THEORIA VERSUS PRAXIS IN THE NICOMACHEAN ETHICS AND THE REPUBLIC*

A. W. H. ADKINS

1. ARISTOTLE'S ACCOUNT OF theoria AND eudaimonia, EN 1176a30-1179a32

The subject of the Nicomachean Ethics is eudaimonia (1095a14 ff., etc.).¹ The discussion of the aretai, which occupies most of the work, is justified by the definition of eudaimonia (1098a16 ff.) as "an energeia (activity) of the psuche in accordance with arete, and if the aretai are several in number, in accordance with the best and most perfect." Aristotle explicitly makes the point that study of the aretai will give a clearer picture of eudaimonia (1102a5 ff.). It is not surprising that, having studied the aretai, he should return to the subject of eudaimonia in Book 10.²

At 1177a12 Aristotle takes up the definition of 1098a16, and adds that the best *arete* must be the *arete* of the best part of us, so that the *energeia* of that part in accordance with its own *arete* must be *eudaimonia*. He also adds (1177a17): "That this activity is 'theoretic' has been said."³

Theoria is best because nous, the part of the psuche concerned with theoria, is the best part of us, and the objects of contemplation are the best knowable objects. (Theoria is not research, but the contemplation of [certain kinds of] knowledge already possessed.)

Aristotle then (1177a27) praises the life of theoria to the detriment of practical arete.⁴ all men need the necessities of life, but the wise man can engage in theoria by himself (though it may be better to have colleagues); whereas the just man, the brave man, and the rest need people to whom they may behave justly or bravely. The theoretikos is more autarkes (self-sufficient).⁵ Aristotle is not commending self-reliance, which might enable one to help others in need, but a self-sufficiency which enables the theoretikos to isolate himself from others.

The life of theoria, in Aristotle's eyes, is superior to any other. In fact

- * This article is based on a paper which I read to a joint classics-philosophy seminar at Princeton on April 15, 1975. Both the paper and I benefited considerably from the experience.
 - 1. Unless otherwise identified, all Aristotelian references are to the Nicomachean Ethics.
- 2. The subject has been little mentioned since Book 1. (Eudaimonia appears at 1129b18, 1144a5, 1152b6, 1153b11 ff., 1169b29; eudaimonismos at 1127b18; eudaimon at 1117b10, 1143b19, 1153b14 ff., 1169b3 ff., 1177a2; eudaimonein at 1111b28, 1169b30, 1170b18.)
- 3. Precisely where Aristotle said it earlier is unclear. J. A. Stewart, Notes on the "Nicomachean Ethics" (Oxford, 1892), ad loc., suggests 1. 5. 2; A. Grant, The Ethics of Aristotle (London, 1885), ad loc., suggests 9. 3. 1; 1. 13. 20; 1. 5. 7. There is nothing on the subject in Book 6.
- 4. Since arele denotes and commends "excellence," not "virtue," and in the Nicomachean Ethics specifically "human excellence," to speak of a "theoretic" arele involves no straining of Greek.
- 5. For the importance of self-sufficiency, see my Merit and Responsibility (Oxford, 1960), index, s.v. "Independence"; and From the Many to the One (London and Ithaca, 1970), index, s.vv. "Autar-keia" and "Self-sufficiency." These works are hereafter abbreviated MR and FM.

(1177b26) it is higher than human. Human beings are able to live it in virtue of some divine principle within, whose *energeia* surpasses that of the rest of *arete* by as much as that divine principle surpasses the composite nature of the rest of our being. Accordingly, we should *athanatizein* (play the immortal) so far as in us lies and do our best to live in accordance with the best part of us. Aristotle adds (1178a2): "Indeed, each one of us would appear to *be* this element in us, since it is the authoritative and the best part of us. It would be strange, then, if a human being were to choose not its own life but that of some other creature."

The life of practical arete achieves eudaimonia only in a secondary sense (1178a9 ff.). Material goods are necessary for the life of practical arete as Aristotle understands it; whereas (1178b3) the theoretikos does not need material goods, at all events for the exercise of his theoria. Such goods may indeed impede his theoria. However, inasmuch as he is a human being and lives with others, he chooses to perform the actions of practical arete, and will need material goods in order to function as a human being (anthropeuesthai).

Perfect eudaimonia, as enjoyed by the gods, must be theoretic (1178b7 ff.). Aristotle ridicules the idea of the gods' being just, brave, or liberal; for (as Aristotle interprets the matter here) justice is displayed in business dealings, self-control presupposes base desires, and liberality necessarily involves the use of money. We cannot, accordingly, suppose that the gods prattein (engage in ethico-political activity); and still less may they poiein (manufacture). Only theoria is left to the gods. The gods theorein constantly, and enjoy perfect eudaimonia; human beings enjoy it insofar as they theorein; animals never enjoy eudaimonia, since theoria is impossible for them.

Theoria and eudaimonia in the primary sense of the terms, then, are co-extensive and co-variable.

2. Theoria VERSUS praxis IN Nicomachean Ethics 1 and 10

On the basis of the foregoing discussion, I now inquire whether an Aristotelian *theoretikos*, while actually engaged in *theoria*, can be offered any sufficing reason for interrupting his contemplation in order to perform a moral or political action.

