

NOTES AND COMMENTARY ON *UTOPIA* (CTMS PUBLISHERS, 2023)

Abbreviations

Classical Greek and Latin authors: all references are to the Loeb editions.

- AG* *Allen & Greenough's New Latin Grammar*, eds. J.B. Greenough, G.L. Kittredge, A.A. Howard, Benj. L. O'Ooge (New York and Athens: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1931/ 2002)
- AP* *Anthologia Palatina*, see Paton.
- Baker-Smith *Utopia*, trans. Dominic Baker-Smith, Penguin Books, 2012
- Cicero All references are to the Loeb editions.
- CW* *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, 15 volumes, Yale University Press, 1963–97
- CWE* *The Collected Works of Erasmus*, 86 volumes, Toronto University Press, 1974 –
- Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince*, trans. and ed. Lisa Jardine, Cambridge UP, 1997.
- EWTM* *The Essential Works of Thomas More*, Yale University Press, 2020
- L & S* *Harper's Latin Dictionary*, eds. Charlton Lewis & Charles Short, Harpers, 1879
- Logan/Adams *Utopia*, ed. George M Logan, trans. Robert M. Adams, Cambridge University Press, 2016
- LSJ* Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th Ed., rev. by Sir Henry Stuart Jones (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996)
- Livy All references are to the Loeb editions.
- Lupton *Utopia of Sir Thomas More*, trans. J. H. Lupton, Clarendon Press, 1895
- Miller *Utopia*, trans. Clarence H. Miller, Yale University Press, 2001
- OCD* *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, eds. S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth & E. Eidinow, Clarendon Press, 2012
- OED* *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd. ed., eds. John Simpson & Edmund Weiner, Clarendon Press, 1989
- OLD* *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. P. G. W. Glare, Clarendon Press, 1982
- Pl.* *Planudean Anthology*, Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1503
- Paton *The Greek Anthology*, 5 vols., ed. and trans. W. R. Paton, Loeb Classical Library, 1917-39
- TMSB* *A Thomas More Source Book*, Catholic University of America Press, 2004

ii.1–8, iii.1–8 *DE OPTIMO REIPUBLICAE STATU DEQUE, nova insula UTOPIA libellus vere aureus nec minus salutaris quam festivus, clarissimi disertissimique viri THOMAE MORI inclutae civitatis Londinensis civis et Vicecomitis*: This is the full Latin title of More's book, though it is usually shortened to *Utopia*. See Epigram 198 entitled "Quis Optimus Reipublicae Status" (p. 113), which was published with the 1518 *Utopia*.

iii.2 COMMONWEALTH (REIPUBLICAE): Translators often render the first part of More's title as the "best state of a *commonwealth*" because commonwealth is a reasonably good Anglo-Saxon equivalent of the Latin *res publica*, with "common" (*publica*) and "wealth" (*res*: "thing, possession"). Cicero translated the Greek title of Plato's *Politeia* as *De re publica*. In *Quintum fratrem* 3.5.1 Cicero explains that his *De re publica* deals with *de optimo statu civitatis et de optimo cive* ("the ideal constitution and the ideal citizen"). ***DE OPTIMO REIPUBLICAE STATU DEQUE, nova insula UTOPIA libellus vere aureus nec minus salutaris quam festivus, clarissimi disertissimique viri THOMAE MORI inclutae civitatis Londinensis civis et Vicecomitis***

iii.3 Utopia: The word "utopia" means "no-place," from the Greek *ou-*, "not," and *topos*, place. If one hears the Greek *eu* in the playful "utopia," on the other hand, the word could also suggest "good place." Which is it? See the poem on page 7 and consider that More's original title was *Nusquama* ("no place") as indicated, for example, in More's letter to Erasmus, 31 October <1516> (*EWTM* 278.46).

iii.4 golden: a surprising adjective, since the Utopians will claim later that gold has little value

iii.5 beneficial ... entertaining: With a variety of words, More affirms this classic description of good literature (famous from Horace's *Art of Poetry* (333ff: *delectare/prodesse*) not only here, but elsewhere in *Utopia* (see 108.8) and

also in his prefatory letter to his Lucian translations (*voluptas/utilitas*, *CW* 3.1: 3.5–6, *EWTM* 20.7–8) and in the Letter to Brixius (*melliti numeri/opiniones bonae*, *CW* 3.2: 644.6–7), *EWTM* 468.63–65.

iii.8 sheriff (*vicecomitis*): Although Thomas More was actually an undersheriff (*subvicecomes*), *vicecomitis* is the common term for sheriff. Here and at 18.6, 48.5, and 102.28 More identifies himself by his special legal and civic role as well as his general role as “citizen,” a key term later in *Utopia*. For the complexities of the word *vicecomitis* and its relationship to *comes*, *comites*, and *comitia*, see G. B. Wegemer, *Young Thomas More and the Arts of Liberty* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), pages 141n12 and 187. See John of Salisbury’s commentary in Letter 269 (*The Letters of John of Salisbury*, v. 2, Clarendon Press, 1979) as well as notes below to 14.3, 18.11, 20.17, 53.6, 94.34.

2.1 John Froben: He (ca. 1460–1527) was a leading publisher of this time. See Erasmus’s praise of him in his November 1527 Letter 1900 to Jan of Heemstede, *CWE* 13: 420–426.

2.2 fellow father (*compatri*): Since Erasmus was the godfather of John Erasmus, Froben’s son, he can refer to him as a “fellow father.” This term, *compater*, could apparently be used either of the godfather or, by the godfather, of the natural father, as here. It could thus refer to a mutual relationship; so Froben referred to Erasmus as his *compater* in a letter of June 17, 1515.

2.4 my judgment: See in the Letter to von Hutten Erasmus’s assessment of *Utopia* at *EWTM* 1374.4–11; see note at 10.29.

2.18 Progymnasmata: “Preparatory Exercises” – i.e., Epigrams 1–18 of More’s 260 epigrams that were published with the 1518 *Utopia*

3.1 Budé ... Lupset: William Budé (ca. 1468–1540) was the leading humanist in France; Thomas Lupset (1498–1530) was an Englishman who studied in Paris from 1517–1519. For a helpful rhetorical analysis of Budé’s letter, see Andrea Frank, “Humanist Guillaume Budé’s Artful Rhetoric: Responding in Kind to *Utopia*,” *Moreana* no. 54.2 (December 2017): 204–24.

3.31 gadfly (*oestro*): For some of the most important classical references, see Plato, *Republic* 577e; Euripedes, *Heracles* 862, *Hippolytus* 1300, *Aulis* 548, *Bacchae* 665, *Orestes* 791, and *Iphigenia in Tauris* 1456.

4.11 knotted (*pactilis*): The word *pactilis* is used of “plaited” or “knotted” cords, but he may be playfully hinting at the use of *pactum* to refer to contracts. See the reference to *pactiles ... nexus et contractiles nodos* below (note to 5.1) with its likely reference to *pacta* (“compacts”) and *contractus* (“contracts”).

4.11–12 experts ... law (*iurisque ... consulti*): Budé expands the often used phrase *iuris consulti*, “experts in law,” with playful adjectives to render it “experts in debatable, perverted, inverted law.”

4.16 commonly held view (*sensus communis*): This is not the *sensus communis* of Thomas Aquinas, a “common sense,” “central sense,” or “mental association” which unites the various sense organs, but the “social tact” or “common sense” seen in Seneca’s *De beneficiis* 1.12.3 and *Epistulae morales* 105.4. “Tact” is “diplomacy,” that sensitivity to time, setting, occasion, and audience allowing a person to do and say what is “apt” or “fitting”; see notes to 40.22, 41.8, 70.31 and pages 34.33 vs. 41.15–16.

4.20 right: The word “right” here and in the next sentence (*ius*) could also be translated “law,” and suggests the written code of law which Budé has already suggested is, in its nature and especially its interpretation, often corrupt.

4.26 customs (*ritus*): See notes to 5.25, 6.27.

5.1 pinched-like knots: Or “compact obligations and contractual knots.” Both words may well be either coinages or novel reuses of preexisting, but rare, words – so the double meaning is likely intentional. See above (note to 4.11) for the reference to *pactilis iuris*, at once “knotted law” and, perhaps, “contractual law.”

5.23 Udepotia: Whereas *Outopia/Utopia* means “Nowhereness” (rendered by More himself *Nusquama*, which also seems to be an abstract noun and has the same translation), *Oudepotia/Udepotia* would mean “Neverness.”

5.25 Christian practices: As elsewhere in the letter, context suggest “practices,” though *ritus* often has religious undertones and suggests “rites.” Together with the adjective *Christianos*, with its own strong religious associations, Budé seems to suggest the meaning of “rites” as well.

5.28 civility (*civilitas*): Means both the science of politics (Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 2.15.25, 2.17.14) and civility or “unassumingness.” Budé seems to imply politics should ideally presuppose civility.

5.30 “overthrowings” (*everricula*): The reading in *CW* 4. It should be noted that this word is not extant, which may well explain his apology (“if I may say so”). But it is possible the intended word is *everriculum*, a fisherman’s net designed to sweep up (*everrere*) everything. In fact, Cicero uses phrasing reminiscent of Budé in *De natura deorum* 3.74: “hence that net to catch wrong-doing of all sorts, the ‘action for malicious fraud’ promulgated by our friend Gaius Aquillius, a charge of fraud that Aquillius likewise holds to be proved when a man has pretended to do one thing and has done another” (*inde everriculum malitiarum omnium iudicium de dolo malo, quod C. Aquillius familiaris noster protulit, quem dolum idem Aquillius tum teneri putat cum aliud sit simulatum aliud actum*).

6.5 best and greatest (*optimus maximus*): Budé adopts the epithet *Optimus Maximus* used in Classical Latin for Jupiter, much as he has repurposed terms such as *superi* (5.32: “gods”) and *adversarius Stygius* (5.35–36: “Stygian foe”) for aspects of life known only through Christian revelation.

6.18 Hagnopolis: “Holy City”

6.27 practices (*ritus*): See notes to 4.26, 5.25.

6.29 embellished (*illustravit*): “embellished” or “made clear”

6.36 had ... removed: to prevent fruit from being produced

6.37–7.3 since ... wise: This italicized text was originally given in Greek.

7.12 your: He uses the plural form here, and so he seems to be saying that Linacre is no longer merely a possession of the British, but part of a wider world of letters.

7.23 customary habits: The word *translatitios* translated here as “customary,” that is, “traditional” and “passed down” from generation to generation, can also mean “transferred,” that is, moved “from place to place.” See the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources s.v. translaticius*.

7.26 Unlike Giles’ poem on page 9, this is written in a discernible Latin meter, iambic trimeter. It is typically used in comic poetry or in poetry with a harsh and critical tone, as in Horace, *Epodes* 16. Miller (141) and Baker-Smith (133) say that Thomas More “probably” wrote this poem.

7.27 Anemolius: For the meaning of *Anemolius* as “windy,” see note to 64.20.

9 As Peter Giles states at 11.5–6, he contributes this alphabet and poem.

10.1 Peter Giles: He (*ca.* 1486–1533) was a humanist scholar and city official in Antwerp as well as an active collaborator in *Utopia*’s design and publication as indicated at 11.4–7. See 19.8–20, and More’s two letters to Giles on pages 13–16 and 107-8.

10.7 more than Platonic (*insulam ... ut plusquam Platoniam*): translated by others as “far excelling Plato’s commonwealth” (Robynson and Lupton), “being superior to Plato’s *Republic*” (Richards; Surtz/*CW* 4: “republic”), “going beyond Plato’s *Republic*” (Logan and Adams), and “surpassing Plato’s *Republic*” (Baker-Smith). The string

of feminine singular accusatives (mostly participles) that are in agreement with *insulam – cognitam ... dignam ... expressam ... depictam ... sub oculis subiectam* – give the impression that the island of Utopia is what is "more than Platonic," i.e., "a more than Platonic island," rather than something "more than Plato's Republic," making a comparison with the book itself. The word "commonwealth" is used instead of repeating "island" because the "best state of a commonwealth" is the official, first appearing title; "commonwealth" also provides the accompanying participles with a concrete reference.

10.29 sources (*fontes*): See note to 23.1 for another use. That *Utopia* is designed for this very purpose – to reveal these *fontes* of human action, is affirmed below at 106.7, 14 and here by Peter Giles. Erasmus wrote the same to William Cop: "As for More's *Utopia*, if you have not yet read it, be sure to ask for it when you want to be mused, or more truly, if you wish to see the very wellsprings [*fontes*] of all troubles in a commonwealth [*reipublicae mala*]" (*CWE* 4: 255.21–22; *EE* 537.17–18, 24 February 1517). Erasmus gave a similar assessment in his Letter to Ulrich von Hutten: "*Utopia* he published with the purpose of showing the reasons for the shortcomings of a commonwealth in particular" [*Utopiam hoc consilio aedidit, ut indicaret quibus rebus fiat ut minus commode habeant respublicae*] (*CWE* 7: 23.279–81; *EE* 999.256–58, 23 July 1519; *EWTM* 1374.4–6).

11.2 talent (*ingenio*): For the importance of *ingenio*, see notes to 13.18, 14.12, 15.17, 15.30, 19.3, 21.6

11.17 Literally "elevation of the pole," which involved calculation of the height of celestial bodies. On this type of celestial navigation, *sublatio poli*, see, for example, Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblus* 2.6 (*to tou polou exarma*) and Geminus 6.24.

13.1 PREFACE: The first edition of *Utopia* entitled this letter "PREFATIO / *In opus de optimo republicae statu*"; the 1518 edition pictured here has this formal title page with an elaborate border, and "Prefatio" appears at the top of the following pages. On the letter as a whole, see Elizabeth McCutcheon, *My Dear Peter: The Ars Poetica and Hermeneutics for More's Utopia* (*Moreanum*, 1983).

13.6 invention (*inventio*): the first part of rhetoric, "finding" what to say

13.7 disposition (*dispositio*): the second part of rhetoric, the order in which to say things

13.9 style (*eloquendo* (i.e., *eloquentia*)): the third part of rhetoric, the choice of single words and figures of ornament

13.9 conversation (*sermo*): "ordinary speech" as opposed to *oratio*, "elaborate or artificial speech"

13.12 careless simplicity (*neglectam simplicitatem*): literally "neglected simplicity"

13.16 nothing: Morus repeats "nothing"; the Latin *nihil* occurs eight times in this context, with five other negatives.

