

α. Καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τὸ ἀκενόδοξον φέρει, ὅτι οὐκ ἔτι δύνασαι τὸν βίον ὅλον ἢ τὸν γε ἀπὸ νεότητος φιλόσοφον βεβιωκέναι· ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ αὐτὸς σεαυτῷ δῆλος γέγονας πόρρω φιλοσοφίας ὢν. πέφυρσαι οὖν· ὥστε τὴν μὲν δόξαν τὴν τοῦ φιλοσόφου κτήσασθαι οὐκ ἔτι σοι ῥάδιον· ἀνταγωνίζεται δὲ καὶ ἡ ὑπόθεσις. εἴπερ οὖν ἀληθῶς ἐώρακας, ποῦ κεῖται τὸ πρᾶγμα, τὸ μὲν, τί δόξεις, ἄφες, ἀρκέσθητι δέ, εἰ κὰν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου ὅσον δήποτε, <ὡς>¹ ἢ σὴ φύσις θέλει, βιώσῃ. κατανόησον οὖν, τί θέλει, καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο σε περισπάτω· πεπειράσαι γάρ, περὶ πόσα πλανηθεῖς, οὐδαμοῦ εὔρες τὸ εὖ ζῆν· οὐκ ἐν συλλογισμοῖς, οὐκ ἐν πλούτῳ, οὐκ ἐν δόξῃ, οὐκ ἐν ἀπολαύσει, οὐδαμοῦ. ποῦ οὖν ἐστίν; ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν ἢ ἐπιζητεῖ ἢ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσις· πῶς οὖν ταῦτα ποιήσῃ; ἐὰν δόγματα ἔχῃ, ἀφ' ὧν αἱ ὀρμαὶ καὶ αἱ πράξεις. τίνα δόγματα; τὰ περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν, ὡς οὐδενὸς μὲν ἀγαθοῦ ὄντος ἀνθρώπῳ, ὃ οὐχὶ ποιεῖ δίκαιον, σῶφρονα,

¹ <ὡς> Gat.

1. THIS too serves as a corrective to vain-gloriousness, that thou art no longer able to have lived thy life wholly, or even from thy youth up, as a philosopher. Thou canst clearly perceive, and many others can see it too, that thou art far from Philosophy. So then thy life is a chaos,¹ and no longer is it easy for thee to win the credit of being a philosopher; and the facts of thy life too war against it. If then thine eyes have verily seen where the truth lies, care no more what men shall think of thee, but be content if the rest of thy life, whether long or short, be lived as thy nature wills. Make sure then what that will is, and let nothing else draw thee aside. For past experience tells thee in how much thou hast gone astray, nor anywhere lighted upon the true life; no, not in the subtleties of logic,² or in wealth or fame or enjoyment, or *anywhere*. Where then is it to be found? In doing that which is the quest of man's nature. How then shall a man do this? By having axioms as the source of his impulses and actions. What axioms? On the nature of Good and Evil, shewing that nothing is for a man's good save what makes him just, temperate, manly, free; nor any

¹ Or, *thou hast been besmirched*, but *cp. vi. 16, § 3.*

² *l. 17 ad fin. ; vii. 67.*

ἀνδρείον, ἐλεύθερον, οὐδενὸς δὲ κακοῦ, ὃ οὐχὶ ποιεῖ τάναντία τοῖς εἰρημένοις.

β'. Καθ' ἐκάστην πράξιν ἐρώτα σεαυτὸν· "Πῶς μοι αὕτη ἔχει; μὴ μετανοήσω ἐπ' αὐτῇ;" μικρὸν καὶ τέθνηκα καὶ πάντ' ἐκ μέσου. τί πλέον ἐπιζητῶ, εἰ τὸ παρὸν ἔργον ζήφου νοεροῦ καὶ κοινωνικοῦ καὶ ἰσονόμου θεῶ;

γ'. Ἀλέξανδρος [δὲ] καὶ Γάϊος καὶ Πομπήϊος, τί πρὸς Διογένη καὶ Ἡράκλειτον καὶ Σωκράτην; οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἶδον τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς ὕλας, καὶ τὰ ἡγεμονικὰ ἦν αὐτῶν αὐτά· †¹ ἐκεῖ δὲ ὄσων πρόνοια καὶ δουλεία πόσων.

δ'. "Ὅτι οὐδὲν ἦττον τὰ αὐτὰ ποιήσουσι, κὰν σὺ διαρραγῆς.

ε'. Τὸ πρῶτον μὴ ταράσσου· πάντα γὰρ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ὄλου φύσιν· καὶ ὀλίγου χρόνου οὐδεὶς οὐδαμοῦ ἔση· ὥσπερ οὐδὲ Ἀδριανός, οὐδὲ Αὐγουστος. ἔπειτα ἀτενίσας εἰς τὸ πρᾶγμα ἴδε αὐτὸ καὶ συμμνημονεύσας, ὅτι ἀγαθὸν σε ἄνθρωπον εἶναι δεῖ, καὶ τί τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἢ φύσις ἀπαιτεῖ, πρᾶξον τοῦτο ἀμεταστρεπτὶ καὶ εἰπέ, ὡς δικαιοτάτον φαίνεται σοι, μόνον εὐμενῶς καὶ αἰδημόνως καὶ ἀνυποκρίτως.

ς'. Ἡ τῶν ὄλων φύσις τοῦτο ἔργον ἔχει, τὰ ὅδε ὄντα ἐκεῖ μετατιθέναι, μεταβάλλειν, αἶρειν ἐνθεν καὶ ἐκεῖ φέρειν. πάντα τροπαί, οὐχ ὥστε

¹ αὐτὰ A: ταῦτά P: ταῦτα Cas.: αὐτάκη Schenkl.

¹ Justin (*Apol.* i. 46) mentions Heraclitus and Socrates and others like them as "living with the divine Logos." And

thing for his ill that makes him not the reverse of these.

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

3. What are Alexander and Gaius and Pompeius to Diogenes and Heraclitus¹ and Socrates? For these latter had their eyes opened to things and to the causes and the material substance of things, and their ruling Reason was their very own. But those—what a host of cares, what a world of slavery!

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

5. Firstly, fret not thyself, for all things are as the Nature of the Universe would have them, and within a little thou shalt be non-existent, and nowhere, like Hadrianus and Augustus. Secondly, look steadfastly at the thing, and see it as it is and, remembering withal that thou must be a good man, and what the Nature of man calls for, do this without swerving, and speak as seemeth to thee most just, only be it graciously, modestly, and without feigning.²

6. The Nature of the Universe is charged with this task, to transfer yonder the things which are here, to interchange them, to take them hence and convey them thither. All things are but phases of

in *Apol.* ii. 8 Heraclitus and Musonius are spoken of as hated and slain for their opinions. Gaius is Caesar.

² The word here used by Marcus occurs only in Christian writings.

φοβηθήναι, μή τι καινόν πάντα συνήθη· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἴσαι αἱ ἀπονεμήσεις.

ζ'. Ἀρκεῖται πᾶσα φύσις ἑαυτῇ εὐδοοῦσῃ· φύσις δὲ λογικὴ εὐδοεῖ ἐν μὲν φαντασίαις μήτε ψευδεῖ μήτε ἀδήλω συγκρατιθεμένη, τὰς ὀρμὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ κοινωνικὰ ἔργα μόνα ἀπευθύνουσα, τὰς ὀρέξεις δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐκκλίσεις τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν μόνων πεποιημένη, τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως ἀπονεμόμενον πᾶν ἀσπαζομένη. μέρος γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐστίν, 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 νοεῖρας καὶ δικαίας, εἶγε ἴσους καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν τοὺς μερισμοὺς χρόνων, οὐσίας, αἰτίου, ἐνεργείας, συμβάσεως, ἐκάστοις ποιεῖται. σκόπει δέ, μή εἰ τὸ <ἐν> πρὸς τὸ ἐν ἴσον εὐρήσεις ἐπὶ παντός, ἀλλὰ εἰ συλλήβδην τὰ πάντα τοῦδε πρὸς ἀθρόα τὰ τοῦ ἐτέρου.

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 ἀκούση καταμεμφομένον τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ βίον, μηδὲ σὺ σεαυτοῦ.

ι'. Ἡ μετάνοιά ἐστὶν ἐπίληψις τις ἑαυτοῦ, ὡς χρησίμον τι παρεϊκότος· τὸ δὲ ἀγαθὸν χρησίμον τι δεῖ εἶναι, καὶ ἐπιμελητέον αὐτοῦ τῷ καλῷ καὶ

¹ ii. 14; iv. 32; vii. 1 etc.

change, but nothing new-fangled need be feared; all things are of the wonted type,¹ nay, their distributions also are alike.

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

8. *Thou canst not be a student.* But thou canst refrain from insolence; but thou canst rise superior to pleasures and pains; but thou canst tread under thy feet the love of glory; but thou canst forbear to be angry with the unfeeling and the thankless,² aye and even care for them.

9. Let no one hear thee any more grumbling at life in a Court,³ nay let not thine own ears hear thee.

10. Repentance is a sort of self-reproach at some useful thing passed by; but the good must needs be a useful thing, and ever to be cultivated by the true

² St. Luke vi. 35.

³ v. 16.

ἀγαθῷ ἀνδρί· οὐδεὶς δ' ἂν καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ μετανοήσειεν ἐπὶ τῷ ἡδονῇ τινα παρεικέναι· οὔτε ἄρα χρήσιμον οὔτε ἀγαθὸν ἡδονή.

ια'. Τοῦτο τί ἐστὶν αὐτὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸ 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 ὑπνου δυσχερῶς ἐγείρη, ἀναμνησκού, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν κατασκευὴν σου ἐστὶ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπικὴν φύσιν τὸ πράξει κοινωνικᾶς ἀποδιδόναι, τὸ δὲ καθέυδειν κοινὸν καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ζῴων· ὃ δὲ κατὰ φύσιν ἐκάστῳ, τοῦτο οἰκειότερον καὶ προσφύεστερον καὶ δὴ καὶ προσηθέστερον.

ιγ'. Διηλεκτικῶς καὶ ἐπὶ πάσης, εἰ οἷόν τε, φαντασίας φυσιολογεῖν, παθολογεῖν, διαλεκτικεύεσθαι.

ιδ'. Ὅτι ἂν ἐντυγχάνης, εὐθύς σαιτῷ πρόλεγε· οὗτος τίνα δόγματα ἔχει περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν; εἰ γὰρ περὶ ἡδονῆς καὶ πόνου καὶ τῶν ποιητικῶν ἐκατέρου καὶ περὶ δόξης, ἀδοξίας, θανάτου, ζωῆς τοιαῦτα δόγματα ἔχει, οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν ἢ ξένον μοι δόξει, ἐὰν τάδε τινα ποιῇ· καὶ μεμνήσομαι, ὅτι ἀναγκάζεται οὕτως ποιεῖν.

ιε'. Μέμνησο, ὅτι, ὡς περ αἰσχρὸν ἐστὶ ξενίζεσθαι, εἰ ἡ σικὴ σῦκα φέρει, οὕτως, εἰ ὁ κόσμος τάδε τινα φέρει, ὧν ἐστὶ φορός· καὶ ἰατρῷ δὲ καὶ κυβερνήτῃ αἰσχρὸν ξενίζεσθαι, εἰ πεπύρεχεν οὗτος ἢ εἰ ἀντίπνοια γέγονεν.

¹ Or, *formative*.

² v. 1.

³ Or, *axioms*.

⁴ v. 17; vii. 71; xi. 18, § 3.

⁵ 1 St. Peter, iv. 12.

good man; but the true good man would never regret having passed a pleasure by. Pleasure therefore is neither a useful thing nor a good.

11. What of itself is the thing in question as individually constituted? What is the substance and material of it? What the causal¹ part? What doeth it in the Universe? How long doth it subsist?

12. When thou art loth to get up,² call to mind that the due discharge of social duties is in accordance with thy constitution and in accordance with man's nature, while even irrational animals share with us the faculty of sleep; but what is in accordance with the nature of the individual is more congenial, more closely akin to him, aye and more attractive.

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

14. Whatever man thou meetest, put to thyself at once this question: *What are this man's convictions*³ about good and evil? For if they are such and such about pleasure and pain and what is productive of them, about good report and ill report, about death and life, it will be in no way strange or surprising to me if he does such and such things. So I will remember that he is constrained to act as he does.⁴

15. Remember that, as it is monstrous to be surprised at a fig-tree bearing figs, so also is it to be surprised at the Universe bearing its own particular crop. Likewise it is monstrous for a physician or a steersman to be surprised⁵ that a patient has fever or that a contrary wind has sprung up.

ις'. Μέμνησο, ὅτι καὶ τὸ μετατίθεσθαι καὶ ἐπεσθαι τῷ διορθοῦντι ὁμοίως ἐλεύθερόν ἐστιν. σὴ γὰρ ἐνέργεια κατὰ τὴν σὴν ὁρμὴν καὶ κρίσιν καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ νοῦν τὸν σὸν περαινομένη.

ις'. Εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ σοί, τί αὐτὸ ποιεῖς; εἰ δὲ ἐπ' ἄλλῳ, τίνι μέμψη; ταῖς ἀτόμοις ἢ τοῖς θεοῖς; ἀμφοτέρα μανιώδη. οὐδενὶ μεμπτέον. εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύνασαι, διόρθωσον· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ δύνασαι, τὸ γε πρᾶγμα αὐτό· εἰ δὲ μὴδὲ τοῦτο, πρὸς τί ἐτι σοι φέρεται τὸ μέμψασθαι; εἰκῆ γὰρ οὐδὲν ποιητέον.

ιη'. Ἐξω τοῦ κόσμου τὸ ἀποθανόν οὐ πίπτει. εἰ ὧδε μένει, καὶ μεταβάλλει ὧδε καὶ διαλύεται εἰς τὰ ἴδια, ἃ στοιχεῖα ἐστί τοῦ κόσμου καὶ σά. καὶ αὐτὰ δὲ μεταβάλλει καὶ οὐ γογγύζει.

ιθ'. Ἐκαστον πρὸς τι γέγονεν, ἵππος, ἄμπελος· τί θαυμάζεις; καὶ ὁ Ἥλιος ἐρεῖ, "πρὸς τι ἔργον γέγονα," καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ θεοί. σὺ οὖν πρὸς τί; τὸ ἦδεσθαι; ἴδε, εἰ ἀνέχεται ἡ ἔννοια.

κ'. Ἡ φύσις ἐστόχασται ἐκάστου οὐδὲν τι ἔλασσον τῆς ἀπολήξεως ἢ τῆς ἀρχῆς τε καὶ διεξαγωγῆς, ὡς ὁ ἀναβάλλων τὴν σφαῖραν· τί οὖν ἢ ἀγαθὸν τῷ σφαιρίῳ ἀναφερομένῳ ἢ κακὸν καταφερομένῳ ἢ καὶ πεπτωκότι; τί δὲ ἀγαθὸν τῇ πομφόλυγι συνεστῶσῃ ἢ κακὸν διαλυθείσῃ; τὰ ὁμοία δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ λύχνου.

¹ *cp.* vi. 30; vii. 7. *cp.* Capit. xxii. 4: "Aequius est ut ego tot talium amicorum consilium sequar, quam ut tot tales amici meam unius voluntatem sequantur"; *Digest.* 37. 14. 17.

² Annius Verus, grandfather of Marcus, was the best ball-player of his day, see *Wilmanns Inscr.* 574. Marcus himself was an adept at the ball-game, *Capit.* iv. 9.

16. Remember that neither a change of mind nor a willingness to be set right by others¹ is inconsistent with true freedom of will. For thine alone is the active effort that effects its purpose in accordance with thy impulse and judgment, aye and thy intelligence also.

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

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

19. Every thing, be it a horse, be it a vine, has come into being for some end. Why wonder? Helios himself will say: *I exist to do some work*; and so of all the other Gods. For what then dost thou exist? For pleasure? Surely it is not to be thought of.

20. Nature has included in its aim in every case the ceasing to be no less than the beginning and the duration, just as the man who tosses up his ball.² But what good does the ball gain while tossed upwards, or harm as it comes down, or finally when it reaches the ground? Or what good accrues to the bubble while it coheres, or harm in its bursting? And the same holds good with the lamp-flame.

κα'. Ἐκστρεψον καὶ θέασαι, οἶόν ἐστι, γηράσαν δὲ οἶον γίνεται, νοσήσαν δέ, ἀποπνεύσαν δέ.†¹

2 Βραχύβιον καὶ ὁ ἐπαινῶν καὶ ὁ ἐπαινούμενος, καὶ ὁ μνημονεύων καὶ ὁ μνημονεύόμενος. προσέτι δὲ καὶ ἐν γωνίᾳ τούτου τοῦ κλίματος, καὶ οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα πάντες συμφωνοῦσι, καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς τις ἐαυτῷ· καὶ ὅλη δὲ ἡ γῆ στιγμή.

κβ'. Πρόσεχε τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ ἢ τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ ἢ τῷ δόγματι² ἢ τῷ σημαινόμενῳ.

2 Δικαίως ταῦτα πάσχει· μᾶλλον δὲ θέλεις ἀγαθὸς αὐριον γενέσθαι ἢ σήμερον εἶναι.

κγ'. Πράσσω τι; πράσσω ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων εὐποίαν ἀναφέρων· συμβαίνει τί μοι; δέχομαι ἐπὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀναφέρων καὶ τὴν πάντων πηγῆν, ἀφ' ἧς πάντα τὰ γινόμενα συμμηρῦεται.

κδ'. Ὅποιόν σοι φαίνεται τὸ λούεσθαι· ἔλαιον, ἰδρῶς, ῥύπος, ὕδωρ γλοιῶδες, πάντα σικχαντά· τοιοῦτον πᾶν μέρος τοῦ βίου καὶ πᾶν ὑποκείμενον.

κε'. Λούκιλλα Οὐήρον, εἶτα Λούκιλλα· Σέκουνδα Μάξιμον, εἶτα Σέκουνδα· Ἐπιτύχανος Διότιμον, εἶτα Ἐπιτύχανος· Φαυστίαν Ἀντωνίνος, εἶτα Ἀντωνίνος. τοιαῦτα πάντα· Κέλερ Ἀδριανόν, εἶτα Κέλερ.³ οἱ δὲ δριμεῖς ἐκέينو ἢ προγνωστικοὶ ἢ τετυφωμένοι, ποῦ; οἶον δριμεῖς μὲν Χάραξ καὶ Δημήτριος [ὁ Πλατωνικός]⁴ καὶ

¹ πορνεύσαν P: πορνεύσας δὲ A: διαπυήσαν Leopold: ἀποπνεύσαν Gat.

² ἢ τῷ δόγματι ἢ τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ P.

³ Stich would transfer Κέλερ . . . Κέλερ to the beginning of the paragraph.

⁴ ὁ Πλατωνικός possibly a wrong gloss.

21. Turn it¹ inside out and see what it is like, what it comes to be when old, when sickly, when carrion.

They endure but for a short season, both praiser and praised, rememberer and remembered.² All this too in a tiny corner of this continent, and not even there are all in accord, no nor a man with himself; and the whole earth is itself a point.³

22. Fix thy attention on the subject-matter or the act or the principle or the thing signified.

Rightly served! Thou wouldst rather become a good man to-morrow than be one to-day.

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

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

25. Lucilla⁴ buried Verus, then Lucilla was buried; Secunda Maximus,⁵ then Secunda; Epitynchanus Diotimus, then Epitynchanus; Antoninus Faustina, then Antoninus. The same tale always: Celer⁶ buried Hadrianus and then Celer was buried. And those acute wits, men renowned for their prescience or their pride, where are they? Such acute wits, for instance, as Charax and Demetrius [the Platonist⁷]

¹ i.e. the body. ² iii. 10; iv. 3, § 3. ³ iv. 3, § 3; vi. 36.

⁴ The mother of Marcus, not as Gataker, Long, etc. the daughter. ⁵ i. 15. ⁶ See Index II.

⁷ Arethas on Lucian, *de Salt.* § 63, alludes to this passage, but Lucian's Demetrius is the Cynic whom in *Demon.* § 3 he couples with Epictetus. (*cp.* also *adv. Ind.* § 19.) See Index II.

Εὐδαίμων καὶ εἴ τις τοιοῦτος. πάντα ἐφήμερα, τεθνηκότα πάλαι· ἐνιοὶ μὲν οὐδὲ ἐπ' ὀλίγον μνημονευθέντες· οἱ δὲ εἰς μύθους μεταβαλόντες· οἱ δὲ ἤδη καὶ ἐκ μύθων ἐξίτηλοι. τούτων οὖν μεμνήσθαι, ὅτι δεήσει ἤτοι σκεδασθῆναι τὸ συγκριμάτιόν σου, ἢ σβεσθῆναι τὸ πνευμάτιον, ἢ μεταστῆναι καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ καταταχθῆναι.¹

κς'. Εὐφροσύνη ἀνθρώπου ποιεῖν τὰ ἴδια ἀνθρώπου. ἴδιον δὲ ἀνθρώπου εὐνοια πρὸς τὸ ὀμόφυλον, 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 ἀγγεῖον² τὸ περικείμενον· ἡ δὲ πρὸς τὴν θεῖαν αἰτίαν, ἀφ' ἧς συμβαίνει πᾶσι πάντα· ἡ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς συμβιούντας.

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 ὀρμή καὶ ὄρεξις καὶ ἐκκλισις ἔνδον, καὶ οὐδὲν³ ὧδε ἀναβαίνει.

κθ'. Ἐξάλειφε τὰς φαντασίας συνεχῶς σεαυτῷ λέγων· “Νῦν ἐπ' ἐμοί ἐστιν, ἵνα ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ψυχῇ μηδεμία πονηρία ἢ μηδὲ ἐπιθυμία μηδὲ ὅλως ταραχὴ τις· ἀλλὰ βλέπων πάντα, ὅποιά ἐστι, χρώμαι ἐκάστῳ κατ' ἀξίαν.” μέμνησο ταύτης τῆς ἐξουσίας κατὰ φύσιν.

¹ καταχθῆναι A.

² αἴτιον PA: ἀγγεῖον (cp. iii. 3, xii. 2) Valckenaer: σωματίον Cor. ³ <κακόν> P, but cp. viii. 49.

and Eudaemon, and others like them. All creatures of a day, dead long ago!—some not remembered even for a while, others transformed into legends,¹ and yet others from legends faded into nothingness! Bear then in mind that either this thy composite self must be scattered abroad, or thy vital breath be quenched, or be transferred² and set elsewhere.

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

27. Thou hast three relationships—the first to the vessel thou art contained in; the second to the divine Cause wherefrom issue all things to all; and the third to those that dwell with thee.³

28. Pain is an evil either to the body—let the body then denounce it⁴—or to the Soul; but the Soul can ensure her own fair weather and her own calm sea,⁵ and refuse to account it an evil. For every conviction and impulse and desire and aversion is from within,⁶ and nothing climbs in thither.

29. Efface thy impressions,⁷ saying ever to thyself: *Now lies it with me that this soul should harbour no wickedness nor lust nor any disturbing element at all; but that, seeing the true nature of all things,⁸ I should deal with each as is its due.* Bethink thee of this power that Nature gives thee.

¹ xii. 27.

² Or, leave thee; but cp. v. 33.

³ i. 12; v. 10, 48; ix. 3 *ad fin.* ⁴ vii. 33. ⁵ xii. 22.

⁶ v. 19; St. Matt. xv. 18. ⁷ vii. 17, 29; ix. 7. ⁸ iii. 11.

λ'. Παλεῖν καὶ ἐν συγκλήτῳ καὶ πρὸς πάνθ' ὀντινοῦν κοσμίως, μὴ περιτράνως· Ἐπιεί λόγῳ χρῆσθαι.

λα'. Αὐτὴ Αὐγούστου, γυνή, θυγάτηρ, ἔγγονοι, πρόγονοι, ἀδελφὴ, Ἀγρίππας, συγγενεῖς, οἰκείοι, φίλοι, Ἀρειος, Μαικήνας, ἰατροί, θύται ὅλης αὐτῆς θάνατος. εἶτα ἐπιθι τὰς ἄλλας <καταστροφὰς>¹ μὴ καθ' ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου θάνατον, οἶον Πομπηίων. κάκεινο δὲ τὸ ἐπιγραφόμενον τοῖς μνήμασιν, "Ἐσχατος τοῦ ἰδίου γένους," ἐπιλογίξασθαι, πόσα ἐσπιάσθησαν οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν, ἵνα διάδοχόν τινα καταλίπωσιν· εἶτα ἀνάγκη ἔσχατόν τινα γενέσθαι· πάλιν ὧδε ὅλου γένους θάνατον.

λβ'. Συντιθέναι δεῖ τὸν βίον κατὰ μίαν πράξιν, καὶ εἰ ἐκάστη τὸ ἑαυτῆς παρέχει,² ὡς οἶόν τε, ἀρκεῖσθαι· ἵνα δὲ τὸ ἑαυτῆς παρέχη,³ οὐδὲ εἰς σε κωλύσαι δύναται. "Ἄλλ' ἐυστήσεται τι ἔξωθεν." οὐδὲν εἰς γε τὸ δικαίως⁴ καὶ σωφρόνως καὶ εὐλογίστεως. "Ἄλλο δέ τι ἴσως ἐνεργητικὸν κωλυθήσεται;" ἀλλὰ τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ κώλυμα εὐαρεστήσει καὶ τῇ ἐπὶ τὸ διδόμενον εὐγνώμονι μεταβάσει εὐθύς ἄλλη πράξις ἀντικαθίσταται ἐναρμόσουσα εἰς τὴν σύνθεσιν, περὶ ἧς ὁ λόγος.

λγ'. Ἀτύφως μὲν λαβεῖν, εὐλύτως δὲ ἀφ-εῖναι.

¹ <ἐπιγραφὰς> Breithaupt: Schenkl supplies αὐλάς with a lacuna after: perhaps τὸν ὅλης φυλῆς with Lofft's μηκέθ' ἐνός would give the meaning.

² πῶσχει A: παρέχει P: ἀπέχει Schenkl.

³ ἀπέχη PA: παρέχη Morus.

⁴ A verb is missing, e.g. <δικαίως> Rend., <πράττειν> Morus.

30. Say thy say in the Senate or to any person whatsoever becomingly and naturally.¹ Use sound speech.

31. The court of Augustus—wife, daughter, descendants, ancestors, sister, Agrippa, kinsfolk, household, friends, Areius,² Maecenas, physicians, diviners—dead, the whole court of them! Pass on then to other records and the death not of individuals but of a clan, as of the Pompeii. And that well-known epitaph, *Last of his race*—think over it and the anxiety shewn by the man's ancestors that they might leave a successor. But after all some one must be the last of the line—here again the death of a whole race!

32. Act by act thou must build up thy life, and be content, if each act as far as may be fulfils its end.³ And there is never a man that can prevent it doing this. *But there will be some impediment from without.* There can be none to thy behaving justly, soberly, wisely. *But what if some other exercise of activity be hindered?* Well, a cheerful acceptance of the hindrance and a tactful transition to what is allowed will enable another action to be substituted that will be in keeping with the built-up life of which we are speaking.

33. Accept without arrogance, surrender without reluctance.

¹ Dr. Bigg does not scruple to say that Marcus spoke in such a pedantic jargon as to be *unintelligible to his hearers!* This is pitiable nonsense. See Fronto, *ad Ant.* i. 1: *quanto studio quantoque favore et voluptate dicentem te audit senatus populusque Romanus; cp. ad Caes.* iii. 1.

² Domestic philosopher to Augustus, as Rusticus was to Marcus. See *Them. Orat.* v. 63 d; xiii. 173 c; *Sen. ad Marciam*, § 4.

³ Or, *receives its due reward* (ἀπέχει).

λδ'. Εἴ ποτε εἶδες χεῖρα ἀποκεκοιμένην ἢ πόδα, ἢ κεφαλὴν ἀποτετμημένην χωρὶς πού ποτε ἀπὸ τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος κειμένην τοιοῦτον ἑαυτὸν ποιεῖ, ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ, ὃ μὴ θέλων τὸ συμβαῖνον καὶ ἀποσχίζων ἑαυτὸν ἢ ὃ ἀκρινώοντων τι πράσσειν. ἀπέρριψαί πού ποτε ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἐνώσεως· ἐπεφύκεις γὰρ μέρος· νῦν <δὲ> σεαυτὸν ἀπέκοψας. ἀλλ' ὦδε κομψὸν ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι ἔξεστί σοι πάλιν ἐνώσαι σεαυτὸν. τοῦτο ἄλλω μέρει οὐδενὶ θεὸς ἐπέτρεψεν, χωρισθέντι καὶ διακοπέντι πάλιν συνελθεῖν. ἀλλὰ σκέψαι τὴν χρηστότητα, ἣ τετίμηκε τὸν ἄνθρωπον· καὶ γὰρ ἵνα τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ ἀπορραγῆ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅλου, ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐποίησεν· καὶ ἀπορραγέντι πάλιν ἐπανελθεῖν καὶ συμφῦναι καὶ τὴν τοῦ μέρους τάξιν ἀπολαβεῖν ἐποίησεν.

λε'. Ὡσπερ τὰς ἄλλας δυνάμεις ἐκάστω¹ τῶν λογικῶν † σχεδὸν ὅσον †² ἢ τῶν λογικῶν φύσις, οὕτως καὶ ταύτην παρ' αὐτῆς εἰλήφραμεν. ὃν τρόπον γὰρ ἐκεῖνη πᾶν τὸ ἐνιστάμενον καὶ ἀντιβαῖνον ἐπιπεριτρέπει καὶ κατατάσσει εἰς τὴν εἰμαρμένην, καὶ μέρος ἑαυτῆς ποιεῖ, οὕτως καὶ τὸ λογικὸν ζῶον δύναται πᾶν κώλυμα ὕλην ἑαυτοῦ ποιεῖν, καὶ χρῆσθαι αὐτῷ, ἐφ' οἷον ἂν καὶ ὄρμησεν.

λς'. Μὴ σε συγχέτω ἡ τοῦ ὅλου βίου φαντασία. μὴ συμπερινοῖ, ἐπίπονα οἶα καὶ ὅσα πιθανὸν ἐπιγεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν παρόντων ἐπερώτα σεαυτὸν· τί τοῦ ἔργου τὸ ἀφόρητον καὶ ἀνύποιστον; αἰσχυρίθησθαι γὰρ

¹ ἕκαστος P.

² σχεδὸν ὅσον: ἐσκέδασεν Cor.: <ἔδωκεν> Schultz.

34. Thou hast seen a hand cut off or a foot, or a head severed from the trunk, and lying at some distance from the rest of the body. Just so does the man treat himself, as far as he may, who wills not what befalls and severs himself from mankind or acts unsocially. Say thou hast been torn away in some sort from the unity of Nature; for by the law of thy birth thou wast a part; but now thou hast cut thyself off. Yet here comes in that exquisite provision, that thou canst return again to thy unity.¹ To no other part has God granted this, to come together again, when once separated and cleft asunder. Aye, behold His goodness, wherewith He hath glorified man! For He hath let it rest with a man that he be never rent away from the Whole, and if he do rend himself away, to return again and grow on to the rest and take up his position again as part.

35. Just as the Nature of rational things has given each rational being almost all his other powers, so also have we received this one from it; that, as this Nature moulds to its purpose whatever interference or opposition it meets, and gives it a place in the destined order of things, and makes it a part of itself, so also can the rational creature convert every hindrance into material for itself² and utilize it for its own purposes.

36. Let not the mental picture of life as a whole confound thee. Fill not thy thoughts with what and how many ills may conceivably await thee, but in every present case ask thyself: *What is there in this experience so crushing, so insupportable?* Thou wilt blush

¹ Sen. Ep. 98: *licet in integrum restitui* (a legal phrase for a restoration to all rights). cp. xi. 8.

² iv. 1; v. 20; vi. 50.

ὁμολογήσαι. ἔπειτα ἀναμίμησκε σεαυτόν, ὅτι οὔτε τὸ μέλλον οὔτε τὸ παρῶν βαρεῖ σε ἀλλὰ αἰεὶ τὸ παρόν. τοῦτο δὲ κατασμικρύνεται, ἔαν αὐτὸ μόνον περιορίσῃς καὶ ἀπελέγῃς τὴν διάνοιαν, εἰ πρὸς τοῦτο ψιλὸν ἀντέχειν μὴ δύναται.

λζ'. Μήτι νῦν παρακάθῃται τῇ τοῦ κυρίου¹ σορῶ Πάνθεια ἢ Πέργαμος; τί δὲ; τῇ Ἀδριανοῦ Χαβρίας ἢ Διότιμος; γελοῖον. τί δέ; εἰ παρεκάθῃντο, ἔμελλον αἰσθάνεσθαι; τί δέ, εἰ ἤσθάνοντο, ἔμελλον ἡσθήσεσθαι; τί δέ, εἰ ἤδοντο, ἔμελλον οὐτοὶ ἀθάνατοι εἶναι; οὐ καὶ τοῦτους πρώτον μὲν γράϊας καὶ γέροντας γενέσθαι οὕτως εἴμαρτο, εἶτα ἀποθανεῖν; τί οὖν ὕστερον ἔμελλον ἐκείνοι ποιεῖν, τούτων ἀποθανόντων; γράσος πᾶν τοῦτο καὶ λύθρον ἐν θυλάκῳ.

λη'. Εἰ δύνασαι ὀξὺ βλέπειν, βλέπε,† “κρίνων,” φησί, “σοφώτατα.”†²

λθ'. Δικαιοσύνης κατεξαναστατικὴν ἀρετὴν οὐχ ὀρῶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ λογικοῦ ζώου κατασκευῇ; ἡδονῆς δὲ ὀρῶ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν.

μ'. Ἐὰν ἀφέλῃς τὴν σὴν ὑπόληψιν περὶ τοῦ λυπεῖν σε δοκοῦντος, αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεστάτῳ ἔστηκας. “Τίς αὐτός;” ὁ λόγος. “Ἄλλ' οὐκ εἰμὶ λόγος.” ἔστω. οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν λόγος αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν μὴ λυπεῖτω. εἰ δέ τι ἄλλο σοι κακὸς ἔχει, ὑπολαβέτω αὐτὸ περὶ αὐτοῦ.

¹ τοῦ κυρίου P: τοῦ κυρεῦ A: [τοῦ] Οὐήρου Salm., but Marcus does not speak of Lucius as Verus.

² σοφώτατος P: σοφώτατης (with δικαιοσύνης, § 39) A: σοφώτατα Xyl.

¹ See on vi. 29.

² Lucian (?) (*Imag.* §§ 10, 22), mentions Pantheia as the

to confess. Remind thyself further that it is not the future nor the past but the present always that brings thee its burden. But this is reduced to insignificance if thou isolate it, and take thy mind to task¹ if it cannot hold out against this mere trifle.

37. Does Pantheia² now watch by the urn of her lord, or Pergamus? What, does Chabrias or Diotimus by Hadrian's? Absurd! What then? Had they sat there till now, would the dead have been aware of it? and, if aware of it, would they have been pleased? and, if pleased, would that have made the mourners immortal? Was it not destined that these like others should become old women and old men and then die? What then, when they were dead, would be left for those whom they had mourned to do? It is all stench and foul corruption 'in a sack of skin.'³

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

39. In the constitution of the rational creature I see no virtue incompatible with justice, but incompatible with pleasure I see—continenence.

40. Take away thy opinion⁴ as to any imagined pain, and thou thyself art set in surest safety. *What is 'thyself'?* Reason. *But I am not reason.* Be it so. At all events let the Reason not cause itself pain, but if any part in thee is amiss, let it form its own opinion about itself.⁵

matchless concubine τῷ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ χρηστῷ καὶ ἡμέρῳ ὄντι (meaning apparently Lucius Verus). Lucian (*Nigr.* § 31) speaks of οἱ κελεύοντες καὶ παραμένειν τινὰς οἰκέτας τοῖς τάφοις.

³ Epict. *Frag.* 94. cp. Diog. Laert. *Anaxarchus*, § 2; *Zeno Eleat.* § 5. Howell, *Familiar Letters*, viii. 2, 50, speaks of "this small skinful or bagful of bones."

⁴ vii. 16; viii. 47.

⁵ vii. 33.

μα'. Ἐμποδισμὸς αἰσθήσεως κακὸν ζωτικῆς φύσεως· ἔμποδισμὸς ὀρμῆς ὁμοίως κακὸν ζωτικῆς φύσεως. ἔστι δέ τι ἄλλο ὁμοίως ἔμποδιστικὸν καὶ κακὸν τῆς φυτικῆς κατασκευῆς. οὕτως τοίνυν ἔμποδισμὸς νοῦ κακὸν νοερᾶς φύσεως. πάντα δὴ ταῦτα ἐπὶ σεαυτὸν μετάφερε. πόνος <ῆ> ἡδονὴ ἄπτεται σου; ὄψεται ἢ αἴσθησις. ὀρμήσαντι ἔνστημα ἐγένετο; εἰ μὲν ἀνυπεξαιρέτως ὀρμᾶς, ἤδη ὡς λογικοῦ κακόν. εἰ δὲ τὸ κοινὸν λαμβάνεις, οὐπω βέβλαψαι οὐδὲ ἐμπεπόδισαι. τὰ μέντοι τοῦ νοῦ ἴδια οὐδεὶς ἄλλος εἴωθεν ἐμποδίζειν· τούτου γὰρ οὐ πῦρ, οὐ σίδηρος, οὐ τύραννος, οὐ βλασφημία, οὐχ ὅτι οὐν ἄπτεται. "ὅταν γένηται σφαῖρος, κυκλωτέρης μένει."†¹

μβ'. Οὐκ εἰμὶ ἄξιος ἐμαυτὸν λυπεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλον πώποτε ἐκὼν ἐλύπησα.

μγ'. Εὐφραίνει ἄλλον ἄλλο· ἐμὲ δέ, ἐὰν ὑγιὲς ἔχω τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, μὴ ἀποστρεφόμενον μήτε ἀνθρωπὸν τινα μήτε <τι> τῶν ἀνθρώποις συμβαινόντων· ἀλλὰ πᾶν εὐμενέσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὀρῶν τε καὶ δεχόμενον καὶ χρώμενον ἐκάστω κατ' ἀξίαν.

μδ'. Τοῦτον² ἰδοὺ τὸν χρόνον σεαυτῷ χάρισαι. οἱ τὴν ὑστεροφημίαν μᾶλλον διώκοντες οὐ λογίζονται, ὅτι ἄλλοι τοιοῦτοι μέλλουσιν ἐκείνοι εἶναι, οἳ εἰσιν οὗτοι, οὓς βαροῦνται· κάκεινοι

¹ μονή Rend. (cp. xii. 3): by changing σφαῖρος to σφαῖρα (xi. 12) we get a senarius. ² τουτονὶ δὲ Leop.

41. To the animal nature a thwarting of sense-perception is an evil, as is also to the same nature the thwarting of impulse. There is similarly some other thing that can thwart the constitution of plants and is an evil to them. Thus then the thwarting of intelligence is an evil to the intelligent nature. Transfer the application of all this to thyself. Does pain, does pleasure take hold of thee? The senses shall look to it. Wast thou impelled to a thing and wast thwarted? If thy impulse counts on an unconditional fulfilment, failure at once becomes an evil to thee as a rational creature. But accept the universal limitation, and thou hast so far received no hurt nor even been thwarted.¹ Indeed no one else is in a way to thwart the inner purposes of the mind. For it no fire can touch, nor steel, nor tyrant, nor obloquy,² nor any thing soever: a sphere³ once formed continues round and true.

42. It were not right that I should pain myself for not even another have I ever knowingly pained.⁴

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

44. See thou dower thyself with this present time. Those that yearn rather for after-fame do not realize that their successors are sure to be very much the same as the contemporaries whom they find such a

¹ vi. 50. ² vii. 68; Epict. iii. 22. 43. ³ xi. 12; xii. 3.

⁴ cp. Them. Orat. xv. p. 191 B, quoted App. ii.; cp. Diog. Laert. Zeno 64.

δὲ θνητοί. τί δὲ ὄλως πρὸς σέ, ἂν ἐκείνοι φωναῖς τοιαύταις ἀπηχῶσιν ἢ ὑπόληψιν τοιαύτην περὶ σοῦ ἔχωσιν;

μέ'. Ἄρὸν με καὶ βάλει, ὅπου θέλεις. ἐκεῖ¹ γὰρ ἔξω τὸν ἐμὸν δαίμονα ἴλεων, τουτέστιν ἀρκούμενον, εἰ ἔχει καὶ ἐνεργοίη κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς τῇ ἰδία κατασκευῇ.

2 Ἄρα τοῦτο ἄξιον, ἵνα δι' αὐτὸ κακῶς μοι ἔχη ἢ ψυχὴ καὶ χεῖρων ἑαυτῆς ἢ ταπεινουμένη, ὀρεγομένη, συνδνομένη,² † πτυρομένη; καὶ τί εὐρήσεις τούτου ἄξιον;

μέ'. Ἀνθρώπῳ οὐδενὶ συμβαίνειν τι δύναται, ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνθρωπικὸν σύμπτωμα: οὐδὲ βοί, ὃ οὐκ ἔστι βοϊκόν· οὐδὲ ἀμπέλῳ, ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀμπελικόν· οὐδὲ λίθῳ, ὃ οὐκ ἔστι λίθου ἴδιον. εἰ οὖν ἐκάστῳ συμβαίνει, ὃ καὶ εἴωθε καὶ πέφυκε, τί ἂν δυσχεραίνεις; οὐ γὰρ ἀφόρητόν σοι ἔφερεν ἢ κοινὴ φύσις.

μζ'. Εἰ μὲν διὰ τι τῶν ἐκτὸς λυπῆ, οὐκ ἐκείνῳ σοι ἐνοχλεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὸ σὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ κρῖμα. τοῦτο δὲ ἤδη ἐξαλείψαι ἐπὶ σοί ἐστιν. εἰ δὲ λυπεῖ σέ τι τῶν ἐν τῇ σῇ διαθέσει, τίς ὁ καλύων διορθῶσαι τὸ δόγμα; ὅμως δὲ καὶ εἰ λυπῆ, ὅτι οὐχὶ τότε τι ἐνεργεῖς ὑγιές σοι φαινόμενον, τί οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἐνεργεῖς ἢ λυπῆ; "Ἀλλὰ ἰσχυρότερόν τι ἐνίσταται." μὴ οὖν λυποῦ· οὐ γὰρ παρὰ σέ ἢ αἰτία τοῦ μὴ ἐνεργεῖσθαι. "Ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἄξιον ζῆν μὴ ἐνεργουμένου τούτου."

¹ κακεῖ Kron.

² συνδνομένη Gat.

burden, and no less mortal. What is it anyway to thee if there be this or that far-off echo of their voices, or if they have this or that opinion about thee?

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

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

46. Nothing can befall a man that is not a contingency natural to man; nor befall an ox, that is not natural to oxen, nor a vine, that is not natural to a vine, nor to a stone that is not proper to it. If therefore only what is natural and customary befalls each, why be aggrieved? For the common Nature brings thee nothing that thou canst not bear.¹

47. When thou art vexed at some external cross, it is not the thing itself that troubles thee,² but thy judgment on it. And this thou canst annul in a moment. But if thou art vexed at something in thine own character, who can prevent thee from rectifying the principle that is to blame?³ So also if thou art vexed⁴ at not undertaking that which seems to thee a sound act, why not rather undertake it than be vexed? *But there is a lion in the path!* Be not vexed then, for the blame of inaction rests not with thee. *But life is not worth living, this left undone.* Depart

¹ cp. St. Paul, 1 Cor. x. 13.

² cp. Epict. *Man.* 5.

³ viii. 40.

⁴ v. 9, 36; viii. 10; xi. 19.

ἄπιθι οὖν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν εὐμενής, ἧ καὶ ὁ ἐνεργῶν ἀποθνήσκει, ἅμα ἴλεως τοῖς ἐνισταμένοις.

μη'. Μέμνησο, ὅτι ἀκαταμάχητον γίνεται τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, ὅταν εἰς ἑαυτὸ συστραφῆν ἄρκεσθῆ ἑαυτῷ μὴ ποιοῦντι, ὃ μὴ θέλει, κἂν ἀλόγως παρατάξῃται. τί οὖν, ὅταν καὶ μετὰ λόγου <καὶ> περισκεμμένως κρίνῃ περὶ τινος; διὰ τοῦτο ἀκρόπολις ἐστίν ἢ ἐλευθέρα παθῶν διάνοια· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὀχυρώτερον ἔχει ἄνθρωπος, ἐφ' ὃ καταφυγῶν ἀνάλωτος λοιπὸν ἂν εἴη. ὁ μὲν οὖν μὴ ἑωρακῶς τοῦτο ἀμαθής· ὁ δὲ ἑωρακῶς καὶ μὴ καταφεύγων ἀτυχής.

μηθ'. Μηδὲν πλέον σαυτῷ λέγε, ὢν αἱ προηγούμεναι φαντασίαι ἀναγγέλλουσι. 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 αἰεὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πρώτων φαντασιῶν, καὶ μηδὲν αὐτὸς ἔνδοθεν ἐπίλεγε, καὶ οὐδὲν σοι γίνεται μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπίλεγε, ὡς γνωρίζων ἕκαστα τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ συμβαινόντων.

ν'. "Σίκκος πικρός." ἄφες. "Βάτοι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ." ἔκκλινον. ἀρκεί. μὴ προσεπίπης· "Τί δὲ καὶ ἐγίνετο 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

¹ iii. 1; v. 29; Epict. i. 24, § 20. ² vii. 28.

³ xi. 3. In both places Marcus seems to have the Christians in mind.

⁴ cp. Fronto, ad Ver. ii. 1 (of Marcus): *arcem munitam et invictam et inezugnabilem quae in fratris tui pectore sita est.* cp. Epict. iv. 5. 26.

then from life,¹ dying with the same kindly feelings as he who effects his purpose, and accepting with a good grace the obstacles that thwart thee.

48. Never forget that the ruling Reason shews itself unconquerable when, concentrated in itself,² it is content with itself, so it do nothing that it doth not will, even if it refuse from mere opposition³ and not from reason—much, more, then, if it judge of a thing on reasonable grounds and advisedly. Therefore the Mind, unmastered by passions, is a very citadel, for a man has no fortress more impregnable⁴ wherein to find refuge and be untaken for ever. He indeed who hath not seen this is ignorant, but he that hath seen it and takes not refuge therein is luckless.

49. Say no more to thyself than what the initial impressions report.⁵ This has been told thee, that so and so speaks ill of thee. This *has* been told thee, but it has not been told thee that thou art harmed.⁶ I see that my child is ailing. I see it, but I do not see that he is in danger. Keep then ever to first impressions and supplement them not on thy part from within, and nothing⁷ happens to thee. And yet do supplement them with this, that thou art familiar with every possible contingency in the world.

50. *The gherkin is bitter.* Toss it away. *There are briars in the path.* Turn aside. That suffices, and thou needest not to add *Why are such things found in the world?* For thou wouldst be a laughing stock to any student of nature; just as thou wouldst be laughed at by a carpenter and a cobbler if thou tookest them to task because in their shops are seen sawdust and parings from what they are

⁵ iv. 7 etc.

⁶ Yet Capit. (xx. § 5) says that Marcus was *suae curiosissimus famae*, cp. *ibid.* xxii. § 6; xxiii. § 7, 9; xxix. § 5

⁷ cp. viii. 28.

τῶν κατασκευαζομένων ὀράς. καίτοι ἐκεῖνοι γε ἔχουσι, ποῦ αὐτὰ ρίψωσιν· ἡ δὲ τῶν ὄλων φύσις ἔξω οὐδὲν ἔχει· ἀλλὰ τὸ θαυμαστὸν τῆς τέχνης ταύτης ἐστίν, ὅτι περιορίσασα ἑαυτὴν πᾶν τὸ ἔνδον διαφθείρεσθαι καὶ γηράσκειν καὶ ἄχρηστον εἶναι δοκοῦν, εἰς ἑαυτὴν μεταβάλλει, καὶ ὅτι πάλιν ἄλλα νεαρά ἐκ τούτων αὐτῶν ποιεῖ· ἵνα μήτε οὐσίας ἔξωθεν χρῆξῃ μήτε, ὅπου ἐκβάλλῃ τὰ σαπρότερα, προσδέηται. ἀρκεῖται οὖν καὶ χώρᾳ τῇ ἑαυτῆς καὶ ὕλῃ τῇ ἑαυτῆς καὶ τέχνῃ τῇ ἰδίᾳ.

