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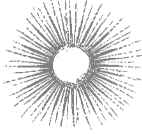

“Suspicor enim eam gentem a graecis originem duxisse”: Translating *Utopia* in Greek

Antonis Balasopoulos and Vasso Yannakopoulou

ABSTRACT

Although More's Utopia *is a work for which classical Greek language and literature are central, it was not until 1970 that the work was translated into Greek. During the sixteenth century, Greek scholars bypassed the fundamental texts of Renaissance humanism, clinging instead to the classical Greek past. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Greek intellectuals also ignored it, partly because the nature of their Westernizing agenda did not attract them to a work embedded within the tradition of Catholic Latinate cosmopolitanism. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when the term* utopia *entered Greek intellectual life, "scientific socialism" also made its first appearance in Greek political culture, possibly preempting the desire to translate a work that would now appear to constitute the source of an already obsolete canon of "utopian socialism." Tellingly, the textual life of More's* Utopia *in Greek began during the military junta. Its first translation arguably deploys it as a text charged by the desire for egalitarian democracy while at the same time privileging its satirical and playful aspects, partially in order to avoid state censorship. Though there are important differences regarding the framing of More's text by the four extant translations in modern Greek, the overall tendency seems to be to receive* Utopia *as a*

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fundamentally political text, a text capable of inspiring thought, and perhaps action, during dire and challenging times.

KEYWORDS: *utopia, translation, Greek, foreignization, domestication*

Hythlodaeus's suspicion that the Utopians were originally Greeks reflects,[1] as is well known, Thomas More's own abiding love of the language[2]—to which, as Erasmus would inform Ulrich van Hutten, he had devoted his young years[3]—and the plethora of Greek puns with which he embellished his imaginary island, its administrative apparatus, and the peoples his narrator describes besides the Utopians. Hythlodaeus himself is instrumental in inspiring the Utopians with admiration for "the literature and learning of the Greeks." Thanks to him, the Utopians learn Greek and receive, through the cargo that was salvaged from his fourth voyage, "most of Plato's works, several of Aristotle's, as well as Theophrastus," Plutarch, Lucian, Aristophanes, Homer, Euripides, Sophocles, Thucydides, Herodotus, and Herodian, among others: in other words, some of the greatest classical Greek works, including some editions that were recently published in More's time. Although More wrote his work in Latin, the lingua franca of scholarly writing at the time, he has Hythlodaeus explicitly state that in Latin "there was nothing, apart from history and poetry, which seems likely to gain their great approval" (*Utopia*, 181), obviously echoing More's own appreciation of classical Greek letters. And of course, Plato's *Republic* lies at the very core of the whole work as a major source of inspiration, since, in the words of the Utopian poet Anemolius, More's island is "rival of Plato's republic, perhaps even a victor over it" (*Utopia*, 21). One would expect the Greeks to have shown great interest in this work, if for no other reason because of the privileged position the classical Greek cultural world holds in it; that this was not the case for approximately four and a half centuries is itself one of the intriguing questions regarding the reception and translation of More's work in modern Greece.

Vectors of Reception

When More wrote his *Utopia*, most of the Greek-speaking populations were part of the Ottoman Empire, a fact that influenced intellectual and literary production and circulation. In the sixteenth century, Venice was, after

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Constantinople, the most important intellectual hub and attracted Greek scholars, who settled under the patronage of Italian rulers and learned to appreciate the cultural heritage of Greek antiquity, albeit through a Western European lens. The Renaissance seems to have had little influence on these scholars, who clung to medieval scholasticism and to a retrogressive approach to the classical Greek past.[4] Erasmus's *Praise of Folly* was translated as early as 1864 from Latin, only to be forgotten for a full century and published again in Stratis Tsirkas's translation in 1970, interestingly the same year that More's *Utopia* was first published in a Greek translation. There was some Arcadian literature such as the poem *Ē voskopoula ē evmorfi* (Venice, 1627) and the play *Panoria* (attributed to Chortatsis),[5] which was written in the Italian vein (Guarini, Tasso, Grotto) in Crete at a time when the island was under Venetian rule.[6]