13.17 devising / internal arrangement: *excogitation* / *oeconomia*: These are variations for "invention" and "disposition" explained as above; *oeconomia* is translated as "internal arrangement" to bring out the original meaning of "economy."

13.18 no little time and study: Literally, "not nothing of time or of study" – an instance of litotes, that rhetorical figure by which one affirms something by means of negating its contrary, e.g. saying something is "not bad" to mean it is good. See Elizabeth McCutcheon, "More's Use of the Litotes in *Utopia*," *Moreana* nos. 31–32 (Nov. 1971): 107–121.

13.18 no mean ... learning (*ingenio neque infimo neque ... indocto*): litotes again. On *ingenium* and *doctrina* see also notes to 14.12 and 19.3.

13.19 elegantly (*diserte*): Another variant used to indicate elegance of style, the third aspect of rhetoric (see note to 13.9).

13.23 it was really no trouble (*nihil erat negotii*): Since the word for “business” or “trouble” is already a negative, through litotes More describes the *Utopia* as the fruit of *otium*, or “non-business.” On the theme of *negotium* vs. *otium*, see Quentin Skinner’s “Sir Thomas More’s *Utopia* and the Language of Renaissance Humanism” in Anthony Pagden, ed., *The Language of Political Theory in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge UP, 1987), pp. 126–131; for Augustine on *negotium*, *otium*, see Wegemer, *Thomas More on Statesmanship* (CUA P, 1996), pp. 131–33. See notes 23.8, 25.8, 26.5, 27.27, 28.27, 44.37, 62.6–7.

13.26 duty (*officia*): The study of “duties” is the “most fruitful” part of philosophy according to Cicero (*De officiis* 3.5).

13.28 letters: The word *litterae*, in the sense of “learning” or “scholarship,” includes fields as divergent as arithmetic and dialectic. See More’s description of the meaning of *litteratus* in the Letter to Dorp, *EWTM* 393.59–60 or *CW* 15: 12.20–21.

13.29–30 I must ... servants: This sentence distinguishes several types of conversation or *sermo*: *fabulare*, *garrire*, *colloqui*.

13.32 pleasing (*iucundissimum*): The serious work of making life pleasant *for others* will be highlighted in Utopian moral philosophy (see 68.7–8, 27–28 and note at 69.2–7); *laetus* and *hilaris* (translated as “cheer” at 15.19, 68.28, 93.9.) are other adjectives used for this pursuit. See also note to 19.16 on *lepos*.

14.3 companionship (*comitate*): The caution against corrupting “companions” (*comites*) by “companionship” (*comitas*) introduces a moral qualification. More identifies himself as a *vicecomites* on the title page and on pages 18.6 and 48.5. See notes to iii.8, 18.11, 20.17, 53.6, 94.34.

14.3 indulgence (*indulgentia*): Here and later in this letter at 15.19, “indulgence” is contrasted unfavorably with seriousness and discipline; in *Utopia* 2, Raphael’s uses of the word are positive at 63.24 and 73.22 (both regarding nature’s indulgence).

14.12 inborn talent (*ingenio*): Here and above at 13.18, attention is drawn to *ingenium* (inborn talent) in contrast to the work of culture, learning and discipline (*doctus* and *doctrina*). There is an inborn talent, but it must be brought to perfection by assiduous labor and study. The same contrast appears in *Utopia* at 22.36 (*ingenium / industria*) and at 24.13 (*natura / discendo atque exercendo*).

14.14 John Clement: Born in 1500, John Clement was educated as one of the first students in John Colet’s school of humanistic studies, St. Paul’s, and then Oxford. He served as a tutor in More’s household and in 1526 married Margaret Giggs, a scholar and one of More’s adopted daughters. Clement became a Greek professor at Oxford, studied medicine, and became President of the Royal College of Physicians; eventually he fled to the continent where he died in 1572.

14.26 rather ... falsely: This subtle distinction is also a playful reminder of Morus’s stated purpose of being concerned with “truth alone” – as a faithful reporter of what he (along with Peter Giles and John Clement) heard Raphael saying.

14.28–33 And yet ... located: In the first part of the letter, Morus gives an apology for the existence of the book as a whole (and its lateness in coming). This second part is concerned with truth and gives “doubts,” which Morus asks Peter Giles to solve through recourse to Raphael. The first doubt (how long the bridge is) is comically less important than the second (where *Utopia* is really located) since the second leads to the question of the Christianization of the Utopians.

15.3 bishop ... Utopians: At 91.5–7, Raphael will mention that the Utopians were in need of their own bishop for the ordination of Catholic priests.

15.3 ambition (*ambitus*): literally, a canvassing for office. Already in late antiquity this Roman political term (see Cicero, *Pro Sulla* 11) was applied to the Christian concept of “holy ambition.”

15.5 honor (*honoris*): The word refers either to honor, more generally, or to a public office, such as the office (*antistitium*) of bishop mentioned in line 15.4 above.

15.15 delightful novelty of his account (*gratiam ... novitatis historiae suae*): *Gratia* is the charm of originality, which More artfully ascribes to Raphael.

15.16 And yet, ... : The third and concluding part of the letter begins here. See Elizabeth McCutcheon’s *My Dear Peter*, p. 20.

15.17 dispositions (*ingenia*): Here and at 15.30 the word indicates inborn disposition and talents. See note to 15.30.

15.21 disdain (*fastidientibus*): See 60.38, 70.35, 94.7, where *fastidium* is the “displeasure” or “tedium” that is particularly to be avoided in *Utopia*.

15.21 ungrateful (*ingratis*): Ingratitude, mentioned twice in this sentence and again at 15.35, reflects the preoccupation with gratitude and ingratitude in More’s earlier work *The Life of Pico*. More frequently uses *gratia* / *gratus* or *ingratus* elsewhere in this letter and in the first pages of the *Utopia* (15.38, 16.2, 19.8, 20.21).

15.27 snub-nosed (*simi*): Since the nose is the faculty of quick smell, the “snub-nosed” are those without an appreciation of satire or wit.

15.27 just as ... water: Such “fear” is caused, allegedly, by the impaired swallowing ability of those with rabies.

15.30 judge the talents of writers (*de scriptorum iudicant ingeniiis*): Here *ingenium* has the meaning of “literary talent.”

15.33 “out of rage”: The original Latin text has Greek words here: *ἐξὸ βέλους*, literally “outside the shot”; see Erasmus, *Adages* 293 (CWE 31: 311).

15.34 an honest man’s hair (*pilus boni viri*): A metaphor taken from wrestling. As McCutcheon points out (*My Dear Peter*, p. 62), More is defining the right kind of reader of *Utopia*.

16.6 wise too late: Erasmus, *Adages* 28 (CWE 31: 76–77).

16.8 your ... wife: More’s inclusion of Peter Giles’ wife in his letter strikes a note of friendship in harmony with his mention of his own family affairs earlier in the letter.

18.1 Conversation: For Cicero’s classic rules of propriety for *sermo*, see *De officiis* 1.132–35. See notes at 13.9 and 34.36.

18.7 invincible: Erasmus comments on the absurdity of the title “invincible” in *Education of a Christian Prince* (CUP, 1997), 59 or *CWE* 27: 249. How is one “most invincible”?

18.7-8: Henry ... adorned ... ruler (*principis artibus ornatissimus*): See the juxtaposition of Epigrams 243 and 244. Even in these early years, More was aware of Henry’s thirst for imperial conquest and military glory. See also Epigram 19 in *CW* 3.2, especially the reference to Achilles on line 68. To say in this opening sentence that Henry VIII is “adorned” with all the skills (*artibus*) needed for an outstanding *princeps* is quite different from saying that he has and exercises the virtues needed to be an outstanding ruler.

18.8 ruler: The word used is *princeps*, which is translated in this edition as “ruler” unless it clearly refers to an actual king, as is the case in the next paragraph with reference to the Emperor Charles. Latin *rex* will be translated

as “king.” Consider the different ways *princeps* is used in these opening paragraphs. The term has a long history, hence the significance of its use to describe the leader of each Utopian city. See David Baker’s “First Among Equals: The Utopian *Princeps*,” *Moreana* nos. 115–16 (Dec. 1993): 33–45. See below, note to 22.38.

18.9 business ... dispute: This dispute is over important trade agreements, especially regarding the wool trade, between the Netherlands and England. Regarding such agreements, see notes to 81.34, 89.15 and Epigram 32.3–4, and consider the contrast with the Utopians’ making no treaties at p. 81 (although they “observe religiously” truces made with enemies at p. 89).

18.10 Charles, Prince of Castile: In 1515, Charles V was Prince of Castile and Duke of Burgundy; in 1519 he became the Holy Roman Emperor.

18.11 orator (*oratore*): Consider Cicero’s *De oratore* and *Orator* in assessing the significance of this word choice in identifying himself. See also Budé’s comments at 6.30–33 and Giles’ similar remarks at 10.12, 22–25, 30–32.

18.11 companion and colleague (*comitem et collegam*): More uses these same Latin terms on his epitaph (*EWTM* 372.20–21); for other uses of *comes*, see notes at iii.8, 14.3, 20.17, 53.6, 94.34.

18.12 Cuthbert Tunstall: A long-time friend of More, Tunstall (1474–1559) later becomes bishop of London, then of Durham.

18.14 trust (*fides*): Unless noted, this term will be translated “trust” or “trustworthiness.” This term recurs frequently in *Utopia*, as it does in Cicero, who claims that *fides* is the bond necessary for justice. See *De officiis* 1.15, 23, 82, et al.

18.17 to show ... a lamp: Erasmus, *Adages* 1406–7 (*CWE* 33: 245)

18.20 Georges de Themsecke: Themsecke (? – ca. 1536) was a doctor of laws, an experienced diplomat, and a member of Charles V’s Grand Council in Mechlin.

19.3 long ... negotiations: See note to 13.18 for the same characteristics of natural talent (*ingenium*), learning (*ars, doctrina*), and practice (here, *assiduus usus rerum*, is translated as “long experience in negotiations”; at 23.3–4 below, *usus rerum* and *peritia rerum* are translated as “practical experience”). Themsecke’s experience is specific and has been seen in action (unlike Raphael’s).

19.8 gratifying (*gratior*): See note to 15.21 for the many uses of *gratus* and *ingratus* in Morus’ introductory letter. See also the note at 69.6 for the related concept of Roman *caritas*.

19.8–20 While ... sweet conversation: This paragraph sketches a model citizen (*optimus civis*) having the important qualities of *honestas* and *fides* of Cicero’s “leading citizen” as well as the qualities urged by Christ: wise as the serpent, innocent as the dove. See note at 19.15–16 and see page 109.

19.11–15 For he ... friendship: Twice in this sentence our attention is drawn to friendship; see also 2.5–7; 7.8, 10, 15; 18.14; 19.12, 15; 107.8.

19.15–16 in no one ... simplicity: This phrase, *nulli simplicitas inest prudentior*, alludes to Mt 10:16: “be prudent as serpents and innocent as doves” [*estote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes et simplices sicut columbae*]. A similar allusion occurs in the Latin version of *The History of King Richard III*, in the narrator’s comment that King Henry VI was more innocent than prudent (*CW* 15: 320). See note to 68.37–38 and the illustration on page 109.

19.16 charming (*lepidus*): The conversations of Socrates and Lucian were famously marked by *lepos* (i.e., “charm, wit”). See ahead for Lucian at 75.22 and to More’s earlier remarks saying the same at *CW* 3.1: 2.18 and 4.12 or *EWTM* 20.26 and 20.62. Cicero says Socrates is the best model for conversation, marked as it was by *lepos* (*De*

officiis 1.134; see also *De republica* 1.16). In *De oratore*, Cicero records that the *humanitas* of Crassus was shown in his *lepos* (1.27, also 1.159, 2.220). Morus draws attention to this quality of *lepos* at 35.9, 40.30, 108.16.

19.21 divine ... temple: As he does in *Richard III*, More deliberately uses a classical vocabulary, even when Christian terminology is expected. Here, instead of attending “Mass” (*missa*) at a “church” (*ecclesia*), he attends a “divine service” (*res divina*) at the *templum divae Mariae*. Consider the invocation “by Hercules” used at 33.32, 40.9, 70.18.

19.23 sacred ritual ... lodging: Compare this setting with that of Plato’s *Republic*: Socrates is coming back to Athens from the port at Piraeus, having attended the festival for a new goddess.

19.34 account (*historiam*): The word *historia* has important generic implications; see note to 44.8. The Greek word originally meant “inquiry, research, disciplined or scientific knowing,” including natural science (as in Pliny the Elder’s *Naturalis Historia*) as well as a researched, narrative account of human and political actions (history in the familiar modern sense). It was already used by Herodotus in the latter sense. Another meaning is just a simple narrative or story (Ovid *Amores* 2.4.44 and Aulus Gellius 1.8), and is in fact the origin of the English word *story*. Here the meaning is the first, original meaning of “scientific or philosophical account.”

20.1 Palinurus is the faithful and skilled helmsman who dies in service to Aeneas (Virgil, *Aeneid* 5.1090–1141.)

20.2 Raphael means “God heals” or “God’s healer,” from the Hebrew *rapha El*.

20.3 Hythloday means “skilled in idle talk,” from Greek *hythlos*, “idle talk, nonsense,” and *daios*, “skilled, knowing, cunning.”

20.6 except ... Cicero: For a similar judgment about Cicero and Seneca, see More’s Letter to the University of Oxford, *CW* 15: 143 or *EWTM* 419.60.

20.6–7 He left the inheritance: Pico della Mirandola also gives up his inheritance and public duties to his nephew, as More recounts some years earlier in his *Life of Pico*. See *EWTM* 68–71.