να'. Μῆτε ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἐπισύρειν μῆτε ἐν ταῖς ὀμιλίαις φύρειν μῆτε ἐν ταῖς φαντασίαις ἀλάσθαι· μῆτε τῇ ψυχῇ καθάπαξ συνέλκεσθαι ἢ ἐκθόρυσθαι· μῆτε ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἀσχολεῖσθαι.

2 "Κτείνουσι, κρεανομοῦσι, κατάραις ἐλαύνουσι." τί οὖν ταῦτα πρὸς τὸ τὴν διάνοιαν μένειν καθαρὰν, φρενήρη, σώφρονα, δικαίαν; οἷον εἴ τις παραστὰς πηγῇ διανυγεί καὶ γλυκεῖα βλασφημοῖα αὐτήν, ἡ δὲ οὐ παύεται πότιμον ἀναβλύζουσα· κἂν πηλὸν ἐμβάλλῃ, κἂν κοπρίαν, τάχιστα διασκεδάσει αὐτὰ καὶ ἐκκλύσει καὶ οὐδαμῶς βαφθήσεται. πῶς οὖν πηγὴν ἀέναον ἔξεις καὶ μὴ φρέαρ¹; ἂν φυλάσσης σεαυτὸν πάσης ὥρας εἰς ἐλευθερίαν μετὰ τοῦ εὐμενῶς καὶ ἀπλῶς καὶ αἰδημονῶς.

νβ'. Ὁ μὲν μὴ εἰδώς, ὃ τι ἐστὶ κόσμος, οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅπου ἐστίν. ὁ δὲ μὴ εἰδώς πρὸς ὃ τι πέφυκεν, οὐκ οἶδεν ὅστις ἐστίν, οὐδὲ τί ἐστὶ κόσμος. ὁ δὲ ἐν τι τούτων ἀπολιπὼν οὐδὲ πρὸς

¹ καὶ μὴ φρέαρ omit AD; ἂν φυλάσσης AD; φύου P.

¹ Or, for space, material, craftsmanship she is content with herself alone.

making. And yet *they* have space for the disposal of their fragments; while the Universal Nature has nothing outside herself; but the marvel of her craftsmanship is that, though she is limited to herself, she transmutes into her own substance all that within her seems to be perishing and decrepit and useless, and again from these very things produces other new ones; whereby she shews that she neither wants any substance outside herself nor needs a corner where she may cast her decaying matter. Her own space, her own material, her own proper craftsmanship is all that she requires.¹

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

*They kill us, they cut us limb from limb, they hunt us with execrations!*² How does that prevent thy mind being still pure, sane, sober, just? Imagine a man to stand by a crystal-clear spring of sweet water, and to rail at it; yet it fails not to bubble up with wholesome water. Throw in mud or even filth and it will quickly winnow them away and purge itself of them and take never a stain. How then possess thyself of a living fountain and no mere well?³ By guiding thyself carefully every hour into freedom with kindness, simplicity, and modesty.

52. He that knoweth not what the Universe is knoweth not where he is. He that knoweth not the end of its being knoweth not who he is or what the Universe is.⁴ But he that is wanting in the knowledge of any

² Marcus must be thinking of the Christians. cp. vii. 68. See Appendix.

³ St. John, iv. 14-16.

⁴ cp. Epict. ii. 24, § 19.

ὅ τι αὐτὸς πέφυκεν εἶποι. τίς οὖν φαίνεται σοὶ
ὁ τὸν τῶν κροτούντων ἔπαινον φεύγων ἢ διώκων,†¹
οἷ οὐθ' ὅπου εἰσὶν οὔτε οὔτινές εἰσι γινώσκουσιν;
νγ'. Ἐπαινεῖσθαι θέλεις ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου τρίς
τῆς ὥρας ἑαυτῷ καταρωμένου; ἀρέσκειν θέλεις
ἀνθρώπῳ, ὃς οὐκ ἀρέσκει ἑαυτῷ; ἀρέσκει ἑαυτῷ
ὁ μετανοῶν ἐφ' ἅπασιν σχεδόν, οἷς πράσσει;

νδ'. Μηκέτι μόνον συμπνεῖν τῷ περιέχοντι
ἀέρι, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ συμφρονεῖν τῷ περιέχοντι
πάντα νοερῷ. οὐ γὰρ ἦττον ἢ νοερά δύναμις πάντη
κέχυται καὶ διαπεφοίτηκε τῷ σπᾶσαι δυναμένῳ,
ἥπερ ἢ ἀερώδης τῷ ἀναπνεύσαι δυναμένῳ.

νε'. Γενικῶς μὲν ἢ κακία οὐδὲν βλάπτει τὸν
κόσμον, ἢ δὲ κατὰ μέρος οὐδὲν βλάπτει τὸν
ἕτερον. μόνῳ δὲ βλαβερὰ ἐστὶ τούτῳ, ᾧ ἐπι-
τέτραπται καὶ ἀπηλλάχθαι αὐτῆς, ὁπόταν πρῶτον
οὗτος θελήσῃ.

νς'. Τῷ ἐμῷ προαιρετικῷ τὸ τοῦ πλησίον
προαιρετικὸν ἐπίσης ἀδιάφορόν ἐστιν, ὡς καὶ τὸ
πνευματικὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ σαρκίδιον. καὶ γὰρ εἰ
ὅτι μάλιστα ἀλλήλων ἕνεκεν γεγόναμεν, ὁμῶς τὰ
ἡγεμονικὰ ἡμῶν ἕκαστον τὴν ἰδίαν κυρίαν ἔχει
ἐπεὶ τοὶ ἐμελλεν ἢ τοῦ πλησίον κακία ἐμοῦ κακὸν
εἶναι. ὅπερ οὐκ ἔδοξε τῷ θεῷ, ἵνα μὴ ἐπ' ἄλλῳ ἢ
τὸ ἐμὲ ἀτυχεῖν.

νζ'. Ὁ ἥλιος κατακεχύσθαι δοκεῖ, καὶ πάντη
γε κέχυται, οὐ μὴν ἐκκέχυται. ἢ γὰρ χύσις αὕτη

¹ ἢ δίων (δίων A) ἢ P: διώκων Cas.: ἢ ψόγον φεύγων ἢ ἔπαινον
διώκων Gat.

of these things could not tell what is the end of his
own being. What then must we think of those that
court or eschew the verdict of the clappers, who have
no conception where or who they are?

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

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

55. Taken generically, wickedness does no harm to
the Universe,¹ and the particular wickedness does
no harm to others. It is harmful to the one
individual alone, and he has been given the option
of being quit of it the first moment he pleases.

56. To my power of choice² the power of choice of
my neighbour is as much a matter of indifference as
is his vital breath and his flesh. For however much
we may have been made for one another, yet our
ruling Reason is in each case master in its own house.
Else might my neighbour's wickedness become my
bane; and this was not God's will, that another
might not have my unhappiness in his keeping.³

57. The sun's light is diffused down, as it seems,
yes, and in every direction, yet it does not diffuse
itself away. For this diffusion is an extension. At any

¹ v. 35. ² Not distinguishable from the 'ruling Reason.'

³ Sen. *Ep.* 70 *ad med.*: *nemo nisi vitio suo miser est.*

τάσις ἐστίν. “ἀκτίνες” γοῦν αἱ αὐγαὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ “ἐκτείνεσθαι” λέγονται. ὁποῖον δέ τι ἐστὶν ἀκτίς, ἴδοις ἂν, εἰ διὰ τινος στενοῦ εἰς ἐσκιασμένον οἶκον τὸ ἀφ’ ἡλίου φῶς εἰσδύομενον θεάσαιτο· τείνεται¹ γὰρ κατ’ εὐθύ, καὶ ὥσπερ διερείδεται² πρὸς τὸ στερέμνιον, ὃ τι ἂν ἀπαντήσῃ, διείργον τὸν ἐπέκεινα ἀέρα· ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἔσται καὶ οὐ κατώλισθεν οὐδὲ ἔπεσεν. τοιαύτην οὖν τὴν χύσιν καὶ διάχυσιν τῆς διανοίας εἶναι χρή, μηδαμῶς ἐκχυσιν ἀλλὰ τάσιν καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἀπαντῶντα κωλύματα μὴ βίαιον μηδὲ ῥαγδαίαν τὴν ἐπέρευσιν ποιείσθαι· μηδὲ μὴν καταπίπτειν, ἀλλὰ ἴστασθαι καὶ ἐπιλάμπειν τὸ δεχόμενον. αὐτὸ γὰρ ἑαυτὸ στερήσει τῆς αὐγῆς τὸ μὴ παραπέμπον αὐτήν.

νη’. Ὁ τὸν θάνατον φοβούμενος ἤτοι ἀναίσθησίαν φοβεῖται ἢ αἰσθησιν ἑτεροίαν. ἀλλ’ εἴτε οὐκέτι αἰσθησιν οὐδὲ κακοῦ τινος αἰσθήσῃ· εἴτε ἀλλοιοτέραν αἰσθησιν κτήσῃ, ἀλλοῖον ζῶον ἔσῃ καὶ τοῦ ζῆν οὐ παύσῃ.

νη’. 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 στρέφεται, φέρεται κατ’ εὐθὺ οὐδὲν ἤττον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ προκειμένον.

ξα’. Εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ἐκάστου παρέχειν δὲ καὶ ἑτέρῳ παντὶ εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἡγεμονικόν.

¹ τείνεται Cor. for γίνεταί. ² διερείδεται Reiske: διαίρειται PA.

¹ A false etymology. The derivation may be from *ἀίσω* or *ἄγνυμι*. cp. Tert. *Apol.* 21.

rate the beams of the Sun are called *Extensions*, because they have an *extension* in space.¹ And what a ray is you may easily see, if you observe the sun's light entering through a narrow chink into a darkened room, for it extends straight on, and is as it were brought up against² any solid body it encounters that cuts off the air beyond. There the ray comes to a standstill, neither slipping off nor sinking down. Such then should be the diffusion and circumfusion of the mind, never a diffusing away but extension, and it should never make a violent or uncontrollable impact against any obstacle it meets with, no, nor collapse, but stand firm and illuminate what receives it. For that which conducts it not on its way will deprive itself wilfully of its beams.

58. Dread of death is a dread of non-sensation or new sensation.³ But either thou wilt feel no sensation, and so no sensation of any evil; or a different kind of sensation will be thine, and so the life of a different creature, but still a life.

59. Mankind have been created for the sake of one another.⁴ Either instruct therefore or endure.⁵

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

61. Enter into every man's ruling Reason, and give every one else an opportunity to enter into thine.⁶

² *διαίρειται* (mss.) would mean apparently *cut* or *broken*.

³ cp. Justin, *Apol.* i. § 57, addressed to Pius and Marcus.

⁴ ix. 1 *ad init.*

⁵ v. 28; ix. 11.

⁶ iv. 38. cp. vii. 55; Epict. iii. 9, § 12.

α'. Ὁ ἀδικῶν ἀσεβεῖ. τῆς γὰρ τῶν ὄλων φύσεως κατεσκευακίας τὰ λογικὰ ζῶα ἔνεκεν ἀλλήλων, ὥστε ὠφελεῖν μὲν ἄλλα κατ' ἀξίαν, βλάπτειν δὲ μηδαμῶς, ὃ τὸ βούλημα ταύτης παραβαίνων ἀσεβεῖ δηλονότι εἰς τὴν πρεσβυτάτην τῶν θεῶν.

2 Καὶ ὁ ψευδόμενος δὲ ἀσεβεῖ περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν θεόν. ἢ γὰρ τῶν ὄλων φύσις ὄντων ἐστὶ φύσις. τὰ δὲ γε ὄντα πρὸς τὰ ὑπάρχοντα πάντα οἰκείως ἔχει. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἀλήθεια αὕτη ὀνομάζεται καὶ τῶν ἀληθῶν ἀπάντων πρώτη αἰτία ἐστίν. ὃ μὲν οὖν ἐκὼν ψευδόμενος ἀσεβεῖ, καθόσον ἐξαπατῶν ἀδικεῖ· ὃ δὲ ἄκων, καθόσον διαφωνεῖ τῇ τῶν ὄλων φύσει, καὶ καθόσον ἀκοσμεῖ μαχόμενος τῇ τοῦ κόσμου φύσει· μάχεται γὰρ ὃ ἐπὶ τὰναντία τοῖς ἀληθέσι φερόμενος παρ' ἑαυτὸν· ἀφορμὰς γὰρ προειλήφει παρὰ τῆς φύσεως, ὧν ἀμελήσας οὐχ οἶός τ' ἐστὶ νῦν διακρίνειν τὰ ψευδῆ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀληθῶν.

3 Καὶ μὴν ὃ τὰς ἡδονὰς ὡς ἀγαθὰ διώκων τοὺς δὲ πόνους ὡς κακὰ φεύγων ἀσεβεῖ. ἀνάγκη

1. INJUSTICE is impiety. For in that the Nature of the Universe has fashioned rational creatures for the sake of one another¹ with a view to mutual benefit based upon worth, but by no means for harm, the transgressor of her will acts with obvious impiety against the most venerable of Deities.

And the liar too acts impiously with respect to the same Goddess. For the Nature of the Universe is the Nature of the things that are. And the things that are have an intimate connexion with all the things that have ever been. Moreover this Nature is named Truth, and is the primary cause of all that is true. The willing liar then is impious in so far as his deceit is a wrong-doing; and the unwilling liar too, for he is out of tune with the Nature of the Whole, and an element of disorder by being in conflict with the Nature of an orderly Universe; for he is in conflict who allows himself, as far as his conduct goes, to be carried into opposition to what is true. And whereas he had previously been endowed by nature with the means of distinguishing false from true, by neglecting to use them he has lost the power.²

Again he acts impiously who seeks after pleasure as a good thing and eschews pain as an evil. For

¹ v. 30; viii. 59.² vii. 2.

γὰρ τὸν τοιοῦτον μέμφεσθαι πολλάκις τῇ κοινῇ φύσει, ὡς παρ' ἕξιαν τι ἀπονεμούση τοῖς φαύλοις καὶ τοῖς σπουδαίοις, διὰ τὸ πολλάκις τοὺς μὲν φαύλους ἐν ἡδοναῖς εἶναι καὶ τὰ ποιητικὰ τούτων κτᾶσθαι, τοὺς δὲ σπουδαίους πόνῳ καὶ τοῖς ποιητικοῖς τούτου περιπίπτειν. ἔτι δὲ ὁ φοβούμενος τοὺς πόνους, φοβηθήσεται ποτε καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων τι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ· τοῦτο δὲ ἤδη ἀσεβές. ὃ τε διώκων τὰς ἡδονὰς οὐκ ἀφέξεται τοῦ ἀδικεῖν· τοῦτο δὲ ἐναργῶς ἀσεβές.

4 Χρῆ δέ, πρὸς ἃ ἡ κοινὴ φύσις ἐπίσης ἔχει (οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἀμφότερα ἐποίει, εἰ μὴ πρὸς ἀμφότερα ἐπίσης εἶχε), πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς τῇ φύσει βουλομένους ἔπεσθαι ὁμογνώμονας ὄντας ἐπίσης διακείσθαι· ὅστις οὖν πρὸς πόνον καὶ ἡδονὴν ἢ θάνατον καὶ ζωὴν ἢ δόξαν καὶ ἀδοξίαν, οἷς ἐπίσης ἢ τῶν ὅλων φύσις χρῆται, αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐπίσης ἔχει, δῆλον ὡς ἀσεβεῖ. λέγω δὲ τὸ χρῆσθαι τούτοις ἐπίσης τὴν κοινὴν φύσιν, ἀντὶ τοῦ πάντα¹ συμβαίνειν ἐπίσης κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς τοῖς γινομένοις καὶ ἐπιγινομένοις ὁρμῇ τιμὴ ἀρχαία τῆς προνοίας, καθ' ἣν ἀπὸ τίνος ἀρχῆς ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τῆνδε τὴν διακόσμησιν συλλαβοῦσά τινας λόγους τῶν ἐσομένων καὶ δυνάμεις γονίμους ἀφορίσασα ὑποστάσεων τε καὶ μεταβολῶν καὶ διαδοχῶν τοιούτων.

β. Χαριστεύου μὲν ἦν ἀνδρὸς ἄγευστον ψευδολογίας καὶ πάσης ὑποκρίσεως καὶ τρυφῆς

¹ τοῦ κατὰ τὸ P: em. Schenkl.

such a man must inevitably find frequent fault with the Universal Nature¹ as unfair in its apportionments to the worthless and the worthy, since the worthless are often lapped in pleasures and possess the things that make for pleasure, while the worthy meet with pain and the things that make for pain. Moreover he that dreads pain will some day be in dread of something that must be in the world. And there we have impiety at once. And he that hunts after pleasures will not hold his hand from injustice. And this is palpable impiety.

But those, who are of one mind with Nature and would walk in her ways, must hold a neutral attitude² towards those things towards which the Universal Nature is neutral—for she would not be the Maker of both were she not neutral towards both. So he clearly acts with impiety who is not himself neutral towards pain and pleasure, death and life, good report and ill report, things which the Nature of the Universe treats with neutrality. And by the Universal Nature treating these with neutrality I mean that all things happen neutrally in a chain of sequence³ to things that come into being and to their after products⁴ by some primeval impulse of Providence,⁵ in accordance with which She was impelled by some primal impulse to this making of an ordered Universe, when She had conceived certain principles for all that was to be, and allocated the powers generative of substances and changes and successions such as we see.

2. It were more graceful doubtless for a man to depart from mankind untainted with falsehood and

¹ vi. 16 *ad. fin.* 41. cp. Epict. i. 6, § 39.

² Or, attitude of indifference. ³ viii. 75.

⁴ Or, that are consequent upon some primeval impulse. Providence here = κοινὴ φύσις. ⁵ ix. 28.

καὶ τύφον γενόμενον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπελθεῖν· τὸ δ' οὖν κορεσθέντα γε τούτων ἀποπνεῦσαι 'δεύτερος πλοῦς.' ἢ προήρησαι προσκαθῆσθαι τῇ κακίᾳ, καὶ οὕτω σε οὐδὲ ἡ πείρα πείθει φεύγειν ἐκ τοῦ λοιμοῦ; λοιμὸς γὰρ διαφθορὰ διανοίας πολλῶ γε μᾶλλον ἢ περ ἢ τοῦ περικεχυμένου τούτου πνεύματος τοιάδε τις δυσκρασία καὶ τροπή. αὕτη μὲν γὰρ ζῶων λοιμὸς, καθὸ ζῶά ἐστιν· ἐκείνη δὲ ἀνθρώπων, καθὸ ἀνθρωποὶ εἰσιν.

γ'. Μὴ καταφρόνει θανάτου, ἀλλὰ εὐαρέσκει αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ τούτου ἐνὸς ὄντος, ὃν ἡ φύσις ἐθέλει. οἶον γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ νεάσαι, καὶ τὸ γηραῖσαι, καὶ τὸ ἀυξήσαι, καὶ τὸ ἀκμάσαι, καὶ ὀδόντας καὶ γένειον καὶ πολλὰς ἐνεγκεῖν, καὶ σπεῖραι, καὶ κυφορῆσαι, καὶ ἀποκυῆσαι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ φυσικὰ ἐνεργήματα, ὅσα αἱ τοῦ σοῦ βίου ὥραι φέρουσι, τοιοῦτο καὶ τὸ διαλυθῆναι. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν κατὰ ἀνθρωπὸν ἐστὶ λελογισμένον, μὴ ὀλοσχερῶς μηδὲ ὀστικῶς μηδὲ ὑπερηφάνως πρὸς τὸν θάνατον ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ περιμένειν ὡς μίαν τῶν φυσικῶν ἐνεργειῶν. καὶ ὡς νῦν περιμένεις, τότε ἐμβρυον ἐκ τῆς γαστρὸς τῆς γυναικὸς σου ἐξέλθη, οὕτως ἐκδέχεσθαι τὴν ὥραν ἐν ἣ τὸ ψυχάριόν σου τοῦ ἐλύτρου τούτου ἐκπεσεῖται.

- 2 Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἰδιωτικὸν παράπηγμα ἀψικάρδιον ἐθέλεις, μάλιστα σε εὐκολον πρὸς τὸν θάνατον ποιήσει ἢ ἐπίστασις ἢ ἐπὶ τὰ ὑποκείμενα, ὃν μέλλεις ἀφίστασθαι, καὶ μεθ' οἶων ἡθῶν οὐκέτι

¹ But *cp.* Capit. xxviii. § 4 (of Marcus): *mortem contem-
pens.*

² x. 36, § 2.

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

3. Despise not death,¹ but welcome it, for Nature wills it like all else. For dissolution is but one of the processes of Nature,² associated with thy life's various seasons, such as to be young, to be old, to wax to our prime and to reach it, to grow teeth and beard and gray hairs, to beget, to conceive and bring forth. A man then that has reasoned the matter out should not take up towards death the attitude of indifference, eagerness, or scorn, but await it as one of the processes of Nature.³ Look for the hour when thy soul shall emerge from this its sheath, as now thou awaitest the moment when the child she carries shall come forth from thy wife's womb.⁴

But if thou desirest a commonplace solace too that will appeal to the heart, nothing will enable thee to meet death with equanimity better than to observe the environment thou art leaving and the sort of characters with whom thy soul shall no longer be

³ *cp.* Montaigne i. 19 (Florio's version): "The same way you came from death to life, returne without passion or amazement from life to death. Your death is but a piece of the world's order, and but a parcel of the world's life."

⁴ Hardly a personal touch, as Vibia Aurelia, Faustina's last child, was born in 166. Besides, *ἐμβρυον* has no article.

ἔσται ἡ <σὴ ψυχὴ> συμπεφυρμένη. προσκόπτεισθαι μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἥκιστα δεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ κήδεσθαι καὶ πράως φέρειν, μεμνησθαι μέντοι, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων ὁμοδογματούντων σοι ἡ ἀπαλλαγὴ ἔσται. τοῦτο γὰρ μόνον, εἴπερ ἄρα, ἀνθεῖλκεν ἂν καὶ κατέιχεν ἐν τῷ ζῆν, εἰ συνζῆν ἐφέιτο τοῖς τὰ αὐτὰ δόγματα περιπεποιημένοις. νῦν δὲ ὄρας, ὅσος ὁ κόπος ἐν τῇ διαφωνίᾳ τῆς συμβιώσεως, ὥστε εἰπεῖν, "Θάττον ἔλθεις, ὦ θάνατε, μὴ που καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιλάβωμαι ἐμαυτοῦ."

δ'. Ὁ ἀμαρτάνων ἑαυτῷ ἀμαρτάνει· ὁ ἀδικῶν ἑαυτὸν ἀδικεῖ¹ κακὸν ἑαυτὸν ποιῶν.

ε'. Ἀδικεῖ πολλάκις ὁ μὴ ποιῶν τι, οὐ μόνον ὁ ποιῶν τι.

ς'. Ἀρκεῖ ἡ παροῦσα ὑπόληψις καταληπτική, καὶ ἡ παροῦσα πράξις κοινωνική, καὶ ἡ παροῦσα διάθεσις εὐαρεστική πρὸς πᾶν τὸ παρὰ τῆς ἐκτὸς² αἰτίας συμβαῖνον.

ζ'. Ἐξαλείψαι φαντασίαν· στήσαι ὄρμην· σβέσαι ὄρεξιν· ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ ἔχειν τὸ ἡγεμονικόν.

η'. Εἰς μὲν τὰ ἄλογα ζῷα μία ψυχὴ διήρηται· εἰς δὲ τὰ λογικὰ μία νοερὰ ψυχὴ μεμερίσται. ὥσπερ καὶ μία γῆ ἐστὶν ἀπάντων τῶν γεωδῶν,

¹ ἀδικεῖ Cor.: κακοῖ P: ἑαυτὸν κακὸν Leop.

² τὸ ἐκ τῆς PAD: τῆς ἐκτὸς Reiske (cp. ix. 31).

¹ x. 36; Plato, *Phaed.* 66 b.

² As Marcus himself often was. cp. v. 10; vi. 12; viii. 8.

³ x. 4.

⁴ cp. the despairing echo of these words by General Gordon, who was a reader of Marcus, from Khartum: "There is nothing left for me to prevent me speaking evil of everyone and distrusting my dear Lord but death."

mixed up.¹ For while it is very far from right to fall foul of them,² but rather even to care for and deal gently with them,³ yet it is well to remember that not from men of like principles with thine will thy release be. For this alone, if anything, could draw us back and bind us to life, if it were but permitted us to live with those who have possessed themselves of the same principles as ours. But now thou seest how thou art driven by sheer weariness at the jarring discord of thy life with them to say: *Tarry not, O Death, lest peradventure I too forget myself.*⁴

4. He that does wrong, does wrong to himself.⁵ The unjust man is unjust to himself, for he makes himself bad.⁶

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

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

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

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

⁵ iv. 26; ix. 38. Epict. ii. 10, §26.

⁶ Or, *does himself harm.* Plutarch (*Stoic. Contrad.* 12) shews that Chrysippus contradicts himself on this point. Justin (*Apol.* i. 3), speaking of persecution to Pius and Marcus, turns the tables on the latter, saying that in injuring innocent Christians they injured themselves. Epict. iv. 5. 10.

⁷ vii. 29; viii. 29, 49; xii. 25.

καὶ ἐνὶ φωτὶ ὀρώμεν, καὶ ἓνα ἀέρα ἀναπνέομεν, ὅσα ὀρατικὰ καὶ ἔμφυχα πάντα.

θ'. "Ὅσα κοινοῦ τινος μετέχει, πρὸς τὸ ὁμογενὲς σπεύδει. τὸ γεῶδες πᾶν ῥέπει ἐπὶ γῆν, τὸ ὑγρὸν πᾶν σύρρουν, τὸ ἀερώδες ὁμοίως ὥστε χρῆζειν τῶν διειργόντων καὶ βίας. τὸ πῦρ ἀνωφερὲς μὲν διὰ τὸ στοιχειῶδες πῦρ παντὶ δὲ πυρὶ ἐνταῦθα πρὸς τὸ συνεξάπτεσθαι ἔτοιμον οὕτως, ὥστε καὶ πᾶν τὸ ὑλικὸν τὸ ὀλίγῳ ξηρότερον εὐέξαπτον εἶναι, διὰ τὸ ἔλαττον ἐγκεκράσθαι αὐτῷ τὸ κωλυτικὸν πρὸς ἔξαψιν. καὶ τοίνυν πᾶν τὸ κοινῆς [μὲν]¹ νοεῶς φύσεως μέτοχον πρὸς τὸ συγγενὲς ὁμοίως σπεύδει ἢ καὶ μᾶλλον. ὅψω γὰρ ἐστὶ κρεῖττον παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα, τοσοῦτω καὶ πρὸς τὸ συγκιρνᾶσθαι τῷ οἰκείῳ καὶ συγχεῖσθαι ἔτοιμότερον.

² Εὐθύς γοῦν ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἀλόγων εὐρέθη σμήνη καὶ ἀγέλαι καὶ νεοσσοτροφίαι καὶ οἶον ἔρωτες· ψυχὰι γὰρ ἤδη ἦσαν ἐνταῦθα, καὶ τὸ συναγωγὸν ἐν τῷ κρεῖττονι ἐπιτεινόμενον εὐρίσκετο, οἶον οὔτε ἐπὶ φυτῶν ἦν οὔτε ἐπὶ λίθων ἢ ξύλων. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν λογικῶν ζῴων πολιτεῖαι καὶ φιλίαι καὶ οἰκοὶ καὶ σύλλογοι καὶ ἐν πολέμοις συνθήκαι καὶ ἀνοχαί. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἔτι κρεῖττόνων, καὶ διεστηκότων τρόπον τινὰ ἔνωσις ὑπέστη, οἷα ἐπὶ τῶν ἀστρων. οὕτως ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον ἐπανάβασις, συμπάθειαν καὶ ἐν διεστῶσιν ἐργάσασθαι δύναται.

¹ omit P.

one is the light whereby we see,¹ and one the air we all breathe that have sight and life.

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

At any rate to begin with among irrational creatures we find swarms and herds and bird-colonies and, as it were, love-associations.² For already at that stage there are souls, and the bond of affinity shews itself in the higher form to a degree of intensity not found in plants or stones or timber. But among rational creatures are found political communities and friendships and households and gatherings, and in wars treaties and armistices. But in things still higher a sort of unity in separation even exists, as in the stars. Thus the ascent to the higher form is able to effect a sympathetic connexion³ even among things which are separate.

¹ xii. 30. ² cp. Aesch. *Prom. Vin.* 492: στέργηθρα.

³ cp. Epict. i. 14 *ad inii.*

3 "Ορα οὖν τὸ νῦν γινόμενον· μόνα γὰρ τὰ νοερά νῦν ἐπιλέλησται τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλα σπουδῆς καὶ συννεύσεως, καὶ τὸ σύρρουν ᾧδε μόνον οὐ βλέπεται. ἀλλ' ὅμως καίτοι φεύγοντες περικατάλαμβάνονται· κρατεῖ γὰρ ἡ φύσις. ὄψει δέ, ὃ λέγω, παραφυλάσσω. θᾶσσον γοῦν εὖροι τις ἂν γεῶδες τι μηδενὸς γεῶδους προσαπτόμενον ἤπερ 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 τοιαύθ' ἕτερα, ὁποῖόν τι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ λόγος.

ια'. Εἰ μὲν δύνασαι, μεταδίδασκε· εἰ δὲ μῆ, μέμνησο, ὅτι πρὸς τοῦτο ἡ εὐμενεία σοι δέδοται. καὶ οἱ θεοὶ δὲ εὐμενεῖς τοῖς τοιούτοις εἰσὶν· εἰς ἕνια δὲ καὶ συνεργοῦσιν, εἰς ὑγίειαν, εἰς πλοῦτον, εἰς δόξαν· οὕτως εἰσὶ χριστοί. ἔξεστι δὲ καὶ σοί· ἢ εἰπέ, τίς ὁ κωλύων;

ιβ'. Πόνει, μὴ ὡς ἄθλιος μηδὲ ὡς ἐλεεῖσθαι ἢ θαυμάζεσθαι θέλων· ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐν θέλει, κινεῖσθαι καὶ ἰσχεσθαι, ὡς ὁ πολιτικὸς λόγος ἀξιοῖ.

ιγ'. Σήμερον ἐξῆλθον πάσης περιστάσεως· μᾶλλον δὲ ἐξέβαλον πᾶσαν περίστασιν· ἔξω γὰρ οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ ἔνδον ἐν ταῖς ὑπολίψεσι.

¹ St. Paul, Gal. v. 22.

² v. 28; viii. 59.

³ cp. Fronton, Naber, p. 86: *Benignitas ingenita quam omnibus ex more tuo tribuis.*

⁴ ix. 27.

⁵ v. 2; viii. 40; xii. 22. cp. Montaigne, i. 40 (Florio's version): "Men, saith an ancient Greek sentence, are

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

10. They all bear fruit—Man and God and the Universe: each in its due season bears. It matters nought that in customary parlance such a term is strictly applicable only to the vine and such things. Reason too hath its fruit both for all and for itself, and there issue from it other things such as is Reason itself.¹

11. If thou art able, convert the wrong-doer.² If not, bear in mind that kindness was given thee to meet just such a case.³ The Gods too are kindly to such persons and even co-operate with them for certain ends—for health, to wit, and wealth and fame, so benignant are they.⁴ Thou too canst be the same; or say who is there that prevents thee.

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

13. This day have I got me out of all trouble, or rather have cast out all trouble, for it was not from without, but within, in my own imagination.⁵

tormented by the opinions they have of things and not the things themselves. . . . If evil have no entrance into us but by our judgment, it seemeth that it lieth in our power either to contemne or turn them to our good. . . . If that which we call evil and torment be neither torment nor evil, but that our fancy only gives it that quality, it is in us to change it."

ιδ'. Πάντα ταῦτα συνήθη μὲν τῇ πείρᾳ, ἐφήμερα δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ, ῥυπαρὰ δὲ τῇ ὕλῃ. πάντα νῦν, οἷα ἐπ' ἐκείνων, οὐδ' κατεθάψαμεν.

ιε'. Τὰ πράγματα ἔξω θυρῶν ἕστηκεν αὐτὰ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν μηδὲν μήτε εἰδῶτα περὶ αὐτῶν μήτε ἀποφαίνοντα. τί οὖν ἀποφαίνεται περὶ αὐτῶν; τὸ ἡγεμονικόν.

ισ'. Οὐκ ἐν πείσει, ἀλλ' ἐνεργείᾳ τὸ τοῦ λογικοῦ <καὶ> πολιτικοῦ ζῶον κακὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἡ ἀρετὴ καὶ κακία αὐτοῦ ἐν πείσει, ἀλλὰ ἐνεργείᾳ.

ιζ'. Τῷ ἀναρριφέντι λίθῳ οὐδὲν κακὸν τὸ κατενεχθῆναι οὐδὲ ἀγαθόν τὸ ἀνενεχθῆναι.

ιη'. Δίελθε ἔσω εἰς τὰ ἡγεμονικὰ αὐτῶν, καὶ ὄψει, τίνας κριτὰς φοβῆ, οἴους καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ὄντας κριτὰς.

ιθ'. Πάντα ἐν μεταβολῇ· καὶ αὐτὸς σὺ ἐν διηνεκεί ἀλλοιώσει καὶ κατὰ τι φθορᾶ· καὶ ὁ κόσμος δὲ ὅλος.

κ'. Τὸ ἄλλου ἀμάρτημα ἐκεῖ δεῖ καταλιπεῖν.

κα'. Ἐνεργείας ἀπόληξις, ὀρμῆς,¹ ὑπολήψεως πᾶντα καὶ οἶον θάνατος, οὐδὲν κακόν. μέτιθι νῦν ἐπὶ ἡλικίαν, οἶον τὴν παιδικήν, τὴν τοῦ μειρακίου, τὴν νεότητα, τὸ γῆρας· καὶ γὰρ τούτων πᾶσα μεταβολὴ θάνατος. μήτι δεινόν; μέτιθι νῦν ἐπὶ βίον τὸν ὑπὸ τῷ πάππῳ, εἶτα τὸν ὑπὸ τῇ μητρὶ, εἶτα τὸν ὑπὸ τῷ πατρὶ· καὶ ἄλλας

¹ ὀρμῆς requires a substantive like ἀπόληξις or ἡσυχὴ to balance the sentence.

¹ iv. 44.

² ii. 4; iv. 32.

³ iv. 35.

⁴ viii. 20.

14. All these are things of familiar experience¹; in their duration ephemeral,² in their material sordid. Everything is now as it was in the days of those whom we have buried.³

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

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

17. The stone that is thrown into the air is none the worse for falling down, or the better for being carried upwards.⁴

18. Find the way within into their ruling Reason, and thou shalt see what these judges are whom thou fearest and what their judgment of themselves is worth.⁵

19. Change is the universal experience.⁶ Thou art thyself undergoing a perpetual transformation and, in some sort, decay⁷: aye and the whole Universe as well.

20. Another's wrong-doing should be left with him.⁸

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

⁵ iv. 38; vii. 34.

⁷ iv. 3 *ad fin.*; vii. 25.

⁶ v. 23; vii. 18.

⁸ vii. 29; ix. 38.

δὲ πολλὰς διαφορὰς¹ καὶ μεταβολὰς καὶ ἀπολήξεις εὐρίσκων, ἐπερώτα σεαυτὸν· “Μήτι δεινόν;” οὕτως τοίνυν οὐδὲ ἢ τοῦ ὅλου βίου λήξεις καὶ παῦλα καὶ μεταβολή.

κβ'. Τρέχε ἐπὶ τὸ σεαυτοῦ ἡγεμονικὸν καὶ τὸ τοῦ ὅλου, καὶ τὸ τούτου. τὸ μὲν σεαυτοῦ, ἵνα νοῦν² δικαϊκὸν αὐτὸ ποιήσης· τὸ δὲ τοῦ ὅλου, ἵνα συμμνημονεύσης, τίνος μέρος εἶ· τὸ δὲ τούτου, ἵνα ἐπιστήσης, πότερον ἄγνοια ἢ γνώμη, καὶ ἅμα λογίση, ὅτι συγγενές.

κγ'. Ὡσπερ αὐτὸς σὺ πολιτικοῦ συστήματος συμπληρωτικὸς εἶ, οὕτως καὶ πᾶσα πράξις σου συμπληρωτικὴ ἔστω ζωῆς πολιτικῆς. ἦτις ἐὰν ὀν πράξις σου μὴ ἔχη τὴν ἀναφορὰν 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' αὐτὸν μέρος διστάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης συμφωνίας.

κδ'. Παιδίων ὄργαι καὶ παίγνια, καὶ “πνευμάτια νεκροῦς 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 πλείστον ὑφίστασθαι πέφυκε τοῦτο τὸ ἰδίως ποιόν.

¹ διαφορὰς AD.

² νῦν Rend.: γοῦν Cor.

¹ Pius. See on i. 17, § 3.

² cp. Lucian, *de Luct.* 15.

³ iv. 41 πνευμάτιον = ψυχάριον.

father,¹ and finding there many other alterations, changes, and cessations, ask thyself: *Is there anything terrible here?* No, nor any in the ending and quiescence and change of the whole of life.²

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

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

24. Children's squabbles and make-believe, and *little souls bearing up corpses*³—the Invocation of the Dead⁴ might strike one as a more vivid reality!

25. Go straight to that which makes a thing what it is, its formative cause,⁵ and, isolating it from the material, regard it so. Then mark off the utmost time for which the individual object so qualified is calculated to subsist.

¹ Possibly refers to the *Nékyia* of Homer (*Od.* xi.). Menippus (*Diog. Laert. Men.* 6) also wrote a *Nékyia* (cp. *above*, vi. 47). But it was a term for the invocation of the dead, see *Just. Ap.* i. 18.

² To the Formative, or Efficient Cause, of things is due not only that they exist, but that they are what they are. To translate the words here literally by *the quality of the Cause* conveys no meaning. cp. vi. 3.

κς'. Ἀνέτλης μύρια διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀρκεῖσθαι τῷ σφ̄ ἡγεμονικῷ ποιοῦντι ταῦτα, εἰς ἃ κατεσκευασται. ἀλλὰ ἄλλις.

κζ'. Ὅταν ἄλλος ψέγγῃ σε, ἢ μισῇ, ἢ τοιαυτὰ τινα ἐκφωνῶσιν, ἔρχου ἐπὶ τὰ ψυχάρια αὐτῶν, διέλθε 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' ὀνειρών, διὰ μαντειῶν, πρὸς ταῦτα μέντοι, πρὸς ἃ ἐκείνοι διαφέρονται.

κη'. Ταῦτά ἐστι τὰ τοῦ κόσμου ἐγκύκλια, ἄνω κάτω, ἐξ αἰῶνος εἰς αἰῶνα. καὶ ἦτοι ἐφ' ἕκαστον ὀρμῆ ἢ τοῦ ὄλου διάνοια· ὅπερ εἰ ἔστιν, ἀποδέχου τὸ ἐκείνης ὀρμητόν· ἢ ἄπαξ ὄρμησε, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ κατ' ἐπακολούθησιν καὶ τί ἐν τίνι.†¹ τρόπον γὰρ τινα ἄτομοι, †ἢ ἄμερῃ.† τὸ δὲ ὄλον, εἴτε θεός, εὐ ἔχει πάντα· εἴτε τὸ εἰκῆ, μὴ καὶ σὺ εἰκῆ.

² Ἦδη 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 ἢ τῶν ὄλων αἰτία.² πάντα φέρει. ὡς εὐτελῆ δὲ καὶ τὰ πολιτικά ταῦτα καί,

¹ τὶ ἐν (ἐν Α) τίνι Ρ: τί ἐντελεῖν (Why this striving?) Cor. (cp. x. 31): τὶ ἐν τίνι Stich. ² οὐσία Reiske.

¹ i. 17 ad fin.

² ix. 11, 40.

³ The Heraclitan round of change between the elements; see iv. 46.

⁴ ix. 1, § 4.

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

27. When men blame or hate thee or give utterance to some such feelings against thee, turn to their souls, enter into them, and see what sort of men they are. Thou wilt perceive that thou needest not be concerned as to what they think of thee. Yet must thou feel kindly towards them, for Nature made them dear to thee. The Gods too lend them aid in divers ways by dreams¹ and oracles, to win those very things on which their hearts are set.²

28. The same, upwards, downwards,³ from cycle to cycle are the revolutions of the Universe. And either the Universal Mind feels an impulse to act in each separate case—and if this be so, accept its impulsion—or it felt this impulse⁴ once for all, and all subsequent things follow by way of consequence; and what matters which it be, for if you like to put it so the world is all atoms [or indivisible].⁵ But as to the Whole, if God—all is well; if haphazard—be not thou also haphazard.⁶

Presently the earth will cover us all. It too will anon be changed, and the resulting product will go on from change to change, and so for ever and ever. When a man thinks of these successive waves of change and transformation, and their rapidity, he will hold every mortal thing in scorn.⁷

29. The World-Cause is as a torrent, it sweeps everything along. How negligible these manikins

⁵ Possibly ἄμερῃ is a gloss, or ὁμοιομερῃ should be read. (cp. Epict. Frag. 175.)

⁶ ii. 5; iv. 2, etc. τὸ ὄλον may also be taken to mean *in fine*.

⁷ ix. 19; xii. 21. cp. Capit. xxviii. 4 of Marcus on his death-bed, *ridens res humanas*.

ὡς οἶεται, φιλοσόφως πρακτικὰ ἀνθρώπια· μὲξῶν μεστά. ἄνθρωπε, τί ποτε; ποίησον, ὃ νῦν ἡ φύσις ἀπαιτεῖ. ὄρμησον, εἴαν διδῶται, καὶ μὴ περιβλέπον, εἴ τις εἴσεται. μὴ τὴν Πλάτωνος πολιτείαν ἐλπίζε· ἀλλὰ ἀρκού, εἰ τὸ βραχύτατον πρόεισι, καὶ τούτου αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐκβασιν, ὡς¹ μικρόν τί ἐστι, διανοοῦ. δόγμα γὰρ αὐτῶν τίς μεταβάλλει; 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 ἤθελεν, καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπαιδαγωγῆσαν· εἰ δὲ ἐτραγώδησαν, οὐδεὶς με κατακέκρικε μιμεῖσθαι. ἀπλοῦν ἐστὶ καὶ αἰδῆμον τὸ φιλοσοφίας ἔργον· μὴ με ἄπαγε² ἐπὶ σεμνοτυφίαν.

λ'. Ἄνωθεν ἐπιθεωρεῖν ἀγέλας μυρίας καὶ τελετὰς μυρίας καὶ πλοῦν παντοῖον ἐν χειμῶσι καὶ γαλήναις καὶ διαφορὰς γινομένων, συγγινομένων, ἀπογινομένων. ἐπινοεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν ὑπ' ἄλλων πάλαι βεβιωμένον βίον, καὶ τὸν μετὰ σὲ βιωθησόμενον, καὶ τὸν νῦν ἐν τοῖς βαρβάρους ἔθνεσι βιούμενον· καὶ ὅσοι μὲν οὐδὲ ὄνομά σου γινώσκουσιν, ὅσοι δὲ τάχιστα ἐπιλήσονται, ὅσοι δὲ ἐπαινοῦντες ἴσως νῦν σε τάχιστα ψέξουσιν· καὶ ὡς οὔτε ἡ μνήμη ἀξιόλογόν γε οὔτε ἡ δόξα οὔτε ἄλλο τι τὸ σύμπαν.

λα'. Ἀταραξία μὲν περὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκτὸς

¹ ὡς οὐ P.

² Perhaps ἀπαγέτω.

¹ v. 6, § 1. Sen. *Ep.* 79: *Haec nos oportet agere licet nemo videat.*

that busy themselves with civic matters and flatter themselves that they act therein as philosophers! Drivellers all! What then, O Man? Do what Nature asks of thee now. Make the effort if it be given thee to do so and look not about to see if any shall know it.¹ Dream not of Utopias, but be content if the least thing go forward, and count the outcome of the matter in hand as a small thing.² For who can alter another's conviction? Failing a change of conviction, we merely get men pretending to be persuaded and chafing like slaves under coercion. Go to now and tell me of Alexander and Philip and Demetrius of Phalerum. Whether they realized the will of Nature and schooled themselves thereto, is their concern. But if they played the tragedy-hero, no one has condemned me to copy them. Simple and modest is the work of Philosophy: lead me not astray into pomposity and pride.

30. Take a bird's-eye view of the world, its endless gatherings³ and endless ceremonials,⁴ voyagings manifold in storm and calm, and the vicissitudes of things coming into being, participating in being, ceasing to be. Reflect too on the life lived long ago by other men, and the life that shall be lived after thee, and is now being lived in barbarous countries; and how many have never even heard thy name, and how many will very soon forget it, and how many who now perhaps acclaim, will very soon blame thee, and that neither memory nor fame nor anything else whatever is worth reckoning.

31. Freedom from perturbation in all that befalls

² Or, reading οὐ μικρόν: *deem the success of the matter in hand no small thing.* ³ vii. 3, 48.

⁴ nearly = our colloquial "functions."

αΐτιας συμβαινόντων, δικαιοΐτης δὲ ἐν τοῖς παρὰ τὴν ἐκ σοῦ αΐτιαν ἐνεργουμένοις· τουτ- ἔστιν ὄρμη καὶ πράξις καταλήγουσα ἐπ' αὐτὸ τὸ κοινωνικῶς πράξαι 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>¹ τὸν ὅλον κόσμον περιελιφέναι τῇ γνώμῃ, καὶ τὸν αἰδίου αἰῶνα περινοεῖν, καὶ τὴν τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἐκάστου πράγματος ταχεῖαν μεταβολὴν ἐπινοεῖν, ὡς βραχὺ μὲν τὸ ἀπὸ γενέσεως μέχρι διαλύσεως, ἀχανές δὲ τὸ πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως, ὡς καὶ τὸ μετὰ τὴν διάλυσιν ὁμοίως ἀπειρον.

λγ'. Πάντα, ὅσα ὄρας, τάχιστα φθαρῆσεται καὶ οἱ φθειρόμενα αὐτὰ ἐπιδόντες τάχιστα καὶ αὐτοὶ φθαρῆσονται· 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 βλέπτειν ψέγοντες ἢ ὠφελεῖν ἐξυμνοῦντες, ὅση οἴησις.

λε'. Ἡ ἀποβολὴ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ μεταβολή. τούτῳ δὲ χαίρει ἢ τῶν ὅλων φύσις, καθ' ἣν πάντα, καθὼς² γίνεταί, ἐξ αἰῶνος ὁμοειδῶς ἐγίνετο, καὶ εἰς ἀπειρον τοιαῦθ' ἕτερα ἔσται. τί οὖν λέγεις, ὅτι ἐγίνετό τε πάντα <κακῶς>³ καὶ

¹ <τῷ> Gat.

² καθὼς PA: καθὼς Schenkl.

³ So Reiske: δ καὶ πάντα P: omit A.

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

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

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

34. What is the ruling Reason¹ of these men, and about what sort of objects have they been in earnest, and from what motives do they lavish their love and their honour! View with the mind's eye their poor little souls in their nakedness. What immense conceit this of theirs, when they fancy that there is bane in their blame or profit in their praises!

35. Loss and change,² they are but one. Therein doth the Universal Nature take pleasure,³ through whom are all things done now as they have been in like fashion from time everlasting; and to eternity shall other like things be. Why then dost thou say that all things have been evil and will remain evil

¹ vii. 34, 62; ix. 18.

² The play on the words cannot be kept.

³ vii. 18.

