Marcus Aurelius

Meditations

ΤΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ

Books I–XII

Greek text of J. H. Leopold
(Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908)
with the first edition collated where it bears on the sense
(Zurich: Andreas Gesner, [1558/9])

A new English translation, with notes

Introduction

The book

The *Meditations* are the notebooks of a Roman emperor, written in Greek and addressed to himself. Marcus Aurelius ruled from 161 to 180, and the book contains nothing that he meant for others to read: no dedication, no address to a reader, no plan announced and carried out. Its title in the first printed edition, Τῶν εἰς ἑαυτόν, "the things addressed to himself", describes it exactly. It runs to twelve books and nearly five hundred chapters, some of a single line, a few of several pages. Book I stands apart: it is a list of what Marcus owed to his family, his teachers, his adoptive father and the gods. Books II to XII are the notebook proper, entries in which he reminds himself, rebukes himself, argues with himself and copies out sayings of others that he wants to keep.

Two short lines tie the book to a place. At the end of Book I stands "Among the Quadi, on the Granua", and at the end of Book II "At Carnuntum": the Quadi were a German people north of the Danube, and Carnuntum was the legionary fortress on the river where Marcus had his headquarters in the early 170s. Whether the first line closes Book I or heads Book II is uncertain, and the notes give the evidence. Nothing else in the text dates it, but the lines place at least part of the writing in the years of the northern wars, and the book often sounds like the work of an older man who expects to die soon (2.2, 3.14, 4.37, 10.36).

The text survives through two main witnesses: a manuscript in the Vatican, and a lost manuscript from the Palatine library at Heidelberg from which Wilhelm Xylander printed the first edition, with a Latin version, at Zurich in 1558 or 1559. That printed book is now the only witness to its manuscript. Leopold's Oxford text of 1908, printed here page for page, is built on the two; the Editorial Note at the back describes them and the way they are reported in the notes.

A notebook, not a treatise

The first thing a reader needs to know is that the *Meditations* do not argue from a beginning to an end. A subject is taken up, put down and taken up again many books later, in nearly the same words. Death

returns in every book; so do the shortness of fame, the wrongdoing of others, the change of all things, and the ruling centre that alone is in a man's own power. The repetition is the method. These are exercises, written to fix in the mind a small number of principles so that they will be "ready to hand" when they are needed (4.3.4, 7.1, 11.4), and Marcus says as much: "let them be brief and elementary, the things that, as soon as they present themselves, will suffice to shut out the whole court and to send you back not resenting" (4.3.1).

Most entries are in the second person, and many are commands: "At dawn, say to yourself in advance" (2.1); "Wander no longer" (3.14); "See that you are not made into a Caesar" (6.30.1). Some are a single sentence or a list without a verb, like the opening of the entry on human life that ends Book II: "the time a point, the substance flowing, sensation dim" (2.17.1). Others are close arguments set out step by step, as the treatment of death and the soul at 4.21 or of those who wrong us at 11.18, where Marcus numbers nine heads and then adds a tenth. Some are quotations, from Epictetus above all, but also from Heraclitus, Plato, Euripides and Homer, often without the name of the author; the notes identify them where Leopold's testimonia or the sense allow.

The thought

Marcus' philosophy is Stoic, and most of what he says can be placed in the Stoic division of philosophy into physics, ethics and logic, though he is not writing a handbook and never sets the system out. What he takes from it is a way of looking.

The universe is one living whole, governed by reason and ordered by providence; every part of it changes into every other, and nothing perishes out of it (4.36, 7.18, 8.18). Man is a part of the whole and a citizen of it, "the highest city, of which the other cities are like households" (3.11.2). What happens to him has been "spun for" him by the whole (3.16.2, 4.26, 7.57), and the right response is not to resent it but to welcome it.

Within man, one part rules: the ruling centre, which forms impressions of things, assents to them or withholds assent, and has impulses towards some things and away from others. Only this is in his power; body, fame, wealth and the acts of other men are not. So the things men fight over are neither good nor bad, and the only good is the good state of the ruling centre, which is virtue, and the

only bad its vice. Marcus takes this teaching from Epictetus, whose notes Rusticus lent him (1.7), and he states its three fields of training in Epictetus' words at 11.37: assent, impulse, and desire with avoidance.

The third thread is social. Rational beings "have come to be for one another" (4.3.2, 11.18.1; compare 8.59); the man who does wrong is "kin to me" (2.1) and does wrong unwillingly, through ignorance of good and bad. Much of the book is about how to bear with such men without becoming like them, and much of its tenderness is here: "Love the human race. Follow God" (7.31).

Providence or atoms

The claim in the book that most needs to be stated plainly is one that Marcus never resolves. Again and again he sets out a disjunction: either the universe is ordered by providence, or it is a scattering of atoms, as the Epicureans held. "Renew the disjunction, either providence or atoms" (4.3.2); "Either a jumble, an intertwining and a scattering; or unity, order and providence" (6.10); "Either all things happen from one intelligent spring … or atoms, and nothing but a jumble and scattering" (9.39); in the last book the alternatives have become three, fate, a providence that can be propitiated, and "a confusion of aimlessness without a leader" (12.14). The same either-or stands at 7.32, 8.17, 9.28, 10.6 and 11.18.

He plainly prefers the first branch, and when he follows it he speaks of revering the one who governs (6.10). But his practice is to show that the conclusion holds on either: if providence, accept what it allots; if atoms, nothing is to be gained by being troubled, and "you yourself have in yourself a ruling mind" (12.14). A reader who takes Marcus for a confident Stoic dogmatist will be surprised by how often the book rests its ethics on a doubt about its physics, and by how little the ethics depends on settling it.

Death, and going out of life

The other thing a first-time reader should be told is how much of the book is about dying, and how plainly it speaks of leaving life by one's own choice. Death is "a mystery of nature" like birth (4.5), a dissolution into the elements of which all things are made (8.18), and a rest (6.28); the long catalogues of the dead, emperors, philosophers and

courtiers alike (4.32, 4.48, 6.47, 8.25, 8.31, 12.27), are there to make it ordinary. But Marcus also says, more than once, that if a man cannot live as he should he may "go out of life" (5.29, 10.8.3; compare 8.47), not in anger but "simply and freely and with self-respect" (10.8.3). This is the Stoic teaching on the rational exit, and the edition translates it as it stands.

Beside it stands a frank account of his own distance from what he admires. He has not lived as a philosopher, "and the station too works against it" (8.1); he thanks the gods that he did not "sit down to writing treatises" (1.17.9); he tells himself to "see that you are not made into a Caesar, that you are not dyed" (6.30.1). The book is not the testimony of a sage but the daily effort of a man who knows he is not one.

The manner

Marcus writes compressed, often verbless Greek, heavy with the technical words of the Stoics and light on ornament, and the translation keeps both the compression and the vocabulary. He is fond of diminutives that belittle: "a little soul carrying a corpse, as Epictetus used to say" (4.41), the "poor body", the "poor flesh", "little fame". His images are exact and often harsh: men who are "full of snot" (9.29), beast-fighters "half-eaten" who beg to be kept for the next day's claws (10.8.2), the bitter cucumber (8.50), the headland on which the waves break (4.49.1), the ripe olive that falls "speaking well of her who bore it" (4.48.2). His questions to himself are blunt, and so are his answers. The last chapter ends the book with a comic actor dismissed from the stage after three acts instead of five: "Go away, then, serene; for he who releases you is serene too" (12.36).

On reading this edition

The Greek stands on the left-hand page and the English of the same page on the right. Each opening carries one page of Leopold's text, and his page number stands at the head of both pages. A sentence that runs over his page runs over in the English too, and a word he divides at the foot of a page is divided in the English as well.

The numbers at the start of a paragraph are the chapter numbers, α', β' in the Greek and 1, 2 in the English. Longer chapters are divided into sections, numbered in the outer margin. References give

book, chapter and, where it helps, section: 4.3.2 is Book IV, chapter 3, section 2. Where Leopold begins a new paragraph within a chapter, the English does too, and where he sets a line of verse apart, so does the English.

In the Greek, angle brackets ⟨ ⟩ enclose words supplied by an editor, and square brackets [ ] words an editor judges spurious; the English keeps the same signs around the words that render them. Leopold prints two chapter numbers in square brackets (12.15, 12.18), and the English does the same. The notes stand under the English. In them "L" is Leopold, "P" the first printed edition of 1558/9, "A" the Vatican manuscript, and "D" and "X" manuscripts of excerpts known only through Leopold; a reading said to be "proposed" is an editor's conjecture that Leopold reports but does not print. The English follows Leopold's text, except in three places in Book I where it does not construe (1.16.2, 1.16.8, 1.17.9); there it gives the sense of a reading he reports, and the note names it.

The translation renders each of Marcus' technical words by one English word throughout, so that a reader can follow a word from book to book; the Key Terms that follow this Introduction explain a dozen of them. At the back of the volume stand the Outline, which gives the runs of chapters book by book with Leopold's page for each; the Editorial Note, which sets out the conventions in full; the Glossary of Key Terms; and the Note on this Edition, which says how the volume was made and what remains undone.

A note on the author

Almost nothing in this account comes from the *Meditations*, which name few events and no dates; it rests on Cassius Dio's *Roman History* (Books 71–72), the Life of Marcus in the *Historia Augusta*, and the letters of his teacher Fronto, and where these disagree it says so.

Marcus was born at Rome on 26 April 121. His father, Annius Verus, died when he was a child, and he was brought up in the house of his grandfather; Book I remembers both, and his mother (1.1–1.3). In 138, at Hadrian's direction, he was adopted by Antoninus Pius, who adopted at the same time the young Lucius, afterwards the emperor Lucius Verus. He was taught Latin rhetoric by Fronto and Greek by Herodes Atticus, and turned in his twenties to philosophy, under the influence above all of Junius Rusticus (1.7). He married Antoninus' daughter Faustina in 145. The long portrait of "my

father" at 1.16 is a portrait of Antoninus.

On Antoninus' death, on 7 March 161, Marcus became emperor and at once made Lucius his colleague. The reign was one of almost continual war: in the East against Parthia (161–166), and from the late 160s on the Danube against the Marcomanni, the Quadi and the Sarmatian Iazyges, in which Marcus spent most of his last decade with the armies; he took the title Sarmaticus in 175. A plague brought back from the East spread through the empire in the same years. Lucius died in 169. In 175 Avidius Cassius, governor of Syria, was proclaimed emperor on a false report of Marcus' death and was killed by his own officers within a few months; Faustina died on the eastern journey that followed. In 177 Marcus made his son Commodus joint emperor.

He died on 17 March 180 on campaign, at Vindobona (Vienna) according to Aurelius Victor, near Sirmium according to Tertullian, and Commodus succeeded him. Dio, who grew up in his reign, judged that he had not met with the good fortune he deserved.

Key Terms

These are a dozen of the words on which the *Meditations* turn, the ones a reader is most likely to take in the wrong sense. Each is rendered by one English word throughout, so that it can be followed from book to book; the Glossary at the back lists many more, with their places.

Ruling centre (*ἡγεμονικόν*)

The Stoics held that the soul has one commanding part, where impressions are received and judged, and from which impulses go out; they placed it in the heart. Marcus names it in nearly forty chapters, and it is the hinge of his ethics, because it is the one thing in a man that is in his power. "The ruling centre is that which wakes itself and turns itself, and makes itself whatever it wants" (6.8). It is not the brain, nor the self in a modern sense, nor simply the reason: it is the faculty that governs, and it can govern badly. When the body is cut or burned, "let the part that forms opinions about these things keep quiet" (4.39); when others wrong you, their acts are "in their ruling centres" and cannot reach yours (11.18.3). At the end of the book it has become the whole of the matter: "How does the ruling centre use itself? For in this lies everything" (12.33). The edition keeps "ruling centre" apart from "that which rules within" (4.1), from "understanding" (*διάνοια*) and from "mind" (*νοῦς*), which Marcus uses beside it but not for it.

Impression (*φαντασία*)

An impression is whatever presents itself to the mind: a sight, a thought, a report that one has been wronged. It is not "imagination" or "fancy", and it is not yet a judgement. The Stoic point is that an impression comes to us, but whether we assent to it is ours. Hence Marcus' constant advice to look at the impression before accepting it, to strip it to what it shows (3.11.1), to wipe away "every impression that is vexing or foreign" (5.2), and to "wipe out" impression (7.29, 9.7). A rational nature goes well when "in impressions, it assents to nothing false or unclear" (8.7). And because the soul becomes what it habitually takes in, "the soul is dyed by the impressions" (5.16). The verb, *φαντάζεσθαι*, is "form an impression (of)", kept even where

"imagine" or "picture" would read more easily, so that the word's technical sense stays in view: when Marcus tells himself, "Form an impression of our bondage" (10.28), he means a deliberate act of the mind, not a daydream.

Opinion and principle (ὑπόληψις, δόγμα)

An opinion is what the ruling centre makes of an impression: the judgement that this is harmful, that one has been wronged. Marcus' most repeated claim is that the harm lies in the opinion, not in the thing: "Take away the opinion, 'I have been harmed' is taken away" (4.7). "The universe is alteration; life is opinion" (4.3.4). In the last book the claim is pressed as far as it will go, "that all is opinion, and this is in your power" (12.22). A principle is a settled conviction by which a man lives, one of the few fixed points that the notebook exists to keep alive: the edition renders δόγμα "principle" throughout and keeps it apart from θεώρημα, "doctrine", the propositions of philosophy as taught. Principles cannot be put to death unless the impressions that correspond to them are quenched (7.2), and so the impressions must be kept alight; that is what the repetitions of the book are for.

Impulse (ὁρμή)

In Stoic psychology an impulse is the movement of the soul towards an action, which follows on assent to an impression of something as fitting. It is not "instinct" or "urge": a rational man's impulses are themselves rational, and the training of them is the second of Epictetus' three fields (11.37). Marcus asks that his impulses be directed "to social works alone" (8.7), that they go out "with reservation" (4.1, 11.37), and that none go "at no target" (2.16). The opposite condition is to be "jerked like a puppet by unsocial impulse" (2.2), an image he returns to often. The verb ὁρμᾶν is "have an impulse" (at 3.1.1 "feel impulses", and in its everyday sense "set out", 5.14). Impulse is kept apart from desire (ὄρεξις) and from craving (ἐπιθυμία), which is a passion.

Reason (λόγος)

The word covers both the faculty in man and the order of the universe, and Marcus moves between the two without warning, because

for a Stoic they are one: the reason in each man is a share of the reason that governs the whole. The edition renders it "reason" in both senses and never "Word"; where it has an ordinary sense ("word", "speech", "reply"), the Glossary says so, and in set phrases it is rendered as the idiom requires. Hence the force of phrases like "the reason of the whole" (10.7.2) and "seminal reason" (4.14, 4.21.1), the formative principles by which nature brings things into being, and of the command to "follow reason and God" (12.31). Right reason (*ὀρθὸς λόγος*) is reason as it should be; to live "according to reason" is the same as to live according to nature.

Nature (*φύσις*)

Nature means both the order of the whole and the constitution of each thing in it, and to live "according to nature" means to live as one's own nature, rational and social, requires, which is also how the nature of the whole requires. It is not the countryside, and not the instincts. "What the nature of the whole is, and what mine is, and how this stands to that" (2.9) is a question Marcus sets himself again and again. Because nature does nothing in vain, whatever it brings is good for the part it brings it to (2.3), and death, which is a natural change, cannot be bad: "nothing according to nature is bad" (2.17.2). The edition keeps "nature" and "according to nature" for *φύσις* and *κατὰ φύσιν* throughout; *πέφυκα*, "be by nature (able)", belongs to the same family.

Daimon (*δαίμων*)

The divinity within each man, a fragment of the divine reason, which the Stoics, after Plato, called his daimon. Marcus speaks of it in the language of religion: it is "enshrined" within (3.6.2, 3.16.2), it must be kept "inviolate and unharmed" (2.17.2) and "pure" (3.12), and philosophy is nothing but its service (2.13, 2.17.2). It is not a demon, and "genius" or "guardian spirit" would import Roman and Christian senses that Marcus does not mean; the edition leaves the word as "daimon". Happiness, *εὐδαιμονία*, is literally having a good daimon, and Marcus plays on this: "Happiness is a good daimon" (7.17).

Good and bad (*ἀγαθόν, κακόν*)

For the Stoics only virtue is good and only vice bad; everything else,

health, wealth, fame, life itself, is neither. Marcus states the conclusion bluntly about death, life, fame and pain: "they are neither good nor bad" (2.11.4). The edition renders *κακόν* "bad" and never "evil", because the argument of 2.11 and much else turns on the single word: death is not bad, a man who does wrong is not bad to me, nothing that happens according to nature is bad. "Evil" would add a moral and metaphysical weight that the Greek does not carry, and would hide the fact that "bad" is the same word whether Marcus is speaking of vice or of misfortune. The moral pair, *καλόν* and *αἰσχρόν*, is rendered "honourable" and "shameful"; where *καλόν* means beauty, it is "beautiful" (4.20, 12.23).

Things indifferent (*τὰ μέσα, τὰ ἀδιάφορα*)

The Stoics called the things that are neither good nor bad "indifferent"; they did not mean that they do not matter, only that they do not make a man better or worse. Marcus has two words for them, and the edition keeps them apart: *τὰ μέσα*, "things indifferent" (3.11.3, 9.42.4, 11.10), and *τὰ ἀδιάφορα*, "things that make no difference" (5.20, 6.32), with the verb *ἀδιαφορεῖν*, "treat as making no difference" (11.16), and the noun *ἀδιαφορία*, "indifference" (7.31). The faculty to live most honourably is in the soul, he says, "if one treats as making no difference the things that make no difference" (11.16). A reader who takes "indifferent" in its modern sense of "uncaring" will miss the point: Marcus cares a great deal about his duties among such things, and asks to act in them "according to worth" (3.11.3).

Social and civic (*κοινωνικός, πολιτικός*)

Man is by nature a social and civic living being, made for fellowship (*κοινωνία*) with others, and the social is "the leading thing ... in the constitution of man" (7.55). The words do not mean "sociable" or "political" in the modern sense: they describe what a rational being is for, and the acts that suit it. Marcus calls his own nature "rational and civic" (6.44.2), and asks of every action whether its reference is to the social end (9.23; compare 12.20). The civic city is double: "for me as Antoninus, Rome; as a man, the universe" (6.44.2). The edition renders *κοινωνικός* "social", *πολιτικός* "civic", and *ἀκοινώνητος* "unsocial".

Self-respect (*αἰδώς*)

Αἰδώς is the sense of shame that keeps a man from what is unworthy of him, and the respect he owes to himself and to others; neither "modesty" nor "shame" renders it, and the edition uses "self-respect" throughout (once, with an object, "respect", 6.16.5), with "self-respecting" for *αἰδήμων* and "with self-respect" for the adverb. It is one of the virtues Marcus names most often, beside simplicity and good faith: "Make yourself bright with simplicity and self-respect" (7.31); "faith and self-respect and justice and truth" (5.33). It is among the qualities he first records, from his father (1.2), and among the names he sets for himself to live up to (10.8.1).

Change (*μεταβολή*)

All things change into one another, and the universe is kept young by the change of its parts (12.23; compare 2.3). Marcus uses change as an exercise: to see each thing as already dissolving (10.18), to look at a grape as unripe grape, ripe cluster and raisin (11.35), to remember that the body and its very substance are a river (2.17). Change is not loss: "Nothing is bad for things in the course of change" (4.42), and what has died "does not fall out of the universe" (8.18). The edition renders *μεταβολή* and *μεταβάλλειν* "change" (once, of men "turned into legends", 8.25), and keeps *ἀλλοίωσις*, "alteration", apart, as in "The universe is alteration; life is opinion" (4.3.4).

ΜΑΡΚΟΥ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ
ΤΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Α

α′. Παρὰ τοῦ πάππου Οὐήρου τὸ καλόηθες καὶ ἀόργητον.

β′. Παρὰ τῆς δόξης καὶ μνήμης τῆς περὶ τοῦ γεννήσαντος τὸ αἰδῆμον καὶ ἀρρενικόν.

γ′. 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.

δ′. 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.

ε′. 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.

ς′. Παρὰ Διογνήτου τὸ ἀκενόσπουδον· καὶ τὸ ἀπιστητικὸν τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν τερατευομένων καὶ γοήτων περὶ ἐπῳδῶν καὶ περὶ δαιμόνων ἀποπομπῆς καὶ τῶν τοιούτων λεγομένοις· καὶ τὸ μὴ ὀρτυγοτροφεῖν μηδὲ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπτοῆσθαι· καὶ τὸ ἀνέχεσθαι παρρησίας· καὶ τὸ οἰκειωθῆναι φιλοσοφίᾳ

Marcus Antoninus, Emperor

To Himself

Book I

1. From my grandfather Verus:[1] good character and freedom from anger.

2. From the repute and memory of the man who fathered me:[2] self-respect and manliness.

3. From my mother:[3] piety and generosity, and abstaining not only from doing ill but even from entertaining such a conception; and further, frugality of life, far removed from the habits of the rich.

4. From my great-grandfather:[4] not to have gone to the public schools, and to have had good teachers at home, and to have learned that on such things one must spend freely.

5. From my tutor: not to have become a Green or a Blue, or a Small-shield or a Long-shield man;[5] to bear hardship and need little; to work with my own hands and keep out of other people's business; and to be slow to give slander a hearing.

6. From Diognetus:[6] not to take trifles seriously; to disbelieve what wonder-workers and charlatans say about incantations and the driving out of spirits and the like; not to keep quails, nor to be in a flutter about such things; to put up with frankness; to have come into affinity with philosophy

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1 Marcus Annius Verus, his father's father, three times consul, in whose house Marcus was brought up.

2 Marcus Annius Verus the younger, who died when Marcus was a small child; Marcus knew him by report.

3 Domitia Lucilla, heiress of a great fortune; she died probably in the 150s (see 1.17.7).

4 Probably L. Catilius Severus, on his mother's side, twice consul and prefect of the city; the *Historia Augusta* (*Marcus* 1) says Marcus bore his name as a child.

5 Greens and Blues (*Prasini*, *Veneti*): partisans of the racing colours. Small-shield and Long-shield men (*Parmularii*, *Scutarii*) backed the two main types of gladiator. All four words are Latin in Greek letters. The tutor is not named.

6 Named in the *Historia Augusta* (*Marcus* 4) as Marcus's painting master. "Spirits" renders δαίμονες, the word Marcus later keeps for the divinity within each man (2.13, 3.16, 5.27). Quails were kept for fighting.

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 ἐχόμενα.

ζ′. Παρὰ Ῥουστίκου τὸ λαβεῖν φαντασίαν τοῦ χρῄζειν διορθώσεως καὶ θεραπείας τοῦ ἤθους· καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐκτραπῆναι εἰς ζῆλον σοφιστικόν, μηδὲ τὸ συγγράφειν περὶ τῶν θεωρημάτων, ἢ προτρεπτικὰ λογάρια διαλέγεσθαι, ἢ φαντασιοπλήκτως τὸν
2 ἀσκητικὸν ἢ τὸν ἐνεργητικὸν ἄνδρα ἐπιδείκνυσθαι· καὶ τὸ ἀποστῆναι ῥητορικῆς καὶ ποιητικῆς καὶ ἀστειολογίας· καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐν στολῇ κατ᾽ οἶκον περιπατεῖν μηδὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν· καὶ τὸ τὰ ἐπιστόλια ἀφελῶς γράφειν, οἷον τὸ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τούτου ἀπὸ Σι-
3 νοέσσης τῇ μητρί μου γραφέν· καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς χαλεπήναντας καὶ πλημμελήσαντας εὐανακλήτως καὶ εὐδιαλλάκτως, ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα αὐτοὶ ἐπανελθεῖν ἐθελήσωσι, διακεῖσθαι· καὶ τὸ ἀκριβῶς ἀναγινώσκειν καὶ μὴ ἀρκεῖσθαι περινοοῦντα ὁλοσχερῶς μηδὲ τοῖς περιλαλοῦσι ταχέως συγκατατίθεσθαι· καὶ τὸ ἐντυχεῖν τοῖς Ἐπικτητείοις ὑπομνήμασιν, ὧν οἴκοθεν μετέδωκεν.

η′. 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 ὀξείαις, ἐν ἀποβολῇ τέκνου, ἐν μακραῖς νόσοις· καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ παραδείγματος ζῶντος ἰδεῖν ἐναργῶς ὅτι δύναται ὁ αὐτὸς σφοδρότατος εἶναι καὶ ἀνει-
2 μένος· καὶ τὸ ἐν ταῖς ἐξηγήσεσι μὴ

and to have heard first Baccheius, then Tandasis and Marcianus;[7] to have written dialogues as a boy; to have craved the pallet and the skin, and whatever else belongs to the Greek training.[8]

7. From Rusticus:[9] to have got the impression of needing correction and treatment of character; not to be drawn aside into sophistic ambition, nor to write treatises on doctrines, nor to deliver little exhortations, nor to parade myself, so as to strike the imagination, as the man of discipline or the man of action;[10] to keep away from 2
rhetoric, poetry and fine language; not to walk about the house in formal dress, nor do things of that kind; to write letters artlessly, like the one he himself wrote to my mother from Sinuessa; towards 3
those who have been exasperated or have given offence, to be easily recalled and easily reconciled, as soon as they themselves want to come back; to read carefully, and not be content with taking things in roughly as a whole, nor quickly assent to those who talk round a subject; and to have come across the notes of Epictetus, which he let me have from his own house.

8. From Apollonius:[11] freedom, and a steadiness that unmistakably takes no chances; to look to nothing else, even for a moment, but reason; to be always the same, in sharp pangs, in the loss of a child, in long illnesses; to have seen plainly, in a living example, that the same man can be most intense and yet relaxed; and in explanation 2
not

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[7] All three are otherwise unknown, and editors have doubted the names. Among the proposals recorded in L's apparatus is Gataker's Maecianus, the jurist L. Volusius Maecianus, who taught Marcus law.

[8] The philosopher's low bed and the animal skin spread on it. The *Historia Augusta* (*Marcus* 2) says that on entering his twelfth year he took up philosophical dress and slept on the ground, until his mother persuaded him onto a small couch spread with skins.

[9] Q. Junius Rusticus, Stoic, consul for the second time in 162 and prefect of the city, in which office he condemned Justin Martyr. "The notes of Epictetus" (*ὑπομνήματα*) are probably the lectures of Epictetus written down by Arrian, the *Discourses*.

[10] "Of action" translates *ἐνεργητικόν*, Xylander's correction, which L prints; L reports *εὐεργετικόν*, "the benefactor", in the manuscripts.

[11] Apollonius of Chalcedon (*Historia Augusta*, *Marcus* 2.7; *Pius* 10.4 calls him of Chalcis), a Stoic whom Antoninus Pius summoned to Rome to teach Marcus (*Pius* 10.4; *Marcus* 3.1). *ἀκύβευτον*, literally "not dicing": a steadiness that stakes nothing on chance.

δυσχεραντικόν· καὶ τὸ ἰδεῖν 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 ἐξηττώμενον διὰ ταῦτα μήτε ἀναισθήτως παραπέμποντα.

θ′. Παρὰ Σέξτου τὸ εὐμενές· καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρονομουμένου· καὶ τὴν ἔννοιαν τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ζῆν· καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν ἁπλάστως· καὶ τὸ στοχαστικὸν τῶν φίλων κηδεμονικῶς· καὶ τὸ ἀνεκτικὸν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ τὸ ἀθεώρητον
2 οἰομένων· καὶ τὸ πρὸς πάντας εὐάρμοστον, ὥστε κολακείας μὲν πάσης προσηνεστέραν εἶναι τὴν ὁμιλίαν αὐτοῦ, αἰδεσιμώτατον δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις παρ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν εἶναι· καὶ τὸ καταληπτικῶς καὶ ὁδῷ ἐξευρετικόν τε καὶ τακτικὸν τῶν
3 εἰς βίον ἀναγκαίων δογμάτων· καὶ τὸ μηδὲ ἔμφασίν ποτε ὀργῆς ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς πάθους παρασχεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἅμα μὲν ἀπαθέστατον εἶναι, ἅμα δὲ φιλοστοργότατον· καὶ τὸ εὔφημον ἀψοφητὶ καὶ τὸ πολυμαθὲς ἀνεπιφάντως.

ι′. Παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ γραμματικοῦ τὸ ἀνεπίπληκτον καὶ τὸ μὴ ὀνειδιστικῶς 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 δι᾽ ἑτέρας τινὸς τοιαύτης ἐμμελοῦς παρυπομνήσεως.

ια′. Παρὰ Φρόντωνος τὸ ἐπιστῆσαι οἵα ἡ τυραννικὴ βασκανία καὶ ποικιλία καὶ ὑπόκρισις, καὶ ὅτι ὡς ἐπίπαν

short-tempered; to have seen a man who clearly counted his experience and adroitness in passing on doctrines as the least of his own honourable qualities; and to have learned how one must receive what pass for favours from friends without being either lowered by them or letting them go by unfeelingly.

9. From Sextus:[12] kindliness; the example of a household governed by its father; the conception of living according to nature; unaffected dignity; a caring eye for friends; forbearance towards the unlearned and towards those who hold opinions without thinking; being in tune with everyone, so that his company was more agree- 2
able than any flattery, while at that very moment he was held in the highest respect by those very people; finding and ordering, with a firm grasp and by method, the principles necessary for life; never to 3
show so much as a sign of anger or of any other passion, but to be at once wholly free from passion and full of affection; to speak good words without noise, and to be very learned without display.

10. From Alexander the grammarian:[13] not to reprove; not to pounce reproachfully on those who have come out with a barbarism or a solecism or a jarring expression, but deftly to introduce just the expression that ought to have been used, by way of an answer, or of a confirmation, or of a shared consideration of the thing itself and not the word, or by some other such tactful reminder.

11. From Fronto:[14] to have attended to what the envy, the double-dealing and the pretence of a tyrant are like, and that on the whole

[12] Sextus of Chaeronea, Plutarch's nephew (*Historia Augusta*, *Marcus* 3). Living "according to nature" is the Stoic formula for the end of life, going back to Zeno. "With a firm grasp" (*καταληπτικῶς*) uses the Stoic term (*κατάληψις*) for a firm grasp of what is true.

[13] Alexander of Cotiaeum, grammarian and Homeric scholar, Marcus's teacher of Greek; Aelius Aristides' funeral speech for him survives (*Oration* 32).

[14] M. Cornelius Fronto of Cirta in Numidia, the leading Latin orator of the age and Marcus's teacher of rhetoric; part of their correspondence survives. "Lacking in affection" renders *ἀστοργότεροι*: Fronto remarks in a letter that Latin has no word for *φιλοστοργία*, because the thing itself is not found at Rome.

οἱ καλούμενοι οὗτοι παρ᾽ ἡμῖν εὐπατρίδαι ἀστοργότεροί πως εἰσί.

ιβ′. 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.

ιγ′. Παρὰ Κατούλου τὸ μὴ ὀλιγώρως ἔχειν φίλου αἰτιωμένου τι, κἂν τύχῃ ἀλόγως αἰτιώμενος, ἀλλὰ πειρᾶσθαι [καὶ] ἀποκαθιστάναι ἐπὶ τὸ σύνηθες· καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν διδασκάλων ἐκθύμως εὔφημον, οἷα τὰ περὶ Δομιτίου καὶ Ἀθηνοδότου ἀπομνημονευόμενα· καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰ τέκνα ἀληθινῶς ἀγαπητικόν.

ιδ′. Παρὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου Σεουήρου τὸ φιλοίκειον καὶ φιλάληθες καὶ φιλοδίκαιον· καὶ τὸ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ γνῶναι Θρασέαν, Ἑλβίδιον, Κάτωνα, Δίωνα, Βροῦτον, καὶ φαντασίαν λαβεῖν πολιτείας ἰσονόμου, κατ᾽ ἰσότητα καὶ ἰσηγορίαν διοικουμένης, καὶ βασιλείας τιμώσης πάντων μάλιστα τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῶν ἀρχο-
2 μένων· καὶ ἔτι παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τὸ ὁμαλὲς καὶ ὁμότονον ἐν τῇ τιμῇ τῆς φιλοσοφίας· 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.

ιε′. Παρὰ Μαξίμου τὸ κρατεῖν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ κατὰ μηδὲν περίφορον εἶναι· καὶ τὸ εὔθυμον ἔν τε ταῖς ἄλλαις περιστά-

these people we call patricians are somehow rather lacking in affection.

12. From Alexander the Platonist:[15] not often, nor without necessity, to say to anyone or write in a letter "I am busy", nor by this means continually to excuse myself from the duties that arise from relations with those who live alongside us, pleading the business in hand.

13. From Catulus:[16] not to make light of a friend's complaint, even if the complaint happens to be unreasonable, but to try [also] to restore him to the usual footing; to speak of one's teachers with heartfelt good words, as is recorded of Domitius and Athenodotus; and to love one's children truly.

14. From my brother Severus:[17] love of family, love of truth, love of justice; through him to have come to know Thrasea, Helvidius, Cato, Dion, Brutus;[18] and to have got the impression of a state with the same laws for all, governed by equality and equal freedom of speech, and of a kingship that honours above all things the freedom of the governed; and from him also: an even and unwavering honour 2
for philosophy;[19] doing good, and readiness to share freely; hopefulness, and trust that he was loved by his friends; openness towards those he found fault with; and that his friends had no need to guess what he wanted or did not want: it was plain.

15. From Maximus:[20] self-mastery, and not being carried off by anything; good spirits in other circum-

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[15] Usually identified as Alexander of Seleucia, the sophist nicknamed "Clay-Plato", Marcus's secretary for Greek letters (Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists* 2.5).

[16] Cinna Catulus, a Stoic teacher (*Historia Augusta*, *Marcus* 3). Domitius is unknown; Athenodotus is probably Fronto's teacher of that name.

[17] Marcus had no brother of this name. Usually taken to be Claudius Severus, the Peripatetic among his teachers (*Historia Augusta*, *Marcus* 3), whose son married Marcus's daughter. Schultz deleted "my brother"; Scaliger read "Verus".

[18] Thrasea Paetus, forced to suicide by Nero; his son-in-law Helvidius Priscus, executed under Vespasian; the younger Cato; Brutus, Caesar's assassin; and probably Dion of Syracuse, Plato's friend, whom Plutarch paired with Brutus.

[19] "Even" is *ὁμαλές*, Coraes' correction; the manuscripts (so P p. 5) have *ἀμελές*, "careless", which contradicts the sentence.

[20] Claudius Maximus, Stoic (*Historia Augusta*, *Marcus* 3), probably the proconsul in Apuleius' *Apology*. P (p. 5) prints *Παράκλησις Μαξίμου*, "the encouragement of Maximus"; Casaubon read *παρὰ Κλαυδίου Μαξίμου*.

σεσι καὶ ἐν ταῖς νόσοις· καὶ τὸ εὔκρατον τοῦ ἤθους καὶ μειλίχιον καὶ γεραρόν· καὶ τὸ οὐ σχετλίως κατεργαστικὸν τῶν προκει-
2 μένων· καὶ τὸ πάντας αὐτῷ πιστεύειν περὶ ὧν λέγοι ὅτι οὕτως φρονεῖ, καὶ περὶ ὧν πράττοι ὅτι οὐ κακῶς πράττει. καὶ τὸ ἀθαύμαστον καὶ ἀνέκπληκτον καὶ μηδαμοῦ ἐπειγόμενον ἢ ὀκνοῦν ἢ ἀμηχανοῦν ἢ κατηφὲς ἢ προσσεσηρός, ἢ πάλιν θυμούμενον ἢ
3 ὑφορώμενον· καὶ τὸ εὐεργετικὸν καὶ τὸ συγγνωμονικὸν καὶ τὸ ἀψευδές· καὶ τὸ ἀδιαστρόφου μᾶλλον ἢ διορθουμένου φαντασίαν παρέχειν· καὶ ὅτι οὔτε ᾠήθη ἄν ποτέ τις ὑπερορᾶσθαι ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ οὔτε ὑπέμεινεν ἂν κρείττονα αὐτοῦ αὑτὸν ὑπολαβεῖν· καὶ τὸ εὐχαριεντίζεσθαι.

ις′. Παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ ἥμερον 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 ἑκάστῳ· καὶ τὸ ἔμπει-
2 ρον ποῦ μὲν χρεία ἐντάσεως, ποῦ δὲ ἀνέσεως· 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

stances and in illness; a well-tempered character, amiable and stately; doing what lay before him without complaint; that everyone be- 2
lieved he thought as he spoke, and that whatever he did, he did without ill intent; not to be astonished or alarmed; never to be hurried or hesitant, at a loss or downcast, or wearing a forced smile, or again raging or looking askance; beneficence, readiness to forgive, and truth- 3
fulness; giving the impression of a man who had never been bent rather than one who had been straightened; that no one would ever have thought himself looked down on by him, nor endured to form the opinion that he was better than he; and a gracious wit.

16. From my father:[21] gentleness, and holding unshaken to decisions reached after thorough examination; no empty glory sought in what pass for honours; love of work and perseverance; readiness to listen to anyone with something to contribute to the common good; allotting to each according to worth, unswervingly; knowing by experience where tightening was needed and where slackening; putting a 2
stop to the love affairs with adolescents;[22] considerateness, and leaving his friends free not to dine with him every time nor go with him on his journeys as a matter of course, while those who had stayed behind on some business always found him the same; exact inquiry in council, and persistence, and not being one to abandon an investigation early, content with the impressions that came first to hand;[23] keeping his friends, never tiring of them nor infatuated with them; self-sufficiency in everything

[21] Antoninus Pius, emperor 138–161, who adopted Marcus at Hadrian's wish in 138. The portrait is taken up again at 6.30.

[22] The Greek does not say whose.

[23] L prints the manuscripts' *ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ προαπέστη*, which does not construe. The English gives the sense of Gataker's *καὶ ὅτι οὐ προαπέστη*, "and that he did not leave off early".

3 καὶ τὸ φαιδρόν· καὶ τὸ πόρρωθεν προνοητικὸν καὶ τῶν ἐλαχίστων προδιοικητικὸν ἀτραγῴδως· καὶ τὸ τὰς ἐπιβοήσεις καὶ πᾶσαν κολακείαν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ συσταλῆναι· 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 βέ-
4 βαιον καὶ μηδαμοῦ ἀπειρόκαλον μηδὲ καινοτόμον· καὶ τὸ τοῖς εἰς εὐμάρειαν βίου φέρουσί τι, ὧν ἡ τύχη παρεῖχε δαψίλειαν, χρηστικὸν ἀτύφως ἅμα καὶ ἀπροφασίστως, ὥστε παρόντων μὲν ἀνεπιτηδεύτως ἅπτεσθαι, 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 ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἄλλων.
5 πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ τὸ τιμητικὸν τῶν ἀληθῶς φιλοσοφούντων, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις οὐκ ἐξονειδιστικὸν οὐδὲ μὴν εὐπαράγωγον ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν· ἔτι δὲ τὸ εὐόμιλον καὶ εὔχαρι οὐ κατακόρως· καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος ἐπιμελητικὸν ἐμμέτρως, οὔτε ὡς ἄν τις φιλόζωος οὔτε πρὸς καλλωπισμὸν οὔτε μὴν ὀλιγώρως, ἀλλ᾽ ὥστε διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν προσοχὴν εἰς ὀλίγιστα ἰατρικῆς χρῄζειν ἢ φαρ-
6 μάκων καὶ ἐπιθεμάτων ἐκτός· μάλιστα δὲ τὸ παραχωρητικὸν ἀβασκάνως τοῖς δύναμίν τινα κεκτημένοις, οἷον τὴν φραστικὴν ἢ τὴν ἐξ ἱστορίας νόμων ἢ ἐθῶν ἢ ἄλλων τινῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ συσπουδαστικὸν αὐτοῖς, ἵνα ἕκαστοι κατὰ τὰ ἴδια προτερήματα εὐδοκιμῶσι· πάντα δὲ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια πράσσων, οὐδὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεύων φαίνε-

and cheerfulness; looking ahead from far off, and arranging the 3
smallest matters in advance without theatre; the checking, in his time, of acclamations and of every kind of flattery;[24] constant guard over what the empire needed, sparing use of its funds, and endurance of the accusations some brought against him over such things; no superstition towards the gods, and towards men no courting of the people, no eagerness to please, no playing to the crowd, but sobriety in everything, and steadiness, never tasteless, never a seeker of novelty; using the things that make for ease of 4
living, which fortune supplied in plenty, without vanity and at the same time without apology, so that he touched them without making a point of it when they were there and did not need them when they were not; that no one could have called him a sophist, or a pert house-slave, or a pedant,[25] but a man mature, complete, proof against flattery, able to govern his own affairs and those of others. Besides this: honouring those who were true philosophers, 5
while not reproaching the others, nor yet being led astray by them; further, ease of company, and charm without excess; a measured care of his own body, not as one in love with life, nor for show, nor yet neglectfully, but so that through his own heedfulness he seldom needed the doctor's art, or medicines, or salves applied outside; above all, giving way ungrudgingly to those who had some 6
particular ability, in expression, say, or in knowledge of laws or customs or anything else, and sharing their efforts, so that each might win credit by his own merits; doing everything according to ancestral custom, yet not making a point of ap-

[24] The rhythmic shouts with which senate and people greeted an emperor.

[25] "Pert house-slave" renders *οὐερνάκλος*, Latin *vernaculus*, a slave born in the house, proverbially cheeky. P (p. 7) has *οἰκογενὴς οὐερνάκλος*, "home-born *vernaculus*", a Greek gloss standing beside the Latin word. The pedant (*σχολαστικός*) is the bookish fool of the ancient joke-book *Philogelos*.

σθαι, τὸ τὰ πάτρια φυλάσσειν. ἔτι δὲ τὸ μὴ εὐμετακίνητον καὶ
7 ῥιπταστικόν, 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 ἔν τε θεωριῶν ἐπιτελέσει καὶ ἔργων κατασκευαῖς καὶ διανομαῖς καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις, ⟨ὅ ἐστιν⟩ ἀνθρώπου πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ δέον πραχθῆναι δεδορκότος, οὐ πρὸς τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς πραχθεῖ-
8 σιν εὐδοξίαν. οὐκ ἀωρὶ λούστης, οὐχὶ φιλοικοδόμος, οὐ περὶ τὰς ἐδωδὰς ἐπινοητής, οὐ περὶ ἐσθήτων ὑφὰς καὶ χρόας, οὐ περὶ σωμάτων ὥρας. ἡ ἀπὸ Λωρίου στολὴ ἀνάγουσα ἀπὸ τῆς κάτω ἐπαύλεως· χιτὼν ἐν Λανουβίῳ τὰ πολλά· τῷ φελώνῃ ἐν Τούσκλοις παραιτουμένῳ ὡς ἐχρήσατο καὶ πᾶς ὁ τοιοῦτος
9 τρόπος. οὐδὲν ἀπηνὲς οὐδὲ μὴν ἀδυσώπητον οὐδὲ λάβρον οὐδὲ ὥστ᾽ ἄν τινα εἰπεῖν ποτε· ἕως ἱδρῶτος· ἀλλὰ πάντα διειλημμένα λελογίσθαι ὡς ἐπὶ σχολῆς, ἀταράχως, τεταγμένως, ἐρρωμένως, συμφώνως ἑαυτοῖς. ἐφαρμόσειε δ᾽ ἂν αὐτῷ τὸ περὶ τοῦ Σωκράτους μνημονευόμενον, ὅτι καὶ ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ ἀπολαύειν ἐδύνατο τούτων, ὧν ⟨οἱ⟩ πολλοὶ πρός τε τὰς ἀποχὰς ἀσθε-
10 νῶς καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀπολαύσεις ἐνδοτικῶς ἔχουσι. τὸ δὲ ἰσχύειν καὶ ἐγκαρτερεῖν καὶ ἐννήφειν ἑκατέρῳ ἀνδρός ἐστιν ἄρτιον καὶ ἀήττητον ψυχὴν ἔχοντος, οἷον ἐν τῇ νόσῳ τῇ Μαξίμου.

ιζ′. Παρὰ τῶν θεῶν τὸ ἀγαθοὺς πάππους, ἀγαθοὺς

pearing to do this very thing, to guard ancestral custom. Further: 7
not easily moved or tossed about, but content to stay in the same places and with the same things; after the fits of headache, fresh at once and vigorous for the usual work; not having many secrets, but very few and very rare, and those only on public matters; good sense and measure in the giving of shows, the building of public works, distributions and the like, ⟨which is⟩ the mark of a man who looks to what must be done, and not to the good repute that comes from what has been done. No bathing at odd hours; no love of building; 8
no fussing over food, or over the weave and colour of clothes, or the bloom of bodies. The robe from Lorium, brought up from the lower house; at Lanuvium, mostly the tunic; at Tusculum, the cloak, and how he used it, asking pardon; and every way of that kind.[26] Nothing 9
harsh, nor implacable, nor violent, nor such that anyone could ever say "to the point of sweat";[27] but everything reckoned out point by point, as if at leisure, untroubled, in order, vigorously, consistently with itself. And what is recorded of Socrates would fit him:[28] that he could both abstain from and enjoy the things that ⟨the⟩ many are too weak to go without and give way to when they enjoy them. To be 10
strong and to hold out, and to keep sober, in each case, is the mark of a man with a sound and unconquerable soul, as in the illness of Maximus.[29]

17. From the gods: to have good grandfathers, good

[26] The sentence is corrupt, and L's text is largely conjecture: "the tunic" is Salmasius' *χιτών* for the manuscripts' *καὶ τῶν*, "the cloak" his *φελώνῃ* for *τελώνῃ*, "tax-collector". L also keeps the manuscripts' *παραιτουμένῳ*, which cannot go with a cloak; "asking pardon" follows Salmasius' adverb *παραιτουμένως*. With the manuscript words the clause reads "how he treated the tax-collector at Tusculum who begged his pardon". Lorium, Lanuvium and Tusculum are places near Rome; Antoninus was born at Lanuvium and died at Lorium.

[27] Proverbial for overdoing a thing.

[28] Plato, *Symposium* 219e–220a, Alcibiades on Socrates at Potidaea.

[29] The words do not follow clearly from what precedes (Gataker, in L's apparatus): perhaps Antoninus' conduct when Maximus was ill, perhaps Maximus' own.

γονέας, ἀγαθὴν ἀδελφήν, ἀγαθοὺς διδασκάλους, ἀγαθοὺς οἰκείους, συγγενεῖς, φίλους σχεδὸν ἅπαντας ἔχειν· καὶ ὅτι περὶ οὐδένα αὐτῶν προέπεσον πλημμελῆσαί τι, καίτοι διάθεσιν ἔχων τοιαύτην, ἀφ' ἧς, εἰ ἔτυχε, κἂν ἔπραξά τι τοιοῦτο· τῶν θεῶν δὲ εὐποιία τὸ μηδεμίαν συνδρομὴν πραγμάτων γενέσθαι, ἥτις
2 ἔμελλέ με ἐλέγξειν. καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐπὶ πλέον τραφῆναι παρὰ τῇ παλλακῇ τοῦ πάππου καὶ τὸ τὴν ὥραν διασῶσαι καὶ τὸ μὴ
3 πρὸ ὥρας ἀνδρωθῆναι, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ ἐπιλαβεῖν τοῦ χρόνου. τὸ ἄρχοντι καὶ πατρὶ ὑποταχθῆναι, ὃς ἔμελλε πάντα τὸν τῦφον ἀφαιρήσειν μου καὶ εἰς ἔννοιαν ἄξειν τοῦ ὅτι δυνατόν ἐστιν ἐν αὐλῇ βιοῦντα μήτε δορυφορήσεων χρῄζειν μήτε ἐσθήτων σημειωδῶν μήτε λαμπάδων καὶ ἀνδριάντων τοιῶνδέ τινων καὶ τοῦ ὁμοίου κόμπου, ἀλλ' ἔξεστιν ἐγγυτάτω ἰδιώτου συστέλλειν ἑαυτὸν καὶ μὴ διὰ τοῦτο ταπεινότερον ἢ ῥᾳθυμότερον ἔχειν
4 πρὸς τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν ἡγεμονικῶς πραχθῆναι δέοντα. τὸ ἀδελφοῦ τοιούτου τυχεῖν, δυναμένου μὲν διὰ ἦθους ἐπεγεῖραί 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 ῥητορικῇ καὶ ποιητικῇ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτηδεύμασιν, ἐν οἷς ἴσως ἂν κατε-
5 σχέθην, εἰ ἠσθόμην ἐμαυτὸν εὐόδως προιόντα. τὸ φθάσαι τοὺς τροφέας ἐν ἀξιώματι καταστῆσαι, οὗ δὴ ἐδόκουν μοι ἐπιθυμεῖν, καὶ μὴ ἀναβαλέσθαι ἐλπίδι τοῦ με, ἐπεὶ νέοι ἔτι ἦσαν, ὕστερον αὐτὸ πράξειν. τὸ γνῶναι Ἀπολλώνιον, Ῥούστικον, Μάξιμον.
6 τὸ φαντασθῆναι περὶ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν βίου ἐναργῶς καὶ πολλάκις οἷός τίς ἐστιν, ὥστε, ὅσον ἐπὶ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐκεῖθεν διαδόσεσι καὶ συλλήψεσι καὶ ἐπιπνοίαις,

parents, a good sister,[30] good teachers, good people about me, kinsmen, friends, nearly all of them good; and that I never slipped into offending any of them, although I had the kind of disposition from which, had things fallen out so, I might well have done something of the sort. And it is the gods' doing of good that no combination of circumstances arose to put me to the test. And that I was not brought 2
up any longer with my grandfather's concubine;[31] that I preserved my bloom, and did not become a man before the time, but even put it off; that I was placed under a ruler and father who was to take all 3
vanity out of me[32] and bring me to the conception that it is possible to live at court without needing bodyguards, or robes of state, or torches and statues of that kind and the pomp that goes with them, but that it is open to one to draw oneself in very near to the style of a private citizen, and not on that account be meaner or slacker in the things that must be done, as a ruler, on behalf of public matters; that I had such a brother,[33] one able by his character to rouse me to 4
take care of myself, and at the same time gladdening me with honour and affection; that my children were not dull-witted, nor deformed in body; that I made no further progress in rhetoric and poetry and the other pursuits in which I might perhaps have been held fast, had I perceived myself going well in them; that I was quick to raise my 5
tutors to the rank they seemed to me to crave, and did not put it off in the hope that, since they were still young, I would do it later; to have known Apollonius, Rusticus, Maximus; to have formed an im- 6
pression, plainly and often, of what the life according to nature is, so that, as far as depends on the gods and on the gifts and help and inspirations that come from them,[34]

[30] Annia Cornificia Faustina, his only sister.

[31] Probably his grandfather Verus (1.1). The woman is otherwise unknown.

[32] Antoninus Pius (1.16). "Vanity" renders *τῦφος*, literally "smoke", the Cynics' word for delusion and self-importance.

[33] Lucius Verus, his adoptive brother and co-emperor from 161 until his death in 169.

[34] "Inspirations" is Casaubon's *ἐπιπνοίαις*. The manuscripts, P among them (P p. 10), have *ἐπινοίαις*, "thoughts".

μηδὲν κωλύειν ἤδη κατὰ φύσιν ζῆν με, ἀπολείπεσθαι δὲ ἔτι τούτου παρὰ τὴν ἐμὴν αἰτίαν καὶ παρὰ τὸ μὴ διατηρεῖν τὰς ἐκ τῶν
7 θεῶν ὑπομνήσεις καὶ μονονουχὶ διδασκαλίας· τὸ ἀντισχεῖν μοι τὸ σῶμα ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐν τοιούτῳ βίῳ· τὸ μήτε Βενεδίκτης ἅψασθαι μήτε Θεοδότου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὕστερον ἐν ἐρωτικοῖς πάθεσι γενόμενον ὑγιᾶναι· τὸ χαλεπήναντα πολλάκις Ῥουστίκῳ μηδὲν πλέον πρᾶξαι, ἐφ' ᾧ ἂν μετέγνων· τὸ μέλλουσαν νέαν τελευτᾶν τὴν τεκοῦσαν ὅμως οἰκῆσαι μετ' ἐμοῦ τὰ τελευταῖα
8 ἔτη. τὸ ὁσάκις ἐβουλήθην ἐπικουρῆσαί τινι πενομένῳ ἢ εἰς ἄλλο τι χρῄζοντι, μηδέποτε ἀκοῦσαί με, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι μοι χρήματα, ὅθεν γένηται, καὶ τὸ αὐτῷ ἐμοὶ χρείαν ὁμοίαν, ὡς παρ' ἑτέρου μεταλαβεῖν, μὴ συμπεσεῖν· τὸ τὴν γυναῖκα τοιαύτην εἶναι, οὕτωσὶ μὲν πειθήνιον, οὕτω δὲ φιλόστοργον, οὕτω δὲ ἀφελῆ· τὸ
9 ἐπιτηδείων τροφέων εἰς τὰ παιδία εὐπορῆσαι. τὸ δι' ὀνειράτων βοηθήματα δοθῆναι ἄλλα τε καὶ ὡς μὴ πτύειν αἷμα καὶ μὴ ἰλιγγιᾶν, καὶ τούτου ἐν Καιήτῃ ὥσπερ χρήσῃ· τὸ ὅπως ἐπεθύμησα φιλοσοφίας, μὴ ἐμπεσεῖν εἴς 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.

nothing prevents me from living according to nature now; but that I still fall short of it is my own fault, and comes from not keeping the reminders of the gods, and all but their instructions; that my body *7*
has held out so long in such a life; that I did not touch Benedicta or Theodotus,[35] but that even later, when I fell into passions of love, I was cured of them; that though I was often exasperated with Rusticus I did nothing more that I would have regretted; that my mother, who was to die young, nevertheless made her home with me in her last years; that whenever I willed to help someone in poverty or in *8*
some other need, I was never told that I had no money to do it with; and that I myself never fell into a like need, so as to take from another; that my wife is what she is, so obedient, so affectionate, so artless;[36] that I had a good supply of suitable tutors for my children; that help was given me in dreams, among other things against spit- *9*
ting blood and dizziness, and for this, at Caieta, as if by an oracle;[37] that when I craved philosophy I did not fall in with a sophist, nor sit down to writing treatises, or resolving syllogisms, or busying myself with the heavens. For all these things "need the help of gods and of fortune".[38]

Among the Quadi, on the Granua.[39]

[35] Otherwise unknown; probably members of the household.

[36] Faustina the Younger, daughter of Antoninus Pius; she died in 175/6. The *Historia Augusta* charges her with adultery, Cassius Dio with encouraging the revolt of Avidius Cassius.

[37] Caieta (Gaeta), on the coast of Latium. L prints *ὥσπερ χρήσῃ*, which does not construe as it stands; the English follows *χρησμόν*, "oracle", in the Lyon edition of 1626. Rendall took the words as the oracle's own reply, "as you will use it".

[38] L marks the words as a quotation; the source is unknown.

[39] The Quadi were a German people north of the middle Danube; the Granua is the Hron, which joins the Danube opposite Esztergom. Marcus fought the Quadi in the early 170s. P prints the line with the numeral α′ (p. 11), runs the next three chapters on under Book I, and opens Book II, with its own heading, at 2.4 (p. 13); L reports that A has no such line and leaves a gap. Whether it closes Book I or heads Book II is open.

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Β

α′. Ἔωθεν προλέγειν ἑαυτῷ· συντεύξομαι περιέργῳ, ἀχαρίστῳ, ὑβριστῇ, 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 ἁμαρτάνοντος φύσιν ὅτι μοι συγγενής, οὐχὶ αἵματος ἢ σπέρματος τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ νοῦ καὶ θείας ἀπομοίρας μέτοχος, οὔτε βλαβῆναι ὑπό τινος αὐτῶν δύναμαι· αἰσχρῷ γάρ με οὐδεὶς περιβαλεῖ· οὔτε ὀργίζεσθαι τῷ συγγενεῖ δύναμαι οὔτε ἀπέχθεσθαι αὐτῷ. γεγόναμεν γὰρ πρὸς συνεργίαν ὡς πόδες, ὡς χεῖρες, ὡς βλέφαρα, ὡς οἱ στοῖχοι τῶν ἄνω καὶ κάτω ὀδόντων. τὸ οὖν ἀντιπράσσειν ἀλλήλοις παρὰ φύσιν· ἀντιπρακτικὸν δὲ τὸ ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ ἀποστρέφεσθαι.

β′. Ὅ τί ποτε τοῦτό εἰμι, σαρκία ἐστὶ καὶ πνευμάτιον καὶ τὸ ἡγεμονικόν. [ἄφες τὰ βιβλία· μηκέτι σπῶ. οὐ δέδοται, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἤδη ἀποθνῄσκων] τῶν μὲν σαρκίων καταφρόνησον· λύθρος καὶ ὀστάρια καὶ κροκύφαντος, ἐκ νεύρων, φλεβίων, ἀρτηριῶν πλεγμάτιον. θέασαι δὲ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ὁποῖόν τί ἐστιν· ἄνεμος, οὐδὲ ἀεὶ τὸ αὐτό, ἀλλὰ πάσης ὥρας ἐξεμούμενον καὶ πάλιν ῥοφούμενον. τρίτον οὖν ἐστι τὸ ἡγεμονικόν. ὧδε ἐπινοήθητι· γέρων εἶ· μηκέτι τοῦτο ἐάσῃς δουλεῦσαι, μηκέτι καθ᾽ ὁρμὴν ἀκοινώνητον νευροσπαστηθῆναι, μηκέτι τὸ εἱμαρμένον ἢ παρὸν δυσχερᾶναι ἢ μέλλον ὑπιδέσθαι.

γ′. Τὰ τῶν θεῶν προνοίας μεστά. τὰ τῆς τύχης οὐκ

Book II

1. At dawn, say to yourself in advance: I shall meet the meddling, the ungrateful, the insolent, the treacherous, the envious, the unsocial. All these things have come upon them through ignorance of good and bad. But I have observed the nature of the good, that it is honourable, and of the bad, that it is shameful, and the nature of the wrongdoer himself, that he is kin to me, not of the same blood or seed, but sharing in mind and in a portion of the divine; and so I can neither be harmed by any of them, for no one will involve me in what is shameful, nor be angry with a kinsman or hate him. For we have come to be for working together, like feet, like hands, like eyelids, like the rows of upper and lower teeth.[40] To work against one another is therefore against nature; and being indignant and turning away is a kind of working against.

2. Whatever this is that I am, it is scraps of flesh, a little breath, and the ruling centre.[41] [Let the books go; be dragged about no longer; it is not allowed. But as one already dying][42] despise the scraps of flesh: gore, little bones, a mesh, a tangle of nerves, veins and arteries. Look also at the breath, what sort of thing it is: wind, and not even always the same, but every hour spewed out and sucked in again. The third, then, is the ruling centre. Conceive it this way: you are an old man; no longer let it be a slave, no longer let it be jerked like a puppet by unsocial impulse,[43] no longer let it resent what is fated in the present or look askance at it in the future.

3. The works of the gods are full of providence. The works of fortune are not

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[40] Compare Socrates in Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 2.3.18–19: hands and feet were made "to work together", and brothers for greater help to each other than hands, feet or eyes. The kinship of man with the whole human race, "not of a little blood or a little seed, but of mind", returns at 12.26.

[41] *τὸ ἡγεμονικόν*, the Stoic term for the commanding part of the soul, where impressions are received, assent is given and impulse arises. "A little breath" is *πνευμάτιον*, from *πνεῦμα*, the breath of life, which Marcus here treats as mere air, spewed out and sucked in.

[42] L brackets these words as brought in from elsewhere; compare "As for the thirst for books, throw it away" in the next chapter.

[43] *νευροσπαστηθῆναι*, from the string-puppet (*νευρόσπαστον*), an image Marcus returns to (6.16, 7.29, 12.19).

ἄνευ φύσεως ἢ συγκλώσεως καὶ ἐπιπλοκῆς τῶν προνοίᾳ διοικουμένων. πάντα ἐκεῖθεν ῥεῖ· πρόσεστι δὲ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τὸ τῷ ὅλῳ κόσμῳ συμφέρον, οὗ μέρος εἶ. παντὶ δὲ φύσεως μέρει ἀγαθόν, ὃ φέρει ἡ τοῦ ὅλου φύσις καὶ ὃ ἐκείνης ἐστὶ σωστικόν. σῴζουσι δὲ κόσμον, ὥσπερ αἱ τῶν στοιχείων, οὕτως 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.

δ′. Μέμνησο ἐκ πόσου ταῦτα ἀναβάλλῃ καὶ ὁποσάκις προθεσμίας λαβὼν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν οὐ χρᾷ αὐταῖς. δεῖ δὲ ἤδη ποτὲ αἰσθέσθαι τίνος κόσμου μέρος εἶ καὶ τίνος διοικοῦντος τὸν κόσμον ἀπόρροια ὑπέστης καὶ ὅτι ὅρος ἐστί σοι περιγεγραμμένος τοῦ χρόνου, ᾧ ἐὰν εἰς τὸ ἀπαιθριάσαι μὴ χρήσῃ, οἰχήσεται [οἰχήσῃ] καὶ αὖθις οὐκ ἐξέσται.

ε′. Πάσης ὥρας φρόντιζε στιβαρῶς ὡς Ῥωμαῖος καὶ ἄρρην τὸ ἐν χερσὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀκριβοῦς καὶ ἁπλάστου σεμνότητος καὶ φιλοστοργίας καὶ ἐλευθερίας καὶ δικαιότητος πράσσειν καὶ σχολὴν σαυτῷ ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν ἄλλων φαντασιῶν πορίζειν. ποριεῖς δέ, ἂν ὡς ἐσχάτην τοῦ βίου ἑκάστην πρᾶξιν ἐνεργῇς, ἀπηλλαγμένος πάσης εἰκαιότητος καὶ ἐμπαθοῦς ἀποστροφῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ αἱροῦντος λόγου καὶ ὑποκρίσεως καὶ φιλαυτίας καὶ δυσαρεστήσεως πρὸς τὰ συμμεμοιραμένα. ὁρᾷς πῶς ὀλίγα ἐστίν, ὧν κρατήσας τις δύναται εὔρουν καὶ θεουδῆ βιῶσαι βίον· καὶ γὰρ οἱ θεοὶ πλέον οὐδὲν ἀπαιτήσουσι παρὰ τοῦ ταῦτα φυλάσσοντος.

ς′. Ὕβριζε, ὕβριζε σεαυτήν, ὦ ψυχή· τοῦ δὲ τιμῆσαι

apart from nature, or from the spinning together and interweaving of the things that providence governs.[44] All things flow from there. And there is necessity too, and what is advantageous to the whole universe, of which you are a part. To every part of nature that is good which the nature of the whole brings, and which preserves that nature. And the universe is preserved by the changes of the elements and equally by the changes of the compounds. Let this be enough for you; let these be your principles. As for the thirst for books, throw it away, so that you do not die grumbling, but serene, truly, and grateful to the gods from the heart.

4. Remember how long you have been putting these things off, and how many times you have been given days of grace by the gods and not used them. One must now at last perceive what universe you are a part of, and of what governor of the universe you came to subsist as an outflow,[45] and that a limit of time has been set for you: if you do not use it to clear the sky,[46] it will be gone, [you will be gone,] and it will not be open again.

5. Every hour, set your mind firmly, as a Roman and a male, on doing what is in hand with exact and unaffected dignity, affection, freedom and justness, and on giving yourself leisure from all other impressions. And you will give yourself it if you do each act as the last of your life, free of all aimlessness, of passionate turning away from the dictate of reason, of pretence, of self-love, and of discontent with what has been apportioned to you. You see how few the things are by mastering which a man can live a smoothly flowing and godly life;[47] for the gods will ask nothing more of one who guards them.

6. Do violence to yourself, do violence to yourself, soul; but to honour

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[44] *σύγκλωσις*, "spinning together", recalls the thread of the Fates; compare 4.34, "give yourself up willingly to Clotho".

[45] *ἀπόρροια*, "outflow". The picture is Stoic and material: the mind a portion of the divine (compare 5.27, "a fragment"), which "has flowed from there" (12.26).

[46] *ἀπαιθριάσαι*, to make clear weather: to clear the clouds from the mind. L brackets *οἰχήσῃ*, "you will be gone", with Rendall; P (p. 13) has "it will go, and you will go, and it will not come again".

[47] *εὔρουν*: Zeno defined happiness as *εὔροια βίου*, "a good flow of life" (Stobaeus, *Eclogae* 2.7.6e).

σεαυτὴν οὐκέτι καιρὸν ἕξεις· εἷς γὰρ ὁ βίος ἑκάστῳ, οὗτος δέ σοι σχεδὸν διήνυσται, μὴ αἰδουμένῃ σεαυτήν, ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς ἄλλων ψυχαῖς τιθεμένῃ τὴν σὴν εὐμοιρίαν.

ζ′. Περισπᾷ τί σε τὰ ἔξωθεν ἐμπίπτοντα; καὶ σχολὴν πάρεχε σεαυτῷ τοῦ προσμανθάνειν ἀγαθόν τι καὶ παῦσαι ῥεμβόμενος. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τὴν ἑτέραν περιφορὰν φυλακτέον· ληροῦσι γὰρ καὶ διὰ πράξεων οἱ κεκμηκότες τῷ βίῳ καὶ μὴ ἔχοντες σκοπόν, ἐφ' ὃν πᾶσαν ὁρμὴν καὶ καθάπαξ φαντασίαν ἀπευθύνουσιν.

η′. Παρὰ μὲν τὸ μὴ ἐφιστάνειν, τί ἐν τῇ ἄλλου ψυχῇ γίνεται, οὐ ῥᾳδίως τις ὤφθη κακοδαιμονῶν· τοὺς δὲ τοῖς τῆς ἰδίας ψυχῆς κινήμασι μὴ παρακολουθοῦντας ἀνάγκη κακοδαιμονεῖν.

θ′. Τούτων ἀεὶ δεῖ μεμνῆσθαι, τίς ἡ τῶν ὅλων φύσις καὶ τίς ἡ ἐμὴ καὶ πῶς αὕτη πρὸς ἐκείνην ἔχουσα καὶ ὁποιόν τι μέρος ὁποίου τοῦ ὅλου οὖσα καὶ ὅτι οὐδεὶς ὁ κωλύων τὰ ἀκόλουθα τῇ φύσει, ἧς μέρος εἶ, πράσσειν τε ἀεὶ καὶ λέγειν.

ι′. Φιλοσόφως ὁ Θεόφραστος ἐν τῇ συγκρίσει τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, ὡς ἄν τις κοινότερον τὰ τοιαῦτα συγκρίνειε, 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 ἁμαρτάνων, ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἡττώμενος ἀκολαστότερός πως φαίνεται καὶ θηλύτερος ἐν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις. ὀρθῶς οὖν καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἀξίως ἔφη μείζονος ἐγκλήματος ἔχεσθαι τὸ μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἁμαρτανόμενον ἢπερ τὸ μετὰ λύπης· ὅλως τε ὁ μὲν προηδικημένῳ μᾶλλον ἔοικε καὶ διὰ λύπης

yourself you will have no further chance. For each has one life,[48] and yours is almost done, while you pay yourself no respect but place your own good lot in the souls of others.

7. Do the things that fall upon you from outside distract you at all? Then give yourself leisure to learn something more that is good, and stop wandering. But one must now guard against the other kind of drifting too; for those who are worn out by life and have no target at which they aim every impulse and, in a word, every impression, are triflers in their actions as well.

8. Not attending to what goes on in another's soul has not easily been seen to make anyone unhappy; but those who do not keep track of the movements of their own soul are bound to be unhappy.[49]

9. One must always remember these things: what the nature of the whole is, and what mine is, and how this stands to that, and what sort of part it is of what sort of whole; and that there is no one who prevents you from always doing and saying what accords with the nature of which you are a part.

10. Theophrastus speaks as a philosopher when, comparing wrongdoings as one might compare such things in the ordinary way, he says that offences committed through craving are graver than those committed through rage. For the man in a rage is seen to turn away from reason with a kind of distress and an unconscious contraction; but the man who does wrong through craving, overcome by pleasure, is seen to be somehow more licentious and more womanish in his wrongdoing. Rightly, then, and in a manner worthy of philosophy, he said that wrong done with pleasure is open to a greater charge than wrong done with distress.[50] And in general, the one is more like a man who has been wronged first and by distress

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[48] "Each has one life" is Boot's *εἷς*. P (p. 13) has *εὖ*; L reports *οὐ* in A and *βραχύς*, "short", in D, the Darmstadt manuscript of excerpts. Gataker read the opening as a statement, "you are doing violence to yourself".

[49] "Unhappy", *κακοδαιμονεῖν*, is literally "to have a bad daimon". Marcus plays on the word at 7.17: happiness (*εὐδαιμονία*) is a good daimon.

[50] Theophrastus, Aristotle's successor; the work is lost. Compare Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 7.6, 1149b: the angry man acts in distress, the man of wanton outrage with pleasure. The Stoics defined distress (*λύπη*) as an irrational contraction of the soul (Diogenes Laertius 7.111).

ἠναγκασμένῳ θυμωθῆναι· ὁ δὲ αὐτόθεν πρὸς τὸ ἀδικεῖν ὥρμηται, φερόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ πρᾶξαί τι κατ᾽ ἐπιθυμίαν.

ια′. Ὡς ἤδη δυνατοῦ ὄντος ἐξιέναι τοῦ βίου, οὕτως ἕκαστα ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν καὶ διανοεῖσθαι. τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπελθεῖν, εἰ μὲν θεοὶ εἰσίν, οὐδὲν δεινόν· κακῷ γάρ σε οὐκ ἂν περιβάλοιεν· εἰ δὲ ἤτοι οὐκ εἰσὶν ἢ οὐ μέλει αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀνθρωπείων, τί μοι
2 ζῆν ἐν κόσμῳ κενῷ θεῶν ἢ προνοίας κενῷ; 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 ἂν προείδοντο, ἵνα ἐπὶ παντὶ ᾖ τὸ μὴ περιπίπτειν αὐτῷ. ὃ δὲ χείρω μὴ ποιεῖ ἄνθρωπον, πῶς
3 ἂν τοῦτο βίον ἀνθρώπου χείρω ποιήσειεν; οὔτε δὲ κατ᾽ ἄγνοιαν οὔτε εἰδυῖα μέν, μὴ δυναμένη δὲ προφυλάξασθαι ἢ διορθώσασθαι ταῦτα ἡ τῶν ὅλων φύσις παρεῖδεν ἄν, οὔτ᾽ ἂν τηλικοῦτον ἥμαρτεν ἤτοι παρ᾽ ἀδυναμίαν ἢ παρ᾽ ἀτεχνίαν, ἵνα τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰ κακὰ ἐπίσης τοῖς τε ἀγαθοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ τοῖς κακοῖς
4 πεφυρμένως συμβαίνῃ. 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᾽ ἀγαθὰ οὔτε κακά ἐστι.

ιβ′. Πῶς πάντα ταχέως ἐναφανίζεται, τῷ μὲν κόσμῳ αὐτὰ τὰ σώματα, τῷ δὲ αἰῶνι αἱ μνῆμαι αὐτῶν. οἷά ἐστι τὰ αἰσθητὰ πάντα καὶ μάλιστα τὰ ἡδονῇ δελεάζοντα ἢ τῷ πόνῳ φοβοῦντα ἢ τῷ τύφῳ διαβεβοημένα· πῶς εὐτελῆ καὶ εὐκαταφρόνητα καὶ ῥυπαρὰ καὶ εὔφθαρτα καὶ νεκρά, νοερᾶς

compelled to rage; the other has had his impulse, of his own accord, towards acting unjustly, carried on to do something through craving.

11. Do and say and think each thing as one who may leave life at this moment. To go away from among men, if there are gods, is nothing terrible, for they would not involve you in anything bad; and if either there are none, or they do not care for human affairs, what is it to me to live in a universe empty of gods or empty of providence?[51] But they do exist, and they do care for human affairs; and they have *2* put it wholly in man's power not to fall into what is truly bad. And if there were anything bad in the rest, they would have provided for this too, so that it might be in everyone's power not to fall into it. But how could what does not make a man worse make a man's life worse? The nature of the whole would not have overlooked these things, ei- *3* ther through ignorance, or knowing it but unable to guard against it or correct it; nor would it have done wrong so greatly, through want of power or want of skill, that good and bad should befall good men and bad indiscriminately and alike. But death and life, fame and ob- *4* scurity, pain and pleasure, wealth and poverty: all these befall good men and bad alike, being neither honourable nor shameful. So they are neither good nor bad.[52]

12. How quickly all things vanish: the bodies themselves into the universe, the memory of them into eternity. What all the objects of sense are like, and above all those that lure with pleasure or frighten with pain or are cried up by vanity; how cheap they are, contemptible, sordid, perishable, dead. These are for the intelligent

[51] Gods who exist but do not care for human affairs are the gods of Epicurus. Marcus returns to the choice between providence and atoms at 4.3, 6.10 and 9.39.

[52] The Stoic doctrine of the things that make no difference (*ἀδιάφορα*), also called the things indifferent: life, health, wealth and reputation are neither good nor bad, since virtue alone is good.

δυνάμεως ἐφιστάναι. τί εἰσιν οὗτοι, ὧν αἱ ὑπολήψεις καὶ αἱ φωναὶ τὴν εὐδοξίαν ⟨παρέχουσι⟩. τί ἐστι τὸ ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ ὅτι, ἐάν τις αὐτὸ μόνον ἴδῃ καὶ τῷ μερισμῷ τῆς ἐννοίας διαλύσῃ τὰ ἐμφανταζόμενα αὐτῷ, οὐκέτι ἄλλο τι ὑπολήψεται αὐτὸ εἶναι ἢ φύσεως ἔργον· φύσεως δὲ ἔργον εἴ τις φοβεῖται, παιδίον ἐστί· τοῦτο μέντοι οὐ μόνον φύσεως ἔργον ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμφέρον αὐτῇ. πῶς ἅπτεται θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος καὶ κατὰ τί ἑαυτοῦ μέρος καὶ ὅταν πῶς [ἔχῃ] διακέηται τὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦτο μόριον.

ιγ′. Οὐδὲν ἀθλιώτερον τοῦ πάντα κύκλῳ ἐκπεριερχομένου καὶ ‘τὰ νέρθεν γᾶς (φησὶν) ἐρευνῶντος’ καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν πλησίον διὰ τεκμάρσεως ζητοῦντος, μὴ αἰσθομένου δέ, ὅτι ἀρκεῖ πρὸς μόνῳ τῷ ἔνδον 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 δι’ ἀρετήν· τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων φίλα διὰ συγγένειαν, ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἐλεεινὰ δι’ ἄγνοιαν ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν· οὐκ ἐλάττων ἡ πήρωσις αὕτη τῆς στερισκούσης τοῦ διακρίνειν τὰ λευκὰ καὶ μέλανα.

ιδ′. Κἂν τρὶς χίλια ἔτη βιώσεσθαι μέλλῃς, κἂν τοσαυτάκις μύρια, ὅμως μέμνησο ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἄλλον ἀποβάλλει βίον ἢ τοῦτον ὃν ζῇ, οὐδὲ ἄλλον ζῇ ἢ ὃν ἀποβάλλει. εἰς ταὐτὸν οὖν καθίσταται τὸ μήκιστον τῷ βραχυτάτῳ. τὸ γὰρ

faculty to attend to.[53] What are they whose opinions and voices ⟨confer⟩ good repute? What is dying? And that if one looks at it by itself, and by analysing the conception strips away the impressions attached to it, he will no longer form the opinion that it is anything but a work of nature; and if anyone fears a work of nature, he is a child. Yet it is not only a work of nature but also to her advantage. How man touches God, and with what part of himself, and in what state that part of man [stands and] is disposed when it does.[54]

13. Nothing is more wretched than the man who goes round everything in a circle, "searching the things beneath the earth", as he says,[55] and seeking by conjecture what is in the souls of neighbours, and does not perceive that it is enough to be with the daimon within oneself alone and to serve it genuinely.[56] And the service of it is to keep it pure of passion, aimlessness and discontent with what comes from gods and men. For what comes from the gods deserves respect because of virtue, and what comes from men deserves love because of kinship, and sometimes, in a way, pity, because of ignorance of good and bad; this is a disablement no less than the one that deprives a man of telling white from black.

14. Even if you are going to live three thousand years, or as many times ten thousand, still remember that no one loses any other life than the one he is living, nor lives any other than the one he loses. So the longest and the shortest come to the same. For the

[53] The infinitive ἐφιστάναι, "to attend to", governs the clauses before it, and probably those after it too: each names something for the mind to attend to.

[54] Presumably the mind: at 12.26 "the mind of each is a god and has flowed from there".

[55] Pindar (fr. 292), quoted by Plato, *Theaetetus* 173e, of the philosopher whose mind roams everywhere while his body lives in the city.

[56] The divinity within: at 5.27 "the daimon, whom Zeus has given to each as guardian and guide, a fragment of himself. And this is each man's mind and reason." Compare Plato, *Timaeus* 90a, where god gives each of us the highest part of the soul as a daimon.

παρὸν πᾶσιν ἴσον καὶ τὸ ἀπολλύμενον οὖν ἴσον καὶ τὸ ἀποβαλλόμενον οὕτως ἀκαριαῖον ἀναφαίνεται. οὔτε γὰρ τὸ παρῳχηκὸς οὔτε τὸ μέλλον ἀποβάλοι ἄν τις· ὃ γὰρ οὐκ ἔχει, πῶς ἄν
2 τις τοῦτο αὐτοῦ ἀφέλοιτο; τούτων οὖν τῶν δύο δεῖ μεμνῆσθαι· ἑνὸς μέν, ὅτι πάντα ἐξ ἀιδίου ὁμοειδῆ καὶ ἀνακυκλούμενα καὶ οὐδὲν διαφέρει, πότερον ἐν ἑκατὸν ἔτεσιν ἢ ἐν διακοσίοις ἢ ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ χρόνῳ τὰ αὐτά τις ὄψεται· ἑτέρου δέ, ὅτι καὶ ὁ πολυχρονιώτατος καὶ ὁ τάχιστα τεθνηξόμενος τὸ ἴσον ἀποβάλλει. τὸ γὰρ παρόν ἐστι μόνον, οὗ στερίσκεσθαι μέλλει, εἴπερ γε ἔχει καὶ τοῦτο μόνον καὶ ὃ μὴ ἔχει τις οὐκ ἀποβάλλει.

ιε′. Ὅτι πᾶν ὑπόληψις. 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.

ις′. Ὑβρίζει ἑαυτὴν ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ μάλιστα μέν, ὅταν ἀπόστημα καὶ οἷον φῦμα τοῦ κόσμου, ὅσον ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῇ, γένηται· τὸ γὰρ δυσχεραίνειν τινὶ τῶν γινομένων ἀπόστασίς ἐστι τῆς φύσεως, ἧς ἐν μέρει ⟨αἱ⟩ ἑκάστου τῶν λοιπῶν φύσεις περιέχονται. ἔπειτα δέ, ὅταν ἄνθρωπόν τινα ἀποστραφῇ ἢ καὶ ἐναντία φέρηται ὡς βλάψουσα, οἷαί εἰσιν αἱ τῶν ὀργιζομένων. τρίτον ὑβρίζει ἑαυτήν, ὅταν ἡσσᾶται ἡδονῆς ἢ πόνου. τέταρτον, ὅταν ὑποκρίνηται καὶ ἐπιπλάστως καὶ ἀναλήθως τι ποιῇ ἢ λέγῃ. πέμπτον, ὅταν πρᾶξίν τινα ἑαυτῆς καὶ ὁρμὴν ἐπ᾽ οὐδένα σκοπὸν ἀφιῇ, ἀλλ᾽ εἰκῇ καὶ ἀπαρακολουθήτως ὁτιοῦν ἐνεργῇ, δέον καὶ τὰ μικρότατα κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος ἀναφορὰν γίνεσθαι·

present is equal for all, and so what passes away is equal, and what is lost is thus shown to be a mere instant.[57] For no one could lose the past or the future: how could anyone take from a man what he does not have? So one must remember these two things. First, that 2
all things from everlasting are of one form and come round again, and it makes no difference whether one sees the same things for a hundred years or two hundred or for infinite time.[58] Second, that the longest-lived and the one who will die soonest lose what is equal. For it is only the present that he will be deprived of, since this is all he has; and no one loses what he does not have.

15. That everything is opinion. For what was said to Monimus the Cynic is plain; and plain too is the use of the saying, if one receives its pith as far as it is true.[59]

16. The soul of man does violence to itself, first and foremost, when it becomes, as far as it can, an abscess and a kind of tumour on the universe; for to resent anything that happens is to stand apart from nature, in which ⟨the⟩ natures of each of the rest are contained as parts.[60] Second, when it turns away from any man, or even goes against him intending harm, as the souls of angry men do. Third, it does violence to itself when it is overcome by pleasure or pain. Fourth, when it pretends and does or says anything feignedly and falsely. Fifth, when it lets any act or impulse of its own go at no target, but does whatever it does at random and without attention, when even the smallest things ought to be done with reference to the end;

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[57] "And so" is Gataker's *οὖν*; L reports the manuscripts' *οὐκ*, "what passes away is not equal".

[58] Probably the Stoic cycles of the world, each ending in conflagration and followed by the same order of things again; compare 11.1, "the periodic rebirth of the whole". At 10.7 Marcus leaves open whether the world is renewed by periodic conflagration or by everlasting exchanges.

