

## FRAGMENTS

### *Introductory Note*

THE genuine fragments of Epictetus are not very numerous, and since several of them are of unusual interest, it has seemed best to add them at this point. One fragment, No. 28 b, I have added to those listed by Schenkl, since its discovery was subsequent to his latest edition.

Earlier editions have included a large number of aphorisms gathered from Stobaeus, and from a gnomology purporting to contain excerpts from Democritus, Isocrates, and Epictetus. The researches of a group of scholars, principally H. Schenkl,<sup>1</sup> R. Asmus,<sup>2</sup> and A. Elter,<sup>3</sup> have thrown such doubt upon the authenticity of these aphorisms that it would scarcely serve any useful purpose to reproduce them in the present work.

<sup>1</sup> *Die epiktetischen Fragmente, Sitzungsberichte der philos.-hist. Classe der K. Akad. der Wiss.*, Wien, 115 (1888), 443-546. Also ed. maior 1916, Chapter III, pp. xlviii-lii.

<sup>2</sup> *Quaestiones Epicteteae*, Freiburg i. B., 1888.

<sup>3</sup> *Epicteti et Moschionis Sententiae*, Bonn, 1892.

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1 (175<sup>1</sup>). Stobaeus, *Eclogae*, II. 1, 31

Ἀρριανοῦ Ἐπικτητείου πρὸς τὸν περὶ οὐσίας  
πολυπραγμονοῦντα <sup>2</sup>

Τί μοι μέλει, φησί, πότερον ἐξ ἀτόμων ἢ ἐξ ἀμερῶν ἢ ἐκ πυρὸς καὶ γῆς συνέστηκε τὰ ὄντα; οὐ γὰρ ἀρκεῖ μαθεῖν τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ καὶ τὰ μέτρα τῶν ὀρέξεων καὶ ἐκκλίσεων καὶ ἔτι ὁρμῶν καὶ ἀφορμῶν καὶ τούτοις ὥσπερ κανόσι χρώμενον διοικεῖν τὰ τοῦ βίου, τὰ δ' ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ταῦτα χαίρειν ἔαν, ἃ τυχὸν μὲν ἀκατάληπτά ἐστι τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ γνώμῃ, εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα θείῃ<sup>3</sup> τις εἶναι καταληπτὰ, ἀλλ' οὖν τί ὄφελος καταληφθέντων; οὐχὶ δὲ διακενῆς πράγματα ἔχειν φατέον τοὺς ταῦτα ὡς ἀναγκαῖα τῷ τοῦ φιλοσόφου λόγῳ προσνέμοντας; Μή τι οὖν καὶ τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς παράγγελμα παρέλκον ἐστί, τὸ Γνώθι σαυτόν;—Γοῦτο δὲ μὲν οὐ, φησί.—Τίς οὖν ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ; εἰ χορευτῇ τις παρήγγελλε τὸ γινῶναι ἑαυτόν, οὐκ οὐκ<sup>4</sup> τῇ προστάξει προσεῖχε τῷ ἐπιστραφῆναι καὶ τῶν συγχορευτῶν καὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς συμφωνίας;—Φησὶν.—Ἐἰ δὲ ναύτῃ;<sup>5</sup> εἰ δὲ στρατιώτῃ; πό-

<sup>1</sup> Numbers in parenthesis refer to Schweighäuser's edition, which was followed by Long in his translation.

<sup>2</sup> The final word of the title added by Wachsmuth.

<sup>3</sup> Schweighäuser: *θη* MSS.

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### 1

*From Arrian the pupil of Epictetus. To the man  
who was bothering himself about the problem of  
being*

What do I care, says Epictetus, whether all existing things are composed of atoms, or of indivisibles, or of fire and earth? Is it not enough to learn the true nature of the good and the evil, and the limits of the desires and aversions, and also of the choices and refusals, and, by employing these as rules, to order the affairs of our life, and dismiss the things that are beyond us? It may very well be that these latter are not to be comprehended by the human mind, and even if one assume that they are perfectly comprehensible, well, what profit comes from comprehending them? And ought we not to say that those men trouble themselves in vain who assign all this as necessary to the philosopher's system of thought? Is, therefore, also the precept at Delphi superfluous, "Know thyself"?—That, indeed, no, the man answers.—What, then, does it mean? If one bade a singer in a chorus to "know himself," would he not heed the order by paying attention both to his fellows in the chorus and to singing in harmony with them?—Yes.—And so in the case of a sailor?

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<sup>4</sup> οὐκ οὖν ἄν Schenkl (οὐκ οὖν Wachsmuth) : οὐκ ἄν ἐν MSS.

<sup>5</sup> Canter and Wachsmuth : εἶδεν αὐτῆς(ν) MSS.

## ARRIAN'S DISCOURSES OF EPICTETUS

τερον οὖν ὁ ἄνθρωπος αὐτὸς ἐφ' <sup>1</sup> αὐτοῦ πεποιή-  
σθαι σοι δοκεῖ ζῶον ἢ πρὸς κοινωνίαν;—Πρὸς  
κοινωνίαν.<sup>2</sup>—Ἐπὶ τίνος;—Ἐπὶ τῆς φύσεως.—  
Τίνος οὔσης καὶ πῶς διοικουμένης τὰ ὅλα καὶ  
πότερον οὔσης ἢ μή, ταῦτα οὐκέτι ἀναγκαῖον  
πολυπραγμονεῖν.

2 (135). Stobaeus, IV. 44, 65

Ἀρριανοῦ Ἐπικτητείου.

Ὁ τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ δεδομένοις ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης  
δυσχεραίνων ἰδιώτης ἐν βίῳ, ὁ δὲ ταῦτα γενναίως  
φέρων καὶ εὐλογιστῶν πρὸς τὰ <sup>3</sup> ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ  
ἀγαθὸς ἄξιός <sup>4</sup> νομίζεσθαι.

3 (136). Stobaeus, IV. 44, 66

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ.

Πάντα ὑπακούει τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ὑπηρετεῖ καὶ  
γῇ καὶ θάλασσᾳ καὶ ἥλιος καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἄστρο  
καὶ τὰ γῆς φυτὰ καὶ ζῶα· ὑπακούει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ  
τὸ ἡμέτερον σῶμα καὶ νοσοῦν καὶ ὑγιαίνειν, ὅταν  
ἐκεῖνος θέλῃ, καὶ νέαζον καὶ γηρῶν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας  
διερχόμενον μεταβολάς. οὐκοῦν εὐλογον καί, ὃ  
ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐστί, τουτέστι τὴν κρίσιν, μὴ ἀντιτείνειν  
μόνην πρὸς αὐτόν· καὶ γὰρ ἰσχυρὸς ἐστί καὶ  
κρείσσων καὶ ἄμεινον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν βεβούλευται

<sup>1</sup> Cobet: ὑφ' MSS.

<sup>2</sup> πρὸς κοινωνίαν supplied by Heeren.

<sup>3</sup> Schenkl: εὐλογίστω τά MSS.

<sup>4</sup> Gesner: ἀξίως MSS.

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or a soldier? Does it seem to you, then, that man has been made a creature to live all alone by himself, or for society?—For society.—By whom?—By Nature.—What Nature is, and how she administers the universe, and whether she really exists or not, these are questions about which there is no need to go on to bother ourselves.

### 2

*From Arrian the pupil of Epictetus*

He who is dissatisfied with what he has and what has been given him by fortune is a layman in the art of living, but the man who bears all this in a noble spirit and makes a reasonable use of all that comes from it deserves to be considered a good man.

### 3

*From the same*

All things obey and serve the Cosmos,<sup>1</sup> both earth, and sea, and sun, and the other stars, and the plants and animals of earth; obedient to it also is our body, both in sickness and in health, when the Cosmos wishes, both in youth and in old age, and when passing through all the other changes. Therefore it is reasonable also that the one thing which is under our control, that is, the decision of our will, should not be the only thing to stand out against it. For the Cosmos is mighty and superior to us, and has taken better counsel for us than we can, by uniting

<sup>1</sup> A pantheistic form of expression for God, common enough in Stoicism in general, but rare in Epictetus. Cf. also frag. 4, where, however, the expression may really belong to Rufus.