Not all editors and commentators notice this question. 9 J. A. Stewart¹⁰

- 6. For the reasons, see MR, pp. 333 ff.
- 7. That the gods might be liberal to mankind is not considered. (Aristotle is alluding critically here to the gods of popular Greek belief.)
- 8. Manufacture is to be forbidden to the citizens of Aristotle's ideal polis, Pol. 1328b33 ff., 1329a17 ff. A fortiori it is unthinkable for Aristotle that the gods should engage in it, as, e.g., Hephaestus was popularly believed to do. Aristotle's deities are remote from popular belief: see Met. 1069a19 ff.
- 9. For example, the question is not discussed by P. Betbeder, "Ethique et politique chez Aristote," RSPh 54 (1970): 453-88, though he writes, "Il y a différentes façons de travailler à ce bonheur; il y a différents domaines constitutifs de ce bonheur qui ont une autonomie relative les uns par rapport aux autres" (p. 482), an observation which might well have suggested the problem. It is touched on in passing by W. F. R. Hardie, Aristotle's Ethical Theory (Oxford, 1968), pp. 332 f. J. Léonard, Le bonheur chez Aristote (Brussels, 1948), does not directly discuss the matter, but in his contrast of Aristotelianism and Catholicism (p. 187), he indicates what he finds lacking in Aristotle. G. Ramsauer, Aristotelis "Ethica Nicomachea" (Leipzig, 1878), sees clearly that there is a problem.
 - 10. Notes, ad 1178a10.

does, and gives a vigorous, if not entirely clear, answer. He argues that Aristotle, though apparently contrasting the lives of the just and the wise, is "really contrasting man in the concrete and reason, the form of man." This form, "[Aristotle] would tell us, is realised in the concrete life of the just man as well as in the concrete life of the savant." The exhortation to live an immortal life so far as in us lies "is addressed to the bulk of mankind," since anyone who is not damaged in respect of his arete is able to contribute "if not in some brilliant way, as politician, or soldier, or leader of fashion, or athlete—at least as honest man, to the eudaimonia of a city in which savants are produced and held in honour." Stewart also argues11 that the life of theoria is not separate from the life of politics, that theoria is a spirit which penetrates and ennobles politics. He contrasts the life of the ordinary politician with that of the "good man," whose leisure "consists in the quiet of a well-regulated mind, not in an impossible immunity from the interruptions of practical life"; for "unless we understand Aristotle in this sense [my emphasis, we must suppose that in the *Ethics* the life of the good man is depicted as a more or less unsatisfactory public career . . . ending, if he is to reach the highest kind of happiness, in withdrawal from social activity. . . . Nothing could be more opposed to this than Aristotle's view of life, which is social from beginning to end."

This is a vigorously expressed view of the good life. Whether Aristotle held it is another question. Stewart apparently contrasts two forms of the political life, the one practiced by the run-of-the-mill politician, the other by the "good man"; though his words could be interpreted as a contrast between the life of the politician and the private practical life of the good man. But Aristotle says:

The life of the politikos is lacking in leisure; it is a life which, apart from the political action itself, aims at power and status, or in any event at eudaimonia for the politikos and his fellow-citizens, a goal which is different from the practice of political skill....

Now if, of the activities in accordance with [practical] arete, the political and the martial ones are pre-eminent in kallos and stature, but are lacking in leisure, aim at some further goal, and are not choiceworthy in themselves, whereas the energeia of nous, which is "theoretic," is thought to be superior in serious worth and to aim at no goal beyond itself ... [1177b12 ff.]

Aristotle is concerned with two kinds of *politikos*: one aims merely at power and status, the other at *eudaimonia* for himself and his fellows. The latter is, or includes, if *eudaimonia* is appropriately interpreted, the "ideal politician" of Aristotle and Plato. In Stewart's view, the latter enjoys a life informed by *theoria*, and possesses true leisure; but Aristotle explicitly states that the life of *both* kinds of *politikos* is lacking in leisure. Furthermore, it is evident, here and throughout the *Nicomachean Ethics*, that the life of practical *arete* in politics is more *kalon*, and hence more choiceworthy, than the life of practical *arete* of the private individual. Theoria is most choiceworthy; then the public life of *arete*; then the private life of *arete*.

^{11.} Ibid., ad 1177a27.

^{12.} E.g., 1095a14 ff., and Plato Rep. 433A ff. See pp. 308 ff.

^{13. 1177}b6 ff. treats "politics and war" as the sphere of the practical aretai.

Again, pace Stewart, the injunction that a man "should live an immortal life so far as in him lies" cannot be addressed to the average man as an inducement to be honest. Aristotle immediately adds, ". . . and do everything with a view to living in accordance with the best element in him" (1177b33 f.); that element, for Aristotle, is plainly theoretic nous. When a man is being honest, his activities are merely human, anthropika (1178a14); the absurdity of supposing that the gods engage in such activities is emphasized (1178b10 ff.).

Nor can Stewart claim that Aristotle is "really contrasting man in the concrete and reason, the form of man." Aristotle possesses a philosophical vocabulary which would enable him to make this point explicitly; his language suggests rather that he is thinking of different types of life. 15

Here we may turn to an Aristotelian confusion of language and thought. At 1178a2 ff., as we have seen, ¹⁶ Aristotle identifies human beings with their theoretic reason, so that to choose *theoria* is to choose the life peculiarly appropriate to human beings. Yet at 1177b26 ff. ¹⁷ Aristotle says that the life of *theoria* is "higher than human; for one will not live in this manner in virtue of being a man, but in virtue of the presence within of some divine principle."

The clash here is not merely verbal. At 1177b26 ff. Aristotle acknowledges that human beings are embodied *nous* (though without drawing what seems to be the appropriate conclusion);¹⁸ at 1178a2 ff. he claims that they are simply *nous*. In either case, however, the *nous* is to engage in *theoria*; and its objects are to be "the best," i.e., objects far removed from human concerns (1177a20).

The whole of active life is set on a lower level than the theoretic; no distinction is drawn between types of moral and political activity so far as concerns their inferiority to theoria in terms of eudaimonia; and there is no mention of the form of man and man in the concrete. It seems impossible to furnish an adequate reason why an Aristotelian theoretikos should willingly interrupt his theoria in order to perform any moral or political action. It is possible to furnish a reason why the theoretikos should sometimes engage in moral or political activity: he cannot engage in theoria all the time, for he becomes weary; and, when the best eudaimonia is not available, he should choose the best that is available. But it is not possible to supply a reason why the theoretikos should at a particular moment choose the second-best when he could have the best kind of eudaimonia, since he is (a) a person capable of theoria, and (b) intellectually fresh and unweary. It is useless to say to a

^{14.} Reason is not *the* form of man for Aristotle, at all events in his more careful moments. The human *psuche* as a whole stands to the body as form to matter.