[59] Monimus of Syracuse, a pupil of Diogenes, is quoted in a comedy of Menander (Diogenes Laertius 6.83) as saying that everything we suppose is *τῦφος*, "smoke". Ménage proposed "by Monimus" for "to Monimus"; L objects that Marcus never uses the construction.

[60] *ἀπόστημα*, "abscess", plays on *ἀπόστασις*, "standing apart, revolt". L prints Coraes' supplement ⟨*αἱ*⟩ but thinks the passage suffers from a deeper corruption.

τέλος δὲ λογικῶν ζῴων τὸ ἕπεσθαι τῷ τῆς πόλεως καὶ πολιτείας τῆς πρεσβυτάτης λόγῳ καὶ θεσμῷ.

ιζ′. Τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου βίου ὁ μὲν χρόνος στιγμή, ἡ δὲ οὐσία ῥέουσα, ἡ δὲ αἴσθησις ἀμυδρά, ἡ δὲ ὅλου 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
2 καὶ ξένου ἐπιδημία, ἡ δὲ ὑστεροφημία λήθη. τί οὖν τὸ παραπέμψαι δυνάμενον; ἓν καὶ μόνον φιλοσοφία· 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 ποιῆσαί τι ἢ μὴ ποιῆσαι· ἔτι δὲ τὰ συμβαίνοντα καὶ ἀπονεμόμενα δεχόμενον ὡς ἐκεῖθέν ποθεν ἐρχόμενα, ὅθεν αὐτὸς ἦλθεν· ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τὸν θάνατον ἴλεῳ τῇ γνώμῃ περιμένοντα ὡς οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ λύσιν τῶν στοιχείων, ἐξ ὧν ἕκαστον ζῷον συγκρίνεται. εἰ δὲ αὐτοῖς τοῖς στοιχείοις μηδὲν δεινὸν ἐν τῷ ἕκαστον διηνεκῶς εἰς ἕτερον μεταβάλλειν, διὰ τί ὑπίδηταί τις τὴν πάντων μεταβολὴν καὶ διάλυσιν; κατὰ φύσιν γάρ· οὐδὲν δὲ κακὸν κατὰ φύσιν.

Τὰ ἐν Καρνούντῳ.

and the end of rational living beings is to follow the reason and law of the most venerable city and commonwealth.[61]

17. Of human life: the time a point, the substance flowing, sensation dim, the compound of the whole body quick to rot, the soul a whirl,[62] fortune hard to read, fame without judgement. In a word: all that belongs to the body is a river, all that belongs to the soul dream and vanity; life is a war and a stranger's sojourn, and fame after death is oblivion. What then can serve as escort? One thing, and 2
one only: philosophy. And this lies in keeping the daimon within inviolate and unharmed, master of pleasures and pains, doing nothing at random, nothing falsely or with pretence, not needing another to do or not do anything; and further, receiving what happens and is allotted as coming from there, wherever that is, whence it came itself; and above all, awaiting death with a serene frame of mind, as nothing but the dissolution of the elements of which each living being is compounded. But if there is nothing terrible for the elements themselves in each perpetually changing into another, why should anyone look askance at the change and dissolution of all? For it is according to nature; and nothing according to nature is bad.

At Carnuntum.[63]

[61] The universe as a city of gods and men, a Stoic doctrine; compare 3.11, "the highest city, of which the other cities are like households", and 4.4.

[62] *ῥόμβος*, a spinning top or whirl. P (p. 18) prints *ῥόμβος*; Xylander's notes say his manuscript had *ῥεμβός*, "wandering", noted as a variant, and his Latin follows it. L reports *ῥεμβός* in A, D and two manuscripts of excerpts.

[63] Carnuntum, the legionary fortress and capital of Upper Pannonia on the Danube, east of Vienna, Marcus's headquarters in the early 170s. L reports no such line in A, D or the Munich excerpts; P (p. 20) prints it above the title of Book III, but Xylander in his notes read it, like the line on the Quadi, as Marcus's record of where a part was written.

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Γ

α′. Οὐχὶ τοῦτο μόνον δεῖ λογίζεσθαι, ὅτι καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἀπαναλίσκεται ὁ βίος καὶ μέρος ἔλαττον αὐτοῦ καταλείπεται, ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖνο λογιστέον, ὅτι, εἰ ἐπὶ πλέον βιώῃ τις, ἐκεῖνό γε ἄδηλον, εἰ ἐξαρκέσει ὁμοία 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 ὁρμᾶν 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 ἤδη ἐξακτέον αὑτὸν ἐφιστάνειν καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα λογισμοῦ συγγεγυμνασμένου πάνυ χρῄζει, προαποσβέννυται. χρὴ οὖν ἐπείγεσθαι οὐ μόνον τῷ ἐγγυτέρῳ τοῦ θανάτου ἑκάστοτε γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ τὴν ἐννόησιν τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τὴν παρακολούθησιν προαπολήγειν.

β′. Χρὴ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα παραφυλάσσειν, ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἐπιγινόμενα τοῖς φύσει γινομένοις ἔχει τι εὔχαρι καὶ ἐπαγωγόν. οἷον ἄρτου ὀπτωμένου παραρρήγνυταί τινα μέρη· καὶ ταῦτα οὖν τὰ διέχοντα οὕτως καὶ τρόπον τινὰ παρὰ τὸ ἐπάγγελμα τῆς ἀρτοποιίας ἔχοντα ἐπιπρέπει πως καὶ προθυμίαν πρὸς τὴν τροφὴν
2 ἰδίως ἀνακινεῖ. πάλιν τε τὰ σῦκα ὁπότε ὡραιότατά ἐστι, κέχηνε καὶ ἐν ταῖς δρυπεπέσιν ἐλαίαις αὐτὸ τὸ ἐγγὺς τῇ σήψει ἴδιόν τι κάλλος τῷ καρπῷ προστίθησιν. καὶ οἱ στάχυες κάτω νεύοντες καὶ τὸ τοῦ λέοντος ἐπισκύνιον καὶ ὁ τῶν συῶν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ῥέων ἀφρὸς καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα, κατ᾽ ἰδίαν εἴ τις σκοποίη, πόρρω

Book III

1. One must take into account not only that life is being spent day by day and a smaller part of it is left, but this too: that if a man should live longer, it is still unclear whether the understanding will stay equal to the comprehension of affairs and of the contemplation that bears on experience of things divine and human. For if he begins to dote, transpiring, feeding, forming impressions, feeling impulses and all the rest of that kind will not fail him; but the use of himself, the exact reckoning of the numbers of duty,[64] the analysis of what presents itself, attending to the very question whether one must now take oneself out of life,[65] and all else of that kind that needs a thoroughly trained power of reckoning, is quenched first. One must hurry, then, not only because one comes nearer to death each moment, but because the conceiving of things and the keeping track of them give out before it.

2. One must watch for things like this too: that even what follows incidentally on things that come about by nature has a certain charm and attraction. When bread is baked, for instance, some parts split open; and these cracks, which in a way run counter to what the baker's art intends, are somehow becoming and in their own way stir the appetite for food. Figs, again, gape open when they are most in 2
season; and in olives ripening on the tree the very nearness to decay adds a beauty of its own to the fruit. And the ears of corn bending down, the lion's wrinkled brow, the foam flowing from the mouths of boars, and much else, if one should look at it on its own, far

[64] A Stoic phrase: a right action (*κατόρθωμα*) is a duty that "has all the numbers" (Stobaeus, *Eclogae* 2.7.11a). Compare 6.26, "every duty is completed out of certain numbers".

[65] The Stoics allowed a reasoned departure from life when it could no longer be lived as it should; compare 5.29, "if they do not allow it, then go out of life too".

ὄντα τοῦ εὐειδοῦς, ὅμως διὰ τὸ τοῖς φύσει γινομένοις ἐπακο-
3 λουθεῖν συνεπικοσμεῖ καὶ ψυχαγωγεῖ· 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 ἧσσον 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 ᾠκειωμένῳ προσπεσεῖται.

γ′. Ἱπποκράτης πολλὰς νόσους ἰασάμενος αὐτὸς νοσήσας ἀπέθανεν. οἱ Χαλδαῖοι πολλῶν θανάτους προηγόρευσαν, εἶτα καὶ αὐτοὺς τὸ πεπρωμένον κατέλαβεν. Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Πομπήιος καὶ Γάιος Καῖσαρ, ὅλας πόλεις ἄρδην τοσαυτάκις ἀνελόντες καὶ ἐν παρατάξει πολλὰς μυριάδας ἱππέων 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᾽ ἕτερον 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.

from being comely, yet because it ensues upon the things that come about by nature adds to their beauty and gives delight; so that if a 3
man has a feeling and a deeper conception for the things that happen in the whole,[66] hardly anything, even among the things that happen by way of consequence, will fail to seem to him to hang together pleasingly in its own way. Such a man will look even at the real gaping jaws of wild beasts with no less pleasure than at the ones painters and sculptors show in imitation; with his own chaste eyes he will be able to see a kind of ripeness and bloom in an old woman or an old man, and the loveliness of boys; and many such things, not convincing to everyone, will strike only the man who has come into genuine affinity with nature and her works.

3. Hippocrates cured many diseases, then fell ill himself and died. The Chaldaeans foretold the deaths of many; then doom caught up with them too.[67] Alexander and Pompey and Gaius Caesar, after so often destroying whole cities root and branch and cutting down many tens of thousands of horse and foot in battle, themselves at last departed from life. Heraclitus, after studying nature so much on the conflagration of the universe, was filled with water within and died plastered with cow-dung.[68] Lice killed Democritus; lice of another kind killed Socrates.[69] What of it? You embarked, you made the voyage, you have come to port: disembark. If into another life, nothing is empty of gods there either; if into absence of sensation, you will cease to put up with pains and pleasures and to slave for a vessel so much worse than what serves it: for the one is mind and daimon, the other earth and gore.

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[66] "Feeling" is *πάθος*, here in its ordinary sense of a sensibility, not the Stoic "passion". Morus read *βάθος*, "depth", and deleted "and a deeper conception" (L's apparatus).

[67] The Chaldaeans were a people of southern Babylonia; the name came to mean Babylonian astrologers.

[68] Heraclitus of Ephesus, to whom the Stoics traced their doctrine of the world-fire. The story that he died of dropsy after treating himself with dung is told by Diogenes Laertius 9.3–4.

[69] L's testimonia note that Marcus confuses Democritus with Pherecydes of Syros, who was said to have died of lice (Diogenes Laertius 1.118). The "other lice" are presumably Socrates' accusers.

δ′. Μὴ κατατρίψῃς τὸ ὑπολειπόμενον τοῦ βίου μέρος ἐν ταῖς περὶ ἑτέρων φαντασίαις, ὁπόταν μὴ τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἐπί τι κοινωφελὲς ποιῇ (ἤτοι γὰρ ἄλλου ἔργου στέρῃ), τουτέστι φαντα-
2 ζόμενος τί ὁ δεῖνα πράσσει καὶ τίνος ἕνεκεν καὶ τί λέγει καὶ τί ἐνθυμεῖται καὶ τί τεχνάζεται καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα ποιεῖ ἀπορρέμβεσθαι τῆς τοῦ ἰδίου ἡγεμονικοῦ παρατηρήσεως. χρὴ μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸ εἰκῇ καὶ μάτην ἐν τῷ εἱρμῷ τῶν φαντασιῶν περιίστασθαι, πολὺ δὲ μάλιστα τὸ περίεργον καὶ κακόηθες καὶ ἐθιστέον ἑαυτὸν μόνα φαντάζεσθαι, περὶ ὧν εἴ τις ἄφνω ἐπανέροιτο· τί νῦν διανοῇ; μετὰ παρρησίας παραχρῆμα ἂν ἀποκρίναιο ὅτι τὸ καὶ τό· ὡς ἐξ αὐτῶν εὐθὺς δῆλα εἶναι, ὅτι πάντα ἁπλᾶ καὶ εὐμενῆ καὶ ζῴου κοινωνικοῦ καὶ ἀμελοῦντος ἡδονικῶν ἢ καθάπαξ ἀπολαυστικῶν φαντασμάτων ἢ φιλονεικίας τινὸς ἢ βασκανίας καὶ ὑποψίας ἢ ἄλλου τινός, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ ἂν ἐρυθριάσειας ἐξηγούμενος, ὅτι
3 ἐν νῷ αὐτὸ εἶχες. ὁ γάρ τοι ἀνὴρ ὁ τοιοῦτος, οὐκέτι ὑπερτιθέμενος τὸ ὡς ἐν ἀρίστοις ἤδη εἶναι, ἱερεύς τίς ἐστι καὶ ὑπουργὸς θεῶν, χρώμενος καὶ τῷ ἔνδον ἱδρυμένῳ αὐτῷ, ὃ παρέχεται τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἄχραντον ἡδονῶν, ἄτρωτον ὑπὸ παντὸς πόνου, πάσης ὕβρεως ἀνέπαφον, πάσης ἀναίσθητον πονηρίας, ἀθλητὴν ἄθλου τοῦ μεγίστου, τοῦ ὑπὸ μηδενὸς πάθους καταβληθῆναι, δικαιοσύνῃ βεβαμμένον 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

4. Do not waste the part of life that is left to you in impressions about other people, when you are not referring them to some common good (for you are deprived of other work): forming impressions, that is, of what so-and-so is doing and why, what he is saying, considering, scheming, and everything of that kind that makes you wander from watching over your own ruling centre. In the sequence 2
of impressions, then, one must avoid what is random and pointless, and above all what is meddling and malicious; and one must accustom oneself to form impressions only of such things that if someone suddenly asked, "What are you thinking now?", you could at once answer frankly, "This and that"; so that from them it would be plain at once that everything is simple and kindly and belongs to a social living being who cares nothing for pleasurable or, in a word, self-indulgent imaginings, or for any rivalry, envy and suspicion, or anything else you would blush to confess you had in mind. For such a 3
man, no longer putting off being, as it were, among the best already, is a kind of priest and servant of the gods, making use also of what is enshrined within him, which renders the man unstained by pleasures, unwounded by any pain, untouched by any outrage, insensible to any wickedness, an athlete in the greatest of contests, that of not being thrown by any passion, dyed deep with justice,[70] welcoming with his whole soul all that happens and is allotted to him, and not often, nor without some great necessity for the common good, forming impressions of what someone else

[70] Compare Plato, *Republic* 429d–430a: the soldiers are to take the laws like wool taking a fast dye.

λέγει ἢ πράσσει ἢ διανοεῖται. μόνα γὰρ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς ἐνέργειαν ἔχει καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῷ ἐκ τῶν ὅλων συγκλωθόμενα διηνεκῶς ἐννοεῖ κἀκεῖνα μὲν καλὰ παρέχεται, ταῦτα δὲ ἀγαθὰ εἶναι πέπεισται· ἡ γὰρ ἑκάστῳ νεμομένη μοῖρα συνεμφέρεταί τε καὶ
4 συνεμφέρει. 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 ὁποῖοί τινες οἴκοι τε καὶ ἔξω τῆς οἰκίας καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν, οἷοι μεθ' οἵων φύρονται, μεμνημένος διατελεῖ. οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τὸν παρὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἔπαινον ἐν λόγῳ τίθεται, οἵγε οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοῖς ἀρέσκονται.

ε′. 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 ζῴου ἄρρενος καὶ πρεσβύτου καὶ πολιτικοῦ καὶ Ῥωμαίου καὶ ἄρχοντος, ἀνατεταχότος ἑαυτόν, οἷος ἂν εἴη τις περιμένων τὸ ἀνακλητικὸν ἐκ τοῦ βίου εὔλυτος, μήτε ὅρκου δεόμενος μήτε ἀνθρώπου τινὸς μάρτυρος. ἔτι δὲ τὸ φαιδρὸν καὶ τὸ ἀπροσδεὲς τῆς ἔξωθεν ὑπηρεσίας καὶ τὸ ἀπροσδεὲς ἡσυχίας, ἣν ἄλλοι παρέχουσιν. ὀρθὸν οὖν εἶναι χρή, οὐχὶ ὀρθούμενον.

ς′. Εἰ μὲν κρεῖττον εὑρίσκεις ἐν τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ βίῳ δικαιοσύνης, ἀληθείας, σωφροσύνης, ἀνδρείας καὶ καθάπαξ

is saying or doing or thinking. For he makes only his own concerns the matter of his activity, and perpetually bears in mind what is spun for him out of the whole; the first he makes honourable, the second he is persuaded are good. For the lot dealt out to each is carried along with him and carries him along.[71] He remembers too that everything *4*
rational is kin, and that to care for all men is according to man's nature; but that one must hold to the repute given not by all, but only by those who live in agreement with nature. As for those who do not live so, he keeps in mind what sort of people they are at home and out of doors, by night and by day, and with what sort they befoul themselves. So he sets no store even by praise from such people, who are not even pleased with themselves.

5. Do not act unwillingly, or unsocially, or without examination, or pulled two ways; let no elegance dress up your understanding; be neither a man of many words nor of many affairs. Further, let the god within you be the guardian of a living being that is male, elderly, civic, Roman, and a ruler, who has taken up his post[72] such as one would be who waits for the recall from life, ready to be released, needing neither oath nor any man as witness. Further: cheerfulness, and no need of help from outside, and no need of the peace that others give.[73] One must, then, be upright, not held upright.[74]

6. If you find in human life anything better than justice, truth, self-control, courage, and, in a word,

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[71] *συνεμφέρεταί τε καὶ συνεμφέρει*: a play on the verb, whose exact sense is disputed; perhaps "is included in the whole and includes him".

[72] *ἀνατεταχότος ἑαυτόν*: probably a military image, with the recall that follows, the trumpet signal to retire (*τὸ ἀνακλητικόν*).

[73] L prints Morus' *ἔτι δέ*, "further"; he reports *ἐν δέ* in P and *ἓν δέ*, "and one thing", in A and D; Polak proposed *ἐνέστω δέ*, "let there be in you". The clause has no verb.

[74] Compare 7.12.

τοῦ ἀρκεῖσθαι ἑαυτῇ τὴν διάνοιάν σου, ἐν οἷς κατὰ τὸν λόγον τὸν ὀρθὸν πράσσοντά σε παρέχεται, καὶ τῇ εἱμαρμένῃ ἐν τοῖς ἀπροαιρέτως ἀπονεμομένοις· εἰ τούτου, φημί, κρεῖττόν τι ὁρᾷς, ἐπ᾽ ἐκεῖνο ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς τραπόμενος τοῦ ἀρίστου εὑρι-
2 σκομένου ἀπόλαυε. εἰ δὲ μηδὲν κρεῖττον φαίνεται αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐνιδρυμένου ἐν σοὶ δαίμονος, τάς τε ἰδίας ὁρμὰς ὑποτεταχότος ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὰς φαντασίας ἐξετάζοντος καὶ τῶν αἰσθητικῶν πείσεων, ὡς ὁ Σωκράτης ἔλεγεν, ἑαυτὸν ἀφειλκυκότος καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ὑποτεταχότος ἑαυτὸν καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων προκηδομένου· εἰ τούτου πάντα τὰ ἄλλα μικρότερα καὶ εὐτελέστερα εὑρίσκεις, μηδενὶ χώραν δίδου ἑτέρῳ, πρὸς ὃ ῥέψας ἅπαξ καὶ ἀποκλίνας οὐκέτι ἀπερισπάστως τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἴδιον καὶ τὸ σὸν
3 προτιμᾶν δυνήσῃ. ἀντικαθῆσθαι γὰρ τῷ λογικῷ καὶ πολιτικῷ ἀγαθῷ οὐ θέμις οὐδ᾽ ὁτιοῦν ἑτερογενές, οἷον τὸν παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἔπαινον ἢ ἀρχὰς ἢ πλοῦτον ἢ ἀπολαύσεις ἡδονῶν· πάντα ταῦτα, κἂν πρὸς ὀλίγον ἐναρμόζειν δόξῃ, κατεκράτησεν ἄφνω καὶ παρήνεγκεν. σὺ δέ, φημί, ἁπλῶς καὶ ἐλευθέρως ἑλοῦ τὸ κρεῖττον καὶ τούτου ἀντέχου. κρεῖττον δὲ τὸ συμφέρον. εἰ μὲν τὸ ὡς λογικῷ, τοῦτο τήρει· εἰ δὲ τὸ ὡς ζῴῳ, ἀπόφηναι καὶ ἀτύφως φύλασσε τὴν κρίσιν· μόνον ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς τὴν ἐξέτασιν ποιήσῃ.

ζ′. Μὴ τιμήσῃς ποτὲ ὡς συμφέρον σεαυτῷ, ὃ ἀναγκάσει σέ ποτε τὴν πίστιν παραβῆναι, τὴν αἰδῶ ἐγκαταλιπεῖν, μισῆσαί τινα, ὑποπτεῦσαι, καταράσασθαι, ὑποκρίνασθαι, ἐπιθυμῆσαί τινος τοίχων καὶ παραπετασμάτων δεομένου. ὁ γὰρ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ νοῦν καὶ δαίμονα καὶ τὰ ὄργια τῆς τούτου ἀρετῆς

your understanding's being content with itself where it makes you act according to right reason, and content with fate in what is allotted without choice; if, I say, you see anything better than this, turn to it with your whole soul and enjoy the best that you have found. But 2
if nothing appears better than the daimon itself that is enshrined in you, which has subjected its own impulses to itself, examines the impressions, has drawn itself away, as Socrates used to say, from what the senses undergo,[75] has subjected itself to the gods and takes care for men; if you find everything else smaller and cheaper than this, give room to nothing else, for once you have tilted and leaned towards it you will no longer be able, without distraction, to honour first that good which is your own and belongs to you. For it is not 3
right that anything of another kind should be set up against the rational and civic good: the praise of the many, or office, or wealth, or the enjoyment of pleasures. All these, even if they seem for a while to fit, suddenly overpower and sweep away. But you, I say, choose the better simply and freely, and hold fast to it. The better is the advantageous. If it is what is advantageous to you as a rational being, keep to it; if as a living being, declare it, and guard the judgement without vanity; only see that you make the examination safely.[76]

7. Never honour as advantageous to you anything that will some day force you to break faith, abandon self-respect, hate anyone, suspect, curse, pretend, or crave anything that needs walls and curtains. For a man by whom his own mind and daimon and the rites of its virtue[77]

[75] Perhaps Plato, *Phaedo* 83a–b, where philosophy persuades the soul to withdraw from the senses.

[76] Schultz thought the passage corrupt; Gataker read *ἄτυφον*, Reiske "enjoy it" for "declare it" (L's apparatus).

[77] *ὄργια*, the secret rites of a mystery cult.

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, οὐδ᾽ ὁτιοῦν αὐτῷ μέλει· κἂν γὰρ ἤδη ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι δέῃ, οὕτως εὐλύτως ἄπεισιν, ὡς ἄλλο τι τῶν αἰδημόνως καὶ κοσμίως ἐνεργεῖσθαι δυναμένων ἐνεργήσων, τοῦτο μόνον παρ᾽ ὅλον τὸν βίον εὐλαβούμενος, τὸ τὴν διάνοιαν ἔν τινι ἀνοικείῳ νοεροῦ ⟨καὶ⟩ πολιτικοῦ ζῴου τροπῇ γενέσθαι.

η′. Οὐδὲν ἂν ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ τοῦ κεκολασμένου καὶ ἐκκεκαθαρμένου πυῶδες οὐδὲ μὴν μεμολυσμένον οὐδὲ ὕπουλον εὕροις· οὐδὲ ἀσυντελῆ τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ ἡ πεπρωμένη καταλαμβάνει, ὡς ἄν τις εἴποι τὸν τραγῳδὸν πρὸ τοῦ τελέσαι καὶ διαδραματίσαι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι· ἔτι δὲ οὐδὲν δοῦλον οὐδὲ κομψὸν οὐδὲ προσδεδεμένον οὐδὲ ἀπεσχισμένον οὐδὲ ὑπεύθυνον οὐδὲ ἐμφωλεῦον.

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

ι′. Πάντα οὖν ῥίψας ταῦτα μόνα τὰ ὀλίγα σύνεχε καὶ ἔτι συμμνημόνευε, ὅτι μόνον ζῇ ἕκαστος τὸ παρὸν τοῦτο, τὸ ἀκαριαῖον· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἢ βεβίωται ἢ ἐν ἀδήλῳ, μικρὸν μὲν οὖν ὃ ζῇ ἕκαστος· μικρὸν δὲ τὸ τῆς γῆς γωνίδιον ὅπου ζῇ· μικρὸν δὲ καὶ ἡ μηκίστη ὑστεροφημία καὶ αὕτη δὲ κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἀνθρωπαρίων τάχιστα τεθνηξομένων καὶ οὐκ εἰδότων οὐδὲ ἑαυτοὺς οὐδέ γε τὸν πρόπαλαι τεθνηκότα.

have been chosen before all else makes no tragedy, utters no groan, will need neither solitude nor a crowd; and, greatest of all, he will live neither pursuing nor fleeing. Whether he will have the use of a soul enclosed in the body for a longer span of time or a shorter is no concern of his at all; for even if he must depart at once, he will go as one ready to be released, as if about to do any other of the things that can be done with self-respect and in good order, cautious throughout his life of this one thing only, that the understanding should be in any turning foreign to an intelligent ⟨and⟩ civic living being.

8. In the understanding of a man who has been chastened and purified you would find nothing festering, nothing foul, no sore closed over the rot; nor does doom overtake his life unfinished, as one might say of a tragic actor who leaves before he has finished and played out the play.[78] Further, there is nothing servile in it, or affected, or bound fast, or split off, or answerable, or skulking in a lair.

9. Revere the faculty of forming opinions. Everything lies in it, so that no opinion may any longer arise in your ruling centre out of keeping with nature and with the constitution of a rational living being. And this promises freedom from rash assent, affinity with men, and following the gods.[79]

10. Throw everything else away, then, and hold to these few things only; and remember as well that each of us lives only this present, this instant; the rest is either lived already or unclear. Small, then, is what each lives, small the corner of the earth where he lives, small even the longest fame after death, and that too through a succession of little men who will very soon die and do not know even themselves, still less one long dead.

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[78] Compare 12.36: the actor dismissed by the magistrate after three acts, not five.

[79] "Freedom from rash assent" (*ἀπροπτωσία*): the Stoic knowledge of when to assent and when not (Diogenes Laertius 7.46). "Affinity" renders *οἰκείωσις*, the Stoic term for the process by which a creature comes to treat itself, and then others, as its own.

ια′. Τοῖς δὲ εἰρημένοις παραστήμασιν ἓν ἔτι προσέστω, τὸ ὅρον ἢ ὑπογραφὴν ἀεὶ ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ ὑποπίπτοντος φανταστοῦ, ὥστε αὐτὸ ὁποῖόν ἐστι κατ᾽ οὐσίαν, γυμνόν, ὅλον δι᾽ ὅλων διῃρημένως βλέπειν καὶ τὸ ἴδιον ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ἐκείνων, ἐξ ὧν συνεκρίθη καὶ εἰς ἃ ἀναλυθήσεται, λέγειν παρ᾽
2 ἑαυτῷ. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως μεγαλοφροσύνης ποιητικόν, ὡς τὸ ἐλέγχειν ὁδῷ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ ἕκαστον τῶν τῷ βίῳ ὑποπιπτόντων δύνασθαι καὶ τὸ ἀεὶ οὕτως εἰς αὐτὰ ὁρᾶν, 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, ἧς αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις ὥσπερ οἰκίαι εἰσίν· τί ἐστὶ 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, ἀληθείας, πίστεως, ἀφελείας, αὐταρκείας, τῶν
3 λοιπῶν. διὸ δεῖ ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστου 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 ἐστίν. ἀλλ᾽ ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀγνοῶ· διὰ τοῦτο χρῶμαι αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν τῆς κοινωνίας φυσικὸν νόμον εὔνως καὶ δικαίως, ἅμα μέντοι τοῦ κατ᾽ ἀξίαν ἐν τοῖς μέσοις συστοχάζομαι.

ιβ′. Ἐὰν τὸ παρὸν ἐνεργῇς ἑπόμενος τῷ ὀρθῷ λόγῳ, ἐσπουδασμένως, ἐρρωμένως, εὐμενῶς, καὶ μηδὲν παρεμπόρευμα, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ δαίμονα καθαρὸν ἑστῶτα τηρῇς, ὡσεὶ καὶ ἤδη ἀποδοῦναι δέοι· ἐὰν τοῦτο συνάπτῃς μηδὲν περιμένων

11. To the aids already given let one more be added: always to make a definition or description of whatever presents itself as an object of impression,[80] so as to see distinctly what it is in its substance, naked, as a whole and in its parts, and to tell oneself its own name and the names of the things of which it was compounded and into which it will be resolved. For nothing so produces greatness of mind 2
as to be able to test with method and truth each thing that presents itself in life, and always to look at things so as to take in at the same time what kind of use each thing serves to what kind of universe, what worth it has in relation to the whole and what in relation to man, a citizen of the highest city, of which the other cities are like households;[81] what it is, of what things it is compounded, how long it is its nature to last, this thing that now makes the impression on me, and what virtue is needed towards it, such as gentleness, courage, truth, good faith, artlessness, self-sufficiency and the rest. So one 3
must say of each thing: this has come from God; this by the fall of the lot and the spinning together wound along with it and such coincidence and fortune; and this from a fellow tribesman, a kinsman and partner, who does not know, however, what is according to nature for him. But I know; and so I treat him according to the natural law of fellowship, with goodwill and justice, while in things indifferent I try at the same time to hit on what is according to worth.[82]

12. If you do the work in hand following right reason, seriously, with vigour, kindly, and with no side-business,[83] but keep your daimon pure and standing firm, as if you had to give it back even now; if you hold to this, expecting nothing

[80] The Stoics distinguished a definition (*ὅρος*) from an outline description (*ὑπογραφή*), which gives a thing's character in rough (Diogenes Laertius 7.60).

[81] The universe as a city: compare 2.16 and 4.4.

[82] "Things indifferent" (*τὰ μέσα*, "the middle things"): what is neither good nor bad, such as health or wealth. See 2.11.

[83] *παρεμπόρευμα*, a trader's goods carried on the side.

μηδὲ φεύγων, ἀλλὰ τῇ παρούσῃ κατὰ φύσιν ἐνεργείᾳ καὶ τῇ ὧν λέγεις καὶ φθέγγῃ ἡρωικῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἀρκούμενος, εὐζωήσεις. ἔστι δὲ οὐδεὶς ὁ τοῦτο κωλῦσαι δυνάμενος.

ιγ′. Ὥσπερ οἱ ἰατροὶ ἀεὶ τὰ ὄργανα καὶ σιδήρια πρόχειρα ἔχουσι πρὸς τὰ αἰφνίδια τῶν θεραπευμάτων, οὕτω τὰ δόγματα σὺ ἕτοιμα ἔχε πρὸς τὸ τὰ θεῖα καὶ ἀνθρώπινα εἰδέναι, καὶ πᾶν καὶ τὸ μικρότατον οὕτω ποιεῖν ὡς τῆς ἀμφοτέρων πρὸς ἄλληλα συνδέσεως μεμνημένον· οὔτε γὰρ ἀνθρώπινόν τι ἄνευ τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ θεῖα συναναφορᾶς εὖ πράξεις οὔτ᾽ ἔμπαλιν.

ιδ′. Μηκέτι πλανῶ· οὔτε γὰρ τὰ ὑπομνημάτιά σου μέλλεις ἀναγινώσκειν οὔτε 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, ἕως ἔξεστιν.

ιε′. Οὐκ ἴσασι, πόσα σημαίνει τὸ κλέπτειν, τὸ σπείρειν, τὸ ὠνεῖσθαι, τὸ ἡσυχάζειν, τὸ ὁρᾶν τὰ πρακτέα, ὃ οὐκ ὀφθαλμοῖς γίνεται ἀλλ᾽ ἑτέρᾳ τινὶ ὄψει.

ις′. Σῶμα, ψυχή, νοῦς· σώματος αἰσθήσεις, ψυχῆς ὁρμαί, νοῦ δόγματα. τὸ μὲν τυποῦσθαι φανταστικῶς καὶ τῶν βοσκημάτων· τὸ δὲ νευροσπαστεῖσθαι ὁρμητικῶς 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
2 ποιούντων, ἐπειδὰν κλείσωσι τὰς θύρας. εἰ οὖν τὰ λοιπὰ κοινά ἐστι πρὸς τὰ εἰρημένα, λοιπὸν τὸ

and fleeing nothing, but content with present activity according to nature and with heroic truth in what you say and utter, you will live well. And there is no one who can prevent this.

13. As doctors always have their instruments and knives at hand for sudden cases, so do you have the principles ready for knowing things divine and human, and for doing everything, even the smallest, as one who remembers how the two are bound to each other. For you will do nothing human well without referring it to the divine as well, nor the reverse.

14. Wander no longer. For you are not going to read your little notebooks,[84] nor the deeds of the ancient Romans and Greeks and the extracts from writings that you were laying aside for yourself against old age. Hurry, then, to the end; let empty hopes go, and come to your own help, if you care for yourself at all, while it is open to you.

15. They do not know how many things are meant by stealing, sowing, buying, keeping quiet, seeing what must be done; and that is done not with the eyes but with another kind of sight.[85]

16. Body, soul, mind. Of the body, sensations; of the soul, impulses; of the mind, principles. To be stamped with impressions belongs to cattle as well;[86] to be jerked like a puppet by impulse belongs to wild beasts too, to effeminates, to Phalaris and Nero;[87] to have the mind as guide to what appear to be duties belongs also to those who do not believe in the gods, those who abandon their country, and those who act once they have shut the doors.[88] If, then, all else is 2
common to those just named, it remains that what is

[84] *ὑπομνημάτια*, "notes" or "memoranda", a diminutive. Some have taken the word to refer to the *Meditations* themselves; that is an inference.

[85] An obscure note. Reiske proposed "digging" for "stealing" (L's apparatus).

[86] The Stoics described an impression as a stamp on the soul, like a seal in wax.

[87] Phalaris, tyrant of Acragas in the sixth century BC, notorious for roasting his victims in a bronze bull.

[88] Gataker supplied "anything" as the object of "act", Coraes "anything at all"; Gataker also moved the clause on the mind as guide to follow "what is peculiar to the good man" (L's apparatus).

ἴδιόν ἐστι τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ φιλεῖν μὲν καὶ ἀσπάζεσθαι τὰ συμβαίνοντα καὶ συγκλωθόμενα αὐτῷ, τὸν δὲ ἔνδον ἐν τῷ στήθει ἱδρυμένον δαίμονα μὴ φύρειν μηδὲ θορυβεῖν ὄχλῳ φαντασιῶν, ἀλλὰ ἵλεων διατηρεῖν, κοσμίως ἑπόμενον θεῷ, μήτε φθεγγόμενόν τι παρὰ τὰ ἀληθῆ μήτε ἐνεργοῦντα παρὰ τὰ δίκαια. εἰ δὲ ἀπιστοῦσιν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄνθρωποι, ὅτι ἁπλῶς καὶ αἰδημόνως καὶ εὐθύμως βιοῖ, 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.

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Δ

α′. Τὸ ἔνδον κυριεῦον, ὅταν κατὰ φύσιν ἔχῃ, οὕτως ἔστηκε πρὸς τὰ συμβαίνοντα, ὥστε ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ διδόμενον μετατίθεσθαι ῥᾳδίως. ὕλην γὰρ ἀποτεταγμένην οὐδεμίαν φιλεῖ, ἀλλὰ ὁρμᾷ μὲν πρὸς τὰ προηγούμενα μεθ' ὑπεξαιρέσεως, τὸ δὲ ἀντεισαγόμενον ὕλην ἑαυτῷ ποιεῖ, ὥσπερ τὸ πῦρ, ὅταν ἐπικρατῇ τῶν ἐπεμπιπτόντων, ὑφ' ὧν ἂν μικρός τις λύχνος ἐσβέσθη· τὸ δὲ λαμπρὸν πῦρ τάχιστα ἐξῳκείωσεν ἑαυτῷ τὰ ἐπιφορούμενα καὶ κατηνάλωσε καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐπὶ μεῖζον ἤρθη.

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

γ′. Ἀναχωρήσεις αὑτοῖς ζητοῦσιν ἀγροικίας καὶ αἰγιαλοὺς καὶ ὄρη, εἴωθας δὲ καὶ σὺ τὰ τοιαῦτα μάλιστα ποθεῖν. ὅλον δὲ τοῦτο ἰδιωτικώτατόν ἐστιν ἐξόν, ἧς ἂν ὥρας ἐθελήσῃς,

peculiar to the good man is to love and welcome what happens to him and is spun for him, and not to befoul the daimon enshrined within, in the breast, or disturb it with a crowd of impressions, but to keep it serene, following God in good order, uttering nothing contrary to the truth and doing nothing contrary to what is just. And if all men refuse to believe that he lives simply, with self-respect and in good spirits, he is neither exasperated with any of them nor turned aside from the road that leads to the end of life, to which he must come pure, at peace, ready to be released, fitted without constraint to his own lot.

Book IV

1. That which rules within, when it is in a state according to nature, stands towards what happens in such a way that it always shifts its position easily towards what is possible and given. For it loves no fixed material, but has its impulse towards the leading objects with reservation,[89] and makes material for itself of whatever is brought in to replace them, as fire does when it masters what falls on it: by which a small lamp would have been quenched, but a bright fire very quickly makes its own whatever is heaped on it, consumes it, and rises the higher from it.

2. Let no act be done at random, nor otherwise than according to a doctrine that completes the art.

3. They seek retreats for themselves, country places, seashores, mountains; and you too are much given to longing for such things. But all this is quite unphilosophical, when it is open to you, at whatever hour you want,

[89] "With reservation" (*μεθ' ὑπεξαιρέσεως*): the Stoic impulse held on condition, "if nothing prevents"; compare 6.50, 11.37. "Leading objects" is Gataker's *προηγούμενα*; L reports the manuscripts' *ἡγούμενα*.

εἰς σεαυτὸν ἀναχωρεῖν. οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ οὕτε ἡσυχιώτερον οὕτε ἀπραγμονέστερον ἄνθρωπος ἀναχωρεῖ ἢ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ 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 ἃ εὐθὺς ἀπαντήσαντα ἀρκέσει εἰς τὸ πᾶσαν αὐλὴν ἀποκλεῖσαι καὶ
2 ἀποπέμψαι σε μὴ δυσχεραίνοντα ἐκείνοις ἐφ' ἃ ἐπανέρχῃ. τίνι γὰρ δυσχερανεῖς; τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κακίᾳ; ἀναλογισάμενος τὸ κρῖμα, ὅτι τὰ λογικὰ ζῷα ἀλλήλων ἕνεκεν γέγονε καὶ ὅτι τὸ ἀνέχεσθαι μέρος τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ ὅτι ἄκοντες ἁμαρτάνουσι καὶ πόσοι ἤδη διεχθρεύσαντες, ὑποπτεύσαντες, μισήσαντες, διαδορατισθέντες ἐκτέτανται, τετέφρωνται, παύου ποτέ. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ὅλων ἀπονεμομένοις δυσχερανεῖς; ἀνανεωσάμενος τὸ διεζευγμένον τό· ἤτοι πρόνοια ἢ ἄτομοι, καὶ ἐξ ὅσων ἀπεδείχθη, ὅτι ὁ κόσμος ὡσανεὶ πόλις. ἀλλὰ τὰ σωματικά σου ἅψεται ἔτι; ἐννοήσας, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιμίγνυται λείως ἢ ταχέως κινουμένῳ πνεύματι ἡ διάνοια, ἐπειδὰν ἅπαξ ἑαυτὴν ἀπολάβῃ καὶ γνωρίσῃ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐξουσίαν, καὶ λοιπὸν ὅσα περὶ πόνου
3 καὶ ἡδονῆς ἀκήκοας καὶ συγκατέθου. ἀλλὰ τὸ δοξάριόν σε περισπάσει; ἀπιδὼν εἰς τὸ τάχος τῆς πάντων λήθης καὶ τὸ χάος τοῦ ἐφ' ἑκάτερα ἀπείρου αἰῶνος καὶ τὸ κενὸν τῆς ἀπηχήσεως καὶ τὸ εὐμετάβολον καὶ ἄκριτον τῶν εὐφημεῖν δοκούντων καὶ τὸ στενὸν τοῦ τόπου,

to retreat into yourself. For nowhere does a man retreat more quietly or with less business than into his own soul, above all one who has such things within that by looking into them he is at once in complete ease; and by ease I mean nothing other than good order. Continually, then, give yourself this retreat, and renew yourself; and let them be brief and elementary, the things that, as soon as they present themselves, will suffice to shut out the whole court and to send you back not resenting the things to which you return.[90] For what will you 2
resent? The vice of men? Reckon up the verdict that rational living beings have come to be for one another, and that forbearance is a part of justice, and that they do wrong unwillingly, and how many by now, having feuded, suspected, hated, fought it out with spears, are laid out, burned to ash; and stop at last. But will you also resent what is allotted from the whole? Renew the disjunction, either providence or atoms,[91] and all that proved the universe to be as it were a city. But will the things of the body still touch you? Bear in mind that the understanding does not mingle with the breath as it moves smoothly or roughly, once it has drawn itself back and come to know its own authority; and for the rest, all that you have heard and assented to about pain and pleasure.[92] But will a little fame dis- 3
tract you? Look at the speed of the forgetting of all things, and the abyss of the infinite eternity on either side, and the emptiness of the echo, and the changeableness and lack of judgement of those who seem to speak good words,[93] and the narrowness of the place

[90] "The whole court" is Lofft's *αὐλήν*, which L prints with *ἀποκλεῖσαι*, "shut out". P (p. 31) has *αὐτὴν ἀποκλύσαι*, "to wash it clean", presumably the soul; L reports the same in C.

[91] The Stoic ordered universe against the Epicurean chance meeting of atoms; the disjunction recurs often, as at 9.39, 10.6 and 11.18.

[92] Pleasure as a smooth motion and pain as a rough one is the Cyrenaic definition (Diogenes Laertius 2.86). The breath is the vital *πνεῦμα* of 2.2.

[93] "Who seem to speak good words" is Gataker's *εὐφημεῖν*; L reports the manuscripts' *ἐφ' ἡμῖν*.

ἐν ᾧ περιγράφεται· ὅλη τε γὰρ ἡ γῆ στιγμὴ καὶ ταύτης πόστον γωνίδιον ἡ κατοίκησις αὕτη; καὶ ἐνταῦθα πόσοι καὶ οἷοί τινες
4 οἱ ἐπαινεσόμενοι; λοιπὸν οὖν μέμνησο τῆς ὑποχωρήσεως τῆς εἰς τοῦτο τὸ ἀγρίδιον ἑαυτοῦ 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 ἃ ἐγκύψεις, ταῦτα ἔστω τὰ δύο· ἕν μέν, ὅτι τὰ πράγματα οὐχ ἅπτεται τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλ' ἔξω ἕστηκεν ἀτρεμοῦντα, αἱ δὲ ὀχλήσεις ἐκ μόνης τῆς ἔνδον ὑπολήψεως· ἕτερον δέ, ὅτι πάντα ταῦτα, ὅσα ὁρᾷς, ὅσον οὐδέπω μεταβαλεῖ καὶ οὐκέτι ἔσται· καὶ ὅσων ἤδη μεταβολαῖς αὐτὸς παρατετύχηκας, συνεχῶς διανοοῦ. ὁ κόσμος ἀλλοίωσις, ὁ βίος ὑπόληψις.

δ′. 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 ὡσανεὶ 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 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 ἔκ τινος ἰδίας πηγῆς (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἔρχεται, ὥσπερ μηδ'

within which it is circumscribed. For the whole earth is a point, and how small a corner of it is this dwelling? And here, how many, and of what sort, are those who will praise? For the rest, then, remember 4
the withdrawal into this little field of your own; and above all do not be dragged about or strained, but be free, and look at things as a man, as a human being, as a citizen, as a mortal living being. And among the things most ready to hand, into which you will look, let there be these two: one, that things do not touch the soul but stand outside, unmoving, and vexations come only from the opinion within; the other, that all these things you see will all but at once change and be no more; and think continually of how many things you yourself have already watched change. The universe is alteration; life is opinion.[94]

4. If intelligence is common to us, reason too, by which we are rational, is common; if so, the reason that prescribes what is to be done or not done is common too; if so, law too is common; if so, we are citizens; if so, we share in a kind of polity; if so, the universe is as it were a city. For in what other common polity will anyone say that the whole human race shares? And from there, from this common city, comes to us intelligence itself, and rationality, and the sense of law; or from where? For as the earthy in me has been portioned off from some earth, and the moist from another element, and the breath from some spring, and the hot and fiery from some spring of its own (for nothing comes from nothing, just as nothing

[94] L's testimonia compare Democritus fr. 115 Diels: "The universe a stage, life an entrance: you came, you saw, you left."

εἰς τὸ οὐκ ὂν ἀπέρχεται), οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸ νοερὸν ἥκει ποθέν.

ε′. Ὁ θάνατος τοιοῦτος, οἷον γένεσις, φύσεως μυστήριον, σύγκρισις ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν στοιχείων εἰς ταὐτά. ὅλως δὲ οὐκ ἐφ' ᾧ ἄν τις αἰσχυνθείη· οὐ γὰρ παρὰ τὸ ἑξῆς τῷ νοερῷ ζῴῳ οὐδὲ παρὰ τὸν λόγον τῆς κατασκευῆς.

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

ζ′. Ἆρον τὴν ὑπόληψιν, ἦρται τὸ βέβλαμμαι· ἆρον τὸ βέβλαμμαι, ἦρται ἡ βλάβη.

η′. Ὃ χείρω αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἄνθρωπον οὐ ποιεῖ, τοῦτο οὐδὲ τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ χείρω ποιεῖ οὐδὲ βλάπτει οὔτε ἔξωθεν οὔτε ἔνδοθεν.

θ′. Ἠνάγκασται ἡ τοῦ συμφέροντος φύσις τοῦτο ποιεῖν.

ι′. Ὅτι πᾶν τὸ συμβαῖνον δικαίως συμβαίνει· ὃ ἐὰν ἀκριβῶς παραφυλάσσῃς, εὑρήσεις· οὐ λέγω μόνον κατὰ τὸ ἑξῆς, ἀλλ' ἔτι κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ ὡς ἂν ὑπό τινος ἀπονέμοντος τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν. παραφύλασσε οὖν ὡς ἤρξω καί, ὅ τι ἂν ποιῇς, σὺν τούτῳ ποίει, σὺν τῷ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι, καθὸ νενόηται ἰδίως ὁ ἀγαθός. τοῦτο ἐπὶ πάσης ἐνεργείας σῴζε.

ια′. Μὴ τοιαῦτα ὑπολάμβανε, οἷα ὁ ὑβρίζων κρίνει ἢ οἷά σε κρίνειν βούλεται, ἀλλὰ ἵδε αὐτά, ὁποῖα κατ' ἀλήθειάν ἐστιν.

ιβ′. Δύο ταύτας ἑτοιμότητας ἔχειν ἀεὶ δεῖ· τὴν μὲν πρὸς τὸ πρᾶξαι μόνον ὅπερ ἂν ὁ τῆς βασιλικῆς καὶ νομοθετικῆς λόγος ὑποβάλλῃ ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ ἀνθρώπων· τὴν δὲ

goes off into what is not), so indeed intelligence too comes from somewhere.[95]

5. Death is such as birth is, a mystery of nature: a combining out of the same elements into the same. And in general, not a thing one would be ashamed of; for it is not contrary to the sequence for an intelligent living being, nor to the reason of the constitution.[96]

6. These things are bound by nature to happen so, from such people, of necessity; and he who does not want this wants the fig tree to have no juice.[97] And in general remember this: that within a very short time both you and he will be dead, and soon after not even a name of you will be left.

7. Take away the opinion, "I have been harmed" is taken away; take away "I have been harmed", the harm is taken away.

8. What does not make a man himself worse than himself does not make his life worse either, nor harm, from without or from within.

9. The nature of the advantageous has been compelled to do this.

10. That everything that happens, happens justly: you will find it so if you watch closely. I do not say only according to sequence, but also according to what is just, and as if by someone allotting according to worth. Watch closely, then, as you began, and whatever you do, do it with this: with being good, in the sense in which the good man is specifically conceived. Preserve this in every activity.

11. Do not form opinions such as the insolent man judges, or wills you to judge; but see things as they are in truth.

12. One must always have these two readinesses: the one, to do only what the reason of the kingly and law-giving art suggests for the benefit of men; the other

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[95] The chain from shared reason to shared law and a single city is Stoic; compare Cicero, *On the Laws* 1.23.

[96] As L prints it, one phrase holds birth and death, "out of ... into"; Gataker supplied ⟨καὶ διάλυσις⟩, "and a dissolution", before "into the same" (L's apparatus). "Constitution" is Rendall's κατασκευῆς; L reports παρασκευῆς, "equipment", in the manuscripts.

[97] Compare 12.16.

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 παραπλήσια τοιαῦτα μόνον εἶναι δεῖ, οὐχ ὅτι ἡδὺ ἢ ἔνδοξον ἐφάνη.

ιγ′. Λόγον ἔχεις; ἔχω. τί οὖν οὐ χρᾷ; τούτου γὰρ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ποιοῦντος τί ἄλλο θέλεις;

ιδ′. Ἐνυπέστης ὡς μέρος. ἐναφανισθήσῃ τῷ γεννήσαντι· μᾶλλον δὲ ἀναληφθήσῃ εἰς τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ τὸν σπερματικὸν κατὰ μεταβολήν.

ιε′. Πολλὰ λιβανωτοῦ βωλάρια ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ βωμοῦ· τὸ μὲν προκατέπεσεν, τὸ δ᾽ ὕστερον, διαφέρει δ᾽ οὐδέν.

ις′. Ἐντὸς δέκα ἡμερῶν θεὸς αὐτοῖς δόξεις οἷς νῦν θηρίον καὶ πίθηκος, ἐὰν ἀνακάμψῃς ἐπὶ τὰ δόγματα καὶ τὸν σεβασμὸν τοῦ λόγου.

ιζ′. Μὴ ὡς μύρια μέλλων ἔτη ζῆν. τὸ χρεὼν ἐπήρτηται· ἕως ζῇς, ἕως ἔξεστιν, ἀγαθὸς γενοῦ.

ιη′. Ὅσην εὐσχολίαν κερδαίνει ὁ μὴ βλέπων τί ὁ πλησίον εἶπεν ἢ ἔπραξεν ἢ διενοήθη, ἀλλὰ μόνον τί αὐτὸς ποιεῖ, ἵνα αὐτὸ τοῦτο δίκαιον ᾖ καὶ ὅσιον ἢ κατὰ τὸν ἀγαθὸν μὴ μέλαν ἦθος περιβλέπεσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τῆς γραμμῆς τρέχειν ὀρθόν, μὴ διερριμμένον.

ιθ′. Ὁ περὶ τὴν ὑστεροφημίαν ἐπτοημένος οὐ φαντάζεται ὅτι ἕκαστος τῶν μεμνημένων αὐτοῦ τάχιστα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποθανεῖται· εἶτα πάλιν ὁ ἐκεῖνον διαδεξάμενος,

to shift position, if perhaps someone is at hand to set one right and lead one away from some notion. But the leading away must always come from something convincing, as that it is just or for the common good, and the like must be only such; not that it appeared pleasant or a source of repute.[98]

13. Have you reason? I have. Then why do you not use it? For if this does its own work, what else do you want?

14. You have subsisted within, as a part. You will vanish into what begot you; or rather you will be taken back, by change, into its seminal reason.[99]

15. Many grains of incense on the same altar: one fell first, another later; but it makes no difference.

16. Within ten days you will seem a god to those to whom you now seem a beast and an ape, if you turn back to the principles and reverence for reason.[100]

17. Not as one who will live ten thousand years. What must be hangs overhead; while you live, while it is open to you, become good.

18. How much leisure he gains who does not look at what the neighbour said or did or thought, but only at what he himself is doing, that this very thing may be just and holy, or, in the manner of the good man, not to glance round at a black character, but to run straight along the line, not scattered.[101]

19. He who is in a flutter about fame after death does not form the impression that each of those who remember him will himself very soon die as well; then again the one who took over from him,

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[98] "And the like" renders *τὰ παραπλήσια*, the reading of P (p. 34), which L prints though it construes only loosely; L reports *παραπαίονα* in A and the conjectures of Schultz and Morus.

[99] The Stoic *σπερματικὸς λόγος*: the reason in the universe that holds the seeds of all things; again at 4.21.1.

[100] Richards proposed "a man to the gods", comparing Plato, *Hippias Major* 289b, where beside a god the wisest of men looks an ape (L's apparatus).

[101] "Leisure" is Gataker's *εὐσχολίαν*; P (p. 35) has *ἀσχολίαν*, "lack of leisure". For "the good man" Xylander's notes suggest "perhaps Agathon", the tragic poet, since the words that follow seem taken from some poet.

μέχρι καὶ πᾶσα ἡ μνήμη ἀποσβῇ διὰ ἁπτομένων 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 δι' οἰκονομίαν τινά; πάρες γὰρ νῦν ἀκαίρως τὴν φυσικὴν δόσιν ἄλλου τινὸς ἐχομένην λόγου λοιπόν.

κ'. Πᾶν τὸ καὶ ὁπωσοῦν καλὸν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ καλόν ἐστι καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτὸ καταλήγει, οὐκ ἔχον μέρος ἑαυτοῦ τὸν ἔπαινον· οὔτε γοῦν χεῖρον ἢ κρεῖττον γίνεται τὸ ἐπαινούμενον. τοῦτό 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 ἐστιν ἢ ψεγόμενον φθείρεται; σμαράγδιον γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ χεῖρον γίνεται, ἐὰν μὴ ἐπαινῆται; τί δὲ χρυσός, ἐλέφας, πορφύρα, λύρα, μαχαίριον, ἀνθύλλιον, δενδρύφιον;

κα'. Εἰ διαμένουσιν αἱ ψυχαί, πῶς αὐτὰς ἐξ 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 ἐξάπτονται εἰς τὸν τῶν ὅλων σπερματικὸν λόγον ἀνα-

until the whole memory too is quenched as it passes along through men who are lit and quenched.[102] But suppose that those who will remember are even immortal, and the memory immortal: what, then, is that to you? And I do not say that it is nothing to the dead; but to the living, what is praise, except perhaps for some practical end? For let pass now, inopportunely, the gift of nature that clings to some other word hereafter.[103]

20. Everything that is in any way beautiful is beautiful of itself and ends in itself, not having praise as a part of itself; at any rate, what is praised becomes neither worse nor better. I say this also of things called beautiful in the more ordinary sense, such as things of matter and works of art. (For what need has the truly beautiful of anything? No more than law, no more than truth, no more than goodwill or self-respect.) Which of these is beautiful because it is praised, or perishes by being censured? For does an emerald become worse than it was, if it is not praised? And what of gold, ivory, purple, a lyre, a little knife, a little flower, a little tree?[104]

21. If souls live on, how has the air held them from everlasting? And how does the earth hold the bodies of those buried through so long an eternity? For as here the change and dissolution of these, ⟨after⟩ they have lasted for some time, makes space for other dead, so the souls that move into the air, after persisting for some time, change and are diffused and kindled into the seminal reason of the whole,[105] being tak-

[102] "Lit" is Crossley's *ἁπτομένων*, which L prints; P (p. 35) has *ἐπτοημένων*, "men in a flutter". The image is of a torch passed on and quenched.

[103] Schultz called the sentence "miserably corrupt"; L prints the transmitted text as far as it construes (P p. 35 has *ἐχόμενον*). Gataker read "for you are letting pass the gift of nature inopportunely, clinging to some other word hereafter" (L's apparatus).

[104] "Beautiful" renders *καλόν*, rendered "honourable" where it is a moral term (2.1, 2.11, 3.4.3).

[105] The seminal reason, as at 4.14. "After ... some time" is Casaubon's ⟨*μετὰ*⟩ *ποσήν τινα* for *πρὸς ἥντινα*, which L reports in the manuscripts.

λαμβανόμεναι καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον χώραν ταῖς προσσυνοικιζομέναις παρέχουσι. τοῦτο δ' ἄν τις ἀποκρίναιτο ἐφ' ὑποθέ-
2 σει τοῦ τὰς ψυχὰς διαμένειν. χρὴ δὲ μὴ μόνον ἐνθυμεῖσθαι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν θαπτομένων οὑτωσὶ σωμάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῶν ἑκάστης ἡμέρας ἐσθιομένων ζῴων ὑφ' ἡμῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων. ὅσος γὰρ ἀριθμὸς καταναλίσκεται καὶ οὑτωσί πως θάπτεται ἐν τοῖς τῶν τρεφομένων σώμασι, καὶ ὅμως δέχεται ἡ χώρα αὐτὰ διὰ τὰς ἐξαιματώσεις, διὰ τὰς εἰς τὸ ἀερῶδες ἢ πυρῶδες ἀλλοιώσεις.

Τίς ἐπὶ τούτου ἡ ἱστορία τῆς ἀληθείας; διαίρεσις εἰς τὸ ὑλικὸν καὶ εἰς τὸ αἰτιῶδες.

κβ′. Μὴ ἀπορρέμβεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάσης ὁρμῆς τὸ δίκαιον ἀποδιδόναι καὶ ἐπὶ πάσης φαντασίας σῴζειν τὸ καταληπτικόν.

κγ′. Πᾶν μοι συναρμόζει ὃ σοὶ εὐάρμοστόν ἐστιν, ὦ κόσμε· οὐδέν μοι πρόωρον οὐδὲ ὄψιμον ὃ σοὶ εὔκαιρον. πᾶν μοι καρπὸς ὃ φέρουσιν αἱ σαὶ ὧραι, ὦ φύσις· ἐκ σοῦ πάντα, ἐν σοὶ πάντα, εἰς σὲ πάντα. ἐκεῖνος μέν φησιν· '⟨ὦ⟩ πόλι φίλη Κέκροπος·' σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἐρεῖς· 'ὦ πόλι φίλη Διός;'

κδ′. 'Ὀλίγα πρῆσσε, φησίν, εἰ μέλλεις εὐθυμήσειν.' μήποτε ἄμεινον τἀναγκαῖα πράσσειν καὶ ὅσα ὁ τοῦ φύσει πολιτικοῦ ζῴου λόγος αἱρεῖ καὶ ὡς αἱρεῖ; τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ μόνον τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ καλῶς πράσσειν εὐθυμίαν φέρει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀλίγα πράσσειν. τὰ πλεῖστα γὰρ ὧν λέγομεν καὶ πράσσομεν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα ὄντα ἐάν τις περιέλῃ, εὐσχολώτερος καὶ ἀταρακτότερος ἔσται. ὅθεν δεῖ καὶ παρ'

en back, and in this way make space for those that come to dwell with them. This is what one might answer on the supposition that souls live on. But one must consider not only the multitude of bodies 2
buried in this way, but also that of the living beings eaten each day by us and by the other living beings. For what a number is consumed and in a manner buried in the bodies of those who feed on them; and yet the space receives them, through the turning into blood, through the alterations into the airy or the fiery.

What, in this case, is the inquiry into the truth? A division into the material and the causal.[106]

22. Do not wander; but in every impulse render what is just, and in every impression preserve what can be firmly grasped.[107]

23. Everything is in tune with me that is in tune with you, O universe. Nothing is too early or too late for me that is timely for you. Everything is fruit to me that your seasons bring, O nature: from you are all things, in you all things, to you all things. That man says, "⟨O⟩ dear city of Cecrops"; will you not say, "O dear city of Zeus"?[108]

24. "Do little," he says, "if you mean to be in good spirits."[109] Is it not better to do what is necessary, and whatever the reason of a living being civic by nature requires, and as it requires? For this brings not only the good spirits that come from doing well, but also those that come from doing little. For if one takes away most of what we say and do, as not being necessary, one will be more at leisure and less troubled. So one must also, at

[106] The Stoic analysis of every thing into matter and cause, the active reason that shapes it.

[107] *τὸ καταληπτικόν*: the quality of an impression that can be firmly grasped as true; compare 1.9.

[108] Aristophanes fr. 110 Kock (L's testimonia); Cecrops was the legendary first king of Athens. Wilamowitz supplied "O" before the first quotation. For "from you ... to you all things" compare Romans 11:36.

[109] Democritus fr. 3 Diels (L's testimonia), in Ionic Greek. Democritus made good spirits (*εὐθυμία*), a settled calm, the goal of life.

ἕκαστα ἑαυτὸν ὑπομιμνῄσκειν· μήτι τοῦτο τῶν οὐκ ἀναγκαίων; δεῖ δὲ μὴ μόνον πράξεις τὰς μὴ ἀναγκαίας περιαιρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φαντασίας· οὕτως γὰρ οὐδὲ πράξεις παρέλκουσαι ἐπακολουθήσουσιν.

κε′. Πείρασον πῶς σοι χωρεῖ καὶ ὁ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἀνθρώπου βίος τοῦ ἀρεσκομένου μὲν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ὅλων ἀπονεμομένοις, ἀρκουμένου δὲ τῇ ἰδίᾳ πράξει δικαίᾳ καὶ διαθέσει εὐμενεῖ.

κς′. Ἑώρακας ἐκεῖνα, ἴδε καὶ ταῦτα. σεαυτὸν μὴ τάρασσε· ἅπλωσον σεαυτόν. ἁμαρτάνει τις; ἑαυτῷ ἁμαρτάνει. συμβέβηκέ σοί τι; καλῶς· ἐκ τῶν ὅλων ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς σοι συγκαθείμαρτο καὶ συνεκλώθετο πᾶν τὸ συμβαῖνον. τὸ δ᾽ ὅλον, βραχὺς ὁ βίος· κερδαντέον τὸ παρὸν σὺν εὐλογιστίᾳ καὶ δίκῃ. νῆφε ἀνειμένως.

κζ′. Ἤτοι κόσμος διατεταγμένος ἢ κυκεὼν συμπεφυρμένος. ἀλλὰ μὴν κόσμος· ἢ ἐν σοὶ μέν τις κόσμος ὑφίστασθαι δύναται, ἐν δὲ τῷ παντὶ ἀκοσμία; καὶ ταῦτα οὕτως πάντων διακεκριμένων καὶ διακεχυμένων καὶ συμπαθῶν.

κη′. Μέλαν ἦθος, θῆλυ ἦθος, περισκελὲς ἦθος, θηριῶδες, βοσκηματῶδες, παιδαριῶδες, βλακικόν, κίβδηλον, βωμολόχον, καπηλικόν, τυραννικόν.

κθ′. Εἰ ξένος κόσμου ὁ μὴ γνωρίζων τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ὄντα, οὐχ ἧττον ξένος καὶ ὁ μὴ γνωρίζων τὰ γινόμενα. φυγὰς ὁ φεύγων τὸν πολιτικὸν λόγον· τυφλὸς ὁ καταμύων τῷ νοερῷ ὄμματι· πτωχὸς ὁ ἐνδεὴς ἑτέρου 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

each thing, remind oneself: "Is this, perhaps, one of the things that are not necessary?" And one must take away not only unnecessary actions but also impressions; for so superfluous actions will not ensue either.

25. Try how the life of the good man, too, goes for you, the man who is pleased with what is allotted from the whole, and content with his own just action and kindly disposition.

26. You have seen those things; look at these too. Do not trouble yourself; make yourself simple. Does someone do wrong? He does wrong to himself. Has something happened to you? Good: from the whole, from the beginning, everything that happens was fated and spun for you. In sum, life is short: one must make gain of the present with sound reasoning and justice. Be sober, without strain.[110]

27. Either an ordered universe or a jumble mixed together. But surely an ordered universe. Or can a kind of order subsist in you, and disorder in the totality? and that when all things are so distinguished and diffused and in sympathy.[111]

28. A black character, a womanish character, a hard character; bestial, cattle-like, childish, stupid, counterfeit, buffoonish, huckstering, tyrannical.

29. If he is a stranger to the universe who does not know what is in it, no less a stranger, too, is he who does not know what happens. A fugitive, he who flees civic reason; blind, he who shuts the eye of intelligence; a beggar, he who needs another and does not have from himself all that is useful for life; an abscess on the universe, he who stands apart and separates himself from the reason of the common nature by being discontented with what happens; for she

[110] "Without strain" is Schultz's *ἀνειμένως*, which L prints; P (p. 38) has *ἀνειμένος*. The punctuation "Has something happened to you? Good" is Casaubon's (L's apparatus).

[111] *κόσμος* means both "order" and "universe", and Marcus plays on both. The *κυκεών* was a drink of barley, wine and cheese that separates unless stirred; compare Heraclitus fr. 125 Diels.

φέρει τοῦτο, ἢ καὶ σὲ ἤνεγκεν· ἀπόσχισμα πόλεως ὁ τὴν ἰδίαν ψυχὴν τῆς τῶν λογικῶν ἀποσχίζων, μιᾶς οὔσης.

λ′. Ὁ 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.

λα′. Τὸ τεχνίον ὃ ἔμαθες φίλει, τούτῳ προσαναπαύου· τὸ δὲ ὑπόλοιπον τοῦ βίου διέξελθε ὡς θεοῖς μὲν ἐπιτετροφὼς τὰ σεαυτοῦ πάντα ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀνθρώπων δὲ μηδενὸς μήτε τύραννον μήτε δοῦλον σεαυτὸν καθιστάς.

λβ′. Ἐπινόησον λόγου χάριν τοὺς ἐπὶ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ καιρούς, ὄψει τὰ αὐτὰ πάντα· γαμοῦντας, παιδοτροφοῦντας, νοσοῦντας, ἀποθνήσκοντας, πολεμοῦντας, ἑορτάζοντας, ἐμπορευομένους, γεωργοῦντας, κολακεύοντας, αὐθαδιζομένους, ὑποπτεύοντας, ἐπιβουλεύοντας, ἀποθανεῖν τινας εὐχομένους, γογγύζοντας ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν, ἐρῶντας, θησαυρίζοντας, ὑπατείας, βασιλείας ἐπιθυμοῦντας· οὐκοῦν ἐκεῖνος μὲν ὁ τούτων
2 βίος οὐκέτι οὐδαμοῦ. πάλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς καιροὺς τοὺς Τραιανοῦ μετάβηθι· πάλιν τὰ αὐτὰ πάντα· τέθνηκε κἀκεῖνος ὁ βίος. ὁμοίως 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 ἰδίαν κατασκευὴν καὶ τούτου ἀπριξ ἔχεσθαι καὶ τούτῳ ἀρκεῖσθαι. ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ὧδε τὸ μεμνῆσθαι, ὅτι καὶ ἡ ἐπιστροφὴ καθ' ἑκάστην πρᾶξιν ἰδίαν ἀξίαν ἔχει καὶ συμμετρίαν· οὕτως γὰρ οὐκ ἀποδυσπετήσεις, ἐὰν μὴ ἐπὶ πλέον, ἢ προσῆκε, περὶ τὰ ἐλάσσω καταγίνῃ.

λγ′. Αἱ πάλαι συνήθεις λέξεις νῦν γλωσσήματα· οὕτως

brings this, who brought you too; a piece split off from the city, he who splits his own soul off from that of rational beings, which is one.

30. One man practises philosophy without a tunic, another without a book. Here is another, half-naked: "I have no bread," he says, "and I hold fast to reason." And I have no food from studies, and I hold fast.[112]

31. Love the little craft you have learned, and rest in it; and go through the remainder of life as one who has entrusted all that is yours to the gods with the whole soul, and making yourself neither tyrant nor slave of any man.

32. Conceive, for example, the times of Vespasian: you will see all the same things: people marrying, raising children, falling ill, dying, making war, keeping festival, trading, farming, flattering, being self-willed, suspecting, plotting, praying for certain people to die, grumbling at the present, being in love, hoarding, craving consulships, kingships. Well then, that life of theirs is no longer anywhere. Pass on again to the times of Trajan: again all the same; that life too is 2
dead. In the same way look over the other records of periods and of whole nations, and see how many strained every nerve and soon fell and were resolved into the elements. Above all, one must recall those whom you yourself have known being dragged about after empty things, neglecting to do what accords with their own constitution, and to cling fast to it and be content with it. And here it is necessary to remember that the attention given to each action, too, has its own worth and proportion; for so you will not lose heart, if you do not busy yourself with lesser things more than is befitting.

33. Words once in common use are now glosses.[113] So

[112] L sets a dash before the last sentence; the speaker is probably Marcus himself, who lacks not bread but the food of learning.

[113] *γλωσσήματα*: obsolete words that need explaining.

οὖν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν πάλαι πολυυμνήτων νῦν τρόπον τινὰ γλωσσήματά ἐστι, Κάμιλλος, Καίσων, Οὐόλεσος, Δέντατος, κατ᾽ ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ Σκιπίων καὶ Κάτων, εἶτα καὶ Αὔγουστος, εἶτα καὶ Ἁδριανὸς 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 ἅμα τῷ ἐκπνεῦσαι ‘ἄιστοι, ἄπυστοι’. τί δὲ καὶ ἔστιν ὅλως τὸ ἀείμνηστον; ὅλον κενόν. τί οὖν ἐστι περὶ ὃ δεῖ σπουδὴν εἰσφέρεσθαι; ἓν τοῦτο, 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 ῥέον.

λδ′. Ἑκὼν σεαυτὸν τῇ Κλωθοῖ συνεπιδίδου παρέχων συννῆσαι, οἵστισί ποτε πράγμασι βούλεται.

λε′. Πᾶν ἐφήμερον, καὶ τὸ μνημονεῦον καὶ τὸ μνημονευόμενον.

λς′. 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 ὂν τοῦ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐσομένου, σὺ δὲ μόνα σπέρματα φαντάζῃ τὰ εἰς γῆν ἢ μήτραν καταβαλλόμενα, τοῦτο δὲ λίαν ἰδιωτικόν.

λζ′. Ἤδη τεθνήξῃ καὶ οὔπω οὔτε ἁπλοῦς οὔτε ἀτάραχος οὔτε ἀνύποπτος τοῦ βλαβῆναι ἂν ἔξωθεν οὔτε ἵλεως πρὸς πάντας οὔτε τὸ φρονεῖν ἐν μόνῳ τῷ δικαιοπραγεῖν τιθέμενος.

then too the names of the much-sung men of old are now in a way glosses: Camillus, Caeso, Volesus, Dentatus; and little by little Scipio and Cato too; then Augustus too; then Hadrian too, and Antoninus.[114] For all things fade and quickly become legend, and quickly complete oblivion has buried them over. And I say this of those who shone in some marvellous way; for the others, as soon as they have breathed their last, are "unseen, unheard of".[115] And what, after all, is everlasting remembrance? Wholly empty. What then is it on which one must spend effort? This one thing: a just understanding, social actions, speech such as never to lie, and a disposition that welcomes all that happens as necessary, as familiar, as flowing from such a beginning and spring.

34. Give yourself up willingly to Clotho, letting her spin you together with whatever things she will.[116]

35. Everything is of a day, both what remembers and what is remembered.

36. Observe perpetually that all things come about by change, and accustom yourself to bear in mind that the nature of the whole loves nothing so much as to change the things that are and to make new things like them. For everything that is, is in a way the seed of what will come from it; but you form an impression of seeds only as what is cast into the earth or a womb; and that is very unphilosophical.

37. You will soon be dead, and you are not yet simple, nor untroubled, nor free of the suspicion that you may be harmed from outside, nor serene towards all, nor placing wisdom in acting justly alone.

[114] Heroes of early Rome: Camillus, who saved Rome from the Gauls; Caeso (a Fabius or a Quinctius); Volesus, ancestor of the Valerii; Curius Dentatus, victor over Pyrrhus. "Dentatus" is Rendall's correction, which L prints; L reports Leonnatus in the manuscripts. Antoninus is Pius, who died in 161.

[115] Homer, *Odyssey* 1.242 (L's testimonia).

[116] Clotho, "the Spinner", one of the three Fates.

λη′. Τὰ ἡγεμονικὰ αὐτῶν διάβλεπε καὶ τοὺς φρονίμους, οἷα μὲν φεύγουσιν, οἷα δὲ διώκουσιν.

λθ′. Ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ ἡγεμονικῷ κακὸν σὸν οὐχ ὑφίσταται οὐδὲ μὴν ἔν τινι τροπῇ καὶ ἑτεροιώσει τοῦ περιέχοντος. ποῦ οὖν; ὅπου τὸ περὶ κακῶν ὑπολαμβάνον σοί ἐστι. τοῦτο οὖν μὴ ὑπολαμβανέτω καὶ πάντα εὖ ἔχει. κἂν 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.

μ′. Ὡς ἓν 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.

μα′. Ψυχάριον εἶ βαστάζον νεκρόν, ὡς Ἐπίκτητος ἔλεγεν.

μβ′. Οὐδέν ἐστι κακὸν τοῖς ἐν μεταβολῇ γινομένοις, ὡς οὐδὲ ἀγαθὸν ⟨τοῖς⟩ ἐκ μεταβολῆς ὑφισταμένοις.

μγ′. Ποταμός τίς ἐστι τῶν γινομένων καὶ ῥεῦμα βίαιον ὁ αἰών· ἅμα τε γὰρ ὤφθη ἕκαστον, καὶ παρενήνεκται καὶ ἄλλο παραφέρεται, τὸ δὲ ἐνεχθήσεται.

μδ′. Πᾶν τὸ συμβαῖνον οὕτως σύνηθες καὶ γνώριμον ὡς τὸ ῥόδον ἐν τῷ ἔαρι καὶ ὀπώρα ἐν τῷ θέρει· τοιοῦτον

38. Look into their ruling centres, and at the wise, what sort of things they flee, and what sort they pursue.

39. What is bad for you does not subsist in another's ruling centre, nor indeed in any turning or variation of the surroundings. Where then? Where that in you is which forms opinions about bad things. Let this, then, form no opinion, and all is well. Even if what is nearest to it, the poor body, is cut, burned, festers, rots, still let the part that forms opinions about these things keep quiet; that is, let it judge that nothing is either bad or good which can happen equally to a bad man and a good. For what happens equally ⟨to one who lives contrary to nature and⟩ to one who lives according to nature is neither according to nature nor contrary to nature.[117]

40. Continually conceive of the universe as one living being, holding one substance and one soul; and how all things pass up into its one sensation; and how it does all things by one impulse; and how all things are joint causes of all that happens; and what the spinning together and the winding together are like.

41. You are a little soul carrying a corpse, as Epictetus used to say.[118]

42. Nothing is bad for things in the course of change, as nothing is good ⟨for things⟩ that subsist out of change.

43. Eternity is a kind of river of the things that come to be, a violent current; for as soon as each thing has been seen, it has been carried past, and another is being carried by, and that will be carried away.

44. Everything that happens is as usual and familiar as the rose in spring and fruit in summer; for of this kind

[117] "To one who lives contrary to nature and" is Gataker's supplement.
[118] Epictetus fr. 26 (L's testimonia).

γὰρ καὶ νόσος καὶ θάνατος καὶ βλασφημία καὶ ἐπιβουλὴ καὶ ὅσα τοὺς μωροὺς εὐφραίνει ἢ λυπεῖ.

με′. Τὰ ἑξῆς ἀεὶ τοῖς προηγησαμένοις οἰκείως ἐπιγίνεται· οὐ γὰρ οἷον καταρίθμησίς τίς ἐστιν ἀπηρτημένως [καὶ] μόνον τὸ κατηναγκασμένον ἔχουσα, ἀλλὰ συνάφεια εὔλογος καὶ ὥσπερ συντέτακται συνηρμοσμένως τὰ ὄντα, οὕτως τὰ γινόμενα οὐ διαδοχὴν ψιλήν, ἀλλὰ θαυμαστήν τινα οἰκειότητα ἐμφαίνει.

μς′. Ἀεὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλειτείου μεμνῆσθαι, ὅτι γῆς θάνατος ὕδωρ γενέσθαι καὶ ὕδατος θάνατος ἀέρα γενέσθαι καὶ ἀέρος πῦρ καὶ ἔμπαλιν. μεμνῆσθαι δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἐπιλανθανομένου, ᾗ ἡ ὁδὸς ἄγει· καὶ ὅτι, ᾧ μάλιστα διηνεκῶς ὁμιλοῦσι, λόγῳ τῷ τὰ ὅλα διοικοῦντι, τούτῳ διαφέρονται· καὶ οἷς 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 ⟨ὡς⟩ παῖδας τοκεώνων, τουτέστι κατὰ ψιλόν, καθότι παρειλήφαμεν.

μζ′. Ὥσπερ εἴ τίς σοι θεῶν εἶπεν, ὅτι αὔριον τεθνήξῃ ἢ πάντως γε εἰς τρίτην, οὐκέτ᾽ ἂν παρὰ μέγα ἐποιοῦ τὸ εἰς τρίτην μᾶλλον ἢ αὔριον, εἴ γε μὴ ἐσχάτως ἀγεννὴς εἶ· πόσον γάρ ἐστι τὸ μεταξύ; οὕτως καὶ τὸ εἰς πολλοστὸν ἔτος μᾶλλον ἢ αὔριον μηδὲν μέγα εἶναι νόμιζε.

μη′. Ἐννοεῖν συνεχῶς πόσοι μὲν ἰατροὶ ἀποτεθνήκασι, πολλάκις τὰς ὀφρῦς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρρώστων συσπάσαντες· πόσοι δὲ μαθηματικοί, ἄλλων θανάτους ὥς τι μέγα προειπόντες· πόσοι δὲ φιλόσοφοι, περὶ θανάτου ἢ ἀθανασίας μυρία διατεινάμενοι· πόσοι δὲ ἀριστεῖς, πολλοὺς ἀποκτείναντες· πόσοι δὲ τύραννοι, ἐξουσίᾳ ψυχῶν μετὰ δεινοῦ φρυάγματος ὡς ἀθάνατοι κεχρημένοι· πόσαι δὲ πόλεις

too are disease, death, slander, plotting, and all that gladdens or distresses fools.

45. What follows always comes on what went before in a way akin to it. For it is not like some enumeration, holding disconnectedly [and] only what is compelled, but a reasoned connection; and as the things that are have been ordered together in harmony, so the things that come to be show not bare succession but a wonderful kinship.

46. Always remember Heraclitus: that the death of earth is to become water, the death of water to become air, the death of air fire, and back again.[119] Remember too the man who forgets where the road leads; and that the thing with which they most perpetually converse, the reason that governs the whole, is the thing they are at odds with; and that what they meet every day seems strange to them; and that one must not act and speak as if asleep, for then too we seem to act and speak; and that one must not act and speak ⟨like⟩ children of parents, that is, merely as we have received it.[120]

47. Just as, if one of the gods told you that you will die tomorrow, or at any rate the day after, you would no longer make much of its being the day after rather than tomorrow, unless you are utterly mean-spirited; for how great is the interval? So too believe it no great thing that it should be after very many years rather than tomorrow.

48. Bear in mind continually how many doctors have died who often knit their brows over the sick; how many astrologers who foretold others' deaths as some great thing;[121] how many philosophers who argued endlessly about death or immortality; how many champions who killed many; how many tyrants who used authority over souls with terrible arrogance, as though immortal; how many cities

[119] Heraclitus frs. 76 and 71–74 Diels (L's testimonia), freely combined.

[120] "Like" is Coraes' supplement; "children of parents" is Rendall's *τοκεώνων*, which L prints; L reports *τοκέων ὤν* in the manuscripts.

[121] *μαθηματικοί*, astrologers, as in Latin *mathematici*.

ὅλαι, ἵν' οὕτως εἴπω, τεθνήκασιν, Ἑλίκη καὶ Πομπήιοι καὶ Ἡρ-
2 κλᾶνον καὶ ἄλλαι ἀναρίθμητοι. ἔπιθι δὲ καὶ ὅσους οἶδας, ἄλλον ἐπ' ἄλλῳ· ὁ μὲν τοῦτον κηδεύσας εἶτα ἐξετάθη, ὁ δὲ ἐκεῖνον, πάντα δὲ ἐν βραχεῖ. τὸ γὰρ ὅλον, κατιδεῖν ἀεὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ὡς ἐφήμερα καὶ εὐτελῆ καὶ ἐχθὲς μὲν μυξάριον, αὔριον δὲ τάριχος ἢ τέφρα. τὸ ἀκαριαῖον οὖν τοῦτο τοῦ χρόνου κατὰ φύσιν διελθεῖν καὶ ἴλεων καταλῦσαι, ὡς ἂν εἰ ἐλαία πέπειρος γενομένη ἔπιπτεν, εὐφημοῦσα τὴν ἐνεγκοῦσαν καὶ χάριν εἰδυῖα τῷ φύσαντι δένδρῳ.

μθ'. Ὅμοιον εἶναι τῇ ἄκρᾳ, ᾗ διηνεκῶς τὰ κύματα προσρήσσεται· ἡ δὲ ἕστηκε καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν κοιμίζεται τὰ φλεγμήναντα τοῦ ὕδατος.

