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made up of parts of the same nature, as a heap implies a quantity of grain of the same kind. Which admitted happiness must be compounded of goods, which alone are honest; if there is any mixture of things of another sort with these, nothing honest can proceed from such a composition: now take away honesty, how can you imagine any thing happy? For whatever is good is desirable on *that account*: whatever is desirable must certainly be approved of: whatever you approve of must be looked on as acceptable and welcome. You must consequently assign dignity to this; and if so, it must necessarily be laudable; therefore every thing that is laudable, is good. Hence it follows, that honesty is the only good. Should we not look on it in this light, we must call a great many things good.

XVI. Not to mention riches, which, as any one, let him be ever so unworthy, may have them, I do not reckon amongst goods, for good is not attainable by all. I pass over nobility, and popular fame raised by the united voice of knaves and fools. Even things which are absolute nothings, may be called goods; as white teeth, handsome eyes, a good complexion,

complexion, and what was commended by Euryclea when she was washing Ulysses's feet, the softness of his skin, and the mildness of his discourse. If you look on these as goods, what greater encomiums can the gravity of a philosopher be entitled to, than the wild opinion of the vulgar, and the thoughtless crowd? The Stoicks give the name of excellent and choice to what the others call good: they call them so indeed: but they do not allow them to complete a happy life: but these think there is no life happy without them; or admitting it to be happy, they deny it to be the most happy. But our opinion is that it is the most happy: and we prove it from that conclusion of Socrates. For thus that author of philosophy argued. That as the disposition of a man's mind is, so is the man: such as the man is, such will be his discourse: his actions will correspond with his discourse, and his life with his actions. But the disposition of a good man's mind is laudable, the life therefore of a good man is laudable: it is honest therefore, because laudable; the inference from which is, that the life of good men is happy. For, good gods! did I not make it appear, by my former disputations, or was I only amusing myself and killing

killing time, in what I then said, that the mind of a wise man was always free from every hasty motion, which I call a perturbation? A temperate man then constant, without fear or grief, without any immoderate joy or desire, cannot be otherwise than happy: but a wise man is always so; therefore always happy. Why then cannot a good man make every thing he thinks, or doth, regard what is laudable? For he has respect in every thing to living happily: a happy life then is laudable; but nothing is laudable without virtue; a happy life then is the effect of virtue.

XVII. The inference is made too in this manner. A wicked life has nothing to be spoke of or gloried in: nor has that life, which is neither happy nor miserable. But there is a kind of life that admits of being spoken of and gloried in, and boasted of, as Epaminondas saith,

*The wings of Sparta's pride my counsels
clipt.*

Thus Africanus,

*Who from beyond Mæotis, to the place
Where the sun rises, deeds like mine can
trace?* If

If then there is such a thing as a happy life; it is to be gloried in, spoken of, and commended by the person who enjoys it; but there is nothing, excepting that, which can be spoken of, or gloried in; which admitted, you know what follows. Now unless an honest life is a happy life, there must of course be something preferable to a happy life. For they will certainly grant honesty to have the preference. Thus there will be something better than a happy life: than which what can be more absurd? What? When they grant vice to be effectual to the rendering life miserable, must they not admit the same force to be in virtue to the making it happy? For contraries follow from contraries. And here I ask, what they think of Critolaus's balance? Who, when having put the goods of the mind into one scale, and the goods of the body and other external advantages into the other, thought the goods of the mind so to outweigh them, as to outbalance even the earth and sea.

XVIII. What hinders then that gravest of philosophers, and Xenocrates too, who raises virtue so high, and who lessens and depreciates every thing else, from not only placing a hap-

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py life, but the happiest in virtue, which was it not so, virtue would be absolutely lost. For whoever is subject to grief, must necessarily be subject to fear too; for fear is an uneasy apprehension of future grief: and whoever is subject to fear, is liable to dread, timidity, consternation, cowardice. Therefore such an one may some time or other be got the better of, nor think himself concerned with that precept of Atreus,

Thro' his whole life a stranger to defeat.

But such an one as I said will be defeated, and not only defeated, but made a slave of. But we would have virtue always free, always invincible: and were it not so, there would be an end of virtue. But if virtue hath in herself all that is necessary for a good life, she is certainly sufficient for happiness: virtue is certainly sufficient too for our living with courage; if with courage, then with a great mind, and indeed so as never to be under any fear, and thus to be always invincible. Hence it follows, that there can be nothing to be repented of, no wants, no lets or hindrances. Thus all things must be prosperous, perfect, and as you would have them. And consequently happy; but virtue is sufficient for
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living with courage, and therefore able to make your life happy. For as folly, even when possessed of what it desires, never thinks it has acquired enough: so wisdom is always satisfied with the present, and never repents on her own account. Look but on the single consulate of Lælius, and that too after having been set aside (though when a wise and good man, like him, is outvoted, the people are disappointed of a good consul, rather than he disappointed by a vain people) but the point is, would you prefer, was it in your power, to be once such a consul as Lælius or be elected four times as Cinna? I am very well satisfied what answer you will make, and it is on that account I put the question to you.

