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THOMAS HOBBES'S TRANSLATION OF 'THE PLAGUE OF ATHENS' (THUC. 2.47.2–54): A FIRST CRITICAL EDITION*

Abstract: The article provides a sample presentation of the critical edition in progress of Thomas Hobbes's translation of Thucydides, *Eight Bookes of the Peloponnesian Warre* (London, 1629). The specimen of the edition is Thucydides' narration of the 'Plague of Athens', accompanied by an introduction that sets Hobbes's edition in its historical context, considers his method of translation, and lays out some distinctive requirements for editing an early modern text. A note on the text explains the format and the editorial principles of the specimen.

Keywords: Thucydides, Thomas Hobbes, Plague of Athens, Translation, Critical Edition

Classicists' basic materials include critical editions and translations. A critical edition of a translation, however, is less usual. Often considered one of the great translations into English, Thomas Hobbes's Thucydides warrants such an edition, due to a unique convergence of characteristics.[1] First, it is an important cultural monument, like Pope's Homer or Dryden's Vergil. Second, it is a turning point in the reception of Thucydides, and is probably the most influential translation of the work other than that by Valla into Latin in 1452, which opened the way for all subsequent translations.[2] Third, Hobbes's is a rare antique translation that is still lauded as a model of accuracy and insight, frequently turned to by the best commentators and translators.[3]

We are at work on the edition of *Eight Bookes of the Peloponnesian Warre* (London, 1629) for the Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes. As it will be several years before the edition is complete, we wish to introduce

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[1] For interpretations of Hobbes's Thucydides and the intellectual and political contexts of the edition, see Strauss (1936), Skinner (1996), Malcolm (2007), Hoekstra (2012), Evrigenis (2014) 25–43, Iori (2015), Hoekstra (2016), Raylor (2018) 65–93, Iori (2019), and Hoekstra (2023a).

[2] For an inventory of Thucydides editions, translations, and commentaries up to the beginning of the seventeenth century, see Pade (2003).

[3] See, for instance, the salient references to the *Peloponnesian Warre* in *HCT*, Hornblower (1991–2008), and Mynott (2013).

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readers to some of the particular features of the edition in a small-scale presentation, and to invite suggestions and discussion of our approach. This preview consists of the present introduction, including a brief account of the historical contexts of Hobbes's edition, his method of translation, and pertinent details about early modern printing-house practices; a note on the text explaining the format and editorial principles; a specimen of the edition, *viz.* Thucydides' narration of the plague of 430 BCE, together with a list of abbreviations and conventions; and, for the sake of completeness, the relevant entries from the registers of editorial details like in-press variants and literal faults.

Ancient historians and other classicists may be interested to consider the construction of an edition of a translation, where the primary object of analysis is not the underlying classical text, as vital as that is here, but the multifaceted confrontation between an outstanding translator and a particularly demanding ancient author. We hope that this edition will provide other readers with the tools needed to have even better access to Thucydides' text than is provided by one of the best translations of it. And we hope that it will allow readers to develop their own sense of Hobbes's language, his way of thinking, and his encounter with Thucydides, thus coming to a deeper and more holistic understanding of Hobbes's intellectual development and one of his greatest achievements.

It is not happenstance that we have chosen to focus on Hobbes's version of Thucydides' powerful account of *nosos* or *loimos*—traditionally translated as 'plague', but instead a pandemic that has not been definitively identified—in the circumstances of our own pandemic. Yet we do not wish to join the ranks of those who have recently turned to this account in order to offer precedents in the face of unfamiliar troubles. While an assumption of similarity may make us wonder about Thucydides' veracity—our fellow citizens have not generally felt they 'held their lives but by the day', lost their 'feare of the Gods' and of the 'Lawes of men', or abandoned their family members—recent circumstances are pervasively different from those in Athens when the disease arrived in the second year of the war. Even one difference can be decisive, as the death rate makes obvious. In countries like the UK and Italy, deaths due to Covid-19 accounted for roughly .25% of the population over the first two years. In Athens, the death rate was probably well over 25% of the population in such a period.[4] If Thucydides' plague narrative can make anything vivid to us about ourselves, it may be that our recent situation will have given us little insight into how we would cope with a much deadlier disease.

[4] Thucydides reports that at least 4,400 hoplites in the ranks and 300 knights died of the plague (Th. 3.87.3); this seems to be out of a figure of *ca.* 13,000 hoplites (Th. 2.13.6) and 1,000 knights (Th. 2.13.8, and figuring the mentioned mounted archers at 200, following Aristophanes, *Knights* 225). If the death rate was similar across the population, this would

Contexts

Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), best known for his works of political philosophy—*The Elements of Law* (1640), *De cive* (1642, rev. 1647), and especially *Leviathan* (1651, Latin 1668)—also wrote many books of other kinds, including mathematical, scientific, legal, and historical works. By the age of forty, however, Hobbes had published nothing (at least nothing under his own name). His primary occupation had been, as it continued to be, tutor and secretary for the Cavendish family, one of England's most powerful. In this role, Hobbes frequently worked through classical texts with his noble pupils, including Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and Florus' *Epitome of Roman History*. He also managed the Cavendish library, which by the time of his Thucydides contained some 1,500 volumes and was well stocked with the texts of Greek and Roman history, literature, and philosophy.[5]

Although Hobbes did not register his Thucydides for publication with the Company of Stationers (indicating a date by which a work was usually substantially complete) until March of 1628, he says that it 'lay long by' him after it was finished, and it is likely to have taken him some years of work, not least given that he undertook the translation 'bit by bit' during his spare hours.[6] We cannot be sure whether Hobbes conceived or began the work at the outset of the decade, say, or closer to its middle, or when he was working on which parts. We cannot therefore specify the context precisely, though it seems to us safe to say that the project would have been underway by 1624 at the latest.[7]

Hobbes hailed from Malmesbury, a market town in Wiltshire nearly a hundred miles due west of London. There he learned Greek and Latin well enough to present his tutor Robert Latimer with a translation of Euripides' *Medea* into Latin iambics when he left at the age of fourteen to go to Magdalen

probably mean that roughly a third died from the plague during what Thucydides characterises as two assaults, one of two years and one of one year (430–428, and 427/6: Th. 3.87.2). Cf. Hansen (1988) 14. This may be an underestimate; from Th. 2.58.3, we learn that 1,050 out of a force of 4,000 hoplites died of the plague in just forty days.

[5] A seemingly complete manuscript catalogue of the Cavendish library in Hobbes's hand from the late 1620s (with some additions from the early 1630s) is held at Chatsworth (HS/E/1A). Hobbes reported that 'his lordship stored the library with what bookes he [Hobbes] thought fitt to be bought': Aubrey (1898) 1.338.

[6] *Peloponnesian Warre*, sig. A4^{r}: 'After I had finished it, it lay long by mee, and other reasons taking place, my desire to communicate it ceased.' Hobbes (1681) 3: 'Thucydidem […] vacuis horis in sermonem Anglicum paulatim conversum'.

[7] As Richard Tuck remarks (Tuck (2000) 100), it is 'perfectly possible that Hobbes's study of Thucydides … was already far advanced by 1620'; but we have no specific testimony of the project before 1628.

Hall, Oxford.[8] On leaving Oxford in 1608, Hobbes was recommended by his principal to William Cavendish, Baron Hardwick (and from 1618 first Earl of Devonshire), who was looking for a tutor and companion for his son, also named William. Hobbes was likely to have had a significant role in the *Horae subsecivae*, William's collection of essays and discourses in a Baconian vein.[9] Among these is an essay 'Of reading History' and 'A Discourse upon the Beginning of Tacitus', a commentary on *Annales* 1.1–4. The former promised that history could 'make a perfect man, namely, of an *understanding* well informed of what is *true*, and of a *Will* well & constantly disposed to that which is *good*'; the latter focused on the mechanisms of political success, how 'constant is every man to his owne ends', and that 'in a multitude, seeming things, rather than substantiall, make impression'.[10] Hobbes soon took on further roles in the family affairs, including assisting Cavendish during his stints as a Member of Parliament and serving as a member of the companies that oversaw the colonies in Virginia and Bermuda. During the early 1620s, Hobbes also served in a secretarial capacity for Francis Bacon, who during this time was writing his *History of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh* (1622), restating and revising his theories of history for his *De augmentis scientiarum* (1623), and deploying Thucydides to argue for the necessity of attacking Spain (*Considerations Touching a War with Spain*, 1624).

Bacon is generally understood to be the leading practitioner and theorist of 'politic history', a loose school of English history-writing variously dated from around the 1590s and often thought to reach its culminating expression in the *Henry the Seventh*. Established historiographical modes that unfolded moral lessons or providential plans were in this period eclipsed by histories that focused on politics, with a disenchanted view of human motivation, an emphasis on material and psychological causes, and an assessment according to outcomes; they were characteristically indebted to one or more of Tacitus, Machiavelli, and Guicciardini.[11] Some were more inclined to Machiavellian maxims and a cyclical theory of historical similarities, others to a Guicciardinian commitment to particularity and extensive differentiation that went with a wariness about rules or recurrence.[12] They were all drawn to a Tacitean willingness to examine history in terms of efficacy and to put the wicked onstage alongside the good.

[8] Aubrey (1898) 1.328–9.

[9] Hobbes may have set some of them as assignments, and may have edited them. The essays may have been drafted by 1610, and then revised and supplemented some years later, before being published in 1620: Malcolm (2002) 7, 78.

[10] [Cavendish] (1620) 196, 254, 241.

[11] See Goldberg (1955); Levy (1967), ch. 7; Levy (1987).

[12] Hoekstra (2023b).

This historiographical mode contributed to a broader efflorescence of interest in Tacitism in this period.[13] And the popularity of Tacitus contributed to the wider proliferation of translations of Greek and especially Latin classics, with a focus on the historians.[14] Secretary to a prominent noble family, Hobbes would have wanted his edition to be of interest to the powerful and to demonstrate his skill and learning to the humanists of the day. So he chose an author with a distinctive profile, never before translated from Greek into English, and renowned for the difficulty of his language and the depth of his wisdom.[15] It surely also mattered to Hobbes that Thucydides was much esteemed in the Tacitist and Baconian milieu in which he and William Cavendish moved. The Tacitists appealed to their oracle as a teacher of political wisdom, a role furthered in particular by the pervasive elite influence of the *Politica* of Justus Lipsius; and Lipsius had also appealed frequently to the authority of Thucydides, ranking him at the top level with Tacitus himself.[16] Similarly, Bacon had placed Thucydides along with Tacitus in his own list of the top few authorities.[17]

It would thus seem natural that Hobbes—following in the tracks of leading intellectuals and politicians of the period, some of whom were patrons and associates—would offer a translation of Thucydides in an effort to join the

[13] See Toffanin (1921), Tenney (1941), Burke (1969), Schellhase (1976), Bradford (1983), Salmon (1989), Momigliano (1990) 109–31, Smuts (1993), and Gajda (2009). The diffusion of Tacitus went well beyond scholarly studies, to political treatises, collections of aphorisms, and literary adaptations like Ben Jonson's *Sejanus His Fall* (1603).

[14] A partial list of English translations: Caesar by Golding (1565); Polybius by Watson (1568); Appian by W. B. (1578); Plutarch by North (1579); Herodotus by Rich (1584); Tacitus by Savile (1591) and Grenewey (1598); Livy (1600), Suetonius (1606), and Ammianus Marcellinus (1609) by Holland; Josephus by Lodge (1602); Sallust by Heywood (1608); and Florus by Bolton (1618).

[15] Francis Hickes may well have finished his Thucydides before Hobbes finished his; but it was never published, and there is no reason to think that either translator knew of the other's work in producing his own. See Gillespie–Pelling (2016). The only English edition that had been published was that of Thomas Nicolls (1550), who, as Hobbes pointed out, translated the French translation of Claude de Seyssel, which in turn was a translation of the Latin translation derived from Lorenzo Valla, which was based on an imperfect Greek text: 'so, as by multiplication of errour, hee became at length traduced, rather then translated into our Language' (*Peloponnesian Warre*, sig. A3^{v}–A4^{r}).

[16] Lipsius (2004) 732–4; see Hoekstra (2012) 35–9.

[17] Bacon writes to the Earl of Rutland (perhaps on behalf of or together with the Earl of Essex): 'as the cheife of all stories, I will exhorte yow to *Tacitus* and *Lyvye* and *Thucidides* of the *Greekes*'; and to Fulke Greville: 'Of all Stories, I thinke Tacitus simplye the best, Livy verye good, Thucidides aboue any of the writers of Greeke matters, and the woorst of these, & divers others of the auncientes, to be preferred before the best of our moderne' (Bacon (2012a) 660, 210).

ranks of politic historians and Tacitist political thinkers.[18] Perhaps, however, Hobbes included a prominent commendation of Thucydides from Lipsius, and highlighted themes such as prudence that were dear to the Tacitists, in order to bring them in as an audience that he wished to convince or convert, and not just follow or flatter. For there is good reason to believe that Hobbes would have thought that prominent Tacitists were rebellious, bellicose, or both. Politic historians were implicated in the rebellion of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, against Queen Elizabeth. John Hayward, often considered the first politic historian for his 1599 history of Henry IV, was thrown into the Tower for treason for this work, which was dedicated to Essex and featured at the trial that led to the earl's beheading.[19] Another piece of evidence at the trial was the preface to Henry Savile's translation of Tacitus (*Hist.* 1–4 and *Agr.*), which was there attributed to Essex himself; and to Essex was dedicated Richard Grenewey's 1598 translation of the *Annales* and the *Germania*. The Queen had studied with Savile, and had translated Tacitus herself; although there were Tacitists in these decades who were supporters of strong monarchy, she was thus well-placed to recognise that, as William Cornwallis put it: 'He is so worthy that I wish hee were as rare, for I hold no eye meete to wade in him that is not at the helme of a State', for 'he is more wise then safe'.[20] Francis Bacon, a close supporter and ally of Essex, distanced himself from the earl when the time came, and gingerly interceded with Elizabeth by reassuring her that the felony Hayward had committed with his history was not treason, but theft—given the amount he had stolen from Tacitus.[21]

Under King James and King Charles, Tacitists were still willing to risk resisting the Crown. Tacitists as different as Francis Bacon and John Eliot opposed James's pacific policy toward Spain, supporting and stoking the more aggressive popular and parliamentary preference to take up arms. In 1624, Eliot insisted that 'war must be the thing that must repair us', and Bacon wrote

[18] Richard Tuck claims that 'Hobbes in 1620 was an absolutely authentic Tacitist', and remained one throughout his career, arguing along the way that 'one of the points of Hobbes's translation' of Thucydides was accordingly to support Bacon's call for war with Spain (Tuck (2000) 107–9). (Against this understanding of the point of Hobbes's Thucydides, see Hoekstra (2016) esp. 565–9.)

[19] Hayward (1599). Hayward was asked 'What moved hym to maynteyn with arguments never mencyoned in the history, that yt myght be laweful for the subjects to depose the Kyng for any cause', and was pressed about his practical aims in writing 'in this tyme' a history so favorable to 'Traytors or Rebelles' (Hart (1872) 35–46 at 36).

[20] Cornwallis (1600–1) sig. H3^{v}; sig. Ii7^{r}. For Elizabeth's translation of Tac. *Ann.* 1, see Philo (2019). Examples of 'royalist' uses of Tacitus include Francis Bacon's address to James I in 1610, invoking Nerva and Trajan, mirrored in 1626 by the address in the Lords by the speaker of the Commons, Heneage Finch, with Charles I in attendance (Bidwell–Jansson (1991) 27, 31).