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Greek members of the upper middle classes formed diasporas around Europe, playing the role of gatekeepers for the intellectual production and circulation of knowledge in the Greek-speaking world. The Modern Greek Enlightenment of the eighteenth to early nineteenth century was the period when Greeks shaped their feeling of national identity;[7] a large number of texts translated at the time from European languages, mostly from French, played a decisive role in this process of national cultural formation. Yet More's *Utopia* was once again not among the works they turned to for inspiration. It is possible that as a text at once formally embedded in an elitist sphere of Latinate cosmopolitanism and substantively linked to radical social reform within the incipient framework of the nation-state, it was too complicated to fit in their modernization-cum-cultural Westernization agenda.[8]

Unlike the book, *utopia* as a term did actually find its way into the Greek vocabulary in the final quarter of the nineteenth century. Its first appearance is reported to have been in 1874,[9] in an essay denouncing materialism written by Carl Borromäus Scheidemacher and translated by Ignatios Moschakis. Being of Greek origin, the word was readily perceptible and caught on. It appears a number of times in the late nineteenth century, mostly in texts of a legal and civic but also of a philosophical nature, as well as in Greek-French dictionaries of the time.[10] The appearance of the term can be seen as correlative with the advent of the first socialist influences in Greece. But even during the early twentieth century, when there was a strong translation campaign by the demoticists in their attempt to educate the people and liberate their

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minds,[11] offering them great works of literature in the demotic, *Utopia* was not included among their works of choice. It is possible that the rise of the socialist movement rendered translating the text superfluous, for "scientific socialism" had arrived before its "utopian" counterpart had had the time to be culturally and ideologically digested.

The book would thus have to wait for its first translation until the midpoint of the Greek military junta of 1967–74,[12] a fact that sheds interesting light on the potential attractiveness of More's tendency to combine radical propositions with complex devices of mediation and ironic distancing at a time of intense state censorship and political repression. After More, a number of the seminal literary and social utopists have been translated into Greek, though the process of importing the utopian canon remains far from complete.[13] The critical study of utopias is still at a relatively early stage: despite the fact that a number of important philosophical, philological, social, historical, and political explorations of the concept have become available in translation in the first years of the twenty-first century, the majority of the canonical works remain untranslated, particularly when they happen to be sizable in the original.[14] Frankfurt school theory, sociology and social history, and literary studies dominate translation choices, while anarchism, anarchofeminism, and ecology seem to have motivated a number of translations of lesser-known critical works.

When it comes to Greek-language studies on utopia as a field of inquiry, on the other hand, political theory and political philosophy (especially of the Frankfurt school, Marxist, and anarchist varieties) are dominant, though a historical grasp of the political import of utopianism seems to be emerging as well: the last decade has witnessed the publication of original studies dedicated to utopian radicalism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as to the impact of utopian thought on European and Greek socialism and radicalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Literary studies, particularly studies of classical utopianism but also of such diverse postclassical literary constellations as European Renaissance utopianism, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Greek-language Arcadias, and twentieth-century Greek poetics, likewise constitute a significant segment of the scholarly output on utopianism. Studies of architecture, urbanism, and cartography have also begun making their appearance in print.[15] Finally, there are references to More's *Utopia* in Greek secondary education within the framework of history, philosophy, and sociology courses, but only in passing, and a few university courses

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include it in their syllabi; a modest, but growing, number of Ph.D. dissertations undertaken in Greece have focused on the work itself.

The Translations: Texts and Paratexts

Given the belatedness of its reception through translation and the fact that English had become the dominant source language by the last quarter of the twentieth century (displacing French), none of the four translations of *Utopia* published in Greece has drawn upon the Latin original. The first, undertaken by Yiorgos Karagiannis for Kalvos Editions, explicitly indicates that it was based on Paul Turner's 1965 English translation and is thus ironically the oldest and the one to use the most relatively recent source text. Karagiannis replicates Turner's minimalist paratextual apparatus: the translation includes the "Utopian alphabet," the Anemolian verses, and the letters of Thomas More to Peter Giles and of Giles to Jerome Busleiden included in the first 1516 Louvain edition of the work but omits More's letter to Giles from the same edition,[16] as well as all subsequent paratexts included in the Paris and Basel editions.