XIX. I would not ask every one this question; for some one perhaps might answer, that he would not only prefer four consulates to one, but even one day of Cinna's life, to ages of many and famous men. Lælius would have suffered, had he but touched any one with his finger; but Cinna ordered the head of his colleague consul Cn. Octavius to be struck off; and of P. Crassus, and L. Cæsar, those excellent men, so renowned both at home and abroad. Even M. Antonius the

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greatest

slavish employment of shaving the head and beard of their father. Nor would he trust even them, when they were grown up, with a razor : but contrived how they might burn off the hair of his head and beard with red hot nutshells. And as to his two wives, Aristonache his country woman, and Doris of Locris, he never visited them at night before every thing had been well searched and examined. And as he had surounded the place where his bed was, with a broad ditch, and made a way over it with a wooden bridge ; he drew that bridge over after shutting his bedchamber door. And as he did not dare to stand where they usually harangued, he generally addressed the people from an high tower. And it is said that when he was disposed to play at tennis, for he delighted much in it, and had pulled of his cloaths, he used to give his sword into the keeping of a young man whom he was very fond of. On this one of his intimates said pleasantly, You certainly trust your life with him ; the young man happening to smile at this, he ordered them both to be slain, the one for shewing how he might be taken off, the other for approving of what was said by his smiling. But he was so concerned at what he

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done, that nothing affected him more during his whole life: for he had slain one he was extremely fond of. Thus do weak men's desires pull them different ways, and whilst they indulge one, they act counter to another. This tyrant however shewed how happy he was.

XXI. For whilst Damocles, one of his flatterers, was talking in conversation about his forces, his wealth, the greatness of his power, the plenty he enjoyed, the grandeur of his royal palaces, and was maintaining that no one was ever happier: Have you an inclination saith he, Damocles, as this kind of life pleases you, to have a taste of it yourself, and try to make a trial of the good fortune that attends me. I should be glad to make the experiment, says Damocles, upon which Dionysius ordered him to be laid on a bed of gold, with the most beautiful covering, embroidered, and wrought in a high taste, and he dressed out a great many sideboards with silver and embossed gold. He then ordered some youths, distinguished for their handsome persons, to wait at his table, and to observe his nod, in order to serve him with what he wanted. There were ointments and

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garlands; perfumes were burned; tables provided with the most exquisite meats. Damocles thought himself very happy. In the midst of this apparatus he ordered a bright sword to be let down from the cieling, tied by a horse hair, so as to hang over the head of that happy man. After which he neither cast his eye on those handsome waiters, nor on the well wrought plate; nor touched any of the provisions: the garlands fell to pieces. At last he entreated the tyrant to give him leave to go, for that now he had no desire to be happy. Doth not Dionysius then seem to have declared there can be no happiness with one who is under constant apprehensions? But he was not now at liberty to return to justice, and restore his citizens their rights and privileges; for by the indiscretion of youth he had engaged in so many wrong steps, and committed such extravagancies, that had he attempted to have returned to a right way of thinking, he must have endangered his life.

XXII. Yet, *how desirous he was of those very friends, whose fidelity he dreaded* appears from the two Pythagoreans: one of these had been security for his friend, who
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was condemned to die, the other to release his security, presented himself at the time appointed for his dying: I wish, faith he, you would admit me as a third. What misery was it for him to be deprived of acquaintance, of company at his table, and of the freedom of conversation; especially for one who was a man of learning, and from his childhood acquainted with liberal arts, very fond of musick, and himself a tragedian: How good a one is not to the purpose, for I know not how it is, but in this way more than any other, every one thinks his own performances excellent; I never as yet knew any poet (and Aquinius was my friend) who did not give himself the preference. The case is this, you are pleased with your own, I like mine. But to return to Dionysius, he debarred himself from all civil and polite conversation, spent his life among fugitives, villains, and barbarians: for he was persuaded no one could be his friend, who was worthy of liberty, or had the least desire of being free. Shall I not then prefer the life of Plato and Archytas manifestly wise and learned men to his, than which nothing can possibly be more horrid and miserable?

XXIII. I will present you with an humble and obscure mathematician of the same city, called Archimedes, who lived many years after: whose tomb overgrown with shrubs and briars, I in my questorship discovered, when the Syracusians knew nothing of it, and even denied that there was any such thing remaining: for I remembered some verses, which I had been informed were engraved on his monument. These set forth that on the top of it; there was placed a sphere with a cylinder. When I had carefully examined all the monuments (for there are a great many) at the gate Achradina, I observed a small column standing out a little above the briars, with the figure of a sphere and a cylinder upon it; whereupon I immediately said to the Syracusians, for there was some of their principal magistrates there, that I imagined that was what I was enquiring for. Several men being sent in with scythes cleared the way, and made an opening for us. When we could get at it, and were come near to the front base of it, I found the Inscription, though the latter part of all the verses were effaced almost half away. Thus one of the noblest cities of Greece, and once, likewise,
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the most learned, had known nothing of the monument of its most ingenious citizen, if it had not been discovered to them by a native of Arpinum. But to return from whence I have rambled. Who is there in the least acquainted with the Muses, that is, with liberal knowledge, or that deals at all in learning, who would not chuse to be this mathematician rather than that tyrant? If we look into their method of living, and their employments, we shall find the mind of the one strengthened and improved, with tracing the deductions of reason, amused with his own ingenuity, the sweetest food of the mind; the thoughts of the other engaged in continual murders and injuries, in constant fears by night and by day. Now imagine a Democritus, a Pythagoras, and an Anaxagoras, what kingdoms, what riches would you prefer to their studies and amusements? for you must necessarily look there for the best of every thing, where the excellency of man is, but what is there better in man than a sagacious and good mind? Now the enjoying of that good can alone make us happy; but virtue is the good of the mind; it follows therefore that a happy life depends on that. Hence proceed all things that are beautiful

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beautiful, honest, and excellent, as I said above: but these, I think, must be treated of more at large, for they are well stored with joys. For as it is clear that a happy life consists in perpetual and unexhausted pleasures, it follows too that a happy life must arise from honesty.

