George Etheridge, *Wyatt's Conspiracy* (1557)

Homeric Pastiche in Marian England

1. Introduction

In Eton College Library resides a curious manuscript poem in Greek hexameters, composed for Queen Mary I (1516–58) by George Etheridge (1519–88), Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford. Completed in 1557, Etheridge's poem, entitled *Συνωμοσία Οὐέτου* (hereafter *Wyatt's Conspiracy*), survives uniquely in this neglected manuscript: it was never printed, has never been edited, and gives no indication of ever being read.[1] Comprising a Latin prose preface and 369 lines of Greek hexameter, Etheridge's text celebrates the quashing of Sir Thomas Wyatt the Younger's Rebellion by Mary's forces in the early months of 1554, reinscribes Etheridge's allegiance to his royal patron (Mary), and parades his prodigious skill in Greek verse composition in the style of Homer. The poem, reconstructing the rebellion's brief but climacteric engagements through a series of pseudo-epic set-pieces and imagined speeches, asserts Etheridge's staunch Catholicism and reaffirms the legitimacy of Mary's reign against heretical pretenders. It is remarkable not only as an overtly literary treatment of chronicle history *sub specie Homeri*, but also as a record of the synthetic processes that informed poetic

Original orthography of early modern English texts has been lightly modernised: *u/v* and *i/j* distinctions are silently normalised, and English scribal contractions are expanded and reproduced as italics. All translations of Latin and Greek are mine, unless otherwise indicated.

[1] George Etheridge, *Συνωμοσία Οὐέτου* [*Wyatt's Conspiracy*], Windsor, Eton College Library, MS 148, fols 1^{r}–38^{r}.

creativity in mid-Tudor England: crucially, Etheridge's poem can lay claim to being the first Greek cento (or more accurately 'cento-pastiche') produced by an English writer.[2]

Part intimate personal address and part semi-public historical micro-epic, *Wyatt's Conspiracy* is a work of Christian humanism peppered with biblical allusions and undergirded by a Homeric subtext. It shares many features with a poem Etheridge addressed to another Tudor monarch almost a decade later – his *Encomium* presented to Elizabeth I in 1566, celebrating the military achievements and humanistic patronage of Henry VIII.[3] Like his *Encomium*, *Wyatt's Conspiracy* is prefaced by a prose address that gives some clues as to why it was so ostentatiously written in Greek letters.[4] Etheridge's poem usefully sheds light on the apparent appetite for neo-Greek composition in mid-sixteenth-century England and also on the patronage of philology, the classical learning (real or imagined) of elite women readers, and the unexpected topical occasions prompting writers to adopt classical genres.

Written ostensibly to acknowledge continued royal patronage, Etheridge's poem, for all its aesthetic brilliance, leaves no obvious impression on the literary or historical record of his time. The manuscript bears neither marginal jottings nor other physical marks of readership, and no external cross-references exist to the poem or to the author's composition of it. So

[2] The terminology of 'cento-pastiche' (as distinct from 'cento-parody' and 'cento-contrafacture') is taken from Hoch's threefold typology (C. Hoch, *Apollo Centonarius*, Tübingen 1997, pp. 14–16), subsequently adopted and developed by Bažil in a study of the Christian Virgilian cento in late antiquity (M. Bažil, *Centones Christiani: Métamorphoses d'une forme intertextuelle dans la poésie latine chrétienne de l'antiquité tardive*, Paris 2009, pp. 17–74, especially 56–58).

[3] *Acta Henrici Octavi carmine, Graece*, London, British Library [hereafter BL], MS Royal 16 C X, fols 1^{r}–38^{v}. Text and translation cited from *An Encomium on Henry VIII and Elizabeth I by George Etheridge — British Library Royal MS 16 C X* [hereafter *Encomium*], ed. and tr. C. Dendrinos et al., <http://hellenic-institute.uk/research/Etheridge/Electronic-Edition/>.

[4] 'Græcis literis conscripta'; *Wyatt's Conspiracy*, fol. 4^{v}.

exclusive a document as to elude notice, Etheridge's poem comes close to a text without reception history, perhaps without reception *tout court*. His pseudo-Homeric literary endeavour arguably suffers an even bleaker fate than Gian Giorgio Trissino's mid-century epic *L'Italia liberata dai goti* (1547–48), at least in the estimation of Torquato Tasso: Trissino's vernacular poem, whose author 'proposed to imitate the poems of Homer devoutly', is 'mentioned by few, read by fewer, esteemed by almost no one, voiceless in the theater of the world and dead to human eyes'.[5] Absence of evidence is not evidence of absence, but the apparently negligible impression left by *Wyatt's Conspiracy* on early readers casts a certain irony over Etheridge's stated intention, in his stilted, anxiously humble preface, to ensure that 'no oblivion should ever envelop' Mary's triumph by his memorialising it *in Greek*.[6] More likely handled as a closed than an open book, *Wyatt's Conspiracy* was in the first instance a physical artefact in a patronage network rather than a poetic work to be studied and appreciated for its (considerable) literary merits and aesthetic value.

Like Etheridge's *Encomium* for Elizabeth, *Wyatt's Conspiracy* for Mary is presented as a gift from the heart.[7] Each is a royal panegyric composed in Greek verse; preceded by a prose preamble; tailored to a royal dedicatee; and designed to secure or retain patronage, showing disarming candour when discussing royal stipends for teaching Greek. Both works memorialise royal achievements of a political and military character; reaffirm Etheridge's Catholic piety; attest his scholarship in classical philology; and draw analogies between figures from Tudor political history and paragons exalted in biblical and classical literature. These close

[5] L. Rhu, *The Genesis of Tasso's Narrative Theory: English Translations of the Early Poetics and a Comparative Study of their Significance*, Detroit 1993, pp. 117–18; see Torquato Tasso, *Prose*, ed. E. Mazzali, Milan 1959, p. 372.

[6] 'nulla unquam obscuratura sit oblivio'; *Wyatt's Conspiracy*, fol. 6^{r}.

[7] 'δῶρον […] ἀπὸ κραδίας'; *Encomium*, fol. 37^{v}, ll. 6–7.

correspondences notwithstanding, *Wyatt's Conspiracy* constitutes a markedly different text from Etheridge's *Encomium* – in form (hexameters rather than elegiacs), genre (micro-epic rather than panegyric), and mode (Homeric cento-pastiche).

1.1 Historical context

In June 1557 Richard Tottel's press issued the first print collection of Sir Thomas Wyatt the Elder's poetry in the multiple-author miscellany *Songes and sonettes*, a pivotal achievement in vernacular literary culture. The collection rescued the avant-garde verse of Wyatt the Elder and Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, from the obscurity of elite manuscript coteries and presented their poems as the flowers of English vernacular lyric to a print readership for the first time. Tottel's publication effectively canonised Wyatt the Elder's place in English literary history, extolling him as a model of lyric eloquence, a testament to 'the honor of the Englishe tong', and a pioneer of a national poetics.[8] Just two months earlier, in April 1557, Etheridge produced his Homeric micro-epic, memorialising Mary's pious role in defeating the rebellion headed by an unpatriotic, 'abominable Catiline' – the elder Wyatt's son, Sir Thomas Wyatt the Younger (1521?–54).[9]

Wyatt's Rebellion is a curious topic for heroic-epic treatment. Its (at one point) very real likelihood of success notwithstanding – the queen considered the threat sufficiently palpable to warrant a deputation to negotiate terms with Wyatt on 31 January 1554, a few days after the uprising's sudden outbreak – the rebellion came to an anticlimactic and precipitate end a week later (7 February). Etheridge's poem is, then, underwritten by at least some sense of bathetic incongruity: an ignominious, though largely bloodless, débâcle fitted into

[8] Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, and Sir Thomas Wyatt the Elder, *Songes and sonettes, written by the right honorable Lorde Henry Haward late Earle of Surrey, and other*, London 1557, sig. A1^{v}.

[9] 'nephario […] Catilina'; *Wyatt's Conspiracy*, fol. 4^{r}.

aggrandising Homeric dress. Despite Etheridge's claims in his preface that the event was still fresh in the collective memory, *Wyatt's Conspiracy* begins to look like a backward treatment of a localised, short-lived episode in regional politics. Such an impression ignores the inventive artfulness of Etheridge's Homeric pastiche, for which alone the poem merits a place in the same camp of progressive poetics as Tottel's miscellany, but there is an undeniably belated quality to *Wyatt's Conspiracy* which only compounds its other quirks as a document. During the period that Etheridge composed his poetic defamation of the younger Wyatt, elsewhere the mathematician Leonard Digges, among the conspirators in Wyatt's rebel force, was performing an instrumental, intermediary role in the project to print the elder Wyatt's manuscript poetry.[10] Etheridge's poem seems, at first glance, quite out of kilter with its literary moment.

Nonetheless, *Wyatt's Conspiracy* can be situated in several obvious contexts – historiographic, occasional, and literary. In its subject-matter, Etheridge's poem finds a ready place in the early historiography of Wyatt's Rebellion. What distinguishes it are its overtly Homeric idiom and overlapping frames of reference. Its topical purview as a treatment of recent political history, in which Mary I, Henry VIII, and Prince Philip of Spain represent not only public heads-of-state and defenders of the faith but also private patrons and benefactors, is mediated through a Homeric lens; a biblical lens (whereby Tudor antitypes correspond to the scriptural types of Esau, Jacob, Tobias, Sara, Joshua, Judith, Holofernes, and Judas); a classical lens (Wyatt becomes a latter-day Catiline); and a mythological lens (the vigilant Lord William Howard, the queen's commander, resembles Argos). For Etheridge, dynastic politics is shot through with analogous precursors, attesting a conception of history as repetition *in potentia* and of the past as a thesaurus of paradigms and examples from which lessons can be usefully

[10] John Mitchell, *A Breviat chronicle containing al the kynges, from Brute to this daye*, [London] 1554, sig. O3^{r}; J. Powell, 'The Network Behind *"Tottel's" Miscellany*', *English Literary Renaissance*, XLVI, 2016, pp. 193–224 (pp. 207, 223–24).

drawn and pragmatically applied to the present.[11] By some accounts, philological humanism in the period is characterised by a sense of estrangement from a resolutely irrecoverable past that it sought to revive.[12] Yet Etheridge seeks to overcome that gulf by discerning kinship and correspondence. *Wyatt's Conspiracy* evinces a cyclical, Augustinian understanding of time as potentially and eternally present – time present contained in time past. By re-purposing Homer to chronicle a Tudor dynastic tussle, Etheridge presents mid-sixteenth-century history as an organic extrapolation of ancient epic, finding in Homer's portrait of unchecked eristic impulses the explanatory lexicon needed to make sense of a short-lived but resonant Kentish insurrection from 1554.[13]

1.1.1 Wyatt's Rebellion

Despite taking Wyatt's name retrospectively, the 1554 rebellion was an insurrection of which he claimed not to be leader, styling himself with some legitimacy 'but the iiiith or vth man' in a sizeable company of gentlemen malcontents.[14] The plot's genesis most likely lay with other members of the Edwardian military establishment, its chief disaffected conspirators including Sir Peter Carew, Sir James Croft, Sir George Harper, Sir William Thomas, and, later, Henry

[11] L. Jardine and A. Grafton, '"Studied for Action": How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy', *Past & Present*, CXXIX, 1990, pp. 30–78 (pp. 68, 75).

[12] T. M. Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry*, New Haven (CT) 1982, pp. 8–11.

[13] On the early modern uses of Homeric epic as 'aetiologies of strife' foreshadowing and commenting on post-Reformation factionalism, see J. Wolfe, *Homer and the Question of Strife from Erasmus to Hobbes*, Toronto 2015 (here p. 7).

[14] See the contemporary, anonymous *Chronicle of Queen Jane, and of Two Years of Queen Mary, and especially of the Rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyat / Written by a Resident in the Tower of London* [hereafter *Chronicle of Queen Jane*], ed. J. G. Nichols, Camden Society, XLVIII, London 1850, p. 69.

Grey, Duke of Suffolk (Lady Jane Grey's father). Evidence of Mary's intention to marry Philip, Prince of Spain, emerged over November 1553, during which month a parliamentary delegation had unsuccessfully attempted to discourage the alliance, fearing that England might become a Habsburg milch cow.[15] Amidst mounting evidence of Mary's commitment to the Spanish match, Wyatt joined other conspirators in formulating a plan of action, only a few months after Wyatt and Carew had declared in Mary's favour over her rival Lady Jane Grey.[16] The original plan had been a coordinated uprising from four regions of the country, scheduled to converge in London on 18 March 1554 (Palm Sunday), although preparations were curtailed when intelligence of the plot was exposed by imperial ambassador Simon Renard. Consequently, only Wyatt's prong of the uprising materialised, and he formally raised his standard in Maidstone, Kent, on 25 January 1554.

In his retelling, Etheridge reprises in compressed form some of the principal moments in the rebellion's already compressed sequence. After initial momentum gathered in Wyatt's native county Kent, in which a humiliating defeat (tactfully glossed over by Etheridge) was inflicted on Mary's commander Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, whose troops defected at Rochester (29 January 1554), Wyatt's enterprise was sapped by delays of its own making and by an inability to mobilise sufficient support in London. Entering Southwark without resistance on 3 February, Wyatt's force discovered the gates to London Bridge unexpectedly blocked and the Thames's vessels confined to the river's northern bank, forcing deliberation and further delay for two days, during which time the city marshalled its defences. After plundering the

[15] I. W. Archer, 'Wyatt, Sir Thomas (b. in or before 1521, d. 1554), soldier and rebel', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [hereafter *ODNB*], Oxford 2006, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-30112>.

[16] 'Order to proclaim Qu. Mary in co. Sussex: 1553', BL, MS Add. 33230, fol. 21[r].

palace and destroying the library of reactionary bishop Stephen Gardiner in Southwark (a scene absent from Etheridge's account), Wyatt's troops endured a circuitous detour through Kingston (6 February), finally (and wearily) arriving in the capital on 7 February, whereupon they were repulsed at Ludgate by Lord William Howard and routed at Temple Bar by cavalry directed by Mary's foremost champion, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke. Following his surrender, Wyatt was promptly tried on 15 March and executed on 11 April.

Grander in original design than diminished execution, the rebellion had various, unclearly-defined pretexts which have been much debated, not least given the difficulty of separating fears of Spanish influence from anti-Catholic hostility as a plausible *causus belli*.[17] Wyatt's publicly-stated aim was the patriotic protection of the realm against the perceived Spanish threat to English sovereignty posed by Philip, prospective king regnant. Wyatt affirmed at his trial that his 'hole intent and styrre was agaynst the comyng in of strandgers and Spanyerds, and to abolyshe theym out of this realme'.[18] Marian chroniclers, conversely, alleged religious incentives, branding the insurgents evangelical opponents to the restitution of Catholicism under Mary. Rejecting Wyatt's denial of any Reformist sympathies as disingenuous, the partisan chronicler John Proctor (1521?–58) recounted that Wyatt's strategy was 'to speake no worde of religion, but to make the colour of hys commotion, onely to withstand straungers, and to avaunce libertie'.[19] A concomitant aim, according to Marian chroniclers, was to install Elizabeth in Mary's place, and to effect her marriage to the Earl of

[17] See W. B. Robison, 'The National and Local Significance of Wyatt's Rebellion in Surrey', *The Historical Journal*, XXX, 1987, pp. 769–90; A. Samson, *Mary and Philip: The Marriage of Tudor England and Habsburg Spain*, Manchester 2020, especially Ch. 3.

[18] *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, p. 69.

[19] John Proctor, *The Historie of Wyates Rebellion: with the order and maner of resisting the same* [hereafter *Historie*], London 1554, sig. A3^{v}.

Devon, Edward Courtenay. The official proclamation declaring Wyatt's Treason on 1 February held Wyatt's public opposition to the marriage to be a mere cover for murderous intent to usurp.[20] Etheridge alleges this motive (l. 36), though Wyatt fervently denied any designs against Mary's person and no less insistently exculpated Elizabeth of involvement. Etheridge's preface devotes attention to Mary's marriage to, and hoped-for procreation with, Philip, as if their union were a point of contention, even a tacit rationale, for the uprising. More stridently, the poem labels the rebellion an act of Protestant heresy: conceived by 'enemies of faith', the insurrection risked re-establishing the 'wicked and retrograde beliefs' espoused by the Somerset Protectorate and by Mary's predecessor and half-brother Edward VI.[21]

Whatever the poem's accuracy as a record of history, the uprising offered Etheridge an opportunity to parade both his ingratiating (but sincere) support of the Marian regime and his hyper-literate prowess in classical languages. That he should cast the rebellion's defeat as a victory for Catholic orthodoxy over Reformist heretics (*αἱρετικοὶ*, ll. 49, 354) tallies unsurprisingly with Etheridge's religious politics and his evident animosity towards Protestant factions within the realm. Two years prior to completing *Wyatt's Conspiracy*, Etheridge had been prominently involved in the 1555 trial of the Protestant bishops Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley, which culminated in their executions in Oxford. As a work serving the Marian Counter-Reformation, Etheridge's poem can be placed among not only contemporary polemics between Catholic and Protestant chroniclers debating the rebellion's motives but also other works on Wyatt's Rebellion dedicated to Mary. On 24 July 1554, the day before the royal wedding, appeared the sedulously conformist *Exortation*, a work composed by Mary's chaplain, the Cambridge Hellenist John Christopherson (d. 1558), and printed by John Cawood,

[20] *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, ed. P. L. Hughes and J. F. Larkin, 3 vols, New Haven (CT) 1964–69, II, p. 28.

[21] 'οἱ τῆς πίστιος ἐχθροί', 'κακά κεν παλίνορσα […] Δόγματα'; *Wyatt's Conspiracy*, ll. 49, 34–35.

who had effectively become the Queen's Printer.[22] Not unremarkably, Christopherson had previously composed *Jephthah* (1544), the first and only neo-Greek play to be written in Tudor England. Conceivably, friendly competition within the Hellenist Catholic circle around Mary may have spurred Etheridge to produce *Wyatt's Conspiracy*, not least since his preface registers the need to set his work apart from others addressing the rebellion.

Conjoining sedition with heresy and self-evident failure, *Wyatt's Conspiracy* shows polemical similarities with the semi-official account of the rebellion written by the Catholic schoolmaster John Proctor. Published in December 1554, Proctor's *Historie* (sigs A1^{r}–K8^{r}) appeared with two anti-sedition tracts: 'An earnest conference with the degenerates and sedicious' (sigs L1^{r}–M3^{r}) and the self-styled *prosopopoeia*, 'A Prosopey of Englande unto the degenerat Englishe' (sigs M3^{r}–N2^{r}).[23] The work as a whole counterpoints Wyatt's disobedience with Mary's wise government in a narrative of providential deliverance from heresy. Reprising such pious sentiments in defence of Catholic hegemony, *Wyatt's Conspiracy* is more squarely aligned with Proctor's account than the even-handed, even admiring, portrait of the rebels offered by the anonymous *Chronicle of Queen Jane*. Like Proctor, Etheridge is at pains to diminish the extent of factional antagonism in Mary's kingdom, to erase traces of Reformist sympathy for Wyatt's enterprise in Kent and London, and to obviate the awkward fact of the incompetent military response to the rebellion from Mary's forces. Etheridge strives to present the rebellion's defeat as divinely assured, yet the historical record suggests that the outcome was more a product of chance than of effective government – a buried anxiety which

[22] Christopherson, *An Exortation to Alle Menne to Take Hede and Beware of Rebellion*, London 1554.

[23] On the conflation of rebellion, heresy, and failure, see A. Bryson, 'Order and Disorder: John Proctor's *The History of Wyatt's Rebellion* (1554)', in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature: 1485–1603*, ed. M. Pincombe and C. Shrank, Oxford 2009, pp. 323–35 (p. 332).

perhaps lingers in Etheridge's Homeric lexicon of fate and fortune (discussed below, section 1.3.2).

1.1.2 Material and intellectual milieux

Beyond contributing to mid-Tudor historiography, *Wyatt's Conspiracy* furnishes an example of the Tudor poem-as-gift in a patronage network. In a conventionally self-deprecating apology, Etheridge, protesting almost too much, insists that the work is just a *little* gift (*munusculum*): a 'hatchling of the imagination and trifling literary present', no more than 'a few little lines', just a 'little work' of some 369 hexameters.[24] In his *Encomium*, Etheridge reports having presented 'little booklets' to King Henry VIII (d. 1547), even 'placing verses in his hands', evidently a successful strategy for securing preferment.[25] Performing a similar function, *Wyatt's Conspiracy* voices gratitude for Mary's generosity in renewing his university post.[26] Etheridge was, within a month of Mary's accession in July 1553, reinstated to his chair at Oxford, which he had been forced to relinquish in 1550 during Edward's brief reign. Shortly after Mary's marriage to Philip in July 1554, Etheridge composed an autograph preface, addressed to Philip and dated 1 September 1554, for a manuscript text of St Basil of Caesarea's Commentary on Isaiah 1–4, translated from Greek into Latin by John Shepreve, Professor of Hebrew at Oxford and, from 1534, Etheridge's tutor at Corpus Christi College, Oxford.[27] This

[24] 'aliquem fortasse ingenii fœtum & literarium munusculum', 'versiculis paucis', 'opellæ'; *Wyatt's Conspiracy*, fols 2^{v}, 4^{r}, 6^{r}.

[25] *Encomium*, fol. 37^{r}, ll. 6–7: 'μικρά γε βιβλίδια | ἢ τὰ ἔπη ἐγχειρίζων'.

[26] 'redditum'; *Wyatt's Conspiracy*, fol. 1^{v}.

[27] BL, MS Add. 4355. Cart. XVI, *Sancti Patris Basilii Magni Episcopi Caesariensis*, trans. John Shepreve, pref. George Etheridge, fols 3^{r}–14^{v}. See P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum. A Finding List of Uncatalogued or Incompletely Catalogued Humanistic Manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and other Libraries, IV (Alia Itinera II): Great Britain to Spain*, Leiden 1989, p. 83b.

manuscript volume may be the 'little book' bearing Philip's name to which Etheridge fondly gestures in his preface to *Wyatt's Conspiracy* (fol. 7^{v}).

More than an obsequious offering to its royal dedicatee, Etheridge's Homeric poem provides testimony to the Greek erudition thriving at Mary's court and the nation's two universities.[28] Etheridge's preface explicitly recognises the 'several men deeply learned in this language, and even some women' from the queen's wider entourage.[29] *Wyatt's Conspiracy* may have been composed to recognise not only Etheridge's reappointment to his Oxford chair but also another act of royal largesse: Mary's generosity towards educational establishments was notable from the grants she made to the University of Oxford and Trinity College, Cambridge – both foundations with a religious agenda – in the wake of her victories over, first, the Duke of Northumberland (who had been instrumental in putting his daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey, briefly on the throne in Mary's stead) in July 1553 and, second, Wyatt in February the following year.[30] *Wyatt's Conspiracy* asks to be read as a product of the very intellectual environment towards which Mary was evidently so giving. According to Etheridge's preface, Mary's patronage of Greek learning complements and parallels 'all those other things […] that are actively spreading Christ's glory throughout the Catholic Church, in both your

[28] 'in utraque tua Academia', 'Græcarum Literarum studiosis'; *Wyatt's Conspiracy*, fols 4^{v}, 3^{v}. For a succinct account of the provision of Greek at Oxford and Cambridge over the century, see M. Lazarus, 'Greek Literacy in Sixteenth-Century England', *Renaissance Studies*, XXIX, 2015, pp. 433–58, in which see also a discussion of Homer's centrality in curricula: taught by Cheke and Smith at Cambridge (p. 444), lectured on at St John's College, Oxford (p. 448), and listed as a set text on grammar school syllabuses from at least the 1560s onwards (pp. 454, 456).

[29] 'viros complures huius linguæ probè doctos […] fœminas etiam aliquot'; *Wyatt's Conspiracy*, fols 4^{v}–5^{r}.

[30] D. M. Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life*, Oxford 1989, p. 245.

Universities'.[31] As a hybrid of classical learning and pious conformity, *Wyatt's Conspiracy* attests the vitality of ancient philology as an instrument of both biblical humanism and neo-Greek literary culture.

Etheridge's audacious experiment with Greek hexameters in *Wyatt's Conspiracy* tallies with his earlier foray in Homeric verse when translating *Aeneid* II into Greek (printed in 1553).[32] Etheridge's Greek *Aeneid*, printed on recto pages facing Virgil's Latin on the versos, was published by Reyner Wolfe, squarely positioning Etheridge at the avant-garde of neo-Greek composition: it was only the second Greek publication of any real length to be printed in England after Sir John Cheke's edition of two sermons by St John Chrysostom, issued by the same printer a decade earlier.[33] Etheridge's talent and esteem as a classical scholar were widely recognised; that he should embark, in *Wyatt's Conspiracy*, on the technically exacting feat of Homeric pastiche is unsurprising, given his reputation for philological, poetic skill.[34]

Conscious, as his preface acknowledges, of the need to distinguish himself from others who had written on the rebellion, Etheridge perhaps took inspiration from Proctor's *Historie*, which *Wyatt's Conspiracy* appears in places to recall and in response to which it seems suggestively to have been composed. Proctor, a Kentish schoolmaster appointed to teach Latin and Greek at a free school in Tonbridge, overlapped with Etheridge in his studies at Corpus

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[31] 'cætera omnia quæ in Ecclesia Catholica Christi gloriæ propagandæ usui esse possunt, in utraque tua Academia'; *Wyatt's Conspiracy*, fol. 4^{v}. On the centrality of Greek in sixteenth-cetnruy England to the study of theology and to ecclesiastical advancement, see Lazarus (as in n. 28), pp. 446–47.

[32] Etheridge, *Publii vergilii Maronis Æneidos liber secundus: Graecis versibus redditus per Georgium Ethrigeum Oxoniensem, medicum, & graecae linguae professorem*, London 1553.

[33] Chrysostom, *Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου ὁμιλίαι*, ed. John Cheke, London 1543.

[34] J. A. Löwe, 'Etheridge [Etherege], George (1519–1588?), physician and classical scholar', *ODNB*, Oxford 2004, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-8922>.

Christi College, Oxford: Proctor matriculated in January 1537, Etheridge having been admitted in November 1534 before graduating B.A. in 1539. Proctor's octavo *Historie*, in sufficient demand to merit reissuing in January 1556, was dedicated to Mary; its avowed purpose was to ensure that 'the flagicious enterprises for the wicked […] with trayterous force to subvert or alter the publike state of their countries' are 'by writing […] committed to eternal memorye'.[35] Comparably, Etheridge's stated aim was to produce a testimony for future generations, keeping fresh 'the memory of divine wrath and retribution justly inflicted'.[36] Moreover, moments of personalising detail in Etheridge's poem – such as a scene involving Mary's favourite waiting-woman, Susan Clarencius (l. 304), or a vivid exchange between the hapless Wyatt and an anonymous woman who, reprimandingly, brings him a drink (ll. 332–39) – whether fictitious or based on a documentary source known to Etheridge, resonate with the realistic plausibility and anecdotal punch of chronicle narratology.

Etheridge's distinguishing contribution to the chronicle record of Wyatt's Rebellion lies in his arresting choice of Homeric idiom and conspicuously epic verse form. With deft, imitative precision, *Wyatt's Conspiracy* represents a crucial intervention in not just the reception of Homer – a generation before the first Greek *Iliad* was printed in England by George Bishop in 1591 – but also, more unusually, the literary *imitatio* of Homer in Tudor England, nearly half a century before George Chapman's engagements.[37] The extent and nature of Etheridge's reuse of Homer are discussed below (sections 1.3–1.4), in the context of humanist habits of commonplacing and eclectic imitation; even from the crudest of summaries, though, it is clear that Etheridge's poem is unique in combining literary debts to contemporary

[35] Proctor, *Historie*, sigs a2$^{r–v}$.

[36] 'memoriam refricarem iræ & vindictæ divinæ … iustè inflicta'; *Wyatt's Conspiracy*, fol. 7^{r}.

[37] *Ὁμηρου Ἰλιας. Homeri Ilias*, London 1591; the first of Chapman's English translations (*Iliad* I–II, VII–XI) appeared in *Seaven Bookes of the Iliades of Homere*, London 1598.

chronicle history and Homeric epic. The resulting amalgam, fusing recent local history with Mycenaean antiquity, is something of a literary oddity – an enigmatic *sui generis* experiment which might have baffled as much as entertained its nominal dedicatee.

1.2 Audience

1.2.1 Mary's reading

Etheridge's decision to compose *Wyatt's Conspiracy* in Greek must attest a desire to flatter his dedicatee, whose upbringing had exposed her to *bonae litterae*. Yet the poem's relative complexity sits in tension with Mary's relative shortcomings in Greek; the preface's anxious disclaimers acknowledge as much, as Etheridge trusts the poem will be no 'less pleasing' for being composed in Greek.[38] In 1523 the Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives (1492–1540), invited to England at Queen Katherine of Aragon's behest, was appointed tutor to Princess Mary and commissioned to write a manual on female education. Presented as a plan for Mary's tuition, Vives's treatise – *De institutione feminae Christianae* (completed April 1523) – was ostensibly quite prescriptive and proscriptive in its reactionary stipulations, even if Vives allowed his female pupils a comparatively broad choice of ancient secular works.[39] Dissatisfied with the manual's generality, in October 1523 Katherine next commissioned him to devise a more rigorous, practical course of studies for the seven-year-old Mary. The resulting work, *De ratione studii puerilis* (printed 1524), offered two curricular programmes: one for Mary, attuned to moral teaching, the cultivation of modesty, and piety; the other for Charles Blount, fifth Baron Mountjoy (1516–44), in places closely resembling the programme for Mary but

[38] 'minus placere […] quod Græcis literis conscripta sint'; *Wyatt's Conspiracy*, fol. 4^{v}.

[39] M. Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII*, London 1986, p. 224.

distinctively privileging the study of eloquence, the major Greek orators, and, crucially, Homer – fount of all writers.[40]

Mary's syllabus is characterised by small Greek, and less Homer. Chosen for its portraits of female exemplarity (such as Livy's Lucretia) and its utility in matters of government, Mary's edifying fare prioritised moral improvement over philological training and formal eloquence, favouring writers who inculcated 'not only knowledge but living well'.[41] Recommended texts included Plutarch (in Latin); some dialogues of Plato, 'especially those which concern the government of the State';[42] Erasmus's *Institutio principis christiani*, his *Enchiridion*, and his Latin *Paraphrases* of the New Testament; patristic writings; and Christian poets, among them Prudentius, Juvencus, Sidonius, Paulinus, Arator, and Prosper. What little Greek literature Vives identifies for Mary tends to be mediated through Latin abridgements. Of the few, cursory references to Homer – as when *De institutione feminae Christianae* invokes Penelope, Andromache, and Nausicaa – the epics are usually co-opted for copybook *sententiae* about female domesticity: an exemplary scene of uxorial compliance, a model of fruitful marriage, a virtuous trait.

Representations of Mary in dedications and eulogies tend to describe not a dazzling linguist but a pious devotee of the mass.[43] The dedication prefacing *Wyatt's Conspiracy* conforms to type, tactfully omitting any mention of Mary's Greek and strategically assigning

[40] 'Homerus, fons reliquorum'; Juan Luis Vives, *De ratione studii puerilis*, Basel 1537, sig. a8^{v}.

[41] Vives, *Juan Luis Vives and the Renascence Education of Women* [hereafter *Renascence Education*], ed. and trans. F. Watson, London 1912, p. 147; 'non modo bene scire doceant, sed bene vivere' (Vives, *De ratione studii puerilis*, sig. c2^{r}).

[42] Ibid.; 'præsertim qui ad rempublicam gubernandam spectant' (sig. c2^{r}).

[43] A. W. Taylor, '"*Ad omne virtutum genus*"? Mary between Piety, Pedagogy, and Praise in Early Tudor Humanism', in *Mary Tudor: New and Old Perspectives*, ed. S. Doran and T. Freeman, Basingstoke 2011, pp. 103–22 (p. 122).

Greek proficiency to the learned men and women of Mary's court. In September 1545, Katherine Parr had conscripted Mary for a project to translate Erasmus's *Paraphrases on the New Testament* (1522–24). Mary was forced to leave the work incomplete, to be finished by her chaplain Mallet, but nonetheless received lavish praise for her service to devotional learning. Nicholas Udall's letter to Queen Katherine, prefacing the paraphrase of John's Gospel, singles out 'the moste studious' Mary 'for takyng suche great studie, peine & travail in translating this paraphrase' from among the 'great noumbre of noble weomen in this our tyme and countrey' who were expert in 'humain sciences', 'straunge toungues', and 'holy scriptures' and who were devoted to 'translatyng good bookes out of Latine or Greke into Englishe'.[44]

Mary's aptitude for Latin translation notwithstanding, her exposure to Greek seems more restricted than that enjoyed by other elite women in the mid-Tudor period, among them the ferociously learned More sisters (Margaret, Elizabeth, and Cecily, their foster sister Margaret Giggs, and step-sister Alice Middleton) who were each trained in Greek besides Latin, dialectic, and the mathematical sciences. Lady Jane Grey, Mary's rival claimant for the throne and indeed the nine-day queen who briefly acceded before her in July 1553, had been (like Mary) a member of Katherine Parr's household, from 1547 to Katherine's death in September 1548. Jane, who memorably preferred the study of Plato's *Phaedo* (in Greek) to hunting, distinguished herself in classical learning, nonchalantly sprinkling Greek and Hebrew *loci* in her stylish Latin letters to Heinrich Bullinger, whose 1540 treatise *Der Christlich Eestand* (first Englished by Miles Coverdale as *The Christen State of Matrimonye* in 1541), she translated with evident ease into Greek for her father as a New Year's gift.[45] Baroness Jane

[44] Erasmus, *The First Tome or Volume of the Paraphrases of Erasmus upon the Newe Testament*, trans. Mary I et al., ed. Nicholas Udall, London 1548 [STC 2073:04], sigs ¶2^{r}, ¶1^{r}.