20.8–10 joined ... last one: *The Four Voyages of Amerigo Vespucci* is the popular book that was then “read ... far and wide” (20.9–10), but Vespucci himself made only three voyages; the fourth one detailed in that best-selling book was fabricated, and included activities about naked natives that would appeal to readers, since Vespucci’s accounts of his three voyages were too uninteresting. See F. J. Pohl, *Amerigo Vespucci: Pilot Major*, Columbia University Press, 1944, p. 154.

20.14 “He who ... sky”: Lucan, *Pharsalia* 7.819; Augustine, *City of God* 1.12.

20.14–15 “The road ... places.”: Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 1.104, although Cicero gives *inferos* (“underworld”), not *superos* as given here. Cicero attributes the saying to the philosopher Anaxagoras.

20.15 favorable (*propitius*): Divine favor is also claimed at 98.28 for the Utopians; for the duty of showing favor to yourself, see 68.23–24.

20.17 comrades (*comitibus*): See earlier and later uses of this term – distinct from *amici*. The nature and types of society are referenced throughout. See notes to iii.8, 14.3, 18.11, 53.6, 94.34.

20.18 Taprobane is the name given in the text, the earlier name for Ceylon and now Sri Lanka.

20.18–20 Taprobane ... homeland: This would make Raphael the first to sail around the world, over ten years before Magellan.

20.21 related (*narravi*): There are several Latin words Thomas uses for “telling, saying, narrating, and relating”; in terms of frequency in *Utopia*, the counts are as follows: forms of *dicere* 52, *narrare* 23, *referre* 18, *loqui* 13, *recensere* 8, *colloqui* 6, *fabulare* 1, *confabulare* 1, *garrere* 1.

20.21 obliging: *officiosus*

20.26 conversed (*confabulamur*): See the woodcut on page 18, depicting a characteristic Ciceronian dialogue setting, and see *De oratore* 1.26–29, 2.16–23, where the Roman style of philosophizing is understood as an improvement on the Greek, by being more civilized and tactful. See notes to 4.16, 40.21–22, 41.8, 70.31.

20.27 associates (*socii*): See Book 2’s distinction between nations who are *amici* and those who are *socii* (pp. 83–90).

20.37 not very badly established commonwealths (*non pessime institutas ... respublicas*): See note above at iii.2 on the word *respublica* in the full title of *Utopia*: “republic,” “state,” “commonwealth,” or “political organization” have been used by various translators. Note the *litotes*: “not the worst” instead of “excellently” or “fairly well” established.

20.38–21.1 both sides ... embraces: i.e., the tropics, where the sun starts “turning” back southwards or northwards (Greek *tropos*, “turning”).

21.3 without cultivation (*inculta*): Cultivation and lack of cultivation (what is needed for growth) are other themes developed throughout *Utopia*.

21.6 innate dispositions (*ingenia*): Here the word is applied to animals; contrast notes to 11.2, 13.18, 14.12, 15.17, 15.30, 19.3, 21.6.

21.16 not unskilled (*non imperiti*): *litotes* (see notes to 13.18, 20.37, 30.26–27, 35.5–6, 62.7).

21.17 taught ... use of a compass (*tradito magnetis usu*): The sense of “teaching” or “instruction,” along with the meaning of “handing over,” is implicit in the root *trad-*. Here it describes a kind of advance in “technology training,” one that introduces a convenience but also a danger to these sailors. See note to 44.4.

21.21 more carefree than careful (*securi magis quam tuti*): There is word play in the Latin: *securus* means “secure” in the sense of “without having to worry,” but the implication is that you *need* to worry sometimes to be truly “safe” (*tuti*).

21.23 design (*institutum*): “that for which this work was established.” See notes to 20.37, 21.30–31, 56.24, 57.13–14, 66.10, 76.35–77.2, 77.27–30, 79.23–25 on the importance of *institutum*.

21.25–26 right and prudent measures (*recte prudenterque provisiva*): More emphasizes prudence and the conscious and intentional aspect of politics; see notes to 21.32, 68.37–38.

21.29 Scyllas: Homer’s *Odyssey* 12.73–100, 234–58 and Virgil’s *Aeneid* 3.420–32.

21.29 Celaenos: Virgil’s *Aeneid* 3.209–58. In Epigram 147, More describes Virgil as a “poet who is second to none” and who “wrote long ago that in *pietas* Aeneas was second to none” (*CW* 3.2: 195).

21.30 fictions (*portenta*): “fictions” or “monsters”

21.30 Lastrygonians ... sort: Homer’s *Odyssey* 10.76–132. More’s Epigram 51 gives Homer unqualified praise – in the voice of Apollo in the Greek original (*CW* 3.2: 129).

21.30–31 but sensibly ... citizens (*at sane ac sapienter institutos cives*): See the description of cities and republics (note to 20.37).

21.32 mistaken ideas (*perperam consulta*): Other translations such as “usages” and “practices” would not capture the intellectual element in *consulere*, hence “ideas.” See note to 21.25–26 above, on *provisa*.

21.33 recounted (*recensuit*): See note to 20.21 above.

21.37 the conversation ... current (*sermo ... quo velut tractu quodam . . . deventum est*): For other nautical metaphors, see notes to 36.25, 40.12–13, 40.33–34.

22.8 to entertain (*oblectare*): “to delight” is here paired with *exemplis . . . instruere* “to instruct with examples,” which is another variation on the familiar Horatian formula of literary teaching with delight (*delectare/prodesse*). See the full title of *Utopia* (notes to iii.4, iii.5, iii.1–8 above) and the Utopians’ respect for fools at 79.35: *usus/oblectamentum*.

22.14 fulfilled the obligations: Raphael has already said above (see note to 20.6–7) he does his duty by giving away what he later claims is the source of all evil: money and property. See 42.13–43.23 and 99.17–101.27.

22.27 I live as I wish: This phrase, *vivo ut volo*, recalls Cicero’s *vivere ut velis* at 1.70 of *De officiis* in referring to kings or to those who plan their lives “to suffer no want, to be subject to no authority, to enjoy their liberty.” See also Augustine’s *City of God* 14.25: “No man lives as he wishes, unless he is happy.” See also More’s translation of Lucian’s *Cynic* at *EWTM* 26n35 and *The Life of Pico* at *EWTM* 71.13–17 and 78.56.

22.28 royal courtiers (*purpurati*): “those clothed in purple,” the normal color of royalty

22.38 ruler (*princeps*): As noted in the opening paragraph of Book 1, *princeps* is here and generally hereafter translated as “ruler,” since the usual modern meaning of “prince” [king’s son] is different. Latin *princeps* [lit., “taking first place”] means chief or leading ruler. See Wegemer, *The Young Thomas More* 40–44.

23.1 spring (*fonte*): For this classical commonplace, see Erasmus, *Education of a Christian Prince* 2, 11, 39, 82; Plato, *Laws* 4.711c; Xenophon, *Education of Cyrus*, 8.8.5; Cicero, *Letters to His Friends*, 1.12; Plutarch, *Moralia* 778a. See note to 10.29.

23.3–4 learning ... learning: More uses the rhetorical figure of chiasmus: learning (*doctrina*) ... experience (*rerum usus*) experience (*rerum peritia*) ... learning (*doctrina*).

23.3–4 learning ... practical experience (*rerum usus ... rerum peritia*): rhetorical *variatio* – appropriate here for the “variety” of experience

23.8 leisure ... business: For this traditional debate and tension between the contemplative (*otium*) and the active (*negotium*), see Augustine’s *City of God* 19.1–4 and George Logan’s *The Meaning of Utopia* (Princeton University Press, 1983), 100–103, 173–75, 179. More investigates this issue in his first work published in English, his *Life of Pico*, in which Pico, Earl of Mirandola, argues against *negotium* in the name of liberty and gives away his temporal responsibilities and much of the property associated with them (see *EWTM* 68.55–71.17; 78.56–58).

23.9 public interest: The phrase *publica res* might be translated either “public interest” or “commonwealth.”

23.11–12 arts of peace: Sallust uses the same phrase, *pacis bonis artibus*, in his “First Letter to Caesar” 1.9; Anchises includes the art of peacemaking – along with the art of law – in his famous description of what is most distinctive of future Romans in Virgil’s *Aeneid* 6.852–53: *Hae tibi erunt artes: pacique imponere morem, / parcere subiectis et debellare superbos* (“These will be your arts: to establish the ways of peace; to spare the conquered and fight down the proud”). Erasmus has an entire section on the “Arts of Peace” [*Artes Pacis*] in *The Education of a Christian Prince*, 65–73 or *CWE* 27: 253–60.

23.13 by fair means or foul (*per fas ac nefas*): at 67.29 as well; also see note to 31.27

23.12–14 far greater ... already: Epigram 243 on p. 114 expresses this same idea. See note at 36.26–28.

23.15 those who ... are all: The Latin use of double negatives, *eorum nemo est qui non aut . . . aut* (“There is no one who does not . . .”) has been adjusted to English idiom: “those who . . . are all . . .” in order to keep the meaning clear.

23.17 freeloader (*supparasantur*): “to be parasites upon,” “to take a free ride on”: by agreeing with the statements of the favored courtiers they hope to become the favorites of the favorites. There is an example of this very phenomenon in Cardinal Morton’s court described later in the first book of *Utopia* (pp. 33–34).

23.20–21 favors ... own offspring: Erasmus, *Adages* 115, 121 (*CWE* 31: 158-60, 167-68)

23.31 we ignore (*valere sinimus*): an expression often used by More to mean “say farewell to,” “let go,” “ignore,” possibly derived from the Greek expression *chaírein eân*

23.38–24.1 civil rebellion ... slaughter: The civil war refers to the rebellion of June 1497 by Cornishmen.

24.4 respected (*venerabili*): See Raphael’s other uses of the same root at 68.4, 95.35, 96.11 (*veneratio*); 90.8, 93.30 (*veneror*); 98.11 (*venerabundus*); see Morus’s use at 22.32 (*veneror*).

24.4 no less ... virtue: The Latin *non . . . magis quam*, literally, “no more than,” has been adjusted in translation to better suit English idiom.

24.8 presence of mind (*animi praesentiam*): Cicero’s *De officiis* 1.80 gives this quality of *animi praesentia* as a necessary component of the *honestas* possessed by the *princeps*.

24.18–19 prudence in affairs (*prudencia rerum*): See More’s Letter to the University of Oxford, where More maintains that *rerum humanarum prudentia* is a fitting educational goal both for theologians and civil servants (*CW* 15: 138.17–18; *EWTM* 418.81–82).

24.22 strict justice (*rigidam illam iustitiam*): For More’s concern throughout his life and writings for equity (“the quality of being equal or fair”) rather than rigid adherence to the letter of the law, see Travis Curtright’s *The One Thomas More* (CUAP 2012), esp. 89–104. See also notes to 29.11–12, 29.34, 41.25–26, and 76.29.

24.22–23 strict ... England: Holinshed reports that 72,000 thieves were hanged in King Henry VII’s reign (*Chronicles England, Scotland, Ireland*, 6 vols., 1807: 1.314).

24.28 for the public benefit (*ex usu publico*): For this distinction of justice and utility, see below 28.32–33 and note to 28.33.

24.29 for punishing theft (*ad vindicanda furta*): *Vindicare* is a legal term for “punish, avenge, make compensation for.”

24.31 trade: The word *ars* is translated “trade” here, but below the same word is used when he refers to “practical arts” (line 37).

24.37 practical arts (*artes mechanicae*): Raymond of Lull (*De septus donis Spiritus Sancti, Summa sermonum* 2.41) gives examples: the work of the scribe, clerk, or merchant; and navigation, fishing, carpentry, iron-working, agriculture and shepherding.

25.2–3 as recently ... French: For the war with the Cornishmen, see note to 23.38–24.1 above; the war with the French could refer to any one of several campaigns in France, from the Hundred Years War (ending 1453) to the

attempts to take Boulogne (1492), or even – anachronistically, given the fictional date of this reported conversation – Henry VIII’s campaigns of 1512 and 1513.

25.7 consider (*contempleretur*): i.e., with a scientific attitude. See 20.8, of Amerigo Vespucci’s travels, and 71.28, where the Utopian pleasure in the contemplation of the truth (*veri contemplatio*) is described.

25.8 idly (*otiosi*): without the good connotation of *otium*; see notes to 25.13, 25.39 and the Utopian discouragement of idleness at 62.5–8.

25.11 frugality (*frugalitatem*): Cicero explains in *Tusculan Disputations* 3.16–18 that Roman *frugalitas* “connotes all abstinence and inoffensiveness . . ., embraces all the other virtues,” and “is derived from ‘fruit’ [*fruge*].” See More’s uses of this term in his first published work, the translation of Lucian’s *Cynicus* in *CW* 3.1: 11.15–18, 15.32, and 17.36 or in *EWTM* at 22.21, 24.16, 80.

25.13 followers (*otiosi stipatores*): *Stipatores* are the retinue who “crowd around” their leader (from *stipare*, “to thicken, crowd around”).

25.25 to serve (*inservire*): what Raphael did not want to do for kings

25.32–33 In fact ... each other: Erasmus, *Complaint of Peace* (*CWE* 27: 317). On the parallel between robbers and soldiers, see Augustine’s *City of God* 4.4: “Remove justice, and what are kingdoms but great robberies?” See Raphael’s closing critique of all existing commonwealths at pages 99–101..

25.36 another more pestilent pest: More uses alliteration in the Latin text: *praeterea pestis pestilentior*.

25.39 idle attendants ... should be supported (*otiosos ministros alendos*): The same verb is used several times in this passage and elsewhere in *Utopia* (translated as “support” or “keep”) to indicate “undesirable, wasteful upkeep” of the “idle” (*otiosi*).

26.1 ‘wise fools’ (*morosophis*): as in the expression “sophomoric”

26.5 “the hand ... idleness”: Sallust’s *Catiline* 16.3, recalled in Augustine’s *Confessions* at 2.5.11: *ne per otium torpesceret manus aut animus*

26.9 government: *imperium*

26.12–14 that not even ... as superiors: Most famous was Henry V’s victory at Agincourt in 1415. Henry VIII’s youthful ambition when he became king at seventeen was to be another Henry V; Henry VIII’s first invasion of France was in 1513, his second in 1522, and his third and most costly of all in 1542.

