

MORE'S *UTOPIA*: COMPARING SEVEN RECENT TRANSLATIONS

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This review article begins by pointing out that, to More, the number seven does not always imply a specific figure. The seven translations—two English, two Italian, two Spanish, one Portuguese—are first described in their significant aspects. Then each in turn is examined for its rendering of crucial words or phrases: a test of fidelity to More's message and the subtle connotations carried by his idiosyncratic Latin.

Key words: bibliography, critical apparatus, introduction, *parerga*, intertextuality, litotes.

Cette recension comparée de sept traductions récentes de l'Utopie commence par une présentation sommaire de chacune d'elles : deux en anglais, deux en espagnol, deux en italien, une en portugais du Brésil. L'examen qui suit consiste en sondages sur des mots ou des phrases de l'original latin dont l'interprétation pose des problèmes de sens ou de style : il permet d'évaluer la fidélité de traducteur au message du livre et aux connotations parfois subtiles de termes ou d'images.

Mots-clés : bibliographie, apparat, introduction, *parerga*, intertextualité, litote.

Esta recensión comparada de siete traducciones recientes de la *Utopía* comienza por una presentación sumaria de cada una de ellas : dos en inglés, dos en español, dos en italiano, una en portugués del Brasil. El examen que sigue consiste en sondeos sobre palabras o frases del original latín cuya interpretación plantea problemas de sentido o de estilo : permite de valorar la fidelidad del traductor al mensaje del libro y a las connotaciones a veces sutiles de términos o de imágenes.

Palabras claves : bibliografía, aparato, introducción, *parerga*, intertextualidad, litote.

The fact that seven editions of *Utopia* await a review in *Moreana* has made me ponder that figure. *Seven* is by far the most celebrated of numbers, as any Biblical concordance will show. Thomas More, steeped as he was in Holy Writ, must have owed to it some of the attachment he demonstrates to *septem*, *septennium*, *sennight*, *seven year* (always without the plural *-s*), and naturally for the proverbial "seventy times seven" of Matthew 18:22. Even more striking, he goes beyond any author I know in using *seven* with the connotation of a significant though imprecise number.

Ignorance of that trait has led generations of biographers to posit More's presence at Paris and Louvain in 1508, simply because, writing to Dorp in 1515, he says "Ego in utraque Academia fui abhinc septennium" (CW15, 22/6 and Rogers, 36/281). Daniel Kinney translates this unimpeachably as "I was in both universities seven years ago," but misconstrues it as a "clear record of More's 1508 trip to the Continent" (CW15, 505). How far from "clear" it is appears further in the letter, where More speaks of Erasmus' *Moria* as circulating "for more than seven years" (CW15, 105). Kinney acknowledges his embarrassment: "the *Moria* was actually written in the autumn of 1509, only six years before More wrote to Dorp" (CW15, 537). He attenuates the discrepancy by assuming that More means the composition of the *Moria* (1509); the explicit reference, however, is to the publication, and indeed not even to the *editio princeps* of 1511 but to subsequent editions: "[*Moria*] iam plus annis septem septies interim novis excusis formis" (CW15, 104/23-24; Rogers, 66/1357): here More's "seven years" are reduced to four. Dorp, who in his letter had alledged the dates of his own works, would have winced at a glaring inaccuracy had he not interpreted *septem septies* as a figure of style. This does not preclude More's occasional use of *septem* to mean seven indeed, as where, echoing Dorp's claim, he writes: "scripta sunt abhinc septennium" (CW15, 116/24-25; Rogers, 71/1504) "you wrote these lines seven years ago" (CW15, 117); the *Aulularia* did date from 1508.

Since we know how close Erasmus was to More in 1515-1516, easily the peak years of their epistolary exchange, it is not

rash to conjecture that in October 1515 More is echoing Erasmus' letter to Dorp of the preceding May, especially as both are defending the *Moria* against the same critic. Erasmus claims that the book was printed *plus septies* (Allen 3, 94/140), "over seven editions were printed in a few months" (CWE 3, 337). My strong impression is that More is repeating Erasmus' *plus septies*, and that his "plus annis septem septies" means "more, in seven years, than seven times." The number of printings, for all its imprecision (it does not exclude nine, for instance, since best-selling authors could not keep track of all the editions), is accurate, and carries great significance as proof that literate Christendom has welcomed the *Moria*. More's *annis septem* has the virtue of showing that there have been more editions than years. The insertion of those two words between *plus* and *septies*, if rather unusual, is less idiosyncratic than some other samples of More's syntax. It has the advantage of treating "seven years" as a ready-made unit. Erasmus creates a greater surprise when he places the more than seven editions or reprints *intra pauculos menses*, "within a few months."

This apparent *hors d'oeuvre* is not without some relevance to the task we have in hand: we might remember that the Utopians' everyday clothes are designed to last *in septennium* (CW14, 132/31), that the Utopians donate one *seventh* of their exported wares to the poor of the importing regions (CW4, 148/9-10), and that *seven* of each city's thirteen priests go to war, while seven substitutes fill the vacancy (CW4, 226/20-21), not to mention the *seven* hundred thousand ducats of CW4, 214/24. More's partiality to *seven* may have struck his first readers, accustomed as they were by Church law to yielding the tenth part, the *tithe* already prescribed to the Jews. The six occurrences of *septem* in *Utopia* which illustrate the author's fondness for that number present no hurdle to the translator. My comparative examination will single out the words or phrases which do raise problems, or else which are valuable keys to our understanding of More's work.

Of the seven translations submitted here to a joint assessment, only that of Magnino is more than three years old: it never made its way into *Moreana*, though Berlusconi's foreword to it found a

niche in my own *Thomas More: "Utopia"* (Paris: Didier Érudition, 1998). Since the comparison involves four vernaculars—English, Spanish, Italian and Portuguese (or should one say Brazilian?)—we can hardly focus on points of language. What is at stake, then, is the substance of More's message, or characteristics of his style.

By way of *sigla*, the simplest is to use the translator's surnames. Rodríguez Santidrián will be identified by the latter. The Portuguese will be designated by the translator mentioned in Camargo. More's Latin will be quoted according to the Cambridge edition of 1995, though the reference given first is to the Yale edition of 1965, which is still no doubt accessible to a higher percentage of readers.