The rendering of More's invented proper names—aspects of the original text's fusion of satire and "cognitive estrangement"[17]—presents a particularly interesting facet of the Greek translations, since what is often at stake is the complex process of rendering into modern, *vernacular Greek* coined, often composite words of *classical Greek* origin that were *Latinized* in More's original, through the mediation of a prior translation into *modern English*. Faced with this challenge, Karagiannis usually follows Turner's overly satirical and domesticating translation choices: More's Hythlodaeus (*hūthlos* = nonsense, though *daeus* might variably derive from the noun *daios* or the verbs *daiō* or *daiōmai*, with very different translation results), whom Turner renders as "Nonsenso," becomes Hellenized into a classically extracted but vernacularly comprehensible "Mōrologos" (Karagiannis 1970, 16, passim), the speaker of nonsense. Thus rendered, his name conjures More's own, given the near homophony between the Latinate proper name Morus and the Greek adjective *mōros* (lacking rational sense), already present in the double entendre of Erasmus's *Moriae Encomium*. Utopia's capital, Amaurotum (*amaurōton*, made dark or dim, imperceptible by vision), rendered by Turner as "Aircastle," becomes "Oneiropolis" (Karagiannis 1970, 13, passim), or Dream city; and the Polylerites (*polūs* = much, *lēros* = idle talk), whom Turner translates

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as "Tallstorians," are transformed through recourse to paronomasia to "Paralirites" (Karagiannis 1970, 38, passim)—Delirians, so to speak.

Opting for a source text that privileges broad satire in its translation of coined proper names may well have been motivated by the wish to escape the dictators' censorship by using every device to suggest that More's vision of communism is mere *jeu d'ésprit*, "a spontaneous overflow of intellectual high spirits . . . which starts many hares and kills none."[18] But such a strategy of disavowing seriousness is not without its politically enabling ambiguities. Turner's etymologically adventurous "Sansculottia" for More's Abraxa becomes a "vulgarly" humorous "Xevrakōtia" (Karagiannis 1970, 63),[19] a term pointing at once to Aristophanic satire and the Bakhtinian carnivalesque, as well as to the specter of the French Revolution, at a time when wordplay with "nonsense" was likely to serve as coding for insurrectionary energies.[20] Not accidentally, Karagiannis translates Turner's "republic" (orig. *republica*) at the beginning of More's letter to Giles as "democracy" (Karagiannis 1970, 11)—the Greek opposite of dictatorship and hence the name of the par excellence forbidden political desire in 1970[21]—and consistently deploys this term for every occurrence of the term *republic* in the text: in context, the "utopian democracy" (Karagiannis 1970, 144) referred to on the last page of the translated text becomes something like an allusion to democracy itself *as* utopia, the elusive dream of the Greek people in the dark years of the Colonels' rule.[22]

Karagiannis's translation remained the only available one for thirty-three years, having been reprinted as a paperback in 1984, the year, ironically, of a consciously timed new Greek translation of George Orwell's anti-utopian novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. The book's second translation, by Natasha Varsakis, was undertaken for Iamvlihos, a publishing house whose general output could be classed under "New Age–Spirituality," at as far a remove from the politicized Kalvos series as one could imagine. However, Iamvlihos not only has published translations of the utopian fictions of James Hilton (*Lost Horizon*) and Edward Bulwer-Lytton (*The Coming Race*) alongside Renaissance utopist Johann Valentine Andreae's *The Chemical Wedding of Christian Rosenkreutz* but also has taken particular care with the framing of More's text in a scholarly and in fact surprisingly materialist and historicist vein. Whereas the only significant editorial intervention of the Kalvos edition is a very brief "Note of the Translator" and an equally short number of explanatory notes, Varsakis's translation of the text is preceded by a rather detailed publisher's note; a considerably sized essay entitled "An Ideological

