

# Thomas More Studies

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## *Utopia* Index of Latin Terms

Thematic Index of Major Terms of *Utopia*

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### Abbreviations:

RH	Raphael Hythlodæus
PG	Peter Giles
TM	Character Thomas Morus
U	Utopia

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Edited and compiled by Mary Pawlowski and Gerard Wegemer

## Words for SOCIETY

**ciuitas** — nation, city-state, city<sup>1</sup>

Island of U contains 54 cities, 112/15; each city has at least twelve miles of country on each side, 112/28; small river runs through city of Amaurotum to river Anydrus, 118/21; Utopian man who knows two trades practices either unless city has need of one more than the other, 126/19; city consists of households made up of those related by blood, 134/24; each household has between ten and sixteen adults to keep the city the proper size, 134/30; 6000 households in each city, 134/32; each city is divided into four equal parts, 136/26; each city has four hospitals a little outside the walls, 138/28; no one with father's leave and wife's consent forbidden from exploring country belonging to his own city, 146/10; foreign city must collect money due from private debtors and put it into the treasury for Utopians, 148/20; soldiers in U picked from volunteers from each city, 208/21; TM: there are very many features in the Utopian commonwealth [*republica*] which it is easier for me to wish for in our city-states, than to have any hope of seeing realized, 246/2.

**communio** — fellowship

RH: nature favors all equal whom she endows with a fellowship of form, 164/16.

**communis** — that is common to several or all, shared

TM shared common civilities with RH:, 50/22; RH: idle retainers of nobles are common to almost all peoples, 62/29; RH: Achorian king cannot keep two kingdoms, just as no one would care to engage a muleteer shared with someone else, 90/12; RH: all things are common in U, 100/12; TM: life cannot be satisfactory where all things are common, 106/5; three old and experienced citizens from each city meet once a year at Amaurotum to discuss the affairs of common interest to U, 112/24; Utopians spend one hour in recreation after supper—in winter, in their common halls for meals, 128/14; Utopians make humblest vessels for use everywhere in common halls and private homes out of gold and silver, 152/6; no Utopian could see even man himself as a universal, 158/27; Utopians think public laws for the distribution of vital commodities ought to be observed provided they have been justly promulgated by a good *princeps* or ratified by the common consent of the people, 164/23; Utopians heard that disciples' common way of life was pleasing to Christ, 218/5; Utopus observed the universal dissensions between individual religious sects, 218/33; nothing is seen or heard in Utopian temples that does not seem to agree with all in common, 232/8; TM finds Utopians common life and subsistence absurdly established, 244/19.

**communiter** — together, in common

All Utopians in common call their god Mithras, 216/20.

**coniugium** — union, marriage, “the first society”<sup>2</sup>

Distinction in clothes in U between celibate and married, 126/4; Utopian convicted of secret intercourse before marriage is severely punished, 186/24; Utopian convicted of premarital intercourse forbidden

<sup>1</sup> Cicero maintains that a free and peaceful *ciuitas* requires not only law (“The *ciuitas* without law would be like the human body without mind,” *Pro Cluentio* 146) but also the art of speaking since consensus and consent are needed (*De Inuentione* 1.1-3; *Pro Sestio* 91-92; *De Legibus* 1.17, 19, 23, 33, 61, 2.12, 14; *De Oratore* 1.30-33). Augustine in his *City of God* [*De Ciuitate Dei*] defines *ciuitas* as “a multitude of individuals in concord” (*concoris hominum multitudo*, 1.15), strongly disagreeing that a consensus about law or justice is a requirement, as Cicero argued. For this fundamental disagreement, see *City of God* 2.21, 19.21 & 24.

<sup>2</sup> *De Officiis* 1.54: “prima societas in ipso coniugio est.”

from marriage altogether except by pardon of the *princeps*, 186/26; RH: bodily attractions add to the virtues of the mind even in the marriages of wise men, 188/17; violators of marriage punished by strict slavery, 190/7; parties injured are divorced from their adulterous mates and coupled together in marriage, or else are allowed to marry whom they like, 190/9; some priests are fond of labor and regard marriage as preferable to celibacy, 226/7.

**coniugalis** — conjugal: Utopians think few will come together in conjugal love if promiscuous intercourse is not punished severely, 186/30.

**coniungere** — to join, unite: RH: crafty preachers have tried to join Christ's teachings to men's morals, 100/27; Utopian colonists join themselves with the natives, 136/8; Utopians unite principles from religion and philosophy in their philosophical discussions, 160/29; Utopians say pleasures of the senses are surely the lowest of all because they are always united with pains, 176/14; in Utopians' wars, hired mercenaries united by blood often meet in battle, 206/25.

**coniunx** — one who is united in marriage, spouse, wife, *more rarely*, a husband: Utopian not forbidden from exploring country, with his wife's consent, 146/11; Utopians choose mates after they have been shown to them naked, 186/33; Utopians think other nations are careless in choosing a wife, 188/10; Utopians only people in those parts of the world satisfied with one wife, 188/24; party offended by adultery permitted by the senate to take another mate, 188/27; Utopians cannot endure the repudiation of wife unwilling because of some bodily calamity, 188/29; separation without the senate's consent by couples with incompatible dispositions, 190/1; Utopian senate does not readily give consent to divorce because they know easy hope of a fresh marriage is a great drawback to affection between husband and wife, 190/6; spouse of adulterous person permitted to accompany him in slavery, 190/11; continued marriage after adultery not forbidden, 190/11; greatest reproach for husband to return from war without his wife, 210/5 (2x).

**maritus** — a married man, husband: RH: husbands and wives are compelled to leave their homes through fraud or violence, 66/16; in U girls settled in marriage enter their husbands' domiciles, 134/26; in U wives wait on their husbands, 136/24; in U husbands correct their wives, 190/18; no elegance of outward form recommends wives to husbands as much as probity and reverence, 192/21; Utopian women encouraged to accompany their husbands on military service, 208/31.

**matrimonium** — marriage: marriage in U seldom broken except by death, 188/24; Utopian couples with incompatible dispositions can contract new marriages with the sanction of the senate, 190/3; Buthrescae prefer celibacy to marriage, not on grounds of reason, 226/13.

**nuptiae** — a marriage, wedding, nuptials: deformity after a marriage has been contracted must be borne, 188/21; Utopian senate does not readily give consent to divorce because they know easy hope of a fresh marriage is a great drawback to affection between husband and wife, 190/6.

**uxor** — wife: Giles' polish and wit made TM less conscious of separation from his home, wife, and children, 48/11; RH: husbands and wives are compelled to leave their homes through fraud or violence, 66/16; RH: value of stolen goods paid out of thieves' good and balance paid to their wives and children, 76/6; in U wives wait on their husbands, 136/24; wives of syphogrants quickly provide nurses when woman prevented from nursing her own offspring by death or disease, 142/2; syphogrant and his wife sit in the middle of the first table at meals, 142/22; priest and his wife sit with syphogrant at meals, 142/25; RH: foul deformity hidden by covering may alienate a man's mind from his wife, 188/19; senate allows no divorce until their wives have carefully gone into the case, 190/4; in U husbands correct their wives, 190/18; no elegance of outward form recommends wives to husbands as much as probity and reverence, 192/20; priests have for wives the very finest women in U, 228/18; wives confess and ask pardon of their husbands before they celebrate Final-Feasts, 232/22; RH: greatest riches for a man are a joyful and peaceful mind, not harassed by the querulous demands of his

wife or poverty of his family, secure about the livelihood of his wife and family, 238/15.

**consortium** — fellowship

Utopians think the fellowship of nature takes the place of a treaty, 198/26.

**conuentus** — an assembly, meeting; the people in an assembly; a court of law, a district based on a particular city for juridical purposes

They know how much food a city and its surrounding assembly will consume, 116/8; syphogrant and his wife sit in highest place so the whole assembly can be observed attentively, 142/21; Christ's communal way of life still practiced among the truest assemblies of Christians, 218/5.

**conuictum** — the action of living together; (meton) one's intimate friends, circle; a social gathering, esp. a banquet, dinner party

To return to the citizens' communal life, 136/22.

**conuiuere** — to live/eat/feast with someone: TM says that it is useful to readers to know what wise and prudent provisions RH noticed anywhere among peoples living together in a civilized way, 52/28; U colony join themselves with natives who are willing to live with them, 136/8; Utopians live common life in the city, 144/23; Utopians live together in good will, 192/30.

**conuiuia** — dinner guest: Utopians omit nothing that may cheer the dinner guests, 144/20.

1. **conuiuium** — feast: in U preparing and arranging feast is women's duty, 140/29; ability and character of the young revealed in the relaxed atmosphere of a feast, 144/12.

2. **conuiuium** — dinner guest: one of the dinner guests goads hanger-on to speak, 80/29.

**domus** — house, home, household, family; “the *principium* of the city and the nursery of the republic”<sup>3</sup>

TM has been more than four months away from his family, 48/13; RH left his patrimony at home, 50/3; TM and RH went to TM's house in Antwerp, 50/24; RH does not speak of those who often come home crippled from foreign or civil wars, 60/29; RH: English sheep so wild that they devour human beings and devastates houses, 66/1; RH: Englishmen pull down houses and destroy towns, leaving only the church to pen the sheep in, 66/7; Friar quotes scripture, “The zeal of Thy house has eaten me up,” 84/3; Friar: “The mockers of Eliseus as he went up to the house of God felt the zeal of his bald head,” 84/5; RH: suppose I argued with the king that the French should stay at home, 88/22; Achorian morals' being morals at home were being corrupted by war, 90/4; Utopians have houses throughout the rural districts, 114/1; front of Utopians' houses are divided by a twenty-foot avenue, 120/5; every home in U has both a front and back door into the garden, 120/9; Utopians exchange homes every ten years by lot, 120/12; all Utopians' homes now handsome and of three stories, 120/31; RH: even when house has cost one man a large sum, another is so fastidious that he thinks little of it, 132/19; masons and carpenters scarcely have work to do except to hew out timber at home, 132/27; the products of each family are conveyed into designated houses, 136/28; sick prefer to be nursed at Utopian hospitals rather than at home, 140/9; all Utopians gather in halls for meals except those who take their meals at hospitals or home, 140/19; no Utopian is forbidden from taking food from the market to his home, 140/21; no Utopian forbidden to dine at home, yet no one does it willingly since it is considered indecent and foolish, 140/22; ages mixed throughout the house for meals, 142/28; old Utopians share delicacies at their discretion with their neighbors when there is not enough for everybody in the house, 144/3; Utopians in the country take meals at home, 144/24; traveling Utopians at home everywhere, 146/4; Utopians trade for articles they

<sup>3</sup> *De Officiis* l.54: The “*domus*” which has all things in common [“*communia omnia*”] “is the principle or foundation of the city and as it were the nursery of the commonwealth” [“*est principium urbis et quasi seminarium rei publicae*”].

lack at home, 148/12; Utopians keep all the treasure they possess at home, 148/29; Utopians use gold and silver for humblest vessels in common halls and private homes, 152/7; Anemolian ambassadors dressed finely because they were nobles at home, 154/10; father and mother of the family in whose house premarital intercourse was committed incur great disgrace, 186/28; Utopians lose nothing from merchants' pecuniary loss because their own citizens lose only what was plentiful and superfluous at home, 202/4; Utopians' security at home makes their spirit exalted and disdainful of defeat in war, 210/14; Utopians' recount character and good deeds of a man on returning home from his funeral, 222/34; wives confess and ask pardon of their husbands at home before they celebrate Final-Feasts, 232/22; at Utopians' temples males in each home sit in front of the head of the household [*patremfamilias*], 232/33; Utopians take care that every gesture of everyone abroad is observed by those whose authority and discipline govern them at home, 234/3; Utopians have extirpated the roots of ambition and factionalism at home, 244/7; no danger among Utopians from discord at home, 244/10.

**familia** — family servants; generally, a house and all belonging to it; [or simply] *domus* (rare):

RH: often the heir is not able to support as large a household as his father did, 62/11; RH: husbands and wives with not rich but numerous household are compelled to leave their homes through fraud or violence, 66/17; RH: the high price of food is causing everyone to get rid of as many in his household as possible, 68/22; no rural household in U numbers less than forty men and women, 114/3; one phylarch rules over every group of thirty households, 114/7; every thirty families in U annual choose a syphogrants, 122/9; tranibors set over ten syphogrants with their families, 122/12; syphogrants inform their groups of families about counsel of the senate, 124/6; each family in U does its own tailoring, 126/7; Utopian transferred by adoption to a family pursuing the craft for which he has a liking, 126/14; the city [*ciuitas*] consists of households, 134/24; households in U as a rule made up of those related by blood, 134/24; male children and grandchildren remain in the household, 134/27; no household in U shall have fewer than ten or more than sixteen adults, 134/31; limit to household size observed by transferring those who exceed the number in larger households into the smaller, 136/2; in U the oldest presides in the household, 136/24; the products of each family are conveyed into designated houses, 136/28; the head of the household seeks from the storehouses what he and his require, 136/29; thirty families assigned to each dining hall for common meals, 138/23; women of each household take turns cooking and preparing the food for Utopians' common meals, 140/30; no family in the country lacks any kind of edible, 144/25; the whole island of U is like a single family, 148/3; RH: some chance or legal trick may transfer a man's wealth from the master to the lowest rascal in his entire household, 156/27.

**lares** — household gods, family, household: Giles' polish and wit made TM less conscious of separation from his home, wife, and children, 48/11; RH: husbands and wives with household not rich but numerous are compelled to leave their homes through fraud or violence, 66/18.

**liberi** — free people, hence children of a family: Giles' polish and wit made TM less conscious of separation from his home, wife, and children, 48/12; RH: parents with little children are compelled to leave their homes through fraud or violence, 66/16; RH: value of stolen goods paid out of thieves' good and balance paid to their wives and children, 76/6; in U children wait on their parents, 136/24; bodily pleasure when we perform the activity generative of children, 172/18; in U parents correct their children, 190/19; each Utopian is surrounding in war by his own children and relations by marriage, 210/2; some priests think it is their duty to the country to beget children, 226/9; children confess and ask pardon of their parents before they celebrate Final-Feasts, 232/23.

**nasci** — to be born, be produced: Giles born in Antwerp, 48/3; RH and his friends had the opportunity of visiting many countries in all directions, 52/12; RH: greedy noblemen, gentlemen, and abbots where the finest wool is produced, 66/2; RH: dealers remove cattle from other localities faster than

they can be bred there and cause scarcity, 68/17; Cardinal: no danger can come from RH's experiment, 80/15; RH: healing of one member breeds the disease of the other, 106/2; head of the river Anydrus is born just outside the city, 118/24; Utopians believe the soul is born for happiness by the goodness of God, 162/1; RH: fools applaud themselves for being noble because they have been born of certain ancestors, 168/7; pleasure engendered by music, 172/23; hunger pain comes into existence before the pleasure and does not end until the pleasure dies with it, 176/16; Utopians: treaties make people think they are born one another's adversaries, 198/21; Zapoletans born for warfare, 206/16; Utopians have revenues in many countries produced from various sources, 214/23; some Utopians believe that brute animals have immortal souls not born to felicity equal with humans' souls, 222/19; Utopian education teaches good opinions which never decay except through vices which arise from wrong attitudes, 228/15; that Utopian priests pray for victory without much bloodshed to either side produces other nations' esteem towards them, 230/5.

*pater/mater familias* — master/mistress of a house: over each rural household are set a master and mistress [*pater materque familias*], 114/6; Utopian who wants to learn a different craft assigned to a grave and honorable householder [*patrifamilias*], 126/17; father and mother of the family [*pater & mater familias*] in whose house premarital intercourse was committed incur great disgrace, 186/28; at Utopians' temples males in each home sit in front of the head of the household, 232/33.

### 1. *gens* — a race, nation, people, country

RH and his friends ingratiated themselves with the natives of the land, 50/28; RH: at length you reach peoples which maintain a continual traffic even with far-off peoples, 52/11; RH rehearsed many customs through which our own peoples may correct their errors, 54/4; RH: that thieves and soldiers are similar is common to almost all peoples, 62/29; RH: the examples of many nations show that standing armies are dangerous, 64/10; RH thinks Polylerite criminal justice system better than any nation's, 74/18; Polylerites do not try to enlarge their territory in accordance with the ancient policy of their nation, 74/27; RH: the French king's court would try to persuade him to bring nations under his sway, 86/30; RH: large part of the people in other nations exists without working, 128/35; Utopians do not require as much labor as other nations for the erection and repair of buildings, 132/13; RH: other nations bear the loss of silver and gold with great grief, 152/15; RH: opposite ideas and feelings are created by customs in U that are so different from those of other peoples, 152/26; ambassadors of neighboring nations [except Anemolians] well acquainted with the manners of the Utopians, 152/32; few Utopians had visited foreign nations, 154/22; Utopian people in general and easy-going, good-tempered, ingenious, and leisure-loving, 178/30; RH: Utopian race derived from the Greek, 180/23; RH: of all nations, U needs medicine least, 182/9; Utopians export goods themselves to learn more about foreign nations, 184/11; Utopian slaves acquired from foreign nations, 184/16; Utopians marvel at the remarkable folly of other nations in choosing wives, 188/6; RH: difficult to outlaw lawyers in other countries that have complicated laws, 194/19; nations who seek administrators from U are called allies, 196/15; Utopians make treaties with no nation, 196/16; Utopians count nothing so inglorious as glory sought in war, against the usage of almost all nations, 200/1; Utopians wage war when merchants among their friends undergo injustice in any other country, 200/15; war with the Nephelogetes against the Alaopolitans waged with the energies and resources of neighboring nations, 200/22; Utopians yielded the Alaopolitans into the power of the nation of the Nephelogetes, 200/27; wrongs done to Utopians righted only by abstention from trade with the offending nation, 200/31; if internal strife dies down among enemies of U, Utopians stir up the neighboring nations of their enemies with forgotten claims of dominion, 204/29; Utopians have a vast treasure abroad in many nations, 206/7; Zapoletans are a hardy race, 206/12; Utopians have revenues from various sources in many countries, 214/23; Utopians often give conquered nation credit, 214/28; Utopian professes that whatever he regards as supreme being is the very same

nature to whose power and majesty the sum of all things is attributed by the common consent of all nations, 216/25; Christian martyrs have drawn so many nations into their fellowship, 218/1; Utopians despise auguries and divination practiced by other nations, 224/14; Utopian priests esteemed among foreign nations, 230/5; Utopian priests have veneration and majesty among all nations everywhere, 230/14; never has there been any nation so cruel, savage, and barbarous that is did not regard the person of the priest of U as sacred and inviolable, 230/21; RH dares anyone to compare Utopians' fairness with the so-called justice of other nations, 238/20.

**2. gens** — [as a partitive genitive] the world, the human race

Utopians wonder that gold is valued higher everywhere in the world [*ubique gentium*] than man himself, 156/19; RH: nowhere in the world [*nusquam gentium*] is there a more plentiful supply of grain and cattle than in U, 178/22.

**multitudo** — a large number, a crowd

Work of excavating the isthmus of U divided among a large number, 112/12; Utopians breed an vast number of poultry, 114/19; crowd of harvesters sent to the country by the municipal officials, 116/17; a large number of all classes flock to hear the public lectures, 128/6; RH: if the great number who now toil were distributed over only a few necessary crafts, there would be a smaller amount of time needed for work, 130/14; RH: if all the remaining crowd [less the scholars] were neither idle nor busied with useless occupations, a lot of good work could be produced in very few hours, 132/9; when there is an abundance of all commodities, an immense crowd of people repair public roads, 134/13; Utopians know that they can buy off even their enemies with a large sum of money, 150/1.

**patria** — native country

Giles charming discourse took away TM's desire for his native country, 48/11; RH arrives home again beyond all expectation, 50/18; TM forgets name of ruler and country RH visited first, 50/30; RH: even in peacetime the whole country of France is crowded with mercenaries, 62/30; RH calls the nobleman an insatiable glutton and accursed plague of his native land, 66/12; RH's story about Cardinal Morton makes him feel as if he is at home in his native land, 86/1; good Macarian king instituted limit to imperial treasury for the good of his country, 96/19; Utopian trade brings iron, silver, and gold into their country, 148/14; U's neighbors bring Utopian officials back to their own country, 196/4; Utopians send fainthearted with the brave if war assails their own country, 208/25; Utopus observes that universal dissensions between individual sects who were fighting for their country gave him the opportunity of overcoming them all, 218/33; disbeliever in immortality of the soul will break the public laws of his country by craft or violence to serve his own desires, 222/1; some priests think it is their duty to the country to beget children, 226/8.

**populus** — nation, “a multitude gathered together in fellowship by a consensus about right and a sharing of the useful”; people<sup>4</sup>

TM at Notre Dame, the finest church in Antwerp and the most crowded with people, 48/16; RH found commonwealths [*respublicas*] with great numbers of people, 52/2; RH: under the equator there are peoples, cities, and towns which maintain a continual traffic by sea and land, 52/10; TM: useful to readers to know what wise and prudent provisions RH noticed anywhere among peoples living together in a civilized way, 52/27; RH called attention to many ill-advised customs among new peoples, 54/1; RH remembered the customs and institutions of each people as if he had lived all his life in places he had only visited, 54/11; TM: from the *princeps* flows a spring of all that is good or evil over the whole nation,

<sup>4</sup> Augustine in the *City of God* 2.21 and 19.21 quotes Cicero's *De Republica* 1.39 and 3.43: “*multitudinis coetum iuris consensu et utilitatis communione sociatum esse*”. *City of God* 19.24 redefines *populus* in terms of *concordia*: “a multitude of rational beings united in fellowship by a common agreement as to the objects of their love” [*coetus multitudinis rationalis rerum quas diligit concordia communione sociatus*].

56/15; RH: Polylerites a large and well-governed nation, 74/21; in some places kindhearted Polylerites support punished criminals with alms, 76/16; Polylerite criminal cannot flee because he does not dress the way ordinary people do, 78/20; RH: suppose I put before the king's council the decisions made by the people called the Achorians, 88/25; RH: French king's warmongering would drain his resources and destroy his people, 90/16; RH: councilor tells the French king to prohibit many things especially such as it is to the people's advantage not to allow and give dispensation to those with whose interest the prohibition has interfered in order to win the people's favor, 92/9-10 (2x); RH: councilor tells the French king to sell privileges at a high price since he hates to give any private citizen a privilege which is contrary to the welfare of the people, 92/14; RH: king's councilor says that king's safeguard lies in the fact that the people do not grow insolent with wealth and freedom, 94/5; RH: king's safety depends on the people's resources rather than his own, 94/11; RH: belongs to a king to take more care for the welfare of his people than for his own welfare, 94/14; RH: wrong to think that the poverty of the people is the safeguard of peace, 94/16; RH: king's indolence and arrogance cause his people to despise or hate him, 96/5; Macarian's instituted limit on king's treasury to prevent the king from hoarding so much money as would case a lack of it among the people, 96/20; RH: agrees with Plato, that philosophers "observe the people rushing out into the streets and being soaked and cannot induce them to go indoors to escape the rain [because they will get wet]," 102/15; RH: special legislation might be passed to prevent the *princeps* from being overmighty and the people overweening, 104/24; RH: Utopians are the only well-ordered people, 106/17; Giles: it would be hard for RH to convince me that a better-ordered people exists in the new world than in the known world, 106/19; siphogrants choose *princeps* out of the four candidates named to them by the people, 122/16; matters of common interest always deliberated in the senate or popular assembly to prevent the *princeps* and tranibors from oppressing the people through tyranny, 124/4; RH: large part of the people in other countries exists without working, 128/35; some people in U are given perpetual freedom from labor by vote of the siphogrants, 130/33; RH explains the relations of people toward one another in U, 134/22; Utopian colonies join natives to the great advantage of both peoples, 136/10; Utopians consider it a most just cause for war when a people does not use its soil and forbid its use to others, 136/14; RH: the custom of people in U to have no pretext to evade work leads by necessity to an abundance of all commodities, 146/21; Utopians call their debts when they must lend to another nation or wage war, 148/27; if gold and silver were locked up in U the *princeps* and senate might be suspected of deceiving the people, 150/28; people had poured out into the streets to see the Anemolian ambassadors, 154/17; a large part of the people in U devote their free time to learning, 158/9; Utopians hold that public laws for the distribution of vital commodities ought to be observed provided they have been justly promulgated by a good *princeps* or ratified by the common consent of a people not oppressed by tyranny, 164/21; RH: nowhere is there are more excellent people than in U, 178/17; in U a whole forest has been uprooted in one place by the hands of the people and planted in another, 178/26; sometimes a hard-working poor man from another people chooses slavery in U, 184/25; slavery in U sometimes lightened or remitted by the vote of the people, 192/1; Utopians find fault with other peoples for their innumerable and insufficient books of laws and commentaries, 194/8; RH: peoples who obtain officials from U make very good and wholesome provision for their commonwealth, 196/5; nations who seek administrators from U are called allies by them, 196/12; Utopians think treaties inferior to the bond of nature, which joins one people to another people, 198/18-9 (2x); Utopians go to war out of pity for a people oppressed by tyranny, 200/6; in the war with the Alaopolitans, the most flourishing nations were either shaken to their foundations or grievously afflicted, 200/23; Zapoletans are a fearsome, rough, and wild people, 206/9; the Zapoletan people will battle for U against any mortals because their service is hired at higher rate, 208/3; Utopians would like to rid the world of the Zapoletans, an abominable and impious people, 208/12; Christian preacher in U who

condemned other religions convicted for stirring up a riot among the people, 218/27; priests in U elected by the people, 226/25; only a very small number of the people in U are priests, 230/31; people are clothed in white garments in the temple in U, 234/16; the priest and the people in U together repeat solemn fixed prayers, 236/10; RH: outside U how many are there who do not realize that they must take account of themselves rather than of the people, that is, of others, 238/6; TM: many absurd laws and customs of the people established in U, 244/14.

