Utopia

THOMAS MORE
1478–1535

Utopia

De optimo reipublicae statu deque nova insula Utopia

Translated from the Latin with AI (Claude) and edited



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Utopia · Thomas More (1478–1535)

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INTRODUCTION

Thomas More was a London lawyer, an under-sheriff of the city and a friend of Erasmus when he wrote *Utopia* in 1515–16, partly while on a diplomatic mission to Flanders. He later became Lord Chancellor of England, refused to accept Henry VIII as head of the Church, and was beheaded in 1535. *Utopia* was published in Latin at Louvain in 1516, with Erasmus seeing it through the press.

The book is framed as a true report. In Antwerp, More's friend Peter Giles introduces him to Raphael Hythloday, a Portuguese traveller who has sailed with Amerigo Vespucci. In Book I they argue about whether a philosopher should serve a king, and Raphael attacks the England of the day: thieves hanged by the score while enclosures turn farmland into sheep pasture and drive the poor to steal. His remedy is to abolish private property. In Book II he describes the island where this has been done: Utopia, whose people share everything, work six hours a day, despise gold, choose their magistrates, and tolerate many religions.

The name is a Greek pun, "no-place" (and, the prefatory verses add, "good place"), and the book is full of such jokes: Hythloday means something like "peddler of nonsense." How far More endorsed what Raphael praises has been argued ever since. His word gave the language a name for every imagined perfect society. This edition includes More's prefatory letter to Peter Giles.

Letter to Peter Giles

Thomas Morus Petro Aegidio
More sends the book to his friend, apologizes for the delay, and asks exactly where Utopia lies.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
P.1	Pudet me propemodum charissime Petre Aegidi libellum hunc, de Vtopiana republica, post annum ferme ad te mittere, quem te non dubito intra sesquimensem expectasse. quippe quum scires mihi demptum in hoc opere inueniendi laborem, neque de dispositione quicquam fuisse cogitandum, cui tantum erant ea recitanda, quae tecum una pariter audiui narrantem Raphaelem. quare nec erat quod in eloquendo laboraretur, quando nec illius sermo potuit exquisitus esse, quum esset primum subitarius, atque extemporalis, deinde hominis, ut scis, non perinde Latine docti quam Graece, & mea oratio quanto accederet propius ad illius neglectam simplicitatem, tanto futura sit propior ueritati, cui hac in re soli curam & debeo & habeo.	I am almost ashamed, my dear Peter Giles, to be sending you this little book about the Utopian commonwealth nearly a year late, when I have no doubt you expected it within six weeks. After all, you knew that I had been spared the labor of invention in this work, and had nothing to think about in the way of arrangement. I had only to repeat what you and I together heard Raphael tell. So there was no need to labor over the style either. His speech could not have been polished: first, it was impromptu and off the cuff, and second, it was the speech of a man who, as you know, is not as well versed in Latin as in Greek. And the closer my language came to his careless simplicity, the closer it would be to the truth, which is the one thing I ought to care about in this matter, and do.[1]
P.2	Fateor mi Petre, mihi adeo multum laboris hijs rebus paratis detractum, ut pene nihil fuerit relictum. alioquin huius rei uel excogitatio, uel oeconomia, potuisset, ab ingenio neque infimo, neque prorsus indocto postulare, tum temporis nonnihil, tum studij. quod si exigeretur, ut diserte etiam res, non tantum uere scriberetur, id uero a me praestari, nullo tempore, nullo studio potuisset.	I confess, my dear Peter, that having all this ready to hand took so much of the labor off me that almost nothing was left. Otherwise, either devising or arranging such a subject could have demanded a good deal of time and study from a mind neither of the lowest sort nor wholly unlearned. And if it had been required that the matter be written eloquently as well as truthfully, that I could never have achieved, however much time or study I gave it.
P.3	Nunc uero quum ablatis curis hijs, in quibus tantum fuit sudoris exhauriendum, restiterit tantum hoc, uti sic simpliciter scriberentur audita, nihil erat negocij. sed huic tamen tam nihilo negocij peragendo, caetera negocia mea minus fere quam nihil temporis reliquerunt. Dum causas forenseis assidue alias ago, alias audio, alias arbiter finio, alias iudex dirimo, dum hic officij causa uisitur, ille negocij, dum foris totum ferme diem alijs impartior, reliquum meis, relinquo mihi, hoc est literis, nihil.	As it was, with those concerns removed, which would have cost so much sweat, all that remained was simply to write down what I had heard. That was no business at all. Yet to get even this no-business done, the rest of my business left me almost less than no time. I am constantly pleading some cases in court, hearing others, settling others as an arbitrator and deciding others as a judge. I call on one man out of duty and another on business. I give almost the whole day, away from home, to

1 "Utopia" is More's coinage from Greek, meaning "no-place." Peter Giles (Pieter Gillis, c. 1486–1533) was town clerk of Antwerp and a humanist friend of Erasmus.

LATIN	ENGLISH
	other people, and the rest to my own household. So I leave nothing for myself, that is, for my studies.
P.4 Nempe reuerso domum, cum uxore fabulandum est, garriendum cum liberis, colloquendum cum ministris. quae ego omnia inter negocia numero, quando fieri necesse est (necesse est autem, nisi uelis esse domi tuae peregrinus) & danda omnino opera est, ut quos uitae tuae comites, aut natura prouidit, aut fecit casus, aut ipse delegisti, hijs ut te quam iucundissimum compares, modo ut ne comitate corrumpas, aut indulgentia ex ministris dominos reddas.	For when I come home, I have to talk with my wife, chat with my children and confer with my servants. All this I count as business, since it has to be done. And it has to be, unless you want to be a stranger in your own home. You must make every effort to be as agreeable as possible to those whom nature has provided, or chance has made, or you yourself have chosen as the companions of your life. Only take care not to spoil them by kindness, or by indulgence to turn your servants into your masters.
P.5 Inter haec quae dixi elabitur dies, mensis, annus. Quando ergo scribimus? nec interim de somno quicquam sum loquutus, ut nec de cibo quidem, qui multis non minus absumit temporis, quam somnus ipse, qui uitae absumit ferme dimidium. At mihi hoc solum temporis adquiro quod somno ciboque suffuror, quod quoniam parcum est, lente, quia tamen aliquid, aliquando perfeci, atque ad te mi Petre transmisi Vtopiam ut legeres, & si quid effugisset nos, uti tu admoneres.	Amid all this, the day slips away, the month, the year. When, then, do I write? And I have said nothing yet about sleep, nor even about food, which for many people takes up no less time than sleep itself, and sleep takes up almost half of life. The only time I get for myself is what I steal from sleep and meals. Because it is little, I have been slow; because it is something, I have finished at last, and I have sent Utopia to you, my dear Peter, for you to read and to point out anything that has escaped me.
P.6 Quanquam enim non hac parte penitus diffido mihi (qui utinam sic ingenio atque doctrina aliquid essem, ut memoria non usquequaque destituor) non usqueadeo tamen confido, ut credam nihil mihi potuisse excidere. Nam & Ioannes Clemens puer meus, qui adfuit ut scis una, ut quem a nullo patior sermone abesse in quo aliquid esse fructus potest, quoniam ab hac herba qua & latinis literis & Graecis coepit euirescere, egregiam aliquando frugem spero, in magnam me coniecit dubitationem. siquidem quum, quantum ego recordor, Hythlodaeus narrauerit Amauroticum illum pontem, quo fluuius Anydrus insternitur, quingentos habere passus in longum, Ioannes meus ait detrahendos esse ducentos, latitudinem fluminis haud supra trecentos ibi continere. Ego te rogo rem ut reuoces in memoriam.	Not that I entirely distrust myself on this score. I only wish my wit and learning were worth as much as my memory, which does not altogether fail me. But I am not so confident as to believe that nothing could have slipped my mind. My boy John Clement has thrown me into great doubt. He was there with us, as you know, for I let him miss no conversation from which some profit may come, since I hope for an excellent crop one day from this young plant, which has begun to put out green shoots in Latin and Greek studies. As far as I remember, Hythloday said that the bridge at Amaurot which spans the river Anyder is five hundred paces long. But my John says two hundred must be taken off, since the river is no more than three hundred paces wide at that point. Please call the matter back to mind.[2]
Nam si tu cum illo sentis, ego quoque adsentiar & me lapsum credam, sin ipse non recolis, scribam ut feci quod ipse recordari uideor mihi, nam ut maxime curabo, ne	If you agree with him, I will agree too and believe I was mistaken. But if you don't remember, I will write what I seem to remember myself, as I have

2 John Clement (d. 1572) was More's young pupil and later a physician. The names are Greek jokes: Hythloday means roughly "peddler of nonsense," Amaurot "dim city," Anyder "waterless."

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	quid sit in libro falsi, ita si quid sit in ambiguo, potius mendacium dicam, quam mentiar, quod malim bonus esse quam prudens.	done. For while I shall take the greatest care that there is nothing false in the book, if anything is doubtful I would rather say something untrue than tell a lie, because I would rather be honest than clever.[3]
P.7	Quanquam facile fuerit huic mederi morbo, si ex Raphaele ipso, aut praesens scisciteris, aut per literas, quod necesse est facias, uel ob alium scrupulum, qui nobis incidit nescio mea ne culpa magis, an tua, an Raphaelis ipsius. Nam neque nobis in mentem uenit quaerere, neque illi dicere, qua in parte noui illius orbis Vtopia sita sit. Quod non fuisse praetermissum sic, uellem profecto mediocri pecunia mea redemptum, uel quod subpudet me nescire, quo in mari sit insula de qua tam multa recenseam, uel quod sunt apud nos unus & alter, sed unus maxime, uir pius & professione Theologus, qui miro flagrat desyderio adeundae Vtopiae, non inani & curiosa libidine collustrandi noua, sed uti religionem nostram, feliciter ibi coeptam, foueat atque adaugeat.	It would, however, be easy to remedy this ailment if you asked Raphael himself, either in person or by letter. And you must do so in any case because of another difficulty that has come up, and I don't know whether it is more my fault, or yours, or Raphael's. It did not occur to us to ask, nor to him to say, in what part of that new world Utopia lies. I would certainly have paid a fair sum of my own money for that not to have been left out. For one thing, I am rather ashamed not to know in what sea the island lies about which I have so much to report. For another, there are one or two people here, and one in particular, a devout man and a theologian by profession, who burns with an extraordinary desire to go to Utopia. It is not from an idle and curious appetite for seeing new things, but to foster and increase our religion, which has made a happy beginning there.
P.8	Quod quo faciat rite, decreuit ante curare ut mittatur a Pontifice, atque adeo ut creetur Vtopiensibus Episcopus, nihil eo scrupulo retardatus, quod hoc antistitium sit illi precibus impetrandum. Quippe sanctum ducit ambitum, quem non honoris aut quaestus ratio, sed pietatis respectus pepererit. Quamobrem te oro mi Petre uti aut praesens, si potes commode, aut absens per epistolam, compelles Hythlodaeum, atque efficias, ne quicquam huic operi meo, aut insit falsi, aut ueri desyderetur. Atque haud scio an praestet ipsum ei librum ostendi. Nam neque alius aeque sufficit, si quid est erratum corrigere, neque is ipse aliter hoc praestare potest, quam si quae sunt a me scripta perlegerit. Ad haec: fiet ut hoc pacto intelligas, accipiatne libenter, an grauatim ferat, hoc operis a me conscribi.	To do this properly, he has decided first to arrange to be sent by the Pope, and indeed to be made bishop of the Utopians. He is not in the least held back by the scruple that he would have to solicit this office, for he regards ambition as holy when it springs not from thoughts of honor or gain but from regard for piety. So I beg you, my dear Peter, to press Hythloday, in person if you conveniently can, or by letter if you are away, and make sure that my work contains nothing false and lacks nothing true. And I rather think it would be best to show him the book itself. For no one else is so well qualified to correct any errors, and he himself can do so only by reading through what I have written. Besides, in this way you will find out whether he is glad or unwilling that I should write this work.
	Nempe si suos labores decreuit ipse mandare literis, nolit fortasse me: neque ego certe uelim, Vtopiensium per me uulgata republica, florem illi gratiamque nouitatis historiae suae praeripere.	For if he has decided to put his own adventures in writing, he may perhaps not want me to. And I certainly would not want, by publishing the Utopians' commonwealth, to rob his own story of the bloom and charm of novelty.
P.9	Quanquam ut uere dicam, nec ipse mecum satis adhuc constitui, an sim omnino aediturus. Etenim tam uaria	Though, to tell the truth, I have not yet quite made up my mind whether to publish at all. People's

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sunt palata mortalium, tam morosa quorundam ingenia, tam ingrati animi, tam absurda iudicia, ut cum hijs haud paulo felicius agi uideatur, qui iucundi atque hilares genio indulgent suo, quam qui semet macerant curis, ut aedant aliquid quod alijs, aut fastidientibus, aut ingratis, uel utilitati possit esse, uel uoluptati.	tastes are so varied, some minds so peevish, some dispositions so ungrateful, some judgments so absurd, that those who cheerfully and merrily indulge their own inclinations seem much better off than those who wear themselves out with cares to publish something that may be either useful or pleasant to others, who are either disdainful or ungrateful.
P.10 Plurimi literas nesciunt: multi contemnunt. Barbarus ut durum reijcit, quicquid non est plane barbarum, Scioli aspernantur ut triuiale, quicquid obsoletis uerbis non scatet. quibusdam solum placent uetera, plerisque tantum sua. Hic tam tetricus est, ut non admittat iocos, hic tam insulsus, ut non ferat sales. tam simi quidam sunt, ut nasum omnem uelut aquam ab rabido morsus cane, reformident. adeo mobiles alij sunt, ut aliud sedentes probent, aliud stantes. Hi sedent in tabernis, & inter pocula de scriptorum iudicant ingenijs, magnaque cum autoritate condemnant utcunque lubitum est, suis quenque scriptis, ueluti capillicio uellicantes, ipsi interim tuti, & quod dici solet, ἔξω βέλους. quippe tam leues & abrasi undique, ut ne pilum quidem habeant boni uiri, quo possint apprehendi.	Most people know nothing of letters; many despise them. The uncultured reader rejects as difficult whatever is not thoroughly uncultured. The half-learned scorn as commonplace whatever does not bristle with obsolete words. Some like only what is old; most like only what is their own. This man is so grim that he allows no jokes; that one so witless that he cannot bear wit. Some are so flat-nosed that they dread every nose, every hint of mockery, as a man bitten by a mad dog dreads water. Others are so changeable that they approve one thing sitting and another standing. These people sit in taverns and, over their cups, pass judgment on the talents of writers. With great authority, and just as they please, they condemn each author by his writings, plucking at him as if by the hair, while they themselves stay safe, and, as the saying goes, ἔξω βέλους [out of range]. For they are so smooth and shaven all over that they have not even a hair of a decent man by which anyone could catch hold of them.
Sunt praeterea quidam tam ingrati, ut quum impense delectentur opere: nihilo tamen magis ament autorem. non absimiles inhumanis hospitibus, qui quum opiparo conuiuio prolixe sint excepti, saturi demum discedunt domum, nullis habitis gratijs ei, a quo sunt inuitati. I nunc & hominibus tam delicati palati: tam uarij gustus: animi praeterea tam memoris & grati, tuis impensis epulum instrue.	Then there are some so ungrateful that, although they take great delight in a work, they love the author none the more for it. They are not unlike rude guests who, after being lavishly entertained at a sumptuous dinner, finally go home well fed without a word of thanks to their host. Go on, then, and lay on a feast at your own expense for people with such delicate palates, such varied tastes, and such mindful and grateful hearts!
P.11 Sed tamen mi Petre tu illud age quod dixi cum Hythlodaeo. postea tamen integrum erit hac de re consultare denuo. Quanquam si id ipsius uoluntate fiat: quandoquidem scribendi labore defunctus: nunc sero sapio: quod reliquum est de aedendo: sequar amicorum consilium: atque in primis tuum. Vale dulcissime Petre Aegidi: cum	All the same, my dear Peter, do what I said with Hythloday. After that it will still be open to me to think the matter over again. Though if it is done with his consent, since I have finished the labor of writing and am wise too late, then for what remains, the publishing, I will follow the advice of my friends, and yours first of all.

3 More plays on a classical distinction: to say something untrue by mistake (*mendacium dicere*) is not the same as to lie (*mentiri*), which means deliberately to deceive.

LATIN	ENGLISH
optima coniuge: ac me ut soles ama: quando ego te amo etiam plus quam soleo.	Farewell, my dearest Peter Giles, and your excellent wife too; and love me as you always do, since I love you even more than I usually do.

Book I

Liber primus
More meets the traveller Raphael Hythloday, who refuses to serve kings and blames private property for England's thieves.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
1.1	Quum non exigui momenti negocia quaedam inuictissimus Angliae Rex Henricus eius nominis octauus, omnibus egregij principis artibus ornatissimus, cum serenissimo Castellae principe Carolo controuersa nuper habuisset, ad ea tractanda, componendaque, oratorem me legauit in Flandriam, comitem & collegam uiri incomparabilis Cuthberti Tunstalli, quem sacris scrinijs nuper ingenti omnium gratulatione praefecit, de cuius sane laudibus nihil a me dicetur, non quod uerear ne parum syncerae fidei testis habenda sit amicitia, sed quod uirtus eius, ac doctrina maior est, quam ut a me praedicari possit, tum notior ubique atque illustrior, quam ut debeat, nisi uideri uelim solem lucerna, quod aiunt, ostendere.	The most invincible King of England, Henry, the eighth of that name, richly endowed with all the accomplishments of an outstanding prince, had recently had a dispute on some matters of no small importance with the most serene Prince Charles of Castile. To discuss and settle them, he sent me as ambassador to Flanders, as companion and colleague of that incomparable man Cuthbert Tunstall, whom he recently appointed Master of the Rolls, to everyone's great delight. I will say nothing in his praise. This is not because I fear that friendship might be thought a less than honest witness. It is because his virtue and learning are too great for me to celebrate, and too well known and renowned everywhere to need it, unless I want to seem, as the saying goes, to show someone the sun with a lamp.[1]
1.2	Occurrerunt nobis Brugis (sic enim conuenerat) hi, quibus a principe negocium demandabatur, egregij uiri omnes. in his praefectus Brugensis uir magnificus, princeps & caput erat, caeterum os & pectus Georgius Temsicius Cassiletanus Praepositus, non arte solum, uerumetiam natura facundus, ad haec iureconsultissimus, tractandi uero negocij cum ingenio, tum assiduo rerum usu eximius artifex. ubi semel atque iterum congressi, quibusdam de rebus non satis consentiremus, illi in aliquot dies uale nobis dicto, Bruxellas profecti sunt, principis oraculum sciscitaturi. Ego me interim (sic enim res ferebat) Antuerpiam confero.	At Bruges, as had been agreed, we were met by those whom the prince had put in charge of the business, all excellent men. Among them the governor of Bruges, a magnificent man, was the chief and head, but the mouth and heart was Georges de Themsecke, provost of Cassel. He was eloquent not only by training but by nature, deeply learned in the law, and a consummate master of negotiation, thanks both to his natural ability and to long experience. When we had met once or twice and could not agree on certain points, they took leave of us for a few days and went off to Brussels to consult the prince's oracle. Meanwhile, since the business allowed it, I went to Antwerp.[2]
1.4	Ibi dum uersor, saepe me inter alios, sed quo non alius gratior, inuisit Petrus Aegidius Antuerpiae natus, magna	While I was there, I had many visitors, but none more welcome than Peter Giles, a native of Ant-

1 Cuthbert Tunstall (1474–1559), humanist, later bishop of London and of Durham, became Master of the Rolls in 1516. Prince Charles is the future Emperor Charles V; the embassy took place in 1515.
2 Georges de Themsecke (d. 1536), provost of the church of Cassel in Flanders, was one of Prince Charles's councilors.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	fide, & loco apud suos honesto, dignus honestissimo, quippe iuuenis haud scio doctiorne, an moratior. est enim optimus & literatissimus, ad haec animo in omnes candido, in amicos uero tam propenso pectore, amore, fide, adfectu tam syncero, ut uix unum aut alterum usquam inuenias, quem illi sentias omnibus amicitiae numeris esse conferendum.	werp. He is a man of great trustworthiness and of honorable standing among his people, worthy of the most honorable; indeed, a young man of whom I cannot say whether he is more learned or of better character. For he is excellent and highly lettered, open-hearted toward everyone, and toward his friends so warm, so sincere in love, loyalty and affection, that you would hardly find one or two anywhere to compare with him in every point of friendship.
1.5	Rara illi modestia, nemini longius abest fucus, nulli simplicitas inest prudentior, porro sermone tam lepidus, & tam innoxie facetus, ut patriae desyderium, ac laris domestici, uxoris, & liberorum, quorum studio reuisendorum nimis quam anxie tenebar (iam tum enim plus quatuor mensibus abfueram domo) magna ex parte mihi dulcissima consuetudine sua, & mellitissima confabulatione leuauerit.	He has a rare modesty; no one is further from pretense; no one has a wiser simplicity. And he is so charming in conversation and so harmlessly witty that his delightful company and sweetest talk largely relieved my longing for my country and my home, my wife and children. I was desperately anxious to see them again, for I had already been away from home for more than four months.
1.6	Hunc quum die quadam in templo diuae Mariae, quod & opere pulcherrimum, & populo celeberrimum est, rei diuinae interfuissem, atque peracto sacro, pararem inde in hospitium redire, forte colloquentem uideo cum hospite quodam, uergentis ad senium aetatis, uultu adusto, promissa barba, penula neglectim ab humero dependente, qui mihi ex uultu atque habitu nauclerus esse uidebatur.	One day I had been at Mass in the church of St. Mary, which is very beautiful in its workmanship and much frequented by the people. When the service was over, I was about to return to my lodgings when I happened to see him talking with a stranger, a man getting on in years, with a sunburnt face and a long beard, and a cloak hanging carelessly from his shoulder. From his face and dress he seemed to me a ship's captain.
	At Petrus ubi me conspexit, adit ac salutat. respondere conantem seducit paululum, & uides inquit hunc! (simul designabat eum cum quo loquentem uideram) eum inquit iam hinc ad te recta parabam ducere.	When Peter caught sight of me, he came up and greeted me. As I tried to reply, he drew me a little aside and said, "Do you see this man?" pointing as he spoke to the man I had seen him talking with. "I was just about to bring him straight to you."
1.8	Uenisset inquam pergratus mihi tua causa.	"He would have been very welcome to me for your sake," I said.
	Imo, inquit ille, si nosses hominem, sua.	"Rather for his own," he said, "if you knew the man.
	Nam nemo uiuit hodie mortalium omnium, qui tantam tibi hominum, terrarumque incognitarum narrare possit historiam. quarum rerum audiendarum scio auidissimum esse te.	"For there is no one alive today who could tell you such a story of unknown peoples and lands, and I know how eager you are to hear about such things."
	Ergo inquam non pessime coniectaui.	"Then I didn't guess too badly," I said.
	Nam primo aspectu protinus sensi hominem esse nauclerum.	"At first sight I could tell at once that the man was a ship's captain."
	Atqui inquit aberrasti longissime; nauigauit quidem non ut Palinurus, sed ut Ulysses; imo uelut Plato.	

	LATIN	ENGLISH
		He answered: But you are very wide of the mark. He has sailed, it is true, but not like Palinurus. He has sailed like Ulysses, or rather like Plato.[3]
1.14	Raphael iste, sic enim uocatur gentilicio nomine Hythlodaeus, & latinae linguae non indoctus, & graecae doctissimus (cuius ideo studiosior quam Romanae fuit, quoniam totum se addixerat philosophiae; qua in re nihil quod alicuius momenti sit, praeter Senecae quaedam, ac Ciceronis extare latine cognouit) relicto fratribus patrimonio, quod ei domi fuerat (est enim Lusitanus) orbis terrarum contemplandi studio Americo Uespucio se adiunxit, atque in tribus posterioribus illarum quatuor nauigationum quae passim iam leguntur, perpetuus eius comes fuit, nisi quod in ultima cum eo non redijt.	This Raphael (for that is his name, and Hythloday his family name) is not unlearned in Latin and deeply learned in Greek. He studied Greek more than Latin because he had devoted himself entirely to philosophy, and in that field he found nothing of any importance in Latin except some works of Seneca and Cicero. He left his brothers the property he had at home (he is Portuguese), and out of a desire to see the world he joined Amerigo Vespucci. He was his constant companion on the last three of those four voyages that people everywhere are now reading about, except that on the last one he did not come back with him.[4]
1.15	Curauit enim atque adeo extorsit ab Americo, ut ipse in his xxiiii esset qui ad fines postremae nauigationis in Castello relinquebantur. Itaque relictus est, uti obtemperaretur animo eius, peregrinationis magis quam sepulchri curioso. quippe cui haec assidue sunt in ore, Caelo tegitur qui non habet urnam, & Undique ad superos tantundem esse uiae. Quae mens eius, nisi deus ei propitius adfuisset, nimio fuerat illi constatura.	For he arranged, or rather wrested permission from Amerigo, to be one of the twenty-four men who were left in a fort at the farthest point of the last voyage. So he was left behind, to humor his temperament, which cared more about traveling than about a grave. For these sayings are always on his lips: "The one who has no urn is covered by the sky," and "From everywhere the road to heaven is the same length." This attitude would have cost him dear if God had not been gracious to him.[5]
1.18	Caeterum postquam digresso Uespucio multas regiones cum quinque Castellanorum comitibus emensus est, mirabili tandem fortuna Taprobanen delatus, inde peruenit in Caliquit, ubi repertis commode Lusitanorum nauibus, in patriam denique praeter spem reuehitur.	After Vespucci left, he traveled through many regions with five companions from the fort, and at last, by an extraordinary stroke of fortune, he was carried to Taprobane. From there he reached Calicut, where he conveniently found some Portuguese ships and, beyond all hope, was finally brought back home.[6]
1.19	Haec ubi narrauit Petrus, actis ei gratijs quod tam officiosus in me fuisset, ut cuius uiri colloquium mihi gratum speraret, eius uti sermone fruerer, tantam rationem habuisset, ad Raphaelem me conuerto, tum ubi	When Peter had told me this, I thanked him for his kindness in taking such trouble that I should enjoy the conversation of a man whose company he hoped I would welcome, and I turned to Raphael.

3 Palinurus, Aeneas' helmsman, sailed as a mere pilot; Ulysses saw the cities of many peoples, and Plato traveled to Egypt and Sicily in search of wisdom.
4 Vespucci's account of four voyages to the New World (1497–1504) was widely printed, notably in 1507.
5 The first saying is from Lucan, *Pharsalia* 7.819; the second, attributed to Anaxagoras, is quoted by Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 1.104.
6 Taprobane is Sri Lanka; Calicut (Kozhikode), on the Malabar coast of India, was the chief port of the Portuguese spice trade.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	nos mutuo salutassemus, atque illa communia dixissemus, quae dici in primo hospitum congressu solent, inde domum meam digredimur, ibique in horto considentes in scamno cespitibus herbeis constrato, confabulamur.	When we had greeted each other and said the usual things people say when strangers first meet, we went off to my house. There, sitting in the garden on a bench covered with turf, we talked.
1.20	Narrauit ergo nobis, quo pacto posteaquam Uespucius abierat, ipse, socijque eius, qui in Castello remanserant, conueniendo atque blandiendo coeperint se paulatim eius terrae gentibus insinuare, iamque non innoxie modo apud eas, sed etiam familiariter uersari, tum principi cuidam (cuius & patria mihi, & nomen excidit) grati, charique esse. eius liberalitate narrabat commeatum, atque uiaticum ipsi & quinque eius comitibus affatim fuisse suppeditatum, cum itineris (quod per aquam ratibus, per terram curru peragebant) fidelissimo duce, qui eos ad alios principes, quos diligenter commendati petebant, adduceret.	He told us, then, how after Vespucci had left, he and his companions who had stayed at the fort began, by meeting and courting them, gradually to win the favor of the peoples of that land. Soon they were living among them not only safely but on friendly terms, and they became dear to a certain ruler (both his country and his name have slipped my mind). By this ruler's generosity, he said, he and his five companions had been amply supplied with provisions and money for the road, together with a most trustworthy guide for their journey (which they made by raft over water and by wagon over land), who was to take them to other rulers to whom they carried warm recommendations.
1.21	Nam post multorum itinera dierum, oppida atque urbes aiebat reperisse se, ac non pessime institutas magna populorum frequentia respublicas. Nempe sub aequatoris linea tum hinc atque inde ab utroque latere quantum fere spatij solis orbita complectitur, uastas obiacere solitudines perpetuo feruore torridas. Squalor undique & tristis rerum facies horrida atque inculta omnia feris habitata, serpentibusque, aut denique hominibus, neque minus efferis quam sint beluae, neque minus noxijs.	After traveling for many days, he said, they found towns and cities, and commonwealths with large populations that were not at all badly governed. Around the equator, he explained, and on either side of it for about as far as the sun's course extends, lie vast deserts scorched by perpetual heat. Everywhere there is squalor; the face of things is grim; everything is rough and uncultivated, inhabited by wild beasts and snakes, or indeed by men no less savage than beasts, and no less dangerous.
1.24	Caeterum ubi longius euectus sis, paulatim omnia mansuescere. caelum minus asperum, solum uirore blandum, mitiora animantium ingenia, tandem aperiri populos, urbes, oppida, in his assidua non inter se modo, ac finitimos, sed procul etiam dissitas gentes, terra marique commercia. Inde sibi natam facultatem multas ultro citroque terras inuisendi, quod nulla nauis ad iter quodlibet instruebatur, in quam non ille, comitesque eius libentissime admittebantur.	But as you go further on, everything gradually grows gentler: the climate less harsh, the soil pleasantly green, the animals less fierce. At last there appear peoples, cities and towns, and among them constant trade by land and sea, not only with one another and with their neighbors but also with nations far away. This gave him the chance to visit many lands in every direction, since no ship was fitted out for any voyage on which he and his companions were not very gladly taken aboard.
1.26	Naues quas primis regionibus conspexerunt, carina plana fuisse narrabat. uela consutis papyris aut uiminibus intendebantur, alibi coriacea. post uero acuminatas carinas canabea uela reppererunt. omnia denique nostris similia. nautae maris ac caeli non imperiti.	The ships they saw in the first regions, he said, had flat bottoms, and their sails were made of papyrus or wicker sewn together, or elsewhere of leather. Later on they found ships with pointed

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	Sed miram se narrabat inisse gratiam, tradito magnetis usu, cuius antea penitus erant ignari. ideoque timide pelago consueuisse sese, neque alias temere, quam aestate credere. Nunc uero eius fiducia lapidis contemnunt hyemem, securi magis, quam tuti, ut periculum sit, ne quae res magno eis bono futura putabatur, eadem per imprudentiam magnorum causa malorum fiat.	keels and sails of hemp; in short, everything was like ours. The sailors were not unskilled in reading the sea and the sky. But he said he had won extraordinary favor by teaching them the use of the magnet, of which they had been completely ignorant before. That was why they used to venture on the sea only timidly, and seldom except in summer. Now, however, trusting in the lodestone, they think nothing of winter, more confident than safe, so that there is a danger that what was expected to be a great blessing to them may, through their own imprudence, become the cause of great evils.
1.29	Quid quoque in loco se uidisse narrauit, & longum fuerit explicare, neque huius est operis institutum, & alio fortasse loco dicetur a nobis, praesertim quicquid ex usu fuerit non ignorari, qualia sunt in primis ea, quae apud populos usquam ciuiliter conuiuentes animaduertit, recte prudenterque prouisa. His enim de rebus & nos auidissime rogabamus, & ille libentissime disserebat, omissa interim inquisitione monstrorum, quibus nihil est minus nouum.	What he told us he had seen in each place would take a long time to set out, and it is not the purpose of this work. Perhaps I shall tell it elsewhere, especially whatever is useful to know, above all the sound and wise arrangements he observed among peoples anywhere who live together in civil society. For these were the things we questioned him about most eagerly, and he discoursed on them most willingly, leaving aside for the moment any inquiry about monsters, which are the least novel thing of all.
1.31	Nam Scyllas & Celenos rapaces, & Lestrigonas populiuoros, atque eiuscemodi immania portenta, nusquam fere non inuenias, at sane ac sapienter institutos ciues haud reperias ubilibet. Caeterum ut multa apud nouos illos populos adnotauit perperam consulta, sic haud pauca recensuit, unde possint exempla sumi corrigendis harum urbium, nationum, gentium, ac regnorum erroribus idonea, alio, ut dixi, loco a me commemoranda. Nunc ea tantum referre animus est, quae de moribus atque institutis narrabat Utopiensium, praemisso tamen eo sermone, quo uelut tractu quodam ad eius mentionem reipublicae deuentum est.	For Scyllas and greedy Celaenos and people-eating Laestrygonians and monstrous horrors of that kind can be found almost anywhere, but citizens governed soundly and wisely are not to be found just anywhere. Still, while he noted many ill-advised practices among those new peoples, he also described quite a few from which examples might be taken, fit for correcting the errors of our cities, nations, peoples and kingdoms. These, as I said, I shall record elsewhere. For now I mean to relate only what he told us about the customs and institutions of the Utopians, first setting out the conversation that led us, as if along a thread, to mention that commonwealth.[7]

7 Scylla is the sea monster of the *Odyssey*; Celaeno is the chief of the Harpies in the *Aeneid*; the Laestrygonians are the cannibal giants of *Odyssey* 10.

SHOULD RAPHAEL SERVE A KING?

Peter and More urge Raphael to become a royal counselor; he says courts have no use for honest advice.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
1.34	Nam quum Raphael prudentissime recensuisset, alia hic, alia illic errata, utrobique certe plurima, tum quae apud nos, quaeue item sunt apud illos cauta sapientius, quum uniuscuiusque populi mores atque instituta sic teneret, tanquam in quemcunque locum diuertisset, totam ibi uitam uixisse uideretur, admiratus hominem Miror Petrus, profecto mi Raphael, inquit, cur te regi cuipiam non adiungas, quorum neminem esse satis scio, cui tu non sis futurus uehementer gratus, utpote quem hac doctrina, atque hac locorum hominumque peritia non oblectare solum, sed exemplis quoque instruere, atque adiuuare consilio sis idoneus, simul hoc pacto & tuis rebus egregie consulueris, & tuorum omnium commodis magno esse adiumento possis.	Raphael had very wisely reviewed the mistakes made here and there (and there were certainly many on both sides), as well as the wiser provisions both among us and among them. He knew the customs and institutions of each people as if he had lived his whole life in every place he had stopped at. Peter, full of admiration for the man, said, "I really wonder, my dear Raphael, why you don't attach yourself to some king. I am sure there is not one to whom you would not be most welcome, since with this learning and this knowledge of places and people you are fit not only to entertain him but also to instruct him with examples and help him with advice. At the same time, in this way you would look after your own interests admirably and could be a great help to the advancement of all your family."
1.35	Quod ad meos attinet, inquit ille, non ualde commoueor, nempe in quos mediocriter opinor me officij mei partes impleuisse. nam quibus rebus alij non nisi senes & aegri cedunt, imo tum quoque aegre cedunt, quum amplius retinere non possunt, eas res ego non sanus modo ac uegetus, sed iuuenis quoque cognatis, amicisque dispartiui, quos debere puto hac mea esse benignitate contentos, neque id exigere atque expectare praeterea, ut memet eorum causa regibus in seruitium dedam. Bona uerba inquit Petrus, mihi uisum est non ut seruias regibus, sed ut inseruias.	"As for my family," he said, "I am not much concerned, for I think I have done my duty by them reasonably well. The possessions which others give up only when they are old and sick (and even then give up reluctantly, when they can no longer keep them), I divided among my relatives and friends when I was not only healthy and vigorous but still young. I think they ought to be content with this generosity of mine, and not demand or expect as well that I should hand myself over into servitude to kings for their sake." "Fair words!" said Peter. "What I meant was not that you should be in servitude to kings, but in their service."
1.37	Hoc est inquit ille, una syllaba plusquam seruias. At ego sic censeo inquit Petrus, quoquo tu nomine rem appelles, eam tamen ipsam esse uiam, qua non alijs modo & priuatim, & publice possis conducere, sed tuam quoque ipsius conditionem reddere feliciorem. Felicioremne inquit Raphael, ea uia facerem, a qua abhorret animus! Atqui nunc sic uiuo ut uolo, quod ego certe suspicor paucissimis purpuratorum contingere. Quin satis est eorum, qui potentum amicitias ambiunt, ne magnam putes iacturam fieri, si me atque uno aut altero mei similibus sint carituri.	"That," he said, "is only one syllable short of servitude." "But my view is," said Peter, "that whatever name you give it, this is the very way by which you can not only benefit others, both privately and publicly, but also make your own condition happier." "Make it happier," said Raphael, "by a way my mind shrinks from? As it is, I live as I please, which I suspect very few of those in purple can say. "Besides, there are plenty of people who court the friendship of the powerful, so you need not think

	LATIN	ENGLISH
		it a great loss if they have to do without me and one or two others like me."*
1.41	Tum ego, perspicuum est inquam te mi Raphael, neque opum esse, neque potentiae cupidum, atque ego profecto huius tuae mentis hominem non minus ueneror ac suspicio, quam eorum quemuis, qui maxime rerum sunt potentes.	Then I said: It is clear, my dear Raphael, that you desire neither wealth nor power; and I certainly revere and look up to a man of your mind no less than to any of those who hold the greatest power in the world.
1.42	Caeterum uideberis plane rem te atque isthoc animo tuo tam generoso, tam uere philosopho dignam facturus, si te ita compares, ut uel cum aliquo priuatim incommodo ingenium tuum atque industriam, publicis rebus accommodes, quod nunquam tanto cum fructu queas, quanto si a consilijs fueris magno alicui principi, eique (quod te facturum certe scio) recta atque honesta persuaseris. nempe a principe bonorum, malorumque omnium torrens in totum populum, uelut a perenni quodam fonte promanat.	But you will clearly be doing something worthy of yourself and of that generous and truly philosophical spirit of yours if you bring yourself to devote your talents and energy to public affairs, even at some cost to yourself. And you could never do that with so much benefit as by being counselor to some great prince and persuading him, as I am sure you would, to do what is right and honorable. For from the prince, as from a never-failing spring, flows a torrent of all things good and bad over the whole people.
1.43	In te uero tam absoluta doctrina est, ut uel citra magnum rerum usum, porro tanta rerum peritia, ut sine ulla doctrina, egregium consiliarium cuiuis regum sis praestaturus. Bis erras, inquit ille, mi More, primum in me, deinde in re ipsa. nam neque mihi ea est facultas, quam tu tribuis, & si maxime esset, tamen quum ocio meo negocium facesserem, publicam rem nihil promoueam.	Your learning is so complete that even without much experience of affairs, and your experience of affairs so great that even without any learning, you would make an excellent counselor for any king. He replied: You are mistaken twice over, my dear More, first about me and then about the matter itself. I do not have the ability you credit me with; and even if I had it in full measure, I would do nothing to advance the public good by giving up my leisure for business.
1.45	Primum enim principes ipsi plerique omnes militaribus studijs (quorum ego neque peritiam habeo, neque desydero) libentius occupantur, quam bonis pacis artibus, maiusque multo studium est, quibus modis per fas ac nefas noua sibi regna pariant, quam uti parta bene administrent. Praeterea quicunque regibus a consilio sunt, eorum nemo est, qui non aut uere tantum sapit, ut non egeat, aut tantum sibi sapere uidetur, ut non libeat alterius probare consilium, nisi quod absurdissimis quibusque dictis assentiuntur & supparasitantur eorum, quos ut maxime apud principem gratiae, student assentatione demereri sibi.	First of all, almost all princes themselves would rather occupy themselves with the pursuits of war (in which I have neither skill nor interest) than with the good arts of peace. They are much more eager to win new kingdoms for themselves by fair means or foul than to govern well the ones they have. Besides, of those who sit on kings' councils, there is not one who is not either really so wise that he needs no advice, or thinks himself so wise that he will not approve anyone else's. The exception is that they agree with the most absurd sayings of those who stand highest in the prince's favor, and fawn on them, because they are eager to win these men over by flattery.
1.47	Et certe sic est natura comparatum, ut sua cuique inuenta blandiantur.	And certainly nature has so arranged it that everyone is pleased with his own inventions.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	Sic & coruo suus arridet pullus, & suus simiae catulus placet. Quod si quis in illo coetu uel alienis inuidentium, uel praeferentium sua, aliquid afferat, quod aut alijs temporibus factum legit, aut alijs fieri locis uidit, ibi qui audiunt, perinde agunt, ac si tota sapientiae suae periclitaretur opinio, & post illa pro stultis plane sint habendi, nisi aliquid sufficiant inuenire, quod in aliorum inuentis uertant uitio.	So the crow delights in its chick, and the ape loves its baby. Now, in such a company of people who envy others' ideas or prefer their own, if someone brings forward something he has read of being done in other times or seen done in other places, the listeners behave as if their whole reputation for wisdom were at stake, and as if they would be thought complete fools from then on unless they could find something to criticize in other people's proposals.
1.50	Si caetera destituant, tum huc confugiunt, haec nostris, inquiunt, placuere maioribus, quorum prudentiam utinam nos aequaremus, itaque hoc dicto ueluti egregie perorata re considunt. Tanquam magnum sit periculum, si quis ulla in re deprehendatur maioribus suis sapientior. a quibus tamen, ut quicque optime consultum est, ita aequissimo animo ualere sinimus. at si qua de re potuit consuli prudentius, eam protinus ansam cupide arreptam mordicus retinemus. Itaque in haec superba, absurda, ac morosa iudicia, cum saepe alibi, tum semel in Anglia quoque incidi.	If everything else fails, they fall back on this: "This is what our ancestors approved, and I wish we could equal their wisdom." And with that remark they sit down, as if they had wound up the case splendidly. As though it were a great danger for anyone to be found wiser than his ancestors in anything! Yet whatever they provided for most wisely, we are content to let go without a qualm; but if in some matter a wiser course was possible, we eagerly seize on that handle and hold on to it with our teeth. I have often come across these proud, absurd and peevish judgments elsewhere, and once in England too.

DINNER WITH CARDINAL MORTON

Raphael recalls a dinner in England where a lawyer praises hanging thieves and Raphael objects.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
1.53	Obsecro inquam, fuisti apud nos! Fui inquit, atque aliquot menses ibi sum uersatus, non multo post eam cladem, qua Anglorum occidentalium ciuile aduersus regem bellum miseranda ipsorum strage compressum est. Interea multum debui reuerendissimo patri Ioanni Mortono Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo & Cardinali, ac tum quoque Angliae Cancellario, uiro mi Petre (nam Moro cognita sum narraturus) non autoritate magis, quam prudentia ac uirtute uenerabili.	"Really?" I said. "You have been in our country?" He answered: I have, and I spent some months there, not long after the defeat in which the civil war of the western English against the king was crushed with a pitiful slaughter of the rebels. During that time I was greatly indebted to the most reverend father John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury and Cardinal, and at that time also Lord Chancellor of England. He was a man, my dear Peter (for I shall be telling More what he already knows), venerable no less for his wisdom and virtue than for his authority.[8]
1.55	Etenim statura ei mediocris erat, nec aetati, quamquam serae cedens. uultus quem reuereare, non horreas. in	He was of medium height, and not bowed by age, though he was old. His face inspired respect, not fear. He was not difficult to approach, but serious

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	congressu non difficilis. serius tamen & grauis. libido erat asperius interdum compellando supplicantes experiri, sed sine noxa, quid ingenij, quam animi praesentiam quisque prae se ferret, qua uelut cognata sibi uirtute, modo abesset impudentia delectabatur, & ut idoneam ad res gerendas amplectebatur, sermo politus & efficax, iuris magna peritia, ingenium incomparabile, memoria ad prodigium usque excellens. Haec enim natura egregia, discendo atque exercendo prouexit.	and grave. He liked sometimes to test suitors by addressing them rather sharply, though without harming them, to see what wit and presence of mind each would show. He delighted in this, as a quality akin to his own, provided there was no impudence in it, and he welcomed it as fit for public affairs. His speech was polished and forceful, his knowledge of the law great, his intelligence incomparable, his memory excellent to the point of the prodigious. These outstanding natural gifts he had developed by study and practice.
1.57	Huius consilijs rex plurimum fidere, multum Respublica niti (cum ego aderam) uidebatur. quippe qui ab prima fere iuuenta protinus a schola coniectus in aulam, maximis in negocijs per omnem uersatus aetatem, ac uarijs fortunae aestibus assidue iactatus prudentiam rerum (quae sic recepta non facile elabitur) multis, magnisque cum periculis didicerat.	The king seemed to place the greatest trust in his advice, and the commonwealth to lean heavily on him, while I was there. For almost from his early youth he had been thrown straight from school into the court, and had spent his whole life in the greatest affairs. Constantly tossed on the shifting tides of fortune, he had learned, amid many great dangers, a practical wisdom which, once acquired in that way, does not easily slip away.
1.58	Forte fortuna quum die quodam in eius mensa essem, laicus quidam legum uestratium peritus aderat, is nescio unde nactus occasionem, coepit accurate laudare, rigidam illam iustitiam, quae tum illic exercebatur in fures, quos passim narrabat nonnunquam suspendi uiginti in una cruce, atque eo uehementius dicebat se mirari, cum tam pauci elaberentur supplicio, quo malo fato fieret, uti tam multi tamen ubique grassarentur. Tum ego, ausus enim sum libere apud Cardinalem loqui; nihil mireris inquam. Nam haec punitio furum & supra iustum est, & non ex usu publico.	It so happened one day, when I was at his table, that a layman learned in your laws was there. Seizing some occasion or other, he began to praise at length the rigorous justice then being dealt out to thieves there. They were being hanged everywhere, he said, sometimes twenty on a single gallows. And so, he said, he was all the more amazed that, although so few escaped punishment, some evil fate still caused so many to be out robbing everywhere. Then, since I dared to speak freely before the Cardinal, I said: There is nothing to wonder at. This way of punishing thieves goes beyond what is just, and it does not serve the public good.
1.61	Est enim ad uindicanda furta nimis atrox, nec tamen ad refrenanda sufficiens. Quippe neque furtum simplex tam ingens facinus est, ut capite debeat plecti, neque ulla poena est tanta, ut ab latrocinijs cohibeat eos, qui nullam aliam artem quaerendi uictus habent. Itaque hac in re non uos modo, sed bona pars huius orbis imitari uidetur malos praeceptores, qui discipulos uerberant libentius quam docent.	It is too harsh a penalty for theft, and yet not enough to restrain it. Simple theft is not so great a crime that it ought to be punished with death, and no punishment is so great that it will keep from robbery those who have no other way of making a living. So in this matter not only you but a good part of the world seem to imitate bad schoolmasters, who would rather beat their pupils than teach them.