Ἀτυχὴς ἐγώ, ὅτι τοῦτό μοι συνέβη. οὐμενοῦν ἀλλ' εὐτυχὴς ἐγώ, ὅτι τούτου μοι συμβεβηκότος ἄλυπος διατελῶ, οὔτε ὑπὸ παρόντος θραυόμενος οὔτε ἐπιὸν φοβούμενος. συμβῆναι μὲν γὰρ τὸ τοιοῦτο παντὶ ἐδύνατο, ἄλυπος δὲ οὐ πᾶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἂν διετέλεσε. διὰ τί οὖν ἐκεῖνο μᾶλλον ἀτύχημα ἢ τοῦτο εὐτύχημα; λέγεις δὲ ὅλως ἀτύχημα ἀνθρώπου, ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπότευγμα τῆς φύσεως τοῦ ἀνθρώπου; ἀπότευγμα δὲ τῆς φύσεως τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἶναι δοκεῖ σοι, ὃ μὴ παρὰ τὸ βούλημα τῆς φύ-
2 σεως αὐτοῦ ἐστι; τί οὖν; τὸ βούλημα μεμάθηκας· μήτι οὖν τὸ συμβεβηκὸς τοῦτο κωλύει σε δίκαιον εἶναι, μεγαλόψυχον, σώφρονα, ἔμφρονα, ἀπρόπτωτον, ἀδιάψευστον, αἰδήμονα, ἐλεύθερον, τἄλλα, ὧν συμπαρόντων ἡ φύσις ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀπέχει τὰ ἴδια; μέμνησο λοιπὸν ἐπὶ παντὸς τοῦ εἰς λύπην σε προαγομένου

have, so to speak, died whole, Helice and Pompeii and Herculaneum and countless others.[122] Go over too all those you have known, one after another: one buried another and then was laid out himself, and another another; and all in a short time. For in sum, always look at human things as of a day and cheap: yesterday a drop of mucus, tomorrow a mummy or ashes. So pass through this instant of time according to nature, and come to rest serene, as an olive might fall when ripe, speaking well of her who bore it and giving thanks to the tree that grew it.[123] 2

49. Be like the headland on which the waves break perpetually; it stands, and around it the swelling waters are lulled to rest.

Unlucky am I, because this has happened to me. No: lucky am I, because though this has happened to me I go on free from distress, neither crushed by the present nor afraid of what is coming. For such a thing could have happened to anyone, but not everyone would have gone on free from distress at it. Why then is that a misfortune rather than this good fortune? Do you call anything at all a man's misfortune which is not a failure of man's nature? And does that seem to you a failure of man's nature which is not contrary to the will of his nature? What then? You have learned that will. Does this thing that has happened, then, prevent you from being just, great-souled, self-controlled, sensible, free from rash assent, free from deceit, self-respecting, free, and the rest, through whose presence together man's nature has what is its own? For the rest, remember, at everything that leads you towards distress, 2

[122] Helice in Achaea was swallowed by the sea in 373 BC; Pompeii and Herculaneum were buried by Vesuvius in AD 79.

[123] "Her who bore it": usually taken as the earth. Nauck supplied "the season" (L's apparatus).

τούτῳ χρῆσθαι τῷ δόγματι· οὐχ ὅτι τοῦτο ἀτύχημα, ἀλλὰ τὸ φέρειν αὐτὸ γενναίως εὐτύχημα.

ν′. Ἰδιωτικὸν μέν, ὅμως δὲ ἀνυστικὸν βοήθημα πρὸς θανάτου καταφρόνησιν ἡ ἀναπόλησις τῶν γλίσχρως ἐνδιατριψάντων τῷ ζῆν. τί οὖν αὐτοῖς πλέον ἢ τοῖς ἀώροις; πάντως πού ποτε κεῖνται, Καδικιανός, Φάβιος, Ἰουλιανός, Λέπιδος ἢ εἴ τις τοιοῦτος, οἳ πολλοὺς ἐξήνεγκαν, εἶτα ἐξηνέχθησαν· ὅλον, μικρόν ἐστι τὸ διάστημα καὶ τοῦτο δι᾽ ὅσων καὶ μεθ᾽ οἵων ἐξαντλούμενον καὶ ἐν οἵῳ 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;

να′. 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.

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Ε

α′. Ὄρθρου, ὅταν δυσόκνως ἐξεγείρῃ, πρόχειρον ἔστω ὅτι ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπου ἔργον ἐγείρομαι· τί οὖν δυσκολαίνω, εἰ πορεύομαι ἐπὶ τὸ ποιεῖν ὧν ἕνεκεν γέγονα καὶ ὧν χάριν προῆγμαι 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

to use this principle: not that this is a misfortune, but that to bear it nobly is good fortune.

50. An unphilosophical but still effective help towards despising death is to recall those who lingered greedily in life. What more, then, have they than those who died untimely? At all events they lie somewhere at last, Cadicianus, Fabius, Julianus, Lepidus, or anyone like them, who carried many out to burial and then were carried out themselves.[124] In all, the interval is small, and through how many things, in what company, in what a poor body is it drained? So not as a thing of consequence. For look behind at the yawning gulf of eternity, and in front at another infinity. In this, then, what difference is there between a child of three days and one who has lived three lifetimes of Nestor?[125]

51. Always run the short road; and the short road is the one according to nature, so as to say and do everything in the soundest way. For such a purpose frees one from toils, from dawdling, and from all management and pretentiousness.[126]

Book V

1. At first light, when you are reluctant to get up, have this ready: I am rising to do the work of a man. Why then am I ill-humoured, if I am going to do the things for the sake of which I have come to be, and for which I was brought into the universe? Or was I made for this, to lie under the blankets and keep myself warm? But this is more pleasant. Have you come to be, then, for feeling pleasure, and in a word, you, for being acted upon, or for activity?[127] Do you not see the little plants, the little sparrows, the ants, the spiders, the bees

[124] Not certainly identified. L prints the manuscripts' Cadicianus (so P p. 44); Gataker proposed Caecilianus, Reiske Caedicianus.

[125] *τριγερήνιος*, "thrice-Gerenian": three times the age of Nestor, Homer's "Gerenian horseman", who had outlived two generations and ruled among the third (*Iliad* 1.250–252).

[126] "Dawdling" is *στραγγεία*, the correction of Stephanus and Rendall, which L prints; the manuscripts (so P p. 45) have *στρατεία*, "soldiering".

[127] "You, for being acted upon" is Fournier's *σὺ πρὸς πεῖσιν*, which L prints; L reports "not for being acted upon" in A and D; P (p. 45) has "not for doing".

τὸ ἴδιον ποιούσας, τὸ καθ' αὑτὰς συγκροτούσας κόσμον; ἔπειτα σὺ οὐ θέλεις τὰ ἀνθρωπικὰ ποιεῖν; οὐ τρέχεις ἐπὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν
2 σὴν φύσιν; ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι. φημὶ κἀγώ· 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, ἐπεί τοι καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἄν σου καὶ τὸ βούλημα
3 ταύτης ἐφίλεις. ἀλλ' οἵ γε τὰς τέχνας ἑαυτῶν φιλοῦντες συγκατατήκονται τοῖς κατ' αὐτὰς ἔργοις ἄλουτοι καὶ ἄσιτοι· σὺ τὴν φύσιν τὴν σαυτοῦ ἔλασσον τιμᾷς ἢ ὁ τορευτὴς τὴν τορευτικὴν ἢ ὁ ὀρχηστὴς τὴν ὀρχηστικὴν ἢ ὁ φιλάργυρος τὸ ἀργύριον ἢ ὁ κενόδοξος τὸ δοξάριον; καὶ οὗτοι, ὅταν προσπαθῶσιν, οὔτε φαγεῖν οὔτε κοιμηθῆναι θέλουσι μᾶλλον ἢ ταῦτα συναύξειν, πρὸς ἃ διαφέρονται· σοὶ δὲ αἱ κοινωνικαὶ πράξεις εὐτελέστεραι φαίνονται καὶ ἧσσονος σπουδῆς ἄξιαι;

β′. Ὡς εὔκολον ἀπώσασθαι καὶ ἀπαλεῖψαι πᾶσαν φαντασίαν [τὴν] ὀχληρὰν ἢ ἀνοίκειον καὶ εὐθὺς ἐν πάσῃ γαλήνῃ εἶναι.

γ′. 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 ὁρμῇ χρῶνται· ἃ σὺ μὴ περιβλέπου, ἀλλ' εὐθεῖαν

doing their own work, putting together, for their part, the universe? And then you do not want to do what is human? You do not run to what is according to your nature? But one must rest too. I say so too; but nature has given measures for this too, [has given, however,] for eating and drinking too, and yet you go beyond the measures, beyond what is enough; but in actions no longer: rather, within what is possible. For you do not love yourself; for then you would surely love your nature too, and its will.[128] But those, at least, who love their own crafts wear themselves out over the works that belong to them, unwashed and unfed; you honour your own nature less than the engraver honours engraving, or the dancer dancing, or the lover of money money, or the lover of empty glory the little fame? And these, when they are passionately attached, do not want to eat or sleep rather than advance the things they are set on; but do social actions seem to you cheaper, and worth less effort?[129] 2 3

2. How easy it is to push away and wipe away every impression that is vexing or foreign, and at once to be in complete calm.

3. Judge yourself worthy of every word and deed that is according to nature, and do not let the blame or word of certain people that ensues distract you; but if it was honourable to do or say it, do not judge yourself unworthy of it. For they have their own ruling centre and use their own impulse; do not look round at these things, but the straight road

[128] L brackets the repeated "has given" (*ἔδωκε μέντοι*) as an intrusion; Coraes deleted only *μέντοι* (L's apparatus).

[129] "The things they are set on" is Schultz's *πρὸς ἃ διαφέρονται*, which L prints; L reports *πρὸς ἃ φέρονται* in P and *προσδιαφέρονται* in A and D.

πέραινε ἀκολουθῶν τῇ φύσει τῇ ἰδίᾳ καὶ τῇ κοινῇ, μία δὲ ἀμφοτέρων τούτων [ἡ] ὁδός.

δ′. 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 αἱμάτιον 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.

ε′. Δριμύτητά σου οὐκ ἔχουσι θαυμάσαι· ἔστω, ἀλλὰ ἕτερα πολλά, ἐφ᾽ ὧν οὐκ ἔχεις εἰπεῖν· οὐ γὰρ πέφυκα. ἐκεῖνα οὖν παρέχου, ἅπερ ὅλα ἐστὶν 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 ἤδη παρέχεσθαι δυνάμενος, ἐφ᾽ ὧν οὐδεμία ἀφυίας καὶ ἀνεπιτηδειότητος πρόφασις, ὅμως ἔτι κάτω μένεις ἑκών; ἢ καὶ γογγύζειν καὶ γλισχρεύεσθαι καὶ κολακεύειν καὶ τὸ σωμάτιον καταιτιᾶσθαι καὶ ἀρεσκεύεσθαι καὶ περπερεύεσθαι καὶ τοσαῦτα ῥιπτάζεσθαι 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.

ς′. Ὁ μέν τίς ἐστιν, ὅταν τι δεξιὸν περί τινα πράξῃ, πρόχειρος καὶ λογίσασθαι αὐτῷ τὴν χάριν. ὁ δὲ πρὸς μὲν τοῦτο οὐ πρόχειρος, ἄλλως μέντοι παρ᾽ ἑαυτῷ ὡς περὶ

bring to its end, following your own nature and the common nature; and the road of these two is one.

4. I go on through the things according to nature until I fall and rest, breathing my last into that from which I breathe each day, and falling onto that from which my father gathered the little seed, and my mother the little blood, and my nurse the little milk; from which for so many years I am fed and watered each day; which carries me as I tread on it and use it to the full for so much.[130]

5. They cannot admire your sharpness. So be it; but there are many other things of which you cannot say, "For I am not gifted by nature." Then offer those which are wholly in your power: genuineness, dignity, the bearing of hardship, indifference to pleasure, not complaining of one's lot, needing little, kindliness, freedom, freedom from excess, freedom from idle talk, elevation.[131] Do you not perceive how many you could already offer, in which there is no excuse of want of talent or unfitness, and yet you still remain below, willingly? Or are you compelled, because you are made without talent, to grumble, to be stingy, to flatter, to blame the poor body, to curry favour, to brag, and to be tossed about so much in soul? No, by the gods; you could have been rid of these long ago, and only, if at all, been found fault with as rather slow and rather dull at keeping track. And this too one must train, not disregarding it nor delighting in the sluggishness.

6. One man, when he has done someone a good turn, is ready also to reckon the favour to his account. Another is not ready for this, but still, privately, as of

[130] The first is the air, the second the earth.

[131] "Elevation" renders *τὸ μεγαλεῖον*; Rendall proposed *τὸ ἀμεγαλεῖον*, "freedom from pomp" (L's apparatus).

χρεώστου διανοεῖται καὶ οἶδεν ὃ πεποίηκεν. ὁ δέ τις τρόπον τινὰ οὐδὲ οἶδεν ὃ πεποίηκεν, ἀλλὰ ὅμοιός ἐστιν ἀμπέλῳ βότρυν ἐνεγκούσῃ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο προσεπιζητούσῃ μετὰ τὸ ἅπαξ
2 τὸν ἴδιον καρπὸν ἐνηνοχέναι. ἵππος δραμών, κύων ἰχνεύσας, μέλισσα μέλι ποιήσασα, ἄνθρωπος δ' εὖ ποιήσας οὐκ ἐπιβοᾶται, ἀλλὰ μεταβαίνει ἐφ' ἕτερον, 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 ὃ λέγεις, τὸ δὲ νῦν λεγόμενον παρεκδέχῃ· διὰ τοῦτο ἔσῃ εἷς ἐκείνων ὧν πρότερον ἐπεμνήσθην· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι λογικῇ τινι πιθανότητι παράγονται. ἐὰν δὲ θελήσῃς συνεῖναι τί ποτέ ἐστι τὸ λεγόμενον, μὴ φοβοῦ, μὴ παρὰ τοῦτο παραλίπῃς τι ἔργον κοινωνικόν.

ζ'. Εὐχὴ Ἀθηναίων· ὗσον, ὗσον, ὦ φίλε Ζεῦ, κατὰ τῆς ἀρούρας τῆς Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν πεδίων. ἤτοι οὐ δεῖ εὔχεσθαι ἢ οὕτως ἁπλῶς καὶ ἐλευθέρως.

η'. Ὁποῖόν τί ἐστι τὸ λεγόμενον, ὅτι· συνέταξεν ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς τούτῳ ἱππασίαν ἢ ψυχρολουσίαν ἢ ἀνυποδησίαν, τοιοῦτόν ἐστι 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 ἑκάστῳ τέτακταί πως
2 αὐτῷ ⟨ὡς⟩ κατάλληλον πρὸς τὴν εἱμαρμένην. οὕτως γὰρ καὶ συμβαίνειν αὐτὰ

a debtor he thinks, and knows what he has done. Another in a way does not even know what he has done, but is like a vine that has borne grapes and seeks nothing more once it has borne its own fruit. A 2
horse that has run, a dog that has tracked, a bee that has made honey, and a man who has done good does not make an outcry, but passes on to another, as a vine passes on to bear grapes again in season. One must, then, be among those who do this in a way without attention. — Yes; but one must keep track of this very thing; for it is peculiar to the social man, he says, to perceive that he is acting socially, and, by Zeus, to will that his fellow too perceive it. — What you say is true, but you take wrongly what is now being said; and for that reason you will be one of those I mentioned before; for they too are led astray by something rationally convincing. But if you want to understand what is being said, do not fear that because of it you will leave any social work undone.[132]

7. A prayer of the Athenians: "Rain, rain, dear Zeus, on the ploughland of the Athenians and on the plains." Either one must not pray, or pray so, simply and freely.[133]

8. Like the saying "Asclepius prescribed for this man riding, or cold baths, or going barefoot" is this one too: "the nature of the whole prescribed for this man disease, or maiming, or loss, or something else of the kind." For there "prescribed" means something like this: he ordered this for this man as appropriate to health; and here, what happens to each has in a way been ordered for him ⟨as⟩ appropriate to fate.[134] For it is in this way too that things "fit" 2

[132] L's dashes mark an exchange with an imagined objector.

[133] A folk prayer for rain, preserved here.

[134] Asclepius, the god of healing, whose sanctuaries gave such regimens. *συνέταξε*, "prescribed", is also "arranged together", the sense the chapter turns on.

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 ἁρμονία ἐστὶ μία καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκ πάντων τῶν σωμάτων ὁ κόσμος τοιοῦτον σῶμα συμπληροῦται, οὕτως ἐκ πάντων τῶν αἰτίων ἡ εἱμαρμένη τοιαύτη
3 αἰτία συμπληροῦται. 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 ⟨ἃ⟩ ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς συντάττει. πολλὰ γοῦν καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις ἐστὶ
4 τραχέα, ἀλλὰ ἀσπαζόμεθα τῇ ἐλπίδι τῆς ὑγιείας. τοιοῦτόν τί σοι δοκείτω ἄνυσις καὶ συντέλεια τῶν τῇ κοινῇ φύσει δοκούντων, οἷον ἡ σὴ ὑγίεια, καὶ οὕτως ἀσπάζου πᾶν τὸ γινόμενον, κἂν ἀπηνέστερον δοκῇ, διὰ τὸ ἐκεῖ σε ἄγειν, ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου ὑγίειαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Διὸς εὐοδίαν καὶ εὐπραγίαν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοῦτό τινι ἔφερεν, εἰ μὴ τῷ ὅλῳ συνέφερεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ τυχοῦσα φύσις φέρει τι, ὃ μὴ τῷ διοικουμένῳ ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς κατάλλη-
5 λόν ἐστιν. οὐκοῦν κατὰ δύο λόγους στέργειν χρὴ τὸ συμβαῖνόν σοι· καθ᾽ ἕνα μέν, ὅτι σοὶ ἐγίνετο καὶ σοὶ συνετάττετο καὶ πρὸς σέ πως εἶχεν, ἄνωθεν ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτάτων αἰτίων συγκλωθόμενον· καθ᾽ ἕτερον δέ, ὅτι τῷ τὸ ὅλον διοικοῦντι τῆς εὐοδίας καὶ τῆς συντελείας καὶ νὴ Δία τῆς συμμονῆς αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ ἰδίᾳ εἰς ἕκαστον ἦκον αἴτιόν ἐστι. πηροῦται γὰρ τὸ ὁλόκληρον, ἐὰν καὶ ὁτιοῦν διακόψῃς τῆς συναφείας καὶ συνεχείας ὥσπερ τῶν μορίων, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τῶν αἰτίων· διακόπτεις δέ, ὅσον ἐπὶ σοί, ὅταν δυσαρεστῇς, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἀναιρεῖς.

us, as we say, just as craftsmen say that the squared stones in walls or pyramids "fit", joining one another in a certain arrangement. For in general there is one harmony; and as from all bodies the universe is completed as such a body, so from all causes fate is completed as such a cause.[135] Even the wholly unphilosophical understand what 3
I mean; for they say, "It brought him this." So this was brought to this man, and this was prescribed for this man. Let us receive these things, then, like those ⟨that⟩ Asclepius prescribes. At any rate many things in those too are rough, but we welcome them in the hope of health. Let the accomplishment and fulfilment of what seems good 4
to the common nature seem to you something of that kind, like your health; and so welcome everything that comes about, even if it seems rather harsh, because it leads you there, to the health of the universe and to the good journey and prosperity of Zeus. For it would not have brought this to anyone if it did not bring advantage to the whole; for not even any chance nature brings anything that is not appropriate to what is governed by it.[136] So for two reasons one must cher- 5
ish what happens to you: one, that it came about for you and was prescribed for you and stood in some relation to you, spun together from above out of the most ancient causes; the other, that even what comes to each individually is a cause of the good journey and the fulfilment and, by Zeus, of the very continuance of that which governs the whole. For the entire is maimed if you cut off anything at all from the connection and continuity, as of the parts, so indeed of the causes too; and you cut it off, as far as lies in you, whenever you are discontented, and in a way you destroy it.

[135] *συμβαίνειν* means both "happen to" and "fit together". L's testimonia compare the Suda, s.v. *συμβαίνειν*.

[136] "Brought ... bring advantage" renders the play on *ἔφερεν* and *συνέφερεν*.

θ′. Μὴ σικχαίνειν μηδὲ ἀπαυδᾶν μηδὲ ἀποδυσπετεῖν, εἰ μὴ καταπυκνοῦταί σοι τὸ ἀπὸ δογμάτων ὀρθῶν ἕκαστα 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 ὀφθαλμιῶντες πρὸς τὸ σπογγάριον καὶ τὸ ᾠόν, ὡς ἄλλος πρὸς κατάπλασμα, ὡς πρὸς καταιόνησιν. οὕτως γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐπιδείξῃ τὸ πειθαρχεῖν τῷ λόγῳ, ἀλλὰ προσαναπαύσῃ αὐτῷ. μέμνησο δὲ ὅτι φιλοσοφία μόνα θέλει ἃ ἡ φύσις σου θέλει· σὺ δὲ ἄλλο ἤθελες οὐ κατὰ φύσιν. τί γὰρ τούτων προσηνέστερον; ἡ γὰρ ἡδονὴ οὐχὶ διὰ τοῦτο σφάλλει; ἀλλὰ θέασαι, εἰ προσηνέστερον μεγαλοψυχία, ἐλευθερία, ἁπλότης, εὐγνωμοσύνη, ὁσιότης. αὐτῆς γὰρ φρονήσεως τί προσηνέστερον, ὅταν τὸ ἄπταιστον καὶ εὔρουν ἐν πᾶσι τῆς παρακολουθητικῆς καὶ ἐπιστημονικῆς δυνάμεως ἐνθυμηθῇς;

ι′. Τὰ μὲν πράγματα ἐν τοιαύτῃ τρόπον τινὰ ἐγκαλύψει ἐστίν, ὥστε 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 ἢ πόρνης ἢ λῃστοῦ εἶναι. μετὰ τοῦτο ἔπιθι ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν συμβιούντων ἤθη, ὧν μόλις ἐστὶ καὶ τοῦ χαριεστάτου
2 ἀνασχέσθαι, ἵνα μὴ λέγω, ὅτι καὶ ἑαυτόν τις μόγις ὑπομένει. ἐν τοιούτῳ οὖν ζόφῳ καὶ ῥύπῳ καὶ τοσαύτῃ ῥύσει τῆς τε οὐσίας καὶ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ

9. Do not be disgusted, nor give up, nor lose heart, if acting on right principles in every case is not thickly established in you; but when you have been knocked back, come back again, and be glad if most of what you do is fairly human, and love this to which you return; and do not return to philosophy as to a schoolmaster, but as those with sore eyes to the sponge and the egg, as another to a poultice, as to a lotion. For so you will make no show of obeying reason, but will rest in it.[137] And remember that philosophy wants only what your nature wants; but you wanted something else, not according to nature. For what is more agreeable than these? For is it not by just this that pleasure trips one up? But look whether greatness of soul, freedom, simplicity, fair-mindedness, holiness are more agreeable. For what is more agreeable than wisdom itself, when you consider the sureness and the smooth flow, in everything, of the faculty that keeps track and knows?

10. Things are in such a way veiled that to not a few philosophers, and not ordinary ones, they seemed altogether incapable of being firmly grasped; but to the Stoics themselves, at least, they seem hard to grasp firmly; and all our assent is liable to waver; for where is the man who never wavers?[138] Pass on, then, to the underlying things themselves, as of short duration and cheap, and able to be in the possession of a catamite or a whore or a robber. After that go on to the characters of those who live alongside you, of whom it is hard to bear with even the most refined, not to say that one can hardly endure even oneself. In such darkness, then, and filth, and in so great 2
a flow of substance and of time and

[137] "Make no show" is ἐπιδείξῃ, which L prints; L reports ἐπιδείξει in P; Gataker proposed "you will no longer need", Coraes "it will no longer sting".

[138] Probably the Academic sceptics, who held that nothing can be firmly grasped (ἀκατάληπτα; compare 1.9). The man whose assent never wavers is the Stoic wise man.

τῆς κινήσεως καὶ τῶν κινουμένων τί ποτέ ἐστι τὸ ἐκτιμηθῆναι ἢ τὸ ὅλως σπουδασθῆναι δυνάμενον, οὐδ' ἐπινοῶ. τοὐναντίον γὰρ δεῖ παραμυθούμενον ἑαυτὸν περιμένειν τὴν φυσικὴν λύσιν καὶ μὴ ἀσχάλλειν τῇ διατριβῇ, ἀλλὰ τούτοις μόνοις προσαναπαύεσθαι· ἑνὶ μὲν τῷ, ὅτι οὐδὲν συμβήσεταί μοι ὃ οὐχὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὅλων φύσιν ἐστίν· ἑτέρῳ δέ, ὅτι ἔξεστί μοι μηδὲν πράσσειν παρὰ τὸν ἐμὸν θεὸν καὶ δαίμονα· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὁ ἀναγκάσων τοῦτον παραβῆναι.

ια′. Πρὸς *τί ποτε ἄρα νῦν χρῶμαι τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ ψυχῇ; παρ' ἕκαστα τοῦτο ἐπανερωτᾶν ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐξετάζειν 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;*

ιβ′. Ὁποῖά τινά ἐστι τὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς δοκοῦντα ἀγαθά, κἂν ἐντεῦθεν λάβοις. εἰ γάρ τις ἐπινοήσειεν ὑπάρχοντά τινα ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀγαθά, οἷον φρόνησιν, σωφροσύνην, δικαιοσύνην, ἀνδρείαν, οὐκ ἂν ταῦτα προεπινοήσας ἐπακοῦσαι δυνηθείη τό· 'ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν', οὐ γὰρ ἐφαρμόσει. τὰ δέ γε τοῖς πολλοῖς φαινόμενα ἀγαθὰ προεπινοήσας τις ἐπακούσεται καὶ ῥᾳδίως δέξεται ὡς οἰκείως ἐπιλεγόμενον τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ κωμικοῦ εἰρημένον. οὕτως καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ φαντάζονται τὴν διαφοράν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοῦτο μὲν [οὐ] προσέκοπτε καὶ ἀπηξιοῦτο, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τῶν πρὸς τρυφὴν ἢ δόξαν εὐκληρημάτων παρεδεχόμεθα ὡς ἱκνουμένως καὶ ἀστείως εἰρημένον. πρόιθι οὖν καὶ ἐρώτα, εἰ τιμητέον καὶ ἀγαθὰ ὑποληπτέον τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὧν προεπινοηθέντων

of motion and of things moved, what could be valued or taken seriously at all, I do not even conceive. For on the contrary, one must console oneself and wait for the natural release, and not chafe at the delay, but rest in these things alone: one, that nothing will happen to me that is not according to the nature of the whole; the other, that it is open to me to do nothing against my god and daimon; for there is no one who will compel me to transgress against him.

11. To what use, then, am I now putting my own soul? At every turn question yourself on this, and examine what I now have in this part which they call the ruling centre; and whose soul, then, do I now have? A child's? An adolescent's? A silly woman's? A tyrant's? A brute's? A beast's?

12. What sort of things the goods are in the eyes of the many, you may grasp from this too. For if someone conceived of certain things as truly goods, such as wisdom, self-control, justice, courage, then, having conceived of these first, he could not listen to the phrase "from the goods"; for it will not fit. But having first conceived of what appear goods to the many, one will listen and readily receive, as properly added, what the comic poet said.[139] So even the many form an impression of the difference; for otherwise this one would not give offence and be rejected,[140] while the line about wealth and the windfalls that bring luxury or fame we receive as aptly and wittily said. Go on, then, and ask whether one must honour and must form the opinion that such things are goods, of which, once they have been conceived first,

[139] Menander fr. 530.9 Kock (L's testimonia); the end of the line follows on p. 45. "From the goods" is Nauck's *ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν*, which L prints; L reports the singular, "from the good", in the manuscripts. "Will listen" is Richards' correction (L's apparatus).

[140] L brackets a second "not", deleted by Morus.

οἰκείως ἂν ἐπιφέροιτο τὸ τὸν κεκτημένον αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τῆς εὐπορίας ‘οὐκ ἔχειν ὅποι χέσῃ’.

ιγ′. Ἐξ αἰτιώδους καὶ ὑλικοῦ συνέστηκα, οὐδέτερον δὲ τούτων εἰς τὸ μὴ ὂν φθαρήσεται, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος ὑπέστη. οὐκοῦν καταταχθήσεται πᾶν μέρος ἐμὸν κατὰ μεταβολὴν εἰς μέρος τι τοῦ κόσμου καὶ πάλιν ἐκεῖνο εἰς ἕτερον μέρος τι τοῦ κόσμου μεταβαλεῖ καὶ ἤδη εἰς ἄπειρον. κατὰ τοιαύτην δὲ μεταβολὴν κἀγὼ ὑπέστην καὶ οἱ ἐμὲ γεννήσαντες καὶ ἐπανιόντι εἰς ἄλλο ἄπειρον. οὐδὲν γὰρ κωλύει οὕτως φάναι, κἂν κατὰ περιόδους πεπερασμένας ὁ κόσμος διοικῆται.

ιδ′. Ὁ λόγος καὶ ἡ λογικὴ τέχνη δυνάμεις εἰσὶν ἑαυταῖς ἀρκούμεναι καὶ τοῖς καθ’ ἑαυτὰς ἔργοις. ὁρμῶνται μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας ἀρχῆς, ὁδεύουσι δὲ εἰς τὸ προκείμενον τέλος, καθὸ κατορθώσεις αἱ τοιαῦται πράξεις ὀνομάζονται τὴν ὀρθότητα τῆς ὁδοῦ σημαίνουσαι.

ιε′. Οὐδὲν τούτων ῥητέον ἀνθρώπου, ᾧ ἀνθρώπῳ, καθὸ ἄνθρωπός 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 ἦν οὐδὲ ἐπαινετὸς ἦν ὁ ἀπροσδεῆ τούτων ἑαυτὸν παρεχόμενος, οὐδ’ ἂν ὁ ἐλαττωτικὸς ἑαυτοῦ ἔν τινι τούτων ἀγαθὸς ἦν, εἴπερ ταῦτα ἀγαθὰ ἦν. νῦν δ’, ὅσῳπερ πλείω τις ἀφαιρῶν ἑαυτοῦ τούτων ἢ τοιούτων ἑτέρων ἢ καὶ ἀφαιρούμενός τι τούτων ἀνέχηται, τοσῷδε μᾶλλον ἀγαθός ἐστιν.

it could properly be added that their possessor, from abundance, "has nowhere to shit".

13. I am composed of the causal and the material, and neither of these will perish into what is not, as neither did it come to subsist out of what is not. So every part of me will be posted by change to some part of the universe, and that again will change into another part of the universe, and so on to infinity. By such change I too came to subsist, and those who begot me, and so back into another infinity. For nothing prevents one saying so, even if the universe is governed by limited periods.[141]

14. Reason and the art of reasoning are faculties content with themselves and with the works that belong to them. They set out, then, from their proper starting point and travel to the end set before them; which is why such actions are called right actions, signifying the rightness of the road.[142]

15. One must call none of those things a man's which do not fall to a man as a man. They are not demands made on a man, nor does man's nature promise them, nor are they perfections of man's nature. So neither does man's end lie in them, nor what completes the end, the good. For if any of these fell to a man, it would not fall to him to despise them and rise against them, nor would the man who presents himself as not needing them be praiseworthy, nor would the man who stints himself of any of them be good, if these were goods. But as it is, the more a man strips himself of these or other such things, or even puts up with being stripped of any of them, the better he is.

[141] The Stoic cycles, each ending in a conflagration and a renewal of the universe.

[142] *κατορθώσεις*, "right actions", akin to the Stoic term *κατόρθωμα* for an act done rightly, from *ὀρθός*, "straight"; hence "the rightness (*ὀρθότης*) of the road".

ις′. Οἷα ἂν πολλάκις φαντασθῇς, 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 εὖ ζῆν· ἐν αὐλῇ δὲ ζῆν ἐστιν· ἔστιν ἄρα καὶ εὖ ζῆν ἐν αὐλῇ. καὶ πάλιν, ὅτι οὗπερ ἕνεκεν ἕκαστον κατεσκεύασται, πρὸς τοῦτο φέρεται· πρὸς ὃ φέρεται δέ, ἐν τούτῳ τὸ τέλος αὐτοῦ· ὅπου δὲ τὸ τέλος, ἐκεῖ καὶ τὸ συμφέρον καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἑκάστου· τὸ ἄρα ἀγαθὸν τοῦ λογικοῦ ζῴου κοινωνία. ὅτι γὰρ πρὸς κοινωνίαν γεγόναμεν, πάλαι δέδεικται· ἢ οὐκ ἦν ἐναργὲς ὅτι τὰ χείρω τῶν κρειττόνων ἕνεκεν, τὰ δὲ κρείττω ἀλλήλων; κρείττω δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀψύχων τὰ ἔμψυχα, τῶν δὲ ἐμψύχων τὰ λογικά.

ιζ′. Τὸ τὰ ἀδύνατα διώκειν μανικόν· ἀδύνατον δὲ τὸ τοὺς φαύλους μὴ τοιαῦτά τινα ποιεῖν.

ιη′. Οὐδὲν οὐδενὶ συμβαίνει ὃ οὐχὶ πέφυκε φέρειν. ἄλλῳ τὰ αὐτὰ συμβαίνει καὶ ἤτοι ἀγνοῶν ὅτι συμβέβηκεν, ἢ ἐπιδεικνύμενος μεγαλοφροσύνην, εὐσταθεῖ καὶ ἀκάκωτος μένει. δεινὸν οὖν ἄγνοιαν καὶ ἀρέσκειαν ἰσχυροτέρας εἶναι φρονήσεως.

ιθ′. Τὰ πράγματα αὐτὰ οὐδ' ὁπωστιοῦν ψυχῆς ἅπτεται οὐδὲ ἔχει εἴσοδον πρὸς ψυχὴν οὐδὲ τρέψαι οὐδὲ κινῆσαι ψυχὴν δύναται, τρέπει δὲ καὶ κινεῖ αὐτὴ ἑαυτὴν μόνη καὶ οἵων ἂν κριμάτων καταξιώσῃ ἑαυτήν, τοιαῦτα ἑαυτῇ ποιεῖ τὰ προσυφεστῶτα.

κ′. Καθ' ἕτερον μὲν λόγον ἡμῖν ἐστιν οἰκειότατον ἄνθρωπος, καθ' ὅσον εὖ ποιητέον αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνεκτέον· καθ' ὅσον δὲ ἐνίστανταί τινες εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἔργα, ἕν τι τῶν

16. As are the things you often form an impression of, such will your understanding be; for the soul is dyed by the impressions. Dye it, then, with a continuous run of impressions like these: for example, that where it is possible to live, it is possible also to live well; but it is possible to live at court; so it is possible also to live well at court.[143] And again, that each thing is carried towards that for the sake of which it has been made; and that towards which it is carried, in that lies its end; and where the end is, there too is the advantage and the good of each; so the good of a rational living being is fellowship. For that we have come to be for fellowship has long been shown; or was it not plain that the worse are for the sake of the better, and the better for one another? And things with soul are better than things without soul, and of things with soul, the rational.

17. To pursue the impossible is madness; and it is impossible for base people not to do some things of this kind.

18. Nothing happens to anyone that he is not by nature able to bear. The same things happen to another, and either because he does not know they have happened, or because he is showing off greatness of mind, he stands steady and remains unhurt. It is a terrible thing, then, that ignorance and the wish to please should be stronger than wisdom.

19. Things themselves do not touch the soul in any way at all, nor have any entry to the soul, nor can they turn or move the soul; it alone turns and moves itself, and whatever verdicts it thinks itself worthy of, it makes such, for itself, the things that subsist alongside it.

20. In one respect man is the thing most proper to us, in so far as one must do good to them and bear with them; but in so far as some stand in the way of my proper works, one of the

[143] Compare 1.17.3, 6.12 and 8.9, on life at court. In the Greek, L prints *οὐν* without the circumflex, a misprint for *οὖν*, "then".

ἀδιαφόρων μοι γίνεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὐχ ἧσσον ἢ ἥλιος ἢ ἄνεμος ἢ θηρίον. ὑπὸ τούτων δὲ ἐνέργεια μέν τις ἐμποδισθείη ἄν, ὁρμῆς 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.

κα′. 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 τοῦτό ἐστι καὶ ὁ σὸς βίος ὑπὸ τούτου διοικεῖται.

κβ′. Ὃ 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 ὀργιστέον, ⟨ἀλλὰ δεικτέον⟩ τῷ βλάπτοντι τὴν πόλιν τί τὸ παρορώμενον.

κγ′. Πολλάκις ἐνθυμοῦ τὸ τάχος τῆς παραφορᾶς καὶ ὑπεξαγωγῆς τῶν ὄντων καὶ γινομένων. ἥ τε γὰρ οὐσία οἷον ποταμὸς ἐν διηνεκεῖ ῥύσει καὶ αἱ ἐνέργειαι ἐν συνεχέσι μεταβολαῖς καὶ τὰ αἴτια ἐν μυρίαις τροπαῖς καὶ σχεδὸν οὐδὲν ἑστὼς καὶ τὸ πάρεγγυς· τὸ δὲ ἄπειρον τοῦ τε παρῳχηκότος καὶ μέλλοντος ἀχανές, ᾧ πάντα ἐναφανίζεται. πῶς οὖν οὐ μωρὸς ὁ ἐν τούτοις φυσώμενος ἢ σπώμενος ἢ σχετλιάζων ὡς ἔν τινι χρόνῳ καὶ ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἐνοχλήσαντι;

κδ′. Μέμνησο τῆς συμπάσης οὐσίας, ἧς ὀλίγιστον μετέ-

things that make no difference to me does man become, no less than the sun, or the wind, or a beast. By these some activity may be impeded, but there are no impediments to impulse and disposition, because of the reservation and the reversal. For the understanding reverses and converts every hindrance to activity into the leading object, and what holds back this work furthers the work, and what stands in the way of this road advances the road.[144]

21. Of the things in the universe, honour the most excellent; and that is what uses all things and directs all things. Likewise of the things in you, honour the most excellent; and that is what is of one kind with that. For in you too it is this that uses the rest, and your life is governed by it.

22. What is not harmful to the city does not harm the citizen either. At every impression of having been harmed apply this rule: if the city is not harmed by this, I have not been harmed either; but if the city is harmed, one must not be angry, ⟨but must show⟩ the one who harms the city what is being overlooked.[145]

23. Consider often the speed with which the things that are and that come to be are carried past and withdrawn. For substance is like a river in perpetual flow, and the activities in continual changes, and the causes in countless turnings, and almost nothing stands still, even what is near at hand; and the infinity of the past and the future is a yawning gulf, in which all things vanish. How then is he not a fool who among these things is puffed up, or dragged about, or complains as over something that vexed him for any time, and for long?

24. Remember the all-embracing substance, of which you have a very small por-

[144] The reservation is the Stoic "if nothing prevents" of 4.1; by the reversal the obstacle becomes the leading object of action. "Bear with" (p. 46) is Xylander's *ἀνεκτέον*; L reports *ἀνακτέον* in the manuscripts.

[145] "But must show" is Gataker's supplement; in A a new chapter begins with "what is being overlooked" (L's apparatus).

χεις, καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος αἰῶνος, οὗ βραχὺ καὶ ἀκαριαῖόν σοι διάστημα ἀφώρισται, καὶ τῆς εἱμαρμένης, ἧς πόστον εἶ μέρος;

κε′. Ἄλλος ἁμαρτάνει τι εἰς ἐμέ; ὄψεται· ἰδίαν ἔχει διάθεσιν, ἰδίαν ἐνέργειαν. ἐγὼ νῦν ἔχω, ὅ με θέλει νῦν ἔχειν ἡ κοινὴ φύσις, καὶ πράσσω, ὅ με νῦν πράσσειν θέλει ἡ ἐμὴ φύσις.

κς′. Τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν καὶ κυριεῦον τῆς ψυχῆς σου μέρος ἄτρεπτον ἔστω ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ λείας ἢ τραχείας κινήσεως καὶ μὴ συγκρινέσθω, ἀλλὰ περιγραφέτω αὑτὸ καὶ περιοριζέτω τὰς πείσεις ἐκείνας ἐν τοῖς μορίοις. 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 ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ.

κζ′. ‘Συζῆν θεοῖς.’ συζῇ δὲ θεοῖς ὁ συνεχῶς δεικνὺς αὐτοῖς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν ἀρεσκομένην μὲν τοῖς ἀπονεμομένοις, ποιοῦσαν δὲ ὅσα βούλεται ὁ δαίμων, ὃν ἑκάστῳ προστάτην καὶ ἡγεμόνα ὁ Ζεὺς ἔδωκεν, ἀπόσπασμα ἑαυτοῦ. οὗτος δέ ἐστιν ὁ ἑκάστου νοῦς καὶ λόγος.

κη′. Τῷ γράσωνι μήτι ὀργίζῃ, μήτι τῷ ὀζοστόμῳ ὀργίζῃ; 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 ὀργῆς.

tion; and the all-embracing eternity, of which a brief and momentary interval has been marked off for you; and fate, of which you are how small a part?

25. Another does wrong to me? He will see to it. He has his own disposition, his own activity. I have now what the common nature wants me to have now, and I do what my nature wants me to do now.

26. Let the ruling centre, the part of your soul that rules, not be turned by the smooth or rough motion in the flesh, and let it not be combined with it, but let it circumscribe itself and confine those things undergone to the parts. But when they pass up into the understanding by the other sympathy, as in a body that is unified, then one must not try to resist the sensation, which is natural; but let the ruling centre not add of itself the opinion that it is good or bad.[146]

27. "Live with the gods." He lives with the gods who continually shows them his own soul pleased with what is allotted, and doing what the daimon wills, whom Zeus has given to each as guardian and guide, a fragment of himself. And this is each man's mind and reason.[147]

28. Are you angry with the man whose armpits stink? Are you angry with the man whose breath smells? What will he do for you? He has such a mouth, he has such armpits; such a smell must come from such things.[148] — But the man has reason, he says, and can understand, if he attends, how he offends. — Good for you; so you too have reason: move a rational disposition by a rational disposition; show, remind. For if he listens, you will cure him, and there is no need for anger.

[146] "The other sympathy" is perhaps that of soul and body, as against the sympathy of the universe; Rendall proposed "the sympathy of the parts", Richards "our sympathy" (L's apparatus).

[147] For the daimon see 2.13 and 3.5. Epictetus calls each man "a fragment of God" (*Discourses* 2.8.11).

[148] *γράσων*: L's testimonia cite the Suda, s.v. *γράσος*, "the stink of goats", an entry that quotes this sentence.

Οὔτε τραγῳδὸς οὔτε πόρνη.

κθ′. Ὡς ἐξελθὼν 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 ἐξάγει, μένω ἐλεύθερος καὶ οὐδείς με κωλύσει ποιεῖν ἃ θέλω· θέλω δὲ κατὰ φύσιν τοῦ λογικοῦ καὶ κοινωνικοῦ ζῴου.

λ′. Ὁ τοῦ ὅλου νοῦς κοινωνικός. πεποίηκε γοῦν τὰ χείρω τῶν κρειττόνων ἕνεκεν καὶ τὰ κρείττω ἀλλήλοις συνήρμοσεν. ὁρᾷς πῶς ὑπέταξε, συνέταξε, καὶ τὸ κατ᾽ ἀξίαν ἀπένειμεν ἑκάστοις καὶ τὰ κρατιστεύοντα εἰς ὁμόνοιαν ἀλλήλων συνήγαγεν.

λα′. Πῶς προσενήνεξαι μέχρι νῦν θεοῖς, γονεῦσιν, ἀδελφοῖς, γυναικί, τέκνοις, διδασκάλοις, τροφεῦσι, φίλοις, οἰκείοις, οἰκέταις· εἰ πρὸς πάντας σοι μέχρι νῦν ἐστι τό·

μήτε τινὰ ῥέξαι ἐξαίσιον μήτε ⟨τι⟩ εἰπεῖν.

ἀναμιμνήσκου δὲ καὶ δι᾽ οἵων διελήλυθας καὶ οἷα ἤρκεσας ὑπομεῖναι καὶ ὅτι πλήρης ἤδη σοι ἡ ἱστορία τοῦ βίου καὶ τελεία ἡ λειτουργία καὶ πόσα ὦπται καλὰ καὶ πόσων μὲν ἡδονῶν καὶ πόνων ὑπερεῖδες, πόσα δὲ ἔνδοξα παρεῖδες, εἰς ὅσους δὲ ἀγνώμονας εὐγνώμων ἐγένου.

λβ′. 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.

λγ′. Ὅσον οὐδέπω σποδὸς ἢ σκελετὸς καὶ ἤτοι ὄνομα ἢ

Neither tragic actor nor whore.[149]

29. As you think to live when you have gone out, so it is open to you to live here. But if they do not allow it, then go out of life too, yet as one who suffers nothing bad. Smoke, and I leave: why do you think it a big thing?[150] But so long as nothing of the kind leads me out, I remain free, and no one will prevent me doing what I want; and I want according to the nature of a rational and social living being.

30. The mind of the whole is social. At any rate it has made the worse for the sake of the better, and fitted the better to one another. You see how it has subordinated, coordinated, and allotted to each according to worth, and brought the most excellent into concord with one another.

31. How have you behaved up to now towards gods, parents, brothers, wife, children, teachers, tutors, friends, kin, household slaves: whether towards all of them, up to now, this holds of you:

"doing no one any lawless deed, nor speaking ⟨one⟩".[151]

And remember too what you have come through, and what you have been strong enough to endure; and that the story of your life is now complete and your service finished; and how many beautiful things have been seen, how many pleasures and pains you have looked past, how many things of repute you have passed over, to how many unfair people you have been fair-minded.

32. Why do unskilled and ignorant souls confound the skilled and knowing? Which soul, then, is skilled and knowing? The one that knows beginning and end, and the reason that pervades all substance and through all eternity, by appointed periods, manages the totality.

33. All but at once, ashes or a skeleton, and either a name or

[149] L sets these words apart as a paragraph of their own; A begins a new chapter with them, and so does Xylander's Latin (L's apparatus). Their point is uncertain.

[150] Compare Epictetus, *Discourses* 1.25.18 (L's testimonia), where a room filled with smoke stands for a life no longer to be borne: "the door is open".

[151] Homer, *Odyssey* 4.690 (L's testimonia), Penelope's words of Odysseus; ⟨τι⟩ is Coraes' supplement.

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 Ὄλυμπον ἀπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης.

τί οὖν ἔτι τὸ ἐνταῦθα κατέχον, εἴ γε τὰ μὲν αἰσθητὰ εὐμετάβλητα καὶ οὐχ ἑστῶτα, 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· ἕως δὲ ἐκείνης ὁ καιρὸς ἐφίσταται, τί ἀρκεῖ; τί δὲ ἄλλο ἢ θεοὺς μὲν σέβειν καὶ εὐφημεῖν, ἀνθρώπους δὲ εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ ἀνέχεσθαι αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέχεσθαι· ὅσα δὲ ἐντὸς ὅρων τοῦ κρεᾳδίου καὶ τοῦ πνευματίου, ταῦτα μεμνῆσθαι μήτε σὰ ὄντα μήτε ἐπὶ σοί.

λδ'. 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 ζῴου ψυχῇ· τὸ μὴ ἐμποδίζεσθαι ὑπ' ἄλλου καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ δικαικῇ διαθέσει καὶ πράξει ἔχειν τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὴν ὄρεξιν ἀπολήγειν.

λε'. Εἰ μήτε κακία ἐστὶ τοῦτο ἐμὴ μήτε ἐνέργεια κατὰ κακίαν ἐμὴν μήτε τὸ κοινὸν βλάπτεται, τί ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διαφέρομαι, τίς δὲ βλάβη τοῦ κοινοῦ;

λς'. Μὴ ὁλοσχερῶς τῇ φαντασίᾳ συναρπάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ βοηθεῖν μὲν κατὰ δύναμιν καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν, κἂν εἰς τὰ μέσα ἐλαττῶνται, μὴ μέντοι βλάβην αὐτὸ φαντάζεσθαι· κακὸν γὰρ ἔθος. ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ γέρων ἀπελθὼν τὸν τοῦ θρεπτοῦ

not even a name; and a name is noise and echo. And the things prized in life are empty, rotten and petty, puppies biting one another, and quarrelsome children, laughing, then at once crying. But faith and self-respect and justice and truth

"to Olympus from the wide-wayed earth".[152]

What then still keeps one here, if the objects of sense are changeable and not standing still, and the senses dim and easily misled, and the little soul itself an exhalation from blood, and to be well thought of among such people empty?[153] What then? You wait serenely for quenching or removal. And until its time comes, what is enough? What else but to revere the gods and speak well of them, and to do good to men, and to bear with them and to abstain from them;[154] and of all that lies within the bounds of the bit of flesh and the little breath, to remember that it is neither yours nor in your power.

34. You can always flow smoothly, if you can also journey well, if you can also form opinions and act by the road. Two things are common to the soul of God and of man and of every rational living being: not to be impeded by another; and to have the good in a just disposition and action, and to let desire end there.[155]

35. If this is neither my vice nor an activity in accordance with my vice, and the community is not harmed, why am I at odds over it? And what is the harm to the community?

36. Do not be wholly swept away by the impression, but help according to power and according to worth, even if they are losing in things indifferent; but do not form the impression that it is a harm: for that is a bad habit. But as the old man, on going away, the foster-child's

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[152] Hesiod, *Works and Days* 197 (L's testimonia), where Aidos and Nemesis (self-respect and retribution) leave the earth.

[153] The soul as an exhalation (*ἀναθυμίασις*) from the blood is Stoic doctrine; compare 6.15. L's testimonia compare Tzetzes, *Chiliades* 7.801, who gives it as Marcus' view of the soul.

[154] The pair recalls Epictetus' maxim *ἀνέχου καὶ ἀπέχου*, "bear with and abstain from", traditionally "bear and forbear" (Aulus Gellius 17.19.6).

[155] To flow smoothly (*εὐροεῖν*): Zeno's "good flow of life", as at 2.5. "Journey well" is Stich's *εὐοδεῖν*, which L prints; L reports *ὁδεύειν* in P, and Reiske deleted the clause.

ῥόμβον ἀπῄτει, μεμνημένος ὅτι ῥόμβος, οὕτως οὖν καὶ ὧδε. ἐπεί τοι γίνῃ καλῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμβόλων. ἄνθρωπε, ἐπελάθου τί ταῦτα ἦν;—ναί· ἀλλὰ τούτοις περισπούδαστα.—διὰ τοῦτ᾽ οὖν καὶ σὺ μωρὸς γένῃ;

Ἐγενόμην ποτέ, ὁπουδήποτε καταληφθείς, εὔμοιρος ἄνθρωπος· τὸ δὲ εὔμοιρος, ἀγαθὴν μοῖραν σεαυτῷ ἀπονείμας· ἀγαθαὶ δὲ μοῖραι ἀγαθαὶ τροπαὶ ψυχῆς, ἀγαθαὶ ὁρμαί, ἀγαθαὶ πράξεις.

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ς

α′. 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 βλάπτεταί τι ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου. πάντα δὲ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον γίνεται καὶ περαίνεται.

β′. Μὴ διαφέρου πότερον ῥιγῶν ἢ θαλπόμενος τὸ πρέπον ποιεῖς, καὶ πότερον νυστάζων ἢ ἱκανῶς ὕπνου ἔχων, καὶ πότερον κακῶς ἀκούων ἢ εὐφημούμενος, καὶ πότερον ἀποθνῄσκων ἢ πράττων τι ἀλλοῖον· μία γὰρ τῶν βιωτικῶν πράξεων καὶ αὕτη ἐστί, καθ᾽ ἣν ἀποθνῄσκομεν· ἀρκεῖ οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτης τὸ παρὸν εὖ θέσθαι.

γ′. Ἔσω βλέπε· μηδενὸς πράγματος μήτε ἡ ἰδία ποιότης μήτε ἡ ἀξία παρατρεχέτω σε.

δ′. Πάντα τὰ ὑποκείμενα τάχιστα μεταβαλεῖ καὶ ἤτοι ἐκθυμιαθήσεται, εἴπερ ἥνωται ἡ οὐσία, ἢ σκεδασθήσεται.

ε′. Ὁ διοικῶν λόγος οἶδε πῶς διακείμενος καὶ τί ποιεῖ καὶ ἐπὶ τίνος ὕλης.

ς′. Ἄριστος τρόπος τοῦ ἀμύνεσθαι τὸ μὴ ἐξομοιοῦσθαι.

top demanded back, remembering that it was a top, so then here too.[156] For indeed you end up calling out on the rostra. Man, have you forgotten what these things were? — Yes, but they are taken very seriously by these people. — Is that why, then, you too should become a fool?[157]

I was once, wherever I was overtaken, a man of good lot; and to be of good lot is to have allotted yourself a good lot; and good lots are good turnings of the soul, good impulses, good actions.[158]

Book VI

1. The substance of the whole is obedient and pliant, and the reason that governs it has no cause in itself for doing ill; for it has no vice, nor does it do anything ill, nor is anything harmed by it. And all things come to be and are brought to their end according to it.

2. Let it make no difference to you whether you do what is seemly cold or warm, drowsy or with enough sleep, ill spoken of or well spoken of, dying or doing something else; for this too, by which we die, is one of the actions of life; it is enough, then, here too to settle the present well.

3. Look within: of nothing let either its own quality or its worth escape you.

4. All the underlying things will very soon change, and either be turned to vapour, if substance is unified, or be scattered.[159]

5. The governing reason knows how it is disposed, and what it does, and on what material.

6. The best way of retaliating is not to be assimilated.

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[156] The scene is otherwise unknown.

[157] The sentence on the rostra (ἔμβολα, the speakers' platform) is probably corrupt; L reports Xylander's "Since what good comes of it?", Coraes' "why do you go on complaining", Jackson's "say, why do you go on chattering".

[158] A begins a new chapter here; Schultz proposed "May I be". "Overtaken" is Casaubon's καταληφθείς (L's apparatus).

[159] Probably the Stoic view, one unified substance that ends in fire, against the Epicurean, atoms that scatter.

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ς

ζ′. Ἐνὶ τέρπου καὶ προσαναπαύου, τῷ ἀπὸ πράξεως κοινωνικῆς μεταβαίνειν ἐπὶ πρᾶξιν κοινωνικὴν σὺν μνήμῃ θεοῦ.

η′. Τὸ ἡγεμονικόν ἐστι τὸ ἑαυτὸ ἐγείρον καὶ τρέπον καὶ ποιοῦν μὲν ἑαυτὸ οἷον ἂν καὶ θέλῃ, ποιοῦν δὲ ἑαυτῷ φαίνεσθαι πᾶν τὸ συμβαῖνον οἷον αὐτὸ θέλει.

θ′. Κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὅλων φύσιν ἕκαστα περαίνεται· οὐ γὰρ κατ᾽ ἄλλην γέ τινα φύσιν ἤτοι ἔξωθεν περιέχουσαν ἢ ἐμπεριεχομένην ἔνδον ἢ ἔξω ἀπηρτημένην.

ι′. Ἤτοι κυκεὼν καὶ ἀντεμπλοκὴ καὶ σκεδασμὸς ἢ ἕνωσις καὶ τάξις καὶ πρόνοια. εἰ μὲν οὖν τὰ πρότερα, τί καὶ ἐπιθυμῶ εἰκαίῳ συγκρίματι καὶ φυρμῷ τοιούτῳ ἐνδιατρίβειν; τί δέ μοι καὶ μέλει ἄλλου τινὸς ἢ τοῦ ὅπως ποτὲ ‘αἶα γίνεσθαι’; τί δὲ καὶ ταράσσομαι; ἥξει γὰρ ἐπ᾽ ἐμὲ ὁ σκεδασμός, ὅ τι ἂν ποιῶ. εἰ δὲ θάτερά ἐστι, σέβω καὶ εὐσταθῶ καὶ θαρρῶ τῷ διοικοῦντι.

ια′. Ὅταν ἀναγκασθῇς ὑπὸ τῶν περιεστηκότων οἱονεὶ διαταραχθῆναι, ταχέως ἐπάνιθι εἰς σεαυτὸν καὶ μὴ ὑπὲρ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐξίστασο τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ· ἔσῃ γὰρ ἐγκρατέστερος τῆς ἁρμονίας τῷ συνεχῶς εἰς αὐτὴν ἐπανέρχεσθαι.

ιβ′. Εἰ μητρυιάν τε ἅμα εἶχες καὶ μητέρα, ἐκείνην τ᾽ ἂν ἐθεράπευες καὶ ὅμως ἡ ἐπάνοδός σοι πρὸς τὴν μητέρα συνεχὴς ἐγίνετο. τοῦτό σοι νῦν ἐστιν ἡ αὐλὴ καὶ ἡ φιλοσοφία· ὧδε πολλάκις ἐπάνιθι καὶ προσαναπαύου ταύτῃ, δι᾽ ἣν καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ σοι ἀνεκτὰ φαίνεται καὶ σὺ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀνεκτός.

ιγ′. Οἷον δὴ τὸ φαντασίαν λαμβάνειν ἐπὶ τῶν ὄψων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐδωδίμων, ὅτι νεκρὸς οὗτος ἰχθύος, οὗτος

Book VI

7. Take delight and rest in one thing: passing from one social action to another social action, with remembrance of God.

8. The ruling centre is that which wakes itself and turns itself, and makes itself whatever it wants, and makes everything that happens appear to it such as it itself wants.

9. Each thing is brought to its end according to the nature of the whole; for surely not according to some other nature, either encompassing from outside, or encompassed within, or detached outside.

10. Either a jumble, an intertwining and a scattering; or unity, order and providence. If, then, the former, why do I even crave to linger in such a random compound and confusion? And why do I even care for anything else than how, some day, "to become earth"?[160] And why am I even troubled? For the scattering will come upon me, whatever I do. But if the other is the case, I revere, I stand steady, and I take courage in the one who governs.

11. When you have been compelled by circumstances to be, as it were, thoroughly troubled, return quickly into yourself, and do not go out of the rhythm beyond what is necessary; for you will be more master of the harmony by continually returning to it.

12. If you had a stepmother and a mother at the same time, you would serve the one, and yet your return to the mother would be continual. That is what the court and philosophy are to you now: return here often and rest in her, thanks to whom the things there seem bearable to you and you bearable among them.[161]

13. Like taking an impression of dishes and such eatables: that this is the dead body of a fish, and this

[160] Homer, *Iliad* 7.99 (L's testimonia), Menelaus' curse on the Greeks who hang back: "may you all become water and earth". For the disjunction compare 4.3.2.

[161] Compare 1.17.3, 5.16 and 8.9 on life at court.

δὲ νεκρὸς ὄρνιθος ἢ χοίρου· καὶ πάλιν, ὅτι ὁ Φάλερνος χυλάριόν ἐστι σταφυλίου καὶ ἡ περιπόρφυρος τριχία προβατίου αἱματίῳ κόγχης δεδευμένα· καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν συνουσίαν ἐντερίου παράτριψις καὶ μετά τινος σπασμοῦ μυξαρίου ἔκκρισις· οἷαι δὴ αὗταί εἰσιν αἱ φαντασίαι καθικνούμεναι αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ διεξιοῦσαι δι' αὐτῶν, ὥστε ὁρᾶν οἷά τινά ποτέ ἐστιν· οὕτως δεῖ παρ' ὅλον τὸν βίον ποιεῖν καὶ ὅπου λίαν ἀξιόπιστα τὰ πράγματα φαντάζεται, ἀπογυμνοῦν αὐτὰ καὶ τὴν εὐτέλειαν αὐτῶν καθορᾶν καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐφ' ᾗ 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.

ιδ′. Τὰ πλεῖστα, ὧν ἡ πληθὺς θαυμάζει, εἰς γενικώτατα ἀνάγεται τὰ ὑπὸ ἕξεως ἢ 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 ἢ ἄλλως πως ἐντρεχής, ἢ κατὰ ψιλὸν τὸ πλῆθος ἀνδραπόδων κεκτῆσθαι. ὁ δὲ ψυχὴν λογικὴν καθολικὴν καὶ πολιτικὴν τιμῶν οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιστρέφεται, πρὸ ἁπάντων δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν λογικῶς καὶ κοινωνικῶς ἔχουσαν καὶ κινουμένην διασῴζει καὶ τῷ ὁμογενεῖ εἰς τοῦτο συνεργεῖ.

the dead body of a bird or a pig; and again that the Falernian is the juice of a bunch of grapes, and the purple-bordered robe a sheep's wool dyed with a shellfish's little blood;[162] and of sexual intercourse, a rubbing of entrails and an expulsion of a drop of mucus with a kind of convulsion:[163] such are these impressions, reaching to the things themselves and going right through them, so as to see what sort of things they are. So one must do through the whole of life, and, where things give the impression of being all too worthy of belief, one must strip them bare, see their cheapness clearly, and take away the story on which they pride themselves. For vanity is a terrible deceiver, and when you think you are most busied about serious things, then above all you are bewitched. See, at any rate, what Crates says of Xenocrates himself.[164]

14. Most of the things the multitude admires come under the most general heads: things held together by cohesion or by nature, stones, timber, fig trees, vines, olives. Those of a little more measured people, things held together by soul, as flocks and herds. Those of still more refined people, things held together by a rational soul, though not the universal one, but in so far as it is skilled in a craft or adroit in some other way, or merely in the possession of a crowd of slaves. But the man who honours a soul that is rational, universal and civic no longer turns to any of the rest, but before all else preserves his own soul in a rational and social state and motion, and works with what is of one kind with him to this end.[165]

[162] Falernian was among the most prized Italian wines. The purple-bordered robe is probably the Roman magistrate's *toga praetexta*.

[163] L's testimonia compare Tzetzes, *Chiliades* 7.801, who gives a loose version ("a rubbing of a sinew", said of man); Nauck read *νευρίου*, "sinew", from it.

[164] Probably Crates the Cynic on Xenocrates, the solemn head of the Academy; the saying is lost. Menagius proposed "Socrates" (L's apparatus).

[165] The Stoic scale of being: things held together by cohesion (*ἕξις*), as stones; by nature (*φύσις*, the power of growth), as plants; by soul, as animals; by rational soul, as men.

ιε′. Τὰ μὲν σπεύδει γίνεσθαι, τὰ δὲ σπεύδει γεγονέναι, καὶ τοῦ γινομένου δὲ ἤδη τι ἀπέσβη· ῥύσεις καὶ ἀλλοιώσεις ἀνανεοῦσι τὸν κόσμον διηνεκῶς, ὥσπερ τὸν ἄπειρον αἰῶνα ἡ τοῦ χρόνου ἀδιάλειπτος φορὰ νέον ἀεὶ παρέχεται. ἐν δὴ τούτῳ τῷ ποταμῷ τί ἄν τις τούτων τῶν παραθεόντων ἐκτιμήσειεν, ἐφ' οὗ στῆναι οὐκ ἔξεστιν; ὥσπερ εἴ τίς τι τῶν παραπετομένων στρουθαρίων φιλεῖν ἄρχοιτο, τὸ δ' ἤδη ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν ἀπελήλυθεν. τοιοῦτον δή τι καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ ζωὴ ἑκάστου, οἷον ἡ ἀφ' αἵματος ἀναθυμίασις καὶ ἡ ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος ἀνάπνευσις· ὁποῖον γάρ ἐστι τὸ ἅπαξ ἑλκύσαι 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.

ις′. Οὔτε τὸ διαπνεῖσθαι ὡς τὰ φυτὰ τίμιον οὔτε τὸ ἀναπνεῖν ὡς τὰ βοσκήματα καὶ τὰ θηρία οὔτε τὸ τυποῦσθαι κατὰ φαντασίαν οὔτε τὸ νευροσπαστεῖσθαι καθ' ὁρμὴν οὔτε τὸ συναγελάζεσθαι οὔτε τὸ τρέφεσθαι· τοῦτο γὰρ ὅμοιον τῷ ἀποκρί-
2 νειν τὰ περιττώματα τῆς τροφῆς. 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 ἰδίαν κατασκευὴν κινεῖσθαι καὶ ἴσχεσθαι, ἐφ' ὃ καὶ αἱ ἐπιμέλειαι ἄγουσι
3 καὶ αἱ τέχναι. ἥ τε γὰρ τέχνη πᾶσα τούτου στοχάζεται, ἵνα τὸ κατασκευασθὲν ἐπιτηδείως ἔχῃ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον πρὸς ὃ κατεσκεύασται· ὅ τε φυτουργὸς ⟨καὶ⟩ ὁ ἐπιμελούμενος τῆς ἀμπέλου, καὶ ὁ πωλοδάμνης καὶ ὁ

15. Some things are hurrying to come to be, others to have been, and of what is coming to be part is already quenched. Flows and alterations renew the universe perpetually, as the unbroken course of time keeps infinite eternity always new. In this river, then, what would one value among the things running past, on none of which it is open to one to stand? As if one began to love one of the little sparrows flying past, and it has already gone out of sight. Life itself too is something of this kind for each, like the exhalation from blood and the breathing in of air.[166] For as it is to draw in the air once and give it back, which we do every moment, so also is it to give back the whole power of breathing, which you acquired yesterday or the day before at birth, to the place from which you first drew it.

16. It is not transpiring, as plants do, that is to be honoured, nor breathing, as cattle and beasts do, nor being stamped by impression, nor being jerked like a puppet by impulse, nor herding together, nor feeding; for that is on a level with excreting the waste of food.[167] What then is to be honoured? Being clapped? No. Then not being 2
clapped by tongues either; for the good words of the many are a clapping of tongues. So you have let little fame go too. What is left to be honoured? To my mind, to move and to hold still according to one's own constitution, to which both the forms of care and the crafts lead. For every craft aims at this, that what has been made should be fit 3
for the work for which it has been made; and the planter ⟨and⟩[168] the man who cares for the vine, and the colt-breaker and the

[166] For the soul as an exhalation from blood see 5.33.
[167] The impression as a stamp on the soul, as a seal on wax (compare 3.16.1); the puppet as at 2.2.
[168] "And" is L's own supplement.

τοῦ κυνὸς ἐπιμελούμενος τοῦτο ζητεῖ. αἱ δὲ παιδαγωγίαι, αἱ δὲ
4 διδασκαλίαι ἐπὶ τί σπεύδουσιν; ὧδε οὖν τὸ τίμιον καὶ τοῦτο μὲν
ἂν εὖ ἔχῃ, οὐδὲν τῶν ἄλλων περιποιήσεις σεαυτῷ. οὐ παύσῃ
καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τιμῶν; οὔτ' οὖν ἐλεύθερος ἔσῃ οὔτε αὐτάρκης
οὔτε ἀπαθής· ἀνάγκη γὰρ φθονεῖν, ζηλοτυπεῖν, ὑφορᾶσθαι τοὺς
ἀφελέσθαι ἐκεῖνα δυναμένους, ἐπιβουλεύειν τοῖς ἔχουσι τὸ τι-
μώμενον ὑπὸ σοῦ· ὅλως πεφύρθαι ἀνάγκη τὸν ἐκείνων τινὸς
5 ἐνδεῆ, προσέτι δὲ πολλὰ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς μέμφεσθαι. ἡ δὲ τῆς
ἰδίας διανοίας αἰδὼς καὶ τιμὴ σεαυτῷ τε ἀρεστόν σε ποιήσει
καὶ τοῖς κοινωνοῖς εὐάρμοστον καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς σύμφωνον, του-
τέστιν ἐπαινοῦντα ὅσα ἐκεῖνοι διανέμουσι καὶ διατετάχασιν.

ιζ′. Ἄνω, κάτω, κύκλῳ φοραὶ τῶν στοιχείων, ἡ δὲ τῆς ἀρε-
τῆς κίνησις ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ τούτων, ἀλλὰ θειότερόν τι καὶ ὁδῷ δυσ-
επινοήτῳ προιοῦσα εὐοδεῖ.

ιη′. Οἷόν ἐστιν ὃ ποιοῦσι. τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου καὶ
μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ζῶντας ἀνθρώπους εὐφημεῖν οὐ θέλουσιν, αὐτοὶ
δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν μεταγενεστέρων εὐφημηθῆναι, οὓς οὔτε εἶδόν ποτε
οὔτε ὄψονται, περὶ πολλοῦ ποιοῦνται. τοῦτο δὲ ἐγγύς ἐστι τῷ
λυπηθῆναι ἄν, ὅτι οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ προγενέστεροι περὶ σοῦ λόγους
εὐφήμους ἐποιοῦντο.

ιθ′. Μή, εἴ τι αὐτῷ σοὶ δυσκαταπόνητον, τοῦτο ἀνθρώπῳ
ἀδύνατον ὑπολαμβάνειν, ἀλλ' εἴ τι ἀνθρώπῳ δυνατὸν καὶ οἰ-
κεῖον, τοῦτο καὶ σεαυτῷ ἐφικτὸν νόμιζε.

κ′. Ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις καὶ ὄνυξι κατέδρυψέ τις καὶ τῇ κε-
φαλῇ ἐρραγεὶς πληγὴν ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐπισημαινόμεθα
οὔτε προσκόπτομεν οὔτε ὑφορώμεθα ὕστερον ὡς ἐπίβουλον·
καίτοι φυλαττόμεθα, οὐ μέντοι ὡς ἐχθρὸν οὐδὲ μεθ' ὑπο-

man who cares for the dog, seek this. And towards what do the ways of rearing and the ways of teaching hurry? This, then, is what is *4* to be honoured. And if this is well, you will procure for yourself none of the rest. Will you not stop honouring many other things too? Then you will be neither free nor self-sufficient nor free from passion; for it is necessary to envy, to be jealous, to look askance at those who can take those things away, to plot against those who have what you honour. In sum, it is necessary that the man in need of any of those things be befouled, and moreover often blame even the gods. But respect and honour for your own understanding will make you *5* pleasing to yourself, in tune with your fellows, and in accord with the gods, that is, praising whatever they distribute and have ordained.[169]

17. Up, down, round: courses of the elements. But the motion of virtue is in none of these; it is something more divine, and proceeding by a road hard to conceive, it journeys well.[170]

18. What a thing it is that they do! They do not want to speak well of people living at the same time as themselves and with them, but they themselves set great store by being spoken well of by those to come, whom they have never seen and never will. That is close to what it would be to be distressed that those before you too did not speak well of you.

19. Do not, if something is hard for you yourself to accomplish, form the opinion that it is impossible for a man; but if something is possible for a man and proper to him, believe it attainable by you too.

20. In the gymnasium someone has scratched with his nails and, butting with his head, dealt a blow; but we do not mark it, nor take offence, nor look askance afterwards as at a plotter; and yet we are on our guard, though not as against an enemy, nor with sus-

[169] "Fellows" is Coraes' *κοινωνοῖς*, which L prints; L reports *κοινωνικοῖς* in P and omission in A.

[170] In Stoic and Aristotelian physics fire and air move up, earth and water down, and the heavens in a circle.

ψίας, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκκλίσεως εὐμενοῦς. τοιοῦτόν τι γινέσθω καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς μέρεσι τοῦ βίου· πολλὰ παρενθυμώμεθα τῶν οἷον προσγυμναζομένων. ἔξεστι γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, ἐκκλίνειν καὶ μήτε ὑποπτεύειν μήτε ἀπέχθεσθαι.

κα′. Εἴ τίς με ἐλέγξαι καὶ παραστῆσαί μοι, ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθῶς ὑπολαμβάνω ἢ πράσσω, δύναται, χαίρων μεταθήσομαι· ζητῶ γὰρ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὑφ᾽ ἧς οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἐβλάβη, βλάπτεται δὲ ὁ ἐπιμένων ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀπάτης καὶ ἀγνοίας.

κβ′. Ἐγὼ τὸ ἐμαυτοῦ καθῆκον ποιῶ, τὰ ἄλλα με οὐ περισπᾷ· ἤτοι γὰρ ἄψυχα ἢ ἄλογα ἢ πεπλανημένα καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀγνοοῦντα.

κγ′. Τοῖς μὲν ἀλόγοις ζῴοις καὶ καθόλου πράγμασι καὶ ὑποκειμένοις, ὡς λόγον ἔχων λόγον μὴ ἔχουσι, χρῶ μεγαλοφρόνως καὶ ἐλευθέρως· τοῖς δὲ ἀνθρώποις, ὡς λόγον ἔχουσι, χρῶ κοινωνικῶς· ἐφ᾽ ἅπασι δὲ θεοὺς ἐπικαλοῦ. καὶ μὴ διαφέρου πρὸς τὸ πόσῳ χρόνῳ ταῦτα πράξεις· ἀρκοῦσι γὰρ καὶ τρεῖς ὧραι τοιαῦται.

κδ′. Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν καὶ ὁ ὀρεωκόμος αὐτοῦ ἀποθανόντες εἰς ταὐτὸ κατέστησαν· ἤτοι γὰρ ἀνελήφθησαν εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοῦ κόσμου σπερματικοὺς λόγους ἢ διεσκεδάσθησαν ὁμοίως εἰς τὰς ἀτόμους.

κε′. Ἐνθυμήθητι πόσα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀκαριαῖον χρόνον ἐν ἑκάστῳ ἡμῶν ἅμα γίνεται σωματικὰ ὁμοῦ καὶ ψυχικά, καὶ οὕτως οὐ θαυμάσεις εἰ πολὺ πλείω, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντα τὰ γινόμενα ἐν τῷ ἑνί τε καὶ σύμπαντι, ὃ δὴ κόσμον ὀνομάζομεν, ἅμα ἐνυφίσταται.

κς′. Ἐάν τίς σοι προβάλῃ πῶς γράφεται τὸ Ἀντωνίνου ὄνομα, μήτι κατεντεινόμενος προοίσῃ ἕκαστον τῶν

picion, but with kindly avoidance. Let something of the kind happen in the other parts of life too: let us disregard much in those who, as it were, train with us. For it is open to us, as I said, to avoid them, and neither to suspect nor to bear ill will.

21. If anyone can refute me and show me that I am not forming opinions or acting rightly, I will rejoice to shift position; for I seek the truth, by which no one was ever harmed; but he is harmed who persists in his own deception and ignorance.

22. I do my own duty; the other things do not distract me; for they are either soulless, or irrational, or gone astray and not knowing the road.

23. Use irrational living beings, and things and underlying things generally, with greatness of mind and freely, as one who has reason using what has not; and men, as having reason, socially; and in all things call on the gods. And let it make no difference to you for how long a time you will do this; for even three hours like that are enough.

24. Alexander of Macedon and his muleteer came, in death, to the same state; for either they were taken back into the same seminal reasons of the universe, or they were scattered alike into atoms.[171]

25. Consider how many things come about at once in each of us, in the same momentary time, bodily and of the soul together; and so you will not wonder if many more, or rather all the things that come to be in the one and all-embracing thing which we call the universe, subsist in it at once.

26. If someone puts it to you how the name Antoninus is written, will you strain yourself and bring out each of the

[171] "Taken back" is Schultz's *ἀνελήφθησαν*, which L prints; L reports *ἐλήφθησαν*, "taken", in the manuscripts. For the seminal reasons see 4.14; for the disjunction, 4.3.2.

στοιχείων; τί οὖν ἐὰν ὀργίζωνται, μήτι ἀντοργιῇ; μήτι οὐκ ἐξαριθμήσῃ πράως προιὼν ἕκαστον τῶν γραμμάτων; οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἐνθάδε μέμνησο ὅτι πᾶν καθῆκον ἐξ ἀριθμῶν τινῶν συμπληροῦται. τούτους δεῖ τηροῦντα καὶ μὴ θορυβούμενον μηδὲ τοῖς δυσχεραίνουσιν ἀντιδυσχεραίνοντα περαίνειν ὁδῷ τὸ προκείμενον.

κζ′. Πῶς ὠμόν ἐστι μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὁρμᾶν ἐπὶ τὰ φαινόμενα αὐτοῖς οἰκεῖα καὶ συμφέροντα. καίτοι τρόπον τινὰ οὐ συγχωρεῖς αὐτοῖς τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ὅταν ἀγανακτῇς, ὅτι ἁμαρτάνουσι· φέρονται γὰρ πάντως ὡς ἐπὶ οἰκεῖα καὶ συμφέροντα αὐτοῖς.—ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἔχει οὕτως.—οὐκοῦν δίδασκε καὶ δείκνυε μὴ ἀγανακτῶν.

κη′. Θάνατος ἀνάπαυλα αἰσθητικῆς ἀντιτυπίας καὶ ὁρμητικῆς νευροσπαστίας καὶ διανοητικῆς διεξόδου καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὴν σάρκα λειτουργίας.

κθ′. Αἰσχρόν ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ βίῳ τὸ σῶμά σοι μὴ ἀπαυδᾷ, ἐν τούτῳ τὴν ψυχὴν προαπαυδᾶν.

λ′. Ὅρα μὴ ἀποκαισαρωθῇς, μὴ βαφῇς· γίνεται γάρ. τήρησον οὖν σεαυτὸν ἁπλοῦν, ἀγαθόν, ἀκέραιον, σεμνόν, ἄκομψον, τοῦ δικαίου φίλον, θεοσεβῆ, εὐμενῆ, φιλόστοργον, ἐρρωμένον πρὸς τὰ πρέποντα ἔργα. ἀγώνισαι, ἵνα τοιοῦτος συμμείνῃς, οἷόν σε ἠθέλησε ποιῆσαι φιλοσοφία. αἰδοῦ θεούς, σῴζε ἀνθρώπους. βραχὺς ὁ βίος· εἷς καρπὸς τῆς ἐπιγείου ζωῆς, διάθεσις
2 ὁσία καὶ πράξεις κοινωνικαί. πάντα ὡς Ἀντωνίνου μαθητής· τὸ ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ λόγον πρασσομένων εὔτονον ἐκείνου καὶ τὸ ὁμαλὲς πανταχοῦ καὶ τὸ ὅσιον καὶ τὸ εὔδιον τοῦ προσώπου καὶ τὸ μειλίχιον καὶ τὸ ἀκενόδοξον καὶ τὸ περὶ τὴν κατάληψιν τῶν
3 πραγμάτων φιλότιμον· καὶ ὡς ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἄν τι ὅλως παρῆκε μὴ πρότε-

letters? What then if they get angry: will you get angry in return? Will you not go through each of the characters mildly, counting them off? So here too remember that every duty is completed out of certain numbers. One must keep these, and, without being disturbed or resenting in return those who resent, bring what is set before one to its end by the road.[172]

27. How cruel it is not to allow people to have an impulse towards what appears to them proper and advantageous! And yet in a way you do not permit them to do this when you are indignant that they do wrong; for they are carried, in any case, as towards what is proper and advantageous to them.—But it is not so.—Then teach and show, without being indignant.

28. Death: rest from the jolting of sense, the puppet-jerking of impulse, the roving of the understanding, and the service owed to the flesh.

29. It is shameful that in a life in which your body does not give up, your soul should give up first.

30. See that you are not made into a Caesar, that you are not dyed; for it happens.[173] Keep yourself, then, simple, good, untainted, dignified, unpretentious, a friend of what is just, pious, kindly, affectionate, vigorous for the works that are seemly. Strive to remain such as philosophy wanted to make you. Respect the gods, preserve men. Life is short: there is one fruit of life on earth, a holy disposition and social actions. Everything as a pupil of Antoninus: his intensity on behalf of what is done according to reason, his evenness in everything, his holiness, the fair weather of his face, his amiability, his freedom from empty glory, and his ambition for a firm grasp of things;[174] and how he would let nothing pass at all without pre- 2 3

[172] Probably Marcus' own name, as at 6.44.2. For the "numbers" of duty compare 3.1.1.

[173] ἀποκαισαρωθῇς, "be Caesar-ed", apparently Marcus' coinage; "dyed" perhaps in the imperial purple. L reports ἀποκαισαριανωθῇς in A.

[174] Antoninus Pius, Marcus' adoptive father; compare the portrait at 1.16. "The fair weather" is Xylander's correction εὔδιον, which L prints; L reports εὐόδιον in the manuscripts.

ρον εὖ 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 ἀκριβὴς ἦν ἐξεταστὴς ἠθῶν καὶ πράξεων καὶ οὐκ ὀνειδιστής, οὐ ψοφοδεής, οὐχ ὑπόπτης, οὐ σοφιστής· καὶ ὡς ὀλίγοις ἀρκούμε-
4 νος, οἷον οἰκήσει, στρωμνῇ, ἐσθῆτι, τροφῇ, ὑπηρεσίᾳ· καὶ ὡς φιλόπονος καὶ μακρόθυμος· καὶ οἷος μένειν ἐν τῷ ⟨αὐτῷ⟩ μέχρι ἑσπέρας, 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 ὡς θεοσεβὴς χωρὶς δεισιδαιμονίας· ἵν᾽ οὕτως εὐσυνειδήτῳ σοι ἐπιστῇ ἡ τελευταία ὥρα ὡς ἐκείνῳ.

λα′. Ἀνάνηφε καὶ ἀνακαλοῦ σεαυτὸν καὶ ἐξυπνισθεὶς πάλιν καὶ ἐννοήσας ὅτι ὄνειροί σοι ἠνώχλουν, πάλιν ἐγρηγορὼς βλέπε ταῦτα, ὡς ἐκεῖνα ἔβλεπες.

λβ′. 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 παρῳχηκότα ἐνεργήματα αὐτῆς καὶ αὐτὰ ἤδη ἀδιάφορα.