The brief presentation of the seven volumes follows in chronological order of publication from 1993 to 2001.

1. Tomaso Moro: *Utopia De optimo Reipublicae Statu*. Traducción de Domenico Magnino. Silvio Berlusconi Editore, 1993, xxv + 312 pp., ISBN 88-86372-01-9. Lire 24.000.

Berlusconi, the tycoon who in 2000 became Prime Minister of Italy, does not mention the place of his publications, probably because he is "all over the place." Nor does the title page of the bilingual edition indicate that Berlusconi's first preface is reprinted from its original of 1978, the year of More's birth quinquagesimoquinto. He appositely quotes the Messenger in *A Dialogue concerning Heresies* telling More: "many times men doubt whether ye sport when ye mean good earnest" (CW6, 63/2-3, paraphrasing an Italian on p. ix). He has excellent pages on Kautsky, and notes that Marx, in *Das Kapital* (1867), quotes Raphaël's phrase about devouring men (xv). In his second (1993) preface, Berlusconi tells that Magnino has also translated Erasmus' *Praise of Folly*, and that this *Utopia* reprints the advance edition published as a *strenna* (annual book club Christmas present) in 1991. *Utopia*, he concludes, is "a dream to which we are all invited" (xxv).

The translation (3-254) is, as usual, longer than the Latin text (1-339). The scholarly user may regret that they are not on facing pages and that there is not a single note nor any commentary.

2. Tomás Moro: *Utopía*. Introducción, traducción y notas de Rodríguez Santidrián. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1998, 312 pp., ISBN 84-206-3966-4.

The first edition of this book in the "Ciencias sociales" section of *Moreana* preceded by eleven reprints in "El Libro de Bolsillo" (Pocket edition) from 1983 to 1997. There have been references to its steady presence in *Moreana*, but never a review proper. Rodríguez Santidrián has encountered similar favor from the public with his editions of Erasmus, Vives, Boethius, Campanella, and *Il Libro Portegiano*. His introduction (7-33) is not free from inaccuracies in names and historical details. His forte is *Utopia* itself. Prévost's edition of 1978, he says, is "la obra más completa que conozco" (33, n. 25). He views St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* as the very *esbozo* or canvas of More's work (33, n. 25). His bibliography concludes with a four-line paragraph recommending *Moreana*.

Erasmus' 1518 letter to Froben, Budé's 1517 preface to the Latin text, and Pedro Gilles' preface to Busleiden, along with the Latin poem and Anemolius' *hexastichon* precede More's introductory letter to Gilles. Four other parerga are appended as *documentos finales*; Desmarez alone is left out, as he was in the previous editions. The *Cronología* is over precise when it dates as 1503 More's lectures on *The City of God*. In 1534 More was imprisoned not for refusing the Act not of Supremacy, but of Succession, as the title makes clear in his *Vida de santo Tomás Moro* (Madrid: San Martín, 1997), 116.

3. Thomas More: *Utopia*. Traduzione, introduzione e note di Giovanni Zuanazzi. Brescia: La Scuola, 1998, 252 pp., ISBN 88-350-9399-6. Lire 22.500.

The substantial introduction (5-37) reveals a great variety of guides, from Prévost and Hexter to Firpo and Quarta. The *Cronologia* (38-40) is followed by a *Bibliografia* referring the reader to the *annate della rivista trimestrale "Moreana"*; it lacks *My Dear Peter*. The *Schema Analitico* (43-45) shows the influence of Prévost's synopsis. The translator uses the Yale edition of 1965, and seems unaware of the Cambridge bilingual of 1995. The footnotes are copious and often claim more than half of the page. The sections are treated as chapters, with a change of page for each new title. The index of names is strikingly generous, as Italian books go. Its twenty pages include 4 lines each for Cicero and Plutarco, 7 for Itlodeo, 9 for Erasmo, 10 for Plato.

4. *Utopia: Thomas More*. Organização: George M. Logan [& Robert M. Adams. Tradução: Jefferson Luiz Camargo [& Marcelo Brandão Cipolla. São Paulo : Martins Fortes, 1999, LII + 220 pp., ISBN 85-336-1144-7.

This is the second edition of a book which derives from the Cambridge *Utopia* of 1995 for its critical apparatus, including the introduction with its footnotes. The "sugestões de leitura" are limited to the English language, even for translations of Plato and Erasmus. Like the Cambridge edition, it contains both of More's letters to Gilles (the second as a postface), plus those of Erasmus to Froben, of Budé to Lupset, of Gilles to Busleyden, of Busleyden to More, of Rhenanus to Pirckheimer, and of Desmarez to Gilles, as well as the three little poems which complete the *parerga*.

5. Tomás Moro, *Utopía*. Prólogo : Fernando Salvater. Edición y traducción : Pedro Voltes. Madrid: Colección Austral, cuarta edición, 1999, 180 pp., ISBN 84-239-7465-0.

The foreword (9-16), entitled "La imaginación justiciera," is a philosophic disquisition which draws on various sources. The

introduction by Voltes (17-26) contains surprising inaccuracies, e.g. that More first married in 1507, and remained two years a widower (18). That the book is not a reprint of the first edition (1952) is amply demonstrated by references such as Ackroyd's biography of 1998. Prefixed to the translation are three pages by Quevedo on *Utopia*, dated 28 September 1637. More's preface to Gilles is included. Some footnotes are copious, for instance the one summarizing Vita Fortunati's article of 1989 on *Utopia* as the archetype of a "género literario de Thomas More a Jonathan Swift" (37, n. 2), which essay yields another note (49, n. 10). In the exchange of scriptural texts between the friar and the parasite, Voltes retains the Vulgate Latin, without translating it or providing chapter and verse (70). The six-page *Cronología* corrects the mistakes of p. 18; it ends with the *Batalla de Lepanto*, 1571.