8 The Cornish rising of 1497 was crushed at Blackheath, near London. John Morton (c. 1420–1500) took the young More into his household as a page.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
1.64	Decernuntur enim furanti grauia atque horrenda supplicia, cum potius multo fuerit prouidendum, uti aliquis esset prouentus uitae, ne cuiquam tam dira sit furandi primum, dehinc pereundi necessitas. Est inquit ille, satis hoc prouisum; sunt artes mechanicae, est agricolatio, ex his tueri uitam liceat, ni sponte mali esse mallent. At non sic euades inquam.	Heavy and horrible punishments are decreed for a thief, when it would be much better to provide some means of livelihood, so that no one is under such dire necessity, first of stealing, and then of dying for it. "That has been provided for well enough," he said. "There are the trades, there is farming. They could make a living by these, if they did not choose to be wicked." I said: You won't get off so easily.
1.67	Nam primum omittamus eos, qui saepe uel ab externis bellis, uel ciuilibus mutili redeunt domum, ut nuper apud uos e Cornubiensi praelio, & non ita pridem e Gallico, qui uel Reipublicae impendunt membra, uel regi, quos neque pristinas artes exercere debilitas patitur, neque aetas nouam discere. hos inquam omittamus, quando bella per intermissas uices commeant. Ea contemplemur, quae nullo die non accidunt. Tantus est ergo nobilium numerus, qui non ipsi modo degant ociosi tanquam fuci laboribus aliorum, quos puta suorum praediorum colonos augendis reditibus ad uiuum usque radunt.	First, let us leave aside those who often come home disabled from foreign or civil wars, as recently among you from the battle with the Cornish, and not long before from the war in France. These men have sacrificed their limbs for the commonwealth or for the king, and their disability does not allow them to practice their old trades, nor their age to learn a new one. Let us leave them aside, I say, since wars come only at intervals. Let us consider what happens every day. There is, then, a great number of noblemen who not only live idle themselves, like drones, off the labors of others, such as the tenants of their estates, whom they shave to the quick to raise their rents.
1.70	Nam eam solam frugalitatem nouere, homines alioquin ad mendicitatem usque prodigi; uerum immensam quoque ociosorum stipatorum turbam circumferunt, qui nullam unquam quaerendi uictus artem didicere. Hi simul atque herus obierit, aut ipsi aegrotauerint, eijciuntur ilico. nam & ociosos libentius quam aegrotos alunt, & saepe morientis heres non protinus alendae sufficit paternae familiae. interim illi esuriunt strennue, nisi strennue latrocinentur.	That is the only thrift they know, men who are otherwise extravagant to the point of beggary. But they also carry about with them a huge crowd of idle retainers who have never learned any trade to earn a living. As soon as their master dies, or they themselves fall ill, they are thrown out at once. For people would rather feed idle men than sick ones, and often the dying man's heir cannot immediately support his father's household. Meanwhile they go hungry with a will, unless they go robbing with a will.
1.72	Nam quid faciant! Siquidem ubi errando paululum uestes ac ualetudinem attriuere, morbo iam squalidos, atque obsitos pannis, neque generosi dignantur accipere, neque audent rustici; non ignari eum qui molliter educatus in ocio ac delicijs, solitus sit accinctus acinace ac cetra, totam uiciniam uultu nebulonico despicere & contemnere omnes prae se, haudquaquam idoneum fore,	What else can they do? Once they have worn out their clothes and their health a little by wandering, and are shabby with sickness and covered in rags, gentlemen will not deign to take them in, and farmers do not dare to. The farmers know that a man who has been softly brought up in idleness and pleasure, who is used to swaggering about with sword and buckler, looking down on the

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	qui cum ligone ac marra, maligna mercede ac uictu parco, fideliter inseruiat pauperi. Ad haec ille, atqui nobis inquit, hoc hominum genus in primis fouendum est.	whole neighborhood with a scoundrel's face and despising everyone but himself, is hardly fit to serve a poor man faithfully with spade and hoe, for mean wages and scanty food. To this he replied: But this is the very sort of men we ought to encourage above all.
1.74	In his enim, utpote hominibus animi magis excelsi ac generosioris, quam sunt opifices aut agricolae, consistunt uires ac robur exercitus, si quando sit confligendum bello. Profecto inquam ego, eadem opera dicas licet, belli gratia fouendos esse fures, quibus haud dubie nunquam carebitis, dum habebitis hos. Quin neque latrones sunt instrennui milites, neque milites ignauissimi latronum, adeo inter has artes belle conuenit. At hoc uitium tamen frequens est uobis, non proprium. est enim omnium fere gentium commune.	For it is in them, since they are men of loftier and nobler spirit than craftsmen or farmers, that the strength and sinew of the army lies, if ever we have to fight a war. I said: You might just as well say that thieves must be encouraged for the sake of war, and you will certainly never lack thieves as long as you have these men. Robbers make quite vigorous soldiers, and soldiers are by no means the laziest of robbers: so well do these two trades go together. But this vice, though common among you, is not peculiar to you. It is common to almost all nations.
1.78	Nam Gallias infestat alia praeterea pestis pestilentior, Tota patria stipendiarijs, in pace quoque (si illa pax est) oppleta atque obsessa militibus, eadem persuasione inductis, qua uos ociosos hic ministros alendos esse censuistis. nempe quod Morosophis uisum est, in eo sitam esse publicam salutem, si in promptu semper adsit ualidum, firmumque praesidium, maxime ueteranorum. neque enim confidunt inexercitatis quicquam, ut uel ideo quaerendum eis bellum sit, ne imperitos habeant milites, & homines iugulandi gratis, ne (ut habet facete Salustius) manus aut animus incipiat per ocium torpescere.	For France is plagued by yet another pestilence, still more pestilent. The whole country is filled and besieged by mercenary soldiers, even in peacetime (if that is peace), brought in by the same conviction that led you to decide that idle servants must be kept here. These wise fools think that the public safety depends on always having a strong and reliable garrison ready, especially of veterans. For they put no trust in untrained men, so that they have to look for war, if only to avoid having inexperienced soldiers, and for men whose throats they can cut for nothing, so that, as Sallust wittily puts it, hand and spirit may not begin to grow dull through idleness.[9]
1.79	At quam sit perniciosum huiusmodi beluas alere, & Gallia suo malo didicit, & Romanorum, Carthaginensium, ac Syrorum, tum multarum gentium exempla declarant, quorum omnium non imperium modo, sed agros quoque, atque adeo urbes ipsas parati ipsorum exercitus alijs atque alijs occasionibus euerterunt. Quam uero non magnopere necessarium, uel hinc elucescit, quod ne Galli quidem milites armis ab unguiculis exercitatissimi cum euocatis comparati uestris, admodum saepe gloriantur superiores sese	But how dangerous it is to keep beasts of this kind France has learned to her cost, and the examples of the Romans, the Carthaginians, the Syrians and many other nations make it plain. In all of them, their standing armies, on one occasion or another, overthrew not only their government but also their lands and even their cities. And how little it is needed is clear from this too: even French soldiers, trained in arms from the cradle, cannot very often boast of having come off

9 "Wise fools" renders *morosophi*, a Greek coinage borrowed from Lucian. The quotation is from Sallust, *The War with Catiline* 16.3.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	discessisse, ut ne quid dicam amplius, ne praesentibus uidear adblandiri uobis.	better against your conscripts. I will say no more, lest I seem to be flattering you to your faces.
1.81	Sed nec uestri illi uel opifices urbici, uel rudes atque agrestes agricolae ociosos generosorum stipatores creduntur ualde pertimescere, nisi aut hi quibus ad uires atque audaciam corpus contigit ineptius, aut quorum animi uis inopia rei familiaris infringitur, adeo periculum nullum est, ne quorum ualida & robusta corpora (neque enim nisi selectos dignantur generosi corrumpere) nunc uel elanguescunt ocio, uel negocijs prope muliebribus emolliuntur, ijdem bonis artibus instructi ad uitam, & uirilibus exercitati laboribus effoeminentur.	Nor are your town craftsmen or your rough country farmers thought to be much afraid of the gentlemen's idle retainers, except for those whose bodies are not well suited to strength and daring, or whose courage is broken by poverty. So there is no danger at all that these men, whose strong and sturdy bodies (for the gentry deign to corrupt only picked men) are now growing feeble with idleness or softened by soft, sedentary tasks, would lose their manhood if they were trained in honest trades to earn a living and exercised in manly work.

SHEEP THAT DEVOUR MEN

Raphael blames enclosure for sheep pasture for driving English farmers off the land and into theft.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
1.82	Certe utcunque sese haec habet res, illud mihi nequaquam uidetur publicae rei conducere, in euentum belli, quod nunquam habetis, nisi quum uultis, infinitam eius generis turbam alere, quod infestat pacem, cuius tanto maior haberi ratio, quam belli debeat. Neque haec tamen sola est furandi necessitas. Est alia magis quantum credo, peculiaris uobis. Quaenam est ea? inquit Cardinalis. Oues, inquam uestrae, quae tam mites esse, tamque exiguo solent ali, nunc (uti fertur) tam edaces atque indomitae esse coeperunt, ut homines deuorent ipsos, agros, domos, oppida uastent ac depopulentur.	Certainly, however that may be, it does not seem to me at all in the public interest to keep, in case of a war (which you never have unless you want one), an endless crowd of the kind that troubles the peace, when peace ought to be given so much more consideration than war. Yet this is not the only thing that drives men to steal. There is another which, I believe, is more peculiar to you. "What is that?" asked the Cardinal. I answered: Your sheep, which used to be so gentle and to need so little feeding, have now, so I hear, begun to be so greedy and wild that they devour men themselves, and lay waste and depopulate fields, houses and towns.
1.86	Nempe quibuscunque regni partibus nascitur lana tenuior, atque ideo preciosior, ibi nobiles & generosi, atque adeo Abbates aliquot sancti uiri, non his contenti reditibus, fructibusque annuis, qui maioribus suis solebant ex praedijs crescere, nec habentes satis, quod ociose ac laute uiuentes, nihil in publicum prosint, nisi etiam obsint, aruo nihil relinquunt, omnia claudunt pascuis, demoliuntur domos, diruunt oppida, templo duntaxat stabulandis ouibus relicto, & tanquam parum soli perderent apud uos ferarum saltus, ac uiuaria, illi boni uiri habitationes omnes, & quicquid usquam est culti, uertunt in solitudinem.	For in whatever parts of the kingdom the finer, and therefore more expensive, wool is produced, there the nobles and gentlemen, and even some abbots, holy men, are not content with the rents and annual profits that their predecessors used to get from their estates. It is not enough for them to live in idle luxury and do no good to the public; they must do it harm as well. They leave no land for the plow; they enclose everything for pasture; they tear down houses and destroy towns, leaving only the church, to stable the sheep in. And as if enough of your land were not already wasted on

	LATIN	ENGLISH
		game parks and preserves, these good men turn all the dwellings and all the cultivated land into a wilderness.
1.87	Ergo ut unus helluo inexplebilis ac dira pestis patriae, continuatis agris, aliquot millia iugerum uno circumdet septo, eijciuntur coloni. quidam suis etiam aut circumscripti fraude, aut ui oppressi exuuntur, aut fatigati iniurijs, adiguntur ad uenditionem.	So, in order that one insatiable glutton, a dire plague to his country, may join field to field and enclose several thousand acres within a single fence, the tenants are thrown out. Some are stripped even of their own property, either tricked by fraud or overpowered by force, or they are so worn down by ill-treatment that they are driven to sell.
1.88	Itaque quoquo pacto emigrant miseri, uiri, mulieres, mariti, uxores, orbi, uiduae, parentes cum paruis liberis, & numerosa magis quam diuite familia, ut multis opus habet manibus res rustica, emigrant inquam e notis atque assuetis laribus, nec inueniunt quo se recipiant, supellectilem omnem haud magno uendibilem, etiam si manere possit emptorem, quum extrudi necesse est, minimo uenundant. id quum breui errando insumpserint, quid restat aliud denique, quam uti furentur, & pendeant iuste scilicet, aut uagentur atque mendicent. quanquam tum quoque uelut errones conijciuntur in carcerem, quod ociosi obambulent, quorum operam nemo est qui conducat, quum illi cupidissime offerant.	And so, one way or another, the poor wretches leave: men, women, husbands, wives, orphans, widows, parents with little children, and whole households more numerous than rich, since farming needs many hands. They leave, I say, their familiar and accustomed homes, and find nowhere to go. All their household goods, which would not fetch much even if they could wait for a buyer, they sell for next to nothing, since they are forced out. When they have soon spent that in their wanderings, what is left for them in the end but to steal, and then be hanged (justly, no doubt), or to wander and beg? And even then they are thrown into prison as vagrants for going about idle, when no one will hire their labor, though they offer it most eagerly.
1.89	Nam rusticae rei cui assueuerunt nihil est quod agatur, ubi nihil seritur. Siquidem unus opilio atque bubulcus sufficit ei terrae depascendae pecoribus, in cuius cultum, ut sementi faciendae sufficeret, multae poscebantur manus. Atque hac ratione fit, ut multis in locis annona multo sit carior. Quin lanarum quoque adeo increuit precium, ut a tenuioribus, qui pannos inde solent apud uos conficere, prorsus emi non possint, atque ea ratione plures ab opere ablegantur in ocium.	For there is nothing to be done in the farm work they are used to, where nothing is sown. One shepherd or herdsman is enough to graze with livestock the land which, when it was cultivated, needed many hands to sow it. And this is how in many places the price of grain has risen steeply. Indeed, the price of wool too has gone up so much that the poorer people among you who used to make cloth from it cannot afford it at all, and so more of them are driven from work into idleness.
1.93	Nam post aucta pascua infinitam ouium uim absumpsit tabes, uelut eorum cupiditatem ulciscente deo immissa in oues lue, quam in ipsorum capita contortam esse fuerat iustius. Quod si maxime increscat ouium numerus, precio nihil decrescit tamen. quod earum, si monopolium appellari non potest quod non unus uendit, certe oligopolium est, Reciderunt enim fere in manus paucorum, eorundemque	For after the pastures were enlarged, a murrain carried off a vast number of sheep, as though God were punishing their greed by sending on the sheep a plague that would more justly have been hurled at the owners' own heads. But even if the number of sheep increases greatly, the price does not fall at all. For if this cannot be called a monopoly, since there is more than one

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	diuitum, quos nulla necessitas urget ante uendendi quam libet, nec ante libet quam liceat quanti libet.	seller, it is certainly an oligopoly. The sheep have fallen into the hands of a few men, and rich ones, whom no need compels to sell before they choose, and they do not choose until they can get the price they choose.[10]
1.95	Iam caetera quoque pecorum genera, ut aeque cara sint, eadem ratio est, atque hoc etiam amplius, quod dirutis uillis, atque imminuta re rustica non sint qui foeturam curent. Neque enim diuites illi, ut ouium, sic etiam armentorum foetus educant; sed aliunde macra empta uili, posteaquam suis pascuis pinguerint, magno reuendunt. Ideoque, sicuti reor, nondum sentitur totum huius rei incommodum.	The same cause makes other kinds of livestock just as dear, and all the more because, with the farmhouses pulled down and husbandry cut back, there is no one to see to the breeding. For those rich men do not rear calves as they do lambs. They buy lean animals cheap elsewhere, fatten them on their own pastures, and sell them again at a high price. And so, I think, the full harm of this is not yet felt.
1.98	Nempe adhuc his modo locis reddunt cara, ubi uendunt. caeterum ubi aliquandiu celerius extulerint illinc, quam nasci possint, tum demum ibi quoque paulatim decrescente copia, ubi coemuntur, necesse est hic insigni laboretur inopia. Ita qua re uel maxime felix haec uestra uidebatur insula, iam ipsam paucorum improba cupiditas uertit in perniciem. Nam haec annonae caritas in causa est, cur quisque quam possit plurimos e familia dimittat, quo quaeso nisi mendicatum, aut quod generosis animis persuadeas facilius latrocinatum! Quid quod ad miseram hanc egestatem, atque inopiam adiungitur, importuna luxuries.	For so far they make prices high only in the places where they sell. But when for some time they have been taking animals away from the places where they buy them faster than they can be bred, then at last the supply there too will gradually dwindle, and there must be a severe shortage here. So the very thing that seemed to make this island of yours especially fortunate is now being turned to its ruin by the shameless greed of a few. For this high cost of food is the reason why everyone dismisses as many people from his household as he can. And to do what, I ask, but beg, or (as you could more easily persuade gentlemanly spirits to do) rob? Add to this wretched poverty and want a luxury that is utterly out of place.
1.101	Nam & ministris nobilium, & opificibus, & ipsis propemodum rusticis, & omnibus denique ordinibus, multum est insolentis apparatus in uestibus, nimius in uictu luxus. Iam ganea, lustra, lupanar, & aliud lupanar tabernae, uinariae, ceruisiariae, postremo tot improbi ludi, alea, charta, fritillus, pila, sphaera, discus, an non haec celeriter exhausta pecunia, recta suos mystas mittunt aliquo latrocinatum! Has perniciosas pestes eijcite, statuite, ut uillas atque oppida rustica, aut hi restituant qui diruere, aut ea cedant reposituris, atque aedificare uolentibus. Refrenate coemptiones istas diuitum, ac uelut monopolij exercendi licentiam.	For the servants of noblemen, the craftsmen, even the farmers themselves, and in short all ranks of society, show a great deal of outlandish display in dress and far too much luxury in food. Then there are cookshops, dives, brothels, and those other brothels, the taverns, wine shops and alehouses; and finally so many wicked games, dice, cards, backgammon, tennis, bowls, quoits. Do these not quickly drain their devotees of money and send them straight off somewhere to rob? Throw out these deadly plagues. Decree that those who have destroyed farmsteads and country towns must rebuild them, or hand them over to people who will restore them and are willing to build.

10 *Oligopolium* ("sale by a few") seems to be More's own coinage, on the model of "monopoly."

	LATIN	ENGLISH
		Restrain this buying-up by the rich, and their license to practice what amounts to monopoly.
1.104	Pauciores alantur ocio, reddatur agricolatio, lanificium instauretur, ut sit honestum negocium, quo se utiliter exerceat ociosa ista turba, uel quos hactenus inopia fures fecit, uel qui nunc errones aut ociosi sunt ministri, fures nimirum utrique futuri. Certe nisi his malis medemini, frustra iactetis exercitam in uindicanda furta iustitiam, nempe speciosam magis, quam aut iustam aut utilem.	Let fewer people be kept in idleness; let farming be restored and wool-working revived, so that there may be honest work to occupy usefully that idle crowd: both those whom poverty has so far made thieves, and those who are now vagrants or idle servants, all of whom will surely become thieves. Certainly, unless you remedy these evils, it is useless to boast of the justice you exercise in punishing theft, a justice more showy than either just or useful.
1.106	Siquidem quum pessime sinitis educari, & mores paulatim ab teneris annis corrumpi, puniendos uidelicet, tum demum quum ea flagitia uiri designent, quorum spem de se perpetuam a pueritia usquam praebuerant, quid aliud quaeso quam facitis fures, & ijdem plectitis! Iam me haec loquente iuris ille consultus interim se ad dicendum composuerat, ac statuerat secum modo illo solenni disputantium uti, qui diligentius repetunt quam respondent, adeo bonam partem laudis ponunt in memoria.	For when you allow people to be brought up very badly and their characters to be gradually corrupted from their tender years, and then, of course, punish them when as grown men they commit the crimes which they had shown every promise of committing since childhood, what else, I ask, are you doing but first making thieves and then punishing them? While I was saying this, the lawyer had been getting ready to speak, and had made up his mind to use the solemn method of debaters, who repeat more carefully than they answer, so much of their credit do they place in memory.
1.107	Belle, inquit, dixisti profecto, quum sis uidelicet hospes, qui magis audire his de rebus aliquid potueris, quam exacte quicquam cognoscere, id quod ego paucis efficiam perspicuum. Nam primum ordine recensebo quae tu dixisti. deinde ostendam quibus in rebus imposuit tibi nostrarum rerum ignoratio, postremo rationes tuas omnes diluam atque dissoluam. Igitur ut a primo quod sum pollicitus exordiar, quatuor mihi uisus es; Tace inquit Cardinalis; nam haud responsurus paucis uideris qui sic incipias.	"Well spoken, to be sure," he said, "considering that you are a foreigner, who could hear something about these matters rather than know anything about them exactly, as I shall make clear in a few words. "First I shall review in order what you have said; then I shall show in what respects ignorance of our affairs has misled you; finally I shall demolish and refute all your arguments. "So, to begin with the first point I promised, you seemed to me to say four things —" The Cardinal broke in: Be quiet, for you hardly seem likely to answer in a few words if you begin like that.
1.110	Quamobrem leuabimus in praesenti te hac respondendi molestia, seruaturi tamen integrum id munus tibi in proximum congressum uestrum, quem (nisi quid impediat, aut te, aut Raphaelem hunc) crastinus dies uelim referat. Sed interim abs te mi Raphael perquam libenter audierim, quare tu furtum putes ultimo supplicio non	So we shall relieve you of the trouble of answering for now, but keep that task intact for you for your next meeting, which I should like to be tomorrow, unless something prevents you or Raphael here. But meanwhile, my dear Raphael, I would very much like to hear from you why you think theft should not be punished with death, and what oth-

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	puniendum quamue aliam poenam ipse statuas, quae magis conducat in publicum.	er punishment you would set that would do more good to the public.
	Nam tolerandum ne tu quidem sentis.	For even you do not think it should be tolerated.

AGAINST HANGING THIEVES

Raphael argues that death for theft is unjust and describes the milder penal labor of the Polylerites.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
1.113	At si nunc per mortem quoque, tamen in furtum ruitur, proposita semel uitae securitate, quae uis, quis metus posset absterrere maleficos; qui mitigatione supplicij, uelut praemio quodam ad maleficium se inuitatos interpretarentur! Omnino mihi uidetur inquam pater benignissime homini uitam eripi propter ereptam pecuniam prorsus iniquum esse.	But if people rush into theft now, even with death before them, what force, what fear could deter criminals once their lives were guaranteed? They would read the lighter penalty as a kind of reward inviting them to crime. I said: Most kind father, it seems to me altogether unjust to take away a man's life for taking away money.
	Siquidem cum humana uita ne omnibus quidem fortunae possessionibus paria fieri posse arbitror.	For I think that not all the possessions fortune can give could be set equal to a human life.
1.115	Quod si laesam iustitiam, si leges uiolatas, hac rependi poena dicant, haud pecuniam; quid ni merito summum illud ius, summa uocetur iniuria! Nam neque legum probanda sunt tam Manliana imperia, ut sicubi in leuissimis parum obtemperetur, illico stringant gladium; neque tam Stoica scita, ut omnia peccata adeo existiment paria, uti nihil iudicent interesse, occidatne aliquis hominem, an nummum ei surripiat, inter quae (si quicquam aequitas ualet) nihil omnino simile aut affine.	If they say that this penalty pays not for the money but for justice violated and the laws broken, why should this supreme justice not rightly be called supreme injustice? For we should not approve such Manlian commands of the law that the sword is drawn at once for the slightest disobedience, nor such Stoic doctrines as hold all sins so equal that there is no difference between killing a man and stealing a coin from him. If equity counts for anything, there is no likeness or kinship between the two at all.[11]
1.116	Deus uetuit occidi quenquam, & nos tam facile occidimus ob ademptam pecuniolam! Quod si quis interpretetur, illo dei iussu interdictam necis potestatem, nisi quatenus humana lex declaret occidendum, quid obstat quo minus homines eodem modo constituant inter se, quatenus stuprum admittendum sit, adulterandum, peierandum! Siquidem quum deus non alienae modo, uerum etiam suae cuique mortis ius ademerit, si hominum inter se consensus de mutua cede, certis placitis consentientium, adeo debet ualere, ut illius praecepti uinculis eximat suos satellites, qui sine ullo exemplo dei, eos interemerint, quos humana sanctio iussit occidi; an non hoc pacto praeceptum illud dei tantum iuris est habiturum, quantum humana iura permiserint! ac fiet nimirum ut ad eundem modum omnibus in rebus statuant homines, quatenus diuina mandata conueniat obseruari.	God has forbidden us to kill anyone, and do we kill so readily for the sake of a little money taken? And if anyone interprets God's command as forbidding the power to kill only where human law does not declare that someone should be killed, what prevents men from deciding among themselves in the same way how far fornication, adultery and perjury should be allowed? God has taken away from each of us the right to take not only another's life but even our own. If men's mutual agreement to kill one another under fixed rules is to have such force that it frees from the bonds of that commandment those agents of theirs who, without any warrant from God, put to death those whom human law has ordered to be killed, will not God's commandment in this way have only as much force as human laws allow? And it will surely fol-

11 Manlius Torquatus had his own son executed for fighting against orders; the Stoics taught that all sins are equal (Cicero, *Stoic Paradoxes* 3). "Supreme justice is supreme injustice" is a proverb quoted by Cicero, *On Duties* 1.33.

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		low that men will decide in the same way, in every matter, how far it suits them to observe God's commands.
1.117	Denique lex Mosaica, quanquam inclemens & aspera; nempe in seruos, & quidem obstinatos lata, tamen pecunia furtum haud morte mulctauit. Ne putemus deum in noua lege clementiae; qua pater imperat filijs maiorem indulsisse nobis inuicem saeuiendi licentiam. Haec sunt cur non licere putem. Quam uero sit absurdum, atque etiam perniciosum reipublicae furem, atque homicidam ex aequo puniri, nemo est, opinor, qui nesciat.	Finally, the law of Moses, though harsh and severe, being made for slaves, and stubborn ones at that, still punished theft with a fine, not with death. Let us not suppose that in the new law of mercy, in which a father commands his children, God has allowed us greater license to be cruel to one another. These are my reasons for thinking it is not permissible. And how absurd, and even harmful to the commonwealth, it is to punish a thief and a murderer alike, there is no one, I think, who does not know.[12]
1.121	Nempe quum latro conspiciat non minus imminere discriminis duntaxat furti damnato, quam si praeterea conuincatur homicidij, hac una cogitatione impellitur in caedem eius, quem alioqui fuerat tantum spoliaturus. quippe praeterquam quod deprehenso nihil sit plus periculi, est etiam in caede securitas maior, & maior caelandi spes sublato facinoris indice. Itaque dum fures nimis atrociter studemus perterrefacere, in bonorum incitamus perniciem. Iam quod quaeri solet; quae punitio possit esse commodior; hoc meo iudicio haud paulo facilius est repertu; quam quae possit esse deterior.	For when a robber sees that a man convicted only of theft is in no less danger than one also convicted of murder, this one thought drives him to kill the man he would otherwise only have robbed. Besides the fact that if he is caught he runs no greater risk, murder also gives him more safety and more hope of concealment, since it removes the witness to the crime. So while we try to terrify thieves with excessive cruelty, we urge them on to destroy good people. As for the usual question of what punishment could be more suitable, in my judgment it is far easier to find one than to find one that could be worse.
1.124	Cur enim dubitemus eam uiam utilem esse castigandis sceleribus; quam scimus olim tam diu placuisse Romanis administrandae reipublicae peritissimis! Nempe hi magnorum facinorum conuictos in lapidicinas, atque fodienda metalla damnabant, perpetuis adseruandos uinculis. Quanquam ego quod ad hanc rem attinet, nullius institutum gentis magis probo, quam id quod interea dum peregrinabar, in Perside obseruatum apud uulgo dictos Polyleritas adnotaui, populum neque exiguum, neque imprudenter institutum, & nisi quod tributum quotannis Persarum pendit regi; caetera liberum ac suis permissum legibus.	Why should we doubt that a method is useful for punishing crimes when we know that it long found favor with the Romans, the most skilled of all people in governing a commonwealth? They condemned those convicted of great crimes to the stone quarries and to digging in the mines, to be kept in chains for life. Though as far as this goes, I approve no nation's arrangement more than one I noticed during my travels in Persia, among the people commonly called the Polylerites. They are a nation neither small nor unwisely governed, and free and living

12 The law of Moses (Exodus 22:1–4) prescribes restitution, not death, for theft.

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		under their own laws, except that they pay an annual tribute to the king of Persia.[13]
1.126	Caeterum quoniam longe ab mari, montibus fere circumdati, & suae terrae nulla in re maligne contenti fructibus, neque adeunt alios saepe, neque adeuntur. tamen ex uetusto more gentis, neque fines prorogare student, & quos habent ab omni facile iniuria, & montes tuentur, & pensio quam rerum potienti persoluunt, immunes prorsus ab militia, haud perinde splendide, atque commode, felicesque magis quam nobiles, aut clari degunt. quippe ne nomine quidem opinor praeterquam conterminis admodum, satis noti.	Since they live far from the sea, almost surrounded by mountains, and are content with the produce of their land, which is in no way meager, they seldom visit others and are seldom visited. By the ancient custom of their nation they do not try to extend their borders, and those they have are easily protected from all harm by their mountains and by the tribute they pay to their overlord. Entirely free from military service, they live in comfort rather than splendor, and happily rather than with nobility or fame. Indeed, I think they are hardly known even by name, except to their nearest neighbors.
1.127	Ergo apud hos furti qui peraguntur, quod sustulere domino reddunt, non, quod alibi fieri solet, principi; utpote cui tantum iuris esse censent in rem furtiuam quantum ipsi furi; Sin res perierit, precio ex bonis furum confecto ac persoluto tum reliquo uxoribus eorum atque liberis integro, ipsi damnantur in opera, ac nisi atrociter commissum furtum est, neque clauduntur ergastulo, neque gestant compedes, sed liberi, ac soluti in publicis occupantur operibus. detrectantes ac languidius gerentes sese; non tam uinculis cohercent quam excitant uerberibus, strennuam nauantes operam, absunt a contumelijs, noctu tantum nominatim censiti cubiculis includuntur. praeter assiduum laborem nihil incommodi est in uita.	Among them, then, those convicted of theft return what they took to its owner, not, as usually happens elsewhere, to the prince, since they think he has as little right to stolen goods as the thief himself. If the thing has been lost, its value is made up out of the thieves' property and paid, and the rest is left intact to their wives and children; the thieves themselves are sentenced to labor. Unless the theft was an atrocious one, they are neither locked in prison nor made to wear fetters, but are employed on public works, free and unchained. Those who refuse to work or work too sluggishly are not so much chained as spurred on with the whip; those who work hard are spared all insults. Only at night, after a roll call by name, are they locked in their sleeping quarters. Apart from constant work, there is nothing hard about their life.
1.128	Aluntur enim haud duriter qui publicae rei seruiunt, e publico. alibi aliter. Siquidem alicubi quod impenditur in eos ex eleemosyna colligitur, atque ea uia quamquam incerta; tamen ut est ille populus misericors nulla reperitur uberior. alibi reditus quidam publici ad id destinantur. Est ubi certum in eos usus tributum uiritim conferunt.	For those who serve the public are fed, and not harshly, at public expense, though this is done differently in different places. In some places what is spent on them is collected as alms, and though this is an uncertain means, that people is so compassionate that none proves more plentiful. Elsewhere certain public revenues are set aside for it. In other places everyone pays a fixed tax for this purpose.
1.131	Quin aliquot in locis nullum publicum opus faciunt, sed ut priuatus quisque eget mercenarijs, ita illorum cuiuspiam in eum diem operam, stata mercede conducit	In some places, indeed, they do no public work at all, but when a private person needs hired workers, he hires one of them for the day in the market-

13 Polylerites: from Greek, roughly "people of much nonsense."

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	apud forum, paulo minoris quam quanti liberam fuerat conducturus; praeterea fas est seruilem ignauiam flagris corripere. Sic fit uti nunquam opere careant; & praeter uictum aliquid quoque die ab singulis publico inferatur aerario. Uno quodam colore uestiuntur & omnes & soli, capillo non abraso uerum paulo supra auriculas attonso, e quarum altera paululum praescinditur.	place at a fixed wage, a little less than he would have paid a free man; and he is allowed to punish a slave's laziness with the whip. So it comes about that they are never out of work, and besides earning their keep, each of them brings in something every day for the public treasury. They are all dressed in clothes of one particular color, and they alone wear it. Their hair is not shaved but clipped a little above the ears, and the tip of one ear is cut off.
1.134	Cibum cuique ab amicis dari, potumque ac sui coloris uestem, licet; pecuniam datam esse danti pariter, atque accipienti capitale, neque minus periculosum etiam homini libero quacunque de causa nummum a damnato recepisse, & seruos item (sic enim damnatos uocant) arma contingere. Suos quaeque regio propria distinguit nota, quam abiecisse capitale est, ut uel extra suos conspici fines, uel cum alterius regionis seruo quicquam esse collocutum. At neque tutior fugae meditatio quam ipsa est fuga. Quin conscium talis fuisse consilij in seruo nex est; in libero seruitus.	Their friends are allowed to give them food and drink and clothing of their own color; but to give them money is a capital offense for giver and receiver alike. It is no less dangerous for a free man to take a coin from a convict for any reason, and likewise for the slaves (for that is what they call the convicts) to touch weapons. Each district marks its own slaves with a distinctive badge. It is a capital offense to throw it away, to be seen outside one's own district, or to talk with a slave from another district. Nor is planning to escape any safer than escape itself. Indeed, for a slave, being party to such a plan means death; for a free man, slavery.
1.138	Contra indici praemia decreta sunt; libero pecunia, seruo libertas. utrique uero uenia atque impunitas conscientiae, ne quando persequi malum consilium quam poenitere sit tutius.	Informers, on the other hand, are granted rewards: money if they are free, freedom if they are slaves. Both are also given pardon and immunity for having known of the plot, so that it may never be safer to carry a wicked plan through than to repent of it.
1.139	Huius rei haec lex atque hic ordo est, quem dixi. qui quantum habeat humanitatis & commodi, facile patet. quando sic irascitur, ut uitia perimat seruatis hominibus, atque ita tractatis, ut bonos esse necesse sit. & quantum ante damni dederunt, tantum reliqua uita resartiant. porro ne ad pristinos relabantur mores, adeo nullus est metus, ut uiatores quoque quibus iter aliquo institutum est, non alijs uiae ducibus sese tutioreis arbitrentur, quam seruis illis ad quamque regionem subinde commutatis.	That is the law and the procedure in this matter, as I have described it. How humane and how advantageous it is, is plain to see. Its anger is aimed at destroying vices while saving the people, who are treated so that they cannot help being good, and who spend the rest of their lives making up for all the damage they did before. There is so little fear of their slipping back into their old ways that travelers setting out on a journey think no guides safer than these slaves, who are changed at each district along the way.
1.140	Nempe ad perpetrandum latrocinium nihil habent usquam non importunum; manus inermes; pecunia	For committing robbery, everything anywhere is against them. Their hands are unarmed; money would only betray the crime; punishment is ready

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	tantum sceleris index; deprehenso parata uindicta; neque spes ulla prorsus fugiendi quoquam. Quo enim pacto falleret ac tegeret fugam; homo nulla uestium parte populo similis; nisi abeat nudus! quin sic quoque fugientem proderet auricula.	for anyone caught; and there is no hope at all of escaping anywhere. How could a man disguise and hide his flight when no part of his clothing resembles anyone else's, unless he went off naked? And even then his ear would give him away as he fled.
1.142	At ne inito saltem consilio coniurent in rempublicam id demum scilicet periculum est. quasi in tantam uenire spem ulla possit uicinia non tentatis ac sollicitatis ante multarum regionum seruitijs. quae tantum absunt a facultate conspirandi; ut ne conuenire quidem; & colloqui aut salutare se mutuo liceat; ut credantur interim id consilium intrepide crediturí suis; quod reticentibus periculosum, prodentibus maximo esse bono sciant.	But the real danger, of course, is that they might at least lay plans and conspire against the commonwealth. As if any one district could conceive such hopes without first sounding out and stirring up the slaves of many districts! Yet they are so far from being able to conspire that they may not even meet, talk, or greet one another. Are we to believe that they would fearlessly confide such a plan to their fellows, when they know that keeping quiet about it is dangerous and betraying it brings the greatest reward?
1.143	Quum contra nemo sit prorsus exspes, obediendo ac perferendo, bonamque de se prebendo spem, emendatioris in posterum uitae, posse his modis fieri, ut libertatem aliquando recuperet. quippe nullo non anno restitutis aliquot commendatione patientiae.	On the other hand, no one is entirely without hope that by obeying and enduring, and by giving good hope of a better life in future, he may in this way one day recover his freedom. Indeed, not a year goes by without some being set free on the strength of their patient conduct.
1.144	Haec quum dixissem atque adiecissem nihil mihi uideri causae, quare non hic modus haberi uel in Anglia possit, multo maiore cum fructu, quam illa iustitia, quam iuris ille peritus tantopere laudauerat, Sub haec ille, nempe iureconsultus, Nunquam inquit istud sic stabiliri queat in Anglia, ut non in summum discrimen adducat rempublicam & simul haec dicens, commouit caput, ac distorsit labrum, atque ita conticuit. Et omnes qui aderant, pedibus in eius ibant sententiam. Tum Cardinalis non est, inquit, procliue diuinare, commodene an secus res cessura sit, nullo prorsus facto periculo.	When I had said this, I added that I saw no reason why this method could not be adopted even in England, with far more benefit than the kind of justice the legal expert had praised so highly. At this he, the lawyer, replied: "That could never be established in England without bringing the commonwealth into the gravest danger." As he said this he shook his head, twisted his lip, and fell silent. And everyone present came over to his view. Then the Cardinal said: It is not easy to guess whether the thing would turn out well or otherwise without making any trial at all.
1.147	Uerum si pronuntiata mortis sententia, differri executionem iubeat princeps, atque hunc experiatur morem, cohibitis asylorum priuilegijs. Tum uero si res comprobetur euentu esse utilis, rectum fuerit eam stabiliri. alioqui tunc quoque afficere supplicio eos, qui sunt ante damnati, neque minus e republica fuerit, neque magis iniustum, quam si nunc idem fieret, nec ullum interea nasci ex ea re potest periculum.	But suppose that, after sentence of death had been pronounced, the king ordered the execution postponed and tried out this practice, with the privileges of sanctuary curtailed. Then, if the outcome proved it useful, it would be right to make it law. If not, putting to death those already condemned would be no less in the public interest, and no more unjust, than if it were done now; and meanwhile no danger can arise from the experiment.

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	Quin mihi certe uidentur errones quoque ad eundem posse modum non pessime tractari, in quos hactenus tam multis aeditis legibus, nihil promouimus tamen.	In fact it certainly seems to me that vagrants too could be dealt with not at all badly in the same way. We have passed so many laws against them and still made no progress whatever.

THE HANGER-ON AND THE FRIAR

A jester's jokes about beggars and friars provoke an angry friar until the Cardinal ends the dinner.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
1.150	Haec ubi dixit Cardinalis, quae me narrante contempserant omnes, eadem nemo non certatim laudibus est prosequutus, maxime tamen illud de erronibus, quoniam hoc ab ipso adiectum est. Nescio an quae sunt secuta silere prestiterit. erant enim ridicula, sed narrabo tamen. nam non erant mala, & aliquid ad hanc rem pertinebant. Adstabat forte parasitus quidam, qui uideri uolebat imitari morionem, sed ita simulabat, ut propior uero esset, tam frigidis dictis captans risum, ut ipse saepius, quam dicta sua rideretur.	When the Cardinal had said this, the very proposals they had all scorned when I made them, everyone now vied in praising, above all the point about vagrants, since he had added that himself. I don't know whether it would be better to pass over what followed in silence, for it was ridiculous. But I will tell it all the same, for it was not bad and had some bearing on this subject. There happened to be standing by a certain hanger-on who wanted to be thought to be playing the fool. He played it so well that he came nearer the real thing, fishing for laughs with such feeble jokes that he himself was laughed at more often than his jokes were.
1.153	Excidebant homini tamen interdum quaedam, adeo non absurda, ut fidem adagio facerent, crebro iactu iaci aliquando Uenerem. is ergo, dicente quodam e conuiuis: iam meo sermone bene prouisum esse furibus, atque a Cardinale etiam cautum de erronibus, restare nunc uti his praeterea consuleretur publicitus, quos ad egestatem morbus aut senectus impulisset, atque ad labores unde uiui possit, reddidisset impotes. Sine, inquit, me. nam ego & hoc recte ut fiat uidero.	Now and then, though, the fellow let slip remarks so far from absurd that they proved the proverb: throw the dice often enough and sooner or later you will throw a Venus. One of the guests said that my speech had made good provision for thieves and the Cardinal had seen to the vagrants as well. It now remained, he said, for public provision to be made for those whom sickness or old age had driven into poverty and left unable to do any work to live by. The hanger-on said: Leave that to me, for I will see to it that this is done properly too.[14]
1.155	Etenim hoc genus hominum misere cupio aliquo e conspectu amoliri meo, ita me male uexarunt saepe, cum querulis illis opplorationibus flagitarent pecuniam, quas nunquam tamen tam commode potuerunt occinere, ut nummum a me extorquerent. Quippe semper alterum euenit, ut aut non libeat dare, aut ne liceat quidem, quando nihil est quod detur. Itaque nunc coeperunt sapere. nam ne perdant operam, ubi me praeterire uident, praetermittunt taciti, ita nihil a	I am dying to get this sort of person out of my sight somehow. They have so often pestered me terribly, demanding money with their whining laments, though they could never chant them tunefully enough to squeeze a penny out of me. For one of two things always happens: either I don't feel like giving, or else I cannot, since I have nothing to give. So now they have begun to learn sense. Not to waste their effort, when they see me going by they

14 The "Venus" was the best throw in the Roman game of knucklebones.

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	me sperant amplius, non hercule magis quam si essem sacerdos.	let me pass in silence. They expect no more from me, heaven knows, than if I were a priest.
1.158	Sed illos ego mendicos omnes lata lege distribui ac dispartiri iubeo in Benedictinorum coenobia, & fieri laicos ut uocant monachos; Mulieres moniales esse impero.	But I shall pass a law and have all those beggars distributed and parceled out among the Benedictine monasteries and made lay brothers, as they call them. The women I order to become nuns.
	Subrisit Cardinalis & approbat ioco, caeteri etiam serio.	The Cardinal smiled and approved it as a joke; the rest approved it in earnest.
	Caeterum Theologus quidam frater hoc dicto in sacerdotes ac monachos adeo est exhilaratus, ut iam ipse quoque coeperit ludere homo alioqui prope ad toruitatem grauis.	But a certain theologian, a friar, was so delighted by this jibe at priests and monks that he too began to make jokes, though otherwise he was a man of gravity bordering on grimness.
	At ne sic quidem, inquit, extricaberis a mendicis, nisi nobis quoque prospexeris fratribus.	"Even so," he said, "you won't get rid of the beggars unless you make provision for us friars as well."
	Atqui, inquit Parasitus, hoc iam curatum est.	The hanger-on replied: But that has already been taken care of.
1.163	Nam Cardinalis egregie prospexit uobis quum statueret de cohercendis, atque opere exercendis erronibus. nam uos estis errones maximi.	The Cardinal made excellent provision for you when he decided that vagrants should be restrained and put to work, for you are the greatest vagrants of all.
	Hoc quoque dictum, quum coniectis in Cardinalem oculis eum uiderent non abnuere, coeperunt omnes non illibenter arripere, excepto fratre.	They glanced at the Cardinal, and when they saw that he did not disapprove of this joke either, they all began to seize on it with some relish, all except the friar.
	Nam is (neque equidem miror) tali perfusus aceto, sic indignatus est, atque incanduit, ut nec a conuicijs quidem potuerit temperare; hominem uocauit nebulonem, detractorem, susurronem, & filium perditionis, minas interim terribiles citans e scriptura sacra.	Doused with such vinegar, he (and I am not surprised) was so indignant and grew so heated that he could not even keep from abuse. He called the man a good-for-nothing, a slanderer, a backbiter and a son of perdition, quoting terrible threats from holy Scripture all the while.
	Iam scurra serio scurrari coepit. & erat plane in sua palaestra.	Now the buffoon began to play the buffoon in earnest, and he was plainly on his own ground.
1.167	Noli, inquit, irasci bone frater, scriptum est, in patientia uestra possidebitis animas uestras.	"Don't be angry, good brother," he said. "It is written: 'In your patience you will possess your souls.'"
	Rursum frater (referam enim ipsius uerba) non irascor, inquit furcifer, uel saltem non pecco.	The friar answered back (I will give you his very words): "I am not angry, you scoundrel, or at least I do not sin.
	Nam Psalmista dicit, Irascimini & nolite peccare.	"For the Psalmist says, 'Be angry, and do not sin.'"
	Admonitus deinde frater a Cardinale suauiter, ut suos affectus compesceret, Non domine, inquit, ego loquor nisi ex bono zelo sicut debeo, Nam uiri sancti habuerunt bonum zelum, unde dicitur, Zelus domus tuae comedit me. & canitur in ecclesijs, Irrisores Helizei, dum conscendit domum dei, zelus calui sentiunt, sicut fortasse sentiet iste derisor, scurra, ribaldus.	Then the Cardinal gently advised the friar to control his feelings. He replied: No, my lord, I speak only out of good zeal, as I ought. For holy men have had good zeal, which is why it is said, "Zeal for your house has consumed me." And they sing in church: "The mockers of Elisha, as he went up

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		to the house of God, felt the zeal of the bald man." So perhaps this mocker, this buffoon, this ribald rogue will feel it too.[15]
1.171	Facis inquit, Cardinalis bono fortassis affectu, sed mihi uideris facturus, nescio an sanctius, certe sapientius, si te ita compares, ne cum homine stulto & ridiculo ridiculum tibi certamen instituas, Non domine inquit, non facerem sapientius. Nam Solomon ipse sapientissimus dicit; Responde stulto secundum stultitiam eius, sicut ego nunc facio, & demonstro ei foueam in quam cadet, nisi bene praecaueat.	"You may be acting from good feeling," said the Cardinal, "but it seems to me you would act, I don't know about more piously, but certainly more wisely, if you made up your mind not to get into a ridiculous contest with a foolish and ridiculous man." He replied: No, my lord, I would not act more wisely. For Solomon himself, the wisest of men, says, "Answer a fool according to his folly," as I am doing now. And I am showing him the pit into which he will fall unless he takes good care.
1.173	Nam si multi irrisores Helizei, qui erat tantum unus caluus, senserunt zelus calui, quanto magis sentiet unus derisor multorum fratrum, in quibus sunt multi calui! & etiam habemus bullam Papalem, per quam omnes qui derident nos, sunt excommunicati. Cardinalis, ubi uidit nullum fieri finem, nutu ablegato parasito, ac aliam in rem commodum uerso sermone, paulo post surgit e mensa, atque audiendis clientum negotijs dedit se, nosque dimisit.	For if the many mockers of Elisha, who was only one bald man, felt the zeal of the bald man, how much more will one mocker of many friars feel it, since there are many bald men among them! And we also have a papal bull by which all who mock us are excommunicated. When the Cardinal saw that there would be no end to it, he sent the hanger-on away with a nod and tactfully turned the conversation to another subject. A little later he rose from the table, gave his attention to hearing his clients' business, and dismissed us.
1.175	En mi More, quam longo te sermone oneraui, quod tam diu facere plane puduisset me, nisi tu & cupide flagitasses, & sic uidereris audire, tanquam nolles quicquam eius confabulationis omitti, quae quanquam aliquanto perstrictius, narranda tamen mihi fuit omnino propter eorum iudicium, qui quae me dicente spreuerant, eadem rursus euestigio non improbante Cardinale, etiam ipsi comprobarunt, usque adeo assentantes ei, ut parasiti quoque eius inuentis, quae dominus per iocum non aspernabatur, adblandirentur & serio propemodum admitterent. Ut hinc possis aestimare quanti me ac mea consilia aulici forent aestimaturi.	There, my dear More, what a long story I have burdened you with! I would have been thoroughly ashamed to go on so long if you had not asked for it eagerly and seemed to listen as if you did not want any part of that conversation left out. I have told it rather summarily, but I had to tell it all the same because of how those men judged. Having scorned what I said, they immediately approved the very same ideas themselves once the Cardinal did not disapprove of them. They flattered him so far that they even fawned on the inventions of his hanger-on, which their master did not reject as a joke, and all but accepted them in earnest. From this you can judge how much the courtiers would value me and my advice.
1.177	Profecto mi Raphael inquam magna me affecisti uoluptate, ita sunt abs te dicta prudenter simul & lepide omnia, praeterea uisus mihi interim sum, non solum in	Then I said: Truly, my dear Raphael, you have given me great pleasure, for everything you said was both wise and witty. Besides, all the while I felt not

15 Boys who jeered at the bald prophet Elisha were mauled by bears (2 Kings 2:23–24); the line comes from a medieval hymn. The friar's Latin is ungrammatical throughout, which More's readers would have relished.