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μετὰ τῶν ὅλων καὶ ἡμᾶς συνδιοικῶν. πρὸς δὲ  
τούτοις καὶ ἡ ἀντίπραξις μετὰ τοῦ ἀλόγου καὶ  
πλέον οὐδὲν ποιούσα πλὴν τὸ διακενῆς σπᾶσθαι  
καὶ περιπίπτειν ὀδύνας καὶ λύπαις ποιεῖ.

4 (169). Stobaeus, II. 8, 30. Musonius, frag.  
38 (H.)

Ῥούφου ἐκ τῶν Ἐπικτήτου περὶ φιλίας.

Τῶν ὄντων τὰ μὲν ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἔθετο ὁ θεός, τὰ  
δ' οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν. ἐφ' ἡμῖν μὲν τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ  
σπουδαιότατον, ᾧ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς εὐδαίμων ἐστί,  
τὴν χρῆσιν τῶν φαντασιῶν. τοῦτο γὰρ ὀρθῶς  
γιγνόμενον ἐλευθερία ἐστίν, εὐροια, εὐθυμία,  
εὐστάθεια, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ δίκη ἐστὶ καὶ νόμος καὶ  
σωφροσύνη καὶ ξύμπασα ἀρετή. τὰ δ' ἄλλα  
πάντα οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐποιήσατο. οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡμᾶς  
συμφήφους χρὴ τῷ θεῷ γενέσθαι καὶ ταύτῃ  
διελόντας τὰ πράγματα τῶν μὲν ἐφ' ἡμῖν πάντα  
τρόπον ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, τὰ δὲ μὴ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέψαι  
τῷ κόσμῳ καί, εἴτε τῶν παίδων δέοιτο εἴτε τῆς  
πατρίδος εἴτε τοῦ σώματος εἴτε ὁτιοῦν,<sup>1</sup> ἀσμένους  
παραχωρεῖν.

5 (67). Stobaeus, III. 19, 13. Musonius, frag.  
39 (H.)

Ῥούφου ἐκ τοῦ Ἐπικτήτου περὶ φιλίας.

Τὸ δὲ Λυκούργου τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου τίς ἡμῶν  
οὐ θαυμάζει; πηρωθεὶς γὰρ ὑπὸ τινος τῶν

<sup>1</sup> Meineke: ὅτιοῦν MSS.

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us together with the universe under its governance. Besides, to act against it is to side with unreason, and while accomplishing nothing but a vain struggle, it involves us in pains and sorrows.

### 4

*Rufus. From the remarks of Epictetus on friendship*<sup>1</sup>

Of things that are, God has put some under our control, and others not under our control. Under our control He put the finest and most important matter, that, indeed, by virtue of which He Himself is happy, the power to make use of external impressions. For when this power has its perfect work, it is freedom, serenity, cheerfulness, steadfastness; it is also justice, and law, and self-control, and the sum and substance of virtue. But all other things He has not put under our control. Therefore we also ought to become of one mind with God, and, dividing matters in this way, lay hold in every way we can upon the things that are under our control, but what is not under our control we ought to leave to the Cosmos, and gladly resign to it whatever it needs, be that our children, our country, our body, or anything whatsoever.

### 5

*Rufus. From Epictetus on friendship*

What man among us does not admire the saying of Lycurgus the Lacedaemonian? For when he had

The natural way to take this and the next few titles is to assume that Epictetus had quoted with approval a fairly long passage from his revered teacher Musonius Rufus.





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πολιτῶν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὸν ἕτερον καὶ παρα-  
 λαβὼν τὸν νεανίσκον παρὰ τοῦ δήμου, ἵνα  
 τιμωρήσαιο, ὅπως ἂν<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸς βούληται, τούτου  
 μὲν ἀπέσχετο, παιδεύσας δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἀποφήνας  
 ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν παρήγαγεν εἰς τὸ θέατρον. θαυ-  
 μαζόντων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων “τοῦτον μέντοι  
 λαβών,” ἔφη, “παρ’ ὑμῶν ὑβριστὴν καὶ βίαιον  
 ἀποδίδωμι ὑμῖν ἐπιεικὴ καὶ δημοτικόν.”

6 (69). Stobaeus, III. 20, 60. Musonius, frag.  
 40 (H.)

‘Ρούφου ἐκ τοῦ Ἐπικτήτου περὶ φιλίας.

Ἄλλὰ παντὸς μᾶλλον τῆς μὲν φύσεως ἐκείνο  
 τὸ ἔργον συνδῆσαι καὶ συναρμόσαι τὴν ὁρμὴν τῇ<sup>2</sup>  
 τοῦ προσήκοντος καὶ ὠφελίμου φαντασίᾳ.<sup>2</sup>

7 (70). Stobaeus, III. 20, 61. Musonius, frag.  
 41 (H.)

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ.

Τὸ δὲ οἶεσθαι εὐκαταφρονήτους τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 ἔσεσθαι, εἰ μὴ τοὺς πρῶτους ἐχθροὺς παντὶ  
 τρόπῳ βλάψωμεν, σφόδρα ἀγεννῶν καὶ ἀνοήτων  
 ἀνθρώπων. φαμέν γὰρ τὸν εὐκαταφρόνητον  
 νοεῖσθαι μὲν καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἀδύνατον εἶναι βλάψαι·  
 ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον νοεῖται κατὰ τὸ ἀδύνατον  
 εἶναι ὠφελεῖν.

<sup>1</sup> ἂν added by C. Schenkl.



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been blinded in one eye by one of his fellow-citizens, and the people had turned over the young man to him, to take whatever vengeance upon the culprit he might desire, this he refrained from doing, but brought him up and made a good man of him, and presented him in the theatre. And when the Lacedaemonians expressed their surprise, he said, "This man when I received him at your hands was insolent and violent; I am returning him to you a reasonable and public-spirited person."

### 6

*Rufus. From Epictetus on friendship*

But above all else this is the function of nature, to bind together and to harmonize our choice with the conception of what is fitting and helpful.

### 7

*The same*

To fancy that we shall be contemptible in the sight of other men, if we do not employ every means to hurt the first enemies we meet, is characteristic of extremely ignoble and thoughtless men. For it is a common saying among us that the contemptible man is recognized among other things by his incapacity to do harm; but he is much better recognized by his incapacity to extend help.

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<sup>2</sup> Bücheler: τῆς . . . φαντασίας MSS.

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8 (134). Stobaeus, IV. 44, 60. Musonius, frag.  
42 (H.)

Ῥούφου ἐκ τῶν Ἐπικτήτου περὶ φιλίας.

Ὅτι τοιαύτη ἡ τοῦ κόσμου φύσις καὶ ἦν καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἔσται καὶ οὐχ οἷόν τε ἄλλως γίγνεσθαι τὰ γιγνόμενα ἢ ὥς νῦν ἔχει· καὶ ὅτι ταύτης τῆς τροπῆς καὶ τῆς μεταβολῆς οὐ μόνον οἱ ἄνθρωποι μετελήφασιν καὶ τὰλλα ζῶα τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ θεῖα καὶ νῆ Δί' αὐτὰ τὰ τέτταρα στοιχεῖα ἄνω καὶ κάτω τρέπεται καὶ μεταβάλλει καὶ γῇ τε ὕδωρ γίνεται καὶ ὕδωρ ἀήρ, οὗτος δὲ πάλιν εἰς αἰθέρα μεταβάλλει· καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς τρόπος τῆς μεταβολῆς ἄνωθεν κάτω. εἰς πρὸς ταῦτά τις ἐπιχειρῇ ῥέπειν τὸν νοῦν καὶ πείθειν ἑαυτὸν ἐκόντα δέχεσθαι τὰ ἀναγκαῖα, πάνυ μετρίως καὶ μουσικῶς διαβιώσεται τὸν βίον.

