

MODERN EUROPEAN PHILOSOPHY

HEGEL AND ARISTOTLE

ALFREDO FERRARIN

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Boston University



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HEGEL AND ARISTOTLE

Hegel is, arguably, the most difficult of all philosophers. To find a way through his thought, interpreters have usually approached him as though he were developing Kantian and Fichtean themes. This book is the first to demonstrate in a systematic way that it makes much more sense to view Hegel's idealism in relation to the metaphysical and epistemological tradition stemming from Aristotle.

This book offers an account of Hegel's idealism and in particular his notions of reason, subjectivity, and teleology, in light of Hegel's interpretation, discussion, assimilation, and critique of Aristotle's philosophy. It is the first systematic analysis comparing Hegelian and Aristotelian views of system and history; being, metaphysics, logic, and truth; nature and subjectivity; spirit, knowledge, and self-knowledge; ethics and politics. In addition, Hegel's conception of Aristotle's philosophy is contrasted with alternative conceptions typical of his time and ours.

No serious student of Hegel can afford to ignore this major new interpretation. Moreover, because it investigates with enormous erudition the relation between two giants of the Western philosophical tradition, this book will speak to a wider community of readers in such fields as history of philosophy and history of Aristotelianism, metaphysics and logic, philosophy of nature, psychology, ethics, and political science.

Alfredo Ferrarin is Assistant Professor of Philosophy at Boston University.

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To my parents

Luciana Marchetti Ferrarin and Giuseppe Ferrarin

During the meal Goethe was comparatively quiet. No doubt so as not to disturb the free speech of his very voluble and logically penetrating guest, who elaborated upon himself in oddly complicated grammatical forms. An entirely novel terminology, a mode of expression overleaping itself, the peculiarly employed philosophical formulas of the ever more animated man in the course of his demonstrations – all this finally reduced Goethe to complete silence without the guest even noticing. The lady of the house likewise listened in silence, no doubt somewhat taken aback, and glanced at “father” – as she always called Goethe. After the meal had ended and the guest departed, Goethe asked his daughter: “Now did you like the man?” “Strange,” she replied, “I cannot tell whether he is brilliant or mad. He seems to me to be an unclear thinker.” Goethe smiled ironically. “Well, well, we just ate with the most famous of modern philosophers – Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel.”

—From *Hegel in Berichten seiner Zeitgenossen*

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I defended my doctoral dissertation at the Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa in 1990 and published it soon thereafter (*Hegel interprete di Aristotele*. Pisa: ETS 1990). Many friends and professors read my manuscript and helped me with their suggestions and criticisms at the time: from the members of my examining committee (Massimo Barale, Remo Bodei, Franco Chiereghin, Walter Leszl, Giuliano Marini, Adriaan Peperzak) to Claudio Cesa, Leo Lugarini, Vittorio Sainati, Alberto Calabrese, Stefano Fuselli, Alessandra Fussi, Vladimiro Giacché, Andreas Kamp, John Protevi, Gaetano Rametta, Leonardo Samonà, and Giuseppe Varnier. I had also taken advantage of two DAAD fellowships allowing me to pursue my research in Germany, at the Hegel-Archiv in Bochum (1987–8) and at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in München (1989–90). The conversations I had with Walter Jaeschke in Bochum and with Rolf-Peter Horstmann and Dieter Henrich in München were valuable and instructive.

However, I soon became dissatisfied with that work. My postdoctoral research at Pennsylvania State University (1990–2), and especially the work with Stanley Rosen and David Lachterman, urged me to reconsider my general approach to the relation between Aristotle and Hegel. After a few years, I decided to write a new book in English on the topic.

In this book I have used some of the philological and scholarly work of my 1990 research, especially the analysis of Hegel's *Lectures* and unpublished manuscripts and the study of the Aristotle edition he used. But this book has a much broader scope, takes into account many more aspects of Hegel's relation to Aristotle, and comes to more thorough, radical, and forceful conclusions.

I was helped in the writing of this book by several friends who kindly read the manuscript and provided their feedback and criticism. Klaus

Brinkmann, Dan Dahlstrom, Luca Illetterati, and Pierre Kerszberg read parts of the work and made useful remarks. Rémi Brague offered very valuable suggestions, as did the anonymous reviewers for Cambridge University Press. James Dodd read and edited the whole manuscript.

