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The communings with himself of Marcus Aurelius ...
RECEIVING GERMAN PRISONERS IN THE FIELD.

PANEL FROM TRIUMPHAL ARCH.
NOTI

This is one of two arches, erected on the conquest of German
German captives brought
bring the Emperor's
his hand, shews is bet
brave and sad. Behin
Bassaeus Rufus. Th
effective. This panel of Santa Martina on th
on the first landing of
Rome.
NOTE

As the Speeches and Sayings at the end of the book 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.

ERRATA

p. 112, 3 lines from end: inverted commas should begin before ὅτι τῆς.

p. 119, last line: for What read In what.

p. 213, 5 lines from end: for ad Caes. ii. read ad Caes. iii.

p. 339, l. 14: for by individual read with individual.

p. 376, l. 9: for προιοντα read προ <σ> ιοντα.

p. 402, l. 26: for Ades p. read A desp.
THE COMMUNINGS WITH HIMSELF OF
MARCUS AURELIUS
ANTONINUS
EMPEROR OF ROME
TOGETHER WITH HIS SPEECHES AND SAYINGS

A REVISED TEXT AND A TRANSLATION
INTO ENGLISH BY
C. R. HAINES, M.A., F.S.A.

LONDON : WILLIAM HEINEMANN
NEW YORK : G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
MCMXVI
If thou would'st master care and pain,
Unfold this book and read and read again
Its blessed leaves, whereby thou soon shalt see
The past, the present, and the days to be
With opened eyes; and all delight, all grief,
Shall be like smoke, as empty and as brief.

C. R. H.

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

The Greek text of this book is often difficult and in many places corrupt beyond cure, but no trouble has been spared to make the translation as accurate and idiomatic as possible. I have preferred to err, if error it be, on the side of over-faithfulness, because the physiognomy of the book owes so much to the method and style in which it is written. Its homeliness, abruptness, and want of literary finish (though it does not lack rhetoric) are part of the character of the work, and we alter this character by rewriting it into the terse, epigrammatic, staccato style so much in vogue at the present day. Another reason for literalness is that it makes a comparison with the Greek, printed beside it, easier for the unlearned. When a work has been translated so often as this one, it is difficult to be original without deviating further from the text, but I have not borrowed a phrase, scarcely a word, from any of my predecessors. If unconscious coincidences appear, it remains only to say Pereant...
PREFACE

qui ante nos nostra dixerint! Numerous references (such as have proved so invaluable for the due understanding of the Bible) and good indices have always been greatly wanted in the translations of this work, and I have taken pains to supply the want. For a better understanding of the character of Marcus I have added to the Thoughts translations of his Speeches and Sayings, with a Note on his attitude towards the Christians (in which I am glad to find myself in complete agreement with M. Lemercier). A companion volume on the Correspondence with Fronto will contain all his extant Letters. In conclusion my best thanks are due to Messrs. Teubner for permission to use their text as the basis of the revised one here printed, to Professors Leopold and Schenkl for advice and help on various points, and, last but not least, to my predecessors in the translation of this "Golden Book."

C. R. HAINES.

GODALMING, 1915.
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INTRODUCTION

It is not known how this small but priceless book of private devotional memoranda\(^1\) came to be preserved for posterity. But the writer that in it puts away all desire for after-fame has by means of it attained to imperishable remembrance. As Rénan has said, "tous, tant que nous sommes, nous portons au cœur le deuil de Marc Aurèle comme s’il était mort d’hier." Internal evidence proves that the author was Marcus Antoninus, emperor of Rome 7 March 161 to 17 March 180, and notes added in one MS between Books I and II and II and III shew that the second Book was composed when the writer was among the Quadi on the Gran, and the third at Carnuntum (Haimburg). The headquarters of Marcus in the war against the barbarians were at Carnuntum 171–173, and we know that the so-called "miraculous victory" against the Quadi was in 174.\(^2\) But Professor Schenkl has given good reasons for thinking that the first book was really written last and prefixed as a sort of introduction to the rest of the work.\(^3\) It was probably written as a whole, while the other books consist mostly of disconnected jottings. The style

\(^1\) Marcus may be referring in Bk. III. 14 to this his own work as ὕπομνηματια.
\(^2\) See Dio, 71. 8.
\(^3\) For a discussion of the chronology of the work, see Journal of Philology, vol. xxiii., No. 66, 1914.
INTRODUCTION

throughout is abrupt and concise, and words have occasionally to be supplied to complete the sense. There is here no reasoned treatise on Ethics, no exposition of Stoic Philosophy, such as the sectarum ardua ac perocculta\(^1\) or the ordo praeeptionum,\(^2\) on which Marcus is said to have discoursed before he set out the last time for the war in 178, but we have a man and a ruler taking counsel with himself, noting his own shortcomings, excusing those of others, and "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honourable, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are pure," exhorting his soul to think on these things. Never were words written more transparently single-hearted and sincere. They were not merely written, they were lived. Those who accuse Marcus of pharisaism wilfully mistake his character and betray their own. Very noticeable is the delicacy of the author's mind and the restrained energy of his style. He eschews all the 'windflowers' of speech, but the simplicity, straightforwardness, and dignity of his thoughts lend an imperial nobility to his expression of them. There is a certain choiceness and even poetry in his words which amply condone an occasional roughness and technicality of phrase. Striking images are not infrequent, and such a passage as Book II, 2 is unique in ancient literature. This is not a book of confessions, and comparatively few allusions to personal incidents are to be found except in the first book, while an air of complete aloofness and detachment pervades the whole. The author expressly disclaims all δριμύτης or originality and

\(^1\) Victor de Caes. xvi. 9.
INTRODUCTION

acuteness of intellect, and there is a good deal of repetition unavoidable in the nature of the work, for "line upon line" and "precept upon precept" are required in all moral teaching.

Of his two great Stoic predecessors Marcus has no affinity with Seneca. He certainly knew all about him and they have many thoughts\(^1\) in common, but Seneca's rhetorical flamboyance, his bewildering contradictions, the glaring divergence between his profession and his practice have no counterpart in Marcus. Epictetus, the Phrygian slave was his true spiritual father, but we do not find in the Emperor the somewhat rigid didacticism and spiritual dogmatism of his predecessor. Marcus is humbler and not so confident. The hardness and arrogance of Stoicism are softened in him by an infusion of Platonism and other philosophies.\(^2\) With the Peripatetics he admits the inequality of faults. His humanity will not cast out compassion as an emotion of the heart.\(^3\) His is no cut and dried creed, for he often wavers and is inconsistent. Call not his teaching ineffectual. He is not trying to teach anyone. He is reasoning with his own soul and championing its cause against the persuasions and impulses of the flesh. How far did he succeed? "By nature a good man," says Dio, "his education and the moral training he imposed upon himself

---

\(^1\) Marcus never quotes him by name, and though there are plenty of similarities between the two writers in thought, and even in expression, it is not certain that there is a single case of borrowing. Most of the resemblances are based on commonplaces; see, however, Sen. Ep. 77 = vi. 2; Ep. 65 = xi. 10; de Prov. 4 = iv. 1; Ep. 36 = v. 18; de Ben. vii. 31 = xi. 18, § 9; Ep. 74 = v. 8, § 3; Ep. 28 = v. 16.

\(^2\) Even Epicurus is mentioned with approval, as he is also by Seneca.

\(^3\) cp. Epict. iii. 24, 43; Man. 16, etc.
INTRODUCTION

made him a far better one.1 " As was natural to one who had beautified his soul with every virtuous quality he was innocent of all wrong-doing." 2 The wonderful revelation here given of the ἄρκνησις of the spiritual athlete in the contests of life is full of inspiration still even for the modern world. It has been and is a source of solace and strength to thousands, and has helped to mould the characters of more than one leader of men, such as Frederick the Great,3 Maximilian of Bavaria, Captain John Smith, the 'saviour of Virginia,' and that noble Christian soldier, General Gordon. It was but the other day, on the fiftieth anniversary of Italian Unity, that the King of Italy, speaking 4 on the Capitol, referred to Marcus "as the sacred and propitiatory image of that cult of moral and civil law which our Fatherland wishes to follow," a reference received with particular applause by those who heard it.

Whoever rescued the MS of the "Thoughts" on the death of their author in 180, whether it was that noble Roman, Pompeianus, the son-in-law of Marcus, or the high-minded Victorinus, his lifelong friend, we seem to hear an echo of its teaching in the dying words of Cornificia, his possibly last surviving daughter, when put to death by Caracalla in 215: "O wretched little soul of mine, imprisoned in an unworthy body, go forth, be free!" 5 It was doubtless known to Chryseros the freedman and nomenclator of Marcus who wrote a history of Rome to the death of his patron,6 and to the Emperor

1 Dio 71. 35, § 6. 2 Aristides ad Reg. § 106 (Jebb). 3 Who, however, in the field of morality cannot be said to have profited by its lessons. 4 March, 1911. 5 See Dio, Fragm. Dindorf v. 214. 6 Theoph. ad Autol. iii. 27.
INTRODUCTION

Gordian I., for the latter in his youth, soon after the Emperor's death, wrote an epic poem on Pius and Marcus. He also married Fabia Orestilla, the latter's granddaughter through Fadilla (probably) and Claudius Severus. As their eldest son Gordian II. had sixty children, the blood of Marcus was soon widely diffused.

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

Again a silence of 250 years, after which Tzetzes, a grammarian of Constantinople, quotes passages from Books IV. and V. attributing them to Marcus. About 150 years later (1300 A.D.) the ecclesiastical historian, Nicephorus Callistus (iii. 31) writes that Marcus "composed a book of instruction for his son, full of universal (κοσμικής, ? secular) experience and wisdom." About this very time Planudes, a monk

1 See Index, under "Suidas." 2 See A. Sonny in Philol. 54. 182f.
INTRODUCTION

of Constantinople, may have been engaged in compiling the anthology of extracts from various authors, including Marcus and Aelian, which has come down to us in twenty-five or more MSS dating from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. They are practically of no help in re-establishing the text, and contain in all forty-four extracts from books IV.—XII.

Our present text is based almost entirely upon two MSS, the Codex Palatinus (P) first printed in 1558 by Xylander but now lost, which contains the whole work, and the Codex Vaticanus 1950 (A) from which about forty-two lines have dropped out by accidental omissions here and there. Two other MSS give some independent help to the text, but they are incomplete, the Codex Darmstadtinus 2773 (D) with 112 extracts from books I.—IX. and Codex Parisinus 319 (C) with twenty-nine extracts from Books I.—IV., with seven other MSS derived from it or from the same source. Apart from all these there is but one other MS (Monacensis 323) which contains only fourteen very short fragments from Books II., III., IV., and VII.

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

The English translations are as follows.—

1. Meric Casaubon.—"Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. His Meditations concerning himselfe: Treating of a

---

1 One (Vat. 2231) has just come to light.
2 Except Cod. Monacensis 2 = C. Hoescheliansus.
3 See J. W. Legg, A Bibliography of Marcus Aurelius, 1908.
INTRODUCTION

Naturall Man’s Happinesse; wherein it consisteth, and of the Meanes to attain unto it. Translated out of the original Greeke with Notes by Meric Casaubon B.D., London, 1634.”

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

2. Jeremy Collier.—“The Emperor Marcus Antoninus His Conversation with Himself. Translated into English by Jeremy Collier M.A., London 1701.” A recent edition of it by Alice Zimmern is in the Camelot Series, but it hardly deserved the honour. We may fairly say of it that it is too colloquial. James Thomson in 1747 speaks of it as “a very coarse copy of an excellent original,” and as “bearing so faint a resemblance to the original in a great many places as scarcely to seem taken from it.” R. Graves in 1792 remarks that it “abounds with so many vulgarities, anilities and even ludicrous expressions... that one cannot now read it with any patience.” The comment of G. Long in 1862 is much the same, but it called forth an unexpected champion of the older translator in Matthew Arnold, who says: “Most English people, who knew Marcus Aurelius before Mr. Long appeared as his introducer, knew him through Jeremy Collier. And the acquaintance of a man like Marcus Aurelius is such an imperishable
INTRODUCTION

benefit that one can never lose a peculiar sense of obligation towards the man who confers it. Apart from this however, Jeremy Collier's version deserves respect for its genuine spirit and vigour, the spirit and vigour of the age of Dryden. His warmth of feeling gave to his style an impetuosity and rhythm which from Mr. Long's style are absent." The real defect of Collier as a translator, adds Arnold, is his imperfect acquaintance with Greek.

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


A fairly accurate and smooth version of no especial distinction, but superior to most of its predecessors. An abbreviated edition of this was published at Stourport without any date by N. Swaine with the title: "The Meditations of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Philosophus collated with and abridged from the best translations."
INTRODUCTION

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

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


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

8. John Jackson.—"The Meditations of Marcus
INTRODUCTION


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

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

Stoicism was so called from the Colonnade at Athens, where Zeno about 300 B.C. first taught its doctrines. More religious in character than any other Greek philosophy, it brought a new moral force into the world. It put intellectual speculation more into the background, and carried the moral attitude of the Cynics further into the domain of right conduct. Oriental fervour was in it grafted on Greek acumen, for Zeno was a Phoenician Greek of Cyprus, and Chrysippus, the St. Paul who defined and established Stoicism, a Cilician like the Apostle.

In spite of its origin Stoicism proved wonderfully adapted to the practical Roman character, and under the tyranny of the early Caesars it formed the only impregnable fortress of liberty for the noblest Romans. It reached its culmination, and found its highest exponents as a living creed in the courtier Seneca, the Phrygian slave Epictetus, and the emperor Marcus Antoninus.

Stoic philosophy consisted of Logic, Physics, and Ethics. Logic, which comprised Dialectics and

---

1 Στοά ποικίλη.
2 εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἂν Χρυσίττως, οὐκ ἂν ἄν Στοά, an anonymous verse quoted by Diog. Laert. Chrys. 5.
3 viii. 41, 48.
4 viii. 13.
STOICISM

Rhetoric, was the necessary instrument of all speculation;¹ but Marcus found no satisfaction in either branch of it, nor in such Physics as dealt with Meteorology.²

The key-note of Stoicism was Life according to Nature, and Marcus was converted to the pursuit of this possibly by Sextus the Boeotian.³ By "Nature" was meant the controlling Reason of the Universe.⁴ A study of Physics was necessary for a proper understanding of the Cosmos and our position in it, and thus formed the scientific basis of philosophy; but it was regarded as strictly subordinate, and merely a means to an end.

Though he confesses to some disappointment in his progress therein,⁵ there is no doubt that Marcus was well versed in Stoic Physics. Fully recognizing the value of a scientific spirit of enquiry,⁶ he describes it as a characteristic of the rational soul to "go the whole Universe through and grasp its plan,"⁷ affirming that "no man can be good without correct notions as to the Nature of the Whole and his own constitution."⁸

To the Stoics the Universe—God and Matter⁹—was One, all Substance, unified by the close 'sympathy'¹⁰ and interdependence of the parts, forming with the rational Power, that was co-extensive with it, a single entity. The Primary Being, by means of its inform-

¹ See Epict. i. 17.
² i. 7, 17, § 4; vii. 67; viii. 1.
³ i. 9, § 1, 17, § 5. But Rusticus (i. 7) and Maximus (i. 15) were his chief instructors in Stoicism.
⁴ vii. 11.
⁵ vii. 67.
⁶ x. 11.
⁷ xi. 1, § 2.
⁸ viii. 52; xi. 5.
⁹ αἰτίον and Ἁλη.
¹⁰ iv. 27; v. 26; ix. 9, § 3.
STOICISM

ing Force, acting as igneous or atmospheric current upon inert matter, evolved out of itself a Cosmos, subsequent modifications being by way of consequence. This Universe is periodically destroyed by fire, thus returning again to its pristine Being, only however to be created anew on the same plan even to the smallest details; and so on for ever.

God and Matter being thus indistinguishable, for all that was not God in its original form was God in an indirect sense as a manifestation of him, the Stoic creed was inevitably pantheistic. It was also materialistic; for the Stoics, allowing existence to nothing incorporeal, by means of their strange theory of air-currents inherent even in abstract things such as virtue, rendered not only them but God himself corporeal, terming him the “perfect living Being.” But their conceptions on this point seem to be really irreconcilable, for while on the one hand they speak of the Supreme Power by such names as Zeus, Cause or Force, Soul, Mind, or Reason of the Universe, Law or Truth, Destiny, Necessity, Providence, or Nature of the Whole, on the other they identify it with such terms as Fiery Fluid, or Heat, Ether (warm air) or Pneuma (atmospheric current).

1 στερματικός λόγος (used by Justin of Christ), iv. 14, 21; vi. 24; ix. 1 ad fin.
2 πνεῦμα. This set up tension (τόνος), resulting in expansion and contraction (cp. our attraction and repulsion) and gave to things shape, quality, and relation.
3 vi. 36, § 2; ix. 1, § 4.
4 v. 13, 32; x. 7. The doctrine of ἔκπυρωσις was Heraculian. cp. St. Peter, Ep. ii. 3, 7; Justin, Apol. i. 20; ii. 7. ἡ παλιγγένεσις, vii. 19; xi. 1. cp. St. Matt. xix. 28.
5 ἅπ πνεῦματα. 7 iv. 40; x. 1.

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STOICISM

Other physical theories were borrowed from Heraclitus, and Marcus constantly alludes to these, such as the "downward and upward" round of the elements as they emanate from the primary Fire, air passing into fire, fire into earth, earth into water and so back again, and the famous doctrine that all things are in flux.

Man consists of Body, Soul, Intelligence, or Flesh, Pneuma, and the Ruling Reason. But the ψυχή (soul) can be looked upon in two ways, as πνευμάτων, an exhalation from blood, and as η νοερά, η λογική ψυχή, i.e. the ruling Reason. It is the latter, a "morsel" or "efflux" from the Divine, which constitutes the real man. Marcus often speaks of this rational nature of a man as his daemon, or genius enthroned within him, and makes the whole problem of life depend upon how this Reason treats itself. As all that is rational is akin, we are formed for fellowship with others and, the universe being one, what affects a part of it affects the whole. Reason is as a Law to all rational creatures, and so we are all citizens of a World-state. In this cosmopolitanism the Stoics approached the Christian view, ethics being divorced from national politics and made of universal application. It was no cloistered virtue the Stoics preached, showing how a man can save his own soul, but a practical positive goodness; though it cannot be denied that the claims of αὐτάρκεια

1 ἀνώ κάτω. vi. 17; ix. 28. 2 iv. 46.
3 ἄνωτε ἔστε, ii. 17; iv. 3 ad fin., 36; v. 10; vi. 15; vii. 25; ix. 19; x. 7.
4 iii. 16; xii. 3.
5 v. 33; vi. 15, or ζωή, an inhalation from the air.
6 ii. 1; ii. 4; v. 27. 7 xi. 1.
8 ii. 17; iii. 7, 16; v. 27, etc., and he calls this God, iii. 5 v. 10; xii. 26. 9 iv. 4. 10 vi. 30.

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STOICISM

(the self-sufficiency of the Inner Self) and κοινωνία (social interdependence of parts of a common whole) are not easy to reconcile. It is certain, however, that the Stoic admission of slaves into the brotherhood of man had an ameliorating effect upon slavery, and the well-known bias of Marcus in favour of enfranchisement may well have been due to his creed.1

From virtue alone can happiness and peace of mind result, and virtue consists in submission to the higher Power and all that he sends us, in mastery over our animal nature, in freedom from all perturbation,2 and in the entire independence of the Inner Self. Since life is Opinion3 and everything but what we think it, the vital question is what assent we give to the impressions of our senses. "Wipe out imagination," says Marcus, time after time, "and you are saved."4 “Do not think yourself hurt and you remain unhurt.”5 He longs for the day when he shall cease to be duped by his impressions and pulled like a puppet by his passions,6 and his soul shall be in a great calm. But virtue must also show itself, like faith, in right actions. It means not only self-control but justice and benevolence to others and piety towards the Gods.

By the Gods Marcus sometimes means the controlling Reason,7 sometimes, apparently, Gods in a more popular sense, such as are even visible to the

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1 See Digest, xxviii. 4. 3. 
2 ἀταραξία, ix. 31.
3 iv. 3; vii. 17; xi. 18, § 7, etc.
4 xii. 25.
5 iv. 7.
6 ii. 2; iii. 16; vi. 16, etc.
7 xii. 5; vi. 44; viii. 17; iii. 3; ix. 1. He even calls the Supreme Nature πρεσβυτάτη τῶν θεῶν, ix. 1.
STOICISM

eyes.\(^1\) He often puts the alternative God (or Gods) and Atoms,\(^2\) but himself firmly believes that there are immortal Gods\(^3\) who care for mankind, live with them, and help even bad men.\(^4\) He bids himself call upon them, follow them,\(^5\) be their minister, live with them and be likened to them.\(^6\) They too are part of the Cosmos and subject to its limitations, and by our own loyalty to Destiny we contribute to the welfare and permanence of God himself. But a predestined Order of things involved fatalism, and the Stoics were hard put to it to maintain the complete freedom of the will.

Unfortunately the Stoic scheme left no room for Immortality. At most a soul could only exist till the next conflagration, when it must be absorbed again into the Primary Being. Seneca indeed, who was no true Stoic, speaks in almost Christian terms of a new and blissful life to come,\(^7\) but Epictetus turns resolutely, and Marcus with evident reluctance, from a hope so dear to the human heart. In one place the latter even uses the expression “another life,”\(^8\) and finds it a hard saying that the souls of those who were in closest communion with God should die for ever when they die.\(^9\) But he does not repine. He is ready for either fate, extinction or transference elsewhere.\(^10\)

One more question remains, that of Suicide. The Stoics allowed this, if circumstances made it im-

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1 xii. 28; iii. 16; viii. 19; Ἰαπός καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ θεοὶ.
2 iv. 3, § 2; viii. 17; xi. 18, § 1.
3 ii. 11; vii. 70. \(^{4}\) ix. 11, 27, 40.
5 A Stoic precept.
6 cp. Julian, Conv. 421.
7 Ep. 54, 102; Polyb. Consol. 28; ad Marciam, 25.
8 iii. 3. \(^{5}\) xii. 5.
9 iv. 21; xi. 3; xii. 31.
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possible for a man to maintain his moral standard.\(^1\) The door is open, but the call must be very clear.\(^2\) Still the act seems quite inconsistent with the doctrine of submission to Destiny, and the classing of things external as indifferent.

In this brief sketch of Stoicism much has perforce been omitted, and much may seem obscure, but Marcus confesses that "things are in a manner so wrapped up in mystery that even the Stoics have found them difficult to apprehend."\(^3\) This at least we know, that Stoicism inspired some of the noblest lives ever lived, left its humanizing impress upon the Roman Law, which we have inherited, and appeals in an especial way to some of the higher instincts of our nature.

\(^1\) v. 29; ix. 2.
\(^2\) xi. 3; Epict. i. 29, § 28; i. 24 ad fin.; iii. 13, § 14.
\(^3\) v. 10.
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Cor.—A. Corsæs, in vol. iv.: παφρεγα τηις βιβλιαθηκης ΕΑΛΛΗΝ-ικης. Paris, 1816. This editor has made more successful emendations of the text than any other.

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For the history and doctrines of Stoicism besides the standard work of Zeller and the recent treatise on “Roman Stoicism” by E. V. Arnold, the following will be found useful:—N. Bach (mentioned above) 1826; H. Doegrans, “de comparatione Antoninianae philosophiae cum L. Annaei Senecae,” 1816; the admirable essay on Stoicism by G. H. Rendall prefixed to his edition of 1898; “Greek and Roman Stoicism” by C. H. S. Davis, 1903; and “Stoic and Christian” by Leonard Alston, 1906.
P = Codex Palatinus (Xylander), = T (Schenkl).
A = Codex Vaticanus 1950.
C = Codex Parisinus 319.
D = Codex Darmstadinus 2773.
Mo² = Codex Monachensis (Munich) 529.

< > Words thus enclosed are inserted by conjecture.
[ ] Words in the text which should probably be omitted.
† Doubtful readings in the text.
" " mark quotations or words of a speaker.
‘ ‘ mark proverbial, colloquial, or poetical expressions.
MARCUS AURELIUS
ANTONINUS
ΜΑΡΚΟΥ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΥ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΥ
ΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ
ΤΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Α

α’. Παρὰ τοῦ πάππου Οὐήρου, τὸ καλόθθες καὶ ἀόργητον.

β’. Παρὰ τῆς δόξης καὶ μνήμης τῆς περὶ τοῦ γεννήσαντος, τὸ αἰδήμου καὶ ἄρρενικόν.

γ’. Παρὰ τῆς μνήμης, τὸ θεοσεβῆς καὶ μεταδοτικὸν καὶ ἀφεκτικὸν οὐ μόνον τοῦ κακοποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ ἐννοίας γίνεσθαι τοιαύτης· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ λιτὸν κατὰ τὴν δίαιταν καὶ πόρρῳ τῆς πλουσιακῆς διαγωγῆς.

δ’. Παρὰ τοῦ προπάππου, τὸ μὴ εἰς δημοσίας διατριβῆς φοιτῆσαι, καὶ τὸ ἀγαθοὶς διδασκάλους κατ’ οἶκον χρήσασθαι, καὶ τὸ γγόναι, ὅτι εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα δεῖ ἐκτενῶς ἀναλίσκειν.

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1 sc. “I had an example of,” “was in the way to learn.” But the construction varies and sometimes a direct statement of characteristics is given. It is obvious that Marcus does not claim to possess all the good qualities enumerated.

2 Died before 136. The grandfather of M. (§ 1) died 2
MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS
THE EMPEROR
TO HIMSELF

BOOK I

1. FROM MY GRANDFATHER VERUS, a kindly disposition and sweetness of temper.
2. FROM WHAT I HEARD OF MY FATHER AND MY MEMORY OF HIM, modesty and manliness.
3. FROM MY MOTHER, the fear of God, and generosity; and abstention not only from doing ill but even from the very thought of doing it; and furthermore to live the simple life, far removed from the habits of the rich.
4. FROM MY GRANDFATHER'S FATHER, to dispense with attendance at public schools, and to enjoy good teachers at home, and to recognize that on such things money should be eagerly spent.

aged nearly 90 in 138 (Capit. Vit. Mar. vi. 1; Vit. Pi iv. 2).
3 cp. Aristides, ad Reg. § 115 (Jebb) διατητα ευτέλεια (of Marcus).
4 Catilius Severus, prusef. urbi, who hoped to succeed Hadrian (Spart. Vit. Hadr. v. 10; xxiv. 6).
5 Capit. Vit. Mar. (iii. 3–iii. 4) gives a list of these.
PARA τοῦ τροφεῶς, τὸ μῆτε Πρασιανὸς μῆτε Βενεσιανὸς, μῆτε Παλμουλάριος ἢ Σκοντάριος γενέσθαι· καὶ τὸ φερέτρον καὶ ὀλυγοδεές, καὶ τὸ αὐτουργικὸν καὶ ἀπολύπραγμον· καὶ τὸ δυσπρόσδεκτον διαβολῆς.

Σ'. Παρὰ Διομήτου, τὸ ἀκενόσπουδον· καὶ τὸ ἀπιστητικὸν τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν τερατευομένων καὶ γοητων περὶ ἐποδῶν καὶ περὶ δαιμόνων ἀποπομπῆς καὶ τῶν τοιούτων λεγομένων· καὶ τὸ μῆ ὀρτυγοτροφεῖν, μηδὲ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιτησθαι· καὶ τὸ ἄνεχεσθαι παραρτησίας· καὶ τὸ ὀἰκειοθῆναι φιλοσοφία καὶ τὸ ἀκούσαί πρῶτον μὲν Βακχείου, εἴτε Ταυδάσιδος καὶ Μαρκιανὸν· καὶ τὸ γράψαι διάλογον ἐν παιδί· καὶ τὸ σκίμποδος καὶ δορᾶς ἐπιθυμῆσαι καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀγωνίας ἐχόμενα.

Γ'. Παρὰ Ῥουστίκου, τὸ λαβεῖν φαντασίαν τοῦ χρῆσειν διορθώσεως καὶ θεραπείας τοῦ ἦθους· καὶ τὸ μῆ ἐκτραπῆσαι εἰς τεῖχος σοφιστικῶν, μηδὲ τὸ συγγράφειν περὶ τῶν θεωρημάτων, ἢ προτρπτικα λογάρια διαλέγεσθαι, ἢ φαντασιοπλήκτως τῶν ἀσκητικῶν ἢ τῶν εὐεργετικῶν ἀνδρὰ επιδεικνυσθαι· καὶ τὸ ἀποστῆσαι ῥητορικῆς καὶ ποιητικῆς καὶ ἀστειολογίας· καὶ τὸ μῆ ἐν στολῇ κατ' ὀλχον.

1 The name has perhaps dropped out. Capit. Vit. Pii x. 5 has an anecdote of the death of the educator of Marcus, but Aristides in his funeral oration on Alexander of Cotiaenm calls the latter not only διδάσκαλος but τροφεῶς to Marcus and Verus (Jebb's Ed. §149). But he is mentioned below § 10.
2 Capit. Vit. Ver. vi. 2; Malalas xi. ad fin.
3 Dio (71. 6, §2) calls M. φιλότονος.
4 A Diognetus taught M. painting (Capit. iv. 9).
5 cp. Capit. xiii. 6; Dio 71. 9, §2 (Xiphilinus).

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BOOK I

5. From my Tutor, not to side with the Green Jacket or the Blue at the races, or to back the Light-Shield Champion or the Heavy-Shield in the lists; not to shirk toil, and to have few wants, and to do my own work, and mind my own concerns; and to turn a deaf ear to slander.

6. From Diogenes, not to be taken up with trifles; and not to give credence to the statements of miracle-mongers and wizards about incantations and the exorcizing of demons, and such-like marvels; and not to keep quails, nor to be excited about such things: not to resent plain speaking; and to become familiar with philosophy and be a hearer first of Baccheius, then of Tandasis and Marcianus; and to write dialogues as a boy; and to set my heart on a pallet-bed and a pelt and whatever else tallied with the Greek regimen.

7. From Rusticus, to become aware of the fact that I needed amendment and training for my character; and not to be led aside into an argumentative sophistry; nor compose treatises on speculative subjects, or deliver little homilies, or pose ostentatiously as the moral athlete or unselfish man; and to eschew rhetoric, poetry, and fine language; and not to go

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6 Undoubtedly refers to the Christians, see Digest L. 13.1, §3, and cp. Justin, Apol. ii. 6 of Rome itself. The Christians constantly boasted of their power to exorcize: Tert. Apol. 23; Iren. ii. 6, §2; Lact. v. 21. cp. also the legend of Abercius and his visit to Rome to cure Lucilla.

7 i. 17, §§4, 6. cp. Digest. xlix. 1. 1, §3 "Rusticus, our friend"; Capit. iii. 3; Them. Orat. xiii. 173 c; Fronto, ad Ant. 1. 2. 9 λογία (ratiunculae). cp. Epict. i. 29. 55.

8 i. 17, §4. cp. Fronto, ad Ant. i. 2 (Nab. p. 96); de Eloqu. 3 (Nab. p. 150). Dio (71. 35, §1) says M. was ἀσκηθεῖς ἐν τοῖς ἁτορικοῖς λόγοις.
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περιπατείν, μηδὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν’ καὶ τὸ τὰ ἐπιστολία ἄφελως γράφειν, οἷον τὸ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦτο ἀπὸ Σωφόσσης τῇ μητρί μου γραφέν’ καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς χαλεπὴνας καὶ πλημμελῆ- σαντας εὐανακλήτως καὶ εὐδιαλάκτως, ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα αὐτοὶ ἐπανελθεῖν ἑθελῆσον, δια- κεῖσαν καὶ τὸ ἀκριβῶς ἀναγινώσκειν καὶ μὴ ἄρκεισθαι περιγούντα ὀλοςχερῶς. μηδὲ τῶν περιλαυσὶ ταχέως συγκατατίθεσθαι καὶ τὸ ἐντυχεῖν τῶν Ἐπικτητείοις υπομνήμασιν, δῶν οἰκοθεὶν μετέδωκεν.

η’. Παρὰ Ἀπολλωνίου, τὸ ἔλευθερον καὶ ἀναμφιβόλως ἀκύβευτον καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν ἄλλο ἀποβλέπειν μηδὲ ἐπ’ ὅλγον ἢ πρὸς τὸν λόγον· καὶ τὸ ἀεὶ ὅμοιον, ἐν ἀληθῶς ἄρεις, ἐν ἀπο- βολῇ τέκνῳ, ἐν μακραῖς νόσοις· καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ παραδείγματος ἔστω τὸ ἔναργὼς, ὅτι δύναται ὁ αὐτὸς σφοδρότατος εἶναι καὶ ἀνείμιόν· καὶ τὸ ἐν ταῖς ἐξηγήσεις μὴ δυσχεραντικῶν· καὶ τὸ ἔδειν ἀνθρωπον σαφῶς ἔλαχιστον τῶν ἐαυτοῦ καλῶν ἡγομένων τὴν ἐμπειρίαν καὶ τὴν ἐντρέχ- ειαν τὴν περὶ τὸ παραδονοι τὰ θεωρήματα· καὶ τὸ μαθεῖν, πῶς δεῖ λαμβάνειν τὰς δοκούσας χάριτας παρὰ φίλον, μῆτε ἐξηττῶμεν διὰ ταῦτα μήτε ἀνασήθητος παραπέμποντα.

θ’. Παρὰ Σέξτου, τὸ εὖμενες· καὶ τὸ παρὰ-

1 As Marcus in the case of Herodes, see Philost. Vit. Soph. ii. 12 (Kayser’s ed. p. 243).
2 cp. Fronto, ad Caes. v. 36. Capit. (Vit. Pii x. 4) and Lucian (Demostax 31) shew him in a different light, as ill-mannered and avaricious. He is mentioned as Ἀντωνίου ἐτάιρος by Epiphanius.
3 See the behaviour of Marcus on the death of M. Annius.
BOOK I

about the house in my robes, nor commit any such breach of good taste; and to write letters without affectation, like his own letter written to my mother from Sinuessa; to shew oneself ready to be reconciled to those who have lost their temper and trespassed against one, and ready to meet them halfway as soon as ever they seem to be willing to retrace their steps; to read with minute care and not to be content with a superficial bird's-eye view; nor to be too quick in agreeing with every voluble talker; and to make the acquaintance of the Memoirs of Epictetus, which he supplied me with out of his own library.

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

9. From Sextus, kindness, and the example of a


5 Capit. iii. 1. He was of Chaeronea and grandson of Plutarch. cp. Suidas sub voce: "He was held in such honour by the Emperor as to act as his assessor on the bench."
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dευγμα του οίκου του πατρονομομένου· και την ἐννοιαν του κατὰ φύσιν ζήν· καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν ἀπλάστως· καὶ τὸ στοχαστικὸν τῶν φίλων κηδεμοικῶς· καὶ τὸ ἀνεκτικὸν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ τὸ ἀθεώρητον οἰομένων.†

2 Καὶ τὸ πρὸς πάντας εὐάρμοστον, ὅστε κολακείας μὲν πάσης προσηνεστέραν εἶναι τὴν ὀμίλιαν αὐτοῦ, αἰδεσιμώτατον δὲ αὐτοὶς ἐκείνοις παρ' αὐτὸν ἐκείνου τῶν καίρων εἶναι· καὶ τὸ καταληπτικὸς καὶ ὀδῷ ἑξευρετικὸν τε καὶ τακτικὸν τῶν εἰς βίον ἀναγκαίων δογμάτων.

3 Καὶ τὸ μηδὲ ἐμφασίν ποτὲ ὅργης ἢ ἄλλου ὑμὸς πάθους παράσχειν, ἄλλα ἀμα μὲν ἀπαθέστατον εἶναι, ἀμα δὲ φιλοστοργότατον· καὶ τὸ εὐφημον καὶ τούτῳ ἀφοφητί· καὶ τὸ πολυμαθές ἀνεπιφάντως.

i. Παρὰ 'Αλεξάνδρου τοῦ γραμματικοῦ, τὸ ἀνεπίπληκτον· καὶ τὸ μὴ ὄνειδιστικὸς ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν βάρβαροι ή σόλοικοι τι ή ἀπηχεῖς προενεγκαμένων, άλλ' ἐπιδεξίος αὐτῷ μόνον ἐκείνο, ὃ ἐδει εἰρήσθαι, προφέρεσθαι, ἐν τρόπῳ ἀποκρίσιμος ή συνεπεμαρτυρήσεως ή συνδιάλυσιως περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πράγματος, οὐχὶ περὶ τοῦ ρήματος, ή δι' ἐτέρας τυνὸς τουατης ἐμμελούς παρυπομνήσεως.

ia'. Παρὰ Φρύντωνος, τὸ ἐπιστήσαι, οἷα ή τυραννικὴ βασικαία καὶ ποικιλία καὶ ύποκρισίας· καὶ οὗτος ὃς ἔπιταν οἱ καλομενοί οὕτω παρ' ήμῖν εὐπατρίδαι αὐτοργότεροι πως εἰσὶν.

1 Of Cotiaeum, see Aristides, Orat. xii. 142 ff. (Jebb's Ed.). He lived to a great age. He was in Rome in 145 (see ibid. § 159) and resided at the palace (§§ 148, 154). See above on i. 5.

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

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

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

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

11. From Fronto, to note the envy, the subtlety, and the dissimulation which are habitual to a tyrant; and that, as a general rule, those amongst us who rank as patricians are somewhat wanting in natural affection.²

² See Fronto, ad Ver. ii. 7 (Naber, p. 135; cp. p. 231). Marcus acknowledges greater debts to Fronto elsewhere, e.g. ad Caes. iii. 12, Verum dicere ex te disco. Eu re prosun dis hominibusque ardua.
Marcus Aurelius

iβ'. Παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρου τοῦ Πλατωνικοῦ, τὸ μὴ πολλάκις μηδὲ χωρὶς ἀνάγκης λέγειν πρὸς τινὰ ἢ ἐν ἑπιστολῇ γράφειν, ὅτι ἅσχολός εἰμι μηδὲ διὰ τοῦτον τοῦ τρόπον συνεχῶς παραίτεισθαι τὰ κατὰ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς συμβούντας σχέσεις καθήκοντα προβαλλόμενον τὰ περιεστῶτα πράγματα.

ιγ'. Παρὰ Κατούλου, τὸ μὴ ὀλυγώρως ἔχειν φίλου αὐτιωμένου τι, κἂν τίχη ἀλόγως αὐτιώμενος, ἀλλὰ πειρᾶσθαι καὶ ἀποκαθιστάναι ἐπὶ τὸ σύνηθες· καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν διδασκάλων ἑκθύμως εὐφήμουν, οἷα τὰ περὶ Δομετίου2 καὶ Ἀθηνόδοτον ἀπομνημονεύμενα· καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰ τέκνα ἀληθῶς ἀγαπητικῶς.

ιδ'. Παρὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου Σεσούρου, τὸ φιλοκειον καὶ φιλάληθες καὶ φιλοδίκαιον καὶ τὸ δὴ αὐτὸν γνώναι Θρασέαν, ᾿Ελβίδιον, Κάτωνα, Δίωνα, Βρόντου· καὶ φαντασίαν λαβεῖν πολιτείας ἱσονόμου, κατ' ἴσοτητα καὶ ἰσογορίαν διοικουμένης, καὶ βασιλείας τιμώσης πάντων μάλεστα τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῶν ἀρχομένων· καὶ ἔτι παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τὸ ὁμαλές3 καὶ ὀμότονον ἐν τῇ τιμῇ τῆς φιλοσοφίας· καὶ τὸ εὐποιητικόν, καὶ τὸ εὐμετάδοτον ἐκτενῶς· καὶ τὸ εὐθείας, καὶ τὸ πιστευτικόν περὶ τοῦ ύπὸ τῶν φίλων φιλεῖσθαι· καὶ τὸ ἀνεπίκρυπτον πρὸς τοὺς καταγνώσεως ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ τυγχάνοντας· καὶ τὸ μὴ δεῖσθαι στοχασμοῦ τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ περὶ τοῦ, τί θέλει η ἢ τι σοῦ θέλει, ἀλλὰ δῆλον εἰναι.

1 This seems at first sight like our inaccurate "try and," but καὶ must mean even.
2 Δομετίου PAD. For Δομετίου cp. Herodian i. 3, § 4; C.I.G. 4154, etc. 3 ὁμαλές PAD; ὁμαλὲς Cor.
BOOK I

12. From Alexander the Platonist,¹ not to say to anyone often or without necessity, nor write in a letter, *I am too busy*, nor in this fashion constantly plead urgent affairs as an excuse for evading the obligations entailed upon us by our relations towards those around us.

13. From Catulus,² not to disregard a friend’s ex-postulation even when it is unreasonable, but to try to bring him back to his usual friendliness; and to speak with whole-hearted good-will of one’s teachers, as it is recorded that Domitius³ did of Athenodotus; and to be genuinely fond of one’s children.

14. From my ‘brother’ Severus,⁴ love of family, love of truth, love of justice, and (thanks to him!) to know Thrasea, Helvidius, Cato, Dion, Brutus; and the conception of a state with one law for all, based upon individual equality and freedom of speech, and of a sovranity which prizes above all things the liberty of the subject; and furthermore from him also to set a well-balanced and unvarying value on philosophy; and readiness to do others a kindness, and eager generosity, and optimism, and confidence in the love of friends; and perfect openness in the case of those that came in for his censure; and the absence of any need for his friends to surmise what he did or did not wish, so plain was it.

¹ See Phil. Vit. Soph. ii. 5, p.247 Kays. He was summoned by Marcus to Pannonia about 174 and made his Greek secretary.
² A Stoic, see Capit. iii. 2.
³ Domitii were among the maternal ancestors of Marcus, and an Athenodotus was Fronto’s teacher (*ad Caes. iv. 12*; *Nab. p. 73*).
⁴ See Index II. He was father of the son-in-law of Marcus.
MARCUS AURELIUS

ιε. Παρὰ Μαξίμου, τὸ κρατεῖν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ κατὰ μηδὲν περίφορον εἶναι καὶ τὸ εὐθύμον ἐν τῇ ταῖς ἄλλαις περιστάσεσι καὶ ἐν ταῖς νόσοις καὶ τὸ εὐκρατοῦν τοῦ ἢθους καὶ μειλίχιον καὶ γεραροῦ καὶ τὸ οὐ χετλίως κατεργαστικὸν τῶν προ-κειμένων.

2 Καὶ τὸ πάντας αὐτῷ πιστεύεις, περὶ ὧν λέγοι, ὅτι οὕτως φρονεῖ, καὶ περὶ ὧν πράττοι, ὅτι οὐ κακῶς πράττει. καὶ τὸ ἠθαύμαστον καὶ ἀνέκπληκτον, καὶ μηδαμοῦ ἐπειγόμενον ἢ ὀκνοῦν ἢ ἀμηχανοῦν ἢ κατηφεὶς ἢ προσεπθρός, ἢ πάλιν θυμοῦμενον ἢ υφορόμενον.

3 Καὶ τὸ εὐεργετικὸν καὶ τὸ συγγνωμονικὸν καὶ τὸ ἀγενέθες καὶ τὸ ἀδιαστρόφου μᾶλλον ἢ διορθομένου φαντασίαν παρέχει καὶ ὅτι οὔτε φήσῃ ᾧν ποτὲ τις ὑπερρᾶσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, οὔτε ὑπέμεινεν ἢν κρείττονα αὐτοῦ αὐτὸν ὑπολαβεῖν. καὶ τὸ εὐχαριστιζέονται.†

ιε'. Παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς, τὸ ἤμερον, καὶ μενετικὸν ἀσαλεύτως ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξητασμένως κριθέντων καὶ τὸ ἀκενόδοξον περὶ τῶς δοκούσας τιμᾶς καὶ τὸ φιλόπονον καὶ ἐνδελεχεῖς καὶ τὸ ἀκουστικὸν τῶν ἐχῶν τοῖς κοινωφελεῖς εἰσφέρειν καὶ τὸ ἀπαρα-τρέπτως [εἰς] τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀπονεμητικὸν ἔκάστω καὶ τὸ ἐμπείρον, ποῦ μὲν χρεία ἐντάσεως ποῦ δὲ ἀνέσεως καὶ τὸ πάντα τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἑρωτας τῶν μειρακίων.

1 ο Χαριντζέσθαι Menag. : ο χαρι ἐν ταῖς ὅμιλαις Leop. : ο χαρι ἐν τ . . . ζέσθαι Schenkl. 2 άεὶ τοῦ Schenkl.

1 i. 16, § 9 ; viii. 25. See Capit. iii. 2 ; Index II. 2 Marcus raised a temple to Εὐεργεσία, a new deity. See Dio 71. 34, § 3. 3 cp. iii. 5.
BOOK I

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

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

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

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

4 Here Pius, his adoptive father, is meant, not as above (i. 2) his father Verus. For a first sketch of this eulogy of Pius see below vi. 30.

5 It is not quite clear whether this means that Pius had put away this vice from himself or others, but the active verb seems rather to favour the latter view. Capit. Vit. Pii ii. 1, calls him clares moribus (cp. also Aur. Vict. de Caes. xv.), but Julian says he was σώφρων οù τà ès 'Αφροδίτην.
Καὶ ἡ κοινονομοσύνη, καὶ τὸ ἐφείσθαι τοῖς φίλοις μὴτε σύνδειντενίν αὐτῷ πάντως μὴτε συναποδημεῖν ἐπάναγκες· ἀεὶ δὲ ὀμοίου αὐτῶν καταλαμβάνεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν διὰ χρείας τινὰς ἀπολειψθέντων καὶ τὸ ξητητικὸν ἀκριβῶς ἐν τοῖς συμβουλίοις, καὶ ἑπίμονον, ἀλλ' ὁ οὕτω προαπέστη τῆς ἐρεύνης ἀρκεσθείς ταῖς προ- χείροις φαντασίαις· καὶ τὸ διατηρητικὸν τῶν φίλων καὶ μηδαμοῦ ἀψικορού μηδὲ ἔπιμανες· καὶ τὸ αὐταρκές ἐν παιτί, καὶ τὸ φαιδρόν καὶ τὸ πόρρωθεν προνοητικὸν, καὶ τῶν ἐλαχίστων προ- διοικητικῶν ἀτραγώδως.

Καὶ τὸ τὰς ἐπιβοήσεις καὶ πᾶσαν κολακείαν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ σταλῆναι· καὶ τὸ φυλακτικὸν ἀεὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἁρχῇ, καὶ ταμευτικὸν τῆς χορηγίας, καὶ ὑπομενετικὸν τῆς ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων τινῶν καταιτιάσεως· καὶ τὸ μὴτε περὶ θεοὺς δεσίδαιμον, μὴτε περὶ ἁνθρώπους δημοκρατικῶν ἢ ἀρεσκευτικῶν ἢ ὀχλοχαρές, ἀλλὰ νήφον ἐν πάσι, καὶ βέβαιον, καὶ μηδαμοῦ ἀπειροκαλὸν μηδὲ καυνοτόμον.

Καὶ τὸ τοῖς εἰς εὐμάρειαν βίου φέρουσι τι, ὅν ἡ τύχη παρέχει δαψίλειαν, χρηστικῶν ἀτύφως ἀμα καὶ ἀπροφασίστως, ὡστε παρόντων μὲν ἀνεπιθυμεύτως ἀπτεσθαι, ἀπόντων δὲ μὴ δεῖσθαι· καὶ τὸ μηδὲ ἂν τινὰ εἰπεῖν μὴτε ὅτι σοφιστής, μήτε ὅτι οὐσινάκλος μὴτε ὅτι σχολαστικὸς, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἀνὴρ πέπειρος, τέλειος, ἀκολάκευτος,

1 οὐ τὸ ΡΑ : οὕτωι Stich : ὤτι οὐ Γατ. : οὕτωι Cor.
BOOK I

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

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

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

1 cp. Fronto, ad Caes. iii: 20; v. 44.
2 cp. St. Paul, Tim. ii. 4. 5.
3 lit. that he was a "home-bred slave," i.e. impudent.
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προεστάναι δυνάμενος, καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἄλλων.

5 Πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ τὸ τεμητικὸν τῶν ἀλήθως ὕλοσοφούντων, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις οὐκ ἐξονειδιστικῶν οὐδὲ μὴν εὐπαράγωγον ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐτὶ δὲ τὸ εὐόμιλον καὶ εὐχαρι ὑι κατακόρως καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἱδίου σώματος ἐπιμελητικὸν ἐμμέτρως, οὔτε ὡς ἂν τις φιλόξως οὔτε πρὸς καλλωπισμὸν οὔτε μὴν ὀλυγφόρος, ἀλλ’ ὡστε διὰ τὴν ἱδίαν προσοχὴν εἰς ὀλύγιστα ἰατρικῆς χρήςς εἰνὶ ἡ φαρμάκων καὶ ἐπιθεμάτων ἔκτος.

6 Μάλιστα δὲ τὸ παραχωρητικὸν ἄβασκάνως τοῖς ὑμαμμίν τινα κεκτημένοις, ὅλον τὴν φραστικὴν ἡ τὴν ἐξ ἱστορίας νόμων ἡ ἑθῶν ἡ ἄλλων τινῶν πραγμάτων καὶ συστούδαστικῶν αὐτῶς, ἵνα ἔκαστοι κατὰ τὰ ἱδία προτερήματα εὐδοκιμᾶσιν πάντα δὲ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια πράσσον, οὐδὲ αὐτὸ τούτο ἐπιτηδεύων φαίνεσθαι, τῶ τὰ πάτρια φυλάσσει.

7 Ἔτι δὲ τὸ μὴ εὑμετακάνητον καὶ ῥιπταστικὸν, ἄλλα καὶ τότος καὶ πράγμασι τοῖς αὐτῶς ἐνδιατριπτικῶς καὶ τὸ μετὰ τοὺς παροξυσμοὺς τῆς κεφαλαλγίας νεαρὸν ἐθύς καὶ αἴκμαιον πρὸς τὰ συνήθη ἔργα καὶ τὸ μὴ εἶναι αὐτὸς πολλὰ τὰ ἀπόρρητα, ἄλλα ὀλύγιστα καὶ σπανιότατα, καὶ ταῦτα ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν μόνον καὶ τὸ ἐμφρον καὶ μεμετρημένον ἐν τῇ θεωρίᾳ ἐπίτελεσι καὶ ἔργων κατασκευάζει καὶ διανομᾶς καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις, <ὁ> ἀνθρώπου ἕνα πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ

1 ἀνθρώπου PAD: ἰ ἀνθρώπου Schenkl.

1 Julian calls Marcus τετράγωνος—"a man foursquare."
BOOK I

complete,\(^1\) deaf to flattery, able to preside over his own affairs and those of others.

Besides this also was his high appreciation of all true philosophers without any upbraiding of the others, and at the same time without any undue subservience to them; then again his easiness of access and his graciousness that yet had nothing fulsome about it; and his reasonable attention to his bodily requirements, not as one too fond of life, or vain of his outward appearance,\(^2\) nor yet as one who neglected it, but so as by his own carefulness to need but very seldom the skill of the leech or medicines and outward applications.

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

Furthermore he was not prone to change or vacillation, but attached to the same places and the same things; and after his spasms of violent headache he would come back at once to his usual employments with renewed vigour; and his secrets were not many but very few and at very rare intervals, and then only political secrets; and he shewed good sense and moderation in his management of public spectacles, and in the construction of public works, and in congiaria\(^3\) and the like, as a man who

\(^1\) Capit. (\textit{Vit. Pii} xiii. 1) says he wore stays to keep himself upright in old age.

\(^2\) lit. "\textit{distributions.}"

\(^3\) cp. Capit. \textit{Vit. Pii} iv. 9; viii. 11.
ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΑΥΡΕΛΙΟΣ

δέον πραγμαχήναι δεδομένο τας επί τοῖς πραγμαχεῖσθαι εὐδοκίαιν.

8 Οὖν [ἐν] ἀορί λουστης, οὐχὶ φιλοικοδόμος, οὐ περὶ τὰς ἐσωθήτις, οὐ περὶ ἐσωθήτων ὕφας καὶ χρώσ, οὐ περὶ σωμάτων ὀρας. ἡ ἀπὸ Δωρίου στολὴ ἀνάγουσα ἀπὸ τῆς κάτω ἑπάνως, καὶ τῶν ἐν Δανουβίῳ τὰ πολλά. τῷ τελόν ν ἐν Τούσκλοις παραίτομένω ὡς ἑχρήσατο, καὶ τάς ὁ τοιοῦτος τρόπος.

9 Οὔτεν ἄπνεες οὐδὲ μὴν ἄνυσωπητον οὐδὲ λάβρον οὐδὲ ὁ ἀν τινα εἴπειν ποτε “ἐως ἱδρώτος.” ἀλλὰ πάντα διειλημμένα λειογίσθαι, ὡς ἐπὶ σχολῆς, ἀταράκχως, τεταγμένως, ἐρρω-μένως, συμφώνως ἐαυτοῖς. ἐφαρμόσει δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ περὶ τοῦ Σωκράτους μιχμονευόμενον, ὅτι καὶ ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ ἀπολαύσει εὐδίνατο τούτων, ὁν πολλοὶ πρὸς τε τὰς ἀποχὰς ἄσθενῶς καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀπολαύσεις εὐνοικὼς ἔχουσιν. τὸ δὲ ἰσχυῖν καὶ ἐπικαρπεῖν 1 καὶ ἐννήφειν ἐκατέρθῳ ἀνδρὸς ἐστίν ἄρτιον καὶ ἀγαθητῆς τυχην ἔχουσιν, οἷον ἐν τῇ νόσῳ τῇ Μαξίμῳ.

ης. Παρὰ τῶν θεῶν, τὸ ἀγαθοῦς πάππους, ἀγαθοῦς γονεάς, ἀγαθὴν ἄδελφην, ἀγαθοὺς δι-δασκάλους, ἀγαθοὺς οἰκείους, συγγενεῖς, φίλους, σχεδὸν ἀπαντατέχειν καὶ ὅτι περὶ οὔτεν αὐτῶν προετοπὸν πλημμελῆσαι τι καίτοι διάθεσιν ἔχων τοιαύτην, ἀφ’ ἂς, εἰ ἔτυχε, καὶ ἐπραξά τι τοιοῦτον.

1 ἐκι καρπεῖν PA: ἐπικαρπεῖν Cas.


2 The Greek may also mean “To be strong and to persist without excess in each case is characteristic,” and ἐκατέρθῃ suits this better.
BOOK I

had an eye to what had to be done and not to the credit to be gained thereby.

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

There was nothing rude in him, nor yet over-bearing or violent nor carried, as the phrase goes, "to the sweating state"; but everything was considered separately, as by a man of ample leisure, calmly, methodically, manfully, consistently. One might apply to him what is told of Socrates,\(^1\) that he was able to abstain from or enjoy those things that many are not strong enough to refrain from and too much inclined to enjoy. But to have the strength to persist in the one case and be abstemious in the other\(^2\) is characteristic of a man who has a perfect and indomitable soul, as was seen in the illness of Maximus.

17. From the Gods, to have good grandfathers,\(^3\) good parents, a good sister, good teachers, good companions, kinsmen, friends—nearly all of them; and that I fell into no trespass against any of them, and yet I had a disposition that way inclined, such as might have led me into something of the sort,\(^4\) had

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\(^1\) i.e. M. Annius Verus, three times consul (Dio 69. 21, § 1) and praef. urbi (Capit. i. 2), who died 138, and P. Calvisius Tullus, cons. suff. 109. See Capit. i. 3; Fronto, ad Caes. iii. 2.

\(^2\) cp. i. 17, § 6; xi. 18, § 4.
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τῶν θεῶν δὲ εὐποια τὸ μηδεμίαν συνδρομὴν πραγμάτων γενέσθαι, ἦτις ἐμελλέ με ἐλέγξειν.

2 Καὶ τὸ μῆ ἐπὶ πλέον τραφῆναι παρὰ τῇ παλλακῇ τοῦ πάσπου καὶ τὸ τὴν ὄραν διασώσαι καὶ τὸ μῆ πρὸ ὄρας ἀνδρωθῆναι, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ ἐπιλαβεῖν τοῦ χρόνου.

3 Τὸ ἄρχοντι καὶ πατρὶ ὑποταχθῆναι, δς ἐμελλε πάντα τὸν τῷφον ἀφαίρησεὶν μου, καὶ εἰς ἐννοιαν ἄξειν τοῦ ὃτι δυνατὸν ἐστὶν ἐν αὐλῇ βιοῦντα μήτε δορυφορήσεων χρῆσειν μήτε ἐσθήτων σημειώδων μήτε λαμπάδων καὶ ἀνδριάντων [τοιῶν τινων] καὶ τοῦ ὁμόου κόμπου. ἀλλ' ἐξεντίν ἐγγυτάτω ἱδιώτου συστέκειν ἑαυτού, καὶ μη διὰ τοῦτο ταπεινότερον ἡ ῥᾳθμοτερον ἔχειν πρὸς τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν ἡγεμονικὸς πραχθῆναι δέοντα.

4 Τὸ ἀδελφὸν τοιούτου τυχεῖ, δυναμενὸν μὲν διὰ ἱδονὰς ἐπεγειραὶ με πρὸς ἐπιμελείαν ἐμαυτοῦ, ἀμα δὲ καὶ τιμῆ καὶ στοργῆ εὐφραίνοντός με τὸ παιδία μοι ἀφυή μῆ γενέσθαι μηδὲ κατὰ τὸ σωμάτων διάστροφα τὸ μῆ ἐπὶ πλέον με προκόψαι ἐν ῥητορικῇ καὶ ποιητικῇ καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοίς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἐν διὸ ἵσως ἄν κατεσχῆνε, εἰ θύμομην ἐμαυτοῦ εὐδῶς προϊόντα. τὸ φθάσαι τοὺς τροφέας ἐν ἀξιωματι καταστῆσαι, οὐ δῇ

1 cp. ix. 21. After his father's death Marcus was brought up at his grandfather's house (Capit. i. 7). Capit. (v. 3) says he migrated de maternis hortis much against his will to the imperial palace when adopted by Hadrian. It is possible but not likely that "grandfather" here means Hadrian.

2 L. Verus, whose character was more of a warning than an example, as Lucian Nigr. 19 calls Rome for its wickedness
BOOK I

it so chanced: but by the grace of God there was no such coincidence of circumstances as was likely to put me to the test.

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

That I was subordinated to a ruler and a father capable of ridding me of all conceit, and of bringing me to recognize that it is possible to live in a Court and yet do without body-guards and gorgeous garments and linkmen and statues and the like pomp; and that it is in such a man's power to reduce himself very nearly to the condition of a private individual and yet not on this account to be more paltry or more remiss in dealing with what the interests of the state require to be done in imperial fashion.

That it was my lot to have such a brother, capable by his character of stimulating me to watchful care over myself, and at the same time delighting me by his deference and affection: that my children have not been devoid of intelligence nor physically deformed. That I did not make more progress in rhetoric and poetry and my other studies, in which I should perhaps have been engrossed, had I felt myself making good way in them. That I lost no time in promoting my tutors to such posts of

γυμνόν ἄρετης, see Epict. iii. 20, § 11. Marcus seems to have been genuinely fond of him, see Fronto, ad Ver. ii. 1; ad Caes. ii. 17; and cp. Aristides, Paneg. in Cyz. § 425 (Jebb).

3 Capit. Vit. Ver. viii. 5.

4 1. 7. cp. Fronto, ad Caes. i. 8; ad Ant. i. 2 (Nab. p. 96); de Eloq. 3 (Nab. p. 150).
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ἐδόκοιν μοι ἐπιθυμεῖν, καὶ μη ἀναβαλέσθαι ἐλπίδι τοῦ με. ἐπεὶ νέοι ἔτι ἦσαν, ὕστερον αὐτὸ πράξειν. τὸ γνώναι Ἀπολλώνιον, Ρούστικον, Μάξιμον.

5 Τὸ φαντασθῆναι περὶ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν βίου ἐναργῶς καὶ πολλάκις, ὅπως τίς ἔστιν ὡστε, ὅσον ἐπὶ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ ταῖς ἐκείθεν διαδόσεσι καὶ συλλήψεσι καὶ ἐπινοίαις, μηδὲν κωλύειν ἢ ἡμι κατὰ φύσιν ζῆν μὲ, ἀπολείπεσθαι δὲ ἐτὶ τούτῳ παρὰ τὴν ἐμὴν αἰτίαν, καὶ παρὰ τὸ μὴ διατηρεῖν τὰς ἐκ τῶν θεῶν ὑπομνήσεις καὶ μονονοχί διδασκαλίας.

6 Τὸ ἀντισχείν μοι τὸ σῶμα ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐν τοιούτῳ βίῳ τὸ μήτε Βενεδίκτης ἄψασθαι μήτε Θεοδότου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὕστερον ἐν ἑρωτικοῖς πάθεσει γενόμενον ὑγίαναι τὸ χαλεπήναντα πολλάκις Ῥούστικω μηδὲν πλέον πράξει, ἐφ’ ὅ ἂν μετέγνων τὸ µέλλουσαν νέαν τελευταῖν τὴν τεκούσαν ὄμως οἰκῆσαι μετ’ ἐμοῦ τὰ τελευταία ἔτη.

7 Τὸ ὁσάκις ἐβουλήθην ἐπικούρησαι τινὶ πενθοµένῳ ἡ εἰς ἄλλο τε χρήζωτι, μηδέποτε ἄκούσαι με, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι μοι χρήματα, ὅθεν γενήθηκα τὸ αὐτῷ ἐμοι χρείαν ὀµοίαν, ὡς παρ’ ἐτέρου μεταλαβεῖν, μὴ συμπεσεῖν τὸ τὴν γνωσία τοιαύτην εἶναι, οὕτως μὲν πειθήμον, οὕτω δὲ φιλόστοργον, οὕτω δὲ ἄφελὴ τὸ ἐπιτηδεῖων τροφέων εἰς τὰ παιδία εὐπορήσαι.

1 τοῦ μη PA : με Cas.

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1 e.g. Rusticus, cons. ii. in 162, and praef. urbi.; Proc. culus, see Capit. ii. 5.
2 i. 9.
3 Dio 71. 36, § 3.
4 Domitia Lucilla, dau. of P. Calvisius Tullus. She died in 156, aged about 50. For her see above i. 3; viii. 25;
honour as they seemed to desire, and that I did not put them off with the hope that I would do this later on since they were still young. That I got to know Apollonius, Rusticus, Maximus.

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

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

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

Fronto, _ad Caes._ iv. 6; Capit. vi. 9. Her head appears on a coin of Nicaea in Bithynia.  
5 _cp._ Fronto, _ad Caes._ v. 11.  
6 _cp._ Fronto, _ad Pium_ 2, _ad fin._ for Pius' opinion of his daughter. The coiffure of the younger Faustina as seen on coins is much simpler than that of her mother. She was with Marcus in Pannonia for a time at least.
MARCUS AURELIUS

8  Τὸ δὲ οὐειράτων βοηθήματα δοθῆναι ἄλλα
tε καὶ ὡς μὴ πτύειν αἶμα καὶ μὴ ἱλεγγιάν, καὶ
tὸ τοῦ ἐν 1 Καὶνήτη ὃς ὁσπερ χρήση ὁ ὅπως τε
ἐπεθύμησα φιλοσοφίας, μὴ ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς τίνα σοφ-
ιστήν, μηδὲ ἀποκαθίσαι ἐπὶ τοὺς συγγραφεῖς,ὲ 2
ἢ συλλογισμοὺς ἀναλύειν, ἢ περὶ τὰ μετεωρο-
λογικὰ καταγίνεσθαι. πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα ἑτὸν
βοηθῶν καὶ τύχης δεῖται <τινὸς>. 3

Τὰ ἐν Κονάδω ου πρὸς τῷ Γρανούλῃ. α’ 4

1 τοῦτον ΡΑ: τὸ τοῦ ἐν Καϊνήτη ὃς ὁσπερ χρήση Lofft.
2 τόσον συγγραφεῖς ΡΑ: τὸ συγγράφων Reiske: ἐπὶ τοῦ
γριφών (rudiles) Schenkl.
3 I have added τινὸς to complete the apparent senarius,
the source of which is not known.
4 It is not clear what this numeral (= 1) represents.

1 cp. Fronto, ad Caes. iii. 9, and below, ix. 27. Marcus
himself became a dream-giver after his death, see Capit.
xviii. 7. Dreams were the recognised method by which the
BOOK I

That by the agency of dreams\textsuperscript{1} I was given antidotes both of other kinds and against the spitting of blood and vertigo; and there is that response also at Caieta, "as thou shalt use it." And that, when I had set my heart on philosophy, I did not fall into the hands of a sophist, nor sat down at the author's desk, or became a solver of syllogisms, nor busied myself with physical phenomena. For all the above the Gods as helpers and good fortune need.

\textit{Written among the Quadi on the Gran.}\textsuperscript{2}

God of healing communicated his prescriptions. Belief in them was universal, and shared by the atheist Pliny, the sceptic Lucian, Aristides the devotee, Galen the scientist, Dio the historian and man of affairs. It is not unknown to Christians. Yet there have been found writers to gird at Marcus for his "superstitious" belief in dreams!

\textsuperscript{2} These words may be intended either to conclude the first book or, more likely, head the second. In the former case, as Gataker points out, \textit{ταῦτα} would have been usual, not \textit{τά}.

25
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Β

α'. Ἐσθενον προλέγειν ἐαυτῷ, συντεύξομαι περι- ἐργο, ἀχαρίστῳ, ὑβριστῇ, δολερῷ, βασκάνῳ, ἄκοινωντὶ, πάντα ταῦτα συμβεβηκεν ἐκεῖνοις παρὰ τὴν ἀγνοίαν τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν. ἐγὼ δὲ τεθεωρηκός τὴν φύσιν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, ὡς καλῶν, καὶ τῶν κακῶν, ὡς αἰσχρῶν, καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀμαρτάνοντος φύσιν, ὅτι μοι συγγενής, οὐχὶ αἷματος ἢ σπέρματος τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ νοῦ καὶ θείας ἀπομοίρας μέτοχος, οὔτε βλαβήναι ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν δύναμιν ἀισχρῶ γὰρ μὲ οὐδεὶς περιβαλεῖν οὔτε ὀργίζεσθαι τῷ συγγενεῖ δύναμι οὔτε ἀπέχθεσθαι αὐτῷ. γεγόναμεν γὰρ πρὸς συνεργίαν, ὡς πόδες, ὡς χεῖρες, ὡς βλέφαρα, ὡς οἱ στοιχεῖ τῶν ἄνω καὶ κάτω ὅδων των. τὸ δὲ ἀντιπράσεων ἀλλήλων παρὰ φύσιν ἀντιπραξι- ἴκων δὲ τὸ ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ ἀποστρέφεσθαι.

β'. "Ὁ τι ποτε τούτο εἰμι, σαρκία ἐστί καὶ πνευμάτιον καὶ τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, ἀφες τὰ βιβλία μηκετί στῶ σω ὡρ χερος, ὡς βλέφάρα, ὡς οἱ στοιχεῖ τῶν ἄνω καὶ κάτω ὅδων των. τὸ δὲ ἀντιπράσεως ἀλλήλων παρὰ φύσιν ἀντιπραξι- ἴκων δὲ τὸ ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ ἀποστρέφεσθαι."

1 <τοῦ αὐτοῦ Μάρκου οὖν ἐκτικρυς ἐπικτητίζει> D.
2 ἀπόρρεω (ὑπ. ii. 4) "efflux from," Corssen.
BOOK II

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

2. This that I am, whatever it be, is mere flesh and a little breath and the ruling Reason. Away with thy books! Be no longer drawn aside by them: it is not allowed. But as one already dying disdain the flesh: it is naught but gore and bones and a network compact of nerves and veins and arteries. Look at the breath too, what sort of thing it is; air:

1 v. 1.  2 cp. Sen. de Ira ii. 10.  3 cp. ii. 3.
MARCUS AURELIUS:

όποιών τί ἐστιν· ἀνεμος· οὐδὲ ἀεὶ τὸ αὐτό, ἀλλὰ πάσης ὁρας ἐξεμούμενον καὶ πάλιν βροφούμενον. τρίτον οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ ἡγεμονικόν. ὥδε ἐπινοήθητι· γέρων εἰ· μηκέτι τοῦτο ἐάσης δουλεύσαι, μηκέτι καθ' ὄρμην ἀκοινώνητον νευροπαστηθῆναι, μηκέτι τὸ εἰμαρμένον ἢ παρὸν δυσχερᾶναι ἢ μέλλον ἀποδύρεσθαι.2

γ'. Τὰ τῶν θεῶν προνοίας μεστά, τὰ τῆς τύχης ὅυκ ἀνευ φύσεως ἢ συγκλώσεως καὶ ἐπιπλοκῆς τῶν προνοία διοικουμένων. πάντα ἐκείθεν βεί· πρόσετι δὲ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον, καὶ τὸ τῷ ὅλῳ κόσμῳ συμφέρον, οὐ μέρος εἰ. παντὶ δὲ φύσεως μέρει ἀγαθόν, ὃ φέρει ἡ τοῦ ὅλου φύσις, καὶ ὃ ἐκείνης ἐστὶ σωστικῶν. σῶζονι δὲ κόσμον, ὡσπερ αἱ τῶν στοιχείων, οὕτως καὶ αἱ τῶν συγκριμάτων μεταβολαί. ταύτα σοι ἀρκεῖτο, εἰ δόγματα ἔστι.3
tὴν δὲ τῶν βιβλίων δίψαν ῥίψουν, ἵνα μὴ γογγύζων ἀποθάνῃς, ἀλλὰ ἔλεως, ἀληθῶς, καὶ ἀπὸ καρδίας εὐχάριστος τοῖς θεοῖς.

δ'. Μέμνησο, ἐκ πόσου ταῦτα ἀναβάλλη, καὶ ὅποσάκις προθεσμίας λαβῶν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν οὐ χρὰ αὐταῖς. δει δὲ ἡδη ποτὲ αἰσθῆσαι, τίνος κόσμον μέρος εἰ, καὶ τίνος διοικοῦντος τῶν κόσμων ἀπόρροια ὑπὲρτης· καὶ ὅτι ὅρος ἐστὶ σοι περιγεγραμμένος τοῦ χρόνου, φ' ἐὰν εἰς τὸ ἀπαιδρίασα

1 § δὴ ADC: ἄδι Wilam.: ἀπονοήθητι PADC.
2 ἀποδύρεσθαι AD: ὑποδύρεσθαι P: ἀποδύρεσθαι (ὑποδύρ. Lofft) Rend.
3 εἰ δόγματα ἔστι AD: ἀει . . . ἐστω PC.

1 cp. ii. 6; i. 17, § 6; Dio 71. 24, § 4. Marcus would be a little over 50. Contrast i. 17, § 6, and note. Cromwell when 51 writing from Dunbar says, “I grow an old man.”

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BOOK II

and not even that always the same, but every minute belched forth and again gulped down. Then, thirdly, there is the ruling Reason. Put thy thought thus: thou art an old man; let this be a thrall no longer, no more a puppet pulled aside by every selfish impulse; nor let it grumble any longer at what is allotted to it in the present or dread it in the future.

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

4. Call to mind how long thou deferrest these things, and how many times thou hast received from the Gods grace of the appointed day and thou usest it not. Yet now, if never before, shouldst thou realize of what Universe thou art a part, and as an emanation from what Controller of that Universe thou dost subsist; and that a limit has been set to thy time, which if thou use not to let daylight

2 iii. 16; vi. 16, 28; vii. 3, 29; xii. 19. cp. Clem. Alex. Strom. ii. 3; iv. 11. 3 vi. 36; xii. 26.

4 Referred to by Arethas on Dio Chrys. Orat. 32. 15 as πάντα ἀνωθέν μεῖ. cp. St. James, Ep. i. 17. 5 ii. 2.

6 προθέσμη λιτ. “a time-limit for enforcement of claims after which they lapsed.”
ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΑΥΡΕΛΙΟΥ

μὴ χρήση, οἰκήσεται, καὶ οἰκήση, καὶ αὕθεσ ὡκ ἔξεσται. 1

ε. Πάσης ὅρας πρὸ καὶ ἀρρήν, τὸ ἐν χερσὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀκριβείας καὶ ἀπλάστου σεμυστητος καὶ φιλοστοργίας καὶ ἐλευθερίας καὶ δικαιότητος πράσσειν καὶ σχολὴν σαυτῷ ὑπὸ πασῶν τῶν ἀλλῶν φαντασιῶν πορίζειν. πορίεις δὲ, ἀν ὦς ἐσχάτην τοῦ βίου ἐκάστην πράξειν ἐνεργής ἀπήλλαγμένην πάσης εἰκασί̔τητος καὶ ἐμπαθείας ἀποστροφής ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰρόντος λόγου καὶ ὑποκρίσεως καὶ φιλανθίας καὶ δυσαρεστήσεως πρὸς τὰ συμμεμορομένα. ὄρας, πῶς ὁλγά ἔστιν, δυνατὰς τις ἔντων καὶ θεοῦ ἔνιοι βιώσω βίου καὶ γὰρ οἱ θεοὶ πλέον οὐδὲν ἀπαιτήσουσι παρά τοῦ ταῦτα φυλάσσοντος.

ζ. Ἐβριζε, ὑβρίζε 2 αὐτὴν, τοῦ δὲ τιμήσαι σεαυτὴν ὑπείκει καὶ ροί εἴσεις; εἰς 3 γὰρ ὁ βίος ἐκάστης οὕτως δὲ σοι σχέδον διήνυσται μὴ αἰδομενὴ σεαυτὴν, ἀλλὰ ἐν ταῖς ἀλλῶν ψυχαῖς τιθεμένη τὴν σὴν εὐμορίαν.

δ. Περισσὰ τι σε τὰ ἔσθεν ἐμπίπτοντα; καὶ σχολὴν πάρεχε σεαυτῷ τοῦ προσμανθάνειν ἀγαθὸν τι, καὶ πάσας ἐρμηθὸν. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐτέραν περιφοράν φυλακτέον. ἡροῦσι γὰρ καὶ διὰ πράξεων οἱ κεκμηκότες τῷ βίῳ καὶ μὴ ἔχουσε σκοπόν, ἐφ’ ὃν πάσαν ὁμὴν καὶ καθάπαξ φαντασάν ἅπιευζουσίν.

1 ἔμεται P; ἔμεται AD.  2 ὑβρίζεις Gal. (cp. § 16).  3 οὐ A; ἐδ P; βραχύς (cp. iv. 26) D: ἐδ Boot.

1 § 11; vii. 69; Sen. Ep. xii  2 §§ 16, 17; iv. 2.
into thy soul, it will be gone—and thou!—and never again shall the chance be thine.

5. Every hour make up thy mind sturdily as a Roman and a man to do what thou hast in hand with scrupulous and unaffected dignity and love of thy kind and independence and justice; and to give thyself rest from all other impressions. And thou wilt give thyself this, if thou dost execute every act of thy life as though it were thy last,\(^1\) divesting thyself of all aimlessness\(^2\) and all passionate antipathy to the convictions of reason, and all hypocrisy and self-love and dissatisfaction with thy allotted share. Thou seest how few are the things, by mastering which a man may lead a life of tranquillity and godlikeness; for the Gods also will ask no more from him who keeps these precepts.

6. Wrong thyself,\(^3\) wrong thyself, O my Soul! But the time for honouring thyself will have gone by; for a man has but one life, and this for thee is well-nigh closed,\(^4\) and yet thou dost not hold thyself in reverence, but settest thy well-being in the souls of others.

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

\(^{3}\) Apparently a sarcastic apostrophe, which is not in Marcus' usual manner.

\(^{4}\) ii. 2.
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η'. Παρὰ μὲν τὸ μὴ ἐφιστάνειν, τί ἐν τῇ ἀλλού ψυχῇ γίνεται, οὐ λαδίως τις ὁφθης κακοδαιμονῶν τοὺς δὲ τοῖς τῆς ἰδίας ψυχῆς κινήματι μὴ παρακολουθοῦντας ἀνάγκη κακοδαιμονεῖν.

θ'. Τούτων ἄει δεὶ μεμνήσθαι, τίς ἡ τῶν ὁλων φύσις, καὶ τίς ἡ ἐμὴ, καὶ πῶς αὕτη πρὸς ἐκείνην ἔχουσα, καὶ ὅποιον τι μέρος ὅποιον τοῦ ὅλου οὖσα· καὶ ὅτι οὐδεὶς ὁ κωλύων τὰ ἀκόλουθα τῇ φύσει, ἂς μέρος εἰ, πράσσειν τε ἄει καὶ λέγειν.

ι'. Φιλοσόφως ὁ Θεόφραστος, ἐν τῇ συγκρίσει τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, ὥσ ἄν τις κοινότερον τὰ τοιαῦτα συγκρίνει, φησὶ βαρύτερα εἶναι τὰ κατ' ἐπιθυμίαιν πλημμελούμενα τῶν κατὰ θυμόν. ὃ γὰρ θυμούμενος μετὰ τινὸς λύπης καὶ λειτουργίας συστολῆς φαίνεται τὸν λόγον ἀποστρεφόμενος· ὁ δὲ κατ' ἐπιθυμίαιν ἀμαρτάνων, ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἡττώμενος, ἀκολαστότερος πως φαίνεται καὶ θηλυτέρος ἐν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις. ὁρθῶς οὖν καὶ φιλοσοφιαὶ ἀξίως ἔφη, μείζονος ἐγκλήματος ἔχοσαι τὸ μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἀμαρτανόμενον ἦπερ τὸ μετὰ λύπης· ὅλως τε ὁ μὲν προηδικημένῳ μᾶλλον ἐοικε καὶ διὰ λύπης ἡμάγκασσμένῳ θυμωθῆναι. ὁ δὲ αὐτόθεν πρὸς τὸ ἄδικείν ὄρμηται, φερόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ πρᾶξαι τι κατ' ἐπιθυμίαιν.

ια'. Ὡς ἡδὴ δυνατοῦ ὄντος ἔξειναι τοῦ βίου, οὕτως ἕκαστα ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν καὶ διανοεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπελθεῖν, εἰ μὲν θεοὶ εἰσίν,
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8. Not easily is a man found to be unhappy by reason of his not regarding what is going on in another man's soul; but those who do not attend closely to the motions of their own souls must inevitably be unhappy.