XXIV. But that what I propose to demonstrate to you may not rest in mere words only, I must set before you the picture of something, as it were, living and moving in the world, that may dispose us more for the improvement of the understanding and real knowledge. Let us then pitch upon some man perfectly acquainted with the most excellent arts; let us present him for a while to our own thoughts, and figure him to our own imaginations. In the first place, he must necessarily be of an extraordinary capacity; for virtue is not easily connected with dull minds. Next he must have a great desire of discovering truth, from whence will arise that threefold production of the mind; one depends on the knowing things, and explaining nature: the other in describing what we should desire, and what avoid: the third in judging of consequences and impossibilities:

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in which consists as well subtilty in disputing, as cleareness of judgment. Now with what pleasure must the mind of a wise man be affected, which continually dwells in the midst of such cares and engagements as these? When he views the turns and motions of the whole world, and sees those innumerable stars in the heavens, which, though fixed in their places, yet have a common motion with the whole, and observes the seven other stars, some higher, some lower, each maintaining their own course, while their motions, though wandering, have limited and appointed spaces to run through. The sight of which doubtless urged and encouraged those ancient philosophers to employ their search on many other things. Hence arose an enquiry after the beginnings, and, as it were, seeds from whence all things were produced and composed; what was the origin of every kind as well of animals as inanimate, articulate as inarticulate, what occasioned their beginning and end, and by what alteration and change one thing was converted into another: whence the earth and by what weights it was ballanced: by what *caverns the seas were supported*: by what gravity all things being carried down tend always to the middle
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of the world, which in any round body is the lowest place.

XXV. A mind employed on such subjects, which night and day contemplates on them, has in itself that precept of the Delphic God, to *know his own mind*, and to perceive its connection with the divine reason, from whence it is filled with an insatiable joy. For reflections on the power and nature of the gods raise a desire of imitating that eternity. Nor doth the mind, that sees the necessary dependencies and connections that one cause has with another, think itself confinable to the shortness of this life. Which causes, though they proceed from eternity to eternity, are governed by reason and understanding. Whoever beholds these and examines them, or rather whose view takes in all parts and boundaries, with what tranquillity of mind doth he look on all human affairs, and what is nearer him? Hence proceeds that knowledge of virtue; hence arise the kinds and species of virtues; hence is discovered what nature regards, as the bounds and extremities of good and evil, to what all duties have respect, and which is the most eligible manner of life, one great effect

effect that arises from informing himself of these, and such like things, is, that virtue is of itself sufficient to a happy life, which is the subject of this disputation. The third qualification of our wise man comes next, which goes through and spreads itself over every part of wisdom; it is that whereby we define every particular thing, distinguish the genus from its species, connects consequences, draw just conclusions, distinguish true and false, which is the very art and science of disputing; which is not only of the greatest use in the examination of what passes in the world, but is likewise the most rational entertainment, and most becoming true wisdom. Such are its effects in retirement. Now let this same wise man be considered as protecting the republick; what can be more excellent than he, as by his prudence he will discover the true interests of his citizens, by his justice he will be prevented from applying what belongs to the publick to his own use, and in short, will ever be governed by the other virtues, which are many and various? To these let us add the advantage of his friendships; in which the learned reckon not only a natural harmony and agreement of sentiments throughout the conduct of life, but

but the utmost pleasure and satisfaction in conversing and passing their time constantly with one another. What can be wanting in such a life as this, to make it more happy than it is? Fortune herself must yield to a life stored with such joys. Now if it is a happiness to rejoice in such *goods* of the mind, that is, virtues, and all wise men enjoy thoroughly these pleasures; it must necessarily be granted, that all these are happy.

XXVI. *A.* What when in torments and on the rack? *M.* What do you imagine I am speaking of him as laid on roses and violets? Is it allowable even for Epicurus (who only affects being a philosopher, and who assumed that name to himself,) to say, that as matters stand, I commend him for his saying, a wise man may at all times cry out, though he be burned, tortured, cut to pieces, How little I regard it? Shall this be said by one who defines all evil by pain, every good by pleasure; who could ridicule whatever we say either of what is honest, or what is base, and could declare of us that we were employed about words and discharging mere empty sounds; and that nothing is to be regarded, but as it is perceived *smooth* or *rough* by the body?