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Journey in Utopia," which touches on the work's relations to Plato, socialism, and Christianity and sketches some of the basic interpretive debates around it; a scholarly bibliography on the text; a large biographical essay on More; a list of selected works by the translator; a section of Erasmus's encomium on More in his letter to Ulrich von Hutten (July 1519); and Thomas More's last letter to his daughter from the Tower of London (July 1535).

Varsakis has also translated both of the humanist letters included in the Karagiannis translation in addition to Busleiden's response to More, and the edition includes both the Anemolian hexastich and the Utopian alphabet and quatrain included in the 1516 Louvain edition, while a small, colored version of the 1516 woodcut of the island is featured on the book's flap. The translator's notes to the text are significantly more extensive than Karagiannis's, and the edition includes subheadings for the different sections of book II, as was the case in the first three Latin editions of the text (a feature Karagiannis omits altogether), though there are no marginalia, as was the case in the Latin editions.

According to the publisher's note, Varsakis's source text was Gilbert Burnet's 1684 translation, most probably in some modernized republication that is nevertheless not mentioned—a text three centuries older than Turner's. The publisher also claims that the Greek text is simply "based" on Burnet's translation and rendered "rather freely, aiming at adapting it to the contemporary context" (in Varsakis 2003, 10). Given this general directive, it is striking that in the places where Karagiannis reads "democracy," Varsakis deploys the more historically distant terms of "politeia" (2003, 47) (as in the Greek title of Plato's *Republic*, a term designating both polity and constitution) and "koinopoliteia" (2003, 195) (commonwealth, a term of far higher relevance to English than to classical or modern Greek political history). If Varsakis's translation is less anachronistically politicized than Karagiannis's, on the other hand, it is also clearly less satirical and privileging of oxymoron when it comes to the translation of proper names: Hythlodaeus remains "Mōrologos," and the mercenary Zapolets (orig. Zapoletae) are in both cases rendered comically as "Xepoulites" (Sellouts); but Amaurotum is foreignized to "Amarot" (Varsakis 2003, 112), and Hythlodaeus's book-carrying friend "Tricius Apinatus" (183), whom Karagiannis renders comically as "Katsipodianos" (Goat-legged; 1970, 103), retains his seemingly imposing Latinate name ("Trichios Apinatos"; Varsakis 2003, 154), as do the Polylerites and Abraxa: such words are merely transliterated (Varsakis 2003, 84, 112), with Varsakis neither attempting to

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reimport them to the Greek vernacular nor providing any commentary on the classical Greek etymological roots of More's Latin.

Four years after Varsakis's translation, in 2007, Metaichmio Editions published a new translation of More's text by Gregoris Kondylis. The edition, entitled *Three Texts on Utopia*, is clearly modeled on Susan Bruce's Oxford University Press edition *Three Early Modern Utopias: "Utopia," "New Atlantis," "The Isle of Pines"*: it includes the same primary texts and uses Bruce's practice of deploying marginalia for both books, a feature absent from all three original editions of More's text. Though Bruce's edition is not credited as a source text, and though no translation source is mentioned, all indications show that in basing himself on Bruce's edition, Kondylis thereby also deployed her translation source, the second, revised 1556 Ralph Robinson translation, modernized in its spelling and punctuation by Bruce.[23]

Despite clearly being based on Bruce's edition, however, the Metaichmio translation strongly differs in the paratexts it features: Bruce's introductory scholarly apparatus is entirely omitted, as are Robinson's 1556 address to the reader and the Louvain and Robinson paratexts that Bruce includes. Exceptions are made only for visual paratexts, so the full-page reproductions of the title page of Robinson's 1556 edition, the two woodcuts of the island (1516, 1518), the Utopian alphabet, and the woodcut-embellished first page of the 1518 edition that Bruce includes are also found in the Greek translation. In place of Bruce's introduction, finally, the Metaichmio edition features a brief introduction to utopianism by Stephanos Rozanis, well known from his translations of the Bloch-Adorno discussion of utopia and of Bloch's essay "Utopia and Revolution" and for his numerous contributions to the study of German and Judaic thinkers, among which is his *On the Spirit of Utopia* (2004).