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

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

11. Let thine every deed and word and thought be those of a man who can depart from life this moment. But to go away from among men, if

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οὐδὲν δεινόν· κακῷ γὰρ σε οὐκ ἀν περιβάλοινε· εἰ δὲ ἦτοι οὐκ εἰςίν, ἢ οὐ μέλει αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀνθρωπεῖων, τι μοι ζην ἐν κόσμῳ κενῷ θεῶν ἡ προνοίας κενῷ; ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰςί, καὶ μέλει αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀνθρωπεῖων καὶ τοῖς μὲν κατ’ ἀληθείαν κακοῖς ἵνα μὴ περιπίπτῃ ὁ ἀνθρωπός, ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τὸ πᾶν ἔθεντο· τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν εἰ τι κακῶν ἦν, καὶ τούτῳ ἀν προείδοντο, ἵνα ἐπὶ παντὶ ἣ τὸ μὴ περιπίπτειν αὐτῷ. ὦ δὲ χείρῳ μὴ ποιεῖ ἀνθρωπον, πῶς ἂν τούτῳ βιών ἀνθρώπων χείρῳ ποιήσεις; οὔτε δὲ κατ’ ἄγνοιαν οὔτε εἰδύνα μὲν, μὴ δυναμένη δὲ προφυλάξαι ἢ διορθώσασθαι τάυτα, ἢ τῶν ὀλων φύσεως παρεῖδεν ἂν· οὔτε ἂν τηλικοῦτον ἡμαρτεν ἦτοι παρ’ ἀδυναμίαν ἢ παρ’ ἀτεχνίαν, ἵνα τὰ ἁγαθὰ καὶ τὰ κακὰ ἐπίσης τοῖς τε ἁγαθοῖς ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῖς κακοῖς πεφυμένως συμβαίνῃ. θάνατος δὲ γε καὶ ζωή, δόξα καὶ ἀδόξια, πόνος καὶ ἡδονή, πλοῦτος καὶ πενία, πάντα ταῦτα ἐπίσης συμβαίνει ἀνθρώπων τοῖς τε ἁγαθοῖς καὶ τοῖς κακοῖς οὔτε καλὰ ὄντα οὔτε αἰσχρά. οὔτ’ ἀρ’ ἁγαθὰ οὔτε κακά ἔστω ἢβ. Πῶς πάντα ταχέως ἐναφαινεται, τὸ μὲν κόσμῳ αὐτὰ τὰ σώματα, τῷ δὲ αἰῶνι αἱ μνήμαι αὐτῶν· οἷά ἐστι τὰ αἰσθήτα πάντα καὶ μάλιστα τὰ ἡδονὴ δελεάζοντα ἢ τῷ πόνῳ φοβοῦντα ἢ τῷ τύφῳ διαβεβομένα, πῶς εὐτελῆ καὶ εὐκαταφρόνητα καὶ ρυπαρὰ καὶ εὐφθαρτα καὶ νεκρά, νοερὰς δυνάμεως ἐφιστάναι. τί εἰσιν οὗτοι, ἢν αἱ ὑπολήψεις καὶ αἱ φωναὶ τῆς εὐδοξίαν <παρ-

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

12. How quickly all things vanish away, in the Universe their actual bodies, and the remembrance of them in Eternity, and of what character are all objects of sense, and particularly those that entice us with pleasure or terrify us with pain or are acclaimed by vanity—how worthless and despicable and unclean and ephemeral and dead!—this is for our faculty of intelligence to apprehend; as also what they really are whose conceptions and whose voices award
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ἐχοῦσιν. ὁτι ἐστὶ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ ὅτι, εάν τε αὐτὸ μονὸν ἴδῃ καὶ τῷ μερισμῷ τῆς ἐννοίας διαλύῃ τὰ ἐμφανταζόμενα αὐτῷ, οὐκέτι ἄλλο τι ὑπολήψεται αὐτῷ εἶναι ἡ φύσεως ἔργον· φύσεως δὲ ἔργον εἰ τις φοβεῖται, παιδόν ἐστίν· τοῦτο μέντοι οὐ μονὸν φύσεως ἔργον ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμφέρον αὐτῇ. πῶς ἀπττεῖι θεοῦ ἀνθρώπος, καὶ κατὰ τί ἐαντοῦ μέρος, καὶ ἧταν πῶς ἐκρίνα διακέφαλαι τὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦτο μόριον.

ιν. Οὐδὲν ἀθλώσερον τοῦ πάντα κύκλῳ ἐκπερεηρχόμενον, καὶ "τὰ νέρθεν γας," φησίν, "ἐρευνῶντος," καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν πλησίον διὰ τεκμάρσεως ξητοῦντος, μη αἰσθημένου δὲ, ὅτι ἀρκεῖ πρὸς μονὸν τῷ ἐνδον ἐαυτοῦ δαίμονι εἶναι καὶ τοῦτον γνῆσιός θεραπεύει. θεραπεία δὲ αὐτοῦ, καθάρον πάθος διατηρεῖ καὶ εἰκαίστητος καὶ δυσαριστήσεως τῆς πρὸς τὰ ἐκ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων γνώμενα. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ θεῶν αἰδέσιμα δι' ἁρετήν· τὰ δὲ εἴ ἄνθρωπων φίλα διὰ συγγενείαν, ἐστὶ δὲ ὅτε καὶ τρόπον τινα ἔλεεινα δι' ἀγνοιαν ἁγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν· οὐκ ἐλλήκοντο τῇ πῆρωσις αὐτῇ τῆς στερισκούσης τοῦ διακρίνει τὸν λευκὰ καὶ μέλανα.

ἰδ. Καν τριεχίλια ἐτῃ βιώσεσθαι μέλλης, καὶ τοσαντάκεις μύρια, ὡμοιο μέμνησο ὅτι οὐδὲς ἄλλον

1 <παρέχοσι> Gat.
2 τῖς ἐχρὶ διακαίνηται A: ἐχρὶ ἐ διακ. Cor.: ποσαχὴ Radermacher.

1 Pindar, Frag. (see Plato, Theaet. 173 b).
2 § 17; iii. 6, 16. cp. Shaks. Temp. ii. 1. 275: “Con-
science, this deity in my bosom.” The δαιμόνον of Socrates
is well known.
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BOOK II

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

13. Nothing can be more miserable than the man who goes through the whole round of things, and, as the poet¹ says, pries into the secrets of the earth, and would fain guess the thoughts in his neighbour's heart, while having no conception that he needs but to associate himself with the divine 'genius' in his bosom,² and to serve it truly. And service of it is to keep it pure from passion and aimlessness and discontent with anything that proceeds from Gods or men. For that which proceeds from the Gods is worthy of reverence in that it is excellent; and that which proceeds from men, of love, in that they are akin, and, at times and in a manner,³ of compassion, in that they are ignorant of good and evil—a defect this no less than the loss of power to distinguish between white and black.

14. Even if thy life is to last three thousand years or for the matter of that thirty thousand, yet bear in mind that no one ever parts with any other life than

³ Marcus qualifies his departure from the strict Stoic view, for which see Seneca de Clem. ii. 4–6, where he calls pity pusillanimity, and says sapiens non miserebitur sed succurret. Marcus was far from a Stoic in this, see Herodian i. 4, § 2. See above, p. xiii.
Marcus Aurelius

ἀποβάλλει βίον ἢ τοῦτον ὅν ἕξ. οὐδὲ ἄλλον ἕξ ἢ ὅν ἀποβάλλει. εἰς ταύτο οὖν καθίσταται τὸ μήκιστον τῷ βραχυτάτῳ. τὸ γάρ παρὸν πᾶσιν ἵσον, καὶ τὸ ἀπολλύμενον οὐκ ἰδίον· καὶ τὸ ἀποβαλλόμενον οὕτως ἀκαριαίον ἀναφαίνεται. οὐτὲ γάρ τὸ παροχήκος οὔτε τὸ μέλλον ἀποβάλλοι αὖ τις. ὁ γὰρ οὖν ἔχει, πῶς ἄν τούτῳ τοις αὐτοῖς ἀφέλοιτο; τούτων οὖν τῶν δύο δεί μεμνήσθαι· ἐνδὲς μὲν, ὅτι πάντα ἐξ ἀιδίου ὁμοειδῆ καὶ ἀνακυκλούμενα, καὶ οὐδὲν διαφέρει πότερον ἐν ἕκατον ἐτεσίν ἢ ἐν διακοσίοις ἢ ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ χρόνῳ τὰ αὐτὰ τίς ὁφεται· ἐτέρου δὲ, ὅτι καὶ ὁ πολυχρονιστός καὶ ὁ τάχιστα τεθηνήσεμεν τὸ ἵσον ἀποβάλλει. τὸ γὰρ παρὸν ἐστὶ μόνον, οὐ στερίσκεσθαι μέλλει, ἐπεπερ γε ἔχει καὶ τοῦτο μόνον καὶ, ὁ μὴ ἔχει τις, οὖν ἀποβάλλει.

ιε. "Ὅτι πᾶν ὕπόληψις. δῆλα μὲν γὰρ τὰ πρὸς τῶν Κυνικῶν Μόνιμου λεγόμενα. δῆλον δὲ καὶ τὸ χρῆσιμον τοῦ λεγομένου, εἲν τις αὐτοῦ τὸ νόστιμον μέχρι τοῦ ἀληθοῦς δέχεται.

ιε'. Τῆριζει ἐαυτὴν ἢ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχῆ, μάλιστα μὲν, όταν ἀπόστημα καὶ ἰδίον φύμα τοῦ κόσμου, ὅσον ἐφ' ἐαυτῇ, γενήται. τὸ γὰρ δυσχεραίνειν τινὶ τῶν γυνομένων ἀπόστασις ἐστὶ τῆς φύσεως, ἢς ἐν μέρει <αί> ἐκάστοτες τῶν λοιπῶν φύσεις περιέχονται· ἐπείτα δὲ, όταν ἀνθρωπῶν τῶν ἀποστραφῇ, ἥ καὶ ἐναντία φέρεται, ὥς

1 οὔκ ΠΑ: οὖν Γατ.: ίσον ΠΑD: ίδιον Schenkkl.

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1 iii. 10. 2 Sen. Nat. Q. vi. 32 ad fin. 3 xii. 36. 4 τύφον εἶναι τὰ πάντα, Menander, Frag. 249, Kock (Diog.)
the one he is now living, nor lives any other than that which he now parts with. The longest life, then, and the shortest amount but to the same. For the present time is of equal duration for all, while that which we lose is not ours; and consequently what is parted with is obviously a mere moment. No man can part with either the past or the future. For how can a man be deprived of what he does not possess? These two things, then, must needs be remembered: the one, that all things from time everlasting have been cast in the same mould and repeated cycle after cycle, and so it makes no difference whether a man see the same things recur through a hundred years or two hundred, or through eternity: the other, that the longest liver and he whose time to die comes soonest part with no more the one than the other. For it is but the present that a man can be deprived of, if, as is the fact, it is this alone that he has, and what he has not a man cannot part with.

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

16. The soul of man does wrong to itself then most of all, when it makes itself, as far as it can do so, an imposthume and as it were a malignant growth in the Universe. For to grumble at anything that happens is a rebellion against Nature, in some part of which are bound up the natures of all other things. And the soul wrongs itself then again, when it turns away from any man or even opposes him with

Laert. vi. 3, § 2); Sext. Empir. (Adv. Log. ii. 1) attributes the saying to Monimus.
ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΑΥΡΕΛΙΟΣ

βλάψουσα, ολαί εἰσιν αἱ τῶν ὀργιζομένων. τρίτον ὑβρίζει ἐαυτήν, ὅταν ἡσσάται ἥδονῆς ἢ πόνου. τέταρτον, ὅταν ὑποκρίνηται καὶ ἐπιπλάστως καὶ ἀναλήθως. τι ποιῇ ἢ λέγῃ. τέμπτον, ὅταν πραξὶν τινα ἐαυτῆς καὶ ὀρμην ἐπ' οὐδένα σκοτὸν ἀφίη, ἀλλὰ εἰκῇ καὶ ἀπαρακολουθήτως ὅτι οὐν ἐνεργῇ, δέν καὶ τὰ μικρότατα κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος ἀναφορὰν γίνεσθαι. τέλος δὲ λογικῶν ἔφοιν, τὸ ἐπεσθαί τῷ τῆς πόλεως καὶ πολυτείας τῆς πρεσβιστάτης λόγῳ καὶ θεσμῷ.

ι' τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου βίου ὁ μὲν χρόνος, στιγμή, ἢ δὲ οὐσία ρέουσα, ἢ δὲ αἰσθησις ἀμυνά, ἢ δὲ οἶνον τοῦ σώματος σύγκρισις εὐσφιττος, ἢ δὲ ψυχή ῥόμβος, ἢ δὲ τύχη δυστέκμαρτον, ἢ δὲ φήμη ἄκριτον συνελόντι δὲ εἰπεῖν, πάντα τὰ μὲν τοῦ σώματος ποταμός, τὰ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ὑνερός καὶ τῦφος· ὁ δὲ βίος πόλεμος καὶ ἕξουν ἑπιδημία· ἢ δὲ ὑστεροφημία λήθη. τί ὁμών τὸ παραπέμψαι δυνάμενον; ἐν καὶ μὸνον φιλοσοφία. τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τῷ τηρεῖν τῶν ἐνδον δαίμονα ἀνύβριστον καὶ ἁσίη, ἡδωνῶν καὶ πόνων κραίσασιν, μηδὲν εἰκῇ ποιοῦντα μηδὲ διεφευσμένος καὶ μεθ' ὑποκρίσεως, ἀνεύδη τοῦ ἀλλον ποιῆσαι τί ἢ μὴ ποιῆσαι· ἔτι δὲ τὰ συμβαίνοντα καὶ ἀπονομέομενα δεχόμενον, ὡς ἐκείθεν ποθεὶν ἐρχόμενα ὅθεν αὐτῶς ἠλθεν· ἐπὶ πάσι δὲ τῶν θάνατον ὑλοφ στη γνώμη περιμένοντα, ὡς ὀυδὲν ἄλλο ἡ λύσιν τῶν στοιχείων ἐξ ὧν ἐκαστὸν ἔφοιν συγκρίνεται· εἰ δὲ αὕτως τῶν στοιχείων

2 Aristides Paneg. ad Cyzic. § 427 (Jebb), ὁ γὰρ λογισμὸς
BOOK II

intent to do him harm, as is the case with those who are angry. 3 It does wrong to itself, thirdly, when it is overcome by pleasure 1 or pain. 4 Fourthly, when it assumes a mask, and in act or word is insincere or untruthful. 5 Fifthly, when it directs some act or desire of its own towards no mark, and expends its energy on any thing whatever aimlessly and unadvisedly, whereas even the most trifling things should be done with reference to the end in view. Now the end for rational beings is to submit themselves to the reason and law of that archetypal city and polity 2—the Universe.

17. Of the life of man the duration is but a point, its substance streaming away, its perception dim, the fabric of the entire body prone to decay, and the soul a vortex, and fortune incalculable, and fame uncertain. In a word all the things of the body are as a river, and the things of the soul as a dream and a vapour; and life is a warfare and a pilgrim’s sojourn, and fame after death is only forgetfulness. What then is it that can help us on our way? One thing and one alone—Philosophy; and this consists in keeping the divine ‘genius’ within pure 3 and unwronged, lord of all pleasures and pains, doing nothing aimlessly 4 or with deliberate falsehood and hypocrisy, independent of another’s action or inaction; and furthermore welcoming what happens and is allotted, as issuing from the same source, whatever it be, from which the man himself has issued; and above all waiting for death with a good grace as being but a setting free of the elements of which every thing living is made up. But if there

\[ \text{a} \text{d} \text{t} \text{ω} \text{n} \ (\text{Marcus and Lucius}) \ \text{θε} \text{i} \text{o} \text{s} \ \text{k} \text{a} \text{i} \ \text{ω} \text{s} \ \text{α} \text{l} \text{η} \text{t} \text{h} \text{ω} \text{s} \ \text{α} \text{n} \text{ω} \text{θ} \text{ε} \text{n} \ \text{ξ} \text{ω} \text{n} \ \text{τ} \text{o} \ \text{πα} \text{r} \text{ά} \text{d} \text{ε} \text{i} \text{γ} \text{μ} \text{α}, \ \text{k} \text{a} \text{i} \ \text{πρ} \text{d} \text{s} \ \text{ε} \text{k} \text{e} \text{l} \text{υ} \text{n} \ \text{δρ} \text{ό} \text{ν} \ \text{t} \text{h} \text{n} \ \text{π} \text{o} \text{l} \text{i} \text{t} \text{e} \text{l} \text{a} \text{n}. \]

3 § 13. 4 § 5, 16.
ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΑΥΡΕΛΙΟΣ

μηδὲν δεινὸν ἐν τῷ ἑκαστῷ διηνκώς εἰς ἕτερον
μεταβάλλειν, διὰ τὸ ὑπίδηται τις τῆς πάντων
μεταβολῆς καὶ διάλυσις; κατὰ φύσιν γὰρ
οὐδὲν δὲ κακὸν κατὰ φύσιν.

Τὰ ἐν Καρνούντῳ.¹

¹ These words may very possibly be intended as a heading for Book III.
BOOK II

be nothing terrible in each thing being continuously changed into another thing, why should a man look askance at the change and dissolution of all things? For it is in the way of Nature, and in the way of Nature there can be no evil.

Written at Carnuntum.¹

¹ Now Hainburg in Hungary.
BIBLION Γ

a'. Oúχι τοῦτο μόνον δεῖ λογίζεσθαι ὅτι καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀπαναλύσκεται ὁ βίος καὶ μέρος ἔλαττον αὐτοῦ καταλείπεται· ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖνο λογιστέον ὅτι, εἰ ἐπὶ πλέον βιώῃ τις, ἐκεῖνῷ γε ἀδηλοῦν, εἰ ἐξαρκεῖσθαι ὁμοίᾳ αἰθίς ἡ διάνοια πρὸς τὴν σύνεσιν τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς θεωρίας τῆς συντεινούσης εἰς τὴν ἐμπειρίαν τῶν τε θείων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων. ἤδη γὰρ παραληρεῖν ἀρέσται, τὸ μὲν διαπνεῖσθαι καὶ τρέφεσθαι καὶ φαντάζεσθαι καὶ ὀρμᾶν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα οὐκ ἐνδεχόμεθα· τὸ δὲ ἑαυτῷ χρήσθαι, καὶ τούτῳ τού καθ' ἑκατέρου ἀριθμοῦ ἀκριβῶς, καὶ τὰ προφανεῖα ὁμαλά διαφέρουν, καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτῳ, εἰ ἂν ἐξακτέον αὐτῷ, ἐφιστάμεθαι, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα λογισμὸν συγγεγραμματεύον πάνυ χρήζει, προαποσβέννυται. χρή οὖν ἐπείγεσθαι, οὐ μόνον τῷ

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1 vi. 16. Arist. Probl. i. 21 διπέρ ἐν τῷ θάρακι ἀναπνοῇ, τοῦτο ἐν τῷ σώματι διανοοὶ διὰ τῶν ἀρτηριῶν (arterial breathing).
2 cp. Sen. Ep. 60 vivit is qui se uinitur. 3 vi. 26.
4 x. 8, § 3. The right of suicide was part of the Stoic creed (Zeno and Cleanthes both took their own lives). Marcus allows it when circumstances make it impossible for a man to live his true life (v. 29; viii. 47; x. 8. cp. Epict. i. 24, § 20; i. 25, § 18). Hadrian (Digest 28. 3. 6, § 7)
BOOK III

1. We ought not to think only upon the fact that our life each day is waning away, what is left of it being ever less, but this also should be a subject for thought, that even if life be prolonged, yet is it uncertain whether the mind will remain equally fitted in the future for the understanding of facts and for that contemplation which strains after the knowledge of things divine and human. For if a man has entered upon his dotage, there will still be his the power of breathing,¹ and digestion, and thought, and desire, and all such-like faculties; but the full use of himself,² the accurate appreciation of the items ³ of duty, the nice discrimination of what presents itself to the senses, and a clear judgment on the question whether it is time for him to end his own life,⁴ and all such decisions, as above all require well-trained powers of reasoning—these are already flickering out in him. It needs, then, that we should press onwards, not only because enumerates as causes of suicide taedium vitæ, valetudinis adversæ impatien téia, iactatio (in the case of certain philosophers). Marcus himself, if Dio (71. 30, § 2) is to be trusted, threatened, in a letter to the Senate, to commit suicide, and according to Capitolinus (xxviii. 3) actually hastened his own death by abstaining from food.
Marcus Aurelius

ἐγγυτέρω τοῦ θανάτου ἐκάστοτε γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ τὴν ἐννόησιν τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τὴν παρακολουθήσιν προαπολήγειν.

Β'. Χρή καὶ τὰ τοιαύτα παραφυλάσσειν, ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἐπιγινόμενα τοῖς φύσει γινομένοις ἔχει τι εὔχαρι καὶ ἐπαγωγὸν. οἶον ἄρτον ὀπτωμένου παραρρήγνυται τινὰ μέρη, καὶ ταῦτα οὐν τὰ διέχοντα σύντος, καὶ τρόπου τινὰ παρὰ τὸ ἐπάγγελμα τῆς ἀρτοποιίας ἔχοντα, ἐπιτρέπει ποικὶ καὶ προθυμίαν πρὸς τὴν τροφὴν ἰδίως ἀνακινεῖ. πάλιν τε τὰ σύκα, ὅποτε ἄφαιτάτα ἐστὶ, κέχυνεν. καὶ εὐ ταῖς δρυπτεῖσιν ἐλαίαις αὐτὸ τὸ ἐγχύς τῇ σήψει ἴδιὸν τὶ κάλλος τῷ καρπῷ προστίθησιν. καὶ οἱ στάχνες κάτω νεύοντες, καὶ τὸ τοῦ λέοντος ἐπισκύνιον, καὶ ὁ τῶν συών ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ρέων ἀφρός, καὶ πολλὰ ἐτερα, κατί ἴδιαν εἰ τὶς σκοποιῇ, πόρρω ὅντα τοῦ εὐειδοῦς, ὡς διὰ τὸ τοῖς φύσει γινομένοις ἐπακολουθεῖν συνεπικοσμεῖ καὶ φυγαγωγεῖ.

2 Ὅστε, εἴ τις ἔχει πάθος καὶ ἐννοιαν βαθυτέραν πρὸς τὰ ἐν τῷ ὄλῳ γινομένῳ, σχέδον οὐδὲν οὐχὶ δόξει αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν κατ' ἐπακολούθησιν συμβαίνοντων ἴδεως πῶς ἴδια συνιστάσθαι. οὕτως δὲ καὶ θηρίων ἀλήθη χάσματα οὐκ ἦσον ἴδεως ὡσεὶς ἢ ὡσα γραφεῖς καὶ πλάσται μμοῦμεν δεικνύουσιν καὶ γραφός καὶ γέρωντος ἀκμῆν τινα καὶ ὀραν καὶ τὸ ἐν παιδὶ ἐπαφρόδιτον

1 Lofft for διασυνιστάσθαι ΠΑ.

1 A very fine early medallion shows Marcus in full chase after a wild boar (Grueber, Plate xviii.). cp. Dio 71. 36, § 2, οὐς ἄγριοι ἐν θήρᾳ κατέβαλλεν ἀπὸ ἵππου; Fronto, ad Cæs. iii. 20; iv. 5; Capit. iv. 9.

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BOOK III

we come each moment nearer to death, but also because our insight into facts and our close touch of them is gradually ceasing even before we die.

2. Such things as this also we ought to note with care, that the accessories too of natural operations have a charm and attractiveness of their own. For instance, when bread is in the baking, some of the parts split open, and these very fissures, though in a sense thwarting the bread-maker's design, have an appropriateness of their own and in a peculiar way stimulate the desire for food. Again when figs are at their ripest, they gape open; and in olives that are ready to fall their very approach to over-ripeness gives a peculiar beauty to the fruit. And the full ears of corn bending downwards, and the lion's beetling brows, and the foam dripping from the jaws of the wild-boar,¹ and many other things, though, if looked at apart from their setting, they are far from being comely, yet, as resultants from the operations of Nature, lend them an added charm and excite our admiration.

And so, if a man has sensibility and a deeper insight into the workings of the Universe, scarcely anything, though it exist only as a secondary consequence to something else, but will seem to him to form in its own peculiar way a pleasing adjunct to the whole. And he will look on the actual gaping jaws² of wild beasts³ with no less pleasure than the representations of them by limners and modellers; and he will be able to see in the aged of either sex a mature prime and comely ripeness, and gaze with chaste eyes

¹ iv. 36.
² Such are the things Marcus noticed in the amphitheatre, and not the bloodshed which his soul abhorred (Dio 71. 29, § 3).
Marcus Aurelius

tοῖς ἑαυτοῦ σῴφροσων ὀφθαλμοῖς ὅραν δυνήσεται·
καὶ πολλὰ τοιαύτα οὐ παντὶ πιθανά, μόνῳ δὲ
tῷ πρὸς τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὰ ταῦτα ἔργα γνησίως
φικεωμένῳ προσπεσεῖται.

γ'. Ἰπποκράτης πολλὰς νόσους ἰασάμενος
ἀυτὸς νοσήσας ἀπέθανεν. οἱ Χαλδαῖοι πολλῶν
θανάτους προηγώρευσαν, εἶτα καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ
πεπρομένων κατέλαβεν. Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Πομ-
πήδιος καὶ Γάϊος Καίσαρ ὅλας πόλεις ἀρδην
τοσαντάκις ἀνελόντες καὶ ἐν παρατάξει πολλὰς
μυριάδας ἱππέων καὶ πεζῶν κατακόψαντες καὶ
ἀυτὸι ποτὲ ἐξῆλθον τοῦ βίου. Ἡράκλειτος περὶ
tῆς τοῦ κόσμου ἐκπυρώσεως τοσαύτα φυσιολογί-
σας ὑδατος τὰ ἐντὸς πληρωθεῖς βολβίτω κατα-
κεχρισμένος ἀπέθανεν. Δημόκριτον δὲ οἱ φθείρες,
Σωκράτην δὲ ἄλλου φθείρες ἀπέκτειναν.

2. Τῇ ταῦτα: ἐνέβης, ἐπλευσας, κατήχηςς ἐκβήθης.
εἰ μὲν ἐφ' ἑτερον βίου, οὐδὲν θεῶν κενὸν οὐδὲν ἐκεῖ-
εἰ δὲ ἐν ἀναισθησίᾳ, παύσῃ πόνων καὶ ἡδονῶν
ἀνεχόμενος καὶ λατρεύων τοσοῦτο χείρον τῷ
ἀγγείῳ ἥπερ ἐστὶ· τὸ ὑπηρετοῦν τὸ μὲν γὰρ
νοῦς καὶ δαιμών, τὸ δὲ γῆ καὶ λύθρος.

δ. Μὴ κατατρίψῃς τὸ ὑπολειπόμενον τοῦ
βίου μέρος ἐν ταῖς πρὸς ἐτέρων φαντασίαις,
ὅπως μὴ τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἐπὶ τὶς κοινωφελεῖς ποιή.
ἡτοι γὰρ ἄλλου ἔργου στέρη, τούτους φανταζό-

1 ἡ (ἡ Δ) περίςτι PC: ἡ πέρ ἐστι D.

1 iv. 48.

2 Told of Pherecydes (Diog. Laert. Pher. v, viii.), of
Speusippus (Speus. ix.), and even of Plato (Plato xxix.),
but not elsewhere of Democritus. Lucian (?), Macrobr. 15,
says Democritus died of starvation aged 104.
BOOK III

upon the alluring loveliness of the young. And many such things there are which do not appeal to everyone, but will come home to him alone who is genuinely intimate with Nature and her works.

3. Hippocrates, after healing many a sick man, fell sick himself and died. Many a death have Chaldaeans foretold, and then their own fate has overtaken them also. 1 Alexander, Pompeius and Gaius Caesar times without number utterly destroyed whole cities, and cut to pieces many myriads of horse and foot on the field of battle, yet the day came when they too departed this life. Heraclitus, after endless speculations on the destruction of the world by fire, came to be filled internally with water, and died beplastered with cowdung. And lice caused the death of Democritus, 2 and other vermin of Socrates.

What of this? Thou hast gone aboard, thou hast set sail, thou hast touched land; go ashore; if indeed for another life, there is nothing even there void of Gods; but if to a state of non-sensation, 3 thou shalt cease being at the mercy of pleasure and pain and lackeying the bodily vessel 4 which is so much baser than that which ministers to it. For the one is intelligence and a divine 'genius,' the other dust and putrescence.

4. Fritter not away what is left of thy life in thoughts about others, unless thou canst bring these thoughts into relation with some common interest. For verily thou dost hereby cut thyself off from other work, that is, by thinking what so and so is

1 cp. Justin, Apol. i. §§ 18, 57.
2 So vas animi Cic. Tuscr. i. 22, § 52. cp. St. Paul, 1 Thess. iv. 4 (σκεῦος); Dio Chrys. Or. xii. 404 R. ἀνθρώπινον σώμα ὡς ἄγγειον φρονήσεως καὶ λόγου.
ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΑΥΡΕΛΙΟΣ

μενος τί ὁ δείνα πράσσει καὶ τίνος ἐνεκεν καὶ τί
λέγει καὶ τί ἑνημεῖται καὶ τί τεχνάζεται καὶ
ὁσα τοιαύτα ποιεῖ ἀπορρέμβεσθαι τῆς τοῦ ἱδίου
ηγεμονικοῦ παρατηρήσεως.

2 Χρή μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸ εἰκῆ καὶ μάτην ἐν τῷ
ἐναρμὸν τῶν φαντασιῶν περιεῖσθαι, πολὺ δὲ
μάλιστα τὸ περίεργον καὶ κακόθεον· καὶ ἐδιστέον
ἐαυτὸν μόνα φαντάζεσθαι, περὶ δὲ ὃν ἐν τῷ ἄφιον
ἐπανέρωτο· "Τί νῦν διανοῇ;" μετὰ παρρησίας
παραχρῆμα ἂν ἀποκρίναιο, ὅτι τὸ καὶ τὸ· ὡς
ἐξ αὐτῶν εὐθὺς δῆλα εἶναι, ὅτι πάντα ἄπλα καὶ
eπεμπλη, καὶ ζωὴν κοινωνικὸν καὶ ἁμελοῦντος
ἡδονικῶν ἡ καθάπαξ ἀπολαυστικῶν φαντασμάτων
ἡ φιλονεκίας τῶν ἡ βασκανίας καὶ ὑπνοίας ἡ
ἀλλοντικὸν ἐφ᾽ ὧν ἐν ἐρυθραίσειας ἐξηγούμενος,
ὅτι ἐν νῦν αὐτῷ εἶχεν.

3 Ὁ γὰρ τοι ἀνήρ ὁ τοιοῦτος, οὐκ ἦτο ὑπερ-
τιθέμενος τὸ ὡς ἐν ἄριστοις ἡδῆ εἶναι, ἱερεὺς
tῆς ἐστι καὶ ὑπουργὸς θεῶν, χρόμενος καὶ τῷ
ἐνδοὺ ἰδρυμένῳ αὐτῷ, ὁ παρέχεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποι
ἄχρατον ἡδονῶν, ἀκροτοῦ ὑπὸ παντὸς ἁπόνου,
pάσης ὑβρεως ἀνέπαυσθαι, πάσης ἀναίσθητον
ποημαία, αἴθουτην ἄθλου τοῦ μεγίστου, τοῦ ὑπὸ
μηδενὸς πάθους καταβληθῆναι, δικαιοσύνη: βε-
βαμμένον εἰς βάθος, ἀσταζόμενον μὲν ἐξ ἄλης
tῆς φυχῆς τὰ συμβαινόντα καὶ ἀποκειμένα
πάντα, μὴ πολλάκις δὲ μηδὲ χωρὶς μεγάλες
καὶ κοινωφελώς ἀνάγκης φανταζόμενον, τί ποτε
ἀλλος λέγει ἡ πράσσει ἡ διανοεῖται. μόνα γάρ

1 ii. 5.
2 cp. Fronto, ad Am. i. 12: nullum est factum meum
dictumve quod clam ceteris esse velim: quia cuivis rei mihimet
BOOK III

doing and why, what he is saying, having what in mind, contriving what, and all the many like things such as whirl thee aside from keeping close watch over thine own ruling Reason.

We ought therefore to eschew the aimless and the unprofitable in the chain of our thoughts, still more all that is over-curious and ill-natured, and a man should accustom himself to think only of those things about which, if one were to ask on a sudden, *What is now in thy thoughts?* thou coudest quite frankly answer at once, *This or that*; so that thine answer should immediately make manifest that all that is in thee is simple and kindly and worthy of a living being that is social and has no thought for pleasures or for the entire range of sensual images, or for any rivalry, envy, suspicion, or anything else, whereat thou wouldest blush to admit that thou hadst it in thy mind.²

For in truth such a man, one who no longer puts off being reckoned now, if never before, among the best, is in some sort a priest and minister of the Gods, putting to use also that which, enthroned within him,⁰ keeps the man unstained by pleasures, invulnerable to all pain, beyond the reach of any wrong, proof against all evil, a champion in the highest of championships—that of never being overthrown by any passion—dyed in grain with justice, welcoming with all his soul everything that befalls and is allotted him, and seldom, nor yet without a great and a general necessity, concerning himself with the words or deeds or thoughts of another.

*iπὲς κωστιῶς σὺμ, ceteros quoque omnes inuita mecum scire velim.*

³ ii. 13. 17; iii. 6. 16.

E 2
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tà èantoi prós ènérgeiaì ëxei,1 kai tà èantí ék tòw òlòw sukhklwthòmeva dihékeíw ënvnei. kàkeína mèn kallà parèchetai, tauta dé ágatha èinai pé-
peistai. ë h ñár èkástòv nevoméne móira suvex-
fèretaí te kai suvexmfèrei.

4 Mèmenetai dé kai òtì sukgenevès pàn tò logikóv, kai òtì kídeis òhì mèn pàntoun anbòropoùv kàtà 
tìn tòu anbòropou fúsív èstí. dòxhì dé ouxì tìs 
parà pàntou anbektéon ìllà tòw ómologoumévon 
tì fúsì biouòtvon móvow. òi dé mè ouów biouvtes, 
ìptòv òvves oukì te kai ëxw tìs oikias, kai 
vìktow kai mev ouv hìmeran, ouvì mevì ouvov fèrontai, 
mevnhmenos diatelei. ouv tòvvn ouvé tòv parà 
tòw toioòtvon èstainov èn lògyf tìthei, ouvé ouvé 
avtòi èantoid árèskontai.

ë'. Ìmpte akóunòtos ènérgei múhtè akoinwntòs 
mìte anvegêstov mîte anbèlkómenos. múhtè 
koumfèia tìn diìnoíàv sou kallowpézetov. múhtè 
poulwrómov múhtè poluprágmov èso. òtì dé ò èn 
soi ñèos èstov proutástìs òwò ìrrènov, kai 
presbútov kai politikou kai Pèmàivov kai 
avkontov anatetaxòto èantòv, ouvì ànv. ìnì tìs 
periménov tò anakleptikóv èk tòw bìov èvlov, 
múhtè orkou deoménov múhtè anbòropoù tìnòs márt-
uros. èn dé tò faiòdòn2 kai tò âprosdèse ëxwth 
vìprehàv kai tò âprosdèse èsvxhias, ën àllov 
pàrèxovin. òvðov ouv èinai chrè, ouxì òvðov-
mevov.

1 ëxev ADC. 2 èn dé tò fainmévov AD : ìtì Morus.

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BOOK III

For it is only the things which relate to himself that he brings within the scope of his activities, and he never ceases to ponder over what is being spun for him as his share in the fabric of the Universe, and he sees to it that the former are worthy, and is assured that the latter is good. For the fate which is allotted to each man is swept along with him in the Universe as well as sweeps him along with it.¹

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

5. Do that thou doest neither unwillingly nor selfishly nor without examination nor against the grain. Dress not thy thought in too fine a garb. Be not a man of superfluous words or superfluous deeds. Moreover let the god that is in thee² be lord of a living creature, that is manly, and of full age, and concerned with statecraft, and a Roman, and a ruler, who hath taken his post as one who awaits the signal of recall from life in all readiness, needing no oath nor any man as his voucher. Be thine the cheery face and independence of help³ from without and independence of such ease as others can give. It needs then to stand, and not be set, upright.⁴

¹ Or, more abstractly, *is conditioned no less than conditions.*  
² *ii.* 13. 17; *iii.* 6.  
³ But see *vii.* 7.  
⁴ *i.* 15, § 3; *vii.* 12.
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5. Εἰ μὲν κρείττον εὐρίσκεις ἐν τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ βίῳ δικαιοσύνης, ἀληθείας, σωφροσύνης, ἀνδρείας, καὶ καθάπαξ τοῦ ἄρκεισαί εαυτῷ τὴν διάνοιαν σου ἐν οἷς κατὰ τὸν λόγον τὸν ὀρθὸν πράσσοντα σε παρέχεται, καὶ τῇ εἰμαρμένῃ ἐν τοῖς ἀπροαιρέτως ἀπονεμομένοις—εἰ τούτῳ, φημὶ, κρείττον τι ὀρᾶς, ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ ἐξ ὡλης τῆς φυχῆς τραπόμενος τοῦ ἄριστου εὐρισκομένου ἀπόλαυε.

2 Εἰ δὲ μηδὲν κρείττον φαίνεται αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐνιδρυμένου ἐν σοὶ δαίμονος, τάς τε ἱδίας ὀρμᾶς ὑποτεχαχότος ἕαυτῷ, καὶ τᾶς φαντασίας ἐξετάζοντος, καὶ τῶν αἰσθητικῶν πείσεων, ὡς ὁ Σωκράτης ἔληγεν, ἕαυτῶν ἀφειλκυκότος, καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ὑποτεχαχότος ἕαυτῶν, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων προκηρυμένου—εἰ τούτῳ πάντα τὰ ἄλλα μικρότερα καὶ εὐτελέστερα εὐρίσκεις, μηδὲν χώραν δίδου ἔτερῷ, πρὸς δὲ ρέψας ἅπαξ καὶ ἀποκλίνας οὐκ ἔτι ἦτο ἀπεριστάτως τὸ ἀγαθόν ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἱδιον καὶ τὸ σῶν προτιμάν δυνήσῃ· ἀντικαθήσαται γὰρ τὸ λογικὸ καὶ πολιτικὸν ἁγαθὸν οὐθέμεν οὐδ' ὅτι χώρον ἐτερογενές, οἷον τῶν παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἐπαινοῦν ἡ ἀρχὰς ἡ πλοῦτον ἡ ἀπολαύσεις ἡδονῶν. πάντα ταῦτα, καὶ πρὸς ὅλων ἀναμίζειν δόξη, κατεκράτησεν ἄφωνο καὶ παρηνεγκεῖν.

3 Σὺ δὲ, φημὶ, ἀπλῶς καὶ ἐλευθέρως ἐλού τὸ κρείττον καὶ τούτῳ ἀντέχου. "Κρείττον δὲ τὸ συμφέρον." εἰ μὲν τὸ ὦς λογικὸ, τούτῳ τίρηστι· εἰ δὲ τὸ ὦς ζῷο, ἀπόφθεγναι καὶ ἀτύφως φύλασσε

1 πολιτικὸς PA: πολιτικός Gatt.
BOOK III

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

But if there appears nothing better than the very deity 1 enthroned in thee, which has brought into subjection to itself all individual desires, which scrutinizes the thoughts, and, in the words of Socrates, has withdrawn itself from all the enticements of the senses, and brought itself into subjection to the Gods, and cherishes a fellow-feeling for men—if thou findest everything else pettier and of less account than this, give place to nought else, to which if thou art but once plucked aside, and incline thereto, never more shalt thou be able without distraction to give paramount honour to that good which is thine own peculiar heritage. For it is not right that any extraneous thing at all, such as the praise of the many, or office, or wealth, or indulgence in pleasure, should avail against that good which is identical with reason and a civic spirit. All these things, even if they seem for a little to fit smoothly into our lives, on a sudden overpower us and sweep us away.

But do thou, I say, simply and freely choose the better and hold fast to it. But that is the better which is to my interest. If it is to thy interest as a rational creature, hold that fast; but if as a mere animal, declare it boldly and maintain thy judgment without
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τὴν κρίσιν μόνον ὁπως ἀσφαλῶς τὴν ἐξέτασιν ποιήσῃ.

ζ'. Μὴ τιμήσῃς ποτὲ ὡς συμφέρων σεαυτοῦ, ὁ ἁναγκάσει σὲ ποτὲ τὴν πιστὶν παραβῆται, τὴν αἰδώ· ἐγκαταλιπεῖν, μισῆσαι τίνα, ὑποπτεύσαι, καταράσσασθαι, ὑποκρίνασθαι, ἐπιθυμῆσαι τινὸς τοίχων καὶ παραπετασμάτων δειμένου. ὁ γαρ τὸν ἑαυτὸν νοῦν καὶ δαίμονα καὶ τὰ ὅργα τῆς τούτου ἀρετῆς προελάμβανος, τραγῳδίαν οὐ ποιεῖ, οὐ στενάζει, οὐκ ἔρημας, οὐκ πολυπληθείας δεήσεται· τὸ μέγιστον, ζήσει μήτε διάκων μήτε φεύγων. πότερον δὲ ἐπὶ πλέον διάστημα χρόνον τῷ σώματι περιεχομένη τῇ ψυχῇ ἢ ἐπὶ ἔλασσον χρήσεται, οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν αὐτῷ μέλει· καὶ γὰρ ἠδὴ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι δέχεται, οὔτως εὐλύτως ἀπεισίω, ὡς ἀλλο τῶν αἰδημόνως καὶ κοσμίως ἐνεργοῦσας δυναμένων ἐνεργητεῖοι, τούτῳ μόνον παρ' ὅλον τῶν βίων εὐλαβοῦμενος, τὸ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐν τινὶ ἀνοικείῳ νοερῷ <καὶ> πολιτικοῦ ζῷον τροπῆ γενέσθαι.

η'. Οὐδὲν ἄν ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ τοῦ κεκολασμένου καὶ ἐκκεκαθαρμένου πυὸδες οὐδὲ μὴν μεμολύσμενον οὐδὲ ὑπολογὺς ἑυροῖς. οὐδὲ ἀσυντελή τῶν βίων αὐτοῦ ἡ πεπρωμένη καταλαμβάνει, ὡς ἂν τις εἴπῃ τὸν τραγῳδίαν πρὸ τοῦ τελέσαι καὶ διαδραματίσαι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. ἐτί δὲ οὐδὲν δούλον οὐδὲ κομφὸν, οὐδὲ προσδεδεμένον οὐδὲ ἀπεσχισμένον, οὐδὲ ὑπεύθυνον οὐδὲ ἐμφωλεύον.

θ'. Τὴν ὑποληπτικὴν δύναμιν σέβε. ἐν ταύτῃ

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1 ἐνεργητεῖον Π: ἐνεργητεῖον Α: ἐνεργητεῖον Radermacher.

1 iii. 16; Epict. iii. 22, § 16. cp. Plutarch, Sympos. vii. 5.

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arrogance. Only see to it that thou hast made thy enquiry without error.

7. Prize not anything as being to thine interest that shall ever force thee to break thy troth, to surrender thine honour, to hate, suspect, or curse anyone, to play the hypocrite, to lust after anything that needs walls and curtains.\(^1\) For he that has chosen before all else his own intelligence and good 'genius,' and to be a devotee of its supreme worth, does not strike a tragic attitude or whine, nor will he ask for either a wilderness or a concourse of men; above all he will live neither chasing anything nor shunning it. And he recks not at all whether he is to have his soul imprisoned in his body for a longer or a shorter span of time,\(^2\) for even if he must take his departure at once, he will go as willingly as if he were to discharge any other function that can be discharged with decency and orderliness, making sure through life of this one thing, that his thoughts should not in any case assume a character out of keeping with a rational and civic creature.

8. In the mind of the man that has been chastened and thoroughly cleansed thou wilt find no foul abscess or gangrene or hidden sore. Nor is his life cut short, when the day of destiny overtakes him, as we might say of a tragedian's part, .who leaves the stage before finishing his speech and playing out the piece.\(^3\) Furthermore there is nothing there slavish or affected, no dependence on others or severance from them,\(^4\) no sense of accountability or skulking to avoid it.

9. Hold sacred thy capacity for forming opinions.

\(^1\) See Sen. N. Q. vi. 32, ad fin.
\(^3\) Sen. Ep. 77.
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tὸ πᾶν, ἵνα ὑπόληψις τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ σου μηκέτι ἐγγένηται ἀνακόλουθος τῇ φύσει καὶ τῇ τοῦ λογικοῦ ζύφου κατασκευῆ. αὕτη δὲ ἐπαγγέλλεται ἀπροπτωσίαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους οἰκείωσιν καὶ τὴν τοὺς θεοὺς ἀκολουθίαν.

ι'. Πάντα οὖν ρίψας, τά τα μόνα τὰ ὀλγα σύνεχε καὶ ἔτι συμμυνήμενε, ὧτι μόνον καὶ ἐκαστὸς τὸ παρόν τούτο τὸ ἀκαριαῖον τὰ δὲ ἀλλὰ ἡ βεβίωσιν ἡ ἐν ἀδήλῳ. μικρὸν μὲν οὖν ὡς καὶ ἐκαστὸς, μικρὸν δὲ τὸ τῆς γῆς γονίδιον ὅπου μικρὸν δὲ καὶ ἡ μηκέστη ὑστεροφημία, καὶ αὕτη δὲ κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἀνθρωπαίων τάχιστα τεθηκέσσενον καὶ οὐκ εἰδότως οὔδε ἑαυτοῖς, οὕτω δὲ τὸν πρόπαθι τεθηκότα.

ια'. Τοῖς δὲ εἰρημένοις παραστήμασιν ἐν ἔτι προσέστω, τὸ ὄρον ἢ ὑπογραφήν ἀεὶ ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ υποτίπτοντας φαντασθοῦ, ὡστε αὐτὸ ὁποῖον ἐστὶ κατ' οὐσίαν γυμνὸν ὅλον δι' ὅλων διηρημένους βλέπειν, καὶ τὸ ἱδιον ὅνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ἐκείνων, ἐξ ὧν συνεκρίθη καὶ εἰς ἀναλυθῆσεται, λέγειν παρ' ἑαυτῷ.

2 Οὔτεν γὰρ οὕτως μεγαλοφροσύνης ποιητικῶν, ὡς τὸ ἐλέγχειν ὅδῷ καὶ ἀληθεία ἐκαστὸν τῶν <ἐν> τῷ βίῳ ὑποπιπτούντων δύνασθαι καὶ τὸ αἰεὶ οὕτως εἰς αὐτὰ ὅραν, ὡστε συνεπιβάλλειν, ὁποίος τινὶ τῷ κόσμῳ ὁποῖαν τινὲς τούτο χρείαι παρεχόμενον τίνα μὲν ἐχεῖ ἀξίαν ὡς πρὸς τὸ ὅλον, τίνα δὲ ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἀνθρώπου, πολύτιτιν ὅντα πόλεως τῆς ἀνατάτης, ἣς αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεως ὀπτερείοις οἰκείαι εἰσὶν· τὶ ἔστι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν συγκεκριμένων.
BOOK III

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

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

11. To the stand-by's mentioned add one more, that a definition or delineation should be made of every object that presents itself, so that we may see what sort of thing it is in its essence stripped of its adjuncts, a separate whole taken as such, and tell over with ourselves both its particular designation and the names of the elements that compose it and into which it will be disintegrated.

For nothing is so conducive to greatness of mind as the ability to examine systematically and honestly everything that meets us in life, and to regard these things always in such a way as to form a conception of the kind of Universe they belong to, and of the use which the thing in question subserves in it; what value it has for the whole Universe and what for man, citizen as he is of the highest state, of which all other states are but as households; what it actually is, and com-
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πόσον χρόνον πέφυκε παραμένειν τούτο, τὸ τὴν
φαντασίαν μοι νῦν ποιοῦν· καὶ τίνος ἀρετῆς πρὸς
αὐτῷ χρεία, οἷον ἡμερότητος, ἀνδρείας, ἀληθείας,
πίστεως, ἀφελείας, αὐταρκείας, τῶν λοιπῶν.

3 Διὸ δεῖ ἐφ’ ἐκάστου λέγειν, τούτῳ μὲν παρὰ
θεοὺ ἢκεῖ· τούτῳ δὲ κατὰ τὴν σύλληξιν καὶ τὴν
συμμηρυσμένην σύγκλωσιν καὶ τὴν τοιμάτην
σύντευξιν τε καὶ τύχην· τούτῳ δὲ παρὰ τοῦ
συμφύλου καὶ συγγενοῦς καὶ κοινωνοῦ, ἀγνοοῦντος
μέντοι ὁ τι αὐτῷ κατὰ φύσιν ἔστιν. ἀλλ’ ἔγω οὐκ
ἀγνοῶ· διὰ τούτῳ χρῶμαι αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν τῆς
κοινωνίας φυσικὸν νόμον εὐνοεῖ καὶ δικαίως· ἀμα
μέντοι τοῦ κατ’ ἄξιόν ἐν τοῖς μέσοις συσταχάζομαι.

ιβ’. ‘Εὰν τὸ παρὸν ἐνεργῆς ἐπόμενος τῷ
ὁρθῷ λόγῳ ἐσπουδασμένως, ἔρρωμένως, εὑμενῶς,
καὶ μηδὲν παρεμπόρευμα, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐαυτὸν
dαιμόνια καθαρὸν ἐστώτα τηρῆσ, ὡς εἰ καὶ ἦδη
ἀποδοῦναι δέοι· εὰν τούτῳ συνάπτης μηδὲν περι-
μένων μηδὲ φεύγων, ἀλλὰ τῇ παρούσῃ κατὰ
φύσιν ἐνεργείᾳ καὶ τῇ, ὅν λέγεις καὶ φθέγγῃ,
ἡρωικὴ ἀληθεία ἀρκούμενος, εὐξώσεις. ἐστὶ δὲ
οὕδες ὁ τούτῳ κωλύσαι δυνάμενος.

ιγ’. Ὡσπερ οἱ ἰατροὶ ἄει τὰ ὀργάνα καὶ
σιδήρια πρόχειρα ἔχονσι πρὸς τὰ αἰφνίδια τῶν
θεραπευμάτων, οὕτω τὰ δόγματα σὺ ἔτοιμα ἔχε
πρὸς τὸ τὰ θεία καὶ ἀνθρώπινα εἰδέναι, καὶ πάν

1 παρεμπορεύσῃ Gat.: Perhaps ἐν παρεμπορεύματι.

1 Notice the fondness of Marcus for compounds of συν- and
his use here of alliteration, cp. xii. 14.

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pounded of what elements, and likely to last how long—namely this that now gives me the impression in question; and what virtue it calls for from me, such as gentleness, manly courage, truth, fidelity, guilelessness, frugality, and the rest.

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

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

13. Just as physicians always keep their lancets and instruments ready to their hands for emergency operations, so also do thou keep thine axioms ready for the diagnosis of things human and divine, and

2 cp. Dio 71. 6, § 2 (of Marcus), οὐδὲν ἐν παρέργῳ ὑπὲρ ἐπεγεγορον ὑπὲρ ἑγαμέν ὑπὲρ ἑπεδοτεῖν.  
3 iii. 6, § 2.
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καὶ τὸ μικρότατον οὕτω ποιεῖν, ὡς τῆς ἀμφοτέρων τρῶς ἄλληλα συνδέσεως μεμημένουν. οὕτε γὰρ ἀνθρώπινον τι ἀνευ τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ θεία συναναφορὰς εἰ πράξεις οὕτε ἐμπαλιν.

ιδ. Ἡμεῖς πλαῦστοι οὕτε γὰρ τὰ ὑπομνηματία σου μέλλεις ἀναγινώσκειν, οὕτε τὰς τῶν ἀρχαίων Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων πράξεις, καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων ἔκλογας, ἀς εἰς τὸ γῆρας σαυτῷ ἀπετίθεσο. σπεύδε οὖν εἰς τέλος, καὶ τὰς κενὰς ἐλπίδας ἀφεῖς σαυτῷ βοήθει, εἰ τι σοι μέλει σεαυτοῦ, ἐως ἐξεστών.

ιε'. Οὐκ ἵσασι πόσα σημαίνει τὸ κλέπτειν, τὸ σπείρειν, τὸ ἀνείσθαι, τὸ ἥσυχαζειν, τὸ ὅραν τὰ πρακτέα, ὥστε ὁφθαλμὸς γίνεται ἅλλ' ἑτέρα τινὶ ὅψει.

ιε'. Σῶμα, ψυχή, νοῦς, σώματος αἰσθήσεις, ψυχῆς ὅρμαι, νοῦ δόγματα. τὸ μὲν τυποῦσθαι φανταστικῶς καὶ τῶν βοσκημάτων, τὸ δὲ νευροσπάστεισθαι ὀρμητικῶς καὶ τῶν θηρίων καὶ τῶν ἀνδρογυνῶν καὶ Φαλάριδος καὶ Νέρωνος. τὸ δὲ τῶν νοῦν ἡγεμόνα ἔχειν ἐπὶ τὰ φαινόμενα καθήκοντα, καὶ τῶν θεοὺς μὴ νομίζοντων καὶ τῶν τὴν πατρίδα ἐγκαταλειπὼντων καὶ τῶν <πάυν> ποιοῦντων, ἐπειδὰν κλείσωσι τὰς θύρας.

2 ἔτι οὖν τὰ λοιπὰ 5 κοινὰ ἐστὶ πρὸς τὰ εἰρημένα,

1 εἰς τέλος Ῥ: εἰ θέλεις Ἀ. 2 σκάπτειν "to delve" Polak. 3 κινεῖσθαι Richards. 4 <πάυν> Cor. 5 For τὰ λοιπὰ I would prefer τοιαύτα.

1 i.e. the human and the divine.
2 It is not clear whether Marcus refers to the present book. He uses a similar word for the discourses of Epictetus (i. 7).

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for the performing of every act, even the pettiest, with the fullest consciousness of the mutual ties between these two. For thou shalt never carry out well any human duty unless thou correlate it to the divine, nor the reverse.

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

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

16. Body, Soul, Intelligence: for the body sensations, for the soul desires, for the intelligence axioms. To receive impressions by way of the senses is not denied even to cattle; to be as puppets pulled by the strings of desire is common to wild beasts and to pathies and to a Phalaris and a Nero. Yet to have the intelligence a guide to what they deem their duty is an attribute of those also who do not believe in Gods and those who fail their country in its need and those who do their deeds behind closed doors.

If then all else is the common property of the

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3 ii. 2. Some have seen here a reference to a history written by Marcus himself.

4 See Fronto, ad Caes. ii. 10, excerpta ex libris sexaginta n quinque tomin.

5 xi. 3.

6 ii. 2.

7 Must undoubtedly refer to the Christians, who were accused precisely of these three things—atheism, want of patriotism, and secret orgies. cp. also, i. 6; vii. 68; viii. 48, 51; and see note pp. 381 ff.
MARCUS AURELIUS

λοιπὸν τὸ ἰδιὸν ἐστὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ φίλειν μὲν καὶ ἀσπάζεσθαι τὰ συμβαίνοντα καὶ συν-κλωθόμενα αὐτῷ· τὸν δὲ ἐνδον ἐν τῷ στῆθει ἴδρυμένον δαίμονα μὴ φύρεω μηδὲ θορυβεῖν ὅχλον

φαντασιῶν, ἀλλὰ ἰλέων διατηρεῖν, κοσμίως ἐπομενον θεῷ, μήτε φθεγγόμενον τι παρὰ τὰ ἄληθη

μήτε ἐνεργοῦντα παρὰ τὰ δίκαια. εἰ δὲ ἄπιστοῦ

σιν αὐτῷ πάντες ἀνθρώποι, ὅτι ἀπλῶς καὶ αἰδημόνως καὶ εὐθύμως βιοῖ, οὔτε χαλεπαίνει τινὶ

tούτων, οὔτε παρατρέπεται τῆς ὅδος τῆς ἀγούσης ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος τοῦ βίου, ἐφ' ὃ δὲ ἐλθεῖν καθαρὸν,

ἡσύχιον, εὐλυτον, ἀβιάστως τῇ ἑαυτοῦ μοῖρᾳ

συνηρμοσμένον.

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BOOK III

classes mentioned, there is left as the characteristic of the good man to delight in and to welcome what befalls and what is spun for him by destiny; and not to sully the divine ‘genius’ that is enthroned in his bosom,¹ nor yet to perplex it with a multitude of impressions, but to maintain it to the end in a gracious serenity, in orderly obedience to God, uttering no word that is not true and doing no deed that is not just. But if all men disbelieve in his living a simple and modest and cheerful life, he is not wroth with any of them, nor swerves from the path which leads to his life’s goal, whither he must go pure, peaceful, ready for release, needing no force to bring him into accord with his lot.

¹ iii. 6, § 2; St. Paul, 1 Cor. iii. 16.
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ \(\Delta\)

\(\alpha'.\) Τὸ ἐνδον κυριεύον, ὅταν κατὰ φύσιν ἔχῃ, οὕτως ἐστηκε πρὸς τὰ συμβαίνοντα, ὥστε ἄει πρὸς τὸ δύνατόν καὶ διδόμενον μετατίθεσθαι ῥαδίως. ὦλην γὰρ ἀποτεταγμένην οὐδεμίαν φιλεῖ, ἀλλὰ ὀρμᾶ μὲν πρὸς τὰ <προ>ηγούμενα \(^1\) μεθ' ὑπεξαιρέσεως· τὸ δὲ ἀντεισαγόμενον ὦλην ἑαυτῷ ποιεῖ, ὥσπερ τὸ πῦρ, ὅταν ἐπικρατή τῶν ἐπεμ-πιπτόντων, ὡφ' ὦν ἂν μικρὸς τις λύχνος ἐσβέσθη· τὸ δὲ λαμπρὸν πῦρ τάχιστα ἐξεφείωσεν ἑαυτῷ τὰ ἐπιφορούμενα καὶ κατηνάλωσεν καὶ ἔξ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐπὶ μείζον ἡρθη.

\(\beta'.\) Μηδὲν ἐνέργημα εἰκῇ μηδὲ ἄλλως ἡ κατὰ θεώρημα συμπληρωτικὸν τῆς τέχνης ἐνεργείσθω· γ'. Ἀναχωρήσεις αὐτοῖς ζητοῦσιν, ἀγροκίας καὶ αἰγιαλούς καὶ ὁρῆ εἰσθανὶ δὲ καὶ σὰ τὰ τουαίτα μάλιστα ποθεῖν. ὅλων δὲ τοῦτο ἰδιωτικῶτατόν ἐστιν, ἐξὸν ἢς ἂν ἄρας ἐθελήσῃς εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀνα-χωρεῖν. οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ ὦτε ἤσυχοτερὸν ὦτε

\(^1\) <προ> Γατ.

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\(^1\) iii. 6, § 2, etc. cp. Lucian, Somn. 10, ἡ ψυχή, δ'περ σοι κυριώτατον ἐστίν.

\(^2\) i.e. conditionally or as far as circumstances will allow, vi. 50. cp. St. James, Ep. iv. 15.

\(^3\) v. 20; vi. 50; Sen. de Prov. 2. 4 ii. 5 etc.
BOOK IV

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

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

3. Men seek out retreats for themselves in the country, by the seaside, on the mountains, and thou too art wont to long intensely for such things. But all this is unphilosophical to the last degree, when thou canst at a moment's notice retire into thyself. For nowhere can a man find a retreat more full of...

5 e.g. Lorium, Lanuvium, Alsium, Centumcellae, Praeneste, Baiae, Caieta, all holiday resorts of Marcus, see especially Fronto de Fer. Alis. Nab. p. 223 ff. cp. x. 15, 23.
6 cp. Arethas on Dio Chrys. xx. 8, μὴ ὅπως βελτίστη καὶ λυπιστευτάτη πασῶν ἢ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναχώρησις. See below iv. 3, § 4; vii. 28.
MARCUS AURELIUS

άπραγμονέστερον ἀνθρώπος ἀναχωρεῖ ἢ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν μάλιστ' ὅστις ἔχει εὔνοια τοιαύτα, εἰς ἀ ἐγκύψας ἐν πάσῃ εὔμαρείᾳ εὐθὺς γίνεται τὴν δὲ εὐμάρειαν οὐδὲν ἄλλο λέγω ἢ εὐκοσμίαν. συνεχῶς ὅπως ὅσον δίδον σεαυτῷ ταύτην τὴν ἀναχώρησιν, καὶ ἀνανέων σεαυτῶν βραχέα δὲ ἐστώ καὶ στοιχειώδης, ἀ εὐθὺς ἀπαντήσαντα ἀρκέσεις εἰς τὸ πᾶσαν ἡμίαν ἀποκλύσαι τ' ἀποτέμψαι σε μὴ δυσχεραίνοντα ἑκεῖνοι, ἐφ' ἀ ἐπανέρχη.

2 Τίνι γὰρ δυσχεραίνεις; τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κακία; ἀναλογισάμενος τὸ κρίμα, ὅτι τὰ λογικὰ ξαν ἀλλήλων ἐνεκεν γέγονε, καὶ ὅτι τὸ ἀνέχεσθαι μέρος τῆς δικαιοσύνης, καὶ ὅτι ἄκοντες ἀμαρτάνουσι, καὶ πόσοι ἤδη διεχθέρευσαντες, ὑποπτεύσαντες, μυσήσαντες, διαδορασθέντες ἐκτίθαται, τετέφρωνται, παύον ποτέ. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ὀλων ἀπονομομένοις δυσχεραίνεις; ἀνανεωσάμενος τὸ διεξευγμένον "Ἡτοῖ πρόνοια, ἡ ἀτομοί," καὶ ἐξ ὅσων ἀπεδείχθη, ὅτι ὁ κόσμος ὠσανεῖ πόλις. ἀλλὰ τα σωματικὰ σον ἀφεται ἐτί; ἐννοοῦσας ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιμίγνυνται λειώσι τραχεύς κινούμενον πνεύματι ἡ διάνοια, ἐπειδὰν ἀπαξ ἐαυτὴν ἀπολάβῃ καὶ γνωρίσῃ τὴν ἴδιαν ἐξουσίαν καὶ λοιπὸν ὁσα περὶ πόνον καὶ ἴδονής ἀκήκοας καὶ συγκατέθουν.

3 Ἀλλὰ τὸ δοξάριον σε περιστάσει; ἀπειδῶν εἰς τὸ τάχος τῆς πάντων λήθης, καὶ τὸ χάος τοῦ ἑφ' τὰς ἀνθρώπων ἀποκλύσαι PC: ἀποκλίσαι AD: λύτην Reiske, ἀνῖαν Gat., αὐλὴν Loftt. Many accept the last, but it does not suit the next clause and would also require <τὴν>.

1 For ἐγκύψας cp. St. James, Ep. i. 25, παρακύψας.
2 vii. 22, 63; xi. 18, § 3.
3 viii. 17; ix. 28, 39.

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peace or more free from care than his own soul—above all if he have that within him, a steadfast look at which and he is at once in all good ease, and by good ease I mean nothing other than good order. Make use then of this retirement continually and regenerate thyself. Let thy axioms be short and elemental, such as, when set before thee, will at once rid thee of all trouble, and send thee away with no discontent at those things to which thou art returning.

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

But will that paltry thing, Fame, pluck thee aside? Look at the swift approach of complete forgetfulness,

4 ii. 16 ad fin.; iv. 4; x. 15; xii. 36. St. Paul, Philippians iii. 20.
5 v. 14.
MARCUS AURELIUS

ἐκάτερα ἀπείρου αἰῶνος, καὶ τὸ κενὸν τῆς ἀπηχήσεως, καὶ τὸ εὐμετάβολον καὶ ἄκριτον τῶν εὐφημείν ὁ δοκοῦντων, καὶ τὸ στενὸν τοῦ τόπου, ἐν ὧν περιγράφεται. Ὅλη τε γὰρ ἡ γῆ στιγμῆ, καὶ ταύτης πόστον γωνίδιον ἡ κατοίκησις αὐτῆ; καὶ ἐνταῦθα πόσοι καὶ οἷοι τινες οἱ ἐπαινεσομένοι?

4 Λοιπὸν οὖν μέμνησο τῆς ὑποχωρήσεως τῆς εἰς τούτο τὸ ἀγρίδιον ἐαυτοῦ. καὶ πρὸ παντὸς μὴ στῶ μηδὲ κατευντεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἐλεύθερος ἐσο καὶ ὅρα τὰ πράγματα ὡς ἀνήρ, ὡς ἀνθρώπος, ὡς πολίτης, ὡς ἐθνικὸν ἔθος. ἐν δὲ τοῖς προχειροτάτοις, εἰς ἀ ἐγκύψεις, ταύτα ἔστω τὰ δύο. ἐν μὲν, ὅτι τὰ πράγματα ὑμῖν ἀπεται τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλ' ἐξω ἐστηκεν ἀτρεμοῦντα: αἱ δὲ ἀχλήσεις ἐκ μόνης τῆς ἐνδον ὑπολήψεως. ἔτερον δὲ, ὅτι πάντα ταύτα ὅσα ὁρᾶς ὅσον οὐδέπω μεταβάλλει καὶ οὐκ ἔτι ἐσται· καὶ ὅσων ἡ ἡμεταβολαίς αὐτῶς παρατετύχχκας, συνεχῶς διανοοῦ. ὁ κόσμος, ἀλλοίωσις· ὁ βίος, ὑπόληψις.

δ. Ἐν τῷ νοερόν ἦμιν κοινών, καὶ ὁ λόγος, καθ’ ὅν λογικόι ἐσμεν, κοινῶς· εἰ τούτῳ, καὶ ὁ προστατικὸς τῶν ποιητέων ἡ μὴ λόγος κοινῶς· εἰ τούτῳ, καὶ ὁ νόμος κοινῶς· εἰ τούτῳ, πολίται ἐσμεν· εἰ τούτῳ, πολιτευματός τινος μετέχομεν· εἰ τούτῳ, ὁ κόσμος ὅσαι πόλις ἔστι· τινος γὰρ ἄλλου

1 ἐφ’ ἡμῖν PADC: εὐφημείν Gal.: perhaps ἐφ’ ἡμῖν εὐφημείν.

1 iii. 10; viii. 21.
2 ii. 15; iv. 7; xii. 22. A maxim of Democrats, a Pythagorean; cp. Shak. Hamlet ii. 2. 256, "There is nothing either good or bad but thinking makes it so"; Tennyson: 70
BOOK IV

and the void of infinite time on this side of us and on that, and the empty echo of acclamation, and the fickleness and uncritical judgment of those who claim to speak well of us, and the narrowness of the arena to which all this is confined. For the whole earth is but a point, and how tiny a corner of it is this the place of our sojournings! and how many therein and of what sort are the men who shall praise thee!

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

4. If the intellectual capacity is common to us all, common too is the reason, which makes us rational creatures. If so, that reason also is common which tells us to do or not to do. If so, law also is common. If so, we are citizens. If so, we are fellow-members of an organised community. If so, the Universe is as it were a state—for of what

"All things are, as they seem, to all." Some have been found to say that even matter has no objective existence.


4 iv. 3, § 2.
MARCUS AURELIUS

φήσει τις το των ανθρώπων παν γένος κοινοῦ πολυτεύματος μετέχειν; ἐκείθεν δὲ, ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς ταύτης πόλεως, καὶ αὐτὸ το νοερόν καὶ λογικόν καὶ νομικόν ἡμῶν ἡ πόθεν; ὁσπερ γὰρ τὸ γεώδες μοι ἀπὸ τινος γῆς ἀπομεμείρισται, καὶ τὸ ύγρὸν ἀφ’ ἐτέρου στοιχείου καὶ τὸ πνευματικὸν ἀπὸ τηγῆς τινὸς καὶ τὸ θερμὸν καὶ πυρὸς ἐκ τινος ἰδίας τηγῆς (οὔδὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲνος ἐρχεται, ὁσπερ μηδ’ εἰς τὸ ὅυκ ὄν ἀπέρχεται), οὔτω δὴ καὶ τὸ νοερὸν ἢκει ποθὲν.

e’. Ὁ θάνατος τοιούτος, ὅλον γένεσις, φύσεως μυστήριον, σύγκρισις ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν στοιχείων,
<diaκρίσις> ² εἰς ταύτα· ὅλος δὲ οὐκ ἐφ’ ὃ ἀν τις ἀσχυνθείη· οὐ γὰρ παρὰ τὸ ἑξῆς το νοερὸν ζωφ’ οὔδε παρά τὸν λόγον τῆς παρασκευῆς.³

ζ’. Ταῦτα οὕτως ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων πέφυκε γίνεσθαι ἐξ ἀνάγκης· ο δὲ τούτο μὴ θέλων θέλει τὴν συκῆν ὅπων μὴ ἔχειν. ὅλος δ’ ἐκεῖνο μέμνησο, ὅτι ἐντὸς οἰκιστῶν χρόνου καὶ οὐ καὶ οὕτως τεθνήκεσθε· μετὰ βραχ’ δὲ οὔδε ὅνομα ὑμῶν ὑπολειφθήσεται.

ξ’. Ἄρον την ὑπόληψιν, ἢρται τὸ βέβλαμμα· ἀρον τὸ “βέβλαμμα,” ἢρται ἡ βλάβη.

η’. Ὁ χείρω αὐτοῦ ἐαυτοῦ ἀνθρωπον οὐ ποιεῖ, τοῦτο οὔδ’ τῶν βίου αὐτοῦ χεῖρος ποιεῖ, οὐδ’ βλάπτει οὔτε ἔξωθεν οὔτε ἐνδοθεν.

θ’. Ἡνάγακασται ἡ τοῦ συμφέροντος φύσις τοῦτο ποιεῖν.

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¹ ἡγῆς PC: γῆς AD: πνοῆς Schenkl. ² <diaκρίσις> or <διάλυσις> Gat. ³ We should expect κατασκευής.

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¹ Lit. the pneumatic, here = τὸ ἀερῶδες (x. 7, § 2). ² vii. 64. ³ v. 17.
other single polity can the whole race of mankind be said to be fellow-members?—and from it, this common State, we get the intellectual, the rational, and the legal instinct, or whence do we get them? For just as the earthy part has been portioned off for me from some earth, and the watery from another element, and the aerial from some source, and the hot and fiery from some source of its own—for nothing comes from the non-existent, any more than it disappears into nothingness—so also the intellect has undoubtedly come from somewhere.

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

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

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

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

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

4 xii. 16. cp. Bacon, On Revenge.
5 iv. 3, § 4; vii. 14, 29; ix. 7; xii. 25. 6 ii. 11; vii. 64.
Marcus Aurelius

1. "Оті πάν το συμβαίνον δικαίως συμβαίνει
δ', εάν ἀκριβῶς παραφύλάσσης, εὐρήσεις: οὐ
λέγω μόνον κατὰ τὸ ἔξής, ἀλλ' ὅτι κατὰ τὸ
díkaion καὶ ὦς ἂν ὑπὸ τινὸς ἀπονέμοντος τὸ κατ'
aξίων. παραφύλασσε οὖν, ὃς ἦρξα· καὶ, ὅ τι
ἀν ποιήσῃ, σὺν τούτῳ ποιεῖ, σὺν τῷ ἀγάθῳ εἶναι,
καθ' ὁ νενόηται ἰδίως ὁ ἀγάθος. τούτοι' ἐπὶ πάσης
ἐνεργείας σῶζε.

ia'. Μη τοιαύτα ὑπολάμβανε, οἷα ο ὑβρίζων
crínει ἢ οἰά σε κρίνειν βούλεται: ἀλλ' ἰδε αὐτά,
ὅποια κατ' ἀλήθειαν ἐστώς.

ib'. Δύο ταύτας ἐποιμότητας ἔχειν αἰ τε ἐδὲ
τὴν μέν, πρὸς τὸ πρᾶξαι μόνον, ὅπερ ἂν ὁ τῆς
βασιλικῆς καὶ νομοθετικῆς λόγος ὑποβάλλῃ, ἐπ'
ὡφελείᾳ ἀνθρώπων τὴν δὲ, πρὸς τὸ μεταθέσθαι,
ἐάν ἄρα τῆς παρῆ διορθῶν καὶ μετάγων ἀπὸ τινὸς
ὁφίσδως. τὴν μέντοι μεταγωγὴν ἂν ἀπὸ τίνος
πιθανότητος ὡς δικαίου ἡ κοινωφελείας γίνεσθαι,
cαι τὰ παραπλῆσια1 τοιαύτα μόνον εἶναι δεῖ,
οὖν ὃτι ἤδυ ἡ ἐνδοξώ ἐφάνη.

ig'. Δόγμαν ἔχεις; "ἔχων" τι οὐν οὐ χρά;
toúτοι γὰρ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ποιούντος τί ἄλλο θέλεις;
id'. Ἐνυπεστῆσις ὡς μέρος. ἐναφανισθῆσα τῷ
gεννήσαντι: μᾶλλον δὲ ἀναληφθῆσα εἰς τῶν
λόγον αὐτοῦ τῶν σπερματικῶν κατὰ μεταβολήν.
ie'. Πολλὰ λεβανωτοῦ βωλάρια ἐπὶ τοῦ
αὐτοῦ βαμμοῦ τὸ μέν προκατέπεσεν, τὸ δὲ
ὑστερον διαφέρει δι' οὐδὲν.

1 παραπλῆσια A.

1 x. 25. 2 cp. Capit. xxii. 4.
3 vii. 73; ix. 42 ad fin. 4 ii. 3.
5 The primal Fire and the eternal Reason are one and the
BOOK IV

10. Note that all that befalls befalleth justly. Keep close watch and thou wilt find this true, I do not say, as a matter of sequence merely but as a matter of justice also, and as would be expected from One whose dispensation is based on desert.\(^1\) Keep close watch, then, as thou hast begun, and whatsoever thou doest, do it as only a good man should in the strictest sense of that word. In every sphere of activity safeguard this.

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

12. Thou shouldest have these two readinesses always at hand; the one which prompts thee to do only what thy reason in its royal and law-making capacity shall suggest for the good of mankind; the other to change thy mind,\(^2\) if one be near to set thee right, and convert thee from some vain conceit. But this conversion should be the outcome of a persuasion in every case that the thing is just or to the common interest—and some such cause should be the only one—not because it is seemingly pleasant or popular.

13. Hast thou reason? I have. Why then not use it? For if this performs its part, what else\(^3\) wouldst thou have?

14. Thou hast subsisted as part of the Whole.\(^4\) Thou shalt vanish into that which begat thee, or rather thou shalt be taken again into its Seminal Reason\(^5\) by a process of change.

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

same, and held to contain the seed of all things. \textit{cp. Just. Apol.} ii. 8, 13 for \textit{λόγος σπερματικός} used of Christ.
MARKUS AURELIUS

ι. 'Εντὸς δέκα ἡμερῶν θεὸς αὐτοῦς δόξει, οἷς νῦν θηρίον καὶ πίθηκος, ἐὰν ἀνακάμψης ἐπὶ τὰ δόγματα καὶ τὸν σεβασμὸν τοῦ λόγου.

ι. Μὴ ὡς μύρια μέλλων ἐτης ζῆν. τὸ χρεῶν ἐπῆρτηται· ἔως ζῆς, ἔως ἐξεστιν, ἀγαθὸς ἕγειρον.

ι. Ὅσην εὐσχολίαν1 κερδαίνει ὁ μὴ βλέπων τί ὁ πλησίον εἴπεν ἢ ἐπραβεῖν ἢ διενοθή, ἀλλὰ μόνον τί αὐτὸς ποιεῖ, ἵνα αὐτὸ τοῦτο δίκαιον ἢ καὶ ὅσιον? ἢ κατὰ τὸν ἁγαθὸν μὴ μέλαν ἢ θεος περιβλέπεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς γραμμῆς τρέχειν ὀρθῶν, μὴ διερριμένων.

ιθ'. Ὅ περι τὴν ὄστεροφημίαν ἐπτυμενός οὐ φαντάζεται, ὅτι ἐκαστὸς τῶν μεμνημένων αὐτοῦ τάχιστα καὶ αὐτὸς2 ἀποθανεῖται· εἰτὰ πάλιν [καὶ αὐτὸς] ὁ ἐκεῖνον διαδεξάμενος, μέχρι καὶ πᾶσα ἡ μνήμη ἀποσβῆνε διὰ ἐπτυμενῶν3 καὶ σβήσημενων προϊόντα. ὑπόθον δ', ὅτι καὶ ἄθανατοι μὲν οἱ μεμνησόμενοι, ἄθανατος δ' ἡ μνήμη· τί οὖν τούτο πρὸς σέ; καὶ οὐ λέγω, ὅτι οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν τεθυκότα· ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν ἕως τί ἔπαινος; πλὴν ἁρὰ δὲ οἰκονομίας τινὰ· παρίσης. ἢ γὰρ νῦν ἀκαίρως τὴν φυσικὴν δόσιν, ἄλλοι τινὸς ἔξομενος λόγου λοιπὸν.†

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1 εὐσχολίαν Гат.: ἀσχολὰν ΡΑ.
2 ἢ I have written this for ἢ ΡΑ.: Ἀγαθών Xyl.: δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἁγαθὸν Morus: ἀλλων for μέλαν Stich. Perhaps μέλαν <ἀλλων>.
3 <καὶ αὐτὸς> Ρ.
4 ἐπτυμενῶν ΡΑ.: ἐπτυμένων Schultz.
5 παρίσης... ἔξομενος Гат.: παρὲς ΡΑ.: ἔχομενον Ρ.: ἔχο-

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1 There was a Greek proverb: ἡ θέδας ἡ θηρίων (Arist. Pol. i. 2, Eth. vii. 1). Plut. Stoic. Parad. speaks of conversion by philosophy from a θηρίων to a θέδα. See Justin's clever application of this proverb, Apol. i. 24.

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16. Ere ten days are past, thou shalt rank as a god with them that hold thee now a wild-beast or an ape,¹ if thou but turn back to thy axioms and thy reverence of reason.

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

18. What richness of leisure doth he gain who has no eye for his neighbour's words or deeds or thoughts,² but only for his own doings, that they be just and righteous! Verily it is not for the good man to peer about into the blackness of another's heart,³ but to 'run straight for the goal with never a glance aside.'

19. He whose heart flutters for after-fame⁴ does not reflect that very soon every one of those who remember him, and he himself, will be dead, and their successors again after them, until at last the entire recollection of the man will be extinct, handed on as it is by links that flare up and are quenched. But put the case that those who are to remember are even immortal,⁵ and the remembrance immortal, what then is that to thee? To the dead man, I need scarcely say, the praise is nothing, but what is it to the living, except, indeed, in a subsidiary way?⁶ For thou dost reject the bounty of nature unseasonably in the present, and clingest to what others shall say of thee hereafter.⁷

² iii. 4 ad init. ³ iv. 28.
⁴ ii. 17; iii. 10; viii. 44; x. 34. ⁵ iv. 33.
⁶ iv. 19, 51; xi. 18, § 5. The Greek word covers the meanings expediency, management, or means to an end. We use it in a sort of double sense in the expression economy of truth.
⁷ Marcus is perhaps finding real fault with himself for caring so much what people said of him; see Capit. xx. 5; xxix. 5. But the reading is doubtful.
κ'. Πάν το καὶ ὁπωσοῦν καλὸν ἐξ ἐαυτοῦ καλὸν ἔστι, καὶ ἐφ' ἐαυτῷ καταλήγει, οὐκ ἔχον μέρος ἐαυτοῦ τὸν ἐπαινοῦν. οὔτε γοῦν χείρον ἢ κρείττον γίνεται τὸ ἐπαινοῦμενον. τοῦτῷ φημι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κοινότερον καλῶν λεγόμενων οἶον ἐπὶ τῶν ὑλικῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τεχνικῶν κατασκευασμάτων τὸ γε δὴ οὕτως καλὸν τινὸς χρείαν ἔχει; οὐ μᾶλλον ἡ νόμος, οὐ μᾶλλον ἡ ἀλήθεια, οὐ μᾶλλον ἡ εὔνοια, ἡ αἰώνας. τι τούτων διὰ τὸ ἐπαινεῖσθαι καλὸν ἔστιν, ἡ ψευδόμενον φθείρεται; σμαράγδιον γὰρ ἐαυτοῦ χείρον γίνεται, εὰν μὴ ἐπαινηθάται; τι δὲ χρυσός, ἐλέφας, πορφύρα, λύρα, μαχαίριον, ἀνθύλλιον, δενδρύφοιον;

κα'. Εἰ διαμένουσιν αἱ ψυχαί, πῶς αὐτὰς ἐξ ἀιῶνος χωρεῖ ὁ ἁήρ; Πῶς δὲ ἡ γῆ χωρεῖ τὰ τῶν ἐκ τοσούτων αἰῶνος θαπτομένων σώματα; ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐνθάδε ἡ τούτων <μετὰ> ποσὴν τινὰ ἐπὶ-διαμονὴν μεταβολὴ καὶ διάλυσις χώραν ἄλλοις νεκροῖς ποιεῖ, οὐτίς αἱ ἐἰς τὸν ἀέρα μεθοιτάμεναι ψυχαί, ἐπὶ ποσὸν συμμείνασαι, μεταβάλλονσι καὶ χέονται καὶ ἐξάπτονται εἰς τῶν τῶν ὄλων σπερματικῶν λόγων ἀναλαμβανόμεναι, καὶ τούτων τὸν τρόπον χώραν ταῖς προσυνοικιζομέναις παρέχουσι. τούτου δ' ἂν τις ἀποκρίνατο ἐφ' ὑποθέσει τοῦ ταῦτα ψυχὰς διαμένειν.