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	patria uersari, uerum etiam repuerascere quodammodo iucunda recordatione Cardinalis illius, in cuius aula puer sum educatus. cuius uiri memoriae quod tu tam impense faues, non credas mi Raphael quanto mihi sis effectus hoc nomine charior, cum esses alioqui charissimus.	only that I was back in my own country but even, in a way, that I was becoming a boy again, through the pleasant memory of that Cardinal in whose household I was brought up as a boy. And because you cherish that man's memory so warmly, you would not believe, my dear Raphael, how much dearer you have become to me on that account, though you were very dear already.
1.178	Caeterum non possum adhuc ullo pacto meam demutare sententiam, quin te plane putem, si animum inducas tuum, uti ne ab aulis principum abhorreas, in publicum posse te tuis consilijs plurimum boni conferre. quare nihil magis incumbit tuo, hoc est boni uiri, officio.	But I still cannot by any means change my opinion. I am quite sure that if you could bring yourself not to shun the courts of princes, you could do a great deal of public good by your advice. That is why no duty is more binding on you, that is, on a good man.
1.179	Siquidem cum tuus censeat Plato. respublicas ita demum futuras esse felices, si aut regnent philosophi, aut reges philosophentur, quam procul aberit felicitas, si philosophi regibus nec dignentur saltem suum impartiri consilium! Non sunt, inquit ille, tam ingrati, quin id libenter facerent, imo multi libris aeditis iam fecerunt, si hij qui rerum potiuntur essent parati, bene consultis parere.	For since your Plato holds that commonwealths will be happy only if either philosophers are kings or kings are philosophers, how far away happiness will be if philosophers do not even deign to share their advice with kings! He replied: They are not so ungrateful that they would not gladly do it. Indeed many have already done so by publishing books, if only those in power were ready to follow good advice.[16]

ADVICE NO KING WILL TAKE

Raphael imagines urging royal councils to give up conquest and stop fleecing their own people.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
1.180	Sed bene haud dubie praeuidit Plato, nisi reges philosophentur ipsi, nunquam futurum, ut peruersis opinionibus a pueris imbuti, atque infecti penitus philosophantium comprobent consilia; quod ipse quoque experiebatur apud Dionysium. An non me putas, si apud aliquem regum decreta sana proponerem, & perniciosa malorum semina, conarer illi euellere, protinus aut eijciendum aut habendum ludibrio! Age finge me apud regem esse Gallorum, atque in eius considere consilio, dum in secretissimo secessu praesidente rege ipso, in corona prudentissimorum hominum, magnis agitur studijs, quibus artibus ac machinamentis Mediolanum retineat, ac fugitiuam illam Neapolim ad se retrahat; postea uero euertat Uenetos, ac totam Italiam subijciat sibi. deinde Flandros Brabantos, totam postremo Burgundiam suae faciat ditionis.	But Plato no doubt foresaw rightly that unless kings themselves took up philosophy, they would never approve the advice of philosophers, since they have been steeped from boyhood in wrong opinions and are thoroughly infected by them. He found this out himself at the court of Dionysius. Don't you think that if I proposed sound decrees to some king and tried to root the deadly seeds of evil out of him, I would at once be thrown out or made a laughingstock? Come, imagine me at the court of the king of France, sitting in his council. In a most secret session, with the king himself presiding, a circle of the wisest men is earnestly discussing by what arts and schemes he can keep hold of Milan and bring that runaway Naples back to him. Then they consider how he can overthrow the Venetians and subject the whole of Italy to

16 Plato, *Republic* 5.473c–d.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
		himself, and next bring Flanders, Brabant, and finally all of Burgundy under his rule —[17]
1.181	Atque alias praeterea gentes, quarum regnum iam olim animo inuasit. Hic dum alius suadet feriendum cum Uenetis foedus tantisper duraturum, dum ipsis fuerit commodum, cum illis communicandum consilium. quin deponendam quoque apud eosdem aliquam praedae partem, quam rebus ex sententia peractis repetat, dum alius consulit conducendos Germanos, alius pecunia demulcendos Alius Eluetios. aduersus numen imperatoriae maiestatis, auro, uelut anathemate, propitiandum.	and other nations besides, whose kingdoms he invaded in his mind long ago. Here one man advises making a treaty with the Venetians, to last just as long as it suits the king. He should share his plans with them and even leave part of the spoils with them, to be reclaimed when things have gone as planned. Meanwhile another recommends hiring German mercenaries. Another advises that the Swiss be soothed with money, and another that the divine majesty of the emperor be propitiated with gold, as with a votive offering.
1.183	Dum alij uidetur cum Arragonum rege componendas esse res, & alieno Nauariae regno, uelut pacis authoramento cedendum; Alius interim censet Castelliae principem aliqua spe affinitatis irretiendum, atque aulicos nobiles aliquot in suam factionem certa pensione esse pertrahendos. Dum maximus omnium nodus occurrit, quid statuendum interim de Anglia sit. Caeterum de pace tractandum tamen, & constringenda firmissimis uinculis, semper infirma societas, amici uocentur, suspiciantur ut inimici. Habendos igitur paratos, uelut in statione Scotos, ad omnem intentos occasionem, si quid se commoueant Angli protinus immittendos.	Another thinks the king should settle matters with the king of Aragon and, as a pledge of peace, cede to him the kingdom of Navarre, which belongs to someone else. Another proposes that the prince of Castile be ensnared with some hope of a marriage alliance, and that certain nobles of his court be drawn over to the king's side with regular pensions. Then the hardest knot of all comes up: what is to be done about England in the meantime? Still, peace must be negotiated, and an alliance that is always weak must be bound with the strongest bonds; let the English be called friends but be suspected as enemies. The Scots, therefore, must be kept ready, as if posted on guard, alert for every opportunity, to be let loose at once if the English make any move.
1.187	Ad haec fouendum exulem nobilem aliquem occulte, namque id aperte ne fiat prohibent foedera, qui id regnum sibi deberi contendat, ut ea uelut ansa contineat, suspectum sibi principem. Hic, inquam, in tanto rerum molimine, tot egregijs uiris ad bellum sua certatim consilia conferentibus, si ego homuncio surgam, ac uerti iubeam uela, omittendam Italiam censeam & domi dicam esse manendum, unum Galliae regnum fere maius esse, quam ut commode possit ab uno administrari, ne sibi putet rex de alijs adijciendis esse cogitandum.	Besides this, some exiled nobleman who claims the throne of England as his by right must be secretly supported, since treaties forbid doing it openly, so that the king may use him as a handle for keeping in check a prince he distrusts. Here, I say, amid such mighty undertakings, with so many distinguished men vying to contribute their advice for war, suppose that I, a little nobody, were to stand up and call for the sails to be turned about. Suppose I advised leaving Italy alone and said that the king should stay at home. I would say that the kingdom of France by itself is almost too large to be governed well by one man, so the king should not think of adding others to it.[18]

17 Dionysius II, tyrant of Syracuse, whom Plato tried and failed to turn into a philosopher-king in the 360s BC.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
1.189	Tum si illis proponerem decreta Achoriorum populi, Utopiensium insulae ad Euronoton oppositi, qui quum olim bellum gessissent, ut regi suo aliud obtinerent regnum, quod affinitatis antiquae causa sibi contendebat haereditate deberi, consequuti tandem id, ubi uiderunt nihilo sibi minus esse molestiae in retinendo, quam in quaerendo pertulerunt, uerum assidua pullulare semina, uel internae rebellionis, uel externae incursionis, in deditos ita semper aut pro illis, aut contra pugnandum, nunquam dari facultatem dimittendi exercitus, compilari interim se, efferri foras pecuniam, alienae gloriolae suum impendi sanguinem, pacem nihilo tutiorem, domi corruptos bello mores, imbibitam latrocinandi libidinem, confirmatam caedibus audaciam, leges esse contemptui, quod rex in duorum curam regnorum distractus, minus in utrumuis animum posset intendere.	Suppose I then set before them the decrees of the Achorians, a people who live opposite the island of Utopia to the south-southeast. They once went to war to win another kingdom for their king, who claimed it was his by inheritance through an old marriage alliance. When at last they had won it, they saw that keeping it was no less trouble than getting it had been. The seeds of rebellion within or invasion from without were always sprouting among the conquered people, so they constantly had to fight either for them or against them. There was never a chance to disband the army. Meanwhile they were being fleeced, their money was carried abroad, and their blood was spent for someone else's petty glory. Peace was no safer. At home, morals were corrupted by war, a lust for plunder had been drunk in, and recklessness had been hardened by slaughter. And the laws were held in contempt, because the king, distracted by the care of two kingdoms, could give less attention to either.[19]
1.190	Cum uiderent alioqui tantis malis nullum finem fore, inito tandem consilio, regi suo humanissime fecerunt optionem retinendi utrius regni uellet. nam utriusque non fore potestatem, se plures esse, quam qui a dimidiato possint rege gubernari, quum nemo sit libenter admissurus mulionem sibi cum alio communem. Ita coactus est ille bonus princeps, nouo regno cuipiam ex amicis relicto (qui breui etiam post eiectus est) antiquo esse contentus.	Since they saw that otherwise there would be no end to such evils, they finally took counsel together and very courteously gave their king the choice of keeping whichever of the two kingdoms he wished. He could not have both, they said. They were too many to be ruled by half a king, since nobody would willingly share even a muleteer with someone else. So that good prince was forced to be content with his old kingdom, leaving the new one to one of his friends (who was driven out soon afterward).
1.192	Praeterea si ostenderem omnes hos conatus bellorum, quibus tot nationes eius causa tumultuarentur, quum thesauros eius exhausissent, ac destruxissent populum, aliqua tandem fortuna frustra cessuros tamen, proinde auitum regnum coleret, ornaret quantum posset, & faceret quam florentissimum. Amet suos & ametur a suis, cum his una uiuat, imperetque suauiter, atque alia regna ualere sinat, quando id quod nunc ei contigisset, satis amplum superque esset. hanc orationem quibus auribus mi More, putas excipiendam! Profecto non ualde pronis inquam.	Suppose, too, that I showed him that all these warlike efforts, which would throw so many nations into turmoil on his account, would exhaust his treasury and destroy his people and then come to nothing after all, through some turn of fortune. So he should look after the kingdom of his forefathers, improve it as much as he could, and make it as flourishing as possible. Let him love his people and be loved by them, live among them, rule them gently, and leave other kingdoms alone, since what had already fallen to him was ample and more than enough. How do

18 Probably Richard de la Pole, the Yorkist claimant to the English throne, who lived in exile under French protection.
19 Achorians: from Greek, "people without a place" or "without a country."

LATIN	ENGLISH
	you think this speech would be received, my dear More? "Not very favorably, I am sure," I said.
1.194 Pergamus ergo inquit, si consiliarijs cum rege quopiam tractantibus, & comminiscentibus quibus technis ei queant coaceruare thesauros, dum unus intendendam consulit aestimationem monetae, quum ipsi sit eroganda pecunia. deijciendam rursus infra iustum, quum fuerit corroganda. uti & multum aeris paruo dissoluat, & pro paruo multum recipiat; Dum alius suadet ut bellum simulet, atque eo praetextu coacta pecunia cum uisum erit, faciat pacem, sanctis cerimonijs, quo plebeculae oculis fiat praestigium, miseratus uidelicet humanum sanguinem princeps pius; Dum alius ei suggerit in mentem, antiquas quasdam, & tineis adesas leges, longa desuetudine antiquatas, quas quod nemo latas meminisset, omnes sint transgressi, earum ergo mulctas iubeat exigi, nullum uberiorem prouentum esse, nullum magis honorificum, utpote qui iustitiae prae se personam ferat; Dum ab alio admonetur, uti sub magnis mulctis multa prohibeat, maxime talia, quae ne fiant, in rem sit populi.	Then he said: Let us go on. Suppose the king's councilors are discussing with him and devising tricks by which they can pile up treasure for him. One advises raising the value of the coinage when he has money to pay out, and lowering it below its true value when he has money to collect, so that he may pay off a large debt with little and receive a great deal for little. Another suggests that he pretend to make war and, once he has raised money on that pretext, make peace when it suits him, with solemn ceremonies to throw dust in the eyes of the common people. He will be the pious prince, of course, taking pity on human bloodshed. Another puts him in mind of certain old, moth-eaten laws, long obsolete through disuse, which everyone has broken because no one remembered they had been passed. Let him order the fines for these to be collected, for there is no richer source of revenue and none more honorable, since it wears the mask of justice. Another advises him to forbid many things under heavy fines, especially things it is in the people's interest to prohibit,
post pecunia cum illis dispenset, quorum commodis obstat interdictum, sic & a populo gratiam iniri, & duplex adferri compendium, uel dum hij mulctantur, quos quaestus cupiditas pellexit in casses, uel dum alijs uendit priuilegia, tanto pluris, quanto scilicet fuerit melior princeps, utpote qui grauatim quicquam contra populi commodum priuato cuiquam indulgeat, & ob id non nisi magno precio.	and afterward to grant dispensations for money to those whose interests the ban obstructs. In this way, he says, the king both wins the people's favor and makes a double profit. He profits once when those whom greed for gain has lured into the net are fined, and again when he sells privileges to others. The better the prince, of course, the higher the price, since he is reluctant to grant any private person anything against the people's interest, and so does it only at a high price.
1.195 Dum alius ei persuadet obstringendos sibi iudices, qui quauis in re pro regio iure disceptent, accersendos praeterea in palatium, atque inuitandos uti coram se de suis rebus disserant, ita nullam causam eius tam aperte iniquam fore, in qua non aliquis eorum uel contradicendi studio, uel pudore dicendi eadem, uel quo gratiam ineant, apud eum aliquam reperiant rimam, qua possit intendi calumnia.	Another persuades him that he must bind the judges to himself, so that they will argue for the king's right in every case. They should also be summoned to the palace and invited to debate his affairs in his presence. Then no case of his will be so plainly unjust that one of them will not find some crack in it through which a false claim can be pressed, whether from love of contradiction, or shame at saying the same as the others, or to win favor with him.
1.196 Sic dum iudicibus diuersa sentientibus, res per se clarissima disputatur, & ueritas in quaestionem uenit,	So while the judges disagree, a thing perfectly clear in itself is argued over and the truth is called

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	ansam commodum regi dari, pro suo commodo ius interpretandi. caeteros aut pudore accessuros, aut metu, sic intrepide fertur postea pro tribunali sententia. Neque enim deesse praetextus potest pronuncianti pro principe. Nempe cui satis est aut aequitatem a sua parte esse, aut uerba legis, aut contortum scripti sensum, aut quae legibus denique omnibus praeponderat, apud religiosos iudices principis indisputabilem praerogatiuam.	into question, and the king is handed a convenient handle for interpreting the law to his own advantage. The rest will fall into line from shame or fear, and afterward the verdict is boldly delivered from the bench. For anyone who gives judgment for the prince can never lack a pretext. It is enough for him that equity is on the king's side, or the letter of the law, or a twisted reading of the text. Failing those, there is what outweighs all laws with conscientious judges: the indisputable prerogative of the prince.
1.199	Dum omnes in Crassiano illo consentiunt atque conspirant, Nullam auri uim satis esse principi, cui sit alendus exercitus. praeterea nihil iniuste regem facere, ut maxime etiam uelit posse.	Meanwhile all agree and conspire in that maxim of Crassus: no amount of gold is enough for a prince who has to maintain an army. Moreover, a king can do nothing unjust, however much he may wish to.[20]
1.200	Quippe omnia omnium eius esse, ut homines etiam ipsos, tantum uero cuique esse proprium quantum regis benignitas ei non ademerit, quod ipsum ut quam minimum sit, principis multum referre, ut cuius tutamentum in eo situm sit, ne populus diuitijs ac libertate lasciuiat, quod hae res minus patienter ferant dura atque iniusta imperia, quum contra egestas atque inopia retundat animos, ac patientes reddat, adimatque pressis generosos rebellandi spiritus. Hic si ego rursus adsurgens contendam haec consilia omnia regi & inhonesta esse, & perniciosa.	For everything belongs to him, everyone's property and the people themselves too, and each person owns only as much as the king's generosity has not taken from him. It is very much in the prince's interest that this should be as little as possible. His security depends on the people not growing unruly with wealth and freedom, for these make them less patient under harsh and unjust rule. Want and poverty, on the other hand, blunt their spirits, make them submissive, and crush in the oppressed the noble spirit of rebellion. Suppose I were to rise again at this point and argue that all these counsels are both dishonorable and ruinous for the king.
1.202	Cuius non honor modo, sed securitas quoque in populi magis opibus sita sit quam suis. quos si ostendam, regem sibi deligere sua causa, non regis, uidelicet uti eius labore ac studio ipsi commode uiuant. tutique ab iniurijs. eoque magis ad principem eam pertinere curam, ut populo bene sit suo, quam ut sibi, non aliter ac pastoris officium est, oues potius quam semet pascere, quatenus opilio est. Nam quod populi egestatem censeant pacis praesidium esse, longissime aberrare eos ipsa res docet.	His honor, and his safety too, rest on his people's wealth rather than his own. Suppose I showed that they choose a king for their own sake, not for his, so that through his work and care they may live comfortably and safe from injury. It is therefore the prince's business to see that his people fare well rather than himself, just as it is a shepherd's duty, insofar as he is a shepherd, to feed his sheep rather than himself. As for their view that the people's poverty is the safeguard of peace, experience itself shows how very wrong they are.

20 Marcus Licinius Crassus (died 53 BC), the richest man in Rome, reportedly said no one was rich who could not support an army from his income (Cicero, *On Duties* 1.25).

	LATIN	ENGLISH
1.204	Nempe ubi plus rixarum comperias, quam inter mendicos! Quis intentius mutationi rerum studet, quam cui minime placet praesens uitae status! Aut cui denique audacior impetus ad conturbanda omnia, spe alicunde lucrandi, quam cui iam nihil est quod possit perdere! Quod si rex aliquis adeo aut contemptus esset, aut inuisus suis, ut aliter eos continere in officio non possit, nisi contumelijs, compilatione, & sectione grassetur, eosque redigat ad mendicitatem, praestiterit illi profecto regno abdicare, quam his retinere artibus, quibus quamquam imperij nomen, retineat, certe amittit maiestatem.	Where will you find more quarrels than among beggars? Who is keener for revolution than the man least satisfied with his present condition? Or who, finally, rushes more recklessly to throw everything into confusion, in the hope of gaining something somewhere, than the man who has nothing left to lose? Suppose a king were so despised or hated by his subjects that he could keep them in line only by abuse, plunder and confiscation, reducing them to beggary. He would certainly do better to abdicate than to keep his throne by such methods, for though he keeps the name of ruler, he surely loses its majesty.
1.205	Neque enim regiae dignitatis est, imperium in mendicos exercere, sed in opulentos potius, atque felices. Quod ipsum sensit certe uir erecti ac sublimis animi Fabricius, cum responderet malle se imperare diuitibus, quam diuitem esse. Et profecto unum aliquem uoluptate ac delicijs fluere, gementibus undique ac lamentantibus alijs, hoc non est regni, sed carceris esse custodem.	It is not in keeping with a king's dignity to rule over beggars, but rather over the rich and prosperous. That is exactly what Fabricius, a man of upright and lofty spirit, meant when he replied that he would rather rule the rich than be rich himself. And indeed, for one man to wallow in pleasures and luxuries while everyone around him groans and laments is to be the keeper not of a kingdom but of a prison.[21]
1.208	Denique ut imperitissimus medicus est, qui morbum nescit nisi morbo curare, ita qui uitam ciuium non nouit alia uia corrigere, quam ademptis uitae commodis, is se nescire fateatur imperare liberis. quin aut inertiam potius mutet suam, aut superbiam. nam his fere uitijs accidit, ut populus eum uel contemnat, uel habeat odio. uiuat innocuus de suo, sumptus ad reditus accommodet, refrenet maleficia, & recta institutione suorum praeueniat potius, quam sinat increscere, quae deinde puniat, leges abrogatas consuetudine haud temere reuocet, praesertim quae diu desitae nunquam desyderatae sunt. neque unquam commissi nomine eiusmodi quicquam capiat, quale priuatum quempiam iudex, uelut iniquum ac uafrum non pateretur accipere.	Finally, the most incompetent doctor is the one who can cure a disease only by causing another. In the same way, the man who knows no other way to reform the lives of his citizens than by taking away the good things of life should confess that he does not know how to rule free men. Let him rather change his own idleness or his pride, for these are the vices that usually make a people despise or hate their ruler. Let him live harmlessly on his own income, fit his expenses to his revenues, and curb crime. By training his people rightly he should prevent offenses rather than letting them grow and then punishing them. Let him not rashly revive laws that custom has repealed, especially those long abandoned and never missed. And let him never take anything as a forfeit that a judge would not allow a private person to take, as unfair and crafty.
1.209	Hic si proponerem illis Macarensium legem, qui & ipsi non longe admodum absunt ab Utopia, quorum rex quo primum die auspicatur imperium, magnis adhibitis	What if I then put before them the law of the Macarians, who also live not very far from Utopia? On the day their king first takes office, he is bound by

21 Gaius Fabricius Luscinus, Roman general of the 3rd century BC famed for incorruptible frugality; ancient sources usually give this saying to his contemporary Manius Curius.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	sacrificijs iurijurando astringitur, nunquam se uno tempore supra mille auri pondo in thesauris habiturum, aut argenti, quantum eius auri precium aequet. Hanc legem ferunt ab optimo quodam rege institutam, cui maiori curae fuit patriae commodum, quam diuitiae suae, uelut obicem aceruandae pecuniae tantae, quanta faceret inopiam eius in populo. Nempe eum thesaurum uidebat suffecturum, siue regi aduersus rebelleis, siue regno aduersus hostium incursiones esset confligendum.	an oath, with solemn sacrifices, never to have in his treasury at any one time more than a thousand pounds of gold, or silver to the value of that gold. This law, they say, was laid down by an excellent king who cared more for his country's good than for his own wealth. He meant it as a barrier against heaping up so much money as to make the people poor. He saw that this treasure would be enough whether the king had to fight rebels or the kingdom had to meet enemy invasions.[22]
1.212	Caeterum minorem esse quam ut animos faciat inuadendi aliena. quae potissima condendae legis causa fuit. Proxima quod sic prospectum putauit, ne desit pecunia, quae in quotidiana ciuium commutatione uersetur, & quum regi necesse est erogare, quicquid thesauro supra legitimum accreuit modum, non quaesiturum censuit occasiones iniuriae. Talis rex & malis erit formidini, & a bonis amabitur.	Yet it was too small to embolden him to invade other people's lands, and this was the chief reason for making the law. The next was that he thought it would ensure there was no shortage of money for the citizens' daily dealings. Also, since the king is obliged to pay out whatever has accumulated in the treasury beyond the legal limit, he reckoned the king would not look for opportunities to do wrong. Such a king will be feared by the wicked and loved by the good.

PHILOSOPHY SUITED TO PUBLIC LIFE

More urges an indirect approach at court; Raphael replies that it would only make him complicit.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
1.215	Haec ergo atque huiusmodi si ingererem apud homines in contrariam partem uehementer inclinatos, quam surdis essem narraturus fabulam! Surdissimis inquam, haud dubie. neque hercule miror, neque mihi uidentur (ut uere dicam) huiusmodi sermones ingerendi, aut talia danda consilia, quae certus sis nunquam admissum iri. Quid enim prodesse possit, aut quomodo in illorum pectus influere sermo tam insolens, quorum praeoccupauit animos, atque insedit penitus diuersa persuasio! Apud amiculos in familiari colloquio non insuauis est haec philosophia scholastica.	Suppose, then, I were to press these and similar ideas on men strongly inclined the other way. What deaf ears I would be telling my tale to! I said: The deafest in the world, no doubt about it. And, heaven knows, I am not surprised. Nor, to tell the truth, do I think such talk should be pressed on people, or such advice given, when you are sure it will never be accepted. What good could it do? How could such unfamiliar talk sink into the minds of men already occupied and thoroughly possessed by the opposite conviction? Among close friends, in familiar conversation, this scholastic philosophy is not unpleasant.
1.217	Caeterum in consilijs principum, ubi res magnae magna autoritate aguntur, non est his rebus locus. Hoc est, inquit ille, quod dicebam non esse apud principes locum philosophiae.	But in the councils of princes, where great matters are handled with great authority, there is no room for these things. "That is just what I meant," he said, "when I said there is no place for philosophy among princes."

22 Macarians: from Greek *makares*, "the blessed" or "the fortunate."

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	Imo inquam est uerum, non huic scholasticae, quae quiduis putet ubiuis conuenire, sed est alia philosophia ciuilior, quae suam nouit scenam, eique sese accommodans, in ea fabula quae in manibus est, suas partes concinne & cum decoro tutatur. Hac utendum est tibi.	I said: Yes, there is, but not for this scholastic philosophy, which thinks anything suits any place. There is another philosophy, better suited to public life, which knows its stage and adapts itself to it. In whatever play is in hand, it performs its part neatly and with decorum. This is the one you should use.
1.221	Alioquin dum agitur quaepiam Plauti comoedia, nugantibus inter se uernulis, si tu in proscenium prodeas habitu philosophico, & recenseas ex Octauia locum in quo Seneca disputat cum Nerone. nonne praestiterit egisse mutam personam, quam aliena recitando talem fecisse tragicomoediam! Corruperis enim, peruerterisque praesentem fabulam, dum diuersa permisces, etiam si ea quae tu affers meliora fuerint. Quaecunque fabula in manu est, eam age quam potes optime. neque ideo totam perturbes, quod tibi in mentem uenit alterius, quae sit lepidior. Sic est in Republica sic in consultationibus principum.	Otherwise, suppose a comedy of Plautus is being performed and the household slaves are fooling around together. You come onstage dressed as a philosopher and recite the passage from the *Octavia* where Seneca argues with Nero. Wouldn't it have been better to play a silent part than to turn the play into a tragicomedy by reciting something out of place? You would spoil and ruin the play at hand by mixing in something different, even if what you brought was better. Whatever play is being performed, act it as well as you can, and don't throw the whole thing into confusion just because another one that is wittier comes to mind. So it is in the commonwealth, so in the councils of princes.[23]
1.224	Si radicitus euelli non possint opiniones prauae, nec receptis usu uitijs mederi queas, ex animi tui sententia, non ideo tamen deserenda Respublica est, & in tempestate nauis destituenda est, quoniam uentos inhibere non possis. at neque insuetus & insolens sermo inculcandus, quem scias apud diuersa persuasos pondus non habiturum, sed obliquo ductu conandum est, atque adnitendum tibi, uti pro tua uirili omnia tractes commode. & quod in bonum nequis uertere, efficias saltem, ut sit quam minime malum.	You may not be able to pull wrong opinions up by the roots, or cure long-established vices as you would wish. But that is no reason to abandon the commonwealth. You must not desert the ship in a storm because you cannot hold back the winds. Nor should you force on people unfamiliar and strange talk that you know will carry no weight with those of opposite convictions. Instead you must try an indirect approach and strive, as far as you can, to handle everything tactfully. And what you cannot turn to good, you must at least make as little bad as possible.
1.225	Nam ut omnia bene sint, fieri non potest, nisi omnes boni sint, quod ad aliquot abhinc annos adhuc non expecto. Hac, inquit, arte nihil fieret aliud, quam ne dum aliorum furori mederi studeo, ipse cum illis insaniam. Nam si uera loqui uolo, talia loquar necesse est. Caeterum falsa loqui, sitne philosophi nescio, certe non est meum.	For it is impossible for all things to be good unless all men are good, and that I do not expect for quite a few years yet. He replied: The only result of this method would be that while I tried to cure other people's madness, I would go mad along with them. For if I want to speak the truth, I must say such things.

23 *Octavia*: a Roman tragedy once ascribed to Seneca, in which Seneca himself appears and remonstrates with the emperor Nero.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	Quanquam ille meus sermo ut fuerit fortasse ingratus illis, atque molestus, ita non uideo cur uideri debeat usque ad ineptias insolens.	Whether it is a philosopher's business to tell lies I don't know; it is certainly not mine. And though that speech of mine may have been unwelcome and irksome to them, I do not see why it should seem so strange as to be absurd.
1.230	Quod si aut ea dicerem, quae fingit Plato in sua Republica aut ea quae faciunt Utopienses in sua, haec quamquam essent, ut certe sunt, meliora, tamen aliena uideri possint, quod hic singulorum priuatae sunt possessiones, illic omnia sunt communia.	Suppose I were to say the things Plato imagines in his *Republic*, or the things the Utopians actually do in theirs. These things are better, as they certainly are, but they might still seem out of place, because here individuals own private property, while there everything is in common.
1.231	Mea uero oratio (nisi quod ad eos qui statuissent secum, ruere diuersa uia praecipites, iucundus esse non potest, qui reuocet ac praemonstret pericula) alioquin quid habuit, quod non ubiuis dici, uel conueniat, uel oporteat! Equidem si omittenda sunt omnia tanquam insolentia atque absurda, quaecunque peruersi mores hominum fecerunt, ut uideri possint aliena, dissimulemus oportet, apud Christianos, pleraque omnia quae Christus docuit, ac dissimulari usqueadeo uetuit, ut ea quoque quae ipse in aures insusurrasset suis, palam in tectis iusserit praedicari.	But what did my speech contain that would not be fitting, or even necessary, to say anywhere? The only exception is that it cannot be welcome to those who have made up their minds to rush headlong down the opposite road, since it calls them back and points out the dangers. Indeed, if we are to leave out as strange and absurd everything that men's perverse habits have made seem out of place, then among Christians we must hush up almost everything Christ taught. Yet he forbade it to be hushed up, so strongly that he commanded even what he had whispered in his followers' ears to be preached openly from the housetops.
1.232	Quorum maxima pars ab istis moribus longe est alienior, quam mea fuit oratio. Nisi quod concionatores homines callidi, tuum illud consilium secuti puto, quando mores suos homines ad Christi normam grauatim paterentur aptari, doctrinam eius uelut regulam plumbeam accommodauerunt ad mores, ut aliquo saltem pacto coniungerentur scilicet. qua re nihil uideo quid profecerint, nisi ut securius liceat esse malos, atque ipse profecto tantundem proficiam in consilijs principum. Nam aut diuersa sentiam, quod perinde fuerit, ac si nihil sentiam, aut eadem, & ipsorum adiutor sim, ut inquit Mitio Terentianus, insaniae.	Most of it is far more out of keeping with our present ways than my speech was. Except that preachers, crafty men, following that advice of yours, I suppose, found that people were unwilling to have their morals fitted to Christ's standard. So they bent his teaching to fit people's morals, like a ruler made of lead, so that at least the two might somehow be brought into line. I cannot see what they have achieved by this, except that people can be wicked with an easier mind. That is certainly all I would achieve in the councils of princes. Either I would hold a different opinion, which would amount to holding none at all, or I would agree with them and so be, as Mitio says in Terence, an accomplice to their madness.[24]
1.235	Nam obliquus ille ductus tuus non uideo quid sibi uelit, quo censes adnitendum, si non possint omnia reddi bona,	I do not see what you mean by that indirect approach of yours. You think one should strive, if everything cannot be made good, at least to

24 A lead ruler bends to fit whatever it measures (Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 5.10). Mitio is the indulgent father in Terence's comedy *The Brothers*.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	tamen ut tractentur commode, fiantque, quoad licet, quam minime mala. Quippe non est ibi dissimulandi locus, nec licet conniuere. approbanda sunt aperte pessima consilia, & decretis pestilentissimis subscribendum est. Speculatoris uice fuerit, ac pene proditoris, etiam qui improbe consulta maligne laudauerit.	handle it tactfully and make it as little bad as possible. But there is no room there for pretending, and you cannot shut your eyes. You have to approve the worst counsels openly and put your name to the most pernicious decrees. Even someone who praised wicked counsels half-heartedly would be counted a spy and almost a traitor.
1.238	Porro nihil occurrit, in quo prodesse quicquam possis, in eos delatus collegas, qui uel optimum uirum facilius corruperint, quam ipsi corrigantur, quorum peruersa consuetudine uel deprauaberis, uel ipse integer atque innocens, alienae malitiae, stultitiaeque praetexeris, tantum abest ut aliquid possit in melius obliquo illo ductu conuertere.	Moreover, you would find no chance to do any good once you were brought among such colleagues, who would more easily corrupt the best of men than be reformed themselves. Their perverse company will either corrupt you, or, if you stay upright and innocent yourself, you will be used as a cover for other men's wickedness and folly. That indirect approach is so far from being able to turn anything for the better.
1.239	Quam ob rem pulcherrima similitudine declarat Plato, cur merito sapientes abstineant a capessenda Republica. quippe quum populum uideant in plateas effusum assiduis imbribus perfundi, nec persuadere queant illis, ut se subducant pluuiae, tectaque subeant. gnari nihil profuturos sese si exeant, quam ut una compluantur, semet intra tecta continent habentes satis, quando alienae stultitiae non possunt mederi, si ipsi saltem sint in tuto.	That is why Plato, in a very fine simile, shows why wise men are right to keep out of public affairs. They see the people pouring into the streets and getting drenched by constant showers, and they cannot persuade them to get out of the rain and go indoors. They know that if they went out, they would do no good except to get soaked along with them. So they stay indoors, content, since they cannot cure other people's folly, to be safe themselves at least.[25]

THE CASE AGAINST PRIVATE PROPERTY

Raphael argues that justice and prosperity are impossible while property is private, and praises Utopia.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
1.240	Quanquam profecto mi More (ut ea uere dicam, quae meus animus fert) mihi uidetur ubicunque priuatae sunt possessiones, ubi omnes omnia pecunijs metiuntur, ibi uix unquam posse fieri, ut cum Republica aut iuste agatur, aut prospere, nisi uel ibi sentias agi iuste, ubi optima quaeque perueniunt ad pessimos, uel ibi feliciter, ubi omnia diuiduntur in paucissimos, nec illos habitos undecunque commode, caeteris uero plane miseris.	And yet, my dear More, to tell you frankly what I really think, it seems to me that wherever there is private property, where everything is measured by money, it will hardly ever be possible for a commonwealth to be governed justly or prosperously. That is, unless you think justice is done where all the best things go to the worst people, or prosperity reigns where everything is divided among a very few. And even they are not altogether well off, while the rest are utterly wretched.
1.241	Quam ob rem quum apud animum meum reputo, prudentissima atque sanctissima instituta Utopiensium,	So I consider the very wise and holy institutions of the Utopians, among whom affairs are ordered so

25 Plato, *Republic* 6.496d.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	apud quos tam paucis legibus, tam commode res administrantur, ut & uirtuti precium sit, & tamen aequatis rebus omnia abundent omnibus, tum ubi his eorum moribus ex aduerso comparo, tot nationes alias, semper ordinantes, nec ullam satis ordinatam unquam, earum omnium in quibus quod quisque nactus fuerit, suum uocat priuatum, quorum tam multae indies conditae leges non sufficiunt, uel ut consequatur quisquam, uel ut tueatur, uel ut satis internoscat ab alieno, illud quod suum inuicem quisque priuatum nominat, id quod facile indicant infinita illa tam assidue nascentia, quam nunquam finienda litigia.	smoothly with so few laws that virtue is rewarded, and yet, with everything shared equally, everyone has plenty of everything. Then, by contrast, I compare with their ways so many other nations, always passing new ordinances and never well ordered. In all of them, whatever a person has got hold of he calls his own private property. All the laws they enact every day are not enough for anyone to obtain what each calls his own private property, or to keep it, or even to tell it apart from someone else's. The endless lawsuits, springing up constantly and never to be settled, show this plainly.
	haec inquam, dum apud me consydero, aequior Platoni fio, minusque demiror, dedignatum illis leges ferre ullas, qui recusabant eas quibus ex aequo omnes omnia partirentur commoda.	When, I say, I consider all this, I become fairer to Plato, and I wonder less that he refused to make any laws for those who rejected laws by which everyone would share all goods equally.[26]
1.242	Siquidem facile praeuidit homo prudentissimus, unam atque unicam illam esse uiam ad salutem publicam, si rerum indicatur aequalitas, quae nescio an unquam possit obseruari, ubi sua sunt singulorum propria. Nam quum certis titulis, quisque quantum potest, ad se conuertit, quantacumque fuerit rerum copia, eam omnem pauci inter se partiti, reliquis relinquunt inopiam, fereque accidit, ut alteri sint alterorum sorte dignissimi, quum illi sint rapaces, improbi atque inutiles, contra hi modesti uiri, ac simplices, & cotidiana industria, in publicum quam in semet benigniores.	That very wise man easily foresaw that the one and only road to public welfare lies in establishing equality of goods, and I doubt that this can ever be maintained where individuals have property of their own. When everyone grabs as much as he can for himself under one title or another, then, however great the abundance of goods, a few divide it all among themselves and leave the rest in want. And it generally happens that each group deserves the other's lot. The rich are greedy, unscrupulous and useless, while the poor are modest, simple men whose daily toil benefits the public more than themselves.
1.244	Adeo mihi certe persuadeo, res aequabili ac iusta aliqua ratione distribui, aut feliciter agi cum rebus mortalium, nisi sublata prorsus proprietate, non posse. Sed manente illa, mansuram semper apud multo maximam, multoque optimam hominum partem, egestatis & erumnarum anxiam atque ineuitabilem sarcinam. Quam ut fateor leuari aliquantulum posse, sic tolli plane contendo non posse.	So I am thoroughly convinced that unless private property is entirely abolished, goods cannot be distributed on any fair and just basis, nor can the affairs of mortals go well. As long as it remains, by far the largest and by far the best part of mankind will always be weighed down by the anxious and inescapable burden of poverty and misery. I admit that this burden can be lightened somewhat, but I maintain that it cannot be removed entirely.
1.247	Nempe si statuatur ne quis supra certum agri modum possideat, & uti sit legitimus cuique census pecuniae, si fuerit legibus quibusdam cautum, ut neque sit princeps	Suppose, for instance, it were decreed that no one may own more than a certain amount of land, and that there be a legal limit on each person's money.

26 Plato was said to have declined to give laws to the people of Megalopolis because they would not accept equality of property.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	nimium potens, neque populus nimis insolens, Tum magistratus ne ambiantur, neu dentur uenum, aut sumptus in illis fieri sit necesse, alioquin & occasio datur per fraudem ac rapinas sarciendae pecuniae, & fit necessitas eis muneribus praeficiendi diuites, quae potius fuerant administranda prudentibus. talibus inquam legibus, quemadmodum aegra assiduis solent fomentis fulciri corpora deploratae ualetudinis, ita haec quoque mala leniri queant, ac mitigari. ut sanentur uero atque in bonum redeant habitum, nulla omnino spes est, dum sua cuique sunt propria.	Suppose laws provided that the prince should not be too powerful nor the people too insolent. Suppose offices were not to be canvassed for or sold, nor require any expense from their holders. Otherwise occasion is given to recoup the money by fraud and extortion, and it becomes necessary to put rich men in charge of offices that ought rather to be administered by wise ones. By such laws, I say, these evils could be eased and mitigated, just as the bodies of the incurably sick are usually propped up by constant poultices. But there is no hope at all that they will be healed and restored to good health as long as each person has his own property.
1.248	Quin dum unius partis curae studes, aliarum uulnus exasperaueris, ita mutuo nascitur ex alterius medela alterius morbus, quando nihil sic adijci cuiquam potest, ut non idem adimatur alij. At mihi inquam contra uidetur, ibi nunquam commode uiui posse, ubi omnia sint communia. Nam quo pacto suppetat copia rerum, unoquoque ab labore subducente se! utpote quem neque sui quaestus urget ratio, & alienae industriae fiducia reddit segnem.	Indeed, while you are tending one part, you will aggravate the wounds of others. So the cure of one breeds the disease of another, since nothing can be added to one person without being taken away from someone else. I said: But it seems to me the opposite. People can never live comfortably where everything is in common. How can there be plenty of goods when everyone shirks work? No concern for his own gain drives him, and reliance on other people's industry makes him lazy.
1.251	At quum & stimulentur inopia, neque quod quisquam fuerit nactus, id pro suo tueri ulla possit lege, an non necesse est perpetua caede ac seditione laboretur! Sublata praesertim autoritate ac reuerentia magistratuum, cui quis esse locus possit, apud homines taleis, quos inter nullum discrimen est, ne comminisci quidem queo. Non miror inquit, sic uideri tibi, quippe cui eius imago rei, aut nulla succurrit, aut falsa.	And when people are spurred on by want, and no one can protect by any law what he has acquired as his own, must there not be constant bloodshed and rioting? Especially once the authority of magistrates and respect for them are gone. What place these could have among men with no distinctions between them, I cannot even imagine. He replied: I am not surprised that it seems so to you, since you have either no picture of the thing in your mind, or a false one.
1.253	Uerum si in Utopia fuisses mecum, moresque eorum atque instituta uidisses praesens, ut ego feci, qui plus annis quinque ibi uixi, neque unquam uoluissem inde discedere, nisi ut nouum illum orbem proderem, tum plane faterere, populum recte institutum nusquam alibi te uidisse quam illic.	But if you had been in Utopia with me and seen their customs and institutions for yourself, as I did (I lived there more than five years and would never have wanted to leave, except to make that new world known), then you would freely admit that you had never seen a well-ordered people anywhere but there.
1.254	Atqui profecto inquit Petrus Aegidius, aegre persuadeas mihi, melius institutum populum in nouo illo, quam in hoc noto nobis orbe reperiri, ut in quo neque deteriora	"And yet," said Peter Giles, "you would have a hard time persuading me that a better-ordered people is to be found in that new world than in this one

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	ingenia, & uetustiores opinor esse, quam in illo Respublicas & in quibus plurima ad uitam commoda longus inuenit usus, ut ne adijciam apud nos casu reperta quaedam, quibus excogitandis nullum potuisset ingenium sufficere.	we know. Here, I think, minds are no worse and commonwealths are older than there. Long experience has discovered many things here that make life comfortable, not to mention certain things discovered among us by chance which no ingenuity could have devised."
1.255	Quod ad uetustatem, inquit ille, rerum attinet publicarum, tum pronunciare posses rectius, si historias illius orbis perlegisses, quibus si fides haberi debet, prius apud eos erant urbes, quam homines apud nos. iam uero quicquid hactenus uel ingenium inuenit, uel casus repperit, hoc utrobique potuit extitisse. Caeterum ego certe puto, ut illis praestemus ingenio, studio tamen atque industria longe a tergo relinquimur.	He replied: As for the antiquity of commonwealths, you could judge more accurately if you had read the histories of that world. If they are to be believed, there were cities there before there were people here. And whatever has so far been discovered by ingenuity or found by chance could have arisen in either place. But I really believe that even if we surpass them in ingenuity, they leave us far behind in diligence and industry.
1.257	Nam (ut ipsorum habent annales) ante appulsum illuc nostrum de rebus nostris (quos illi uocant Ultraequinoctialeis) nihil unquam quicquam audierant, nisi quod olim annis ab hinc ducentis supra mille, nauis quaedam apud insulam Utopiam naufragio perijt, quam tempestas eo detulerat. Eiecti sunt in littus Romani quidam, atque Aegyptij, qui postea nunquam inde discessere. Hanc unam occasionem, uide quam commodam illis sua fecit industria.	According to their chronicles, before we landed there they had never heard anything at all about our affairs (they call us the Ultraequinoctials). There was only one exception: twelve hundred years ago a ship that a storm had driven there was wrecked off the island of Utopia. Some Romans and Egyptians were cast ashore and never left afterward. See how well their industry turned this single opportunity to account.[27]
1.260	Nihil artis erat intra Romanum imperium, unde possit aliquis esse usus, quod non illi aut ab expositis hospitibus didicerint, aut acceptis quaerendi seminibus adinuenerint. tanto bono fuit illis aliquos hinc semel illuc esse delatos. At si qua similis fortuna quempiam antehac illinc huc perpulerit, tam penitus hoc obliteratum est, quam istud quoque forsan excidet posteris, me aliquando illic fuisse. Et ut illi uno statim congressu quicquid a nobis commode inuentum est, fecerunt suum; Sic diu futurum puto, priusquam nos accipiamus quicquam quod apud illos melius quam nobis est institutum.	There was no useful art within the Roman Empire that they did not either learn from the castaways or work out for themselves once they had been given the seeds for their inquiries. So great a benefit it was to them that some people were once carried there from here. But if any similar fortune ever drove anyone from there to here before, it has been as completely forgotten as later generations will perhaps forget that I was once there. At the very first meeting they made their own whatever useful inventions we had. But I think it will be a long time before we adopt anything that is better arranged among them than among us.
1.263	Quod unum maxime esse reor in causa, cur quum neque ingenio, neque opibus inferiores simus eis, ipsorum tamen res quam nostra prudentius administretur, & felicius efflorescat.	This, I believe, is the main reason why, though we are not inferior to them in either ingenuity or resources, their commonwealth is more wisely gov-

27 Ultraequinoctials: "people beyond the equinoctial line," that is, beyond the equator as seen from Utopia.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	Ergo mi Raphael inquam, quaeso te atque obsecro, describe nobis insulam. nec uelis esse breuis, sed explices ordine, agros, fluuios, urbes, homines, mores, instituta, leges, ac denique omnia, quae nos putes uelle cognoscere. putabis autem uelle quicquid adhuc nescimus.	erned and flourishes more prosperously than ours. "Then, my dear Raphael," I said, "I beg and beseech you, describe the island to us. Don't try to be brief, but set out in order the fields, rivers, cities, people, customs, institutions, laws, and, in short, everything you think we would like to know. And you may take it that we want to know everything we don't yet know."
	Nihil inquit faciam libentius.	"Nothing would please me more," he said.
	Nam haec in promptu habeo.	"For I have it all at my fingertips.
	Sed res ocium poscit.	"But the subject needs time."
1.268	Eamus ergo inquam intro pransum, mox tempus nostro arbitratu sumemus.	"Then let us go in to lunch," I said, "and afterward we will take as much time as we like."
	Fiat inquit.	"Agreed," he said.
	Ita ingressi prandemus. pransi, in eundem reuersi locum, in eodem sedili consedimus, ac iussis ministris ne quis interpellaret, ego ac Petrus Aegidius hortamur Raphaelem, ut praestet quod erat pollicitus.	So we went in and had lunch. After lunch we returned to the same place and sat down on the same bench, and we ordered the servants not to let anyone interrupt us. Then Peter Giles and I urged Raphael to keep his promise.
	Is ergo ubi nos uidit intentos, atque auidos audiendi, quum paulisper tacitus & cogitabundus assedisset, hunc in modum exorsus est.	When he saw us attentive and eager to hear, he sat silent and thoughtful for a little while, and then began as follows.