A special thanks to Ken Dove, who read an earlier version of this essay with a care, passion, and acumen that are rare. His comments were very sharp and helpful; most of the time they made it obvious to me that I had to rephrase my interpretation with greater clarity or rigor. I am afraid we still disagree on most of the substantial points he raised. I wish that once he makes his work public our divergences will be taken as a tribute to the richness and interest of a topic that philosophers and scholars have never examined systematically or taken seriously enough before.

I learned more from teaching the demanding, thoughtful, and keen graduate students at Boston University than in years of research. I have a deep gratitude to the students who took my classes on Aristotle's *Metaphysics* (Fall 1995), Hegel's *Encyclopædia* (Spring 1997), and Aristotle's *De anima* (Fall 1998).

I would like to express my thanks to Dennis Berkey, the Dean of Arts and Sciences at Boston University, for a Research Grant that released me from teaching and administrative duties in the Fall of 1997.

I have presented earlier versions of parts of Chapter 8 at the conference "Hegel interprete di Aristotele," held in Cagliari in April 1994, at the New School for Social Research in February 1995, and at Catholic University in September 1999. My thanks, respectively, to Giancarlo Movia, Richard Bernstein, and Riccardo Pozzo and Richard Velkley for inviting me to discuss my work, and to the audiences for their questions and comments. An earlier version of Chapter 7 was presented at the Symposium on Philosophies of Nature held at the Center for Philosophy and History of Science at Boston University, November 1995, and at State University of New York at Purchase, February 1996; thanks, respectively, to Fred Tauber and to Ken Dove for their invitations.

Acknowledgment is due to Kluwer Academic Publishers for their kind permission to adapt an earlier version of my essay: "Aristotelian and Newtonian Models in Hegel's Philosophy of Nature," in R. S. Cohen and A. I. Tauber (eds.) *Philosophies of Nature. The Human Dimension*, Dordrecht 1998, 71–87.

ABBREVIATIONS

Liddell/Scott = *A Greek-English Lexicon*, compiled by H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, revised and augmented throughout by Sir H. S. Jones, 2 vols, Oxford 1948.

PLATO

Burnet, J., *Platonis Opera*, 5 vols., Oxford 1900–1907.

Plato, *The Collected Dialogues Including the Letters*, edited by E. Hamilton and H. Cairns. Princeton 1961.

Platon, *Théétète*, text set down and transl. by A. Diès, Paris 1926, 2nd ed. 1967.

ARISTOTLE

ARISTOTELOUS HAPANTA. *Opera, quaecunque hactenus extiterunt omnia*, by Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam. Basil 1531 (2nd ed. 1539, 3d ed. 1550).

ARISTOTELOUS TOU STAGEIRITOU TA SOZOMENA, new edition in Greek and Latin, from the library of Isaac Casauboni, Lugduni apud Laemarium, 1590.

Aristotelis opera, edited by the Royal Prussian Academy. 5 vols., Berlin 1831–70.

Single Works

Met. = *Aristotelis Metaphysica*, edited by W. Jaeger, Oxford 1957.

De an. = Ross, Aristotle, *De anima*, edited with Introduction and Commentary by W. D. Ross, Oxford 1961.

Aristote, *De l'âme*, text set down by A. Jannone, French transl. by E. Barbotin, Paris 1980.

PN = *Parva naturalia*, revised text with Introduction and Commentary by Sir D. Ross. Oxford 1955.

- Phys.* = *Aristotle's Physics*, revised text with Introduction and Commentary by W. D. Ross, Oxford 1936.
- An. Pr.* and *An. Post.* = *Aristotelis Analytica Priora et Posteriora*, edited by W. D. Ross, with Preface by L. Minio-Paluello. Oxford 1964.
- Cat.* and *De int.* = *Aristotelis Categoriae et Liber De Interpretatione*, edited by L. Minio-Paluello, Oxford 1949.
- Eth. Nic.* = *Aristotelis Ethica Nicomachea*, edited by I. Bywater, Oxford 1894. Reprint. 1957.
- Polit.* = *Aristotelis Politica*, edited by W. D. Ross, Oxford 1957.