2 Χρή δὲ μὴ μόνον ἐνθυμεῖσθαι τὸ πλήθος τῶν θαπτομένων οὐτωσι σώματον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ἐσθιομένων ζῶον ὕφ' ἡμῶν τε

1 πρὸς ἄντιμα ΡΑ: ἐπὶ ποσὴν Rend.: <μετὰ> Cas.

1 vii. 15. 2 cp. Tzetz. Chil. viii. 806. 3 iii. 3; vi. 24; vii. 32, 50; viii. 25, 58; xii. 5. The Stoic doctrine on this point was not very definite, but it was

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20. Everything, which has any sort of beauty of its own, is beautiful of itself, and looks no further than itself, not counting praise as part of itself. For indeed that which is praised is made neither better nor worse thereby. This is true also of the things that in common parlance are called beautiful, such as material things and works of art. Does, then, the truly beautiful need anything beyond? Nay, no more than law, than truth, than kindness, than modesty. Which of these owes its beauty to being praised, or loses it by being blamed? What! Does an emerald¹ forfeit its excellence by not being praised? Does gold, ivory, purple, a lyre, a poniard, a floweret, a shrub?

21. If souls outlive their bodies, how does the air contain them² from times everlasting? How does the earth contain the bodies of those who have been buried in it for such endless ages? For just as on earth the change of these bodies, after continuance for a certain indefinite time, followed by dissolution, makes room for other dead bodies, so souls, when transferred into the air, after lasting for a certain time,³ suffer change and are diffused and become fire, being taken again into the Seminal Reason of the Whole, and so allow room for those that subsequently take up their abode there. This would be the answer one would give on the assumption that souls outlive their bodies.

But not only must the multitude of bodies thus constantly being buried be taken into account, but also that of the creatures devoured daily by ourselves mostly held that souls might exist till the next cyclical conflagration, when they became merged into the λόγος σπερματικός. Marcus wavers in his belief.
Τίς ἐπὶ τούτου ἡ ἱστορία τῆς ἀληθείας; διαίρεσις εἰς τὸ ὑλικόν καὶ εἰς τὸ αἰτιώδες.

κβ'. Μη ἀπορρέμβεσθαι· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάσης ὀρμής τὸ δίκαιον ἀποδοῦναι καὶ ἐπὶ πάσης φαντασίας σώζειν τὸ καταληπτικὸν.

κγ'. Πάν μοι συγαρμόζει, ὦ σοι εὐάρμοστόν ἐστίν, ὦ κόσμε. οὐδὲν μοι πρόωρον οὐδὲ ὄψιμον τὸ σοι εὐκαίρον. πάν μοι καρπός, ὦ φέρονσι αἰ σαλ ὀραί, ὦ φύσις· ἐκ σοῦ πάντα, ἐν σοι πάντα, εἰς σε πάντα. ἐκεῖνος μὲν φησι, "Πόλι φίλη Κέκροπος." σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἔρεις, ""Ω πόλι φίλη Δίος;"

κδ'. ""Ολίγα πρήσσε, φησίν, "εἰ μέλλεις εὐθυμήσειν" μέποτε ἄμεινον τάναγκαια πράσσειν, καὶ ὅσα ὃ τοῦ φύσει πολιτικῶν φύων λόγος αἴρει καὶ ὅσα αἴρει; τούτῳ γὰρ οὐ μόνον τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ καλῶς πράσσειν εὐθυμίαν φέρει, ἄλλα καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁλίγα πράσσειν. τὰ πλείστα γὰρ, ὃν λέγομεν καὶ πράσσομεν οὐκ ἀναγκαία ὅντα ἕως τις περεῖλη, εὐχαλωτέρος καὶ ἀπαρακτότερος ἐστιν. ὅθεν δεῖ καὶ παρ' ἐκαστα ἑαυτὸν ὑπομυνήσκειν, μὴ τί τούτο οὐ τῶν ἀναγκαίων; δεῖ δὲ μὴ μόνον πράξεις τὰς μὴ ἀναγκαίας περιαιρεῖν ἄλλα καὶ

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1 cp. Fronto, ad Cues. i. 6; Athenag. Apol. 36. Apuleius (Mel. iv. ad init.) calls beasts the living tombs of condemned criminals. Longinus (de Subl. iii.) inveighs against the trope, as used by Gorgias of Leontini.

2 vii. 29.

3 Nature, God, and the Universe were identical in the Stoic creed; see Sen. N. Q. ii. 45.

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and the other animals. How great is the number consumed and thus in a way buried 1 in the bodies of those who feed upon them! And yet room is made for them all by their conversion into blood, by their transmutation into air or fire.

Where in this case lies the way of search for the truth? In a separation of the Material from the Causal. 2

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

23. All that is in tune with thee, O Universe, 3 is in tune with me! Nothing that is in due time for thee is too early or too late for me! All that thy seasons bring, O Nature, is fruit for me! All things come from thee, subsist in thee, go back to thee. 4 There is one who says Dear City of Cecrops 5 ! Wilt thou not say O dear City of Zeus?

24. If thou wouldest be tranquil in heart, says the Sage, 6 do not many things. Is not this a better maxim: do but what is needful, and what the reason of a living creature born for a civic life demands, and as it demands. For this brings the tranquillity which comes of doing few things no less than of doing them well. For nine tenths of our words and deeds being unnecessary, if a man retrench there, he will have more abundant leisure and fret the less. Wherefore forget not on every occasion to ask thyself, Is this one of the unnecessary things? But we must retrench not only actions but thoughts which are

4 St. Paul, Rom. xi. 36, ἐὰν αὐτοὺς δι' αὐτῶν εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα.
5 Seemingly a Fragment from Aristophanes.
6 Democritus (Stob. i. 100), τὸν εὐθυμείσθαι μέλλοντα χρὴ μὴ πολλὰ πράσειν; iii. 5; Sen. de Tran. 12, Hanc stabilem animi sedem Graeci eβυθυαυ vocant, de qua Democriti volumen egregium est: ego Tranquillitatem voco.
Marcus Aurelius

φαντασίας: οὖτως γὰρ οὐδὲ πράξεις παρέλκουσαι ἐπακολουθήσουσιν.

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

κς'. Ἡσορακας ἐκεῖνα; ἵδε καὶ ταῦτα. σεαυτόν μὴ τάρασσεν ἀπλωσον σεαυτόν. ἀμαρτάνει τις; εαυτῷ ἀμαρτάνει. συμβέβηκε σοι τι; καλῶς. ἐκ τῶν ὅλων ἀπ' ἀρχῆς σοι συγκαθείμαρτο καὶ συνεκλώθητο πάν τὸ συμβαίνον. τὸ δ' ὅλον, βραχύς ὁ βίος. κερδαντέω τὸ παρόν σὺν εὐλογίστια καὶ δίκη. νήψε ἀνειμένως.1

κς'. Ὅτι κόσμος διατεταγμένος ἢ κυκεδών συμπεφορμένοις 2 μέν, ἀλλὰ κόσμοι. ἢ ἐν σοὶ μέν τις κόσμος ύφιστασθαι δύναται, ἐν δὲ τῷ παντὶ ἀκοσμία, καὶ ταῦτα οὖτως πάντων διακεκριμένων καὶ διακεκχυμένων καὶ συμπαθῶν;

κή. Μέλαν ἡθος. θήλυ ἡθος, περισκελές ἡθος, θηριώδες, βοσκηματῶδες, παιδαριώδες, βλακικόν, κιβδηλον, βωμολόχον, καπηλικόν, τυραννικόν.

κθ. Εἰξένος κόσμου ὁ μὴ γνωρίζων τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ὄντα, ὁυχ ἢτον ξένος καὶ ὁ μὴ γνωρίζων τὰ γινόμενα. φυγας, ὁ φεύγων τὸν πολιτικὸν λόγον.

1 ἀνειμέρως Α.
2 συμπεφυρμένος Schultz, but cp. Plato, Phaed. 253 ε: Rendall reads ἀλλὰ μὴν κόσμος ἢ.

1 iv. 37; ix. 37. Dio (71. 34 §§ 4, 5) says of Marcus ὄδην προσποίητον εἰκε, and he is a far better authority than Capit. xxix. 6 and xx. 1–4. 2 ix. 4, 38. 3 iii. 11; iv. 34. 82
unnecessary, for then neither will distracting actions follow.

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

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

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

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

29. If he is an alien in the Universe who has no cognizance of the things that are in it, no less is he an alien who has no cognizance of what is happening in it. He is an exile, who exiles himself from civic

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4 iv. 17. 5 vi. 10. 6 iv. 18.
7 Marcus here in his vehemence seems to violate his own gentle precepts. He must be thinking of some monster of iniquity, such as Nero.
8 iv. 46. cp. 1 St. Peter, iv. 12.
Marcus Aurelius

tυφλός, ὃ καταμύνων τῷ νοερῷ ὅμοιός, πτωχός, ὃ ἐνδεής ἐτέρου καὶ μὴ πάντα ἔχων παρ᾽ ἐαυτοῦ τὰ
eἰς τὸν βίον χρήσιμα: ἀπόστημα κόσμου, ὃ ἀφιστάμενος καὶ χωρίζων ἐαυτοῦ τοῦ τῆς κοινῆς
φύσεως λόγου διὰ τοῦ δυσαρεστεῖν τοῖς συμ-
βαίνουσιν ἐκείνη γὰρ φέρει τούτο, ἢ καὶ σὲ
ἡμεῖς ἤμεν, ἀπόσχυσμα πόλεως, ὁ τὴν ἰδίαν ψυχὴν
τῆς τῶν λογικῶν ἀποσχίζων, μᾶς οὐσίας.

λ᾽. Ὅ μὲν χωρὶς χιτῶνος φιλοσοφεῖ, ὃ δὲ
χωρὶς βεβλίουν ἀλλὸς οὗτος ἡμίγνωμος, "Ἀρτοὺς
οὐκ ἔχω," φησί, "καὶ ἐμείνων τῷ λόγῳ." ἐγὼ δὲ
"τροφᾶς τάς ἐκ τῶν μαθημάτων οὐκ ἔχω, καὶ
ἐμείνων.

λαῆ. Τὸ τεχνίον, ὃ ἔμαθες, φίλει, τούτῳ προσ-
αναπαύσῃ τὸ δὲ ὑπόλοιπον τοῦ βίου διέξελθε,
ὡς θεὸς μὲν ἐπιτετραφῶς τὰ σεαυτοῦ πάντα ἐξ
ολῆς τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀνθρώπων δὲ μηδενὸς μητὲ
τύραννοι μήτε δούλον σεαυτὸν καθιστάς.

λβ. Ὁ Ἐπινόησον λόγου χάριν τοὺς ἐπὶ Οὔσα-
pαισιανοῦ καιροῦς, ὅψει τάντα πάντα· γαμοῦν-
tας, παιστροφοῦτας, νοσοῦτας, ἀποδυνάσκοντας,
pολεμοῦντας, ἑρτάζοντας, ἐμπορευμένους, γεωρ-
γοῦντας, κολακεύοντας, αὐθαδιζομένους, ὑποπτεύ-
οντας, ἐπιβουλεύοντας, ἀποθανεῖν τινας εὐχο-
μένους, φογγυζοῦντας ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν, ἔρωτας,
θησαυρίζοντας, ὑπατείας, βασιλείας ἐπιθυμο-
ῦντας. οὐκοῦν ἐκεῖνος μὲν ὁ τούτων βίος οὐκ
ἔτι οὐδαμοῦ.

2 Πάλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς καιροὺς τοὺς Τραίανοῦ μετάβηθι-
pάλιν τὰ αὐτὰ πάντα· τέθηκε κάκεινος ὁ βίος.

1 St. Matt xiii. 15. 2 ii. 16.
3 viii. 34. cp. St. Paul, Rom. xii. 5; 1 Cor. xii. 20 f.

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reason; blind, he who will not see with the eyes of his understanding; a beggar, he who is dependent on another, and cannot draw from his own resources all that his life requires; an imposthume on the Universe, he who renounces, and severs himself from, the reason of our common Nature, because he is ill pleased at what happens—for the same Nature brings this into being, that also brought thee; a limb cut off from the community, he who cuts off his own soul from the soul of all rational things, which is but one.

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

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

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

Change the scene again to the times of Trajan. Again it is all the same; that life too is dead. In like

4 See a characteristic anecdote of Marcus' mother, Capit. vi. 9.
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ομοίως καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἑπιγραφὰς χρόνων καὶ ὅλων ἑθνῶν ἐπιθεώρει, καὶ βλέπει πόσοι κατενταθέντες μετὰ μικρὸν ἐπεσον καὶ ἀνελύθησαν εἰς τὰ στοιχεῖα. μάλιστα δὲ ἀναπολητέον ἐκείνους, οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἐγώς κενὰ σπομένους, ἀφέντας ποιεῖν τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν κατασκευὴν καὶ τούτον ἄπροσφέρεσθαι καὶ τούτῳ ἀρκεῖσθαι. ἀναγκαίον δὲ ὥστε τὸ μεμνησθαι, ὅτι καὶ ἡ ἐπιστροφὴ καθ' ἐκάστην πράξιν ἰδίαν ἀξίαν ἔχει καὶ συμμετρίαν. οὕτως γὰρ οὐκ ἀποδουσπετῆσεις, ἐδώ μὴ ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ προσήκει περὶ τὰ ἐλάσσον καταγιν. Ἀγ'. Αἱ πάλαι συνήθεις λέξεις γλώσσηματα νῦν. οὕτως οὖν καὶ τὰ ὅνοματα τῶν πάλαι πολυμυνήτων νῦν τρόπον τινα γλώσσηματα ἔστι, Κάμιλλος, Καίσων, Οὐάλεσος, Δέντατος,1 κατ' ὁλίγον δὲ καὶ Σκιτίων, καὶ Κάτων, εἶτα καὶ Αὐγουστος, εἶτα καὶ Ἄδριανος καὶ Ἀυτωνώνος. ἐξίητελα γὰρ πάλαι καὶ μυθώδει ταχύ γίνεται ταχύ δὲ καὶ παντελῆς λήμης κατέχωσεν, καὶ ταῦτα λέγω ἐπὶ τῶν θαυμαστῶν πως λαμψάντων. οἱ γὰρ λοιποὶ ἀμα τῷ ἐκπνεύσαι "ἄιστοι, ἀπνοιοι," τί δὲ καὶ ἐστὶν ὅλως το ἀείμνηστον; ὅλων κενῶν. τί οἶν ἐστὶ, περὶ δ' ὅ δ' ἄκουσαν ἐνεστήκασθαί; ἐν τούτῳ, διάνοια δικαία καὶ πράξεις κοινονικαὶ καὶ λόγος ὅσος μήποτε διαφεύγασθαι καὶ διάθεσις ἀσταυρομένη πάν τὸ συμβαίνων ὡς ἀναγκαίον, ὡς γνώριμον, ὡς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τοιαύτης καὶ πηγῆς ἰένου.

1 Οὐάλεσος ΡΑ: Οὐαλάκεσος Μο2: Λεονάτος ΡΑ: Δέντατος Ψυβε.

1 iii. 11 ad fin. 2 vii. 6.
BOOK IV

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

33. Expressions once in use are now obsolete. So also the names of those much be-sung heroes of old are in some sense obsolete, Camillus, Caeso, Volesus, Dentatus, and a little later Scipio and Cato, then also Augustus, and then Hadrianus and Antoninus. For all things quickly fade away and become legendary, and soon absolute oblivion enchains them. And here I speak of those who made an extraordinary blaze in the world. For the rest, as soon as the breath is out of their bodies, it is, Out of sight, out of mind. But what, when all is said, is even everlasting remembrance? Wholly vanity. What then is it that calls for our devotion? This one thing: justice in thought, in act unselfishness and a tongue that cannot lie and a disposition ready to welcome all that befalls as unavoidable, as familiar, as issuing from a like origin and fountain-head.

3 Volesus, or Volusus, was the family name of the Valerii. Valerius Poplicola must be meant, the obsolete name adding to the point. 4 Hom. Od. i. 242. 5 iv. 19. 6 iv. 44.
ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΑΥΡΕΛΙΟΣ

λδ'. Ἐκών σεαυτόν τῇ Κλωθοῖ συνεπιδίδον, παρέχων συνήσαι οἰστισὶ ποτε πράγμασι βουλεταί.

λε'. Πάν ἐφήμερον, καὶ τὸ μνημονεῦον καὶ τὸ μνημονεύομεν.

λς'. Ὁθώρει διηνεκῶς πάντα κατὰ μεταβολὴν γινόμενα καὶ ἐθίζου ἐννοεῖν, ὅτι οὐδὲν ούτως φιλεῖ ἡ τῶν ὅλων φύσις ὡς τὸ τὰ δυτη μεταβάλλειν, καὶ ποιεῖν νέα ὄμοια. σπέρμα γὰρ τρόπον τινα πάν τὸ ὑν τοῦ ἔξ αὐτοῦ ἐσομένου. σὺ δὲ μόνα σπέρματα φαντάζῃ τὰ εἰς γῆν ἢ μὴ τραυ καταβαλλόμενα· τούτῳ δὲ λίαν ἰδιωτικῶν.

λς'. 'Ἡδη τεθνήξῃ, καὶ οὕτω οὔτε ἀπλοῦς, οὔτε ἀτάραχος, οὔτε ἀνύποπτος τοῦ βλαβήναι ἄν ἔξωθεν, οὔτε ὑλεώς πρὸς πάντας, οὔτε τὸ φρονεῖν ἐν μόνῳ τῷ δικαίοτραγεῖν τιθέμενοι.

λη'. Τὰ ἡγεμονικὰ αὐτῶν διάβλεπε, καὶ τοὺς φρονίμους, οἷα μὲν φεύγουσιν, οἷα δὲ διέκοψιν.

λθ'. 'Εν ἀλλοτρίῳ ἡγεμονικῷ κακῶν σὸν οὐχ ὑφίσταται· οὔδε μὴν ἐν τίνι τροπῇ καὶ ἐτεροβιοσε μετοῖπος τοῦ περιέχοντος. ποῦ οὖν; ὅτου τὸ περὶ κακῶν ὑπολαμβάνων σοὶ ἐστι. τοῦτο οὖν μὴ ὑπολαμβανέτω, καὶ πάντα εὐθέοι. καὶ τὸ ἐγγυτάτω αὐτοῦ, τὸ σωμάτιον, τέμνηται, καίνται, διαπυκνηται, σήπηται, ὁμοῖος τὸ ὑπολαμβάνων περὶ τούτων μόριον ἡσυχαζεταί. τοῦτο, κρινέτω μήτε κακὸν τι εἶναι μήτε ἀγαθόν, ὁ ἐπίσης δύναται κακῷ ἀνδρί καὶ ἄγαθῳ συμβαίνειν. δὲ γὰρ καὶ τῷ παρὰ φύσιν τ parcels φύσιν 1 καὶ τῷ κατὰ φύσιν

1 cp. Herodian (i. 2, § 4) of Marcus, τοὺς προσόντας δεξιοθε- μενος, and Aristides, ad Reg. § 112 (Jebb).
BOOK IV

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

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

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

37. A moment and thou wilt be dead; and not even yet art thou simple, nor unperturbed, nor free from all suspicion that thou canst be injured by externals, nor gracious \(^1\) to all, nor convinced that wisdom and just dealing are but one.

38. Consider narrowly their ruling Reason, and see what wise men avoid and what they seek after.\(^2\)

39. Harm to thee cannot depend on another’s ruling Reason, nor yet on any vagary or phase of thy environment. On what then? On the power that is thine of judging what is evil. Let this, then, pass no judgment, and all is well. Even if its closest associate, the poor body, be cut, be burnt, fester, gangrene, yet let the part which forms a judgment \(^3\) about these things hold its peace, that is, let it assume nothing to be either good or bad, which can befall a good man or a bad indifferently.\(^4\) For that which befalls alike the man who lives by the

\(^1\) cp. iii. 4 ad init. This precept does not really contradict what is said in iii. 4 etc.  
\(^2\) xi. 16.  
\(^3\) ii. 11 ad med.
ΜΑΡΚΟΥΣ ΑΥΡΕΛΙΟΥΣ

βεοῦντι ἐπίσης συμβαίνει, τούτο σοιτε κατὰ φύσιν ἐστὶν οὕτω παρὰ φύσιν.

μ'. Ὡς ἐν ξύφοι τοῦ κόσμου μίαν οὐσίαν καὶ ψυχὴν μίαν ἑπέχον συνεχῶς ἐπινοεῖν καὶ πῶς εἰς ἀναθησιν μίαν την τούτου πάντα ἀναδίδοται καὶ πῶς ὤρμη μία πάντα πράσσει καὶ πῶς πάντα πάντων τῶν γυνομένων συναίτια καὶ οἷα τις ἡ σύννησις καὶ συμμήρυσις.

μα'. "Ψυχάριον εἴ βαστάζου νεκρὸν," ὡς Ἑπικτήτου ἔλεγεν.

μβ'. Ὅπου ἐστὶ κακῶν τοῖς ἐν μεταβολῇ γυνομένοις ὡς οὐδὲ ἀγαθὸν <τοῖς> ἐκ μεταβολῆς ὑφιστάμενος.

μγ'. Ποταμὸς τις ἐκ τῶν γυνομένων καὶ ρέωμα βίαιον ὁ αἰών ἀμα τε γὰρ ὄφθη ἐκαστον καὶ παρενήκεται καὶ ἀλλο παραφέρεται τὸ δὲ ἐναγερτεῖται.

μδ'. Πάν τὸ συμβαίνον οὕτω σύνηθες καὶ γνώριμον ός τὸ ρόδον ἐν τῷ ἔαρι καὶ ὅπωρα ἐν τῷ θέρει τοιοῦτον γὰρ καὶ νόσος καὶ θάνατος καὶ θλίψημα καὶ ἐπιβούλη καὶ ὡσα τοὺς μορφῶς εὐφραίνει ἡ λυπεῖ.

με'. Τὰ ἔξοδα ἂεὶ τοῖς προηγησαμένοις οἰκεῖος ἐπηγίνεται οὐ γὰρ ὄλον καταρίθμησις τις ἔστιν ἀποτημένος καὶ μόνον τὸ κατηγογεμένον ἔχουσα ἀλλὰ συνάφεια εὐλογος καὶ ὦσπερ συντέτακται συνηρμοσμένος τὰ ὑπατα, οὕτως τὰ

1 ἀπηρτημένοιν Γατ.
rule, and the man who lives contrary to the rule, of Nature, is neither in accordance with Nature nor contrary to it.

40. Cease not to think of the Universe as one living Being,1 possessed of a single Substance and a single Soul; and how all things trace back to its single sentience;2 and how it does all things by a single impulse; and how all existing things are joint causes of all things that come into existence; and how intertwined in the fabric is the thread and how closely woven the web.3

41. Thou art a little soul bearing up a corpse, as Epictetus said.4

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

43. As a river5 consisting of all things that come into being, aye, a rushing torrent, is Time. No sooner is a thing sighted than it is carried past, and lo, another is passing, and it too will be carried away.

44. Everything that happens is as usual and familiar,6 as the rose in spring and the fruit in autumn. The same applies to disease and death and slander and treachery and all that gladdens the foolish or saddens them.

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

soul for a little bears up this corpse which is man” (Hymn to Proserpine). cp. Ignatius ad Smyrn. 5 νεκροφόρος.

5 ii. 17; v. 23; vi. 15 (Heraclitus).

6 iv. 33.
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γινόμενα οὐ διαδοχῇν ψυλήν ἄλλα θαυμαστὴν τινα οἰκειότητα ἐμφαίνει·

μῦ. 'Ἀεὶ τοῦ 'Ἡρακλεῖτου μεμνήσθαι· ὅτι "γῆς θάνατος ὦδρ’ γενέσθαι, καὶ "όδατος θάνατος ἀέρα" γενέσθαι, καὶ "ἀέρος πῦρ," καὶ ἔμπαιλν. μεμνήσθαι δὲ καὶ "τοῦ ἐπιλαυθανο-

μένου, ἢ ἡ ὄδος ἀγεί" καὶ ὅτι "ὁ μάλλοστα διηνεκ-

ῶς ὁμιλοῦσι," λόγῳ τῷ τὰ ὅλα διοικοῦντι, "τοῦτω διαφέρονται" καὶ "οἷς καθ’ ἡμέραν Ἐγκυροῦσι, ταῦτα αὐτοῖς ἔναν φαίνεται" καὶ ὅτι ὃν ὃι

"ὁσπερ καθεύδοντας ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν" καὶ γὰρ καὶ τότε δοκοῦμεν ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν καὶ ὅτι ὃν ὃι "παίδας τοκεώνων," 1 τοῦτοι κατὰ ψυλὸν, "καθότι παρειλήφθημεν."

μῦ. "Ὅσπερ εἰ τῆς σοι θεών ἔστεν, ὅτι αὐριον τεθνήξῃ η πάντως γε εἰς τρίτην, οὐκ ἔτ’ ἀν παρά μέγα ἐποιοῦ τὸ εἰς τρίτην μᾶλλον ἢ αὐριον, εἰ γε μή ἐσχάτως ἄγευνης εἰ· πόσου γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ μεταξύ; οὕτως καὶ τὸ εἰς πολλοστὸν ἔτος μᾶλλον ἢ αὐριον μηδὲν μέγα εἶναι νόμιζε.

μῆ. Ἐννοεῖν συνεχῶς πόσοι μὲν ἱατροὶ ἀποτεθνήκασι πολλάκις τὰς ὀφρὸς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρρώστων συσπάσαντες· πόσοι δὲ μαθηματικοὶ ἄλλων θανάτους ὡς τὶ μέγα προειπότενες· πόσοι δὲ φιλόσοφοι, περὶ θανάτου ἡ ἀθανασίας μυρία διατευνάμενοι· πόσοι δὲ ἀριστεῖς πολλοὺς ἀπο-

κτείναντες· πόσοι δὲ τύραννοι ἐξουσία ψυχῶν

1 τοκεών  ὅπως ἐν ΠΑΔ: τοκεώνων Rend. This Ionic word was recovered for Meleager by Headlam (Anth. Pal. vii. 79).

1 vi. 38; vii. 9.
2 A favourite with Marcus, see Index II. 3 vi. 42.
BOOK IV

all that comes into being bears the stamp not of a mere succession but of a wonderful relationship.  

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

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

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

4 cp. the story of Mycerinus (Herod. ii. 129), and M. Arnold’s poem.  
5 Sen. N. Q. ii. 59 ad med.  
6 Or interval, cp. iv. 50.  
7 iii. 3. Epict. iii. 10, 15.  
8 ibid.

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μετὰ δεινοῦ φρυγάματος ὡς ἀθάνατοι Κεχρημένοι·
πόσαι δὲ πόλεις ὠλεὶ, ἵν' οὖτως εἶπο, τεθνη-
κασιν, Ἑλίκη καὶ Πομπηίιοι καὶ Ἡρκλάνον καὶ
ἄλλαι ἀναμίθητοι.

2 Ἐπιθι δὲ καὶ ὄσους οἴδας, ἄλλον ἐπ' ἄλλῳ· ὁ
μὲν τούτου κηδεύσας εἶτα ἐξετάθη, ὁ δὲ ἐκείνου
πάντα δὲ ἐν βραχεῖ. τὸ γὰρ ὅλου, κατιδεῖν ἀεὶ τὰ
ἀνθρώπινα ὡς ἐφήμερα καὶ εὐτελῆ, καὶ ἔχθες μὲν
μυξάριον, αὑρίων δὲ τάριχος ἢ τέφρα. τὸ ἀκαριαῖον
οὖν τούτου τοῦ χρόνου κατὰ φύσιν διελθεῖν,
καὶ ἱερῶν καταλῦσαι, ὡς ἂν εἰ ἔλαια πέπειρος
γενομένη ἐπιπτεῖν εὐφημοῦσα τὴν ἐνεγκωσύνης
καὶ χάριν εἰδύνα τῷ φύσαιν δενδρῳ.

μῆ. "Ομοίων εἶναι τῇ ἄκρᾳ, ἢ δηνεκὼς τὰ
κώματα προσρήσσεται· ἡ δὲ ἔστηκε, καὶ περὶ
αὐτὴν κοιμήζεται τὰ φλεγμηναῖα τοῦ ὕδατος.

2 "Ἀτυχής ἐγώ, ὅτι τούτῳ μοι συνέβη." οὐμενοῦν
ἀλλ' "ἐντυχής ἐγώ, ὅτι τούτου μοι συμβεβη-
κότος ἀλυσός διατελώ οὔτε ὑπὸ <τοῦ> παρόντος
θραμώμενος οὔτε <τὸ> ἐπὶ οὖν φοβούμενος."
συμβήναι μὲν γὰρ τὸ τοιοῦτο παντὶ ἐδύνατο·
ἀλυσός δὲ οὐ πᾶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἄν διετέλεσεν. διὰ
tὰ οὖν ἐκείνο μᾶλλον ἀτύχημα ἢ τοῦτο εὐτύχημα;
λέγεις δὲ ὅλως ἀτύχημα ἀνθρώπου, ὃ οὐκ ἔστω
ἀπότευγμα τῆς φύσεως τοῦ ἀνθρώπου; ἀπό-
τευγμα δὲ τῆς φύσεως τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἶναι δοκεῖ
σοι, ὃ μὴ παρὰ τὸ βούλημα τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ
ἔστω; τί οὖν; τὸ βούλημα μεμάθηκας· μὴ τι
οὖν τὸ συμβεβηκός τούτῳ κωλύει σε δίκαιον

1 Lucian uses it, Charon 23.
2 x. 34. This is invariably referred to ὁ μῦν, "another
closed his eyes," but it must surely answer to τοῦτον.
BOOK IV

their power of life and death, as though themselves immortal; and how many entire cities are, if I may use the expression, dead, Helice and Pompeii and Herculaneum, and others without number.

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

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

Ah, unlucky am I, that this has befallen me! Nay, but rather, lucky am I, that though this has befallen me, yet am I still unhurt, neither crushed by the present nor dreading the future. For something of the kind could have befallen everyone, but everyone would not have remained unhurt in spite of it. Why then count that rather a misfortune than this a good fortune? And in any case dost thou reckon that a misfortune for a man which is not an aberration from his nature? And wouldst thou have that to be an aberration from a man's nature, which does not contravene the will of his nature! What then? This will thou hast learnt to know. Does what has befallen thee hinder thee one whit from being just,
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εἰναι, μεγαλόψυχον, σώφρονα, ἐμφρονα, ἀπρόττωτον, ἀδιάφευγον, αἰδήμονα, ἐλεύθερον, τάλλα, ὡς παρόντοι ἤ φύσις ἢ τοῦ ἄνθρωπον ἀπέχει τὰ ἴδια; μέμνησο λοιπὸν ἐπὶ παντὸς τοῦ εἰς λύπην σε προαγομένου, τούτῳ χρῆσθαι τῷ δόγματι: "Οὕχ ὦτι τούτῳ ἁτύχημα, ἀλλὰ τὸ φέρει τοῦ γενναῖος εὐτύχημα."

ν’. Ἰδιωτικὸν μὲν, ὅμως δὲ ἀνυστικὸν βοήθημα πρὸς θανάτον καταφρόνησιν ἢ ἀναπόλησις τῶν γλαύχων ἐνδιατριψάντων τῷ ζην. τί οὖν αὐτοῖς πλέον ἢ τοῖς ἁώροις; πάντως ποῦ ποτὲ κεῖται, Καδικιανός, Φάβιος, Ἰουλιανός, Λέπιδος, ἢ εἴ τις τοιοῦτος, οἱ πολλοὶ ἐξήνεγκαν, ἐπὶ ἐξηνέχθησαν ὅλον, μικρὸν ἔστι τὸ διάστημα, καὶ τούτῳ δι’ ὅσων καὶ μεθ’ οίων ἐξαντλούμενον καὶ ἐν οἷς σωματίῳ; μὴ οὖν ὡς πράγμα. θλήσε τὸ ὑπὸ ἑαυτῶν τοῦ αἰώνος, καὶ τὸ πρόσω ἄλλο ἀπειρον. ἐν δὴ τούτῳ, τί διαφέρει ὁ τριήμερος τοῦ τριγερήνιον;

να’. Ἔπι τὴν σύντομον ἀεὶ τρέχει σύντομος δὲ ἡ κατὰ φύσιν, ὡστε κατὰ τὸ υγιεστάτου πάντων λέγειν καὶ πράσσειν. ἀπαλλάσσει γὰρ ἡ τοιαύτη πρόθεσις κόπων καὶ στρατείας, καὶ πάσης οἰκονομίας καὶ κομψειας.

1 στραγγείας (vacillation) Stephan. But Pollux in his Onomasticon, dedicated to Commodus in Marcus’ lifetime, rejects the word.

1 iv. 48, § 2. 2 iv. 47.
3 τριγερήνιος, a clever conflation between τριγερήνιος and Γερήνιος, an epithet of Nestor from a town in Messenia.
BOOK IV

high-minded, chaste, sensible, deliberate, straightforward, modest, free, and from possessing all the other qualities, the presence of which enables a man's nature to come fully into its own? Forget not in future, when anything would lead thee to feel hurt, to take thy stand upon this axiom: *This is no misfortune, but to bear it nobly is good fortune.*

50. An unphilosophical, but none the less an effective, help to the contemning of death is to tell over the names of those who have clung long and tenaciously to life. How are they better off than those who were cut off before their time? After all, they lie buried somewhere at last, Cadicianus, Fabius, Julianus, Lepidus, and any others like them, who after carrying many to their graves were at last carried to their own.¹ Small, in any point of view, is the difference² in length, and that too lived out to the dregs amid what great cares and with what sort of companions and in what kind of a body! Count it then of no consequence. For look at the yawning gulf of Time behind thee, and before thee at another Infinity to come. In this Eternity the life of a baby of three days and the life of a Nestor of three centuries³ are as one.⁴

51. Run ever the short way; and the short way is the way of Nature, that leads to all that is most sound in speech and act. For a resolve such as this is a release from troubles and strife, from all mental reservation⁵ and affectation.

¹ cp. Ecclesiasticus, xli. 4. ⁴ iv. 19.
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Ε

α'. Ὁρθρὸν ὅταν δυσόκνως ἐξεγείρῃ, πρόχειρον ἔστω, ὅτι "ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπου ἔργον ἔγειρομαι" ἐτὶ οὖν δυσκολαίνω, εἰ πορεύομαι ἐπὶ τὸ ποιεῖν, ὃν ἔνεκεν γέγονα, καὶ ὃν χάριν προῆγμα εἰς τὸν κόσμον; ἢ ἐπὶ τούτῳ κατασκεύασμαι, ἵνα κατακείμενος ἐν στρωματίοις ἔμαυτόν θάλπω; "'Αλλὰ τούτῳ ἦδιον.' πρὸς τὸ ἤδεσθαι οὖν γέγονας; ὅλως δὲ σὺ ἂν πρὸς πείσῃς, ἢ πρὸς ἐνέργειαν; οὐ βλέπεις τὰ φυτάρια, τὰ στρουθάρια, τοὺς μύρμηκας, τοὺς ἀράχνες, τὰς μελίσσας τὸ ἴδιον ποιοῦσας, τὸ καθ' αὐτὰς συγκροτοῦσας κόσμον; ἔπειτα σὺ οὖ τὸ θέλεις τὰ ἀνθρωπικὰ ποιεῖν; οὐ τρέχεις ἐπὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν σὴν φύσιν; "'Αλλὰ δεῖ καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι." φημὶ κάγω: ἐδωκε μέντοι καὶ τούτοι μέτρα ἡ φύσις: ἐδωκε μέντοι καὶ τοῦ ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν καὶ ὠμος σὺ ὑπὲρ τὰ μέτρα, ὑπὲρ τὰ ἀρκούντα προχωρεῖς: ἐν δὲ ταῖς πράξεσιν οὐκ ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἐντὸς τοῦ δυνατοῦ.

1 τὶ οὖν Menag. 2 οὐ PAD: σὺ Schmidt.
3 ποιεῖν P: <τὸ> ποιεῖν Cor.: ποίησιν Wilam.
4 τὸν PD: συγκροτοῦσας P.

1 ii. 1.
2 Marcus in younger days was an early riser, getting up even at 3 o'clock (Fronto, ad Caes. iv. 5) or 5 o'clock (ibid. 98
BOOK V

1. At daybreak,¹ when loth to rise,² have this thought ready in thy mind: *I am rising for a man's work.* Am I then still peevish that I am going to do that for which I was born and for the sake of which I came into the world? Or was I made for this, that I should nuzzle under the bed-clothes and keep myself warm? *But this is pleasanter.* Hast thou been made then for pleasure, in a word, I ask thee, to be acted upon or to act? Consider each little plant, each tiny bird, the ant, the spider, the bee, how they go about their own work and do each his part for the building up of an orderly Universe. Dost thou then refuse to do the work of a man? Dost thou not hasten to do what Nature bids thee. *But some rest, too, is necessary.* I do not deny it. Howbeit Nature has set limits to this, and no less so to eating and drinking. Yet thou exceedest these limits and exceedest sufficiency. But in acts it is no longer so; there thou comest short of the possibility.

iv. 6). He admits sleepiness of habit (*ibid. i. 4; v. 59*), but says it is so cold in his bedroom that he can scarcely put his hands outside his bedclothes. Fronto constantly urges him to take more sleep (*ibid. ii. 5; v. 1, 2; de Fer. Als. 2, Nab. p. 227*): *sleep as much as a free man should!* At the last he suffered dreadfully from insomnia, see Galen xiv. 3 (Kühn); Dio 71. 24, § 4.
2 Où γὰρ φίλεις σεαυτόν· επεί τοι καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἂν σου καὶ τὸ βούλημα ταύτης ἐφίλεις. ἀλλοι δὲ τὰς τέχνας ἑαυτῶν φιλοῦντες συγκατατήκονται τοῖς κατ’ αὐτὰς ἔργῳς ἄλοντοι καὶ ἄσιτοι σὺ τὴν φύσιν τὴν σεαυτοῦ ἐλάσσον τιμᾶς ἢ ὁ τορευτὴς τὴν τορευτικὴν, ἢ ὁ ὀρχηστής τὴν ὀρχηστικὴν, ἢ ὁ φιλάργυρος τὸ ἀργύριον, ἢ ὁ κενόδοξος τὸ δοξάριον. καὶ οὕτω, ὅταν προσπαθῶσιν, οὔτε φαγεῖν οὔτε κοιμηθῆναι θέλουσι μᾶλλον ἢ ταῦτα συναύξειν, πρὸς ἄ διαφέρονται· σοὶ δὲ αἱ κοινωνικὲ πράξεις εὑ- τελέστερα φαίνονται καὶ ἥσσονος σπουδῆς ἄξιοι; β. Ὡς εὑκολον αὐτόσασθαι καὶ ἀπαλεῖψαι πᾶσαι φαντασίαις [τὴν] ὀχληρὰν ἢ ἀνοίκειον καὶ εὐθὺς ἐν πάσῃ γαλήνῃ εἶναι.

γ. Ἀξιον ἑαυτὸν κρίνε παντὸς λόγου καὶ ἔργων τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν· καὶ μὴ σε περισπάτῳ ἢ ἐπακολουθοῦσα τινος μέμψις ή λόγος, ἀλλά, εἰ καλὸν πεπράξῃ ἡ εἰρήσθαι, μὴ σεαυτὸν ἀπαξίον· ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ ἤδον ἡγεμονικὸν ἐχοῦσι καὶ ἰδία ὀρμῇ χρώνται· ἀ ν τὴν περιβλέπουσαν, ἀλλ’ εὔθειαν πέραιν ἀκολουθῶν τῇ φύσει τῇ ἰδίᾳ καὶ τῇ κοινῇ· μία δὲ ἀμφοτέρων τοῦτον ἢ ὁδός.

δ. Πορεύομαι διὰ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν, μέχρι πεσόν ἀναπαύσομαι, ἐναποτυγώσας μὲν τούτῳ, ἐξ οὗ καθ’ ἡμέραν ἀναπνέοι, πεσόν δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὸ σπερμάτιον ὁ πατὴρ μου συνέλεξε καὶ τὸ αἰμάτιον ἢ μήτηρ καὶ τὸ γαλάκτιον ἢ τροφὸς·

1 Cor. for παρειπατῶ.

1 cp. of Marcus himself καμάτοις καὶ φροντίσι τετρυχωμένος (Herodian i. 3, § 1) and Julian, Conviv. 407. See Plutarch’s

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For thou lovest not thyself, else surely hadst thou loved thy nature also and to do her will. But others who love their own art wear themselves to a shadow with their labours over it, forgetting to wash or take food. ¹ But thou holdest thine own nature in less honour than the chaser of metal his art of chasing, than the dancer his dancing, than the miser his money-bags, than the popularity-hunter his little applause. And these, when they are exceptionally in earnest, are ready to forgo food and sleep, so that they forward the things in which they are interested. But dost thou deem the acts of a social being of less worth and less deserving of attention?

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

3. Deem no word or deed that is in accord with Nature to be unworthy of thee, and be not plucked aside by the consequent censure of others or what they say, ³ but if a thing is good to do or say, judge not thyself unworthy of it. For those others have their own ruling Reason and follow their own bent. Do not thou turn thine eyes aside, but keep to the straight path, following thy own and the universal Nature; and the path of these twain is one. ⁴

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

story of Nikias the painter (de Sene Polit. 4; Non posse snav. rivere sec. Epicur. 11). ² vii. 29; viii. 47.
³ x. 11. ⁴ iv. 29.
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έξ οὐ καθ' ἤμεραν τοσούτοις ἔτεσι βόσκομαι, καὶ ἀρδευόμαι, ὅ φέρει με πατοῦτα, καὶ εἰς τοσαύτα ἀποχρόμενον αὐτῷ.

ε’. Δριμύτητα σου οὐκ ἔχουσι θαυμάσαι. ἕστω ἄλλα ἕτερα πολλά, ἐφ’ ὃν οὐκ ἔχεις εἰπεῖν “Οὐ γὰρ πέφυκα.” ἐκεῖνα οὐν παρέχουν, ἀπερ ὅλα ἕστιν ἐπὶ σοί, τὸ ἀκίβδηλον, τὸ σεμνόν, τὸ φερέτρων, τὸ ἀφιλήδον, τὸ ἀμεμψίμοιρον, τὸ ὀλγοδεές, τὸ εὔμνες, τὸ ἐλεύθερον, τὸ ἀπέριστον, τὸ ἀφλάρων, τὸ μεγαλεῖον.1 οὐκ αἰσθάνηται πόσα ἢδη παρέχεσθαι δυνάμενος, ἐφ’ ὃν οὐδεμία ἀφυάς καὶ ἀνεπιτηθεῖότητος πρόφασίς, ὃμως ἐτι κατ’ Ῥώμης ἔκων; ἦ καὶ γογγύζειν, καὶ γυλις-χρεύεσθαι, καὶ κολακεύειν, καὶ τὸ σωμάτων καταιτιάσθαι, καὶ ἀρεσκεύεσθαι, καὶ περπερεύεσθαι, καὶ τοσαύτα μπτάξεσθαι τῇ ψυχῇ διὰ τὸ ἀφυώς κατεσκευάσθαι ἀναγκάζῃ; οὐ, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς. ἄλλα τούτων μὲν πάλαι ἀπηλλάχθαι εὐδύνασο-μόνον ἤ, εἰ ἀρα, ὡς βραδύτερος καὶ δυσπαρ-ακολουθητότερος καταγινώσκεσθαι καὶ τούτῳ δὲ ἀσκητέου μὴ παρενθυμουμενοι μηδὲ ἐμφιληδοῦντι τῇ νοσθείᾳ.

ε’. Ὁ μὲν τὸς ἔστιν, ὅταν τι δεξίων περὶ τινα πράξῃ, πρόχειρος καὶ λογίσασθαι αὐτῷ τὴν χάριν. ὃ δὲ πρὸς τούτο μὲν οὐ πρόχειρος, ἄλλως μέντοι παρ’ έαντὸ, ὃς περὶ χρεοστοῦ διανοεῖται καὶ οἴδευ, ὃ πεποίηκεν. ὃ δὲ τις τρόπον τινὰ οὐδὲ

1 ἀμεγαλεῖον Rend.

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1 vii. 67; cp. Fronto, ad Ant. i. 2.
2 cp. Hor. Ep. i. 1. 28–32. 3 cp. i. 5.
4 cp. Aristides, ad Reg. § 114 (Jebb) of Marcus, οὐδεμιλας ἡδονής ἡγεμόνος; and Fronto, de For. Als. Nab. p. 225, volpem facilius quis tibi quam volupatatem conciliaerit.

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daily for so many years I am fed and watered; which bears me as I tread it under foot and make full use of it in a thousand ways.

5. Sharpness of wit men cannot praise thee for.\(^1\) Granted! Yet there are many other qualities of which thou canst not say: I had not that by nature.\(^2\) Well then, display those which are wholly in thy power, sterling sincerity, dignity, endurance of toil,\(^3\) abstinence from pleasure.\(^4\) Grumble not at thy lot, be content with little,\(^5\) be kindly, independent, frugal, serious, high-minded.\(^6\) Seest thou not how many virtues it is in thy power to display now, in respect of which thou canst plead no natural incapacity or incompatibility, and yet thou art content still with a lower standard? Or art thou forced to be discontented, to be grasping, to flatter, to inveigh against the body, to play the toady and the braggart, and to be so unstable in thy soul, because forsooth thou hast no natural gifts? By the Gods, No! but long ere now coldest thou have shaken thyself free from all this and have lain under the imputation only, if it must be so, of being somewhat slow and dull of apprehension. And this too thou must amend with training and not ignore thy dulness or be in love with it.

6. One man, when he has done another a kindness, is ready also to reckon on a return.\(^7\) A second is not ready to do this, but yet in his heart of hearts ranks the other as a debtor, and he is conscious of what he has done.\(^8\) But a third is in a manner not

\(^1\) cp. i. 5; Julian, Conviv. 427.
\(^2\) Or humble, if we read ἀμεγαλεῖον, but cp. v. 9.
\(^3\) St. Luke vi. 34; xiv. 12.
\(^4\) Sen. de Benef. ii. 6. But see the speech of Marcus to his soldiers (as reported by Dio, 71. 26, §2) on the revolt of Cassius.

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οίδειν, δ' ἐπεοίηκεν, ἀλλὰ ὁμοῖος ἔστιν ἀμπέλος βότρυν ἐνεγκούσῃ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο προσεπι-
ζητούσῃ μετὰ τὸ ἀπαξ τῶν ἵδων καρπὸν ἐννυχ-
έιαι, ὡς ἵππος δραμῶν, κύων ἰχνεύσας, μέλισσα
μέλι ποιήσασα. Ἀνθρωπος δ' <ἐν> εὐ ποιήσας
οὑκ ἐπιβοᾶται; ἀλλὰ μεταβαίνει ἐφ' ἐτερον, ὡς
ἀμπελὸς ἑπὶ τὸ πάλιν ἐν τῇ ἀρα τῶν βότρυν
ἐνεγκεῖν.

2 "Εν τούτοις οὖν δεῖ εἶναι τοῖς τρόπον τινὰ ἀπαρακολουθήσως αὐτὸ ποιοῦσι;" ναί. "Ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο δεῖ παρακολουθεῖν ἵδων γὰρ
φησὶν τοῦ κοινωνικοῦ τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι, ὅτι
κοινωνικὸς ἐνεργεῖ, καὶ νὴ Δία βούλεσθαι καὶ
tὸν κοινωνὸν αἰσθάνεται." ἀληθὲς μὲν ἔστων, δὴ
λέγεις τὸ δὲ νῦν λεγόμενον παρεκδέχῃ διὰ
tοῦτο ἔστη εἰς ἐκεῖνων, δὸν πρὸτερον ἐπεμνήσθην
καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι λογικὴ τινὶ πιθανότητι παράγον-
tαι. ἐὰν δὲ θελήσῃς συνεῖναι, τί ποτε ἔστι τὸ
λεγόμενον, μὴ φοβοῦ, μὴ παρὰ τοῦτο παραλίπῃ
tὶ ἑργὸν κοινωνικὸν.

ζ. Εὐχὴ Ἀθηναίων: "Τοσο, ὑσον, ὃ φίλε
Ζεῦ, κατὰ τής ἀροῦρας τῆς Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν
πεδίων." ᾧτοι οὐ δεί εὐχεσθαι ἢ οὔτως ἀπλῶς
καὶ ἔλευθέρως.

η'. Ὀποίον τι ἔστι τὸ λεγόμενον, ὅτι "συν-
έταξεν ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς τοῦτον ἵππαν, ἡ ἴσχυρο-
λονοεῖ, ἡ ἀνυποδησίαν" τοιοῦτον ἔστι καὶ τὸ
συνέταξε τούτῳ ἡ τῶν ὀλῶν φύσις νόσου, ἢ

1 <ἐν> ὑπ. x. 8.

2 ἐπισπάται AD.

1 vii. 73; ix. 42, § 4. cp. Fronto, de Nep. 2 ad fin.
2 xi. 4; xii. 29.
3 e.g. a man who acts on the precept, "Let not thy left
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conscious of it, but is like the vine that has borne a cluster of grapes, and when it has once borne its due fruit looks for no reward beyond,¹ as it is with a steed when it has run its course, a hound when it has singled out the trail, a bee when she hath made her comb. And so a man when he hath done one thing well, does not cry it abroad, but betakes himself to a second,² as a vine to bear afresh her clusters in due season.

A man then must be of those who act thus as it were unconsciously? Aye. But surely he must be conscious of what he is doing, for it is, we are told, the peculiar attribute of the man of true social instincts to be aware that he puts such instincts into practice,³ and by heaven to wish that his fellow should be aware of it too. True; but thou misconceivest the present argument, and wilt consequently be of the number of those whom I mentioned before; for in fact they are led astray by reasoning which has a plausible look. But if thou thinkest it worth while to understand what has been said, fear not that thou wilt be led thereby to neglect any social act.

7. A prayer of the Athenians: Rain, Rain, O dear Zeus, upon the corn-land of the Athenians⁴ and their meads. Either pray not at all, or in this simple and frank fashion.

8. We have all heard, Aesculapius has prescribed, for so and so riding exercise, or cold baths,⁵ or walking bare-foot. Precisely so it may be said that the Universal Nature has prescribed for so and so sickness or hand know what thy right hand doeth;” must act so designedly.

¹ cp. Pausan. i. 24, § 3.
² See the amazing story of an icy bathe prescribed so to Aristides (Sacr. Serm. ii. 529, Jebb ff.).
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πέρπισθεν, ἢ ἀποβολὴν ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ τὸ "συνέταξε" τοιοῦτον τι σημαίνει· ἔταξε τούτῳ τοῦτο ὡς κατάληλην πρὸς ἴγνειαν· καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὸ συμβαίνον ἐκάστῳ τέτακται πῶς αὐτῷ κατάληλην πρὸς τὴν εἰμαρμένην. οὕτως γὰρ καὶ "συμβαίνειν" αὐτὰ ἦμιν ἔγομεν, ὡς καὶ τοὺς τετραγώνους λίθους ἐν τοῖς τεῖχεσιν ἢ ἐν ταῖς πυραμίδις, 'συμβαίνειν' οἱ τεχνῖται λέγοντες, συναρμόζοντες ἄλληλοι τῇ ποιᾷ συνθέσει. ὅλως γὰρ ἀρμονία ἔστι μία, καὶ ὁσπέρ ἐκ πάντων τῶν σωμάτων ὁ κόσμος τοιοῦτον σῶμα συμπληροῦται, οὕτως ἐκ πάντων τῶν αἰτίων ἡ εἰμαρμένη τοιαύτη αἰτία συμπληροῦται. νοοῦσι δὲ, δ λέγω, καὶ οἱ τέλεοι ἰδιῶται· φασὶ γὰρ, "Τοῦτο ἐφερεν αὐτῷ." οὕκοιν τοῦτο τοῦτῳ ἐφέρετο, καὶ τοῦτο τοῦτῳ συνετάττετο. δεχόμεθα οὖν αὐτὰ, ὡς ἐκεῖνα, ὅ τ' Ἀσκληπιὸς συντάττει. πολλά γοῦν καὶ ἐν ἐκεῖνοις ἔστι τραχέα· ἀλλὰ ἀσταζόμεθα τῇ ἐξπίθει τῆς ἴγνειας.

2 Τοιούτων τί σοι δοκείτω, ἀνυσίς καὶ συντέλεια τῶν τῇ κοινῇ φύσει δοκοῦντων, οἷον ἢ σῇ ἴγνεια· καὶ οὕτως ἀσπάζον πᾶν τὸ γινόμενον, καὶ ἀπηνεστερον δοκῇ, διὰ τὸ ἐκείσθη ἄγειν, ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου ἴγνειαν, καὶ τὴν τοῦ Δίως εὐδίαι καὶ εὐπραγίαι. οὐ γὰρ ἄν τοῦτῷ τινὶ ἐφερεν, εἰ μὴ τῷ ὅλῳ συνωέφερεν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ τυχοῦσα φύσει φέρει τι, ὃ μὴ τῷ διοικουμένῳ ὑπ' αὐτῆς κατάληλλον ἔστιν.

3 Οὐκοῦν κατὰ δύο λόγους στέργειν χρῆ το συμβαίνον σοι· καθ' ἕνα μέν, ὡτι σοι ἐγίνετο, 106
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maim or loss or what not of the same kind. For, in the former case, prescribed has some such meaning as this: He ordained this for so and so as conducive to his health; while in the latter what befalls each man has been ordained in some way as conducive to his destiny. For we say that things fall to us, as the masons too say that the huge squared stones in walls and pyramids fall into their places, adjusting themselves harmoniously to one another in a sort of structural unity. For, in fine, there is one harmony of all things, and just as from all bodies the Universe is made up into such a body as it is, so from all causes is Destiny made up into such a Cause. This is recognized by the most unthinking, for they say: Fate brought this on him. So then this was brought on this man, and this prescribed for this man. Let us then accept our fate, as we accept the prescriptions of Aesculapius. And in fact in these, too, there are many "bitter pills," but we welcome them in hope of health.

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

For two reasons then it behoves thee to acquiesce in what befalls: one, that it was for thee it took
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καὶ σοὶ συνετάττετο, καὶ πρὸς σέ πως ἔχειν, ἀνωθεν ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτάτων αἰτίων συγκλωθόμενον· καθ’ ἔτερον δέ, ὅτι τῷ τὸ ὄλον διοικοῦντι τῆς εὐδοίας καὶ τῆς συντελείας καὶ νὴ Δία τῆς συμμονῆς αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ ἱδία εἰς ἔκαστον ἦκον αἰτίον ἔστιν. πηροῦταί γὰρ τὸ ὀλόκληρον, ἐδώ καὶ στηθὺ διακόψης τῆς συναφείας καὶ συνεχείας, ὅσπερ τῶν μορίων, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τῶν αἰτίων. διακόπτεις δὲ, ὅσον ἐπί σοι, ὅταν δυσαρεστῆς, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἀναιρεῖς.¹

θ’. Μὴ συκχαίνεις μὴ δὲ ἀπαυδὰν μὴ δὲ ἀποδυσπετεῖν, εἰ μὴ καταπυκνοῦται σοι τὸ ἀπὸ δογμάτων ὅρθων ἔκαστα πράσσειν· ἀλλὰ ἐκκρουσθέντα πάλιν ἐπανείναι καὶ ἀσμενίζειν, εἰ τὰ πλεῖω ἀνθρωπικώτερα, καὶ φιλεῖν τούτο, ἐφ’ ὃ ἐπανέρχεται καὶ μὴ ὅσ πρὸς παιδαγωγοῦ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἐπανένεις· ἀλλ’ ὃς οἱ ὄφθαλμοι πρὸς τὸ σπογγάριον καὶ τὸ φῶς, ὡς ἀλλοι πρὸς κατάπλασμα, ὡς πρὸς καταιῶσιν. οὕτως γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐπιδείξῃ τὸ πειθαρχεῖν τῷ λόγῳ, ἀλλὰ προσαναπαύσῃ αὐτῷ· μέμνησο δὲ, ὅτι φιλοσοφία μόνα θέλει, ἃ ἡ φύσις σου θέλει· σὸ δὲ ἀλλο ἢθελες οὐ κατὰ φύσιν. “Τί γὰρ τοῦτων προσηνέστερον;” ἡ γὰρ ἡδονὴ ὦν χά διὰ τοῦτο σφάλλει; ἀλλὰ θέασαι, εἰ προσηνέστερον μεγαλοψυχία, ἑλευθερία, ἀπλότης, εὐγνωμοσύνη, ὀσιότης. αὐτῆς γὰρ φρονήσεως τί προσηνέστερον.

¹ ἀναιρής ΡΑ.

1 Or, from above.  2 cp. Sen. Ep. 74.
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place, and was prescribed for thee, and had reference in some sort to thee, being a thread of destiny spun from the first for thee from the most ancient causes; the other, that even what befalls each individual is the cause of the well-faring, of the consummation and by heaven of the very permanence of that which controls the Universe. For the perfection of the Whole is impaired, if thou cuttest off ever so little of the coherence and continuance of the Causes no less than of the parts. And thou dost cut them off, as far as lies with thee, and bring them to an end, when thou murmurest.

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

3 Lit. be nauseated (cp. viii. 24). 4 v. 36.
5 Galen xii. 17 (Kühn) calls Marcus εὐγνῶμων, μέτριος, Ἰμερος, πρᾶσος.
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... οὐ; ὅταν τὸ ἀπταίστου, καὶ εὑροῦν εὖ πᾶσι τῆς παρακολουθητικῆς καὶ ἔπιστημονικῆς δυνάμεως ἐνθυμηθῆς.

1. Τὰ μὲν πράγματα ἐν τοιαύτῃ τρόπον τινὰ ἐγκαλύψει ἐστίν, ὥστε φιλοσόφοις οὐκ ὠλύγοις οὐδὲ τοὺς τυχοῦσιν ἐδοξεὶ παντάπασιν ἀκατάληπτα εἶναι; πλὴν αὐτοῖς γε τοὺς Ἐστικοῖς δυσκατάληπτα δοκεῖ; καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ἡμετέρα συγκατάθεσις μεταπτωτῆ; ποῦ γὰρ ἡ ἀμετάπτωτος; μέτιθι τοῖνοι ἐπ' αὐτὰ τὰ ὑποκείμενα, ὡς ὀλγὸ-χρονα καὶ εὐτελῆ καὶ δυνάμενα ἐν κτήσει κινῶν ἡ πόρνης ἡ ληστοῦ εἶναι. μὲτὰ τοῦτο ἔπιθι ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν συμβιούντων ἢθη, ὅν μόλις ἐστὶ καὶ τοῦ χαριεστάτου ἀνασχέσθαι, ἴνα μὴ λέγω, ὅτι καὶ ἕαυτῶν τις μόνις ὑπομένει.

2 Ἐν τοιούτῳ οὖν ξοφῷ καὶ ρύπῳ καὶ τοσαύτῃ ῥύσει τῆς τε οὐσίας καὶ τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ τῆς κινήσεως καὶ τῶν κινουμένων, τί ποτ’ ἐστι τὸ ἐκτιμηθῆναι ἢ τὸ ὄλως στουδασθῆναι δυνάμενον, οὐδὲ ἐπινοώ. τούτων γὰρ δει παραμυθούμενον ἕαυτῶν περιμένειν τὴν φυσικὴν λύσιν, καὶ μὴ ἀσχάλλειν τῇ διατριβῇ, ἀλλὰ τούτως μόνοις προσαναπαύεσθαι: ἐνι μὲν τῷ, ὅτι οὐδὲν συμβηστεῖ μοι, δὴ οὐχὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὀλων φύσιν ἐστὶν: ἐτέρῳ δὲ, ὅτι ἐξεστὶ μοι μυδέν πράσσειν παρὰ τῶν ἐμῶν θεὸν καὶ δαίμονα. οὔδεις γὰρ ὁ ἀναγκάσων τούτων παραβηκτῇ.

ἱα. "Πρὸς τι ποτε ἀρα νῦν χρῶμαι τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ ψυχῇ;" παρ’ ἐκαστα τούτῳ ἐπανερωτῶν ἕαυτῶν,

1 vi. 34. cp. Sen. Ep. 81.
2 iv. 50; ix. 3. For a qualifying picture to this very pessimistic view see vi. 48.

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when thou thinkest how sure and smooth in all its workings is the faculty of understanding and knowledge?

10. Things are in a sense so wrapped up in mystery that not a few philosophers, and they no ordinary ones, have concluded that they are wholly beyond our comprehension: nay, even the Stoics themselves find them hard to comprehend. Indeed every assent we give to the impressions of our senses is liable to error, for where is the man who never errs? Pass on then to the objective things themselves, how transitory they are, how worthless, the property, quite possibly, of a boy-minion, a harlot, or a brigand.\(^1\) After that turn to the characters of thine associates, even the most refined of whom it is difficult to put up with, let alone the fact that a man has enough to do to endure himself.\(^2\)

What then there can be amid such murk and nastiness, and in so ceaseless an ebbing of substance and of time, of movement and things moved, that deserves to be greatly valued or to excite our ambition in the least, I cannot even conceive. On the contrary, a man should take heart of grace to await his natural dissolution, and without any chafing at delay comfort\(^3\) himself with these twin thoughts alone: the one, that nothing will befall me that is not in accord with the Nature of the Universe; the other, that it is in my power to do nothing contrary to the God and the 'genius'\(^4\) within me. For no one can force me to disobey that.

11. *To what use then am I putting my soul?* Never fail to ask thyself this question and to cross-examine

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\(^1\) A favourite word. *cp. iv. 31; v. 9 = “to take rest in.”*

\(^2\) ii. 13; iii. 5 etc.
καὶ ἔξετάζειν, τί μοι ἔστι νῦν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μορίῳ, ὃ δὴ ἱγεμονικὸν καλοῦσι; καὶ τίνος ἂρα νῦν ἔχω ψυχήν; μήτη παιδίου; μήτη μειρακίου; μήτη γυναικαρίου; μήτη τυράννου; μήτη κτήνους; μήτη θηρίου;

ιβ' Ὑποίκια τινά ἔστι τὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς δοκοῦντα ἀγαθά, κἂν ἐντεῦθεν λάβοις. εἰ γὰρ τις ἐπιυνοῆσεν ὑπάρχοντα τινα ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀγαθά, οἶνον φρόνησιν, σωφροσύνην, δικαιοσύνην, ἀνδρίαν, οὐκ ἂν ταῦτα προεπιστήσας ἔτι ἀκούσας δυνηθεῖς τὸ "ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν" ἐν γὰρ ἐφαρμόσει. τὰ δὲ γε τοῖς πολλοῖς φαινόμενα ἀγαθὰ προεπιστήσας τις, ἔξακούσεται καὶ ῥαδίως δέσεται, ὡς οἰκείως ἐπιλεγόμενον τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ κωμικοῦ εἰρημένον. οὕτως καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ φαντάζονται τὴν διαφορὰν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοῦτο μὲν οὖν προσέκοπτε καὶ ἀπηξιωτότο: τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ πλοῦτου καὶ τῶν πρὸς τρυφῆν ἢ δόξαν εὐκληρημάτων παρεδεχόμεθα ὡς ἰκνομένως καὶ ἀστείως εἰρημένον. πρόθι ὃν καὶ ἔρωτα, εἰ τιμητέον καὶ ἀγαθὰ ὑποληπτέον τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἃν προεπιστήσεως οἰκείως ἂν ἐπιφέροιτο τὸ τῶν κεκτημένων αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τῆς εὐπορίας "οὐκ ἔχειν, ὅποις κέρτης."

ὐ. Ἐξ αἰτιώδους καὶ ὑλικοῦ συνεστήκα ὁνδέτερον δὲ τούτων εἰς τὸ μή ὅν φθαρῆσεται,

1 τὶ ὑπὸ τῷ ἀγαθῷ: τῷ Morus: τῶν ἀγαθῶν Nauck.
2 οὖν Loft for oū: Rendall keeps oū and translates "would not fail to shock."

1 sc. as in the case of things really good.
2 From Menander Frag. 530 (Kock). The substitution of πτύχη for χέση would mitigate the coarseness of the phrase,
BOOK V

thyself thus: What relation have I to this part of me which they call the ruling Reason? And whose Soul have I got now? The Soul of a child? Of a youth? Of a woman? Of a tyrant? Of a domestic animal? Of a wild beast?

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

13. I am made up of the Causal and the Material, and neither of these disappears into nothing, just and we might then cp. Diog. Laert. Diog. 6 and Arist. 4, passages in which we are told that the philosopher being taken to a magnificent house where spitting was forbidden spat in his host's face, explaining that he could find no other place.

3 The Efficient, or Formal, or Formative principle, here the Soul, but the Soul itself consists of a causal element (νοῦς) and a material (τὸ πνεύματον).
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άστερ πού δέ ἐκ τοῦ μή ὁντος ὑπέστη. οὐκοῦν καταταχθῆσται πάν μέρος ἐμὸν κατὰ μεταβολὴν εἰς μέρος τι τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ πάλιν ἐκεῖνο εἰς ἐτέρον μέρος τι τοῦ κόσμου μεταβαλεῖ, καὶ ἥδη εἰς ἀπειρον. κατὰ τοιαύτην δὲ μεταβολὴν κἀγὼ ὑπέστην καὶ οἱ ἐμὲ γεννήσαντες, καὶ ἐπανίστη εἰς ἀλλο ἀπειρον. οὐδὲν γὰρ κωλύει οὐτως φάναι, κἂν κατὰ περιόδους πεπερασμένας ὁ κόσμος διοικήται.

ίδι. Ὁ λόγος καὶ ἡ λογικὴ τέχνη δυνάμεις εἰσὶν ἑαυταῖς ἀρκούμεναι καὶ τοῖς καθ' ἑαυτὰς ἔργοις. ὁμωνύμει μὲν οὖν ἄπο τῆς οἰκείας ἀρχής, ὀδεύονσι δὲ εἰς τὸ προκείμενον τέλος· καθ' ὁ κατορθώσεις αἱ τοιαύται πράξεις ὅνομάζονται τὴν ὀρθότητα τῆς ὁδὸς σημαίνουσαν.

ίε. Οὐδὲν τούτων ῥήτεον ἀνθρώποι, ἢ ἀνθρώπου, καθ' ἀνθρώπους ἐστιν, οὐκ ἐπιβάλλει. οὐκ ἐστιν ἀπαίτηματα ἀνθρώπου, οὐδὲ ἐπαγγέλλεται αὐτὰ ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσις, οὐδὲ τελείωτης εἰσὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσεως. οὐ τοῖνυν οὐδὲ τὸ τέλος ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ κείμενον, οὐδὲ γε τὸ συμπληρωτικὸν τοῦ τέλους, τὸ ἀγαθόν. ἐτί εἰ τι τούτων ἢν ἐπιβάλλον τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, οὐκ ἂν τὸ ὑπερφρονεῖν αὐτῶν καὶ καταξιώσασθαι ἐπιβάλλων ἃν, οὐδὲ ἑπαινετὸς ἃν ὁ ἀπροσδεή τούτων ἐαυτῶν παρεχόμενος· οὐδὲ ἂν ὁ ἔλαττωτικὸς ἐαυτοῦ ἐν τινὶ τούτων ἀγαθὸς ἃν, εὔπερ ταῦτα ἄγαθὰ ἃν. νῦν δὲ, ὅσπερ πλείω τις ἀφαιρῶν ἐαυτοῦ τούτων ἢ τοιοῦτων ἐτέρων ἥ καὶ ἀφαιρούμενός τι τούτων ἀνέχεται, τοσοῦτος μᾶλλον ἀγαθός ἐστιν.

ίε. Οἶα ἄν πολλάκις φαντασθῆς, τοιαύτη σοι
BOOK V

as neither did it come into existence out of nothing. So shall my every part by change be told off\(^1\) to form some part of the Universe, and that again be changed into another part of it, and so on to infinity. It was by such process of change that I too came into being and my parents, and so backwards into a second infinity. And the statement is quite legitimate, even if the Universe be arranged according to completed cycles.\(^2\)

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

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

16. The character of thy mind will be such as is

\(^1\) viii. 25. \(^2\) v. 32; xi. 1. See Index III. (περιλογοι).
ēstai ἡ διάνοια. Βάπτεται γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν φαντασιῶν ἡ ψυχή. Βάπτε τοὺς αὐτὴν τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῶν τοιούτων φαντασιῶν οἶον ὅτι, ὅπου ἦν ἐστιν, ἐκεῖ καὶ εὐ ξῆν ἐν αὐλῇ δὲ ἐστιν ἐστιν ἀρα καὶ εὖ ξῆν ἐν αὐλῇ. καὶ πάλιν ὅτι οὐτέρ ένεκεν ἐκαστὸν κατεσκεύασται, [πρὸς ὃ δὲ κατεσκεύασται,] ἐν τούτῳ φέρεται: πρὸς δὲ φέρεται δὲ, ἐν τούτῳ τὸ τέλος αὐτοῦ. ὅπου δὲ τὸ τέλος, ἐκεῖ καὶ τὸ συμφέρον καὶ τάγαθον ἐκάστον: τὸ ἀρα ἁγαθὸν τοῦ λογικοῦ ξύφων κοινωνία. ὅτι γὰρ πρὸς κοινωνίαν γεγοναμεν, πάλαι δέδεκεται. ἥ οὖν ἦν ἐναργεῖς ὅτι τὰ χείρω τῶν κρείττόνων ἔνεκεν, τὰ δὲ κρείττων ἀλλήλων; κρείττω δὲ τῶν μεν ἁγύχων τὰ ἐμψυχα, τῶν δὲ ἐμψυχών τὰ λογικά.

ις. Τὸ τὰ ἄδικα διώκειν μανικὸν ἀδικῶν δὲ τὸ τούς φαύλους μὴ τοιαύτα τινα ποίειν.

η. Οὐδὲν οὐδεὶς συμμβαίνει, ὃ οὐχὶ πέφυκε φέρειν. ἂλλῳ τὰ αὐτὰ συμμβαίνει καὶ ἡτοι ἁγνωστοί, ὅτι συμβαίνει, ἣ ἐπιδεικτικῶς μεγαλοφροσύνη εὑσταθεὶ καὶ ἀκάκωτος μένει. δεινὸν οὖν ἁγνωστοι καὶ ἀρέσκειαι ἰσχυροτέρας εἰναι φρονίμως.

θ. Τὰ πρᾶγματα αὐτὰ οὐδὲ ὑποστηρικτοῖς ψυχῆς ἀπετειλα, οὐδὲ ἐχεῖ εἰσὸδον πρὸς ψυχήν, οὐδὲ τρέψαι οὐδὲ κινῆσαι ψυχῆς δύναται: τρέπει

1 The words in brackets omitted by A, which however adds δὲ after τούτῳ. After the first κατεσκ. Gat. inserts πρὸς τούτῳ κατεσκεύασται.
the character of thy frequent thoughts,\textsuperscript{1} for the soul takes its dye from the thoughts. Dye her then with a continuous succession of such thoughts as these: Where life is possible, there it is possible also to live well.—\textit{But the life is life in a Court.}\textsuperscript{2} Well, in a Court too it is possible to live well. And again: A thing is drawn towards that for the sake of which it has been made, and its end lies in that towards which it is drawn and, where its end lies, there lie also its interest and its good. The Good, then, for a rational creature is fellowship with others.\textsuperscript{3} For it has been made clear long ago\textsuperscript{4} that we were constituted for fellowship, Or was it not obvious that the lower were for the sake of the higher\textsuperscript{5} and the higher for the sake of one another? And living things are higher than lifeless,\textsuperscript{6} and those that have reason than those that have life only.

17. To crave impossibilities is lunacy; but it is impossible for the wicked to act otherwise.\textsuperscript{7}

18. Nothing befalls anyone that he is not fitted by nature to bear.\textsuperscript{8} Others experience the same things as thou, but either from ignorance that anything has befallen them, or to manifest their greatness of mind, they stand firm and get no hurt. A strange thing indeed that ignorance and vanity should prove stronger than wisdom!\textsuperscript{9}

19. Things of themselves cannot take the least hold of the Soul, nor have any access to her, nor deflect or move her; but the Soul alone deflects

\textsuperscript{6} cp. Chrysippus: \textit{τὸ ζωὴν τοῦ μὴ ζυγον κρείττον.}
\textsuperscript{7} iv. 6; vii. 71; xi. 18 \textit{ad fin.}; Sen. de Frā ii. 31.
\textsuperscript{8} viii. 46; x. 3; St. Paul, 1 Cor. x. 13.
\textsuperscript{9} cp. Sen. \textit{Ep. 36 ad fin.}: \textit{turpissimum si eam securitatem nobis ratio non praestat, ad quam stultitia perducit.}

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dε καὶ κινεῖ ἀυτῇ ἐαυτῆν μόνη, καὶ ὁ ὁμοὶ ἀν
cριμάτων καταξιώση ἐαυτῆν, τοιαύτα ἐαυτῇ ποιεῖ
τὰ προσυφεστῶτα.

κ’. Καθ’ ἐτερων μὲν λόγον ἢμῖν ἐστὶν οἰκείο-
tatóν ἀνθρωπός, καθ’ ὅσον εὐ ποιητέον αὐτοῦ·
kαὶ ἀνεκτέον καθ’ ὅσον δὲ ἐνίστανται τίνες εἰς
τὰ οἰκεία ἐργα, ἐν τι τῶν ἀδιαφόρων μοι γίνεται
ὁ ἀνθρωπός οὐχ ἢσον ἢ ἠλιοὶ ἢ ἀνεμοὶ ἢ
θηρίον. ὑπὸ τούτων δὲ ἐνεργεία μὲν τὶς ἐμποδι-
σθείη ἂν ὀρμῆς δὲ καὶ διαθέσεως οὐ γίνεται
ἐμπόδια διὰ τὴν ὑπεξαίρεσιν καὶ τῆς περι-
τροπῆς. περιτρέπει γὰρ καὶ μεθίστησι πάν τὸ
τῆς ἐνεργείας κόλλυμα ἡ διάνοια εἰς τὸ προ-
ηγούμενον καὶ πρὸ ἐργον γίνεται τὸ τοῦ ἐργο
τοῦτον ἐφεκτικόν· καὶ πρὸ ὀδοῦ τὸ τῆς ὀδοῦ
ταύτης ἐνστατικόν.

κα’. Τὸν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τὸ κράτιστον τίμα:
ἐστι δὲ τούτο τὸ πάσιν χρώμενον καὶ πάντα
dιέστατον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν σοι τὸ κράτιστον
tίμα: ἐστι δὲ τούτο τὸ ἐκείνω ὁμογένες. καὶ γὰρ
ἐπὶ σοῦ τὸ τοῖς ἄλλοις χρώμενον τούτο ἐστι, καὶ
ὁ σὸς βλέον ὑπὸ τούτοι διοικεῖται.

κβ’. "Ὁ τῇ πόλει οὐκ ἔστι βλαβερόν, οὔτε
τὸν πολέμην βλάπτει. ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς τοῦ
βεβλάφθαι φαντασίας τοῦτον ἔταγε τὸν κανόνα:
eἰ ἡ πόλις ὑπὸ τούτου μὴ βλάπτεται, οὔτε ἐγὼ
βέβλαμαί· ἢ δὲ ἡ πόλις βλάπτεται, οὐκ
ὀργιστέον τῷ βλάπτοντι τὴν πόλιν. τί τὸ
παρορώμενον;" 2

1 More correctly αὐτῶν. 2 sc. ἀλλὰ δεικτέον before τῇ Γατ.

1 vi. 8. 2 xi. 16. 3 iv. 1; vi. 50.
BOOK V

and moves herself,¹ and whatever judgments she deems it right to form, in conformity with them she fashions for herself the things that submit themselves to her from without.²

20. In one respect a man is of very close concern to us, in so far as we must do him good and forbear; but in so far as any stand in the way of those acts which concern us closely, then man becomes for me as much one of things indifferent as the sun, as the wind, as a wild-beast. Though a man may in some sort fetter my activity, yet on my own initiative and mental attitude no fetters can be put because of the power they possess of conditional action³ and of adaptation to circumstances. For everything that stands in the way of its activity is adapted and transmuted by the mind into a furtherance of it,⁴ and that which is a check on this action is converted into a help to it, and that which is a hindrance in our path goes but to make it easier.

21. Prize the most excellent thing in the Universe; and this is that which utilizes all things and controls all things. Prize in like manner the most excellent thing in thyself;⁵ and this is that which is akin to the other. For this, which utilizes all else is in thee too, and by it thy life is governed.

22. That which is not hurtful to the community cannot hurt the individual.⁶ Test every case of apparent hurt by this rule: if the community be not hurt by this, neither am I hurt; but if the community be hurt, there is no need to be angry with him that hath done the hurt,⁷ but to enquire, ¹ What hath he seen amiss? ² vi. 16 ad fin. ³ iv. 1; x. 31 ad fin. ⁴ vi. 16 ad fin. ⁵ v. 35; vi. 54. ⁶ v. 35. ⁷ xi. 13. ¹¹⁹
κυ’. Πολλάκις ἐνθυμοῦ τὸ τάχος τῆς παρά-
φορᾶς καὶ ὑπεξαγωγῆς τῶν ὄντων καὶ γινομένων. ἢ τε γὰρ οὐσία οἶδον ποταμὸς ἐν διηνεκεὶ ρύσει:
καὶ αἱ ἐνέργειαι ἐν συνεχείς μεταβολαῖς, καὶ τὰ
ἀιτία ἐν μορίας τροπαίας, καὶ σχεδὸν οὐδὲν ἐστῶς,
kai τὸ πάρεγγυ τὸ ἄπειρον τοῦ 1 παραφη-
kóτος καὶ μέλλοντος ἄχανές, ὃ πάντα ἐναφαι-
ίζεται. πῶς οὖν οὐ μορφῶς ἐν τούτοις φυσόμενος
ἡ σπωμένος ἡ σχετλιαζον 2 ὃς ἐν τοῖς χρόνῳ καὶ
ἐπὶ μακρὸν <ἀν> ἐνοχλήσατι; 3 κδ’.
Μέμνησο τῆς συμπάσης οὐσίας, ἢς ὀλύ-
ιστον μετέχεις καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος αἰῶνος, οὐ
βραχὺ καὶ ἀκαριαίον σοὶ διάστημα ἀφώριστοι καὶ
τῆς εἰμαρμένης, ἡς πόστον εἰ μέρος;
κε’. Ἀλλος ἀμαρτάνει τι εἰς ἐμὲ; ὅψεται
ἰδίαν ἐχει διάθεσιν, ἰδίαν ἐνέργειαν. ἐγὼ νῦν ἔχω,
ὁ με θέλει νῦν ἔχειν ἡ κοινὴ φύσις, καὶ πράσσω, ὃ
με νῦν πράσσειν θέλει ἡ ἐμὴ φύσις.
κε’. Τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν καὶ κυριεύου τῆς ψυχῆς
σου μέρος ἀτρεπτον ἐστω ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ
λεῖας ἢ τραχείας κινήσεως καὶ μὴ συγκριν-
έσθω, ἀλλὰ περιγραφέτω ἐαυτῷ καὶ περιοριζό-
τας πείσεις ἐκείνας ἐν τοῖς μορίοις. ὅταν δὲ
ἀναδιδῶται κατὰ τὴν ἐτέραν 3 συμπάθειαν εἰς
τὴν διάνοιαν, ὃς ἐν σώματι ἡμομένων, τότε προς
μὲν τὴν αἰσθησιν φυσικὴν οὖς οὐκ οὐκ ἀπερατέον
ἀντιβαίνειν, τὴν ἐν ὑπόληψιν τῆς ἐν ὑπὲρ ἀγαθὸν
ἡ κακοῦ μὴ προσθετέω τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ἐξ ἐαυτοῦ.