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What, shall such a man as this, as I said, whose understanding is little superior to the beasts, be at liberty to forget himself; and not only despise fortune, when the whole of his good and evil is in the power of fortune, but say, that he is happy in the most rack-
ing torture, when he had declared pain not only the greatest evil, but the only one? And all this without having recourse to our remedies for bearing pain, such as firmness of mind, a shame of doing any thing base, exercise and the habit of patience, precepts of courage, and a manly hardiness: but saith, he supports himself on the single recollection of past pleasures; as if any one so hot as scarce to be able to bear it, should attempt to recollect that he was once in my country Arpinum, where he was surrounded on every side by cooling streams; for I do not apprehend how past pleasures can allay present evils. But when he saith, that a wise man is always happy, who has no right to say so, would he be consistent with himself? What may they not do, who allow nothing to be desirable, nothing to be looked on as good but what is honest? Let then the Peripateticks and old Academicks follow my example, and at length leave off to mut-

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ter to themselves: and openly and with a clear voice let them be bold to say, that a happy life may descend into Phalaris's bull.

XXVII. But to dismiss the subtilties of the Stoicks, which I am sensible I have dealt more in than usual, let us admit three kinds of goods: let them really be the three kinds of good, provided no regard is had to the body, and externals, as no otherwise entitled to the appellation of good, than as we are obliged to use them: but let those other and divine goods spread themselves far and near, and reach the very heavens: Why then may I not call him happy, nay, the happiest who has attained them? Shall a Wise man be afraid of pain? Which is indeed, the greatest enemy to this opinion. For I am persuaded we are prepared and fortified sufficiently, by the disputations of the foregoing days, against our own death, or the death of our friends, against grief and the other perturbations of the mind. Pain seems to be the sharpest adversary of virtue, that threatens us with burning torches; that threatens to take down our fortitude, greatness of mind, and patience. Shall virtue then yield to this? Shall the happy life of a wise and constant man submit to this?

this? Good Gods! how base would this be? Spartan boys will bear to have their bodies torn by rods without uttering a groan. I myself saw, at Lacedæmon, troops of young men, with great earnestness contending together with their hands and feet, with their teeth and nails, nay even ready to expire, rather than own themselves conquered. Is any country more savagely barbarous than India? Yet they have amongst them some that are held for wise men, who never wear any cloaths all their life long, and bear the snow of Caucasus, and the piercing cold of winter without any pain: and will throw themselves into the fire to be burned without a groan. The women too in India, on the death of any of their husbands, apply to some judge to have it determined which of them was best beloved by him; for it is customary there, for one man to have many wives. She in whose favour it is determined, attended by her relations, is laid on the pile with her husband: the others who are postponed, walk away very much dejected. Custom can never be superior to nature: for nature is never to be got the better of. But our minds are infected by sloth and idleness, delicacies, languor, and indolence: we have enervated them by opinions, and bad customs. Who

but knows the manner of the Egyptians? Their minds being tainted by pernicious opinions, they are ready to bear any torture, rather than hurt an ibis, a snake, cat, dog, or crocodile: and should any one inadvertently have hurt any of these, they submit to any punishment. This of human nature. As to the beasts do they not bear cold, hunger, running about in woods, and on mountains and deserts; will they not fight for their young ones till they are wounded? Are they afraid of any attacks or blows? I mention not what the ambitious bear and suffer for honour's sake, or those who are desirous of praise on account of glory, or lovers to gratify their lust. Life is a bound full of instances.

XXVIII. But *not to dwell too much on these*, and to return to our purpose. I say, and say again, that happiness will submit itself to be tormented; and after having accompanied justice, temperance, but principally fortitude, greatness of soul and patience will not stop short at sight of the executioner: and when all other virtues proceed calmly to the torture, will that halt as I said on the outside, and threshold of the prison? for what can be baser, what can carry a worse appearance
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than, to be left alone, separated from that beautiful attendance? which can by no means be the case: for neither can the virtues hold together without happiness, nor happiness without the virtues: so that they will not suffer her to desert them, but will carry that along with them to whatever torments, to whatever pain they are led. For it is the peculiar quality of a wise man to do nothing he may repent of, nothing against his inclination: but always to act nobly, with constancy, gravity, and honesty: to depend on nothing as certainty: to wonder at nothing, when it falls out as if it appeared new and unexpected to him: to be independent of every one, and abide by his own opinion. For my part I cannot form an idea of any thing happier than this. The conclusion of the Stoicks indeed is easy, as they are persuaded that the end of good, is to live agreeable to nature and be consistent with that; as a wise man should do so, not only because it is his duty, but because it is in his power: It must of course follow, that whoever has the chief good in his power, has his happiness too. Thus the life of a wise man is always happy. You have what I think may be boldly said of a happy life, and as things are now, very truly, unless you can advance something better.

XXIX. *A.* Indeed I cannot; but I would willingly request of you unless it is troublesome (as you are under no confinement from obligations to any particular sect, but gather from all of them whatever most strikes you with the appearance of probability :) as you just now seem'd to advise the Peripateticks, and the old academy boldly to speak out without reserve, *that Wise men are always the happiest*, I should be glad to hear how you think it consistent for them to say so, when you have said so much against that opinion, and the conclusions of the Stoicks. *M.* I will make use then of that liberty, which none but ourselves have the privilege of using in philosophy, whose discourses determine nothing, *but take in every thing*, leaving them unsupported by any authority to be judg'd of by others, according to their weight. And as you seem desirous of knowing why, notwithstanding the different opinion of philosophers, with regard to the ends of goods, virtue may have sufficient security for a happy life: which security, as we are informed, Carneades used indeed to dispute against: but he disputed as against the Stoicks, whose opinions he combated with great zeal, and vehemence, but I shall handle

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handle it with more temper, for if the Stoicks have rightly settled the ends of goods, the affair is at an end; for a Wise man must necessarily be always happy. But let us examine, if we can, the particular opinions of the others, that this excellent decision, if I may so call it, of a happy life, may be agreeable to the opinions and discipline of all.