πάντα ἀεὶ κακῶς ἔσται, καὶ οὐδεμία ἄρα δύναμις ἐν τοσοῦτοις θεοῖς ἐξευρέθη ποτὲ ἢ διορθώσουσα ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ κατακέκριται ὁ κόσμος ἐν ἀδιαλείπτοις κακοῖς συνέχεσθαι;

λς'. Τὸ σαπρὸν τῆς ἐκάστῃ ὑποκειμένης ὕλης· ὕδωρ, κόνις, ὀστάρια, γράσος· ἢ πάλιν πῶροι γῆς τὰ μάρμαρα, καὶ ὑποστάθμαι ὁ χρυσός, ὁ ἄργυρος, καὶ τριχία ἢ ἐσθής· καὶ αἷμα ἢ πορφύρα, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τοιαῦτα. καὶ τὸ πνευμάτιον¹ δὲ ἄλλο τοιοῦτον καὶ ἐκ τούτων εἰς ταῦτα μεταβάλλον.

λζ'. "Αλις τοῦ ἀθλίου βίου καὶ γογγυσμοῦ καὶ πιθηκισμοῦ. τί ταραύσση; τί τούτων καινόν; τί σε ἐξίστησι; τὸ αἷτιον; ἴδε αὐτό. ἀλλ' ἢ ὕλη; ἴδε αὐτήν. ἔξω δὲ τούτων οὐδὲν ἐστίν· ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἤδη ποτὲ ἀπλούστερος καὶ χρηστότερος γενεοῦ.

2 Ἴσον τὸ ἑκατὸν ἔτεσι καὶ τὸ τρισὶ ταῦτα ἱστορήσαι.

λη'. Εἰ μὲν ἤμαρτεν, ἐκεῖ τὸ κακόν. τάχα δ' οὐχ ἤμαρτεν.

λθ'. Ἦτοι ἀπὸ μᾶς πηγῆς νοερᾶς πάντα ὡς ἐνὶ σώματι ἐπισυμβαίνει, καὶ οὐ δεῖ τὸ μέρος τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὅλου γινομένοις μέμφεσθαι· ἢ ἄτομοι καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ κυκεῶν καὶ σκεδασμός. τί οὖν ταραύσση; τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ λέγε.² "Τέθνηκας, ἔφθαρσαι, τεθριώσαι, ὑποκρίνη, συναγελάξῃ, βόσκη·"

μ'. Ἦτοι οὐδὲν δύνανται οἱ θεοὶ ἢ δύνανται.

¹ πνευματικὸν Cas.: πνευμάτιον PA.

² λέγεις PA: λέγε Cor. Perhaps λέγε σβ.

to the end, and that no help has after all been found in Gods, so many as they be, to right these things, but that the fiat hath gone forth that the Universe should be bound in an unbroken chain of ill?

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

37. Have done with this miserable way of life, this grumbling, this apism! Why fret? What is the novelty here? What amazes thee? The Cause? Look fairly at it. What then, the Material? Look fairly at that. Apart from these two, there is nothing. But in regard to the Gods also now even at the eleventh hour show thyself more simple,¹ more worthy.

Whether thy experience of these things lasts three hundred years or three, it is all one.

38. If he did wrong, with him lies the evil. But maybe he did no wrong.²

39. Either there is one intelligent source, from which as in one body all after things proceed—and the part ought not to grumble at what is done in the interests of the whole—or there are atoms, and nothing but a medley and a dispersion.³ Why then be harassed? Say to thy ruling Reason: *Thou art dead! Thou art corrupt! Thou hast become a wild beast! Thou art a hypocrite! Thou art one of the herd! Thou battenest with them!*

40. Either the Gods have no power or they have

¹ iv. 26. ² vii. 29. ³ iv. 27; vi. 10; vii. 32; xii. 14.

εἰ μὲν οὖν μὴ δύνανται, τί εὐχῆ; εἰ δὲ δύνανται, διὰ τί οὐχὶ μᾶλλον εὐχῆ διδόναι αὐτοὺς τὸ μῆτε φοβείσθαι τι τούτων μῆτε ἐπιθυμῆναι τιος τούτων μῆτε λυπεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τινι τούτων μᾶλλον ἢπερ τὸ μὴ παρῆναι τι τούτων ἢ τὸ παρῆναι; πάντως γάρ, εἰ δύνανται συνεργεῖν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ εἰς ταῦτα δύνανται συνεργεῖν. ἀλλὰ ἴσως ἔρεῖς, ὅτι “Ἐπ’ ἐμοὶ αὐτὰ οἱ θεοὶ ἐποίησαν.” εἶτα οὐ κρείσσον 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 πρὸς αὐτῶν εὐχῆσαι καὶ ὄψαι. οὗτος εὐχεται “Πῶς κοιμηθῶ μετ’ ἐκείνης.” σὺ “Πῶς μὴ ἐπιθυμήσω τοῦ κοιμηθῆναι μετ’ ἐκείνης.” ἄλλος “Πῶς στερηθῶ ἐκείνου.” σὺ “Πῶς μὴ χρήζω τοῦ στερηθῆναι.” ἄλλος “Πῶς μὴ ἀποβάλω τὸ τεκνίον.” σὺ “Πῶς μὴ φοβηθῶ ἀποβαλεῖν.” ὅλως ὧδε ἐπίστρεψον τὰς εὐχάς, καὶ θεώρει, τί γίνεται.

μά. Ὁ Ἐπίκουρος λέγει, ὅτι “Ἐν τῇ νόσῳ οὐκ ἦσαν μοι αἱ ὀμίλιαί περὶ τῶν τοῦ σωματίου παθῶν οὐδὲ πρὸς τοὺς εἰσιόντας τοιαῦτά τινα,” φησί, “ἐλάλουν ἀλλὰ τὰ προηγούμενα φυσιολογῶν διετέλουν, καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ τούτῳ ὦν, πῶς ἡ διάνοια συμμεταλαμβάνουσα τῶν ἐν τῷ σαρκιδίῳ τοιούτων¹ κινήσεων ἀταρακτεῖ, τὸ ἴδιον ἀγαθὸν τηροῦσα. οὐδὲ τοῖς ἰατροῖς ἐμπαρεῖχον,” φησί, “καταφρυσάσθαι, ὡς τι ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλ’ ὁ

¹ τοιούτων P : ποιούτων A : ποιῶν τινων Schenk.

¹ vi. 44.

² ix. 27. St. Paul, Rom. viii. 26 : τὸ πνεῦμα συναρταίμα-

power. If they have no power, why pray to them¹? But if they have power, why not rather pray that they should give thee freedom from fear of any of these things and from lust for any of these things and from grief at any of these things [rather] than that they should grant this or refuse that. For obviously if they can assist men at all, they can assist them in this. But perhaps thou wilt say: *The Gods have put this in my power.* Then is it not better to use what is in thy power like a free man than to concern thyself with what is not in thy power like a slave and an abject? And who told thee that the Gods do not co-operate with us² even in the things that are in our power? Begin at any rate with prayers for such things and thou wilt see. One prays: *How may I lie with that woman!*³ Thou: *How may I not lust to lie with her!* Another: *How may I be quit of that man!* Thou: *How may I not wish to be quit of him!* Another: *How may I not lose my little child!* Thou: *How may I not dread to lose him.*⁴ In a word, give thy prayers this turn, and see what comes of it.

41. Listen to Epicurus⁵ where he says: *In my illness my talk was not of any bodily feelings, nor did I chatter about such things to those who came to see me, but I went on with my cardinal disquisitions on natural philosophy, dwelling especially on this point, how the mind, having perforce its share in such affections of the flesh, yet remains unperturbed, safeguarding its own proper good. Nor did I—he goes on—let the physicians ride the high horse as if they were doing* βάρβαροι. Gataker very aptly quotes Augustine, *de Grat. Christi* i. 15: *Cur petitur quod ad nostram pertinet potestatem, si Deus non adjuvat voluntatem?*

³ Sen. *Ep.* 10 ad fin.; Shak. *Lurr.* 50.

⁴ *Capit.* xxi. § 3.

⁵ See Diog. Laert. *Epicur.* § 10.

βίος ἤγετο εὐ καὶ καλῶς." ταῦτα οὖν ἐκείνῳ ἐν νόσῳ, ἐὰν νοσῆς, καὶ ἐν ἄλλῃ τινὶ περιστάσει· τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἀφίστασθαι φιλοσοφίας ἐν οἷς δήποτε τοῖς προσπίπτουσι μὴδὲ [τῷ] ἰδιώτῃ καὶ ἀφυσιολόγῳ¹ συμφλυναρεῖν πάσης αἰρέσεως κοινόν· . . . πρὸς μόνῳ δὲ τῷ νῦν πρασσομένῳ εἶναι καὶ τῷ ὄργάνῳ, δι' οὗ πράσσεις.²

μβ'. "Ὅταν τινὸς ἀναισχυντία προσκόπηται, εὐθὺς πυνθάνου σεαυτοῦ· "Δύνανται οὖν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἀναισχυντοὶ μὴ εἶναι;" οὐ δύνανται. μὴ οὖν ἀπαίτει τὸ ἀδύνατον. εἰς γὰρ καὶ οὗτός ἐστιν ἐκείνων τῶν ἀναισχυντῶν, οὗς ἀνάγκη ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἶναι. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πανούργου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀπίστου καὶ παντὸς τοῦ ὀτιοῦν ἀμαρτάνοντος ἔστω σοι πρόχειρον. ἅμα γὰρ τῷ ὑπομησθῆναι, ὅτι τὸ γένος τῶν τοιούτων ἀδύνατον ἐστὶ μὴ ὑπάρχειν, εὐμενέστερος ἔση πρὸς τοὺς καθ' ἓνα. εὐχρηστον δὲ κικέεινο εὐθὺς ἐννοεῖν, "Τίνα ἔδωκεν ἡ φύσις τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀρετὴν πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ ἀμάρτημα." ἔδωκε γάρ, ὡς ἀντιφάρμακον πρὸς μὲν τὸν ἀγνώμονα τὴν πραότητα, πρὸς δὲ ἄλλον ἄλλην τινὰ δύναμιν.

- 2 "Ὅλως δὲ ἔξεστί σοι μεταδιδάσκειν τὸν πεπλανημένον· πᾶς γὰρ ὁ ἀμαρτάνων ἀφαμαρτάνει τοῦ προκειμένου καὶ πεπλάνηται. τί δὲ καὶ βέβλαψαι; εὐρήσεις γὰρ μηδένα τούτων, πρὸς οὗς παροξύνῃ, πεποιηκότα τι τοιούτου, ἐξ οὗ ἡ διάνοιά σου χείρων ἐμελλε γενήσεσθαι· τὸ δὲ

¹ ἀφυσιολόγῳ Gat.: φυσιολόγῳ (natural philosopher) PA.

² πράσσει PA. This verb has no subject and Wilam. and Schenkl mark a lacuna before πρὸς μόνῳ: πράσσεις Reiske.

grand things, but my life went on well and happily. Imitate him then in sickness, if thou art sick, and in any other emergency; for it is a commonplace of every sect not to renounce Philosophy whatever difficulties we encounter, nor to consent to babble as he does that is unenlightened in philosophy and nature; . . . devote thyself to thy present work alone and thy instrument for performing it.

42. When thou art offended by shamelessness in any one, put this question at once to thyself: *Can it be then that shameless men should not exist in the world?* It can not be. Then ask not for what can not be.¹ For this man in question also is one of the shameless ones that must needs exist in the world. Have the same reflection ready for the rogue, the deceiver, or any other wrongdoer whatever. For the remembrance that this class of men cannot but exist will bring with it kindlier feelings towards individuals of the class. Right useful too is it to bethink thee at once of this: *What virtue has Nature given man as a foil to the wrong-doing in question?* For as an antidote against the unfeeling man she has given gentleness,² and against another man some other resource.

In any case it is in thy power to teach the man that has gone astray the error of his ways. For every one that doth amiss misses his true mark and hath gone astray. But what harm hast thou suffered? Thou wilt find that not one of the persons against whom thou art exasperated has done anything capable of making thy mind worse; but it is in

¹ v. 17. cp. Dio 71. 34, § 4.

² Epict. Man. 10; St. Paul, Tit. iii. 2: *πραότητα πρὸς πάντας.*

κακόν σου καὶ τὸ βλαβερόν ἐνταῦθα πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔχει.

- 3 Τί δαὶ κακόν ἢ ξένον γέγονεν, εἰ ὁ ἀπαιδέυτος τὰ τοῦ ἀπαιδέυτου πράσσει; ὄρα, μὴ σεαυτῷ μάλλον ἐγκαλεῖν ὀφείλῃς, ὅτι οὐ προσεδόκησας τοῦτον τοῦτο ἀμαρτήσεσθαι. σὺ γὰρ καὶ ἀφορμὰς ἐκ τοῦ λόγου εἶχες πρὸς τὸ ἐνθυμηθῆναι, ὅτι εἰκός ἐστι τοῦτον τοῦτο ἀμαρτήσεσθαι, καὶ ὁμως ἐπιλαθόμενος θαυμάζεις, εἰ ἡμάρτηκε.
- 4 Μάλιστα δέ, ὅταν ὡς ἀπίστῳ ἢ ἀχαρίστῳ μέμφῃ, εἰς σεαυτὸν ἐπιστρέφου. προδήλως γὰρ σὺν τῷ ἀμάρτημα, εἶτε περὶ τοῦ τοιαύτου διὰ-θεσιῶν ἔχοντος ἐπίστευσας, ὅτι τὴν πίστιν φυλάξει, εἶτε τὴν χάριν διδοῦς μὴ καταληκτικῶς ἔδωκας, μὴδὲ ὥστε ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς σῆς πράξεως εὐθύς ἀπειληφέναι πάντα τὸν καρπὸν.
- 5 Τί γὰρ πλέον θέλεις εὖ ποιήσας ἄνθρωπον; οὐκ ἀρκεῖ τοῦτο, ὅτι κατὰ φύσιν τὴν σὴν τι ἔπραξας, ἀλλὰ τούτου μισθὸν ζητεῖς; ὡς εἰ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς ἀμοιβὴν ἀπῆτει, ὅτι βλέπει, ἢ οἱ πόδες, ὅτι βαδίζουσιν. ὥσπερ γὰρ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸδε τι γέγονεν, ἄπερ κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν κατασκευὴν ἐνεργοῦντα ἀπέχει τὸ ἴδιον, οὕτως καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος εὐεργετικὸς πεφυκῶς, ὁπόταν τι εὐεργετικὸν ἢ ἄλλως εἰς τὰ μέσα συνεργητικὸν πράξῃ, πεποίηκε, πρὸς ὃ κατεσκευάσται, καὶ ἔχει τὸ ἑαυτοῦ.

¹ Lit. *there*, i.e. *in thy mind*.

² *cp.* the striking parallel in Dio 71. 24, § 2, τὸ μὴδὲν πιστὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἶναι: *ibid.* 71. 26, § 2, πίστιν καταλύσαντι πιστὸν διαγενέσθαι, where Marcus is speaking to his soldiers on the revolt of Cassius; and 27, § 1, where, writing to the Senate, he calls Cassius ἀχαρίστος. I cannot help thinking

thy mind¹ that the evil for thee and the harmful have their whole existence.

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

But above all, when thou findest fault with a man for faithlessness and ingratitude,² turn thy thoughts to thyself. For evidently the fault is thine own, whether thou hadst faith that a man with such a character would keep faith with thee, or if in bestowing a kindness thou didst not bestow it absolutely and as from the very doing of it having at once received the full complete fruit.³

For when thou hast done a kindness, what more wouldst thou have? Is not this enough that thou hast done something in accordance with thy nature? Seekest thou a recompense for it? As though the eye should claim a guerdon for seeing, or the feet for walking! For just as these latter were made for their special work, and by carrying this out according to their individual constitution they come fully into their own, so also man, formed as he is by nature for benefiting others, when he has acted as benefactor or as co-factor in any other way for the general weal, has done what he was constituted for, and has what is his.⁴

that this section of the *Thoughts* was written at the time of the rebellion in 175, and that Marcus is here taking himself to task. ³ v. 6; vii. 73.

⁴ iv. 49; xi. 1. *cp.* St. Matt. vi. 2. Marcus was noted for *εὐεργεσία*, Dio 71. 34, § 3; *C.I.Gr.* 2495, 4697^c.

BIBLION I

α'. Ἐση ποτὲ ἄρα, ὦ ψυχὴ, ἀγαθὴ καὶ ἐπλή
καὶ μία καὶ γυμνή, φανερωτέρα τοῦ περικειμένου
σοι σώματος; γεύση ποτὲ ἄρα τῆς φιλητικῆς καὶ
στερκτικῆς διαθέσεως; ἔση ποτὲ ἄρα πλήρης
καὶ ἀνευδεῆς καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπιποθοῦσα οὐδὲ ἐπι-
θυμοῦσα οὐδενὸς οὔτε ἐμφύχου οὔτε ἀψύχου
πρὸς ἡδονῶν ἀπολαύσεις; οὐδὲ χρόνου, ἐν ᾧ ἐπὶ
μακρότερον ἀπολαύσεις; οὐδὲ τόπου ἢ χώρας ἢ
ἀέρων εὐκαιρίας οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπων εὐαρμοστίας;
ἀλλὰ ἀρκεσθήσῃ τῇ παρούσῃ καταστάσει καὶ
ἡσθήσῃ τοῖς παροῦσι πᾶσι, καὶ συμπεῖσεις σε-
αυτήν, ὅτι πάντα, <ᾗ>¹ σοι πάρεστι, παρὰ τῶν
θεῶν πάρεστι καὶ πάντα σοι εὖ ἔχει καὶ εὖ
ἔξει, ὅσα φίλον αὐτοῖς καὶ ὅσα μέλλουσι δώσειν
ἐπὶ σωτηρία τοῦ τελείου ζῆφου, τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ
δικαίου καὶ καλοῦ καὶ γεννῶντος πάντα καὶ
συνέχοντος καὶ περιέχοντος καὶ περιλαμβάνον-
τος διαλυόμενα εἰς γένεσιν ἐτέρων ὁμοίων; ἔση
ποτὲ ἄρα τοιαύτη, οἷα θεοῖς τε καὶ ἀνθρώποις
οὕτω συμπολιτεύεσθαι, ὡς μήτε μέμφεσθαι τι
αὐτοῖς μήτε καταγινώσκεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν;

¹ <ᾗ> Lemerrier and Schenkl: παρὰ τῶν θεῶν πάρεστι καὶ
transposed by Schenkl from before καὶ εὖ ἔξει P.

BOOK X

1. WILT thou then, O my Soul, ever at last be
good and simple and single and naked, shewing
thyself more visible than the body that overlies
thee? Wilt thou ever taste the sweets of a loving
and a tender heart? Ever be full-filled and self-
sufficing, longing for nothing, lusting after nothing
animate or inanimate, for the enjoyment of pleasures
—not time wherein the longer to enjoy them, nor
place or country or congenial climes or men nearer
to thy liking—but contented with thy present state¹
and delighted with thy present everything, convinc-
ing thyself withal that all that is present for thee
is present from the Gods,² and that everything is
and shall be well with thee that is pleasing to them
and that they shall hereafter grant for the con-
servation of that Perfect Being³ that is good and
just and beautiful, the Begetter and Upholder of
all things, that embraces and gathers them in, when
they are dissolved, to generate therefrom other like
things? ⁴ Wilt thou ever at last fit thyself so to be a
fellow-citizen with the Gods and with men as never
to find fault with them or incur their condemnation?

¹ ix. 6.

² iii. 11, § 3.

³ i. e. Zeus = the Universe = the First Cause = Nature.

⁴ vii. 23.

β. Παρατήρει, τί σου ἡ φύσις ἐπιζητεῖ, ὡς ὑπὸ φύσεως μόνον διοικουμένου· εἶτα ποίει αὐτὸ καὶ προσίεσο, εἰ μὴ χεῖρον μέλλει διατίθεσθαι σου ἢ ὡς ζῴου φύσις. ἐξῆς δὲ παρατηρητέον, τί ἐπιζητεῖ σου ἡ ὡς ζῴου φύσις· καὶ πᾶν τοῦτο παραληπτέον, εἰ μὴ χεῖρον μέλλει διατίθεσθαι ἢ ὡς ζῴου λογικοῦ φύσις· ἔστι δὲ τὸ λογικὸν εὐθύς καὶ πολιτικόν. τούτοις δὴ κανόσι χρώμενος μηδὲν περιεργάζου.

γ. Πᾶν τὸ συμβαῖνον ἤτοι οὕτως 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 δέ, ὡς μὴ πέφυκας φέρειν, μὴ δυσχέραινε· φθαρῆσεται γάρ σε ἀπαναλώσαν. μέμνησο μέντοι, ὅτι πέφυκας φέρειν πᾶν, περὶ οὐ ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπολήψει ἐστὶ τῇ σῆ φορητὸν καὶ ἀνεκτὸν αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι, κατὰ φαντασίαν τοῦ συμφέρειν ἢ καθήκειν σεαυτῷ τούτο ποιεῖν.

δ. Εἰ μὲν σφάλλεται, διδάσκειν εὐμενῶς καὶ τὸ παρορώμενον δεικνύναι· εἰ δὲ ἀδυνατεῖς, σεαυτὸν αἰτιᾶσθαι, ἢ μηδὲ σεαυτὸν.

ε. "Ὁ τι ἂν σοι συμβαίῃ, τοῦτό σοι ἐξ αἰῶνος προκατεσκευάζετο· καὶ ἡ ἐπιπλοκὴ τῶν αἰτίων συνέκλωθε τὴν τε σῆν ὑπόστασιν ἐξ αἰδίου καὶ τὴν τούτου σύμβασιν.

ς. Εἴτε ἄτομοι εἴτε φύσις, πρῶτον κείσθω, ὅτι μέρος εἰμὶ τοῦ ὅλου, ὑπὸ φύσεως διοικουμένου· ἔπειτα, ὅτι ἔχω πως οἰκείως πρὸς τὰ

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

3. All that befalls either so befalls as thou art fitted by nature to bear it or as thou art not fitted.¹ If the former, take it not amiss, but bear it as thou art fitted to do. If the latter, take not that amiss either, for when it has destroyed thee, it will itself perish. Howbeit be assured that thou art fitted by nature to bear everything which it rests with thine own opinion about it to render bearable and tolerable, according as thou thinkest it thy interest or thy duty to do so.

4. If a man makes a slip, enlighten him with loving-kindness, and shew him wherein he hath seen amiss.² Failing that, blame thyself or not even thyself.

5. Whatever befalls thee was set in train for thee from everlasting, and the interplication of causes was from eternity weaving into one fabric thy existence and the coincidence of this event.³

6. Whether there be atoms or a Nature, let it be postulated first, that I am a part of the whole Universe controlled by Nature; secondly, that I stand in some intimate connexion with other kindred parts.

¹ viii. 46.² viii. 59; xi. 9, 13, 18, § 9.³ iii. 11; iv. 26.

ὁμογενῆ μέρη. τούτων γὰρ μεμνημένος, καθότι μὲν μέρος εἰμί, οὐδενὶ δυσαρεστήσω τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ὅλου ἀπουεμομένων· οὐδὲν γὰρ βλαβερὸν τῷ μέρει, ὃ τῷ ὅλῳ συμφέρει. οὐ γὰρ ἔχει τι τὸ ὅλον, ὃ μὴ συμφέρει ἑαυτῷ· πασῶν μὲν φύσεων κοινὸν ἔχουσῶν τοῦτο, τῆς δὲ τοῦ κόσμου προσειληφύλας τὸ μηδὲ ὑπὸ τινος ἔξωθεν αἰτίας ἀναγκάζεσθαι βλαβερὸν τι ἑαυτῇ γεννᾶν.

2 Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸ μεμνήσθαι, ὅτι μέρος εἰμί ὅλου τοῦ τοιοῦτου, εὐαρεστήσω παντὶ τῷ ἀποβαίνοντι. καθόσον δὲ ἔχω πως οἰκείως πρὸς τὰ ὁμογενῆ μέρη, οὐδὲν πράξω ἀκοινωνητον, μᾶλλον δὲ στοχάσομαι τῶν ὁμογενῶν καὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον πᾶσαν ὀρμὴν ἑμαντοῦ ἄξω καὶ ἀπὸ τούναντίου ἀπάξω. τούτων δὲ οὕτω περαινομένων ἀνάγκη τὸν βίον εὐροεῖν, ὡς ἂν καὶ πολίτου βίον εὐρουν ἐπινοήσεως προιόντος διὰ πράξεων τοῖς πολίταις λυσιτελῶν καί, ὅπερ ἂν ἡ πόλις ἀπονέμη, 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 ἀλλοτριώσιν ἰόντων, καὶ πρὸς τὸ φθείρεσθαι διαφόρως κατεσκευασμένων. πότερον γὰρ ἐπεχειρήσεν ἢ φύσις αὐτῇ τὰ ἑαυτῆς μέρη κακοῦν καὶ περιπτωτικὰ τῷ κακῷ καὶ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐμπτῶτα

¹ vi. 54; x. 33, § 4.

² ix. 22.

³ These words can also be translated: *parts of herself that*

For bearing this in mind, as I am a part, I shall not be displeased with anything allotted me from the Whole. For what is advantageous to the whole can in no wise be injurious to the part.¹ For the Whole contains nothing that is not advantageous to itself; and all natures have this in common, but the Universal Nature is endowed with the additional attribute of never being forced by any external cause to engender anything hurtful to itself.

As long then as I remember that I am a part of such a whole, I shall be well pleased with all that happens; and in so far as I am in intimate connexion with the parts that are akin to myself, I shall be guilty of no unsocial act, but I shall devote my attention rather to the parts that are akin to myself,² and direct every impulse of mine to the common interest and withhold it from the reverse of this. That being done, life must needs flow smoothly, as thou mayst see the life flow smoothly of a citizen who goes steadily on in a course of action beneficial to his fellow-citizens and cheerfully accepts whatever is assigned him by the State.

7. The parts of the Whole—all that Nature has comprised in the Universe—must inevitably perish, taking “perish” to mean “be changed.” But if this process is by nature for them both evil and inevitable, the Whole could never do its work satisfactorily, its parts ever going as they do from change to change and being constituted to perish in diverse ways. Did Nature herself set her hand to bringing evil upon parts of herself and rendering them not only liable to fall into evil but of necessity fallen into it,³

were both liable to fall into such evil and by necessity fell into doing evil.

εἰς τὸ κακὸν ποιεῖν, ἢ ἔλαθεν αὐτὴν τοιάδε τινα γινόμενα; ἀμφοτέρα γὰρ ἀπίθανα.

2 Εἰ δέ τις καὶ ἀφέμενος τῆς φύσεως κατὰ τὸ πεφυκέναι ταῦτα ἐξηγοῖτο, καὶ ὡς γελοῖον ἅμα μὲν φάναι πεφυκέναι τὰ μέρη τοῦ ὄλου μεταβάλλειν, ἅμα δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τινι τῶν παρὰ φύσιν συμβαινόντων θαυμάζειν ἢ δυσχεραίνειν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς διαλύσεως εἰς ταῦτα γινόμενης, ἐξ ὧν ἕκαστον συνίσταται. ἦτοι γὰρ σκεδασμὸς στοιχείων ἐξ ὧν συνεκρίθη, ἢ τροπὴ τοῦ μὲν στερεμνίου εἰς τὸ γεῶδες, τοῦ δὲ πνευματικοῦ εἰς τὸ ἀερῶδες· ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα ἀναληφθῆναι εἰς τὸν τοῦ ὄλου λόγον, εἴτε κατὰ περιόδον ἐκπυρομένου εἴτε αἰδίως ἀμοιβαίς ἀνανεουμένου.

3 Καὶ τὸ στερεμνιον δὲ καὶ τὸ πνευματικὸν μὴ φαντάζου τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως. πᾶν γὰρ τοῦτο ἐχθὲς καὶ τρίτην ἡμέραν ἐκ τῶν σιτίων καὶ τοῦ ἐλκομένου ἀέρος τὴν ἐπιρροὴν ἔλαβεν. τοῦτο οὖν, δὲ ἔλαβεν, μεταβάλλει, οὐχ ὃ ἡ μήτηρ ἔτεκεν. ὑπόθου δ', ὅτι ἐκείνῳ σε λίαν προσπλέκει¹ τῷ ἰδίως ποιῶ, οὐδὲν ὄντι οἶμαι πρὸς τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον.

ἢ. Ὀνόματα θέμενος σαυτῷ ταῦτα, ἀγαθός, αἰδήμων, ἀληθής, ἐμφρων, σύμφρων, ὑπέρφρων,

¹ σέ τι Fournier: σὺ λίαν προσπλέκει Rend.

¹ vii. 32.

² iv. 4. Lit. the pneumatic or breath element. See Index iii.

³ iii. 3. Justin, *Apol.* i. 20; ii. 7, contrasts the Christian theory of the destruction of the world by fire with the Stoic.

⁴ προσπλέκει has no subject. ἐκείνῳ must be taken separately from τῷ ἰδίως ποιῶ and refer to τοῦτο δὲ ἔλαβεν.

or was she not aware that such was the case? Both alternatives are incredible.

But supposing that we even put Nature as an agent out of the question and explain that these things are "naturally" so, even then it would be absurd to assert that the parts of the whole are naturally subject to change, and at the same time to be astonished at a thing or take it amiss as though it befell contrary to nature, and that though things dissolve into the very constituents out of which they are composed. For either there is a scattering of the elements¹ out of which I have been built up, or a transmutation of the solid into the earthy and of the spiritual² into the aerial; so that these too are taken back into the Reason of the Universe, whether cycle by cycle it be consumed with fire³ or renew itself by everlasting permutations.

Aye and so then do not be under the impression that the solid and the spiritual date from the moment of birth. For it was but yesterday or the day before that all this took in its increment from the food eaten and the air breathed. It is then this, that it took in, which changes, not the product of thy mother's womb. But granted that thou art ever so closely bound up⁴ with that by thy individuality, this, I take it, has no bearing upon the present argument.

8. Assuming for thyself the appellations, a good man,⁵ a modest man,⁶ a truth-teller,⁷ wise of heart,

⁵ See on x. 16.

⁶ Capitolinus and Ammianus call Marcus *verecundus*.

⁷ Only two kings have had the honourable cognomen of *Truth-teller*, Marcus and Alfred the Great. The former was given *Verissimus* as a pet name by Hadrian when a child, and the town of Tyras in Scythia stamped it on its coins and Justin and Syncellus use it to designate Marcus.

πρόσεχε, μήποτε μετονομάζῃ· καὶ <εἰ>¹ ἀπολλύεις ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα, καὶ ταχέως ἐπάνιε ἐπ' αὐτά. μέμνησο δέ, ὅτι τὸ μὲν "ἐμφρων" ἐβούλετό σοι σημαίνειν τὴν ἐφ' ἕκαστα διαληπτικὴν ἐπίστασιν καὶ τὸ ἀπαρενθύμητον· τὸ δὲ "σύμφρων," τὴν ἐκούσιον ἀπόδεξιν τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως ἀπουεμομένων· τὸ δὲ "ὑπέρφρων," τὴν ὑπέρτασιν τοῦ φρονούντος μορίου ὑπὲρ λείας ἢ τραχείας κινήσεις² τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ τὸ δοξάριον καὶ τὸν θάνατον καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα. εἴαν οὖν διατηρῆς σεαυτὸν ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ὀνόμασι μὴ γλιχόμενος τοῦ ὑπ' ἄλλων κατὰ ταῦτα ὀνομάζεσθαι, ἔση ἕτερος, καὶ εἰς βίον εἰσελεύσῃ ἕτερον. τὸ γὰρ ἔτι τοιοῦτον εἶναι, οἷος μέχρι νῦν γέγονας, καὶ ἐν βίῳ τοιοῦτω σπαράσσεσθαι καὶ μολύνεσθαι, λίαν ἐστὶν ἀναισθήτου καὶ φιλοψύχου, καὶ ὁμοίου τοῖς ἡμιβρώτοις θηριομάχοις, οἵτινες μεστοὶ τραυμάτων καὶ λύθρου παρακαλοῦσιν ὅμως εἰς τὴν αὔριον φυλαχθῆναι, παραβληθησόμενοι τοιοῦτοι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὄνυξι καὶ δῆγμασι.

- 2 Ἐμβίβασον οὖν σαντὸν εἰς τὰ ὀλίγα ταῦτα ὀνόματα· κἄν μὲν ἐπ' αὐτῶν μένειν δύνη, μένε, ὥσπερ εἰς μακάρων τινας νήσους μετωκισμένος· εἴαν δὲ αἴσθη, ὅτι ἐκπίπτεις, καὶ οὐ περικρατεῖς, ἀπιθι θαρρῶν εἰς γωνίαν τινά, ὅπου κρατήσεις, ἢ καὶ παντάπασι ἐξιθι τοῦ βίου μὴ ὀργιζόμενος ἀλλὰ ἀπλῶς καὶ ἐλευθέρως καὶ αἰδημόνως εὖ³

¹ <εἰ> Schenk1.

² κινήσεις Schenk1; κινήσεις A; κινήσιον P.

³ I have written εὖ for ἐν PA.

¹ For Marcus' views on suicide see iii. 1; v. 29; viii. 47 *ad fin.*; ix. 2; x. 22, 32. He permits it when external condi-

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

Take ship then on these few attributions, and if thou canst abide therein, so abide as one who has migrated to some Isles of the Blest. But if thou feelest thyself adrift, and canst not win thy way, betake thyself with a good heart to some nook where thou shalt prevail, or even depart altogether from life,¹ not in wrath but in simplicity, independence, and modesty, having at least done this

tions render the life of virtue impossible, or when a man finds in himself a failure to live the true life (*cp.* St. Augustine's "Let me die lest I die").

γε τοῦτο μόνον πράξας ἐν τῷ βίῳ, τὸ οὕτως ἐξελεῖν. πρὸς μέντοι τὸ μεμνήσθαι τῶν ὀνομάτων μεγάλως συλλήψεται σοι τὸ μεμνήσθαι θεῶν, καὶ ὅτι περ οὐ κολακεύεσθαι οὗτοι θέλουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐξομοιοῦσθαι ἑαυτοῖς τὰ λογικὰ πάντα· καὶ εἶναι τὴν μὲν συκὴν τὰ συκῆς ποιούσαν, τὸν δὲ κύνα τὰ κυνός, τὴν δὲ μέλισσαν τὰ μελίσσης, τὸν δὲ ἄνθρωπον τὰ ἀνθρώπου.

θ'. Μῖμος, πόλεμος, πτοία, νάρκα, δουλεία, καθ' ἡμέραν ἀπαλείψεται σου τὰ ἱερὰ ἐκεῖνα δόγματα, ὅποσα ὁ φυσιολογητὸς¹ φαντάζη καὶ παραπέμπεις. δεῖ δὲ πᾶν οὕτω βλέπειν καὶ πράσσειν, ὥστε καὶ τὸ περιστατικὸν² ἅμα συντελεῖσθαι καὶ ἅμα τὸ θεωρητικὸν ἐνεργεῖσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς περι ἐκάστων ἐπιστήμης αὐθαδῶς σώζεσθαι λαυθάνον, οὐχὶ κρυπτόμενον.

2 Πότε γὰρ ἀπλότητος ἀπολαύσεις; πότε δὲ σεμνότητος; πότε δὲ τῆς ἐφ' ἐκάστου 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 δύναται αὐτὸ διδόναι τε καὶ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι.

ι'. Ἀράχνιον μυῖαν θηρᾶσαν μέγα φρονεῖ, ἄλλος δὲ λαγίδιον, ἄλλος δὲ ὑποχῆ ἀφύην, ἄλλος δὲ σιδία, ἄλλος δὲ ἄρκτους, ἄλλος Σαρμάτας. οὗτοι γὰρ οὐ λησταί, ἐὰν τὰ δόγματα ἐξετάζης;

¹ ἀφυσιολογήτως Gat. (cp. ix. 41).

² πρακτικὸν (what is practicable) Cor.

¹ cp. Diog. Laert. *Plato*, 42; Ignat. *Eph.* §§ 1, 10; Justin, *Apol.* i. 21; Diogn. *Ep.* § 10; Julian, *Conviv.* 427. 21, puts similar words in the mouth of Marcus.

one thing well in life, that thou hast quitted it thus. Howbeit, to keep these attributions in mind it will assist thee greatly if thou bear the Gods in mind, and that it is not flattery they crave but for all rational things to be conformed to their likeness,¹ and that man should do a man's work, as the fig tree does the work of a fig-tree, the dog of a dog, and the bee of a bee.

9. Stage-apery, warfare, cowardice, torpor, servility—these will day by day obliterate all those holy principles of thine which, as the student of Nature,² thou dost conceive and accept. But thou must regard and do everything in such a way that at one and the same time the present task may be carried through, and full play given to the faculty of pure thought, and that the self-confidence engendered by a knowledge of each individual thing be kept intact, unobtruded yet unconcealed.

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

10. A spider prides itself on capturing a fly; one man on catching a hare, another on netting a sprat, another on taking wild boars, another bears, another Sarmatians.³ Are not these brigands, if thou test their principles?

² ἀφυσιολογήτως, would mean *without due study of Nature*.

³ See Domaszewski, *Marcus-Saule Plates*, 62. 102, for Marcus "taking Sarmatians"; and cp. the story of Alexander and the Scythian, Quintus Curtius vii. 8.

ια'. Πῶς εἰς ἄλληλα πάντα μεταβάλλει, θεωρητικὴν μέθοδον κτῆσαι, καὶ διηλεκτικῶς προσεχε, καὶ συγγυμνάσθητι περὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω μεγαλοφροσύνης ποιητικόν. ἐξεδύσατο τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἐνόησας, ὅτι ὅσον οὐδέπω πάντα ταῦτα καταλιπεῖν ἀπίοντα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων δεήσει, ἀνῆκεν ὅλον ἑαυτὸν δικαιοσύνη μὲν εἰς τὰ ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐνεργούμενα, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμβαίνουσι τῇ τῶν ὅλων φύσει. τί δ' ἐρεῖ τις ἢ ὑπολήφεται περὶ αὐτοῦ ἢ πράξει κατ' αὐτοῦ, οὐδ' εἰς νοῦν βάλλεται δύο τούτοις ἀρκούμενος εἰ¹ αὐτὸς δικαιοπραγεῖ τὸ νῦν πρασσόμενον καὶ φιλεῖ τὸ νῦν ἀπονεμόμενον ἑαυτῷ· ἀσχολίας δὲ πάσας καὶ σπουδὰς ἀφήκε, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο βούλεται, ἢ εὐθείαν περαίνειν διὰ τοῦ νόμου καὶ εὐθείαν περαίνουντι ἔπασθαι τῷ θεῷ.

ιβ'. Τίς ὑπονοίας χρεῖα, παρὸν σκοπεῖν, τί δεῖ πραχθῆναι; κἂν μὲν συνορᾶς, εὐμενῶς ἀμεταστρεπτὶ ταύτῃ χωρεῖν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ συνορᾶς, ἐπέχειν καὶ συμβούλοις τοῖς ἀρίστοις χρῆσθαι· ἐὰν δὲ ἕτερα ἄτινα πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντιβαίνειν, προιέναι κατὰ τὰς παρούσας ἀφορμὰς λελογισμένως ἐχόμενον τοῦ φαινομένου δικαίου. ἀριστον γὰρ κατατυγχάνειν τούτου, ἐπεὶ τοι ἢ γε ἀπόπτωσις ἀπὸ τούτου ἐστίν.²

2 Σχολαῖόν τι καὶ ἄμα εὐκίνητόν ἐσται καὶ φαίδρον ἄμα καὶ συνεστηκὸς ὁ τῷ λόγῳ κατὰ πᾶν ἐπόμενος.

ιγ'. Πυρθάνεσθαι ἑαυτοῦ εὐθύς ἐξ ὕπνου γινόμενον· “Μήτι διοίσει σοι, ἐὰν ὑπὸ ἄλλου

¹ εἰ Jackson: εἰ Α: δικαιοπραγεῖν . . . φιλεῖν Ρ.

² ἔστω ΡΑ: ἔσται Μεν.

11. Make thy own a scientific system of enquiry into the mutual change of all things, and pay diligent heed to this branch of study and exercise thyself in it. For nothing is so conducive to greatness of mind. Let a man do this and he divests himself of his body and, realizing that he must almost at once relinquish all these things and depart from among men, he gives himself up wholly to just dealing in all his actions, and to the Universal Nature in all that befalls him. What others may say or think about him or do against him he does not even let enter his mind, being well satisfied with these two things—justice in all present acts and contentment with his present lot.¹ And he gives up all engrossing cares and ambitions, and has no other wish than to achieve the straight course through the Law and, by achieving it, to be a follower of God.

12. What need of surmise when it lies with thee to decide what should be done, and if thou canst see thy course, to take it with a good grace and not turn aside; but if thou canst not see it, to hold back and take counsel of the best counsellors; and if any other obstacles arise therein, to go forward as thy present means shall allow with careful deliberation holding to what is clearly just? For to succeed in this is the best thing of all, since in fact to fail in this would be the only failure.

Leisurely without being lethargic and cheerful as well as composed shall he be who follows Reason in everything.

13. Ask thyself as soon as thou art roused from sleep: *Will it make any difference to me if another does*

¹ ix. 6 etc.

γένηται¹ τὰ δίκαια καὶ καλῶς ἔχοντα;” οὐ διοίσει. μήτι ἐπιλέλθῃσαι, ὅτι οὗτοι οἱ ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἄλλων ἐπαίνοις καὶ ψόγοις φρυαττόμενοι, τοιοῦτοι μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης εἰσὶ, τοιοῦτοι δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, οἷα δὲ ποιούσιν, οἷα δὲ φεύγουσιν, οἷα δὲ διώκουσιν, οἷα δὲ κλέπτουσιν, οἷα δὲ ἀρπάζουσιν, οὐ χερσὶ καὶ ποσὶν ἀλλὰ τῷ τιμωτάτῳ ἐαυτῶν μέρει, ᾧ γίνεται, ὅταν θέλῃ <τις>, πίστις, αἰδώς, ἀλήθεια, νόμος, ἀγαθὸς δαίμων;

ιδ'. Τῇ πάντα διδούση καὶ ἀπολαμβάνουσα φύσει ὁ πεπαιδευμένος καὶ αἰδήμων λέγει. “Δὸς ὃ θέλεις, ἀπόλαβε ὃ θέλεις.” λέγει δὲ τοῦτο οὐ καταθρασυνόμενος, ἀλλὰ πειθαρχῶν μόνον καὶ ἐνωῶν 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 οὕτω ζῆν.²

ισ'. Μηκέθ' ὄλως περὶ τοῦ, ὅλον τινα εἶναι τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα <δεῖ>, διαλέγεσθαι, ἀλλὰ εἶναι τοιοῦτον.

ιζ'. Τοῦ ὄλου αἰῶνος, καὶ τῆς ὄλης οὐσίας συνεχῶς φαντασία,³ καὶ ὅτι πάντα τὰ κατὰ μέρος

¹ γένηται Lofft; but *cp.* viii. 56 for meaning.

² ἢ <μη> οὕτω ζῆν would seem to make better sense.

³ φαντασία <ἔστω> Reiske.

¹ vii. 3; ix. 41.

² iii. 4 *ad fin.*; vi. 59; vii. 62; viii. 52, 53; ix. 34.

³ vii. 17. ⁴ *cp.* Job i. 21.

⁵ x. 23 This striking phrase seems from a comparison of § 23 to mean: Count your life here in the city and Court, or,

what is just and right? It will make none. Hast thou forgotten that those who play the wanton¹ in their praise and blame of others, are such as they are² in their beds, at their board; and what are the things that they do, the things that they avoid or pursue, and how they pilfer and plunder, not with hands and feet but with the most precious part of them, whereby a man calls into being at will faith, modesty, truth, law, and a good 'genius'?³

14. Says the well-schooled and humble heart to Nature that gives and takes back all we have; Give what thou wilt, take back what thou wilt.⁴ But he says it without any bravado of fortitude, in simple obedience and good will to her.

15. Thou has but a short time left to live. Live as on a mountain⁵; for whether it be here or there, matters not provided that, wherever a man live, he live as a citizen of the World-City.⁶ Let men look upon thee, cite thee, as a man in very deed that lives according to Nature. If they cannot bear with thee, let them slay thee. For it were better so than to live their life.

16. Put an end once for all to this discussion of what a good man should be, and be one.⁷

17. Continually picture to thyself Time as a whole, and Substance as a whole, and every individual

maybe, camp, as no whit worse than life in the free and health-giving air of a mountain-top with all its serenity and leisure for study and contemplation. It rests with you to make your "little plot within you" what you please. But, taken alone, "Live as on a mountain" might mean "Live in the open light of day under the eyes of God and men in a purer atmosphere above the pettinesses of the world." *cp.* Cyprian, *De Grav. Dei* 6. ⁶ iv. 3, § 2.

⁷ Dio (71. 34, § 5) says of Marcus *ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ ὄν.*

ὡς μὲν πρὸς οὐσίαν κεγχραμίς, ὡς δὲ πρὸς χρόνον τρυπάνου περιστροφῆ.

ιγ'. Εἰς ἕκαστον τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἐφιστάντα ἐπινοεῖν αὐτὸ ἤδη διαλυόμενον καὶ ἐν μεταβολῇ καὶ οἶον σήφει ἢ σκεδάσει γινόμενον ἢ καθότι ἕκαστον πέφυκεν ὥσπερ θνήσκειν.

ιδ'. Οἰοί εἰσιν ἐσθίοντες, καθεύδοντες, ἀγεύοντες, ἀποπατοῦντες, τὰ ἄλλα. εἶτα οἰοὶ ἀνδρονομούμενοι†¹ καὶ γαυρούμενοι ἢ χαλεπαίνοντες καὶ ἐξ ὑπεροχῆς ἐπιπλήττοντες. πρὸ ὀλίγου δὲ ἐδούλευον πόσοις, καὶ δι' οἶα, καὶ μετ' ὀλίγου ἐν τοιοῦτοις ἔσονται.

κ'. Συμφέρεи ἐκάστω, ὃ φέρει ἐκάστω ἢ τῶν ὄλων φύσις· καὶ τότε συμφέρεи, ὅτε ἐκείν φέρει.

κά'. "Ἐρᾷ μὲν ὄμβρου γαῖα· ἐρᾷ δὲ ὁ σεμνὸς αἰθήρ." ἐρᾷ δὲ ὁ κόσμος ποιῆσαι, ὃ ἂν μέλλῃ γίνεσθαι. λέγω οὖν τῷ κόσμῳ, ὅτι "σοὶ συνηρῶ." μήτι δ' οὕτω κἀκεῖνο λέγεται, ὅτι "φιλεῖ τοῦτο γίνεσθαι";

κβ'. Ἦτοι ἐνταῦθα ζῆς καὶ ἡδὴ εἴθικας, ἢ ἔξω ὑπάγεις καὶ τοῦτο ἠθέλες, ἢ ἀποθνήσκεις καὶ ἀπελειτούργησας· παρὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐδέν. οὐκοῦν εὐθύμει.

κγ'. Ἐναργὲς ἔστω αἰὲ τό, ὅτι † τοιοῦτο ἐκείνο†² ὁ ἀγρός ἐστίν· καὶ πῶς πάντα ἐστὶ ταῦτα ἐνθάδε τοῖς ἐν ἄκρῳ τῷ ὄρει, ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ,

¹ ἀνδρονομούμενοι can hardly be right, but ἀνδρογυνομούμενοι which at once occurs to one is soon seen to be out of keeping with the other words in the passage: ἀβρυνόμειοι Reiske.

² ἐκείνος Reiske: τοῦτο ἐκείνο Cor.: ταῦτο ἐκείνῳ Richards

thing, in respect of substance, as but a fig-seed and, in respect of time, as but a twist of the drill.