1 τοῦ τε ΡΑ.
2 μικρὸν Ρ: ἐνοχλήσαντι Lofft: ἐνοχλήσαν τι Fournier.
The future sense seems required.
BOOK V

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

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

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

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

1 Or, Being. 2 iv. 43; vii. 19. 3 xii. 32. 4 Epict. i. 12, 26. 5 St. Matt. xii. 4, 24.
MARCUS AURELIUS

κ ζ. Συζήν θεοίς. συζή δὲ θεοὶς ὁ συνεχῶς δεικνύς αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ ὑπηχήν ἀρεσκομένην μὲν τοῖς ἀπονεμομένοις, ποιοῦσαν δὲ, ὡσα βούλεται ὁ δαίμων, ὃν ἐκάστῳ προστάτην καὶ ἡγεμόνα ὁ Ζεὺς ἐδωκεν, ἀπόσπασμα ἐαυτοῦ. οὕτος δὲ ἐστιν ὁ ἐκάστου νοῦς καὶ λόγος.

κη’. Τῷ γράσων μῆτι ὁργίζῃ; μῆτι τῷ ἰδι- στόμῳ ὁργίζῃ; τί σοι ποιήσει; τοιοῦτον στόμα ἔχει, τοιαύτας μάλας ἔχει· ἀνάγκη τοιαύτην ἀπο- φοράν ἀπὸ τοιούτων γίνεσθαι. ἐν ἀλλ’ ὁ ἀνθρώπος λόγου ἔχει, φησὶ,1 καὶ δύναται συννοεῖν ἐφ- ιστάνως, τί πλημμελεῖ. εὐ σοι γένοιτο· τουγαρ- ούν καὶ σὺ λόγον ἔχεις· κίνησον λογικὴ διαθέσει λογικὴν διάθεσιν, δείξων, ὑπόμνησον. εἰ γὰρ ἑπαίει, θεραπεύσεις καὶ οὐ χρεία ὀργῆς.

Οὐτε τραγῳδῶς οὔτε πόρη.

κθ’. Ὡς ἔξελθων ἔως διανοή, οὕτως ἐνταῦθα ἔξεστιν. εὰν δὲ μὴ ἐπιτρέπωσι, τότε καὶ τού ἔξειν ἐξιδέντας οὕτως μέντοι, ὡς μηδὲν κακῶν πάσχων. “Καπνός, καὶ ἀπέρχομαι.” τί αὐτὸ πράγμα δοκεῖς; μέχρι δὲ με τοιούτων οὐδὲν ἔξαγεν, μένω ἐπεύθερος, καὶ οὔδεις με κολύσεις ποιεῖν ἢ θέλω· θέλω δὲ2 κατὰ φύσιν τοῦ λογικοῦ καὶ κοινωνικοῦ ζῆν.

κλ’. Ἡ τοῦ ὅλου νοῦς κοινωνικός. πεποίηκε γοῦν τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν κρειττῶν ἐνέκεν· καὶ τὰ κρεῖττω ἀλλήλως συνήρμοσεν. ὁρᾶς, πῶς ὑπέταξε, συνέταξε, καὶ τὸ κατ’ αξίαν ἀπένειμεν ἐκάστοις

1 φύσι: AD. 2 <τὰ>.

1 ii. 1, 4; xii. 26, 30.
2 Epict. 1. 14, § 12 ἐπιτρεπτον ἐκάστην παρέστησε (ἐκ Ζεὺς) τὸν ἐκάστου δαίμονα καὶ παρέδωκε φυλάσσειν αὐτῶν αὐτῷ.
BOOK V

27. Walk with the Gods! And he does walk with the Gods, who lets them see his soul invariably satisfied with its lot and carrying out the will of that 'genius,' a particle of himself, which Zeus has given to every man as his captain and guide—and this is none other than each man's intelligence and reason.

28. If a man's armpits are unpleasant, art thou angry with him? If he has foul breath? What would be the use? The man has such a mouth, he has such armpits. Some such effluvium was bound to come from such a source. But the man has sense, quotha!  

With a little attention he could see wherein he offends. I congratulate thee! Well, thou too hast sense. By a rational attitude, then, in thyself evoke a rational attitude in him, enlighten him, admonish him. If he listen, thou shalt cure him, and have no need of anger.

Neither tragedian nor harlot.

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

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

3 x. 4; Epict. ii. 8, § 11. 4 cp. St. Matt. xviii. 15.
5 See on iii. 1. 6 cp. viii. 47.
6 Epict. i. 25, § 18; iv. 10, § 27. 7 v. 16.
ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΑΥΡΕΛΙΟΣ

καὶ τὰ κρατιστεύοντα εἰς ὅμονοιαν ἀλλήλων
συνήγαγεν.

λα'. Πῶς προσενήχειμείξαι μέχρι νῦν θεοῖς, γον-
εύσιν, ἀδελφοῖς, γυναῖκις, τέκνοις, διδασκάλοις,
τροφεύσι, φίλοις, οἰκεῖοις, οἰκέταις; εἰ πρὸς
πᾶντας σοι μέχρι νῦν ἐστὶ τὸ

"Μήτε τινὰ ἰδεῖ καὶ ἐξαισκεῖ, μήτε <τι> εἰπεῖν." 1
ἀναμμηνθήκοι δὲ καὶ δι' οἷον διελήλυθας καὶ
οἷς ἡρκεσας ὑπομείναι. καὶ ἦτα πλήρης ἦδη σοι
ἡ ἱστορία τοῦ βίου καὶ τελευτὰ 2 ἡ λειτουργία·
καὶ πόσα ὄροτα καλά, καὶ πόσων μὲν ἥδουν
καὶ πόνων ὑπερεῖδες, πόσα δὲ ἐνδοξα παρεῖδε,
eἰς ὅσοις δὲ ἀγνώστους εὐγνώμονα ἐγένειν.

λβ'. Διὰ τὸ συγκεχούσιν ἄτεχνοι καὶ ἀμαθεῖς
ψυχαὶ ἐνεχθοὺν καὶ ἐπιστῆμονα; τις οὖν ψυχὴ
ἐνεχθος καὶ ἐπιστῆμον; ἡ εἴδωλα ἄρχην καὶ
tέλος, καὶ τὸν δὲ ὅλης τῆς οὐσίας διήκοντα λόγου
καὶ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος κατὰ περιόδους τεταγ-
μένας οἰκονομοῦντα τὸ πᾶν.

λγ'. "Οσον οὐδέπω σποδός ἢ σκελετός, καὶ
ἡτοι ὄνωμα ἢ οὐδὲ ὄνωμα· τὸ δὲ ὄνωμα ψόφος καὶ
ἀπήχημα. τὰ δὲ ἐν τῷ βίῳ πολυτύμητα κενὰ καὶ
σαπρὰ καὶ μικρὰ καὶ κυνίδια διαδακνόμενα καὶ
παιδία φιλόνεικα, γελώντα, εἰτα εὐθὺς κλαίοντα.
πίστις δὲ καὶ αἴδως καὶ δίκη καὶ ἀλῆθεια

"Πρὸς Ὀλυμπον ἀπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυνυθείς." 3

1 Marcus quotes this line in a form that does not scan. 
cp. viii. 39 if the text is correct.
2 τελευτάκα AD: τελεα P: τελευτα Schenkl.

1 Hom. Od. iv. 690.
2 x. 36. There is no Pharisaism here, as some have most un-
warrantably asserted. 3 cp. St. Paul, 1 Cor. i. 27 (Auth. Vers.).
BOOK V

and brought the more excellent things into mutual accord.

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

*Doing to no man wrong, nor speaking aught that is evil?* \(^1\)

And call to mind all that thou hast passed through, all thou hast found strength to bear; that the story of thy life is now full-told and thy service is ending; and how many beautiful sights thou hast seen, how many pleasures and pains thou hast disregarded, forgone what ambitions, and repaid with kindness how much unkindness. \(^2\)

32. Why do unskilled and ignorant souls confound him who has skill and has knowledge? What soul, then, has skill and knowledge? Even that which knoweth beginning and end, and the reason that informs all Substance, and governs the Whole from ordered cycle to cycle \(^3\) through all eternity.

33. But a little while and thou shalt be burnt ashes or a few dry bones, and possibly a name, possibly not a name even. \(^5\) And a name is but sound and a far off echo. And all that we prize so highly in our lives is empty and rotten and paltry, and we but as puppies snarling at each other, as quarrel-some children now laughing and anon in tears. But faith and modesty and justice and truth

*Up from the wide-wayed Earth have winged their flight to Olympus.* \(^6\)

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\(^1\) v. 13; x. 7.
\(^2\) viii. 25; xii. 27.
\(^4\) v. 13; x. 7.
ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΑΥΡΙΛΙΟΣ

τί οὖν ἔτι τὸ ἐνταῦθα κατέχον; εἴγε τὰ μὲν αἰσθητὰ εὐμετάβλητα καὶ οὐχ ἑστώτα: τὰ δὲ αἰσθητήρια ἀμυδρὰ καὶ εὐπαρατύπωτα· αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ψυχάριον ἀναθυμίας ἀφ’ αἰματος· τὸ δὲ εὐδοκίμειν παρὰ τοιούτοις κενὸν. τί οὖν; περιμενεῖς. Ἔλεως τὴν εἴτε σβέσιν εἴτε μεταστασίαν. ἔως δὲ ἐκείνης ὁ καίρος ἐφίσταται, τί ἀρκεῖ; τί δ’ ἀλλ’ ἢ θεοὺς μὲν σέβειν καὶ εὐφημεῖν, ἀνθρώπους δὲ εὖ ποιεῖν, καὶ “ἀνέχεσθαι” αὐτῶν καὶ “ἀπέχεσθαι” ὀσα δὲ ἐντὸς ὄρων τοῦ κρεαδίου καὶ τοῦ πνευματίου, ταῖς μεμνημονεύσεις μήτε σὰ ὄντα μήτε ἐπὶ σοί.

λά. Δύνασαι ἂεi εὐροεῖν, εἴγε καὶ εὐδοεῖν, εἴγε καὶ ὁδὸς ὑπολαμβάνειν καὶ πράσσειν. δύο ταῦτα κοινὰ τῇ τε τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἄνθρωπου καὶ παντὸς λογικοῦ ζόφου ψυχῆς· τὸ μὴ ἐμποδίζεσθαι ὑπ’ ἀλλ’ καὶ τὸ εὖ τῇ δικαικῇ διαθέσει καὶ πράξει ἐχειν τὸ ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὴν ὁρέξειν ἀπολήγενε.

λε. Εἴ μὴτε κακία ἐστὶ τοῦτο ἐμὴ μήτε ἐνέργεια κατὰ κακίαν ἐμὴ μήτε τὸ κοινὸν βλάπτεται, τί ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διαφέρομαι; τὶς δὲ βλάβη τοῦ κοινοῦ;

λς. Μὴ ὀλοσχερῶς τῇ φαντασίᾳ συναρπάζεσθαι· ἀλλὰ βοηθεῖν μὲν κατὰ δύναμιν καὶ κατ’ ἀξίαν καὶ εἰς τὰ μέσα ἐλαττώνται, μὴ μέντοι βλάβην αὐτὸ φανταζεσθαι, κακὸν γὰρ ἔδος. ἀλλ’ ὡς ὁ γέρων ἀπελθὼν τὸν τοῦ θρεπτοῦ

1 περιμενεῖς PA: περιμενεῖς Wilam.
2 Lofft and Stich. for εὖδείν Α, δεδείν P.
3 ἐλαττώνται has no subject: ἐλαττοὶ τι Cor.

1 vi. 15. cp. Tzetz. Chil. vii. 803; viii. 223. 126
BOOK V

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

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

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

36. Be not carried incontinently away by sense-impressions, but rally to the fight as thou canst and as is due. If there be failure in things indifferent, think not there is any great harm done; for that is an evil habit. But as the greybeard (in the play)

2 Marcus never seems to have made up his mind which it was to be. See iv. 21; viii. 25; xi. 3.
3 These two constituted for Epictetus the whole "Law and the Prophets"; see Aulus Gellius xvii. 19.
4 v. 22; vi. 54. 5 v. 36.
Marcus Aurelius

ῥόμβον ἀπήτει μεμνημένος, ὅτι ῥόμβος, οὕτως οὐν καὶ ὅδε. ἔπει τοι γίνη καλῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμβόλων, ἀνθρωπε, ἔπελάθου, τί ταῦτα ἤν; "Ναὶ· ἀλλὰ τούτοις περιστούδαστα." διὰ τοῦτ' οὖν καὶ σὺ μωρὸς γένη.

2 Ἑγενόμην ποτέ, ὅπουδήποτε καταλειψθεὶς, εὐμοιρός ἀνθρωπός· τὸ δὲ "εὐμοιρός," ἀγαθὴν μοῖραν σεαυτῷ ἀπονείμας· ἀγαθαὶ δὲ μοῖραι ἀγαθαὶ τροπαὶ ψυχῆς, ἀγαθαὶ ὀρμαί, ἀγαθαὶ πράξεις.

1 ἔπει τι γίνεται καλῶν Xyl.: ἐγκαλῶν Cor. έπειτα τι might be read.

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BOOK V

taking his leave reclaimed his foster-child's top, not
forgetting that it was but a top, so do thou here also.¹

Since indeed thou art found haranguing on the
hustings, O Man, hast thou forgotten what this really
means? Aye, but people will have it. Must thou too
be a fool in consequence?

Time was that wheresoever forsaken² I was a
man well-portioned; but that man well-portioned is
he that hath given himself a good portion; and good
portions are good phases of the soul, good impulses,
good actions.

¹ It is not known what Marcus alludes to. The following
words are unintelligible.
² Or overtaken (καταληφθείς).
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ 5' 

α'. Ἡ τῶν ὅλων οὐσία εὐπειθῆς καὶ εὐτρεπῆς· ὁ δὲ ταύτην διοικῶν λόγος οὐδεμιᾶν ἐν ἑαυτῷ αὐτίκαν ἔχει τοῦ κακοποιείν· κακίαν γὰρ οὐκ ἔχει οὐδὲ τι κακῶς ποιεῖ οὐδὲ βλαπτεται τί ὑπ’ ἐκείνου. πάντα δὲ κατ’ ἐκείνου γίνεται καὶ περαίνεται.

β'. Μὴ διαφέρον, πότερον ῥιγών ἡ θαλπὸ-μενος τὸ πρέπον ποιεῖς, καὶ πότερον νυστάξων ἡ ἰκανός ὑπνοῦ ἔχων, καὶ πότερον κακῶς ἀκούων ἡ εὐφημούμενος, καὶ πότερον ἀποθνήσκων ἡ πράξεων τι ἄλλοιον. μία γὰρ τῶν βιωτικῶν πράξεων καὶ αὐτῇ ἐστὶ, καθ’ ἂν ἀποθνήσκομεν· ἀρκεῖ οὐν καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτης τὸ παρόν εὐθέαται.

γ'. Ἑσὼ βλέπεις μηδενὸς πράγματος μὴ γαίδια ποιότης μὴ γαίδια παρατρεχέτω σε.

δ'. Πάντα τά ὑπόκειμα τάχιστα μεταβαλεῖ, καὶ ἧτοι ἐκθυμιαθήσεται, εὑπερ ἤνωται η οὐσία, ἡ σκεδασθήσεται.

ε'. Ὡ διοικῶν λόγος οἶδε, πῶς διακείμενος, καὶ τί ποιεῖ καὶ ἐπὶ τίνος ὀλης.

1 Not so all Stoics; cp. Sen. de Prov. 5: non potest artifex mutare materiem.
2 vi. 22.

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BOOK VI

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

2. Make no difference in doing thy duty\(^2\) whether thou art shivering or warm, drowsy\(^3\) or sleep-satisfied, defamed or extolled, dying or anything else. For the act of dying too is one of the acts of life.\(^4\) So it is enough in this also to get the work in hand done well.\(^5\)

3. Look within. Let not the special quality\(^6\) or worth of anything escape thee.

4. All objective things will anon be changed and either etherealized into the Universal Substance, if that indeed be one, or dispersed abroad.\(^7\)

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

\(^1\) Galen (xiv. 3, Kühn) says of Marcus that, owing to the theriac which he prescribed him, συνεθήκεν αὐτῷ νυστάξειν καρεῶς ἐν ταῖς ὀσμέρασι πράξεις.


\(^4\) That which makes a thing what it is.

\(^5\) viii. 25 ad fin.; x. 7, § 2.
Marcus Aurelius

§'. 'Aristos τρόπος του ἀμύνεσθαι τὸ μὴ ἔξομοιούσθαι.

ξ'. 'Ενι τέρπων καὶ προσαναπαύνων, τῷ ἀπὸ πράξεως κοινωνικῆς μεταβαίνειν ἐπὶ πράξεως κοινωνικῆς σὺν μυκῆν θεοῦ.

η'. Τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ἔστι τὸ ἐαυτὸ ἐγείρον καὶ τρέπον καὶ ποιοῦν μὲν ἐαυτὸ, οἶον ἂν καὶ θέλῃ, ποιοῦν δὲ ἐαυτῷ φαίνεσθαι πάν τὸ συμβαίνον, οἶον αὐτὸ θέλει.

θ'. Κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὅλων φύσιν ἐκαστα περαινεῖ, οὐ γὰρ κατὰ ἄλλην γέ τινα φύσιν ἦτοι ἐξωθεὶν περιέχοσαν ἢ ἐμπεριεχομένην ἐνδοῦ ἢ ἐξω ἀπρητημένην.

ι'. 'Ητοι κυκεὼν καὶ ἀντεμπλοκὴ καὶ σκεδαιμόνι ἢ ἐνωσίς καὶ τάξις καὶ πρόνοια. εἰ μὲν οὖν τὰ πρότερα, τί καὶ ἐπιθυμῶ εἰκαίως συνκρίματι καὶ φυσμῶ τοιοῦτῳ ἐνδιατρίβειν; τί δὲ μοι καὶ μέλει ἄλλου τινὸς ἢ τοῦ ὅπως ποτὲ "αλα γίνεσθαι"; τί δὲ καὶ ταράσσομαι; ἥτει γὰρ ἐπ' ἐμὲ ὁ σκεδασμός, ὃ τι ἂν πῶς. εἰ δὲ θατερά ἔστι, σέβω καὶ εὐσταθῶ καὶ θαρρῶ τῷ διοικοῦντι.

ια'. "Ὅταν ἀναγκασθῆς ὑπὸ τῶν περιστημῶν οἰονεὶ διαταραχῆς, ταχέως ἐπάνωι εἰς ἐαυτὸν καὶ μὴ ὑπὲρ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἔξιστασο τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ. ἔσθη γὰρ ἐγκρατείστερος τῆς ἀρμονίας τῷ συνεχῶς εἰς αὐτὴν ἐπανέρχεσθαι.

ιβ'. Εἰ μητριαῖν τε ἀμα εἰχες καὶ μητέρα,
BOOK VI

6. The best way of avenging thyself is not to do likewise.¹

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

8. The ruling Reason it is that can arouse and deflect itself, make itself whatever it will,² and invest everything that befalls with such a semblance as it wills.

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

10. Either a medley and a tangled web³ and a dispersion abroad, or a unity and a plan and a Providence. If the former, why should I even wish to abide in such a random welter and chaos? Why care for anything else than to turn again to the dust at last.⁴ Why be disquieted? For, do what I will, the dispersion must overtake me. But if the latter, I bow in reverence, my feet are on the rock, and I put my trust in the Power that rules.

11. When forced, as it seems, by thine environment to be utterly disquieted, return with all speed into thy self, staying in discord no longer than thou must. By constant recurrence to the harmony,⁵ thou wilt gain more command over it.

12. Hadst thou at once a stepmother and a mother

² v. 19. ³ iv. 27; vii. 50.
⁴ Hom. II. vii. 99; cp. below, vii. 50.
⁵ cp. Dio Chrys. xxxii. 676 R. ἣς τῆς ἀρμονίας τῆς κατὰ φύσιν.
ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΑΥΡΕΛΙΟΥΣ

ἐκείνην τ' ἄν ἐθεράπευσεν, καὶ ὁμοίς ἡ ἐπάνοδος σοι πρὸς τὴν μητέρα συνεχῆς ἐγίνετο. τοῦτό σοι νῦν ἔστων ἡ αὐλή καὶ ἡ φιλοσοφία: ὥστε πολλάκις ἔπανθι καὶ προσαναπαύθη ταύτη, δι' ἕν καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ σοι ἀνεκτὰ φαίνεται καὶ σου ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀνεκτός.

νῦν. Ὅλων δὲ τὸ φαντάσιαν λαμβάνειν ἐπὶ τῶν ὄψων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἔως ὅπως, ὡς νεκρὸς οὕτως ἰχθύος, οὕτως οὐκ ὑποκείσθως ἡ χοίρου· καὶ πάλιν ὅτι ὁ Φάλερνος χυλάριον ἐστὶ σταφυλίου, καὶ ἡ περιτορφυρος τριχα'-προβατίου αἰματίῳ κόγχης δεδεμένη καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν συνουσίαν ἐντείρῃ παράτρηψις καὶ μετὰ τῶν σπασμοῦ μυξαρίου ἐκκρίσεις οἷα δὴ αὐτὰ εἰσών αἱ φαντασίαι καθικνούμεναι αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ διεξιόθηκαν δὲ αὐτῶν, ὡστε ὁρᾶν, οὐδὲ τινὰ ποτ' ἔστων οὕτως δὲ παρ' ὅλων τόν βίον ποιεῖ καὶ, ὅπου λίαν ἄξιόπιστα τὰ πράγματα φαντάζεται, ἀπογυμνοῦν αὐτὰ καὶ τὴν εὐτέλειαν αὐτῶν καθορὰν καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν, ἥσπερ ἡ σεμνώνεται, περιαρεῖν. δεινὸς γὰρ ὁ τύφος παραλυστὴς καὶ, ὅτε δοκεῖς μάλιστα περὶ τὰ σπουδαῖα καταγίνεσθαι, τότε μάλιστα καταγοντεύει. ὁρὰ γοῦν, ὁ Κράτης τὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἐνεοκράτους λέγει.

ἰδ'. Τὰ πλεῖστα, δὲν ἡ πληθὺς θαυμάζει, εἰς γενικώτατα ἰσόγειται, τὰ ὑπὸ ἐξεως ἡ φύσεως συνεχόμενα, λίθους, ξύλα, συκᾶς, ἀμπέλους,

1 Sen. Ep. 103.
2 For life in kings' courts see Lucian, Calumni. 10, and Icaro-Men. 16.
3 cp. Lucian, Dem. § 41.
4 cp. Tzetz, Chil. vii. 801. He reads νευπλοῦν for εὐτερποῦν.
BOOK VI

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

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

14. Objects admired by the common sort come chiefly under things of the most general kind, which are held together by physical coherence, such as stones and wood, or by a natural unity, such as figs,

5 It is not known what Marcus here refers to.

6 cp. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. viii. 2; ix. 81, τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ ψυχῆς ἔχεισιν συνέχεται, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ φύσεως, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ ψυχῆς καὶ ἔχεισιν μὲν ὡς λίθοι καὶ ξύλα, φύσεως δὲ καθάπερ τὰ φυτά, ψυχῆς δὲ τὰ ζῷα.
ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΑΥΡΕΛΙΟΥΣ

Ξαλάϊας: Τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ὅληγον μετριωτέρων ἕις τὰ ὑπὸ ψυχῆς, οἷον ποίμνας, ἀγέλας: τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἑτὶ χαριστέρων εἰς τὰ ὑπὸ λογικῆς ψυχῆς, οὐ μέντοι καθολικῆς, ἀλλὰ καθὸ τεχνικῆ ἢ ἀλλοι πτως ἐντρεχῆς, ἢ κατὰ ψελὼν τὸ πλήθος ἀνδραπόδων κεκτήσθαι. ὁ δὲ ψυχὴν λογικῆν καθολικὴν καὶ πολιτικὴν τιμῶν οὐδὲν ἐτὶ τῶν άλλων ἐπιστρέφεται, πρὸ ἀπάτων δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν λογικῶς καὶ κοινωνικῶς ἔχουσαν καὶ κινουμένην διασώζει καὶ τῷ ὅμογενεῖ εἰς τοῦτο συνεργεῖ.

ιε. Τὰ μὲν σπεύδει γίνεσθαι, τὰ δὲ σπεύδει γεγονέναι, καὶ τοῦ γεγομένου δὲ ὡδὴ τι ἀπέσβησεν καὶ ἀλλοιώσεις ἀνανεύοι τοὺς κόσμους δηνεκῶς, ὡσπερ τὸν ἄπειρον αἰώνα ἢ τοῦ χρόνου ἀδιάλειπτος φορὰ νέον ἀεὶ παρέχεται. ἐν δὴ τούτῳ τῷ ποταμῷ τὸ ἄν της τούτων τῶν παραθεόντων ἐκτιμήσεις, ἐφ’ οὐ στήριζεν οὐκ ἔξεστιν; ὡσπερ εἰ τίς τοῖς παραπετομένοις στροφαρίζων φιλεῖν ἄρχοιτο τὸ δ’ ἡδή ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν ἀπελήλυθεν. τοιοῦτον δὴ τι καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ ξοῖ ἐκάστου, οἷον ἡ ἀψί ἀἵματος ἀναθυμίας καὶ ἡ ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος ἀνάπνευσις. ὁποῖον γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ ἀπάξ ἐλκύσαι τὸν ἀέρα καὶ ἀποδοῦναι, ὡσπερ παρέκαστον ποιοῦμεν, τοιοῦτον ἔστι καὶ τὸ τὴν πᾶσαν ἀναπνευστικὴν δύναμιν, ἣν χθές καὶ πρόπη ἀποτελθεῖς ἐκτίσον, ἀποδοῦναι ἐκεῖ, ὅθεν τὸ πρῶτον ἐσπᾶσας.

1 Θαυμαζόμενα Μορ.
BOOK VI

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

15. Some things are hastening to be, others to be no more, while of those that haste into being some part is already extinct. Fluxes and changes perpetually renew the world, just as the unbroken march of time makes ever new the infinity of ages. In this river of change,¹ which of the things which swirl past him, whereon no firm foothold is possible, should a man prize so highly? As well fall in love with a sparrow² that flits past and in a moment is gone from our eyes. In fact a man's life itself is but as an exhalation from blood³ and an inhalation from the air. For just as it is to draw in the air once into our lungs and give it back again, as we do every moment, so is it to give back thither, whence thou didst draw it first, thy faculty of breathing which thou didst receive at thy birth yesterday or the day before.

¹ iv. 43; vii. 19.
² cp. the parable of the sparrow in Bede ii. 13.
³ v. 33.
MARCUS AURELIUS

ις'. Οὔτε τὸ διαπνεῖσθαι ὡς τὰ φυτὰ τίμιον, οὔτε τὸ ἀναπνεῖν ὡς τὰ βοσκήματα καὶ τὰ θηρία, οὔτε τὸ τυποῦσθαι κατὰ φαντασίαν, οὔτε τὸ νευροσπαστεῖσθαι καὶ θ' ὀρμῆ, οὔτε τὸ συναγελάζεσθαι, οὔτε τὸ τρέφεσθαι: τοῦτο γὰρ ὄμοιον τῷ ἄποκράνετο γὰρ περιττόματα τῆς τροφῆς.

2 Τί οὖν τίμιον; τὸ κροτεῖσθαι; οὐχί. οὐκοῦν οὔδε τὸ ὑπὸ γλώσσῶν κροτεῖσθαι: οὐ γὰρ παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν εὐφημίαι κρότος γλώσσῶν. ἀφήκας οὖν καὶ τὸ δοξάμον τί καταλείπεται τίμιον; δοκῶ μὲν τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν κατασκευὴν κινεῖσθαι καὶ ἱσχεσθαι, ἐφ' ὃ καὶ αἱ ἐπιμέλειαι ἀγούσι καὶ αἱ τέχναι. ή τε γὰρ τέχνη πάσα τοῦτο στοχάζεται, ἵνα τὸ κατασκευασθὲν ἐπιτηδείως ἔχῃ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον πρὸς ὃ κατασκευασταὶ ὁ τε φυτουργὸς ὁ ἐπιμελοῦμενος τῆς ἀμπέλου καὶ ὁ πωλοδᾶμενος καὶ ὁ τοῦ κυνὸς ἐπιμελοῦμενος, τοῦτο ζητεῖ. αἱ δὲ παιδαγωγίαι, αἱ δὲ δι- δασκαλίαι ἐπὶ τὶ¹ σπεύδουσιν. ὅδε οὖν τὸ τίμιον.

3 Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἂν εὐ ἔχῃ, οὔδεν τῶν ἄλλων περιποτήσεις σεαυτῷ. οὐ παύσῃ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τίμων; οὔτ' οὖν ἑλεύθερος ἔσῃ οὔτε αὐτάρκης οὔτε ἀπαθής. ἀνάγκη γὰρ φθονεῖν, ζηλοτυπεῖν, ύφορᾶσθαι τοὺς ἀφελέσθαι ἔκεινα δυναμένους, ἐπιβουλεύειν τοῖς ἔχουσι τὸ τιμώμενον ὑπὸ σοῦ. ὅλως πεφύρθαι ἀνάγκη τῶν ἐκείνων τινὸς ἐνδεῖ προσέτι δὲ πολλὰ καὶ τοῖς.

¹ τὶ Π; τὶ AD: perhaps touti.
BOOK VI

16. Neither is it an inner respiration,¹ such as that of plants, that we should prize, nor the breathing which we have in common with cattle and wild animals, nor the impressions we receive through our senses, nor that we are pulled by our impulses like marionettes,² nor our gregarious instincts, nor our need of nutriment; for that is on a par with the rejection of the waste products of our food.

What then is to be prized? The clapping of hands? No. Then not the clapping of tongues either. For the acclamations of the multitude are but a clapping of tongues. So overboard goes that poor thing Fame also. What is left to be prized? This methinks: to limit our action or inaction to the needs of our own constitution, an end that all occupations and arts set before themselves. For the aim of every art is that the thing constituted should be adapted to the work for which it has been constituted. It is so with the vine-dresser who looks after the vines, the colt-trainer, and the keeper of the kennels. And this is the end which the care of children and the methods of teaching have in view. There then is the thing to be prized!

This once fairly made thine own, thou wilt not seek to gain for thyself any of the other things as well. Wilt thou not cease prizing many other things also? Then thou wilt neither be free nor sufficient unto thyself nor unmoved by passion. For thou must needs be full of envy and jealousy, be suspicious of those that can rob thee of such things, and scheme against those who possess what thou prizest. In fine, a man who needs any of those things cannot but be in complete turmoil, and in many cases find

¹ iii. 1. ² ii. 2 etc.
ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΑΥΡΕΛΙΟΣ

θεοὶς μέμψεσθαι· ἡ δὲ τῆς ἴδιας διανοίας αἱδῶς καὶ τιμή σεαυτῷ τε ἄρεστόν σε ποιήσει καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὐάρμοστον καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς σύμφωνον, τοντέστων ἐπαινοῦντα, ὅσα ἐκείνοι διανέμοισι καὶ διατετάχασιν.

ις'. Ἀνω, κατώ, κύκλῳ φοράς τῶν στοιχείων. ἡ δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς κίνησις ἐν οὐδεμᾶ τούτων, ἀλλὰ θειότερον τι καὶ ὁδὸς δυσεπινοήτηρ προϊόνσα εὐνοῶν.

η. Οἶνον ἐστιν, ὃ ποιοῦσί. τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου καὶ μεθ' ἐαυτῶν ἕως τας ἀνθρώπους εὐφημεῖν οὐ θέλουσιν· αὐτοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν μεταγενεστέρων εὐφημισθήσαν, οὐς οὔτε εἰδὼν ποτὲ οὔτε ὕμνουσιν, περὶ πολλῶν ποιοῦνται. τούτῳ δὲ ἐγγύς ἐστὶ τῷ λυπηθήσαν ἂν, ὅτι οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ προγενέστεροι περὶ σοῦ λόγους εὐφημούς ἐποιοῦντο.

ιθ'. Μή, εἰ τι αὐτῷ σοὶ δυσκαταπολύντων, τοῦτο ἀνθρώπῳ ἀδύνατον ὑπολάμβανειν· ἀλλ' εἰ τι ἀνθρώπῳ δυνατὸν καὶ οἰκεῖον, τοῦτο καὶ σεαυτῷ ἐφικτὸν νόμιζε.

κ'. Ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις καὶ ὄνυξι κατέδρυψέ τις καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἔρραγες πληγήν ἐποίησεν· ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐπιστημονόμεθα οὔτε προσκόπτομεν οὔτε ὕφορόμεθα ὑπερτον ὡς ἐπίβουλον· καὶ τοῖς ψυχαγωγοῖς, οὐ μέντοι ὡς ἔχθρον οὐδὲ μεθ' ὑποψίας, ἀλλ' ἐκκλίσεως εὐμενοὺς. τοιοῦτοι τις γενέσθω καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς μέρεσι τοῦ βίου πολλὰ παρενθυμώμεθα τῶν οἷον προσγυμναζόμενων. ἔξεστι γάρ, ὡς ἐφήν, ἐκκλίνειν, καὶ μηδὲν ὑποπτεύειν μηδὲ ἀπέχθεσθαι.

κα'. Εἰ τίς με ἐλέγξαι καὶ παραστήσαι μοι,
BOOK VI

fault even with the Gods. But by reverencing and prizing thine own mind, thou shalt make thyself pleasing in thine own sight, in accord with mankind, and in harmony with the Gods, that is, grateful to them for all that they dispense and have ordained.

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

18. What a way to act! Men are chary of commending their contemporaries and associates, while they themselves set great store by the commendation of posterity, whom they have never seen or shall see. But this is next door to taking it amiss that thy predecessors also did not commend thee.

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

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

21. If any one can prove and bring home to me

1 vi. 41.  2 vi. 17; iv. 46; ix. 28.  3 vii. 53.
ΜARCUS AURELIUS

ὅτι οὖν ὧφθως ὑπολαμβάνων ἡ πράσσω, δύναται, χαίρων μεταθήσομαι: ζητῶ γὰρ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ύπ’ ἦς οὔδείς πῶτοτε ἐβλάβη. βλάπτεται δὲ ὁ ἐπιμένων ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀπάτης καὶ ἀγνοίας.

κβ. 'Εγὼ τὸ εὐμαντοῦ καθήκων ποιῶ· τὰ ἄλλα με οὔ περιστὰ: ἦτοι γὰρ ἄφυγκα ἡ ἀλογα, ἡ πεπλανημένα καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀγνοοῦντά.

κγ. Τοῖς μὲν ἀλόγοις ἵστωσ καὶ καθόλου πράγμασι καὶ ύποκειμένοις, ὡς λόγον ἐχως λόγον μη ἐχουσι, χρόω μεγαλοφρόνως καὶ ἐλευθέρως· τοῖς δὲ ἀνθρώποις, ὡς λόγον ἐχουσι, χρόω κοινωνικῶς. ἐφ’ ἀπασί δὲ θεοὺς ἐπικαλοῦ· καὶ μὴ διαφέρου πρὸς τὸ πόσφρο χρόνο τάτα πράξεις· ἀρκοῦν γὰρ καὶ τρεῖς ὅραι τοιάτω.

κδ. 'Αλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών καὶ ὁ ὅρεωκόμος αὐτοῦ ἀποθανόντες εἰς ταύτο κατέστησαν. ἦτοι γὰρ ἀν>ἐλήφθησαν εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοῦ κόσμου σπερματικοὺς λόγους ἢ διεσκεδάσθησαν ὁμοίως εἰς τὰς ἀτόμους.

κε. 'Ενθυμήθητι, πόσα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀκαριαῖον χρόνον ἐν ἐκάστῳ ἡμῶν ἀμα γίνεται σωματικὰ ὅμοι καὶ ψυχικά: καὶ οὕτως οὐ θαυμάζεις, εἰ πολὺ πλείω, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντα τὰ γυνόμενα εἴ τὸ εἴ ἐν τε καὶ σύμπαντι, δὴ κόσμον ὁνομαζομεν, ἀμα ἐνυφίσταται.

κς. 'Εάν τὸς σοι προβάλῃ, "πῶς γράφεται τὸ 'Αντωνίνου δόμομα," μήτι κατενεώμενος προοιμή ἕκαστον τῶν στοιχείων; τί σοι, εάν ὁργίζωνται,

1 γυνόμενα καὶ γεννητὰ Schenkl.

1 iv. 12; vi. 30, § 2; viii. 16. 2 iv. 46. 3 Usually singular in the Greek. See iv. 14. 21; ix. 1.

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that a conception or act of mine is wrong, I will amend 1 it, and be thankful. For I seek the truth, whereby no one was ever harmed. But he is harmed who persists in his own self-deception and ignorance.

22. I do my own duty; other things do not distract me. For they are either inanimate or irrational, or such as have gone astray and know not the road. 2

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

24. Death reduced to the same condition Alexander the Macedonian and his muleteer, for either they were taken back into the same Seminal Reason 3 of the Universe or scattered alike into the atoms. 4

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

26. If one enquire of thee, How is the name Antonius written? wilt thou with vehemence enunciate each constituent letter? What then? If thy listeners lose their temper, wilt thou lose

4 Marcus puts the two alternatives (Stoic and Epicurean), though he does not himself admit the second.
Μάρκος Αυρελίου

μήτε ἀντοργῇ; οὐκ ἐξαιρισθῆσθαι πρᾶσις προϊῶν ἐκαστον τῶν γραμμάτων; οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἐνθάδε μέμνησο, ὅτι πᾶν καθήκον ἢ ἀριθμὸν τινῶν συμπληρωται. τούτως δεῖ τηροῦντα καὶ μή θορυβούμενον μηδὲ τοῖς δυσχεραίνουσιν ἀντι-
δυσχεραίνοντα περαινειν ὁδῷ τὸ προκειμένον.

κ' Ἡ. Πάσας ὡμόν ἔστι, μή ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὅμον ἐπὶ τὰ φαινόμενα αὐτοῖς οἰκεία καὶ συμφέροντα: καίτοι τρόπον τινὰ ὧν συγ-

κη'. Θάνατος ἀνάπαυλα ἀισθητικῆς ἀντι-
τυπίας καὶ ὀρμητικῆς νευροσπαστίας καὶ δια-
νοητικῆς διεξόδου καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὴν σάρκα λειτουργίας.

κθ'. Λειψάρχον ἐστὶν, ἐν φί βίῳ τὸ σῶμα σοι μὴ ἀπαυδᾶ, ἐν τούτῳ τὴν ψυχὴν προσπαυδᾶν.

λ'. "Ορᾶ, μὴ ἀποκαίσαρωθῆς, μὴ βαφῆς:
γίνεται γὰρ τῆρησαν οὖν σεαυτὸν ἀπλοὺν,
ἀγαθόν, ἀκέραιον, σεμνόν, ἀκρολούθον, τοῦ δικαίου
φίλον, θεοσεβή, εὔμενη, φιλόστοργον, ἐρωμένον
πρὸς τὰ πρέπουσα ἔργα. ἄγωνισαι, ἵνα τοιοῦτος
συμμείνῃς, οἷον σε ἱβέλησε ποιήσαι φιλοσοφία.
αἰδοῦ θεοῦ, σῶζε ἀνθρώπους. βραχὺς ὁ βίος·

1 iii. 1. 2 v. 28.
3 viii. 36. So Marcus himself in a letter to Fronto (ad Caes.
BOOK VI

thine? Wouldst thou not go on gently to enumerate each letter? So recollect that in life too every duty is the sum of separate items. Of these thou must take heed, and carry through methodically what is set before thee, in no wise troubled or shewing counter-irritation against those who are irritated with thee.

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

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

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

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

iv. 8): Turpe fuerit diutius vitam corporis quam animi studium ad recipiendam sanitatem posse durare.

4 There was also a "philosophic dye"; see Lucian, Bis Accus. 8.
Marcus Aurelius

eἰς καρπὸς τῆς ἐπιγείου ζωῆς, διάθεσις ὁσία καὶ πράξεις κοινωνικά.

2 Πάντα ὡς Ἀντωνίου μαθητῆς τὸ ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ λόγον πρασσομένων εὐτύνου ἐκείνου, καὶ τὸ ὁμαλὲς πανταχοῦ, καὶ τὸ ὅσιον, καὶ τὸ εὐδιὸν τοῦ προσώπου, καὶ τὸ μειλίχιον, καὶ τὸ ἀκενόδοξον, καὶ τὸ περὶ τὴν κατάληψιν τῶν πραγμάτων φιλότιμοι καὶ ὡς ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἂν τί ὤλως παρῆκε, μὴ πρότερον εὐ μᾶλα κατιδώ καὶ σαφῶς νοήσασ· καὶ ὡς ἔφερεν ἐκείνοις τοὺς ἁδίκως αὐτῶν μεμφομένους μὴ ἀντιμεμφόμενος καὶ ὡς ἐπ’ οὐδὲν ἔστευνεν καὶ ὡς διαβολὰς οὐκ ἔδέχετο· καὶ ὡς ἀκριβῆς ἦν ἐξεταστής ἥθων καὶ πράξεων· καὶ οὐκ ᾠνειδιστής, οὐ ψοφοδέης, οὐ ψυττῆς, οὐ σοφιστής· καὶ ὡς ὅλως ἁρκούμενος, οἶον οἰκήσει, στρωμῆ, ἔσθητι, προφῆ, ὑπηρεσία καὶ ὡς φιλότιμον καὶ μακροθυμος· καὶ ὅλος μέν<εν> ἐν τῷ <αὐτῷ> μέχρι ἐσπέρας διὰ τὴν λυτὴν δίαταν μηδὲ τοῦ ἀποκρίνειν τὰ περπτώματα παρὰ τὴν συνήθη ὄραν χρήζων· καὶ τὸ βέβαιον καὶ ὁμοιον ἐν ταῖς φιλίαις αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἀνέχεσθαι <τῶν> ἀντιβαίνοντων παρρησιαστικῶς ταῖς γνώμαις αὐτοῦ, καὶ χαίρειν, εἰ τις δεικνύοι κρεῖττον καὶ ὁς θεοσφής χωρίς δεισιδαιμονίας· ὥσ οὕτως ἐνυπνείδητοι σοι ἐπιστῆ ἤ τελευταία ὄρα, ὡς ἐκείνη·

Lambda. Ἀνάνθη τε καὶ ἀνακαλοῦ σειεύντον, καὶ ἔξυπνος θεῖος πάλιν καὶ ἐνυφάσες, ὡς ἡνεροὶ σοι

1 εὐδιὸν Xyl.: εὐδίων PA. 2 μὲν ἐν τῷ PA: as in text Cas.

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harvest of earthly existence, a righteous disposition and social acts.

Do all things as a disciple of Antoninus.\(^1\) Think of his constancy in every act rationally undertaken, his invariable equability, his piety, his serenity of countenance, his sweetness of disposition, his contempt for the bubble of fame, and his zeal for getting a true grip of affairs. How he would never on any account dismiss a thing until he had first thoroughly scrutinized and clearly conceived it; how he put up with those who found fault with him unfairly, finding no fault with them in return; how he was never in a hurry; how he gave no ear to slander,\(^2\) and with what nicety he tested dispositions and acts; was no imputer of blame, and no craven, not a suspicious man, nor a sophist; what little sufficed him whether for lodging or bed, dress, food or attendance; how fond he was of work, and how long-suffering; how he would remain the whole day at the same occupation,\(^3\) owing to his spare diet\(^4\) not even requiring to relieve nature except at the customary time; and how loyal he was to his friends and always the same; and his forbearance towards those who openly opposed his views, and his pleasure when anyone pointed out something better\(^5\); and how god-fearing he was and yet not given to superstition. Take heed to all this, that thy last hour come upon thee as much at peace with thy conscience as he was.

31. Be sober once more and call back thy senses, and being roused again from sleep and, realizing that they were but dreams that beset thee, now awake

\(^1\) cp. i. 16 throughout.  \(^2\) i. 5.  \(^3\) Or, *in the same place*.  \(^4\) cp. i. 3.  \(^5\) vi. 21; viii. 16.
ΜΆRCUS AURELIUS

ημόχλουν, πάλιν ἐγρηγορῶς βλέπε ταῦτα, ὡς ἐκείνα ἐβλέπετε.

κυ. 'Εκ σωματίου εἰμὶ καὶ ψυχῆς. τὸ μὲν οὖν σωματίω πάντα ἀδιάφορα· οὐδὲ γὰρ δύναται διαφέρεσθαι. τῇ δὲ διανοίᾳ ἀδιάφορα, ὅσα μὴ ἔστων αὐτῆς ἑνεργήματα· ὅσα δὲ γε αὐτῆς ἔστων ἑνεργήματα, ταῦτα πάντα ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἔστων. καὶ τούτων μέντοι περὶ μόνον τὸ παρὸν πραγματεύεται· τὰ γὰρ μέλλοντα καὶ παροχήκοτα ἑνεργήματα αὐτῆς καὶ αὐτὰ ἦδη ἀδιάφορα.

λγ. Οὐκ ἔστων ὁ πόνος τῇ χειρὶ οὐδὲ τῷ ποδὶ παρὰ φύσιν, μέχρις ἂν ποιήσῃ ὁ ποῦς τὰ τοῦ ποδὸς καὶ ἡ χειρὶ τὰ τῆς χειρός. οὕτως οὖν οὐδὲ ἄνθρωπῷ, ὡς ἄνθρωπῷ, παρὰ φύσιν ἔστων ὁ πόνος, μέχρις ἂν ποιῇ τὰ τοῦ ἄνθρωπον. εἰ δὲ παρὰ φύσιν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔστων, οὐδὲ κακῶν ἔστων αὐτῷ.

λδ. Ἡλάκας ἣδονᾶς ἰσθήσαν λησταί, κίναιδοι, πατραλοίαι, τύραννοι.

λε. Οὐχ ὁρᾶς, πῶς οἱ βάναυσοι τεχνίται ἀρμόζουνται μὲν μέχρι τινὸς πρὸς τοὺς ἱδιώτας, οὖν ἦσαν μέντοι ἀντέχονται τοῦ λόγου τῆς τέχνης, καὶ τούτων ἀποστήναι οὐχ ὑπομένουσιν; οὐ δεινόν, εἰ οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ ἰστρός μᾶλλον αἰδέσονται τῷ τῆς ἱδιᾶς τέχνης λόγῳ ἢ οἱ ἄνθρωποι τῶν ἑαυτῶν, δι αὐτὸ κοινὸς ἔστι πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς;

λς. Ἡ Ἀσία, ἡ Εὐρώπη γονία τοῦ κόσμου πάν πέλαγος σταγῶν τοῦ κόσμου. 'Αθως βολάριον τοῦ κόσμου. πᾶν τὸ ἐνεστῶς τοῦ χρόνου στυγμῆ τοῦ αἰώνος. πάντα μικρά, εὔτρεπτα, ἐναφανιζόμενα.

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again, look at these realities as thou didst at those thy dreams.

32. I consist of body and soul.\textsuperscript{1} To the body indeed all things are indifferent, for it cannot concern itself with them. But to the mind\textsuperscript{2} only those things are indifferent which are not its own activities; and all those things that are its own activities are in its own power. Howbeit, of these it is only concerned with the present; for as to its activities in the past and the future, these two rank at once among things indifferent.

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

34. The pleasures of the brigand, the pathic, the parricide, the tyrant\textsuperscript{3}—just think what they are!

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

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

\textsuperscript{1} v. 13. \textsuperscript{2} Here διάνοια = ψυχή. \textsuperscript{3} v. 10.
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2. Pànta ēkeíden ēρχεται, ἀπ’ ἐκείνου τοῦ κοινοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ ὀρμήσαντα ἢ κατ’ ἐπακολούθησιν. καὶ τὸ χάσμα οὐν τοῦ λέοντος καὶ τὸ δηλητήριον καὶ πᾶσα κακουργία, ως ἁκανθα, ως βόρβορος, ἐκείνων ἐπιγενήματα τῶν σεμνῶν καὶ καλῶν. μή οὖν αὐτὰ ἀλλότρια τούτου, οὐ σέβεισ, φαντάξου ἄλλα τὴν πάντων πηγήν ἐπιλογίζου.

λζ’. Ὁ τὰ νῦν ἰδὼν πάντα ἐὕρακεν, ὡσα τε ἐξ ἀυίνου ἐγένετο καὶ οὐς εἰς τὸ ἀπειρον ἔσται; πάντα γὰρ ὁμογενὴ καὶ ὀμοειδῆ.

λη’. Πολλάκις ἐνυμούμεν τὴν ἐπισύνδεσιν πάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ σχέσιν πρὸς ἄλληλα. τρόπον γὰρ τῶν πάντα ἄλληλοις ἐπιπέπλεκται, καὶ πάντα κατὰ τοῦτο φίλα ἄλληλοις ἔστιν· καὶ γὰρ ἄλλης ἄλλο1 ἔζησ ἔστι ταῦτα2 διὰ τὴν τοικήν κίνησιν3 καὶ σύμπυκνοιν καὶ τὴν ἐνωσίν τῆς οὐσίας.

λθ’. Οἷς συγκέκλησαί πράγμασί, τοῦτοις συνάρμοζε σεαυτὸν· καὶ οἷς συνείληχας ἀνθρώποις, τοῦτοις φίλει, ἄλλ’ ἄληθινώς.

μ’. Ὅργανον, ἐργαλεῖον, σκεύος πᾶν εἰ, πρὸς ὁ κατασκεύασται, ποιεῖ, εὐ ἐχεῖ· καίτοι ἐκεῖ ὁ κατασκευάσας ἐκποδῶν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ὑπὸ φύσεως συνεχομένων ἐνδον ἐστὶ καὶ παραμένει ἡ κατα- σκευάσας δύναμις; καθὸ καὶ μᾶλλον αἰδείσθαι αὐτῆν δεὶ καὶ νομίζειν, εὰν κατὰ τὸ βούλημα

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1 ἄλλα ἄλλο Cor.: ἄλλα P ἄλλο A.
2 τοῦτο PA: ταῦτα Schenkl.
3 τοπικὴ κόνησις P by an obvious misprint as Xyl. translates constantem motum.

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1 ii. 3 ; v. 8, § 5 ; xii. 26. 2 iii. 2.
3 ii. 14 ; iv. 32 ; vii. 1, 49 ; xi. 1 ; xii. 24.
BOOK VI

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

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

38. Meditate often on the intimate union and mutual interdependence of all things in the Universe. For in a manner all things are mutually intertwined, and thus all things have a liking for one another. For these things are consequent one on another by reason of their contracting and expanding motion, the sympathy that breathes through them, and the unity of all substance.

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

40. Every implement, tool, or vessel is well if it do the work for which it is made, and yet in their case the maker is not at hand. But in the things which owe their organic unity to Nature, the Power that made is within them and abides there. Wherefore also must thou reverence it the more, and

4 τοιχήν; see Index III.
6 vii. 57.
7 vi. 48; viii. 22. cp. 1 St. Peter, i. 22.
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ταύτης σαυτὸν ἔχεις καὶ διεξάγης ἔχεις σοι πάντα κατὰ νοῦν. ἔχει δὲ σούτως καὶ τῷ παντὶ κατὰ νοῦν τὰ ἐαυτοῦ.

μα'. "Ὁ τι ἀν τῶν ἀπροαιρέτων ὑποστήσῃς σαυτῷ ἀγαθὸν ἡ κακὸν, ἀνάγκῃ κατὰ τὴν περιπτώσιν τοῦ τοιούτου κακοῦ ἢ τὴν ἀπότευξιν τοῦ τοιούτου ἀγαθοῦ, μέμψασθαί σε θεοῖς, καὶ ἀνθρώπους δὲ μισήσαι τοὺς αἰτίους ὀντας ἢ ὑποπτευομένους ἔσεσθαι τῆς ἀποτεύξεως ἢ τῆς περιπτώσεως· καὶ ἀδίκωμεν δὴ πολλὰ διὰ τὴν πρὸς ταύτα διαφοράν. ἐὰν δὲ μόνα τὰ ἔφ' ἡμῖν ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακὰ κρίνωμεν, οὐδεμιὰ αἰτία καταλεῖπεται οὔτε θείῳ ἐγκαλέσαι οὔτε πρὸς ἀνθρώπων στάσιν πολεμίον.

μῆ'. Πάντες εἰς ἐν ἀποτέλεσμα συνεργοῦμεν, οί μὲν εἰδότως καὶ παρακολουθητικῶς, οἱ δὲ ἀνεπιστάτως· ὥστε καὶ "τοὺς καθεύδοντας," οἶμαι, ὃ Ἰράκλειτος "ἐργάτας εἶναι" λέγει, καὶ συνεργοῦν τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ γυνομένων. ἄλλος δὲ κατ' ἄλλο συνεργεῖ· ἐκ περιουσίας δὲ καὶ ὁ μεμφόμενος καὶ ὁ ἀντιβαίνων πειρόμενος καὶ ἀναιρεῖν τὰ γυνόμενα. καὶ γὰρ τοῦ τοιούτου ἔχρηζεν ὁ κόσμος. λοιπὸν οὖν σύνες, εἰς τίνας σεαυτὸν κατατάσσεσι· ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ πάντως σοι καλὸς χρήσεται ὁ τὰ ὀλὰ διοικῶν, καὶ παράδεξεται σὲ εἰς μέρος τί τῶν συνεργῶν καὶ συνεργητικῶν. ἀλλὰ σὺ μὴ τοιοῦτο μέρος γένη, οἶος

1 αὐτῶν A: omit P: σαυτὸν Cor.: αὐτὸς Schenkl.
2 ἔχεις καὶ P: omit A.

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realize that if thou keep and conduct thyself ever according to its will, all is to thy mind. So also to its mind are the things of the Universe.

41. If thou regardest anything not in thine own choice as good or evil for thyself, it is inevitable that, on the incidence of such an evil or the miscarriage of such a good, thou shouldst upbraid the Gods,¹ aye, and hate men as the actual or supposed cause of the one or the other; and in fact many are the wrong-doings we commit by setting a value on such things.² But if we discriminate as good and evil only the things in our power, there is no occasion left for accusing the Gods ³ or taking the stand of an enemy towards men.

42. We are all fellow-workers towards the fulfilment of one object, some of us knowingly and intelligently, others blindly; just as Heraclitus, I think, says that even when they sleep men are workers and fellow-agents in all that goes on in the world.⁴ One is a co-agent in this, another in that, and in abundant measure also he that murmurs and seeks to hinder or disannul what occurs. For the Universe had need of such men also. It remains then for thee to decide with whom thou art ranging thyself. For He that controls the Universe will in any case put thee to a good use and admit thee to a place among his fellow-workers and coadjutors. But see that thou fill no such place as the paltry

¹ vi. 16 § 3; ix. 1 ad med. cp. Epict. i. 27 § 13.
² i.e. treating as important things which are ἀδιάφορα, or of no consequence either way.
³ vi. 16 § 3.
⁴ cp. iv. 46. But Plutarch in his treatise On Superstition cites a saying of Heraclitus to the effect that sleepers live in a world of their own.

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ὁ εὐτελῆς καὶ γελοῖος στίχος ἐν τῷ δράματι, οὐ Χρύσιππος μέμνηται.

μύ. Μήτι ὁ ἦλιος τὰ τοῦ ῥετοῦ ἄξιοι ποιεῖν; μή τι ὁ Ἀσκληπιός τὰ τῆς Καρποφόρου; τί δὲ τῶν ἄστρων ἔκαστον; οὐχὶ διάφορα μὲν, συνεργά δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα;

μῦ. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐβουλεύσαντο περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐμοί συμβήναι ὀφειλόντων οἱ θεοί, καλῶς ἐβουλεύσαντο. ἂν θεόν γὰρ θεόν οὐδὲ ἐπιστήσαι τάρδιον κακοποιήσαι δὲ με διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν ἔμελλον ὀρμᾶν; τί γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ τῷ κοινῷ, οὐ μάλιστα προνοοῦνται, ἐκ τούτου περιεγένετο; εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐβουλεύσαντο κατ’ ἱδίαν περὶ ἐμοῦ, περὶ γε τῶν κοινῶν πάντως ἐβουλεύσαντο, οἷς κατ’ ἐπακολούθησιν καὶ ταῦτα συμβαίνοντα ἀσπάζοντα καὶ στέργειν ὀφείλω. εἰ δ’ ἀρα περὶ μηδενὸς βουλεύονται (πιστεύεις μὲν οὐχ ὀσιον), ἡ μὴθὲ θύμων μηθὲ εὐχόμεθα μηθὲ ὄμνύωμεν μηθὲ τὰ ἀλλὰ πράσσομεν, ἀπέρ ἐκαστὰ ὡς πρὸς παρόντας καὶ συμβιούντας τοὺς θεοὺς πράσσομεν. εἰ δὲ ἀρα περὶ μηδενὸς τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς βουλεύονται, ἐμοὶ μὲν ἔξεστι περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ βουλεύονται: ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐστι σκέψις περὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος. συμφέρει δὲ ἐκάστῳ, τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κατασκευὴν καὶ φύσιν ὥς ἐμὴ φύσις λογική καὶ πολιτικὴ πόλις καὶ πατρίς ὃς μὲν

1 Plutarch (adv. Stoic. §§ 13, 14) vigorously denounces this sophism, as he counts it, of Chrysippus that what is evil in itself has a value as a foil to the good. He quotes Chrysippus (Frag. Phys. 1181 Arnim):

διόπερ γὰρ αἱ κοιμοδίαι ἐπιγράμματα γελοῖα φήμουσιν ἄ καθ’ ἑαυτὰ μὲν ἐστι φαῦλα, τῷ δὲ δὴ ποιήσαι χάριν τίνα προσίθησιν,

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and ridiculous line in the play which Chrysippus mentions. 1

43. Does the sun take upon himself to discharge the functions of the rain? or Asclepius of the Fruit-bearer? 2 And what of each particular star? Do they not differ in glory yet co-operate to one end?

44. If the Gods have taken counsel about me and the things to befall me, doubtless they have taken good counsel. For it is not easy even to imagine a God without wisdom. And what motive could they have impelling them to do me evil? For what advantage could thereby accrue to them or to the Universe which is their special care? But if the Gods have taken no counsel for me individually, yet they have in any case done so for the interests of the Universe, and I am bound to welcome and make the best of 3 those things also that befall as a necessary corollary to those interests. But if so be they take counsel about nothing at all—an impious belief—in good sooth let us have no more of sacrifices and prayers and oaths, nor do any other of these things every one of which is a recognition of the Gods as if they were at our side and dwelling amongst us—but if so be, I say, they do not take counsel about any of our concerns, it is still in my power to take counsel about myself, and it is for me to consider my own interest. And that is to every man's interest which is agreeable to his own constitution and nature. But my nature is rational and civic; my city and country, οὖτως ψέξειας δν αὐτὴν ἑφ' ἐαυτῆς τὴν κακίαν· τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις οὐκ ἀχρηστός ἐστιν.

2 That is, the Earth, or possibly Demeter.

3 v. 8 § 3; x. 6, 11.
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'Αντωνίφει μοι ἡ Ὁμήρη, ὡς δὲ ἀνθρώπῳ ὁ κόσμος. τὰ ταῖς πόλεσιν οὖν ταύταις ὥφέλμα μόνα ἐστὶ μοι ἀγαθά.

με'. "Οσα ἐκάστῳ συμβαίνει, ταῦτα τῷ ὄλῳ συμφέρει; ἢρκει τούτῳ. ἀλλ' ἐτὶ ἐκεῖνο ὡς ἐπίταυ ὤνει παραφυλάξας, ὃσα ἄνθρώπῳ, καὶ ἐτέρους ἄνθρώπους. κοινότερον δὲ νῦν τὸ συμφέρον ἐπὶ τῶν μέσων λαμβανέσθω.

μυ'. "Ωσπερ προσίσταται σοι τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀμφιθεάτρῳ καὶ τοῖς τοιουτοῖς χωρίοις, ὡς ἀεὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ὀρόμενα, καὶ τὸ ὁμοειδὲς προσκορή τὴν θέαν ποιεῖ· τούτῳ καὶ ἐπὶ ὅλου τοῦ βίου πάσχειν πάντα γὰρ ἀνω κάτω τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν. μέχρι τίνος οὖν;

μ(ray). Ἐν αὐτῷ συνεχῶς παντοίους ἀνθρώπους καὶ παντοίων μὲν ἐπιτηθεμάτων, παντοδαπῶν δὲ ἑβυνὼν, τεθνεώτας; ὡστε κατιέιναι τούτῳ μέχρι Φιλιστίηνος καὶ Φοῖβου καὶ Ὀρυγανίῳς. μέτιθι νῦν ἐπὶ τὰ ἄλλα φύλα. ἐκεί δὴ μεταβαλεῖν ἡμᾶς δει, ὅπου τοσοῦτοι μὲν δεινοὶ ρήτορες, τοσοῦτοι δὲ σεμνοὶ φιλόσοφοι, Ἡρᾶκλείτου, Πυθαγόρας, Σωκράτης τοσοῦτοι δὲ ἱρως πρότερον, τοσοῦτοι δὲ ὠστερον στρατηγοὶ, τύραννοι. ἐπὶ τοῦτοις δὲ Εὐδαξός, Ἰππαρχος, Ἀρχιμήδης, ἀλλὰ φύσεις δεξεῖται, μεγαλόφρονες, φιλόπονοι, πανούργοι, αὐτάδεις, αὐτής τῆς ἐπικήρ-

1 v. 8; x. 6 etc.
2 i.e. indifferent, neither good nor bad.
3 A personal touch. See Fronto, ad Caes. iv. 12: theatro libros lectitabant; ii. 6. idem theatrum, idem odium (v.l. otium); cp. ii. 10; Naber, p. 34; cp. Capit. xv. § 1.
4 A Cynic philosopher of Gadara. His Syrian compatriot, Lucian, the prince of mockers, was yet alive and mocking.
BOOK VI

as Antoninus, is Rome; as a man, the world. The things then that are of advantage to these communities, these, and no other, are good for me.

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

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

47. Never lose sight of the fact that men of all kinds, of all sorts of vocations and of every race under heaven, are dead; and so carry thy thought down even to Philistion and Phoebus and Origanion. Now turn to the other tribes of men. We must pass at last to the same bourne whither so many wonderful orators have gone, so many grave philosophers, Heraclitus, Pythagoras, Socrates: so many heroes of old time, and so many warriors, so many tyrants of later days: and besides them, Eudoxus, Hipparchus, Archimedes, and other acute natures, men of large minds, lovers of toil, men of versatile powers, men of strong will, mockers, like Menippus

*cp. Luc. Pisc. 26, where the Scholiast (Arethas) refers to this passage. Diog. Laert. mentions a Meleager, the contemporary of Menippus, as a writer of similar character.*
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οὐ καὶ ἐφημέρου τῶν ἀνθρώπων ζωῆς χλευασταῖ, οἷον Μένιππος καὶ ὁ ὁσοὶ τοιούτοι. περὶ πάντων τούτων ἐννόει, ὅτι πάλαι κεῖνται. τί οὖν τοῦτο δεινὸν αὐτοῖς; τί δαί τοῖς μηδ’ ὁνομαζομένοις ὀλω; Ἐν ὅδε πολλοῦ άξιον, τὸ μετ’ ἀληθείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης εὐμενῆ τοῖς ψεύσταις καὶ ἀδίκοις διαβιοῦν.

μη’. Ἐπειτα εὐφράναι σεαυτὸν θέλης, ἐνθυμοῦ τὰ προτερήματα τῶν συμβιούντων οἷον τοῦ μὲν τὸ δραστήριον, τοῦ ὅτε τὸ αἰεὶμον, τοῦ ὅτε τὸ εὐμετάδοτον, ἄλλου ὅτε ἄλλο τί. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὔτως εὐφραίνει, ὡς τὰ ὁμοιόματα τῶν ἁρετῶν ἐμφανόμενα τοῖς ἤθεσι τῶν συζύγων καὶ ἁθρόα ὡς οἶν τοις συμπίπτοντα. διὸ καὶ πρόχειρα αὐτὰ ἐκτέον.

μθ’. Μήτε δυσχεραίνεις, ὅτι τοσοῦτε τινων λυτρῶν εἰ καὶ οὐ τρικοσίων; οὔτω δὲ καὶ ὅτι μέχρι τοσοῦτε ἑτῶν βιωτέον σοι καὶ οὐ μέχρι πλείονος; ὦσπερ γὰρ τῆς σώσιας ὅσον ἀφορισταῖ σοι στέργεις, οὔτως καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ χρόνου.

ν’. Πειρῶ μὲν πέθειν αὐτοὺς, πράττε δὲ καὶ ἰκώντων, ὅταν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ὁ λόγος οὔτως ἄγη. ἐάν μένιτο βίας τις προσχρώμενος ἐνιστη- 

ται, μετάβαινε ἐπὶ τὸ εὐάρεστον καὶ ἄλυπον, καὶ συγχρὼ εἰς ἀλλήν ἁρετὴν τῇ κωλύσει, καὶ μέμνησο, ὅτι μεθ’ ὑπεξαιρέσεως ἄρμας, ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἀδυνάτων οὐκ ἁρέγουν. τίνος οὖν;

1 τῶν ἰκώντων P : αὐτῶν ἀκ. Menag.
BOOK VI

and many another such, of man's perishable and transitory life itself. About all these reflect that they have long since been in their graves. What terrible thing then is this for them? What pray for those whose very names are unknown? One thing on earth is worth much—to live out our lives in truth and justice, and in charity with liars and unjust men.

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

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

50. Try persuasion first, but even though men would say thee nay, act when the principles of justice so direct. Should any one however withstand thee by force, take refuge in being well-content and unhurt, and utilize the obstacle for the display of some other virtue. Recollect that the impulse thou hadst was conditioned by circumstances, and thine aim was not to do impossibilities. What then was it?

1 But cp. v. 10.
2 iv. 1; v. 20.
3 Lit. was with a reservation, i.e. "should circumstances allow." cp. iv. 1; viii. 41.
Marcus Aurelius

tής τοιαύτης τινος ὀρμῆς. τούτου δὲ τυγχάνεις· ἐφ’ οίς προῆχθημεν, ταύτα γίνεται.

να’. Ὅ μὲν φιλόδοξος ἀλλοτρίαν ἐνέργειαν ἰδιον ἀγαθὸν ύπολαμβάνει, ὁ δὲ φιλήδονος ἰδιαν πείσιν· ὁ δὲ νοῦν ἔχων ἰδιαν πράξιν.

νβ’. Ἐξεστὶ περὶ τούτου μηδὲν ύπολαμ- βάνειν καὶ μὴ ὀχλεῖσθαι τῇ ψυχῇ· αὐτὰ γὰρ τὰ πράγματα οὐκ ἔχει φύσιν ποιητικὴν τῶν ἡμετέρων κρίσεων.

νγ’. Ἐθίσσαν σεαυτὸν πρὸς τῷ ὑφ’ ἐτέρου λεγομένῳ γίνεσθαι ἀπαρενθυμήτως καὶ ὡς οἶνον τε ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ λέγοντος γίνον.

νδ’. Τὸ τῷ σμήνης μὴ συμφέρον οὐδὲ τῇ μελίσσῃ συμφέρει.

νε’. Εἰ κυβερνῶντα οἱ ναῦται ἢ ἰατρεύοντα οἱ κάμνοντες κακῶς ἔλεγον, ἀλλὰ τινὶ ἄν προσεἴχον ἢ πῶς αὐτὸς ἐνέργεια τὸ τοῖς ἐμπλέ- ουσι σωτήριον ἢ τὸ τοῖς θεραπευομένοις ἤγιεινον;

νφ’. Πόσοι, μεθ’ δὲν εἰσήλθον εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἦδη ἀπεληλύθασιν.

νς’. Ἰκτερίῳ τὸ μέλι πικρὸν φαίνεται καὶ λυσσοδήκτως τὸ ὕδωρ φοβερῶν καὶ παιδίως τὸ σφαιρίον καλὸν. τι σὺν ὄργιξομαι; ἢ δοκεῖ σοι ἐλασσόν ἱσχύειν τὸ διεψυχεμένον ἢ τὸ χόλον τῷ ἱκτερίῳ καὶ ὁ ἴδις τῷ λυσσοδήκτῳ;

νη’. Κατὰ τὸν λόγον τῆς σῆς φύσεως βιοῦν σε

1 If προσεἴχον is 1st pers. sing. we must with Richards read ἐνέργειαν and understand ἐμὲ with κυβερνῶντα: τὸς ἐν τῖς Schenkl.
BOOK VI

To feel some such impulse as thou didst. In that thou art successful. That which alone was in the sphere of our choice is realized. 

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

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

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

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

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

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

57. To the jaundiced honey tastes bitter; and the victim of hydrophobia has a horror of water; and to little children their ball is a treasure. Why then angry? Or dost thou think that error is a less potent factor than bile in the jaundiced and virus in the victim of rabies?

58. From living according to the reason of thy nature no one can prevent thee: contrary to the

1 Casaubon translates "that for which we were brought into the world," but can προδρόμω mean this?
2 Obviously no contradiction of iv. 18 etc. See also vii. 4. 30.
3 v. 22.
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οὐδεὶς κωλύσει· παρὰ τὸν λόγον τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως οὐδέν σοι συμβῆσεται.


νῆ· Οἱ οἶα εἰσίν, οἷς θέλουσιν ἀρέσκειν, καὶ δι’ οἷα περιγινόμενα, καὶ δι’ οὐν ἑνεργεῖον. ὡς ταχὲς ο ἁίων πάντα· καλύψει· καὶ ὁ σὰ ἐκάλυψεν ἡ δὴ.
BOOK VI

reason of the Universal Nature nothing shall befall thee.

59. The persons men wish to please,\(^1\) the objects they wish to gain, the means they employ—think of the character of all these! How soon will Time hide all things! How many a thing has it already hidden!

vii. 62.

To Here for Saturday
α'. Τι ἐστὶ κακία; τούτ' ἐστιν, δ' πολλάκις εἶδες. καὶ ἐπὶ παντὸς δὲ τού συμβαίνοντος πρόχειρον ἔχε, ὅτι τούτῳ ἐστὶν, δ' πολλάκις εἰδες. ὅλως ἀνω κατω τὰ αὐτὰ εὐρήσεις, ὅν μεσταί αἱ ἱστορίαι αἱ παλαιαί, αἱ μέσαι, αἱ ὑπόγυιοι. ὅν νῦν μεσταί αἱ πόλεις καὶ <αί>1 οἰκίαι. οὐδὲν καινὼν πάντα καὶ συνήθη καὶ ὀλγοχρόνια.

β'. *H 2 τὰ δόγματα πῶς ἀλλως δύναται νεκρωθῆναι, ἐδώ μὴ αἱ καταλληλοὶ αὐτοῖς φαντασίαι σβεσθῶσιν; ἃς διηνέκεις ἀναξιωτυρεῖν ἐπὶ σοὶ ἐστι. δύναμαι περὶ τούτου, δ' ἐδώ, ὑπολαμβάνειν εἰ δ' ἀρα 3 δύναμαι, τὰ ταράσσομαι; τὰ ἔξω τῆς ἐμῆς διανοίας οὐδὲν δῶς πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν διάνοιαν. τοῦτο μάθε καὶ ὀρθὸς εἰ.

2 Ἀναβιῶναι σοὶ ἑξεστιν· ἵδε πάλιν τὰ πράγματα, ὡς ἑώρας· ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ τὸ ἀναβιῶναι.

γ'. Πομπῆς κενοσπουδία, ἐπὶ σκηνῆς δράματα, ποίμνα, ἄγελα, διαδορατισμοὶ, κυνικῶς ὀστάριον ἐρριμένον, ψωμίων εἰς τὰς τῶν ἱχθύων δεξαμενάς, μυρμήκων ταλαιπωρίας καὶ ἀκροφορίας.

1 <αί> Cor.
3 γὰρ A : δ' ἢρα Schenkl.
4 After διαδορατισμοὶ Looff ingeniously inserts τί εἰσι μοι; τί ἐμοι; Schenkl.

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BOOK VII

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

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

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

3. Empty love of pageantry, stage-plays, flocks and herds, sham-fights, a bone thrown to lap-dogs, crumbs cast in a fish-pond, painful travail of ants and their bearing of burdens, skurrings of scared little

1 Eccles. i. 9. cp. also Justin's Apol. i. 57, addressed to Pius and Marcus.

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ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΑΥΡΕΛΙΟΣ

μυιδίων ἐπτομημένων διαδρομαί, σιγιλλάρια νευρο-
σπαστούμενα. χρή οὖν εἰν τούτοις εὐμενῶς μὲν καὶ
μὴ καταφροναττόμενον ἐστάναι· παρακολουθεῖν
μέντοι, ὅτι τοσοῦτον ἄξιος ἐκαστός ἐστίν, ὡσον
ἀξιά ἐστὶ ταῦτα, περὶ ἀ ἐστούδακεν.

δ' ᾗ κατὰ λέξιν παρακολουθεῖν τοῖς λεγο-
μένοις, καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην ὄρμην τοῖς γνωμένοις.
καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ ἐτέρου εὐθὺς ὀράν, ἐπὶ τίνα
σκοπὸν ἡ ἀναφορά· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐτέρου παρα-
φυλάσσειν, τί τὸ σημαινόμενον.

ε'. Πότερον ἑξαρκεῖ ἡ διάνοια μου πρὸς τοῦτο
ἡ οὖ; εἰ μὲν ἑξαρκεῖ, χρωμάι αὐτῇ πρὸς τὸ ἐργον,
ὡς ὀργάνῳ παρά τής τῶν ὅλων ψύχως δοθέντι.
εἰ δὲ μὴ ἑξαρκεῖ, ἦτοι παραχωρῶ τοῦ ἐργού τῷ
δυνάμενον κρείττον ἐπιτελέσαι, ἐὰν ἄλλως τούτῳ
μὴ καθήκη, ἡ πρᾶσσος, ὡς δύναμαι, προσπαρα-
λαβὼν τῶν δυνάμενον κατὰ πρόσχρησιν τοῦ ἐμοῦ
ἡγεμονικοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν νῦν
καύριον καὶ χρῆσιμον. ὃ τι γὰρ ἄν δὲ ἐμαυτοῦ
ἡ σὺν ἄλλῳ ποιῶ, ὡδὲ μόνον χρή συντείνειν, εἰς
τὸ κοινὴ χρῆσιμον καὶ εὐάρμοστον.

ζ'. Ὁσοὶ μὲν πολυμυνητοὶ γενόμενοι ἦδη
λήθῃ παραδέδονται· ὅσοι δὲ τούτους ὑμισταντε
πάλαι ἔκποδων.

ζ'. Ἡ αἰσχύνοι βοηθούμενος· πρόκειται γάρ
σοι ἐνεργεῖν τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ὡς στρατιώτη ἐν
teichomachία. τί οὖν, εὰν σὺ μὲν χωλαίνων ἐπὶ
tὴν ἐπαλξὲν ἀναβῆναι μόνος μὴ δύνῃ, σὺν ἄλλῳ
dὲ δυνατὸν ἢ τοῦτο;

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1 ii. 2 etc. 2 cp. ix. 41 (Epicurus).
3 v. 16. cp. Dem. Olynth. iii. 32: ἄττα γὰρ ἀν τὰ ἐπιτη-
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BOOK VII

mice, puppets moved by strings.\(^1\) Amid such environment therefore thou must take thy place graciously and not ‘snorting defiance,’\(^2\) nay thou must keep abreast of the fact that everyone is worth just so much as those things are worth in which he is interested.\(^3\)

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

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

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

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

\(^1\) εὖματα τῶν ἄνθρωπων ἃ, τοιούτων ἀναγκὴ καὶ τὸ φρόνημα ἔχειν. 
\(^2\) Clem. Alex. Strom. iv. 23. 
\(^3\) vi. 53. 
\(^4\) iv. 12. 
\(^5\) iii. 10; iv. 33; viii. 21. 
\(^6\) i. 12. See saying of Marcus, Capit. xxii. 4, quoted below, p. 360.
MARCUS AURELIUS

η'. Τὰ μέλλοντα μὴ ταρασσότω ἥξεις γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτά, εἰάν δεηήσῃ, φέρων τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον, φὶ νῦν πρὸς τὰ παρόντα χρὰ.

θ'. Πᾶντα ἀλλήλοις ἐπιπλέκεται καὶ ἡ σύνδεσις ἱερὰ, καὶ σχεδὸν τι οὐδὲν ἀλλότριον ἄλλο ἀλλὰ φυσικά συγκατατέθεται γὰρ καὶ συγκοσμεῖ τὸν αὐτὸν κόσμον. κόσμος τε γὰρ εἰς ἐξ ἀπάντων, καὶ θεὸς εἰς διὰ πάντων, καὶ οὐσία μία, καὶ νόμος εἰς, λόγος κοινὸς πάντων τῶν νοερῶν ζῴων, καὶ ἀλληλεία μία: ἐγιγίνε καὶ τελείοτης μία τῶν ὁμογενῶν καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου μεταχόντων ζῴων.

ι'. Πάν τὸ ἐνυλον ἐναφανίζεται τάχιστα τῇ τῶν ὅλων οὐσίᾳ: καὶ πάν αἴτιον εἰς τὸν τῶν ὅλων λόγον τάχιστα ἀναλαμβάνεται: καὶ παντὸς μνήμη τάχιστα ἐγκαταχωμένη καὶ τῷ αἰώνι.

ια'. Τῷ λογικῷ ζῷῳ ἡ αὐτὴ πράξεις κατὰ φύσιν ἐστὶ καὶ κατὰ λόγον.

ιβ'. Ὄρθος ἡ ἴ ὀρθούμενος.

ιγ'. Ὅλον ἐστὶν ἐν ἡμιμένῳ τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος, τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν λόγον ἐν διεστόσι τὰ λογικὰ πρὸς μίαν τινὰ συνεργίαν κατεσκευασμένα. μᾶλλον δὲ σοὶ ἡ τοῦτον νόησις προσπεσεῖται, εάν πρὸς ἐαυτὸν πολλάκις λέγησ, ὅτι ἑλέος εἰμὶ τοῦ ἐκ τῶν λογικῶν συστήματος. εάν δὲ [διὰ τοῦ ῥῶ στοιχείου] ἑμέρος εἶναι ἐαυτῶν λέγησ, οὔτω ἀπὸ καρδίας φιλεῖς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, οὔτω σε καταληκτικῶς οὐφραίνει τὸ ἐνεργείτων ἐτείς ὡς

1 μὴ Κασ.
2 καταληκτικῶς ("assured delight") PA : em. Gat.
3 ἐτεί εἰ ὡς Α.

1 vi. 38. 2 iv. 45. 3 iv. 4.

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

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

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

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

12. Upright, or made upright.

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

6 cp. vii. 7; but see iii. 5.

7 The pun may be kept by limb—rim.

8 cp. iv. 20.

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πρέπον αυτὸ ψιλὸν ποιεῖς· οὕτω ώς σαυτὸν εὑροί ποιῶν.

ιδ'· Ο θέλει, ἐξώθεν προςπιτέτω τοῖς παθεῖν ἐκ τῆς προσπτώσεως ταύτης δυναμένους. ἐκείνα γάρ, εὰν θελήσῃ, μέμψεται τὰ πάθοντα· ἠγὼ δὲ, εὰν μὴ ύπολαβῶ, ὅτι κακὸν τὸ συμβεβηκός, οὕτω βέβλαμαι. ἐξεστὶ δὲ μοι μὴ ύπολαβεῖν.

ιδ'· "Ὁ τι ἂν τις ποιῇ ἡ λέγη, ἐμὲ δεῖ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι· ὥς ἂν εἰ ὁ χρυσός ἡ ὁ σμάραγδος ἡ ἡ πορφύρα τούτο ἄει ἐλεγεν, "'Ο τι ἂν τις ποιῇ ἡ λέγη, ἐμὲ δεῖ σμάραγδον εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἐμαυτὸν χρώμα ἔχειν."