Concerning his translation strategy, Kondylis stands somewhere between Varsakis's relatively foreignizing and straight-faced version and Karagiannis's highly domesticating and satirical one. Kondylis (2007, 160) shows an interest in accounting for the wordplay in Greek, both through his translation choices and explicitly through a footnote in which he justifies his playful rendering by arguing that More's choice of proper names is consistently satirical. Like Varsakis, he thus foreignizingly transliterates the Polylerites (2007, 40, passim), Hydthlodaeus (2007, 21, passim), and Amaurotum (Amaurotē; 2007, 70, passim), reimporting the names into the Greek vernacular by simply exchanging their Latin suffixes with Greek ones. Yet he translates Abraxa as "Avrektos" (2007, 69), following Bruce's (1999, 51) own gloss of the word

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as one likely to mean "waterless" (from the privative *a* and the verb *vrehō*, "to water"); and he retains Karagiannis's rendering of More's Alaopolitae as "Tyflochōrites" ("Blind denizens"; Kondylis 2007, 128)[24] and the Zapoletae as "Xepoulites" (2007, 132).

Furthermore, Kondylis renders More's administrative divisions of Syphograntus or Phylarchus and Traniborus or Protophylarchus (*Utopia*, 122) as *Hoirostasiarchēs* (pigsty chief) or *Philarch* and *Tranobor* or *Protophilarch* (Kondylis 2007, 75). The difference from Karagiannis's (1970, 68) rendering of the terms as *Hoirokrates* or *Tomearchēs* (section chief) and *Thraniobor* (desk eater) or *Prōtotomearches* (head section chief) illustrates complex relations of affiliation and divergence between the source texts each deploys. Kondylis goes the extra mile and spells both *phylarch* and *protophylarch* in a manner justified neither by More's spelling in Latin nor, more importantly, by the Greek spelling of the word for "tribe" or "gentes" (*phūlē*). In a translator's note, Kondylis (2007, 159–60) once again attributes this spelling decision to More's presumed satirical intent,[25] since a *philarch* would be someone who loves to rule. Given the fact that this comes in direct conflict with Hythlodaeus's understanding of the accountable and rational nature of administrative rule in Utopia, however, it appears that the influence of the translation source text, which deploys this spelling (Bruce 1999, 55), was in this case larger than that of either More's original or Hythlodaeus's widely presumed intention to valorize Utopian institutions.

The most recent of *Utopia*'s Greek translations was originally issued as a supplement to the political satire newspaper *To Pontiki* (*The Mouse*, 2010) and republished by Argonautis Editions in its series "Political Texts" in 2014. The framework of the publication (previous authors published in the series include Lafargue, Kropotkin, Marx, Freud, Aristotle, Thoreau, Luxemburg, Cicero, Saint Augustine, and Dante) seems to dictate a decision to treat *Utopia* as a fundamentally *political* rather than *literary* text. Accordingly, the translation does not deploy any of the largely playful and ambiguity-generating paratexts of the first three Latin editions: besides the text, which is the only one not to follow the traditional practice of dividing the work into two books,[26] the reader encounters only a page-length reproduction of More and family by Hans Holbein the Younger (not included in any of the original editions of the work), a brief introduction by series editor Xenofon Broutzakis,[27] and an equally brief biographical note placed at the end of the text. There are no translator's notes, unlike in any of the other editions of the book. Finally, and like Kondylis's translation, Voutsinos's does not contain any indication of

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a source text, though it is not difficult to identify this as a modernized version of Burnet's 1684 translation also used by Varsakis.[28]