**respublica**<sup>5</sup> — weal or property<sup>6</sup> of the people<sup>7</sup>

TM to Peter Giles: little book about the commonwealth [*republica*] of Utopia, 38/4; TM to Peter Giles: making known the commonwealth [*republica*] of Utopia, 42/23; On the Best State of a *Respublica*, 46/3; RH found commonwealths [*respublicae*] with great numbers of people, 52/2; TM: I intend to give the speech that led RH to mention the *respublica* of U, 54/7; TM: RH should apply his talent and industry to the public interest [*publicis rebus*], 56/11; RH: in disturbing my own peace and quiet I should not promote the public interest [*publicam rem*], 56/21; RH: the weal of the people [*Respublica*] seemed to depend much upon Lord Chancellor Morton, 58/31; RH: Englishmen lose their limbs in the service of the weal of the people [*Reipublicae*] or king, 60/30; RH: standing armies not profitable to the weal of the people [*publicae rei*], 64/26-7; RH: everyone knows that it is absurd and dangerous to the weal of the people [*reipublicae*] for a thief and a murderer to receive the same punishment, 74/3; RH: Romans were the greatest experts in managing the weal of the people [*reipublicae*], 74/15; Polylerite slaves are fed at public expense because they serve the weal of the people [*publicae rei*], 76/14; RH: whether Polylerite slaves would conspire against the weal of the people [*republicam*], 78/22; lawyer: never could RH's system [of punishing criminals] be established in England without involving the weal of the people [*republicam*] in a serious crisis, 80/5; Cardinal Morton: if RH's system fails, it would be no less for the weal of the people [*republica*] to put to death those previously condemned, 80/13; TM: Plato says commonwealths [*respublicae*] will only be happy if either philosophers rule or kings turn to philosophy, 86/11; TM: as in a *Republica*, so in deliberations of *principes*, 98/24; TM: you must not desert the *Respublica* because you cannot according to the thought of the mind cure vices of long standing, 98/27; RH: what if he told the French king what Plato fashions in his *Republica*, 100/9; RH: Plato shows why philosophers are right in abstaining from administration of the weal of the people [*Republica*], 102/15; RH: scarcely possible for a *Republica* to have justice or prosperity where there is private property and all measure all things by cash values, 102/23; Giles: commonwealths [*Respublicas*] older here than in the new world, 106/21; On the Best State of a *Respublica*, 110/3; tranibors and *principes* take counsel about the weal of the people [*republica*] at least every other day, 122/25; no decree concerning the weal of the people [*republicam*] ratified unless it has been discussed in the senate three days before its passing, 122/29; Utopians have measures to prevent the tyrannous oppression of the people to change the order of the *respublica*, 124/4; Utopian senate debates nothing on the same day proposed lest someone give more thought to defending his own decree than supporting the good of the *respublica*, 124/13; [Utopians put off debate on proposals till next meeting lest anyone prefer to jeopardize the public welfare [*salutis publicae*],

<sup>5</sup> To stress the point that *res publica* refers to the good of the people as a whole, Augustine offers this explanation: “*rem publicam, id est rem populi, rem patriae, rem communem*” (*City of God* in 5.18). In *City of God* 2.21 and 19.21, Augustine quotes Cicero's definition of *res publica* as *res populi* (*De Re Publica* 1.39 and 3.43).

<sup>6</sup> Cicero argues that the “chief purpose in establishing” the *ciuitas* and *respublica* is safeguarding property (*De Officiis* 2.73).

<sup>7</sup> The definition of *populus* becomes a major point of disagreement between Augustine and Cicero. Augustine in the *City of God* 2.21 and 19.21 quotes Cicero's definition of *populus*: “*multitudinis coetum iuris consensu et utilitatis communione sociatum esse*” (*De Re Publica* 1.39, 3.43), but strongly disagrees with it. Augustine redefines *populus* in terms of *concordia*, not *ius* and *utilitas*: “an assembly of the rational multitude united in fellowship by a harmonious agreement as to the objects of its love” (“*rationalis multitudinis coetus rerum quas diligit concordi communione sociatus*,” *City of God* 19.24).

124/12; Utopians who prefer to devote their free time to their trade are praised as useful to the *respublica*, 128/12; RH: the weal of the people [*republica*] is carefully regulated in U, 132/22; first object of arrangement of the *respublica* of U is for all citizens to devote as much time as possible to the freedom and culture of the mind, 134/17; RH: Utopians receive opinions from a *respublica* with good institutions, 158/3; RH: sure that whatever you think of Utopians' decrees, nowhere in the world is there a more excellent people or happier *respublica*, 178/18; generally in U the worst offenses are punished by sentence of slavery since it is formidable to the criminal and advantageous to the weal of the people, 190/22; statues are set up in the *forum* in U of men who have done conspicuous service to their *respublica*, 192/26; RH: peoples who obtain officials from U make very good and wholesome provision for their *respublica*, 196/5; RH: when favoritism and avarice enter into men's judgments they destroy all justice, the strongest sinew of the *respublica*, 196/11; Utopian children trained in good and sound opinions by teaching and the good institutions of their *respublica*, 210/18; Utopian priests take care to instill into children's minds good opinions which are useful for the preservation of the *respublica*, 228/11; good opinions are a great help in watching over the condition of the weal of the people [*publicae rei*], 228/14; Utopians thank God that by divine favor they have chanced on that *respublica* which is the happiest, 236/15; Utopian priests pray that if Utopian form of *respublica* is best, God bring to other mortals the same way of living, 236/20; RH: I have described the form of the best and only *Respublica*, 236/31; RH: only U can rightly claim the name of *Respublica*, 236/33; RH: outside U everyone realizes that unless they make some separate provision for themselves, however flourishing the weal of the people [*Respublica*], they will themselves starve, 238/4; RH: unjust for those whose work is of a kind not very essential to the weal of the people [*Reipublicae*] should attain a life of luxury and grandeur, 238/24; RH: life of a laborer, carter, carpenter, farmer is essential to the weal of the people [*Respublica*] but is unprofitable and miserable, 238/29; RH: an unjust and ungrateful *respublica* rewards gentlefolk and idle people and makes no provision for those without whom there would be no *Respublica* at all, 240/6-10 (2x); RH: unjust that persons deserving best of the *Respublica* should have the worst return, 240/16; RH: when I consider and turn over in my mind the [bad] state of all commonwealths [*respublicae*] flourishing today, 240/19; RH: conspiracy of the rich who are aiming at their own interests under the name and title of the *Respublica*, 240/21; RH: how far are evil men with insatiable greed from the happiness of the Utopian *Respublica*, 240/30; RH: man's regard for his own interest or the authority of Christ would long ago have brought the whole world to adopt the laws of the Utopian *Respublica* if not for pride, 242/24; RH: joy that this form of *respublica* has been the good fortune of the Utopians, 244/3; RH: Utopian institutions of life laid happy and lasting foundation for the weal of the people [*Reipublicae*], 244/5; TM: the common life and subsistence of the Utopians, without the exchange of money, overthrows all the nobility, magnificence, splendor, and majesty which are, in the estimation of the common people, the true glories and ornaments of the weal of the people [*Reipublicae*], 244/20; TM: there are very many features in the Utopian *respublica* which it is easier for me to wish for in our city-states [*civitates*], than to have any hope of seeing realized, 246/2; M to PG: critic says M has devised some things not expedient enough in the framing of commonwealth [*republica*], 248/25; M to PG: philosophers who devised a commonwealth [*republicam*] instituted some features that should be changed, 248/27; M to PG: does not pretend that if he had determined to write about the weal of the people [*republica*] he should have shrunk from a fiction whereby the truth might slide a little more pleasantly into men's minds, 250/6.

**societas** — the condition of being associated for a common purpose, fellowship,  
partnership

RH: French councilors agree that weak union with England should be strengthened with the strongest bonds, that the English should be called friends but suspected as enemies, 88/13; reason urges us to help

all other men attain happiness because of our natural union, 162/28; Utopians think people joined by union of nature, not treaties, 198/20.

**1. socius** — ally, i.e. nation that accepts Utopians as commanders (cp. *imperare*)

Nations who seek administrators from U are called allies, 196/13; Utopians more grieved at allies' pecuniary loss than their own, 200/32.

**2. socius** — friend

RH and friends ingratiated themselves with the natives, 50/26; Utopians offered rewards to proscribed if they will turn against their friends, 204/7.

**urbs** — city

TM citizen and sheriff of London, famous city of Great Britain, 46/6; RH found many towns and cities, 52/1; cities below the equator maintain continual traffic with each other and with far-off countries by sea and land, 52/10; RH: there were cities among them [the people below the equator] before there were men among us, 106/26; TM asks RH to tell of the cities he visited, 108/21; no city in U more than twenty-four miles away from another, 112/21; RH: three citizens from each city meet once a year at Amaurotum, 112/23; city of Amaurotum in the very center of U, 112/25; land well-assigned to the cities of U, 112/31; twenty people from each rural household return every year to the city, the same number are sent from the city, 114/8-9 (2x); Utopians produce more grain and cattle than they need, though they know how much food the city and the territory connected to the city consumes, 116/7-8 (2x); rural districts send for all the materials they need from the city, 116/11; On Cities [in U], 116/20; RH: person who knows one city in U knows them all, 116/22; River Anydrus half a mile broad in front of the city [of Amaurotum], 118/4; tide in the River Andrus between the city and the sea, 118/6; River Andryus passes Amaurotum uncontaminated [by salt water], 118/13; city [of Amaurotum] crosses River Andryus with a stonework bridge, 118/14; ships travel up River Andryus along the city as far as the bridge without hindrance, 118/18; source of Andryus just outside the city, 118/23; water distributed to various parts of the city in conduits, 118/27; nothing more productive of profit and pleasure in the city than gardens, 120/20; whole plan of the city [of Amaurotum] sketched by Utopus himself, 120/23; one syphogrant selected out of each of the four quarters of the city to be commended to the senate, 122/17; children take field trips to farms closer to the city as if for recreation, 124/24; hardly 500 men and women exempted from work in the whole city and its neighborhood, 130/26; adults in excess of quota make up the deficient population in other cities, 136/3; excess citizens out of every city throughout the island found colonies on mainland, 136/5; loss of citizens in any city that cannot be made up out of other parts of the island without bringing cities below their proper strength filled up by citizens returning from the colonies, 136/17-9 (2x); Utopians would rather that the colonies should perish than that any of the cities of the island should be enfeebled, 136/22; Utopians do not permit anything filthy or unclean to be brought inside the city, 138/20; hardly anybody in the whole city who, when suffering from illness, does not prefer to be nursed in the hospitals rather than at home, 140/8; Utopians' common life in the city, 144/23; Utopians obtain leave to visit another city, 144/28; traveling Utopian must share work in order to go where he pleases within the territory belonging to the city, 146/14; traveling Utopian just as useful to the city as if he were in the city, 146/15 (2x); three from each city sent annually to the senate at Amaurotum, 146/25; those who have given out of their stock to any particular city without requiring any return from it receive what they lack from another to which they have given nothing, 148/1; Utopians seek the public credit of a city [with which they do business], 148/20; three representative from each city had assembled to meet the Anemolian ambassadors, 152/31; not many from each city assigned to

scholarship alone, 158/5; Utopians moved forest to have wood closer to the sea or the rivers or the cities themselves, 178/29; Utopian language retains some traces of Greek in the names of their cities and officials, 180/25; some Utopian slaves condemned to death in foreign cities for some offense, 184/18; Utopians keep intact cities that have been surrendered to them, 214/12; different kinds of religion in each Utopian city, 216/7; some Buthrescae transport goods into the cities, 224/27; no more than thirteen priests in each city, 226/20; RH: domestic discord that only cause of ruin to the well-established prosperity of many cities, 244/9.

## Words for RULER(S)

### **dominus** — master, lord

RH praises: the Polylerites where persons who steal repay to the owner, not the *princeps*, 76/3; Friar calls Cardinal, "My lord," 84/1 & 10; RH: people almost allowed in earnest the fancies of the hanger-on [*parasiti*], which his master in jest did not reject, 84/27; Utopians consider themselves the tenants [*agricolas*] rather than the masters of the land they hold, 112/33; RH: greed of the rich, especially the masters of estates, who are commonly termed gentlemen and noblemen, 130/3; Utopians bowed to the lowest of the Anemolian ambassadors as to the masters but took the ambassadors to be slaves because they were wearing gold, 54/23.

### 1. **dux** — leader

RH has very trusty guide on journey, 50/34; RH: travelers in Polylerite think themselves secure with former criminals as guides, 78/15; RH: no foreigner safely enters bay of U with Utopian guide, 110/22; RH: Utopian guides use landmarks on shore to land safely, 110/23; RH: Utopians consider pleasure every movement and state of body or mind in which, with nature as guide, man delights to dwell, 166/9.

### 2. **dux** — [in military language] commander, general

RH: Utopians avoid the disorganization of the army through the endangering of the general, 208/20; RH: Utopians send band of picked youths to hunt out the opposing general, 210/24.

### **gubernator** — pilot, helmsman, one who directs a ship

**gubernare** — to pilot, to steer a ship; to govern or control: Achorians are too numerous to be governed by half a king, 90/11.

**gubernatio** — governance: Utopian prayers acknowledge God as author of creation, of governance, and of all other blessings, 236/12.

### Words associated with controlling a ship:

**impellere** — to push, drive: RH: death penalty impels robber to murder, 74/6; Cardinal's hanger-on: it only remains that public measures be devised for person whom sickness or old has pushed toward want, 80/32; Utopian bribes easily incite men to commit every kind of crime, 204/13; Zapoletan mercenaries readily induced to change sides by increase in pay, 207/1; RH: Utopians thrust Zapoletans, incited by great promises, into greatest perils, 208/7.

**lapidis** [lodestone], **magnetis** — compass: RH: Utopians hesitated to trust themselves to the sea without compasses, [*lapidis*] 52/20; Utopians' trust in the compass makes them dangerously confident in the sea, [*magnetis*] 52/21; RH: compass could be a cause of great evil to Utopians, [*magnetis*] 52/24.

**naufragium** — shipwreck: RH: 1200 years ago shipwreck of Romans and Egyptians on U, 108/4.

**nauigare** — to navigate: Giles: RH sailed not as Palinurus or Ulysses, but as Plato did, 48/30; RH brings books for Utopians about to sail for the fourth time, 180/26; ape tore apart book of Theophrastus while RH was sailing, 180/30.

**nauigatio** — voyage: RH was Vespucci's companion in the last three voyages, 50/5; RH did not join return with Vespucci on his last voyage, 50/8.

**nauis** — ship: RH sailed home in Portuguese ships, 50/18; every Utopian ship readily took RH and his companions passengers, 52/13; first ships RH and companions saw were flat-bottomed, 52/14; TM: you must not abandon the ship in a storm because you cannot control the winds, 98/27; RH: 1200 years ago ship of Romans and Egyptians wrecked on U, 108/3; RH: center of U is a harbor which lets ships cross in every direction, 110/17; in U bridge of Amaurotum situated in the quarter farthest from the sea to let ships pass without hindrance, 118/18; RH brings books for Utopians about to sail on a ship for the fourth time, 180/26; in U in war fainthearted mixed among braver on ships so they cannot run away, 208/26.

**nauta** — sailor: sailors below the equator skilled in adapting themselves to sea and weather, 52/18.

**pelagus** — sea: RH: Utopians hesitated to trust themselves to the sea without compasses, 52/20; sea comes in and fills the whole bed of the Anydrus, 118/9.

**portus** — harbor, port: shape converts almost the whole center of the country into a harbor, 110/16; on the outside of the island, harbors are many but well defended, 110/27.

**rates** — vessel, raft: RH journeyed to many countries partly by water on rafts, 50/33.

**tempestat** — storm, tempest: TM: you must not abandon the ship in a storm because you cannot control the winds, 98/27; RH: 1200 years ago ship driven by storm wrecked on U, 108/4; Utopians roof cement superior to lead in defying damage from storms, 122/2.

**imperator** — emperor, supreme commander

One counselor suggests soothing with gold the offended majesty of the emperor [Maximilian], 88/5.

**imperium**<sup>8</sup> — supreme administrative power (implying possession of force needed to exercise it): RH: not only the imperium of Rome, Carthage, and Syria, but also their land and cities have been destroyed by standing armies, 64/11; RH to Morton: we ought not approve Manlian imperium of law, 72/12; RH's hypothetical counselor to his hypothetical king: wealth makes people less patient to endure harsh and unjust imperium, 94/6; RH: a king who is hated has the name of imperium, but not its majesty, 94/26; RH: to exercise imperium over beggars is not dignified, 94/27; RH: the new Macarian king must begin his imperium by swearing never to have more than 1000 pounds of gold, 96/15; all useful arts in Roman imperium learned from shipwrecked strangers and from seeds of ideas, 108/8; RH: expiration of Utopians' imperium over neighbors, 196/3; RH: harmony at home and healthy institutions preserve that nation's imperium, 244/13.

**imperare**<sup>9</sup> — to exercise supreme command, rule: RH: God gives commands as a father to his sons, 72/33; RH: French king should command his people gently, 90/19; RH: Fabricus preferred to rule the

<sup>8</sup>*De Officiis* 2.26 is Cicero's most famous passage on *imperium*, a passage that is often taken as his ideal of a government based on law: an "*imperium* of the Roman people that maintained itself by acts of beneficence, not oppression," in which the "highest ambition of our magistrates and generals was to defend our provinces and allies with justice and *fides*; and so our government could be called more accurately a protectorate [*patrocinium*] of the world than an *imperium*."

<sup>9</sup> In *Republic* 3.37, quoted by Augustine in *Contra Julianus* 4.12.61, Cicero wrote: "God exercise[s] supreme command over man, the mind over the body, and reason over lust and anger and other vicious elements of the soul." *Tusc* 2.51 states that reason should exercise supreme command over the emotions just as "a just parent govern sons of good character [*iustus parens probis filiis*]" — they are able to govern "with a nod [*nutu*]" . In his *City of God*, Augustine describes ideal rulers as those who "justly exercise supreme command [*iuste imperant*]" in service to God's *maiestas*, for "ruling and protecting the commonwealth [*regendae tuendaeque rei publicae*]" (5.24). In *De Officiis* 1.13, Cicero describes the "well-fashioned" *princeps* as that magnanimous soul "unwilling to be subject to anybody save one who ... exercises supreme command according to justice and law [*iuste et legitime imperanti*]."

rich rather than be rich, 94/29; RH: one who tries to reform the lives of citizens by depriving them of good things does not know how to rule the free, 96/3; nations who seek to be commanded by Utopians are called allies, 196/12; RH: pride would not consent to be made a goddess if she could not command over poor wretches, 242/28.

**imperatorius** — of an *imperator*, imperial: RH: French king's counselor recommends propitiation of the will of the imperial majesty with gold, 88/5.

**magistratus**<sup>10</sup> — “minister of the law”; civil office or officer, magistrate

RH: magistrates should not be solicited with gifts, 104/25; TM: bloodshed and riot when authority and reverence of magistrates eliminated, 106/10; in U city magistrates give supplies to people in country, 116/12; in U agricultural phylarchs inform city magistrates how many citizens are needed for harvest, 116/14; in U every thirty families annually chose magistrate called syphogrants, 122/9; in U method of creating magistrates (marginal heading), 122/18; in U perpetual office of *princeps*, 122/19; in U magistrates are elected annually except *princeps* and *tranibors*, 122/22; in U fathers and magistrates care of children, 126/16; in U magistrates do not keep citizens at superfluous labor against their will, 134/16; RH: Utopians have Greek names for magistrates, 180/25; in U canvassing for office prohibited, 192/29; in U magistrates not haughty or formidable, 194/1; in U neighbors obtain magistrates from U, 196/2; RH: prosperity of the commonwealth [*reipublicae*] depends on character of magistrates, 196/6; in U irreligious people entrusted with no office, 222/4; in U priest elected just as all magistrates are, 226/26; in U punishing offenders duty of *princeps* and magistrates, 228/3; in U most honor given to office of priest, 228/19.

**pater** — father, an honorable designation applied to a senator

In U officials called patres and have the character of fathers, 194/2.

1. **pontifex** — high priest, pontiff

In U special regard paid at meals to high priest, 140/14; in U mark of high priest is wax candle borne before him, 194/5; in U if there are more than thirteen priests in one city, they attend upon the high priest, 226/25.

2. **pontifex** — bishop

RH: in Europe majesty of treaties is holy and inviolable through reverence and fear of sovereign bishop, 196/24; whether Christian priests can be made in U without dispatch of a Christian bishop, 218/15.

**praesse**<sup>11</sup> — to preside over, to take the lead

The oldest presides in the family, 136/23; priests preside over divine things, 226/27.

**praefectus** — mayor, captain of a garrison

Burgomaster of Bruges, 46/22.

**praesidere** — to keep watch, to exercise control or superintendence over

Syphogrant and priest preside, 142/26.

**princeps** — “first” or “leading” citizen, one who is preeminent in a particular

<sup>10</sup> For the magistrate as one who administers the law see *Pro Cluentio* 146. Cicero explains that the “magistrate is a speaking law, and the law a silent magistrate.... The whole character of a republic is determined by its arrangements in regard to magistrates” (*De Legibus* 3.2, 5).