[21] Bacon (2012b) 222.

his *Considerations* agitating for the war.[22] Eliot pushed farther once Charles was on the throne, arguing in 1626 that precedent for deposing kings could readily be found 'by readinge of history'—a position that Isaac Dorislaus defended the following year in his lectures on Tacitus, which were then shut down by the king.[23] Notoriously, Eliot led the impeachment of Buckingham, the royal favourite, with a Tacitean tirade that culminated in a detailed denunciation of the duke as Sejanus; Charles understood this to be attacking him as Tiberius.[24] Shortly after Charles had been executed in early 1649—Dorislaus drawing on his own lessons from Tacitus in drafting the charge of high treason as counsel for the prosecution—Hobbes would insist that this classical culture was politically disastrous: 'one of the most frequent causes' of 'rebellion in particular against Monarchy', he lamented, was 'the Reading of the books of Policy, and Histories of the antient Greeks, and Romans'.[25] In his works of political philosophy, he seems to have regarded himself as having provided 'the Antidote of solid Reason'; but in advocating 'applying such correctives of discreet Masters, as are fit to take away their Venime', he may have been harking back to his offering of Thucydides.[26]

Yet Thucydides, too, had a recent history of having been deployed in ways both hostile to monarchy and in favour of foreign war. He was sometimes associated with popular or republican politics, often because he was identified with Athens. In the 1579 *Vindiciae, contra tyrannos*, Thucydides is appealed to for the argument that one must intervene to liberate others from tyranny; Domenico Molino, a prominent member of the Morosini 'mezato' with links to Bacon and Hobbes, expressed a recurrent Venetian view when he wrote in 1622 urging Jan van Meurs to translate Thucydides as the teacher of political liberty; and Gerolamo Cardano wrote in a work first published in 1627 that Thucydides wrote for a republic and belonged to the popular party.[27] More frequently, Thucydides was used in this period as an authority to justify preventive attack or even expansion and conquest. This use is especially forceful in Francis Bacon's efforts to justify a war, culminating in the case he makes to Prince (soon to be King) Charles that the English must attack Spain

[22] Hoekstra (2012) 49–54.

[23] *ODNB* s.vv. 'Eliot, Sir John' (Conrad Russell) and 'Dorislaus, Isaac' (Margo Todd).

[24] Bidwell–Jansson (1992) 220–4; Cockburn (1994) 1.282 n. 20 (Simonds D'Ewes to Martin Stuteville, 11 May 1626: 'The King was this morning in the upper howse & ther complained of Sir John Elliot for comparing the Duke to Sejanus in which hee saied implicitelie hee must intend him for Tiberius').

[25] Hobbes (2012) II.506. Cf. id. (1969) 174–5, 177, 183; id. (1983) 187; id. (2012) II.332–5, III.1094–7; id. (2010) 110, 136–7, 179–80, 322.

[26] Hobbes (2012) II.506, 508.

[27] See Hoekstra (2012) 29–35.

in order to defend England, quoting Thucydides (1.23) as his authority for the position.[28]

Hobbes in his edition seeks to subvert both of these uses of Thucydides, and to push back against Tacitist challenges to monarchical authority. His inversion of the first position is clear: 'it is manifest', he writes of Thucydides, 'that he least of all liked the *Democracy*'; what is more, he was sceptical of the conflicting ambitions of the few, and 'best approued of the *Regall Gouernment*'.[29] Hobbes's subversion of the use of Thucydides to justify wars of choice or military adventuring requires more excavation, perhaps because his patrons were arguing *for* war with Spain. Hobbes accordingly insists that the reader of his Thucydides must focus on how 'by the necessity of the narration' the Athenians' 'own actions do sometimes reproach them', and that the kernel of Thucydides' instruction is how evil counsel led to Athenian failure and misery.[30] Coming at a time when so many of the English were pressing to launch a military campaign abroad, Hobbes is telling them that an essential lesson of Thucydides is to be learned from contemplating the Athenians' disastrous decision to set sail to attack Sicily.[31] And for Hobbes, the politics of contentious demagoguery is *intertwined* with war-mongering, in Athens as in England: 'such men onely swayed the Assemblies, and were esteemed wise and good Commonwealthsmen, as did put them upon the most dangerous and desperate enterprizes'; it is because of the distortions of 'publique deliberations before a Multitude' that 'wicked men and flatterers drave them headlong into those actions that were to ruine them'.[32]

This portrait of Athens would have struck readers living in England in the tumultuous 1620s. Throughout the decade, political strife raged between Parliamentary factions and between Parliament and Crown, with a focus on rights and privileges, limitations on royal power, and whether to go to war. Many members of Parliament joined preachers and popular leaders in opposing royal policy: they resisted James's policies in an effort to enrol England on the Protestant side of what became known as the Thirty Years' War, which from 1618 had grown into a bitter conflagration in which millions perished; they then resisted Charles's attempts to join and fund the war effort. Relevant conflicts ran from the Protestation of 1621, which marked Parliament's insistence on their right to criticise James I's policy of peace with Spain (ripped out of the record by James, who then arrested Edward Coke, principal author of the Protestation, and dissolved Parliament), to the Petition

[28] Hoekstra (2012) 40–54.

[29] *Peloponnesian Warre*, sig. a1^{v}–a2^{r}. For an extended argument, see Iori (2015) 215–47.

[30] *Peloponnesian Warre,* sig. a2^{v}–a3^{v}.

[31] For an extended argument, see Hoekstra (2016).

[32] *Peloponnesian Warre*, sig. a1^{v}.

of Right, which articulated the rights and liberties of subjects and prohibited taxation without the approval of Parliament (the struggle over which ran from March to June of 1628, and may have been a context for Hobbes's writing or revision of the prefatory materials in particular).[33] In the period between these markers, there were many other controversies, including those of the impeachment of the Lord Chancellor, Francis Bacon, in 1621, which was the first in a series of attempts to impeach royal officials, the greatest target of which would be the Duke of Buckingham; the breaking off of the Spanish Match, the switch to a war footing in 1624 under Buckingham and Prince Charles (soon to be Charles I), and fierce arguments about funding it in 1625–6; and resistance to the Forced Loan of 1626–7, exacerbated by the fallout for Buckingham and Charles I from a series of military defeats, especially the calamitous naval expeditions of 1625 and 1627, which put an end to the long-demanded war effort.

In the middle of this turbulent decade, England faced an overwhelming disaster of a different kind, which equally evoked Athens' misfortunes during the Peloponnesian War. Whereas in 1624 many had been zealous for foreign attacks and even imperial expansion, less than a year after adopting a war policy, English ambitions were chastened by the arrival of plague. Mortality in London in 1625 was a staggering 20% of the population.[34] Parliament reconvened in Oxford, its members fleeing the capital along with most others who had the means to do so. Thomas Dekker, lambasting those who fled, compared them to deserters, and framed his analysis in terms of military reversal: while before they stood ready to invade, now it was the English who were being overthrown by God's will.[35] The author of a reply to Dekker essentially agrees with him about the reversal; before the disease struck, '[w]e swallowed up … the *East* and *West-Indies* in our Imaginations' and '*Great-Brittaine* stood on the toppe of her white Cliffes triumphing', but then 'Heaven saw us boasting in our owne strengths, and growing angry at it, hath turnd it into weakenesse'.[36]

The enthusiasm of people and Parliament for the newly declared war with Spain had thus already dwindled when a large expeditionary force to take Cádiz was launched in October of 1625. When the fleet floundered home after defeat in December, having lost almost half of the seaman and soldiers and more than half of the ships, there was little appetite left for war and much

[33] Charles I dissolved Parliament abruptly in 1629, and ruled without Parliament until 1640; when he reconvened Parliament for revenue, contention about monarchical authority, taxation, and the rights of citizens again convulsed the body politic—leading Hobbes to write *The Elements of Law* in favour of absolute sovereignty.

[34] Slack (1985) 151.

[35] Dekker (1625).

[36] Anon. (1625) sig. [A4?^{v}]–B1^{r}.

antipathy toward the Duke and even the King. Buckingham and Charles thought the best way to redeem themselves from military humiliation was through martial glory, and in the middle of 1627 Buckingham took command of a fleet to take on the French at La Rochelle. Again disaster ensued, and he lost some two-thirds of his forces. Half-hearted attempts against France continued in 1628, even after the hated Buckingham was assassinated, but came to nothing.

Such events and controversies provide related and evolving possible contexts for different aspects or moments of Hobbes's edition. It may be that different contexts were in play for the impetus (which could have preceded 1620, or arisen during the early 1620s or so); for his work during the long process of translation and the preparation of other elements of the edition; for his decision not to publish the work; for deciding anew to publish; and in 1628, when he may well have been revising at least some of the prefatory materials. While the period after Hobbes finished the dedicatory epistle in November would not help to explain Hobbes's creative intentions, it would have influenced how early readers would have received the work, and perhaps even how Hobbes himself came to think of its purpose or accomplishment.

Hobbes did not need to bend his translation of Thucydides to address the kinds of political peril that surrounded him as he worked. The fragility of human society, the spectacle of elites squabbling in deliberative assemblies to the detriment of the commonwealth, and the devastating blunder of the Sicilian expedition are all on full display in any faithful translation of Thucydides. Although Hobbes exhorted his audience to pay attention to the arc of the narrative from beginning to end, there was therefore no need to put words in Thucydides' mouth—he needed only to speak English. For the full force of the work to land in these ways, what was most important was to provide a reader with assurance that this was indeed a faithful edition of an ancient historian famed for his wisdom and veracity. We are used to thinking that a translator with a political agenda is prone to sacrifice fidelity, but Hobbes's fidelity itself may have had tactical aims.

Nor should we reduce or flatten Hobbes's purposes in his edition to a specific intervention in the domestic and international politics of his day. Working through the details of his edition, he would surely have thought of the work as bearing myriad observations and analyses that merited consideration, not least for the development of the reader's understanding and judgement. Study will yield learning, but it is when that learning is digested with judgement that one may attain wisdom.[37] Even contemporary readers will learn not just an applicable past, or prudence for the present, but how to

[37] *Peloponnesian Warre*, sig. A1^{v}.

bear themselves providently for what is to come.[38] Hobbes praises Thucydides for '*every where* secretly instructing, and directing a mans life and actions'; he would not have thought of the work as having a single lesson.[39] Although he believed that Thucydides had immediate teachings for the elites of his day, the Thucydides figured on Hobbes's 1629 title page looks directly at the reader while extending his hands forward through the cartouche as through a window, as if to hand over his scroll inscribed 'ΚΤΕΜΑ ΕΣ ΑΕΙ': an assertion not just that the work applied through time to contemporary circumstances, but also that it always reached beyond them.

Hobbes, too, wished to produce a work for the ages. While the prefatory materials do focus in part on what he takes to be Thucydides' political teachings, they also provide considerable scholarly detail. And the apparatuses and other editorial features are frequently learned, even antiquarian. Hobbes's ambition to produce a standard-setting edition may even be indicated by how he follows authoritative editions, like those of Portus (1594) and Stephanus (1564, 1588), that had divided each page into five subdivisions, marked A through E (not incorporated in the specimen, but see Fig. 1 for an illustration); although pages are referred to by these subdivisions in the ten-page index at the end of the work, the implication is that others will use these reference coordinates. Hobbes also provides marginal notes for orientation and explanation, frequently three to five per page (though, e.g., on p. 107 of the first edition, incorporated in the specimen, there are fifteen of them: see Fig. 1). Occasionally, Hobbes editorialises, for example when he endorses Cleon's criticism of the Athenians for deciding policy by oratorical contests in the assembly: 'The nature of the multitude in counsell, liuely set forth.'[40] Usually, however, these are marginal summaries, or serve as headings. And sometimes Hobbes provides Greek terminology or textual cross-references, elucidates a technical term or an allusive or ambiguous construction, marks the year or season of the war, or explains an ancient practice, technology, belief, or institution.[41] Hobbes also provides headings throughout the text ('THE ORATION OF *HERMOCRATES* for Peace', 'THE ORATION OF Pagondas to his Souldiers', etc.), and a list of 'The principall Contents' at the outset of each of the eight books.

Immediately before the first book of Thucydides, Hobbes includes an impressive gazetteer, 'The names of the places of *Greece* occurring in *Thucydides*, or in the Mappe of *Greece*, briefly noted out of divers Authors, for the better manifesting of their scituation, and enlightning of the History'.[42] As Hobbes

[38] *Peloponnesian Warre*, sig. A3^{r}.

[39] *Peloponnesian Warre*, sig. b1^{r} (quoting Lipsius (2004) 732); emphasis added.

[40] *Peloponnesian Warre*, p. 164 (Th. 3.38.4–7).

[41] On the marginal notes, see Iori (2015) 187–93.

[42] *Peloponnesian Warre*, sig. b2^{r}–c4^{r}.

explains, he was not satisfied with any extant map of classical Greece, and so drew one himself, replete with a scale in miles and stadia and laid onto a graticule of meridians and parallels. He plotted thereon many of the cities, peoples, and geographical features mentioned in Thucydides, estimating their location 'by travell in *Strabo*, *Pausanias*, *Herodotus*, and some other good Authors', faithfully indicating in the gazetteer the source he relied on in placing each name.[43] In addition to this map, he had one cut of Sicily, after Philipp Clüver, and provided illustrations of the sieges of Plataea, Sphacteria, and Syracuse, after Lipsius.[44] At the front of the whole work was a figurative illustration of its contents, the fine title page portraying the rival political systems (ΟΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΙ/ΟΙ ΠΟΛΛΟΙ), the opposed military leaders at the outset of the war, and land versus sea powers.[45]

By far the most analysed elements of the edition, however, have been the three writings following the title page: the dedicatory epistle to William Cavendish, the eleven-year-old third Earl of Devonshire, whose father the second Earl, Hobbes's patron and friend, had died 20 June 1628; an essay 'To the Readers' (followed by a list of errata for the work as a whole); and the longer 'Of the Life and History of Thucydides'. At least among non-classicists, these combined fifteen pages or so, some 3% of the whole, have received considerably more attention than the other nearly 570 pages combined. For it is in these pages that Hobbes expands on some of his own views, which can then be connected by readers with the arguments in such works as *The Elements of Law* or *Leviathan*. Yet what Hobbes tells his reader in these prefatory materials is that Thucydides' teaching must be discovered from the whole of the historical narrative itself, rather than from precepts; 'the Narration it selfe doth secretly instruct the Reader'.[46] Hobbes's work thus lies fundamentally unread. For what is by far the greatest intellectual enterprise of the book inheres in its translation, where Hobbes engages in a detailed and intellectually tenacious way with the sole work of another of the greatest political thinkers. To understand that engagement, what is needed is a systematic study of how his Thucydides compares to the resources that Hobbes relied on, and especially of what Hobbes does with the Greek of Thucydides.

Hobbes's Translation Method

In presenting his translation, Hobbes offered sharp criticisms of his predecessors. He judged that the French, Italian, and English translators that had taken up the challenge of Thucydides' work—in particular, Claude de

[43] *Peloponnesian Warre*, sig. A4^{v}.

[44] On the maps and siege illustrations, see Iori (2015) 194–214.

[45] See Fig. 2.

[46] *Peloponnesian Warre*, sig. a3^{r}.

Seyssel (1527), Francesco di Soldo Strozzi (1545), and Thomas Nicolls (1550)—had all offered erroneous translations that carelessly depended on inadequate editions and intermediary translations.[47] Hobbes assures his readers that, by contrast, he derived his version directly from the original, duly consulting the best scholarly resources available. Foremost among these was the Greco-Latin edition of Aemilius Portus or Emilio Porto, published in Frankfurt in 1594: 'Hereupon I resolued to take him immediately from the Greeke, according to the Edition of *Aemilius Porta*; not refusing, or neglecting any version, Comment, or other helpe I could come by'.[48]

The distinctive quality of the Hobbesian version is born from this dialectic between an intelligent and even profound examination of the Greek text and regular recourse to scholarly resources. At times these commitments are mutually reinforcing, and at other times they are in tension with one another.[49] In general, Hobbes's translation is clear and faithful: he works to offer exact correlates for each Greek word, eschewing free renderings, and thus distancing himself from the imprecise practices of many English translators of his era.[50]

[47] Cf. *Peloponnesian Warre*, sig. A3^{v}–A4^{r}: 'I considered also, that he was exceedingly esteemed of the Italians and French in their owne Tongues; notwithstanding that he bee not very much beholding for it to his Interpreters. Of whom (to speake no more then becomes a Candidate of your good opinion in the same kinde) I may say this, That whereas the Author himselfe, so carrieth with him his owne light throughout, that the Reader may continually see his way before him, and by that which goeth before, expect what is to follow, I found it not so in them. The cause whereof, and their excuse may bee this: They followed the Latine of Laurentius Valla, which was not without some errours, and he a Greeke Copie, not so correct as now is extant. Out of French hee was done into English, (for I neede not dissemble to haue seene him in English) in the time of King Edward the sixth; but so, as by multiplication of errour, hee became at length traduced, rather then translated into our Language.'