Indexes, Translations, and Commentaries

Bonitz, Index

- Bonitz H., *Index Aristotelicus*, Berlin 1870. Reprint. Graz 1955.
- The Complete Works of Aristotle*, The Revised Oxford Transl., edited by J. Barnes, 2 vols, Princeton 1984.
- Met.*
- Die Metaphysik des Aristoteles*, Text, transl., and commentary by A. Schwegler, 4 vols., Tübingen 1846–8. Reprint. Frankfurt a. M. 1960.
- La Métaphysique*, edited by J. Tricot, 2nd ed. Paris 1953.
- Aristotle's Metaphysics*, transl. with commentaries and glossary by H. G. Apostle, Grinnell 1979.
- La Metafisica*, transl., introduction, and commentary by G. Reale, 2 vols., Napoli 1968, 2nd ed. 1978.
- Aristoteles "Metaphysik Z,"* text, transl. and commentary by M. Frede and G. Patzig, 2 vols., München 1988.

De an.

- F. A. Trendelenburg, *Aristotelis De anima libri tres*, Berlin 2nd ed. 1877.
- Aristote, *Traité de l'âme*, with commentary by G. Rodier, Paris 1900, 2nd ed. 1985.
- De anima* transl., with introduction and notes by R. D. Hicks. Cambridge 1907.
- Aristotle's *De anima*, Books II and III, transl., with introduction and notes by D. W. Hamlyn, Oxford 1968.
- L'anima*, transl. with introduction and commentary by G. Movia, Napoli 1979.
- De l'âme*, new transl. and notes by J. Tricot, new edition, Paris 1985.
- Aristotele, *Dell'anima*, select passages and commentaries by V. F. Allmayer, Firenze 1963.
- On the Soul and Parva Naturalia*, with an English transl. by W. S. Hett, London and Cambridge 1936.

De Mem.

Aristotle, *On Memory*, transl., with introduction and commentary by R. Sorabji, London 1972.

De somn.

Aristotle, *On Sleep and Dreams*, transl., with introduction, notes, and glossary by D. Gallop, Warminster 1996.

Eth. Nic.

Nicomachean Ethics, transl., with introduction and notes, by M. Ostwald, Englewood Cliffs 1962.

De Motu anim.

Aristotle's *De motu animalium*, text with transl., commentary, and interpretive essays by M. C. Nussbaum, Princeton 1978.

ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL COMMENTARIES ON ARISTOTLE

ALEXANDER in Met. = Alexandri Aphrodisiensis, *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, edited by M. Hayduck, Greek commentaries on Aristotle, Berolini 1891.

– *De an.* = *De anima liber cum mantissa*, edited by I. Bruns, *Supplementum Aristotelicum*, Vol. 2., Berolini 1887.

PORPHYRIUS = *Porphirii Isagoge et in Aristotelis categorias commentarium*, Greek commentaries on Aristotle, edited by A. Busse, Berolini 1887.

THEMISTIUS = *Paraphrasis in libros Aristotelis De anima*, Greek commentaries on Aristotle, vol. 5, edited by R. Heinze, Berolini 1899.

SIMPLICIUS = *In Libros Aristotelis De anima commentaria*, Greek commentaries on Aristotle, vol. 11, edited by M. Hayduck, Berolini 1882.

PHILOPONUS = Philoponi Ioannis *In Aristotelis De Anima Libros Commentaria*, edited by M. Hayduck. Greek commentaries on Aristotle, vol. 15. Berolini 1897.

PHILOPONUS = *On Aristotle on the Intellect (de anima 3.4–8)*, transl. by W. Charlton (English transl. of William de Moerbeke's Latin version of Philoponus's Greek commentary on *De Intellectu*, now lost), Ithaca 1991.

AQUINAS = Thomas Aquinas, *In Aristotelis librum De anima commentarium*, cura et studio A. M. Pirota, Augustae Taurinorum 1959.

STOICS

SVF = H. von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, Leipzig 1903–5, 3 vols.

PLOTINUS

Plotin, *Ennéades*, text set down and transl. by E. Bréhier, Paris 3rd ed. 1964.

PROCLUS

Procli Diadochi in primum Euclidis elementorum librum commentarii, edited by G. Friedlein, Leipzig 1873.

DESCARTES

A–T = Oeuvres de Descartes, published by C. Adam and P. Tannery. New presentation (12 vols.), Paris 1996.

PORT-ROYAL

L'Art de penser. La Logique de Port-Royal, edited by B. Baron von Freytag Löringhoff and H. Brekle, new reproduction (facsimile) of the first edition from 1662 (2 vols.), Stuttgart and Bad Canstatt 1965.

SPINOZA

Spinoza Opera, Im Auftrag der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, edited by Carl Gebhardt, Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung (5 vols.), Heidelberg 1972.