^{15.} The "three lives" picture was evidently current; cf. 1095b17 ff.

^{16.} P. 298.

^{17.} Pp. 297-98.

^{18.} I.e., that they cannot live as if they were disembodied nous, and must acknowledge the necessity of all the aretai of the embodied totality as constituents of eudaimonia. See pp. 301 ff.

^{19.} Indeed, too much *theoria* may be bad for the health (1153a20), so that one must sometimes pursue other activities. Aristotle gives no reason why a man should abandon *theoria* when he is fit and able to pursue it.

Greek of this period, "That way lies eudaimonia, or more eudaimonia than elsewhere, or better eudaimonia than elsewhere; but you ought nevertheless to go the other way." Aristotle tells us (1095a17) that eudaimonia is generally agreed to be the goal of life; and a survey of late fifth- and fourth-century Greek usage confirms his statement.²⁰

The theoretikos will indeed possess all the aretai: they are needed to render him a good specimen of human being (1144a1 ff.), and an absence of well-established moral dispositions would distract him from his theoria. However, any arete can exist in a state either of hexis or of energeia;²¹ one cannot exercise both theoria and any practical arete at the same time; and for the well-being of the theoretikos it suffices that he possess the other aretai in a state of hexis for so long as he is able to exercise his theoria uninterruptedly.

In Book 10 Aristotle gives no reason why the theoretikos should choose praxis so long as theoria is possible. Aristotle does indeed say that the theoretikos chooses, but offers no reason, and does not tell us when he chooses: he may well mean "chooses when theoria is not available" (1178b6). Furthermore, the gods approve of theoria in men more than of any other kind of activity (1179a24 ff.). In his discussion of theoria Aristotle gives no valid and sufficing reason why the theoretikos when actually engaged in theoria should abandon the pursuit in order to perform any practical moral or political action.

3. Theoria versus praxis elsewhere in aristotle's ethical thought

Throughout Books 2–9 of the *Nicomachean Ethics* there is little mention of *eudaimonia*, or of *theoria* in the technical sense of Book 10.²² In fact in Books 2–9 there are statements which prima facie arise from a quite different view of human action. For example, in Book 6 Aristotle treats *prattein*, the activity of the moral and political agent, as an end in itself (1139b1 ff.), links *praxis* with *prohaeresis* (deliberate choice), and adds that what is capable of deliberate choice is a human being.

Now the idea that praxeis are ends does not appear for the first time in Book 6: it occurs on the very first page of the work (1094a6 ff.). But when Aristotle also says that "what is capable of prohaeresis is a human being," he is saying—and he believes—that the only living creature capable of praxis is a human being. In 1097b23 ff. Aristotle is searching for the ergon, the "function," of the human being, since ergon, praxis, and the agathon (and hence eudaimonia) are always related, the agathon being "in" the ergon. Aristotle resorts to his division of psuche into plant, animal, and human. He rejects any ergon residing purely in the plant or animal aspects of the human psuche, since any such erga would be common to plants and animals, while he is searching for something idion (peculiar) as the ergon of the human being. He concludes (1098a3): "There is left the practical

^{20.} MR, chaps. 10-16.

^{21.} See, e.g., 1098b31 ff.

^{22.} Theorein in 1139a6 ff. is wider in usage, including as its objects both what can change and what cannot; but the theorein of Book 10 includes only the latter.

life of the part that has reason . . . and since this [i.e., practical life] is used in two senses, we must stipulate a practical life expressed in activity."

The editors and commentators have noted the reminiscence of Plato here. In Republic 1 the ergon of anything is stated to be "that which only it or it better than anything else can perform" (353A); and it is agreed (353D) that the psuche has "an ergon which one could not accomplish with anything else in the world, as for example management, rule, deliberation, and the like." (Plato is evidently thinking of human psuche.) Plato continues by saying that the ergon of the psuche is also life (since only psuche endows living creatures with life). The reference is now to psuche in general, but the proposition is as true of human psuche as of any other; so that, for Plato, it seems not to be the case that everything that has an ergon can have only one, and that, too, an ergon that can be simply defined. If Plato were more precise here, he would distinguish between psuche in general and human psuche in particular, and exclude "life" from his account of the human psuche's ergon on the grounds that it is not idion.²³ Nevertheless, the course of his argument shows that he does not rule out the possibility that a creature or a tool may possess two functions "which only it or it better than anything else could perform." Aristotle, unlike Plato, has excluded simply "being alive" from his account of the ergon of the human being, along with the characteristic activity of the plant and animal psuchai. But if, for Aristotle as for Plato, the ergon of anything is that which it and it alone can do, and if the life of practical moral and political activity is also²⁴ something in which only human beings can participate, then the life of practical moral and political activity ought to be the ergon of man just as much as theoria is, and accordingly just as much the agathon of man, and just as conducive to his eudaimonia. After all, the reason for refusing to ascribe eudaimonia to cattle, horses, and children (1099b32 ff.) is that they are incapable of a life of practical moral and political activity.25

It follows that man is properly regarded as being not merely nous but embodied nous; so that the eudaimonia of man should consist in performing both the functions of his nous and those of his "embodiment," which renders him a human being among other human beings. The definition of man expresses his ousia (Met. 1037b25 ff.); and that definition cannot exclude the "embodiment." Accordingly, one might expect that the eudaimonia of man would not be graded into better and worse, first and second class, but be treated as the eudaimonia of an embodied nous which is one entity.