Seyssel completed his translation in 1514, dedicating the manuscript to Louis XII of France; before it was published in 1527, the manuscript circulated at the royal court and was prized by Francis I. On Seyssel's version, cf. Chavy (1973), Dionisotti (1995), and Boone (2007) 85–105.

[48] *Peloponnesian Warre*, sig. A4r. 'Version' here means translation (*OED*, s.v. 'version', *n.* 1.a). Aemilius Portus was born in Ferrara in 1550, moving as a boy to Geneva, where his father, the Cretan classical scholar Franciscus Portus, became Professor of Greek. The younger Portus taught Greek in Geneva, Lausanne, and Heidelberg; among other works, he published editions and translations of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1588) and Xenophon (1595), as well as Homer, Aristophanes, and Euripides, and Doric and Ionic dictionaries, the latter with a focus on Herodotus.

[49] For a broader discussion of Hobbes's translation method, cf. Iori (2015) 137–84.

[50] For a view of the principal characteristics of the theory and practice of English translation in the Tudor and early Stuart period, cf. Matthiessen (1965); Morini (2006); Braden–Cummings–Gillespie (2010); Rhodes–Kendal–Wilson (2013); and, for translation from Greek and Roman classics, Braden (2013).

Hobbes even regularly strives to reproduce the style of Thucydides, imitating or adapting the syntactic structures, metaphors, and figures of sound.

Such a balanced programme of adherence to the original does not, however, preclude noteworthy departures from the Greek. On the contrary, these pepper the pages of the *Peloponnesian Warre*, and our apparatus aims to highlight them, as they are vital for defining more precisely the physiognomy of the Hobbesian *modus vertendi*. It is obviously not our aim to provide a reader with a complete 'correction' of Hobbes's translation, but rather to signal substantial discrepancies in order better to define Hobbes's method and his understanding of the text of Thucydides. We thus exclude from notice or comment a wide variety of what we regard as cases of minor or fairly minor divergence or looseness. We also do not note the very many occasions in which, as is usual, Hobbes captures the meaning of the Greek well; this would require marking up almost the whole of the text. Thus, even when Hobbes handles difficult Thucydidean Greek admirably, success is generally marked only by silence. This can lead to an unfortunate result, which is that a reader, seeing again and again that Hobbes departs from the Greek by omission, addition, and error, may conclude that he is after all a careless translator, when instead his translation is on balance a powerful and accurate rendering.

Examining the various types of departures allows us to reconstruct with some precision the profile of a translator who seldom diverges from the original due to grammatical errors or misconstruals; more often, Hobbes's inaccuracies reflect a logic of translation that expresses an ideal of exactness and fidelity that is less rigid than is now commonly propounded (though more rarely achieved). Limiting ourselves to the passage we here edit (hereafter, the 'specimen') we may observe that Hobbes, following the standards of the best humanistic translations of the period, tried to optimise the reader's understanding of the text by deviating from the letter in various ways. At times, he omits entire phrases that he considers pleonastic;[51] at other times, he includes additions and expansions that he considers essential;[52] elsewhere, he twists the structure of the phrase in an attempt to heighten the stylistic effect.[53] Not least, he sometimes conveys psychological or conceptual nuances that he regards as implicit in the source, introducing or specifying semantic content that may reveal less about the hidden viewpoint of Thucydides than about the translator's own original interpretation.

Relevant illustrations of this tendency are some occurrences of the term 'awe' that freely render Greek verbs and phrases tied to keeping guard,

[51] Cf. esp. specimen note 'm' *ad* Th. 2.48.3; note 'ae' *ad* Th. 2.51.1; notes 'az', 'ba', and 'bb' *ad* Th. 2.53.1.

[52] Cf. esp. specimen note 'al' *ad* Th. 2.51.5; note 'an' *ad* Th. 2.52.1; note 'aw' *ad* Th. 2.52.4.

[53] E.g. specimen note 'x' *ad* Th. 2.49.7.

hindrance, and dominion: e.g., *εἴργω* (Th. 1.142.8), *ἀπείργω* (Th. 2.53.4), *φυλακὴν ποιέω* (Th. 3.46.4), *κατείργω* (Th. 7.57.7), and *κατέχω* (Th. 8.38.3). In these passages, Hobbes assumes that the only way that 'force' or 'restraint' could function is by intimidation. This is a similar association with the term 'awe' that a decade or two later would reappear in crucial chapters dedicated to the foundation of the state in *Elements of Law* (esp. 1.19.4) and *Leviathan* (chapters 13 and 17). In each of these works, Hobbes suggests that a necessary condition for the stable control of human beings is the imposition of the particular feeling of fearful subjection transmitted by the term 'awe'.[54] These convergences suggest a line of continuity from the 1629 translation to some celebrated passages of the treatises of the 1640s and 1650s. More generally, they reveal that there are some motivated translations in the *Peloponnesian Warre* that we may even regard as purely 'Hobbesian'.

A pointed example comes early in Book 6. In the prefatory materials, Hobbes had repeatedly suggested that his readers must look to the disaster of the Sicilian Expedition to gain the history's lesson of prudence, chiming with Thucydides' conviction that 'things done … may be done againe, or at least, their like'.[55] At the beginning of the seventeenth year of the war, the Athenians gather for their most disastrous assembly, in which Alcibiades urges the Athenians to sail to Sicily to aid their allies, whipping them up into a frenzy of desire for adventure, gain, and conquest; and Nicias multiplies their doom by demanding a huge commitment of men, ships, and resources (Th. 6.8–26). Thucydides introduces the assembly by saying that it met 'to determine the provisions for equipping the ships with most speed, and to vote anything else the generals might need for the expedition' (Th. 6.8.3). If there is a line in the work that serves to mark the point at which the Athenians' fate is sealed, it is arguably this unassuming sentence, here translated directly from the Greek Hobbes had in front of him.[56] But Hobbes cannot resist giving it the freight he thinks it deserves. The Greek for 'the ships' here is *ταῖς ναυσί*, a normal locution, elsewhere rendered faithfully by Hobbes. But in this case he reaches for a Spanish word that he uses just once in the whole work, capitalises it, and

[54] Cf. *Peloponnesian Warre* 77: 'awed' for *εἰργόμενοι*, 'restrained' (Th. 1.142.8); *Peloponnesian Warre* 110: 'awed' for *ἀπεῖργε*, 'was a restraint' (Th. 2.53.4; cf. also specimen note 'bf'); *Peloponnesian Warre* 169–70: 'keep them in awe' for *φυλακὴν ποιεῖσθαι*, 'keep guard' (Th. 3.46.4); *Peloponnesian Warre* 447: 'kept in awe' for *κατειργόμενοι*, 'forced' (Th. 7.57.7); *Peloponnesian Warre* 489–90: 'kept in awe' for *κατεχομένης*, 'forced' (Th. 8.38.3). Compare with *Elements of Law* 1.19.4 (Hobbes (1969) 99); *Leviathan*, ch. 13 (Hobbes (2012) II.190, 192); *Leviathan*, ch. 17 (Hobbes (2012) II.254, 256, 260). For a detailed analysis of these passages, see Iori (2012) 171–83.

[55] *Peloponnesian Warre*, sigs. A3^{v}, a1^{v}–a3^{v}, and p. 13 (Th. 1.22.4).

[56] Portus (1594) 416–17: *χρὴ τὴν παρασκευὴν ταῖς ναυσὶ τάχιστα γίγνεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, εἴ του προσδέοιντο, ψηφισθῆναι ἐς τὸν ἔκπλουν*.

italicises it: *Armada*.[57] For the English audience of Hobbes's day, this would have effectively conjured up the suggestion that the Athenians were embarking on an arrogant miscalculation, national humiliation, and imminent disaster.

At times, Hobbes's lexical choices are potentially significant even when they are legitimate, as Hobbes opts for one meaning rather than another. Consider his rendering of μνήμη in the specimen, at Th. 2.54.3–4. Translators and commentators take this to mean 'memory', such that what people remember changes according to their circumstances of suffering. Unusually but not incorrectly, Hobbes takes it instead to mean a 'report' or 'marker', so that it is what people say or claim that changes with the shape of their suffering.[58] The standard understanding discerns a psychological idea (suffering affects memory), while Hobbes instead detects a socially oriented conception (circumstances of suffering affect what people say they remember). Hobbes may be following his own conception of his author as one who would 'neuer […] enter into mens hearts, further then the actions themselues euidently guide him'.[59] Thucydides would have heard what people claimed or reported, but would have had no sure access to what they remembered.

The cases of 'awe', '*Armada*', and 'reported' rather than 'remembered' for μνήμη may each be judged infelicitous. Yet Hobbes may well be striving in each case not to substitute his own meaning for that of the original, but to specify or clarify its meaning, given his understanding of Thucydides as a keen analyst of human power, a critic of Athenian democracy and unnecessary war, and a historian committed to not overstepping his evidence. Hobbes seems to have believed that his own tactical aims in the edition were consistent with Thucydides', and thus that they did not lead him to betray the text. Rather, Hobbes's particular approach to the Greek original combines philological exactitude and stylistic attention with what is nonetheless a criterion of fidelity that can be more flexible than what is currently acceptable.

Both Hobbes's fidelity and his lapses, in turn, must be checked against his own scholarly resources, which sometimes guide him aright and sometimes lead him astray. First among these, we must consider the relationship between Hobbes's edition and that of his source text, the 1594 Frankfurt edition by Aemilius Portus. After the *Vita Thucydidis* of Marcellinus (Greek text together with Portus' revision of Casaubon's Latin translation), Portus' edition paired the Greek text of Thucydides (probably based on Stephanus) with Portus'

[57] *Peloponnesian Warre*, p. 355: 'the people assembled againe, to consult of the meanes how most speedily to put this *Armada* in readinesse, and to decree such things as the Generals should further require for the Expedition.'

[58] Cf. specimen note 'bm' *ad* Th. 2.54.3 and note 'bn' *ad* Th. 2.54.4. The marginal note to 2.54.3 confirms Hobbes's insistence on what was said rather than what was remembered: 'An ambiguous Prophecie *expounded* by the euent' (emphasis added).

[59] *Peloponnesian Warre*, sig. A3^{v}.

revision of Stephanus' revision of Valla's Latin translation. To this presentation in parallel columns, Portus added *variae lectiones* in the margins, and, at the foot of the page, the *scholia vetera* together with Portus' own annotations in Greek, signed *Æ.P.* All of this was followed by a rich commentary by Franciscus Portus, father of Aemilius.[60] While the *Vita Thucydidis* by Marcellinus played a significant role above all in the biography of Thucydides put together by Hobbes for his prefatory materials,[61] the Latin translation by Aemilius Portus, the scholia, and the commentary by Franciscus Portus regularly influence Hobbes in his determination of the English text.

Limiting ourselves again to the passage we edit here, it is sufficient to scan our comments on the plague narrative to discern different levels at which the 1594 edition has influenced Hobbes's. First, when Hobbes seems to depart from Thucydides, sometimes this happens because he is properly translating the Greek text established by Aemilus Portus, but that text is corrupt, in the sense of differing from our best available text (Alberti (1972–2000)).[62] This dependence on Portus does not mean that Hobbes passively received the established text; on the contrary, he often demonstrates an independent critical attitude in evaluating the quality of the Greek that he found there. For example, Hobbes sometimes promotes variant readings—which are often improvements—from the margins of Portus' edition.

Secondly, because Portus printed a Latin translation alongside the Greek, we must ask whether and when Hobbes is influenced by the Latin.[63] Hobbes

[60] Portus' edition also includes: a dedicatory epistle to Frederick IV, Elector Palatine of the Rhine; an address to the readers ('Graecae linguae studiosi, et historiarum, ac antiquitatis amantes'); a Greek-Latin *Index orationum, sive contionum, foederum, epistolarumque Thucydidis historiae insertarum*; an appendix to Franciscus Portus' commentary (*Appendix in Thucydidem, in qua multa explicantur, quae in superioribus commentariis sunt omissa*); the *Chronologia historiae Thucydidis* of David Chytraeus; very brief summaries by Chytraeus of each book (*Thucydidis librorum argumenta*); summaries by Jobus Veratius of the speeches (*Concionum seu orationum Thucydidis argumenta a Jobo Veratius conscripta*); two indexes *rerum, verborum, phrasimque*, one Latin and one Greek; and two lists of *errata*.

[61] *Peloponnesian Warre*, sig. a1^{r}–b1^{r}; see Iori (2015) 221–7.

[62] Cf. specimen note 'w' *ad* Th. 2.49.6 and note 'be' *ad* Th. 2.53.3. The Greek text established by Portus largely coincides—except for alterations of detail—with that of the *editio princeps* of Manutius (1502), as was also true for the Greek editions of Giunti (1526), Stephanus (1564), and Stephanus (1588). On the philological deference accorded to the Aldine editions by later editors until the advent of nineteenth-century *Textkritik*, see esp. Sicherl (1997) 2–3.

[63] Aemilius Portus' version is based on Laurentius Valla's 1452 translation as revised by Henricus Stephanus (Stephanus (1564) and (1588)), which Portus corrected in accord with his father's commentary (printed at the end of the 1594 edition). Aemilius sometimes indicates his corrections and changes by italicised text in square brackets. Portus' version differs from Valla's to such a degree that it may be considered a new translation (as he

claimed on his title page that he had taken his work 'with Faith and Diligence Immediately out of the Greeke', but sometimes the temptation of the Latin would have been intense. During the last years of Hobbes's life, the young classicist Humphrey Prideaux even asserted that Hobbes had essentially translated Thucydides from Latin and not from Greek.[64] However, we can be sure that Hobbes did not simply translate a translation, as a number of his predecessors did.[65] He frequently appealed to the Latin, but not so as generally to undermine his claim to translate directly from the Greek. The Latin is a frequent influence on Hobbes's word choice, which sometimes causes him to invent new Latinate English words.[66] In other instances, Hobbes follows the Latin off track, and he occasionally drifts into relying on the Latin rather than using it as an interpretation to consider when judging the Greek. Our apparatus of annotations on the plague narrative offers instances of each of these kinds of dependency. Yet there are also many instances where Hobbes renders challenging Greek perspicaciously despite error or infelicity in the Latin.

Hobbes also had recourse to the ancient scholia and the commentary of Franciscus Portus. As can be seen in the specimen, Hobbes regularly consulted these resources from the 1594 edition, but he normally retained full exegetical autonomy, accepting the suggestions of the scholiasts and of the elder Portus only when he found them convincing, while rejecting suggestions that he judged to be inadequate to express the meaning of the original.[67] All told, the

insists, sig. α3^{v}, α4^{v}), and one of the best sixteenth-century versions of Thucydides. Cf. Pade (2003) 157–60.

[64] Prideaux (1676) 108: Hobbes 'did not translate his English Thucydides from the Greek original itself, as he boasts, but from the Latin translation edited by Aemilius Portus. Anyone who compares Hobbes's translation with this Latin one, and with the original Greek itself, will easily observe this, since he, having disregarded the Greek phraseology, follows the Latin of this translator, which is different from it in infinite places. I note this here so that readers may know that this despiser of religion founded whatever reputation of learning he has either on impiety or on thefts.' ('Non enim ille Anglicanum Thucydidem suum ex ipso Graeco fonte, ut gloriatur, sed è Latinâ illius versione ab Aemilio Porta editâ transtulit. Quicunque Hobbii versionem cum Latina hac, & ipso Graeco fonte comparaverit, facile hoc observabit, cum neglectâ Graecâ Phrasiologiâ Latinam hujus interpretis ab ea diversam in infinitis locis sequatur: quod hic ideo noto, ut sciant lectores, istum religionis contemptorem, quamcunque habet doctrinae laudem, aut in impietate, aut in furtis fundasse.')

[65] See above, n. 47.