NEWTON

Sir Isaac Newton's Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy, transl. by A. Motte in 1729; revised by F. Cajori, Berkeley 1946.

Opera omnia, edited by S. Horsley, 5 vols., London 1779–85.

Newton's *Opticks*, edited by I. B. Cohen, New York 1952.

LEIBNIZ

PS = Die Philosophischen Schriften von Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, edited by C. I. Gerhardt, Berlin 1875–1890.

MS = Leibnizens Mathematische Schriften, edited by C. I. Gerhardt, vols. 1–2 London and Berlin 1850; vols. 3–4 Halle 1855–63.

WOLFF

C. Wolff, *Gesammelte Werke*, reprint Hildesheim, 1962 ff.

KANT

Ak. = Gesammelte Schriften, edited by the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences, 28 vols., Berlin 1902 ff.

KrV = Kritik der reinen Vernunft (*Ak.* vols. 3–4).

KU = Kritik der Urtheiskraft (*Ak.* vol. 5).

FICHTE

W = J. G. Fichtes Werke, edited by I. H. von Fichte, 1845–6. Reprint Berlin 1971.

SCHELLING

W = F. W. J. Schelling, *Werke*, edited by M. Schröter, München 1927–54.

HUMBOLDT

W. von Humboldt, *Schriften zur Sprache*, Stuttgart 1973.

HISTORIES OF PHILOSOPHY PRIOR TO HEGEL

Brucker = Jo. Jac. Bruckeri *Historia Critica Philosophiae*, Lipsiae 1742–67.

Buhle = *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Philosophie und einer kritischen Literatur derselben*, Göttingen 1796–1804.

Tennemann = W. G. Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, Leipzig 1798–1819.

HEGEL

W = G. W. F. Hegel, *Werke in zwanzig Bänden*, Red. E. Moldenhauer and K. M. Michel, Frankfurt a. M. 1969–71 (= W, followed by the volume and page numbers).

GW = *Gesammelte Werke*, in Verbindung mit der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft edited by the Rheinisch-Westphälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Hamburg, 1968 ff.

JA = *Sämtliche Werke*, Jubiläumsausgabe in zwanzig Bänden, edited by H. Glockner, Stuttgart 1927–40.

Single Works and Translations:

Briefe = *Briefe von und an Hegel*, edited by J. Hoffmeister, Hamburg 1952, 3rd ed. 1969, vol. 4; *Letters* = *Hegel: The Letters*, translated by C. Butler and C. Seidler, with commentary by C. Butler, Bloomington 1984.

Dok. = *Dokumente zu Hegels Entwicklung*, edited by J. Hoffmeister, Stuttgart 1936.

Dissertatio = (*Dissertatio Philosophica de Orbitis Planetarum*, in *Ja* 1: 347–401), in the following editions:

Les Orbites des Planètes, French transl. and notes by F. De Gandt, Paris 1979.

Dissertatio Philosophica de Orbitis Planetarum, *Philosophische Erörterung über die Planetenbahn*, German transl., introduction, and commentary by W. Neuser, Weinheim 1986.

- Philosophical Dissertation on the Orbits of the Planets*, transl., with Foreword and notes by P. Adler, *The Graduate Faculty Philosophy Journal* 12 (1/2) (1987): 269–309.
- GuW* = *Glauben und Wissen*, (1802), in *Jenaer Kritische Schriften*, in *GW* 4, edited by H. Büchner and O. Pöggeler.
- JSE I* = *Jenaer Systementwürfe I*, in *GW* 6, edited by K. Düsing and H. Kimmerle.
- JSE II* = *Jenaer Systementwürfe II*, in *GW* 7, edited by R. P. Horstmann and J. H. Trede.
- JSE III* = *Jenaer Systementwürfe III*, in *GW* 8, edited by R. P. Horstmann and J. H. Trede.
- PhS* (= *W* 3) = *Phänomenologie des Geistes; Phenomenology of Spirit*, translated by A. V. Miller, with analysis and Foreword by J. N. Findlay, Oxford 1977.
- WL* = *Wissenschaft der Logik* (= *W* 5–6); *SL* = *Hegel's Science of Logic*, transl. by A. V. Miller, with Foreword by J. N. Findlay, London and New York 1969.
- G. W. F. Hegel, *La théorie de la mesure*, edited by A. Doz. Paris 1970.
- NS* = *Nürnberger Schriften* (*W* 4).
- PhR* = *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts* (*W* 7).
- Knox* = *Hegel's Philosophy of Right*, transl. with notes by T. M. Knox, Oxford 1952.
- Wann* = *Die Philosophie des Rechts: d. Mitschr. Wannenmann* (Heidelberg 1817/18), edited, introduced, and annotated by Karl-Heinz Ilting, Stuttgart 1983.
- Fragment* = "Fragment zur Philosophie des Geistes," edited by F. Nicolin, in *Hegel-Studien*, vol. 1 1961, now in *BS* (*W* 11), 517–50.
- H/T* = *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie des Geistes* (Berlin 1827/28), transcribed by J. E. Erdmann and F. Walter, edited by F. Hespe and B. Tuschling (Lectures, selected transcripts, and manuscripts, Vol. 13), Hamburg 1994.
- ENZ.A* = *Enzyklopädie der Philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse* (1817), in *JA* 6, followed by § (number of section), A (Remark, Anmerkung), Z (oral addition, Zusatz).
- ENZ.B* = *Enzyklopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse* (1827), edited by W. Bonsiepen and H. C. Lucas (*GW* 19).
- ENZ.C* = *Enzyklopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften* (*W* 8–10).
- Enzyklopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse* (1830), edited by F. Nicolin and O. Pöggeler, Hamburg 1959.