[45] A. Pollnitz, *Princely Education in Early Modern Britain*, Cambridge 2015, pp. 223–24.

Lumley (1537–78), Lady Jane's first cousin, not only translated some of Isocrates's orations from Greek into Latin but also produced, possibly from the original Greek, *Iphigenia at Aulis* – the first English translation from Euripides's oeuvre and the oldest extant English dramatic work penned by a woman.[46] Mary's half-sister and royal successor Elizabeth proves the most obvious point of contrast. In a letter to Sturm (4 April 1550), Roger Ascham, who tutored her between 1548 and 1550, recalls Elizabeth's speaking Greek with him 'frequently' and her reading daily the Greek New Testament followed by selected speeches of Isocrates and Sophocles's tragedies.[47] In contrast to Mary, Elizabeth not only enjoyed access to the Greek orators Vives had recommended to Mountjoy but also evidently excelled at double translation (Ascham lauding those she daily produced from Demosthenes).

Not inconceivably, Etheridge may have intended *Wyatt's Conspiracy* as a Greek language-learning aid for Mary, who apparently made efforts as an adult to rectify perceived deficits in her adolescent training.[48] At one point in Etheridge's poem, Mary is directly apostrophised as a paragon of cheerfulness and virtue (l. 300), as if she were the work's sole addressee. Yet more plausibly the poem was directed beyond its immediate dedicatee, for circulation within a secondary audience of Mary's close companions skilled in classical languages. Among these was Mary Clarke Bassett (née Roper), whose mother Margaret (Thomas More's eldest daughter) taught her Greek. Bassett translated the first five books of

[46] BL, Royal MSS 15 A. I (Isocrates, *Archidamus*, trans. Lumley), A. II (Isocrates, *Evagoras*, trans. Lumley), A. IX (Isocrates's *Orations*, trans. Lumley), fols 2^{r}–62^{v}; BL, Royal MS 15 A. IX (*Iphigenia at Aulis*, trans. Lumley), fols 63^{r}–97^{r}.

[47] 'Graece […] mecum frequenter […] colloquuta est […] Exordium diei semper *Novo Testamento Græce* tribuit, deinde selectas ISOCRATIS orationes, et SOPHOCLIS tragœdias legebat' (Ascham, *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham*, ed. J. A. Giles, London 1865, I, pt 1, pp. 191–92).

[48] Pollnitz (as in n. 45), p. 261.

Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* from Greek into English (c. 1544–53), dedicating and presenting her translation to Mary, to whom she served as gentlewoman of the bedchamber.[49] That prominent humanists dedicated Latin translations of Greek works to Mary is unremarkable: these include a Latin Menologion by John Morwen, a fellow of Corpus belonging to the same conservative humanist circle at Oxford as Etheridge, and a Latin rendering of Plutarch's *De garrulitate* by Christopherson. That others left Greek works to Mary is equally unsurprising: the religiously conservative Bishop of Norwich, John Hopton, stipulated in his will that a Greek New Testament and de luxe Aristophanes be returned to Mary. Yet these works leave unanswered the question of Mary's actual familiarity with Greek.[50] Rather than providing missing evidence of Mary's Greek erudition, *Wyatt's Conspiracy* seems not to have been premised on Mary's facility in Greek, nor to have served as a florilegium of Homeric excerpts to cultivate language-learning. Written to but not necessarily for Mary, *Wyatt's Conspiracy* may represent a strained attempt to flatter its dedicatee while appealing, like works by Mary's chaplains Christopherson and Hopton, to the scholar-courtiers around Mary who advised her in matters of patronage and advancement.[51] Whether Elizabeth read the *Encomium* that Etheridge presented to her remains no less doubtful than whether Mary ever glanced at *Wyatt's Conspiracy* though, crucially, *Wyatt's Conspiracy* was contrived for a recipient who probably did not and, unlike Elizabeth, almost certainly could not read it, at least not without considerable assistance from more expert readers.

[49] BL, Harley MS 1860, fols 59^{r}–379^{r}.

[50] Taylor (as in n. 43), pp. 120, 116, 122.

[51] Ibid., p. 122.

1.2.2 Oral reception

Etheridge conceives of classical scholarship in his *Encomium* in predominantly graphological terms. Henry VIII was well-read in sacred writings; luminaries from both universities studied treasures stored in books; Alexander the Great was accustomed to *reading* Homer; and Etheridge himself communicated his reverence for King Henry through little booklets, tangible objects held by the hand ('ἐγχειρίζων') as if – literally – enchiridia.[52] By contrast, *Wyatt's Conspiracy* seems caught between two modes, perched between the textual and the oral: Etheridge's excerpting and imitation of Homer appear to be targeted as much to the recipient's auditory memory as to the reader's eye. Etheridge's preface acknowledges the document's material status as something written for presentation to its dedicatee, but the work's essence coheres as much in its acoustic as its inscribed properties, perhaps obliquely recalling something of the original mode of composition and rhapsodic transmission of Homeric epic, however tentatively understood by mid-Tudor humanists.

Even though the oral-formulaic nature of Homeric epic was largely unknown to Homer's sixteenth-century commentators, there is nonetheless evidence of an incipient understanding of Homer's poetry as a product of rhapsody.[53] Admittedly, some literary theorists in the second half of the century – such as William Scott, writing in 1599, and one of his principal sources, Julius Caesar Scaliger – appear intemperately hostile towards Homer's phraseology, which they thought fell indecorously short of Virgil's elegance. They (mistakenly) treated Homer's distinctive reuse of epithets as proof of poetic failure and 'idle' verse-filling, accusing him of 'cloying his reader with half a dozen times calling Achilles *swift-footed* in a very few leaves'. Yet even Scott registered the piecemeal performance of Homer's

[52] 'γραφῆς τῶν ἱερῶν τε λόγων' (*Encomium*, fol. 16^{r}, l. 2); 'ταῖς βίβλοις' (fol. 19^{r}, l. 2); 'Τὸν δ' ἀναγινώσκειν συνεχῶς εἴωθεν Ὅμηρον' (fol. 24^{r}, l. 7); 'μικρά γε βιβλίδια […] τὰ ἔπη ἐγχειρίζων' (fol. 37^{r}, ll. 6–7).

[53] A. Welch, *The Renaissance Epic and the Oral Past*, New Haven (CT) 2012, p. 4.

epic through rhapsodic transmission, acknowledging how '*rhapsody* […] afterward was appropriated to Homer's works when they collected pieces of them and severally rehearsed them upon sundry occasions'.[54] Perhaps mindful of Josephus' claims that Homer did not leave his poems in written form but that instead the songs were originally transmitted by memory and only later assembled into written wholeness,[55] European philologists as well as commentators in sixteenth-century England were emergently aware of the relationship between Homeric verse texture and the techniques of rhapsodic reuse. This attention to the piecemeal transmission and later unification of the Homeric epics gained currency towards the end of the sixteenth century – George Chapman alleges that he had 'good authoritie that the bookes were not set together by *Homer* himselfe' and that Lycurgus first compiled them 'as an entire Poeme' out of what were first verses 'sung dissevered into many workes' that circulated as 'severall Iliades' – yet as early as 1531 Vives's *De tradendis disciplinis* had sensitively defended the recurrent use of stock epithets as a metrical consequence of not just the epics' rhapsodic transmission but rather their rhapsodic composition over time: Homer 'composed it in separate rhapsodies to be sung for the popular pleasure' that were later compiled into a stable recension by grammarians under Peisistratos in the sixth century BC.[56]

More fundamentally, Vives insisted on the importance of *sound* for the study of Greek. His prescriptions for Mary's education gave instructions on the correct pronunciation of Greek

[54] William Scott, *The Model of Poesy*, ed. G. Alexander, Cambridge 2013, pp. 53, 19.

[55] 'οὐδὲ τοῦτον ἐν γράμμασι τὴν αὑτοῦ ποίησιν καταλιπεῖν […] διαμνημονευομένην ἐκ τῶν ᾀσμάτων ὕστερον συντεθῆναι' (*Against Apion*, I.2 (12–13), in Josephus, *The Life. Against Apion*, trans. H. St. J. Thackeray, Cambridge (MA) 1926, p. 166).

[56] *Seaven Bookes of the Iliades of Homere*, trans. G. Chapman, London 1598, sigs A6^{r}–A6^{v}; Vives, *Vives: On Education. A Translation of the 'De tradendis disciplinis' of Juan Luis Vives*, ed. and trans. F. Watson, Cambridge 1913, p. 147.

letters and syllables.[57] In *Wyatt's Conspiracy*, Etheridge seems keen to preserve a sense of the *viva voce* zest of Homer. This insistence on hearing Homer contrasts markedly with, a century earlier, Lorenzo Valla's infamously bookish revision of *The Iliad*'s opening invocation, 'Sing, goddess', to 'I shall write' ('Scripturus ego') in his Latin rendition from the early 1440s.[58] Etheridge's preface to *Wyatt's Conspiracy* counterpoints the document's inert materiality, as something 'written down', with the poem's animated vocality, as something to be 'sung now', 'heard', and to avoid 'becoming wrapped in silence'.[59]

Beyond these explicit cues, the poem's formal qualities appeal to the reader's or listener's acoustic memory. The poem's intricate recombination of sound-strings culled from *The Iliad* and Etheridge's (or his scribe's) scant use of punctuation collectively imply that heard metre rather than visual demarcations on the page determine the poem's meaning and syntax. Etheridge teases the ear by playing off expectations of end-stopping against enjambement, as in the trademark Homeric device of runover words (ll. 126–27) whereby a noun concluding one line is sundered from its attendant epithet which is suspended to the beginning of the next. *Wyatt's Conspiracy* deftly recreates other signature acoustic features of Homeric epic: insistent assonance through whole lines of verse (ll. 4, 10); plosive alliteration of *π* in scenes of military engagement (ll. 110, 120–22, 345); onomatopoeia, in Etheridge's pseudo-Homeric simile of fire insidiously taking hold in a line dense with crackling *ξ* consonance and wheezing *υ*/*η*/*ι* assonance (l. 94); and even bursts of polyptoton and *figura etymologica* (ll. 97, 178, 336). Etheridge's attention to aural texture reaches beyond cosmetic, incidental phonic effects, and is witnessed in more sustained, more elaborate patterns, as when he yokes together the

[57] Vives, *De ratione studii puerilis*, sigs b1^{v}–b2^{r}; see Vives, *Renascence Education*, pp. 139, 140.

[58] Lorenzo Valla, *Homeri Poetae Clarissimi Ilias per Laurentium Vallensem Romanum e graeco in latinum translata*, Venice 1502, sig. A2^{r}.

[59] 'conscripta', 'decantetur', 'audire', 'silentio involvantur'; *Wyatt's Conspiracy*, fols 4^{v}, 3^{v}, 4^{r}, 6^{r} respectively.

belligerent Wyatt (*Οὗετος*) and the archetypal traitor Judas (*Ἰοῦδας*) in a passage marked by contemptuous *ου* assonance and anaphora (ll. 131–38). More than just an embodied piece of writing on the page, *Wyatt's Conspiracy* looks like a poem that aspires to speech – to be experienced as a series of metrical echoes and phonic patterns sustained within and across its lines.

1.3 Homeric debts

The poem's hybrid qualities (noted above, section 1.1.2) disrupt straightforward taxonomies of genre. Any judgement about how to classify *Wyatt's Conspiracy* is likely to reflect the disciplinary bias of the observer. For the historian, it adds to the reservoir of contemporary accounts of Wyatt's Rebellion represented by Proctor's *Historie* (1554), Mitchell's *Breviat Chronicle* (1554), or the anonymous *Chronicle of Queen Jane*; for the book historian, it survives as a material artefact that attests and reaffirms an active patronage network; for the literary critic its value lies in furnishing evidence of a mid-Tudor aesthetic alert to the possibilities of allusion and imitation; for the scholar of classical and post-classical literature, it provides an index to the Tudor reception of *The Iliad*, and so on.

How we read the work perhaps ultimately depends on whether we take its subject to be the addressee, Mary, or the author, Etheridge. If the former, the work serves as a political homage to a royal person, much like Etheridge's later *Encomium* to Elizabeth commemorating the conservatism and patronage of her father, Henry VIII; and, equally, it serves as a memorial record celebrating a Catholic providential narrative with Mary at its helm. Framed in these terms, *Wyatt's Conspiracy* proffers features common to the mid-century poetic genres of praise such as the *encomion*, *encomiasticon*, and *epaeneticon*.[60] It affords comparisons with John

[60] See J. W. Binns, *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Latin Writings of the Age*, Leeds 1990, p. 64.

Seton's *Panegyrici* (1553), a pamphlet of ingratiating Latin (rather than Greek) panegyrics on Mary's accession and her triumph over Northumberland, Lady Jane Grey's father-in-law.[61] Though lacking epic hexameters, Seton's collection sports elegiacs and even a Sapphic ode, a particularly fashionable form in the mid-sixteenth century. Seton, a Catholic priest associated with the conservative faction of bishop Stephen Gardiner, was an enthusiastic supporter of Mary, having disputed the Edwardian settlement's position on the Eucharist; his *Panegyrici* are, unsurprisingly, at pains to defend the Catholic doctrine of Real Presence. Etheridge's poem to Mary is not so forthright in its celebration of the Mass (notwithstanding a possible, oblique gesture to the sacrament, ll. 278–9), but in other respects *Wyatt's Conspiracy* represents a Greek equivalent to Seton's endeavour.

Conversely, if the poem's subject is assumed to be Etheridge himself, then the work serves to blazon its author's prodigious learning. A pyrotechnic exercise in Homeric pastiche, it makes implicit claims about Etheridge's literary prestige in a manner reminiscent of his translation of *Aeneid* II from Latin into Greek four years earlier. As if written more for his own pleasure than Mary's, *Wyatt's Conspiracy* resembles a kind of ingenious verse florilegium interspersed with hexameters of Etheridge's own devising: the derivative and the original material alike parade the author's breadth of erudition and his metrical *techné*. Rather than exploiting his skill in Greek to celebrate Mary's victory over Wyatt's Rebellion, Etheridge exploits Mary's victory over Wyatt's Rebellion to flaunt his skill in Greek and the vitality of neo-Greek culture in England. Given the work's generic indeterminacy and its dizzying hybridity – part chronicle narrative, part Homeric pastiche, part personal eulogy, part florilegium, part ceremonial gift – *Wyatt's Conspiracy* might best be approached as an

[61] John Seton, *Panegyrici in victoriam illustrissimae. D. Mariae, Angliae, Franciae, & Hiberniae Reginae*, London 1553.

ostentatious, hexametrical *tour de force* masquerading as a political panegyric-epic. The reputation it seeks to extol is Etheridge's as much as Mary's.

That Homer should be the principal vehicle for Etheridge's display of Greek erudition is unnoteworthy. The moral, rhetorical, and literary utility of Homer were firmly established in Tudor pedagogy: in a conventional but apparently sincere platitude, Sir Thomas Elyot branded Homer the 'fountaine' out of which 'proceded al eloquence and lernyng' – a pedagogic nonpareil, for there was 'no lesson for a yonge gentil man to be compared with Homere', provided the text 'be playnly and substa*n*cially expouned and declared by the mayster'.[62] Beyond their recognised moral or philological credentials, Homer's epics perhaps appealed to Etheridge as a thesaurus of recognisable episodes, signature narrative templates, and imitable set-pieces. At 369 lines long, Etheridge's poem is about half the average length of books in *The Iliad*, though longer than Homer's shortest, *Odyssey* VI (331 lines). For Etheridge, Homer's epics may have appealed as architectural, scalar models whose ratios and proportions could be reproduced in a smaller compass.[63]

In narratological terms, *The Iliad* furnished Etheridge with a convenient model of sweeping yet compressed action. Homer's characteristic focal switches between collective, anonymous combat and individual contests between named heroes provided Etheridge the chronicle historian with an economical strategy for encompassing broad-brush military action between nameless ranks (ll. 123–5) while bestowing sufficient personalising attention on the senior, aristocratic commanders (l. 122). This double scale allows Etheridge the Marian apologist to exonerate the myriad citizens sympathetic to, even complicit in, the rebellion while localising culpability firmly with Wyatt and a handful of gentlemen conspirators. Etheridge compresses the historical time-scheme of the insurrection's action, a handful of weeks of

[62] Thomas Elyot, *The Boke named the Governour*, London 1531, sigs D7^{v}, D8^{r}.

[63] On the 'scalar' analogy for imitation, see C. Burrow, *Imitating Authors*, Oxford 2019, p. 18.

incipient momentum and just a few days of meaningful battlefield skirmishing, into a narrative time-scheme dominated by a few self-contained set-pieces and nearly a dozen imagined scenes of oration or dialogue. Well over a fifth of Etheridge's poem takes the form of direct speech, although that figure pales in comparison with the 45% of *The Iliad* accounted for by quotation.[64] Etheridge's interplay between third-person narration (*diegesis*) and first- or second-person address (*mimesis*) allows for a steady oscillation between narrative momentum (brisk battlefield action) and suspended animation (the more stately rhythm of dilation and reflection through verbal exchanges).

These distinctive rhythms may explain Etheridge's particular debts to *Iliad* I and IV. Likely to be familiar to fledgling students of Greek, the opening books had obvious attractions to Etheridge as the most recognisable. But beyond their quotability, these books held an additional appeal: *Iliad* I offered a repertoire of scenes of dissent, delay, and deliberation befitting the stilted unfolding of Wyatt's Rebellion; *Iliad* IV, the book quoted most frequently in *Wyatt's Conspiracy*, furnished an emblematic scene of truce-breaking that corresponded suggestively with Wyatt's act of oath-breaking in launching the treacherous insurrection itself. The kinship between these moments of violated faith is made explicit towards the end of Etheridge's poem: Mary labels the rebellion an act of broken allegiance ('ὑπερόρκια', l. 311), recalling Homer's formular phrase for truce-breaking ('ὑπὲρ ὅρκια') that litters *Iliad* III and IV. These points of natural congruence between Homer's and Etheridge's poems notwithstanding, *The Iliad* remains an odd model for Etheridge to emulate and repository to mine. Homer's opening books present a corrupt monarch (Agamemnon) who makes an error of judgement, failing to acknowledge the honour and prerogatives of a foremost military champion (Achilles), a narrative template singularly ill-suited to Etheridge's purposes. At

[64] Homer, *Iliad. Book XVIII*, ed. R. B. Rutherford, Cambridge 2019, p. 45.

moments in *Wyatt's Conspiracy*, borrowed words and phrases seem over-freighted with suggestiveness – latent with uncomfortable resonances and troubling echoes that Etheridge's deft, resourceful reworking cannot quite erase from the reader's consciousness.

1.3.1 Character portraits

That Alexander the Great carried *The Iliad* on his conquests, as a treasury of military virtue (*tês polemikês aretês ephodion*), satisfied Renaissance demands for a heroic poem.[65] More than a compendium of martial excellence, *The Iliad* was especially attractive to Tudor apologists for regal hegemony, and Homer's cultural prestige was readily coopted for panegyric ends. Arthur Hall's *Ten Books of Homers Iliades* (1581), an English translation derived from Salel's intermediary French version, and Chapman's 1598 rendering of *The Iliad* lent weight to the Tudor political project proselytising obedience to monarchs and curbing the energies that fuelled aristocratic rebellion.[66] Half a century before Hall, in Elyot's estimation Agamemnon emblematised consensual rule and the triumph of regal authority over a natural propensity for dissent: the venting of 'no litell murmur / and sedition […] in the hoste of the grekes' was 'wonderfully pacified' by the 'majestie of Agamemnon' coupled with the judicious interventions of the 'cou*n*sailours / Nestor and the witty Ulisses'.[67]

Notwithstanding that dreamy-eyed idealism, Homeric epic was simultaneously hailed in the sixteenth century as a master-text of pointless bellicosity. For Erasmus, the 'whole of the *Iliad*, long as it is, has nothing in it, as Horace says in an elegant line, but "the passions of

[65] R. Sowerby, 'Early Humanist Failure with Homer (II)', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, IV, 1997, pp. 165–95 (p. 170), citing Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, 8.2.

[66] Arthur Hall, *Ten Books of Homers Iliades*, London 1581; Hugues Salel, *Les dix premiers livres de l'Iliade d'Homère*, Paris 1545. See C. Burrow, *Epic Romance: Homer to Milton*, Oxford 1993, pp. 215–18.

[67] Elyot (as in n. 62), sig. B2^{r}.

foolish kings and foolish peoples"'.[68] In its raw schematic outline, *The Iliad* might well resemble an archetype of catastrophic discord, strife (*ἔρις*), and their far-reaching effects, offering a bleak portrait of a martial class unable to atone for its excesses.[69] Attentive to these narrative constituents and agonistic engagements of Homeric epic, Erasmus unflinchingly inveighed against the 'stark stupidity' shown by 'famous kings of old' whom Homer had, perversely, seen fit to memorialise: Homer 'makes his Agamemnon ambitious rather than wise', his pettiness putting the 'whole army in danger'; and Homer's Achilles 'foolishly […] rages' and yet inexplicably 'is the one whom the poet sets before us as the perfect example of an excellent prince'.[70] To be sure, *The Iliad* furnished Etheridge with an inventory of compelling exemplars: Nestor becomes a convenient model for two seasoned combatants leading Mary's forces – the alarmingly aged Duke of Norfolk (l. 67) and the scarcely more agile Sir John Gage (l. 222). Yet Etheridge's portraits of Mary, occasionally aligned with Homer's Agamemnon, and of Wyatt, occasionally aligned with Homer's Achilles, are marked by a patina of troubling intimations. Etheridge's central antagonists, in one sense very aptly patterned on Agamemnon and Achilles as figures locked in an internecine struggle for supremacy, map awkwardly on to their Homeric forebears. Etheridge's purpose in lauding the former and decrying the latter is undermined by buried resonances in his Homeric source that he cannot convincingly overwrite, however adroit his creative *imitatio*.

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[68] Erasmus, *Adages* I.iii.1, in *Adages Ii1 to Iv100*, trans. M. M. Phillips and annot. R. A. B. Mynors, *Collected Works of Erasmus* [hereafter *CWE*], XXXI, Toronto 1982, p. 228, citing Horace, *Epistles*, I.2.8. The verdict recurs in *Dulce bellum inexpertis*: see *Adages* IV.i.1, in *Adages IIIiv1 to IVii100*, ed. J. N. Grant and trans. D. L. Drysdall, *CWE*, XXXV, Toronto 2005, p. 436.

[69] On the mythographic handling in the Renaissance of Homeric epic as a compendium of allegories about strife and harmony, see Wolfe (as in n. 13), pp. 19–20.

[70] Erasmus, *Adages* I.iii.1 (as in n. 68), pp. 227–28.

For every flattering allusion summoned by Etheridge to depict Mary, others vexingly surface. When Mary esteems her trusted surrogate in the field, Sir John Gage, 'above everyone, in military matters and in other tasks', the reader is nudged into detecting the parallel with Agamemnon's honouring of Idomeneus.[71] Yet that portrait of benign protection and patronage is undercut within fifty lines: Mary's attitude towards her rebellious citizens (ll. 270–71) suggests not so much pious assurance as the haughty disdain of Agamemnon towards the pre-eminent Achilles, as Etheridge lifts formulations verbatim from *Iliad* I.180–81. Within another twenty-five lines, Mary's imperious claim that 'there are other people who will do me honour, including Christ' lacks much evidence of devotional humility and seems rather to be overcharged with echoes of Agamemnon's contemptuous denigration of Achilles.[72] What Etheridge's Mary inherits from Homer's Agamemnon is not exemplary governance but an overbearing hauteur that jars with the attempted depiction elsewhere in *Wyatt's Conspiracy* of a monarch whose chief concern is virtue (l. 15).

Similarly, in Etheridge's treatment of Wyatt, political intention and poetic design are undercut by buried resonances that Etheridge's imitation necessarily reawakens. In his preface, Etheridge unambiguously denounces Wyatt's treasonable, heretical energies, yet the poem itself is perforce endowed with latent sympathies. By correlating Wyatt with Achilles, Etheridge acknowledges Wyatt's martial prestige (for which he was formally recognised in

[71] 'περὶ μὲν πάντων […] Ἤ μὲν ἐνὶ πτολέμῳ, ἢ ἀλλοίῳ ἐπὶ ἔργῳ'; *Wyatt's Conspiracy*, ll. 223–24. Cf. Homer, *Iliad*, IV.257–58 (in *Homeri Ilias*, ed. M. L. West, 2 vols, Munich 1998): 'περὶ μέν […] Δαναῶν ταχυπώλων | ἠμὲν ἐνὶ πτολέμοι ἠδ' ἀλλοίωι ἐπὶ ἔργωι' ('both in war and in other tasks, more than all the Danaans who drive swift steeds').

[72] 'Ἄλλοι γὰρ τιμήσουσὶ με μάλιστα δὲ Χριστὸς'; *Wyatt's Conspiracy*, l. 295. Cf. *Iliad*, I.174–75 (as in n. 71): 'πάρ' ἐμοί γε καὶ ἄλλοι | οἵ κέ με τιμήσουσι, μάλιστα δὲ μητίετα Ζεύς' ('There are many others with me who will give me honour, and above all Zeus, the counsellor').

1545 when knighted for services against France) and even registers Wyatt's noteworthy bravery on the field. Wyatt finds an organic analogue in Achilles – wrong-headed perhaps, but undeniably valiant and even justly rageful – and in its overall scheme *Wyatt's Conspiracy* comes to resemble a kind of *aristeia* in which a single aristocratic combatant, Wyatt, courageously leads his loyal retinue in a spirited charge, dogmatically refusing (like Achilles) to obey, instead embodying a spirit of legitimate opposition to an unreasonably intransigent monarch. Wyatt stirs up the force and spirit of his men (l. 99) in an echo of Homer's Achilles (*Iliad*, XX.174); Wyatt's rousing praise of his troops (ll. 140–41) directly recalls Achilles' indignant self-portrait (*Iliad*, I.165–66); and in the poem's closing moments, the spectacle of Wyatt's capture (l. 331) is likened to the sight of the arms of Achilles (*Iliad*, XVIII.83). Half a dozen lines later (l. 337), Wyatt accrues the epithet 'swift-footed' that inextricably links him to Achilles. The axiomatic tag was familiar to even the most fledgling Tudor Homerist: 'Homere throughout all his warke / calleth hym swifte foote Achilles'.[73]

There is a risk of overreading nuance into Etheridge's borrowings, a risk compounded by his poem's highly compressed action and the eloquent sparseness of the Homeric idiom he adopts. Yet these wrinkles in the encomiastic texture of *Wyatt's Conspiracy* are hard to ignore. Wyatt's ignominious surrender, willed yet unwilling (l. 328), and his poignant speech of crushing, belated self-recognition (ll. 338–43) are laced with the same pathos Homer reserves for the vanquished and for the pity war distils. By comparison, Homer's Agamemnon comes to resemble a feeble-hearted observer behind the scenes, just as the role performed by Etheridge's Mary is reduced to a display of piety: she defeats the enemy through prayer (l. 364). Etheridge omits any mention of Mary's pivotal Guildhall address to the City government (1 February 1554), and by amplifying the impression of her prayerful passivity he diminishes

[73] Elyot (as in n. 62), sig. H8^{r}.

her martial zeal: according to one anonymous observer, 'Mayny thought she wolde have ben in the felde in person'.[74] *The Iliad* dwells at considerable length on the wrangling of leaders, motivated more by personal passions and heroic pride than public duty; on the divisions between ruler and ruled; on the suffering of nations subject to ongoing war; and on the role of divine will, if not something more pagan and deterministic, in perpetuating that unrest. Confronted by these points of disjunction between what might be called the *mundus significans* of his source and that of his imitative reworking, Etheridge is obliged to impart some sense of benign providential design so as to limit Homer's focus on human loss and to conclude with a vista of atonement, reanimating a 'paradox by turns comforting and alarming' laced through Homeric epic, that 'strife is both the stubborn enemy of harmony and its inescapable partner', that 'war produces peace, and discord concord'.[75]

1.3.2 Theological knots

In its theological design, Etheridge's poem evidently implies that divine sanction for Marian Catholicism was latently foreshadowed in the lexicon and epic action of Greek antiquity. Yet humanist treatments of *The Iliad* often struggled with Homer's irredeemably pagan, pre-idealist universe.[76] One particularly knotty riddle lay in the double motivation, or overdetermination, that dogs Homeric decision-making: agency in Homer's epics has a dual impetus, attributable to both an internal force (human volition, *θυμός*) and an external force (divine motivation),

[74] *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, p. 48.

[75] For the phrase 'mundus significans' in discussions of literary imitation, see Greene (as in n. 12), pp. 20–43; on the Homeric paradox of strife entwined with harmony, see Wolfe (as in n. 13), pp. 26, 29.

[76] R. Sowerby, 'Early Humanist Failure with Homer (I)', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, IV, 1997, pp. 37–63 (p. 44).

although the two remain unclearly aligned.[77] The tussle is not simply one between human psychology and divine determinism, nor is Homeric narrative simply the product of chance: human suffering is sourced in both human choice and divine design. However these determinative forces are calibrated, the narrative constituents of Homeric epic do not lend themselves readily to the eulogistic portrait that Etheridge seeks to construct of a well-governed kingdom set within divinely-piloted universal history.

Conceivably, Etheridge capitalised on his inherited Homeric vocabulary precisely to address and resolve the theologically-fraught questions that underpin the historical narrative of Wyatt's Rebellion. Yet points of resistance remain between the author's ideology and the allowances of his adopted epic vocabulary. Aside from the familiar question about how much weight should be given to (non-translatable) Homeric particles like 'ῥα' (l. 70), which typically act as casual metrical fillers rather than finely-calibrated gauges of causal sequence ('thus'? 'naturally'? 'as it appears'?), Etheridge's choice of words casts doubt on the kind of causality that he intends to trace in the action of *Wyatt's Conspiracy*. Whereas the Homeric lexicon used for scenes of prayer is readily adapted to the contours of Marian piety (ll. 308–19), Etheridge strains to reconcile Homer's vocabulary of chance and fate with a Roman Catholic theology of human transgression and providential design.[78] Several Homeric turns of phrase – the stock formula for escaping 'black fate', used three times by Etheridge (ll. 92, 194, 250); the reference

[77] A. Lesky, *Göttliche und menschliche Motivation im homerischen Epos, Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Heidelberg 1961, pp. 1–5; E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, Berkeley 1951, pp. 13–14.

[78] That in Tudor England prior to about 1560 'there is something potentially theological about luck', and that ideas of chance and fortune were considered to have biblical warrant before the Calvinist doctrine of predestination gained traction, see B. Cummings, *Mortal Thoughts: Religion, Secularity, & Identity in Shakespeare and Early Modern Culture*, Oxford 2013, pp. 219–23 (here p. 220).

to fortune (*τύχη*) answering Wyatt's first wish (l. 100); the depiction of fate (*μοῖρα* or *Πότμος*) as 'irresistible' one moment (ll. 197, 220) and avoidable the next (l. 250) – become newly inflected with theological anxiety. Each represents a doctrinal nightmare in a poem resolutely celebrating a divinely-assured victory (l. 20) yet continually troubled by the need to explain away the insurrection's origins in public unrest that fell out by chance (l. 301).

As with Etheridge's character portraits, the temptation to overread nuance into his theological vocabulary is potentially hazardous. A decade later, Etheridge would return to similar tensions in his *Encomium*, which eagerly envisages Henry warding off '(together with God) the present ills of those who were presumptuous towards fate about the things they had'.[79] To obsess about Etheridge's handling of his Homeric lexicon of fate or chance is to call into doubt (misguidedly and fruitlessly) his resolute faith, or to miss the comic potential of the tableau in *Wyatt's Conspiracy* when the Duke of Norfolk *just* escapes black fate because of the obliging efforts of his horse (l. 91). Nonetheless, attentive reading cannot ignore the tensile opposition between Etheridge's Homeric terminology and Etheridge's religious convictions and Marian loyalties. For all the imaginative intelligence of his imitative reworking, his Homeric model refuses to be recalibrated into total conformity with the political-religious design of *Wyatt's Conspiracy*.