[66] E.g., where Thucydides refers in 2.102.4 to a river as θολερόν, 'muddy' or 'turbid', the Latin of Portus has *turbidus*, and Hobbes somewhat sleepily writes 'turbidous'. Although Hobbes was unlikely to have seen it before in English (despite an extant precedent of 1624 by Ingpen, not in the *OED*), 'turbidous' was to hand, even if he looked up θολερός in Scapula's *Lexicon*, which gives *turbidus*, replete with a reference to this line of Thucydides.

[67] Cf. esp. specimen note 'a' *ad* Th. 2.47.3; note 'm' *ad* Th. 2.48.3; note 'r' *ad* Th. 2.49.3; note 't' *ad* Th. 2.49.4; note 'al' *ad* Th. 2.51.5; note 'an' *ad* Th. 2.52.1.

Portus edition was the foundation of the Hobbesian project of translation and exegesis.

Another resource that systematically oriented the English renderings was the *Lexicon Graecolatinum* of Johannes Scapula. This work was first published in Geneva in 1579; Hobbes probably consulted it in one of the augmented and corrected later editions.[68] The wide-ranging influence of the dictionary on the *Peloponnesian Warre* emerges with particular clarity if one undertakes lexical analyses of closely related terms, as has been done in the semantic field of 'fear', where Hobbes's translation choices nearly always attribute the same emotional gradations to the Greek words as they are assigned in Scapula.[69] The influence of the dictionary, like that of Portus' translation, can also be seen in the Latin calques it inspired. We have not indicated such influences in our specimen, as our annotations focus on departures from the Greek, but such correlations can readily be traced by sampling passages from the *Peloponnesian Warre*.[70]

Hobbes had other scholarly instruments at hand beyond Portus' edition and Scapula's *Lexicon*. As he emphasised, he relied on any 'version, Comment, or other helpe' that he could find.[71] In the absence of specific indications from Hobbes, to identify these securely is an arduous task. Yet from our research, potentially significant convergences have emerged between particular Hobbesian choices and some of the principal early modern versions of Thucydides in Latin (Winsemius (1569), Enenckel (1596)), French (Seyssel (1527), Jausaud (1600)), Italian (Strozzi (1545)) and English (Nicolls (1550)).[72] That is, the most likely further influences on this part of Hobbes's text are largely those same translations that he had criticised in his preface as unreliable. We have marked convergences when they are sufficiently close and substantial.[73] It is worth underlining that such similarities do not necessarily

[68] Scapula's *Lexicon* is in the Hardwick library catalogue, specifying a folio volume but not a particular date (Chatsworth HS/E/1A, p. [109]). On the Hardwick library, see above, n. 5.

[69] Iori (2012) 161–3.

[70] See, for example, Iori (2015) 163–4 on Th. 8.63–5 and Th. 8.74–6. Cf. also above, n. 66.

[71] *Peloponnesian Warre*, sig. A4^{r}.

[72] We have also undertaken a systematic comparison with the following Thucydides editions, translations, and commentaries, in which there are no distinctive convergences in this passage: Valla (2008) [= MS Vat. Lat. 1801 (1452)], Manutius (1502), Giunti (1526), Stephanus (1564), Camerarius (1565), Stephanus (1572), Stephanus (1588). Given the extensive influence of Lucretius' account of the plague of Athens (Lucr. 6.1138–286), which relied heavily on Thucydides' narrative, it is worth specifying that the Lucretian version did not significantly influence Hobbes's version.

[73] As explained in the 'Note on the Text', below, we have focused on cases in which Hobbes's translation is *either* incorrect (or especially free) but does not accord with the Latin of Aemilius Portus—for otherwise that would be the most likely source of the error—*or* legitimate while differing from Portus' Latin.

reflect that Hobbes's version depended on one of these sources. Nonetheless, there are reasons to suspect that some of these—above all the much-vituperated English translation by Nicolls—have appreciably influenced Hobbes's choices.[74] This hypothesis can only be tested with time, as our study of the *Peloponnesian Warre* proceeds step by step. Tracking such influences seems promising and necessary given Hobbes's general acknowledgement of the potential value of any kind of resource, even if imperfect, that might offer the translator effective solutions for how to render the Thucydidean text.

A parallel consideration applies to commentaries on Thucydides other than that by Franciscus Portus. While it is not yet possible to identify other commentaries that were certainly used by Hobbes, there are hints that such resources lay behind particular English renderings. In the plague narrative, this holds above all for some deliberately technical locutions that describe the symptoms of the disease. This is the case of the hapax 'Hickeyexe', a compound coined by Hobbes to translate the obscure locution *λύγξ κενή* (2.49.4), which had been the locus of an early modern medico-philological discussion, and probably designates an 'empty retching'.[75] Among the works that had dedicated attention to this problem, the monumental commentary on the plague narrative by Fabius Paulinus stands out, not least because it reveals other intriguing convergences with Hobbes's translation choices.[76] Whether or not Hobbes drew on this specific commentary, it is reasonably likely that such technical translations reflect that he consulted this kind of exegetical literature.

A similar approach is warranted to Hobbes's translation of *θεραπεία* by 'visitation' in 2.51.4, which may surprise because of the salience in situations of disease of the meaning of *θεραπεία* as 'medical care' or 'cure'.[77] Hobbes's choice mirrors that of Seyssel, Strozzi, and Nicolls, however, and it is striking that Paulinus refers to the dilemma of whether the duty of visitation applied during plague in connection with this very passage.[78] And the ethics of visiting the sick was frequently discussed in Renaissance moral treatises on plague—a prominent topic during the plague that struck England in the mid-1620s, while Hobbes was working on the *Peloponnesian Warre*. Hobbes's translation could be

[74] Cf. esp. specimen note 's' *ad* Th. 2.49.3; note 'ag' *ad* Th. 2.51.4; note 'ai' *ad* Th. 2.51.5; note 'av' *ad* Th. 2.52.4.

[75] Cf. specimen note '2' *ad* Th. 2.49.4.

[76] *Praelectiones Marciae, seu commentaria in Thucydidis enarrationem, sive historiam, De peste Atheniensi* (Venice, 1603). Paulinus' commentary drew on ancient and modern medical works to illustrate and explain the symptomology described by Thucydides. On Paulinus' work, cf. Pade (2003) 179–81.

[77] Cf. specimen note 'ag' *ad* Th. 2.51.4.

[78] Seyssel (1527): 'visiter'; Strozzi (1545): 'uisitare'; Nicolls (1550): 'visitt'; Paulinus (1603) 476. The choice may also be influenced by what Thucydides goes on to say in 2.51.5.

following a specific source, or might more generally and less distinctly reflect a common contemporary discussion.

There are comparable connections to works outside of the ambit of translations of and commentaries on Thucydides that Hobbes is likely to have drawn on in interpreting the history. We privilege those that were in Hobbes's library at the time, among which were many editions of classical authors (above all historians and geographers), cartographic works, military histories, and antiquarian compilations.[79] The possible links between the *Peloponnesian Warre* and these works must be assessed case by case, and mentioned in the apparatus when sufficiently secure or illustrative.[80] These resources may help to refine our understanding of the intellectual profile of Hobbes, who, like the best humanists of his time, grounded his interpretation of the sources not only on a close dialogue with a given classical text, but also in relation to other ancient materials and by reference to the most advanced works of European philology and erudition.

Finally, in assessing the particular characteristics of Hobbes's translation, we must consider the mechanics of early modern printing. Remarkably, someone reading a copy of the first edition of the *Peloponnesian Warre* could not be assured that it presented the best approximation of Hobbes's final intention. This is true even before we consider the printing process, as there was a second edition published in 1676 with hundreds of differences, including some corrections. No one has hitherto made the detailed comparison necessary to determine whether the later edition incorporated authorial changes. After recently making that comparison, we can show that there are no changes that cannot be readily ascribed to an editor or compositor without special knowledge, and we conclude that the alterations are highly unlikely to be authorial.[81] Yet within the first edition itself, the printed page may reflect textual corruptions that arose during production. A first critical moment was the composition of the sheets. In the hand-press era, compositors following a manuscript would set type into a frame or forme that was then pressed onto a sheet of paper. In assembling this matrix, compositors frequently erred in ways that affected the printed word.[82] While a reader can easily identify and correct some such slips, in other cases it can be difficult to determine whether we are facing an error introduced by the compositor or an improper translation.

Consider the translation of *θέρμαι* ('sensations of fever') by 'ache' here in Th. 2.49.2. Hobbes's choice appears not only inadequate but inexplicable,

[79] On the use of some of these resources in the creation of the *Peloponnesian Warre*, see Iori (2015) 185–214.

[80] See e.g. specimen note 'e' *ad* Th. 2.48.1.

[81] See 'Note on the Text'.

[82] On the methods and phases of this process, see Gaskell (1972) 40–56.

given both the semantic distance and Hobbes's correct translation of the cognate term θερμόν (as 'hote') shortly thereafter (Th. 2.49.5). Complicating the picture is the fact that Hobbes's anomalous translation is similar to two previous translations, Enenckel's 'dolores' (1596) and Jausaud's 'douleurs' (1600). One possibility is that Hobbes also somehow thought to render θέρμαι in this semantic register, or—more likely, given his rendering of θερμόν—that he simply slipped into following one of these translations instead of the Greek. Another possibility, however, is that the copyist making the printer's manuscript or the compositor setting type according to it mistook as 'ache' what Hobbes had written as 'ague', an acute or high fever. Although not now a widespread word, 'ague' was common in Hobbes's day, and occurs in his corpus more than 'ache'.[83] The case cannot be resolved with certainty given the evidence, but it illustrates how a careful consideration of early modern book production may alter our judgement about the accuracy of specific translations.[84]

In the era of hand-press printing, an effortful process of proofreading was designed to catch errors, though those that seemed to make sense (like 'ache') would likely escape detection by a reader checking only the sheet as printed. Moreover, this proofreading process itself gave rise to textual variations that require detective work to recover and assess; in the case of the *Peloponnesian Warre*, these variations have lain undetected since 1628. This is significant because some of these variations best capture the author's final intention, yet they are scattered unevenly through the different copies of the work. The common practice was for the author to go to the printer's each day possible ('to attend the dayly proofes', as the printer Gabriel Cawood put it), or even to lodge at or near the printing house to inspect the work in progress during the months when it was being printed.[85] In the specific case of the *Peloponnesian Warre*, a likely scenario is that Hobbes regularly followed the printer's work between the summer and autumn of 1628.[86] But the day's printing did not wait

[83] Cf. specimen note 'q' *ad* Th. 2.49.2.

[84] For a still more complicated case, see specimen note 'y' *ad* Th. 2.49.7.

[85] See Simpson (1935) 1–45 (quotation at p. 9). On the proof-reading process, see Gaskell (1972) 110–16.

[86] Malcolm (2007) 12–13 makes this suggestion; the nature of the corrections we have discovered thus far provides internal evidence. That Hobbes took a personal interest in the corrections (rather than the corrections being due solely to a corrector at the printing house) is also indicated by his heading of the errata appended to his address 'To the Reader': 'These errours of the Presse, I desire the Reader to correct with his Penne, thus' (*Peloponnesian Warre*, sig. A4^{v}). At least some of these are probably his corrections of sheets printed on days he was unable to be present at the printing house. Although estimates of printing times in this period are necessarily highly uncertain, our preliminary conjecture is that the volume took at least five months to print, even if it was the only book being printed during that period by the press. This will be refined, but is based for now on the number of

for corrections: even when the author or a corrector employed by the printer was on hand to read immediately through the first pull, the pressmen would continue to print off uncorrected copies until the compositors received specific instructions to alter the forme. These uncorrected sheets were not discarded, but were either made into 'copy books' as partial payment for the production workers or were mixed in with the corrected sheets.[87] Thus some copies of a given sheet did not include corrections and some did.[88] Authors could also receive 'reviews' or 'revises', sheets that had been printed after proofing, and the author could make corrections to these, such that a given page can exist in three or even more states in different copies, and some corrections appear only in a small minority of copies.[89] Different copies of the same edition can thus reveal different stages of the development of the text; a systematic comparison of a sufficient number of copies has to be undertaken to find the most corrected sheets, as the differences will not otherwise be noticed.

We have not yet been able to undertake the necessary collation of complete copies, but a character-for-character comparison of some pages from multiple copies of the first edition of the *Peloponnesian Warre* has already allowed us to identify eight in-press variants. Only the most minor of these is corrected in

sheets required to make one copy of this work, the Stationers' Company limitation of the print run to a maximum of '1250 or 1500' copies (Hinman (1963) I.39), and estimates of how many sheets could be produced from a press in a day from Loys Le Roy (50 years before *Peloponnesian Warre*), and Alonso Victor de Paredes (50 years after), which match well with an estimate (Hinman (1963) I.44) of what an English press could print in the 1620s. McKenzie's doubts about Hinman's calculations suggest that the production process could have been much longer still (McKenzie (1969)). The printing may thus have started shortly after registration with the Stationers' Company on 18 March 1628. Hobbes is especially likely to have had the time and liberty to attend the press daily after being released from service to the Cavendish family on 23 July 1628 (Malcolm (2007) 12) through the conclusion of printing, probably around late November.

[87] See Simpson (1935) 18–19, 150–2. Johnson (1946) is the primary challenge to 'the theory frequently advanced' that the extra sheets for the print-shop workers 'were used for early pulls and kept segregated, to be bound up afterwards as inferior copies, containing the uncorrected state of most formes' (101); and this cannot have been anything like the universal practice, as uncorrected sheets are often mixed into volumes with corrected sheets during this period. Johnson's own primary proposal is that workmen in the print shop would frequently put together *illicit* 'copy books' that included inferior sheets, e.g., proof-sheets.

[88] So Robert Burton, addressing the reader at the conclusion of *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (Oxford, 1621) about errors of the press, explains that 'I could not alwaye be there my selfe', and also that many errors 'are in some copies onely, not throughout' (sig. Ddd3^{r}). I.e., a given mistake in one copy may have been corrected in another: see Simpson (1935) 16–19. This casts quite general doubt on the correctness of almost any citation of an early modern printed source that is not based on a collation of copies: this passage appears only in the first edition, copies of which have not been collated, so we are left with the possibility that Burton's statement itself, for example, may have been corrected in some copies.

[89] Greg (1937) 193.

the specimen (the addition of a full stop: see 'Register of In-Press Variants'); but it is worth giving a more substantial example to show the impact that these in-press variants may have on assessing some of Hobbes's translation choices. On page 448 of the first edition, eleven of the twenty-six copies we have consulted translate a passage from Th. 7.58.2 as follows: 'Then the *Himeraeans*, on the side that lyeth to the *Terrhen* sea, where dwel only *Grecians*, of which, these also onely ayded them'.[90] In the other fifteen copies, this passage has been corrected to say, not that there are only Greeks in that part of Sicily, but that the Himeraeans are the only Greeks in that part of the island: 'Then the *Himeraeans*, on the side that lyeth to the *Tirrhen* sea, where they are the only *Grecians*, inhabiting and onely ayded them'.[91] Grammatically, the issue is the adjective μόνοι, which in the first case was improperly applied to the verb οἰκοῦσιν 'inhabit' ('where dwel only *Grecians*'), while in the second it was correctly understood as an attributive adjective modifying the substantive Ἕλληνες 'Greeks' ('they are the only *Grecians*, inhabiting').

Corrections of this kind do not necessarily presuppose that Hobbes continued to refine his translation with reference to the Greek text while his edition was being printed. They could instead be remedies for errors made during the composition of the formes. For example, it was a printer's frequent lament that the manuscripts from which the compositors had to work were difficult to decipher, with interlinear additions, crossings out, marginal notes, and so on.[92] When a compositor misinterpreted the manuscript, for example by ignoring or misreading an indication or correction, the author (or a

[90] Cf., e.g., the copy held at the Huntington Library, San Marino, Cal. (Huntington Library 17699), digitised in Early English Books Online (EEBO).