6. *Thomas More: Utopia with Erasmus's The Sileni of Alcibiades*. Edited and translated, with an Introduction, by David Wootton. Indianapolis: Hackett, 1999, (vi) + 203 pp., ISBN 0-87220-376-X. \$6.95 pbk, ISBN 0-87220-377-8, \$29.95 (clothbound).

Wootton (b. 1952) edited John Locke's *Political Writings* (New York, 1993). His inclusion of the Erasmian adage, treated as seminal already by Rabelais, and recently by Margolin, throws light on his approach to *Utopia* as a subtle literary fiction rather than as a political treatise. The introduction (1-34) evinces up-to-date erudition, and exposure to a polyphony of interpreters. For the Latin original, besides consulting the Yale edition (CW4), he follows the bilingual Cambridge of 1995, with only four exceptions. He thinks that *Exiscentur* of p. 268 "should surely be emended to *Exscicentur*" (36) instead of the *Exiscicentur* conjectured in footnote 4. But René Hoven, in *Lexique de la prose latine de la Renaissance* (Leiden : Brill, 1994), under *exiscitor* (133), while also viewing *exiscicentur* as a typographical error, writes : "on attendrait *exsciscitor* (*ex+sciscitor*)." Thus he sides with Cambridge against Wootton. More, a great user of the prefix *ex*, might, in this 1517 letter, have meant to intensify the frequentative *sciscitor*, "to inquire, to ask for information," which, as Morus, not Raphaël, he had used on the very first page of

Utopia. The meaning there was, in Wootton's version, "no further instructions from their ruler" (56). That Wootton detected only one misprint in Cambridge, *setius* for *secius* (172/32), confirms the verdict of reliability secured by that edition.

Wootton may be the first to adopt "gender-neutral" wherever it seems reasonable" though he notes that one already employed *they* in order to avoid *he* or *she* (37). In the parerga, he follows the Basel edition by omitting Desprez's. Prévost had done by using a facsimile of the November 1518

7. *Utopia: Thomas More. A New Translation with an Introduction* by Clarence H. Miller. New Haven: Yale Nota Bene, 2001. 173 pp., ISBN 0-300-08429-3.

Miller's Utopian career began, I suppose, with his bold move on "The English translation in the Yale *Utopia*," *Moreana* 9. The list of *corrigenda* which Edward Surtz endorsed in the reprint of CW4. His Introduction (vii-xxiii) directs his readers to Prévost for editorial materials, and to the Cambridge edition for More's Latin text (xxi), which, he points out, "is often but colloquial and easy" (xxii). The Chronology begins with "Born in London, February 7," a dating I have advocated since and R.S. Sylvester adopted it unhesitatingly. The Christian era "Joan Colt" under 1504-5 should also deal a blow to the *Jane* growth. My only surprise is that, having edited *De tristitia* (CW14), Clarence does not mention it along with *A Dialogue of Comfort* (xxviii). The Notes fill 22 pages of small type (10) and include the translation of the sidenotes. The "Suggestions for further reading" recommend the "excellent bibliography by Romuald Ian Lakowski...on the Internet" and refer the reader to *Moreana* for "a plethora of articles on *Utopia*". "The most full biography" is Ackroyd's of 1998; "the best book on *Utopia* for beginners" is *More's Utopia* by Dominic Baker-Smith. There is no parergon beyond More's preface to Gilles.

Some Checkpoints

nulli simplicitas inest prudentior
(CW4, 48/9-10 ; Cambridge, 42/13-14).

This praise of Peter Gilles echoes both Matthew 10:16 and the perfect Christian humanist style. Froben's emblem of the dove and dove in the 1518 Basel edition of *Utopia* is captioned in double text, *prudens simplicitas* in Martial's Latin (x,47) and the poet's words in Matthew's Greek (see *Moreana* 1/47-63).

Zuanazzi: "nessuno più intelligentemente semplice" (17) fails, I think, to catch the classical and scriptural echo.

Camargo: Santidrián's "distinguiéndose por su noble sencillez"

Zuanazzi does catch it with "nessuno possiede una più saggia semplicità" (62).

Camargo does Camargo with "não há quem melhor combine a simplicidade à sabedoria" (15).

Zuanazzi's "en nadie es tan prudente la sencillez" (44) is faithful to the syntax of More; *más* instead of *tan* would achieve total agreement as Zuanazzi does.

Camargo breaks free from all shackles with "He alone manages to combine frankness with worldly wisdom" (57).

Camargo chooses the substantive for *prudentior*: his "no one better combines more prudence with simplicity" (10) stays closer to the original than the Cambridge "no one better combines simplicity with prudence" (43), which is clearly reflected in Camargo's Portuguese. It is argued that, with More, the epithet carries the emphasis: he



PLATE I. Antwerp with Notre-Dame in 1515

praised the virtue of prudence above simplicity, and *simple* is not seldom pejorative in his English. "Wise folly" describes his thinking better than "foolish wisdom," and "prudent simplicity" better than "simple prudence."

in templo divae Mariae (CW4, 48/15, Cambridge, 42/19).

We adopt the Cambridge spelling for the Latin, since *divae* and *servias* are more readily identified by today's readers than *diuae* and *servias* through the *v* having obtained in many European vernaculars.

The magnificent Gothic church which still dominates Antwerp was nearing completion in 1515. The good print of it which serves as frontispiece to the hardbound CW4 is reproduced opposite. It did not become a cathedral until 1559, when a diocese was created with Antwerp as its see.

Magnino: "nella Chiesa di Santa Maria" (17).

"Santidrián: "a la iglesia de Santa María" (69).

Zuanazzi: "nella chiesa di *Notre Dame*" (63).

Camargo: "na catedral de *Notre Dame*" (15).

Voltes: "la iglesia de la Virgen María" (45).

Wootton: "at *Notre Dame*, a beautiful church" (57).

Miller: "at the church of St. Mary" (11).

The triple "*Notre Dame*," for a church situated in a Flemish town, illustrates the prestige of the French cathedrals dedicated to the Mother of God (in Paris, Reims, Chartres, etc.). The same phenomenon applies to *Notre Dame* University, or the Sisters of *Notre Dame*, in that they retain their French label where they could be englished to "Our Lady" or "Saint Mary's". The Yale and the Cambridge editions agree in their use of "*Notre Dame*." The Norton *Utopia*, with "*Nôtre Dame*," may, unwittingly, represent the pronunciation of the sixteenth century.

non ut servias regibus, sed ut inservias
(CW4, 54/27-28 ; Cambridge, 50/21-22).