ιδ'· Τὰ ἡγεμονικὸν αὐτὸ ἑαυτῷ οὐκ ἐνοχλεῖ, οἰον λέγω, οὐ φορεῖ τ' ἑαυτὸ εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν. εἰ δὲ τις ἄλλος αὐτὸ φοβήσαι ἢ λυπῆσαι δύναται, ποιεῖτο. αὐτὸ γὰρ ἑαυτῷ ὑποληπτικός οὐ τρέψει εἰς τοιαύτας τροπάς.

Τὸ σωμάτιον μὴ πάθῃ τι, αὐτὸ μεριμνᾶτω, εἰ δύναται, καὶ λεγέτω, εἰ τὶ πάσχει· τὸ δὲ ψυχάριον, τὸ φοβοῦμεν, τὸ λυποῦμεν, τὸ περὶ τούτων ὅλως ὑπολαμβάνων οὕτως μὴ πάθη· οὐ γὰρ ἔξεις αὐτῷ εἰς κρίσιν τοιαύτην.

Ἀπροσδεές ἐστιν, ὅσον ἢφ' ἑαυτῷ, τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, ἦν μὴ ἑαυτῷ ἐνδεικνὺς ποιή· κατὰ ταύτα δὲ καὶ ἀτάραχον καὶ ἀνεμπόδιστον, ἦν μὴ ἑαυτὸ ταράσσῃ καὶ ἐμποδίζῃ.

ιδ'· Ἐνδαμονία ἐστὶ δαίμονον ἀγαθὸς ἢ ἡ <ἡγεμονικὸν> ἀγαθὸν. τὶ οὖν ὅδε ποιεῖς,

1 φοβεῖ PA: σοβεῖ Schenkl: I suggest φορεῖ or τρέπει.
2 ἔξεις αὐτῷ PA: ἔξεις αὐτῷ Schenkl: ἔλξεις Schultz.
3 <ἡγεμονικὸν> Gat.
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dost practise it still as a bare duty, not yet as a boon to thyself.

14. Let any external thing, that will, be incident to whatever is able to feel this incidence. For that which feels can, if it please, complain.¹ But I, if I do not consider what has befallen me to be an evil,² am still unhurt. And I can refuse so to consider it.

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

16. The ruling Reason is never the disturber of its own peace, never, for instance, hurries itself into lust. But if another can cause it fear or pain, let it do so. For it will not let its own assumptions lead it into such aberrations.

Let the body take thought for itself, if it may, that it suffer no hurt and, if it do so suffer, let it proclaim the fact.³ But the soul that has the faculty of fear, the faculty of pain, and alone can assume that these exist, can never suffer; for it is not given to making any such admission.⁴

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

17. Well-being⁵ is a good Being, or a ruling Reason that is good. What then doest thou here,

¹ vii. 33; viii. 28 ² iv. 7, 39. ³ vii. 14, 33. ⁴ vi. 52; vii. 14, 33; viii. 40 etc. ⁵ Defined by Chrysippus as “harmony of our διάμορφωθεὶς with God’s will.”
Marcus Aurelius

οὔς φαντασία; ἀπέρχον, τοὺς θεούς σοι, ὡς ἠλθεις. οὐ γὰρ χρησίω σου. ἐλήλυθας δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἔθος. οὐκ ὀργίζομαι σοι. μόνον ἀπιθή.

η'. Φοβεῖται τις μεταβολήν; τί γὰρ δύναται χωρίς μεταβολῆς γενέσθαι; τί δὲ φίλτερον ἢ οἰκείοτερον τῇ τῶν ὅλων φύσει; σοῦ δὲ αὐτὸς λούσασθαι δύνασαι, ἕὰν μὴ τὰ ἔξω μεταβάλῃ; τραφῆναι δὲ δύνασαι, ἕὰν μὴ τὰ ἐδώδιμα μεταβάλῃ; ἀλλο δὲ τὰς χρησίμων δύναται συντελεσθῆναι χωρίς μεταβολῆς; οὐχ ὅρας οὖν, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ σὲ μεταβαλεῖν ὀμοίων ἐστὶ καὶ ὀμοίως ἀναγκαίον τῇ τῶν ὅλων φύσει;

ιθ'. Διὰ τῆς τῶν ὅλων οὐσίας ὡς διὰ χειμάρρου, διεκπερευόμεθα πάντα τὰ σώματα, τῷ ὅλῳ συμφυή καὶ συνεργά, ὡς τὰ ἡμέτερα μέρη ἀλλήλοιος.

Πόσους ἦδη ὁ αἰῶν Ἐρυπίππους, πόσους Σωκράτεις, πόσους Ἐπικτήτους καταπέτακεν.

τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ παντὸς ὀυτινοσοῦν σοι ἀνθρώπον τε καὶ πράγματος προσπιπτέτω.

κ'. Ἐμὲ δ' ἐν μόνον περιστὰ, μὴ τι αὐτὸς ποιήσω, τῇ κατασκευῇ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐ θέλει, ἧς οὐ θέλει, ἦ δ' νῦν οὐθελε.

κα'. Ἐννῦσε μὲν ἡ σῇ περὶ πάντων λήθῃ.

κβ'. 'Ιδιὸν ἀνθρώπου φιλεῖν καὶ τοὺς πταί-οντας. τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται, ἐὰν συμπροσπίπτῃ σοι,
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O Imagination?\(^1\) Avaunt, in God's name, as thou camest, for I desire thee not! But thou art come according to thine ancient wont. I bear thee no malice; only depart from me!

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

19. Through the universal Substance as through a rushing torrent\(^2\) all bodies pass on their way, united with the Whole in nature and activity, as our members are with one another.

How many a Chrysippus,\(^3\) how many a Socrates, how many an Epictetus\(^4\) hath Time already devoured! Whatesoever man thou hast to do with and whatsoever thing, let the same thought strike thee.

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

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

22. It is a man's especial privilege\(^5\) to love even those who stumble. And this love follows as soon as

Them. Or. v. p. 63 D. implies that he was alive under the Antonines. Lucian, adv. Ind. 13 speaks of his earthenware lamp having been bought by an admirer for 3,000 drachmas. \(^8\) Fronto, ad Ver. ii. 2: Hominis maxime proprium ignoscere. cp. St. Matt. v. 44; Dio 71. 28, § 2.

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ότι καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ δι’ ἀγνοιαν καὶ ἄκουτες ἀμαρτάνοντες, καὶ ὧς μετ’ ὀλίγου ἀμφότεροι τεθνήσασθε, καὶ πρὸ πάντων, ὅτι οὐκ ἔβλαψε σε’ οὖ γὰρ τὸ ἱγεμονικόν σου χείρον ἐποίησεν, ἢ πρόσθεν ἦν.

κυ’. Ἡ τῶν ὦλων φύσει ἐκ τῆς ὦλης οὐσίας, ὡς κηροῦ, νῦν μὲν ἰππάριον ἐπιπλασε, συνχέασα δὲ τοῦτο εἰς δενδρύφιον¹ συνεχρήσατο τῇ ὦλῃ αὐτοῦ, εἶτα εἰς ἀνθρωπάριον, εἶτα εἰς ἄλλο τινὲς ἑκαστὸν δὲ τούτων πρὸς ὀλίγοντον ὑπέστη. δεινῶν δὲ οὐδὲν τὸ διαλυθῆναι τῷ κυβωτίῳ, ὦσπερ οὐδὲ τὸ συμπαγήναι.²

κδ’. Τὸ ἐπίκοτον τοῦ προσώπου ἱμαν παρὰ φύσιν, <δ> ὅταν πολλάκις † ἐνη’, ἀποθνήσκει δὴ πρόσχημα,³ ἢ τὸ τελευταῖον ἄπεσθισθη, ὡστε ὦλως ἔξαφθηναι μὴ δύνασθαι. αὐτῷ γε τούτῳ παρακλούντει πειρῶν, ὅτι παρὰ τὸν λόγον. εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἢ συναισθησις τοῦ ἀμαρτάνειν οἰχήσεται, τὴς ἕτε τοῦ θυν αἰτία;

κε’. Πάντα, ὁσα ὅρας, ὁσον οὕτω μεταβαλεῖ ἢ τὰ ὄλα διοικοῦσα φύσις, καὶ ἄλλα ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῶν ποιήσει, καὶ πάλιν ἄλλα ἐκ τῆς ἑκείνων οὐσίας, ἵνα ἀεὶ νεαρὸς ἢ ὁ κόσμος.

κς’. "Ὅταν τὰς ἀμάρτητα τὶ εἰς σὲ, εὐθὺς ἐνθυμοῦ, τί ἀγαθόν ἢ κακῶν ὑπολαβῶν ἢμαρτεν. τούτο γὰρ ἰδὼν ἔλεησεις αὐτῶν, καὶ οὕτε θαυμάζεις, οὕτε

¹ δενδροῦ φύσιν ΡΔ: δενδρύφιον Nauck.
² <ἀγαθοῦ> after συμπαγῆι και Kronenberg.
³ ὅταν πολλάκις ἐναποθνήσκειν ἢ πρόσχημα ΡΔ: ὅθεν πολλάκις ἐναποθνήσκει τὸ πρόσχημα Fournier: I have patched up this incurable passage, as above. Possibly ἢθι would be better than δῆ.
BOOK VII

thou reflectest that they are of kin to thee and that they do wrong involuntarily and through ignorance,\(^1\) and that within a little while both they and thou will be dead\(^2\); and this, above all, that the man has done thee no hurt\(^3\); for he has not made thy ruling Reason worse than it was before.

23. The Nature of the Whole out of the Substance of the Whole,\(^4\) as out of wax, moulds at one time a horse, and breaking up the mould kneads the material up again into a tree, then into a man, and then into something else; and every one of these subsists but for a moment. It is no more a hardship for the coffer to be broken up than it was for it to be fitted together.

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

25. Everything that thou seest will the Nature that controls the Universe change, no one knows how soon, and out of its substance make other compounds,\(^5\) and again others out of theirs, that the world may ever renew its youth.

26. Does a man do thee wrong? Go to and mark what notion of good and evil was his that did the wrong. Once perceive that and thou wilt feel

\(^1\) cp. St. Luke xxiii. 34.  
\(^2\) iv. 6.  
\(^3\) ii. 1; ix. 38.  
\(^5\) vii. 23.
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οργισθήσῃ. ἦτοι γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ αὐτὸ ἐκεῖνῳ ἀγαθὸν ἐτὶ ὑπολαμβάνεις ἢ ἄλλο ὀμοειδὲς. δει
οὖν συγγιγνώσκειν. εἰ δὲ μηκέτι ὑπολαμβάνεις τὰ
τοιαύτα ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακὰ, ρᾶν εὔμενης ἐς τῷ
παρορῶντι.

κξ'. Μή τὰ ἀπόντα ἐννοεῖν, ὡς ἡδὴν ὑντα· ἀλλὰ
tῶν παρόντων τὰ δεξιώτατα ἐκλογίζεσθαι καὶ
tούτων χάριν ὑπομιμησκεσθαι, πῶς ἂν ἐπεζητεῖν
eῖτο, εἰ μὴ παρῆν ἡμᾶν τοῦ ὑπότοσ ἀσμενίζειν αὐτοῖς ἐδίσης ἐκτιμὰν
αυτά, ὥστε, εἀν ποτε μὴ παρῆ, ταραχὴς ἑσθαι.

κῃ'. Εἰς σαυτὸν συνειλοῦν. φύσιν ἔχει τὸ
λογικὸν ἡγεμονίκον, ἐαυτῷ ἄρκεισθαι δικαιο-
πραγοῦντι καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο γαλήνην ἔχοντι.

κβ'. ἐξάλειψον τὴν φαντασίαν. στῆσον τὴν
νευροστασίαν. περίγραψον τὸ ἐνεστῶς τοῦ
χρόνου. γνώρισον τὸ συμβαίνου ἢ σοι ἢ ἄλλῳ.
δίελε καὶ μέρισον τὸ ὑποκείμενον εἰς τὸ αἵτιωθες
cαὶ ἔμυκον. ἐννοήσον τὴν ἐσχάτην ὡραν. τὸ
ἐκείνῳ ἀμαρτηθὲν ἐκεὶ κατάλιπε, ὅπου ἡ ἀμαρτία
ὑπέστη.

λ'. Συμπαρεκτέειν τὴν νόησιν τοῖς λεγομένοις.
εἰσδύεσθαι τὸν νοῦν εἰς τὰ γνώμενα καὶ
ποιοῦντα.

λά'. Φαίδρουν σεαυτὸν ἀπλοτητί καὶ αἴδοι
καὶ τῇ πρὸ τὸ ἀνὰ μέσον ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας
ἀδιαφορία. φίλησον τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος. ἀκολ-

1 ἡδία (ἡδίω Rend.) Schultz.
compassion\(^1\) not surprise or anger. For thou hast still thyself either the same notion of good and evil as he or another not unlike. Thou needs must forgive him then.\(^2\) But if thy notions of good and evil are no longer such, all the more easily shalt thou be gracious to him that sees awry.

27. Dream not of that which thou hast not as though already thine, but of what thou hast pick out the choicest blessings, and do not forget in respect of them how eagerly thou wouldst have coveted them, had they not been thine.\(^3\) Albeit beware that thou do not inure thyself, by reason of this thy delight in them, to prize them so highly as to be distressed if at any time they are lost to thee.\(^4\)

28. Gather thyself into thyself.\(^5\) It is characteristic of the rational Ruling Faculty to be satisfied with its own righteous dealing and the peace which that brings.

29. Ephace imagination!\(^6\) Cease to be pulled as a puppet by thy passions.\(^7\) Isolate the present. Recognize what befalls either thee or another. Dissect and analyze all that comes under thy ken into the Causal and the Material. Meditate on thy last hour.\(^8\) Let the wrong thy neighbour does thee rest with him that did the wrong.\(^9\)

30. Do thy utmost to keep up with what is said.\(^10\) Let thy mind enter into the things that are done and the things that are doing them.

31. Make thy face to shine with simplicity and modesty and disregard of all that lies between virtue and vice. Love human-kind. Follow God.\(^11\) Says

\(\text{\textsuperscript{7}}\) ii. 2 etc.  \(\text{\textsuperscript{8}}\) ii. 5.  \(\text{\textsuperscript{9}}\) ix. 20, 38.  \(\text{\textsuperscript{10}}\) vii. 4.  
\(\text{\textsuperscript{11}}\) 1 St. Peter, ii. 17. \(\text{\textsuperscript{cp. Sen. de Vit. Beat. 15 : Deum sequere.}}\) Dio Chrys. ii. 98 R.
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ούθησον θεῷ. ἐκείνος μέν φησιν, ὅτι "πάντα νομιστὶ, ἡτεθ' δὲ μόνα τὰ στοιχεῖα." ἀρκεῖ δὲ μεμνήσθαι, ὅτι τὰ πάντα νομιστὶ ἔχει. ἦδη λίαν ὀλίγα.

λδ'. Περὶ θανάτου ἢ σκεδασμὸς, εἴ. ἀτομοῦ ἢ <εἰ> ἐνωσις, ἢ τοι σβέσις ἢ μετάστασις.

λγ'. Περὶ πόνου "τὸ μὲν ἀφόρητον ἐξάγει τὸ δὲ χρονίζον, φορητὸν." καὶ ἡ διάνοια τὴν ἑαυτῆς γαλήνην κατὰ ἀπόληψιν διατηρεῖ, καὶ οὐ χείρον τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν γέγονεν. τὰ δὲ κακοῦμενα μέρη ὑπὸ τοῦ πόνου, εἴ τι δύναται, περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀποφηνάσθω.

λδ'. Περὶ δόξης: ἢδε τὰς διανοιὰς αὐτῶν, οὐαί, καὶ ολα μὲν φεύγουσαι, ολα δὲ διώκουσαι. καὶ ὅτι, ὡς αἱ θεῖες ἀλλα ἐπὶ ἀλλας ἐπιφορούμεναι κρύπτουσι τὰς προτέρας, οὔτως ἐν τῷ βίῳ τὰ πρότερα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπενεχθέντων τάχιστα ἐκαλύφθη.

λε'. [Πλατωνικὸν.] "Ἡ οὖν ὑπάρχει διανοια μεγαλοπρέπεια καὶ θεωρία παντὸς μὲν χρόνου, πάσης δὲ οὐσίας, ἃρα οἱ τοῦτο μέγα τι δοκεῖν εἶναι τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον; ἀδύνατον, ἢ δ' ὃς οὐκοῦν καὶ θάνατον οὐ δεινὸν τι ἡγήσεται ὁ τοιοῦτος; ἤκιστά γε.”

1 ἡτεθ' Usener: ἐτ' ei P: ἡτ' ἡ A.
2 διάμονα PA: δὲ μόνα Cor.: διαμόνα Xyl.
3 ei ἐνωσις Cas., Schenkli: ἡ PA: κένωσις P.
4 <Πλατωνικὸν> P: so <'Αρτισθερικὸν> § 36, and <Πλατωνικὰ> § 44.

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the Sage: *All things by Law, but in very truth only elements.* And it suffices to remember that all things *are* by law: there thou hast it briefly enough.1

32. Of Death: Either dispersion if atoms; or, if a single Whole, either extinction or a change of state.2

33. Of Pain: *When unbearable it destroys us, when lasting, it is bearable,*3 and the mind safeguards its own calm by withdrawing itself, and the ruling Reason takes no hurt. As to the parts that are impaired by the pain, let them say their say about it as they can.4

34. Of Glory: Look at the minds of its votaries, their characteristics, ambitions, antipathies.5 Remember too that, as the sands of the sea drifting one upon the other bury the earlier deposits, so in life the earlier things are very soon hidden under what comes after.

35. [From Plato.]6 *Dost thou think that the life of man can seem any great matter to him who has true grandeur of soul and a comprehensive outlook on all Time and all Substance?* "It cannot seem so," said he. *Will such a man then deem death a terrible thing?* "Not in the least."

1 The reading and meaning are uncertain. The Sage is Democritus, and we should expect atoms rather than elements to be mentioned. Leopold aptly quotes Sext. Emp. vii. 35: *νόμῳ γλυκῷ καὶ νόμῳ πικρόν, νόμῳ θερμῷ νόμῳ ψυχρόν* . . . ἐτέθη δὲ ἀτόμα καὶ κένον. Fournier cleverly makes a hexameter of the words πάντα νομίστ', ἐτέθη δὲ μόνα στοιχεία <κένον τε>.


4 vii. 14; viii. 40.

5 vi. 59.

6 Rep. 486 A.

N 2
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λσ’. [Ἀντιοσθενίκον.] "Βασιλικὸν μὲν εὖ πράττειν, κακῶς δὲ ἄκοινεῖν."

λξ’. Ἀφίβανον ἐστὶ τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον ὑπῆκοον εἶναι καὶ σχηματίζοσθαι καὶ κατακοσμεῖσθαι, ὡς κελεύει ἡ διάνοια, αὐτὴν δ’ ὑφ’ ἑαυτῆς μὴ σχηματίζοσθαι καὶ κατακοσμεῖσθαι.

λη’. "Τοὺς πράγμασιν γὰρ οὐχὶ θυμοῦσθαι
χρεών,
μέλει γὰρ αὐτοῖς οὐδέν."  

λθ’. "Ἀθανάτοις τε θεοῖς καὶ ἡμῖν χάριμα
doῖς."

μ’. "Βίον θερίζειν, ὡστε κάρτιμον στάχυν,
καὶ τὸν μὲν εἶναι, τὸν δὲ μὴ."  

μα’. "Εἰ δ’ ἡμελήθην ἐκ θεῶν καὶ παῖδ’ ἐμὼ,
ἐχεῖ λόγον καὶ τοῦτο."  

μβ’. "Τὸ γὰρ εὖ μετ’ ἐμοῦ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον."

μγ’. "Μὴ συνεπιθρηνεῖν, μὴ σφῦζειν."  

μδ’. [Πλατωνικά.] "Εὖ γὰρ δὲ τοῦτῳ δίκαιον
ἂν λόγον ἀντείπουμεν, ὅτι οὖ καλῶς λέγεις, ὅ 
ἀνθρωπε, εἰ οἰεί δεῖν κίνδυνον ὑπολογίζεσθαι τοῦ
ζην ἢ τεθύναι ἀνδρα, ὅτου τι καὶ σμικρὸν ὀφέλος: 
ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐκεῖνο μόνον σκοπεῖν, ὅταν πράττῃ,
πότερον δίκαιον ἢ ἐδίκα πράττει καὶ ἀνδρὸς
ἀγαθοῦ <ἐργα> ἢ κακοῦ."  

με’. "Ὅστῳ γὰρ ἔχει, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, τῇ
ἀληθείᾳ: οὐ ἂν τις αὐτὸν τάξῃ ἡγησάμενος

<ἐργα> from Plato, Gat.: so δὲι below.

1 cp. Epict. iv. 6, § 20 ; 1 St. Peter, ii. 20. See Diog.  
Laert. Anth. 4. Phot. attributes the saying to  
Alexander. 
2 vii. 60.
3 Eur. Bellerophon, Frag. 299 ; xi. 6. Twice quoted by 
Plutarch. 
4 Unknown.

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36. [From Antisthenes.] 'Tis royal to do well and be ill spoken of. ¹

37. It is a shame that while the countenance² is subject to the mind, taking its cast and livery from it, the mind cannot take its cast and its livery from itself.

38. It nought availeth to be wroth with things,
    For theyreck not of it.³

39. Unto the deathless Gods and to us give cause for rejoicing.⁴

40. Our lives are reaped like the ripe ears of corn,
    And as one falls, another still is born.⁵

41. Though me and both my sons the Gods have spurned,
    For this too there is reason.⁶

42. For justice and good luck shall bide with me.⁷

43. No chorus of loud dirges, no hysteria.⁸

44. [Citations from Plato]:
    I might fairly answer such a questioner: Thou art mistaken if thou thinkest that a man, who is worth anything at all, ought to let considerations of life and death weigh with him rather than in all that he does consider but this, whether it is just or unjust and the work of a good man or a bad.⁹

45. This, O men of Athens, is the true state of the case: Wherever a man has stationed himself, deeming

⁶ Eur. Antiope, Frag. 207; xi. 6.
⁸ Unknown.
⁹ Plato, Apol. 28 B. Socrates is answering a question whether he is not ashamed of risking his life in a vocation such as his.
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βέλτιστον εἶναι ἡ ὑπ' ἄρχοντος ταχθ', ἐνταῦθα <δεῖ>, ὡς ἔμοι δοκεῖ, μένοντα κινδυνεύειν, μηδὲν ὑπολογιζόμενον μήτε θάνατον μήτε ἀλλο μηδὲν πρὸ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ.

μυ'. "Ἀλλ', ὡς μακάριε, θάρσε, μὴ ἀλλο τε τὸ γενναῖον καὶ τὸ ἄγαθον ἢ τὸ σώζειν τε καὶ σώζεσθαι: μὴ γὰρ τούτο μὲν, τὸ ἐκεῖν ὄποσον ἡγεμόνιον ἱερόν, τὸν γε ὡς ἄληθὼς ἀνδρα, ἐστιν ἔστι, καὶ οὐ φιλοψυχητής, ἀλλ' ἐπιτρέψαντα περὶ τούτων τῷ θεῷ καὶ πιστεύσαντα ταύτα γυναικίν, ὅτι τῇ ἐναρμόνειν οὐδ' ἄν εἰς ἐκφύγοι, τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ σκεπτέον, τίνα ἣν τρόπον τοῦτον, δυνέλει χρόνου βιώναι, ὡς ἀριστὰ βιώνη.

μυ'. Περισκοπεῖν ἀστρον ὅποιον ὡσπερ συμπεριθέοντα: καὶ τὰς τῶν στοιχείων εἰς ἀλληλα μεταβολὰς συνεχῶς ἔννοιαν ἀποκαθαίρουσι γὰρ αἱ τούτων νοησίας συν οὸν τοῦ χαμαί βίου.

μυ'. Καὶ λοιπὸν τὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος καὶ δὴ περὶ ἀνθρώπων τοὺς λόγους ποιούμενον ἐπισκοπεῖν δεῖ καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια, ὡσπερ ποθὲν ἄνωθεν, κατὰ 1 ἀγέλας, στρατεύματα, γεώργια, γάμους, διαλύσεις, γενέσεις, θανάτους, διαστηρίων ὑδώρυξι, ἐρήμους χώρας, βαρβάρων ἔθνη ποικίλα, ἔορτάς, θρήνους, ἄγορας, τὸ παμμιγής καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων συγκοσμούμενον.

μυ'. Τὰ προγεγονότα ἀναθεωρεῖν, τὰς τοσ- 1 κατώ Κασ.

1 Plato, Apol. 28 E. 2 Plato, Gorgias, 512 DE. 3 What follows is obviously not a saying of Plato. We must therefore refer back to what precedes, or suppose that Plato’s words have dropped out.

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it the best for him, or has been stationed by his
commander, there methinks he ought to stay and run
every risk, taking into account neither death nor any
thing else save dishonour.\footnote{1}

46. But, my good sir, see whether nobility and
goodness do not mean something other than to save and
be saved; for surely a man worthy of the name must
waive aside the question of the duration of life how-
ever extended, and must not cling basely to life, but
leaving these things in the hands of God pin his faith
to the women's adage, 'his destiny no man can flee,'
and thereafter consider in what way he may best live
for such time as he has to live.\footnote{2}

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

48. Noble is this saying of Plato's.\footnote{3} Moreover he
who discourses of men should, as if from some
vantage-point\footnote{4} above, take a bird's-eye view of the
things of earth, in its gatherings,\footnote{5} armies, husbandry,
its marriages and separations,\footnote{6} its births and deaths,
the din of the law-court and the silence of the
desert, barbarous races manifold, its feasts and
mournings and markets, the medley of it all and its
orderly conjunction of contraries.

49. Pass in review the far-off things of the past

\footnote{1} ix. 30. \textit{cp.} Lucian, \textit{Char.} § 15; \textit{Icaro-Men.} § 12.

\footnote{2} If κατα ἀγέλας be read, it will mean literally, \textit{drove by

\textit{drove}, i.e. in its aggregations}; if κατω, ἀγέλας, the latter
word must refer to gatherings of men.

\footnote{3} This might mean \textit{treaties of peace}, but there seems to be

a system of contrasted pairs.
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αὕτας τῶν ἡγεμόνων μεταβολὰς. Ἐξεστί καὶ τὰ ἐσόμενα προεφορὰν. ὅμως ἡ γὰρ πάντως ἔσται, καὶ οὕτως οἶδον τε ἐκβήναι τοῦ ὑπεροχοῦ τῶν νῦν γινομένων. Ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἵκον τὸ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτεσιν ἰστορήσα εἰς τὸν ἀνθρώπων βίον τῷ ἐπὶ ἐκεῖ μέρια. τί γὰρ πλέον ὁψει;

ν’. "Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐκ γῆς φύντ’ εἰς γαῖαν, τὰ δ’ ἄπ’ αἰθέριον βλαστῶντα γονῆς εἰς οὐράνιον πόλον ἡλθε πάλιν’

ἡ τοῦτο διάλυσις τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀτόμωις ἀντεμπλοκῶν καὶ τοιοῦτος τοῖς σκορπισμοῖς τῶν ἀπαθῶν στοιχείων.

νά’. Καὶ

"Σήμερον καὶ ποτεῖσι καὶ μαγεύμασι παρεκκλησι τοῖς ὁχετῶν, ὥστε μὴ θαναίν.

2

"Θεόθεν δὲ πνέουσ’ οὖρον ἀνώγη τὴν καμάτως ἀνοδύρτως.

νβ’. "Καβαλλικότερος," ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ κοινωνικότερος οὐδὲ ἀιδημονέστερος οὐδ’ εὐτακτότερος ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβαίνουσιν οὐδὲ εὐμενέστερος πρὸς τὰ τῶν πλησίων παροράματα.

νγ’. "Οπον ἔργον ἐπιτελεῖσθαι δύναται κατὰ τῶν κοινῶν θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώπως λόγον, ἐκεῖ οὖν δεινόν ὅπον ἀργὸς ὕφελεις τυχεῖν ἔξεστι διὰ τῆς

1 τὰς . . . μεταβολὰς seems out of place, and Jackson would put the words after ποικίλα, in previous section.

2 Here P has a note, οὐκ ἐστιν ἀρχῇ τούτῳ, ἀλλ’ <ἐκ> τῶν ἀνωτέρω τῶν πρὸ τῶν Πλατωνικῶν συναφές.

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

50. *All that is earth-born gravitates earthwards,*

Dust unto dust; and all that from ether

Grows, speeds swiftly back again heavenward;  

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

51. Again:

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

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

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

53. A work that can be accomplished in obedience to that reason which we share with the Gods is attended with no fear. For no harm need be anticipated, where by an activity that follows the

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1 vi. 37.
3 Eur. Suppl. 1110. 
4 Unknown.
5 Plutarch, Apophth. 2. 206 E.
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eυσπληρούσης καὶ κατὰ τὴν κατασκευὴν προιούσης ἐνεργείας, ἐκείς οὐδεμίαν βλάβην ύφορατέον.

νδ'. Πανταχοῦ καὶ διηνεκῶς ἐπὶ σοὶ ἔστι καὶ τῇ παρούσῃ συμβάσει θεοσεβῶς εὐαρεστεῖν, καὶ τοῖς παρούσιν ἀνθρώποις κατὰ δικαιοσύνην προσφέρεσθαι, καὶ τῇ παρούσῃ φαντασίᾳ ἐμφιλοτεχνεῖν, ἢν μὴ τι ἀκατάληπτον παρεισρυή.

νε'. Μὴ περιβλέπου ἄλλοτρια ἧγεμονικά, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ βλέπε κατ' εὐθύ, ἐπὶ τι σε ἡ φύσις ὠδηγεῖ, ἢ τε τοῦ ὅλου διὰ τῶν συμβαινόντων σοι καὶ ἡ σῇ διὰ τῶν πρακτέων ὑπὸ σοῦ. πρακτεῖον ἀν ἐκάστῳ τὸ ἐξῆς τῇ κατασκευῇ κατεσκεύασται ἢν μὲν λοιπὰ τῶν λογικῶν ἐνεκεν, ὡσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντως ἄλλου τὰ χεῖρω τῶν κρείττόνων ἐνεκεν, τὰ δὲ λογικὰ ἀλλήλων ἐνεκεν.

2 Τὸ μὲν οὖν προηγούμενον ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς τὸ κοινωνικὸν ἔστι· δεύτερον δὲ τὸ ἀνένδοτον πρὸς τὰς σωματικὰς πείσεις· λογικῆς γὰρ καὶ νοερᾶς κινήσεως ἱδιον περιορίζειν ἐαυτὴν καὶ μᾶλλον ἡττᾶσθαι μὴ οἰσθητικῆς μὴ ὅμοιως κινήσεως. ξιφώδεις γὰρ ἐκάτερα· ἢ δὲ νοερὰ ἑθέλει πρωτιστευέων καὶ μὴ κατακρατεῖσθαι ὑπ’ ἐκείνων. δικαίως γε’ πέφυκε γὰρ χρηστικῆ πᾶσιν ἑκείνωσ. τρίτον ἐν τῇ λογικῇ κατασκευῇ τὸ ἀπρόπτωτον καὶ ἀνεξαπάτητον. τούτων οὖν ἐχόμενον τὸ ἧγεμονικὸν εὐθείαν 1 περαινέωσ, καὶ ἐχει τὰ ἑαυτοῦ.

νε’. Ὡς ἀποτεθνηκότα δὲ, καὶ μέχρι νῦν

1 εὐθεία Schenkl: εὐθεία PA: εὐθείαν Cor. (ερ. x. 11).

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right road, and satisfies the demands of our con-
stitution, we can ensure our own weal.

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

55. Look not about thee at the ruling Reason of
others, but look with straight eyes at this, To what
is Nature guiding thee?—both the Nature of the
Universe, by means of what befalls thee and thy
nature by means of the acts thou hast to do. But
everyone must do what follows from his own con-
stitution; and all other things have been constituted
for the sake of rational beings—just as in every other
case the lower are for the sake of the higher 1—but
the rational for their own sake.

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

56. As one that is dead, and his life till now lived

1 v. 16, 30; xi. 10.

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βεβιωκότα, ἵνα τοῦ περίόντος ξησαί κατὰ τὴν φύσιν.

ν’. Μόνον φιλεῖν τὸ ἐαυτῷ συμβαῖνον καὶ συγκλωθόμενον. τὶ γὰρ ἀρμοδιώτερον;

ν”. Ἐφ’ ἐκάστοτε συμβαίνεται ἐκεῖνος πρὸ ὀμμάτων ἔχειν, ὃς τὰ αὐτὰ συνέβαινεν, ἐπείτη ἤχθοντα, ἤξεινίζοντα, ἐμέμφοντο. νῦν οὖν ἐκεῖνοι ποῦ; οὐδαμοῦν τί οὖν; καὶ σὺ θέλεις ὁμοίως; οὐχὶ δὲ τὰς μὲν ἀλλοτρίας τροπὰς καταλιπέιν τοῖς τρέπουσι καὶ τρεπομένους; αὐτὸς δὲ περὶ τὸ πῶς χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς ὅλος γίνεσθαι; χρῆσθαι γὰρ καλῶς, καὶ ἦλθεν σου ἐσταῖ: μόνον πρόσεχε καὶ θέλε σεαυτῷ καλῶς εἶναι ἐπὶ παινόν, οὐ πράσσεις: καὶ μέμνησο <ἐπ’> ἀμφοτέρων, οτι καὶ διά-

φοροῦν ἐφ’ οὗ ἡ πράξεις.

νθ’. Ἕνδον σκέπε. ἐνδον ἡ πηγὴ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἀει ἀναβλύειν δυναμείη, ἕαν ἀεί σκάπτης.

ξ’. Δει καὶ τὸ σῶμα πεπηγέναι καὶ μὴ διερρίθῃ μὴτε ἐν κινήσει μὴτε ἐν σχέσει. οἶον γὰρ τ’ ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου παρέχεται ἡ διάνοια, συνετὸν ἀυτὸ καὶ εὐσχήμων συν-

τηροῦσα, τοιοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος ἀπαιτητέον. πάντα δὲ ταῦτα σὺν τῷ ἀνεπιτη-

δεύτῳ φύλακτέα.

ξα’. Ἡ βιωτικὴ τῇ παλαιστικῇ ὀμοιότερα ἦπερ τῇ ὀρχηστικῇ κατὰ τὸ πρὸς τὰ ἐμπλήττοντα καὶ οὐ προεγνωμένα ἔτοιμος καὶ ἀπτῶς ἔστάναι.

1 <ο> Reiske. 2 καλὰς A. 3 <ἐπ’> Gat.: καθίδαφον Kron.: Schultz and Schenkl mark a lacuna after ὅτι.

4 βλέπε Ρ: σκαπεῖ D: σκάπτε Schultz. 5 συνεστὸς Cor.

6 καὶ συντηροῦσα A: ἀει for καὶ Schenkl.
BOOK VII

and gone, must thou count the rest of thy days as so much to the good,¹ and live according to Nature.

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

58. In every contingency keep before thine eyes those who, when these same things befell them, were straightway aggrieved, estranged,² rebellious. Where are they now? Nowhere! What then? Wouldst thou be like them? Why not leave those alien deflections to what deflects and is deflected by them, and devote thyself wholly to the question how to turn these contingencies to the best advantage? For then wilt thou make a noble use of them, and they shall be thy raw material. Only in thought and will take heed to be beautiful to thyself in all that thou doest. And remember, in rejecting the one and using the other, that the thing which matters is the aim of the action.

59. Look within. Within is the fountain of Good,³ ready always to well forth if thou wilt alway delve.

60. The body too should be firmly set and suffer no distortion in movement or bearing. For what the mind effects in the face,⁴ by keeping it composed and well-favoured, should be looked for similarly in the whole body. But all this must be secured without conscious effort.

61. The business of life is more akin to wrestling⁵ than dancing, for it requires of us to stand ready and unshakable against every assault however unforeseen.

⁵ St. Paul, Eph. vi. 12.
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ξβ’. Συνεχῶς ἐφιστάναι, τίνες εἰςίν οὖτοι, ύφ’ ὁν μαρτυρεῖσθαι θέλεις, καὶ τίνα ἤγεμονικά ἔχουσιν. οὐτε γὰρ μέμψῃ τοὺς ἀκουσίως πταίουσιν, οὔτε ἐπιμαρτυρήσεως δεήσῃ, ἐμβλέπων εἰς τὰς πηγὰς τῆς ὑπολήψεως καὶ ὀρμῆς αὐτῶν.


ξδ’. Ἐπὶ μὲν παντὸς πόνου πρόχειρον ἐστώ, ὅτι οὐκ ἀισχρῶν, οὔτε τὴν διάνοιαν τὴν κυβερνώσαν χείροι ποιεῖ· οὔτε γὰρ καθὸ λογικὴ ἐστίν οὔτε καθὸ κοινωνικὴ διαφθείρει αὐτὴν ἐπὶ μέντοι τῶν πλείστων πόνων καὶ τοῦ Ἐπικουροῦ σοι βοηθείτω, ὅτι "οὔτε ἀφόρητον οὔτε αἰώνιον," εἰν τῶν ὁρῶν μνημονεύσης καὶ μὴ προσδοξάζης. κάκεινον δὲ μέμησο, ὅτι πολλά, πόνω τὰ αὐτὰ ὄντα, λαρθάνει δυσχεραίνομενα· οἶον τὸ νυστάζειν καὶ τὸ καυματίζεσθαι καὶ τὸ ἀνορεκτεῖν ὅταν οὖν τῶν τούτων δυσαρεστῆς, λέγει ἐαυτῷ, ὅτι πόνω ἔνδοξας.

ξε’. "Ορα, μητρότε <τι> τοιοῦτον πάθης πρὸς τοὺς ἀπανθρώπους, οἶον οἱ <ἀπ>ἀνθρωποὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

ξε’. Πόθεν ἵσμεν, εἰ μὴ Τηλάυγης Σωκράτους τὴν διάθεσιν κρείσσων ἦν; οὐ γὰρ ἄρκει,

1 καθ’ ὅλην P Mo 2: καθολικὴ Α: καθὸ λογικὴ Cas.
2 <ἀπ>ἀνθρωποι Cas.

1 vi. 59; vii. 34.
2 Quoted by Epictetus (i. 63, 28 § 4) as from Plato (see Plato, Soph. 238 C; Rep. iii. 412); viii. 14; x. 30; xi. 18, § 3.
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62. Continually reflect, who they are whose favourable testimony thou desirest,¹ and what their ruling
Reason; for thus wilt thou not find fault with those who unintentionally offend, nor wilt thou want their
testimony, when thou lookest into the inner springs of their opinions and desires.

63. Every soul, says Plato, is rest of truth against its
will.² Therefore it is the same also with justice
and temperance and lovingkindness and every like
quality. It is essential to keep this ever in mind,
for it will make thee gentler towards all.³

64. Whenever thou art in pain, have this reflection
ready, that this is nothing to be ashamed of, nor can
it make worse the mind that holds the helm. For it
cannot impair it in so far as it is rational or in so far
as it is social. In most pains, however, call to thy
rescue even Epicurus when he says that a pain is
never unbearable⁴ or interminable, so that thou re-
member its limitations and add nothing to it in
imagination.⁵ Recollect this too that many of our
every-day discomforts are really pain in disguise, such
as drowsiness,⁶ a high temperature, want of appetite.
When inclined to be vexed at any of these, say to
thyself: I am giving in to pain.⁷

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

66. How do we know that Telauges⁸ may not have
exelled Socrates in character? For it is not enough

¹ The same word is used of Marcus by Galen (xii. 17
Kühn); Athenag. Apol. 1. 1; Lucian, Peregr. 17; and
Aristides, ad Reg. §§ 105, 112.
² vii. 33. ⁴ vii. 49.
³ vi. 2. ⁵ vi. 29.
⁶ vi. 2.
⁷ cp. vi. 29.

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ei Σωκράτης ἐνδοξότερον ἀπέθανε, καὶ ἐντρεχέστερον τοῖς σοφισταῖς διελέγετο, καὶ καρτερικώτερον ἐν τῷ πάγῳ διενυκτέρευεν, καὶ τὸν Ἑαμαίνον κελευσθεὶς ἀγείν γεννικώτερον ἐδοξεῖν ἀντιβῆναι, καὶ “ἐν ταῖς ὀδοῖς ἐβεβεβυθεῖν” περὶ οὗ καὶ μάλιστ’ ἀν τις ἐπιστήσεις, 1 εἴπερ ἀληθεῖς ἤν ἄλλ’ ἐκεῖνο δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ποιαν τινὰ τὴν ψυχὴν εἰχε Σωκράτης, καὶ εἰ ἐδύνατο ἀρκεῖσθαι τῷ δίκαιῳ εἶναι τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ὅσοι τὰ πρὸς θεοὺς μὴ ἐκεῖ 2 πρὸς τὴν κακίαν ἄγανακτῶν μηδὲ μὴν δουλεύων τινὸς ἄγνοια μὴτε τῶν ἀπονεμομένων ἐκ τοῦ ὅλου ὡς ξένου τι δεχόμενος ἢ ὡς ἀφόρητον ὑπομένων μὴτε τοῦ σαρκίδου πάθεσιν ἐμπαρέχον συμπαθῇ τόν νοῦν.

ξῆ. Ἡ φύσις οὐχ οὕτως συνεκέρασε τῷ συγκρίματι, ὡς μὴ ἐφείσαται περιορίζειν ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῷ υφ’ ἑαυτῷ ποιεῖσθαι. Λαῖν γὰρ ἐνδέχεται θείον ἄνδρα γενέσθαι καὶ υπὸ μηδενὸς γνωρισθῆναι. τούτον μέμνησο ἅνε, καὶ ἐτί ἐκεῖνον, ὅτι ἐν ὁλιγόστοις κείται τὸ εὐδαιμόνως βιώσαι καὶ μὴ, ὅτι ἀπήλπισας διαλεκτικός καὶ φυσικὸς ἐσεθαί, διὰ τούτο ἀπογυφὸς καὶ ἐλευθερος καὶ αἰδήμων καὶ κοινωνικὸς καὶ εὐπειθῆς θεός.

ξῇ. Ἀβιάστως διαζησάει ἐν πλείστῃ θυμηδίᾳ, καὶ πάντες καταβοῶσιν ἅτινα βούλονται, καὶ

1 ἐπιστήσεις Gat.: dubitari potest Xyl.
2 εἰκὴ P.: ἐκείνων Schenk.1

1 Plato, Apol. 20 C; Epict. iv. 7 § 30.
2 Or γενναίωτερον, more hounorable.

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that Socrates died a more glorious death, and disputed more deftly with the Sophists, and with more hardihood braved whole nights in the frost, and, when called upon to fetch the Salaminian,\(^1\) deemed it more spirited\(^2\) to disobey, and that he *carried his head high as he walked*\(^3\) — and about the truth of this one can easily judge — ; but the point to elucidate is this: what sort of soul had Socrates,\(^4\) and could he rest satisfied with being just in his dealings with men and religious in his attitude towards the Gods, neither resentful at the wickedness of others nor yet lacking the ignorance of anyone, nor regarding as alien to himself anything allotted to him from the Whole, nor bearing it as a burden intolerable, nor letting his intelligence be swayed sympathetically by the affections of the flesh?

67. Nature did not make so intimate a blend in the compound as not to allow a man to isolate himself and keep his own things in his own power. For it is very possible to be a godlike man and yet not to be recognized by any.\(^5\) Never forget this; nor that the happy life depends on the fewest possible things\(^6\); nor because thou hast been baulked in the hope of becoming skilled in dialectics and physics,\(^7\) needest thou despair of being free and modest and unselfish and obedient to God.

68. Thou mayest live out thy life with none to constrain thee in the utmost peace of mind even though the whole world cry out against thee what

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\(^1\) Arist. *Nub.* 363; Plato, *Symp.* 221 B. The meaning of the parenthesis is not clear.

\(^2\) *cp.* Dio *Orat.* iii. *ad init.*


\(^5\) i. 17, § 8; *cp.* v. 5; viii. 1.
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tα θηρία διαστά τα μελύδρα του περιτεθραμμένου τουτού φυράματος. τί γαρ κωλύει ἐν πάσι τούτως τὴν διάνοιαν σώζειν ἑαυτὴν ἐν γαλήνῃ, καὶ κρίσει [τῇ] περὶ τῶν περιστηκότων ἀλήθειαν, καὶ χρῆσαι τῶν ὑποβεβλημένων ἑτοίμην; ὅστε τὴν μὲν κρίσιν λέγειν τῷ προσπίπτοντι ὁ παρευρήσει κατ’ οὐσίαν, κὰν κατὰ δόξαν ἀλλοίων φαίνει, τὴν δὲ χρῆσιν λέγειν τῷ ὑποπίπτοντι. "Σὲ εἶξῆτον." ἀλλ' γὰρ μοι τὸ παρὸν ἔλγη ἀρετῆς λογικῆς καὶ πολιτικῆς καὶ τὸ σύνολον τέχνης ἀνθρώπου ἦ θεοῦ. πᾶν γὰρ τὸ συμβαίνον θεό ἕν ἀνθρώπῳ ἔξοικενται καὶ οὔτε καίνον οὔτε δυσμεταχείριστον, ἀλλὰ γυνώριμον καὶ ἐνέργεια.

ξθ'. Τούτῳ ἔχει ἡ τελειότης τοῦ ἰδίου, τὸ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν ὡς τελευταίαν διεξάγειν καὶ μὴτε σφύξειν μήτε ναρκάν μήτε ὑποκρίνεσθαι.

ο'. Οἱ θεοὶ, ἀθάνατοι ὄντες, οὐ δυσχεραίνουσιν, ὅτι ἐν τοσούτῳ αἰῶνι δεσίει αὐτοὺς πάντως ἀεὶ τοιοῦτων ὄντων καὶ τοσοῦτων φαύλων ἀνέχεσθαι: προσέτι δὲ καὶ κήδουνται αὐτῶν παντοῦς. σὺ δὲ ὅσον οὐδέτω λήγειν μέλλων ἀπανθάσει, καὶ ταῦτα, εἶς ὅν τῶν φαύλων;

οα'. Γελοίον ἔστι τὴν μὲν ἱδίαν κακίαν μὴ φεύγειν, δὲ καὶ δυνατὸν ἔστι τὴν δὲ τῶν ἄλλων φεύγειν, ὅπερ ἀδίκητον.

οβ'. "Ὅ ἀν ἡ λογικὴ καὶ πολιτικὴ δύναμις εὐρύσκῃ μήτε νοσεύον μήτε κοινωνικὸν, εὐλόγως καταδεσστερον ἑαυτὴς κρίνει.

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1 xi. 3. Applies accurately to the Christians. 2 iv. 1.
BOOK VII

they will, even though beasts tear limb from limb this plastic clay that has encased thee with its growth.\footnote{1} For what in all this debars the mind from keeping itself in calmness, in a right judgment as to its environment, and in readiness to use all that is put at its disposal? so that the judgment can say to that which meets it: \textit{In essential substance thou art this, whatever else the common fame would have thee be}. And the use can say to the object presented to it: \textit{Thee was I seeking}. For the thing in hand is for me ever material for the exercise of rational and civic virtue,\footnote{2} and in a word for the art of a man or of God. For everything that befalls is intimately connected with God or man, and is not new or difficult to deal with, but familiar and feasible.

69. This is the mark of a perfect character, to pass through each day as if it were the last,\footnote{3} without agitation, without torpor, without pretence.

70. The Gods—and they are immortal—do not take it amiss that for a time so long they must inevitably and always put up with worthless men who are what they are and so many\footnote{4}; nay they even befriend them in all manner of ways. But thou, though destined to die so soon, criest off, and that too though thou art one of the worthless ones thyself.

71. It is absurd not to eschew our own wickedness, which is possible, but to eschew that of others, which is not possible.\footnote{5}

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

\footnote{3} ii. 5. \footnote{4} St. Matt. v. 45. \footnote{5} v. 17; ix. 42.
ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΑΥΡΕΛΙΟΣ

οὐ. "Οταν σὺ εὖ πεποιηκὼς ἃς καὶ ἄλλος εὖ πεποιθώς, τί ἐπιζητεῖς τρίτον παρὰ ταῦτα, ὡσπερ οἱ μωροί, τὸ καὶ δόξαι εὖ πεποιηκέναι ἢ τὸ ἀμοιβής τυχεῖν;

οὐ. Οὐδεὶς κάμνει ἡφελοῦμενος. ἡφέλεια δὲ πράξεως κατὰ φύσιν μὴ οὖν κάμνε ἡφελοῦμενος, ἐν ὡ ἡφελεῖς.

οὐ. Ἡ τοῦ ὅλου φύσις ἐπὶ τὴν κοσμοποιίαν ὀρμησε· γνών δὲ ἦτοι πᾶν τὸ γενόμενον κατ’ ἐπακολούθησιν γίνεται, ἢ ἀλογιστὰ καὶ τὰ κυριώτατά ἐστιν, ἐφ’ ὁ ποιεῖται ίδίαν ὅρμην τὸ τοῦ κόσμου ἡγεμονικὸν. εἰς πολλὰ σε γαληνό-τερον ποιήσει τοῦτο μνημονευόμενον.

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73. When thou hast done well to another and another has fared well at thy hands, why go on like the foolish to look for a third thing besides, that is, the credit also of having done well or a return for the same\(^1\)?

74. No one wearies of benefits received; and to act by the law of Nature is its own benefit. Weary not then of being benefited therein, wherein thou dost benefit others.\(^2\)

75. The Nature of the Whole felt impelled to the creation of a Universe; but now either all that comes into being does so by a natural sequence,\(^3\) or even the most paramount things, towards which the ruling Reason of the Universe feels an impulse of its own, are devoid of intelligence. Recollect this\(^4\) and thou wilt face many an ill with more serenity.

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\(^1\) v. 6; ix. 42. cp. Fronto, de Nep. ad fin.

\(^2\) cp. St. Paul, Gal. vi. 9; 2 Thess. iii. 13. For the Stoic view see Stob. Ecl. ii. 188.

\(^3\) iv. 45; ix. 28.

\(^4\) Marcus means that we must consider the second alternative given above as incredible.
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Η

α'. Καὶ τούτῳ πρὸς τὸ ἀκενόδοξον φέρει, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν δύνασαι τὸν βίον ὅλον ἢ τὸν γε ἀπὸ νεότητος φιλόσοφον βεβιωκέναι· ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ αὐτὸς σεαυτῷ δήλος γέγονας πόρρω φιλο-
σοφίας ὄν. πέφυρσαι οὖν· ὡστε τὴν μὲν δόξαν τὴν τοῦ φιλοσόφου κτίσασθαι οὐκ ἦτο σοι ῥάδιον· ἀνταγωνίζεται δὲ καὶ ἡ ὑπόθεσις. εἰπερ οὖν ἀληθῶς ἑώρακας, οὐκ θεία ἦν τὸ πρᾶγμα, τὸ μὲν, τί δόξεις, ἄφες, ἀρκέσθητι δὲ, εἰ κἂν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου ὅσον δῆτο, <ὡς> ἦν σῆ
φύσις θέλει, βιώσῃ. κατανόησον οὖν, τί θέλει, καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο σε περιστάτων: πεπείρασαι γάρ, περὶ πόσα πλανήθεις, οὐδαμὸν εὑρεῖς τὸ εὐ ξῆν· οὐκ ἐν σύλλογισμοίς, οὐκ ἐν πλούτῳ, οὐκ ἐν δόξῃ, οὐκ ἐν ἀπολαύσει, οὐδαμοῦ. οὐκ οὖν ἔστω· ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν ἄπτετήτει ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσις· πῶς ὁὐν ταῦτα ποιήσει; ἐὰν δόγματα ἔχῃ, ἀφ' ὅν
αἱ ὁρμαὶ καὶ αἱ πράξεις. τίνα δόγματα; τὰ περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν, ὡς οὐδενὸς μὲν ἀγαθῶν ὄντος ἀνθρώπῳ, ὃς οὐχὶ ποιεῖ δίκαιον, σώφρονα,

<ὡς> Gatt.
BOOK VIII

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 i. 17 ad fin. ; vii. 67.
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ἀνδρείον, ἔλεος θερον, οὐδενὸς δὲ κακοῦ, ὃ οὐχὶ ποιεῖ τάναντα τοῖς εἰρήμενοις.

β’. Καθ’ ἐκάστην πρᾶξιν ἐρώτα σεαυτόν·

“Πῶς μοι αὐτή ἔχει; μὴ μετανοήσω ἐπ’ αὐτῇ;”

μικρὸν καὶ τέθυηκα καὶ πάντ’ ἐκ μέσου. τι πλέον ἐπιζητῶ, εἰ τὸ παρόν ἔργον ζῷον νοεροῦ καὶ κοινωνικοῦ καὶ ἰσονόμου θεῷ;

γ’. Ἀλέξανδρος [δὲ] καὶ Γάιος καὶ Πομπήιος,

tὶ πρὸς Διογένη καὶ Ἡράκλειον καὶ Ἴωκράτην;

οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἶδον τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς Ἱλας, καὶ τὰ ἱγμενοικὰ ἢν αὐτῶν αὐτά·† ἐκεῖ δὲ ὅσων πρόνοια καὶ δουλεία πόσων.

δ’. “Οτι οὐδὲν ἦττον τὰ αὐτὰ ποιήσουσι, κἂν σὺ διαρραγῆς.

ε’. Τὸ πρῶτον μὴ ταράσσον· πάντα γὰρ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ὅλου φύσιν καὶ ὅλον χρόνον οὐδεὶς οὐδαμοῦ ἔσῃ· ὅσπερ οὐδὲ Ἅδηστος, οὐδὲ Αὐργοῦς. ἔπειτα ἀτενίσας εἰς τὸ πρᾶγμα ἵδε αὐτὸ καὶ συμμενημονεύσας, ὅτι ἀγαθὸν σε ἀνθρώπον εἶναι δεῖ, καὶ τί τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἡ φύσις ἀπαίτει, πράξει τοῦτο ἀμετάστρεπτο καὶ εἰπέ, ὡς δικαίοτατον φαίνεται σοι, μόνον εὐμενῶς καὶ ἀϊδημῶς καὶ ἀνυποκρίτως.

ζ’. ‘Ἡ τῶν ὅλων φύσις τοῦτο ἔργον ἔχει, τὰ ὅπερ ἄντα ἐκεί μετατιθέναι, μεταβάλλεσθαι, αἰρεῖν ἐνθεῖν καὶ ἐκεῖ φέρειν. πάντα τροπαί, οὕτω δύστε

† αὐτὰ A: ταύτα P: ταύτα Cas.: αὐτάρκη Schenkl.

1 Justin (Απολ. i. 46) mentions Heraclitus and Socrates and others like them as “living with the divine Logos.” And 200
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thing for his ill that makes him not the reverse of these.

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

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

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

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

2 The word here used by Marcus occurs only in Christian writings.
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φωβηθήναι, μή τι καίνων πάντα συνήθη ἀλλὰ καὶ ἵσαι αἱ ἀπονεμήσεις.

ζ. Ἀρκεῖαι πᾶσα φύσις ἐαυτῇ εὐδοκίᾳ, φύσις δὲ λογικῇ εὐδοκεῖ ἐν μὲν φαντασίαις μήτε ψευδεῖ μὴτε ἄδηλῳ συγκατατιθέμενη, τὰς ὀρμᾶς δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ κοινωνικά ἔργα μόνα ἀπευθύνουσα, τὰς ὀρέξεις δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐκκλίσεις τῶν ἐφ' ἦμᾶς μόνων πεποιημένη, τὸ δὲ υπὸ τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως ἀπονεμόμενον πάν 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 ἀναστήθουν καὶ ἀλόγου καὶ ἐμποδίζεσθαι δυναμένης, ἢ δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσις μέρος ἐστὶν ἀνεπιδόστου φύσεως καὶ νοερᾶς καὶ δικαλας, εἰγε ἵσους καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν τοὺς μερισμοὺς χρόνων, ὀνείας, αἰτίων, ἑνεργείας, συμβάσεως, ἐκάστους ποιεῖται. σκότει δὲ, μὴ εἰ τὸ <ἐν> πρὸς τὸ ἐν ἵσου εὐρήσεις ἐπὶ παντός, ἀλλὰ εἰ συνελθήθην τὰ πάντα τοῦ δρόμα τοῦ ἐτέρου.

η'. "Ἀναγινώσκειν οὐκ ἔξεστιν." ἀλλὰ ὑβριν ἀνεῖργειν ἔξεστιν ἀλλὰ ἡδονών καὶ τῶν καθοπτερείν ἔξεστιν ἀλλὰ τοῦ δοξαρίου ὑπεράνω εἰναι ἔξεστιν ἀλλὰ ἀνασκόπην καὶ ἀγαρίστος μὴ θυμοῦσθαι, προσέτε κήδεσθαι αὐτῶν ἔξεστιν.

θ'. Μηκέτε σοι μηδείς ἀκοῦσῃ καταμέμφο-

μένοι τὸν ἐν αὐλῇ βίον, μηδὲ σὸν σεαυτοῦ.

ι'. Ὁ μετάνοια ἔστιν ἐπίληψις τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, ὡς χρήσιμον τί παρεικότος τὸ δὲ ἀγαθὸν χρήσιμον τί δει εἶναι, καὶ ἐπιμελητέου αὕτου τῷ καλῷ καὶ

1 ii. 14; iv. 32; vii. 1 etc.

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change, but nothing new-fangled need be feared; all things are of the wonted type,\textsuperscript{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. \textit{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,\textsuperscript{2} aye and even care for them.

9. Let no one, hear thee any more grumbling at life in a Court,\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{2} St. Luke vi. 35. \textsuperscript{3} v. 16.
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ἀγαθῷ ἀνδρί· οὐδεὶς δ' ἂν καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ μετανοήσειν ἐπὶ τῷ ἠδονῆν τινα παρεικέναι· οὔτε ἄρα χρήσιμον οὔτε ἀγαθὸν ἠδονή.

ια'. Τούτῳ τί ἐστιν αὐτῷ καθ' ἐαυτῷ τῇ ἴδιᾳ κατασκευῇ; τί μέν τοὐσιώδες αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑλικὸν; τί δὲ τὸ αἰτιώδες; τί δὲ ποιεῖ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ; πόσον δὲ χρόνον ὑφίσταται;

ιβ'. "Ὅταν εὖ ύπνου δυσχερῶς ἐγείρῃ, ἀναμμήνησκον, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν κατασκευὴν σου ἐστί καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπικὴν φύσιν τὸ πρᾶξεις κοινωνικάς ἀποδιδόναι, τὸ δὲ καθεύδειν κοινὸν καὶ τῶν ἁλόγων ξύλων· ὃ δὲ κατὰ φύσιν ἐκάστῳ, τούτῳ οἰκείοτερον καὶ προσφυγέστερον καὶ δὴ καὶ προσηνέστερον.

ιγ'. Διηνεκῶς καὶ ἐπὶ πάσης, εἰ οἶνον τε, φαντασίας φυσιολογεῖν, παθολογεῖν, διαλεκτικεύ- 

εσθαί.

ιδ'. "Ωμὲν ἄν ἐντυγχάνῃ, εὔθὺς σαυτῷ πρόλεγε· οὕτως τίνα δόγματα ἔχει περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν; εἰ γὰρ περὶ ἠδονῆς καὶ πόνου καὶ τῶν ποιητικῶν ἐκατέρου καὶ περὶ δόξης, ἀδοξίας, θανάτου, ζωῆς τοιάδε τίνα δόγματα ἔχει, οὔτεν θαμμαστὸν ἢ ἐξένοι μοι δόξει, ἕνα τάδε τινὰ ποιή· καὶ μεμνή- 

σομαι, ὅτι ἀναγκάζεται οὕτως ποιεῖν.

ιε'. Μέμνησο, ὅτι, ὅσπερ αἰσχρῶν ἐστὶ ξενίζεσθαι, εἰ ἡ συχή σύνα φέρει, οὕτως, εἰ ὁ κόσμος τάδε τινὰ φέρει, ὅν ἐστὶ φορὸς· καὶ ἱατρῷ δὲ καὶ κυβερνήτῃ αἰσχρῶν ξενίζεσθαι, εἰ πεπύρεχεν οὕτους ἢ εἴ ἀντίπποια γέγονεν.

1 Or, formativē. 2 v. 1. 3 Or, axioms. 4 v. 17; vii. 71; xi. 18, § 3. 5 1 St. Peter, iv. 12.

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

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

12. When thou art loth to get up, call to mind
that the due discharge of social duties is in accord-
ance 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 accord-
ance with the nature of the individual is more con-
genial, more closely akin to him, aye and more
attractive.

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

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

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

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ις'. Μέμνησο, δει και το μετατίθεσθαι και ἐπεσθαι τῷ διορθοῦντι ὁμοίως ἐλεύθερον ἔστιν. σῇ γὰρ ἐνέργεια κατὰ τὴν σὴν ὀρμὴν καὶ κρίσιν καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ νόην τὸν σὸν περαινώμενη.

ις'. Εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ σοι, τί αὐτὸ ποιεῖς; εἰ δὲ ἐπ' ἄλλῳ, τίνι μέμφῃ; ταῖς ἀτόμοις ἢ τοῖς θεοῖς; ἀμφότερα μανιῶδη. οὐδενὶ μεμπτέον. εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύνασαι, διόρθωσον· εἰ δὲ τούτο μὴ δύνασαι, τὸ γε πρᾶγμα αὐτὸ· εἰ δὲ μηδὲ τούτο, πρὸς τί ἔτι σου φέρει τὸ μέμψασθαι; εἰκῇ γὰρ οὐδὲν ποιη-τέον.

η'. Ἑξὼ τοῦ κόσμου τὸ ἀποθανὼν οὐ πίπτει. εἰ ὁδὲ μένει, καὶ μεταβάλλει ὡδὲ καὶ διαλύεται εἰς τὰ ἱδία, ἢ στοιχεία ἐστὶ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ σά. καὶ αὐτὰ δὲ μεταβάλλει καὶ οὐ γογγύζει.

θ'. Ἐκαστὸν πρὸς τι γέγονεν, ἵππος, ἀμπελος-τί θαυμάζεις; καὶ ὁ Ἡλιος ἐρεῖ, "πρὸς τι ἔργον γέγονα," καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ θεοὶ. σὺ οὖν πρὸς τί; τὸ ἡδεσθαί; ἵδε, εἰ ἀνέχεται ἡ ἐννοια.

κ'. Ἡ φύσις ἐστόχασται ἐκάστου οὐδὲν τι ἠλάσσων τῆς ἀπολῆξεως τῆς ἀρχής τε καὶ διεξαγωγῆς, ὡς ὁ ἀναβάλλων τὴν σφαῖραν τί ὁν ἢ ἀγαθὸν τῷ σφαιρῷ ἀναφερομένῳ ἢ κακῶν καταφερομένῳ ἢ καὶ πεπτωκότι; τί δὲ ἀγαθὸν τῇ πομφόλυνθι συνεστώσῃ ἢ κακῶν διαλυθεῖσθ; τὰ ὀμοια δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ λύχνων.


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

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

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

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

20. Nature has included in its aim in every case the ceasing to be no less than the beginning and the duration, just as the man who tosses up his ball. But what good does the ball gain while tossed upwards, or harm as it comes down, or finally when it reaches the ground? Or what good accrues to the bubble while it coheres, or harm in its bursting? And the same holds good with the lamp-flame.
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κα'. 'Εκστρεψον καὶ θέασαι, οίον ἐστι, γηράσαν δὲ οἶον γίνεται, νοσήσαν δὲ, ἀποπνεύσαν δὲ. ¹

2 Βραχυβίου καὶ ο ἐπαινῶν καὶ ο ἐπαινούμενος, καὶ ο μνημονεύων καὶ ο μνημονεύμενος. προσέτε δὲ καὶ ἐν γωνίᾳ τούτου τοῦ κλίματος, καὶ οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα πάντες συμφωνοῦσι, καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς τις ἑαυτῷ καὶ ὅλη δὲ ἢ γῇ στυγμῆ.

κβ'. Πρόσεχε τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ ἢ τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ ἢ τῷ δόγματι ² ἢ τῷ σημαινομένῳ.

2 Δικαίως ταῦτα πάσχεις· μάλλον δὲ θέλεις ἀγαθὸς αὕριον γενέσθαι ἢ σήμερον εἶναι.

κγ'. Πράσσω τι; πράσσω ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων εὐποίαιν ἀναφέρων συμβαίνει τι μοι; δέχομαι ἐπὶ τούς θεοὺς ἀναφέρων καὶ τὴν πάντων πηγήν, ἀφ' ἢς πάντα τὰ γινόμενα συμμπερίσται.

κδ'. 'Οποιόν σοι φαίνεται τὸ λούεσθαι· ἔλαιον, ἰδρώς, ῥύπος, ψάριν γλούστης, πάντα σικχαντά· τοιούτων πᾶν μέρος τοῦ βίου καὶ πᾶν ὑποκειμένου.

κε'. Δούκιλλα Οὐήρου, εἶτα Δούκιλλα: Σέκουνδα Μάξιμον, εἶτα Σέκουνδα: Ἐπιτύχανος Διόστιμον, εἶτα Ἐπιτύχανος: Φαυστίνων Ἀντωνίων, εἶτα Ἀντωνίων: τοιαύτα πάντα: Κέλερ Ἀδριανῶν, εἶτα Κέλερ.³ οἱ δὲ δριμεῖς ἑκεῖνοι ἢ προγνωστικοὶ ἢ τετυφωμένοι, ποῦ; οἶον δριμεῖς μὲν Χάραξ καὶ Δημήτριος [ὁ Πλατωνικός] ⁴ καὶ

¹ πορνεύσαν Ρ: πορνεύςας δὲ Α: διαπνήσαν Leopold: ἀποπνεύσαν Gat.

² ἢ τῷ δόγματι ἢ τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ Ρ.

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

⁴ ὁ Πλατωνικός possibly a wrong gloss.
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21. Turn it\(^1\) inside out and see what it is like, what it comes to be when old, when sickly, when carrion.

They endure but for a season, both praiser and praised, rememberer and remembered.\(^2\) 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. Lucilla\(^4\) buried Verus, then Lucilla was buried; Secunda Maximus,\(^5\) then Secunda; Epitynchanus Diotimus, then Epitynchanus; Antoninus Faustina, then Antoninus. The same tale always: Celer\(^6\) buried Hadrianus and then Celer was buried. And those acute wits, men renowned for their prescience or their pride, where are they? Such acute wits, for instance, as Charax and Demetrius [the Platonist]?\(^7\)

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\(1\) 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.
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Ευδαιμον καὶ εἰ τις τοιοῦτος. πάντα ἐφήμερα, τεθνηκότα πάλαι· ἐνιοὶ μὲν οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ὀλύνον μημονευθέντες· οἱ δὲ εἰς μῦθους μεταβαλόντες· οἱ δὲ ἦδη καὶ ἐκ μύθων ἐξίτηλοι. τούτων οὖν μεμνησθαί, ὅτι δεχεσθε ἦτοι σκεδασθήναι τὸ συγκριμάτιον σου, ἡ σβεσθήναι τὸ πνευμάτιον, ἡ μεταστήναι καὶ ἀλλαγοῦ καταταχθήναι.1

κε’. Εὐφροσύνη ἀνθρώπον ποιεῖν τὰ ἴδια ἀνθρώπου. ἰδίων δὲ ἀνθρώπου εὐνοια πρὸς τὸ ὀμόφυλου, ὑπερόρασις τῶν αἰσθητικῶν κινήσεων, διάκρισις τῶν πιθανῶν φαντασιῶν, ἐπιθεώρησις τῆς τῶν ὁλων φύσεως καὶ τῶν κατ’ αὐτήν γνωμένων.

κς’. Τρεῖς σχέσεις· ἡ μὲν πρὸς τὸ ἀγγεῖον2 τὸ περικελμένον· ἡ δὲ πρὸς τὴν θείαν αἰτίαν, ἀφ’ ἢς συμβαίνει πάση πάντα· ἡ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς συμβιοῦντας.

κη’. 'Ὁ πόνος ἦτοι τῷ σώματι κακῶν· οὐκοῦν ἀποφαίνεσθω· ἡ τῇ ψυχῇ ἀλλ’ ἐξεστιν αὐτῇ, τὴν ἰδιὰν ἀϊθρίαν καὶ γαλήνην διαφυλάσσει καὶ μὴ ὑπολαμβάνειν, ὅτι κακῶν. πᾶσα γὰρ κρίσις καὶ ὀρμή καὶ ὀρέξις καὶ ἐκκλίσις ἐνδόν, καὶ οὐδὲν3 ὃδε ἀναβαίνει.


1 καταχθήναι Α.
2 αἰτίαν ΡΑ: ἀγγεῖον (cp. iii. 3, xii. 2) Valckenaer: σωμάτιον Cor.
3 <κακῶν> P, but cp. viii. 49.

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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.

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λ. Δαλεῖν καὶ ἐν συγκλήτῳ καὶ πρὸς πάνθεν ὄντινοιν κοσμίως, μὴ περιτράνως: Ἐγειρεί λόγῳ χρῆσθαι.

λα'. Αὐλῇ Ἀὐγοῦστον, γυνῇ, θυγάτηρ, ἐγγονοι, πρόγονοι, ἀδελφῆ, Ἀγρίππας, συγγενεῖς, οἰκεῖοι, φίλοι, Ἀρείου, Μαυρῆς, ιατροί, θύται: ὅλης αὐλῆς θάνατος. εἰτα ἐπιθεί τὰς ἄλλας <καταστροφᾶς> μὴ καθ' ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου θάνατον, οἷον Πομπηίων. κάκεινο δὲ τὸ ἐπιγραφόμενον τοὺς μνήμασιν, "Ἐσχατος τοῦ ἱδίου γένους," ἐπιλογίζεσθαι, πόσα ἐστάσθησαν οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν, ὥσα διάδοχον τινα καταλίπωσιν εἰτα ἄναγκη ἐσχατον τινα γενεσθαι: πάλιν ὅδε ὅλου γένους θάνατον.


λγ'. Ἀτύφως μὲν λαβείν, εὐλύτως δὲ ἀφεῖναι.

1 <ἐπιγραφάς> Breithaupt: Schenkl supplies αὐλᾶς with a lacuna after: perhaps τὸν δῆλος φυλᾶς with Lofft's μηκέθα <ἐνὸς would give the meaning.
2 πάσχει Ἀ: παρέχει Π: ἀπέχει Schenkl.
3 ἀπέχῃ ΡΑ: παρέχῃ Morus.
4 A verb is missing, e.g. <διακεῖσθαι> Rend., <πράττειν> Morus.

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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, haruspices—dead, the whole court of them! Pass on then to other records and the death not of individuals but of a clan, as of the Pompeii. And that well-known epitaph, Last of his race—think over it and the anxiety shewn by the man's ancestors that they might leave a successor. But after all some one must be the last of the line—here again the 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.

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\(^1\) 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. ii. 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).
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λδ'. Εἰ ποτε εἴδες χείρα ἀποκεκομμένην ἢ πόδα, ἢ κεφαλὴν ἀποτετμημένην χωρίς πού ποτε ἀπὸ τοῦ λουποῦ σώματος κειμένην τοιοῦτον ἑαυτὸν ποιεῖ, ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ, ὃ μὴ θέλων τὸ συμβαίνον καὶ ἀποσχίζων ἑαυτὸν ἢ ὁ ἀκοινώνητον τι πράσσων. ἀπέρριψαί ποῦ ποτε ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἐνώσεως· ἐπεφύκεις γὰρ μέρος· νῦν <δὲ> σεαυτὸν ἀπέκοψας. ἀλλ' ὁδε κομψὸν ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι ἐξεστὶ σοι πάλιν ἐνώσασθαι σεαυτὸν.

tούτῳ ἀλλῳ μέρει οὐδεὶς θεὸς ἐπέτρεψεν, χωρίοσθέντες καὶ διακοπέντε πάλιν συνελθεῖν. ἀλλὰ σκέψαι τὴν χροστότητα, ἢ τετίμηκε τὸν ἀνθρωπον· καὶ γὰρ ἵνα τὴν ἀρχήν μὴ ἀπορραγῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅλου, ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐποίησεν· καὶ ἀπορραγέντει πάλιν ἐπανελθεῖν καὶ συμφύναι καὶ τὴν τοῦ μέρους τάξιν ἀπολαβεῖν ἐποίησεν.

λε'. "Ὡσπερ τὰς ἄλλας δυνάμεις ἐκάστου 1 τῶν λογικῶν † σχεδοῦ δόσον † 2 ὁ τῶν λογικῶν φύσεις, οὕτως καὶ ταύτην παρ' αὐτής εἰλήφαμεν. δυντόπου γὰρ ἐκεῖνη πᾶν τὸ ἐνυστάμενον καὶ ἀντίβαίνον ἐπιπεριτρέπει καὶ κατατάσσει εἰς τὴν εἰμαρμένην, καὶ μέρος ἑαυτῆς ποιεῖ, οὕτως καὶ τὸ λογικὸν ξύφον δύναται πᾶν κῶλμα ὕλην ἑαυτοῦ ποιεῖν, καὶ χρήσθαι αὐτῷ, ἐφ' οἷον ἄν καὶ ὁμμησεν.

λς'. Μή σε συγχειτὼ ἢ τοῦ ὅλου βίου φαντασία. μὴ συμπερινοεῖ, ἐπίτονα ὄλα καὶ ὅσα πιθανὸν ἐπιγεγενηθῇ, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἐκαστὸν τῶν παρούσων ἐπερώτα σεαυτὸν· τί τοῦ ἔργου τὸ ἀφόρητον καὶ ἀνύποιστον; αἰσχυνθῇ γὰρ

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

35. Just as the Nature of rational things has given each rational being almost all his other powers, so also have we received this one from it; that, as this Nature moulds to its purpose 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 itself and utilize it for its own purposes.

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

1 Sen. Ep. 98: licet in integrum restitui (a legal phrase for a restoration to all rights).
2 iv. 1; v. 20; vi. 50.
ΜARCUS AURELIUS

όμολογησαι. ἔπειτα ἀναμίμησκε σεαυτόν, ὅτι οὖτε τὸ μέλλον οὖτε τὸ παρὼν ἐδεικνύει σε ἄλλα ὡς τὸ παρὸν. τοῦτο δὲ κατασμικρύνεται, έαν αὐτὸ μόνον περιορίσης καὶ ἀπελεύχης τὴν διάνοιαν, εἰ πρὸς τούτο ψιλῶν ἀντέχειν μὴ δύναται.

λξ. Μὴ τι νῦν παρακάθηται τῇ τοῦ κυρίου σορῷ Πάνθεια ἡ Πέργαμος; τὶ δὲ; τῇ Ἀδριανοῦ Χαβρίας ἡ Διότιμος; γελοῖον. τὶ δὲ; εἰ παρεκάθηστο, ἐμελλὼν αἰσθάνεσθαι; τὶ δὲ, εἰ ἵσθιαντο, ἐμελλὼν ἡσθῆσθαι; τὶ δὲ, εἰ ἤδοετο, ἐμελλὼν οὖτοι ἀθάνατοι εἶναι; οὐ καὶ τούτους πρῶτους μὲν γραίας καὶ γέροντας γενέαθαι οὕτως εἰμαρτό, εἶτα ἀποθανεῖν; τὶ οὖν ὡστερον ἐμελλὼν ἐκείνοι ποιεῖν, τούτων ἀποθανόντων; γράσος πάν τοῦτο καὶ λύθρον εἰς θυλάκιοι.

λη. Εἰ δύνασαι οὐδὲν βλέπειν, βλέπε, "κρίνων," φησί, "σοφώτατα."1

λθ'. Δικαιοσύνης κατεξαναστατικὴν ἁρετὴν ὅψιν ὁρῶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ λογικοῦ ζωῆς κατασκευῆς ἡδονῆς δὲ ὁρῶ τῇ ἐγκατάτησι.

μ. Ἐάν ἄφελης τὴν σήμερον ὑπόληψιν περὶ τοῦ λυπεῖν σε δοκοῦντος, αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεστάτῳ ἐστικαί. "Τῆς αὐτὸς;" ὁ λόγος ἀλλ' ὃ ὅμοι ἐντεῦθεν σφόν. ὅμοιον ὁ μὲν λόγος αὐτὸς ἐαυτὸν μὴ λυπεῖτο. εἰ δὲ τί ἀλλο σοι κακῶς ἔχει, ὑπολαβέτω αὐτὸ περὶ αὐτοῦ.

1 τοῦ κυρίου Ρ: τοῦ κυρίου Λ: [τοῦ] Οὐρήρου Salm., but Marcus does not speak of Lucius as Verus.
2 σοφώτατος Ρ: σοφωτάτης (with δικαιοσύνης, § 39) Α: σοφώτατα Xyl.

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1 See on vi. 29.
2 Lucian (?) (Imag. §§ 10, 22), mentions Pantheia as the 216
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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 task if it cannot hold out against this mere trifle.

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

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

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

40. Take away thy opinion as to any imagined pain, and thou thyself art set in surest safety. What is 'thysel'? 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.

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


4 vii. 16; viii. 47.

5 vii. 33.
MA\-R\-C\-US\- A\-U\-R\-E\-L\-I\-US

μα'. 'Εμποδισμὸς αἰσθήσεως κακὸν ζωτικῆς φύσεως· ἐμποδισμὸς ὀμοίας ὀμοίως κακὸν ζωτικῆς φύσεως. ἔστι δὲ τι ἄλλο ὀμοίως ἐμποδιστικὸν καὶ κακὸν τῆς φυτικῆς κατασκευῆς. οὕτως τοίνυν ἐμποδισμὸς νοῦ κακὸν νοερᾶς φύσεως. πάντα δὴ ταῦτα ἐπὶ σεαυτὸν μετάφερε. πόνος <ἡ> ἡδονή ἀπτεταί σου; ὡφεται ἡ αἰσθησις. ὀρμήσαντι ἐνστήμα ἐγένετο; εἰ μὲν ἀνυπεξαιρέτως ὀρμᾶς, ἡδὴ ὡς λογικὸν κακὸν. εἰ δὲ τὸ κοινὸν λαμβάνεις, οὕτω βέβλαψαι οὐδὲ ἐμπεπόδισαι. τὰ μέντοι τοῦ νοῦ ἱδία οὐδεὶς ἄλλος εἰσθεν ἐμποδίζειν τούτον γὰρ ὁ πῦρ, οὐ σίδηρος, οὐ τύραννος, οὐ βλασφημία, οὐχ ὁτιοῦ ἀπτετει. "ὦταν γένηται σφαῖρος, κυκλοτήρης μένει."++]

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

μγ'. Εὐθραίνει ἄλλον ἄλλο· ἐμέ δὲ, ἕαν ψυχεῖς ἔχω τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, µὴ ἀποστρέφομεν µήτε ἄνθρωπόν τινα µήτε <τι> τῶν ἄνθρωποις συμβαίνοντων· ἄλλα πάντες εἰμενεψίν ὀφθαλμοῖς· ὀρῶν τε καὶ δεχόμενον καὶ χρώμενον ἑκάστῳ κατ' ἄξιαν.