XXX. These then are the opinions, as I think, that are held and defended: the first four simple ones; *that nothing is good but what is honest*, according to the Stoicks: *nothing good but pleasure*, as Epicurus maintains: *nothing good but a freedom from pain*, as Hieronymus asserts: *nothing good but an enjoyment of the principal, or all, or the greatest goods of nature*, as Carneades maintained against the Stoicks: these are simple, the others mixt. Three kinds of goods, the greatest those of the mind, the next those of the body. The third were external goods, as the Peripateticks say, and the old Academicks differ very little from them. Clitomachus and Callipho have coupled pleasure with honesty: but Diodorus, the Peripatetick, has joined indolence to honesty. These are the opinions that have some footing; for those of Aristo, Pyrrho, Herillus,

and of some others, are quite out of date. Now let us see what they have in them, excepting the Stoicks, whose opinion I think I have sufficiently defended; and indeed I have explained what the Peripateticks have to say, excepting that Theophrastus, and those who followed him, dread and abhor pain in too weak a manner. The others may go on to exaggerate the gravity and dignity of virtue as usual, which when they have extolled to the skies, with the usual extravagance of good orators, it is easy to reduce the other to nothing by comparison, and to despise them. They who think praise is to be acquired by pain, are not at liberty to deny those to be happy, who have acquired it. Though they may be under some evils, yet this name of happy extends far and near.

XXXI. Even as trading is said to be lucrative, and farming advantageous, not because the one never meets with any loss, the other no damage from the inclemency of the weather, but because they succeed to a great degree: so life may be properly called happy, not from its being entirely made up of goods, but as it abounds with these to a great and considerable degree. By this way of reasoning then a happy life may attend virtue to punishments,

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merits, nay may descend with her into Phalaris's Bull, according to Aristotle, Xenocrates, Speusippus, Polemon; and will not be gained over by any allurements to forsake her: Of the same opinion will Calliphon and Diodorus be: both of them such friends to honesty, as to think all things should be discarded and far removed, that are incompatible with it. The rest seem to be more scrupulous about these things, but yet get clear of them, as Epicurus, Hieronymus, and whoever thinks it worth while to defend the deserted Carneades: not one of them but thinks the mind to be judge of those goods, and can sufficiently instruct him how to despise what has the appearance only of good or evil. For what seems to you to be the case with Epicurus, it is the same with Hieronymus and Carneades, and indeed with all the rest of them: for who is not sufficiently prepared against death or pain? I will begin, with your leave, with him whom we call soft and voluptuous. What doth he seem to you to be afraid of death or pain, who calls the day of his death happy? And when affected by the greatest pains, silences them all by recollecting arguments of his own discovering? And this is not done in such a manner as to give room for imagining *that he talks thus wildly on a*

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sudden start : but his opinion of death is, that, on the dissolution of the animal, all sense is lost: and what is deprived of sense, as he thinks, can no ways affect us. And as to pain, he has his maxims too; if great, the comfort is, that it must be short; if of long continuance, it must be tolerable. What then? Do those great boasters behave any thing better than Epicurus, in opposition to these two things which distress us the most? And as to other things, doth not Epicurus and the rest of the philosophers seem sufficiently prepared? Who doth not dread poverty? And yet no philosopher ever doth.

XXXII. But with how little is this man satisfied? No one has said more on frugality. For when a man is far removed from those things which occasion a desire of money, from love, ambition, or other daily expences; why should he be fond of money or concern himself at all about it? Could the Scythian Anacharsis disregard money, and shall not our philosophers be able to do so? We are informed of an epistle of his, in these words: *Anacharsis to Hanno, greeting. My cloathing is as the Scythians cover themselves, the hardness of my feet supply the want of shoes, the ground is my bed, hunger my sauce, my food*
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milk, cheese, and flesh. So you may come to a man at ease. But as to those presents you take so much pleasure in, you may dispose of them to your citizens, or to the immortal Gods. Almost all the philosophers, whatever their discipline is, excepting those who are warped from right reason, by a vicious disposition, may be of this very opinion. Socrates, when he saw in a procession a great load of gold and silver, cried out, How many things do I not want? Xenocrates, when some ambassadors from Alexander had brought him fifty talents, the largest money of those times, especially at Athens, carried the ambassadors to sup in the academy: and placed just a sufficiency before them, without any apparatus. When they asked him the next day to whom he would order the money to be told out: What? saith he, did you not perceive by our slight repast of yesterday, that I had no occasion for money? But when he perceived that they were somewhat dejected, he accepted of thirty minæ, that he might not seem to disrespect the king's generosity. But Diogenes took a greater liberty as a Cynic, when Alexander asked him if he wanted any thing: *a little from the sun*, says he, for he hindered him from sunning himself. And indeed this very
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man used to maintain how much he excelled the Persian king, in his manner of life and fortune; That he himself was in want of nothing, the other never had enough; that he had no inclination for those pleasures which could never satisfy the other: but that the other could never obtain his.