[91] Cf., e.g., the copy held at the University of California, Berkeley (Bancroft Library F PA4453.E5 H6 1629). The Greek text in Portus (1594) 533 is Ἱμεραῖοι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν Τυρσηνικὸν πόντον μορίου, ἐν ᾧ καὶ μόνοι Ἕλληνες οἰκοῦσιν. The corrected version is not necessarily what Hobbes most wanted to say, as a correction was frequently constrained by the fixed limitations of type-setting, having to take a space nearly equivalent to that of the incorrect text (so '*Grecians*' here is made to fit by contraction into what became a full line, with a brevigraph over the '*a*' in stead of an '*n*'). We can see the complexity of correcting without upsetting line lengths on page 153 of *Peloponnesian Warre*—setting aside for now the likely substantive reasons for the revision—where a passage from Th. 3.17.1 is corrected in most copies from the first sentence below (e.g., University of Oxford, Christ Church Library, f.1.20 (gift copy from Hobbes to Robert Burton)) to the second (e.g., Bancroft Library, F PA4453.E5 H6 1629):

> 'About the time that this Fleet was out, they had surely the most Gallies (besides the beauty of them) together in action in these employments; yet in the beginning of the War, they had both as good, and more in number.'
>
> 'About the time that this Fleet was out, they had surely the most Gallies in action (besides the beauty of them) that euer they had at once. But in the beginning of the war, they had as good Gallies and also more in number.'

[92] See Simpson (1935) 33–8; Woudhuysen (1996) 111–15.

printer's corrector looking at the copy manuscript or listening to it being read aloud) could correct accordingly. Whatever the source of the errors or of the corrections, an example like that of Hobbes's Himeraeans from Th. 7.58.2 shows how misleading it can be to evaluate the accuracy of particular Hobbesian translations without being able to rely on a critical text for which the in-press variants have been collected and assessed. Scholars may now have easy access to 'the first edition', but what this normally means is an electronic version of a chance particular copy that then becomes the default reference. For this period, scholars increasingly rely in particular on Early English Books Online (EEBO); as it happens, the 1629 EEBO copy is thus far the *least* corrected copy of the twenty-six we have consulted, and may be a 'copy book' that included inferior sheets. By contrast, our goal is in a sense to approximate an ideal text, incorporating corrections that may not all be compresent in any existing copy of the first edition; but the foundation of this 'ideal' is an understanding of the process of textual production and the material evidence of particular copies.[93]

In light of these observations, we believe that a critical edition of Hobbes's Thucydides is a worthy enterprise. As we have endeavoured to demonstrate, this edition is necessary not just to establish a reliable and informed text of a work of interest to students of Thucydides and of his reception, but is a prerequisite for a full understanding of Hobbes's translation and more generally his entire cultural project. This specimen provides an initial prospect, which we believe may already reveal a more accurate, vivid, and complex view of Hobbes's undertaking.

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[93] There may be copies in which the corrections are all compresent, because in this period the last pressings of each sheet were sometimes on special paper, to be bound in volumes that would sell for a premium. As special paper copies made at the end of the print run would contain the corrections (though they may also introduce new errors), they would be comparatively authoritative copies.

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NOTE ON THE TEXT

Hobbes makes clear that he bases his translation on the 1594 Greek text of Aemilius Portus ('P1594' in 'Abbreviations and Conventions'). Portus provides a Latin translation in parallel columns, which is also an important resource for Hobbes. For both Greek and Latin texts, Portus' own starting point is usually the 1588 edition of Henri Estienne (Stephanus).

We base our edition on the text of Hobbes's first edition, printed in London by the first day of 1629. Some copies from this printing were later sold with the imprints of 1634 and 1648, but these are also issues of the first edition. We focus on the first issue, dated 1629, because any fine-paper copies (which are likely to have been more fully corrected) were very likely to have been issued then; but most copies with the 1629 imprint have no more bibliographical authority as a class than those with the imprints of 1634 or 1648. Because in-press corrections led to some sheets being more correct than others, and because the collation of sheets into volumes did not reliably group together the corrected sheets (other than in any fine-paper copies, usually made up of sheets printed at the end of the run), the search is essentially for authoritative sheets. For this specimen, we checked for in-press variants in a necessarily but temporarily substandard way, given that the pandemic had prohibited extensive inspection of physical copies. We collated this part of the text character-for-character by comparing one copy of the 1629 issue owned by Hoekstra to two 1629 copies at the Houghton Library at Harvard University, and the two clearest reproductions available via Early English Books Online (EEBO), one from the 1629 issue (at the Huntington Library, San Marino, Cal.) and the other from 1648 (in the Cambridge University Library). For sigla, see the 'Register of In-Press Variants'. The EEBO collations are based for now on the electronic copies only, and will be confirmed in due course by physical inspection.

A second edition was published in London in 1676. If we had clear evidence that Hobbes was involved in the second edition or had made corrections that were incorporated into it, then there would be a strong case for promoting its significant variants to the text; but we have no such evidence. Because we cannot prove that he was *not* involved in the second edition, however, we have a bibliographical duty to record its material changes in our apparatus. Nonetheless, having catalogued all (over 500) of the differences, we can say that it is highly unlikely that any of them come from Hobbes. While there are some corrections that must be due to a sharp-eyed editor, there are no changes that would have required any unusual knowledge outside of the text of the first edition or that would indicate an author's freedom to introduce substantial alteration. The vast majority of changes in the second edition introduce mistakes, eliminate superficial errors, or alter spelling.

Our transcription criteria require us to adhere to the original orthography, capitalisation, italicisation, punctuation, and paragraphing, but we have dissolved the ligatures 'æ' and 'œ' into separate digraphs and have replaced ſ, or 'long s', with its shorter and rounder sibling. We have silently expanded contractions and abbreviations, frequent in Renaissance source texts. We correct literal faults (such as an inverted letter, a misplaced diacritic, or an obvious typographical error), marking all such corrections of the text of the first edition in the 'Register of Literal Faults' provided at the end of the specimen.

In presenting the critical text of Hobbes's translation, his notes are placed in the outer margins, as in the first edition. Notes marked by an asterisk were so marked in the first edition. Line numbers of the page of the current edition are printed in the inside margins, marked in multiples of five. Chapter and section numbers are not given in Hobbes's text, but are indispensable reference points for modern readers, so we include them within square brackets in the body of the text, with chapter numbers larger and in bold. First edition page breaks are marked by the original page numbers in italics within angled brackets (e.g., <*107*>, <*108*>, etc.).

The *en page* apparatus on the lower part of the page is divided into three levels:

- The first level of notes registers the *substantive variants*, that is, variants between copies of the first edition, or instances in which the second edition of 1676 prints what could be understood as a meaningfully different variant. Where there is a substantive variant, the word or words of the body of the text that vary are referred to by line number. We give the version that we print before a vertical line, along with a reference to its source if other than the copy text, and the variant after the vertical line together with its source.
- The second level is for *explanatory notes*. One common category is that of clarification of terms or expressions that are archaic, obscure, or in context distant from English now in use. Another category of explanatory notes is for information that is especially necessary to follow the text of Thucydides, at least when reading it in Hobbes's translation. The text that is the object of an explanatory note is indicated by a superscripted number; when the textual referent of the note consists of more than one word, the relevant phrase is marked off by the same number at the beginning and end.
- The third level consists of notes dedicated to Hobbes's *translation* and its relation to the Greek original and other immediate sources. These notes are indicated by lower-case letters, inserted in alphabetical order (a, b, … z, aa, ab, ac …); when the note refers to more than a single word,

the relevant string of text is flanked by the same letter or letters at beginning and end.

Explanatory notes will sometimes refer to issues of translation, and notes on the translation will sometimes provide explanatory context, but the preponderant consideration is almost always clearly one or the other, and maintaining a distinction between these levels provides a more organised framework for commentary and an immediate indication to a reader of what kind of guidance is offered in the marked note.

It may be helpful to explain further what we are striving to do in the notes on the translation in particular, and to illustrate our method of notation.

A. In the first place, we note those passages in which there is a considerable difference of meaning between the Greek original of P1594 and Hobbes's English rendition.

A.1 We have thus annotated incorrect or improper translations by Hobbes, providing in the note the Greek text being translated, our translation, and the Latin translation of Aemilius Portus, the goal being to give the reader our account of the immediately relevant part of the Greco-Latin Frankfurt edition of 1594 ('P1594') that Hobbes had in front of him. We also provide an English translation of Portus' version, when it differs both from Hobbes's translation and our own translation.

N.B.: The square brackets in passages quoted from the Latin of Aemilius Portus are in the original, used to indicate expansions or explanations of the Greek, or sometimes alternative formulations (e.g., '[*rerum*]' in note 'an' on p. 5; '[*ac ritus*]' in note 'as' on p. 5). Italics in quotations from Portus are also in the original; we indicate our emphasis therein with underlining.

In order to express compactly the distinct types of relationship within this specimen between the Greek text, the Latin translation, and the Hobbesian translation, we use the following scheme of annotations:

- Where the Latin translation by Aemilius Portus (AeP) converges with what we propose that the Greek means, and differs from Hobbes's translation, the note takes the following form: **Greek text 'our translation' *sim.* AeP 'Latin translation'**—e.g., *ἰδιώτης* 'layman' *sim.* AeP 'imperitus' [p. 1, note 'j'].
- Where the Latin translation by Portus (AeP) converges with Hobbes's translation, and differs from the translation we propose, the note takes the following form: **Greek text 'our translation'; H. *sim.* AeP 'Latin translation'**—e.g. *ἐξηνθηκός* 'breaking out'; H. *sim.* AeP 'efflorescens' [p. 2, note 'u'].

- Where the Latin translation by Portus (AeP) may be fruitfully compared with Hobbes's translation, but diverges from it and from the translation we propose, the note takes the following form: **Greek text 'our translation'; H. *comp*. AeP 'Latin translation' ('our translation of the Latin')**—e.g., p. 1, notes 'd' and 'g'.
- Where the Latin translation by Portus (AeP) differs both from what we propose and what Hobbes proposes, the note takes the following form: **Greek text 'our translation'; AeP 'Latin translation' ('our translation of Latin')**—e.g., *σκοπῶν ἂν ἔχοι μὴ ἀγνοεῖν* 'investigating may discover'; AeP 'sibi proponens cognoscat' ('picturing to himself may recognize') [p. 2 note 'o'].

When we provide the Greek that Hobbes is translating together with our translation, we strive to strike a balance between two demands that are sometimes in tension. First, we wish to provide an accurate translation. Second, we want to give the reader a sense of how that translation differs from Hobbes's text. It would sometimes be difficult to understand how an accurate translation would change the sense, as it does not 'slot in' neatly to Hobbes's prose. At other times, providing language that makes clear how an alternative would change the meaning if substituted for Hobbes's text requires a rendering that would not in other circumstances be the preferred word-for-word translation. Either our translation or its fit may look infelicitous depending on how we strike the compromise between these two aims.

When we have decided to adopt or adapt a translation provided by someone else, we have made this clear with a simple reference to the surname, which is then explained in the table of abbreviations.

A.2 There are cases where Hobbes's version seems to us improper, yet it (or something close to it) has modern proponents whose judgements should not be simply ignored on the basis that ours differs. We have taken account of some such cases when the Greek passages continue to be particularly controversial.

In such a case, our form of annotation sometimes has to be more expansive. After giving the Greek text that Hobbes translates, we briefly summarise relevant interpretations of the passage and suggest our reading. An example is note 'aa' on p. 3.

A.3 Finally, we signal additions or omissions that introduce a substantial gap between the meaning of the original and that of Hobbes's translation. For such cases, we have adopted parallel structures for compactly expressing the relationship between the Greek text, the Hobbesian translation, and the Latin version.

For the additions:

- If the Latin translation by Portus (AeP) introduces a similar addition, the note takes the following form: ***Add.* H. *sim.* AeP 'Latin translation'**—e.g., *Add.* H. *sim.* AeP 'non amplius commouebantur' [p. 4, note 'al'].
- If the Latin translation by Portus (AeP) introduces a different addition at the same point, the note takes the following form: ***Add.* H.; *add.* AeP 'Latin translation' ('our translation of Latin')**—e.g., *Add.* H.; *add.* AeP '[*rerum*] ex agris comportatio' ('transportation [of things] from the countryside') [p. 5, note 'an'].
- If Portus does not introduce an addition at this point, the note is simply: ***Add.*** [e.g., p. 2, note 'n'].

For the omissions:

- If there is a similar omission from the Latin translation by Portus (AeP), the note takes the following form: ***Om.* Greek text 'our translation'; H. = AeP**—e.g., *Om.* ἐς τὸ μεταστῆσαι 'to bring about disruption'; H. = AeP [p. 2 note 'm'].
- If, however, Portus (AeP) includes an apt rendering of the passage that Hobbes omits, the note takes the following form: ***Om.* Greek text 'our translation' *sim.* AeP 'Latin translation'**—e.g., *Om.* προειδώς 'by knowing beforehand' *sim.* AeP 'iam praedoctus' [p. 2 note 'p'].
- In case Portus (AeP) provides a version of the passage that differs from what we propose that the Greek means, the note takes the following form: ***Om.* Greek text 'our translation'; AeP 'Latin translation' ('our translation of Latin')** [no example in specimen].

Where it seems possible and worthwhile to do so, we have identified probable reasons for or effects of the additions or omissions, which will not always be otherwise visible to the reader [see, e.g., p. 2 note 'm', p. 7 note 'bk'].

B. We also note some instances where there is *not* a considerable difference of meaning between the Greek original of P1594 and Hobbes's translation.

B.1 A special category is that of English translations that may be correct translations of the Greek of P1594, but are incorrect because that Greek text is corrupt. We are systematically comparing the Greek text of P1594 with our critical edition of reference for the Greek text, that of G. B. Alberti (see 'Alb.' in 'Abbreviations and Conventions').

The instances in this part of the text are all cases where Hobbes's translation correctly renders the Greek text of P1594 and converges with the Latin version by Portus (AeP), so these notes take the following form: **Greek text of P1594 *sim.* H. and AeP 'Latin translation': Greek text of Alb. 'our translation'**—e.g., ᾗδει *sim.* H. and AeP '[*unusquisque*] nouerat': Alb. ᾗδη 'in the short term' [p. 6 note 'be'].

B.2 We sometimes note a legitimate rendering of Hobbes's if it is sufficiently unusual or otherwise of interest. An example is p. 7 note 'bn'.

B.3 We note additions, omissions, expansions, or other free renderings that adhere closely to the meaning of the original, in those cases where they result in salient stylistic revisions of the Greek: e.g., p. 3 note 'x'.

C. Finally, we indicate in a note when it seems to us that one of Hobbes's scholarly resources may have had a substantial particular influence on the English translation.

C.1 Other than the influence of Aemilius Portus, which will be tracked in the notes described under categories **A** and **B**, above, the most common of these are other resources that Hobbes had to hand within P1594, as well as his dictionary:

1. The Greek *scholia*, available to Hobbes in P1594; when possible, the *scholia* are cited both according to the page in P1594 and according to the edition of A. Kleinlogel (2019) (= Klein.); though occasionally, because of differing criteria of inclusion, to the edition of Hude.
2. The commentary of Franciscus Portus (= FrP, father of Aemilius), also included in P1594, which we cite according to the lettered subdivisions of the columns in P1594 (e.g., 'FrP col. 114 G').
3. The *Lexicon Graecolatinum* of Iohannes Scapula, likely to have been Hobbes's dictionary of reference.

C.2 Especially since Hobbes said that in creating his edition he based his work on the Greek of the Portus edition, while 'not refusing, or neglecting any version, Comment, or other helpe I could come by', we have also undertaken a systematic comparison with the most likely editions, translations, and commentaries that Hobbes may have drawn on when translating. We have particularly focused on cases in which Hobbes's translation is *either* incorrect (or especially free) but does not accord with the Latin of Aemilius Portus—for otherwise that would be the most likely source of the error—*or* legitimate while differing from Portus' Latin. In such cases, we have compared Hobbes's text with the relevant sections of potential sources, including all the most influential Renaissance translations of and commentaries on Thucydides, as well as Henricus Stephanus' *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*.