μδ'. Τούτων ἡ ἄξιαν τῶν χρόνων σεαυτῷ χάρισαι. οἱ τὴν ὑστεροφημίαν µᾶλλον διώκοντες οὐ λογίζονται, ὅτι ἄλλοι τοιοῦτοι µέλλουσιν ἐκείνοι εἶναι, οἱ οἱ εἴσιν οὗτοι, οὕς βαροῦνται· κάκεινοι

1 μονή Rend. (ep. xii. 3): by changing σφαῖρος to σφαῖρα (xi. 12) we get η σεαναία. 2 τούτων δὴ Leop.
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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.
ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΑΥΕΡΛΙΟΥΣ

de θυντοί. τί δὲ ὅλως πρὸς σέ, ἀν ἐκεῖνοι φωναῖς
tαιταίς ἀπηχώσων ἢ ὑπόληψιν ταιατὴν περὶ
σοῦ ἔχωσιν;

με’. Ἀρόν με καὶ βάλε, διὸ τοὺς θέλεις. ἐκεῖ1 γὰρ
ἐξω τὸν ἐμὸν δαίμονα ἰλεών, τούτοσιν ἀρκοῦ-
μενον, εἰ ἔχοι καὶ ἐνεργοίῃ κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς τῇ ἱδίᾳ
κατασκευῇ.

2 Ἀρα τούτῳ ἀξίον, ἵνα δὲ αὐτὸ κακῶς μοι ἔχῃ
ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ χείρων ἑαυτῆς ἢ ταπεινουμένη,
ὅρεγομένη, συνδυομένη,2 ἑπτυρομένῃ; καὶ τί
εὐρήσεις τοῦτον ἀξίον;

με’. Ἀνθρώπῳ οὐδενὶ συμβαίνειν τι δύναται, ὅ
οὐκ ἔστων ἀνθρωπικὸν σύμπτωμα: οὐδὲ βοί, ὅ οὐκ
ἔστι βοϊκῶν οὐδὲ ἀμπέλω, ὅ οὐκ ἔστων ἀμπελικόν.
οὐδὲ λίθω, ὅ οὐκ ἔστι λίθων ἰδιον. εἰ οὖν
ἐκάστῳ συμβαίνει, καὶ καὶ εἰ ὡθεῖ καὶ πέφυκε, τί ἂν
δυσχεραίνοις; οὐ γὰρ ἀφόρητον σοι ἔφερεν ἡ
κοινή φύσις.

με’. Εἰ μὲν δία τί τῶν ἐκτὸς λυπῆ, οὐκ
ἐκεῖνὸ σοι ἐνοχλεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὸ σὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ
κρίμα. τούτῳ δὲ ἢδη ἔξαλεῖσαι ἐπὶ σοι ἐστὶν. εἰ
δὲ λυπεῖ σε τί τῶν ἐν τῇ σῇ διαθέσει, τίς ὁ
καλῶν διορθῶσαι τὸ δόγμα; ὅμως δὲ καὶ εἰ
λυπῆ, ὅτι οὐχὶ τόδε τι ἐνεργεῖς ὑγίες σοι
φαινόμενον, τί οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἐνεργεῖς ἢ λυπῆ;
"Αλλὰ ἵσχυρότερον τι ένισταται." μὴ οὖν λυποῦν
οὐ γὰρ παρὰ σὲ ἡ αἰτία τοῦ μὴ ἐνεργεῖσθαι.
"Αλλὰ οὐκ ἀξίον ξῆν μὴ ἐνεργομένου τοῦτον."

1 κάκει Kron. 2 συνδεομένη Gat.
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burden, and no less mortal. What is it anyway to thee if there be this or that far-off echo of their voices, or if they have this or that opinion about thee?

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

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

46. Nothing can befall a man that is not a contingency natural to man; nor befall an ox, that is not natural to oxen, nor a vine that is not natural to a vine, nor a stone that is not proper to it. If therefore only what is natural and customary befalls each, why be aggrieved? For the common Nature brings thee nothing that thou canst not bear.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 vexed ⁴ 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.*
³ viii. 40.
⁴ v. 9, 36; viii. 10; xi. 19.
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ἀπιθι οὐν ἐκ τοῦ ξῆν εὑμενής, ἢ καὶ ὁ ἐνεργῶν ἀποθυμήσκει, ἀμα ἱλεως τοῖς ἐνισταμένοις.

μη'. Μέμνησο, ὅτι ἀκαταμάχητον γίνεται τὸ ἁγεμονικόν, ὅταν εἰς ἑαυτὸ συνταφέν ἀρκεσθῇ ἑαυτῷ μὴ ποιοῦντι, ὁ μὴ θέλειν, κἂν ἀλόγως παρατάξηται. τί οὖν, ὅταν καὶ μετὰ λόγον <καὶ> περιεσκεμμένως κρίνῃ περὶ τίνος; διὰ τοῦτο ἀκρόπολις ἔστιν ἡ ἐλευθέρα παθὼν διάνοια: οὔδεν γὰρ ὁχυρώτερον ἔχει ἄνθρωπος, ἐφ' ὁ καταΦύγων ἀνάλωτος λοιπὸν ἄν εἰη. ὁ μὲν οὖν μὴ ἑωρακὼς τοῦτο ἀμαθῆς· ὁ δὲ ἑωρακὼς καὶ μὴ καταφεύγων ἄτυχῆς.

μη'. Μηδὲν πλέον σαυτῷ λέγε ὅν αἱ προ-
ηγούμεναι φαντασίαι ἀναγεγέλλουσιν. ἤγγελται,
ὅτι ὃ δεινά σε κακῶς λέγει. ἤγγελται τούτο· τὸ
δὲ, ὅτι βέβλαψαι, οὐκ ἤγγελται. βλέπω ὅτι
νοσεῖ τὸ παίδιον. βλέπω· ὅτι δὲ κινδυνεύει οὐβλέπω. οὔτως οὖν μὲν ἄεὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πρῶτων
φαντασιῶν, καὶ μηδὲν αὐτὸς ἐνδοθεν ἐπίλεγε, καὶ
οὐδὲν σοι γίνεται μάλλον δὲ ἐπίλεγε, ὡς γνωριῶν ἐκαστά τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ συμβαίνοντων.

ἐγώνετο ταῦτα ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ;" ἐπεὶ καταγελασθῇ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων φυσιολόγου, ὡς ἄν καὶ ὑπὸ
tέκτους καὶ σκυτεῖς γελασθεῖς καταγινώσκων, ὃτι ἐν τῷ ἐργαστηρίῳ ξέσπατα 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 inexpugnabilem quae in fratris tuopectore sita est.
BOOK VIII

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 opposition\(^3\) and not from reason—much more, then, if it judge of a thing on reasonable grounds and advisedly. Therefore the Mind, unmastered by passions, is a very citadel, for a man has no fortress more impregnable\(^4\) 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 nothing\(^7\) 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

\(^1\) iv. 7 etc. \(^2\) Yet Capit. (xx. § 5) says that Marcus was suae curiosissimae famae, cp. ibid. xxii. § 6; xxiii. § 7, 9; xxix. § 5. \(^3\) cp. viii. 28.
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τῶν κατασκευαζομένων ὀρᾶς. καὶ τοὺς ἑκείνοις γε ἔχουσι, ποὺ αὐτὰ ῥήσωσιν· ἢ δὲ τῶν ὅλων φύσις ἔξω οὐδὲν ἔχειν ἀλλὰ τὸ θαυμαστὸν τῆς τέχνης ταύτης ἔστων, ὃτι περιορίσασα ἑαυτὴν πᾶν τὸ ἐνδον διαφθείρεσθαι καὶ γηράσκειν καὶ ἁρχηγόταιν εἶναι δοκοῦν, εἰς ἑαυτὴν μεταβάλλει, καὶ ὅτι πάλιν ἀλλὰ νεαρὰ ἐκ τούτων αὐτῶν ποιεῖ· ἵνα μήτε οὐσίας ἔξωθεν χρήζῃ μήτε, ὅπου ἐκβάλη τὰ σαπρότερα, προσδέχεται. ἥρκειται οὖν καὶ χώρα τῇ ἑαυτῆς καὶ ὕλη τῇ ἑαυτῆς καὶ τέχνη τῇ ἑαυτῆς.

υα'. Μήτε ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἐπισύρειν μήτε ἐν ταῖς ὀμιλίαις φύρεσι μήτε ἐν ταῖς φαντασίαις ἀλάσθαι μήτε τῇ ψυχῇ καθάπαξ συνέλκεσθαι ἢ ἐκθόρυνθαι μήτε ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἀσχολεῖσθαι.

2 "Κτεῖνουσι, κρεανομοῦσι, κατάραις ἐλαύνουσι." τί οὖν ταῦτα πρὸς τὸ τῆς διάνοιας μένειν καθαρὰν, φρενήρια, σώφρονα, δικαίαν; οἷον εἰ τις παραστὰς πηγή διανυγεί καὶ γλυκεία βλασφημοτήτι αὐτῆς, ἢ δὲ οὐ παίεται πότιμον ἀναβλύσουσα· κἂν πηγὸν ἐμβάλη, κἂν κοπρίαν, τάχιστα διασκεδάσει αὐτὰ καὶ ἐκκλύσει καὶ οὐδαμῶς βαφήσεται. πῶς οὖν πηγῆν ἄειναι έξεις καὶ μῆ θρέαρ₁; ἀν φυλάσσῃς σεαυτὸν πάσης ὀρᾶς εἰς ἐλευθερίαν μετὰ τοῦ εὐμενῶς καὶ ἀπλῶς καὶ αἰδημονῶς.

νβ'. ὁ μὲν μὴ εἰδὼς, ὃ τι ἐστὶ κόσμος, οὐκ οἴδειν, ὅπου ἑστὶν. ὃ δὲ μὴ εἰδὼς πρὸς ὃ τι πέφυκεν, οὐκ οἴδειν ὅστις ἑστὶν, οὐδὲ τί ἐστὶ κόσμος. ὃ δὲ ἐν τὶ τούτων ἀπολειτών οὐδὲ πρὸς

₁ kal μὴ θρέαρ omit AD; ἀν φυλάσσῃς AD; φόου P.

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

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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.  

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 kindliness, simplicity, and modesty.

52. He that knoweth not what the Universe is knoweth not where he is. He that knoweth not the end of its being knoweth not who he is or what the Universe is. 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.
ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΑΥΡΕΛΙΟΣ

ο τι αυτὸς πέφυκεν εἰποί. τίς οὖν φανεταί σοι ὁ τῶν τῶν κροτοὺντων ἔπαινον φεύγων ἤ διῶκων, ἢ οὐθὲ ὃπον εἰσὶν οὐτε οὕτως εἰσι γιμώσκουσιν;


νῦ. Ἐπαινεῖσθαι θέλεις ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶπον τρῖς τῆς ὀρας ἐαυτῷ καταρωμένου; ἄρεσκείν θέλεις ἀνθρώπῳ, δς οὐκ ἄρεσκεί ἐαυτῷ; ἄρεσκεί ἐαυτῷ ὁ μετανόων ἐφ᾿ ἀπασι σχεδόν, οἷς πράσσει;


νῦ. Μηκέτι μόνον συμπνεοῖν τῷ περιέχοντι ἀέρι, ἀλλ᾿ ἴδῃ καὶ συμφρονεῖν τῷ περιέχοντι πάντα νοερῷ. οὐ γὰρ ἤττον ἦ νοερὰ δύναμις πάντη κέχυται καὶ διαπεφοίτηκε τῷ σπάσαι δυναμένῳ, ἦπερ ἢ ἄερῶδης τῷ ἀναπνεύσαι δυναμένῳ.


νῦ. Γενικῶς μὲν ἡ κακία οὐδὲν βλάπτει τῶν κόσμων, ἢ δὲ κατὰ μέρος οὐδὲν βλάπτει τῶν ἐτερον. μόνοι δὲ βλαβερά ἐστι τοῦτῳ, ὥς ἐπιτέρπαται καὶ ἀπηλλάχθαι αὐτῆς, ὡς ποταν πρῶτον οὕτως θελήσῃ.


νῦ. Τό ἐμῷ προαιρετικῷ τὸ τοῦ πλησίον προαιρετικοῦ ἐπίσης ἀδιάφορον ἐστιν, ὡς καὶ τὸ πνευμάτων αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ σαρκίδων. καὶ γὰρ εἰ ὅτι μάλιστα ἀλλήλων ἐνεκεν γεγόναμεν, ὡμος τὰ ἡγεμονικὰ ἡμῶν ἐκαστῶν τὴν ἰδίαιν κυρίαιν ἔχει· ἐπεὶ τοι ἐξελλεῖν ἢ τοῦ πλησίον κακία ἐμοῦ κακὸν εἶναι· ὅπερ οὔκ ἐδοξεῖ τῷ θεῷ, ἵνα μὴ ἐπ᾿ ἀλλῷ ἢ το ἐμὲ ἄτυχεῖν.


νῦ. Ὅ ἡλιος κατακεχύσθαι δοκεῖ, καὶ πάντα γε κέχυται, οὐ μὴν ἐκκέχυται. ἡ γὰρ χύσις αὐτῇ

1 ἡ διῶν (δίω Α) ἢ Ρ: διῶκων Καβ.: ἢ ψόγον φεύγων ἢ ἔπαινον διῶκων Εκτ.
of these things could not tell what is the end of his own being. What then must we think of those that court or eschew the verdict of the clappers, who have no conception where or who they are?

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

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

55. Taken collectively wickedness does no harm to the Universe,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.
Marcus Aurelius

tάσις ἔστιν. "ἀκτίνες" γοῦν αἱ αὐγαὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ "ἐκτείνεσθαι" λέγονται. ὅποιον δὲ τι ἐστὶν ἀκτίς, ἵδιος ἄν, εἰ διὰ τινὸς στενοῦ εἰς ἐσκιασμένον οἶκον τὸ ἄφ' ἥλιον φῶς εἰσδυόμενον θεάσαιον τείνεται. 1 γὰρ κατ' εὐθὺ, καὶ ὁσπερ διερειδεῖται 2 πρὸς τὸ στερέμνιον, ὃ τι ἂν ἀπαντήσῃ, διειργοῦ τὸν ἐπέκειναι ἀέρα· ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἔστη καὶ οὐ κατὼλισθεν οὐδὲ ἐπέσεν. τοιαύτην οὖν τὴν χύσιν καὶ διάχυσιν τῆς διανοίας εἶναι χρὴ, μηδαμῶς ἐκχυσιν ἀλλὰ τάσιν καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἀπαντῶντα κωλύματα μὴ βλέασιν μηδὲ πάγ- δαιν τὴν ἐπέρεισιν ποιεῖσθαι· μηδὲ μὴν κατα- πίπτειν, ἀλλὰ ἵστασθαι καὶ ἐπιλάμπειν τὸ δεχόμενον. αὐτὸ γὰρ ἑαυτὸ στερήσει τῆς αὐγῆς τὸ μὴ παραπέμπτον αὐτῇ.

υ' 'Ο τὸν θάνατον φοβούμενος ἦτοι ἀναισθη- σίαν φοβείται· ἢ αἰσθήσιν ἑτεροίαν. ἀλλ' εἴτε οὐκέτι ἀισθήσιν οὐδὲ κακοῦ τινος αἰσθήσις· εἴτε ἀλλοϊστέραν αἰσθήσιν κτήση, ἀλλοῖον ἡφαῖν ἔση καὶ τοῦ ἰδίου οὐ παύσῃ.

υθ'. Οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ γεγόνασιν ἀλλήλων ἔνεκεν. ἢ δίδασκε οὖν ἢ φέρε.

ξ. "Ἀλλως βέλος, ἀλλως νοῦς φέρεται· ὁ μέντοι νοῦς, καὶ ὅταν εὐλαβηται καὶ ὅταν περὶ τὴν σκέψιν στρέφηται, φέρεται κατ' εὐθὺ οὐδὲν ἦττον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον.

ξα'. Εἰσίεναι εἰς τὸ ἱγμενικὸν ἐκάστου· παρέχειν δὲ καὶ ἑτέρῳ παντὶ εἰσίεναι εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἱγμενικῶν.

1 τείνεται Cor. for γίνεται. 2 διερείδεται Reiske: διαπείδει P.A.

1 A false etymology. The derivation may be from ἀλσοῦ or ἰγμοῦ.

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rate the beams of the Sun are called Extension rays, because they have an extension in space.\footnote{\vspeira: (mss.) would mean apparently cut or broken.} And what a ray is you may easily see, if you observe the sun’s light entering through a narrow chink into a darkened room, for it extends straight on, and is as it were brought up against any solid body it encounters that cuts off the air beyond. There the ray comes to a standstill, neither slipping off nor sinking down. Such then should be the diffusion and circumcision 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.\footnote{cp. Justin, \textit{Apol.} i. § 57, addressed to Pius and Marcus.} 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.\footnote{ix. 1 ad init.} Either instruct therefore or endure.\footnote{v. 28; ix. 11.}

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.\footnote{iv. 38. \textit{cp.} vii. 55; Epict. iii. 9, § 12.}
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Θ

α'. Ὅ ἀδικῶν ἀσέβει. τῆς γὰρ τῶν ὅλων φύσεως κατεσκευάκυιας τὰ λογικὰ ξύα ἔνεκεν ἀλλήλων,
όστε ὠφελεῖν μὲν ἄλληλα κατ’ ἄξιαν, βλάπτειν
dὲ μηδαμῶς, ὁ τὸ βουλήμα ταύτης παραβαίνων
ἀσέβει δηλούστι εἰς τὴν πρεσβυτάτην τῶν
θεῶν.

2 Καὶ ὁ ψευδόμενος δὲ ἀσέβει περὶ τὴν αὐτήν
θεῶν. ἡ γὰρ τῶν ὅλων φύσεις ὄντων ἐστὶ φύσις.
τὰ δὲ γε ὅντα πρὸς τὰ ὑπάρχοντα πάντα οἰκείως
ἐχει. ἐτι δὲ καὶ ἄλλησε αὐτὴ ὑνουμάζεται καὶ
tῶν ἄληθῶν ἀπάντων πρώτη αἰτία ἐστὶν. ὁ μὲν
αὐν ἐκὼν ψευδόμενος ἀσέβει, καθόσον ἐξαπατῶν
ἀδικεῖ· ὁ δὲ ἀκων, καθόσον διαφωνεὶ τῇ τῶν
ὅλων φύσει, καὶ καθόσον ἀκοσμεῖ μαχόμενος τῇ
tοῦ κόσμου φύσει μάχεται γὰρ ὁ ἐπὶ τὰναντία
tοῖς ἄληθεσι φερόμενος παρ’ ἑαυτὸν. ἀφορμᾶς γὰρ
προειλήφει παρὰ τῆς φύσεως, ὃν ἀμελήσας οὐχ
ὄλος τε ἐστὶ νῦν διακρίνειν τὰ ψευδή ἀπὸ τῶν
ἀληθῶν.

3 Καὶ μὴν ὁ τὰς ἡδονὰς ὡς ἀγαθὰ διώκων τοὺς
dὲ πόνους ὡς κακὰ φεύγων ἀσέβει. ἀνάγκη

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1. INJUSTICE is impiety. For in that the Nature of the Universe has fashioned rational creatures for the sake of one another\textsuperscript{1} 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.\textsuperscript{2}

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

\textsuperscript{1} v. 30; viii. 59. \textsuperscript{2} vii. 2.
ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΑΥΡΕΛΙΟΣ

γάρ τὸν τοιούτων μέμφεσθαι πολλάκις τῇ κοινῇ φύσει, ὡς παρ’ ἄξιαν τι ἀπονεμούσῃ τοῖς φαύλουσι καὶ τοῖς σπουδαίοις, διὰ τὸ πολλάκις τοὺς μὲν φαύλους ἐν ἡδονᾷ εἶναι καὶ τὰ ποιητικὰ τοῦτων κτάσθαι, τοὺς δὲ σπουδαίους πόνφ καὶ τοὺς ποιητικοῖς τοῦτον περιπόττειν. ἔτι δὲ ὁ φοβούμενος τοὺς πόνους, φοβηθήσεται ποτὲ καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων τι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τοῦτο δὲ ἡδὴ ἀσεβές.

ο τε διώκων τὰς ἡδονὰς οὐκ ἀφέξεται τοῦ ἀδικείντοτοῦ δὲ ἐναργῶς ἀσεβές.

4. Χρὴ δὲ, πρὸς ἄ τῇ κοινῇ φύσει ἐπίσης ἔχει (οὐ γὰρ ἀν ἄμφοτερα ἐποίει, εἰ μὴ πρὸς ἄμφοτερα ἐπίσης ἔχε). πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς τῇ φύσει βουλομένους ἔπεσθαι ὁμογνώμονας οὐντας ἐπίσης διακεῖσθαι ὡστὶς οὗν πρὸς πόνου καὶ ἡδονῆς ἡ θάνατον καὶ ζωῆς ἡ δόξαν καὶ ἀδοξίαν, οἷς ἐπίσης ἡ τῶν ὅλων φύσις χρῆται, αὐτὸς οὖν ἐπίσης ἔχει, δὴλον ὡς ἀσεβεί. λέγω δὲ τὸ χρῆσθαι τούτοις ἐπίσης τῆς κοινῆς φύσιν, ἀνεῖ τοῦ πάντα 1 συμβαίνειν ἐπίσης κατὰ τὸ ἔξις τοῖς γνωμένοις καὶ ἐπιγνωμένοις ὁμῆς τῶν ἀρχαία τῆς προοίμας, καθ’ ἡν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχῆς ὁμοίουν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς διακόσμησιν συλλαβοῦσά τινος λόγους τῶν ἐσομένων καὶ δυνάμεις γονίμους ἀφορίσασα ὑποστάσεων τε καὶ μεταβολῶν καὶ διαδοχῶν τοιοῦτων.

β’. Χαριεστέρων μὲν ἦν ἄνδρος ἀγευστὸν ψευδολογίας καὶ πάσης ὑποκρίσεως καὶ τρυφῆς 1 τοῦ κατὰ τὸ Π: em. Schenkl.

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

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

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

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 = κοινή φύσις.  
5 ix. 28.
καὶ τύφου γενόμενον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπελθεῖν: τὸ δ' οὖν κορεσθέντα γε τούτων ἀποτείνεσαι 'δεύτερος πλοῦς.' Ἡ προήγησαι προσκαθήσθαι τῇ κακίᾳ, καὶ οὕτω σε οὐδὲ ἡ πείρα πείθει φεύγειν ἐκ τοῦ λοιμοῦ; λοιμός γὰρ διαφθορὰ διανοιας πολλῆ γε μᾶλλον ἦπερ ἡ τοῦ περικεχυμένου τούτου πνεύματος τοιάδε τις δυσκρασία καὶ τροπή. αὕτη μὲν γὰρ ζωῆς λοιμὸς, καθὸ ζωᾶ ἐστιν ἐκείνη δὲ ἀνθρώπων, καθὸ ἀνθρωποὶ εἰσίν.

γ'. Μὴ καταφρόνει θανάτου, ἀλλὰ εὐαρέστει αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ τούτου εὐδοκίας ὑπόστος, διὸ ἡ φύσις ἐθέλει. οἷον γὰρ ἦστι τὸ νέασαι, καὶ τὸ γηρᾶσαι, καὶ τὸ αὐξῆσαι, καὶ τὸ ἀκμᾶσαι, καὶ ὁδότασι καὶ γένεσιν καὶ πολιάς ἐνεγκεῖν, καὶ σπείρα, καὶ κυνοφόρησαι, καὶ ἀποκοψῆσαι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ φυσικὰ ἐνεργήματα, ὅσα αἱ τοῦ σου βίον ὄραν φέρουσι, τοιοῦτο καὶ τὸ διαλυθῆναι. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν κατὰ ἀνθρωπον ἐστὶ λελογισμένον, μὴ ὀλοσχερῶς μηδὲ ὡστικῶς μηδὲ ὑπερφείνως πρὸς τὸν θάνατον ἐχειν, ἀλλὰ περιμένειν ὡς μιᾶς τῶν φυσικῶν ἐνεργείων. καὶ ὡς νῦν περιμένεις, πῶς ἔμβρυον ἐκ τῆς γαστρὸς τῆς γυναικὸς σοῦ ἔζελθη, οὕτως ἐκδέχεσθαι τὴν ὑπαν ἐν ἦ τὸ ψυχάριον σοῦ τοῦ ἐλύτρου τούτου ἐκπεσεῖται.

2 Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἰδιωτικὸν παράπτημα ἁψικάρδειν ἐθέλεις, μᾶλλον σε εὐκολον πρὸς τὸν θάνατον ποτήσει ἡ ἐπίστασις ἡ ἐπὶ τὰ ὑποκείμενα, διὸν μέλλεις ἀφίστασθαι, καὶ μεθ' οἴων ἡθῶν οὐκέτι

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1 But cp. Capit. xxviii. § 4 (of Marcus); mortem contemnena.
2 x. 36, § 2.

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

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

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

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.
Marcus Aurelius

ἐσταὶ ἡ <σὴ ψυχὴ> συμπεφυμένη. προσκόπτεσθαι μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἤκιστα δεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ κήδεσθαι καὶ πράως φέρειν, μεμνήσθαι μέντοι, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπ’ ἀνθρώπων ὁμοδοματοῦντων σοι ἡ ἀπαλλαγὴ ἐσταί. τούτο γὰρ μόνον, εἰπέρ ἄρα, ἀνθείλκεν ἄν καὶ κατείχεν ἐν τῷ ζῆν, εἰ συζην ἐφείτο τοῖς τὰ αὐτὰ δόγματα περιπεποιημένους. νῦν δὲ ὄρας, ὅσος ὁ κόσμος ἐν τῇ διαφωνίᾳ τῆς συμβιώσεως, ὡστε εἰπέτων, ”Θάττον ἐλθοις, ὦ θάνατε, μὴ ποιεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιλάθωμαι ἐμαυτῶ.”

δ’. Ὅ ἀμαρτάνων ἐαυτῷ ἀμαρτάνει: ὁ ἀδικῶν ἐαυτὸν ἀδικεῖ 1 κακὸν ἐαυτὸν ποιῶν.

ε’. Ἀδικεὶ πολλάκις ὁ μὴ ποιῶν τι, οὐ μόνον ὁ ποιῶν τι.

ζ’. Ἀρκεῖ ἡ παρούσα ὑπόληψις καταληπτικὴ, καὶ ἡ παρούσα πράξεις κοινωνική, καὶ ἡ παρούσα διάθεσις εὐαρεστικὴ πρὸς πάν τὸ παρὰ τῆς ἐκτὸς 2 αἰτίας συμβαίνουν.

η’. Ἐξαλείψας φαντασίαν στῆσαι ὀρμήν: σβέσαι ὀρέξων ἐφ’ ἐαυτῷ ἐξείου τὸ ἡγεμονικόν.

1 ἀδικεῖ Cor.: κακοὶ P: ἐαυτῶν κακοὶ 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.”

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mixed up.\(^1\) For while it is very far from right to be disgusted with them,\(^2\) but rather even to befriend 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

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\(^1\) iv. 26; ix. 38. Epict. ii. 10, § 26.

\(^2\) 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.

\(^3\) vii. 29; viii. 29, 49; xii. 25.
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καὶ ἐνὶ φωτὶ ὀρῶμεν, καὶ ἕνα ἀέρα ἀναπνέομεν, ὅσα ὀρατικὰ καὶ ἐμψυχα πάντα.

θ’. Ὅσα κοινοῦ τινὸς μετέχει, πρὸς τὸ ὁμογενὲς σπεύδει. τὸ γεώδες πᾶν ἰέπει ἐπὶ γῆν, τὸ υγρὸν πᾶν σύρρουν, τὸ ἀερώδες ὁμοίως· ὡστε χρήζειν τῶν διειργόντων καὶ βιῶσι. τὸ πῦρ ἀνωφερές μὲν διὰ τὸ στοιχείωδες πῦρ· παντὶ δὲ πυρὶ ἐνταῦθα πρὸς τὸ συνεξάπτεσθαι ἔτοιμον οὖν, ὡστε καὶ πᾶν τὸ ὕλικόν τὸ ὀλύγως κρύοτερον εὐξάπτον ἐναι, διὰ τὸ ἔλαττον ἐγκεκράσθαι αὐτῷ τὸ κωλυτικὸν πρὸς ἐξαψίνος. καὶ τοῖς πᾶν τὸ κοινῆς [μὲν] 1 νοσερᾶς φύσεως μέτοχον πρὸς τὸ συναγενὲς ὁμοίως σπεύδει ἡ καὶ μᾶλλον. ὅσο γὰρ ἐστι κρεῖττον παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα, τοσοῦτῳ καὶ πρὸς τὸ συγκερνᾶσθαι τῷ οἰκεῖῳ καὶ συγχείσθαι ἐτοιμότερον.

2 Ἐνθὰς γοῦν ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἀλόγων εὐρέθη σμήνη καὶ ἀγέλαι καὶ νεοσοστροφιά καὶ οἶλον ἔρωτες· ψυχαὶ γὰρ ἤδη ἦσαν ἐνταῦθα, καὶ τὸ συναγωγὸν ἐν τῷ κρεῖττον ἐπιτεινόμενον εὐρίσκετο, οἷον οὖτε ἐπὶ φυτῶν ἢν οὖτε ἐπὶ λίθων ἢ ἔντεκ. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν λογικῶν ξύων πολυτείαι καὶ φεύγοιτι καὶ οἶκοι καὶ σύλλογοι καὶ ἐν πολέμωις συνθῆκαι καὶ ἀνοχαί. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ κρεῖττόνων, καὶ διεστηκότων τρόπων τινὲς ἐνοχαῖς ψέστη, οἴα ἐπὶ τῶν ἄστρων. οὖτως ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον ἐπανάβασις, συμπάθειαν καὶ ἐν διεστώσιν ἐργάσασθαι δύναται.

1 omit P.
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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.


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3 "Ωρα οὖν τὸ νῦν γινόμενον· μόνα γὰρ τὰ νοερὰ νῦν ἐπιλέξεσθαι τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλα σπουδῆς καὶ συννεύσεως, καὶ τὸ σύρροιν ὅδε μόνον οὐ βλέπεται. ἀλλ' ὁμοίως καὶ τοῖς φεύγοντες περικαταλαμβάνονταί κρατεί γὰρ ἡ φύσις. ὅσει δὲ, οἱ λέγων, παραφυλάσσων. θάσσον γοῦν εὑροί τις ἂν γεώδες τι μηδενὸς γεώδους προσαπτόμενον ἤπερ ἀνθρώπων ἀνθρώπου ἀπευχισμένον.

ἰ'. Φέρει καρπὸν καὶ ἀνθρωπος καὶ θεὸς καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἐν ταῖς οἰκείαις ὥραις ἔκαστα φέρει. εἰ δὲ ἡ συννήθεια κυρίως τέτριφεν ἐπὶ ἀμπέλου καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων, οὐδὲν τούτο. ὁ λόγος δὲ καὶ κοινὸν καὶ ἱδιον καρπὸν ἔχει καὶ γίνεται ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοιαῦθ᾽ ἑτερα, ὅποιον τι αὐτὸς ἔστων ὁ λόγος.

ἰα'. Εἰ μὲν δύνασαι, μεταδίδασκε· εἰ δὲ μὴ, μέμνησαι, ὅτι πρὸς τούτο ἡ εὐμενεία σοι δέδωται. καὶ οἱ θεοὶ δὲ εὐμενεῖς τοῖς τοιούτοις εἰσὶν· εἰς ἑνα δὲ καὶ συνεργοῦσι, εἰς ύπόπτως, εἰς πλοῦτον, εἰς δόξαν· σοῦτος εἰσὶ χρηστοί. ἔξεστι δὲ καὶ σοί· ἢ εἰπέ, τίς ὁ κωλυόν;

ἰβ'. Πόνει, μὴ ὅσ αὐθινός μηδὲ ὅσ εἰλείρθαι ἢ θαναμάζεσθαι θέλων· ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐν θήλε, κινεῖσθαι καὶ ἵσχεσθαι, ὥσ ὁ πολιτικὸς λόγος ἑξοι.

ἰγ'. Σήμερον ἔξηλθον πάσης περιστάσεως· μᾶλλον δὲ ἔξεβαλον πάσαν περίστασιν· ἔξω γὰρ οὐκ ἢν, ἀλλὰ ἐνδον ἐν ταῖς ὑπολήψεσι.

1 St. Paul, Gal. v. 22. 2 v. 28; viii. 59. 3 ix. 27. 4 v. 2; viii. 40; xii. 22. cp. Montaigne, i. 40 (Florio's version): "Men, saith an ancient Greek sentence, are tormented by the opinions they have of things and not the
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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 kindliness was given thee to meet just such a case. The Gods too are kindly to such persons and even co-operate with them for certain ends—for health, to wit, and wealth and fame, so benignant are they.3 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.4 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."

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ιδ'. Πάντα ταύτα συνήθη μὲν τῇ πείρᾳ, ἐφήμερα δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ, ὑπαρά δὲ τῇ ὕλῃ. πάντα νῦν, οία ἐστ' ἐκεῖνων, οὕς κατεβάψαμεν.

ιε'. Τὰ πράγματα ἐξω θυρῶν ἐστηκεν αὕτα ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν μηδὲν μήτε εἰδότα περὶ αὐτῶν μητε ἀποφαίνομεν. τί οὖν ἀποφαίνεται περὶ αὐτῶν; τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν.

ις'. Οὐκ ἐν πείσει, ἀλλ' ἐνεργεία τὸ τοῦ λογικοῦ <καί> πολεμικοῦ ἡμίον καὶ ἀγαθὸν, ὁσπερ οὖδὲ ἡ ἀρετὴ καὶ κακία αὐτοῦ ἐν πείσει, ἀλλὰ ἐνεργεία.

ιζ'. Τῷ ἀναρριφέντι λίθῳ οὖδὲν κακὸν τὸ κατενέχθηναι οὐδὲ ἀγαθὸν τὸ ἀνενεχθήναι.

ιη'. Τίελθε ἐσώ εἰς τὰ ἡγεμονικὰ αὐτῶν, καὶ ὅψει, τίνας κριτὰς φοβῆτ, οίους καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν οὐτας κριτὰς.

ιθ'. Πάντα ἐν μεταβολῇ καὶ αὐτὸς σὺ ἐν δυναμεί ἀλλοιωσεὶ καὶ κατὰ τὴ φθορᾷ καὶ ὁ κόσμος δὲ ὅλος.

κ'. Τὸ ἄλλου ἀμάρτημα ἐκεῖ δέι καταλιπεῖν.

κα'. Ἐνεργείας ἀπόληξις, ἅρμης, ὑπολήψεως παύλα καὶ οἷον θάνατος, οὐδὲν κακόν. μετιθι νῦν ἐπὶ ἥλικιαν, οἷον τὴν παιδικὴν, τὴν τοῦ μειρακίου, τὴν νεοτητα, τὸ γῆρας καὶ γὰρ τοῦ τῶν πάσα μεταβολὴ θάνατος. μήτε δεινόν; μετιθι νῦν ἐπὶ βίον τὸν ὑπὸ τὸ πᾶπτω, ἐκα τὸν ὑπὸ τὴ μητρί, ἐκα τὸν ὑπὸ τῷ πατρί. καὶ ἄλλος

1 ὁμήριος requires a substantive like ἀπόληψις or ἰσσοχή to balance the sentence.

1 iv. 44. 2 iv. 35. 3 ii. 4 ; iv. 32. 4 viii. 20.
14. All these are things of familiar experience; in their duration ephemeral, in their material foul. Everything is now as it was in the days of those whom we have buried.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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5 iv. 38; vii. 34. 6 v. 23; vii. 18. 7 iv. 3 ad fin.; vii. 25. 8 vii. 29; ix. 38.
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dè πολλὰς διαφορὰς καὶ μεταβολὰς καὶ ἀπολήξεις εὐρίσκων, ἐπερῶτα σεαυτὸν: "Μήτι δεινῶν;" οὔτως τοίνυν οὐδὲ ἦ τοῦ ὅλου βίου λήξει καὶ παῦλα καὶ μεταβολή.

κβ'. Τρέχει ἐπὶ τὸ σεαυτοῦ ἤγεμονικὸν καὶ τὸ τοῦ ὅλου, καὶ τὸ τοῦτον. τὸ μὲν σεαυτοῦ, ἵνα νοῦν ἰδιαίτερον αὐτῷ ποιήσῃς· τὸ δὲ τοῦ ὅλου, ἵνα συμμημονεύῃς, τίνος μέρος εἴ τὸ δὲ τοῦτον, ἵνα ἐπιστήμης, πότερον ἄγνοια ἢ γνώμη, καὶ ἀμα λογίσῃ, ὅτι συγγενεῖς.

κγ'. "Ωσπερ αὐτὸς σὺ πολιτικὸν συστήματος συμπληρωτικός εἰ, οὕτως καὶ πάσα πράξεις σου συμπληρωτικὴ ἐστὶν ἑως πολιτικῆς. ἦτις εάν οὖν πράξεις σου μὴ ἔχῃ τὴν ἀναφορὰν εἴτε προσεχῶς εἴτε πόρρωθεν ἐπὶ τὸ κοινωνικὸν τέλος, αὐτὴ διασπᾶ τὸν βίον καὶ οὐκ εὰν ἔνα εἶναι καὶ στασιώδης ἐστίν, οὕσπερ εὖ δήμῳ ὁ τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν μέρος διυπνάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης συμφωνίας.

κδ'. Παιδίων ὀργαὶ καὶ πάθημα, καὶ "πνευμάτια νεκροῖς βαστάζοντα," ὡστε ἐναργέστερον προσπεσεῖν τὸ τῆς Νεκρίας.

κε'. Ἰδιὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ποιότητα τοῦ αὐτίου, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑλικοῦ αὐτὸ περιγράφας θέσαι εἶτα καὶ τὸν χρόνον περιόρισον, ὁσοῦ πλείοντον υφίστασθαι πέφυκε τούτῳ τὸ ἴδιως ποιύν.

1 διαφοράς AD.
2 νῦν Rend.: γοῦν Cor.

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1 Pius. See on i. 17, § 3.
2 cf. Lucian, de Luci. 15.
41 πνευμάτων = ψυχάριον.
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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 corpses³—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 Νέκυια of Homer (Od. xi.). Menippus (Diog. Lær. Men. 6) also wrote a Νέκυια (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.
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κχ'. Ἀνέτθησις μύρια διὰ τὸ μὴ ἄρκεισθαι τῷ σῷ ἡγεμονικῷ ποιοῦντι ταῦτα, εἰς ἀ κατεσκευασταί. ἀλλὰ ἄλις.

κχ'. "Οταν ἄλλος γέγον ἐμ, ἡ μυσῆ, ἡ τοιαύτα τινα ἐκφωνώσεων, ἐρχον ἐπὶ τὰ ψυχάρια αὐτῶν, διέλθε ἐσῶ καὶ ἵδε, ποιοί τινες εἰσιν. ὅσει, ὅτι οὐ δεῖ σε σπάσθαι, ἵνα τοῦτοι τί ποτε περί σοῦ δοκῇ. εὐνοεῖν μέντοι αὐτοῖς δεῖ· φύσει γὰρ φίλοι. καὶ οἱ θεοὶ δὲ παντοίως αὐτοῖς βοηθοῦσι, δι' ὅνειρον, διὰ μαντεῖον, πρὸς ταῦτα μέντοι, πρὸς ἄ ἐκεῖνοι διαφέρονται.

κη'. Ταῦτα ἐστὶ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου ἐγκύκλια, ἀνω κάτω, ἐξ αἰώνων εἰς αἰῶνα. καὶ ἦτοι ἐφ' ἐκαστον ὅρμα ἡ τοῦ ὄλου διάνοια· ὁπερ εἰ ἔστιν, ἀποδέχου τὸ ἐκεῖνης ὀρμητόν· ἢ ἄπαξ ὀρμησε, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ κατ' ἑπακολούθησιν καὶ ἐτέ ἐν τίνι. ἕτερον γὰρ τινα ἄτομον, ἕτη ἀμερῇ· τὸ δὲ ὄλου, εἰτε θεος, ἐν ἐχει πάντα· εἰτε τὸ εἰκῆ, μὴ καὶ σὺ εἰκῆ.

2 "Ἡδη πάντας ἡμᾶς γῆ καλύψει· ἐπείτα καὶ αὐτὴ μεταβάλει· κάκεινα εἰς ἀπειρον μεταβαλει· καὶ πάλιν ἐκεῖνα εἰς ἀπειρον. τὰς γὰρ ἐπικυματώσεις τῶν μεταβολῶν καὶ ἀλλοιώσεων ἐνθυμούμενος τις καὶ τὸ τάχος παντὸς θυμοῦ καταφρονήσει.

κθ'. Χειμάρρους ἥ τῶν ὄλων αἰτία· πάντα φέρει. ὡς εὐθελὴ δε καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ ταῦτα καὶ,

1 τῇ ἐν (ἐν Α) τίνι Ρ: τῇ ἐντελη (Why this striving?) Cor. (ἐρ. χ. 31): τῇ ἐν τῷ Stich. 2 ovsia Reiske.

1 i. 17 add. fin. 2 ix. 11, 40.
3 The Heraclitan round of change between the elements; see iv. 46. 4 ix. 1, § 4.

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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 dreams and oracles, to win those very things on which their hearts are set.

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

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

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

\[\text{Possibly δυσμερή is a gloss, or δυσωμερή should be read. (\textit{cp.} Epict. \textit{Frag.} 175.)}\]
\[\text{ii. 5; iv. 2, etc. τὸ ὅλον may also be taken to mean \textit{in fine}.}\]
\[\text{ix. 19; xii. 21. \textit{cp.} Capit. xxviii. 4 of Marcus on his death-bed, \textit{ridens res humanas}.}\]
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ōs oîetai, phîlōsoφos praktikā ἀνθρώπια: μνῆων μεστά. ἀνθρωπε, τί ποτε; ποίησον, ὥς νῦν ἡ φύσις ἀπαίτει. ὄρμησον, εὰν διδώται, καὶ μὴ περιβλέποι, εἰ τις εἰσεῖται. μὴ τὴν Πλάτωνος πολιτείαν ἔλπιζε ἀλλὰ ἅρκου, εἰ τὸ βραχύτατον πρόεισι, καὶ τοῦτον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔκβασιν, ὡς μικρὸν τί ἔστι, διανοοῦ. δόγμα ἡ ἀρά αὐτῶν τῆς μεταβάλλει; χωρὶς δὲ δογμάτων μεταβολῆς τί ἄλλο ἡ δουλεία στενόντων καὶ πείθεσθαι προσποιομένων; ὑπαγε νῦν, καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Φίλιππον καὶ Δημήτριον τὸν Φαληρέα μοι λέγε. ὁφνοία, εἰ εἶδον, τί ἡ κοινὴ φύσις ἠθελεν, καὶ εάντος ἐπαιδαγώγησαν· εἰ δὲ ἐπαγρώφησαν, οὔδεὶς με κατακέκρικε μιμεῖσθαι. ἀπλοῦν ἐστι καὶ αἰδῆμον τὸ φιλοσοφής ἔργον μὴ με ἄπαγε ἐπὶ σεμνοτύφλιν.

Λ. Ἀνοθεν ἐπιθεωρεῖν ἄγελας μυρίας καὶ τελετὰς μυρίας καὶ πλοῦν παντοῦ ἐν χειμῶνι καὶ γαλήναις καὶ διαφοράς γινομένων, συγγνωμένων, ἄπογνωμένων. ἐπινοεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν ὑπ’ ἄλλων πάλαι βεβιωμένοι βίον, καὶ τὸν μετὰ σὲ βιωθησόμενον, καὶ τὸν νῦν ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐθνοῦς βιοῦμενοι· καὶ όσοι μὲν οὕτως οὐκ ὑμᾶς σοι γυνᾶσκουν, ὡσι δὲ τάχιστα ἐπιλήσονται, ὡσι δὲ ἐπαινοῦντες ἵσως νῦν σε τάχιστα ψέξουσιν· καὶ ὡς οὔτε ἡ μνήμη ἄξιωλογον γε οὔτε ἡ δόξα οὔτε ἀλλο τὸ τὸ σύμπαν.

λα. Ἀπαραξία μὲν περὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκτὸς

1 ὡς οὐ Π. 2 Perhaps ἀπαγέτω.

1 v. 6, § 1. Sen. Ep. 79: Haec nos oportet agere licet nemo videat.
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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 gatherings\(^3\) 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 thing else whatever is worth reckoning.

31. Freedom from perturbation in all that befalls

\(^1\) Or, reading \(\varphi οικοπόν\): deem the success of the matter in hand no small thing.
\(^2\) vii. 3, 48.
\(^3\) nearly = our colloquial "functions,"
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αἰτίας συμβαινόντων, δικαιότης δὲ ἐν τοῖς παρὰ τὴν ἐκ σοῦ αἰτίαν ἑνεργομένους τούτος ἐστὶν ὀρμή καὶ πράξεις καταλήγουσα ἐπὶ αὐτὸ τὸ κυνωνικὸς πράξαι ὡς τούτῳ σοι κατὰ φύσιν ὁν.

λβ. Πολλὰ περισσᾶ περιελεῖν τῶν ἐνοχλοῦντων σοι δύνασα, οἷα ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπολήψει σου κείμενα καὶ πολλὴν εὐρυχωρίαν περιποιήσεις ἢδη σεαυτῷ. <τῷ> ¹ τὸν ὅλον κόσμον περιεληφέναι τῇ γνώμῃ, καὶ τὸν ἁίδουν ἁίδιαν περιουσίαν, καὶ τὴν τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἐκάστου πράγματος ταχείαν μεταβολὴν ἐπινοεῖν, ὡς βραχύ μὲν τὸ ἀπὸ γενέσεως μέχρι διαλύσεως, ἀχανεῖς δὲ τὸ πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως, ὡς καὶ τὸ μετὰ τὴν διάλυσιν ὁμοίως ἀπειροῦ.

γ. Πάντα, ὅσα ὅρας, τάχιστα φθαρῆσαι καὶ οἱ φθειρόμενα αὐτὰ ἐπιδότες τάχιστα καὶ αὐτοὶ φθαρῆσονται καὶ ὁ ἐσχατόγηρος ἀποθανὼν εἰς ἴσον καταστήσεται τῷ πρωῒρῳ.

δ. Τίνα τὰ ἡγεμονικὰ τούτων, καὶ περὶ οἷα ἐσπονδάκασι, καὶ δι' οἷα φιλοῦσι καὶ τιμῶσι. γνῶντα νόμιζε βλέπειν τὰ ψυχάρα αὐτῶν. ὅτε δοκοῦσι βλάπτειν ψέγουσι ἡ ὥφελειν ἕξυμοιντες, ὅση ὑπήρσεις.

ε. Ἡ ἀποβολὴ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἡ μεταβολή. τούτῳ δὲ χαίρει ἡ τῶν ὅλων φύσις, καθ' ἦν πάντα, καθὼς ² γίνεται, ἐξ αἰώνος ὄμοιον ἔγινετο, καὶ εἰς ἀπειρον τοιαύθα ἔτερα ἐσται. τί οὖν λέγεις, ὅτι ἐγίνετο τε πάντα <κακῶς> ³ καὶ

¹ <τῷ> Gat.
² καθὼς PA: καθὼς Schenkl.
³ So Reiske: ἐκακῶς P: omit A.

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BOOK IX

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 yawn ing immensity before birth is only matched by the infinity after our dissolution.

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

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

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

1 vii. 34, 62; ix. 18.
2 The play on the words cannot be kept. 3 vii. 18.
Marcus Aurelius

πάντα ἃεὶ κακῶς ἔσται, καὶ οὐδεμία ἄρα δύναμις ἐν τοσοῦτοις θεοῖς ἐξευρέθη ποτὲ ἢ διορθώσουσα τάῦτα, ἀλλὰ κατακέκρυται ὁ κόσμος ἐν ἁδιαλείπτοις κακοῖς συνέχεσθαι;

λξ'. Τὸ σαπρὸν τῆς ἐκάστης ὑποκειμένης ὑλῆς· ὦδωρ, κόνις, ὀστάρια, γράσος· ἢ πάλιν πόροι γῆς τὰ μάρμαρα, καὶ ὑποστάθμια ὁ χρυσός, ὁ ἄργυρος, καὶ τριχία ἡ ἔσθης· καὶ αἶμα ἡ πορφύρα, καὶ τὰ ἀλλα πάντα τοιαῦτα. καὶ τὸ πνευμάτιον ἃς ἀλλο τοιχύτον καὶ ἐκ τοῦτον εἰς ταῦτα μεταβάλλον.

λξ'. "Ἀλις τοῦ ἅθλιου βίου, καὶ γογγυσμοῦ, καὶ πίθηκοσμοῦ. τὶ ταράσσῃ; τὶ τοῦτων καινόν; τὶ σε ἔξιστησι; τὸ αἴτιον; ἢδε αὐτὸ. ἀλλ' ἡ ὕλη; ἢδε αὐτὴν. ἢξω δὲ τοιχύτων οὐδὲν ἐστιν· ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ηὐδὶ ποτὲ ἀπλοῦστερος καὶ χρηστότερος γενοῦ.

2 Ἰσον τὸ ἐκατόν ἐτεσί καὶ τὸ τρισὶ ταῦτα ἱστορήσαι.

λη'. Εἰ μὲν ἦμαρτεν, ἐκεῖ τὸ κακὸν. τάχα δ' οὐχ ἦμαρτεν.

λθ'. Ἡτοι ἀπὸ μᾶς πηγῆς νοερᾶς πάντα ὡς ἐν σώματι ἐπισυμβαῖνει, καὶ οὐ δεῖ τὸ μέρος τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ δόλου γινομένους μέμφεσθαι· ἡ ἄτομοι καὶ οὐδὲν ἀλλο καὶ κυκέων καὶ σκεδασμὸς. τὶ οὖν ταράσσῃ; τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ λέγε. 2 "Τέθυνκας, ἐθάρσαι, τεθηρίωσαι, ὑποκρίνῃ, συναγελάζῃ, βόσκῃ."

μ'. Ἡτοι οὐδὲν δύνανται οἱ θεοὶ ἡ δύνανται.

1 πνευματικὸν Cas.: πνευμάτιον PA.
2 λέγεις PA: λέγε Cor. Perhaps λέγε συ.
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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 flat hath gone forth that the Universe should be bound in an unbroken chain of ill?

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

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

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

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

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

40. Either the Gods have no power or they have

\[1\] iv. 26. \[2\] vii. 29. \[3\] iv. 27; vi. 10; vii. 32; xii. 44. \[253\]
Marcus Aurelius


μα'. 'Ὁ Ἐπίκουρος λέγει, ὅτι "Ἐν τῇ νόσῳ οὐκ ἦσαν μοι αἱ ὀμίλιαι περὶ τῶν τοῦ σωματίου παθῶν οὐδὲ πρὸς τοὺς εἰσίόντας τοιαύτα τινα," φησὶν, "ἔλαλον ἀλλὰ τὰ προηγούμενα φυσιολογῶν διετέλουν, καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ τούτῳ ὅν, πῶς ἡ διάνοια συμμεταλαμβάνουσα τῶν ἐν τῷ σαρκιδῷ τοιούτων¹ κινήσεων ἀταρακτεῖ, τὸ ἴδιον ἄγαθον τηροῦσα. οὐδὲ τοὺς ἰατροὺς ἐμπαρεῖχουν," φησὶ, "καταφυράττεσθαι, ως τὸ ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὃ

¹ τοιοῦτων Ρ: ποιοῦντων Α: τοιῶν τινων Schenkl.

1 vi. 44.
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power. If they have no power, why pray to them? But if they have power, why not rather pray that they should give thee freedom from fear of any of these things and from lust for any of these things and from grief at any of these things [rather] than that they should grant this or refuse that. For obviously if they can assist men at all, they can assist them in this. But perhaps thou wilt say: The Gods have put this in my power. Then is it not better to use what is in thy power like a free man than to concern thyself with what is not in thy power like a slave and an abject? And who told thee that the Gods do not co-operate with us even in the things that are in our power? Begin at any rate with prayers for such things and thou wilt see. One prays: How may I lie with that woman! Thou: How may I not lust to lie with her! Another: How may I be quit of that man! Thou: How may I not wish to be quit of him! Another: How may I not lose my little child! Thou: How may I not dread to lose him. In a word, give thy prayers this turn, and see what comes of it.

41. Listen to Epicurus where he says: In my illness my talk was not of any bodily feelings, nor did I chatter about such things to those who came to see me, but I went on with my cardinal disquisitions on natural philosophy, dwelling especially on this point, how the mind, having perforse 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

βάβεραί. Gataker very aptly quotes Augustine, de Grat. Christi i. 15: Cur petitur quod ad nostram pertinent potes-
tatem, si Deus non adjuvat voluntatem?

4 Capit. xxi. § 3.
ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΑΥΡΕΛΙΟΣ

βίος ἤγετο εὑρισκομένου, καὶ καλῶς. Ταῦτα οὖν ἐκεῖνῳ ἐν νόσοι καὶ νοσήσης, καὶ ἐν ἄλλῃ τινὶ περιστάσει. Τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἀφιστασθαι φιλοσοφίας ἐν οἷς δὴποτε τοῖς προσπιέτοιτο μὴδὲ [τῷ] ἰδιώτῃ καὶ ἀφυσιολόγῳ 

συμφιλαρέων πάσης αἱρέσεως κοινῶν . . . πρὸς μόνῳ δὲ τῷ νῦν πρασσομένῳ εἶναι καὶ τῷ ὀργάνῳ, δι’ οὗ πράσσεις. 

μὲ. Ὁταν τινὸς ἀναισχύντα προσκόπτης, εὐθὺς πυνθάνων σεαυτοῦ. "Δύνανται οὖν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἀναισχύντοι μὴ εἶναι," οὐ δύνανται. μὴ οὖν ἀπαίτει τὸ ἀδύνατον. εἰς γὰρ καὶ οὐτὸς ἔστω ἐκεῖνον τῶν ἀναισχύντων, οὐδὲ ἀνάγκη ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἶναι. τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πανούργου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀπίστου καὶ παντὸς τοῦ ὅμηρος ἀμαρτάνοντος ἔστω σοι πρόχειρον. ἀμα γὰρ τῷ ὑπομηνθήματι, ὅτι τὸ γένος τῶν τοιούτων ἀδύνατον ἔστι μὴ ὑπάρχειν, εὐμενεστέρος ἔστιν πρὸς τούς καθ’ ἔνα. εὐχρηστὸν δὲ κάκεινο εὐθὺς ἔννοεῖν, "Τίνα ἐδώκεν ἡ φύσις τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀρετήν πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ ἀμάρτημα." ἐδώκε μάρταν, ὡς ἀντιφάρμακον πρὸς μὲν τὸν ἀγνώμονα τὴν πραότητα, πρὸς δὲ ἀλλὸν ἀλλὴν των δύναμεν.

2 Οἶον δὲ ἐξετάτο σοι μεταδιδάσκειν τοὺς πεπλανμένους πᾶσαν γὰρ ὁ ἀμαρτώλος ἀφαμαρτάνει τοῦ προκειμένου καὶ πεπλάνηται. τί δὲ καὶ βέβλαψαι; εὐρήσεις γὰρ μὴδένα τοῦτων, πρὸς οὖς παροξύνῃ, πεποιηκότα τι τοιοῦτον, εξ οὗ ἡ διάνοια σοι χείραν ἐμέλλε γενήσεται τοῦ δὲ

1 ἀφυσιολόγῳ: φυσιολόγῳ (natural philosopher) PA.
2 πράσσεις PA. This verb has no subject and Wilam. and Schenkl mark a lacuna before πρὸς μόνῳ: πράσσεις Reiske.

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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 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 wrongdoing 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: πρὸ πάντας πρὸς πνεύμα.
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κακόν σου καὶ τὸ βλαβερὸν ἐνταῦθα πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔχει.

3 Τὴ δαὶ κακῶν ἢ ξένον γέγονεν, εἰ ὁ ἀπαίδευτος τὰ τοῦ ἀπαίδευτον πράσσει; ὥρα, μὴ σεαυτῷ μᾶλλον ἐγκαλεῖν ὡφείλης, ὅτι ὁ προσεδόκησας τούτον τοῦτο ἀμαρτήσεσθαι. σὺ γὰρ καὶ ἀφορμάς ἐκ τοῦ λόγου εἴχες πρὸς τὸ ἐνθυμηθῆναι, ὅτι εἰκὸς ἐστὶ τούτον τοῦτο ἀμαρτήσεσθαι, καὶ ὅμως ἐπιλαθόμενος θαυμάζεις, εἰ ἡμάρτηκε.

4 Μάλιστα δὲ, ὅταν ὡς ἀπίστως ἢ ἀχαρίστως μέμφη, εἰς σεαυτόν ἐπιστρέψον. προδήλως γὰρ σὸν τὸ ἀμαρτήμα, εἴτε περὶ τοῦ τοιαύτην διάθεσιν ἔχοντος ἐπίστανος, ὅτι τὴν πίστιν φυλάξει, εἴτε τὴν χάριν διδοὺς μὴ καταληκτικῆς ἑδωκας, μηδὲ ὡστε ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς σῆς πράξεως εὐθὺς ἀπειληφέραι πάντα τὸν καρπὸν.

5 Τὴ γὰρ πλέον θέλεις εὗροί σας ἄνθρωπον; οὐκ ἀρκεῖ τοῦτο, ὅτι κατὰ φύσιν τὴν σήν τι ἐπράξας, ἀλλὰ τοῦτον μισθὸν ζητεῖς; ὡς εἰ ὁ ῥήχαλμος ἀμοιβήν ἀπῆτε, ὅτι βλέπει, ἢ οἱ πόδες, ὅτι βαδίζουσιν. ὥσπερ γὰρ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν τι γέγονεν, ἀπερ κατὰ τὴν ἱδίαν κατασκευὴν ἐνεργοῦντα ἀπέχει τὸ ἱδίον, οὕτως καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐνεργεικῶς πεφυκὼς, ὅπως τι ἐνεργεικὸν ἢ ἄλλως εἰς τὰ μέσα συνεργητικὸν πράξῃ, πεποίηκε, πρὸς δὲ κατεσκεύασται, καὶ ἔχει τὸ ἔαυτον.

Lit. there, i.e. in thy mind.

2 cp. the striking parallel in Dio 71. 24, § 2, τὸ μὴν πιστὸν ἐν ἄνθρώποις εἶναι: ibid. 71. 26, § 2, πιστὶς καταλύσας πιστῶν διαλεγάσθαι, 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

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

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

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

For when 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.

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 ebepyeia, Dio 71. 34, § 3; C.I.Gr. 2495, 4697.
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Ι

α'. Ἐσθ ποτὲ ἀρα, ὁ ψυχή, ἀγαθὴ καὶ ἀπλὴ καὶ μία καὶ γυμνὴ, φανερωτέρα τοῦ περικειμένου σοι σώματος; γεύσῃ ποτὲ ἄρα τῆς φιλητικῆς καὶ στερκτικῆς διαθέσεως; ἐστὶ ποτὲ ἄρα πλήρης καὶ ἀνενδεχὴς καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπιποθοῦσα οὐδὲ ἐπιθυμοῦσα οὖν ἔμψυχον οὔτε ἔμψυχον πρὸς ἡδονῶν ἀπολαύσεις; οὐδὲ χρόνου, ἐν οἴ ἐπὶ μακρότερον ἀπολαύσεις; οὐδὲ τότου ἡ χώρας ἡ ἀέρων εὐκαίριας οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπων εὐαρμοστικὸς· ἀλλὰ ἀρκεσθήσῃ τῇ παροῦσῃ καταστάσει καὶ ἂσθήσῃ τοῖς παροῦσι πᾶσι, καὶ συμπείσεις σε- αυτῆ, ὅτι πάντα, <ἄ> 1 σοι πάρεστι, παρὰ τῶν θεῶν πάρεστι καὶ πάντα σοι εὖ ἔχει καὶ εὖ ἔξει, ὅσα φίλουν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὅσα μέλλουσι δῶσειν ἐπὶ σωτηρία τοῦ τελείου ζωῆς, τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ δικαίου καὶ καλοῦ καὶ γεννῶντος πάντα καὶ συνέχοντος καὶ περιέχοντος καὶ περιλαμβάνοντος διαλυομένα εἰς γένεσιν ἐτέρων ὁμοίων; ἐστὶ ποτὲ ἄρα τοιαύτη, οία θεοὶ τε καὶ ἀνθρώποις οὕτω συμπολιτεύεσθαι, ὡς μήτε μέμφεσθαι τε αὐτοῖς μήτε καταγινώσκεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν;

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

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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 state and delighted with thy present everything, convincing thyself withal that all that is present for thee is present from the Gods, and that everything is and shall be well with thee that is pleasing to them and that they shall hereafter grant for the conservation of that Perfect Being that is good and just and beautiful, the Begetter and Upholder of all things, that embraces and gathers them in, when they are dissolved, to generate therefrom other like things? Wilt thou ever at last fit thyself so to be a fellow-citizen with the Gods and with men as never to find fault with them or incur their condemnation?

1 ix. 6.  
2 iii. 11, § 3.  
3 i.e. Zeus = the Universe = the First Cause = Nature.  
4 vii. 23.
ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΑΥΡΕΛΙΟΣ

β’. Παρατήρει, τί σου ἡ φύσις ἐπιζητεῖ, ὡς ὑπὸ φύσεως μόνον διοικουμένου· είτα ποίει αὐτὸ καὶ προσέσο, εἰ μὴ χείρον μέλλει διατίθεσθαι σου ἡ ὡς ξύλον φύσις. ἐξίης δὲ παρατηρητέον, τί ἐπιζητεῖ σου ἡ ὡς ξύλον φύσις· καὶ πᾶν τούτο παραληπτέον, εἰ μὴ χείρον μέλλει διατίθεσθαι ἡ ὡς ξύλον λογικοῦ φύσις· ἐστὶ δὲ· τὸ λογικὸν εὐθὺς καὶ πολιτικὸν. τούτοις δὴ κανόσι χρώμενοι μηδὲν πεπεργάζου.

γ’. Πάν τὸ συμβαίνον ήτοι οὕτως συμβαίνει, ὡς πέφυκας αὐτὸ φέρειν ἡ ὡς οὐ πέφυκας αὐτὸ φέρειν. εἰ μὲν οὖν συμβαίνει σοι, ὡς πέφυκας φέρειν, μὴ δυσχέραινε· ἀλλ’ ὡς πέφυκας, φέρε. εἰ δὲ, ὃς μὴ πέφυκας φέρειν, μὴ δυσχέραινε· φθαρήσεται γὰρ σε ἀπαναλώσαν. μέμνησο μέντοι, ὅτι πέφυκας φέρειν πᾶν, περὶ οὐ ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπολήψει ἐστὶ τῇ σῇ φορητῷ καὶ ἀνεκτὸν αὐτὸ ποιήσαι, κατὰ φαντασίαν τοῦ συμφέρειν ἢ καθήκειν σεαυτῷ τοῦτο ποιεῖν.

δ’. Εἰ μὲν σφάλλεται, διδάσκεις εὐμενῶς καὶ τὸ παρορώμενον δεικνύναι· εἰ δὲ ἄδυνατεῖς, σεαυτὸν αἰτίασθαι, ἡ μηδὲ σεαυτὸν.

ε’. “Ὁ τι ἂν σοι συμβαίνῃ, τούτῳ σοι ἔξι αἰῶνος προκατεσκευάζετο· καὶ ἡ ἐπιτολκή τῶν αἰτίων συνέκλωθε τὴν τε σὴν ὑπόστασιν ἐξ ἀιδίου καὶ τὴν τούτου σύμβασιν.

ζ’. Εἴτε ἄτομοι εἴτε φύσις, πρῶτον κείσθω, ὅτι μέρος εἰμὶ τοῦ ὅλου, ὑπὸ φύσεως διοικουμένου· ἐπείτα, ὅτι ἔχω πως οἰκείως πρὸς τὰ 262
BOOK X

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

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

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

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

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

1 viii. 46. 2 viii. 59; xi. 9, 13, 18, § 9. 3 iii. 11; iv. 26.
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ομογενὴ μέρη. τούτων γὰρ μεμνημένος, καθότι μὲν μέρος εἰμὶ, οὐδειν δυσαρεστήσω τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ὅλου ἀπονεμομένων· οὐδὲν γὰρ βλαβερὸν τῷ μέρει, ὃ τῷ ὅλῳ συμφέρει. οὐ γὰρ ἔχει τὸ τὸ ὅλον, ὃ μὴ συμφέρει ἑαυτῷ· πασῶν μὲν φύσεων κοινῶν ἐχουσῶν τοῦτο, τῆς δὲ τοῦ κόσμου προσειληφυίας τὸ μηδὲ ὑπὸ τινὸς ἔξωθεν αἰτίας ἀναγκάζεσθαι βλαβερὸν τι ἑαυτῇ γεννᾶν.

2 Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸ μεμνησθαί, ὅτι μέρος εἰμὶ· ὅλου τοῦ τοιοῦτον, εὐαρεστήσω παντὶ τῷ ἀποβαίνοντι. καθόσον δὲ ἔχω πως οἰκείως πρὸς τὰ ὁμογενὴ μέρη, οὐδὲν πράξω ἀκοινώνητον, μᾶλλον δὲ στοχάσομαι τῶν ὁμογενῶν καὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινὴ συμφέρον πᾶσαν ὀρμήν ἐματοῦ ἀξίω καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦναντίου ἀπάξω. τούτων δὲ οὕτω περαινο- μένων ἀνάγκη τῶν βίων εὐρεῖν, ὡς ἂν καὶ πολίτων βίων εὔρουν ἐπινοήσειας προϊόντος διὰ πράξεων τοῖς πολίταις λυσιτελῶν καὶ, ὅπερ ἂν ἡ πόλις ἀπονέμη, τοῦτο ἀσπαζόμενον.

ζ. Τοὺς μέρες τοῦ ὅλου, ὅσα φύσει περιέχε- ται ὑπὸ τοῦ κόσμου, ἀνάγκη φθειρεσθαι· λεγόμενοι δὲ τοῦτο σημαντικῶς τοῦ ἀλλοιούσθαι· εἰ δὲ φύσει κακὸν τε καὶ ἀναγκαίον ἐστὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῖς, οὐκ ἂν τὸ ὅλον καλῶς διέξαγοτο, τῶν μερῶν ἐς ἀλλοτρίωσιν ἰόντων, καὶ πρὸς τὸ φθειρεσθαι δια- φόρως κατεσκευασμένων. τότερον γὰρ ἐπεχείρη- σεν ἡ φύσις αὐτῇ τὰ ἑαυτῆς μέρη κακῶν καὶ περιπτωτικὰ τῷ κακῷ καὶ εξ ἀνάγκης ἐμπτωτα

1 vi. 54; x. 33, § 4.
2 ix. 22.
3 These words can also be translated: parts of herself that
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For bearing this in mind, as I am a part, I shall not be displeased with anything allotted me from the Whole. For what is advantageous to the whole can in no wise be injurious to the part. For the Whole contains nothing that is not advantageous to itself; and all natures have this in common, but the Universal Nature is endowed with the additional attribute of never being forced by any external cause to engender anything hurtful to itself.

As long then as I remember that I am a part of such a whole, I shall be well pleased with all that happens; and in so far as I am in intimate connexion with the parts that are akin to myself, I shall be guilty of no unsocial act, but I shall devote my attention rather to the parts that are akin to myself, and direct every impulse of mine to the common interest and withhold it from the reverse of this. That being done, life must needs flow smoothly, as 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, were both liable to fall into such evil and by necessity fell into doing evil.

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εἰς τὸ κακὸν ποιεῖν, ἢ ἐλαθεν αὕτην τοιάδε τινὰ γινόμενα; ἀμφότερα γὰρ ἀπίθανα.

2 Εἰ δὲ τις καὶ ἀφέμενος τῆς φύσεως κατὰ τὸ πεφυκέναι ταύτα ἐξηγοῖτο, καὶ ὃς γελοῖον ἀμα μὲν φάναι πεφυκέναι τὰ μέρη τοῦ ὄλου μεταβάλλειν, ἀμα δὲ ὃς ἐπὶ τινὶ τῶν παρὰ φύσιν συμβαινόντων θαυμάζειν ἢ δυσχεραίνειν, ἀλλος δὲ καὶ τῆς διαλύσεως εἰς ταύτα γινομένης, ἐξ ὧν ἔκαστον συνίσταται. ἦτοι γὰρ σκεδασμὸς στοιχείων ἐξ ὧν συνεκρίθην, ἢ τροπὴ τοῦ μέν στερεμνίου εἰς τὸ γεώδες, τοῦ δὲ πνευματικοῦ εἰς τὸ ἀερώδες. ὡστε καὶ ταύτα ἀναληφθῆναι εἰς τῶν τοῦ ὄλου λόγων, εἴτε κατὰ περίοδον ἐκπυρουμένου εἴτε ἀιδίους ἀμοιβαίς ἀνανεομένον.

3 Καὶ τὸ στερεμνίου δὲ καὶ τὸ πνευματικοῦ μὴ φαυτάζου τὸ απὸ τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως. πᾶν γὰρ τοῦτο ἐχθὲς καὶ τρίτην ἡμέραν ἐκ τῶν σιτίων καὶ τοῦ ἐλκυμένου ἀέρος τῆν ἐπιρροὴν ἐλαβεν. τοῦτο οὖν, δ ἐλαβεν, μεταβάλλει, οὐχ δὲ τὴ μῆτηρ ἐτεκεν. ὑπόθουν δ', ὅτι ἐκείνῳ σε λίαν προσπλέκειν τοῖς ἰδίως ποιῷ, οὔτε δὲν οἷμαι πρὸς τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον.

ἡ'. Ὀνόματα θέμενος σαυτῷ ταύτα, ἀγαθός, αἰδήμων, ἀληθής, ἐμφρων, σύμφρων, ὑπέρφρων,

1 προσπλέκει: has no subject: σὲ τὶ Fournier: σὲ λίαν προσπλέκῃ 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 ποιῷ and refer to τοῦτο δ ἐλαβεν.
or was she not aware that such was the case? Both alternatives are incredible.

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

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

8. Assuming for thyself the appellations, a good man, a modest man, a truhteller, 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 Truthsteller, 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.

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πρόσεχε, μήποτε μετονομάζῃ καὶ <ei> ἀπολλύεις ταῦτα τὰ ὄνοματα, καὶ ταχέως ἐπάνει ἐπʼ αὐτά. μέμνησο δὲ, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἑμφραν ἐβούλετο σοι σημαίνειν τὴν ἐφ’ ἐκαστα διαληπτικὴν ἐπιστάσειν καὶ τὸ ἀπαρεθύμητον τὸ δὲ "σύμφρων," τὴν ἐκουσίων ἀπόδεξιν τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως ἀπονεμομένων. τὸ δὲ "ὑπέρφρων," τὴν ὑπέρθανσιν τοῦ φρονούντος μορίου ὑπὲρ λείας ἡ τραχείας κινήσεως τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ τὸ δοξάριον καὶ τὸν θάνατον καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα. ἐὰν ὦν διατηρῆση σεαυτὸν ἐν τούτωι τοῖς ὀνόμασι μὴ γλυκόμενοις τοῦ ὑπ’ ἄλλων κατὰ ταῦτα ὀνομάζεσθαι, ἑσῷ ἔτερος, καὶ εἰς βίον εἰσελέυσῃ ἔτερον. τὸ γὰρ ἔτι τοιοῦτον εἶναι, οἶδος μέχρι νῦν γέγονας, καὶ ἐν βίῳ τοιούτῳ σπαράσσεσθαι καὶ μολύνεσθαι, λαν ἐστὶν ἀναισθήτου καὶ φιλοψύχου, καὶ ὁμοίοι τοῖς ἡμιβρώτοις θηριομάχοις, οἵτινες μεστοὶ τραυματών καὶ λύθρου παρακαλοῦσιν ὁμοὶ εἰς τὴν αὐριον φυλαχθῆναι, παραβληθησόμενοι τοιοῦτοι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὄνυξι καὶ δήγμασιν.

2 Ἐμβιβάσου οὖν σαυτὸν εἰς τὰ ὀλίγα ταῦτα ὄνοματα καὶ μὲν ἐπ’ αὐτῶν μένειν δύνῃ, μένε, ὡσπερ εἰς μακάρων τινὰς νήσους μετεκισμένοις: εἰάν δὲ αἴσθη, ὅτι ἐκπίπτεις, καὶ οὐ περικρατεῖς, ἀπιθι θαρμὸν εἰς γονίαν τινά, ὅπου κρατήσεις, ἢ καὶ παντάτασιν ἐξιθι τοῦ βίου μὴ ὀρνιζόμενος ἀλλὰ ἀπλῶς καὶ ἐλευθέρως καὶ αἰδημόνως εὖ.

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

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γε τούτο μόνον πράξας ἐν τῷ βίῳ, τὸ οὕτως ἔξελθείν. πρὸς μέντοι τὸ μεμισθαί τῶν ὁνοματῶν μεγάλως συλλήψεται τοι ἔμμησθαί θεῶν, καὶ ὅτιπερ οὐ κολακεύσεσθαι οὕτωι θέλουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐξομοιοῦσθαι ἕαυτοις τὰ λογικά πάντα, καὶ εἶναι τὴν μὲν συκήν τὰ συκῆς ποιοῦσαν, τὸν δὲ κύνα τὰ κυνοῖς, τὴν δὲ μελίσσαν τὰ μελίσσης, τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων τὰ ἀνθρώπων.

3. Μίμος, πόλεμος, πτοία, νάρκα, δουλεία, καθ’ ἡμέραν ἀπαλείφεται σου τὰ ἱερὰ ἑκέινα δόγματα, ὁπόσα ὁ φυσιολογητὸς¹ φαντάζῃ καὶ παραπέμπεις. δει δὲ πᾶν οὕτω βλέπειν καὶ πράσσειν, ὡστε καὶ τὸ περιστατικὸν² ἀμα συν- τελεύσαι καὶ ἀμα τὸ θεωρητικὸν ἐνεργεῖσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς περι ἐκάστου ἐπιστήμης ἀνθράκες σώζεσθαι λανθάνον, οὐχὶ κρυπτόμενον.

2 Πότε γὰρ ἀπλότητος ἀπολαύσεις; πότε δὲ σεμώνητος; πότε δὲ τῆς ἐφ’ ἐκάστου γνωρίσεως, τί τε ἐστι κατ’ οὕσιν, καὶ τίνα χώραν ἔχει ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, καὶ ἐπὶ τόσον πέφυκεν ψυχίστασθαι, καὶ ἐκ τίνων συγκέκριται, καὶ τίσι δύναται ὑπάρχειν, καὶ τίνες δύνανται αὐτὸ διδόναι τε καὶ ἄφαιρεσθαι.

𝑖. Ἀράχνιον μοῦν θηράσαν μέγα φρονεῖ, ἄλλος δὲ λαγίδιον, ἄλλος δὲ ὑποχῇ ἄφυή, ἄλλος δὲ συνίδια, ἄλλος δὲ ἄρκτος, ἄλλος Σαρμάτας. οὕτωι γὰρ οὐ λησταί, εάν τὰ δόγματα ἐξετάζεις;

¹ ὁφυσιολογητὸς Gat. (ἐρ. ix. 41).
² πρακτικὸν (what is practicable) Cor.

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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.

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one thing well in life, that thou hast quitted it thus. Howbeit, to keep these attributes in mind it will assist thee greatly if thou bear the Gods in mind, and that it is not flattery they crave but for all rational things to be conformed to their likeness,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 a 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?

¹ ἀφυσιολογήτως, would mean without due study of Nature.
² See Domaszewski, Marcus-Sale Plaees, 62. 102, for Marcus "taking Sarmatians"; and cp. the story of Alexander and the Scythian, Quintus Curtius vii. 8.
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та. Πῶς εἰς ἄλληλα πάντα μεταβάλλει, θεωρητικὴν μέθοδον κτῆσαι, καὶ διηνεκῶς πρόσ- εχε, καὶ συγγυμνάσθητι περὶ τούτο τὸ μέρος. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὐτῶ μεγαλοφροσύνης ποιητικῶν. ἐξεδύσατο τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἐννοήσας, ὅτι ὅσον οὐδέπω πάντα ταύτα καταλαμπεῖν ἀπίστω ἐξ ἀνθρώπων δεήσει, ἀνήκεν δὲν ἐαντὸν δικαιο- σύνη μὲν εἰς τὰ ύφ᾿ ἐαυτοῦ ἐνεργοῦμενα, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμβαίνουσι τῇ τῶν ὅλων φύσει. τὸ δ᾿ ἐρεῖ τις ἢ ὑποληψείται περὶ αὐτοῦ ἢ πράξει κατ᾿ αὐτοῦ, οὐδ᾿ εἰς νῦν βάλλεται διὸ τούτων ἀρκούμενος εἰ1 αὐτὸς δικαιοπραγεῖ τὸ νῦν πρασόμενον καὶ φιλεῖ τὸ νῦν ἀπονεμόμενον ἐαυτῷ ἀσχολίας δὲ πάσας καὶ σπουδᾶς ἀφῆκε, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀλλο βούλεται, ἢ ἐνθείαν περαινεῖ διὰ τοῦ νόμου καὶ ἐνθείαν περαινοῦτι ἔπεσθαι τῷ θεῷ. ἰβ. Τίς υπονοιάς χρεία, παρὸν σκοπεῖν, τί δεὶ πραγματεύση; κἂν μὲν συνορᾶς, εὐμενῶς ἀμεταστρεπτί ταῦτα χωρεῖν; εὰν δὲ μὴ συνορᾶς, ἐπέχειν καὶ συμβούλους τοῖς ἀριστοῖς χρῆσθαι; εὰν δὲ ἐτερὰ τινα πρὸς ταύτα ἀντιβαίνῃ, προιέναι κατὰ τὰς παρούσας ἀφορμὰς λεογισμένως ἐχόμενον τοῦ φανομένου δικαίου. ἀριστοῦ γὰρ κατατυγχάνειν τούτου, ἐπεὶ τοι ἢ γε ἀπόπτωσίς ἀπὸ τούτου ἔστιν.2

2 Σχολαίον τι καὶ ἄμα εὐκίνητον ἔσται καὶ φαινόν ἄμα καὶ συνεστηκὸς ὁ τῷ λόγῳ κατὰ πᾶν ἐπομένος.

ἔγ. Πυθαγόρειον ἐαυτοῦ εὐθύς ἐξ ὑπονομένου γινόμενον. Ἔτι διοίσει σοι, ἐὰν ὑπὸ ἄλλου

1 ei Jackson: el A: δικαιοπραγεῖν . . . φιλεῖν P.
2 ἐστὸν PA: ἔσται Men.
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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.
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γένηται τὰ δίκαια καὶ καλῶς ἔχοντα;” οὐ διοίσει. μὴν ἐπιλέξαι, ὅτι οὔτοι οἱ ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἀλλῶν ἐπαίνοις καὶ ψόγοις φροναττόμενοι, τοιούτοι μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς κλῆνης εἰσὶ, τοιούτοι δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζας, οἷα δὲ ποιοῦσιν, οἷα δὲ φεύγουσιν, οἷα δὲ διώκουσιν, οἷα δὲ κλέπτουσιν, οἷα δὲ ἀρπάζουσιν, οὐ χεροὶ καὶ ποσὶν ἀλλὰ τῷ τιμωτάτῳ εὐαυτῶν μέρει, ὃ γίνεται, ὅταν θέλῃ <τίς>, πίστις, αἰδώς, ἀλήθεια, νόμος, ἀγαθὸς δαίμων;

ιὸ. Τῇ πάντα διδούση καὶ ἀπολαμβανούσῃ φύσει ὁ πεπαιδευμένος καὶ αἰδήμων λέγει: “Δὸς ὁ θέλεις, ἀπόλαβε ὁ θέλεις.” λέγει δὲ τούτο οὐ καταθραυσνόμενος, ἀλλὰ πειθαρχῶν μοῦν καὶ εὐνοῶν αὐτῇ.