<sup>11</sup> Cicero, *De Officiis* 1.101: “Reason leads, appetite obeys” [“Ita fit, ut ratio praesit, appetitus obtemperet”]; *De Legibus* 3.2: “The magistrate has this ability: to lead...in conformity with the law” [“*magistratus hanc esse vim, ut praesit ...coniuncta cum legibus.*” Caesar in his *Galic War* distinguishes between leaders who are appointed “with the power of life and death” to preside in time of war and leaders in peacetime who are *principes* arising from the people and freely followed by them with *fides* (6.23).

sphere; expert; chief, head, leader

- Book 1, types of *princeps* in opening lines:** (a) King Henry VIII, one adorned with the arts of the *princeps* beyond all others, sent his delegation to Flanders, 46/10; it was headed by learned, wise, and faithful Cuthbert Tunstal and assisted by vice-sheriff and orator TM; (b) Charles *princeps* of Castille [later: Emperor Charles V], 46/11 & 21 & 29, 88/8, sent his delegation to Flanders. (c) Mayor of Bruges was the *princeps* and head of Prince Charles' delegation, 46/23, although Provost Georges de Themseckle was its "chief speaker and guiding spirit," one gifted & skilled in oratory, law, and diplomacy.
- Book 1, TM's views on *princeps*:** TM urges RH to serve the public interest [*publicis rebus*] by counseling a *princeps*, 56/13; a stream of good or evil flows over the whole nation from the *princeps*, 56/14; advising the *princeps* is the most important part of a good person's duty, 86/8; TM: there is no room for an academic philosophy in the councils of *principes*, 98/7; as in a commonwealth [*Respublica*], so in deliberations of *principes*, 98/25.
- Book 1, RH's actual experience with *principes*:** a generous and friendly *princeps* both enabled RH to travel and recommended RH to other *principes* he encountered on his travels, 50/29, 50/34; Lord Chancellor Morton is willing to have the *princeps* postpone execution as a trial of RH's ideas, 80/10.
- Book 1, RH's views on European *principes*:** almost all *principes* prefer pursuits of war, 56/22; councilors try to win thanks of *princeps* by flattery, 56/30; RH praises the Polylerites where persons who steal repay to the owner, not the *princeps*, 76/3; the French should keep in check a *princeps* in whom they have no confidence, 88/19; a good *princeps* would be content with one kingdom, 90/12; *pious princeps* deceive their simpleminded people, 92/3 [cp. *Richard III* 424/8-9 & Epigram 111.4]; a good *princeps* cares more for people than himself, as a shepherd towards his flock, 94/13; greedy *principes* sell privileges for revenue, 92/14; judicial cases are decided on the *principes*' side, 92/26; prerogatives of *principes* outweigh all laws, 92/29; no amount of gold is enough for *principes* because they must maintain an army, 92/32; poverty of the people is seen as in the best interest of *principes*, 94/4; there is no place for any philosophy among *principes*, 98/9; little progress can be made in the counsels of *principes*, 100/29; laws could prevent *princeps* from becoming too powerful, 104/24.
- Book 2, *princeps*, first or foremost:** of cities, Amaurotum is the *foremost*, 112/27; of all pleasures, mental ones are *foremost*, 174/30; of debates, the one about happiness is *first*, 160/18; of all plagues, pride is the *first*, 242/25.
- Book 2, *princeps*, first or leading magistrate of each city in U:** [This *princeps*:] is chosen or confirmed by the Senate — after a selection by secret ballots of city's 200 syphogrants who have selected 1 of the 4 candidates (from the scholar class) nominated by the people — 1 from each of the city's 4 quarters, 122/15-18; is an office [*magistratus*] held for life unless suspected of tyranny, 122/19; consults with tranibors at least every other day, 122/24; is discouraged from conspiring with tranibors by making consultation outside the senate a capital offense, 124/3; is chosen from the scholars, 132/7; receives best food as sign of respect, 140/13; must give letters permitting travel and determining return date, 144/31 (second failure to get such a letter results in slavery, 146/7); is not suspected (nor is the senate) of deceiving people about the gold supply, 150/27; should be obeyed in laws he justly promulgates about distribution of goods comprising the substance of pleasure, 164/21; can pardon crime of premarital intercourse, 186/27; can pardon crime of adultery, 190/14; can lighten or remit punishment of slavery, 190/29; is distinguished from other Utopians by holding a handful of grain, 194/4; checks and punishes offenders in matters of religion and morals, 228/2.
- Book 2, *principes*, leaders in other countries:** [These *principes*] do not observe treaties and alliances with good faith, 196/20; Utopians scorn their good faith in keeping treaties and alliances in their part of

the world, 196/23, 196/25; [they] practice fraud & deceit in contracts & *fides* between countries, 198/7; [they] consider justice a plebian virtue not to be observed by themselves, 198/12, 198/14 .

**Book 2, Utopian war policies towards a *princeps* in an enemy country:** huge rewards given for killing the enemy *princeps* and those around him, 204/1, 3; Utopian rewards are designed to bring betrayal by those in whom the enemy *princeps* puts greatest trust, 204/11; they assist a brother's or a nobleman's usurpation of enemy *princeps*' throne, 204/27 (but cp. 88/16-19 where RH condemns this practice); no exchange of their own people for an enemy *princeps*, 206/2; Utopians pay highest price to mercenaries willing to be hired by opposing *princeps*, 206/29; Utopians send powerful forces against any *princeps* preparing to invade their territory, 216/1.

**Book 2, Utopian beliefs about non-Utopian *princeps*:** common people outside U go to war because of madness of *princeps*, 204/26; "the envy of neighboring *princeps*" has often caused wars but has not had power to shake U as long as harmony is kept within U, 244/11.

**questores** — tax agents

In U estates of conquered enemies managed by tax agents who live in style, 214/25.

**regens** — the rider, master of a horse; a ruler or commander

**Words associated with "governing" a horse [as in Plato's *Phaedris* 246, 254]**

**calcar** — spur: in U forefathers' glory is a spur and stimulus to descendants' virtue, 192/28.

**incitamentum** — stimulus: in U forefathers' glory is a spur and stimulus to descendants' virtue, 192/28; in U funeral orations for good men are efficacious incentives to good deeds, 224/2; in U religious fear toward the gods is the greatest and almost the only incentives to the practice of virtues, 234/7.

**incitare** — to hasten, spur on: RH: death penalty for thieves spurs them on to the destruction of honest citizens, 74/11; RH: Utopians' virtues have spurred their neighbors to obtain officials from them, 194/33; RH: Zapoletan mercenaries driven to mutual destruction by tiny sum, 206/29; Utopian women incited by praise to accompany their husbands on campaign, 210/1.

**refrenare** — to bridle, check, restrain: RH: death penalty not sufficient for checking thieves, 60/16; RH: restrict the right of rich individuals to buy up everything, 70/1; RH: let the king check mischief and crime, 96/6; RH: fraud, theft, treasons, poisonings are avenged rather than restrained by daily executions, 242/4.

**stimulare** — to goad: TM: continual bloodshed and riot when people are goaded by want but individual cannot legally keep as his own what he has gained, 106/7; Utopians fight by family in war so that those may help another whom nature most impels to help one another, 210/4; RH: fruitless and profitless labor goads workmen in the present, 240/2.

**regere**<sup>12</sup> — to direct or guide; to govern (morally): RH: difficulty coming to shore of U unless guided by landmarks, 110/24; RH: Utopians guided by authority and discipline at home, 234/3.

**rex** — king

**Book 1, types of *rex*:** King Henry VIII, the most invincible king of England, 46/9.

**Book 1, TM's views on *rex*:** TM wonders that RH did not attach himself to some king, 54/14; Plato says commonwealths [*respublicas*] will only be happy if either philosophers rule or kings turn to philosophy, 86/12.

<sup>12</sup> Consider Cicero's uses of this verb: "It is a difficult art of guiding a commonwealth in the right way" (*Atticus* 7.25); "the inexperience of youth requires the prudence of age to strengthen and guide it" (*De Officiis* 1.122); "by their counsel and wisdom, [they] can guide and govern [*gubernare*] the commonwealth" (*De Oratore* 1.8). Cicero claims he can "guide" Cato who is fashioned [*finxit*] for *honestas*, with the help of *studiis humanitatis* (*Pro Murena* 60-61). *De Oratore* 1.214 describes Scaurus as a man most knowledgeable about guiding the commonwealth.

**Book 1, RH's actual experience with rex:** RH spent several months in England, not long after the disastrous end of the insurrection of western Englishmen against the king, 58/17; RH: king placed the greatest confidence in advice of John Cardinal Morton, 58/31; Poylyerites free and autonomous except for annual tribute to king of Persia, 74/23; Achorians went to war to win for their king another kingdom, 88/27; lawlessness in Achorian kingdom because their king distracted with the charge of two kingdoms, 90/6; Achorians: king must choose which kingdom he preferred, 90/8; worthy Achorian king obliged to be content with his own realm, 90/10; Macarian king swears oath not to have more than 1000 pounds of gold in treasury, 96/14; Macarian oath instituted by a very good king, 96/18; 1000 pounds of gold sufficient for Macarian king to put down rebellion or meet hostile invasions, 96/21; Macarian king would not seek occasion to commit injustice because he has to pay out whatever exceeds 1000 pounds in treasury, 96/26.

**Book 1, RH's views on rex:** Englishmen lose their limbs in the service of the commonwealth [*Reipublicae*] or king, 60/31; imagines himself in the court of French king, 86/24; Plato was right that if kings did not turn to philosophy themselves, they would never approve of the advice of real philosophers, 86/17; French councilor thinks that settlement should be made with king and Aragon, 88/7; French king should not dream of adding other dominions under his sway, 88/23; councilors of king devise by what schemes they may heap treasure up for him, 90/23; coercion of judges gives king a handle to interpret law in his own interest, 92/24; councilors say king can do no wrong, 94/1; counsels of councilors both dishonorable and dangerous for the king, 94/9; people choose a king for their own sake and not for his, 94/11; better for king to resign this throne than keep it by ill usage and plundering if he is so despicable or hateful to his subjects that he could keep it no other way, 94/22; king like Macarians' would be a terror the evil and beloved by the good, 96/28;

**Book 2: no direct reference to rex; only related terms:**

*regius* — of a king, regal: RH: king's councilor persuades king to bind himself to judges, who will in every cases decide in favor of royal ius, 92/17; RH: inconsistent with royal dignity to exercise authority over beggars, 94/27

*regnare*<sup>13</sup> — to rule as a king, to be in control, to have mastery, to reign: TM: if philosophers were to rule, 86/11.

1. *regnum* — reigning power, control or rule, reign: RH: councilor thinks someone else's rule of Navarre should be ceded to King of Aragon, 88/7; RH: Achorians went to war to win another rule for their king who claimed to be heir by old marriage tie, 88/27; RH: better for king despised by his people to resign rule than keep it by ill usage and plundering, 94/25;

2. *regnum* — kingdom, realm: TM: RH told of errors of realms, 54/4; RH: almost all *principes* seek to win new realms, 56/25; RH: people who live in wool-producing part of English realm dissatisfied with their current profits, 66/2; RH: whether single realm of France too large to be governed well by one man, 88/22; RH: Achorian king distracted by care for two realms, 90/6; RH: French king should look after his ancestral realm and make it prosperous and flourishing, 90/17; RH: French king should permit other realm to flourish, 90/20; RH: rapacious, pleasure-seeking king is keeper of jail, not realm, 94/32; RH: Macarian king maintains only enough treasure to put down rebellion and to defend realm from invaders, 96/22.

3. *regnum* — throne, reigning power: RH: French king has already invaded throne of other nations in his mind, 86/31; RH: French councilor suggests some exiled English noble should be fostered to make claim to throne, 88/17; RH: Achorians ask king to choose which throne he prefers, 90/9; RH: Achorian king obliged to be content with own throne and turn new throne over to friends, 90/12;

<sup>13</sup> Pro-Republic Cicero uses this verb characteristically in recounting Caesar's "destruction of [Roman] laws and liberty" in order "to reign [*regnare*] in a city that has been free and ought to be so" (*De Officiis* 3.83).

Utopians sow dissension by stirring up brother of enemy king or noblemen with hope or obtaining throne, 204/28.

**tyrannus** — tyrant

Utopians go to war to deliver their friends from the yoke and slavery of a tyrant, 200/8.

**tyrannis** — tyranny

The office of *princeps* is for life, unless there is a suspicion of tyranny, 122/20; matters of common interest always deliberated in the senate or popular assembly to prevent the *princeps* and tranibors from oppressing the people through tyranny, 124/4; Utopians hold that public laws for the distribution of vital commodities ought to be observed provided they have been justly promulgated by a good *princeps* or ratified by the common consent of a people not oppressed by tyranny, 164/22; Utopians delivered many of their neighbors from tyranny, 196/1; Utopians go to war out of pity for a people oppressed by tyranny, 200/7.

## Words for LAW

**aequitas**<sup>14</sup> — equity

RH: if equity has any meaning, 72/16; RH: for the king it is enough that either equity be on his side or the letter of the law or the twisted meaning of the written word, or the indisputable royal prerogative, 92/27; RH dares anyone to be so bold as to compare U's equity with the so-called justice prevalent in other nations, 238/19; RH: cannot discover the slightest trace of justice and equity in other nations, 238/21.

**consuetudo**<sup>15</sup> — a habitual or usual practice or manner; custom as a source of law

Peter Giles's delightful manner, 48/14; RH: king should not be hasty in enforcing law fallen from habit, 96/8; RH: counselor corrupted by evil companionship, 102/11; U's abundance of gold and silver from their daily exchange with other countries, 148/14; Utopians say enjoyment from hunting arises from perverse habit, 172/2; RH: impossible for any man's judgment, depraved by disease or habit, to change the nature of pleasure, 172/6; U believe it a pity that the habit of making treaties grew up, 198/18.

**contrahere** — to contract, draw together

In U marriage cannot be annulled if deformity is discovered after marriage has been contracted, 188/20; in U divorce & new marriage cannot be contracted without sanction of senate, after both partners find others with whom they hope to live more agreeably, 190/3.

**contractus** — contract: RH: cunning found in the contracts of private persons merits the gallows, 198/5.

**decretum** — decree

RH: I would be banished or ridiculed for proposing to some king beneficial decree, 86/20; RH: decrees made by the Achorians when the king wanted two kingdoms, 88/24; RH: one must openly subscribe to the most ruinous decrees in the councils of kings, 102/6; in U senate debates nothing on the same day proposed lest someone give more thought to defending his own decree than supporting the good of the public weal [*reipublicae*], 124/13; RH: Utopians rejected decree of those who say state of stable and active

<sup>14</sup> *Aequitas* is, for Cicero, one of the three parts of jurisprudence (*Topica* 31).

<sup>15</sup> Custom (*consuetudo*) "is thought to be that which lapse of time has approved by the common consent of all without the sanction of statute [*lege*]" (*De Inventione* 2.67).

health is not pleasure, 174/4; RH: sure that whatever you think of Utopians' decrees, nowhere in the world is there a more excellent people or happier weal of the people [*republicam*], 178/16; in U scholars learn their tasks not only fired by their own initiative but also ordered explicitly by decree of senate, 180/16.

**decernere** — to decree (of a judge, magistrate, etc.), to decide: RH: grievous and terrible punishments are decreed for a thief when it would be better to provide means of living, 60/21; Polylerites decree rewards for an informer of slave plot to run away, 78/6; in U nothing concerning the weal of the people [*republicam*] is decreed without three days prior discussion in senate, 124/1; Anemolians, being more proud than wise, decided to represent the gods themselves to the Utopians by the grandeur of their apparel, 154/6; on fourth voyage, RH decreed never to return from U rather than come back soon, 180/27; in U punishment for crime decreed by senate, 190/18; Utopians decree war not only when a hostile inroad has carried off booty but also when merchant friends undergo unjust persecution, 200/13; in U smaller, yet considerable, sums decreed for the lives of individuals responsible for hostilities against them, 204/2; in U hand-to-hand battle determined to be long and anguished and ends with mutual extermination, 210/8; RH: Utopus decreed religious toleration was in the interest of religion itself, 220/9; in U after death, vices decreed to be punished and virtue rewarded, 220/25; RH: extortion of the poor by the rich become law once the rich have decreed their observance in the name of the public, 240/27.

**fas** — what is right or ordained by divine law

RH: almost all kings care more how, through what is ordained by divine law or not [*nefas*], they may win fresh kingdoms, 56/25; RH: ordained by divine law for Polylerites to whip a hired man if he is lazy, 76/22; RH: Utopians without belief in immortality of soul would be stupid not to seek pleasure through what is ordained by divine law or not [*nefas*], 162/7; in U not ordained by divine law to lay hands on one consecrated to God, even if guilty, 228/21.

**fedus/foedus** — treaty

RH: French king's councilor advises him to make treaty with Venetians to last just as long as king finds it convenient, 86/32; RH: treaties prevent kings from openly fostering exiled nobles to maintain claim to enemy throne, 88/17; Utopians never make treaties which all other nations so often make and break, 196/14; Utopians wonder what is the use of a treaty, as if nature did not sufficiently bind one man to another, 196/16; RH: treaties and alliances not observed in other nations in Utopias' part of world, 196/20; RH: majesty of treaties in Europe is everywhere holy and inviolable, 196/23; RH: Popes are perfectly right in thinking it disgraceful that those called the faithful should not keep their treaties, 196/28; RH: no trust in treaty in Utopians' world, 196/31; RH: people near Utopians use cunning to find ways to break treaties and *fides*, 198/4; RH: behavior of *principes* who keep treaties so badly keeps Utopians from making them, 198/15; RH: Uns think it a pity that the custom of making (even faithfully observed) treaties began, 198/17; license, not friendship, grows out of treaties, 198/22; lack of skill in drawing up treaty gives license to freebooters, 198/24; in U fellowship created by nature takes the place of a treaty, 198/27.

**iudex** — See entry under “Words for CLASSES of PEOPLE”

**ius** — right, law<sup>16</sup>

TM: George de Themsecke was most learned in law, 46/25; RH: Cardinal Morton has profound experience in law, 58/28; RH: the lawyer [*iuris consultus*] was busily preparing his refutation of RH, 70/12-13 & 80/3; RH: God has withdrawn from man the right to take not only another's life but his

<sup>16</sup> Cicero gives three types of *ius*: *aequitas*, *lex*, *mos* (*Topica* 31).

own, 72/23; RH: whether a precept of the law of God will be uphold only so far as human laws permit?, 72/27-8; RH: Polylerites consider prince has as little right to stolen goods as thief himself, 76/4; R argues against what expert in law [*iuris peritus*] highly praised, 80/2-3; RH: king's councilor persuades king to bind himself to judges, who will in every case decide in favor of the king's right, 92/17; coercion of judges gives king a handle to interpret right in his own interest, 92/24; RH: people with fine clothes require honor as if of the right of a smarter coat, 166/32; RH: Nephelotetic traders suffered a wrong under pretense of right, but whether right or wrong, was avenged by a fierce war, 200/20 (2x).

***legitimus*** — fixed or appointed by law, legitimate

RH: Macarian king would not seek occasion to commit injustice because he has to pay out of treasury anything beyond lawful limit, 96/27; RH: statute that no person should have more than lawful monetary income, 104/22.

***lex*** — a law or statute

RH argues with an expert in law [*legis peritus*] at Morton's table, 60/6; RH: we ought not approve Manlian authority [*imperia*] of the laws, 72/12; RH: whether divine right against killing does not apply where human law justifies killing, 72/20; RH: Mosaic law, severe and harsh, intended for slaves and stubborn breed, nevertheless punished theft by fine, not death, 72/30; RH: let us not suppose that God, in the new law of mercy has allowed us greater license to be cruel to another, 72/33; RH: law and procedure of Polylerite criminal justice system is humane and advantageous, 78/9; hanger-on: I should have a law passed that beggars become lay-brothers and nuns in Benedictine monasteries, 82/10; RH: king should not be hasty in enforcing laws fallen into disuse, 96/8; RH: what if I put before king the law of the Macarians?, 96/12; RH: good king instituted law that king should have no more than 1000 pounds of gold in treasury, 96/18; TM: trouble from continual bloodshed and riot when individual cannot keep by any law as his own what he has gained, 106/9; in U law of laboring while visiting other cities makes traveler just as useful to the city as if he were in it, 146/13; RH: because of gold, by chance or trick of the laws master can become servant, 156/26; RH: with the pleasure of eating is united [the pain of] hunger, and on no fair law, for the pain is the stronger and lasts longer, 176/15; in U not forbidden by law for spouse to accompany and share in labor of adulterous spouse condemned to slavery, 190/11; in U there is no law prescribing any fixed penalty for any other crimes [except adultery, premarital relations, or behavior in a marriage leading to a divorce], 190/16; RH: Utopians have very few laws because very few are needed for persons so educated, 194/6; in U they say that the chief faults with other peoples are their innumerable books of laws, 194/9; in U they think it unfair that any group of men should be bound by laws which are too numerous to be read or too obscure to be understood by anyone, 194/10; RH: to secure advantages of no lawyers is difficult in other countries because of mass of extremely complicated laws, 194/20; RH: each Utopian is an expert in law [*legis peritus*], 194/21; RH: Utopians regard most obvious interpretation of the law as the most fair one, 194/23; RH: most simple and obvious sense of the laws open to all, 194/27; RH: what difference would it make for the common people, whether you framed no law at all, if the interpretation of it requires great ingenuity and long argument, 194/29; in U declare war not only when a hostile inroad has carried off booty but also when merchant friends undergo unjust persecution on the pretext of unjust laws, 200/15; RH: Zapoletan mercenaries take sides by such a law that the next day when higher pay is offered them they switch sides, 206/21; RH: the rich every day extort a part of their daily allowance from the poor by private fraud and public law, 240/15; RH: the rich make the law and palm it off as justice, 240/18; RH: devices of the rich become law as soon as the rich have decreed their observance in the name of the public, 240/28; RH: man's regard for his own interest or the authority of Christ would long ago have brought the whole world to adopt the laws of the common weal [*Reipublicae*] of U, 242/24; TM: very many customs and laws of

the Utopians seem absurdly established, 244/15; End of the Discourse of RH on the Laws and Customs of U, 246/5.

*legis peritus* — See entry under “Words for CLASSES of PEOPLE”

**1. *mos*<sup>17</sup>** — an established practice, custom, manner

TM relates merely the customs and institutions of the Utopians, 54/6; RH remembered the customs and institutions of each nation he visited, 54/11; RH: Polylerites do not try to enlarge territory, in accord with long-standing custom, 74/26; Cardinal Morton: king could postpone execution, try out RH's manner [of punishment], and, if success proved its usefulness, it would be right to make the system law, 80/10; RH: contrast between U's customs and other nations' leads RH to refuse to make laws for those who rejected legislation that gave all an equal share in all goods, 102/31; RH: TM needs to have seen in person Utopians' customs and institution to approve them, 106/14; TM asks RH to tell the terrain, rivers, cities, inhabitants, traditions, customs, institutions, laws, etc. of U, 108/21; bay of U smooth rather than rough, in the manner of a huge lake, 110/15; all 54 city-states in U identical in customs, 112/17; Utopian's custom of changing farmers, 114/13; Utopian colonies join with the natives and together with them absorb the same institution of life and customs, 136/9; RH: Utopians' practice of performing labor or enjoying leisure with decency by necessity leads to an abundance of commodities, 146/21; in U legal documents with municipal government drawn up according to custom for all transactions on credit, 148/19; RH: people are unlikely to believe customs that are unlike their own, 150/10; ambassadors of U's neighbors know the customs of the Utopians and come in simplest possible dress, 152/33; Anemolian ambassadors learn the customs and opinions of the Utopians, 156/10; Utopians think that the Author of nature, in the custom of all other artificers, set forth the visible mechanism of the world as a spectacle for man, 182/16; RH and friends laughed at Utopian custom of presenting future spouse to suitor or maiden naked, 188/5; Utopians count nothing so inglorious as glory sought in war (against the custom of almost all nations), 200/1; Utopians think the custom of bidding for and purchasing an enemy praiseworthy, 204/19; RH: Utopians think person without fear would treat laws and customs as worthless, 220/28; RH: easier for Utopians to observe custom of immunity for priests because they are few and carefully chosen, 228/23; TM: many absurd laws and customs established in U, 244/15.