λγ′. 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 ἐστὶν ὁ πόνος, μέχρις ἂν ποιῇ τὰ τοῦ

viously looking into it very well and understanding it clearly; and how he tolerated those who blamed him unjustly, not blaming them in return; and how he hurried over nothing; and how he did not receive slanders; and how he was an exact examiner of characters and actions, and not a reproacher, not easily alarmed, not suspicious, not a sophist; and how content he was with little, in housing, bedding, clothing, food, service; and how hard-working and patient; and able *4*
to stay in the ⟨same⟩ place until evening, through his frugal diet not even needing to excrete the waste outside the usual hour; and the firmness and constancy of his friendships; and his bearing with ⟨those⟩ who frankly opposed his views, and his rejoicing if someone pointed out ⟨something⟩ better; and how pious he was, without superstition; so that your last hour may find you with as good a conscience as it found him.[175]

31. Sober up, and call yourself back, and, roused from sleep again and bearing in mind that it was dreams that were vexing you, awake again look at these things as you looked at those.

32. I am made of a poor body and a soul. To the poor body, then, all things make no difference, for it cannot tell a difference. But to the understanding, the things that make no difference are those that are not its own acts; but those that are its own acts are all in its power. And of these, however, it is concerned only with the present; for its future and past acts are themselves already things that make no difference.[176]

33. Pain is not contrary to nature for the hand or for the foot, so long as the foot does what belongs to the foot and the hand what belongs to the hand. So, then, for a man as a man pain is not contrary to nature either, so long as he does what belongs to

[175] "Stay in the ⟨same⟩ place" is Casaubon's *μένειν ἐν τῷ ⟨αὐτῷ⟩*; L reports *μὲν ἐν τῷ* in the manuscripts. "Those" and "something" are Coraes' supplements (L's apparatus).

[176] The play is on *ἀδιάφορα*, "things that make no difference", and *διαφέρεσθαι*, "to tell a difference".

ἀνθρώπου. εἰ δὲ παρὰ φύσιν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδὲ κακόν ἐστιν αὐτῷ.

λδ′. Ἡλίκας ἡδονὰς ἥσθησαν λῃσταί, κίναιδοι, πατραλοῖαι, τύραννοι.

λε′. Οὐχ ὁρᾷς πῶς οἱ βάναυσοι τεχνῖται ἁρμόζονται μὲν μέχρι τινὸς πρὸς τοὺς ἰδιώτας, οὐδὲν ἧσσον μέντοι ἀντέχονται τοῦ λόγου τῆς τέχνης καὶ τούτου ἀποστῆναι οὐχ ὑπομένουσιν; οὐ δεινὸν εἰ ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων καὶ ὁ ἰατρὸς μᾶλλον αἰδέσονται τὸν τῆς ἰδίας τέχνης λόγον ἢ ὁ ἄνθρωπος τὸν ἑαυτοῦ, ὃς αὐτῷ κοινός ἐστι πρὸς τοὺς θεούς;

λς′. Ἡ Ἀσία, ἡ Εὐρώπη γωνίαι τοῦ κόσμου· πᾶν πέλαγος σταγὼν τοῦ κόσμου· Ἄθως βωλάριον τοῦ κόσμου· πᾶν τὸ ἐνεστὼς τοῦ χρόνου στιγμὴ τοῦ αἰῶνος. πάντα μικρά, εὔτρεπτα, ἐναφανιζόμενα.

Πάντα ἐκεῖθεν ἔρχεται, ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνου τοῦ κοινοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ ὁρμήσαντα ἢ κατ᾽ ἐπακολούθησιν. καὶ τὸ χάσμα οὖν τοῦ λέοντος καὶ τὸ δηλητήριον καὶ πᾶσα κακουργία ὡς ἄκανθα, ὡς βόρβορος, ἐκείνων ἐπιγεννήματα τῶν σεμνῶν καὶ καλῶν. μὴ οὖν αὐτὰ ἀλλότρια τούτου οὗ σέβεις φαντάζου, ἀλλὰ τὴν πάντων πηγὴν ἐπιλογίζου.

λζ′. Ὁ τὰ νῦν ἰδὼν πάντα ἑώρακεν, ὅσα τε ἐξ ἀιδίου ἐγένετο καὶ ὅσα εἰς τὸ ἄπειρον ἔσται· πάντα γὰρ ὁμογενῆ καὶ ὁμοειδῆ.

λη′. Πολλάκις ἐνθυμοῦ τὴν ἐπισύνδεσιν πάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ σχέσιν πρὸς ἄλληλα. τρόπον γάρ τινα πάντα ἀλλήλοις ἐπιπέπλεκται καὶ πάντα κατὰ τοῦτο φίλα ἀλλήλοις ἐστί· καὶ γὰρ ἄλλῳ ἐξῆς ἐστι τοῦτο διὰ τὴν τονικὴν κίνησιν καὶ σύμπνοιαν καὶ τὴν ἕνωσιν τῆς οὐσίας.

a man. And if it is not contrary to nature for him, it is not bad for him either.

34. What pleasures robbers, catamites, parricides, tyrants have felt!

35. Do you not see how the common craftsmen accommodate themselves to laymen up to a point, but none the less cling to the reason of their craft and do not endure to stand apart from it? Is it not terrible if the architect and the doctor will respect the reason of their own craft more than man respects his own, which he has in common with the gods?

36. Asia, Europe: corners of the universe. Every sea: a drop of the universe. Athos: a little clod of the universe. The whole present of time: a point of eternity. All things small, easily turned, vanishing.

All things come from there, having had their impulse from that common ruling centre, or by way of consequence. So the lion's gaping jaws too, and poison, and all mischief, like thorns, like mud, are by-products of those dignified and beautiful things. Do not, then, form the impression that they are alien to that which you revere, but take account of the spring of all things.[177]

37. He who has seen what is now has seen all things, both those that came to be from everlasting and those that will be to infinity; for all things are of one kind and one form.

38. Consider often the binding together of all things in the universe and their relation to one another. For in a way all things are woven in with one another, and all are for this reason friendly to one another; for one thing comes in sequence after another because of the tensional motion, the breathing together, and the unity of substance.[178]

[177] The new paragraph at "All things come from there" is L's own.

[178] "Tensional motion" (*τονικὴ κίνησις*): the Stoic tension of the breath that holds the universe together. L reports *τοπικὴν κίνησιν*, "local motion", movement from place to place, in P, and notes that Xylander's Latin has "constant motion".

λθ′. Οἷς συγκεκλήρωσαι πράγμασι, τούτοις συνάρμοζε σεαυτὸν καὶ οἷς συνείληχας ἀνθρώποις, τούτους φίλει, ἀλλ᾽ ἀληθινῶς.

μ′. Ὄργανον, ἐργαλεῖον, σκεῦος πᾶν εἰ πρὸς ὃ κατεσκεύασται ποιεῖ, εὖ ἔχει· καίτοι ἐκεῖ ὁ κατασκευάσας ἐκποδών. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ὑπὸ φύσεως συνεχομένων ἔνδον ἐστὶ καὶ παραμένει ἡ κατασκευάσασα 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 ἑαυτοῦ.

μα′. Ὅ τι ἂν τῶν ἀπροαιρέτων ὑποστήσῃ σαυτῷ 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 ἄνθρωπον στῆναι στάσιν πολεμίου.

μβ′. Πάντες εἰς ἓν ἀποτέλεσμα συνεργοῦμεν, οἱ μὲν εἰδότως καὶ παρακολουθητικῶς, οἱ δὲ ἀνεπιστάτως, ὥσπερ καὶ τοὺς καθεύδοντας, οἶμαι, 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 ἔχρῃζεν ὁ κόσμος. λοιπὸν οὖν σύνες εἰς τίνας σεαυτὸν κατατάσσεις· ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ

39. The things that have fallen to your lot: fit yourself to these; and the people whose lot you share: love these, but truly.

40. An instrument, a tool, any vessel, if it does what it was made for, is well; and yet there the maker is out of the way. But in the things held together by nature the power that made them is within and remains. So one must respect it the more, and believe that if you are and go on according to its will, all is to your mind. And so too, for the totality, what is its own is to its mind.

41. Whatever of the things outside your choice you set up for yourself as good or bad, it is necessary, on falling into such a bad thing or failing to get such a good, that you blame the gods and hate men too, the ones who are, or are suspected of going to be, the causes of the failure or the falling in; and indeed we act unjustly in much because of contention over these things. But if we judge only what is in our power to be good and bad, no cause is left either to accuse God or to take an enemy's stand against a man.[179]

42. We all work together towards one outcome, some knowingly and keeping track, others without attending; as, I think, Heraclitus says that even those asleep are workers and fellow-workers in what comes about in the universe.[180] One works together in one way, another in another; and over and above, even the man who blames and the man who tries to oppose and destroy what comes about; for the universe had need of such a man too. For the rest, then, understand among whom you place yourself; for that one,

[179] "You set up for yourself" is L's own correction of the manuscripts' *ὑποστήσῃς αὐτῷ*; "judge" is Gataker's *κρίνωμεν* for the manuscripts' *κινῶμεν* (L's apparatus).

[180] Heraclitus fr. 75 Diels (L's testimonia).

πάντως σοι καλῶς χρήσεται ὁ τὰ ὅλα διοικῶν καὶ παραδέξεταί σε ὡς μέρος τι τῶν συνεργῶν καὶ συνεργητικῶν, ἀλλὰ σὺ μὴ τοιοῦτο μέρος γένῃ, οἷος ὁ εὐτελὴς καὶ γελοῖος στίχος ἐν τῷ δράματι, οὗ Χρύσιππος μέμνηται.

μγ′. Μήτι ὁ ἥλιος τὰ τοῦ ὑετοῦ ἀξιοῖ ποιεῖν; μήτι ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς τὰ τῆς Καρποφόρου; τί δὲ τῶν ἄστρων ἕκαστον; οὐχὶ διάφορα μέν, συνεργὰ δὲ πρὸς ταὐτόν;

μδ′. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐβουλεύσαντο περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐμοὶ συμβῆναι ὀφειλόντων οἱ θεοί, καλῶς ἐβουλεύσαντο· ἄβουλον γὰρ θεὸν οὐδὲ ἐπινοῆσαι ῥᾴδιον, κακοποιῆσαι δέ με διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν ἔμελλον ὁρμᾶν; τί γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἢ τῷ κοινῷ, οὗ μάλιστα προνοοῦνται, ἐκ τούτου περιεγένετο; εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐβουλεύσαντο κατ᾽ ἰδίαν περὶ ἐμοῦ, περί γε τῶν κοινῶν πάντως ἐβουλεύσαντο, οἷς κατ᾽ ἐπακολούθησιν καὶ ταῦτα συμβαίνοντα ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ στέρ-
2 γειν ὀφείλω. εἰ δ᾽ ἄρα περὶ μηδενὸς βουλεύονται (πιστεύειν μὲν οὐχ ὅσιον ἢ μηδὲ θύωμεν μηδὲ εὐχώμεθα μηδὲ ὀμνύωμεν μηδὲ τὰ ἄλλα πράσσωμεν ἃ παρ᾽ ἕκαστα 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 ἑκάστῳ τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κατασκευὴν καὶ φύσιν, ἡ δὲ ἐμὴ φύσις λογικὴ καὶ πολιτική.

Πόλις καὶ πατρὶς ὡς μὲν Ἀντωνίνῳ μοι ἡ Ῥώμη, ὡς δὲ ἀνθρώπῳ ὁ κόσμος. τὰ ταῖς πόλεσιν οὖν ταύταις ὠφέλιμα μόνα ἐστί μοι ἀγαθά.

με′. Ὅσα ἑκάστῳ συμβαίνει, ταῦτα τῷ ὅλῳ συμφέρει·

he who governs the whole, will in any case make good use of you, and receive you as some part of the fellow-workers and helpers; but do not you become such a part as the cheap and ridiculous line in the play which Chrysippus mentions.[181]

43. Does the sun think fit to do the work of the rain? Or Asclepius that of the Fruit-bearer? And what of each of the stars? Are they not different, but working together towards the same thing?[182]

44. If, then, the gods took counsel about me and about what ought to happen to me, they took good counsel; for a god without counsel is not easy even to conceive; and for what cause would they have had an impulse to do me ill? For what would have come of it for them, or for the community, for which they chiefly provide? But if they took no counsel about me individually, about the common affairs, at least, they in any case took counsel, and these things too, since they happen by way of consequence of those, I ought to welcome and cherish. But 2
if after all they take counsel about nothing (it is not holy to believe it; or else let us neither sacrifice nor pray nor swear nor do the other things we do at every turn as to gods present and living alongside us), if after all they take counsel about none of the things that concern us, then it is open to me to take counsel about myself, and mine is the inquiry about what is advantageous. And what is advantageous to each is what accords with his own constitution and nature; and my nature is rational and civic.

City and fatherland: for me as Antoninus, Rome; as a man, the universe. So the things that benefit these cities are alone good for me.[183]

45. Whatever happens to each is advantageous to the whole.

[181] Chrysippus fr. 1181 von Arnim (L's testimonia): in Plutarch's report (*On Common Conceptions* 1065d), a comedy's ridiculous lines add grace to the whole, and so vice, blameworthy in itself, is not useless to the whole.

[182] The Fruit-bearer is usually taken as Demeter, goddess of the harvest; Asclepius gives health. Menagius suspected a poet's words here (L's testimonia).

[183] A begins a new chapter at "City and fatherland" (L's apparatus). Antoninus is Marcus' name as emperor.

ἤρκει τοῦτο. ἀλλ᾽ ἔτι ἐκεῖνο ὡς ἐπίπαν ὄψει παραφυλάξας, ὅσα ἀνθρώπῳ, καὶ ἑτέροις ἀνθρώποις. κοινότερον δὲ νῦν τὸ συμφέρον ἐπὶ τῶν μέσων λαμβανέσθω.

μς′. Ὥσπερ προσίσταταί σοι τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀμφιθεάτρῳ καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις χωρίοις ὡς ἀεὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ὁρώμενα, 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;

μζ′. Ἐννόει συνεχῶς παντοίους ἀνθρώπους καὶ παντοίων μὲν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, παντοδαπῶν δὲ ἐθνῶν τεθνεῶτας, ὥστε κατιέναι τοῦτο μέχρι Φιλιστίωνος καὶ Φοίβου καὶ Ὠριγανίωνος. μέτιθι νῦν ἐπὶ τὰ ἄλλα φῦλα· ἐκεῖ δὴ μεταβαλεῖν ἡμᾶς δεῖ ὅπου τοσοῦτοι μὲν δεινοὶ ῥήτορες, τοσοῦτοι δὲ σεμνοὶ φιλόσοφοι, Ἡράκλειτος, Πυθαγόρας, Σωκράτης, τοσοῦτοι δὲ ἥρωες πρότερον, τοσοῦτοι δὲ ὕστερον στρατηγοί, τύραννοι· ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ Εὔδοξος, Ἵππαρχος, 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 ἐννόει ὅτι πάλαι κεῖνται· τί οὖν τοῦτο δεινὸν αὐτοῖς; τί δαὶ τοῖς μηδ᾽ ὀνομαζομένοις ὅλως; ἓν ὧδε πολλοῦ ἄξιον, τὸ μετ᾽ ἀληθείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης εὐμενῆ τοῖς ψεύσταις καὶ ἀδίκοις διαβιοῦν.

μη′. Ὅταν εὐφρᾶναι σεαυτὸν θέλῃς, 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 ὁμοιώματα τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐμφαινόμενα τοῖς ἤθεσι τῶν συζώντων καὶ ἀθρόα ὡς οἷόν τε συμπίπτοντα. διὸ καὶ πρόχειρα αὐτὰ ἑκτέον.

That would be enough. But further, you will see this as a general rule, if you watch closely: what is advantageous to a man is advantageous to other men too. But let "advantageous" be taken now in the more common sense, of things indifferent.[184]

46. As the shows in the amphitheatre and such places sicken you, because the same things are always seen, and the uniformity makes the spectacle cloying, so feel it with the whole of life too; for all things up and down are the same and from the same. Till when, then?

47. Think continually of men of every kind, of all sorts of pursuits and all manner of nations, dead, so as to bring this down to Philistion and Phoebus and Origanion. Now pass on to the other tribes. There, then, we must change, where so many clever orators are, so many dignified philosophers, Heraclitus, Pythagoras, Socrates, so many heroes before, so many generals and tyrants after; and besides these Eudoxus, Hipparchus, Archimedes, other sharp natures, great-minded, hard-working, unscrupulous, self-willed, mockers of the very life of men, perishable and of a day, such as Menippus and all his kind.[185] Of all these, bear in mind that they have long been lying. What, then, is terrible in this for them? And what for those whose names are not mentioned at all? One thing here is worth much: to live one's life through with truth and justice, kindly to liars and the unjust.

48. When you want to gladden yourself, consider the merits of those who live alongside you: the energy of one, the self-respect of another, the readiness to share of another, something else of another. For nothing gladdens so much as the likenesses of the virtues showing in the characters of those who live with us, and falling together in a mass as far as possible. So one must have them ready to hand too.

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[184] "To other men too" is Gataker's καὶ; L reports ἢ in P and A.

[185] Philistion, Phoebus and Origanion are not certainly identified. Eudoxus of Cnidus and Hipparchus were astronomers; Menippus of Gadara was the Cynic satirist.

μθ′. Μήτι δυσχεραίνεις ὅτι τοσῶνδέ τινων λιτρῶν εἶ καὶ οὐ τριακοσίων; οὕτω δὴ καὶ ὅτι μέχρι τοσῶνδε ἐτῶν βιωτέον σοι καὶ οὐ μέχρι πλείονος· ὥσπερ γὰρ τῆς οὐσίας ὅσον ἀφώρισταί σοι στέργεις, οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ χρόνου.

ν′. Πειρῶ μὲν πείθειν αὐτούς, πρᾶττε δὲ καὶ ἀκόντων, ὅταν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ὁ λόγος 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 ὠρέγου. τίνος οὖν; τῆς τοιᾶσδέ τινος ὁρμῆς. τούτου δὲ τυγχάνεις· ἐφ' οἷς προήχθημεν, ταῦτα γίνεται.

να′. Ὁ μὲν φιλόδοξος ἀλλοτρίαν ἐνέργειαν ἴδιον ἀγαθὸν ὑπολαμβάνει, ὁ δὲ φιλήδονος ἰδίαν πεῖσιν, ὁ δὲ νοῦν ἔχων ἰδίαν πρᾶξιν.

νβ′. Ἔξεστι περὶ τούτου μηδὲν ὑπολαμβάνειν καὶ μὴ ὀχλεῖσθαι τῇ ψυχῇ· αὐτὰ γὰρ τὰ πράγματα οὐκ ἔχει φύσιν ποιητικὴν τῶν ἡμετέρων κρίσεων.

νγ′. Ἔθισον σεαυτὸν πρὸς τῷ ὑφ' ἑτέρου λεγομένῳ γίνεσθαι ἀπαρενθυμήτως καὶ ὡς οἷόν τε ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ λέγοντος γίνου.

νδ′. Τὸ τῷ σμήνει μὴ συμφέρον οὐδὲ τῇ μελίσσῃ συμφέρει.

νε′. Εἰ κυβερνῶντα οἱ ναῦται ἢ ἰατρεύοντα οἱ κάμνοντες κακῶς ἔλεγον, ἄλλῳ τινὶ ἂν προσεῖχον ἢ πῶς αὐτὸς ἐνεργοίην τὸ τοῖς ἐμπλέουσι σωτήριον ἢ τὸ τοῖς θεραπευομένοις ὑγιεινόν;

49. Do you resent that you weigh so many pounds and not three hundred? So too, then, that you are to live so many years and not longer; for as you cherish the amount of substance marked off for you, so too with time.[186]

50. Try to persuade them, but act even when they are unwilling, when the reason of justice leads so. If, however, someone uses force and stands in your way, pass over to being well pleased and free from distress, and use the hindering for another virtue; and remember that your impulse was with reservation, and that you did not desire the impossible. For what, then? For an impulse of this kind. And this you attain; the things we were led to are coming about.[187]

51. The lover of fame forms the opinion that his own good is another's activity; the lover of pleasure, his own being acted upon; the man who has a mind, his own action.

52. It is open to you to form no opinion about this, and not to be vexed in soul; for things themselves have no nature that can produce our judgements.

53. Accustom yourself to be at what another says, without disregarding it, and as far as possible be inside the soul of the speaker.

54. What is not advantageous to the hive is not advantageous to the bee either.

55. If the sailors spoke ill of the one steering, or the sick of the one doctoring, would I pay heed to anything other than how I myself might bring about the safety of those on board, or the health of those being treated?[188]

[186] *λίτρα*, the Roman pound (Latin *libra*).

[187] "Try" is Nauck's *Πειρῶ μὲν*, "your impulse was" Coraes' *ὥρμας* (L's apparatus). For the reservation see 4.1 and 5.20.

[188] "Would I pay heed" takes *προσεῖχον* as first person, which suits Richards' *ἐνεργοίην*, "I myself might", printed by L; L reports *ἐνεργοίη*, "he himself might", in the manuscripts.

νς′. Πόσοι, *μεθ᾽ ὧν εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἤδη ἀπεληλύθασιν.*

νζ′. Ἰκτεριῶσι τὸ *μέλι πικρὸν φαίνεται καὶ λυσσοδήκτοις τὸ ὕδωρ φοβερὸν καὶ παιδίοις τὸ σφαιρίον καλόν. τί οὖν ὀργίζομαι; ἢ δοκεῖ σοι ἔλασσον ἰσχύειν τὸ διεψευσμένον ἢ τὸ χόλιον τῷ ἰκτεριῶντι καὶ ὁ ἰὸς τῷ λυσσοδήκτῳ;*

νη′. Κατὰ *τὸν λόγον τῆς σῆς φύσεως βιοῦν σε οὐδεὶς κωλύσει· παρὰ τὸν λόγον τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως οὐδέν σοι συμβήσεται.*

νθ′. Οἷοί *εἰσιν οἷς θέλουσιν ἀρέσκειν, καὶ δι᾽ οἷα περιγινόμενα καὶ δι᾽ οἵων ἐνεργειῶν. ὡς ταχέως ὁ αἰὼν πάντα καλύψει καὶ ὅσα ἐκάλυψεν ἤδη.*

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Ζ

α′. Τί *ἐστι κακία; τοῦτ᾽ ἔστιν ὃ πολλάκις εἶδες. καὶ ἐπὶ παντὸς δὲ τοῦ συμβαίνοντος πρόχειρον ἔχε ὅτι τοῦτό ἐστιν ὃ πολλάκις εἶδες. ὅλως ἄνω κάτω τὰ αὐτὰ εὑρήσεις, ὧν μεσταὶ αἱ ἱστορίαι αἱ παλαιαί, αἱ μέσαι, αἱ ὑπόγυιοι· ὧν νῦν μεσταὶ αἱ πόλεις καὶ ⟨αἱ⟩ οἰκίαι. οὐδὲν καινόν· πάντα καὶ συνήθη καὶ ὀλιγοχρόνια.*

β′. Τὰ *δόγματα πῶς ἄλλως δύναται νεκρωθῆναι, ἐὰν μὴ αἱ κατάλληλοι αὐτοῖς φαντασίαι σβεσθῶσιν, ἃς διηνεκῶς ἀναζωπυρεῖν ἐπὶ σοί ἐστι. δύναμαι περὶ τούτου ὃ δεῖ ὑπολαμβάνειν· εἰ δύναμαι, τί ταράσσομαι; τὰ ἔξω τῆς ἐμῆς διανοίας οὐδὲν ὅλως πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν διάνοιαν. τοῦτο μάθε καὶ ὀρθὸς εἶ.*

56. How many of those with whom I came into the world have already gone away!

57. To the jaundiced honey seems bitter, to those bitten by a mad dog water fearful, to children a little ball beautiful. Why then am I angry? Or do you think error has less power than bile in the jaundiced and the venom in the man bitten by a mad dog?[189]

58. No one will prevent you from living according to the reason of your own nature; nothing will happen to you contrary to the reason of the common nature.

59. What sort of people they are whom they want to please, and for what gains, and by what activities! How quickly eternity will cover everything, and how much it has covered already!

Book VII

1. What is vice? It is what you have seen often. And at everything that happens, too, have this ready to hand: that it is what you have seen often. In general, up and down you will find the same things, of which the histories are full, the ancient, the middle, the recent; of which the cities and ⟨the⟩ houses are full now. Nothing is new; all things are both usual and of short duration.[190]

2. How else can principles be put to death, unless the impressions that correspond to them are quenched, which it is in your power perpetually to rekindle? I can form about this the opinion one must; if I can, why am I troubled? What is outside my understanding is nothing at all to my understanding. Learn this, and you are upright.

[189] Fear of water is the mark of rabies.

[190] "The" before "houses" is Coraes' supplement (L's apparatus).

Ἀναβιῶναί σοι ἔξεστιν· ἴδε πάλιν τὰ πράγματα, ὡς ἐώρας· ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ τὸ ἀναβιῶναι.

γ′. Πομπῆς κενοσπουδία, ἐπὶ σκηνῆς δράματα, ποίμνια, ἀγέλαι, διαδορατισμοί, κυνιδίοις ὀστάριον 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 ἑστάναι, παρακολουθεῖν μέντοι, ὅτι τοσούτου ἄξιος ἕκαστός ἐστιν, ὅσου ἄξιά ἐστι ταῦτα περὶ ἃ ἐσπούδακεν.

δ′. Δεῖ κατὰ λέξιν παρακολουθεῖν τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ὁρμὴν τοῖς γινομένοις, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ ἑτέρου εὐθὺς ὁρᾶν ἐπὶ τίνα σκοπὸν ἡ ἀναφορά, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἑτέρου παραφυλάσσειν τί τὸ σημαινόμενον.

ε′. Πότερον ἐξαρκεῖ ἡ διάνοιά μου πρὸς τοῦτο ἢ οὔ; εἰ μὲν ἐξαρκεῖ, χρῶμαι αὐτῇ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον ὡς ὀργάνῳ παρὰ τῆς τῶν ὅλων φύσεως δοθέντι. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐξαρκεῖ, ἤτοι παραχωρῶ τοῦ ἔργου τῷ δυναμένῳ κρεῖττον ἐπιτελέσαι, ἐὰν ἄλλως τοῦτο μὴ καθήκῃ, ἢ πράσσω ὡς δύναμαι, προσπαραλαβὼν τὸν δυνάμενον κατὰ πρόσχρησιν τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν νῦν καίριον καὶ χρήσιμον. ὅ τι γὰρ ἂν δι' ἐμαυτοῦ ἢ σὺν ἄλλῳ ποιῶ, ὧδε μόνον χρὴ συντείνειν, εἰς τὸ κοινῇ χρήσιμον καὶ εὐάρμοστον.

ς′. Ὅσοι μὲν πολυύμνητοι γενόμενοι ἤδη λήθῃ παραδέδονται, ὅσοι δὲ τούτους ὑμνήσαντες πάλαι ἐκποδών.

ζ′. 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 ᾖ τοῦτο;

η′. Τὰ μέλλοντα μὴ ταρασσέτω· ἥξεις γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτά,

It is open to you to come back to life. See things again as you used to see them; for in this lies coming back to life.[191]

3. The empty seriousness of a procession, plays on the stage, flocks, herds, spear-fights, a little bone thrown to puppies, a crumb into the fishponds, the hardships and burden-bearing of ants, the scurrying of little mice in a flutter, little figures jerked like puppets.[192] One must, then, stand among these kindly and without arrogance, but keep track of this: that each is worth as much as the things he has taken seriously.

4. One must keep track of what is said word by word, and what is done impulse by impulse; and in the one case see at once to what target the reference is, in the other watch for what is meant.

5. Is my understanding sufficient for this or not? If it is sufficient, I use it for the work as a tool given by the nature of the whole. If it is not sufficient, either I yield the work to the one who can accomplish it better, if it is not otherwise a duty, or I do it as I can, taking on as well the one who can, with the use of my ruling centre, do what is now opportune and useful for the fellowship. For whatever I do, through myself or with another, it must tend to this alone: to what is useful in common and in tune.

6. How many who were much-sung are already handed over to forgetting; and how many who sang of them are long gone.

7. Do not be ashamed of being helped; for it is set before you to carry out what falls to you, like a soldier in the storming of a wall. What then, if you, being lame, cannot climb onto the battlement alone, but with another this is possible?

8. Let the things to come cause no trouble; for you will come to them,

[191] L's own paragraph: his apparatus says he has begun a new one here.

[192] The "little figures" are *σιγιλλάρια*, Latin *sigillaria*, the small figurines given as presents at the Saturnalia.

ἐὰν δεήσῃ, φέρων τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ᾧ νῦν πρὸς τὰ παρόντα χρᾷ.

θ′. Πάντα ἀλλήλοις ἐπιπλέκεται καὶ ἡ σύνδεσις ἱερά, καὶ σχεδόν τι οὐδὲν ἀλλότριον ἄλλο ἄλλῳ· συγκατατέτακται γὰρ καὶ συγκοσμεῖ τὸν αὐτὸν κόσμον. κόσμος τε γὰρ εἷς ἐξ ἁπάντων καὶ θεὸς εἷς δι᾽ ἁπάντων καὶ οὐσία μία καὶ νόμος εἷς, λόγος κοινὸς πάντων τῶν νοερῶν ζῴων καὶ ἀλήθεια μία, εἴγε καὶ τελειότης μία τῶν ὁμογενῶν καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου μετεχόντων ζῴων.

ι′. Πᾶν τὸ ἔνυλον ἐναφανίζεται τάχιστα τῇ τῶν ὅλων οὐσίᾳ καὶ πᾶν αἴτιον εἰς τὸν τῶν ὅλων λόγον τάχιστα ἀναλαμβάνεται καὶ παντὸς μνήμη τάχιστα ἐγκαταχώννυται τῷ αἰῶνι.

ια′. Τῷ λογικῷ ζῴῳ ἡ αὐτὴ πρᾶξις κατὰ φύσιν ἐστὶ καὶ κατὰ λόγον.

ιβ′. Ὀρθός, μὴ ὀρθούμενος.

ιγ′. Οἷόν 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 ῥῶ στοιχείου μέρος εἶναι ἑαυτὸν λέγῃς, οὔπω ἀπὸ καρδίας φιλεῖς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· οὔπω σε καταληκτικῶς εὐφραίνει τὸ εὐεργετεῖν· ἔτι ὡς πρέπον αὐτὸ ψιλὸν ποιεῖς, οὔπω ὡς ἑαυτὸν εὖ ποιῶν.

ιδ′. Ὃ 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, οὔπω βέβλαμμαι· ἔξεστι δέ μοι μὴ ὑπολαβεῖν.

if need be, carrying the same reason which you now use for what is present.

9. All things are woven together, and the bond is sacred, and almost nothing is alien one to another; for they have been ranged together, and together they order the same universe. For there is one universe out of all things, and one God through all things, and one substance, and one law, reason common to all intelligent living beings, and one truth, if indeed there is also one perfection for the living beings that are of one kind and share in the same reason.

10. Everything material vanishes very quickly into the substance of the whole; and every cause is very quickly taken back into the reason of the whole; and the memory of everything is very quickly buried in eternity.

11. For the rational living being the same action is according to nature and according to reason.[193]

12. Upright, not held upright.[194]

13. As the limbs of the body are in things unified, so are rational beings in things separate, made for one joint working. And the thought of this will strike you more if you often say to yourself, "I am a limb of the system made of rational beings." But if, through the letter r, you say you are a part, you do not yet love men from the heart; acting beneficently does not yet gladden you conclusively; you still do it barely, as what is seemly, not yet as doing good to yourself.[195][196]

14. Let whatever wants to fall from outside upon the things that can be affected by this falling. For the things affected will blame, if they want; but I, if I do not form the opinion that what has happened is bad, am not yet harmed; and it is open to me not to form it.

[193] L prints λογικῶ without the iota subscript, a misprint.

[194] Compare 3.5. "Not" is Casaubon's μή; L reports ἤ, "or", in the manuscripts.

[195] "Limb" is μέλος, "part" μέρος: the words differ by the one letter ρ. Gataker deleted "through the letter r" (L's apparatus).

[196] "Conclusively", that is, as an end in itself, is Gataker's καταληκτικῶς; the manuscripts have καταληπτικῶς, "with a firm grasp" (1.9), as L reports.

ιε′. Ὅ τι ἄν τις ποιῇ ἢ λέγῃ, ἐμὲ δεῖ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, ὡς ἂν εἰ ὁ χρυσὸς ἢ ὁ σμάραγδος ἢ ἡ πορφύρα τοῦτο ἀεὶ ἔλεγεν· ὅ τι ἄν τις ποιῇ ἢ λέγῃ, ἐμὲ δεῖ σμάραγδον εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἐμαυτοῦ χρῶμα ἔχειν.

ις′. Τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν αὐτὸ ἑαυτῷ οὐκ ἐνοχλεῖ, οἷον λέγω, οὐ φοβεῖ ἑαυτὸ εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν. εἰ δέ τις ἄλλος αὐτὸ φοβῆσαι ἢ λυπῆσαι δύναται, ποιείτω· αὐτὸ γὰρ ἑαυτὸ 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᾽ ἑαυτῷ τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, ἐὰν μὴ ἑαυτῷ ἔνδειαν ποιῇ· κατὰ ταὐτὰ δὲ καὶ ἀτάραχον καὶ ἀνεμπόδιστον, ἐὰν μὴ ἑαυτὸ ταράσσῃ καὶ ἐμποδίζῃ.

ιζ′. Εὐδαιμονία ἐστὶ δαίμων ἀγαθὸς ἢ ⟨ἡγεμονικὸν⟩ ἀγαθόν. τί οὖν ὧδε ποιεῖς, ὦ φαντασία; ἀπέρχου, τοὺς θεούς σοι, ὡς ἦλθες· οὐ γὰρ χρῄζω σου. ἐλήλυθας δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἔθος. οὐκ ὀργίζομαί σοι· μόνον ἄπιθι.

ιη′. Φοβεῖταί 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 ἐδώδιμα μεταβάλῃ; ἄλλο δέ τι τῶν χρησίμων δύναται συντελεσθῆναι χωρὶς μεταβολῆς; οὐχ ὁρᾷς οὖν ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ σὲ μεταβαλεῖν ὅμοιόν ἐστι καὶ ὁμοίως ἀναγκαῖον τῇ τῶν ὅλων φύσει;

15. Whatever anyone does or says, I must be good; just as if gold or emerald or purple were always saying this: "Whatever anyone does or says, I must be emerald and have my own colour."

16. The ruling centre does not vex itself; I mean, it does not frighten itself into craving. But if someone else can frighten or distress it, let him do it; for it will not of itself, by forming an opinion, turn itself into such turnings. Let the poor body be concerned, if it can, that it suffers nothing, and let it say if it suffers anything; but the little soul, which fears, which is distressed, which forms opinions about these things at all, will suffer nothing at all; for you will not bring it to such a judgement.[197] The ruling centre is, so far as in it lies, free of need, unless it makes a want for itself; and in the same way it is untroubled and unimpeded, unless it troubles and impedes itself.

17. Happiness is a good daimon, or a good ⟨ruling centre⟩. What then are you doing here, impression? Go away, by the gods, as you came; for I have no need of you. But you have come by the old habit. I am not angry with you; only go away.[198]

18. Is someone afraid of change? For what can come to be without change? And what is dearer or more proper to the nature of the whole? And can you yourself bathe unless the wood changes? And can you be fed unless the eatables change? And can anything else among useful things be fulfilled without change? Do you not see, then, that your own changing too is similar, and similarly necessary to the nature of the whole?

[197] So L prints: "frighten itself into craving"; Salmasius proposed ⟨οὐκ ἄγει⟩ εἰς ἀθυμίαν, "does not lead itself into despondency". "You will not bring" is Stich's ἄξεις; P and A have ἕξεις, "you will hold", as L reports.

[198] Εὐδαιμονία, "happiness", is formed from δαίμων: to have a good daimon; compare 2.8, "to have a bad daimon". ⟨Ruling centre⟩ is Gataker's supplement (L's apparatus).

ιθ′. Διὰ τῆς τῶν ὅλων οὐσίας ὡς διὰ χειμάρρου διεκπορεύεται πάντα τὰ σώματα, τῷ ὅλῳ συμφυῆ καὶ συνεργὰ ὡς τὰ ἡμέτερα μέλη ἀλλήλοις. πόσους ἤδη ὁ αἰὼν Χρυσίππους, πόσους Σωκράτεις, πόσους Ἐπικτήτους καταπέπωκε. τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ παντὸς οὑτινοσοῦν σοι ἀνθρώπου τε καὶ πράγματος προσπιπτέτω.

κ′. Ἐμὲ ἓν μόνον περισπᾷ, μή τι αὐτὸς ποιήσω, ὃ ἡ κατασκευὴ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐ θέλει ἢ ὡς οὐ θέλει ἢ ὃ νῦν οὐ θέλει.

κα′. Ἐγγὺς μὲν ἡ σὴ περὶ πάντων λήθη, ἐγγὺς δὲ ἡ πάντων περὶ σοῦ λήθη.

κβ′. Ἴδιον ἀνθρώπου φιλεῖν καὶ τοὺς πταίοντας. τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται, ἐὰν συμπροσπίπτῃ σοι, ὅτι καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ δι᾽ ἄγνοιαν καὶ ἄκοντες ἁμαρτάνουσι καὶ ὡς μετ᾽ ὀλίγον ἀμφότεροι τεθνήξεσθε, καὶ πρὸ πάντων, ὅτι οὐκ ἔβλαψέ σε· οὐ γὰρ τὸ ἡγεμονικόν σου χεῖρον ἐποίησεν ἢ πρόσθεν ἦν.

κγ′. Ἡ τῶν ὅλων φύσις ἐκ τῆς ὅλης οὐσίας ὡς κηροῦ νῦν μὲν ἵππάριον ἔπλασε, συγχέασα δὲ τοῦτο εἰς δενδρύφιον συνεχρήσατο τῇ ὕλῃ αὐτοῦ· εἶτα εἰς ἀνθρωπάριον· εἶτα εἰς ἄλλο τι· ἕκαστον δὲ τούτων πρὸς ὀλίγιστον ὑπέστη. δεινὸν δὲ οὐδὲν τὸ διαλυθῆναι τῷ κιβωτίῳ, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὸ συμπαγῆναι ⟨ἀγαθόν⟩.

κδ′. Τὸ ἐπίκοτον τοῦ προσώπου λίαν παρὰ φύσιν, ὅταν πολλάκις ἐναποθνῄσκειν ᾖ πρόσχημα ἢ τὸ τελευταῖον ἀπεσβέσθη, ὥστε ὅλως ἐξαφθῆναι μὴ δύνασθαι. αὐτῷ γε τούτῳ παρακολουθεῖν πειρῶ, ὅτι παρὰ τὸν λόγον. εἰ γὰρ

19. Through the substance of the whole, as through a torrent, all bodies pass, grown together with the whole and working with it, as our limbs with one another. How many a Chrysippus, how many a Socrates, how many an Epictetus has eternity already swallowed! And let the same strike you also in the case of every man and thing whatever.

20. One thing only distracts me: lest I myself do something that the constitution of man does not want, or in a way it does not want, or what it does not want now.

21. Near is your forgetting of all things; near, all things' forgetting of you.

22. It is peculiar to man to love even those who stumble. And this comes about if it occurs to you along with this that they are kinsmen, and that they do wrong through ignorance and unwillingly, and that in a little while you will both be dead; and above all, that he has not harmed you; for he has not made your ruling centre worse than it was before.

23. The nature of the whole, out of the whole of substance, as out of wax, now moulded a little horse, then, melting it down, used its material for a little tree; then for a little man; then for something else; and each of these subsisted for a very short time. But it is nothing terrible for the little box to be dissolved, as it is no ⟨good⟩ thing for it to be put together.[199]

24. The wrathful look on the face is very much contrary to nature; when the comeliness is often to die away in it, or at last it has been quenched, so that it cannot be kindled again at all.[200] Try to keep track of at least this very point: that it is contrary to reason. For if

[199] "Little tree" is Nauck's δενδρύφιον; L reports δένδρου φύσιν, "the nature of a tree", in the manuscripts. ⟨Good⟩ is Kronenberg's supplement (L's apparatus).

[200] L prints the words as transmitted, which do not strictly construe; the English renders them as far as they go. Coraes proposed "when this happens often, the comeliness dies away in it and at last is quenched", and Jackson supplied more (L's apparatus).

καὶ ἡ συναίσθησις τοῦ ἁμαρτάνειν οἰχήσεται, τίς ἔτι τοῦ ζῆν αἰτία;

κε′. Πάντα ὅσα ὁρᾷς ὅσον οὔπω μεταβαλεῖ ἡ τὰ ὅλα διοικοῦσα φύσις καὶ ἄλλα ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῶν ποιήσει καὶ πάλιν ἄλλα ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνων οὐσίας, ἵνα ἀεὶ νεαρὸς ᾖ ὁ κόσμος.

κς′. Ὅταν τις ἁμάρτῃ τι εἰς σέ, εὐθὺς ἐνθυμοῦ τί ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν ὑπολαβὼν ἥμαρτε. τοῦτο γὰρ ἰδὼν ἐλεήσεις αὐτὸν καὶ οὔτε θαυμάσεις οὔτε ὀργισθήσῃ. ἤτοι γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ αὐτὸ ἐκείνῳ ἀγαθὸν ἔτι ὑπολαμβάνεις ἢ ἄλλο ὁμοειδές· δεῖ οὖν συγγινώσκειν. εἰ δὲ μηκέτι ὑπολαμβάνεις τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακά, ῥᾷον εὐμενὴς ἔσῃ τῷ παρορῶντι.

κζ′. Μὴ τὰ ἀπόντα ἐννοεῖν ὡς ἤδη ὄντα, ἀλλὰ τῶν παρόντων τὰ δεξιώτατα ἐκλογίζεσθαι καὶ τούτων χάριν ὑπομιμνήσκεσθαι πῶς ἂν ἐπεζητεῖτο, εἰ μὴ παρῆν. ἅμα μέντοι φυλάσσου, μὴ διὰ τοῦ οὕτως ἀσμενίζειν αὐτοῖς ἐθίσῃς ἐκτιμᾶν αὐτά, ὥστε, ἐάν ποτε μὴ παρῇ, ταραχθήσεσθαι.

κη′. Εἰς σαυτὸν συνειλοῦ· φύσιν ἔχει τὸ λογικὸν ἡγεμονικὸν ἑαυτῷ ἀρκεῖσθαι δικαιοπραγοῦντι καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτὸ τοῦτο γαλήνην ἔχοντι.

κθ′. Ἐξάλειψον τὴν φαντασίαν. στῆσον τὴν νευροσπαστίαν. περίγραψον τὸ ἐνεστὼς τοῦ χρόνου. γνώρισον τὸ συμβαῖνον ἢ σοὶ ἢ ἄλλῳ. δίελε καὶ μέρισον τὸ ὑποκείμενον εἰς τὸ αἰτιῶδες καὶ ὑλικόν. ἐννόησον τὴν ἐσχάτην ὥραν. τὸ ἐκείνῳ ἁμαρτηθὲν ἐκεῖ κατάλιπε ὅπου ἡ ἁμαρτία ὑπέστη.

λ′. Συμπαρεκτείνειν τὴν νόησιν τοῖς λεγομένοις. εἰσδύεσθαι τὸν νοῦν εἰς τὰ γινόμενα καὶ ποιοῦντα.

even the awareness of doing wrong is going to depart, what cause is there still for living?

25. All that you see, the nature that governs the whole will very soon change, and out of their substance will make other things, and again others out of the substance of those, so that the universe may be always young.

26. When someone does you some wrong, consider at once with what opinion of good or bad he did wrong. For when you see this you will pity him, and be neither astonished nor angry. For either you yourself too still form the same opinion of the good as he, or another of one form with it; so one must forgive. But if you no longer form the opinion that such things are good and bad, you will more easily be kindly to the one who sees amiss.

27. Do not think of things absent as already there, but reckon up the most favourable of things present, and for their sake remind yourself how they would be sought after if they were not present. At the same time, however, be on your guard that by being so glad of them you do not grow used to valuing them, so as to be troubled if ever they are not present.

28. Gather yourself into yourself. It is the nature of the rational ruling centre to be content with itself when it acts justly and, on that very account, has calm.

29. Wipe out the impression. Stop the puppet-jerking. Circumscribe the present of time. Recognise what happens, either to you or to another. Divide and distribute the underlying thing into the causal and the material.[201] Think of the last hour. Leave the wrong done by that man there where the wrong subsisted.

30. Stretch the thought alongside what is said. Let the mind enter into what comes about and what brings it about.

[201] The two Stoic first principles (*ἀρχαί*), the active and the passive; compare 5.13.

λα′. Φαίδρυνον σεαυτὸν ἁπλότητι καὶ αἰδοῖ καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸ ἀνὰ μέσον ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας ἀδιαφορίᾳ. φίλησον τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος. ἀκολούθησον θεῷ. ἐκεῖνος μέν φησιν ὅτι ‘πάντα νομιστί, ἐτεῇ δὲ μόνα τὰ στοιχεῖα’, ἀρκεῖ δὲ μεμνῆσθαι ὅτι τὰ πάντα νομιστὶ ἔχει· ἤδη λίαν ὀλίγα.

λβ′. Περὶ θανάτου· ἢ σκεδασμός, εἰ ἄτομοι· εἰ δ’ ἕνωσις, ἤτοι σβέσις ἢ μετάστασις.

λγ′. Περὶ πόνου· τὸ μὲν ἀφόρητον ἐξάγει, τὸ δὲ χρονίζον φορητόν· καὶ ἡ διάνοια τὴν ἑαυτῆς γαλήνην κατὰ ἀπόληψιν διατηρεῖ καὶ οὐ χεῖρον τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν γέγονε, τὰ δὲ κακούμενα μέρη ὑπὸ τοῦ πόνου, εἴ τι δύναται, περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀποφηνάσθω.

λδ′. Περὶ δόξης· ἴδε τὰς διανοίας αὐτῶν, οἷαι καὶ οἷα μὲν φεύγουσαι, οἷα δὲ διώκουσαι. καὶ ὅτι, ὡς αἱ θῖνες ἄλλαι ἐπ’ ἄλλαις ἐπιφορούμεναι κρύπτουσι τὰς προτέρας, οὕτως ἐν τῷ βίῳ τὰ πρότερα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπενεχθέντων τάχιστα ἐκαλύφθη.

λε′. ‘Ἧι οὖν ὑπάρχει διανοίᾳ μεγαλοπρέπεια καὶ θεωρία παντὸς μὲν χρόνου, πάσης δὲ οὐσίας, ἆρα οἴει τούτῳ μέγα τι δοκεῖν εἶναι τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον; ἀδύνατον, ἦ δ’ ὅς. οὐκοῦν καὶ θάνατον οὐ δεινόν τι ἡγήσεται ὁ τοιοῦτος; ἥκιστά γε.’

λς′. ‘Βασιλικὸν εὖ μὲν πράττειν, κακῶς δὲ ἀκούειν.’

31. Make yourself bright with simplicity and self-respect and indifference towards what lies between virtue and vice. Love the human race. Follow God. That man says, "All things by convention, but in reality only the elements"; but it is enough to remember that all things are by convention: already very few.[202]

32. On death: either scattering, if atoms; but if unity, either quenching or migration.[203]

33. On pain: the unbearable carries off, the lasting is bearable; and the understanding keeps its own calm by withdrawing, and the ruling centre has not become worse; as for the parts maltreated by the pain, let them, if they can at all, declare themselves about it.

34. On fame: look at their understandings, what they are like, and what sort of things they flee and what sort they pursue. And that, as sand-dunes heaped one on another hide the earlier ones, so in life what came before is very quickly covered by what is brought on after.

35. "He, then, whose understanding has magnificence and the contemplation of all time and all substance: do you think that to him human life seems anything great? Impossible, said he. Then such a man will not think death anything terrible either? Least of all."[204]

36. "It is kingly to do well and be ill spoken of."[205]

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[202] "That man" is Democritus (L's testimonia, fr. 9 Diels: "by convention sweet, by convention bitter ... in reality atoms and void"). "In reality" is Usener's *ἐτεῇ*, "only the" Coraes' *δὲ μόνα*, and the last words, which are obscure, Casaubon's; Usener proposed "that if all things are by convention, in reality very few are" (L's apparatus).

[203] The Epicurean and the Stoic accounts, as at 6.10 (compare 6.4, 6.24). "If unity" is Casaubon's *εἰ δ' ἕνωσις*; L reports *ἢ ἕνωσις*, "or unity", in A and *ἢ κένωσις*, "or emptying", in P.

[204] Plato, *Republic* 486a (L's testimonia), Socrates and Glaucon on the philosopher's nature.

[205] A saying of Antisthenes (Diogenes Laertius 6.3), quoted by Epictetus 4.6.20 (L's testimonia).

λζ′. Αἰσχρόν ἐστι τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον ὑπήκοον εἶναι καὶ σχηματίζεσθαι καὶ κατακοσμεῖσθαι, ὡς κελεύει ἡ διάνοια, αὐτὴν δ' ὑφ' ἑαυτῆς μὴ σχηματίζεσθαι καὶ κατακοσμεῖσθαι.

λη′. Τοῖς πράγμασιν γὰρ οὐχὶ θυμοῦσθαι χρεών·
μέλει γὰρ αὐτοῖς οὐδέν.

λθ′. Ἀθανάτοις τε θεοῖς καὶ ἡμῖν χάρματα δοίης.

μ′. Βίον θερίζειν ὥστε κάρπιμον στάχυν
καὶ τὸν μὲν εἶναι, τὸν δὲ μή.

μα′. Εἰ δ' ἠμελήθην ἐκ θεῶν καὶ παῖδ' ἐμώ,
ἔχει λόγον καὶ τοῦτο.

μβ′. Τὸ γὰρ εὖ μετ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον.

μγ′. Μὴ συνεπιθρηνεῖν, μὴ σφύζειν.

μδ′. Ἐγὼ δὲ τούτῳ δίκαιον ἂν λόγον ἀντείποιμι, ὅτι οὐ καλῶς λέγεις, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, εἰ οἴει δεῖν κίνδυνον ὑπολογίζεσθαι τοῦ ζῆν ἢ τεθνάναι ἄνδρα, ὅτου τι καὶ σμικρὸν ὄφελος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκεῖνο μόνον σκοπεῖν, ὅταν πράττῃ, πότερον δίκαια ἢ ἄδικα πράττει καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ ⟨ἔργα⟩ ἢ κακοῦ.'

με′. 'Οὕτω γὰρ ἔχει, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῇ ἀληθείᾳ· οὗ ἄν τις αὑτὸν τάξῃ ἡγησάμενος βέλτιστον εἶναι ἢ ὑπ' ἄρχοντος ταχθῇ, ἐνταῦθα ⟨δεῖ⟩, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, μένοντα κινδυνεύειν, μηδὲν ὑπολογιζόμενον μήτε θάνατον μήτε ἄλλο μηδὲν πρὸ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ.'

37. It is shameful that the face should be obedient, and be shaped and ordered as the understanding commands, while the understanding is not shaped and ordered by itself.

38. For one must not rage at things;
for they care nothing.[206]

39. May you give joys both to the immortal gods and to us.

40. To reap life like a fruitful ear of corn,
and one to be, another not.

41. But if I and my two sons have been neglected by the gods,
there is reason in this too.

42. For what is well is with me, and what is just.

43. Do not join in lamenting; do not be feverish.

44. "But I would make this man a just reply: You do not speak well, man, if you think that a man of even a little use ought to take into account the risk of living or dying, but not look at this alone, when he acts: whether he does just things or unjust, and the ⟨deeds⟩ of a good man or a bad."

45. "For so it is, men of Athens, in truth: wherever a man posts himself, judging it best, or is posted by a commander, there ⟨he must⟩, as it seems to me, stay and run the risk, taking into account neither death nor anything else before what is shameful."[207]

[206] 7.38–7.42 are verse, identified in L's testimonia: Euripides fr. 287 Nauck (*Bellerophon*), an unknown epic poet, Euripides fr. 757 (*Hypsipyle*), fr. 208 (*Antiope*), fr. 918 (play unknown). L notes Elter's view that these, with 7.49–51 and 11.6, 11.30–32, come from old Chrysippean anthologies.

[207] Socrates at his trial: Plato, *Apology* 28b and 28d (L's testimonia). ⟨Deeds⟩ and ⟨he must⟩ are Gataker's supplements (L's apparatus).

μς′. Ἀλλ’, ὦ μακάριε, ὅρα μὴ ἄλλο τι τὸ γενναῖον καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ᾖ τοῦ σῴζειν τε καὶ σῴζεσθαι· μὴ γὰρ τοῦτο μέν, τὸ ζῆν ὁποσονδὴ χρόνον, τόν γε ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄνδρα ἐατέον ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ φιλοψυχητέον, ἀλλ’ ἐπιτρέψαντα περὶ τούτων τῷ θεῷ καὶ πιστεύσαντα ταῖς γυναιξίν, ὅτι τὴν εἱμαρμένην οὐδ’ ἂν εἷς ἐκφύγοι, τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ σκεπτέον τίνα ἂν τρόπον τοῦτον ὃν μέλλει χρόνον βιῶναι ὡς ἄριστα βιώῃ.’

μζ′. Περισκοπεῖν ἄστρων δρόμους ὥσπερ συμπεριθέοντα καὶ τὰς τῶν στοιχείων εἰς ἄλληλα μεταβολὰς συνεχῶς ἐννοεῖν· ἀποκαθαίρουσι γὰρ αἱ τούτων φαντασίαι τὸν ῥύπον τοῦ χαμαὶ βίου.

μη′. Καλὸν τὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος. καὶ δὴ περὶ ἀνθρώπων τοὺς λόγους ποιούμενον ἐπισκοπεῖν δεῖ καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια ὥσπερ ποθὲν ἄνωθεν 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.

μθ′. Τὰ προγεγονότα ἀναθεωρεῖν, τὰς τοσαύτας τῶν ἡγεμονιῶν μεταβολάς. ἔξεστι καὶ τὰ ἐσόμενα προεφορᾶν· ὁμοειδῆ γὰρ πάντως ἔσται καὶ οὐχ οἷόν τε ἐκβῆναι τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ τῶν νῦν γινομένων· ὅθεν καὶ ἴσον τὸ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτεσιν ἱστορῆσαι τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον τῷ ἐπὶ ἔτη μύρια· τί γὰρ πλέον ὄψει;

ν′. Καὶ

τὰ μὲν ἐκ γαίας φύντ’ εἰς γαῖαν,

46. "But, my good friend, see whether the noble and the good are not something other than preserving and being preserved. For perhaps this, living for however long a time, is a thing the man who is truly a man must let be, and not cling to life; but, leaving these matters to God and believing the women that not one man could escape fate, he must look next at the way in which he may best live this time he is going to live."[208]

47. Survey the runs of the stars as if running round with them, and think continually of the changes of the elements into one another; for the impressions of these clean away the filth of life on the ground.

48. That of Plato is beautiful. And indeed one who speaks about men must survey earthly things too as if from somewhere above, downward: herds, armies, farms, marriages, dissolutions, births, deaths, the din of law courts, deserted lands, barbarian peoples of every kind, festivals, laments, markets, the medley of it all, and the order made together out of opposites.[209]

49. Look back on the past, the so many changes of empires. It is open, too, to foresee the future; for it will be altogether of one form, and it is not possible to step out of the rhythm of what comes about now. Hence, too, to have inquired into human life for forty years is equal to having done so for ten thousand; for what more will you see?

50. And

> what grew from earth, into earth;

[208] Plato, *Gorgias* 512d–e (L's testimonia), Socrates to Callicles.

[209] L names no passage of Plato. Upton joined this chapter to 7.47, and A and Menagius join it to 7.49 (L's apparatus), so what is meant by Plato's saying is uncertain.

τὰ δ' ἀπ' αἰθερίου βλάστοντα γονῆς
εἰς οὐράνιον πάλιν ἦλθε πόλον.

Ἢ τοῦτο διάλυσις τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀτόμοις ἀντεμπλοκῶν καὶ τοιοῦτός τις σκορπισμὸς τῶν ἀπαθῶν στοιχείων.

να′. Καὶ

σίτοισι καὶ ποτοῖσι καὶ μαγεύμασι
παρεκτρέποντες ὀχετὸν ὥστε μὴ θανεῖν.
. . . . . .
θεόθεν δὲ πνέοντ' οὖρον ἀνάγκη
τλῆναι καμάτοις ἀνοδύρτοις.

νβ′. Καββαλικώτερος, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ κοινωνικώτερος οὐδὲ αἰδημονέστερος οὐδ' εὐτακτότερος ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβαίνουσιν οὐδὲ εὐμενέστερος πρὸς τὰ τῶν πλησίον παροράματα.

νγ′. Ὅπου ἔργον ἐπιτελεῖσθαι δύναται κατὰ τὸν κοινὸν θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις λόγον, ἐκεῖ οὐδὲν δεινόν· ὅπου γὰρ ὠφελείας τυχεῖν ἔξεστι διὰ τῆς εὐοδούσης καὶ κατὰ τὴν κατασκευὴν προιούσης ἐνεργείας, ἐκεῖ οὐδεμίαν βλάβην ὑφορατέον.

νδ′. Πανταχοῦ καὶ διηνεκῶς ἐπὶ σοί ἐστι καὶ τῇ παρούσῃ συμβάσει θεοσεβῶς εὐαρεστεῖν καὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀνθρώποις κατὰ δικαιοσύνην προσφέρεσθαι καὶ τῇ παρούσῃ φαντασίᾳ ἐμφιλοτεχνεῖν, ἵνα μή τι ἀκατάληπτον παρεισρυῇ.

νε′. Μὴ περιβλέπου ἀλλότρια ἡγεμονικά, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ βλέπε κατ' εὐθὺ ἐπὶ τί σε ἡ φύσις ὁδηγεῖ, ἥ τε τοῦ ὅλου διὰ τῶν συμβαινόντων σοι καὶ ἡ σὴ διὰ τῶν πρακτέων

and what sprang from ethereal seed
went back again to the vault of heaven.[210]

Or this: a dissolution of the intertwinings among the atoms, and some such dispersal of the elements that cannot be affected.[211]

51. And

with foods and drinks and charms
turning aside the channel, so as not to die.
. . . . . .
But the wind that blows from the gods
one must bear, in toils without lament.[212]

52. A better thrower, but not more social, nor more self-respecting, nor better ordered in what happens, nor more kindly towards the oversights of neighbours.[213]

53. Where a work can be accomplished according to the reason common to gods and men, there is nothing terrible; for where it is open to gain benefit through an activity that journeys well and proceeds according to the constitution, there one must look askance at no harm.

54. Everywhere and perpetually it is in your power both to be piously well pleased with the present conjuncture, and to behave towards the men present according to justice, and to work with art upon the present impression, so that nothing slips in that is not firmly grasped.

55. Do not look round at others' ruling centres, but look straight there, at what nature is guiding you to: both that of the whole, through what happens to you, and your own, through what is to be done

[210] Euripides fr. 839 Nauck, vv. 9–11, from the *Chrysippus* (L's testimonia).

[211] "Or this" probably brings in the Epicurean account beside the poet's. Reiske proposed "What is this?" and Rendall "That is" (L's apparatus).

[212] Euripides, *Suppliants* 1110–11, of those who would prolong life; then, after L's row of points, two lines of an unknown tragedy, fr. adesp. 303 Nauck (L's testimonia). "Charms" is Coraes' μαγεύμασι for μαγγανεύμασι, "trickeries", which L reports in the manuscripts.

[213] "A better thrower" is Casaubon's καββαλικώτερος, a wrestler who throws his man; L reports καββαλιώτερος in P. L compares Plutarch, *Sayings of Spartans* 236E, where a Spartan beaten at Olympia, told that his opponent had proved the better man, answers, "Not better, but a better thrower."

ὑπὸ σοῦ· πρακτέον δὲ ἑκάστῳ τὸ ἐξῆς τῇ κατασκευῇ· κατεσκεύασται δὲ τὰ μὲν λοιπὰ τῶν λογικῶν ἕνεκεν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ παντὸς ἄλλου τὰ χείρω τῶν κρειττόνων ἕνεκεν, τὰ δὲ λογικὰ ἀλλήλων ἕνεκεν. 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 ἑαυτὴν καὶ μήποτε ἡττᾶσθαι μήτε αἰσθητικῆς μήτε ὁρμητικῆς κινήσεως· ζῳώδεις γὰρ ἑκάτεραι, ἡ δὲ νοερὰ ἐθέλει πρωτιστεύειν καὶ μὴ κατακρατεῖσθαι ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνων. δικαίως γε· πέφυκε γὰρ χρηστικὴ πᾶσιν ἐκείνοις. τρίτον ἐν τῇ λογικῇ κατασκευῇ τὸ ἀπρόπτωτον καὶ ἀνεξαπάτητον. τούτων οὖν ἐχόμενον τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν εὐθεῖαν περαινέτω καὶ ἔχει τὰ ἑαυτοῦ.

νς′. Ὡς ἀποτεθνηκότα δεῖ καὶ μέχρι νῦν βεβιωκότα τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκ τοῦ περιόντος ζῆσαι κατὰ τὴν φύσιν.

νζ′. Μόνως φιλεῖν τὸ ἑαυτῷ συμβαῖνον καὶ συγκλωθόμενον· τί γὰρ ἁρμοδιώτερον;

νη′. Ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστου συμβάματος ἐκείνους πρὸ ὀμμάτων ἔχειν, οἷς τὰ αὐτὰ συνέβαινεν, ἔπειτα ἤχθοντο, ἐξενίζοντο, 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 γὰρ καλῶς καὶ ὕλη σοι ἔσται, μόνον πρόσεχε καὶ θέλε σεαυτῷ καλὸς εἶναι ἐπὶ παντός, οὗ πράσσεις, καὶ μέμνησο ἀμφοτέρων, ὅτι καὶ διάφορον ἐφ᾽ οὗ ἡ πρᾶξις.

νθ′. Ἔνδον σκάπτε, ἔνδον ἡ πηγὴ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἀεὶ ἀναβλύειν δυναμένη, ἐὰν ἀεὶ σκάπτῃς.

by you. And each is to do what follows from the constitution; and the rest have been made for the sake of rational beings, as also in every other case the worse for the sake of the better, and rational beings for the sake of one another. The leading thing, then, in the constitution of man is the social; second, refusing to yield to what the body undergoes; for it is peculiar to rational and intelligent motion to mark its own bounds and never to be overcome by the motion of sense or of impulse; for both are animal, but the intelligent wants to have the first place and not to be mastered by them. Justly, too; for it is by nature able to make use of all of them. Third in the rational constitution is freedom from rash assent and from being deceived. Holding fast to these, then, let the ruling centre bring the straight way to its end, and it has what is its own.

56. As one who has died, and has lived up to now, one must live what remains, as something over and above, according to nature.

57. Love only what happens to you and is spun for you; for what is more suitable?

58. At each event have before your eyes those to whom the same things happened, and then they were annoyed, thought them strange, blamed. Where, then, are they now? Nowhere. What then? Do you too want to be so? And do you not want to leave others' turnings to those who turn them and are turned, and yourself to be wholly intent on how to use them? For you will use them well, and they will be material for you; only pay heed, and want to be honourable in your own eyes in everything you do; and remember both: that what the action bears on also makes a difference.[214]

59. Dig within. Within is the spring of the good, and it can always gush up, if you always dig.[215]

[214] So L prints; the sense is uncertain. Gataker proposed *ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων, ὅτι ἀδιάφορον*, "in both cases, that what the action bears on makes no difference"; Kronenberg supplied "that you had your impulse with reservation" and also proposed "makes no difference" (L's apparatus).

[215] "Dig" is Schultz's *σκάπτε*; L reports *βλέπε*, "look", in P, *σκέπε* in A, *σκόπει* in D.

ξ′. Δεῖ καὶ τὸ σῶμα πεπηγέναι καὶ μὴ διερρῖφθαι μήτε ἐν κινήσει μήτε ἐν σχέσει. οἷον γάρ τι ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου παρέχεται ἡ διάνοια συνεστὼς αὐτὸ καὶ εὔσχημον συντηροῦσα, τοιοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος ἀπαιτητέον. πάντα δὲ ταῦτα σὺν τῷ ἀνεπιτηδεύτῳ φυλακτέα.

ξα′. Ἡ βιωτικὴ τῇ παλαιστικῇ ὁμοιοτέρα ἢπερ τῇ ὀρχηστικῇ κατὰ τὸ πρὸς τὰ ἐμπίπτοντα καὶ οὐ προεγνωσμένα ἕτοιμος καὶ ἀπτὼς ἑστάναι.

ξβ′. Συνεχῶς ἐφιστάναι, τίνες εἰσὶν οὗτοι, ὑφ᾽ ὧν μαρτυρεῖσθαι θέλεις, καὶ τίνα ἡγεμονικὰ ἔχουσιν· οὔτε γὰρ μέμψῃ τοῖς ἀκουσίως πταίουσιν οὔτε ἐπιμαρτυρήσεως δεήσῃ, ἐμβλέπων εἰς τὰς πηγὰς τῆς ὑπολήψεως καὶ ὁρμῆς αὐτῶν.

ξγ′. ‘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.

ξδ′. Ἐπὶ μὲν παντὸς πόνου πρόχειρον ἔστω ὅτι οὐκ αἰσχρὸν οὐδὲ τὴν διάνοιαν τὴν κυβερνῶσαν χείρω ποιεῖ· οὔτε γὰρ καθὸ λογική ἐστιν 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. κἀκείνου δὲ μέμνησο, ὅτι πολλὰ πόνῳ τὰ αὐτὰ ὄντα λανθάνει, δυσχεραινόμενα· οἷον τὸ νυστάζειν καὶ τὸ καυματίζεσθαι καὶ τὸ

60. The body too must be firm and not sprawl, either in motion or at rest. For as the understanding provides something in the face, keeping it composed and decorous, so one must require the like in the whole body too. But all these things must be guarded without affectation.

61. The art of living is more like wrestling than dancing, in standing ready and not falling before what falls upon one and was not foreseen.

62. Attend continually to who these are by whom you want to be borne witness to, and what ruling centres they have; for you will neither blame those who stumble unwillingly nor need testimony, if you look into the springs of their opinion and impulse.

63. "Every soul," he says, "is deprived of truth unwillingly." So too, then, of justice and self-control and kindliness and everything of that kind. And it is most necessary to remember this perpetually; for you will be milder towards all.[216]

64. In every pain let it be ready to hand that it is not shameful, and does not make worse the understanding that steers; for it does not corrupt it either as it is rational or as it is social. In most pains, however, let Epicurus' saying too help you, that it is neither unbearable nor eternal, if you remember the limits and do not add opinion. And remember this too, that many things that are the same as pain escape notice while they are resented: such as being drowsy, and being overheated, and[217]

[216] Epictetus gives the saying as Plato's (1.28.4, 2.22.37); L compares Plato, *Sophist* 228c, "every soul is ignorant of anything unwillingly" (L's testimonia).

[217] L's testimonia cite Epicurus fr. 447 Usener here and at 7.33; compare *Principal Doctrines* 4, that great pain is brief and long pain mild. "As it is rational" is Casaubon's *καθὸ λογικήν*; L reports *καθὸ ὑλικήν*, "as it is material", in P.

ἀνορεκτεῖν· ὅταν οὖν τινι τούτων δυσαρεστῇς, λέγε ἑαυτῷ, ὅτι πόνῳ ἐνδίδως.

ξε′. Ὅρα μήποτέ ⟨τι⟩ τοιοῦτον πάθῃς πρὸς τοὺς ἀπανθρώπους, οἷον οἱ ⟨ἀπ⟩άνθρωποι πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

ξς′. 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 ἐβρενθύετο’, περὶ οὗ καὶ μάλιστ’ ἄν 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 ὡς ξένον τι δεχόμενος ἢ ὡς ἀφόρητον ὑπομένων, μήτε τοῖς τοῦ σαρκιδίου πάθεσιν ἐμπαρέχων συμπαθῆ τὸν νοῦν.

ξζ′. Ἡ φύσις οὐχ οὕτως συνεκέρασε τῷ συγκρίματι, ὡς μὴ ἐφεῖσθαι περιορίζειν ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ὑφ’ ἑαυτῷ 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 ἀπογνῷς καὶ ἐλεύθερος καὶ αἰδήμων καὶ κοινωνικὸς καὶ εὐπειθὴς θεῷ.

having no appetite. So whenever you are discontented with any of these, say to yourself that you are giving in to pain.

65. See that you never feel ⟨anything⟩ such towards the inhuman as the ⟨in⟩human feel towards men.[218]

66. How do we know whether Telauges was not better in disposition than Socrates? For it is not enough that Socrates died more gloriously, and argued more adroitly with the sophists, and passed the night in the frost more hardily, and, when ordered to fetch the man of Salamis, seemed to resist more nobly, and "swaggered in the streets", a thing one might even attend to most of all, if it was true;[219] but one must look at this: what sort of soul Socrates had, and whether he could be content to be just in what concerns men and holy in what concerns gods, neither indignant at random at vice nor indeed a slave to anyone's ignorance, neither receiving anything allotted from the whole as something strange nor enduring it as unbearable, nor lending the mind to share the passions of the poor flesh.

67. Nature did not so blend with the compound as not to permit one to mark one's own bounds and to bring one's own things under one's own power.[220] For it is very possible to become a divine man and to be recognised by no one. Remember this always, and this too, that living happily lies in very few things; and do not, because you have despaired of becoming a dialectician and a natural philosopher, for that reason give up hope of being free and self-respecting and social and obedient to God.

[218] ⟨Anything⟩ is Coraes' supplement, ⟨in-⟩ Gataker's (L's apparatus).

[219] Telauges is probably the Pythagorean ascetic with whom Socrates talks in the *Telauges* of Aeschines the Socratic; tradition also gives Pythagoras a son of the name (Diogenes Laertius 8.42–43). The frost is the winter campaign at Potidaea (Plato, *Symposium* 220a–b); the man of Salamis is Leon (*Apology* 32c–d); the swagger is from Aristophanes, *Clouds* 362 (L's testimonia), quoted at *Symposium* 221b.

[220] The verb has no object in L's text; Gataker supplied "you", Schultz "the mind" (L's apparatus).

ξη′. Ἀβιάστως διαζῆσαι ἐν πλείστῃ θυμηδίᾳ, κἂν πάντες καταβοῶσιν ἅττινα βούλονται, κἂν τὰ θηρία διασπᾷ τὰ μελύδρια τοῦ περιτεθραμμένου τούτου φυράματος. τί γὰρ κωλύει ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις τὴν διάνοιαν σῴζειν ἑαυτὴν ἐν γαλήνῃ καὶ κρίσει [τῇ] περὶ τῶν περιεστηκότων ἀληθεῖ καὶ χρήσει τῶν ὑποβεβλημένων ἑτοίμῃ, ὥστε τὴν μὲν κρίσιν λέγειν τῷ προσπίπτοντι· τοῦτο ὑπάρχεις κατ᾽ οὐσίαν, κἂν κατὰ δόξαν ἀλλοῖον φαίνῃ· τὴν δὲ χρῆσιν λέγειν τῷ ὑποπίπτοντι· σὲ ἐζήτουν· ἀεὶ γάρ μοι τὸ παρὸν ὕλη ἀρετῆς λογικῆς καὶ πολιτικῆς καὶ τὸ σύνολον τέχνης ἀνθρώπου ἢ θεοῦ· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ συμβαῖνον θεῷ ἢ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐξοικειοῦται καὶ οὔτε καινὸν οὔτε δυσμεταχείριστον, ἀλλὰ γνώριμον καὶ εὐεργές.

ξθ′. Τοῦτο ἔχει ἡ τελειότης τοῦ ἤθους, τὸ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν ὡς τελευταίαν διεξάγειν καὶ μήτε σφύζειν μήτε ναρκᾶν μήτε ὑποκρίνεσθαι.

ο′. 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, ἀπαυδᾷς, καὶ ταῦτα εἷς ὢν τῶν φαύλων;

οα′. Γελοῖόν ἐστι τὴν μὲν ἰδίαν κακίαν μὴ φεύγειν, ὃ καὶ δυνατόν ἐστι, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἄλλων φεύγειν, ὅπερ ἀδύνατον.

οβ′. Ὃ ἂν ἡ λογικὴ καὶ πολιτικὴ δύναμις εὑρίσκῃ μήτε νοερὸν μήτε κοινωνικόν, εὐλόγως καταδεέστερον ἑαυτῆς κρίνει.

ογ′. Ὅταν σὺ εὖ πεποιηκὼς ᾖς καὶ ἄλλος εὖ πεπονθώς,

68. Live through without constraint, in the greatest cheerfulness, even if all cry out whatever they will, even if wild beasts tear apart the poor limbs of this kneaded lump that has grown round about. For what, in all this, prevents the understanding from preserving itself in calm, and in true judgement about what surrounds it, and in ready use of what is put before it, so that judgement says to what falls upon it, "This is what you are in substance, even if in repute you appear of another kind"; and use says to what presents itself, "It was you I was seeking; for to me the present is always material for rational and civic virtue, and in sum for the art of man or God"? For everything that happens comes into affinity with God or man, and is neither new nor hard to handle, but familiar and easy to work.

69. This is what the perfection of character holds: to pass each day as the last, and to be neither feverish nor torpid nor pretending.[221]

70. The gods, who are immortal, do not resent that in so long an eternity they will have to bear with, altogether and always, so many base people of such a kind; and besides they even care for them in all sorts of ways. But you, who are on the point of ceasing, do you give up, and that when you are one of the base?

71. It is ridiculous not to flee one's own vice, which is indeed possible, but to flee that of others, which is impossible.

72. Whatever the rational and civic faculty finds neither intelligent nor social, it judges, with reason, inferior to itself.

73. When you have done good and another has received good,

[221] Compare 2.5.

τί ἐπιζητεῖς τρίτον παρὰ ταῦτα, ὥσπερ οἱ μωροί, τὸ καὶ δόξαι εὖ πεποιηκέναι ἢ τὸ ἀμοιβῆς τυχεῖν;

οδ′. Οὐδεὶς κάμνει ὠφελούμενος, ὠφέλεια δὲ πρᾶξις κατὰ φύσιν· μὴ οὖν κάμνε ὠφελούμενος, ἐν ᾧ ὠφελεῖς.

οε′. Ἡ τοῦ ὅλου φύσις ἐπὶ τὴν κοσμοποιίαν ὥρμησε· νῦν δὲ ἤτοι πᾶν τὸ γινόμενον κατ᾽ ἐπακολούθησιν γίνεται ἢ ἀλόγιστα καὶ τὰ κυριώτατά ἐστιν ἐφ᾽ ἃ ποιεῖται ἰδίαν ὁρμὴν τὸ τοῦ κόσμου ἡγεμονικόν. εἰς πολλά σε γαληνότερον ποιήσει τοῦτο μνημονευόμενον.

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Η

α′. Καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τὸ ἀκενόδοξον φέρει, ὅτι οὐκέτι δύνασαι τὸν βίον ὅλον ἢ τόν γε ἀπὸ νεότητος φιλόσοφον βεβιωκέναι, ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ αὐτὸς σεαυτῷ δῆλος γέγονας πόρρω φιλοσοφίας ὤν. πέφυρσαι οὖν, ὥστε τὴν μὲν δόξαν τὴν τοῦ φιλοσόφου κτήσασθαι οὐκέτι σοι ῥᾴδιον· ἀνταγωνίζεται δὲ καὶ ἡ ὑπόθεσις. εἴπερ οὖν ἀληθῶς ἑώρακας ποῦ κεῖται τὸ πρᾶγμα, τὸ μὲν τί δόξεις ἄφες, ἀρκέσθητι δέ, εἰ κἂν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου ὅσον δήποτε, ⟨ὡς⟩ ἡ σὴ φύσις θέλει, βιώσῃ. κατανόησον οὖν τί θέλει, καὶ ἄλλο μηδέν σε περισπάτω· πεπείρασαι γὰρ περὶ πόσα πλανηθεὶς οὐδαμοῦ εὗρες τὸ εὖ ζῆν, οὐκ ἐν συλλογισμοῖς, οὐκ ἐν πλούτῳ, οὐκ ἐν δόξῃ, οὐκ ἐν ἀπολαύσει, οὐδαμοῦ. ποῦ οὖν ἐστιν; ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν ἃ 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, ὡς οὐδενὸς μὲν ἀγαθοῦ ὄντος ἀνθρώπῳ ὃ οὐχὶ ποιεῖ δίκαιον,

why do you seek a third thing besides these, like the fools: to be thought to have done good as well, or to get a return?

74. No one tires of being benefited; and benefit is action according to nature. Do not, then, tire of being benefited in benefiting.

75. The nature of the whole had its impulse towards making the universe; and now either everything that comes about comes about by way of consequence, or even the most sovereign things, those towards which the ruling centre of the universe directs its own impulse, are unreasoned. Remembering this will make you calmer in many things.[222]

Book VIII

1. This too contributes to freedom from empty glory: that you can no longer have lived the whole of life, or at least the life from youth on, as a philosopher, but to many others and to yourself it has become clear that you are far from philosophy. You are befouled, then, so that it is no longer easy for you to win the repute of a philosopher; and the station too works against it.[223] If, then, you have truly seen where the matter lies, let go of how you will seem, and be content if you live even the rest of life, however much it is, ⟨as⟩ your nature wants.[224] Take note, then, of what it wants, and let nothing else distract you; for you have learned by trial how many things you wandered among and nowhere found living well: not in syllogisms, not in wealth, not in fame, not in enjoyment, nowhere. Where then is it? In doing what the nature of man seeks. How then will you do these things? If you have principles from which come impulses and actions. What principles? About good things and bad: that nothing is good for a man which does not make him just,

[222] Compare 6.36, and 9.28, where "by way of consequence" returns in a related alternative.

[223] Ὑπόθεσις, "station": probably his position as emperor.

[224] ⟨As⟩ is Gataker's supplement; Kronenberg proposed ᾗ, "in the way that" (L's apparatus).

σώφρονα, ἀνδρεῖον, ἐλεύθερον, οὐδενὸς δὲ κακοῦ ὃ οὐχὶ ποιεῖ τἀναντία τοῖς εἰρημένοις.

β′. Καθ᾽ ἑκάστην 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 ζῴου νοεροῦ καὶ κοινωνικοῦ καὶ ἰσονόμου θεῷ;

γ′. 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 ταὐτά, ἐκεῖ δὲ ὅσων πρόνοια καὶ δουλεία πόσων.

δ′. Ὅτι οὐδὲν ἧττον τὰ αὐτὰ ποιήσουσι, κἂν σὺ διαρραγῇς.

ε′. Τὸ πρῶτον μὴ ταράσσου· πάντα γὰρ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ὅλου φύσιν καὶ ὀλίγου χρόνου οὐδεὶς οὐδαμοῦ ἔσῃ, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ Ἁδριανὸς οὐδὲ Αὔγουστος. ἔπειτα ἀτενίσας εἰς τὸ πρᾶγμα ἴδε αὐτὸ καὶ συμμνημονεύσας ὅτι ἀγαθόν σε ἄνθρωπον εἶναι δεῖ καὶ τί τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἡ φύσις ἀπαιτεῖ, πρᾶξον τοῦτο ἀμεταστρεπτὶ καὶ εἰπέ, ὡς δικαιότατον φαίνεταί σοι· μόνον εὐμενῶς καὶ αἰδημόνως καὶ ἀνυποκρίτως.

ς′. Ἡ τῶν ὅλων φύσις τοῦτο ἔργον ἔχει, τὰ ὧδε ὄντα ἐκεῖ μετατιθέναι, μεταβάλλειν, αἴρειν ἔνθεν καὶ ἐκεῖ φέρειν. πάντα τροπαί, οὐχ ὥστε φοβηθῆναι, μή τι καινόν· πάντα συνήθη· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἴσαι αἱ ἀπονεμήσεις.

ζ′. Ἀρκεῖται πᾶσα φύσις ἑαυτῇ εὐοδούσῃ, φύσις δὲ λογικὴ εὐοδεῖ ἐν μὲν φαντασίαις μήτε ψευδεῖ μήτε ἀδήλῳ συγκατατιθεμένη, τὰς ὁρμὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ κοινωνικὰ ἔργα μόνα ἀπευθύνουσα, τὰς ὀρέξεις δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐκκλίσεις τῶν ἐφ᾽ ἡμῖν μόνων πεποιημένη, τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως ἀπονε-

self-controlled, courageous, free; and nothing bad which does not make him the opposite of what has been said.

2. At each action question yourself: how does this stand with me? Shall I regret it? A little while and I am dead, and all things are out of the way. What more do I seek, if the present work is that of an intelligent and social living being, under the same law as God?[225]

3. And Alexander and Gaius and Pompey, what are they beside Diogenes and Heraclitus and Socrates? For these saw things, and their causes and their materials, and their ruling centres were the same; but there, forethought for how many things, and slavery to how many![226]

4. That they will do the same things none the less, even if you burst.

5. First, do not be troubled; for all things are according to the nature of the whole, and in a little time you will be no one and nowhere, as Hadrian is not, nor Augustus. Then, fixing your gaze on the thing, look at it, and, remembering at the same time that you must be a good man and what the nature of man demands, do it without turning back, and speak as seems to you most just; only kindly and with self-respect and without pretence.

6. The nature of the whole has this work: to shift the things here to there, to change them, to take them up from here and carry them there. All things are turnings; not so that one need fear something new: all things are usual; but the allotments, too, are equal.

7. Every nature is content with itself when it journeys well; and a rational nature journeys well when, in impressions, it assents to nothing false or unclear, directs its impulses to social works alone, has made its desires and avoidances of the things in our power only,[227] and what by the common nature is allot-

[225] "Seek" is ἐπιζητῶ, Xylander's correction in his Basel edition of 1568; L reports ἐπιζηλῶ, "covet", in P.