Puns are not always negotiable in translation, and a *crux* in Peter's phrase might be the concern to render *inservias* with the same word as in CW4, 62/20 (Cambridge, 58/19), *fidem inserviat pauperi*, and in CW4, 224/25 (Cambridge, 228/5), *aegrotis inserviunt*. Father Surtz has *service* in the first two occurrences, in the third he has "Some tend the sick" (CW4, 224/25-26; Cambridge, 228/5-6).

1. Magnino: "non ho pensato che tu dovesse diventare un operatore del re, bensì un suo cooperatore" (26).
2. Santidrián: "no quise decir que fueras siervo, sino servidor" (26).
3. Zuanazzi: "»Io, però, non entendevo parlare di "servitù", ma di servizio" (70).
4. Camargo: "a sugestão que fiz foi de serviços, não de servidão" (21).
5. Voltes: "no pretendo que sirváis a un monarca, sino que procurareis una vida agradable" (50). A footnote points out the unrendered wordplay, and confirms that *inservias* is interpreted as "seas grato, complaciente; cuides de los intereses."
6. Wootton: "I didn't mean you to become a king's servant, more to be at his service" (61).
7. Miller: "I want you to go into the service of kings, not to be in servitude to them" (15).

By far the most usual pattern hinged on the root of *servare*, which has been so productive in European idioms, having given us *sergeant* as well as *servant* and *server*. *Service*, it seems, is the word evoked in the S-shaped clasps of More's chain.

in patientia vestra possidebitis animas vestras
(CW4, 82/29-30; Cambridge, 78/19-20).

The *parasitus*, (hanger-on, or scoffer), in his irreverent exchange of scriptural missiles with the friar, draws this sentence

from Luke 21:19 according to the Vulgate and the liturgy. As an emblem in the office of Vespers, the maxim was familiar to every educated churchgoer, which in 1516 meant every reader of *Utopia*. More incorporated it into his *De tristitia Christi* as *In patientia sua possidebunt animas suas* (CW14, 543/7), which his granddaughter's father Basset translated by "My disciples shall... through their patient sufferance save their own souls" (CW14, 1155/3-6).

Magnino: "Con la vostra sopportazione salverete le anime vostre" (61).

Santidrián: "Con vuestra paciencia, poseereis vuestras almas" (93).

Zuanazzi: "Con la vostra perseveranza salverete le anime vestre" (70).

Camargo: "Na vossa paciência possuireis as vossas almas" (46).

Voltes repeats the Latin, as he does for the five quotations from the Vulgate which follow on the same P; 70, never bothering to provide the reference anymore than does Raphaël: he assumes that English readers are still familiar with the Vulgate.

Wootton: "In your patience you will possess your souls" (75).

Miller: "In your patience you shall possess your souls" (34), with the Vulgate Biblical *shall*.

obliquo ductu

(CW4, 98/30 ; Cambridge, 96/17-18).

Morus' phrase struck Raphaël, who repeated it tauntingly; the person demonstrative *ille* which he added is often used as an intensifier, but in his mouth it connotes self-distancing (CW4, 102/2 and 13, Cambridge, 98/25, 100/8). The Latin epithet has survived in our vernaculars, and More's plea for the indirect approach in governance has been applied to art, for instance in Tolkien's *The Ring and the Book*; "Art may tell a truth/Obliquely" (xii, 858-9). Surtz is faithful to the repetition: "the indirect approach" advocated by More becomes "that indirect approach of yours" in Raphaël's rejection of it.

1. Magnino paraphrases the sentence: "con un lungo sforzo cercare di trattare tutto per bene," (88): here obliqueness may be suggested by *lungo* and *cercare*. He is more faithful with Raphaël: "quel tuo procedere indiretto" (83), and "quel tuo procedere per le indrette" (84).
2. Santidrián: "te has de insinuar de forma indirecta" (64) explicitly countered with "esa « via indirecta » que estás insinuando" (105).
3. Zuanazzi: "per vie indrette" (104) and "quel tuo procedere per traverse" (105).
4. Camargo: "É preciso fazer um trabalho indireto" (62) "procedimento que me sugeris, qual seja, o de atuar indiretamente" and "vosso método indireto" (64).
5. Voltes: precisa que sigais un camino oblicuo (80), "vuestro camino oblicuo" (81 and 82).
6. Wootton: "you must attempt an indirect approach" (84); "As for the 'indirect approach' which you recommend" (85).
7. Miller: "rather by indirection" (44), "that indirect approach of yours" (45), "that indirect approach" (46).

Omnes omnia pecuniis metiuntur
(CW4, 102/22, Cambridge, 100/18).

One may surmise an echo of Qohelet 10:19, *Pecunia obediunt omnia*. Raphaël, as part of European society, says "metimur, we measure" (CW4, 130/12; Cambridge, 128/30). Of the seven translators the two Spaniards are alone in rendering their involvement: Santidrián in the verb itself, *medimos*; Voltes through the pronoun *nosotros*.

1. Magnino: "tutti misurano tutto con il danaro" (85). He omits the first person in "una società che considera il danaro misura di tutte le cose" (118).
2. Santidrián: "donde todo mide por el dinero" (105); "en un mundo en que todo lo medimos por el dinero" (127).

Zuanazzi: "dove tutti misurano ogni cosa col denaro" (105); "in società dove tutto si misura con il denaro" (131).

Camargo: "todas as coisas tiverem no dinheiro o suo supremo metro" (65); "quando o dinheiro é a grande medida de todas as coisas" (88).

Voltes: "donde se midan todas las cosas según el dinero" (82); "lo se mide entre nosotros por dinero" (101).

Wootton: "money is the measure of all things" (86); "where everything has a price" (100) is a totally different phrasing.

Miller: "where everything is measured in terms of money" (46); "where money is the measure of everything" (63).

tamquam in umbilico terrae

(CW4, 112/25-26, Cambridge 112/9).