We have included a brief reference to one of these sources when it seems plausible that Hobbes may have followed it into either a correct or a mistaken path that was not already taken by Portus himself. When giving multiple such sources, we list them in chronological order. In order to express compactly the

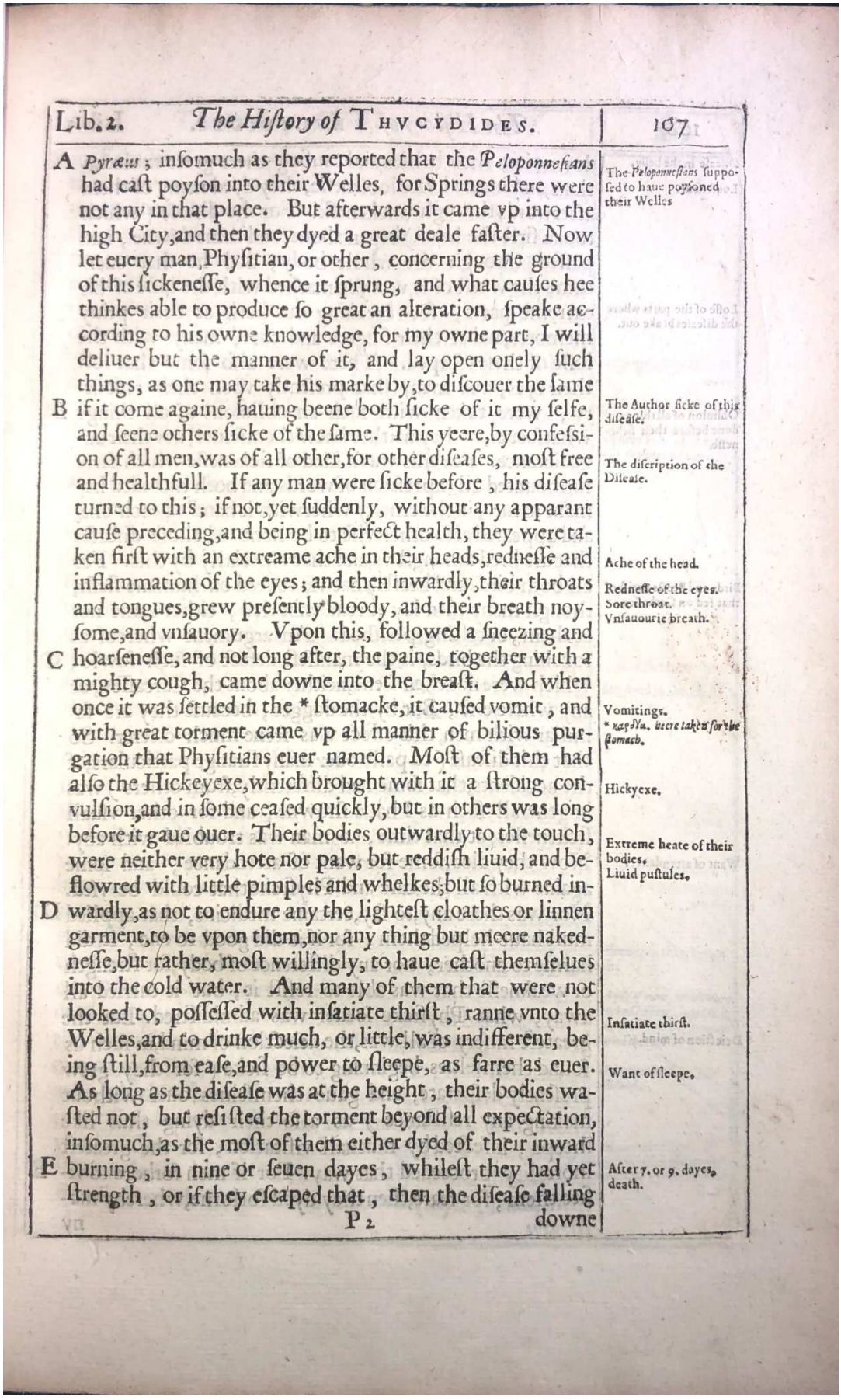
distinct types of relationship between the Hobbesian translation and these sources, we use the following scheme of annotations:

- Where Hobbes's translation converges with one or more of these sources, the note takes the following form: **H. *sim.* 'source'**—e.g., H. *sim.* Strozzi 'non medico' [p. 1, note 'j'].
- Where Hobbes's translation partly diverges from one or more of these sources, but a comparison is nonetheless worthwhile, the note takes the following general form: **H. *comp.* 'source'**.
    - When the cited source is not in English, we provide our own translation thereafter in parentheses—e.g., H. *comp.* Winsemius 'saevissima pestis' ('most violent plague') [p. 7, note 'bk'].
    - When there are multiple cited sources, if one is in English that is similar to one or more of the others, we do not provide a separate translation of those—e.g., H. *comp.* Seyssel 'n'encores aulcunes', Nicolls 'yet not any' [p. 1, note 'h'].
    - When there are multiple sources whose translations differ in meaning, we provide translations of each differing source or group of sources which does not have a similar English source—e.g., H. *comp.* Jausaud 'plus espais' ('more often'), Paulinus 'magis, et frequentius' ('more, and more often') [p. 1, note 'i'].

References to editions, translations, and commentaries are *ad loc.*, if not otherwise noted.

In adducing authors, works, or editions, we opt when possible for those that can be identified as having been in Hobbes's library, especially according to the Hardwick catalogue of *ca.* 1628, e.g., John Pory's *Geographical Historie of Africa* [p. 1 note 'e'] (cf. Chatsworth HS/E/1A p. [93]).

We conclude the specimen with four registers: (1) in-press variants; (2) literal faults; (3) ambiguous end-of-line word breaks; and (4) catch-word variants.



Lib. 2. *The Hiſtory of* THVCYDIDES. 107

A *Pyræus*; inſomuch as they reported that the *Peloponneſians* had caſt poyſon into their Welles, for Springs there were not any in that place. But afterwards it came vp into the high City, and then they dyed a great deale faſter. Now let euery man, Phyſitian, or other, concerning the ground of this ſickeneſſe, whence it ſprung, and what cauſes hee thinkes able to produce ſo great an alteration, ſpeake according to his owne knowledge, for my owne part, I will deliuer but the manner of it, and lay open onely ſuch things, as one may take his marke by, to diſcouer the ſame

B if it come againe, hauing beene both ſicke of it my ſelfe, and ſeene others ſicke of the ſame. This yeere, by confeſſion of all men, was of all other, for other diſeaſes, moſt free and healthfull. If any man were ſicke before, his diſeaſe turned to this; if not, yet ſuddenly, without any apparant cauſe preceding, and being in perfect health, they were taken firſt with an extreame ache in their heads, redneſſe and inflammation of the eyes; and then inwardly, their throats and tongues, grew preſently bloody, and their breath noyſome, and vnſauory. Vpon this, followed a ſneezing and

C hoarſeneſſe, and not long after, the paine, together with a mighty cough, came downe into the breaſt. And when once it was ſettled in the * ſtomacke, it cauſed vomit, and with great torment came vp all manner of bilious purgation that Phyſitians euer named. Moſt of them had alſo the Hickeyexe, which brought with it a ſtrong conuulſion, and in ſome ceaſed quickly, but in others was long before it gaue ouer. Their bodies outwardly to the touch, were neither very hote nor pale, but reddiſh liuid, and beflowred with little pimples and whelkes, but ſo burned in-

D wardly, as not to endure any the lighteſt cloathes or linnen garment, to be vpon them, nor any thing but meere nakednesſe, but rather, moſt willingly, to haue caſt themſelues into the cold water. And many of them that were not looked to, poſſeſſed with inſatiate thirſt, ranne vnto the Welles, and to drinke much, or little, was indifferent, being ſtill, from eaſe, and power to ſleepe, as farre as euer. As long as the diſeaſe was at the height, their bodies waſted not, but reſiſted the torment beyond all expectation, inſomuch, as the moſt of them either dyed of their inward

E burning, in nine or ſeuen dayes, whileſt they had yet ſtrength, or if they eſcaped that, then the diſeaſe falling

The *Peloponneſians* ſuppoſed to haue poyſoned their Welles

The Author ſicke of this diſeaſe.

The diſcription of the Diſeaſe.

Ache of the head.

Redneſſe of the eyes.
Sore throat.
Vnſauourie breath.

Vomitings.
* κοιλία. *vecre taken for the ſtomach.*

Hickyexe.

Extreme heate of their bodies.
Liuid puſtules.

Inſatiate thirſt.

Want of ſleepe.

After 7. or 9. dayes, death.

Fig. 1. Page 107 of *Eight Bookes of the Peloponnesian Warre* (London, 1629).

Fig. 2. Illustrated title page of *Eight Bookes of the Peloponnesian Warre* (London, 1629).

ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

76	*The History of the Grecian War in Eight Books, Written by Thucydides*, ed. and tr. T. Hobbes, London 1676 , 2nd edn. of the *Peloponnesian Warre*
add.	added
AeP	Aemilius Portus, in P1594
Alb.	*Thucydidis Historiae*, ed. G. B. Alberti, 3 vols., Rome 1972–2000
ch.	chapter
Classen	in Classen-Steup
Classen-Steup	*Thukydides*, ed. and comm. J. Classen, rev. by J. Steup, 8 vols., 3rd to 5th edns., Berlin 1900–1922
col.	column
comp.	*comparandum*, to be compared with
Crawley	Thucydides, *The History of the Peloponnesian War*, ed. and tr. R. Crawley, London 1874
Enenckel	*Thucydidis Atheniensis de bello Peloponnesiaco libri octo,* ed., tr., and comm. G. A. Enenckel, Tübingen 1596
Fantasia	Tucidide, *La Guerra del Peloponneso. Libro II*, ed., tr., and comm. U. Fantasia, Pisa 2003
FrP	Franciscus Portus, in P1594
Gomme	in *HCT*
H.	Hobbes
Hornblower	S. Hornblower, *A Commentary on Thucydides*, 3 vols., Oxford 1991–2008
Hude	*Thucydidis Historiae*, ed. C. Hude, 2 vols., Leipzig 1898–1901
Hude *Sch.*	*Scholia in Thucydidem*, ed. C. Hude, Leipzig 1927
Il.	T. Hobbes, *Translations of Homer*, ed. E. Nelson, vol. 1 (*Iliad*), Oxford 2008 (cited by book, page, and line number)
Jausaud	*Histoire de la guerre des Peloponnesiens et Atheniens par Thucydide Athenien*, tr. L. Jausaud, [Geneva] 1600
Klein.	*Scholia Graeca in Thucydidem*, ed. A. Kleinlogel and K. Alpers, Berlin 2019
Lev.	T. Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. N. Malcolm, 3 vols., Oxford 2012 (cited by chapter, page, and line number)
Marchant	Thucydides, *Book II*, ed. and comm. E. C. Marchant, London 1891
marg.	marginal note

Mynott	Thucydides, *The War of the Peloponnesians and the Athenians*, ed. and tr. J. Mynott, Cambridge 2013
Nicolls	*The hystory writtone by Thucidides the Athenyan of the warre, whiche was betwene the Peloponesians and the Athenyans*, tr. T. Nicolls, London 1550
obs.	obsolete
Od.	T. Hobbes, *Translations of Homer*, ed. E. Nelson, vol. 2 (*Odyssey*), Oxford 2008 (cited by book, page, and line number)
OED	*The Oxford English Dictionary*
om.	omitted
P1594	*Thucydidis Olori filii de bello Peloponnesiaco libri octo,* ed. and tr. Aem. Portus, comm. Fr. Portus, Frankfurt 1594
Paulinus	F. Paulinus, *Praelectiones Marciae, seu commentaria in Thucydidis enarrationem, sive historiam, De peste Atheniensi*, Venice 1603
Peloponnesian Warre	*Eight Bookes of the Peloponnesian Warre written by Thucydides the sonne of Olorus*, ed. and tr. T. Hobbes, London 1629
Poppo-Stahl	*Thucydidis de bello Peloponnesiaco libri octo*, ed. and comm. E. F. Poppo and J. M. Stahl, 4 vols., 2nd to 3rd edns., Leipzig 1875–1889
Rhodes	Thucydides, *History II*, ed., tr., and comm. P. J. Rhodes, Warminster 1988
Rusten	Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War, Book II*, ed. and comm. J. S. Rusten, Cambridge 1989
Scap.	J. Scapula, *Lexicon Graecolatinum*, Geneva 1579
Seyssel	*L'histoire de Thucydide Athenien, de la guerre, qui fut entre les Peloponnesiens et Atheniens*, tr. C. de Seyssel, Paris 1527
sim.	similar to
Stahl	in Poppo-Stahl
Stephanus	*Thucydidis de bello Peloponnesiaco libri octo,* ed., tr., and comm. H. Stephanus, 2nd edn., Geneva 1588
Strozzi	*Gli otto libri di Thucydide Atheniese, Delle guerre fatte tra popoli della Morea, et gli Atheniesi*, tr. F. Strozzi, Venice 1545
s.v.	*sub voce*, under the word or heading given
Th.	Thucydides
Winsemius	*Thucydidis Atheniensis Historiae de bello Peloponnesiaco*, ed., tr., and comm. V. Winsemius, Wittenberg 1569

THE SECOND YEERE.

The second inuasion of *Attica*, by the *Lacedaemonians*.

[2] In the very beginning of Summer, the *Peloponnesians*, and their *Confederates*, with two thirds of their forces, as before inuaded *Attica*, vnder the conduct of *Archidamus*, the sonne of *Zeuxidamus*, King of *Lacedaemon*, and after they had encamped themselues, wasted the countrey about them.

The plague at *Athens*.

[3] They had not beene many dayes in *Attica*, when the plague first began amongst the *Athenians*, said[a] also to haue seazed formerly on diuers other parts, as about *Lemnos*, and elsewhere; but so great a plague, and mortality of men, was neuer remembred to haue hapned in any place before. [4] For at first, neither were the Physicians able to cure it, through ignorance of what it was, but dyed fastest[b] themselues, as being the men that most approached the sicke, nor any other art of man auailed whatsoeuer. All supplications [c]to the *Gods*[c], and enquiries of *Oracles*, and whatsoeuer other meanes they vsed of that kind, proued all vnprofitable; insomuch as subdued with the greatnesse of the euill, they gaue

It began in *Aethiopia*.

them all ouer. [**48**] It began (by report) first, in that part of *Aethiopia* that lyeth vpon[d] *Aegypt*, and thence fell downe into *Aegypt* and *Afrique*[e], and into the

* *of* Persia.

greatest part of the Territories of the **King*. [2] It inuaded *Athens* on a sudden; and touched first vpon those that dwelt in *<107> Piraeus*; insomuch as they

The *Peloponnesians* supposed to haue poysoned their Welles

reported that the *Peloponnesians* had cast poyson into their Welles[f], for Springs[g] there were [h]not any[h] in that place. But afterwards it came vp into [1]the high City[1], and then they dyed a great deale faster[i]. [3] Now let euery man, Physitian, or other[j], [k]concerning the ground of this sickenesse[k], whence it [l] sprung, and what

1 The city of Athens proper, some five miles from the port of Piraeus.

a λεγόμενον; AeP 'quamquam ferebatur' ('despite being said'). λεγόμενον is read by some scholars as an accusative absolute, while H. – probably correctly (cf. Rusten, Fantasia) – takes it as a neutral past participle loosely agreeing with the feminine ἡ νόσος ('the disease'), as suggested by the *scholium* – θηλυκῶς ἡ νόσος, τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον, ὡς πρὸς τὸ νόσημα ὑπήντησεν ('ἡ νόσος is a word of feminine genre; it is as if τὸ λεγόμενον agreed with τὸ νόσημα'), P1594, 129 = Klein. 534, 74-5. It cannot be excluded that H. may have preferred the *varia lectio* λεγομένη *pro* λεγόμενον, reported in P1594, 129, *marg*., implicitly rejected by FrP col. 144 C, but endorsed by Stephanus.

b μάλιστα 'most of all, in greatest number' *sim*. AeP 'potissimum magis'. H. *comp*. Strozzi 'i primi', Winsemius and Paulinus, 99 'primi' ('first').

c πρὸς ἱεροῖς 'at sanctuaries' *sim*. AeP 'ad [*Deorum*] templa'. H. elsewhere renders τὰ ἱερά simply as 'the Temples' (see 2.52.3), but may here resolve what he takes to be a metonym of the place of supplication for those being supplicated.

d ὑπέρ here 'above', in the sense of 'beyond', in this case to the south of; H. *comp*. AeP 'supra' ('on', 'above', or 'beyond'). Here, and with 'fell down [κατέβη] into Aegypt', H. preserves a Greek geographical perspective according to which an inland location is up from or above the coast, and movement toward the coast is a descent.