XXXIII. You see, I imagine, how Epicurus has divided his kinds of desires, not very subtly perhaps, but usefully: that they are *partly natural and necessary; partly natural, but not necessary; partly neither*: that those which are necessary, may be supplied almost for nothing. For the riches that nature requires are easily got. As to the second kind of desires, his opinion is, that any one may easily enjoy, or go without them. With regard to the third, being frivolous, as neither allied to necessity, nor nature, he thinks they should be entirely rooted out. On this topick the Epicureans dispute much; and those pleasures which they do not despise, on account of their species, are reduced one by one, and seem rather for lessening the number of them: for as to wanton pleasures, of which they say a great deal, these, say they, are easy, common, and within any one's reach; and think that if nature requires them, they

they are not to be estimated by birth, condition, or rank, but by shape, age, and person: and that it is by no means difficult to refrain from them, should health, duty, or reputation require it. And that this kind of pleasure may be desirable, where it is attended with no inconvenience, but can never be of any use. And what he declares upon the whole of pleasure is such, as shews his opinion to be, that pleasure is always desirable, to be pursued merely as a pleasure, and for the same reason pain is to be avoided, because it is pain. So that a Wise man will always do himself the justice to avoid pleasure, should pain ensue from it in a greater proportion; and will submit to pain, the effects of which will be a greater pleasure: and that all pleasurable things, though the corporeal senses are the judges of them, are to be referred to the mind, on which account the body rejoices, whilst it perceives a present pleasure; but that the mind not only perceives the present as well as the body, but foresees it, whilst it is coming, and, even when it is past, will not let it quite slip away. So that a Wise man enjoys a continual series of pleasures, uniting the expectation of future pleasure to the recollection of what he has already tasted.

The

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The like are applied by them to living well, and the magnificence, and expensiveness of entertainments are lowered, because nature is satisfied at a small expence.

XXXIV. For who doth not see this, that an appetite is the best sauce? When Darius, flying from the enemy, had drunk some water which was muddy, and tainted with dead bodies, he declared that he had never drunk any thing more pleasant; the case was he had never drunk before when he was thirsty: nor had Ptolemy ever eat when he was hungry: who, as he was travelling over Egypt, his company not keeping up with him, had some coarse bread presented him in a cottage: upon which he said, Nothing ever seemed to him pleasanter than that bread. They relate of Socrates, that, on walking very fast till the evening, on his being asked why he did so, his reply was, that he was purchasing an appetite by walking, that I may sup the better. And do we not see what the Lacedemonians provide in their Phiditia? where the tyrant Dionysius supped, but told them he did not at all like that black broth, which was their principal dish; when he who dressed it said, It was no wonder, for it wanted seasoning. The other asked what that seasoning

ing

ing was, it was replied, *fatigue in hunting, sweating, a race on the banks of Eurotas, hunger and thirst*: for these are the seasonings to the Lacedemonian banquets. And this may not only be conceived from the custom with men, but from the beasts, who are satisfied with any thing that is thrown before them, provided it is not unnatural, and they seek no farther. Some entire cities, taught by custom, are delighted with parsimony, as I said but just now of the Lacedemonians. Xenophon has given an account of the Persian diet: who never, as he saith, use any thing but cresses with their bread, not but, should nature require any thing more agreeable, many things might be easily supplied by the ground, and the trees in great abundance, and of incomparable sweetness. Add to this, strength and health, as the consequence of this abstemious way of living. Now compare with this, those who sweat and belch, crammed with eating like fatted oxen: then will you perceive that they who pursue pleasure most, attain it least: and that the pleasure of eating lies not in satiety, but appetite.

XXXV. They report of Timotheus, a famous man at Athens, and the head of the city,

city, that having supped with Plato, and being extremely delighted with that entertainment, on seeing him the next day he said, *Your suppers are not only agreeable whilst I partake of them, but the next day.* Besides the understanding is impaired when we are full withover eating and drinking. There is an excellent epistle of Plato to Dion's relations. It is wrote almost in these words; When I came there, that happy life so much talked of, crowded with Italian and Syracusan entertainments was no ways agreeable to me, to be crammed twice a day, and never to have the night to yourself, and other things which attend on this kind of life, by which a man will never be made the wiser, and may be much less moderate, for it must be an extraordinary disposition that can be temperate in such circumstances. How then can a life be pleasant without prudence and moderation? Hence you discover the mistake of Sardanapalus, the wealthiest king of the Assyrians, who ordered it to be engraved on his Tomb,

I still possess what luxury did cost;

But what I left, though excellent, is lost.

What but this, saith Aristotle, could be inscribed on the tomb, *not of a king but an ox?* He said that he possessed those things when
dead,

dead, which, in his life-time, he could have no longer than whilst he was enjoying them.

Why then are riches desired? And wherein doth poverty prevent us from being happy?

In the want, I imagine, of statues, pictures, and diversions. Should any one be delighted

with these, have not the poor people the enjoyment of these more than they who have

them in the greatest abundance? For we have great numbers of them shewn publicly

in our city. And whatever private people have of them, they have not so many of them,

and they but seldom see them when they go to their country seats; and they must be

stung to the heart when they consider how they came by them. The day would fail

me, should I be inclined to defend the cause of poverty: the thing is manifest, and nature

daily informs us, what a few little trifling things nature stands in need of.