1.4 A neo-Greek cento?

1.4.1 Homer in parts

What distinguishes *Wyatt's Conspiracy* from Etheridge's other works, and indeed from any other work of its time produced in England, is that it is constructed as an elaborate mosaic of

[79] 'χραισμεῖν (σὺν δὲ Θεῷ) τοῖς γε παροῦσι κακοῖς, | σφῇσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὑπὲρ μόρον ὧν ἀρ' ἔχουσι'; *Encomium*, fol. 11^{r}, ll. 2–3.

phrases from Homer – primarily *The Iliad* though occasionally *The Odyssey* and the pseudo-Homeric, mock-epic *Battle of the Frogs and Mice* (*Batrachomyomachia*). Etheridge's *Encomium* is, certainly, steeped in the epics of 'eminent Homer' too, besides quoting heavily from scripture and the Church Fathers.[80] Yet *Wyatt's Conspiracy* reworks Homer even more overtly and systematically, as the *loci similes* recorded in the commentary attest (section 3, below). Etheridge's incorporation of formular phrases and longer verse-line quotations from Homeric epic is so intricate and pervasive that *Wyatt's Conspiracy* comes to resemble a composite of borrowed fragments. In large swathes, it arguably constitutes a cento – a weaving together of recognisable verse units, a verbal mosaic of metrical segments artfully recombined and interspersed with lines and half-lines of Etheridge's own devising. As a literary mode, the cento is consonant with Tudor humanist practices of gathering and framing, activities that effectively represent a discursive extension of the commonplace book and of the *forma mentis* cultivated in sixteenth-century pedagogy. More than just rhetorical strategies, these habits of verbal gathering identified authoritative fragments from ancient literature for copying and reassembly, making them available in turn for new acts of framing as quotable, instantaneously recognisable units fit for transplanting to new discursive contexts.[81]

Crucially, the cento draws upon a shared, collective memory. In Tudor pedagogy, Homer was almost certainly learnt as much by the ear as by the eye, and so Homeric epic enjoyed a condition of recognisable quotability among sixteenth-century students of Greek. Recognition of sound-strings appears to have been a central facet of Tudor language-learning: in a letter of 1542, Roger Ascham offered Richard Brandesby a portrait of a burgeoning philhellenic community in Cambridge (especially St John's College), in which Greek authors

[80] 'κλειτὸς Ὅμηρος'; *Encomium*, fol. 30^{v}, l. 4.

[81] M. T. Crane, *Framing Authority: Sayings, Self, and Society in Sixteenth-Century England*, Princeton 1993, pp. 3–4.

were on everyone's lips and in everyone's hands,[82] hinting at the dual transmission of Greek literature through both the written and the spoken word. This reliance on *viva voce* transmission was so entrenched in grammar schools that it risked ossifying into a mere system of rote learning. Ascham lamented the mechanical accretion and memorisation encouraged by oral pedagogy alone: schoolmasters adopting this method promoted a superficial understanding of texts, since pupils' 'knowledge, by learning without the booke, was tied onely to their tong & lips, and never asce*n*ded up to the braine & head, and therfore was sone spitte out of the mouth againe'.[83]

Despite the cognitive drawbacks of exclusively oral learning, attention to the sound of Greek underpinned tuition of the Tudor aristocracy. Following Quintilian, Vives recommended that pupils' initial exposure to Greek vocabulary should come through hearing Aesop and Isocrates read by a master.[84] Further, he stipulated for Mary the correct pronunciation of Greek and Latin and promulgated learning languages by heart, including in memorised units: 'From Erasmus' *Colloquies* she will retain in memory some expressions and formulæ of speech, of which she will make use in daily converse'.[85] Such training in the art of memorising verbal 'formulæ' – a term used in Cicero's *Orator* to denote 'the type and pattern of each kind' of oration or sub-unit within an oration – would be especially suited to the formula-heavy texture of Homeric poetry and to its corpus of epithet-noun pairings and rhythmical cola.[86]

[82] 'in ore et manibus'; Ascham (as in n. 47), p. 26.

[83] Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, London 1570, sig. K3^{v}.

[84] Dowling (as in n. 39), p. 182.

[85] Vives, *Renascence Education*, p. 142; 'Simul & eiusde*m* Colloquia, ex quibus retinebit aliquot vocabula & loquendi formulas, quibus in sermoner quotidiano utetur' (*De ratione studii puerilis*, sig. b6^{v}).

[86] 'cuiusque generis nota quaeratur et formula'; Cicero, *Brutus. Orator*, trans. G. L. Hendrickson and H. M. Hubbell, Cambridge (MA) 1939, pp. 360, 361.

Wyatt's Conspiracy makes more than occasional or merely incidental use of recognisable word-strings, rhythmical cola, and formulaic line-endings from Homer. Rather, Etheridge's poem demonstrates more elaborate patterns of borrowing and reuse, of at least two kinds. First, as in the poem's opening lines, the 'eclectic' gathering and framing advocated by, among other continental luminaries, Gianfrancesco Pico or Angelo Poliziano, who argued against inflexible recourse to a single master-author.[87] Etheridge culls and assimilates phrases from numerous sources, verbatim or with only minor inflectional adjustments.

Ἀλλὰ Θεὸν Χρίστὸν γ' **ὅς ὑπέρτατα δώματα ναίει**	Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 8
Ἔλθεῖν εἰς ἐμὸν ἦτορ ἐπεύχομαι, ὅν ῥ' ἐπέεσσι	Pseudo-Homer, *Batrachomyomachia*, 2
…	
Τῇ βασιλίσσῃ τῇ Μαρϊᾷ **μέγα κῦδος ἀείρων**.	Homer, *Iliad*, IX.303
Ὦ πάτερ ἠμέτερε πάντων Θεὲ **δῶτερ ἐάων**	Homer, *Iliad*, XIII.31; Gregory, *Hymn Virg.*, 11
Δὸς **πυκινὰ φρονέειν νημερτέα** τε λόγον **εἰπεῖν**.	Homer, *Odyssey*, IX.445; *Odyssey*, III.19
Πῶς **κὲν** τοῖς ἄγγλοισι **χάριν καὶ κῦδος ἄροιο**	Homer, *Iliad*, IV.95–97
Καὶ **πάμπρωτα κλέος ἐσθλὸν** Μαρϊᾷ **βασιλίσσῃ**	Homer, *Iliad*, V.3
Ἦδ' ἄρα σοὶ **περὶ κῆρι τιέσκεται** ἠδὲ φιλεῖται	Homer, *Iliad*, IV.46
Ὅττ' αὐτῇ ἀρετὴ καὶ τὰ **καλὰ πάντα μέμηλε**.	[*Encomium*, fol. 17^{v}]
Πολλάκι γοῦν αὐτὴν ἐσάωσας **λοιγὸν ἀμύνας**,	*Greek Anthology*, IX.165; Homer, *Iliad*, I.67
Ὣς ὅτ' **ἀπὸ χροὸς ἡ μητὴρ** τὴν **μυῖαν ἐέργει**	Homer, *Iliad*, IV.129–31
Παιδὸς, **ἀπὸ κραδῖας φιλέουσὰ τε κηδομένὴ τε**.	[*Encomium*, fol. 37^{v}]; Homer, *Iliad*, I.196

Fig. 1. Eclectic borrowings in *Wyatt's Conspiracy*, ll. 4–5, 9–18 (George Etheridge, *Συνωμοσία Οὐέτου*, Windsor, Eton College Library, MS 148, fols 12^{r}, 12^{v}–13^{r}).

Secondly, the poem shows a more concentrated kind of borrowing – monolithic, single-author, even single-text imitation. Sixteenth-century commentators, not least Pietro Bembo in his reply to Pico, would recognise this method as a version of 'Ciceronian' borrowing,[88] albeit in Etheridge's case something closer to theft than digestive transformation. Through concerted

[87] G. W. Pigman III, 'Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance', *Renaissance Quarterly*, XXXIII, 1980, pp. 1–32 (p. 7).

[88] Ibid., pp. 2, 9.

bricolage, Etheridge reproduces bursts of consecutive lines from *The Iliad* leavened with smatterings from elsewhere in the epic, verbatim or with negligible tweaks in morphology.

Ἀνέρες **ὦ ἰόμωροι, ἐλέγχεες, οὐ νὺ σέβεσθε;**	Homer, *Iliad*, IV.242
Τίφθ' οὕτω ἕστητε τεθηπότες, ἠΰτε νεβροὶ	Homer, *Iliad*, IV.243
Αἴ γ' ἑστᾶσι, καὶ οὐ **σφι μετὰ φρεσὶ γίγνεται ἀλκὴ**;	Homer, *Iliad*, IV.244; IV.245
Ἦ μένετε προδότους **σχεδὸν ἐλθέμεν**, **οὐδε μάχεσθε**,	Homer, *Iliad*, IV.247; IV.246
Ὄφρα ἴδητ' αἴ κεν ῥ' ἡ παρθένος οὖσα γ' ἀνάσση	Homer, *Iliad*, IV.249
Ἥ δε γυνὴ δειλοῖς ὑμῖν νῦν **χεῖρας ὑπέρσχῃ**	
…	
Τὸν δ' **ἔβαλε στῆθος** προδοτῶν τις, κ**ὧσεν ἀφ' ἵππου**	Homer, *Iliad*, V.19
Αὐτὰρ **ὁ δ' ἐν κονίῃσι χαμαὶ πέσε φαίδιμος ἥρως**,	Homer, *Iliad*, IV.482; *Odyssey*, IV.617
Καὶ νὺ κὲν ἐνθ' ἀπόλοιτο γέρων ἰφθιμὸς ἀγανὸς	Homer, *Iliad*, V.311
Εἰ μὴ ἀρ' ὀξὺ θεραπόντων τινὲς ἐνθ' ἐπάμυνον	Homer, *Iliad*, V.312
Πρόσθε δε οἱ **σάκεα** καὶ τ' **ἔγχεα μακρὰ** τοίνυν το	Homer, *Iliad*, V.313; III.135
Ἀλλὰ μὲν οὐδε βέλος διελήλατο **χάλκεα τεύχη**.	Homer, *Iliad*, XXII.322
Ἦν δ' ἅλιον μὲν, ἐπεὶ **καὶ δίπλοος ἤντετο θώρηξ**.	Homer, *Iliad*, XX.415

Fig. 2. Concerted borrowings from Homer in *Wyatt's Conspiracy*, ll. 232–37, 239–45 (George Etheridge, *Συνωμοσία Οὐέτου*, Windsor, Eton College Library, MS 148, fols 28^{v}, 29^{r}).

The resulting texture resembles a cento-pastiche: lines or half-lines from *The Iliad* are woven together, combined through sparing ligatures of Etheridge's own devising. Occasionally, as in the passage above, Homeric echoes ('Φαίδιμος ἥρως', 'the hero Phaedemus', *Odyssey*, IV.617) are deftly repurposed ('φαίδιμος ἥρως', 'the glorious hero') in such a way as to play on the listener's (or reader's) acoustic memory. Throughout, *Wyatt's Conspiracy* observes to a greater or lesser extent this underlying principle of patchwork recombination, capturing the essence of Homeric language and style while modulating them for a new context. Less charitable commentators might dismiss Etheridge's poem as a mischievous act of *dissimulatio* (his prose preface making no mention of either his Homeric sources or his centonic methods), or as merely a superficial replica of Homer – a *simulacrum*, in Quintilian's terms – and thus a paradoxical proof of Homer's inimitability: Homer's works are susceptible to plunder but resist

emulation.[89] The cento-pastiche is at once the most technically constraining and most lazily derivative of literary forms.

As a cento-pastiche, Etheridge's poem necessarily sports features familiar from the tradition of rhapsody, the subject of evident critical enquiry in the sixteenth century. Richard Willes (1546–79?), a mid-century product of Winchester College and specifically its culture of avant-garde classroom poetics,[90] produced a two-part volume published by Richard Tottel in 1573. The first part was a collection of ingenious Latin verse and *technopaegnia* (pattern poems), designed to provide Winchester boys with models for their own compositions; the second, entitled *De re poetica*, comprised Willes's critical 'scholia' on the poems in the first part and constituted in effect the first defence of poetry printed in England, albeit in Latin and highly indebted to Julius Caesar Scaliger's poetics. Among Willes's scholia are adjacent definitions of both '*Cento*' and '*Rapsodia*', the latter registering the word's etymology (as 'stitched song').[91] Etheridge's appetite for rhapsodic composition is intimated elsewhere, beyond *Wyatt's Conspiracy*, in the Psalms he reproduced in a short Hebrew metre, an exercise involving similar kinds of poetic excerpting and metrical observance to those demanded by his Homeric reworking in *Wyatt's Conspiracy*.[92]

[89] On this paradox, see Burrow (as in n. 63), p. 7.

[90] A. Fowler, 'The Formation of Genres in the Renaissance and After Author', *New Literary History*, XXXIV, 2003, pp. 185–200 (p. 186).

[91] Richard Willes, *Poematum liber. Ricardi Willeii Poematum liber. In suorum poemat. librum Ricardi Willeii scholia*, London 1573, pt 2, sig. C6^{r}.

[92] '*Psalmos Davidicos in quoddam breve genus carminis Hebraïci vertit*'; John Pits, *Relationum historicarum de rebus Anglicis*, Paris 1619, p. 785.

1.4.2 Cento poetics

The Homeric or Virgilian cento, a form dating to late antiquity, enjoyed a resurgence in the sixteenth century, as commentators dwelt increasingly on the processes by which authors gathered and reassembled their materials – what Philipp Melanchthon called *collocatio* (a term borrowed from Cicero).[93] Homer's own compilational techniques were considered cento-like. The Byzantine commentator Eustathius remarked on the stitched quality of speeches by Glaucus (*Iliad*, XVII.142–68) and Telemachus (*Odyssey*, IV.316–31). Eusathius's 'remarks' (*παρεκβολαὶ*) were published by Bladus as early as 1542, and his *Commentarii* on Homer were quoted by philhellenist Henri Estienne when defining Homero-centones (*Ὁμηρόκεντρα*, *Ὁμηροκέντρωνες*).[94] Part of the appeal of the Homeric cento to sixteenth-century readers lay in its openness to arrogation by devotional writers when reworking holy scripture. The fifth-century AD Homeric centones of St Eudocia (Empress Eudocia Augusta, wife of Emperor Theodosius II) were fondly invoked as an exemplary marriage of Homeric epic with biblical doctrine.

Besides its Homeric associations, the cento descended to Renaissance Europe through a Latin tradition ultimately deriving from perhaps the most famous post-classical example of the form, Decimus Magnus Ausonius's *Cento Nuptialis* (late fourth century AD). Ausonius lifted lines from Virgil's *Aeneid*, *Georgics*, and *Eclogues*, and his reflective comments on the form, in an epistle to the rhetor Axius Paulus, ventured a definition that established the playful flair of centonic composition:

> And so this little work, the *Cento*, is handled in the same way as the game described [*sc*. the *stomachion*, a Greek puzzle involving geometrical pieces of bone], so as to

[93] Burrow (as in n. 63), p. 16.

[94] Eustathius, *Παρεκβολαὶ εἰς τὴν Ὁμήρου Ἰλιάδα / Ὀδύσσειαν*, ed. Nicolaus Majoranus, 4 vols, Rome 1542–50; Henri Estienne, *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, 5 vols, Geneva 1572, II, sig. 3L1^{r}.

> harmonize different meanings, to make pieces arbitrarily connected seem naturally related, to let foreign elements show no chink of light between, to prevent the far-fetched from proclaiming the force which united them, the closely packed from bulging unduly, the loosely knit from gaping.[95]

This technographic description treats cento composition not only as a test of the writer's ability to reconcile disparate pieces into seamless uniformity but also as a species of verbal play.[96] By this reckoning, the construction of any cento draws attention to the creator's flair and the compilational wit or lapidary skill by which parts are transformed into an unexpected, unforeseen whole.

The cento evidently resonated as a lithe form that allowed sixteenth-century composers to arrogate to themselves a pre-existing, seemingly impartial authority for their politico-religious positions. Another influential model available to sixteenth-century readers, and pre-dating Ausonius's *Nuptial Cento* by perhaps a decade, is Falconia Proba's *Cento Vergilianus*, retelling (*inter alia*) Christ's birth, ministry, and passion through verses lifted from Virgil. Proba's Christian-Virgilian cento was co-opted as a literary tool in the service of the Counter-Reformation, benefitting in no small measure from the publication by Joannes Plateanus in 1576 of an edition of Proba's poem accompanied by Plateanus's own centonic *Orationes*.[97] More closely contemporary with Etheridge's poem, Lelio Capilupi's *Centones ex Virgilio* (1555–56) – a set of accomplished Latin centones collected by the literary historian and (from

[95] Preface to *Nuptial Cento*, in Ausonius, *Volume I: Books 1–17*, trans. H. G. Evelyn-White, Cambridge (MA) 1919, p. 375; 'Hoc ergo centonis opusculum ut ille ludus tractatur, pari modo sensus diversi ut congruant, adoptiva quae sunt, ut cognata videantur, aliena ne interluceant: arcessita ne vim redarguant, densa ne supra modum protuberent, hiulca ne pateant' (p. 374).

[96] S. McGill, *Virgil Recomposed: The Mythological and Secular Centos in Antiquity*, Oxford 2005, pp. 4–5, 8.

[97] See G. H. Tucker, 'From Rags to Riches: the Early Modern Cento Form', *Humanistica Lovaniensia: Journal of Neo-Latin Studies*, LXII, 2013, pp. 3–67 (p. 41).

1559) Jesuit Antonio Possevino, replete with a preface by Du Bellay – combined Capilupi's centones with others on Mantuan dynastic politics, whereas from the other side of the denominational schism Pierre Viret's 1553 cento in elegiac distichs, *De theatrica Missæ saltatione cento ex veteribus poetis latinis consarcinatus*, inveighed against the theatricality of the sacrament of the Mass.[98]

Given its currency in the sixteenth century, as both a recognised form stamped with the imprimatur of devotional and pseudo-scriptural authority and as a pliable medium for topical-political commentary on recent history, the cento became subject to growing critical discussion and theorisation. In the prefatory note to his edition of Proba's *Cento* and the anonymous *Homerocentra* (the Byzantine corpus of Homeric centones) from January 1501, Aldus Manutius offered a set of theoretical pronouncements that would inform later critical discussions.[99] Manutius recycled the rules of Virgilian Latin centones prescribed by Ausonius's prefatory description of the cento, itself available in sixteenth-century editions of Proba's work.[100] In his *Adagia* (II.iv.58), Erasmus commented on the cento with reference to both the Homeric tradition (in St Jerome's scathing commentary) and Virgilian tradition (via the centones of Ausonius and Proba). Erasmus's observations locate the composer's craft in the eclectic combination of diverse poems and fragments of poems ('ex diversis carminibus, & carminum fragmentis'), although his definition is marked by a lightly pejorative veneer, not least in his heading 'Farcire centones' ('To stuff centos'), lifted from Plautus's *Epidicus*, a reading later emended by Denis Lambin (Lambinus) to the less irreverent 'sarcire centones'

[98] Ibid., pp. 16, 18.

[99] Aldus Manutius, *Probæ Falconiæ Cento ex Virgilio de novo et veteri testamento. Homerocentra, hoc est Centones ex Homero, Græcè cum interpretatione Latina*, in *Poetæ Christiani veteres*, Venice 1501, II.

[100] Valeria Falconia Proba, *Probæ Falconiæ, vatis clarissimæ, à divo Hieronymo comprobatæ, centones, de fidei nostræ mysteriis è Maronis carminibus excerptum opusculum*, Paris 1550.

('to sew centones').[101] Erasmus alludes tangentially to Jerome's dissatisfaction with the form, which he disparaged because it prioritised the composer's private meaning over the sense organically embedded in the original scripture.[102] This attitude is echoed in sixteenth-century English circles by John Harvey who denounces centones as monstrous, incongruous fabrications, churlishly faulting Proba for appropriating '*Virgils* owne *Heroicks*, who never understoode, or once dreamed of any such *Christian* significations'.[103]

Acknowledging the interpretative licence on which centones necessarily depend, Julius Caesar Scaliger goes some way to recuperating the mode by approximating cento to parody. Like parodies, centones derive secondary meanings ('sensus alius') from out of the primary meaning of a verse ('ab sensu pristino versuum'). Strikingly, Scaliger likens the composition of centones to the procedures involved in weaving rhapsodies: 'Because these units are patched from verses gathered together from here and there, they exhibit qualities of the term "Rhapsody". And on that account they have been called "Centones"'.[104] For Scaliger, Ausonius's cento attests extreme ingenuity and elegance ('ingeniosum & lepidum') in its reassemblage of Virgilian fragments. In the period's emergent criticism on the cento, then, commentators were split between those who dismissed the form as an illegitimate distortion of an earlier text's primary meaning, and those who celebrated the playful, inventive craft demanded of the skilful, rhapsodic weaver. Etheridge's preface to *Wyatt's Conspiracy* perhaps aligns his poem with Scaliger's criteria, since he presents his offering as a hatchling of the

[101] Erasmus, *Erasmi Roterodami Adagiorum chiliades tres et centuriæ fere totidem*, Tübingen 1514, sig. 2a4^{r}; see *Adages IIi1 to IIvi100*, trans. R. A. B. Mynors, *CWE*, XXXIII, Toronto 1991, pp. 221–22.

[102] M. D. Usher, *Homeric Stitchings: The Homeric Centos of the Empress Eudocia*, Oxford 1998, p. 11.

[103] John Harvey, *A Discoursive Probleme concerning Prophesies*, London 1588, sig. N4^{v}.

[104] 'quorum versuum membra hinc inde collecta quum assuantur, Rapsodiæ nomen repræsentant. atque iccirco Centones appellati sunt'; Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Poetices libri septem*, Lyon 1561, I, Ch. 43.

imagination ('ingenii'), the latter term a standard label for the creative imagination in sixteenth-century theories of invention: poets mine previous poets, aided by their *ingenium* or wit.[105] As with Ausonius's *stomachion*, centones demand ludic, combinatory flair.

The elite vogue for Greek panegyric in mid-sixteenth-century England is at times hard to separate from the growing vogue for Greek pastiche. A collection of verse epitaphs and memorial prose on the death of Martin Bucer, coordinated by Cheke and Cheke's successor as Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge, Nicholas Carr, contained ten Greek poems.[106] Another volume from the same year, compiled by Thomas Wilson and Walter Haddon, on the deaths of Henry and Charles Brandon who had shown incipient scholarly promise at St John's College, Cambridge, and who had contributed verses to the Bucer volume, contained six Greek poems.[107] The latter volume attested a network of professional relationships cultivated in Cambridge and represented a literary monument to the consolations of saving faith. Yet none of the Greek poems in either volume is so self-consciously or skilfully a cento as *Wyatt's Conspiracy*. William Waterman's Latin 'sylva', commemorating the Brandons, reworks lines from Politian's 'Elegia' on Albiera degli Albizzi, building a new edifice out of classical and neo-Latin materials,[108] but crucially the work is neither in Greek nor sustainedly a cento. By

[105] Ullrich Langer, 'Invention', in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, ed. G. P. Norton, III, *The Renaissance*, Cambridge 1999, pp. 136–44 (p. 138).

[106] *De obitu doctissimi et sanctissimi Theologi Doctoris Martini Buceri*, ed. John Cheke and Nicholas Carr, London 1551.

[107] *Vita et obitus duorum fratrum Suffolciensium Henrici et Caroli Brandoni prestanti virtute*, ed. Thomas Wilson and Walter Haddon, London 1551.

[108] Ibid., sigs C3^{r}–D1^{v}; see J. F. McDiarmid, 'Classical Epitaphs for Heroes of Faith: Mid-Tudor Neo-Latin Memorial Volumes and Their Protestant Humanist Context', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, III, 1996, pp. 23–47 (pp. 42–47).

all measures, Etheridge's centonic poem is unlike anything else from its time, and places its author in the avant-garde of neo-Greek literary culture in England.

1.4.3 Literary implications

Beyond its local contribution to Etheridge's oeuvre, *Wyatt's Conspiracy* has wider implications for the art of *imitatio* in Marian England, and even for literary creativity itself. The poem attests a spectrum of debts, its imitative engagements manifesting as anything from faint or misremembered echo (as in ll. 67, 98, 159, 288, and 315) to brazen reuse of Homeric whole-line tesserae (as in ll. 85, 131, 177, 197, and so on). As pastiche, it sits somewhere between, on the one hand, an artificial product of the commonplace-book or concordance method routinely associated with Marius Nizolius's 1535 thesaurus of Ciceronian words, the '*Nizolian* paper bookes, of […] figures and phrases' disparaged by Sir Philip Sidney; and, on the other, an organic, transformative assimilation of sources that sensitively recreates a recognisable verbal texture.[109] As *bricoleur*, Etheridge could unflatteringly be consigned to the status of a mere compiler or glorified copyist exemplifying all the limitations of schoolroom memorisation and none of the humanist virtues of digestion and assimilation – the most menial and derivative of go-betweens in a big intertextual soup of other writers' words. Accordingly, Etheridge would keep company with the scholastic writers derided by Erasmus for having 'put down nothing of their own', content instead 'to collect the sayings of others picked out here and there' and to pile up 'heaps of stuff' in a display of programmatic, doctrinaire conventionality.[110] Conversely, if Homeric bricolage is judged according to the ludic dexterity celebrated by Ausonius, then *Wyatt's Conspiracy* would attest not Etheridge's mechanical, derivative conventionality but his skill in adaptive imitation, his authorial singularity, and his deft touch

[109] Philip Sidney, *The Defence of Poesie*, London 1595, sigs I3$^{r–v}$.

[110] Erasmus, *Antibarbari*, trans. M. M. Phillips, *CWE*, XXIII, Toronto 1978, p. 90.

in modulating familiar materials to fit an unfamiliar or incongruous context, as he produces not only a new, original Greek poem but also for its time a new *kind* of Greek poem in England.

In mid-century critical pronouncements on invention, the poet's combinatory skill determines the success of *imitatio*. For the Professor of Rhetoric at Ferrara, Bartolomeo Ricci (1490–1569), any writer who binds together ('conglutinans') either individual words to individual words ('singula verba singulis verbis') or whole phrases ('locutiones item integras') lifted from a master-text such as Cicero will have admirably composed his speech.[111] In English literary criticism of the period, George Puttenham's technographic manual *The Arte of English Poesie*, likely begun during the 1560s, fêtes the poet's prosodic bricolage as a kind of artisanal craft. Since the poet-maker 'useth his metricall proportions by appointed and harmonicall measures and distaunces, he is like the Carpenter or Joyner, for borrowing their tymber and stuffe of nature, they appoint and order it by art otherwise th[a]n nature would doe'.[112] Reifying these critical precepts, vernacular English productions in the second half of the sixteenth century occasionally embrace the cento: Thomas Watson's *Hekatompathia* (1582), an eclectic, polyphonic assortment of poems composed in response to other national canons of literature, confronts a classical and continental legacy of poetry by recombining fragmented sources which he dutifully cites in the extensive headnotes to each lyric.[113] In the absence of annotations like Watson's, such bricolage as Etheridge's in *Wyatt's Conspiracy* places a certain burden on the discerning reader, specifically on what might be called the reader's intertextual memory.[114] The borrowings are not dissimulative – Etheridge makes no attempt to hide his tesseral

[111] Bartolomeo Ricci, *De imitatione libri tres*, Venice 1545, p. 77, cited by Tucker (as in n. 97), p. 8.

[112] George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie*, London 1589, sig. 2L2^{v}.

[113] On Watson as 'polyglot *cento* writer', see A. E. B. Coldiron, 'Watson's *Hekatompathia* and Renaissance Lyric Translation', *Translation and Literature*, V, 1996, pp. 3–25 (p. 9).

[114] R. Lyne, *Memory and Intertextuality in Renaissance Literature*, Cambridge 2016, p. 115.

reworking of Homer – but neither are they directly announced or glossed for the neophyte reader.

As a literary mode, the cento may have held a particular appeal for a committed Roman Catholic like Etheridge because its quintessential reuse of formular phrases is sympathetic to a kind of intellectual conservatism. The established tradition is reinscribed with each repeated appearance of a phrasal unit. Alternatively, or additionally, Etheridge may have sought to exploit the form's instructive possibilities. Proba's *Cento*, a model of good style and pious intent, was adopted as a classroom text by John Colet, founder of St Paul's School. Finally, were Mary realistically expected to read *Wyatt's Conspiracy*, Etheridge may have favoured the cento as a fitting medium since she would have been acquainted with the form. Among the authors recommended for Mary's edification by Vives in *De institutione feminae Christianae*, translated within a few years by Richard Hyrde, were Proba and Eudocia (Hyrde's 'Theodosia'):

> Valeria Proba / whiche loved her husbande singularly well / made the lyfe of our lorde Christe out of Virgils verses. Wryters of cronicles saye / that Theodosia / doughter [*sic*, for wife] unto Theodosius the yonger / was as noble by her lernyng and vertue / as by her Empire: & *th*e makynges *that* be taken out of Homer named centones be called hers.[115]

And in *De ratione studii puerilis* Vives recommended, from late-antique liturgical and hagiographic poets, the fourth-century Roman Christian poet Juvencus, who pioneered a kind of centonic Latin poetry. In four books of dactylic hexameter, Juvencus paraphrased Christ's life by recasting the Gospels in the style of Virgil. Of all the genres and forms available to

[115] Vives, *A very frutefull and pleasant boke called the Instruction of a Christen Woman*, trans. Richard Hyrde, London 1529, sigs D4^{v}–E1^{r}.

Etheridge, the pious cento, whatever its technical challenges, was perfectly calibrated to Mary's formative reading in classical languages and to her taste for devout literature.

1.5 Text

1.5.1 Provenance and hand

Wyatt's Conspiracy survives, uniquely, in Eton College Library, MS 148.[116] A slender volume, measuring fifteen centimetres by eleven centimetres and bound in mid brown calf from the late-seventeenth or early-eighteenth century, the manuscript contains thirty-nine paper leaves: the Latin preface occupies fols 1^{r}–9^{r}; fols 9^{v}–11^{v} are blank; the Greek poem fills fols 12^{r}–38^{r}, within which the stub of a missing or removed leaf appears between fols 30^{v} and 31^{r}. The manuscript probably entered Eton College Library after 1697, since it does not appear in Bernard's catalogue of that year.[117] The donor is named as Edward Betham (1709–83), a Fellow of Eton College from 1771 and donor of other Greek-language works such as a seventeenth-century manuscript copy of St Cyril's lexicon and another of St Photius's lexicon, suggesting that *Wyatt's Conspiracy* was an object of philological curiosity to him, perhaps one with some pedagogic potential to boot.

Coupled with statements in Etheridge's preface, the chirographic evidence (a tidy scholarly hand that appears to be scribal rather than autograph) suggests that the work was probably intended as a modest, rather than flamboyant, presentation copy. Calligraphic flourishes appear in the heading to the Latin preface, the main text of which is carefully aligned and justified to ensure uniform line width on the page, and the dittography of a whole line of Greek text at the foot of fol. 31^{v} suggests that the manuscript represents a fair scribal copy produced directly from Etheridge's own papers. Each verse of the Greek text begins with a

[116] See Kristeller (as in n. 27), p. 276b.

[117] *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ in unum collecti*, ed. Edward Bernard, Oxford 1697.

majuscule letter, and throughout the Greek lettering is upright, and cursive in clusters. Among the notable chirographic features that distinguish the scribal hand of *Wyatt's Conspiracy* from Etheridge's autograph script in his *Encomium* are certain habitual letter-forms: both the majuscule and miniscule forms of *gamma*; *delta* formed with a horizontal hook at the top, perpendicular to the stem; symmetrical *lambda* without a protruding stem; *rho* invariably penned with a bent descender; *tau* occasionally slack, especially in medial positions; and the *iota* in κἰ (a contraction of καὶ) entered with an elongated descending flourish. Ligatures, relatively sparse in Etheridge's autograph *Encomium*, here abound, including *epsilon-iota*, *eta-nu*, and *omicron-upsilon*: the impression given is that the scribe is striving to save space, to preserve a sense of the work's brevity and humility as, in the words of its preface, a trifling literary present and designedly little book.

The text of the poem features only sparse scribal punctuation, and as a result much ambiguity remains as to where sense breaks are needed. Lines in Homeric epic are liberally enjambed, and only about 40% of Homer's verses are definitively end-stopped. Absence of punctuation in *Wyatt's Conspiracy* may reflect implicit end-stopping in many cases, though in other cases whether lines are meant to be run-on or end-stopped is left in doubt, the answer depending perhaps on whether the poem was intended to be read on the page or to be heard *viva voce*. The scribe uses the diaeresis symbol (¨) extensively, perhaps attesting a particular, acoustic interest in the pronunciation of adjacent vowels rather than simply the coincidence of a foot's end and a word's end. The metrical irregularity of l. 335, in which the addition of Wyatt's name (the dactylic vocative 'Οὔετε') to the start of a verse lifted verbatim from Hera's complaint at *Iliad* IV.26 makes this line hypermetric, may indicate authorial licence rather than scribal error.

1.5.2 'Errors'

Apparent scribal errors may actually attest authorial skill, demonstrating Etheridge's designed irregularity or eclecticism. Homeric Greek, an artificial composite of different dialects and non-standardised spellings, is characterised by *hapax legomena* and an allowable degree of optional variability: orthography and grammar bend to meet a line's prosodic requirements. Ostensibly unusual forms in *Wyatt's Conspiracy*, such as 'πουλιάνειρων' (l. 101), may represent licit inventions sanctioned by the flexibility of Homeric language and metre. Other apparent lapses offer valuable orthographic clues to pronunciation: *ο* and *ω* are evidently interchangeable for Etheridge, as are *υ* (vowel) and *ι*, or *υ* (consonant) and *β*.[118] Greek pronunciation, the subject of dispute among sixteenth-century Hellenists, offers a gauge of a writer's doctrinal affiliations. The itacism of the German Catholic humanist Johann Reuchlin was favoured by religious conservatives over the etacism promulgated by Erasmus and embraced by reformists and forward Protestant humanists like Cheke.[119] A grammatical controversy (*bellum grammaticale*) took place over 1542–43 between, on the one hand, the steadfast reactionary Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester and Chancellor of the University of Cambridge who insisted on the Byzantine, scholastic pronunciation of Greek and outlawed the reformed pronunciation, and, on the other, Cheke (Cambridge's first Regius Professor of Greek, and later tutor to Edward VI) and Sir Thomas Smith (tutor to John Aylmer who would become Lady Jane Grey's tutor)

[118] See 'Συνωμοσία' for 'Συνομωσία', title; 'ἐγγύζειν' for 'ἐγγίζειν', l. 217; 'σεύεσθε' for 'σέβεσθε', l. 232. For *Iliad* IV.242, the annotated edition produced by Johann Herwagen (Hervagius) – which printed accompanying scholia alongside the poems for the first time – gives 'σεύεσθε' (Homer, *Homērou Ilias kai Odysseia meta tēs exēgēsios*, Basel 1535, sig. η5^{v}), whereas the first Greek Homer printed in England reads 'σέβεσθε' (as in n. 37, sig. E8^{r}).