- EL* = *The Encyclopædia Logic*, transl. by T. F. Geraets, W. A. Suchting, and H. S. Harris, Indianapolis and Cambridge 1991.
- Petry* = *Hegel's Philosophy of Nature*, edited and transl. with Introduction and explanatory notes by M. J. Petry, 3 vols., London 1970.
- Hegel's Philosophy of Nature*, transl. by A. V. Miller with Foreword by J. N. Findlay, Oxford, 1970.
- PSS* = *Hegel's Philosophie des Subjektiven Geistes/Hegel's Philosophy of Subjective Spirit*, edited and transl. with introduction and explanatory notes by M. J. Petry, 3 vols., Dordrecht, Boston, and London 1978.
- Hegel's Philosophy of Mind*, transl. by A. V. Miller with Foreword by J. N. Findlay, Oxford 1971.
- BS* = *Berliner Schriften* (= W 11).
- BSH* = *Berliner Schriften*, edited by J. Hoffmeister, Hamburg 1956.
- LuM* = *Vorlesungen über Logik und Metaphysik* (Heidelberg 1817). Mitgeschrieben von F. A. Good, edited by K. Gloy (Lectures, selected transcripts, and manuscripts, vol. 11.), Hamburg 1992.
- VGPh* = *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie* (W 18–20).
- Bolland* = *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie*, edited by G. J. P. J. Bolland, Leiden 1908.
- HP* = *Lectures on the History of Philosophy*, transl. by E. S. Haldane and F. H. Simson (1892, 3 vols.). Reprint. New York 1968.
- J/G 1* = *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie*, Part 1, Introduction to the History of Philosophy: Oriental Philosophy, edited by P. Garniron and W. Jaeschke (Lectures, selected transcripts and manuscripts, Vol. 6.), Hamburg 1994.
- J/G 2* = *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie*, Part 2. Greek Philosophy 1, edited by P. Garniron and W. Jaeschke (Lectures, selected transcripts, and manuscripts, Vol. 7.), Hamburg 1989.
- J/G 3* = *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie*, Part 2. Greek Philosophy 2, edited by P. Garniron and W. Jaeschke (Lectures, selected transcripts, and manuscripts, Vol. 8.), Hamburg 1996.
- J* = *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie*, Part 1. Einleitung in die Geschichte der Philosophie: Oriental Philosophy, new edition by W. Jaeschke, Hamburg 1993.
- Hoffmeister* = *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 15a: *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie. Einleitung: System und Geschichte der Philosophie*. Vollständig neu nach den Quellen hrsg. v. Johannes Hoffmeister, Leipzig 1940.
- VPhG* = *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte* (W 12).

VGPh Lasson = *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte*, edited by G. Lasson, in four parts, Leipzig 1917–23.

LPhR = *Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion*, transl. from the 2nd German edition by E. B. Speirs and J. B. Sanderson, 3 vols., New York 1962.

Verzeichniss = *Verzeichniss der von dem Herrn Dr. Hegel and dem Herrn Dr. Seebeck hintergelassenen Buchsammlungen*, section 1, Berlin 1832.