Locating Amaurotum "as if in the navel of the land" is typical of the Utopian Pléiade: in *Richard III* he uses the same anatomical image by placing Amaurotum "in vmbelico prope regni" (CW2, 107/23). A near equivalent will be found in his 1529 *Dialogue*: "in the bowels of our own land" (CW6, 416/5). We might remember the Renaissance image of Europe as a human figure. Cf also Judges 9:37, *de umbilico terrae descendit*, and Ezekiel 38:12, *habitor umbilici terrae*. On the previous page Raphaël describes the deep bay which turns *eius* *alvum* into a natural harbor: *alvus* too is anatomical. Surtz (1974, 110/16) uses *center* for both *umbilico* and *alvum*. Cambridge (1988/15) neglects the metaphor of *alvum* altogether. The King James Bible, which uses *navel* four times in its biological sense, shrinks from transferring it to geography. Judges 9:37 has "the middle of the land" and Ezekiel 38:12 "the midst of the land." The New Revised Standard Version avoids the problem by retaining the Hebrew *shur-erez* in Judges, while in Ezekiel it says "the center of the earth," with a footnote saying "Heb *navel*." The Douai *Holie Bible* (1609) evinces no such qualms, it has "the navel of the land" for Judges, "the navel of the earth" for Ezekiel. Even Robynson (1551) is shy of the metaphor; his Amaurote "standeth in the midst of the land." Burnet (1684) says it is "situated near the center of it." G.C.

Richards, the Oxford Classicist whose 1923 version Surtz used, has "in the very center." The first French translation reads "plantée au milieu de ceste terre." Prévost (1978) has "ainsi dire au nombril de la terre" (453). It is refreshing to find that four of our seven translators have done justice to the image, thus honored More's frequent reference to the human body:

1. Magnino : "si trova al centro, direi, di quella terra" (100).
2. Santidrián : "asentada, por así decirlo, en el ombligo de la tierra" (116).
3. Zuanazzi : "trovandosi quasi al centro del paese" (113).
4. Camargo : "situada como que no umbigo da ilha" (74).
5. Voltes : "constituye como el ombligo de la isla" (91).
6. Wootton : "being placed like the hub at the center of a wheel" (91).
7. Miller : "located at the navel of the land" (54).

sunt enim hanc in partem aliquanto procliviores
(CW4, 144/20-21; Cambridge 142/31).

Eleven renderings of these words were considered in *Moreana* 11/70. The comparative form of Latin adjectives is notoriously ambiguous, and there are cases in which one must decide between *more* and *too much*. In this sentence, Surtz chose *too much* and Cambridge for *somewhat*. The entire two lines are here quoted to provide a context.

1. Magnino : "Gli Utopiani sono piuttosto incline a pensare che è vietato alcun tipo di piacere, purché non ne venga fatto danno" (134).
2. Santidrián : "Hacen de grado suyo aquel principio de que «no placer está prohibido con tal que no engendre mal alguno»" (134).
3. Zuanazzi : "Sono, infatti, un po' troppo inclini da questo lato al punto che non considerano proibito nessun tipo di piacere, purché non ne derivi qualche danno" (143).
4. Camargo : "tendem a pensar que nenhum prazer é ilegítimo, desde que dele não provenha mal" (100).

Voltes : "están inclinados a creer que todos los placeres son prohibidos mientras no engendren mal alguno" (110).

Wootton : "They are more inclined than we are to the view that all kinds of pleasure should be forbidden, providing no harm comes of it" (107).

Miller : "For they tend to incline to the position that no kind of pleasure ought to be forbidden as long as no harm comes of it" (72).

humanitatis ac benignitatis officium

(CW4, 164/27 ; Cambridge 164/25-26).

No edition, to my knowledge, has connected these two nouns with the text in Paul's epistle to Titus (3:4) which More's first readers read each year at the Christmas liturgy: "Benignitas et humanitas cum Salvatoris nostri." The original has *chrestotès kai philanthròpia*. Erasmus devotes a half page to enucleating the second term, naturally dear to a humanist: see *Erasmus' Annotations on the New Testament*, ed. Anne Reeve (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 700. *Philanthròpia* means, he says, nothing else than "studium & amorem pro homines": God's concern for, and love of, mankind, which has become apparent through the Incarnation of the Word. That More's *humanitas* first need not imply a privilege or preference. Nor should one attach much significance to *ac*, which Raphaël uses all the time, even in mere arithmetic, e.g. "quatuor ac viginti" (CW4, 120/20) and "septingentorum ac sexaginta" (CW4, 120/27), where anybody else would use *et*.

The modern Bibles, based on the Greek, would not prepare us to detect an echo of the scriptures in an analysis of Utopian virtues. The Vulgate, whose bilingual New Testament was, through Geneva, very influential, is not far from Erasmus where he proposes "bonitas et humanitas amor" for the phrase in Titus 3:4. The Wyclif Bible, translated from the Latin, has "the benignity and the manhead;" the Reims Bible, also based on the Vulgate though aware of the Greek original, has "the benignity and kindness toward man". Tyndale set a precedent for the Anglican versions with "the kindness and love of our

savior God to manward." The King James translators reject the archaic ending by adopting the "toward men" used three decades earlier in the Reims New Testament.

It is time to check on our seven translations.

1. Magnino: "un dovere di umanità e cortesia" (157).
2. Santidrián: "señal de una gran humanidad y nobleza" (153).
3. Zuanazzi: "un dovere di umanità e di benevolenza" (159).
4. Camargo: "um gesto de humanidade" (117) leaves out *benignitas* altogether.
5. Voltes: "acción humana y benéfica" (122).
6. Wootton: "a fashion that is humane and benevolent" (117).
7. Miller: "a work of humanity and kindness" (83).

The main common denominator is the retention of *humane* as the key word. The renderings of *humanissime* (CW4, 90/146/6), *humanissimum* (138/16), *humanitatis* (78/9, 112/5, 160/200/7 in addition to our 164/27) would probably, if examined, confirm the vernacular absorption of a word which Cicero, read throughout the Middle Ages, had made familiar in the sense of kindness, benevolence and gentleness.