9 (180). Gellius, XIX. 1, 14–21<sup>1</sup>

- 14 *Philosophus in disciplina Stoica celebratus . . . ex sarcinula sua librum protulit Epicteti philosophi quintum Διαλέξεων, quas ab Arriano digestas congruere scriptis*  
15 *Zenonis et Chrysippi non dubium est. in eo libro, graeca scilicet oratione scriptum ad hanc sententiam legimus: Visa animi (quas φαντασίας philosophi appellant), quibus mens hominis prima statim specie accidentis ad animum rei pellitur, non voluntatis*

<sup>1</sup> Also in abbreviated form (from Gellius) in Augustine, *Civ. Dei*, 9, 4 (cf. 9, 5), and *Quaest. in Heptat.* 1, 30.

<sup>1</sup> That is, from the heavier to the lighter, and again from the lighter to the heavier.

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### 8

*Rufus. From the remarks of Epictetus on friendship*

Such was, and is, and will be, the nature of the universe, and it is not possible for the things that come into being to come into being otherwise than they now do. And not only has mankind participated in this process of change and transformation, and all the other living beings upon earth, but also those which are divine, and, by Zeus, even the four elements, which are changed and transformed upwards and downwards,<sup>1</sup> as earth becomes water, and water air, and air again is transformed into ether; and there is the same kind of transformation also downwards. If a man endeavours to incline his mind to these things, and to persuade himself to accept of his own accord what needs must befall him, he will have a very reasonable and harmonious life.

### 9

*A philosopher who is well known in the Stoic school . . . brought out of his handbag the fifth book of the Discourses of the philosopher Epictetus, which had been arranged by Arrian, and agree, no doubt, with the writings of Zeno and Chrysippus. In that book, written of course in Greek, we find a passage to this purport : Things seen by the mind (which the philosophers call φαντασίαις),<sup>2</sup> whereby the intellect of man is struck at the very first sight of anything which penetrates to the mind, are not subject to his will, nor to his*

<sup>2</sup> External impressions.

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sunt neque arbitraria,<sup>1</sup> sed vi quadam sua inferunt sese hominibus noscitanda;<sup>2</sup> probationes autem (quas  
 16 συγκαταθέσεις vocant), quibus eadem visa noscuntur,  
 17 voluntariae sunt fiuntque hominum arbitratu. propterea cum sonus aliquis formidabilis aut caelo aut ex ruina aut repentinus nescio cuius<sup>3</sup> periculi nuntius vel quid aliud est<sup>4</sup> eiusmodi factum, sapientis quoque animum paulisper moveri et contrahi et pallescere necessum est, non opinione alicuius mali praecepta, sed quibusdam motibus rapidis et inconsultis officium  
 18 mentis atque rationis praevertentibus. mox tamen ille sapiens ibidem τὰς τοιαύτας φαντασίας (*id est visa istaec animi sui terrifica*) non adprobat (*hoc est οὐ συγκατατίθεται οὐδὲ προσεπιδοξάζει*), sed abicit respuitque nec ei metuendum esse in his quicquam  
 19 videtur. atque hoc inter insipientis sapientisque animum differe dicunt quod insipiens, qualia sibi esse primo animi sui pulsu visa sunt saeva et aspera, talia esse vero putat et eadem incepta, tamquam<sup>5</sup> si iure metuenda sint, sua quoque adsensione adprobat  
 20 καὶ “προσεπιδοξάζει” (*hoc enim verbo Stoici, cum super ista re disserunt, uluntur*), sapiens autem, cum breviter et strictim colore atque vultu motus est, οὐ συγκατατίθεται, sed statum vigoremque sententiae suae retinet, quam de huiusmodi visis semper habuit, ut de

<sup>1</sup> L. Carrio : arbitrariae MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Salmasius : noscitandae MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Greifswald 1537 : nescius MSS.

<sup>4</sup> J. Gronov : ex MSS (or omit)

<sup>5</sup> Edd. : quamquam MSS.

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<sup>1</sup> Does not assent or confirm by approval.

<sup>2</sup> Such external impressions.

<sup>3</sup> Also confirms by his approval.

<sup>4</sup> The word seems to occur only here, and may be peculiar to Epictetus.

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control, but by virtue of a certain force of their own thrust themselves upon the attention of men; but the assents (*which they call συγκαταθέσεις*), whereby these same things seen by the mind are recognized, are subject to man's will, and fall under his control. Therefore, when some terrifying sound comes from the sky, or from the collapse of a building, or sudden word comes of some peril or other, or something else of the same sort happens, the mind of even the wise man cannot help but be disturbed, and shrink, and grow pale for a moment, not from any anticipation of some evil, but because of certain swift and unconsidered motions which forestall the action of the intellect and the reason. Soon, however, our wise man does not give his assent (*this is, οὐ συγκατατίθεται οὐδὲ προσεπιδοξάζει*)<sup>1</sup> to τὰς τοιαύτας φαντασίας<sup>2</sup> (*that is, these terrifying things seen by his mind*), but rejects and repudiates them, and sees in them nothing to cause him fear. And this, they say, is the difference between the mind of the fool and the mind of the wise man, that the fool thinks the cruel and harsh things seen by his mind, when it is first struck by them, actually to be what they appear, and likewise afterwards, just as though they really were formidable, he confirms them by his own approval also, καὶ προσεπιδοξάζει<sup>3</sup> (*the word the Stoics use when they discuss this matter*);<sup>4</sup> whereas the wise man, when his colour and expression have changed for a brief instant, οὐ συγκατατίθεται,<sup>5</sup> but keeps the even tenor and strength of the opinion which he has always had about mental impressions of this kind, as things

<sup>5</sup> Does not give his consent.

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minime metuendis, sed fronte falsa et formidine inani  
terrificantibus.

- 21 *Haec Epictetum philosophum ex decretis Stoicorum  
sensisse atque dixisse, in eo, quo dixi, libro legimus.*

10 (179). Gellius, XVII. 19

- Favorinum ego audiui dicere Epictetum philosophum  
dixisse plerosque istos, qui philosophari viderentur,  
philosophos esse eiusmodi “ἀνευ τοῦ πράττειν, μέχρι  
τοῦ λέγειν” (id significat “factis procul, verbis tenuis”).*  
2 *iam illud est vehementius, quod Arrianus solitum eum  
dictitare in libris, quos de dissertationibus eius composuit,*  
3 *scriptum reliquit. nam, cum, inquit, animadverterat  
hominem pudore amisso, inportuna industria, cor-  
ruptis moribus, audacem, confidentem lingua cetera-  
que omnia praeterquam animam procurantem, istius-  
modi, inquit, hominem cum viderat studia quoque et  
disciplinas philosophiae contrectare et physica adire  
et meditari dialectica multaque id genus theoremata  
auspicari<sup>1</sup> sciscitarique: inclamabat deum atque  
hominum fidem ac plerumque inter clamandum his  
eum verbis increpabat: “Ἀνθρωπε, ποῦ βάλλεις; σκέψαι,  
εἰ κεκάθαρται τὸ ἀγγεῖον. ἂν γὰρ εἰς τὴν οἴησιν αὐτὰ  
βάλῃς,<sup>2</sup> ἀπώλετο· ἢν<sup>3</sup> σαπῇ, οὔρον ἢ ὄξος ἐγένετο<sup>4</sup> ἢ εἴ  
τι τούτων χεῖρον.” nihil profecto his verbis gravius,*  
4 *nihil verius: quibus declarabat maximus philosophorum  
litteras atque doctrinas philosophiae, cum in hominem*

<sup>1</sup> Eussner: suspicari MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Usener: βάλλῃς MSS.

<sup>3</sup> H or HC the MSS.

<sup>4</sup> Usener: γένοιτο MSS.

<sup>1</sup> Without doing, as far as speaking.

<sup>2</sup> Man, where are you stowing all this? Look and see if  
the vessel has been cleansed. For if you stow it in the



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that do not deserve to be feared at all, but terrify only with a false face and a vain fear.