If his eudaimonia requires the appropriate performance of all these functions, the theoretikos will have to make difficult decisions; but Aristotle

^{23.} His argument at 352D ff. would be considerably hampered if he did, however, since "living" is essential to it in 352E.

^{24.} Indeed, it is strictly the *sole* activity in which only human beings can participate, since *theoria* is shared with deity; and this strengthens the argument I am offering here, to the point, indeed, where practical *arete* should be given precedence.

^{25.} Note that in 1178b27 ff. eudaimonia is denied to all other living creatures on the ground that they do not participate in theoria; again the emphasis of Book 10 is different.

does not suppose moral decisions to be easy:

Similarly, anyone can become angry, or give and spend money. That is easy. But to know to whom to give it, and how much, and when, and for what purpose and how—that is not something that anyone can do, and it is not easy; and so to do this well is rare, praiseworthy, and *kalon*. [1109a26 ff.]

Such passages emphasize the importance in ethical action of the appropriate behavior in the circumstances. Aristotle's discussion of the mean is evidently relevant. I need not consider here the more vexed aspects of the doctrine. I merely state—what I believe to be generally agreed —that Aristotle holds that the meson pros hemas, the meson in relation to ourselves, varies in accordance with the characteristics of the agent: what would be an act of generosity for a poor man (giving n obols to a good cause) would be an act of great meanness for a rich one; and what would be an act of courage for Milo the wrestler might be an act of foolhardiness for a physically feeble person.

It is evident that there can be ethical problems concerning how to apportion one's time among different practical moral and political activities, and what to do while engaged in them. The agathoi citizens of Aristotle's ideal polis, like anyone else, will need to know how to decide matters of this kind. A phronimos will know, presumably, how to divide his time between the needs of one friend and the needs of another; and (a) he will see the problem and the solution in terms of "how much, when, how, to whom" (as in 1109a26 ff.); and (b) what he can do, the resources other than his time which he has to divide, will depend on his own mental, physical, and material goods. No one can avoid making decisions of this kind.

There seems to be no reason prima facie why theoria should not take its place in this scheme. Phronesis (practical wisdom) and prohaeresis (deliberate choice) will then be of the utmost importance. (Prohaeresis, though not actually employed in theoria, can of course be employed in deciding whether to engage in theoria or not at any time.) A man will then take into account his own characteristics, which will include the presence or absence of the ability for theoria: if he cannot theorin, he will engage in the exercise of the practical aretai as much as possible; while if he can theorein, he will aim at the meson in the amount of time allotted to theoria, 28 bearing in mind that man is not disembodied nous but embodied nous. In behaving thus, he is performing his function, or rather functions, his idia erga, and thereby securing his true agathon, his eudaimonia.

This answer would suit many of Aristotle's philosophical views; but it

^{26.} Some of which I discuss in FM, pp. 184 ff.

^{27.} As for example by Grant, Ethics; Stewart, Notes; and H. H. Joachim, The "Nicomachean Ethics," ed. by D. A. Rees (Oxford, 1951).

^{28.} Theoria itself, not being an ethike arete, is not a mean between extremes.

^{29.} After all, Aristotle analyzes dikaiosune primarily in terms of the appropriate distribution of resources (1131a10 ff.), a procedure which I am suggesting that the theoretikos should use with respect to his theoria and his other activities, "appropriate" being defined in terms of the "embodiedness" of his nous and his three-dimensional existence as a social animal.

seems not to be Aristotle's answer. I have discussed the relevant passages in Book 10. We may consider also a passage from Book 6:

It is strange if anyone supposes politike or phronesis to be the most important kind of knowledge, unless man is the most agathon object in the universe. [1141a20 ff.]

And Aristotle does not accord such a status to man. Further on, speaking of *phronesis*, he says:

But phronesis does not have authority over sophia or the better part of the psuche, any more than medicine has authority over health; for it does not use it, but ensures that it comes into existence. Accordingly, it gives orders in its interest; it does not give orders to it. It is just as if someone were to say that politike rules the gods, because it gives orders about everything in the city.

If the answer I have suggested for Aristotle were Aristotle's answer, phronesis would sometimes have to give orders to sophia (or nous), or in other words say to the theoretikos that this is an inappropriate time to engage in theoria. ³⁰ But evidently Aristotle's answer is different. The function of phronesis is simply to ensure that theoria and sophia can occur; and the most obvious way of ensuring this occurrence is by ensuring the absence of disturbing "non-habituated" desires: the akrates (or enkrates) will find his contemplations much more distracted than will the sophron.

The closing words of the Eudemian Ethics (1249a21 ff.) express essentially the same view. There Aristotle uses as an analogy a medicine that deals with the human being as a whole; and since the good man should have "a standard of disposition and choice," one might perhaps expect that he will choose his courses of action in the light of his being a whole human being, embodied nous. But there too Aristotle sets up as the goal of man a particular good, a good which is less than the good of the whole human being, but which is held to be more important than anything else: the contemplation of God. It is true that Aristotle counsels that choice of friends which will most produce the contemplation of God; and one might argue that the theoretikos must so act as to preserve his philia with friends of this kind. And since all philia requires reciprocal benefits, the theoretikos will sometimes have to confer those benefits upon appropriate persons, possibly at the expense of an opportunity for theoria, in order to make them his philoi or maintain them in that state. True; but (a) the friends are merely means to an end, and a theoretically possible answer to the question, "What friends will be most conducive to my contemplation of God?" is "None." (b) In the Nicomachean Ethics Aristotle presents it as an advantage of theoria that it is possible even without colleagues. (c) The problem that concerns us here is not that of persuading the theoretikos to perform some moral acts—for

^{30.} It is true that, in terms of my answer, it is difficult to explain precisely how the *phronimos* will "see" that this is an appropriate time for moral action rather than for *theoria*; but no more difficult than to explain how he will "see" that the present moment is appropriate for devoting himself to the needs of his friends rather than to those of the city. As Aristotle himself says, such matters are not easy; and so to do them well is "rare, praiseworthy, and *kalon*."