[119] Erasmus, *De recta Latini Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione*, Paris 1528.

who advocated pronunciation reform.[120] Cheke and Smith sought to recover ancient usage – a return *ad fontes*, to a reconstruction of an allegedly pure original – dismissing continental pronunciation (like the old religion) as inauthentic, a set of erroneous accretions, a corruption sanctioned only by tradition.

These wranglings were published between the time of Wyatt's Rebellion in 1554 and Etheridge's completion of *Wyatt's Conspiracy* in 1557.[121] The debate took on not simply religious but more accurately 'ecclesio-political' inflections, since the reformed pronunciation was favoured not only by forward Protestants but also by those championing a version of Athenian republicanism.[122] One of Smith's students, John Ponet, the religious controversialist, Protestant bishop, advocate of reformed Greek pronunciation, and possible participant in Wyatt's Rebellion, saw published in 1556 his *Shorte Treatise*, a work often regarded as a manifesto for resistance theory – the systematic disobedience to any monarchical or institutional authority considered unjust.[123] Advocates of reformed pronunciation would, for Etheridge, constitute a threat due to both their evangelical leanings in matters of religious doctrine and their enthusiasm for a more republican polity in which the monarch's authority was commuted by, *inter alia*, a robust parliament. Also among those inclined favourably to Cheke's pronunciation reforms was Richard Morison – diplomat, humanist, and propagandist

[120] J. F. McDiarmid, 'Recovering Republican Eloquence: John Cheke versus Stephen Gardiner on the Pronunciation of Greek', *History of European Ideas*, XXXVIII, 2012, pp. 338–51 (p. 342).

[121] Cheke, *De pronuntiatione Græcæ potissimum linguæ disputationes cum Stephano Vuintoniensi Episcopo*, Basel 1555.

[122] McDiarmid (as in n. 120), p. 343.

[123] John Ponet, *A Shorte Treatise of Politike Power*, Strasbourg 1556. See McDiarmid (as in n. 120), p. 349; D. R. Kelley, 'Ideas of Resistance before Elizabeth', in *The Historical Renaissance: New Essays on Tudor and Stuart Literature and Culture*, ed. H. Dubrow and R. Strier, Chicago 1988, pp. 48–76. For Ponet's involvement in Wyatt's Rebellion, see John Stow, *The Annales of England*, London 1600, sig. 3Y4^{v}.

hack for Henry VIII, a philhellenist whose familiarity with and ability in Greek (including Homer) were praised by Ascham, and apparently a supporter of Wyatt's Rebellion despite playing no active part in it.[124]

Other apparent irregularities in *Wyatt's Conspiracy* can be traced to the editions of Homer from which Etheridge may have borrowed. Which edition he used remains frustratingly unclear. The 1488 Florentine Homer, the *editio princeps* of Homer in print supervised by Demetrios Chalkondyles, was among the early printed books owned by Corpus Christi College, and conceivably within Etheridge's reach.[125] At three points in *Wyatt's Conspiracy*, Etheridge shows debts to contested readings favoured by the Aldine editions of *The Iliad*. In ll. 176 (*φοβός*), 215 (*ἀφέξων*), and 283 (*ἀτερποῦς*) Etheridge's wording corresponds to readings preserved in the 1504 Aldine text, a two-volume octavo edition establishing a model of a complete works of Homer (incorporating *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, *Batrachomyomachia*, *Hymns*, and the *Lives* attributed to Herodotus, Dione, and Plutarch).[126] These readings are retained by other editions following in its wake, such as *Ὁμηρου Ἰλιας* (Venice 1517); *Ὁμηρου Ἰλιαδος Βιβλοι Α. και Β.* (Leuven 1523); and *Ὁμηρου Ἰλιας* (Strasbourg 1534). Etheridge, then, like More's Utopians, quite possibly encountered 'Homer […] in Aldus small prynte'.[127]

[124] T. Sowerby, *Renaissance and Reform in Tudor England: The Careers of Sir Richard Morison c. 1513–1556*, Oxford 2010, pp. 195, 222.

[125] Dowling (as in n. 39), p. 32.

[126] Homer, *Ὁμηρου Ἰλιας. Homeri Ilias*, Venice 1504.

[127] Thomas More, *A Fruteful, and Pleasaunt Worke of the Beste State of a Publyque Weale, and of the Newe Yle called Utopia*, trans. Raphe Robinson, London 1551, sig. N1^{r}.

2. Text

Ratio edendi

This edition of Etheridge's text reproduces the MS with as few editorial interventions as possible: all departures from the MS – in orthography, accentuation, and punctuation – are recorded in the critical apparatus (except for double inverted commas, which have been silently introduced to the Greek text to signal direct speech). Latin scribal abbreviations and Byzantine ligatures are silently expanded; lunate sigma is standardised (σ, Σ); κ̓ is silently reproduced as καὶ; diaereses are retained in the edited text only to indicate when adjacent vowels do not form a diphthong. The scribe's occasional, idiosyncratic insertion of the diaeresis symbol above *epsilon* is not recorded.

The MS text of the poem, appearing as one unbroken, monostrophic block, is very sparsely punctuated by the scribe, as if any syntactic pauses (typically at the end of verses) were implicit. Scribal punctuation, when it does occur, predominantly takes the form of commas and full stops, with occasional colons and three instances of the semi-colon (·), in ll. 255, 307, and 368, although the distinction between the scribe's full stops and semi-colons is at times a slender one (as in l. 347). The scribe's commas, used indiscriminately to indicate light pauses and more emphatic syntactic breaks, have on occasion been replaced in the edited text below by semi-colons, as recorded in the *apparatus criticus*.

[fol. 1r]

Serenissimae & Potentissimae

Mariæ Angliæ, Hispaniarum

Franciæ, Utriusque Siciliæ

Hierusalem & Hiberniæ

Reginæ et caeterae Georgius

Ethrigius fœlicitatem

perpetuam p^re^catur.

Quandoquidem mearum rerum conditio, ita semper fuit comparata Serenissima Regina, ut ad fovendum studia mea omnia, & ad me meosque omnes alendos, primum Henrici Octavi patris tui [fol. 1v] Regis illustrissimi erga summum beneficium extiterit, quo me ad profitendum publicè Græcas literas Oxonii conduxit, deinde tua potissimum munificentia idem postea redditum ac restitutum mihi sit, postremò Philippi Regis nostri invictissimi summa liberalitate etiam auctum habuerim, mearum esse partium existimo, ut non [fol. 2r] solum veluti subditus pro eo ac debeo omnia mea tuæ Celsitudini accepta referam, verumetiam ut quia plus quam cæteri tot meritis obstrictus devinctusque sum, eò magis omnibus nervis obnixè in hoc incumbam, ut omnem fidem ac observantiam, omnia denique quæ possum officia ex animo praestare satagam. Et quoniam nos tenuis fortunæ [fol. 2v] homines, qui nihil ferè in vita nisi eruditionem & literas consectari solemus alias opes nullas habemus quas reddamus præter aliquem fortasse ingenii fœtum & literarium munusculum, ecce tuæ Amplitudini offero libellum parvum quidem illum, sed qui rem sanè magnam & æterna memoria dignam

fol. 1v **non]** catchword: solum

fol. 2r **obstrictus]** obstr~~i~~ictus (MS); **fortunæ]** catchword: homines

contineat. Nam cum [fol. 3r] de præstanti & eximio animi tui robore, quod tibi Deus Optimus Maximus iam olim indidit, sæpè cogitare soleo, & non modo ea omnia altius consydero quæ fortiter atque constanter multis annis ante Regni huius tui suscepta gubernacula pertuleris, verumetiam quæ ante paucos annos adeò præclarè gesseris, ut ea haud dubiè omnis [fol. 3v] admiratura sit posteritas, sedulò mihi faciendum putavi, ut cum alii nonnulli de iis Anglicè & Latinè conscripserint, ego item aliqua excerperem è multis quae meæ turbæ hominibus, hoc est, Græcarum Literarum studiosis commendarem, ut res tantæ, tam illustres, tam splendidæ & magnificæ non modo iam omnibus linguis decantetur, [fol. 4r] verumetiam legantur fortasse.·. in posterum ab ipsis Græciæ incolis, quos iamdudum audire, obstupescere, & summa admiratione prosequi tuas virtutes, mihi prorsus persuadeo. Descripsi enim hic versiculis paucis insignem victoriam & speciosissimum illum triumphum quem devicto nephario illo Catilina Wiato ante tres annos [fol. 4v] habuisti. Nec est quod metuam ne ideò hæc minus placere possint eximiæ prudentiæ tuæ quod Græcis literis conscripta sint, cum & hæc etiam studia, sicuti cætera omnia quæ in Ecclesia Catholica Christi gloriæ propagandæ usui esse possunt, in utraque tua Academia magnificis & verè Regiis, stipendiis foveas, & tum vi-[fol. 5r]ros complures huius linguæ probè doctos, tum fœminas etiam aliquot tecum habeas & plurimi facias, quæ harum literarum tam insigniter sunt peritæ, ut hoc quidem nomine florentissimo istud tuum Regnum iam propè cum ipsa antiquitate possit contendere. Sed nec, hoc me multum deterret, quod à paucioribus fortasse nunc ista [fol. 5v] legentur, nec

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fol. 2v **cum]** catchword: de

fol. 3r **omnis]** catchword: ad

fol. 3v **decantetur]** catchword: verum

fol. 4r **annos]** catchword: habuis-

fol. 4v **vi-]** catchword: -ros

fol. 5r **ista]** catchword: legentur

enim tantopere id iam spectandum esse iudico, cum rerum istarum memoria adhuc recens in animis homini incalescat, aut quodammodo in imis mentium penetralibus satis insculpta sit, sed illud potius providendum curandumque sit, ut ad certissimam fidem faciendam etiam posteris hæc omnia testata relinquamus. Neque [fol. 6^{r}] enim à nobis, qui tua munificentia assiduè alimur, ullo modo committendum censemus, ut res tuæ gestæ tam amplæ et ad miraculum usque praeclaræ silentio involvantur, sed potius omnibus modis ita in lucem proferantur, ut eas nulla unquam obscuratura sit oblivio. Sed neque intempestivè me hoc quicquid est opellæ Celsitudini tuæ exhibere iudicabit quispiam [fol. 6^{v}] qui vel ea quæ hic scribuntur benè perpenderit, vel animi mei, et voluntatis ac studii æquus æstimator esse voluerit. Cum enim huc præcipuè conatus mei omnes spectent, ut hoc qualicumque scripto tibi & Regno Universo gratulari cupiam prosperum Potentissimi Regis nostri in Angliam reditum, non malè convenire existimavi, ut quodammodo [fol. 7^{r}] memoriam refricarem iræ & vindictæ divinæ quæ in illum nepharium hominem iustè inflicta est, qui veluti Esaü alter, tuo huc primum venienti Iacob, aut Israël potius (nam in Domino se fortissime praestitit) ut sanctissimas tecum nuptias contraheret, venire in occursum cum quadringentis, destinarat. Iam igitur unum praecipuè est quod me satis [fol. 7^{v}] consolatur & animos mihi facit ut ausim hoc tam leve meæ erga tuam sublimitatem observantiæ symbolum dare, quod ut Rex ipse serenissimus huiusmodi congratulationem nostram in publica omnium honorum lætitia cum in Angliam primum veniret, libello quodam illius nomini nuncupato, libentissimè accepit: ita te pro tuo eximio candore illius incredibi-[fol. 8^{r}]lem & inauditam (ut in tanto Principe)

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fol. 5^{v} **Neque]** catchword: enim

fol. 6^{r} **quispiam]** catchword: qui

fol. 6^{v} **quodammodo]** catchword: memo

fol. 7^{r} **vindictæ]** vindicte (MS); **satis]** catchword: consolatr [sic]

fol. 7^{v} **incredibi-]** catchword: lem

humanitatem sicuti cæteras præclaras ipsius virtutes optimè referre in animum induco meum. Quare hac spe sustentatus petere non erubesco ut hoc quicquid est officioli æqui boni consulas, & sicuti olim cum Tobias & Sara in unum conveniebant, in multos dies gaudium bonorum protendeba-[fol. 8^{v}]tur, ita nos etiam tuos subditos patiaris gratulationem qualemcumque nostram adhuc in longius tempus protrahere & in immensum gaudere. Sic Dominus Iesus qui pro sua inscrutabili providentia suo Angelo duce ad maximas res gerendas illum ad tempus misit & incolumem reduxit, utrosque vos simul perpetuò tueatur & conservet. [fol. 9^{r}] Sic ille ut fortissimus Iosüe hostes Ecclesiæ Catholicæ prosternat & penitus subvertat:

Sic omnes tecum meritis pro talibus annos
Exigat: Et denique
Sic illum facias tu pulchra prole parentem: cui orbis Christianus universus in summa rerum tranquillitate & pace libentissime possit congratulari.

Oxonii quarto Nonas Aprilis.

fol. 8^{r} **protendeba-]** catchword: tur

fol. 8^{v} **conservet]** catchword: Sic

Οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μούσας τε καὶ ἀργυρότοξον Ἀπόλλω
Εὐχοίμην ἐπικουρήσειν ἐμοί, ὄφρα τελέσσω
Ἧν νέον ἐν θυμῷ τε καὶ ἐν φρεσὶν εἶχον ἀοιδήν,
Ἀλλὰ Θεὸν Χριστόν γ’ ὃς ὑπέρτατα δώματα ναίει
Ἐλθεῖν εἰς ἐμὸν ἦτορ ἐπεύχομαι, ὅν ῥ’ ἐπέεσσι
Ὑμνίζειν τούτοις καὶ ἐπαινέσσαι μάλα ἔγνων·
Οὕνεκα ἄρτι παρ’ ὑμῖν θαύματα πολλὰ ἐποίει
Νήσῳ ἐν ἀμφιρύτῳ, ἐριβώλακι Βρεττανιείῃ, [fol. 12v]
Τῇ βασιλίσσῃ τῇ Μαριᾷ μέγα κῦδος ἀείρων.
Ὦ πάτερ ἠμέτερε, πάντων Θεὲ δῶτερ ἐάων,
Δὸς πυκινὰ φρονέειν νημερτέα τε λόγον εἰπεῖν.
Πῶς κεν τοῖς ἄγγλοισι χάριν καὶ κῦδος ἄροιο,
Καὶ πάμπρωτα κλέος ἐσθλὸν Μαριᾷ βασιλίσσῃ,
Ἥδ’ ἄρα σοὶ περὶ κῆρι τιέσκεται ἠδὲ φιλεῖται,
Ὅττ’ αὐτῇ ἀρετὴ καὶ τὰ καλὰ πάντα μέμηλε. [fol. 13r]
Πολλάκι γοῦν αὐτὴν ἐσάωσας λοιγὸν ἀμύνας,

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0 **Συνωμοσία]** Συνομωσΐα (MS); here and for all running heads.
1 **μούσας]** μουσὰς (MS)
2 **ἐμοί]** ἐμοὶ (MS)
3 **Ἧν]** Ἥν (MS); **φρεσὶν]** φρέσιν (MS); **ἀοιδήν,]** ἀειδὴν (MS)
4 **Χριστόν]** Χρίστὸν (MS); **ὃς]** ὅς (MS)
5 **ἐπέεσσι]** ἐπέεσσϊ (MS)
6 **ἔγνων·]** ἔγνων (MS)
7 **Οὕνεκα ἄρτι]** Οὔνεκα ἄρτϊ (MS)
8 **ἀμφιρύτῳ, ἐριβώλακι Βρεττανιείῃ,]** ἀμφϊρύτῳ ἐριβώλακϊ Βρεττανιειῃ (MS)
9 **Μαριᾷ]** Μαρϊᾷ (MS)
10 **ἠμέτερε,]** ἠμέτερε (MS); **ἐάων,]** ἐάων (MS)
12 **κεν]** κὲν (MS); **ἄγγλοισι]** ἄγγλοισϊ (MS); **ἄροιο,]** ἄροιο (MS)
13 **Μαριᾷ]** Μαρϊᾷ (MS); **βασιλίσσῃ,]** βασιλίσσῃ (MS)
14 **κῆρι τιέσκεται]** κῆρϊ τϊέσκεται (MS); **φιλεῖται,]** φιλεῖται (MS)
16 **Πολλάκι]** Πολλάκϊ (MS)

Ὣς ὅτ’ ἀπὸ χροὸς ἡ μήτηρ τὴν μυῖαν ἐέργει

Παιδός, ἀπὸ κραδίας φιλέουσά τε κηδομένη τε.

Καὶ παρεῶ μὲν πολλά γ’ ἔχων ἐνταῦθα ἐειπεῖν,

Ἓν δὲ μόνον λέξω Θεὸς ὁ πρώην μὲν ἐποίει,

Τὴν τιμήν τε φέρων βασιλίσσῃ καὶ κλέος ἐσθλόν,

Ὄφρ’ οὕτω ἐς ἀεὶ πάντες μνησώμεθα δόξης. [fol. 13^{v}]

Ἔστι πόλις, Λονδίνον μὲν καλέουσιν ἅπαντες

Οἳ βροτοὶ εἶσιν ἐπιχθόνιοι, ἄλλων περὶ πασῶν

Γνωρίμη, εὐναιομένη, πολύ τ’ οὖσα μεγίστη·

Ἀλλὰ κακῶν πλῆθος πολλῶν εἴωθε γενέσθαι

Πανσυδίῃ, ὅπη ἐστὶ πολὺς καὶ σύρφετος ὄχλος,

Αἵρεσις ἔνθα κακῶν λέρνην (φασὶν) αὔξεται αἰεί

Πόρνους, καὶ μοίχους, καὶ κερδαλεόφρονας ἄνδρας. [fol. 14^{r}]

Οὗτοι γοῦν ἀρετῇ μὲν βασκήναντες ἀνάσσης

Τῆς Μαριᾶς (ἡ πρώτη τοῦτό γε τοὔνομ’ ἔχουσα

Ἔμμορε τῆς τιμῆς, καὶ σκήπτρου Βρεττανιείης)

Τὸν δόλον, ἠδὲ κακὴν ἔριδα, καὶ φύλοπιν αἰνήν

Εὗρον, ὅπως οὕτω κακά κεν παλίνορσα λάθοιντο

Δόγματα, τούς τε τρόπους φαύλους εἰς δῆμον ἄγοντες·

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17 **μήτηρ]** μητὴρ (MS)
18 **Παιδός]** Παιδὸς (MS); **κραδίας φιλέουσά]** κραδῖας φιλέουσὰ (MS); **κηδομένη]** κηδομένὴ (MS)
19 **πολλά]** πολλὰ (MS)
20 **Ἓν δὲ]** Ἔν δε (MS); **ἐποίει,]** ἐποίει (MS
21 **τιμήν]** τιμὴν (MS); **ἐσθλόν,]** ἐσθλὸν (MS)
23 **Ἔστι]** Ἐστὶ (MS); **καλέουσιν]** καλέουσῖν (MS)
24 **βροτοὶ]** βρότοι (MS); **ἄλλων]** ἀλλῶν (MS)
25 **οὖσα]** οὔσα (MS); **μεγίστη·]** μεγίστη (MS)
27 **Πανσυδίῃ]** Πανσυδΐῃ (MS); **ἐστὶ]** ἐστι (MS); **ὄχλος,]** ὄχλος (MS
31 **Μαριᾶς]** Μαρΐᾶς (MS); **τοῦτό]** τοῦτὸ (MS)
33 **ἔριδα]** ἐρίδα (MS); **αἰνήν]** αἰνὴν (MS)
34 **κακά κεν]** κακὰ κὲν (MS)
35 **ἄγοντες·]** ἄγοντες (MS)

Ταῦτα γὰρ ἐκβάλλειν διὰ σπουδῆς εἶχε μάλιστα. [fol. 14ᵛ]

Πόῤῥω τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡ παρθένος οὖσά γ’ ἀνάσση,

Κῦδος ἀείρουσα Χριστῷ ὁς ὑπέρτατα ναίει

Καὶ τιμῶσα καλούς, καὶ μηδὲ φέρουσα πονηρούς:

Τῆς τ’ ἀρετῆς τιθεῖσα καλῆς τὰ σπέρματα λαμπρά.

Κάντιος ἦν ἀνὴρ ἐν τούτοις, Οὔετον αὐτόν

Ἐξονομάζουσι, θρασὺς μέν, καὶ Ἄρεος ὄζος·

Ὡς ὤφελεν ἐνὶ καρτίστῳ σώματ’ ἐνεῖναι [fol. 15ʳ]

Κοσμηθεῖσα ψυχὴ ἀρετῆς, βλαστήμασι λαμπροῖς.

Ἀλλ’ ὅγε δὴ προδότης ὁλοαῖς φρεσὶν ᾗσι κάκιστος

Λυγρὸν τὸν πόλεμον βουλεύσατο σύν γ’ ἑτάροισι,

Οἱ συνομώσαντες πολλοὶ μὲν ἐτύγχανον, ὅσσοι

Προκρίνουσι καλῶν τὰ μὲν ἔργα ὀλέθρια θυμῷ,

Αἱρετικοὶ δὲ μάλιστα, καὶ οἱ τῆς πίστιος ἐχθροί.

Τῆς δὲ κακῆς βουλῆς ἀρχή γ’ ἐγένοντο ἀγανοί [fol. 15ᵛ]

Ἥρωες τινές. Ἐνρῖκος Σουφολχικὸς ἀρχός

Καὶ Καρῶε δύω φαυλοῦ ἡγήτορε λαοῦ,

Τοὺς δ’ ἄλλους παρεῶ ἐξειπεῖν ἔκ τ’ ὀνομάζειν.

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36 **διὰ]** δϊὰ (MS)
37 **οὖσά]** οὔσα (MS); **ἀνάσση,]** ἀνάσση (MS)
39 **καλούς]** καλοὺς (MS); **μηδὲ πονηρούς]** μὴδὲ πονηροὺς (MS)
40 **λαμπρά]** λαμπρὰ (MS)
41 **αὐτόν]** αὐτὸν (MS)
42 **Ἐξονομάζουσι]** Ἐξονομάζουσϊ (MS); **μέν]** μὲν (MS); **ὄζος·]** ὄζος (MS)
44 **ἀρετῆς, βλαστήμασι λαμπροῖς.]** ἀρετῆς βλαστήμασϊ λαμπροῖς (MS)
45 **ὁλοαῖς φρεσὶν ᾗσι]** ὁλοαῖς φρεσὶν ᾗσϊ (MS)
46 **σύν]** σὺν (MS); **ἑτάροισι,]** ἑτάροισϊ (MS)
48 **Προκρίνουσι]** Προκρίνουσϊ (MS); **θυμῷ,]** θυμῷ (MS)
49 **πίστιος ἐχθροί]** πίστεος ἐχθροὶ (MS)
50 **δὲ]** δε (MS); **ἀγανοί]** ἀγανοὶ (MS)
51 **ἀρχός]** ἀρχὸς (MS)
53 **ἔκ τ’]** ἐκτ’ (MS)

Ἔνθα βασιλίσσης ἐλεαίρων κηδόμενος τε,

Χριστὸς τῶν προδοτῶν δηλώσας ἔφθανε βουλάς,

Ὦκα γὰρ οὐλομένων βουλῶν βασίλισσα συνεῖκε.

Καὶ μὴν πρῶτον ἑλοῦσα τινὰς ἡγήτορας ἄνδρας, [fol. 16r]

Εὖ φρονέουσα δαμᾷ γε καθειρξαμένη ἐνὶ δεσμοῖς.

Οὗετος οὖν εἰδὼς ταῦτ', ἀσπερχὲς μενεαίνει,

Αὐτὰρ συγκαλέσας τῶν αἰχμητῶν στίχας ἀνδρῶν,

Τρεῖς μὲν ἐθώρηξεν χιλίους τῶν ἀσπιστάων·

Σὺν τούτοις ὅσον εἶχε τάχους πρὸς τὸ πτολίεθρον

Βῆ δ' ἰέναι Λόνδινον, καὶ τῆς μνήσατο χάρμης.

Ἔστι γέρων ἥρως, μάλα ἡλικίαν προβεβηκώς, [fol. 16v]

Ὃν καλέουσι πανδημεὶ Νορφόλχικον ἀρχόν,

Ὅς περὶ μὲν βουλῇ πάντων περὶ δ' ἐστὶ μάχεσθαι,

Νέστορ' ἀτάλαντος φρένα, καὶ κρατερῷ Ἀχιλῆϊ

Ἴκελος ἦν ἀλκὴν νέος ὤν, ἢ Ἕκτορι δίῳ·

Βούλεται οὖν οὗτος προδοτῶν στρατῷ ἀντιφέρεσθαι,

Καί ῥ' ἔλαθεν μικροῦ δεῖν εἰσπίπτων λόχον αὐτός,

Ὅνπερ ἐμηχανᾶτό γ' ὁ Οὗετος ἀγκυλομῆτις, [fol. 17r]

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55 **βουλάς,]** βουλὰς (MS)
56 **βασίλισσα]** βασίλίσσα (MS), second ί partially erased
57 **ἄνδρας,]** ἄνδρὰς (MS)
58 **δαμᾷ γε]** δαμᾷγε (MS)
59 **ἀσπερχὲς μενεαίνει,]** ἀσπαρχὲς μενεαίνει (MS)
60 **ἀνδρῶν,]** ἀνδρῶν (MS
61 **ἀσπιστάων·]** ἀσπιστάων (MS)
64 **Ἔστι]** Ἐστι (MS); **ἡλικίαν προβεβηκώς]** ἡλικΐαν προβεβηκὼς (MS)
65 **Ὃν καλέουσι]** Ὃν καλέουσϊ (MS); **ἀρχόν,]** ἀρχὸν (MS)
66 **Ὅς]** Ὅς (MS); **περὶ δ' ἐστὶ μάχεσθαι,]** περὶ δ' ἐστι μάχεσθαι (MS)
68 **ᾗ]** ᾖ (MS); **δίῳ·]** διῳ (MS)
69 **Βούλεται οὖν]** Βουλεται ϝοῦν (MS); **οὗτος]** ο˜ὗτος (MS); **ἀντιφέρεσθαι,]** ἀντιφέρεθαι (MS)
70 **Καί ῥ']** Καὶ ῥ (MS); **εἰσπίπτων]** εἰσπιπτων (MS); **αὐτός,]** αὐτὸς (MS)
71 **ἐμηχανᾶτό]** ἐμηχανᾶτο (MS); **ὁ]** ὅ (MS)

Ὃς προμάχους τινὰς ἀσπιστὰς λάθρᾳ προέπεμψε·

Ἅρπερον ἀρχηγόν τινὰ θωρηχθῆν᾽ ἅμα τούτοις

Εἴς τε λόχον ἰέναι σὺν ἀριστήεσσι κελεύει.

Ὅς ῥα προϊσχόμενος φεύγειν, ἐλίσσετο γούνων

Ἠρῶος μεγαθύμου, καὶ πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν·

“Ζώγρει ὦ πανάριστε, σὺ δ᾽ ἄξια δέξαι ἄποινα

Τῶν ἐχθρῶν· γὰρ ἐγὼ λέξω νημερτέα βουλήν, [fol. 17^{v}]

Δεῦρο μαχησόμενος δ᾽ ἕνεκα σοῦ ἦλυθον αὐτός.”

Ὣς φάτο. Καὶ τὰς αἰχμητῶν παρέδωκε φάλαγγας,

Μίσγεται οὖν ἄλλοις στρατιώταις τοῦ γε γέροντος,

Καὶ τῆς πίστεος ἄξιος ἐν στρατῷ εὔχεται εἶναι

Καὶ κατάγει ἥρωα καλόν, μεγάθυμον, ἀγανόν

Πλησίον εἰς στιβαρὰς συνομωσάντων στίχας ἐχθρῶν.

Οἳ δ᾽ ὅτε δὴ σχεδὸν ἦσαν ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλοισιν ἰόντες [fol. 18^{r}]

Ἤσθετ᾽ ἔπειτα πολύπλοκον ἀρτίφρων δόλον ἥρως·

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ φεύγειν ἔγνω τοὺς συστρατιώτας,

Οὕς ἐκ Λονδίνου πόλεος ἐξήγαγεν ἄρτι,

Οὐτιδανοὺς ἄνδρας, κακ᾽ ἐλέγχεα, πιστὰ ταμόντας,

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72 **Ὃς]** Ὅς (MS); **τινὰς]** τινας (MS); **λάθρᾳ προέπεμψε·]** λάθρα προέπεμψε (MS)
73 **ἀρχηγόν]** ἀρχηγὸν (MS)
74 **Εἴς τε]** Εἰς τὲ (MS); **ἀριστήεσσι κελεύει.]** ἀριστήεσσϊ κελεύει (MS)
75 **Ὅς]** Ὅς (MS)
76 **ἔειπεν·]** ἔειπεν (MS)
78 **ἐχθρῶν·]** ἐχθρῶν (MS); **βουλήν,]** βουλὴν (MS)
79 **αὐτός.]** αὐτὸς (MS)
80 **Ὣς φάτο]** Ὡς φατο (MS)
81 **Μίσγεται]** Μΐσγεται (MS); **τοῦ γε γέροντος,]** τοῦγε γέροντος (MS)
83 **καλόν]** καλὸν (MS); **ἀγανόν]** ἀγανὸν (MS)
84 **Πλησίον]** Πλησΐον (MS); **ἐχθρῶν.]** ἐχθρῶν (MS)
85 **Οἳ]** Οΐ (MS); **ἀλλήλοισιν]** ἀλλήλλοισιν (MS)
86 **Ἤσθετ᾽]** Ἥσθετ᾽ (MS); **ἥρως·]** ἥρως (MS)
87 **συστρατιώτας,]** συστρατϊώτας (MS)
88 **ἄρτι,]** ἄρτι (MS)
89 **ταμόντας,]** ταμόντας (MS)

Προφρονέως ἀνεχώρησεν παλίνορσος ἀποστάς·

Εἰ δὲ μάχης αὐτόν γ’ οὐκ ἄν ῥ’ ἐξήγαγεν ἵππος,

Οὐδὲ τότ’ ἂν μὲν κεῖνος ὑπέκφυγε κῆρα μέλαιναν. [fol. 18^{v}]

Ὡς δ’ ἀπὸ σπινθῆρος κάλαμον τὰ πρῶτα λαβόντος,

Κἀξ ὕλης ξηρᾶς πῦρ αὔξησιν περιεῖλε

Καὶ φλόγι δὴ πολλῇ ἐπιμίσγεται, οὐδ’ ἔτι παύει

Αἴθων τά τ’ ἐγγύς, καὶ τὰ ποῤῥωθεν ἐόντα·

Ὡς ἐκ κακίας, ὀλίγων παύρων τε κακούργων,

Ἐγγίνεται πολλὴ ταραχὴ καὶ πήματα λυγρά.

Ἔνθα γὰρ ἐξώτρυνε μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἑκάστου [fol. 19^{r}]

Οὗετος, ὅττι τύχη πρώτῃ ἀποκρίνεται εὐχῇ·

Καὶ πρὸς Λονδίνον πτολίεθρον πουλυάνειρον

Σπεῦσε τάχιστα, λαβὼν συνομώσαντας μὲν ἑταίρους,

Οἳ δ’ ἄρα ἐπασσύτεροι μνησθέντες θούριδος ἀλκῆς

Ἐκ πόλεος τινὰ συμμαχίαν ζητοῦντες ἔπονται,

Οἰόμενοί γ’ ἐπικουρήσειν τοὺς Λονδονιαίους

Καὶ συνεπιλήψειν αὐτοῖς πολέμοιο κακίστου. [fol. 19^{v}]

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90 **ἀποστάς·]** ἀποστὰς (MS)
91 **αὐτόν]** αὐτὸν (MS); **ἵππος,]** ἵππος (MS)
92 **ἂν]** ἄν (MS)
93 **λαβόντος,]** λαβόντος (MS)
95 **ἐπιμίσγεται]** ἐπϊμῐ́σγεται (MS); **παύει]** Unclear orthography in MS; ‘παύει’ likelier than ‘παίει’.
96 **τά τ’ ἐγγύς]** τάτ’ ἔγγυς (MS); **ἐόντα·]** ἐόντα. (MS)
97 **κακίας]** κακΐας **(**MS); **παύρων]** παυρῶν (MS); **κακούργων,]** κακούργων (MS)
98 **λυγρά]** λυγρὰ (MS)
99 **μένος καὶ]** μένος μὲν καὶ (MS)
100 **ὅττι]** ὅττι (MS); **εὐχῇ·]** εὐχῇ (MS)
101 **πτολίεθρον]** πτολΐεθρον (MS); **πουλυάνειρον]** πουλιάνειρ{~~ο~~}ν (MS)
102 **τάχιστα,]** τάχιστα (MS)
103 **Οἳ]** Οΐ (MS)
104 **συμμαχίαν]** συμμαχΐαν (MS); **ἕπονται,]** ἕπονται (MS)
105 **Οἰόμενοί]** Οἰόμενοι (MS)
106 **κακίστου.]** κακίστου (MS)

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πτολιέθρῳ πλησίον ἦσαν ἅπαντες

Τὰς κλισίας παρὰ Ταμίσεος τὰ ῥεῖθρα τέθεντο·

Ἔνθα δυοῖν παρέμειναν δὴ μόνον ἤματα κεῖνοι,

Τῷ τρίτῳ δ’ ἅμα πάντες πρὸς πόλιν ἐστιχόωντο.