*This is the sentiment and expression of the philosopher Epictetus, derived from the doctrines of the Stoics, that we have read in the book of which I spoke above.*

### 10

*I have heard Favorinus say that he had heard the philosopher Epictetus say, that most of those who gave the appearance of philosophizing were philosophers of this kind: ἀνεῖ τοῦ πράττειν, μέχρι τοῦ λέγειν<sup>1</sup> (this means, "apart from deeds, as far as words"). There is a still more vigorous expression which he was accustomed to use, that Arrian has recorded in the books which he wrote about his discourses. For Arrian says that when Epictetus had noticed a man lost to shame, of misdirected energy, and evil habits, bold, impudent in speech, and concerned with everything else but his soul, when he saw a man of that kind, continues Arrian, handling also the studies and pursuits of philosophy, and taking up physics, and studying dialectics, and taking up and investigating many a theoretical principle of this sort, he would call upon gods and men, and frequently, in the midst of that appeal, he would denounce the man in these words: "Ἀνθρώπε, ποῦ βάλλεις; σκέψαι, εἰ κεκάθαρται τὸ ἀγγεῖον. ἂν γὰρ εἰς τὴν οἴησιν αὐτὰ βάλης, ἀπώλετο· ἦν σαπῆ, οὖρον ἢ ὄξος ἐγένετο ἢ εἴ τι τούτων χεῖρον.<sup>2</sup> Surely there is nothing weightier, nothing truer than these words, in which the greatest of philosophers declared that the writings and teachings of philosophy, when poured into a false and low-lived vessel of opinion, it is ruined; if it spoils, it turns into urine, or vinegar, or, it may be, something worse.*



## ARRIAN'S DISCOURSES OF EPICTETUS

falsum atque degenerem tamquam in vas spurcum atque pollutum influxissent, verti, mutari, corrumpi et (*quod ipse κυνικώτερον ait*) urinam fieri aut si quid est urina spurcius.

- 5 *Præterea idem ille Epictetus, quod ex eodem Favonino audivimus, solitus dicere est* duo esse vitia multo omnium gravissima ac taeterrima, intolerantiam et incontinentiam, cum aut iniurias, quae sunt ferendae, non toleramus neque ferimus aut, a quibus rebus voluptatibusque nos tenere debemus, non tenemus.
- 6 “itaque,” *inquit*, “si quis haec duo verba cordi habeat eaque sibi imperando atque observando curet, is erit pleraque inpeccabilis vitamque vivet tranquillissimam.” *verba haec duo dicebat*: “ἀνέχου” et “ἀπέχου.”

10a (181). Arnobius, *Adversus Gentes*, 2, 78

Cum de animarum agitur salute ac de respectu nostri, aliquid et sine ratione faciendum est, *ut Epictetum dixisse adprobat Arrianus.*

11 (174). Stobaeus, IV. 33, 28

Ἐκ τῶν Ἀρριανοῦ προτρεπτικῶν ὁμιλιῶν.

Ἀλλὰ δὴ Σωκράτης Ἀρχελάου μεταπεμπομένου αὐτὸν ὡς ποιήσοντος πλούσιον ἐκέλευσεν ἀπαγγεῖλαι αὐτῷ διότι<sup>1</sup> “Ἀθήνησι τέσσαρες εἰσι χοῖνικες τῶν ἀλφίτων ὀβολοῦ ὄνιοι καὶ κρῆναι

<sup>1</sup> Gesner : διὰ τί MSS.

<sup>1</sup> Somewhat after the fashion of the Cynics.

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person, as though into a dirty and defiled vessel, turn, change, are spoiled, and (*as he himself says* κυνικώτερον)<sup>1</sup> become urine, or something, it may be, dirtier than urine.

*The same Epictetus, moreover, as we have heard from Favorinus, was in the habit of saying* that there were two vices which are far more severe and atrocious than all others, want of endurance and want of self-control, when we do not endure or bear the wrongs which we have to bear, or do not abstain from, or forbear, those matters and pleasures which we ought to forbear. "And so," he says, "if a man should take to heart these two words and observe them in controlling and keeping watch over himself, he will, for the most part, be free from wrongdoing, and will live a highly peaceful life." *These two words, he used to say, were ἀνέχου and ἀπέχου.*<sup>2</sup>

### 10 a (181)

When the salvation of our souls and regard for our true selves are at stake, something has to be done, even without stopping to think about it, *a saying of Epictetus which Arrian quotes with approval.*

### 11

*From the homilies of Arrian, exhorting to virtue*

Now when Archelaus<sup>3</sup> sent for Socrates with the intention of making him rich, the latter bade the messenger take back the following answer: "At Athens four quarts of barley-meal can be bought for an obol,<sup>4</sup> and there are running springs

<sup>2</sup> Bear and forbear.

<sup>3</sup> The king of Macedon.

<sup>4</sup> A penny and a half, or three cents; in other terms, the sixth part of the day's wage of an ordinary labourer.

## ARRIAN'S DISCOURSES OF EPICTETUS

ὔδατος ῥέουσιν.” εἰ γάρ τοι μὴ ἱκανὰ τὰ ὄντα ἐμοί, ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ τούτοις ἱκανὸς καὶ οὕτω κακέϊνα ἐμοί. ἢ οὐχ ὀρᾷς, ὅτι οὐκ εὐφρονότερον οὐδὲ ἡδιον<sup>1</sup> ὁ Πῶλος τὸν τύραννον Οἰδίποδα ὑπεκρίνετο ἢ τὸν ἐπὶ Κολωνῷ ἀλήτην<sup>2</sup> καὶ πτωχόν; εἶτα χείρων Πῶλου ὁ γενναῖος ἀνὴρ φανείται, ὥς μὴ πᾶν τὸ περιτεθὲν ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου πρόσωπον ὑποκρίνασθαι καλῶς; οὐδὲ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά μιμήσεται, ὃς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ῥάκεσιν οὐδὲν μείον διέπρεπεν ἢ ἐν τῇ οὕλῃ χλαίνῃ τῇ πορφυρᾷ;

12 (note to frag. 71). Stobaeus, III. 20, 47

Ἀρριανοῦ.

Μεγαλόθυμοι πρῶως εἰσὶ τινες ἡσυχῇ καὶ οἶον ἀοργήτως πράττοντες ὅσα καὶ οἱ σφόδρα τῷ θυμῷ φερόμενοι. φυλακτέον οὖν καὶ τὸ τούτων ἀβλέπτημα ὥς πολὺ χεῖρον ὂν τοῦ διατεινόμενον ὀργίζεσθαι. οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ ταχὺ κόρον τῆς τιμωρίας λαμβάνουσιν, οἱ δὲ εἰς μακρὸν παρατείνουσιν ὥς οἱ λεπτῶς πυρέττοντες.

13 (omitted). Stobaeus, I. 3, 50

Ἐκ τῶν Ἐπικτήτου ἀπομνημονευμάτων.

Ἄλλ’ ὀρῶ, φησί τις, τοὺς καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς καὶ λιμῷ καὶ ρίγῃ ἀπολλυμένους.—Τοὺς δὲ μὴ

<sup>1</sup> Gaisford: δι’ ὧν MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Schweighäuser: ἀλείτην MSS.

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of water." For, look you, if what I have is not sufficient for me, still, I am sufficient for it, and so it too is sufficient for me. Or do you not see that Polus<sup>1</sup> was not accustomed to act Oedipus the King with any finer voice or more pleasure to his audience than Oedipus at Colonus, the outcast and beggar? And then shall the man of noble nature make a poorer showing than Polus, and not play well any rôle to which the Deity assigns him? And will he not follow the example of Odysseus, who was no less pre-eminent in his rags than in his rich and purple cloak?

### 12

*From Arrian*

There are certain persons who exhibit their high spirit rather gently,<sup>2</sup> and in a sort of passionless manner do everything that even those who are swept away by their anger do. We must be on our guard, therefore, against the error of these persons, as something much worse than violent anger. For those who give way to violent anger are soon sated with their revenge, but the others prolong it like men who have a light fever.