XXXVI. Let us enquire then, if obscurity,

the want of power, or even the being unpopular, can prevent a Wise man from being

happy? Observe if popular favour, and this glory which they are so fond of, is not at-

tended with more uneasiness than pleasure? Our Demosthenes was certainly very weak in

declaring himself pleased with a woman
who

who carried water, as is the custom in Greece, whispering to another, that is he, that is Demosthenes. What could be weaker than this? And yet what an orator he was? But he had learned to speak to others, he had conversed very little with himself. We may perceive that popular glory is not desirable of itself, nor is obscurity to be dreaded. I came to Athens, saith Democritus, and there was no one there that knew me; this was a moderate and grave man who could glory in his obscurity. Shall musicians compose their tunes to their own taste; and shall a Wise man, master of a much better art, enquire not after what is most true, but what will please the people? Can any thing be more absurd than to despise the vulgar as mere unpolished mechanics, when single, and to think them of consequence when collected into a body. But these Wise men would contemn our ambitious pursuits, and our vanities, and would reject all honours the people could voluntarily offer to him: but we know not how to despise them, till we begin to repent of having accepted them. Heraclitus the natural philosopher, relates thus of Hermodorus the chief of the Ephesians, that all the Ephesians, saith he, ought to be punished with death, for saying, when they

they had expelled Hermodorus out of their city, that they would have no one amongst them better than another; if there was any such, let him go elsewhere to some other people. Is not this the case with the people every where? do they not hate every virtue that distinguishes itself? What? was not Aristides (I had rather instance in the Greeks than ourselves) banished his country for being eminently just? What troubles then are they free from, who have no connections with the people? What is more agreeable than a learned retirement? I speak of that learning which makes us acquainted with the boundless extent of nature, and all things, and in this world discovers to us both heaven, earth, and sea.

XXXVII. If then honour and riches have no value, what is there else to be afraid of? banishment, I suppose; which is looked on as the greatest evil. Now if the evil of banishment proceeds not from ourselves, but from the froward disposition of the people, I have just now declared how contemptible it is. But if to leave one's country is miserable; the provinces are full of miserable men: very few of those ever return to their country again. But exiles are amerced of their

Y

goods

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goods, what then? Is there not enough said on bearing poverty? But with regard to banishment, if we examine the nature of things, not the ignominy of the name, how little doth it differ from constant travelling? In which some of the most famous philosophers have spent their whole life; as Xenocrates, Crantor, Arcefilas, Lacydes, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Zeno, Cleanthes, Chrysippus, Antipater, Carneades, Panætius, Clitomachus, Philo, Antiochus, Posidonius, and innumerable others: who from their first setting out never returned home again. Now what ignominy can a Wise man be affected with, for of such an one I speak, who can be guilty of nothing to occasion it; for one who is banished for his deserts should not be comforted. Lastly, They can easily reconcile themselves to every accident, who make every thing that ensues from life regard pleasure; so that in whatever place these are supplied, there they may live happily. Thus what Teucer said may be applied to every case:

Wherever I am happy, there is my country.

Socrates, indeed, when asked where he belonged to, replied, The world; for he looked upon himself as a citizen, and inhabitant of the

the whole world. How was it with T. Albutius? Did he not follow his philosophical studies, with the greatest satisfaction at Athens, though he was banished: which would not have happened to him, if he had obeyed the laws of Epicurus, and lived peaceably in the republick. In what was Epicurus happier living in his own country, than Metrodorus at Athens? Or did Plato's happiness exceed Xenocrates, or Polemo's, Arcefilas's? Or is that city to be valued much, that banishes all her good and wise men? Demaratus the father of our king Tarquin, not being able to bear the tyrant Cypselus, fled from Corinth to Tarquinii, settled there, and had children. How was it an unwise act in him to prefer the liberty of banishment to slavery at home?

XXXVIII. Besides the emotions of the mind, all griefs, and anxieties are assuaged by forgetting them, and turning our thoughts to pleasure. Therefore it was not without reason, that Epicurus presumed to say that a Wise man abounds with goods, because he may always have his pleasures. From whence, as he thinks, our point is gained, that a Wise man should be always happy. What? though he should be deprived of the senses

of seeing and hearing? Yes: for he holds those things very cheap. For in the first place, what are the pleasures we are deprived of by that *dreadful blindness*? For though they allow other pleasures to be confined to the senses, yet what are perceived by the sight, do not depend on the pleasure the eyes receive, as when we taste, smell, touch, or hear; in all these, the organs are the seat of pleasure; but it is not so with the eyes. The mind is entertained by what we see; but the mind may be entertained many ways, though we could not see at all. I am speaking of a learned and wise man, with whom to think is to live. But thinking with a wise man doth not altogether require the use of his eyes in his investigations; for if night doth not strip him of his happiness, why should day, which resembles night, have that effect? For that reply of Antipater the Cyrenaic, to some women who bewailed his being blind, though it is a little too obscene; had no bad meaning. What do you mean, saith he? Do you think the night can furnish no pleasure? And we find by his magistracies and his actions, that old Appius too, who was blind many years, was not prevented from doing whatever was required of him, with respect to the publick or his own affairs. It is said that

that C. Drusus's house was crowded with Clients: when they, whose business it was, could not see how to conduct themselves, they applied to a blind guide.