[226] Gaius is Julius Caesar; Diogenes is the Cynic. "Their ruling centres were the same" is what L prints; the sense is uncertain, and Schultz proposed "such", Hoffmann "unconquered". For "forethought" (*πρόνοια*) Casaubon proposed "derangement" (L's apparatus).

[227] Epictetus' three fields of training (*Discourses* 3.2.1–2), here in reverse order: assent, impulse, desire and avoidance.

μόμενον πᾶν ἀσπαζομένη· μέρος γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐστιν ὡς 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 ἴσους καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν τοὺς μερισμοὺς χρόνων, οὐσίας, αἰτίου, ἐνεργείας, συμβάσεως ἑκάστοις ποιεῖται. σκόπει δέ, μὴ εἰ τὸ ⟨ἓν⟩ πρὸς τὸ ἓν ἴσον εὑρήσεις ἐπὶ παντός, ἀλλὰ εἰ συλλήβδην τὰ πάντα τοῦδε πρὸς ἀθρόα τὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου.

η′. 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.

θ′. Μηκέτι σου μηδεὶς ἀκούσῃ καταμεμφομένου τὸν ἐν αὐλῇ βίον μηδὲ σὺ σεαυτοῦ.

ι′. Ἡ μετάνοιά ἐστιν ἐπίληψίς τις ἑαυτοῦ ὡς χρήσιμόν τι παρεικότος· τὸ δὲ χρήσιμον ἀγαθόν τι δεῖ εἶναι καὶ ἐπιμελητέον αὐτοῦ τῷ καλῷ καὶ ἀγαθῷ ἀνδρί· οὐδεὶς δ' ἂν καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ μετανοήσειεν ἐπὶ τῷ ἡδονήν τινα παρεικέναι· οὔτε ἄρα χρήσιμον οὔτε ἀγαθὸν ἡδονή.

ια′. Τοῦτο τί ἐστιν αὐτὸ καθ' αὑτὸ τῇ ἰδίᾳ κατασκευῇ, τί μὲν τὸ οὐσιῶδες αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑλικόν, τί δὲ τὸ αἰτιῶδες, τί δὲ ποιεῖ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, πόσον δὲ χρόνον ὑφίσταται;

ιβ′. Ὅταν ἐξ ὕπνου δυσχερῶς ἐγείρῃ, ἀναμιμνήσκου ὅτι κατὰ τὴν κατασκευήν σου ἐστὶ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπικὴν φύσιν τὸ πράξεις κοινωνικὰς ἀποδιδόναι, τὸ δὲ καθεύδειν

ted it welcomes, all of it; for it is a part of it, as the nature of the leaf is of the nature of the plant; except that there the nature of the leaf is part of a nature both insensible and irrational and able to be impeded, while the nature of man is part of a nature unimpeded, intelligent and just, if indeed it makes the portions of times, substance, cause, activity and conjuncture equal and according to worth for each. But look not at whether you will find the ⟨one⟩ equal to the one in every case, but at whether, taken together, all that belongs to this one is equal to all that belongs to the other gathered together.[228]

8. It is not open to read. But it is open to check outrage; but it is open to get the better of pleasures and pains; but it is open to be above the little fame; but it is open not to rage at the insensible and the ungrateful; besides, to care for them.[229]

9. Let no one hear you any longer blaming life at court, nor you yourself.

10. Regret is a kind of reproach of oneself for having let something useful pass; and the useful must be something good,[230] and the honourable and good man is to take care of it; but no honourable and good man would regret having let some pleasure pass; so pleasure is neither useful nor good.

11. This thing: what is it in itself, by its own constitution? What is its substantial and material part, what its causal part, what does it do in the universe, how long a time does it subsist?

12. When you are roused from sleep with reluctance, remind yourself that it accords with your constitution and with human nature to render social actions, but sleeping

[228] ⟨One⟩ is Casaubon's supplement (L's apparatus).

[229] Compare 2.2 and 2.3 on letting the books go. For "read" Nauck proposed "come back to life" (7.2), Rendall "know all things" (L's apparatus).

[230] "The useful must be something good" follows Reiske's order; L reports "the good must be something useful" in the manuscripts.

κοινὸν καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ζῴων· ὃ δὲ κατὰ φύσιν ἑκάστῳ, τοῦτο οἰκειότερον καὶ προσφυέστερον καὶ δὴ καὶ προσηνέστερον.

ιγ′. Διηνεκῶς καὶ ἐπὶ πάσης, εἰ οἷόν τε, φαντασίας φυσιολογεῖν, παθολογεῖν, διαλεκτικεύεσθαι.

ιδ′. Ὧι ἂν ἐντυγχάνῃς, εὐθὺς σαυτῷ πρόλεγε· οὗτος τίνα δόγματα ἔχει περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν; εἰ γὰρ περὶ ἡδονῆς καὶ πόνου καὶ τῶν ποιητικῶν ἑκατέρου καὶ περὶ δόξης, ἀδοξίας, θανάτου, ζωῆς, τοιάδε τινὰ δόγματα ἔχει, οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν ἢ ξένον μοι δόξει, ἐὰν τάδε τινὰ ποιῇ, καὶ μεμνήσομαι ὅτι ἀναγκάζεται οὕτως ποιεῖν.

ιε′. Μέμνησο ὅτι, ὥσπερ αἰσχρόν ἐστι ξενίζεσθαι, εἰ ἡ συκῆ σῦκα φέρει, οὕτως, εἰ ὁ κόσμος τάδε τινὰ φέρει ὧν ἐστι φορός· καὶ ἰατρῷ δὲ καὶ κυβερνήτῃ αἰσχρὸν ξενίζεσθαι, εἰ πεπύρεχεν οὗτος ἢ εἰ ἀντίπνοια γέγονεν.

ις′. Μέμνησο ὅτι καὶ τὸ μετατίθεσθαι καὶ ἔπεσθαι τῷ διορθοῦντι ὁμοίως ἐλεύθερόν ἐστι· σὴ γὰρ ἐνέργεια κατὰ τὴν σὴν ὁρμὴν καὶ κρίσιν καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ νοῦν τὸν σὸν περαινομένη.

ιζ′. Εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ σοί, τί αὐτὸ ποιεῖς; εἰ δὲ ἐπ᾽ ἄλλῳ, 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.

ιη′. Ἔξω τοῦ κόσμου τὸ ἀποθανὸν οὐ πίπτει. [εἰ] ὧδε μένει καὶ μεταβάλλει ὧδε καὶ διαλύεται εἰς τὰ ἴδια, ἃ στοιχεῖά ἐστι τοῦ κόσμου καὶ σά. καὶ αὐτὰ δὲ μεταβάλλει καὶ οὐ γογγύζει.

is common to irrational living beings too; and what is according to nature for each is more proper to it, more native to it, and indeed more agreeable.

13. Perpetually, and on every impression if it can be done, study nature, study the passions, practise dialectic.[231]

14. Whoever you meet, say to yourself at once in advance: what principles does this man have about good things and bad? For if he has such and such principles about pleasure and pain and what produces each, and about fame, obscurity, death, life, it will not seem astonishing or strange to me if he does such and such things; and I shall remember that he is compelled to act so.

15. Remember that, as it is shameful to think it strange if the fig tree bears figs, so it is if the universe bears such and such things as it is fruitful of; and for a doctor too, and a helmsman, it is shameful to think it strange if this man has a fever or if a contrary wind has arisen.

16. Remember that both to shift position and to follow the one who sets right are likewise free; for it is your activity, brought to its end according to your impulse and judgement, and indeed according to your mind.

17. If it is in your power, why do you do it? If in another's, whom do you blame? The atoms or the gods? Both are madness.

One must blame no one. For if you can, set right; if you cannot do this, set right the thing itself at least; and if not even this, what does blaming still contribute for you? For one must do nothing at random.

18. What has died does not fall out of the universe. [If] it stays here, and changes here, and is dissolved into its own, which are elements of the universe and yours. And they too change, and do not grumble.[232]

[231] Probably the three parts of Stoic philosophy, physics, ethics and logic.
[232] L brackets εἰ, "if", after Jackson (L's apparatus).

ιθ′. Ἕκαστον πρός τι γέγονεν, ἵππος, ἄμπελος. τί θαυμάζεις; καὶ ὁ Ἥλιος ἐρεῖ· πρός τι ἔργον γέγονα, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ θεοί. σὺ οὖν πρὸς τί; τὸ ἥδεσθαι; ἴδε εἰ ἀνέχεται ἡ ἔννοια.

κ′. Ἡ φύσις ἐστόχασται ἑκάστου οὐδέν τι ἔλασσον τῆς ἀπολήξεως ἢ τῆς ἀρχῆς τε καὶ διεξαγωγῆς, ὡς ὁ ἀναβάλλων τὴν σφαῖραν· 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.

κα′. Ἔκστρεψον 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 ἑαυτῷ· καὶ ὅλη δὲ ἡ γῆ στιγμή.

κβ′. Πρόσεχε τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ ἢ τῷ δόγματι ἢ τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ ἢ τῷ σημαινομένῳ.

Δικαίως ταῦτα πάσχεις· μᾶλλον δὲ θέλεις ἀγαθὸς αὔριον γενέσθαι ἢ σήμερον εἶναι.

κγ′. Πράσσω τι; πράσσω ἐπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων εὐποιίαν ἀναφέρων. συμβαίνει τί μοι; δέχομαι ἐπὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀναφέρων καὶ τὴν πάντων πηγήν, ἀφ᾽ ἧς πάντα τὰ γινόμενα συμμηρύεται.

κδ′. Ὁποῖόν σοι φαίνεται τὸ λούεσθαι· ἔλαιον, ἱδρώς, ῥύπος, ὕδωρ γλοιῶδες, πάντα σικχαντά· τοιοῦτον πᾶν μέρος τοῦ βίου καὶ πᾶν ὑποκείμενον.

κε′. Λούκιλλα Οὐῆρον, εἶτα Λούκιλλα· Σέκουνδα Μά-

19. Each thing has come to be for something, a horse, a vine. Why are you astonished? The Sun too will say, "I have come to be for some work", and so will the other gods. You, then: for what? To feel pleasure? See whether the conception puts up with it.

20. Nature has aimed at the cessation of each thing no less than at its beginning and its continuance, like the man who throws up the ball. What good, then, is it to the little ball to be carried up, or bad to be carried down, or even to have fallen? And what good is it to the bubble to hold together, or bad to be dissolved? And the like with a lamp too.

21. Turn it inside out and look at what sort of thing it is; and what sort it becomes when it has grown old, when it has been ill, when it has whored.[233]

Short-lived are both the one who praises and the one praised, and the one who remembers and the one remembered. And besides, in a corner of this region; and not even there do all agree, nor even anyone with himself; and the whole earth is a point.

22. Pay heed to the underlying thing, or the principle, or the activity, or what is meant.

You suffer this justly; and you want to become good tomorrow rather than to be good today.

23. Am I doing something? I do it, referring it to the doing of good to men. Does something happen to me? I receive it, referring it to the gods and to the spring of all things, from which all that comes about is wound off together.

24. As bathing appears to you, oil, sweat, filth, slimy water, all disgusting: such is every part of life and every underlying thing.

25. Lucilla Verus, then Lucilla;[234] Secunda Max-

[233] So L prints; Gataker proposed "breathed its last", Rendall "festered", and L himself "festered through" (L's apparatus).

[234] In each pair the Greek puts the survivor in the nominative and the one who died first, probably the one buried, in the accusative; the English names the survivor first throughout (the Greek has "Faustina Antoninus"). Lucilla is probably Domitia Lucilla, Marcus' mother (1.3), who outlived her husband, Annius Verus (1.2); Maximus is probably Claudius Maximus (1.15), and Secunda probably his wife.

ξιμον, εἶτα Σέκουνδα· Ἐπιτύγχανος Διότιμον, εἶτα Ἐπιτύγχανος· Φαυστῖναν Ἀντωνῖνος, εἶτα Ἀντωνῖνος. τοιαῦτα πάντα· Κέλερ Ἁδριανόν, εἶτα Κέλερ. οἱ δὲ δριμεῖς ἐκεῖνοι ἢ προγνωστικοὶ ἢ τετυφωμένοι ποῦ; οἷον, δριμεῖς μὲν Χάραξ καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Πλατωνικὸς καὶ Εὐδαίμων καὶ εἴ τις τοιοῦτος. πάντα ἐφήμερα, τεθνηκότα πάλαι· ἔνιοι μὲν οὐδὲ ἐπ᾽ ὀλίγον μνημονευθέντες, οἱ δὲ εἰς μύθους μεταβαλόντες, οἱ δὲ ἤδη καὶ ἐκ μύθων ἐξίτηλοι. τούτων οὖν μεμνῆσθαι ὅτι δεήσει ἤτοι σκεδασθῆναι τὸ συγκριμάτιόν σου ἢ σβεσθῆναι τὸ πνευμάτιον ἢ μεταστῆναι καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ καταταχθῆναι.

κς′. Εὐφροσύνη ἀνθρώπου ποιεῖν τὰ ἴδια ἀνθρώπου, ἴδιον δὲ ἀνθρώπου εὔνοια πρὸς τὸ ὁμόφυλον, ὑπερόρασις τῶν αἰσθητικῶν κινήσεων, διάκρισις τῶν πιθανῶν φαντασιῶν, ἐπιθεώρησις τῆς τῶν ὅλων φύσεως καὶ τῶν κατ᾽ αὐτὴν γινομένων.

κζ′. Τρεῖς σχέσεις· ἡ μὲν πρὸς τὸ ἀγγεῖον τὸ περικείμενον, ἡ δὲ πρὸς τὴν θείαν αἰτίαν, ἀφ᾽ ἧς συμβαίνει πᾶσι πάντα, ἡ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς συμβιοῦντας.

κη′. Ὁ πόνος ἤτοι τῷ σώματι κακόν· οὐκοῦν ἀποφαινέσθω· ἢ τῇ ψυχῇ· ἀλλ᾽ ἔξεστιν αὐτῇ τὴν ἰδίαν αἰθρίαν καὶ γαλήνην διαφυλάσσειν καὶ μὴ ὑπολαμβάνειν ὅτι κακόν. πᾶσα γὰρ κρίσις καὶ ὁρμὴ καὶ ὄρεξις καὶ ἔκκλισις ἔνδον καὶ οὐδὲν ὧδε ἀναβαίνει.

κθ′. Ἐξάλειφε τὰς φαντασίας συνεχῶς σεαυτῷ λέγων· νῦν ἐπ᾽ ἐμοί ἐστιν ἵνα ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ψυχῇ μηδεμία πονηρία ᾖ μηδὲ ἐπιθυμία μηδὲ ὅλως ταραχή τις, ἀλλὰ βλέπων πάντα ὁποῖά ἐστι χρῶμαι ἑκάστῳ κατ᾽ ἀξίαν. μέμνησο ταύτης τῆς ἐξουσίας κατὰ φύσιν.

imus, then Secunda; Epitynchanus Diotimus, then Epitynchanus; Antoninus Faustina, then Antoninus. Such is everything. Celer Hadrian, then Celer. And those sharp men, either foreseers or puffed up with vanity, where are they? For example, sharp men: Charax and Demetrius the Platonist and Eudaemon and anyone else of the kind. All of a day, long dead; some not remembered even for a little, others turned into legends, and others already vanished even from legends.[235] Remember, then, these things: that it will be necessary either for your little compound to be scattered, or for the little breath to be quenched, or to be removed and posted elsewhere.

26. The gladness of a man is to do what is peculiar to a man; and peculiar to a man is goodwill towards the kindred stock, disregard of the motions of sense, discernment of convincing impressions, observation of the nature of the whole and of what comes about according to it.

27. Three relations: one to the surrounding vessel; one to the divine cause, from which all things happen to all; one to those who live alongside us.[236]

28. Pain is bad either for the body (then let it declare itself) or for the soul; but it is open to the soul to guard its own clear sky and calm, and not to form the opinion that it is bad. For every judgement and impulse and desire and avoidance is within, and nothing climbs up so far.

29. Wipe out the impressions, saying continually to yourself: Now it is in my power that there be in this soul no wickedness, no craving, no trouble of any kind at all; but, seeing all things as they are, I use each according to worth. Remember this authority, which is according to nature.

[235] Faustina, Antoninus' wife, died in 140/1, twenty years before him. Celer is probably Caninius Celer, Marcus' teacher of Greek rhetoric; Diotimus was probably a companion of Hadrian (8.37); Epitynchanus is not known. Charax is perhaps the historian Claudius Charax of Pergamum; L compares a scholium on Lucian, *On the Dance* 63, probably for Demetrius.

[236] "Vessel", the body, is Valckenaer's *ἀγγεῖον*; L reports *αἴτιον*, "cause", in the manuscripts.

λ′. Λαλεῖν καὶ ἐν συγκλήτῳ καὶ πρὸς πάνθ᾽ ὁντινοῦν κοσμίως, μὴ περιτράνως· ὑγιεῖ λόγῳ χρῆσθαι.

λα′. Αὐλὴ Αὐγούστου, γυνή, θυγάτηρ, ἔγγονοι, πρόγονοι, ἀδελφή, Ἀγρίππας, συγγενεῖς, οἰκεῖοι, φίλοι, Ἄρειος, Μαικήνας, ἰατροί, θύται· ὅλης αὐλῆς θάνατος. εἶτα ἔπιθι τὰς ἄλλας . . . μὴ καθ᾽ ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου θάνατον, οἷον Πομπηίων. κἀκεῖνο δὲ τὸ ἐπιγραφόμενον τοῖς μνήμασιν· ἔσχατος τοῦ ἰδίου γένους, ἐπιλογίζεσθαι πόσα ἐσπάσθησαν οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν, ἵνα διάδοχόν τινα καταλίπωσιν, εἶτα ἀνάγκη ἔσχατόν τινα γενέσθαι· πάλιν ὧδε ὅλου γένους θάνατον.

λβ′. Συντιθέναι δεῖ τὸν βίον κατὰ μίαν πρᾶξιν καὶ εἰ ἑκάστη τὸ ἑαυτῆς παρέχει ὡς οἷόν τε, ἀρκεῖσθαι· ἵνα δὲ τὸ ἑαυτῆς παρέχῃ, οὐδὲ εἷς σε κωλῦσαι δύναται.—ἀλλ᾽ ἐνστήσεταί τι ἔξωθεν.—οὐδὲν εἴς γε τὸ δικαίως καὶ σωφρόνως καὶ εὐλογίστως, ἄλλο δέ τι ἴσως 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 ἧς ὁ λόγος.

λγ′. Ἀτύφως μὲν λαβεῖν, εὐλύτως δὲ ἀφεῖναι.

λδ′. Εἴ ποτε εἶδες χεῖρα ἀποκεκομμένην 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 ἑνώσεως· ἐπεφύκεις γὰρ μέρος· νῦν δὲ σεαυτὸν ἀπέκοψας. ἀλλ᾽ ὧδε κομψὸν ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι ἔξεστί σοι πάλιν ἑνῶσαι σεαυτόν. τοῦτο ἄλλῳ μέρει οὐδενὶ θεὸς

30. Speak, both in the senate and to anyone whatever, in good order, not obtrusively; use sound speech.

31. The court of Augustus: wife, daughter, grandchildren, ancestors, sister, Agrippa, kinsmen, intimates, friends, Arius, Maecenas, doctors, sacrificers: the death of a whole court. Then go on to the others . . . not the death of a single man, as of the Pompeys.[237] And that, too, which is written on tombs, "last of his own family": reckon up how much those before them were dragged about to leave some successor, and then it is necessary that someone be last; here again, the death of a whole family.

32. One must compose life action by action, and be content if each, so far as possible, provides its own; and that it should provide its own, not one man can prevent you.—But something from outside will stand in the way.—Nothing, at least, against acting justly and with self-control and with sound reckoning;[238] but something else active, perhaps, will be prevented. But by being well pleased with the hindrance itself, and by a fair-minded passing over to what is given, another action at once takes its place, which will fit into the composition in question.

33. Take without vanity; let go as one ready to be released.

34. If you have ever seen a hand cut off, or a foot, or a head severed, lying somewhere apart from the rest of the body: such does he make himself, so far as in him lies, who does not want what happens and splits himself off, or who does something unsocial. You have been thrown off, somewhere, from the unity according to nature; for you grew as a part; and now you have cut yourself off. But here is the fine thing: that it is open to you to unite yourself again. This to no other part has God[239]

[237] Augustus' wife Livia, his daughter Julia, his sister Octavia; Agrippa, his son-in-law; Arius, usually identified as Arius Didymus, his philosopher; Maecenas, his friend. L marks a gap after "the others": Reiske supplied "burials", Kronenberg "destructions", and Coraes "but of a whole family" after "death" (L's apparatus). The Pompeys are probably Pompey and his sons.

[238] "Acting" is supplied, as Morus proposed ⟨πράττειν⟩; L's text has the adverbs alone (L's apparatus).

[239] Compare 4.29, "a piece split off from the city".

ἐπέτρεψεν, χωρισθέντι καὶ διακοπέντι πάλιν συνελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ σκέψαι τὴν χρηστότητα ᾗ 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.

λε′. Ὥσπερ τὰς ἄλλας δυνάμεις ἑκάστῳ τῶν λογικῶν σχεδὸν ὅσον ἡ τῶν λογικῶν φύσις, οὕτως καὶ ταύτην παρ' αὐτῆς εἰλήφαμεν. ὃν τρόπον γὰρ ἐκείνη πᾶν τὸ ἐνιστάμενον καὶ ἀντιβαῖνον ἐπιπεριτρέπει καὶ κατατάσσει εἰς τὴν εἱμαρμένην καὶ μέρος ἑαυτῆς ποιεῖ, οὕτως καὶ τὸ λογικὸν ζῷον δύναται πᾶν κώλυμα ὕλην ἑαυτοῦ ποιεῖν καὶ χρῆσθαι αὐτῷ, ἐφ' οἷον ἂν καὶ ὥρμησεν.

λς′. Μή σε συγχείτω ἡ τοῦ ὅλου βίου φαντασία, μὴ συμπερινόει ἐπίπονα οἷα καὶ ὅσα πιθανὸν ἐπιγεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν παρόντων ἐπερώτα σεαυτόν· τί τοῦ ἔργου τὸ ἀφόρητον καὶ ἀνύποιστον; αἰσχυνθήσῃ γὰρ ὁμολογῆσαι. ἔπειτα ἀναμίμνῃσκε σεαυτὸν ὅτι οὔτε τὸ μέλλον οὔτε τὸ παρῳχηκὸς βαρεῖ σε, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ τὸ παρόν, τοῦτο δὲ κατασμικρύνεται, ἐὰν αὐτὸ μόνον περιορίσῃς καὶ ἀπελέγχῃς τὴν διάνοιαν, εἰ πρὸς τοῦτο ψιλὸν ἀντέχειν μὴ δύναται.

λζ′. Μήτι νῦν παρακάθηται τῇ Οὐήρου σορῷ Πάνθεια ἢ Πέργαμος; τί δέ, τῇ Ἁδριανοῦ Χαβρίας ἢ Διότιμος; γελοῖον. τί δέ, εἰ παρεκάθηντο, ἔμελλον αἰσθάνεσθαι; τί δέ, εἰ ᾐσθάνοντο, ἔμελλον ἡσθήσεσθαι; τί δέ, εἰ ἥδοντο, ἔμελλον οὗτοι ἀθάνατοι εἶναι; οὐχὶ καὶ τούτους πρῶτον

granted, once separated and cut apart, to come together again. But look at the kindness with which he has honoured man: for he has made it in his power not to be broken off from the whole in the first place, and, once broken off, to come back and grow together and take up again the post of a part.

35. As the nature of rational beings has given each of the rational beings, more or less, the other faculties, so we have received this one too from it. For in the way that that nature reverses everything that stands in the way and opposes, and sets it in its place in fate, and makes it a part of itself, so the rational living being too can make every hindrance material for itself, and use it for whatever it had its impulse towards.[240]

36. Do not let the impression of life as a whole confound you; do not take in together, in thought, what painful things and how many are likely to have followed; but at each of the present ones question yourself: what is there in the work that is unbearable and insupportable? For you will be ashamed to admit it. Then remind yourself that neither the future nor the past weighs on you, but always the present; and this is made small if you mark its bounds alone and convict the understanding, if it cannot hold out against this, bare as it is.

37. Surely Panthea or Pergamus does not now sit beside the tomb of Verus? What, Chabrias or Diotimus beside Hadrian's? Laughable. And if they were sitting there, would they perceive it? And if they perceived, would they feel pleasure? And if they felt pleasure, would these be immortal? Was it not for these too first[241]

[240] The first clause has no verb in L's text; the English supplies "has given", which "received from it" implies. Schultz proposed ἔδωκεν, "gave", Casaubon ἐσκέδασεν, "distributed"; L reports ἕκαστος in P (L's apparatus).

[241] "Verus" is Nauck's Οὐήρου, for τοῦ κυρίου, "the master's", which L reports in P: Lucius Verus, Marcus' fellow emperor, who died in 169. Panthea was his mistress, praised in Lucian's *Portraits*; a scholium on Lucian's *Defence of the Portraits* 1, by Arethas, says that Marcus mentions her in this book (L's testimonia). Pergamus is not known; Chabrias and Diotimus were probably companions of Hadrian.

μὲν γραίας καὶ γέροντας γενέσθαι οὕτως εἵμαρτο, εἶτα ἀποθανεῖν; τί οὖν ὕστερον ἔμελλον ἐκεῖνοι ποιεῖν τούτων ἀποθανόντων; γράσος πᾶν τοῦτο καὶ λύθρος ἐν θυλάκῳ.

λη′. Εἰ δύνασαι ὀξὺ βλέπειν, βλέπε κρίνων, φησί, σοφωτάτοις.

λθ′. Δικαιοσύνης κατεξαναστατικὴν ἀρετὴν οὐχ ὁρῶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ λογικοῦ ζῴου κατασκευῇ, ἡδονῆς δὲ ὁρῶ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν.

μ′. Ἐὰν ἀφέλῃς τὴν σὴν ὑπόληψιν περὶ τοῦ λυπεῖν σε δοκοῦντος, αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεστάτῳ ἕστηκας.—τίς αὐτός;—ὁ λόγος.—ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ εἰμὶ λόγος.—ἔστω. οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν λόγος αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν μὴ λυπείτω, εἰ δέ τι ἄλλο σοι κακῶς ἔχει, ὑπολαβέτω αὐτὸ περὶ αὑτοῦ.

μα′. Ἐμποδισμὸς αἰσθήσεως κακὸν ζωτικῆς φύσεως. ἐμποδισμὸς ὁρμῆς 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 ἅπτεταί σου; ὄψεται ἡ αἴσθησις. ὁρμήσαντι ἔνστημα ἐγένετο; εἰ μὲν ἀνυπεξαιρέτως ὥρμας, ἤδη ὡς λογικοῦ κακόν, εἰ δὲ τὸ κοινὸν λαμβάνεις, οὔπω 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 ‘σφαῖρος κυκλοτερὴς μονίῃ’.

μβ′. Οὐκ εἰμὶ ἄξιος ἐμαυτὸν λυπεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλον πώποτε ἑκὼν ἐλύπησα.

to become old women and old men, so it was fated, then to die? What, then, would those have done afterwards, when these were dead? All this is stink and gore in a bag.[242]

38. If you can see sharply, look, judging, he says, by the wisest.[243]

39. A virtue that rises in revolt against justice I do not see in the constitution of the rational living being; but against pleasure I see continence.

40. If you take away your opinion about what seems to distress you, you yourself stand in complete safety.—Who is "yourself"?—Reason.—But I am not reason.—So be it. Then let reason not distress itself; and if something else in you is in a bad way, let it form its own opinion about itself.

41. Impediment to sensation is bad for the vital nature; impediment to impulse is likewise bad for the vital nature. And there is likewise something else that impedes and is bad for the constitution of plants. So, then, impediment to mind is bad for the intelligent nature. Now transfer all these to yourself. Do pain, pleasure touch you? Sensation will see to it. Did an obstacle arise when you had an impulse? If you had your impulse without reservation, already it is bad, as for a rational being; but if you take what is common, you are not yet harmed nor impeded. But the things peculiar to the mind no one else is accustomed to impede; for fire does not touch it, nor iron, nor a tyrant, nor slander, nor anything at all, when it has become "a sphere, round, in its solitude".[244]

42. I am not worthy to distress myself; for I have never willingly distressed even another.

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[242] "Stink" is Gataker's *γράσος*, the goatish smell (compare 5.28), and "gore" Coraes' *λύθρος* (L's apparatus).

[243] L's text does not construe at the last word (*σοφωτάτοις*, a dative plural), and he names no source for the saying. Salmasius proposed *Κρίτων … σοφώτατος*, "look, Crito, says the wisest"; Reiske "with wisest wits" (L's apparatus).

[244] Empedocles fr. 27–28 Diels (L's testimonia), of the Sphere in which all things are held fast in Harmony: "a sphere, round, rejoicing in its circling solitude". "Solitude" is Rendall's *μονίῃ*; L reports *μένει*, "remains", in the manuscripts.

μγ′. Εὐφραίνει ἄλλον ἄλλο, ἐμὲ δέ, ἐὰν ὑγιὲς ἔχω τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, μὴ ἀποστρεφόμενον μήτε ἄνθρωπόν τινα μήτε ⟨τι⟩ τῶν ἀνθρώποις συμβαινόντων, ἀλλὰ πᾶν εὐμενέσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρῶν τε καὶ δεχόμενον καὶ χρώμενον ἑκάστῳ κατ᾽ ἀξίαν.

μδ′. Τοῦτον ἰδοὺ τὸν χρόνον σεαυτῷ χάρισαι. οἱ τὴν ὑστεροφημίαν μᾶλλον διώκοντες οὐ λογίζονται ὅτι ἄλλοι τοιοῦτοι μέλλουσιν ἐκεῖνοι εἶναι, οἷοί εἰσιν οὗτοι οὓς βαροῦνται· κἀκεῖνοι δὲ θνητοί. τί δὲ ὅλως πρὸς σέ, ἂν ἐκεῖνοι φωναῖς τοιαύταις ἀπηχῶσιν ἢ ὑπόληψιν τοιαύτην περὶ σοῦ ἔχωσιν;

με′. Ἆρόν με καὶ βάλε, ὅπου θέλεις. κἀκεῖ γὰρ ἕξω τὸν ἐμὸν δαίμονα ἵλεων, τουτέστιν, ἀρκούμενον, εἰ ἔχοι καὶ ἐνεργοίη κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς τῇ ἰδίᾳ κατασκευῇ.

Ἆρα τοῦτο ἄξιον, ἵνα δι᾽ αὐτὸ κακῶς μοι ἔχῃ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ χείρων ἑαυτῆς ᾖ, ταπεινουμένη, ὀρεγομένη, συνδυομένη, πτυρομένη; καὶ τί εὑρήσεις τούτου ἄξιον;

μς′. 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 ἑκάστῳ συμβαίνει ὃ καὶ εἴωθε καὶ πέφυκε, τί ἂν δυσχεραίνοις; οὐ γὰρ ἀφόρητόν σοι ἔφερεν ἡ κοινὴ φύσις.

μζ′. Εἰ μὲν διά τι τῶν ἐκτὸς λυπῇ, οὐκ ἐκεῖνό σοι ἐνοχλεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὸ σὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ κρῖμα, τοῦτο δὲ ἤδη ἐξαλεῖψαι ἐπὶ σοί ἐστιν. εἰ δὲ λυπεῖ σέ τι τῶν ἐν τῇ σῇ διαθέσει, τίς ὁ κωλύων διορθῶσαι τὸ δόγμα; ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰ λυπῇ ὅτι οὐχὶ τόδε τι ἐνεργεῖς ὑγιές σοι φαινόμενον, τί οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἐνεργεῖς ἢ λυπῇ;—ἀλλὰ ἰσχυρότερόν τι

43. One thing gladdens one man, another another; and me, if I have the ruling centre sound, not turning away from any man nor from ⟨anything⟩ that happens to men, but looking on everything with kindly eyes, and receiving and using each according to worth.[245]

44. Look: make a gift of this time to yourself. Those who rather pursue fame after death do not reckon that those others will be just such as these whom they find burdensome; and they too are mortal. And what is it to you at all if those others echo with such voices, or have such an opinion about you?

45. Take me up and throw me where you want. For there too I shall have my daimon serene, that is, content, if it should fare and act according to what follows from its own constitution.

Is this worth it, that because of it the soul should fare ill with me, and be worse than itself, abased, desiring, shrinking, cowering? And what will you find worth this?

46. Nothing can happen to any man that is not a human occurrence, nor to an ox that is not of an ox's kind, nor to a vine that is not of a vine's kind, nor to a stone that is not peculiar to a stone. If, then, there happens to each what it is used to and is by nature, why would you resent it? For the common nature did not bring you anything unbearable.

47. If you are distressed because of something external, it is not that which vexes you but your own verdict about it; and to wipe this out at once is in your power. And if something in your own disposition distresses you, who prevents you from setting right the principle? And likewise, if you are distressed because you are not doing some particular thing that appears sound to you, why do you not rather do it than be distressed?—But something stronger[246]

[245] ⟨Anything⟩ is the supplement of the Lyon edition of 1626 (L's apparatus).

[246] "Likewise" is L's own correction *ὁμοίως*; L reports *ὅμως*, "nevertheless", in the manuscripts.

ἐνίσταται.—μὴ οὖν λυποῦ· οὐ γὰρ παρὰ σὲ ἡ αἰτία τοῦ μὴ ἐνεργεῖσθαι.—ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἄξιον ζῆν μὴ ἐνεργουμένου τούτου.—ἄπιθι οὖν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν εὐμενής, ᾗ καὶ ὁ ἐνεργῶν ἀποθνήσκει, ἅμα ἵλεως τοῖς ἐνισταμένοις.

μη′. Μέμνησο ὅτι ἀκαταμάχητον γίνεται τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, ὅταν εἰς ἑαυτὸ συστραφὲν ἀρκεσθῇ ἑαυτῷ, μὴ ποιοῦν τι ὃ μὴ θέλει, κἂν ἀλόγως παρατάξηται. τί οὖν, ὅταν καὶ μετὰ λόγου καὶ περιεσκεμμένως κρίνῃ περί τινος; διὰ τοῦτο ἀκρόπολίς ἐστιν ἡ ἐλευθέρα παθῶν διάνοια· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὀχυρώτερον ἔχει ἄνθρωπος, ἐφ᾽ ὃ καταφυγὼν ἀνάλωτος λοιπὸν ἂν εἴη. ὁ μὲν οὖν μὴ ἑωρακὼς τοῦτο ἀμαθής, ὁ δὲ ἑωρακὼς καὶ μὴ καταφεύγων ἀτυχής.

μθ′. Μηδὲν πλέον σαυτῷ λέγε ὧν αἱ προηγούμεναι φαντασίαι ἀναγγέλλουσιν. ἤγγελται ὅτι ὁ δεῖνά σε κακῶς λέγει. ἤγγελται τοῦτο· τὸ δέ, ὅτι βέβλαψαι, οὐκ ἤγγελται. 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 ὡς γνωρίζων ἕκαστα τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ συμβαινόντων.

ν′. Σίκυος πικρός; ἄφες. βάτοι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ; ἔκκλινον. ἀρκεῖ, μὴ προσεπείπῃς· τί δὲ καὶ ἐγένετο ταῦτα ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ; ἐπεὶ καταγελασθήσῃ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου φυσιολόγου, ὡς ἂν καὶ ὑπὸ τέκτονος καὶ σκυτέως γελασθείης καταγινώσκων ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἐργαστηρίῳ ξέσματα καὶ περιτμήματα τῶν κατασκευαζομένων ὁρᾷς. καίτοι ἐκεῖνοί γε ἔχουσι ποῦ αὐτὰ ῥίψωσιν, ἡ δὲ τῶν ὅλων φύσις ἔξω οὐδὲν ἔχει, ἀλλὰ τὸ θαυμαστὸν τῆς τέχνης ταύτης ἐστὶν ὅτι περιορίσασα ἑαυτὴν πᾶν τὸ ἔνδον διαφθείρεσθαι καὶ γηράσκειν

stands in the way.—Then do not be distressed; for the cause of its not being done does not lie with you.—But it is not worth living if this is not done.—Then depart, kindly, from living, in the way that the doer dies too, and serene, at the same time, towards what stands in the way.[247]

48. Remember that the ruling centre becomes unconquerable when, drawn together into itself, it is content with itself, not doing what it does not want, even if it takes its stand without reason. What then, when it judges about something both with reason and after looking all round it? For this reason the understanding free from passions is a citadel; for a man has nothing more secure, to which he could flee and be impregnable thereafter. He, then, who has not seen this is ignorant; and he who has seen it and does not flee to it is unlucky.

49. Say nothing more to yourself than what the leading impressions report. It has been reported that so-and-so speaks ill of you. This has been reported; but that you have been harmed has not been reported. I see that the child is ill. I see; but that it is in danger, I do not see. So, then, stay always with the first impressions, and add nothing yourself from within, and nothing happens to you; or rather, add, as one who recognises each of the things that happen in the universe.

50. The cucumber is bitter? Let it go. There are briars in the road? Avoid. That is enough; do not add: "And why did these things come about in the universe at all?" For you will be laughed at by a man who studies nature, as you would be laughed at by a carpenter too, and a shoemaker, if you found fault because you see shavings and parings of the things being made in the workshop. And yet they, at least, have somewhere to throw them; but the nature of the whole has nothing outside; rather, the wonder of its art is that, having marked its own bounds, whatever within it is decaying and growing old

[247] "In the way that" is Gataker's $\hat{\eta}\hat{\eta}$ (L's apparatus).

καὶ ἄχρηστον εἶναι δοκοῦν εἰς ἑαυτὴν 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 ἑαυτῆς καὶ ὕλῃ τῇ ἑαυτῆς καὶ τέχνῃ τῇ ἰδίᾳ.

να′. Μήτε ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἐπισύρειν μήτε ἐν ταῖς ὁμιλίαις 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· κἂν πηλὸν ἐμβάλῃ, κἂν κοπρίαν, τάχιστα διασκεδάσει αὐτὰ καὶ ἐκκλύσει καὶ οὐδαμῶς βαφήσεται. πῶς οὖν πηγὴν ἀέναον ἕξεις καὶ μὴ φρέαρ; ἂν φυλάσσῃς σεαυτὸν πάσης ὥρας εἰς ἐλευθερίαν μετὰ τοῦ εὐμενῶς καὶ ἁπλῶς καὶ αἰδημόνως.

νβ′. Ὁ 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 ἕν τι τούτων ἀπολιπὼν οὐδὲ πρὸς ὅ τι αὐτὸς πέφυκεν εἴποι. τίς οὖν φαίνεταί σοι ὁ τὸν τῶν κροτούντων ἔπαινον φεύγων ἢ διώκων, οἳ οὔθ' ὅπου εἰσὶν οὔτε οἵτινές εἰσι γινώσκουσιν;

and useless, as it seems, it changes into itself, and makes other things, young, from these very ones again, so that it needs neither substance from outside nor requires a place to throw out what is rotting. It is content, then, with its own space and its own material and its own art.

51. Be neither slovenly in actions, nor muddled in conversations, nor wandering in impressions; nor, in short, contracted in soul or leaping out; nor overbusy in life.

They kill, they carve up the flesh, they hound with curses. What, then, is this to the understanding's remaining pure, sane, self-controlled, just? As if someone standing by a clear, sweet spring should slander it, and it does not stop sending up drinking water; and if he throws in mud, or dung, it will very quickly scatter them and wash them out and in no way be dyed. How, then, will you have an ever-flowing spring and not a well? If you guard yourself every hour for freedom, together with kindliness and simplicity and self-respect.[248]

52. He who does not know what the universe is does not know where he is. And he who does not know what he is by nature for does not know who he is, nor what the universe is. And he who has failed in one of these could not even say what he himself is by nature for. What, then, does he seem to you who flees or pursues the praise of the clappers, who know neither where they are nor who they are?[249]

[248] "If you guard" is *ἂν φυλάσσῃς*, which L prints from A and D; he reports *φύου*, "grow", in P, and several conjectures.

[249] "Or pursues" is Casaubon's *ἢ διώκων*; L reports *ἡδίων ἢ* in P (L's apparatus).

νγ′. Ἐπαινεῖσθαι θέλεις ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου τρὶς τῆς ὥρας ἑαυτῷ καταρωμένου; ἀρέσκειν θέλεις ἀνθρώπῳ ὃς οὐκ ἀρέσκει ἑαυτῷ; ἀρέσκει ἑαυτῷ ὁ μετανοῶν ἐφ᾽ ἅπασι σχεδὸν οἷς πράσσει;

νδ′. Μηκέτι μόνον συμπνεῖν τῷ περιέχοντι ἀέρι, ἀλλ᾽ ἤδη καὶ συμφρονεῖν τῷ περιέχοντι πάντα νοερῷ. οὐ γὰρ ἧττον ἡ νοερὰ δύναμις πάντῃ κέχυται καὶ διαπεφοίτηκε τῷ σπάσαι δυναμένῳ ἤπερ ἡ ἀερώδης τῷ ἀναπνεῦσαι δυναμένῳ.

νε′. Γενικῶς μὲν ἡ κακία οὐδὲν βλάπτει τὸν κόσμον, ἡ δὲ κατὰ μέρος οὐδὲν βλάπτει τὸν ἕτερον, μόνῳ δὲ βλαβερά ἐστι τούτῳ ᾧ ἐπιτέτραπται καὶ ἀπηλλάχθαι αὐτῆς, ὁπόταν πρῶτον οὕτως θελήσῃ.

νς′. Τῷ ἐμῷ προαιρετικῷ τὸ τοῦ πλησίον προαιρετικὸν ἐπίσης ἀδιάφορόν ἐστιν, ὡς καὶ τὸ πνευμάτιον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ σαρκίδιον. καὶ γὰρ εἰ ὅτι μάλιστα ἀλλήλων ἕνεκεν γεγόναμεν, ὅμως τὰ ἡγεμονικὰ ἡμῶν ἕκαστον τὴν ἰδίαν κυρίαν ἔχει· ἐπεί τοι ἔμελλεν ἡ τοῦ πλησίον κακία ἐμοῦ κακὸν εἶναι, ὅπερ οὐκ ἔδοξε τῷ θεῷ, ἵνα μὴ ἐπ᾽ ἄλλῳ ᾖ τὸ ἐμὲ ἀτυχεῖν.

νζ′. Ὁ ἥλιος κατακεχύσθαι δοκεῖ καὶ πάντῃ γε κέχυται, οὐ μὴν ἐκκέχυται. ἡ γὰρ χύσις αὕτη τάσις ἐστίν· ἀκτῖνες γοῦν αἱ αὐγαὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκτείνεσθαι λέγονται. ὁποῖον δέ τι ἐστὶν ἀκτίς, ἴδοις ἄν, εἰ διά τινος στενοῦ εἰς ἐσκιασμένον οἶκον τὸ ἀφ᾽ ἡλίου φῶς εἰσδυόμενον θεάσαιο· τείνεται γὰρ κατ᾽ εὐθὺ καὶ ὥσπερ διερείδεται πρὸς τὸ στερέμνιον ὅ τι ἂν ἀπαντήσῃ διεῖργον τὸν ἐπέκεινα ἀέρα, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἔστη καὶ οὐ κατώλισθεν οὐδὲ

53. Do you want to be praised by a man who curses himself three times an hour? Do you want to please a man who does not please himself? Does a man please himself who regrets almost everything he does?

54. No longer only breathe together with the surrounding air, but now think together, too, with the intelligence that surrounds all things. For the intelligent faculty is poured everywhere and has spread through, for him who can draw it in, no less than the airy for him who can breathe it.

55. Vice in general does no harm to the universe; and the particular vice does no harm to another, but is harmful only to the one to whom it has been granted also to be rid of it, as soon as he so wants.

56. To my faculty of choice my neighbour's faculty of choice makes no difference, equally with his little breath and poor flesh. For however much we have come to be for the sake of one another, still our ruling centres each have their own sovereignty; otherwise my neighbour's vice would be bad for me, which God did not decide, so that my being unlucky should not be in another's power.[250]

57. The sun seems to be poured down, and it is indeed poured everywhere, yet not poured out. For this pouring is a stretching; its beams, at any rate, are called rays from their being stretched out. And what sort of thing a ray is you would see, if you were to watch the light of the sun entering a darkened room through some narrow opening; for it stretches in a straight line and, as it were, presses against whatever solid it meets that cuts off the air beyond; and there it stops, and does not slip down nor[251]

[250] "Faculty of choice", *τὸ προαιρετικόν*, is formed from Epictetus' *προαίρεσις*, "choice".

[251] The play is on *ἀκτῖνες*, "rays", and *ἐκτείνεσθαι*, "to be stretched out". "Stretches" is Coraes' *τείνεται* and "presses" Reiske's *διερείδεται* (L's apparatus).

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 ἵστασθαι καὶ ἐπιλάμπειν τὸ δεχόμενον· αὐτὸ γὰρ ἑαυτὸ στερήσει τῆς αὐγῆς τὸ μὴ παραπέμπον αὐτήν.

νη′. Ὁ τὸν θάνατον φοβούμενος ἤτοι ἀναισθησίαν φοβεῖται ἢ αἴσθησιν ἑτεροίαν. ἀλλ᾽ εἴτε οὐκέτι αἴσθησιν, οὐδὲ κακοῦ τινος αἰσθήσῃ· εἴτε ἀλλοιοτέραν αἴσθησιν κτήσῃ, ἀλλοῖον ζῷον ἔσῃ καὶ τοῦ ζῆν οὐ παύσῃ.

νθ′. Οἱ ἄνθρωποι γεγόνασιν ἀλλήλων ἕνεκεν· ἢ δίδασκε οὖν ἢ φέρε.

ξ′. Ἄλλως βέλος, ἄλλως νοῦς φέρεται. ὁ μέντοι νοῦς καὶ ὅταν εὐλαβῆται καὶ ὅταν περὶ τὴν σκέψιν στρέφηται, φέρεται κατ᾽ εὐθὺ οὐδὲν ἧττον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον.

ξα′. Εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ἑκάστου, παρέχειν δὲ καὶ ἑτέρῳ παντὶ εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἡγεμονικόν.

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Θ

α′. Ὁ ἀδικῶν ἀσεβεῖ· τῆς γὰρ τῶν ὅλων φύσεως κατεσκευακυίας τὰ λογικὰ ζῷα ἕνεκεν ἀλλήλων, ὥστε ὠφελεῖν 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
2 καὶ τῶν ἀληθῶν ἁπάντων πρώτη αἰτία ἐστίν. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἑκὼν ψευδόμενος ἀσεβεῖ, καθόσον

fall. Such, then, must be the pouring and diffusion of the understanding, in no way an outpouring but a stretching; and towards the hindrances it meets it must make its pressing neither forced nor dashing, nor indeed fall down, but stand and light up what receives it; for what does not pass the beam on will deprive itself of it.[252]

58. He who fears death fears either absence of sensation or a different sensation. But if no sensation any longer, you will not perceive anything bad either; and if you acquire a sensation of another kind, you will be a living being of another kind, and will not cease from living.

59. Men have come to be for the sake of one another; either teach, then, or tolerate.

60. An arrow is carried one way, the mind another. The mind, however, both when it is cautious and when it turns about in inquiry, is carried straight on no less, and towards what is set before it.

61. Enter into the ruling centre of each; and allow every other, too, to enter into your own ruling centre.[253]

Book IX

1. He who acts unjustly is impious. For since the nature of the whole has made rational living beings for the sake of one another, to benefit one another according to worth and in no way to harm, he who transgresses her will is clearly impious towards the eldest of the gods. And he who lies, too, is impious concerning the same goddess; for the nature of the whole is the nature of the things that are; and the things that are, at least, stand in affinity with all that exist. Further, she is also named Truth, and is the first cause of all things true. So 2
he who lies willingly is impious, in so far as

[252] "Pouring" is *χύσιν*, the reading of one manuscript of the excerpts (Vat. gr. 926, L's V 5); L reports *λύσιν*, "loosening", in P, A and X.

[253] "Allow" is Casaubon's *παρέχειν*; L reports *παρέχει* in the manuscripts.

ἐξαπατῶν ἀδικεῖ· ὁ δὲ ἄκων, καθόσον διαφωνεῖ τῇ τῶν ὅλων φύσει καὶ καθόσον ἀκοσμεῖ μαχόμενος τῇ τοῦ κόσμου φύσει· μάχεται γὰρ ὁ ἐπὶ τἀναντία τοῖς ἀληθέσι φερόμενος παρ' ἑαυτόν· ἀφορμὰς γὰρ προειλήφει παρὰ τῆς φύσεως, ὧν ἀμελήσας οὐχ οἷός 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
3 πόνῳ καὶ τοῖς ποιητικοῖς τούτου περιπίπτειν. ἔτι δὲ ὁ φοβούμενος τοὺς πόνους φοβηθήσεταί ποτε καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων τι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, τοῦτο δὲ ἤδη ἀσεβές· ὅ τε διώκων τὰς ἡδονὰς οὐκ ἀφέξεται τοῦ ἀδικεῖν, τοῦτο δὲ ἐναργῶς ἀσεβές· χρὴ δὲ πρὸς ἃ ἡ κοινὴ φύσις ἐπίσης ἔχει (οὐ γὰρ ἀμφότερα ἂν ἐποίει, εἰ μὴ πρὸς ἀμφότερα ἐπίσης εἶχε), πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς τῇ φύσει βουλομένους ἕπεσθαι, ὁμογνώμονας ὄντας, ἐπίσης διακεῖσθαι· ὅστις οὖν πρὸς πόνον καὶ ἡδονὴν ἢ θάνατον καὶ ζωὴν ἢ δόξαν καὶ ἀδοξίαν, οἷς ἐπίσης ἡ τῶν ὅλων φύσις χρῆται, αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐπί-
4 σης ἔχει, δῆλον ὡς ἀσεβεῖ. λέγω δὲ τὸ χρῆσθαι τούτοις ἐπίσης τὴν κοινὴν φύσιν ἀντὶ τοῦ συμβαίνειν ἐπίσης κατὰ τὸ ἑξῆς 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.

β'. Χαριεστέρου μὲν ἦν ἀνδρός, ἄγευστον ψευδολογίας

by deceiving he acts unjustly; and he who lies unwillingly, in so far as he is in discord with the nature of the whole and in so far as he brings disorder, fighting against the nature of the universe; for he fights who is carried, through his own doing, towards what is contrary to the truth; for he had received resources beforehand from nature, and by neglecting them he is now unable to distinguish what is false from what is true. And indeed he who pursues pleasures as good things and flees pains as bad is impious; for such a man must often blame the common nature as allotting something to the base and to the serious contrary to worth, because the base are often in pleasures and acquire what produces them, while the serious meet with pain and what produces it.[254] Further, he who fears pains will some day fear *3* something too of what will be in the universe; and this is already impious. And he who pursues pleasures will not abstain from acting unjustly; and this is plainly impious. But towards the things to which the common nature stands equally (for it would not make both, if it did not stand equally towards both), those who will to follow nature, being of one mind with it, must also be equally disposed. Whoever, then, does not himself stand equally towards pain and pleasure, or death and life, or fame and obscurity, which the nature of the whole uses equally, is clearly impious. And I say that the common nature *4* uses these equally, in place of saying that they happen equally, in sequence, to the things that come about and follow after, by a certain original impulse of providence, by which, from some beginning, it had its impulse towards this world-order, having gathered together certain reasons of what was to be, and marked off generative powers of such subsistences and changes and successions.[255]

2. It would have been the part of a more gracious man, without a taste of lying

[254] The serious (*σπουδαῖοι*) are, in Stoic terms, the good, set against the base (*φαῦλοι*).

[255] The "reasons" are the seminal reasons of 4.14 and 4.21.1.

καὶ πάσης ὑποκρίσεως καὶ τρυφῆς καὶ τύφου γενόμενον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπελθεῖν. τὸ δ' οὖν κορεσθέντα γε τούτων ἀποπνεῦσαι δεύτερος πλοῦς. ἢ προῄρησαι προσκαθῆσθαι τῇ κακίᾳ καὶ οὔπω 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 ζῴων λοιμός, καθὸ ζῷά ἐστιν, ἐκείνη δὲ ἀνθρώπων, καθὸ ἄνθρωποί εἰσιν.

γ′. Μὴ καταφρόνει θανάτου, ἀλλὰ εὐαρέστει αὐτῷ, ὡς καὶ τούτου ἑνὸς ὄντος ὧν ἡ φύσις ἐθέλει. οἷον 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 ὧραι φέρουσι, τοιοῦτο καὶ τὸ διαλυθῆναι. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν κατὰ ἄνθρωπόν ἐστι λελογισμένον, μὴ ὁλοσχερῶς μηδὲ ὠστικῶς μηδὲ ὑπερηφάνως πρὸς τὸν θάνατον ἔχειν ἀλλὰ περιμένειν ὡς μίαν τῶν φυσικῶν ἐνεργειῶν, καὶ ὡς νῦν περιμένεις πότε ἔμβρυον ἐκ τῆς γαστρὸς τῆς γυναικός σου ἐξέλθῃ, οὕτως ἐκδέχεσθαι τὴν ὥραν ἐν ᾗ τὸ ψυχάριόν σου τοῦ ἐλύτρου τούτου
2 ἐκπεσεῖται. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἰδιωτικὸν παράπηγμα ἀψικάρδιον θέλεις, μάλιστά σε εὔκολον πρὸς τὸν θάνατον ποιήσει ἡ ἐπίστασις ἡ ἐπὶ τὰ ὑποκείμενα, ὧν μέλλεις ἀφίστασθαι, καὶ μεθ' οἵων ἠθῶν οὐκέτι ἔσται ἡ . . . ἐμπεφυρμένη. προσκόπτεσθαι μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἧκιστα δεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ κήδεσθαι καὶ πρᾴως φέρειν, μεμνῆσθαι μέντοι

and of all pretence and luxury and vanity, to depart from among men. But at any rate, having had one's fill of these at least, to breathe one's last is the second voyage.[256] Or have you chosen to sit fast by vice, and does not even experience yet persuade you to flee from the plague? For corruption of the understanding is a plague, far more indeed than any such ill-tempering and turning of this breath that is poured around; for this is a plague of living beings in so far as they are living beings, but that of men in so far as they are men.

3. Do not despise death, but be well pleased with it, as this too is one of the things that nature wants. For such as are being young and growing old, and growing and reaching one's prime, and getting teeth and beard and grey hairs, and begetting and being pregnant and giving birth, and the other natural workings that the seasons of life bring, such too is being dissolved. This, then, is the part of a man who has reasoned: towards death to be neither offhand nor impatient nor haughty, but to wait for it as one of the natural activities; and as you now wait for the time when the infant will come out of your wife's womb, so to await the hour in which your little soul will fall out of this husk. And if you want, as well, an unphilosophical 2
precept that touches the heart, what will make you most at ease towards death is attention to the underlying things from which you are about to stand apart, and to the sort of characters with which the . . . will no longer be befouled.[257] For one must not take offence at them at all, but even care for them and tolerate them mildly; one must, however, remember

[256] "The second voyage", rowing when the wind fails, is proverbial for the next best way (Plato, *Phaedo* 99c).

[257] L marks a gap; Casaubon proposed "soul", Kronenberg "the stay here"; P (p. 106) has no gap. The Suda quotes this chapter for the rare words here rendered "impatient", "precept" and "touches the heart" (L's testimonia).

ὅτι οὐκ ἀπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων ὁμοδογματούντων σοι ἡ ἀπαλλαγὴ ἔσται. τοῦτο γὰρ μόνον, εἴπερ ἄρα, ἀνθεῖλκεν ἂν καὶ κατεῖχεν ἐν τῷ ζῆν, εἰ συζῆν ἐφεῖτο τοῖς τὰ αὐτὰ δόγματα περιπεποιημένοις· νῦν δ᾽ ὁρᾷς ὅσος ὁ κόπος ἐν τῇ διαφωνίᾳ τῆς συμβιώσεως, ὥστε εἰπεῖν· θᾶττον ἔλθοις, ὦ θάνατε, μή που καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιλάθωμαι ἐμαυτοῦ.

δ′. Ὁ ἁμαρτάνων ἑαυτῷ ἁμαρτάνει· ὁ ἀδικῶν ἑαυτὸν ἀδικεῖ, ἑαυτὸν κακὸν ποιῶν.

ε′. Ἀδικεῖ πολλάκις ὁ μὴ ποιῶν τι, οὐ μόνον ὁ ποιῶν τι.

ς′. Ἀρκεῖ ἡ παροῦσα ὑπόληψις καταληπτικὴ καὶ ἡ παροῦσα πρᾶξις κοινωνικὴ καὶ ἡ παροῦσα διάθεσις εὐαρεστικὴ πρὸς πᾶν τὸ παρὰ τῆς ἐκτὸς αἰτίας συμβαῖνον.

ζ′. Ἐξαλεῖψαι φαντασίαν· στῆσαι ὁρμήν· σβέσαι ὄρεξιν· ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῷ ἔχειν τὸ ἡγεμονικόν.

η′. Εἰς μὲν τὰ ἄλογα ζῷα μία ψυχὴ διῄρηται, εἰς δὲ τὰ λογικὰ μία νοερὰ ψυχὴ μεμέρισται, ὥσπερ καὶ μία γῆ ἐστιν ἁπάντων τῶν γεωδῶν καὶ ἑνὶ φωτὶ ὁρῶμεν καὶ ἕνα ἀέρα ἀναπνέομεν, ὅσα ὁρατικὰ καὶ ἔμψυχα.

θ′. Πάντα ὅσα κοινοῦ τινος μετέχει πρὸς τὸ ὁμογενὲς σπεύδει. τὸ γεῶδες πᾶν ῥέπει ἐπὶ γῆν· τὸ ὑγρὸν πᾶν σύρρουν· τὸ ἀερῶδες ὁμοίως, ὥστε χρῄζειν τῶν διειργόντων καὶ βίας· τὸ πῦρ ἀνωφερὲς μὲν διὰ τὸ στοιχειῶδες πῦρ, παντὶ δὲ πυρὶ ἐνταῦθα πρὸς τὸ συνεξάπτεσθαι ἕτοιμον οὕτως, ὥστε καὶ πᾶν τὸ ὑλικὸν τὸ ὀλίγῳ ξηρότερον εὐέξαπτον εἶναι διὰ τὸ ἔλαττον ἐγκεκρᾶσθαι αὐτῷ τὸ κωλυτικὸν πρὸς ἔξαψιν.

that the release will not be from men who share your principles. For this alone, if anything, would pull the other way and hold one in life: if it were allowed to live with those who have acquired the same principles. But as it is, you see how great the weariness is in the discord of living together, so as to say: "May you come quicker, death, lest perhaps I too forget myself."

4. He who does wrong does wrong against himself; he who acts unjustly acts unjustly against himself, making himself bad.[258]

5. He who does not do something often acts unjustly, not only he who does something.

6. Enough: the present opinion, firmly grasping, and the present action, social, and the present disposition, well pleased with everything that happens from the cause outside.[259]

7. Wipe out impression; stop impulse; quench desire; have the ruling centre in its own power.

8. Into the irrational living beings one soul has been divided; into the rational, one intelligent soul has been portioned out; as there is also one earth of all earthy things, and we see by one light and breathe one air, all of us that have sight and are animate.

9. All things that share in something common hasten towards what is of one kind. Everything earthy inclines towards earth; everything moist flows together; the airy likewise, so that things to keep them apart are needed, and force. Fire is carried upward because of the elemental fire, but is so ready to be kindled together with all fire here that even all material that is a little drier is easily kindled, because there is less mixed in it of what hinders kindling.

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[258] So L prints, with Coraes; L reports several versions in the manuscripts, and P (p. 107) has "he who acts unjustly harms himself, making himself bad".

[259] "From the cause outside" is Reiske's correction; L reports *τὸ παρὰ τὸ ἐκ τῆς αἰτίας* in the manuscripts.

καὶ τοίνυν πᾶν τὸ κοινῆς νοερᾶς φύσεως μέτοχον πρὸς τὸ συγγενὲς ὁμοίως σπεύδει ἢ καὶ μᾶλλον· ὅσῳ γάρ ἐστι κρεῖττον παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα, τοσούτῳ καὶ πρὸς τὸ συγκιρνᾶσθαι τῷ οἰκείῳ
2 καὶ συγχεῖσθαι ἑτοιμότερον. εὐθὺς γοῦν ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἀλόγων εὑρέθη σμήνη καὶ ἀγέλαι καὶ νεοσσοτροφίαι καὶ οἷον ἔρωτες· ψυχαὶ γὰρ ἤδη ἦσαν ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸ συναγωγὸν ἐν τῷ κρείττονι ἐπιτεινόμενον εὑρίσκετο, οἷον οὔτε ἐπὶ φυτῶν ἦν οὔτε ἐπὶ λίθων ἢ ξύλων. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν λογικῶν ζῴων πολιτεῖαι καὶ φιλίαι καὶ οἶκοι καὶ σύλλογοι καὶ ἐν πολέμοις συνθῆκαι καὶ ἀνοχαί. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἔτι κρειττόνων καὶ ἐκ διεστηκότων τρόπον τινὰ ἕνωσις ὑπέστη οἵα ἐπὶ τῶν ἄστρων· οὕτως ἡ ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον ἐπανάβα-
3 σις συμπάθειαν καὶ ἐν διεστῶσιν ἐργάσασθαι ἐδύνατο. ὅρα οὖν τὸ νῦν γινόμενον· μόνα γὰρ τὰ νοερὰ νῦν ἐπιλέλησται τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλα σπουδῆς καὶ συννεύσεως καὶ τὸ σύρρουν ὧδε μόνον οὐ βλέπεται. ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως καίτοι φεύγοντες περικαταλαμβάνονται· κρατεῖ γὰρ ἡ φύσις. ὄψει δὲ ὃ λέγω παραφυλάσσων· θᾶσσον γοῦν εὕροι τις ἂν γεῶδές τι μηδενὸς γεώδους προσαπτόμενον ἢπερ ἄνθρωπον ἀνθρώπου ἀπεσχισμένον.

ι′. Φέρει καρπὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπος καὶ θεὸς καὶ ὁ κόσμος· ἐν ταῖς οἰκείαις ὥραις ἕκαστα φέρει. εἰ δὲ ἡ συνήθεια κυρίως τέτριφεν ἐπὶ ἀμπέλου καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων, οὐδὲν τοῦτο. ὁ λόγος δὲ καὶ κοινὸν καὶ ἴδιον καρπὸν ἔχει καὶ γίνεται ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοιαῦθ᾽ ἕτερα, ὁποῖόν τι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ λόγος.

ια′. Εἰ μὲν δύνασαι, μεταδίδασκε· εἰ δὲ μή, μέμνησο ὅτι πρὸς τοῦτο ἡ εὐμένειά σοι δέδοται. καὶ οἱ θεοὶ δὲ εὐμενεῖς τοῖς τοιούτοις εἰσίν, εἰς ἕνια δὲ καὶ συνεργοῦσιν, εἰς ὑγίειαν, εἰς πλοῦτον, εἰς δόξαν· οὕτως εἰσὶ χρηστοί. ἔξεστι δὲ καὶ σοί· ἢ εἰπέ, τίς ὁ κωλύων;

So too, then, everything that shares in the common intelligent nature hastens likewise towards what is kin, or even more; for the better it is than the others, the readier it also is to blend and be fused with what is proper to it. At any rate, among the irrational there were found at 2
once swarms and herds and the rearing of young and something like loves; for there were already souls there, and the drawing together was found intensified in the better, such as was not in plants, nor in stones or timbers. Among rational living beings, commonwealths and friendships and households and gatherings, and in wars treaties and truces. Among the still better, even out of things separate, a kind of unity subsisted, as among the stars. So the ascent towards the better could produce sympathy even in things separate. See, then, what 3
comes about now: for only the intelligent beings have now forgotten the zeal and convergence towards one another, and here alone the flowing together is not seen. But all the same, though they flee, they are overtaken; for nature prevails. You will see what I mean if you watch: sooner, at any rate, would one find something earthy touching nothing earthy than a man split off from man.

10. Man and God and the universe bear fruit: each bears it in its proper seasons. And if usage has worn the word in its strict sense to the vine and the like, that is nothing. And reason has fruit, both common and its own; and from it come other things such as reason itself is.

11. If you can, teach better; if not, remember that kindliness has been given you for this. And the gods too are kindly to such people, and even work with them for some things, for health, for wealth, for fame; so kind are they. It is open to you too; or say, who prevents you?

ιβ′. Πόνει μὴ ὡς ἄθλιος μηδὲ ὡς ἐλεεῖσθαι ἢ θαυμάζεσθαι θέλων, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἓν θέλε· κινεῖσθαι καὶ ἴσχεσθαι, ὡς ὁ πολιτικὸς λόγος ἀξιοῖ.

ιγ′. Σήμερον ἐξῆλθον πάσης περιστάσεως, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐξέβαλον πᾶσαν περίστασιν· ἔξω γὰρ οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ ἔνδον ἐν ταῖς ὑπολήψεσιν.

ιδ′. Πάντα ταῦτα συνήθη μὲν τῇ πείρᾳ, ἐφήμερα δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ, ῥυπαρὰ δὲ τῇ ὕλῃ· πάντα νῦν οἷα ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνων οὓς κατεθάψαμεν.

ιε′. Τὰ πράγματα ἔξω θυρῶν ἕστηκεν αὐτὰ ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν, μηδὲν μήτε εἰδότα περὶ αὑτῶν μήτε ἀποφαινόμενα. τί οὖν ἀποφαίνεται περὶ αὐτῶν; τὸ ἡγεμονικόν.

ις′. Οὐκ ἐν πείσει ἀλλ᾽ ἐνεργείᾳ τὸ τοῦ λογικοῦ ⟨καὶ⟩ πολιτικοῦ ζῴου κακὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἡ ἀρετὴ καὶ κακία αὐτοῦ ἐν πείσει ἀλλὰ ἐνεργείᾳ.

ιζ′. Τῷ ἀναρριφέντι λίθῳ οὐδὲν κακὸν τὸ κατενεχθῆναι οὐδὲ ἀγαθὸν τὸ ἀνενεχθῆναι.

ιη′. Δίελθε ἔσω εἰς τὰ ἡγεμονικὰ αὐτῶν καὶ ὄψει τίνας κριτὰς φοβῇ, οἵους καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ὄντας κριτάς.

ιθ′. Πάντα ἐν μεταβολῇ· καὶ αὐτὸς σὺ ἐν διηνεκεῖ ἀλλοιώσει καὶ κατά τι φθορᾷ, καὶ ὁ κόσμος δὲ ὅλος.

κ′. Τὸ ἄλλου ἁμάρτημα ἐκεῖ δεῖ καταλιπεῖν.

κα′. Ἐνεργείας ἀπόληξις, ὁρμῆς, ὑπολήψεως παῦλα καὶ οἷον θάνατος· οὐδὲν κακόν. μέτιθι νῦν ἐπὶ ἡλικίαν, οἷον 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, εἶτα τὸν ὑπὸ τῇ μητρί, εἶτα τὸν ὑπὸ τῷ πατρί, καὶ ἄλλας δὲ πολλὰς διαφθορὰς καὶ μεταβολὰς καὶ ἀπολήξεις εὑρίσκων ἐπερώτα σεαυτόν· μήτι

12. Labour, not as one wretched, nor as wanting to be pitied or admired; but want one thing only: to move and to hold still as civic reason requires.

13. Today I got out of every circumstance, or rather I threw out every circumstance; for it was not outside, but within, in the opinions.

14. All these things: usual in experience, of a day in time, filthy in material. All now as in the time of those we buried.

15. Things stand outside the doors, by themselves, neither knowing anything about themselves nor declaring anything. What, then, declares about them? The ruling centre.

16. Not in being acted upon but in activity lie the bad and the good of the rational ⟨and⟩ civic living being; just as its virtue and vice too lie not in being acted upon but in activity.[260]

17. For the stone thrown up, it is nothing bad to be carried down, nor good to be carried up.

18. Go within, into their ruling centres, and you will see what judges you fear, and what sort of judges they are even of themselves.

19. All things are in change; and you yourself are in perpetual alteration and in some sense perishing, and the whole universe too.

20. Another's wrong one must leave there.

21. Cessation of activity, a stop of impulse, of opinion, and as it were a death: nothing bad. Pass on now to time of life, for instance childhood, adolescence, youth, old age; for each change of these too is a death. Is it anything terrible? Pass on now to the life under the grandfather, then that under the mother, then that under the father; and, finding many other corruptions and changes and cessations, question yourself: Is it anything[261]

[260] ⟨And⟩ is Polak's supplement (L's apparatus).

[261] Probably his grandfather Verus (1.1), his mother Domitia Lucilla (1.3) and his adoptive father Antoninus (1.16).

δεινόν; οὕτως τοίνυν οὐδὲ ἡ τοῦ ὅλου σου βίου λῆξις καὶ παῦλα καὶ μεταβολή.

κβ′. Τρέχε ἐπὶ τὸ σεαυτοῦ ἡγεμονικὸν καὶ τὸ τοῦ ὅλου καὶ τὸ τούτου. τὸ μὲν σεαυτοῦ, ἵνα νοῦν δικαικὸν αὐτὸ ποιήσῃς· τὸ δὲ τοῦ ὅλου, ἵνα συμμνημονεύσῃς τίνος μέρος εἶ· τὸ δὲ τούτου, ἵνα ἐπιστήσῃς πότερον ἄγνοια ἢ γνώμη, καὶ ἅμα λογίσῃ ὅτι συγγενές.

κγ′. Ὥσπερ αὐτὸς σὺ πολιτικοῦ συστήματος συμπληρωτικὸς εἶ, οὕτως 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 διασπᾷ τὸν βίον καὶ οὐκ ἐᾷ ἕνα εἶναι καὶ στασιώδης ἐστίν, ὥσπερ ἐν δήμῳ ὁ τὸ καθ' αὑτὸν μέρος διιστάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης συμφωνίας.

κδ′. Παιδίων ὀργαὶ καὶ παίγνια, καὶ 'πνευμάτια νεκροὺς βαστάζοντα', ὥστε ἐναργέστερον προσπεσεῖν τὸ τῆς Νεκυίας.

κε′. Ἴθι ἐπὶ τὴν ποιότητα τοῦ αἰτίου καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑλικοῦ αὐτὸ περιγράψας θέασαι· εἶτα καὶ τὸν χρόνον περιόρισον, ὅσον πλεῖστον ὑφίστασθαι πέφυκε τοῦτο τὸ ἰδίως ποιόν.

κς′. Ἀνέτλης μύρια διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀρκεῖσθαι τῷ σῷ ἡγεμονικῷ ποιοῦντι ταῦτα, οἷα κατεσκεύασται. ἀλλὰ ἅλις.

κζ′. Ὅταν ἄλλος ψέγῃ σε ἢ μισῇ ἢ τοιαῦτά τινα ἐκφωνῶσιν, ἔρχου ἐπὶ τὰ ψυχάρια αὐτῶν, δίελθε ἔσω καὶ ἴδε ποῖοί τινές εἰσιν. ὄψει ὅτι οὐ δεῖ σε σπᾶσθαι, ἵνα τούτοις τί ποτε περὶ σοῦ δοκῇ. εὐνοεῖν μέντοι αὐτοῖς δεῖ· φύσει γὰρ φίλοι, καὶ οἱ θεοὶ δὲ παντοίως αὐτοῖς βοηθοῦσι, δι'

terrible? So, then, neither the ending and stop and change of your whole life.

22. Run to your own ruling centre and to that of the whole and to that of this man: to your own, to make it a just mind; to that of the whole, to remember at the same time what you are a part of; to that of this man, to attend whether it is ignorance or design, and at the same time to reckon that it is kin.[262]

23. As you yourself help to complete a civic system, so let every action of yours too help to complete a civic life. Whatever action of yours, then, does not have its reference, either near or remote, to the social end, this tears life apart and does not let it be one, and is seditious, like the man in a people who, for his own part, stands separate from such concord.

24. Children's angers and toys, and "little breaths carrying corpses": so that the Nekyia strikes one more plainly.[263]

25. Go to the quality of the cause, and look at it, having circumscribed it from the material; then mark the bounds of the time too, the longest for which this individually qualified thing can by nature subsist.[264]

26. You have endured countless things through not being content with your ruling centre doing these things, as it was made. But no more.

27. When another censures you or hates you, or they utter some such things, go to their little souls, go within, and see what sort of people they are. You will see that you must not be dragged about so that these should have some opinion or other of you. One must, however, wish them well; for by nature they are friends; and the gods too help them in all sorts of ways, through

[262] "Just", δικαικόν, is a rare form, quoted from this place in the Suda (L's testimonia); L reports δικανικόν, "judicial", in A and D.

[263] Compare Epictetus' phrase at 4.41, "a little soul carrying a corpse" (L's testimonia). The Nekyia is the calling up of the dead in *Odyssey* 11. "More plainly" is Toup's ἐναργέστερον (L's apparatus).

[264] "Individually qualified" renders the Stoic ἰδίως ποιόν, the particular thing that persists through change.

ὀνείρων, διὰ μαντειῶν, πρὸς ταῦτα μέντοι, πρὸς ἃ ἐκεῖνοι διαφέρονται.

κη′. Ταὐτά ἐστι τὰ τοῦ κόσμου ἐγκύκλια, ἄνω κάτω, ἐξ αἰῶνος εἰς αἰῶνα. καὶ ἤτοι ἐφ᾽ ἕκαστον ὁρμᾷ ἡ τοῦ ὅλου διάνοια· ὅπερ εἰ ἔστιν, ἀποδέχου τὸ ἐκείνης ὁρμητόν· ἢ ἅπαξ ὥρμησε, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ κατ᾽ ἐπακολούθησιν καὶ τί ἐντείνῃ; τρόπον γάρ τινα ἄτομοι ἢ ἀμερῆ. τὸ δ᾽ ὅλον, εἴτε θεός, εὖ ἔχει πάντα· εἴτε τὸ εἰκῇ, μὴ καὶ σὺ εἰκῇ.

Ἤδη πάντας ἡμᾶς γῆ καλύψει, ἔπειτα καὶ αὐτὴ μεταβαλεῖ κἀκεῖνα εἰς ἄπειρον μεταβαλεῖ καὶ πάλιν ἐκεῖνα εἰς ἄπειρον. τὰς γὰρ ἐπικυματώσεις τῶν μεταβολῶν καὶ ἀλλοιώσεων ἐνθυμούμενός τις καὶ τὸ τάχος παντὸς θνητοῦ καταφρονήσει.

κθ′. Χειμάρρους ἡ τῶν ὅλων οὐσία· πάντα φέρει. ὡς εὐτελῆ δὲ καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ ταῦτα καί, ὡς οἴεται, φιλοσόφως πρακτικὰ ἀνθρώπια· μυξῶν μεστά.—ἄνθρωπε, τί ποτε; ποίησον ὃ νῦν ἡ φύσις ἀπαιτεῖ, ὅρμησον, ἐὰν διδῶται, καὶ μὴ περιβλέπου εἴ τις εἴσεται. μὴ τὴν Πλάτωνος πολιτείαν ἔλπιζε, ἀλλὰ ἀρκοῦ, εἰ τὸ βραχύτατον πρόεισι, καὶ τούτου αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔκβασιν ὡς μικρόν τί ἐστι διανοοῦ. δόγμα γὰρ αὐτῶν τίς μεταβαλεῖ; χωρὶς δὲ δογμάτων μεταβολῆς τί ἄλλο ἢ δουλεία στενόντων καὶ πείθεσθαι προσποιουμένων; ὕπαγε νῦν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Φίλιππον καὶ Δημήτριον τὸν Φαληρέα μοι λέγε. ὄψονται, εἰ εἶδον, τί ἡ κοινὴ φύσις ἤθελε, καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπαιδαγώγησαν· εἰ δὲ ἐτραγῴδησαν, οὐδείς με κατακέκρικε μιμεῖσθαι. ἁπλοῦν ἐστι καὶ αἰδῆμον τὸ φιλοσοφίας ἔργον· μή με ἄπαγε ἐπὶ σεμνοτυφίαν.

dreams, through oracles, towards those things, however, about which they are at odds.

28. The cycles of the universe are the same, up and down, from eternity to eternity. And either the understanding of the whole has an impulse towards each thing; and if this is so, accept the object of its impulse; or it had its impulse once, and the rest by way of consequence; and why are you strained? For in a way, atoms or things without parts. And in sum: if God, all is well; if at random, do not you too act at random.[265]

Soon earth will cover us all; then it too will change, and those things will change to infinity, and those again to infinity. For one who considers the waves upon waves of changes and alterations, and the speed, will despise everything mortal.

29. The substance of the whole is a torrent: it carries all things. How cheap, too, are these civic little men who, as he thinks, act as philosophers: full of snot.—Man, what then? Do what nature now demands; have the impulse, if it is given, and do not look round to see whether anyone will know. Do not hope for Plato's Republic, but be content if the smallest thing goes forward, and think of the outcome of even this as a small thing.[266] For who will change their principle? And without a change of principles, what else is there but slavery of men groaning and making a show of obeying? Go on now and tell me of Alexander and Philip and Demetrius of Phalerum. They will see to it, if they saw what the common nature wanted and schooled themselves; but if they played the tragic part, no one has condemned me to imitate. The work of philosophy is simple and self-respecting: do not lead me away to solemn vanity.[267]

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[265] The alternative of 6.36 and 7.75. "Why are you strained?" is Coraes' *τί ἐντείνῃ*; L reports *τί ἓν τίνι* in P (p. 111). The sentence on atoms is obscure.

[266] Plato's ideal city. "Substance" is Reiske's *οὐσία*; L reports *αἰτία*, "cause", in the manuscripts, and "no small thing" in P (p. 112).

[267] Demetrius of Phalerum governed Athens for Cassander, 317–307 BC. "They will see to it" is the idiom of 5.25.

λ′. 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 δ᾽ ἐπαινοῦντες ἴσως νῦν σε τάχιστα ψέξουσι· καὶ ὡς οὔτε ἡ μνήμη ἀξιόλογόν γε οὔτε ἡ δόξα οὔτε ἄλλο τι τὸ σύμπαν.

λα′. Ἀταραξία μὲν περὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκτὸς αἰτίας συμβαίνοντα, δικαιότης δὲ ἐν τοῖς παρὰ τὴν ἐκ σοῦ αἰτίαν ἐνεργουμένοις· τουτέστιν, ὁρμὴ καὶ πρᾶξις καταλήγουσα ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸ τὸ κοινωνικῶς πρᾶξαι ὡς τοῦτό σοι κατὰ φύσιν ὄν.

λβ′. Πολλὰ περισσὰ περιελεῖν τῶν ἐνοχλούντων σοι δύνασαι ὅλα ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπολήψει σου κείμενα, καὶ πολλὴν εὐρυχωρίαν περιποιήσεις ἤδη σεαυτῷ ⟨τῷ⟩ τὸν ὅλον κόσμον περιειληφέναι τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ τὸν ἀίδιον αἰῶνα περινοεῖν καὶ τὴν τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἑκάστου πράγματος ταχεῖαν μεταβολὴν ἐπινοεῖν, ὡς βραχὺ μὲν τὸ ἀπὸ γενέσεως μέχρι διαλύσεως, ἀχανὲς δὲ τὸ πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως, ὡς καὶ τὸ μετὰ τὴν διάλυσιν ὁμοίως ἄπειρον.

λγ′. Πάντα ὅσα ὁρᾷς τάχιστα φθαρήσεται καὶ οἱ φθειρόμενα αὐτὰ ἐπιδόντες τάχιστα καὶ αὐτοὶ φθαρήσονται καὶ ὁ ἐσχατόγηρως ἀποθανὼν εἰς ἴσον καταστήσεται τῷ προώρῳ.

λδ′. Τίνα τὰ ἡγεμονικὰ τούτων καὶ περὶ οἷα ἐσπουδάκασι καὶ δι᾽ οἷα φιλοῦσι καὶ τιμῶσι· γυμνὰ νόμιζε βλέπειν τὰ ψυχάρια αὐτῶν. ὅτε δοκοῦσι βλάπτειν ψέγοντες ἢ ὠφελεῖν ἐξυμνοῦντες, ὅση οἴησις.

λε′. Ἡ ἀποβολὴ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ μεταβολή. τούτῳ

30. Observe from above countless herds and countless rites, and every kind of voyage in storms and calms, and the differences of things coming to be, coming together, passing away. Conceive too the life lived long ago by others, and the life that will be lived after you, and the life lived now among barbarian peoples; and how many do not even know your name, and how many will very soon forget it, and how many, praising you perhaps now, will very soon censure you; and that neither memory is worth mentioning at all, nor fame, nor anything else whatever.

31. Freedom from trouble about what happens from the cause outside; justness in what is done by reason of the cause from you: that is, impulse and action ending in the social action itself, since this is according to nature for you.

32. You can strip away many superfluous things among those that vex you, lying wholly in your opinion; and you will at once make much room for yourself ⟨by⟩ having embraced the whole universe in view, and comprehending everlasting eternity, and conceiving the swift change of the parts of each thing: how short from birth to dissolution, how yawning the gulf before birth, as also what is after dissolution, likewise infinite.[268]

33. All that you see will very soon perish, and those who watched it perishing will very soon perish themselves too; and the man who has died in extreme old age will be brought to an equal state with the untimely.