May I repeat here my frequent plea for the translators of More's Latin to put themselves at the school of their author? He is notorious for the literalness of his versions. The two substantive uses here provide a luminous witness to his fidelity. In *Responsio ad Lutherum*, he quotes a document published at Wittenberg in which Luther, standing before the emperor and diet at Worms, "pro incredibili humanitate et bonitate sua, bene respondit" (CW5, 46/27-29). The Yale translation englishes this "in his extraordinary gentleness and goodness answered mildly" (47/31-32). But when More himself re-used that boasting report in *Dialogue concerning Heresies*, he said that Doctor Martin "for incredible humanity & bounty answered in this wise benign" (CW6, 364/4-5): translation here is a transfer, a replica, *l'identique*. Even *bounty*, which might sound too Latin where *goodness* was available, has the advantage of hugging the original

same objection might be raised to *benignly*, yet More clings to it as the obvious rendering; he repeats it to portray Luther as the "most benign Father" (CW6, 364/6 and 30), translating "Pater benignissimus" (CW5, 46/29) and "clementissimi patris" (CW5, 160/200/7). This parallel is sampled through bilingual columns in *Moreana* 46/82-83.

naturae parentis indulgentiam

(CW4, 176/19-20; Cambridge, 176/21-22).

Raphaël uses the word *parens* in the masculine at CW4, 176/19-20 (Cambridge, 218/9-10), where the Utopians call their God *parentem*. Surtz has "father," Cambridge "parent," which More, in view of his own usage, would no doubt prefer, as the word is no less epicene in English than in Latin. In the feminine, it designates *Proserpina* as the *parens* of all plagues: Surtz (CW4, 242/26) says "begetter," and Cambridge (242/25) says "begetter." Nature is *indulgentissima* at CW4, 150/24, "a most kind and indulgent mother" (151/26), cf. Cambridge 148/17-18, and its rendering "a most indulgent mother" (149). At our checkpoint, Surtz has "the kindness of mother nature" (177/21-22), and Cambridge "the kindness of Mother Nature" (177).

Magnino: "la bontà di madre natura" (171).

Santidrián's paraphrase does not include a specific rendering of *indulgentiam* where he encounters "la madre naturaleza" (160).

Zuanazzi: "l'indulgenza di madre natura" (167).

Camargo too omits the "indulgence" of "Mãe Natureza" (126).

Voltes: "la benignidad de la madre Naturaleza" (128).

Wootton: "Mother Nature is an indulgent parent" (123).

Miller: "the kindness of Mother Nature" (90).

gestatus frumentī manipulus
(CW4, 194/5, Cambridge, 194/19).

That is how the prince is distinguished. Surtz' "the carry of a handful of grain" is hardly a visible mark of the political office; the high priest is identified more clearly by the wax candle borne before him. "The sheaf" in Cambridge (195) comes closer to *manipulus* than "handful," and closer to the idea of a public emblem.

1. Magnino: "un manipolo di frumento nella mano" (191).
2. Santidrián: "un manojo de espigas que lleva consigo" (173).
3. Zuanazzi: "un fascio di spighe in mano" (186).
4. Camargo: "um feixe de trigo levado à sua frente" (141).
5. Voltes: "un manojo de espigas que llevan delante de él" (139).
6. Wootton: "a handful of grain that is borne before him" (132).
7. Miller: "the sheaf of grain he carries" (101).

The main difference comes from the way the sheaf is borne. I would side with the slight majority of four who make the governor carry it himself.

extrema necessitas in virtutem vertitur
(CW4, 208/29-30, Cambridge, 210/23).

Raphaël's psychological observation encountered a truth which had become proverbial in French: "faire de nécessité vertu" and in English. The way it is quoted by both interlocutors in *Dialogue of Comfort* might serve as a model for the translators of *Utopia*. Antony says: "make a virtue of necessity" (CW12, 26/6-7) and "of necessity to make a virtue" (201/18-19). Young Vincent, taking a leaf from his uncle's book, acknowledges his debt to him by saying: "as you said, make a virtue of necessity" (CW12, 228/11-12).

Magnino: "la necessità estrema la trasforma in valore" (211).

Santidrián: "una situación tan peligrosa hace renacer el valor" (185).

Zuanazzi: "l'estrema necessità si muta in valore" (208).

Camargo: "a necessidade transforma-se em couragem" (154).

Voltes: "el peligro extremado se convierte (...) en valor" (149).

Wootton: "mortal danger makes brave soldiers of them" (141).

Miller: "they make a virtue out of extreme necessity" (111).

Only four translators have retained a daughter of the Latin *necessitas*, common though it is in each of the languages concerned, and only Miller has duplicated *virtus* which, beyond "courage," may also connote a property or efficacy, as one refers to the virtues of plants, and as More himself often praises the transforming virtue of the Eucharist. Awareness of More's triple use might have led all others to emulate his literalness.

religiosum erga superos metum
(CW4, 234/6, Cambridge, 236/21-22).

Utopian children are incited to virtue by a religious fear "towards the gods" in CW4, "of the gods" in Cambridge. But do gods have a place in the psychology or pedagogy of a society which is almost unanimously monotheistic? Both editions wisely use *superi* for *superos* in Raphaël's aphorism of CW4, 50/12 (Cambridge 44/14). Once more, we have no better guide than the precedent afforded in More's practice as self-translator. *Richard III* is impressive in the number of times *superi* has *God* for its equivalent (CW2, 52/4 and 9; 64/14 and 16; 65/11 and cf. 140/7-8; 141/27 and 30; 74/19 and 20; 78/20 and 21; 80/14 and 15). Another reference is More's epitaph with "Quam superi pacem firment" rendered by "Which peace Our Lord is stable" (*English Works* of More, 1357, 1420 A and 1421C): the translation may have been by More's granddaughter Mary Basset, if it was posthumous.