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

19. What are they like when eating, sleeping, coupling, evacuating, and the rest! What again when lording it over others, when puffed up with pride, when filled with resentment or rebuking others from a loftier plane! Yet but a moment ago they were lackeying how many and for what ends, and anon will be at their old trade.¹

20. What the Universal Nature brings to every thing is for the benefit of that thing, and for its benefit then when she brings it.²

21. *The earth is in love with showers and the majestic sky is in love.*³ And the Universe is in love with making whatever has to be. To the Universe then I say: *Together with thee I will be in love.* Is it not a way we have of speaking, to say, *This or that loves to be so?*

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

23. Never lose sight of the fact that a man's 'freehold'⁴ is such as I told thee, and how all the conditions are the same here as on the top of a

¹ Or, taking Gataker's emendation (*ὄλοιοις*), *in what plight will they be!* ² iv. 23.

³ Eur. *Frag.* 890. After σεμνὸς Eur. has οὐρανὸς πληρούμενος Ὀμβρου πεσεῖν εἰς γαῖαν Ἀφροδίτης ὕπο. cp. Aesch. *Dan. Frag.* 41, imitated by Shelley in his *Love's Philosophy*.

⁴ v. 3, § 4.

ἢ ὅπου θέλεις. ἀντικρυς γὰρ εὐρήσεις τὰ τοῦ Πλάτωνος· “Σηκὸν ἐν ὄρει,” φησί, “περιβαλλόμενος,” καὶ ¹ †βδάλλων βληχήματα.†

κδ'. Τί ἐστὶ μοι τὸ ἡγεμονικόν μου; καὶ ποῖόν τι ἐγὼ αὐτὸ ποιῶ νῦν; καὶ πρὸς τί ποτε αὐτῷ νῦν χρώμαι; 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 δραπέτης. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ λυπούμενος ἢ ὀργιζόμενος ἢ φοβούμενος οὐ ² βούλεται τι γεγονέναι ἢ γίνεσθαι ἢ γενήσεσθαι τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ τὰ πάντα διοικούντος τεταγμένων, ὅς ἐστι νόμος νέμων, ὅσα ἐκάστῳ ἐπιβάλλει. ὁ ἄρα φοβούμενος ἢ λυπούμενος ἢ ὀργιζόμενος δραπέτης.

κς'. Σπέρμα εἰς μήτραν ἀφείδς ἀπεχώρησε καὶ λοιπὸν ἄλλη αἰτία παραλαβοῦσα ἐργάζεται καὶ ἀποτελεῖ βρέφος, ἐξ οἴου οἴου· πάλιν τροφήν διὰ φάρυγγος ἀφήκε καὶ λοιπὸν ἄλλη αἰτία παραλαβοῦσα αἰσθησιν καὶ ὄρμην καὶ τὸ ὄλον ζῶην καὶ ῥώμην καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα καὶ οἷα ποιεῖ. ταῦτα οὖν [τὰ] ἐν τοιαύτῃ ἐγκαλύψει γινόμενα

¹ καί, perhaps κακέι; βδάλλων Cor.; βδάλλειν A; βάλλειν P; βληχήματα Stich.; βλήχματα A. ² οὐ Nauck; δ PA.

¹ in. 3 *ad inii.*; x. 15.

² *Theaet.* 174 D: Ἀγροῖκον καὶ ἀπαίδευτον ἀπὸ ἀσχολίας οὐδὲν ἤττον τῶν νομίμων τὸν τοιοῦτον ἀναγκαῖον γενέσθαι σηκὸν ἐν ὄρει τὸ τεῖχος περιβεβλημένον. It is not easy to see the application of the words here. Marcus seems to mean that the king in the midst of his royal city is no better off, *ipso facto*, than

mountain ¹ or on the sea-shore or wherever thou pleasest. Quite apposite shalt thou find to be the words of Plato ²: *Compassed about (by the city wall as) by a sheep-fold on the mountain, and milking flocks.*

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

25. He that flies from his master is a runaway. But the Law is our master, ³ and he that transgresses the Law is a runaway. Now he also, that is moved by grief or wrath or fear, is fain that something should not have happened or be happening or happen in the future of what has been ordained by that which controls the whole Universe, that is by the Law laying down all that falls to a man's lot. He then is a runaway who is moved by fear or grief or wrath.

26. A man passes seed into a womb and goes his way, and anon another cause takes it in hand and works upon it and perfects a babe—what a consummation from what a beginning! ⁴ Again he ⁵ passes food down the throat, and anon another cause taking up the work creates sensation and impulse and, in fine, life and strength and other things how many and how mysterious! Muse then on these

the shepherd in his mountain fold. It is the little “plot within him,” his ruling Reason that makes the difference. The use of *ἐν ὄρει* twice in this section appears to have a reference to its use in § 15. ³ ii. 16 *ad fin.*

⁴ *cp.* the remarkable parallel in Justin, *Apol.* i. 19.

⁵ There is no subject expressed. It is possible to take the child as the subject.

θεωρεῖν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν οὕτως ὁρᾶν, ὡς καὶ τὴν βριθουσαν καὶ τὴν ἀνωφερῆ ὁρῶμεν, οὐχὶ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἤττον ἐναργῶς.

κζ'. Συνεχῶς ἐπινοεῖν, πῶς πάντα τοιαῦτα, ὅποια νῦν γίνεται, καὶ πρόσθεν ἐγένετο καὶ ἐπινοεῖν γενησόμενα. καὶ ὅλα δράματα καὶ σκηνὰς ὁμοειδεῖς, ὅσα ἐκ πείρας τῆς σῆς ἢ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας ἱστορίας ἐγνως, πρὸ ὀμμάτων τλῆσθαι, οἷον αὐτὴν ὄλην Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ αὐτὴν ὄλην Ἀντωνίνου καὶ αὐτὴν ὄλην Φιλίππου, Ἀλεξάνδρου, Κροίσου· πάντα γὰρ ἐκεῖνα τοιαῦτα ἦν, μόνον δι' ἐτέρων.

κη'. Φαντάζου πάντα τὸν ἐφ' ὧτινιοῦν λυπούμενον ἢ δυσαρεστοῦντα ὅμοιον τῷ θυμένῳ χοιριδίῳ καὶ ἀπολακτίζοντι καὶ κεκραγῶτι ὅμοιον καὶ ὁ οἰμῶζων ἐπὶ τοῦ κλινιδίου μόνος σιωπῆ τὴν ἐνδεδεικνύμενον καὶ ὅτι μόνῳ τῷ λογικῷ ζῴῳ δέδοται τὸ ἐκουσίως ἐπεσθαι τοῖς γινομένοις· τὸ δὲ ἐπεσθαι ψιλὸν πᾶσιν ἀναγκαῖον.

κθ'. Κατὰ μέρος ἐφ' ἐκάστου, ὧν ποιεῖς, ἐφιστάνων ἐρώτα σεαυτὸν, "Εἰ ὁ θάνατος δεινὸν διὰ τὸ τούτου στέρεσθαι."

λ'. "Ὅταν προσκόπτῃς ἐπὶ τινος ἁμαρτία, εὐθύς μεταβὰς ἐπιλογίζου, τί παρόμοιον ἁμαρτάνεις· οἷον ἀργύριον ἀγαθὸν εἶναι κρίνων <ἢ> τὴν ἡδονὴν ἢ τὸ δοξάριον καὶ κατ' εἶδος.

¹ vii. 49.

² viii. 25, 31.

³ *cp. Sen. Ep. 107: ducunt volentem fata nolentem trahunt; de Vit. Beat. 15; Cleanthes, Hymn to Zeus: ὡς ἔψομαι γ' ἕκοντος ἢν δὲ μὴ θέλω κακὸς γενόμενος, οὐδὲν ἤττον ἔψομαι.*

⁴ vii. 26; xi. 18, § 4. Plutarch, *Anger* 16.

⁵ Marcus had a horror of avarice; *cp. Vulc. Gallic. Vit.*

things that are done in such secrecy, and detect the efficient force, just as we detect the descensive and the ascensive none the less clearly that it is not with our eyes.

27. Bear in mind continually how all such things as now exist existed also before our day¹ and, be assured, will exist after us. Set before thine eyes whole dramas and their stagings, one like another, all that thine own experience has shewn thee or thou hast learned from past history, for instance the entire court of Hadrianus,² the entire court of Antoninus, the entire court of Philip, of Alexander, of Croesus. For all those scenes were such as we see now, only the performers being different.

28. Picture to thyself every one that is grieved at any occurrence whatever or dissatisfied, as being like the pig which struggles and screams when sacrificed; like it too him who, alone upon his bed, bewails in silence the fetters of our fate; and that to the rational creature alone has it been granted to submit willingly to what happens, mere submission being imperative on all.³

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

30. Does another's wrong-doing shock thee? Turn incontinently to thyself and bethink thee what analogous wrong-doing there is of thine own,⁴ such as deeming money to be a good⁵ or pleasure⁶ or a little cheap fame⁷ and the like. For by marking

Avid. Cass. viii. 5: in imperatore avaritiam acerbissimum esse malum. Yet he was accused of it and repudiated the charge (*Capit. xxix. 5*); and he is also exculpated by Dio (*71. 32, § 3*), and in the Oxyr. Papyri (*i. p. 62*) we find an Egyptian official expressly calling him ἀφιλάργυρος.

⁶ See on v. 5.

⁷ See on iv. 19.

τούτῳ γὰρ ἐπιβάλλων ταχέως ἐπιλήσῃ τῆς ὀργῆς συμπύπτοντος τοῦ, ὅτι βιάζεται· τί γὰρ ποιήσει; ἢ, εἰ δύνασαι, ἀφελε αὐτοῦ τὸ βιάζομενον.

λα'. Σατύρωνα ἰδὼν Σωκρατικὸν φαντάζου ἢ Εὐτύχην ἢ Ἑμίνα, καὶ Εὐφράτην ἰδὼν Εὐτυχιῶνα ἢ Σίλουανὸν φαντάζου, καὶ Ἀλκίφρονα Τροπαιοφόρον φαντάζου, καὶ Σευήρον¹ ἰδὼν Κρίτωνα ἢ Ξενοφῶντα φαντάζου, καὶ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀπιδὼν τῶν Καισάρων τινὰ φαντάζου, καὶ ἐφ' ἐκάστου τὸ ἀνάλογον. εἶτα συμπροσπιπτέτω σοι. "Ποῦ οὖν ἐκεῖνοι;" οὐδαμοῦ ἢ ὀπουδῆ. οὕτως γὰρ συνεχῶς θεάσῃ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα καπνὸν καὶ τὸ μηδέν· μάλιστα ἐὰν συμμνημονεύσῃς, ὅτι τὸ ἀπαξ μεταβαλὼν οὐκέτι ἔσται ἐν τῷ ἀπειρῷ χρόνῳ. τί οὖν² ἐντείνῃ; τί δ' οὐκ ἀρκεῖ σοι τὸ βραχὺ τοῦτο κοσμίως διαπερᾶσαι;

2 Οἶαν ὕλην καὶ ὑπόθεσιν φεύγεις; τί γὰρ ἔστι πάντα ταῦτα ἄλλο πλὴν γυμνάσματα λόγου ἑωρακότος ἀκριβῶς καὶ φυσιολόγως τὰ ἐν τῷ βίῳ; μένε οὖν, μέχρι ἐξοικειώσῃς σαυτῷ καὶ ταῦτα, ὡς ὁ ἔρρωμένος στόμαχος πάντα ἐξοικειοῖ, ὡς τὸ λαμπρὸν πῦρ, ὃ τι ἂν βάλῃς, φλόγα ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐγὴν ποιεῖ.

λβ'. Μηδενὶ ἐξέστω εἰπεῖν ἀληθεύοντι περὶ σοῦ, ὅτι οὐχ ἀπλοῦς ἢ ὅτι οὐκ ἀγαθός· ἀλλὰ

¹ Leopold transposed Σευήρον (see i. 14) and Ξενοφῶντα.

² σὸ (τί Δ) οὖν P: ἐν τίνι PA: ἐντείνῃ Cor. (cp. ix. 28).

¹ vii. 63.

² Xenophon and Crito are well known. Severus was probably the father of Marcus' son-in-law (i. 14). Euphrates

this thou wilt quickly forget thy wrath, with this reflection too to aid thee, that a man is under constraint¹; for what should he do? Or, if thou art able, remove the constraint.

31. Let a glance at Satyron call up the image of Socraticus or Eutyches or Hymen, and a glance at Euphrates the image of Eutychnon or Silvanus, and a glance at Alciphron Tropaeophorus, and at Severus Xenophon or Crito.² Let a glance at thyself bring to mind one of the Caesars, and so by analogy in every case. Then let the thought strike thee: *Where are they now?* Nowhere,³ or none can say where. For thus shalt thou habitually look upon human things as mere smoke⁴ and as naught; and more than ever so, if thou bethink thee that what has once changed will exist no more throughout eternity. Why strive then and strain⁵? Why not be content to pass this thy short span of life in becoming fashion?

What material, what a field for thy work dost thou forgo! For what are all these things but objects for the exercise of a reason that hath surveyed with accuracy and due inquiry into its nature the whole sphere of life? Continue then until thou hast assimilated these truths also to thyself, as the vigorous digestion assimilates every food, or the blazing fire converts into warmth and radiance whatever is cast into it.⁶

32. Give no one the right to say of thee with truth that thou art not a sincere, that thou art not a was the philosopher friend of Pliny and Hadrian. Nothing certain is known of the others. ³ vii. 58.

⁴ xii. 33 and verses at end of ms. A. See *Intro.* p. 1.

⁵ The ms. reading *what then* (or, *thou then*) *in what?* is unintelligible. ⁶ iv. 1.

ψευδέσθω, ὅστις τούτων τι περὶ σοῦ ὑπολήφεται. πᾶν δὲ τοῦτο ἐπὶ σοί. τίς γὰρ ὁ κωλύων ἀγαθὸν εἶναι σε καὶ ἀπλοῦν; σὺ μόνου κρίνον μηκέτι ζῆν, εἰ μὴ τοιοῦτος ἔση. οὐδὲ γὰρ αἰρεῖ λόγος μὴ τοιοῦτον ὄντα.

λγ'. Τί ἐστὶ τὸ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ὕλης δυνάμενον κατὰ τὸ ὑγιέστατονπραχθῆναι ἢ ῥηθῆναι; ὁ τι γὰρ ἂν τοῦτο ἦ, ἔξεστιν αὐτὸ πράξαι ἢ εἰπεῖν καὶ μὴ προφασίζου ὡς κωλυόμενος.

2 Οὐ πρότερον παύση στένων, πρὶν ἢ τοῦτο πάθης, ὅτι οἶόν ἐστι τοῖς ἠδύπαθοῦσιν ἢ τρυφῇ, τοιοῦτό σοι τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς ὑποβαλλομένης καὶ ὑποπιπτούσης ὕλης ποιεῖν τὰ οἰκεία τῇ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῇ· ἀπόλαυσιν γὰρ δεῖ ὑπολαμβάνειν πᾶν, ὃ ἔξεστι κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν φύσιν ἐνεργεῖν. πανταχοῦ δὲ ἔξεστι.

3 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 οὕτως πορευέσθαι δύναται, ὡς πέφυκε καὶ ὡς θέλει. ταύτην τὴν ῥαστώνην πρὸ ὀμμάτων τιθέμενος, καθ' ἣν ἐνεχθήσεται ὁ λόγος διὰ πάντων, ὡς πῦρ ἄνω, ὡς λίθος κάτω, ὡς κύλινδρος κατὰ πρᾶνους, μηκέτι μηδὲν ἐπιζήτει· τὰ γὰρ λοιπὰ ἐγκόμματα ἤτοι τοῦ σωματικοῦ ἐστὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ ἢ χωρὶς ὑπολήψεως καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ τοῦ λόγου ἐνδόσεως οὐ θραύει οὐδὲ ποιεῖ

¹ viii. 32.

² v. 29; x. 8, § 2.

good man, but let anyone that shall form any such an idea of thee be as one that maketh a lie. All this rests with thee. For who is there to hinder thee from being good and sincere¹? Resolve then to live no longer if thou be not such.² For neither doth Reason in that case insist that thou shouldst.

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

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

A cylinder we know has no power given it of individual motion everywhere, nor has fire or water or any other thing controlled by Nature or by an irrational soul. For the interposing and impeding obstacles are many. But Intelligence and Reason make their way through every impediment just as their nature or their will prompts them. Setting before thine eyes this ease wherewith the Reason can force its way through every obstacle, as fire upwards, as a stone downwards, as a cylinder down a slope,³ look for nothing beyond. For other hindrances either concern that veritable corpse, the body,⁴ or, apart from imagination and the surrender of Reason herself, cannot crush us or work any harm at all.⁵

³ Aul. Gell. vi. 2, § 11 (from Chrysippus).

⁴ iv. 41.

⁵ iv. 7.

κακὸν οὐδ' ὅτι οὖν ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ ὁ πάσχων αὐτὸ
κακὸς ἂν εὐθύς ἐγίγνετο.

4 Ἐπὶ γοῦν τῶν ἄλλων κατασκευασμάτων
πάντων, ὅ τι ἂν κακόν τι αὐτῶν συμβῆ, παρὰ
τοῦτο χεῖρον γίνεται αὐτὸ τὸ πάσχον· ἐνταῦθα δέ,
εἰ δέι εἰπεῖν, καὶ κρείττων γίνεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος
καὶ ἐπαινετώτερος, ὀρθῶς χρώμενος τοῖς προσ-
πίπτουσιν. 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 ἀκκληρημάτων οὐδὲν
βλάπτει νόμον. ὃ τοίνυν νόμον οὐ βλάπτει, οὔτε
πόλιν οὔτε πολίτην.

λδ'. Τῷ δεδηγμένῳ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀληθῶν δογμάτων
ἄρκει καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον καὶ ἐν μέσῳ κείμενον
εἰς ὑπόμνησιν ἀλμπίας καὶ ἀφοβίας. οἶον

“Φύλλα τὰ μὲν τ' ἄνεμος χαμάδις χέει,
ὡς ἀνδρῶν γενεή.”

φυλλάρια δὲ καὶ τὰ τεκνία σου· φυλλάρια δὲ
καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ἐπιβοῶντα ἀξιοπίστως καὶ ἐπυ-
φημοῦντα ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων καταρώμενα ἢ ἡσύχῃ
ψέγοντα καὶ χλευάζοντα· φυλλάρια δὲ ὁμοίως καὶ
τὰ διαδεξόμενα τὴν ὑστεροφημίαν. πάντα γὰρ
ταῦτα “ἔαρος ἐπιγίγνεται ὄρη”

εἶτα ἄνεμος καταβέβληκεν· ἔπειθ' ὕλη ἕτερα
ἀντὶ τούτων φύει. τὸ δὲ ὀλιγοχρόνιον κοινὸν
πᾶσι· ἀλλὰ σὺ πάντα, ὡς αἰῶνια ἐσόμενα,

¹ vii. 58. ² x. 6. ³ Hom. *Il.* vi. 147; *cp.* *Ecclus.* xiv. 18.

Else indeed would their victim at once become
bad.

In fact in the case of all other organisms, if any
evil happen to any of them, the victim itself becomes
the worse for it. But a man so circumstanced
becomes, if I may so say, better and more praise-
worthy by putting such contingencies to a right use.¹
In fine, remember that nothing that harms not the
city can harm him whom Nature has made a citizen²;
nor yet does that harm a city which harms not law.
But not one of the so-called mischances harms law.
What does not harm law, then, does no harm to
citizen or city.

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

*Such are the races of men as the leaves that the wind
scatters earthwards.*³

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

*Burgeon again with the season of spring*⁴;

anon the wind hath cast them down,⁵ and the
forest puts forth others in their stead. Transi-
toriness is the common lot of all things, yet there is
none of these that thou huntest not after or shuntest,

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *cp.* Psalm 103. 16.

φεύγεις καὶ διώκεις. μικρὸν καὶ καταμύσεις·
τὸν δὲ ἐξενεγκόντα σε ἤδη ἄλλος θρηνήσει.

λέ'. Τὸν ὑγιαίνοντα ὀφθαλμὸν πάντα ὄραν
δεῖ τὰ ὄρατὰ καὶ μὴ λέγειν, "τὰ χλωρὰ θέλω."
τοῦτο γὰρ ὀφθαλμιῶντός ἐστι. καὶ τὴν ὑγιαίνουσαν
ἀκοὴν καὶ ὄσφρησιν εἰς πάντα δεῖ τὰ
ἀκουστὰ καὶ ὄσφραντὰ ἐτοιμὴν εἶναι. καὶ τὸν
ὑγιαίνοντα στόμαχον πρὸς πάντα τὰ τροφίμα
ὁμοίως ἔχειν, ὡς μύλην πρὸς πάντα, ὅσα ἀλέσουσα
κατεσκευάσται. καὶ τοίνυν τὴν ὑγιαίνουσαν
διάνοιαν πρὸς πάντα δεῖ τὰ συμβαίνοντα ἐτοιμὴν
εἶναι ἢ δὲ λέγουσα, "Τὰ τεκνία σωζέσθω,"
καὶ "πάντες, ὃ τι ἂν πράξω, ἐπαινείτωσαν,"
ὀφθαλμός ἐστι τὰ χλωρὰ ζητῶν ἢ ὀδόντες τὰ
ἀπαλά.

λέ'. Οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν οὕτως εὐποτμος, ᾧ ἀπο-
θνήσκοντι οὐ παρεστήξονται τινες ἀσπαζόμενοι τὸ
συμβαῖνον κακόν. σπουδαῖος καὶ σοφὸς ἦν [μὴ]
τὸ πανύστατον ἔσται τις ὁ καθ' αὐτὸν λέγων·
"Ἀναπνεύσομέν ποτε ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ.
χαλεπὸς μὲν οὐδενὶ ἡμῶν ἦν, ἀλλὰ ἠσθανόμην,
ὅτι ἡσυχῇ καταγινώσκει ἡμῶν." ταῦτα μὲν οὖν
ἐπὶ τοῦ σπουδαίου. ἐφ' ἡμῶν δὲ πόσα ἄλλα ἐστί,
δι' ἃ πολὺς ὁ ἀπαλλακτικῶν ἡμῶν. τοῦτο οὖν
ἐννοήσεις ἀποθνήσκων καὶ εὐκολώτερον ἐξελεύσῃ
λογιζόμενος· ἐκ τοιούτου βίου ἀπέρχομαι, ἐν ᾧ
αὐτοὶ οἱ κοινωνοί, ὑπὲρ ὧν τὰ τοσαῦτα ἠγωνισάμην,
ἠϋξάμην, ἐφρόντισα, αὐτοὶ ἐκείνοι ἐθέλουσί με
ὑπάγειν ἄλλην τινὰ τυχὸν ἐκ τούτου ῥαστώμεν

¹ iv. 48.

² i. 8; vii. 41; viii. 49; ix. 40; xi. 34. Marcus was intensely fond of his children. Galen describes (xiv. 3, Kühn)

as though it were everlasting. A little while and thou shalt close thine eyes; aye, and for him that bore thee to the grave shall another presently raise the dirge.¹

35. The sound eye should see all there is to be seen, but should not say: *I want what is green only*. For that is characteristic of a disordered eye. And the sound hearing and smell should be equipped for all that is to be heard or smelled. And the sound digestion should act towards all nutriment as a mill towards the grist which it was formed to grind. So should the sound mind be ready for all that befalls. But the mind that says: *Let my children be safe!*² *Let all applaud my every act!* is but as an eye that looks for green things or as teeth that look for soft things.

36. There is no one so fortunate as not to have one or two standing by his death-bed who will welcome the evil which is befalling him. Say he was a worthy man and a wise; will there not be some one at the very end to say in his heart, *We can breathe again at last, freed from this schoolmaster,*³ *not that he was hard on any of us, but I was all along conscious that he tacitly condemned us?* So much for the worthy, but in our own case how many other reasons can be found for which hundreds would be only too glad to be quit of us! Think then upon this when dying, and thy passing from life will be easier if thou reason thus: I am leaving a life in which even my intimates for whom I have so greatly toiled, prayed, and thought,⁴ aye even they wish me gone, expecting belike to gain thereby

his anxiety about Commodus; *cp.* also Fronto, *ad Caes.* iv. 12. ³ *cp.* Vopiscus, *Vit. Aureliani*, 37, §3; Sen. *Ep.* 11.

⁴ Herodian, i. 4, § 3. *cp.* Lucian, *Gallus* 25.

ἐπιίχοντες. τι ἂν οὖν τις ἀντέχοιτο τῆς ἐναυῦθα μακροτέρας διατριβῆς;

2 Μὴ μέντοι διὰ τοῦτο ἔλαττον εὐμενῆς αὐτοῖς ἄπιθι, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἴδιον ἔθος διασώζων φίλος καὶ εὖνους καὶ ἴλεως· καὶ μὴ πάλιν ὡς ἀποσπώμενος, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐθανατοῦντος εὐκόλως τὸ ψυχάριον ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἐξειλεῖται, τοιαύτην καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τούτων ἀποχώρησιν δεῖ γενέσθαι· καὶ γὰρ τούτοις ἡ φύσις <σε> συνήψε καὶ συνέκρινεν. ἀλλὰ νῦν διαλύει. διαλύομαι ὡς ἀπὸ οἰκείων μὲν, οὐ μὴν ἀνθελκόμενος, ἀλλ' ἀβιάστως· ἐν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο τῶν κατὰ φύσιν.

λζ. "Ἐθισον ἐπὶ παντός, ὡς οἶόν τε, τοῦ πρασσομένου ὑπὸ τινος ἐπιζητεῖν κατὰ σαυτὸν· "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,†¹ ἐκεῖνο ζωή, ἐκεῖνο, εἰ δεῖ εἰπεῖν, ἄνθρωπος. μηδέποτε συμπεριφαντάζου τὸ περικείμενον ἀγγειῶδες καὶ τὰ ὄργανια ταῦτα τὰ περιπεπλασμένα. ὁμοια γὰρ ἐστι σκεπάρνῳ, μόνον διαφέροντα, καθότι προσφυῆ ἐστιν. ἐπεὶ τοι οὐ μᾶλλον τι τούτων ὄφελός ἐστι τῶν μορίων χωρὶς τῆς κινουμένης καὶ ἰσχύουσης αὐτὰ αἰτίας ἢ τῆς κερκίδος τῆ ὑφαντρία, καὶ τοῦ καλάμου τῷ γράφοντι, καὶ τοῦ μαστιγίου τῷ ἡνιόχῳ.

¹ ῥητορία A. Perhaps *ιστορία*.

some further ease.¹ Why then should anyone cling to a longer sojourn here?

Howbeit go away with no less kindness towards them on this account, but maintaining thy true characteristics be friendly and goodnatured and gracious; nor again as though wrenched apart, but rather should thy withdrawal from them be as that gentle slipping away of soul from body which we see when a man makes a peaceful end. For it was Nature that knit and kneaded thee with them, and now she parts the tie. I am parted as from kinsfolk, not dragged forcibly away, but going unresistingly. For this severance too is a process of Nature.²

37. In every act of another habituate thyself as far as may be to put to thyself the question: *What end has the man in view?*³ But begin with thyself, cross-examine thyself first.

38. Bear in mind that what pulls the strings is that Hidden Thing within us: *that* makes our speech, *that* our life, *that*, one may say, makes the man. Never in thy mental picture of it include the vessel that overlies it⁴ nor these organs that are appurtenances thereof. They are like the workman's adze, only differing from it in being naturally attached to the body. Since indeed, severed from the Cause that bids them move and bids them stay, these parts are as useless as is the shuttle of the weaver, the pen of the writer, and the whip of the charioteer.

¹ Is he thinking of Commodus? ² ix. 3.

³ ii. 16.

⁴ iii. 3 *ad fin.*; xii. 1.

BIBAIION IA

α'. Τὰ ἴδια τῆς λογικῆς ψυχῆς· ἑαυτὴν ὄρα, ἑαυτὴν διαρθροῖ, ἑαυτήν, ὅποῖαν ἂν βούληται, ποιεῖ, τὸν καρπὸν ὃν φέρεῖ αὐτὴ καρποῦται—τοὺς γὰρ τῶν φυτῶν καρπούς καὶ τὸ ἀνάλογον ἐπὶ τῶν ζώων ἄλλοι καρποῦνται,—τοῦ ἰδίου τέλους τυγχάνει, ὅπου ἂν τὸ τοῦ βίου πέρας ἐπιστῇ. οὐχ' ὥσπερ ἐπὶ ὀρχήσεως καὶ ὑποκρίσεως, καὶ τῶν τοιούτων, ἀτελῆς γίνεται ἡ ὄλη πρᾶξις, εἴαν τι ἐγκόψῃ· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παντὸς μέρους, καὶ ὅπου ἂν καταληφθῇ, πλήρες καὶ ἀπροσδεὲς ἑαυτῇ τὸ προτεθὲν ποιεῖ, ὥστε εἰπεῖν, “ἐγὼ ἀπέχω τὰ ἐμά.”

- 2 Ἐπι δὲ περιέρχεται τὸν ὅλον κόσμον, καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν κενόν, καὶ τὸ σχῆμα αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀπειρίαν τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐκτείνεται, καὶ τὴν περιοδικὴν παλιγγενεσίαν τῶν ὄλων ἐμπεριλαμβάνει καὶ περινοεῖ, καὶ θεωρεῖ ὅτι οὐδὲν νεώτερον ὄψονται οἱ μεθ' ἡμᾶς οὐδὲ περιττώτερον εἶδον οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν· ἀλλὰ τρόπον τινὰ ὁ τεσσαρακοντούτης, εἴαν νοῦν ὀποσονοῦν ἔχη, πάντα τὰ γεγονότα καὶ τὰ ἐσόμενα ἐώρακε κατὰ τὸ

¹ vi. 8; viii. 35. cp. Epict. i. 17, § 1.

² cp. Epict. i. 19, § 11: γέγονε τὸ ζῶον ὥστε αὐτοῦ ἕνεκα πάντα ποιεῖν.

³ xii. 36.

BOOK XI

1. THE properties of the Rational Soul are these: it sees itself, dissects itself, moulds itself to its own will,¹ itself reaps its own fruits²—whereas the fruits of the vegetable kingdom and the corresponding produce of animals are reaped by others,—it wins to its own goal wherever the bounds of life be set. In dancing and acting and such-like arts, if any break occurs, the whole action is rendered imperfect; but the rational soul in every part and wheresoever taken³ shews the work set before it fulfilled and all-sufficient for itself, so that it can say: *I have to the full what is my own.*

More than this, it goeth about the whole Universe and the void surrounding it and traces its plan, and stretches forth into the infinitude of Time, and comprehends the cyclical Regeneration⁴ of all things, and takes stock of it, and discerns that our children will see nothing fresh,⁵ just as our fathers too never saw anything more than we.⁶ So that in a manner the man of forty years, if he have a grain of sense, in view of this sameness has seen all that has been

⁴ v. 13, 32; x. 7, § 2.

⁵ vi. 37; vii. 1 etc.

⁶ cp. Lucr. ii. 978: *eadem sunt omnia semper*; Florio's Montaigne, i. 19: “If you have lived one day you have seene all.”

ὁμοειδές. ἴδιον δὲ λογικῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὸ φιλεῖν τοὺς πλησίον καὶ ἀλήθεια καὶ αἰδώς καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἑαυτῆς προτιμᾶν, ὅπερ ἴδιον καὶ νόμου. οὕτως ἄρ' οὐδὲν διήνεγκε λόγος ὀρθὸς καὶ λόγος δικαιοσύνης.

β. Ὡιδῆς ἐπιτεροῦς καὶ ὀρχήσεως καὶ παγκρατίου καταφρονήσεις, ἐὰν τὴν μὲν ἐμμελῆ φωνὴν καταμερίσῃς εἰς ἕκαστον τῶν φθόγγων, καὶ καθ' ἕνα πύθῃ σεαυτοῦ, "Εἰ τούτου ἤττων 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 διαιρέσει αὐτῶν εἰς καταφρόνησιν ἰέναι· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν βίον ὅλον μετάφερε.

γ. Οἷα ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ ἢ ἔτοιμος, ἐὰν ἤδη ἀπολυθῆναι δέῃ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἤτοι σβεσθῆναι ἢ σκεδασθῆναι ἢ συμμεῖναι. τὸ δὲ ἔτοιμον τοῦτο, ἵνα ἀπὸ ἰδικῆς κρίσεως ἔρχεται, μὴ κατὰ ψιλὴν παράταξιν, [ὡς οἱ Χριστιανοί,]¹ ἀλλὰ λελογισμένως καὶ σεμνῶς καὶ, ὥστε καὶ ἄλλον πείσαι, ἀτραγώδως.

δ. Πεποίηκά τι κοινωνικῶς; οὐκοῦν ὠφέλημαι. τοῦτο ἵνα αἰεὶ πρόχειρον ἀπαντᾷ, καὶ μηδαμοῦ παύου.

εἶ. Τίς σου ἡ τέχνη; "Ἄγαθὸν εἶναι." τοῦτο δὲ

¹ ὡς οἱ Χριστιανοί: ungrammatical and pretty certainly a gloss. See p. 381 ff. Eichstädt *Exercit. Antonin.* iii.

² St. Mark viii. 36.

³ A rather brutal combination of boxing and wrestling.

⁴ viii. 36. There is surely a fallacy here.

and shall be. Again a property of the Rational Soul is the love of our neighbour, and truthfulness, and modesty, and to prize nothing above itself¹— a characteristic also of Law. In this way then the Reason that is right reason and the Reason that is justice are one.

2. Thou wilt think but meanly of charming song and dance and the pancratium,² if thou analyze the melodious utterance into its several notes and in the case of each ask thyself: *Has this the mastery over me?* For thou wilt recoil from such a confession.³ So too with the dance, if thou do the like for each movement and posture. The same holds good of the pancratium. In fine, virtue and its sphere of action excepted, remember to turn to the component parts,⁴ and by analyzing them come to despise them. Bring the same practice to bear on the whole of life also.

3. What a soul is that which is ready to be released from the body at any requisite moment, and be quenched⁵ or dissipated or hold together! But the readiness must spring from a man's inner judgment, and not be the result of mere opposition [as is the case with the Christians].⁶ It must be associated with deliberation and dignity and, if others too are to be convinced, with nothing like stage-heroics.

4. Have I done some social act? Well, I am amply rewarded.⁷ Keep this truth ever ready to turn to, and in no wise slacken thine efforts.

5. What is thy vocation? *To be a good man.*

⁴ iii. 11.

⁵ v. 33; vii. 32.

⁶ See p. 382, and *cp.* for philosophers *Digest.* 49. 16. 6. § 7.

⁷ vii. 13, 73; ix. 42, § 5; *cp.* Prov. xi. 17: τῆ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὸν ποιεῖ ἀνὴρ ἐλεήμων.

πῶς καλῶς γίνεται ἢ ἐκ θεωρημάτων, τῶν μὲν περὶ τῆς τοῦ ὄλου φύσεως, τῶν δὲ περὶ τῆς ἰδίας τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς;

ς'. Πρῶτον αἱ τραγωδίαὶ παρήχθησαν ὑπομηστικά καὶ τῶν συμβαινόντων καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα οὕτω πέφυκε γίνεσθαι καὶ ὅτι, οὓς ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ψυχαγωγείσθε, τούτοις μὴ ἄχθεσθε ἐπὶ τῆς μείζονος σκηνῆς. ὁρᾶται γάρ, ὅτι οὕτω 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' ἡμελήθην ἐκ θεῶν καὶ παῖδ' ἐμῶ,
ἔχει λόγον καὶ τοῦτο."

καὶ πάλιν

"Τοῖς πράγμασιν γὰρ οὐχὶ θυμοῦσθαι <πρέπον>."

καὶ

"Βίον θερίζειν ὥστε κάρπιμον στάχυν"
καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα.

- 2 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τραγωδίαν ἢ ἀρχαία κωμωδία παρήχθη, παιδαγωγικὴν παρρησίαν ἔχουσα, καὶ τῆς ἀτυφίας οὐκ ἀχρήστως δι' αὐτῆς τῆς εὐθυρημοσύνης ὑπομιμνήσκουσα· πρὸς οἷον τι καὶ Διογένης ταυτὶ παρελάμβανεν. μετὰ ταύτην¹ <δὲ> ἢ μέση κωμωδία, καὶ λοιπὸν ἢ νέα πρὸς τί ποτε παρελήπται, ἢ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκ μιμῆσεως φιλοτεχνίαν ὑπερρῆν, ἐπίστησον. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ

¹ ταύτης A: ταῦτα τις P: ταύτην Stich.: <δὲ> Schenkli.

¹ Soph. Oed. Rex 1391; Epict. i. 24, § 16. Perhaps Marcus had in mind the lines of Timocles (Athen. vi. 2) πρὸς ἀλλοτρίφτε ψυχαγωγηθεὶς πάθει Μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἀπῆλθε παιδευθεὶς ἄμα.

But how be successful in this save by assured conceptions on the one hand of the Universal Nature and on the other of the special constitution of man?

6. Originally tragedies were brought on to remind us of real events, and that such things naturally occur, and that on life's greater stage you must not be vexed at things, which on the stage you find so attractive. For it is seen that these things must be gone through, and they too have to endure them, who cry *Ah, Kithaeron!*¹ Aye, and the dramatic writers contain some serviceable sayings, for example this more especially:

*Though both my sons and me the gods have spurned,
For this too there is reason;*²

and again:

*It nought availeth to be wroth with things;*³

and this:

*Our lives are reaped like the ripe ears of corn;*⁴

and how many more like them.

And after Tragedy the old Comedy was put on the stage, exercising an educative freedom of speech, and by its very directness of utterance giving us no unserviceable warning against unbridled arrogance. In somewhat similar vein Diogenes⁵ also took up this rôle. After this, consider for what purpose the Middle Comedy was introduced, and subsequently the New, which little by little degenerated into ingenious mimicry. For that some serviceable

² Eur. *Antiope* Frag. 207; vii. 41.

³ Eur. *Beller.* Frag. 289; vii. 38.

⁴ Eur. *Hyps.* Frag. 757; vii. 40.

⁵ Diog. Laert. *Diog.* 7; Plut. "On Hearing," 7.

λέγεται καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων τινὰ χρίσιμα, οὐκ ἀγνοεῖται· ἀλλὰ ἡ ὄλη ἐπιβολὴ τῆς τοιαύτης ποιήσεως καὶ δραματουργίας πρὸς τίνα ποτὲ σκοπὸν ἀπέβλεψεν;

ζ'. Πῶς ἐναργῆς προσπίπτει τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἄλλην βίου ὑπόθεσιν εἰς τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν οὕτως ἐπιτήδειον, ὡς ταύτην, ἐν ἣ νῦν ὦν τυγχάνεις.

η'. Κλάδος τοῦ προσεχοῦς κλάδου ἀποκοπεῖς οὐ δύναται μὴ καὶ τοῦ ὅλου φυτοῦ ἀποκεκόφθαι. οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου ἀποσχισθῆναι ὅλης τῆς κοινωρίας ἀποπέπτωκεν. κλάδον μὲν οὖν ἄλλος ἀποκόπτει· ἄνθρωπος δὲ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν τοῦ πλησίου χωρίζει μισήσας καὶ ἀποστραφεῖς· ἀγνοεῖ δέ, ὅτι καὶ τοῦ ὅλου πολιτεύματος ἅμα ἀποτέμνηκεν ἑαυτόν. πλὴν ἐκεῖνό γε δῶρον τοῦ συστησαμένου τὴν κοινωρίαν Δίος· ἔξεστι γὰρ πάλιν ἡμῖν συμφύναι τῷ προσεχεῖ καὶ πάλιν τοῦ ὅλου συμπληρωτικοῖς γενέσθαι. πλεονάκεις μέντοι γινόμενον τὸ κατὰ τὴν τοιαύτην διαίρεσιν δυσένωτον καὶ δυσσποκατάστατον <τὸ> ἀποχωροῦν ποιεῖ. ὅλως τε οὐχ ὁμοιοὶς ὁ κλάδος ὁ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς συμβλασθήσας καὶ σύμπνους συμμείνας τῷ μετὰ τὴν ἀποκοπὴν αὐθις ἐγκεντρισθέντι, ὃ τί ποτε λέγουσιν οἱ φυτουργοί. ὁμοθαμνεῖν μὲν, μὴ ὁμοδογματεῖν δέ.

θ'. Οἱ ἐνιστάμενοι προιόντι σοι κατὰ τὸν ὄρθον λόγον, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑγιοῦς πράξεως

¹ Lucian, *de Salt.* 35, says of the Art of Dancing (Pantomime) that it requires the acme of culture and even of philosophy!

² *cp.* Lucan i. 493: "exeat aula qui vult esse pius";

things are said even by the writers of these is recognized by all. But what end in view had this whole enterprize of such poetical and dramatic composition? ¹

7. How clearly is it borne in on thee that there is no other state of life so fitted to call for the exercise of Philosophy as this in which thou now findest thyself? ²

8. A branch cut off from its neighbour branch ³ cannot but be cut off from the whole plant. In the very same way a man severed from one man has fallen away from the fellowship of all men. Now a branch is cut off by others, but a man separates himself ⁴ from his neighbour by his own agency in hating him or turning his back upon him; and is unaware that he has thereby sundered himself from the whole civic community. ⁵ But mark the gift of Zeus who established the law of fellowship. For it is in our power to grow again to the neighbour branch, and again become perfective of the whole. But such a schism constantly repeated makes it difficult for the seceding part to unite again and resume its former condition. And in general the branch that from the first has shared in the growth of the tree and lived with its life is not like that which has been cut off and afterwards grafted on to it, as the gardeners are apt to tell you. Be of one bush, but not of one mind.

9. As those who withstand thy progress along the path of right reason will never be able to turn thee

Montaigne iii. 9 (Florio's version): "Plato saith that who escapes untainted and clean-handed from the managing of the world escapeth by some wonder." See also *above* viii. 1.

³ St. Paul, Rom. xi. 19. ⁴ iv. 29; viii. 34.

⁵ ix. 23. Shaks. *Lear*, iv. 2. 34.

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 ἰσθενές, τὸ χαλεπαίνειν αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ τὸ ἀποστήναι 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."¹ καὶ γὰρ αἱ τέχναι τὰς φύσεις μιμοῦνται. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, ἢ πασῶν τῶν ἄλλων τελεωτάτη καὶ περιληπτικωτάτη φύσις οὐκ ἂν ἀπολείπειτο 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 ἄρεται ὑφίστανται· οὐ γὰρ τηρηθήσεται τὸ δίκαιον, ἔαν ἦτοι διαφερόμεθα πρὸς τὰ μέσα ἢ εὐεξαπάτητοι καὶ προπτωτικοὶ καὶ μεταπτωτικοὶ ὦμεν.

ια'. † Εἰ μὲν οὖν² <μῆ> ἔρχεται † ἐπὶ σὲ τὰ πράγματα, ἂν αἱ διώξεις καὶ φυγαὶ θορυβοῦσί σε, ἀλλὰ τρόπον τινὰ αὐτὸς ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα ἔρχη, τὸ γοῦν κρῖμα τὸ περὶ αὐτῶν ἡσυχάζετω κάκεῖνα μενεῖ ἀτρεμοῦντα καὶ οὔτε διώκων οὔτε φεύγων ὀφθήσῃ.

¹ Apparently a quotation from some unknown poet.

² οὐκ PA: [εἰ μὲν] Οὐκ Leopold.

aside from sound action, so let them not wrest thee from a kindly attitude towards them¹; but keep a watch over thyself in both directions alike, not only in steadfastness² of judgment and action but also in gentleness towards those who endeavour to stand in thy path or be in some other way a thorn in thy side. For in fact it is a sign of weakness to be wroth with them, no less than to shrink from action and be terrified into surrender. For they that do the one or the other are alike deserters of their post,³ the one as a coward, the other as estranged from a natural kinsman and friend.

10. 'Nature in no case cometh short of art.' For indeed the arts are copiers of various natures. If this be so, the most consummate and comprehensive Nature of all cannot be outdone by the inventive skill of art. And in every art the lower things are done for the sake of the higher⁴; and this must hold good of the Universal Nature also. Aye and thence is the origin of Justice, and in justice all the other virtues have their root,⁵ since justice will not be maintained if we either put a value on things indifferent, or are easily duped and prone to slip and prone to change.

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

¹ x. 36, § 2 etc.

² v. 18.

³ x. 25.

⁴ v. 16, 30; vii. 55.

⁵ iv. 37; v. 34. cp. Theognis, 147: ἐν δὲ δικαιοσύνη σὺ λήβδην πᾶσ' ἀρετῆ' στίβ.

ιβ'. Σφαίρα ψυχῆς αὐτοειδής,¹ ὅταν μῆτε ἐκτεινῆται ἐπὶ τι μῆτε ἔσω συντρέχῃ, μῆτε σπείρηται †² μῆτε συνιζάνῃ, ἀλλὰ φωτὶ λάμπηται, ὧ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὁρᾷ τὴν πάντων καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ.

ιγ'. Καταφρονήσει μού τις; ὄψεται ἐγὼ δὲ ὄψομαι, ἵνα μὴ τι καταφρονήσεως ἄξιον πράσσω ἢ λέγων εὐρίσκωμαι. μισήσει; ὄψεται ἀλλὰ ἐγὼ εὐμενῆς καὶ εὖνους παντί, καὶ τούτῳ αὐτῷ ἔτοιμος τὸ παρορώμενον δεῖξαι, οὐκ ὀνειδιστικῶς οὐδὲ ὡς κατεπιδεικνύμενος, ὅτι ἀνέχομαι, ἀλλὰ γησιῶς καὶ χρηστῶς, ὅλος ὁ Φωκίων ἐκείνος, εἴ γε μὴ προσποιεῖτο. 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 οἰκείον καὶ δέχῃ τὸ νῦν τῇ τῶν ὄλων φύσει εὐκαιρον, ἄνθρωπος τεταμένος πρὸς τὸ γίνεσθαι δι' ὅτου δὴ τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον;

ιδ'. Ἀλλήλων καταφρονοῦντες ἀλλήλοις ἀρσκεύονται καὶ ἀλλήλων ὑπερέχειν θέλοντες ἀλλήλοις ὑποκατακλίνονται.

ιε'. Ὡς σαπρὸς καὶ κίβδηλος ὁ λέγων, “Ἐγὼ προήρημαι ἀπλῶς σοι προσφέρεσθαι.” τί ποιεῖς, ἄνθρωπε; τοῦτο οὐ δεῖ προλέγειν. αὐτοῦ φανήσεται ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου γεγράφθαι ὀφείλει, εὐθύς

¹ αὐτοεὶδής Reiske. ² ἐπαίρηται Schenk.

¹ viii. 41; xii. 3. ² viii. 51.

³ v. 25; Epict. iii. 18, § 9; x. 32. ⁴ xi. 18, § 9.

⁵ Marcus is probably thinking of Phocion's last words, see Aelian xii. 49 μηδὲν Ἀθηναίους μνησικακῆσειν ὑπὲρ τῆς παρ' αὐτῶν φιλοσησίας ἧς νῦν πίνω (sc. the cup of hemlock); but

12. The soul is 'a sphere truly shaped,'¹ when it neither projects itself towards anything outside nor shrinks together inwardly, neither expands nor contracts,² but irradiates a light whereby it sees the reality of all things and the reality that is in itself.

13. What if a man think scorn of me? That will be his affair. But it will be mine not to be found doing or saying anything worthy of scorn. What if he hate me? That will be his affair.³ But I will be kindly and goodnatured to everyone, and ready to shew even my enemy where he has seen amiss, not by way of rebuke⁴ nor with a parade of forbearance, but genuinely and chivalrously like the famous Phocion,⁵ unless indeed he was speaking ironically. For such should be the inner springs of a man's heart⁶ that the Gods see him not wrathfully disposed at any thing or counting it a hardship. Why, what evil can happen to thee if thou thyself now doest what is congenial to thy nature, and welcomest what the Universal Nature now deems well-timed, thou who art a man intensely eager that what is for the common interest should by one means or another be brought about?

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

15. How corrupt is the man, how counterfeit, who proclaims aloud: *I have elected to deal straightforwardly with thee!* Man, what art thou at? There is no need to give this out. The fact will instantly declare itself. It ought to be written on the fore-

Heylbut (*Rhein. Mus.* 39. p. 310) refers to a story in Musonius Rufus, p. 55, Hense.