34. What are their ruling centres, and what sort of things they have taken seriously, and on account of what sort of things they love and honour: believe that you see their little souls naked. When they think they harm by censuring, or benefit by extolling, what conceit!

35. Loss is nothing other than change. And in this

[268] ⟨By⟩ renders Gataker's supplement ⟨τῷ⟩; "everlasting" is Casaubon's ἀΐδιον, for ἴδιον, which L reports in the manuscripts.

δὲ χαίρει ἡ τῶν ὅλων φύσις, καθ' ἣν πάντα καλῶς γίνεται ⟨καὶ⟩ ἐξ αἰῶνος ὁμοειδῶς ἐγίνετο καὶ εἰς ἄπειρον τοιαῦθ' ἕτερα ἔσται. τί οὖν λέγεις ὅτι ἐγίνετό τε πάντα ⟨κακῶς⟩ καὶ πάντα ἀεὶ κακῶς ἔσται καὶ οὐδεμία ἄρα δύναμις ἐν τοσούτοις θεοῖς ἐξευρέθη ποτὲ ἡ διορθώσουσα ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ κατακέκριται ὁ κόσμος ἐν ἀδιαλείπτοις κακοῖς συνέχεσθαι;

λς′. Τὸ σαπρὸν τῆς ἑκάστῳ ὑποκειμένης ὕλης· ὕδωρ, κόνις, ὀστάρια, γράσος, ἢ 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.

λζ′. Ἅλις τοῦ ἀθλίου βίου καὶ γογγυσμοῦ καὶ πιθηκισμοῦ.— τί ταράσσῃ; τί τούτων καινόν; τί σε ἐξίστησι; τὸ αἴτιον; ἴδε αὐτό. ἀλλ' ἡ ὕλη; ἴδε αὐτήν. ἔξω δὲ τούτων οὐδέν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἤδη ποτὲ ἁπλούστερος καὶ χρηστότερος γενοῦ.

Ἴσον τὸ ἑκατὸν ἔτεσι καὶ τὸ τρισὶ ταῦτα ἱστορῆσαι.

λη′. Εἰ μὲν ἥμαρτεν, ἐκεῖ τὸ κακόν. τάχα δ' οὐχ ἥμαρτεν.

λθ′. Ἤτοι ἀπὸ μιᾶς πηγῆς νοερᾶς πάντα ὡς ἑνὶ 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;

μ′. Ἤτοι οὐδὲν δύνανται οἱ θεοὶ ἢ δύνανται. εἰ μὲν οὖν μὴ δύνανται, τί εὔχῃ; εἰ δὲ δύνανται, διὰ τί οὐχὶ μᾶλλον

the nature of the whole rejoices, according to which all things come about honourably, ⟨and⟩ from eternity came about in one form, and to infinity there will be others of the same kind. What, then, do you say: that all things came about ⟨badly⟩ and all will always be in a bad way, and that no power, then, among so many gods, was ever found to set them right, but the universe has been condemned to be held fast in unceasing bad things?[269]

36. The rottenness of the material underlying each thing: water, dust, little bones, stink. Or again: calluses of earth, marble; and sediments, gold, silver; and little hairs, clothing; and blood, purple; and all the rest of the kind. And the little breath too is another such thing, and changes from these into these.

37. No more of this wretched life and grumbling and aping.— Why are you troubled? What of these is new? What unsettles you? The cause? Look at it. But the material? Look at it. And outside these there is nothing. But towards the gods too, now at last, become simpler and kinder.

It is equal, to have inquired into these things for a hundred years and for three.

38. If he did wrong, the bad is there. But perhaps he did not do wrong.

39. Either all things happen from one intelligent spring, as to one body, and the part must not blame what comes about for the sake of the whole; or atoms, and nothing but a jumble and scattering. Why, then, are you troubled? Do you say to the ruling centre: "You are dead, you have perished, you have become a beast, you are pretending, you herd with the flock, you graze"?[270]

40. Either the gods have no power, or they have power. If, then, they have no power, why do you pray? And if they have power, why do you not rather

[269] ⟨And⟩ is Coraes' supplement and ⟨badly⟩ Reiske's; Jackson proposed deleting "honourably" (L's apparatus).

[270] The alternative of 4.3.2, 6.10 and 7.32; for the jumble (*κυκεών*) compare 4.27. For "do you say" Coraes proposed "say", Salmasius "surely ... not" (L's apparatus).

εὔχῃ, διδόναι αὐτοὺς τὸ μήτε φοβεῖσθαί τι τούτων μήτε ἐπιθυμεῖν τινος τούτων μήτε λυπεῖσθαι ἐπί τινι τούτων, μᾶλλον ἤπερ τὸ μὴ παρεῖναί τι τούτων ἢ τὸ παρεῖναι; πάντως γάρ, εἰ δύνανται συνεργεῖν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ εἰς ταῦτα δύνανται συνεργεῖν. ἀλλὰ ἴσως ἐρεῖς ὅτι· ἐπ' ἐμοὶ αὐτὰ οἱ θεοὶ ἐποίησαν. εἶτα 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 ὧδε ἐπίστρεψον τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ θεώρει τί γίνεται.

μα′. Ὁ Ἐπίκουρος λέγει ὅτι· 'ἐν τῇ νόσῳ οὐκ ἦσάν μοι αἱ ὁμιλίαι περὶ τῶν τοῦ σωματίου παθῶν οὐδὲ πρὸς τοὺς εἰσιόντας τοιαῦτά τινα, φησίν, ἐλάλουν, ἀλλὰ τὰ προηγούμενα φυσιολογῶν διετέλουν καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ τούτῳ ὤν, πῶς ἡ διάνοια συμμεταλαμβάνουσα τῶν ἐν τῷ σαρκιδίῳ τοιούτων κινήσεων ἀταρακτεῖ τὸ ἴδιον ἀγαθὸν τηροῦσα. οὐδὲ τοῖς ἰατροῖς ἐμπαρεῖχον, φησί, καταφρυάττεσθαι ὥς τι ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὁ βίος ἦγετο εὖ καὶ καλῶς.' ταὐτὰ οὖν ἐκείνῳ, [ἐν νόσῳ,] ἐὰν νοσῇς καὶ ἐν ἄλλῃ τινὶ περιστάσει· τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἀφίστασθαι φιλοσοφίας ἐν οἷς δήποτε τοῖς προσπίπτουσι

pray that they give not fearing any of these things, nor craving any of them, nor being distressed at any of them, rather than that any of them be absent or present? For surely, if they can work with men, they can work with them for these too. But perhaps you will say: "The gods have put these in my power." Then is it not better to use what is in your power with freedom than to be at odds with what is not in your power with slavery and abasement? And who told you that the gods do not lend a hand even in what is in our power? Begin, at any rate, to pray about these things, and you will see. This man prays: "How may I sleep with that woman?" You: "How may I not crave to sleep with her?" Another: "How may I be deprived of that man?" You: "How may I not need to be deprived?" Another: "How may I not lose the little child?" You: "How may I not fear to lose?" In short, turn the prayers this way, and observe what comes about.

41. Epicurus says: "In my illness my conversations were not about the passions of the poor body, nor", he says, "did I speak about any such things to those who came in; but I went on studying nature in its leading questions, and being intent on this very thing: how the understanding, while having its share in such motions in the poor flesh, stays untroubled, keeping its own good. Nor did I give the doctors", he says, "occasion to be arrogant, as though they were doing something; but life went on well and honourably."[271] The same, then, as he, [in illness,] if you are ill, and in any other circumstance; for not to stand apart from philosophy in whatever befalls,

[271] Epicurus fr. 191 Usener (L's testimonia). "Went on" is Menagius' *ἤγετο*; L reports *ἤρετο* in the manuscripts (so P p. 116). L brackets "in illness" after Stich.

μηδὲ ἰδιώτῃ καὶ ἀφυσιολόγῳ συμφλυαρεῖν, πάσης αἱρέσεως κοινόν. πρὸς μόνῳ τῷ νῦν πρασσομένῳ εἶναι καὶ τῷ ὀργάνῳ, δι' οὗ πράσσεις.

μβ'. Ὅταν τινὸς ἀναισχυντίᾳ προσκόπτῃς, εὐθὺς πυνθάνου σεαυτοῦ· δύνανται οὖν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἀναίσχυντοι μὴ εἶναι; οὐ δύνανται· μὴ οὖν ἀπαίτει τὸ ἀδύνατον· εἷς 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 ὁτιοῦν ἁμαρτάνοντος ἔστω σοι πρόχειρον· ἅμα γὰρ τῷ ὑπομνησθῆναι ὅτι τὸ γένος τῶν τοιούτων ἀδύνατόν ἐστι μὴ
2 ὑπάρχειν, εὐμενέστερος ἔσῃ πρὸς τοὺς καθ' ἕνα. εὔχρηστον δὲ κἀκεῖνο εὐθὺς ἐννοεῖν, τίνα ἔδωκεν ἡ φύσις τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀρετὴν πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ ἁμάρτημα· ἔδωκε γὰρ ὡς ἀντιφάρμακον πρὸς μὲν τὸν ἀγνώμονα τὴν πραότητα, πρὸς δὲ ἄλλον ἄλλην τινὰ δύναμιν, ὅλως δὲ ἔξεστί σοι μεταδιδάσκειν τὸν πεπλανημένον· πᾶς γὰρ ὁ ἁμαρτάνων ἀφαμαρτάνει τοῦ προκειμένου καὶ πεπλάνηται. τί δὲ καὶ βέβλαψαι; εὑρήσεις γὰρ μηδένα τούτων, πρὸς οὓς παροξύνῃ, πεποιηκότα τι τοιοῦτον, ἐξ οὗ ἡ διάνοιά
3 σου χείρων ἔμελλε γενήσεσθαι· τὸ δὲ κακόν σου καὶ τὸ βλαβερὸν ἐνταῦθα πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔχει. τί δὲ καινὸν ἢ ξένον γέγονεν, εἰ ὁ ἀπαίδευτος τὰ τοῦ ἀπαιδεύτου πράσσει; ὅρα μὴ σεαυτῷ μᾶλλον ἐγκαλεῖν ὀφείλῃς, ὅτι οὐ προσεδόκησας τοῦτον τοῦτο ἁμαρτήσεσθαι· σὺ γὰρ καὶ ἀφορμὰς ἐκ τοῦ λόγου εἶχες πρὸς τὸ ἐνθυμηθῆναι ὅτι εἰκός ἐστι τοῦτον τοῦτο ἁμαρτήσε-
4 σθαι, καὶ ὅμως ἐπιλαθόμενος θαυμάζεις εἰ ἡμάρτηκε. μάλιστα δέ, ὅταν ὡς ἀπίστῳ ἢ ἀχαρίστῳ μέμφῃ, εἰς σεαυτὸν ἐπιστρέφου· προδήλως γὰρ σὸν τὸ

nor to talk idly with the layman and the man who does not study nature, is common to every school. Be intent only on what is being done now and on the instrument through which you do it.[272]

42. When you take offence at someone's shamelessness, ask yourself at once: Can there, then, be no shameless people in the universe? There cannot. Do not, then, demand the impossible; for this man too is one of those shameless people who must be in the universe. And let the same be ready to hand for you in the case of the rogue too, and of the faithless man, and of everyone who does wrong in any way whatever; for at the same time as you are reminded that it is impossible for the class of such people not to exist, you will be more kindly to each one. It is useful, too, to bear in mind at once what 2
virtue nature has given man against this wrong. For she has given, as an antidote, against the unfair man mildness, and against another some other faculty. And in general it is open to you to teach better the man who has gone astray; for everyone who does wrong misses the mark set before him and has gone astray. And how, too, have you been harmed? For you will find that none of those at whom you are provoked has done anything by which your understanding was going to become worse; but what is bad for you and harmful has its 3
whole subsistence there. And what new or strange thing has happened if the uneducated man does what belongs to the uneducated? See whether you ought not rather to accuse yourself for not expecting this man to do this wrong; for you even had resources from reason for considering that this man would probably do this wrong, and yet, having forgotten, you are astonished that he has done wrong.[273] And 4
above all, when you blame a man as faithless or ungrateful, turn to yourself; for evidently yours is the

[272] "Who does not study nature" is Gataker's *ἀφυσιολόγῳ*; L reports *φυσιολόγῳ*, "student of nature", in the manuscripts.

[273] "New" is Kronenberg's *καινόν*; L reports *κακόν*, "bad", in the manuscripts.

ἁμάρτημα, εἴτε περὶ τοῦ τοιαύτην τὴν διάθεσιν ἔχοντος ἐπίστευσας ὅτι τὴν πίστιν φυλάξει, εἴτε τὴν χάριν διδοὺς μὴ καταληκτικῶς ἔδωκας μηδὲ ὥστε ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς σῆς πράξεως εὐθὺς ἀπειληφέναι πάντα τὸν καρπόν. τί γὰρ πλέον θέλεις εὖ ποιήσας ἄνθρωπον; οὐκ ἀρκεῖ τοῦτο, ὅτι κατὰ φύσιν τὴν σήν τι ἔπραξας, ἀλλὰ τούτου μισθὸν ζητεῖς; ὡσεὶ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς ἀμοιβὴν ἀπῄτει, ὅτι βλέπει, ἢ οἱ πόδες, ὅτι βαδίζουσιν. ὥσπερ γὰρ ταῦτα πρὸς τόδε τι γέγονεν, ὅπερ κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν κατασκευὴν ἐνεργοῦντα ἀπέχει τὸ ἴδιον, οὕτως καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος εὐεργετικὸς πεφυκώς, ὁπόταν τι εὐεργετικὸν ἢ ἄλλως εἰς τὰ μέσα συνεργητικὸν πράξῃ, πεποίηκε, πρὸς ὃ κατεσκεύασται, καὶ ἔχει τὸ ἑαυτοῦ.

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Ι

α′. Ἔσῃ ποτὲ ἆρα, ὦ ψυχή, ἀγαθὴ καὶ ἁπλῆ καὶ μία καὶ γυμνή, φανερωτέρα τοῦ περικειμένου σοι σώματος; γεύσῃ ποτὲ ἆρα τῆς φιλητικῆς καὶ στερκτικῆς διαθέσεως; ἔσῃ ποτὲ ἆρα πλήρης καὶ ἀνενδεὴς 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 ἕξει, ὅσα φίλον αὐτοῖς καὶ ὅσα μέλλουσι δώσειν ἐπὶ

wrong, whether you trusted that a man of such a disposition would guard faith, or, in giving the favour, did not give it conclusively, nor so as to have received the whole fruit at once from your very action. For what more do you want when you have done a man good? Is it not enough that you did something according to your nature, but you seek a reward for it? As if the eye demanded a return because it sees, or the feet because they walk. For as these have come to be for some particular thing, by doing which according to their own constitution they have in full what is their own, so too man, being by nature beneficent, whenever he does something beneficent, or otherwise something co-operative in things indifferent, has done what he was made for, and has his own.

Book X

1. Will you ever, then, soul, be good and simple and one and naked, more manifest than the body that surrounds you? Will you ever, then, taste the loving and cherishing disposition? Will you ever, then, be full and without want, and longing for nothing nor craving anything, animate or inanimate, for the enjoyment of pleasures? Nor time, in which you will have longer enjoyment? Nor place or region or good temper of the airs? Nor being in tune with men? But will you be content with the present condition, and feel pleasure in all that is present, and persuade yourself that everything is present to you from the gods, that everything is well with you and will be well, whatever is dear to them and whatever they mean to give for[274]

[274] L prints Coraes' order of these clauses with one further transposition of his own; P differs (L's apparatus). "Good temper of the airs" is Coraes' *εὐκρασίας*, for *εὐκαιρίας*, "good season", which L reports in the manuscripts.

σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ τελείου ζῴου, τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ δικαίου καὶ καλοῦ καὶ γεννῶντος πάντα καὶ συνέχοντος καὶ περιέχοντος καὶ περιλαμβάνοντος διαλυόμενα εἰς γένεσιν ἑτέρων ὁμοίων; ἔσῃ ποτὲ ἆρα τοιαύτη, οἵα θεοῖς τε καὶ ἀνθρώποις οὕτως συμπολιτεύεσθαι ὡς μήτε μέμφεσθαί τι αὐτοῖς μήτε καταγινώσκεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν;

β′. Παρατήρει τί σου ἡ φύσις ἐπιζητεῖ ὡς ὑπὸ φύσεως μόνον διοικουμένου· εἶτα ποίει αὐτὸ καὶ προσίεσο, εἰ μὴ χεῖρον μέλλει διατίθεσθαί σου ἡ ὡς ζῴου φύσις. ἐξῆς δὲ παρατηρητέον τί ἐπιζητεῖ σου ἡ ὡς ζῴου φύσις, καὶ πᾶν τοῦτο παραληπτέον, εἰ μὴ χεῖρον μέλλει διατίθεσθαι ἡ ὡς ζῴου λογικοῦ φύσις· ἔστι δὲ τὸ λογικὸν εὐθὺς καὶ πολιτικόν. τούτοις δὴ κανόσι χρώμενος μηδὲν περιεργάζου.

γ′. Πᾶν τὸ συμβαῖνον ἤτοι 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 ἐστὶ τῇ σῇ φορητὸν καὶ ἀνεκτὸν αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι κατὰ φαντασίαν τοῦ συμφέρειν ἢ καθήκειν σεαυτῷ τοῦτο ποιεῖν.

δ′. Εἰ μὲν σφάλλεται, διδάσκειν εὐμενῶς καὶ τὸ παρορώμενον δεικνύναι. εἰ δὲ ἀδυνατεῖς, σεαυτὸν αἰτιᾶσθαι ἢ μηδὲ σεαυτόν.

ε′. Ὅ 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.

ς′. Εἴτε ἄτομοι εἴτε φύσις, πρῶτον κείσθω ὅτι μέρος εἰμὶ τοῦ ὅλου ὑπὸ φύσεως διοικουμένου· ἔπειτα, ὅτι

the preservation of the perfect living being, the good and just and honourable, which generates all things and holds them together and contains and encompasses them as they are dissolved into the birth of others like them? Will you ever, then, be such as to share citizenship with gods and men in such a way as neither to blame them in anything nor to have fault found with you by them?

2. Watch what your nature seeks, as of one governed by nature alone; then do it and admit it, if your nature as a living being is not going to be put in a worse condition. Next one must watch what your nature as a living being seeks, and one must take all of this on, if the nature as a rational living being is not going to be put in a worse condition; and the rational is at once civic too. Using these rules, then, meddle with nothing beyond.[275]

3. Everything that happens either happens in such a way that you are by nature able to bear it, or in such a way that you are not by nature able to bear it. If, then, it happens to you in a way you are by nature able to bear, do not resent it, but bear it as you are by nature able. But if in a way you are not by nature able to bear, do not resent it; for it will perish when it has consumed you. Remember, however, that you are by nature able to bear everything which it rests with your own opinion to make bearable and supportable, by the impression that it is advantageous to yourself, or your duty, to do this.

4. If he errs, teach kindly and show what is overlooked. But if you cannot, accuse yourself, or not even yourself.

5. Whatever happens to you was being prepared for you beforehand from eternity; and the interweaving of causes was spinning together, from everlasting, both your subsistence and the occurrence of this.

6. Whether atoms or nature, let it be laid down first that I am a part of the whole governed by nature; next, that[276]

[275] The three are the upper rungs of the Stoic scale of what governs a thing (below them is cohesion, as in stones; 6.14): nature alone (growth, as in plants), the soul of a living being, and the rational soul; each is given its due so long as the level above it is not made worse.

[276] L judges "Whether atoms or nature" foreign to this place and would move it to the opening of the chapter before. "Nature" follows Xylander's Latin version; P has *φύσεις*, "natures" (L's apparatus).

ἔχω πως οἰκείως πρὸς τὰ ὁμογενῆ μέρη. τούτων γὰρ μεμνημένος, καθότι μὲν μέρος εἰμί, οὐδενὶ δυσαρεστήσω τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ὅλου ἀπονεμομένων· οὐδὲν γὰρ βλαβερὸν τῷ μέρει ὃ τῷ ὅλῳ συμφέρει. οὐ γὰρ ἔχει τι τὸ ὅλον ὃ μὴ συμφέρει ἑαυτῷ, πασῶν μὲν φύσεων κοινὸν ἐχουσῶν τοῦτο, τῆς δὲ τοῦ κόσμου προσειληφυίας τὸ μηδὲ ὑπό τινος ἔξωθεν αἰτίας ἀναγκάζεσθαι βλαβε-
2 ρόν τι ἑαυτῇ γεννᾶν. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸ μεμνῆσθαι ὅτι μέρος εἰμὶ ὅλου τοῦ τοιούτου, εὐαρεστήσω παντὶ τῷ ἀποβαίνοντι, καθόσον δὲ ἔχω πως οἰκείως πρὸς τὰ ὁμογενῆ μέρη, οὐδὲν πράξω ἀκοινώνητον, μᾶλλον δὲ στοχάσομαι τῶν ὁμογενῶν καὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον πᾶσαν ὁρμὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἄξω καὶ ἀπὸ τοὐναντίου ἀπάξω. τούτων δὲ οὕτως περαινομένων ἀνάγκη τὸν βίον εὐροεῖν, ὡς ἂν καὶ πολίτου βίον εὔρουν ἐπινοήσειας προιόντος διὰ πράξεων τοῖς πολίταις λυσιτελῶν καὶ ὅπερ ἂν ἡ πόλις ἀπονέμῃ, τοῦτο ἀσπαζομένου.

ζ′. 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 ἰόντων καὶ πρὸς τὸ φθείρεσθαι διαφόρως κατεσκευασμένων. πότερον γὰρ ἐπεχείρησεν ἡ φύσις αὐτὴ τὰ ἑαυτῆς μέρη κακοῦν καὶ περιπτωτικὰ τῷ κακῷ καὶ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔμπτωτα εἰς τὸ κακὸν ποιεῖν, ἢ ἔλαθεν αὐτὴν τοιάδε τινὰ γινόμενα; ἀμ-
2 φότερα γὰρ ἀπίθανα. εἰ δέ τις καὶ ἀφέμενος τῆς φύσεως κατὰ τὸ πεφυκέναι ταῦτα ἐξηγοῖτο, καὶ ὡς γελοῖον ἅμα μὲν φάναι πεφυκέναι τὰ μέρη τοῦ ὅλου μεταβάλλειν, ἅμα δὲ ὡς ἐπί τινι τῶν παρὰ φύσιν συμβαίνοντι θαυμάζειν ἢ δυσχεραίνειν, ἄλλως

I stand in some affinity to the parts of one kind with me. For remembering these things, in so far as I am a part I shall be discontented with nothing allotted from the whole; for nothing is harmful to the part that is advantageous to the whole. For the whole has nothing that is not advantageous to itself, all natures having this in common, while the nature of the universe has received in addition that it is not compelled even by any cause from outside to generate anything harmful to itself. In so far, then, as I remember that I am a part of 2
such a whole, I shall be well pleased with everything that results; and in so far as I stand in some affinity to the parts of one kind with me, I shall do nothing unsocial, but rather I shall aim at those of one kind with me, and I shall lead every impulse of mine towards what is of common advantage, and lead it away from the opposite. And when these things are brought to their end in this way, it is necessary that life flow smoothly, as you would conceive the life of a citizen too to flow smoothly who goes forward through actions profitable to the citizens and welcomes whatever the city allots.

7. For the parts of the whole, all that are by nature contained by the universe, it is necessary to perish; but let this be said as signifying "to be altered". And if this is by nature both bad for them and necessary, the whole would not be honourably conducted, its parts going into alteration and being made in different ways for perishing. For did nature herself undertake to maltreat her own parts, and to make them liable to fall in with the bad and, of necessity, prone to fall into the bad? Or did such things escape her notice as they came about? For both are unconvincing.[277] And if someone, even leaving 2
nature aside, should explain these things by their being so by nature, even so it is ridiculous at once to say that the parts of the whole are by nature such as to change, and at once to be astonished or to resent it as at one of the things contrary to nature happening, especially[278]

[277] "By nature", here and in the next sentence, is Coraes' *φύσει* for *φημί*, "I say"; "alteration" is Gataker's *ἀλλοίωσιν* for *ἀλλοτρίωσιν*, "estrangement" (L's apparatus).

[278] "Even so" is Schultz's *ὣς*; P has *ὡς*, A *ὃς* (L's apparatus).

τε καὶ τῆς διαλύσεως εἰς ταῦτα γινομένης, ἐξ ὧν ἕκαστον συνίσταται. ἤτοι 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 ὅλου λόγον, εἴτε κατὰ περίοδον ἐκπυρουμένου εἴτε ἀιδίοις ἀμοιβαῖς
3 ἀνανεουμένου. καὶ τὸ στερέμνιον δὲ καὶ τὸ πνευματικὸν μὴ φαντάζου τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως· πᾶν γὰρ τοῦτο ἐχθὲς καὶ τρίτην ἡμέραν ἐκ τῶν σιτίων καὶ τοῦ ἑλκομένου ἀέρος τὴν ἐπιρροὴν ἔλαβεν· τοῦτο οὖν ὃ ἔλαβε μεταβάλλει, οὐχ ὃ ἡ μήτηρ ἔτεκεν. ὑπόθου δ' ὅτι ἐκείνῳ σε λίαν προσπλέκει τῷ ἰδίως ποιῷ, οὐδὲν ὄντι οἶμαι πρὸς τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον.

η'. Ὀνόματα θέμενος σαυτῷ ταῦτα· ἀγαθός, αἰδήμων, ἀληθής, ἔμφρων, σύμφρων, ὑπέρφρων, πρόσεχε μήποτε μετονομάζῃ, κἂν ἀπολλύῃς ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα, [καὶ] ταχέως ἐπάνιθι ἐπ' αὐτά. μέμνησο δὲ ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἔμφρων ἐβούλετό σοι σημαίνειν τὴν ἐφ' ἕκαστα διαληπτικὴν ἐπίστασιν καὶ τὸ ἀπαρενθύμητον· τὸ δὲ σύμφρων τὴν ἑκούσιον ἀπόδεξιν τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως ἀπονεμομένων· τὸ δὲ ὑπέρφρων τὴν ὑπέρτασιν τοῦ φρονοῦντος μορίου ὑπὲρ λείαν ἢ τραχεῖαν κίνησιν τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ
2 τὸ δοξάριον καὶ τὸν θάνατον καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα. ἐὰν οὖν διατηρῇς σεαυτὸν ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ὀνόμασι μὴ γλιχόμενος τοῦ ὑπ' ἄλλων κατὰ ταῦτα ὀνομάζεσθαι, ἔσῃ ἕτερος καὶ εἰς βίον εἰσελεύσῃ ἕτερον. τὸ γὰρ ἔτι τοιοῦτον εἶναι οἷος 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 παρακα-

since the dissolution comes about into those things from which each is composed. For either a scattering of the elements from which it was compounded, or a turning of the solid into the earthy and of the breath-like into the airy, so that these too are taken up into the reason of the whole, whether it is periodically consumed by fire or renewed by everlasting exchanges.[279] And as for the solid and the 3
breath-like, do not form the impression that it is what came from the first birth; for all this took the inflow yesterday and the day before from food and the air drawn in. What changes, then, is this which it took in, not what the mother bore. And suppose that it binds you very closely to that which is individually qualified, which is nothing, I think, in respect of what is now being said.

8. Having given yourself these names, good, self-respecting, truthful, sensible, consenting, transcending, pay heed that you are never renamed; and if you lose these names, [and] return to them quickly. And remember that "sensible" was meant to signify for you attention that discerns each thing, and freedom from disregard; "consenting", the willing acceptance of what is allotted by the common nature; "transcending", the raising of the thinking part above smooth or rough motion of the flesh, and little fame, and death, and all such things.[280] If, then, you keep yourself in these 2
names, not hankering after being named by them by others, you will be another man and will enter on another life. For to be still such as you have been until now, and to be torn and defiled in such a life, is the mark of one too insensible and clinging to life, and like the half-eaten beast-fighters who, full of wounds and gore, en-

[279] The Stoic conflagration (*ἐκπύρωσις*), in which the universe is periodically resolved into fire and made again; Marcus leaves open whether it happens, as at 5.13 (compare 3.3).

[280] The last three names share the root *φρήν*, "mind": *ἔμφρων*, *σύμφρων*, *ὑπέρφρων*, the mind within, with, and above. "If you lose" is Morus' *κἂν ἀπολλύῃς* and "return" Nauck's *ἐπάνιθι*; L brackets *καί* after Casaubon (L's apparatus).

λοῦσιν ὅμως εἰς τὴν αὔριον φυλαχθῆναι, παραβληθησόμενοι
3 τοιοῦτοι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὄνυξι καὶ δήγμασιν. ἐμβίβασον οὖν σαυτὸν εἰς τὰ ὀλίγα ταῦτα ὀνόματα, κἂν μὲν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν μένειν δύνῃ, μένε ὥσπερ εἰς μακάρων τινὰς νήσους μετῳκισμένος· ἐὰν δὲ αἴσθῃ ὅτι ἐκπίπτεις καὶ οὐ περικρατεῖς, ἄπιθι θαρρῶν εἰς γωνίαν τινά, ὅπου κρατήσεις, ἢ καὶ παντάπασιν ἔξιθι τοῦ βίου, μὴ ὀργιζόμενος, ἀλλὰ ἁπλῶς καὶ ἐλευθέρως καὶ αἰδημόνως, ἕν γε
4 τοῦτο μόνον πράξας ἐν τῷ βίῳ τὸ οὕτως ἐξελθεῖν. 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.

θ′. Μῖμος, πόλεμος, πτοία, νάρκα, δουλεία· καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἀπαλείψεταί σου τὰ ἱερὰ ἐκεῖνα δόγματα, ὁπόσα ἀφυσιολογήτως φαντάζῃ καὶ παραπέμπεις. δεῖ δὲ πᾶν οὕτω βλέπειν καὶ πράσσειν ὥστε καὶ τὸ πρακτικὸν ἅμα συντελεῖσθαι καὶ ἅμα τὸ θεωρητικὸν ἐνεργεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς περὶ ἑκάστων ἐπιστήμης αὔθαδες σῴζεσθαι λανθάνον, οὐχὶ κρυπτόμενον. πότε γὰρ ἁπλότητος ἀπολαύσεις; πότε δὲ σεμνότητος; πότε δὲ τῆς ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστου γνωρίσεως, τί τε ἐστὶ 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;

ι′. 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 ἐξετάζῃς;

treat all the same to be guarded for the morrow, to be thrown, such as they are, to the same claws and bites. Set yourself aboard, then, these 3
few names; and if you can stay on them, stay, as one who has moved to some Isles of the Blessed; but if you perceive that you are falling out and not keeping the mastery, go away with good courage into some corner where you will have the mastery, or else go out of life altogether, not in anger, but simply and freely and with self-respect, having done in life at least this one thing alone: to go out so. In 4
remembering the names, however, it will greatly lend you a hand to remember the gods, and that they want not to be flattered, but want all rational beings to be assimilated to themselves, and the fig tree to be doing the things of a fig tree, the dog those of a dog, the bee those of a bee, and man those of a man.

9. Mime, war, flutter, torpor, slavery: day by day those sacred principles of yours will be wiped away, all that you form impressions of without studying nature, and let pass. But one must see and do everything so that at once the practical side is accomplished, and at once the observing side is in activity, and the self-assurance that comes from knowledge of each thing is preserved, escaping notice, not concealed. For when will you enjoy simplicity? And when dignity? And when the recognition of each thing: what it is in its substance, and what place it has in the universe, and for how long it is by nature able to subsist, and of what it is compounded, and to whom it can belong, and who can both give it and take it away?[281]

10. A little spider is proud when it has caught a fly; another, a little hare; another, a sprat in a scoop-net; another, little boars; another, bears; another, Sarmatians. For are these not robbers, if you examine the principles?[282]

[281] "Mime" is the reading of the witnesses; Xylander in the Basel edition proposed Λοιμός, "plague", Coraes Μῖσος, "hatred". L prints the middle ἀπαλείψεται, "will be wiped away"; Reiske proposed the active ἀπαλείψει, "will wipe away". "Without studying nature" is Gataker's ἀφυσιολογήτως, for ὁ φυσιολογητός; "the practical" is Coraes' πρακτικόν, for περιστατικόν (L's apparatus).

[282] Marcus himself fought the Sarmatians and took the title Sarmaticus in 175. A, reading κἄν, "and if", and P begin the next chapter with "if you examine the principles" (L's apparatus).

ια′. Πῶς εἰς ἄλληλα πάντα μεταβάλλει, θεωρητικὴν μέθοδον κτῆσαι καὶ διηνεκῶς 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 δικαιοσύνῃ μὲν εἰς τὰ ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ ἐνεργούμενα, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμβαίνουσι τῇ τῶν ὅλων φύσει. τί δ᾽ ἐρεῖ τις ἢ ὑπολήψεται περὶ αὐτοῦ ἢ πράξει κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ, οὐδ᾽ εἰς νοῦν βάλλεται, δύο τούτοις ἀρκούμενος, εἰ αὐτὸς δικαιοπραγεῖ τὸ νῦν πρασσόμενον καὶ φιλεῖ τὸ νῦν ἀπονεμόμενον ἑαυτῷ· ἀσχολίας δὲ πάσας καὶ σπουδὰς ἀφῆκε καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο βούλεται ἢ εὐθεῖαν περαίνειν διὰ τοῦ νόμου καὶ εὐθεῖαν περαίνοντι ἕπεσθαι τῷ θεῷ.

ιβ′. Τίς ὑπονοίας χρεία παρὸν σκοπεῖν τί δεῖ πραχθῆναι, κἂν μὲν συνορᾷς, εὐμενῶς, ἀμεταστρεπτὶ ταύτῃ χωρεῖν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ συνορᾷς, ἐπέχειν καὶ συμβούλοις τοῖς ἀρίστοις χρῆσθαι· ἐὰν δὲ ἕτερά τινα πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντιβαίνῃ, προιέναι κατὰ τὰς παρούσας ἀφορμὰς λελογισμένως, ἐχόμενον τοῦ φαινομένου δικαίου; ἄριστον γὰρ κατατυγχάνειν τούτου, ἐπεί τοι ἥ γε ἀπόπτωσις ἀπὸ τούτου ἐστίν. σχολαῖόν τι καὶ ἅμα εὐκίνητόν ἐστι καὶ φαιδρὸν ἅμα καὶ συνεστηκὸς ὁ τῷ λόγῳ κατὰ πᾶν ἑπόμενος.

ιγ′. Πυνθάνεσθαι ἑαυτοῦ εὐθὺς ἐξ ὕπνου γενόμενον· μήτι διοίσει σοι, ἐὰν ὑπὸ 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, οἷα δὲ ποιοῦσιν, οἷα δὲ φεύγουσιν, οἷα δὲ

11. Acquire a method of observing how all things change into one another, and pay heed to it perpetually, and exercise yourself in this part; for nothing so produces greatness of mind. He has put off the body, and, having borne in mind that very soon he will have to leave all these things and go away from among men, he has given himself up wholly to justice in what he himself brings about, and in the other things that happen, to the nature of the whole. And what someone will say or form as an opinion about him, or do against him, he does not even let into his mind, content with these two things: if he himself acts justly in what is now being done, and loves what is now allotted to him. And he has let go all busyness and serious pursuits, and wills nothing else than to bring the straight road to its end through the law, and to follow God as he brings the straight road to its end.[283]

12. What need is there of surmise, when it is possible to look at what must be done, and, if you see it clearly, to go that way kindly, without turning back; but if you do not see it clearly, to hold back and use the best counsellors; and if any other things stand against these, to go forward according to the present resources, with reckoning, holding to what appears just? For it is best to hit this, since indeed the falling away, at any rate, is from this. The man who follows reason in everything is something at leisure and at once quick to move, and bright and at once collected.[284]

13. Ask yourself as soon as you are out of sleep: Will it make any difference to you if what is just and as it should be is censured by another? It will make none. Have you forgotten that these people who are arrogant in praise and censure of others are such in bed and such at table, and what sorts of things they do, what sorts they flee, what sorts[285]

[283] "If he acts justly ... and loves" is Jackson's *εἰ* ... *δικαιοπραγεῖ* ... *φιλεῖ*; P has the infinitives, A the imperatives (L's apparatus). In the last clause the participle agrees with God, not with the man.

[284] "Is" is Boot's *ἐστίν*; L reports *ἔστω*, "let it be", in the manuscripts; Gataker proposed *ἀπόπτωσις ἀπότευξίς ἐστιν*, "falling away is failure" (L's apparatus).

[285] "Censured" is Lofft's *ψέγηται*; P has *γένηται*, "is done", A *γίνεται* (L's apparatus).

διώκουσιν, οἷα δὲ κλέπτουσιν, οἷα δὲ ἁρπάζουσιν, οὐ χερσὶ καὶ ποσίν, ἀλλὰ τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ ἑαυτῶν μέρει, ᾧ γίνεται ὅταν θέλῃ, πίστις, αἰδώς, ἀλήθεια, νόμος, ἀγαθὸς δαίμων;

ιδ′. 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 εὐνοῶν αὐτῇ.

ιε′. Ὀλίγον ἐστὶ τὸ ὑπολειπόμενον τοῦτο. ζῆσον ὡς ἐν ὄρει· οὐδὲν γὰρ διαφέρει ἐκεῖ ἢ ὧδε, ἐάν τις πανταχοῦ ὡς ἐν πόλει τῷ κόσμῳ. ἰδέτωσαν, ἱστορησάτωσαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἄνθρωπον ἀληθινὸν κατὰ φύσιν ζῶντα. εἰ μὴ φέρουσιν, ἀποκτεινάτωσαν· κρεῖττον γὰρ ἢ οὕτως ζῆν.

ις′. Μηκέθ᾽ ὅλως περὶ τοῦ οἷόν τινα εἶναι τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα διαλέγεσθαι, ἀλλὰ εἶναι τοιοῦτον.

ιζ′. 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.

ιη′. Εἰς ἕκαστον τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἐφιστάντα ἐπινοεῖν αὐτὸ ἤδη διαλυόμενον καὶ ἐν μεταβολῇ καὶ οἷον σήψει ἢ σκεδάσει γινόμενον ἢ καθότι ἕκαστον πέφυκεν ὥσπερ θνήσκειν.

ιθ′. Οἷοί εἰσιν ἐσθίοντες, καθεύδοντες, ὀχεύοντες, ἀποπατοῦντες, τὰ ἄλλα· εἶτα οἷοι ἀνδρονομούμενοι καὶ γαυρούμενοι ἢ χαλεπαίνοντες καὶ ἐξ ὑπεροχῆς ἐπιπλήττοντες, πρὸ ὀλίγου δὲ ἐδούλευον πόσοις καὶ δι᾽ οἷα· καὶ μετ᾽ ὀλίγον ἐν τοιούτοις ἔσονται.

κ′. Συμφέρει ἑκάστῳ ὃ φέρει ἑκάστῳ ἡ τῶν ὅλων φύσις, καὶ τότε συμφέρει ὅτε ἐκείνη φέρει.

they pursue, what sorts they steal, what sorts they snatch, not with hands and feet but with the most honoured part of themselves, which becomes, when it wants, faith, self-respect, truth, law, a good daimon?[286]

14. To nature, who gives all things and takes them back, the educated and self-respecting man says: Give what you want; take back what you want. And he says this not in defiance, but only obeying her and wishing her well.

15. Little is this that remains. Live as on a mountain; for it makes no difference, there or here, if one lives everywhere in the universe as in a city. Let men see, let them look into a true man living according to nature. If they do not tolerate him, let them kill him; for it is better than to live so.

16. No longer discuss at all what sort of man the good man is, but be such.

17. Continually, an impression of the whole of eternity and the whole of substance; and that all particular things are, in respect of substance, a fig-seed, and in respect of time, a turn of a drill.

18. Attending to each of the underlying things, conceive it as already dissolving and in change, and coming to be, as it were, in putrefaction or scattering, or in so far as each is by nature such as, as it were, to die.

19. What they are like eating, sleeping, coupling, going to stool, the rest; then what they are like when lording it and swaggering, or being exasperated and rebuking from on high; but a little before they were slaves to how many, and for what; and in a little while they will be in such things.

20. What the nature of the whole brings to each is advantageous to each, and advantageous at the time when she brings it.[287]

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[286] "Which becomes" is L's own ὃ; the witnesses have ᾧ, "through which there comes to be" (L's apparatus).

[287] A play on φέρει, "brings", and συμφέρει, "is advantageous", literally "brings together".

κα′. Ἐρᾷ μὲν ὄμβρου γαῖα, ἐρᾷ δὲ ὁ σεμνὸς αἰθήρ,᾽ ἐρᾷ δὲ ὁ κόσμος ποιῆσαι ὃ ἂν μέλλῃ γίνεσθαι. λέγω οὖν τῷ κόσμῳ ὅτι σοὶ συνερῶ. μήτι δὲ οὕτω κἀκεῖνο λέγεται, ὅτι· φιλεῖ τοῦτο γίνεσθαι;

κβ′. Ἤτοι ἐνταῦθα ζῇς καὶ ἤδη εἴθικας· ἢ ἔξω ὑπάγεις καὶ τοῦτο ἤθελες· ἢ ἀποθνῄσκεις καὶ ἀπελειτούργησας. παρὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐδέν. οὐκοῦν εὐθύμει.

κγ′. Ἐναργὲς ἔστω ἀεὶ τὸ ὅτι τοιοῦτο ἐκεῖνο ὁ ἀγρός ἐστι καὶ πῶς πάντα ἐστὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐνθάδε τοῖς ἐν ἄκρῳ τῷ ὄρει ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἢ ὅπου θέλεις. ἄντικρυς γὰρ εὑρήσεις τὰ τοῦ Πλάτωνος· ‘σηκὸν ἐν ὄρει, φησί, περιβαλλόμενος καὶ βδάλλων βληχήματα.’

κδ′. Τί ἐστί μοι τὸ ἡγεμονικόν μου καὶ ποῖόν τι αὐτὸ ἐγὼ ποιῶ νῦν καὶ πρὸς τί ποτε αὐτῷ νῦν χρῶμαι; μήτι κενὸν νοῦ ἐστι; μήτι ἀπόλυτον καὶ ἀπεσπασμένον κοινωνίας; μήτι προστετηκὸς καὶ ἀνακεκραμένον τῷ σαρκιδίῳ, ὥστε τούτῳ συντρέπεσθαι;

κε′. Ὁ τὸν κύριον φεύγων δραπέτης· κύριος δὲ ὁ νόμος καὶ ὁ παρανομῶν ⟨οὖν⟩ δραπέτης. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ λυπούμενος ἢ ὀργιζόμενος ἢ φοβούμενος οὐ βούλεταί τι γεγονέναι ἢ γίνεσθαι ἢ γενήσεσθαι τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ τὰ πάντα διοικοῦντος τεταγμένων, ὅς ἐστι νόμος, νέμων ὅσα ἑκάστῳ ἐπιβάλλει. ὁ ἄρα φοβούμενος ἢ λυπούμενος ἢ ὀργιζόμενος δραπέτης.

κς′. Σπέρμα εἰς μήτραν ἀφεὶς ἀπεχώρησε καὶ λοιπὸν

21. "Earth is in love with rain, in love the august aether"; and the universe is in love with making whatever is going to come about. I say, then, to the universe: I am in love along with you. And is that too said in this way: "This loves to happen"?[288][289]

22. Either you live here, and are already used to it; or you go off outside, and this you wanted; or you die, and you have finished serving. And beyond these, nothing. Be in good spirits, then.

23. Let it always be plain that the countryside is like that, and how all things here are the same as those on the top of the mountain, or on the shore, or wherever you want. For you will find exactly Plato's words: "putting a fold round himself on a mountain", he says, "and milking the bleating flocks."[290]

24. What is my ruling centre to me, and what sort of thing am I making it now, and for what, ever, am I now using it? Is it empty of mind? Is it loosed and torn away from fellowship? Is it melted into and blended with the poor flesh, so as to turn with it?

25. He who flees the master is a runaway; and the law is master, and he who breaks the law is ⟨then⟩ a runaway. But he too who is distressed or angry or afraid does not will that something should have come about, or be coming about, or be going to come about, of the things ordered by him who governs all things, who is law, dealing out all that falls to each. So he who is afraid or distressed or angry is a runaway.[291]

26. Having let seed go into a womb, he has gone away; and then

[288] Euripides fr. 898 Nauck (L's testimonia), quoted by Athenaeus 13.600a–b, where the line has "heaven" (*οὐρανός*) for Marcus' aether; Aristotle paraphrases the lines, also with "heaven", at *Nicomachean Ethics* 8.1, 1155b2–4. "August" renders *σεμνός*, elsewhere "dignified", as fits the poetry.

[289] "Loves to happen" (*φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι*) is the everyday Greek for "tends to happen"; Marcus takes the idiom at its word.

[290] Plato, *Theaetetus* 174d–e (L's testimonia), where to the philosopher the king is a herdsman milking his flock, his city wall thrown round him like a fold on a mountain. "Milking" is Coraes' *βδάλλων* and "the bleating flocks" Stich's *βληχήματα*; P has *βάλλειν* and *βλήματα* (L's apparatus).

[291] ⟨Then⟩ is Coraes' *οὖν*, and "does not will" Nauck's *οὐ βούλεται*, for *ὃ βούλεται* (L's apparatus). "Law ... dealing out" plays on *νόμος* and *νέμων*.

ἄλλη αἰτία παραλαβοῦσα ἐργάζεται καὶ ἀποτελεῖ βρέφος· ἐξ οἵου οἷον; πάλιν· τροφὴν διὰ φάρυγγος ἀφῆκε καὶ λοιπὸν ἄλλη αἰτία παραλαβοῦσα αἴσθησιν καὶ ὁρμὴν καὶ τὸ ὅλον ζωὴν καὶ ῥώμην καὶ ἄλλα (ὅσα καὶ οἷα;) ποιεῖ. ταῦτα οὖν ἐν τοιαύτῃ ἐγκαλύψει γινόμενα θεωρεῖν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν οὕτως ὁρᾶν, ὡς καὶ τὴν βρίθουσαν καὶ τὴν ἀνωφερῆ ὁρῶμεν, οὐχὶ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἧττον ἐναργῶς.

κζ′. Συνεχῶς ἐπινοεῖν πῶς πάντα τοιαῦτα, ὁποῖα νῦν γίνεται, καὶ πρόσθεν ἐγίνετο, καὶ ἐπινοεῖν γενησόμενα· καὶ ὅλα δράματα καὶ σκηνὰς ὁμοειδεῖς, ὅσα ἐκ πείρας τῆς σῆς ἢ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας ἱστορίας ἔγνως, πρὸ ὀμμάτων τίθεσθαι, οἷον αὐλὴν ὅλην Ἁδριανοῦ καὶ αὐλὴν ὅλην Ἀντωνίνου καὶ αὐλὴν ὅλην Φιλίππου, Ἀλεξάνδρου, Κροίσου· πάντα γὰρ ἐκεῖνα τοιαῦτα ἦν, μόνον δι' ἑτέρων.

κη′. Φαντάζου πάντα τὸν ἐφ' ὠτινιοῦν 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 ζῴῳ δέδοται τὸ ἑκουσίως ἕπεσθαι τοῖς γινομένοις, τὸ δὲ ἕπεσθαι ψιλὸν πᾶσιν ἀναγκαῖον.

κθ′. Κατὰ μέρος ἐφ' ἑκάστου ὧν ποιεῖς ἐφιστάνων ἐπερώτα σεαυτὸν εἰ ὁ θάνατος δεινὸν διὰ τὸ τούτου στέρεσθαι.

λ′. Ὅταν προσκόπτῃς ἐπί τινος ἁμαρτίᾳ, εὐθὺς μεταβὰς ἐπιλογίζου τί παρόμοιον ἁμαρτάνεις· οἷον, ἀργύριον ἀγαθὸν εἶναι κρίνων ⟨ἢ⟩ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἢ τὸ δοξάριον καὶ κατ' εἶδος. τούτῳ γὰρ ἐπιβάλλων ταχέως ἐπιλήσῃ τῆς ὀργῆς, συμπροσπίπτοντος τοῦ ὅτι βιάζεται· τί γὰρ ποιήσει; ἄ, εἰ δύνασαι, ἄφελε αὐτοῦ τὸ βιαζόμενον.

another cause takes it over and works and completes an infant: from what sort of thing, what sort? Again: he has let food go down through the throat, and then another cause takes it over and makes sensation and impulse and, in short, life and vigour and other things (how many, and of what sort?). Observe, then, these things that come about in such veiling, and see the power in the same way as we see the power that weighs down and the power that carries upward: not with the eyes, but no less plainly.

27. Conceive continually how all things such as come about now came about before too, and conceive them as going to come about; and set before your eyes whole dramas and scenes of one form, all that you have known from your own experience or from older history: for example, the whole court of Hadrian, and the whole court of Antoninus, and the whole court of Philip, Alexander, Croesus; for all those were such, only through others.[292]

28. Form the impression that everyone who is distressed or discontented at anything whatever is like the piglet being sacrificed, kicking and squealing. Like it too is he who laments on the little bed, alone, in silence. Form an impression of our bondage, and that to the rational living being alone it is given to follow willingly what happens, while bare following is necessary for all.[293]

29. Attending, one by one, to each of the things you do, question yourself whether death is a terrible thing because of being deprived of this.

30. When you take offence at someone's wrongdoing, pass over at once and take account of what similar wrong you do: for example, judging money to be a good, ⟨or⟩ pleasure, or little fame, and so on by kind. For if you apply yourself to this you will quickly forget the anger, when this occurs along with it: that he is under constraint; for what will he do? Or, if you can, take away from him what constrains him.[294]

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[292] Antoninus is Antoninus Pius, Marcus' adoptive father (1.16); Philip is Philip II of Macedon, Alexander's father.

[293] L ends the sentence at "in silence", so that "our bondage" depends on the opening "form the impression"; it can also be taken with "laments". L reports *ἔνδοσιν*, "giving in", for *ἔνδεσιν*, "bondage", in two manuscripts (L's apparatus).

[294] ⟨Or⟩ is Coraes' supplement; "occurs ... along with" is L's own *συμπροσπίπτοντος* (the verb of 10.31), for *συμπίπτοντος*, which L reports in the manuscripts (L's apparatus).

λα′. Σατυρίωνα ἰδὼν Σωκρατικὸν φαντάζου ἢ Εὐτύχην ἢ Ὑμένα, καὶ Εὐφράτην ἰδὼν Εὐτυχίωνα ἢ Σιλουανὸν φαντάζου, καὶ Ἀλκίφρονα Τροπαιοφόρον φαντάζου, καὶ Σευῆρον ἰδὼν Κρίτωνα ἢ Ξενοφῶντα φαντάζου, καὶ εἰς σεαυτὸν ἀπιδὼν τῶν Καισάρων τινὰ φαντάζου, καὶ ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστου τὸ ἀνάλογον. εἶτα συμπροσπιπτέτω σοι· ποῦ οὖν ἐκεῖνοι; οὐδαμοῦ ἢ ὁπουδή. οὕτως γὰρ συνεχῶς θεάσῃ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα καπνὸν καὶ τὸ μηδέν, μάλιστα ἐὰν συμμνημονεύσῃς ὅτι τὸ ἅπαξ μεταβαλὸν οὐκέτι ἔσται ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ χρόνῳ. τί οὖν ἐντείνῃ; τί δ᾽ οὐκ ἀρκεῖ σοι τὸ βραχὺ τοῦτο κοσμίως διαπερᾶσαι;

Οἷαν ὕλην καὶ ὑπόθεσιν φεύγεις· τί γάρ ἐστι πάντα ταῦτα ἄλλο πλὴν γυμνάσματα λόγου ἑωρακότος ἀκριβῶς καὶ φυσιολόγως τὰ ἐν τῷ βίῳ; μένε οὖν, μέχρι ἐξοικειώσῃς σεαυτῷ καὶ ταῦτα, ὡς ὁ ἐρρωμένος στόμαχος πάντα ἐξοικειοῖ, ὡς τὸ λαμπρὸν πῦρ, ὅ τι ἂν ἐμβάλῃς, φλόγα ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐγὴν ποιεῖ.

λβ′. Μηδενὶ ἐξέστω εἰπεῖν ἀληθεύοντι περὶ σοῦ ὅτι οὐχ ἁπλοῦς ἢ ὅτι οὐκ ἀγαθός, ἀλλὰ ψευδέσθω, ὅστις τούτων τι περὶ σοῦ ὑπολήψεται. πᾶν δὲ τοῦτο ἐπὶ σοί· τίς γὰρ ὁ κωλύων ἀγαθὸν εἶναί σε καὶ ἁπλοῦν; σὺ μόνον κρῖνον μηκέτι ζῆν, εἰ μὴ τοιοῦτος ἔσῃ· οὐδὲ γὰρ αἱρεῖ λόγος μὴ τοιοῦτον ὄντα.

λγ′. Τί ἐστι τὸ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ὕλης δυνάμενον κατὰ τὸ ὑγιέστατον πραχθῆναι ἢ ῥηθῆναι; ὅ τι γὰρ ἂν τοῦτο ᾖ, ἔξεστιν αὐτὸ πρᾶξαι ἢ εἰπεῖν καὶ μὴ προφασίζου ὡς κωλυόμενος.

Οὐ πρότερον παύσῃ στένων πρὶν ἢ τοῦτο πάθῃς, ὅτι

31. When you see Satyrion, form an impression of Socraticus or Eutyches or Hymen; and when you see Euphrates, form an impression of Eutychion or Silvanus; and Alciphron: form an impression of Tropaeophorus; and when you see Severus, form an impression of Crito or Xenophon; and when you look at yourself, form an impression of one of the Caesars; and in each case the counterpart. Then let this occur to you along with it: Where, then, are they? Nowhere, or wherever. For so you will continually look at human things as smoke and nothing, especially if you remember along with it that what has once changed will no longer be in infinite time. Why, then, are you strained? And why is it not enough for you to pass through this brief span in good order?

What material and what occasion you flee! For what are all these but exercises for a reason that has seen exactly, and as one who studies nature, the things in life? Stay, then, until you bring these too into affinity with yourself, as the vigorous stomach brings everything into affinity with itself, as the bright fire makes flame and radiance out of whatever you throw into it.[295][296]

32. Let it not be open to anyone to say truly of you that you are not simple, or that you are not good; but let whoever forms any of these opinions about you be lying. And all this is in your power; for who is it that prevents you from being good and simple? Only judge, for your part, that you will live no longer if you will not be such; for reason does not require it either, when one is not such.

33. What is it that, in this material, can be done or said in the soundest way? For whatever this may be, it is open to you to do it or say it; and do not make excuses as though you were prevented.

You will not cease groaning before you come to feel this, that[297]

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[295] Most of these names cannot be identified. Satyrion is Gataker's correction of *Σατύρωνα*, and Silvanus follows Xylander's Latin version (P and A *Σιλουινόν*); Severus is probably the Severus of 1.14, and Crito and Xenophon are Socrates' companions. The witnesses have "when you see Xenophon, form an impression of Crito or Severus"; L transposes the two names (L's apparatus).

[296] "Are you strained" is Coraes' *ἐντείνῃ*; A has *ἐν τίνι*, P *σὺ οὖν ἐν τίνι*. The new paragraph at "What material" is L's; "throw into it" is Schultz's *ἐμβάλῃς*, for *βάλῃς* (L's apparatus).

[297] A begins a new chapter at "You will not cease"; L keeps it in 10.33 as a new paragraph (L's apparatus).

οἷόν ἐστι 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 ὃ
2 ἔξεστι κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν φύσιν ἐνεργεῖν. πανταχοῦ δὲ ἔξεστι. τῷ μὲν οὖν κυλίνδρῳ οὐ πανταχοῦ δίδοται φέρεσθαι τὴν ἰδίαν κίνησιν οὐδὲ τῷ ὕδατι 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 οὕ-
3 τως πορεύεσθαι δύναται ὡς πέφυκε καὶ ὡς θέλει. ταύτην τὴν ῥᾳστώνην πρὸ ὀμμάτων τιθέμενος, καθ' ἣν ἐνεχθήσεται ὁ λόγος διὰ πάντων ὡς πῦρ ἄνω, ὡς λίθος κάτω, ὡς κύλινδρος κατὰ πρανοῦς, μηκέτι μηδὲν ἐπιζήτει· τὰ γὰρ λοιπὰ ἐγκόμματα ἤτοι τοῦ σωματίου ἐστὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ, ἢ χωρὶς ὑπολήψεως καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ τοῦ λόγου ἐνδόσεως οὐ θραύει οὐδὲ ποιεῖ κακὸν
4 οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν. ἐπεί τοι καὶ ὁ πάσχων αὐτὸς κακὸς ἂν εὐθὺς ἐγίνετο· ἐπὶ γοῦν τῶν ἄλλων κατασκευασμάτων πάντων, ὅ τι ἂν κακόν τινι αὐτῶν συμβῇ, παρὰ τοῦτο χεῖρον γίνεται αὐτὸ τὸ πάσχον, ἐνταῦθα δέ, εἰ δεῖ εἰπεῖν, καὶ κρείττων γίνεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἐπαινετώτερος, ὀρθῶς χρώμενος τοῖς προσπίπτουσιν. ὅλως δὲ μέμνησο ὅτι τὸν φύσει πολίτην οὐδὲν βλάπτει ὃ πόλιν οὐ βλάπτει, οὐδέ γε πόλιν βλάπτει ὃ νόμον οὐ βλάπτει· τούτων δὲ τῶν καλουμένων ἀκληρημάτων οὐδὲν βλάπτει νόμον. ὃ τοίνυν νόμον οὐ βλάπτει, οὔτε πόλιν οὔτε πολίτην.

λδ′. Τῷ δεδευμένῳ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀληθῶν δογμάτων ἀρκεῖ καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον καὶ ἐν μέσῳ κείμενον εἰς ὑπόμνησιν

what is luxury to those who live delicately? Such, for you, is the doing, in the material laid before you and presenting itself, of the things proper to the constitution of man; for one must form the opinion that everything is an enjoyment which it is open to one to enact according to one's own nature.[298] And it is open everywhere. To the cylinder, 2
then, it is not given everywhere to be carried in its own motion, nor to water, nor to fire, nor to the other things that are governed by nature or by an irrational soul; for the things that bar them and stand in the way are many. But mind and reason can make their way through everything that resists, as they are by nature able and as they want. Setting before your eyes this ease, by which reason will be carried 3
through all things, as fire upward, as a stone downward, as a cylinder down a slope, seek nothing further; for the remaining knocks either belong to the poor body, the corpse, or, without opinion and the giving in of reason itself, do not crush nor do anything bad whatever. Since otherwise, indeed, even the one affected would himself 4
at once become bad. At any rate, in all other constructions, whatever bad thing happens to any of them, the thing affected itself becomes worse by that; but here, if one must say it, man even becomes better and more praiseworthy by using rightly what befalls. And in general remember that nothing harms the citizen by nature that does not harm the city, nor indeed does anything harm the city that does not harm law; and of these so-called mischances none harms law. What, then, does not harm law harms neither city nor citizen.[299]

34. For one who has been steeped in the true principles even what is briefest and lies open to all is enough as a reminder[300]

[298] "Such" is Reiske's τοιοῦτο, for τοῦτο, "this" (L's apparatus).

[299] "Himself" is Casaubon's αὐτός, for αὐτό, and "would become" Coraes' ἐγίνετο, for ἐγένετο (L's apparatus).

[300] "Steeped" is Gataker's δεδευμένῳ; P, A and X have δεδηγμένῳ, "bitten" (L's apparatus).

ἀλυπίας καὶ ἀφοβίας, οἷον· ‘φύλλα τὰ μέν τ’ ἄνεμος χαμάδις χέει· ὣς 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 ὁμοίως καὶ τὰ διαδεξόμενα τὴν ὑστεροφημίαν. πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα ‘ἔαρος ἐπιγίγνεται ὥρῃ’· εἶτα ἄνεμος καταβέβληκεν· ἔπειθ’ ὕλη ἕτερα ἀντὶ τούτων φύει. τὸ δὲ ὀλιγοχρόνιον κοινὸν πᾶσιν, ἀλλὰ σὺ πάντα ὡς αἰώνια ἐσόμενα φεύγεις καὶ διώκεις. μικρὸν καὶ καταμύσεις, τὸν δὲ ἐξενεγκόντα σε ἤδη ἄλλος θρηνήσει.

λε′. Τὸν ὑγιαίνοντα ὀφθαλμὸν πάντα ὁρᾶν δεῖ τὰ ὁρατὰ καὶ μὴ λέγειν· τὰ χλωρὰ θέλω· τοῦτο γὰρ ὀφθαλμιῶντός ἐστι. καὶ τὴν ὑγιαίνουσαν ἀκοὴν καὶ ὄσφρησιν εἰς πάντα δεῖ τὰ ἀκουστὰ καὶ ὀσφραντὰ ἑτοίμην εἶναι, καὶ τὸν ὑγιαίνοντα στόμαχον πρὸς πάντα τὰ τρόφιμα ὁμοίως ἔχειν ὡς μύλην πρὸς πάντα ὅσα ἀλέσουσα κατεσκεύασται. καὶ τοίνυν τὴν ὑγιαίνουσαν διάνοιαν πρὸς πάντα δεῖ τὰ συμβαίνοντα ἑτοίμην εἶναι, ἡ δὲ λέγουσα· τὰ τεκνία σῳζέσθω, καί· πάντες ὅ τι ἂν πράξω ἐπαινείτωσαν, ὀφθαλμός ἐστι τὰ χλωρὰ ζητῶν ἢ ὀδόντες τὰ ἁπαλά.

λς′. Οὐδείς ἐστιν οὕτως εὔποτμος ᾧ ἀποθνῄσκοντι οὐ παρεστήξονταί τινες ἀσπαζόμενοι τὸ συμβαῖνον κακόν. σπουδαῖος καὶ σοφὸς ἦν· μὴ τὸ πανύστατον ἔσται τις ὁ καθ’ αὑτὸν λέγων· ἀναπνεύσομέν ποτε ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ; χαλεπὸς μὲν οὐδενὶ ἡμῶν ἦν, ἀλλὰ ᾐσθανόμην ὅτι ἡσυχῇ καταγινώσκει ἡμῶν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοῦ

of freedom from distress and from fear, such as: "Leaves, some the wind sheds on the ground: so the race of men." And little leaves too are your little children; and little leaves too these who cry out acclaim credibly and speak good words, or on the other side curse, or quietly censure and mock; and little leaves likewise too those who will succeed to the fame after death. For all these "come up in the season of spring"; then the wind has thrown them down; then the forest puts forth others in place of these. And short duration is common to all; but you flee and pursue all things as though they were to be eternal. A little while, and you will close your eyes; and him who carried you out another will soon mourn.[301]

35. The healthy eye must see all visible things, and not say, "I want green things"; for that is the mark of one with sore eyes. And the healthy hearing and smell must be ready for all that can be heard and smelt; and the healthy stomach must be disposed alike towards all foods, as a mill towards all that it has been made to grind. And so the healthy understanding must be ready for all that happens; but the one that says, "Let the little children be preserved", and, "Let everyone praise whatever I do", is an eye seeking green things, or teeth soft things.

36. No one is of so happy a fate that, when he is dying, there will not be some standing by who welcome the bad thing that is happening. He was serious and wise: will there not be, at the very last, someone saying to himself, "Shall we ever breathe again, free of this schoolmaster? He was hard on none of us, but I perceived that he quietly found fault with us." These things, then, in the case of the[302]

[301] Homer, *Iliad* 6.147–149 (L's testimonia), Glaucus to Diomedes, abridged. Ὕλη is Homer's "forest" and the Stoics' "material" (10.31, 10.33).

[302] The schoolmaster (*παιδαγωγός*) is the slave who took a boy to school and watched over him. L prints the future *ἀναπνεύσομεν*; Reiske proposed *ἀναπνεύσωμεν*, "let us breathe" (L's apparatus).

σπουδαίου, ἐφ᾽ ἡμῶν δὲ πόσα ἄλλα ἐστί, δι᾽ ἃ πολὺς ὁ ἀπαλλακτιῶν ἡμῶν. τοῦτο οὖν ἐννοήσεις ἀποθνῄσκων καὶ εὐκολώτερον ἐξελεύσῃ, λογιζόμενος· ἐκ τοιούτου βίου ἀπέρχομαι, ἐν ᾧ αὐτοὶ οἱ κοινωνοί, ὑπὲρ ὧν τὰ τοσαῦτα ἠγωνισάμην, ηὐξάμην, ἐφρόντισα, αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι θέλουσί με ὑπάγειν, ἄλλην τινὰ τυχὸν ἐκ τούτου ῥᾳστώνην ἐλπίζοντες. τί ἂν οὖν τις ἀντέχοιτο τῆς ἐνταῦθα μακροτέρας διατριβῆς; μὴ μέντοι διὰ τοῦτο ἔλαττον εὐμενὴς αὐτοῖς ἄπιθι, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἴδιον ἔθος διασῴζων, φίλος καὶ εὔνους καὶ ἵλεως· καὶ μὴ πάλιν ὡς ἀποσπώμενος, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐθανατοῦντος εὐκόλως τὸ ψυχάριον ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἐξειλεῖται, τοιαύτην καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τούτων ἀποχώρησιν δεῖ γίνεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ τούτοις ἡ φύσις συνῆψε καὶ συνέκρινεν, ἀλλὰ νῦν διαλύει. διαλύομαι ὡς ἀπὸ οἰκείων μέν, οὐ μὴν ἀνθελκόμενος ἀλλ᾽ ἀβιάστως· ἓν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο τῶν κατὰ φύσιν.

λζ′. Ἔθισον ἐπὶ παντός, ὡς οἷόν τε, τοῦ πρασσομένου ὑπό τινος ἐπιζητεῖν κατὰ σαυτόν· οὗτος τοῦτο ἐπὶ τί ἀναφέρει; ἄρχου δὲ ἀπὸ σαυτοῦ καὶ σαυτὸν πρῶτον ἐξέταζε.

λη′. Μέμνησο ὅτι τὸ νευροσπαστοῦν ἐστιν ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἔνδον ἐγκεκρυμμένον· ἐκεῖνο ῥητορεία, ἐκεῖνο ζωή, ἐκεῖνο, εἰ δεῖ εἰπεῖν, ἄνθρωπος. μηδέποτε συμπεριφαντάζου τὸ περικείμενον ἀγγειῶδες καὶ τὰ ὀργάνια ταῦτα τὰ περιπεπλασμένα· ὅμοια γάρ ἐστι σκεπάρνῳ, μόνον διαφέροντα, καθότι προσφυῆ ἐστιν. ἐπεί τοι οὐ μᾶλλόν 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.

serious man; but in our case, how many other things there are for which many a one longs to be rid of us. You will bear this in mind, then, when dying, and you will go out more at ease, reckoning: "I am departing from such a life, in which the very fellows, for whom I struggled so much, prayed, took thought, they themselves want me to go off, hoping perhaps for some other ease from it." Why, then, should anyone cling to a longer stay here? Do not, however, on this account go away less kindly to them, but preserving your own habit, friendly and well-wishing and serene; and again not as one torn away; but as, with one who dies well, the little soul slips out of the body with ease, such too must the going away from these be. For indeed nature joined and compounded with these, but now she dissolves. I am dissolved as from those akin, yet not pulled the other way, but without constraint; for this too is one of the things according to nature.[303]

37. Accustom yourself, as far as possible, in the case of everything done by anyone, to seek within yourself: To what does this man refer this? But begin from yourself, and examine yourself first.[304]

38. Remember that what jerks the puppet is that which is hidden within: that is eloquence, that is life, that, if one must say it, is man. Never include in your impression the vessel-like thing that surrounds it, and these little instruments moulded about it; for they are like an adze, differing only in that they grow attached. Since, indeed, there is no more use in these parts without the cause that moves and checks them than in the shuttle to the weaver and the pen to the writer and the whip to the charioteer.[305]

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[303] "Joined" has no object in L's text; Coraes proposed adding *σϵ*, "you" (L's apparatus).

[304] "Refer" is Reiske's *τί ἀναφέρει*, for *τίνα φέρει*, "to whom does he bring this" (L's apparatus).

[305] L thinks *ῥητορεία*, "eloquence", hardly sound ("locus vix sanus"); A has *ῥητορία* (L's apparatus).

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΙΑ

α′. Τὰ ἴδια τῆς λογικῆς ψυχῆς· ἑαυτὴν ὁρᾷ, ἑαυτὴν διαρθροῖ, ἑαυτὴν ὁποίαν ἂν βούληται ποιεῖ, τὸν καρπὸν ὃν φέρει αὐτὴ καρποῦται (τοὺς γὰρ τῶν φυτῶν καρποὺς καὶ τὸ ἀνάλογον ἐπὶ τῶν ζῴων ἄλλοι καρποῦνται), τοῦ ἰδίου τέλους τυγχάνει, ὅπου ἂν τὸ τοῦ βίου πέρας ἐπιστῇ, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ ὀρχήσεως καὶ ὑποκρίσεως καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀτελὴς γίνεται ἡ ὅλη πρᾶξις, ἐάν τι ἐγκόψῃ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παντὸς μέρους καὶ ὅπου ἂν καταληφθῇ, πλῆρες καὶ ἀπροσδεὲς ἑαυτῇ τὸ προτεθὲν ποιεῖ, ὥστε εἰπεῖν·
2 ἐγὼ ἀπέχω τὰ ἐμά. 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 ἑώρακε κατὰ τὸ ὁμοειδές. ἴδιον δὲ λογικῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὸ φιλεῖν τοὺς πλησίον καὶ ἀλήθεια καὶ αἰδὼς καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἑαυτῆς προτιμᾶν, ὅπερ ἴδιον καὶ νόμου· οὕτως ἄρ' οὐδὲν διήνεγκε λόγος ὀρθὸς καὶ λόγος δικαιοσύνης.

β′. Ὠιδῆς ἐπιτερποῦς καὶ ὀρχήσεως καὶ παγκρατίου καταφρονήσεις, ἐὰν τὴν μὲν ἐμμελῆ φωνὴν καταμερίσῃς εἰς ἕκαστον τῶν φθόγγων καὶ καθ' ἕνα πύθῃ σεαυτοῦ, εἰ τούτου ἥττων εἶ· διατραπήσῃ γάρ· ἐπὶ δὲ ὀρχήσεως 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

Book XI

1. What is peculiar to the rational soul: it sees itself, articulates itself, makes itself such as it wills; the fruit it bears it harvests itself (for the fruits of plants, and what corresponds to them in living beings, others harvest); it attains its own end wherever the term of life comes upon it, not as in a dance or in acting and the like, where the whole action is left incomplete if something cuts it short, but in every part, and wherever it is overtaken, it makes what it set before itself full and lacking nothing for itself, so that it can say: I have what is mine in full. Further, it goes round the whole universe and the 2
void around it and its shape, and stretches out into the infinity of eternity, and embraces and comprehends the periodic rebirth of the whole, and observes that those after us will see nothing newer, nor did those before us see anything more, but in a manner the man of forty, if he has any mind whatever, has seen all that has been and will be, by uniformity. Peculiar to the rational soul are also the loving of neighbours, and truth, and self-respect, and the honouring of nothing above itself, which is peculiar to law as well; so, then, right reason and the reason of justice differ in nothing.[306]

2. A delightful song, and dancing, and the pancratium you will despise, if you divide the tuneful voice into each of its notes and ask yourself of each one whether you are overcome by it; for you will be abashed; and in the case of dancing, having done the corresponding thing for each motion or pose; and the same in the case of the pancratium too. In general, then, except for virtue and what comes from virtue, remember to run to the particular parts and, by the[307]

[306] The periodic rebirth (*παλιγγενεσία*) is the Stoic renewal of the world after each conflagration (10.7.2); for the man of forty compare 7.49.

[307] The pancratium combined wrestling and boxing.

διαιρέσει αὐτῶν εἰς καταφρόνησιν ἰέναι, τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν βίον ὅλον μετάφερε.

γ′. Οἵα ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ ἡ ἕτοιμος, ἐὰν ἤδη ἀπολυθῆναι δέῃ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἤτοι σβεσθῆναι ἢ σκεδασθῆναι ἢ συμμεῖναι. τὸ δὲ ἕτοιμον τοῦτο ἵνα ἀπὸ ἰδικῆς κρίσεως ἔρχηται, μὴ κατὰ ψιλὴν παράταξιν ὡς οἱ Χριστιανοί, ἀλλὰ λελογισμένως καὶ σεμνῶς καὶ ὥστε καὶ ἄλλον πεῖσαι, ἀτραγῴδως.

δ′. Πεποίηκά τι κοινωνικῶς· οὐκοῦν ὠφέλημαι. τοῦτο ἵνα ἀεὶ πρόχειρον ἀπαντᾷ, καὶ μηδαμοῦ παύου.

ε′. Τίς σου ἡ τέχνη; ἀγαθὸν εἶναι. τοῦτο δὲ πῶς καλῶς γίνεται ἢ ἐκ θεωρημάτων, τῶν μὲν περὶ τῆς τοῦ ὅλου φύσεως, τῶν δὲ περὶ τῆς ἰδίας τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς.

ς′. 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 οὕτως δεῖ ταῦτα περαίνεσθαι καὶ ὅτι φέρουσιν αὐτὰ καὶ οἱ κεκραγότες· 'ἰὼ Κιθαιρών.' καὶ λέγεται δέ τινα ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ δράματα ποιούντων χρησίμως· οἷόν ἐστιν ἐκεῖνο μάλιστα·

εἰ δ' ἠμελήθην ἐκ θεῶν καὶ παῖδ' 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

division of them, to come to contempt; and carry the same over to the whole of life too.

3. What a soul that is which is ready, if it must at once be released from the body, and be either quenched or scattered or remain together! And let this readiness come from a judgement of its own, not from bare opposition, like the Christians, but with reckoning and dignity and, so as to persuade another too, without tragic display.[308]

4. I have done something socially; then I have been benefited. Let this always meet you ready to hand; and cease nowhere.

5. What is your art? To be good. And how does this come about honourably except from doctrines, some about the nature of the whole, others about man's own constitution?[309]

6. First, tragedies were brought on as reminders of what happens, and that these things are by nature such as to come about so, and that by the things that delight you on the stage you should not be annoyed on the greater stage; for you see that these things must be brought to their end so, and that even those who cry out "Alas, Cithaeron!" bear them. And some things too are said usefully by the makers of the dramas, as that above all:

> But if I and my two sons have been neglected by the gods,
> there is reason in this too;

and again:

> For not to rage at things;

and:

> To reap life like a fruitful ear of corn;

and all such.[310] After tragedy the Old Comedy was brought on, with 2
a schoolmaster's frankness, and of freedom from vanity

[308] The only mention of the Christians in the work. Παράταξις is a line of battle drawn up: obstinate opposition. Whether the words ὡς οἱ Χριστιανοί are Marcus' own or a reader's gloss has been disputed; L prints them without comment.

[309] "Except" gives the sense the passage needs, which strictly wants ἄλλως, "otherwise": Reiske proposed πῶς ⟨ἄλλως⟩ καλῶς, Coraes πῶς ἄλλως for πῶς καλῶς (L's apparatus).

[310] Sophocles, *Oedipus the King* 1391, Oedipus' cry (L's testimonia; compare Epictetus 1.24.16). The three verses stand also at 7.41, 7.38 and 7.40; here the second lacks χρεών, "one must", which Coraes proposed adding (L's apparatus).

οὐκ ἀχρήστως δι᾽ αὐτῆς τῆς εὐθυρρημοσύνης ὑπομιμῄσκουσα· πρὸς οἷόν τι καὶ Διογένης ταυτὶ παρελάμβανε. μετὰ ταύτην ἡ μέση κωμῳδία καὶ λοιπὸν ἡ νέα πρὸς τί ποτε παρείληπται, ἢ 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;

ζ′. Πῶς ἐναργὲς προσπίπτει τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἄλλην βίου ὑπόθεσιν εἰς τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν οὕτως ἐπιτήδειον ὡς ταύτην, ἐν ᾗ νῦν ὢν τυγχάνεις.

η′. Κλάδος τοῦ προσεχοῦς κλάδου ἀποκοπεὶς οὐ δύναται μὴ καὶ τοῦ ὅλου φυτοῦ ἀποκεκόφθαι. οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου ἀποσχισθεὶς ὅλης τῆς κοινωνίας ἀποπέπτωκε. κλάδον μὲν οὖν ἄλλος ἀποκόπτει· ἄνθρωπος δὲ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν τοῦ πλησίον χωρίζει μισήσας καὶ ἀποστραφείς, ἀγνοεῖ δὲ ὅτι καὶ τοῦ ὅλου πολιτεύματος ἅμα ἀποτέτμηκεν ἑαυτόν. 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 αὖθις ἐγκεντρισθέντι, ὅ τι ποτὲ λέγουσιν οἱ φυτουργοί.

Ὁμοθαμνεῖν μέν, μὴ ὁμοδογματεῖν δέ.

θ′. Οἱ ἐνιστάμενοι προιόντι σοι κατὰ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον

reminding not uselessly, through its very plain speaking; to some such end Diogenes too took these things up. After this, attend: for what purpose ever have the Middle Comedy and then the New been taken up, which little by little slid down into the virtuosity of imitation? For that some useful things are said by these too is not unknown; but the whole project of such poetry and dramaturgy, to what target did it ever look?[311]

7. How plainly it strikes one that there is no other station of life so fitted for philosophy as this in which you now happen to be![312]

8. A branch cut off from the adjacent branch cannot but be cut off from the whole plant too. Just so, a man too, split off from one man, has fallen away from the whole fellowship. Now a branch is cut off by another; but a man separates himself from the neighbour by hating and turning away, and does not know that he has at the same time severed himself from the whole polity too. Except that this, at least, is a gift of Zeus, who established the fellowship: for it is open to us to grow together again with what is adjacent, and again to become parts that complete the whole. Happening often, however, the matter of such a division makes ⟨that which⟩ goes away hard to unite and hard to restore. And in general the branch that has sprouted together from the beginning and has remained breathing together is not like the one grafted in again after the cutting off, whatever the planters say.

Grow on the same bush, but do not hold the same principles.[313]

9. Those who stand in your way as you go forward according to right reason:

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[311] "After this" is Stich's *μετὰ ταύτην* (P *μετὰ ταῦτα τίς*), and "which" Gataker's *ἥ* (L's apparatus). Diogenes is the Cynic; L's testimonia refer to what Diogenes Laertius (Book 6) reports of his plays.

[312] Station (*ὑπόθεσις*): as at 8.1, probably his position as emperor.

[313] ⟨That which⟩ renders Coraes' supplement ⟨*τὸ*⟩; P has *προχωροῦν*, "goes forward", for *ἀποχωροῦν* (A). The new paragraph follows Xylander (L's apparatus).

ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑγιοῦς 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 ἢ 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.

ι′. 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 ἂν ἀπολείποιτο τῆς τεχνικῆς εὐμηχανίας. πᾶσαι δέ γε τέχναι τῶν κρειττόνων ἕνεκεν 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 ἤτοι διαφερώμεθα πρὸς τὰ μέσα ἢ εὐεξαπάτητοι καὶ προπτωτικοὶ καὶ μεταπτωτικοὶ ὦμεν.

ια′. [Εἰ μὲν] Οὐκ ἔρχεται ἐπὶ σὲ τὰ πράγματα ὧν αἱ διώξεις καὶ φυγαὶ θορυβοῦσί σε, ἀλλὰ τρόπον τινὰ αὐτὸς ἐπ᾽ ἐκεῖνα ἔρχῃ· τὸ γοῦν κρῖμα τὸ περὶ αὐτῶν ἡσυχαζέτω κἀκεῖνα μενεῖ ἀτρεμοῦντα καὶ οὔτε διώκων οὔτε φεύγων ὀφθήσῃ.

ιβ′. Σφαῖρα ψυχῆς αὐτοειδής, ὅταν μήτε ἐκτείνηται ἐπί τι μήτε ἔσω συντρέχῃ μήτε σπειρᾶται μήτε συνιζάνῃ, ἀλλὰ φωτὶ λάμπηται ᾧ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὁρᾷ τὴν πάντων καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ.

ιγ′. Καταφρονήσει μού τις; ὄψεται. ἐγὼ δὲ ὄψομαι

just as they will not be able to turn you away from sound action, so let them not knock you off kindliness towards them either; but guard yourself on both sides alike, not only in steady judgement and action, but also in mildness towards those who try to prevent, or are otherwise resentful. For this too is weak, to be exasperated with them, just as it is to stand apart from the action and give in from being dismayed; for both are equally deserters of their post, the one who shrank back, and the one made alien towards him who is by nature kinsman and friend.

10. "No nature is worse than art"; for indeed the arts imitate natures. And if this is so, the nature most perfect and most encompassing of all others would not fall short of the ingenuity of art. And all arts, surely, make the worse for the sake of the better; so, then, does the common nature too. And indeed from here the birth of justice, and from this the other virtues subsist; for what is just will not be kept if we are either at odds over things indifferent, or easily deceived and rash in assent and liable to waver.