1. Magnino: "un sentimento religioso verso Dio" (240) does no justice to the fear.
2. Santidrián: "en fomentar el temor de Dios" (203).
3. Zuanazzi: "quel timor religioso verso Dio" (220).
4. Camargo: "impregnar do temor e da reverência diante da religião" (175).
5. Voltes: "un religioso temor de lo alto" (166).
6. Wootton: "a devout fear of the gods" (154).
7. Miller: "a religious fear of the heavenly beings" (127).

The note "Latin *superos*, which includes the one God, the other gods believed in by some of the Utopians, and their ancestors who are in heaven" (161) is a brave defense of the plural in the rendering. Would it be pernicky to ask whether "heaven" alone, which Clarence finds adequate for Raphaël's apophthem (12), would not include the godhead and the departed souls? One might add the angels, if the pedagogical observation which Raphaël records here were applied to the training of Jewish, Christian and Moslem children.

Optarim verius quam sperarim
(CW4, 246/2, Cambridge, 248/13-14).

Parallels are not lacking for these last words of *Utopia*. Cicero says that Plato's *Republic* is *optanda magis quam speranda*. Firpo (1978) quotes three other sentences from Cicero, one being *magis optandum quam sperandum* (316). Erasmus wrote in March 1514: *Nos optare possumus optima, sed optare tantum* (Allen, ep. 288/122). The rendering "We may hope for the best, but only hope" (CWE 2, 283/144) is obviously wrong in treating *optare* as if it were *sperare*. Marie Delcourt is far from Erasmus' brevity, but true to his point in the Brussels translation: "Nous pouvons faire des vœux pour ce qu'il y a de meilleur, mais nous ne pouvons que faire des vœux" (527/16-17).

1. Magnino: "che desidererei, anzi spererei" (254).
2. Santidrián: "que quisiera...Pero que no espero" (210).
3. Zuanazzi: "che desidererei...anche se non ho molta speranza" (230).
4. Camargo: "que eu desejaria, posto que não espere" (184).
5. Voltes: "que deseo más que confío ver" (173).
6. Wootton: "that I would like to see...even though I don't expect to see" (160).
7. Miller: "which...I would wish rather than expect to see" (135).

Does not *verius* connote something less banal than *magis* or *potius*? Prévost echoes it: "dans ma pensée, il serait plus *vrai* de le souhaiter que de l'espérer" (633). The first French interpreter (1550) had shared that scruple: "que je désirerois plus *vraiment*... que je n'espérerois." The Norton seems to express a similar concern with "I wish...though I don't *really* expect"—*truly* would have come yet closer: is "more truly" awkward in English? Estébanez (1982) inserts "a la *verdad*" (italics mine).

A Damning Case of Mistranslation

The semantic ambivalence of *consilium*, no less well attested in ecclesiastical than in classical Latin, seldom raises a problem not solved by the immediate context. This remark applies to *counsellor* and *councillor*, which are homophones and often designate the same person. Prévost's most tenacious battle to save the honor of his beloved Utopians from the accusation of tyranny had for its ground the sentence *Extra senatum aut comitia publica de rebus communibus inire consilia capitale habetur* (CW4, 124/1-2; Cambridge, 122/16-17). Clare M. Murphy, reviewing the Cambridge *Utopia* of 1988 in *The Sixteenth Century Journal* (xxii, 4, Winter 1991), joins Prévost in the polemic, and suggests "to take action" rather than "to consult together" (888). Despite this warning, the old misrendering continues, with the sinister corollaries it produces; despite the fact, also, that in the Vulgate, *consilium* more often than not means *purpose*, *plan*, even *plot* and *conspiracy*. That it does so

in More's Latin is illustrated twice on a single page of CW4, 71/20 and 22 (Cambridge 72/33 and 74/17). For instances of its combination with *inire*, see CW4, 78/20-21 and 90/8 (Cambridge, 74/16-17 and 86/14-15). The context of the "capital offense" shows clearly that these private *consilia* are subversive; their threat to the democratic process so vital to Utopia's civic life is high treason, for which death had been the penalty in all countries from time immemorial. Readers of 1516 would see no cruelty in Utopian law on this score.

More is betrayed by Magnino's "Discutere di questionibus" (110), Camargo's "deliberar sobre esses assuntos" (83), Voltes' "Deliberar sobre los negocios" (97), and Wootton's "To engage in the discussion of matters" (96). He is well served by Santidrián's "tomar decisiones" (123), Zuanazzi's "Prendere una decisione" (124), and Miller's "To enter into schemes" (59), still a minority of sound interpreters.

More's Litotes in *Utopia*

The rhetorical trope called *litotes* is well defined as "Denying the Contrary" in the title chosen by Elizabeth McCutcheon (*Moreana* 31-32/107-21) for a highly pointed essay which made such an impression that a substantial portion of it was reprinted in the Norton *Utopia* (1975) among the "Insights" and retained in the second edition (1992). Inevitably too, it was one of R. S. Sylvester's very first selections for *Essential Articles for the Study of Thomas More* (Hamden, CT: Archon, 1977). Thus multiplied, it has made a perceptible impact on the flood of translations which have appeared in the last few decades. This is not the place for even so much as summarizing the author's subtle analysis, or pointing out how convincingly she demonstrated that *Utopia* belongs to literature proper. Undoubtedly More's book is also the fruit of his experience in matters of government, of his keen observation of the systems prevailing in the Europe of 1515, of his passionate desire to rescue a self-styled Christian society from the prevailing tyranny of pride and greed. For all that, the very dialogue form roots it in the

tradition of Plato and Cicero, no lesser giants as literary classics than the political thinkers. The travelogue framework locates the book firmly in the world of fiction. Litotes looms large also in Elizabeth McCutcheon's *My Dear Peter*, a thorough stylistic x-ray of More's 1516 preface (Angers: *Moreana*, 1983), especially in pages 23f.: the trope is viewed in its relevance to paradox and oblique discourse.

"Ce que je sais le mieux est mon commencement," says Petitfleur in Racine's only comedy, *Les Plaideurs*. Wisely, Professor Elizabeth McCutcheon singles out the first sentence of *Utopia*, where the character *Morus* is nearest to the very real ambassador More who has spent a full semester amid unappealing negotiations, as a specimen to examine the 140 litotes—seven score!—she has detected in the rather thin *opusculum*. There, on the threshold of the work, the contrast is startling between the superlatives extolling Henry as *Invictissimus* and young Charles as *Serenissimus*, etc., and the epithet defining the matters of their fresh agreement as *non exigui momenti* (CW4, 46/8, Cambridge 40/8).

