

The Manuel of Epictetus

Translated out of Greeke into French, and now
into English, conferred with two Latine
translations. Whereunto are annexed annotations,
and also the apothegs of the same author.

Translated by James Sanford (1567)

Contents

The Manuel of Epictetus	1
Cap. 1. What things are in man, and what are not.	1
Cap. 2. Of the damage which proceedeth of taking the one for the other, and of the profit in good Iudgement.	2
Cap. 3. That other mens matters must be omitted, our owne must be seene vnto, and that we can not do both.	2
Cap. 4. Howe we oughte to behaue oure selues in euery sharpe imagination.	3
Cap. 5. What thing it is that one ought to desire, & one ought to flee.	4
Cap. 6. Howe we oughte to esteme the thinges wherein we take pleasure, or which bryng vs profite.	5
Cap. 7. How a man ought to take a matter in hand that we may be voide of perturbation, & first by meditation.	6
Cap. 8. Howe to put awaye our perturbations, thorowe the consideration of the nature of suche things, as trouble vs.	6
Cap. 9. The reason and proufe of the former precept with an assignation of thre sorts of men.	7
Cap. 10. That the glory in exterior and outward things is vayne.	8

Cap. 11. What outwarde things are graunted vs, and howe we should vse them, by a similitude.	8
Cap. 12. How we may enioy outward things without fault or trouble.	10
Cap. 13. Of the remedies which we haue against all accidentes.	11
Cap. 14. What maner of men we oughte to shewe oure selues, when we lose outwarde worldly goodes.	11
Cap. 15. That a man ought not to lose the quiet- nesse of mynde, for exterior and worldly things.	12
Cap. 16. That for the estimation of the people we ought not abandon vertue.	13
Cap. 17. Against vaine glory.	13
Cap. 18. What things we oughte to desire, & what we ought not.	14
Cap. 19. What things make vs bonde, and what free.	14
Cap. 20. A rule to electe and choose things present■ past, and to come, by a similitude.	15
Cap. 21. By what meanes we muste gouerne oure Imagination about such things, as seme to be eschewed.	16
Cap. 22. That it lieth not in vs to choose the state of our life, but to vse it euen as it chaunceth, by a very apte similitude.	16
Cap. 23. By what meanes we ought to gouerne our Imagination, in looking for diuers things.	17
Cap. 24. Howe to be vnconquerable, being the cause of the former precepte, and as it were the conclusion.	18
Cap. 25. Which is the readiest way to vertue. . .	18
Cap. 26. A solution of them which seme to let the things before mentioned, & how a man should not be angrie.	19
Cap. 27. How to learne, and set our minde in highe thinges.	19

Cap. 28. The seconde part, wherein he doeth pointe him out which hath already profited. And doth first dissolue such things, as come in vre to the students of Philosophie.	20
Cap. 29. That bosting destroyeth the state of a Philosopher, in shewyng wherevnto he oughte to leane.	21
Cap. 30. How to aunswere to such staves as woulde hinder a man from wisdom.	22
Cap. 31. A continuation of the solution of suche things as do hinder him which doth beginne to studye philosophie and wisdom, in shewing that a man should not moue him- selfe, for that which chaūceth to an other & that he hath nothing of an other without giuing of his owne.	24
Cap. 32. What thinges are common euen accord- ing to the will of nature.	25
Cap. 33. Howe one ought to vnderstande the nature of yll.	26
Cap. 34. We ought not abandon our minde to wrath for iniuries done: and how to take in hand our enterprises.	26
Cap. 35. An effectuall example to consider what may befall in euerie thing which we shall take in hande.	27
Cap. 36. That dueties do arise of nature, and that they are considered howe a man shoulde behaue him selfe towards any man, nexte of the dueties towards men. . . .	29
Cap. 37. What our dueties are towards GOD, and how to behaue vs in his doings.	30
Cap. 38. What maner of man he ought to be that cōmeth to a Diuinour, and how to vse diuina- tions, wherin resteth our duetie towards God, and towards our selues.	32

Cap. 39. Dueties towards our selues, & firste of such as tende to the constancie of maners, and what thinges let it, and chiefly of talke and silence.	33
Cap. 40. Of laughing.	34
Cap. 41. Of Othes.	34
Cap. 42. What conuersation may do.	34
Cap. 43. Of the vse of suche things as belong to the bodie.	34
Cap. 44. Of the acte of Nature.	35
Cap. 45. Against anger, and what manner of men we should shewe our selues towards backebiters.	35
Cap. 46. How to behaue our selues in shewes and triumphes.	35
Cap. 47. Of the desire of suche as go to heare others communication.	36
Cap. 48. When one hath to speake with a noble personage.	36
Cap. 49. How we ought to prepare our selues, when we goe to speake with a man of honoure.	37
Cap. 50. When we meete with many men, how to frame our communication.	37
Cap. 51. Howe to resist pleasure.	38
Cap. 52. That we oughte not to leaue off our good purpose, what soeuer men say.	38
Cap. 53. Of the honestie that we ought to keepe at the table.	39
Cap. 54. That we should not vndertake more than we are able to do.	39
Cap. 55. That we ought to be circumspect aswell to saue the minde harmelesse, as the body.	40
Cap. 56. Of the possession of suche things as belong to the body.	40
Cap. 56. For maydens vnmariied.	40
Cap. 57. That more care is to be had of the mynde than of the bodie.	41

Cap. 58. A precept to learne pacience and meekenesse.	41
Cap. 59. That all things partely do agree the one with the other, and partly do disagree. . . .	42
Cap. 60. That bicause of knoweledge, or hauing more than other, we cannot inferre that we are better.	43
Cap. 61. Of an exact iudgement in things. . . .	43
Cap. 62. Against glorie and ostentation. And first as touching knowledge.	44
Cap. 63. Against the boasting of sobrietie and sufferaunce.	44
Cap. 64. The description of a triple qualitie or propertie, that is, of the vnlearned, of the Philosopher, and of him that beginneth to learne.	45
Cap. 65. That learning is not only to be expounded but also to liue according as it doth prescribe.	46
Cap. 66. That we ought to perseuer in goodnesse.	47
Cap. 67. That we ought not to deferre from day to day, for to leade a perfect life.	47
Cap. 68. Three places in Philosophie, and the order of them together.	47
Cap. 69. Three sentences of the auncientes to be had in minde. Of the which the first is of Cleantes, the seconde of Euripides, the thirde of Plato.	48

The Manuel of Epictetus

A reading edition. The original 1567 spelling of James Sanford's translation is preserved verbatim; only the printer's line-break hyphens and page-layout line breaks have been removed. Sanford's marginal notes are gathered as numbered footnotes; his "Annotations" follow the chapters they gloss.

Source: Early English Books Online (EEBO-TCP), University of Michigan, text A00301 (STC 10425). Superscript abbreviations such as y^e (the), y^u (thou), y^t (that) and w^t (with) are retained.

Cap. 1. What things are in man, and what are not.

OF al things which are,¹ some are in vs, some are not. In vs are Opinion, Endeuer, Desire, Eschuing, & briefly al that which is our worke. In vs are not our Body, Possessions, Honours, Souerainties,² and summarily al that which is not our worke. Then the things which are in vs are frée and franke by nature, and can not be prohib-

¹A diuision of things.

²The natural condition of things.

ited, impeached, nor taken away. But such things as are not in vs, bée seruile, féeble, and may be prohibited, impeched and taken away, as things vnto other men belonging, and not ours.

Cap. 2. Of the damage which proceedeth of taking the one for the other, and of the profit in good Iudgement.

IF the thinges which are franke and frée, thou shalte es-téeme and Iudge seruill, and the thinges which are not oures, thou thynke proper, thou shalt be sorrowfull, thou shalte be troubled, thou shalt finde thy selfe encombred, & shalte miscontente thy selfe with God and men. But if thou thinke onely the things thyne, which truely are thine, and the things other mennes, which truely are other mens, no man wyll constrayne thée, no man wyll hinder thée, thou shalt blame no body, thou shalt accuse no body, thou shalt do nothing againste thy wyll, no man shall hurte thée, and moreouer thou shalte haue no enemy. For in nothing which is hurtefull thou canst not be perswaded.³

Cap. 3. That other mens matters must be omitted, our owne must be seene vnto, and that we can not do both.

THEN if thou desire such things, remember that thou oughteste not beyng greatly mooued and troubled, to take them in hand: but eyther altogether thou oughteste to reiecte them,⁴ or for a tyme laye thē a side, and before al things to be carefull ouer thy selfe. But if thou desire these things, that is to rule, to be rich, to haue thine to

³The effects of a good and euill iudgement.

⁴Our consideration is to be stirred vp and a diligēt preparation to be vsed.

prosper, peradventure thou shalte not aspire to all these things,⁵ bicause thou doest desire also the chefest. So by no maner of means thou art able to attain vnto y^e things which giue felicitie & libertie to man.

Annotations

All these things) That is rule, riches. &c. *bicause thou doest desire the chiefest*) that is, these things which Philosophie giueth, Libertie, tranquillitie of the mynde, and securitie.