26.15 urban craftsmen ... farmers: The lawyer had contrasted “farmers and craftsmen” unfavorably with the nobly-born (25.27–29). Hythloday is countering the excessive regard for “nobility” associated with the arts of war and military prowess, with praise of the peaceful arts of laborers and artisans. He is suggesting that unemployed “nobly-born” soldiers would be more useful to the commonwealth and more virtuous themselves if they were educated in the ways of farmers and artisans.

26.21 good arts (*bonis artibus*): The contrast is again between the arts of peace (see notes to 23.11–12, 39.8, 66.15) and making an honest living (see notes to 24.31, 24.37), and the arts of war and theft, which “so nicely ... agree with each other” (25.33).

26.24 commonwealth: As noted before (see note to 23.9 above), More uses the phrase *publica res* here, likely a slight variation of the phrase *res publica* done to emphasize the adjective (*publica*) to contrast, implicitly, with *res privata* (“private business,” “one’s own affairs,” or “private property”). The lawyer had implied that these private retainers should be publicly supported (or at least encouraged) at 25.27.

27.2–3 turn ... into wasteland (*vertunt in solitudinem*): See Tacitus, *Agricola* 30: *ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*.

27.10 farming (*res rustica*): translated also as “farm labor” a few lines later. See *res publica* used elsewhere. More treats both as a singular.

27.13 sell off (*venumdat*): “used chiefly of the sale of captured slaves” (*L & S*)

27.14 when they are forced to leave (*quum extrudi necesse est*): *Quum* with the indicative emphasizes the temporal aspect more than the causal.

27.16 of course (*scilicet*): Often a marker of ironic statements in More’s earlier work *Richard III*. See note to 41.26.

27.16–17 to become vagrants and beg (*vagentur atque mendicant*): The verb *mendicare* had an ambiguous meaning at this time, since the mendicant (literally, “begging”) religious orders of the Franciscans and Dominicans were so called because of their intentional dependence on charitable donations for which they “begged.”

27.18 vagabonds (*errones*): This term, implying an irregular or quasi-criminal behavior or social status, will be translated “vagabonds.”

27.27 from work into idleness (*ab opera ... in otium*): See notes to 13.23, 23.8, 25.8, 26.5, 28.27, 44.37, 62.6–7.

28.4 damage: *incommodum*

28.14 nobly-born spirits (*generosis animis*): Again Raphael connects the nobility with the ignoble “art” of stealing.

28.17 extravagant (*insolentis*): Translated as “extravagant,” this adjective is used by Morus to describe Raphael’s speech and manner at 40.35; Raphael objects strongly at 41.8, 17 (“unusual”), but uses the same term at 43.13 (“insolent”).

28.23 make laws (*statuite*): At some places in Book 1, Raphael insists on the importance of laws, yet he also says that such laws are like giving medical treatment to sick bodies past cure – arguing that there is “no hope at all” of a cure and a return to a healthy condition without eradicating all private property (43.17–20).

28.27 idleness (*otio*): In its exploration of *humanitas*, *Utopia* raises the question about true leisure (*otium*) and its relationship to business (*negotium*). See notes 13.23, 23.8, 25.8, 26.5, 27.27, 44.37, 62.6–7.

28.28 usefully (*utiliter*): Cicero explores the relationship between *utilitas* and *honestas* in his treatment of the best way of life in *De officiis*.

28.30 vagabonds and unemployed servants (*errones et otiosi ministri*): See notes to 25.8, 25.13 and 25.39 above.

28.31 you: Here More uses the second person plural (*medemini, iactetis* and *sinitis*), so Hythloday seems to be addressing all those present at this meeting with Cardinal Morton and, presumably, all those reading the book, including those in power in England, by extension.

28.33 useful (*utilem*): This formulation of “just or useful,” implying that the truly just is the truly useful, echoes Cicero’s view.

29.11–12 discharge ... reserve: For an explanation of the technical legal maneuver and joke Morton plays on the lawyer here, and for an excellent analysis of the judicial process of equity dramatized in this surprisingly long exchange, see Bradin Cormack’s *A Power to Do Justice* (University of Chicago Press, 2007), 114ff.

29.19–20 But if ... over them: See above, 24.27–32, where the same point is made: the punishment is not deterring the crime.

29.28–29 absolute justice ... absolute injustice (*summum ... ius, summa iniuria*): Cicero quotes this proverb at *De officiis* 1.33. Tilley's *Dictionary of Proverbs in England* (R 122) gives several variations such as "extreme right is extreme wrong" and "extreme justice is extreme injury." Terence also refers to it at *Heautontimorumenos* 795–96, and Erasmus's comments upon it in *Adages* 925 (*CWE* 32: 244).

29.29–30 Manlian: Livy 8.7.1–22: Manlius, with extreme severity, ordered his own son to be put to death for disobeying an order not to engage in single combat with the enemy; see also Cicero's *De finibus* 1.23–24, 34–35 and *De officiis* 3.112. Erasmus comments upon it in *Adages* 987 (*CWE* 32: 274–75).

29.32–35 Stoics ... affinity: Cicero rejects this Stoic position at *De finibus* 4.21–23, 75–77 and at *Pro Murena* 61.

29.34 equity: For the importance of this passage and the others on equity, see Andrew Majeske's *Equity in English Renaissance Literature* (NY: Routledge, 2006), especially pp. 70 and 81, and chapter 2 of Cormack's *A Power to Do Justice*. See notes to 24.22, 29.11–12, 41.25–26, 76.29.

29.36 God ... killed: Raphael does not distinguish between murder and killing. He also does not mention the Old Testament's approval of capital punishment under certain conditions (theft is not one of them, excluding the kidnapping of persons, Ex 21:16, or the exemption from blood-guilt for mortally wounding a thief caught in the act, Ex 22:1).

29.38 commandment: More uses *praeceptum* for commandment, which was the common designation for the Latin Fathers of the Church.

30.11–12 Finally ... death: Ex 22

30.26–27 in no small degree: The litotes here seems to work better with a slightly rearranged word order.

30.28–29 Romans ... commonwealth: For ancient Rome's distinctive mastery of the arts of rule, see Augustine, *City of God* 5.12.

30.34 Polylerites: "people of much nonsense," from Greek *poly* (much) and *leros* (nonsense, humbug)

31.4–5 suitably ... distinguished: "Suitably," here, for *commode*, which other translators render as "comfortably"; *felices magis quam nobiles aut clari*: Hythloday again dissociates the nobility and glory of military prowess from virtue and wisdom.

31.5–6 In fact ... neighbors: This would also "explain" why no one in Europe at the time had heard about them before.

31.8 not to ... elsewhere: Erasmus criticizes this practice of giving stolen goods to the king in his *Education of a Christian Prince*, pp. 86–87 or *CWE* 27: 270.

31.19 serve the public interest: *publicae rei serviunt*

31.27 lawful (*fas*): By using this term reserved for what "is right or permissible by divine law," Raphael makes a provocative statement. See 23.13, 67.29, 95.24 for other uses of *fas*.

31.30–31 hair ... cut off: Translators are divided about whether the fashion of servants mentioned in the side-note refers to the distinctive color of clothing or the haircut over the ears.

32.7 humane: The term used here, *humanitas*, Cicero heavily invested with the meaning of a “fullness of humanity” that includes justice and friendly concern for those in society. He used this term hundreds of times in his writings. For other important uses in Book 2 of *Utopia*, see 48.32, 68.12, 69.3–4, 83.14. It occurs in the Latin version of More’s *History of King Richard III*, *CW* 2: 17.17, 47.14. See notes to 48.32, 83.14; also to 19.16, 28.27, 68.9.

32.7 beneficial (*commode*): See notes to 31.4–5, 42.21, 68.31–32. This fundamental philosophic question of what is “beneficial” or “suitable” to human beings was raised in the Lucian’s dialogues that More translated (see *ETWM* 22.7, 24.1, 34n3) and by Cicero in *De officiis* at 3.26–28.

32.17–19 For how ... away: Raphael’s detailed straight-faced descriptions are sometimes amusing upon reflection: as if a naked man on the run would not rouse suspicion unless someone closely inspected his ear.

32.27 raising the expectation: A similar expression (*praebere spem*) was used to describe the opposite sort of expectation at 28.36 above.

32.36 went over to his side (*pedibus in eius ibant sententiam*): This is an idiom, a technical phrase used in the Roman senate. See Livy 9.8.13, 5.9.2, 22.56.1 for examples, as well as Erasmus, *Adages* 1612 (*CWE* 34: 8–10).

33.1 the ruler (*princeps*): Here the word refers to King Henry VII.

33.2 withholding ... sanctuaries: See the long discussion of sanctuaries or safe places of refuge for persons sought by the law in *Richard III*, *CW* 2: 27–41 or *CW* 15: 361–97 or *EWTM* 109ff.

33.15 hanger-on (*parasitus*): literally, “one who dines beside,” from the Greek *para siton*, “next to the food”

33.19–20 ‘if the dice ... Venus’: In antiquity, the winning “Venus” throw was four dice, each with a different number; see Erasmus’s *Adages* 113 (*CWE* 31: 154–55).

33.32 make a law (*legem ferre*): This is the etymological basis for the word “legislator,” who is a “law-maker,” not just someone who “passes” a law. For a similar use of this legal phrase, see below at 42.31 (with reference to Plato) and *Richard III*, *CW* 15: 464.26.

33.33 beggars (*mendici*): see note to 27.16–17 above. Franciscan and Dominican friars were understood to be mendicants or “beggars” supported by alms rather than by agricultural work and landed property, as the Benedictines and Cistercians were.

33.35 The Cardinal ... seriously: See note to 35.5–6.

34.8 with vinegar: See Horace, who uses the word “vinegar” to refer to crude insults, however witty, hurled at hapless victims (*Satires* 1.7.32). See also Erasmus, *Adages* 1252 (*CWE* 331: 164).

34.10 ‘son of perdition’: Jn 17:12; 2 Thes 2:3

34.13–14 In patience ... souls: Lk 21:19

34.15 Be ye ... not: Ps 4:4

34.18 Zeal ... me: Ps 68:10(69:9)

34.19–20 Zeal ... bald man: See 2 Kgs 2:23–24.

34.20 zeal: This is the word noted in the marginal gloss. It refers to a mistaken Latin case-ending in the spoken Latin of the friar. By saying “*zelus*” instead of “*zelum*,” it sounds like the friar is saying “*scelus*” or “crime, misdeed,”

so he accidentally says that the scolding words of the bald man (the prophet, here) are a “crime” instead of “[good] zeal.” The side-note lends humorous realism to the scene by pointing out the angry friar’s unconscious mistake.

34.20 ribald: The term *ribaldus* is also of dubious Latinity, perhaps allowing More to further characterize the friar as an awkward speaker of Latin.

34.26 Answer ... folly: Prv 26:5

34.28 zeal: Once again the friar speaks incorrectly. See note to 34.20.

34.32 sent away (ablegato): *Ablegare* is commonly used for banishment into exile, or dismissal from office.

34.36 talk (sermone): This word is used in the title of both books of *Utopia* at 18.1, 48.1; see notes at 13.9, 18.1.

35.5–6 by way of ... not rejecting: See notes to 13.18, 20.37, 30.26–27, and 62.6–7. More’s familiar *litotes* (“not rejecting”) fits well with the “joking” assent of the Cardinal (33.35). The courtiers miss the effect of the joke and the *litotes*: they interpret “not rejecting, taking as a joke,” as equivalent to “seriously approving.”

35.11 regained ... youth (repuerascere ... incunda): See Cicero’s *De oratore* 2.22 for a similar expression.

35.18 no duty ... good man: As Quentin Skinner has observed, here Morus is “echoing *De Officiis* almost word for word.” At 40.21ff, he “echoes the sentiments and even the imagery of *De Officiis* almost word for word” (*Visions of Politics, Volume 2: Renaissance Virtues*, Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 222).

35.24–27 Plato ... Dionysius: See Plato’s *Epistle* 7, 326a–b and Plutarch’s *Dion* 4.1–5.3 and 10.1–20.2.

35.26 deeply tainted (infecti penitus): See *insedit penitus* of note to 40.12–13.

35.31 Come now: Here begins Hythloday’s 464-word “marathon sentence” (as Clarence Miller described it). See Gerald Malsbary, “Hythlodaeus’ 464-Word ‘Marathon Sentence’: How Does It Work?,” *Moreana* nos. 195-96 (June 2014): 153-75. As Malsbary explains, this long, continuous sentence and the next (beginning on page 37, line 22) seem to prepare us, by steps, for the extended picture of Utopia in Book 2. This remarkable verbal sequence – reproduced here for the first time in an English translation – may explain More’s concern, at the end of Book 2, that Raphael may be tired out from talking.

35.31–38 imagine me ... mind: All these intrigues, and the ones described next, recently occurred in Europe.

36.6 Swiss: *Helvetii*

36.7–8 divine ... offering: Raphael uses sarcasm here, using vocabulary associated with religious observance, such as “divine power” (*numen*) and “propitiated” (*propitiandum*), to refer to the Holy Roman Emperor.

36.25 sails ... tack: Erasmus, *Adages* 860 (*CWE* 32: 315). The nautical metaphor is appropriate for Raphael. See notes to 21.37, 40.12–13, 40.33–34.

36.26–28 considering ... to it: This same thought is expressed in More’s Epigram 243 (“On the Lust for Rule”) on p. 114.

36.29 Achorian: “People without a country”: from the Greek *a* (without) and *chora* (country)

36.30 island of the Utopians: Utopia was first mentioned at 21.36, and the present context is Raphael’s own first mention of Utopia. Raphael’s next mentions of Utopia will be at pages 39.29, 41.9, 42.21, 43.34, 44.16.

36.30–37.2 once upon ... warfare: Note the similarity to the situation in England described earlier in the dialogue.

37.10 ruler: *princeps*: as often in *Utopia*, used as a synonym for “king” and other offices.

37.16–17 he should ... by them: See More’s Epigrams 111 and 112 on p. 112.

37.17 make it flourish (*ornare*): alluding to one of Erasmus’s most famous adages – Erasmus, *Adages* 1401 (*CWE* 33: 237-43).