11. [If] The things whose pursuits and flights disturb you do not come to you, but in a way you yourself go to them. At any rate let the verdict about them be quiet, and they will remain still, and you will be seen neither pursuing nor fleeing.[314]

12. The sphere of the soul is true to its form when it neither stretches out towards anything, nor runs together inwards, nor is coiled up, nor sinks down, but shines with a light by which it sees the truth of all things and the truth in itself.[315]

13. Will someone despise me? He will see to that. But I shall see to it

[314] L brackets Εἰ *μέν* after Richards; P has Εἰ *οὐκ ἔρχεται*, A Εἰ *μὲν οὐκ ἔρχεται* (L's apparatus).

[315] "Is coiled up" is Coraes' *σπειρᾶται*; P omits the words, and A has *σπείρηται*, "is sown abroad" (L's apparatus). Compare Empedocles' sphere at 12.3.2.

ἵνα μή τι καταφρονήσεως ἄξιον πράσσων ἢ λέγων εὑρίσκωμαι. μισήσει; ὄψεται. ἀλλὰ ἐγὼ εὐμενὴς καὶ εὔνους παντὶ καὶ τούτῳ αὐτῷ ἕτοιμος τὸ παρορώμενον δεῖξαι, οὐκ ὀνειδιστικῶς οὐδὲ ὡς κατεπιδεικνύμενος ὅτι ἀνέχομαι, ἀλλὰ γνησίως καὶ χρηστῶς, οἷος ὁ Φωκίων ἐκεῖνος, εἴ γε μὴ προσεποιεῖτο. τὰ ἔσω γὰρ δεῖ τοιαῦτα εἶναι καὶ ὑπὸ 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 ὅλων φύσει εὔκαιρον, ἄνθρωπος τεταμένος πρὸς τὸ γίνεσθαι δι᾽ ὅτου δὴ τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον;

ιδ′. Ἀλλήλων καταφρονοῦντες ἀλλήλοις ἀρεσκεύονται καὶ ἀλλήλων ὑπερέχειν θέλοντες ἀλλήλοις ὑποκατακλίνονται.

ιε′. Ὡς σαπρὸς καὶ κίβδηλος ὁ λέγων· ἐγὼ προῄρημαι ἁπλῶς σοι προσφέρεσθαι. τί ποιεῖς, ἄνθρωπε; τοῦτο οὐ δεῖ προλέγειν. αὐτὸ φανήσεται· ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου γεγράφθαι ὀφείλει· εὐθὺς ἡ φωνὴ τοιοῦτον ἠχεῖ, εὐθὺς ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασιν ἐξέχει, ὡς τῶν ἐραστῶν ἐν τῷ βλέμματι πάντα εὐθὺς γνωρίζει ὁ ἐρώμενος. τοιοῦτον ὅλως δεῖ τὸν ἁπλοῦν καὶ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, οἷον γράσωνα, ἵνα ὁ παραστὰς ἅμα τῷ προσελθεῖν, θέλει οὐ θέλει, αἴσθηται. ἐπιτήδευσις δὲ ἁπλότητος σκάλμη ἐστίν. οὐδέν ἐστιν αἴσχιον λυκοφιλίας· πάντων μάλιστα τοῦτο φεῦγε. ὁ ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἁπλοῦς καὶ εὐμενὴς ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασιν ἔχουσι ταῦτα καὶ οὐ λανθάνει.

ις′. Κάλλιστα διαζῆν, δύναμις αὕτη ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, ἐὰν

that I am not found doing or saying anything worthy of contempt. Will he hate? He will see to that. But I am kindly and well-wishing to everyone, and to this very man, ready to show what is overlooked, not reproachfully, nor as displaying that I bear with it, but sincerely and with kindness, like the famous Phocion, unless indeed he was making a show. For the inward things must be such, and a man must be seen by the gods disposed to be indignant at nothing and to complain of nothing. For what is bad for you, if you yourself are now doing what is proper to your nature, and receiving what is now timely for the nature of the whole, a man stretched towards the coming about, by whatever means, of what is of common advantage?[316][317]

14. Despising one another they court one another's favour, and wanting to rise above one another they bow before one another.

15. How rotten and counterfeit is he who says: "I have chosen to deal with you simply." What are you doing, man? One must not announce this. It will show itself; it ought to be written on the forehead; at once the voice rings so, at once it stands out in the eyes, as the beloved at once recognizes everything in the look of the lovers. The simple and good man must be altogether such, like a man whose armpits stink, so that whoever stands near, as soon as he approaches, perceives it, whether he wants or not. But studied simplicity is a knife. Nothing is more shameful than a wolf's friendship; flee this above all. The good and simple and kindly have these things in the eyes, and it does not escape notice.[318]

16. To live through life most honourably: the faculty for this is in the soul, if

[316] Phocion, the Athenian general, was put to death in 318 BC; in Plutarch (*Phocion* 36) he asks that his son bear the Athenians no grudge. L's testimonia record Heylbut's comparison with the story in Musonius Rufus (p. 55 Hense).

[317] "Are doing" is Casaubon's *ποιεῖς* (P *ποιεῖ*); "and receiving" is Coraes' *καὶ δέχῃ*, where P has *οὐ δέχῃ*, "not receiving" (L's apparatus).

[318] "Rings" is Reiske's and Rendall's *ἠχεῖ*, for *ἔχει* (L's apparatus). *Σκάλμη* is a Thracian knife; Salmasius proposed *σκαμβή*, "crooked" (L's apparatus). For the wolf's friendship compare Plato, *Phaedrus* 241d, "as wolves love lambs".

πρὸς τὰ ἀδιάφορά τις ἀδιαφορῇ. ἀδιαφορήσει δέ, ἐὰν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν θεωρῇ διῃρημένως καὶ ὁλικῶς 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 ἐστί, χαῖρε αὐτοῖς καὶ ῥᾴδια ἔστω σοι· εἰ δὲ παρὰ φύσιν, ζήτει τί ἐστί σοι κατὰ τὴν σὴν φύσιν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο σπεῦδε, κἂν ἄδοξον ᾖ· παντὶ γὰρ συγγνώμη τὸ ἴδιον ἀγαθὸν ζητοῦντι.

ιζ′. Πόθεν ἐλήλυθεν ἕκαστον καὶ ἐκ τίνων ἕκαστον ὑποκειμένων καὶ εἰς τί μεταβάλλει καὶ οἷον ἔσται μεταβαλὸν καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν κακὸν πείσεται.

ιη′. [Καὶ] Πρῶτον, τίς ἡ πρὸς αὐτούς μοι σχέσις καὶ ὅτι ἀλλήλων ἕνεκεν γεγόναμεν καὶ καθ᾽ ἕτερον λόγον προστησόμενος αὐτῶν γέγονα ὡς κριὸς ποίμνης ἢ ταῦρος ἀγέλης. ἄνωθεν δὲ ἔπιθι ἀπὸ τοῦ· εἰ μὴ ἄτομοι, φύσις ἡ τὰ ὅλα διοικοῦσα· εἰ τοῦτο, τὰ χείρονα τῶν κρειττόνων ἕνεκεν, ταῦτα δὲ ἀλλήλων.

Δεύτερον δέ, ὁποῖοί τινές εἰσιν ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, ἐν τῷ κλιναρίῳ, τἆλλα· μάλιστα δέ, οἵας ἀνάγκας δογμάτων κειμένας ἔχουσι· καὶ αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα, μεθ᾽ οἵου τύφου ποιοῦσιν.

2 Τρίτον, ὅτι, εἰ μὲν ὀρθῶς ταῦτα ποιοῦσιν, οὐ δεῖ δυσχε-

one treats as making no difference the things that make no difference. And one will so treat them if one observes each of them both in its parts and as a whole, remembering that none of them produces in us an opinion about itself, nor comes to us, but they stay still, and it is we who generate the judgements about them and, as it were, write them in ourselves, though it is open to us not to write them, and open, even if any escapes notice somewhere, to wipe it out at once; and that such heedfulness will be for a short time, and then life will have ceased. And yet what is hard about these things being otherwise? For if they are according to nature, rejoice in them, and let them be easy for you; and if contrary to nature, seek what is, for you, according to your nature, and hasten towards this, even if it is inglorious; for there is forgiveness for everyone who seeks his own good.[319]

17. Whence each thing has come, and from what underlying things each, and into what it changes, and what it will be like when it has changed, and how it will suffer nothing bad.

18. [And] First: what my relation is to them, and that we have come to be for one another; and, in another respect, that I have come to be to stand at their head, as a ram over the flock or a bull over the herd. And go on from further back, from this: if not atoms, nature that governs the whole; if this, the worse for the sake of the better, and these for one another.

And second: what sort of people they are at table, in the little bed, and the rest; and above all, what compulsions of principles they have laid down; and with what vanity they do these very things too.[320]

Third: that if they are doing these things rightly, one must not be 2
re-

[319] For ἄλλως, "otherwise", P has καλῶς, "well"; L reports proposals by Schultz, Coraes and Rendall (L's apparatus).

[320] L brackets Καί after Schultz; P and A join the chapter to the one before (L's apparatus). L sets each of the heads of 11.18 on a new line.

ραίνειν· εἰ δ' οὐκ ὀρθῶς, δηλονότι ἄκοντες καὶ ἀγνοοῦντες. πᾶσα γὰρ ψυχὴ ἄκουσα στέρεται, ὥσπερ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς, οὕτως καὶ τοῦ κατ' ἀξίαν ἑκάστῳ προσφέρεσθαι. ἄχθονται γοῦν ἀκούοντες ἄδικοι καὶ ἀγνώμονες καὶ πλεονέκται καὶ καθάπαξ ἁμαρτητικοὶ περὶ τοὺς πλησίον.

Τέταρτον, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς πολλὰ ἁμαρτάνεις καὶ ἄλλος τοιοῦτος εἶ· καὶ εἴ τινων δὲ ἁμαρτημάτων ἀπέχῃ, ἀλλὰ τήν γε ἕξιν ἐποιστικὴν ἔχεις, εἰ καὶ διὰ δειλίαν ἢ δοξοκοπίαν ἢ τοιοῦτό τι κακὸν ἀπέχῃ τῶν ὁμοίων ἁμαρτημάτων.

3 Πέμπτον, ὅτι οὐδὲ εἰ ἁμαρτάνουσι κατείληφας· πολλὰ γὰρ κατ' οἰκονομίαν γίνεται καὶ ὅλως πολλὰ δεῖ πρότερον μαθεῖν, ἵνα τις περὶ ἀλλοτρίας πράξεως καταληπτικῶς τι ἀποφήνηται.

Ἕκτον, ὅτι, ὅταν λίαν ἀγανακτῇς ἢ καὶ δυσπαθῇς, ἀκαριαίως ὁ ἀνθρώπειος βίος καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον πάντες ἐξετάθημεν.

Ἕβδομον, ὅτι οὐχ αἱ πράξεις αὐτῶν ἐνοχλοῦσιν ἡμῖν· ἐκεῖναι γάρ εἰσιν ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνων ἡγεμονικοῖς· ἀλλὰ αἱ ἡμέτεραι ὑπολήψεις. ἆρον γοῦν καὶ θέλησον ἀφεῖναι τὴν ὡς περὶ δεινοῦ κρίσιν καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἡ ὀργή. πῶς οὖν ἀρεῖς; λογισάμενος ὅτι οὐκ αἰσχρόν· ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ μόνον ᾖ τὸ αἰσχρὸν κακόν, ἀνάγκη καὶ σὲ πολλὰ ἁμαρτάνειν καὶ λῃστὴν καὶ παντοῖον γενέσθαι.

4 Ὄγδοον, ὅσῳ χαλεπώτερα ἐπιφέρουσιν αἱ ὀργαὶ καὶ λῦπαι αἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις, ἤπερ αὐτά ἐστιν ἐφ' οἷς ὀργιζόμεθα καὶ λυπούμεθα.

Ἔνατον, ὅτι τὸ εὐμενὲς ἀνίκητον, ἐὰν γνήσιον ᾖ καὶ μὴ σεσηρὸς μηδὲ ὑπόκρισις. τί γάρ σοι ποιήσει ὁ ὑβριστικώ-

sentful; and if not rightly, clearly they do so unwillingly and in ignorance. For every soul is deprived unwillingly, as of truth, so also of dealing with each according to worth. At any rate they are annoyed at being called unjust and unfair and grasping and, in a word, given to wrongdoing towards neighbours.

Fourth: that you yourself also do much wrong and are another such; and even if you abstain from certain wrongs, yet you have at least the state inclined to them, even if it is through cowardice or courting of fame or some such bad thing that you abstain from similar wrongs.[321]

3 Fifth: that you have not even firmly grasped whether they do wrong; for many things are done for a practical end, and in general one must first learn many things so that one may pronounce anything with a firm grasp about another's action.

Sixth: that, when you are very indignant or even take it hard, human life is momentary, and in a little while we have all been laid out.

Seventh: that it is not their actions that vex us, for those are in their ruling centres, but our opinions. Take away, then, and want to let go, the judgement as about something terrible, and the anger is gone. How, then, will you take it away? By reckoning that it is not shameful; for if the shameful is not the only bad thing, you too must necessarily do much wrong and become a robber and anything whatever.[322]

4 Eighth: how much harder are the things that the angers and distresses over such matters bring on than the things themselves at which we are angry and distressed.

Ninth: that kindliness is invincible, if it is sincere and not a grin nor a pretence. For what will the most in-

[321] The saying on the soul deprived of truth is quoted at 7.63 (L's testimonia).
[322] "Will you take away" is Stich's ἀρεῖς; P has ἀρῶ, A ἄρεις (L's apparatus).

τατος, ἐὰν διατελῇς εὐμενὴς αὐτῷ καί, εἰ οὕτως ἔτυχε, πράῳως παραινῇς καὶ μεταδιδάσκῃς εὐσχολῶν παρ' 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 ὁλικῶς ὅτι τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχει, ὅτι οὐδὲ μέλισσαι αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν οὐδ' ὅσα συναγελαστικὰ πέφυκε. δεῖ δὲ μήτε εἰρωνικῶς αὐτὸ ποιεῖν μήτε ὀνειδιστικῶς, ἀλλὰ φιλοστόργως καὶ ἀδήκτως τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ μὴ ὡς ἐν σχολῇ μηδὲ ἵνα ἄλλος παραστὰς θαυμάσῃ, ἀλλ' ἤτοι πρὸς μόνον καὶ ἐὰν ἄλλοι τινὲς περιεστήκωσι.

5 Τούτων τῶν ἐννέα κεφαλαίων μέμνησο ὡς παρὰ τῶν Μουσῶν δῶρα εἰληφὼς καὶ ἄρξαι ποτὲ ἄνθρωπος εἶναι, ἕως ζῇς. 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 πρᾷον καὶ ἥμερον ὥσπερ ἀνθρωπικώτερον, οὕτως καὶ ἀρρενικώτερον καὶ ἰσχύος καὶ νεύρων καὶ ἀνδρείας τούτῳ μέτεστιν, οὐχὶ τῷ ἀγανακτοῦντι καὶ δυσαρεστοῦντι· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἀπαθείᾳ τοῦτο οἰκειότερον, τοσούτῳ καὶ δυνάμει. ὥσπερ τε ἡ λύπη ἀσθενοῦς, οὕτως καὶ ἡ ὀργή· ἀμφότεροι γὰρ τέτρωνται καὶ ἐνδεδώκασιν.

6 Εἰ δὲ βούλει, καὶ δέκατον παρὰ τοῦ Μουσηγέτου δῶρον λάβε, ὅτι τὸ μὴ ἀξιοῦν ἁμαρτάνειν τοὺς φαύλους μανικόν· ἀδυνάτου γὰρ ἐφίεται. τὸ δὲ συγχωρεῖν ἄλλοις μὲν εἶναι τοιούτους, ἀξιοῦν δὲ μὴ εἰς σὲ ἁμαρτάνειν, ἄγνωμον καὶ τυραννικόν.

ιθ'. Τέσσαρας μάλιστα τροπὰς τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ παρα-

solent man do to you, if you continue kindly to him and, if it so happens, mildly exhort and teach better at your leisure at the very moment when he is trying to do you ill: "No, child; we are by nature for something else. I shall not be harmed, but you are being harmed, child." And show deftly and as a whole that this is so, that not even bees do this, nor any creatures that are by nature gregarious. And one must do it neither ironically nor reproachfully, but affectionately and without sting in the soul; and not as in a school, nor so that another standing by may admire, but either to him alone and if some others are standing round.[323]

Remember these nine heads as gifts received from the Muses, and *5*
begin at last to be a man, while you live. And one must guard equally against being angry with them and flattering them; for both are unsocial and lead to harm. And ready to hand in fits of anger: that it is not raging that is manly, but what is mild and gentle, as it is more human, so it is more male too; and it is this that has a share in strength and sinews and courage, not the man who is indignant and discontented; for the more akin this is to freedom from passion, the more akin also to power. And as distress is the mark of the weak man, so is anger too; for both have been wounded and have given in.

And if you will, take also a tenth gift from the Leader of the Muses: *6*
that to expect the base not to do wrong is madness, for it reaches after the impossible; but to allow them to be such towards others and to expect them not to do wrong to you is unfair and tyrannical.[324]

19. Four turnings of the ruling centre above all one must be on the look-

[323] The last words do not construe as transmitted. Xylander's version takes them as "but as to him alone"; Casaubon proposed ἀεί τοι, Kronenberg a verb such as "one must speak", and Schultz suspected a gap (L's apparatus).

[324] The Leader of the Muses is Apollo.

φυλακτέον διηνεκῶς καὶ ἐπειδὰν φωράσῃς ἀπαλειπτέον, ἐπιλέγοντα ἐφ' ἑκάστου 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 ἢ λείαις ⟨κινήσεσιν⟩.

κ′. 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 ἕστηκε τὴν οὐχ ἑαυτῶν φυσικὴν στάσιν. οὕτως ἄρα καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα ὑπακούει τοῖς ὅλοις, ἐπειδάν που καταταχθῇ σὺν βίᾳ, μένοντα μέχρις ἂν ἐκεῖθεν πάλιν τὸ
2 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 ἢ ἀφισταμένου τῆς φύσεως. καὶ ὅταν δέ τινι τῶν συμβαινόντων δυσχεραίνῃ τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, καταλείπει καὶ τότε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χώραν· πρὸς ὁσιότητα γὰρ καὶ θεοσέβειαν κατεσκεύασται οὐχ ἧττον ἢ πρὸς δικαιοσύνην. καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα ἐν εἴδει ἐστὶ τῆς εὐκοινωνησίας, μᾶλλον δὲ πρεσβύτερα τῶν δικαιοπραγημάτων.

out for perpetually, and, when you detect them, one must wipe them away, saying over each thus: This imagining is not necessary; this one dissolves fellowship; this you are about to say not from yourself; for to say what is not from oneself believe to be among the most absurd things. And the fourth is that for which you will reproach yourself: that this is the mark of the more divine part in you being overcome and bowing before the less honoured and mortal lot, the body's, and its rough or smooth ⟨motions⟩.[325]

20. Your little breath and all that is fiery, as much as is blended in, though by nature carried upward, nevertheless, obeying the ordering of the whole, are held back here in the compound. And all the earthy in you too, and the moist, though carried downward, are nevertheless raised up and stand in a position not natural to them. So, then, the elements too submit to the whole, whenever they have been posted somewhere by force, remaining until the signal for dissolution sounds from there again. Is it not terrible, then, that your 2
intelligent part alone should be disobedient and indignant at its own place? And yet nothing forced at all is laid upon it, but only what is according to nature for it; yet it does not put up with this, but is carried the opposite way. For the motion towards acts of injustice and of licence, and angers and distresses and fears, is nothing else than the mark of one standing apart from nature. And whenever the ruling centre resents anything that happens, then too it leaves its own place; for it has been made for holiness and piety no less than for justice. For these too are of the kind of good fellowship, or rather older than just actions.[326]

[325] "Rough or smooth ⟨motions⟩" is Fournier's; P has *παχείαις ἡδοναῖς*, "gross pleasures", A and X *παχείαις ἰδέαις* (L's apparatus). Compare 10.8.1.

[326] "Holiness" is Casaubon's *ὁσιότητα*, for *ἰσότητα*, "equality" (L's apparatus).

κα′. Ὦι μὴ εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτός ἐστιν ἀεὶ τοῦ βίου σκοπός, οὗτος εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς δι᾽ ὅλου τοῦ βίου εἶναι οὐ δύναται.᾽ οὐκ ἀρκεῖ τὸ εἰρημένον, ἐὰν μὴ κἀκεῖνο προσθῇς, ὁποῖον εἶναι δεῖ τοῦτον τὸν σκοπόν. ὥσπερ γὰρ οὐχ ἡ πάντων τῶν ὁπωσοῦν τοῖς πλείοσι δοκούντων ἀγαθῶν ὑπόληψις ὁμοία ἐστίν, ἀλλ᾽ ἡ τῶν τοιωνδέ τινων, τουτέστι τῶν κοινῶν, οὕτω καὶ τὸν σκοπὸν δεῖ τὸν κοινωνικὸν καὶ πολιτικὸν ὑποστήσασθαι. ὁ γὰρ εἰς τοῦτον πάσας τὰς ἰδίας ὁρμὰς ἀπευθύνων πάσας τὰς πράξεις ὁμοίας ἀποδώσει καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ἀεὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ἔσται.

κβ′. Τὸν μῦν τὸν ὀρεινὸν καὶ τὸν κατοικίδιον καὶ τὴν πτοίαν τούτου καὶ διασόβησιν.

κγ′. Σωκράτης καὶ τὰ τῶν πολλῶν δόγματα Λαμίας ἐκάλει, παιδίων δείματα.

κδ′. Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς μὲν ξένοις ἐν ταῖς θεωρίαις ὑπὸ τῇ σκιᾷ τὰ βάθρα ἐτίθεσαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ οὗ ἔτυχεν, ἐκαθέζοντο.

κε′. Τῷ Περδίκκᾳ ὁ Σωκράτης περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἔρχεσθαι παρ᾽ αὐτόν· ‘ἵνα, ἔφη, μὴ τῷ κακίστῳ ὀλέθρῳ ἀπόλωμαι,᾽ τουτέστι, μὴ εὖ παθὼν οὐ δυνηθῶ ἀντευποιῆσαι.

κς′. Ἐν τοῖς τῶν Ἐπικουρείων γράμμασι παράγγελμα ἔκειτο συνεχῶς ὑπομιμνήσκεσθαι τῶν παλαιῶν τινος τῶν ἀρετῇ χρησαμένων.

κζ′. Οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι· ἕωθεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀφορᾶν, ἵν᾽ ὑπομιμνῃσκώμεθα τῶν ἀεὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως τὸ ἑαυτῶν ἔργον διανυόντων καὶ τῆς τάξεως καὶ τῆς καθαρότητος καὶ τῆς γυμνότητος· οὐδὲν γὰρ προκάλυμμα ἄστρου.

21. "He who has not one and the same target of life always cannot be one and the same through the whole of life." What has been said is not enough, unless you add this too: what sort this target must be. For as the opinion about all the things that seem in some way good to the majority is not alike, but that about certain things of a kind, that is, the common ones, so too one must set before oneself the target that is social and civic. For he who directs all his own impulses towards this will render all actions alike, and in this respect will always be the same.

22. The mountain mouse and the house mouse, and the flutter of the latter and its scurrying.[327]

23. Socrates also used to call the principles of the many Lamias, children's bugbears.[328]

24. The Spartans at the spectacles set the seats for strangers in the shade, while they themselves sat wherever they happened to be.

25. Socrates to Perdiccas, on not going to him: "So that," he said, "I may not be ruined by the worst ruin"; that is, not be unable, having been done good, to do good in return.[329]

26. In the writings of the Epicureans a precept was laid down: continually to remind oneself of one of those of old who practised virtue.[330]

27. The Pythagoreans: at dawn to look up at the heaven, so that we may be reminded of those who always, in the same respects and in the same way, accomplish their own work, and of order and purity and nakedness; for there is no veil on a star.

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[327] Aesop's fable of the town mouse and the country mouse (fab. 297, L's testimonia). The accusatives hang on no verb.

[328] Lamias were bogeys used to frighten children. Schultz proposed deleting "children's bugbears" (L's apparatus).

[329] In the parallel stories (Diogenes Laertius 2.25; Seneca, *On Benefits* 5.6.2; L's testimonia) the king is Archelaus, son of Perdiccas; Schultz proposed Τῷ Περδίκκου, "to Perdiccas' son" (L's apparatus).

[330] Epicurus fr. 210 Usener (L's testimonia), known from Seneca, *Letters* 11.8. "Epicureans" is Gataker's correction; L reports Ἐφεσίων, "Ephesians", in the witnesses.

κη′. Οἷος ὁ Σωκράτης τὸ κῴδιον ὑπεζωσμένος, ὅτε ἡ Ξανθίππη λαβοῦσα τὸ ἱμάτιον ἔξω προῆλθε, καὶ ἃ εἶπεν ὁ Σωκράτης τοῖς ἑταίροις αἰδεσθεῖσι καὶ ἀναχωρήσασιν, ὅτε αὐτὸν εἶδον οὕτως ἐσταλμένον.

κθ′. Ἐν τῷ γράφειν καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν οὐ πρότερον ἄρξεις πρὶν ἀρχθῇς. τοῦτο πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐν τῷ βίῳ.

λ′. Δοῦλος πέφυκας, οὐ μέτεστί σοι λόγου.

λα′. Ἐμὸν δ' ἐγέλασσε φίλον κῆρ.

λβ′. Μέμψονται δ' ἀρετὴν χαλεποῖς βάζοντες ἔπεσσιν.

λγ′. Σῦκον χειμῶνος ζητεῖν μαινομένου· τοιοῦτος ὁ τὸ παιδίον ζητῶν, ὅτε οὐκέτι δίδοται.

λδ′. Καταφιλοῦντα τὸ παιδίον δεῖ, ἔλεγεν ὁ Ἐπίκτητος, ἔνδον ἐπιφθέγγεσθαι· αὔριον ἴσως ἀποθανῇ.—δύσφημα ταῦτα.—οὐδὲν δύσφημον, ἔφη, φυσικοῦ τινος ἔργου σημαντικόν· ἢ καὶ τὸ τοὺς στάχυας θερισθῆναι δύσφημον.

λε′. Ὄμφαξ, σταφυλή, σταφίς, πάντα μεταβολαί, οὐκ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν, ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸ νῦν μὴ ὄν.

λς′. Λῃστὴς προαιρέσεως οὐ γίνεται· τὸ τοῦ Ἐπικτήτου.

λζ′. Τέχνην, ἔφη, δεῖ περὶ τὸ συγκατατίθεσθαι εὑρεῖν καὶ ἐν τῷ περὶ τὰς ὁρμὰς 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.

λη′. Οὐ περὶ τοῦ τυχόντος οὖν, ἔφη, ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγών, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ μαίνεσθαι ἢ μή.

28. What Socrates was like, girt with the sheepskin, when Xanthippe took the cloak and went out; and what Socrates said to the companions, who were ashamed and drew back when they saw him dressed so.[331]

29. In writing and reading you will not rule before you have been ruled. This far more in life.

30. You are by nature a slave: you have no share in reason.[332]

31. And my dear heart laughed.

32. And they will blame virtue, speaking with hard words.

33. To seek a fig in winter is the mark of a madman; such is he who seeks the child when it is no longer given.[333]

34. The one who kisses the child, said Epictetus, must say inwardly: "Tomorrow perhaps you will die."—Those are ill-omened words.—Nothing is ill-omened, he said, that signifies a work of nature; or else it is ill-omened too that the ears of corn are reaped.

35. Unripe grape, ripe cluster, raisin: all changes, not into what is not, but into what is not now.

36. There comes to be no robber of choice: the saying of Epictetus.

37. One must find, he said, an art concerning assent, and in the field of the impulses guard heedfulness, so that they be with reservation, so that they be social, so that they be according to worth; and abstain altogether from desire, and use avoidance towards none of the things not in our power.[334]

38. The contest, then, he said, is not about any chance thing, but about being mad or not.

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[331] L's testimonia suggest that Marcus alludes to some Cynic anecdote; the story is not known elsewhere.

[332] 11.30–32 are verse (L's testimonia): an unknown tragedy (fr. adesp. 304 Nauck); Homer, *Odyssey* 9.413, Odysseus laughing that his false name has deceived the Cyclopes; and a variation on Hesiod, *Works and Days* 186, where children blame their aged parents. L compares Elter on these and 7.38–42.

[333] 11.33–11.38 are Epictetus (L's testimonia): *Discourses* 3.24.86, 88 and 91 (11.33–35), 3.22.105 (11.36), and fragments 27 and 28 Schenkl (11.37–38).

[334] Assent, impulse, and desire with avoidance are Epictetus' three fields of training (*Discourses* 3.2.1–2). "He said, one must" is Rendall's ἔφη, δεῖ; A has ἔφη δέ, P δὲ ἔφη (L's apparatus).

λθ′. Ὁ Σωκράτης ἔλεγε· τί θέλετε; λογικῶν ψυχὰς ἔχειν ἢ ἀλόγων;—λογικῶν.—τίνων λογικῶν; ὑγιῶν ἢ φαύλων;—ὑγιῶν.—τί οὖν οὐ ζητεῖτε;—ὅτι ἔχομεν.—τί οὖν μάχεσθε καὶ διαφέρεσθε;

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΙΒ

α′. Πάντα ἐκεῖνα, ἐφ᾽ ἃ διὰ περιόδου εὖχῃ ἐλθεῖν, ἤδη ἔχειν δύνασαι, ἐὰν μὴ σαυτῷ φθονῇς. τοῦτο δέ ἐστιν, ἐὰν πᾶν τὸ παρελθὸν καταλίπῃς καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἐπιτρέψῃς τῇ προνοίᾳ καὶ τὸ παρὸν μόνον ἀπευθύνῃς πρὸς ὁσιότητα καὶ δικαιοσύνην. ὁσιότητα μέν, ἵνα φιλῇς τὸ ἀπονεμόμενον· σοὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ ἡ φύσις ἔφερε καὶ σὲ τούτῳ· δικαιοσύνην δέ, ἵνα ἐλευθέρως καὶ χωρὶς περιπλοκῆς λέγῃς τε ταληθῆ καὶ πράσσῃς τὰ κατὰ νόμον καὶ κατ᾽ ἀξίαν· μὴ ἐμποδίζῃ δέ σε μήτε κακία ἀλλοτρία μήτε ὑπόληψις μήτε φωνὴ μηδὲ μὴν αἴσθησις τοῦ περιτεθραμμένου σοι
2 σαρκιδίου· ὄψεται γὰρ τὸ πάσχον. ἐὰν οὖν, ὅτε δήποτε πρὸς ἐξόδῳ γένῃ, πάντα τὰ ἄλλα καταλιπὼν μόνον τὸ ἡγεμονικόν σου καὶ τὸ ἐν σοὶ θεῖον τιμήσῃς καὶ μὴ τὸ παύσεσθαί ποτε ⟨τοῦ⟩ ζῆν φοβηθῇς, ἀλλὰ τό γε μηδέποτε ἄρξασθαι κατὰ φύσιν ζῆν, ἔσῃ ἄνθρωπος ἄξιος τοῦ γεννήσαντος κόσμου καὶ παύσῃ ξένος ὢν τῆς πατρίδος καὶ θαυμάζων ὡς ἀπροσδόκητα τὰ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν γινόμενα καὶ κρεμάμενος ἐκ τοῦδε καὶ τοῦδε.

β′. Ὁ θεὸς πάντα τὰ ἡγεμονικὰ γυμνὰ τῶν ὑλικῶν ἀγγείων καὶ φλοιῶν καὶ καθαρμάτων ὁρᾷ· μόνῳ γὰρ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ νοερῷ μόνων ἅπτεται τῶν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ εἰς ταῦτα ἐρρυηκότων καὶ ἀπωχετευμένων. ἐὰν δὲ καὶ σὺ τοῦτο ἐθίσῃς

39. Socrates used to say: What do you want? To have souls of rational beings or of irrational?—Of rational.—Of what rational beings? Sound or base?—Sound.—Why then do you not seek them?—Because we have them.—Why then are you fighting and at odds?[335]

Book XII

1. All those things which you pray to reach by a roundabout way you can have now, if you do not begrudge yourself. And this is, if you leave behind all the past, and entrust the future to providence, and direct the present alone towards holiness and justice: holiness, so that you love what is allotted, for nature brought it to you and you to it; justice, so that freely and without circumlocution you say what is true and do what accords with law and with worth. And let neither another's vice impede you, nor opinion, nor voice, nor indeed the sensation of the poor flesh that has grown around you; for the part affected will see to it. If, then, whenever you come near the exit, 2
you leave all else behind and honour only your ruling centre and the divine in you, and fear, not that you will some day cease ⟨from⟩ living, but rather that you will never have begun to live according to nature, you will be a man worthy of the universe that begot you, and you will cease being a stranger to the fatherland, and being astonished at the things that come about day by day as unexpected, and hanging on this and that.[336]

2. God sees all ruling centres naked of the material vessels and husks and dross; for with his own intelligence alone he touches only what has flowed from himself into these and been channelled off. And if you too make a habit of this

[335] L thinks the passage belongs among the fragments of Epictetus (L's testimonia).

[336] "Not that" is Gataker's *μὴ τό*, for *τὸ μή*; ⟨from⟩ renders Morus' supplement ⟨*τοῦ*⟩ (L's apparatus).

ποιεῖν, τὸν πολὺν περισπασμὸν σεαυτοῦ περιαιρήσεις· ὁ γὰρ μὴ τὰ περικείμενα κρεάδια ὁρῶν, ἢ πού γε ἐσθῆτα καὶ οἰκίαν καὶ δόξαν καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην περιβολὴν καὶ σκηνὴν θεώμενος, ἀσχολήσεται.

γ′. Τρία ἐστὶν ἐξ ὧν συνέστηκας· σωμάτιον, πνευμάτιον, νοῦς. τούτων τἄλλα 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 σοι σωματίου ἢ τοῦ συμφύτου πνευματίου ἀπροαίρετα πρόσεστιν καὶ ὅσα ἡ ἔξωθεν περιρρέουσα δίνη ἑλίσσει, ὥστε τῶν συνειμαρμένων ἐξῃρημένην ⟨καὶ⟩ καθαρὰν τὴν νοερὰν δύναμιν ἀπόλυτον ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῆς ζῆν, ποιοῦσαν τὰ δίκαια καὶ θέλουσαν τὰ συμβαίνοντα καὶ λέγουσαν τἀληθῆ·
2 ἐὰν χωρίσῃς, φημί, τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ τούτου τὰ προσηρτημένα ἐκ προσπαθείας καὶ τοῦ χρόνου τὰ ἐπέκεινα ἢ τὰ παρῳχηκότα, ποιήσῃς τε σεαυτόν, οἷος ὁ Ἐμπεδόκλειος

σφαῖρος κυκλοτερὴς μονίῃ περιηγέι γαίων,

μόνον τε ζῆν ἐκμελετήσῃς ὃ ζῇς, τουτέστι τὸ παρόν· δυνήσῃ τό γε μέχρι τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπολειπόμενον ἀταράκτως καὶ εὐμενῶς καὶ ἵλεως τῷ σαυτοῦ δαίμονι διαβιῶναι.

δ′. Πολλάκις ἐθαύμασα πῶς ἑαυτὸν μὲν ἕκαστος μᾶλλον πάντων φιλεῖ, τὴν δὲ ἑαυτοῦ περὶ αὑτοῦ ὑπόληψιν ἐν ἐλάττονι λόγῳ τίθεται ἢ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων. ἐὰν γοῦν τινα θεὸς ἐπιστὰς ἢ διδάσκαλος ἔμφρων κελεύσῃ μηδὲν καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν

doing, you will strip away from yourself the great distraction; for he who does not look at the bits of flesh that lie around him, still less, surely, will he be busied with gazing at clothing and house and fame and such wrapping and stage.

3. There are three things of which you are composed: poor body, little breath, mind. Of these the others are yours so far as one must take care of them, but the third alone is properly yours. As to this: if you separate from yourself, that is, from your understanding, all that others do or say, or all that you yourself did or said, and all that troubles you as things to come, and all that, belonging to the poor body that surrounds you or to the little breath grown with it, attaches outside choice, and all that the whirl flowing round outside spins along, so that the intelligent faculty, removed from the things fated along with it, ⟨and⟩ pure, may live released by itself, doing what is just, wanting what happens, and saying what is true;[337] if you separate, I 2
say, from this ruling centre the things fastened to it by attachment, and of time what lies beyond or what is past, and make yourself like Empedocles'

> sphere, rounded, rejoicing in its encircling solitude,

and practise living only what you live, that is, the present: you will be able to live through at least what remains until you die untroubled and kindly and serene towards your own daimon.[338]

4. I have often wondered how each man loves himself more than all others, yet sets less store by his own opinion of himself than by that of others. At any rate, if a god, standing by someone, or a sensible teacher, bids him nothing within himself

[337] "As to this" renders L's ὃ ἐάν, "which if", which hardly construes; Gataker proposed διὸ ἐάν, "therefore if", Casaubon ἐὰν οὖν, Reiske ὅταν, Stich καὶ ἐάν. "Others" is Gataker's ἄλλοι, for ἄλλα; ⟨and⟩ is Coraes' supplement (L's apparatus).

[338] Empedocles fr. 27 and 28 Diels (L's testimonia), the sphere of the cosmos under Love; μονίῃ may be "rest" rather than "solitude". "Kindly" is Coraes' εὐμενῶς; the witnesses have εὐγενῶς, "nobly" (L's apparatus).

ἐνθυμεῖσθαι καὶ διανοεῖσθαι ὃ μὴ ἅμα καὶ γεγωνίσκων ἐξοίσει, οὐδὲ πρὸς μίαν ἡμέραν τοῦτο ὑπομενεῖ. οὕτως τοὺς πέλας μᾶλλον αἰδούμεθα, τί ποτε περὶ ἡμῶν φρονήσουσιν, ἢ ἑαυτούς.

ε′. 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 δι᾽ ἔργων ὁσίων καὶ ἱερουργιῶν συνήθεις τῷ θείῳ γενομένους, ἐπειδὰν ἅπαξ ἀποθάνωσι, μηκέτι αὖθις γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἀπεσβηκέναι; τοῦτο δὲ εἴπερ ἄρα καὶ οὕτως ἔχει, εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι, εἰ ὡς ἑτέρως ἔχειν ἔδει, ἐποίησαν ἄν· εἰ γὰρ δίκαιον ἦν, ἦν ἂν καὶ δυνατόν, καὶ εἰ κατὰ φύσιν, ἤνεγκεν ἂν αὐτὸ ἡ φύσις. ἐκ δὴ τοῦ μὴ οὕτως ἔχειν, εἴπερ οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, πιστούσθω σοι τὸ μὴ δεῆσαι οὕτως γίνεσθαι· ὁρᾷς γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτι τοῦτο παραζητῶν δικαιολογῇ πρὸς τὸν θεόν· οὐκ ἂν δ᾽ οὕτως διελεγόμεθα τοῖς θεοῖς, εἰ μὴ ἄριστοι καὶ δικαιότατοί εἰσιν. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἄν τι περιεῖδον ἀδίκως καὶ ἀλόγως ἠμελημένον τῶν ἐν τῇ διακοσμήσει.

ς′. Ἔθιζε 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.

ζ′. Ὁποῖον δεῖ καταληφθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ θανάτου καὶ σώματι καὶ ψυχῇ· τὴν βραχύτητα τοῦ βίου· τὴν ἀχάνειαν τοῦ ὀπίσω καὶ πρόσω αἰῶνος· τὴν ἀσθένειαν πάσης ὕλης.

η′. Γυμνὰ τῶν φλοιῶν θεάσασθαι τὰ αἰτιώδη· τὰς ἀναφορὰς τῶν πράξεων· τί πόνος· τί ἡδονή· τί θάνατος· τί δόξα· τίς ὁ ἑαυτῷ ἀσχολίας αἴτιος· πῶς οὐδεὶς ὑπ᾽ ἄλλου ἐμποδίζεται· ὅτι πάντα ὑπόληψις.

to consider and think that he will not at the same moment also bring out, crying it aloud, he will not endure this even for one day. So much more do we respect those close by, what view they will take of us, than ourselves.[339]

5. How ever did the gods, who ordered all things honourably and with love for mankind, overlook this one thing: that some men, very kind, who have made very many compacts, as it were, with the divine and through holy works and sacred rites have become most intimate with the divine, once they have died should not come to be again, but be quenched for ever? But if, after all, this is indeed so, know well that, if it had had to be otherwise, they would have made it so; for if it were just, it would also be possible, and if according to nature, nature would have brought it. From its not being so, then, if it is not so, be assured that it ought not to have come about so; for you yourself too see that in seeking this further you are pleading a case with God; and we would not so argue with the gods unless they are most good and most just. And if so, they would not have allowed anything in the world-order to be left neglected unjustly and without reason.

6. Accustom yourself even to the things you despair of. For the left hand too, which for other tasks is idle from want of habit, holds the bridle more vigorously than the right; for it is accustomed to this.

7. What one must be like when overtaken by death, in body and in soul; the shortness of life; the yawning gulf of eternity behind and before; the weakness of all material.

8. Look at the causal parts naked of the husks; the references of actions; what pain is; what pleasure; what death; what fame; who is the cause of his own busyness; how no one is impeded by another; that all is opinion.

[339] "Crying it aloud" is Reiske's *γεγωνίσκων*; the witnesses have *γε γινώσκων*, "knowing it" (L's apparatus).

θ′. Ὅμοιον δ’ εἶναι δεῖ ἐν τῇ τῶν δογμάτων χρήσει παγκρατιαστῇ, οὐχὶ μονομάχῳ· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ξίφος ᾧ χρῆται ἀποτίθεται καὶ ἀναιρεῖται· ὁ δὲ τὴν χεῖρα ἀεὶ ἔχει καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ συστρέψαι αὐτὴν δεῖ.

ι′. Τοιαῦτα τὰ πράγματα ὁρᾶν, διαιροῦντα εἰς ὕλην, αἴτιον, ἀναφοράν.

ια′. Ἡλίκην ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ἄνθρωπος μὴ ποιεῖν ἄλλο ἢ ὅπερ μέλλει ὁ θεὸς ἐπαινεῖν, καὶ δέχεσθαι πᾶν ὃ ἂν νέμῃ αὐτῷ ὁ θεός. [τὸ ἑξῆς τῇ φύσει.]

ιβ′. Μήτε θεοῖς μεμπτέον· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἑκόντες ἢ ἄκοντες ἁμαρτάνουσι· μήτε ἀνθρώποις· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὐχὶ ἄκοντες. ὥστε οὐδενὶ μεμπτέον.

ιγ′. Πῶς γελοῖος καὶ ξένος ὁ θαυμάζων ὁτιοῦν τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ γινομένων.

ιδ′. Ἤτοι ἀνάγκη εἱμαρμένης καὶ ἀπαράβατος τάξις ἢ πρόνοια ἱλάσιμος ἢ 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, κἂν παραφέρῃ σε ὁ κλύδων, παραφερέτω τὸ σαρκίδιον, τὸ πνευμάτιον, τἄλλα· τὸν γὰρ νοῦν οὐ παροίσει.

[ιε′.] ἢ τὸ μὲν τοῦ λύχνου φῶς, μέχρι σβεσθῇ, φαίνει καὶ τὴν αὐγὴν οὐκ ἀποβάλλει· ἡ δὲ ἐν σοὶ ἀλήθεια καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ σωφροσύνη προαποσβήσεται;

ις′. Ἐπὶ τοῦ φαντασίαν παρασχόντος ὅτι ἥμαρτε· τί δαὶ οἶδα εἰ τοῦτο ἁμάρτημα; εἰ δὲ καὶ ἥμαρτεν, ὅτι

9. And one must be, in the use of principles, like the pancratiast, not the gladiator; for the one lays down the sword he uses and takes it up, but the other always has the hand, and there is need of nothing else than to clench it.[340]

10. See things as such, dividing them into material, cause, reference.[341]

11. How great an authority man has: to do nothing other than what God will praise, and to receive all that God deals out to him. [What follows on nature.][342]

12. One must blame neither the gods, for they do no wrong willingly or unwillingly, nor men, for they do none except unwillingly. So one must blame no one.

13. How ridiculous and a stranger is he who is astonished at anything whatever that comes about in life.

14. Either a necessity of fate and an order not to be transgressed, or a providence that can be propitiated, or a confusion of aimlessness without a leader. If, then, a necessity not to be transgressed, why do you resist? If a providence that admits of being propitiated, make yourself worthy of help from the divine. If a confusion without a guide, be glad that in such a surge you yourself have in yourself a ruling mind; and if the surge carries you away, let it carry away the poor flesh, the little breath, the rest; for the mind it will not carry away.

[15.] Or does the light of the lamp shine until it is quenched, and not lose the radiance, while the truth and justice and self-control in you will be quenched first?[343]

16. In the case of one who has given the impression that he did wrong: But how do I know whether this is a wrong? And if he did indeed do wrong, that

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[340] P runs 12.8 and 12.9 together; A begins a new chapter at "that all is opinion", Xylander at "And one must be like" (L's apparatus).

[341] "As such" renders L's τοιαῦτα, where Gataker proposed ποῖα αὐτά, "of what sort they are", Reiske δεῖ αὐτά, Stich τίνα αὐτά (L's apparatus).

[342] In P the bracketed words open 12.12; Casaubon attached them to 12.11, Kronenberg deleted them (L's apparatus).

[343] L brackets the number; P, A and X run 12.14 and 12.15 together; Coraes proposed ἦ for ἤ, "Or" (L's apparatus).

κατέκρινεν αὐτὸς ἑαυτόν, καὶ οὕτως ὅμοιον τοῦτο τῷ καταδρύπτειν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὄψιν.

Ὅτι ὁ μὴ θέλων τὸν φαῦλον ἁμαρτάνειν ὅμοιος τῷ μὴ θέλοντι τὴν συκῆν ὀπὸν ἐν τοῖς σύκοις φέρειν καὶ τὰ βρέφη κλαυθμυρίζεσθαι καὶ τὸν ἵππον χρεμετίζειν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἀναγκαῖα. τί γὰρ πάθῃ τὴν ἕξιν ἔχων τοιαύτην; εἰ οὖν γοργὸς εἶ, ταύτην θεράπευσον.

ιζ′. Εἰ μὴ καθήκει, μὴ πράξῃς· εἰ μὴ ἀληθές ἐστι, μὴ εἴπῃς. ἡ γὰρ ὁρμή σου ἔστω [ιη′] εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἀεὶ ὁρᾶν, τί ἐστιν 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.

ιθ′. Αἴσθου ποτὲ ὅτι κρεῖττόν 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;

κ′. Πρῶτον τὸ μὴ εἰκῇ μηδὲ ἄνευ ἀναφορᾶς. δεύτερον τὸ μὴ ἐπ᾽ ἄλλο τι ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ κοινωνικὸν τέλος τὴν ἀναγωγὴν ποιεῖσθαι.

κα′. Ὅτι μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ οὐδεὶς οὐδαμοῦ ἔσῃ οὐδὲ τούτων τι ἃ νῦν βλέπεις οὐδὲ τούτων τις τῶν νῦν βιούντων· ἅπαντα γὰρ μεταβάλλειν καὶ τρέπεσθαι καὶ φθείρεσθαι πέφυκεν, ἵνα ἕτερα ἐφεξῆς γίνηται.

κβ′. Ὅτι πάντα ὑπόληψις καὶ αὕτη ἐπὶ σοί. ἆρον οὖν ὅτε θέλεις τὴν ὑπόληψιν καὶ ὥσπερ κάμψαντι τὴν ἄκραν γαλήνη, σταθερὰ πάντα καὶ κόλπος ἀκύμων.

κγ′. Μία καὶ ἡτισοῦν ἐνέργεια κατὰ καιρὸν παυσαμένη οὐδὲν κακὸν πάσχει, καθὸ πέπαυται· οὐδὲ ὁ πράξας τὴν

he has condemned himself, and so this is like tearing his own face.

That he who does not want the base man to do wrong is like one who does not want the fig tree to carry juice in the figs, and infants to whimper, and the horse to neigh, and all other things that are necessary. For what is he to do, having such a state? If, then, you are vehement, cure this.[344]

17. If it is not a duty, do not do it; if it is not true, do not say it. For let your impulse be [18] towards seeing always, in everything, what that very thing is which produces the impression in you, and unfolding it by dividing it into the cause, the material, the reference, the time within which it will have to have ceased.[345]

19. Perceive at last that you have in yourself something better and more daimonic than the things that produce the passions and, in a word, jerk you like a puppet. What is my understanding now? Is it fear? Suspicion? Craving? Some other such thing?

20. First: not at random, nor without reference. Second: to make the leading back to nothing other than the social end.

21. That in a little while you will be no one and nowhere, nor will any of these things be which you now see, nor any of those now living; for all things are by nature such as to change and turn and perish, so that others may come to be in succession.

22. That all is opinion, and this is in your power. Take away, then, the opinion when you want, and, as for one who has rounded the headland, calm, all things still, and a bay without waves.[346]

23. Any single activity whatever that ceases in due time suffers nothing bad in so far as it has ceased; nor has he who did

[344] A begins a new chapter at "That he who does not want"; L begins a new paragraph. Coraes proposed "has ⟨not⟩ condemned" (L's apparatus).

[345] P and A run 12.17 and 12.18 together; L sets the bracketed numeral at Casaubon's division, after ἔστω; Gataker divided after πᾶν (L's apparatus).

[346] The image of rounding the headland: Casaubon thought it taken from some poet (L's testimonia).

πρᾶξιν ταύτην κατ᾽ αὐτὸ τοῦτο, καθὸ πέπαυται, κακόν τι πέπονθεν. ὁμοίως 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 εἱρμὸν τοῦτον κακῶς διετέθη. τὸν δὲ καιρὸν καὶ τὸν ὅρον δίδωσιν ἡ φύσις, ποτὲ μὲν καὶ ἡ ἰδία, ὅταν ἐν γήρᾳ, πάντως δὲ ἡ τῶν ὅλων, ἧς τῶν μερῶν μεταβαλλόντων νεαρὸς ἀεὶ καὶ ἀκμαῖος ὁ σύμπας κόσμος διαμένει. καλὸν δὲ ἀεὶ πᾶν καὶ ὡραῖον τὸ συμφέρον τῷ ὅλῳ. ἡ οὖν κατάπαυσις τοῦ βίου ἑκάστῳ οὐ κακὸν μὲν ὅτι οὐδὲ αἰσχρόν, εἴπερ καὶ ἀπροαίρετον καὶ οὐκ ἀκοινώνητον· ἀγαθὸν δὲ εἴπερ τῷ ὅλῳ καίριον καὶ συμφέρον καὶ συμφερόμενον. οὕτως γὰρ καὶ θεοφόρητος ὁ φερόμενος κατὰ ταὐτὰ θεῷ καὶ ἐπὶ ταὐτὰ τῇ γνώμῃ φερόμενος.

κδ′. Τρία ταῦτα δεῖ πρόχειρα ἔχειν· ἐπὶ μὲν ὧν ποιεῖς, εἰ μήτε εἰκῇ μήτε ἄλλως ἢ ὡς ἂν ἡ Δίκη αὐτὴ ἐνήργησεν· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἔξωθεν συμβαινόντων, ὅτι ἤτοι κατ᾽ ἐπιτυχίαν ἢ κατὰ πρόνοιαν· οὔτε δὲ τῇ ἐπιτυχίᾳ μεμπτέον οὔτε τῇ προνοίᾳ ἐγκλητέον. δεύτερον τό· ὁποῖον ἕκαστον ἀπὸ σπέρματος μέχρι ψυχώσεως καὶ ἀπὸ ψυχώσεως μέχρι τοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀποδοῦναι καὶ ἐξ οἵων ἡ σύγκρισις καὶ εἰς οἷα ἡ λύσις. τρίτον, εἰ ἄφνω μετέωρος ἐξαρθεὶς κατασκέψαιο τὰ ἀνθρώπεια καὶ τὴν πολυτροπίαν, ὅτι καταφρονήσεις συνιδὼν ἅμα καὶ ὅσον τὸ περιοικοῦν ἐναερίων καὶ ἐναιθερίων· καὶ ὅτι, ὁσάκις ἂν ἐξαρθῇς, ταὐτὰ ὄψῃ, τὸ ὁμοειδές, τὸ ὀλιγοχρόνιον. ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ τῦφος.

κε′. Βάλε ἔξω τὴν ὑπόληψιν· σέσωσαι. τίς οὖν ὁ κωλύων ἐκβάλλειν;

κς′. Ὅταν δυσφορῇς ἐπί τινι, ἐπελάθου τοῦ, ὅτι πάντα

this action suffered anything bad in respect of this very thing, in so far as it has ceased. In the same way, then, the system made up of all actions, which is life, if it ceases in due time, suffers nothing bad in respect of this very thing, in so far as it has ceased; nor has he who ended this sequence in due time been put in a bad condition. And the due time and the limit nature gives: sometimes one's own nature too, when in old age, but in any case the nature of the whole, through whose parts changing the all-embracing universe remains ever young and in its prime. And everything that is advantageous to the whole is always beautiful and in season. The ending of life, then, is for each not bad, because not shameful either, if indeed it is both outside choice and not unsocial; and good, if indeed it is opportune for the whole, and advantageous, and carried along with it. For so he too is borne by God who is carried along the same way as God and is carried, in frame of mind, towards the same things.[347]

24. These three things one must have ready to hand: in what you do, whether it is neither at random nor otherwise than Justice herself would have acted; in what happens from outside, that it is either by chance or by providence; and one must neither blame chance nor bring a charge against providence. Second: what each thing is like from seed until it receives a soul, and from receiving a soul until it gives the soul back, and from what things the compounding, and into what the breaking up. Third: if, suddenly raised aloft, you were to look down on human things and the variety, that you will despise them, seeing at the same time how great is the number of beings of the air and the aether that dwell around; and that, as often as you are raised up, you will see the same things, uniformity, short duration. On these, the vanity.[348]

25. Throw out the opinion: you are preserved. Who, then, prevents you from throwing it out?

26. When you are aggrieved at anything, you have forgotten this: that all things

[347] A chain of plays on *φέρειν*, "carry": advantageous (*συμφέρον*), carried along with it (*συμφερόμενον*), borne by God (*θεοφόρητος*, also "god-possessed"), carried (*φερόμενος*).

[348] "Seed" is Gataker's *σπέρματος*, for *στερήματος*, "privation"; Morus proposed deleting "whether" (L's apparatus).

κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὅλων φύσιν γίνεται, καὶ τοῦ, ὅτι τὸ ἁμαρτανόμενον 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 αἱματίου ἢ σπερματίου, ἀλλὰ νοῦ κοινωνία. ἐπελάθου δὲ καὶ τοῦ, ὅτι ὁ ἑκάστου 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' ὑπόληψις· τοῦ, ὅτι τὸ παρὸν μόνον ἕκαστος ζῇ καὶ τοῦτο ἀποβάλλει.

κζ′. Συνεχῶς ἀναπολεῖν τοὺς ἐπί τινι λίαν ἀγανακτήσαντας, τοὺς ἐν μεγίσταις δόξαις ἢ συμφοραῖς ἢ ἔχθραις ἢ ὁποιαισοῦν τύχαις ἀκμάσαντας· εἶτα ἐφιστάνειν· ποῦ νῦν πάντα ἐκεῖνα; καπνὸς καὶ σποδὸς καὶ μῦθος ἢ οὐδὲ μῦθος. συμπροσπιπτέτω δὲ καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτο πᾶν, οἷον· Φάβιος Κατουλλῖνος ἐπ' ἀγροῦ καὶ Λούσιος Λοῦπος ἐν τοῖς κήποις καὶ Στερτίνιος ἐν Βαίαις καὶ Τιβέριος ἐν Καπρίαις καὶ Οὐήλιος Ῥοῦφος καὶ ὅλως ἡ πρὸς ὁτιοῦν μετ' οἰήσεως διαφορά· καὶ ὡς εὐτελὲς πᾶν τὸ κατεντεινόμενον καὶ ὅσῳ φιλοσοφώτερον τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς δοθείσης ὕλης ἑαυτὸν δίκαιον, σώφρονα, θεοῖς ἑπόμενον ἀφελῶς παρέχειν· ὁ γὰρ ὑπὸ ἀτυφίᾳ τῦφος τυφόμενος πάντων χαλεπώτατος.

κη′. Πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιζητοῦντας· ποῦ γὰρ ἰδὼν τοὺς θεοὺς ἢ πόθεν κατειληφὼς ὅτι εἰσὶν οὕτως σέβεις; πρῶτον μὲν καὶ ὄψει ὁρατοί εἰσιν· ἔπειτα μέντοι οὐδὲ τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἑώρακα καὶ ὅμως τιμῶ· οὕτως οὖν καὶ τοὺς θεούς, ἐξ ὧν τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτῶν ἑκάστοτε πειρῶμαι, ἐκ τούτων ὅτι τε εἰσὶ καταλαμβάνω καὶ αἰδοῦμαι.

κθ′. Σωτηρία βίου ἕκαστον δι' ὅλου αὐτὸ τί ἐστιν ὁρᾶν,

come about according to the nature of the whole; and this, that the wrong done is alien; and on top of these, this, that everything that comes about always came about so and will come about and now comes about everywhere; this, how great is the kinship of a man with the whole human race, for it is a fellowship not of a little blood or a little seed, but of mind. And you have forgotten this too, that the mind of each is a god and has flowed from there; this, that nothing is anyone's own, but even the little child and the poor body and the little soul itself have come from there; this, that all is opinion; this, that each lives only the present and loses this.[349]

27. Continually recall those who were very indignant at something, those who reached their peak in the greatest fame or disasters or enmities or fortunes of any kind; then attend: where are all those things now? Smoke and ash and a legend, or not even a legend. And let every such case also occur to you along with it: Fabius Catullinus in the country, and Lusius Lupus in the gardens, and Stertinius at Baiae, and Tiberius on Capri, and Velius Rufus, and in general contention over anything with conceit; and how cheap is all that is strained after, and how much more philosophical it is, in the material given, to show oneself just, self-controlled, following the gods, artlessly; for the vanity that is vain under the cover of freedom from vanity is the hardest of all.[350]

28. To those who seek: "Why, where have you seen the gods, or from where have you grasped that they exist, that you revere them so?" First, they are even visible to sight; secondly, though, I have not seen my own soul either, and yet I honour it; so, then, the gods too: from what I experience of their power on each occasion, from that I grasp that they exist and I respect them.[351]

29. The preservation of life: to see each thing through and through, what it is in itself,

[349] For the mind as a god compare Euripides fr. 1018 Nauck, "for our mind in each of us is a god" (L's testimonia).

[350] Of these only Tiberius, who withdrew to Capri, is certainly identified. "In the gardens" stands in Xylander's Latin version; P omits it (L's apparatus).

[351] Visible to sight: probably the sun, moon and stars, which the Stoics held to be gods.

τί μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸ ὑλικόν, τί δὲ τὸ αἰτιῶδες· ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν καὶ τἀληθῆ λέγειν. τί λοιπὸν ἢ ἀπολαύειν τοῦ ζῆν συνάπτοντα ἄλλο ἐπ᾽ ἄλλῳ ἀγαθόν, ὥστε μηδὲ τὸ βραχύτατον διάστημα ἀπολείπειν;

λ′. Ἓν φῶς ἡλίου, κἂν διείργηται τοίχοις, ὄρεσιν, ἄλλοις μυρίοις. μία οὐσία κοινή, κἂν διείργηται ἰδίως ποιοῖς σώμασι μυρίοις. μία ψυχή, κἂν φύσεσι διείργηται μυρίαις καὶ ἰδίαις περιγραφαῖς. μία νοερὰ ψυχή, κἂν διακεκρίσθαι δοκῇ. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα μέρη τῶν εἰρημένων, οἷον πνεύματα καὶ ὑποκείμενα, ἀναίσθητα καὶ ἀνοικείωτα ἀλλήλοις· καίτοι κἀκεῖνα τὸ ἑνοῦν συνέχει καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτὰ βρῖθον. διάνοια δὲ ἰδίως ἐπὶ τὸ ὁμόφυλον τείνεται καὶ συνίσταται καὶ οὐ διείργεται τὸ κοινωνικὸν πάθος.

λα′. Τί ἐπιζητεῖς; τὸ διαπνεῖσθαι; ἀλλὰ τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι; τὸ ὁρμᾶν; τὸ αὔξεσθαι; τὸ λήγειν αὖθις; τὸ φωνῇ χρῆσθαι; τὸ διανοεῖσθαι; τί τούτων πόθου σοι ἄξιον δοκεῖ; εἰ δὲ ἕκαστα εὐκαταφρόνητα, πρόιθι ἐπὶ τελευταῖον τὸ ἕπεσθαι τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῷ θεῷ. ἀλλὰ μάχεται τὸ τιμᾶν ταῦτα, τὸ ἄχθεσθαι εἰ διὰ τοῦ τεθνηκέναι στερήσεταί τις αὐτῶν.

λβ′. Πόστον μέρος τοῦ ἀπείρου καὶ ἀχανοῦς αἰῶνος ἀπομεμέρισται ἑκάστῳ· τάχιστα γὰρ ἐναφανίζεται τῷ ἀιδίῳ· πόστον δὲ τῆς ὅλης οὐσίας· πόστον δὲ τῆς ὅλης ψυχῆς· ἐν πόστῳ δὲ βωλαρίῳ τῆς ὅλης γῆς ἕρπεις. πάντα ταῦτα ἐνθυμούμενος μηδὲν μέγα φαντάζου ἢ τό, ὡς μὲν ἡ σὴ φύσις ἄγει ποιεῖν, πάσχειν δὲ ὡς ἡ κοινὴ φύσις φέρει.

λγ′. Πῶς ἑαυτῷ χρῆται τὸ ἡγεμονικόν; ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ τὸ πᾶν ἐστι. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἢ προαιρετικά ἐστιν ἢ ἀπροαίρετα, νεκρὰ καὶ καπνός.

what is its material, what its causal part; with the whole soul to do what is just and to say what is true. What remains but to enjoy life, joining one good thing to another, so as to leave not even the briefest interval?

30. One light of the sun, even if it is parted by walls, mountains, countless other things. One common substance, even if it is parted among countless individually qualified bodies. One soul, even if it is parted among countless natures and individual circumscriptions. One intelligent soul, even if it seems to be divided. Now the other parts of those mentioned, such as the breaths and the underlying things, are insensible and without affinity to one another; and yet these too are held together by what unifies and by what weighs down towards the same things. But understanding, in a way of its own, stretches towards the kindred stock and joins with it, and the social feeling is not parted.[352]

31. What do you seek? To transpire? But to perceive? To have impulses? To grow? To leave off again? To use the voice? To think? Which of these seems to you worth longing for? But if each is easy to despise, go forward to the last: to follow reason and God. But it conflicts with this to honour these things, to be annoyed if through dying one will be deprived of them.[353]

32. What fraction of the infinite and yawning eternity has been portioned off to each; for very quickly it vanishes into the everlasting; and what fraction of the whole substance; and what fraction of the whole soul; and on what fraction of the whole earth, a little clod, you crawl. Considering all these things, form an impression of nothing as great, except to act as your nature leads, and to be affected as the common nature brings.

33. How does the ruling centre use itself? For in this lies everything. But the rest either belongs to choice or is outside choice: corpses and smoke.[354]

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[352] "What unifies" is Rendall's *τὸ ἑνοῦν* (Gataker *τὸ νοοῦν*; the witnesses *τὸν νοῦν*), and "stretches" Coraes' *τείνεται*, for *γίνεται* (L's apparatus).

[353] "To transpire" (breathing through the skin) and "go forward" are L's own *τὸ διαπνεῖσθαι* and *πρόιθι*; the witnesses have *τὸ διαγίνεσθαι*, "to go on living", and *πρόσιθι* (L's apparatus).

[354] L prints A's *ἢ προαιρετικά*; P has *εἰ προαιρετά* (L's apparatus).

λδ′. Πρὸς θανάτου καταφρόνησιν ἐγερτικώτατον ὅτι καὶ οἱ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸν πόνον κακὸν κρίνοντες ὅμως τούτου κατεφρόνησαν.

λε′. Ὦι τὸ εὔκαιρον μόνον ἀγαθὸν καὶ ᾧ τὸ πλείους κατὰ λόγον ὀρθὸν πράξεις ἀποδοῦναι τῷ ὀλιγωτέρας ἐν ἴσῳ ἐστὶ καὶ ᾧ τὸν κόσμον θεωρῆσαι πλείονι ἢ ἐλάσσονι χρόνῳ οὐ διαφέρει, τούτῳ οὐδὲ ὁ θάνατος φοβερόν.

λς′. Ἄνθρωπε, ἐπολιτεύσω ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ταύτῃ πόλει· τί σοι διαφέρει, εἰ πέντε ἔτεσιν ⟨ἢ τρισί⟩; τὸ γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἴσον ἑκάστῳ. τί οὖν δεινόν, εἰ τῆς πόλεως ἀποπέμπει σε οὐ τύραννος οὐδὲ δικαστὴς ἄδικος, ἀλλ᾽ ἡ φύσις ἡ εἰσαγαγοῦσα, οἷον εἰ κωμῳδὸν ἀπολύοι τῆς σκηνῆς ὁ παραλαβὼν στρατηγός;—ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ εἶπον τὰ πέντε μέρη, ἀλλὰ τὰ τρία.—καλῶς εἶπας· ἐν μέντοι τῷ βίῳ τὰ τρία ὅλον τὸ δρᾶμά ἐστι. τὸ γὰρ τέλειον ἐκεῖνος ὁρίζει ὁ τότε μὲν τῆς συγκρίσεως, νῦν δὲ τῆς διαλύσεως αἴτιος· σὺ δὲ ἀναίτιος ἀμφοτέρων. ἄπιθι οὖν ἵλεως· καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀπολύων ἵλεως.

34. For contempt of death the most rousing thing is that even those who judged pleasure good and pain bad nevertheless despised it.[355]

35. For him to whom only the timely is good, and to whom it is all one to render more actions in accordance with right reason or fewer, and to whom it makes no difference to observe the universe for a longer or a shorter time, for him not even death is a thing to fear.

36. Man, you have been a citizen in this great city: what difference does it make to you whether for five years ⟨or three⟩? For what is according to the laws is equal for each. What, then, is terrible, if it is not a tyrant nor an unjust judge that sends you away from the city, but the nature that brought you in, as if the praetor who had engaged a comic actor should release him from the stage?—But I have not spoken the five acts, but the three.—You have said it well; but in life the three are the whole drama. For the complete is determined by him who was then the cause of the compounding and now of the dissolution; but you are the cause of neither. Go away, then, serene; for he who releases you is serene too.[356][357]

[355] Probably the Epicureans.

[356] ⟨Or three⟩ is Reiske's supplement; Nauck proposed *χορηγός*, "producer", for *στρατηγός*, "praetor" (L's apparatus). The praetor gave the public games and engaged the actors.

[357] L reports that A ends with eight verses: "If you wish to master distress, unroll this blessed book and go through it with care; under its happiest thought you may easily see the delight and the grief of things to be, things that are and things past to be no better than smoke." Salmasius quotes the same lines, which he says he found "in old parchments", in his note on the *Historia Augusta*'s *Avidius Cassius* 3.7, under the title "On the book of Marcus".

Outline

This Outline follows the *Meditations* book by book. Chapters are cited by book and chapter, and the page given for each group is the page of Leopold's text on which its first chapter begins. The *Meditations* is a notebook, not a treatise, and no book argues from a beginning to an end: its joints are runs of related entries, in which a subject is taken up, dropped and taken up again, with single entries standing on their own among them. The groups below follow those runs and name the chapters that stand out.

Book I (*pp. 1–9*)

Book I is a list of debts. Each chapter names a person, and at the last the gods, and sets down what Marcus took from them: his family first, then his tutors, teachers and friends, then "my father" and the gods. The entries are lists of qualities, habits and lessons rather than arguments, and two of them are far longer than the rest: the portrait of "my father" at 1.16 and the thanks to the gods at 1.17. The book closes with the line "Among the Quadi, on the Granua."

1.1–1.4 (p. 1). The family: from his grandfather Verus "good character and freedom from anger"; from the memory of "the man who fathered me" "self-respect and manliness"; from his mother piety, generosity and "frugality of life, far removed from the habits of the rich"; from his great-grandfather good teachers at home rather than the public schools.

1.5–1.6 (p. 1). The first training. From his tutor, not to take sides at the races ("not to have become a Green or a Blue"), to bear hardship and to work with his own hands; from Diognetus, not to believe "wonder-workers and charlatans", and his first coming "into affinity with philosophy".

1.7–1.8 (p. 2). Rusticus gave him the sense of "needing correction and treatment of character", kept him from "rhetoric, poetry and fine language", and lent him "the notes of Epictetus"; Apollonius taught him "to look to nothing else, even for a moment, but reason", and showed him "that the same man can be most intense and yet relaxed".

1.9–1.10 (p. 3). Sextus, for kindliness, "the conception of living according to nature", and a man "at once wholly free from passion

and full of affection"; Alexander the grammarian, for correcting another's faulty speech without reproof, by using the right expression in reply.

1.11–1.13 (p. 3). Fronto, on "the envy, the double-dealing and the pretence of a tyrant"; Alexander the Platonist, on not pleading "I am busy" to escape the duties owed to others; Catulus, on taking a friend's complaint seriously, speaking well of one's teachers, and loving one's children "truly".

1.14–1.15 (p. 4). Severus, through whom he came to know Thrasea, Helvidius, Cato, Dion and Brutus, and the idea of "a kingship that honours above all things the freedom of the governed"; Maximus, for "self-mastery", good spirits in illness, and the look of a man "who had never been bent rather than one who had been straightened".

1.16 (p. 5). The portrait of "my father", the longest chapter in the book: his gentleness and firmness in decisions once reached, his "exact inquiry in council", his guard over the empire's needs and funds, "no superstition towards the gods", his plain habits and his care of his body, and his ability, as was recorded of Socrates, both to abstain from and to enjoy what most men cannot do without.

1.17 (p. 7). Thanks to the gods: for good family, teachers and friends; for being placed "under a ruler and father who was to take all vanity out of me"; for making no further progress in rhetoric and poetry; for help given "in dreams"; and for not falling in with a sophist when he "craved philosophy". That he still falls short of the life according to nature "is my own fault".

Book II (*pp. 10–16*)

Book II turns from others to himself. Most entries are addressed to himself, often as commands, and the book is pressed by the shortness of time: he is "an old man", "a limit of time has been set for you", and the "thirst for books" is to be thrown away. Its subjects are the ones the later books keep returning to: other men's wrongdoing, the ruling centre and the daimon within, death as "a work of nature", and the present as all that a man can lose. The book closes with the line "At Carnuntum."

2.1 (p. 10). The morning rehearsal: "At dawn, say to yourself in advance: I shall meet the meddling, the ungrateful". The wrongdoer

is kin, "sharing in mind and in a portion of the divine", and "we have come to be for working together, like feet, like hands".

2.2–2.4 (p. 10). What he is: "scraps of flesh, a little breath, and the ruling centre". The works of the gods are "full of providence"; he has put these things off too long, and the time set for him will not come again.

2.5–2.7 (p. 11). How to act: do each act "as the last of your life"; the soul is told it will have "no further chance" to honour itself; stop wandering, but do not drift without a target either.

2.8–2.9 (p. 12). Keep track of the movements of your own soul, not of another's; remember what the nature of the whole is, and what sort of part of it you are.

2.10 (p. 12). Theophrastus' judgement that offences "committed through craving are graver than those committed through rage".

2.11–2.12 (p. 13). To leave life is nothing terrible if there are gods, and they do exist and care; death and life, fame and pain, wealth and poverty "befall good men and bad alike", and so are neither good nor bad. How quickly all things vanish; dying is "a work of nature", and only a child fears it.

2.13 (p. 14). Against prying into "the things beneath the earth" and into the souls of neighbours: "it is enough to be with the daimon within oneself alone and to serve it genuinely".

2.14 (p. 14). Whether a man lives three thousand years or a few, "the longest and the shortest come to the same", since no one loses anything but the present.

2.15–2.16 (p. 15). "That everything is opinion", from what was said to Monimus the Cynic; the five ways in which the soul "does violence to itself", first by becoming "an abscess and a kind of tumour on the universe".

2.17 (p. 16). The summary of human life, "the time a point, the substance flowing", in which "all that belongs to the body is a river, all that belongs to the soul dream and vanity". The one escort is philosophy, which keeps the daimon unharmed and awaits death serenely.

Book III (*pp. 17–25*)

Book III has the fewest chapters of any book, and several of them are

long. Most describe one figure: the good man whose understanding is governed by "the daimon itself that is enshrined in you", who keeps his impressions clean and wants nothing that needs hiding. The book opens and comes near its end with the same urgency: the mind may fail before the body, and "you are not going to read your little notebooks". Between come the deaths of the famous, the charm of nature's by-products, and the method of defining each thing.

3.1 (p. 17). Hurry, not only because death comes nearer, but because "the conceiving of things and the keeping track of them give out before it".

3.2 (p. 17). The charm of what follows incidentally on nature: the cracks in baked bread, figs that gape, "the lion's wrinkled brow". The man with a feeling for the whole will find even these pleasing.

3.3 (p. 18). The deaths of healers, seers, conquerors and philosophers: Hippocrates, the Chaldaeans, Alexander, Pompey, Gaius Caesar, Heraclitus, Democritus, Socrates. "You embarked, you made the voyage, you have come to port: disembark."

3.4 (p. 19). Do not waste life in impressions of what others are doing; think only what you could confess at once if asked "What are you thinking now?" Such a man is "a kind of priest and servant of the gods", "an athlete in the greatest of contests".

3.5–3.8 (p. 20). The man governed by "the god within you", who must "be upright, not held upright": if nothing is better than the daimon within, give room to nothing else; honour nothing that needs "walls and curtains"; in the purified understanding there is "nothing festering".

3.9–3.10 (p. 22). "Revere the faculty of forming opinions"; each of us lives "only this present, this instant", and even the longest fame is small.

3.11 (p. 23). The method of definition: see each object of impression "in its substance, naked", name what it is made of and into what it will be resolved, and ask its worth to the whole and to man, "a citizen of the highest city, of which the other cities are like households".

3.12–3.13 (p. 23). Do the work in hand by right reason and keep the daimon pure, and you will live well: "there is no one who can prevent this". Keep the principles ready, as doctors keep their

"instruments and knives at hand for sudden cases".

3.14–3.15 (p. 24). "Wander no longer. For you are not going to read your little notebooks": hurry to the end. Then a brief note on things seen "not with the eyes but with another kind of sight".

3.16 (p. 24). Body, soul, mind: impressions belong to cattle as well, impulse to beasts and to Phalaris and Nero; what is peculiar to the good man is "to love and welcome what happens to him and is spun for him", and to keep the daimon within serene.

Book IV (*pp. 25–38*)

Book IV opens with the retreat into oneself (4.3), whose two closing reminders, that things "do not touch the soul" and that all things will "change and be no more", are the subjects to which the book keeps returning. Long entries are few and short ones many. Fame and forgetting recur (4.19, 4.33, 4.35), with lists of the famous dead, from Camillus to Antoninus and from Helice to Herculaneum (4.32–4.33, 4.48, 4.50); so do change (4.36, 4.42–4.43, 4.46) and the choice "either providence or atoms", put again at 4.27 as "an ordered universe or a jumble". Epictetus and Heraclitus are named at 4.41 and 4.46.

4.1–4.2 (p. 25). The ruling part, like a bright fire, "makes material for itself" of whatever falls on it; no act is to be done "at random".

4.3 (p. 25). The retreat into oneself: "it is open to you, at whatever hour you want, to retreat into yourself". Brief remedies follow against resentment of men, of what is allotted, of the body and of fame, ending with the two most ready to hand. "The universe is alteration; life is opinion."

4.4 (p. 27). The chain from common intelligence to common reason, law and citizenship: "the universe is as it were a city", and intelligence itself comes from it.

4.5–4.9 (p. 28). Brief notes. Death is, like birth, "a mystery of nature"; to want wrongdoers not to do wrong is to want "the fig tree to have no juice"; "Take away the opinion, 'I have been harmed' is taken away"; what does not make a man worse does not harm him.

4.10–4.13 (p. 28). That "everything that happens, happens justly"; see things as they are, not as the insolent man judges; the two readinesses, to do what reason prescribes and "to shift position" when someone sets one right; "Have you reason? I have. Then

why do you not use it?"

4.14–4.17 (p. 29). Brevity and death: "You will vanish into what begot you"; grains of incense falling on one altar, one first, one later; "Within ten days you will seem a god" to those to whom you now seem "a beast and an ape"; "Not as one who will live ten thousand years."

4.18–4.20 (p. 29). The leisure gained by not watching the neighbour; fame after death passes through "men who are lit and quenched"; what is beautiful is "beautiful of itself", and praise adds nothing: "does an emerald become worse than it was, if it is not praised?"

4.21 (p. 30). If souls live on, where are they kept? Like bodies in the earth, they change and are "kindled into the seminal reason of the whole", making room for others.

4.22–4.26 (p. 31). Short rules and a prayer: "Everything is in tune with me that is in tune with you, O universe", ending "O dear city of Zeus"; against the saying "Do little", do what is necessary and strip away unnecessary acts and impressions; try the life of the good man; "Does someone do wrong? He does wrong to himself."

4.27–4.29 (p. 32). "Either an ordered universe or a jumble mixed together"; a list of bad characters; the man who resents what happens is a fugitive, a blind man, a beggar, and "an abscess on the universe".

4.30–4.31 (p. 33). Philosophy practised "without a tunic" or "without a book"; "Love the little craft you have learned, and rest in it".

4.32–4.33 (p. 33). The times of Vespasian and of Trajan show "all the same things", and that life "is no longer anywhere"; the great names of old are "now in a way glosses", down to Augustus, Hadrian and Antoninus. What deserves effort is "a just understanding, social actions", truthful speech, and a disposition that welcomes all that happens.

4.34–4.37 (p. 34). Give yourself to Clotho; "Everything is of a day"; nature "loves nothing so much as to change the things that are and to make new things like them"; "You will soon be dead, and you are not yet simple".

4.38–4.39 (p. 35). Look into the ruling centres of the wise. What is bad for you lies nowhere but in the part of you that forms opinions:

"Let this, then, form no opinion, and all is well."

4.40–4.45 (p. 35). The universe as "one living being, holding one substance and one soul"; Epictetus' "little soul carrying a corpse"; nothing is bad for things in change; eternity is "a kind of river"; all that happens is as familiar "as the rose in spring"; what follows shows "a wonderful kinship" with what went before.

4.46 (p. 36). Heraclitus: the deaths of the elements into one another, and men at odds with the reason that governs the whole, who must not act and speak "as if asleep".

4.47–4.48 (p. 36). Death tomorrow or after many years makes little difference; how many doctors, astrologers, philosophers and tyrants have died, and whole cities, "Helice and Pompeii and Herculaneum". Pass through life and come to rest "as an olive might fall when ripe".

4.49 (p. 37). The headland on which the waves break; misfortune met well: "not that this is a misfortune, but that to bear it nobly is good fortune".

4.50–4.51 (p. 38). An "unphilosophical but still effective help towards despising death": those who lived long lie dead too, and between "a child of three days and one who has lived three lifetimes of Nestor" there is no difference. "Always run the short road".

Book V (*pp. 38–51*)

Book V opens at first light with a man reluctant to leave his bed, and asks throughout what a man's own work is. Its longest entry (5.8) argues that what happens has been "prescribed" by the nature of the whole as a doctor prescribes; shorter ones return to the soul that things "do not touch", to the social good, to the flux of substance, and to what is enough. Some are small dialogues with an objector, whose words are set off by dashes (5.6, 5.28, 5.36), and 5.28 and 5.36 each end with a line that stands apart, such as "Neither tragic actor nor whore".

5.1 (p. 38). "At first light, when you are reluctant to get up": he rises "to do the work of a man", as plants, sparrows, ants and bees do theirs; to fall short of this is not to love oneself or one's own nature.

5.2–5.5 (p. 39). Wipe away every vexing impression; judge yourself worthy of every word and deed according to nature, whatever oth-

ers say; he goes on until he falls on the earth that has fed him; even without talent he can offer "genuineness, dignity, the bearing of hardship".

5.6 (p. 40). Three kinds of benefactor; the best is "like a vine that has borne grapes and seeks nothing more", and an objector is answered.

5.7 (p. 41). The Athenians' prayer for rain: "Either one must not pray, or pray so, simply and freely."

5.8 (p. 41). As Asclepius prescribes riding or cold baths, so "the nature of the whole prescribed for this man disease, or maiming, or loss". Things "fit" like squared stones in a wall, and what happens is to be welcomed for the sake of "the health of the universe".

5.9–5.10 (p. 43). Do not lose heart when knocked back, and return to philosophy not as to a schoolmaster but "as those with sore eyes to the sponge and the egg". In this "darkness, then, and filth" he rests in two things: nothing will happen to him that is not according to the nature of the whole, and no one can compel him to act against his god and daimon.

5.11–5.12 (p. 44). Whose soul do I now have, "A child's? An adolescent's?"; the goods of the many are shown up by the comic poet's line, that their owner "has nowhere to shit".

5.13–5.16 (p. 45). He is made of "the causal and the material", and neither perishes; reason is content with itself, and right actions signify "the rightness of the road"; nothing is a man's that does not belong to him as a man; "the soul is dyed by the impressions", and since one can live at court, "it is possible also to live well at court".