⁶ cp. St. Luke xi. 39: τὸ ἔσωθεν ἑμῶν—"the inward parts."

ἡ φωνὴ τοιοῦτον ἤχει,¹ εὐθύς ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασιν ἐξέχει, ὡς τῶν ἐραστῶν ἐν τῷ βλέμματι πάντα εὐθύς γνωρίζει ὁ ἐρώμενος. τοιοῦτον ὅλως δεῖ τὸν ἀπλοῦν καὶ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, οἷον γράσωνα, ἵνα ὁ παραστὰς ἅμα τῷ προσελθεῖν, θέλει οὐ θέλει, αἰσθηται. ἐπιτηδεύσεις δὲ ἀπλότητος σκάλμη² ἐστίν. οὐδὲν ἐστὶν αἰσχίον λυκοφιλίας· πάντων μάλιστα τοῦτο φεύγε. ὁ ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἀπλοῦς καὶ εὐμενὴς ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασιν ἔχουσι ταῦτα καὶ οὐ λανθάνει.

ισ'. Κάλλιστα διαζῆν, δύναμις αὕτη ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, ἐὰν πρὸς τὰ ἀδιάφορά τις ἀδιαφορῇ. ἀδιαφορήσει δέ, ἐὰν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν θεωρῇ διηρημένως καὶ ὀλικῶς καὶ μεμνημένος, ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ὑπόληψιν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἡμῖν ἐμποιεῖ οὐδὲ ἔρχεται ἐφ' ἡμᾶς· ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἀτρεμεῖ, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐσμὲν οἱ τὰς περὶ αὐτῶν κρίσεις γεννῶντες καὶ οἷον γράφοντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, ἐξὸν μὲν μὴ γράφειν, ἐξὸν δέ, κἂν που λάβῃ, εὐθύς ἐξαλείψαι· ὅτι ὀλίγου χρόνου ἔσται ἡ τοιαύτη προσοχὴ καὶ λοιπὸν πεπαύσεται ὁ βίος. τί μέντοι δύσκολον ἄλλως³ ἔχει ταῦτα; εἰ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ φύσιν ἐστί, χαίρει αὐτοῖς καὶ ῥάδια ἔστω σοι· εἰ δὲ παρὰ φύσιν, ζήτηι, τί ἐστὶ σοὶ κατὰ τὴν σὴν φύσιν, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο σπεῦδε, κἂν ἄδοξον ἢ παντὶ γὰρ συγγνώμη, τὸ ἴδιον ἀγαθὸν ζητοῦντι.

¹ ἔχει PA: ἤχει Reiske. ² σκαμβῆ (a bent stick that can never be made straight) Salm. ³ καλῶς P.

¹ The word is Thracian for a native sword (Pollux x. 38), as we might say a kukri. Here any concealed weapon to stab the unsuspecting.

head. There is a ring in the voice that betrays it at once, it flashes out at once from the eyes, just as the loved one can read at a glance every secret in his lover's looks. The simple and good man should in fact be like a man who has a strong smell about him, so that, as soon as ever he comes near, his neighbour is, will-he nill-he, aware of it. A calculated simplicity is a stiletto.¹ There is nothing more hateful than the friendship of the wolf for the lamb. Eschew that above all things. The good man, the kindly, the genuine, betrays these characteristics in his eyes and there is no hiding it.²

16. Vested in the soul is the power of living ever the noblest of lives, let a man but be indifferent towards things indifferent. And he will be indifferent, if he examine every one of these things both in its component parts³ and as a whole, and bear in mind that none of them is the cause in us of any opinion about itself, nor obtrudes itself on us. They remain quiescent,⁴ and it is we who father these judgments about them and as it were inscribe them on our minds, though it lies with us not to inscribe them and, if they chance to steal in undetected, to erase them at once.⁵ Bear in mind too that we shall have but a little while to attend to such things and presently life will be at an end. But why complain of the perversity of things? If they are as Nature wills, delight in them and let them be no hardship to thee. If they contravene Nature, seek then what is in accord with thy nature and speed towards that, even though it bring no fame.⁶ For it is pardonable for every man to seek his own good.

² cp. Ecclesiasticus xix. 29: "A man shall be known by his look."

³ iii. 11; xii. 18. ⁴ xi. 11. ⁵ viii. 47. ⁶ v. 3; vi. 2.

ιζ'. Πόθεν ἐλήλυθεν ἕκαστον, καὶ ἐκ τίνων ἕκαστον ὑποκειμένων, καὶ εἰς τί μεταβάλλει, καὶ οἶον ἔσται μεταβαλόν, καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν κακὸν πείσεται.

ιη'. Καὶ¹ πρῶτον, τίς ἢ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους μοι σχέσις· καὶ ὅτι ἀλλήλων ἔνεκεν γεγονάμεν· καὶ καθ' ἕτερον λόγον προστησόμενος αὐτῶν γέγονα, ὡς κριὸς ποιμνης ἢ ταῦρος ἀγέλης. ἄνωθεν δὲ ἐπιθι ἀπὸ τοῦ, εἰ μὴ ἄτομοι, φύσις ἢ τὰ ὅλα διοικοῦσα· εἰ τοῦτο, τὰ χείρονα τῶν κρειττόνων ἔνεκεν, ταῦτα δὲ ἀλλήλων.

2 Δεύτερον δέ, ὁποῖοί τινές εἰσιν ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, ἐν τῷ κλιναρίῳ, τάλλα· μάλιστα δέ, οἷας ἀνάγκας δογμάτων κειμένας ἔχουσιν, καὶ αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα μεθ' οἴου τύφου ποιοῦσιν.

3 Τρίτον, ὅτι, εἰ μὲν ὀρθῶς ταῦτα ποιοῦσιν, οὐ δεῖ δυσχεραίνειν· εἰ δ' οὐκ ὀρθῶς, δηλονότι ἄκουτες καὶ ἀγνοοῦντες. πᾶσα γὰρ ψυχὴ ἄκουσα στέρεται, ὡσπερ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς, οὕτως καὶ τοῦ κατ' ἀξίαν ἐκάστῳ προσφέρεσθαι. ἄχθονται γοῦν ἀκούοντες ἄδικοι καὶ ἀγνώμονες καὶ πλεονέκται καὶ καθάπαξ ἀμαρτητικοὶ περὶ τοὺς πλησίον.

4 Τέταρτον, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς πολλὰ ἀμαρτάνεις, καὶ ἄλλος τοιοῦτος εἶ· καὶ εἴ τινων δὲ ἀμαρτημάτων ἀπέχῃ, ἀλλὰ τὴν γε ἕξις ποιητικὴν² ἔχεις, εἰ καὶ διὰ δειλίαν ἢ δοξοκοτίαν ἢ τοιοῦτό τι κακὸν ἀπέχῃ τῶν ὁμοίων ἀμαρτημάτων.

¹ καὶ PA = κ(εφαλαί)α' Rend., but *cp.* vii. 51. ² ἐποιστικὴν A.

³ iii. 11. ⁴ v. 16, 30; viii. 27. ⁵ viii. 56, 59.

⁶ Dio Chrysa. Orat. ii. *de Regno*, 97 R, ὁ δὲ ταῦρος σαφῶς πρὸς βασιλέως εἰκόνα πεποιήται. Epict. i. 2, § 30.

17. Think whence each thing has come, of what it is built up,¹ into what it changes, what it will be when changed, and that it cannot take any harm.

18. *Firstly*: Consider thy relation² to mankind and that we came into the world for the sake of one another³; and taking another point of view, that I have come into it to be set over men, as a ram over a flock or a bull over a herd.⁴ Start at the beginning from this premiss: If not atoms,⁵ then an all-controlling Nature. If the latter, then the lower are for the sake of the higher and the higher for one another.⁶

Secondly: What sort of men they are at board and in bed and elsewhere.⁷ Above all how they are the self-made slaves of their principles, and how they pride themselves on the very acts in question.

Thirdly: That if they are acting rightly in this, there is no call for us to be angry. If not rightly, it is obviously against their will and through ignorance.⁸ For it is against his will that every soul is deprived, as of truth, so too of the power of dealing with each man as is his due. At any rate, such men resent being called unjust, unfeeling, avaricious, and in a word doers of wrong to their neighbours.

Fourthly: That thou too doest many a wrong thing thyself and art much as others are,⁹ and if thou dost refrain from certain wrong-doings, yet hast thou a disposition inclinable thereto¹⁰ even supposing that through cowardice or a regard for thy good name or some such base consideration thou dost not actually commit them.

⁵ iv. 3, § 2; viii. 17; ix. 39; x. 6.

⁶ ii. 1; v. 16. ⁷ viii. 14; x. 19.

⁸ ii. 1; iv. 3; vii. 22, 63.

⁹ vii. 70; x. 30. ¹⁰ i. 17 *ad init.*

- 5 Πέμπτον, ὅτι οὐδέ, εἰ ἁμαρτάνουσι, κατείληφας· πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ κατ' οἰκονομίαν γίνεταί. καὶ ὅλως πολλὰ δεῖ πρότερον μαθεῖν, ἵνα τις περὶ ἀλλοτρίας πράξεως καταληπτικῶς τι ἀποφῆνηται.
- 6 Ἔκτον, ὅτι, ὅταν λαν ἀγανακτῆς ἢ καὶ δυσπαθῆς, ἀκαριαῖος ὁ ἀνθρώπειος βίος καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον πάντες ἐξετάθημεν.
- 7 Ἐβδομον, ὅτι οὐχ αἱ πράξεις αὐτῶν ἐνοχλοῦσιν ἡμῖν· ἐκείναι γὰρ εἰσιν ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνων ἡγεμονικοῖς· ἀλλὰ αἱ ἡμέτεραι ὑπολήψεις. ἄρον γοῦν καὶ θέλησον ἀφείναι τὴν ὡς περὶ δεινοῦ κρίσιν, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἡ ὀργή. πῶς οὖν ἀρεῖς; λογισάμενος, ὅτι οὐκ αἰσχρὸν· ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ μόνον ἢ τὸ αἰσχρὸν κακόν, ἀνάγκη καὶ σὲ πολλὰ ἁμαρτάνειν καὶ ληστῆν καὶ παντοῖον γενέσθαι.
- 8 Ὀγδοον, ὅσῳ χαλεπώτερα ἐπιφέρουσιν αἱ ὀργαὶ καὶ λύπαι αἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις, ἤπερ αὐτὰ ἐστίν, ἐφ' οἷς ὀργιζόμεθα καὶ λυπούμεθα.
- 9 Ἐννατον, ὅτι γὰρ εὐμενὲς ἀνίκητον, ἐὰν γνήσιον ἢ καὶ μὴ σεσηρὸς μηδὲ ὑπόκρισις. τί γὰρ σοι ποιήσει ὁ ὑβριστικώτατος, ἐὰν διατελῆς εὐμενὴς αὐτῷ καί, εἰ οὕτως ἔτυχε, πρῶτος παραινῆς καὶ μεταδιδάσκης εὐσυχολῶν παρ' αὐτὸν ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν, ὅτε κακὰ ποιεῖν σε ἐπιχειρεῖ. "Μή, τέκνον· πρὸς ἄλλο πεφύκαμεν. ἐγὼ μὲν οὐ μὴ

¹ Or, "with an eye to circumstances," "with some further end in view," knowledge of which would justify the action or shew its necessity.

² ix. 38.

⁴ vii. 16.

³ vii. 16; viii. 40; ix. 13; xi. 11, 16.

⁵ x. 10.

Fifthly: That thou hast not even proved that they are doing wrong, for many things are done even 'by way of policy.'¹ Speaking generally a man must know many things before he can pronounce an adequate opinion on the acts of another.

Sixthly: When thou art above measure angry or even out of patience, bethink thee that man's life is momentary, and in a little while we shall all have been laid out.²

Seventhly: That in reality it is not the acts men do that vex us—for they belong to the domain of their ruling Reason—but the opinions we form of those acts.³ Eradicate these, be ready to discard thy conclusion that the act in question is a calamity, and thine anger is at an end.⁴ How then eradicate these opinions? By realizing that no act of another debases us. For unless that alone which debases is an evil, thou too must perforce do many a wrong thing and become a brigand⁵ or any sort of man.

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

Ninthly: That kindness is irresistible,⁶ be it but sincere and no mock smile or a mask assumed. For what can the most unconscionable of men do to thee, if thou persist in being kindly to him, and when a chance is given exhort him mildly and, at the very time when he is trying to do thee harm, quietly teach him a better way⁷ thus: *Nay, my child, we have been made for other things. I shall be in*

⁶ Sen. de Ben. vii. 31: vincit malos pertinax bonitas.

⁷ v. 28; vi. 27; viii. 59; x. 4; xi. 13.

βλαβῶ, σὺ δὲ βλάβη, τέκνον." καὶ δεικνύναι εὐαφῶς καὶ ὀλικῶς, ὅτι τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχει, ὅτι οὐδὲ μέλισσαι αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν οὐδ' ὅσα συναγελαστικά πέφυκεν. δεῖ δὲ μήτε εἰρωνικῶς αὐτὸ ποιεῖν μήτε ὀνειδιστικῶς, ἀλλὰ φιλοστόργως καὶ ἀδίκτως τῇ ψυχῇ· καὶ μὴ ὡς ἐν σχολῇ, μηδὲ ἵνα ἄλλος παραστάς θαυμάσῃ· ἀλλ' ἦτοι¹ πρὸς μόνον, καὶ ἐὰν ἄλλοι τινὲς περιεστήκωσιν.

- 10 Τούτων τῶν ἐννέα κεφαλαίων μέμνησο, ὡς παρὰ τῶν Μουσῶν δῶρα εἰληφῶς· καὶ ἄρξαι ποτὲ ἄνθρωπος εἶναι, ἕως ζῆς. φυλακτέον δὲ ἐπίσης τῷ ὀργίζεσθαι αὐτοῖς τὸ κολακεύειν αὐτούς· ἀμφοτέρα γὰρ ἀκοινωνήτα καὶ πρὸς βλάβην φέρει. πρόχειρον δὲ ἐν ταῖς ὀργαῖς, ὅτι οὐχὶ τὸ θυμοῦσθαι ἀνδρικόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρᾶον καὶ ἡμερον, ὥσπερ ἀνθρωπικώτερον, οὕτως καὶ ἀρρενικώτερον, καὶ ἰσχύος καὶ νεύρων καὶ ἀνδρείας τούτῳ μέτεστιν, οὐχὶ τῷ ἀγανακτοῦντι καὶ δυσαρστοῦντι. ὅσῳ γὰρ ἀπαθεία τοῦτο οἰκειότερον, τοσοῦτῳ καὶ δυνάμει. ὥσπερ τε ἡ λύπη ἀσθενούς, οὕτως καὶ ἡ ὀργή. ἀμφοτέροι γὰρ τέτρωνται καὶ ἐνδεδώκασι.

- 11 Εἰ δὲ βούλει, καὶ δέκατον παρὰ τοῦ Μουσηγέτου δῶρον λάβε, ὅτι τὸ μὴ ἀξιοῦν ἀμαρτάνειν τοὺς φαύλους μανικόν· ἀδυνάτου γὰρ ἐφίεται. τὸ δὲ συγχωρεῖν ἄλλοις μὲν εἶναι τοιούτους, ἀξιοῦν δέ, μὴ εἰς σὲ ἀμαρτάνειν, ἄγνωμον καὶ τυραννικόν.

¹ ἦτοι Fournier.

¹ ix. 4.

² xi. 13.

³ cp. Dio 71. 3, § 4.

⁴ iv. 31.

no wise harmed, but thou art harming thyself,¹ my child. Shew him delicately and without any personal reference that this is so, and that even honey-bees do not act thus nor any creatures of gregarious instincts. But thou must do this not in irony² or by way of rebuke, but with kindly affection and without any bitterness at heart, not as from a master's chair, nor yet to impress the bystanders, but as if he were indeed alone even though others are present.

Bethink thee then of these nine heads, taking them as a gift from the Muses, and begin at last to be a man while life is thine. But beware of flattering³ men no less than being angry with them.⁴ For both these are non-social and conducive of harm. In temptations to anger a precept ready to thy hand is this: to be wroth is not manly, but a mild and gentle disposition, as it is more human, so it is more masculine. Such a man, and not he who gives way to anger and discontent, is endowed with strength and sinews and manly courage. For the nearer such a mind attains to a passive calm,⁵ the nearer is the man to strength. As grief is a weakness, so also is anger. In both it is a case of a wound and a surrender.

But take if thou wilt as a tenth gift from Apollo, the Leader of the Muses, this, that to expect the bad not to do wrong is worthy of a madman; for that is to wish for impossibilities.⁶ But to acquiesce in their wronging others, while expecting them to refrain from wronging thee, is unfeeling and despotic.⁷

⁵ The Stoic ἀπάθεια.

⁶ v. 17; vii. 71; ix. 42.

⁷ vi. 27; Sen. *de Ira* ii. 31. ἄγνωμον might also be translated *senseless*.

ιβ'. Τέσσαρας μάλιστα τροπὰς τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ παραφυλακτέον διηνεκῶς καί, ἐπειδὴν φωράσῃς, ἀπαλειπτέον ἐπιλέγοντα ἐφ' ἐκάστου οὕτως: "Τοῦτο τὸ φάντασμα οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον· τοῦτο λυτικὸν κοινωνίας· τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπὸ σαυτοῦ μέλλεις λέγειν." τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ λέγειν ἐν τοῖς ἀτοπωτάτοις νόμιζε. τέταρτον δέ ἐστι, καθ' ὃ σεαυτῷ ὀνειδιεῖς, ὅτι τοῦτο ἡττωμένου ἐστὶ καὶ ὑποκατακλινομένου τοῦ ἐν σοὶ θειοτέρου μέρους τῆ ἀτιμοτέρα καὶ θνητῆ μοῖρα τῆ τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ταῖς τούτου παχείαις ιδέαις.¹

κ'. Τὸ μὲν πνευμάτιόν² σου καὶ τὸ πυρῶδες πᾶν, ὅσον ἐγκέκραται, καίτοι φύσει ἀνωφερῆ ὄντα, ὅμως πειθόμενα τῆ τῶν ὄλων διατάξει, παρακρατεῖται ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ τοῦ συγκρίματος. καὶ τὸ γεῶδες δὲ τὸ ἐν σοὶ πᾶν καὶ τὸ ὑγρόν, καίτοι κατωφερῆ ὄντα, ὅμως ἐγήγερται καὶ ἔστηκε τὴν οὐχ ἑαυτῶν φυσικὴν στάσιν. οὕτως ἄρα καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα ὑπακούει τοῖς ὄλοις, ἐπειδὴν πού καταταχθῆ, σὺν βία μένοντα, μέχρις ἂν ἐκείθεν πάλιν τὸ ἐνδόσιμον τῆς διαλύσεως σημήνη.

2 Οὐ δεινὸν οὖν μόνον τὸ νοερόν σου μέρος ἀπειθὲς εἶναι καὶ ἀγανακτεῖν τῆ ἑαυτοῦ χώρα; καίτοι οὐδὲν 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 ἀφίσταμένου τῆς φύσεως.

¹ ἡδοναῖς P. ² Perhaps πνευματικόν, cp. iv. 4, see Index iii.

19. Against four perversions of the ruling Reason thou shouldest above all keep unceasing watch, and, once detected, wholly abjure them,¹ saying in each case to thyself: *This thought is not necessary*;² *this is destructive of human fellowship*; *this could be no genuine utterance from the heart*.—And not to speak from the heart, what is it but a contradiction in terms?—The fourth case is that of self-reproach,³ for that is an admission that the divine part of thee has been worsted by and acknowledges its inferiority to the body, the baser and mortal partner, and to its gross notions.

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

Is it not then a paradox that the intelligent part alone of thee should be rebellious and quarrel with its station? Yet is no constraint laid upon it but only so much as is in accordance with its nature. Howbeit it does not comply and takes a contrary course. For every motion towards acts of injustice and licentiousness, towards anger and grief and fear, but betokens one who cuts himself adrift from Nature. Aye

¹ xi. 16.

² iv. 24.

³ v. 36; viii. 10. cp. Fronto, *ad Caes.* iv. 13, where Marcus reproaches himself when 19 years old for backwardness in philosophy.

καὶ ὅταν δέ τιμι τῶν συμβαινόντων δυσχεραίνῃ τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, καταλείπει καὶ τότε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χώραν. πρὸς ὁσιότητα¹ γὰρ καὶ θεοσέβειαν κατεσκευάσται οὐχ ἦττον ἢ πρὸς δικαιοσύνην. καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα ἐν εἴδει ἐστὶ τῆς εὐκοινωνησίας, μᾶλλον δὲ πρῆβύτερα τῶν δικαιοπραγημάτων.

κα'. *Ὡς μὴ εἰς καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐστὶν αἰὲ τοῦ βίου σκοπός, οὗτος εἰς καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς δι' ὅλου τοῦ βίου εἶναι οὐ δύναται. οὐκ ἀρκεῖ <δὲ> τὸ εἰρημένον, ἐὰν μὴ κάκεινο προσθῆς, ὅποιον εἶναι δεῖ τοῦτον τὸν σκοπὸν. ὡσπερ γὰρ οὐχ ἢ πάντων τῶν ὁπωσοῦν <τοῖς> πλείοσι δοκούντων ἀγαθῶν ὑπόληψις ὁμοία ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἢ τῶν τοιῶνδ' ἐτινων, 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 αἰὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ἔσται.

κβ'. Τὸν μὲν τὸν ὄρεινόν καὶ τὸν κατοικίδιον² καὶ τὴν πτοίαν τοῦτου καὶ διασόβησιν.

κγ'. Σωκράτης καὶ τὰ τῶν πολλῶν δόγματα 'Λαμίας' ἐκάλει, παιδίων δείματα.

κδ'. Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς μὲν ξένοις ἐν ταῖς θεωρίαις ὑπὸ τῆ σκιᾷ τὰ βᾶθρα ἐτίθεσαν, αὐτοὶ δέ, οὐ ἔτυχον, ἐκαθέζοντο.

¹ ἰσότητα PA: em. Cas.

² ὄρεινόν and κατοικίδιον require transposing to give τοῦτου its correct meaning.

¹ xi. 9.

² xii. 2. ὁσιότης = δικαιοσύνη πρὸς θεούς, see Stob. *Ecl.* ii. 104.

³ But cp. xi. 10.

and when the ruling Reason in a man is vexed at anything that befalls, at that very moment it deserts its station.¹ For it was not made for justice alone, but also for piety² and the service of God. And in fact the latter are included under the idea of a true fellowship, and indeed are prior to the practice of justice.³

21. He who has not ever in view one and the same goal of life cannot be throughout his life one and the same.⁴ Nor does that which is stated suffice, there needs to be added what that goal should be. For just as opinion as to all the things that in one way or another are held by the mass of men to be good is not uniform, but only as to certain things, such, that is, as affect the common weal, so must we set before ourselves as our goal the common and civic weal. For he who directs all his individual impulses towards this goal will render his actions homogeneous and thereby be ever consistent with himself.⁵

22. Do not forget the story of the town mouse and the country mouse, and the excitement and trepidation of the latter.⁶

23. Socrates used to nickname the opinions of the multitude *Ghouls*,⁷ bogies to terrify children.

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

⁴ cp. Dio 71. 34, § 5: ὁμοίως διὰ πάντων ἐγένετο καὶ ἐν οὐδένι ἡλλοιώθη: Aristides *ad Reg.* § 113 (Jebb), says he was ὁ αὐτὸς διὰ τέλους. ⁵ i. 8. ⁶ Aesop, *Fab.* 297; Hor. *Sat.* ii. 6 ff.

⁷ *Lamiae*, or "rampires," "fabulous monsters said to feed on human flesh," Hor. *A.P.* 540; Apul. *Met.* i. 57. cp. Epict. ii. 1, § 14: ταῦτα Σωκράτης μαρμαλυκεία ἐκάλει: Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* iv. 25, whence Keats took his *Lamia*.

κέ'. Τῷ Περδίκκᾳ ὁ Σωκράτης περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἔρχεσθαι παρ' αὐτὸν "Ἰνα," ἔφη, "μὴ τῷ κακίστῳ ὀλέθρῳ ἀπόλωμαι," τουτέστι, μὴ εὖ παθῶν οὐ δυνηθῶ ἀντευποιῆσαι.

κς'. Ἐν τοῖς τῶν Ἐφεσίων¹ γράμμασι παράγ-
γελμα ἔκειτο συνεχῶς ὑπομνησκεσθαι τῶν
παλαιῶν τινος τῶν ἀρετῆ χρησαμένων.

κζ'. Οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι ἔωθεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν
ἀφορᾶν, ἵν' ὑπομνησκώμεθα τῶν ἀεὶ κατὰ
τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως τὸ ἑαυτῶν ἔργον δια-
νούντων καὶ τῆς τάξεως καὶ τῆς καθαρότητος
καὶ τῆς γυμνότητος. οὐδὲν γὰρ προκάλυμμα
ἄστρου.

κη'. Οἷος ὁ Σωκράτης, τὸ κῆδιον ὑπεξω-
σμένος, ὅτε ἡ Ξανθίππη λαβοῦσα τὸ ἰμάτιον ἔξω
προῆλθεν καὶ ἂ εἶπεν ὁ Σωκράτης τοῖς ἐταίροις
αἰδεσθεῖσι καὶ ἀναχωρήσασιν, ὅτε αὐτὸν εἶδον
οὕτως ἐσταλμένον.

κθ'. Ἐν τῷ γράφειν καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν οὐ
πρότερον ἄρξεις, πρὶν ἀρχθῆς. τοῦτο πολλῶ
μᾶλλον ἐν τῷ βίῳ.

λ'. "Δούλος πέφυκας, οὐ μέτεστί σοι λόγου."

λα'. "Ἐμὸν δ' ἐγάλασσε φίλον κῆρ."

λβ'. "Μέμψονται δ' ἀρετὴν χαλεποῖς βάζοντες
ἐπεσιν."

λγ'. "Σῦκον χειμῶνος ζητεῖν μαινομένον."

¹ Ἐπικουρείων Gat. (from Sen. Ep. xi). The only Ἐφεσίων
γράμματα known were magical formulae.

² According to Diog. Laert. Socr. 9; Sen. de Ben. v. 6, § 2;
Arist. Rhet. A. 23, this was Archelaus, son of Perdiccas.

³ cp. Fronto, ad Appianum, Nab. p. 251.

⁴ Sen. Ep. 11, attributes the precept to the Epicureans:

25. Socrates refused the invitation of Perdiccas¹
to his court, *That I come not*, said he, *to a dishonoured
grave*, meaning, that I be not treated with generosity
and have no power to return it.²

26. In the writings of the Ephesians³ was laid
down the advice to have constantly in remembrance
some one of the ancients who lived virtuously.

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

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

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

30. 'Tis not for thee, a slave, to reason⁴ why.

31. . . . and within me my heart laughed.⁵

32. *Virtue they will upbraid and speak harsh words in
her hearing.*⁶

33. *Only a madman will look for figs in winter.*

*aliquis vir bonus nobis eligendus est ac semper ante oculos
habendus ut sic tanquam illo spectante vivamus et omnia
illo vidente faciamus. Hoc Epicurus praecepit.* See, however,
Plut. Symp. vii. 5 ad fin.

⁴ It is not clear whether λόγος here means *speech* or *reason*
or both. The citation, of which the author is not known,
has no obvious application; still less has the following
quotation from Homer. ⁵ Hom. Od. ix. 413.

⁶ Hes. Op. 185, where the reading is *ἄρα τοῖς* for *ἀρετῆν*.

τοιούτος ὁ τὸ παιδίον ζητῶν, ὅτε οὐκ ἔτι δίδοται."

λδ'. "Καταφιλοῦντα τὸ παιδίον δεῖν," ἔλεγεν ὁ Ἐπίκτητος, "ἔνδον ἐπιφθέγγεσθαι. Αὔριον ἴσως ἀποθανῆ." δύσφημα ταῦτα. "Οὐδὲν δύσφημον," ἔφη, "ἀλλὰ¹ φυσικοῦ τιος ἔργου σημαντικόν. ἢ καὶ τὸ τοὺς στάχνας θερισθῆναι δύσφημον."

λέ'. Ὀμφαξ, σταφυλή, σταφίς, πάντα μεταβολαί, οὐκ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ νῦν μὴ ὄν.

λς'. "Δησῆς προαιρέσεως οὐ γίνεταί" τὸ τοῦ Ἐπικτήτου.

λζ'. "Τέχνην δέ," ἔφη,² "περὶ τὸ συγκατατίθεσθαι εὐρεῖν, καὶ ἐν τῷ περὶ τὰς ὁρμὰς τόπῳ τὸ προσεκτικὸν φυλάσσειν, ἵνα μεθ' ὑπεξαίρέσεως, 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, "ἔστιν ὁ ἀγών, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ μαίνεσθαι ἢ μὴ."

λθ'. Ὁ Σωκράτης ἔλεγε. "Τί θέλετε; λογικῶν ψυχὰς ἔχει ἢ ἀλόγων; Λογικῶν. Τίνων λογικῶν; ὑγιῶν ἢ φαύλων; Ὑγιῶν. Τί οὖν οὐ ζητεῖτε; Ὅτι ἔχομεν. Τί οὖν μάχεσθε καὶ διαφέρεσθε;"

¹ ἀλλὰ omit P: perhaps ὄνομα from Epict. iii. 24, § 91.

² ἔφη δὲ A: δει Kron.

¹ Epict. iii. 24, § 86 quoted, not *verbatim*.

² *ibid.* iii. 24, § 88. ³ Epict. iii. 24, § 91.

⁴ *ibid.* iii. 22, § 105.

No better is he who looks for a child when he may no longer have one.¹

34. A man while fondly kissing his child, says Epictetus, should whisper in his heart²: 'To-morrow peradventure thou wilt die.' Ill-omened words these! Nay, said he, nothing is ill-omened that signifies a natural process. Or it is ill-omened also to talk of ears of corn being reaped.

35. The grape unripe, mellow, dried—in every stage we have a change, not into non-existence, but into the not now existent.³

36. Hear Epictetus: no one can rob us of our free choice.⁴

37. We must, says he,⁵ hit upon the true science of assent and in the sphere of our impulses pay good heed that they be subject to proper reservations;⁶ that they have in view our neighbour's welfare; that they are proportionate to worth. And we must abstain wholly from inordinate desire and shew avoidance in none of the things that are not in our control.

38. It is no casual matter, then, said he, that is at stake, but whether we are to be sane or no.⁷

39. Socrates was wont to say:⁸ What would ye have? The souls of reasoning or unreasoning creatures? Of reasoning creatures. Of what kind of reasoning creatures? Sound or vicious? Sound. Why then not make a shift to get them? Because we have them already. Why then fight and wrangle?

¹ i.e. Epictetus. *cp.* iii. 22, § 105, and *Manual*, ii. 2.

² iv. 1; v. 20; vi. 50; i.e. not unconditionally, but subject to modification by circumstances.

³ Epict. i. 22, §§ 17-21; Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3. 43.

⁴ Only found here.

BIBAIION IB

α'. Πάντα ἐκεῖνα, ἐφ' ἃ διὰ περιόδου εὐχῆ ἐλθεῖν, ἤδη ἔχειν δύνασαι, ἐὰν μὴ σαντῶ φθονῆς. τοῦτο δέ ἐστιν, ἐὰν πᾶν τὸ παρελθὸν καταλίπῃς καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἐπιτρέψῃς τῇ προνοίᾳ καὶ τὸ παρὸν μόνον ἀπευθύνῃς πρὸς ὁσιότητα καὶ δικαιοσύνην. ὁσιότητα μὲν, ἵνα φιλήῃς τὸ ἀπονεμόμενον· σοὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ ἡ φύσις ἔφερε καὶ σὲ τούτῳ. δικαιοσύνην δέ, ἵνα ἐλευθέρως καὶ χωρὶς περιπλοκῆς λέγῃς τε τᾷληθῆ καὶ πράσῃς τὰ κατὰ νόμον καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν μὴ ἐμποδίξῃ δέ σε μήτε κακία ἀλλοτριᾶ μήτε ὑπόληψις μήτε φωνὴ μηδὲ μὴν αἰσθησις τοῦ περιτεθραμμένου σοι σαρκιδίου· ὄψεται γὰρ τὸ πάσχον.

² Ἐὰν οὖν, ὅτεδήποτε πρὸς ἐξόδῳ γένη, πάντα τὰ ἄλλα καταλιπὼν μόνον τὸ ἡγεμονικόν σου καὶ τὸ ἐν σοὶ θεῖον τιμῆσης, καὶ μὴ τὸ παύσεσθαί ποτε <τοῦ> ζῆν φοβηθῆς, ἀλλὰ τό γε μηδέποτε ἄρξασθαι κατὰ φύσιν ζῆν, ἔση ἄνθρωπος ἄξιος τοῦ γεννήσαντος κόσμου καὶ παύση ξένος ὢν τῆς πατρίδος καὶ θαυμάζων ὡς ἀπροσδόκητα τὰ καθ'

¹ x. 33; Hor. *Ep.* i. 11 *ad fin.*

BOOK XII

1. ALL those things, which thou prayest to attain by a roundabout way, thou canst have at once if thou deny them not to thyself¹; that is to say, if thou leave all the Past to itself and entrust the Future to Providence,² and but direct the Present in the way of piety and justice: piety, that thou mayest love thy lot, for Nature brought it to thee and thee to it; justice, that thou mayest speak the truth freely and without finesse, and have an eye to law and the due worth of things³ in all that thou doest; and let nothing stand in thy way, not the wickedness of others, nor thine own opinion, nor what men say, nor even the sensations of the flesh that has grown around thee⁴; for the part affected will see to that.

If then, when the time of thy departure is near, abandoning all else thou prize thy ruling Reason alone and that which in thee is divine,⁵ and dread the thought, not that thou must one day cease to live, but that thou shouldst never yet have begun to live according to Nature, then shalt thou be a man worthy of the Universe that begat thee, and no longer an alien⁶ in thy fatherland, no longer shalt thou marvel at what happens every day as if it

² vii. 8; St. Matt. vi. 34.

³ xi. 37 (Epictetus).

⁴ vii. 68.

⁵ xii. 26.

⁶ iv. 29; xii. 13.

ἡμέραν γινόμενα καὶ κρεμάμενος ἐκ τοῦδε καὶ τοῦδε.

β'. Ὁ θεὸς πάντα τὰ ἡγεμονικὰ γυμνὰ τῶν ὑλικῶν ἀγγείων καὶ φλοιῶν καὶ καθαρμάτων¹ ὄρα. μόνω γὰρ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ νοερῷ μόνων ἄπτεται τῶν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ εἰς ταῦτα ἐρρηκόντων καὶ ἀπωχευμένων. ἐὰν δὲ καὶ σὺ τοῦτο ἐθίσης ποιεῖν, τὸν πολλὴν περισπασμὸν σεαυτοῦ περιαιρήσεις. ὁ γὰρ μὴ τὰ περικείμενα κρεῶδια ὄρων ἤπου γε ἐσθήτα καὶ οἰκίαν καὶ δόξαν καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην περιβολὴν καὶ σκηρὴν θεώμενος ἀσχολήσεται;

γ'. Τρία ἐστίν, ἐξ ὧν συνέστηκες σωματίου, πνευματίου, νοῦς. τούτων τᾶλλα μέχρι τοῦ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεῖν σὰ ἐστι· τὸ δὲ τρίτον μόνον κυρίως σόν. καὶ ἐὰν² χωρίσης ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ, τουτέστιν ἀπὸ τῆς σῆς διανοίας, ὅσα ἄλλοι ποιούσιν ἢ λέγουσιν ἢ ὅσα αὐτὸς ἐποίησας ἢ εἶπας, καὶ ὅσα ὡς μέλλοντα ταρασσει σε, καὶ ὅσα τοῦ περικειμένου σοι σωματίου ἢ τοῦ συμφύτου πνευματίου ἀπροαίρετα πρόσσεστιν, καὶ ὅσα ἢ ἐξωθεν περιρρέουσα δίνη ἐλίσσει, ὥστε τῶν συνειμαρμένων ἐξηρμένην <καὶ> καθαρὰν τὴν νοερὰν δύναμιν ἀπόλυτον ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ζῆν ποιούσαν τὰ δίκαια καὶ θέλουσαν τὰ συμβαίνοντα καὶ λέγουσαν τᾶληθῆ—ἐὰν χωρίσης, φημί, τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ τούτου τὰ προσσηρημένα ἐκ προσπαθείας καὶ τοῦ χρόνου τὰ ἐπέκεινα ἢ

¹ I should prefer *καλυμμάτων*.

² διὸ ἐὰν Gat.: καὶ ἐὰν Stich.: ὁ ἐὰν PA.

were unforeseen, and be dependent on this or that.

2. God sees the Ruling Parts of all men stripped of material vessels and husks and sloughs. For only with the Intellectual Part of Himself is He in touch with those emanations only which have welled forth and been drawn off from Himself into them. But if thou also wilt accustom thyself to do this, thou wilt free thyself from the most of thy distracting care. For he that hath no eye for the flesh that envelopes him will not, I trow, waste his time with taking thought for raiment and lodging and popularity and such accessories and frippery.¹

3. Thou art formed of three things in combination—body, vital breath, intelligence.² Of these the first two are indeed thine, in so far as thou must have them in thy keeping, but the third alone is in any true sense thine.³ Wherefore, if thou cut off from thyself, that is from thy mind, all that others do or say and all that thyself hast done or said, and all that harasses thee in the future, or whatever thou art involved in independently of thy will by the body which envelopes thee and the breath that is twinned with it, and whatever the circumambient rotation outside of thee sweeps along, so that thine intellectual faculty, delivered from the contingencies of destiny, may live pure and undetached by itself, doing what is just, desiring what befalls it, speaking the truth—if, I say, thou strip from this ruling Reason all that cleaves to it from the bodily influences and the things that lie beyond in time and

¹ Lit. *stage-scenery*; cp. Sen. *ad Marc.* 10.

² ii. 2; iii. 16. Here *πνευματίου* = *ψυχῆ* (soul) in its lower sense, see Index III.

³ x. 38.

τὰ παρρηχικότα ποιήσης τε σεαυτόν, οἶος ὁ
Ἐμπεδοκλείος

“Σφαίρος κυκλοτερής, μονίη¹ περιηγεί γαίων,”

μόνον τε ζῆν ἐκμελετήσης, ὃ ζῆς, τουτέστι τὸ
παρόν, δυνήση τό γε μέχρι τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπο-
λειπόμενον ἀταράκτως καὶ εὐμενῶς² καὶ ἰλέως τῷ
σαυτοῦ δαίμονι διαβιῶναι.

δ'. Πολλάκις ἐθαύμασα, πῶς ἑαυτὸν μὲν
ἕκαστος μᾶλλον πάντων φιλεῖ, τὴν δὲ ἑαυτοῦ
περὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπόληψιν ἐν ἐλάττονι λόγῳ τίθεται ἢ
τὴν τῶν ἄλλων. εἰ γοῦν τινα θεὸς ἐπιστὰς ἢ
διδάσκαλος ἔμφρων κελεύση, μηδὲν καθ' ἑαυτὸν
ἐνθυμείσθαι καὶ διανοεῖσθαι, ὃ μὴ ἅμα καὶ
γεγωνίσκων ἐξοίσει, οὐδὲ πρὸς μίαν ἡμέραν
τοῦτο ὑπομενεῖ. οὕτω τοὺς πέλας μᾶλλον
αἰδοῦμεθα, τί ποτε περὶ ἡμῶν φρονήσουσιν, ἢ
ἑαυτούς.

ε'. Πῶς ποτε πάντα καλῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως
διατάξαντες οἱ θεοί, τοῦτο μόνον παρεῖδον, τὸ
ἐνίους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πάνυ χρηστοὺς καὶ
πλείστα πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ὡσπερ συμβόλαια θεμεν-
ους, καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστον δι' ἔργων ὀσίων καὶ
ἱερουργιῶν συνήθεις τῷ θεῷ γενομένους, ἐπειδὴν
ἅπαξ ἀποθάνωσι, μηκέτι αὐτοῖς γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰς
τὸ παντελὲς ἀπεσβηκέναι; τοῦτο δὲ εἴπερ ἄρα
καὶ οὕτως ἔχει, εὐ ἴσθι, ὅτι, εἰ ὡς ἑτέρως ἔχειν
ἔδει, ἐποίησαν ἄν. εἰ γὰρ δίκαιον ἦν, ἦν ἂν καὶ
δυνατόν, καὶ εἰ κατὰ φύσιν, ἦνεγκεν ἂν αὐτὸ ἢ

¹ μονή A : κοή P : κώνη Cor. : μονή Peyron. : περιήθει PA :
περιηγεί Cor.

² εὐμενῶς Reiske : εὐγενῶς PA.

the things that are past, and if thou fashion thyself
like the Empedoclean

*Sphere to its circle true in its poise well-rounded
rejoicing,¹*

and school thyself to live that life only which is
thine, namely the present, so shalt thou be able
to pass through the remnant of thy days calmly,
kindly, and at peace with thine own 'genius.'²

4. Often have I marvelled how each one of us
loves himself above all men, yet sets less store by his
own opinion of himself than by that of everyone else.
At any rate, if a God or some wise teacher should come
to a man and charge him to admit no thought or
design into his mind that he could not utter aloud
as soon as conceived,³ he could not endure this
ordinance for a single day. So it is clear that we
pay more deference to the opinion our neighbours
will have of us than to our own.

5. How can the Gods, after disposing all things
well and with good will towards men, ever have over-
looked this one thing, that some of mankind, and
they especially good men, who have had as it were the
closest commerce with the Divine, and by devout
conduct and acts of worship have been in the most
intimate fellowship with it, should when once dead
have no second existence but be wholly extinguished?⁴
But if indeed this be haply so, doubt not that
they would have ordained it otherwise, had it needed
to be otherwise. For had it been just, it would
also have been feasible, and had it been in conformity
with Nature, Nature would have brought it about.

¹ viii. 41 ; xi. 12. cp. Hor. Sat. ii. 7, 95 : *in seipso totus
teres atque rotundus.* ² ii. 13 ; iii. 5 etc. ³ iiii. 4.

⁴ For Marcus' views on Immortality, see Introd.

φύσει. ἐκ δὴ τοῦ μὴ οὕτως ἔχειν, εἴπερ οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, πιστοῦσθω σοι, τὸ μὴ δεῆσαι οὕτω γίνεσθαι. ὁρᾷς γὰρ καὶ αὐτός, ὅτι τοῦτο παραζητῶν δικαιολογῆ πρὸς τὸν θεόν· οὐκ ἂν δ' οὕτω διελεγόμεθα τοῖς θεοῖς, εἰ μὴ ἄριστοι καὶ δικαιοτάτοί εἰσιν. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἂν τι περιεῖδον ἀδίκως καὶ ἀλόγως ἡμελημένον τῶν ἐν τῇ διακοσμήσει.

ε'. Ἔθιξε καὶ ὅσα ἀπογινώσκεις. καὶ γὰρ ἡ χεὶρ ἢ ἀριστερά, πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα διὰ τὸ ἀνέθιστον ἀργὸς οὖσα, τοῦ χαλινοῦ ἐρρωμενέστερον ἢ ἡ δεξιὰ κρατεῖ. τοῦτο γὰρ εἴθισται.

ζ'. Ὅποιον δεῖ καταληφθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ θανάτου καὶ σώματι καὶ ψυχῇ· τὴν βραχύτητα τοῦ βίου, τὴν ἀχάνειαν τοῦ ὀπίσω καὶ πρόσω αἰῶνος, τὴν ἀσθένειαν πάσης ἕλης.

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.

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 αἰεὶ ἔχει καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ συστρέψαι αὐτὴν δεῖ.

¹ *cp.* Job (xiii. 3), *I desire to reason with God*, where a similar point is argued.

² *iv.* 26.

³ *iv.* 50; *v.* 23; *xii.* 32.

Therefore from its not being so, if indeed it is not so, be assured that it ought not to have been so. For even thyself canst see that in this presumptuous enquiry of thine thou art reasoning with God.¹ But we should not thus be arguing with the Gods were they not infinitely good and just. But in that case they could not have overlooked anything being wrongly and irrationally neglected in their thorough Ordering of the Universe.

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

7. Reflect on the condition of body and soul befitting a man when overtaken by death, on the shortness of life,² on the yawning gulf³ of the past and of the time to come, on the impotence of all matter.

8. Look at the principles of causation stripped of their husks; at the objective of actions; at what pain is, what pleasure, what death, what fame. See who is to blame for a man's inner unrest; how no one can be thwarted by another⁴; that nothing is but what thinking makes it.⁵

9. In our use of principles of conduct we should imitate the pancratiast not the gladiator.⁶ For the latter lays aside the blade which he uses, and takes it up again, but the other always has his hand and needs only to clench it.

⁴ *v.* 34; *vii.* 16.

⁵ *v.* 2; *viii.* 40; *xii.* 22. Shak. *Ham.* ii. 2. 256 (from Montaigne).

⁶ Or, *the prize-fighter not the duellist.* Some take *ἀναιρεῖται* to mean *'is slain.'*

ι'. Ποῖα¹ αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα, ὄραν διαιροῦντα εἰς ὕλην, αἴτιον, ἀναφοράν.

ια'. Ἡλίκην² ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ἄνθρωπος μὴ ποιεῖν ἄλλο ἢ ὅπερ μέλλει ὁ θεὸς ἐπαινεῖν, καὶ δέχεσθαι πᾶν, ὃ ἂν νέμῃ αὐτῷ ὁ θεός.

ιβ'. Τὸ ἐξῆς τῇ φύσει μήτε θεοῖς μεμπτέον· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐκόντες ἢ ἄκοντες ἀμαρτάνουσιν· μήτε ἀνθρώποις· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὐχὶ ἄκοντες. ὥστε οὐδενὶ μεμπτέον.

ιγ'. Πῶς γελοῖος καὶ ξένος ὁ θαυμάζων ὅτι οὖν τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ γινομένων.

ιδ'. Ἦτοι ἀνάγκη εἰμαρμένη <καὶ> ἀπαράβματος τάξις, ἢ πρόνοια ἰλάσιμος, ἢ φυρμὸς εἰκαιότητος ἀπροστάτητος. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀπαράβματος ἀνάγκη, τί ἀντιτείνεις; εἰ δὲ πρόνοια ἐπιδεχομένη τὸ ἰλάσκεσθαι ἄξιον σαυτὸν ποίησον τῆς ἐκ τοῦ θείου βοηθείας. εἰ δὲ φυρμὸς ἀνηγεμόνευτος, ἀσμένιζε, ὅτι ἐν τοιοῦτῳ [τῷ] κλύδωνι αὐτὸς ἔχεις ἐν σαυτῷ τινα νοῦν ἡγεμονικόν. κἂν παραφέρῃ σε ὁ κλύδων, παραφερέτω τὸ σαρκίδιον, τὸ πνευμάτιον, τᾶλλα· τὸν γὰρ νοῦν οὐ παροίσει. (ιε'.) Ἡ τὸ μὲν τοῦ λύχνου φῶς, μέχρι σβεσθῆ, φαίνει καὶ τὴν αὐγὴν οὐκ ἀποβάλλει· ἢ δὲ ἐν σοὶ ἀλήθεια καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ σωφροσύνη προαποσβήσεται;

ις'. Ἐπὶ τοῦ φαντασίαν παρασχόντος, ὅτι ἤμαρτεν· "Τί δαὶ οἶδα, εἰ τοῦτο ἀμάρτημα;" εἰ δὲ καὶ ἤμαρτεν, ὅτι κατέκρινεν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ

¹ Gat. for τοιαῦτα : δεῖ αὐτὰ Reiske.

² τὸ ὕλικην (cp. § 18) A at end of § 10.