XXXIX. When I was a boy, Cn. Aufidius, who had served the office of Prætor, not only gave his opinion in the senate, was ready to assist his friends, but wrote a Greek history, and *had an insight into literature.* Diodotus the Stoick was blind and lived many years at my house. He indeed, which is scarce credible, besides his applying himself more than usual to philosophy, and his playing on the flute agreeable to the custom of the Pythagoreans, and having books read to him night and day, in all which he did not want eyes, continued to teach geometry, which one would think could hardly be done without the assistance of eyes, telling his scholars how, and where to describe every line. They relate of Asclepiades, no obscure Eretric philosopher, when one asked him what inconveniences he suffered from his blindness, that his reply was, *He was at the expence of another servant.* So that as the most extreme poverty may be borne, if you please, as is daily the case with some in Greece: so blindness may easily be

borne, provided you have the proper supports of health. Democritus was so blind he could not distinguish white from black: but he knew the difference betwixt good and evil, just and unjust, honest and base, the useful and unuseful, great and small. Thus one may live happily without distinguishing colours; but without acquainting yourself with things, you cannot; and this man was of opinion, that the intense application of the mind was taken off by the objects that presented themselves to the eye, and when others often could not see what was before their feet, he travelled through all infinity. It is reported too, that Homer was blind, but we see his painting, not only his poetry. What country, what coast, what part of Greece, what military attacks, what dispositions of battle, what army, what ship, what motions of men and animals, has he not so described as to make us see what he could not see himself? What then, can we imagine Homer, or any other learned man can want to entertain his mind? Were it not so, would Anaxagoras, or this very Democritus have left their estates and Patrimonies: and given themselves up to the pursuit of acquiring this divine entertainment? It is thus, that the poets who have represented Tiresias the
Augur

Augustus as a wise man, blind, never exhibit him as bewailing his blindness. But as Homer had described Polypheme as a monster and a wild man, he represents him talking with his ram, and speaking of his good fortune, that he could go wherever he pleased, and touch what he would. And so far he was right, for that Cyclops was of much the same understanding with his ram.

XL. Now as to the evil of being deaf; M. Crassus was a little thick of hearing: but it was more uneasiness to him that he *heard himself ill-spoken of*, though, in my opinion, without reason. Our Epicureans cannot understand Greek, nor the Greeks, Latin; now they are deaf reciprocally as to each others language, and we are all truly deaf with regard to those innumerable languages which we do not understand. They do not hear the voice of the harper, but then you do not hear the grating of a saw when it is set, or the grunting of a hog when his throat is cutting, nor the murmuring of the sea when you are desirous of rest. And if they should chance to be fond of singing, they ought in the first place to consider that many wise men lived happily before musick was discovered; besides they may have more pleasure in read-

ing verses, than in hearing them sung. Then, as I before referred the blind to the pleasure of hearing, so I may the deaf to the pleasure of sight: moreover, whoever can converse with himself doth not need the conversation of another. But supposing all these misfortunes to meet in one person: suppose him blind and deaf, let him be afflicted with the sharpest pains of Body, which in the first place, generally of themselves make an end of him: but should they continue so long, and the pain be so exquisite, that there should be no reason for bearing them, why, good gods, should we be under any difficulty? For there is a retreat at hand; death is that retreat, a shelter where we shall for ever be insensible. Theodorus said to Lyfimachus, who threatened him with death, It is a great matter indeed, for you to do what cantharides can. When Perſes intreated Paullus not to lead him in triumph, That is as you please, saith Paullus. I said many things of death in our first day's disputation when death was the subject: and not a little the next day when I treated of pain. which if you recollect, there can be no danger of your not looking upon death as desirable, or at least not dreadful.

XLI. That custom in force with the Grecians at their banquets, should, in my opinion, take place in life, Drink, say they, or leave the company, and right enough: let him either enjoy the pleasure of drinking with others, or not stay till he meets with affronts from those that are in liquor. Thus those injuries of fortune you cannot bear, you should leave. This is the very same which is said by Epicurus and Hieronymus. Now if those philosophers, whose opinion it is, that virtue has no power of itself, and who say that what we denominate honest and laudable, imply nothing, and are only set off with an unmeaning sound: can he nevertheless maintain that a wise man is always happy? You see what may be done by the Socratic and Platonic philosophers? Some of these allow such superiority to the goods of the mind, as quite to eclipse what concerns the body and all accidental circumstances. But others do not admit these to be goods; they repose all in the mind; Whose disputes Carneades used as an honorary arbitrator to determine. For as what seemed *goods* to the Peripateticks, were allowed to be *advantages* by the Stoicks; and as the Peripateticks allowed no more to riches, good health, and other things of that

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fort than the Stoicks; when these things were considered according to their reality, not by mere report; his opinion was, that there was no ground for disagreeing: Therefore let the philosophers, that hold other tenets, see how they may carry this point. It is very agreeable to me that they make some professions worthy the mouth of a philosopher, with regard to a man's having always the means of living happily.

XLII. But as we are to depart on the morning, let us remember these five days disputations, though indeed, I think, I shall write them: for how can I better employ the leisure I have, whatever it is owing to? and I will send these other five books to my Brutus; by whom I was not only incited to write on philosophy, but provoked. In which it is not easy to say what service I may be of to others; but in my own various and acute afflictions which surrounded me on all sides, I could find no other remedy.

THE END.

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