5.17–5.20 (p. 46). Not to pursue the impossible; "Nothing happens to anyone that he is not by nature able to bear"; "Things themselves do not touch the soul"; men who obstruct him become one of "the things that make no difference", and "what stands in the way of this road advances the road".

5.21–5.24 (p. 47). Honour what is most excellent in the universe and in yourself; "What is not harmful to the city does not harm the citizen either"; all things pass, for "substance is like a river in perpetual flow"; how small a portion of substance, eternity and fate is his.

5.25–5.27 (p. 48). "Another does wrong to me? He will see to it." The ruling centre must not be mixed with the motions of the flesh; to "Live with the gods" is to do what the daimon wills, "a fragment of himself" that Zeus gives to each.

5.28 (p. 48). Anger at a man whose armpits stink is pointless; instead "move a rational disposition by a rational disposition; show, remind". Then a line on its own: "Neither tragic actor nor whore."

5.29–5.30 (p. 49). One may live here as one would after leaving life, and if that is not allowed, leave: "Smoke, and I leave". "The mind of the whole is social."

5.31–5.33 (p. 49). Self-examination: how has he behaved towards "gods, parents, brothers, wife, children, teachers", and the rest? "the story of your life is now complete and your service finished". The skilled soul knows "beginning and end"; the things prized in life are "puppies biting one another", and what is enough is to revere the gods and do good to men.

5.34–5.36 (p. 50). Life can "flow smoothly"; what is not my vice and does not harm the community is no concern of mine; help others without thinking their losses a harm, like the old man who asked back "the foster-child's top", knowing it was a top. A last note defines being "a man of good lot".

Book VI (*pp. 51–64*)

Book VI holds 59 chapters, many of them a sentence long. It returns again and again to the order of the whole: the obedient substance of the universe, the choice between "a jumble" and "unity, order and providence", the weaving together of all things, and the work all men do together, knowingly or not. Against this stand the pressures of his station: the court is a stepmother and philosophy a mother (6.12), he must not be "made into a Caesar" (6.30), and "for me as Antoninus, Rome; as a man, the universe" (6.44). The portrait of Antoninus in 6.30 recalls that of "my father" at 1.16.

6.1–6.6 (p. 51). Short notes: the substance of the whole is "obedient and pliant"; dying too "is one of the actions of life"; let neither the quality nor the worth of anything escape you; all things will soon change; "The best way of retaliating is not to be assimilated."

6.7–6.11 (p. 52). Pass from one social action to another "with remembrance of God"; the ruling centre "wakes itself and turns itself"; ei-

ther a jumble or providence, and if providence, "I revere, I stand steady"; when troubled, return quickly to the rhythm.

6.12 (p. 52). The stepmother and the mother: "That is what the court and philosophy are to you now: return here often and rest in her".

6.13–6.14 (p. 52). Stripping things bare: a dish is "the dead body of a fish", the purple-bordered robe "a sheep's wool dyed with a shellfish's little blood", for "vanity is a terrible deceiver". What the many admire, ranked from stones and vines up to the rational soul.

6.15–6.16 (p. 54). Things run past like "one of the little sparrows flying past"; what is to be honoured is not breathing or being clapped but "to move and to hold still according to one's own constitution".

6.17–6.22 (p. 55). The motion of virtue; those who want praise from men they will never see; what is possible for a man is attainable by you; in life as in the gymnasium, "let us disregard much in those who, as it were, train with us"; "I seek the truth, by which no one was ever harmed"; "I do my own duty".

6.23–6.26 (p. 56). Use things freely and men socially; "Alexander of Macedon and his muleteer came, in death, to the same state"; many things happen at once in us and in the universe; as one spells the name Antoninus letter by letter without anger, so "every duty is completed out of certain numbers".

6.27–6.29 (p. 57). People are carried towards what seems good to them, so "teach and show, without being indignant"; "Death: rest from the jolting of sense"; it is shameful for the soul to give up before the body.

6.30 (p. 57). "See that you are not made into a Caesar, that you are not dyed; for it happens." Then "Everything as a pupil of Antoninus": his evenness, holiness, patience under unjust blame, frugality and piety "without superstition", "so that your last hour may find you with as good a conscience as it found him".

6.31–6.33 (p. 58). Wake from the dreams that vexed you; to the understanding only its own present acts matter; pain is not contrary to nature for a man so long as he does what belongs to a man.

6.34–6.37 (p. 59). The pleasures of robbers and tyrants; craftsmen respect the reason of their craft more than man respects his own;

"Asia, Europe: corners of the universe", and even "the lion's gaping jaws" are by-products of what is beautiful; "He who has seen what is now has seen all things".

6.38–6.43 (p. 59). The binding together of all things; love the people your lot is cast with; the maker remains within the things made by nature; to treat outside things as good leads to blaming the gods. "We all work together towards one outcome", even Heraclitus' sleepers, but do not be "the cheap and ridiculous line in the play".

6.44–6.45 (p. 61). If the gods took counsel about him, it was good counsel, and if not, he may take counsel about himself: "City and fatherland: for me as Antoninus, Rome; as a man, the universe." "Whatever happens to each is advantageous to the whole."

6.46–6.49 (p. 62). Life is like the shows in the amphitheatre, always the same: "Till when, then?" The dead of every kind, from Heraclitus, Pythagoras and Socrates to "Menippus and all his kind"; to gladden yourself, think of the merits of those around you; you do not resent your weight, so do not resent your years.

6.50–6.55 (p. 63). Impulse "with reservation"; the lover of fame, the lover of pleasure, the man of mind; to be "inside the soul of the speaker"; "What is not advantageous to the hive is not advantageous to the bee either"; the steersman abused by the sailors.

6.56–6.59 (p. 64). "How many of those with whom I came into the world have already gone away!" To the jaundiced honey seems bitter, so why be angry at error? No one can prevent you living by your own nature; "How quickly eternity will cover everything".

Book VII (*pp. 64–78*)

Book VII has more chapters than any other, 75, and many are a line long. At its centre is a run of quotations, with a few notes of his own among them (7.35–7.51): passages of Plato, among them Socrates' words at his trial, verses from the tragedians, and lines on death. Around it the familiar subjects return in short form: nothing is new (7.1, 7.49), all things are woven together (7.9), wrongdoers err "unwillingly" (7.22, 7.63), and the ruling centre is not harmed by what happens (7.14, 7.16, 7.33). Some entries are lists of commands (7.29) or headed notes, "On death", "On pain", "On fame" (7.32–7.34).

7.1–7.3 (p. 64). "Nothing is new; all things are both usual and of

short duration"; principles live as long as their impressions are rekindled, and "It is open to you to come back to life"; in the bustle of men, "little figures jerked like puppets", each is "worth as much as the things he has taken seriously".

7.4–7.8 (p. 65). Attend to words and impulses; use your understanding if it is sufficient, and if not, take help, "like a soldier in the storming of a wall"; the much-sung are forgotten; meet what is to come with the same reason you use for the present.

7.9–7.13 (p. 66). "All things are woven together, and the bond is sacred": "one universe out of all things, and one God through all things". Everything is soon taken back into the whole; "Upright, not held upright"; "I am a limb of the system made of rational beings", not merely a part.

7.14–7.17 (p. 66). What falls from outside does not harm him unless he judges it bad; "Whatever anyone does or says, I must be good", like the emerald keeping its colour; the ruling centre does not vex itself; "Happiness is a good daimon", and the stray impression is told "only go away".

7.18–7.21 (p. 67). Change: "Is someone afraid of change?" All bodies pass through the substance of the whole as through a torrent, and eternity has swallowed "how many a Socrates, how many an Epictetus"; the one thing that distracts him is the fear of acting against the constitution of man; "Near is your forgetting of all things".

7.22–7.26 (p. 68). Two subjects alternate. Wrongdoers are kin and err "through ignorance and unwillingly", the wrathful face is "very much contrary to nature", and one should ask "with what opinion of good or bad he did wrong"; and nature moulds its material like wax, now "a little horse", now "a little tree", "so that the universe may be always young".

7.27–7.30 (p. 69). Do not dwell on what is absent; "Gather yourself into yourself"; a list of commands, "Wipe out the impression. Stop the puppet-jerking. Circumscribe the present of time."; let the mind enter into what happens.

7.31–7.34 (p. 70). "Love the human race. Follow God." Then three headed notes: on death, scattering if atoms, and if unity, quenching or migration; on pain, "the unbearable carries off, the lasting is bearable"; on fame, earlier things covered by later like heaped

sand-dunes.

7.35–7.43 (p. 70). The first part of the run of quotations: the man with "the contemplation of all time and all substance", to whom death is not terrible; "It is kingly to do well and be ill spoken of"; then, after one note of his own on the face that obeys the understanding (7.37), lines of verse, among them "For one must not rage at things", "To reap life like a fruitful ear of corn" and "if I and my two sons have been neglected by the gods", which 11.6 quotes again as said by "the makers of the dramas".

7.44–7.46 (p. 71). Socrates' words in Plato: a man must look only to "whether he does just things or unjust"; wherever he is posted he must "stay and run the risk"; the noble and the good are "something other than preserving and being preserved".

7.47–7.51 (p. 72). The view from above: "Survey the runs of the stars"; "That of Plato is beautiful", to look on earthly things "as if from somewhere above"; the changes of empires make forty years of inquiry equal to ten thousand; verses on returning to earth and to heaven, and on those "turning aside the channel, so as not to die".

7.52–7.58 (p. 73). "A better thrower, but not more social"; it is always in your power to be content with the present and just to those present; the order of man's constitution, first the social, second refusing to yield to the body, third "freedom from rash assent"; live what remains "as something over and above"; "Love only what happens to you and is spun for you"; of those who were annoyed at what happened, "Where, then, are they now? Nowhere."

7.59–7.61 (p. 74). "Dig within. Within is the spring of the good"; keep the body composed, without affectation; "The art of living is more like wrestling than dancing".

7.62–7.66 (p. 75). Look at the ruling centres of those whose testimony you want; every soul "is deprived of truth unwillingly", so be milder; pain, with Epicurus, is "neither unbearable nor eternal"; of Socrates and Telauges, what matters is "what sort of soul Socrates had".

7.67–7.70 (p. 76). "it is very possible to become a divine man and to be recognised by no one"; the understanding keeps its calm even "if wild beasts tear apart the poor limbs", and says to what comes, "It was you I was seeking"; to pass each day as the last; the gods

bear with the base for ever, so he, who is on the point of ceasing, should not give up.

7.71–7.75 (p. 77). Flee your own vice, not others'; having done good, why seek "a third thing"? "No one tires of being benefited"; the nature of the whole "had its impulse towards making the universe".

Book VIII (*pp. 78–91*)

Book VIII opens with an admission: he can no longer win "the repute of a philosopher", and "the station too works against it". His station recurs, in life at court (8.9) and speaking "in the senate" (8.30), and several entries name the dead: Hadrian and Augustus (8.5), the paired names of 8.25, the court of Augustus (8.31), Panthea and Pergamus at the tomb of Verus (8.37). Among many short rules stand a few sustained images: the hand cut off that can grow back (8.34), the understanding as "a citadel" (8.48), the spring that cannot be fouled (8.51), and the sun's ray (8.57).

8.1–8.2 (p. 78). He is "far from philosophy" and cannot now win its repute; let go of how he will seem and live as nature wants, with principles about good and bad. At each action ask, "Shall I regret it?"

8.3–8.6 (p. 79). Alexander, Gaius and Pompey beside Diogenes, Heraclitus and Socrates; others "will do the same things none the less, even if you burst"; soon you will be "no one and nowhere, as Hadrian is not, nor Augustus"; nature shifts all things, and "all things are usual".

8.7 (p. 79). When a rational nature "journeys well": it assents to nothing false, directs its impulses to social works, desires only what is in its power, and welcomes what the common nature allots, as the leaf belongs to the plant.

8.8–8.10 (p. 80). "It is not open to read. But it is open to check outrage"; "Let no one hear you any longer blaming life at court, nor you yourself"; regret shows that pleasure is neither useful nor good.

8.11–8.13 (p. 80). Ask of each thing "what is it in itself"; when roused from sleep with reluctance, remember that social action is man's work; "study nature, study the passions, practise dialectic".

8.14–8.18 (p. 81). Before meeting anyone, ask what principles he has; it is shameful to be surprised "if the fig tree bears figs"; to change course when set right is still free; "One must blame no one"; "What has died does not fall out of the universe."

8.19–8.24 (p. 82). Each thing "has come to be for something"; nature aims at a thing's end as at its beginning, "like the man who throws up the ball"; "Turn it inside out"; "you want to become good tomorrow rather than to be good today"; refer actions to men and events to the gods; every part of life is like the filth of bathing.

8.25 (p. 82). "Lucilla Verus, then Lucilla": names in pairs, one following the other into death, and the clever men too, "All of a day, long dead".

8.26–8.29 (p. 83). The gladness of a man is to do what is peculiar to a man; three relations, to "the surrounding vessel", to the divine cause, and to those who live alongside us; pain cannot climb up to the soul; "Wipe out the impressions".

8.30–8.33 (p. 84). Speak "in the senate" in good order; the court of Augustus, "the death of a whole court", and the tomb inscription "last of his own family"; compose life action by action, putting another action in the place of any that is prevented; "Take without vanity; let go as one ready to be released."

8.34–8.36 (p. 84). The man who resents what happens is like "a hand cut off", but God has made it possible for him "to unite yourself again"; reason can make every hindrance material for itself; take troubles one at a time, for only the present weighs on you.

8.37 (p. 85). Do Panthea and Pergamus still sit by the tomb of Verus, or Chabrias and Diotimus by Hadrian's? "All this is stink and gore in a bag."

8.38–8.42 (p. 86). Short notes: no virtue rises against justice, but against pleasure there is "continence"; the self that cannot be distressed is reason; what is peculiar to the mind no one impedes, once it is "a sphere, round, in its solitude"; "I am not worthy to distress myself".

8.43–8.47 (p. 87). His gladness is a sound ruling centre that looks on all "with kindly eyes"; fame after death; "Take me up and throw me where you want"; nothing happens to a man that is not human; distress comes from "your own verdict about it".

8.48–8.50 (p. 88). "the understanding free from passions is a citadel"; say nothing to yourself beyond what the first impressions report, "I see that the child is ill"; "The cucumber is bitter? Let it go." Nature, which has nothing outside itself, remakes its own waste.

8.51–8.53 (p. 89). Even if men "kill, they carve up the flesh", the understanding is a spring that washes out the mud thrown into it: "How, then, will you have an ever-flowing spring and not a well?" He who does not know what the universe is does not know where he is; why seek the praise of a man who "curses himself three times an hour"?

8.54–8.57 (p. 90). Think together with the intelligence that surrounds all things; vice harms only its owner, and "our ruling centres each have their own sovereignty"; the understanding should spread like a ray of the sun, "in no way an outpouring but a stretching".

8.58–8.61 (p. 91). Death is either no sensation or another; "Men have come to be for the sake of one another; either teach, then, or tolerate"; the mind moves straight like an arrow; "Enter into the ruling centre of each".

Book IX (*pp. 91–103*)

Book IX opens with an argument that injustice, lying and the pursuit of pleasure are impiety towards "the eldest of the gods", and closes with a long entry on how to meet wrongdoers (9.42). Between them come death, met with patience and at times with weariness (9.3, 9.21, 9.33), the drawing together of all things that are kin (9.9), the choice between providence and atoms (9.28, 9.39), and many short commands to wipe out impressions and look into the ruling centres of others.

9.1 (p. 91). Injustice is impiety, since nature made rational beings "for the sake of one another"; so is lying, since nature "is also named Truth"; and so is pursuing pleasure and fleeing pain, since the common nature uses both "equally".

9.2–9.3 (p. 92). Corruption of the understanding is a worse plague than any plague of the air; death is one of nature's works, to be awaited "as you now wait for the time when the infant will come out of your wife's womb"; living with those who do not share his principles is a weariness: "May you come quicker, death, lest per-

haps I too forget myself."

9.4–9.7 (p. 94). Short notes: the wrongdoer wrongs himself; one may act unjustly by not doing something; "Enough: the present opinion, firmly grasping"; "Wipe out impression; stop impulse; quench desire".

9.8–9.10 (p. 94). All things seek their kind: earth to earth, fire to fire, beasts in swarms and herds, men in "commonwealths and friendships and households", the stars in unity; only intelligent beings "have now forgotten", yet "nature prevails". Man, God and the universe all bear fruit.

9.11–9.13 (p. 95). Teach better if you can, and if not, be kind, as the gods are; labour not as one wanting pity; "Today I got out of every circumstance, or rather I threw out every circumstance".

9.14–9.21 (p. 96). Short notes on things and judgement: all is "usual in experience, of a day in time, filthy in material"; "Things stand outside the doors"; good and bad lie in activity; "Another's wrong one must leave there"; every stop and change, from childhood to "the life under the grandfather", is a kind of death and nothing terrible.

9.22–9.27 (p. 97). Run to your own ruling centre, to that of the whole, and to that of the man before you; actions without reference to the social end tear life apart; "little breaths carrying corpses"; when censured, "go to their little souls, go within, and see what sort of people they are".

9.28–9.29 (p. 98). Either the understanding of the whole moves to each thing or it moved once: "if God, all is well; if at random, do not you too act at random". The substance of the whole is a torrent; "Do not hope for Plato's Republic, but be content if the smallest thing goes forward".

9.30–9.34 (p. 99). Look down from above on herds, rites and voyages, and on how few know your name; freedom from trouble about outside causes, justice in your own; strip away what lies in opinion; all will soon perish; see "their little souls naked".

9.35–9.38 (p. 99). "Loss is nothing other than change"; the rottenness of all material, "water, dust, little bones, stink"; "No more of this wretched life and grumbling and aping"; "If he did wrong, the bad is there."

9.39–9.40 (p. 100). One intelligent spring or atoms; how to pray: not "How may I sleep with that woman?" but "How may I not crave to sleep with her?"

9.41 (p. 101). Epicurus in illness, talking not of his body but of nature: do the same, ill or well, and do not "stand apart from philosophy in whatever befalls".

9.42 (p. 102). When someone's shamelessness offends, ask: "Can there, then, be no shameless people in the universe? There cannot." Nature has given mildness as "an antidote"; blame yourself for expecting otherwise, and seek no return for kindness, "As if the eye demanded a return because it sees".

Book X (*pp. 103–115*)

Book X is made largely of longer entries, many of them exhortations to the self. It opens by asking "Will you ever, then, soul, be good and simple and one and naked", and gives itself names to keep (10.8). It returns to the part and the whole (10.5–10.7), to the man who lives "as on a mountain" (10.15, 10.23), to the sameness of all history (10.27, 10.31), and to dying (10.29, 10.34, 10.36). It ends with a deathbed (10.36) and with the hidden power that "jerks the puppet" (10.38).

10.1 (p. 103). The appeal to the soul: will it ever be "full and without want", content with the present, persuaded "that everything is present to you from the gods"?

10.2–10.4 (p. 104). Rules for the natures within a man, living and rational; what happens is either bearable by nature or will end by consuming you, and "you are by nature able to bear everything which it rests with your own opinion to make bearable"; "If he errs, teach kindly".

10.5–10.7 (p. 104). Part and whole: what happens was being prepared "from eternity"; "Whether atoms or nature", he is a part of the whole and kin to the parts like him; to perish means only "to be altered".

10.8 (p. 106). The names: "good, self-respecting, truthful, sensible, consenting, transcending". Hold to them as if on "some Isles of the Blessed", and if you cannot, withdraw or go out of life, "not in anger".

10.9–10.11 (p. 107). Daily life wipes away principles: "Mime, war, flutter, torpor, slavery"; a spider is proud of a fly, a man of "Sarmatians", and both are robbers; the man who studies change "has put off the body" and follows God.

10.12–10.16 (p. 108). Use no surmise; those arrogant in praise and blame are "such in bed and such at table"; "Give what you want; take back what you want"; "Live as on a mountain", and if men do not tolerate it, "let them kill him"; "No longer discuss at all what sort of man the good man is, but be such."

10.17–10.20 (p. 109). All particular things are "a fig-seed" in substance and "a turn of a drill" in time; each thing is already dissolving; what men are like eating and sleeping and lording it; what nature brings is advantageous at the time she brings it.

10.21–10.23 (p. 110). "Earth is in love with rain", and the universe with making what will be: "I am in love along with you". Three choices, to live here, to go elsewhere, or to die; the countryside is no different from here, as Plato's words show.

10.24–10.26 (p. 110). "What is my ruling centre to me"; the man who is afraid, distressed or angry is "a runaway" from the law; seed and food are taken over by a power seen "not with the eyes, but no less plainly".

10.27–10.30 (p. 111). The whole courts of Hadrian, Antoninus, Philip, Alexander and Croesus were alike; the resentful are like "the piglet being sacrificed, kicking and squealing"; ask whether death is terrible because it deprives you of this; when offended, consider "what similar wrong you do".

10.31 (p. 112). See in each man his counterpart among the dead, and in yourself "one of the Caesars": "Where, then, are they? Nowhere, or wherever." All these are exercises for reason, which takes in everything "as the bright fire makes flame and radiance out of whatever you throw into it".

10.32–10.33 (p. 112). No one can say truly that you are not simple and good; mind and reason make their way "through everything that resists", and "nothing harms the citizen by nature that does not harm the city".

10.34–10.35 (p. 113). The lines on leaves, "so the race of men", and "little leaves too are your little children"; the healthy eye sees all

things, and the healthy understanding is ready for all that happens.

10.36 (p. 114). At every deathbed some will welcome the end: "Shall we ever breathe again, free of this schoolmaster?" Go out kindly, "as, with one who dies well, the little soul slips out of the body with ease".

10.37–10.38 (p. 115). Ask "To what does this man refer this?", but "begin from yourself"; what moves a man is "that which is hidden within", and the body is only its instrument, like "the shuttle to the weaver".

Book XI (*pp. 116–127*)

Book XI begins with what is "peculiar to the rational soul", and much of it concerns dealing with other people: the branch cut from the tree (11.8), those who stand in the way (11.9), the man who will despise or hate (11.13), the false simplicity of "a wolf's friendship" (11.15), and the nine heads against anger (11.18), which with the portrait of his father at 1.16 is one of the two longest chapters in the work. 11.6 reviews the uses of tragedy and comedy, and 11.3 holds the only mention of the Christians. The book ends with a run of anecdotes and sayings: Socrates, the Spartans, the Epicureans, the Pythagoreans, three lines of verse and Epictetus (11.22–11.39).

11.1 (p. 116). What is peculiar to the rational soul: it "sees itself", and reaches its end wherever life stops, so that it can say "I have what is mine in full"; it surveys the whole, and "the man of forty, if he has any mind whatever, has seen all that has been and will be".

11.2 (p. 116). Divide a song, a dance or the pancratium into its parts and you will despise it; do the same with the whole of life, except virtue.

11.3–11.5 (p. 117). The soul ready for release by its own judgement, "not from bare opposition, like the Christians"; "I have done something socially; then I have been benefited"; "What is your art? To be good."

11.6–11.7 (p. 117). Tragedy as a reminder of what must happen, with lines worth keeping; then Old Comedy's "schoolmaster's frankness", and the Middle and New, which "slid down into the virtuosity of imitation". No station of life is "so fitted for philosophy

as this in which you now happen to be".

11.8–11.9 (p. 118). A man split from one man falls away from the whole fellowship, like a branch cut from the plant, though Zeus allows him to grow back; "Grow on the same bush, but do not hold the same principles." Those who stand in your way must knock you neither off your course nor off kindliness.

11.10–11.12 (p. 119). "No nature is worse than art"; the things that disturb you do not come to you, "you yourself go to them"; "The sphere of the soul is true to its form" when it shines with its own light.

11.13–11.15 (p. 119). "Will someone despise me? He will see to that." Men court those they despise; simplicity that announces itself is false, for "studied simplicity is a knife", and "Nothing is more shameful than a wolf's friendship".

11.16–11.17 (p. 120). Things do not come to us; it is we who "write them in ourselves", and we can wipe them out. Whence each thing came, and into what it changes.

11.18 (p. 121). The nine heads against anger, "gifts received from the Muses": our relation to others, what they are like at table and in bed, their ignorance, our own faults, our uncertainty about their acts, the shortness of life, the part played by opinion, the cost of anger, and kindliness, which "is invincible, if it is sincere". A tenth follows: "to expect the base not to do wrong is madness".

11.19–11.21 (p. 123). Four "turnings of the ruling centre" to wipe away; the elements keep their posts in the body by the order of the whole, yet the intelligent part alone "should be disobedient and indignant"; one must have "one and the same target of life", and that target social and civic.

11.22–11.29 (p. 125). Anecdotes and precepts: the mountain mouse and the house mouse; Socrates' name for the principles of the many, "Lamias, children's bugbears"; the Spartans' seats for strangers; Socrates' refusal to go to Perdiccas; the Epicureans' precept to remember a man of virtue; the Pythagoreans' look at the heavens at dawn, "for there is no veil on a star"; Socrates in the sheepskin; "you will not rule before you have been ruled".

11.30–11.32 (p. 126). Three lines of verse: "You are by nature a slave", "And my dear heart laughed", and "they will blame virtue, speak-

ing with hard words".

11.33–11.38 (p. 126). Sayings of Epictetus, named at 11.34 and 11.36: to seek a fig in winter is madness; the one who kisses his child should say inwardly "Tomorrow perhaps you will die"; "Unripe grape, ripe cluster, raisin"; "There comes to be no robber of choice"; the art of assent and the discipline of impulse; the contest is "about being mad or not".

11.39 (p. 127). Socrates' questions: "What do you want? To have souls of rational beings or of irrational?", ending "Why then are you fighting and at odds?"

Book XII (*pp. 127–135*)

Many entries in Book XII are brief summaries: lists of what to keep "ready to hand" (12.24) or of what one has "forgotten" (12.26), and heads such as 12.7 and 12.8, which restate in a phrase what earlier books argued. Separate the ruling centre from what is not its own, live only the present, "all is opinion", divide each thing into "material, cause, reference". The book also takes up two questions about the gods: why they let good men be "quenched for ever" (12.5), and how one knows that they exist (12.28). Leopold marks 18 inside 12.17, so there is no chapter 12.18. The last chapter, 12.36, releases the actor from the stage after three acts.

12.1–12.2 (p. 127). All that one prays to reach by a roundabout way is open now: leave the past, entrust the future to providence, and direct the present "towards holiness and justice"; fear not ceasing to live but "that you will never have begun to live according to nature". "God sees all ruling centres naked of the material vessels and husks and dross".

12.3 (p. 128). Three things make up a man, "poor body, little breath, mind", and only the third is properly his: separate from it all that others do, all past and future, and become like Empedocles' "sphere, rounded, rejoicing in its encircling solitude", living "only what you live, that is, the present".

12.4–12.5 (p. 128). Each man loves himself more than others yet values their opinion of him above his own; why did the gods let good men, once dead, "be quenched for ever"? "if it were just, it would also be possible", and "if it had had to be otherwise, they would have made it so".

12.6–12.8 (p. 129). Practise even what you despair of, as the left hand holds the bridle; two lists of heads: what one must be like "when overtaken by death", the shortness of life, the weakness of all material; and the causal parts "naked of the husks", pain, pleasure, death, fame, and "that all is opinion".

12.9–12.11 (p. 130). Use principles "like the pancratiast, not the gladiator", for the pancratiast's weapon, his hand, is always with him; divide things "into material, cause, reference"; man's authority is to do only what God will praise and to receive all that God deals out.

12.12–12.16 (p. 130). "So one must blame no one", neither gods nor men; whoever is astonished at anything in life is a stranger; fate, a providence that can be propitiated, or "a confusion of aimlessness without a leader", and in any case "the mind it will not carry away"; the lamp shines until it is quenched; how does one know a wrong is a wrong? and to want the base not to do wrong is to want the fig tree without juice.

12.17–12.20 (p. 131). "If it is not a duty, do not do it; if it is not true, do not say it"; see what produces each impression, dividing it "into the cause, the material, the reference, the time"; you have in you something "better and more daimonic" than the passions; nothing "at random, nor without reference".

12.21–12.23 (p. 131). Soon you will be "no one and nowhere"; "all is opinion", and when it is taken away, "a bay without waves"; life, like any activity, suffers nothing bad in ceasing in due time, and its ending is good if it "is opportune for the whole".

12.24–12.26 (p. 132). Three things to have "ready to hand": justice in what you do and acceptance of what happens; the course of each thing from seed to dissolution; and the view from above, which shows "uniformity, short duration". "Throw out the opinion: you are preserved." The things one has forgotten when aggrieved, among them "that the mind of each is a god and has flowed from there".

12.27–12.29 (p. 133). Recall those who were most indignant or most famous, Fabius Catullinus, Tiberius on Capri and the rest: "Smoke and ash and a legend, or not even a legend". Asked where he has seen the gods, he answers that they are visible, and that, as with his own soul, he knows them from "what I experience of their

power"; the preservation of life is to see each thing through and through and do what is just.

12.30–12.33 (p. 134). One light of the sun, one substance, one soul, "One intelligent soul, even if it seems to be divided"; of all the faculties, only to "follow reason and God" is worth longing for; how small a fraction of eternity and of the earth, "a little clod", is yours; "How does the ruling centre use itself? For in this lies everything."

12.34–12.35 (p. 135). Even those who held pleasure good and pain bad despised death; for the man to whom "only the timely is good", death is nothing to fear.

12.36 (p. 135). The last chapter: "Man, you have been a citizen in this great city". The nature that brought you in now releases you, like the praetor who dismisses a comic actor, and "in life the three are the whole drama". "Go away, then, serene; for he who releases you is serene too."

Editorial Note

The Greek text. The Greek on each left-hand page is the text of J. H. Leopold's Oxford edition of 1908, reproduced page for page: each opening of this volume carries one page of Leopold, and his page number stands in the running head of both the Greek and the English. His accents, breathings and punctuation are kept as he printed them, and so are his misprints, each with a note (5.16, 7.11). His critical signs are kept too: angle brackets ⟨ ⟩ for words supplied by an editor, square brackets [ ] for words an editor judges spurious, and the square brackets he puts round two chapter numbers (12.15, and the 18 that he marks inside 12.17). The English keeps the same signs round the words that render them; a bracketed article, which has no English word, is left out (5.2, 5.3), and a bracketed negative that would invert the sense is translated as Leopold means it, with a note (5.12). Where Leopold divides a word at the foot of a page, the division stands; where he begins a new paragraph within a chapter, the Greek and the English do so too; where he sets verse apart, so does the English, breaking the lines where he breaks them; where he marks a gap with a row of points, the points stand on both pages. Specks and marks that the printing left on his pages, and that are no part of the text, are not reproduced. His line numbers, running titles and the two bands of apparatus at the foot of his pages are not reproduced; whatever in them bears on the sense is reported in the notes as "L's apparatus" or "L's testimonia". Leopold's pages are read from the Toronto copy and, for pages that copy lacks or has only in photographs, from the University of California copy. Nothing has been changed in Leopold's text. Where it does not construe, the English goes as far as it will and a note says so; in three places in Book I (1.16.2, 1.16.8, 1.17.9) it gives the sense of a reading Leopold reports, and the note names it.

The witnesses. The *Meditations* survive in two principal sources. One is a Vatican manuscript (A, Vaticanus graecus 1950), nearly complete but with a number of omissions. The other is the manuscript known as the Palatinus (P), from which Wilhelm Xylander printed the first edition, with a Latin translation, at Zurich; the book is undated and appeared in 1558 or 1559. That manuscript is lost, so the printed book is itself the witness. Where the printing of 1558/9 has been read directly, it is cited by its own page numbers ("P p. 5"); else-

where its readings, like those of the manuscripts, are reported from Leopold. The other manuscripts, most of them books of excerpts (X in Leopold's apparatus), among them the Darmstadt manuscript (D), are known here only through Leopold.

The title. Τῶν εἰς ἑαυτόν, "the things addressed to himself", stands at the head of the text in P and in one other manuscript cited by Leopold; A has no title. The English name *Meditations* goes back to Meric Casaubon's translation of 1634.

Divisions. P prints the text almost without breaks; the division into chapters goes back to the anonymous Lyon edition of 1626. The chapter numbers are Leopold's: α′, β′ and so on in the Greek, 1, 2 and so on in the English. The longer chapters are divided into sections, numbered in the outer margin of both pages, on the system now standard in references, so that 1.16.8 is Book I, chapter 16, section 8; where Leopold sets a section or a head on a new indented line, as with each of the nine heads of 11.18, the English does the same. Cross-references in the notes and the apparatus take that form. The two place-notes, after Book I and after Book II, are printed where Leopold prints them.

The translation. The English aims to be plain, exact and as compressed as the Greek. Book I is a list, written almost without verbs, and the translation keeps it a list: "From my grandfather Verus: good character and freedom from anger." From Book II on Marcus addresses himself, in the second person and in commands, and the English keeps both; where the Greek says "one must", so does the English. Leopold's raised point is rendered as the English sentence requires, most often by a semicolon or a colon. The translation follows the text Leopold prints and nothing else: it does not adopt a reading he only reports, except in the three places named above, and a word that the English needs and the Greek lacks is supplied only where the construction requires it. Each of the words that carry Marcus' thought is rendered by one English word wherever it occurs, and, with a few exceptions that the Glossary records, each English word stands for one Greek word, so that a reader can follow a term from book to book: "impression" for *φαντασία*, "principle" for *δόγμα*, "doctrine" for *θεώρημα*, "passion" for *πάθος*, "according to nature" for *κατὰ φύσιν*, "ruling centre" for *ἡγεμονικόν*, "impulse" for *ὁρμή*, "bad" and never "evil" for *κακόν*. Where a word must be rendered two ways because its sense or construction changes, the Glos-

sary records the division and its places. The divinity within, δαίμων, is left as "daimon". Names are given in their usual English forms. Latin words that Marcus writes in Greek letters are translated by their Roman sense, with a note on the Latin word.

The notes. The notes stand under the English. They identify people, places and quotations, explain a loaded word where the surface reading would lose it, and report the text where a reading changes the sense or where Leopold prints an editor's word. A reading called "proposed" is an editor's conjecture that Leopold reports but does not print. The notes do not argue for a reading of the book, and where an identification or an explanation is a probability they say so.

The apparatus. The Introduction and the Key Terms stand before the text; the Outline, this Note, the Glossary of Key Terms and the Note on this Edition stand after it. References in all of them are by book, chapter and section; the Outline gives Leopold's page for each group of chapters.

Glossary of Key Terms

The glossary gathers the words on which Marcus' thought turns and records how the English renders each. The entries stand in alphabetical order of the English. Each gives the Greek, a short account of the word's sense in Marcus and of its rendering, with any division by sense or construction and its places, and then the places where the word matters most, cited by book and chapter, and by section where a chapter is divided (4.3.2). The Outline at the back gives Leopold's page for each group of chapters; the Key Terms at the front treat a dozen of these words at length. A word in italics after "See" has an entry of its own. "Always" means wherever the word has the sense the entry describes; in set phrases and everyday idioms (*καλῶς* "well", *τὸ ὅλον* "in short", *κατὰ μέρος* "one by one") it is rendered as the idiom requires, and those places are not listed.

act beneficently (*εὐεργετεῖν*, *εὐεργετικός*). To do a kindness as a benefactor does. The verb is "act beneficently", the adjective "beneficent" and its neuter noun "beneficence"; kept apart from "do good" (*εὖ ποιεῖν*) and from "kind" (*χρηστός*). Man is by nature beneficent, and when he has acted so he has his own (9.42.4). 1.15.3, 7.13, 9.42.4. See *do good*, *kindly*.

act unjustly (*ἀδικεῖν*, *ἄδικος*). To wrong another against justice, which Marcus calls impiety (9.1.1). The verb is "act unjustly", the adjective "unjust"; kept apart from "do wrong" (*ἁμαρτάνειν*), the wider word for any fault. 2.10, 6.41, 9.1.1, 9.4, 9.5, 11.18.2, 12.36. See *do wrong*, *justice*.

activity (*ἐνέργεια*). Doing, as against being acted upon: the bad and the good of the rational and civic living being lie not in being acted upon but in activity (9.16). Always "activity". 3.12, 5.1.1, 5.20, 6.51, 9.16, 12.23. See *being acted upon*.

affection (*φιλοστοργία*, *φιλόστοργος*, *ἄστοργος*). The natural love of kin and friends, which Fronto found wanting in the Roman patricians (1.11). Always "affection": "affectionate", "full of affection", and "lacking in affection". 1.9.3, 1.11, 1.17.8, 2.5, 6.30.1, 11.18.4.

affinity (*οἰκείωσις*, *οἰκειοῦσθαι*). The Stoic term for the attachment by which a living being recognizes what belongs to it and is drawn to it. The noun is "affinity", the verb "come into affinity with", said

of philosophy (1.6) and of nature and her works (3.2.3). 1.6, 3.2.3, 3.9. See *proper*.

aimlessness (εἰκαιότης, εἰκῇ). Acting without aim or reference: nothing is to be done "at random" (4.2, 12.20). The noun is "aimlessness", the adverb "at random". 2.5, 2.13, 2.16, 2.17.2, 4.2, 12.20, 12.24. See *target*.

alien (ἀλλότριος). What belongs to someone or something else. Split by construction: attributive, "another's" or "others'" (4.39, 6.51, 7.55, 7.58, 12.1.1); predicative, "alien" (6.36, 7.9, 11.9, 12.26). Kept apart from ἀνοίκειον, "foreign", what does not belong to one's kind (3.7, 5.2). See *own*.

allot (ἀπονέμειν, μοῖρα, εὔμοιρος). What the nature of the whole allots to each, and what justice allots "according to worth" (κατ' ἀξίαν). Always "allot". The share allotted is one's "lot" (μοῖρα), and the man it favours is "of good lot" (εὔμοιρος), a play Marcus makes at 5.36. 3.4.3, 3.16.2, 4.3.2, 4.10, 5.27, 5.36, 7.66, 10.11. See *welcome*.

alteration (ἀλλοίωσις). Change of quality: "The universe is alteration; life is opinion" (4.3.4). Always "alteration", kept apart from "change" (μεταβολή) and "variation" (ἑτεροίωσις, 4.39). 4.3.4, 4.21.2, 6.15, 9.19, 9.28, 10.7.1. See *change*.

anger (ὀργή, ὀργίζεσθαι). Marcus' commonest example of a passion, met at length in the nine heads of 11.18. The noun is "anger", the verb "be angry"; θυμός is "rage", and χαλεπαίνειν "be exasperated". 2.1, 2.16, 5.28, 6.57, 11.18.3, 11.18.5. See *rage*.

artlessness (ἀφέλεια, ἀφελῶς). Plainness without contrivance, in a letter (1.7.2) and in the conduct of a life (12.27). "artlessness", "artlessly"; kept apart from "simplicity" (ἁπλότης). 1.7.2, 3.11.2, 12.27. See *simplicity*.

assent (συγκατάθεσις, συγκατατίθεσθαι). The act by which the ruling centre accepts an impression as true; one needs an art concerning it (11.37). Always "assent"; ἀπροπτωσία (3.9) and the adjective ἀπρόπτωτος (4.49.2, 7.55) are "freedom from rash assent". 1.7.3, 4.3.2, 5.10.1, 8.7, 11.37. See *impression*, *impulse*.

atoms (ἄτομοι). The Epicurean account of the world as a chance meeting of particles, which Marcus sets against providence in a standing disjunction, "either providence or atoms" (4.3.2), and

answers either way. Always "atoms". 4.3.2, 7.32, 8.17, 9.28, 9.39, 10.6.1, 11.18.1. See *providence*.

attend (ἐφιστάνειν, ἐπίστασις). To set the mind upon a thing. The verb is "attend (to)", the noun "attention"; kept apart from "keep track of" (παρακολουθεῖν) and from "heedfulness" (προσεκτικόν). 2.8, 3.1, 5.28, 7.62, 9.3.2, 9.22, 10.8.1, 12.27. See *keep track of*.

authority (ἐξουσία). Power over oneself or others: the understanding, once it has drawn itself back, comes to know "its own authority" (4.3.2). Always "authority", kept apart from "in your power" (ἐπὶ σοί), which marks what depends on oneself (5.33, 8.47, 12.22). 4.3.2, 4.48.1, 8.29, 12.11.

avoidance (ἔκκλισις, ἐκκλίνειν). The movement away from what is judged bad, the counterpart of desire, to be used only towards what is in one's own power (11.37). The noun is "avoidance", the verb "avoid". 6.20, 8.7, 8.28, 8.50, 11.37. See *desire*.

bad (κακόν). What is bad for a man subsists nowhere but where he forms opinions about bad things (4.39). Always "bad", never "evil", so that the arguments which turn on the one word keep it (2.11). 2.1, 2.11.3, 4.39, 6.41, 8.41, 9.16, 11.18.2. See *good*, *vice*.

bear in mind (ἐννοεῖν). To keep a truth before the mind. Usually "bear in mind"; "think of" where the object is a picture held in view (7.27, 7.29, 7.47). 3.4.3, 4.3.2, 4.36, 4.48.1, 6.47, 9.42.2. See *conceive*, *consider*, *think*.

bear with (ἀνέχεσθαι). Patience with others and with what they do. Split by object: "bear with" where it is a person (5.10.1, 5.20, 5.33, 6.30.4, 7.70), "put up with" where it is a thing (1.6, 3.3, 5.15, 8.19, 11.20.2), and "forbearance" for the infinitive used as a noun (4.3.2). At 5.33 it stands beside "abstain from" (ἀπέχεσθαι). See *endurance*.

being acted upon (πεῖσις, πείσεις). The passive counterpart of activity, the lover of pleasure's good (6.51). The singular is "being acted upon"; the plural, what happens to the senses or the body, is given with the verb "undergo" (3.6.2, 5.26, 7.55). 5.1.1, 6.51, 9.16. See *activity*, *passion*.

blame (μέμφεσθαι, μέμψις). Finding fault with gods or men for what happens, which Marcus forbids himself: "one must blame no one" (12.12). Always "blame"; kept apart from "censure" (ψέγειν; 4.20,

9.34, 10.34) and "find fault" (καταγινώσκειν). 5.3, 6.41, 7.62, 8.17, 9.39, 9.42.4, 12.12.

breath (πνεῦμα, πνευμάτιον). The vital breath, one of the three parts of a man beside the flesh and the ruling centre (2.2), or the body and the mind (12.3.1). "breath", and "a little breath" for the diminutive. 2.2, 4.3.2, 5.33, 9.36, 12.3.1, 12.14. See *soul*.

calm (γαλήνη, γαληνός). The stillness of the sea after wind, used of the soul at peace. Always "calm"; εὔδιον, of the face, is "fair weather" (6.30.2), and ἴλεως "serene". 5.2, 7.28, 7.68, 7.75, 8.28, 12.22. See *serene*.

cause (αἰτία, αἴτιος, τὸ αἰτιῶδες). One of the two analyses Marcus applies to anything, into the causal and the material. "cause", and "the causal" for τὸ αἰτιῶδες, set beside "the material" (τὸ ὑλικόν); at 1.17.6, where Marcus says the blame is his own, "fault". 4.21.2, 5.8.2, 5.13, 7.29, 8.11, 12.8, 12.29. See *material*.

change (μεταβολή, μεταβάλλειν). The universal law of things: all things come about by change, and the nature of the whole loves nothing so much as to change what is (4.36). Always "change", noun and verb (once, of men "turned into legends", 8.25); kept apart from "alteration" (ἀλλοίωσις), "variation" (ἑτεροίωσις) and "turning" (τροπή). 2.17.2, 4.3.4, 4.36, 4.42, 7.18, 9.28, 10.7.2, 12.21. See *alteration*, *turning*.

character (ἦθος). A man's settled moral bearing, the matter of Book I. Always "character". 1.7.1, 1.15.1, 5.10.1, 6.30.3, 7.69, 9.3.2.

civic (πολιτικός, πόλις). Belonging to the city; and the universe is as it were a city (4.3.2, 4.4). Always "civic": "intelligent ⟨and⟩ civic living being" (3.7), "civic reason" (4.29). πόλις is "city", πολίτευμα "polity" (4.4). 3.5, 3.6.3, 3.7, 4.4, 4.29, 6.44.2, 10.15. See *social*.

conceive (ἐπινοεῖν). To form a picture of something in the mind, as of the times of Vespasian (4.32.1). Always "conceive"; kept apart from "consider" (ἐνθυμεῖσθαι), "bear in mind" (ἐννοεῖν) and "think" (διανοεῖσθαι). 2.2, 4.32.1, 5.10.2, 5.12, 9.30, 10.18. See *conception*, *consider*.

conception (ἔννοια, ἐννόησις). A notion formed by the mind, such as the conception of living according to nature (1.9.1). Always "conception"; ἐννόησις is "conceiving" (3.1). 1.3, 1.9.1, 2.12, 3.1,

3.2.3, 8.19. See *conceive*.

consider (ἐνθυμεῖσθαι). To turn a thing over in the mind. Always "consider". 3.4.1, 4.21.2, 5.9, 5.23, 6.48, 9.28, 12.4. See *bear in mind*, *think*.

constitution (κατασκευή). The way a thing is made by nature, and so what it is made for: the leading thing in the constitution of man is the social (7.55). Always "constitution". 3.9, 6.44.2, 7.55, 8.12, 8.39, 11.5. See *nature*.

content, be (ἀρκεῖσθαι). To be satisfied with what is present and given. Always "be content"; kept apart from "be pleased" (ἀρέσκεσθαι; 3.4.4, 4.25, 5.27), "be well pleased" (εὐάρεστος) and "cherish" (στέργειν; 5.8.5, 6.44.1, 6.49). 3.6.1, 3.12, 4.25, 7.28, 8.32, 10.1. See *welcome*.

continually (συνεχῶς). Without a break. Always "continually", kept apart from "perpetually" (διηνεκῶς). 1.12, 4.3.1, 4.48.1, 7.47, 8.29, 10.17. See *perpetually*.

craving (ἐπιθυμία, ἐπιθυμεῖν). Desire as a passion, the reaching after what only seems good. Always "craving" and "crave"; kept apart from "desire" (ὄρεξις). 1.6, 2.10, 3.7, 4.32.1, 7.16, 8.29, 12.19. See *desire*, *passion*.

daimon (δαίμων). The divinity within each man, which Zeus has given to each as guardian and guide, "a fragment of himself", and which is each man's mind and reason (5.27). Left as "daimon"; at 1.6, where the word is the exorcists' spirits, "spirits". Happiness (εὐδαιμονία) is "a good daimon" (7.17); κακοδαιμονεῖν is "be unhappy" (2.8). 2.13, 2.17.2, 3.6.2, 3.12, 3.16.2, 5.27, 12.3.2. See *God, gods*, *mind*.

death (θάνατος). Treated in the language of physics: scattering, if there are atoms; if unity, quenching or migration (7.32); like birth, "a mystery of nature" (4.5). Always "death". 2.11.4, 2.17.2, 4.5, 6.28, 7.32, 8.58, 9.3.1, 12.35. See *dissolution*.

desire (ὄρεξις, ὀρέγεσθαι). The reaching of the soul towards what it judges good, named with impulse and avoidance (8.7, 11.37). Always "desire"; kept apart from "craving" (ἐπιθυμία). 5.34, 8.7, 8.28, 8.45, 9.7, 11.37. See *avoidance*, *craving*.

disposition (διάθεσις, διακεῖσθαι). The settled state in which one stands towards things. Always "disposition", and "be disposed"

for the verb. 4.25, 4.33, 5.20, 7.66, 8.47, 9.1.3, 10.1. See *frame of mind*.

dissolution (διάλυσις, διαλύεσθαι). The breaking up of a compound into what it was made of, Marcus' commonest account of death. Always "dissolution", "be dissolved" (at 2.12, of analysing a conception, "strip away"); σκεδασμός is "scattering" (6.10, 7.32), and ἐκπύρωσις the "conflagration" of the universe (3.3). 2.17.2, 4.21.1, 7.50, 8.18, 9.3.1, 10.7.2, 12.36. See *death*, *element*.

distress (λύπη, λυπεῖν, ἄλυπος). Grief, one of the four passions; take away the opinion about what seems to distress you and you stand in complete safety (8.40). Always "distress", noun and verb; kept apart from "pain" (πόνος). 2.10, 4.49.2, 7.16, 8.40, 8.47, 10.28, 11.18.4. See *pain*, *passion*.

do good (εὖ ποιεῖν, εὐποιία). To benefit another; the act is complete in itself and seeks no third thing besides (7.73). The phrase is "do good", the noun "doing of good" (1.17.1, 8.23). 5.6.2, 5.20, 5.33, 7.13, 7.73, 9.42.4. See *act beneficently*.

do violence to oneself (ὑβρίζειν ἑαυτήν, ἀνύβριστος). The soul's self-injury when it resents, turns against another, is overcome by pleasure or pain, pretends, or acts without aim (2.16). The phrase is "do violence to oneself", and the daimon kept unharmed is "inviolate" (2.17.2). Other members of the family go by sense: ὑβριστής "insolent" (2.1), ὁ ὑβρίζων "the insolent man" (4.11), ὕβρις "outrage" (8.8). 2.6, 2.16, 2.17.2.

do wrong (ἁμαρτάνειν). To go astray in act or judgement; the wrongdoer whom Marcus expects to meet each morning is his kinsman (2.1), and men do wrong through ignorance and unwillingly (7.22). Always "do wrong"; kept apart from "act unjustly" (ἀδικεῖν). 2.1, 4.26, 7.22, 7.26, 9.38, 9.42.1, 11.18.2, 12.16. See *act unjustly*.

doctrine (θεώρημα). A proposition of philosophy held as teaching. Always "doctrine", kept apart from "principle" (δόγμα), the conviction by which one lives. 1.7.1, 1.8.2, 4.2, 11.5. See *principle*.

duty (καθῆκον). The Stoic term for what it is fitting for a creature to do, given its nature. Always "duty"; τὸ πρέπον is "what is seemly" (6.2). 1.12, 3.1, 3.16.1, 6.22, 6.26, 7.5, 10.3, 12.17.

element (στοιχεῖον). The four bodies of which all things are compounded and into which they are dissolved. Always "element",

except where the word is a letter of the alphabet: the letters of a name (6.26) and "the letter r" (7.13). 2.3, 2.17.2, 4.4, 6.17, 7.47, 8.18, 10.7.2. See *dissolution*.

empty glory (*κενοδοξία*, *ἀκενόδοξος*). The pursuit of reputation for its own sake. Always "empty glory"; kept apart from "vanity" (*τῦφος*) and "fame" (*δόξα*). 1.16.1, 5.1.3, 6.30.2, 8.1. See *fame*, *vanity*.

end (*τέλος*). The goal for which a thing is made; the end of rational living beings is to follow the reason and law of the most venerable city and commonwealth (2.16). Always "end"; kept apart from "target" (*σκοπός*) and "outcome" (*ἀποτέλεσμα*). 2.16, 3.16.2, 5.15, 5.16, 11.1.1. See *target*.

endurance (*ὑπομένειν*, *ὑπομενετικόν*). Holding out under what comes. The verb is "endure", the noun "endurance". 1.16.3, 5.10.1, 5.31, 6.35, 7.66, 12.4. See *bear with*.

eternity (*αἰών*). Time without end on either side of the present, against which every life and every fame is a point. Always "eternity"; kept apart from "everlasting" (*ἀΐδιος*) and "infinite" (*ἄπειρος*). 2.12, 4.3.3, 4.43, 4.50, 6.36, 9.32, 12.7, 12.32. See *everlasting*, *time*.

everlasting (*ἀΐδιος*). Without beginning or end: "everlasting eternity" (9.32). Always "everlasting". 2.14.2, 4.21.1, 6.37, 9.32, 10.5, 10.7.2, 12.32. See *eternity*.

fame (*δόξα*, *δοξάριον*, *ὑστεροφημία*). Renown among men, which Marcus sets among the things neither good nor bad (2.11.4). "fame", and "little fame" for the diminutive (4.3.3, 6.16.2); *φήμη*, which Marcus uses once (2.17.1), is also "fame"; where the word means standing in others' opinion, "repute" (3.4.4, 7.68, 8.1). *ὑστεροφημία* is "fame after death" (3.10, 4.19). 2.11.4, 4.3.3, 6.16.2, 7.34, 9.30, 12.8. See *empty glory*.

fate (*εἱμαρμένη*, *εἱμαρμένον*, *πεπρωμένη*). The chain of causes by which everything comes about. The noun is "fate", the participle "what is fated" (2.2), and *πεπρωμένη*, the older word, "doom" (3.3, 3.8). 3.6.1, 5.8.2, 5.24, 7.46, 8.35, 12.14. See *providence*.

fellowship (*κοινωνία*). The community of rational beings with one another and with the gods: "the natural law of fellowship" (3.11.3). Always "fellowship". 3.11.3, 5.16, 7.5, 10.24, 11.8, 11.19, 12.26. See *social*.

flow (*ῥύσις*, *εὐροεῖν*). The image of all things as a river: substance is "like a river in perpetual flow" (5.23). *ῥύσις* is "flow". The Stoic image of a life going well belongs to the same family: *εὐροεῖν* is "flow smoothly" (5.34, 10.6.2), and *τὸ εὔρουν* "the smooth flow" (5.9). 5.10.2, 5.23, 6.15. See *substance*.

flutter (*πτοία*, *ἐπτοῆσθαι*). Excited agitation, of the mind as of frightened mice (7.3, 11.22). "flutter", "be in a flutter". 1.6, 4.19, 7.3, 10.9, 11.22.

follow (*ἀκολουθεῖν*, *ἕπεσθαι*). To go after a leader, as one follows nature and God. Both verbs are "follow"; the two verbs share the English word. The compounds are kept apart: *παρακολουθεῖν* is "keep track of", *ἐπακολουθεῖν* "ensue" (4.24, 5.3), and *κατ᾽ ἐπακολούθησιν* "by way of consequence" (6.36, 6.44.1, 9.28). 2.16, 3.9, 3.12, 5.3, 7.31, 10.11, 12.27, 12.31. See *keep track of*.

fortune (*τύχη*). Chance, set beside nature and providence (2.3). Always "fortune", with "misfortune" and "good fortune" for *ἀτύχημα* and *εὐτύχημα* (4.49.1). 1.16.4, 1.17.9, 2.3, 2.17.1, 3.11.3, 4.49.1. See *providence*.

frame of mind (*γνώμη*). The mind's settled bent: awaiting death "with a serene frame of mind" (2.17.2), and carried "in frame of mind" towards the same things as God (12.23). Split by sense: "views" where it means opinions (6.30.4), "design" where it is set against ignorance (9.22), and "in view" (9.32). *ἐπιβολή* is "project" (11.6.2). See *disposition*.

frankness (*παρρησία*). Free speech without flattery, which Marcus learned to put up with (1.6). Always "frankness", "frankly"; *εὐθυρρημοσύνη* is "plain speaking" (11.6.2). 1.6, 3.4.2, 6.30.4, 11.6.2.

God, gods (*θεός*, *θεοί*). The singular, of the divine power that orders the whole, is "God" ("how man touches God", 2.12); the plural is "the gods". An indefinite or predicative singular is "a god" (4.16, 12.4, 12.26), and the god within a man "the god within you" (3.5). *τὸ θεῖον* is "the divine". 2.11.1, 2.12, 3.5, 4.16, 6.44.1, 7.9, 12.23, 12.26. See *daimon*, *providence*.

good (*ἀγαθόν*). What makes a man better; the true goods are wisdom, self-control, justice and courage, not wealth and the windfalls of luxury (5.12). Always "good", with "goods" for the plural. 2.1, 2.11.4, 3.6.2, 5.12, 6.41, 7.59, 8.10, 9.16. See *bad*, *virtue*.

harm (*βλάπτειν*, *βλάβη*). Injury to what one is: what does not make a man worse than himself does not harm him (4.8), and no one but oneself can harm the ruling centre. Always "harm". 2.1, 4.7, 4.8, 5.35, 6.21, 8.55, 9.42.3, 10.33.4. See *bad*.

honourable (*καλόν*, *καλῶς*). The moral beauty of a right act, paired with "shameful". "honourable", "honourably"; "beautiful" where the sense is beauty, of nature's works or of a thing pleasing to see (4.20, 5.31, 6.36, 6.57, 7.48, 12.23). 2.1, 2.11.4, 3.4.3, 5.3, 7.58, 8.10, 9.35. See *shameful*.

impede (*ἐμποδίζειν*, *ἐμποδισμός*, *ἀνεμπόδιστος*). Obstruction of an activity; the understanding turns every hindrance into the leading object (5.20). "impede", "impediment", "unimpeded"; kept apart from "prevent" (*κωλύειν*), "hindrance" (*κώλυμα*) and "stand in the way" (*ἐνίστασθαι*). 5.20, 5.34, 7.16, 8.7, 8.41, 12.1.1.

impression (*φαντασία*, *φαντάζεσθαι*). The Stoic term for what presents itself to the mind, the matter on which judgement works. The noun is "impression", the verb "form an impression (of)"; *φάντασμα* is "imagining" (3.4.2, 11.19). 3.11.2, 5.16, 6.16.1, 7.2, 8.7, 8.49, 9.7, 10.28. See *assent*, *opinion*.

impulse (*ὁρμή*, *ὁρμᾶν*). The movement of the soul towards action, which follows on assent; it is to be kept with reservation, social and according to worth (11.37). "impulse", and "have an impulse" for the verb; at 5.14 the verb is "set out". 2.2, 3.16.1, 4.1, 5.20, 6.16.1, 8.7, 9.7, 11.37. See *desire*, *reservation*.

intelligent (*νοερός*, *τὸ νοερόν*). Of the nature of mind, which the universe and every rational being share. "intelligent", and "intelligence" for the neuter used as a noun (4.4), as also in "the eye of intelligence" (4.29); kept apart from "rational" (*λογικός*). 2.12, 3.7, 4.4, 4.29, 7.55, 8.54, 9.9.1, 12.30. See *mind*, *rational*.

judgement (*κρίσις*, *κρίνειν*). The mind's deciding of a matter. The noun is "judgement", the verb "judge"; kept apart from "verdict" (*κρίμα*). 3.6.3, 7.16, 7.68, 8.28, 11.16, 11.18.3. See *verdict*.

justice (*δικαιοσύνη*, *δίκη*, *δικαιότης*). The virtue from which, Marcus says, the other virtues subsist (11.10). *δικαιοσύνη* is "justice"; *δίκη*, justice as what is due and as the goddess, is also "justice" (4.26, 5.33, 12.24); the two nouns share the English word; *δικαιότης* is "justness" (2.5, 9.31). 3.6.1, 4.3.2, 5.12, 8.39, 11.10, 12.1.1. See *act unjustly*.

keep track of (*παρακολουθεῖν*, *παρακολούθησις*). To follow along with understanding, as a man must keep track of the movements of his own soul (2.8). Always "keep track of", with "keeping track" for the noun; the adverb *ἀπαρακολουθήτως* is "without attention" (2.16, 5.6.2). 2.8, 3.1, 5.6.2, 5.9, 6.42, 7.3, 7.4, 7.24. See *attend*, *follow*.

kin (*συγγενής*). The kinship of a man with the whole human race, not of blood or seed but of mind (2.1, 12.26). Always "kin", "kinsman", "kinship". 2.1, 2.13, 3.4.4, 7.22, 9.22, 11.9, 12.26. See *fellowship*.

kindly (*εὐμενής*, *εὐμένεια*). Gentleness towards others, even towards those who see amiss (7.26). "kindly", "kindliness"; kept apart from "kind" and "kindness" (*χρηστός*, *χρηστότης*; 8.34, 9.11, 12.5). 5.5, 6.47, 7.26, 8.47, 10.36, 11.13, 11.18.4. See *act beneficently*.

leading (*προηγούμενα*). What leads or has first place: the leading objects of impulse (4.1, 5.20), the leading thing in man's constitution (7.55), the leading impressions (8.49). Always "leading". 4.1, 5.20, 7.55, 8.49, 9.41. See *impulse*.

live alongside (*συμβιοῦν*). Of those among whom one's life is passed. Always "live alongside"; *συζῆν* is "live with", as in "Live with the gods" (5.27, 6.48, 9.3.2). 1.12, 5.10.1, 6.44.2, 6.48, 8.27.

living being (*ζῷον*). Any animate creature, man included. Always "living being", also with its adjective: "social living being" (3.4.2), "intelligent ⟨and⟩ civic living being" (3.7), "rational living being" (3.9). 3.4.2, 3.7, 3.9, 4.3.2, 5.29, 8.12, 10.2. See *rational*, *social*.

material (*ὕλη*, *τὸ ὑλικόν*). The stuff of things, and for the ruling centre the stuff of its own work: it makes material for itself of whatever comes against it (4.1). "material", and "the material" for *τὸ ὑλικόν*, beside "the causal"; in Homer's line at 10.34, "forest". 4.1, 5.13, 7.29, 8.35, 9.25, 10.31, 12.29. See *cause*, *substance*.

mind (*νοῦς*). The intelligent part in man and in the whole; the mind of each is a god (12.26). Always "mind"; kept apart from "understanding" (*διάνοια*) and "intelligent" (*νοερός*). 2.1, 3.16.1, 5.27, 6.51, 8.41, 12.3.1, 12.26. See *intelligent*, *understanding*.

nature (*φύσις*). The order of the whole and the particular nature of each thing within it; to live "according to nature" (*κατὰ φύσιν*) is

the end. Always "nature", with "the nature of the whole" (ἡ τῶν ὅλων φύσις) and "the common nature" (ἡ κοινὴ φύσις). 2.9, 3.12, 4.48.2, 5.3, 6.58, 7.11, 9.1.1, 12.32. See *whole*.

observe (θεωρεῖν, ἐπιθεωρεῖν). To look at a thing with the steady attention of study. "observe"; the compound ἐπιθεωρεῖν is "observe" at 9.30, where ἄνωθεν adds "from above", and "look over" of written records at 4.32.2. 4.36, 9.40, 10.11, 11.16, 12.35.

of a day (ἐφήμερος). Lasting a day, as men and their memorials do. Always "of a day"; ὀλιγοχρόνιος is "of short duration" (5.10.1, 7.1, 10.34, 12.24). 4.35, 4.48.2, 6.47, 8.25, 9.14. See *time*.

opinion (ὑπόληψις, ὑπολαμβάνειν). The judgement one forms about a thing, which alone troubles a man: "all is opinion" (12.8, 12.22). The noun is "opinion", the verb "form an opinion". 2.15, 4.3.4, 4.7, 4.39, 8.40, 12.8, 12.22, 12.25. See *impression*.

own (ἴδιος). What belongs to a thing as its own. Split by construction: attributive, "own" ("its own good", 9.41, 11.16); predicative, of what marks a kind out from others, "peculiar to" (5.6.2, 7.22, 7.55, 8.26, 11.1.1); at 12.26, "nothing is anyone's own" the predicative use is rendered "own". Kept apart from "proper" (οἰκεῖος). 3.6.2, 5.3, 6.51, 9.41, 11.16. See *proper*.

pain (πόνος). Bodily pain and hardship. Always "pain"; kept apart from "distress" (λύπη). 2.11.4, 2.16, 4.3.2, 7.33, 7.64, 8.28. See *distress*, *pleasure*.

part (μέρος, μέλος). The relation of each thing to the whole. μέρος is "part" ("fraction" at 12.32, and the "acts" of a play at 12.36), μέλος "limb", and Marcus plays on the two at 7.13 ("through the letter r"). 2.3, 2.9, 4.14, 7.13, 8.34, 10.6.1, 10.7.1. See *whole*.

passion (πάθος, ἀπαθής). In the Stoic sense, a disturbance of the soul against reason, not "emotion". "passion", and "free from passion" (1.9.3); "feeling" where the word is not the technical one (3.2.3, 12.30); ἀπαθής of the elements "that cannot be affected" (7.50). 1.9.3, 2.13, 8.48, 9.41, 12.19. See *craving*, *distress*.

perpetually (διηνεκῶς). Through all time without end. Always "perpetually", kept apart from "continually" (συνεχῶς). 2.17.2, 3.4.3, 4.36, 5.23, 7.2, 9.19, 10.11, 11.19. See *continually*.

piety (θεοσεβής). Reverence towards the gods. θεοσεβής is "pious", "piety"; ὅσιος is "holy", "holiness" (5.9, 6.30.1, 7.66, 12.1.1); ἱερός

is "sacred" (7.9, 10.9). 1.3, 6.30.1, 6.30.4, 7.54, 11.20.2. See *God, gods*.

pleasure (ἡδονή, ἥδεσθαι). Pleasure of the body, neither good nor bad (2.11.4). Always "pleasure", and "feel pleasure" for the verb (8.19, 8.37). 2.10, 2.12, 4.3.2, 6.34, 8.10, 9.1.3, 12.34. See *pain*.

present (τὸ παρόν, τὸ ἐνεστώς). The present moment, the only life a man lives or loses (2.14). Always "the present". 2.14.1, 3.10, 4.26, 7.29, 8.36, 12.3.2, 12.26. See *time*.

principle (δόγμα). A conviction by which one lives; principles live so long as the impressions that correspond to them are not quenched (7.2). Always "principle", kept apart from "doctrine" (θεώρημα). 1.9.2, 2.3, 3.13, 4.49.2, 7.2, 8.47, 10.9, 12.9. See *doctrine*.

proper (οἰκεῖος). What belongs to a thing by nature and suits it: fruit borne in its proper seasons (9.10), a man's proper works (5.20). Always "proper", kept apart from "own" (ἴδιος); of persons, those close to one are "good people about me" (1.17.1), "kin" (5.31) and "intimates" (8.31), and where the sense is kinship, "akin" (4.45, 10.36, 11.18.5). 5.12, 5.14, 5.20, 6.19, 6.27, 9.10, 10.33.1, 11.13. See *affinity*, *own*.

providence (πρόνοια). The care of the gods for the whole, the first term of Marcus' disjunction with atoms (4.3.2). "providence"; of persons, "forethought" (8.3). 2.3, 2.11.1, 4.3.2, 6.10, 9.1.4, 12.14, 12.24. See *atoms*, *fate*.

quench (σβέννυσθαι). The image of a lamp put out, used of memory and of men (4.19), of impressions (7.2) and of the breath of life (8.25). Always "quench". 4.19, 5.33, 7.2, 8.25, 9.7, 12.15.

rage (θυμός, θυμοῦσθαι). Anger as a hot surge of temper. "rage", noun and verb; kept apart from "anger" (ὀργή). 1.15.2, 2.10, 7.38, 8.8, 11.18.5. See *anger*.

rational (λογικός, τὸ λογικόν). Possessed of reason, the mark of man among living beings. "rational", "rational being" where no noun stands with it, and "rationality" for τὸ λογικόν (4.4); kept apart from "intelligent" (νοερός). 2.16, 3.6.3, 4.4, 5.29, 7.13, 7.55, 8.35, 10.2. See *intelligent*, *reason*.

reason (λόγος). The rational principle in man and in the whole, "the reason that governs the whole" (4.46); never "Word". Always "reason": "right reason" (ὀρθὸς λόγος; 3.12, 11.9) and "seminal

reasons" (*σπερματικοὶ λόγοι*; 4.14, 4.21.1, 6.24). In the ordinary sense the word is "word" (4.19, 5.3), "speech" (4.33, 8.30) or "reply" (7.44). 4.4, 4.29, 4.46, 5.32, 6.1, 7.9, 8.40, 9.10. See *rational*.

receive (*δέχεσθαι, ἀποδέχεσθαι*). Taking what comes. *δέχεσθαι* is "receive", *ἀποδέχεσθαι* "accept" (9.28, 10.8.1). 2.17.2, 4.21.2, 8.23, 8.43, 12.11. See *welcome*.

resent (*δυσχεραίνειν, δυσαρέστησις*). Taking ill what happens or what others do. Always "resent"; *δυσαρέστησις* is "discontent" (2.13). 2.2, 2.16, 4.3.1, 4.3.2, 6.49, 8.46, 10.3, 11.20.2.

reservation (*ὑπεξαίρεσις*). The proviso under which every impulse is to be held, that nothing prevents. Always "with reservation". 4.1, 5.20, 6.50, 11.37. See *impulse*.

ruling centre (*ἡγεμονικόν*). The commanding part of the soul, where impressions are received, assent is given and impulse arises. Always "ruling centre"; with *νοῦς* the adjective is "ruling", "a ruling mind" (12.14); kept apart from "that which rules within" (*τὸ ἔνδον κυριεῦον*, 4.1). The adverb *ἡγεμονικῶς* is "as a ruler" (1.17.3). 2.2, 4.38, 5.26, 7.16, 8.48, 9.22, 11.19, 12.33. See *understanding*.

see (*βλέπειν*). To have sight of a thing, and to see things as they are (8.29, 8.49). "see"; where Marcus directs the eye at an object, "look" or "look at" (4.18, 4.50, 6.31, 8.38), and the compound *περιβλέπεσθαι* is "look round" (5.3, 7.55). Kept apart from "observe" (*θεωρεῖν*). 3.11.1, 8.29, 8.49, 9.34, 12.21. See *observe*.

seek (*ζητεῖν, ἐπιζητεῖν*). Looking for what one lacks, or for a return on what one has done (9.42.4). Always "seek". 4.3.1, 6.16.3, 7.73, 8.1, 9.42.4, 11.16, 12.28.

self-respect (*αἰδώς, αἰδήμων*). Respect for oneself and one's reason, a shame that keeps one from what is unworthy. "self-respect", "self-respecting"; at 6.16.5, where the object is one's own understanding, "respect"; *αἰδέσιμος* is rendered with "respect" ("held in the highest respect", 1.9.2; "deserves respect", 2.13). 1.2, 3.7, 4.49.2, 7.31, 8.51, 10.8.1, 11.1.2.

sensation (*αἴσθησις, αἰσθάνεσθαι*). The work of the senses, which belongs to the body in the triad body, soul, mind (3.16.1). The noun is "sensation", the verb "perceive" (2.13, 5.6.2, 8.37); *ἀναισθησία* is "absence of sensation" (3.3, 8.58). 2.17.1, 3.16.1, 5.26, 8.41, 8.58, 12.1.1.

serene (ἵλεως). Gracious and untroubled, of a man and of the gods: "Go away, then, serene; for he who releases you is serene too" (12.36). Always "serene". 2.3, 2.17.2, 3.16.2, 4.48.2, 10.36, 12.36. See *calm*.

serious (σπουδαῖος). The Stoic good man, earnest about what matters. Always "serious", set against φαῦλος, "base" (5.17, 7.70, 9.1.2, 12.16); σπουδάζειν is "take seriously". 6.13, 9.1.2, 10.36.

shameful (αἰσχρόν). The moral ugliness of a wrong act; no one can involve a man in what is shameful but himself (2.1). Always "shameful". 2.1, 2.11.4, 7.45, 7.64, 8.15, 11.18.3, 12.23. See *honourable*.

simplicity (ἁπλότης, ἁπλοῦς). Singleness and plainness of soul, without pose. "simplicity", "simple"; kept apart from "artlessness" (ἀφέλεια). 4.26, 4.37, 9.37, 10.1, 11.15. See *artlessness*.

social (κοινωνικός, ἀκοινώνητος). Made for fellowship; the leading thing in the constitution of man (7.55). Always "social", and "unsocial" (2.1, 2.2, 8.34). 3.4.2, 5.29, 6.14, 7.55, 8.12, 11.21, 12.30. See *fellowship*.

soul (ψυχή, ψυχάριον). The life of a man, of which the ruling centre is the commanding part. Always "soul"; the diminutive is "little soul", as in Epictetus' "a little soul carrying a corpse" (4.41). 2.6, 2.16, 4.3.1, 5.11, 5.19, 8.45, 11.1.1, 11.12. See *ruling centre*.

spring (πηγή). The source from which things flow: "Dig within. Within is the spring of the good" (7.59). Always "spring". 4.4, 4.33, 6.36, 7.59, 8.23, 8.51, 9.39.

substance (οὐσία). What a thing is made of, and the stuff of the whole, which flows like a river (5.23). Always "substance". 2.17.1, 4.40, 5.23, 5.24, 6.1, 7.23, 12.30. See *material*.

target (σκοπός). The mark at which every act and impulse should aim (2.7, 2.16). Always "target". 2.7, 2.16, 7.4, 11.6.2, 11.21. See *end*.

things indifferent (τὰ μέσα). What lies between virtue and vice. Always "things indifferent"; kept apart from "things that make no difference" (τὰ ἀδιάφορα). 3.11.3, 5.36, 6.45, 9.42.4, 11.10. See *things that make no difference*.

things that make no difference (τὰ ἀδιάφορα, ἀδιαφορεῖν). What makes no difference to a man's being good or bad, and should

make none to him; the soul lives finely that treats them so (11.16). The adjective is "that make(s) no difference", the verb "treat as making no difference", and the abstract noun ἀδιαφορία "indifference" (7.31). 5.20, 6.32, 8.56, 11.16. See *things indifferent*.

think (διανοεῖσθαι). To have something in one's mind. Always "think"; νόησις is "thought" (7.13, 7.30). 2.11.1, 3.4.2, 3.4.3, 5.6.1, 12.4, 12.31. See *consider*.

time (χρόνος). Measured duration, a point against eternity. Always "time", except "periods" in "records of periods" (4.32.2). 2.14.2, 2.17.1, 4.48.2, 6.15, 9.14, 9.25, 12.35. See *eternity*.

trouble (ταράσσειν, ἀτάραχος, ἀταραξία). Disturbance of the mind. The verb is "trouble", the adjective "untroubled", and ἀταραξία "freedom from trouble" (9.31). 4.26, 4.37, 7.16, 7.27, 8.29, 9.31, 12.3.1.

turning (τροπή, τρέπειν). A turn of direction: in the whole, where "all things are turnings" (8.6), and in the ruling centre (11.19). "turning", with "turn" for the verb and "not turned" for ἄτρεπτος (5.26). 3.7, 5.23, 7.16, 8.6, 9.2, 11.19. See *change*.

understanding (διάνοια). The thinking faculty, which can draw itself back and know its own authority (4.3.2). Always "understanding"; kept apart from "mind" (νοῦς). 3.1, 4.3.2, 5.16, 6.32, 7.68, 8.48, 9.41, 12.3.1. See *mind*.

universe (κόσμος). The ordered whole, "as it were a city" (4.3.2). Always "universe"; at 4.27, where Marcus plays on order, "ordered universe", and in "came into the world" (6.56), "world". 2.4, 4.3.2, 4.27, 5.8.2, 6.36, 7.9, 9.32, 10.6.1. See *whole*.

unwillingly (ἄκων, ἀκουσίως). Against one's will: "every soul", he says, "is deprived of truth unwillingly" (7.63). Always "unwillingly"; ἑκών is "willingly" (12.12). 4.3.2, 7.22, 7.62, 7.63, 11.18.2, 12.12.

vanity (τῦφος, ἀτύφως). Pomp and self-importance, the Cynics' "smoke". "vanity", "without vanity". 1.16.4, 1.17.3, 2.12, 2.17.1, 6.13, 9.2, 12.27. See *empty glory*.

verdict (κρίμα). The finding the mind gives on a matter: "it is not that which vexes you but your own verdict about it" (8.47). Always "verdict"; kept apart from "judgement" (κρίσις). 4.3.2, 5.19, 8.47, 11.11. See *judgement*.

vice (*κακία*). Badness of soul, the opposite of virtue. Always "vice". 4.3.2, 5.35, 7.71, 8.55, 9.2, 9.16, 12.1.1. See *virtue*.

virtue (*ἀρετή*). The excellence of a rational being, the one good. Always "virtue". 2.13, 3.7, 3.11.2, 6.48, 7.68, 8.39, 9.16, 11.10. See *vice*.

want (*θέλειν*, *βούλεσθαι*). The two verbs of willing are kept apart: *θέλειν* is "want"; *βούλεσθαι* is "will" (4.49.2, 6.40, 7.68, 10.11, 10.25), and "mean" where its subject is a word (10.8.1). 4.6, 5.29, 7.14, 8.22, 10.33.2, 12.16.

welcome (*ἀσπάζεσθαι*). The glad acceptance of whatever happens and is allotted (3.4.3, 3.16.2). Always "welcome". 3.4.3, 3.16.2, 4.33, 5.8.3, 6.44.1, 8.7, 10.36. See *content, be*, *receive*.

whole (*τὸ ὅλον*, *τὰ ὅλα*). The universe as one body, of which each thing is a part. Always "the whole". 2.3, 2.9, 4.3.2, 5.8.4, 8.34, 10.6.1, 12.26. See *part*, *universe*.

wipe away (*ἀπαλείφειν*, *ἐξαλείφειν*). The practice of erasing an impression or a verdict as soon as it arises. *ἀπαλείφειν* is "wipe away" (5.2, 10.9, 11.19); *ἐξαλείφειν* is "wipe out" (7.29, 8.29, 8.47, 9.7, 11.16). See *impression*.

Note on this Edition

How it was made. The edition was made in eleven blocks of about a book each, divided at Leopold's pages, so that a page shared by two books went with the block before it; Books XI and XII were done as one block. For each block the Greek was established from Leopold's page images, read at magnification: a digital text of the *Meditations*, which in places follows other editors, was corrected against them line by line, and from Book II on an optical reading of the same pages served as a further check; every place where they disagreed was settled on the image, and doubtful accents and breathings were compared with known forms on the same page. The English was then written from Leopold's page, and the notes from his apparatus and testimonia. Each block was checked by reviewers working independently: one compared the Greek letter by letter with the page images; another (in the last block, one for each book) read the translation and the notes against the Greek and against Leopold's apparatus, and tested the factual claims of the notes against their sources. Their findings were applied, and every decision about a word, a sign or a reading was entered in a register of decisions, which is delivered with the volume.

What the block checks caught. The Greek reviewers found few errors in the established text, almost all of them single marks: a breathing (2.12), a raised point read as a stop (10.34), a misprint of Leopold's that had been silently corrected and was restored (7.11). The translation reviewers found more, and of a kind that recurred from book to book: words of an editor that Leopold only reports, which had passed into the English (most often a small word, a particle or an article); particles dropped, and once a negative; possessives and subjects supplied where the Greek has none; a sentence at a page turn with a word on the wrong page; and notes that misreported Leopold's apparatus. Each class, once found, was looked for in every later block, and the lessons are set out in the register.

What the final pass caught. When the text was complete, the whole volume was read through as one book, by four reviewers taking three books each, for the faults that a page-by-page check cannot see, and the terminology of the whole was reconciled in a single pass. Together these made nearly five hundred changes, most of

them small. Most of them fall into six classes; the rest were of kinds the block checks had already met: particles dropped, possessives, objects and verbs supplied, two readings that Leopold only reports (10.23, 12.2), and notes that misreported their sources (1.8, 5.33).

The largest was terms rendered two ways across the boundaries between blocks, most of them found by the block checks and left to be reconciled when the whole could be searched at once: *διηνεκῶς* and *συνεχῶς* were both "continually" until the first became "perpetually" in its twelve places, with "perpetual" for the adjective at 9.19; *κρίμα* and *κρίσις* were both "judgement" until the first became "verdict"; predicative *ἴδιον* and *οἰκεῖος* both stood as "proper", and the first is now "peculiar to"; *ἐπιθυμεῖν*, *φυλάσσειν*, *τιμᾶν* and *γέγονα* had been rendered "want", "keep", "value" and "born" in the early books before the rulings "crave", "guard", "honour" and "come to be" were made. Second, Leopold's critical signs were missing from the English in fifteen places in Books I to V, before the practice of carrying them into the English was settled. Third, the impersonal "one must" had been broken in eight places in Books I to III. Fourth, a few hard constructions had been garbled: at 11.1.2 truth and self-respect had become objects of "love" instead of qualities of the rational soul; at 3.1.1 a relative clause was lost; at 4.24 a participle had been made a main clause, and at 5.24 a genitive was misattached. Fifth, Leopold divides a word at the foot of a page in several places where the English had not done the same, at 8.34 a word stood on the wrong page, and at 12.2 one was rendered on both. Sixth, several notes quoted the text in words it no longer had, after the text had been corrected.

What remains undone. The Toronto copy of Leopold leaves one accent undecided (7.61 *προεγνωσμένα*, printed as an acute), and four marks between words in Book VIII (8.10, 8.14, 8.17, 8.25), judged accidents of printing and left out, are unconfirmed; all five should be checked on the University of California copy, and the text and notes changed if that copy shows otherwise. On pp. 26–29, which only that copy supplies, seventeen breathings under a circumflex are filled with ink and cannot be read; they stand as the grammar requires. The first edition of 1558/9 has been read directly only in some places, which the notes cite by its page; elsewhere its readings are reported from Leopold. The later critical editions of Schenkl, Farquharson and Dalfen have not been consulted, and nothing in this volume depends on them. A few references remain unlocated: the letter of Fronto on

affection (1.11), the source of the saying at 1.17.9 and of the saying at 8.38. A few identifications in the notes rest on Leopold's testimonia or on a report, the source itself not having been seen (2.10, 3.1, 5.12), and whether two of Xylander's readings come from his Latin version or from his notes is unchecked (5.36, 6.30.2); the register lists these. Some notes that would report a variant were left out for lack of room on the page; the register lists them. Some words are still rendered two ways, or share an English word with another, where no better solution was found: *ἀκολουθεῖν* and *ἕπεσθαι* are both "follow"; *δίκη* and *δικαιοσύνη* are both "justice"; *φήμη* and *δόξα* both "fame"; *βλέπειν* is now "see", now "look at". The Glossary records these.