Ἀλλ’ ἐπεί οὖν διαπορθμεύειν στρατὸν ἀδύνατον ἦν:

Οὗετος (ὡς λόγος ἐστί) δύω λάθρᾳ μὲν ἑταίρῳ

Νυκτὶ κολυμβῶν τε σκαφῶν τὰ σπάρτα κελεύει [fol. 20^{r}]

Ὦκα λύειν, ἀπάγειν τε, καὶ ἄλλοις ὧδε βοηθεῖν,

Οἳ δ’ ἐπεὶ εἰς ἕτερον ῥείθρου μέρος ἦλθον, ἄγοντες

Χαλκοβαρεῖς ἄνδρας, βροτολοιγούς, τειχεσιπλῆτας,

Καὶ τότε δή ῥ’ ἐς χῶρον ἕνα ξυνιόντες ἵκοντο,

Καὶ μὲν ἐπασσύτεραι προδοτῶν κίνυντο φάλαγγες

Νωλεμέως πόλεμον δέ. μάχεσθαι δὴ μεμαῶτες

Εἰς πεδίον δὲ διεστηκὸς μὴ οὐ πτολίεθρου [fol. 20^{v}]

Πόῤῥω, πάντες ἔβαν προπετῶς ἐγχέσπαλοι ἄνδρες.

Οὗετος ἐν προμάχοισιν ἐῆν, ἕο ἀλκὶ πεποιθώς·

Ἀλλ’ ἑτέρωθεν ὑπὲρ βασιλίσσης ὁ στρατὸς εὐρύς

Ἔστηκεν μεῖνας, ὡς ἄρξειεν πολέμοιο.

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107 **πτολιέθρῳ πλησίον]** πτολῐ́έθρῳ πλησῖον (MS)
108 **κλισίας]** κλισῖας (MS); **τέθεντο·]** τέθεντο (MS)
109 **ἤματα κεῖνοι,]** ἤματα κεῖνοι (MS)
111 **στρατὸν]** στρ~~ά~~ατὸν (MS)
112 **ἐστί]** ἐστι (MS); **λάθρᾳ]** λάθρα (MS)
113 **Νυκτὶ]** Νυκτὶ (MS)
114 **ὦδε]** ~~ὧ~~ὦδε (MS)
115 **Οἳ]** Οἵ (MS); **ῥείθρου]** ῥειθρου (MS); **ἦλθον,]** ἦλθον (MS)
116 **βροτολοιγούς, τειχεσιπλῆτας,]** βροτολοιγοὺς, τειχεσιπλῆτας (MS)
117 **δή]** δὴ (MS); **ἕνα ξυνιόντες ἵκοντο,]** ἑνὰ ξυνῐ́οντες ἵκοντο (MS)
119 **δέ]** δὲ (MS)
120 **πεδίον]** πεδῖον (MS)
122 **ἐῆν,]** ἐῆν (MS); **ἀλκὶ πεποιθώς·]** ἀλκὶ πεποιθὼς (MS)
123 **εὐρύς]** εὐρὺς (MS)
124 **Ἔστηκεν μεῖνας,]** Ἔστηκεν μεῖνας (MS); **πολέμοιο.]** πολέμοιο (MS)

Τριπλῇ δὲ στιβαροὶ αἰχμηταί ῥ’ ἐστιχόωντο.

Δεξίτερον μέρος εἶχον ἐφ’ ἵπποις οἱ πολεμοῦντες

Χαλκεοθωρῆκες, δολιχόσκιατ’ ἔγχε’ ἔχοντες, [fol. 21r]

Ἀλλ’ ἐτέρωθεν ἔτι μέντοι ἄλλοι τε παρῆσαν

Ἱππόται οἱ κρατεροί, τὰ τεύχεα λεῖα φέροντες,

Ἐν μέσσῳ πέζῃ δ’ ἔσαν ἀσπιστῶν στίχες ἀνδρῶν.

Ἔνθ’ οὐκ ἂν βρίζοντα ἴδοις, οὐδ’ οὐκ ἐθέλοντα μάχεσθαι

Οὔετον, οὐδ’ ἀμελῶς ἐξοτρύνοντα ἕκαστον,

Ἀλλὰ μάλα σπεύδοντα μάχην εἰς κυδιάνειραν.

Ὡς δ’ ὅτε τὸν Χριστὸν προδότης προέδωκεν Ἰοῦδας, [fol. 21v]

Οὐκ ὄκνηρος ἐήν, οὐδ’ αὐτόν γ’ ὕπνος ἵκανε,

Οὐδὲ καταπτώσσων τὰ πράγματα φαῦλος ἐποίει,

Οὕτω πῶς σπουδῇ ῥα μετεχειρίζετο χάρμης

Οὗετος ὁ προδότης, πολλοῖς τ’ ἐπέεσσιν ἑταίρους

Θαρσύνεσκε παριστάμενος· καὶ ταῦτα προσηύδα·

“Ὦ φίλοι ἄνδρες, ἐπεὶ νῦν τὸ πλεῖστον πολέμοιο

Ὑμέτεραι χεῖρες διέπουσιν, τὸ πτολίεθρον [fol. 22r]

Λόνδινον μισθὸν δώσει, ὅτε δασμὸς ἵκηται·

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125 **αἰχμηταί]** αἰχμηταὶ (MS); **ἐστιχόωντο.]** ἐστιχόωντο (MS)
127 **Χαλκεοθωρῆκες,]** Χαλκεοθωρῆκες (MS); **ἔγχε’ ἔχοντες,]** ἐγχε’ ἔχοντες (MS)
128 **ἔτι]** ἔτϊ (MS); **ἄλλοι]** ἄλλοὶ (MS)
129 **οἱ κρατεροί,]** ϰοί κρατεροὶ (MS); **κρατεροὶ]** κράτεροι (MS); **φέροντες,]** φέροντες (MS)
130 **στίχες ἀνδρῶν.]** στιχὲς ἀνδρῶν (MS)
131 **Ἔνθ’]** Ἐνθ’ (MS); **ἂν]** ἄν (MS); **μάχεσθαι]** μάχεσθε (MS)
132 **ἕκαστον,]** ἕκαστον (MS)
133 **κυδιάνειραν.]** κυδϊάνειραν (MS)
134 **Ἰοῦδας,]** Ἰοῦδας (MS)
135 **ἐήν,]** ἐήν (MS); **αὐτόν γ’]** αὐτὸν γɛ᾽ (MS); **ἵκανε,]** ἵκανε (MS)
138 **ἐπέεσσιν]** ἐπέεσσϊν (MS)
139 **παριστάμενος·]** παριστάμενος (MS); **προσηύδα·]** προσηύδα (MS)
141 **διέπουσιν]** δϊέπουσϊν (MS); **πτολίεθρον]** πτολΐεθρον (MS)
142 **μισθὸν]** μϊσθὸν (MS); **ἵκηται·]** ἵκηται (MS)

Ῥᾷστα γὰρ οὔ τινος ἔνθ’ ἀνθιστάντος κεν ἕλωμεν.

Τούτους δ’ οὐδὲ φοβεῖσθαι χρὴ κᾆν ὅπλα φέροντας,

Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν τλαῖέν ποτε ἡμῖν ἀντιμάχεσθαι,

Σύμμαχοι οἱ πλεῖστοι μὲν ἔσονται πλὴν ὀλίγων γε

Ὑσπάνων τούτων, οἱ τηλόθεν ἐξ ἀπίης γῆς

Ἦλθον. νῦν δὲ μάχης αὐτοὺς ἐπ’ ἀριστέρ’ ὁρᾶτε, [fol. 22^{v}]

Ἡμέτεροι δὲ φίλοι ἐν δεξιτερᾷ γε παρέντες

Ἵστανται, κ’ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν δὴ αὐτομολοῦντες

Ἐνθάδ’ ἐλεύσονται ὡς ἀρήξωσιν ἑκόντες,

Τὴν δὲ βοήθειαν ἡμῖν αὐτίκα φέρωσι.

Ἀνέρες οὖν ἐστέ, μνήσασθε δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς.”

Ἤτοι ὅ γ’ ὡς εἰπὼν προμάχων εἰς οὐλαμὸν ἦλθεν,

Ἡγεμόνων δ’ ἄλλων πρῶτος ἐξήγαγε λαόν [fol. 23^{r}]

Τοῦτο δὲ σημεῖον πᾶσιν παρέδωκεν ἑταίροις.

Ὡς αὐτοῦ κατόπιν ὦκα προϊόντος ἕπονται,

Σπεύδοντάς τε τρέχειν ἐκέλευσεν συστρατιώτας

Αὐτὸς ὅταν πρόφρων σημαίνῃ, χεῖρά γ’ ἐπαίρων,

Ὡς ἐκ τῶν βελέων οὕτω σῶοι μαχέοιντο,

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143 **Ῥᾷστα]** Ῥᾳ̷̷ᾷστα (MS); **οὔ τινος ἔνθ’]** οὐ τινὸς ἐνθ’ (MS); **κεν]** κὲν (MS)
144 **φέροντας,]** φέροντας (MS)
145 **ἂν τλαῖέν ποτε]** ἄν τλαῖεν πότε (MS); **ἀντιμάχεσθαι]** ἀντῖμάχεσθαι (MS)
148 **ἀριστέρ’ ὁρᾶτε,]** ἀρίστερ’ ὁρᾶτε (MS)
149 **δεξιτερᾷ γε]** δεξιτερᾷγε (MS)
151 **ἑκόντες,]** ἕκοντες (MS)
152 **αὐτίκα φέρωσι]** αὐτῖκα φέρωσϊ (MS)
153 **Ἀνέρες]** Ἄ̷Ἀνέρες (MS); **ἐστέ,]** ἐστε (MS); **θούριδος ἀλκῆς.]** θούρικος ἀλκῆς (MS)
154 **ὅ γ’ ὡς]** ὅγε ὡς (MS)
155 **λαόν]** λαὸν (MS)
156 **πᾶσιν]** πᾶσϊν (MS); **ἑταίροις.]** ἑταίροις (MS)
157 **αὐτοῦ]** αὔτοῦ (MS); **ἕπονται,]** ἕπ̷ο̷νται (MS)
158 **Σπεύδοντάς]** Σπεύδοντὰς (MS); **συστρατιώτας]** συνστρατϊώτας (MS)
159 **σημαίνῃ, χεῖρά]** σημαίνῃ χεῖρὰ (MS); **ἐπαίρων,]** ἐπαίρων (MS)

Οὗετος οὖν ἄλλων ἦρχε πρῶτος πολέμοιο,

Ὡς ὅτε λιμώττων ἐν ὄρεσσι λέων ἐπιζητεῖ [fol. 23ᵛ]

Παπταίνων σκύλαξι τροφὴν ἢ ἐκ βοὸς εὑρεῖν

Ἢ συὸς ἐξ ἀγρίου, τὸν μάρψας ἐξεναρίζει.

Οἳ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἔποντο πολὺς δ' ὀρυμαγδὸς ὀρώρει.

Ἀλλὰ μὲν οὐκ ἔτι δὴ στρατὸς ἀμφότερος συνέβαλλε

Ἢ ῥινούς, ἢ τ' ἔγχεα, ἢ κρατερῶν μένε' ἀνδρῶν,

Οὗετος οὖν ἄλλην ὁδὸν ἐτράπετο δολομῆτις.

Τρὶς ἑκατὸν θρασεῖς μὲν ἑταίρους εἶχε μετ' αὐτοῦ [fol. 24ʳ]

Οἱ πεζῇ καλὰ τεύχεα εἱμένοι ἐστιχόωντο.

Τοὺς γὰρ ἐᾶτό γ' ἑκὼν παρελεύθειν φαίδιμος ἥρως,

Ἡγεμόνων ὄχ᾽ ἄριστος, ὁ Πεμβρόχικός γε δυναστής

Λεχθείς: ὃς βασιλίσσης ἦγε καλῶς στρατὸν εὐρύν.

Καὶ τότε εὐφρονέων εἰς οὐλαμὸν ἔμβαλεν ἐχθρῶν

Καὶ τὸ στράτευμα κατέτμηξεν προδοτῶν περὶ μέσσον.

Πάντων μισγομένων γένεται ἰαχή τε φόβος τε. [fol. 24ᵛ]

Ἔνθα δ' ἅμ' οἰμωγή τε, καὶ εὐχωλὴ πέλεν ἀνδρῶν

Ὀλλύντων τε καὶ ὀλλυμένων, ῥέε δ' αἵματι γαῖα·

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161 **πολέμοιο,]** πολέμοιο (MS)
162 **ὄρεσσι]** ὄρεσσϊ (MS)
163 **Παπταίνων σκύλαξι]** Πατταίνων σκύλαξῖ (MS); **ἢ]** ἤ (MS); **εὑρεῖν]** εὐρεῖν (MS)
164 **Ἢ]** Ἤ (MS); **ἀγρίου]** ἀγρῖου (MS)
165 **Οἳ]** Οἱ (MS); **πολὺς δ']** πολὺς (MS); **ὀρώρει]** ὀρώρει (MS)
166 **ἔτι]** ἔτϊ (MS)
167 **Ἢ ῥινούς, ἢ … ἢ]** Ἤ ῥινοὺς, ἤ … ἤ (MS)
169 **Τρὶς]** Τρῖς (MS)
170 **πεζῇ]** πέζῃ (MS); **εἱμένοι ἐστιχόωντο.]** εἵμενοι ἐστιχόωντο, (MS)
171 **ἐᾶτό γ']** ἐᾶτογ' (MS); **ἥρως,]** ἥρως (MS)
172 **ὄχ᾽ ἄριστος,]** ὀχ' ἄριστος (MS); **Πεμβρόχικός]** Πεμβρόχικὸς (MS); **δυναστής]** δυναστὴς (MS)
173 **Λεχθείς: ὃς]** Λεχθεὶς: ὁς (MS); **εὐρύν]** εὐρὺν (MS)
175 **περὶ μέσσον]** περι μέσσὸν (MS)
176 **ἰαχή]** ἰαχὴ (MS); **φόβος]** φοβός (MS
177 **οἰμωγή]** οἴμωγὴ (MS)
178 **Ὀλλύντων]** ~~Θ~~Ὀλλύντὼν (MS); **γαῖα·]** γαῖα, (MS)

Σκῆπτρον δ’ ἐν πολέμῳ Ἀντώνιος εἴχετο Βροῦνος,

Βροῦνος Ἀχιλλῆϊ φρένας ἴκελος, οὐδὲ χερείων

Αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ φυὴν οὐδ’ ἄρ’ δέμας, οὐδέ τι ἔργα·

Οὗτος πρὸς πόλεμον ἐξώτρυν’ ἄνδρα ἕκαστον.

Καὶ πᾶσί γ’ ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν μένος ἄτρομον ἦκε. [fol. 25^{r}]

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ συνεβάλλοντ’ ἀρχομένου πολέμοιο,

Εὐκλίνοντες ἀπέτραπον αἱ προδοτῶν τε φάλαγγες·

Οὐδέ τις ἐκ πάντων ἂν ὑπέκφυγεν αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον,

Εἰ μὴ ἔνθα φόβος δειλῶν μὲν ἂν ἔλλαβε γυῖα.

Κάππεσε γὰρ θυμὸς πλείστοις ἕλε τε τρόμος αὐτούς·

Κάββαλον εἶτα τὰ ἔγχεα καὶ δολιχόσκια δοῦρα

Καὶ γουνῶν μὲν ἐλίσσοντο προμαχῶν ἐνὶ χάρμῃ, [fol. 25^{v}]

Τῇ δ’ ἄρα κᾀκεῖσε πρός γ’ ἔχθρους ἔκφυγον ἤδη,

Οὐδὲ μὲν ἐν δένδροισι κεκρυμμένοι ἐξελάθοντο.

Πολλοὶ γοῦν ἐν τῇ γε μάχῃ ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὄλεσσαν,

Πολλοὶ δ’ ἐξέφυγον θάνατον, καὶ κῆρα μέλαιναν·

Πᾶς ὅτι δυστυχέας στρατὸς ἀνθρώπους ἐλέησεν,

Οὐ γὰρ πλείους ἢ ἕκατον κατὰ φύλοπιν αἰνήν

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179 **Ἀντώνιος]** Αντώνιος (MS); **Βροῦνος,]** Βροῦνος (MS)
180 **φρένας ἴκελος**] φρενὰς ἴκελος (MS)
181 **ἔργα·]** ἔργα, (MS)
183 **πᾶσί]** πᾶσϊ (MS)
185 **φάλαγγες·]** φάλαγγες, (MS)
186 **Οὐδέ τις]** Οὐδὲ τὶς (MS); **ἂν]** ἄν (MS); **ὄλεθρον,]** ὄλεθρον (MS)
187 **φόβος]** φοβὸς (MS); **ἂν]** ἄν (MS); **γυῖα.]** γυῖα (MS)
188 **Κάππεσε]** Κᾰ́ππεσε (MS); **πλείστοις]** πλεῖστοις (MS); **αὐτούς·]** αὐτοὺς (MS)
189 **Κάββαλον]** Κᾰ́ββαλον, (MS); **τὰ]** τα (MS)
190 **χάρμῃ,]** χάρμῃ (MS)
191 **πρός]** πρὸς (MS); **ἤδη,]** ἤδη (MS)
193 **τῇ γε]** τῆγε (MS); **ὄλεσσαν,]** ὄλεσσαν (MS)
194 **θάνατον]** θανατὸν (MS); **μέλαιναν·]** μέλαιναν, (MS)
195 **ὅτι]** ὅτϊ (MS); **ἐλέησεν,]** ἐλέῃρεν (MS)
196 **ἢ]** ἤ (MS); **αἰνήν]** αἰνὴν (MS)

Ἔλλαβε πορφύρεος θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή. [fol. 26r]

Παμπόλλους δ’ ἐζώγρεον, οὐτιδανοὺς μάλα ἄνδρας,

Ἀδυνατὸν γὰρ ἔην φεύγειν, ὅτι τὸν στρατὸν εὐρύν

Ἦλθεν ἄγων ἐγγὺς αἰχμητῶν χαλκοχιτώνων

Οὐλίαμος μεγάθυμος, ὁ ἡρώων ὄχ᾽ ἄριστος,

Πλούσιος ἠδε πολυκτήμων, ἄταρ εὐφρονέων,

Χρήμασιν εὖ χρῆσθαι πλείστων εἰδὼς περὶ ἄλλων,

Εἰωθώς τε φέρειν αἰεὶ τιμὴν βασιλίσσῃ [fol. 26v]

Κινδύνοις ἐν πᾶσι μετὰ πλούτου τε καὶ ὅπλων.

Οὗτος γὰρ σπεύσας ἦγε πόλυν ὅμιλον ἀνδρῶν,

Βουλόμενός γε στρατῷ βασιλίσσης κῦδος ὀρέξαι·

Εἰς δ’ ἄρα τοὺς προδότας φεύγοντάς ῥ’ ἔμπεσεν ἦρως

Καὶ κατέρυκε μὲν αὐτοὺς φεύγειν ἱεμένους περ.

Οἳ δ’ ἄρα ὡς κατὰ τήν γε μάχην πάντες πονέοντο,

Ἀλλ’ ἑτέρωθεν ἰὼν κατὰ μέσσον, ὅθι κλονέοντο [fol. 27r]

Οἳ πλεῖστοι, στρατὸν ἦγεν ὁ ἔκφρων Οὔετος ἄλλον

Βῆ δ’ ἴμεν ἔς γε πόλιν, στίχες ἀσπιστῶν μὲν ἑταίρων

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197 **κραταιή]** κραταιὴ (MS)
198 **ἐζώγρεον,]** ἐζώγρεον (MS); **ἄνδρας,]** ἀνδρας (MS)
199 **ἔην]** ἐῆν (MS); **εὐρύν]** εὐρὺν (MS)
200 **ἐγγὺς]** ἔγγυς (MS)
201 **Οὐλίαμος]** Οὐλΐαμος (MS); **ὄχ᾽ ἄριστος,]** ὀχ᾽ ἄριστος (MS)
202 **Πλούσιος]** Πλούσῖος (MS); **εὐφρονέων,]** εὐφρονέων (MS)
203 **ἄλλων,]** ἄλλων (MS)
204 **Εἰωθώς]** Εἰωθὼς (MS)
205 **Κινδύνοις]** Κ◌̈ινδύνοις (MS); **πᾶσι]** πᾶσῖ (MS); **ὅπλων.]** ὅπλων (MS)
206 **σπεύσας]** σπεῦσας (MS); **ὅμιλον ἀνδρῶν,]** ὅμῖλον ἀνδρῶν (MS)
207 **Βουλόμενός]** Βουλόμενος (MS); **ὀρέξαι·]** ὀρέξαι, (MS)
208 **φεύγοντάς]** φεύγοντας (MS)
209 **περ.]** περ (MS)
210 **Οἳ]** Οἱ (MS); **τήν γε]** τὴνγε (MS); **πονέοντο,]** πονέοντο (MS)
212 **Οἳ]** Οἱ (MS)
213 **ἔς]** ἐς (MS)

Ἔσποντ’ ἀντιπάλοις μὲν ὑπέρβιον ὕβριν ἄγουσαι,

Οὐδεὶς ἀντίος ἦλθε, βαρείας χεῖρας ἀφέξων,

Οὐδέ τις ἐκ τόσσων κατερύκειν ἤθελεν αὐτόν,

Πρίν ῥα πύλαις λαμπροῦ ἐγγύζειν τοῦ βασιλείου.

Ἢ ὅτι μὴ βούλοντο μάχεσθαι ἀνάλκιδες ὄντες, [fol. 27ᵛ]

Ἢ ὅτι μὴν ἔξω γε φρενῶν ἔσαν, ἤθελε δ’ οὕτως

Μοῖρα κραταιή, ἢ ὅτι ἄλλος τις δόλος εἴη.

Ἐνθ’ ἔστηκε πρὸ πυλῶν ἡρώων μετὰ πολλῶν

Γάγιος ὁ πρέσβυς, παρόμοιος Νέστορι δίῳ:

Ὃν περὶ μὲν πάντων βασιλίσση εὐφρονέουσα

Ἠμὲν ἐνὶ πτολέμῳ, ἢ ἀλλοίῳ ἐπὶ ἔργῳ

Τιμᾷ: τοὔνεκα γοῦν αὐτῷ μέγα κῦδος ἀείρει. [fol. 28ʳ]

Οὗτος τῷδε στρατῷ ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν.

“Ὦ πόποι, ἢ πάντας ἡμᾶς μέγα πένθος ἱκάνει·

Ἤ κεν γηθήσαι προδότης ὁ μὲν Οὔετος οὗτος,

Ἄλλοι τ’ οἱ συνομώσαντες κεχαροίατο θυμῷ,

Εἰ μηδεὶς ὁμόσε προμάχων τις μηδὲ φέρεσθαι

Αὐτοῖς, μηδὲ ἀναστήσειν ἔτλη πολεμίζων.

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214 **Ἔσποντ’]** Ἔσποντ’ (MS); **ὑπέρβιον]** ὑπ~~έ~~ερβΐον (MS)
215 **ἀντίος]** ἀντΐος (MS); **ἦλθε, βαρείας]** ἦλθε βαρεῖας (MS); **ἀφέξων,]** ἀφέξων (MS)
216 **Οὐδέ τις]** Οὐδὲ τὶς (MS); **αὐτόν,]** αὐτὸν (MS)
217 **Πρίν ῥα]** Πρὶν ῥά (MS); **τοῦ βασιλείου.]** του βασιλείου (MS)
218 **Ἢ]** Ἤ (MS); **ὄντες,]** ὄντες (MS)
219 **Ἢ]** Ἤ (MS); **ἔξω γε]** ἔξωγε (MS); **ἔσαν]** ∧ἔσαν∧ (MS)
220 **κραταιή, ἢ ὅτι]** κραταιὴ, ἤ ὅτϊ (MS)
222 **πρέσβυς,]** πρέσβυς (MS); **δίῳ]** διῳ (MS)
223 **Ὃν]** Ὃν (MS)
224 **Ἠμὲν]** Ἤ μὲν (MS); **ἢ]** ἤ (MS)
226 **τῷδε]** τῷ δὲ (MS)
227 **πόποι, ἢ]** πόποι ἤ (MS); **ἱκάνει·]** ἱκάνει, (MS)
228 **κεν]** κὲν (MS); **οὗτος,]** οὗτος (MS)
229 **θυμῷ,]** θυμῷ (MS)
230 **προμάχων]** προμάχὼν (MS); **μηδὲ]** μήἠδὲ (MS)
231 **Αὐτοῖς]** ~~Αμ~~ Αὐτοῖς (MS); **μηδὲ]** μήδε (MS); **πολεμίζων.]** πολεμΐζων (MS)

Ἀνέρες ὦ ἰόμωροι, ἐλεγχέες, οὔ νυ σέβεσθε; [fol. 28ᵛ]

Τίφθ’ οὕτω ἔστητε τεθηπότες, ἠΰτε νεβροί

Αἵ γ’ ἐστᾶσι, καὶ οὔ σφι μετὰ φρεσὶ γίγνεται ἀλκή;

Ἦ μένετε προδότους σχεδὸν ἐλθέμεν, οὐδὲ μάχεσθε,

Ὄφρα ἴδητ’ αἴ κεν ῥ’ ἡ παρθένος, οὖσα γ’ ἀνάσση

Ἥδε γυνή, δειλοῖς ὑμῖν νῦν χεῖρας ὑπέρσχῃ;”

Ὣς φάτο. καὶ μέσσον ῥ’ εἰς ἔμπεσεν οὐλαμὸν ἐχθρῶν,

Τὸν δ’ ἔβαλε στῆθος προδοτῶν τις, κῶσεν ἀφ’ ἵππου. [fol. 29ʳ]

Αὐτὰρ ὁ δ’ ἐν κονίῃσι χαμαὶ πέσε φαίδιμος ἥρως,

Καί νύ κεν ἔνθ’ ἀπόλοιτο γέρων ἴφθιμος ἀγανός

Εἰ μὴ ἀρ’ ὀξὺ θεραπόντων τινὲς ἔνθ’ ἐπάμυνον

Πρόσθε δέ οἱ σάκεα καί τ’ ἔγχεα μακρὰ τοίνυν το,

Ἀλλὰ μὲν οὐδὲ βέλος διελήλατο χάλκεα τεύχη.

Ἦν δ’ ἅλιον μὲν, ἐπεὶ καὶ διπλόος ἤντετο θώρηξ.

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πολέμου μὲν ὑπεξέφερον θεράποντες

Πρεσβύτην, κλείοντο πύλαι αὔλης βασιλείου· [fol. 29ᵛ]

Ἐνθ’ ἀνεχώρησαν προδοτῶν στίχες; οὐδ’ ἀρ’ ἐσῆλθον·

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232 **ἐλεγχέες, οὔ νυ σέβεσθε]** ἐλέγχεες, οὐ νὺ σεύεσθε (MS); **fol. 28ᵛ]** Running title: Συνομωσία (MS)
233 **Τίφθ’]** Τίφθ’ (MS); **τεθηπότες]** τεθήηπότες (MS); **νεβροί]** νεβροὶ (MS)
234 **ἑστᾶσι]** ἑστᾶσϊ (MS); **οὔ]** οὐ (MS); **φρεσὶ]** φρεσὶ (MS); **ἀλκή]** ἀλκὴ (MS)
235 **Ἦ]** Ἤ (MS); **οὐδὲ]** οὐδε (MS)
236 **παρθένος, οὖσα]** παρθένος οὔσα (MS)
237 **Ἥδε γυνή,]** Ἥ δε γυνὴ (MS); **ὑπέρσχῃ;]** ὑπέσχῃ (MS)
238 **Ὣς]** Ὡς (MS); **ἐχθρῶν,]** ἐχθρῶν (MS)
239 **ἵππου.]** ἵππου (MS); **fol. 29ʳ]** Running title: Συνομωσία (MS)
240 **ὁ δ’ ἐν κονίῃσι]** ὁδ’ ἐν κονΐῃσι (MS)
241 **Καί νύ κεν ἔνθ’]** Καὶ νὺ κὲν ἐνθ’ (MS); **ἴφθιμος ἀγανός]** ἰφθιμὸς ἀγανὸς (MS)
242 **ἔνθ’]** ἐνθ’ (MS)
243 **δέ]** δε (MS); **καί]** καὶ (MS); **τοίνυν το,]** τοίνυντο (MS)
244 **οὐδὲ]** οὐδε (MS); **διελήλατο]** δϊελήλατο (MS)
245 **ἅλιον]** ἅλιον (MS); **διπλόος]** δΐπλοος (MS)
247 **βασιλείου·]** βασιλείου (MS)
248 **ἐσῆλθον·]** ἐσῆλθον, (MS)

Γάγιος ἴφθιμος τε γέρων καὶ τίμιος ἀνήρ,

Πότμον ἐπεὶ ὑπέφευγε κακόν, καὶ κῆρα μέλαιναν,

Εἰς δόμον ἦλθε θοὸς περικαλλέα τῆς βασιλίσσης

Τὴν δ’ εὗρε Χριστῷ ἐπὶ γούνασιν εὐχομένην γε,

Τοὺς πρόδοτας μὲν καὶ πάντα στρατὸν ὡς ἐλεήσῃ.

Ἠδ’ ἄρα μὶν πρῶτον προσεφώνεεν ἔκ τ’ ὀνόμαζε. [fol. 30r]

“Γάγιε· τίπτε λιπὼν πόλεμον θρασὺν εἰλήλουθας;

Ἦ μάλα δὴ τείρουσι δυσώνυμοι οἱ προδόται γε

Μαρνάμενοι περὶ ἄστυ; φέρεις τι δὴ νεόν; εἰπέ.”

Τὴν δ’ ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πεπνυμένος ἥρως·

“Ἔστι σαφὴς πολλῶν μὲν ἀπόστασις, ὦ βασίλισσα,

Οἷς ἄρα τοῦ πολέμου τὸ πλεῖστον ἐπέτρεπες ἤδη·

Σύγ’ οὖν εὐφρονέουσα ὁπώς ῥα σαώτερα ἔσσῃ· [fol. 30v]

Φεῦγε μάλα, χρειὼ γὰρ ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἀμύναι.”

Ὣς φάτο. ἡ δ’ ἀπαμειβόμενη πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν,

Οὐδέν ῥ’ ἐκπλαγεῖσα μὲν ἢ φρένα ἢ κατὰ θυμόν.

“Ὦ γέρον ὦ πανάριστε ἐμοὶ δ’ ἄρα φίλτατε πάντων

Χριστῷ, πατρὶ Θεῷ ἐμὰ πράγματα πάντα μέμηλε,

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249 **ἴφθιμος]** ἰφθιμὸς (MS); **ἀνήρ,]** ἀνὴρ (MS)
250 **κακόν]** κακὸν (MS); **μέλαιναν,]** μέλαιναν (MS)
251 **περικαλλέα]** περικάλλεα (MS)
252 **Χριστῷ]** Χρϊστῷ (MS); **εὐχομένην γε]** εὐχομένὴνγε (MS)
253 **πρόδοτας]** προδοτὰς (MS); **ἐλεήσῃ.]** ἐλεήσῃ (MS)
254 **ἔκ]** ἐκ (MS)
256 **τείρουσι]** τείρουσϊ (MS); **προδόται]** προδόταὶ (MS)
257 **νεόν; εἰπέ.]** νεὸν εἰπὲ; (MS)
258 **ἀπαμειβόμενος]** ~~αμ~~ ἐπαμειβόμενος (MS); **ἥρως·]** ἥρως (MS)
259 **Ἔστι]** Ἐστϊ (MS); **ἀπόστασις,]** ἀπόστασϊς (MS); **βασίλισσα,]** βασίλισσα (MS)
260 **τοῦ]** του (MS); **ἤδη·]** ἤδη (MS)
261 **σαώτερα]** σαωτέρα (MS); **ἔσσῃ·]** ἔσσῃ (MS)
262 **ἀεικέα]** ἀείκεα (MS)
263 **Ὣς]** Ὡς (MS); **ἀπαμειβόμενη]** ἐπαμειβομένη (MS); **ἔειπεν,]** ἔειπεν. (MS)
264 **Οὐδέν]** Οὐδὲν (MS); **ἢ … ἢ]** ἤ … ἤ (MS); **θυμόν]** θυμὸν (MS)

Ἐλπίδος οὗτος ἐμοὶ μὲν πάσης ἄγκυρα ἐστίν,

Ὃς πάρος ἐκ πολλῶν ἐμὲ κινδύνων ἐσάωσε, [fol. 31r]

Καὶ νῦν (οἶδα) βοηθήσων μοὶ χεῖρα ὀρέξει.

Οὐδ᾽ ὄθομαι προδοτῶν πάντων, κἀν πλείονες ὦσι

Τριπλῇ τετραπλῇ τε, μόνη ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀλεγίζω.

Ἐστ᾽ ὑπὲρ ἀσπιστής μοῦ παντοκράτωρ Θεὸς αὐτός.

ᾧ γε μέλει μηδὲν πολλῶν μετά, ἢ μετὰ παύρων

Τούς ῥα κακοὺς ἐχθροὺς νικᾷν, κατὰ δηϊοτῆτα.