**2. *mos*** — [especially plural] habitual conduct (of an individual or group), character

RH: when you allow youths to be brought up badly with corrupt character and punish them as grown-up men, you create thieves and become the agents of their punishment, 70/9; RH: little fear that the Polylerite slaves may sink back into their old evil character, 78/13; Achorian character at home corrupted by war, 90/4; RH: the perverse characters of men have dissembled even almost all the doctrines of Christ, 100/18; RH: the greater part of Christ's teaching is far more different from the character of mankind than [the customs and institutions of U], 100/22; RH: preachers found that men disliked to have their characters adjusted to the rule of Christ and, following I suppose TM's advice, accommodatd His teaching to men's characters, 100/24-26(2x); Utopians begin every dinner and supper with some reading which is of service to their characters, 144/7; RH: Utopians carry on familiar debates in philosophy about habitual conduct, 160/14; RH: all men are no so wise as to regard only the character of the woman [they are to marry], 188/16; sometimes in U married couple separates when they agree insufficiently in their

<sup>17</sup> Cicero identifies *mos* as one of the three divisions of jurisprudence, along with *lex & aequitas* (*Topica* 31).

characters, 190/1; RH: the prosperity of the weal of the people [*reipublicae*] depends on the character of magistrates, 196/6; RH: life and character of Utopian world very different from ours, 196/31; character of *principes* who keep their treaties so badly leads Utopians to make no treaties, 198/14; RH: Utopians readily disposed to become Christians after they heard of Christ's teaching and character, 216/33; Utopians recount character and good deeds after a person's funeral, 222/34.

## Words for CLASSES of PEOPLE

### **advocatus** — lawyer

The useless horde of lawyers, 194/13 [marginal gloss].

**causidicus** — pleader of a legal case, advocate: Utopians have absolutely banished from their country all advocates, 194/12.

**iureconsultus** — lawyer, learned in the law: George de Themsecke was most learned in the law, 46/25; the lawyer was busily preparing his refutation of RH, 70/12-13; lawyer: never could RH's system [of punishing criminals] be established in England without involving the weal of the people [*republicam*] in a serious crisis, 80/3.

**uris peritia** — experience in law: RH: Cardinal Morton has profound experience in law, 58/28.

**legis peritus** — expert in law: at Morton's table, RH argues with an expert in law, 60/6; RH: Polylerites' system of punishment more beneficial in its working than justice which the expert in law praised so highly, 80/2; RH: each Utopian is an expert in law, 194/21.

**patronus** — patron, one who pleads for a client in a court of law: Utopians say the same thing to the judge as they would to their defender, 194/16; RH: truth is more easily elicited when a man speaks, whom no counsel has taught deceit 194/17.

**amicus** — nation that Utopians have benefited. See entry under "Words for CAUSES of PEACE" in "Terms for Love and Friendship"

### **aulicus** — courtier

RH: courtiers would pay little regard to my advice, 84/30; RH: councilors of French king propose that some noble courtiers of the Prince of Castile be drawn to the French side by a fixed pension, 88/9.

### **ciuis**<sup>18</sup> — citizen

TM is citizen of London, 46/6 & 110/5 & 246/8; TM: well and wisely-trained citizens are not everywhere to be found, 52/33; RH: he who cannot only reform the lives of citizens by depriving them of the good things of life does not know how to rule free men, 96/2; treasury of Macarian king forestalls shortage of money in the daily business transactions of citizens, 96/26; three old and experienced citizens from each city meet once a year at Amaurotum to discuss the affairs of common interest to U, 112/22; farmhouses in U inhabited by citizens who come in succession to live there, 114/2; in U agricultural phylarchs inform city magistrates how many citizens are needed for harvest, 116/15; RH: gardens both productive of profit and pleasure to the citizens, 120/20; in U magistrates do not keep citizens at superfluous labor against their will, 134/16; first object of Utopian constitution is for all citizens to devote as much time as possible to the freedom and culture of the mind, 134/19; RH explains behavior

<sup>18</sup> Cicero defines the "good citizen" as one who "ought first, in private relations, to live on fair and equal terms with his fellow-citizens, with a spirit neither servile and grovelling nor yet domineering; and second, in matters pertaining to the commonwealth, to labour for her peace and honor [*honestas*]" (*De Officiis* 1.124).

of Utopian citizens toward one another, 134/22; if island of U becomes overpopulated, citizens out of every city and on the mainland found a colony, 136/5; if the population of any Utopian city is too low to be filled from other parts of the island, it is filled up with citizens returning from colonial territory, 136/21; RH returns to dealings of citizens, 136/22; Utopian citizens cannot be butchers, 138/15; Utopians would rather jeopardize foreign mercenaries than their own citizens, 148/32; three citizens [from each Utopian city] assembled for Anemolian ambassadors, 152/31; people from other countries who choose to be slaves in U dealt with almost as leniently as citizens, 184/28; Utopian officials when they rule neighboring countries are strangers to the citizens, and so are not influenced by crooked partiality or animosity toward any, 196/9; Utopians do not care less for their citizens than their allies, 200/32; Utopian citizens [when they lose their goods through fraud] lose nothing but what comes from the common stock and what was plentiful and superfluous at home, 202/3; Utopians very chary of sending their own citizens to war, 206/1; Utopians add a contingent of their own citizens last in war, 208/15; Utopians dispatch some of their own citizens as financial magnates [*questores*] to estates won in war, 214/25; Utopians do not class disbeliever in immortality of the soul among their citizens, 220/28; Utopian priests have saved their own citizens from the enemy as often as they have protected the enemy from their own men, 230/16.

**priuatus** — private citizen: private person in need of hired laborer seeks convict in the market place, 76/19; king hates to give any private citizen a privilege which is contrary to the public welfare except at a great price, 92/15; RH: king should never take in compensation for violation anything that a private person would be forbidden in court to take, 96/10; tranibors settle disputes between private persons quickly [*mature*], 122/26; Utopians do not trust private citizens in transactions on credit, 148/18; Utopians hold that contracts between private persons ought to be observed, 164/20; RH: fraud and deceit in contracts of private persons everywhere disdained, 198/5; Utopians declare war if plot against a Utopian citizen is due to the government or a private citizen, 202/10.

**priuatus** — private: the right of private property in England, not in U, 100/11; RH: justice and prosperity absent from a commonwealth [*Republica*] where there is private property, 102/21; RH: no good order in nations where there is private property, 102/33; RH: not enough for a man to secure or defend or distinguish his private property from another's, 104/2; nothing is private property anywhere in U, 120/12; city collects the money due from private debtors and puts it into the treasury, 148/21; gold and silver used for chamber pots and other humble vessels in private homes in U, 152/7; Utopians grieved at loss to their allies' private property, 202/2; public service in U offered by a ritual which in no way derogates from any of the private services, 232/10; RH: in places other than U, men talk freely of the public welfare but look after their private interests only, 238/1; nothing private in U, 238/2; RH: in U the individual will lack nothing for his private use, 238/8; RH: the rich everywhere extort a part of their daily allowance from the poor by private fraud and public law, 240/15.

**priuatum** — privately: Peter Giles: service to kings is the only way to profit people both privately and publicly, 54/30; TM: a life serving the public interest worthy of RH's generous and truly philosophic spirit, even if disadvantageous to him privately, 56/10; RH: disbeliever in the immortality of the soul has nothing to prevent him from serving his own private desires, 222/2; some Buthrescae behave as servants not only for the public but also privately, 224/28; at end of public prayer in U the priest and people recite fixed prayers drawn up so that each individual may apply to himself privately what all recite together, 236/11.

**ciuilis** — civil: RH spent several months in England shortly after the civil war, 58/17; RH: men who come home crippled from foreign or civil wars cannot exercise their own crafts or learn new ones, 60/28; TM: philosophy that is more civil than academic philosophy adapts itself to the play in hand, 98/11.

**ciuiliter** — in a civilized way: TM: useful to readers to know what wise and prudent provisions RH noticed anywhere among peoples living together in a civilized way, 52/28.

**ciuitas** — nation, city-state, city: island of U contains 54 cities, 112/15; each city has as least twelve miles of country on each side, 112/28; small river runs through city of Amaurotum to river Anydrus, 118/21; Utopian man who knows two trades practices either unless city has need of one more than the other, 126/19; city consists of households made up of those related by blood, 134/24; each household has between ten and sixteen adults to keep the city the proper size, 134/30; 6000 households in each city, 134/32; each city is divided into four equal parts, 136/26; each city has four hospitals a little outside the walls, 138/28; no one with father's leave and wife's consent forbidden from exploring country belonging to his own city, 146/10; foreign city must collect money due from private debtors and put it into the treasury for Utopians, 148/20; soldiers in U picked from volunteers from each city, 208/21; TM: there are very many features in the Utopian commonwealth [*republica*] which it is easier for me to wish for in our city-states, than to have any hope of seeing realized, 246/2.

**comes** — companion

King Henry VIII sent TM as companion to Cuthbert Tunstal, 46/12; RH was constant companion of Vespucci, 50/6; RH traveled with five companions, 50/16; RH and five companions supplied with provisions through ruler's generosity, 50/32; RH and companions welcome as passengers, 52/14; Anemolian ambassadors traveled to U with one hundred companions, 154/9; priests exceeding thirteen are companions of the high priest, 226/24.

**uiccomes** — Thomas More's position in London: 1/7, 46/7, 110/6, 246/9.

**uicis** — post, office, duty of one person or thing as assumed by another (L&S): RH: man who give only faint approval to evil counsels would be in the post of a traitor, 102/7; RH: chicks follow humans in place of their mothers, 114/23; RH: in European countries where women are busy the men are snoring in their stead, 130/1; God repays, in place of a brief and tiny pleasure, immense and never-ending gladness, 166/2; Utopian expects a greater pleasure from God in return for the sacrifice of his own pleasures, 178/4; RH: Utopians think fellowship created by nature takes the place of a treaty, 198/27; some Utopians worship the sun, moon, or planets in the place of a god, 216/9; majority of Utopians attribute to one God the changes of all things, 216/16.

**iudex** — judge

M to PG: M as judge, 38/25; RH: councilor persuades French king to bind himself to the judges so that they decide every case in favor of the king's side, 92/16; RH: the opposite opinions of judges make the truth a matter of doubt and furnish the king with a handle to interpret the law in his own interest, 92/21, 22, 23, 24, 25; RH: the indisputable royal prerogative outweighs all law with conscientious judges!, 92/29; RH: let the king never take in compensation for violation of law anything that a judge would forbid a private person to appropriate because it would be an act of crooked craftiness, 96/11; Utopians think it is good thing that every man should say the same to the judge as he would tell his counsel, 194/15; RH: less ambiguity and the truth is more easily elicited when a man conducts his own case and the judge skillfully weighs each statement and helps untutored minds to defeat the false accusations of the crafty, 194/18.

**iudicare** — to judge

RH: we should not approve such Stoical ordinances as judge all offenses equal, 72/15; whatever is judged to be important in U is laid before the assembly of the syphogrants, 124/5; Utopians judge it cruel for a person to be abandoned when most in need of comfort, 188/31.

**iudicium** — judgment

M to PG: ingratitude of human judgments, 42/26; M to PG: judgments of some mortals wrongheaded, 42/28; RH: proud, ridiculous, and obstinate judgments in other counties and in England [in affairs of

state], 58/13; RH: in my judgment it is easier to find a better form of punishment than a worse, 74/12; RH felt compelled to relate the judgment of those who approved the Polylerite system only after the Cardinal did not disapprove of it, 84/25; RH: impossible for any man's judgment to change the nature of pleasure, 172/6; RH: the untrained judgment of the common people [*crassum uulgi iudicium*] does not have the ability to interpret too-complicated laws, 194/32; RH: when favoritism and avarice enter into men's judgments they destroy all justice, the strongest sinew of the public weal [*reipublicae*], 196/11; U priests are never subjected to public judgment, 228/20; M to PG: critic says M's finished judgment wanting in some matters in Utopia, 248/6; M to PG: M gratified by another's frank judgment of Utopia, 248/8; M to PG: critic marked certain points of Utopia for judgment, 248/16; M to PG: M finds critic's finished judgment wanting, 250/5

**nobilis** — noble, nobleman

RH: great number of idle noblemen, 62/3; RH: greedy noblemen, gentlemen, and even some abbots who are not satisfied with the annual revenues and profits from their estates, 66/3; RH: the servants of noblemen and all classes alike are given to much ostentation, 68/25; RH: Polylerites, completely free from militarism, live a life more comfortable than splendid and more happy than noble or famous, 74/30; RH: councilor recommends that French king some nobles of the Prince of Castille's court be drawn to the French side by fixed pension, 88/9; councilor tells French king to foster some exiled noble secretly to maintain a claim to the English throne, 88/16; RH: how great and lazy are the rich, especially the masters of estates, who are commonly called gentlemen and noblemen, 130/4; Anemolian ambassadors, being noblemen at home, were arrayed in gold and jewels, 154/10; Utopians wonder that anyone can be so mad as to think himself more noble on account of the texture of a finer wool, 156/15; RH: people consider themselves not a whit less noble even if their ancestors have not left them a square foot or if they themselves have consumed in extravagant living what was left them, 168/10; Utopians foster strife among enemies by leading a brother of the king or one of the noblemen to hope that he may obtain the throne, 204/28; RH: what brand of justice is it that any nobleman whatsoever should attain a life of luxury and grandeur on the basis of his idleness?, 238/22.

**nobilitas** — distinction, loftiness of character, rank, well-born: RH: a strange and sweet madness is displayed by men who plume themselves on their nobility, because their fortune has been to be born of certain ancestors of whom the long succession has been counted rich—for that is now the only nobility, 168/6-9 (2x).

**purpuratus** — one dressed in purple, an official at a royal court: RH: I live as I please, which I surely fancy is very seldom the case with royal officials, 56/2.

**orator**<sup>19</sup> — a public speaker, advocate:

TM sent to Flanders as England's orator, 46/12.

**oratio** — speech: RH's speech about the Achorians would not find a favorable reception, 90/21; RH's speech contains all that is appropriate and obligatory to have propounded everywhere, 100/13; RH: the greater part of Christ's teaching is far more different from the character of mankind than was my speech, 100/23; RH ashamed to reveal Utopians' use of gold for fear that his speech will not be believed, 150/5; music used in Utopians' public prayer suited to the words, 236/7; TM praises Utopians' way of life and RH's speech, 244/27.

**dicendum** — speaking: lawyer busily preparing himself for speaking while RH giving this harangue, 70/13.

**contradicendum** — speaking against: RH: king's councilors desire to contradict, 92/20

<sup>19</sup> See Cicero's *De Oratore* and *Orator* for the character and importance of this office in a free state. For its necessary role in the formation and continuation of the *ciuitas*, see the footnote above to *ciuitas*.

**sermo** — discourse: TM's U called the discourse of RH, 46/1; RH: Cardinal Morton's discourse is polished and pointed, 58/28; hanger-on says RH's discourse makes good provision for thieves, 80/29; TM does not think RH's discourse on Macarians should be thrust on the people, 98/1; TM to RH: you must not force upon people new and strange discourse which will carry no weight with them...but use the indirect approach, 98/29; RH does not see why, though his discourse may be unwelcome and disagreeable to king's councilors, it should seem odd to the point of folly, 100/7; discourse of RH on the best state of a *respublica*, 110/1; the end of the afternoon discourse of RH, 246/4.

**sermo** — conversation: TM: Giles polished and witty in conversation, 48/10; Giles hopes conversation with RH will give TM pleasure, 50/21; TM intends to relate the conversation which led RH to mention U, 54/7; Cardinal Morton tactfully turns the conversation to another subject, 84/19; RH fears he has burdened TM with a lengthy conversation, 84/20; TM: academic philosophy not without its charm in the private conversation of close friends, but no room for it in the councils of kings, 98/4; Utopians either play music or entertain themselves with conversation at meals, 128/15; elders in U do not monopolize the whole dinner with long discourses, 144/9; RH suspects that Utopian race derived from Greek because traces of Greek in its language, 180/23; Utopian language retains some traces of Greek language in the names of cities and officials, 180/24; Utopians think the dead are present at conversations about them, 224/4.

**pauper** — pauper, the poor, a poor person

RH: nobleman's attendants not fit to render honest service to a poor man, 62/20; some poor people choose to become slaves in U, 184/26; RH: worse that the rich every day extort a part of their daily allowance from the poor by fraud and public law, 240/14; RH: rich invent ways to abuse the toil and labor of the poor, 240/25; RH: devices of the rich become law as soon as they have decreed their observance in the name of the public and the poor, 240/27.

**paupertas** — poverty: RH: great riches are for a man not to fear poverty, 238/14; RH: poverty would disappear if money were done away with, 242/6.

**peritus** — experienced, expert

At Morton's table, RH argues with an expert in law, 60/6; RH: Romans were the greatest experts in managing the commonwealth [*reipublicae*], 74/15; RH: Polylerites' system of punishment more beneficial in its working than justice which the expert in law praised so highly, 80/2; three old and experienced citizens from each city meet once a year at Amaurotum to discuss the affairs of common interest to U, 112/24; twenty substitutes sent to farmhouses each year to be trained by those who have been there a year and who therefore are more expert in farming, 114/10; expert physicians at Utopian hospitals, 140/7; Utopians' treatment of gold incredible except to those who have experienced it, 152/3; Utopians most expert in the courses of the stars and the movements of the celestial bodies, 158/31; RH: each Utopian is an expert in law, 194/21; TM: RH most experienced in the human affairs, 244/32.

**peritia** — experience: TM: RH capable of entertaining and counseling a king with his learning and experience of men and places, 54/16; TM: RH possess such great experience of affairs that he would make an excellent member on any king's council, 56/17; RH has no experience in the pursuits of war, in which almost all *principes* prefers to occupy themselves, 56/23; RH: Cardinal Morton has profound experience in law, 58/29; Utopians ship their own exports so that they do not forget their own experience in navigation, 184/12; Utopians' experience in military discipline gives them confidence, 210/17.

**imperitia** — inexperience: RH: a very inexperienced physician who cures one disease by creating another, 94/32; Utopians' system of agriculture ensures that there is no danger of anything going wrong with the annual food supply through inexperience, 114/12.

**imperitus** — inexperienced: mariners under the equator are not inexperienced in adapting themselves to sea and weather, 52/18; RH: French seek a pretext for war just so they may not have inexperienced soldiers, 64/6.

**plebecula** — common people

RH: councilor recommends that French king start make-believe war to raise money and then make peace with solemn ceremonies to throw dust in the common people's eyes, 92/2.

**plebeus** — of the common people, plebeian: RH: men either think that all justice is either only a plebeian and low virtue which is far below the majesty of kings or else there are two forms of it, 198/8.

**rusticus** — peasant, farmer

RH: farmers do not dare to employ nobles' attendants who have lost their nobles' support, 62/15; RH: even the peasants in England given to ostentation in their dress and food, 68/26.

**seruus** — slave

RH: law of Moses though severe and harsh and intended for stubborn slaves punished by fine not death, 72/31; RH: dangerous for Polylerite slave to touch weapons, 76/31; Polylerite slaves forbidden to talk to a slave from another district, 78/3; death for Polylerite slave who plots to run away, 78/5; liberty for an informer who is a slave, 78/6; travelers secure Polylerite slaves as guides, 78/15; in U each rural household has at least forty men and women and two slaves, 114/5; heavy and dirty labor in Utopians' meal halls performed by slaves, 140/27; Utopians travel with a public slave to conduct and see to the oxen, 146/1; Utopians use gold and silver for the chains on their slaves, 152/9; articles of gold and silver used to punish slaves, 154/14; Utopians took the ambassadors for slaves because they were wearing gold chains, 154/24; some Utopians found fault with the chains of the Anemolians because a slave could easily break them or throw them off, 156/1; Anemolian ambassadors ashamed that more gold and silver than they wore were used to make the chains of one runaway slave, 156/5; Utopians' butchers and hunters are slaves, 170/21; On Slaves, 184/13; Utopians make captives of wars in which they themselves fight slaves, 184/14; slaves' sons are not slaves in U, 184/15; slaves acquired by U from other countries are kept constantly at work and in chains, 184/21; some foreigners volunteer to be slaves in U, 184/25; Buthrescae behave as servants [*ministros*] and as more than slaves, 224/29; Buthrescae honored for putting themselves in the position of slaves, 226/1.

**seruilis** — of a slave, servile: in Polylerite system employer is allowed to correct the laziness of a slave with whipping, 76/22; the life of workingmen almost everywhere is worse than the lot of slaves, 126/24.

**seruire** — to serve as a slave: Peter Giles: RH should not be in servitude but in service to kings, 54/27; RH: "servitude" only has one syllable more than "service", 54/28; Polylerite slaves are fed at public expense because they serve the common weal [*publicae rei*], 76/14; those who were in slavery when acquired from some foreign country [do not continue to be slaves in U], 184/16; some foreigners volunteer to be slaves in U, 184/27; Utopians think a person who does not believe in life after death will seek to serve only his own private desires, 222/2.

**seruitium** — slavery, a body of slaves: RH refuses to enter into slavery to kings, 54/26; slaves of different districts of Polylerites unable to conspire together, 78/24; Utopians think as much time as time should be withdraw from the service to the body, 134/18; some slaves in U were once in slavery elsewhere because of their heinous crimes, 184/17; those who disable or kill a Utopian citizen and are surrendered are punished with death or slavery, 202/12.

**seruitus** — slavery: slavery for the free man who plots to free a Polylerite slave, 78/5; straying out of territorial limits or traveling without a certificate from a *princeps* twice is punished with slavery, 146/9; RH: stupid rich man keeps in slavery many wise and good men, 156/24; adulterers in U are punished by the strictest form of slavery, 190/7; generally the worst offenses in U are punished by sentence of

slavery since it is formidable to the criminal and advantageous to the state [*reipublicae*], 190/20; slavery lightened or remitted by the *princeps* or the vote of the people, 192/2; Utopians make war to deliver others by force of arms from the yoke and slavery of a tyrant, 200/8; war against Alaopolitans finally ended with their enslavement, 200/24; Utopians do not plunder cities but put to death those who prevented surrender and put the rest of the defenders in slavery, 214/14; in U person who contends too vehemently in expressing his view is punished with exile or enslavement, 220/7.

### ***uulgus* — the rabble**

RH: foolish imagination of common folk believes that the *princeps* and the senate would lock up gold and silver to deceive the people, 150/28; RH: the rabble consider hunting and similiar pursuits as pleasures, 170/29; Utopians do not think hunting and similiar pursuits pleasures because the mob enjoys them, 170/31; RH: for common people, no difference between no law and too-complicated law, 194/27; RH: the untrained judgment of common people cannot attain to the meaning of a law interpreted by great ingenuity and long argument, 194/32; RH: behavior of kings leads men to think that there are two kinds of justice: one fit for the rabble and one for kings, 198/10; Utopians pity the rabble of the enemy who are driven to war by the madness of kings, 204/24; Utopians forbid a disbeliever to argue his opinion in the presence of the common people, 222/11.

***uulgo* — commonly:** RH: people commonly called the Polylerites, 74/20; RH: masters of estates commonly termed gentlemen and noblemen, 130/3; Utopian farmers do not do only what farmers commonly do, 178/25.

## **Words for CAUSES of DISCORD or CIVIL WAR**

### **Arrogance, pride:**

***arroganter* — arrogantly:** Anemolians become ashamed if they arrogantly making themselves conspicuous, 156/8.

***superbia* — pride:** RH: the king should amend his own indolence or pride, which cause his people to despise or hate him, 96/4; RH: only in man are avarice and greed motivated by pride alone, 138/6; RH: pride is the *princeps* and progenitor of all plagues and has kept people from adopting the laws of the Utopian commonwealth [*Reipublicae*], 242/25.

***superbire* — to be proud:** young Utopian children are proud in their decorations, 152/22.

***superbus* — proud:** RH: proud, ridiculous, and obstinate prejudices in other counties and in England [in affairs of state], 58/13; Anemolian ambassadors more proud than wise, 154/6.

### **Avarice, greed<sup>20</sup>:**

***ambitio* — ambition:** RH: Utopians have extirpated the roots of ambition and faction at home, 244/8.<sup>21</sup>

***avaritia* — greed:** favoritism and greed in men's judgments instantly destroy all justice, the strongest sinew of the commonwealth [*reipublicae*], 196/10; Zapoletans have acquired the habit of greed which profits them not one whit, 208/1.

<sup>20</sup> "Avarice implies a desire for money, which no wise man covets" (*Catiline* 11); "love of wisdom purges avarice" (*City of God* 7.12).

<sup>21</sup> See Sallust's *Catiline* 11: "At first men's souls were actuated less by avarice than by ambition--a fault, it is true, but not so far removed from virtue."