ιἑ. Ὁλύγον ἐστὶ τὸ ὑπολειπόμενον τούτο. ξῆσον ὡς ἐν ὄρει. οὐδὲν γὰρ διαφέρει, ἐκεῖ ἡ ὧδε, εἰς τοῖς πανταχοῦ ὡς ἐν πόλει τῷ κόσμῳ. ἵδετοσαν, ἵστορησάτοσαν οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ ἄνθρωπον ἀληθινὸν κατὰ φύσιν ξῆντα. εἰ μὴ φέρουσιν, ἀποκτεινώσαν. κρείττον γὰρ ἡ οὕτως ζῆν. 2

ἰϛ. Μηκέθ' ὅλος περὶ τοῦ, οἷον τινα εἶναι τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἀνδρὰ <δεῖ>, διαλέγεσθαι, ἀλλὰ εἶναι τοιοῦτον.

ἰϛ. Τοῦ ὅλου αἰώνως, καὶ τῆς ὅλης οὐσίας συνεχῶς φαντασία, 3 καὶ ὅτι πάντα τὰ κατὰ μέρος

1 ψέγηται Lofft; but cp. viii. 56 for meaning.
2 ἡ <μὴ> οὕτως ζῆν would seem to make better sense.
3 φαντασία <ἐστο> Reiske.
what is just and right? It will make none. Hast thou forgotten that those who play the wanton in their praise and blame of others, are such as they are in their beds, at their board; and what are the things that they do, the things that they avoid or pursue, and how they pilfer and plunder, not with hands and feet but with the most precious part of them, whereby a man calls into being at will faith, modesty, truth, law, and a good 'genius'?  

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

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

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

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

6 iv. 3, § 2.  
7 Dio (71. 34, § 5) says of Marcus ὃς ἀληθῶς ἀγαθὸς ἀνήρ ἢν.
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ως μὲν πρὸς οὐσίαν κεγχραμίς, ως δὲ πρὸς χρόνον τρυπάνου περιστροφή.

ιη'. Εἰς έκαστον τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἐφιστάντα ἐπινοεῖν αὐτὸ ἦδη διαλυόμενον καὶ ἐν μεταβολῇ καὶ οἷον σήμει ἡ σκεδάσει γινόμενον ἡ καθότι ἐκαστὸν πέφυκεν ὥσπερ θυμίσκειν.

ιθ'. Οἷοι εἰσιν ἐσθίοντες, καθεύδοντες, θυεύοντες, ἀποπατοῦντες, τὰ ἄλλα. εἰτα οἷοι ἀνδρονομούμενοι ¹ καὶ γαυρούμενοι ἡ χαλεπαίνοντες καὶ εἰς ὑπεροχῆς ἐπιπλήττοντες. πρὸ ὄλγον δὲ ἐδούλευον πόσοις, καὶ δι' οἷα, καὶ μετ' ὄλγον ἐν τοιούτως ἔσονται.

κ'. Συμφέρει ἐκάστῳ, ὃ φέρει ἐκάστῳ ἡ τῶν ὅλων φύσις· καὶ τότε συμφέρει, ὅτε ἔκεινη φέρει.

κα'. "Ἐρᾷ μὲν ὁμβρον γαῖα· ἔρᾳ δὲ ὁ σεμνὸς αἰθήρ." ἔρᾳ δὲ ὁ κόσμος ποιήσαι, δ ἂν μέλλῃ γίνεσθαι. λέγω οὖν τῷ κόσμῳ, ὅτι "σοὶ συνερῶ." μήτι δ' οὕτω κάκεινο λέγεται, ὅτι "φιλεὶ τοῦτο γίνεσθαι";

κβ'. Ἡτοι ἐνταῦθα ζῆσι καὶ ἦδη εἴδικας, ἡ ἐξο ὑπάγεις καὶ τοῦτο ἔθελες, ἡ ὡποθήςκεις καὶ ἀπελευνύργησας· παρὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐδέν. οὐκοῦν εὐθύμει.

κγ'. Ἐναργίς έστω ἄεὶ τό, ὅτι ἄ τοιοῦτο ἐκεῖνον ² ὁ ἀγρός ἐστὶ· καὶ πῶς πάντα ἐστὶ ταύτα ἐνθάδε τοὺς ἐν ἄκρῳ τῷ ὄρει, ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγαλοῦ,

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

² ἐκείνος Reiske: τοῦτο ἐκεῖνο Cor.: ταυτὸ ἐκεῖνη Richards.
BOOK X

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

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

19. What are they like when eating, sleeping, coupling, evacuating, and the rest! What again when lording it over others, when puffed up with pride, when filled with resentment or rebuking others from a loftier plane! Yet but a moment ago they were lackeying how many and for what ends, and anon will be at their old trade.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 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 (ὅπολος), in what plight will they be! ² iv. 23.
ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΑΥΡΕΛΙΟΥΣ

ἡ ὅπων θέλεις. ἀντικρυς γὰρ εὐρήσεις τὰ τοῦ Πλάτωνος: "Σηκὼν ἐν ὅρει," φησὶ, "περιβαλλό-
μενος," καὶ ἡδάλλων βληχήσατα.†

κδ'. Τί ἐστὶ μοι τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν μου; καὶ ποιόν τι ἐγὼ αὐτὸ ποιῶ νῦν; καὶ πρὸς τί ποτε αὐτῷ

νῦν χρώμαι; μήτι κενῶ νῦν ἐστὶ; μήτι ἀπόλυτον καὶ ἀπεσπασμένον κοινωνίας; μήτι προστητικὸς

καὶ ἀνακεκραμένον τῷ σαρκιδίῳ, ὡστε τούτῳ

συντρέψεσθαι;

κε. 'Ὁ τὸν κύριον φεύγων δραπέτης: κύριος
dὲ ὁ νόμος καὶ ὁ παρανομών δραπέτης. ἀλλὰ

καὶ ὁ λυπούμενος ὁ ὀργίζομενος ὁ φοβοῦμενος

οὔ 2 βούλεται τι γεγονέναι ἡ γίνεσθαι ἡ γενέσθαι
tῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ τὰ πάντα διοικούντος τεταγμένων,

ὅστις νόμος νέμων, δόσα ἐκάστῳ ἐπιβάλλει. ὁ

ἀρα φοβοῦμενος ἡ λυπούμενος ἡ ὀργίζομενος

drapέτης.

κς'. Σπέρμα εἰς μήτραν ἀφεῖς ἀπεχώρησε

καὶ λοιπὸν ἄλλη αἰτία παραλαβοῦσα ἐργάζεται

καὶ ἀποτελεῖ βρέφος, εἴς οἷον οἷον: πάλιν τροφὴν

διὰ φάρμαγος ἀφῆκε καὶ λοιπὸν ἄλλη αἰτία

παραλαβοῦσα αἰσθησιν καὶ ὀρμὴν καὶ τὸ ὄλον

ζωῆν καὶ ῥώμην καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα καὶ ὁλα ποιεῖ.

ταῦτα οὖν [τὰ] ἐν τοιαύτῃ ἐγκαλύψει γνώμενα

1 καὶ, perhaps κάκει: βδάλλων Cor.: βδάλλειν Ἄ: βδάλλειν Ῥ: βληχήσατα Stich.: βληχήσατα Ἄ. 2 oicaid Naukk: ὁ PA.
mountain or on the sea-shore or wherever thou pleasest. Quite apposite shalt thou find to be the words of Plato: *Compassed about (by the city wall as) by a sheep-fold on the mountain,* and milking flocks.

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

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

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

the shepherd in his mountain fold. It is the little "plot within him," his ruling Reason that makes the difference. The use of ἐν ἴπτει 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.

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θεωρέων καὶ τὴν δύναμιν οὕτως ὀρᾶν, ὡς καὶ τὴν βρίσκουσαν καὶ τὴν ἄνωφερη ὀρώμεν, οὐχὶ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἦττον ἐναργῶς.

κ''. Συνεχῶς ἐπινοεῖν, πῶς πάντα τοιαύτα, ὑποῖα νῦν γίνεται, καὶ πρόσθεν ἐγένετο· καὶ ἐπινοεῖν γενεσόμενα. καὶ ὅλα δράματα καὶ σκηνὰς ὁμοειδεῖς, ὅσα ἐκ πείρας τῆς σῆς ἢ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας ἱστορίας ἐγγός, πρὸ ὀμμάτων τίθεσθαι, οἷον αὐλὴν ὀλὴν Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ αὐλὴν ὀλὴν Ἀντωνίου καὶ αὐλὴν ὀλὴν Φιλίππου, Ἀλεξάνδρου, Κροίσου· πάντα γὰρ ἐκεῖνα τοιαύτα ἦν, μόνον δι' ἐπεφέρων.

κ''. Φαντάζον πάντα τὸν ἑφ' ὁτινοῦν λυποῦν ἡ δυσαρεστοῦστα ὀμοιον τῷ θυμομένῳ χορείδῳ καὶ ἀπολακτίζοντι καὶ κεκραγότι· ὄμοιον καὶ ὁ οἰμώξων ἐπὶ τοῦ κλινοῦν μόνος σιωπῆ τὴν ἐνδεικτὴν ἡμῶν καὶ ἄτι μόνῳ τῷ λογικῷ ζῷῳ δέδοται τὸ ἐκούσιως ἐπεσθαί τοῖς γυνομένοις· τὸ δὲ ἐπεσθαί ψιλὸν πάσιν ἀναγκαῖον.

κθ'. Κατὰ μέρος ἑφ' ἐκάστου, ὃν ποιεῖς, ἐφιστάνων ἐρώτα σεαυτόν, "Εἰ ὁ θάνατος δεινὸν διὰ τὸ τούτου στέρεσθαι.

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

1 vii. 49. 2 viii. 25, 31. 3 cp. Sen. Ep. 107: ducunt volentem sata nolentem trahunt; de Vit. Beat. 15; Cleanthes, Hymn to Zeus: ὂς ἐφομαί γ' ἄνων: ἦν δὲ μὴ θέλω κακὸς γενόμενος, οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐφομαί. 4 vii. 26; xi. 18, § 4. 5 Marcus had a horror of avarice; cp. Vulp. Gallie. Vit. 280
things that are done in such secrecy, and detect the efficient force, just as we detect the descensive and the ascensive none the less clearly that it is not with our eyes.

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

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

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

30. Does another's wrong-doing shock thee? Turn incontinently to thyself and bethink thee what analogous wrong-doing there is of thine own, such as deeming money to be a good or pleasure or a little cheap fame and the like. For 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 Oxyrr. Papyri (i. p. 62) we find an Egyptian official expressly calling him ἀφιλάργυρος.

*See on v. 5.  
*See on iv. 19.
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tóúτῳ γὰρ ἐπιβάλλων ταχέως ἐπιλήσῃ τῆς ὀργῆς συμπίπτοντος τοῦ, ὅτι βιάζεται· τί γὰρ ποιήσει; ἢ, εἰ δύνασαι, ἀφελε αὑτοῦ τὸ βιαζόμενον.

λα. Σατύρωνα ἰδὼν Σωκρατικὸν φαντάζον ἢ Εὐνύχην ἢ Ὅμένα, καὶ Εὐφράτην ἰδὼν Εὐνυχίωνα ἢ Σιλουανὸν φαντάζον, καὶ Ἀλκιφρονον Ὀρτοποιόφορον φαντάζον, καὶ Σενήρον ἢ Κρίτωνα ἢ Ξενοφώντα φαντάζον, καὶ εἰς ἔαυτὸν ἀπιδῶν τῶν Καισάρων τινὰ φαντάζον, καὶ ἐφ' ἐκάστον τὸ ἀνάλογον, εἰτὰ συμπροσπιπτέτω σοι· "Ποῦ οὖν ἐκεῖνον," οὐδαμόν η ὁποιδήσ. οὕτως γὰρ συνεχῶς θεάσῃ τά ἀνθρώπινα καπνὸν καὶ τὸ μηδὲν μάλιστα ἐὰν συμμνημονεύσῃ, ὅτι τὸ ἀπαξ μεταβαλῶν οὐκέτι ἔσται ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ χρόνῳ. τί οὖν ἐντείνῃ; τί δ' οὐκ ἄρκει σοι τὸ βραχὺ τοῦτο κοσμίως διαπερᾶσαι;

2 Οἰαν ύλην καὶ υπόθεσιν φεύγεις; τί γὰρ ἔστι πάντα ταῦτα ἄλλο πλῆρ γυμνάσματα λόγον ἐωρ-ακότος ἀκριβῶς καὶ φυσιολόγως τὰ ἐν τῷ βίῳ; μένε οὖν, μέχρι ἐξοικείωσης σαυτῷ καὶ ταῦτα, ὡς ὁ ἐρρωμένος στόμαχος πάντα ἐξοικεϊότι, ὡς τὸ λαμπρὸν πῦρ, ὁ τί ἄν βάλης, φλόγα ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐγήν ποιεῖ.

λβ'. Μηδενί ἐξέστω εἰπεῖν ἀληθεύοντι περὶ σοῦ, ὅτι οὐχ ἀπλοὺς ἢ ὅτι οὐκ ἀγαθός· ἀλλά

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1 Leopold transposed Ξενήρον (see i. 14) and Ξενοφώντα.
2 οὐ (τι Α) οὖν Ρ: ἐν τίνι ΡΑ: ἐντείνῃ Cor. (cp. ix. 28).

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1 vii. 63.
2 Xenophon and Crito are well known. Severus was probably the father of Marcus' son-in-law (i. 14). Euphrates 282
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this thou wilt quickly forget thy wrath, with this reflection too to aid thee, that a man is under constraint; for what should he do? Or, if thou art able, remove the constraint.

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

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

32. Give no one the right to say of thee with truth that thou art not a sincere, that thou art not a was the philosopher friend of Pliny and Hadrian. Nothing certain is known of the others. xii. 33 and verses at end of ms. A. See Introd. p. 1.
4 The ms. reading what then (or, thou then) in what? is unintelligible.
5 iv. 1.
6 vii. 58.

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ψευδέσθω, ὡστις τούτων τι περὶ σοῦ ύπολήψεται. πάν δὲ τούτο ἐπὶ σοί. τίς γὰρ ὁ κωλύων ἀγαθὸν εἶναι σε καὶ ἀπλοῦν; σὺ μόνον κρίνον μηκέτι ξῆν, εἰ μὴ τοιοῦτος ἔση. οὐδὲ γὰρ αἱρεῖ λόγος μὴ τοιοῦτον ὑντα.

λύ. Τί ἐστι τὸ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ὦλης δυνάμευν κατὰ τὸ ὑγέστατον πραχθῆναι ἡ ῥηθῆναι; ὁ τι γὰρ ἂν τούτο ἦ, ἐξεστιν αὐτὸ πράξαι ἡ εἰπεῖν καὶ μὴ προφασίζου ὡς κωλυόμενος.

2 Οὐ πρότερον πάντης στένων, πρὶν ἡ τούτο πάθης, ὅτι οἶνον ἐστι τοῖς ἡδυπαθοῦν ἡ τρυφή, τοιοῦτό σοι τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς ὑποβαλλομένης καὶ ὑποπίπτομος ὦλης ποιεῖν τὰ ὀικεία τῇ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευήν ἀπόλαυσιν γὰρ δεὶ ὑπολαμβάνειν πάν, ὅ ἐξεστι κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν φύσιν ἕνεργεῖν. πανταχός δὲ ἔξεστι.

3 Τὸ μὲν οὖν κυλίνδρῳ οὐ πανταχοῦ δίδοται φέρεσθαι τὴν ἰδίαν κίνησιν οὐδὲ τῷ ὑδαί τούτῳ οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀλλοις, ὅσα ὑπὸ φύσεως ἡ ψυχῆς ἀλὸγον διοικεῖται. τὰ γὰρ διείργοντα καὶ ἐνιατάμενα πολλά. νοοῦ δὲ καὶ λόγος διὰ παντὸς τοῦ ἀντιπιπτοῦντος οὕτως πορεύειται δύναται, ως πέφυκε καὶ ως θέλει. ταύτης τὴν βραστώνην πρὸ ὠμάτων τεθέμενος, καθ' ἂν ἐνεχθῆται ὁ λόγος διὰ πάντων, ὅς πῦρ ἄνω, ὃς λίθος κατώ, ὃς κύλινδρος κατὰ πρανοῦς, μηκέτι μηδὲν ἐπιτίθεται τὰ γὰρ λοιπὰ ἐγκόμιμα ἦτοι τοῦ σωματικοῦ ἐστὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ ἢ χωρίς ύπολήψεως καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ τοῦ λόγου ἐνδόσεως οὐ θραύει οὐδὲ ποιεῖ

1 viii. 32.
2 v. 29; x. 8, § 2.

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

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

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

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

4 iv. 41.
5 iv. 7.
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κακὸν οὐδ’ ὅτιοις ἔπει τοι καὶ ὁ πᾶσχον αὐτὸ κακὸς ἄν εὐθὺς ἐγίνετο.

4 Ἐπὶ γοῦν τῶν ἄλλων κατασκευασμάτων πάντων, ὃ τι ἂν κακὸν τινι αὐτῶν συμβῇ, παρὰ τοῦτο χείρον γίνεται αὐτὸ τὸ πᾶσχον ἐνταῦθα δέ, εἰ δεὶ εἰπεῖν, καὶ κρείττων γίνεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἐπαινετώτερος, ὥρθος χρόμενοι τοῖς προσπιπτούσιν. ὅλως δὲ μέμησο, ὅτι τῶν φύσει πολίτην οὐδὲν βλάπτει, ὁ πόλιν οὐ βλάπτει, οὐδὲ γε πόλιν βλάπτει, ὃ νόμον οὐ βλάπτει· τούτων δὲ τῶν καλουμένων ἀκληρημάτων οὐδὲν βλάπτει νόμον. ὃ τοίνυν νόμον οὐ βλάπτει, οὐτε πόλιν οὐτε πολίτην.

λὸ. Τὸ δεδηγμένῳ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀληθῶν δογμάτων ἀρκεῖ καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον καὶ ἐν μέσῳ κείμενον εἰς ὑπόμνησιν ἀλυτίας καὶ ἄφοβίας. ὅλων

"Φύλλα τὰ μέν τ’ ἀνεμος χαμάδις χέει, δως ἀνδρῶν γενεήν." .

φυλλάρια δὲ καὶ τὰ τεκνία σου. φυλλάρια δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ἐπιβοῶντα ἄξιοπίστως καὶ ἐπευφημοῦντα ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων καταρώμενα ἢ ἱσυχὴ ψέγουντά καὶ χλευάζουτα. φυλλάρια δὲ ὄμοιος καὶ τὰ διαδέξομεν τὴν ὑστεροφημίαν. πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα "ἐαρος ἐπιγίγνεται ὄρη" εἶτα ἀνεμος καταβεβληκεν ἐπειθ’ ὕλῃ ἐτερα ἀντὶ τούτων φύει. τὸ δὲ ὀλυγοχρόνιον κοινὸν πᾶσιν ἀλλὰ σὺ πάντα, ὡς αἰώνια ἐσόμενα,

1 vii. 58. 2 x. 6. 3 Hom. II. vi. 147.

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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 praiseworthy 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 spring⁴;

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

¹ Ibid. ² cp. Psalm 103. 16.
ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΑΥΡΕΛΙΟΣ

φεύγεις καὶ διώκεις. μικρὸν καὶ καταμύσεις·
tῶν δὲ ἐξενεγκόντα σε ἡδὴ ἄλλος θρηνήσει.

λέ. Τὸν ὑγάινοντα ὀφθαλμὸν πάντα ὅραν
dεὶ τὰ ὀρατὰ καὶ μὴ λέγειν, "τὰ χλωρὰ θέλω.

tοῦτο γὰρ ὀφθαλμόντως ἔστι. καὶ τὴν ὑγαίν-
ουσαν ἀκοὴν καὶ ὀσφρησιν εἰς πάντα δεὶ τὰ
ἀκουστὰ καὶ ὀσφραντά ἐτοίμην εἶναι. καὶ τὸν
ὑγαίνοντα στόμαχον πρὸς πάντα τὰ τρόφιμα
όμοιος ἔχειν, ὡς μύλην πρὸς πάντα, ὡσ ἄλεσσονς κατεσκεύασται.
καὶ τοῖνυν τὴν ὑγαίνουσαν
dιώνουν πρὸς πάντα δεὶ τὰ συμβαίνοντα ἐτοίμην
eἶναι. ἡ δὲ λέγουσα, "Τὰ τεκνία σωζέσθω,"
καὶ "πάντες, ὦ τι ἄν πράξω, ἐπαινεῖτοσαν,"
ὀφθαλμὸς ἔστι τὰ χλωρὰ ξητῶν ἢ ὀδόντες τὰ
ἀπαλά.

λέ. Οὐδεὶς ἐστιν οὕτως εὐποτόμος, ὃ ἀπο-
θυνήσκοιτι οὐ παρεστηξονται τινες ἄσπαξόμενοι τὸ
συμβαίνον κακὸν. σπουδαῖος καὶ σοφὸς ἦν [μή]
tὸ πανύστατον ἔστιν τις ὁ καθ' αὐτὸν λέγων.
"Ἀναπνεύσομεν ποτε ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ.
χαλεπὸς μὲν οὐδενὶ ἡμῶν ἦν, ἀλλὰ ἦσθανόμην,
ὅτι ἠσύχη καταγινώσκει ἡμῶν." ταῦτα μὲν οὐν
ἐπὶ τοῦ σπουδαίου. ἐφ' ἡμῶν δὲ πόσα ἄλλα ἐστὶ,
ὅτ' ἄ πολυς ὁ ἀπαλακτιῶν ἡμῶν. τοῦτο οὖν
ἐννοήσεις ἀποθυνήσκων καὶ εὐκολώτερον ἐξελεύσῃ
λογιζόμενος· ἐκ τοιοῦτον βίου ἀπέρχομαι, ἐν ὦ
αὐτοῦ ὡς κοινωνοῖ, ὑπὲρ δὲν τὰ τοσοῦτα ἡγωνισάμην,
ηὔξημεν, ἐφρύντισα, αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐθέλουσι· με
ὑπάγειν ἄλλην τινὰ τυχὸν ἐκ τοῦτον ῥαστώνην

1 iv. 48.
2 i. 8; vii. 41; viii. 49; ix. 40; xi. 34. Marcus was in-
tensely fond of his children. Galen describes (xiv. 3, Kühn)
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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 condemns us? So much for the worthy, but in our own case how many other reasons can be found for which hundreds would be only too glad to be quit of us! Think then upon this when dying, and thy passing from life will be easier if thou reason thus: I am leaving a life in which even my intimates for whom I have so greatly toiled, prayed, and thought,\(^4\) aye even they wish me gone, expecting belike to gain thereby

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\(^1\) His anxiety about Commodus; cp. also Fronto, \emph{ad Cues.} iv. 12.  
\(^2\) \emph{cp. Vopiscus, Vit. Aureliani, 37, § 3;} \emph{Sen. Ep.} 11.  
\(^3\) \emph{cp. Vopiscus, Vit. Aureliani, 37, § 3;} \emph{Sen. Ep.} 11.  
\(^4\) Herodian, i. 4, § 3.
ΜARCUS AURELIUS

ἐλπίζοντες. τί ἂν οὖν τις ἀντέχοιτο τῆς ἐνταῦθα μακροτέρας διατριβῆς;

2 Ἡ μέντοι διὰ τοῦτο ἐλαττων εὐμενής αὐτοῖς ἀπίθη, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἱδιον ἔθος διασώζων φίλος καὶ εὔνοιας καὶ ἰλεος· καὶ μὴ πάλιν ως ἀποσπώμενος, ἀλλ' ὀσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ εὔθανατοῦντος εὐκόλως τὸ ψυχάριον ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἐξειλεῖται, τοιαύτην καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τούτων ἀποχώρησιν δεὶ γενέσθαι· καὶ γὰρ τούτοις ἡ φύσις <σε> συνήψε καὶ συνέκρινεν. ἀλλὰ νῦν διαλύει. διαλύμασι αἰς ἀπὸ οἰκείων μὲν, οὐ μὴν ἀνθελκόμενος, ἀλλ' ἀβιάστως· ἐν γὰρ καὶ τούτῳ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν.

λζ'. Ἐθισον ἐπὶ παντὸς, ὡς οἱον τε, τοῦ πρασσομένου ὑπὸ τινὸς ἐπιζητεῖν κατὰ σαυτόν· "Οὕτως τοῦτο ἐπὶ τί ἀναφέρει;" ἄρχου δὲ ἀπὸ σαυτοῦ, καὶ σαυτὸν πρῶτον ἐξέταξε.

λη'. Μέμνησο, ὅτι τὸ νευροσταστοῦν ἕστιν ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἐνδον ἐγκεκριμένου· ἐκεῖνο ῥητορεία. 1 ἐκεῖνο ζωή, ἐκεῖνο, εἰ δεὶ εἰπεῖν, ἄνθρωπος. μηδέποτε συμπεριφαντάζον τὸ περικείμενον ἀγγειώδες καὶ τὰ ὀργάνα ταῦτα τὰ περιπετειασμένα. ὅμως γὰρ ἔστι σκεπάρμαν, μόνον διαφέροντα, καθότι προσφυγὴ ἐστιν. ἐπεὶ τού οὐ μᾶλλον τι τούτων ὀφελός ἔστι τῶν μορίων χωρὶς τῆς κινούσης καὶ ἰσχυρότης αὐτὰ αἰτίας ἢ τῆς κερκίδος τῇ υφαντρία, καὶ τοῦ καλῶμο τῷ γράφοντι, καὶ τοῦ μαστιγών τῷ ἥμιόχρῳ.

1 ῥητορεία Α. Perhaps ῥητορεία.

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BOOK X

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

Howbeit go away with no less kindliness 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 kneed thee with them, and now she parts the tie. I am parted from kinsfolk, not dragged forcibly away, but unresistingly. For this severance too is a process of Nature. 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 it 4 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, those 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.
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΙΑ

α'. Τά ἰδια τῆς λογικῆς ψυχῆς· ἑαυτῆν ὅρα, ἑαυτῆν διαρθροῖ, ἑαυτῆν, ὅποιαν ἄν βούληται, ποιεῖ, τὸν καρπῶν ὃν φέρει αὐτὴ καρποῦται—τοὺς γὰρ τῶν φυτῶν καρποὺς καὶ τὸ ἀνάλογον ἐπὶ τῶν ἔτεοι ἄλλοι καρποῦνται,—τοῦ ἰδίου τέλους τυχόναι, ὅπου ἄν τὸ τοῦ βίου πέρα εἶπον ὅπως ὅρχήσεως καὶ ὑποκρίσεως, καὶ τῶν τοιούτων, ἀτελῆς γίνεται ἡ ὅλη πράξεις, ἢ τι ἐγκόψῃ ἄλλα ἐπὶ παντὸς μέρους, καὶ ὅπου ἄν καταληψθῇ, πλήρες καὶ ἀπροσδεές εἰρηνὴ τὸ προτεθέν ποιεῖ, ὡςτε εἰπεῖν, "ἓγὼ ἀπέγνω τὰ ἐμὰ."

2 Ἐὰν δὲ περιέρχεται τὸν ὅλον κόσμον, καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν κενὸν, καὶ τὸ σχῆμα αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀπειρίαν τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐκτείνεται, καὶ τὴν περιοδικὴν παλιγγενεσίαν τῶν ὅλων ἐμπεριμέναν, καὶ περιοίκει, καὶ θεωρεῖ ὅτι οὐδὲν ποιον ὦντεν ἔργοι τις μεθ' ἡμᾶς οὐδὲ περιττότερον εἶδον, οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν ἄλλα τρόπον τινὰ τὸ τεσσαρακοντοῦν, ἕαν νοῦν ὀποσονοῦν ἔχῃ, πάντα τὰ γεγονότα καὶ τὰ ἔσομενα ἑώρακε κατὰ τὸ

1 vi. 8; viii. 35. cp. Epict. i. 17, § 1.
2 cp. Epict. i. 19, § 11: γέγονεν τὸ ζέων ὅστε αὐτὸν ἐνεκα 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, itself reaps its own fruits—whereas the fruits of the vegetable kingdom and the corresponding produce of animals are reaped by others—it wins to its own goal wherever the bounds of life be set. In dancing and acting and such-like arts, if any break occurs, the whole action is rendered imperfect; but the rational soul in every part and wheresoever taken shews the work set before it fulfilled and all-sufficient for itself, so that it can say: I have to the full what is my own.

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

4 v. 13, 32; x. 7, § 2. 5 vi. 37; vii. 1 etc.
6 cp. Luwr. ii. 978; eadem sunt omnin semper; Florio's Montaigne, i. 19: "If you have lived one day you have seene all."
ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΑΥΡΕΛΙΟΥΣ

όμοειδές. ἵδιον δὲ λογικῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὸ φιλεῖν τοὺς πλησίον καὶ ἀλήθεια καὶ αἰώνας καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἐαυτῆς προτιμᾶν, ὅπερ ἵδιον καὶ νόμου. οὕτως ἂρ’ οὗδεν διήνεγκε λόγος ὀρθῶς καὶ λόγοις δικαιοσύνης.

β’. Ὡδῆς ἐπιτερποῦσι καὶ ὀρχήσεως καὶ παγκρατίου καταφρονήσεις, εὰν τὴν μὲν ἐμμελὴ φονὴν καταμερίσῃς εἰς ἐκαστὸν τῶν φθόγγων, καὶ καθ’ ἕνα πῦθη σεαυτοῦ, “Εἰ τούτων ἦττων εἰ.” διατραπήσῃ γάρ’ ἐπὶ δὲ ὀρχήσεως τὸ ἀνάλογον ποιήσας καθ’ ἐκάστην κίνησιν ἡ σχέσις· τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ παγκρατίου. ὅλως οὖν, χωρὶς ἀρετῆς καὶ τῶν ἀπ’ ἀρετῆς, μέμνησο ἐπὶ τὰ κατὰ μέρος τρέχειν καὶ τῇ διαμέσῳ αὐτῶν εἰς καταφρονήσιν ἴναι· τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν βίων ὅλου μετάφερε.

γ’. Οἶνα ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ ἡ ἔτοιμος, εὰν ἡ δὴ ἀπολυθήναι δὲ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἢτοι σβεσθήναι ἡ σκεδασθήναι ἡ συμμείναι. τὸ δὲ ἐτοιμὸν τούτῳ, ὅνα ἀπὸ ἴδικῆς κρίσεως ἔρχεται, μὴ κατὰ ψυλὴν παράταξιν, [ὡς οἱ Χριστιανοί,]1 ἀλλὰ λεξογισμένως, καὶ σεμνῶς, καὶ ὅστε καὶ ἄλλον πείσαι, ἀτραγήδως.

δ’. Πεποίηκα τι κοινωνικῶς; οὐκοῦν ὁφέλθημι. τοῦτο ὅνα ἀεὶ πρόχειρον ἀπαντᾶ, καὶ μηδαμοῦ παύον.

ε’. Τίς σοι ἡ τέχνη; “Ἀγαθὸν εἶναι.” τοῦτο δὲ

1 ὡς οἱ Χριστιανοί: ungrammatical and pretty certainly a gloss. See p. 381 ff.

2 St. Mark viii. 36.
3 A rather brutal combination of boxing and wrestling.
4 viii. 36.

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

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

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

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

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

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4 iii. 11. 5 v. 33; vii. 32. 6 See p. 382. 7 vii. 13, 73; ix. 42, § 5; cp. Prov. xi. 17: τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὴν ποιεῖ ἀνὴρ ἐλεήμων.
πώς καλῶς γίνεται ἢ ἐκ θεωρημάτων, τῶν μὲν περὶ τῆς τοῦ ὅλου φύσεως, τῶν δὲ περὶ τῆς ἰδίας τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς;

ζ'. Πρῶτον αἱ τραγῳδίαι παρῆχθησαν ὑπομνηστικαὶ τῶν συμβαινόντων καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα οὕτω πέφυκε γίνεσθαι καὶ ὅτι, ὦ ὁ ἄλλος ὁ σκηνης ψυχαγωγεῖσθε, τούτους μὴ ἀρξοθῆκε ἐπὶ τῆς μείζονος σκηνῆς. ὅραται γὰρ, ὅτι οὕτω δεῖ ταῦτα περαινεθῆκαν καὶ ὅτι φέρονσιν αὕτα καὶ οἱ κεκραγότες, Ἰδὼ Κιθαιρών. καὶ λέγεται δὲ τινὰ ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ δράματα ποιοῦντων χρησίμως, οἷον ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνο μάλιστα.

"Εἰ δ' ἡμελήθην ἐκ θεῶν καὶ παῖδ' ἐμῶ, ἔχει λόγον καὶ τοῦτο;"

καὶ πάλιν

"Τοῖς πράγμασιν γὰρ οὐχὶ θυμοῦσθαι;"

καὶ "Βίον θερίζειν ὡστε κάρπιμον στάχνων"

καὶ ὁσα τοιαῦτα.

2 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τραγῳδίαν ἡ ἄρχαία κωμῳδία παρῆχθη, παιδαγωγικὴν παρομοίαν ἔχουσα, καὶ τῆς ἀτυφίας οὐκ ἀχρήστως δὲ αὐτῆς τῆς εὐθυρρημοσύνης ὑπομοιωτήκουσα: πρὸς οἷον τι καὶ Διογένεις ταυτὶ παρελάμβανεν. μετὰ ταὐτὴν1 <δὲ> ἡ μέση κωμῳδία, καὶ λοιπὸν ἡ νέα πρὸς τί ποτε παρείληπται, ἢ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκ μιμήσεως φιλοτεχνῶν ὑπερρύθη, ἐπιστησάμην. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ

1 ταῦτας Ἦ: ταῦτα τις Ρ: ταῦταν Stich.: <δὲ> Schenkl.

1 Soph. Oed. Rex 1391; Epict. i. 24, § 16. Perhaps Marcus had in mind the lines of Timocles (Athen. vi. 2) πρὸς ἀλλοτρίῳ τε ψυχαγωγηθεὶς πᾶθει Μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἄκηθε παιευθεῖς ἀμα.

2 Eur. Antiope Frag. 207; vii. 41.

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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

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ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΑΥΡΕΛΙΟΣ

λέγεται καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων τινὰ χρήσιμα, οὐκ ἀγνοεῖται· ἂλλα ἡ ὁλὴ ἐπιβολὴ τῆς τοιαύτης ποιήσεως· καὶ δραματουργίας πρὸς τίνα ποτὲ σκοπὸν ἀπέβλεψεν;

ζ'. Πῶς ἐναργεῖς προσπίπτει τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἄλλην βίου ὑπόθεσιν εἰς τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν οὕτως ἐπιτήδειον, ὡς ταύτην, ἐν ἑνὶ νῦν ὧν τυχάνεις.

η'. Κλάδος τοῦ προσεχοῦς κλάδου ἀποκόπτεις οὐ δύναται μὴ καὶ τοῦ ὅλου φυτοῦ ἀποκεκόφθαι. οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἀνθρώπος ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπων ἀποχξισθεὶς ὁ λόγος τῆς κοινωνίας ἀποκεκόφθει. κλάδον μὲν οὖν ἄλλος ἀποκόπτεις· ἀνθρώπος δὲ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῶν τοῦ πλησίον χωρίζει μισήσας καὶ ἀποστραφεῖς· ἀγνοεῖ δὲ, ὅτι καὶ τοῦ ὅλου πολιτείματος ἁμα ἀποτέμπηκεν ἑαυτῶν. πλὴν ἐκεῖνο ὅ γε δόρον τοῦ συστησαμένου τῆς κοινωνίας Δίοις· ἔξεστι γὰρ πάλιν ἡμῖν συμφύνην τῷ προσεχεῖ καὶ πάλιν τοῦ ὅλου συμπληρωτικῶς γενέσθαι. πλεονάκης μέντοι γινόμενον τὸ κατὰ τὴν τοιαύτην διαίρεσιν δυσένωτον καὶ δυσαποκατάστατον <τὸ> ἀποχωροῦν ποιεῖ. ὡς τε ὅτι ὧν ὁμοίως ὁ κλάδος ὁ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς συμβαλλόμενος καὶ σύμπνους συμμείνας τῷ μετὰ τὴν ἀποκοπήν αὐθες ἐγκεντρισθέντι, ὁ τί ποτε λέγουσιν οἱ φυτουργοὶ. ῥυθμοθαμμεῖν μὲν, μὴ ὤμοδογματικῶς δὲ.

θ'. Οἱ ἐνιστάμενοι προιόντες σοι κατὰ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τῆς υγίους πράξεως

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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: "excet aula qui vult esse pius";
BOOK XI

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 himself⁴ 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.
ΜΑΡΚΟΥ ΑΥΡΕΛΙΟΥ

ἀποτρέψαι σε οὐ δυνήσονται, οὕτως μηδὲ τῆς πρὸς αὐτοῦς εὑμενείας ἐκκρονεῖτωσαν ἀλλὰ φύλασσε σεαυτὸν ἐπὶ ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως, μὴ μόνον ἐπὶ τῆς εὐσταθοῦς κρίσεως καὶ πράξεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς κωλύειν ἐπιχειροῦντας ἢ ἀλλως δυσχεραίνοντας προφότητος. καὶ γὰρ τούτῳ ἀσθενές, τὸ χαλεπαίνειν αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ τὸ ἀποστήμιον τῆς πράξεως καὶ ἐνδούναι κατα- πλαγέντα· ἀμφότεροι γὰρ ἐπίσης λειποτάκται, ὁ μὲν ὑποτρέψας, ὁ δὲ ἀλλοτρωθεὶς πρὸς τὸν φύσει συγγενῆ καὶ φίλον.

ι. "Οὐκ ἔστι χείρων οὐδεμία φύσις τέχνης." ¹ καὶ γὰρ αἱ τέχναι τὰς φύσεις μιμοῦνται. εἰ δὲ τούτῳ, ἢ πᾶσῶν τῶν ἄλλων τελεωτάτη καὶ περιληπτικωτάτη φύσις οὐκ ἂν ἀπολείποιτο τῆς τεχνικῆς εὐμηχανίας. πᾶσαι δὲ γε τέχναι τῶν κρειττόνων ἐνεκεν τὰ χείρω ποιοῦσιν οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡ κοινὴ φύσις. καὶ δὴ ἔνθεν μὲν γένεσις δικαιοσύνης, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης αἰ λοιπαὶ ἀρεταὶ ὑφίστανται· οὐ γὰρ τηρηθήσεται τὸ δίκαιον, εὰν ἢτοι διαφερόμεθα πρὸς τὰ μέσα ἢ εὐεξαπάτητοι καὶ προππτωτικοὶ καὶ μεταποτικοὶ ὠμεν.

ια. Ἡτὶ μὲν οὖν ² <μὴ> ἔρχεται ἐπὶ σὲ τὰ πράγματα, διὸν αἱ διώξεις καὶ φυγαὶ θορυβοῦσι σε, ἀλλὰ τρόπου τινὰ αὐτῶς ἐπὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐρχῆ, τὸ γοῦν κρίμα τὸ περὶ αὐτῶν ἰσοχαζέτω κάκεινα μενεὶ ἀτρεμοῦντα καὶ οὔτε διώκων οὔτε φεύγων ὀφθήσῃ.

¹ Apparently a quotation from some unknown poet.
² οὐκ ΡΑ: [εἰ μὲν] Οὐκ Leopold.
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aside from sound action, so let them not wrest thee from a kindly attitude towards them; but keep a watch over thyself in both directions alike, not only in steadfastness of judgment and action but also in gentleness towards those who endeavour to stand in thy path or be in some other way a thorn in thy side. For in fact it is a sign of weakness to be wroth with them, no less than to shrink from action and be terrified into surrender. For they that do the one or the other are alike deserters of their post, the one as a coward, the other as estranged from a natural kinsman and friend.

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

11. If therefore the things, the following after and eschewing of which disturb thee, come not to thee, but 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.

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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 δίκαιοσύνῃ συλ-
λῆβδην πᾶσ' ἀρετὴ' στίν.
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'ιβ'. Σφαίρα ψυχῆς αὐτοειδῆς, ὅταν μήτε ἑκτείνεται ἐπὶ τι μήτε ἑσω συντρέχῃ, μήτε σπείρηται ἀλλὰ φωτὶ λάμπηται, ὥς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὅρα τὴν πάντων καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ.

νγ'. Καταφρονήσει μοῦ τίς; ὅφειται ἕγῳ δὲ ὄψομαι, ἵνα μὴ τι καταφρονήσως ἀξίων πρᾶσσων ἢ λέγων εὐρίσκωμαι. μοισίει; ὅφειται ἀλλὰ ἐγὼ εὐμενῆς καὶ εὐνούς παντί, καὶ τούτῳ αὐτῷ ἔτοιμος τὸ παρορώμενον δείξαι, οὐκ ὀνειδιστικῶς οὐδὲ ὡς κατεπτειδεύμενον, ὅτι ἀνέχομαι, ἀλλὰ γνησίως καὶ χρηστῶς, οἷος ὁ Φωκίων ἐκεῖνος, εἴ γε μὴ προσεποιεῖτο. τὰ ἔσω γὰρ δεῖ τοιαῦτα εἶναι, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν βλέπεσθαι ἀνθρωπον πρὸς μηδὲν ἀγανακτικῶς διατιθέμενον μηδὲ δεινοπαθοῦντα. τί γὰρ σοι κακὸν, εἴ αὐτὸς νῦν τοιεῖς τὸ τῇ φύσει σου ὀικεῖον καὶ δέχῃ τὸ νῦν τῇ τῶν ὦλων φύσει εὐκαιρον, ἀνθρωπος τεταμένος πρὸς τὸ γίνεσθαι δὲ ὅτον δὴ τὸ κοινῆ συμφέροι;

("Αλλήλων καταφρονούντες ἀλλήλων ἀρεσκεύονται καὶ ἀλλήλων ὑπερέχειν θέλοντες ἀλλήλῳ ὑποκατακλίνονται.

"Ως σαπρὸς καὶ κιβοθλός ὁ λέγων, "Ἐγὼ προήρημαι ἀπλῶς σοι προσφέρεσθαι." τί τοιεῖς, ἀνθρωπε; τούτῳ οὐ δεὶ προλέγειν. αὐτοῦ φανῆσται· ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου γεγράφθαι ὁφείλει, εὐθὺς

1 avtotelelhe Reiske. 2 epeirhetai Schenkl.

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 'Αθηναίοις μνησικακήσειν υπὲρ τῆς παρ' αὐτῶν φιλοτησίας ἡ νῦν πίνω (sc. the cup of hemlock); but
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12. The soul is 'a sphere truly shaped,' when it neither projects itself towards anything outside nor shrinks together inwardly, neither expands nor contracts, but irradiates a light whereby it sees the reality of all things and the reality that is in itself.

13. What if a man 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. But what if he hate me? That will be his affair. 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 rebuke nor with a parade of forbearance, but genuinely and chivalrously like the famous Phocion, unless indeed he was speaking ironically. For such should be the inner springs of a man's heart that the Gods see him not wrathfully disposed at any thing or counting it a hardship.

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 rotten at the core is he, 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-


6 cp. St. Luke xi. 39: τὸ λογόθεν ὑμῶν—"the inward parts."
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η φώνη τοιούτων ἥχει, εὐθὺς ἐν τοῖς ὁμοιασίν εὔχεχε, ὡς τῶν ἔραστῶν ἐν τῷ βλέμματι πάντα ἐὔθυς γνωρίζει ὁ ἐρώμενος. τοιούτων ὅλως δεῖ τὸν ἀπλοῦν καὶ ἁγαθὸν εἶναι, οἷον γράσωνα, ἵνα ὁ παραστὰς ἀμα τῷ προσελθεῖν, θέλει οὐ θέλει, αἴσθηται. ἐπιτιθέντος δὲ ἀπλότητος σκάλμη ἑστὶν. οὔδεν ἔστιν αἰσχίνων λυκοφιλίας πάντων μάλιστα τούτο φεύγει. ὁ ἁγαθὸς καὶ ἀπλοῦς καὶ εὐμενής ἐν τοῖς ὁμοιασίν ἐχοὺς ταῦτα καὶ οὐ λανθάνει.

ἰς. Κάλλιστα διαξῆγα, δύναμις αὐτὴ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, ἐὰν πρὸς τὰ ἀδιάφορα τις ἀδιάφορη. ἀδιαφορήσει δὲ, ἐὰν ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν θεωρῇ διηρημένως καὶ ὀλικῶς καὶ μεμνημένος, ὥστε οὔδεν αὐτῶν ὑπόληψιν περὶ αὐτῶν ἡμῖν ἐμποιεῖ οὔδε ἐρχεται ἐφ' ἡμᾶς. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἀτρεμεῖ, ἣμεῖς δὲ ἔσμεν οἱ τὰς περὶ αὐτῶν κρίσεις γεννώντες καὶ οἷον γράφωντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, ἐξὸν μὲν μὴ γράφειν, ἐξὸν δὲ, κἂν ποὺ λάθη, εὐθὺς ἐξαλείψαι; ὅτι ὅλγου χρόνου ἑσται ἡ τοιαύτη προσοχή καὶ λοιπὸν πεπαύσεται ὁ βίος. τι μέντοι δύσκολον ἄλλως ἔχειν ταῦτα; εἰ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ φύσιν ἑστὶ, χαῖρε αὐτοῖς καὶ ῥαδία ἑστὶν σοι. εἰ δὲ παρὰ φύσιν, ζῆτε, τι ἐστὶ σοὶ κατὰ τὴν σὴν φύσιν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ σπεύδε, κἂν ἀδοξὸν ἢ παντὶ γὰρ συγγνώμη, τὸ ἱδιον ἁγαθὸν ζητοῦντι.

1 ἥχει PA: ἥχει Reiske. 2 σκαμβή (a bent stick that can never be made straight) Salm. 3 καλὼς 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.

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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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 parts\textsuperscript{3} 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,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 be unpopular.\textsuperscript{6} For it is pardonable for every man to seek his own good.

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

\textsuperscript{3} iii. 11; xii. 18. \textsuperscript{4} xi. 11. \textsuperscript{5} viii. 47. \textsuperscript{6} v. 3; vi. 2.
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1. Πόθεν ἐλήλυθεν ἕκαστον, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἕκαστων ὑποκειμένων, καὶ εἰς τί μεταβάλλει, καὶ οίνον ἐσται μεταβαλόν, καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν κακὸν πείσηται.

2. Καὶ 1 πρῶτον, τίς ἢ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους μοι ἀξίας καὶ ὅτι ἄλληλων ἐνεκεν γεγόναμεν καὶ καθ’ ἐτερον λόγον προστησόμενοι αὐτῶν γέγονα, ὡς κρῖσις ποίμνης ἢ ταύρος ἀγέλης. ἀναθέβην δὲ ἐπιθὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ, εἰ μὴ ἄτομοι, φύσις ἢ τὰ ὀλα διοικοῦσα· εἰ τοῦτο, τὰ χειρονά τῶν κρειττόνων ἐνεκεν, ταύτα δὲ ἄλληλων.

3. Δεύτερον δὲ, ὅποιοι τινὲς εἰσὶν ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, ἐν τῷ κλιναρίῳ, τάλλα· μάλιστα δὲ, οίκας ἀνάγκας δογμάτων κειμένας ἔχουσιν, καὶ αὐτὰ δὲ τάυτα μεθ’ οίου τύφον ποιοῦσιν.

4. Τρίτον, ὅτι, εἰ μὲν ὀρθῶς ταύτα ποιοῦσιν, οὐ δὲ ἅμα καὶ ἀξιώτατα, ἐν τῷ κλιναρίῳ, τάλλα· μάλιστα δὲ, οίκας ἀνάγκας δογμάτων κειμένας ἔχουσιν, καὶ αὐτὰ δὲ τάυτα μεθ’ οίου τύφον ποιοῦσιν.

1 καὶ PA = ἐκ(εφαλαί)α' Rend., but cp. vii. 51. 2 ἐποιητικὴν Α.
BOOK XI

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

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

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

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

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

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.

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5 Πέμπτον, οτι οὐδὲ, εἰ ἀμαρτάνουσι, κατεληφθα: πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ κατ’ οἰκονομίαν γίνεται. καὶ ὅλως πολλὰ δεῖ πρότερον μαθεῖν, ἵνα τις περὶ ἄλλοτρίας πράξεως καταληπτικῶς τι ἀποφήγηται.

6 "Ἑκτόν, οτι, ὅταν λίαν ἀγανακτῆς ἦ καὶ δυσπαθῆς, ἀκαριαίος ὁ ἀνθρώπειος βίος καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγον πάντες ἐξετάθημεν.

7 "Εβδομον, οτι οὐχ ἂν πράξεις αὐτῶν ἐνοχλοῦσιν ἡμῖν ἔκειναι γὰρ εἰσιν ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνων ἔγγεμοι: ἀλλὰ αἱ ἡμέτεραι ὑπολήγειν. ἄρον γοῦν καὶ θέλησον ἀφεῖναί τιν ὡς περὶ δεινὸν κρίσιν, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἡ ὀργή. πῶς οὖν ἂρεῖς; λογισάμενος, οτι οὐκ ἀἰσχρὸν ἔδω γὰρ μὴ μόνον ἢ τὸ ἀἰσχρὸν κακὸν, ἀνάγκη καὶ σὲ πολλὰ ἀμαρτάνει καὶ ληστὴν καὶ παντοῖον γενέσθαι.

8 "Ογδοον, ὅσοι χαλεπώτερα ἐπιφέρουσιν αἱ ὀργαί καὶ λύπαι αἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις, ἠπερ αὐτὰ ἐστιν, ἐφ’ οίς ὀργιζόμεθα καὶ λυπούμεθα.

9 "Ἐννατον, οτι τὸ εὑμενὲς ἀνίκητον, ἐὰν γνησιόν ἢ καὶ μὴ σεσηρῶσ μοι ὑπόκρισις. τῷ γὰρ σοι ποιήσει ὁ ὑβριστικῶτας, ἐὰν διατελής εὑμενῆς αὐτῷ καὶ, εἰ οὕτως ἔτυχε, πράξεως παρανήσι καὶ μεταδιδάκης εὐσχολοῦν παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἔκεινον τὸν καρόν, ὅτε κακὰ ποιεῖν σε ἐπιχειρεῖ: "Μή, τέκνον πρὸς ἄλλο πεφύκαμεν. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖ μὴ

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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.
3 vii. 16; viii. 40; ix. 13; xi. 11, 16.
4 vii. 16.
5 x. 10.
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Fifthly: That thou hast not even proved that they are doing wrong, for many things are done even 'by way of policy.' Speaking generally a man must know many things before he can pronounce an adequate opinion on the acts of another.

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

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

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

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

6 Sen. de Ben. vii. 31: *vinit malos pertinax bonus.*
7 v. 28; vi. 27; viii. 59; x. 4; xi. 13.

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βλαβῶ, σὺ δὲ βλάπτη, τέκνον.” καὶ δεικνύναι εὐαφῶς καὶ ὀλικῶς, ὦτι τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχει, ὦτι οὖδε μέλισσαι αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν οὐδ᾽ ὡσα συναγελαστικὰ πέφυκεν. δεῖ δὲ μήτε εἰρωνικῶς αὐτὸ ποιεῖν μήτε ὄνειδιστικῶς, ἀλλὰ φιλοστόργως καὶ ἀδήκτως τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ μὴ ᾗς ἐν σχολῇ, μηδὲ ἵνα ἄλλος παραστάσθαι θαυμάσῃ ἀλλ᾽ ἦτοι ¹ πρὸς μόνον, καὶ εἰάν ἄλλοι τινὲς περιεστήκωσιν.

10 Τούτων τῶν ἐννέα κεφαλαίων μέμνησο, ὥσ παρὰ τῶν Μουσῶν δώρα εἰληφῶς καὶ ἀρξαι ποτὲ ἄνθρωπος εἶναι, ἐὼς ἢς. φυλακτέον δὲ ἐπίσης τῷ ὀργίζεσθαι αὐτοῖς τὸ κολακεύειν αὐτούς· ἀμφότερα γὰρ ἀκοινώνηται καὶ πρὸς βλάβην φέρει. πρόχειρον δὲ ἐν ταῖς ὀργαῖς, ὦτι οὐχὶ τὸ θυμοῦσθαι ἄνδρικόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρᾶξαι καὶ ἡμερον, ὦσπερ ἄνθρωπικέτερον, οὕτως καὶ ἀρρενικώτερον, καὶ ἵσχυος καὶ νεύρων καὶ ἀνδρείας τούτῳ μέτεστιν, οὐχὶ τῷ ἀγανακτοῦντι καὶ δυσαρεστοῦντι. ὅσω γὰρ ἀπαθεῖα τούτο οἰκειότερον, τοσοῦτο καὶ δυνάμει. ὦστερ τε ἡ λύπη ἀσθενοῦς, οὕτως καὶ ἡ ὀργή. ἀμφότεροι γὰρ τέραται καὶ ἐνδεδοκασιν.

11 Εἰ δὲ βούλει, καὶ δέκατον παρὰ τοῦ Μουσηγέτου δῶρων λάβε, ὦτι τὸ μὴ ἄξιον ἀμαρτάνειν τοὺς φαύλους μαυικόν· ἀδυνάτου γὰρ ἐφίεται. τὸ δὲ συγχωρεῖν ἄλλοις μὲν εἶναι τοιούτους, ἄξιον δὲ, μὴ εἰς σὲ ἀμαρτάνειν, ἀγνώμον καὶ τυραννικόν.

¹ § τοῦ Fournier.

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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 irony\(^2\) or by way of rebuke, but with kindly affection and without any bitterness at heart, not as from a master's chair, nor yet to impress the bystanders, but as if he were indeed alone even though others are present.

Bethink thee then of these nine heads, taking them as a gift from the Muses, and begin at last to be a man while life is thine. But beware of flattering\(^3\) 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 wrongdoing others, while expecting them to refrain from wronging thee, is unfeeling and despotic.\(^7\)

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\(^1\) The Stoic ἀνάθεωρ.
\(^2\) v. 17; vii. 71; ix. 42.
\(^3\) vi. 27; Sen. de Ira ii. 31. ἀγγαμόν might also be translated senseless.

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ιθ. Τέσσαρας μάλιστα τροπάς τού ἡγεμονικοῦ παραφυλακτέον διηνεκῶς καὶ, ἐπειδὰν φωράσῃς, ἀπαλειπτέον ἐπιλέγοντα ἐφ᾽ ἐκάστου ὀὔτως· "Τοῦτο τὸ φάντασμα οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον· τοῦτο λυτικὸν κοινωνίας· τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπὸ σαυτοῦ μέλλεις λέγειν." τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἄφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ λέγειν ἐν τοῖς ἀτοπωτάτοις νόμιζε. τέταρτον δὲ ἐστὶ, καθόδε σαυτῷ ὑνειδεῖς, ὅτι τοῦτο ἡττωμένον ἔστι καὶ ὑποκατακλινομένου τοῦ ἐν σοὶ θεοτέρου μέρους τῇ ἀτιμοτέρᾳ καὶ θνητῇ μοῖρᾳ τῇ τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ταῖς τούτων παχείαις ἱδέαις.¹

κ. Τὸ μὲν πνευματιῶν² σου καὶ τὸ πυρῶδες πᾶν, ὁσον ἔγκεκραται, καὶ τὸν ψυχοφόρη ὄντα, ὃμως πειθόμενα τῇ τῶν ὀλῶν διατάξει, παρακρατεῖται ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ τοῦ συγκρίματος. καὶ τὸ γεώδες δὲ τὸ ἐν σοὶ πᾶν καὶ τὸ ὕγρον, καὶ τὸ κατωφήρη ὄντα, ὃμως ἐγκεχείται καὶ ἐστὶ τὴν ὑπὸ ἑαυτῶν φυσικὴν στάσιν. οὕτως ἄρα καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα ὑπακούει τοῖς ὀλοις, ἐπειδὴ ποὺ καταταχθῇ, σὺν βίᾳ μένοντα, μέχρις ἂν ἐκείθεν πάλιν τὸ ἐνδόσιμον τῆς διαλύσεως σημήνη.

2 Οὐ δεινόν οὐν μόνον τὸ νοερὸν σου μέρος ἀπειθεῖς εἶναι καὶ ἀγανακτεῖν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χώρα; καὶ τοῦτο οὐδὲν γε βίαιον τούτῳ ἐπιτάσσεται, ἀλλὰ μόνα ὡς κατὰ φύσιν ἐστίν αὐτῷ· οὐ μέντοι ἀνέχεται, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἐναντίᾳ φέρεται. η γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ ἀδικήματα καὶ τὰ ἀκολοστήματα καὶ τὰς ὀργὰς καὶ τὰς λύπας καὶ τοὺς φόβους κίνησις οὐδὲν ἀλλο ἐστὶν ἢ ἀφιστάμενον τῆς φύσεως.

¹ ἰδοναίς P. " Perhaps πνευματικὸν, cp. iv. 4, see Index iii.

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19. Against four perversions of the ruling Reason thou shouldst 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 earthly part too in thee and the humid, although naturally descensive, are yet upraised and take up a station not their natural one. Thus indeed we find the elements also in subjection to the Whole and, when set anywhere, remaining there under constraint until the signal sound for their release again therefrom.

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

¹ xi. 16. ² iv. 24. ³ v. 36; viii. 10. cp. Fronto, ad Ctes. iv. 13, where Marcus reproaches himself when 19 years old for backwardness in philosophy.
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καὶ ὅταν δὲ των συμβαινόντων δυσχεραίη τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν, καταλείπει καὶ τότε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χώραν. πρὸς ὁσιότητα γὰρ καὶ θεοσέβειαν κατεσκεύασται οὐχ ἦτον ἢ πρὸς δικαιοσύνην. καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα ἐν εἰδεῖ ἐστὶ τῆς εὐκοινωνίας, μᾶλλον δὲ πρεσβύτερα τῶν δικαιοπραγμάτων.

κα’. Ὡς μὴ εἰς καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐστιν ἄει τοῦ βίου σκοπός, οὕτως εἰς καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁλοῦ τοῦ βίου εἶναι οὐ δύναται. οὐκ ἀρκεῖ <δὲ> τὸ εἰρημένον, ἣν μὴ κάκεινο προσθῆς, ὁποῖον εἶναι δεῖ τούτον τὸν σκοπόν. ἀσπερ γὰρ οὐχ ἡ πάντων τῶν ὀπωσοῦν <τοῖς> πλεῖον δοκοῦντων ἀγαθῶν ὑπόληψις ὁμοία ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ η τῶν τοιῶν δέ τινων, τοπετά τῶν κοινῶν, οὕτω καὶ τὸν σκοπὸν δεῖ τῶν κοινωνικῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν ὑποστήσασθαι. οὐ γὰρ εἰς τούτων πάσας τὰς ἰδίας ὀρμᾶς ἀπευθύνων πάσας τὰς πράξεις ὁμοίας ἀποδώσει καὶ κατὰ τούτο ἄει ὁ αὐτὸς ἐσται.

κβ’. Τὸν μὲν τὸν ὀρεινὸν καὶ τὸν κατοικίδιον καὶ τὴν πτοιάν τούτον καὶ διασόβησιν.

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

κδ’. Δακεδαιμονίοι τοῖς μὲν ξένοις ἐν ταῖς θεωρίαις ὑπὸ τῇ σκιᾷ τὰ βάθρα ἑπίθεσαν, αὐτοῖ δὲ, οὐ ἔτυχον, ἐκαθέζοντο.

1 ὁσιότητα PA: em. Cas.
2 ὀρεινὸν and κατοικίδιον require transposing to give τούτων its correct meaning.

1 xi. 9.
2 xii. 2. ὁσιότης = δικαιοσύνη πρὸς θεοὺς, see Stob. Ecl. ii. 104.
3 But cp. xi. 10.

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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 piety ² 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.

¹ cp. Dio 71. 34, § 5: διόμοιος 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. 207; Hor. Sat. ii. 6 ff. ⁷ Lamiae, or “vampires,” “fabulous monsters said to feed on human flesh,” Hor. A. P. 540; Apul. Met. i. 57. ⁸ cp. Epict. ii. 1, § 14: ταύτα Σωκράτης μορφολυκεία ἔκαλε: Philostr. Vit. Apoll. iv. 25, whence Keats took his Lamia.
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κς’. Ἔν τοῖς τῶν Ἐφεσίων ἐγράμματι παράγειμα ἔκειτο συνεχῶς ὑπομμνημακοῦσθαι τῶν παλαιῶν τινος τῶν ἀρετῆς χρησμαζόμενων.

κς’. Οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι ἠσθενείν εἰς τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀφοῦ, ἤν ὑπομμηνημακόμεθα τῶν ἀεὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως τὸ ἐδώκοντο διανύονται καὶ τῆς τάξεως καὶ τῆς καθαρότητος καὶ τῆς γυμνότητος. οὐδὲν γὰρ προκάλυμμα ἀστρον.

κη’. Οἶος ὁ Σωκράτης, τὸ κώδιον ὑπεξωσμένος, ὅτε ἦν Ἐμπθαλησαν λαμβοῦσα τὸ ἱμάτιον ἔξω προήλθεν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Σωκράτης τοῖς ἐταῖροις αἴδεσθεὶς καὶ ἀναχωρήσασιν, ὅτε αὐτὸν εἶδον οὔτως ἑσταλμένου.

κθ’. Ἐν τῷ γράφεω καὶ ἀναγνώσκειν οὐ πρῶτον ἄρξεις, πρὶν ἄρχῃς. τούτο πολλῷ μᾶλλον εἰν τῷ βίῳ.

λ’. "Δοῦλος πέφυκας, οὐ μέτεστί σοι λόγον." λα’. "Ἐμὸν δι᾽ ἐγέλασσο φίλοιν κήρ." λβ’. "Μέμψασθαι δ’ ἀρετὴν χαλεποῖς βάζοντες ἐπεσειμω." λγ’. "Συκον χειμῶνος ζητεῖν μαινομένων"

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

1 According to Diog. Laert. Socr. 9; Sen. de Ben. v. 6, § 2; Arist. Rhet. A. 23, this was Archelaius, son of Perdiccas.
2 cp. Fronto, ad Appianum, Nab. p. 251.
3 Sen. Ep. 11, attributes the precept to the Epicureans:
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25. Socrates refused the invitation of Perdiccas to his court, That I come not, said he, to a dishonoured grave, meaning, that I be not treated with generosity and have no power to return it.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

aliquis vir bonus nobis eligendus est ac semper ante oculos habendus ut sic tanquam illo spectante civamus 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 ἄρατῃ.
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tounutos o to paidion zetwv, oste ovke eti didotaia.


le'. "Omfax, stafylh, stafis, panta metabolai, ovke eis to meh dv, all' eis to vwn meh ow.

l'. "Δρασης προαιρέσεως ού γίνεται" to tov 'Epiktetov.

lζ'. "Téxhni de," efh, 2 "peri to synkatatithsebai euréin, kal ev to peri tas órmases tofor to proskektikov fylásssein, iwa meb' upexairésewos, iwa koionikai, iwa kai tov óxiwv kai oréxeos mev pantápasin ápexhesbai, ekklisei de prosw mhdei twv ovk ef' hmw chríhse.

lθ'. "Ou peri tov tuxontos ovn," efh, "es tin o agwv, allla peri tov maínesbai h meh."

lbd'. 'O Sowkrathts elége: "Ti thelete; logoswn psychas exeiv h alógon; Logikov. Tínwv logikóv; ógwn h phaúlon; 'Ymiwv. Ti oivn ou zhtite; "Oti êxomev. Ti oivn mácheste kai diaféresethe;"

1 allla omit P: perhaps ómōma from Epict. iii. 24, § 91.
2 efh de A: del Kron.

1 Epict. iii. 24, § 87 quoted, not verbatim.
2 ibid. iii. 24, § 88. 3 Epict. iii. 24, § 91.
4 ibid. iii. 22, § 105.
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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.
⁵ Only found here.
α'. Πάντα ἐκεῖνα, ἥ' ἂ διὰ περιόδου εὐχή ἔλθειν, ἢ δὲ ἔχειν δύνασαι, εὰν μὴ σαυτῷ φθονῆσ. τὸύτο δὲ ἔστιν, εὰν πᾶν τὸ παρελθὸν καταλήπτης καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἐπιτρέψης τῇ προνοίᾳ καὶ τὸ παρόν μόνον ἀπευθύνης πρὸς ὁσίότητα καὶ δικαιοσύνην. ὁσίότητα μὲν, ἵνα φίλης τὸ ἀπονεμόμενον σοὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ ἡ φύσις ἔφερε καὶ σὲ τούτῳ. δικαιοσύνην δὲ, ἵνα ἐλευθέρως καὶ χωρὶς περιπλοκῆς λέγης τε τάληθη καὶ πράσης τὰ κατὰ νόμον καὶ κατ' ἄξιαν μὴ ἑμποδίζῃ δὲ σε μὴτε κακία ἀλλοτρία μὴτε ὑπόληψις μὴτε φωνὴ μηδὲ μὴν αἰσθησίς τοῦ περιτεθραμμένου σοι σαρκιδίου ὀψεται γὰρ τὸ πάσχον.

1 Εὰν οὖν, οτεδήστοτε πρὸς ἐξόδῳ γένη, πάντα τὰ ἄλλα καταλήπτων μόνον τὸ ἕγεμονικόν σου καὶ τὸ ἐν σοι θείον τιμήσης, καὶ μὴ τὸ παύσεσθαι ποτὲ <τοῦ> ζην φοβηθῆς, ἀλλὰ τὸ γε μιθέστοτε ἀρξάσθαι κατὰ φύσιν ζῆν, ἔσθα ἀνθρωπος ἄξιος τοῦ γεννησαντος κόσμου καὶ παύσῃ ἐξόνος ὑν τῆς πατρίδος καὶ θαυμάζων ως ἀποσφόδηκτα τὰ καθ'
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1. All those things, which thou prayest to attain by a roundabout way, thou canst have at once if thou deny them not to thyself; that is to say, if thou leave all the Past to itself and entrust the Future to Providence, and but direct the Present in the way of piety and justice: piety, that thou mayest love thy lot, for Nature brought it to thee and thee to it; justice, that thou mayest speak the truth freely and without finesse, and have an eye to law and the due worth of things in all that thou doest; and let nothing stand in thy way, not the wickedness of others, nor thine own opinion, nor what men say, nor even the sensations of the flesh that has grown around thee; for the part affected will see to that.

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

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2 vii. 8; St. Matt. vi. 34. 3 xi. 37 (Epictetus).
4 vii. 68. 5 xii. 26. 6 iv. 29; xii. 13.
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ὁμέραν γινόμενα καὶ κρεμάμενος ἐκ τοῦδε καὶ τοῦδε.

β. Ὁ θεὸς πάντα τὰ ἡγεμονικὰ γυμνὰ τῶν ὑλικῶν ἀγγείων καὶ φλοιῶν καὶ καθαρμάτων ὁρὰ. μόνῳ γὰρ τῷ ἕαυτοῦ νοερῷ μόνῳ ἀπτεταί
tῶν ἐξ ἕαυτοῦ εἰς ταῦτα ἐρρηκότων καὶ ἀπωχετ
eυμένων. ἦν δὲ καὶ σὺ τούτῳ ἐθίσῃς ποιεῖν,
tὸν πολὺν περισπασμὸν σεαυτοῦ περιαιρήσεις.
ὁ γὰρ μὴ τὰ περικείμενα κρεβίδια ὅρων ἤπων γε ἐσθήτα καὶ οἰκίαν καὶ δόξαν καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην
περὶβολὴν καὶ σκητὴν θεώμενος ἀσχολήσεται;

γ'. Τρία ἐστίν, ἐξ ὧν συνεστηκας: σωμάτων,
πνευμάτων, νοῦς.
τοὺτον τὰλλα μέχρι τοῦ ἐπιμελέūσθαι δεῖν σά ἐστιν τὸ δὲ τρίτων μόνων
κυρίως σῶν. καὶ ἦν δὲ χωρίσῃς ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ,
tουτέστιν ἀπὸ τῆς σῆς διανοίας, ὥσα ἄλλοι
ποιοῦσιν ἢ λέγουσιν ἢ ὥσα αὐτὸς ἐποίησας ἢ ἐγὼ,
καὶ ὥσα ὑπὲρλαντα ταράσσει σε, καὶ ὥσα
τοῦ περικείμενον σοι σωματίου ἢ τοῦ συμφυτών
πνευματίου ἀπροαίρετα πρόσετιν, καὶ ὥσα ἢ
ἐξωθεῖν περιρρέουσα δύνη ἐλίσσεται, ὡστε τῶν
συνεμαρμένων ἐξηρμένην <καὶ> καθάραν τὴν
νοερᾶν δύναμιν ἀπόλυτον ἢ τὴν περικείμενον νοοῦσαν τὰ δίκαια καὶ θέλουσαν τὰ συμβαίνοντα
καὶ λέγουσαν τὰληθῆ—ἐὰν χωρίσῃς, φημὶ, τοῦ
ἡγεμονικοῦ τούτου τὰ προσηρτημένα ἐκ προσ-
παθείας καὶ τοῦ χρόνου τὰ ἐπέκεινα ἢ

1 I should prefer καλυμμάτων.
2 did ἦν Gat.: καὶ ἦν Stich.: ἦν PA.
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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.\footnote{Lit. stage-scenery; cp. Sen. ad Marc. 10.}

3. Thou art formed of three things in combination—body, vital breath, intelligence.\footnote{ii. 2; iii. 16. Here \textit{πνευματίων = ψυχή} (soul) in its lower sense, see Index III.} 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.\footnote{x. 38.} 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
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τὰ παραγγελτὰ ποιήσης τε σεαυτόν, οἶος ὁ
ECTEΩΔΕΙΟΣ

"Σφαῖρος κυκλοτερής, μονής ¹ περιηγεί γαϊῶν,"

μόνον τε ᾽ξην ἐκμελετήσης, ὃ ᾽ξης, τουτέστι τὸ
παρόν, δυνήσῃ τὸ γε μέχρι τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπο-
λειτόμενον ἀταράκτως καὶ εὑμενῶς ² καὶ ἱλέως τῷ
σαυτοῦ δαίμονι διαβιῶναι.

δ’. Πολλάκις ἔθαύμασα, πῶς ἐαυτὸν μὲν
ἐκαστὸς μᾶλλον πάντων φίλει, τὴν δὲ ἐαυτοῦ
περὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπολήψειν ἐν ἐλάττων λόγῳ τίθεται ἢ
τὴν τῶν ἄλλων. ἐὰν γοῦν τινα θεοῦ ἐπιστάς ἢ
διδάσκαλος ἐμφρων κελεύσῃ, μηδὲν καθ’ ἐαυτὸν
ἔνθυμεῖσαι καὶ διανοεῖσαι, ὃ μὴ ἁμα. καὶ
γεγωνισκών ἐξοίσει, οὐδὲ πρὸς μίαν ἡμέραν
tοῦτο ὑπομενεῖ. οὕτω τοὺς πέλας μᾶλλον
αἴδούμεθα, τί ποτὲ περὶ ἡμῶν φρονήσουσι, ἢ
ἐαυτοὺς.

ε’. Πῶς ποτὲ πάντα καλῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως
διατάξαντες οἱ θεοὶ, τοῦτο μόνον παρεῖδον, τὸ
ἐνίους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πάνω χρηστοὺς καὶ
πλεῖστα πρὸς τὸ θείον ὡστερ συμβολαὶ θεμένο-
νους, καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δι’ ἐργῶν ὁσίων καὶ
ἰερουργῶν συνῆθεις τῷ θείῳ γεγονόμενος, ἐπειδάν
ἀπὸς ἀποθάνωσι, μηκέτι αὐθὲς γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ’ εἰς
τὸ παντελὲς ἀπεσβηκέναι; τούτο δὲ εἰπερ ἁρα
καὶ οὕτως ἔχει, εὖ ἔσθι, ὅτι, εἰ ὡς ἐτέρως ἔχειν
ἔδει, ἐποίησαν ἄν. εἰ γὰρ δίκαιον ἦν, ἦν ἂν καὶ
δυνατόν, καὶ εἰ κατὰ φύσιν, ἤνεγκεν ἂν αὐτὸ ἢ

¹ μονή Α: κομή Ρ: κόμη Cor.: μονή Peyr.: περιηγεί ΡΑ: περιηγεί Cor.
² ἐυμενῶς Reiske : εὐγενῶς ΡΑ.

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

Sphere with 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 overlooked this one thing, that some of mankind, and they especially good men, who have had as it were the closest commerce with the Divine, and by devout conduct and acts of worship have been in the most intimate fellowship with it, should when once dead have no second existence but be wholly extinguished?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 seípso totus teres atque rotundus. ² ii. 13; iii. 5 etc. ³ iii. 4. ⁴ For Marcus' views on Immortality, see Introd.
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φύσις. ἐκ δή τοῦ μὴ οὕτως ἔχειν, εἰπερ οὖν οὕτως ἔχει, πιστούσθω σοι, τὸ μὴ δεῖσαι οὕτω γίνεσθαι. ὅρας γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς, ὅτι τοῦτο παραξητῶν δικαιολογῇ πρὸς τὸν θεόν· οὐκ ἂν δὲ οὕτω διελεγόμεθα τοῖς θεοῖς, εἰ μὴ ἀριστοὶ καὶ δικαιότατοι εἰσίν. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἂν τι περιείδον ἀδίκως καὶ ἀλὸγως ἥμελημένου τῶν ἐν τῇ διακοσμήσει.

ζ'. Ἐθίζε καὶ σα ἀπογινώσκεις. καὶ γὰρ ἡ χεῖρ ἡ ἀριστερά, πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα διὰ τὸ ἀνέβιστον ἀργὸς οὐσα, τοῦ χαλινοῦ ἐρρωμενέστερον ἢ ἡ δεξιὰ κρατεῖ. τοῦτο γὰρ εἰθίσται.

ξ'. Ὀποίον δει καταληψθήναι ὑπὸ τοῦ θανάτου καὶ σώματι καὶ ψυχῇ· τὴν βραχύτητα τοῦ βίου, τὴν ἀχάνειαν τοῦ ὀπίσω καὶ πρόσω αἰώνος, τὴν ἀσθένειαν πάσης ὑλῆς.

η'. Γυμνὰ τῶν φλοιῶν θεάσασθαι τὰ αἰτίωδη· τὰς ἀναφορὰς τῶν πράξεων· τί πόνος· τί ἡδονή· τί θάνατος· τί δόξα· τίς ὁ ἐαυτῷ ἀσχολίας αὐτιος· πῶς οὐδεὶς ὑπ' ἄλλου ἐμποδίζεται· ὅτι πάντα ὑπόλυψις.

θ'. "Ομοιον δ' εἶναι δει ἐν τῇ τῶν δογμάτων χρῆσει παγκρατιαστῆ· οὐκὶ μονομαχῶ· ὃ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ξίφος, ὃ χρῆται, ἑπτοίδεται καὶ ἀναρεῖται· ὃ δὲ τὴν χείρα ἂει ἔχει καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ συσ- τρέψαι αὐτὴν δει.

1 cp. Job (xiii. 3), I desire to reason with God, where a similar point is argued.
3 iv. 50; v. 23; xii. 32.

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

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

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

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

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

4 v. 34; vii. 16.
5 v. 2; viii. 40; xii. 22. *Shak. Ham.* ii. 2. 256.
6 *Or, the prize-fighter not the duellist.* Some take àναπ-ειται to mean 'is slain.'
MARCUS AURELIUS

ι. Ποίαν αύτά τα πράγματα, ὃραν διαιροῦντα εἰς ὑλήν, αἴτιον, ἀναφοράν.

ια. Ἡλίκην ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ἀνθρώπως μὴ ποιεῖν ἄλλο ἢ ὑπὲρ μέλλει τὸ θεὸς ἐπαινεῖν, καὶ δέχεσθαι πᾶν, δ ἀν νέμη αὐτῷ ὁ θεός.

ιβ. Τὸ ἐξῆς τῇ φύσει μήτε θεοῖς μεμπτέον· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐκόντες ἢ ἀκόντες ἀμαρτάνοντες· μήτε ἀνθρώποις· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἄκοντες. ὡστε οὐδὲν μεμπτέον.

ιγ. Πῶς γελοῖος καὶ ἐξέσο ὁ θαυμάζων ὠτίον τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ γινομένων.

ιδ. Ὡτις ἅναγκη εἰμαρμένη <καὶ> ἀπαράβατος τάξις, ἢ πρόνοια ἱλάσιμος, ἢ φυμός εἰκαστήτος ἀπροστάτητος. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀπαράβατος ἅναγκη, τί ἀντιτείνεις; εἰ δὲ πρόνοια ἐπιδεχόμενη τὸ ἱλάσκεσθαι ἄξιον σαυτοῦ ποίησον τῆς ἐκ τοῦ θείου βοσθείας. εἰ δὲ φυμός ἀνηγεμόνευτος, ἀσμένεις, ὅτι ἐν τοιούτῳ [τῷ] κλάδῳν αὐτὸς ἔχεις ἐν σαυτῷ τινα νοῦν ἡγεμονικόν. κἂν παραφέρῃ σε ὁ κλάδῳν, παραφέρετω τὸ σαρκίδιον, τὸ πνευμάτιον, τάλλα· τῶν γὰρ νοῶν οὐ παροίσει. (ιε') Ἡ τὸ μὲν τοῦ λύχνου φῶς, μέχρι σβεσθῇ, φαίνει καὶ τὴν αὐγήν οὐκ ἀποβάλλει· ἢ δὲ ἐν σοὶ ἄλθειν καὶ δικαιοῦντα καὶ σωφροσύνη προςοψβήσεται;

ιε. Ἑπὶ τοῦ φαντασίαν παρασχόντος, ὃτι ἡμαρτεν· "Τί δαί οἶδα, εἰ τούτο ἀμάρτημα;" εἰ δὲ καὶ ἡμαρτεν, ὃτι κατέκρινεν αὐτὸς ἐαυτὸν καὶ

1 Gatt. for τοιαῦτα : δὲι αὐτὰ Reiske.
2 τὸ ὕλικην (cp. § 18) A at end of § 10.

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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 distinguished 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.
ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΑΥΡΕΛΙΟΥΣ

ούτως ὁμοιον τούτο τῷ καταδρύπτειν τὴν ἐαυτοῦ ὁμοίαν.

2 Ὄτι ὁ μήθελων τὸν φαύλον ἀμαρτάνειν ὁμοιος τῷ μὴ θέλοντι τὴν συκήν ὁπὸν ἐν τοῖς σύκοις
φέρειν καὶ τὰ βρέφη κλαυθμορίζεσθαι καὶ τὸν ἰππὸν χρεμετίζειν καὶ ὁσα ἄλλα ἀναγκαία. τί
γὰρ πάθη τὴν ἔξειν ἔχων τοιαύτην; εἰ οὖν γοργὸς
εἰ, ταῦτην θεράπευσον.

ιζ. Εἰ μὴ καθήκει, μὴ πράξῃς· εἰ μὴ ἀληθὲς
ἐστι, μὴ εἴπῃς. Ἡ γὰρ ὀρμὴ σου ἐστω <ἐπὶ σοι>.

η. Εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἀεὶ ὄραν, τί ἔστω αὐτὸ ἔκεινο
τὸ τὴν φαντασίαν σοι ποιοῦν, καὶ ἀναπτύσσεις,
διαμορύγητα εἰς τὸ αἶτιον, εἰς τὸ ὕλικον, εἰς τὴν
ἀναφοράν, εἰς τὸν χρόνον, ἑντὸς οὔ πεπαῦσθαι αὐτὸ
δείχνει.

ιθ'. Αἰσθοῦν ποτέ, ὅτι κρείττον τι καὶ δαιμονό-
τερον ἔχεις ἐν σαυτῷ τῶν τὰ πάθη ποιοῦντων
καὶ καθάπαξ τῶν νευροσπαστοῦντων σε. τί μου
νῦν ἔστω ἡ διάνοια; μὴ φόβος; μὴ ὑπνοία; μὴ
ἐπιθυμία; μὴ ἀλλο τι τοιοῦτον;

κ'. Πρῶτον, τὸ μὴ εἰκῇ μηδὲ ἀνευ ἀναφορᾶς.
δεύτερον, τὸ μὴ ἐπὶ ἀλλο τι ἡ ἐπὶ τὸ κοινωνικὸν
tέλος τὴν ἀναγωγὴν ποιεύσαται.