### 13

*From the Memorabilia of Epictetus*

But, says someone, I see the good and excellent perishing from hunger and cold.—And do you not see

<sup>1</sup> A famous actor of the fourth century. See J. B. O'Connor, *Chapters in the History of Actors and Acting* (1908), 128-30.

<sup>2</sup> Capps suggests that ἡσυχῇ is used here as it is in Menander, *Hero*, 20.

καλοὺς καὶ μὴ ἀγαθοὺς οὐχ ὁρᾷς τρυφῇ καὶ ἀλαζονείᾳ καὶ ἀπειροκαλίᾳ ἀπολλυμένους;—'Αλλ' αἰσχρὸν τὸ παρ' ἄλλου τρέφεσθαι.—Καὶ τίς, ὦ κακὸδαίμον, αὐτὸς ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ τρέφεται ἄλλος γε ἢ ὁ κόσμος; ὅστις γοῦν ἐγκαλεῖ τῇ προνοίᾳ, ὅτι οἱ πονηροὶ οὐ διδόασιν δίκην, ὅτι ἰσχυροὶ εἰσι καὶ πλούσιοι, ὅμοιόν τι δρᾷ ὥσπερ εἰ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀπολωλεκότων αὐτῶν ἔλεγε μὴ δεδωκέναι δίκην αὐτούς, ὅτι οἱ ὀνυχες ὑγιεῖς εἶεν. ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ φημι πολὺ<sup>1</sup> διαφέρειν μᾶλλον ἀρετὴν κτήσεως<sup>2</sup> ἢ ὀφθαλμοὶ ὀνύχων διαφέρουσιν.

14 (52). Stobaeus, III. 6, 57

Ἐκ τῶν Ἐπικτήτου ἀπομνημονευμάτων.<sup>3</sup>

. . .<sup>4</sup> τοὺς δυσχερεῖς δὲ φιλοσόφους εἰς μέσον ἄγοντες, οἷς οὐ δοκεῖ κατὰ φύσιν ἡδονὴ εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐπιγίγνεσθαι τοῖς κατὰ φύσιν, δικαιοσύνη, σωφροσύνη, ἐλευθερία. τί ποτ' οὖν ἡ ψυχὴ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς τοῦ σώματος ἀγαθοῖς μικροτέροις οὖσι χαίρει καὶ γαληνῇ, ὥς φησιν Ἐπίκουρος, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς αὐτῆς ἀγαθοῖς μεγίστοις οὖσιν οὐχ ἡδεται; καίτοι καὶ δέδωκέ μοι ἡ φύσις αἰδῶ καὶ πολλὰ ὑπερυβριῶ, ὅταν τι ὑπολάβω αἰσχρὸν λέγειν. τοῦτό με τὸ κίνημα οὐκ ἐᾷ τὴν ἡδονὴν θέσθαι ἀγαθὸν καὶ τέλος τοῦ βίου.

<sup>1</sup> αἰ (ἄν P<sup>2</sup>) after this word was deleted by Meineke.

<sup>2</sup> Suggested by Schenkl: κακίας MSS.

<sup>3</sup> The last word of the title added by Asmus.

<sup>4</sup> Schenkl indicated the lacuna.

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those who are not good and excellent perishing from luxury, and bombast, and vulgarity?—Yes, but it is disgraceful to be supported by another.—And who, O miserable fellow, is supported by himself alone, except the Cosmos? Whoever accuses Providence, therefore, because the wicked are not punished, and because they are strong and rich, is acting just as though, when the wicked had lost their eyes, he said they were not being punished because their finger-nails were in good condition. Now, as for me, I assert that there is much more difference between virtue and property than there is between eyes and finger-nails.

### 14

#### *From the Memorabilia of Epictetus*

. . . bring forward the ill-natured<sup>1</sup> philosophers, who think that pleasure is not something natural, but a sequel of things that are natural, as justice, self-control, and freedom. Why indeed, then, does the soul take delight in the lesser goods of the body, and enjoy calm therein, as Epicurus says,<sup>2</sup> and yet not find pleasure in its own goods, which are very great? Verily nature has also given me a sense of shame, and frequently I blush, when I feel that I am saying something disgraceful. It is this emotion which does not allow me to lay down pleasure as the good and end of life.

<sup>1</sup> Or “morose,” that is, from the point of view of the Epicureans. The reference is to the Stoics, who rejected the “pleasure” of Epicurus, and accepted only that which followed on virtuous conduct.

<sup>2</sup> Frag. 425 (Usener).

# ARRIAN'S DISCOURSES OF EPICETUS

15 (53). Stobaeus, III. 6, 58

Ἐκ τῶν Ἐπικτήτου ἀπομνημονευμάτων.

Ἐν Ῥώμῃ αἱ γυναῖκες μετὰ χειράς ἔχουσι τὴν Πλάτωνος Πολιτείαν, ὅτι κοινὰς ἀξιοῖ εἶναι τὰς γυναῖκας. τοῖς γὰρ ῥήμασι προσέχουσι τὸν νοῦν, οὐ τῇ διανοίᾳ τὰνδρός, ὅτι οὐ γαμεῖν κελεύων καὶ συνοικεῖν ἓνα μιᾷ εἶτα κοινὰς εἶναι βούλεται τὰς γυναῖκας, ἀλλ' ἐξαιρῶν τὸν τοιοῦτον γάμον καὶ ἄλλο τι εἶδος γάμου εἰσφέρειν. καὶ τὸ ὅλον οἱ ἄνθρωποι χαίρουσιν ἀπολογίας τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἁμαρτήμασι πορίζοντες· ἐπεὶ τοι φιλοσοφία φησὶν, ὅτι οὐδὲ τὸν δάκτυλον ἐκτείνειν εἰκὴ προσήκει.

16 (78). Stobaeus, III. 29, 84

Ἐκ τῶν Ἐπικτήτου ἀπομνημονευμάτων.

Εἰδέναι χρή, ὅτι οὐ ῥάδιον δόγμα παραγενέσθαι ἀνθρώπῳ, εἰ μὴ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ λέγοι τις καὶ ἀκούοι καὶ ἅμα χρῶτο πρὸς τὸν βίον.

17 (15). Stobaeus, III. 4, 91

Ἐπικτήτου.

Εἰς συμπόσιον μὲν οὖν παρακληθέντες τῷ παρόντι χρώμεθα· εἰ δέ τις κελεύοι τὸν ὑποδεχό-

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<sup>1</sup> The community of women which Plato proposed was, first of all, restricted to a small, highly-trained, and devoted band of warrior-saints; and, second, such that no man and woman should pair off for more than a very temporary "marriage," all such matings being carefully supervised by the highest authorities. Instead of being more licentious than



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### 15

#### *From the Memorabilia of Epictetus*

At Rome the women have in their hands Plato's *Republic*, because he insists on community of women. For they pay attention only to the words, and not to the meaning of the man; the fact is, he does not bid people marry and live together, one man with one woman, and then go on to advocate the community of women, but he first abolishes that kind of marriage altogether, and introduces another kind in its place.<sup>1</sup> And in general people delight in finding excuses for their own faults; for, indeed, philosophy says we ought not to stretch out even our finger at random!<sup>2</sup>

### 16

#### *From the Memorabilia of Epictetus*

One ought to know that it is not easy for a man to acquire a fixed judgement, unless he should day by day state and hear the same principles, and at the same time apply them to his life.

### 17

#### *From Epictetus*

Now when we have been invited to a banquet, we take what is set before us; and if a person should ordinary monogamous marriage (which frequently deserves Bernard Shaw's jibe, that it is popular largely because it combines the maximum of temptation with the maximum of opportunity), Plato's proposal was relatively a denial of the flesh, and a marked move towards asceticism.

<sup>2</sup> See II. 11, 17. The remark in this connection is no doubt ironical, mockingly justifying the process of "rationalization" just described.