*auare* — greedily: Utopians do not hold their life so immoderately dear as greedily to hold fast to it when honor bids them to give it up, 210/22.

*auarus* — desirous, greedy: Utopians wonder at the madness of persons who pay almost divine honors to the rich who are so mean and greedy that they will not give them any of their wealth, 156/35.

*cupiditas* — passionate desire, cupidity: RH: plague as though God were punishing greed by sending the sheep a murrain, 68/3; RH: the unscrupulous greed of a few is ruining England, 68/20; RH: councilor tells French king to exact fines from those whose greed of gain has entangled them in the snare of old laws, 92/12; RH: some things regarded as the highest pleasures through the perverse attraction of evil desires, 166/21; RH: nothing prevents an unbeliever in the afterlife from striving to evade by craft the public laws of his country or to break them by violence to serve his own private desires, 222/2; RH: evil men with insatiable greed divide up all goods among themselves and are far from the happiness of the Utopian commonwealth [*Reipublicae*], 240/29.

*cupidus opum* — greedy for wealth: TM: RH not greedy for wealth, 56/5.

*cupidus potentiae* — greedy for power: TM: RH not greedy for power, 56/6.

*cupidus* — passionately desiring, eager, greedy: RH: if in any situation our forefathers failed to take the wiser course, that defect gives us a handle which we greedily grab and never let go, 58/12; RH: people thrust off their land are cast into prison as vagrants for going about idle when, though they most eagerly offer their labor, there is no one to hire them, 66/25; RH: quite ashamed to protract his story if TM had not eagerly called for it, 84/22; no Utopian city is eager to extend its territory, 112/32; Zapoletans eagerly embrace an opportunity for fighting, 206/16.

*rapina pecuniae* — plunder of money: RH: special legislation needed to prevent the temptation to recoup one's expenses by acts of fraud and plunder of money, 104/27.

### **Cruelty, inhumanity:**

*crudelis* — cruel: RH: one ought to pity a hare torn to pieces by a cruel dog, 170/18; Utopians think the desire of looking on bloodshed arises from a cruel disposition, 170/26; Utopians think it is a sign of a mind which is cruel to itself to deal harshly with oneself [i.e., fast], 178/7; Utopians think it cruel that a person should be abandoned when most in need of comfort 188/31; Utopians think it cruel to avenge their own pecuniary loss by the death of many in war, 202/6; habit of bidding for and purchasing an enemy elsewhere condemned as the cruel deed of a degenerate nature [but not in U], 204/19; never had there been any nation so savage, cruel, and barbarous not to regard the person of Utopian priests as sacred and inviolable, 230/21.

*crudelitas* — cruelty: Utopians think the desire of looking on bloodshed degenerates into cruelty through the constant practice of such brutal pleasure, 170/27.

*immanis* — brutal, inhumane: 52/32.

### **Deceit:**

#### **Calumny:**

*calumnia* — trickery, artifice, subterfuge, false accusation: RH: councilor of French king recommends inviting judges to debate affairs in his presence where some will find a loophole to use trickery, 92/21; RH: a judge should help untutored minds to defeat the false accusations of the crafty, 194/18; RH: people make treaties and then find some subterfuge in the wording so that they can break it, 198/2; RH: Utopians go to war when merchants among their friends undergo unjust persecution, 200/16.

#### **Dissimulation:**

*dissimulare* — to dissemble: RH: we must dissemble almost all the doctrines of Christ if we must dropped everything that the perverse morals of men have made to seem unusual and absurd, 100/19;

RH: Christ forbade us to dissemble his doctrines, 100/20; RH: at court there is no room for dissembling, 102/5; Utopians do not compel an unbeliever to disguise his views, 222/9.

*simulare* — to pretend, feign: RH: hanger-on's imitation of a jester was too close to the real thing, 80/25; RH: king's councilor persuades him to feign a war to raise money, 90/28.

### Flattery:

*adblandiri* — to flatter: RH: fears to flatter the English for their success against the French soldiers, 64/17; people at Cardinal's table flatter hanger-on when the Cardinal did not disapprove of him, 84/28.

*adulator* — flatterer: RH: unjust commonwealth [*Respublica*] rewards flatterers, 240/8.

*blandimentum* — blandishment: Utopians think it extreme madness to reject the favours of nature, 178/2.

*blandiri* — to flatter: RH and his friends ingratiated themselves with the natives, 50/27; RH: each man favours his own discoveries most, 56/32; RH: a strange and sweet madness is displayed by men who flatter themselves with their nobility, because their fortune has been to be born of certain ancestors of whom the long succession has been counted rich, 168/7.

### Traps, conspiracy:

*casses* — snare, trap: RH: councilor suggests enacting fines from those whose greed of gain has entangled them in the snare of outdated laws, 92/12.

*coniurare* — to take an oath together, to plot or conspire: RH: whether the Polylerite slaves will conspire against the commonwealth [*republicam*], 78/22; band of youths in U take an oath to devote themselves to hunting for the opposing general, 210/24.

*coniuratio* — plot: institution of deliberation in senate or assembly prevents conspiracy between governor and tranibors, 124/3.

*conspirare* — to conspire: RH: Polylerite slaves may not meet or converse or greet one another to prevent them from conspiring together, 78/25; RH: French councilors consent to the statement of Crassus, "no amount of gold is enough for the ruler who has to keep an army," 92/31; almost all Utopians agree that health is most conducive to pleasure, 174/8; Utopians invoke God by no special name except that of Mithras, 232/14.

*conspiratio* — conspiracy: Utopians believe things that mortals imagine by a futile consensus to be pleasurable in spite of being against nature are a hindrance to happiness, 166/14; RH: conspiracy of the rich in all commonwealths [*Respublicas*], 240/20.

1. *insidiae* — ambush: band of picked Utopian youths attack enemy general from ambush, 210/25; RH: not easy to say whether Utopians are more cunning in laying ambushes or more cautious in avoiding them, 212/13.

2. *insidiae* — treachery: RH: before marriage the laws ought to protect a man from being entrapped by treachery, 188/22.

*insidiosus* — treacherous, insidious: RH: rocks around U are treacherous, 110/21.

### Envy/ill-will<sup>22</sup>:

*invidia* — envy, ill-will: RH: a king so ill-regarded by his people..., 94/22; RH: all the envy of neighboring *principes* cannot shake or shatter a nation where harmony is preserved at home and whose institutions are in a healthy state, 244/11.

*inuidere* — to envy: RH: people who envy everyone else and prefer their own..., 58/1.

<sup>22</sup> In his *Tusculan Disputations* Cicero defines *invidentia* as "distress incurred by reason of a neighbor's prosperity, though it does no harm to the envious person" (4.17); earlier in that work, he describes it as a "movement of the soul not obedient to reason" (3.7), as "eyeing the prosperity of a rival too narrowly" (3.20), and as being "pained by another's prosperity" (3.21). Aristotle defined it as "pain at the good fortune of others" (*Rhetoric* 2.10).

**Factions :**

*dissidere* — to quarrel: Utopians partly disagree with all ancient philosophers, 160/11; RH: life and character of Utopians different from ours, 196/31; Utopus observed that universal dissensions among individual sects gave him the opportunity of overcoming them all, 218/33.

*dissidium* — dissension: Utopian game shows the dissension among the vices, 128/22; Utopians do not study the discords of the planets, 160/3; Utopians sow the seeds of dissension among their enemies, 204/27; RH: Utopians have no danger of trouble from domestic discord, 244/9.

*factio* — faction: RH: French king's councilor proposes that some nobles of the Prince of Castile's court be drawn to the French faction by a fixed pension, 88/10; RH: Utopians seem to lean more than they should to the school that espouses pleasure as the object by which to define human happiness, 160/21; RH: school opposite Stoics considers the supreme good pleasure alone, not virtue, 162/18; Utopians stir up their enemies' neighbors if internal factions die down, 204/28; Utopians have extirpated the roots of ambition and factions at home, 244/8.

*pars* — party or faction: RH: a great part of our world like bad schoolmasters, who would rather beat than teach their scholars, 60/19; RH: for the king it is enough for equity or law or his royal prerogative to be on his side, 92/27; RH: impossible to obtrude ideas on men strongly inclined to the contrary party, 96/30; Utopian game shows how one side gains victory, 128/27; RH: large part of the population in most countries exists without working, 128/35; great part of Utopians devote free time to learning, 158/9; a great part of those whom RH taught Greek were mature scholars, 180/14; war with the Nephelogeates against the Alaopolitans waged with neighboring sides increased the rancor of both sides, 200/21; Utopians know that a great part of their enemies have been betrayed by those in whom they had placed the greatest trust, 204/11; Zapoletans take sides for pay, 206/21; great part of Zapoletans are in both opposing armies, 206/23; Zapoletans who were hired on the same side soon after meet as enemies in battle, 206/25; Zapoletans induced to change sides by the increase in pay, 206/31; large part of Zapoletans never return to claim payment, 208/8; greater part of the Utopians are monotheists, 216/11; Utopians pray for victory without much bloodshed on either side, 230/10.

**Fear, suspicion:**

*metuere* — to fear: RH fears that the way Utopians use gold and silver will not be believed, 150/5; RH: great riches for a man not to fear poverty for his son, 238/14.

*metus* — fear: Cardinal Morton: what fear can deter criminals who are already condemned to death?, 72/3; no fear that Polylerite criminals may sink back into their old evil ways, 78/13; RH: councilor says people will acquiesce to king from shame or fear, 92/25; RH: majesty of treaties is holy and inviolable in Europe through reverence and fear of the Sovereign Pontiffs, 196/24; Utopians put enemies in a state of utter fear and peril, 204/9; Utopians are convinced that timid person in war will throw fear into his companions, 208/24; Utopians think an unbeliever would treat laws and customs as worthless if it were not for fear, 220/28; Utopians think unbeliever's fear of laws will not keep him from serving his private desires, 222/3; secret fear of religion makes punishment inflicted by Utopian priests dreadful, 228/5; fear of swift and great punishment keeps Utopian from assisting at sacrifices until they have been reconciled and have cleansed their hearts, 232/31; elder Utopians care for children to instill in them a religious fear of the gods, 234/6; RH: the rich invent all ways to keep and increase their wealth without fear of loss, 240/24; RH: fear, anxiety, worries, toils, and sleepless nights perish at the same time as money, 242/5.

*susplicari* — to suspect: RH suspects that grand courtiers do not live as they please, 56/1; RH suspects that Utopian language is related to Greek, 180/22.

**suspicio** — suspicion: Utopian *princeps* holds office for life unless ousted on suspicion of aiming at a tyranny, 122/20; if gold and silver were locked up in U the *princeps* and senate might be suspected of deceiving the people, 150/27.

**terror** — terror: natives' wonder and terror at success of isthmus of U, 112/15; Utopians severely punish those responsible for war to put terror in enemies of attempting anything against them again, 202/26; silence in Utopian temple strikes one with awe as if some divine power were really present, 234/28.

**timidus** — fearful, timid: Utopians entrusted themselves to the sea timidly before they had the compass, 52/20; RH: one ought to pity a timid hare torn to pieces by a cruel dog, 170/17; Utopians convinced that timid person in war will throw fear into his companions, 208/23.

**timor** — fear: Utopians have no fear that anyone will demand more than he needs, 138/2; RH: avarice and greed are aroused in every kind of living creature by the fear of want, 138/5; Utopians put the fainthearted on ships with the braver sort so that shame and withdrawal of hope of escape overpower their fear, 208/29; Utopians slow to unite in one religion because of their fear at the misfortune of one man who was deliberating on a change of religion, 216/30; RH: people who have work unessential to the commonwealth [*Reipublicae*] do not entertain any fear for the future, 240/1.

### **Hatred, bad will, evil, injustice:**

**iniuria** — unlawful conduct, harm, a wrong, insult, affront, violence, injustice: RH: some tenants overwhelmed by the violence of the rich, 66/14; RH: extreme justice is extreme wrong, 72/11; Polylerites easily protect their territory from violence, 74/28; RH: people choose a king so that they may live well and safe from injustice, 94/13; Macarian king felt that the king would not seek occasion to commit injustice if he had to pay out whatever came into his treasury beyond the prescribed limit, 96/28; Utopian roof cement superior in defying damage caused by storms, 122/2; Utopians think it injustice to deprive others of pleasure to secure your own, 164/26; Utopians think sense and right reason strive after whatever is not striven after through wrong-doing, 166/10; Utopians think it madness to do injury to one's health, 178/1; Utopians allow those who have suffered injury from adulterous mates to marry each other or whomever they like, 190/8; [on making treaties] Utopians think that nobody who has done you harm should be accounted an enemy, 198/26; Utopians help their friends in wars to requite and avenge injuries done to them, 200/10; Nephelotic traders thought they suffered a wrong under pretence of law, but whether right or wrong, it was avenged by a fierce war, 200/20-1 (2x); Utopians severely punish wrong done to their friends but not to themselves, 200/28; Utopians declare war if a citizen is disabled or killed through injustice, 202/9; touching Utopian priest's garments protects one's remaining goods from every harm arising from war, 230/13.

**malum** — evil: RH: compass could be a cause of great evil to Utopians, 52/24; TM: stream of good or evil flows from the *princeps*, 56/14; RH: France has learned to its evil that it is dangerous to maintain standing armies, 64/9; RH: useless to boast of justice in the punishment of theft unless England removes the evils [that cause people to become thieves], 70/6; RH: would be banished or ridiculed for trying to uproot from the king's soul the seeds of evil and corruption, 86/21; Achorians: rid themselves of evils by allowing king to have only one kingdom, 90/8; Utopians think health disturbed by no evil is pleasurable, 172/25; punishment sometimes remitted for criminals who are tamed by long evils [of punishment], 190/28; RH: evils of favoritism and avarice destroy all justice, 196/10; troubles upon troubles in the war with the Alaopolitans ended by their enslavement and surrender, 200/24 (2x); RH: death of money would snatch even the rich from numerous troubles, 242/19.

**malus** — bad or evil: hanger-on says England infested with thieves by bad luck, 60/11; RH: a great part of our world like bad schoolmasters, who would rather beat than teach their scholars, 60/20; hanger-on says some people prefer to be bad, 60/27; Polylerite system to make sure it is never safer to follow

out an evil plan than to repent of it, 78/8; RH: speech between the hanger-on and the friar not evil in itself, 80/22; hanger-on says he has been badly harassed by beggars, 82/2; RH: a king who has a limit on his treasury prescribed by law will be a terror to the evil and beloved by the good, 96/28; TM: what you cannot turn to the good you must at least make as little bad as you can, 100/1-2; RH: corruption of Christ's teaching permits men to be bad in greater comfort, 100/28; RH: cannot see relevancy of TM's suggestion to make things as little bad as possible, 102/4; RH suggests legislation of property limits to alleviate evils, 104/30; Utopian women sit on the outside at table so that they may rise without disturbing the arrangements if they feel any sudden pain, 140/32; Utopians think a pleasurable life is evil if you help no one to it, 164/2; RH: other people are foolish in estimating the value of a woman by her face without thinking of the danger of their agreeing ill if something afterwards gives them offense, 188/15; spouse of an undeserving adulterer allowed to follow him into slavery, 190/10; RH: behavior of rulers who keep their treaties badly is the reason why Utopians make none, 198/15; Utopians believe that the custom of making treaties grew up badly, 198/17; Utopians do not interfere with people [who believe that animals have immortal souls] because they are not evil men, 222/16; Utopians believe only a person with a guilty conscience is torn from life anxiously and unwillingly, 222/23; Utopians exclude unusually bad people from divine services, 228/3; RH: conspiracy of the rich to keep the wealth they have amassed by evil practices, 240/23.

**odium** — hatred: RH: king's indolence and arrogance cause his people to despise him or have hate for him, 96/5; Utopus saw that peace was utterly destroyed by constant wrangling and implacable hatred, 220/9; Utopians do not assist at sacrifices if they are aware of hatred or anger against anyone, 232/28.

### Violence, crime:

**proditio** — treachery: Utopians know even their enemies can by large sums be set to fight one another either by treachery or open warfare, 150/2; RH: treachery dies out with the destruction of money, 242/3.

**proditor** — traitor: RH: one who gives only faint praise to evil counsels will be counted almost a traitor, 102/7.

**scelus** — crime: RH: Romans had a good way of punishing crimes, 74/14; Polylerite slaves carry no money because money would insure the detection of the crime, 78/18; Utopians deal harshly with their own countrymen who could not be restrained from crime, 184/24; relapse to the same crime involves the penalty of death in U, 190/14; punishment assigned by the senate according to the atrocity of the crime, 190/20; RH: crop of crimes pulled up by the roots when the use of money removed, 242/1.

**sceleratus** — wicked: Utopians think slavery formidable punishment to criminals, 190/21.

**scelestus** — wicked: Utopian priest, however wicked, left only to God and themselves, 228/22.

**seditio** — sedition: TM: trouble from continual bloodshed and riot when the people are goaded by want and the individual cannot keep as his own what he has gained, 106/9; RH: seditions perish at the same time as money, 242/3.

**tumultus**<sup>23</sup> — sudden outbreak of violence, esp. one that necessitates arming of citizens: Christian preacher in U who condemned other religions convicted for stirring up a riot among the people, 218/28; Utopus saw that, if religion were decided by arms and riots, the best and holiest religion would be overwhelmed, 220/17; RH: brawls die out with the destruction of money, 242/3.

**tumultuare** — to be in a state of *tumultus*: RH: French king's warmongering keeps many nations in turmoil, 90/15.

**uiolare** — to violate: 72/9; 214/8

<sup>23</sup> For Cicero's definition, see *Phil* 8.1.2-4 & 5.31; for examples, see *S. Rosc* 16 & *Fam* 15.1.2.

**Vice:**

*corrumpere* — to corrupt, ruin: 64/23; 70/9; 118/25; 118/12; 102/10; 98/19; 158/14; 172/4; 90/4; 138/19.

*corruptela* — corruption: 146/18; 228/27.

*impietas* — impiety: 228/7.

*impius* — impious: 216/31; 218/24.

*improbus* — wicked: 68/20; 68/29; 102/7; 104/13; 142/32; 156/22; 166/21; 210/20; 228/3.

*imprudens* — imprudent: 74/22.

*imprudencia* — imprudence: 52/33; 198/33.

*inclemens* — inclement, severe: 72/31; 164/10.

*inhonestus* — dishonorable: 94/9; 176/34; 146/20; 224/12.

*licentia* — license: 70/2; 72/33, 74/1; 142/33; 146/16; 198/23.

*uitium* — vice: 58/5; 62/27; 78/10; 96/4; 98/26; 128/21; 128/22; 128/23; 128/25; 132/24; 138/8; 168/27; 172/2; 192/16; 220/24; 222/16; 228/14; if Utopian priest falls into vice, 228/27; 244/7.

**Words for CAUSES of PEACE or SOCIAL HARMONY****Love and friendship:**

*amicus* — friend: TM: Giles open-hearted, affectionate, loyal, and sincere to his friends, 48/6; RH divided his possessions among his relatives and friends when he was still young, 54/24; Polylerite slaves may be given food, drink, and proper clothes by their friends, 76/28; RH: French king's councilor says the England should be called friends but suspected as enemies, 88/13; Achorian king obliged to turn over new realm to one of his friends, 90/13; Utopians allowed to visit friends in other cities with permission of a syphogrant or tranibor, 144/28; Utopians call nations whom they have benefited friends, 196/13; Utopians go to war to drive an invading enemy out of their friends' lands, 200/5; Utopians help their friends to defend them and requite and avenge injuries done to them, 200/9; Utopians severely punish wrong done to their friends, 200/28; Utopians more grieved at their friends' pecuniary loss than their own, 202/2; Utopians offer landed property in the territory of their friends to those who betray their enemies to them, 204/17; Utopians employ next to them the forces of the people for whom they are fighting and the auxiliary squadrons of all their other friends, 208/15; Utopians do not charge the expense of a war against their friends, 214/18; Utopians think the dead desire to revisit their friends to whom they were bound during their lives by mutual love and charity, 224/7.

*amicitia* — friendship: TM does not fear the testimony of friendship should be given little credit, 46/17; TM: Giles incomparable in friendship, 48/8; RH: plenty of persons who court the friendship of the great, 56/3; Utopians do not theorize on the friendships of the planets, 160/3; RH: friendship does not grow out of treaties, 198/22; Zapoletans forget both kinship and friendship in battle, 206/28.

*amor* — love: TM: Giles' incomparable love for his friends, 48/7; Utopians think reason inflames men to a love and veneration of the divine majesty, 162/23; Utopians think few will come together in conjugal love if promiscuous intercourse is not punished severely, 186/31; person who still has love for adulterous spouse permitted to accompany him in slavery, 190/11; Utopians think the dead desire to revisit their friends to whom they were bound during their lives by mutual love and charity, 224/8.

*amabiliter* — in a loving way, amicably: Utopians live together amicably, 192/30.

*amare* — to love: RH: king should love his people and be loved by them, 90/18-19 (2x); RH: may God not love me if I do not see conspiracy of the rich in all commonwealths [*Respublicas*] flourishing today, 240/19.

*charitas* — love, esteem: RH: remembrance of love and good will gives greater pleasure than bodily pleasure, 164/31; Utopians know easy hope of fresh union is a great drawback to cementing love between and husband and wife, 190/6; Utopians think the dead desire to revisit their friends to whom they were bound during their lives by mutual love and charity, 224/8.

*charus* — dear: TM: 50/30; RH is very dear to him but even more dear to him on account of Cardinal Morton, 86/5-6 (2x); works of Plutarch and Lucian very dear to Utopians, 182/2; Utopians dear to the Maker of nature for their study of medicine, 182/18; Utopians hold their own citizens dear, 206/1; Utopians do not hold their life so dear to hold fast to it when honor bids them give it up, 210/21.

### **Benevolence, clemency:**

*benevolentia* — good will, benevolence: RH: remembrance of love and good will gives greater pleasure than bodily pleasure, 164/31; Utopians believe men are better and more firmly joined together by good will than by pacts, 198/27.

*clementia* — mercy, clemency: RH: God's new law of clemency does not allow us greater license to be cruel to one another, 72/33; Utopians think that mercy is killed off by the practice of butchering animals, 138/16; Utopians do not believe that the divine clemency delights in the bloodshed and slaughter [of animal sacrifices], 234/9.

*clemens* — merciful: people who choose to become slaves in U are dealt with almost as leniently as citizens, 184/28; Utopians pray God to be merciful to the shades of the dead, 222/29.

*mitis* — gentle, meek: RH: tame English sheep have become greedy and wild, 64/32.

### **Constancy and fidelity:**

*constantia* — constancy: Utopians disposed to Christianity after they heard the wonderful constancy of the martyrs, 216/34; Utopian prays that, if the Utopian form of commonwealth [*Reipublicae*] is best and form of religion truest, God give him constancy and bring other mortals the same way of living and the same opinion of God, 236/21.

*fides* — faith, good faith, loyalty: TM does not fear that the testimony of a friend should be given little faith, 46/16; TM: Giles a man of great fides, 48/3; TM: Giles is distinguished in fides, 48/7; RH: hanger-on gave faith to the proverb, that if a man throw the dice often he will sooner or later make a lucky throw, 80/28; RH: if we must give faith to the historical accounts of the Utopians' world, there were cities among them before there were men among us, 106/26; Utopians give faith only to the municipal governments in their transactions on credit, 148/20; RH fears there will be no faith put in his account of the way the Utopians use their treasure, 150/5; RH: people do not put faith in something which is very unlike their own ways, 150/10; Utopians reproduced what they were learning from RH and his friends with great faith, 180/13; Utopians judge that it is cruel that old age should have only an unreliable and weak loyalty, 188/33; RH: the majesty of treaties is holy and inviolable especially where the faith and religion of Christ prevails, 196/22; Utopians distrust treaties because people who make them find ways to break the treaty and their faith, 198/4; Utopians with utmost fides offer landed property in the territory of their friends to those who betray their enemies to them, 204/18; Zapoletans fight with courage and incorruptible loyalty for those from whom they receive their pay, 206/19; Utopians complete great fortifications with incredible speed [*omni fide citius*], 212/25.