10. See things as they really are, analyzing them into Matter, Cause, Objective.¹

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

12. Find no fault with Gods for what is the course of Nature, for they do no wrong² voluntarily or involuntarily; nor with men, for they do none save involuntarily.³ Find fault then with none.⁴

13. How ludicrous is he and out of place who marvels at anything that happens in life.⁵

14. There must be either a predestined Necessity and inviolable plan, or a gracious Providence, or a chaos without design or director. If then there be an inevitable Necessity, why kick against the pricks? If a Providence that is ready to be gracious, render thyself worthy of divine succour. But if a chaos without guide, congratulate thyself that amid such a surging sea thou hast in thyself a guiding Reason. And if the surge sweep thee away, let it sweep away the poor Flesh and Breath with their appurtenances: for the Intelligence it shall never sweep away. (15.) What! shall the truth that is in thee and the justice and the temperance be extinguished ere thou art, whereas the light of a lamp shines forth and keeps its radiance until the flame be quenched?

16. Another has given thee cause to think that he has done wrong: *But how do I know that it is a wrong?*⁶ And even if he be guilty, suppose that his

¹ viii. 11; xii. 18, 29.

² ii. 11.

³ vii. 22 etc.

⁴ Epict. Man. 5.

⁵ xii. 1.

⁶ vii. 29; ix. 38.

οὕτως ὁμοιον τοῦτο τῷ καταδρῦπτειν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
ὄψιν.

2 "Οτι ὁ μὴ θέλων τὸν φαῦλον ἀμαρτάνειν ὁμοιος
τῷ μὴ θέλοντι τὴν συκῆν ὁπὸν ἐν τοῖς σύκοις
φέρειν καὶ τὰ βρέφη κλαυθμυρίζεσθαι καὶ τὸν
ἵππον χρεμετίζειν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἀναγκαῖα. τί
γὰρ πάθη τὴν ἕξιν ἔχων τοιαύτην; εἰ οὖν γοργὸς
εἶ, ταύτην θεράπευσον.

ιβ'. Εἰ μὴ καθήκει, μὴ πράξης· εἰ μὴ ἀληθές
ἐστί, μὴ εἴπης. ἢ γὰρ ὁρμή σου ἔστω <ἐπὶ σοί>.

ιγ'. Εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἀεὶ ὄραν, τί ἐστὶν αὐτὸ ἐκεῖνον
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.

ιδ'. Αἰσθου ποτέ, ὅτι κρείττοντι καὶ δαιμονιώ-
τερον ἔχεις ἐν σαυτῷ τῶν τὰ πάθη ποιούντων
καὶ καθάπαξ τῶν νευροσπαστούντων σε. τί μου
νῦν ἐστὶν ἡ διάνοια; μὴ φόβος; μὴ ὑποψία; μὴ
ἐπιθυμία; μὴ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον;

κ'. Πρώτον, τὸ μὴ εἰκῆ μηδὲ ἄνευ ἀναφορᾶς.
δεύτερον, τὸ μὴ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ κοινωνικὸν
τέλος τὴν ἀναγωγὴν ποιείσθαι.

κα'. "Οτι μετ' οὐ πολὺ οὐδεὶς οὐδαμοῦ ἔσθ,
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'. "Οτι πάντα ὑπόληψις· καὶ αὕτη ἐπὶ σοί.

¹ iv. 6.

² xii. 10. Or, application.

own heart has condemned him, and so he is as one
who wounds his own face?

Note that he who would not have the wicked do
wrong is as one who would not have the fig-tree
secrete acrid juice¹ in its fruit, would not have
babies cry, or the horse neigh, or have any other
things be that must be. Why; what else can be
expected from such a disposition? If then it chafes
thee, cure the disposition.

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

18. Ever look to the whole of a thing, what
exactly that is which produces the impression on
thee, and unfold it, analyzing it into its causes, its
matter, its objective,² and into its life-span within
which it must needs cease to be.

19. Become conscious at last that thou hast in
thyself something better and more god-like than
that which causes the bodily passions and turns thee
into a mere marionette.³ What is my mind now
occupied with⁴? Fear? Suspicion? Concupis-
cence⁵? Some other like thing?

20. Firstly, eschew action that is aimless and has
no objective. Secondly, take as the only goal of
conduct what is to the common interest.⁶

21. Bethink thee that thou wilt very soon be no
one and nowhere, and so with all that thou now
seest and all who are now living. For by Nature's
law all things must change, be transformed, and
perish, that other things may in their turn come into
being.⁷

22. Remember that all is but as thy opinion

³ ii. 2 etc.

⁴ v. 11.

⁵ ii. 16; ix. 40.

⁶ v. 16; xi. 21.

⁷ ix. 28, 32.

ἄρον οὖν, ὅτε θέλεις, τὴν ὑπόληψιν, καὶ ὥσπερ κάμψαντι τὴν ἄκραν, γαλήνη, σταθερὰ πάντα καὶ κόλπος ἀκύμων.

κγ'. Μία καὶ ἥτισοῦν ἐνέργεια κατὰ καιρὸν παυσαμένη οὐδὲν κακὸν πάσχει, καθ' ὃ πέπανται· οὐδὲ ὁ πράξας τὴν πράξιν ταύτην κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, καθ' ὃ πέπανται, κακὸν τι πέπονθεν. ὁμοίως οὖν τὸ ἐκ πασῶν τῶν πράξεων σύστημα, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὁ βίος, ἐὰν ἐν καιρῷ παύσῃται, οὐδὲν κακὸν πάσχει κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, καθ' ὃ πέπανται· οὐδὲ ὁ καταπαύσας ἐν καιρῷ τὸν εἰρμόν τοῦτον κακῶς διετέθη. τὸν δὲ καιρὸν καὶ τὸν ὄρον δίδωσιν ἡ φύσις, ποτὲ μὲν καὶ ἡ ἰδία, ὅταν ἐν γῆρα, πάντως δὲ ἡ τῶν ὄλων, ἧς τῶν μερῶν μεταβαλλόντων νεαρὸς αἰὲ καὶ ἀκμαῖος ὁ σύμπας κόσμος διαμένει. καλὸν δὲ αἰὲ πᾶν καὶ ὠραῖον τὸ συμφέρον τῷ ὄλῳ. ἡ οὖν κατάπαυσις τοῦ βίου ἐκάστῳ οὐ κακὸν μὲν, ὅτι οὐδὲ αἰσχρόν, εἴπερ καὶ ἀπροαίρετον καὶ οὐκ ἀκοινωνήτον· ἀγαθὸν δέ, εἴπερ τῷ ὄλῳ καίριον καὶ συμφέρον καὶ συμφερόμενον. οὕτω γὰρ καὶ θεοφόρητος ὁ φερόμενος κατὰ ταῦτα θεῷ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῦτα τῇ γνώμῃ φερόμενος.

κδ'. Τρία ταῦτα δεῖ πρόχειρα ἔχειν· ἐπὶ μὲν ὧν ποιεῖς, εἰ μήτε εἰκῆ μήτε ἄλλως ἢ ὡς ἂν ἡ δίκη αὐτῇ ἐνήργησεν· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐξωθεν συμβαινόντων, ὅτι ἤτοι κατ' ἐπιτυχίαν ἢ κατὰ

¹ ii. 15 etc. ² cp. Lucian, *Scyth. ad fin.* ³ ix. 21.
⁴ vii. 25. ⁵ ii. 11; iv. 3; viii. 1. ⁶ ii. 3; iii. 4.

of it,¹ and that is in thy power. Efface thy opinion then, as thou mayest do at will, and lo, a great calm! Like a mariner that has turned the head-land thou findest all at set-fair and a halcyon sea.²

23. Any single form of activity, be it what it may, ceasing in its own due season, suffers no ill because it hath ceased, nor does the agent suffer in that it hath ceased to act.³ Similarly then if life, that sum total of all our acts, cease in its own good time, it suffers no ill from this very fact, nor is he in an ill plight who has brought this chain of acts to an end in its own due time. The due season and the terminus are fixed by Nature, at times even by our individual nature, as when in old age, but in any case by the Universal Nature, the constant change of whose parts keeps the whole Universe ever youthful⁴ and in its prime. All that is advantageous to the Whole is ever fair and in its bloom. The ending of life then is not only no evil to the individual—for it brings him no disgrace,⁵ if in fact it be both outside our choice and not inimical to the general weal—but a good, since it is timely for the Universe, bears its share in it and is borne along with it.⁶ For then is he, who is borne along on the same path as God, and borne in his judgment towards the same things, indeed a man god-borne.⁷

24. Thou must have these three rules ready for use. *Firstly*, not to do anything, that thou doest, aimlessly,⁸ or otherwise than as Justice herself would have acted; and to realize that all that befalls thee from without is due either to Chance or to Providence,

⁷ Epict. ii. 16, § 42: πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀναβλέψας εἰπεῖν, δημογνωμονῶ σοι. ⁸ iv. 2; viii. 17; ix. 28.

πρόνοιαν· οὔτε δὲ τῇ ἐπιτυχίᾳ μεμπτέον οὔτε τῇ
προνοίᾳ ἐγκλητέον. δεύτερον τὸ ὅποιον ἕκαστον
ἀπὸ σπέρματος¹ μέχρι ψυχώσεως καὶ ἀπὸ
ψυχώσεως μέχρι τοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ
ἐξ ὧν ἢ σύγκρισις καὶ εἰς ὅλα ἢ λύσις. τρίτον,
εἰ ἄφνω μετέωρος ἐξαρθεῖς κατασκέψαιο τὰ
ἀνθρώπεια καὶ τὴν πολυτροπίαν, ὅτι κατα-
φρονήσεις συνιδῶν ἅμα καὶ ὅσον τὸ περιοικοῦν
ἐναερίων καὶ ἐναιθερίων καὶ ὅτι, ὅσάκις ἂν
ἐξαρθῆς, ταῦτ' ὄψει, τὸ ὁμοειδές, τὸ ὀλιγοχρόνιον.
ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ τύφος.

κέ'. Βάλε ἔξω τὴν ὑπόληψιν· σέσωσαι. τίς
οὖν ὁ κωλύων ἐκβαλεῖν;

κς'. Ὅταν δυσφορῆς ἐπὶ τινι, ἐπελάθου τοῦ,
ὅτι πάντα κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὅλων φύσιν γίνεται, καὶ
τοῦ, ὅτι τὸ ἀμαρτανόμενον ἀλλότριον, καὶ ἐπὶ
τούτοις τοῦ, ὅτι πᾶν τὸ γινόμενον οὕτως ἀεὶ
ἐγίνετο καὶ γενήσεται καὶ νῦν πανταχοῦ γίνεται·
τοῦ, ὅση ἢ συγγένεια ἀνθρώπου πρὸς πᾶν τὸ
ἀνθρώπειον γένος· οὐ γὰρ αἱματίου ἢ σπερματίου,
ἀλλὰ νοῦ κοινωνία. ἐπελάθου δὲ καὶ τοῦ, ὅτι ὁ
ἐκάστου νοῦς θεός καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐρρήκε· τοῦ, ὅτι
οὐδὲν ἴδιον οὐδενός, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τεκνίον καὶ τὸ

¹ σπερήματος PA: σπέρματος Gat.: σπηρίγματος Schenkl:
possibly στερεώματος (solidification).

¹ The living soul was supposed by the Stoics to be received
at birth, see Plut. *de Placit. Phil.* v. 15, and *Stoic. Contr.* 38;
and for a reputed conversation on this subject between
Marcus and the rabbi Jehuda, see Talmud, *Sanh.* 91 b
(*Jewish Encycl.* Funk & Wagnalls, 1902).

² vii. 48; ix. 30.

³ cp. Lucian, *Charon* (throughout). What Marcus means
by ἐναερίοι and ἐναιθερίοι (or the neuters of these) is not

nor hast thou any call to blame Chance or to impeach
Providence. *Secondly* this: to think what each crea-
ture is from conception till it receives a living soul,
and from its reception of a living soul till its giving
back of the same,¹ and out of what it is built up and
into what it is dissolved. *Thirdly*, that if carried
suddenly into mid-heaven thou shouldst look down
upon human affairs² and their infinite diversity,
thou wilt indeed despise them,³ seeing at the same
time in one view how great is the host that peoples
the air and the aether around thee; and that, however
often thou wert lifted up on high, thou wouldst
see the same sights, everything identical in kind,
everything fleeting. Besides, the vanity of it all!

25. Overboard with opinion⁴ and thou art safe
ashore. And who is there prevents thee from
throwing it overboard?

26. In taking umbrage at anything, thou forgettest
this, that everything happens in accordance with the
Universal Nature⁵; and this, that the wrong-doing is
another's⁶; and this furthermore, that all that happens,
always did happen,⁷ and will happen so, and is at
this moment happening everywhere. And thou
forgettest how strong is the kinship between man
and mankind, for it is a community not of corpuscles,
of seed or blood, but of intelligence.⁸ And thou
forgettest this too, that each man's intelligence is
God⁹ and has emanated from Him; and this, that
nothing is a man's very own, but that his babe, his

clear. But cp. Apul. *de deo Socr.*, *circa med.*, and his disqui-
sition on *δαίμονες*; and the interesting parallel 2 Kings vi. 17.

⁴ iv. 7; vii. 17, 29; viii. 29; ix. 7; xii. 22.

⁵ v. 8, 10.

⁶ ix. 38.

⁷ vii. 1.

⁸ ii. 1.

⁹ cp. Eur. *Frag.* 1007, δ νοῦς γὰρ ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ἐν ἐκάστῳ
θεός: Cic. *Tusc.* i. 26, § 65.

σωμάτιον καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ψυχάριον ἐκεῖθεν ἐλήλυθεν τοῦ, ὅτι πάνθ' ὑπόληψις τοῦ, ὅτι τὸ παρὸν μόνου ἕκαστος ζῆ καὶ τοῦτο ἀποβάλλει.

κζ'. Συνεχῶς ἀναπολεῖν τοὺς ἐπὶ τινι λῖαν ἀγανακτήσαντας, τοὺς ἐν μεγίσταις δόξαις ἢ συμφοραῖς ἢ ἔχθραις ἢ ὅποιαισὺν τύχαις ἀκμάσαντας· εἶτα ἐφιστάνειν· "Ποῦ νῦν πάντα ἐκεῖνα;" καπνὸς καὶ σποδὸς καὶ μῦθος ἢ οὐδὲ μῦθος. συμπροσπιπέτω δὲ καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτο πᾶν, οἶον Φάβιος Κατουλλῖνος ἐπ' ἀγροῦ, καὶ Λούσιος Λούπος¹ ἐν τοῖς κήποις, καὶ Σπερτίνιος ἐν Βαίαις, καὶ Τιβέριος ἐν Καπρίαῖς, καὶ Οὐήλιος Ῥούφος,² καὶ ὅλως ἢ πρὸς ὅτιοῦν μετ' οἰήσεως διαφορά· καὶ ὡς εὐτελὲς πᾶν τὸ κατεντεινόμενον· καὶ ὄσφ φιλοσοφώτερον τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς δοθείσης ὕλης ἑαυτὸν δίκαιον, σώφρονα, θεοῖς ἐπόμενον ἀφελῶς παρέχειν. ὁ γὰρ ὑπὸ ἀτυφία τυφὸς τυφόμενος πάντων χαλεπώτατος.

κη'. Πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιζητούντας, "Ποῦ γὰρ ἰδὼν τοὺς θεοὺς ἢ πόθεν κατειληφώς, ὅτι εἰσίν, οὕτω σέβεις;" πρῶτον μὲν καὶ ὄψει ὀρατοί εἰσιν· ἔπειτα μέντοι οὐδὲ τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ ἐώρακα, καὶ ὅμως τιμῶ. οὕτως οὖν καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς, ἐξ ὧν τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτῶν ἐκάστοτε πειρῶμαι, ἐκ τούτων, ὅτι τε εἰσί, καταλαμβάνω καὶ αἰδοῦμαι.

¹ Λούσιος Λούπος P.A. Perhaps we should read Lucius Lucullus, who would be a typical instance.

² ἐν Οὐήλιζ Barberini.

¹ ii. 3. ² xii. 8, 22 etc. ³ ii. 14; xii. 3.

⁴ vi. 47; viii. 25; x. 31.

⁵ cp. Pers. v. 132: *cinis et manes et fabula fies.*

body, his very soul came forth from Him¹; and this, that everything is but opinion²; and this, that it is only the present moment that a man lives and the present moment only that he loses.³

27. Let thy mind dwell continually on those who have shewn unmeasured resentment at things, who have been conspicuous above others for honours or disasters or enmities or any sort of special lot. Then consider, *Where is all that now?*⁴ Smoke and dust and a legend or not a legend even.⁵ Take any instance of the kind—Fabius Catullinus in the country, Lusius Lupus in his gardens, Stertinius at Baiae, Tiberius in Capreae, and Velius Rufus—in fact a craze for any thing whatever arrogantly⁶ indulged. How worthless is everything so inordinately desired! How much more worthy of a philosopher is it for a man without any artifice to shew himself in the sphere assigned to him just, temperate, and a follower of the Gods. For the conceit that is conceived of its freedom from conceit is the most insufferable of all.⁷

28. If any ask, *Where hast thou seen the Gods or how hast thou satisfied thyself of their existence that thou art so devout a worshipper?*⁸ I answer: In the first place, they are even visible to the eyes.⁹ In the next, I have not seen my own soul either, yet I honour it.¹⁰ So then from the continual proofs of their power I am assured that Gods also exist and I reverence them.

⁶ For *ὄψις* see Epict. i. 8, § 6.

⁷ See the story of Plato and Diogenes, Diog. Laert. vi. 2, § 4.

⁸ cp. Dio 71. 34 § 2.

⁹ The stars were Gods in the Stoic view. cp. above viii. 19, and Sen. *de Benef.* iv. 8.

¹⁰ Theoph. *Ad Autol.* i. 2 and 5; Min. Fel. Oct. 32, *ad fin.*

κθ'. Σωτηρία βίου ἕκαστον δι' ὄλου αὐτὸ τί ἐστὶν ὄραν, τί μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸ ὑλικόν, τί δὲ τὸ αἰτιῶδες· ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν καὶ τὰ ληθῆ λέγειν. τί λοιπὸν ἢ ἀπολαύειν τοῦ ζῆν συνάπτουτα ἄλλο ἐπ' ἄλλω ἀγαθόν, ὥστε μηδὲ τὸ βραχύτατον διάστημα ἀπολείπειν;

λ'. Ἐν φῶς ἡλίου, κὰν διείργηται τοίχοις, ὄρεσιν, ἄλλοις μυρίοις. μία οὐσία κοινή, κὰν διείργηται ἰδίως ποιῶσι σώμασι μυρίοις. μία ψυχὴ, κὰν φύσει διείργηται μυρίαῖς καὶ ἰδίαις περιγραφαῖς. μία νοερά ψυχὴ, κὰν διακεκρίσθαι δοκῆ. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα μέρη τῶν εἰρημένων, οἶον πνεύματα, καὶ ὑποκείμενα ἀναίσθητα καὶ ἀνοικεῖωτα ἀλλήλοισι· καίτοι κάκεῖνα τὸ νοῦν¹ 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 διαγίνεσθαι;² ἀλλὰ τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι; τὸ ὀρῶν; τὸ αὔξεσθαι; τὸ λῆγειν αὐθις; τὸ φωνῆ χρῆσθαι; τὸ διανοεῖσθαι; τί τούτων πόθου σοι ἄξιον δοκεῖ; εἰ δὲ ἕκαστα εὐκαταφρόνητα, πρόσθι ἐπὶ τελευταῖον τὸ ἐπεσθαι τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῷ θεῷ. ἀλλὰ μάχεται τὸ τιμᾶν ταῦτα, τὸ ἄχθεσθαι, εἰ διὰ τοῦ τεθνηκένα στερήσεται τις αὐτῶν.

¹ τὸ ἐνοῦν Rend. : τὸ νοῦν Gat. : τὸν νοῦν PA.

² διαπνεῖσθαι Leopold.

¹ xii. 10, 18 etc. ² v. 6; ix. 23.

³ viii. 57.

29. Salvation in life depends on our seeing everything in its entirety and and its reality, in its Matter and its Cause¹: on our doing what is just and speaking what is true with all our soul. What remains but to get delight of life by dovetailing one good act² on to another so as not to leave the smallest gap between?

30. There is one Light of the Sun, even though its continuity be broken by walls, mountains,³ and countless other things. There is one common Substance, even though it be broken up into countless bodies individually characterized. There is one Soul, though it be broken up among countless natures and with individual limitations. There is one Intelligent Soul, though it seem to be divided. Of the things mentioned, however, all the other parts, such as Breath, are the material Substratum of things,⁴ devoid of sensation and the ties of mutual affinity—yet even they are knit together by the faculty of intelligence and the gravitation which draws them together. But the mind is peculiarly impelled towards what is akin to it, and coalesces with it, and there is no break in the feeling of social fellowship.

31. What dost thou ask for? Continued existence? But what of sensation? Of desire? Of growth? Or again of coming to an end? Of the use of speech? The exercise of thought? Which of these, thinkest thou, is a thing to long for? But if these things are each and all of no account, address thyself to a final endeavour to follow Reason and to follow God.⁵ But it militates against this to prize such things, and to grieve if death comes to deprive us of them.

⁴ With an alteration of stops these words may mean *such as Breath and Matter, are devoid of sensation.*

⁵ vii. 31; xii. 27.

λβ'. Πόστον μέρος τοῦ ἀπείρου καὶ ἀχανοῦς αἰῶνος ἀπομεμέρισται ἐκάστω; τάχιστα γὰρ ἐναφανίζεται τῷ αἰδίῳ. πόστον δὲ τῆς ὄλης οὐσίας; πόστον δὲ τῆς ὄλης ψυχῆς; ἐν πόστῳ δὲ βωλαρίῳ τῆς ὄλης γῆς ἔρπει; πάντα ταῦτα ἐνθυμούμενος μηδὲν μέγα φαντάζου ἢ τό, ὡς μὲν ἡ σὴ φύσις ἄγει, ποιεῖν, πᾶσχειν δέ, ὡς ἡ κοινὴ φύσις φέρει.

λγ'. Πῶς ἑαυτῷ χρήται τὸ ἡγεμονικόν; ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ τὸ πᾶν ἐστί. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ, ἢ προ-αίρετικά ἐστίν ἢ ἀπροαίρετα, νεκρὰ καὶ καπνός.

λδ'. Πρὸς θανάτου καταφρόνησιν ἐγερτικώ-
τατον, ὅτι καὶ οἱ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸν πόνον κακὸν κρίνοντες ὁμῶς τούτου κατεφρό-
νησαν.

λέ'. Ὡς τὸ εὐκαιρον μόνον ἀγαθὸν καὶ ὃ τὸ πλείους κατὰ λόγον ὀρθὸν πράξεις ἀποδοῦναι τῷ ὀλιγωτέρας ἐν ἴσῳ ἐστί, καὶ ὃ τὸν κόσμον θεωρήσαι 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 ἑκατόν>;¹ τὸ γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἴσον ἐκάστω. τί οὖν δεινόν, εἰ τῆς πόλεως ἀποπέμπει σε οὐ τύραννος οὐδὲ δικαστῆς ἄδικος, ἀλλ' ἡ φύσις ἢ εἰσαγαγούσα;

¹ <ἢ τρισί> Reiske: I have preferred ἑκατόν.

¹ iv. 50; v. 24.

² Epict. i. 12 § 26: οὐκ οἶσθα ἡλικίον μέρος εἰ πρὸς τὰ θνατά;

³ iii. 4.

⁴ v. 11; x. 24.

⁵ x. 31.

32. How tiny a fragment of boundless and abysmal Time has been appointed to each man!¹ For in a moment it is lost in eternity. And how tiny a part of the Universal Substance!² How tiny of the Universal Soul! And on how tiny a clod of the whole Earth dost thou crawl! Keeping all these things in mind, think nothing of moment save to do what thy nature leads thee to do, and to bear what the Universal Nature brings thee.³

33. How does the ruling Reason treat itself?⁴ That is the gist of the whole matter. All else, be it in thy choice or not, is dead dust and smoke.⁵

34. Most efficacious in instilling a contempt for death is the fact that those who count pleasure a good and pain an evil have nevertheless contemned it.⁶

35. Not even death can bring terror to him who regards that alone as good which comes in due season,⁷ and to whom it is all one whether his acts in obedience to right reason are few or many, and a matter of indifference whether he look upon the world for a longer or a shorter time.⁸

36. Man, thou hast been a citizen in this World-City,⁹ what matters it to thee if for five years or a hundred? For under its laws equal treatment is meted out to all. What hardship then is there in being banished from the city, not by a tyrant or an unjust judge but by Nature who settled thee in it?

⁶ e.g. Otho, Petronius, and Epicurus, for whose famous syllogism on death see Aul. Gell. ii. 8; Diog. Laert. *Epic.* xxxi. § 2, and ep. Bacon's Essay "On Death." Tert. *ad Mart.* §§ 4, 5.

⁷ x. 20; xii. 23.

⁸ iii. 7; xii. 36.

⁹ ii. 16; iii. 11; iv. 4.

οἶον εἰ κωμῶδον ἀπολύοι τῆς σκηνῆς ὁ παραλαβὼν
στρατηγός. “Ἄλλ’ οὐκ εἶπον τὰ πέντε μέρη, ἀλλὰ
τὰ τρία.” καλῶς εἶπας· ἐν μέντοι τῷ βίῳ τὰ τρία
ὅλον τὸ δράμα ἐστίν. τὸ γὰρ τέλειον ἐκείνος ὀρίζει
ὁ τότε μὲν τῆς συγκρίσεως, νῦν δὲ τῆς διαλύσεως
αἴτιος· σὺ δὲ ἀναίτιος ἀμφοτέρων. ἄπιθι οὖν
ἴλεως· καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀπολύων ἴλεως.¹

¹ Here follow in A the verses translated in the Introduction.

So might a praetor who commissions a comic actor,
dismiss him from the stage. *But I have not played
my five acts, but only three.* Very possibly, but in
life three acts count as a full play.¹ For he, that
is responsible for thy composition originally and thy
dissolution now, decides when it is complete.
But thou art responsible for neither. Depart then
with a good grace, for he also that dismisses thee is
gracious.

¹ iii. 8; xi. 1; Epict. *Man* 17; Cic. *de Senect.* 70.

THE SPEECHES OF MARCUS

Cum aliquid pulchrius elocutus sum, placeo mihi,
ideoque eloquentiam fugio.

MARCUS *apud* FRONTO.

THE SPEECHES OF MARCUS

INTRODUCTION

MARCUS learnt from Rusticus to "eschew rhetoric and fine language"¹ and thanked the Gods that "he had not made more progress in his rhetorical studies,"² but the Greek in which he clothed his *Thoughts* shews that he had made some progress in them, and Dio says he was "practised in the principles of rhetoric."³

Only three speeches, purporting to be by Marcus, have come down to us. It is not certain how far we can accept them as authentic. The first is reported by Dio Cassius, who was twenty at the time of its delivery, and as he lived at Rome, and afterwards held high office in the state, he had ample sources of information. He expressly states that Marcus read this address to the soldiers on the rebellion of Cassius, and being written it was more likely to have been preserved verbatim. It cannot be denied that the speech has touches characteristic of Marcus, but of course these might have been purposely introduced by a skilful forger. On the other hand the style is rather rhetorical and artificial and more in keeping with Dio's known proclivities. Still there is a dignity and restraint, not altogether unworthy of the occasion, noticeable throughout. Unfortunately it only comes to us in the epitome of Xiphilinus, and we do not know how far he has curtailed it, and it certainly seems

¹ See above, i. 7; Fronto, *De Eloq.* 3.

² See above, i. 17, § 4. ³ Dio, 71. 35, §1.

THE SPEECHES OF MARCUS

too short for such an occasion. In any case it must have been delivered in Latin.

The last remark applies also to the dying speech of Marcus as given by Herodian, another contemporary authority, but one who was fond of composing suitable speeches for his characters when what they had actually said was not recoverable. The shortness of this speech may be said to be in its favour, as the Emperor was in the last stages of his illness. The opening words are perhaps too plaintive and personal, but the remainder is natural and appropriate. The last few words of such a ruler and friend must have impressed his hearers and may well have been taken down at the time. Still it is strange that there is no hint of this speech in the description of the last scene given by Capitolinus.¹

The third speech, from the "Life of Avidius Cassius" by Gallicanus, is much less likely to be genuine. That particular piece of work is full of suspected material, and Marius Maximus, from whom this speech is probably taken, though a contemporary, is not a trustworthy authority, while the diction and absurd rhetoric of the missive, for it was a speech sent to the Senate and not delivered in it, are decidedly against its genuineness.

¹ Who here uses as his authority "The last great historian of Rome"; see *Das Kaiserhaus der Antonine und der Letzte Historiker Roms*, Otto Th. Schulz, p. 128, who thinks the anonymous writer may have been Lollius Urbicus. See Lampr. *Vit. Diadum.* ix. 2.

NOTE

As the Speeches and Sayings cannot definitely be attributed to Marcus Aurelius it was thought advisable to print them in smaller type in order to distinguish them from his authentic work.

Ο δὲ δὴ Μάρκος παρὰ τοῦ Οὐήρου¹ τοῦ τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἄρχοντας τὴν ἐπανάστασιν αὐτοῦ μαθὼν τέως μὲν συνέκρυπτεν αὐτά, ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται τῇ τε φήμῃ ἰσχυρῶς ταρασσόντο καὶ ἐλογοποιοῦν πολλά, συνεκάλεσεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνέγνω τοιαῦτα·

“Οὐκ ἀγανακτήσων, ὦ συστρατιῶται, ἢ ὀδυρούμενος παρελήλυθα. χαλεπαίνειν μὲν γὰρ τί δεῖ πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον, ᾧ πάντα ἕξεστιν; ὀλοφύρεσθαι δὲ ἴσως ἀνάγκη τοὺς ἀδίκως δυστυχοῦντας· ὃ καὶ ἐμοὶ νῦν συμβέβηκεν. πῶς γὰρ οὐ δεινὸν πολέμοις ἡμᾶς ἐκ πολέμων συμφέρεσθαι; πῶς δ' οὐκ ἄτοπον καὶ ἐμφυλίῳ συμπλακῆναι; πῶς οὐκ ἀμφότερα καὶ δεινότητι καὶ ἀτοπία νικᾷ, τὸ μηδὲν πιστὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἶναι,² ἀλλ' ἐπιβεβουλευσθαι τέ με ὑπὸ τοῦ φιλιτάτου καὶ ἐς ἀγῶνα ἀκούσιον καθίστασθαι μήτε τι ἡδικηκότα μήτε πεπλημμεληκότα;³ τίς μὲν γὰρ ἀρετὴ ἀσφαλῆς, τίς δὲ φιλία ἔτι νομισθήσεται ἐμοῦ ταῦτα πεπονθότος; πῶς δ' οὐκ ἀπόλλωλε μὲν πίστις,⁴ ἀπόλλωλε δὲ ἐλπὶς ἀγαθή; ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν μόνος ἐγὼ ἐκινδύνεον, παρ' οὐδὲν ἂν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐποιεσάμην· οὐ γάρ που καὶ ἀθάνατος ἐγεννήθη· ἐπεὶ δὲ δημοσία τε ἀπόστασις, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπανάστασις, γέγονε, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος πάντων ὁμοίως ἡμῶν ἄπτεται, ἐβουλόμην, εἰ οἶόν τε ἦν, προσκαλέσασθαι τὸν Κάσσιον καὶ δικαιολογήσασθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν παρ' ὑμῖν ἢ παρὰ τῇ γερουσίᾳ· καὶ ἡδέως ἂν ἀμαχίᾳ παρεχόρησα αὐτῷ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, εἰ τοῦτο τῷ κοινῷ συμφέρειν ἔδοκεῖ. ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινού γὰρ καὶ πονῶν καὶ κινδυνεύων διατελω, τοσοῦτόν τε ἐνταυθοῖ χρόνον ἕξω τῆς Ἰταλίας πεποιήκα, ἄνθρω-

¹ i.e. Martius Verus, see below.

² He forgot his own precepts; see *Medit.* ix. 42, unless, as is possible, the speech came first.

³ Dio 71. 34, § 3, οὐτε ἐκὼν οὐτε ἄκων ἐπλημμέλει. *cp.* Aristides, *Orat. ad Regem*, § 106 (Jobb).

⁴ *cp.* *Medit.* v. 33.

Speech to the Army on the news of the Revolt of Cassius,
175 A.D.

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

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

πος καὶ γέρον ἤδη¹ καὶ ἀσθενῆς² καὶ οὔτε τροφήν ἄλυπον οὐθ' ὕπνον ἀφροντι λαβεῖν δυνάμενος.

“Ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἂν ποτε συγκαθίβαιναι ἐς τοῦτο ὁ Κάσσιος ἐθελήσει, πῶς γὰρ ἂν πιστεύσειέ μοι, ἄπιστος οὕτω περὶ ἐμέ γεγεννημένος; ὑμᾶς γε, ὡς συστρατιῶται, χρὴ θαρρῆν. οὐ γάρ που κρείττους Κίλικες καὶ Σύροι καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ὑμῶν οὔτε ἐγένοντό ποτε οὔτε ἔσονται, οὐδ' ἂν μυριάκις πλείους ὑμῶν, ὅσφ νῦν ἐλάττους εἰσίν, ἀθροισθῶσιν. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' αὐτὸς ὁ Κάσσιος, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ στρατηγικὸς εἶναι καὶ πολλὰ κατωρθωκέναι δοκεῖ, λόγου τινὸς ἀξίος νῦν ἂν φανεῖη· οὔτε γὰρ αἰτὸς κολοιῶν ἢ καὶ λέων νεβρῶν ἠγησάμενος ἀξιόμαχος γίνεται, καὶ τὸν Ἀραβικὸν τὸν τε Παρθικὸν ἐκείνον πόλεμον οὐ Κάσσιος ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς κατειργάσασθε. ἄλλως τε, εἰ καὶ ἐκείνος ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Πάρθους πραχθέντων εὐδόκιμος ἔστιν, ἔχετε καὶ ὑμεῖς Οὐῆρον,³ ὃς οὐδὲν ἦτρον ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλλον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνίκησε πλείω καὶ κατεκτήσατο.

“Ἄλλὰ τάχα μὲν καὶ ἤδη μετανενόηκε, ζῶντά με μεμαθηκῶς· οὐ γάρ που καὶ ἄλλως ἢ ὡς τετελευτηκότος μου τοῦτ' ἐποίησεν. ἂν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείων ἀντίσχη, ἀλλ' ὅταν γε καὶ προσίοντας ἡμᾶς πύθηται, πάντως γνωσιμαχήσει, καὶ ὑμᾶς φοβηθεῖς καὶ ἐμὲ αἰδεσθεῖς. ἐγὼ γοῦν ἐν μόνον δέδοικα, ὡς συστρατιῶται, εἰρήσεται γὰρ πάντα πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἢ ἀλήθεια, μὴ ἦτοι αὐτὸς ἐαυτὸν ἀποκτεῖνη, αἰσχυνθεῖς ἐς τὴν ἡμετέραν ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν, ἢ ἕτερος μαθὼν, ὅτι τέ ἤξω καὶ ὅτι ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὀρμῶμαι, τοῦτο ποιήσῃ. μέγα γάρ μου ἄθλον καὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῆς νίκης, καὶ ἠλίκον οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἀνθρώπων ἔλαβεν, ἀφαιρήσεται. τί δὲ τοῦτό ἐστιν; ἀδικήσαντα ἀνθρώπων ἀφείναι, πρὸς φίλιαν ὑπερβάντα φίλον μείναι, πίστιν καταλύσαντι πιστὸν⁴ διαγενέσθαι. παράδοξα μὲν ἴσως ταῦθ' ὑμῖν φαίνεται, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπιστεῖν ὑμᾶς αὐτοῖς δεῖ· οὐ γάρ που

¹ He was 54. *cp. Thoughts*, i. 17, § 6; ii. 2, 6.

² Yet five years more of this anxious and strenuous life were to be his. *cp. Dio*, 71. 22, § 3.

³ Martius Verus. Suidas credits him with tact, slimness, and warlike ability. He gave Marcus the first news of the revolt.

⁴ *cp. Medit.* ix. 42.

and an ailing, unable to take food without pain, or sleep without care.

“But since Cassius would never agree to meet me for this purpose—for what faith could he have in me who kept so ill his faith to me?—you, my fellow soldiers, must in any case be of good cheer. For never, I take it, have Cilicians and Syrians and Jews and Egyptians been a match for you, and never will be, no, not though their muster was as many thousand times more numerous than yours as it is now less. Nor need even Cassius himself, ever so good a commander though he is reputed to be, and credited with many successful campaigns, be held of any great account at the present crisis. For an eagle at the head of daws makes no formidable foe, nor a lion at the head of fawns, and as for the Arabian war and the great Parthian war, it was you, not Cassius, who brought them to a successful end. Moreover, even if he has won distinction by his Parthian campaigns, you too have Verus, who has won not less but even far more victories, and made greater acquisitions than he.

“But perhaps even now, learning that I am alive, he has repented of his action; for surely it was only because he believed me dead, that he acted thus. But if he still maintain his opposition, yet when he learns that we are indeed marching against him, he will doubtless take a different view both from dread of you and from reverence for me. I at any rate, fellow soldiers, have but one fear—for I will tell you the whole truth—that either he should take his own life from very shame of coming into our presence, or that another should slay him, learning both that I shall come and that I am actually setting out against him. For great is the prize of war and of victory—a prize such as no one among men has ever won—of which I shall be deprived. And what is that? To forgive a man who has done wrong, to be still a friend to one who has trodden friendship underfoot, to continue faithful to one who has broken faith. What I say may perhaps seem to you incredible, but you must not disbelieve it;

καὶ ἀπλῶς πάντα τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπόλωλεν, ἀλλ' ἔστι καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἔτι τῆς ἀρχαίας ἀρετῆς λείψανον. ἂν δέ που ἀπιστῆ τις, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μείζον ἐστὶ μοι τὸ ἐπιθίμμημα, ἵνα, ὃ μὴδεὶς ἂν πιστεύσειε γενέσθαι δύνασθαι, τοῦτο ἴδῃ γινόμενον. ὡς ἔγωγε τοῦτ' ἂν μόνον ἐκ τῶν παρόντων κακῶν κερδάναιμι, εἰ δυνηθεῖν καλῶς θέσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα¹ καὶ δεῖξαι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὅτι καὶ ἐμφυλίοις πολέμοις ἔστιν ὀρθῶς χρῆσασθαι."—Dio, 71. 24–26, § 4.

Ex Oratione Marci Antonini (ad Senatum missa).

"Habetis igitur p.c., pro gratulatione victoriae generum meum consulem, Pompeianum² dico, cuius aetas olim remuneranda fuerat consulatu, nisi viri fortes intervenissent, quibus reddi debuit, quod a re publica debebatur. Nunc quod ad defectionem Cassianam pertinet, vos oro atque obsecro, p.c., ut censura vestra deposita meam pietatem clementiamque servetis, immo vestram, neque quemquam unum senatus occidat. Nemo senatorum puniatur, nullius fundatur viri nobilis sanguis, deportati redeant, proscripti bona recipiant. Utinam possem multatos etiam ab inferis excitare! Non enim umquam placet in imperatore vindicta sui doloris, quae si iustior fuerit, acrior videtur. Quare filiis Avidii Cassii et genero et uxori veniam dabit. Et quid dico veniam? Cum illi nihil fecerint. Vivant igitur securi scientes sub Marco vivere. Vivant in patrimonio parentum pro parte donato,³ auro, argento, vestibus fruantur, sint securi, sint vagi et

¹ *cp. Medit. vi. 2.*

² Incorrect. This Pompeianus was consul in 173. In 176 Claud. Pompeianus Quintianus, who married the daughter of Verus and Lucilla (see Dio 72. 4, § 4), was cons. suff. As for the victory, there had been no battle, but Cassius after "a three months' dream of empire" was assassinated by one of his own soldiers. See Czwalina, *De Epistularum, etc., fide.*

for, I take it, all that is good has not vanished utterly from among men, but there still remains among us a vestige of pristine virtue. But if any be incredulous, the greater even on that account is my desire that he should with his own eyes see actually done that which no man would believe could be done. For this would be the only gain I could get from my present troubles, if I were able to bring the matter to an honourable conclusion, and show to all the world that even civil war can be dealt with on right principles."¹

From a Speech of Marcus Antoninus (sent to the Senate).

"In return, then, for your congratulations on our victory, Conscript Fathers, you have as consul my son-in-law Pompeianus, whose mature years should long ago have been rewarded with a consulship had not other brave men had prior claims for recognition from the state. Now with regard to the rebellion of Cassius, I beg and beseech you, Conscript Fathers, to lay aside all thoughts of severity and safeguard my or rather your humanity and clemency, and let no single person be put to death by the Senate. Let no Senator be punished, the blood of no man of noble birth be spilt; let the exiles return, the proscribed recover their goods. Would that I could recall the condemned also from the Shades! For revenge for his own wrongs never sits well on an emperor; the more it is deserved, the more vindictive it seems. So you must pardon the children of Avidius Cassius, and his son-in-law, and his wife. But why do I say "pardon," whereas *they* have done no wrong? Let them live, then, in security, knowing that they live under Marcus. Let them live on their patrimony proportionately divided; let them enjoy their gold, their silver, their raiment;

¹ Or, *made a right use of.*

² *Capit. Vit. Marc. xxvi. 11, 12: filii Cassii et amplius media parte acceperunt paterni patrimonii et auro atque argento adiuti.*

liberi, et per ora omnium ubique populorum circumferant meae, circumferant vestrae pietatis exemplum. Nec magna haec est, p.c., clementia, veniam proscriptorum liberis et coniugibus dari: ego vero a vobis peto, ut consocios senatorii ordinis et equestris a caede, a proscriptioe, a timore, ab infamia, ab invidia, et postremo ab omni vindicetis iniuria¹ detisque hoc meis temporibus, ut in causa tyrannidis qui in tumultu cecidit, probetur occisus."—Vulcat, *Vit. Avid. Cass. xii.*

Συγκαλέσας τοὺς φίλους ὅσοι τε παρήσαν τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ τὸν παῖδα καταστησάμενος, ἐπειδὴ πάντες συνήλθον, ἤσυχῆ τοῦ σκιμποδος κουφίσας ἑαυτὸν τοιούτων λόγων ἤρξατο·

“Ἀχθεσθαι μὲν ὑμᾶς ἐφ’ οἷς ὁρᾶτέ με διακείμενον, θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν· φύσει τε γὰρ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἐλεεινὸν² ἐν ταῖς τῶν ὀμοφύλων συμφοραῖς, τά τε δεινὰ ὑπ’ ὄψιν πεσόντα οἴκτον προκαλείται μείζονα. ἐμοὶ δέ τι καὶ πλεον ὑπάρχειν παρ’ ὑμῶν οἴομαι· ἐκ γὰρ ὃν αὐτὸς διάκειμαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀμοιβαίαν εὖνοιαν εἰκότως ἤλπικα. νῦν δὲ καιρὸς εὐκαιρὸς ἐμοὶ τε αἰσθέσθαι μὴ μάτην πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοσούτου χρόνου τιμῆν τε καὶ σπουδὴν κατατεθεῖσθαι, ὑμῖν τε ἀποδοῦναι χάριν δεῖξασιν ὅτι ὑπὲρ ὃν ἐτύχετε οὐκ ἀνημονεῖτε. ὁρᾶτε δὴ μοι τὸν υἱόν, ὃν αὐτοὶ ἀνεθρέψασθε, ἄρτι τῆς μεираκίῳν ἡλικίας ἐπιβαίνοντα,³ καὶ δεόμενον ὥσπερ ἐν χειμῶνι καὶ ζάλῃ τῶν κυβερνησάντων, μὴ ποι φερόμενος ὑπ’

¹ This frigid rhetoric does not savour of Marcus.

² Pity was scouted by the sterner Stoics; but see *Medit.* ii. 13.

³ Commodus would be nineteen, but *μεираκίῳν* means a boy of fourteen or fifteen. Would *ἀποβαίνοντα*, unless it clashes with the metaphor that follows, meet the difficulty? Dio's

let them be unmolested, let them be free to come and go as they please, and let them bear witness among all peoples everywhere to my humanity and yours. Nor is this any great clemency, O Conscript Fathers, that the children and wives of the proscribed should be pardoned: but what I ask of you is that you should shield all accomplices of Cassius among the Senators or Knights from death, proscription, apprehension, degradation, hatred, and in fact from all injury, and grant this glory to my reign, that in a rebellion against the throne he only should prove to have been slain who fell in the revolt."

The Last Words of Marcus.

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

"That you should be grieved at seeing me in this state is not surprising, for it is natural to mankind to pity the misfortunes of their kinsfolk, and the calamities which fall under our own eyes call forth greater compassion. But I think that something even more will be forthcoming from you to me; for the consciousness of my feelings towards you has led me to hope for a recompense of goodwill from you. But now the time is well-timed both for me to learn that I have not lavished love and esteem upon you in vain for all these years, and for you by showing your gratitude to prove that you are not unmindful of the benefits you have received. You see here my son, whose bringing-up has been in your own hands, just embarking upon the age of manhood and, like a ship amid storm and breakers, in need of those who shall guide the helm, lest in his want of experience of the right course

account of the speech (71. 30. 2.) differs (see also John of Antioch *Fragm.* 118). Dio says that several persons of senatorial rank were condemned: *Cod. Just.* iv. 5. 6.

ἀτελοῦς τῆς τῶν θεόντων ἐμπειρίας¹ ἐς φαῦλα ἐπιτηδεύματα προσαραχθῆ. γένεσθε δὴ οὖν αὐτῷ ὑμεῖς ἀνθ' ἐνὸς ἐμοῦ πατέρες πολλοί, περιέποντές τε καὶ τὰ ἄριστα συμβουλευόντες. οὐτε γὰρ χρημάτων πλῆθος οὐδὲν αὐταρκές πρὸς τυραννίδος ἀκρατίαν, οὐτε δορυφόρων φρουρὰ ἰκανὴ ῥύεσθαι τὸν ἄρχοντα, εἰ μὴ προϋπάρχει ἢ τῶν ὑπηκόων εὐνοια. μάλιστα δὲ ἐκεῖνοι ἐς ἀρχῆς μῆκος ἀκινδύνως ἤλασαν,² ὅσοι μὴ φόβον ἐξ ὠμότητος, πόθον δὲ τῆς αὐτῶν χρηστότητος ταῖς τῶν ἀρχομένων ψυχαῖς ἐνέσταξαν. οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἐξ ἀνάγκης δουλεύοντες ἀλλ' οἱ μετὰ πειθοῦς ὑπακούοντες ἀνύποπτοι καὶ ἔξω κολακείας προσποιήτου δρώντες τε καὶ πάσχοντες διατελοῦσιν, καὶ οὐδέ ποτε ἀφηνιάζουσιν, ἢ μὴ βία καὶ ὕβρει ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἄχθωσι. χαλεπὸν δὲ μετρίασαι τε καὶ ὄρον ἐπιθεῖναι ἐπιθυμίαις ὑπηρετούσης ἐξουσίας. τοιαῦτα δὴ συμβουλευόντες αὐτῷ, καὶ ὧν ἀκούει παρῶν ὑπομνήσκοντες, ὑμῖν τε αὐτοῖς καὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστον ἀποδείξετε βασιλέα, τῇ τε ἐμῇ μνήμῃ χαριείσθε τὰ μέγιστα, οὕτω τε μόνως αἰδιον³ αὐτὴν ποιήσαι δυνήσεσθε."—Herodian, i. 4, § 2.

¹ Dio (72. 1. 1) says Commodus was by nature *ἔκακος*, but from too great *ἀπλότης* (cp. 71. 22. 3) and cowardice easily influenced by his entourage, and was thus by ignorance led into bad ways. See also Julian, *Convin.* 429. 14.