R. M. Adams, though he never went as far as wrestling with each and every litotes in *Utopia*, responded at least to that liminal instance, duly included in the six pages of "Insights"; as an inviting foretaste of the fuller record, he gave his readers "some differences of no slight import" (3). What about our latest citations from seven translators?

1. Magnino: "questioni di non piccolo momento" (15).
2. Santidrián: "asuntos importantes" (67).
3. Zuanazzi: "questioni di non lieve importanza" (60).
4. Camargo: "uma séria divergencia" (13).
5. Voltes: "materias de no poco importancia" (43).
6. Wootton: "matters of not inconsiderable significance" (56).
7. Miller: "matters of no small moment" (9).

Five out of the seven have done justice to More's style and thus to his message, which contrasts with a much lower percentage in earlier translations: Robynson has "weighty matters and of great

importance"; Turner "rather serious" in the much read *Utopia*; Stouvenel (1842) "de certaine importance"; Dolan "serious controversy"; Sheehan and Donnelly (1984) "of great importance"; Marshall (1965) "of great importance"; Marshall (7th edition 1990) "de alguma importancia"; Cardona y Sureda "muy importante".

Today's results may still be statistically disappointing. Litotes is preserved to a not insignificantly higher degree in translations of a few decades ago: Burnet's "differences of consequence" (1684) stood out as a lone retention of the pattern. After 1971, we encounter it "not seldom" (as *Utopia* say), with Firpo "di non lieve momento" (1978), Prévost "qui ne manquent pas d'importance" (1978), Estébanez "de importancia" (1982). Fanch Morvannou's Breton *Utopia* of "aferioù ne oant ket dister," that is "matters which were not

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Shall we try a second checkpoint? Erasmus had told Hutten that More spoke of the world to come *neque sine spe* (Allen ep. 999/274). His Utopians share that optimism, the mainspring of their altruistic life and of their serene leaving *spes non dubia futuri boni* (CW4, 173/14), "the sure happiness to come" in Surtz's non-litotic rendering. The bilingual has "the unquestioning hope of happiness to come" (173/15), Prévost "la ferme espérance des biens futurs" (529/15).

1. Magnino: "la non dubbia speranza di un bene futuro" (173/14).
2. Santidrián: "la firme esperanza del bien futuro" (158).
3. Zuanazzi: "la speranza non dubbia di una felicità futura" (173/14).
4. Camargo: "a confiante esperança da felicidade eterna" (173/14).
5. Voltes: "la esperanza segura del bien futuro" (126).
6. Wootton: "the confident expectation of happiness in the world to come" (121).
7. Miller: "the sure hope of happiness to come" (88).

litotes a feature which singularizes Thomas More in his other than *Utopia*? My undocumented impression is that he did not use it more than his fellow humanists or than his contemporaries in controversy. In a (1533 ?) letter to Elizabeth Barton he writes "I doubt not but..." and "I was not only not desirous..." (Rogers 465/19 and 25). In a prison letter he writes to Margaret "yet at that point unthought upon" (Rogers 542/89-90), and in another he tells her that, during the weeks when his incarceration was imminent, his agonies had been "neither few nor small" (Rogers 543/83). He had left it for *Utopia*'s readers to figure out how much he did consider the negotiations which had robbed him of his year of family life, of pleading at the bar, and of sitting as a prisoner on his Undersheriff's bench. His correspondence of 1515-1517 may have given his later readers some elements toward assessing his attitude toward his first diplomatic mission, so obviously governed by the need for money. Similarly, in 1535, he avoids superlatives about the horror of apprehension, the horror of denying his Master after his right limb and soul had weakened his willingness of spirit.

My guess is that more litotic phrases and constructions will be found in his two English dialogues, probably also in *Richard III*, which is more self-consciously literary, than in his other works. Elizabeth Surtz has compiled a list from *Richard III*, given in a more detailed article following. There is More's retort to Tyndale that "the meaning of celibacy, 'is not a seldom gift'" (CW6,308). Then there is litotes as a technique of understatement, which is itself part of a sense of humor. We French hardly shine in that regard, that is why we adopted the British word *humour* and have written a great deal about it in studies of Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Chesterton, without claiming to have caught the full flavor of it or distilled all its aroma. The classic example of the use of a denied contrary, as taught in French schools, has a context of passionate love: "Va, je ne te hais point, Lo I do not hate thee at all"—a translation of passionate love.

Voltaire once jotted down a list of negative epithets which were often used than the positives they derive from. Being more pliable than French, English is rather less affected by this

intriguing phenomenon. Of course it shares with all cultures and languages a number of negative terms, mostly born in the Renaissance period, which belong with such Utopian coinings as *Anydrus*, *Achorii* and *Alaopolitae*. More negates his negatives by describing the tides in that Waterless River, and the population of those Folkless realms. We are not concerned here with *abominable*, *amnesia*, *anomaly*, *anorexia*, *amorphous*, *acephalous*, *anesthesia*, etc., because these are learned terms. Where the litotic mood is discernible, and operates on words which have their roots in the living loam of the language, is in a number of negative terms which have no positive counterpart in daily communication: for instance *impecunious*, *imperturbable*, *immune*, *innumerable*, *ineffable*, *inexorable*, *intransigent*, *innocent*, *inopinate*. Not a few others, like *impenetrable*, *incredible*, are much more current than the positives they negate, and this observation extends to participles as *unheard of*, *untold*, *uncouth*.

ORCOC

Do we need to assign a prize? Clarence Miller is always the "hors compétition" as they say in the French of public games, not only because he is an old hand at wrestling with *Utopia* itself, but also because he has enriched his experience of Renaissance Latin by editing and translating Erasmus in both verse and prose, and has demonstrated his mastery of More's Latin in its full variety, from the discursive periods of *De tristitia Christi* to the elliptic concision of the briefest epigrams.

Germain Marc'hadou