Cap. 4. Howe we oughte to behaue oure selues in euery sharpe imagination.

IN any strong and sharpe Imagination,⁶ thou must accustom thy selfe immediatly to consider, that this is nothing else but Imagination, and that in déede it is not as thou déemest. Afterward search it out, and examine it, with these rules whiche thou haste.

First and principally by this, whether the thing concerne the things whiche are in vs, or the things which are not. And if it be of the things whiche are not in vs, haue incontinently thys in remembrance: *That belongeth nothing to me.*

⁵One can not serue vertue and vanitie.

⁶We must refrain our cōsent before the matter bee plainly perceiued.

Cap. 5. What thing it is that one ought to desire, & one ought to flee.

CALL to remembraunce,⁷ that the promise and the end of desire is, enioying of the thyng desired: and that the promise and ende of eschewing is not to fall into that, whiche one oughte to flée: He then which cōmeth not to enioy, but is depriued of the promise of his desire, is not happy, but vnfortunate, and whoso falleth on y^e, which he declineth, is miserable. If thē onely thou decline that which is not agreable to the nature of the things whiche are in vs, thou shalt neuer chaunce into that, whiche thou shalt flee. But if thou thinkest to erempt thy selfe from sickennesse death or frō pouertie, or altogether shunne them, thou shalt finde thy selfe vnhappy.⁸ Wherefore thou must set apart all the eschuing, and auoiding of suche things as are not in vs, and transpose these into them which are against the nature of things, whiche be in vs. As touching desire, thou must altogether set it aside at this present. For if thou couet the things which are not in our power, it must néedes be, that thou be frustrate. Howe and after what sorte thou must desire the things which are in vs, thou art yet vncertaine. As for endeuoure and refraining of y^e minde vse it sleightly with reason, and a rested deliberation.

Annotations

Promise of desire, It is a certain faining of desire speaking with a mā. To the vnlearned sort the wordes should be more plaine■ if he had thus spoken: when thou doest desire any thing, haue a cōfidence to obtaine it, & to haue thy desire. &c *that which is not agreable to ye nature of the things which are in vs*, Against these things

⁷A vain flight from discommodities maketh a man miserable, & a depriuing of desires maketh a man vnfortunate.

⁸One newly entred in the doctrine of vertue ought not to take to much vpō him.

verely do repugne, false opinion, naughtie & corrupt appetite, all the perturbatiōs of the minde, whiche the Stoicke Philosophers would haue to be in mans power: not so peradventure that they appeare not (for that were more beseming God than man) but that they obeye reason. *Trāspose these into them which ar against the nature of things which be in vs.* These words seme vnto the vnlearned obscure, which had ben more lighter and easy, if he had written thus: To abhorre false opinions, foolish and euil desires, dishonestie, and disworship. For as thou mayest flee these thinges, so thou mayest eschewe them.

Cap. 6. Howe we oughte to esteme the thinges wherein we take pleasure, or which bryng vs profite.

IN euery thing, whiche doth eyther delite thée,⁹ or whiche are profitable vnto thée, or which thou louest, thou must diligently consider the qualitie, beginning at the least thyngs. If thou loue a pot, say in thys manner: I loue a pot, thesame beyng brokē, thou shalte not disquiete thy selfe, for thou diddest well knowe, that he was fragile and brittle. Likewise if thou loue thy sonne, or thy wyfe, saye that thou doest loue a man: if one or other chāce to dye thou shalt not be troubled, bicause thou dyddest consider well that he was mortall.

Annotations

If thou loue a pot, Albeit Epictet, as a dispiser of riches, bringeth forth examples of vyle thyngs, as of baynes, lactuce, and other of that sort: yet Simplicius hath a more apte worde: If thou hādell or tosse a pot: that is, a brittle thing that cānot abyde or suffer tossyng, or hitting

⁹The nature of the thing derely loued is to be considered.

against the walles, as glasse, wherof Publiā sayth, Fortune is as brittle as glasse, whiche when it shineth, it is broken. Peraduenture he alluded to Diogenes Tonne.

Cap. 7. How a man ought to take a matter in hand that we may be voide of perturbation, & first by meditation.

WHen y^u doest take any thing in hande,¹⁰ thou muste set before thy eyes y^e qualitie therof: as if thou wyllt goe to the baines, cōsider with thy selfe diligētly all that which may happen, & what they do. Some cast water, some are driuen out of their places, some doe a thing to the rebuke of an other, and in the meane season other picke & steale. In doyng thys thou shalt more certainly and constantly bryng thy matter to passe, if finally thou saye I wyll bath my selfe, and obserue thy purpose vnto nature agréable, and semblably in all things thou shalt not do amisse. For after this sort if any harme befall while thou arte in the baine, this saying shal be in a redinesse: I would not onely obserue this, but also would not swarue from my purpose whiche is agréable vnto nature, whiche I shall not performe, if I take displeasauntly the things which happen and befall.

Cap. 8. Howe to put awaye our perturbations, thorowe the consideration of the nature of suche things, as trouble vs.

THE things do not trouble men, but the opinions whiche they conceyue of them, as for example: death is not terrible (thē it would haue so séemed to Socrates) but bicause

¹⁰The circumstāces of euery businesse are to be considered.

the opinion of death is terrible,¹¹ death semeth terrible. Then when we are brought in the briers, or be troubled, or that we do bewaile our owne state, let vs not blame others but our selues, that is to say our opinions.¹²

Annotations

Death is not terrible, If either the soule be extinguished with the body, or be trāsferred and caried into a better place. But if thou shalte be punished for thy offences, it is a daungerous matter, and a harde case, excepte thou be fensed with the buckler of true pietie.

Cap. 9. The reason and proufe of the former precept with an assignation of thre sorts of men.

The vnlerned accuseth other in his owne propre faulte. He that begynneth to haue knowledge accuseth him selfe. The learned accuseth neither an other, neither him selfe.

Annotations

The vnlerned, That is he, which considereth not what things are his owne, and what ar an other mannes: who requireth all things to be done according to his wil and pleasure, that which neither may be done, neither perhappes ought not. *Himself* for he doth acknowledge hys faulte, and also is intentiue and diligente about it, leaste that he stumble againe at the same stone: that is, lest that he claime or attribute other mens right to himselfe.

¹¹A wise man is without complaint.

¹²We are troubled with opinions, not with the things them selues.

Cap. 10. That the glory in exterior and outwarde things is vayne.

GLory not in thy selfe for the excellencie of an other thing.¹³ It shoulde be tollerable, if a horse aduaunting himself should say: I am faire. But thou when in bosting thy selfe, thou doest say, I haue a faire horse: remember that thou dost glorifie thy selfe for the beautie which is in the horse.¹⁴ What haste thou then? Nothing bisides the vse of opinion.

Therefore when in the vse of opinion thou shalt gouerne thy selfe according to nature, then thou shalt haue wherewith to auaunte thy selfe, for in any commoditie which is thine, thou wilt glorifie thy selfe.

Annotations

The vse of opinion, This semeth obscure to the vnlearned. But it is euen as he should say In all things we ought not to follow appetite, or the common opinion, but the iudgement of reason. For to vse well opinion, is nothing else than to iudge well of all things, and to obey reason, not affection.

Cap. 11. What outwarde things are graunted vs, and howe we should vse them, by a similitude.

Even as in Nauigation,¹⁵ when men make their abode at any hauen, if y^e Mariner goeth to lande for freshe water, and it hapneth that incidently by the way, he thinketh to gather cockles or oysters, yet neuerthesse he ought to

¹³We must auaunt in the riches of the minde, and not in the gifts of fortune.

¹⁴The vse of opinion is propre vnto man.

¹⁵We oughte in al things principally to be mindful of God.

haue regard of the shippe, and oftentimes to looke back, whether y^e Master calleth: and if he call thée, leaue all behinde, and returne to the shippe, least that thou being bond like a beast, be not drawn by force to the shippe. Euen so it is, in the course of our life, as if for a cockle or an oister, there be gyuen vs a wife and a childe, or other things, which we holde deare, and wherin we take plesure, they ought not to put vs from our purpose vnto nature agréable: But if the master do call, run vnto the shippe, leauing these things behinde, not looking backe towards them. But if thou be olde, go neuer farre from the ship, least that thou being called, do fail, & that thou be not constrained. For he which willingly followeth not necessitie, by force and maulgre his téeth she draweth him.

Annotations

Least yt thou being called dost fail. He speaketh not of the outwarde power, but of the imbecillitie and weaknesse of the might: which the greter it shalbe whē age cōmeth on vs with more few things the mind is to be occupied: for bicause it is very difficulte to be voide of these, and to fulfill that which Philosophie commandeth. A single person (if other things be correspondent) may be in his life time, cōtented with a little, and die with a more pacient minde. A wife, children, and familie, do more trouble and disquiete the husbände and father, being as well in good healthe, as sicke, than his life. I vnderstande the shippe, either to be Philosophie, or the trade of our life: the ruler and maister of the Shippe to be GOD: to whom when he calleth, who so obeyeth not either is entreted as a slaue, or else is vtterly forsaken.