*bona fides* — good faith: treaties not observed with much good faith in Utopians' part of the world, 196/20; Utopians pay Zapoletan survivors what has been promised them in good faith, 208/9-10.

*confidere* — to be confident, to confide something in someone: RH: France not confident in tyros, 64/5.

*fidelis* — faithful: RH and his friends given a very faithful guide on their journey, 50/33; Utopian language a very faithful exponent of thought, 158/13; RH: Popes are perfectly right in thinking it disgraceful that those called the faithful should not keep their treaties, 196/29.

*fideliter* — faithfully: RH: an idler cannot faithfully serve a poor man, 62/19.

*fidere* — to trust: Utopians hesitated to trust themselves to the sea before without compasses, 52/21; RH: the king trusted Cardinal Morton's advice, 58/31; Utopian enemies do not trust one another, 204/9; Utopians go about their business with more confidence because of their reliance on the protection [of the dead], 224/11.

*fiducia* — trustworthiness, confidence: Utopians' confidence in the compass makes them dangerously confident in the sea, 52/21; no confidence in treaties in Utopian part of the world, 196/32; Utopians' expert training in the military discipline gives them confidence, 210/17; Utopians look for and obtain miracles in great and critical affairs with great confidence, 224/18.

*fidus* — trusty, trustworthy: Utopian enemies are not trusty toward one another, 204/9.

### **Honesty, truthful, integrity or one in thought and deed:**

*honestas* — intrinsic moral excellence: Utopians do not hold their life so immoderately dear as to hold fast to it when honestas bids them give it up, 210/21.

*honestus* — morally excellent: TM: Giles has honorable position in his home town but is worthy of the most honorable position, 48/4 (2x); TM: RH should make a great monarch follow straightforward and honorable courses, 56/14; RH: farming and cloth-working should be restored so that there are honorable jobs to employ the idle throng, 70/3; Utopian who wants to learn a different craft assigned to a grave and honorable householder, 126/17; Utopians do not consider it honorable to dine at home, 140/24; Utopian elders introduce honorable subjects of conversation at meals, 144/9; Utopians hold that happiness rests only in good and honorable pleasure, 162/16; Utopians regard hunting as the meanest part of the butcher's trade and its other functions as more useful and honorable, 170/23; people who choose to be slaves in U are treated honorably, 184/27; Utopian woman shown naked to the suitor by an honorable matron, 188/3; Utopian officials in other countries cannot be drawn from the honorable path by any bribe or influenced by partiality or favoritism, 196/8.

*integer* — anew, afresh: Giles remarks on Busleydan's integrity, 24/17; Cardinal Morton to lawyer: we shall reserve your right to reply afresh to RH till your next meeting, 70/26; balance of thieves' property paid intact by Polylerites to their wives and children, 76/6; RH: even if you keep yourself whole and innocent as king's councilor, you will be made a screen for the wickedness and folly of others, 102/11; RH: heir to an estate is obliged to erect it anew at great expense because of neglect and extravagance, 132/18; Utopians act on behalf of their friends only if they themselves are consulted while the matter is still fresh, 200/11.

*probitas* — uprightness: Utopians know by experience that no elegance of outward form recommends wives to husbands as much as uprightness and reverence, 192/21; Utopians judge the remembrance of uprightness stimulates the living to good deeds and attends to the dead, 224/2.

*probus* — upright: Utopian suitor presented naked before a maiden by an upright man, 188/4

*ueritas* — truth: RH: opposite opinions of judges used in the king's interest to make the truth a matter of doubt, 92/23; RH: RH: truth is more easily elicited when a man speaks, whom no counsel has taught deceit, 194/17.

1. *uerus* — true: RH: a small allowance of time is enough for the production of all that is required even by pleasure, provided it be true and natural, 130/24; Utopians think reason with religion is insufficient and weak by itself for the investigation of true happiness, 160/29; Utopians think there is no room in people possessed with false ideas of pleasure for true and genuine delights, 166/17; RH: what natural and true pleasure can another's bared head or bent knees afford you?, 168/3; RH: people do not purchase gems unless the seller takes an oath that it is a true gem and a true stone, 168/20 (2x); RH: people are so anxious lest a spurious stone in place of a true one deceive their eyes, 168/21; RH: why should a counterfeited stone give less pleasure to your sight when your eye cannot distinguish it from the true article?, 168/26; Utopians think dicing and hunting have nothing to do with true pleasure, 170/30; Utopians divide true pleasures into various classes, 172/7; Utopians believe that human reason can attain to no truer view of virtue and pleasure than theirs without the inspiration of heaven-sent religion, 178/12; Utopus was certain in thinking it both insolence and folly to demand by violence and threats that all should think to be true what you believe, 220/13; Utopus foresaw that if one religion were true, the natural force of truth would finally emerge sooner or later, 220/14-6 (2x); true majesty of Utopian priests recognized among all nations, 230/14; each Utopian thanks God that he has received the religion which he hopes to be the truest, 236/16; RH: I described the commonwealth [*Reipublica*] of U as truthfully as I could, 236/31; TM: the common life and subsistence of the Utopians, without the exchange of money, overthrows all the nobility, magnificence, splendor, and majesty which are, in the estimation of the common people, the true glories and ornaments of the commonwealth [*Reipublicae*], 244/20.
2. *uerus* [**neuter**] — truth: RH: to speak the truth, I must speak in the manner I have described, 100/5 (see 86/22-96/31); Utopians consider intelligence and the sweetness which is bred of contemplation of truth the pleasures of the soul, 172/10.

### **HUMANITAS:**

*humanitas*<sup>24</sup> — conception of the full human life: RH: Polylerite system has much of humanitas and advantage, 78/10; RH: Utopus brought up his people to such a perfection of humanitas, 112/5; RH: praiseworthy in the name of humanitas for one man to provide for another's welfare and comfort, 162/32; RH: to take something from yourself and to give it to others is a duty of humanitas, 164/27; Utopians go to war in the name of humanitas, 200/7.

### **Justice:**

*iustitia* — justice: RH: lawyer spoke of the strict justice dealt out to thieves, 60/8; RH: death for thieves is justice that is more showy than really just or beneficial, 70/7; RH: people say death is a penalty attached against the offense [of theft] against justice and the breaking of the laws, 72/9; RH: Polylerite system more beneficial in its working than the justice which the lawyer praised, 80/2; RH: councilor tells king there is no richer source of profit nor any more honorable than such as has an outward mask of justice, 92/7; RH: when favoritism and avarice enter into men's judgments they destroy all justice, the strongest sinew of the commonwealth [*reipublicae*], 196/11; RH: majesty of treaties in Europe is holy and inviolable through the justice and goodness of kings, 196/23; RH: men either think that all justice is either only a plebeian and low virtue which is far below the majesty of kings or else there are two forms of it, 198/8; Utopians declare war not only when a hostile inroad has carried off booty but also when merchant friends undergo unjust persecution under the color of justice, 200/16; RH: dares anyone to compare Utopians' fairness with the so-called justice of other nations, 238/20; RH: no justice in other nations, 238/21; RH: what kind of justice is it that noblemen and people who have work unessential to the commonwealth [*Reipublicae*] should attain a life of luxury and

<sup>24</sup> See esp. Seneca's *Epis.* 65.7: "*Humanitas*, or the idea of man, [is that] according to which man is fashioned...as Plato says." See also Cicero's *De Oratore* 1.53-54, but also *Pro Archia* 2-4, 14-16.

grandeur of the basis of their idleness and unessential work?, 238/22; RH: the rich make laws and palm it off as justice, 240/18.

**iustus** — just: RH: manner of punishing thieves is more than just and not for the public good, 60/14; RH: are people evicted from their land and forced to wander and beg hanged justly?, 66/22; RH: plague as though God were punishing greed by sending the sheep a murrain, which should have fallen on the owners' heads more justly, 68/4; RH: death for thieves is justice that is more showy than really just or beneficial, 70/8; RH: councilor of king advises crying down the value of money below the just rate when he has to receive any, 90/26; RH private property make it impossible for a commonwealth [Republica] to act justly, unless you [TM] think it is just when all the best things flow into the hands of the worst citizens while the rest are wretched, 102/23-4 (2x); RH: no just and even distribution of goods and no happiness unless private property is utterly abolished, 104/16; in U adults who exceed the just number help to make up the deficient population in other cities, 136/3; Utopians consider it a most just cause to wage war against those who do not till the soil and forbid its use to others, 136/14; RH justly fears that the Utopians use of treasure will not be believed, 150/6; Utopians think public laws for the distribution of vital commodities ought to be observed provided they have been justly promulgated by a good *princeps* or ratified by the common consent of the people, 164/21.

### **Magna anima, “great soul”:**

**Conspicuously missing from the work.** The closest instance is 62/22, used by the lawyer at Morton's table: “*hominibus animi magis excelsi ac generosis...consistunt uires ac robur exercitus*” (“on them, being men of a more lofty [*magis excelsus*] and nobler spirit [*animus*], depend the strength and sinews of our army”).

### **Peaceful:**

**concordia** — concord, harmony: Utopians' game shows the concord among the vices against the virtues, 128/23; all the envy of neighboring *principes* cannot shake or shatter a nation where harmony is preserved at home and whose institutions are in a healthy state, 244/10.

**ocium** — leisure, peace: RH: I should not promote the public interest [*publicam rem*] in disturbing my own peace, 56/20; RH: farmers know that a man who has been softly brought up in leisure will hardly be fit to render honest service to a poor man, 62/16; RH: quotes from Sallust, "the hand and mind through leisure become dulled," 64/8; RH: no danger that nobles' idle attendants weaken by leisure should become unmanned if trained to earn their living in good trades, 64/23; RH: great numbers of English poor are driven from work into idleness, 68/1; RH: let fewer be brought up in idleness, 70/2; RH: description of U requires TM to be at leisure, 108/24; RH: less time needed for work if the throng languishing in leisure and luxury worked, 130/19; Utopians enjoy their leisure in a fashion not without decency, 146/20; Utopians are leisure-loving, 178/31; Buthrescae eschew learning and scientific pursuit and allow themselves no leisure, 224/22; Buthrescae secure leisure for others by perpetually engaging in hard work themselves, 224/31; RH: what brand of justice is it that any nobleman whatsoever should attain a life of luxury and grandeur on the basis of his idleness?, 238/25.

**ociosus** — at leisure: RH: great number of idle noblemen, 62/4; RH: crowd of idle attendants on noblemen, 62/10; RH: French and English think it is a good thing to keep idle retainers, 64/1; RH: craftsmen and farmers are not afraid of gentlemen's idle attendants, 64/18; RH: noblemen and others who produce sheep for wool are not content, by leading an idle and sumptuous life, to do no good to the country, 66/6; RH: people evicted from their land are cast into prison as vagrants for going about idle when there is no one to hire them, 66/24; RH: let farming and cloth-working be resumed to employ the idle throng, whether those whom pauperism has made thieves or those who, now being vagrants or lazy servants, are likely to turn out thieves, 70/4-5 (2x); only function of the syphogrants

- is to manage and provide that no one sit idle, 126/21; RH: how great and lazy is the crowd of priests and so-called religious!, 130/2; people of U neither idle nor busied with useless occupations, 132/9.
- pax** — peace: RH: European *principes* do not care about the good arts of peace, 56/24; RH: even France in peacetime (if you can call it peace) is crowded with mercenaries, 62/30 (2x); RH: you ought to take far more account of peace than of war, 64/28; RH: councilor tells French king to cede someone else's kingdom of Navarre to the King of Aragon as a settlement of peace, 88/8; RH: French councilors agree that negotiations for peace should be undertaken with England, 88/12; RH: peace no more secure than before [when Achorian king had only one kingdom], 90/4; RH: councilor recommends that French king start make-believe war to raise money and then make peace with solemn ceremonies to throw dust in the common people's eyes, 92/1; RH: councilors completely wrong in thinking the poverty of the people is the safeguard of peace, 94/16; Utopus laid down regulations about religion in the interest of peace and religion, 220/8; Utopian priests pray for peace during battles, 230/9; intervention of Utopian priests made peace between armies, 230/20.
- quies** — rest, quiet: Utopian suppers are longer because they are followed by night's rest, 144/15.
- saluus** — (of a country) secure, unharmed: RH: French think that public safety depends on having ready a strong and sure garrison, 64/3; RH: Plato foresaw that the one road to public safety is if the equality of things is valued, 104/8; Senate in U debates nothing on the same day it is proposed, preferring public safety to its own good reputation, 124/14; Utopian hospitals are furnished with everything conducive to well-being, 140/6; principle of Utopian philosophy: praiseworthy that one man should provide for the safety and comfort of another, 162/32; RH: person who does not know his property is stolen does not care that it is stolen or safe, 170/4; destruction or well-being of U's neighbors depends upon the character of magistrates, 196/6; Utopian priests provide safety to their own citizens in war, 230/15.
- securitas** — freedom from care: RH: nothing could deter criminals if they had freedom from care in respect to life or death, 72/3; RH: greater freedom from care for thieves when they eliminate witnesses, 74/9; RH: king's honor and freedom from care depend upon the people's resources rather than his own, 94/10; freedom from care about livelihood at home and future care of their families makes spirit of Utopians in battle exalted and disdainful of defeat, 210/14; Utopians do not pursue fleeing enemy out of experience of enemy attacking them when they felt freedom from care, 212/10.
- securus** — free from care: compass makes Utopians more free from care than safe, 52/22; RH: crafty preachers adapted the doctrines of Christ to men's morals so that men may be bad and more free from care, 100/28; RH: people rejoice over hidden treasure as though free from care, 170/1; Utopian free from care about the livelihood and happiness of himself and his family, 238/17.
- adempta solitudine** — free from worry: RH: no greater riches than to be free from worry.
- tranquillitas** — tranquility: Utopians think pleasure should be found in the tranquility of health, 174/11.
- tranquillus** — tranquil: Utopians rejected the position of those who held that a state of stable and tranquil health was not a pleasure, 174/5; RH: great riches for a man to live with a joyful and peaceful mind, 238/12.

### **Pietas:**

- pietas** — duty towards origins, i.e. God, country, parents: RH: to look after the interest of the public is a mark of pietas, while caring for your own interests is prudence, 164/25; The arrangement of the bird feathers expressing secret mysteries carefully taught by the priests are reminders of the piety due to God for the benefits bestowed & duty to each other, 234/25.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Cp. CW 3.2 no. 19/83, 92; no. 111

*pius* — dutiful towards origins, i.e., God, country, parents: pious *principes* of Europe deceive their people, 92/3; Utopians think suicide a pious and holy action if counseled by Un priests, 186/16.

**Prudentia, sagacity, good sense:**

1. *prudens* — prudent, sensible: TM: Giles has a prudent simplicity of nature, 48/10; TM: useful to readers to know what wise and prudent provisions RH noticed anywhere among peoples living together in a civilized way, 52/28; TM: RH had touched very sensibly on faults of both hemispheres, 54/8; RH: we bid the ideas of our ancestors farewell, no matter how sensible they were, 58/12; TM to RH: everything said was both prudent and witty, 84/31; RH ponders in his mind the extremely prudent and holy institutions of the Utopians, 102/27; RH calls Plato very prudent for seeing that the one and only road to general welfare is the maintenance of equality in all respects, 104/7; RH: special legislation needed to ensure that offices are administered by prudent men, 104/28; RH: Utopian commonwealth more prudently governed than ours, 108/18; RH: a sensible judge of things will believe RH's account of the way the Utopians use their treasure, 150/11; Utopians think a person with an incurable illness who chooses voluntary death acts prudently, 186/14; Utopians neighbors act prudently in choosing Utopian officials, 196/7; Utopians think it prudent to bid for and purchase an enemy, 204/20; RH: more prudent Utopians are monotheists, 216/12; Utopians regard priests who marry as more sensible, but less holy, than those who do not, 226/12.

2. *prudens* — clever, skillful: RH: suppose I were in a most secret meeting of the most skillful councilors of the French king, 86/24; Utopians are as courageous in fighting as they were clever in avoiding it, 210/11.

*prudentia* — prudence, good sense: RH: people who prefer their own discoveries say, "Our forefathers were happy with that sort of thing, and would to heaven we had their good sense," 58/7; RH: Cardinal Morton deserved as much respect for his prudence and virtue as for his authority, 58/21; RH: Cardinal had acquired a statesman's good sense [*prudentiam rerum*] by many and great dangers, 60/4; Utopians say it is prudence to look after your own affairs as long as public laws for the distribution of vital commodities are not broken, 164/24; RH: a convert to Christianity spoke publicly of Christ's religion with more zeal than prudence, 218/22.

**Sapientia, wisdom:**

*sapiens* — wise: TM: well and wisely-trained citizens are not everywhere to be found, 52/33; TM: RH compared the wiser measures which had been taken among us and among the Utopians, 54/10; RH: people who prefer their own discoveries think that it would be a dangerous thing to be found more wise in any way that our forefathers, 58/10; Cardinal Morton: Friar would behave more wisely if he would not set his wits against those of a silly fellow, 84/9; Friar answers, "I should not behave more wisely," 84/10; Friar, "Solomon, the wisest of men, says, 'Answer a fool according to his folly,'" 84/11; RH: Plato shows why wise men are right in abstaining from administration of the commonwealth [*Respublica*], 102/14; Anemolian ambassadors more proud than wise, 154/6; Utopians think gold keeps many wise men in bondage to fools, 156/24; RH: a wise man should pray that he may escape disease and pain rather than crave a remedy for it, 176/5; RH: all men are not so wise as to regard only the character of the woman [they marry], 188/15; RH: bodily attractions add to the virtues of the mind even in the marriages of wise men, 188/16.

*sapientia* — wisdom: RH: councilors behave as if their whole reputation for wisdom were jeopardized if someone proposes something he has read of as done in other times or has seen done elsewhere, 58/3; RH: Christ in his wisdom could not fail to know what was best for man's own interests, 242/21.

*sapire* — to be wise: RH: among royal councilors everyone is actually so wise as to have no need of profiting by another's council, or everyone seems so wise in his own eyes as not to condescend to profit by it, 56/27-28 (2x); TM not quite certain RH could brook opposition to his views when he recalled

RH's censure of others on account of their fear that they might not appear to be wise enough without criticizing someone else's discoveries, 244/25.

***uirtus*, the sum of all the corporeal or mental excellences of man:**

1. *uirtus* — strength, vigor; bravery, courage; aptness, capacity; worth, excellence: TM: excellence and learning of Cuthbert Tunstal too great and well-known to praise, 46/17; RH: Cardinal Morton deserved respect for his prudence and virtue, 58/21; RH: Cardinal Morton delighted by capacity in others for making trial of others by rough address, 58/27; even in the marriages of wise men bodily attractions are no small enhancement to the virtues of the mind, 188/17; no man's love is kept permanently except by the virtue and obedience [of his wife], 192/22; Utopians offer honors to invite men to virtue, 192/25; Utopians' monuments to great men serve their descendants as a spur and stimulus to virtue, 192/29; Utopians boast as having action virtue whenever their victory is such as no animal except man could have won, 202/18; Utopians add a contingent of their own citizens out of which they appoint some of tried valor to command the whole army, 208/16; Utopians fearful in battle placed on ships with the brave where they make a virtue of extreme necessity, 208/29; Utopians' good and sound opinions give them additional courage in battle, 210/19; some Utopians reverence a man conspicuous for either virtue or glory in the past as the supreme god, 216/10; Utopians believe in a supreme being diffused throughout the universe not in mass but in power, 216/14; Utopians have few priests because they think it hard to find many men fit for a position for the filling of which it is not enough to be endowed with ordinary [*mediocribus*] virtues, 230/3.
2. *uirtus* — moral perfection, virtue: RH: virtue has its reward in U, 102/29; virtues fight with the vices in a game of the Utopians, 128/21; concerted opposition of the vices to the virtues, 128/23; what vices are opposed to what virtues, 128/23; by what safeguards the virtues check the power of the vices, 128/25; Utopians discuss virtue and pleasure, 160/17; Utopians think rewards are appointed for virtues after life, 162/1; Utopians think it extreme madness to pursue hard and painful virtue, 162/10; some Utopians think human nature is drawn by virtue itself as the supreme good, 162/17; Utopians define virtue as living according to nature since to this end we were created by God, 162/18; RH: no one was ever so solemn and severe a follower of virtue that he would impose labors and discomforts on you while not bidding you do your best to relieve the poverty and misfortunes of others, 162/29; RH: humanity is the virtue most peculiar to man, 162/33; Utopians define virtue as living according to the prescription of nature, 164/12; Utopians maintain that even the very virtues exercised in our actions look to pleasure as their end and happiness, 166/5; Utopians think mental pleasures arise from the practice of the virtues, 174/31; Utopians think it extreme madness to deal harshly with oneself for a vain and shadowy reputation of virtue, 178/5; Utopians' view of virtue and pleasure, 178/10; Utopians who break the law are dealt with more harshly, since they have had an excellent rearing to virtue, 184/24; virtues of the Utopians have spurred their neighbors to obtain officials from them, 194/33; RH: whether justice is only a plebeian virtue, 198/8; justice of *principes* is a virtue that is far freer and more august than the peoples', so that everything is permissible to it, 198/12; Utopians believe vices punished and virtue rewarded in afterlife, 220/25; Utopians judge that the remembrance of the dead is a stimulus to the virtues of the living, 224/3; Utopian priests regard concern for morals and virtue as important as learning in education, 228/9; RH: unlikely that a Utopian who is elevated to the dignity of priesthood for being the very best among the good, nothing but virtue being taken into account, should fall into corruption and wickedness, 228/27; religious fear is the greatest and almost only stimulus to virtues, 234/7.

**Words for EDUCATION**

**discipulus** — scholar, student

RH: bad teachers beat rather than teach their students, 60/20.

**doctrina** — learning, teaching

TM: learning of Cuthbert Tunstal, 46/17; TM: RH capable of entertaining a king with his learning, 54/15; TM: RH possesses complete learning, 56/16; TM: RH's experience of affairs welcome on any king's council, even if he had not learning, 56/17; RH: crafty preachers have accommodated Christ's teaching to men's morals, 100/26; RH: Utopians opinions taught partly from learning and good books, 158/5; courage of Utopians from learning and good institutions of their country, 210/18; RH: Utopians readily disposed to become Christians after they heard of Christ's teaching and character, 216/33.

**doctus** — learned

TM: Giles is both learned and upright, 48/5; Giles: RH is very well learned in Greek, 48/33.

**educare** — to rear, educate

RH: man who has been softly brought up in idleness and luxury unfit to do honest service for a poor man, 62/16; RH: rich men rear lean and cheap cattle and sell them fattened at a high price, 68/13; RH: when you allow youths to be brought up badly and punish them as grown-up men, you create thieves and become the agents of their punishment, 70/8; TM brought up in Cardinal Morton's court, 86/3; Utopians breed a vast number of poultry through incubation, 114/19; Utopian farmers incubate eggs and hatch them, 114/22; Utopians rear surplus cattle to be distributed to their neighbors, 116/9; each Utopian usually brought up in his father's craft, 126/12; RH: child reared by nurse recognizes her as his natural mother, 142/12.

**educatio** — upbringing, education

Utopians learn opinions partly from their upbringing, 158/3; Utopian criminals dealt with harshly since they could not be restrained from crime by their excellent upbringing to a virtuous life, 184/24.

**instituere** — to instruct

TM: well and wisely instructed citizens are not everywhere to be found, 52/33; RH: only well-ordered people are Utopians, 106/17; in U substitutes sent from city to farms to be instructed by those who are more expert in farming, 114/11; very few laws needed for Utopians thus instructed, 194/7.

**instituere** — to get ready, prepare

Polylerites preparing for a journey secure slaves as guides, 78/14.

**instituere** — to establish

RH and companions found towns and cities very well established, 52/1; Cardinal Morton: do not set up a foolish duel with a fool, 84/10; RH: it will be long before we adopt anything established by Utopians, 108/16; Utopians: virtue of human beings established by God is to live according to nature, 162/20; Utopus established religious toleration for peace and in the interest of religion itself, 220/7; TM: many absurd laws and customs established in U, 244/17.