Aristotle should have no difficulty in persuading him to do that³¹—but of persuading him, at a particular moment when theoria is possible, to give up his theoria in order to help someone practically. The difficulty is more acute in the case of helping human beings in general; but, even in the case of this special kind of philia, it is hard to see how the argument is to proceed, if we bear in mind the meaning which theoria has for Aristotle. We cannot argue thus: "Theoria is the highest good. If I help this philos now, I shall lose an opportunity for theoria. But if I help him, I shall also increase my opportunities for theoria in general, and thus increase my possession of the highest good. Therefore I will help him." In a modern scientific research team, loss of a valued colleague might seriously hamper research, so that a modern Aristotelian might find that his researches benefited in general from his interrupting them at a particular moment to help that colleague. But there were no research teams of this kind in the ancient world, and theoria does not mean research. It is difficult to see how one's contemplation of God could be impeded by the loss of a colleague.

In fact, I suspect that, when Aristotle mentions the possession of suitable friends in the *Eudemian Ethics*, he is not thinking of colleagues, but of associates in daily living whose behavior will not impede one's contemplation of God by encouraging the irrational part of the *psuche*.³² Since their assistance in contemplation is of a more indirect kind, it would be much more difficult to argue that, by abandoning one's *theoria* now to help one of them, one will increase one's opportunities for *theoria* in general. If abandoning *theoria* in order to benefit one's *philoi* does not ultimately enhance one's own *theoria*, it will not increase one's possession of the highest good, which is the goal of action.

We should consider also 1097b6 ff.:

The same conclusion seems to follow from considerations of autarkeia; for the perfect agathon is thought to be autarkes. We mean by autarkes not merely sufficient for himself alone, living an isolated life, but also for parents and children and wife and generally for philoi and fellow-citizens, since man is phusei a politikon creature. . . . And we mean by autarkes that which, taken by itself, makes life choiceworthy and lacking in nothing: and we believe eudaimonia to be such.

Stewart³³ speaks of Aristotle's view of life as "social from beginning to end." Such passages as this (especially the statement that man is by nature [phusei] politikon), and much of the Politics, where Aristotle's analysis begins with the city, support such a view; but it does not follow that Aristotle has harmonized every aspect of his ethical and political doctrines. 44 Other presuppositions and values may be—and, I shall argue at the end of

^{31.} When he is too weary intellectually for theoria, practical arete will furnish eudaimonia as nothing else available will.

^{32.} Note the manner in which the mention of the possession of friends and other goods is set in the discussion of the appropriate functions of the different parts of the psuche, EE 1249b16 ff.

^{33.} P. 299.

^{34.} Even in the Politics (see 1325b14 ff.), where Aristotle again expresses the view of EN 10.

this paper, are—in conflict with the analysis in terms of the *polis*. Indeed, if we compare what is said of the *autarkes* here with the ascription of *autarkeia* pre-eminently to *theoria* in 1177a27, the possibility of conflict becomes immediately apparent; for there *theoria* is in effect said to be "that which taken by itself makes life choiceworthy and lacking in nothing."

But perhaps failure to exercise the moral hexeis by actualizing them regularly will cause them to fade away. If Aristotle held such a view, he would have to take it into account when considering the roles of theoria and praxis in the life of the eudaimon; for the absence of a good moral hexis would impede the contemplation, and hence diminish the eudaimonia, of the theoretikos.

In the first book of the Nicomachean Ethics we find:

No human activity has the same consistency as have the *energeiai* in accordance with *arete*; for they seem to remain more surely with a person than even the knowledge of the sciences. And the most prized of these themselves remain more surely because the fortunate occupy their time most of all and most continuously upon them; for this seems to be the cause of their not being forgotten. The *eudaimon* will accordingly have the characteristic for which we are seeking [i.e., stability], and he will be *eudaimon* throughout his life; for always, or by preference, he will *prattein* and *theorein* the things in accordance with *arete*. [1100b14 ff.]

Hexis here is notably absent; and A. Grant³⁵ holds that the words are "a sort of contradiction of Aristotle's own philosophy," since it is hexis, not energeia, that is abiding. The emphasis on energeia is, it seems to me, to be explained by the context. Aristotle is trying to demonstrate the stability of eudaimonia. Eudaimonia, he has argued, is an energeia of the psuche in accordance with arete (1098a16). If such energeiai are consistently active, eudaimonia should be stable; and Aristotle argues that they are consistently active, for the reasons given. The goal of the demonstration may have induced Aristotle to state his position in a somewhat misleading manner; but if "the most prized of these themselves" refers to the aretai rather than the sciences, ³⁶ Aristotle is remarking almost in passing that regular practice of an activity is necessary if one is not to forget it. If Aristotle believes ethical activity to require regular practice in this manner, the belief evidently affects the problem I am discussing here.

Usually Aristotle is concerned primarily or solely with the establishment of the hexis (1103b14 ff.):³⁷ when the hexis is established, he treats it as a datum. He specifies as the characteristics of an action in accordance with arete (1105a30 ff.) that the agent should act with knowledge, that he should deliberately choose the action for its own sake, and that his action should proceed from a firm and settled character. There is no suggestion that the character will not remain firm and settled unless the action is performed. Nor can we say that the agathos will "inevitably" perform a just act when a

^{35.} Ethics, ad 1100b14 ff.

^{36.} So Stewart, Notes, ad loc.

^{37.} Cf., e.g., 1103b6 ff., 1104a20 ff.

just act is possible:³⁸ deliberate choice is necessary, and *eudaimonia* is the criterion of choice, as we have seen.