Cap. 12. How we may enioy outward things without fault or trouble.

Wish not that the thyng which is done,¹⁶ be done according to thy pleasure and will. But wish that it be done, euen as it is don, and thou shalt be happie. Sicknesse is an impedimēt of the body, not of thy purpose, except thou wilt thy selfe.¹⁷ Halting is an impediment of the legge or foote, and not of thy purpose, and so consider in euerie inconuenience whiche may befall, and thou shalte finde the impediment to appertaine to an other, and not to thée.

Annotations

Halting is an impediment of ye foote, not of thy purpose. But thou wilt say whē thou art purposed to goe a iourney (namely if thou want a horse, or a waggon) halting hindereth thee. Epictet wil answer & say: If thou shalt follow my precepts, thou shalt begyn no iourney, whiche thou art not hable to atchieue. So the more and greater the impedimentes of the body shall be, so much the more thou shalt suppress appetite, and shalte take fewer things in hande. But thou dost say, that this is the impediment of purpose, and therefore very troublesome. Epictet denieth it to be an impediment, to desire nothing rashly and in vaine: but affirmeth it to be the propre part & office of a Philosopher. Verily, euen a foole doth vnderstande this, that it is better to make appetite obey reason, than to burne in vaine desires. *The impediment to appertaine to another and not to thée*) If he would graūt the foote to be a part of the body, (neither doeth he denie it) & the bodie to be part of man (which he seemeth to denie) when his foote is poistered & shakled, the bodie is also cūbred, the body being cumbred, mā hym selfe at least wise partely is cumbred, but if the body be the in-

¹⁶We muste not couet in vaine, that which is impossible.

¹⁷A wel framed mynde is disturbed with nothing.

strument of man, doutlesse it cā not be denied, but that the instrument being mutilate and vnperfect, the worke shalbe more vnperfect and vnmeete. For thou shalt haue the ouerthrowe, if thy Sworde or Dagger lacke hiltes and handle.

Cap. 13. Of the remedies which we haue against all accidentes.

IN euery accident thou must incontinently consider what puissance & strēgth thou hast to withstand that whiche is hapned.¹⁸ If any mischiefe befall vnto thée, thou shalt finde vertue whiche is good and holsome, as against voluptuousnesse, continencie. If labour be offred thée, thou shalte finde strength: if wrong, pacience: and if thou shalt thus accustome thy selfe, thou shalt neuer be troubled with ymaginations.

Annotations

Thou shalt not be troubled with imaginations) That is, thou shalt neuer be ouercome and subdued with pleasure and sorrowe, but shalt conquere naughtie desires, and affections, by the helpe of wisdom and vertue.

Cap. 14. What maner of men we oughte to shewe oure selues, when we lose outwarde worldly goodes.

NEuer say that thou haste loste any thing,¹⁹ but that thou haste restored it. If thy sonne die, he is restored. Thy liuelode is taken away, hast thou not restored it? But

¹⁸The power of the mind ought to resist aduersity & naughty desires.

¹⁹We do neuer lose our goods, but restore thē, to him of whom we receiued them, that is to God.

he which depriued thée of it, is an yll man. What matter maketh it to thée, by whome he which gaue it, hath eft-soones taken it? Haue a care and regarde to all things, keping and vsing them (during the time only that thou haste them in thy custodie) as things vnto other men belonging, euen as the wayfaring man dothe to his lodging.

Cap. 15. That a man ought not to lose the quietnesse of mynde, for exteriour and worldly things.

IF thou wilt profite thy self,²⁰ let passe these cogitations. If I shall not be carefull of my affaires, I shall not haue wherwith to liue. If I correct not my seruāt, he will be naught. For it is farre better to famish without sorowe and feare, than to liue in abundance with a troubled minde. And it is much better, that the seruant shoulde bée faultie, than thou whiche art his maister vnhappy. Then thou must begin with the least things, the Oyle is spilte, the Wine is stolne. Consider with thy selfe, that quietnesse and securitie of the mind cost thée so much: for nothing is fréely gotten. If thou call thy seruant, imagine it may so fal out, that he heareth thée not, or hearing thée, to doe nothing whiche thou wouldest haue him do. But that he is not worth so much, that for him thou shouldst be troubled.

Annotations

It is far better to famish. &c. It may be asked not without a cause whether so greate constancie may agree with mans nature, that it may suffer and endure extreme hunger?

²⁰The garnishing of the minde is to be regarded aboue all things.

Cap. 16. That for the estimation of the people we ought not abandon vertue.

IF thou wilt profit thy selfe, be not displeased, if for outwarde things, thou seme to other madde or folish.²¹

Annotations

If thou wilt profit That is to say in Philosophy and garningish of the mind. For he vnderstandeth and meaneth that progressiō, wherby the tranquillitie and libertie of the minde is increased. *Be not displeased, if for. &c.* For who so regardeth not pleasures, riches, & honor, namely if he may obtaine them: of all men he is accompted a foole, namely in these dayes. But in times past diuers Philosophers and good mē for the loue they had to vertue abandoned al worldly wealth and promotions, as Crates, Diogenes, and thys our Epictete.

Cap. 17. Against vaine glory.

SEke not to séeme learned and experte in any thing,²² and if to any thou doest seme, trust not thy self: for thou knowest it is not easy for a man to kepe hys purpose agreeable vnto nature, and to embrace exteriour things, but it must néedes be, that he which is careful of one, should be negligent in the other.

²¹We muste take paciently the euill opinion of the multitude conceiued of vs.

²²It is hard to doe many things at once.

Cap. 18. What things we oughte to desire, & what we ought not.

IF thou wilt haue thy wife,²³ thy children, and thy frends to liue for euer, thou art a foole. For thou wilt haue in thy power the things whiche are not, & wilt haue y^e things to be thine, which are belonging to other mē. And so if thou wilt not haue thy seruaunte to offende, thou art a foole, for y^u wilte haue vice to be no vice. But if thou wilt not be frustrate of that whiche thou doest desire, this thou maiest do: herein then exercise thy selfe.

Annotations

For thou wilt haue vice to be no vice, He meaneth (as I suppose) that boyes and al maner of men, by nature are inclined to vice: and that vices cannot be repelled, but by philosophie which yong and tender age is not able to receyue.

Cap. 19. What things make vs bonde, and what free.

HE is Master and Lord of any man,²⁴ to whome (nil he will he) he maye either giue or take awaye. He then which will be frée, let him neither desire, nor flée any thing, which is in an other man hys hande, and power, otherwise of necessitie he shal be constrained to serue.

Annotations

He is Master of any man. &c. How many Maisters then hath Fortune layed vpon vs? Howe many more do we

²³We do in vaine seke to kepe those things inuiolable, which are not in our power.

²⁴Who is a maister.

laye vpon vs, thorowe the insaciabie desire of transitorie thinges?

Cap. 20. A rule to electe and choose things present■ past, and to come, by a similitude.

REmēber that thou muste make comparison of thy lyfe to a banket:²⁵ where if the meate stande before thée, thou muste take it modestlie: if he, whiche doth bring it, doe passe by thée, staye hym not, or if he be not yet come to thée, be not ouer gredy thereof: but stay vn-till he come to thée. In like manner thou must dispose thy self, towards thy children, towards thy wyfe, towards greate men, and towards riches, so at length thou shalt be worthie the table of y^e Godds. But if thou take not that which is set before thée, but doest refuse it: then thou shalt not only be worthy of their table, but to be their companion: for when *Diogenes*, and *Heraclitus* and other like to them did thus, worthily, and of very good righte they were diuine, and so were accompted.

Annotations

Worthy the table of the Goddes) He signifieth, that the despising of outward & worldly things is a certaine heauenly thing, & that it maketh a man like to God. *They wer diuine, & so were accompted.* Arrogantly doubtlesse, and ignorantely. For howe farre doth euen the excellentest man that euer was differ from the least part of the Godhead?

²⁵Such things as are offred are to be taken: suche things as are denied vs, are not to be desired.

Cap. 21. By what meanes we muste gouerne oure Imagination about such things, as seme to be eschewed.

WHen thou doest see any man sorrowful,²⁶ and torment hym self either bicause he hath no tidings of his son, either bicause he is dead, either bicause he hath spent all, beware enter not into imaginatiō, that this maketh him vnhappy: but haue redilie in remembraunce that it is not the accident, which troubleth him (seing it tormenteth not an other) but his opinion conceyued therof. But if thou fall in talke with him, accommodate thy self to his perturbation, and moreouer if the matter so require, weepe also with him for companie: but take héede that thou sorrowe not inwardlie.

Cap. 22. That it lieth not in vs to choose the state of our life, but to vse it euen as it chaunceth, by a very apte similitude.

THou must remember that thou arte one of the players in an enterlude,²⁷ and must plaie y^e parte, which the author thereof shall appoint, thou must play be it lōg, be it shorte. If he appointe thée to play the begger, y^e Creple, y^e Prince, or the priuate person, do it well and wittilie, for it lieth in thée to play that part, whervnto thou art appointed, and in an other to choose and appoint thée.

²⁶We muste haue regard to humanitie in suche sort, that the quietnesse of minde be retained.