κα'. Ὅτι μετ' οὗ πολὺ οὐδεὶς οὐδαμοῦ ἔση,
οὐδὲ τούτων τι, ἦ νῦν βλέπεις, ὦδ' τούτων τις
τῶν νῦν βιοῦντων. ἀπαντᾷ γὰρ μεταβάλλειν
καὶ τρέψεσθαι καὶ φθείρεσθαι πέφυκεν, ἵνα ἑτερα
ἐφεξῆς γίνηται.

κβ'. Ὅτι πάντα ὑπόληψις· καὶ αὐτῇ ἐπὶ σοι.

1 iv. 6.
2 xii. 10. Or, application.
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own heart has condemned him, and so he is as one who wounds his own face?

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

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

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

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

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

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

22. Remember that all is but as thy opinion

\[^3\) ii. 2 etc. \quad ^4\) v. 11. \quad ^5\) ii. 16; ix. 40. \quad ^6\) v. 16; xi. 21. \quad ^7\) ix. 28, 32.\]
Marcus Aurelius

άρον οὖν, ὅτε θέλεις, τὴν ὑπόληψιν, καὶ ὀστερὸ κάμψαντι τὴν ᾨκαν, γαλήνη, σταθερὰ πάντα καὶ κόλπος ἀκύμων.

κυ. Μία καὶ ἡτίσουν ἐνέργεια κατὰ καιρὸν παυσαμένη οὐδὲν κακὸν πᾶσχει, καθ’ οὐ πέπαυται. οὐδὲ ὁ πράξας τὴν πράξιν ταύτην κατ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο, καθ’ οὐ πέπαυται, κακὸν τι πέπονθεν. ὁμοίως οὖν τὸ ἐκ πασῶν τῶν πράξεων σύστημα, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὁ βίος, ἐὰν ἐν καιρῷ παύσηται, οὐδὲν κακὸν πᾶσχει κατ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο, καθ’ οὐ πέπαυται.

οὐδὲ ὁ καταπαύσας ἐν καιρῷ τὸν εἰρμὸν τοῦτον κακὸς διετέθη. τὸν δὲ καιρὸν καὶ τὸν ὄρων διδώσων ἡ φύσις, ποτὲ μὲν καὶ ἡ ἰδία, ὅταν ἐν γήρᾳ, πάντως δὲ ἡ τῶν ὄλων, ἂς τῶν μερῶν μεταβαλλόντων νεαρὸς ἢ καὶ ἀκμαῖος ὁ σύμπας κόσμος διαμένει. καλὸν δὲ ἢ καὶ πάν καὶ ὅραν τὸ συμφέρον τῷ ὄλῳ. ἡ οὖν καταπαύσις τοῦ βίου ἐκάστῳ οὐ κακὸν μὲν, ὅτι οὐδὲ αἰσχρόν, εἴπερ καὶ ἀπροαίρετον καὶ οὐκ ἀκοινώνητον ἄγαθον δὲ, εἴπερ τῷ ὄλῳ καίριον καὶ συμφέρον καὶ συμφερόμενον. οὔτω γὰρ καὶ θεοφόρητος ὁ φερόμενος κατὰ ταύτα θεῷ καὶ ἐπί ταύτα τῇ γνώμῃ φερόμενος.

κῦ. Τρία ταῦτα δεῖ πρόχειρα ἔχειν ἐπὶ μὲν ὅν ποιεῖς, εἰ μήτε εἰκῇ μήτε ἄλλως ἢ ὡς ἂν ἡ δίκη αὐτή ἐνήργησεν ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐξωθεὶ συμβαίνοντων, ὅτι ἦτοι κατ’ ἐπιτυχίαν ἢ κατὰ

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

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

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

7 Epict. ii. 16, § 42: τρες τὸν θεὸν ἀναθέλεις εἰπεῖν, διο-γνωμονόφι σοι. 8 iv. 2; viii. 17; ix. 28.
MARCUS AURELIUS

πρόνοιαν οὔτε δὲ τῇ ἐπιτυχίᾳ μεμπτέον οὔτε τῇ προνοίᾳ ἐγκυλητέον. δεύτερον τὸ ὅποιον ἐκαστὸν ἀπὸ σπέρματος 1 μέχρι ψυχόσεως καὶ ἀπὸ ψυχόσεως μέχρι τού τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ ἐξ οὗ ἡ σύγκρισις καὶ εἷς οἶα ἡ λύσις. τρίτον, εἰ ἄφων μετέωρος ἐξαρθῆς κατασκέψατο τά ἀνθρώπεια καὶ τήν πολυτροπίαν, ὅτι κατα-
φρονήσεις συνεϊδών ἁμα καὶ ὅσον τὸ περιοικοῦν ἐναιρίων καὶ ἐναιθερίων· καὶ ὅτι, ὅσακε ἄν ἐξαρθῆς, ταύτα ὅψει, τὸ ὁμοειδές, τὸ ὀλγοχρόνον.
ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ τύφος.

κέ. Βάλε ἔξω τήν υπόληψιν σέσωσαι. τῆς οὖν ὁ κωλύων ἐκβαλεῖν;

κτ᾽. Ὅταν δυσφορῆς ἐπὶ τυποῦ, ἐπελάθου τοῦ, ὅτι πάντα κατὰ τήν τῶν ὅλων φύσις γίνεται, καὶ τοῦ, ὅτι τὸ ἀμαρταιόμενον ἀλλότριον, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῦ, ὅτι πᾶν τὸ γινόμενον ὁὕτως ἄει ἐγίνετο καὶ γενήσεται καὶ νῦν πανταχοῦ γίνεται·
τοῦ, ὅτι ἡ συγγένεια ἀνθρώπου πρὸς πᾶν τὸ ἀνθρώπειον γένος· οὐ γὰρ αἱματίων ἡ σπερματίων, ἀλλὰ νοὶ κοινωνία. ἐπελάθου δὲ καὶ τοῦ, ὅτι ὁ ἐκάστου νοῦς θεὸς καὶ ἐκείθεν ἐρρύκηκε· τοῦ, ὅτι ὁ ὁμοίων ὁμοίων, ἀλλά καὶ τὸ τεκνίον καὶ τὸ

1 σπερματός Pl.: σπερματός Gat.: στηράματος 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 ἐναιρίω and ἐναιθέριοi (or the neuters of these) is not
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nor hast thou any call to blame Chance or to impeach Providence. Secondly this: to think what each creature is from conception till it receives a living soul, and from its reception of a living soul till its giving back of the same, and out of what it is built up and into what it is dissolved. Thirdly, that if carried suddenly into mid-heaven thou shouldst look down upon human affairs and their infinite diversity, thou wilt indeed despise them, seeing at the same time in one view how great is the host that peoples the air and the aether around thee; and that, however often thou wert lifted up on high, thou wouldst see the same sights, everything identical in kind, everything fleeting. Besides, the vanity of it all!

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

26. In taking umbrage at anything, thou forgettest this, that everything happens in accordance with the Universal Nature; and this, that the wrong-doing is another's; and this furthermore that all that happens, always did happen, and will happen so, and is at this moment happening everywhere. And—thou forgettest how strong is the kinship between man and mankind, for it is a community not of corpuscles, of seed or blood, but of intelligence. And thou forgettest this too, that each man's intelligence is God and has emanated from Him; and this, that nothing is a man's very own, but that his babe, his clear. But cp. Apul. de deo Socr., circa med., and his disquisition on ὑπομονές; and the interesting parallel 2 Kings vi. 17. iv. 7; vii. 17, 29; viii. 29; ix. 7; xii. 22. v. 8, 10. vi. 38. vii. 1. ii. 1. cp. Eur. Frag. 1007, δ νοῦς γὰρ ἡμῶν ἠστίν ἐν ἐκάστῳ θεὸς: Cic. Tusc. i. 28, § 65.
σωμάτων καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ψυχάριον ἐκεῖθεν ἐλημύθεν· τοῦ, ὅτι πάνθε ὑπόληψις· τοῦ, ὅτι τὸ παρῶν μόνον ἔκαστος ἦν καὶ τούτῳ ἀποβάλλει.
κε. Συνεχῶς ἀναπολεῖν τοὺς ἐπὶ τινὶ λίαν ἀγανακτήσαντας, τοὺς ἐν μεγίσταις δόξαις ἢ συμφοραῖς ἢ ἔχθραις ἢ ὀποιαισοῦν τούχαις ἀκμάζαντας· εἴτε ἐφιστάνειν "/../νῦν πάντα ἐκεῖνα;" καπνὸς καὶ σποδὸς καὶ μῦθος ἢ οὐδὲ μῦθος. συμπροσπιπτέτω δὲ καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτο πᾶν, ὅλον Φάβιος Κατουλλίνου ἐπὶ ἀγροῦ, καὶ Λούσιος Λούπτος ἐν τοῖς κήποις, καὶ Στερτινίους ἐν Βαϊάις, καὶ Τιβέριος ἐν Καπρίαις, καὶ Οὐήλιος Ρούφος, καὶ ὅλος ἢ πρὸς ὀτιοῦν μετ' οὐκήσεως διαφορά: καὶ ὅς εὔτελες πᾶν τὸ κατενευόμενον καὶ ὅσον φιλοσοφῶτερον τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς δοθείσης ὑλῆς ἐαυτὸν δίκαιον, σώφρονα, θεοῖς ἐπόμενον ἀφελῶς παρέχειν. ο γὰρ ὑπὸ ἀτυφία τύφος τυφόμενος πάντων χαλεπώτατος.
κη. Πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιρητοῦντας, "../θεοῦ ἢ πόθεν κατειληφῶς, ὅτι εἰσίν, οὐτω σέβεις;" πρῶτον μὲν καὶ ὃπες ἐρατοὶ εἰσίν· ἔπειτα μέντοι οὐδὲ τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἑώρακα, καὶ ἄμως τιμῶ. οὔτως οὖν καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς, ἔξ ὧν τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτῶν ἐκάστοτε πειρῶμαι, ἐκ τούτων, ὅτι τε εἰσί, καταλαμβάνω καὶ αἰδοῦμαι.

1 Λούσιος Λούπτος PA. Perhaps we should read Lucius Lucullus, who would be a typical instance.
2 ἐν Οὐήλια Barberini.

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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.
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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 conceited 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.

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⁶ For ὀφεῖσι 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.
καθ. Σωτηρία βίου ἦκαστον δι' ὅλων αὐτὸ
tί ἐστιν ὅραν, τί μὲν αὐτῶ τὸ ὑλικόν, τί δὲ τὸ
αἰτιῶδες. ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν
καὶ τάληθῆ λέγειν. τί λοιπὸν ἢ ἀπολαύειν τοῦ
ξῆν συνάπτοντα ἄλλο ἐπ' ἄλλῳ ἀγαθῶν, ὡστε
μηδὲ τὸ βραχύτατον διάστημα ἀπολείπειν;

ἀν. Ἐπὶ ψῆφις ἥλιον, κἂν διειργηταί τοῖχοις,
δρεσιν, ἄλλοις μυρίοις. μία οὐσία κοινή, κἂν
diειργήται ἰδίως ποιεῖς σώμασι μυρίοις. μία
ψυχή, κἂν φύσει διειργηταί μυρίαι καὶ ἰδίαις
περιγραφαῖς. μία νοερὰ ψυχή, κἂν διακεκρίσθαι
dοκῇ. τὰ μὲν οὐν ἄλλα μέρη τῶν εἰρημένων,
οἶνον πνεύματα, καὶ ὑποκείμενα ἀναίσθητα
cαὶ ἀνοικείωτα ἀλλήλους. καίτοι κάκεινα τὸ νοοῦν
συνέχει καὶ τὸ ἔπὶ τὰ αὐτὰ βρίθον. διάνοια ἰδίως
ἐπὶ τὸ ὁμόφυλον τείνεται καὶ συνιστάται
καὶ οὐ διείργεται τὸ κοινωνικὸν πάθος.

λα. Τί ἐπιζητεῖς; τὸ διαγίνεσθαι; ἀλλὰ τὸ
αἰσθάνεσθαι; τὸ ὀρμαύν; τὸ αἴξεσθαι; τὸ λήγειν
αὕτης; τὸ φωνὴ χρῆσθαι; τὸ διανοεῖσθαι; τί
tούτων πόθον σοι ἄξιον δοκεῖ; εἰ δὲ ἔκαστα
εὐκαταφρόνητα, πρόσθετο ἐπὶ τελευταίον τὸ
ἐπεσθαί τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῷ θεῷ. ἀλλὰ μάχεται
tὸ τιμᾶν ταῦτα, τὸ ἄχθεσθαι, εἰ διὰ τοῦ τεθυκέναι
στερήσεται τῖς αὐτῶν.

1 τὸ νοοῦν Rend.: τὸ νοοῦν Gatt.: τὸν νοοῦν PA.
2 διαπνεύσθαι Leopold.

1 xii. 10, 18 etc. 2 v. 6; ix. 23.
3 viii. 57.
BOOK XII

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

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

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

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

5 vii. 31; xii. 27.
MARCUS AURELIUS

λβ'. Πόστον μέρος τοῦ ἀπείρου καὶ ἄχανος αἰώνος ἀπομεμέρισται ἐκάστῳ; τάχιστα γὰρ ἐναφανίζεται τῷ ἀείδιῳ. πόστον δὲ τῆς ὀλής οὐσίας; πόστον δὲ τῆς ὀλῆς ψυχῆς; ἐν πόστῳ δὲ βωλαρίῳ τῆς ὀλῆς γῆς ἔρπεις; πάντα ταῦτα ἐνθυμούμενος μηδὲν μέγα φαντάζου ἢ τὸ, ὡς μὲν ἢ σῇ φύσις ἄγει, ποιεῖν, πάσχειν δὲ, ὡς ἡ κοινὴ φύσις φέρει.

λγ'. Πῶς ἐαυτῷ χρήσαι τὸ ἡγεμονικόν; ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ τὸ πᾶν ἑστι. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἡ προαιρετά ἐστιν ἢ ἀπροαιρετα, νεκρὰ καὶ καπνὸς.

λδ'. Πρὸς θανάτου καταφρόνησιν ἐγερτικότατον, ὅτι καὶ οἱ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἄγαθὸν καὶ τὸν πόνον κακὸν κρίνουσες ὁμώς τούτῳ κατεφρόνησιν.

λε'. "Ωμὶ τὸ εὐκαιρὸν μόνον ἄγαθὸν καὶ ὡς τὸ πλείους κατὰ λόγον ὁρθὸν πράξεις ἀποδεῦναι τῷ ὀλυμπόστατος εὖ ὕσφω ἑστι, καὶ ὡς τὸν κόσμον θεωρῆσαι πλείους ἢ ἐλάσσους χρώμῳ οὕτω διαφέρει, τούτῳ οὐδὲ οὗθον τὸν καταφρόνησιν.

λς'. "Ἀνθρωπε, ἐπολατεύουσο ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ταύτῃ πόλει· τί σοι διαφέρεις; εἰ πέντε ἑτεσιν <ἡ ἔκατον>, 1 τὸ γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἴσον ἐκάστῳ. τί οὖν δεινόν, εἰ τῆς πόλεως ἀποτέμπετε σὲ οὐ τύραννος οὐδὲ δικαστῆς ἄδικος, ἀλλ' ἡ φύσις ἡ εἰσαγαγοῦσα;

1 <ἡ τρισὶ> Reiske: I have preferred ἔκατον.
BOOK XII

32. How tiny a fragment of the boundless abyss of Time has been appointed to each man! For in a moment it is lost in eternity. And how tiny a part of the Universal Substance! How tiny of the Universal Soul! And on how tiny a clod of the whole Earth dost thou crawl! Keeping all these things in mind, think nothing of moment save to do what thy nature leads thee to do, and to bear what the Universal Nature brings thee.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 but as 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 cp. Bacon’s Essay “On Death.”
7 x. 20; xii. 23. 8 iii. 7; xii. 36.
9 ii. 16; iii. 11; iv. 4.
οιον ει κωμφρδόν απολύοι της σκηνής ὁ παραλαβών στρατηγός. "Αλλ’ οὐκ εἶπον τὰ πέντε μέρη, ἀλλὰ τὰ τρία." καλῶς εἶπας· ἐν μέντοι τῷ βίῳ τὰ τρία ὅλου τὸ δρᾶμά ἐστιν. τὸ γὰρ τέλευον ἐκεῖνος ὅριζει ὁ τότε μὲν τῆς συγκρίσεως, νῦν δὲ τῆς διαλύσεως αἰτίος· σὺ δὲ ἀναίτιος ἀμφοτέρων. ἀπιθῇ οὖν Ἰλεως· καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀπολύων Ἰλεως.¹

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

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 that dismisses thee is gracious.

¹ iii. 8; xi. 1; Epict. Man 17.
THE SPEECHES OF MARCUS
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.
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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.
ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΑΥΡΕΛΙΟΣ

'Ο δὲ δὴ Μάρκος παρὰ τοῦ Οὔηρου¹ τοῦ τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἀρχοντος τὴν ἐπανάστασιν αὐτοῦ μαθῶν τέως μὲν συνεκρυπτεὶν αὐτά, ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται τῇ τῷ φήμῃ Ἰσχυρῶς ταράσσοντο καὶ ἑλογοποιοῦ μελλά, συνεκάλεσεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνέγνω τοιάδει·

"Οὐκ ἀγανακτήσων, δὲ συνετριώτατα, Ἰαθορύμηνεις παρελήλυθα. χαλεπάνειν μὲν γὰρ τι δεῖ πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον, ὃ πάντα ἔξεστιν; ὅλοφρεσθαι δὲ ᾠσὸς ἀνάγκη τοὺς ἄδικος δυστυχοῦτας· δὲ καὶ ἐμοὶ νῦν συμβεβηκεν. πῶς γὰρ οὐ δεινὸν πολέμοις ἡμᾶς ἐκ πολέμων συμφέρεσθαι; πῶς δὲ οὐκ ἄτοπον καὶ ἐμφυλίῳ συμπλακήναι; πῶς οὖν ἄμφοτερα καὶ δεινότητι καὶ ἀτοπία νυκτί, τὸ μηδὲν πιστὸν ἐν ἀνθρώπως εἶναι,² ἀλλ᾿ ἐπεζεβουλεύθαι τέ με ὑπὸ τὸ φιλτάτου καὶ ἐς ἄγνω ἀκούσων καθισταθαί μὴτε τῇ ἡδικηκότα μήτε πεπλημμεληκότα;³ τῆς μὲν γὰρ ἀρετῆς ἀσφαλῆς, τίς δὲ φιλία ἦν νομοθετεῖ τίμω τοῦτο πεπουθῶσος; πῶς δὲ οὐκ ἀπόλαλε μὲν πίστις,⁴ ἀπόλαλε δὲ ἐλπὶς ἀγαθῆς; ἀλλ᾿ εἰ μὲν μόνον ἐγὼ ἐκδιώκω, παρ᾿ οὐδὲν ἀν τὸ πράγμα ἐποιησάμην· οὐ γὰρ ποὺ καὶ ἀβάστατος ἐγεννήθην ἐπεὶ δὲ δημοσίᾳ τε ἀπόστασις, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπανάστασις, γέγονε, καὶ δὲ πόλεμος πάντων ὁμοίως ἡμῶν ἀπτεται, ἔβουλμην, εἰ οἷον τε ἦν, προσκαλέσασθαι τοῦ Κάσποσ καὶ δικαιολογήσασθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν παρ᾿ ὑμῖν ἢ παρὰ τῇ γερονισίᾳ· καί ἥδεως ἄν ἀμαχὶ παρεξάφρησα αὐτῷ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, εἰ τοῦτο τῷ κοινῷ συμφέρειν ἐδοκεῖ. ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ γὰρ καὶ ποιῶν καὶ κενδυνεύων διατελῶ, τοσοῦτον τε ἐνταῦθα χρόνων ἐξω τῆς Ἰταλίας πεποίηκα, ἀνθρω-

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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, ὡσε ἕκων ὡσε ἕκων ἐπιλημέλει. cp. Aristides, Orat. ad Regem, § 106 (Jebb).
⁴ cp. Medit. v. 33.
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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.
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ποσ καὶ γέρων ἤδη 1 καὶ ἀσθενής 2 καὶ οὐτε τροφήν ἄλυπον οὖθ᾽ ὑπνον ἄφροντιν λαβέων δυνάμενος.

"Επεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἂν ποτε συγκαθεῖναι ἐσεῦτο τὸ Κάσσιος ἐβεληνεῖ, πῶς γὰρ ἄν πιστεύσει μοι, ἀπιστος οὖτω περὶ ἐμὲ γεγενημένοις; ὑμᾶς γε, ὡς συστρατιῶτα, χρῆ θαρρεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ποὺ κρείττους Κίλικες καὶ Σύρου καὶ Ἰουδαίοι καὶ Ἀλγύπτωι ὑμῶν οὐτε ἐγένοιτο ποτε οὖτε ἐσεῦται, οὐδ᾽ ἂν μυριάκες πλείους ὑμῶν, ὅσφιν γὰρ ἐλάττους εἰςίν, ἄθροισθωσίν. οὐ μὴν οὖθ᾽ αὐτὸς ὁ Κάσσιος, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ στρατηγικὸς εἶναι καὶ πολλὰ καταρθοκεῖνα δοκεῖ, λόγου τινὸς ἁξίου γὰρ ἂν φανεῖν οὔτε γὰρ ἂτος κολοῦν ἢ καὶ λέων νεβρῶν ἡγησάμενος ἀξίαμαχος γίνεται, καὶ τὸν Ἀραβικὸν τὸν τε Παρθικὸν ἐκείνου πόλεμον οὐ Κάσσιος ἀλλ᾽ ὑμεῖς κατεργάσασθε. ἀλλὰς τε, εἰ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Πάρθους πραξάμενων εὐδόκιμος ἔστιν, ἔχετε καὶ ὑμεῖς Οὐήρους, 3 οὐδὲν ἦττον ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνίκησε πλείο κατεκτήσατο.

"Ἀλλὰ τάχα μὲν καὶ ἤδη μετανενόηκε, ξῶντα με μεμαθηκός; οὐ γὰρ ποὺ καὶ ἄλλος ἢ ὃς τετελευτηκότος μου τοὺς ἐποίησεν. ἀν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείου ἀντίσχη, ἅλλ᾽ ὅταν γε καὶ προσέστηται ὑμᾶς πῦθηται, πάντως γνωσμαχῆσει, καὶ ὑμαῖς φοβηθεῖς καὶ ἐμὲ αἰδεοθεῖς. ἓν γοῦν ἐν μοῦν δέδοικα, ὡς συστρατιῶτα, εἰρήσεται γὰρ πᾶσα πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἡ ἀλήθεια, μὴ ἦτοι αὐτὸς ἑαυτόν ἀποκτείνῃ, αἰσχυνθεὶς ἐς τὴν ἠμετέραν ὑπὲρ ἐλθεῖν, ἢ ἐτέρος μαθὼν, ὅτε τε ἢξω καὶ ὅτε ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ὁμορρᾶ να, τοῦτο ποιήσῃ. μέγα γὰρ μοῦ ἄθλον καὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῆς νίκης, καὶ ἦλικον οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἀνθρώπων ἠλαθεν, ἀφαιρήσεται. τὶ δὲ τοὐτό ἐστιν; ἄδικησάντα ἀνθρωπὸν ἀφεῖναι, πρὸς φιλίαν ὑπερβαίνετα φιλον μείναι, πίστων καταλαβόντα πιστῶν 4 διαγενέσθαι. παραδόξα μὲν ἵσως ταῦθ ὑμῖν φαίνεται, ἄλλ᾽ οὐκ ἀπιστεῖν ὑμᾶς αὐτοῖς δεῖ· οὖ γὰρ ποὺ

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1 He was 54. cp. Thought, 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 Martinus Verus. Suidas credits him with tact, slimmness, and warlike ability. He gave Marcus the first news of the revolt.
4 cp. Medit. ix. 42.
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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;
kaì ἀπλῶς πάντα τὰ ἁγαθὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπόλωλεν, ἀλλ' ἐστὶ καὶ παρ' ἦμιν ἔτι τῆς ἀρχαίας ἀρετῆς λείψανον. ἄν δὲ που ἄποισῇ τις, καὶ διὰ τούτο μεῖξον ἐστὶ μοι τὸ ἐπιθύμημα, ἢν, δ' ἡμείς ἀν πιστεύσεις γενέσθαι δύνασθαι, τούτο ἴδῃ γενόμενον. ὡς ἐγὼ γε τούτ' ἂν μόνον ἐκ τῶν παρόντων κακῶν κερδάναιμι, εἰ δυνηθῇν καλῶς θέσθαι τὸ πράγμα καὶ δεῖξαι πᾶσιν ἄνθρωποι ὅτι καὶ ἐμφυλίοις πολέμοις ἔστων ὅρθως χρήσασθαι."—Dio, 71. 24–26, § 4.

Ex Oratione Marci Antonini (ad Senatum missa).

"Habetis igitur p.c., pro gratulatione victoriae generum meum consulem, Pompeianum 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 obserco, p.c., ut consura 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 filius Avidii Cassii et genero et uxori veniam dabitis. Et quid dico veniam? Cum illi nihil fecerint. Vivant igitur securi scientes sub Marco vivere. Vivant in patrimonio parentum pro parte donato, 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.

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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 severe it seems. So you must pardon the sons of Avidius Cassius, and his son-in-law, and his wife. But why do I say "pardon," since they have done no wrong? Let them live, then, in security, knowing that they live under Marcus. Let them live on their patrimony proportionately divided; let them enjoy their gold, their silver, their raiment;

¹ Or, made a right use of.

³ Capit. Vit. Marc. xxvi. 11, 12: filii Cassii et amplius media parte acceperunt paterni patrimonii et auro atque argento adiuti.
MARÇUS AURELIUS


Συγκαλέσας τὸν φίλον ὅσοι τε παρῆσαν τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ τὸν παῖδα καταστησάμενος, ἐπειδή πάντες συνήλθον, ἡσυχὴ τοῦ σκίμποδος κοιφίσας εαυτὸν τοιούτων λόγων ἤξεστο.

"Αχθεσθαι μὲν ὑμᾶς ἑφ' οἷς ὀρᾶτε με διακείμενοι, θαυμαστῶν οὐδὲν φύσει τε γὰρ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἔλεεινόν 2 ἐν ταῖς τῶν ὁμοφύλων συμφοραῖς, τὰ τε δεινὰ ὑπ’ ἀγίῳ πεσόντα οἴκτον προκαλεῖται μείζονα. ἔμοι δέ τι καὶ πλέον ὑπάρχειν παρ’ ὑμῶν ὁμοῖων ἐκ γὰρ διὸ αὐτὸς διάκειμαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀμοιβαίαν εὐνοιαν εἰκότως ἥλπικα. νῦν δὲ καρός εὐκαρος ἐμοὶ τε αἰσθέσθαι μή μάτην πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοσοῦτον χρόνου τιμήν τε καὶ σπουδὴν κατατεθείσας, ὑμῖν τε ἀπόδονάνχαρων δείξασσι ὅτι ἑπὶ δὲν ἐτύχετε οὐκ ἀμημονεῖτε. ὀράτε δὴ μοι τὸν υἱόν, δι αὐτοὶ ἀνθρεψανθε, ἄρτι τῆς μειράκιων ἥλικίας ἐπιθαύματα, 3 καὶ δεόμενον ὥσπερ ἐν χειμώνι καὶ ζάλη τῶν κυβερνησόντων, 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 μειράκιων means a boy of fourteen or fifteen. Would ἀποβαίνοντα, unless 354
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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 Consiptrt Fathers, that the children and wives of the proscribed should be pardoned: but what I ask of you is that you should shield all accomplices of Cassius among the Senators or Knights, from death, proscription, apprehension, degradation, hatred, and in fact from all injury, and grant this glory to my reign, that in a rebellion against the throne death should overtake only those who have fallen in the revolt."

The Last Words of Marcus.

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

"That you should be grieved at seeing me in this state is not surprising, for it is natural to mankind to pity the misfortunes of their kinsfolk, and the calamities which fall under our own eyes call forth greater compassion. But I think that something even more will be forthcoming from you to me; for the consciousness of my feelings towards you has led me to hope for a recompense of goodwill from you. But now the time is well-timed both for me to learn that I have not lavished love and esteem upon you in vain for all these years, and for you by showing your gratitude to prove that you are not unmindful of the benefits you have received. You see here my son, whose bringing-up has been in your own hands, just embarking upon the age of manhood and, like a ship amid storm and breakers, in need of those who shall guide the helm, lest in his want of experience of the right course it clashes with the metaphor that follows, meet the difficulty?"
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άτελούς τής τῶν δεόντων ἐμπειρίας 1 ἐς φαύλα ἐπιτηδεύματα προσαρακῆ. γένεσθε δὴ οὖν αὐτῷ ὑμεῖς ἀνθ' ἐνὸς ἐμοῦ πατέρες πολλοὶ, περιέποντες τε καὶ τὰ ἀρίστα συμβουλεύοντες. οὔτε γὰρ χρημάτων πλῆθος οὐδὲν αὐταρκεῖ πρὸς τυραννίδος ἀκραίαν, οὔτε δορυφόρων φρονήματα ἰκανή βύσμαθαι τῶν ἀρχων, εἰ μὴ προὔπάρχη ἡ τῶν ὑπηκόων εὔνοια. μάλιστα δὲ ἐκεῖνοι ἐς ἀρχής μὴκος ἀκινδύνως ἠλασαν, 2 δοσὺ μὴ φόβον ἐξ ὦμότητος, πόθον δὲ τῆς αὐτῶν χρηστότητος ταῖς τῶν ἀρχομένων ψυχαῖς ἐνέσταξαν. οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἐξ ἀνάγκης δουλεύοντες ἀλλ' οἱ μετὰ πειθοὺς ὑπακούοντες ἀνύποπτοι καὶ ἔξω κοιλακείας προσποιήτου δρῶτες τε καὶ πάσχοντες διατελοῦσιν, καὶ οὐδὲ ποτε ἄφηναζον, ἂν μὴ βία καὶ ὑβρεὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἀχθωσι. χαλεπῶν δὲ μετρίσασι τε καὶ ορὸν ἐπιθεῖναι ἐπιθυμιάς ὑπηρετοῦσις ἐξουσίας. τοιαύτα δὴ συμβουλεύοντες αὐτῷ, καὶ δὲν ἀκούει παρὼν ὑπομνήσκοντες, ὑμῖν τε αὐτοῖς καὶ πάσιν ἀριστον ἀποδείξετε βασιλεά, τῇ τε ἐμὴ μνήμῃ χαριεῖσθε τὰ μέγιστα, οὗτο τε μόνων αἰδίων 3 αὐτὴν ποίησαι δυνήσεσθε."—Herodian, i. 4, § 2.

1 Dio (72. 1. 1) says Commodus was by nature ἄκακος, but from too great ἀπλότης (cp. 71. 22. 3) and cowardly easily influenced by his entourage, and was thus by ignorance led into bad ways. See also Julian, Conviv. 429. 14.


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THE SPEECHES OF MARCUS

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 sovranity 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, τι δὲ καὶ έστιν διός τὸ δείμνηστον; διόν 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.

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\(^1\) 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.
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(1) Capit. iv. 7.

Post hoc patrimonium paternum sorori 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) Capit. v. 3, 4.

Ubi autem comperit se ab Hadriano adoptatum, magis est deterritus quam laetatus, iussusque in Hadriani privatam domum migrare invitus de maternis hortis recessit. Cumque ab eo domestici quae rerent, cur tristis in adoptionem regiam transiret, disputavit "quae mala in se contineret imperium.”

(3) Capit. xxvii. 7.

Sententia Platonis semper in ore illius fuit, "Florere civitates, si aut philosophi imperarent aut imperantes philosopharentur.”

(4) Dio 71. 34, § 4 = Suidas sub voce Márkos.

Ei μέν τις χρηστόν τι ἐπρατεν, ἐπήνει καὶ ἔχρητο ἐς ἐκεῖνο αὐτῷ, τῶν δὲ ἕτερων οὐ προσεποιεῖτο, λέγων ὅτι "ποιήσαι μέν

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.

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(1)

After this\(^1\) 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 sovereign 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

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\(^1\) 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: Ἡφη ποιον καὶ τις τῶν παλαιῶν ἄν μὴ οἱ ἄρχοντες φιλοσοφήσωσι καὶ οἱ ἄρχόμενοι, οὐκ ἄν εἰς τὰς πόλεις εἰδομοινήσαι.
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των ἀνθρώπων ὑπολογεῖται ἔχειν ἄνωντὸν ἔστι,1 τοῖς δὲ δὴ οὖσι προσήκει, ἐστὶ τι ἂν τις αὐτῶν τῷ κοινῷ χρήσιμος ἢ, χρήσθαι."

(5) Capit. xxii. 3, 4.

Semper cum optimatibus non solum bellicas res sed etiam civiles, priesquam faceret aliquid, contulit. Denique sententia illius praecepua semper haec fuit: "Aequius est, ut ego tot talium amicorum2 consilium sequare, quam ut tot tales amici meam unius voluntatem sequantur."

(6) Dio, 71. 29, § 3.

Ὠτῶ γε πόρρω παντὸς φόνου καθεστήκει ὡστε καὶ λεωτά τινα δεδιδασαμένον ἀνθρώπους ἐσθίεις ἐκέλευσε μὲν ἐπαχθήναι αἰτησαμένου τοῦ δήμου, οὔτε δὲ ἐκείνον εἰδὲν οὔτε τὸν διδάσκαλον αὐτοῦ ἡλευθέρωσε, καίπερ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγκεκριμένων οἱ, ἄλλα καὶ θρυπτικὴν προσέταξεν ὅτι "οὐδὲν ἄξιον ἡλευθερίας πεποίηκεν."3

(7) Capit. xix. 8.

De qua (sc. Faustina) cum diceretur Antonino Marco, ut eam repudiaret, si non occideret, dixisse furtur: "Si

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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.*

(6)

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

(7)

When it was said to Marcus Antoninus of his wife, that he should divorce her, if he did not slay her, he is reported to have said, *If we dismiss the wife, let us also*

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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 *amicis.* 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 habeatur nisi imperium, quod ille ab sœro volente Hadiano 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 debere putat, non per iudicem reposcit. Non puto autem nec verecundiae nec dignitati nec pietati tuae convenire quicquam non iure facere."

(9) Galen, xiv. 658 (Kühn).

Τῷ δὲ Πειθολάφῳ εἶπεν "ιατρῶν ἔχειν ἐνα καὶ τοῦτον ἔλευθερον," πάντες διέτελε τε περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγων ἀλή "τὸν μὲν ιατρὸν πρῶτον <με> εἶναι τῶν δὲ φιλοσοφῶν μόνων."


Καίτοι δὲ ἵσχυροτάτου ἁγάτως καὶ λαμπρᾶς νίκης γεγενεμένης, ὅμως ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ αἰτήθησα παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὐκ ἠδοκε χρήματα, αὐτὸ τούτο εἰπὼν ὅτι "ὅσοι ἀν πλεῖον παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκός λάβωσιν, τούτο ἐκ τοῦ αἰματος τῶν τε γονέων σφών καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν ἐσπεπράξεταί. περὶ γὰρ 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 shown 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.
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θεὸς μόνον κρίνειν δύναται. 1 οὕτω καὶ σωφρόνως καὶ ἐγκρατῶς αὐτῶν ἥρχεν δοστε, καίπερ ἐν τοσοῦτοι καὶ τηλικοῦτοι πολέμοις δυν, μηδὲν ἔξω τοῦ προσηκοντος μητ' ἐκ κολακείας εἰπεῖν μητ' ἐκ φοβοῦ ποιησαί. 2

(11) Philostratus, Vit. Soph. ii. 1, p. 242, Kather.

'Υπὸ τούτοῦ δὴ τοῦ πάθους ἔκφρων ὁ Ἡρώδης ἐγένετο καὶ παρήλθεν ἐσ τὸ βασιλείον δικαστήριον 3 οὕτε ἐννοοῦ καὶ θανάτου ἐρῶν. παρελθὼν γὰρ καθίστατο ἐς διαβολάς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος οὐδὲ σχηματίσας τὸν λόγον, ὅς εἰκὸς ἦν ἄνδρα γεγυμνασμένον τῇ τοιούτῳ ἱδέᾳς μεταχειρίσασθαι τὴν ἀνατού χολήν, ἀλλ' ἀπήκοιμησάμεν τῇ γλώττῃ καὶ γυμνῆ διετέινοτε λέγων "ταύτα μοι ἡ δουκίνη εξείνε, δυ σο μοι ἔπεμψας δὲν δικαίες, γυναικὲς καὶ τριετεί παυδίω καταχαριζόμενος." Βασσαίον δὲ τοῦ πεπετευμένου τὸ ἔξος βάναυστον αὐτῷ φήσας τὸ Ἡρώδης "ό λῶστε," ἐφη, "γέρων ὅλιγα φοβεῖται," ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀπῆλθε τοῦ δικαστηρίου εἰπών ταύτα καὶ μετέφερον καταλεύσας πολὺ τοῦ ὑδάτος, 4 ἡμεῖς δὲ τῶν ἐπιδήλως τὸ Μάρκιον φιλοσοφήθεντων καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν δίκην ταύτην ἡγόμεθα οὐ γὰρ ἐξυήλιγαι.

1 The other version has: τὸ δὲ κράτος τῆς αὐταρχίας οὐκ ἐν τοῖς στρατιῶταις ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ θεῷ κεῖται.

2 cp. Aristides (Ad Reg. § 116, Jebb.): καὶ μὴν τὰ μὲν πρὸς πολέμους ἀνδρόμενοι πολλοὶ ὑπηρέτει γενέσθαι, ὥστε δὲ τῶν σφητέρων στρατιωτῶν αὐτῶν ἐρχεῖσαν μᾶλλον ἡ κρατεῖν ὁ δὲ οὕτω βαθύς ἐκράτησε καὶ κατεστήσατο, διότι πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἀπείρων ὄντων τῶν δεδομένων αὐτῶν, χαλέπων δὲ καὶ φοβηρῶν εἰ μὴ τοσαῦτα λαμβάνειν, οὐκ ἐπηύχησε (MS ἐπηύξε) 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.
THE SAYINGS OF MARCUS

indeed of his sovrantry 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 calamity ² and came up to the Emperor’s seat of judgment no longer in his right mind and in love with death. For coming forward he set himself to rail at the Emperor, and without measuring his words or keeping his anger in hand, as might have been expected from one who was practised in speaking, but in defiant and unbridled language he gave vent to his passion, saying “This is all that comes of my friendship with Lucius,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

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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 Alcimédon.
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.
(12) Themistius, Orat. 15. 191b.

'Αυτωνίφ τω 'Ρωμαίων αυτοκράτορι, ὡ τούτῳ αὐτῷ ἐπώνυμον "ὁ Εὐσεβὴς" ἦν, ὡς τοῦ στρατεύματος ὑπὸ δίψους [αὐτῷ] πιεσμένου, ἀνασχῶν τῷ χείρι ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν "ταύτη" ἔφη "τῇ χειρὶ προὐστρεφάμην σε καὶ ἴδετε τὸν ζωῆς δοτῆρα, ἢ ζωῆν οὐκ ἄφελόμην." καὶ οὕτω κατήθεσε τὸν θεόν τῇ εὐχὴ ὅστε ἐξ αἰθρίας ἥκουν νεφέλαι υδροφοροῦσαι τοῖς στρατιώταις.

1 Perhaps ἐγκλησεως.
2 This was the peculiar cognomens 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 inertiorem inveni.”


"Οτι παρασκευαζομένου τοῦ Μάρκου εἰς τὸν κατὰ Κασσίου πόλεμος οὐδεμίαν βαρβαρικήν συμμαχίαν ἐδέξατο καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς συνδραμόντων αὐτῷ, λέγων „μὴ χρήναι τοῖς βαρβάροις εἰδέναι τὰ μεταξὺ Ῥωμαίων κυνοῦμεν κακά.”


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 adeptus atque onnes, quos conscios tyrannidis repperisset, adidente illo qui reprehendebat "Quid si ille vicisset?" dixisse dicitur: "Non sic deos colimus nec sic vivimus, ut ille nos vincere." 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 inertiorem. Suggested emendations are inquietiores, ineptiores.
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, O Marcionni, O Quadi, O Sarmatians, at length have I found others more useless 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 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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eruisse Neronem, debuisse Caligulam, Othonem et Vitellium non imperare voluisse."1 Etiam de Galba paria sentiebat, cum diceret "in imperatore avaritiam esse acerbissinum malum. Denique non Augustum, non Traianum, non Hadrianum, non patrem suum a rebellibus potuisse superari, cum et multi fuerint et ipsis vel invitis 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.

Οἰκιστήν δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀριστείδην τῆς Σμύρνης εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἀλάζων ἐπαινοὺς ἀλλὰ δικαιοστάτος τε καὶ ἀληθέστατος. τὴν γὰρ πόλιν ταύτην ἀφαιρεθεῖσαν ὑπὸ σεῖσμον τε καὶ χασμάτων οὖτω τι ὁλοφύρατο πρὸς τὸν Μάρκον, ὡς τῇ μὲν ἀλλή μονωδίᾳ θαμὰ ἐπιστενάξαι τὸν βασιλέα, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ "ζέφυροι δὲ ἐρήμην καταπνέουσι" καὶ δάκτων τῷ βιβλίῳ ἐπισταξάαι τὸν βασιλέα, ἐνυοικίαν τε τῇ πόλει ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Ἀριστείδου ἐνδοσίμων3 νεύσαν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ καὶ ἐυγγεγούνως ἤδη τῷ Μάρκῳ ὁ Ἀριστείδης ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ, ὡς γὰρ τοῦ Ἐφεσίου Δαμιανοῦ ἤκουσαν, ἐπεδήμης μὲν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἤδη τῇ Σμύρνῃ τρίτην ἡμέραν, τῶν δὲ Ἀριστείδην οὕτω γεγυγόσκοιν ἤρετο τοὺς Κυντιλίους μὴ ἐν τῷ τῶν ἀσπαζόμενων ὀμίλῳ παρεραμένοις αὐτῷ ὁ ἄνηρ ἔη,

1 Should be debuisse 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 Lit. to the tune set by Aristides.
THE SAYINGS OF MARCUS

deserved, Caligula had earned his death, Otho and Vitellius ought never to have reigned. His opinion of Galba was similar, for he remarked that in an Emperor avarice 1 was the most hateful of faults. In a word, rebels had never been able to overcome either Augustus or Trajan or Hadrian or his own father, for many as they were, they had been crushed against the wish or without the knowledge of the reigning Emperor. Antoninus himself, however, besought the Senate not to proceed with severity against accomplices in the rebellion, asking at the same time that no Senator should in his reign be punished with death; and this won for him the love of all.

(16)

It is no flatterer's praise but the truest and most just to call Aristides the founder of Smyrna. For he made so moving a lament to Marcus over the utter destruction of this city by earthquakes and openings in the ground, that over the rest of the mournful tale the Emperor sighed repeatedly, but at the "breezes blowing over a city of desolation" he even let tears fall upon the writing, and granted the restoration of the city in accordance with the suggestions of Aristides. It chanced also that Aristides had already made the acquaintance of Marcus in Ionia, for when they were attending the lectures of the Athenian Damianus, the Emperor who had already been three days in Smyrna, not yet knowing Aristides personally, requested the Quintilii 2 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 avaritiae famam de qua se multis epistulis purgat.
Dio, after speaking of his liberality and public benefactions, says (71. 32, § 3): ἀφ' οὗτος 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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(17) Dio, 71. 32, § 1 = Fragm. Dind. v. p. 207.

Ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον διαλεγόμενος, ἐπειδὴ μεταξὺ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τὰ τέ ἄλλα καὶ ὅτι πολλοὶ έτεσιν ἀποδεδημηκὼς ἦν, ἀνεβάζεσαν "ὅκτω," καὶ τούτῳ καὶ ταῖς χερεῖν, ἵνα δὴ καὶ χρυσοὺς τοσοῦτον ἐς τὸ δείπνοιν1 λάβωσι, προσευδείξαντο, διεμείδιασα καὶ ἔφη καὶ αὐτὸς "ὅκτῳ," καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνὰ διακοσίας δραχμᾶς αὐτοῖς κατένευμεν, ὅσον οὕτω πρότερον εἰλήφεσαν.

(18) Dio, 71. 33, § 2.

"Ο δὲ Μάρκος καὶ χρήματα ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου2 ἤτησε τὴν βουλὴν οὐχ ὅτι μὴ ἐκεῖνο ἔπει τῇ τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἐξουσία, 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 fascia.

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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 acting as body-guard to Aristides, and the Emperor addressing him said, *Why have you been so slow in letting me see you?* And Aristides said, "A professional problem, O King, occupied me, and the mind, when so engaged, must not be detached from the prosecution of its enquiry." The Emperor, charmed by the man's character, his extreme naïveté and studiousness, said, *When shall I hear you?* And Aristides replied, "Suggest a subject to-day and hear me to-morrow; for I am not of those who 'throw up' what is in their minds but of those who speak with precision. But grant, O King, that my pupils also may be present at the hearing." *Certainly,* said Marcus, *they may, for it is free to all.* And on Aristides saying, "Permit them, O King, to cheer and applaud as loud as they can," the Emperor smiling said, *That depends on yourself.*

(17)

On his return to Rome, when, in addressing the people, he mentioned among other things that he had been absent many years, they shouted "Eight," 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 drachmas ² 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

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¹ From 169 to 176 A.D.
² Seven or eight pounds, the denarius aureus being = 25 silver denarii.
MARCUS AURELIUS

οὗτος Μάρκος πάντα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ τὰλλα ἔλεγεν εἶναι: ἡμεῖς γὰρ, ἔφη πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν λέγων,1 "οὕτως οὐδὲν ἴδιον ἔχομεν ὡστε καὶ ἐν τῇ ὕμετέρᾳ οἰκίᾳ ὁικοῦμεν."

(19) Philostratus, Vit. Soph. ii. 9, p. 24α Kays.

Δοῦκιον τούτου κάκεινα βανμάσιον. ἵσπούδαξε μὲν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ Μάρκος περὶ Σέξτον τὸν ἐκ Βουλιαίας φιλόσοφον, θαμίζων αὐτῷ καὶ φοιτῶν ἐπὶ θύρας, ἀρτι δὲ ἤκους ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὁ Δούκιος ἤρετο τὸν αὐτοκράτορα προσώπου, ποὺ βαδίζει καὶ ἐφ᾽ ὃ τι, καὶ ὁ Μάρκος "καλῶν" ἔφη "καὶ γηράσκεται τὸ μανθάνει τί; εἴμι δὴ πρὸς Σέξτον τὸν φιλόσοφον μαθησόμενος, οὕτως οἴδα." καὶ ὁ Δούκιος ἐξάρας τὴν χείρα ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν, "Ὡς Ζεῦ," ἔφη, "ὁ Ῥωμαιῶν βασιλεὺς γηράσκων ἦδη δέλτον ἔξαφάμενος 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 petiiit 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 ἐν μὴ αἰδεῖσθαι ἐς διδασκάλου φοιτῶν, ἄλλα καὶ Σέξτῳ προσιέμεται τῷ ἐκ Βουλιαίας φιλόσοφῳ καὶ ἐς ἀκράσιαν τῶν ῥητορικῶν Ἁρμογένους λόγων μὴ δικνήσας 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 \textit{We}, he said, speaking to the Senate so far from having anything of our own, even live in a house that is yours.\footnote{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.}

\begin{itemize}
\item (19)
\item Of this Lucius\footnote{A philosopher friend of Herodes Atticus.} another surprising story is told. The Emperor Marcus was an eager disciple of Sextus the Boeotian philosopher,\footnote{Sextus was grandson of Plutarch and a teacher of Marcus; see \textit{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, \textit{Orat.} xi. 145b.} 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, \textit{It is good even for an old man to learn;}\footnote{In this he was in the good company of our own great Alfred. \textit{cp.} also Seneca, \textit{Ep.} 76: tamdiu discendum est, quamdiu nescias; Solon, \textit{Fragm.} 8. Bergk, \gamma\nu\pi\alpha\nu\kappa\kappa\omicron\nu\nu 8' \alpha\epsilon\iota\nu \pi\omicron\lambda\alpha\delta\iota\delta\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\omicron\omicron\nu\nu\nu\nu.} \textit{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."}
\item (20)
\item When he began to sicken, he sent for his son, and at first besought him not to neglect the relics of the war,\footnote{The parallel with our Edward II. is very close.}
\end{itemize}
MARCUS AURELIUS

videretur rem publicam prodere. Et cum filius ei respondisset cupere se primum sanitatem, ut vellet permisit 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 fretis et non magis de pestilentia et communi morte cogitatis?" Et cum illi vellent recedere, ingemiscens ait, "Si iam me dimittis, vale vobis dico vos praecedens." Et cum ab eo quaeeretur, cui filium commendaret, ille respondit: "Vobis, si dignus fuerit, et dis immortalibus." Septimo die gravatus est et solum filium admissit. Quem statim dimisit, ne in eum morbus transiret. Dimisso filio caput operuit quasi volens dormire sed nocte animam efflavit.


'Ενώσησε σφόδρα ὁ Μάρκος, ὡστε ἄλγας ἐλπίδας ἐπὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἔχειν καὶ πολλάκις ἐν τῇ νόσῳ ἐπεφώνει τὸ τῆς τραγῳδίας ἱαμβείον,

"τουαῦτα τλήμων πόλεμος ἐξεργάζεται." ¹

(21b) Dio 71. 53, § 4.

Μὴλλων σὸν ἀποθνῄσκειν τῷ χιλιάρχῳ τὸ σύνθημα αἰτοῦντι ἔφη, "ἄπελθε πρὸς τὸν ἀνατέλλοντα, ἕγω γὰρ δύομαι."

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

(21a)

When Marcus was seriously ill, so as to have little hope of recovery, he would often cry out in his illness this verse from the tragedy,

*Such is war’s disastrous work.*

(21b)

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

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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 irascabatur, locutus est* (Capit. Vit. Pii, xii. 8). Napoleon’s last words were *tête d’armée.*
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. Lemercier (Les Pensées de Marc-Aurèle, Introd. p. viii. note 2) quotes with approval E. Havet's similar interpretation. Suidas glosses παράταξις with πόλεμος ἐμπαράσκευος.
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it do nothing that it doth not will, even if it refuse from mere unreasoning opposition (κἀν ἀλόγως παρατιθέναι)." Here the word is used in exactly the same connexion as in xi. 3, and by no means in a sense entirely condemnatory. It seems to me quite possible that the Emperor may have had the Christians in mind here as well as in xi. 3. Conduct such as that of the Christians was precisely what Marcus is never tired of recommending, viz., not under any compulsion to transgress the demands of the ruling Reason, and if it were found impossible to act up to the standard of right set by the conscience (τὸ ἑυθείαν ἱδρύμενον) 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 Χρυστιανοὶ, as here inserted, we see that it is outside the construction, and in fact ungrammatical. It is in the very form of a marginal note, and has every appearance of being a gloss foisted into the text. But even if the words be omitted, Marcus may still have had the

1 He says (viii. 41) that 'nothing can overbear this Reason, not steel, nor tyrant, nor obloquy.'
2 I see Lemercier holds the same view.

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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 execute 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).
MARCUS AURELIUS

their country, and those who do their (evil) work behind closed doors." Now all these three were the stock charges against Christians, and who can doubt they are hinted at here? Lastly there is the reference to exorcism (i. 6), in which Marcus says that Diognetus taught him to disbelieve.

As a matter of fact, Marcus has been condemned as a persecutor of the Christians on purely circumstantial and quite insufficient grounds. The general testimony of contemporary Christian writers is against the supposition. So is the known character of Marcus. His distinguishing characteristic, in which he excelled all recorded rulers, was humanity. His φιλανθρωπία is mentioned by Galen, Dio, Philostratus, Athenagoras (twice), Melito, and Aristides (eleven times); and his humanitas by the eminent jurist Callistratus. As soon could Alexander have turned his back in the day of battle as Marcus shown cruelty to his subjects, however lowly. "Never," says Marcus in the eighth book of his self-communings, "have I willingly injured another," and Themistius (Orat. 15) records how, when penned in by his enemies in a new Caudine Forks, he raised his hands to Heaven and cried, "With this hand wherewith I have shed no blood, I appeal to Thee and beseech the Giver of life."

He had a passion for justice, and was most scrupulous in his observance of law, as Papinian, the greatest of jurists, has told us. That he should have encouraged mob-violence against unoffending persons, ordered the torture of innocent women and boys, and violated the rights of citizenship in his insensate fury, is as inconceivable as that St. Louis should have broken the Christian law or become a Mohammedan. That some Christians suffered for their religion in the reign of Marcus is most

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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.

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probable, though there is perhaps no single martyrdom attributed to this period of which the date is certain beyond cavil. That there was in any sense a general persecution of the Christians at this time is contrary to all the facts. There were numbers of them in Rome itself, with a Bishop at their head. There were actually Christians in the Emperor’s household and probably (e.g. Apollonius) in the Senate itself. Of all these Roman Christians we only hear of Justin and his six companions being martyred, one of them being a slave of the Emperor. Other Christian slaves in the royal household survived him. If he wished to put down Christianity, why did he not begin with his own palace and with Rome?

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

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, Ancien Rome 122) dates from this reign.

3 Melito says distinctly σοῦ τὰ συμπάντα διοικοῦντος αὐτῷ, Euseb. iv. 26. 10 (? πάντα συνδιοικοῦντος).
Ἀμφώνιον πρὸς τὸ Κοίνῳ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπιστολὴ (περὶ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγου).

(Eusebius, iv. 13 = Nicephorus iii. 28; cp. Justin. 
Ἀπολ. i. ad fin.)

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀμφώνιος Σεβαστὸς [Ἀρμένιος] ἀρχιερέας μέγαςτος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ πέμπτον καὶ τὸ δέκατον, ὅπατο τὸ τρίτον, τῷ Κοίνῳ τῆς Ἀσίας χαίρειν. 1

Ἐγὼ μὲν οἶδα 2 ὃτι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιμελέσας ἐστι μὴ λανθάνειν τοὺς τοιούτους. πολὺ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐκείνοι κολάσαις 3 ἅν τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους αὐτοὺς προσκυνεῖν ἢ ύμείς. οὐς εἰς ταραχὴν ἐμβάλλετε, βεβαιοῦντες τὴν γνώμην αὐτῶν ἤπειρ ἔχουσιν, ὅσ αὖθεν κατηγοροῦντες. 4 εἰς δὲ ἀν κακείνους αἴρετον τὸ δοκεῖν κατηγορομένους τεθάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ἔθνε ποὺ καὶ οἰκεῖον θεοῦ. 5 ὅθεν καὶ νικῶσι, προελθοῦν τὰς ἡματῶν ψυχὰς, ἢπερ πειθόμενοι οὐς ἄξιοῦτε πράττειν αὐτοὺς. περὶ δὲ τῶν σεισμῶν τῶν γηγονότων καὶ γυνομένων οὐκ ἄκοπον ὑμᾶς ὑπομνήσας, ἀδυμοῦντας μὲν ὅταν πρὸς δόσιν, παραβάλλοντας δὲ 6 τὰ ἡμέτερα πρὸς τὰ.

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1 The version in Justin at the end of Ἀπολ. i. has the following heading: Αὐτοκ. Καίσ. Τίτος Ἄλκι αὐτοῦ Ἐρίκ. Ἐυσεβῆς, ἀρχ. μέγ. ὅμορ. ἐξ., ὅπατο τὸ πτ', πατρὶ πατριᾶς τὸ κα' κ.τ.λ. The dates are out of place and obviously absurd; πτ' = 84 and κα' = 21. Altered to κδ' and δ' respectively and placed after ἐξουσίας and ὅπατο they would give the date 161.

2 φιλή στοι. 3 εἰς κακείνους κολάσαις, εἴπερ δύνατον J. 4 οίς ταραχὴν ἐμβ., καὶ τὴν... κατηγορεῖτε <καὶ ἐπερά τινα ἐμβάλλετε, ἀτιν δῶνυμεθα ἀποδεικαίνει> J. 5 These last seven words omitted J. 6 οὐκ εἰκὸς ὑπομνήσαι ὑμᾶς δόσιν, δα. π. ὅσιν, παραβάλλοντας τὰ ὑμ. κ.τ.λ. J.

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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 [Armenius⁴] 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 be thought to be accused and die for their own God than live. Consequently they even come off victorious, giving up their lives rather than comply with your demands. And with respect to the past and present earthquakes⁶ it is not amiss to remind you of them, despondent as you are whenever they occur and yet for ever contrasting your belief and conduct with theirs.

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.

³ The beginning of the rescript is apparently lost. cp. for the opening words the deorum iniuriae 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. 2 (A.D. 162).
Marcus Aurelius

ἐκεῖνων. οἱ μὲν οὖν εὐπαρρησιαστότεροι γίνονται πρὸς τὸν θεὸν, ὑμεῖς δὲ ¹ παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον καθ' ὅν ἄγνωσὶν δοκεῖτε, τῶν τε θεῶν (καὶ) τῶν ἄλλων ἀμελεῖτε, καὶ τῆς θηρσείας τῆς περὶ τῶν ἄθανατων, ὅτι τῶν Χριστιανῶν θηρσεύονται ἑλαύνετε καὶ διάκειτε ἦς θανάτου.²

Ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων, ἣδη καὶ πολλοὶ ³ τῶν περίτης ἐπαρχίας ἠγεμόνων καὶ τῆς θειοτάτης ἡμῶν ἔγραψαν πατρί· οίς καὶ ἀντέγραψε μηδὲν ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς τοιούτοις, εἰ μὴ φαίνουσιν τῇ περὶ ⁴ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν ἐγχειροῦντες. καὶ έροι δὲ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων πολλοὶ ἔσημαν, οἴς δὴ καὶ ἀντέγραψα κατακολούθων τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς γνώμῃ. εἰ δὲ τις ἐπιμένει τινά τῶν τοιούτων εἰς πράγματα φέρων ὡς δὴ τοιούτοι, ⁵ ἐκείνος ὁ καταφέρομεν ἀπολελύσθω τοῦ ἐγκλήματος καὶ ἐὰν φαίνηται τοιούτος ὅν, δὲ καταφέρων ἐνοχος ἐσται δίκης.⁶

προετέθη ἐν 'Ἐφέσῳ ἐν τῷ Κοινῷ τῆς 'Ἀσίας.

¹ Here Harnack supplies διτ. ² δι το εὐπαρρησιαστότεροι. ³ δι το οὖν μὲν ἄγνωσίν δοκείτε παρ᾽ ἐκείνον τῇ χρόνῳ τῶν θεών, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀμελεῖτε, καὶ τῆς θηρσείας τῆς περὶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν πατρὸς γνώμης. ⁴ δι τὴν πατρὸς γνώμην ἐπιστασθῇ. ⁵ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄλλων ἐκείνων ἑλαύνετε καὶ διάκειτε. ⁶ καὶ διάκειτε τοσὶν without δὲ. ⁷ ἔπληκτον J. ⁸ The parts underlined are those which Harnack (Texte und Untersuch. z. Gesch. der Alt-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, whose worshippers, the Christians, you in fact harass and persecute to the death.

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

Published at Ephesus in the Common Assembly of Asia.

1 Harnack thinks Δια should be supplied and for the following five words substitutes ἐνεινος δι.

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 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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Demetrius, the Platonist (for whom, and not to his credit, see Lucian, Calumn., viii. 25. But Arethas refers to this passage in a note on Lucian, De Sall. 63, where the Demetrius spoken of is the Cynic, the friend of Thrasea (cp. also, Lucian, Demon. 3; Adv. Ind. 19). Consequently ὁ Πλατωνικός would seem to be an error for Κυκλικός; of Phalereum, the distinguished orator, statesman, and philosopher of Athens, circa 300, ix. 29, but Schenkl obelizes ὁ Φαληρεύς

Democrates, a Pythagorean philosopher, from whom is taken (so Prof. Schenkl in loc.) the quotation, “The Universe is transformation, and Life is opinion,” iv. 3
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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', 'we,' XI. 26 (by emendation ἐπικουρείων for ἐπικουρίων)

Eplthynchanus, possibly one of Hadrian's clients, viii. 26

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, Bellerophon (Frag. 289 Dind. VII. 38; XI. 6; Hypsipyle (Frag. 757 D.) VII. 40; XI. 6; Antiope (Frag. 207 D.), VII. 41; XI. 6; Chryssippus (Frag. 836 D.), VII. 50; Supplices (I. 1110), VII. 51; unknown πλαύς (Frag. 890, 1007, Dind.), X. 21; VII. 42 or Aristophanes q.e. xii. 26

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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" over II. 3; theory they deem strange, iv. 46; "to think on great men" (?from Heracl.), XI. 26

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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 (II. 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 Nixia, Od. XI. but see Menippus), IX. 24

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Lanuvium, on the Appian Way, where Plu 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

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Lorium, a villa of Plu on the Via Aurella, where he died 7 March, 161, I. 16, § 8

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Lucian, possibly referred to in "Menippus and others like him," VI. 47

Lupus, Lusius, unknown, possibly a mistake for L. Licinius Lucullus, the conqueror of Mithridates, whose luxurious gardens and villas were well-known, XII. 27

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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, I. 15; his illness, i. 16 ad fin.;
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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 Nekyia 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.e.) on Luc. Pisc. 26, refers to this passage of Marcus

Monimus, a Cynic and pupil of Diogenes, quoted from Menander (q.e.), “all opinion is vanity,” ii. 15

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Origen, unknown, lately dead, vi. 47

Panthéla, the concubine of Lucius Verus, and mentioned as watching his tomb (urn). The writer of the dialogues Imagines and Pŏn Imaginatius (attributed to Lucian) speaks in very high terms of her beauty and character, viii. 37

Pergamus, a freeman or favourite of Lucius Verus, viii. 37

Perdicas, king of Macedonia (probably a mistake for Archelaus) in connection with Socrates, xi. 25

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Phalerus, see Demetrius, ix. 29

Philip, King of Macedon, mentioned with Alexander and Demetrius of Phalerum, ix. 29; with Alexander and Croesus, x. 27

Philastrion, unknown, lately dead, vi. 47

Philocleon, the great Athenian, anecdote of (ep. Musonius Rufus, p. 55, ed. Hense), xi. 13

Phoebus, unknown, lately dead, vi. 47

Pindar, quoted (from Plato, q.e.), “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 (Theaet. 173 E.), ii. 13; wise man in city like shepherd on the hills (Theaet. 174 D.), x. 25; 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

Pompeii, destroyed by Vesuvius, 79 A.D., iv. 48

Pompelius, named with Caesar and Alexander, iii. 8; 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. vii. ver., vi. 2

Pythagoras, named with Heraclitus and Socrates, vii. 47; tenet quoted, “the stars in their courses,” xi. 27

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 inearly repeated the exploit of Arminius in the so-called “miraculous victory” in 174 (or, as Domazewski, 171), pp. 369, 371

Quotations from unknown authors, see Anonymous
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Rome, vi. 44
Rufus, see Vellus
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 Epicetetus, l. 7, 17, § 4; M. sometimes offended with, l. 17, § 6

Salaminian, 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 his 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 (? Farilla). But he seems to have been a philosopher and is possibly identical with the Peripatetic philosopher Severus (Capit. VII. Mar., III. 3), mentioned, x. 31. Marcus was himself at one time called Severus, Capit. i. 9, epl. Galen, vii. 478 Kühn
Severus, Catilius, paternal great-grandfather of Marcus, who expected to succeed Hadrian, l. 4
Sextus of Chaeronea, a Stoic philosopher, grandson of Plutarch, l. 9. Marcus made him his assessors on the bench (so Suidas) and attended his lectures late in life (Philost. VII. 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. 17), ii. 15
Silvanus, an unknown philosopher of a previous age, x. 51
Sinausia, 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 Epicetetus, vii. 19; public acts and character, vii. 66; conduct with Xanthippe, xi. 28; his self-control (from Xenophon, q.v.), i. 16, ad. fin.; his trial, vii. 44, 45; killed by (human) vermin, iii. 3; quoted (from Epicetetus, q.v.) on the notions of the vulgar, xi. 23; (?) from Epicetetus, q.v.) on rational souls, xi. 39; (from Plato, q.v.) on a soul freed from sense-impressions, iii. 6
Socrates, an unknown philosopher of previous times, x. 31
Sophocles, quoted from Epicetetus (Oed. Rex, 1391), xi. 6
Spartans, courtesy to strangers, xi. 24
Stertinius of Biaia, xii. 27. Possibly the rich physician of Naples, Pliny, N.H., xxix. 5
Stoics, facts of the Universe unintelligible even to, v. 10
Taudasis, an unknown philosopher, i. 6
Telauges, son of Pythagoras and Theano (see Diog. Laert. Pyth. xxii. 26), vii. 66
Theodorus, a freedman or minon 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
Tropæophorus, unknown philosopher of a previous age, x. 31
Tusculum, now Frascati, in Latium, i. 16

Valerius, see Volesus
Vellius Rufus, unknown, xii. 27
Verus, M. Annius, grandfather of Marcus, i. 1; i. 17, § 1; ix. 21
Verus, Annius, father of Marcus, i. 2, v. 4, 13, 31; viii. 25; ix. 21
Verus, Lucius Aurelius, adopted brother and son-in-law of Marcus, i. 17, § 4; viii. 37. See also pp. 367, 387
Volesus, or Volesus, undoubtedly P. Valerius Volusii filius Poplicola, the hero of the first years of the Republic, descended from the Sabine chief Volesus (Sill. Ital. ii. 8), iv. 33

Xanthippe, the shrewish wife of Socrates, xi. 28
Xenocrates, a Platonist philosopher from Chalcedon, vi. 13. See Crates
Xenophon, perhaps quotation from (Mém. i. 3, 15), i. 16, § 9, x. 31
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ἀδιάφορα (=
υέσσα), V. 20; VI. 32, 41, 45; VII. 31; VIII. 56; XI. 16; things indifferent, i.e. neither good nor bad = (1) things absolutely 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 Eloq. Nab. p. 143

ἀέρωδες, το, IV. 4, 21; VIII. 54; IX. 9; X. 7, § 2. From a comparison of these we get τὸ στερεωμένον = τὸ γεώδες (earth), τὸ ύδρων (water), τὸ πνευματικὸν = τὸ ἀέρωδες (X. 7, § 2, the spiritual or pneumatic into airy or aerial), τὸ πυρώδες (fire) = τὸ νεφέλον, cp. XI. 20

αἰτία, το, τάσιμον, τά αἰτιώδες (see Seneca, Ep. 65), the Causal, Formal, or Formative Principle which makes a thing what it is, contrasted with ὄλη (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, ἀκαταληπθή, impossibility 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 successors said similar things. Epictetus stoutly maintains the contrary.

ἀκηνωτής, one who selfishly disregards the common interests and cuts himself adrift from his fellows, II. 1, 2; III. 5; VIII. 34; X. 6; XI. 18 ad fin.; XII. 23

ἀνιχνεύρα, 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 passlonless calm of the true Stoic, I. 9 (of Sextus); VI. 16; XI. 18 ad fin.; cp. ἀπαραθία

ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, words only found (it seems) in Marcus are: ἀκυβέντος I. 8; ἀνδρονομείσθαι X. 19; ἀν-θυλλόν IV. 20; ἀπαλλάκταν X. 36; ἀπακοσμικοῦσθαι VI. 30; ὑπορεχθεῖσθαι III. 4; IV. 22; ἀπροστάτητος XII. 14; ἀρσενικεῖος I. 16; ἀφυ-σιολογητῶς X. 9; ἀφυκάρδιος IX. 3; γαλακτίαν V. 4; γαλακτρεύσας V. 5; γαλύσημα IV. 33; ἐμφιλοτεχνεῖν VIII. 54; τινεργησεῖν Π. 7; ἐν-τέριον (?) VI. 13; τεύχωνείσθαι I. 15; καλοιδήθης I. 1; κοινονομοσύνη I. 16; μυμίον VII. 3; μυξάριον IV. 48; VI. 13; ὁμοδιάματειν IX. 3; XI. 8; ὁμοθαμεῖν XI. 8; παρασκευης XI. 5; περιφόρος I. 15; προστασ-τικός XI. 10; προσρητείσθαι IV. 49; μπατστικός I. 16; σεμιντωφια IX. 29; σεμαράγδιον IV. 20; στρωμάτιον

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δάιμον, evil spirit, I. 6; good, x. 13; = εὐδαιμονία, VII. 17; the "genius" or "daemon" within us, π. 13, 17; III. 6, 7, 12, 16; VIII. 45; πΧ. 3; given by Zeus to us, v. 27; = θέας, v. 10; = νοῦς, III. 3

diάλογος, VII. 50, etc.; a breaking up of things into their component parts, and the subsequent sifting out of these into the elements
dιάνοια, faculty of thought, or mind, III. 1; = λογική ψυχή, VI. 32; not affected by the motions of the πνεύμα, IV. 3

dιπνεύσθαι, 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, δόξα, are to the intelligence, III. 16; called "sacred," x. 9.

δόξα, only used once (XI. 20) in its philosophical sense of "general term," "class," or "species" εἰμαρμένη, destiny, π. 6; v. 8, etc.; = Clotho, IV. 34; τα συγκυκλωμένα, III. 4, 11, 16; VI. 26; η προφητεία, πΙ. 8; τό συμβαίνον, IV. 44 etc.

ἐκκλίσις, avoidance ((q.v.), VIII. 7; XI. 37. The things that are "within the man" are κρῖσις judgment, ὀρμή impulse, ὀρέξεις propension towards, ἐκκλίσις averter from a thing, VIII. 28; but the latter must be reserved only for things in our power, VIII. 7; XI. 37

ἐπικύρωσις, cyclical conflagration of the Universe, a doctrine of Heraclitus (q.v.), III. 3; Justin Αριτ. II. 7 points out the difference between the Stoic and Christian view of this conflagration (2 St. Peter III. 7, 10)

ἐννοια, conception, thought, or notion not amounting to a conviction (δόγμα), but κοινή ἐννοια, a φαντασία καταληπτική, a conclusive conviction. See πράσαλος

ἐξαγωγή = suicide does not occur, but see III. 1 (εὐσκότερον)

ἐγείρει, VIII. 14; VII. 16; XI. 16; Lucian, Compa. 23, says, τι διαφέρει σχέσεις ἔξως; and in Herm. 81 he laughs at the jargon of philosophy with its ἔξως and σχέσεως, its καταληκτικά and φαντασίαι. Σχέσεις, feature; ἔξως, a simple essential form or quality (ποιήσης); φαντασία, a forming power. VI. 14

εὐδαιμονία, harmony of man's will (δαιμόν) with God's = εὔροια βίου, VII. 17

εὐροία, εὐροσία (ἐὐροία, Epict. l. 4. 6), the calm even flow of the virtuous life = ἀνεσθεία, v. 34; x. 6; even of Zeus himself, v. 8; εὐροία καὶ θεούλα βίον, π. 5

ἐνέργεια, the activity of the ψυχή, contrasted with πείσεις (q.v.) = the passivity of the body, v. 20, etc.

ηγεμονικόν, τό (ορ τό κυριεῖον, τό προαιρετικόν, VIII. 50), the Ruling
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Reason (q.v.), or Principle (or Inner Self, Rendall), II. 2; IV. 1; V. 26; XII. 14, etc. = λόγος, φύσις, or even τέχνη λογική, V. 4; VIII. 7 (ср. ψυχή, V. 32); διάνοια, VIII. 64, 68; νοῦς, IX. 22; XI. 18; X. 24; XII. 3; sometimes even of God, VII. 75; IX. 22

θέωρημα, 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, τὸ = officium, duty. Among τὰ καθήκοντα, duty in the highest sense perfectly performed, is κατ’ ὑρθέα (not used by M.). κατορθώσεις, V. 14, are acts that are the outcome of right reason

κατάληψις, III. 30 (καταλημβάνειν, καταληπτικὸς (IX. 9), ἀκατάληψις); 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 συγκατάθεσις κατορθώσεις, 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, XI. 17; (σχεσις, VIII. 60; XI. 2; tension (τόσος), VI. 38

κοινός and its kindred words occur over eighty times, and Marcus apparently coins the beautiful word κοινονομισθήσεως (I. 16), which deserves to rank with the "loving-kindness" of Coverdale's Bible. See under Fellowship

κρίσις, conviction, almost = δόγμα, IV 3, § 2; judgment, V. 19; VIII. 47; XI. 11; ср. кρίσις, VI. 52, etc., the antecedent to ὁρμή, VIII. 28; of the Christians, XII. 3; = υπόληψις (fantasia), XI. 16, 18; § 7

λόγος (λογικός), reason or the reason, I. 8; II. 10; III. 18, 19, 24, 30, 33; V. 8, 9, 14, 28; VI. 23, 30; VII. 8, 11, 24; VIII. 48; IX. 10, 42; X. 31, 32 (καὶ ἀλή.), right reason, (= virtue, Cl. Tucr. IV. 15. 34), III. 6, 12; XI. 9; XIII. 35; civic reason, IV. 29; IX. 12; common to Gods and men, VII. 53; λ. of Nature, IV. 29; V. 32; VI. 58; VII. 10; common to all intelligent creatures, IV. 4; VII. 9; = a man's self (τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν, q.v.), VIII. 40; convincing reason II. 5; IV. 24; στραμματικόν λόγον, of the Universe into which all things are taken back = seminal principle, IV. 14, 21; VI. 24; = λόγος only, VII. 10; X. 7; λογικός, applied to ζύφων, ἡγεμονικόν, τέχνη, φύσις, ψυχή

οἰχος, self-conceit or illusion, IV. 12; IX. 34; XII. 27

οἰκονομία, IV. 19, 51; XI. 18, § 5; management, and so policy, expediency, adaptability, circumstances, ulterior end, secondary purpose and even finesse. We keep the double sense of the word in our "economy of truth"

ὁρμή, propension or inclination towards a thing, of which the result is ὁρμή and the incentive φαντασία, IX. 7; ср. VIII. 28. (ἐκκλησίας, VIII. 7. See under πάθος

ὁρμή = ὑμεῖς ψυχής ἐπί τι (Stob. Ecl. II. 160), impulse of the mind towards a thing (see ὁρμή), resulting in a πάθος

ὁσιότης = δικαστήσεως πρὸς θεὸν, plety, sanctity, holiness ὀνειδία, Substance or Being, sometimes = ὑλή, matter; ψυχή, IV. 40

πάθος, the "affect" resulting through πεῖναι from ὁρμή, the second stage of ὁρμή, which depends itself on asset (συγκατάθεσις). Stobaeus defines it (Ecl. II. 164) as a motion of the Soul contrary to Nature; παθολογίαν. VIII. 13, to study the πάθη = 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 configuration (see εκπυρώσις and under Heraclitus). cp. Chrysippus, peri προσωπικίς, "there will be another Socrates to live the same life again"; and Seneca, Ep. 36. 10, "venet iterum qui nos in lucem reponat dies." But whether Marcus believed in this damal theory is very doubtful, cp. X. 31.

παράταξις, opposed line in battle, so opposition, not obstinacy (XI. 3) III. 3; VIII. 48. See also p. 381. πειστὸς ψυχῆς, v. 1, a passive condition antecedent to a κίνησις in the case of the body, corresponding to an endeavor of the mind, III. 6; v. 26; VI. 51; VII. 55; IX. 16

περιόδος, v. 13, 32; X. 7. See παλιγγενεσία.

πνεῦμα = ἄνεμος, II. 2; the surrounding air, IX. 2; the interior 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 νουσία, ψυχή, and νοερά ψυχή are subtracted, XII. 30

πνευματικόν, τὸ, the Soul (τὸ του πνευματικόν) of which the πνεῦμα or breath element at death goes back into τὸ ἀθρόος, and the νοῦς into τὸ πνεῦμα. IV. 4; X. 7; XI. 20

πνευματίσιον, τὸ = (1) ψυχή (Soul) in its lower sense (σώμα, πνευμάτισι) 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 πνευματίσιον 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 ψυχῶς.

ποιότης, τὸ ποιόν, the property, quality, or form of a thing (almost = the Cause which makes it what it is, IX. 25); τὸ ἱδίως ποιόν, separate individuality, vi. 3; IX. 25; x. 7; XII. 30

πολιτικός, mostly = κοινωνικός. See κοινός.

προαιρέσις, free will or choice. See under προαιρέσις.

προαιρετικόν, τὸ (τὸ ἕγγεμον), the faculty of choice, VIII. 55

προηγούμενον, τὸ, the leading or cardinal thing, VII. 55; VIII. 49; IX. 41. Marcus does not use the stoic expression τὰ προηγούμενα things preferential.

προλήψις = a primary conception possessed by all rational beings, Chrysippus in Dilog. Laert. vii 53 ἐννοεῖα φυσικὴ τῶν καθ ἵδου. Perceptions (φαντασία) resulting from sensation (αἰσθήσει) produce impressions (τυπώσεις) which repeated form memory and many memories make experience which gives us conceptions (προλήψεις).

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. σκοτός (or τέλος, v. 15, 16), the end or objective of life, II. 16; VII. 4; XI. 6, 21; to which every ῥώμη 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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στοιχεία, τά, the elements, earth, water, air, fire, II. 3, 17; VI. 17; IV. 4: X. 7; XI. 20, etc.; almost= atoms, VI. 17; VIII. 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 πάθος
σύγκρισις, συγκριμάτιον, the compound—man, VII. 67; VIII. 25; XI. 20; composite things (στοιχεία), II. 3; VI. 10 = κυκεών, the 'farrago' of things; σύγκρισις (λίσις, XII. 24, 36; the elements comprising the σώμα, 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 ευνυπείδης, VI. 30 ad fin.
σύντημα, 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 εἶδος, κίνησις
σώμα, το [σωμάτιον, σάρξ, σαρκία (plur.), σαρκίδιον, κρείδιον] a compound of τό γεώδες and τό ύγρων, together forming τό στερέωμα, IV. 4; X. 7; the vessel or sheath of Soul, III. 3; VIII. 27; IX. 3; that which overlies the Soul, XII. 2, 3

tέλος, see σκοτός
τόνος (τούνκος) = 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 a πληγή πυρός

υλή, τό ύλικόν, matter on which the αἰτίον (q.v.) acts
υποκείµενον, τό (or plural), matter not in its primary condition but as formed by the αἰτίον, VII. 29; η υποκείµενη υλή, IX. 36; all material things and objects, v. 10; IV. 4, 23; VIII. 22, 24; IX. 3; x. 18
υπεξαιρετικός, IV. 1; V. 20; VI. 50; XI. 37, exception or reservation; cp. "sapiens ad omnia cum exceptione (meō ἐπεξαιρέσεως) veniet, si nihil incidet, quod impedit." (Seneca, De Benef. iv. 34)
υπόληψις, 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 υψολ καταληπτική (q.v.) amounts to a truth, IX. 6.
See under φαντασία and κρίσις
υπόστασις, 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; vi. 16; sift them, VIII. 37; 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 υπόληψις and κρίσις

ψυχολογία, 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 = σώμα, ψυχή, νοῦς, III. 16; but the Soul (ψυχή) twofold, (α) = πνευματίτιος (πνεύμα),

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an exhalation from blood (ἀναθυμίαις, v. 33, vi. 15), and an inhalation (ἀνατενευσίς) from the air: (b) ἡ νοερά, λογική, vi. 14, 32; ix. 8; xi. 1; xii. 30; ψυχή = τὸ γεμοικόν, i. 16 ad fin.; iv. 41; v. 26; ix. 3, 27, 34; an emanation from God, xii. 26; 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 ψυχώσις. 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.


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