37.22 If ... : Now follows in the Latin a second, twice-as-long “marathon sentence” of 926 words, ending at 40.8. The two exceptionally long sentences are separated by More’s one-liner at 37.21. See Gerald Malsbary, “Hythlodæus’ Second Marathon Sentence of 926 Words and the ‘Contextual Launch’ of the *Utopia*,” *Moreana* no. 216 (December 2021): 163-76.

37.24–26 the value ... collect: This manipulation of currency values was practiced by Kings Edward IV, Henry VII, and later by Henry VIII.

37.27 feign a war: Henry VII’s tactic in 1492.

37.29 pious ruler: This famous phrase, *pius princeps*, would remind a Renaissance humanist of Virgil’s epic hero, *pius* Aeneas. More uses this phrase in his *History of King Richard III* at *CW* 15: 424.8–9 and in Epigram 111. See p. 112.

37.30 antiquated (*antiquatas*): from *antiquare*, a technical legislative term meaning “to reject or abrogate a bill”

37.33 character of justice (*justitiae ... personam*): a kind of “false personification”; Henry VII’s royal tax collectors Empson and Dudley became so notorious and hated for this practice that young King Henry VIII imprisoned them shortly after his coronation and then had them executed.

38.11 false charge (*calumnia*): “a false accusation, malicious charge, esp. a false or malicious information, or action at law, a perversion of justice” (*L & S*)

38.14 own advantage: *suo commodo*

38.19 scrupulous: *religiosos*

38.20–21 concur ... Crassus: in *Crassiano illo consentiunt atque conspirant* also points to conspiratorial behavior: “are agreed on that saying of Crassus and conspire together”

38.21 ‘no amount ... army’: See Cicero’s *De officiis* 1.25.

38.22–23 a king ... themselves: Contrast this statement with Epigram 121 on p. 112 and with what Richard III says to the London citizens when he tries to get their consent to become king at the end of *History of King Richard III*, *CW* 15: 480.21–22.

38.27–28 poverty and scarcity: In the Latin, “poverty and scarcity” are treated as a single subject with a singular verb, and so likewise in the English here.

38.27–29 poverty ... rebellion: See Aristotle’s famous discussion about how tyrannies are preserved in *Politics* 5.11, esp. sections 5, 8, 10, 15, 18–19, and 21.

38.34 well: *commode*

38.34–37 it is more ... shepherd: See More's Epigrams 109, 111, 112, 115, and 120 for the same thoughts expressed here. See pp. 111–12.

38.36 duty of the shepherd: Shepherding is one of the crafts Plato has Thrasymachus, and later Socrates, compare to governance in the *Republic* (343d and 345c).

39.8 these methods (*bis artibus*): See notes to 23.11–12, 24.31, 24.37, 26.21, 66.15.

39.9 name of “commander” (*imperii nomen*): In this context “command” (*imperare, imperium*) is virtually synonymous with “kingly rule.”

39.10 command: *imperium*

39.12–13 prefer ... himself: Plutarch, *Moralia* 194f and Cicero, *De senectute* 16.56 (where the saying is attributed to Mucius Curius).

39.13 authority: *imperare*

39.17–19 he who ... free people: See More's Epigram 109: *Servos tyrannus quos regit / Rex liberos putat suos*: “The slaves that a tyrant rules / a king thinks are his own children / free men” [in Latin, literally “free ones,” the normal word for children, and hence there is word play in the political context]. See p. 111.

39.18 benefits: *commodis*

39.29 Macarians: “Blessed Ones,” from Greek *makarios* (“blessed, happy”)

39.33 by an excellent king: Note that the Macarians' excellent law was established by the *king himself*. See 68.35–37 for the Utopian listing of legitimate modes of making law.

40.7 deaf ... to the story: Erasmus, *Adages* 1387 (*CWE* 31: 376)

40.12–13 steal ... has established: Military imagery is implicit in these verbs: an opinion has “seized” [*praeoccupavit*] the fortress of men's hearts ahead of time and has established [*insedit*] itself deeply [*penitus*: see note to 35.26]. A persuasive argument would need to “flow” or “sneak into” [*influere*] their hearts like a quiet stream or a spy. Instead, Raphael wants to take the fortress by force, “wielding” [*ingerendi*] his speech like a weapon. Morus counsels against Raphael's approach because such speech will not be granted entrance [*admissum iri*].

40.15–16 But ... no place: See *De oratore* 2.16–20 for Cicero's treatment of “tactful” and “apt” speaking. The Roman orator and statesman Crassus says: “Of all the words in the Latin language, none has so wide a signification as this word ... ‘tactless’ [*ineptus*]” (2.17). He then goes on to point to a major difference between Roman and Greek culture: “The Greek nation, with all its learning, abounds in this fault [of tactlessness]. ... They do not even bestow a name upon this fault” (2.18).

40.20 more citizen-like (*civilior*): For the rationale and the tradition of the translation “like a citizen,” see John Rolfe, “*Virum Civiliter Eruditum*” in *Classical Philology* 24.1 (January 1929): 89–91 and Michael Grant, *Cicero: Selected Writings* (Penguin, 1971): 14.

40.21 simile (in sidenote): Originally in Greek, *homoiōsis* (“likeness, comparison”) is here translated as *simile*.

40.21 stage (*scenam*): Erasmus, *Adages* 91 (*CWE* 31: 131–32)

40.21–22 adapting ... decorum: See Cicero's *De officiis* 1.114 about the importance of choosing and playing “aptly” and “decorously” one's part in the drama of life. See note at 35.18.

- 40.22 maintains ... decorum:** See the argument in Cicero, *Orator* 123.
- 40.25 Seneca ... Nero:** *Octavia* 440–588. In More’s time this play was attributed to Seneca. It shows the philosopher Seneca giving advice to Emperor Nero. For his first five years as emperor, Nero listened to Seneca – before Nero became the famed tyrant and before he ordered Seneca’s death.
- 40.26 A silent rôle:** This side-gloss is given in Greek: *kôphon prosopon*.
- 40.33–34 the ship ... winds:** For Cicero’s use of the same navigation metaphor, see *Epistulae familiares* 1.21 and *Pro Sestio* 46; for Seneca’s, see *De consolatione ad Marciam* 6.2 and *Epistulae* 85.33; Plato’s most famous is *Republic* 6.488d–e. More uses the same image in *Historia Richardi Tertii*, *CW* 2: 16–18; *Responsio ad Lutherum*, *CW* 5: 28–29; *Dialogue of Comfort*, *CW* 12: 6.13, 29.6–7, 56.30–31, 120.12–18 and in *De tristitia Christi*, *CW* 14: 265.1–3 or *EWTM* 1276.28–31.
- 40.37 an indirect approach (obliquo ductu):** literally, “by indirect leading.” See notes to 40.12–13, 40.15–16, 41.32.
- 41.6–7 my discourse:** Raphael is referring to his two examples of “preaching” in the previous long sentences with the fictional examples of the Achorians and Macarians.
- 41.8 unusual .. tactless (ad ineptias insolens):** See notes to 28.17 and 40.15–16.
- 41.8–9 Plato ... theirs:** More’s literary pretense, by which the Utopia is a *real* place in contrast with the *pretended* Republic of Plato, is also present in the “Utopian verses” at the beginning of the work; see p. 7.
- 41.16–21 if we ... ears:** See Mt 10:27 and Lk 12:3 and the context of each. Apart from taking Christ’s teaching out of context here, Raphael will go on to indicate that Christ’s teaching requires the abolition of private property.
- 41.25–26 a ruler made of lead:** See *Nicomachean Ethics* 5.1137b30 for Aristotle’s important discussion of equity and the measuring-stick made of lead (*molibdinus canon*). See also Erasmus, *Adages* 493 (*CWE* 31: 465) and the notes above about equity, especially notes to 24.22, 29.11–12, 29.34, 76.29.
- 41.26 I suppose (scilicet):** Again, an indication of irony, here: sarcasm; see note to 27.16.
- 41.31–32 “a helper ... insanity”:** Terence, *Adelphoe* or *The Brothers*, 1.145–147: *Si ... adiutor siem eius ... / insaniam profecto cum illo*: “If ... I help him ... / I will be insane along with him.”
- 41.32 ‘indirect guidance’ (obliquus ductus):** “indirect leading.” See notes to 40.12–13, 40.15–16, and 40.37.
- 41.34 advantageously (commode):** again distinguishing *commodum* from the “simply good,” *bona*
- 41.34 the least bad (minime mala):** responding to Morus’s advice regarding *minime malum* at 40.38–41.1.
- 41.36–37 gives inadequate praise (maligne laudaverit):** i.e., to “damn with faint praise.” This may be what Raphael would call “indirect” advice.
- 42.6–7 Plato ... public affairs:** Plato’s *Republic* 6.496d–e, but Raphael adapts the metaphor in the context Plato creates. Lord Chancellor Cardinal Wolsey used this “image” to justify war as indicated in More’s Letter 206 (*TMSB* 322, note 8 or *EWTM* 1312.87–1313.28).
- 42.14–15 private property ... commonwealth:** Hythloday is seeking to contrast here *res privata* (private possessions, here denoted by *privatae ... possessiones*) with *respublica* (“commonwealth”).
- 42.19 considered happy in every respect (habitos undecumque commode):** literally, “[considered] advantageously disposed [when observed] from every direction.”

42.21 conveniently (*commode*): See notes to 28.4, 31.4–5, 32.7, 38.14, 44.26, 39.18, 41.34, 42.19, 44.4, 22.26, 55.26, and 68.31–32.

42.30–32 Plato ... equally: Diogenes Laertius (3.23) says that Plato declined to help the Thebans and Arcadians form a constitution for the new colony Megalopolis when he learned that they were opposed to equality of possessions.

42.32 share all ... equally: Erasmus, *Adages* 1 (*CWE* 31: 29-30)

42.35 private ownership (*singulorum propria*): In Plato's *Republic*, however, only the guardian class holds all in common. See Plato's *Laws* 5.739b–e for the conditions suggested for complete communism.

43.19 healed: This common Socratic comparison of the good ruler to the good doctor occurs, for example, at *Republic* 4.425e–426a, *Statesman* 297e–298e, *Epistle* 7 330c–331a.

43.20 as long as ... property (*dum sua cuique sunt propria*): literally, “while (their) own (things) belong to each (person)”

43.25–32 For how ... imagine: Aristotle gives two of these reasons in his *Politics*: when many people own something, each assumes someone else will care for it (1261b33–39); discontent arises because any distribution of limited goods inevitably gives rise to complaints (1263a10–15). Aristotle gives a third reason that More implicitly uses, one based on pleasure and our natural inclination toward benevolence: each naturally loves to have things of one's own (1263a40–1263b4); proper education of this love leads to growth in virtue, especially the benevolence and liberality characteristic of friends (1263b4–14). Cicero's own extensive defense of private property in *De officiis* (2.73–85) is based on this “natural inclination to love our fellow men” – the “foundation of justice” (*De legibus* 1.43; see also *De amicitia* 23. Cicero defines the *res publica* as the property of all the people (*De re publica* 1.43).

44.4 conveniences of life (*ad vitam commode*): for the first mention of this theme in Utopia, see notes 21.17, 42.21.

44.8 histories (*historia*): Raphael's tale of Utopia is also called in Latin *historia* in the first Letter to Giles (15.15) and in Budé's letter (7.22) – but there and elsewhere translated as “account”; Busleyden's letter claims at 105.1–6 that histories are hardly ever “reliably” recorded. Morus, in the second Letter to Giles, raises the question again of the trustworthy character of Utopia's history at 108.4ff, as does Budé (5.23–25 and 6.12–13). Giles introduces Raphael to Morus as unmatched in ability to give an “account of unknown peoples and lands” (19.34–35: *hominum, terrarumque incognitarum narrare possit historiam*).

44.9 cities ... here: More again distinguishes between humans and civilized humans. See, for example, the savage and civilized peoples Raphael met on his world travels (21.2–9) and the rude and factious natives Utopus found in contrast to the peaceful cities he left as his legacy (48.30–33). Earlier, Morus identified his interest specifically as “people who were living together as citizens [*populos ... civiliter conviventes*]” (21.26–27).

44.14 Ultra-equatorials: See the location of the new world as somewhere “beyond” the tropics (20.38–21.2), and More's uncertainty of Utopia's exact location (14.28–33).

44.20 starting points (*quaerendi seminibus*): literally, “the seeds of discovery”

44.25–30 they immediately ... happily: Hythloday's praise of the Utopians as being open to learning also implies that Christian-Europeans are not as receptive of new cultures, nor as industrious in learning from other civilizations, as they should be. More is setting the stage for the detailed descriptions in Book 2, by this expression of curiosity – as if he were taking Hythloday's challenge to heart.

44.26 advantageously: *commode*

44.33–34 you think ... think (*putes ... putabis*): taking the second of the two instances of Latin verb *putare* (“to think”) as a (future) command

44.37 leisure time (*otium*): For the importance of this theme, see especially notes to 13.23, 23.8, 25.8, 25.13, 25.39, 28.27, 62.6–7.

45.7 sat for a little while: Why draw attention to this dramatic pause?

48.1 Conversation: See note to 18.1.

48.7 two hundred miles across: In size, Utopia is similar to England; for the topics treated, see Aristotle’s *Politics*, Books 7–8.

48.30 Utopus: In devising laws that bring about significant changes, Utopus is similar to famous founders such as: Solon, whose laws prepared early Athens to be a democracy; Lycurgus, whose laws made early Sparta a highly disciplined and egalitarian military society; and Numa, whose laws promoted justice and trustworthiness (*fides*) while making Rome more peace-loving, humane, and respectful of the gods. Aristotle praises Solon of Athens and Lycurgus of Sparta for having established not only laws but an entire way of life (*Politics* 1273b30ff), while Plutarch laments that Numa’s effect on Rome did not extend beyond his own lifetime (see Plutarch’s *Comparison of Numa with Lycurgus*).

48.31 Abraxa: Abraxas was the name of an ancient Gnostic deity, the highest of the 365 spheres of the universe according to Basilides, a Gnostic writer of the early second century AD. The Utopians also use the name of the ancient Persian god Mithras: 90.19, 97.2.