²⁷We muste passe the whole course and time of our life, according to Gods will.

Annotations

Which the authors therof shall appoint, That is, whether he be a comicall, or a tragical Poet? As concerning the very mater the Greeke Epigram doth declare.

Which may thus be englished: What is our life? a gawish game a sweete delighting play. Then cares in gaming lay a side, or liue a miser aye.

Nazianzenus doeth almost signifie the same, but with a more grautie and pietie, in these verses worthy to be had in remembraunce.

Which may after this sorte be Englished.

Cap. 23. By what meanes we ought to gouerne our Imagination, in looking for diuers things.

IF thou take the croking of a crow to be vnluckie,²⁸ lette not that imagination moue thee, but iudge immediatly in thy self, and say: That portendeth nothyng to me, but eyther to my body, or to my possession, or to my estimation, or to my wyfe, or to my children: but as touchyng my selfe, they signifie nothing but good, at least wise if I will: for what so euer shall chaunce, it lieth in mee to haue the profite and commoditie of it, if I will.

Annotations

If thou take the croking. &c. We haue in stede of diuination by flying and crying of birdes Astrologie: Which if by yerely reuolutions & progressions of the starres, it threaten damages and dangers, let vs not vse Epictet his counsell, but godly prayers.

²⁸A wyse man taketh profite by euery chaunce.

Cap. 24. Howe to be vnconquerable, being the cause of the former precepte, and as it were the conclusion.

THou mayest bée inuincible,²⁹ if thou neuer enter into battaile, for thou art vncertain, whether it lye in thée or no, to haue the the victorie.

Annotations

Thou mayest bée vnconquerable. This saying dependeth vppon the diuision of things made in the beginning. They are conquered, which couet other mens goodes, that is, suche as belong to the body, and are placed in fortunes hande. They conquere, whiche resiste naughtie opinious and desires, so that they contende according to the lawe.

Cap. 25. Which is the readiest way to vertue.

TAke héede that in following thy imaginatiō thou say at no time,³⁰ the man is happie, whom thou doest sée auaunced eyther to honour, or authoritie, or renoumed: for if the substance of goodnesse be in the things, which are subiecte to vs, there nether enuie, nor emulatiō taketh any place. Then thy purpose is not to be Emperour,³¹ or King, but frée, & frāke. But vnto that thing there is but one certaine waye, that is, the contempte of such things as are not in vs.

²⁹We muste take in hand things agreable to oure strength.

³⁰He that seketh for all good things of him selfe, he doth neither maruell at any mā, nor enuyeth any.

³¹There is one way to libertie: the despising of outwarde things.

Annotations

For if the substaūce of goodnesse. &c. The vnderstanding of this sentence is vttered stoicallie in darke wordes. He which seeketh all good things of himselfe, is of a quiet mind: who so is of a quiet minde, he doeth neither enuie, nor emulate. For seing that lack of paine called in Latin Indolentia excludeth all perturbations:³² verely it excludeth enuie and emulation. But if these affections do rule in any: it is manifestlie gathered thereof, that he is farre from the tranquillitie of the minde, and doth not obey the preceptes of Philosophie.

Cap. 26. A solution of them which seme to let the things before mentioned, & how a man should not be angrie.

REmember,³³ that he, which taunteth or beateth, is not y^e author of reproch, but the opinion conceiued of y^e same as reprocheful. Then when any doeth kindle thée to wrath, vnderstande that thou art moued to anger thorow thine opinion. Wherefore especiallie endeuoure thy selfe,³⁴ that imaginations plucke not cōsente from thée, for if thou shalte once suppress it for a certaine time, thou shalt more easilie be thy own Miaster.

Cap. 27. How to learne, and set our minde in highe thinges.

SEt before thy eyes, deathe, banishment, and all things which séeme terrible, but especially death: in so doing,

³²[Greek] [Greek]

³³No man is hurt, but of himselfe.

³⁴Delay establysheth iudgement.

thou shalt not thinke vpō base and vile things, and shalte neuer be excēding couetous.

Annotations

And shalt neuer be exceding couetous. Syracides affirmeth,³⁵ that the imagination of death, and God his iudgemente doth feare vs frō sinne. Which if it do: we are taught to suffer aduersitie much more paciently, & to despise prosperitie, bicause of their sorrow and profit, which endureth for a little space.³⁶ So Cicero. All pleasure sayth he is to be esteemed as nothing, which when it is paste, it is as if there had ben none at all. But in great grieve of the bodie and anguish of the minde, one houre seemeth longer than a whole yeare.

Cap. 28. The seconde part, wherein he doeth pointe him out which hath already profited. And doth first dissolue such things, as come in vre to the students of Philosophie.

AS soone as thou haste determined to leade a perfect lyfe,³⁷ prepare and addresse thy self to be scorned and mocked of many, and to heare what they speake of thée, wherof commeth this sodain sagenesse and grautie? whereof commeth this sadnesse? laye aparte thy sadde sowre countenance. But yet reteine & kepe these things which séeme best to thée, in such sorte, as if this were the front where God hath ordained and placed thée to fight.³⁸ And if thou persist in the same things, they whiche before haue mocked thée, will haue

³⁵Syracides.

³⁶Cicero.

³⁷A Philosopher ought not to regarde the mockery of the people.

³⁸Constancie getteth victorie.

thée in admiration: but if like one fléeing awaye, thou gyue ouer thy enterprise, thou shalte be double as much mocked and scorned.

Annotations

Lay apart thy sad sowre coūtenāce. That is, a musing countenance, sad grauitie and hautinesse of minde. And it appeareth by this shorte and quicke sentence of Menander,³⁹ that this was the countenance of Philosophers. They which loke stately, say, that Solitarinesse is mete for meditation.

Cap. 29. That bosting destroyeth the state of a Philosopher, in shewyng wherevnto he oughte to leane.

IF it chaunce at any time, that thou giue thy self to the things which are not in vs, and that thou dost desire to please any man, vnderstand that at the same present thou art fallen frō thy state.⁴⁰ Wherefore in all things let this suffice thée, to bée a Philosopher: But if thou dost couet to séeme to any a Philosopher, let it be to thy self, and that shall be sufficient.

Annotations

If it chaunce at any tyme that thou giue thy self. &c. He forbiddeth the desire of glorie, & seeking for ostentation, which affectiō it will be long before it take place in good and learned men. He woulde haue a Philosopher to kepe him self within the limittes of his conscience, as an oyster within his shell, and to iudge that, the most noble shew of his vertue. *Thou art fallen from thy state,* That is to saye, thou arte vanquished.

³⁹Menāder

⁴⁰By this worde Philosopher is ment a wise man.

Cap. 30. How to aunswere to such stayes as woulde hinder a man from wisdome.

LEtte not these cogitations torment thee,⁴¹ I shall not be in honor nor in place, where I shall be regarded: for if to bée without honour is an ill thing, thou canst not be in euill for an other thing, no more than in a dishonest thing. Is it in thee to beare rule, or to be bidden to a banket? No. What is this then, but to be without honour? and howe sayest thou, that thou shalte not be esteemed, whom it behoueth to to medle in those things onely which are in our power, in which thou mayst beare a great sway and stroke. But thou wilt say I can not profit my friends. What doest thou call to profite?⁴² shall they haue no mony of thee? neither wilt thou make them citizens of Rome? But who told thee that these things be in vs, & other mens workes? Who can gyue to an other that he himself hath not? Get it, (say they) that we may haue it, also. If I may get it,⁴³ kéeping my selfe modest, faithful, and valiant, shew me the way, and I will get it. If ye thinke it méete, that I should lose my goods, that you should get such thinges as are not good, sée your selues haue vnreasonable and vngratefull you are? But if thou preferre a faithfull and sincere friende before money, herein help me, and thinke it not méete that I shoulde doe the things whereby I should loose modestie and fidelitie: But I can not succoure nor ayde my coütrei.⁴⁴ What doest thou call succoure & aide? That it shall not haue of thee, nor by thy meanes, faire & sumptuous buildings, nor baines? What then? hath it not shooes by the Shoemaker and Armour by the Armorer? It is suf-

⁴¹That a Philosopher euen of small substaunce, may muche profit the common wealth by teaching of vertue & hys good example.

⁴²How a wise man aideth his friends.

⁴³We ought to require of euerye mā but such things as he maye and ought to performe.

⁴⁴How a wise mā helpeth his coütrei.

ficient when euery vocation doth his work. If thou get it a faithfull and modest member, doest thou thinke, that thou bringest it but a little profit? very great doubtlesse. In so doing thou arte not vnprofitable to it. In what state shall I be in my coūtry? in that thou maist, keping alwayes fidelitie and modestie. But if supposing to aide it thou loose modesty and fidelitie, what profit shalt thou do to it, which arte become impudent and disloyall.