e Λιβύην 'Libya'; H. *sim*. AeP 'Africam'. H. consistently renders Λιβύη by 'Africa' (or 'Africke', or in this case, 'Afrique'). Λιβύη or Libya for Th. was an extensive area west of Egypt (cf. 1.104.1 and 1.110.1); the Latin 'Africa' was frequently equated with or largely overlapped it. Similar usage persisted through the Renaissance; so in his important 1650 map of the continent, Nicolas Sanson marks out the two main divisions of the continent as 'AFRIQVE ou LIBYE' for the largest northern area of the continent, while Ethiopia is the greatest part of the south. FrP's annotation provides a mythographic basis for this rendering, claiming that Libya, daughter of Epaphus (a king of Egypt), gave her name to Africa (col. 144 G). Λιβύη and 'Africa' were also used in and after antiquity for the continent as a whole: cf. *e.g.* Herodotus 4.42.1-2, Pomponius Mela 1.8, and John Pory's introduction to *A Geographical Historie of Africa*, his edition and translation of Leo Africanus (London, 1600), p. 1.

f φρέατα, either 'wells' or 'cisterns', here both are included (Gomme); H. *sim*. AeP 'puteos'.

g κρῆναι here 'fountains'; H. *comp*. AeP 'fontes' ('fountains' or 'springs').

h οὔπω 'not yet' *sim*. AeP 'nondum'. H. *comp*. Seyssel 'n'encores aulcunes', Nicolls 'yet not any'.

i μᾶλλον 'more' *sim*. AeP 'plures' (cf. above note b). H. *comp*. Jausaud 'plus espais' ('more often'), Paulinus 'magis, et frequentius' ('more, and more often').

j ἰδιώτης 'layman' *sim*. AeP 'imperitus'. H. understands Th. to imply that everyone is either a physician or a layman, and so takes the latter (ἰδιώτης) to mean any non-physician, *i.e.* 'other'. H. *sim*. Strozzi 'non medico'.

k περὶ αὐτοῦ 'about it' *sim*. AeP 'de eo [*morbo*]'. H. introduces 'the ground' to contrast with the following 'the manner of it' (οἷόν τε ἐγίγνετο), thus highlighting the difference between causes and symptoms of this sickness.

l *Om*. εἰκός 'likely' *sim*. AeP 'verisimile'.

causes hee thinkes able to produce so great an alteration [m], speake according to his owne knowledge, for my owne part, I will deliuer but[n] the manner of it, and lay open onely such things, as one [o]may take his marke by, to discouer[o] the same if it come againe [p], hauing beene both sicke of it my selfe, and seene others sicke of the same. [**49**]This yeere, by confession of all men, was of all other, for other diseases, most free and healthfull. If any man were sicke before, his disease turned to this; [2] if not, yet suddenly, without any apparant cause preceding, and being in perfect health, they were taken first with an extreame ache[q] in their heads, rednesse and inflammation of the eyes; and then inwardly, their throats and tongues, grew presently bloody, and their breath noysome, and vnsauory. [3] Vpon this, followed a sneezing and hoarsenesse, and not long after, the paine, together with a mighty cough, came downe into the breast. And when once it was settled in the *stomacke[r], it [s]caused vomit[s], and with great torment came vp all manner of bilious purgation that Physitians euer named. [4] Most of them had also the Hickeyexe[2], which brought with it a strong convulsion, and [t]in some ceased quickly[t], but in others was long before it gaue ouer. [5] Their bodies outwardly to the touch, were neither very hote nor pale, but reddish liuid, and beflowred[u] with little pimples and whelkes; but so burned inwardly, as not to

The Author sicke of this disease.

The discription of the Disease.

Ache of the head.

Rednesse of the eyes.
Sore throat.
Vnsauourie breath.

Vomitings.
* καρδία. *heere taken for the stomach.*

Hickyexe.

Extreme heate of their bodies.
Liuid pustules.

2 *Obs.* Hiccups. The *OED* (*s.v.* 'hick', *n.*[2]) gives this as the sole instance of the compound 'hick-yex'. It derives from 'hick', hiccup(s), and 'yex' (or 'yesk', etc.), which can itself mean hiccup(s), but can also mean retching or hawking. With the compound, H. may have wished 'hick' to indicate a repeated spasm and 'yexe' to capture the further sense of λύγξ κενή as an 'empty retching', which had been the locus of a medico-philological discussion (cf. *e.g.* Paulinus, 277-84). κενή is otherwise omitted.

m *Om.* ἐς τὸ μεταστῆσαι 'to bring about disruption'; H. = AeP. The omission may have been suggested by the *scholium*, which points out a semantic overlap between ἐς τὸ μεταστῆσαι and τοσαύτης μεταβολῆς 'this alteration' (P1594, 129 = Hude *Sch.* 140, 19-20). The Greek sentence is laboured and modern scholars have often found its 'verbosity not tolerable' (Gomme), even to the point of expunging precisely ἐς τὸ μεταστῆσαι (*e.g.* Stahl, Classen-Steup, Hude).

n *Add.* H.'s addition reinforces Th.'s programmatic statement that he will deal with the symptoms and not the causes of the disease. The same happens later in the sentence with the addition of 'onely'.

o σκοπῶν ἂν ἔχοι μὴ ἀγνοεῖν 'investigating may discover'; AeP 'sibi proponens cognoscat' ('picturing to himself may recognize').

p *Om.* προειδώς 'by knowing beforehand' *sim.* AeP 'iam praedoctus'.

q θέρμαι 'sensations of fever' *sim.* AeP 'feruores'. H. *sim.* Enenckel 'dolores', Jausaud 'douleurs'. One possibility is that H. followed such a source, for even two sentences later, when Th. (2.49.5) uses the cognate θερμόν, H. understands it (as 'hote'). Another possibility is that a copyist or compositor mistook as 'ache' what H. had written as 'ague', an acute or high fever. 'Ague' was a common word in the early seventeenth century, and was used by Hobbes in *Lev.* ch. 8 (116, 31) and ch. 29 (514, 19), both of which he renders as 'febris' in the Latin edn., and in translating πυρετὸν from *Iliad* 22.31 (cf. *Il.* 22 (348, 36)). 'Ache' otherwise appears in the Hobbesian corpus only twice, in his translations of Homer in the 1670s (and only as 'ake'): *Il.* 6 (106, 508) and *Od.* 11 (155, 490).

r καρδίαν; AeP 'corde' ('heart'). H.'s rendering and his marginal annotation (*) probably depend on the *scholium* οἱ παλαιοὶ ἰατροὶ τὸν στόμαχον καρδίαν ἐκάλουν ('ancient physicians used to call the stomach καρδία'), P1594, 130 = Klein. 536, 7-8. H. may here call attention to the underlying Greek because previous translations and commentaries had generally given instead the standard meaning of 'heart' (an insistence that dates back to Lucretius 6.1152), despite the scholiast and the authority of Galen – cf. *e.g.* ***On the Causes of Symptoms*** 1.7, quoted by Paulinus, 262.

s ἀνέστρεφέ τε αὐτήν 'upset it [*i.e.* the stomach]' *sim.* AeP 'ipsum subuertebat'. H. *sim.* Seyssel 'prouocquoit vng vomissement', Nicolls 'prouokedde them to a vomyte'.

t τοῖς μὲν μετὰ ταῦτα λωφήσαντα 'in some cases straight after those [symptoms] had ceased'; AeP 'singultus [...], qui statim sedabatur' ('the hiccups that immediately ceased'). Like FrP's commentary (col. 146 C) and the *scholium* (P1594, 130 = Klein. 537, 14), H. takes the aorist participle λωφήσαντα ('cease') to agree with σπασμόν ('convulsion') and not with ταῦτα ('those [symptoms]'), which would have been more appropriate.

u ἐξηνθηκός 'breaking out'; H. *sim.* AeP 'efflorescens'. H. brings out a metaphor implicit in the original, since ἐξανθέω is the medical *vox propria* for 'break out', especially of skin ulcers (Gomme).

endure any the lightest cloathes or linnen garment, to be vpon them, nor any thing but meere nakednesse, but rather, most willingly, to haue cast themselues into the cold water. And many of them that were not looked to,

Insatiate thirst.

possessed with insatiate thirst, ranne vnto the Welles[v], and to drinke much, or

Want of sleepe.

little, was indifferent, [6]being still, from ease, and power to sleepe, as farre as euer. As long as the disease was at the height, their bodies wasted not, but resisted the torment beyond all expectation, insomuch, as the most of them

After 7. or 9. dayes, death.

either dyed of their inward burning, in nine or seuen dayes, whilest they had yet strength, or if they escaped that, then the disease falling <*108*> downe into their

Disease in the belly.
Loosenesse.

bellies, and causing there great exulcerations[3], and immoderate loosenesse, they dyed many of them afterwards [w]through weakenesse[w]. [7]For the disease (which tooke first the head) [x]began aboue, and came downe, and passed through the whole body[x]; and [y]he that ouercame the worst of it, was yet marked with the

Losse of the parts where the diseases brake out.

losse of his extreme parts[y]; [8]for breaking out both at their priuy members, and at their fingers and toes, many with the losse of these escaped. There were also some that lost their eyes, [z]and many[z] that presently vpon their recouery, were

Obliuion of all things done before their sickenesse.

taken with such an obliuion of all things whatsoeuer, as they neither knew themselues, nor their acquaintance. [**50**]For this was a kind of sickenesse which farre [aa]surmounted all expression of words[aa], and both [ab]exceeded humane nature, in the cruelty wherwith it handled each one[ab], and appeared also otherwise to be none of those diseases that are bred amongst vs, and that

Birds and Beasts perished that fed on Carkasses.

especially by this. For all both birds and beasts, that [4]vse to[4] feed on humane flesh, though many men lay abroad vnburied, either came not at them, or tasting

1 any the | the *76* 9 they escaped | they had escaped *76*

3 Ulcerations; sores (*OED*, 'exulceration', *n.* 1.a, 2).
4 *Obs.* Are wont to; usually (cf. *OED*, 'use', *v.* 21.a.(a), intransitive).

v φρέατα here 'cisterns'; H. *sim.* AeP 'puteos'.
w διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν *sim.* H. and AeP 'propter debilitatem' : Alb. δι' αὐτὴν ἀσθενείᾳ 'from it [*i.e.* looseness] for want of strength'.
x διεξῄει διὰ παντὸς τοῦ σώματος ἄνωθεν ἀρξάμενον 'spread through the whole body, after starting at the top' *sim.* AeP 'per totum corpus, initio a summis partibus ducto, peruadebat'. H. introduces a strong isocolic organization of the sentence based on a sequence of three phrasal verbs ('began above', 'came downe', 'passed through'), which describe, stage by stage, the linear path of the disease through the body.
y εἴ τις ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων περιγένοιτο, τῶν γε ἀκρωτηρίων ἀντίληψις αὐτοῦ ἐπεσήμαινεν 'if anyone survived the worst symptoms, the assault of it [*i.e.* the disease] left its mark on the extremities'; AeP 'si quis ex maximis illis [*periculis*] euasisset, extremae corporis partes, quae captae, laesaeque remanebant, eum hoc morbo laborasse testabantur' ('if anyone had avoided the worst [dangers], the extremities of the body, which were afflicted and still injured, showed he had suffered from this disease'). The difference here may be due to misconstrual or mistranscription. The first possibility is that when H. turns the Greek sentence from active into passive, he renders the subject ἀντίληψις with a complement of instrument ('with the losse'), misunderstanding ἀντίληψις – 'assault' [of the disease], cf. Scap. *s.v.* 'apprehensio' – as expressing instead the injuries suffered by the body (cf. FrP's annotation, 'ἀντίληψις. Laesio' [col. 147 D], and AeP 'extremae corporis partes … laesaeque remanebant'). Another possibility is that 'with the losse of' was meant to appear only later in the sentence, but was mistranscribed into this place in addition, such that an intended 'was yet marked on his extreme parts' or the like became 'was yet marked with the losse of his extreme parts'.
z τοὺς δὲ 'still others' *sim.* AeP 'nonnullos'.
aa κρεῖσσον λόγου; AeP 'atrocius, quam quod oratione possit exprimi' ('more terrible than words can express'). Similarly to H., the expression κρεῖσσον λόγου is often translated as 'beyond description' (*e.g.* Rhodes). It may instead be rendered as 'stronger/greater than [any] reasonable expectation' (Hornblower, Fantasia), or 'beyond explanation' (Rusten).
ab Elegant solution for the elliptical χαλεπωτέρως ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν προσέπιπτεν ἑκάστῳ 'it attacked each more violently than [anyone could bear] given human nature' *sim.* AeP 'grauius, quam vt humana natura ferre possit, singulos inuasit'.

perished. [2]An argument whereof as touching the birds, is the manifest defect of such fowle, which were not then seene, neither [ac]about the Carcasses[ac], or any where else; But by the dogges, because they are familiar with men, this effect was seene much cleerer. [**51**]So that this disease (to passe ouer many [ad] strange particulars, of the accidents, that some had differently, from others) was in generall such as I haue showne, and for other vsuall sickenesses, at that time, no man was troubled with any. [ae] [2]Now they died, some for want of attendance, and some againe with all the care and Physicke that could be vsed. Nor was there any, to say, certaine medicine, that applied must haue helped them; for if it did good to one, it did harme to another; [3]nor any difference of body, for strength or weaknesse that was able to resist it; but it carried all away, what Physicke soeuer was administred. [4]But [af]the greatest misery of all[af] was, the deiection of mind, in such as found themselues beginning to be sicke (for they grew presently desperate, and gaue themselues ouer without making any resistance) as also their dying thus like sheepe, infected by mutuall visitation[ag]; for the greatest mortality proceeded that way. [5]For if men forbore to visite them, for feare; then they dyed forlorne, whereby many <*109*> Families[ah] became empty, for want of such as should take care of them. If they forbore not, then they died themselues, and principally [ai]the honestest men[ai]. For out of shame, they would not spare themselues, but went in vnto their friends, [aj]especially after it was come to this passe, that[aj] euen their domestiques[5], wearied with [ak]the lamentations of them that died[ak], and ouercome with the greatnesse of the calamity, [al]were no longer moued therewith[al]. [6]But those that were recouered, had much compassion both on them that died, and on them that lay sicke, as hauing both knowne the misery

Want of attendance.

Deiection of mind.

5 *Obs.* Members of the household, or members of the family (*OED*, 'domestic', *n.* 1), an ambiguity also in the Greek οἱ οἰκεῖοι.

ac περὶ τοιοῦτον οὐδέν '[engaged] in any such activity' (Rusten), *i.e.* eating the dead; H. *sim.* AeP 'circum vlla huiusmodi [*cadauera*]'. H. mistakes περί + accus. as having a locative value, which he carries over into the translation of ἄλλως as 'any where else' (rather than 'in any other way').

ad *Om.* καὶ ἄλλα 'other' *sim.* AeP 'alia'.

ae *Om.* ὃ δὲ καὶ γένοιτο, ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα 'any disease which eventually occurred ended up turning into this one' *sim.* AeP 'quod si quis exoriretur, in hunc desinebat'. H. may omit this phrase because he considers it a repetition of 2.49.1 ἐς τοῦτο πάντα ἀπεκρίθη ('all [illnesses] ended in this'); so Gomme takes this apparent reduplication as evidence of lack of revision in the Greek text, and Hornblower speaks of an 'uncharacteristic repetition'. Th. is here referring to diseases that occurred during the epidemic, however, while in 2.49 he was dealing with illnesses that preceded its outbreak – cf. Stahl.

af δεινότατον δὲ παντὸς τοῦ κακοῦ 'what was most terrible in all this affliction' *sim.* AeP 'illud in toto hoc malo grauissimum'.

ag θεραπείας 'caring' or 'curing' *sim.* AeP 'curatione'. H. *sim.* Seyssel 'visiter', Strozzi 'uisitare', Nicolls 'visitt'. The dilemma of whether the duty of visitation applied during plague was frequently addressed in Renaissance moral treatises, and discussed in connection with Th. 2.51.4 in Paulinus, 476.

ah οἰκίαι here more likely 'houses' or 'homes'; H. *sim.* AeP 'familiae'.

ai οἱ ἀρετῆς τι μεταποιούμενοι 'those with any claim to virtue' *sim.* AeP 'qui aliquam virtutis partem sibi vendicabant'. H. *sim.* Seyssel 'les plus gens de bien et d'honneur', Nicolls 'the most honnest and honorable people'.

aj Emphatic expansion of ἐπεὶ καὶ τελευτῶντες 'since in the end' *sim.* AeP 'si quidem tandem'.

ak τὰς ὀλοφύρσεις τῶν ἀπογιγνομένων 'the lamentations for the dying'; H. *sim.* AeP 'lamentationibus eorum, qui moriebantur'. 'Lamentations *for* the dying', rather than 'lamentations *of* the dying', in view of 'the normal use of ἐκκάμνω and similar verbs, which mean to grow weary of what one is doing oneself' (Gomme). By 'the lamentations of them' we understand H. to mean that they were lamenting (H. *sim.* Classen, Crawley), rather than that they were being lamented, as we take Th. to mean (so Gomme). We read 'them that died' to refer to the dying rather than the dead; H. thus correctly renders the present participle, despite the proposals of Marchant and Rhodes that Th. refers to the dead.

al *Add.* H. *sim.* AeP 'non amplius commouebantur' – from FrP's annotation, 'ἐξέκαμνον. Erant iam lassi […] id est, *non commovebantur* miserandis eorum querelis' ('ἐξέκαμνον. They were exhausted […] that is, *they were not moved* by their pitiable lamentations') (col. 149 D).

