume, the views of Baroccus, Schneider, and others, at the same time pronouncing them one and all to be most unsatisfactory. We may observe that the passage of Aristotle which we have before us, though involving a most obscure quotation from Plato, is passed over without note or comment (as hopeless) by Sylburgius in his edition of the *Politics* (Oxford, 1810); but Lambinus translates it thus, "Horum autem esse principium ea quorum radix sesquitercia numerum quinario juncta, duos concentus efficit; quod futurum est, (inquit) cum hujus descriptæ figuræ numerus solidus factus fuerit, proinde quasi natura malos homines, et nullâ disciplinâ sanabiles, aliquando gignat." Taylor translates it nearly as I have done in the text. Mr. Burges tells us that "Baroccus considers the sesquitercian progeny (*ἑπίτριτος ἰκθυμῖν*), to be a root or prime number, and fixes on the number *seven* as its representative ($4 + 3 = 7$). Further, by the two harmonies, he (Baroccus) supposes Plato to mean the connexion between the *square* and *cube* of twelve, —which is itself made up of seven and five, (*ἑπίτριτος ἰκθυμῖν πεμπάδι συζυγίς*)—i. e. 144 and 1728—*twelve* being a number often mentioned by Plato as not only perfect, but the type of perfection. If this be granted, the geometric, or perfect, or fatal number may be considered to be 1728, the cube of 12. This opinion, however, is opposed by Schneider, who conceives it to be 216, i. e. 6^3 , which is made up of three other cubes, viz. 27, 64, and 125, i. e. 3^3 , 4^3 , and 5^3 . Others again have considered the root to be 9, the cube-root of 729."

Taylor takes a different view of the matter; and I have thought it best to give here a large portion of his note entire. "By the sesquitercian progeny, Plato means the number 95; for this number is composed of the addition of the squares of the numbers 4 and 3, which form the first sesquitercian ratio, (viz. 25,) and the number 70, which is composed of 40 and 30, and

therefore consists of two numbers in a sesquitercian ratio. This number conjoined with 5, and thrice increased, produces ten thousand and a million. For $100 \times 100 = 10,000$, and $10,000 \times 100 = 1,000,000$. But it must here be observed, that these two numbers . . . appear to be considered by Plato as analogous to two parallelepipeds; the former, namely, ten thousand, being formed out of $10 \times 10 \times 100$, and the latter, a million, from $1000 \times 10 \times 100$. These two numbers are called by Plato 'two harmonies,' for the following reason: Simplicius, in his Commentary on Aristotle's book *De Cælo*, informs us that a cube among the Pythagoreans was denominated 'harmony,' because it consists of 12 bounding lines, 8 angles, and 6 sides; and 12, 8, and 6 are in harmonic proportion. For the difference between 12 and 8 is to the difference between 8 and 6, i. e. 4 is to 2, as the first term is to the third, viz. as 12 is to 6; which, as is well known, is the law of harmonic proportion. As a parallelepipedon, therefore, has the same number of sides, angles, and bounding lines as a cube, the reason is obvious why the numbers 10,000 and 100,000 are called by Plato harmonies. Hence, also, it is evident why he says that the other of these harmonies, viz. a million, is of equal length indeed, but more oblong: for if we call 100 the breadth and 10 the depth, both of 10,000 and 1,000,000, it is evident, that the latter number, when considered as produced by $1000 \times 10 \times 100$, will be analogous to a more oblong parallelepipedon than the former.

"Again, when he says that the number 1,000,000 consists of a hundred numbers from effable numbers of pentads, each being deficient by unity, and from two that are ineffable, and from a hundred cubes of the triad, his meaning is as follows. The number 1,000,000 consists of a hundred numbers, i. e. of a hundred such numbers as 10,000, each of which is composed from effable diameters of pentads, etc. But in order to understand the truth of this assertion, it is necessary to understand that there are certain numbers which are called by arithmeticians effable diameters. These, also, are two-fold; for some are the diameters of even squares, and others of odd squares. And the diameters of effable even squares, when multiplied into themselves, produce square numbers double of the squares of which they are the diameters with an excess of unity. Thus for instance, the number 3 multiplied into itself produces 9, which is double of the square number 4 with an excess of unity, and therefore 3 will be the diameter of the even square 4. But the diameters of effable odd square numbers are in power double of the squares of which they are diameters by a deficiency of unity. Thus, the number 7, multiplied into itself, produces 49, which is double of the odd square number 25 by a deficiency of unity. This being premised, it follows that the number 10,000 will consist of a certain number of heptads; for 7 is the effable diameter of the square number 25; and from what follows, it will be found that this number is 1386.

"But the number 10,000 not only consists of 1386 heptads, but Plato also adds, 'from two numbers that are ineffable;' viz. from two numbers the roots of which cannot be exactly obtained or expressed either in whole numbers or in fractions, such as the roots of the numbers 2 and 8. The numbers 15 and 13 also are of this kind, and appear to be the numbers signified by Plato. In the last place he adds, 'and from 100 cubes of the triad,' viz. from the number 270; for this is equal to a hundred

times 27, the cube of 3. The numbers then which form 10,000 are as below.

$$\begin{array}{r}
 1386 \\
 7 \\
 \hline
 9702 \\
 15 \\
 13 \\
 270 \\
 \hline
 10,000
 \end{array}$$

viz. 1386 heptads, two ineffable numbers, (15 and 13,) and a hundred times the cube of 3, (270); and so the whole geometric number is 1,000,000." But in asserting that 270 is a hundred times the cube of 3, Taylor is obviously at fault; for the cube of 3 is 27, and this number multiplied by 100 becomes 2700, not 270. Unless, then, some error lies in the text of Plato, (which is hinted in no edition of the Republic that I have been able to consult,) this one mistake is fatal to Taylor's theory. It is quite clear that he has chosen a million as the perfect number quite arbitrarily; and that in order to make his figures come right, he has done his sum backwards, taking 1386, as being the 7th part of the excess of 10,000 above 298. It is curious, however, that 1386, as well as 9702, is divisible by 7.

While so little certain information concerning the Pythagorean numbers has been handed down to us, or been discovered by the researches of antiquarians and mathematicians, it is impossible to pronounce a decisive opinion upon the main difficulty in the text of Aristotle, who of course is borrowing the language of Plato, inherited by him again from the old Pythagorean school of philosophy. For further information the reader will do well to consult Taylor's note on the fifth book of the *Politics*, and the references given by Mr. Burges in the Appendix to vol. *ii.* of his translation of Plato.

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