Ἀλλ᾽ ὄρσευ πόλεμον δὲ γέρον, μὴ δείδιθι φαύλους. [fol. 31v]

Εὖ γοῦν οἶδα μέθ᾽ οὐ πολὺ ἥττονες αὐτοὶ ἔσονται

Ἢ δὲ δαμέντες ἐνὶ χάρμῃ, Θεῷ ἤνδανεν οὕτω.”

Ὣς εἰποῦσα παρόντας λίπεν βῆ δὲ ναόν δέ

Εἰς ἱερόν γε, προσεύχεσθαι Χριστῷ μεμαυῖα·

Αὐτή τ᾽ ἐς θάλαμον περικαλλέα εὐθὺς ἔβαινε.

Εὗρεν ἐκεῖ δὴ ἀμφιπόλους κατὰ δάκρυ χέουσας, [fol. 32r]

Ἀλλὰ μόνην φαίη τίς κεν φρένα τὴν βασίλισσαν

Ἤδη παντὸς ἀτερποῦς ὀϊζύος ἐκλελαθέσθαι.

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267 **ἐστίν,]** ἐστῖν (MS)
268 **ἐσάωσε,]** ἐσάωσε (MS)
269 **οἶδα)]** οἶδα, (MS); **χεῖρα ὀρέξει.]** χείρα ὀρέξει (MS)
270 **ὦσι]** ᾧσϊ (MS)
272 **ἀσπιστής]** ἀσπιστὴς (MS); **αὐτός.]** αὐτὸς (MS)
273 **μετά, ἢ]** μετὰ, ἤ (MS)
274 **Τούς]** Τοὺς (MS); **δηϊοτῆτα.]** δηϊότητα (MS)
275 **ὄρσευ]** ὀρσεῦ (MS); **γέρον,]** γέρον (MS); **φαύλους.]** φαύλους (MS)
277 **Ἢ δὲ]** Ἤ δε (MS)
278 **Ὣς]** Ὡς (MS); **δὲ … δέ]** δε … δε (MS)
279 **ἱερόν γε,]** ἱερὸν γε (MS); **προσεύχεσθαι]** προσεύχευθαι (MS); **μεμαυῖα·]** μεμαυΐα (MS)
280 **Αὐτή]** Αὐτὴ (MS); **Αὐτή … ἔβαινε]** Dittography (erased by scribe) in next line: ~~Αὐτὴ τ᾽ἐς θάλαμον περικαλλέα εὐθὺς ἔβαινε~~ (MS)
281 **κατὰ δάκρυ χέουσας,]** καταδακρυχέουσας (MS)
282 **τίς κεν]** τις κὲν (MS); **βασίλισσαν]** βασΐλισσαν (MS)
283 **ἐκλελαθέσθαι.]** ἐκλελαθέσθαι (MS)

Ἤ γ᾽ αὐτὰς νείκεσκε χολωτοῖσιν ἐπέεσσι.

“Τίπτ᾽ ὦ γυναῖκες, κραδίην ἐλάφους γ᾽ ἔχουσαι,

Κλαίετε ἀζηχές; τι νῦν φρένας ἵκετο πένθος;

Παύετε νῦν γε βαρὺ στενάχουσαι, μὴ δὲ φοβεῖσθε·

Πάντα Θεῷ γὰρ ἐγὼ μὲν ἐπέτρεπον, οὐδ᾽ ἀρ᾽ ἐάσει [fol. 32ᵛ]

Κεῖνος ἐνὶ πολέμῳ ἀπολέσθαι οὕς ῥα φιλεῖται,

Οὐδέ ποτε προδόται γ᾽ ἐνὶ χάρμῃ κρείττονες εἰσί.

Οἵ δὴ ὑμέτερα τίσουσιν δάκρυα, δόντες

Τήν τε δίκην οὐκ εἰς μακράν, καί τ᾽ ἄλγεα πολλά,

Ὕβρεος εἵνεκα ταύτης σφῇσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν·

Οὐτιδανοὺς ἄνδρας δὲ παρ᾽ οὐδὲν τίθεμαι αὐτή.

Ἄλλοι γὰρ τιμήσουσι με, μάλιστα δὲ Χριστός, [fol. 33ʳ]

ᾧ γε βιός τ᾽ ὁ ἐμός, καί μοῦ τά γε πάντα μέμηλε.”

Ὣς εἰποῦσα γε ταῖς εὐχαῖς Θεὸν ἱλάσκεσθαι

Ἐξώτρυνε· ἔπειτ᾽ ἀπάνευθεν ἀπῆλθε καὶ αὐτή

Οὕνεκα τῷ Χριστῷ γε προσεύχεσθαι περὶ λαοῦ.

Ὦ τῆς εὐθυμίας, ὦ τῆς ἀρετῆς πολυκλείτου.

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284 **χολωτοῖσιν ἐπέεσσι]** χολωτοῖσϊν ἐπέεσσϊ (MS)
285 **γυναῖκες,]** γυναῖκες (MS); **ἔχουσαι,]** ἔχουσαι (MS)
286 **ἀζηχές]** ἀζηχὲς (MS)
287 **βαρὺ στενάχουσαι]** βαρυστενὰχουσαι (MS); **φοβεῖσθε·]** φοβεῖσθε (MS)
288 **ἐπέτρεπον,]** ἐπέτρεπον (MS)
289 **ἐνὶ]** ἐνὶ (MS); **φιλεῖται,]** φιλεῖται (MS)
290 **Οὐδέ ποτε]** Οὐδὲ πότε (MS); **ἐνὶ]** ἐνϊ (MS); **εἰσί.]** εἶσϊ (MS)
291 **τίσουσιν]** τίσουσϊν (MS)
292 **μακράν, καί τ᾽ ἄλγεα πολλά,]** μακρὰν καὶ τἄλγεα πολλὰ (MS)
293 **σφῇσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν·]** σφῆσϊν ἀτασθαλΐῃσιν (MS)
294 **οὐδὲν τίθεμαι]** οὐδεν τΐθεμαι (MS); **αὐτή]** αὐτὴ (MS)
295 **τιμήσουσι με,]** τιμήσουσὶ με (MS); **Χριστός,]** Χριστὸς (MS)
296 **βιός]** βΐος (MS); **ἐμός, καί]** ἐμὸς, καὶ (MS)
297 **Ὣς]** Ὡς (MS); **γε]** ^γε^ (MS)
298 **Ἐξώτρυνε· ἔπειτ᾽ ἀπάνευθεν]** Ἐξώτρυνε, ἐπειτ᾽ ἐπάνευθεν (MS); **αὐτή]** αὐτὴ (MS)
299 **Οὕνεκα]** Οὔνεκα (MS); **Χριστῷ γε]** Χριστῷγε (MS)
300 **εὐθυμίας]** εὐθυμΐας (MS)

Οὐδὲν τόσσα σοφὴ κακὰ συμπίπτοντ᾽ ὑπέδεισε·

Ἐλπίδος γοῦν εὖ εἶχε κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν. [fol. 33ᵛ]

Αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα Θεῷ πόλλ᾽ ηὔχετο νόσφιν ἰοῦσα,

Σὺν δ᾽ ἕπεται Κλαρέντια, ἡ ἠρῴνα γ᾽ ἀρίστη,

Ἀμφίπολοι τ᾽ ἄλλαι γε μετεσσεύοντο γεραιαί.

Αἱ δ᾽ ὅτι νηὸν ἵκανον, ὅπη εἴωθε δεήσεις

Τάς τ᾽ εὐχὰς βασίλισσα φέρειν, ἠρᾶτο μὲν οὕτως·

“Κλῦθί μευ, ὦ Θὲε Χριστέ, φιλάνθρωπ᾽, ἠδ᾽ ἐλεήμων

Καὶ σύγγνωθι λαῷ μοῦ, ἐξήμαρτε γὰρ αὐτός, [fol. 34ʳ]

Ἄξιος ὧν πληγῶν πολλῶν ἄνθ᾽ ὧν ἐποίησε,

Τ᾽ ἄνομα τολμήσας καὶ νῦν ὑπερόρκια ῥέξας.

Ἀλλὰ σύνοιδα ἐγὼ καὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ μὲν ἐμαυτῇ·

Σὺ δὲ φιλανθρώπως ἡμᾶς ἐλέησον ἅπαντας,

Καὶ τῇ σοῦ δούλῃ τόδε μοι κρήηνον ἐέλδωρ.

Δὸς πόλεμον νῦν τοῦτον ἀναιμωτί τελέεσθαι.

Σῶσαν τὸν στρατόν, ἠδὲ κακούς περ Λονδονίαιους, [fol. 34ᵛ]

Ἄστυ τε καὶ πάντων ἀλόχους καὶ νήπια τέκνα.”

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301 **σοφὴ]** σόφὴ (MS); **συμπίπτοντ᾽ ὑπέδεισε·]** συμπΐπτοντ᾽ ὑπέδεισε (MS)
302 **Ἐλπίδος]** Ἐλπΐδος (MS); **κατὰ θυμόν.]** κατα θυμὸν (MS)
303 **Αὐτὰρ]** Αὐταρ (MS); **ἰοῦσα,]** ἴουσα (MS)
304 **Κλαρέντια,]** Κλαρέντϊα (MS); **ἀρίστη,]** ἀρΐστη (MS)
305 **Ἀμφίπολοι]** Ἀμφίπολλοι (MS); **γεραιαί]** γεραιαὶ (MS)
306 **ἵκανον,]** ἵκανον (MS)
307 **Τάς]** Τὰς (MS)
308 **Κλῦθί μευ,]** Κλῦθὶ μεῦ (MS); **Χριστέ,]** Χριστὲ (MS); **φιλάνθρωπ᾽,]** φιλανθρωπ᾽ (MS); **ἐλεήμων]** ἐλέμμον (MS)
309 **σύγγνωθι]** σύγνωθι (MS); **αὐτός,]** αὐτὸς (MS)
310 **ἄνθ᾽]** ἀνθ᾽ (MS); **ἐποίησε,]** ἐποίησε (MS)
311 **ὑπερόρκια]** ὑπερόρκϊα (MS)
312 **ἐμαυτῇ·]** ἐμαυτῇ (MS)
313 **ἅπαντας,]** ἅπαντας (MS)
314 **δούλῃ τόδε μοι]** δούλῇ τὸ δὲ μοὶ (MS); **ἐέλδωρ.]** ἐέλδωρ (MS)
315 **ἀναιμωτί** τελέεσθαι] ἀναίμωτϊ τελέέσθαι (MS)
316 **στρατόν]** στρατὸν (MS); **Λονδονίαιους,]** Λονδονΐαιους (MS)
317 **Ἄστυ]** Ἀστὺ (MS)

Ὣς φάτο, εὐχομένης τῆς δ’ ἔκλυε Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς,

Τοῦτ’ ἐλέους αὐτοῦ τεκμήρια δῶκε μέγιστα·

Εὐθὺς γὰρ μετὰ τὰς εὐχὰς οἵ γ’ ἥττονες ἦσαν

Ἔν τε μάχῃ πάντες προδόται, καὶ ὁ Οὔετος αὐτός.

Ὥς τις τῶν γε φρενῶν ἐξεστηκὼς μενεαίνει,

Ταύρῳ ἢ ἀγρίῳ συῒ ἴκελος ὤν, κατὰ θυμόν, [fol. 35r]

Ὃς μὲν ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ τρέχων δὴ καὶ ἐκπονέων γε

Λονδίνον περὶ ἄστυ, πύλας δ’ ὤιξε μὲν οὐδείς,

Μὰψ ἀνεχώρησεν, πολλῶν ἀνὰ οὐλαμὸν ἀνδρῶν

Ἄπρακτος τ’ ἀπέβη, τότε δ’ ἐν ποσὶ κάππεσε θυμ{ός.}

Αὐτὰρ ἔδωκεν ἑκὼν μὲν ἑαυτὸν ἀέκοντί γε θυμῷ,

Εἰς χεῖρας τινὸς ἐν πολέμῳ ὑπηρετέοντος.

Ἀλλ’ ὅτι μὶν τόσσου ἐκ λαοῦ εἵλετο μηδείς [fol. 35v]

Ῥίγιον ἦν τοῦτο πλείστοις, τὸ θέαμα ἰδέσθαι.

Ἔνθα γὰρ ἦγε σχολὴν (ὅγε θαύματος ἄξιον ἐστί)

Ἔκ τε λαβεῖν τὸ δέπας πιέειν, ὅτε θυμὸς ἀνώγει.

Τοῦτο γὰρ ἦλθε φέρουσα γυνή τις καὶ προσέειπεν·

“Οὔετε, πῶς ἐθέλεις ἅλιον θεῖναι πόνον, ἦδ’ ἀτέλεστον

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318 **Ὣς]** Ὡς (MS)
319 **ἐλέους]** ἑλέους (MS); **τεκμήρια]** τεκμήρϊα (MS); **μέγιστα·]** μέγιστα (MS)
321 **Ἔν]** Ἐν (MS); **προδόται,]** προδόται (MS); **αὐτός.]** αὐτὸς (MS)
322 **Ὥς τις]** Ὡς τὶς (MS); **γε]** γὲ (MS); **μενεαίνει,]** μενεαίνει (MS)
323 **Ταύρῳ ἢ ἀγρίῳ]** Ταῦρῳ ἤ ἀγρΐῳ (MS); **ἴκελος]** ἲκελος (MS); **θυμόν,]** θυμὸν (MS)
324 **Ὃς]** Ὃς (MS); **ἐκπονέων]** ἐκπονέὼν (MS)
325 **ἄστυ, πύλας]** ἀστὺ, πυλὰς (MS); **οὐδείς,]** οὐδεὶς (MS)
327 **ποσὶ]** πόσϊ (MS)
328 **μὲν]** ^μὲν^ (MS); **ἀέκοντί γε θυμῷ,]** ἀεκοντΐγε θυμῷ (MS)
329 **ὑπηρετέοντος.]** ὑπηρετέοντος (MS)
330 **μηδείς]** μηδεὶς (MS)
331 **πλείστοις,]** πλεῖστοις (MS)
332 **ἄξιον ἐστί]** ἄξιόν ἐστι (MS)
333 **Ἔκ]** Ἐκ (MS); **δέπας πιέειν]** δεπας πϊέειν (MS); **ἀνώγει.]** ἀνώγει (MS)
334 **προσέειπεν·]** προσέειπεν (MS)
335 **Οὔετε,]** Οὔετε (MS)

Ἰδρῶτ’ ὅν ἱδροῖς, ἔκαμες δ’ ἄρα λαὸν ἀγείρας;”

Τὴν ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πόδας Οὔετος ὠκύς· [fol. 36r]

“Δὸς πότον ὦ γῦναι, ἐπειὴ κάμνων μάλα διψῶ.

Ἐν πολλῇ ταραχῇ θυμὸς δὲ καθίστατ’ ἔμοιγε·

Οὐδ’ ἄρα ταῦτα ῥέει κατὰ νοῦν μοῦ ἔργ’ ἀτέλεστα,

Οὐδ’ ἄρ’ ἔχω πῶς χρησαίμην δύστηνος ἐμαυτῷ.

Μερμηρίζεται ἐν στήθεσσι διάνδιχα θυμός

Ἢ γὰρ ἀποθνήσκειν χρεὶω ἤ τ’ ἄλγεα πάσχειν.”

Κλειομένων γε πυλῶν, ἐγχέσπαλοι ἄνδρες ἐτήρουν [fol. 36v]

Καὶ πλεῖστον πολέμοιο πόνον κρατερῶς ὑπέμειναν,

Λονδονιαῖοι γὰρ προδόταις δὴ ταὐτὰ φρονοῦντες

Λάθρᾳ βοήθειαν παρέχειν μὲν ἐμηχανόωντο.

Ἀλλὰ κατέρυκεν ῥ’ αὐτοὺς πολέμαρχος ὁ ἥρως,

Αὔαρτος, πατρὸς κυδίστου ἄγλαὸς υἱός,

Πρεσβύτου, ὅς δὴ λέγεται Νορφολχικὸς ἀρχός·

Οὗτος γοῦν ἐφύλαττε πύλας πεπνυμένος ἀνήρ, [fol. 37r]

Ὥς τις πανταχόθεν τὰ μὲν ὄμματ’ ἐνημμένος Ἄργος,

Εἰ γὰρ ἄν ὁ τρὶς τετράκις τε κάκιστος ἐσῆλθε

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336 **Ἰδρῶτ’]** Ἰδρῶτ~~ε~~’ (MS); **ἔκαμες]** ἐκαμες (MS); **ἀγείρας;]** ἀγείρας (MS)
337 **ἀπαμειβόμενος]** ἐπαμειβόμενος (MS); **ὠκύς·]** ὠκὺς (MS); **fol. 36r]** Misfoliated 35 (MS)
338 **διψῶ.]** διψῶ, (MS)
339 **ἔμοιγε·]** ἔμοιγε, (MS)
340 **ἀτέλεστα,]** ἀτέλεστα (MS)
341 **ἄρ’]** ἀρ’ (MS); **ἐμαυτῷ.]** ἐμαυτῷ (MS)
342 **Μερμηρίζεται]** Μερμηῖζεται (MS); **στήθεσσι διάνδιχα θυμός]** στήθεσσϊ δϊάνδικα θυμὸς (MS)
343 **Ἢ]** Ἤ (MS); **τ’ ἄλγεα πάσχειν.]** τἄλγεα πάσχειν (MS)
344 **Κλειομένων]** Κλειομένὼν (MS); **πυλῶν,]** πυλῶν (MS)
347 **Λάθρᾳ]** Λάθρα (MS)
348 **κατέρυκεν]** κατήρυκεν (MS); **ἥρως,]** ἥρως (MS)
349 **Αὔαρτος,]** Αὔαρτος (MS); **ἄγλαὸς υἱός,]** ἄγλαος υἱὸς (MS)
350 **ἀρχός·]** ἀρχὸς (MS)
351 **ἀνήρ]** ἀνὴρ (MS); **fol. 37r]** Misfoliated 36 (MS)
352 **Ὥς τις]** Ὡς τὶς (MS); **ἐνημμένος Ἄργος,]** ἐνη^μμένος Ἄργος (MS)
353 **τετράκις]** τετρακίς (MS)

Οὗετος, αἱρετικοὶ ὡς ἐλπίζοντο ῥ’ ἅπαντες.

Πολλοὶ μὲν λαοί κεν ἀπόλεσσαν ἤματι κείνῳ.

Ἀλλὰ Θεῷ δόξαν τε φέρειν χρὴ καὶ κλέος ἐσθλόν,

Καὶ τιμὴν προσάγειν αἰώνιον, ὡς καλόν ἐστί.

Ὣς γὰρ Ὀλοφέρνην πότ’ Ἰοῦδιθ ἐξενάριξεν, [fol. 37ᵛ]

Καὶ Θεὸς ὕψιστος μέγα κῦδος τοῦτο γυναικί

Δῶκεν, ὅταν ταῖς χερσὶ μόνη οὔτησε τύραννον:

Οὕτω τῇ Μαριᾷ βασιλίσσῃ κῦδος ὀρέξας

Ὁ Χριστός, πολλοὺς μὲν ἐποίει ἥττονας εἶναι

Τοὺς συνομώσαντας, τὸν δ’ Οὗετον ἄνδρα κακοῦργον.

Παρθένος ἐν πολέμῳ διὰ εὐχῶν ἐχθρόν ἐνίκα·

Ἧς βασιλῆι παρ’ ἀθανάτῳ, κράτος ἐστὶ μέγιστον, [fol. 38ʳ]

Ἡμέας οὖν Ἄγγλους χρὴ σύμπαντας ἐπιχαίρειν·

Τῷ τε Θεῷ δόξαν δοῦναι, καὶ πολλάκις εἰπεῖν

Σὺν τῷ Δαβίδῳ· “Σῶσον Θεὲ τὴν βασίλισσαν

Καί ῥ’ ἡμᾶς τ’ ἐπάκουσον ὅτ’ εὐχόμενοι καλέσαιμεν.”

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354 **Οὗετος,]** Οὗετος (MS); **ἅπαντες.]** ἅπαντες, (MS)
355 **λαοί κεν ἀπόλεσσαν]** λαοὶ κὲν ἀπόλλεσαν (MS); **ἤματι]** ἤματϊ (MS)
356 **Ἀλλὰ]** Ἀλλα (MS); **δόξαν]** δόξὰν (MS); **ἐσθλόν,]** ἐσθλὸν (MS)
357 **Καὶ]** Και (MS); **αἰώνιον,]** αἰώνιον (MS); **καλόν ἐστί.]** καλὸν ἐστϊ (MS)
358 **Ὣς]** Ὡς (MS); **ἐξενάριξεν,]** ἐξενάριξεν (MS)
359 **γυναικί]** γυναικὶ (MS)
360 **χερσὶ]** χερσϊ (MS)
361 **Μαριᾷ]** Μαρϊᾷ (MS)
362 **Χριστός]** Χριστὸς (MS); **μὲν]** ^μὲν^ (MS)
363 **Τοὺς]** Τούς (MS); **κακοῦργον.]** κακοῦργον (MS)
364 **ἐνίκα·]** ἐνίκα (MS)
365 **ἐστὶ]** ἐστι (MS); **fol. 38ʳ]** Misfoliated 37 (MS)
366 **ἐπιχαίρειν·]** ἐπιχαίρειν. (MS)
367 **τε]** τὲ (MS)
369 **Καί]** Καὶ (MS)

3. Commentary

Preface

1r **Angliæ … Reginæ]** Titles variously reflecting both Mary's own dominions and those encompassed by her husband Philip (following their marriage, July 1554). Ornate scribal flourishes on majuscule 'A' in 'Angliæ', 'H' in 'Hiberniæ', and 'R' in 'Reginæ'.

1v **Henrici … conduxit]** Cf. Etheridge's acknowledgement of Henry VIII's patronage (*Encomium*, fol. 19r), located, as here, in a longer genealogy of royal patrons promoting Greek scholarship.

profitendum] Gerundive of 'profiteor', conveying both 'teaching' and 'public profession'.

Regis … invictissimi] Cf. Etheridge's epithet for Henry VIII in the *Encomium*'s prose Argument: 'invictissimi Regis' (fol. 5r, l. 3).

2r **referam]** Conveys actions of 'recording' as well as 'paying back'.

tenuis fortunæ] Cf. Etheridge's portrait in the *Encomium*, fol. 3r, ll. 7–8: 'οἱ πένητές σου σχολαστικοὶ ὀξονιαῖοι' ('we your poor scholars of Oxford').

2v **offero … parvum]** Cf. Etheridge's humble deprecation of the *Encomium*, presented as a 'δῶρόν […] τοῦτο μικρὸν μὲν καὶ ταπεινὸν' ('this small and humble gift'), akin to the 'μικρά […] βιβλίδια' that he would periodically place in Henry's hands (*Encomium*, fol. 3v, ll. 3–4; fol. 37r, l. 6).

æterna … dignam] Cf. Proctor's rationale for composing his *Historie of Wyates Rebellion*: the insurrection 'shuld by writing be committed to eternal memorye' (*Historie*, sig. a2v).

3v **quae]** Indeterminate ligature in MS; 'quasi' may be intended here.

4r **Catilina]** Alludes to the (second) conspiracy of Roman senator Catiline (Lucius Sergius Catilina, 108–62 BC) in 63 BC, through which Catiline and fellow disaffected

aristocrats unsuccessfully sought to overthrow the consulship of Cicero and Hybrida, the bid culminating in Catiline's courageous death in the front ranks of his army during a battle against republican forces at Pistoia (62 BC). Catiline's plot was prematurely exposed by Cicero in a senate meeting, just as early intelligence of Wyatt's rebellion had been relayed to Mary in mid-January 1554 by imperial ambassador Simon Renard.

tres annos] Etheridge, therefore, must have completed this prefatory address (and, likely, the accompanying poem itself) in Spring 1557.

4^{v} Græcis literis] Cf. Etheridge's explanation for writing his *Encomium* to Queen Elizabeth 'διὰ τῶν ἑλληνικῶν γραμμάτων', 'in Greek letters' (*Encomium*, fol. 1^{r}, ll. 10–11).

conscripta] The force of the prefix 'con-' is not insignificant: it suggests that one of the distinguishing merits of Etheridge's little book lies in its polyglottal hybridity – its display of facility in both Latin and Greek stylistics.

utraque … Academia] Cf. Etheridge's recognition of Henry VIII's generosity towards 'utramque Academiam Oxoniam et Cantabrigiam' (*Encomium*, fol. 5^{r}, ll. 5–6).

5^{r} propè … contendere] Etheridge's *Encomium* similarly dismisses epigonal fears: 'cum potentissimorum Regum priscorum præclare factis sic comparantur […] haud equidem posteriores ferre videri possint' ('excellently compared to the deeds of the most powerful former kings […] they can be seen to be by no means inferior') (fol. 5^{r}, ll. 10–13).

5^{v} ut … relinquamus] Cf. Etheridge's intention of preserving Henry VIII's fame in the *Encomium* (fol. 14^{r}, ll. 9–10): 'ὅππως ἐσσόμενοί γ' εἰς ὕστερον οἱ μὲν ἅπαντες | εἴδωσι, κλειτός τ' οὐδὲ λάθοιεν ἄναξ' ('that enduring to posterity all should know and the renowned king should not escape notice').

6^{r} in … proferantur] Idiom (lit. 'brought to light') comparable to the French 'mettre à jour'; I am grateful to Anthony Ossa-Richardson for this observation.

7r **Esaü … Iacob]** A compressed, and rather forced, allusion to the fraternal twins, Jacob and Esau (Genesis 25–27), complicated by Etheridge's elliptical syntax in this section. In Etheridge's strained correspondences, either Mary is patterned on Jacob (the notionally(!) legitimate heir), whom Wyatt, as Esau, has vowed to murder; or – the sense favoured in the translation below – Philip is Jacob to Wyatt's Esau.

Iacob … praestitit)] Alludes to Jacob being granted the name Israel (Genesis 32:22–32). I am grateful to Victoria Moul for registering this reference and for the etymology of Israel as 'one who has striven with God' or 'one who has proven himself in service to God'.

quadringentis] A peculiar number: if the men are Wyatt's (Esau's) rather than Philip's (Jacob's), the figure does not correspond with the 300 given in the poem (l. 169).

7v **publica … nuncupato]** Surely alludes to BL, MS Add. 4355. Cart. XVI, John Shepreve's Latin translation of St Basil's *Commentary on Isaiah* for which Etheridge provided the prefatory address to King Philip. At the marriage ceremony of Mary and Philip in Winchester Cathedral, the royal couple was presented with a book of gratulatory verses (BL, Royal MS 12 A XX) by Winchester College boys: all twenty-five poems were in Latin. Two years earlier, Winchester College boys had presented complimentary Latin and Greek verses to Edward VI (BL, Royal MS 12 A XXXIII), including at the volume's end a 20-line poem in Greek iambics by one pupil, Thomas Stapleton. On Stapleton's later apology for Philip, see J. Machielsen, 'The Lion, the Witch, and the King: Thomas Stapleton's *Apologia pro Rege Catholico Philippo II* (1592)', *The English Historical Review*, CXXIX, 2014, pp. 19–46.

8r **humanitatem]** Etheridge's noun 'humanitas' economically encompasses several traits: 'humane conduct', 'generous disposition', and 'liberal education in the humanities'.

referre … animum] Likely scribal corruption: the Latin phrasing reads awkwardly.

Tobias … Sara] Following a series of aborted marriages (all of Sara's seven previous husbands dying on their wedding night at the hands of the demon of lust, Asmodeus), Sara is successfully wedded to Tobias: a model of marital piety, the pair prays on their wedding night; the marriage is consummated; and Tobias is preserved from the miserable end of Sara's previous husbands (Tobit 3.7–8, 8.4–8). Relegated to the apocrypha in the Protestant tradition, the Book of Tobit forms part of the Catholic biblical canon, its place reaffirmed by the Counter-Reformation Council of Trent (1546).

8^{v} ad … reduxit] Between his departure from (September 1555) and his return to England (March 1557), Philip invaded the Papal States in September 1556 (A. Weikel, 'Mary I (1516–1558), queen of England and Ireland', *ODNB*, Oxford 2008, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-18245>).

9^{r} Iosüe] Protagonist of the Old Testament Book of Joshua, an acolyte of Moses and, after Moses's death, leader of the Israelite tribes. Joshua led the conquest of Canaan, and was endowed with invincibility (Joshua 1.5).

omnes … Exigat] Cf. Juno's speech to Aeolus in *Aeneid*, I.74–75: 'omnis ut tecum meritis pro talibus annos | exigat' ('for this service of yours [to me] she shall spend all her years with you') (Virgil, *Eclogues. Georgics. Aeneid: Books 1–6*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, rev. G. P. Goold, Cambridge (MA) 1916, p. 266).

Sic … parentem] A phrase adapted from *Aeneid*, I.75, continuing the previous quotation: 'et pulchra faciat te prole parentem' ('and make you parent to beautiful offspring') (Ibid.). The entreaty for royal procreation is echoed in *Encomium*, fol. 29^{r}, l. 1: 'οὕτως εὐξαίμην ἀγαθοῦ παιδός τε γενέσθαι' ('so I shall pray for her [Elizabeth] to be with a fine child'). In Mary's case, Etheridge's appeal for royal children was overshadowed by her false pregnancy in July 1555.

Poem

0 Συνωμοσία] Noun (meaning variously ‘conspiracy’, ‘plot’, ‘confederacy’) that insists on subterfuge and deception, when other terms for open rebellion were available to Etheridge (‘στασιασμός’, ‘ἐπανάστασις’, ‘ἀπόστασις’, ‘κατεξανάστασις’); cf. Proctor’s spectrum, ‘previe conspiracie or ope*n* rebellio*n*’ (*Historie*, sig. a3^{r}). The Latin title appended by a later hand in grey ink to the flyleaf (‘Conjuratio Wiati | sub Maria Regina’, fol. 0^{r}) may moderate the conspiracy to one merely ‘in the time of Queen Mary’ rather than targeted directly against her.

1 ἀργυρότοξον] Recurrent Homeric epithet for Apollo (‘ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων’, ‘Apollo of the silver bow’, *Iliad*, II.766), as also in invocations (‘ἀργυρότοξ’’, *Iliad*, I.37 or I.451). Throughout, *The Iliad* is quoted from West’s edition (Homer 1998), which retains variant readings that often correspond with the edition or editions of Homer used by Etheridge.

2 Εὐχοίμην] Potential optative (after ἄν), with a negative, has the force of a strong denial (*I will not do X*) and assertion (*but I will do Y*).

ὅφρα τελέσσω] Cf. Zeus’s promise to accomplish an outcome, ‘ὅφρα τελέσσω’ (*Iliad*, I.523), a completive clause declaring a purpose (‘so that I will bring these things to pass’).

3 θυμῷ … φρεσὶν] Standard Homeric terms describing inner experience, θυμός and φρήν are the seats of rumination, deliberation, and conviction; cf. the formular phrase ‘κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν’ (e.g. *Iliad*, I.193), used extensively in both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. In Homer, words are often found or placed ‘ἐν φρεσὶ’, e.g. *Iliad*, XIX.121, ‘ἔπος τί τοι ἐ. φ. θήσω’ (‘I will put a word in your mind’), or *Odyssey*, XV.445, ‘ἔχετ᾽ ἐ. φ. μῦθον’ (‘keep in

mind what I have spoken'). Hereafter, *The Odyssey* is quoted from *Homeri Odyssea*, ed. P. von der Mühll, Stuttgart 1984.

ἀοιδήν] Almomst invariably a line-ending in Homer; cf. both *Iliad* (e.g. II.599) and *Odyssey* (VIII.64) in this orthography, rather than the scribe's 'ἀειδὴν'. For 'ἀοιδή' collocated with 'φρήν', cf. Penelope's listening in her mind, or taking into her heart, the inspired song at *Odyssey*, I.328 ('φρεσὶ σύνθετο θέσπιν ἀοιδὴν').

4 ὃς … ναίει] Cf. description of Zeus in Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 8: 'ὃς ὑπέρτατα δώματα ναίει' ('who dwells in the loftiest mansions') (Hesiod, *Theogony. Works and Days. Testimonia*, ed. and trans. G. W. Most, Cambridge (MA) 2018, p. 86). Also in Dio Chrysostom, *Discourses* 12, 'Man's First Conception of God', l. 24 (Dio Chrysostom, *Discourses 12–30*, trans. J. W. Cohoon, Cambridge (MA) 1939, p. 26). Etheridge reuses the phrase in his *Encomium*, fol. 16^{v}, l. 7.

5 Ἐλθεῖν … ἐπεύχομαι] Cf. the invocation in the pseudo-Homeric *Batrachomyomachia*, l. 2: 'Ἐλθεῖν εἰς ἐμὸν ἦτορ ἐπεύχομαι', 'I pray [for the chorus from Helicon] to come into my heart' (Pseudo-Homer, *Homeric Hymns. Homeric Apocrypha. Lives of Homer*, ed. and trans. M. L. West, Cambridge (MA) 2003, p. 496). The *Batrachomyomachia* (*Battle of the Frogs and Mice*), a conveniently short mock-epic pastiche of Homeric style, circulated in early print collections of Homer's works, following the Aldine model of a complete 'works' of Homer, and may have offered Etheridge a model of literary homage that takes Homeric form and applies it to a new kind of subject-matter. The *Batrachomyomachia* was favourably regarded in some quarters as a pedagogic aid for acquainting students with the characteristics of Homeric language and style (P. Botley, *Learning Greek in Western Europe, 1396–1529: Grammars, Lexica, and Classroom Texts*, Philadelphia (PA) 2010, p. 85). See also the sentiment, and phrasing, in Etheridge's *Encomium*, fol. 7^{v}, ll. 5–6: 'Μᾶλλον δὲ Χριστὸν Θεὸν ὕψιστον μὲν ἐσελθεῖν, | εὔχομαι εἰς

ψυχὴν καὶ τό γε ἦτορ ἐμόν' ('And more than that, I pray for Christ, God the Most High, to come into my soul and my heart').