## ARRIAN'S DISCOURSES OF EPICTETUS

μενον ἰχθῦς αὐτῷ παρατιθέναι ἢ πλακοῦντας, ἄτοπος ἂν δόξειεν. ἐν δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ αἰτοῦμεν τοὺς θεούς, ἃ μὴ διδόασι, καὶ ταῦτα πολλῶν ὄντων, ἃ γε ἡμῖν δεδώκασι.

18 (16). Stobaeus, III. 4, 92

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ.

Χαρίεντες, ἔφη, εἰσὶν οἱ μέγα φρονοῦντες ἐπὶ τοῖς οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν. "ἐγώ," φησί, "κρείττων εἰμί σου."<sup>1</sup> ἄγρους γὰρ ἔχω πολλούς, σὺ δὲ λιμῷ παρατείνῃ." ἄλλος λέγει "ἐγὼ ὑπατικός εἰμι." ἄλλος "ἐγὼ ἐπίτροπος." ἄλλος "ἐγὼ οὐλας τρίχας ἔχω."<sup>2</sup> ἵππος δ' ἵππῳ οὐ λέγει ὅτι "κρείττων εἰμί σου· πολλὴν γὰρ κέκτημαι χιλὸν καὶ κριθὰς πολλὰς καὶ χαλινοὶ μοί εἰσι χρυσοὶ καὶ ἐφίππια ποικίλα," ἀλλ' ὅτι "ὠκύτερός σου εἰμι." καὶ πᾶν ζῶον κρείττον καὶ χειρόν ἐστὶν ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας. ἂρ' οὖν ἀνθρώπου μόνου ἀρετὴ οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ δεῖ ἡμᾶς εἰς τὰς<sup>3</sup> τρίχας ἀφορᾶν καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ τοὺς πάππους;

19 (17). Stobaeus, III. 4, 93

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ.<sup>4</sup>

Τῷ μὲν ἰατρῷ μηδὲν συμβουλεύοντι ἄχθονται οἱ κάμνοντες καὶ ἡγοῦνται ἀπεγινῶσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

<sup>1</sup> σου added here by Schenkl; after ἐγὼ *A man. alt.*, and Gesner.

<sup>2</sup> ἔχω added by Gesner.

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bid his host to set before him fish or cakes, he would be regarded as eccentric. Yet in the world at large we ask the gods for things which they do not give us, and that too when there are many things which they actually have given us.

### 18

#### *From the same*

Those are amusing persons, he said, who take great pride in the things which are not under our control. A man says, "I am better than you; for I have many estates, and you are half-dead with hunger."<sup>1</sup> Another says, "I am a consular." Another, "I am a procurator." Another, "I have thick curly hair." But one horse does not say to another horse, "I am better than you, for I have quantities of fodder, and a great deal of barley, and my bridles are of gold, and my saddle-cloths are embroidered," but "I can run faster than you can." And every creature is better or worse because of its own particular virtue or vice. Can it be, then, that man is the only creature without a special virtue, but he must have recourse to his hair, and his clothes, and his grandsires?

### 19

#### *The same*

When men are sick and their physician gives them no advice, they are annoyed, and think that

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<sup>1</sup> The phrase is from Plato, *Symposium*, 207 B.

<sup>3</sup> τὰς added by Meineke.

<sup>4</sup> The superscription added by Gaisford.

## ARRIAN'S DISCOURSES OF EPICTETUS

πρὸς δὲ τὸν φιλόσοφον διὰ τί<sup>1</sup> οὐκ ἄν τις οὕτω διατεθείη, ὥστε οἰηθῆναι ἀπεγνώσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σωφρονήσειν, εἰ μηδὲν λέγοι ἔτι<sup>2</sup> πρὸς αὐτὸν τῶν χρησίμων;

20 (18). Stobaeus, III. 4, 94

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ.

Οἱ τὸ σῶμα εὖ διακείμενοι καὶ καύματα καὶ ψύχη ὑπομένουσιν· οὕτω δὲ καὶ οἱ τὴν ψυχὴν καλῶς διακείμενοι καὶ ὀργὴν καὶ λύπην καὶ περιχάριαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάθη φέρουσιν.

21 (56). Stobaeus, III. 7, 16

Ἐπικτήτου.

Διὰ τοῦτο ἐπαινεῖν Ἀγριππῖνον δίκαιον, ὅτι πλείστου ἄξιος ἀνὴρ γενόμενος οὐδεπώποτε ἐπήνεσεν ἑαυτόν, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ ἄλλος τις αὐτὸν ἐπῆναι, ἡρυθρία. οὗτος δ', ἔφη, ὁ ἀνὴρ τοιοῦτος ἦν, ὥστε τοῦ συμβαίνοντος ἀεὶ ἑαυτῷ δυσκόλου ἔπαινον γράφειν· εἰ μὲν πυρέττοι, πυρετοῦ· εἰ δὲ ἀδοξοῖ, ἀδοξίας· εἰ δὲ φεύγοι,<sup>3</sup> φυγῆς. καί ποτε μέλλοντι, ἔφη, αὐτῷ<sup>4</sup> ἀριστήσκειν ἐπέστη ὁ λέγων, ὅτι φεύγειν αὐτὸν κελεύει Νέρων, καὶ ὃς<sup>5</sup> “οὐκοῦν,” εἶπεν, “ἐν Ἀρικίᾳ ἀριστήσομεν.”

<sup>1</sup> διὰ τί Gesner : διότι MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Bücheler : τι MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Meineke : φύγοι MSS.

<sup>4</sup> Gesner : τω or τῷ MSS.

<sup>5</sup> ἔφη after this word deleted by Schow.

<sup>1</sup> A distinguished Roman Stoic of the middle of the first century after Christ. See I. 1, 28–30; I. 2, 12–13; frag. 22.

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he has given them up. And why should not a man feel that way toward the philosopher, and so conclude that he has given up hope of one's ever coming to a sound state of mind, if he no longer tells one anything that is of any use?

### 20

#### *The same*

Those whose bodies are in good condition can endure heat and cold; so also those whose souls are in an excellent condition can endure anger, and grief, and great joy, and every other emotion.

### 21

#### *From Epictetus*

For this reason it is right to praise Agrippinus,<sup>1</sup> because, although he was a man of the very highest worth, he never praised himself, but used to blush even if someone else praised him. His character was such, said Epictetus, that when any hardship befell him he would compose a eulogy upon it; on fever, if he had a fever; on disrepute, if he suffered from disrepute; on exile, if he went into exile. And once, he said, when Agrippinus was preparing to take lunch, a man brought him word that Nero ordered him into exile; "Very well," said he, "we shall take our lunch in Aricia."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The first stop outside Rome for persons travelling south and east, the common direction, as in the well-known *egressum magna me excepit Aricia Roma* (Horace, *Sat.* I. 5, 1). Compare the version of the same incident in I. 1, 30.

# ARRIAN'S DISCOURSES OF EPICTETUS

22. Stobaeus, IV. 7, 44

Αγριππίνου.<sup>1</sup>

Ὁ Ἀγριππίνος ἡγεμονεύων ἐπειρᾶτο τοὺς καταδικαζομένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πείθειν, ὅτι προσήκει αὐτοῖς καταδικασθῆναι. οὐ γὰρ ὡς πολέμιος αὐτοῖς, ἔφη, οὐδ' ὡς ληστής καταφέρω τὴν ψῆφον αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπιμελητὴς καὶ κηδεμών, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ ἰατρὸς τὸν τεμνόμενον παραμυθεῖται καὶ πείθει παρέχειν ἑαυτόν.

23 (94). Stobaeus, IV. 53, 29

Ἐπικτήτου.