48.32 humane conduct (*humanitas*): See the other uses of this rich Ciceronian term at 32.7, 68.12, 69.3, 83.14.

48.34 digging ... Isthmus (in sidenote): As Erasmus notes in *Adages* 3326 (*CWE* 36: 76–77), given the many failed attempts to dig a canal through the Isthmus of Corinth, the project became proverbial for an impossibly difficult task.

49.6 fifty-four cities (*civitates*): In More’s time, England and Wales were divided into fifty-three counties, plus London. See Erasmus’s Letter to von Hutten where Erasmus writes that, in *Utopia*, More “represented the English commonwealth in particular” (*CWE* 7: 23.281, *EWTM* 1374.6–7). This confederacy of fifty-four large city-states, each the size of London, led Alexander Hamilton to reject this arrangement as contrary to “the accumulated experiences of the ages.” See note at 49.17–18.

49.12 Amaurotum: From Greek *amauros* (dark, gloomy), thus a “ghost” or “phantom” or (see 108.14, 18) “vanishing” city. In the first edition of *Utopia*, in 1516, the name of this city was *Mentirano* (“City of Lies”). See the note at iii.3 above for another significant change from Latin to Greek.

49.14 first and leading (*prima princepsque*): Yet Raphael insists at 50.26 that all fifty-four cities are “entirely similar to each other.”

49.17–18 No city ... territory: In *Federalist Papers* no. 6, Alexander Hamilton’s critiques this arrangement as simply impossible.

49.25 phylarch: from Greek *phylarchos* (leader of the tribe), with perhaps a play on *philarchos* (fond of ruling).

50.34 Anydrus: From Greek *an* (without) and *hydr-* (water); see Morus’s comment on this name and other names on page 108.14–18.

52.2 The usefulness ... Virgil (sidenote): See Virgil, *Georgics* 4.116–48.

52.11–12 one thousand ... island: In the year of Utopia's founding, 244 BC, King Agis IV of Sparta was put to death for trying to undermine private property. Cicero cites the example of Agis in *De officiis* 2.80 as part of his defense of private property. See Richard J. Schoeck, "More, Plutarch, and King Agis," *Philological Quarterly* 35 (1956): 366–75.

52.26 syphogrant: Perhaps "old men of the sty," from the Greek *gerontes* and *syphes*. These words and meanings are also found in the Greek dictionary by Hesychius that Raphael claims to have brought with him (*CW* 4, commentary at 183.1). See Ward Allen, "Speculations on St. Thomas More's Use of Hesychius," *Philological Quarterly* 46.2 (April 1967): 156–66.

52.26 phylarch: See note at 49.25. It is surprising that Raphael uses the older names for the magistrates except at 49.25 and 50.20. In referring to the magistrates in charge of each city, Raphael always uses *princeps* and not their actual name as given at 56.10–11, although Morus draws attention to this name at 108.14–18.

52.28 tranibor: Perhaps "clearly gluttonous" from the Greek *tranes* and *boros*. As Allen points out (see note to 52.26), "These derivations develop a consistent pattern which emphasizes the appetitive nature of the pre-Utopians" (157). In the period after Utopus's conquest, the patterns suggest power as a major theme and question of the work.

52.28 protophylarch: "chief" or "head" phylarch; strangely, this word is used only here although the old name is used repeatedly.

52.28 two hundred syphogrants: Given the limit of ten to sixteen adults in each household, Utopian cities would each have 60,000 to 90,000 adults, making them larger than the London of More's day, which had 50,000 to 60,000 people.

52.32 city-ruler (*princeps*): See notes to 18.8, 22.38.

52.33 suspicion of seeking tyranny: On the danger of even the suspicion of tyranny, see More's Epigram 25: "On Suspicion" (*CW* 3.2: 117 or *EWTM* 227).

53.6 Senate or the public assemblies (*senatus ... comitia publica*): On *comitia*, see notes at iii.8, 14.3, 20.17, and 94.34.

53.12 council of the whole island: See 49.11–14.

53.19 "counsel at night" (in sidenote): See Erasmus, *Adages* 1143 (*CWE* 33: 96).

53.23 craft (*ars*): Other words used to translate this word in earlier editions of *Utopia* have been: "science," "job," "occupation," "pursuit," "activity."

55.1–3 vices ... virtues: More may be thinking here of the Latin Christian epic *Psychomachia* by Prudentius (ca. 400 AD), which describes just such a battle of virtues and vices: "We have a way to win the moral battle, if we know at first hand the faces of the virtues and monsters that contend with them ..." (*Psychomachia*, 18–20). Aldus Manutius produced the *editio princeps* of Prudentius and other early Christian Latin poets in 1501.

55.17 In the sidenote, the word *doryphorēma* ("bodyguard") has a theatrical side, and is used to refer to any actor without a speaking part who follows a more important character, perhaps since this was often the case with those who were actual members of a bodyguard in comedies (see, for example, Lucian, *How to Write History* 4).

55.26 fitting use of nature (*commodus naturae usus*): See notes 31.4–5, 32.7, 42.21, 68.31–32.

55.28 useless crafts: The clever oxymoron in Latin, *inertes artes* ("inert arts"), is not easily captured in an English translation. The word *inert* is derived from Latin *in* + *art-* ("un- skilled"): "non-skilled skills."

55.34 what pleasure ... natural: The Utopian philosophy of pleasure, introduced here, is developed at 67.10ff.

55.36 five hundred (*bominibus quingentis*): following the 1517 and CUP editions

56.10 Barzanes: In their notes on this name, Hexter, Logan, and Miller all refer to Hebrew *Bar* “son of” and Doric Greek *Zanes* “Zeus,” but Lucian’s *Menippus* (translated by More) mentions “Mithrobarzanes” (*CW* 3.1: 31.5; *EWTM* 29.68). See also Ward Allen, “Speculations ...” cited in note to 52.26.

56.11 Ademus: From the Greek *a-demos* (without people); see *an-hydros* (without water).

56.24 commonwealth has been established (*constituta respublica*): The language encourages the idea that architectural and building practices are of national political concern in Utopia.

56.29 of a house: Taking Latin *domi* as genitive “of a house, for a house” rather than locative “at home,” More is describing pre-fabrication. Even though a new building lot may not be ready, the work of prefabrication *of a home* (taking *domi* as genitive) would still require the carpenters to meet *somewhere* to work together, rather than “at home,” which implies that they would be working separately and individually.

57.8 fewer products (*opera pauciora*): “fewer works,” i.e., *products* of labor, or less consumption, rather than “less labor” or “reduced work,” as some translate

57.10 lead (*educant*): a military term for “leading forth” an army

57.13–14 organization of that commonwealth (*eius rei publicae institutio*): “the constitution of that *republica*” would be an alternate translation. See notes to iii.2, 20.37, 21.23, 21.25–26, 21.30–31, 56.24, 66.10.

57.15–17 as much time ... found: Here is a preliminary statement of Utopian ethics, but with no hint of their philosophy of pleasure.

57.35–58.2 But if ... cultivation: Internal affairs here become the cause of external measures – such as colonization.

58.3 admitting as citizens (*ascitis*): used in Roman legal language as a technical term for making citizens (*L & S* v. *ascisco*, I.B)

58.11 as nature prescribes (*ex praescripto naturae*): translated as “law of nature” by some

58.18 social life (*convictum civium*): See Cicero, *De officiis* 3.21, *convictus humanus et societas*.

58.19 household (*familia*): “all persons subject to the control of one man, whether relations, freedmen, or slaves” [OLD 674], as noted by Matthew Spring, “How a Utopian Education Paves the Way for the Usurpation of the Family,” *Moreana* nos. 187–188 (June 2012) 77–103, at p. 83.

58.24 master of the household (*paterfamilias*): See notes to 58.19, 59.7.

58.31–33 pride ... Utopians: These key themes of pride, money, and ostentation will be given special attention in the concluding pages of *Utopia*: see pp. 99–101.

59.7 families (*famuli*): See notes to 58.19, 58.24 for the linguistic pattern with *familiae* and *paterfamilias*.

59.29 lying in bed: *Decumbere* is often used of those who are lying ill at bed.

60.22 like slaves (in sidenote, *mancipiorum vice*): “like purchased slaves” would be another translation; Miller gives “lackies of princes”; Logan/Adams: “servants to royalty”

61.3 draw them out (*provocant*): Perhaps alluding to the Roman custom of *provocatio*, a major safeguard to citizen liberty; see Andrew Lintott, “Provocation: From the Struggle of the Orders of the Principate,” *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 1.2 (1972): 226–67.

61.4 natural disposition and talent: Alternatively, this refers to their “character,” and these two words (*indolis ... et ingenii*) form a hendiadys: “natural disposition ... and character.” Cardinal Morton’s style of table conversation (24.11–13) is described in similar terms.

61.9 the second course (*mensa secunda*): this was, for Romans, traditionally associated with fruits and nuts, but did not always include specially prepared sweets.

62.6–7 leisure activities that are not ignoble (*otium non inonestum*): See the similar use of litotes above, “no disadvantage” at 61.11–12 (*nihil incommodi*). Cicero often uses the phrase *otium honestum*, contrasting it with “laziness” (*desidia* or *inertia*) (see *Brutus* 8) and often suggests it includes study of “letters” (*litterae*) (*Epistulae ad familiares* 7.33.2) or philosophy (*Epistulae ad Atticum* 1.17.5). It might even be used to prepare for a return to public labors (for which, see *De officiis* 3.1).

62.10 as I have said: See 49.11–12.

64.19 emotional attitudes: *affectiones animorum*

64.20 Anemolian: “Windy ones” is from the Greek *anemos* (breeze, wind); see also notes to 7.27 and 7.26.

64.31 dazzle the eyes ... with the splendor of their apparel (*oculos ... ornatus sui splendore praestringere*): See Cicero, *De finibus* 4.37 and *De officiis* 1.16, 3.20 on the “splendor of virtue.”

65.13 Crafty rogue! This side-gloss is given in Greek: *O technitēn*.

65.14 ambassadors’ fools: For Utopian “fools,” see below, p. 79.35.

66.10 upbringing, having been brought up (*educatio ... educti*): In More’s Latin, the meaning of *educatio* as “rearing or training of the young” is contrasted here with Latin *doctrina et litterae* (i.e., what is now called education). The Utopian citizens acquire culture just from being born and raised in Utopia, where there are no wealthy persons to be worshipped just because they are wealthy. As Surtz/Hexter point out at their note to *CW* 4: 158.4, it is a familiar humanist (and Platonic, Aristotelian) idea that a large part of education arises from “non-school” influences, such as “a well governed state” (*ex bene instituta civitate*).

66.15 liberal studies (*bonae artes*): used frequently by More in his letters to describe the humanist education (also *studia bonarum litterarum, bonae litterae*). Sallust, however, used the expression with the more general meaning of “virtuous actions” or “noble means,” and in Book 1 Raphael uses the terms *bonae (malae) artes* with this more general meaning at 23.11, 39.8.

66.28 recent dialecticians: The critique of late medieval logical treatises (such as Peter of Spain’s *Parva logicalia*, which More mentions) is another important humanist theme. This is not a rejection of the medieval trivium as a whole – just of the excessive and decadent contemporary version of logical training in the schools.

67.2 imposture of divination by stars: Astrologers (as opposed to astronomers) are satirized by More in Epigrams 60–65, 67, 101, 118, 169, and 182.

67.10–11 they dispute ... as we do: Among the Utopians, there are limits to freedom of speech: for example, lack of belief in an afterlife is considered a kind of “heresy,” disruptive to public order and mores.

67.10–13 In ... the soul: This sentence, with its threefold division of “goods,” faithfully presents traditional ethical doctrine (Plato’s *Laws* 697b, 743e; Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics* 1098b12–14, *Politics* 1323a.24–26; Cicero’s *De finibus* 2.68, 4.56).

67.13 soul (*animus*): The standard word used in classical Latin for the whole complex of sensitive, emotional, rational and intellective powers relevant for ethics. *Anima* is used below when the emphasis is on the immortality or afterlife of the soul.

67.14–15 in what ... consists: This describes Cicero’s project in *De finibus bonorum* – the very words used in the marginal note.

67.15 to lean too far: *propensiores aequo*: “more prone than is right” – a rather unexpected assertion by an otherwise laudatory Hythloday, but consistent with what he has already said about the Utopians: in their customs, for example, at table “[t]hey are rather inclined in this direction (*aliquanto procliviores*) not to prohibit any kind of pleasure, provided no disadvantage is involved in it” (61.10–12).

67.17 human happiness ... : From here until p. 74 is presented the Utopian moral philosophy, “the cornerstone of the Utopian edifice,” in the words of Logan, Adams and Miller, eds., *Utopia: Latin Text and English Translation* (Cambridge, 1995), p. xxxi. It resembles Epicureanism (but only in part) by emphasizing pleasure.

67.18 support (*patrocinium*): “patronage,” “sponsorship,” as coming from a higher, supra-rational level. Here the reader may begin to discern the non-Epicurean quality of Utopian thought. More playfully adapts a phrase of Cicero to describe the natural religion of the Utopians. Cicero twice describes (and rejects) the Epicurean school’s doctrine of pleasure as the “defense of pleasure” (*patrocinium voluptatis*; *De finibus* 2.67 and *De oratore* 3.63). The Utopians also “support” pleasure, but they must “seek” (*petunt*) such support from the transcendent principles of religion.

67.23 the soul (*anima*) is immortal: The combination of an “Epicurean” philosophy of pleasure with the non-Epicurean belief in the immortality of the soul is surprising, but it provides a justification for making the pleasure-principle supreme.

67.29 Only let him make sure (*Hoc tantum caveret ne*): Most translators have taken this as a potential subjunctive: e.g. Logan/Adams (1989): “His only care would be ... ,” as if the sentence were *explaining* what would happen if a Utopian did *not* believe in an afterlife and judgment. But it cannot mean that without an *enim* or *nam*, because the sentence states the same “pleasure-principle” that is soon repeated, with approval, at 69.15–18 and 73.34–36. More has shifted to an imperfect subjunctive, with a jussive force: in other words, this is the principle to be followed by a Utopian whose reliance on the Utopian religious principles is intact.