In terms of its overall tendencies, this is by far the most foreignizing of the available Greek translations: Bruges, the city mentioned on the opening page of *Utopia*, is here rendered according to its French pronunciation (Voutsinos 2010, 9) and not as "Vrygi," as all three previous translations Hellenize it; Giles's name is similarly transliterated as "Ziles" (Voutsinos 2010, 10), instead of resorting to the Greco-Roman "Aegidios," as all other translators opt, and the same goes for Sallustius, whom Voutsinos is the only one to render as "Sallust" (2010, 21), instead of using the Greco-Roman "Sallustios." Since much of *Utopia*'s satirical subtext has to do with its play on Greek etymology, the result of high foreignization is a drastic decrease in the satirical aspects of the work, in line with its profiling as a "political text": only those words that can be fairly directly transliterated into vernacular modern Greek ("Achōrians," "Makarians"; Voutsinos 2010, 37, 42) retain their character as wordplay, and this is not always the case. Voutsinos opts for transliterating Anyder as "Anider" (2010, 54, passim), a term that is meaningless in Greek, when there is readily available in the language the term *Anydros* (Waterless). Similarly, he (2010, 61) eschews the quite automatic choice of Hellenizing the mayor's Latinate title ("Ademus") as "Ademos"—once again, a word a speaker of modern Greek could easily understand as meaning "without people"—by opting to retain the word's Latin suffix. As is to be expected given such foreignizing translation practice, there is no attempt to familiarize the Polylerites (transliterated; Voutsinos 2010, 28, passim), Abraxa (transliterated; 2010, 51), Amaurotum (rendered as "Amaurot"; 2010, 52, passim), the Syphograntus (rendered as "Syphogrant"; 2010, 56, passim), the Traniborus (rendered as "Tranibor"; 2010, 56, passim), Tricius Apinatus (transliterated; 2010, 85), the Alaopolitae (rendered as "Alaopolitanes"; 2010, 97), or the Zapoletae (rendered as "Zapoletes"; 2010, 100, passim). Interestingly, *Utopia*'s most recent translation is equally as interested in the political aspects of More's work as Karagiannis's had been but adopts the inverse translation strategy, since by then the norm for translation had changed in favor of foreignization.[29]

All in all, it seems that the Greeks have tended to receive *Utopia* less as a work of literature conducive to the construction of their national imaginary and more as a political text capable of inspiring them during dire times of their recent history. It cannot be seen as coincidental that apart from the first translation, which appeared during the military junta, two of the most recent editions came out as newspaper supplements in 2010, in the midst of the financial crisis.

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One cannot avoid noticing the irony, however, that the publication of these supplements, which were offered to the Greek reader completely stripped of any introductory notes and were, by extension, devoid of any contextualization, was sponsored by large banks and the construction industry, institutions that lie at the core of the system of private accumulation that *Utopia* ostensibly negates.

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Notes

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1. "I suspect that their race [of the Utopians] was derived from the Greek" (Surtz 1965, 180). All subsequent references to More's Latin text and, unless otherwise indicated, its English translation are from the same edition, hereafter cited parenthetically in the text as *Utopia*.

2. His love for the language can also partially account for his translating works by Lucian from Greek into Latin. See Thomas More, *Translations of Lucian*, vol. 3, pt. 1, of *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, ed. Craig Thompson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974); also see Mary Pawlowski, "Thomas More's Mis-translations of Lucian's *Cynic*, *Menippus*, and *Tyrannicide*," *Moreana* 47 (2010): 85–101.

3. Erasmus to Ulrich von Hutten, July 23, 1519, in *The Correspondence of Erasmus: Letters 993 to 1121, 1519 to 1520*, trans. R. A. B. Mynors (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 19.