Again, elsewhere (1095b32) Aristotle seems to suppose it possible that an individual with a good *hexis* already developed could thereafter sleep throughout his whole life while possessed of *arete* as a *hexis*; and, though this supposition is admittedly a philosopher's hypothetical extreme case, even such cases should not contradict the philosopher's own views. Once again it would appear that activity of the type which constitutes an actualization of the *hexis*, though necessary to create the *hexis* in the first place, is not necessary in order to maintain the *hexis* in being.³⁹

It seems likely, then, that Aristotle's remarks in 1100b14 ff. do not represent his considered position, and that the context is responsible for the phrasing there used. But even if the words there found express his considered position, they do not in themselves solve the problem. Regular activation of the moral hexis can occur at such times when the theoretikos is too tired to continue with his theoria, and needs a change. One would have to add the requirement that not performing a moral action at a particular moment when one is engaged in theoria is immoral, and therefore likely to weaken one's good *hexis*: and this Aristotle does not say. Indeed, how are we to render that "immoral" into Aristotelian Greek? Theoria is the exercise of an arete, a human (or superhuman) excellence, the best of which human beings are capable (1177a12 f.); and nothing in the Nicomachean Ethics suggests that it can be aischron or adikon to activate the best human arete at any time. It is difficult for us to envisage an "ethics" in which moral and non-moral excellences are alike aretai, and choice between them is made on non-ethical grounds; but that is Aristotle's position. 40 The best arete is the arete of the best part (1177a12);41 and Aristotle suggests no grounds for choosing to actualize an inferior arete when one might actualize

I conclude that Aristotle, though his general ethics contain much that would permit him to do so, does not satisfactorily integrate the life of *theoria* with the life in accordance with practical *arete*; for his ethics taken as a whole also contain much to prevent such integration.

4. A POSSIBLE EXPLANATION OF ARISTOTLE'S POSITION

There is an analogous curiosity elsewhere in Aristotle. He usually treats psuche as the form, body as the matter, and the living creature as "something endowed with psuche" (empsuchon, De an. 414a14 ff.); and he holds that the psuche cannot exist without a body. But in De anima 430a10 ff., his

^{38.} The arete of a human being does not resemble that of an eye or a horse (taken as examples, 1106a17) in this manner: the analogy is not complete.

^{39.} Phronesis is not forgotten, 1140b28-30.

^{40.} Pp. 297 f. Furthermore, in 1100b14 ff. *theoria* in the sense of Book 10 seems not to be in Aristotle's mind. He uses *theorein* as in 1139a6 ff. (n. 22 above). Stewart, however (*Notes*, ad loc.), interprets "most prized" in 1100b14 ff. of "theoretic" activity—in which case the problem is lurking here, too, since "the fortunate" spend most of their time on it.

^{41.} See p. 297.

discussion of what is generally termed the "active intellect," he asserts that there is one aspect of the human psuche—nous—which can exist without a body. One can ascribe the discrepancy to "the Platonism of Aristotle." But Aristotle seems to have little motive for the retention of this aspect of Platonism (insofar as it resembles Platonism), which disrupts his own view of the psuche as expressed at, e.g., De anima 414a14 ff., and which is not evidently demanded by any other views which he holds about the psuche or about the conditions of the possibility of human knowledge. A human psuche which is simply the form and entelechy of its body, and perishes with it, could, so far as I can discern, perform all the tasks that Aristotle requires of it. I propose tentatively to suggest a more general reason for his treatment of nous in the light of other phenomena of the period—a reason linked with the status of the intellect in the eyes not only of Aristotle, but of a remarkably varied group of late fifth- and fourth-century Greeks. 43

In Republic 519D ff. Plato faces the problem of inducing the philosopher-kings to return to the prisoners in the cave to take their turn in government rather than spend all their time in intellectual activity. The response is immediate: "Shall we adikein (commit injustice against) them, and compel them to live more kakōs when it is possible for them to live more eu?" (519D8). That there is a problem is evident from the language used. We might perhaps expect Plato to refer back to the discussions of Republic 4, where dikaiosune is certainly an important arete, and argue that dikaiosune requires that they return to the cave. Surely Plato can draw aid for his argument from this. We shall see.

In 433A ff. Socrates "discovers" that dikaiosune in the city exists when each of the citizens ta hautou prattein, discharges his own function. Such behavior is one of the characteristics that render the city agathe, "good," in the sense of flourishing and efficiently functioning; and it is this contribution which is the ground for terming dikaiosune an arete (excellence) of the city. It is with excellences of the city that we are concerned here: it would require further demonstration, which is not forthcoming, to show that behavior which brings the city into its best possible condition (and is therefore an arete of the city) must also bring every individual citizen into his best possible condition and render him agathos. The proof, accordingly, does not demonstrate that dikaiosune, even in the sense in which Plato is using the term, is an arete of the individual.

For such a demonstration we must presumably turn to the discussion of the *dikaiosune* of the individual (441E1 ff.). Here, as in the discussion of political *dikaiosune*, Socrates says that to hautou prattein constitutes dikaio-

^{42.} On the general difficulties of using the phrase "the Platonism of Aristotle," see G. E. L. Owen's article of that title in PBA 51 (1965): 125-50. In De anima, in fact, the resemblances to the Platonic psuchai are less striking than the contrasts; for Platonic psuchai retain their memories after death, are rewarded and punished for their deeds in this life, and are capable in life of recollection of important intellectual events ("seeing the Forms") which occurred while they were disembodied.