Annotations

Thou canst not be in euil for an other thing, This sentence dependeth vpon the opinion of the stoicks, that only honesty is good, & onely vice is naught. The contempt and despising of me, if I do my duety, is not my vice, therfore neither my euill, but theyr vice and euyl who of a peruerse iudgement & naughty mind do contemne, dispise, and misuse mee without cause. *Shewe mee the way*, He signifieth that ryches and dignitie is gotten by nothyng else but by deceit, and for that cause a good man ought to despise them. Neither doth he speake of them, which shewe themselues vnworthy of honoure, and they are the cause, that they are not regarded. *A faithfull and sincere friend*, Nowe a daies most men had leiffer to haue money. Neither do they thinke that a poore friend may help vs in any thing. So are endowed maidens preferred before them, who are chaste, and well brought vp, if perhaps there be any suche, and doe so continue. Wherefore the wowers peraduenture are to be pardoned, who in so vncertayne a hazarde of chastitie, & honestie, had rather to abyde the vnquietnesse of riche than of poore wiues. *Neither hath it Shooes by the Shooemaker, nor Armour by the Armourer*. The sence is: sumptuous buildings baines, and the citie of Rome is no more to be required of a Philosopher, than weapons of the Shooemaker, or Shooes of the Smyth: seying that it is the duety of a Philosopher, to traine vp his countrey men in vertue, as it is the Shoemakers duetie to make Shooes, and the Smithes, Weapons.

Cap. 31. A continuation of the solution of suche things as do hinder him which doth beginne to studye philosophie and wisdom, in shewing that a man should not moue himselfe, for that which chaūceth to an other & that he hath nothing of an other without giuing of his owne.

IS there any placed before thée at a feast?⁴⁵ or was reuerēce done to him before it was done to thée? or is he preferred before thée in cōsaile? If these things be good, thou must reioyce, that thy neighbour hath them: if they be ill: then be not sorrowfull, bicause they chāced not to thée. Then remember in giuing thy minde to nothing else,⁴⁶ but to the things which are in vs, thou canst not attaine to the like things, which other doe in them which are not in vs. Howe may it bée done, that a man frequentyng not thy house shall haue like thynges as hée whiche haunteth thy house, or he that seketh not friendship and faouere, as he which doth? or he which doth not please and praise the, as he which doth please and praise thée? Thou shalte be vniust and vnsaciable if thou haue not payde for suche thinges as thou haste bought, but doest require to haue them for nothing. Admit the case I could not buye lectuce for a halfe penny,⁴⁷ if any then buy a half peny worth of lectuce, and thou dost buy none: think not thy self in worsser case & to haue lesse then he, which hath bought lectuce: for as he hath bought so thou hast not giuen thy halfpenny. Euen so it fareth, thou art not bidden to a mans feast, because thou haste not giuen him asmuche as his feaste coste him. He selleth it for praise, he selleth it for seruice. Giue him then (if

⁴⁵We must enuie no man, and reioyce of an others good fortune.

⁴⁶A benefit cōmonly is giuen for pleasure and seruice.

⁴⁷Who so lacketh cōmoditie lacketh also cost and disquietnesse

thou thinke it good) the pryce, for the whiche he solde it thée. But if thou wylte not performe that and take these things, thou arte vnsatiable and foolish. Hast thou giuen nothing in steade of the feast? Yes mary, for thou hast not praised him, whome thou wouldest, and haste not suffered him in his portly going.

Annotations

If these things be good, Bycause they are good, they are sorrowfull that they coulde not attaine to them: bicause they be euill, they are glad, that they are chaunced to other, *And hast not suffered*. &c. Pride and ambitious salutations of riche men do seeme to be vnderstoode in this place very troublous to a simple and learned man, in like maner salutations, retinues, praises. But perhaps rich men giuen to pleasures, going in their pompe, were wonte on euery side to leane and cleaue to Parasites.

Cap. 32. What thinges are common euen according to the will of nature.

THE purpose and will of nature,⁴⁸ may be iudged by these things, in which we differ not one from an other: as for exaample, if a mans seruaunt breake his Maisters cuppe or any other thing, incontinently it is saide this is a thing which oftentimes chaũceth: remember then when thine is broken, that thou be the same maner of man, as thou were when the other mans cuppe was broken. And so do in greater thyngs. If a mans child or wife chaunce to dye, there is no mā but will saye incontinently this is naturall. Notwithstanding euery man when any of his is dead, he doth lamēt and bewaile pitifully: But we muste remember how we are disposed, when we haue hearde any suche thing of others.

⁴⁸We must not iudge otherwise of oure owne misfortune than of other mens.

Cap. 33. Howe one ought to vnderstande the nature of yll.

Even as the white whereat Archers shoote,⁴⁹ is not set ther, wher it may not be stricken, so it is of the nature of ill in this worlde, for it is not set out to be embraced, but to be eschued: as if goodnesse were sette for the white, and euill were all that, wher the white were not, besides the white, the Archer hath an ample and large space to shoote frō the white: so without the onely marke of goodnesse on euery side is placed euil, which is as easy to be done and committed, as it is difficill to hitte the white, or to doe good.

Cap. 34. We ought not abandon our minde to wrath for iniuries done: and how to take in hand our enterprises.

IF any deliuer thy body to the firste he meteth, it wil greue thee exceedingly: but when thou doest yelde thy minde to the first that commeth, as when thou arte wronged, thy mynde is troubled and heauy, arte not thou ashamed?⁵⁰ Before thou take any thing in hande, consider first the beginning, and the sequele, & then take it in hand. If thou do not so thou shalte neuer be certaine and sure in thy enterprises, not regarding that which may befall, but after when any dishonest thinges chaunce, thou shalte be ashamed.

Annotations

If any deliuer thy bodie to the first he meteth, He argueth from a lesse thing to a more, after this sort: thou wilt be

⁴⁹It is in our choyse whether we wil be troubled with the opinion of yl things.

⁵⁰A premeditation and a diligent preparatiō putteth away ignomie and repentance.

angrie with them, which gaue power to any to violate thy bodie (such is the condition of them whiche are banished) how much more oughtest thou to be angrie with thy selfe, whiche art wont to giue power to euerie man to hurte thy minde, wheras it lieth in thee not to be hurt of any man at all?

Cap. 35. An effectuall example to consider what may befall in euerie thing which we shall take in hande.

Wilt thou cōquere at y^e playes *Olimpia*?⁵¹ And I by y^e faith of my bodie: for it is a verie honourable thing, but consider wel the beginning, and the sequele and then take the matter in hande. Thou must order well thy selfe, & vse necessarie meats, abstaine frō delicate and daintie things, and exercising thy selfe, according as it is expediente for the time and houre appointed, be it hote or colde, not drinking water or wine, if occasiō so require. And briefly thou must commit thy selfe whollie to the chiefe of the games as to the Phisicion in doing that whiche he shal appoint thée. Afterward enter into fight, and sometime to haue thy hand hurt, thy foote out of ioynte, to swallowe downe much dust, to receiue gréeuous strokes, and otherwhile after all this to be vanquished. When thou haste considered all these things, if thou be willing, go and fight, otherwyse thou shalt be like the little boyes which are now wrastlers, nowe swordplayers, nowe trumpeters, forthwith players in tragedies. So thou also now a fighter, now a swordplayer, afterward an Oratour, at length a Philosopher: but throughly nothing at al, but as an Ape thou doest counterfait and resemble al things, and nowe one thing shall lyke thée, now an other: for thou hast not done thy enterprise aduisedly, in foreséeing the circumstances, but aduenturouslie following a lighte and colde desire. So the greater number,

⁵¹ Temeritie is the mother of lightnesse and inconstancie.

when they see a Philosopher, or when they heare say that *Socrates* speaketh wel, (but who can speake so well as he?) they will incontinentlie dispute and reason of Philosophie, and searche the causes and nature of things. Man first consider the thing, & the qualitie therof, and then enterprise it.⁵² Afterwarde trie whether thy nature be able to endure that whiche may happen. Wilte thou be a wrastler? behold thy armes, thy thighes, and thy loines: For nature mother of all things, hath framed euery man to some particular thing. Doest thou thinke that endeuouring thy selfe about these things y^u mayest liue as thou hast bene accustomed? As to drinke so much as thou wer wont, to be angrie so muche as thou were wont? Thou must be vigilante, thou must trauell, thou muste set aside thy proper affaires, thou muste be mocked of boyes, dispised of all the world, and in all things to haue leste authoritie, be it in honoure, in office, or in iudgement, and in all other affaires.⁵³ Then consider al these things, and loke whether in their stéede, thou haddest leiuier to haue rest and libertie, without any perturbation. But if thou haddest not leiuier to haue it, see that thou take not in hande many things, to the ende that (as I haue tolde thée) like little boyes, thou be not now a philosopher, now a lawyer, afterward an aduocate lastlie the Proctor of *Cesar*. All which things knitte in one, can in no wise agree: for it must néedes be that thou be either a good or an ill man, that thou addict thy selfe to interiour or exteriour thinges: that thou possesse the place of a Philosopher and well aduised man, or of a Foole and Ideote.

Annotations

At the playes Olympia. Olympia were playes as running, wrestling, and suche other faictes of actiuitie accustomed.

⁵²Bothe the thyng and our nature is to be considered and compared together.