4. Though texts were translated from Latin into Greek and vice versa since the sixteenth century, the focus of Greek intellectuals was on writers from Roman antiquity, predominantly Cicero. See Georgios Ioannis Zaviras, *Nea Hellas ē hellēnikon theatron* (Athens: Etaireia Macedonikōn Spoudōn, 1972), 53, 66, passim. The Italian humanists would not begin to be translated until the last decades of the twentieth century, in a process very much synchronous with the translation of narrative utopias.

5. See Mario Vitti, *Historia tes neoellēnikēs logotehnias* (Athens: Odysseas, 2003), 104. On Greek Arcadian theater, see Thodoros Grammatas, *O Arkadismos sto elleniko theatro: Apo tēn outopia stēn fygi* (Ioannina: Sygxroni Ekpaideūsi, 1985), 56–67.

6. Some belated Arcadian drama also appeared at the turn of the twentieth century, in the form of a number of pastoral plays, influenced by the folkloristics that bloomed at the time and offering an escapist outlet to an idealized past instead of a utopian future. See Theodoros Grammatas, "To chroniko tou achronou se chrono parelthonta. Ē 'dialektiki' tēs outopias," in *Outopikes theories ke kinonika kinimata stin Europi, apo ton 180 ōs ton 200 eōna*, ed. Maria Menegaki (Athens: Filistor, 2006), 118–27.

7. Grammatas (ibid., 120) includes among the works with definite utopian traits the play *Korakistika* (Crowish) (Constantinople, 1812) by Iakovakis Rizos Neroulos, which was intended as a satire of Adamantios Korais's position on the Greek language.

8. See Antonio Gramsci's remarks on the function of Latinate cosmopolitanism and the import of utopianism in the Italian context in *Selections from Cultural Writings*, ed. David Forgacs and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, trans. William Boelhower (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 167–70, 187–88, 207–18, 220–21, 225–26, 233–40; and in *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, ed. and trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith (New York: International, 1971), 17–18, 63, 116–17, 131. On *Utopia* and the ideology of the incipient nation-state, see Phillip E. Wegner, *Imaginary Communities: Utopia, the Nation, and the Spatial Histories of Modernity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002), 49–61; and Jeffrey Knapp, *An Empire Nowhere: England, America, and Literature from "Utopia" to "The Tempest"* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992), 18–61.

9. Stephanos A. Koumanoudis, *Sūnagogē neōn lexeōn* (Athens: Hermes, 1998), 749.

10. Hence, the cognate *utopian* appears in 1889; *utopism*, in 1892; and *utopist*, in 1893. There is even the version *atopia* by Ioannis Soutsos. See ibid.

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11. The demoticists were advocators of writing (and of translating) in the modern Greek vernacular.

12. It is telling that the dystopian fictions of Pavlos Matesis—*Biochēmeia* (Biochemistry) (1970)—and Kostas Mourselas—*Epikindūno fortio* (Dangerous cargo) (1971)—emerged during the same period of the military junta. See Grammatas, "To chroniko," 124–25.

13. Of the great literary utopists, More, Campanella, Bacon, Owen, Fourier, Cabet, Morris, and Bellamy have all been translated (if not always comprehensively), but not Cavendish, Hartlib, Winstanley, or Saint-Simon, for instance.

14. There is, for example, no Greek translation of Bloch's *The Principle of Hope*, or of Marin's *Utopics*, or of Manuel and Manuel's *Utopian Thought in the Western World*—while only the first part of Jameson's *Archaeologies of the Future* has been translated. The only major utopist who has occasioned translations of book-length critical studies remains Plato.

15. As is often the case in other languages, a segment of the works with reference to utopia appear to bear only a nominal or "opportunistic" relation to their alleged subject, though the apparent familiarity of the term *utopia* to Greek language speakers may render such catachrestic use more prominent.

16. Interestingly, Karagiannis mistakes More's reference to the imaginary poet Anemolius as a "Poet Laureatus" to mean that he was the "poet of the English royal court" (1970, 9).

17. See Darko Suvin, "Estrangement and Cognition," in *Metamorphoses of Science Fiction: On the Poetics and History of a Literary Genre* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 3–15.