**instituere** — to administer, govern

Polylerites' well-governed nation, 74/22.

**institutio** — training:

RH: let French king prevent crime with correct training of his people, 96/7.

**institutio** — arrangement

Arrangement of the commonwealth [*reipublicae*] of U looks foremost to the freedom and culture of the mind for all citizens, 134/17; TM disagrees with principle foundation of Utopians whole arrangement, 44/18; TM praised arrangement of Utopians, 244/27.

**institutum** — institution, ordinance

TM relates merely the customs and institutions of the Utopians, 54/6; RH remembered the customs and institutions of each nation he visited, 54/11; RH: no better institution for treatment of criminals than among Polylerites, 74/18; RH: extremely wise and old institutions of the Utopians, 102/28; RH: TM needs to have seen in person Utopians' customs and institutions to approve them, 106/14; TM asks RH to tell the terrain, rivers, cities, inhabitants, traditions, customs, institutions, laws, etc. of U, 108/21; all 54 city-states in U identical in institutions and customs, 112/17; institution of deliberation in senate or assembly prevents conspiracy between governor and tranibors, 124/2; Utopian colonies join with the natives and together with them absorb the same institution of life and customs, 136/9; by Utopian institution, colony make the land sufficient for themselves and the natives, 136/10; RH: pride in wealth can have no place in Utopian institutions, 138/8; RH: rest of U institutions unlike ours, 150/12; RH: Utopians' treatment of gold consonant with the rest of their institutions, 152/1; RH: opposite ideas and feelings are created by Utopian institutions, so different from those of other people, 152/26; RH: Utopians conceive opinions from a commonwealth [*respublica*] with good institutions, 158/4; RH: Utopian institutions described, not defended, 178/14; Utopian children trained in good and sound opinions by teaching and by good institutions, 210/18; RH: religious tolerance is one of Utopians' most ancient institutions, 218/29; RH: Utopians think person without fear would treat institutions and customs as worthless, 220/28; Utopian priest prays that God may bring all other mortals to the same institutions of living, 236/22; RH: Utopian institutions of life laid happy and lasting foundation for commonwealth, 244/4; RH: harmony at home and healthy institutions will preserve U, 244/11; end of the afternoon discourse of RH on laws and institutions of U, 246/5.

**institutum** — intention, purpose:

TM: not the purpose of this work to tell what RH saw in each place, 52/25; purpose of mixing young with old at meals in U, 142/29.

**1. litera** — learning, liberal arts

Free time in U commonly devoted to liberal arts, 128/3; in U attendance to lectures mandatory for those who have been specially chosen to devote themselves to liberal arts, 128/5; in U sometimes craftsman who industriously employs his spare hours in liberal arts advanced into the class of men of learning, 132/3; Utopians' opinions taught partly from learning and liberal arts, 158/5; those outstanding few inclined to bonas artes, 158/8; all Utopian children steeped in liberal arts, 158/9; many Utopians devote their free time to liberal arts, 158/11; Utopians' extreme desire for permission to master Greek liberal arts, 180/3; RH: Utopians master Greek in three years and read liberal arts because related to their own, 180/20; Utopians trained in all liberal arts, 182/22; some religious Utopians eschew liberal arts, 224/21; care for children's morals and virtue no less important than advancement in liberal arts, 228/9.

**2. litera** — letter (of the alphabet)

Utopians easily master Greek letters, 180/11; Utopians' interest in printed letters in books, 182/26; Utopians' interest in the art of printing letters, 182/27; Utopians try to print letters, 182/31.

**3. litera** — letter, proclamation (in plural)

Proclamation of reward for enemy heads, 204/3.

**praeceptor** — teacher

RH: bad teachers beat rather than teach their scholars, 60/20.

**praeceptum** — teaching

RH: asks whether the teaching of God is valid only so far as the law of man permits, 72/25, 72/27; agriculture in U learned partly by teaching in school, 124/23.

**puer** — boy, child

TM when a child educated in Cardinal Morton's court, 86/3; only Utopian children use gems, 152/23; in U all children up to five years old sit in nurses' quarters during meals, 142/13; older children in Utopian lay aside gems, 152/25; Anemolian ambassadors were decked out in articles used to amuse child, 154/15; children make fun of Anemolian ambassadors, 154/25; all Utopian children steeped in liberal arts, 158/9; RH: Utopians no match in logic for what our children learn in the *Small Logicals*, 158/25; Utopians take pains to instill good and useful opinions in children's minds, 228/11; good and useful opinions firmly implanted in children's minds, 228/12; in U children not entrusted to children, 234/5 (2x).

*a pueris* — from childhood: RH: kings have been infected with the wrong ideas from childhood, 86/18; Utopians trained in good and sound opinions from childhood, 210/19.

*schola* — school

RH: boy taken from school to court almost in earliest youth, 60/2; agriculture in U taught partly by teaching in school, 124/23.

## ROMAN Words for PHILOSOPHIC TERMS

*anima* — breath (of life); animal principle of life (cp. *animus* the spiritual, reasoning, willing principle); the soul

Cardinal Morton: it is written, "In your patience shall you possess your souls," 82/30; in Utopian theology: the soul is immortal and by the goodness of God born for happiness, 160/31; Utopus enjoined that no one should fall so far below the dignity of human nature as to believe that souls likewise perish with the body, 220/23; Utopian who does not believe in immortality of the soul has lowered the lofty nature of his soul to the level of a beast's miserable body, 220/26; some Utopians believe that brute animals also have immortal souls, but incomparable to humans' in dignity or destiny to equal felicity, 222/17; Utopians believe person with hopeless and guilty soul leaves live anxiously and unwillingly, 222/23; in U souls of men who have died cheerfully and full of good hope commended to God with song and great affection, 222/31.

1. *animus* — soul

RH's soul abhors service to kings, 56/1; TM: RH has a generous and truly philosophic soul, 56/9; lawyer: nobles have lofty and nobler animi than craftsmen and farmers, 62/22; RH: men with generous souls become robbers when price of food is high, 68/23; Fabricius' noble and lofty soul, 94/29; if soul attracts Utopian to another occupation, 126/13; RH: customs prepare affections of the soul, 152/27; Utopians inquire into good of soul and body, 160/16; Utopians: whether "good" only applies to gifts of soul, 160/17; Utopians think service brings more pleasure to the soul, 164/32; Utopians consider pleasure every movement and state of body or soul in which man by nature delights to dwell, 166/8; Utopians think many false pleasures can preoccupy the soul, 166/18; Utopians think desire of looking on bloodshed comes from the disposition of a cruel soul, 170/26; Utopians divide pleasures of soul and body in various classes, 172/9; Utopians ascribe pleasure of intelligence to the soul, 172/10; Utopians think rejecting favors of nature a sign of a cruel soul, 178/7; RH: even in the marriages of wise men bodily attractions are no small enhancement to the virtues of the soul, 188/17; music during Utopians' worship inflames and penetrates souls of hearers, 236/8; RH: what can be greater riches for a man than to live with happy and tranquil soul, 238/12.

2. *animus* — courage, spiritedness

RH: only people without strength of spirit fear standing army, 64/20; RH: poverty and need blunt people's spirits, 94/7; Zapoletan mercenaries run one another through with utmost ferocity, 206/27; spirit of Utopians so stubborn that they would rather be cut to pieces that give way in battle, 210/13; Utopians' absence of anxiety about livelihood at home and removal of the worry for the future of their families makes their spirit exalted and disdainful of defeat, 210/16; Utopians think sweet smells and lights and other ceremonies make men rise with livelier spirit to the worship of God, 234/15.

### 3. *animus* — mind, thought of the mind

Giles has a pure mind toward all, 48/6; TM has a mind to tell..., 54/5; RH: we bid forefathers' ideas farewell with a very curt mind, 58/11; RH: Cardinal Morton enjoyed making trial by rough address to see what mettle and presence of mind a person had, 58/26; RH: quoting Sallust he says, "the hand and mind through leisure become dulled" 64/8; TM to RH: persuade your mind not to shun the courts of kings, 86/7; RH: French king has already invaded other nations in his mind, 86/31; Achorians' king could not turn his mind to either kingdom, 90/7; treasury of Macarians' king too small to give him mind to invade others, 96/23; RH: novel ideas cannot enter a preoccupied mind, 98/4; TM: you must not desert the commonwealth [*Respublica*] because you cannot according to the thought of the mind cure vices of long standing, 98/26; RH tells TM his mind's thoughts, 102/21; RH ponders in his mind the extremely wise and holy institutions of U, 102/27; many minds in U do not reach the higher intellectual disciplines, 128/10; Utopians think as much time as possible should be devoted to the freedom and culture of the mind, 134/19; some Utopians have minds bent towards good arts [of learning], 158/8; Utopians' native tongue faithful exponent of thought, 158/13; RH: religion easily persuades an assenting mind, 166/1; RH: the rich exult over their hidden treasure as though their minds were free from anxiety, 168/31; Utopians consider pleasures of the mind foremost, 174/29; Utopians unwearied in their devotion to the study of the mind, 180/2; Utopians' diligence in learning Greek made RH and his friends feel sure in their mind that their efforts were not in vain, 180/11; RH: deformity alienates a man's mind from his wife, 188/19; Utopians think that men are more firmly joined together by mind than by words, 198/28; RH: you would think Utopians had flight in mind in battle, when that is the very last thing they intended, 212/14; Utopians believe it in no man's power to dissemble to his own mind, 222/8; Utopians take care to instill good and useful opinions in children's minds, 228/12; Utopians end family quarrels so they may be present as sacrifices with pure and clear mind, 232/26; RH: when I consider and turn over in my mind the [bad] state of all commonwealths flourishing today, 240/19; RH: consider in your mind some barren and unfruitful year, 242/9.

### 4. *animus* — soul or mind

RH left behind by Vespucci, agreeable to his animus, 50/10; free time in U devoted to some other occupation according the inclination of each person's mind, 128/2; RH: too delicate soul spurns house built by another, 132/20; bidding for and purchasing an enemy reckoned a cruel deed of a degenerate animus, elsewhere than U, 204/19; Utopians think scant light in churches collects the mind, 232/3.

#### 1. *conscientia* — complicit knowledge (with someone else), in particular, guilt

RH: informer in Polylerite system is granted immunity for complicity, 78/7.

#### 2. *conscientia* — consciousness

Utopians: service is compensated by consciousness of good deeds, 164/31; Utopians: pleasures of the mind arise from consciousness of a good life, 174/31.

#### 3. *conscientia* — conscience

**Conspicuously missing from the work.**

#### 1. *consciis* — as an accomplice, co-conspirator

RH: Polylerite punishment for connivance in crime is death for the slave and slavery for the free man, 78/5.

**2. *consciūs* — conscious of**

RH consciūs that, had he not been there and seen it, he would have believed another's account [of Utopians' use of gold and silver] with difficulty, 150/7; Utopians believe that one torn from life anxiously and unwillingly was consciūs of guilt, 222/23; Utopians do not assist at religious sacrifices if they are consciūs of hatred or anger against anyone, 232/28.

***effigies* — image**

Utopians have no image of the gods in the temple, 232/11.

***fingere* — to make by shaping, to make a likeness of; to fashion**

RH asks TM to "suppose he were at the court of the French king, 86/22; RH: what if he told the French king what Plato fashions in his republic [*Republica*], 100/9.

**1. *forma* — form**

Utopian homes now have form of three stories, 120/31; one form for clothes throughout U, 126/4; RH: explains the form of the Utopians' distribution of goods, 134/23; RH: nature equally favors all whom she endows with the same form, 164/16; RH: only human beings take in the form and fairness of the world, 176/29; Utopians consider it extreme madness to despise the beauty of form, 176/35; Utopians easily imitate form of Greek letters, 180/11; no beauty of form recommends wives to husbands as much as probity and reverence, 192/20; RH: all forms of Utopian religion tend to the same end, 232/5; Utopians' musical instruments different in form from those seen above equator, 234/32; Utopian music represents meaning by the form of the melody, 236/8; Utopian priests pray that if Utopian form of commonwealth [*Reipublicae*] is best, God bring to other mortals the same way of living, 236/20; RH: I have described the form of the best and only commonwealth [*Reipublicae*], 236/31; RH: joy that this form of commonwealth [*Reipublicae*] has been the good fortune of the Utopians, 244/3.

**2. *forma* — beauty, appearance**

Utopians cherish beauty, strength, and nimbleness, 176/25; Utopians consider it a sign of sluggish and feeble mind not to preserve natural beauty, 192/17; some men are attracted only by beauty, 192/21; Utopian priests' garments wonderful in design and beauty, 234/17.

**3. *forma* — sort, kind**

Utopians divide bodily pleasures into two kinds, 172/12; Utopians consider health second kind of bodily pleasure, 172/23; no kind of beast makes war as much as man, 198/30.

***imago* — image**

RH: TM has no image, or else a false one, of a situation [like U], 106/13; RH: image of counterfeit pleasure displayed by men who imagine themselves to be noble because of their fortune or wealth, 168/5.

***principium* — guiding principle, basis, premise**

Utopians unite principles from religion and philosophy when they discuss philosophy, 160/27; Utopians think reason without certain principles of religion insufficient and weak for the investigation of true happiness, 160/30.

**1. *species* — likeness, appearance**

Island of U has appearance of a new moon, 110/12.

**2. *species* — particular sort, kind (opp. to *genus*)**

Each kind of goods is arranged separately in storehouses, 136/29; Utopians distinguish various kinds of pleasures, 172/8.

## Words Associated with RULE

**ars** — skill in joining something, combining, working it, etc.; art

1. **ars** — art, practical skill: TM: H VIII distinguished by all the arts of an outstanding *princeps*, 46/10; TM: Georges de Themsecke eloquent by art and nature, 46/24; RH: Roman empire had no useful art which Utopians did not learn from strangers or seeds of ideas, 108/7; Utopian harbors fortified by nature and art, 110/28; RH: agriculture is the one art common to all Utopians, 124/20; RH: individuals who have an inclination of mind toward good arts are assigned to scholarship alone, 158/8; RH: Utopians' slaves exercise art of hunting, 170/21; RH: barren soil in U improved by art and industry, 178/26; RH: Utopians' minds exceedingly apt in the invention of the arts which promote advantage and convenience of life, 182/22;
2. **ars** — strategy, artifice: RH: almost all European *principes* prefer to occupy themselves in the pursuits of war rather than good arts for peace, 56/24; RH: no penalty is sufficient to restrain from theft those who have no other strategem of getting a livelihood, 60/18; RH: French councilors debate which strategies and machinations French king should use, 86/26; RH: better for king to resign his throne than keep it by such strategems, 94/25; RH: by TM's strategem "I should approach nothing else than to share the madness of others as I tried to cure their lunacy", 100/4; RH: game of Utopians in which the virtues by strategy fight the vices, 128/26; RH: Utopians proud of crushing the enemy by artifice and cunning, 202/15; RH: unbeliever will strive to evade the public laws of his own country by artifice or violence, 222/1; RH: the rich invent and devise all ways and strategems to keep wealth without loss; 240/23; RH: the rich amass wealth by evil strategems, 240/23.
3. **ars** — trade, profession: lawyer: manual trades provide alternative to thievery, 60/26; RH: disability prevents veterans from exercising their own trades, 60/31; RH: crowd of noblemen's attendants who never learned a trade for their livelihood, 62/9; RH: trades of robbers and soldiers similar, 62/27; RH: no danger that noblemen's idle attendants should become unmanned if trained in honest trades, 64/24; RH: one trade learned by each Utopian, 126/8; RH: most laborious trades committed to Utopian men, 126/11; RH: each Utopian is brought up in his father's trade, 126/12; RH: Utopian can be given permission to learn another trade, 126/17; RH: syphogrants make sure that each person apply himself industriously to his trade, 126/22; RH: no one is hindered from devoting time to his trade rather than to lectures, 128/9; RH: many trades necessary in a money-based society, 130/12; RH: prices low when people devote themselves to a few trades, 130/15; RH: less time needed for work if no one employed with unprofitable trades, 130/18; RH: Utopians do not require as much work in necessary trades, 132/12; RH: Utopians all busied with useful trades, 134/10; RH: Utopians practice their trade when they travel, 146/5; RH: Utopians entertained very courteously when they travel by workers in the same trade, 146/6; RH: Zapoletan mercenaries' only trade is that by which they seek their death, 206/18.

**artifex** — a master of an art, artist, artisan: TM: Georges de Themsecke a master in diplomacy, 46/26; RH: great abundance of commodities makes prices too low for artisans to earn their livelihood by their work, 130/17; RH: Utopians compare Author of nature to other artists, 182/16; RH: unjust nations lavish great rewards on artisans of empty pleasures, 240/8;

1. **artificium** — profession: On Professions, 124/19; RH: each Utopian taught a particular profession of his own, 124/30.
2. **artificium** — art, skill: RH: incubation a wonderful art in U, 114/20; RH: no costly material could equal art of Utopian priests' vestments, 234/19.

**authoritas** — authority

RH: John Cardinal Morton deserved respect for his authority, 58/21; TM: in councils with great authority, there is no place for academic philosophy, 98/7; TM: authority of magistrates would be eliminated if all things were in common; authority of Utopian senate needed for divorces, 190/3; in church the young are put in front of parents so “all actions of everyone are observed” by those “whose authority maintains discipline at home,” 234/3; RH: a person’s own interests or the authority of Christ would lead to adopting Utopian laws were it not for pride, 242/21.

**concilium** — the act of deliberating, the result of it, or the mental capacity for it

TM: RH capable of assisting king with counsel, 54/17; TM: RH's counsels to *princeps* would be worthy of his great mind, 56/12; RH: some on king's council so truly wise that they do not lack counsel, 56/26-8 (2x); RH: king trusted archbishop's counsels very much, 58/31; one guilty of plan to escape from slavery is punished with death in U, 78/5; never safer to execute a bad plan than to repent of it in U, 78/8; no danger that convicts in U may form a plot against the commonwealth, 78/22; convicts in U cannot entrust their plot to their friends undauntedly, 78/26; RH: courtiers would not value my counsels, 84/29; TM: RH would benefit the public with his counsels, 86/9; TM: happiness far off if philosophers do not impart their counsels to kings, 86/13; RH: kings will never approve the advice of philosophers without becoming philosophers themselves, 86/19; RH: suppose I were in the council of the French king, 86/23; plan should be shared with the Venetians, 88/1; RH: king's council consists of many men considering their own counsels for war, 88/20; Achorians took counsel and decided to offer their king the choice of one of his two kingdoms, 90/8; RH to show that counsels are dishonest and destructive to a king, 94/9; TM: counsel that will not be admitted should not be forced upon the people, 98/2; TM: no place for scholastic philosophy in the councils of kings, 98/7; RH: greatest part of Christ's teaching is stranger to customs than RH's advice, 100/24; RH: will not accomplish much on the king's council, 100/29; RH: he who does not praise evil deliberations in the position of scout or betrayer, 102/6; tranibors enter council with the *princeps* every other day, 122/24; in U taking counsel on matters of common interest outside the senate or assembly a capital offense, 124/2; syphogrants take counsel together and report their decision to the senate, 124/7; sometimes legislative matter laid before the council of U, 124/8; voluntary death in U obeying the counsels of the priests, 186/15; RH: fraud in the treaties of private persons welcomed in the advice given to *princeps*, 198/7; death of citizen of U investigated, whether due to private or government plot, 202/10; small sums given for men whom Utopians regard as responsible for the hostile plans taken against them, 204/4; Utopians conceal plan to flee battle, 212/15; RH: superstitious beliefs of Utopians would have all disappeared, if there had not been event that happened when one of them was considering plans to change religion, 216/29; darkness of temples due to plan of priests, 232/2

**concilare** — to win over, conciliate

Joyful life should be won for others and oneself, 164/6; Utopians think nature binds one man to another, 196/17.

**consulere** — to advise

RH: if in any situation our forefathers failed to advise more prudently, 58/12; another councilor advices the hiring of the German *Landsknechte*, 88/3; councilor advices crying up the value of money when the king has to pay any, 90/25; Christ in his goodness would not fail to advise what He knew to be best, 242/23

**consulere** — to take care of

M: RH will take care of his own interests by attaching himself to a king, 54/18; public measures should be taken care of for persons whom sickness and old age has brought to want, 80/31; neighbors of U take very good and wholesome care for the weal of the people [*reipublicae*] by obtaining officials from U, 196/6

**consultare** — to consult

Tranibors consult about the weal of the people [*republica*], 122/25; syphogrants consult together and report their decision to the senate, 124/6; Utopians act on behalf of others in war only if they themselves are consulted before any step is taken and if they themselves initiate the war, 200/11.

**consultatio** — TM: deliberation: so in the weal of the people [*Republica*] so in the deliberations of rulers, 98/25.

**consulto** — deliberately: senators should have enough foresight at the first to speak deliberately rather than with haste, 124/17.

**consultus** — well-considered: Utopians think it better-considered to carry articles of export out of the country themselves, 184/10.

**consultum** — resolution, advice

RH called attention to many ill-advised resolutions among new nations, 54/2; RH: no matter what excellent resolutions our forefathers may have had, we very serenely bid them a curt farewell, 58/10; RH: many philosophers would gladly impart their counsel to kings already published their counsel in books if the rulers would be ready to take good advice, 86/16; RH: one who gives only faint praise to evil counsels will be counted almost a traitor, 102/8. **consilarius** — councilor: TM: RH would make an excellent councilor, 56/17; RH: councilors of king debate with him and devise schemes for him, 90/23;

**deligere** — to choose

RH: people choose king for their own sake, 94/12; in U, scholar chosen to be *princeps*, 132/7; in U new site and new home rarely chosen, 132/23; Utopian custom when choosing husband/wife, 186/33; RH: other people are careless when choosing a wife, 188/10; Utopians in war choose from volunteers who will fight, 208/21; Utopians debate whether people chosen can become priests without dispatch from Christian bishop, 218/16; priests chosen in U with great care, 228/25.

**eligere** — to elect

Every thirty families in U annually elect syphogrants, 122/9; in U tranibors elected annually, 122/21; some foreigners elect to become slaves in U, 184/26; in U, officials elected often will not be dishonorable or succumb to bribery, 196/7; whether priests can be elected in U without dispatch of a

Christian bishop, 218/16; Utopians about to elect candidate for priest, 218/17; Utopian priests elected by the people, 226/25; elected priests in U ordained by their own college, 226/26; older widows in U can be elected for priesthood, 228/18.

**negotium/negocium** — business

TM: Henry VIII had certain weighty matters in dispute with Charles of Castille, 46/8; TM and Cuthbert Tunstal met at Bruges with men put in charge of the affairs by Charles of Castille, 46/22; Georges de Themsecke has a talent for negotiating affairs, 46/26; RH: in disturbing the leisure of my business (*ocio meo negocium*) I should not promote the public interest, 56/21; Cardinal Morton spent his whole life in important business (*maximis...negocijs*), 60/2; RH: military garrisons are softened by almost womanish occupations, 64/24; RH: let there be an honor in business (*honestum negocium*), 70/3; Cardinal goes to hear the business of his clients, 84/20; farmers in U obtain materials they need from the municipal officials without any bargaining, 116/13; only business of syphogrants is to manage and provide that no one sit idle, 126/20; some religious orders think that it is only by busyness and by all good offices that they are determined to merit the happiness coming after death, 224/23; Utopians seriously concern

themselves with public business, 238/2; RH: unjust that one on the basis of his idleness or unessential work should attain a life of luxury and grandeur, 238/26.

**negociosus** — busy: RH: in European countries where women are busy the men are snoring in their stead, 130/1.

**negotiator** — businessman: Utopians wage war on behalf of the Nephelogetic traders, 200/14; Utopians more grieved at the allies' pecuniary loss than their own because their friends' merchants suffer severely by the loss as it falls on their private property, but their own citizens lose nothing but what comes from the common stock, 202/2.

**1. potestas** — possession of control *or* command, the right of legal or judicial decision

RH: Does God's command against killing have only as much potestas as granted by human law?, 72/19;

RH: Achorian king forbidden to have potestas over two countries, 90/10.