Book II

Liber secundus
Raphael describes the island of Utopia: its cities, work, households, learning, laws, wars and religions, where all things are held in common.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
2.1	Utopiensium insula in media sui parte (nam hac latissima est) millia passuum ducenta porrigitur, magnumque per insulae spatium non multo angustior, fines uersus paulatim utrinque tenuatur. hi uelut circunducti circino quingentorum ambitu millium, insulam totam in lunae speciem renascentis effigiant. Cuius cornua fretum interfluens, millibus passuum plus minus undecim dirimit, ac per ingens inane diffusum, circumiectu undique terrae prohibitis uentis, uasti in morem lacus stagnans magis quam saeuiens, omnem prope eius terrae aluum pro portu facit. magnoque hominum usu naues quaqua uersus transmittit. fauces hinc uadis, inde saxis formidolosae.	The island of the Utopians is two hundred miles across in the middle, where it is broadest, and over a great part of its length it is not much narrower; toward the ends it gradually tapers on both sides. These ends curve round as if drawn with a compass in a circuit of five hundred miles, giving the whole island the shape of a new moon. Its horns are separated by a strait about eleven miles wide. The sea flows in through it and spreads out into a huge empty space. Because the surrounding land keeps off the winds on every side, the water lies still like a vast lake rather than raging, and it makes nearly the whole hollow of the land into a harbor, carrying ships in every direction to the great benefit of the inhabitants. The entrance is dangerous, with shallows on one side and rocks on the other.
2.3	In medio ferme interstitio una rupes eminet, eoque innoxia, cui inaedificatam turrim praesidio tenent, caeterae latentes & insidiosae. Canales solis ipsis noti, atque ideo non temere accidit, uti exterus quisquam hunc in sinum, nisi Utopiano duce, penetret, ut in quem uix ipsis tutus ingressus est, nisi signis quibusdam e litore uiam regentibus. His in diuersa translatis loca, hostium quamlibet numerosam classem facile in perniciem traherent. Ab altera parte non infrequentes portus.	Almost in the middle of the channel a single rock rises up. Being visible, it is harmless, and they have built a tower on it which they keep garrisoned. The other rocks lie hidden and are treacherous. Only the Utopians themselves know the channels, so it rarely happens that any foreigner gets into this bay without a Utopian pilot. Even they can hardly enter safely except by certain landmarks on the shore that guide their course. By shifting these to different places they could easily lure an enemy fleet, however large, to its destruction. On the other side there are harbors in plenty.
2.7	At ubique descensus in terram ita natura munitus, aut arte, ut ingentes copiae paucis inde queant propugnatoribus arceri. Caeterum uti fertur, utique ipsa loci facies prae se fert, ea tellus olim non ambiebatur mari.	But everywhere the landing places are so well defended, by nature or by art, that a handful of defenders can hold off huge forces.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	Sed Utopus cuius utpote uictoris nomen refert insula, Nam ante id temporis Abraxa dicebatur, quique rudem atque agrestem turbam ad id quo nunc caeteros prope mortales antecellit cultus, humanitatisque perduxit, primo protinus appulsu uictoria potitus, passuum milia quindecim, qua parte tellus continenti adhaesit, exscindendum curauit, ac mare circum terram duxit.	However, as the story goes, and as the lie of the land itself suggests, this land was once not surrounded by the sea. The island bears the name of its conqueror, Utopus; before that it was called Abraxa. He brought its rough and rustic people to the level of culture and humanity in which they now surpass almost all other mortals. He won the victory as soon as he landed, and then had the fifteen-mile neck of land that joined it to the continent cut through, and so brought the sea around the land.[1]
2.10	Quumque ad id operis non incolas modo coegisset (ne contumeliae loco laborem ducerent) sed suos praeterea milites omnes adiungeret, in tantam hominum multitudinem opere distributo incredibili celeritate res perfecta, finitimos (qui initio uanitatem incoepti riserant) admiratione successus ac terrore perculerit. Insula ciuitates habet quatuor & quinquaginta spatiosas omnes ac magnificas lingua, moribus, institutis, legibus, prorsus ijsdem, idem situs omnium, eadem ubique quatenus per locum licet, rerum facies. Harum quae proximae inter se sunt millia quatuor ac uiginti separant.	He forced not only the natives to do this work but also put all his own soldiers to it, so that the natives would not regard the labor as a humiliation. With the work shared among so great a number of men, the job was finished with incredible speed. The neighbors, who at first had laughed at the folly of the undertaking, were struck with wonder and terror at its success. The island has fifty-four cities, all spacious and splendid, and identical in language, customs, institutions and laws. They are all laid out on the same plan, and as far as the site allows, they all look the same. The nearest of them are twenty-four miles apart.
2.13	Nulla rursus est tam deserta, e qua non ad aliam urbem pedibus queat unius itinere diei perueniri. Ciues quaque ex urbe terni senes ac rerum periti tractatum de rebus insulae communibus, quotannis conueniunt Amaurotum. Nam (ea urbs quod tanquam in umbilico terrae sita maxime iacet omnium partium legatis opportuna) prima, princepsque habetur. Agri ita commode ciuitatibus assignati sunt, ut ab nulla parte minus soli quam duodecim passuum millia una quaeuis habeat. ab aliqua multo etiam amplius, uidelicet qua parte longius urbes inter se disiunguntur.	On the other hand, none is so remote that one cannot walk from it to another city in a single day. Every year three old and experienced citizens from each city meet at Amaurot to discuss the common affairs of the island. That city lies, as it were, at the navel of the land, and so is the most convenient for delegates from all parts; it is regarded as the first and chief city. The land is so conveniently assigned to the cities that each has at least twelve miles of ground on every side, and on some sides much more, namely where the cities are farther apart.
2.16	Nulli urbi cupido promouendorum finium. Quippe quos habent agricolas magis eorum se, quam dominos putant. Habent ruri per omnes agros commode dispositas domos, rusticis instrumentis instructas. Hae habitantur ciuibus per uices eo commigrantibus.	No city has any desire to extend its boundaries. For they consider themselves the cultivators rather than the owners of the land they hold. Throughout the countryside they have houses, conveniently spaced and equipped with farm tools.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	Nulla familia rustica in uiris mulieribusque pauciores habet, quam quadraginta praeter duos ascriptitios seruos, quibus pater materque familias graues ac maturi praeficiuntur, & singulis tricenis familijs phylarchus unus. E quaque familia uiginti quotannis in urbem remigrant, hi qui biennium ruri compleuere.	These are lived in by citizens who move there in turn. No rural household has fewer than forty men and women, besides two slaves bound to the land. Over them are set a master and mistress of the household, serious and mature people, and over every thirty households one phylarch. Every year twenty from each household, those who have completed two years in the country, move back to the city.[2]
2.22	In horum locum totidem recentes ex urbe subrogantur, ut ab his qui annum ibi fuere. atque ideo rusticarum peritiores rerum, instituantur, alios anno sequente docturi, ne si pariter omnes ibi noui, agricolationisque rudes essent, aliquid in annona per imperitiam peccaretur. Is innouandorum agricolarum mos, & si solennis sit, ne quisquam inuitus asperiorem uitam cogatur continuare diutius, multi tamen quos rusticae rei studium natura delectat, plures sibi annos impetrant. Agricolae terram colunt, nutriunt animalia, ligna comparant, atque in urbem qua commodum est, terra, mariue conuehunt.	In their place the same number of new people are sent from the city. They are trained by those who have been there a year and so know more about farming, and the next year they will teach others. In this way the food supply does not suffer through inexperience, as it would if everyone there were new and ignorant of farming at the same time. This custom of rotating the farmers is the rule, so that no one is forced against his will to continue too long in a harder way of life. Still, many who naturally enjoy country work get permission to stay for more years. The farmers till the soil, raise livestock, gather wood, and carry it to the city by land or by sea, whichever is more convenient.
2.25	Pullorum infinitam educant multitudinem, mirabili artificio. Neque enim incubant oua gallinae, sed magnum eorum numerum calore quodam aequabili fouentes animant, educantque, hi simul atque e testa prodiere, homines, uice matrum comitantur, & agnoscunt. Equos alunt perquam paucos, nec nisi ferocientes, neque alium in usum quam exercendae rebus equestribus iuuentuti.	They raise an enormous number of chickens by a remarkable method. The hens do not sit on the eggs. Instead they keep a large number of eggs warm at an even temperature, and so bring the chicks to life and hatch them. As soon as the chicks come out of the shell, they follow the people as if they were their mothers, and recognize them. They keep very few horses, and only spirited ones, used for nothing but training the young in horsemanship.
2.28	Nam omnem, seu colendi, seu uehendi laborem, boues obeunt, quos (ut fatentur) equis impetu cedere, sic patientia uincere, nec tot obnoxios morbis putant, ad haec minore impendio, & operae, & sumptus ali, ac denique laboribus emeritos, in cibum tandem usui esse. Semente in solum panem utuntur.	All the work of plowing and hauling is done by oxen. They admit that oxen are inferior to horses in speed, but they think them superior in endurance and less subject to disease. Besides, oxen cost less in both labor and expense to keep, and finally,

1 Abraxas was a mystical name among the Gnostics; its Greek letters add up to 365.
2 Phylarch: from Greek, “ruler of a tribe”; in Utopia, an elected officer over thirty households.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	Nam aut uuarum uinum bibunt, aut pomorum, pirorumue, aut denique aquam nonnunquam meram, saepe etiam, qua mel, aut glycyrizam incoxerint, cuius haud exiguam habent copiam.	when they are worn out with work, they are still useful for food. They use grain only for bread. For they drink wine made from grapes, apples or pears, or else sometimes plain water, and often water in which they have boiled honey or licorice, of which they have a good supply.
2.31	Quum exploratum habeant (habent enim certissimum) quantum annonae consumat urbs, & circuniectus urbi conuentus, tamen multo amplius & sementis faciunt, & pecudum educant, quam quod in suos usus sufficiat, reliquum impartituri finitimis. Quibuscunque rebus opus est, quae res ruri non habentur, eam suppellectilem omnem ab urbe petunt, & sine ulla rerum commutatione, a magistratibus urbanis nullo negocio consequuntur. Nam illo singulo quoque mense, plerique ad festum diem conueniunt.	They know for certain (and they know it very precisely) how much food the city and its surrounding district consume. Yet they sow far more grain and raise far more livestock than they need for their own use, and share the surplus with their neighbors. Whatever they need that is not to be had in the country, they fetch from the city, and they get it from the city magistrates without any exchange of goods and without any trouble. For most of them go there every month for the holy day.
2.34	Quum frumentandi dies instat, magistratibus urbanis agricolarum phylarchi denunciant, quantum ciuium numerum ad se mitti conueniat, quae multitudo frumentatorum, quum ad ipsum diem opportune adsit, uno prope sereno die tota frumentatione defunguntur.	When harvest time approaches, the phylarchs of the farmers notify the city magistrates how many citizens should be sent to them. This crowd of harvesters arrives promptly on the day and gets the whole harvest in almost in a single day of fine weather.

THE CITIES, AND AMAUROT IN PARTICULAR

Raphael describes Amaurot's site, river, bridge, walls, streets, houses and gardens.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
2.35	Urbium qui unam norit, omnes nouerit, ita sunt inter se (quatenus loci natura non obstat) omnino similes. Depingam igitur unam quampiam (neque enim admodum refert quam) Sed quam potius, quam Amaurotum! qua nec ulla dignior est, quippe cui senatus gratia reliquae deferunt, nec ulla mihi notior, ut in qua annos quinque perpetuos uixerim. Situm est igitur Amaurotum, in leni deiectu montis, figura fere quadrata. Nam latitudo eius paulo infra collis incoepta uerticem, millibus passuum duobus ad flumen Anydrum pertinet, secundum ripam aliquanto longior.	Anyone who knows one of their cities knows them all, so alike are they in every respect, as far as the nature of the site allows. So I will describe one of them (it doesn't much matter which). But which rather than Amaurot? None is worthier, since the others defer to it as the seat of the council, and none is better known to me, since I lived there for five whole years. Amaurot, then, lies on the gentle slope of a hill and is almost square in shape. Its breadth runs for about two miles from just below the top of the hill down to the river Anyder; along the bank it is somewhat longer.
2.39	Oritur Anydrus milibus octoginta supra Amaurotum, modico fonte, sed aliorum occursu fluminum, atque in his duorum etiam mediocrium auctus, ante urbem ipsam,	The Anyder rises eighty miles above Amaurot from a modest spring. But it is swollen by other rivers flowing into it, two of them fairly large, so

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	quingentos in latum passus extenditur, mox adhuc amplior, sexaginta milia prolapsus, excipitur oceano. Hoc toto spacio, quod urbem ac mare interiacet, ac supra urbem quoque aliquot milia, sex horas perpetuas influens aestus, ac refluus alternat celeri flumine. Quum sese pelagus infert, triginta in longum milia, totum Anydri alueum suis occupat undis, profligato retrorsum fluuio.	that in front of the city itself it is half a mile wide. Then, growing wider still, it flows on for sixty miles and is received by the ocean. Over the whole stretch between the city and the sea, and for some miles above the city too, the tide flows in for six hours at a time and then ebbs, alternating in a rapid current. When the sea comes in, it fills the whole bed of the Anyder with its waters for thirty miles, driving the river back.
2.42	Tum aliquanto ultra liquorem eius salsugine corrumpit, dehinc paulatim dulcescens amnis, syncerus urbem perlabitur, ac refugientem uicissim purus & incorruptus, ad ipsas prope fauces insequitur. Urbs aduersae fluminis ripae, non pilis ac sublicibus ligneis, sed ex opere lapideo, egregie arcuato ponte, commissa est, ab ea parte, quae longissime distat a mari, quo naues totum id latus urbis possint inoffensae praeteruehi. Habent alium praeterea fluuium, haud magnum quidem illum, sed perquam placidum, ac iucundum.	Then for some distance beyond that the sea spoils the river's water with its saltiness. From there the river gradually grows fresh again and flows past the city untainted, and when the tide ebbs, the river follows it back, pure and unspoiled, almost to its mouth. The city is joined to the opposite bank of the river by a bridge, not on wooden piles or piers but of stone, with splendid arches. It stands at the point farthest from the sea, so that ships can sail past that whole side of the city without obstruction. They also have another river, not large, it is true, but very gentle and pleasant.
2.45	Nam ex eodem scaturiens monte, in quo ciuitas collocatur, mediam illam per deuexa perfluens Anydro miscetur. Eius fluuij caput, fontemque, quod paulo extra urbem nascitur, munimentis amplexi, Amaurotani iunxerunt oppido. ne si qua uis hostium ingruat, intercipi, atque auerti aqua, neue corrumpi queat. Inde canalibus coctilibus, diuersim ad inferiores urbis partes aqua diriuatur, id sicubi locus fieri uetat, cisternis capacibus, collecta pluuia, tantundem usus adfert.	It rises on the same hill on which the city stands, flows down through the middle of the city, and joins the Anyder. The head and source of this river rise a little outside the city, and the Amaurotians have enclosed them within their fortifications and joined them to the town, so that if an enemy force should attack, the water cannot be cut off, diverted or poisoned. From there the water is carried in channels of baked tile to the various lower parts of the city. Where the ground makes this impossible, capacious cisterns collect rainwater and serve just as well.
2.49	Murus altus, ac latus oppidum cingit, turribus, ac propugnaculis frequens, arida fossa, sed alta, lataque ac ueprium sepibus impedita tribus ab lateribus circumdat moenia, quarto flumen ipsum pro fossa est. Plateae cum ad uecturam, tum aduersus uentos descriptae, commode aedificia neutiquam sordida, quorum longa, & totum per uicum, perpetua series, aduersa domorum fronte conspicitur. has uicorum frontes uia distinguit pedes uiginti lata.	A high, broad wall surrounds the town, with many towers and bulwarks. On three sides the walls are ringed by a dry moat, deep and wide and choked with thorn hedges; on the fourth side the river itself serves as a moat. The streets are conveniently laid out both for traffic and for shelter from the winds. The buildings are far from shabby. They stand in long, unbroken rows running the whole length of each

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	Posterioribus aedium partibus, quanta est uici longitudo, hortus adiacet, latus, & uicorum tergis undique circumseptus.	block, and the house fronts face each other across the street. These rows of house fronts are separated by a street twenty feet wide. Behind the houses, along the whole length of the block, lies a large garden, enclosed on all sides by the backs of the blocks.
2.53	Nulla domus est, quae non ut hostium in plateam, ita posticum in hortum habeat. Quin bifores quoque facili tractu manus apertiles, ac dein sua sponte coeuntes, quemuis intromittunt, ita nihil usquam priuati est. Nam domos ipsas uno quoque decennio sorte commutant. Hos hortos magnifaciunt. in his uineas, fructus, herbas, flores habent. tanto nitore, cultuque, ut nihil fructuosius usquam uiderim, nihil elegantius. qua in re studium eorum, non ipsa uoluptas modo, sed uicorum quoque inuicem de suo cuiusque horti cultu certamen accendit.	Every house has a door onto the street and a back door into the garden. These are double doors that open at a light push of the hand and swing shut again by themselves, so they let anyone in. So there is nothing private anywhere. Indeed, every ten years they exchange the houses themselves by lot. They set great store by these gardens. In them they grow vines, fruit, herbs and flowers, all so bright and well tended that I have never seen anything more fruitful or more elegant anywhere. Their enthusiasm is fired not only by the pleasure it gives them but also by the rivalry between streets, each competing to keep its own garden best.
2.60	& certe non aliud quicquam temere urbe tota reperias, siue ad usum ciuium, siue ad uoluptatem commodius. eoque nullius rei, quam huiusmodi hortorum, maiorem habuisse curam uidetur is qui condidit. Nam totam hanc urbis figuram, iam inde ab initio descriptam ab ipso Utopo ferunt. Sed ornatum, caeterumque cultum, quibus unius aetatem hominis haud suffecturam uidit, posteris adijciendum reliquit.	Certainly you would hardly find anything in the whole city more useful or more pleasant for the citizens. So it seems that the founder cared for nothing more than for gardens of this kind. They say that the whole plan of the city was laid out from the very beginning by Utopus himself. But he saw that one man's lifetime would not be enough for the decoration and the rest of the finishing, so he left these to be added by later generations.
2.64	Itaque scriptum in annalibus habent, quos ab capta usque insula, mille septingentorum, ac sexaginta annorum complectentes historiam, diligenter & religiose perscriptos adseruant, aedes initio humiles, ac ueluti casas, & tuguria fuisse, e quolibet ligno temere factas, parietes luto obductos, culmina in aciem fastigiata stramentis operuerant. At nunc omnis domus uisenda forma tabulatorum trium, parietum facies, aut silice, aut cementis, aut latere coctili constructae, in aluum introrsus congesto rudere.	Their annals cover the history of 1,760 years from the conquest of the island, and they keep them carefully and scrupulously written up. These records say that at first the houses were low, mere cabins and huts, knocked together from whatever wood came to hand. Their walls were daubed with mud, and their steep, pointed roofs were thatched with straw. But now every house is handsome to look at and three stories high. The walls are faced with flint,

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	Tecta in planum subducta, quae intritis quibusdam insternunt.	rough stone or brick, and the space inside is packed with rubble. The roofs are flat, and they cover them with a kind of plaster.
2.67	nullius impendij, sed ea temperatura, quae nec igni obnoxia sit, & tolerandis tempestatum iniurijs plumbum superet. Uentos a fenestris uitro (nam eius ibi creberrimus usus est) expellunt. Interim etiam lino tenui, quod perlucido oleo, aut succino perlinunt, gemino nimirum commodo. Siquidem ad eum modum fit, ut & plus lucis transmittat, & uentorum minus admittat.	It costs nothing, yet it is mixed so that it is fireproof and stands up to the damage of storms better than lead. They keep the wind out of their windows with glass, which is very widely used there. Sometimes they also use thin linen smeared with clear oil or amber, which has a double advantage. Treated this way, it lets through more light and lets in less wind.

MAGISTRATES

Households elect syphogrants, who choose a governor for life; public business may be discussed only in council.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
2.71	Triginta quaeque familiae magistratum sibi quotannis eligunt, quem sua prisca lingua Syphograntum uocant, recentiore phylarchum, Syphograntis decem cum suis familijs Traniborus olim, nunc protophylarchus dictus praeficitur. Demum Syphogranti omnes, qui sunt ducenti, iurati lecturos sese, quem maxime censent utilem, suffragijs occultis renunciant principem unum uidelicet ex his quatuor, quos eis populus nominauit. Nam a quaque urbis quarta parte, selectus unus commendatur senatui. Principis magistratus perpetuus est in omnem illius uitam, nisi tyrannidis affectatae suspicio impediat. Traniboros quotannis eligunt. Caeterum haud temere commutant.	Every thirty households elect a magistrate each year. In their old language they call him a syphogrant, and in their newer one a phylarch. Over every ten syphogrants and their households is set an officer who was once called a tranibor and is now called the head phylarch. Finally, all the syphogrants, two hundred in number, swear to choose the man they judge most fit. They then elect a governor by secret ballot from four candidates nominated to them by the people. One candidate is chosen from each quarter of the city and put forward to the council. The governor holds office for life, unless he is suspected of aiming at tyranny. They elect the tranibors every year, but do not change them without good reason.[3]
2.77	Reliqui magistratus omnes annui. Tranibori tertio quoque die, interdum si res postulat saepius, in consilium cum principe ueniunt. De republica consultant. controuersias priuatorum (si quae sunt) quae perquam paucae sunt, mature dirimunt. Syphograntos semper in senatum duos adsciscunt, atque omni die diuersos. cautumque ut ne quid ratum sit quod ad rempublicam pertineat, de quo non tribus in senatu diebus ante agitatum, quam decretum sit.	All the other magistracies are annual. The tranibors meet in council with the governor every third day, and more often if need be. They deliberate about the commonwealth and promptly settle any disputes between private persons, though there are very few. They always bring two syphogrants into the council, different ones each day. It is laid down that nothing concerning the commonwealth may be

3 "Governor" renders *princeps,* the head of each city. Syphogrant and tranibor are More's coinages.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	Extra senatum, aut comitia publica de rebus communibus inire consilia capitale habetur.	ratified unless it has been debated in the council on three days before it is decreed. To take counsel about public affairs outside the council or the popular assembly is a capital offense.
2.82	Haec eo ferunt instituta, ne procliue esset, coniuratione principis, ac Traniborórum, oppresso per tyrannidem populo, statum reipublicae mutare. Atque ideo quicquid magni momenti iudicatur, ad Syphograntorum comitia defertur, qui cum suis familijs communicata re, post inter se consultant, ac suum consilium renunciant senatui. Interdum ad totius insulae consilium res defertur.	They say these measures were established to make it hard for the governor and the tranibors to conspire together, oppress the people by tyranny and change the constitution of the commonwealth. Anything judged to be of great importance is therefore referred to the assembly of the syphogrants. They discuss the matter with their households, then consult among themselves and report their decision to the council. Sometimes a matter is referred to the council of the whole island.
2.85	Quin id quoque moris habet senatus, ut nihil, quo die primum proponitur, eodem disputetur. sed in sequentem senatum differatur, ne quis ubi quod in buccam primum uenerit, temere effutierit, ea potius excogitet postea, quibus decreta tueatur sua, quam quae ex reipublicae usu sint. malitque salutis publicae, quam opinionis de se iacturam facere, peruerso quodam ac praepostero pudore, ne initio parum prospexisse uideatur. Cui prospiciendum initio fuit, ut consulto potius, quam cito loqueretur.	The council also has a rule that nothing is debated on the day it is first proposed. It is put off to the next session. The aim is to stop anyone from rashly blurting out the first thing that comes into his head and then spending his wits on defending his own proposals rather than on what serves the commonwealth. Such a man, out of a perverse and misplaced sense of shame, would rather sacrifice the public welfare than his reputation, for fear of seeming to have shown too little foresight at the start. He should have had the foresight at the start to speak with deliberation rather than in haste.

OCCUPATIONS

Everyone farms and learns a craft, works six hours a day, and spends free time on learning.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
2.87	Ars una est omnibus uiris, mulieribusque promiscua agricultura, cuius nemo est expers. Hac a pueritia erudiuntur omnes, partim in schola traditis praeceptis, partim in agros uiciniores urbi, quasi per ludum educti, non intuentes modo, sed per exercitandi corporis occasionem tractantes etiam. Praeter agriculturam (quae est omnibus, ut dixi, communis) quilibet unam quampiam, tanquam suam docetur, ea est fere aut lanificium, aut operandi lini studium, aut cementariorum, aut fabri, seu ferrarij, seu materiarij artificium. Neque enim aliud est opificium ullum, quod numerum aliquem, dictu dignum occupet illic.	One craft is shared by everyone, men and women alike, and no one is without it: agriculture. Everyone is trained in it from childhood. They learn partly through lessons at school and partly by being taken out into the fields near the city, as if for play. There they do not just watch but actually do the work, which also gives their bodies exercise. Besides agriculture, which as I said is common to all, each person is taught one particular craft as his own. This is usually wool-working or linen-

	LATIN	ENGLISH
		working, or the craft of the mason, the smith or the carpenter. There is no other trade there that employs any number worth mentioning.
2.91	Nam uestes, quarum, nisi quod habitu sexus discernitur, & caelibatus a coniugio, una per totam insulam forma est, eademque per omne aeuum perpetua, nec ad oculum indecora, & ad corporis motum habilis, tum ad frigoris aestusque rationem apposita. Eas inquam, quaeque sibi familia conficit. Sed ex alijs illis artibus unusquisque aliquam discit, nec uiri modo, sed mulieres etiam. caeterum hae uelut imbecilliores, leuiora tractant. lanam fere, linumque operantur. uiris artes reliquae magis laboriosae mandantur, maxima ex parte quisque in patrijs artibus educatur. nam eo plerique natura feruntur.	As for clothes, there is one pattern throughout the island, the only differences being those that mark men from women and the unmarried from the married. It stays unchanged over time. It is not unbecoming to the eye, it allows easy movement, and it suits both cold and heat. These clothes, I say, each household makes for itself. But everyone learns one of those other crafts, women as well as men. The women, being the weaker, practice the lighter crafts and usually work wool and linen. The other, more laborious crafts are assigned to the men. For the most part each person is brought up in his father's craft, since most are naturally drawn to it.
2.94	Quod si quem animus alio trahat, in eius opificij, cuius capitur studio, familiam quampiam adoptione traducitur, cura non a patre modo eius, sed magistratibus etiam praestita, ut graui, atque honesto patrifamilias mancipetur. Quin si quis unam perdoctus artem, aliam praeterea cupiuerit, eodem modo permittitur. Utramque nactus, utram uelit exercet, nisi alterutra ciuitas magis egeat. Syphograntorum, praecipuum ac prope unicum negocium est, curare, ac prospicere, ne quisquam desideat ociosus.	But if someone's inclination draws him elsewhere, he is transferred by adoption into a household that practices the trade he wants to follow. Both his father and the magistrates take care that he is placed with a sober and respectable head of household. If someone who has thoroughly learned one craft wants to learn another as well, he is allowed to in the same way. Once he has both, he practices whichever he likes, unless the city needs one of them more. The chief and almost the only business of the syphogrants is to see to it that no one sits idle,
2.98	Sed uti suae quisque arti sedulo incumbat, nec ab summo mane tamen, ad multam usque noctem perpetuo labore, uelut iumenta, fatigatus. nam ea plusquam seruilis erumna est, quae tamen ubique fere opificum uita est, exceptis Utopiensibus, qui cum in horas uigintiquatuor aequales, diem connumerata nocte diuidant, sex duntaxat operi deputant, tres ante meridiem, a quibus prandium ineunt, atque a prandio duas pomeridianas horas, quum interquieuerint, tres deinde rursus labori datas, coena claudunt. Quum primam horam ab meridie numerent; sub octauam cubitum eunt. horas octo somnus uendicat.	and that everyone works hard at his craft. Yet no one is to be worn out like a beast of burden by unbroken toil from early morning until late at night. That is worse than the misery of slaves, and yet it is the life of workers almost everywhere, except among the Utopians. They divide the day and night into twenty-four equal hours and assign only six of them to work. They work three hours before noon and then go to lunch. After lunch they rest for two hours in the afternoon, then work three more hours and end the day with supper. Since they count the first hour from noon, they go to bed about eight o'clock. Sleep claims eight hours.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
2.100	Quicquid inter operis horas ac somni cibique medium esset, id suo cuiusque arbitrio permittitur, non quo per luxum, aut segnitiem abutatur, sed quod ab opificio suo liberum, ex animi sententia in aliud quippiam studij bene collocet. has intercapedines plerique impendunt literis. Solenne est enim publicas cotidie lectiones haberi, antelucanis horis, quibus ut intersint, ij dumtaxat adiguntur, qui ad literas nominatim selecti sunt. Caeterum ex omni ordine mares simul, ac foeminae multitudo maxima ad audiendas lectiones, alij alias, prout cuiusque fert natura confluit.	Whatever time is left between the hours of work, sleep and meals is left to each person's own discretion. It is not to be wasted in revelry or laziness. Free from his trade, each person should spend it well on some other pursuit of his choosing. Most people devote these intervals to learning. It is their custom to hold public lectures every day in the hours before dawn. Only those specially chosen for learning are required to attend. But a great crowd of every class, men and women together, flocks to the lectures, some to one and some to another, as each person's nature inclines.
2.103	Hoc ipsum tempus tamen, si quis arti suae malit insumere quod multis usu uenit (quorum animus in nullius contemplatione disciplinae consurgit) haud prohibetur, quin laudatur quoque, ut utilis reipublicae. Super coenam tum unam horam ludendo producunt, aestate in hortis, hyeme in aulis illis communibus, in quibus comedunt. Ibi aut musicen exercent, aut se sermone recreant. Aleam atque id genus ineptos ac perniciosos ludos ne cognoscunt quidem, caeterum duos habent in usu ludos, latrunculorum ludo non dissimiles. Alterum numerorum pugnam, in qua numerus numerum praedatur.	However, some people's minds do not rise to the contemplation of any branch of learning, and many of them prefer to spend this time on their own craft. They are not prevented. Indeed they are even praised as useful to the commonwealth. After supper they spend an hour in recreation, in summer in the gardens and in winter in the common halls where they eat. There they either play music or refresh themselves with conversation. Dice and similar foolish and ruinous games they do not even know. But they play two games not unlike chess. One is a battle of numbers, in which number plunders number.
2.108	Alterum in quo collata acie cum uirtutibus uitia confligunt. Quo in ludo perquam scite ostenditur & uitiorum inter se dissidium, & aduersus uirtutes concordia. item quae uitia, quibus se uirtutibus opponant, quibus uiribus aperte oppugnent, quibus machinamentis ab obliquo adoriantur, quo praesidio, uirtutes uitiorum uires infringant, quibus artibus eorum conatus eludant, quibus denique modis alterutra pars uictoriae compos fiat. Sed hoc loco, ne quid erretis quiddam pressius intuendum est. Etenim quod sex dumtaxat horas in opere sunt, fieri fortasse potest, ut inopiam aliquam putes, necessariarum rerum sequi.	In the other, the vices meet the virtues in pitched battle. The game shows very cleverly how the vices quarrel among themselves and yet unite against the virtues. It also shows which vices are opposed to which virtues, with what forces they attack openly and with what stratagems they strike from the flank. It shows by what defenses the virtues break the strength of the vices, by what arts they elude their attacks, and finally by what means one side or the other wins the victory. But at this point, to keep you from going wrong, we must look at something more closely. Since they work only six hours, you might think that some shortage of necessities would follow.
2.112	Quod tam longe abest ut accidat, ut id temporis ad omnium rerum copiam quae quidem ad uitae uel necessitatem requirantur uel commoditatem non	This is so far from happening that the time is not only enough to produce plenty of everything needed for the necessities and comforts of life, but

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	sufficiat modo, sed supersit etiam, id quod uos quoque intelligetis si uobiscum reputetis apud alias gentes, quam magna populi pars iners degit. primum mulieres fere omnes, totius summae dimidium, aut sicubi mulieres negociosae sunt, ibi ut plurimum, earum uice, uiri stertunt. ad haec, sacerdotum ac religiosorum, quos uocant, quanta quamque ociosa turba, adijce diuites omnes maxime praediorum dominos, quos uulgo generosos appellant ac nobiles, his adnumera ipsorum famulitium, totam uidelicet illam cetratorum nebulonum colluuiem. robustos denique ac ualentes mendicos adiunge, morbum quempiam praetexentes inertiae, multo certe pauciores esse quam putaras inuenies eos, quorum labore constant haec omnia quibus mortales utuntur.	more than enough. You will understand this too if you consider how large a part of the population lives idle in other nations. First, there are almost all the women, who are half the total. Where the women are busy, the men, as a rule, are snoring in their place. Then consider how great and how idle a crowd of priests and so-called religious there is. Add all the rich, especially the landowners, who are commonly called gentlemen and nobles. Count in their servants as well, that whole rabble of swaggering good-for-nothings with their bucklers. Finally, add the sturdy, able-bodied beggars who plead some illness as an excuse for their idleness. You will certainly find that the people whose labor produces everything that mortals use are far fewer than you had thought.
2.113	Expende nunc tecum ex his ipsis quam pauci in necessarijs opificijs uersantur. siquidem ubi omnia pecunijs metimur, multas artes necesse est exerceri inanes prorsus ac superfluas, luxus tantum ac libidinis ministras. nam haec ipsa multitudo quae nunc operatur, si partiretur in tam paucas artes, quam paucas commodus naturae usus postulat; in tanta rerum abundantia; quantam nunc esse necesse sit, precia nimirum uiliora forent, quam ut artifices inde uitam tueri suam possent.	Now reckon up for yourself how few of these work in necessary trades. Where we measure everything by money, many crafts must be practiced that are utterly empty and superfluous, serving only luxury and self-indulgence. Suppose the very multitude now at work were divided among only as many crafts as the proper use of nature requires. There would then be such an abundance of goods that prices would certainly fall too low for the workers to make a living.
2.114	At si isti omnes quos nunc inertes artes distringunt; ac tota insuper ocio ac desidia languescens turba, quorum unus quiuis earum rerum quae aliorum laboribus suppeditantur; quantum duo earundem operatores consumit; in opera uniuersi atque eadem utilia collocarentur, facile animaduertis; quantulum temporis ad suppeditanda omnia; quae uel necessitatis ratio; uel commoditatis efflagitet (adde uoluptatis etiam quae quidem uera sit ac naturalis) abunde satis superque foret. atque id ipsum in Utopia res ipsa perspicuum facit.	But now consider all those now kept busy by useless crafts, and on top of them the whole crowd languishing in leisure and idleness. Each one of these consumes as much of the goods supplied by other people's labor as two of the workers who produce them. Suppose they were all set to work, and to useful work. You can easily see how little time would be enough, and more than enough, to supply everything that necessity or comfort demands. You can add pleasure too, at least pleasure that is true and natural. In Utopia the facts themselves make this plain.
2.115	Nam illic in tota urbe cum adiacente uicinia uix homines quingenti ex omni uirorum ac mulierum numero, quorum aetas ac robur operi sufficit, uacatio permittitur. In hijs syphogranti (quamquam leges eos labore soluerunt) ipsi tamen sese non eximunt; quo facilius exemplo suo reliquos ad labores inuitent. Eadem immunitate gaudent hi; quos commendatione sacerdotum, persuasus populus occultis syphograntorum	There, in the whole city and its surrounding district, scarcely five hundred of all the men and women whose age and strength fit them for work are exempted from it. Among these are the syphogrants. Although the laws have released them from labor, they do not exempt themselves, so that their example may more easily encourage the rest to work.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	suffragijs ad perdiscendas disciplinas perpetuam uacationem indulget.	The same exemption is enjoyed by those whom the people permanently release from work to devote themselves to learning. The people do this on the recommendation of the priests and by secret ballot of the syphogrants.
2.118	Quorum si quis conceptam de se spem fefellerit; ad opifices retruditur, contraque non rarenter usu uenit; ut mechanicus quispiam, subcisiuas illas horas tam gnauiter impendat literis, tantum diligentia proficiat, ut opificio suo exemptus, in literatorum classem prouehatur. Ex hoc literatorum ordine legati, sacerdotes, Tranibori ac ipse denique deligitur princeps, quem illi prisca ipsorum lingua Barzanem, recentiore Ademum appellant.	If any of these disappoints the hopes placed in him, he is sent back to the workers. On the other hand, it quite often happens that a craftsman spends his spare hours so diligently on learning, and makes such progress, that he is released from his trade and promoted to the class of scholars. From this order of scholars are chosen the ambassadors, the priests, the tranibors and finally the governor himself. In their old language they call the governor Barzanes, and in their newer one Ademus.[4]
2.120	Reliqua fere multitudo omnis; quum neque ociosa sit; nec inutilibus opificijs occupata, procliuis aestimatio est, quam paucae horae quantum boni operis pariant. ad ea quae commemoraui, hoc praeterea facilitatis accedit quod in necessarijs plerisque artibus, minore opera quam aliae gentes, opus habent.	Nearly all the rest of the people are neither idle nor occupied in useless trades. So it is easy to reckon how much good work a few hours produce. Besides what I have mentioned, they have a further advantage: in most of the necessary crafts they need less labor than other nations.
2.121	Nam primum aedificiorum, aut structura; aut refectio ideo tam multorum assiduam ubique requirit operam, quod quae pater aedificauit; haeres parum frugi, paulatim dilabi sinit, ita quod minimo tueri potuit; successor eius de integro impendio magno cogitur instaurare. quin frequenter etiam quae domus alij ingenti sumptu stetit, hanc alius delicato animo contemnit, eaque neglecta; atque ideo breui collapsa; aliam alibi impensis non minoribus extruit.	Take first the building and repair of houses. Everywhere else this requires the constant labor of so many workers because a thriftless heir lets what his father built gradually fall into ruin. What could have been kept up at very little cost, his successor is then forced to rebuild from scratch at great expense. Often, too, a house that cost one man an enormous sum is scorned by another man of fastidious taste. He neglects it, so it soon collapses, and he builds another elsewhere at no less expense.
2.122	At apud Utopienses compositis rebus omnibus; & constituta republica rarissime accidit; uti noua collocandis aedibus area deligatur & non modo remedium celeriter praesentibus uitijs adhibetur, sed etiam imminentibus occurritur. Ita fit, ut minimo labore, diutissime perdurent aedificia, & id genus opifices uix habeant interdum quod agant; nisi quod materiam dolare domi & lapides interim quadrare atque aptare iubentur, quo (si quod opus incidat) maturius possit exurgere.	Among the Utopians, however, everything is settled and the commonwealth firmly established. So it very rarely happens that a new site is chosen for building houses. Present defects are quickly remedied, and threatening ones are forestalled. The result is that buildings last a very long time with very little labor, and builders sometimes have hardly anything to do. In the meantime they are told to hew timber at home and to square and fit stones, so that if any work comes up, it can go up more quickly.

4 Ademus is Greek for "without a people."

	LATIN	ENGLISH
2.124	Iam in uestibus uide, quam paucis operis egeant; primum dum in opere sunt; corio neglectim aut pellibus amiciuntur quae in septennium durent. quum procedunt in publicum, superinduunt chlamydem uestem, quae rudiores illas uestes contegat; eius per totam insulam unus color est, atque is natiuus. Itaque lanei panni, non modo multo minus quam usquam alibi sufficit, uerum is ipse quoque multo minoris impendij est, at lini minor est labor, eoque usus crebrior, sed in lineo solus candor, in laneo sola mundicies conspicitur, nullum tenuioris fili precium est.	Now see how little labor they need for clothing. First, while they are at work they dress carelessly in leather or skins that last seven years. When they go out in public they put on a cloak to cover those rougher clothes. Its color is the same throughout the island, and it is the natural color of the wool. So not only is far less woolen cloth needed than anywhere else, but what is needed also costs much less. Linen takes less labor, and so it is used more often. But in linen they look only for whiteness, and in wool only for cleanliness. No value is set on fineness of thread.
2.126	Itaque fit, ut quum alibi nusquam, uni homini quatuor aut quinque togae laneae diuersis coloribus, ac totidem sericiae tunicae sufficiant, delicatioribus paulo ne decem quidem, ibi una quisque contentus est, plerunque in biennium. Quippe nec causa est ulla cur plures affectet, quas consecutus neque aduersus frigus esset munitior, neque uestitu uideretur uel pilo cultior.	Elsewhere four or five woolen gowns of different colors and as many silk tunics are not enough for one man, and for the more fastidious not even ten. There, each person is content with one, usually for two years. Indeed there is no reason for anyone to want more. Having got them, he would be no better protected against the cold, nor would he look one hair better dressed.
2.128	Quamobrem quum & omnes utilibus sese artibus exerceant, & ipsarum etiam opera pauciora sufficiant, fit nimirum, ut abundante rerum omnium copia, interdum in reficiendas (si quae detritae sunt) uias publicas immensam multitudinem educant, persaepe etiam quum nec talis cuiuspiam operis usus occurrat, pauciores horas operandi publice denuntient. neque enim superuacaneo labore ciues inuitos exercent magistratus; quandoquidem eius reipublicae institutio hunc unum scopum in primis respicit; ut quoad per publicas necessitates licet; quam plurimum temporis ab seruitio corporis ad animi libertatem cultumque ciuibus uniuersis asseratur.	Everyone, then, works at useful crafts, and fewer workers are enough for these. So when there is an abundance of everything, they sometimes lead out a vast crowd to repair the public roads if any are worn out. Very often, when there is no need even for work of that kind, they publicly announce shorter working hours. The magistrates do not keep the citizens busy against their will with unnecessary labor. The constitution of that commonwealth aims above all at one thing: that, as far as public needs allow, all the citizens should have as much time as possible freed from the servitude of the body for the freedom and cultivation of the mind.
2.129	In eo enim sitam uitae felicitatem putant.	In this, they think, lies the happiness of life.

HOW THE CITIZENS LIVE TOGETHER

Raphael explains households, population limits, colonies, free stores, hospitals and the common halls.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
2.130	Sed iam quo pacto sese mutuo ciues utantur; quae populi inter se commercia; quaeque sit distribuendarum rerum forma uidetur explicandum.	Now it seems I should explain how the citizens deal with one another, what dealings the people have among themselves, and how goods are distributed.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	Quum igitur ex familijs constet ciuitas; familias ut plurimum, cognationes efficiunt.	The city consists of households, and the households are mostly made up of blood relations.
	Nam foeminae (ubi maturuerint) collocatae maritis; in ipsorum domicilia concedunt. at masculi filij, ac deinceps nepotes; in familia permanent, & parentum antiquissimo parent. nisi prae senecta mente parum ualuerit. tunc enim aetate proximus ei sufficitur.	When women grow up, they are married off and move into their husbands' homes. But the sons, and after them the grandsons, stay in the household and obey the oldest parent, unless his mind has been weakened by old age. In that case the next oldest takes his place.
2.133	Uerum ne ciuitas aut fieri infrequentior; aut ultra modum possit increscere, cauetur, ne ulla familia, quarum millia sex, quaeque ciuitas, excepto conuentu, complectitur; pauciores quam decem; pluresue quam sexdecim puberes habeat.	Each city has six thousand households, not counting those of the surrounding district. To keep the city from becoming underpopulated or growing beyond measure, they provide that no household has fewer than ten or more than sixteen adults.
	Impuberum enim nullus praefiniri numerus potest.	No number can be fixed for children.
	Hic modus facile seruatur, transcriptis hijs in rariores familias, qui in plenioribus excrescunt.	This limit is easily kept by moving the surplus members of fuller households into those with fewer.
	At si quando in totum plus iusto abundauerit; aliarum urbium suarum infrequentiam sarciunt.	If a city as a whole ever has too many people, they use them to make up the shortfall in their other cities.
2.137	Quod si forte per totam insulam plus aequo moles intumuerit, tum ex qualibet urbe descriptis ciuibus in continente proximo ubicumque indigenis agri multum superest, & cultu uacat; coloniam suis ipsorum legibus propagant, ascitis una terrae indigenis si conuiuere secum uelint.	If the population of the whole island should swell too far, they enroll citizens from every city and plant a colony under their own laws on the nearest mainland. They choose a place where the natives have plenty of land to spare lying uncultivated. They invite the natives to live with them if they are willing.
	Cum uolentibus coniuncti in idem uitae institutum; eosdemque mores, facile coalescunt, idque utriusque populi bono. efficiunt enim suis institutis, ut ea terra, utrisque abunda sit; quae alteris ante parca ac maligna uidebatur.	When the natives join them willingly, the two peoples easily grow together into the same way of life and the same customs, to the benefit of both. By their methods the Utopians make the land sufficient for both peoples, although it had seemed meager and barren to the natives before.
	Renuentes ipsorum legibus uiuere, propellunt his finibus quos sibi ipsi describunt.	Those who refuse to live under their laws they drive out of the territory they mark out for themselves.
2.140	Aduersus repugnantes, bello confligunt. nam eam iustissimam belli causam ducunt, quum populus quispiam eius soli quo ipse non utitur, sed uelut inane ac uacuum possidet, alijs tamen qui ex naturae praescripto inde nutriri debeant, usum ac possessionem interdicat.	Against those who resist they wage war. They consider it a most just cause for war when a people does not use its land itself but holds it idle and empty, and yet forbids its use and possession to others who, by the rule of nature, ought to be fed from it.
	Si quando ullas ex suis urbibus aliquis casus, eousque imminuerit, ut ex alijs insulae partibus seruato suo cuiusque urbis modo, resarciri non possint (quod bis dumtaxat ab omni aeuo pestis grassante saeuitia fertur contigisse) remigrantibus e colonia ciuibus replentur.	Some misfortune may reduce one of their cities so much that it cannot be made up from other parts of the island without taking those cities below their proper size. This is said to have happened

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	Perire enim colonias potius patiuntur, quam ullam ex insulanis urbibus imminui.	only twice in all their history, when plague raged fiercely. The city is then refilled with citizens brought back from a colony. They would rather let their colonies perish than let any of the island's cities be diminished.
2.143	Sed ad conuictum ciuium reuertor. Antiquissimus (ut dixi) praeest familiae. Ministri sunt uxores maritis, & liberi parentibus, atque in summa minores natu maioribus. Ciuitas omnis in quatuor aequales partes diuiditur. In medio cuiusque partis forum est omnium rerum. Eo in certas domos opera cuiusque familiae conuehuntur, atque in horrea singulae seorsum species distributae sunt. Ab hijs quilibet paterfamilias quibus ipse suique opus habent, petit, ac sine pecunia, sine omni prorsus hostimento quicquid petierit, aufert.	But I return to the way the citizens live together. The oldest, as I said, presides over the household. Wives serve their husbands, children their parents, and in general the younger serve the older. Every city is divided into four equal quarters. In the middle of each quarter is a market for all kinds of goods. The products of each household are brought there to certain buildings, and each kind of goods is stored separately in its own storehouse. Every head of household asks at these for whatever he and his family need, and carries off whatever he has asked for without money or any payment at all.
2.150	Quare enim negetur quicquam! quum & omnium rerum abunde satis sit nec timor ullus subsit, ne quisquam plusquam sit opus, flagitare uelit! Nam cur superuacua petiturus putetur is, qui certum habeat, nihil sibi unquam defuturum! Nempe auidum ac rapacem, aut timor carendi facit, in omni animantum genere, aut in homine sola reddit superbia, quae gloriae sibi ducit, superflua rerum ostentatione caeteros antecellere, quod uitij genus in Utopiensium institutis nullum omnino locum habet.	Why should anything be refused? There is more than enough of everything, and there is no fear that anyone will want to demand more than he needs. Why should anyone be suspected of asking for more than enough, when he is certain that he will never lack anything? In every kind of living creature, fear of want is what makes it greedy and grasping. In man alone, pride does it too, for pride counts it glorious to outdo others by a superfluous display of possessions. This kind of vice has no place whatever in the Utopians' institutions.
2.151	Adiuncta sunt foris (quae commemoraui) fora cibaria, in quae non olera modo, arborumque fructus & panes comportantur, sed pisces praeterea quadrupedumque & auium quicquid esculentum est, extra urbem locis appositis ubi fluento tabum ac sordes eluantur. Hinc deportant pecudes occisas depuratasque manibus famulorum (nam neque suos ciues patiuntur assuescere laniatu animalium, cuius usu, clementiam humanissimum naturae nostrae affectum paulatim deperire putant, neque sordidum quicquam atque immundum, cuius putredine corruptus aer morbum posset inuehere) perferri in urbem sinunt.	Next to the markets I have mentioned are food markets. To these they bring vegetables, fruit and bread, and also fish and whatever meat of four-footed animals and birds is fit to eat. The animals are slaughtered outside the city in suitable places, where the blood and filth can be washed away by running water. From there they bring in the carcasses, killed and cleaned by the hands of slaves. They do not allow their own citizens to grow used to butchering animals, for they think such practice gradually kills off mercy, the most humane feeling of our nature. Nor do they allow anything filthy or unclean to be brought into the city, since its rotting might corrupt the air and bring disease.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
2.153	Habet praeterea quilibet uicus, aulas quasdam capaces, aequali ab sese inuicem interuallo distantes, nomine quanque suo cognitas.	Each street also has certain spacious halls, spaced at equal distances from one another, and each hall is known by its own name.
	Has colunt Syphogranti, quarum unicuique triginta familiae uidelicet ab utroque latere quindecim sunt adscriptae, cibum ibi sumpturae.	The syphogrants live in them. To each hall are assigned thirty households, fifteen from either side, who take their meals there.
	Obsonatores cuiusque aulae, certa hora conueniunt in forum, ac relato suorum numero, cibum petunt.	The stewards of each hall meet in the market at a fixed hour, report the number of their people and ask for food.
	Sed prima ratio aegrotorum habetur, qui in publicis hospitijs curantur.	But the sick come first, and they are cared for in public hospitals.
2.157	Nam quatuor habent in ambitu ciuitatis hospitia, paulo extra muros tam capacia ut totidem oppidulis aequari possint, tum ut neque aegrotorum numerus quamlibet magnus anguste collocaretur, & per hoc incommode, tum quo hij qui tali morbo tenerentur, cuius contagio solet ab alio ad alium serpere, longius ab aliorum coetu semoueri possint.	There are four hospitals around the city, a little outside the walls, each so spacious that it is like a small town. This is so that the sick, however many there are, are not crammed together and made uncomfortable. It also means that those with a disease whose contagion tends to creep from one person to another can be kept well away from other people.
2.158	Haec hospitia ita sunt instructa, atque omnibus rebus quae ad salutem conferant referta, tum tam tenera ac sedula cura adhibetur, tam assidua medicorum peritissimorum praesentia, ut quum illuc nemo mittatur inuitus, nemo tamen fere in tota urbe sit, qui aduersa ualetudine laborans, non ibi decumbere quam domi suae praeferat.	These hospitals are so well equipped and so well stocked with everything that helps restore health, the care given is so tender and attentive, and skilled physicians are so constantly present, that there is hardly anyone in the whole city who, when he falls ill, would not rather lie there than at home. Yet no one is sent there against his will.
2.159	Quum aegrotorum obsonator cibos ex medicorum praescripto receperit, deinceps optima quaeque inter aulas aequabiliter pro suo cuiusque numero distribuuntur, nisi quod principis, pontificis, & Traniborорum respectus habetur, ac legatorum etiam, & exterorum omnium (si qui sunt, qui pauci ac raro sunt) sed hijs quoque cum adsunt, domicilia certa atque instructa parantur, Ad has aulas prandij, coenaeque statis horis tota syphograntia conuenit, aeneae tubae clangore commonefacta, nisi qui aut in hospitijs, aut domi decumbunt. quanquam nemo prohibetur, postquam aulis est satis factum e foro domum cibum petere.	When the steward for the sick has received the food prescribed by the doctors, the best of the rest is divided equally among the halls according to the number in each. The exceptions are the governor, the high priest and the tranibors, and also ambassadors and all foreigners, if there are any. There are few of them, and they come rarely, but when they do, furnished lodgings are prepared for them. At the fixed hours of lunch and supper the whole syphogranty gathers in these halls, summoned by the blast of a bronze trumpet. Only those lying sick in the hospitals or at home stay away. Still, once the halls have been supplied, no one is forbidden to fetch food from the market to take home.
	sciunt enim neminem id temere facere, nam & si domi prandere nulli uetitum sit, nemo tamen hoc libenter facit, cum neque honestum habeatur, & stultum sit deterioris parandi prandij sumere laborem, cum lautum	They know that no one does this without good reason. No one is forbidden to eat at home, but no one likes to do it. It is not thought respectable, and it would be foolish to take the trouble of preparing

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	atque opiparum praesto apud aulam, tam propinquam sit.	a worse meal when a fine and lavish one is ready in the hall so close by.
2.160	In hac aula ministeria omnia in quibus paulo plus sordis, aut laboris est, obeunt serui. Caeterum coquendi, parandique cibi officium, & totius denique instruendi conuiuij solae mulieres exercent, cuiusque uidelicet familiae per uices. Tribus, pluribusue mensis pro numero conuiuarum discumbitur. Uiri ad parietem, foeminae exterius collocantur, ut si quid his subiti oboriatur mali, quod uterum gerentibus interdum solet accidere, imperturbatis ordinibus exurgant, atque inde ad nutrices abeant.	In this hall all the tasks that involve rather more dirt or labor are done by slaves. But the cooking and preparing of the food, and indeed the arranging of the whole meal, are done by the women alone, the women of each household taking turns. They sit at three or more tables, according to the number of diners. The men sit against the wall and the women on the outside. That way, if a woman is suddenly taken ill, as sometimes happens in pregnancy, she can get up without disturbing the rows and go off to the nurses.
2.164	Sedent illae quidem seorsum cum lactentibus in coenaculo quodam ad id destinato, nunquam sine foco atque aqua munda, nec absque cunis interim, ut & reclinare liceat infantulos, & ad ignem cum uelint exemptos fascijs libertate ac ludo reficere. suae quaeque soboli nutrix est, nisi aut mors, aut morbus impediat. id cum accidit, uxores Syphograntorum propere nutricem quaerunt, nec id difficile est. Nam quae id praestare possunt, nulli officio sese offerunt libentius, quoniam & omnes eam misericordiam laude prosequuntur, & qui educatur, nutricem parentis agnoscit loco.	The nurses sit apart with their infants in a room set aside for the purpose. It always has a fire and clean water, and cradles as well. There they can lay the babies down, and when they like they can unwrap them from their swaddling clothes by the fire and refresh them with freedom and play. Each mother nurses her own child unless death or illness prevents it. When that happens, the syphogrants' wives quickly find a nurse, and this is not difficult. Women who can do it offer this service more gladly than any other, because everyone praises such kindness and the child who is nursed looks on the nurse as a parent.
2.166	In antro nutricum, considunt pueri omnes, qui primum lustrum non expleuere. caeteri impuberes, quo in numero ducunt quicumque sexus alterius utrius intra nubiles annos sunt, aut ministrant discumbentibus, aut qui per aetatem nondum ualent, adstant tamen, atque id summo cum silentio. utrique quod a sedentibus porrigitur, eo uescuntur, nec aliud discretum prandendi tempus habent. In medio primae mensae, qui summus locus est, & cui (nam ea mensa suprema in parte coenaculi transuersa est) totus conuentus conspicitur, Syphograntus cum uxore considet. His adiunguntur duo ex natu maximis.	In the nursery sit all the children who have not yet completed their fifth year. The other young people include all those of either sex below marriageable age. They either wait on the diners or, if they are too young for that, stand by in complete silence. Both groups eat whatever the diners hand to them and have no separate mealtime. The syphogrant and his wife sit in the middle of the first table, which is the place of honor. That table runs crosswise at the upper end of the hall, so the whole company can be seen from it. With them sit two of the oldest people.
2.169	Sedent enim per omnes mensas quaterni. At si templum in ea Syphograntia situm est, sacerdos, eiusque uxor ita cum Syphogranto sedent ut praesideant.	They sit four to a table throughout. If there is a temple in that syphogranty, the priest and his wife sit with the syphogrant and preside.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	Ab utraque parte collocantur iuniores, post senes rursus, atque hoc pacto per totam domum, & aequales inter se iunguntur, & dissimilibus tamen immiscentur, quod ideo ferunt institutum, ut senum grauitas ac reuerentia (quum nihil ita in mensa fieri, diciue potest, ut eos ab omni parte uicinos effugiat) iuniores ab improba uerborum, gestuumque licentia cohibeat.	On either side of them are placed younger people, then older people again. In this way, throughout the whole hall, people of the same age sit together and yet are mixed with those of other ages. They say this was instituted so that the gravity of the old and the respect they command would restrain the young from improper freedom of word and gesture, since nothing can be said or done at table without the elders sitting on every side noticing it.
2.172	Ciborum fercula non a primo loco deinceps apponuntur, sed senioribus primum omnibus (quorum insignes loci sunt) optimus quisque cibus infertur. deinde reliquis aequaliter ministratur. At senes lautitias suas (quarum non tanta erat copia, ut posset totam per domum affatim distribui) pro suo arbitratu circunsedentibus impartiuntur. Sic & maioribus natu suus seruatur honos, & commodi tantundem tamen, ad omneis peruenit. Omne prandium, coenamque ab aliqua lectione auspicantur, quae ad mores faciat, sed breui tamen ne fastidio sit. Ab hac seniores, honestos sermones, sed neque tristes, nec infacetos ingerunt.	The dishes are not served in order starting from the first place. Instead the best food is brought first to all the elders, whose places are specially marked, and then the rest are served equally. The elders, however, share their delicacies with those sitting around them as they see fit, since there are not enough of these to go generously round the whole hall. So the elders keep the honor due to them, and yet everyone benefits just as much. Every lunch and supper begins with a reading that promotes good morals, but it is short, so as not to be tedious. Taking this as their starting point, the elders bring up respectable conversation, neither gloomy nor humorless.
2.177	At nec longis logis totum occupant prandium, quin audiunt libenter iuuenes quoque atque adeo de industria prouocant, quo & indolis cuiusque & ingenij per conuiuij libertatem prodentis sese, capiant experimentum. Prandia breuiuscula sunt, coenae largiores, quod labor illa, has somnus & nocturna quies excipit, quam illi ad salubrem concoctionem magis efficacem putant.	But they do not take up the whole meal with long speeches. They gladly listen to the young as well and even deliberately draw them out, so as to test each one's character and intelligence, which show themselves in the freedom of a meal. Lunches are fairly short and suppers more generous, because work follows lunch, while sleep and the night's rest follow supper. They think rest is more effective for healthy digestion.
2.179	Nulla coena sine musica transigitur. nec ullis caret secunda mensa bellarijs. odores incendunt, & unguenta spargunt. nihilque non faciunt, quod exhilarare conuiuas possit. sunt enim hanc in partem aliquanto procliuiores, ut nullum uoluptatis genus (ex quo nihil sequatur incommodi) censeant interdictum. Hoc pacto igitur in urbe conuiuunt, at ruri, qui longius ab sese dissiti sunt, omnes domi quisque suae comedunt. nulli enim familiae quicquam ad uictum deest, quippe a quibus id totum uenit, quo uescantur urbici.	No supper passes without music, and dessert always comes with sweets. They burn incense and sprinkle perfumes, and they leave nothing undone that might cheer the diners. They lean somewhat in this direction, holding that no kind of pleasure is forbidden as long as no harm comes of it. This, then, is how they live together in the city. In the country, however, people live far apart, and they all eat in their own homes. No household there lacks anything for its food, since everything the city-dwellers eat comes from them.