² cp. Vulc. Gall. *Vit. Cass.* viii. 3.

he should be dashed upon the rock of evil habits. Be ye therefore to him many fathers in the place of me, his one father, taking care of him and giving him the best counsel. For neither can any wealth, however abundant, suffice for the incontinence of a tyranny, nor a bodyguard be strong enough to protect the ruler, unless he has first of all the good-will of the governed. For those rulers complete a long course of sovereignty without danger who instil into the hearts of their subjects not fear by their cruelty, but love by their goodness. For it is not those who serve as slaves under compulsion, but those who are obedient from persuasion, that are above suspicion and continue doing and being done by without any cloak of flattery, and never show restiveness unless driven to it by violence and outrage. And it is difficult to check and put a just limit to our desires when Power is their minister. By giving my son then such advice, and bringing to his memory what he now hears with his own ears, you will render him both for yourselves and all mankind the best of kings, and you will do my memory the greatest of services, and thus alone be enabled to make it immortal."

³ This aspiration does not tally with the repeated denunciations of fame in the *Meditations* iii. 10; iv. 19, 33, τὶ δὲ καὶ ἔστιν ὄλωσ τὸ ἀειμνηστον; ὄλον κενόν.

THE SAYINGS OF MARCUS

INTRODUCTION

NOTHING lets us into the secret of a man's character better than little anecdotes about him, and even seemingly trivial sayings uttered by him without any thoughts of a listening posterity. Unfortunately few such reminiscences of Marcus are extant, but the little that remains will be found to throw some light on a character which it has become too much the fashion to accuse of feebleness, criminal complaisance and inefficiency on the one hand, and on the other of harshness and cruelty. No support is given here to either of these mutually destructive views of a personality that was a striking combination of 'sweetness and gravity,'¹ of mildness and tenacity, of justice and mercy. We see a truly religious man who lived up to his creed,² a tempered Stoicism.

¹ *Medit.* i. 15.

² Dio 71. 30, § 2; Phil. *Vit. Soph.* ii. 11 (p. 242 Kayser); *C.I.L.* ii. 6278 = *Eph. Epigr.* vii. 385.

(1) *Capit. iv. 7.*

Post hoc patrimonium paternum sorori¹ totum concessit, cum eum ad divisionem mater vocaret, responditque "avi bonis se esse contentum," addens "ut et mater, si vellet, in sororem suum patrimonium conferret, ne inferior esset soror marito."²

(2) *Capit. v. 3, 4.*

Ubi autem comperit se ab Hadriano³ adoptatum, magis est deterritus quam laetatus, iussusque in Hadriani privatam domum migrare invitus de maternis hortis⁴ recessit. Cumque ab eo domestici quaerent, cur tristis in adoptionem regiam transiret, disputavit "quae mala in se contineret imperium."

(3) *Capit. xxvii. 7.*

Sententia Platonis⁵ semper in ore illius fuit, "Florere civitates, si aut philosophi imperarent aut imperantes philosopharentur."

(4) *Dio 71. 34, § 4 = Suidas sub voce Μάρκος.*

Εἰ μὲν τις χρηστόν τι ἔπραττεν, ἐπῆνε καὶ ἔχρητο ἐς ἐκεῖνο αὐτῷ,⁶ τῶν δὲ ἐτέρων οὐ προσεποιεῖτο, λέγων ὅτι "ποιῆσαι μὲν

¹ His only sister Cornificia. ² Ummidius Quadratus.

³ Schulz supplies *Antonino auctore* before Hadriano.

⁴ These "Gardens," that is, Lucilla's private residence in its own private grounds, were probably on the Caelian hill.

⁵ Plato, *Rep.* 473 D, quoted also by Cicero in his letter to his brother Quintus, *de provincia administranda*.

⁶ A lesson learnt from Pius; see above, i. 16, § 6.

(1)

AFTER this¹ he gave up to his sister all that he had inherited from his father, though his mother invited him to share it equally, and replied that *he was content with being his grandfather's heir*, adding that *his mother too, if she were willing, should bestow her property upon his sister, that his sister might be on an equality with her husband*.

(2)

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

(3)

The sentence of Plato was for ever on his lips: *Well was it for states, if either philosophers were rulers or rulers philosophers*.²

(4)

If anyone did anything excellent, he praised him and utilized him for that, but did not expect other things from him, saying, *It is impossible to make men exactly as*

¹ About 136 A.D., when Marcus was 15.

² Aur. Victor (*De Caes.* xv. 3) applies the saying to Pius. Justin was well advised therefore in his Apology (i. 3), addressed to Pius and Marcus, in quoting the similar aphorism: ἔφη που καὶ τις τῶν παλαιῶν ἂν μὴ οἱ ἀρχοντες φιλοσοφῆσαι καὶ οἱ ἀρχόμενοι, οὐκ ἂν εἴη τὰς πόλεις εὐδαιμονῆσαι.

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τινι ἀνθρώπους ὁποίους βούλεται ἔχειν ἀδύνατόν ἐστι,¹ τοῖς δὲ δὴ οὖσι προσήκει, ἐς ὃ τι ἂν τις αὐτῶν τῷ κοινῷ χρήσιμος ᾖ, χρῆσθαι.”

(5) *Capit. xxii. 3, 4.*

Semper cum optimatibus non solum bellicas res sed etiam civiles, priusquam faceret aliquid, contulit. Denique sententia illius praecipua semper haec fuit: “Aequius est, ut ego tot talium amicorum² consilium sequar, quam ut tot tales amici meam unius voluntatem sequantur.”

(6) *Dio, 71. 29, § 3.*

Οὕτω γε πόρρω παντὸς φόβου καθειστήκει ὥστε καὶ λεόντια τινα δεδιδαγμένον ἀνθρώπους ἐσθίειν ἐκέλευσε μὲν ἐπαχθῆναι αἰτησαμένου τοῦ δήμου, οὔτε δὲ ἐκείνον εἶδεν οὔτε τὸν διδάσκαλον αὐτοῦ ἠλευθέρωσε, καίπερ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγκειμένων οἱ, ἀλλὰ καὶ κηρυχθῆναι προσέταξεν ὅτι “οὐδὲν ἄξιον ἐλευθερίας πεποίηκεν.”³

(7) *Capit. xix. 8.*

De qua (sc. Faustina) cum diceretur Antonino Marco, ut eam repudiaret, si non occideret, dixisse fertur: “Si

¹ See above, ix. 42, and *cp.* vii. 7.

² *Amici* was a usual name for the *Concilium*, or Privy Council, of the Emperor, a body of advisers first organized by Hadrian, and they may be meant here. Of a difficult case, where his own interests were involved, Marcus says to Fronto (*Ad Caes. i. 17*): “Duas res animo meo carissimas secutus sum, rationem veram et sententiam tuam. Di velint, ut semper quod agam, secundo iudicio tuo agam.”

³ The jurist Paulus (*Dig. xl. 9. 17*) tells us that Marcus “prohibuit ex acclamatione populi manumittere”; *cp. Cod. vii. 11. 3.* Fronto (*Ad Caes. i. 8*) seems to imply that Pius was more indulgent in this matter.

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one wishes them to be, but it is our duty to utilize them, such as they are, for any service in which they can be useful to the common weal.

(5)

Not only in military but also in civil affairs, before doing anything, he always consulted the chief men of the State. In fact this was ever a favourite saying of his: *It is fairer that I should follow the advice of Friends so many and so wise, than that Friends so wise and so many should follow my single will.*¹

(6)

So averse from all bloodshed was his disposition that, though at the people's request he allowed a lion trained to devour men to be introduced into the arena, yet he not only refused to look at it himself or to enfranchise its trainer, in spite of a persistent demonstration of the audience against him, but even had it proclaimed that *the man had done nothing to deserve freedom.*²

(7)

When it was said to Marcus Antoninus of his wife, that he should divorce her, if he did not slay her, he is reported to have said, *If we dismiss the wife, let us also*

¹ *cp. Capit. xi. 10*, where we are told that Marcus consulted his *praefecti* (i.e. *praetorio*) and relied especially on the jurist Scaevola. In the *Digest* he calls Rusticus, Volusius Maecianus and Salvius Julianus *amici*. A maxim of his was *Blush not to be helped* (*Medit. vii. 7*); *cp. also Fronto, Ad Caes. i. 17*, “post consultationem amicorum.”

² Yet his bias towards the enfranchisement of slaves was notorious. See *Digest, xxxviii. 4. 3*: “quod videlicet favore constituit libertatis.”

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uxorem dimittimus, reddamus et dotem."¹ Dos autem quid habebatur nisi imperium, quod ille ab socero volente Hadriano adoptatus acceperat.

(8) *Digest iv. 2. 13 = xlviii. 7. 7 (Callistratus).*

Cum Marcianus diceret, "Vim nullam feci," Caesar dixit, "Tu vim putas solum si homines vulnerentur? Vis est et tunc quotiens quis id, quod deberi putat, non per iudicem reposit. Non puto autem nec verecundiae nec dignitati nec pietati tuae convenire quicquam non iure facere."

(9) *Galen, xiv. 658 (Kühn).*

Τῷ δὲ Πειθολάφῳ² εἶπεν "ιατρὸν ἔχειν ἓνα καὶ τοῦτον εὐεῖθερον," πᾶν διετέλει τε περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγων ἀεὶ "τὸν μὲν ἱατρῶν πρῶτον <με> εἶναι τῶν δὲ φιλοσόφων μόνον."

(10) *Dio, 71. 3. 3 = Fragm. Dind. v. p. 206.*
= Zonaras xii. 2.

Καίτοι δὲ ἰσχυροτάτου ἀγῶνος καὶ λαμπρᾶς νίκης γεγεννημένης, ὅμως ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ αἰτηθεὶς παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὐκ ἔδωκε χρήματα, ἀπὸ τοῦτο εἰπὼν ὅτι "ὄσφ ἂν πλείον παρὰ τὸ καθεστῆκος λάβωσι, τοῦτο ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος τῶν τε γονέων σφῶν καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν ἐσπεπράξεται· περὶ γάρ τοι τῆς αὐταρχίας ὁ

¹ The same thing had been said long before by Burrhus to Nero of his wife Octavia, and in that case was applicable, but it was not so in this, and besides Marcus was devoted to his wife to the last. See *above*, i. 17, § 7; *Capit.* xxvi. 4 ff.; *Dio*, 71. 30, § 1.

² One of the court physicians, who had been utterly wrong in their diagnosis of the illness of Marcus, while Galen had accurately divined it by merely feeling the patient's pulse.

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surrender the dowry. But what was meant by the dowry if not the Empire, which he had received when adopted by his father-in-law at Hadrian's wish?¹

(8)

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

(9)

And he said to Peitholaus that *he had but one physician and he was a free man*, and he went on to say repeatedly about me that *I was the first of physicians and the only philosopher.*²

(10)

And yet, though a most stubborn contest had been followed by a brilliant victory, nevertheless, when petitioned by the soldiers, the Emperor refused to give them a largess, saying only this, that *the more they received beyond their fixed pay, the more would be wrung from the life-blood of their parents and kinsfolk; for in the matter*

¹ Marcus did not receive the Empire through Pius, but by Hadrian's direct nomination. The latter arranged for Marcus to marry Fabia, the sister of Lucius Commodus, but Pius broke this arrangement in favour of his own daughter Faustina. She inherited an immense *patrimonium* from her father for Marcus.

² Galen was one of the most remarkable men of ancient times. On this occasion he reports some more (unimportant) words of Marcus. Galen twice affirms elsewhere that a good physician is also a philosopher.

Θεός μόνον κρίνειν δύνатаи.¹ οὕτω καὶ σωφρόνως καὶ ἔγκρατ-
ως αὐτῶν ἤρχεν ὥστε, καίπερ ἐν τοσοῦτοις καὶ τηλικούτοις
πολέμοις ὦν, μηδὲν ἕξω τοῦ προσήκοντος μητ' ἐκ κολακείας
εἰπεῖν μητ' ἐκ φόβου ποιῆσαι.²

(11) *Philostratus, Vit. Soph. ii. 1, p. 242, Kayser.*

Ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ πάθους ἔκφρων ὁ Ἡρώδης ἐγένετο καὶ
παρῆλθεν ἐς τὸ βασιλεῖον δικαστήριον³ οὔτε ἔννονος καὶ θανάτου
ἔρων. παρελθὼν γὰρ καθίστατο ἐς διαβολὰς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος
οὐδὲ σχηματίσας τὸν λόγον, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν ἀνδρα γεγυμνασμένον
τῆς τοιαύτης ιδέας μεταχειρίσασθαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χολήν, ἀλλ'
ἀπηγκωισμένη τῇ γλώττῃ καὶ γυμνῇ διετίετο λέγων "ταῦτά
μοι ἡ Λουκίου ξενία, ὅν σὺ μοι ἐπεμφσας· ὅθεν δικάζεις, γυναικί
με καὶ τριετὶ παιδίῳ καταχαραζόμενος." Βασσαίου δὲ τοῦ
πεπιστευμένου τὸ ξίφος θάνατον αὐτῷ φήσαντος ὁ Ἡρώδης
"ὦ λῶστε," εἶφη, "γέρον ὀλίγα φοβεῖται." ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀπῆλθε
τοῦ δικαστηρίου εἰπὼν ταῦτα καὶ μετέωρον καταλείψας πολὺ
τοῦ ὕδατος,⁴ ἡμεῖς δὲ τῶν ἐπιδηλῶς τῷ Μάρκῳ φιλοσοφη-
θέντων καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν δίκην ταύτην ἠγώμεθα· οὐ γὰρ ξυνήγαγε

¹ The other version has : τὸ δὲ κράτος τῆς αὐταρχίας οὐκ ἐν
τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ Θεῷ κεῖται.

² *cp. Aristides (Ad Reg. § 116, Jebb.)* : καὶ μὴν τὰ μὲν πρὸς
πολεμίου ἀνδρείοις πολλοῖς ὑπῆρξε γενέσθαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν σφετέρων
στρατιωτῶν αὐτοὺς ἔρχεσθαι < μᾶλλον > ἢ κρατεῖν· ὁ δὲ οὕτω
βδύλιως ἐκράτησε καὶ κατεστήσατο, ὥστε πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἀπίρων
ὄντων τῶν δεδομένων αὐτοῖς, χαλεπῶν δὲ καὶ φοβερῶν εἰ μὴ
τοσαῦτα λαμβάνειν, οὐκ ἐπηύχεσε (MS ἐπηύχε) τὰς ἐπιθυμίας
αὐτῶν κ.τ.λ.

³ The trial took place at Sirmium in Pannonia about
170 A.D., Herodes being accused of cruel and illegal conduct
at Athens. He had been accused by the same persons of
similar malpractices nearly thirty years before (see Fronto,
Ad Caes. iii. 2-6). This Herodes was an Athenian famous
for his riches, his generosity, and his oratory. He had been
the teacher of Marcus in Greek rhetoric.

⁴ The water-clock that timed the speakers in a trial.

indeed of his sovereignty God alone could be judge. With
such wisdom and self-command did he rule them that,
though engaged in so many and such great wars, he never
swerved from what was right so as either to say anything
from flattery or do anything from fear.¹

(11)

Herodes was driven frantic by this calamity² and came
up to the Emperor's seat of judgment no longer in his
right mind and in love with death. For coming forward
he set himself to rail at the Emperor, and without
veiling his meaning or keeping his anger in hand, as might
have been expected from one who was practised in such
rhetorical devices, but in defiant and unbridled language he
gave vent to his passion, saying "This is all that comes of
my friendship with Lucius,³ whom you sent to me, that in
judging me you gratify your wife and three-year old
child."⁴ But when Bassaeus,⁵ who had been invested
with the power of capital punishment, threatened him
with death, Herodes said, "My fine fellow, an old man
has little more to fear." Saying this he left the court
without availing himself of his full time for speaking.
But in our opinion the conduct of Marcus at this trial too
was signally in keeping with his philosophical tenets ; for

¹ This incident recorded by Dio belongs to the earlier stage
of the Marcomannic war, when the Emperor was in great
straits for money.

² The calamity was the death by lightning of his adopted
daughters, the children of Alcimedon.

³ Lucius Verus, the colleague of Marcus, who had died
about a year before. He stayed with Herodes on his way to
the East in 162

⁴ Vibia Sabina, the last child of Marcus, who with
Faustina, hence called *Mater Castrorum*, was with him at
Sirmium.

⁵ Bassaeus Rufus, praetorian prefect 168-177.

τὰς ὄφρῦς, οὐδὲ ἔτρεψε τὸ ὄμμα, ὃ κὰν διαιτήτης τις ἔπαθεν, ἀλλ' ἐπιστρέψας ἑαυτὸν ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους "ἀπολογείσθε," ἔφη, "ὃ Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ καὶ μὴ ξυγχαρεῖ Ἡρώδης." καὶ ἀκούων ἀπολογουμένων ἐπὶ πολλοῖς μὲν ἀφανῶς ἤλγησεν, ἀναγινωσκομένης δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐκκλησίας,¹ ἐν ἧ ἔφαινοντο καθαπτόμενοι τοῦ Ἡρώδου, ὡς τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑποποιουμένου πολλῶ τῷ μέλιτι, καὶ που καὶ βεβοηκότες "ὃ πικροῦ μέλιτος" καὶ πάλιν "μακάριοι οἱ ἐν τῷ λοιμῷ ἀποθνήσκοντες," οὕτως ἐρείσθη τὴν καρδίαν ὑφ' ὧν ἤκουσεν, ὡς ἐς δάκρυα φανερά ὑπαχθῆναι. τῆς δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπολογίας ἐχούσης κατηγορίαν τοῦ τε Ἡρώδου καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων τὴν ὄργην ὃ Μάρκος ἐς τοὺς ἀπελευθέρους ἔτρεψε κολάσει χρησάμενος ὡς οἷον ἐπιεικεί, οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὸς χαρακτηρίζει τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κρίσιν, μόνῳ δὲ Ἀλκιμέδοντι τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐπανῆκεν "ἀποχρῶσαν εἶναι οἱ" φήσας "τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς τέκνοις συμφορὰν." ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὤδε ἐφιλοσοφεῖτο τῷ Μάρκῳ.

(12) Themistius, Orat. 15. 191b.

Ἀντωνίνῳ τῷ Ῥωμαίων αυτοκράτορι, ᾧ τούτῳ αὐτὸ ἐπώνυμον "ὃ Εὐσεβῆς" ἦν,² τοῦ στρατεύματος ὑπὸ δίψους [αὐτῷ] πιεζομένου, ἀνασχῶν τῷ χεῖρι ὃ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν "ταύτη" ἔφη "τῇ χειρὶ προὔτρεψάμην σε καὶ ἰκέτευσα τὸν ζωῆς δοτῆρα, ἧ ζωὴν οὐκ ἀφειλόμην." καὶ οὕτω κατήδεσε τὸν θεὸν τῇ εὐχῇ ὥστε ἐξ αἰθρίας ἦγον νεφέλαι ὑδροφοροῦσαι τοῖς στρατιώταις.

¹ Perhaps ἐγκλήσεως.

² This was the peculiar cognomen of Pius, but Marcus sometimes receives it even in inscriptions.

he did not frown, or so much as turn his eyes, as even an arbitrator might have done, but turning to the Athenians said: *Make your plea, men of Athens, even though Herodes is not for allowing you to do so.* And as he listened to their case, at many points he was secretly grieved, but when the complaint of the Athenian Assembly was being read to him, in which they openly attacked Herodes for trying to win over the Governors of Greece with many honeyed words, and somewhere or other even cried out, "O bitter honey!" and again, "Happy they that perish in the pestilence!" he was so deeply moved by what he heard, that he was brought to tears in the sight of all. But as the case of the Athenians comprised an accusation against his freedmen as well as against Herodes, Marcus diverted his anger on to the freedmen, punishing them however as leniently as possible—for that is how he himself characterizes his sentence,—but to Alcimedon alone he remitted the punishment, alleging that his calamity in respect of his children was punishment enough.¹ In a way then thus worthy of a philosopher did Marcus act on this occasion.

(12)

When the army of Antoninus the Roman Emperor, who also had the cognomen of Pius, was perishing of thirst,² the king, raising both his hands to heaven, said, *With this hand, wherewith I have taken away no life, have I implored Thee and besought the Giver of life.* And he so prevailed with God by his prayer that upon a clear sky there came up clouds bringing rain to his soldiers.

¹ *cp.* his words in the *Digest*, i. 18. 14: *his madness is in itself punishment enough.*

² At the time of the so-called "miraculous victory" over the Quadi in 174; see Dio, 71. 8.

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(13) *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *xxii. 5.*

Cum Palaestinam transiret Aegyptum petens Judaeorum foetentium et tumultuantium saepe taedio percitus dolenter dicitur exclamasse, "O Marcomanni, O Quadi, O Sarmatae, tandem alios vobis inertiores¹ inveni."

(14) *Dio*, *Fragm. Dind. v. p. 206.*

"Ὅτι παρασκευαζομένου τοῦ Μάρκου² εἰς τὸν κατὰ Κασσίου πόλεμον οὐδεμίαν βαρβαρικὴν συμμαχίαν εἰδέξατο καίτοι πολλῶν συνδρομῶντων αὐτῷ, λέγων "μὴ χρῆναι τοῖς βαρβάροις εἰδέναι τὰ μετὰ τὸ Ῥωμαίων κινούμενα κακά."

(15) *Vulc. Gallicanus*, *Vit. Cass. viii.*

Caput eius ad Antoninum cum delatum esset, ille non exultavit, non elatus est, sed etiam doluit "ereptam sibi esse occasionem misericordiae," cum diceret "se vivum illum voluisse capere, ut illa exprobraret beneficia sua eumque servaret." Denique cum quidam diceret reprehendendum Antoninum, quod tam mitis esset in hostem suum eiusque liberos et adfectus atque omnes, quos conscios tyrannidis repperisset, addente illo qui reprehendebat "Quid si ille vicisset?" dixisse dicitur: "Non sic deos coluimus nec sic vivimus, ut ille nos vinceret." Enumeravit deinde "omnes principes, qui occisi essent, habuisse causas quibus mererentur occidi nec quemquam facile bonum vel victum a tyranno vel occisum, dicens

¹ This word is doubtful, another reading being *inertiores*. Suggested emendations are *inquietiores*, *ineptiores*. *cp. Josephus c. Apion ii. 14, Dind.*

² This should be in the nominative case.

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(13)

When he was crossing Palestine on his way to Egypt, constantly moved with disgust at the unsavoury and turbulent Jews, he is said to have cried out with a groan, *O Marcomanni, O Quadi, O Sarmatians, at length have I found others more good for nothing than you.*¹

(14)

When Marcus was making preparations for the war against Cassius he would not accept any aid from barbarians, though many offered him their services, saying that *the barbarians must not know the troubles that were being stirred up between Romans.*²

(15)

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

¹ Or 'more of a bore.' The date would be 176.

² So in the Boer War, in view of the native question in South Africa, England refused to employ her Indian and Maori troops.

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meruisse Neronem, debuisse Caligulam, Othonem et Vitellium non imperare voluisse."¹ Etiam de Galba paria sentiebat, cum diceret "in imperatore avaritiam esse acerbissimum malum. Denique non Augustum, non Traianum, non Hadrianum, non patrem suum a rebellibus potuisse superari, cum et multi fuerint et ipsis vel invidiis vel insciis extincti." Ipse autem Antoninus a senatu petiit, "ne graviter in conscios defectionis animadvertetur," eo ipso tempore, quo rogavit, "ne quis senator temporibus suis capitali supplicio adficeretur," quod illi maximum amorem conciliavit.

(16) *Philostratus*, Vit. Soph. ii. 9, p. 252, *Kays*.

Οἰκιστὴν δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀριστείδην τῆς Σμύρνης εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἀλάζων ἔπαινος ἀλλὰ δικαιοτάτος τε καὶ ἀληθέστατος. τὴν γὰρ πόλιν ταύτην ἀφανισθεῖσαν ὑπὸ σεισμῶν τε καὶ χασμάτων οὕτω τι ὠλοφύρατο πρὸς τὸν Μάρκον, ὡς τῇ μὲν ἄλλῃ μονωδία θαμὰ ἐπιστενάζει τὸν βασιλέα, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ "ζέφυροι δὲ ἐρήμην καταπνέουσι" καὶ δάκρυα τῷ βιβλίῳ² ἐπιστάζου τὸν βασιλέα, ξυνοικίαν τε τῇ πόλει ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Ἀριστείδου ἐνδοσίων³ νεύσαι. ἐτύγχανε δὲ καὶ ξυγγεγονῶς ἦδη τῷ Μάρκῳ ὁ Ἀριστείδης ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ, ὡς γὰρ τοῦ Ἐφεσίου Δαμιανοῦ ἤκουον, ἐπεδήμει μὲν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἦδη τῇ Σμύρῃ τρίτην ἡμέραν, τὸν δὲ Ἀριστείδην οὕτω γινώσκων ἤρετο τοὺς Κυντιλίου μὴ ἐν τῷ τῶν ἀσπαζομένων ὀμίλῳ παρεωραμένος αὐτῷ ὁ ἀνὴρ εἶη.

¹ Should be *debuisset* or *meruisse*.

² We have the letter, addressed to Marcus and Commodus, in the works of Aristides (Jebb, § 209). Its date would be 177-180.

³ *Lib. to the tune set by Aristides.*

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deserved, Caligula had earned his death, Otho and Vitellius ought never to have reigned. His opinion of Galba was similar, for he remarked that in an Emperor avarice¹ was the most hateful of faults. In a word, rebels had never been able to overcome either Augustus or Trajan or Hadrian or his own father, for many as they were, they had been crushed against the wish or without the knowledge of the reigning Emperor. Antoninus himself, however, besought the Senate not to proceed with severity against accomplices in the rebellion, asking at the same time that no Senator should in his reign be punished with death; and this won for him the greatest love.

(16)

It is no flatterer's praise but the truest and most just to call Aristides the founder of Smyrna. For he made so moving a lament to Marcus over the utter destruction of this city by earthquakes and openings in the ground, that over the rest of the mournful tale the Emperor sighed repeatedly, but at the "breezes blowing over a city of desolation" he even let tears fall upon the writing, and granted the restoration of the city in accordance with the suggestions of Aristides. It chanced also that Aristides had already made the acquaintance of Marcus in Ionia, for when they were attending the lectures of the Athenian Damianus, the Emperor who had already been three days in Smyrna, not yet knowing Aristides personally, requested the Quintilii² to see that the man should not be passed over unnoticed in the imperial levée. They said

¹ *cp. Capit. xxix. 5: Nihil magis et timuit et deprecatus est quam avaritiæ famam de qua se multis epistulis purgat.* Dio, after speaking of his liberality and public benefactions, says (71. 32, § 3): ἀφ' οὗπερ καὶ νῦν θαυμάζω τῶν αἰτιωμένων αὐτὸν ὡς οὐ μεγαλόφρονα γενόμενον.

² Two brothers, famed for their character, ability, and fraternal affection. They exercised conjointly the governorship of Achaia, and later a military command in Pannonia. They also shared an unjust death at the hands of Commodus.

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οὐδὲ οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ ἔφασαν ἑωρακέναι αὐτόν, οὐ γὰρ παρῆναι <ἀν> τὸ μὴ οὐ ξυστῆσαι, καὶ ἀφίκοιτο τῆς ὑστεραίας τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἄμφω δορυφοροῦντες, προσειπὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ “διὰ τί σε” ἔφη “βραδείως εἶδομεν;” καὶ ὁ Ἀριστείδης “θεώρημα,” ἔφη, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἡσχολεῖ, γνωμὴ δὲ θεωροῦσα μὴ ἀποκρεμαννίσθω οὐ ζητεῖ.” ὑπερῆσθεις δὲ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τῷ ἦθει τάνδρὸς ὡς ἀπλοϊκωτάτῳ τε καὶ σχολικωτάτῳ “πότε” ἔφη “ἀκροάσομαί σου;” καὶ ὁ Ἀριστείδης “τήμερον” εἶπεν “πρόβαλε καὶ αὔριον ἀκροῶ· οὐ γὰρ ἐσμὲν τῶν ἐμούντων ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀκριβοῦντων. ἐξέστω δέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ τοὺς γνωρίμους παρῆναι τῇ ἀκροάσει.” “ἐξίστω,” ἦ δ’ ὁ Μάρκος, “δημοτικὸν γάρ.” εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀριστείδου, “διδόσθω δὲ αὐτοῖς, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ βοᾶν καὶ κροτεῖν, ὅποσον δύνανται,” μειδιάσας ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ “τοῦτο” ἔφη “ἐπὶ σοὶ κείται.”

(17) *Dio*, 71. 32, § 1 = *Fragm. Dind.* v. p. 207.

Ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον διαλεγόμενος, ἐπειδὴ μεταξὺ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τί τε ἄλλα καὶ ὅτι πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἀποδημηκῶς ἦν, ἀνεβόησαν “ὀκτώ,” καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ταῖς χερσίν, ἵνα δὴ καὶ χρυσοὺς τοσοῦτους ἐς τὸ δεῖπνον¹ λάβωσι, προσενεδείξαντο, διεμείδιασε καὶ ἔφη καὶ αὐτὸς “ὀκτώ,” καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνὰ διακοσίας δραχμὰς αὐτοῖς καταέμενεν, ὅσον οὕτω πρότερον εἰλήφεσαν.

(18) *Dio*, 71. 33, § 2.

Ὁ δὲ Μάρκος καὶ χρήματα ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου² ἤτησε τὴν βουλὴν οὐχ ὅτι μὴ ἔκειντο ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ κρατούντος ἐξουσίᾳ, ἀλλ’

¹ The *congiarium* was originally a distribution of food by measure. The largess to soldiers was called *donativum*.

² i.e. the *aerarium*. The Emperor's privy purse was called *fuscus*.

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they had not seen him themselves, for they would not have failed to introduce him; and on the next day they both arrived escorting Aristides, and the Emperor addressing him said, *Why have you been so slow in letting me see you?* And Aristides said, “A professional problem, O King, occupied me, and the mind, when so engaged, must not be detached from the prosecution of its enquiry.” The Emperor, charmed by the man's character, his extreme naïveté and studiousness, said, *When shall I hear you?* And Aristides replied, “Suggest a subject to-day and hear me to-morrow; for I am not of those who ‘throw up’ what is in their minds but of those who speak with precision. But grant, O King, that my pupils also may be present at the hearing.” *Certainly*, said Marcus, *they may, for it is free to all.* And on Aristides saying, “Permit them, O King, to cheer and applaud as loud as they can,” the Emperor smiling said, *That depends on yourself.*

(17)

On his return to Rome, when, in addressing the people, he mentioned among other things that he had been absent many years, they shouted “Eight,”¹ and signified this besides with their fingers, of course that they might get so many pieces of gold for a congiarium. The Emperor smiled, and himself said, *Yes, eight*, and afterwards distributed 200 drachmas² apiece, a larger sum than they had ever received before.

(18)

Marcus even begged of the Senate money from the public treasury, not that it was not in the ruler's

¹ From 169 to 176 A.D.

² Seven or eight pounds, the denarius aureus being = 25 silver denarii.

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ὅτι ὁ Μάρκος πάντα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ τὰλλα ἔλεγεν εἶναι "ἡμεῖς γάρ," ἔφη πρὸς τὴν βουλήν λέγων,¹ "οὕτως οὐδὲν ἴδιον ἔχομεν ὥστε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ οἰκίᾳ οἰκοῦμεν."

(19) *Philostatus*, Vit. Soph. ii. 9, p. 240 *Kays*.

Λουκίου τούτου κάκεινο θαυμάσιον. ἐσπούδαζε μὲν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ Μάρκος περὶ Σέξτον τὸν ἐκ Βοιωτίας φιλόσοφον, θαμίζων αὐτῷ καὶ φοιτῶν ἐπὶ θύρας, ἄρτι δὲ ἦκων ἐς τὴν Ἔραμν ὁ Λούκιος ἤρετο τὸν αὐτοκράτορα προ<σ>ίοντα, ποῖ βαδίζοι καὶ ἐφ' ὅ τι, καὶ ὁ Μάρκος "καλὸν" ἔφη "καὶ γηράσκοντι τὸ μανθάνειν" εἶμι δὲ πρὸς Σέξτον τὸν φιλόσοφον μαθησόμενος, ἃ οὐπω οἶδα." καὶ ὁ Λούκιος ἐξάρας τὴν χεῖρα ἐς τὸν οὐρανόν, "ὦ Ζεῦ," ἔφη, "ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς γηράσκων ἤδη δέλτων ἐξαψάμενος ἐς διδασκάλου φοιτᾷ, ὁ δὲ ἐμὸς βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ἐτῶν ἀπέθανεν."²

(20) *Capit. xxviii.*

Cum aegrotare coepisset, filium³ advocavit atque ab eo primum petiit ut belli reliquias non contemneret, ne

¹ The date would be in 178, just before the Emperor's last departure for the war.

² For this anecdote *cp.* Dio, 71. 1, § 2: λέγεται καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ ὦν μὴ αἰδέσθαι ἐς διδασκάλου φοιτᾶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Σέξτῳ προσίεναι τῷ ἐκ Βοιωτῶν φιλοσόφῳ καὶ ἐς ἀκρόασιν τῶν ῥητορικῶν Ἐρμογένους λόγων μὴ ἀκνήσαι παραγενέσθαι. The date is most likely 177-8, before the last departure to the war. At this time Marcus was engaged himself in giving lectures on philosophy. See Aur. Victor, *De Caes.* xvi. 9; *cp.* Vulc. Gallicanus, *Vit. Cassii*, iii. 7.

³ His son Commodus, now 19 years old. He was perhaps more weak than vicious. As a matter of fact Pompeianus and the other *amici* of Marcus persuaded Commodus to remain for six months.

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power to demand it, but because Marcus said that everything, both money and all else, belonged to the Senate and the people; for *We*, he said, speaking to the Senate, so far from having anything of our own, even live in a house that is yours.¹

(19)

Of this Lucius² another surprising story is told. The Emperor Marcus was an eager disciple of Sextus the Boeotian philosopher,³ being often in his company and frequenting his house. Lucius, who had just come to Rome, asked the Emperor, whom he met on his way, where he was going to and on what errand, and Marcus answered, *It is good even for an old man to learn*;⁴ *I am now on my way to Sextus the philosopher to learn what I do not yet know.* And Lucius, raising his hand to heaven, said, "O Zeus, the king of the Romans in his old age takes up his tablets and goes to school. But my king Alexander died before he was thirty-two."

(20)

When he began to sicken, he sent for his son, and at first besought him not to neglect the relics of the war,⁵

¹ The Emperor, if he said these words, can hardly be acquitted of some affectation, as he had a very large fortune in his own right, inherited from his mother and also through Faustina. ² A philosopher friend of Herodes Atticus.

³ Sextus was grandson of Plutarch and a teacher of Marcus; see *Capit.* iii. 2, and Marcus himself (i. 9 and note), from which we see what he learnt "in his old age." He also "shewed off" his philosophy before Sextus; see Themistius, *Orat.* xi. 145b.

⁴ In this he was in the good company of our own great Alfred. *cp.* also Seneca, *Ep.* 76: tamdiu discendum est, quamdiu nescias; Solon, *Fragm.* 8. Bergk, *γηράσκων δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος.*

⁵ The parallel with our Edward II. is very close.

videretur rem publicam prodere. Et cum filius ei respondisset cupere se primum sanitatem, ut vellet permittere petens tamen ut exspectaret paucos dies, haud simul proficisceretur. Deinde abstinuit victu potuque mori cupiens auxitque morbum. Sexta die vocatis amicis et ridens res humanas, mortem autem contemnens ad amicos dixit, "Quid de me fletis et non magis de pestilentia et communi morte cogitatis?" Et cum illi vellent recedere, ingemiscens ait, "Si iam me dimittitis, vale vobis dico vos praecedens." Et cum ab eo quaereretur, cui filium commendaret, ille respondit: "Vobis, si dignus fuerit, et dis immortalibus." Septimo die gravatus est et solum filium admisit. Quem statim dimisit, ne in eum morbus transiret. Dimisso filio caput operuit quasi volens dormire sed nocte animam efflavit.

(21^a) Dio Fragm. Dind. v. p. 206.

Ἐνόσησε σφόδρα ὁ Μάρκος, ὥστε ὀλίγας ἐλπίδας ἐπὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἔχειν καὶ πολλὰ ἐν τῇ νόσῳ ἐπεφώνει τὸ τῆς τραγωδίας ἰαμβεῖον,

"τοιαῦτα τλήμων πόλεμος ἐξεργάζεται." ¹

(21^b) Dio 71. 33, § 4.

Μέλλων οὖν ἀποθνήσκειν τῷ χιλιάρχῳ τὸ σύνθημα αἰτοῦντι ἔφη, "ἄελλθε πρὸς τὸν ἀνατέλλοντα, ἐγὼ γὰρ δύσσομαι."

¹ This quotation occurs again in Dio, 71. 22, but with a different application, as a sarcasm against the rise of Pertinax, a man of humble birth, to the consulship.

lest he should seem to betray the State. But when his son answered that his first care was for health, he let him do as he would, begging him however to wait a few days and not take his departure at once. Then he abstained from food and drink,¹ wishing to die, and aggravated the disease. On the sixth day he called for his friends, and mocking earthly things, but setting death at naught, he said to them, *Why weep for me and not rather think on the pestilence and the death that awaits all?* And when they made as though to retire he said, sighing, *If you now give me my dismissal, I give you my farewell and lead the way for you.* And when it was asked of him to whom he commended his son, he answered, *To you, if he be worthy, and to the immortal Gods.* On the seventh day he grew worse, and allowed only his son to be admitted, but dismissed him at once that he might not take the infection. After parting from his son he veiled his head as if he would sleep, but in the night he breathed his last.

(21^a)

When Marcus was seriously ill, so as to have little hope of recovery, he would often cry out in his illness this verse from the tragedy,

*Such is war's disastrous work.*²

(21^b)

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

¹ The latter is not likely. He had long been unable to take solid food; see Dio (71. 6, § 4), who says positively that he was poisoned by order of Commodus. Others say he died of the pestilence.

² Pius in the delirium of his last fever *nihil aliud quam de re publica et de regibus, quibus irascebatur, locutus est* (Capit. Vit. Pii, xii. 8). Napoleon's last words were *tête d'armée*.

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(22) *Philostratus*, Vit. Soph., *Kayser*, p. 231
(or Loeb Ser. refer.).

Μάρκου δὲ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος "Τί σοι δοκεῖ¹ ὁ Πολέμων;" στήσας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὁ Ἡρώδης ἔφη "Ἰππων μ' ὠκνυόδων ἀμφὶ κτύπον οὐατα βάλλει,"² ἐνδεικνύμενος δὴ τὸ ἐπίκροτον καὶ τὸ ὑψηλὸς τῶν λόγων . . .

Ἦριζεν ἡ Σμύρνα ὑπὲρ τῶν ναῶν³ καὶ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς δικαίων ξύνδικον πεπονημένη τὸν Πολέμωνα ἐς τέρμα ἤδη τοῦ βίου ἤγοντα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν ὁρμῇ τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων ἀποδημίας ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐγένετο μὲν ἐπ' ἄλλοις ξυνδίκους ἡ πόλις πονηρῶς δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ δικαστηρίῳ διατιθεμένων τὸν λόγον, βλέψας ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐς τοὺς τῶν Σμυρναίων ξυνηγόρους "Ὁὐ Πολέμων" εἶπεν "τουτοῦ τοῦ ἀγωνος ξύνδικος ὑμῖν ἀπεδέδεικτο;" "Ναί" ἔφασαν "εἰ γὰρ τὸν σοφιστὴν λέγεις." καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ "ἴσως οὖν" ἔφη "καὶ λόγον τινα ξυνέγραψεν ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων, οἷα δὴ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ τε ἀγωνιούμενος καὶ ὑπὲρ τηλικούτων." "Ἰσως" ἔφασαν "ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὐ μὴν ἡμῖν γὰρ εἰδέναι." καὶ ἔδωκεν ἀναβολὰς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τῇ δίκῃ, ἔστ' ἂν διακομίσθῃ ὁ λόγος ἀναγνωσθέντος δὲ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐψηφίσαστο ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἡ Σμύρνα τὰ πρωτεῖα νικῶσα, καὶ τὸν Πολέμωνα αὐτοῖς ἀναβεβιωκένας φάσκοντες.

(23) *Capit.*, Vit. Marci, *xxix.* 4.

Priusquam ad bellum Marcomannicum rediret, in Capitolio iuravit nullum senatorem se sciente occisum, quom etiam rebelles dixerit se servaturum fuisse, is scisset.⁴

¹ For Marcus' own youthful opinion of Polemon see Fronto's *Letters*, i. 117, ii. 241^a (Loeb).

² Homer, *Iliad*, x. 535.

³ The contest was for the religious primacy of the Province of Asia with Ephesus and other towns.

⁴ See above, p. 355, and the note there.

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(22)

When the Emperor Marcus said to Herodes, "What do you think of Polemon?" he, fixing his eyes, answered, "Hark! on my ears there is falling the thunder of galloping chargers," signifying thereby the measured beat and resonance of his words . . .

Smyrna, being engaged in a dispute about the Shrines and the privileges attached to them, had chosen as their advocate Polemon, now come to the end of his life. But when just about to start on his journey to defend their rights he died, and the city fell into the hands of other advocates; but when these were putting their case badly in the Emperor's court, the latter, turning to the envoys from Smyrna, said, "Was not Polemon appointed your advocate in this contest?" "Yea," they said, "if you mean the Sophist." "Perhaps, then," said the Emperor, "he had composed some speech in behalf of your rights, as was likely, since he was about to contend before me and for such important issues." "Possibly so, O King," said they, "but not to our knowledge." The Emperor then adjourned the case till the speech could be brought over; and when it had been read in court the Emperor gave his verdict in accordance with it; and Smyrna went away having gained the primacy, and asserting that Polemon had come to life again for their sake.

(23)

Before setting out again for the Marcomannic War, he took an oath on the Capitol that no senator had been put to death with his knowledge, since he would (he said) have saved even rebels, had he known.

NOTE ON THE ATTITUDE OF MARCUS
TOWARDS THE CHRISTIANS

WITH

HIS EDICT ADDRESSED TO THE COMMON
ASSEMBLY OF ASIA

Marcus and the Christians.

(i. 6, iii. 16, vii. 68, viii. 48. 51, xi. 3.)

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

Taking xi. 3 first, we note that *παράταξις*, which is persistently translated *obstinacy* to bring it into line with Pliny's *obstinatio*, does not mean obstinacy at all, but *opposition*.¹ This is clear from the use of the word and its verb elsewhere by Marcus. In iii. 3 it is used in its primary sense of armies opposite one another on the field of battle. The only passage where the verb occurs (viii. 48) is very instructive. "Remember," he says, "that the ruling Reason shows itself unconquerable when, concentrated in itself, it is content with itself, so

¹ Since this was written I find that M. A. P. Lemerrier (*Les Pensées de Marc-Aurèle*, Introd. p. viii. note 2) quotes with approval E. Havet's similar interpretation. Suidas glosses *παράταξις* with *πόλεμος ἐμπαράσκευος*.

it do nothing that it doth not will, even if it refuse from mere unreasoning opposition (*καὶ ἀλόγως παρὰδέηται*).” Here the word is used in exactly the same connexion as in xi. 3, and by no means in a sense entirely condemnatory. It seems to me quite possible that the Emperor may have had the Christians in mind here as well as in xi. 3. Conduct such as that of the Christians was precisely what Marcus is never tired of recommending, viz., not under any compulsion to transgress the demands of the ruling Reason,¹ and if it were found impossible to act up to the standard of right set by the conscience (*τὸ ἔνδοξον ἰδρύνμενον*) owing to external causes, then to depart cheerfully from life. It appears to me that Marcus in both these passages is really approving of the resistance.

Again the actual mention of the Christians here requires to be considered. The word itself was taboo with the pagan stylists as a barbarism. Even when they are apparently alluding to Christians, such writers as Epictetus, Dio Chrysostom, Plutarch, Aristides, Apuleius, Dio Cassius, Philostratus, do not use the term—much as an Arnold or a Pater would hesitate to use the word “Salvationist.” We do not find it in Fronto’s extant works nor Galen’s. Lucian, however, employed it in the *Alexander* and the *Peregrinus*, if (which some deny) these works are by him. Marcus would no doubt have used the word, as Trajan, Pliny and Hadrian did, in rescripts and official documents, but it is a question whether his literary purism and the example of his favourite Epictetus would have allowed him to employ it in a Greek philosophical treatise. When we look at the clause, *ὡς οἱ Χριστιανοί*, as here inserted, we see that it is outside the construction, and in fact ungrammatical. It is in the very form of a marginal note,² and has every appearance of being a gloss foisted into the text. But even if the words be omitted, Marcus may still have had the

¹ He says (viii. 41) that ‘nothing can overbear this Reason, not steel, nor tyrant, nor obloquy.’

² I see Lemerrier holds the same view.

Christians in mind when he wrote the passage, which only condemns an eagerness to meet death without real justification and without due dignity.¹

There are other expressions in this book which seem to glance at a body of men who must have been often in Marcus’s thoughts. For instance, when he speaks (vii. 68) of those who “can live out their lives in the utmost peace of mind, *even though all the world cry out against them what they choose, and the beasts tear them limb from limb*,” he cannot be thinking of criminals in the ordinary sense of the word, for it is evident that innocent people are meant, and if so, what innocent people received such treatment? It is not at all impossible—I think it highly probable—that Marcus looked upon the Christians as misguided enthusiasts, who had to be punished as the law then stood,² but whom he no more than Hadrian and Pius³ wished to punish. Again (vii. 51) he quotes the indignant cry of whom but the Christians? *They kill us, they cut us limb from limb, they execrate us!* Adding the comment: *How does that prevent you from being pure, sane, sober, just?* In yet another place (iii. 16), in words that point still more conclusively to the Christians, he acknowledges that to own the Intelligence as ruler and guide to what is a clear duty is found also among “*those who do not believe in Gods, and those who will not stand by*

¹ This is not much more than what Clem. Alex. says, *Stromata*, iv. 4. There were some egregious cases of voluntary martyrdom in Spain under the Moslems (see the present writer’s *Christianity and Islam in Spain*, pp. 37 ff.). See also the conduct of Callistus, afterwards Bishop of Rome. Hippolytus, *Refut. Haer.* ix. 12. Nor were philosophers exempt from the reproach of dying *iactationis causa* (see *Digest*, xxvii. 3. 6. 7).

² This was the view of Rusticus, his ‘domestic philosopher.’ (See *Acts of Justin Martyr*.)

³ This is clear from the joint letter of Marcus and Pius to the Larissaeans, Thessalonians, Athenians, and all the Greeks against mob-violence towards the Christians; see Melito in Eusebius, iv. 26, § 10).

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their country, and those who do their deeds behind closed doors." Now all these three were the stock charges against Christians, and who can doubt they are hinted at here? Lastly there is the reference to exorcism (i. 6),¹ in which Marcus says that Diognetus taught him to disbelieve.

As a matter of fact, Marcus has been condemned as a persecutor of the Christians on purely circumstantial and quite insufficient grounds. The general testimony of contemporary Christian writers is against the supposition. So is the known character of Marcus. His distinguishing characteristic, in which he excelled all recorded rulers, was humanity. His *φιλανθρωπία* is mentioned by Galen, Dio, Philostratus, Athenagoras (twice), Melito, and Aristides (eleven times); and his *humanitas* by the eminent jurist Callistratus.² As soon could Alexander have turned his back in the day of battle as Marcus shown cruelty to his subjects, however lowly. "Never," says Marcus in the eighth book of his self-communications, "have I willingly injured another," and Themistius (*Orat.* 15) records how, when penned in by his enemies in a new Caudine Forks, he raised his hands to Heaven and cried, "With this hand wherewith I have shed no blood, I appeal to Thee and beseech the Giver of life."

He had a passion for justice, and was most scrupulous in his observance of law, as Papinian, the greatest of jurists, has told us. That he should have encouraged mob-violence against unoffending persons, ordered the torture of innocent women and boys, and violated the rights of citizenship in his insensate fury, is as inconceivable as that St. Louis should have broken the Christian law or become a Mohammedan. That some Christians suffered for their religion in the reign of Marcus is most

¹ On which see note above, and *cp.* Lucian, *Philops.* § 16 (of Christ).

² Marcus himself in his laws repeatedly appeals to this principle. *Capit.* says he was noted for the mildness of his punishments, and see p. 369.