8 **Νήσῳ … ἀμφιρύτῳ]** Cf. formular line-opening 'νήσῳ ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ' ('in a sea-girt island') in *Odyssey*, I.50, I.198, XII.283.

ἐν … Βρεττανιείῃ] Cf. description of Phthia, Achilles's home, in *Iliad*, I.155: 'ἐν Φθίῃι ἐριβώλακι βωτιανείρῃ' ('in deep-soiled Phthia, nurse of men').

9 **μέγα … ἀείρων]** Cf. *Iliad*, IX.303: 'μέγα κῦδος ἄροιο' ('will win great glory'). See also l. 225.

10 **Ὦ … ἡμέτερε]** Cf. *Iliad*, VIII.31: 'ὦ πάτερ ἡμέτερε' ('father of us all'); Athene reprises this address to Zeus three times in *Odyssey*. Etheridge's 'ἡμέτερε' is metrically irregular (three short syllables, whereas Homer's final *epsilon* scans long by position), requiring '-ρε' to be taken as long; on Homer's 'unmetrical' use of three successive short syllables, see M. West, 'Unmetrical Verses in Homer', in *Language and Meter*, ed. D. Gunkel and O. Hackstein, Leiden 2018, pp. 362–79 (363–64).

δῶτερ ἐάων] Recalls 'δῶτορ ἐάων' (*Odyssey*, VIII.335), a line-end formula re-used by Callimachus ('χαῖρε μέγα, Κρονίδη πανυπέρτατε, δῶτορ ἐάων', *Hymn to Zeus*, l. 90, in Callimachus, Lycophron, and Aratus, *Hymns and Epigrams. Lycophron: Alexandra. Aratus: Phaenomena*, trans. A. W. Mair, G. R. Mair, Cambridge (MA) 1921, p. 44) which is in turn played on by St Gregory of Nazianzus ('Παρθενίη, μέγα χαῖρε, θεόσδοτε, δῶτερ ἐάων', in *Hymn to Virginity*, from *Carmina moralia*, I.2.1; St Gregory of Nazianzus, *Tou en Hagiois Patros Hēmōn Grēgoriou tou Theologou*, ed. J.-P. Migne, vol. III, Paris 1862, p. 523). On the influence of Gregory of Nazianzus on 16th-century theological thought, see I. Backus, 'Calvin and the Greek Fathers', in *Continuity and Change. The Harvest of Late Medieval and Reformation History: Essays Presented to Heiko A. Oberman on His 70th Birthday*, ed. R. J.

Bast and A. C. Gow, Leiden 2000, pp. 253–78; F. J. McGinness, *Right Thinking and Sacred Oratory in Counter-Reformation Rome*, Princeton (NJ) 1995, pp. 16–17.

11 πυκινὰ φρονέειν] Cf. 'πυκινὰ φρονέοντι' (*Odyssey*, IX.445, 'have wise thoughts', 'be cunningly minded'). A similar phrase recurs in *Encomium*, fol. 25^{v}, l. 6: 'πυκνὴ ἐν φρεσὶν ἡ σοφία' ('shrewd wisdom in mind').

νημερτέα … εἰπεῖν] Cf. Homeric collocations for speaking truth: 'νημερτέα εἴπῃ' (*Odyssey*, III.19); 'ἔπος νημερτὲς ἔειπες' (*Iliad*, III.204). See also l. 78, 'νημερτέα βουλὴν'. As with Etheridge's 'ἡμέτερε' in the preceding line (l. 10), 'νημερτέα τε' is metrically irregular (three short syllables), requiring 'τε' to be taken as long.

12–13 κεν … βασιλίσσῃ] Loosely recalls Athene's optative-heavy speech of persuasion and ingratiation in *Iliad*, IV.93–103, esp. ll. 95–97:

> πᾶσι δέ κε Τρώεσσι χάριν καὶ κῦδος ἄροιο,
> ἐκ πάντων δὲ μάλιστα Ἀλεξάνδρωι βασιλῆϊ.
> τοῦ κεν δὴ πάμπρωτα παρ' ἀγλαὰ δῶρα φέροιο

('and would win favour and fame in the eyes of all Trojans, and most of all in King Alexander's eyes. From him would you bear away glorious gifts before everyone else').

13 κλέος ἐσθλὸν] Cf. the formular phrase 'κλέος ἐσθλόν' (occurring six times in *Iliad*), as at *Iliad*, V.3: 'κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἄροιτο' ('win glorious renown'), an echo strengthened by 'ἄροιο' at the end of the previous line. For metrical conformity, here the final syllable of 'κλέος' must be taken as long. Cf. ll. 21, 356. Compare 'ἐσθλὸν ἄροιτο κλέος' in *Encomium*, fol. 26^{v}, l. 6.

14 περὶ κῆρι] There is some latitude in the sense: περὶ can be both preposition ('with all my heart') and adverb ('exceedingly in my heart')

τιέσκεται] Unusual form of τίω: cf. 'μοι περὶ κῆρι τιέσκετο Ἴλιος ἱρὴ' (*Iliad*, IV.46) ('sacred Ilios was honoured in my heart').

15 τὰ … μέμηλε] Cf. ll. 266, 296, recalling the line-end colon ‘πάντα μέμηλεν’ (‘all these things are concerns to me’) in *Odyssey,* VI.65; also *Encomium,* fol. 17^{v}, l. 3, ‘καλὰ πάντα μέμηλε’ (God ‘took care for all good things’). As in ll. 10 and 11, three successive short syllables (‘τὰ καλὰ’) make this line metrically irregular, requiring ‘τὰ’ to be taken as long.

16 Πολλάκι … αὐτὴν] Cf. *Greek Anthology,* IX.165 (*Παλλάδα Ἀλεξανδρέως*), ‘πολλάκι γοῦν αὐτὴν’ (l. 6), in a poem referencing Zeus’s habitual treatment of Hera, as represented by Homer (‘οἶδεν Ὅμηρος’). On the ‘foundational’ place of the Greek Anthology in early sixteenth-century English humanist circles, see C. Temple, ‘The Greek Anthology in the Renaissance: Epigrammatic Scenes of Reading in Spenser’s *Faerie Queene*’, *Studies in Philology,* CXV, 2018, pp. 48–72 (p. 56); on the Greek Anthology’s utility for English schoolroom exercises of literary ‘variation’, see G. Kilroy, *The Epigrams of Sir John Harington,* Aldershot 2009, p. 25.

Πολλάκι … ἀμύνας] Cf. *Iliad*, ‘λοιγὸν ἀμῦναι’ (‘to ward off ruin’) (I.67, I.341, I.398), ‘λ. ἀμύνει’ (V.603), ‘λ. ἀμύνῃς’ (IX.493), and so on. Compare also Etheridge’s *Encomium*: ‘πολλάκις […] σαώσας | […] κακὸν λοιγὸν ἀμυνάμενος’ (‘many times saving [him] […] defending [him from] dreadful harm’) (*Encomium,* fol. 7^{v}, ll. 9–10). The sentiment may also recall Proctor’s claim: ‘her […] God so favoureth, that he wyll not suffer the malice and rage of her enemies at anye tyme to prevaile against her: to whome he hath given so many notable victories and soo miraculous that her enemies mighte seme rather to have ben overthrow[n]e *Spiritu Dei* th[a]n vanqueshed *humano robore*’ (*Historie,* sig. E1^{r}).

16–17 ἀμύνας … ἐέργει] This vision of Mary’s maternal protection, an image that sits awkwardly with the recognition of her childlessness in Etheridge’s preface (fol. 9^{r}), may recall her speech in the Guildhall on 1 February 1554: ‘I can not tel how naturally the mother loveth the childe, for I was never the mother of anye, but certainely, if a Prince and governour maye

as naturally and earnestly love her subjectes, as the Mother doeth the Childe, then assure your selves, that I being your Ladie and Maistres, doe as earnestly and as tenderly love & favour you' (as reported in John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of Matters most Speciall and Memorable […] Newly revised and recognised, partly also augmented*, London 1583, II, sig. 4L3^{r}). Heavily indebted to *Iliad*, IV.129–31:

> ἄμυνεν.
> ἣ δὲ τόσον μὲν ἔεργεν ἀπὸ χροός, ὡς ὅτε μήτηρ
> παιδὸς ἐέργηι μυῖαν

('she warded off [the arrow]. She brushed it away from the flesh just as a mother brushes away a fly from her child'). Cf. Etheridge's *Encomium*, fol. 28^{r}, l. 1: 'ὡς ὅτε μὲν μυῖαν μήτηρ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐέργει'.

18 **ἀπὸ κραδίας]** Cf. *Encomium*, 'ἀπὸ κραδίης' (fol. 15^{r}, l. 4), 'ἀπὸ κραδίας' (fol. 37^{v}, l. 7) ('from the heart').

φιλέουσά … τε] Cf. *Iliad*, I.196, I.209: 'φιλέουσά τε κηδομένη τε' ('loves and cares for [them]').

21 **τιμήν]** For metrical conformity, the first syllable ('τι-') must be taken as long; cf. ll. 32 and 39.

βασιλίσσῃ … ἐσθλόν] Cf. l. 13; also l. 356.

23 **Ἔστι … Λονδίνον]** Cf. *Iliad*, VI.152: 'ἔστι πόλις Ἐφύρη' ('There is a city, Ephyre').

24 **Οἳ … ἐπιχθόνιοι]** Cf. *Iliad*, I.272: 'τῶν οἳ νῦν βροτοί εἰσιν ἐπιχθόνιοι' ('of all the mortals who are now on the earth').

25 **εὐναιομένη]** May recall 'εὖ ναιομένη πόλις' from *Iliad*, XIII.815. Cf. Etheridge's *Encomium*: 'εὐναιομένην […] πόλιν' (fol. 9^{v}, l. 6), or 'εὐναιομένη […] πόλις' (fol. 10^{v}, l. 2) ('well-peopled city').

27 **Πανσυδίῃ]** Standard Homeric line-opening; cf. *Iliad*, II.12, II.29, II.66, XI.708.

ὅπη] For metrical conformity, the final syllable ('-πη') must be taken as short.

σύρφετος ὄχλος] Cf. Lucian, *Herodotus, or Aetion*, 8: ‘συρφετώδης ὄχλος’ (‘vulgar mob’) (Lucian, *Works, Volume VI*, trans. K. Kilburn, Cambridge (MA) 1959, p. 150).

28 κακῶν λέρνην] Lernê (or Lerna), a marsh in Argolis, is the mythological abode of the Hydra, hence the proverbial phrase ‘Λέρνη κακῶν’ (‘an abyss of ills’). Cf. Strabo, *Geography*, VIII.6.8: ‘ἡ δὲ Λέρνη λίμνη τῆς Ἀργείας ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς Μυκηναίας, ἐν ᾗ τὴν Ὕδραν ἱστοροῦσι· διὰ δὲ τοὺς γινομένους καθαρμοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ παροιμία τις ἐξέπεσε, Λέρνη κακῶν’ (‘And Lake Lernê, the scene of the story of the Hydra, lies in Argeia and the Mycenaean territory; and on account of the cleansings that take place in it there arose a proverb, “A Lernê of ills”’) (Strabo, *Geography, Volume IV*: Books 8-9, trans. H. L. Jones, Cambridge (MA) 1927, p. 196).

29 Πόρνους … μοίχους] Cf. the same collocation in Paul’s *Epistle to the Hebrews*, 13.4, in the Greek New Testament: ‘πόρνους δε και μοιχούς κρινεί ο Θεός’ (*Novum Testamentum Graece*, ed. E. Nestle et al., 26th edition, Stuttgart 1983).

κερδαλεόφρονας] Epithet not widely attested; ‘κερδαλεόφρων’ denotes both ‘crafty’ (as used of Odysseus, *Odyssey*, IV.339) and ‘greedy of gain’, ‘avaricious’. Achilles accuses Agamemnon of being ‘κερδαλεόφρον’ (*Iliad*, I.149).

32 Ἔμμορε … τιμῆς] Cf. the collocation ‘ἔμμορε τιμῆς’ in *Iliad*, I.278 and XV.189, and *Odyssey*, 11.338. For metrical conformity, the first syllable of ‘τιμῆς’ (‘τι-’) must be taken as long; cf. ll. 21 and 39.

σκήπτρου] May recall, given the proximity with ‘Ἔμμορε τῆς τιμῆς’ (echoing *Iliad*, I.278), the description of Agamemnon as ‘σκηπτοῦχος’ (‘sceptred’) at *Iliad*, I.279.

33 κακὴν ἔριδα] Cf. *Iliad*, III.7, or XI.529: ‘κακὴν ἔριδα’ (‘evil strife’). Here, the final syllable of Etheridge’s ‘ἔριδα’ must be taken as long for the line to scan.

φύλοπιν αἰνήν] Cf. Zeus’s deliberation as to whether the gods should ‘πόλεμόν τε κακὸν καὶ φύλοπιν αἰνήν | ὄρσομεν’ (‘stir up evil war and dread battle-din’) (*Iliad*, IV.15–

16). The collocation ‘φύλοπιν αἰνήν’ recurs at IV.65, V.496, VI.105, XI.213, XVI.256, XVI.677; ‘φύλοπις αἰνή’ at IV.82, V.379, VI.1, etc. See also l. 196. Cf. Etheridge’s *Encomium*, ‘φύλοπιν αἰνὴν’ (fol. 12^{r}, l. 7; fol. 27^{r}, l. 3).

34 παλίνορσα λάθοιντο] Etheridge implies that the renegade factions are working a return to what he considers Reformist heresy. Cf. Proctor’s account of how ‘faction, sedition, & rebellion’ were brought about by that ‘restlesse evil heresie’; Wyatt himself ‘labored by false persuasion otherwise to have coulored it’ than a religiously-motivated uprising, although the ultimate grievance was ‘living under a Catholike prince’ (Proctor, *Historie*, sigs A1$^{r–v}$, A2^{r}).

36 εἶχε] MS unclear: either an interlined *gamma* (‘ˆγ’ˆεἰχε’) or, likelier, ‘εἶχε’, attesting the scribe’s generally zealous marking of circumflex accents (῀).

38 Κῦδος ἀείρουσα] Etheridge favours the present participle of ‘ἀείρω’ (lift, raise), although cf. another collocation for the idea of winning fame whereby ‘ἄρνυμαι’ is paired with ‘κῦδος’ in *Iliad*, IX.303, and *Odyssey*, XXII.253.

39 τιμῶσα] For metrical conformity, the first syllable (‘τι-’) must be taken as long; cf. ll. 21 and 32.

μηδὲ] Frequently presented by the scribe with two accents: cf. ll. 230, 287.

41 ἀνὴρ] The first syllable must be taken long for the line to scan.

42 Ἐξονομάζουσι, θρασὺς] The first half of the line does not scan regularly. The *iota* of ‘Ἐξονομάζουσι’ in the MS appears with a diaeresis symbol, plausibly demarcating a long syllable; cf. l. 65.

Ἄρεος ὄζος] Cf. formular line-ending, ‘ὄζος Ἄρηος’, in *Iliad*, II.540, II. 704, II.745, II.842, etc. The noun ‘ὄζος’ (lit. ‘scion’, ‘offshoot’) has the force of ‘follower’, ‘servant’. In Etheridge’s *Encomium*, fol. 12^{r}, l. 1, Henry VIII is more favourably portrayed as ‘ἀρηίφιλος’ (‘dear to Ares’).

43 Ὡς … ἐνὶ] As with the preceding verse, the first half of the line does not scan regularly.

44 Κοσμηθεῖσα] For the line to scan, the final syllable ('-σα') must be taken as short, despite being followed by a *psi*.

βλαστήμασι] A favourite image for Etheridge, recurring in *Encomium* three times over fols 28$^{r–v}$: 'βλαστήματα […] Βλαστήσαντ' […] βλάστημα' (fol. 28^{r}, l. 9; fol. 28^{v}, ll. 2, 7).

46 Λυγρὸν … πόλεμον] Cf. Etheridge's *Encomium*, fol. 11^{v}, l. 6: 'πολέμου λυγροῦ'.

βουλεύσατο] On Wyatt's premeditated plotting, cf. his plans 'to stirre the duke of Suffolk & his brethren […] whom he knewe to be like affected to heresies' (Proctor, *Historie*, sig. A2^{r}).

47 ἐτύγχανον] Verb that, awkwardly, allows for a greater element of chance than 'ἐτύγχανεν' used for the biblical allusion to Elizabeth, mother of John the Baptist, in *Encomium*, fol. 29^{r}, l. 5: 'Ἐλισάβετ στεῖρα μὲν ἐτύγχανεν οὖσα' ('it happened that Elizabeth was barren').

49 Αἱρετικοὶ] Etheridge is not unique in attributing heretical motives to the rebels, but arguably more uncompromising: even Proctor's unsubtly partisan chronicle concedes that, 'for the sundrie and singular giftes, wherwith he was largelye endued, I had him in great admiration', acknowledging in Wyatt 'so manye good & commendable qualities' that were regrettably 'abused in the service of cursed heresie' (Proctor, *Historie*, sig. a7^{v}).

50 κακῆς … ἀρχή] Cf. *Odyssey*, XII.339, 'κακῆς ἐξήρχετο βουλῆς' ('began giving wicked counsel'); also the collocation 'βουλὴ … κακὴ' (*Odyssey*, X.46) and 'κακὴ … βουλὴ' (*Odyssey*, XIV.337).

51–52 Ἑνρῖκος … Καρῶε] Wyatt's co-conspirators, Henry, Duke of Suffolk (based in Leicester, the father of Lady Jane Grey), and Sir Peter Carew (representing the West Country,

the M.P. for Devon). Both were of overtly reformist leanings: see M. R. Thorp, 'Religion and the Wyatt Rebellion of 1554', *Church History,* XLVII, 1978, pp. 363–80 (pp. 370–71). For these lines to scan, the '-ρῖ-' of 'Ἐνρῖκος' (l. 51) and the first syllable of 'Καρῶε' (l. 52) must be taken as long.

52 ἡγήτορε λαοῦ] Dual inflection in 'ἡγήτορε' likely evokes *Iliad,* IV.285 (and on three other occasions), in reference to the two Aiantes: 'Ἀργείων ἡγήτορε' ('two leaders of the Argives'). Cf. line-ending collocation, 'ἡγήτορα λαῶν', *Iliad,* XX.383.

53 Τοὺς … ἄλλους] Occasional line-opening phrase in Homer, e.g. *Iliad,* XXIV.497, or *Odyssey,* IX.370.

ἔκ τ' ὀνομάζειν] Tmesis of 'ἐξονομάζειν'.

παρεῶ … ὀνομάζειν] Cf. Proctor's anxious stance, forbearing 'to touche any man by name, Wyat onelye excepte, and a fewe other which the story would not permit to be leaft out', not so as 'to excuse anye mans faulte thereby' but to acknowledge 'eyther their owne good happe, or the queenes surpastinge mercie' in keeping their names 'covered at this time' (*Historie,* sig. a7^{r}).

54 βασιλίσσης] For the line to scan, the second syllable ('-σι-') must be taken as long.

ἐλεαίρων κηδόμενος] Cf. the line-ending collocation 'κήδεται ἠδ' ἐλεαίρει' (*Iliad,* II.27, II.64, XXIV.174).

55 δηλώσας ἔφθανε] Cf. Proctor's account of how Wyatt, 'suspectynge his secretes to be reveled', felt 'compelled to anticipate his time' (*Historie,* sig. A3^{r}). At a slightly later point in the historical sequence, Proctor attributes the forestalling of Wyatt's progress to divine intervention: 'Where amongest other thinges Gods secret ha*n*d was greatly felt to *th*e great comfort & present ayd of true subjectes against the traitours' (sig. D8^{v}). For Etheridge's line to scan, the final syllable of 'δηλώσας' must be taken as long.

57 μὴν … ἄνδρας] May echo ‘πρῶτα μὲν … ἠγήτορας ἄνδρας’ at *Iliad*, XVI.495, XVI.532.

τινὰς] For Etheridge’s line to scan, the final syllable of ‘τινὰς’ must be taken as long.

58 καθειρξαμένη] One of the conspirators, Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, was questioned on 21 January 1554, and later confessed to his involvement in the plot (*Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume XII, 1554*, ed. R. Tyler, London 1949, pp. 108, 267). Sir Edward Warner, Sir Thomas Cawarden, and the Marquis of Northampton were arrested in January on suspicion of involvement in the uprising (Robison (as in n. 17), p. 776).

59 ἀσπερχὲς μενεαίνει] Adverb (‘hotly’, ‘unceasingly’), misspelled by the scribe (‘ἀσπαρχὲς’), sometimes collocated with ‘μενεαίνειν’ in Homer: cf. *Odyssey*, I.20, ‘ὁ δ’ ἀσπερχὲς μενέαινεν’ (‘continued to rage unceasingly’); or *Iliad*, IV.32 and XXII.10.

60 αἰχμητῶν] Contracted rendering of ‘αἰχμητάων’ (‘spearman’, ‘warrior’), used adjectivally (‘warlike’). Cf. ll. 80, 125, 200; also *Encomium*, ‘αἰχμηταὶ’ (fol. 13^{v}, l. 7; fol. 23^{r}, l. 10; and fol. 38^{r}, l. 3); ‘αἰχμητὴν’ (fol. 27^{r}, l. 8).

στίχας ἀνδρῶν] Formulaic verse-end in Homer, e.g. *Iliad*, III.196, IV.231, IV.250, V.166, etc. See also l. 130.

61 Τρεῖς … ἀσπιστάων] Unusual fifth foot spondee; cf. ll. 255 and 285.

62 πτολίεθρον] As at ll. 101, 107, and 141, the ‘citadel’ seems to refer to the City of London, the square mile directly north of Wyatt’s intended crossing-point over the Thames at Southwark.

63 Βῆ … ἰέναι] Recurrent syntagm in Homeric Greek (e.g. *Iliad*, IV.199, VI.296, VIII.220, IX.596, etc.), meaning ‘went as to go’, ‘started to go’. See also l. 213.

Λόνδινον] Here and elsewhere (ll. 88, 101, and 142), the middle syllable (‘-δι-’) must be taken as long for the line to scan.

μνήσατο χάρμης] Cf. the recurrent line-ending formula ‘μνήσαντο δὲ χάρμης’ at *Iliad*, IV.222, VIII.252, XIV.440, XV.380; also ‘μνησώμεθα χάρμης’ at *Iliad*, XV.477, XIX.148, and *Odyssey*, XXII.73.

64 γέρων ἥρως] Cf. ‘γέρων ἥρως’ at *Odyssey*, II.157, VII.155, XI.342, XXIV.451.

ἡλικίαν προβεβηκώς] A loose collocation, though not Homeric: cf. ‘ἡλικίαν ἤδη μετρίως προβεβηκώς’ (‘was quite old’), in Herodian, *History of the Empire*, II.7.5 (Herodian, *Regnum post Marcum*, ed. C. M. Lucarini, Leipzig 2012, p. 43). Norfolk, eighty years old at the time of the uprising, was indeed a man ‘very advanced in years’.

65 καλέουσι] For the line to scan, the final syllable (‘-σι’) must be taken as long. The *iota* in the MS appears with a diaeresis symbol; cf. l. 42.

Νορφόλχικον ἀρχόν] Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk (1473–1554), whose ‘last service to the crown was given against Sir Thomas Wyatt’s rising in January 1554’ (M. A. R. Graves, ‘Howard, Thomas, third duke of Norfolk (1473–1554), magnate and soldier’. *ODNB*, Oxford 2008, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-13940>). Appointed lieutenant-general, Norfolk led a detachment of 500 City whitecoats against Wyatt at Rochester, Kent: ‘the duke of Norfolke […] with a certain bande of whitecotes to the nomber of .vi.C. [=600] sent unto them fro*m* London’ (Proctor, *Historie*, sig. D3^{r}). Yet at Rochester Bridge the whitecoats defected to Wyatt, and the outfit’s royal commanders were forced to retreat ignominiously ‘to the Court, both void of men and victory, leaving behind them both 6. peeces of ordinance, and treasure’ (Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, London 1583, II, sig. 4P3^{v}). Not unremarkably, Norfolk’s eldest son is Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey – the other principal poet canonised (with Thomas Wyatt the Edler) in Richard Tottel’s seminal print miscellany, *Songes and sonettes* (1557).

66 **Ὅς … μάχεσθαι]** Recalls (surprisingly) Nestor's conciliatory speech, to the wrangling Achilles and Agamemnon, in *Iliad*, I.254–84, esp. I.258: 'οἳ περὶ μὲν βουλὴν Δαναῶν, περὶ δ' ἐστὲ μάχεσθαι' ('you who outdo the Danaans in counsel and in fighting'). This combination of virtues is rare in *Iliad*, attributed here to both Achilles and Agamemnon, to Agamemnon alone at III.179, and to Diomedes at IX.53. Cf. the pairing at II.202, 'ἐν πολέμωι […] ἐνὶ βουλῆι'. Cf. Etheridge's celebration of Henry VIII as the nonpareil in counsel and combat: 'ἢ συμβουλεύσας ἠδὲ μαχησάμενος' (*Encomium*, fol. 26^{r}).

67 **Νέστορ' ἀτάλαντος]** May faintly echo 'μήστωρ ἀτάλαντος' at *Iliad*, VII.366, XVII.477.

ἀτάλαντος φρένα] Cf. *Encomium*: 'σοφίᾳ γ' ἀτάλαντος' ('equal in wise judgement' (to Zeus), fol. 11^{v}, l. 9); 'μῆτιν ἀτάλαντος' ('in wisdom […] equal', fol. 26^{r}, l. 1); and, specifically, the comparison with Nestor's renowned wisdom in counsel, 'Νέστορα […] συμφράδμών' (fol. 26^{v}–27^{r}).

κρατερῷ Ἀχιλῆϊ] May recall the line-ending pair 'κρατεροῦ Ἀχιλῆος' at *Iliad*, XXI.553.

68 **Ἵκελος … δίῳ]** Cf. the formular pairing 'εἴκελος ἀλκήν' at *Iliad*, IV.253, XVII.281, XVIII.154, and the epithet-noun formula 'Ἕκτορι δίῳ' throughout the epic (e.g. V.211); see also 'ἴκελος Ἕκτορι δίῳ' (*Encomium*, fol. 8^{r}, l. 9).

70 **ἔλαθεν]** Cf. Proctor on Norfolk's gullibility: 'the noble Duke beinge an auncient and worthy captayne, & yet by long imprysonment so diswonted from the knowledge of our malicious world, & the iniquitie of our tyme, as he suspectinge nothinge lesse than that whiche folowed, but judgynge everye man to accorde with him in desier to serve truelye' (*Historie*, sig. E5^{r}).

μικροῦ δεῖν] Cf. Isocrates, *Evagoras*, 58, ‘μικροῦ δεῖν ἔλαθεν αὐτὸν’ (‘almost stood at the doors of his palace before he was aware of him’) (*Works, Volume III*, trans. La Rue Van Hook, Cambridge (MA) 1945, p. 36).

71 ἐμηχανᾶτό … ὁ] The third foot in the line does not scan.

ἀγκυλομῆτις] Epithet occurring in *Iliad*, IV.59, used by Hera of her father Kronos.

73 Ἅρπερον] Sir George Harper, one of the formative conspirators. Despite being indicted of the rebellion, Harper was never tried and was released in January 1555.

73–74 θωρηχθῆν’ … ἀριστήεσσι] Recalls Achilles’s railing accusations against Agamemnon at *Iliad*, I.226–27: ‘ἅμα λαῶι θωρηχθῆναι | οὔτε λόχονδ’ ἰέναι σὺν ἀριστήεσσιν Ἀχαιῶν’ (‘to put on your armour with your troops, or to go into ambush with the chief Achaean soldiers’). Achilles distinguishes between generic combat involving the whole host of troops and the more daring, skilful kind of raid (the occasion for displays of true valour, ‘ἀρετή […] ἀνδρῶν’, according to *Iliad*, XIII.277) involving a small ambushing party (λόχος) that comprises nobles exclusively.

74 λόχον] For the line to scan, the final syllable (‘-χον’) must be taken as long.

75 ἐλίσσετο γούνων] Cf. Lycaon begging for mercy from Achilles (by clasping his knees, the traditional mode of Homeric supplication), ‘ἐλλίσσετο γούνων’ (*Iliad*, XXI.71), like Adrastus of Menelaus, ‘ἐ. γ.’ (*Iliad*, VI.45); also, ‘ἐ. γ.’ (*Odyssey*, X.264) and ‘γ. ἐλλιτάνευσα’ (*Odyssey*, X.481). See also l. 190. The scene may recall Proctor’s account: ‘Harper, notwithstandinge his crouchynge and knelinge before the Duke, and faire promises that he woulde undertake that Wyat shoulde have yelded’ (*Historie*, sigs E7$^{r–v}$). For Etheridge’s line to scan, the first syllable of ‘ἐλίσσετο’ must be taken as long.

76 μεγαθύμου] Etheridge reuses the common Homeric epithet ‘μεγάθυμος’ three times of Henry VIII (*Encomium*, fol. 23^{r}, l. 2; fol. 26^{v}, l. 1; fol. 35^{v}, l. 9). For the line to scan, the third syllable (‘-θύ-’) must be taken as long; cf. ll. 188 and 339.

πρὸς … ἔειπεν] Homeric formula, e.g. *Iliad*, XI.429, ‘πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν’ (‘spoke these words to him’). Cf. l. 263.

77 Ζώγρει … ἄποινα] Cf. the plea at *Iliad*, VI.46 or (identically) XI.131: ‘ζώγρει, Ἀτρέος υἱέ, σὺ δ’ ἄξια δέξαι ἄποινα’ (‘Spare us, son of Atreus, and receive a worthy ransom’). Such appeals for mercy are invariably rejected in *Iliad*.

78 νημερτέα βουλήν] Recalls *Odyssey*, I.86 and V.30, ‘νημερτέα βουλὴν’ (‘our resolute purpose’). Cf. *Homeric Hymns*, 3, ‘To Apollo’, l. 132, ‘νημερτέα βουλὴν’ (‘unerring will’) (Pseudo-Homer, *Homeric Hymns. Homeric Apocrypha. Lives of Homer*, ed. and trans. M. L. West, Cambridge (MA) 2003, p. 80; also pp. 90, 92).

79 Δεῦρο … ἦλυθον] Cf. *Iliad*, I.152–53: ‘οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ Τρώων ἕνεκ’ ἦλυθον αἰχμητάων | δεῦρο μαχησόμενος’ (‘It was not for the Trojan spearmen that I came here to fight’). Cf. ‘δεῦρο μαχησόμενος’ (*Encomium*, fol. 9^{v}, l. 8).

ἕνεκα] For the line to scan, the final syllable (‘-κα’) must be taken as long.

ἦλυθον αὐτός] Cf. the line-ending pair ‘ἦλυθον αὐτοί’, at *Iliad*, X.540.

80 Ὣς φάτο] Standard opening foot (cf. ll. 238, 263, 318), as at *Iliad*, I.188, I.245, I.345, etc.

τὰς] Must be taken as long for the line to scan.

82 ἐνὶ … εἶναι] May recall ‘ἐνὶ στρατῷ εὐχόμεθ’ εἶναι’ at *Iliad*, XV.296.

εὔχεται εἶναι] Recalls Homeric line-end pairing, ‘εὔχεται εἶναι’ (e.g. *Iliad*, I.91, V.246). The verb ‘εὔχεται’ allows for a dubious claim to a quality (as at *Iliad*, I.91).

85 Οἳ … ἰόντες] Cf. formular verse used at *Iliad*, III.15 (and on eleven other occasions, as at V.14, V.630, V.850, XI.232, etc.), of clashing armies and individual duels alike: ‘οἱ δ’ ὅτε δὴ σχεδὸν ἦσαν ἐπ’ ἀλλήλοισιν ἰόντες’ (‘And when they had come near, advancing each against the other’).

86 ἯΗσθετ᾽] Another signature set-piece in Homeric epic: the vigilant hero who spots and obviates danger.

88 Λονδίνου πόλεος] For the line to scan, '-δί-' (cf. ll. 63, 101, and 142) and '-ος' must be taken as long.

89 Οὐτιδανοὺς] Cf. ll. 198 and 294. This form, 'οὐτιδανὸς' ('worthless', 'of no account') occurs at *Iliad*, I.293, and a handful of times in *Odyssey*, as well as cropping up in a few other non-Homeric contexts (e.g. Nonnos, *Dionysiaca*, XX.235) (Nonnos, *Dionysiaca, Volume III*: Books 36-48, trans. W. H. D. Rouse, Cambridge (MA) 1940, p. 268). Proctor alludes obliquely to the 'revolte of the whitcotes' (*Historie*, sig. E8^{v}); Etheridge omits any uncomfortable reference to the Whitecoats's patriotic cries of '*we are all Englishe men, we are al Englishe men*' (sig. E6^{v}) as they defected from Norfolk to Wyatt's camp.

κακ' ἐλέγχεα] Cf. 'κακ' ἐλέγχεα' ('wicked objects of reproach') in *Iliad*, V.787 (as spoken to the Argives by Hera in the form of Stentor) or VIII.228 (spoken by Agamemnon).