TRAVEL

Utopians travel only with leave and must work wherever they stay; the whole island shares like one household.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
2.181	At si quos aut amicorum alia in urbe commorantium, aut ipsius etiam uidendi loci desyderium coeperit, a Syphograntis ac Traniboris suis ueniam facile impetrant, nisi si quis usus impediat. Mittitur ergo simul, numerus aliquis cum epistola principis, quae & datam peregrinandi copiam testatur, & reditus diem praescribit. Uehiculum datur cum seruo publico, qui agat boues & curet. caeterum nisi mulieres in coetu habeant, uehiculum uelut onus & impedimentum, remittitur. Toto itinere cum nihil secum efferant, nihil defit tamen, ubique enim domi sunt.	Anyone who wants to visit friends living in another city, or simply to see the place, easily gets leave from his syphogrants and tranibors, unless some need stands in the way. A group is sent together with a letter from the governor. The letter certifies their permission to travel and fixes the day of their return. They are given a wagon and a public slave to drive and tend the oxen. But unless there are women in the party, they send the wagon back as a burden and a hindrance. They take nothing with them on the whole journey, yet they lack nothing, for they are at home everywhere.
2.185	Si quo in loco diutius uno die commorentur, suam ibi quisque artem exercet, atque ab artis eiusdem opificibus, humanissime tractantur. Si semet autore quisquam extra suos fines uagetur, deprehensus sine principis diplomate, contumeliose habitus, pro fugitiuo reducitur, castigatus acriter. idem ausus denuo, seruitute plectitur. Quod si quem libido incessat per suae ciuitatis agros palandi, uenia patris & consentiente coniuge, non prohibetur. Sed in quodcunque rus peruenerit, nullus ante cibus datur, quam ante meridianum operis pensum, (aut quantum ante coenam ibi laborari solet) absoluerit.	If they stay anywhere longer than a day, each of them practices his craft there and is treated very kindly by the workers of the same craft. If anyone wanders outside his own district on his own authority and is caught without the governor's pass, he is treated with disgrace, brought back as a runaway and severely punished. If he dares to do it again, he is punished with slavery. If anyone takes a fancy to roam the fields belonging to his own city, he is not forbidden, as long as he has his father's leave and his wife's consent. But wherever he goes in the country, he is given no food until he has done the morning's share of work, or as much as is usually done there before supper.
2.189	Hac lege quouis intra suae urbis fines ire licet. Erit enim non minus utilis urbi, quam si in urbe esset. Iam uidetis quam nulla sit usquam ociandi licentia, nullus inertiae praetextus, nulla taberna uinaria, nulla ceruisiaria, nusquam lupanar, nulla corruptelae occasio, nullae latebrae, conciliabulum nullum, sed omnium praesentes oculi necessitatem aut consueti laboris, aut ocij non inhonesti faciunt. Quem populi morem necesse est omnium rerum copiam sequi. atque ea quum aequabiliter ad omnes perueniat, fit nimirum, ut inops esse nemo aut mendicus possit.	On this condition he may go anywhere within his own city's territory. He will be no less useful to the city than if he were in it. So you see that there is no license to idle anywhere and no pretext for laziness. There is no wine tavern, no alehouse, no brothel anywhere, no opportunity for corruption, no hiding place, no secret meeting. Since everyone is always in view, people have to do their usual work or spend their leisure respectably.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
		With such customs, plenty of everything must follow. And since it reaches everyone equally, no one can be poor or a beggar.
2.193	In senatu Amaurotico (quem uti dixi terni quotannis omni ex urbe frequentant) ubi primum constiterit; quae res quoque loco abundet, rursum cuius alicubi malignior prouentus fuerit, alterius inopiam, alterius protinus ubertas explet, atque id gratuito faciunt, nihil uicissim ab his recipientes quibus donant. Sed quae de suis rebus unicuipiam urbi dederint, nihil ab ea repetentes, ab alia cui nihil impenderunt, quibus egent accipiunt. Ita tota insula uelut una familia est.	As I said, three citizens from every city attend the council at Amaurot each year. There they first establish what goods are plentiful where, and where the harvest has been poorer. Then the abundance of one place at once makes up the shortage of another. They do this free of charge, receiving nothing in return from those to whom they give. A city that gives some of its own goods to another city asks nothing back from it, but receives what it needs from a third city to which it has given nothing. So the whole island is like a single household.
2.196	At postquam satis prouisum ipsis est, (quod non antea factum censent, quam in biennium propter anni sequentis euentum prospexerint) tum ex his quae supersunt magnam uim frumenti, mellis, lanae, lini, ligni, cocci, & conchyliorum, uellerum, cerae, seui, corij, ad haec animalium quoque in alias regiones exportant. quarum rerum omnium, septimam partem inopibus eius regionis dono dant, reliquam precio mediocri uenditant, quo ex commercio, non eas modo merces, quibus domi egent, (nam id fere nihil est praeter ferrum) sed argenti atque auri praeterea, magnam uim in patriam reportant.	They do not consider themselves sufficiently provided for until they have laid in two years' supply, because they cannot know how next year's harvest will turn out. Once that is done, they export their surplus to other countries in great quantities: grain, honey, wool, flax, timber, scarlet and purple dye, fleeces, wax, tallow, leather, and livestock as well. They give a seventh part of all these goods to the poor of the country concerned and sell the rest at a moderate price. From this trade they bring home the goods they lack, which is almost nothing but iron. They also bring home a great quantity of silver and gold.
2.197	Cuius rei diutina consuetudine supra quam credi possit, ubique iam earum rerum copia abundant. Itaque nunc parum pensi habent, praesente ne pecunia, an in diem uendant, multoque maximam partem habeant in nominibus, in quibus tamen faciendis non priuatorum unquam, sed confectis ex more instrumentis, publicam urbis fidem sequuntur. Ciuitas ubi solutionis dies aduenerit, a priuatis debitoribus exigit creditum, atque in aerarium redigit, eiusque pecuniae quoad ab Utopiensibus repetatur, usura fruitur. Illi maximam partem nunquam repetunt.	Having traded like this for a long time, they now have an unbelievable abundance of these metals. So they now care little whether they sell for cash or on credit, and by far the greatest part of their wealth is held as debts owed to them. In these arrangements, however, they never rely on the credit of private persons. The documents are drawn up in the usual form, and they rely on the public guarantee of the city. When the day of payment comes, the city collects the debt from the private debtors and puts it into its treasury. It enjoys the interest on that money until the Utopians ask for it. Most of it they never ask for.
2.201	Nam quae res apud se nullum habet usum, eam ab his auferre, quibus usui est, haud aequum censent.	They think it hardly fair to take something that is no use to them away from people who can use it.
2.202		

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	Caeterum si res ita poscat, ut eius aliquam partem alij populo mutuam daturi sint, tum demum poscunt, aut quum bellum gerendum est, quam in rem unam totum illum thesaurum quem habent domi seruant, uti aut extremis in periculis, aut in subitis praesidio sit. potissimum quo milites externos (quos libentius quam suos ciues obijciunt discrimini) immodico stipendio conducant, gnari multitudine pecuniae hostes ipsos plerunque mercabiles, & uel proditione, uel infestis etiam signis inter se committi.	However, they do call it in when they need to lend part of it to another people, or when they have to wage war. This is the one purpose for which they keep all the treasure they have at home, as a resource in extreme danger or sudden emergency. Above all, they use it to hire foreign soldiers at extravagant pay, since they would rather put foreigners in danger than their own citizens. They know that with enough money the enemy themselves can often be bought, and set against one another either by treachery or even in open battle.

GOLD AND SILVER HELD IN CONTEMPT

The Utopians make chamber pots and slaves' chains of gold, and laugh at the finery of visiting ambassadors.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
2.203	Hanc ob causam inaestimabilem thesaurum seruant, at non ut thesaurum tamen, sed ita habent, quomodo me narrare profecto deterret pudor, metuentem ne fidem oratio non sit habitura, quod eo iustius uereor, quo magis mihi sum conscius, nisi uidissem praesens, quam aegre potuissem ipse perduci, ut alteri idem recensenti crederem.	For this reason they keep a treasure beyond reckoning, but they do not keep it as treasure. How they keep it I am truly ashamed to tell, for fear my account will not be believed. My fear is all the more justified because I know how hard it would have been to make me believe anyone else telling the same story, had I not seen it myself.
2.204	Necesse est enim fere quam quicque est ab eorum qui audiunt moribus alienum, tam idem procul illis abesse a fide. quanquam prudens rerum aestimator minus fortasse mirabitur, quum reliqua eorum instituta, tam longe ab nostris differant; si argenti quoque atque auri usus ad ipsorum potius, quam ad nostri moris rationem accommodetur. Nempe quum pecunia non utantur ipsi, sed in eum seruent euentum, qui ut potest usu uenire, ita fieri potest ut nunquam incidat.	It is almost inevitable that the more foreign a thing is to the listeners' customs, the harder they find it to believe. Yet a sensible judge will perhaps be less surprised that their use of silver and gold is suited to their customs rather than ours, since their other institutions differ so greatly from ours. They do not use money themselves. They keep it for a contingency that may happen, but may just as well never arise.
2.206	Interim aurum, argentumque (unde ea fit) sic apud se habent, ut ab nullo pluris aestimetur, quam rerum ipsarum natura meretur, qua quis non uidet quam longe infra ferrum sunt! ut sine quo non hercule magis quam absque igni atque aqua uiuere mortales queant, quum interim auro, argentoque nullum usum, quo non facile careamus, natura tribuerit, nisi hominum stultitia precium raritati fecisset. quin contra, uelut parens indulgentissima optima quaeque in propatulo posuerit, ut aerem, aquam, ac tellurem ipsam, longissime uero uana ac nihil profutura semouerit.	Meanwhile they keep gold and silver, from which money is made, in such a way that no one values them more than their nature deserves. And who does not see how far below iron they are in that respect? Without iron, heaven knows, mortals could no more live than without fire and water. But nature has given gold and silver no use that we could not easily do without, had not human folly set a price on their rarity. On the contrary, nature, like a most indulgent mother, has laid all the best things out in the open, such as air, water and the earth itself. The things that are empty and of no use she has hidden far away.
2.207		

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	Ergo haec metalla si apud eos in turrim aliquam abstruderentur. princeps ac senatus in suspicionem uenire posset (ut est uulgi stulta solertia) ne deluso per technam populo, ipsi aliquo inde commodo fruerentur. porro si phyalas inde aliaque id genus opera fabre excusa conficerent, si quando incidisset occasio, ut conflanda sint rursus, atque in militum eroganda stipendium, uident nimirum fore, ut aegre patiantur auelli quae semel in delitijs habere coepissent.	If these metals were locked away in some tower, the governor and the council might come under suspicion, such is the foolish cunning of the common people: they might be thought to be tricking the people and gaining some advantage from it themselves. And if they made the metals into drinking bowls and other finely wrought objects, a time might come when these had to be melted down again and paid out as soldiers' wages. The Utopians see that people would then be reluctant to part with things they had once begun to treasure.
2.208	His rebus uti occurrant, excogitauere quandam rationem, ut reliquis ipsorum institutis consentaneam, ita ab nostris (apud quos aurum tanti fit, ac tam diligenter conditur) longissime abhorrentem, eoque nisi peritis non credibilem. Nam quum in fictilibus e terra uitroque elegantissimis quidem illis, sed uilibus tamen edant bibantque. ex auro, atque argento non in communibus aulis modo, sed in priuatis etiam domibus, matellas passim, ac sordidissima quaeque uasa conficiunt. Ad haec catenas & crassas compedes, quibus cohercent seruos; ijsdem ex metallis operantur.	To guard against these problems they have devised a method that is consistent with their other institutions. It is utterly different from ours, since we value gold so highly and hoard it so carefully, and so only those who have seen it can believe it. They eat and drink from earthenware and glass, which is very elegant but cheap. Out of gold and silver they make chamber pots and all the lowliest vessels, not only in the common halls but in private houses too. They also use the same metals to make the chains and heavy fetters with which they bind their slaves.
2.211	Postremo quoscunque aliquod crimen infames facit, ab horum auribus anuli dependent aurei, digitos aurum cingit, aurea torques ambit collum, & caput denique auro uincitur. Ita omnibus curant modis, uti apud se aurum argentumque in ignominia sint, atque hoc pacto fit, ut haec metalla, quae caeterae gentes non minus fere dolenter ac uiscera sua distrahi patiuntur, apud Utopienses, si semel omnia res postularet efferri, nemo sibi iacturam unius fecisse assis uideretur.	Finally, anyone disgraced by some crime wears gold rings hanging from his ears, gold on his fingers, a gold chain around his neck, and even a gold band around his head. So they take care in every way that gold and silver are held in dishonor among them. Other nations part with these metals almost as painfully as with their own vital organs. But among the Utopians, if circumstances required them to hand over the whole lot at once, no one would feel he had lost a penny.
2.213	Margaritas praeterea legunt in littoribus, quin in rupibus quibusdam adamantes ac pyropos quoque; neque tamen quaerunt, sed oblatos casu, perpoliunt. His ornant infantulos, qui ut primis pueritiae annis, talibus ornamentis gloriantur, ac superbiunt; sic ubi plusculum accreuit aetatis, cum animaduertunt eiusmodi nugis non nisi pueros uti, nullo parentum monitu, sed suomet ipsorum pudore deponunt. non aliter ac nostri pueri, quum grandescunt nuces, bullas, & pupas abijciunt.	They also gather pearls on the shore, and even diamonds and garnets on certain rocks. They do not go looking for them, but when they chance upon them they polish them. They use them to adorn their little children. In their first years the children are proud and boastful of such ornaments. But when they grow a little older and notice that only children wear such trifles, they lay them aside of their own accord, not because their parents tell them to but out of their own sense of shame, just as our children,

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	Itaque haec tam diuersa ab reliquis gentibus instituta, quam diuersas itidem animorum affectiones pariant, nunquam aeque mihi atque in Anemoliorum legatis inclaruit.	when they grow up, throw away their marbles, baubles and dolls. These institutions are so different from those of other nations, and they produce very different feelings. This never became clearer to me than in the case of the Anemolian ambassadors.[5]
2.216	Uenerunt hi Amaurotum (dum ego aderam) & quoniam magnis de rebus tractatum ueniebant, aduentum eorum terni illi ciues, ex qualibet urbe praeuenerant, sed omnes finitimarum gentium legati, qui eo ante appulerant, quibus Utopiensium perspecti mores erant, apud quos sumptuoso uestitui nihil honoris haberi intelligebant, sericum contemptui esse, aurum etiam infame sciebant, cultu quam poterant modestissimo uenire consueuerant.	They came to Amaurot while I was there. Because they were coming to discuss important matters, the three citizens from each city had arrived ahead of them. All the ambassadors from neighboring peoples who had come there before knew the Utopians' customs. They understood that costly clothing earned no honor there, that silk was despised and that gold was even a mark of disgrace. So they had made a habit of coming in the plainest dress they could.
2.217	At Anemolij, quod longius aberant, ac minus cum illis commercij habuerant, quum accepissent, eodem omnes, eoque rudi corporis cultu esse, persuasi non habere eos, quo non utebantur, ipsi etiam superbi magis, quam sapientes, decreuerunt apparatus elegantia, deos quosdam repraesentare, & miserorum oculos Utopiensium, ornatus sui splendore praestringere.	But the Anemolians lived farther away and had had fewer dealings with the Utopians. They had heard that the Utopians all dressed alike, and plainly, and concluded that they did not have what they did not use. Being more proud than wise, they decided to look like gods by the elegance of their outfit and to dazzle the eyes of the poor Utopians with the splendor of their finery.
2.218	Itaque ingressi sunt legati tres, cum comitibus centum, omnes uestitu uersicolori, plerique serico, legati ipsi (nam domi nobiles erant) amictu aureo, magnis torquibus, & inauribus aureis, ad haec anulis aureis in manibus, monilibus insuper appensis in pileo, quae margaritis ac gemmis affulgebant, omnibus postremo rebus ornati, quae apud Utopienses, aut seruorum supplicia, aut infamium dedecora, aut puerorum nugamenta fuere.	So the three ambassadors made their entrance with a hundred attendants, all in clothes of many colors, most of them in silk. The ambassadors themselves were noblemen at home, and they wore cloth of gold, with great gold chains and gold earrings, gold rings on their fingers, and strings of jewels hanging from their caps that glittered with pearls and gems. In short, they were decked out in everything that the Utopians used to punish slaves, to mark the disgraced, or to amuse children.
2.219	Itaque operae precium erat uidere, quo pacto cristas erexerint, ubi suum ornatum cum Utopiensium uestitu (nam in plateis sese populus effuderat) contulere. contraque non minus erat uoluptatis consyderare quam longe sua eos spes expectatioque fefellerat, quamquam longe ab ea existimatione aberant, quam se consecuturos putauerant. Nempe Utopiensium oculis omnium, exceptis perquam paucis, qui alias gentes aliqua idonea de causa inuiserant, totus ille splendor apparatus pudendus uidebatur, &	It was worth seeing how they preened themselves when they compared their finery with the Utopians' clothing, for the people had poured out into the streets. It was no less a pleasure to see how badly their hopes and expectations were disappointed, and how far they fell short of the esteem they thought they would win. To all the Utopians, except for the very few who had visited other countries for some good reason, all that splendid display looked shameful. They re-

5 Anemolians: from the Greek for "windy," that is, empty and puffed up.

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	infimum quenque pro dominis reuerenter salutantes, legatos ipsos ex aurearum usu catenarum pro seruis habitos, sine ullo prorsus honore praetermiserunt.	spectfully greeted the humblest members of the party as the masters. The ambassadors themselves they took for slaves because of their gold chains, and let them pass without any honor at all.
2.221	Quin pueros quoque uidisses, qui gemmas ac margaritas abiecerant, ubi in legatorum pileis affixas conspexerunt, compellare matrem ac latus fodere. En mater, quam magnus nebulo margaritis adhuc & gemmulis utitur, ac si esset puerulus! At parens serio etiam illa, tace inquit fili, est opinor quispiam e morionibus legatorum. Alij catenas illas aureas reprehendere, utpote nullius usus, quippe tam graciles, ut eas facile seruus infringere, tam laxas rursus, uti quum fuerit libitum possit excutere, & solutus ac liber quouis aufugere.	You could also have seen children who had thrown away their gems and pearls. When they saw such jewels fixed on the ambassadors' caps, they nudged their mothers and called to them: "Look, mother, what a big oaf, still wearing pearls and little jewels as if he were a small boy!" But the mother, quite seriously, said, "Hush, son, I think he is one of the ambassadors' fools." Others found fault with those gold chains as useless. They were so thin that a slave could easily break them, and so loose that he could shake them off whenever he liked and run away wherever he wanted, free and unbound.
2.224	Uerum legati postquam ibi unum, atque alterum diem uersati tantam auri uim in tanta uilitate conspexerunt, nec in minore contumelia, quam apud se honore habitam uidissent, ad haec in unius fugitiui serui catenas compedesque plus auri, atque argenti congestum, quam totus ipsorum trium apparatus constiterat, subsidentibus pennis omnem illum cultum, quo sese tam arroganter extulerant, pudefacti, seposuerunt.	After a day or two there, the ambassadors saw so much gold held so cheap, treated with as much contempt as it was honored at home. They also saw more gold and silver heaped on the chains and fetters of a single runaway slave than the whole finery of all three of them had cost. Their feathers drooped, and in shame they put aside all the splendor in which they had paraded themselves so arrogantly.
2.225	Maxime uero postquam familiarius cum Utopiensibus collocuti, mores eorum atque opiniones didicere, mirantur illi siquidem quemquam esse mortalium quem exiguae gemmulae, aut lapilli dubius oblectet fulgor, cui quidem stellam aliquam, atque ipsum denique solem liceat intueri, aut quemquam tam insanum esse, ut nobilior ipse sibi ob tenuioris lanae filum uideatur, siquidem hanc ipsam (quantumuis tenui filo sit) ouis olim gestauit, nec aliud tamen interim, quam ouis fuit.	This happened above all after they had talked more familiarly with the Utopians and learned their customs and opinions. The Utopians wonder that any mortal can delight in the doubtful sparkle of a tiny gem or stone when he can look at a star, or even at the sun itself. They also wonder that anyone can be so mad as to think himself nobler because his wool is spun from a finer thread. That very wool, however fine its thread, was once worn by a sheep, and all the while it was nothing but a sheep.
2.226	Mirantur item aurum suapte natura tam inutile, nunc ubique gentium aestimari tanti, ut homo ipse per quem, atque adeo in cuius usum id precij obtinuit, minoris multo quam aurum ipsum aestimetur, usque adeo ut plumbeus quispiam, & cui non plus ingenij sit quam stipiti, nec minus etiam improbus quam stultus, multos tamen & sapientes & bonos uiros in seruitute habeat, ob id duntaxat, quod ei magnus contigit aureorum numismatum cumulus, quem si qua fortuna, aut aliqua legum stropha (quae nihil minus ac fortuna ipsa summis	They wonder too that gold, by its own nature so useless, is now valued so highly everywhere that man himself is valued far less than gold, although it was through man and for his use that gold acquired its value. It goes so far that some blockhead with no more wit than a tree stump, and as wicked as he is stupid, keeps many wise and good men in servitude simply because a great heap of gold coins has come his way. Yet some chance, or some

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	ima permiscet) ab hero illo ad abiectissimum totius familiae suae nebulonem transtulerit, fit nimirum paulo post, ut in famuli sui famulicium concedat, uelut appendix additamentumque numismatum.	legal trick, may transfer the heap from that master to the lowest good-for-nothing in his household, for the law turns everything upside down as readily as chance does. Before long, of course, the master passes into the service of his own servant, like an appendage or accessory to the coins.
2.227	Caeterum multo magis eorum mirantur, ac detestantur insaniam qui diuitibus illis, quibus neque debent quicquam, neque sunt obnoxij, nullo alio respectu, quam quod diuites sunt, honores tantum non diuinos impendunt, idque cum eos tam sordidos atque auaros cognoscunt, ut habeant certo certius ex tanto nummorum cumulo, uiuentibus illis ne unum quidem nummulum unquam ad se uenturum. Has atque huiusmodi opiniones partim ex educatione conceperunt. in ea educti Republica cuius instituta longissime ab his stultitiae generibus absunt, partim ex doctrina & literis.	But they wonder at and detest far more the madness of those who pay almost divine honors to the rich simply because they are rich. They owe these rich men nothing and are under no obligation to them. They also know them to be so mean and grasping that they can be quite certain not a single penny of that great heap of money will ever come their way while the rich men live. These and similar opinions come partly from their upbringing, since they were raised in a commonwealth whose institutions are very far removed from such kinds of folly. They come partly from teaching and books.
2.229	Nam & si haud multi cuiusque urbis sunt, qui caeteris exonerati laboribus soli disciplinae deputantur. hij uidelicet in quibus a pueritia egregiam indolem, eximium ingenium, atque animum ad bonas artes propensum deprehendere, tamen omnes pueri literis imbuuntur, & populi bona pars, uiri, foeminaeque, per totam uitam, horas illas quas ab operibus liberas diximus, in literis collocant. Disciplinas ipsorum lingua perdiscunt. est enim neque uerborum inops, nec insuauis auditu, nec ulla fidelior animi interpres est. eadem fere (nisi quod ubique corruptior, alibi aliter) magnam eius orbis plagam peruagatur.	There are not many in each city who are relieved of other work and assigned to learning alone. They are the ones in whom, from childhood, their elders have seen an outstanding character, exceptional intelligence and a mind inclined to the liberal arts. Yet all children are introduced to letters, and a good part of the people, men and women, spend on learning, throughout their lives, the hours we said were free from work. They study the various branches of learning in their own language. It is neither poor in vocabulary nor unpleasant to the ear, and no language expresses the mind more faithfully. Much the same language is spoken across a large region of that part of the world, except that it is corrupted everywhere, differently in different places.
2.231	Ex omnibus his philosophis, quorum nomina sunt in hoc noto nobis orbe celebria, ante nostrum aduentum ne fama quidem cuiusquam eo peruenerat, & tamen in musica, dialecticaque, ac numerandi & metiendi scientia, eadem fere quae nostri illi ueteres inuenere. Caeterum ut antiquos omnibus prope rebus exaequant, ita nuperorum inuentis dialecticorum longe sunt impares. Nam ne ullam quidem regulam inuenerunt earum, quas de restrictionibus, amplificationibus, ac suppositionibus acutissime excogitatis in paruis logicalibus passim hic ediscunt pueri.	Of all the philosophers whose names are famous in this world of ours, not one had so much as been heard of there before we arrived. And yet in music, logic, arithmetic and geometry they have discovered almost the same things as our ancient authors. But while they equal the ancients in almost everything, they fall far short of the discoveries of the modern logicians. They have not discovered a single one of the rules about restrictions, amplifications and suppositions, so very ingeniously devised, that our

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		schoolboys everywhere here learn by heart from the *Little Logicals*.[6]
2.234	Porro secundas intentiones tam longe abest ut inuestigare suffecerint, ut nec hominem ipsum in communi quem uocant, quamquam (ut scitis) plane colosseum & quouis gigante maiorem, tum a nobis praeterea digito demonstratum, nemo tamen eorum uidere potuerit. At sunt in astrorum cursu, & caelestium orbium motu, peritissimi. Quin instrumenta quoque diuersis figuris solerter excogitarunt, quibus solis ac lunae, & caeterorum item astrorum quae in ipsorum horizonte uisuntur, motiones ac situs exactissime comprehensos habent.	As for second intentions, they are so far from being able to investigate them that not one of them could even see "man in general," as it is called. Yet, as you know, he is plainly colossal, bigger than any giant, and we even pointed him out to them with our finger. But they are very expert in the courses of the stars and the motions of the heavenly spheres. They have also cleverly devised instruments of various shapes, with which they track very precisely the motions and positions of the sun, the moon and the other stars visible above their horizon.[7]
2.237	Caeterum amicitias, atque errantium dissidia syderum, ac totam denique illam ex astris diuinandi imposturam, ne somniant quidem. Imbres, uentos, ac caeteras tempestatum uicissitudines, signis quibusdam longo perspectis usu praesentiunt. Sed de causis earum rerum omnium, & de fluxu maris eiusque salsitate, & in summa de caeli mundique origine, ac natura partim eadem quae ueteres philosophi nostri disserunt, partim ut illi inter se dissident, ita hi quoque dum nouas rerum rationes afferunt, ab omnibus illis dissentiunt, nec inter se tamen usquequaque conueniunt.	But they do not even dream of the friendships and quarrels of the planets, or of the whole imposture of divination by the stars. They foresee rain, winds and other changes in the weather by certain signs learned through long experience. On the causes of all these things, on the tides and the saltiness of the sea, and in short on the origin and nature of the heavens and the world, some of what they say agrees with our ancient philosophers. On other points, just as those philosophers disagree among themselves, the Utopians also bring forward new explanations and disagree with all of them. Nor do they entirely agree among themselves.

VIRTUE AND PLEASURE

The Utopians place happiness in good and honorable pleasure and rank the true pleasures of mind and body.

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2.240	In ea philosophiae parte qua de moribus agitur, eadem illis disputantur quae nobis, de bonis animi quaerunt & corporis, & externis, tum utrum boni nomen omnibus his, an solis animi dotibus conueniat. De uirtute disserunt, ac uoluptate, sed omnium prima est ac princeps controuersia, quanam in re, una pluribusue sitam hominis felicitatem putent.	In the part of philosophy that deals with morals, they debate the same questions as we do. They inquire into goods of the mind, goods of the body and external goods, and whether the name of good applies to all of these or only to the gifts of the mind.

6 The *Parva logicalia* ("Little Logicals") was a medieval school textbook of logic. Restriction, amplification and supposition are technical terms from it.
7 Scholastic terms: "second intentions" are concepts about concepts (such as genus and species), and "man in general" is the universal "man."

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	At hac in re propensiores aequo uidentur in factionem uoluptatis assertricem, ut qua uel totam, uel potissimam felicitatis humanae partem definiant.	They discuss virtue and pleasure. But the first and chief of all their controversies is what thing or things human happiness consists in. On this question they seem more inclined than they should be toward the school that champions pleasure, since they hold that pleasure is the whole of human happiness, or its chief part.
2.243	Et quo magis mireris ab religione quoque (quae grauis & seuera est fereque tristis & rigida) petunt tamen sententiae tam delicatae patrocinium. Neque enim de felicitate disceptant unquam, quin principia quaedam ex religione deprompta, tum philosophia quae rationibus utitur coniungant, sine quibus ad uerae felicitatis inuestigationem mancam, atque imbecillam per se rationem putant. Ea principia sunt huiusmodi. Animam esse immortalem, ac dei beneficentia ad felicitatem natam, uirtutibus ac bene factis nostris praemia post hanc uitam, flagitijs destinata supplicia.	More surprising still, they seek support for so indulgent a view even from religion, which is serious and stern, almost gloomy and rigid. They never discuss happiness without combining certain principles drawn from religion with the philosophy that works by reason. They think that without these principles, reason by itself is too defective and weak to investigate true happiness. The principles are these: that the soul is immortal and was created by God's goodness for happiness, and that after this life rewards are appointed for our virtues and good deeds, and punishments for our crimes.
2.247	Haec tametsi religionis sint, ratione tamen censent ad ea credenda, & concedenda perduci, quibus e medio sublatis, sine ulla cunctatione pronunciant neminem esse tam stupidum, qui non sentiat petendam sibi per fas ac nefas uoluptatem. hoc tantum caueret ne minor uoluptas obstet maiori, aut eam persequatur quam inuicem retaliet dolor.	Although these principles belong to religion, they think that reason leads us to believe and accept them. If they were done away with, the Utopians declare without any hesitation, no one would be so stupid as not to see that he should pursue pleasure by fair means or foul. He would only take care that a lesser pleasure did not get in the way of a greater one, and that he did not pursue a pleasure that would be paid back with pain.
2.248	Nam uirtutem asperam, ac difficilem sequi, ac non abigere modo suauitatem uitae, sed dolorem etiam sponte perpeti, cuius nullum expectes fructum (quis enim potest esse fructus si post mortem nihil assequeris quum hanc uitam totam insuauiter hoc est misere traduxeris) id uero dementissimum ferunt. Nunc uero non in omni uoluptate felicitatem, sed in bona, atque honesta sitam putant. ad eam enim uelut ad summum bonum, naturam nostram ab ipsa uirtute pertrahi, cui sola aduersa factio felicitatem tribuit.	Think of following a harsh and difficult virtue, not only driving away the sweetness of life but even choosing to suffer pain from which you could expect no benefit. What benefit could there be if after death you gain nothing, when you have spent this whole life unpleasantly, that is, miserably? That, they say, is the height of madness. As it is, however, they hold that happiness lies not in every pleasure but in good and honorable pleasure. Our nature, they say, is drawn to this as to the highest good by virtue itself, which the opposing school holds to be the only source of happiness.
2.250	Nempe uirtutem definiunt, secundum naturam uiuere ad id siquidem a deo institutos esse nos. Eum uero naturae ductum sequi quisquis in appetendis fugiendisque rebus obtemperat rationi.	They define virtue as living according to nature, since that is what God created us for.

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	Rationem porro, mortales primum omnium in amorem, ac uenerationem diuinae maiestatis incendere, cui debemus, & quod sumus, & quod compotes esse felicitatis possumus, secundum id commonet, atque excitat nos ut uitam quam licet minime anxiam, ac maxime laetam ducamus ipsi, caeterisque omnibus ad idem obtinendum adiutores nos pro naturae societate praebeamus.	They say that anyone who obeys reason in what he seeks and what he avoids is following the guidance of nature. Reason, moreover, first of all kindles in mortals love and reverence for the divine majesty, to whom we owe both our existence and our capacity for happiness. Next, it admonishes and urges us to lead a life as free from anxiety and as full of joy as possible ourselves. It also urges us, because all people share one nature, to help everyone else to attain the same.
2.253	Neque enim quisquam unquam fuit tam tristis ac rigidus assecla uirtutis, & osor uoluptatis, qui ita labores, uigilias & squalores indicat tibi, ut non idem aliorum inopiam, atque incommoda leuare, te pro tua uirili iubeat, & id laudandum humanitatis nomine censeat, hominem homini saluti ac solatio esse, si humanum est maxime (qua uirtute nulla est homini magis propria) aliorum mitigare molestiam, & sublata tristitia uitae iucunditati, hoc est uoluptati reddere.	For no one has ever been so gloomy and rigid a follower of virtue, or so fierce a hater of pleasure, that while he prescribes toil, sleepless nights and squalor for you, he does not also bid you do your share to relieve the poverty and hardships of others. He also thinks it praiseworthy, in the name of humanity, that one person should be a source of safety and comfort to another. And if it is supremely humane (and no virtue is more proper to human beings) to ease the troubles of others, take away their sadness and restore them to the enjoyment of life, that is, to pleasure—
2.254	Quid ni natura quenque instiget ut sibimet idem praestet! Nam aut mala est uita iucunda, id est, uoluptaria, quod si est, non solum neminem ad eam debes adiutare, sed omnibus utpote noxiam ac mortiferam, quantum potes adimere, aut si conciliare alijs eam, ut bonam non licet modo, sed etiam debes, cur non tibi in primis ipsi! cui non minus propitium esse te quam alijs decet. neque enim quum te natura moneat uti in alios bonus sis, eadem te rursus iubet, in temet saeuum atque inclementem esse.	why should nature not urge each of us to do the same for ourselves? Either a pleasant life, that is, a life of pleasure, is bad. If it is, you should not help anyone toward it, and you should take it away from everyone as far as you can, as something harmful and deadly. Or else, if you are not only allowed but obliged to secure it for others as something good, why not above all for yourself? You ought to be no less kind to yourself than to others. For when nature prompts you to be good to others, she does not turn around and bid you be cruel and merciless to yourself.
2.255	Uitam ergo iucundam inquiunt, id est uoluptatem tanquam operationum omnium finem, ipsa nobis natura praescribit, ex cuius praescripto uiuere, uirtutem definiunt. At quum natura mortales inuitet ad hilarioris uitae mutuum subsidium (quod certe merito facit. neque enim tam supra generis humani sortem quisquam est, ut solus naturae curae sit, quae uniuersos ex aequo fouet, quos eiusdem formae communione complectitur) eadem te nimirum iubet etiam atque etiam obseruare, ne sic tuis commodis obsecundes; ut aliorum procures incommoda.	So, they say, nature herself prescribes for us a pleasant life, that is, pleasure, as the goal of all our actions, and living according to her prescription is what they define as virtue. Nature invites human beings to help one another toward a more cheerful life. She is right to do so, for no one is so far above the common lot of humankind as to be nature's only concern: she cherishes all alike, all whom she embraces in the fellowship of the same form. And so she surely also bids you take the greatest care not to pursue your

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	own advantage in a way that brings disadvantage to others.
2.257 Seruanda igitur censent non inita solum inter priuatos pacta, sed publicas etiam leges, quas aut bonus princeps iuste promulgauit, aut populus, nec oppressus tyrannide, nec dolo circumscriptus, de partiendis uitae commodis, hoc est materia uoluptatis, communi consensu sanxit. Hijs inoffensis legibus tuum curare commodum, prudentia est; publicum praeterea, pietatis; Sed alienam uoluptatem praereptum ire, dum consequare tuam; ea uero iniuria est, contra tibi aliquid ipsi demere, quod addas alijs, id demum est humanitatis ac benignitatis officium, quod ipsum nunquam tantum aufert commodi, quantum refert.	They hold, therefore, that we must keep not only agreements made between private persons but also public laws for distributing the good things of life, that is, the material of pleasure. These are laws that a good prince has justly promulgated, or that a people neither oppressed by tyranny nor tricked by fraud has enacted by common consent. To look after your own advantage without breaking these laws is prudence; to look after the public advantage as well is piety. But to snatch away someone else's pleasure in pursuit of your own is injustice. On the other hand, to take something from yourself in order to give it to others is a duty of humanity and kindness, and such a duty never takes away as much advantage as it brings back.
2.259 Nam & beneficiorum uicissitudine pensatur, & ipsa benefacti conscientia, ac recordatio charitatis eorum & beneuolentiae quibus benefeceris, plus uoluptatis affert animo, quam fuisset illa corporis qua abstinuisti. Postremo (quod facile persuadet animo libenter assentienti religio) breuis & exiguae uoluptatis uicem, ingenti ac nunquam interituro gaudio rependit deus. Itaque hoc pacto censent, & excussa sedulo & perpensa re omnes actiones nostras, atque in his uirtutes etiam ipsas, uoluptatem tandem uelut finem, felicitatemque respicere. Uoluptatem appellant omnem corporis animiue motum statumque, in quo uersari natura duce delectet.	For it is repaid by an exchange of benefits. Besides, the very awareness of having done good, and the memory of the affection and goodwill of those you have helped, give the mind more pleasure than the bodily pleasure you gave up would have given. Finally, God repays a brief and slight pleasure with a vast joy that will never end, and religion easily persuades a willing mind of this. So, after carefully examining and weighing the matter, they hold that all our actions, and among them even the virtues themselves, look in the end to pleasure as their goal and their happiness. By pleasure they mean every movement and state of body or mind in which, with nature as our guide, we delight to dwell.
2.263 Appetitionem naturae, non temere addunt. Nam ut quicquid natura iucundum est, ad quod neque per iniuriam tenditur, nec iucundius aliud amittitur, nec labor succedit, non sensus modo, sed recta quoque ratio persequitur, ita quae praeter naturam dulcia sibi mortales uanissima conspiratione confingunt (tanquam in ipsis esset perinde res ac uocabula commutare) ea omnia statuunt adeo nihil ad felicitatem facere, ut plurimum officiant etiam, uel eo quod quibus semel insederunt, ne ueris ac genuinis oblectamentis usquam uacet locus, totum prorsus animum falsa uoluptatis opinione praeoccupant.	They add, not without reason, that the desire must be natural. Some things are naturally pleasant: we can reach them without doing wrong, without losing a greater pleasure, and without paying for them in pain. Not only the senses but right reason too pursue these. By contrast, mortals, by a most foolish agreement among themselves, imagine that certain things are sweet against nature, as if it were in their power to change things as easily as they change names. The Utopians hold that all such things contribute nothing to happiness. Indeed they do great harm, if only because once they

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	have taken hold of people they fill the whole mind with a false notion of pleasure, so that no room is left anywhere for true and genuine delights.
2.265 Sunt enim perquam multa, quae quum suapte natura nihil contineant suauitatis, imo bona pars amaritudinis etiam plurimum, peruersa tum improbarum cupiditatum illecebra, non pro summis tantum uoluptatibus habeantur; uerum etiam inter praecipuas uitae causas numerentur. In hoc adulterinae uoluptatis genere, eos collocant, quos ante memoraui, qui quo meliorem togam habent, eo sibi meliores ipsi uidentur. qua una in re, bis errant. Neque enim minus falsi sunt, quod meliorem putant togam suam, quam quod se.	For there are a great many things that by their own nature contain no sweetness at all, and a good many of them contain a great deal of bitterness. Yet through the perverse allure of wicked desires these are not only regarded as the greatest pleasures but even counted among the chief reasons for living. In this class of counterfeit pleasure they place the people I mentioned before, who think themselves the better, the better the coat they wear. In this one matter they are wrong twice over. For they are no less mistaken in thinking their coat better than in thinking themselves better.
2.268 Cur enim si uestis usum spectes, tenuioris fili lana praestet crassiori! at illi tamen tanquam natura non errore praecellerent, attolunt cristas, & sibimet quoque precij credunt inde non nihil accedere. eoque honorem, quem uilius uestiti sperare non essent ausi elegantiori togae, uelut suo iure exigunt, & praetermissi negligentius indignantur.	If you consider what clothing is for, why should wool of a finer thread be better than coarser wool? Yet these people raise their crests as if their superiority came from nature and not from their own mistake, and they believe it adds something to their own worth as well. So they demand, as if by right, for their finer coat the honor they would never have dared hope for if they were dressed more cheaply, and they are indignant if they are passed over with too little notice.
2.269 At hoc ipsum quoque, uanis & nihil profuturis honoribus affici, an non eiusdem inscitiae est! Nam quid naturalis & uerae uoluptatis affert nudatus alterius uertex, aut curuati poplites, hoccine tuorum poplitum dolori medebitur! aut tui capitis phrenesim leuabit! In hac fucatae uoluptatis imagine, mirum quam suauiter insaniunt ij qui nobilitatis opinione sibi blandiuntur ac plaudunt, quod eiusmodi maioribus nasci contigerit, quorum longa series diues (neque enim nunc aliud est nobilitas) habita sit, praesertim in praedijs, nec pilo quidem minus sibi nobiles uidentur, etiam si maiores nihil inde reliquerint, aut relictum ipsi obligurierint.	And is it not the same ignorance to be pleased by empty honors that will do you no good? What natural and true pleasure do you get from another man's bared head or bent knees? Will that cure the pain in your own knees, or relieve the frenzy in your head? In this painted image of pleasure it is remarkable how sweetly they lose their minds who flatter and applaud themselves on the notion of their nobility. They congratulate themselves because they happen to have been born of ancestors who for a long line of generations have been thought rich, and especially rich in land, for that is all nobility means nowadays. And they think themselves not a hair less noble even if their ancestors left them nothing, or they have squandered what was left.
2.270 His adnumerant eos qui gemmis ac lapillis (ut dixi) capiuntur, ac dij quodammodo sibi uidentur facti, si quando eximium aliquem consequantur, eius praesertim generis, quod sua tempestate, maximo apud suos aestimetur; neque enim apud omnes, neque omni	With these they class those who, as I said, are captivated by gems and precious stones. Such people think themselves made into gods, in a way, whenever they get hold of some exceptional stone.