**2. potestas** — power

Disfigurement or loss of limb is not in one's power to avoid, 192/16; Utopians put the Alaopolitans into the power of the Nephelotes, 200/26; seldom does the enemy leader escape the Utopians' power, 210/29; RH: Because Utopian priests have no power except the influence of honor, they can do no harm to the state even though exempt from judgment by any public tribunal and regardless of "however guilty" they may be, 228/29.

**1. usus** — experience

Georges de Themsecke skillful in diplomacy by native ability and assiduous experience, 46/26; TM: RH possesses complete learning and great experience of affairs, 56/17; TM: you must not desert the commonwealth because you cannot cure according to your heart's desire vices caught by experience, 98/26; Giles: in some commonwealths long experience has come upon very many advantages for human life, 106/22; Utopians do not have experience with dice and other foolish games, 128/18; Utopians think mercy killed off by the practice of butchery, 138/16; Utopians ascertain weather signs by long practice, 160/7; Utopians know madness of dicers by hearsay only, not experience, 170/6; RH: weariness in the habitual practice of dicing, 170/10; Utopians think desire of looking on bloodshed degenerates into cruelty through the constant practice of butchery, 170/28; Utopians welcome anyone with experience gained through long travel, 184/4; experience shows Utopians that outward elegance does not recommend wives to husbands as much as probity and reverence, 192/19; Utopians regard war as fit only for beasts and yet in the constant practice of man, 198/31; Utopians prefer to let their enemies escape rather than to get into the habit of pursuing them with their own ranks in disorder, 212/6.

**2. usus** — use

RH wins favor of mariners by showing them the use of the magnetic needle, 52/19; TM: perhaps on another occasion we shall tell RH's story, particularly whatever facts would be of use to readers, 52/27; RH: the Roman empire possessed no art capable of any use which they did learn from shipwrecked strangers, 108/8; bay in the center of U of great use to the inhabitants, 110/17; horses in U for no other use than for exercising their young men in horsemanship, 114/26; oxen past work are of use for food, 116/1; Utopians produce for more grain and cattle than they require for their own use, 116/9; Utopians collect rainwater in capacious cisterns for their use, 118/28; glass of very common use in U, 122/3; more use for linen cloth since it requires less labor, 134/2; Utopians consider it a most just cause for war when a people which does not use its soil but keeps it idle and waster nevertheless forbids the use and possession of it by others, 136/16; city owing money to U collects it from private debtors and enjoys the use of it until the Utopians claim payment, 148/25; Utopians never claim payment of most of the money

owed them because they think it hardly fair to take away a thing that other people have use for, 148/26; RH: impartial judge will perhaps wonder less that Utopians' use of silver and gold should be adapted to their way of life rather than to ours, 150/13; RH: nature has given no use to gold and silver that we cannot dispense with, 150/22; Utopians think Anemolian ambassadors are slaves because of their use of gold chains, 154/24; some Utopian children find fault with Anemolians' gold chains because they have no use for them, 154/32; Utopians wonder that gold, which by nature has no use, is now everywhere in the world valued so highly, 156/20; RH: considering the use of the garment, why is wool of finer thread superior to thicker?, 166/28; RH: what can be said of those who keep superfluous wealth without putting it to any use?, 168/25; RH: stolen or safely hidden money of equally little use, 170/5; Utopians' policy of exportation allows them to make use of their skill in navigation, 184/12; Utopians do not entrust stern or morose person with the care of a fool since they fear he may not treat the fool with sufficient indulgence, finding in him no use, 192/13; Utopians' only use for gold and silver is to hire mercenaries, 206/3; mercenaries have acquired a habit of avarice that is of no use to them, 208/2; Utopians make war machines and hide them until needed lest they be rather a laughingstock than of use, 214/5; Christ's disciples' common way of life still in use among the truest societies of Christians, 218/7; RH: very many public prayers in U surpass in sweetness those in use with us, 236/1; RH: in U all greed for money removed with the use of money, 240/31.

### 3. *usus* — good/profit

RH: execution of thieves not for the public good, 60/15; nothing more productive of profit and pleasure to the citizens than their gardens, 120/20; Utopian senate has the custom of debating nothing on the same day it is proposed lest anyone should give more thought to defending his own opinion than to supporting what is for the good of the commonwealth, 124/13; citizens in U obtain leave from their syphogrants and tranibors unless some good reason prevents them, 144/30; Utopians consider it a good thing that every man plead his own cause, 194/14; Utopians do not burn enemy crops, thinking that they grow for their own benefit, 214/11.

### 4. *usus* — need

in some parts of the Polylerite nation all pay a specified personal tax for the needs (of the criminal justice system), 76/18; RH: there would be an abundance of commodities if those who now toil were distributed over only as few crafts as the few needs and conveniences demanded by nature, 130/15; authorities announce fewer hours for work when there is no need for public repairs, 134/14; Utopians patiently do their share of manual labor when there is need of it, 180/1; military training in U lest they should be unfit for war when need requires, 200/4; Utopians thrust Zapoletan mercenaries under the tempting bait of great promises when need requires, 208/7; Utopians make the conquered pay money, which they set aside for similar warlike purposes, 214/21; RH: no excess and surplus that can be laid by for the needs of workmen in old age, 240/6.

### *usu uenire* — to come into practice, to happen

happens that many Utopians devote free time to their art if they are not scholarly, 128/10; sometimes happens that a craftsman so industriously employs his spare hours on learning that he is relieved of his manual labor and becomes a scholar, 132/2; may never happen that Utopians need money for an emergency, 150/15.

### *utilis* — useful, expedient

RH: justice executed in the punishment of theft more showy than really just or useful, 70/8; RH: good way of punishing crimes is the one that was found useful to the Romans, 74/14; Cardinal: success of RH's criminal justice system will prove whether it is useful, 80/12; syphogrants choose the man whom they judge most useful to be governor, 122/15; Utopians who prefer to devote their free time to their trade

are praised as useful to the *respublica*, 128/12; RH: less time needed for work if all were set to useful work, 130/22; Utopians all busied with useful trades and are satisfied with fewer products from them, 134/10; traveling Utopian just as useful to the city as if he were in the city, 146.14; Utopians regard hunting as the meanest part of the butcher's trade and its other functions as more useful and honorable, 170/22; Utopians regard medicine as one of the most useful branches of philosophy, 182/11; Utopian senate does not readily give consent to divorce because they know easy hope of a fresh marriage is not at all useful to affection between husband and wife, 190/6; U priests take care to instill into children's minds good opinions which are useful for the preservation of the *respublica*, 228/11.

### 1. *uis* — force, power

Lawyer: nobles' attendants are the strength and sinews [*robur*] of the army in war, 62/23; RH: only townsmen without strength of body are afraid of nobles' idle attendants, 64/19; RH: townsmen whose strength of spirit is broken by lack of support for their family, 64/20; lawyer: what force and fear can deter criminals if they steal even with death as the penalty?, 72/3; River Anydrus connected to Amarotum by outworks so the water cannot be cut off or diverted by any power of enemies, 118/25; Utopians play games that show by what forces the virtues openly assail the vices, 128/24; Utopians' games show by what safeguards the virtues check the powers of the vices, 128/25; Utopians cherish beauty, strength, and nimbleness as special and pleasant gifts of nature, 176/25; Utopians think it extreme madness to impair the strength of the body, 176/35; war with the Nephelogeates against the Alaopolitans waged with the energies and resources of neighboring nations to assist the power of both sides, 200/22; wrongs done against Utopian merchants through fraud, but without force against their persons, righted only through abstention from trade with the offending nation, 200/30; Utopians boast of winning wars through strength of intellect, 202/19; Utopus thought that in religion truth by its own natural force would finally emerge, 220/16.

### 2. *uis* — forces, troops

Utopians go to war to deliver their friends by force of arms from the yoke and slavery of a tyrant, 200/7; Utopians meet advance of hostile king with great forces beyond their borders, 216/2.

## INSTITUTIONS and QUALITIES Associated with Rome

### *aerarium* — public treasury

Polyerite slaves bring in something every day to the public treasury, 76/24; [in transactions on credit with others] each city collects the money due from private debtors and puts in into the treasury and enjoys the use of it until the Utopians claim payment, 148/22; much left over to put into the public treasury from foreign estates, 214/27.

### *animi presentia* — presence of mind

RH: Cardinal Morton made trial of those who made suit to him to test their presence of mind, 58/26.

### *aptus*<sup>26</sup> — fitting (used by Cicero synonymously with *decorum*)

**Conspicuously missing from the work.**

<sup>26</sup> For the distinctively Roman character of the virtue of *aptus*, see *De Oratore* 2.17 and 18: “[O]f all the words in the Latin language, none has so wide a signification as this word”; regarding its opposite (*ineptum*, from *in plus aptus*), “the Greeks have not even bestowed a name upon the fault in question.” *Aptus* and *decorum* are generally used interchangeably by Cicero; only once is either used in *Utopia*.

**decorum** — decorum: TM: philosophy of the statesman knows its stage, itself to the play at hand, and performs its role neatly and with decorum, 98/13.

**ineptus** — unfit, foolish: RH: town-bred craftsmen not afraid of idle attendants on gentlemen, except those of the former whose build of body is unfitted for strength and bravery, 64/20; Utopians not acquainted with dice and other foolish games, 128/16; Utopians reckon dicers among those who indulge senseless delights, 170/6; Utopian custom of choosing mates seems very foolish to RH and his companions, 186/34; RH and companions condemn Utopian custom of choosing mates as foolish, 188/5; Utopian armor not unfit for all motions and gestures of the body, 212/27; Utopus thinks it both insolence and folly to demand by violence and threats that all should think to be true what you believe to be true, 220/14.

**ineptiae** — absurdity, foolishness: RH does not see why his speech to the king should seem odd to the point of folly, 100/8; children in U not entrusted to children lest they spend time in childish foolery, 234/5.

**auxilium** — protection given by Roman tribunes<sup>27</sup>

Utopians give help to their friends to defend them and avenge injuries done previously to them, 200/8; Utopians are never compelled to admit foreign auxiliaries into their island, 216/4.

**comitia**<sup>28</sup> — an assembly of the Roman people for legislative or judicial purposes  
or for electing magistrates and priests

Forbidden in U to deliberate matters of common interest outside the senate or public assembly, 124/1; important matters in U laid before the assembly of the syplogrants who, after they inform their groups of families, take counsel together and report their decision to the senate, 124/5.

**dignitas** — dignity

RH: inconsistent with the dignity of a king to exercise authority over beggars, 94/27; Utopus thought that it was below the dignity of human nature to believe that souls perish with the body or that the world is the sport of chance and not governed by divine providence, 220/22; some Utopians think that brute animals have immortal souls not comparable to humans' in dignity, 222/18; RH: [of Utopian priests] not easy for one who is elevated to such dignity for being the very best among the good should fall into corruption and weakness, 228/26; Utopians have few priests to prevent the dignity of the order from being cheapened by communicating the honor to many, 228/33; Utopians think it hard to find many men so good as to be equal to the dignity [of priesthood], 230/2.

**dignus** — worthy, meriting, fitting, deserving: TM: Giles worthy of the highest position, 48/4; TM: RH will do what is worthy of him and his generous and philosophic spirit if he applies his talent and industry to the public interest [*publicis rebus*], 56/9; RH: often happens that the poor [for their behavior, simplicity, and industry] are pre-eminently deserving of the lot of the rich, 104/13; RH: no city in U is more worthy of description than Amaratum, 116/26; RH: agriculture, wool-working, linen-making, masonry, metal-working, and carpentry are the only pursuits which occupy any number worth mentioning, 126/1; RH: the same cunning used in treaties would be worthy of the gallows in private contracts, 198/6.

**forum** — forum, a public place of assembly

<sup>27</sup> See Chaim Wirszbuski's *Libertas* (Cambridge UP, 1968) for the importance of this protection for citizens, 25-27.

<sup>28</sup> The *comitia* of Rome were "for the election of magistrates or the passing of laws" (*Pro Sestio* 109). As Cicero explains in *De Lege Agraria*, the *comitia* are needed because "no one can exercise authority except at the bidding of the people" (2.27). Their elections are the "privilege of a free people" (*Pro Plancio* 11), and it was the *comitia centuriata* that the Roman "ancestors wished to be called and considered most authoritative" (*Post Reditum in Senatu* 27). Only the *comitia* could authorize the death of a citizen or the loss of citizenship (*De Legibus* 3.11, 44).

Polyerite slaves hired in the forum, 76/21; in the middle of each quarter of every city is a forum of all kinds of commodities, 136/27; food markets are next to the fora in U, 138/9 (2x); in U the managers of each hall meet in the forum and get food according to the number of persons in their individual charge, 138/25; no one in U is forbidden from fetching food from the forum to his home, 140/21; statues are set up in the forum in U to stand as a record of noble exploits and to stir others to virtue, 192/26.

**frux** — fruit, produce, result, success, value

RH: nowhere in the world is there are more plentiful supply of grain and cattle than in U, 178/23; RH: [Utopians moved a forest because] it takes less labor to convey grain than timber to a distance by land, 178/30; some Buthrescae transport grain into the cities in carts, 224/27; RH: in famine the rich probably have enough grain in their granaries to prevent death of the poor from starvation and disease, 242/11.

**honos/honor** — office, honor

RH: safety and honor of a king rest on the people's resources rather than his own, 94/10; in U due honor is paid to seniority, and yet all have an equal advantage, 144/5; Utopians pay no honor to costly clothes, 154/1; Utopians pass over Anemolian ambassadors without any deference whatever because of their gold chains, 154/25; Anemolian ambassadors see that an immense quantity of gold not held in honor in U, 156/5; Utopians wonder at and abominate the madness of persons who pay almost divine honors to the rich, 156/34; people who wear fine clothes require the honor as if by right that they would not have ventured to hope for if ill-clad, 166/31; RH: stupid to think so much of empty and unprofitable honors, 168/1; nowhere is medicine held in greater honor than in U, 182/10; Utopians offer honors to invite men to virtue, 192/25; honor is paid to officials willingly and is not exacted from the reluctant, 194/3; Utopia's neighbors obtain officials from Utopians and, when their office expires, they are escorted home with honor and praise, 196/3; most Utopians give divine honors to single supreme being, 216/17; disbeliever in the immortality of the soul is tendered no honor, 222/4; Buthrescae held in honor for putting themselves in the position of slaves, 226/1; in U most honor given to office of priest, 228/19; RH: Because Utopian priests have no power except the influence of honor, they can do no harm to the state even though exempt from judgment by any public tribunal and regardless of "however guilty" they may be, 228/29; few priests U prevents the office from being cheapened by communicating the honor to many, 230/1.

**horrea** — public granaries

In U the products of each family are conveyed to designated market buildings, 136/28; Utopians feel secure that they will lack nothing for private use as long as the public granaries are well filled, 238/8; RH: in famine the rich probably have enough grain in their granaries to prevent death of the poor from starvation and disease, 242/11.

**libertas** — freedom, liberty<sup>29</sup>

Reward for an informer in Polyerite system is freedom for a slave, 78/6; RH: every year a number of Polyerite slaves are granted their freedom, merited by their submissive behavior, 78/30; RH: councilor tells French king that his safeguard lies in the fact that the people do not grow insolent with wealth and freedom, 94/5; Utopians think as much time as possible should be devoted to the freedom and culture of the mind, 134/19; Utopian nurses let the infants cheer themselves, removed from their wrappings, with freedom and play by the fire in their own dining hall, 142/6; elders provoke the young in conversation to

<sup>29</sup>For the importance of *libertas* for the Romans, see Ch. Wirszubski's *Libertas as a Political Idea at Rome during the Late Republic and Early Principate* (Cambridge UP, 1968) where he explains that a "Roman's *libertas* and his *ciuitas* both denote the same thing" (3) and that *libertas* "denotes the status of a 'liber', i.e., a person who is not a slave" (1). Cicero and Sallust maintain that Roman *libertas* began with the expulsion of the kings and with the political institution of the republic (*Pro Flacco* 25, *Catiline* 7.2-3). Neither of these authors does Raphael give to the Utopians (*CW* 4, 180-82). Cicero argued: "Peace is tranquil liberty, servitude the last of all evils, one to be repelled, not only by war but even by death" (*Philippic* 2.113; compare with *De Officiis* 1.68).

test each one's ability and character in the freedom of a feast, 144/13; penance [of adulterer] and dutiful assiduity [of his mate] sometimes move the compassion of the *princeps* and win back their freedom, 190/14; Utopians conjecture freedom, like all other good things, to be increased after death rather than diminished in all good men, 224/6.

**liber** — free: RH: Polylerites are free and autonomous in their laws (except for tribute to Persian padishah [*regi*]), 74/23; Polylerites convicted of theft are freely set to public works, 76/8; Polylerites employ slaves at a lower wage than for free labor, 76/21; RH: it is no less dangerous for a free man to receive a penny for any reason from a condemned person than for slaves to touch weapons [in Polylerite system], 76/30; punishment for connivance with a slave in Polylerite system is slavery for a free man, 78/5; reward for an informer in Polylerite system is money for a free man, 78/6; RH: he who cannot reform the lives of citizens without depriving them of the good things of life does not know how to rule free men, 96/3; Utopians commonly devote time free from work to intellectual pursuits, 128/2; some Utopians found fault with Anemolians' chains because they were so loose that a slave could throw them off and be free to escape, 156/2; large part of Utopians devote free hours to learning, 158/10; Utopians deem hunting unworthy of free men, 170/20; Utopians neighbors are free and independent since many of them were long ago delivered from tyranny by the Utopians, 196/1; RH: people are led to think that the justice of kings is far freer than ordinary justice, so that everything is permissible to it, 198/13; Utopus left each one free to choose what he should believe, 220/21; no image of the gods in Utopians' temples so the individual may be free to conceive of God in any form he pleases, 232/11.

**libere** — freely: RH dared speak his opinions freely at the Cardinal's table, 60/13.

**maiestas** — majesty

RH: French councilor recommends the propitiation of the offended majesty of the emperor with gold as an acceptable offering, 88/5; RH: by ill usage, plunder, and confiscation king retains the name of authority but loses its majesty, 94/26; RH: reason inflames men to a love and veneration of the divine majesty, 162/23; RH: the majesty of treaties is holy and inviolable in Europe, 196/22; each Utopian professes that whatever that is which he regards as supreme is that very same nature to whose unique power and majesty the sum of all things is attributed by the common consent of all nations, 216/24; Utopian priests have so real a majesty [among all nations] that they have saved their own citizens from the enemy as often as they have protected the enemy from their own men, 230/15; by "Mithras" the Utopians agree to represent the one nature of the divine majesty, 232/14; Utopian prays that he might die a very hard death and soon as long as it be without offense to His Majesty, 236/26; TM: the common life and subsistence of the Utopians, without the exchange of money, overthrows all the nobility, magnificence, splendor, and majesty which are, in the estimation of the common people, the true glories and ornaments of the commonwealth [*Reipublicae*], 244/20.

**maiestas rei publicae** — majesty of the republic ("that which comprises the dignity and grandeur of the state"<sup>30</sup>): Although this phrase does not appear, the concept would be in the mind of any Renaissance humanist when TM says: common life without any exchange of money overthrows all the nobility, magnificence, splendor, and maiestas, which are, in the estimation of the common people, the true glory and ornaments of the commonwealth, 244/20.

**munus** — office, gift

Cardinal interrupts lawyer and reserves his right (of responding) till the next day, 70/26; RH: public offices should not be solicited with gifts, nor be put up for sale, nor require lavish personal expenditures, 104/27; bribes incite men to commit every kind of crime, 204/13; disbeliever in the immortality of the

<sup>30</sup> *Ad Herennium* 4.35: "*Maiestas rei publicae est in qua continetur dignitas et amplitudo ciuitatis.*" A permanent court was established in 103 B.C. to deal with the treasonous crime established in the Appuleian Law, of diminishing the dignity of the Roman people—called "*maiestas populi Romani minuta.*" See Hugh Last, *Cambridge Ancient History* 9.160-1, Cicero's *De Oratore* 2.107-9, 2.164, 3.8.

soul entrusted with no office in U, 222/5; RH: ungrateful commonwealth lavishes great rewards on so-called gentlefolk, 240/8.

**officium** — duty

RH thinks he has already performed his duty to his relatives and friends, 54/21; TM: duty of RH and of every good man is not to shun the courts of kings, 86/10; RH: duty of shepherd is to feed his sheep rather than himself, 94/15; 94/23; in U preparing and arranging feast is women's duty, 140/28; women in U offer themselves freely to do the duty of nurse when necessary since everybody praises this kind of pity and the child looks on his nurse as his natural mother, 142/10; RH: to take something from yourself and to give it to others is a duty of humanity, 164/28; Utopians do not relax in the least their duty toward a person who has been persuaded to be put to sleep, 186/18; Utopians believe laws are promulgated to remind every man of his duty, 194/25; some religious orders think that it is only by busyness and by all good offices that they are determined to merit the happiness coming after death, 224/24; wives confess and ask pardon of their husbands before they celebrate Final-Feasts either for committing some fault or by performing some duty carelessly, 232/24; meaning of the priests' clothes reminds the Utopians of God's benefits toward them and, in turn, of their piety toward God and their duty toward one another, 234/26.

**praesidium** — bodyguard

RH: wiseacres think that the public safety depends on having in readiness and strong and reliable garrison, 64/4; RH: poverty of the people is not the safeguard of peace, 94/17; place with a natural defense needs only a single garrison, 110/20 (marginal gloss); garrison occupies a tower built in the center of the bay of U, 110/20; virtue and vice game in U exhibits by what safeguards the virtues check the power of the vices, 128/25; Utopians' treasure is their bulwark in extreme peril or in sudden emergency, 148/31.

**prouocatio** — a principal right of the individual Roman citizens, to call out for a trial before execution

**prouoco** — to call forth; to challenge a decision esp. by legal proceedings; to appeal to a higher authority: The elders deliberately challenge/provoke the young men that they may test each one's ability and character in the freedom of a feast, 144/12.

**quaestio** — public judicial investigation; the court, the judges:

RH: opposite opinions of judges calls the truth into investigation, 92/23; active investigation in U: whether a state of stable and tranquil health was not to be counted as a pleasure, 174/5.

**satelles** — bodyguard

RH: men exempt their henchmen from the obligation of the commandment "Thou shalt not kill", 72/25.

**senatus** — senate

Amarotum the meeting place of the national senate, 116/26; four candidates for *princeps* commended to the senate by the people of each quarter of the city, 122/18; two syphogrants admitted into the senate each day, 122/27; no decree ratified unless it has been discussed in the senate for three days before its passing, 122/30; forbidden in U to deliberate matters of common interest outside the senate or public assembly, 124/1; important matters in U laid before the assembly of the syphogrants who, after they inform their groups of families, take counsel together and report their decision to the senate, 124/7; in U senate debates nothing on the same day it is proposed lest someone give more thought to defending his own decree than supporting the good of the commonwealth [*reipublicae*], but they put it off until the next meeting of the senate, 124/9-11 (2x); redistribution of commodities decided in the senate of Amaurotum, 146/25; RH: foolish imagination of common folk believes that the *princeps* and the senate would lock up gold and silver to deceive the people, 150/28; in U scholars learn their tasks fired by free will and ordered by decree of senate, 180/15; suicide without the approval of the priests and senate

condemned, 186/20; party offended by adultery permitted by the senate to take another mate, 188/27; separation without the senate's consent by couples with incompatible dispositions, 190/3; in U punishment for crime assigned by senate, 190/18; unusually bad people [*improbe malos*] who are unrepentant are seized and punished by the senate for their impiety, 228/8.

**suffragium populi** — vote of the people in an assembly (for a candidate, resolution, etc)

Sometimes slavery in U lightened or remitted by the the votes of the people, 192/1; priests in U elected by votes by the people [*a populo...suffragiis*] secretly to avoid party spirit, 226/26.

**tribunalis** — of the court

RH: councilor of French king tells him to bind the judges to himself and report his decisions as the court's, 92/25.