⁵³Constancie is to be obserued.

ablie kepte in the honour of Iupiter Olympicus, at Pisa & Helides Cities in Greece. *Man firste consider*, He signifieth as to wrastling, to leaping and rüning, al are not meete, so neither to Philosophie, both haue neede of patience of bodie & minde. Of which things, whoso is destitute, he shal be rather a counterfayt then a very wrastler & Philosopher. *Thou must be mocked of little boyes,*) Verely Philosophers were wonte of al men to be dispised, but great stoute champions were in admiration.

Cap. 36. That dueties do arise of nature, and that they are considered howe a man shoulde behaue him selfe towards any man, nexte of the dueties towards men.

DVtie is measured by mutual affections.⁵⁴ If thou haue a father, thou must regarde and honoure him: giue place to him in all things, and if he chide or beate thee, indure it. He is a naughtie father thou wilt say. Nature hath enioyned vs the obedience of the father without mention of good. Arte thou not ioyned by nature with a good father? No, but with a father. Wherefore do thy dutie towards him, and consider not what he doth: but do such things, whereby thou maiest kepe thy purpose agreeable to nature. No man will hurte thee excepte thou wilte. Thou shalte be then hurted, when thou shalte thinke thy selfe hurt. So thou shalt do the dutie of neyghbour to neyghbour, of Citizen to Citizen, of lord to lord, if thou accustome thy selfe to consider the mutuall affections.

⁵⁴We muste do our dutie towards all men, although other mē do not their dutie towards vs.

Annotations

By mutuall affections. Affections are used as a certaine rule to measure dueties by.

Cap. 37. What our dueties are towards GOD, and how to behaue vs in his doings.

THE principall point of honoring God, is to thinke well of him, to beleue that he is, that he hath created all things, and that well and iustly he gouerneth them:⁵⁵ afterward to obey him, accepting al things that he doth, as procéeding of a very good intent. In so doing, thou shalte not blaspheme God, neither shalt thou accuse him of negligence. Thou arte not able to do this, otherwise, excepte thou withdraw thy self frō the things which are not in vs, and placing good and ill in them which are in vs. But if thou estéeme any of the things, which are not in vs, to be good or ill, thou must of necessity, when thou doest not attaine to that whiche thou wouldest, or when thou doest fal into that which thou doest shunne, blame and hate the cause of such an accidēt which is good. All liuing creatures haue this by nature,⁵⁶ that they flée and eschewe suche things, and séeme vnto them noysome, and their causes: but contrarywise they search, & maruell at these things which séeme to bring profite, and the causes of them. He then which thinketh himselfe hurte, can take no delite in that which vnto him séemeth hurtefull. So it is impossible that a man hurte may reioyce. And hereof it commeth to passe that the son doth checke the father, when the father maketh him not partaker of the things, which séeme good vnto him. This is that, which made discorde betwene *Polinix* and *Eteocles*, bycause they es-

⁵⁵Their religion is nothing worth whiche do not place felicitie in the riches of the minde.

⁵⁶Tull. 1. Offic.

téemed rule good. For this cause the husbandman, for this cause the Mariner, for this cause the Marchant, for this cause they which loose their wife and childrē do oftentimes defile and detest God, for wheras vtilitie is,⁵⁷ there is also pietie. Wherefore he that doth endeuor to desire and flée that, euen as he ought, by the same meanes he obserueth and kéepeth pietie.⁵⁸ As touching offerings and oblations let euery man doe them according to the guise of his countrey: purely, without superfluitie, according to his abilitie, without negligence or niggardshippe.

Annotations

Whereas vtilitie is, there is pietie, O wonderfull sentence, and also wicked to see to: but so applied that it vncovereth the dissimulation of mans minde, and can scarce be nothing more agreeable to religion. *Guise of his countrey*. Forasmuche as pietie consisteth in the mind, he thinketh that we should not much regarde ceremonies. Which if it mighte be perswaded to some men which are in these dayes, we should liue more quietlie. It mighte be perswaded, if we woulde rather endeuoure to lyue according to religion, than to dispute of religiō: if we were rather desirers of the veritie than of vanitie, that is, of ambition, of emulation, of couetousnesse, of reuengemente, and of suche like confusions and destructions of the minde, if there be any other.

⁵⁷Where as vtilitie is, there is pietie.

⁵⁸He preferreth the rites of a cōtrey before the truthe.

Cap. 38. What maner of man he ought to be that cōmeth to a Diuinour, and how to vse diuinations, wherin resteth our duetie towardes God, and towardes our selues.

IF thou desire and seke to knowe that which is to come of any thing,⁵⁹ first thou must vnderstande y^t thou art ignoraunt of that shal come, and therefore thou doest goe to the Diuinour to knowe it of hym. Notwithstanding if thou be wise thou arte not ignoraunt what it is, nor the qualitie therof. For if it be among the number of the thinges whiche are not in vs, truelie it is necessarie, that it be neither good nor ill. Remoue then from thée (if thou go to the Diuinour) al desire & eschuing other thou shalte come to him trembling and quakyng. But when thou shalt vnderstande, whatsoeuer shall befall to appertain nothing to thée, and of thée not to be passed vpō thou mayest vse it well, and no man shall forbid thée. Therefore goe & aske counsaile of God, as of him who can giue thée very good, and after he hath giuen thée counsaile, remember whō thou hast called to counsaile, & whose counsaile thou hast despised. Coūsaile may be demaunded of the Diuinour (as *Socrates* sayeth) for such things, whose consideration is referred to the end, the knowledge of which ende, occasion cannot be giuen by any maner of meanes, nor any arte. And therefore thou must not aske counsaile of the Diuinour, whether thou shalt put thy life in daunger for thy country, or for thy friend, if nede require, for if he perceiue any vnluckie signe, it is altogether manifest, that it signifieth death, or some impedimente of thy bodie, or banishment: but reason telleth & perswadeth thée, that thou muste put thy selfe in daunger for Countrey, or for thy friend whē néede requireth. Giue eare then to that which the great

⁵⁹The diuinour is not to be counseled of our duetie, but of the su••cesse of certaine actiōs

Diuine *Apollo* sayeth, who did chase out of his temple, the man, which helped not his frend being in daunger of death.

Annotations

Remember whome thou hast called to counsaile, It must needes be, that the cunning of the diuinours, southsayers, was in diuination very great. Otherwise a man of so greate grauitie woulde not haue accompted their prophecies, for diuine aunswers.

Cap. 39. Dueties towards our selues, & firste of such as tende to the constancie of maners, and what thinges let it, and chiefly of talke and silence.

THou must prescribe a rule and fashion,⁶⁰ which from hence forth thou shalte obserue when thou art alone and when thou art in companie. Let silence be kept for the most part: or let necessarie things be talked of, and thesame in fewe words. But if the time require thée to speake,⁶¹ speake: but not of all thinges, not of the combate betwene fensers, not of rüning with horses, not of wrastlers, not of meates & drinkes triflingly, nor principally of men, in praising or blaming them, or comparing them with others. And if thou be able, chaūge thy familiars Communication into that which is honest and comelie. But if thou be enuironed with straungers, holde thy peace.

Annotations

Enuironed with straungers, He vnderstandeth those men, whome bicause of their estimation and authoritie

⁶⁰We must determin who and what maner of men wee will be.

⁶¹We muste rule our tongue.

he dareth not admonishe.

Cap. 40. Of laughing.

LAughe not much⁶², nor at all communication, neither a loude.

Cap. 41. Of Othes.

SWere not,⁶³ neither make an othe if it be possible for thée. But if thou canst not otherwise do, do it when it shall be nedefull.

Cap. 42. What conuersation may do.

FRrequent not the bankets and familiaritie of the cōmon sort,⁶⁴ and straungers. But if occasion so require, be mindeful and take héede that thou become not one of the common sort. And vnderstande thou that he which wrestleth with the defiled, must néedes be defiled also.

Cap. 43. Of the vse of suche things as belong to the bodie.

AS touching the body, take such things as shal be to his vse and also be profitable for the mind, as meate, drinke, apparell, harbour. But as touching daintie and delicate dishes, thou must altogether reiect them, and banishe them from thée.

⁶²Laughter.

⁶³Othes.

⁶⁴Bankets.

Cap. 44. Of the acte of Nature.

TOuching Venerie we ought as muche as is possible, to leade a chaste life before mariage. But if we be cōstrained, we must take nothing but that which is lawful: not withstanding reprove them not which vse it, in blaming them, and auaūting thy selfe abroade, that thou doest not vse it.

Annotations

In blaming them. Christian charitie commaundeth that sinners should be reprovēd, and obstinate persons to be eschued.

Cap. 45. Against anger, and what manner of men we should shewe our selues towards backbiters.

IF any bring thée worde,⁶⁵ such a man misreporteth and backebiteth thée. Excuse not that which he hath said, but make this aunswere: he is ignoraunt of many other great faults, and imperfections which are in me, otherwise, he woulde not onely haue sayd this.

Cap. 46. How to behaue our selues in shewes and triumphes.