67.30–31 not to let ... vengeance upon: This is reminiscent of the Epicurean principles enunciated by the dialogue character Torquatus in Cicero’s *De finibus* (1.28–72), but More has creatively transformed them into a new religion-philosophy with an afterlife of the soul and incorporating Stoic and quasi-Christian aspects.

67.31 utmost madness (*dementissimum*): The identical word is used at 74.6, regarding the formulation of the Utopian (religious) pleasure-principle.

68.1 virtue alone: Reading *soli* (in agreement with *cui* [i.e., *virtuti*]) rather than *sola* (in agreement with *adversa factio*). The correction was first made by Egmond (Cologne, 1629), and has been re-affirmed by Lupton (1895) and Delcourt (1936). The “adverse faction” supports virtue “alone,” i.e., instead of being joined with pleasure and the hope of the ultimate pleasure of heaven. A member of such a faction would be the “rigid devoté of virtue and hater of pleasure” (68.9) who would pursue a “empty shadow of virtue” (74.4) without hope for eternal reward.

68.9 sad and rigid (*tristis ac rigidus*): See 67.19. In Utopia, both religion and a Stoic-like cultivation of virtue (both recognized as “sad and rigid”) are reconciled with and subordinated to pleasure, yet Utopians promote common *humanitas* and the removal of the sadness of others.

68.15 do the same for himself as well?: As A. Prévost (p. 517) notes, this is a humorous inversion of “Do unto others what you would have them do unto you” into “Do for yourself what you would do unto others” (*L’Utopie de Thomas More*, Paris: Mame, 1978).

68.25 end of ... operations (*finem operationum*): Use of the Christian word *operatio* contributes to the originality of Utopian moral philosophy, which is not simply “Epicurean” or “Stoic.”

68.27–28 more cheerful (*bilarioris*): See 2 Cor 7:9, which More quotes at *CW* 1: 135.1–2 and *CW* 14: 241.3 and alludes to at *CW* 4: 164.13 and 224.31 as well as *CW* 3.1: 41.39.

68.30 in a common species (*eiusdem formae communione*): The use of the word “*forma*” here lends a certain “scholastic” flavor.

68.31–32 not to consult ... troubles: Here the Utopian natural-religious principle of finding pleasure in one’s duty toward others and the common good continues from the previous page as part of the calculation needed to judge what is “good and honest” (67.37) pleasure. See also Cicero’s *De officiis* 1.153–55, 2.85 (invoking Plato), and 3.26–28 on the *commoda* of oneself and others.

68.35 material for pleasure (*materia voluptatis*): In this way, all Utopian legal relationships – private contracts and public laws concerning the distribution of goods – are integrated into the philosophy of pleasure.

68.37–38 prudence ... piety: The same unity of private and public virtues (*prudentia* and *pietas*) will appear with regard to euthanasia at 77.20–23 in the adverbs “prudent” and “piously” (*prudenter* and *pie*), but the distinction between the two is striking at 94.22–23. For the importance of prudence in the design of the book as a whole, see notes to 19.15–16, 19.8–20, 21.30–31, 24.29, and 102.18, as well as pages 14.26–27; 19.16; 21.25–27; 22.1; 30.34; 35.17–21, 32–33; 42.20; 43.16–17 vs. 24–32; 44.29–30; 77.19–20; 81.25–26; 82.37; 85.20.

69.2–7 To deprive ... did without: Here is expressed the special Utopian virtue of suffering for the sake of the pleasure of others – strikingly exemplified at 94.6–11.

69.6 gratitude (*charitas*): This is not the Christian virtue, but rather (in accordance with the Greek root meaning) the sense of human gratitude. The word occurs with the same meaning at 79.4 and 93.22. It has been translated variously as “love,” “affection,” or “gratitude.”

69.6–7 brings ... without: Based on comparing greater or lesser pleasures, this reasoning supports the “pleasure-principle” stated several times in this section (see note to 67.17 above).

69.8–9 religion ... agrees (*persuadet ... religio*): Here, a natural religious principle “assists” the Utopian reasoning about pleasure to believe in a reward in the next world for public spiritedness.

69.8–9 Finally ... joy: The reasoning in terms of the comparison of pleasures continues, and is a hybrid of Stoic and Epicurean ideas.

69.15 appetitive ... nature: See Cicero, *De officiis* 1.101 on appetite and reason as the “moving” and “clarifying” powers, respectively, of the soul.

69.15–18 For, just as ... right reason seeks: This re-statement of the “comparison of pleasures” rule (see 67.29–31 and 73.34–36) introduces the notion of justice (although in the negative, *iniuriam*) – now placed in the context of “right reason” and natural “appetite” ordered to the human being’s proper good.

69.28 class ... pleasure: Here begins a series of satirical attacks on six common pleasures of contemporary European society: clothing, shows of respect, precious stones, hoarded money, gambling, and hunting.

69.28–29 those ... before: See 56.33–38 above.

70.9 as I have said: See 65.25–26: “Utopians are amazed that any mortal soul could be delighted by the dubious gleam of a tiny gem....”

70.16–18 But why ... true one?: The pleasure-comparison principle here leads to a kind of moral superiority because it eliminates all the vain anxiety spent on getting assurance that the gem is genuine: the phony gem gives just as much pleasure to the eyes as the real one.

70.20 contemplation (*contemplatione*): See 20.8 (where *contemplandi* is translated as “behold”), 54.32, 71.28, and 93.35 for the other revealing instances of this word.

70.21 true pleasure ... false one: The comparison is between the superior pleasure of actually using money and the inferior pleasure of just looking at it. More uses a similar example but with significant differences at *CW* 12: 210 or *EWTM* 1202.

70.22–23 hide ... lose it: Instead of “losing” money by not using it and looking at it instead, this sort “loses” money by hiding it, and not even looking at it – a further reduction of pleasure.

70.29–30 what difference ... safe?: By the pleasure-comparison principle, there is no more pleasure in owning gold you are *not using* than in not having *any to use at all*.

70.31 inept (*ineptus*): On this distinctively Roman word, for a concept (“not fitting,” *in + aptus*) not expressed in the Greek language, see Cicero’s *De oratore* 2.17–18 and notes to 40.15–16, 40.21–22, and 41.8 above.

70.31–38 they associate ... running: An essential component of Utopian moral reasoning is (amusingly) to establish just precisely where the relevant (“false”) pleasure is located, and abstract from it. And so, just as gamblers do not really enjoy the “throw” of the dice as such, so hunters do not just enjoy watching the “running” of animals.

71.2–3 you ought ... dog: For More’s poem on this topic, narrated from the point of view of the rabbit, see Epigram 37 (in *CW* 3.2 or *EWTM*).

71.6 as we said earlier: See 59.1–12: “slaughtering ... a practice that ... diminishes mercy.”

71.7 they consider ... craft: A positive – and traditional – view of hunting is given in Plato’s *Laws* 823b–24b.

71.21–23 pregnant ... honey: See *The Four Last Things* (*CW* 1: 132.17–19 and *EWTM* 479.41–43) where More uses the same example.

71.23–25 just as ... changed: See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1.8: “The lovers of what is noble find the things that are by nature pleasant” (1099a13–14).

71.26 The pleasures ... types: At this point the argument moves from the satirical treatment of what pleasure *is not*, to a concluding account of what true pleasure *is*, from the Utopian perspective.

71.28 contemplation of the truth: Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero agree that contemplation of truth is the highest activity and “end” of human beings. See esp. Plato’s *Republic* 485d, 580d–88a, Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics* 1177a, Cicero’s *De officiis* 1.13, and Morus’s comment above at 15.10.

71.29–30 fond memory ... future good: These two kinds of pleasure show how a life of virtue and the religious hope of an eternal reward are essential components of the Utopian pleasure philosophy. “Contemplation of truth” refers to the present; the latter two pleasures refer to the past and future, respectively.

71.36 when ... children (*dum ... opera libris datur*): In a humorous way, sexual pleasure has been reduced to the release of excess bodily fluids, and with regard to its procreative aspect alone.

72.9 swollen (*tumida*): well translated in *CW* 4 as “overblown”

72.11 foundation of all pleasures: Most of the remaining discussion on pleasure centers on the doctrine of basic good health as being true pleasure for Utopians. We have reached, as it were, the core of the doctrine. The earlier argument provides the framework: first, the social and religious principles whereby the “pleasures” of public self-sacrifice and next-life rewards are explained (67.10–68.32), and second, the satirical attack on false pleasures (69.18–71.25). Good health thus “counts” as the fundamental pleasure, and is superior to all other transitory bodily pleasures. Its stability (*tranquillitas*) qualifies it as intermediate between the temporal nature of the body and the immortality of the soul.

72.13 It is ... health: The marginal note gives Horace’s famous verse from *Epistle* 1.2.49–50: *Valeat possessor oportet*. Horace’s complete sentence is: *valeat possessor oportet / si comportatis rebus bene cogitat uti* (“If someone who possesses things plans to use well the things he has acquired, he ought to be healthy [in soul] first”). Throughout his verse epistle, Horace argues for the priority of a healthy soul and strong character over material wealth.

72.15 rejected (*explosum est*): “To drive out by clapping” “to hiss off the stage” is the literal meaning of *explodo* [*ex* + *plaudere*].

72.18 by means of some external movement (*extrario ... motu*): Lupton proposed emending *ex-* to *con-*, but there is no justification for the change, especially because it would confuse the logic of the argument, which is not that health does not have an opposite: of course it does (see 72.35–37). The argument – which the Utopians have “exploded,” or “laughed off the stage” – is that health should not “count” as pleasure just because it doesn’t come to the attention so dramatically as the others (72.8–11).

72.27–32 health ... victory: The personification of health, hunger, and eating/drinking, is comparable to the personification of virtues and vices in the Utopian parlor game (p. 55), and facilitates another pleasure-comparison argument: if there is “joy” in the fight of food against hunger, there will be still more “joy” in the attainment of victory.

73.1–4 Therefore ... good life: The contemplation of truth is not listed here, although the Utopian love of truth-seeking was stated at 57.16–17 and 71.28. See also note to 70.20.

73.8 they resist ... sneaking up: The military image is in keeping with the context. The argument is Aristotle’s: *Nicomachean Ethics* 1119a.

73.10–11 it is better ... by it: If it is more pleasurable *not to have* such pleasures, the “comparison of pleasures” argument is becoming amusingly paradoxical.

73.11–17 if anyone ... pains: On the connection of pain with pleasure, see Plato’s *Philebus* 46d–47b, *Gorgias* 494b–95a.

73.22–26 the indulgence ... occasionally: After the true measure of the various corporeal pleasures has been taken (i.e., never lasting as long as the pain they remove, and always “dying” along with the “death” of the pain), the argument returns to a renewed piety toward nature (as an “indulgent parent”) through another comparison: although the pleasure of good health rarely has to be counteracted by the unpleasantness of medicine, the “daily sicknesses” of hunger and thirst, although they frequently have to be counteracted, at least bring the transitory pleasures of eating and drinking.

73.28 gifts of nature (*naturae dona*): More uses this phrase in his Lucian translation at *CW* 3.1: 13.39 and *EWTM* 23.49 in an argument of a similar kind.

73.30–31 form and beauty of the world (*mundi formam pulchritudinemque*): See Cicero, *De amicitia* 33.88: *naturam mundi et pulchritudinem siderum*; also *De officiis* 1.14, Aristotle's *Metaphysics* 1078a36ff, Plato's *Symposium* 211b7ff. Aristotle also stresses the role of beauty in right action in the *Nicomachean Ethics* 1099a (esp 22–25) and 1098a.

73.33–34 agreeable seasoning of life (*iucunda ... vitae condimenta*): “the condiments of life.” The final bodily pleasures listed here (beautiful sights of nature, fragrances, and music), founded on health, the core bodily pleasure, are transitional to the purely intellectual pleasures (of understanding truth, fond memories, and hope) already mentioned at 71.27–30.

73.34 this rule: another restatement and further qualification of the Utopian pleasure-principle

73.34 whenever the pleasure is dishonorable (*si inbonesta sit*): a point already mentioned at 67.36–37.

73.37–74.7 to refuse ... benefits: This passage recalls closely the statement made near the beginning of the ethics section (67.23–68.8). Such actions, “the Utopians” believe, show ingratitude to nature; they hold to “the indulgence of Mother Nature” (73.22). The strong condemnation of asceticism here certainly makes the Utopian philosophy seem “worldly.” But we also find out on pages 93–94 that the holiest Utopians are “led by [the Utopian] religion” (94.25) to give up pleasures of the present life and long for the pleasures of the future life.

74.6 utmost madness (*dementissimum*): used earlier at 67.31, where Raphael first seemed to reject fasting – in contrast, with More's own articulation of the tradition's insistence on it, including *CW* 8: 67 and 81 where More refers to Scripture's examples of Moses' and Christ's fasting.

74.8–10 unless ... holy: Raphael indirectly alludes here to the question of the Christianization of Utopia, the beginning stages of which he will discuss below at 90.30ff. Raphael entirely approves of the mission, but at the same time emphasizes the religious freedom established by Utopus.

74.12–13 After all ... as well: Hythloday concludes his account of the Utopian religious and moral philosophy with this apparent disclaimer, but he will go on to speak of Utopia in unqualified superlative praise in the next sentence and at the end of Book 2.

74.33 our instruction (*nostra interpretatione*): i.e., “translation” since Raphael and his companions had to translate the Greek texts to them until they learned Greek themselves

74.34 to teach (*legere*): “to read aloud,” i.e., to recite and comment on (cf. the origin of the word “lecture”)

75.10–11 preserves ... magistrates: See *anhydrous, amaurotum, phylarch* at pages 49–51 and 108.12–18.

75.20 Hesychius's ... dictionary: First printed in 1514, yet Raphael says the Utopians had it a decade earlier.

75.25 Tricius Apinatus: A made-up name, meaning “stuff and nonsense.” See Erasmus, *Adages* 143 (*CWE* 31: 184).

75.26 Microtechné: the *Ars medica* or *Art of Medicine*, a popular medieval synthesis of Galen's views on pathology

75.32–33 gain ... Author: Pleasure is again connected with natural piety.