^{43.} For the resemblances between the presuppositions of Plato and Aristotle, those of the characters in the Platonic dialogues, and those of contemporary Greeks of whom we have any knowledge, see MR, chaps. 10 ff.

sune; but individual dikaiosune exists when each of the parts of the soul ta hautou prattein: "It befits the logistikon to rule, since it is wise and can exercise forethought for the whole psuche; and the thumoeides to obey and be its ally, does it not?" (441E4). That those who are fitted to rule should rule the city, and the rest perform their appropriate tasks, is an arete of the city; but it has not been demonstrated to be an arete of the individual. The dikaiosune of the individual requires that the individual's logistikon rule over his own psuche, but not necessarily over anything else:

In truth... [individual] dikaiosune is not concerned with one's external activities, but with one's internal ones, in the full sense with oneself and one's parts; it means not allowing any of the "kinds" of the psuche... to meddle with the activities of another. [443C9 ff.]

Individual dikaiosune requires the maintenance of one's psychic harmony; civic dikaiosune requires that the city be ruled by those most capable of so doing. But it is not proved that individual dikaiosune, an unqualified agathon since it is necessary for the individual's eudaimonia, must be harnessed to the production of dikaiosune in the city—and it is unproved in the crucial case. Certainly, as Plato says (442E ff.), the individual dikaios will not commit crimes, for to do so would upset his psychic harmony; but can one philosophize too much, in such a manner as to upset it? Plato does not say so.

We may now return to the problem of inducing philosopher-kings to return to the cave (519D ff.). Plato says (519E ff.):

- (1) The nomos is not concerned that one class in the city shall eu prattein outstandingly, but tries to secure eudaimonia for the city as a whole. It uses persuasion and compulsion to link the citizens and to cause each of them to make the contribution to the common good of which he is capable. The nomos brings about the existence of such men as these in the city, not so that they may behave as they please, but so that it may use them to create civic unity.
- (2) The city has produced these philosophers deliberately and at the cost of much effort, so the city is justified in asking them to help in return.
- (3) It is a good thing that rulers should rule reluctantly.

Now I have argued elsewhere⁴⁴ that, though Plato represents this argument as successful in persuading Glaucon and Adeimantus (Thrasymachus' attention seems to have wandered), it should not have persuaded any of them, since Plato has not satisfied their criteria for a choiceworthy action.

For what can Plato reply, not merely to Thrasymachus but also to Glaucon and Adeimantus, if they ask why the philosopher-kings should not be as *eudaimon* as possible? If we suppose that Plato has persuaded Thrasymachus that the avoidance of *adikia* in an "ordinary language" sense is necessary for *eudaimonia*, ⁴⁵ then Thrasymachus will have to abandon his intention of exploiting his fellow-citizens in an unjust manner, since to do so would upset his psychic harmony and render him less *eudaimon*. But it is never

^{44.} MR, pp. 287 ff.

^{45.} Thrasymachus should not have been persuaded. MR, pp. 288 ff.

suggested that an excess of philosophizing would upset one's psychic harmony; and in the passages discussed here, and elsewhere, the manner of conducting the argument suggests precisely the opposite. There is no reason why Thrasymachus, Glaucon, and Adeimantus should accept less *eudaimonia* than they can get. And, if Plato suggested that it would be unjust for the philosopher-kings not to go back into the cave, he would be merely equivocating about the word; for the only injustice that has been shown to be bad for the individual, and hence inimical to his *eudaimonia*, is that which upsets his psychic harmony, not that which upsets the harmony of the city.

If we suppose Glaucon and Adeimantus to be susceptible to the demands of other important Greek values, they might return to the cave because they supposed their action to be *kalon*; but the philosopher-kings are not to suppose this (540B4). Again, in the manner of the ordinary Athenian, 46 they might be willing to confer *agatha* on the city in order to receive *agatha* in return; but the only *agathon* that the city can confer upon the philosopher-king is to permit him to return to his philosophy—and he would not need this benefit if he were not to engage in government in the first place.

True, Plato (as in the *Crito* much earlier, 50D ff., 51C6 ff.) argues that the city has conferred very great *agatha* on the philosopher-kings, so that they "owe" it to the city to confer benefits on it in exchange. This argument might appear to be a promising mode of approach, but it rarely appears in philosophical ethical argument in Greek, and therefore presumably was not found to be very cogent.⁴⁷ In any case, even if the argument were acceptable in general to philosopher-kings, it does not solve Plato's problem. Plato expressly contrasts with philosopher-kings produced deliberately by a city those philosophers who spring up without the benefits of the educational system sketched in the *Republic*. The first generation of philosophers who might become philosopher-kings must always appear "spontaneously . . . and against the wishes of their society" (520B2; cf. 502A3 ff.); and Plato himself says that there is no compulsion for such philosophers to take part in politics.

This problem is very like Aristotle's; and like Aristotle, Plato has created it for himself. He had merely to state that, human beings being not merely intellect but embodied intellect, a life of unremitting philosophy would upset one's psychic harmony, and that the psuche of the philosopher-king in particular needs to rule as well as to philosophize for its well-being. Forthwith, the refusal to rule would be an act of injustice in the sense in which the term is used of the individual in the Republic, and so detrimental to one's eudaimonia. But Plato, like Aristotle, seems unable to give precedence at any time to any activity which is intellectually less respectable than any available alternative.

Problems arising from a preference for intellectual respectability are not at this period confined to Plato and Aristotle. In many ways Thrasymachus

^{46.} Ibid., chap. 10.

^{47.} I would say—as I do on pp. 311-13—that the rarity of this argument is a further indication of the self-centeredness, or *oikos*-centeredness, of Greek values.

and Callicles are diametrically opposed to Plato and Aristotle; but not in this respect, as we see in *Republic* 340B6 ff. There, when Thrasymachus has entangled himself, or been entangled by Socrates, over "the interest of the stronger," Cleitophon endeavors to rescue him, claiming that Thrasymachus means by the interest of the stronger what the stronger thinks to be in his own interest. But Thrasymachus will have none of this: "Do you think that I call stronger one who makes a mistake, when he is making the mistake?" (340C6). Similarly in the *Gorgias* Callicles is not primarily a hedonist. He insists that the *agathos* is *phronimos* (491B, etc.); and, when there is an apparent conflict between being *phronimos* and pursuing pleasure, it is the pursuit of pleasure that is abandoned (499A ff.).