IT is not requisite to frequent often the shewes and turnaments.⁶⁶ But if at any time occasion requireth, sée that thou séeme not to fauoure any man more than thy selfe, that is, wilt thou onely haue that done whiche is done: and him only to conquer, which conquereth? For so thou shalte not be empeched. Abstaine thy self altogether frō

⁶⁵An yl report is not to bee passed vpon.

⁶⁶Shewes are to be seene with a quiet minde.

shouting, frō consenting countenance, and let not thy gesture be sad and graue, but somewhat merry. At thy returne from the shewes, talke not much of the thinges whiche haue ben there done or said, seing they auail nothing to thy amendement.

Cap. 47. Of the desire of suche as go to heare others communication.

Approch not néere them, whom thou séest to commen apart, and be not thou present if it be possible, or as seldome as thou mayest. But if thou be presente kepe in suche wise thy constancie, that thou shewe thy selfe voyde of all perturbations.

Cap. 48. When one hath to speake with a noble personage.

IF thou haue any thing to do especially with suche as are of noble blood,⁶⁷ and great authoritie. Cōsider what *Socrates* or *Zeno* haue done herein, or the wisest man y^t euer thou diddest knowe, and so thou shalte not be in doubt, howe thou must behaue thy selfe.

Annotations

What Socrates or Zeno, That may be gathered out of bothe their sayinges and doings, forasmuch as we haue not any thing written of neither of them. But vnlesse thou shalt be endewed with the learning and constancie of them both foolish imitatiō will turne thee to shame. And perhappes they obserued not euery where a seemelinsse and grace.

⁶⁷In meetings, we must folow the examples of wise men.

Cap. 49. How we ought to prepare our selues, when we goe to speake with a man of honoure.

WHen thou wilt go to such a man as is of greate honoure,⁶⁸ presuppose in thy minde, what may chaunce, that (possibly) thou shalt not be receiued, that thou shalte be shutte oute of doores, that the gate shall not be opened, or that he will not regarde thee. Afterwarde ponder with thy selfe, if with all these thyngs, it bee expedient for thee to go to him: and when thou shalte come before him, suffer and endure that which shalbe done, and saye not to thy selfe: I deserue not to be thus entreated: for it is to common a thing to reprove and blame the thinges which are not in vs.

Cap. 50. When we meete with many men, how to frame our communication.

IN company speake not ouermuche, nor beyonde measure, of thy déedes, neither of thy daungers: for it can not so much contente other to heare them as thy selfe to rehearse them.⁶⁹ See also that thou moue no laughter by thy communication, for that (I wote not how) engendreth disdaine, and also causeth that no reuerence is giuen to thee by them which are present. And very often leadeth thy communication to filthy and dishonest talke.⁷⁰ But if it befall, and that the matter and time require it, reprove him that shall vse such ribauldrie and filthynesse. If not, at the least shewe and declare by silence and shamefastnesse, that suche communication doth displease thee.

⁶⁸The difficult comming to noble men is to be suffered.

⁶⁹Laughter is not to bee moued.

⁷⁰Ribauldrie is to be abhorred.

Cap. 51. Howe to resist pleasure.

IF thou cōceyue any pleasure in thy minde,⁷¹ be circumspecte (euen as in other things) that shée beguile thée not, but examine the matter, & take space to deliberate on it. Afterwarde consider both the times, that is to say, the time wherin thou dost enioy pleasure, and the time wherein after the enioying of it thou mayste repent thée for hauing enioyed it. And afterwarde reprove thy self, and consider how wel at ease and contented thou shalte bée, if thou abstaine thy selfe, and in so doing thou doest commende thy selfe. But yf the matter séeme to require thée to doe■ it, beware that hir flatteries, hir swéetenesse, and hir inticements ouercome thée not, but consider how farre better it shall be, if thou be able to winne the victorie of that conflicte.

Cap. 52. That we oughte not to leaue off our good purpose, what soeuer men say.

WHen thou arte resolved to do any thing,⁷² and hast not yet done it, refuse not to be séene in doing therof, although other may iudge amisse thereof, for if thou do euill, thou muste geue ouer thy worke: if thou do wel, feare them not who wrongfully, and without cause shall reprove thée.

⁷¹It is better to despise than to embrace pleasure.

⁷²Oure duetie oughte to moue vs, and not the communication of the people

Cap. 53. Of the honestie that we ought to keepe at the table.

WHO hath said:⁷³ it is daye, and it is night, taking the proposition seuerally we ought to agréé, but to vnderstande it together, it is not to be receyued. So at the table to choose for our selues the greatest, & the best parte of the meate, is a greate commoditie towards the bodye, but it is against the honest participation that we ought to haue at the table. Then if at any time thou be bidden to a banket,⁷⁴ remēber that thou muste not onely haue regarde to the meate, for the profite of thy body: but also to honestie, and to behaue thy self at the table, as thou oughtest.

Annotations

Wheras before he compared our life to a feast, let this precept be applied to all the parts of our life: and euery where let there not be a respecte to our priuate desire and vtilitie, but of equitie & societie, & let the will of the feaster, that is God, be considered.

Cap. 54. That we should not vndertake more than we are able to do.

IF thou haue taken more in hande,⁷⁵ than thou arte able to atchieue or bring to passe: thou shalt not bring it to effect, and also hast omitted that which thou were able to performe.

⁷³We muste not haue regard to our owne luste but to the Comunalitie.

⁷⁴In feastes modestie is to be obserued.

⁷⁵We ought to measure our strēgth in al things

Cap. 55. That we ought to be circum-spect aswell to saue the minde harme-lesse, as the body.

Even as in going thou doest take héede that thou steppe not vppon a nayle,⁷⁶ or that thou wreaste not thy foote: so in leading thy life take héede, that thou hurte not thy minde, the gouernesse of all thy doinges, which if we obserue in al things, we shall without daunger take them in hande.

Cap. 56. Of the possession of suche things as belong to the body.

THE bodie is to euery man the forme of riches,⁷⁷ as the foote is of the shooe. If then in thys thou perseuer, thou shalte kepe the meane: if thou excede, thou must néeds as it were, fall downe headlong: as if thou be more curious about the fashiō of the shooe, then is nedeful for y^e foote, thou wilt make him of golde, after of purple, laste of all set with studdes of gold: for there is no end of that thing which hath once passed measure.

Cap. 56. For maydens vnmarried.

WOMen after.xiiij. yeaes of age are called of louers Ladies:⁷⁸ for after this age men (to the end to company with them) endeuoure wholly to please them. To obtaine then mennes good will afterwarde they become very curious in trimming and decking themselues. Wherefore they muste be admonished, that for no other cause we esteeme them, but bicause they are modest, wise and hon-

⁷⁶We must endeuour to haue a perfect minde.

⁷⁷A few thinges are sufficient for nature, but infinite substance suffiseth not couetousnesse

⁷⁸Modestie in women is more to bee regarded, than theyr beautie.

est, bearing reuerence and obedience to their husbands.

Cap. 57. That more care is to be had of the mynde than of the bodie.

TO persiste and continewe in things which belong to the bodie,⁷⁹ for pleasures sake, as in much exercise, in much trimming, & adorning of the bodie, is signe of an abiecte minde, and verie much swaruing from nature, and also it is a signe of consenting to superfluitie: for we embrace pleasure, and reioyce in things which we allowe. We must thinke then the excéeding care of the bodie to be frō the purpose: but principallie we muste be carefull of that whereof the bodie is but the instrument, that is, the minde.

Cap. 58. A precept to learne pacience and meekenesse.

WHen any hath misused thée either in word or déede, remember that he doth suppose it to be done and saide according to his dutie. Wherefore it is impossible for him to followe thy aduise and counsaile, but his own. But if he iudge amisse, he is hurt whiche is deceyued. For if any do iudge hidden truthe to be a lye, the truthe hydden is not hurte, but he which shal be deceyued. If so be then thou be perswaded, thou shalt shewe thy selfe gentle and paciente towards him that hath iniuriéd thée. And at euerie thing thou shalt say, it hath so pleased him.

⁷⁹We must be stow much time in garnishing of the minde, but a little in the body

Annotations

He doth suppose it to be done according to his dutie. Pletho putteth vs in mind of the same,⁸⁰ that also we shoulde be blamed, which are able to perswade one thing, and can not induce others into our opinion. But thou wilt say, oftentimes vnreasonable and slaunderous men know that such things as they do are dishonest and shamefull for them to do. Epictetus maketh aunswere: they ar so much the more worse & miserable: but thou art neuer the more worse and miserable. But their dishonestie is to me a damage, bicause they hurte my estimation, bicause they diminish my substāce, bicause they doe afflict my body by violence or witchcraft, bicause they hinder my cōmodities? Epictet wil make aunswere, that these are none of thine, but other mens, and to appertaine nothing to thee. Wherof much is spoken of before. *The hidden truth*, As it is in Sophocles in Electra, Orestes was not therfore dead, bicause he had perswaded himselfe to bring his bones shutte in a coffin to Egisthus and others.

Cap. 59. That all things partely do agree the one with the other, and partly do disagree.