No man sicke of it mortally the second time.

themselues[am], and now no more subiect to the danger. For this disease neuer tooke any man the second time, so as to be mortall. And these men were both by others counted happy, and they also themselues, through excesse of present ioy, conceiued a kind of light hope, neuer to die of any other sickenesse hereafter. [**52**] Besides the present affliction, the reception of the countrey people, [an]and of their substance[an] into the Citie, oppressed both them, and much more the people themselues that so came in. [2] For hauing no houses, but dwelling at that time of the yeere in stifling boothes[6], the mortality was now without all forme[7]; and

Men dyed in the streets.

[ao]dying men[ao] lay tumbling[ap] one vpon another in the streetes, and men halfe dead, about euery Conduit[8] through desire of water. [3] The Temples also where they dwelt in Tents, were all full of the dead [aq]that died[aq] within them; for oppressed with the violence of the Calamitie, and [ar]not knowing what to doe[ar], men grew carelesse both of holy, and prophane things alike. [4] And the Lawes[as] which they formerly vsed touching Funerals, [at]were all now broken[at]; euery one burying [au]where hee could finde roome[au]. And many for want of things necessary, after so many deathes before, [av]were forced[av] to become impudent in the Funerals [aw]of their friends[aw]. For when one had made a Funeral *Pile, another getting before him, would throw on his dead, and giue it fire. And when one was in burning, another would come, and hauing cast thereon him whom he carried, goe his way againe.

Disorder in their Funerals.
* *A pile of wood, which when they had laid the Corpes on it, they fired, and afterwards buried the bones.*

14 now | new *76*

6 *OED*, 'booth', *n.* 1.a: 'A temporary dwelling covered with boughs of trees or other slight materials. *archaic*'.
7 Good order, or decorum (*OED*, 'form', *n.* 8, 15) (κόσμῳ).
8 *Obs.* 'A structure from which water is distributed or made to issue; a fountain' (*OED*, 'conduit', *n.* 2.a) (τὰς κρήνας: cf. H.'s translation of κρήνῃ as 'Fountaine' at 2.15.5).

am H. wrongly refers αὑτοί ('themselues') to προειδέναι ('hauing knowne'), and not to ἐν τῷ θαρσαλέῳ εἶναι ('no more subiect to the danger'); correctly, AeP 'ipsi in tuto iam essent' ('being themselves now safe').
an *Add.* H.; *add.* AeP '[*rerum*] ex agris comportatio' ('transportation [of things] from the countryside'). H.'s addition probably depends on FrP's annotation 'ξυγκομιδή. De *rebus inanimis* proprie. Sed iam *etiam de animatis*' ('ξυγκομιδή. Of *inanimate things*, properly. But also of *animate* ones') (col. 149 F).
ao νεκροὶ ἀποθνῄσκοντες 'the bodies of those dying' (Mynott); AeP 'morientes, mortui' ('dying, dead'). νεκροί and ἀποθνῄσκοντες are 'difficult to take together' (Rusten) and the Greek has been variously emended (cf. Gomme); H. seems to omit νεκροί, probably considering it a pleonasm.
ap ἑκαλινδοῦντο 'reeled', properly agreed with ἡμιθνῆτες 'men halfe dead' *sim.* AeP 'semimortui volutabantur'.
aq ἐναποθνῃσκόντων 'as deaths took place' – most likely, a genitive absolute without noun (Rusten, Fantasia). H. takes ἐναποθνῃσκόντων as a conjunct participle agreeing with νεκρῶν 'dead', while AeP takes the participle as substantival, with genitive dependent on νεκρῶν: 'cadaueribus hominum, qui moriebantur' ('corpses of those that died').
ar οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅτι γένωνται 'not knowing what would become of them'; H. *sim.* AeP 'non habentes quid agerent'.
as νόμοι here 'customs'; AeP 'leges [*ac ritus*]' ('laws [and rites]'). Cf. *OED*, 'law', *n.*[1] 1a: 'The body of rules, whether proceeding from formal enactment or from custom, which a particular state or community recognizes as binding'.
at πάντες ξυνεταράχθησαν 'were all thrown into confusion' *sim.* AeP 'omnes sunt conturbati'.
au ὡς ἐδύνατο 'as they could' *sim.* AeP 'vt poterat'. H. *comp.* Seyssel 'la ou il pouoit', Nicolls 'there, as he might'.
av ἐτράποντο 'turned [themselves]' *sim.* AeP 'se conuerterunt'. H. *sim.* Seyssel 'estoient contrainctes', Nicolls 'were constrayned'.
aw *Add.* H.; *add.* AeP '[*et suorum cadauera*]' ('[and the corpses of their relatives]').

Licentiousnesse of life iustified.

[53] And the great licentiousnesse, [ax]which also in other kindes was vsed[ax] in the Citie, began at first from this disease. For that which a man before would [ay]dissemble, and not acknowledge[ay] to be done for voluptuousnesse, he durst now doe freely, seeing before his eyes such quicke reuolution[9], of the rich dying [az], and men [ba] *<110>* worth nothing, [bb] inheriting their estates; [2] insomuch as they iustified a speedy fruition[10] of their goods, euen for their pleasure; as men that thought they held their liues [bc] but by the day. [3]As for paines[11], no man was forward[12] [bd]in any action of honour[bd], to take any, because they thought it vncertaine whether they should dye or not, before they atchieued it. But what [be]any man knew[be] to bee delightfull, and to bee profitable to pleasure,

Neglect of Religion and Law.

that was made both profitable and honourable. [4] Neither the feare of the Gods, nor Lawes of men, [bf]awed any man[bf]. Not the former, because they concluded it was alike to worship or not worship, from seeing that alike they all perished: nor the latter, because no man expected that [bg]liues would last[bg], till he receiued punishment of his crimes by iudgement. But they thought there was now ouer their heads, some farre greater Iudgement decreed against them; before which fell, they thought [bh] to enioy some little part of their liues. **[54]**Such was the misery into which the *Athenians* being falne, were much oppressed; hauing not onely their men killed by the Disease within, but the enemy also laying waste their [bi]Fields and Villages[bi]

9 Alteration, upheaval; reversal of fortune; dramatic or widespread change (*OED*, 'revolution', *n.* 7.a, 7.b). For μεταβολή H. normally opts for such alternatives as 'alteration' (2.48.3) or 'innovation' (6.20.2), and glosses μεταβολαὶ τῶν ξυντυχιῶν in the margin of 3.82.2 as '*changes of the state of things*'; together with the sense of ἀγχίστροφον as 'close-turning' or 'quick-wheeling', he felicitously renders ἀγχίστροφον μεταβολὴν as 'quicke reuolution' (using 'revolution' only one other time in the work, for καταστροφή at 2.42.2).

10 Enjoyment; pleasure arising from possession (*OED*, 'fruition', *n.* 1).

11 Stylistically contrasted to 'pleasure' in the previous line, but here in the sense of exertions, efforts, trouble taken in doing or attempting something (*OED*, 'pain', *n.*[1] 5.b).

12 *Obs.* Inclined to; ardent, eager (*OED*, 'forward', *adj.* A.6.b, A.6.c).

ax καὶ ἐς τἆλλα 'in other respects too' *sim.* AeP 'aliis etiam in rebus'.
ay ἀπεκρύπτετο 'conceal' *sim.* AeP 'occultabat'.
az *Om.* αἰφνιδίως 'suddenly' *sim.* AeP 'repente'.
ba *Om.* πρότερον 'previously' *sim.* AeP 'ante'.
bb *Om.* εὐθύς 'straightaway' *sim.* AeP 'statim'.
bc *Om.* καὶ τὰ χρήματα 'and their possessions' *sim.* AeP 'et bona' (unless 'lives' does double duty, also meaning 'livelihood', 'means of supporting life' (*OED*, 'life', *n.* 1c); but probably an omission of what H. considered a pleonasm).
bd τῷ δόξαντι καλῷ 'for what had seemed fine'; H. *comp.* AeP 'rei causa quae honesta videretur' ('for what seemed honourable' or 'for what seemed fine'). Elsewhere (*e.g.* 3.55.3, 3.82.7), H. often translates τὸ καλόν with the Ciceronian 'honesty', as all previous translators do in this passage. H. prefers to compress this reference to *apparent* honesty, or fine-seeming, into 'honour'.
be ᾗδει *sim.* H. and AeP '[*unusquisque*] nouerat' : Alb. ᾗδη 'in the short term' – *i.e.* 'what was pleasant *in the short term* and in any way conducive to that, was accepted as honourable and useful'.
bf ἀπεῖργε 'was a restraint' *sim.* AeP 'arcebat' – cf. *OED*, 'awe', *v.* 2: '*transitive.* To control, subdue, or intimidate (a person, group, etc.) by inspiring awe, fear, or reverence'. H. *sim.* Paulinus 'deterrebat'.
bg βιούς 'he would live' *sim.* AeP 'se superstitem futurum' ('he would survive'). H. probably misconstrues βιούς as an accusative plural of the noun βίος ('life') rather than a participle from the strong aorist of the verb βιόω ('to live') – *i.e.* as if βίους rather than βιούς.
bh *Om.* εἰκὸς εἶναι 'it was reasonable'; H. = AeP.
bi γῆς 'land' *sim.* AeP 'ager'.

Predictions called to minde.

without. [2]In this sicknesse also, (as it was not vnlikely they would) they called to minde this Verse, said also of the elder sort to haue beene vttered[bj] of old:

A Dorique *Warre shall fall,*
And a great[bk] **Plague withall.*

* λοιμός.

An ambiguous Prophecie expounded by the euent[14].

[3]Now were men at variance about the word, some saying it was not λοιμός, (*.i.*[13] *the Plague*) that was by the Ancients, mentioned in that verse, but λιμός, (*.i.*[13] *Famine.*) But vpon the present occasion the word λοιμός, deseruedly[bl] obtained. [bm]For as men suffered, so they made the Verse to say[bm]. And I thinke, if after this, there shall euer come another *Dorique Warre*, and with it a Famine, they are like to recite the Verse accordingly. [4]There [bn]was also reported[bn] by such as knew, a certaine[bo] answer giuen by the Oracle to the *Lacedaemonians*, when they enquired whether they should make this Warre, or not, *That if they warred with all their power, they should haue the Victorie, and that the *God himselfe would take their parts*: [5]and thereupon they thought the present misery to bee a fulfilling of that Prophecie. <*111*> The *Peloponnesians* were no sooner entred *Attica*, but the sicknesse presently began, and neuer came into *Peloponnesus*, to speake of, but raigned principally in *Athens*, and in such other places afterwards as were most populous. [bp]And thus much of this Disease[bp].

* Apollo, *to whom the Heathen attributed the immission*[15] *of all epidemicke or ordinary diseases.*[16]

[13] *Obs.* The earlier equivalent of *i.e.* = id est (*OED*, 'i.' *n.* at 'I' *n.*[1] Initialisms).
[14] Outcome (*OED*, 'event', *n.* 1, now rare).
[15] Admission, introduction (*OED*, 'immission', *n.* a, now rare).
[16] See esp. the opening lines of the *Iliad*, and of Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*, probably a contemporary reflection on the plague of 430.

bj ᾄδεσθαι 'intoned' *sim.* AeP 'decantatum'.
bk *Add.*, probably for metrical reasons – H. converts the Greek hexameter into iambic trimeters. H. *comp.* Winsemius 'saevissima pestis' ('most violent plague').
bl εἰκότως here 'predictably' or 'as was to be expected'; H. *sim.* AeP 'merito'. H. is somewhat closer to the sense if he here uses 'deservedly' akin to *OED* 'deserve', *v.* 5.a: 'To serve, do service to; to be serviceable or subservient to' (*Obs.*).
bm οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι πρὸς ἃ ἔπασχον τὴν μνήμην ἐποιοῦντο *or* 'as people matched their memories to their sufferings'; AeP 'homines enim ad mala, quae patiebantur, [*carminis*] mentionem accommodabant' ('since men adapted the mention [of the oracle] to the evils they were suffering').
bn μνήμη δὲ ἐγένετο *or* 'was also remembered' *sim.* AeP 'memorabatur'. H. *comp.* Seyssel 'ils mettoient en avant', Nicolls 'they set fourth'.
bo *Add.* The same oracular response is quoted, with slight differences, in 1.118.3. That it was 'a certaine answer' is thus unlikely to mean that it was 'particular but not fully identified' (*OED*, 'certain', adj. II), so H. may mean that the answer was certainly given or reported (cf. *OED*, 'certain', adj. 9), 'by such as knew', unlike the preceding 'Verse, said also of the elder sort to haue been vttered'; or perhaps that it was a definite answer, not marked by oracular ambiguity.
bp ταῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὴν νόσον γενόμενα 'these were the occurrences relating to the plague'; AeP 'atque haec quidem sunt [*mala,*] quae morbus iste [*Atheniensibus*] attulit' ('and these, then, are [the evils] this disease brought [upon the Athenians]').

REGISTER OF IN-PRESS VARIANTS

This list records in-press variants in the first edition of the *Peloponnesian Warre* (London, 1629; second issue, 1634; third issue, 1648)

Collated copies

KH	copy in the collection of Kinch Hoekstra (copy-text)
CUL	Cambridge University Library Q.2.18
Hou1	Harvard University, Houghton Library HOU F STC 24058 (A)
Hou2	Harvard University, Houghton Library HOU F STC 24058 (B)
Hun	San Marino, Cal., Huntington Library 17699

Page	Line		Variants
6	9	[2.53.3]	atchieued it. (KH, Hou2) | atchieued it (CUL, Hou1, Hun)

REGISTER OF LITERAL FAULTS

We have corrected the literal faults listed below, which appear in all examined copies of the first edition of the *Peloponnesian Warre*. The corrected form incorporated in this edition is given before the vertical bar, followed by the uncorrected form of the first edition.

Page	Line		Variants
1	3	[2.47.2]	*Zeuxidamus* | *Zeuxidamas*
1	17	[2.48.2]	*Piraeus* | *Pyraeus*
4	17	[2.51.5]	such | snch
7	16	[2.54.5]	presently | presenlty

AMBIGUOUS END-OF-LINE WORD BREAKS

This list records ambiguous end-of-line word breaks in the first edition of the *Peloponnesian Warre*; the form before the vertical bar is the one adopted in this edition.

[None in the textual portion edited]

REGISTER OF CATCH-WORD VARIANTS

The first word of a 1629 page, or that composed of the word as split between the last line of a 1629 page and the first line of the following page, is given before the vertical bar; the variant catch-word form from below the last line of the earlier page is given after the vertical bar.

Page	Line		Variants
1	17	[2.48.2]	*Pyraeus* [corrected in this edn. to *Piraeus*] | *Piraeus*