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	tempore, eadem genera sunt in precio; Sed nec nisi exemptum auro ac nudum comparant. Imo ne sic quidem, nisi adiurato uenditore, & praestanti cautionem, ueram gemmam ac lapidem uerum esse, tam solliciti sunt; ne oculis eorum, ueri loco adulterinus imponat.	They especially prize the kind most highly valued among their own people at the time, for not all kinds are prized everywhere or at all times. But they will not buy one unless it has been taken out of its gold setting and is bare. Not even then, unless the seller swears and gives a guarantee that it is a true gem and a genuine stone —so anxious are they that a fake may be passed off on their eyes in place of the real thing.
2.272	At spectaturo tibi, cur minus praebeat oblectamenti factitius, quem tuus oculus non discernit a uero! Uterque ex aequo ualere debet, tibi, non minus hercle quam caeco.	But when all you will do is look at it, why should an imitation give you less delight, if your eye cannot tell it from the real one? Both ought to be worth exactly the same to you as they would be, heaven knows, to a blind man.
2.273	Quid hij qui superfluas opes adseruant, ut nullo acerui usu, sed sola contemplatione delectentur, num ueram percipiunt; an falsa potius uoluptate luduntur! aut hi qui diuerso uitio, aurum quo nunquam sint usuri, fortasse nec uisuri amplius, abscondunt, & solliciti ne perdant, perdunt. quid enim aliud est, usibus demptum tuis & omnium fortasse mortalium, telluri reddere! & tu tamen abstruso thesauro, uelut animi iam securus laetitia gestis.	What about those who hoard superfluous wealth and take delight not in using the heap but only in gazing at it? Do they feel true pleasure, or are they deceived by a false one? Or those with the opposite vice, who hide away gold they will never use and perhaps never even see again, and in their anxiety not to lose it, lose it? For what else is it but taking it away from your own use, and perhaps from the use of all mortals, and giving it back to the earth? And yet once your treasure is buried you jump for joy, as if your mind were now at rest.
2.274	Quem si quis furto sustulerit, cuius tu ignarus furti, decem post annis obieris, toto illo decennio, quo subtractae pecuniae superfuisti, quid tua retulit, surreptum an saluum fuisse! utroque certe modo tantundem usus ad te peruenit, Ad has tam ineptas laetitias, aleatores (quorum insaniam auditu, non usu cognouere) uenatores praeterea, atque aucupes, adiungunt.	Suppose someone stole it, and you died ten years later without knowing of the theft. During all those ten years that you outlived the stolen money, what difference did it make to you whether it had been stolen or was safe? Either way you got exactly the same use out of it. To these absurd joys they add gamblers, whose madness they know by hearsay and not by experience, and also hunters and fowlers.
2.275	Nam quid habet, inquiunt, uoluptatis, talos in alueum proijcere, quod toties fecisti, ut si quid uoluptatis inesset, oriri tamen potuisset ex frequenti usu satietas! aut quae suauitas esse potest, ac non fastidium potius in audiendo latratu, atque ululatu canum! aut qui maior uoluptatis sensus est, cum leporem canis insequitur, quam quum canis canem! nempe idem utrobique agitur, accurritur enim, si te cursus oblectet.	For what pleasure is there, they say, in throwing dice on a board? You have done it so often that, even if there were some pleasure in it, repetition would have bred boredom. Or what delight can there be, and not rather disgust, in listening to the barking and howling of dogs? Or why should it give a greater sense of pleasure when a dog chases a hare than when a dog chases a dog? The same thing happens in both cases: there is running, if running is what delights you.
2.276	At si te caedis spes, laniatus expectatio sub oculis peragendi retinet, misericordiam potius mouere debet,	But if what holds you is the hope of slaughter, the expectation of seeing a creature torn to pieces be-

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	spectare, lepusculum a cane, imbecillum a ualidiore, fugacem ac timidum a feroce, innoxium denique a crudeli discerptum.	fore your eyes, it ought rather to move you to pity. You are watching a little hare torn apart by a dog: the weak by the stronger, the timid fugitive by the fierce, the harmless, in short, by the cruel.
2.277	Itaque Utopienses totum hoc uenandi exercitium, ut rem liberis indignam, in lanios (quam artem per seruos obire eos supra diximus) reiecerunt. infimam enim eius partem esse uenationem statuunt, reliquas eius partes & utiliores & honestiores ut quae & multo magis conferant, & animalia necessitatis dumtaxat gratia perimant, quum uenator ab miseri animalculi caede ac laniatu, nihil nisi uoluptatem petat, quam spectandae necis libidinem in ipsis etiam bestijs, aut ab animi crudelis affectu censent exoriri, aut in crudelitatem denique, assiduo tam efferae uoluptatis usu defluere.	So the Utopians have handed over the whole practice of hunting, as unworthy of free people, to their butchers, a trade which, as I said above, they carry out through slaves. For they regard hunting as the lowest part of butchery, and its other parts as both more useful and more honorable. Those parts contribute far more and kill animals only out of necessity, whereas the hunter seeks nothing but pleasure from the slaughter and mangling of a wretched little creature. This lust for watching death, even the death of beasts, either springs from a cruel disposition, they think, or else in the end degenerates into cruelty through the constant enjoyment of so savage a pleasure.
2.278	Haec igitur & quicquid est eiusmodi (sunt enim innumera) quamquam pro uoluptatibus mortalium uulgus habeat, illi tamen quum natura nihil insit suaue, plane statuunt, cum uera uoluptate nihil habere commercij. Nam quod uulgo sensum iucunditate perfundunt (quod uoluptatis opus uidetur) nihil de sententia decedunt. non enim ipsius rei natura, sed ipsorum peruersa consuetudo in causa est. cuius uitio fit, ut amara pro dulcibus amplectantur. Non aliter ac mulieres grauidae picem & seuum, corrupto gustu, melle mellitius arbitrantur.	The common run of people take these things, and everything of the kind (and there are countless such things), for pleasures. The Utopians, however, hold flatly that since there is nothing naturally sweet in them, they have nothing to do with true pleasure. The fact that they commonly flood the senses with enjoyment, which seems to be the work of pleasure, does not shake them from this view. For it is not the nature of the thing itself that is responsible, but people's own perverse habit, and it is the fault of this habit that they embrace bitter things as sweet. In just the same way pregnant women, whose sense of taste is corrupted, think pitch and tallow sweeter than honey.
2.281	Nec cuiusquam tamen aut morbo, aut consuetudine deprauatum iudicium, mutare naturam, ut non aliarum rerum, ita nec uoluptatis potest. Uoluptatum quas ueras fatentur, species diuersas faciunt. Siquidem alias animo, corpori alias tribuunt. Animo dant intellectum, eamque dulcedinem quam ueri contemplatio pepererit. Ad haec suauis additur bene actae uitae memoria, & spes non dubia futuri boni. Corporis uoluptatem in duas partiuntur formas, quarum prima sit ea, quae sensum perspicua suauitate perfundit,	Yet no one's judgment, however corrupted by disease or habit, can change the nature of pleasure, any more than it can change the nature of anything else. They distinguish several kinds among the pleasures they acknowledge as true. Some they assign to the mind, others to the body. To the mind they assign understanding, and the sweetness that comes from contemplating the truth.

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	quod alias earum instauratione partium fit, quas insitus nobis calor exhauserit.	To these is added the pleasant memory of a life well lived, and the confident hope of good to come. Bodily pleasure they divide into two forms. The first is the kind that floods the senses with a clear, perceptible sweetness. Sometimes this comes from the renewal of those parts that the heat within us has used up.
2.287	Nam hae cibo potuque redduntur, alias dum egeruntur illa, quorum copia corpus exuberat. haec suggeritur, dum excrementis intestina purgamus, aut opera liberis datur, aut ullius prurigo partis frictu scalptuue lenitur. Interdum uero uoluptas oritur, nec redditura quicquam quod membra nostra desyderent, nec ademptura quo laborent; caeterum quae sensus nostros tamen ui quadam occulta, sed illustri motu titillet afficiatque, & in se conuertat, qualis ex musica nascitur.	These are restored by food and drink. At other times it comes when things the body has in excess are expelled: this kind of pleasure arises when we clear our bowels, or engage in the act of begetting children, or soothe an itch somewhere by rubbing or scratching. Sometimes, though, a pleasure arises that neither restores anything our limbs lack nor removes anything that troubles them. It still stirs and tickles our senses, affects them and draws them to itself by some hidden power but with an evident motion. Such is the pleasure that comes from music.
2.289	Alteram corporeae uoluptatis formam, eam uolunt esse, quae in quieto, atque aequabili corporis statu consistat, id est nimirum sua cuiusque nullo interpellata malo sanitas. Haec siquidem, si nihil eam doloris oppugnet, per se ipsa delectat, etiam si nulla extrinsecus adhibita uoluptate moueatur.	The second form of bodily pleasure, they say, is the one that consists in a calm and balanced state of the body, which is simply each person's health when no ailment disturbs it. If no pain assails it, health gives delight of itself, even if no pleasure applied from outside stirs it.
2.291	Quamquam enim sese minus effert, minusque offert sensui, quam tumida illa edendi bibendique libido, nihilo tamen secius multi eam statuunt uoluptatum maximam, omnes fere Utopienses magnam & uelut fundamentum omnium ac basim fatentur, ut quae uel sola placidam & optabilem uitae conditionem reddat, & qua sublata, nullus usquam reliquus sit cuiquam uoluptati locus. Nam dolore prorsus uacare, nisi adsit sanitas, stuporem certe non uoluptatem uocant.	It makes less display of itself and presents itself less to the senses than the swollen craving for food and drink. Even so, many hold it to be the greatest of pleasures. Almost all the Utopians admit that it is a great one, the foundation, as it were, and the base of all the rest. Health alone can make life's condition peaceful and desirable, and once it is taken away there is no room left anywhere for any pleasure at all. For to be free of pain without being healthy they call insensibility, certainly not pleasure.
2.293	Iamdudum explosum est apud eos decretum illorum, qui stabilem & tranquillam sanitatem (nam haec quoque quaestio gnauiter apud eos agitata est) ideo non habendam pro uoluptate censebant, quod praesentem non posse dicerent, nisi motu quopiam extrario sentiri. Uerum contra nunc in hoc prope uniuersi conspirant, sanitatem uel in primis uoluptati esse.	They long ago rejected the view of those who held that stable and tranquil health should not be counted as a pleasure (for this question too has been vigorously debated among them). These people argued that the presence of health could not be felt except through some motion from outside.

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		Now, on the contrary, almost all of them agree that health is a pleasure, and indeed chief among pleasures.
2.295	Etenim quum in morbo, inquiunt, dolor sit, qui uoluptati implacabilis hostis est, non aliter, ac sanitati morbus, quid ni uicissim insit sanitatis tranquillitati uoluptas! nihil enim ad hanc rem referre putant, seu morbus dolor esse, seu morbo dolor inesse dicatur. Tantundem enim utroque modo effici. Quippe si sanitas, aut uoluptas ipsa sit, aut necessario uoluptatem pariat, uelut calor igni gignitur, nimirum utrobique efficitur, ut quibus immota sanitas adest his uoluptas abesse non possit.	For since there is pain in illness, they say, and pain is the implacable enemy of pleasure just as illness is of health, why should pleasure not in turn reside in the tranquility of health? They think it makes no difference to the question whether we say that illness is pain or that pain is in illness. The result is the same either way. Whether health is pleasure itself, or necessarily produces pleasure as fire produces heat, it follows in either case that those who have steady health cannot be without pleasure.
2.298	Praeterea dum uescimur, inquiunt, quid aliud quam sanitas quae labefactari coeperat, aduersus esuriem (cibo commilitone) depugnat, in qua dum paulatim inualescit, ille ipse profectus ad solitum uigorem suggerit illam, qua sic reficimur, uoluptatem. Sanitas ergo quae in conflictu laetatur, eadem non gaudebit adepta uictoriam! Sed pristinum robur, quod solum toto conflictu petiuerat, tandem feliciter assecuta, protinus obstupescet! nec bona sua cognoscet atque amplexabitur! Nam quod non sentiri sanitas dicta est, id uero perquam procul a uero putant.	Besides, they say, when we eat, what else is happening but that health, which had begun to weaken, is fighting against hunger with food as its comrade in arms? As it gradually gains strength in the fight, its very progress back to its usual vigor produces the pleasure that refreshes us. Will health, then, which rejoices in the fight, not rejoice once it has won the victory? Having at last happily recovered its former strength, the only thing it sought in the whole fight, will it at once fall into a stupor, and fail to recognize and embrace its own good? As for the claim that health is not felt, they think that very far from the truth.
2.300	Quis enim uigilans, inquiunt, sanum esse se non sentit, nisi qui non est! quemne tantus, aut stupor, aut lethargus adstringit, ut sanitatem non iucundam sibi fateatur ac delectabilem! at delectatio quid aliud quam alio nomine uoluptas est! Amplectuntur ergo in primis animi uoluptates, (eas enim primas omnium principesque ducunt) quarum potissimam partem censent ab exercitio uirtutum bonaeque uitae conscientia proficisci. Earum uoluptatum quas corpus suggerit, palmam sanitati deferunt. Nam edendi, bibendique suauitatem, & quicquid eandem oblectamenti rationem habet, appetenda quidem, sed non nisi sanitatis gratia statuunt.	Who is there, they ask, who when awake does not feel that he is healthy—except someone who is not? Who is so gripped by numbness or lethargy that he will not admit that health is pleasant and delightful to him? And what is delight but pleasure by another name? So they embrace above all the pleasures of the mind, which they consider the first and foremost of all, and they think that the greatest part of these comes from practicing the virtues and from the consciousness of a good life. Among the pleasures the body supplies, they give the palm to health. The sweetness of eating and drinking, and anything else that delights in the same way, they consider worth seeking, but only for the sake of health.
2.303	Neque enim per se iucunda esse talia, sed quatenus aduersae ualitudini clanculum surrepenti resistunt. ideoque sapienti, sicuti magis deprecandos morbos, quam	Such things are not pleasant in themselves, but only insofar as they resist the ill health that is always stealthily creeping up on us. A wise man

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	optandam medicinam, & dolores profligandos potius, quam adsciscenda solatia, ita hoc quoque uoluptatis genere non egere quam deliniri praestiterit, quo uoluptatis genere si quisquam se beatum putet, is necesse est fateatur, se tum demum fore felicissimum, si ea uita contigerit, quae in perpetua fame, siti, pruritu, esu, potatione, scalptu, frictuque, traducatur; quae quam non foeda solum, sed misera etiam sit, quis non uidet! Infimae profecto omnium hae uoluptates sunt, ut minime syncerae, neque enim unquam subeunt, nisi contrarijs coniunctae doloribus, Nempe cum edendi uoluptate copulatur esuries, idque non satis aequa lege.	would rather pray to be spared illness than wish for medicine, and would rather banish pains than seek consolations. In the same way it would be better for him not to need this kind of pleasure than to be soothed by it. Anyone who thinks himself blessed by this kind of pleasure must admit that he would be happiest of all if he were granted a life spent in endless hunger, thirst, itching, eating, drinking, scratching and rubbing. And who does not see how disgusting, and how wretched too, such a life would be? These are certainly the lowest pleasures of all, since they are the least pure, for they never come except joined with the opposite pains. The pleasure of eating, for instance, is coupled with hunger, and on terms that are far from fair.
2.304	Nam ut uehementior, ita longior quoque dolor est. quippe & ante uoluptatem nascitur, & nisi uoluptate una commoriente, non extinguitur. Huiusmodi ergo uoluptates, nisi quatenus expetit necessitas, haud magni habendas putant. Gaudent tamen etiam his, gratique agnoscunt naturae parentis indulgentiam, quae foetus suos ad id quod necessitatis causa tam assidue faciundum erat, etiam blandissima suauitate pelliceat.	For the pain is longer as well as sharper: it arises before the pleasure, and is not extinguished until the pleasure dies along with it. So they think such pleasures should not be highly valued, except insofar as necessity requires them. Yet they enjoy these too, and gratefully acknowledge the kindness of nature, their parent. With the most alluring sweetness she entices her offspring to do what they had to do so constantly out of necessity.
2.307	Quanto enim in tedio uiuendum erat, si ut caeterae aegritudines quae nos infestant rarius, ita hij quoque cotidiani famis ac sitis morbi, uenenis ac pharmacis amaris essent abigendi! At formam, uires, agilitatem, haec ut propria, iucundaque naturae dona libenter fouent.	How tedious life would be if these daily diseases of hunger and thirst, like the other ailments that trouble us less often, had to be driven off with poisons and bitter medicines! Beauty, strength and agility, on the other hand, they gladly cherish as nature's own delightful gifts.
2.308	Quin eas quoque uoluptates, quae per aures, oculos, ac nares admittuntur, quas natura proprias ac peculiares esse homini uoluit (neque enim aliud animantium genus, aut mundi formam pulchritudinemque suspicit, aut odorum; nisi ad cibi discrimen, ulla commouetur gratia; neque consonas inter se discordesque sonorum distantias internoscit) & has inquam ut iucunda quaedam uitae condimenta persequuntur. In omnibus autem hunc habent modum ne maiorem minor impediat, neu dolorem aliquando uoluptas pariat, quod necessario sequi censent, si inhonesta sit.	They also pursue, as pleasant seasonings of life, the pleasures that come in through the ears, eyes and nose, which nature meant to be peculiar and proper to human beings. For no other kind of animal looks up at the form and beauty of the universe, or is moved by the charm of scents except to tell one food from another, or distinguishes the harmonious and discordant intervals between sounds. In all of these, however, they keep to this rule: a lesser pleasure must not hinder a greater, and pleasure must never give rise to pain, which they think necessarily follows if the pleasure is dishonorable.

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2.310 At certe formae decus contemnere; uires deterere, agilitatem in pigritiam uertere, corpus exhaurire ieiunijs, sanitati iniuriam facere; & caetera naturae blandimenta respuere; nisi quis haec sua commoda negligat, dum aliorum publicamue ardentius procurat, cuius laboris uice maiorem a deo uoluptatem expectet; alioquin ob inanem uirtutis umbram nullius bono, semet affligere; uel quo aduersa ferre minus moleste possit; nunquam fortasse uentura. hoc uero putant esse dementissimum, animique & in se crudelis; & erga naturam ingratissimi; cui tanquam debere quicquam dedignetur; omnibus eius beneficijs renunciat.	But to despise the grace of beauty, wear down one's strength, turn agility into sloth, exhaust the body with fasting, injure one's health and spurn the rest of nature's favors—this is a different matter if someone neglects these advantages of his own while working more ardently for those of others or of the public, and expects a greater pleasure from God in return for that labor. Otherwise, to torment oneself for the empty shadow of virtue, to no one's benefit, or in order to bear more easily hardships that may never come: this they consider the height of madness. It is the mark of a mind both cruel to itself and utterly ungrateful to nature, as if it disdained to owe her anything and so renounced all her gifts.
2.311 Haec est eorum de uirtute ac uoluptate sententia; qua nisi sanctius aliquid inspiret homini; caelitus immissa religio; nullam inuestigari credunt humana ratione ueriorem; qua in re rectene an secus sentiant, excutere nos, neque tempus patitur, neque necesse est. quippe qui narranda eorum instituta, non etiam tuenda suscepimus. Caeterum hoc mihi certe persuadeo, utut sese habeant haec decreta; nusquam neque praestantiorem populum, neque feliciorem esse rempublicam.	This is their view of virtue and pleasure. They believe that human reason can discover no truer one, unless some religion sent down from heaven inspires a person with something holier. Whether they are right or wrong in this, time does not allow us to examine, nor is there any need, since we have undertaken to describe their institutions, not to defend them as well. But of this at least I am convinced: whatever the truth of these doctrines, there is nowhere a more excellent people or a happier commonwealth.
2.313 Corpore sunt agili uegetoque; uirium amplius quam statura promittat nec ea tamen improcera; & quum neque solo sint usquequaque fertili; nec admodum salubri caelo; aduersus aerem ita sese temperantia uictus muniunt; terrae sic medentur industria; ut nusquam gentium sit frugis, pecorisque prouentus uberior; aut hominum uiuaciora corpora; paucioribusque morbis obnoxia.	They are agile and vigorous in body, and stronger than their stature would suggest, though they are not short. Their soil is not everywhere fertile, nor is their climate very healthy. Yet they protect themselves against the air by moderation in diet, and remedy the land by hard work, so effectively that nowhere in the world is there a richer yield of crops and livestock, or are people's bodies longer-lived and subject to fewer diseases.
2.314 Itaque non ea modo quae uulgo faciunt agricolae; diligenter ibi administrata conspicias; ut terram natura maligniorem, arte atque opera iuuent; sed populi manibus alibi radicitus euulsam syluam, alibi consitam uideas; qua in re habita est non ubertatis; sed uecturae ratio; ut essent ligna, aut mari, aut fluuijs, aut urbibus ipsis uiciniora, minore enim cum labore terrestri itinere, fruges quam ligna longius afferuntur. Gens facilis ac faceta, sollers, ocio gaudens, corporis laborum (quum est usus) satis patiens, Caeterum alias haudquaquam sane appetens; animi studijs infatigata.	So you can see there not only the things farmers commonly do, carefully carried out to help by skill and labor a soil that is naturally rather poor. You can also see whole forests pulled up by the roots by the people's own hands in one place and planted in another. In doing this they have considered not fertility but transport, so that timber might be nearer to the sea, the rivers or the cities themselves; for grain can be carried a long way overland with less labor than timber.

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		They are an easygoing, good-humored and clever people who enjoy their leisure. They can put up with physical labor well enough when it is needed, but otherwise are not at all eager for it. In the pursuits of the mind they are tireless.
2.316	Qui quum a nobis accepissent de literis & disciplina Graecorum (nam in latinis praeter historias ac poetas nihil erat quod uidebantur magnopere probaturi) mirum quanto studio contenderunt, ut eas liceret ipsis, nostra interpretatione perdiscere. Coepimus ergo legere, magis adeo primum ne recusare laborem uideremur, quam quod fructum eius aliquem speraremus. At ubi paulum processimus, ipsorum diligentia fecit, ut nostram haud frustra impendendam animo statim praeciperemus.	When they heard from us about the literature and learning of the Greeks (for in Latin there was nothing, apart from the historians and poets, that they seemed likely to think much of), it was remarkable how eagerly they begged us to let them master it with our teaching. So we began to give lessons, at first more so as not to seem unwilling to take the trouble than because we expected any fruit from it. But once we had gone on a little, their diligence soon convinced us that ours would not be spent in vain.
2.319	Siquidem literarum formas, tam facile imitari, uerba tam expedite pronunciare, tam celeriter mandare memoriae, & tanta cum fide reddere coeperunt, ut nobis miraculi esset loco, nisi quod pleraque pars eorum, qui non sua solum sponte accensi, uerum senatus quoque decreto iussi, ista sibi discenda sumpserunt; E numero scholasticorum, selectissimis ingenijs, & matura aetate fuerunt. Itaque minus quam triennio nihil erat in lingua, quod requirerent bonos autores, nisi obstet libri menda, inoffense perlegerent. Eas literas ut equidem conijcio ob id quoque facilius arripuerunt, quod nonnihil illis essent cognatae.	They began to imitate the shapes of the letters so easily, pronounce the words so readily, commit them to memory so quickly and reproduce them so accurately that it would have seemed a miracle to us. The explanation was that most of those who took up these studies, not only fired by their own enthusiasm but also directed by a decree of the council, were chosen from among the scholars, and were of the finest minds and mature age. So in less than three years there was nothing in the language they needed help with: they could read good authors without stumbling, unless a corrupt text got in the way. They took to that literature all the more easily, I suspect, because it was somewhat related to their own.
2.322	Suspicor enim eam gentem a graecis originem duxisse; propterea quod sermo illorum caetera fere Persicus, non nulla graeci sermonis uestigia seruet in urbium ac magistratuum uocabulis. Habent ex me, (nam librorum sarcinam mediocrem loco mercium quarto nauigaturus in nauem conieci quod mecum plane decreueram nunquam potius redire quam cito) Platonis opera pleraque, Aristotelis plura, Theophrastum item de plantis, sed pluribus, quod doleo, in locis mutilum. In librum enim dum nauigabamus negligentius habitum, cercopithecus inciderat; qui lasciuiens ac ludibundus, paginas aliquot hinc atque inde euulsas lacerauit.	For I suspect that the nation is descended from the Greeks, because their language, though otherwise mostly Persian, keeps some traces of Greek in the names of cities and magistrates. From me they have most of Plato's works, more of Aristotle's, and Theophrastus on plants, though I am sorry to say it is mutilated in many places. (When I was about to sail on my fourth voyage, I put a moderate bundle of books on board instead of merchandise, since I had quite made up my mind never to come back rather than to come back soon.)

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		During the voyage the Theophrastus was carelessly left lying about, and a monkey got hold of it. Romping and playing, it tore out a number of pages here and there and ripped them to pieces.[8]
2.325	Ex hijs qui scripsere grammaticam, Lascarem habent tantum, Theodorum enim non aduexi mecum, nec dictionarium aliquem praeter Hesychium, ac Dioscoridem; Plutarchi libellos habent charissimos, & Luciani quoque facetijs ac lepore capiuntur. Ex poetis habent Aristophanem, Homerum, atque Euripidem; tum Sophoclem minusculis Aldi formulis.	Of the grammarians they have only Lascaris, for I did not bring Theodore with me, and no dictionary except Hesychius and Dioscorides. They are very fond of Plutarch's essays, and are captivated by the wit and charm of Lucian too. Of the poets they have Aristophanes, Homer and Euripides, and Sophocles in Aldus's small type.[9]
2.327	Ex historicis Thucydidem atque Herodotum; necnon Herodianum. in re medica quoque sodalis meus Tricius Apinatus aduexerat secum parua quaedam Hippocratis opuscula, ac Microtechnen Galeni, quos libros magno in precio habent; siquidem & si omnium fere gentium, re medica minime egent, nusquam tamen in maiore honore est, uel eo ipso quod eius cognitionem numerant inter pulcherrimas atque utilissimas partes philosophiae; cuius ope philosophiae dum naturae secreta scrutantur, uidentur sibi non solum admirabilem inde uoluptatem percipere; sed apud autorem quoque eius, atque opificem summam inire gratiam; quem caeterorum more artificum arbitrantur; mundi huius uisendam machinam homini (quem solum tantae rei capacem fecit) exposuisse spectandam; eoque chariorem habere; curiosum ac sollicitum inspectorem, operisque sui admiratorem; quam eum qui uelut animal expers mentis; tantum ac tam mirabile spectaculum, stupidus immotusque neglexerit.	Of the historians they have Thucydides and Herodotus, and also Herodian. In medicine, too, my companion Tricius Apinatus had brought along some short treatises of Hippocrates and Galen's *Microtechne*, books they value highly. They need medicine less than almost any other people, yet nowhere is it held in greater honor, if only because they count the knowledge of it among the finest and most useful parts of philosophy. When with the help of this philosophy they explore the secrets of nature, they believe they not only gain wonderful pleasure from it but also win the highest favor with nature's author and maker. They think that he, like other craftsmen, has set out the visible mechanism of this world for human beings to behold, since he made them alone capable of so great a thing. And so, they believe, he holds dearer the curious and attentive observer who admires his work than the one who, like an animal without reason, dully and unmoved, ignores so great and wonderful a spectacle.[10]
2.328	Utopiensium itaque exercitata literis ingenia mire ualent ad inuentiones artium, quae faciant aliquid ad commodae uitae compendia. Sed duas tamen debent nobis Chalcographorum & faciendae chartae, nec solis tamen nobis sed sibi quoque bonam eius partem.	So the minds of the Utopians, trained in learning, are wonderfully quick at inventing arts that contribute to the comforts of life. Two of these, however, they owe to us, printing and papermaking—though not to us alone, for a good part of the credit is theirs.
2.330	Nam quum ostenderemus eis libris chartaceis impressas ab Aldo literas, & de chartae faciendae materia, ac literas imprimendi facultate loqueremur; aliquid magis quam	We showed them texts printed by Aldus in paper books, and talked about the material paper is made from and the technique of printing, hinting

8 Theophrastus (c. 371–287 BC), Aristotle's pupil and successor, wrote the first systematic works on botany.
9 Constantine Lascaris and Theodore Gaza wrote the standard Greek grammars of the day; Hesychius compiled a Greek lexicon, and Dioscorides wrote on medicinal plants. Aldus Manutius, the Venetian printer, issued Greek classics in small, portable editions.
10 Tricius Apinatus is a joke name built on Martial's phrase *tricae apinaeque*, "trifles and nonsense." Galen's *Microtechne* ("Little Art") was a short handbook of medicine.

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	explicaremus (neque enim quisquam erat nostrum qui alterutram calleret) ipsi statim acutissime coniecerunt rem; & quum ante pellibus, corticibus, ac papyro tantum scriberent, iam chartam ilico facere, & literas imprimere tentarunt; quae quum primo non satis procederent, eadem saepius experiendo, breui sunt utrumque consecuti, tantumque effecerunt, ut si essent Graecorum exemplaria librorum; codices deesse non possent.	rather than explaining, since none of us was expert in either. They at once very shrewdly guessed how it was done. Until then they had written only on skins, bark and papyrus, but now they immediately tried making paper and printing letters. At first their attempts did not go very well, but by trying again and again they soon mastered both. They made such progress that, if they had copies of Greek books, there would be no shortage of volumes.
2.331	At nunc nihil habent amplius, quam a me commemoratum est, id uero quod habent impressis iam libris in multa exemplariorum millia propagauere. Quisquis eo spectandi gratia uenerit, quem insignis aliqua dos ingenij aut longa peregrinatione usum; multarum cognitio terrarum commendet (quo nomine gratus fuit noster appulsus) pronis animis excipitur. Quippe libenter audiunt, quid ubique terrarum geratur. Caeterum mercandi gratia non admodum frequenter appellitur.	As it is, they have nothing more than what I have mentioned, but what they do have they have already reproduced in printed books, many thousands of copies. Anyone who comes there to see the country and is recommended by some remarkable gift of mind, or by knowledge of many lands gained through long travel, is received with open arms; that is why our arrival was welcome. For they love to hear what is happening all over the world. But people do not come there very often to trade.
2.335	Quid enim ferrent; nisi aut ferrum, aut quod quisque referre mallet, aurum argentumue! Tum quae ex ipsis exportanda sint, ea consultius putant ab se efferri quam ab alijs illinc peti, quo & exteras undique gentes exploratiores habeant, neque maritimarum rerum usum ac peritiam oblitum eant.	For what would they bring, except iron—or else gold and silver, which anyone would rather take home again? And as for the things to be exported from Utopia, they think it wiser to carry them out themselves than to have others come and fetch them. In this way they come to know foreign peoples everywhere better, and do not lose their experience and skill in seafaring.

SLAVES

Utopian slaves are convicted criminals and condemned foreigners, along with volunteers from poor nations.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
2.336	Pro seruis neque bello captos habent nisi ab ipsis gesto, neque seruorum filios; neque denique quenquam quem apud alias gentes seruientem possent comparare, sed aut si cuius apud se flagitium in seruitium uertitur, aut quos apud exteras urbes (quod genus multo frequentius est) admissum facinus destinauit supplicio. Eorum enim multos, interdum aestimatos uili, saepius etiam gratis impetratos, auferunt.	As slaves they do not keep prisoners of war, except those captured in wars they have fought themselves, nor the children of slaves, nor anyone enslaved among other peoples whom they could buy. Their slaves are either people of their own whose crime is punished with slavery, or else, a far more common kind, people in foreign cities condemned to death for some offense. Many of these they take away, sometimes bought cheaply, more often obtained for nothing.
2.338		

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	Haec seruorum genera non in opere solum perpetuo; uerum etiam in uinculis habent; sed suos durius quos eo deploratiores, ac deteriora meritos exempla censent, quod tam praeclara educatione ad uirtutem egregie instructi; contineri tamen ab scelere non potuerint.	They keep these kinds of slaves not only at constant labor but also in chains. Their own people they treat more harshly, regarding them as all the more hopeless and as deserving to be made a harsher example, because they had been so well trained for virtue by so excellent an upbringing and still could not be restrained from crime.
	Aliud seruorum genus est; quum alterius populi mediastinus quispiam laboriosus ac pauper elegerit apud eos sua sponte seruire.	There is another kind of slave: some poor, hard-working drudge from another nation who chooses of his own accord to serve among them.
	Hos honeste tractant ac nisi quod laboris; utpote consuetis, imponitur plusculum non multo minus clementer ac ciues habent; uolentem discedere (quod non saepe fit) neque retinent inuitum, neque inanem dimittunt.	These they treat decently, and apart from giving them a little more work, as being used to it, they treat them almost as kindly as citizens. If one wants to leave, which does not often happen, they neither keep him against his will nor send him away empty-handed.

SICKNESS, DEATH AND MARRIAGE

The incurably sick may choose death; couples see each other naked before marrying; adultery brings slavery.

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2.341	Egrotantes; ut dixi, magno cum adfectu curant, nihilque prorsus omittunt quo sanitati eos, uel medicinae uel uictus obseruatione, restituant.	The sick, as I said, they care for with great affection, and they leave nothing whatever undone to restore them to health, whether by medicine or by diet.
	Quin insanabili morbo laborantes assidendo, colloquendo, adhibendo demum quae possunt leuamenta solantur.	Those suffering from an incurable disease they comfort by sitting with them, talking with them and giving them whatever relief they can.
2.343	Caeterum si non immedicabilis modo morbus sit uerumetiam perpetuo uexet atque discrutiet; tum sacerdotes ac magistratus hortantur hominem, quandoquidem omnibus uitae munijs impar alijs molestus ac sibi grauis morti iam suae superuiuat, ne secum statuat pestem diutius ac luem alere, neue quum tormentum ei uita sit mori dubitet, quin bona spe fretus acerba illa uita uelut carcere atque aculeo uel ipse semet eximat; uel ab alijs eripi se sua uoluntate patiatur; hoc illum quum non commoda, sed supplicium abrupturus morte sit prudenter facturum, quoniam uero sacerdotum in ea re consilijs, id est interpretum dei sit obsecuturus, etiam pie sancteque facturum.	But if a disease is not only incurable but also causes constant torment and agony, then the priests and magistrates urge the sufferer as follows. He is unequal to all the tasks of life, a burden to others and a trouble to himself, and is now outliving his own death. So he should not resolve to feed the plague and pestilence any longer. Since life is torture to him, he should not hesitate to die, but, relying on good hope, should free himself from that bitter life as from a prison or a torment, or else let others release him of his own free will. In doing this he will act wisely, since by his death he will be cutting short not good things but torture. And since he will be following the counsel of the priests, who are the interpreters of God, he will act piously and devoutly as well.
2.344	Haec quibus persuaserint; aut inedia sponte uitam finiunt, aut sopiti sine mortis sensu soluuntur.	Those whom they persuade end their lives either by voluntary starvation, or are put to sleep and released without any sensation of death.

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	Inuitum uero neminem tollunt nec officij erga eum quicquam imminuunt persuasos hoc pacto defungi honorificum. Alioqui qui mortem sibi consciuerit causa non probata sacerdotibus & senatui; hunc neque terra neque igne dignantur; sed in paludem aliquam turpiter insepultus abijcitur. Foemina non ante annum duodeuicesimum nubit. Mas non nisi expletis quatuor etiam amplius.	But they put no one to death against his will, and if someone declines, they do not lessen their care for him in any way. To die in this way when persuaded, they think, is honorable. Otherwise, anyone who takes his own life for a reason not approved by the priests and the council is thought worthy of neither earth nor fire: he is thrown unburied, in disgrace, into some marsh. A woman does not marry before the age of eighteen. A man does not marry until he is four years older.
2.349	Ante coniugium, mas aut foemina si conuincatur furtiuae libidinis, grauiter in eum eamue animaduertitur; coniugioque illis in totum interdicitur, nisi uenia principis noxam remiserit, sed & pater & mater familias cuius in domo admissum flagitium est; tanquam suas partes parum diligenter tutati magnae obiacent infamiae; id facinus ideo tam seuere uindicant, quod futurum prospiciunt, ut rari in coniugalem amorem coalescerent; in quo aetatem omnem cum uno uideant exigendam; & perferendas insuper quas ea res affert molestias, nisi a uago concubitu diligenter arceantur.	If a man or a woman is convicted of secret sexual relations before marriage, he or she is severely punished and forbidden to marry at all, unless the governor pardons the offense. The father and mother of the household in whose house the offense was committed are also exposed to great disgrace, for having failed to do their duty carefully enough. They punish this offense so severely because they foresee that few would join in married love, in which they see that a whole lifetime must be spent with one person and all the troubles that go with it endured besides, unless people were carefully kept from promiscuous intercourse.
2.350	Porro in deligendis coniugibus ineptissimum ritum (uti nobis uisum est) adprimeque ridiculum, illi serio ac seuere obseruant. Mulierem enim seu uirgo seu uidua sit, grauis & honesta matrona proco nudam exhibet, ac probus aliquis uir uicissim nudum puellae procum sistit.	Further, in choosing spouses they observe, seriously and strictly, a custom that seemed to us utterly foolish and extremely ridiculous. The woman, whether a virgin or a widow, is shown naked to her suitor by a grave and respectable matron; and in turn some decent man presents the suitor naked to the young woman.
2.352	Hunc morem quum uelut ineptum ridentes improbaremus, illi contra caeterarum omnium gentium insignem demirari stultitiam, qui quum in equuleo comparando, ubi de paucis agitur nummis, tam cauti sint, ut quamuis fere nudum nisi detracta sella tamen, omnibusque reuulsis ephippijs recusent emere, ne sub illis operculis hulcus aliquod delitesceret, in deligenda coniuge, qua ex re aut uoluptas, aut nausea sit totam per uitam comitatura, tam negligenter agant, ut reliquo corpore uestibus obuoluto, totam mulierem uix ab unius palmae spatio (nihil enim praeter uultum uisitur) aestiment adiungantque sibi non absque magno (si quid offendat postea) male cohaerendi periculo.	When we laughed at this custom and disapproved of it as foolish, they in turn expressed amazement at the remarkable folly of all other nations. When buying a colt, where only a little money is at stake, people are so cautious that they refuse to buy it, though it is almost bare already, until the saddle has been taken off and all the harness removed, for fear some sore is hidden under those coverings. Yet in choosing a wife, a choice that will bring either pleasure or disgust for the rest of their lives, they act so carelessly that they judge the whole woman from barely a hand's breadth of her, with the rest of her body wrapped in clothes, since nothing but her face can be seen. And so they join her to themselves at great risk of an un-

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	happy union, if something about her later offends them.
2.353 Nam neque omnes tam sapientes sunt ut solos mores respiciant, & in ipsorum quoque sapientum coniugijs, ad animi uirtutes nonnihil additamenti corporis etiam dotes adijciunt, certe tam foeda deformitas, latere sub illis potest inuolucris ut alienare prorsus animum ab uxore queat, quum corpore iam seiungi non liceat; Qualis deformitas si quo casu contingat post contractas nuptias, suam quisque sortem necesse est ferat, ante uero ne quis capiatur insidijs, legibus caueri debet, idque tanto maiore studio fuit curandum quod & soli illarum orbis plagarum singulis sunt contenti coniugibus; & matrimonium ibi haud saepe aliter, quam morte soluitur; nisi adulterium; in causa fuerit, aut morum non ferenda molestia.	Not everyone is so wise as to look only at character, and even in the marriages of the wise, bodily attractions add something to the virtues of the mind. Certainly some defect ugly enough to turn a man's heart wholly away from his wife could lie hidden under those wrappings, when it is no longer lawful to be separated from her in body. If such a defect happens by chance after the marriage has been contracted, each must bear his own lot. But before marriage the laws ought to protect people from being trapped. This had to be seen to all the more carefully because they are the only people in those parts of the world content with one spouse each, and among them marriage is seldom dissolved except by death, unless adultery is the cause, or intolerably bad behavior.
2.354 Nempe alterutri sic offenso facta ab senatu coniugis mutandi uenia; alter infamem simul ac caelibem perpetuo uitam ducit. Alioquin inuitam coniugem, cuius nulla sit noxa repudiare, quod corporis obtigerit calamitas, id uero nullo pacto ferunt; nam & crudele iudicant, tum quenquam deseri, cum maxime eget solatio, & senectuti, quum & morbos afferat & morbus ipsa sit; incertam atque infirmam fidem fore.	In such cases the council grants the offended party permission to take another spouse, while the other lives out his or her life in disgrace and without ever marrying again. Otherwise, they will in no way tolerate a man divorcing an unwilling wife who is guilty of nothing, because some bodily misfortune has befallen her. For they judge it cruel to abandon someone just when she most needs comfort; and they think that old age, which brings illnesses and is itself an illness, would then have only an uncertain and weak loyalty to rely on.
2.356 Caeterum accidit interdum ut quum non satis inter se coniugum conueniant mores repertis utrique alijs quibuscum sperent se suauius esse uicturos amborum sponte separati; noua matrimonia contrahant, haud absque senatus autoritate tamen, qui nisi causa per se atque uxores suas diligenter cognita; diuortia non admittit. Imo ne sic quidem, facile. quod rem minime utilem sciunt firmandae coniugum charitati, facilem nouarum nuptiarum spem esse propositam. Temeratores coniugij grauissima seruitute plectuntur, & si neuter erat caelebs, iniuriam passi (uelint modo) repudiatis adulteris coniugio inter se ipsi iunguntur alioquin quibus uidebitur.	It sometimes happens, however, that a husband and wife do not get on well together, and each has found someone else with whom they hope to live more happily. They then separate by mutual consent and contract new marriages—but not without the authority of the council, which does not allow a divorce until its members and their wives have carefully examined the case. Even then it is not easy, because they know that holding out the hope of a new marriage easily does nothing to strengthen the love between husband and wife. Those who violate marriage are punished with the harshest slavery. If neither of them was unmarried, the injured parties, if they wish, divorce the adulterers and marry each other, or else whomever they like.

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2.359	At si laesorum alteruter erga tam male merentem coniugem; in amore persistat; tamen uti coniugij lege non prohibetur si uelit in opera damnatum sequi; acciditque interdum ut alterius poenitentia alterius officiosa sedulitas miserationem commouens principi, libertatem rursus impetret. Caeterum ad scelus iam relapso nex infligitur. Caeteris facinoribus nullam certam poenam lex ulla praestituit; sed ut quodque atrox, aut contra uisum est; ita supplicium senatus decernit.	But if either of the injured parties goes on loving so undeserving a spouse, he or she is not forbidden to remain married, provided they are willing to follow the condemned partner into forced labor. And it sometimes happens that the repentance of the one and the dutiful devotion of the other move the governor to pity, and so win back the offender's freedom. But a second offense is punished with death. For other crimes no law lays down a fixed penalty; the council decides the punishment according to how atrocious, or how slight, each offense seems.
2.362	Uxores mariti castigant, & parentes liberos; nisi quid tam ingens admiserint; ut id publice puniri, morum intersit. sed fere grauissima quaeque scelera seruitutis incommodo puniuntur, id siquidem & sceleratis non minus triste; & reipublicae magis commodum arbitrantur, quam si mactare noxios & protinus amoliri festinent. Nam & labore quam nece magis prosunt, & exemplo diutius alios ab simili flagitio deterrent. quod si sic habiti rebellent atque recalcitrent, tum demum uelut indomitae beluae. quos cohercere carcer & catena non potest, trucidantur.	Husbands correct their wives, and parents their children, unless they have committed an offense so grave that public morals require public punishment. But in general the most serious crimes are punished with slavery. They think this is no less grim for the criminals, and more advantageous to the commonwealth, than hastily putting the guilty to death and getting rid of them at once. For they are more useful through their labor than through their death, and their example deters others from similar crimes for longer. But if, treated in this way, they rebel and kick against it, then at last they are put to death like untameable beasts that neither prison nor chain can restrain.
2.364	At patientibus non adimitur omnis omnino spes; quippe longis domiti malis si eam poenitentiam prae se ferant, quae peccatum testetur magis eis displicere quam poenam, principis interdum praerogatiua; interdum suffragijs populi, aut mitigatur seruitus aut remittitur. Sollicitasse ad stuprum nihilo minus quam stuprasse periculi est. In omni siquidem flagitio certum destinatumque conatum aequant facto. neque enim id quod defuit ei putant prodesse debere; per quem non stetit; quominus nihil defuerit.	Those who bear it patiently, however, are not left entirely without hope. Tamed by long hardship, they may show a repentance proving that their crime displeases them more than their punishment. Then their slavery is lightened or remitted, sometimes by the governor's prerogative, sometimes by vote of the people. Attempting to seduce someone is no less dangerous than seducing them. In every crime, in fact, they count a definite, deliberate attempt as equal to the deed. For they do not think that what was lacking should benefit someone who did everything in his power to make sure nothing was lacking.
2.367	Moriones in delitijs habentur, quos ut affecisse contumelia magno in probro est, ita uoluptatem ab stultitia capere non uetant. Siquidem id morionibus ipsis maximo esse bono censent, cuius qui tam seuerus ac tristis est ut nullum neque factum neque dictum rideat ei tutandum non credunt,	They are fond of fools, keeping them as jesters. It is a great disgrace to insult them, but there is no ban on taking pleasure in their foolishness. Indeed they think this is very much for the fools' own good. If someone is so stern and gloomy that he laughs at nothing a fool does or says, they do

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	ueriti ne non satis indulgenter curetur ab eo, cui non modo nulli usui, sed ne oblectamento quidem (qua sola dote ualet) futurus esset.	not entrust a fool to his care, for fear he would not be treated kindly enough by a man to whom he would be of no use, and not even of any amusement, which is his one gift.
2.369	Irridere deformem aut mutilum, turpe ac deforme non ei, qui ridetur, habetur, sed irrisori qui cuiquam quod in eius potestate non erat ut fugeret, id uitij loco stulte exprobret. Ut enim formam naturalem non tueri segnis atque inertis ducunt, sic adiumentum ab fucis quaerere infamis apud illos insolentia est. Usu enim ipso sentiunt, quam non ullum formae decus uxores aeque ac morum probitas & reuerentia commendet maritis. Nam ut forma nonnulli sola capiuntur, ita nemo nisi uirtute atque obsequio retinetur.	Mocking someone with a deformity or disability is thought shameful and ugly—not in the one mocked, but in the mocker, who foolishly reproaches a person, as if it were a fault, for something that was not in his power to avoid. They think it lazy and slothful not to take care of one's natural good looks, but they regard seeking help from cosmetics as disgraceful affectation. For they know from experience that no beauty commends wives to their husbands as much as honesty of character and respect. Some men are captivated by beauty alone, but no one is kept except by virtue and deference.
2.373	Non poenis tantum, deterrent a flagitijs, sed propositis quoque honoribus ad uirtutes inuitant, ideoque statuas uiris insignibus & de republica praeclare meritis in foro collocant, in rerum bene gestarum memoriam, simul ut ipsorum posteris maiorum suorum gloria calcar & incitamentum ad uirtutem sit. Qui magistratum ullum ambierit exspes omnium redditur. Conuiuunt amabiliter, quippe nec magistratus ullus insolens, aut terribilis est; patres appellantur; & exhibent. ijsdem defertur; ut debet; ab uolentibus honor; non ab inuitis exigitur.	They not only deter people from crime by punishments but also invite them to virtue by offering honors. So they set up statues in the marketplace to distinguished men who have served the commonwealth well, in memory of their achievements, and also so that their ancestors' glory may be a spur and incentive to virtue for their descendants. Anyone who canvasses for any office loses all hope of holding one. They live together affectionately, since no magistrate is arrogant or frightening. They are called fathers, and they behave like fathers. They are given honor willingly, as they should be; it is not exacted from the unwilling.