EVERY thing hath.tj. handels, one whereby it may be carried,⁸¹ the other whereby it may not. If thy brother be yll condicioned, take him not by that whereby he is yll condicioned, for it is the handle whereby he cannot be carried, but take him by that, whereby he is thy brother, and whereby he is nourished with thée, in so doing thou shalt take him by y^e handle, whereby he ought to be carried.

⁸⁰Pletho.

⁸¹The handle of humanitie and not of immanitie is to be taken.

Cap. 60. That bicause of knoweledge, or hauing more than other, we cannot inferre that we are better.

THese words agréé not together I am richer than thou,⁸² therfore better. I am wiser & better learned than thou art, therfore I am better: but these agréé farre better. I am richer than thou art, then my possession is better than thine. I am wiser and better learned than thou arte, my words then are better than thine, but thou art neither thy possession nor yet thy communication.

Annotations

But thou art neither. &c. Thou wylte say, yea: but bicause of riches, eloquence, and power, I am much regarded. The same doth Epictet reproue, who thinketh good onely wisdom and vertue to be much set by. What man except he were a very naughtie and wicked flatterer,⁸³ hath had Nero the Emperour in greate estimation, although besides his ryches and Empire, he were eloquent, a Poet, and a Musician? The minde of a perfect man abhorreth to allow those, whose folishnesse and dishonestie is knowen, in what fashion soeuer honour for a shewe be giuen to them, bicause of the giftes of fortune, and corrupte conuersation.

Cap. 61. Of an exact iudgement in things.

IF any washe himselfe spéedily, saye not that hée washeth himself naughtily,⁸⁴ but spedily. If any drinke

⁸²We muste not triūph of the giftes of fortune, but of the riches of the minde.

⁸³Nero.

⁸⁴Not onely the deede it selfe, but the cause of the dede is to be considered.

much, say not that he drinketh naughtily, but mucho, for if thou knowe not why he doth it, howe doest thou know that he doth naughtily? So it shall chaunce that we doe receyue and supporte the fantasies and imaginations of some, and to other we agréé.

Cap. 62. Against glorie and ostentation. And first as touching knowledge.

REpute not thy selfe a Philosopher in any case:⁸⁵ nether dispute not much of precepts, but rather put some thing in execution, as at the table, teach not how one should eate his meate, but eate as it behoueth théé.⁸⁶ For remember that *Socrates* did so set aside all ostentation. But if at any time these precepts come in question, speake as little as is possible, for it is daungerous to vomite that which the stomacke hath not well digested. And if it chaunce, that a man tell théé, that thou knowest nothing, and that it moueth théé not,⁸⁷ vnderstande that this is a great entraunce of thy worke, for the shéepe vomiting vp their grasse, declare not to y^e Shepherds how mucho they haue eatē, but digesting it within they shewe w^tout their fine wooll and milke. Thou therfore shewe not, neither vtter thy learning to y^e rude and ignoraūt: but declare some effects outwardly of that being well digested.

Cap. 63. Against the boasting of sobriety and sufferance.

GLory not thy selfe to haue mortified,⁸⁸ empai red, and weakened thy body thorough abstinence: Neither if thou

⁸⁵Philosophie is not to be declared by words, but by deedes.

⁸⁶Nothyng must be spoken vnaduisedly.

⁸⁷The Sheepe declare by their wooll and milke how much they haue eaten.

⁸⁸Ostentation is to be eschued.

haste dronken nothing but water, saye not at euery occasion, I drinke nothing but water. But consider how much more abstinēt the poore are, who craue almes, suffering and enduring muche more than thou. Furthermore consider howe many perfections and vertues thou haste not, which other haue. But if thou wilt exercise thy self in paine and pacience, do it by thy self, and séeke not to aduertise other of it, as they do who suffring wrong of great men, sette images on fire, & say, we are vndone, to the end to moue & assemble the people. For a bragger is altogether mindefull of worldely things, and turneth topsie turuie the goodnesse of paciēce and abstinence, bicause he determineth the ende of them is to haue, the good opinion and prayse of many.

Cap. 64. The description of a triple qualitie or propertie, that is, of the vnlearned, of the Philosopher, and of him that beginneth to learne.

THE condicion and state of the vnlearned is, to looke for of hym selfe neither profite nor damage, but of outwarde thyngs. The state and condicion of the philosopher is, to looke for of himselfe all vtilitie and discommoditie. The signe of him which beginneth to profite is,⁸⁹ that he dispraise no man, that he praise no mā, that he cōplaine of no man, y^t he accuse no mā, that he speake nothing of himself, as though he were any body, or knewe any thing. When he shal be at any tyme empeched or disturbed, he blameth none but himselfe. And if one commende him, he mocketh him couertly which cōmendeth him, if he be dispraised, he purgeth nor iustifieth himself: but liueth like a sicke person fearing to moue & trouble any thing within him before he be recouered. He setteth apart all appetite, and fléeth the thinges which are againste

⁸⁹The signes of him whiche profiteth

the nature of them whiche are in vs. He vseth a light endeavour aboute all things, and passeth not whether he be tearmed a Foole or an Ideote. And (in briefe) he watcheth himselfe, as his Enemie and Spye.

Annotations

That he dyspraise no man, That is through curiositie and too much diligence in other mens matters, or prouoked thorough selfe loue: Epitecte commendeth Agrippinus, but why? that other shoulde follow his example. He reprooueth other, wherefore? that they shoulde be amended.

Cap. 65. That learning is not only to be expounded but also to liue according as it doth prescribe.

IF any do auaunte that he can well interprete and expounde the sentences of *Chrisippus*,⁹⁰ say with thy self, if *Chrisippus* had not writtē darkly, & obscurely, I should haue nothing wherewith to auaunte my selfe. But *Chrisippus* hath not written, to the ende he would be interpreted, but to the end that according to his doctrine we should liue. If then I vse his preceptes, then shall I attaine to y^e goodnesse of them. But if I maruell at the interpretation, or if I can well interprete it my selfe, I maruel at the Grāmarian, not at the Philosopher, or else play the Grāmarian not the Philosopher. But what auaieth it to haue founde written remedies, to vnderstande them well, and being sicke thy selfe not to vse them?

⁹⁰They are Grāmarians not Philosophers, whiche doe expounde the preceptes of wise men, & follow them not.

Cap. 66. That we ought to perseuer in goodnesse.

THou must be stable and firme in thy good purpose and deliberation of life,⁹¹ euē as in a law. Perseuer therefore, euē as if in trāsgressing, thou shouldest incurre the crime of impietie. And whatsoeuer mē talke of thée, regarde it not, for that belongeth not to thée.

Cap. 67. That we ought not to deferre from day to day, for to leade a perfect life.

HOW lōg yet wilt thou deferre to esteme thy selfe at any tyme worthy of these thinges which are so excellēt, and not to trāsgresse one? But if frō day to day thou dost deferre y^e time, thou dost not auāce but hinder thy selfe. Then incontīnētly accustome thy selfe to liue as perfecte, and to vse well all accidents and chaunces. And in euery thing suppose that the combate is ready for thée, and neglecte no time, for that daye in the which thou doest not profit, thou doest receyue damage. After this manner *Socrates* became the wisest of al. But yf thou bée not yet *Socrates*, thou oughtest to liue as, one that would become *Socrates*.

Cap. 68. Three places in Philosophie, and the order of them together.

THE firste and moste necessarie place is that which appertaineth to the practise of knowledge:⁹² as, not to lye. The seconde whiche appertaineth to demonstrations: as, how commeth it to passe that this is demonstration?

⁹¹Preceptes are to be obeied, and wordes are not to be regarded.

⁹²Precepts are better than the cause of preceptes, and the Methode of demonstratiōs.

What demonstration is? what cōsequence is? what fighting is? what is true? what is false? Therefore y^e thirde place is necessarie for the seconde, the seconde for the first. The most necessarie of all, and wherein to rest our selues is the first. But we doe contrary, for we stay our selues in the thirde, and therein bestow all our studie, and make no accompt of the first, but are altogether negligente. And how? For we make leasings, and notwithstanding wée haue well néere alwayes no other thing in our mouthe, why and wherefore we oughte not to lye.

Annotations

Not to lye. And this is the actiue or morall part. *We should not lye.* This is called the iudiciall or naturall part. *To demonstrations.* This is logike and Rhetoricke, wherby we proue and trie the truthe, and disproue that which is false.

Cap. 69. Three sentences of the auncientes to be had in minde. Of the which the first is of Cleantes, the seconde of Euripides, the thirde of Plato.

LEt vs alwayes haue these thrée thinges in memorie and before [1] our eyes. The first is, Necessitie draweth all thinges (will we nill we) euē as God hath appointed, wherefore he which willingly followeth it, is [2] wise. The seconde is if I recoile and giue back, I shal be naughte, & spite of my téeth wéeing and wailing I must [3] néedes follow. But the third, O *Crito* If it so please god, so be it. *Anitus* trulie and *Melitus* may well kill me, but to hurte me, it lieth not in their power.

Annotations

It is maruell that this morall and auailable saying of Epictetus was omitted, [*Greek*] [*Greek*], that is, Beare and Forbeare, whiche be vsed very often, and doth in a manner comprehende al that whereof mencion is made at large in this boke.