75.33 Craftsman (*opifex*): probably a translation for *demiourgos*, the creator in Plato's *Timaeus*; this Latin word is used in Ficino's commentaries and summary of Plato.

75.37 craft: Literally, “work,” but “craft” brings out more obviously the reference back to *opifex* in the Latin text.

76.22–23 gold ... anyway!: The Utopians' peculiar treatment of gold and silver are recounted at pages 62–66. Although they possess much of it and hire mercenaries with it, they are said not to be attached to it in terms of their domestic economy, except to use as a way of identifying convicts and slaves.

76.28–30 They do not ... slaves: Raphael states that there are limits on Utopian slavery. See page 89.21, where it is stated that the actual fighters of the war, not the civilians (as in ancient times), are the ones enslaved: ... *ceteris defensoribus in servitutum addictis, imbellem turbam omnem relinquunt intactam.*

76.29 “fairness” in the side-note is *aequitas*. See notes at 24.22, 29.11–12, 29.34, 41.25–26.

76.35–77.2 treating ... upbringing: The all-encompassing education of Utopian society (see 66.9ff.) affects the penal system. The foreign convicts and “voluntary” slaves are given kindlier treatment than the natives who are specially punished in this way for not fulfilling the Utopian “promise.” See also the effect of Utopian social education on the military, at page 87.

77.8 as I said: at 59.10ff

77.20–23 prudent ... holy way: For a similar joining of prudence with piety, see the note at 68.37–38 and the illustration on 109.

77.27–30 It is honorable ... swamp: Raphael distinguishes between state-approved, public-spirited euthanasia and individually-chosen suicide.

78.24–25 since they ... spouse: The contrast between the Utopians and the “other countries in those regions” is similar to the contrast with regard to keeping treaties at pp. 81–82 where a comparison is set up with European countries, who sarcastically are described as most faithful to treaties.

78.33 old age ... a disease: Erasmus, *Adages* 1537 (*CWE* 33: 309–10)

79.19 nuisance of slavery: *incommodo servitutis*

79.23–25 But if ... chains: Compare this apparent lack of interest in any kind of rehabilitation with Raphael’s statement to Morton at 32.6–10 about punishments designed to be “humane and beneficial” (*humanitatis et commodi*).

79.36–37 In fact ... fools themselves: The point seems to fit the Utopian philosophy. The clowns are rewarded by causing delight for others; it is their mode of public service.

80.25–26 bundle ... hand: See Thomas More’s Letter to Erasmus of December 4, 1516 (*EE* 499; *EWTM* 279–80) where More says he dreamed of himself as a Utopian *princeps*, carrying just this symbol of authority.

80.28 laws (*leges*): See Epigram 33 on p. 111. See also Plato’s *Republic* 4.425c–d; Plutarch’s *Lycurgus* 13.1–2.

80.28 trained as they are (*sic institutis*): Another reference to the Utopian culture, which is presented as performing much of the work of character education: see note at 76.35–77.2.

80.34 lawyers: The word used here for lawyer, *causidicus*, has a disparaging sense, even in an author such as Cicero who could look highly upon the legal profession (*De oratore* 1.202).

81.5 interpretations ... most unrefined (*[interpretatio] maxime crassa*): “unrefined, blunt, simple, thick.” Other translations have been less literal: “obvious,” “straightforward”; More may be thinking of the expression *crassa Minerva* of Horace’s *Satires* 2.233: “plain wisdom.”

81.14–15 common run of men: *crassum vulgi iudicium*

81.15–16 a life busy with earning a living (*vita in comparando victu occupata*): A very compressed way of saying that it might take a lifetime of leisure to figure out the legal complexities – certainly not available to the common man who must earn a living.

81.24–25 its well-being ... magistrates: See Cicero, *De officiis* 1.124, 2.27; *De legibus* 3.2; *Pro Cluentio* 146.

81.29–30 two evils – favoritism and greed (*duo mala affectus atque avaritiae*): referring to the two problems just described, bribery (greed) and influence (favoritism)

81.34 Treaties (*Foedera*): See notes to 18.9 and 89.15 as well as the use of this term in Epigram 32 on p. 111 – in contrast to *foedera*'s ten uses in this section.

82.3–4 in Europe ... everywhere: Raphael's description of European faithfulness to treaties is sarcastic. At this point the Utopians are contrasted with their own neighbors (as with the question of marital infidelity or polygamy at 78.24–25).

82.23 two kinds of justice: The “two justices” are nearly personified here.

82.33 fellowship of nature (*naturae societas*): See “our natural fellowship” (*pro naturae societate*) at 68.8.

83.2 community of nature: *naturae consortium*

83.6 War ... beastial ... beasts: There is a pun in the Latin: *bellum* (war) and *belua* (beast), and *res beluina* (bestial thing).

83.14 humane conduct (*humanitatis gratia*): For the other uses of *humanitas*, see 32.7, 48.32, 68.12, 69.3.

83.15–16 so the friends can defend themselves (*quo se defendant*): Previous translators have not made it clear enough that the “friend” nations are “defending themselves” against their own enemies with the aid of the Utopians. As is clear a few lines below, the Utopians are not, in this circumstance, fighting in their own interest, in the sense of “defending themselves,” so the reflexive *se* (“themselves”), must refer to the friend nations, not the Utopians.

83.25–26 Nephelogetans ... Alaopolitans: *Nephelogetae*: a country of “people born from a cloud,” as if from Greek *nephelē* (cloud) and *genetai* (begotten, born from); *Alaopolitae*: a country of “non-people citizens” or “people without a country” as if from Greek *a-*(non) and *laos* (people) and *politai* (citizens)

83.34 passed under (*concessere*): In the flow of More's long Latin sentence, the subject of this verb must be assumed from the context, and it would seem that the Alaopolitans are meant. The expression is intransitive (*L & S s.v. concedo*, II.B): *concedere in potestatem alicuius* means to “go under someone's power,” submit to someone; consequently, the subject of *concessere* would not be the Utopians, as if they “granted” or “conceded” something to someone (transitive use *L & S s.v. concedo* I.B.3a). The military victory is finally that of the Nephelogetae over the Alaopolitans, and the Utopians only assisted.

85.33 valuable: *Caros* might also mean “dear” or “beloved.”

85.35 gold ... purpose: See 63.2–6.

86.1 as I said earlier: See 62.30–34.

86.2 Zapoletes: “busy sellers” – of military services.

88.5 integrity (*honestas*): See notes to 19.8–20, 24.8, 28.28.

88.17 unless: The Latin word *nisi* has been mistranslated “if” by earlier translators. This may be due to a printer’s error in the immediate context. *Nisi* will only make sense as “unless” (which it must mean) if the Latin phrase *ceteris superati partibus* is corrected to *ceteris superatis partibus*. This correction makes the “defeated” ones the “other parts [of the enemy army]” not the Utopians themselves (*superati* forces us to think that the *Utopians* have been defeated “with respect to the other parts”), but the meaning demanded by the entire context, both preceding and following, is that it is the *opponents* of the Utopians that have been defeated everywhere else (expressed by an ablative absolute, *ceteris superatis partibus*, referring to the successful defeat of the enemy by the Utopians: “the other parts [of the enemy army] having been defeated,” i.e., in the rest of the battle. It means that even though their opponents have been defeated *by the Utopians* in the other parts of the battle, the Utopians restrain themselves from chasing after them until their final “reserve” line has secured the final phase of victory, in order to prevent any surprise reversals due to a still-undefeated enemy remnant taking advantage of the disorder in the victorious army as it chases after the retreating foes. This defensive strategy is intended to prevent other armies from derailing a Utopian victory at the last minute, the way the Utopians have in the past derailed, at the last minute, the victories of their enemies. In other words, *unless* (not “if”) they win with their very last contingent, they do not consider the battle finished, i.e., they refuse to break ranks to give chase.

89.15 truces (*indutiis*): a cessation of hostilities; an armistice. See Gellius, *Attic Nights* 1.25; Cicero, *De officiis* 1.23; Sallust, *Jugurtha* 31.4. Compare this Utopian policy with their way of dealing with treaties (*foedera*) at pp. 81–82 and the use of *foedera* in Epigram 32.

89.21–22 The whole ... untouched: See p. 76.

89.33 “financial officer” (*quaestor*): a Roman magistrate originally appointed by the consuls and elected annually to perform mainly financial duties (*OLD*)

89.37–38 danger that I mentioned before: See p. 85.14–17.

90.13 energy: *virtus*

91.10 pontifex (*pontificis*): See 15.2 and note to 94.35.

92.28–31 They do ... encourage it: The restriction of open public discourse is contrasted with the encouragement of frankness with the authorities.

93.11 cremate: Strikingly, the traditional Christian method of burial is reserved for Utopian malfeasants, while the ancient “pagan” mode of cremation is reserved for the virtuous.

94.8 providing others with leisure: See 69.2–7 for the special Utopian virtue of suffering for the sake of the pleasure of others.

94.28 Buthrescae: From the Greek *bou-* (cow-like) and *threskeia* (religious worship). The *bou-* prefix is used to mean “hugely,” “excessively.”

94.32 shrines (*templa*): used in classical Latin for temples of the gods, in Europe for churches, and, in *Utopia*, for the religious shrines of the Utopians. London had over 100 churches and monasteries for a population between 50,000 and 60,000. A city of *Utopia* has thirteen shrines for 60,000 to 90,000 adults.

94.34 attendants (*comites*): On the title page, More identifies himself as a *vicecomes*, the translation of which is still uncertain. See notes to iii.8, 14.3, 18.11, 20.17, and 53.6.

94.35 high priest (*pontifex*): See Morus’s use of this term in his letter on page 15.2 and above at 91.10. Given the history of Europe, is this a hint of humor in suggesting there could be fifty-four popes or *pontifici* on an island the size of England – all in perfect harmony?

94.37 elected by the people: But as we've seen, the priests must belong to the scholar class, all of whom are nominated by the priests and elected by secret ballots of the 200 syphogrants. See 56.3–4.

95.13–17 they apply ... lives: See Horace's *Epis.* 1.2.69–70: "The jar preserves the fragrance longest of that with which it first was filled." The same work of Horace was quoted in the side note on page 72.

96.9 one's remaining fate: That is, one's remaining life after the hazards of war. For this sense of *reliqua fortuna*, see Livy 5.40; Caesar, *Alexandrian War* 16.

96.25 temples (*delubra*): A word not used for Christian churches; used also at 97.20. See notes to 19.21 and 94.32.

97.18–19 in fear of ... punishment: Several times fear is indicated as a primary method of forming behavior for the Utopians. See esp. 97.28–29 and 67.24–25, 92.14–25, 95.5–11, 97.28–29, 98.12, vs. 93.15.

97.26 to place ... older person: This Utopian method of "social conformity" has been seen before at 60.24–29 and 87.14–16, 20–27.

97.28 religious fear: *religiosum ... metum*

99.31 goldsmith (*aurifex*): Literally a "goldsmith," but, as Lupton points out, it means today's "banker" or "money-manager" rather than some kind of artisan.

100.9 that squanders ... goldsmiths: See note to 99.31.

101.26 suckfish (*remora*): A fish that attaches itself to sharks, whales or ships, thought by the ancients to slow down the speed of ships. See *remoratur* (delays) and *mora* (delay).

102.10 I remembered ... people: See 23.22–26.

102.18 experienced in human affairs (*rerum humanarum peritissimus*): Cicero says that the philosopher and statesmen must learn to despise these things as passing goods. At *De officiis* 1.72, for example, he writes, "Statesmen, too, no less than philosophers – perhaps even more so – should carry with them the greatness of spirit and indifference to outward circumstances [*despicientia rerum humanarum*] to which I so often refer, together with the calm of soul and freedom from care, if they are to be free ... and lead a dignified and self-consistent life." On the other hand, in More's Letter to the University of Oxford, he urges learning the *prudentia rerum humanarum* as an essential preparation for theology (*CW* 15: 138.17–18, translation *TMSB* p. 208n3, and *EWTM* 418.81–82).

102.19–20 I readily confess ... hope for: These last two lines restate almost word for word Cicero's famous judgment upon Plato's *Republic*. Compare the last five words of *Utopia* (*civitatibus optarim verius quam sperarim*) with Cicero's *civitatemque optandam magis quam sperandam* (*De re publica* 2.30.52), but see the qualifications on page 227n6 in Wegemer, *Thomas More on Statesmanship* (CUA Press, 1996).

103.17 "extends the grass": See Pliny, *Natural History* 22.8: "For in old times it was the most solemn token of defeat for the conquered to present grass to their conquerors, for to do so meant that they withdrew from their land, from the very soil that nurtured them and even from means of burial."

104.17 ruling class (*optimates*): The term has strong associations with the oligarchic, republican government favored by Cicero (for the *locus classicus*, see Cicero, *Republic* 1.39, but the term is found throughout Cicero's philosophical work, his speeches, and letters).

106.7 sources (*fontes*): See note to 10.29.

106.14 sources: See notes to 10.29, 106.7.

107.15 criticizing: The word *notare* might designate either noting a passage for its importance or for criticism.

108.3 accounting of all things: By *calculi*, More seems to have in mind the “counting stones” used to make detailed calculations. To “call to the counting stones” (*ad calculos vocare*) is to insist on a detailed accounting (see Livy 5.4.7), often where inappropriate (see Cicero, *De amicitia* 58). Here, he seems to dismiss the entire investigation into strengths and weaknesses of these philosophers as undignified, since he would have to report on the counting stones regarding the whole of their work.

108.7–8 truth ... minds: See More’s description of the proper work of the poet as ensuring that “little by little good opinions must be instilled into men’s breasts with honeyed verses” (*mellitis numeris opiniones bonae sensim inferendae pectoribus*, *CW* 3.2: 644.6–7 or *EWTM* 468.63–65).

108.25–26 “I thank ... birth”: Terence, *Andria* 771–72

108.33–34 with arguments: *Quaestio* normally has a stronger connotation than questions. It involves a challenging enquiry. In the judicial sphere, it may represent interrogation, up to and including torture. In more open-ended discussions, it may represent a statement of a controversy, or a problematic starting point for discussion.

108.36 clever: *Scitus* is either clever or nice and attractive.