FEW LAWS AND NO LAWYERS

The Utopians keep their laws few and plain, plead their own cases, and lend magistrates to neighboring peoples.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
2.376	Ne principem quidem ipsum, uestis aut diadema, sed gestatus frumenti manipulus discernit, ut pontificis insigne est praelatus cereus. Leges habent perquam paucas. sufficiunt enim sic institutis paucissimae. Quin hoc in primis apud alios improbant populos, quod legum interpretumque uolumina, non infinita sufficiunt.	Not even the governor himself is marked out by robe or crown, but by a sheaf of grain that he carries, just as the high priest's emblem is a wax candle carried before him. They have very few laws, for very few are enough for people with institutions like theirs. Indeed, what they chiefly criticize in other peoples is that countless volumes of laws and commentaries are not enough for them.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
2.379	Ipsi uero censent iniquissimum; ullos homines his obligari legibus; quae aut numerosiores sint, quam ut perlegi queant; aut obscuriores quam ut a quouis possint intelligi; porro causidicos; qui causas tractent callide; ac leges uafre disputent; prorsus omnes excludunt. censent enim ex usu esse; ut suam quisque causam agat; eademque referat iudici; quae narraturus patrono fuerat.	They think it most unjust that anyone should be bound by laws that are either too many to be read through or too obscure to be understood by everyone. Moreover, they completely exclude lawyers, who handle cases cleverly and argue about the laws craftily. For they think it best that each person should plead his own case and tell the judge the same things he would have told his lawyer.
2.380	Sic & minus ambagum fore & facilius elici ueritatem. dum eo dicente; quem nullus patronus fucum docuit; iudex solerter expendit singula; & contra uersutorum calumnias simplicioribus ingenijs opitulatur. haec apud alias gentes; in tanto perplexissimarum aceruo legum difficile est obseruari. Caeterum apud eos unusquisque est legis peritus. Nam & sunt (ut dixi) paucissimae; & interpretationum praeterea ut quaeque est maxime crassa; ita maxime aequam censent.	In this way there is less beating about the bush and the truth is more easily drawn out. The person speaking has not been taught any tricks by a lawyer, while the judge shrewdly weighs every point and helps simpler minds against the false accusations of the cunning. This is hard to achieve in other nations, with their huge heap of tangled laws. But among the Utopians everyone is an expert in law. For their laws, as I said, are very few, and besides, the plainer an interpretation is, the fairer they consider it.
2.383	Nempe quum omnes leges (inquiunt) ea tantum causa promulgentur; ut ab hijs quisque sui commonefiat officij; subtilior interpretatio paucissimos admonet (pauci enim sunt qui assequantur) quum interim simplicior ac magis obuius legum sensus; omnibus in aperto sit; alioquin quod ad uulgus attinet; cuius & maximus est numerus & maxime eget admonitu; quid referat utrum legem omnino non condas; an conditam in talem interpreteris sententiam; quam nisi magno ingenio & longa disputatione nemo possit eruere; ad quam inuestigandam neque crassum uulgi iudicium queat attingere; neque uita in comparando uictu occupata sufficere.	All laws, they say, are promulgated only so that each person may be reminded of his duty by them. A subtler interpretation reminds very few, since few can follow it, while the simpler and more obvious meaning of the laws is plain to all. Besides, as far as the common people are concerned, who are the most numerous and most in need of reminding, what difference would it make whether you made no law at all, or interpreted the law you made in such a sense that no one could dig it out except by great intelligence and long argument? Ordinary people's plain judgment could not reach such a meaning, and a life taken up with earning a living would not leave time to investigate it.
2.384	Hijs eorum uirtutibus incitati finitimi; qui quidem liberi sunt & suae spontis (multos enim ipsi iam olim tyrannide liberauerunt) magistratus sibi; ab illis alij quotannis; alij in lustrum impetrant; quos defunctos imperio, cum honore ac laude reducunt; nouosque secum rursus in patriam reuehunt.	Moved by these virtues of theirs, their neighbors—at least those who are free and independent, for the Utopians long ago freed many of them from tyranny—ask them for magistrates, some for one year, others for five. When these have completed their term of office, they escort them home with honor and praise, and bring new ones back with them to their own country.
2.385	Atque hi quidem populi optime profecto ac saluberrime reipublicae suae consulunt; cuius & salus & pernicies, quum ab moribus magistratuum pendeat; quos nam	And these peoples certainly provide for their commonwealth excellently and most wholesomely. For since its welfare and its ruin both depend on the

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	potuissent elegisse prudentius, quam qui neque ullo precio queant ab honesto deduci (utpote quod breui sit remigraturis inutile) ignoti ciuibus, aut prauo cuiusquam studio aut simultate flecti! Quae duo mala, affectus atque auaritiae, sicubi incubuere iudicijs, illico iustitiam omnem, fortissimum reipublicae neruum dissoluunt.	character of its magistrates, whom could they have chosen more wisely than men who cannot be drawn away from what is right by any bribe, since money would be useless to men soon to return home, and who, being strangers to the citizens, cannot be swayed by partiality or by a grudge against anyone? These two evils, favoritism and greed, wherever they take hold of the courts, at once destroy all justice, the strongest sinew of a commonwealth.
	Hos Utopiani populos, quibus qui imperent ab ipsis petuntur, appellant socios, caeteros quos beneficijs auxerunt amicos uocant.	The peoples who seek rulers from them the Utopians call allies; the others, on whom they have conferred benefits, they call friends.

WHY THEY MAKE NO TREATIES

The Utopians refuse to make treaties, holding that nature itself binds people together.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
2.387	Foedera quae reliquae inter se gentes toties ineunt; frangunt ac renouant, ipsi nulla cum gente feriunt.	Treaties, which other nations so often make with one another, break and renew, they make with no nation at all.
	Quorsum enim foedus inquiunt; quasi non hominem homini satis natura conciliet quam qui contempserit, hunc uerba scilicet putes curaturum! In hanc sententiam eo uel maxime trahuntur, quod in illis terrarum plagis, foedera pactaque principum solent parum bona fide seruari.	What is the point of a treaty, they ask, as if nature did not bind one human being to another well enough? Would you really think that someone who has despised nature will care about words? They are drawn to this view above all because in those parts of the world the treaties and agreements of princes are usually kept with little good faith.
2.389	Etenim in Europa idque his potissimum partibus quas Christi fides & religio possidet, sancta est & inuiolabilis ubique maiestas foederum, partim ipsa iustitia & bonitate principum, partim summorum reuerentia metuque pontificum, qui ut nihil in se recipiunt ipsi; quod non religiosissime praestant. ita caeteros omnes principes iubent, ut pollicitis omnibus modis immorentur, tergiuersantes uero pastorali censura & seueritate compellunt.	For in Europe, and particularly in those parts held by the faith and religion of Christ, the majesty of treaties is everywhere holy and inviolable. This is partly due to the justice and goodness of the princes themselves, and partly to their reverence for the supreme pontiffs and their fear of them. The popes themselves undertake nothing that they do not most scrupulously perform, and so they command all other princes to abide by their promises in every way, and compel those who try to wriggle out of them by pastoral censure and severity.
	Merito sane censent turpissimam rem uideri si illorum foederibus absit fides; qui peculiari nomine fideles appellantur.	They are quite right to think it would be most shameful if there were no faith in the treaties of those who are given the special name of “the faithful.”
2.391	At in illo nouo orbe terrarum, quem circulus aequator uix tam longe ab hoc nostro orbe semouet; quam uita moresque dissident; foederum nulla fiducia est; quorum	But in that new world, which the equator scarcely separates as far from ours as their way of life and customs differ from ours, no one trusts treaties.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	ut quodque plurimis ac sanctissimis ceremonijs innodatum fuerit; ita citissime soluitur inuenta facile in uerbis calumnia, quae sic interim de industria dictant callide; ut nunquam tam firmis adstringi uinculis queant; quin elabantur aliqua, foedusque & fidem pariter eludant.	The more numerous and solemn the ceremonies with which a treaty has been tied, the more quickly it is undone. Some quibble is easily found in the wording, which is deliberately drafted so cleverly that the parties can never be bound so tightly as not to find some way of slipping out and dodging the treaty and their good faith alike.
2.392	Quam uafriciem, imo quam fraudem dolumque; si priuatorum deprehenderent interuenisse contractui; magno supercilio rem sacrilegam; & furca dignam clamitarent, hi nimirum ipsi; qui eius consilij principibus dati; semet gloriantur autores. fit ut iustitia tota uideatur, aut non nisi plebea uirtus & humilis, quaeque longo interuallo subsidat infra regale fastigium; aut uti saltem duae sint quarum altera uulgus deceat, pedestris & humirepa; neue usquam septa transilire queat, multis undique restricta uinculis, altera principum uirtus, quae sicuti sit quam illa popularis augustior; sic est etiam longo interuallo liberior, ut cui nihil non liceat nisi quod non libeat.	If they caught such cunning, or rather such fraud and deceit, interfering in a contract between private persons, they would cry out with great disdain that it was sacrilege and deserved the gallows —these very same men who boast that they gave that advice to princes. The result is that justice seems to be either merely a humble plebeian virtue, sitting far below the height of royal majesty, or else that there are at least two kinds of it. One is suited to the common people: it goes on foot and creeps along the ground, and is fenced in on every side with many chains, so that it can never leap over the barriers. The other is the virtue of princes. Just as it is more august than the popular kind, so it is also far freer: it is allowed everything except what it does not care to do.
2.393	Hos mores ut dixi principum; illic foedera tam male seruantium puto in causa esse; ne ulla feriant Utopienses; mutaturi fortasse sententiam si hic uiuerent.	This behavior of princes over there, who keep treaties so badly, is, I think, the reason the Utopians make none. Perhaps they would change their minds if they lived here.
2.394	Quanquam illis uidetur ut optime seruentur; male tamen inoleuisse foederis omnino sanciendi consuetudinem qua fit, ut (perinde ac si populum populo; quos exiguo spacio, collis tantum aut riuus discriminat; nulla naturae societas copularet) hostes atque inimicos inuicem sese natos putent, meritoque in mutuam grassari perniciem, nisi foedera prohibeant, quin his ipsis quoque initis, non amicitiam coalescere, sed manere praedandi licentiam, quatenus per imprudentiam dictandi foederis, nihil quod prohibeat satis caute comprehensum in pactis est. At illi contra censent, neminem pro inimico habendum, a quo nihil iniuriae profectum est.	And yet they think that, even if treaties were perfectly kept, it is a bad custom that has grown up of making treaties at all. It leads people to think they are born enemies and adversaries to one another, as if no fellowship of nature joined one people to another, though they are separated only by a short distance, a hill or a stream. They think they are right to seek each other's destruction unless treaties forbid it. And even when treaties are made, friendship does not grow; the license to plunder remains, insofar as, through careless drafting, nothing forbidding it has been cautiously enough included in the terms. The Utopians, on the contrary, think that no one should be regarded as an enemy who has done no wrong.
2.396	Naturae consortium, foederis uice esse, & satius, ualentiusque homines inuicem beneuolentia, quam pactis, animo quam uerbis connecti.	The fellowship of nature, they say, takes the place of a treaty, and people are better and more strongly bound to one another by goodwill than by pacts, by the heart than by words.

WARFARE

The Utopians hate war, fight only for defense or for friends, and prefer bribery and cunning to bloodshed.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
2.397	Bellum utpote rem plane beluinam, nec ulli tamen beluarum formae in tam assiduo, atque homini est usu, summopere abominantur, contraque morem gentium ferme omnium nihil aeque ducunt inglorium, atque petitam e bello gloriam. eoque licet assidue militari sese disciplina exerceant, neque id uiri modo, sed foeminae quoque, statis diebus, ne ad bellum sint, quum exigat usus, inhabiles; non temere capessunt tamen, nisi quo aut suos fines tueantur, aut amicorum terris, infusos hostes propulsent, aut populum quempiam tyrannide pressum, miserati, (quod humanitatis gratia faciunt) suis uiribus Tyranni iugo, & seruitute liberent.	War they utterly abhor as something fit only for beasts, though no kind of beast practices it as constantly as human beings do. Contrary to the custom of almost all nations, they think nothing so inglorious as glory sought in war. So although they train constantly in military discipline on fixed days—not only the men but the women too—so as not to be unfit for war when it is needed, they do not go to war lightly. They do so only to defend their own territory, or to drive invading enemies out of their friends' lands, or when, out of pity for some people oppressed by tyranny, they use their own forces to free them from the tyrant's yoke and from slavery, which they do out of humanity.
2.398	Quanquam auxilium gratificantur amicis non semper quidem, quo se defendant, sed interdum quoque illatas retalient, atque ulciscantur iniurias. uerum id ita demum faciunt, si re adhuc integra consulantur ipsi, & probata causa, repetitis ac non redditis rebus belli autores inferendi sint, quod non tunc solum decernunt, quoties hostili incursu abacta est praeda, uerum tum quoque multo infestius, quum eorum negotiatores usquam gentium, uel iniquarum praetextu legum, uel sinistra deriuatione bonarum, iniustam subeunt, iustitiae colore, calumniam.	They do give aid to their friends, though not always for defense; sometimes it is to repay and avenge injuries done to them. But they do so only if they are consulted themselves before anything has been done, if the cause has been approved, and if restitution has been demanded and not made; then they are the ones who start the war. They decide on war not only whenever booty has been carried off in an enemy raid, but also, and far more fiercely, when their friends' merchants anywhere in the world suffer unjust persecution under color of justice, whether on the pretext of unjust laws or by the twisting of good ones.
2.399	Nec alia fuit eius origo belli, quod pro Nephelogetis aduersus Alaopolitas, paulo ante nostram memoriam, Utopienses gessere, quam apud Alaopolitas Nephelogetarum mercatoribus illata praetextu iuris (ut uisum est ipsis) iniuria certe, siue illud ius, siue ea iniuria fuit, bello tam atroci est uindicata, quum ad proprias utriusque partis uires, odiaque circumiectarum etiam gentium studia atque opes adiungerentur, ut florentissimis populorum alijs concussis, alijs uehementer afflictis, orientia ex malis mala, Alaopolitarum seruitus demum, ac deditio finierit, qua in Nephelogetarum (neque enim sibi certabant Utopienses) potestatem concessere, gentis, florentibus Alaopolitarum rebus, haud quaquam cum illis conferendae.	

	LATIN	ENGLISH
		The war the Utopians waged on behalf of the Nephelogetes against the Alaopolitans shortly before our time had no other origin than this. A wrong had been done, as the Nephelogetes saw it, to Nephelogete merchants among the Alaopolitans under the pretext of law. Whether it was law or wrong, it was avenged by so savage a war, with the passions and resources of the surrounding nations added to the forces and hatreds of both sides, that some of the most flourishing peoples were shaken and others badly afflicted. Evils sprang from evils, until it ended at last in the enslavement and surrender of the Alaopolitans. They passed into the power of the Nephelogetes (for the Utopians were not fighting for themselves), a nation in no way comparable to the Alaopolitans while they were flourishing.[11]
2.400	Tam acriter Utopienses amicorum, etiam in pecunijs, iniuriam persequuntur, suas ipsorum, non item, qui sicubi circunscripti bonis excidant, modo corporibus absit uis hactenus irascuntur, uti quoad satisfactio fiat, eius commercio gentis abstineant. Non quod minoris sibi curae ciues, quam socij sint, sed horum tamen pecuniam intercipi, aegrius quam suam ferunt, propterea quod amicorum negotiatores, quoniam de suo perdunt priuato, graue uulnus ex iactura sentiunt. At ipsorum ciuibus nihil nisi de publica perit. praeterea quod abundabat domi, ac ueluti supererat, alioqui non emittendum foras.	So fiercely do the Utopians pursue wrongs done to their friends, even in money matters—but not wrongs done to themselves. If they are cheated anywhere and lose their goods, then, provided no violence is done to anyone's person, their anger goes only so far as to stop trading with that nation until satisfaction has been made. It is not that they care less for their citizens than for their allies. But they take it harder when their allies' money is seized than when their own is, because their friends' merchants lose their own private property and feel the loss as a serious wound. Their own citizens, however, lose nothing but public property, and besides, only what was abundant at home and practically surplus; otherwise it would not have been sent abroad.
2.403	Quo fit uti intertrimentum citra cuiusquam sensum accidat. Quo circa nimis crudele censent id damnum multorum ulcisci mortibus, cuius damni incommodum nemo ipsorum, aut uita, aut uictu persentiscat. Caeterum si quis suorum usquam per iniuriam debilitetur, aut occidat, siue id publico factum consilio, siue priuato sit, per legatos re comperta, nisi deditis noxijs placari non possunt, quin ilico bellum denuncient. Noxae deditos, aut morte, aut seruitio puniunt.	So the loss happens without anyone feeling it. Therefore they think it too cruel to avenge with many deaths a loss whose effects none of their people feels, either in life or in livelihood. But if any of their own people is maimed or killed anywhere through wrongdoing, whether by public decision or private action, they send envoys to establish the facts, and nothing will satisfy them short of the surrender of the guilty; otherwise they declare war at once.

11 The joke names are Greek: Nephelogetes means "people born of the clouds," and Alaopolitans roughly "citizens of a blind city."

	LATIN	ENGLISH
		The guilty who are handed over they punish with death or slavery.
2.407	Cruentae uictoriae non piget modo eos, sed pudet quoque, reputantes inscitiam esse quamlibet preciosas merces nimio emisse, arte doloque uictos, oppressos hostes impendio gloriantur, triumphumque ob eam rem publicitus agunt, & uelut re strennue gesta, tropheum erigunt. tunc enim demum uiriliter sese iactant, & cum uirtute gessisse, quoties ita uicerint, quomodo nullum animal praeter hominem potuit, id est ingenij uiribus. Nam corporis inquiunt ursi, leones, apri, lupi, canes, caeteraeque beluae dimicant, quarum ut pleraeque nos robore ac ferocia uincunt, ita cunctae ingenio, & ratione superantur.	They are not only sorry but ashamed of a bloody victory, thinking it foolish to have paid too high a price even for the most precious goods. But they boast greatly of enemies defeated and overcome by skill and cunning. For such a victory they hold a public triumph and set up a trophy, as if for a brave deed. Only then do they pride themselves on having acted manfully and valiantly, whenever they have won in a way no animal but man could win, that is, by strength of mind. For bears, lions, boars, wolves, dogs and the other beasts, they say, fight with strength of body. Most of them surpass us in strength and ferocity, but all of them are surpassed by us in intelligence and reason.
2.409	Hoc unum illi in bello spectant, uti id obtineant, quod si fuissent ante consequuti, bellum non fuerant illaturi. aut si id res uetet, tam seueram ab his uindictam expetunt, quibus factum imputant, ut idem ausuros in posterum terror absterreat. Hos propositi sui scopos destinant, quos mature petunt, at ita tamen, uti prior uitandi periculi cura, quam laudis aut famae consequendae sit.	In war they aim at one thing only: to obtain what, had they obtained it beforehand, would have kept them from going to war. Or, if circumstances make that impossible, they exact such severe vengeance from those they hold responsible that terror deters them from daring the same thing in future. These are the targets they set for their purpose, and they pursue them promptly, but in such a way that their first concern is to avoid danger rather than to win praise or fame.
2.411	Itaque protinus indicto bello, schedulas ipsorum publico signo roboratas, locis maxime conspicuis hosticae terrae, clam uno tempore multas appendi procurant, quibus ingentia pollicentur praemia, si quis principem aduersarium sustulerit, deinde minora quanquam illa quoque egregia decernunt, pro singulis eorum capitibus, quorum nomina in ijsdem literis proscribunt, hij sunt quos secundum principem ipsum, autores initi aduersus se consilij ducunt. Quicquid percussori praefiniunt, hoc geminant ei, qui uiuum e proscriptis aliquem ad se perduxerit, quum ipsos quoque proscriptos, praemijs ijsdem, addita etiam impunitate, contra socios inuitant.	So as soon as war is declared, they arrange for many placards, confirmed with their public seal, to be put up secretly and all at once in the most conspicuous places in enemy territory. On these they promise enormous rewards to anyone who kills the enemy prince. They also set smaller rewards, though still handsome ones, for the head of each of those whose names they list in the same notices: these are the men they regard, after the prince himself, as the authors of the plan against them. Whatever reward they fix for an assassin, they double for anyone who brings one of the proscribed men to them alive. They even invite the proscribed men themselves to turn against their comrades, offering them the same rewards and immunity besides.
2.413	Itaque fit celeriter, ut & caeteros mortales suspectos habeant, & sibi inuicem ipsi, neque fidentes satis, neque	So very soon the enemy come to suspect everyone else, and among themselves they are neither trust-

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	fidi sint, maximoque in metu & non minore periculo uersentur. Nam saepenumero constat euenisse, uti bona pars eorum & princeps in primis ipse ab his proderentur, in quibus maximam spem reposuerunt. Tam facile quoduis in facinus impellunt munera, quibus illi nullum exhibent modum.	ing nor trustworthy, living in the greatest fear and no less danger. It is well known that it has often happened that a good many of them, and above all the prince himself, have been betrayed by those in whom they placed their greatest hope. So easily do bribes drive people to any crime—and the Utopians set no limit to their bribes.
2.416	Sed memores in quantum discrimen hortantur, operam dant, uti periculi magnitudo beneficiorum mole compensetur. eoque non immensam modo auri uim, sed praedia quoque magni reditus in locis apud amicos tutissimis, propria ac perpetua pollicitantur, & summa cum fide praestant. Hunc licitandi mercandique hostis morem, apud alios improbatum, uelut animi degeneris crudele facinus illi magnae sibi laudi ducunt, tanquam prudentes, qui maximis hoc pacto bellis, sine ullo prorsus praelio defungantur, humanique ac misericordes etiam, qui paucorum nece noxiorum, numerosas innocentium uitas redimant, qui pugnando fuerint occubituri.	But they are aware how great a risk they are urging people to run, so they take care that the size of the danger is matched by the scale of the rewards. They therefore promise not only an immense amount of gold but also estates with large revenues in very safe places among their friends, to be owned outright and forever, and they deliver on these promises in complete good faith. Other peoples condemn this custom of bidding for the enemy and buying him up as the cruel act of a degenerate mind. The Utopians consider it very much to their credit. They think it wise, because in this way they get through the greatest wars without any battle at all. They also think it humane and merciful, because by the death of a few guilty men they ransom the many innocent lives that would have been lost in the fighting.
2.418	Partim e suis, partim ex hostibus, quorum turbam, uulgusque non minus ferme quam suos miserantur, gnari non sua sponte eos bellum capessere, sed principum ad id furijs agi. Si res hoc pacto non procedat, dissidiorum semina iaciunt, aluntque fratre principis, aut aliquo e nobilibus in spem potiundi regni perducto. Si factiones internae languerint, finitimas hostibus gentes excitant, committuntque, eruto uetusto quopiam titulo, quales nunquam regibus desunt, suas ad bellum opes polliciti, pecuniam affluenter suggerunt.	Those lives are partly those of their own people and partly those of the enemy, whose rank and file they pity almost as much as their own. They know that these men do not go to war of their own accord but are driven to it by the madness of their rulers. If things do not work out this way, they sow the seeds of dissension and nourish them, leading the ruler's brother, or one of the nobles, to hope that he may seize the throne. If internal factions die down, they stir up the peoples bordering on the enemy and set them against him, digging up some old claim, of the kind kings are never short of. They promise their own resources for the war and supply money lavishly.
2.421	Ciues parcissime, quos tam unice habent charos, tantique sese mutuo faciunt, ut neminem sint e suis cum aduerso principe libenter commutaturi.	Their own citizens they supply very sparingly. They hold them so uniquely dear, and value one another so highly, that they would not willingly exchange any one of their own people for the enemy's ruler.

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	At aurum, argentumque quoniam unum hunc in usum omne seruant, haud grauatim erogant, utpote non minus commode uicturi, etiam si uniuersum impenderent.	Gold and silver, on the other hand, they spend without reluctance, since they keep all of it for this one purpose, and they would live no less comfortably even if they spent every bit of it.
2.423	Quin praeter domesticas diuitias est illis foris quoque infinitus thesaurus, quo plurimae gentes, uti ante dixi, in ipsorum aere sunt. ita milites undique conductos ad bellum mittunt, praesertim ex Zapoletis. Hic populus quingentis passuum millibus ab Utopia distat, orientem solem uersus, horridus, agrestis, ferox, syluas montesque asperos, quibus sunt innutriti, praeferunt. Dura gens, aestus, frigoris, & laboris patiens, delitiarum expers omnium, neque agriculturae studens, & cum aedificiorum tum uestitus indiligens, pecorum duntaxat curam habent. Magna ex parte uenatu & raptu uiuunt.	Indeed, besides their wealth at home, they also have an unlimited treasure abroad, since a great many nations, as I said before, are in their debt. So they send to war soldiers hired from everywhere, especially from the Zapoletes. This people lives five hundred miles east of Utopia. They are rough, rustic and fierce, and they prefer the forests and rugged mountains in which they were raised. They are a hardy race, able to endure heat, cold and toil, strangers to every refinement, not interested in farming, careless about their houses and their clothing alike; the only thing they look after is their livestock. For the most part they live by hunting and plunder.[12]
2.426	Ad solum bellum nati, cuius gerendi facultatem studiose quaerunt, repertam cupide amplectuntur, & magno numero egressi, cuiuis requirenti milites uili semet offerunt. Hanc unam uitae artem nouerunt, qua mors quaeritur, sub quibus merent, acriter pro hijs & incorrupta fide dimicant. Uerum in nullum certum diem sese obstringunt, sed ea lege in partes ueniunt, ut postero die, uel ab hostibus, oblato maiore stipendio sint staturi, ijsdem perendie rursus inuitati plusculo remigrant.	Born for war alone, they eagerly look for opportunities to wage it, seize them greedily when they find them, and go out in great numbers to offer themselves cheaply as soldiers to anyone who wants them. The only art of living they know is the one by which death is sought. They fight fiercely, and with incorruptible loyalty, for those in whose pay they serve. But they bind themselves to no fixed term. They join a side on the understanding that the next day, if the enemy offers higher pay, they will stand with the enemy, and the day after that, if they are invited back with a little more, they will return again.
2.429	Rarum oritur bellum, in quo non bona pars illorum in utroque sint exercitu. itaque accidit quotidie, ut sanguinis necessitudine coniuncti, qui & ijsdem in partibus conducti familiarissime semet inuicem utebantur, paulo post in contrarias distracti copias, hostiliter concurrant. & infestis animis, obliti generis, immemores amicitiae, mutuo sese confodiant, nulla alia causa in mutuam incitati perniciem, quam quod a diuersis principibus exigua pecuniola conducti, cuius tam exactam habent rationem, ut ad diurnum stipendium	Hardly a war breaks out in which a good part of them are not in both armies. So it happens every day that men bound by ties of blood, who were hired on the same side and were on the closest terms with one another, are soon afterward split up into opposing forces and clash as enemies. With hostile hearts, forgetting their kinship and unmindful of their friendship, they run each other through. Nothing drives them to destroy each other except that they have been hired by different princes for a paltry sum of money—a sum they

12 Zapoletes: from Greek, roughly "eager sellers"—people who readily sell themselves.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	unius accessione assis facile ad commutandas partes impellantur. Ita celeriter imbiberunt auaritiam, quae tamen nulli est eis usui.	reckon so exactly that the addition of a single penny to their daily pay will easily induce them to change sides. So quickly have they soaked up greed, which is nevertheless of no use to them.
2.431	Nam quae sanguine quaerunt, protinus per luxum, & eum tamen miserum consumunt. Hic populus Utopiensibus aduersus quosuis mortales militat, quod tanti ab hijs eorum conducatur opera quanti nusquam alibi. Utopienses siquidem ut bonos quaerunt quibus utantur ita hos quoque homines pessimos quibus abutantur. quos quum usus postulat, magnis impulsos pollicitationibus, maximis obijciunt periculis, unde plerunque magna pars nunquam ad exigenda promissa reuertitur, superstitibus, quae sunt polliciti bona fide, persoluunt, quo ad similes ausus incendantur.	For what they earn with their blood they immediately squander on dissipation, and a wretched kind of dissipation at that. This people fights for the Utopians against anyone at all, because the Utopians pay more for their services than anyone else. For just as the Utopians seek out good men to use, so they seek out these, the worst of men, to misuse. When the need arises, they spur them on with great promises and expose them to the greatest dangers, from which a large part of them usually never return to claim what was promised. To the survivors they pay in good faith what they promised, so that they may be fired up for similar ventures.
2.434	Neque enim pensi quicquam habent, quam multos ex eis perdant. rati de genere humano maximam merituros gratiam se, si tota illa colluuie populi tam tetri, ac nepharij orbem terrarum purgare possent. Secundum hos eorum copijs utuntur, pro quibus arma capiunt, deinde auxiliaribus caeterorum amicorum turmis. Postremo suos ciues adiungunt, e quibus aliquem uirtutis probatae uirum, totius exercitus summae praeficiunt.	For they do not care in the least how many of them they lose, believing that they would earn the deepest gratitude of the human race if they could purge the world of all the scum of so foul and wicked a people. Next to these they use the forces of those on whose behalf they are taking up arms, and after them auxiliary squadrons from their other friends. Last of all they add their own citizens, and put one of them, a man of proven valor, in command of the whole army.
2.437	Huic duos ita substituunt, uti eo incolumi, ambo priuati sint, capto aut interempto, alter e duobus uelut haereditate succedat, eique ex euentu tertius. ne (ut sunt bellorum sortes uariae) periclitante duce totus perturbetur exercitus. E quaque ciuitate delectus exercetur ex his, qui sponte nomen profitentur. neque enim inuitus quisquam foras in militiam truditur, quod persuasum habeant, si quis sit natura timidior, non ipsum modo nihil facturum strennue, sed metum etiam comitibus incussurum.	They appoint two deputies under him, on these terms: while he is unharmed, both remain private men; if he is captured or killed, one of the two succeeds him, as if by inheritance, and the other, should it come to that, succeeds the first. This is so that the whole army is not thrown into confusion when its general is in danger, since the fortunes of war are changeable. Each city raises its levy from those who volunteer. No one is pushed into military service abroad against his will, for they are convinced that a man who is timid by nature will not only do nothing brave himself but will also strike fear into his comrades.
2.439		

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	Caeterum si quod bellum ingruat in patriam, ignauos huiusmodi, modo ualeant corpore, in naues mixtos melioribus collocant; Aut in moenibus sparsim disponunt. unde non sit refugiendi locus. ita suorum pudor, hostis in manibus, atque adempta fugae spes, timorem obruunt, & saepe extrema necessitas in uirtutem uertitur.	But if war breaks out against their own country, they put cowards of this kind, provided they are physically fit, on board ships mixed in with better men, or station them here and there along the walls, where there is no way to run away. So shame before their own people, the enemy at close quarters, and the loss of any hope of flight overwhelm their fear, and often sheer necessity turns into courage.
2.440	At sicuti ad externum bellum ex ipsis nemo protrahitur nolens, ita foeminas uolentes in militiam comitari maritos, adeo non prohibent, ut exhortentur etiam, & laudibus incitent, profectas cum suo quamque uiro, pariter in acie constituunt. tum sui quemque liberi affines cognati circunsistunt, ut hi de proximo sint mutuo sibi subsidio, quos maxime ad ferendas inuicem suppetias natura stimulat.	Just as none of them is dragged to a foreign war against his will, so when women wish to accompany their husbands on campaign, the Utopians are so far from forbidding it that they actually encourage them and spur them on with praise. Once they have set out, each woman is stationed beside her own husband in the battle line. Each man is also surrounded by his own children, in-laws and relatives, so that those whom nature most strongly prompts to help one another are close at hand to support each other.
2.441	In maximo probro est coniunx absque coniuge redux, aut amisso parente reuersus filius. quo fit, uti si ad ipsorum manus uentum sit modo perstent hostes, longo & lugubri praelio ad internitionem usque decernatur.	It is a great disgrace for a husband or wife to come home without the other, or for a son to return having lost his father. The result is that when it comes to hand-to-hand fighting, provided the enemy holds firm, the battle is long and grievous and fought out to the point of annihilation.
2.442	Nempe ut omnibus curant modis ne ipsis dimicare necesse sit, modo bello possint uicaria conductitiorum manu defungi, ita quum uitari non potest quin ipsi ineant pugnam, tam intrepide capessunt, quam quoad licuit prudenter detrectabant, nec tam primo ferociunt impetu quam mora sensim & duratione inualescunt, tam offirmatis animis ut interimi citius quam auerti queant; Quippe uictus illa securitas quae cuique domi est, ademptaque de posteris anxia cogitandi cura (nam haec solicitudo generosos ubique spiritus frangit) sublimem illis animum & uinci dedignantem facit.	Indeed, just as they do everything possible to avoid having to fight themselves, so long as they can get through a war with hired substitutes, so when they cannot avoid going into battle themselves, they take it on as fearlessly as they had prudently declined it while they could. They are not so fierce in the first charge; they grow stronger gradually as the fighting goes on and endures, with spirits so steadfast that they can be killed sooner than turned back. For the secure livelihood that each has at home, and freedom from anxious thoughts about their descendants (a worry that everywhere breaks noble spirits), make their spirits lofty and too proud to accept defeat.
2.443	Ad haec militaris disciplinae peritia fiduciam praebet, postremo rectae opiniones (quibus & doctrina & bonis reipublicae institutis imbuti a pueris sunt) uirtutem addunt. qua neque tam uilem habent uitam, ut temere prodigant, neque tam improbe charam, ut quum honestas ponendam suadeat, auare turpiterque retineant.	Besides this, their skill in military discipline gives them confidence. Finally, the right opinions in which they have been steeped from childhood, through both teaching and the good institutions of their commonwealth, add virtue to the rest. Because of it they neither hold life so cheap as to squander it rashly nor so wickedly dear as to cling

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	to it greedily and shamefully when honor urges them to lay it down.
2.444 Dum ubique pugna maxima feruet, lectissimi iuuenes coniurati, deuotique, ducem sibi deposcunt aduersum, hunc aperte inuadunt, hunc ex insidijs adoriuntur, idem eminus idem cominus petitur, longoque ac perpetuo cuneo, summissis assidue in fatigatorum locum recentibus, oppugnatur. raroque accidit (ni sibi fuga prospiciat) ut non intereat aut uiuus in hostium potestatem ueniat.	While the battle rages everywhere at its fiercest, a band of picked young men, sworn together and vowed to the task, single out the enemy general for themselves. They attack him openly, they fall on him from ambush; he is targeted at long range and at close quarters, and is assaulted by a long, unbroken wedge, with fresh men constantly sent up to take the places of the exhausted. It rarely happens, unless he looks to his safety by running away, that he is not killed or does not fall alive into the enemy's hands.
2.445 Si ab ipsis uictoria sit, haudquaquam caede grassantur, fugatos enim comprehendunt, quam occidunt libentius. neque unquam ita persequuntur fugientes, ut non unam interim sub signis instructam aciem retineant, adeo nisi caeteris superati partibus, postrema acie sua uictoriam adepti sint, elabi potius hostes uniuersos sinant, quam insequi fugientes perturbatis suorum ordinibus insuescant. memores sibimet haud semel usu uenisse, ut mole totius exercitus uicta profligataque, quum hostes uictoria gestientes, hac atque illac abeuntes persequerentur, pauci ipsorum in subsidijs collocati ad occasiones intenti, dispersos ac palantes illos & praesumpta securitate negligentes derepente adorti, totius euentum praelij mutauerunt. extortaque e manibus tam certa & indubitata uictoria, uicti uictores inuicem uicerunt.	If the victory is theirs, they do not go on a rampage of slaughter; they would rather capture those who flee than kill them. Nor do they ever pursue fugitives without keeping one line drawn up under the standards in the meantime. Indeed, unless they have been beaten in every other part of the field and have won the victory with their last line, they would rather let the enemy escape entirely than get into the habit of pursuing fugitives with their own ranks in disorder. They remember that more than once this has happened to them: the main body of their army had been beaten and routed, and the enemy, exulting in their victory, were chasing after them this way and that; then a few of their men, placed in reserve and watching for their chance, suddenly attacked the enemy as they straggled about, scattered and careless in their presumed security, and changed the outcome of the whole battle. So a victory that seemed certain and beyond doubt was wrenched from the enemy's hands, and the conquered in their turn conquered the conquerors.
2.446 Haud facile dictu est, astutiores instruendis insidijs, an cautiores ad uitandas sient. fugam parare credas, quum nihil minus in animo habent, contra quum id consilij capiunt, nihil minus cogitare putes. Nam si nimium sese sentiunt, aut numero, aut loco premi, tunc aut noctu, agmine silente, castra mouent, aut aliquo stratagemate eludunt, aut interdiu ita sensim sese referunt, tali seruato ordine, ut non minus periculi sit cedentes quam instantes adoriri.	It is hard to say whether they are craftier at setting ambushes or more cautious in avoiding them. You would think they were preparing to flee when nothing is further from their minds; and, on the other hand, when they have decided to do so, you would suppose it was the last thing they were thinking of. For if they feel themselves too hard pressed, whether by numbers or by position, they either move camp by night with the column in silence, or give the enemy the slip by some stratagem, or withdraw by day so gradually, keeping such good

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		order, that it is no less dangerous to attack them as they retire than as they advance.
2.448	Castra diligentissime communiunt fossa prealta lataque, terra quae egeritur introrsum reiecta, nec in eam rem opera mediastinorum utuntur, ipsorum manibus militum res agitur, totusque exercitus in opere est, exceptis qui pro uallo in armis ad subitos casus excubant. Itaque tam multis adnitentibus, magna multumque amplexa loci munimenta, omni fide citius perficiunt. Armis utuntur ad excipiendos ictus, firmis, nec ad motum gestumue quemlibet ineptis, adeo ut ne natando quidem molesta sentiant.	They fortify their camps very carefully with a deep, wide ditch, throwing the excavated earth inward. They do not use laborers for this: the work is done by the soldiers' own hands, and the whole army is at work except for those who stand guard under arms in front of the rampart in case of sudden attack. So with so many working at it, they complete large fortifications enclosing a wide area faster than you would believe. The armor they use to take blows is strong, yet not awkward for any movement or gesture, so much so that they do not find it troublesome even when swimming.
2.451	Nam armati natare inter militaris disciplinae rudimenta consuescunt. tela sunt eminus sagittae, quas acerrime simul & certissime iaculantur non pedites modo, sed ex equis etiam, cominus uero non gladij, sed secures uel acie letales uel pondere seu caesim seu punctim feriant. Machinas excogitant solertissime, factas accuratissime caelant ne ante proditae quam res postulet, ludibrio magis quam usui sint, in quibus fabricandis hoc in primis respiciunt, uti uectu faciles & habiles circumactu sint. Initas cum hostibus inducias tam sancte obseruant, ut ne lacessiti quidem uiolent.	For swimming in armor is among the first things they practice in their military training. Their long-range weapons are arrows, which they shoot with great force and great accuracy, not only on foot but also from horseback. At close quarters they use not swords but axes, which are deadly both for their edge and for their weight, whether they strike with a cut or a thrust. They are very ingenious at devising war machines, and once these are built they hide them very carefully, so that they are not revealed before they are needed and so become more of a joke than a help. In building them they look above all to making them easy to transport and easy to turn. They keep truces made with the enemy so faithfully that they will not break them even when provoked.
2.454	Hostilem terram non depopulantur, neque segetes exurunt, imo ne hominum equorumue pedibus, conterantur, quantum fieri potest prouident, rati in ipsorum usus crescere. Inermem neminem laedunt, nisi idem speculator sit. Deditas urbes tuentur, at nec expugnatas, diripiunt, sed per quos deditio est impedita eos enecant, caeteris defensoribus in seruitutem addictis. Imbellem turbam omnem relinquunt intactam. Si quos deditionem suasisse compererint, his e damnatorum bonis aliquam partem impartiunt, reliqua sectione auxiliares donant. Nam ipsorum nemo quicquam de praeda capit.	They do not lay waste enemy territory or burn the crops. On the contrary, as far as possible they take care that the crops are not trampled by the feet of men or horses, reckoning that they are growing for their own use. They harm no one who is unarmed unless he is a spy. Cities that surrender they protect; and even those taken by storm they do not plunder. They put to death those who prevented the surrender and make slaves of the rest of the defenders. The whole noncombatant population they leave untouched.

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		If they learn that some people had urged surrender, they give them a share of the property of the condemned, and they reward their auxiliaries with the rest of the confiscated goods. For none of the Utopians themselves takes anything from the spoils.
2.460	Caeterum confecto bello, non amicis impensas in quos insumpsere, sed uictis imputant, exiguntque eo nomine, partim pecuniam quam in similes bellorum usus reseruant, partim praedia quae sint ipsis apud eos perpetua non exigui census.	When the war is over, they charge the costs not to the friends on whose behalf they incurred them but to the conquered. On this account they demand partly money, which they set aside for similar uses in future wars, and partly estates in the conquered country, of no small value, to be theirs in perpetuity.
2.461	Huiusmodi reditus nunc apud multas gentes habent, qui uarijs ex causis paulatim nati, supra septingenta ducatorum millia in singulos annos excreuere, in quos e suis ciuibus aliquos emittunt quaestorum nomine, qui magnifice uiuant, personamque magnatum illic prae se ferant, at multum tamen superest quod inferatur aerario, nisi malint eidem genti credere, quod saepe tantisper faciunt, quoad uti necesse sit uixque accidit unquam, ut totam reposcant. Ex his praedijs partem assignant illis, qui ipsorum hortatu tale discrimen adeunt quale ante monstraui.	They now have revenues of this kind among many nations. These have arisen gradually for various reasons and have grown to more than seven hundred thousand ducats a year. To manage them they send out some of their citizens as their collectors, who live there in grand style and play the part of great lords; even so, a great deal is left over to be paid into the treasury—unless they prefer to lend it to the same nation, which they often do until they need to use it, and it hardly ever happens that they ask for all of it back. From these estates they assign a share to those who, at their urging, undertake the kind of risk I described earlier.
2.463	Si quis princeps armis aduersus eos sumptis, eorum ditionem paret inuadere, magnis illico uiribus extra suos fines occurrunt; nam neque temere in suis terris bellum gerunt, neque ulla necessitas tanta est, ut eos cogat aliena auxilia in insulam suam admittere.	If any ruler takes up arms against them and prepares to invade their territory, they immediately go out to meet him in great strength beyond their own borders. For they do not lightly wage war on their own soil, and no necessity is so great as to force them to admit foreign auxiliaries onto their island.

THE RELIGIONS OF THE UTOPIANS

Most Utopians worship one unknown god, and many accepted Christianity when Raphael's party brought it.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
2.464	Religiones sunt non per insulam modo; uerum singulas etiam urbes uariae, alijs Solem, Lunam alijs, alijs aliud errantium syderum dei uice uenerantibus, sunt quibus homo quispiam, cuius olim aut uirtus aut gloria enituit, non pro deo tantum, sed pro summo etiam deo suspicitur. At multo maxima pars, eademque longe prudentior, nihil horum, sed unum quoddam numen putant, incognitum, aeternum, immensum, inexplicabile, quod supra mentis	There are different religions not only across the island but also within each city. Some worship the sun as a god, others the moon, others one of the planets. There are some who revere a man whose virtue or glory once shone out, not only as a god but even as the supreme god.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	humanae captum sit, per mundum hunc uniuersum, uirtute non mole diffusum. hunc parentem uocant.	But by far the greatest part of them, and by far the wisest, believe in none of these, but in a single divine power: unknown, eternal, immeasurable, inexplicable, beyond the grasp of the human mind, pervading this whole universe not by its bulk but by its power. They call this being the Father.
2.466	Origines, auctus, progressus, uices, finesque rerum omnium, huic acceptos uni referunt, nec diuinos honores alij praeterea ulli, applicant. Quin caeteris quoque omnibus, quamquam diuersa credentibus, hoc tamen cum istis conuenit, quod esse quidem unum censent summum, cui & uniuersitatis opificium, & prouidentia debeatur, eumque communiter omnes patria lingua Mythram appellant, sed eo dissentiunt, quod idem alius apud alios habetur. Autumante quoque quicquid id sit, quod ipse summum ducit, eandem illam prorsus esse naturam, cuius unius numini ac maiestati, rerum omnium summa, omnium consensu gentium tribuitur.	To him alone they attribute the origins, growth, progress, changes and ends of all things, and they give divine honors to no one else. Indeed, all the others too, though their beliefs differ, agree with these in one respect: they hold that there is one supreme being, to whom both the making of the universe and its providential government are due, and all of them alike call him in their native language Mithras. Where they disagree is that this same being is identified differently by different people. Yet each of them holds that whatever it is he regards as supreme is exactly the same nature to whose sole divine power and majesty, by the consent of all peoples, the sovereignty over all things is attributed.[13]
2.469	Caeterum paulatim omnes ab ea superstitionum uarietate desciscunt, atque in unam illam coalescunt religionem, quae reliquas ratione uidetur antecellere. Neque dubium est quin caeterae iam pridem euanuissent, nisi quicquid improsperum cuiquam inter mutandae religionis consilia fors obiecisset, non id accidisse casu, sed caelitus immissum interpretaretur timor, tanquam numine, cuius relinquebatur cultus, impium contra se propositum uindicante.	But little by little they are all turning away from this variety of superstitions and coming together in the one religion that seems to surpass the others in reason. There is no doubt that the others would have vanished long ago, except that whenever someone was thinking of changing his religion and chance put some misfortune in his way, fear interpreted it not as an accident but as sent from heaven—as though the deity whose worship he was abandoning were avenging an impious intention against itself.
2.471	At posteaquam acceperunt a nobis Christi nomen, doctrinam, mores, miracula, nec minus mirandam tot martyrum constantiam, quorum sponte fusus sanguis, tam numerosas gentes in suam sectam longe lateque traduxit, non credas quam pronis in eam affectibus etiam ipsi concesserint, siue hoc secretius inspirante deo, siue quod eadem ei uisa est haeresi proxima, quae est apud ipsos potissima, quanquam hoc quoque fuisse non paulum momenti crediderim, quod Christo communem suorum uictum audierant placuisse, & apud	But after they heard from us the name of Christ, his teaching, his way of life and his miracles, and the no less wonderful constancy of so many martyrs, whose freely shed blood brought so many nations far and wide over to their faith, you would not believe how readily they too came over to it. Perhaps God was secretly inspiring them; or perhaps it seemed to them closest to the belief that is most widespread among them. Though I would suppose that this also carried no small weight: they had heard that Christ approved of his follow-

13 Mithras: the name of an ancient Persian god of light, borrowed here for the Utopians' supreme being.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	germanissimos Christianorum conuentus adhuc in usu esse.	ers' common way of life, and that it is still practiced in the truest communities of Christians.[14]
2.472	Certe quoquo id momento accidit, haud pauci nostram in religionem coierunt Lymphaque sacra sunt abluti. Uerum quoniam in nobis quatuor (totidem enim duntaxat supereramus, nam duo fatis concesserant) nemo id quod doleo, sacerdos erat. Caeteris initiati, ea tamen adhuc sacramenta desyderant, quae apud nos non nisi sacerdotes conferunt, intelligunt tamen, optantque ita ut nihil uehementius. quin hoc quoque sedulo iam inter se disputant an sine Christiani pontificis missu quisquam e suo numero delectus sacerdotij consequatur characterem. & electuri, sane uidebantur. uerum quum ego discederem, nondum elegerant.	At any rate, whatever the reason, a good many joined our religion and were washed in the sacred water of baptism. But among the four of us (for only that many were left, two having died), none, I am sorry to say, was a priest. So although they have been initiated into the other rites, they still lack those sacraments that among us only priests can confer. Yet they understand them and long for them more than anything. Indeed, they are even now earnestly debating among themselves whether someone chosen from their own number could receive the character of the priesthood without being sent by a Christian bishop. And they did seem about to choose one; but when I left, they had not yet done so.
2.475	Quin hi quoque religioni Christianae, qui non assentiunt, neminem tamen absterrent, nullum oppugnant imbutum. Nisi quod unus e nostro coetu me praesente cohercitus est. Is quum recens ablutus, nobis contra suadentibus, de Christi cultu publice maiore studio, quam prudentia dissereret, usque adeo coepit incalescere, ut iam non nostra modo sacra caeteris anteferret, sed reliqua protenus uniuersa damnaret. Prophana ipsa, cultores impios ac sacrilegos, aeterno plectendos igni uociferaretur.	Even those who do not accept the Christian religion try to deter no one from it and attack no one who has embraced it. There was one exception: a member of our company was punished while I was there. He had just been baptized, and, against our advice, he spoke publicly about the worship of Christ with more zeal than prudence. He grew so heated that he not only preferred our rites to the others but condemned all the rest outright. He shouted that they were profane in themselves and their worshipers impious and sacrilegious, deserving to be punished with eternal fire.
2.479	Talia diu concionantem comprehendunt, ac reum non spretae religionis, sed excitati in populo tumultus agunt, peraguntque, damnatum, exilio mulctant, siquidem hoc inter antiquissima instituta numerant, ne sua cuiquam religio fraudi sit.	When he had been preaching like this for a long time, they arrested him and put him on trial, not for contempt of religion but for stirring up a riot among the people. He was convicted and sentenced to exile. For it is one of their most ancient institutions that no one should suffer for his religion.

14 The truest communities: the monastic orders, whose shared life echoed the first Christians' holding of "all things in common" (Acts 2:44).

FREEDOM OF RELIGION

Utopus decreed that everyone may follow any religion, except those who deny providence and the soul's immortality.