18. C. S. Lewis, "[A Jolly Invention]," in Sir Thomas More, *Utopia*, ed. and trans. Robert M. Adams (New York: W. W. Norton, 1992), 219.

19. The term *sans-culottes* has been rendered in Greek as *avrakotoi*, but Karagiannis playfully uses the near-synonym *xevrakotoi*, "lacking undergarments," to allude both to the sansculottes of the French Revolution and to the low-register metaphoric description of someone who is impoverished or exposed.

20. In 1973, the antidictatorship composer Yannis Markopoulos wrote a song with the seemingly nonsensical title "Papadop-dop-dop" to allude to the regime's leader, Georgios Papadopoulos, while including lyrics that would best be described as at once apocalyptic and utopian; he used similar censorship-evading strategies in his "Zavarakatranemia" (1968), "Tarzan" (1972), and "Toumbou-Toumbou-Za" (1975)—songs with nonsensical or outlandish titles and subtly subversive content. For one, the dictatorship's artificial "purist" language and its ultranationalist rhetoric could be satirized as so much gibberish, a destruction of sense at both the formal and the substantive levels; for another, the implosion of language into quasi-"barbaric" meaninglessness could be taken as a loud protest against the junta's own cultural barbarism.

21. Karagiannis uses just that word—"dictatorship" (1970, 114)—to render More's Latinate Greek reference to *tyrannia* (*tyrannide*, *Tyranni*; *Utopia*, 200) in the passage where Hythlodaeus describes the Utopians' causes of going to war with foreign countries in support of other peoples.

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22. Christiana Mygdali relevantly notes that antidictatorship politics constituted the fundamental agenda of Kalvos editions: "Ekdoseis Kalvos: Ē dialektiki tēs logotechnikēs metaphrasēs stēn periodo tēs Juntas," accessed February 8, 2016, http://www.frl.auth.gr/sites/metafrasi/PDF/migdali.pdf.

23. The opening sentence of the text, for instance, follows much more closely the wording of Bruce's edition; paragraph breaking likewise reflects Bruce's source text; and the error in the translation of "Castello" that Robinson made, translating the word with the name of the European town Gulike (Jülich), is corrected in the Greek translation, as it is corrected both in Bruce's and in J. H. Lupton's 1895 edition of Robinson's English translation.

24. Though there is no dispute that the second half (*politae*) of More's composite Latinized Greek means "citizens," there is uncertainty about the first half, which may be either the classical Greek *alaos* (blind) or another composite, from the privative *a* and *laos* (= people), in which case the Alaopolitans are "Peopleless citizens" rather than "Blind citizens." See *Utopia*, 500.

25. Similarly, Kondylis translates Tricius Apinatus satirically, as "Kenospoudos" (Scholar of nothing) (2007, 114), and the Zapoletae with the same satirical word Karagiannis uses, "Xepoulites" (Kondylis 2007, 132). When it comes to More's *republica*, Kondylis (see 2007, 153–54, 158) follows, consciously or unwittingly, Karagiannis's practice of translating it as "democracy," rather than as "polity" or "commonwealth," as Varsakis does.

26. Though it does use the section headings of the second book, as do the original Latin editions.

27. It is striking that although this introduction emphasizes the political nature of the text and devotes half its length to an extended quotation from Karl Kautsky's *Thomas More and his Utopia* (1888), it misattributes Kautsky's first name as "Klaus" (in Voutsinos 2014, 7 and back cover).

28. The opening sentence in Voutsinos's (2014, 9) text, for instance, is a fairly literal translation of the opening sentence found in Burnet (1684, 1), while Voutsinos also replicates Burnet's translation of More's "Castello" as "New Castille" (Burnet 1684, 5; Voutsinos 2014, 12), as does Varsakis (2003, 68), who used the same source text.

29. Predictably, Voutsinos eschews the translation of *republica* as "democracy" too, opting, like Varsakis, for "polity" or "commonwealth" (see, for instance, Voutsinos 2014, 9, 119, 123).

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