Θαυμαστὴ ἡ φύσις καί, ὥς φησιν ὁ Ξενοφῶν, φιλόζωος. τὸ γοῦν σῶμα, τὸ πάντων ἀηδέστατον καὶ ῥυπαρώτατον, στέργομεν καὶ θεραπεύομεν· εἰ γὰρ ἔδει πέντε μόναις ἡμέραις θεραπεῦσαι τὸ τοῦ γείτονος σῶμα, οὐκ ἂν ὑπεμείναμεν. ὅρα γὰρ οἷόν ἐστιν ἔωθεν ἀναστάντα τρίβειν τοὺς ὀδόντας τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους καὶ τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ποιήσαντα ἀπονίξειν ἐκείνα τὰ μέρη. τῷ ὄντι θαυμαστόν ἐστι φιλεῖν πρᾶγμα, ᾧ τοσαῦτα λειτουργοῦμεν καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν. νάττω τουτονὶ τὸν θύλακον· εἴτα κενῶ· τί τούτου βαρύτερον; ἀλλὰ θεῷ δεῖ με ὑπηρετεῖν. διὰ τοῦτο μένω καὶ ἀνέχομαι λούων τὸ δύστηνον

<sup>1</sup> See explanatory note.

<sup>1</sup> Ascribed to Epictetus by Gaisford and Asmus, but there is some doubt about the ascription, for the resemblance with I. 18 is not conclusive.

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### 22

*From Agrippinus*<sup>1</sup>

When Agrippinus was governor,<sup>2</sup> he used to try to persuade the persons whom he sentenced that it was proper for them to be sentenced. "For," he would say, "it is not as an enemy or as a brigand that I record my vote against them, but as a curator and guardian; just as also the physician encourages the man upon whom he is operating, and persuades him to submit to the operation."

### 23

*From Epictetus*

Nature is wonderful, and, as Xenophon<sup>3</sup> says, "fond of her creatures." At all events we love and tend our body, the most unpleasant and dirtiest thing that there is; why, if we had had to tend our neighbour's body for no more than five days, we could not have endured it. Just consider what a nuisance it is to get up in the morning and brush some other person's teeth, and then after attending to a call of nature to wash those parts. Truly it is wonderful to love a thing for which we perform so many services every day. I stuff this bag here;<sup>4</sup> and then I empty it; what is more tiresome? But I must serve God. For that reason I remain, and endure to wash this miserable paltry body, and to

<sup>2</sup> He was proconsul of Crete and Cyrenaica under Claudius. For all that is known about him see *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, III. p. 4, No. 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Memorabilia*, I. 4, 7, where, however, the expression is used of a "wise Creator."

<sup>4</sup> Pointing to his belly.



## ARRIAN'S DISCOURSES OF EPICETUS

τοῦτο σωματίον, χορτάζων, σκέπων· ὅτε δὲ νεώτερος ἦν, καὶ ἄλλο τι προσέταπτε μοι καὶ ὁμως ἡνειχόμεν αὐτοῦ. διὰ τί οὖν οὐκ ἀνέχεσθε, ὅταν ἡ δοῦσα ἡμῖν φύσις τὸ σῶμα ἀφαιρῇται;— Φιλῶ, φησὶν, αὐτό.—Οὐκ οὖν, ὃ νῦν δὴ ἔλεγον, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ φιλεῖν ἡ φύσις σοι δέδωκεν; ἡ δ' αὐτὴ λέγει “ἄφες αὐτὸ ἥδη καὶ μηκέτι πρᾶγμα ἔχε.”

24 (95). Stobaeus, IV. 53, 30

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ.

Ἐὰν νέος τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον, ἐγκαλεῖ τοῖς θεοῖς . . .,<sup>1</sup> ὅτι δέον αὐτὸν ἥδη ἀναπεπαῦσθαι πρᾶγμα ἔχει, καὶ οὐδὲν ἥττον, ὅταν προσίῃ<sup>2</sup> ὁ θάνατος, ζῆν βούλεται καὶ πέμπει παρὰ τὸν ἱατρὸν καὶ δεῖται αὐτοῦ μηδὲν ἀπολιπεῖν προθυμίας καὶ ἐπιμελείας. θαυμαστοί, ἔφη, ἄνθρωποι μήτε ζῆν θέλοντες μήτε ἀποθνήσκουσιν.

25 (71). Stobaeus, III. 20, 67

Ἐπικτήτου.

“Ὅτω μετὰ ἀνατάσεως καὶ ἀπειλῆς ἐπιχειρεῖς, μέμνησο προλέγειν, ὅτι ἡμέρος εἶ· καὶ οὐδὲν ἄγριον δράσας ἀμετανόητος καὶ ἀνεύθυνος διαγενήσῃ.

<sup>1</sup> For the obvious lacuna the best suggestions seem to be: ὅτι πρὸ τῆς ὥρας ἀρπάζεται (Cobet)· ἐὰν δὲ γέρων τις ὦν μὴ τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον (Schweighäuser), καὶ οὗτος ἐγκαλεῖ τοῖς θεοῖς (Cobet).

<sup>2</sup> Meibom: προσή or προσίει MSS.

## FRAGMENTS

feed and shelter it; and when I was younger, there was still another behest which it laid upon me, yet nevertheless I endured it. Why, then, when Nature, which gave us our body, takes it away, do you not bear it?—I love it, says somebody.—Well, but as I was just now saying, is it not Nature that has given you this very affection? But the same Nature also says, “Let it go now, and have no more trouble with it.”

### 24

#### *The same*

If a man dies young, he blames the gods (<because he is carried off before his time. But if a man fails to die when he is old, he too blames the gods>), because, when it was long since time for him to rest, he has trouble; yet none the less, when death draws nigh, he wishes to live, and sends for the doctor, and implores him to spare no zeal and pains. People are very strange, he used to say, wishing neither to live nor to die.

### 25

#### *From Epictetus*

When you attack someone with vehemence and threatening, remember to tell yourself beforehand that you are a tame animal;<sup>1</sup> and then you will never do anything fierce, and so will come to the end of your life without having to repent, or to be called to account.

<sup>1</sup> See IV. 5, 10.

## ARRIAN'S DISCOURSES OF EPICTETUS

26 (176). Marcus Aurelius, 4, 41

Ψυχάριον εἰ βαστάζον νεκρόν, ὡς Ἐπίκτητος ἔλεγεν.

27 (177). Marcus Aurelius, 11, 37

Τέχνην ἔφη δὲ περὶ τὸ συγκατατίθεσθαι εὐρεῖν καὶ ἐν τῷ περὶ τὰς ὁρμὰς τόπῳ τὸ προσεκτικὸν φυλάσσειν, ἵνα μεθ' ὑπεξαιρέσεως, ἵνα κοινωνικαί, ἵνα κατ' ἀξίαν, καὶ ὀρέξεως μὲν παντάπασιν ἀπέχεσθαι, ἐκκλίσει δὲ πρὸς μηδὲν τῶν οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν χρῆσθαι.

28 (178). Marcus Aurelius, 11, 38

Οὐ περὶ τοῦ τυχόντος οὖν, ἔφη, ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγών, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ μαίνεσθαι ἢ μή.

28 a. Marcus Aurelius, 11, 39<sup>1</sup>

Ὁ Σωκράτης ἔλεγεν “τί θέλετε; λογικῶν ψυχὰς ἔχειν ἢ ἀλόγων;” “λογικῶν.” “τίνων λογικῶν; ὑγιῶν ἢ φαύλων;” “ὑγιῶν.” “τί οὖν οὐ ζητεῖτε;” “ὅτι ἔχομεν.” “τί οὖν μάχεσθε καὶ διαφέρεσθε;”

28 b. Marcus Aurelius, 4, 49, 2-6<sup>2</sup>

“‘Ἀτυχῆς ἐγώ, ὅτι τοῦτό μοι συνέβη.’ οὐμνεοῦν· ἀλλ’ ‘εὐτυχῆς ἐγώ, ὅτι τούτου μοι συμβε-

<sup>1</sup> Ascribed to Epictetus by Leopold and Breithaupt.

<sup>2</sup> Convincingly assigned to Epictetus for many reasons, chiefly lexicographical, by H. Fränkel, *Philologus* 80 (1924), 221. I give the text of Schenkl (1913), with the quotation marks adjusted to the new interpretation.

## FRAGMENTS

26

You are a little soul, carrying around a corpse, as Epictetus used to say.