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2.480	Utopus enim iam inde ab initio, quum accepisset incolas ante suum aduentum de religionibus inter se assidue dimicasse, atque animaduertisset eam rem, quod in commune dissidentes, singulae pro patria sectae pugnabant, occasionem praestitisse sibi uincendarum omnium, adeptus uictoriam in primis sanxit, uti quam cuique religionem libeat sequi liceat, ut uero alios quoque in suam traducat, hactenus niti possit, uti placide, ac modeste suam rationibus astruat, non ut acerbe caeteras destruat, si suadendo non persuadeat, neque uim ullam adhibeat, & conuicijs temperet, petulantius hac de re contendentem exilio, aut seruitute mulctant.	Right from the beginning Utopus had heard that before his arrival the inhabitants had been constantly fighting among themselves over religion. He had also noticed that this very fact—that the sects were at odds with one another and each fought separately for their country—had given him the opportunity to conquer them all. Once he had won, therefore, he decreed first of all that everyone might follow whatever religion he pleased. Each might also try to bring others over to his own, but only so far as to argue for it calmly and modestly with reasons, not to tear down the others bitterly if persuasion failed; he was not to use any force, and was to refrain from abuse. Anyone who contends about religion too insolently they punish with exile or slavery.
2.481	Haec Utopus instituit non respectu pacis modo quam assiduo certamine, atque inexpiabili odio funditus uidit euerti, sed quod arbitratus est, uti sic decerneretur, ipsius etiam religionis interesse, de qua nihil est ausus temere definire, uelut incertum habens, an uarium ac multiplicem expetens cultum deus, aliud inspiret alij, certe ui ac minis exigere, ut quod tu uerum credis idem omnibus uideatur, hoc uero & insolens & ineptum censuit. tum si maxime una uera sit, caeterae omnes uanae, facile tamen praeuidit (modo cum ratione ac modestia res agatur) futurum denique; ut ipsa per se ueri uis emergat aliquando atque emineat.	Utopus made this law not only for the sake of peace, which he saw being utterly destroyed by constant conflict and implacable hatred, but also because he thought such a decree was in the interest of religion itself. On religion he did not dare to lay down anything rashly, since he was uncertain whether God, desiring varied and manifold worship, might inspire different people differently. He certainly judged it both arrogant and foolish to demand by force and threats that what you believe to be true should seem so to everyone. Moreover, even if one religion is entirely true and all the others false, he readily foresaw that, provided the matter was handled with reason and moderation, the power of truth would in the end emerge and prevail of its own accord.
	sin armis & tumultu certetur, ut sint pessimi quique maxime peruicaces, optimam ac sanctissimam religionem ob uanissimas inter se superstitiones, ut segetes inter spinas ac frutices obrutum iri.	But if the struggle were carried on with weapons and riots, then, since the worst people are always the most stubborn, the best and holiest religion would be smothered by the emptiest superstitions, like crops choked by thorns and brambles.
2.482	Itaque hanc totam rem in medio posuit, & quid credendum putaret liberum cuique reliquit. Nisi quod sancte ac seuere uetuit, ne quis usque adeo ab humanae naturae dignitate degeneret, ut animas quoque interire cum corpore, aut mundum temere ferri, sublata prouidentia putet. atque ideo post hanc uitam supplicia uitijs decreta, uirtuti praemia constituta credunt. contra	So he left the whole matter open and allowed each person to believe what he thought right. There was one exception: he solemnly and strictly forbade anyone to sink so far below the dignity of human nature as to believe that souls perish with the body, or that the world drifts along by chance,

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	sentientem, ne in hominum quidem ducunt numero, ut qui sublimem animae suae naturam, ad pecuini corpusculi uilitatem deiecerit, tantum abest ut inter ciues ponant, quorum instituta, moresque (si per metum liceat) omnes, floccifacturus sit.	with no providence. And so they believe that after this life punishments are decreed for vices and rewards laid up for virtue. Anyone who thinks otherwise they do not even count as a human being, since he has lowered the lofty nature of his soul to the level of a beast's paltry body. Still less do they count him among their citizens, since, if it were not for fear, he would set all their institutions and customs at naught.
2.484	Cui enim dubium esse potest, quin is publicas patriae leges, aut arte clam eludere, aut ui nitatur infringere, dum suae priuatim cupiditati seruiat, cui nullus ultra leges metus, nihil ultra corpus spei superest amplius. Quamobrem sic animato nullus communicatur honos, nullus magistratus committitur, nulli publico muneri praeficitur. Ita passim uelut inertis, ac iacentis naturae despicitur.	For who can doubt that a man who has nothing to fear beyond the laws and nothing to hope for beyond the body will try either to evade the public laws of his country by secret cunning or to break them by force, in order to serve his own private desires? So no honor is granted to a man of that mind, no magistracy entrusted to him, no public office put in his charge. Everywhere he is looked down on as someone of a sluggish and base nature.
2.487	Caeterum nullo afficiunt supplicio, quod persuasum habeant, nulli hoc in manu esse, ut quicquid libet, sentiat; sed nec minis adigunt ullis, animum ut dissimulet suum, nec fucos admittunt, & mendacia, quae uelut proxima fraudi, mirum quam habent inuisa. Uerum ne pro sua disputet sententia prohibent, atque id duntaxat apud uulgus. Nam alioquin apud sacerdotes, grauesque uiros seorsum, non sinunt modo, sed hortantur quoque, confisi fore, ut ea tandem uesania rationi cedat.	They do not, however, punish him in any way, because they are convinced that no one has it in his power to believe whatever he likes. Nor do they use threats to force him to disguise his opinion, and they do not tolerate pretense and lies, which, as next door to fraud, they hate remarkably. But they forbid him to argue for his opinion, at least among the common people. In private, with the priests and serious-minded men, they not only allow it but even encourage it, confident that this madness will in the end give way to reason.
2.490	Sunt & alij, nec hij sane pauci, nempe improhibiti, ueluti neque ratione penitus pro se carentes, neque mali, qui uitio longe diuerso, brutorum quoque aeternas esse animas opinantur. At nostris tamen neque dignitate comparandas, neque ad aequam natas felicitatem. hominum enim cuncti fere tam immensam fore beatitudinem pro certo atque explorato habent, ut morbum lamententur omnium, mortem uero nullius, nisi quem uident anxie e uita, inuitumque diuelli. Nempe hoc pro pessimo habent augurio, tanquam anima exspes ac male conscia, occulto quopiam imminentis poenae praesagio, reformidet exitum.	There are others too, and not a few, who are not prohibited, since they are neither wholly without reason on their side nor wicked. Erring in quite the opposite direction, they believe that the souls of animals too are eternal. These souls, however, are not comparable to ours in dignity, nor destined for an equal happiness. For almost all of them hold it as certain and settled that human bliss will be so immense that they lament anyone's illness but no one's death—except when they see someone torn from life anxiously and against his will. This they regard as a very bad omen, as though the soul, without hope and with a guilty con-

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science, dreaded its departure from some secret foreboding of punishment to come.

2.493 Ad hoc haudquaquam gratum deo, eius putant aduentum fore, qui quum sit accersitus, non accurrit libens, sed inuitus ac detrectans pertrahitur.

Hoc igitur mortis genus, qui intuentur horrent, itaque defunctos, moesti ac silentes efferunt, precatique propitium manibus deum, uti eorum clementer infirmitatibus ignoscat, terra cadauer obruunt.

Moreover, they think that such a man's arrival will not be at all welcome to God, since when summoned he does not come running gladly but is dragged unwilling and reluctant.

Those who witness this kind of death are horrified by it. So they carry out the dead sadly and in silence, and after praying God to be gracious to the departed spirit and mercifully forgive its weaknesses, they bury the body in the earth.

2.495 Contra, quicunque alacriter ac pleni bona spe decesserint, hos nemo luget, sed cantu prosequuti funus, animas deo, magno commendantes affectu, corpora tandem reuerenter magis quam dolenter concremant, columnamque loco insculptis defuncti titulis erigunt. domum reuersi, mores, actaque eius recensent, nec ulla uitae pars, aut saepius, aut libentius, quam laetus tractatur interitus.

Hanc probitatis memoriam, & uiuis efficacissima rentur incitamenta uirtutum, & gratissimum defunctis cultum putant, quos interesse quoque de se sermonibus opinantur, quanquam (ut est hebes mortalium acies) inuisibiles.

On the other hand, no one mourns those who have died cheerfully and full of good hope. They accompany their funerals with singing, commend their souls to God with great affection, and finally cremate their bodies with reverence rather than grief, and on the spot they set up a column inscribed with the dead person's record. When they get home, they go over his character and deeds, and no part of his life is dwelt on more often or more gladly than his joyful death.

They think that this remembrance of goodness is the most effective incentive to virtue for the living and the most welcome form of honor for the dead. They believe that the dead are present when they are being talked about, though invisible, since mortal sight is so dull.

2.497 Nam neque felicium sorti conueniat, libertate carere migrandi quo uelint, & ingratorum fuerit prorsus abiecisse desyderium amicos inuisendi suos, quibus eos dum uiuerent, mutuus amor, charitasque deuinxerat, quam bonis uiris, ut caetera bona, auctam post fata potius, quam imminutam coniectant.

Mortuos ergo uersari inter uiuentes credunt, dictorum factorumque spectatores, eoque res agendas fidentius aggrediuntur, talibus uelut freti praesidibus, & ab inhonesto secreto deterret eos, credita maiorum praesentia.

Auguria, caeterasque superstitionis uanae diuinationes, quarum apud alias gentes magna est obseruatio, negligunt prorsus, atque irrident.

For it would not suit the lot of the blessed to lack the freedom to go wherever they wish; and it would be utterly ungrateful of them to have cast off all desire to visit their friends, to whom mutual love and affection bound them while they lived. They suppose that in good men this affection, like their other good qualities, is increased rather than diminished after death.

So they believe that the dead move among the living, watching what they say and do. As a result they go about their business more confidently, trusting in such guardians, as it were; and the belief that their ancestors are present keeps them from doing anything shameful in secret.

Auguries and the other kinds of divination belonging to empty superstition, to which other peoples pay great attention, they utterly disregard and laugh at.

2.500

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	Miracula uero, quae nullo naturae proueniunt adminiculo, uelut praesentis opera, testesque numinis uenerantur. qualia & ibi frequenter extare ferunt, & magnis interdum ac dubijs in rebus publica supplicatione, certa cum fiducia procurant, impetrantque.	Miracles, on the other hand, which happen without any help from nature, they revere as works and witnesses of the divine presence. They say that such miracles often occur there, and sometimes, in great and critical matters, they seek them through public prayer with sure confidence, and obtain them.
	Gratum deo cultum putant naturae contemplationem, laudemque ab ea. sunt tamen, hijque haud sane pauci, qui religione ducti, literas negligunt, nulli rerum cognitioni student, neque ocio prorsus ulli uacant, negocijs tantum, bonisque in caeteris officijs statuunt, futuram post fata felicitatem promereri.	They think that the contemplation of nature, and the praise of God that arises from it, is a form of worship pleasing to him. There are some, however, and indeed not a few, who, led by religion, neglect learning, pursue no knowledge of things, and allow themselves no leisure at all. They have resolved to earn happiness after death solely by hard work and by good services to others.
2.502	Itaque alij aegrotis inseruiunt, alij uias reficiunt, purgant fossas, pontes reparant, cespites, arenam, lapides effodiunt, arbores demoliuntur ac dissecant, bigisque ligna, fruges, item alia in urbes important, nec in publicum modo, sed priuatim quoque ministros, ac plus quam seruos agunt.	So some of them nurse the sick; others repair roads, clean out ditches, rebuild bridges, dig turf, sand and stones, fell trees and saw them up, and bring wood, grain and other things into the cities by cart. They act as servants, and more than slaves, not only for the public but for private individuals too.
	Nam quicquid usquam operis est asperum, difficile, sordidum, a quo plerosque labor, fastidium, desperatio deterreat, hoc illi sibi totum libentes, hilaresque desumunt, caeteris ocium procurant, ipsi perpetuo in opere ac labore uersantur, nec imputant tamen, nec aliorum sugillant uitam, nec suam efferunt.	Whatever work there is anywhere that is rough, hard or dirty, the kind from which toil, disgust and despair would deter most people, they take entirely on themselves, gladly and cheerfully. They secure leisure for others while they themselves are constantly at work and toil. Yet they do not claim credit for it, nor do they criticize the lives of others or boast of their own.
2.504	Hij quo magis sese seruos exhibent, eo maiore apud omnes in honore sunt.	The more they make themselves servants, the more they are honored by everyone.
	Eorum tamen haereses duae sunt, Altera caelibum, qui non Uenere modo in totum abstinent, sed carnium esu quoque. quidam animalium etiam omnium, reiectisque penitus tamquam noxijs uitae praesentis uoluptatibus, futurae duntaxat, per uigilias ac sudores inhiant, eius propediem obtinendae spe. alacres interim, uegetique.	There are, however, two sects of them. One consists of celibates, who abstain not only from sex altogether but also from eating meat—some of them from all animal food. Rejecting the pleasures of this present life entirely as harmful, they strive, with vigils and sweat, for the life to come alone, in the hope of attaining it soon; meanwhile they are cheerful and vigorous.
	Altera laboris haud minus appetens, coniugium praefert, ut cuius nec aspernantur solatium, & opus, naturae debere se, & patriae liberos putant.	The other sect is no less eager for work, but prefers marriage. They do not despise its comforts, and they think that they owe work to nature and children to their country.
	Nullam uoluptatem refugiunt, quae nihil eos ab labore demoretur.	They avoid no pleasure that does not keep them from their work.
2.508		

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	Carnes quadrupedum uel eo nomine diligunt, quod tali cibo se ualidiores ad opus quodque censeant.	They like the meat of four-footed animals precisely because they think that such food makes them stronger for any kind of work.
	Hos Utopiani prudentiores, at illos sanctiores reputant.	The Utopians consider these the wiser, but the others the holier.
	Quos quod caelibatum anteferunt matrimonio, asperamque uitam placidae anteponunt, si rationibus niterentur irriderent, nunc uero quum se fateantur religione duci suspiciunt ac reuerentur.	If the first group based their preference of celibacy to marriage and of a hard life to a peaceful one on reasoning, the Utopians would laugh at them; but as it is, since they profess to be led by religion, the Utopians look up to them and revere them.
	Nihil enim sollicitius obseruant, quam ne temere quicquam ulla de religione pronuncient.	For there is nothing they are more careful about than not to pronounce rashly on any religion.
	Huiusmodi ergo sunt, quos illi peculiari nomine sua lingua Buthrescas uocant, quod uerbum latine religiosos licet interpretari.	These, then, are the people whom they call by a special name in their language, Buthrescae, a word that may be rendered in Latin as *religiosi*, "the religious."[15]

PRIESTS AND WORSHIP

Raphael describes the Utopians' few elected priests, their festivals, their dim temples and their common prayer.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
2.513	Sacerdotes habent eximia sanctitate, eoque admodum paucos. neque enim plus quam tredecim in singulis habent urbibus pari templorum numero, nisi quum itur ad bellum. tunc enim septem ex illis cum exercitu profectis totidem sufficiuntur interim, sed illi reuersi, suum quisque locum recuperat, qui supersunt, hij quoad decedentibus illis ordine succedant, comites interea sunt Pontificis. Nam unus reliquis praeficitur.	Their priests are of exceptional holiness, and therefore very few: no more than thirteen in each city, one for each temple, except when they go to war. Then seven of them set out with the army, and seven others take their places in the meantime. When the first return, each recovers his own place, and those left over serve as assistants to the chief priest until they succeed in turn to those who die. For one of them is placed over the rest.
	Eliguntur a populo, idque caeterorum ritu magistratuum, occultis, ad studia uitanda, suffragijs. electi a suo collegio consecrantur.	They are elected by the people, as the other magistrates are, by secret ballot to prevent partisanship. Once elected, they are consecrated by their own college.
2.515	Hij rebus diuinis praesunt, religiones curant, ac morum ueluti censores sunt, magnoque pudori ducitur ab hijs quenquam tanquam uitae parum probatae accersi, compellariue.	They preside over divine worship, look after religious matters and act, as it were, as censors of morals; and it is considered a great disgrace to be summoned or reprimanded by them for not living an upright life.
	Caeterum ut hortari atque admonere illorum est, ita coercere atque in facinorosos animaduertere principis, atque aliorum est magistratuum, nisi quod sacris interdicunt, quos improbe malos comperiunt. nec ullum fere supplicium est quod horreant magis.	But while exhorting and admonishing is their business, restraining and punishing offenders belongs to the governor and the other magistrates—except that the priests bar from worship those they find to be flagrantly wicked. There is hardly any punishment people dread more.
	Nam & summa percelluntur infamia, & occulto religionis metu lacerantur, ne corporibus quidem diu futuris in	

15 Buthrescae: from Greek, roughly "exceedingly devout." In More's Latin, *religiosi* was the usual word for monks and friars.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	tuto. quippe ni properam poenitentiam sacerdotibus approbent, comprehensi impietatis poenam Senatui persoluunt.	For they are branded with the deepest disgrace and tormented by a secret religious fear; nor will their bodies be safe for long, since unless they quickly convince the priests of their repentance, they are arrested and pay the council the penalty for impiety.
2.518	Pueritia iuuentusque ab illis eruditur, nec prior literarum cura, quam morum ac uirtutis habetur, namque summam adhibent industriam, ut bonas protenus opiniones, & conseruandae ipsorum reipublicae utiles, teneris adhuc, & sequacibus puerorum animis instillent, quae ubi pueris penitus insederint, uiros per totam uitam comitantur, magnamque ad tuendum publicae rei statum (qui non nisi uitijs dilabitur, quae ex peruersis nascuntur opinionibus) afferunt utilitatem. Sacerdotibus (ni foeminae sint. nam neque ille sexus excluditur, sed rarius, & non nisi uidua, natuque grandis eligitur) uxores sunt popularium selectissimae.	The priests are in charge of educating children and young people, and they pay no more attention to learning than to morals and virtue. They take the greatest pains to instill, from the very start, good opinions that are useful for preserving their commonwealth into children's minds while they are still tender and pliable. Once these opinions have taken deep root in children, they stay with them as adults throughout their lives, and they do great service in safeguarding the state of the commonwealth, which never declines except through vices, and vices are born of wrong opinions. The priests, unless they are women (for that sex is not excluded, though women are chosen more rarely, and only if they are widows of advanced age), have as wives the finest women of the people.
2.520	Neque enim ulli apud Utopienses magistratui maior habetur honos usque adeo, ut si quid etiam flagitij admiserint, nulli publico iudicio subsint, deo tantum, ac sibi relinquuntur. Neque enim fas putant illum, quantumuis scelestum, mortali manu contingere, qui Deo tam singulari modo uelut anathema dedicatus est. Qui mos illis facilior est obseruatu, quod sacerdotes & tam pauci, & tanta cum cura deliguntur.	No office among the Utopians is held in greater honor—so much so that even if priests commit some crime, they are not subject to any public court but are left to God alone and to themselves. For they think it wrong for a mortal hand to touch someone, however wicked, who has been dedicated to God in so singular a way, as a consecrated offering. This custom is all the easier for them to observe because the priests are so few and chosen with such care.
2.523	Nam neque temere accidit, ut qui ex bonis optimus ad tantam dignitatem, solius respectu uirtutis euehitur, in corruptelam & uitium degeneret, & si iam maxime contingeret, ut est mortalium natura mutabilis, tamen qua sunt paucitate, nec ulla praeter honorem potestate praediti, ad publicam certe perniciem nihil magni ab his momenti pertimescendum sit.	For it rarely happens that someone who, as the best of the good, has been raised to so high a dignity purely on account of his virtue should sink into corruption and vice. And even if that did happen, as human nature is changeable, still, since they are so few and have no power apart from their honor, nothing of great consequence need be feared from them that could harm the public.
2.524	Quos ideo tam raros atque infrequentes habent, ne dignitas ordinis, quem nunc tanta ueneratione prosequuntur, communicato cum multis honore uilesceret, praesertim quum difficile putent frequentes	They keep their priests so few and far between so that the dignity of the order, which they now treat with such veneration, may not be cheapened by sharing the honor with many—especially since they think it hard to find many men good enough

	LATIN	ENGLISH
	inuenire tam bonos, ut ei sint dignitati pares, ad quam gerendam non sufficit mediocribus esse uirtutibus. Nec eorum aestimatio apud suos magis, quam apud exteras etiam gentes habetur, quod inde facile patet, unde etiam natum puto.	to be equal to that dignity, which calls for more than ordinary virtues. And they are esteemed no less among foreign nations than among their own people. This is easily seen from the practice from which, I think, that esteem also arose.
2.526	Nempe decernentibus praelio copijs, seorsum illi non admodum procul considunt in genibus, sacras induti uestes, tensis ad caelum palmis, primum omnium pacem, proxime, suis uictoriam, sed neutri cruentam parti comprecantur, uincentibus suis decurrunt in aciem, saeuientesque in profligatos inhibent, uidisse tantum atque appellasse praesentes ad uitam satis, diffluentium contactus uestium, reliquas quoque fortunas ab omni bellorum iniuria defendit.	When the armies are engaged in battle, the priests kneel apart, not very far off, dressed in their sacred vestments, with their palms stretched toward heaven. They pray first of all for peace, and next for victory for their own side, but bloodless for both. When their own side is winning, they run down into the battle line and restrain their men from raging against the routed enemy. Merely to have seen them and called on them is enough to save a man's life if they are present, and touching their flowing robes protects the rest of his possessions too from all the harms of war.
2.527	Qua ex re apud omnes undique gentes, tanta illis ueneratio, tantum uerae maiestatis accessit, ut saepe ab hostibus non minus salutis ad ciues reportarint, quam ab ipsis ad hostes attulissent. siquidem aliquando constat, inclinata suorum acie, desperatis rebus, quum ipsi in fugam uerterentur, hostes in caedem ac praedam ruerent, interuentu sacerdotum interpellatam stragem, ac diremptis inuicem copijs, pacem aequis conditionibus esse compositam atque constitutam.	As a result, among all peoples everywhere they have gained such veneration and so much true majesty that they have often brought back from the enemy no less safety for their own citizens than they had brought from their own side to the enemy. For it is well known that on occasion, when their own line had given way and the situation was desperate, when their men were turning to flight and the enemy were rushing in to kill and plunder, the slaughter was halted by the intervention of the priests; the two forces were separated, and peace was agreed and settled on fair terms.
2.528	Neque enim unquam fuit ulla gens tam fera, crudelis ac barbara, apud quos ipsorum corpus non sacrosanctum, atque inuiolabile sit habitum. festos celebrant initialem atque ultimum cuiusque mensis diem, & anni item, quem in menses partiuntur, circuitu lunae finitos, ut solis ambitus annum circinat. Primos quosque dies Cynemernos, postremos ipsorum lingua Trapemernos appellant, quae uocabula perinde sonant, ac si primifesti & finifesti uocentur. Delubra uisuntur egregia, utpote non operosa modo, sed quod erat in tanta ipsorum paucitate necessarium, immensi etiam populi capacia.	For there has never been a people so savage, cruel and barbarous that they did not regard the persons of these priests as sacred and inviolable. They celebrate as festivals the first and last day of each month, and likewise of the year, which they divide into months measured by the circuit of the moon, just as the course of the sun rounds off the year. In their language they call the first days Cynemerni and the last days Trapemerni, words that mean as much as "First-feasts" and "End-feasts." Their temples are remarkable to see: not only elaborately built but also—as was necessary, since there are so few of them—able to hold a vast crowd.
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	Sunt tamen omnia subobscura, nec id aedificandi inscitia factum, sed consilio sacerdotum ferunt, quod immodicam lucem cogitationes dispergere, partiore ac uelut dubia colligi animos, & intendi religionem putant. quae quoniam non est ibi apud omnes eadem, & uniuersae tamen eius formae quanquam uariae ac multiplices, in diuinae naturae cultum uelut in unum finem diuersa uia commigrant. idcirco nihil in templis uisitur, auditurue, quod non quadrare ad cunctas in commune uideatur.	Yet they are all rather dark. They say this was not done out of ignorance of building but on the advice of the priests, who think that too much light scatters the thoughts, while a dimmer and, as it were, uncertain light gathers the mind and intensifies religious feeling. Religion there is not the same for everyone; yet all its forms, however varied and manifold, converge by different paths on the worship of the divine nature, as on a single goal. So nothing is seen or heard in the temples that does not seem to suit them all in common.
2.532	Si quod proprium sit cuiusquam sectae sacrum, id intra domesticos quisque parietes curat, publica tali peragunt ordine, qui nulli prorsus ex priuatis deroget. Itaque nulla deorum effigies in templo conspicitur, quo liberum cuique sit, qua forma deum uelit e summa religione concipere. nullum peculiare dei nomen inuocant, sed Mythrae duntaxat, quo uocabulo cuncti in unam diuinae maiestatis naturam, quaecunque sit illa, conspirant, nullae concipiuntur preces, quas non pronunciare quiuis inoffensa sua secta possit.	If any sect has a rite of its own, each person performs it within the walls of his own home. Public worship is conducted in such a way that it takes nothing away from any of the private forms. So no image of the gods is to be seen in the temple, so that each may be free to conceive of God in whatever form he wishes, in keeping with his own deepest devotion. They call on God by no particular name except Mithras, a word in which all agree on the one nature of the divine majesty, whatever that may be. No prayers are composed that anyone could not say without offense to his own sect.
2.534	Ad templum ergo in finifestis diebus uespere conueniunt, adhuc ieiuni, acturi deo de anno, menseue cuius id festum postremus dies est, prospere acto gratias, postero die, nam is primifestus est, mane ad templa confluitur, ut insequentis anni, mensisue, quem ab illo auspicaturi festo sint, faustum felicemque successum comprecentur.	So on the End-feast days they gather in the temple in the evening, still fasting, to thank God for the successful course of the year or month whose last day that feast is. The next day, which is a First-feast, they flock to the temples in the morning to pray for good fortune and success in the coming year or month, which they are about to begin with that festival.
2.535	At in finifestis antea quam templum petunt uxores, domi ad uirorum pedes, liberi ad parentum prouoluti, peccasse fatentur sese aut admisso aliquo, aut officio indiligenter obito, ueniamque errati precantur. ita si qua se nubecula domesticae simultatis offuderat, tali satisfactione discutitur, uti animo puro ac sereno sacrificijs intersint. nam interesse turbido, religio est. eoque odij, iraeue in quenquam sibi conscij, nisi reconciliati ac defecatis affectibus ad sacrificia non ingerunt sese, uindictae celeris, magnaeque metu.	On the End-feasts, before they go to the temple, wives kneel at home at their husbands' feet and children at their parents', confess that they have done wrong, either by committing some fault or by performing some duty carelessly, and ask pardon for their error. So if any little cloud of domestic resentment has arisen, it is dispelled by such amends, and they can take part in the sacrifices with pure and serene minds; for they consider it sacrilege to attend with a troubled one. Therefore, if they are aware of feeling hatred or anger toward anyone, they do not present themselves at the sacrifices until they have been reconciled and have purged their feelings, for fear of swift and severe punishment.
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	Eo quum ueniunt, uiri in dextram delubri partem, foeminae seorsum in sinistram commeant. tum ita se collocant, ut cuiusque domus masculi ante patremfamilias consideant, foeminarum materfamilias agmen claudat. Ita prospicitur, uti omnes omnium gestus foris ab his obseruentur, quorum autoritate domi ac disciplina reguntur, quin hoc quoque sedulo cauent, uti iunior ibi passim cum seniore copuletur, ne pueri pueris crediti, id temporis puerilibus transigant ineptijs, in quo deberent maxime religiosum erga superos metum, maximum, ac prope unicum uirtutibus incitamentum concipere.	When they arrive, the men go to the right side of the temple and the women separately to the left. Then they seat themselves so that the males of each household sit in front of the father of that household, while the mother of the household brings up the rear of the women. In this way they make sure that everyone's every gesture in public is watched by those whose authority and discipline govern them at home. They also take great care that throughout the temple the young are seated beside the old. Otherwise children left in the charge of children might spend in childish nonsense the very time in which they ought most of all to develop a religious awe of the powers above—the greatest and almost the only incentive to virtue.
2.538	Nullum animal in sacrificijs mactant, nec sanguine rentur, ac caedibus diuinam gaudere clementiam, qui uitam animantibus ideo est elargitus, ut uiuerent. Thus incendunt & alia item odoramenta, ad haec cereos numerosos praeferunt, non quod haec nesciant nihil ad diuinam conferre naturam, quippe ut nec ipsas hominum preces, sed & innoxium colendi genus placet, & hijs odoribus luminibusque, ac caeteris etiam cerimonijs nescio quomodo sese sentiunt homines erigi, atque in dei cultum animo alacriore consurgere.	They kill no animal in their sacrifices, and they do not think that the divine mercy delights in blood and slaughter, since God gave life to living creatures so that they might live. They burn incense and other fragrances too, and they also carry many candles. This is not because they do not know that such things add nothing to the divine nature—any more than people's prayers do. But they like this harmless kind of worship, and they feel that these scents and lights, and the other ceremonies too, somehow lift people up and make them rise with livelier minds to the worship of God.
2.540	Candidis in templo uestibus amicitur populus, sacerdos uersicolores induitur, & opere & forma mirabiles materia non perinde preciosa. neque enim auro intextae. aut raris coagmentatae lapidibus, sed diuersis auium plumis, tam scite, tantoque artificio laboratae sunt, ut operis precium nullius aestimatio materiae fuerit aequatura. Ad hoc in illis uolucrum pennis, plumisque, & certis earum ordinibus, quibus in sacerdotis ueste discriminantur, arcana quaedam dicunt contineri mysteria, quorum interpretatione cognita (quae per sacrificos diligenter traditur) diuinorum in se beneficiorum, suaeque uicissim pietatis in deum, ac mutui quoque inter se officij admoneantur.	In the temple the people are dressed in white. The priest wears vestments of many colors, wonderful in workmanship and design, though the material is not especially precious. For they are not woven with gold or set with rare stones but made of the feathers of various birds, worked with such skill and artistry that no valuation of the material could ever match the worth of the work. Moreover, they say that certain hidden mysteries are contained in these birds' feathers and plumes, and in the particular patterns in which they are arranged on the priest's vestment. Once people learn their meaning (which is carefully handed down by the priests), they are reminded of God's benefits to them, of the devotion they owe God in return, and of their duties to one another.
2.542	Quum primum sacerdos ita ornatus ex adyto sese offert, cuncti protinus in terram uenerabundi procumbunt, tam	As soon as the priest, dressed in this way, comes out of the sanctuary, everyone at once falls to the

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	alto ab omni parte silentio, ut ipsa rei facies, terrorem quemdam uelut praesentis cuiuspiam numinis incutiat. Tellure paulum morati, dato ab sacerdote signo, erigunt sese. tum laudes deo canunt, quas musicis instrumentis interstingunt, alijs magna ex parte formis, quam quae nostro uisuntur orbe. Ex illis pleraque sicuti quae nobis in usu sunt, multum suauitate uincunt. ita quaedam nostris ne conferenda quidem sint.	ground in reverence, in so deep a silence on every side that the very sight of it strikes a kind of awe, as if some deity were present. After remaining on the ground a little while, they rise at a signal from the priest. Then they sing praises to God, interspersed with music played on instruments, most of them quite different in shape from those seen in our part of the world. Many of these far surpass ours in sweetness, just as some are not even to be compared with ours.
2.545	Uerum una in re haud dubie longo nos interuallo praecellunt, quod omnis eorum musica, siue quae personatur organis, siue quam uoce modulantur humana, ita naturales affectus imitatur & exprimit, ita sonus accommodatur ad rem, seu deprecantis oratio sit, seu laeta, placabilis, turbida, lugubris, irata, ita rei sensum quendam melodiae forma repraesentat, ut animos auditorum mirum in modum afficiat, penetret, incendat. solennes ad ultimum conceptis uerbis preces, sacerdos pariter populusque percensent, ita compositas, ut quae simul cuncti recitant, priuatim quisque ad semet referat.	But in one respect they are undoubtedly far ahead of us. All their music, whether played on instruments or sung by the human voice, imitates and expresses natural feelings so well, fits the sound so closely to the subject—whether the words are a supplication or are joyful, conciliatory, troubled, mournful or angry—and represents the sense of the matter so vividly in the shape of the melody, that it moves, pierces and inflames the hearts of the listeners to a wonderful degree. At the end, priest and people together recite solemn prayers in set words, composed so that what all recite together each person can apply privately to himself.
2.546	In his deum & creationis, & gubernationis, & caeterorum praeterea bonorum omnium, quilibet recognoscit autorem, tot ob recepta beneficia gratias agit. nominatim uero quod deo propitio in eam rempublicam inciderit quae sit felicissima, eam religionem sortitus sit, quam speret esse uerissimam.	In these prayers each person acknowledges God as the author of creation, of the government of the world and of all other good things besides, and gives him thanks for so many benefits received—and in particular that, by God's favor, he has been born into the happiest of commonwealths and has been given the religion he hopes is the truest.
2.547	Qua in re, si quid erret, aut si quid sit alterutra melius, & quod deus magis approbet, orare se eius bonitas efficiat, hoc ut ipse cognoscat. paratum enim sequi se quaqua uersus ab eo ducatur, sin & haec Reipublicae forma sit optima, & sua religio rectissima, tum uti & ipsi constantiam tribuat, & caeteros mortales omneis ad eadem instituta uiuendi, in eandem de deo opinionem perducat, nisi inscrutabilem eius uoluntatem etiam sit, quod in hac religionum uarietate delectet.	If he is mistaken in this, or if there is something better than either that God approves of more, he prays that God in his goodness will let him know it, for he is ready to follow wherever God leads him. But if this form of commonwealth is the best and his religion the truest, then he prays that God will grant him constancy in them and bring all other mortals to the same way of life and the same belief about God—unless there is something in this variety of religions that pleases God's inscrutable will.
2.548	Denique precatur, ut facile defunctum exitu ad se recipiat, quam cito, seroue praefinire quidem non audere se. Quanquam quod inoffensa eius maiestate fiat, multo magis ipsi futurum cordi sit, difficillima morte obita, ad	Finally he prays that God will take him to himself after an easy death, though how soon or how late he does not presume to say. Yet if it could be done without offense to God's majesty, he would much rather suffer the hardest

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	deum peruadere, quam ab eo diutius, prosperrimo uitae cursu distineri. Hac prece dicta rursus in terram proni, pauloque post erecti, discedunt pransum, & quod superest diei, ludis & exercitio militaris disciplinae percurrunt.	of deaths and come to God than be kept away from him longer by the most prosperous course of life. When this prayer has been said, they prostrate themselves on the ground again, and shortly afterward they rise and go off to lunch. The rest of the day they spend in games and military exercises.

RAPHAEL'S VERDICT

Raphael calls Utopia the only true commonwealth and every other state a conspiracy of the rich.

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2.551	Descripsi uobis quam potui uerissime eius formam Reipublicae quam ego certe non optimam tantum, sed solam etiam censeo, quae sibi suo iure possit Reipublicae uendicare uocabulum. Siquidem alibi, de publico loquentes ubique commodo, priuatum curant. Hic ubi nihil priuati est, serio publicum negotium agunt, certe utrobique merito. Nam alibi, quotus quisque est qui nesciat, nisi quid seorsum prospiciat sibi, quantumuis florente Republica semet tamen fame periturum, eoque necessitas urget, ut sui potius, quam populi id est aliorum habendam sibi rationem censeat.	I have described to you as truthfully as I could the form of that commonwealth which I consider not only the best but the only one that can rightly claim the name of commonwealth. For everywhere else people talk about the public good but look after their private interests. Here, where nothing is private, they take public business seriously. In both cases they have good reason. For elsewhere, how many people are there who do not know that, however prosperous the commonwealth may be, they will starve unless they make some provision for themselves? So necessity compels them to think that they must look after themselves rather than the people, that is, other people.
2.555	Contra hic, ubi omnia omnium sunt nemo dubitat (curetur modo, ut plena sint horrea publica) nihil quicquam priuati cuiquam defuturum. Neque enim maligna rerum distributio est, neque inops, neque mendicus ibi quisquam. & quum nemo quicquam habeat, omnes tamen diuites sunt.	Here, on the contrary, where everything belongs to everyone, no one doubts that, as long as care is taken to keep the public granaries full, no individual will ever lack anything he needs. For the distribution of goods is not grudging, and there is no one poor there and no beggar. And though no one owns anything, everyone is rich.
2.557	Nam quid ditius esse potest, quam adempta prorsus omni solicitudine, laeto ac tranquillo animo uiuere! non de suo uictu trepidum, non uxoris querula flagitatione uexatum, non paupertatem filio metuentem, non de filiae dote anxium, sed de suo, suorumque omnium, uxoris, filiorum, nepotum, pronepotum, abnepotum, & quam longam posterorum seriem suorum, generosi praesumunt, uictu esse, ac felicitate securum. Quid quod nihilo minus his prospicitur, qui nunc impotes olim laborauerunt, quam his qui nunc laborant.	For what can be richer than to live with a glad and tranquil mind, free of every worry? Not fretting about one's livelihood, not harassed by a wife's nagging demands, not fearing poverty for one's son, not anxious about a daughter's dowry, but secure about the livelihood and happiness of oneself and of all one's family—wife, children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, great-great-grandchildren, and as long a line of descendants as the well-born like to count on. Moreover, those who once worked but can no longer do so are provided for no less than those who are working now.

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2.559	Hic aliquis uelim cum hac aequitate audeat aliarum iustitiam gentium comparare, apud quas dispeream, si ullum prorsus comperio, iustitiae, aequitatisque uestigium.	At this point I would like someone to dare to compare this fairness with the justice of other nations. May I perish if I find among them any trace at all of justice or fairness.
2.560	Nam quae haec iustitia est, ut nobilis quispiam, aut aurifex, aut foenerator, aut denique alius quisquam eorum, qui aut omnino nihil agunt, aut id quod agunt, eius generis est, ut non sit Reipublicae magnopere necessarium, lautam ac splendidam uitam, uel ex ocio, uel superuacuo negotio consequatur, quum interim mediastinus, auriga, faber, agricola, tanto, tamque assiduo labore, quam uix iumenta sustineant, tam necessario, ut sine eo ne unum quidem annum possit ulla durare Respublica uictum tamen adeo malignum parant, uitam adeo miseram ducunt, ut longe potior uideri possit conditio iumentorum, quibus nec tam perpetuus labor, nec uictus multo deterior est, & ipsis etiam suauior, nec ullus interim de futuro timor.	For what kind of justice is it that some nobleman, or goldsmith, or moneylender, or anyone else of those who either do nothing at all or do work of a kind not very necessary to the commonwealth, should obtain a lavish and splendid life from idleness or from superfluous business? Meanwhile the laborer, the carter, the craftsman and the farmer work so hard and so constantly that even beasts of burden could hardly bear it, at work so necessary that no commonwealth could last a single year without it—and yet they earn so meager a living and lead so wretched a life that the condition of beasts of burden might seem far preferable. For the beasts' labor is not so unceasing, their food is not much worse, and even tastes better to them, and meanwhile they have no fear about the future.
2.561	At hos & labor sterilis, atque infructuosus, in praesenti stimulat, & inopis recordatio senectutis occidit, quippe quibus parcior est diurna merces, quam ut eidem possit diei sufficere, tantum abest ut excrescat, & supersit aliquid quod quotidie queat in senectutis usum reponi. An non haec iniqua est & ingrata respublica, quae generosis ut uocant & aurificibus, & id genus reliquis, aut ociosis, aut tantum adulatoribus, & inanium uoluptatum artificibus, tanta munera prodigit. agricolis contra, carbonarijs, mediastinis, aurigis & fabris, sine quibus nulla omnino Respublica esset, nihil benigne prospicit.	But these men are driven on in the present by barren and fruitless toil and are tormented to death by the thought of a destitute old age. Their daily wage is too small to last even for that day, let alone to increase and leave something over that could be put aside each day for their old age. Is not this an unjust and ungrateful commonwealth? It lavishes such rewards on the so-called gentry, on goldsmiths and the rest of that sort, who are either idle or mere flatterers and contrivers of empty pleasures, while it makes no kindly provision for farmers, charcoal burners, laborers, carters and craftsmen, without whom there would be no commonwealth at all.
2.563	Sed eorum florentis aetatis abusa laboribus, annis tandem ac morbo graues, omnium rerum indigos, tot uigiliarum immemor, tot ac tantorum oblita beneficiorum miserrima morte repensat ingratissima. Quid quod ex diurno pauperum demenso diuites cotidie aliquid, non modo priuata fraude, sed publicis etiam legibus abradunt, ita quod ante uidebatur iniustum, optime de Republica meritis pessimam referre gratiam, hoc isti deprauatum etiam fecerunt, tum prouulgata lege iustitiam.	Instead, having exploited their labors in the prime of life, when at last they are weighed down with age and illness and in need of everything, it forgets all their sleepless nights, forgets all their many great services, and most ungratefully repays them with a most miserable death. What of the fact that the rich every day scrape away something from the daily allowance of the poor, not only by private fraud but even by public laws? So what before already seemed unjust—repaying those who have deserved best of the commonwealth with the worst ingratitude—they have

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now perverted still further and, by publishing a law, turned into justice.

2.565 Itaque omnes has quae hodie usquam florent Respublicas animo intuenti ac uersanti mihi, nihil sic me amet deus, occurrit aliud quam quaedam conspiratio diuitum, de suis commodis Reipublicae nomine, tituloque tractantium. comminiscunturque & excogitant omnes modos atque artes quibus, quae malis artibus ipsi congesserunt, ea primum ut absque perdendi metu retineant, post hoc ut pauperum omnium opera, ac laboribus quam minimo sibi redimant, eisque abutantur.

Haec machinamenta, ubi semel diuites publico nomine hoc est etiam pauperum, decreuerunt obseruari, iam leges fiunt.

So when I consider and turn over in my mind all the commonwealths that flourish anywhere today, nothing, so help me God, comes to mind but a kind of conspiracy of the rich, who look after their own interests under the name and title of the commonwealth. They devise and think up every means and trick by which, first, they may keep without fear of losing it what they have amassed by wicked tricks, and then may buy the work and labor of all the poor as cheaply as possible and exploit them.

Once the rich have decreed that these schemes are to be observed in the name of the public—which includes the poor—they become laws.

2.567 At homines deterrimi cum inexplebili cupiditate, quae fuerant omnibus suffectura, ea omnia inter se partiuerint, quam longe tamen ab Utopiensium Reipublicae felicitate absunt! e qua cum ipso usu sublata penitus omni auiditate pecuniae, quanta moles molestiarum recisa, quanta scelerum seges radicitus euulsa est! Quis enim nescit fraudes, furta, rapinas, rixas, tumultus, iurgia, seditiones, caedes, proditiones, ueneficia, cotidianis uindicata potius quam refrenata supplicijs, interempta pecunia commori, ad haec metum sollicitudinem, curas, labores, uigilias, eodem momento quo pecunia perituras. quin paupertas ipsa, quae sola pecunijs uisa est indigere, pecunia prorsus undique sublata, protinus etiam ipsa decresceret.

Yet even when the worst of men, with insatiable greed, have divided among themselves all the things that would have been enough for everyone, how far they still are from the happiness of the Utopian commonwealth! There the very use of money has been abolished, and with it all greed for money; and what a mass of misery has been cut away, what a crop of crimes pulled up by the roots! For who does not know that frauds, thefts, robberies, brawls, riots, quarrels, seditions, murders, treasons and poisonings—which daily punishments avenge rather than restrain—would die along with money once money was done away with? And that fear, anxiety, worries, toil and sleepless nights would perish the very moment money did? Indeed poverty itself, which alone seemed to need money, would at once diminish if money were entirely abolished everywhere.

id quo fiat illustrius, reuolue in animo tecum annum aliquem sterilem atque infoecundum, in quo multa hominum millia, fames abstulerit, contendo plane in fine illius penuriae excussis diuitum horreis, tantum frugum potuisse reperiri, quantum si fuisset inter eos distributum, quos macies ac tabes absumpsit illam caeli, solique parcitatem, nemo omnino sensisset. tam facile uictus parari posset, nisi beata illa pecunia, quae praeclare scilicet inuenta est, ut aditus ad uictum per eam patesceret, sola nobis ad uictum uiam intercluderet.

To make this clearer, think of some barren and unproductive year in which famine carried off many thousands of people. I firmly maintain that if the granaries of the rich had been searched at the end of that scarcity, enough grain would have been found that, had it been distributed among those who died of starvation and wasting disease, no one would have noticed that niggardliness of sky and soil at all. So easily could people get a living, were it not that blessed money—a splendid invention, of course, meant to open the way to a living—is the one thing that blocks our way to a living.

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	LATIN	ENGLISH
	Sentiunt ista, non dubito, etiam diuites, nec ignorant quanto potior esset illa conditio nulla re necessaria carere, quam multis abundare superfluis, tam numerosis eripi malis, quam magnis obsideri diuitijs.	I have no doubt that the rich themselves are aware of this. They know perfectly well how much better it would be to lack nothing necessary than to have an abundance of superfluities, to be rescued from so many evils than to be besieged by great riches.
2.569	Neque mihi quidem dubitare subit, quin uel sui cuiusque commodi ratio, uel Christi seruatoris autoritas (qui neque pro tanta sapientia potuit ignorare quid optimum esset, neque qua erat bonitate id consulere, quod non optimum sciret) totum orbem facile in huius Reipublicae leges iamdudum traxisset, nisi una tantum belua, omnium princeps parensque pestium superbia, reluctaretur. haec non suis commodis prosperitatem, sed ex alienis metitur incommodis. haec ne Dea quidem fieri uellet, nullis relictis miseris quibus imperare atque insultare possit.	Nor do I doubt for a moment that either each person's regard for his own interest, or the authority of Christ our Savior (who in his great wisdom could not fail to know what was best, and in his goodness would not have advised what he did not know to be best), would long ago have easily drawn the whole world to adopt the laws of this commonwealth—were it not for the resistance of one single monster, the chief and parent of all plagues: pride. Pride measures prosperity not by her own advantages but by other people's disadvantages. Pride would not even wish to be made a goddess if no wretches were left for her to lord it over and insult.
2.570	Quorum miserijs praefulgeat ipsius comparata felicitas, quorum suis explicatis opibus, angat atque incendat inopiam. Haec auerni serpens mortalium pererrans pectora, ne meliorem uitae capessant uiam, uelut remora retrahit ac remoratur. quae quoniam pressius hominibus infixa est, quam ut facile possit euelli, hanc Reipublicae formam, quam omnibus libenter optarim, Utopiensibus saltem contigisse gaudeo, qui ea uitae sunt instituta sequuti, quibus Reipublicae fundamenta iecerunt non modo felicissime, uerumetiam quantum humana praesagiri coniectura contigit, aeternum duratura.	She needs wretches whose miseries will make her own good fortune shine brighter by comparison, whose poverty she can torment and inflame by displaying her wealth. This serpent from hell, creeping through the hearts of mortals, holds them back like a remora and stops them from taking a better way of life. Since it is fixed in people too deeply to be easily pulled out, I am glad that this form of commonwealth, which I would gladly wish for all, has at least fallen to the lot of the Utopians. They have followed ways of life by which they have laid the foundations of a commonwealth that is not only most happy but also, so far as human conjecture can foresee, destined to last forever.[16]
2.572	Extirpatis enim domi cum caeteris uitijs ambitionis, & factionum radicibus, nihil impendet periculi, ne domestico dissidio laboretur, quae res una multarum urbium egregie munitas opes pessundedit. At salua domi concordia, & salubribus institutis, non omnium finitimorum inuidia principum (quae saepius id iam olim semper reuerberata tentauit) concutere illud imperium, aut commouere queat.	For since at home, along with the other vices, they have rooted out ambition and faction, there is no danger of their suffering from internal discord, which alone has ruined the well-defended power of many cities. As long as harmony at home and their sound institutions remain intact, the envy of all the neighboring rulers—which has often tried it in the past and has always been beaten back—could never shake or disturb that realm.

16 Remora: the sucker fish believed in antiquity to hold ships back; the Latin verb *remoratur* ("holds back") plays on its name.

MORE'S REPLY

More privately doubts much of what he heard but would rather wish than hope for many Utopian ways.

	LATIN	ENGLISH
2.574	Haec ubi Raphael recensuit, quanquam haud pauca mihi succurrebant, quae in eius populi moribus, legibusque perquam absurde uidebantur instituta, non solum de belli gerendi ratione, & rebus diuinis, ac religione, alijsque insuper eorum institutis, sed in eo quoque ipso maxime, quod maximum totius institutionis fundamentum est uita scilicet, uictuque communi, sine ullo pecuniae commercio, qua una re funditus euertitur omnis nobilitas, magnificentia, splendor, maiestas, uera ut publica est opinio decora atque ornamenta Reipublicae tamen quoniam defessum narrando sciebam, neque mihi satis exploratum erat, possetne ferre, ut contra suam sententiam sentiretur, praesertim quod recordabar, eo nomine quosdam ab illo reprehensos, quasi uererentur, ne non satis putarentur sapere, nisi aliquid inuenirent, in quo uellicare aliorum inuenta possent, idcirco & illorum institutione, & ipsius oratione laudata, manu apprehendens intro coenatum duco, praefatus tamen aliud nobis tempus, ijsdem de rebus altius cogitandi, atque uberius cum eo conferendi fore, quod utinam aliquando contingeret.	When Raphael had finished his account, many things came to my mind that seemed to have been very absurdly established in the customs and laws of that people. This was true not only of their way of waging war, their rites and religion, and other institutions of theirs besides, but above all of the very thing that is the chief foundation of their whole system: their common life and common livelihood, without any use of money. That one thing utterly overthrows all nobility, magnificence, splendor and majesty, which, in the common opinion, are the true glories and ornaments of a commonwealth. Yet I knew he was tired from talking, and I was not quite sure whether he could bear to have his views contradicted, especially since I remembered that he had criticized some people on that very score, as if they were afraid they would not be thought wise enough unless they found something to pick at in other people's ideas. So I praised both their institutions and his speech, took him by the hand and led him in to supper—though I said first that we would find another time to think more deeply about these same matters and to talk them over with him more fully. I only wish that might happen someday.
2.575	Interea quemadmodum haud possum omnibus assentiri quae dicta sunt, alioqui ab homine citra controuersiam eruditissimo simul & rerum humanarum peritissimo, ita facile confiteor permulta esse in Utopiensium republica, quae in nostris ciuitatibus optarim uerius, quam sperarim.	Meanwhile, though I cannot agree with everything that was said—by a man, for all that, unquestionably very learned and very experienced in human affairs—I readily admit that there are many things in the Utopian commonwealth that I would rather wish for than hope to see in our cities.