NOTE ON CHRISTIANS

probable, though there is perhaps no single martyrdom attributed to this period of which the date¹ is certain beyond cavil. That there was in any sense a general persecution of the Christians at this time is contrary to all the facts. There were numbers of them in Rome itself, with a Bishop at their head. There were actually Christians in the Emperor's household and probably (*e.g.* Apollonius) in the Senate itself. Of all these Roman Christians we only hear of Justin and his six companions being martyred, one of them being a slave of the Emperor. Other Christian slaves in the royal household survived him. If he wished to put down Christianity, why did he not begin with his own palace and with Rome?²

So far from persecuting them, we know that as subordinate ruler with Pius³ he was responsible for the letter to the Greek cities forbidding outrages against the Christians. The letter to the Common Assembly of Asia, given below, if authentic, emanated from him in conjunction with Pius or from him alone. Its genuineness in the main has been upheld by Harnack, and is certainly capable of defence.

¹ Dr. Abbott has given plausible reasons for doubting the date of the Lyons martyrdom, and some (*e.g.* Havet) deny the authenticity of the letter in Eusebius.

² The famous caricature of the Christian religion found in the pages' quarters in the Palatine (see Lanciani, *Ancient Rome* 122) dates from this reign.

³ Melito says distinctly *σοῦ τὰ συμπάντα διοικούντος αὐτῆς*, Euseb. iv. 26. 10 (? *πάντα συνδιοικούντος*).

MARCUS AURELIUS

'Αντωνίνου πρὸς τὸ Κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπιστολὴ (περὶ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγου).

(Eusebius, iv. 13=Nicephorus iii. 28; cp. Justin. *Apol.* i. *ad fin.*)

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος Σεβαστὸς [Ἀρμένιος] ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ πέμπτον καὶ τὸ δέκατον, ὑπατος τὸ τρίτον, τῷ Κοινῷ τῆς Ἀσίας χαίρειν.¹ Ἐγὼ μὲν οἶδα² ὅτι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιμελὲς ἐστί μὴ λανθάνειν τοὺς τοιούτους. πολὺ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐκείνοι κολάσαιεν³ ἂν τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους αὐτοὺς προσκυνεῖν ἢ ἡμεῖς. οὐς εἰς ταραχὴν ἐμβάλλετε, βεβαιούντες τὴν γνώμην αὐτῶν ἥπερ ἔχουσιν, ὡς ἀθέων κατηγοροῦντες⁴ εἴη δ' ἂν κείνοις αἰρετὸν τὸ δοκεῖν κατηγορουμένους τεθνᾶναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν ὑπὲρ τοῦ οἰκείου θεοῦ.⁵ ὅθεν καὶ νικῶσι, προίεμοι τὰς ἐαυτῶν ψυχάς, ἥπερ πειθόμενοι οἷς ἀξιοῦτε πράττειν αὐτοῦς. περὶ δὲ τῶν σεισμῶν τῶν γεγοτότων καὶ γινομένων οὐκ ἄσπον ὑμᾶς ὑπομῆσαι, ἀθμουίντας μὲν ὅταν περ ᾧσι, παραβάλλοντας δὲ⁶ τὰ ἡμέτερα πρὸς τὰ

¹ The version in Justin at the end of *Apol.* i. has the following heading: Αὐτοκ. Καῖσ. Τίτος Αἰλιος Ἀδριανὸς Ἀντων. Σεβ. Εὐσεβῆς, ἀρχ. μέγ., δημαρ. ἐξ., ὑπατος τὸ πδ', πατὴρ πατριδος τὸ κα' κ.τ.λ. The dates are out of place and obviously absurd; πδ' = 84 and κα' = 21. Altered to κδ' and δ' respectively and placed after ἐξουσίας and ὑπατος they would give the date 161.

² ἤμην Justin.

³ ἐκείνους κολάσαιεν, εἴπερ δύναντο J.

⁴ οἷς ταραχὴν ἐμβ., καὶ τὴν . . . κατηγοροῦτε <καὶ ἕτερα τινὰ ἐμβάλλετε, ἅτινα οὐ δυνάμεθα ἀποδείξει> J.

⁵ These last seven words omitted J.

⁶ οὐκ εἰκὸς ὑπομῆσαι ὑμᾶς ἀθ., ὅτ. π. ᾧσι, παραβάλλοντας τὰ ἴμ. κ.τ.λ. J.

¹ An unusual form for Ἀρμενιακός, a title not given till 163.

² Marcus was consul for the third time and renewed his

NOTE ON CHRISTIANS

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

The Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus [Armenius¹] Pontifex Maximus, in the fifteenth year of his Tribunate, Consul for the third time,² to the Common Assembly of Asia greeting.

I am confident³ that the Gods also look to it that such persons should not escape detection. For it is much more their concern than yours to punish those who refuse to worship them. But you harass these men,⁴ and harden them in their conviction, to which they hold fast, by accusing them of being atheists. For indeed they would rather choose to be accused and die for their own God than live. Consequently they even come off victorious, giving up their lives rather than comply with your demands. And with respect to the past and present earthquakes⁵ it is not amiss to remind you of them, despondent as you are whenever they occur and yet for ever contrasting our belief and conduct with theirs.⁶

Trib. Pot. for the fifteenth time in 161, in which year he became emperor on 7 March and within a few days associated Lucius Verus in the Empire with himself.

² The beginning of the rescript is apparently lost. *cp.* for the opening words the *deorum iniurias dis curae* of Tacitus.

⁴ The Justin text says "charge them with disorder," and adds "and bring other charges against them which we cannot prove."

⁵ There were several earthquakes in Asia Minor between 138 and 180, Rhodes, Smyrna, and Cyzicus being destroyed, but the dates are not accurately settled. There was certainly one at Smyrna about 177, but that is too late. There was one at least in the reign of Pius, and the one here mentioned is supposed by some to have occurred about 152, but I think it may possibly be identified with one by which Cyzicus was chiefly affected; see Fronto. *Ad Ant.* i. 12 (A.D. 162).

⁶ *cp. Or. ad Graecos*, 26; Fronto *De Elogio*. Naber, p. 147; Dio *Epit.* *Xiv.*) Pius 4.

MARCUS AURELIUS

ἐκείνων. οἱ μὲν οὖν εὐπαρρησιαστότεροι γίνονται πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ὑμεῖς δὲ ¹ παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον καθ' ὃν ἀγοσεῖν δοκεῖτε, τῶν τε θεῶν (καὶ) τῶν ἄλλων ἀμελεῖτε, καὶ τῆς θρησκείας τῆς περὶ τὸν ἀθάνατον, ὃν δὴ τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς θρησκεύοντας ἐλαύνετε καὶ διώκετε ἕως θανάτου².

Ἵπὲρ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων ἤδη καὶ πολλοὶ³ τῶν περὶ τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἡγεμόνων καὶ τῷ θειοτάτῳ ἡμῶν ἔγραψαν πατρί· οἷς καὶ ἀντέγραψε μηδὲν ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς τοιούτοις, εἰ μὴ φαίνοντο τι περὶ⁴ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν ἐγχειροῦντες. καὶ ἐμοὶ δὲ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων πολλοὶ ἐσήμαναν, οἷς δὴ καὶ ἀντέγραψα κατακολουθῶν τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς γνώμῃ. εἰ δὲ τις ἐπιμένει τινὰ τῶν τοιούτων εἰς πράγματα φέρων ὡς δὴ τοιοῦτον,⁵ ἐκείνος ὁ καταφερόμενος ἀπολελεύσθω τοῦ ἐγκλήματος καὶ εἴαν φαίνηται τοιοῦτος ὢν, ὁ δὲ κτιτιφέρων ἔνοχος ἔσται δίκης.⁶

προετίθη ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐν τῷ Κοινῷ τῆς Ἀσίας.

¹ Here Harnack supplies *ἔτι*.

² *ἔτι* εὐπαρ. ὑμῶν γίν. τὸν πρὸς θεόν. καὶ ὑμεῖς μὲν ἀγν. δοκεῖτε παρ' ἐκείνον τ. χρ. τοὺς θεούς, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀμ., θρησκ. δὲ τὴν π. τὸν θεὸν οὐκ ἐπίστασθε. ὕθεν καὶ τοὺς θρησκεύοντας ἐξήλωσατε καὶ διώκ. ἕως θ. J.

³ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς without ἤδη J.

⁴ *ἐπὶ* J.

⁵ εἰ δὲ τις ἔχει πρὸς τινὰ τῶν τοι. πράγμα καταφέρειν J.

⁶ The parts underlined are those which Harnack (*Texte und Untersuch. z. Gesch. der All-Christ. Liter.* xiii.) considers portions of the genuine edict. Eusebius places it under the reign of Pius, though he gives the superscription as above. The version in Justin seems to be an "improved" form of the text, making it clearer and more emphatic. It is not known whether the rescript was originally in Greek or Latin, but almost certainly it was in the former.

NOTE ON CHRISTIANS

They indeed show the more outspoken confidence in their God, while you during the whole time of your apparent ignorance both neglect all the other Gods and the worship of the Ever-living One,¹ whose worshippers, the Christians, you in fact harass and persecute to the death.

And on behalf of such persons many Governors also of provinces have before now both written to our deified father, whose answer in fact was not to molest such persons unless they were shewn to be making some attempt in respect to the Roman Government,² and to me also many³ have given information about such men, to whom indeed I also replied in accordance with my father's view. And if any one persist in bringing any such person into trouble for being what he is, let him, against whom the charge is brought, be acquitted even if the charge be made out, but let him who brings the charge be called to account.⁴

Published at Ephesus in the Common Assembly of Asia.

¹ Harnack thinks *Δία* should be supplied and for the following five words substitutes *ἐκείνος δέ*.

² If this edict is by Pius, we should expect to find some such injunction in his "deified father" Hadrian's edict about the Christians (see Euseb. iv. 9), but there is none. On the other hand it may have been in the edict of Pius "to all the Greeks" mentioned by Melito (Euseb. iv. 10).

³ This is the one word in the document except *Ἀρμένιος* which does not seem consistent with the date 161, when Marcus had only just become emperor.

⁴ This portion of the edict seems too favourable to the Christians for even Marcus to have promulgated.

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- Epictetus, mentioned, VII. 19; his "Memorabilia," I. 7; "a little soul bearing a corpse" (Epict. *Frag.* 26), IV. 41; Bear and forbear, v. 33; IX. 24; "words of ill-omen" (Epict. III. 24, 88, 89), XI. 34; looking for impossibilities (Epict. III. 24, 86, 87), XI. 33; "no man can rob us of our free will" (Epict. III. 22, 105), XI. 36; "O Cithaeron" (from Soph. *Oed. Res.* 1390, Epict. I. 24, 16), XI. 6; "the house is smoky and I quit it" (suicide, Epict. I. 25, 18), v. 29; "a soul deprived of truth only against its will" (Epict. I. 28, 4; II. 22, 37; *cp.* Plato *Rep.* III. 412), VII. 63; XI. 18, § 3; Socrates called the opinions of the many Lamiae (or *μορμολυκεία*, Epict. II. 1, 15), XI. 23; change illustrated from the grape (Epict. III. 24, 91-3), XI. 35; "tis royal to do good and be abused" (Antisthenes, Epict. IV. 6, 20), VII. 36; rules of life (Epict. *Frag.* 27), XI. 37; *cp.* VIII. 7 *ad. inil.*; "the question is about being mad or sane" (Epict. *Frag.* 28), XI. 38; elenchus on quarrelling (Socrates, ?) from Epictetus, XI. 39; life a drama, (Epict. *Man.* 17), XII. 36; Marcus plainly Epictetizes (Schol. to Codex D.), II. 1; *cp.* also v. 27
- Epicurus, on intolerable pain, VII. 33, 64; account of his illness, IX. 41; atoms (see also Democritus), VI. 10 (so Schol. to Codex D.); VII. 33; IX. 28; "to think on great men," XI. 26 (by emendation *Ἐπικουρίων* for *Ἐφεσίων*)
- Epitynchaus, possibly one of Hadrian's clientèle, VIII. 25
- Eudaemon, unknown, though named for ability, VIII. 25. Vitruvius (but the reading is not above suspicion) mentions a celebrated astrologer of this name
- Eudoxus, mentioned with Hipparchus and Archimedes, VI. 47. He was renowned as astronomer, physician and geometer
- Euphrates, mentioned as recently alive, x. 31. A Stoic philosopher much praised by Pliny (Ep. I. 10) who held that a philosopher should be a man of affairs, an administrator, and judge. Hadrian allowed him to commit suicide by drinking hemlock (Dio. 69, 8, § 2) in 118
- Euripides, quotations from, Belleophon (*Frag.* 289 Dind.) VII. 38; XI. 6; Hypsipyle (*Frag.* 757 D.), VII. 40; XI. 6; Antiope (*Frag.* 207 D.), VII. 41; XI. 6; Chrysipus (*Frag.* 836 D.), VII. 50; Supplices (L. 1110), VII. 51; unknown plays (*Frag.* 890, 1007, Dind.), x. 21; VII. 42 or Aristophanes *q.v.*; XII. 26
- Europe, a corner of the Universe, VI. 36
- Eutychea, an unknown philosopher, of previous times, x. 31
- Eutychnon, an unknown philosopher of previous times, x. 31
- Fabius, an unknown long-liver, IV. 50; Fabius Catullinus, a lover of the country, XII. 27. *See also* Caeso
- Father, and grandfather of Marcus, *see* Verus
- Faustina, wife of Marcus, I. 17, § 7; v. 31; (?) IX. 3; *see also* pp. 362, 365, 367
- Faustina, wife of Pius, VIII. 25
- [Gnomologia], anecdote of Socrates and Perdiccas (Archelaus) from (?), XI. 25
- Granus, I. 17 *ad. fin.* The river Gran, near Buda-Pesth
- Hadrian, as a type of departed grandeur, IV. 33; VIII. 5, 25, 37; x. 27. *See also* under Benedicta, and p. 360
- Helios VIII. 19
- Helvidius (Friscus), an upright but

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- Impracticable Stolz, who drove Vespasian to banish and put him to death, I. 14
- Hellœ, a city of Achala, swallowed by the sea 373 B.C., IV. 48
- Hellenes, the Ancient Greeks, III. 14
- Heraclitus, about 500 B.C. The Stoics borrowed their ideas of Physics largely from him. Mentioned with Pythagoras, Socrates, and Diogenes, VI. 47; VIII. 3; manner of death, III. 3; theory of periodic conflagrations of the Universe, III. 3; x. 7; cycles of change, v. 13; IX. 28; XI. 1; flux of things, II. 17; IV. 3 *ad. fin.*, 36; v. 10, 15; VI. 4; VII. 19, 25; IX. 19; x. 7; simile of river, II. 17; IV. 43; v. 23; VI. 15; motion above and below, VI. 17; [VII. 1]; IX. 28; interchange of elements, IV. 46; the man that forgets his way, IV. 46; even sleepers seem to act and speak, IV. 46; VI. 42; "children from parents" or "what our fathers have told us," IV. 46; the soul "an exhalation from blood," v. 33; VI. 15; men at variance with the Reason of the Universe, IV. 46; what they "encounter" every day, they deem strange, IV. 46; "to think on great men" (? from Heracl.), XI. 26
- Herculanum (Herclanum), destroyed 79 A.D., IV. 48
- Hesiod, quoted (*Opp.* 186), XI. 32; (*ibid.* 197), v. 33
- Hipparchus, a great mathematician and astronomer about 150 B.C., here mentioned with Archimedes and Eudoxus, VI. 47. Aur. Victor has a curious story (*De Caes.* XII. 20) of Marcus punishing the people of Nicæa (in Bithynia) for not knowing (the text here is doubted) that Hipparchus was born there
- Hippocrates (about 450 B.C.) III. 3. Till Galen the greatest of old-time physicians. A tree under which he is said to have taught still exists at Cos, his birthplace
- Homer, quoted (*Il.* VI. 147-9), x. 34; (*ibid.*, VII. 99), VI. 10; (*Od.*, I. 242), IV. 33; (*ibid.*, IV. 690), v. 31; (*ibid.*, IX. 413), XI. 31; (? The *Néκυια*, *Od.* XI. but *see* Menippus,) IX. 24
- Hymen, an unknown philosopher of a previous age, x. 31
- Julianus, an unknown long-liver, IV. 50
- Lacedaemonians, *see* Spartans
- Lamia XI. 23
- Lanuvium, on the Applan Way, where Pius was born, and had a villa, I. 16, § 8
- Leonnatus, IV. 33. One of Alexander's Generals, and quite out of place among Roman worthies, *see* Dentatus
- Lepidus, a lover of long-life, IV. 50. Possibly the triumvir
- Lorium, a villa of Pius on the Via Aurelia, where he died 7 March, 161, I. 16, § 8
- Lucilla, Domitia (Calvilla, *Capit.*), mother of Marcus, I. 17, § 1; v. 4, 13, 31; lessons learnt from her, I. 3; letter of Rusticus to, I. 7; early death of, I. 17, § 6; VIII. 25; life with, IX. 21. *See also* p. 360
- Lucian, possibly referred to in "Menippus and others like him," VI. 47
- Lupus, Lustus, unknown, possibly a mistake for L. Licinius Lucullus, the conqueror of Mithridates, whose luxurious gardens and villas were well-known, XII. 27
- Maecenas, the minister of Augustus and friend of Horace, VIII. 31
- Marcianus, an unknown philosopher, I. 6. There was a notable physician of this name (Martianus) in the time of Marcus
- Maximus, Claudius, a Stoic philosopher and teacher, highly esteemed by Marcus, whom he thanks the Gods that he knew, I. 17, § 10; whose character he draws as that of a perfect man,

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- I. 15; his illness, I. 16 *ad fin.*; survived by his wife, VIII. 25; possibly consul *circa* 145, legatus of Pannonia 154 and proconsul of Africa *circa* 157; the *vir sanctissimus* of Apuleius
- Menander, quoted, in reference to the saying of Monimus, "all is vanity" (*Frag.* 249 Kock), II. 15; more luxury than comfort (*Frag.* 491 Kock), v. 12
- Menippus, mentioned as a mocker of man's life, VI. 47; his *Névia* possibly referred to, IX. 24. A Cynic and satirical writer, compatriot of Lucian, and often introduced by him into his works. The Scholiast (Arethas, *q.v.*) on Luc. *Pisc.* 26, refers to this passage of Marcus
- Monimus, a Cynic and pupil of Diogenes, quoted from Menander (*q.v.*), "all opinion is vanity," II. 15
- Nero, coupled with Phalaris, III. 16
- Origanon, unknown, lately dead, VI. 47
- Panthea, the concubine of Lucius Verus, and mentioned as watching his tomb (urn). The writer of the dialogues *Imagines* and *Pro Imaginibus* (attributed to Lucian) speaks in very high terms of her beauty and character, VIII. 37
- Pergamus, a freedman or favourite of Lucius Verus, VIII. 37
- Perdiccas, king of Macedonia (probably a mistake for Archelaus) in connection with Socrates, XI. 25
- Phalaris, the typical tyrant, III. 16
- Phalereus, *see* Demetrius, IX. 29
- Philip, King of Macedonia, mentioned with Alexander and Demetrius of Phalerum, IX. 29; with Alexander and Croesus, X. 27
- Phlition, unknown, lately dead, VI. 47
- Phocion, the great Athenian, anecdote of (*cp.* Musonius Rufus, p. 55, ed. Hense), XI. 13
- Phoebus, unknown, lately dead, VI. 47
- Pindar, quoted (from Plato, *q.v.*), "the secrets of Hades," II. 13
- Plato, his Utopia, IX. 29; quotation (? dropped out) VII. 48; or, "the stars in their courses," "the mire of earthly life," VII. 47; Socrates on his trial (*Apol.* 28, B, D.), VII. 44, 45; Pindar quoted by (*Theat.* 173 E.), II. 13; wise man in city like shepherd on the hills (*Theat.* 174 D.), X. 23; goodness, and love of life (*Gorg.* ch. 68, 512 D.), VII. 46; death no evil, *Rep.* VI. 486 A., VII. 35; Socrates as the true philosopher (Plato, *Tim.* 61, D.), III. 6. *See also* p. 360
- [Plutarch], perhaps quoted, IV. 16; VII. 52; referred to, v. 1, § 2. *See also* under Sextus
- Pompell, destroyed by Vesuvius, 79 A.D., IV. 48
- Pompelius, named with Caesar and Alexander, III. 3; VIII. 3; the *Gens Pompeia* has died out, VIII. 31
- Prasianus (Prasinus), a partizan of the Green Faction in the Circus I. 5; Lucius Verus, whose horse Filer (Volucris) was ridden under the Green colours, unfairly favoured the Greens, and on one occasion, while presiding at the games with Marcus, had a hostile reception from the spectators. *Capit. Vit. Ver.*, VI. 2
- Pythagoras, named with Heraclitus and Socrates, VI. 47; tenet quoted, "the stars in their courses," XI. 27 (but ? Plato)
- Quadi, I. 17 *ad fin.* A German tribe of the modern Moravia, who with the Marcomanni were the chief enemies of Marcus in the first war, 170-174. They nearly repeated the exploit of Arminius in the so-called "miraculous victory" in 174 (or, as Domaszewski, 171), pp. 369, 371
- Quotations from unknown authors, *see* Anonymous

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- Rome, VI. 44
- Rufus, *see* Velius
- Rusticus, Stoic philosopher, teacher and intimate friend of Marcus, who, as *praefectus urbi*, condemned Justin to martyrdom; lessons learnt from him, self-discipline, contempt of dialectics, theoretic, rhetoric, poetry and fine writing, not to be a prig, to cultivate good taste, simplicity in letter-writing, sweet reasonableness, care in reading, suspicion of volubility, and a knowledge of Epictetus, I. 7, 17, § 4; M. sometimes offended with, I. 17, § 6
- Salaminius, the (Leo), Socrates sent by the Thirty Tyrants for, VII. 66
- Sarmatians, these appear as enemies about 174, A.D., X. 10. They were a Slav people from the present Poland and Russia. Their women fought.
- Satyrion, an unknown philosopher of recent time, X. 31
- Scipio, IV. 33
- Secunda, wife of Maximus, VIII. 25
- Severus, called "brother," I. 14; and so probably the father of Claudius Severus, who married one of Marcus' daughters (? Fadilla). But he seems to have been a philosopher and is possibly identical with the Peripatetic philosopher Severus (*Capit. Vit. Mar.*, III. 3), mentioned, X. 31. Marcus was himself at one time called Severus. *Capit.* I. 9, *cp.* Galen, VII. 478 Kühn
- Severus, Catillus, maternal great-grandfather of Marcus, who expected to succeed Hadrian, I. 4
- Sextus of Chaeronea, a Stoic philosopher, grandson of Plutarch, I. 9. Marcus made him his assessor on the bench (so Suidas) and attended his lectures late in life (*Philost. Vit. Soph.*, II. 9)
- Sextus Empiricus, of date uncertain but probably near the end of the 2nd century. He was an "empiric" physician and the great champion of Sceptical Philosophy, possibly quoted (*adv. Math.* IV. 81), VI. 14: "all is vanity" (from Monimus, *see also* Menander; *Sext. Emp.* II. 1), II. 15
- Silvanus, an unknown philosopher of a previous age, X. 31
- Sinuessa, a coast town on the border of Latium and Campania, letter of Rusticus from, I. 7
- Socrates, named with Heraclitus and Pythagoras and Diogenes, VI. 47; VIII. 3, with Chrysippus and Epictetus, VII. 19; public acts and character, VII. 66; conduct with Xanthippe, XI. 23; his self-control (? from Xenophon, *q.v.*), I. 16, *ad fin.*; his trial, VII. 44, 45; killed by (human) vermin, III. 3; quoted (from Epictetus, *q.v.*) on the notions of the vulgar, XI. 23; (? from Epictetus, *q.v.*) on rational souls, XI. 39; (from Plato, *q.v.*) on a soul freed from sense-impressions, III. 6
- Socraticus, an unknown philosopher of previous times, X. 31
- Sophocles, quoted from Epictetus (*Oed. Rez.* 1391), XI. 6
- Spartans, courtesy to strangers, XI. 24
- Stertinus of Baiae, XII. 27. Possibly the rich physician of Naples, Pliny, *N.H.*, XXIX. 5
- Stoics, facts of the Universe unintelligible even to, v. 10
- Tandasis, an unknown philosopher, I. 6
- Telauges, son of Pythagoras and Theano (*see* Diog. Laert. *Pyth.* XXII. 26), VII. 66
- Theodotus, a freedman or minion of Hadrian (probably), I. 17, § 6
- Theophrastus, the successor of Aristotle in the Peripatetic Philosophy, quoted from with approval, "offences due to lust, and to anger," II. 10
- Thrasea, the noble Stoic put to death by Nero in 63. His last words were addressed to Demetrius the Cynic (for whom *see* on Demetrius), I. 14

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Tiberius, at Capreae, XII. 27
Trajan, an instance of past grandeur
IV. 32
Tropaeophorus, unknown philosopher of a previous age, X. 31
Tusculum, now Frascati, in Latium,
I. 16

Valerius, *see* Volesus
Velius Rufus, unknown, XII. 27
Verus, M. Annii, grandfather of
Marcus, I. 1; I. 17, § 1; IX. 21
Verus, Annii, father of Marcus,
I. 2, V. 4, 13, 31; VIII. 25; IX. 21
Verus, Eucius Aurelius, adopted
brother and son-in-law of Marcus,

I. 17, § 4; VIII. 37. *See also* pp.
387, 387

Volesus, or Volusus, undoubtedly
P. Valerius Volusi filius Poplicola,
the hero of the first years of the
Republic, descended from the
Sabine chief Volesus (SIL. Ital.
II. 8), IV. 33

Xanthippe, the shrewish wife of
Socrates, XI. 23

Xenocrates, a Platonist philoso-
pher from Chalcedon, VI. 13,
see Crates

Xenophon, perhaps quotation from
(*Mem.* I. 3, 15), I. 16, § 9, X. 31

Zeus IV. 23, V. 7, 8, *vñ* Δία V. 6. 8

III.—GLOSSARY OF GREEK TERMS

ἀδιάφορα (=μέσα), V. 20; VI. 32, 41,
45; VII. 31; VIII. 56; XI. 16:
things indifferent, *i.e.* neither
good nor bad = (1) things abso-
lutely indifferent, such as the
number of pebbles on the shore;
(2) προηγμένα, things to be chosen
as having a relative value, as
good health; (3) ἀπροηγμένα, to
be rejected, as of less relative
value. *cp.* Fronto, *De Elog.*
Nab. p. 143

ἀερώδες, τό, IV. 4, 21; VIII. 54; IX. 9;
X. 7, § 2. From a comparison of
these we get τὸ στερέμιον = τὸ
γεῶδες (earth), τὸ ὑγρὸν (water),
τὸ πνευματικόν = τὸ ἀερώδες (X. 7,
§ 2, the spiritual or pneumatic into
airy or aerial), τὸ πυρώδες (fire)
= τὸ νοερόν, *cp.* XI. 20

αἰτία, τὸ αἰτιον, τὸ αἰτιώδες (*see* Seneca, *Ep.* 65), the Causal, Formal,
or Formative Principle which
makes a thing what it is, con-
trasted with ὕλη (matter), IV. 21;
VI. 5; VII. 29; VIII. 3, 11; XII. 8,
10, 18, 29; the Primary Cause, or
Nature, or God, VIII. 27; IX. 29;
the Individual Cause in Man, VIII.
7; IX. 31; X. 26; the Quality of
the Cause, *i.e.* the power it has of
making a thing what it is, IX. 25;
absorbed into the λόγος of the
Universe, VII. 10; Destiny, the
primal Cause and sum of all lower
causes, V. 8

ἀκατάληπτος, ἀκαταληψία, impossi-
bility of any certain conviction,
V. 10; VII. 54. It was the main
position of the Sceptics that
nothing could be really known,

but even Socrates and his suc-
cessors said similar things. Epi-
ctetus stoutly maintains the con-
trary

ἀκοινωνήτος, one who selfishly disre-
gards the common interests and
cuts himself adrift from his fel-
lows, II. 1, 2; III. 5; VIII. 34;
X. 6; XI. 18 *ad fin.*; XII. 23

ἀναφορά, the reference of a thing to
its end or purpose, its relation to
its objective, with Cause and
Matter making up the whole
thing, XII. 8, 10, 18, 20

ἀξία, (1) the true value or worth of
things, (2) the relative value of
things preferential, III. 11; VI. 3,
etc.

ἀπάθεια, the passionless calm of the
true Stoic, I. 9 (of Sextus); VI.
16; XI. 18 *ad fin.*; *cp.* ἀρ. ραξία

ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, words only found (it
seems) in Marcus are: ἀκίβητος
I. 8; ἀνδρονομείσθαι X. 19; ἀν-
θύλλιον IV. 20; ἀπαλλακτιῶν X. 36;
ἀποκασιариούσθαι VI. 30; ἀπορρημ-
εσθαι III. 4; IV. 22; ἀπροσπάτητος
XII. 14; ἀρεσκεντικός I. 16; ἀφου-
σιολογήτως X. 9; ἀψικάρδιος IX. 3;
γαλάκτιον V. 4; γλισχρένισθαι V. 5;
γλώσσημα IV. 33; ἐμφιλοτεχνεῖν
VII. 54; ἐνεργησεῖν III. 7; ἐν-
τέριον (?) VI. 13; τεύχαιεντιζέσθαι
I. 15; καλοῦθης I. 1; κοινονοήσοισιν
I. 16; μνίδιον VII. 3; μυζάριον IV.
48; VI. 13; ὁμοδογματεῖν IX. 3;
XI. 8; ὁμοθαμνεῖν XI. 8; παραζητεῖν
XII. 5; περιφόρος I. 15; προπρω-
τικός XI. 10; προσήρσησσεσθαι IV. 49;
ριπταστικός I. 16; σεμνοτιφία IX.
29; σμαράγδιον IV. 20; στρωμάτιον

GLOSSARY OF GREEK TERMS

V. 1; συγκατατίθεσθαι V. 1; συμμυρίεσθαι III. 11; VIII. 23; συμμύριον IV. 40; συμπεριφαντάζεσθαι X. 38; συμπροσπίπτειν VII. 22; X. 31; XII. 27; συνεφέρειν III. 4; συννήθειν (?) IV. 34; τριγυρίσιος, IV. 50; υπέρτασις, X. 8; φαντασολήκτως, I. 7; χυλάριον VI. 13
 ἀπροαίρετα, things not in our choice or power, XII. 3, 23, 33
 ἀρχαί, Zeno recognized θεός (τὸ ποιῶν) and ἄλη (τὸ πάσχον) as ἀρχαί or Beginnings
 ἀταραξία (cp. ἀπάθεια) IX. 31, freedom from perturbation at external things
 ἄτομος, IV. 3; VI. 24; VII. 32, 50; VIII. 17; IX. 28, 39; X. 6; XI. 18. Indivisible atoms endowed with motion were, according to Democritus, and after him Epicurus and Lucretius, the origin of all things without any First Cause. Marcus often puts this view, but only to reject it
 ἀφορμή = means. Marcus does not use the word in its Stoic sense of "disinclination" ἡ ὁρμή
 δαίμων, evil spirit, I. 6; good, X. 13; = εὐδαιμονία, VII. 17; the "genius" or "daemon" within us, II. 13, 17; III. 6, 7, 12, 16; VIII. 45; XII. 3; given by Zeus to us, V. 27; = θεός, V. 10; = νοῦς, III. 3
 δάδνυσι, VII. 50, etc.; a breaking up of things into their component parts, and the subsequent sifting out of these into the elements
 δαίνοια, faculty of thought, or mind, III. 1; = λογικὴ ψυχὴ, VI. 32; not affected by the motions of the πνεῦμα, IV. 3
 διαπνεῖσθαι, to breathe through the veins and arteries, a medical theory (see Gataker in loc. for illustrations from Galen), III. 1; VI. 16
 δόγμα, a postulate, axiom, or principle established by reason and experience; what the sensations are to the body and impulses to the soul, δόγματα are to the intelligence, III. 16; called "sacred," X. 9. See κρίμα and θεωρήμα

εἶδος, only used once (XI. 20) in its philosophical sense of "general term," "class," or "species"
 εἰμαρομένη, ἡ, destiny, III. 6; V. 8, etc.; = Clotho, IV. 34; τὰ συγκλωθόμενα, III. 4, 11, 16; IV. 26; ἡ πεπωμένη, III. 8; τὸ συμβαῖνον, IV. 44, etc.
 ἐκκλισίς, avoidance) ὄρεξις (g.v.), VII. 7; XI. 37. The things that are "within the man" are κρίσις judgment, ὁρμή impulse, ὄρεξις propension towards, ἐκκλισίς aversion from, a thing, VIII. 28; but the latter must be reserved only for things in our power, VIII. 7; XI. 37
 ἐκπύρωσις, cyclical conflagration of the Universe, a doctrine of Heraclitus (g.v.), III. 3. Justin *Apol.* II. 7 points out the difference between the Stoic and Christian view of this conflagration (2 St. Peter III. 7, 10)
 ἐνοια, conception, thought, or notion not amounting to a conviction (δόγμα), but κοινὴ ἐνοια = φαντασία καταληπτική, a conclusive conviction. See πρόληψις
 ἐξαγωγή = suicide does not occur, but see III. 1 (ἐξακτέον)
 ἔξις, VI. 14; VII. 16; XI. 18; XII. 16. Lucian, *Conviv.* 23, says, τί διαφέρει σχέσις ἐξως; and in *Hermot.* 81 he laughs at the jargon of philosophy with its ἔξεις and σχέσεις, its καταλήψεις and φαντασῖαι. Σχέσις, feature; ἔξις, a simple essential form or quality (ποιότης); φύσις, a forming power, VI. 14
 εὐδαιμονία, harmony of man's will (δαίμων) with God's = εὐροια βίον, VII. 17
 εὖρους, εὐροεῖν (εὐροια, Epict. I. 4. 6), the calm even flow of the virtuous life = εὐδοεῖν, V. 34; X. 6; even of Zeus himself, V. 8; εὖרון καὶ θεουδὴ βίον, II. 5
 ἐνέργεια, the activity of the ψυχὴ contrasted with πείσις (g.v.) = the passivity of the body, V. 20, etc.
 ἡγεμονικόν, τό (or τὸ κυριεῦον, τὸ προαιρετικόν, VIII. 56), the Ruling

GLOSSARY OF GREEK TERMS

Reason (g.v.) or Principle (or Inner Self, *Rendall*), II. 2; IV. 1; V. 26; XII. 14, etc. = λόγος, φύσις, or even τέχνη λογικὴ, V. 4; VIII. 7 (cp. ψυχὴ), V. 32; δαίνοια, VII. 64, 68; νοῦς, IX. 22; III. 16; X. 24; XII. 8; sometimes even of God, VII. 76; IX. 22

θεώρημα, a truth perceived in Science, I. 7, § 4, 8; IV. 2; in Ethics = δόγμα, a principle or conviction; τὸ θεωρητικόν, the faculty of pure thought, X. 9; p. 375

καθήκον, τό = officium, duty. Among τὰ καθήκοντα, duty in the highest sense perfectly performed, is κατορθώμα (not used by M.). κατορθώσεις, V. 14, are acts that are the outcome of right reason

κατάληψις, VI. 30 (καταλαμβάνειν, καταληπτικός (IX. 6), ἀκατάληπτος, τὸ καταληπτικόν) = that which carries conviction; an important term in the Stoic philosophy meaning a "true comprehension" or "clear perception" of a thing without which no right conduct in life is possible." See under συγκαταθέσις

κατόρθωσις, see καθήκον
 κίνησις, motion = change, V. 10; in the flesh (Epicurus), IX. 41; of the senses, VIII. 26; of the flesh (smooth or rough), X. 8; to anger, fear, etc., XI. 20; of the mind, VII. 55; of virtue, VI. 17; (σχέσις, VII. 60; XI. 2; tension (τόνος), VI. 38
 κοινὸς and its kindred words occur over eighty times, and Marcus apparently coins the beautiful word κοινονομησούνη (I. 16), which deserves to rank with the "loving-kindness" of Coverdale's Bible.

See under Fellowship
 κρίμα, conviction, almost = δόγμα, IV. 3, § 2; judgment, V. 19; VIII. 47; XI. 11; cp. κρίσις, VI. 52, etc., the antecedent to ὁρμή, VIII. 16, 23; of the Christians, XI. 3; = πρόληψις (φαντασία), XI. 16, 18. § 7

λόγος (λογικός), reason or the reason, I. 8; II. 10; IV. 13, 16, 19, 24, 30, 33; V. 8, 9, 14, 28; VI. 23, 30; VII. 8, 11, 24; VIII. 48; IX. 10, 42; X. 31, 32 (νοῦς καὶ λ.); right reason, (= virtue, Cic. *Tusc.* IV. 15. 34), III. 6, 12; XI. 9; XII. 35; civic reason, IV. 29; IX. 12; common to Gods and men, VII. 53; λ. of Nature, IV. 29; V. 32; V. 58; VII. 10; common to all intelligent creatures, IV. 4; VII. 9; = a man's self (τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, g.v.), VIII. 40; convincing reason II. 5; IV. 24; σπερματικοὶ λόγοι, of the Universe into which all things are taken back = seminal principles, IV. 14, 21; VI. 24; = λόγος only, VII. 10; X. 7; λογικός, applied to ζῶον, ἡγεμονικόν, τέχνη, φύσις, ψυχὴ

οἴησις, self-concept or illusion, IV. 12; IX. 34; XII. 27

οἰκονομία, IV. 19, 51; XI. 18, § 5; management, and so policy, expediency, adaptation to circumstances, ulterior end, secondary purpose, and even *finesse*. We keep the double sense of the word in our "economy of truth"

ὄρεξις, propension or inclination towards a thing, of which the result is ὁρμή and the incentive φαντασία, IX. 7; cp. VIII. 28.)(ἐκκλισίς, VIII. 7. See under πάθος
 ὁρμή = φορά ψυχῆς ἐπὶ τι (Stob. *Ecl.* II. 160), impulse of the mind towards a thing (see ὄρεξις), resulting in a πάθος
 ὁσιότης = δικαιοσύνη πρὸς θεόν, piety, sanctity, holiness
 οὐσία, Substance or Being, sometimes = ὕλη, matter;)(ψυχὴ, IV. 40

πάθος, the "affect" resulting through πείσις from ὁρμή, the second stage of ὄρεξις, which depends itself on assent (συγκατάθεσις). Stobaeus defines it (*Ecl.* II. 164) as a motion of the Soul contrary to Nature; παθολογεῖν. VIII. 13, to study the πάθος = Ethics

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παλιγγενεσία, XI. 1; *cp.* VII. 19. The Stoic theory was that everything repeated itself in periodic cycles, when the world was renewed again after each conflagration (see *ἐκπύρωσις* and under *Heraclitus*); *cp.* Chrysippus, *περί προνοίας*, "there will be another Socrates to live the same life again"; and Seneca, *Ep.* 36. 10, "veniet iterum qui nos in lucem reponat dies." But whether Marcus believed in this dismal theory is very doubtful, *cp.* X. 31.

παράταξις, opposed line in battle, no opposition, not obstinacy (XI. 3) III. 3; VIII. 48. See also p. 381.

πάσις (ἐνέργεια, V. 1, a passive condition antecedent to a *κίνησις* in the case of the body, corresponding to an *ἐνέργεια* of the mind, III. 6; V. 26; VI. 51; VII. 55; IX. 16

περίοδος, V. 13, 32; X. 7. See *παλιγγενεσία*

πνεῦμα = *ἀνεμος*, II. 2; the surrounding air, IX. 2; the inferior part of the *ψυχή* as distinct from *νοῦς*, IV. 3; it and its motion quite distinct from the *διάνοια*, IV. 3. Marcus does not seem to use the word in the sense of Atmospheric Current unless XII. 30 affords an instance.

πνεύματα, what remains of things when *οὐσία*, *ψυχή*, and *νοερά ψυχή* are subtracted. XII. 30

πνευματικόν, τὸ, the Soul (= τὸ πνευμάτιον) of which the *πνεῦμα* or breath element at death goes back into τὸ ἀερῶδες, and the *νοῦς* into τὸ πυρῶδες, IV. 4; X. 7; XI. 20

πνευματικόν, τὸ = (1) *ψυχή* (Soul) in its lower sense (*σῶμα*, *πνευμάτιον*, *νοῦς*, XII. 14) II. 2; VIII. 56; IX. 36; XII. 3, 14; (2) *ψυχή* in its higher sense, including the *νοῦς*, V. 26, 33; VI. 14; IX. 8, 34; XII. 30; the enveloping body and the *πνευμάτιον* that has grown with its growth, XII. 3; the vital breath which will be quenched or transferred elsewhere, VIII. 25; the sphere of it and the body

outside our power, V. 33; unstable like all matter, IX. 36; burdened with the body, IX. 24. See under *ψυχισμός*

ποιότης, τὸ ποιόν, the property, quality, or form of a thing (almost = the Cause which makes it what it is, IX. 25); τὸ ἴδιως ποιόν, separate individuality, VI. 3; IX. 25; X. 7; XII. 30

πολιτικός, mostly = *κοινωνικός*. See *κοινός*

προαίρεσις, free will or choice. See under *ἀπροαίρετα*

προαιρετικόν, τὸ (= τὸ ἡγεμονικόν), the faculty of choice, VIII. 56

προηγούμενον, τὸ, the leading or cardinal thing, VII. 55; VIII. 49; IX. 41. Marcus does not use the Stoic expression τὰ προηγούμενα things preferential

πρόληψις = a primary conception possessed by all rational beings, Chrysippus in Diog. Laert. vii. 53 (*ἔννοια φυσικὴ τῶν καθ' ἅλου*). Perceptions (*φαντασίαι*) resulting from sensation (*αἰσθησις*) produce impressions (*τυπώσεις*) which repeated form memory and many memories make experience which gives us conceptions (*πρόληψεις*)

σκεδασμός, *σκορπισμός* (*cp.* *διάλυσις*), a disintegration of things into their component atoms (VI. 24; VII. 32; VIII. 25) or elements. See under *Dispersion and Dissolution*

σκοπός (or *τέλος*, V. 15, 16), the end or objective of life, II. 16; VII. 4; XI. 6, 21; to which every *ὁρμή* and *φαντασία* should be directed, II. 7. See under *Aim, Objective*

σπερματικός λόγος (see under *λόγος*), IV. 14, 21; VI. 24; IX. 1 *ad fin.* = the Generative Reason, because the Primary Fire or Reason contains in it the Germs of all things. The *σπερμ. λόγοι* are the creative and forming forces in Nature which have produced (1) the Universe as a whole, and (2) individual things individually. Justin, *Apol.* II. 8. 13, applies the Stoic term to Christ

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στοιχεῖα, τὰ, the elements, earth, water, air, fire, II. 3, 17; VI. 17; IV. 4; X. 7; XI. 20, etc.; almost = atoms, VI. 17; VII. 31

συγκατάθεσις, the full mental assent required for a convincing impression (*φαντασία καταληπτική*) before convictions (*δόγματα*) can be translated into movement and action, but even this is liable to error, V. 10. See under *παθος*

σύγκριμα, *συγκριμάτιον*, the compound—man, VII. 67; VIII. 25; XI. 20; composite things (στοιχεῖα, II. 3; VI. 10 = *κυκεών*, the 'farrago' of things; *σύγκρισις* (λύσις, XII. 24, 36; the elements comprising the *σῶμα*, II. 17

συμπάθεια, sympathetic connexion or affinity of the parts in an organic whole, v. 26; IX. 9, § 3; mutual interdependence, IV. 27

συνείδησις, It is curious that Marcus never uses this Stoic equivalent for 'Conscience,' but see *εὐσυνειδήτος*, VI. 30 *ad fin.*

σῶστημα, an organized body, or organism, the parts of which have a relation to one another

σχέσις, a non-essential quality or feature of a thing, (κίνησις = rest (Rendall), VII. 60; XI. 2; attitude or relation towards other things, I. 12; VI. 38; VIII. 27; XI. 18. Three *σχέσεις*, (1) towards the body, (2) towards God, (3) towards our neighbour, VIII. 27. See under *ἔξις, κίνησις*

σῶμα, τὸ [*σώματιον, σάρξ, σαρκία* (plur.), *σαρκίδιον, κρεβθίδιον*] a compound of τὸ γεῶδες and τὸ ὑγρὸν, together forming τὸ στερεῖον, IV. 4; X. 7; the vessel or sheath of Soul, III. 8; VIII. 27; IX. 3; that which overlays the Soul, XII. 2, 3

τέλος, see *σκοπός*

τόνος (*τονικός*) = tension imparted to soul by atmospheric substance therein existing (Zeller), the cause of virtues and vices. Zeller also says that the Stoics imagined two sorts of motion, the one (= our

Repulsion) tending outwards and giving rise to the qualities of matter, the other (our *Attraction*) tending inwards and causing condensation. Cleanthes calls *τόνος*: α *πληγὴ πυρός*

ὑλὴ, τὸ ὑλικόν, matter on which the *αἴτιον* (g.v.) acts

ὑποκείμενον, τὸ (or plural), matter not in its primary condition but as formed by the *αἴτιον*, VII. 29; ἡ ὑποκείμενη ὑλὴ, IX. 36; all material things and objects, v. 10; VI. 4, 23; VIII. 22, 24; IX. 3; X. 18

ὑπεκρίσειν, IV. 1; v. 20; VI. 50; XI. 37, exception or reservation; *cp.* "sapientia ad omnia cum exceptione (μετ' ὑπεκρίσειν) veniet, si nihil incidit, quod impediatur" (Seneca, *De Benef.* IV. 34)

ὑπόληψις, opinion, imagination; all things are merely what we think them to be, II. 15; IV. 3, *ad fin.*; XII. 8, 26; away with opinion! IV. 7; VIII. 40; XI. 18, § 7; XII. 22, 25; leave the fact as it is and add no opinion to it, v. 26; hold the power of forming opinions sacred, III. 9; a ὑπόληψις καταληπτική (g.v.) amounts to a truth, IX. 6. See under *φαντασία* and *κρίσις*

ὑπόστασις, substance, IX. 1 *ad fin.* subsistence, IX. 42; X. 5

φαντασία, impression, thought, notion; don't go beyond first impressions, VIII. 49; they dye or stamp the soul, v. 16; v. 16; sift them, VIII. 26; appraise them aright, v. 36; *φαντασία καταληπτική*, irresistible impression that carries assent, IV. 22; VII. 54; wipe it out, IV. 24; v. 2; VII. 17, 29; VIII. 29; IX. 7. See under *ὑπόληψις* and *κρίσις*

φυσιολογία, VIII. 13 = *Physics*; *cp.* IX. 41; X. 9; so of the physiological disquisitions of Heraclitus, III. 3; *cp.* IX. 41 (from Epicurus).

ψυχή, *ψυχάριον*, Man = *σῶμα, ψυχή, νοῦς*, III. 16; but the Soul (*ψυχή*) twofold, (a) = *πνευμάτιον* (*πνεῦμα*),

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an exhalation from blood (*ἀναθυμίασις*, v. 33, vi. 15), and an inhalation (*ἀνάπνευσις*) from the air; (b) *ἡ νοερά, λογική*, vi. 14, 32; ix. 8; xi. 1; xii. 30; *ψυχή* = τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, i. 16 *ad fl.*; iv. 41; v. 26; ix. 3, 27, 34; an emanation from God, xii. 28; imprisoned in the body, iii. 7; *cp. Int. p. xiv.* The natural soul is called *ῥομβός*, a vortex or current, ii. 17, § 1; the rational soul a sphere, xi. 12; its attributes xi. 1 §2. There is a Soul

of the Universe, xii. 30, 32, and of God, v. 34, the two being really the same
ψύχωσις. It was a view of the Stoics that the embryo in the womb had only the *φυσική ψυχή* of plants, and that the *νοερά ψυχή* came gradually to the child after birth by contact with the (cold) air, xii. 24. It was by the respiration of the atmospheric *πνεῦμα* that the child received the *πνευμάτιον*, vi. 15; x. 7