27

We must discover, said he, an art that deals with assent, and in the sphere of the choices we must be careful to maintain close attention, that they be made with due reservations, that they be social, and that they be according to merit; and from desire we must refrain altogether, and must exercise aversion towards none of the things that are not under our control.

28

It is no ordinary matter that is at stake, said he, but it is a question of either madness or sanity.

28a

Socrates used to say, "What do you want? To have souls of rational or irrational animals?" "Of rational animals." "Of what kind of rational animals? Sound or vicious?" "Sound." "Why, then, do you not try to get them?" "Because we have them." "Why, then, do you strive and quarrel?"

28b<sup>1</sup>

"Me miserable, that this has befallen me!" Say not so, but rather, "Fortunate that I am, because,

<sup>1</sup> This whole passage is taken to be a direct quotation from Epictetus, with the exception of the first two lines in the second paragraph, where Marcus Aurelius applies the doctrine to himself, and the last two lines, in which he characteristically condenses and summarizes it.

## ARRIAN'S DISCOURSES OF EPICTETUS

βηκότος ἄλυπος διατελῶ οὔτε ὑπὸ παρόντος θραυόμενος, οὔτε ἐπιὸν φοβούμενος.' συμβῆναι μὲν γὰρ τὸ τοιοῦτον παντὶ ἐδύνατο· ἄλυπος δὲ οὐ πᾶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἂν διετέλεσεν. διὰ τί οὖν ἐκεῖνο μᾶλλον ἀτύχημα ἢ τοῦτο εὐτύχημα; λέγεις δὲ ὅλως ἀτύχημα ἀνθρώπου, ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπότευγμα τῆς φύσεως τοῦ ἀνθρώπου; ἀπότευγμα δὲ τῆς φύσεως τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἶναι δοκεῖ σοι, ὃ μὴ παρὰ τὸ βούλημα τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ; τί οὖν; τὸ βούλημα μεμάθηκας. μή τι οὖν τὸ συμβεβηκὸς τοῦτο κωλύει σε δίκαιον εἶναι, μεγαλόψυχον, σώφρονα, ἔμφρονα, ἀπρόπτωτον, ἀδιάψευστον, αἰδήμονα, ἐλεύθερον, τᾶλλα, ὧν συμπαρόντων ἢ φύσις ἢ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀπέχει τὰ ἴδια;'

Μέμνησο λοιπὸν ἐπὶ παντὸς τοῦ εἰς λύπην σε προαγομένου, τούτῳ χρῆσθαι τῷ δόγματι· “οὐχ ὅτι τοῦτο ἀτύχημα, ἀλλὰ τὸ φέρειν αὐτὸ γενναίως εὐτύχημα.”

## FRAGMENTA DUBIA ET SPURIA

29 (77). Stobaeus, III. 35, 10<sup>1</sup>

Ἐκ τοῦ Ἐπικτήτου ἐγχειριδίου.

Μηδενὸς οὕτως ἐν παντὶ προνόει, ὥς τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς· ἀσφαλέστερον γὰρ τοῦ λέγειν τὸ σιγᾶν· εἰ δὲ τὸ λέγειν, ὅσα δίχα ἔσται νοῦ καὶ ψόγου μεστά.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These words are not found in the *Encheiridion*, and may very possibly not be by Epictetus at all.

## DOUBTFUL AND SPURIOUS FRAGMENTS

although this has befallen me, I continue to live untroubled, being neither crushed by the present nor afraid of the future." For something of this kind might have befallen anyone; but not everyone would have continued to live untroubled by it. Why, then, count the former aspect of the matter a misfortune, rather than this latter good fortune? And in general do you call a man's misfortune that which is not an aberration from man's nature? And does that seem to you to be an aberration from the nature of man which does not contravene the will of his nature? What then? This will of man's nature you have already learned; this, then, which has befallen you does not prevent you, does it, from being just, high-minded, self-controlled, self-possessed, deliberate, free from deceit, self-respecting, free, and everything else, the possession of which enables the nature of man to come into its own?

*Remember for the future, whenever anything begins to trouble you, to make use of the following judgement: This thing is not a misfortune, but to bear it in a noble spirit is good fortune.*

## DOUBTFUL AND SPURIOUS FRAGMENTS

29

*From the Encheiridion of Epictetus*

Under all circumstances take thought of nothing so much as safety; for it is safer to keep silence than to speak; and refrain from saying what will be devoid of sense and full of censure.

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<sup>2</sup> Supplied by Hense.

30 (89). Stobaeus, IV. 46, 22 <sup>1</sup>

[Ἐπικτήτου.]

Οὐτε ναῦν ἐξ ἐνὸς ἀγκυρίου οὐτε βίον ἐκ μιᾶς ἐλπίδος ἁρμολύειν.

31 (90). Stobaeus, IV. 46, 23

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ.

Καὶ τοῖς σκέλεσι καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσι τὰ δυνατὰ δεῖ διαβαίνειν.

32 (92). Stobaeus, IV. 53, 27 <sup>2</sup>

[Ἐπικτήτου.]

Ψυχὴν σώματος ἀναγκαιότερον ἰᾶσθαι· τοῦ γὰρ κακῶς ζῆν τὸ τεθνάναι κρεῖσσον.

33 (54). Stobaeus, III. 6, 59. Democritus, frag.  
232 (Diels)

[Τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Ἐπικλήτου)].<sup>3</sup>

Τῶν ἡδέων τὰ σπανιώτατα γινόμενα μάλιστα τέρπει.

34 (55). Stobaeus, III. 6, 60. Democritus, frag.  
233 (Diels)

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ.

Εἴ τις ὑπερβάλλοι τὸ μέτριον, τὰ ἐπιτερπέστατα ἀτερπέστατα ἂν γίνοιτο.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This and the next fragment probably belong to the collection of Aristonymus.

<sup>2</sup> Various ascribed elsewhere.



## DOUBTFUL AND SPURIOUS FRAGMENTS

30

*From Epictetus*

We ought neither to fasten our ship to one small anchor nor our life to a single hope.

31

*From the same*

We ought to measure both the length of our stride, and the extent of our hope, by what is possible.

32

*From Epictetus*

It is much more necessary to cure the soul than the body; for death is better than a bad life.

33

*From the same*

Those of our pleasures which come most rarely give the greatest delight.

34

*From the same*

If a man should overpass the mean, the most delightful things would become least delightful.

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<sup>3</sup> So in *Florilegium*, Cod. Paris. 1168 [500 E]. The fragment belongs to Democritus.

<sup>4</sup> Burchard: γέγνοιτο or γένοιτο MSS. The fragment belongs to Democritus.

# ARRIAN'S DISCOURSES OF EPICTETUS

35 (114). *Florilegium*, Cod. Paris. 1168 [501 E]

Οὐδεὶς ἐλεύθερος ἑαυτοῦ μὴ κρατῶν.<sup>1</sup>

36 (140). Antonius, 1, 21<sup>2</sup>

Ἀθάνατον χρῆμα ἢ ἀλήθεια καὶ αἰδῖον,  
παρέχει δὲ ἡμῖν οὐ κάλλος χρόνῳ μαραινόμενον  
οὔτε παρρησίαν ἀφαιρετὴν<sup>3</sup> ὑπὸ δίκης, ἀλλὰ  
τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ νόμιμα διακρίνουσα ἀπ' αὐτῶν  
τὰ ἄδिका καὶ ἀπελέγχουσα.

<sup>1</sup> In Stobaeus the maxim is ascribed to Pythagoras.

<sup>2</sup> The style of this fragment is alien to Epictetus.

<sup>3</sup> Kronenberg: ἀφαιρείτην MS.

## DOUBTFUL AND SPURIOUS FRAGMENTS

35

No man is free who is not master of himself.

36

The truth is something immortal and eternal, and does not present us with a beauty that withers from the passage of time, nor a freedom of speech which can be taken away by justice, but it presents us with what is just and lawful, distinguishing the unlawful therefrom, and refuting it.