All these phenomena, it seems to me, form part of a pattern, a pattern comprehensible in the context of the historical circumstances of the later fifth and fourth centuries in Greece. Socrates, Callicles, Thrasymachus, Plato, Aristotle—and many others—have a characteristic in common, in addition to many differences: all are excited by the powers of the human intellect, so suddenly come to flower in Greece at this time, however different the ways in which they wish to employ it⁴⁸ and however various the goals to which, in the guise of eudaimonia, they wish to attain. And all, given the choice between activities that are *intellectually* more and less respectable. will choose the intellectually more respectable. So Thrasymachus insists on the expert status of the unjust man, even though his insistence renders it easier for him to be refuted, or apparently refuted, by Socrates; and Callicles behaves similarly. So Plato and Aristotle adopt views of human eudaimonia which pose problems for them; and Aristotle—I would suggest—is so excited by the powers of the "active intellect" that he puts forward a view of it which disrupts his general account of psuche.

In these circumstances, that the life of theoria should attain a position of unchallengeable superiority over the life of moral and political activity in Aristotle's eyes is not surprising. I do not, however, suggest that the admiration for intellectual powers was the sole cause. Traditional Greek values have a part to play. From Homer onward, the goal of the agathos Greek is the attainment of well-being, prosperity (which brings increased leisure with it), and self-sufficiency if possible, for his household, his oikos. Aretai are the qualities deemed most likely to produce that result, eudaimonia the result itself. There is no obvious reason why the attainment of eudaimonia should demand, for example, just behavior in cooperation with one's fellowcitizens. What it does require is an experimental issue: if Thrasymachus believes that adikia is a more reliable means to the desired goal, he is justified, in terms of Greek values, in terming adikia an arete. There is no expectation that moral action will be a necessary means to, or constituent of, eudaimonia; but there are certain criteria which any state of affairs claimed to be eudaimonia will be expected to satisfy.

Let us consider the terms in which Aristotle commends theoria in Book 10

^{48.} Callicles and Thrasymachus did not wish to devote their lives to contemplation, or to philosophy in general; see Gorg. 484C4 ff.

of the Nicomachean Ethics: autarkeia (1176b5 f., 1177a27, 1177b21); pleasantness (1177a23); and schole, leisure (1177b4). Theoria affords more autarkeia and schole than does the life of practical arete, and it affords a superior kind of pleasure. Furthermore, it is a divine, or quasi-divine, activity. That theoria pre-eminently possesses these characteristics is unlikely to have occurred to the Greek in the street; but if such a Greek is to value any activity most highly, these are the characteristics that it must possess. And, if one is commending anything most highly to anyone, one must try to demonstrate that it in fact possesses those characteristics which he himself admires most highly. (I do not suggest that Aristotle takes a cynical view: he seems to me to value the same characteristics himself.)

Now none of these characteristics is moral; all are self-centered, or at most oikos-centered. If we take traditional Greek values into account, there too the same self-centeredness or oikos-centeredness appears. 49 This oikoscenteredness, too, poses problems for Plato and Aristotle. Both are political philosophers, and Plato in particular is trying to solve urgent practical problems.⁵⁰ In their analysis of the needs of the city, they naturally place the needs of the city first: consider Plato in his account of dikaiosune in the city, and Aristotle in much of the Politics. 51 where his discussions for the most part form the basis of Stewart's judgment that Aristotle's view of life is "social from beginning to end." 52 But when Aristotle and Plato have to commend behavior to others (or even to themselves), they must use the value terms available (arete, eudaimonia, etc.); and they must accept certain implications of these terms, which are inadequately "civic" for their purposes. When this necessity is added to their own preference for theoretical intellectual activity, it is not surprising that neither can successfully persuade a theoretikos at a time when he is engaged in theoria that he should perform some moral or political action instead.

Some final questions: Did Plato and Aristotle notice these problems? If not, why not? Would they have minded if the problems were insoluble? Or am I merely imposing on Plato and Aristotle a question which seems important in the light of the emphases of a different ethical system?

In Plato's case, the answer is clear: Plato did notice, and was deeply concerned to solve the problem, for the well-being of the city of his *Republic* rests upon the willingness of the philosopher-kings to govern it. About Aristotle I am less certain. The schematic arrangement of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, in which separate discussions of *aretai* are set one after the other, makes it possible for such problems as these to escape notice, though the discussions of the two grades of *eudaimonia* are so juxtaposed, and so expressed, as to render failure to notice rather unlikely. However, the difficulty I am discussing involves a decision at a point in time; and such a decision, while characteristic of much more recent ethics, is not characteristic of ancient Greek ethics, where attention, in philosophical and nonphilo-

^{49.} MR, passim.

^{50.} Ibid., pp. 238 ff.

^{51.} But see n. 34.

^{52.} P. 299.

sophical writings alike, 53 tends to be directed rather to the nature of arete and eudaimonia and the identity of the agathos. For this reason, too, the problem might be overlooked. Nor am I certain that Aristotle would have been deeply concerned about the question: for him the theoretikos was not qua theoretikos uniquely well qualified to govern his city. The average agathos/phronimos could govern, and Aristotle's problem in the Politics is rather to give an opportunity for ruling to all who are qualified than to compel the few who are qualified to do so. And as to saving someone from a burning building, we have no right to demand that Aristotle agree with us about such matters. He might well have replied, as did the younger Pliny 55 on being informed by his uncle that Vesuvius was erupting and that he was going to bring what help he could, studere me malle: "I had rather get on with my studies."

University of Chicago

^{53.} MR, pp. 179 ff.

^{54.} Pol. 1332b12 ff.

^{55.} Epist. 6, 16.