πιστὰ ταμόντας] Cf. formulaic collocation for oath-taking, 'πιστὰ ταμόντες' ('swearing oaths', 'making a truce'), at *Iliad*, II.124, III.73, III.256.

90 Προφρονέως] Recalls the adverb as used at *Iliad*, V.810, V.816, VI.173, etc.

παλίνορσος ἀποστάς] Cf. 'παλίνορσος ἀπέστη' (*Iliad*, III.33), applied to a man who 'started backwards' upon seeing a snake. The word 'παλίνορσος' (moving backwards rapidly) occurs only at this point in Homer; the gnomic aorist 'ἀπέστη' describes a tenseless, habitual truth.

92 ὑπέκφυγε … μέλαιναν] Etheridge uses some version of 'φυγεῖν' and the Homeric collocation 'κῆρα μέλαιναν' (frequent in both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*) three times: here (l. 92), and at ll. 194 and 250. Cf. *Iliad*, V.22: 'ὑπέκφυγε κῆρα μέλαιναν'.

94–96 Κἀξ … ἐόντα] The simile of an uncontrollably blazing fire may have been inspired by *Iliad*, XX.490–93, although Etheridge's terminology is quite different; see also similes of

burning woodland in *Iliad*, II.455–56, XIV.396–97, XV.605–6, and also the fiery sparks from a meteor at *Iliad*, IV.77, 'τοῦ δέ τε πολλοὶ ἀπὸ σπινθῆρες ἵενται' ('and sparks issue from it thickly'). Simile with axiomatic currency: see Erasmus's *Adages* III.viii.23, 'ex minimis initiis maxima', invoking the same image ('just as the worst fire is born from the smallest spark'), in *Adages IIIiv1 to IVii100* (as in n. 68), p. 291. May also recall James 3.5, 'ἰδοὺ ἡλίκον πῦρ ἡλίκην ὕλην ἀνάπτει', in the Greek New Testament (*Novum Testamentum Graece*, ed. E. Nestle et al., 26th edition, Stuttgart 1983). Prosodically unusual, Etheridge's ll. 94 and 96 are (barring the final two feet) spondaic; cf. ll. 124, 150.

94 **ὕλης … πῦρ]** For the line to scan, the *upsilons* in 'ὕλης' and 'πῦρ' must be taken as long.

φλόγι … πολλῇ] Cf. 'φλόγα πολλήν', *Iliad*, XXI.333.

97 **κακίας]** Evidently an error, as the line does not scan; likely the result of eye-skip (under the influence of 'κακούργων' at the line's end). A metrically fitting replacement, sympathetic to Etheridge's image here, would be 'πυρκαΐας' (fire, pyre).

98 **πήματα λυγρά]** May echo the line-ending pair 'σήματα λυγρὰ' ('baneful tokens') at *Iliad*, VI.168.

99 **ἐξώτρυνε … θυμὸν]** Cf. the formular phrase (used ten times in *Iliad*), as applied to Ares rousing the Trojans at *Iliad*, V.470: 'ὣς εἰπὼν ὄτρυνε μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἑκάστου' ('So saying, he stirred every man's force and spirit'); or XX.174, 'ὣς Ἀχιλῆ' ὄτρυνε μένος καὶ θυμὸς' ('so Achilles was driven by his rage and spirit'); or 'μένος καὶ θυμὸς' (XXII.346, XIV.198). Etheridge (or his scribe) erroneously adds 'μὲν' between 'μένος' and 'καὶ', rendering the line hypermetric.

100 **τύχη]** Cf. Proctor's awkward account of a 'moste infortunate channce […] that unhappie chaunce' in Wyatt's triumph over the Duke of Norfolk (*Historie*, sigs E7^{v}, F1^{r}).

πρώτη … εὐχῇ] Cf. Proctor's portrait of the rebels' delusion: 'The traitours and their frendes were growen as men revived from deathe to life, flattering them selves that a thynge so farre above mennes expectation coulde not have happened to them so fortunatlye, but by Gods miraculous provision, as favouring greatly their case' (*Historie*, sigs F1^{v}–F2^{r}).

101 Λονδίνον] As elsewhere (ll. 63, 88, and 142), for the line to scan the second syllable ('-δί-') must be taken as long.

πουλυάνειρον] Unclear in MS; evidently an irregular formulation, the bizarre orthography conceivably the product of Reuchlinian habits of pronunciation – 'ι' (MS) for 'υ'; 'ω' (MS) for 'ο'(?) – and prosodic exigency: Etheridge favours the epic form 'πουλ-' (for 'πολ-') for metrical reasons, although he or his scribe ostensibly introduced an orthographic error in the rest of the word. Conceivably a coinage modelled on, e.g., Homeric 'κυδιάνειραν' ('bringing fame to men'), here for the unmetrical 'πολυάνδρον' (populous, well-peopled), which would fit the context. Alternatively, a corruption of 'πολύαινος', 'much-praised', as used of Odysseus at *Iliad*, IX.673.

102 Σπεῦσε τάχιστα] May recall 'σπεύδετον ὅττι τάχιστα', at *Iliad*, XXIII.414. Etheridge departs from the chronicle record, which instead details Wyatt's time-consuming digression to besiege the residence of his uncle, Lord Cobham, at Cooling Castle: despite his allies' counsel that London 'longed soore for theyr commynge, whyche they coulde by no meane protracte without bredynge great peryll and weikenes to them selves', Wyatt 'exalted into hault corage and pryde by the revolt of the white cotes […] marched the daye after beyng Twesday in great pompe and glory […] to Cowling castle' (Proctor, *Historie*, sigs F7^{v}–8^{r}).

συνομώσαντας] Metrical variation of 'συνομόσαντας' (those conspiring together, conspirators), avoiding three successive short syllables; cf. l. 363.

103 Οἳ … ἀλκῆς] The line's first foot does not scan properly.

μνησθέντες … ἀλκῆς] Cf. *Iliad*, IV.418, ‘μεδώμεθα θούριδος ἀλκῆς’ (‘let us turn our minds to fierce valour’), or XI.287, ‘μνήσασθε δὲ θ. ἀ.’ (‘take thought of fierce valour’); cf. V.718, VIII.174, XV.734, etc. Compare l. 153. Cf. also ‘ἐμνήσατο θ. ἀ.’ (*Encomium*, fol. 9^{r}, l. 5).

104–5 συμμαχίαν … Λονδονιαίους] Of Wyatt’s favourable reception upon his arrival in Southwark (3 February 1554), the anonymous Tower of London chronicler records that the rebel force was ‘sufferyd peceably to enter into Southwarke without repulse or eny stroke stryken either by the inhabitours or by eny other’, and that the men that Lord William Howard had mustered to oppose Wyatt’s advance ‘all joyned themselves to the said Kentyshe rebelles’ (*Chronicle of Queen Jane*, p. 43).

106 συνεπιλήψειν] Cf. Etheridge’s *Encomium*, fol. 7^{v}, l. 4, apparently the only other instance of this form: ‘μοὶ συνεπιλήψειν πράγματος ἔνθα καλοῦ’ (of a call to the muses to ‘assist me in this noble task’). By contrast, Liddell and Scott give ‘συνεπιλείπω’ as ‘fail together with’ (H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford 1996). Etheridge surely means the future infinitive form of ‘συνεπιλαμβάνομαι’ (‘to have a share in’, ‘to assist’, ‘to take the part of’). The word is metrically irregular (three short syllables), here requiring the third syllable (‘-πι-’) to be taken long for the line to scan.

πολέμοιο κακίστου] Cf. ‘πολέμοιο κακοῖο’ at *Iliad*, I.284.

108 κλισίας] Term recurring frequently in *Iliad* (as at I.306) to describe Achaean huts pitched on shore.

Ταμίσεος τὰ] For the line to scan, ‘Τα-’ and ‘τὰ’ must be taken as long; cf. l. 15.

τέθεντο] Unclear; if the root verb is ‘τίθημι’, the aorist would ordinarily be ‘τεθέντα’. Alternatively, Etheridge might have intended ‘τίθεντο’ (third-person plural imperfect, a Homeric form).

109 δυοῖν … ἤματα] Proctor likewise mentions a pause ‘in Southwarke a day or two’ (*Historie*, sig. H3^{v}).

ἤματα κεῖνοι] An acoustic play (‘κεῖνοι’ for the phonetically indistinguishable ‘κείνῳ’) on a recurrent line-ending formula in Homer, ‘ἤματι κείνῳ’ (‘on that day’), as at *Iliad*, II.37, II.482, IV.543, XVIII.324, XXI.517, a formula which Etheridge reproduces verbatim at l. 355.

110 τρίτῳ] For the line to scan, the first syllable must be taken as long.

ἐστιχόωντο] Recurrent line-ending verb in Homer, as at *Iliad*, II.92, II.516, II.602, II.680, II.733, etc. See ll. 125, 170.

111–14 ἐπεί … βοηθεῖν] Cf. Proctor’s account of Wyatt’s effort to repair the unpassable bridge at Kingston-upon-Thames: ‘findyng xxx. foote or there aboute of the brydge taken awaye saving the postes *tha*t were left standing, practised w*ith* two mariners to swim over to conveye a barge unto him. Which the mariners (te*m*pted with great promises of preferment) did. Wherein Wyat & certaine with him were convaied over […] as by ten of the clocke in the night was in suche plighte, that both his ordinau*n*ce and band of men mought passe over without perill’ (*Historie*, sig. I3^{r}). A similar narrative is offered in the anonymous *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, p. 47.

113–14 σπάρτα … λύειν] Cf. *Iliad*, II.135: ‘σπάρτα λέλυνται’ (‘the ropes have been loosened’).

116 Χαλκοβαρεῖς] Occasional Homeric epithet (‘heavy with bronze’); cf. ‘ἰὸς χαλκοβαρής’ at *Iliad*, XV.465, and ‘δόρυ χαλκοβαρές’ at *Odyssey*, XI.532.

βροτολοιγούς, τειχεσιπλῆτας] Used epithetically by Athene of Ares at *Iliad*, V.31: ‘Ἄρες βροτολοιγέ, μιαιφόνε τειχεσιπλῆτα’ (‘Ares, bane of mankind, slaughter-stained stormer of walls’); ‘τειχεσιπλῆτα’ (lit. ‘approacher of walls’) more idiomatically denotes a ‘stormer of cities’.

117 τότε … ἵκοντο] Cf. almost identically, *Iliad*, IV.446, at a point in the narrative at which the Achaean and Trojan armies have finally joined battle, a clash thus far delayed in *Iliad*; or VIII.60, 'οἳ δ' ὅτε δή ῥ' ἐς χῶρον ἔνα ξυνιόντες ἵκοντο' ('And when they had joined together and come to the same place').

118–19 ἐπασσύτεραι … δέ] Cf. *Iliad*, IV.427–28: 'ὣς τότ' ἐπασσύτεραι Δαναῶν κίνυντο φάλαγγες | νωλεμέως πόλεμόνδε' ('so then the Danaan ranks, row upon row, moved into battle unrelentingly'). The verse-end pairing 'κίνυντο φάλαγγες' is unique to *Iliad* IV: ll. 281, 332, and here at 427 – further testimony that Etheridge is especially indebted to that book in his poem.

κίνυντο] For l. 118 to scan, the first syllable ('κί-') must be taken as long.

119 μάχεσθαι … μεμαῶτες] Cf. 'μεμαῶτε μάχεσθαι' (*Iliad*, V.244, V.569, VI.120, XX.159, XXIII.814), 'μεμαῶτι μάχεσθαι' (*Iliad*, XIII.80, XIII.317).

Εἰς πεδίον] Cf. line-opening formula 'ἐς πεδίον' ('on the plain') at *Iliad*, II.465, III.252, X.11, XXI.300, XXIV.332, and *Odyssey*, III.495.

121 ἐγχέσπαλοι ἄνδρες] Cf. *Iliad*, II.131: 'ἐγχέσπαλοι ἄνδρες' ('spear-wielding men'). See also l. 344.

122 ἐν προμάχοισιν] Cf. the recurrent second- and third-foot phrase 'ἐν προμάχοισιν', as at *Iliad*, XV.342, XI.188, and XI.203.

ἀλκὶ πεποιθώς] Cf. the formular phrase 'ἀλκὶ πεποιθώς' ('trusting in his strength'), often found in similes, in *Iliad*, V.299, XIII.471, XVII.61, XVII.728, or XVIII.158, and *Odyssey*, VI.130.

123 στρατὸς εὐρύς] Epithet-noun combination usually applied to the Argive army in *Iliad*, as at I.229 or IV.209: 'στρατὸν εὐρὺν Ἀχαιῶν' ('the broad army of the Achaeans'). See also ll. 173, 199.

124 μεῖναϛ] For this spondaic line to scan, the final syllable (‘-ναϛ’) must be taken as long; cf. ll. 55 and 57.

ἄρξειεν πολέμοιο] Cf. *Iliad*, IV.335: ‘καὶ ἄρξειαν πολέμοιο’ (‘and begin battle’).

127 Χαλκεοθωρῆκεϛ] Lexically unusual epithet. In this enjambed position, ‘χαλκεοθωρῆκες’ is rare in Homer, occurring only at *Iliad*, IV.448 and VIII.62.

δολιχόσκιατ’ ἔγχε’] Etheridge’s model, ‘δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος’ (‘a spear casting long shadows’), is a formular phrase occurring twenty times in *Iliad*, e.g. III.346.

129 τὰ] For the line to scan, the article must be taken as long; cf. ll. 15 and 108.

130 ἀσπιστῶν] More usually ‘ἀσπιστάων’; cf. l. 213. In Homer, always in genitive plural: cf. *Iliad*, IV.90 and IV.201, ‘στίχες ἀσπιστάων’.

στίχες ἀνδρῶν] Cf. the line-ending collocation at *Iliad*, XII.48.

131 Ἔνθ’ … ἴδοιϛ] Cf. ‘ἔνθ᾽ οὐκ ἂν βρίζοντα ἴδοις Ἀγαμέμνονα δῖον’ (‘Then you would not have seen noble Agamemnon drowsy’), at *Iliad*, IV.223 – the beginning of the *epipolesis* (tour of inspection of the troops), a self-contained, inorganic episode (IV.223–421) that is strictly extraneous to the narrative action. The participle ‘βρίζοντα’ occurs only here in Homer, again confirming Etheridge’s particular indebtedness to *Iliad* IV. Etheridge’s next hemistich is taken from the following line in Homer (although ‘οὐδ᾽ οὐκ’ makes Etheridge’s composite line hypermetric, likely indicating copying from the page rather than acoustic recollection), and Etheridge’s line after next comes from Homer’s following line in turn.

οὐδ’ … μάχεσθαι] Cf. *Iliad*, IV.224, ‘οὐδ᾽ οὐκ ἐθέλοντα μάχεσθαι’ (‘or not willing to fight’). Contrast the feeble portrait in Proctor’s partisan account: ‘his courage (being tofore as ye have hearde not very lusty) began now utterly to die […] desperation being his leude guyde’ (*Historie*, sig. I4^{r}).

132 οὐδ’ ἀμελῶϛ] Cf. the Homeric phrasal signature ‘οὐδ’ … ἀμέλησε(ν)’ (*Iliad*, XIII.419, XVII.9, XVII.697) or ‘οὐκ ἀμέλησε’ (*Iliad*, VIII.330).

ἀμελῶς ἐξοτρύνοντα] A long syllable between these two words is required for the line to scan.

ἐξοτρύνοντα ἕκαστον] Cf. Homeric collocations of 'ὀτρύνω' with 'ἕκαστος': 'ὤτρυνεν ἕκαστον' (*Odyssey*, II.392), 'ὄτρυνεν δὲ ἕκαστον' (*Iliad*, XVII.215), and 'ὄτρυνε μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἑκάστου' (*Iliad*, V.470, V.792, VI.72, XI.291, etc.).

133 Ἀλλὰ … κυδιάνειραν] Cf. the almost verbatim phrase at *Iliad*, IV.225: 'ἀλλὰ μάλα σπεύδοντα μάχην ἐς κυδιάνειραν' ('but very eager for battle in which men win fame'). Cf. Proctor's (unflattering) portrait of Wyatt's fighting spirit, full of 'desperate courage' (*Historie*, sig. a3^{v}).

135 γ' ... ἱκάνε] Recalls Homeric line-ending phrases 'γ' ὕπνος ἱκάνει' (*Iliad*, X.96) and 'ὕπνος ἱκάνοι' (*Iliad*, I.610; *Odyssey*, IX.333, XIX.49).

136 Οὐδὲ καταπτώσσων] Recalls 'οὐδὲ καταπτώσσοντ'' (*Iliad*, IV.224) and 'οὐδὲ καταπτώσσειν' (*Iliad*, V.254).

137 χάρμης] More expected here would be 'χάρμην', since 'μεταχειρίζω' tends to take the accusative.

138–39 ἐπέεσσιν … προσηύδα] Cf. Homer's description of Agamemnon at *Iliad*, IV.233: 'θαρσύνεσκε παριστάμενος ἐπέεσσιν' ('he would approach, and encourage them, with these words').

139 Θαρσύνεσκε] For the line to scan, the second syllable ('-σύ') must be taken as long.

προσηύδα] Favoured Homeric line-ending verb before a speech, e.g. 'ἀλλὰ προσηύδα' (*Iliad*, IV.24) or 'ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα' (*Iliad*, I.201 *et passim*).

140–41 τὸ … διέπουσιν] Cf. Achilles's indignant address to Agamemnon at *Iliad*, I.165–66: 'ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πλεῖον πολυάϊκος πολέμοιο | χεῖρες ἐμαὶ διέπουσ'' ('But my hands bear the brunt of impetuous battle').

Ὦ … ἄνδρες] Cf. Homeric line-opening formula, ‘ὦ φίλοι ἀνέρες’ (*Iliad*, V.529, XV.561, XV.661), although properly ‘φίλοι’ and ‘ἄνερες’ are there syntactically separate.

141–42 πτολίεθρον … δώσει] May recall, from earlier in Proctor’s chronology, Wyatt’s speculations with his close comrades: ‘being ones [=once] in London, & havinge the tower in our ha*n*des, I trust you thinke we shall not lacke money longe after, if any be to be had there, or in the Aldermens coffers’ (*Historie*, sig. H2^{v}).

142 Λονδίνον] As earlier (ll. 63, 88, and 101), for the line to scan the second syllable must be taken as long.

ὅτε … ἵκηται] Cf. *Iliad*, I.166: ‘ποτε δασμὸς ἵκηται’ (‘when distribution comes’).

143 ἀνθιστάντος] Present participle of ἀνθίστημι (‘withstand’, ‘set up against’, ‘match with’, ‘make a stand’, ‘compare’); cf. ‘ἵστημι’, ‘ἱστάω’. See *Iliad*, XVI.305, ‘ἀνθίσταντο’ (‘resisted’); or XX.70, ‘ἀντέστη’ (‘stood against’).

ἕλωμεν] Appears in Homer invariably in this line-ending position (*Iliad*, II.228, II.332, IV.239).

145 Οὐδὲ … τλαῖέν] Cf. The line-opening phrase ‘οὐ γάρ κε τλαίη’ at *Iliad*, XXIV.565 (Achilles’ words to Priam, ‘For no [man] would dare [to come]’).

ἡμῖν] For the line to scan, the final syllable (‘-μῖν’) must be taken as long.

146 πλὴν] In the context, an odd preposition or conjunction (usually equivalent to ‘except’ or ‘besides’). Etheridge’s Wyatt seems to be counterposing the rebels’ expected allies in the city with the threat of invading Spanish. The sense here may be, obliquely, that the threatened arrival of the Spanish will help to garner support for the rebellion.

147 Ὑσπάνων τούτων] Seems to register Wyatt’s stated antipathy to Spanish influence. Cf. Wyatt’s rousing of patriotic sentiment in his written ‘Proclamation’ (with George Harper and Henry Isley), dismissed by Proctor as a ‘loud lie’: ‘now even at hand, Spaniardes be

nowe already arived at Dover, at one passage to the nombre of an hundreth passing upwarde to London' (*Historie*, B1^{r}).

τηλόθεν … γῆς] Cf. *Iliad*, I.270: 'τηλόθεν ἐξ ἀπίης γαίης' ('far away from a distant land'). Compare also 'ἐξ ἀπίης γῆς […] τηλόθεν' (*Encomium*, fol. 13^{v}, l. 9).

148 ἐπ' ἀριστέρ'] Cf. *Iliad*, XIII.326, or *Odyssey*, III.171: 'ἐπ' ἀριστέρ''. Cicero invokes the phrase (from *Odyssey*), *Letters to Atticus*, 423 (XVI.13) (Cicero, *Letters to Atticus, Volume IV*, ed. and trans. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Cambridge (MA) 1999, p. 360).

151 Ἐνθάδ' ἐλεύσονται] Cf. *Iliad*, XXIII.497: 'ἐνθάδ᾽ ἐλεύσονται' ('they will come to this place').

152 βοήθειαν … αὐτίκα] Metrically strained line, requiring '-αν' ('βοήθειαν'), '-μῖν' ('ἡμῖν'), and '-τί-' ('αὐτίκα') to be taken as long. The *iota* of 'αὐτίκα' in the MS appears with a diaeresis symbol, plausibly demarcating a long syllable; cf. ll. 42 and 65.

153 θούριδος ἀλκῆς] Recalls the set phrase in *Iliad*, as at VI.112, VIII.174, XI.287, XV.487, XV.734, XVI.270, and XVII.185: 'ἀνέρες ἔστε, φίλοι, μνήσασθε δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς' ('be men, my friends, and turn your thoughts to fierce valour'). Cf. l. 103.

154 προμάχων] Cf. 'Wyat comminge in the forefront of his bande' (Proctor, *Historie*, sig. I5^{r}).

156 πᾶσιν] For the line to scan, the word's first syllable must be taken as long.

159 σημαίνῃ] Etheridge uses the same verb to describe Henry VIII's strategical prowess on the battlefield: 'πᾶσι δὲ σημαίνειν' (*Encomium*, fol. 23^{r}, l. 8).

χεῖρά … ἐπαίρων] Faint echo of 'χεῖρας ἐναίρων', the line-end pairing at *Iliad*, XXI.26.

160 σῶοι μαχέοιντο] Cf. *Iliad*, I.344: 'σόοι μαχέοιατ'' ('that they might do battle in safety').

163 Παπταίνων … εὑρεῖν] While meterically correct, this whole line – part of a composite Homeric simile begun in the previous line (cf. mountain-lion similes in *Iliad*, V.161, XVII.61, XVII.133; and wild boars in *Iliad*, VIII.338, 'ὡς δ' ὅτε τίς τε κύων συὸς ἀγρίου ἠὲ λέοντος') – looks irregular, likely the result of poor copying: errors, or at least irregularities, appear in orthography ('Πατταίνων') and in breathing ('εὑρεῖν').

164 μάρψας] For the line to scan, the word's final syllable ('-ψας') must be taken as long.

ἐξεναρίζει] The verb 'ἐξεναρίζω' in Homer often concludes the line, as here; e.g. 'ἐξενάριζεν' at *Iliad*, V.842.

165 οἱ … πάντες] Recurrent formula in Homer, e.g. *Iliad*, III.95, and *Odyssey*, I.381.

πάντες ἔποντο] Phrasal unit at *Iliad*, I.424, and XXIV.327.

πολὺς … ὀρώρει] The formula 'πολὺς δ' ὀρυμαγδὸς ὀρώρει' ('and a great din arose') occurs four times in *Iliad* (II.810, IV.449, VIII.59, VIII.63), once in *Odyssey* (XXIV.70), and once in Hesiod.

166–67 συνέβαλλε … ἀνδρῶν] Cf. *Iliad*, IV.447 (or VIII.61): 'σύν ῥ' ἔβαλον ῥινούς, σὺν δ' ἔγχεα καὶ μένε' ἀνδρῶν' ('then they dashed together their shields, and their spears, and the wrath of men'). Etheridge scatters successive verses from *Iliad*: IV.447 (l. 167), IV.448 (l. 127), IV.449 (l. 165).

168 ἄλλην … ἐτράπετο] Cf. 'he sodenlye forsooke hys waye intended thorowe Holborne' (Proctor, *Historie*, sig. I5^{v}).

δολόμητις] Cf. the line-ending epithet for Clytemnestra ('Κλυταιμνήστρη δολόμητις') at *Odyssey*, XI.422. The line is quoted by Plutarch's 'Πῶς δεῖ τὸν νέον ποιημάτων ἀκούειν' ('How the young man should study [lit. hear] poetry'), in Plutarch, *Moralia, Volume I*, trans. F. C. Babbitt, Cambridge (MA) 1927, p. 134.

170 τεύχεα … ἐστιχόωντο] Cf. *Iliad*, IV.432, 'τεύχεα ποικίλ' ἔλαμπε, τὰ εἱμένοι ἐστιχόωντο' ('the inlaid armour in which they were girded glittered as they marched').

171 παρελεύθειν] Unusual, albeit metrically correct, infinitive; ostensibly an inflection of ‘παρέρχομαι’. Alternatively a corruption of the aorist infinitive (‘παρελέσθαι’) of ‘παραιρέω’ (‘withdraw’, ‘remove’); cf. the confusion of ‘-ευθ-’ and ‘-εσθ-’ in l. 279.

φαίδιμος ἥρως] Likely an acoustic memory of *Odyssey*, IV.617, ‘Φαίδιμος ἥρως’, in which ‘Φαίδιμος’ (upper-case *phi*) is the proper noun Phaedemus, rather than the adjective ‘glorious’ (lower-case *phi*), which Homer uses separately elsewhere. Etheridge may also be recollecting and adapting the common verse-end formula used of Hector, ‘φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ’ (nearly thirty times in *Iliad*). Cf. ending to l. 240.

172 ὅχ᾽ ἄριστος] Homeric formula: ‘ὅχ᾽ ἄριστος’ (*Iliad*, I.69, II.761, VI.76, VII.221, XV.282, etc.). Cf. l. 201. Compare also Etheridge’s reuse of the formula in his *Encomium*, fol. 37^{r}, l. 7.

174 εὐφρονέων] Epithet favoured by Etheridge, both in this poem (see also ll. 202, 223, 261) and in *Encomium* (fol. 11^{v}, l. 5; fol. 13^{r}, l. 2; fol. 26^{r}, l. 6; fol. 27^{r}, l. 4; fol. 29^{v}, l. 8; fol. 30^{v}, l. 1).

175 τὸ στράτευμα] These words do not scan regularly. Etheridge treats the opening consonants of ‘στράτευμα’ as if obeying the rules for ‘muta cum liquida’, rendering ‘τὸ’ short; cf. l. 226.

στράτευμα … μέσσον] In Proctor’s version, it is Sir Humphrey Clinton’s cavalry that sunders the rebel army in two: ‘The lorde Clinton observinge his time, firste with hys dimylaunces brake their araye, & devided Wyates bande in .ii. partes’ (*Historie*, sig. I5^{v}).

176 μισγομένων … τε] Cf. *Iliad*, IV.456: ‘ὣς τῶν μισγομένων γένετο ἰαχή τε φόβος τε’ (‘as they joined together in battle shouting and fear rose up’); for ‘φόβος’ (‘fear’, ‘retreat’), the second-century BC Alexandrian librarian Aristarchus of Samothrace favours instead ‘πόνος’ (‘toil’, ‘effort’, ‘struggle’). The formular phrase ‘γένετο ἰαχή τε φόβος τε’ recurs at XII.144, XV.396, and XVI.366.

177–78 Ἔνθα … γαῖα] Cf. the chiastic distich at *Iliad*, IV.450–51 (also, identically, VIII.64–65): ‘ἔνθα δ᾽ ἅμ᾽ οἰμωγή τε καὶ εὐχωλὴ πέλεν ἀνδρῶν | ὀλλύντων τε καὶ ὀλλυμένων, ῥέε δ᾽ αἵματι γαῖα᾽ (‘Then the sound of groaning and the cry of triumph was heard alike, from the slayers and the slain, and the earth flowed with blood’).

179 Ἀντώνιος … Βροῦνος] Anthony Browne (1528–92), a conservative advocating for the Catholic restoration, and son to the daughter of Sir John Gage (see l. 222). Browne was appointed master of the horse to Philip (in April 1554), though replaced in that office within five months (J. G. Elzinga, ‘Browne, Anthony, first Viscount Montagu (1528–1592), nobleman and courtier’, *ODNB*, Oxford 2009, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-3667>).

180 Ἀχιλλῆϊ … ἴκελος] Cf. Etheridge’s comparison between Achilles and Henry VIII: ‘Ἴκελος […] δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς’ (*Encomium*, fol. 8^{v}, l. 5).

180–81 χερείων … ἔργα] Cf. *Iliad*, I.114–15: ‘ἐστι χερείων, | οὐ δέμας οὐδὲ φυήν, οὔτ᾽ ἄρ φρένας οὔτέ τι ἔργα᾽ (‘she is not at all inferior, either in figure or in stature, or in disposition, or in accomplishments’), spoken of Chryseis, by Agamemnon, in relation to Clytemnestra. Etheridge repurposes what are originally female accomplishments for a heroic, martial context. Cf. Etheridge’s description of Henry VIII’s composite virtues: ‘Οὐδένος ἦν χείρων, οὐτὲ φρένας οὐτέ τι ἔργα | οὐ δέμας, οὐ ῥώμην, οὐ νόον, οὔτε φυήν’ (‘was inferior in nothing, neither in thought nor in any action, not stature, not prowess, not intelligence nor talent’) (*Encomium*, fol. 26^{r}, ll. 9–10).

182 πόλεμον ἐξώτρυν’] For the line to scan, the final syllables in both words must be taken as long.

ἄνδρα ἕκαστον] Standard Homeric line-ending colon in both *Iliad* (VII.424, IX.11, X.68, etc.) and *Odyssey* (X.173, X.547, XII.207, etc.).

183 ἐνὶ … ἦκε] Cf. *Iliad*, V.125–26: ‘ἐν γάρ τοι στήθεσσι μένος πατρώιον ἦκα | ἄτρομον’ (‘for in your breast I have placed the fearless strength of your father’).

185 Εὐκλίνοντες] Not entirely regular – apparently the scribe’s orthographic slip; alternatively, a compound formed by augmenting ‘κλίνοντες’ with ‘εὐ-’ for ‘ἐγ-’. The more expected reading here would be ‘ἐγκλίνοντες’. For Etheridge’s line to scan, the word’s second syllable needs to be taken as long.

186 ὑπέκφυγεν … ὄλεθρον] Cf. ‘ὑπέκφυγον αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον’ in *Odyssey*, IX.286, XII.446, and ‘ὑπεκφύγοι αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον’ (‘were to escape headlong destruction’) in *Iliad*, VI.57, latterly recycled in Etheridge’s *Encomium* (fol. 33^{v}, l. 1).

187 φόβος … γυῖα] Cf. *Iliad*, III.34, XIV.506, or XXIV.170: ‘τρόμος ἔλλαβε γυῖα’ (‘trembling took over their limbs’).

188 Κάππεσε … θυμὸς] Cf. *Iliad*, XV.280: ‘κάππεσε θυμός’ (‘their hearts sank down’); see also l. 327. The first syllable of Etheridge’s ‘θυμὸς’ scans long (cf. ll. 76 and 339).

ἕλε … τρόμος] Cf. ‘ἕλε τρόμος’ at *Iliad*, XIX.14, XXII.136.

189 δολιχόσκια] Standard Homeric epithet paired with ‘ἔγχος’, though Etheridge partners it here with ‘δοῦρα’, not with ‘ἔγχεα’ earlier in the line.

190 γουνῶν … ἐλίσσοντο] Cf. l. 75 (‘ἐλίσσετο γούνων’) and its Homeric sources.

192 δένδροισι] Rare variant – here adopted for metrical conformity – of the more usual ‘δένδρεσι’.

193 ἀπὸ … ὄλεσσαν] Cf. the formulaic verse-ending threat, as at *Iliad*, XVI.861, ‘ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὀλέσσαι’ (‘lose his life’); ‘ἀ. θ. ὄλεσσεν’ (VIII.90, VIII.270); ‘ἀ. θ. ὀλέσσῃς’ (X.452, XI.433); ‘ἀ. θ. ὀλέσσεις’ (XII.250); ‘ἀ. θ. ὀλέσσῃ’ (XVIII.92). Etheridge reworks the phrase in *Encomium*: ‘θυμὸν ὀλεσσάμενος’ (fol. 23^{v}, l. 4).

194 ἐξέφυγον θάνατον] Cf. *Iliad*, XI.362 or XX.449: ‘ἔφυγες θάνατον’.

κῆρα μέλαιναν] Cf. ll. 92 and 250.

195 **δυστυχέας]** More usually ‘δυστυχίας’.

ἐλέησεν] For ‘ἐλέῃρεν’ (MS) Etheridge surely intends ‘ἐλέησεν’, a Homeric aorist form of ‘ἐλεέω’ / ‘ἐλεάω’ (‘have pity on’, ‘show mercy to’).

196 **φύλοπιν αἰνήν]** Cf. l. 33.

197 **Ἔλλαβε … κραταιή]** Whole-verse formula lifted in its entirety. Cf. *Iliad*, V.83: ‘ἔλλαβε πορφύρεος θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή’ (‘onrushing death and irresistible fate came down’); also, identically, XVI.333–34, XX.476–77. Compare l. 220; also, ‘μοῖρα κραταιὴ’, again as a line-ending formula, in Etheridge’s *Encomium* (fol. 10^{r}, l. 1).

198 **οὐτιδανοὺς]** Cf. ll. 89 and 294.

200 **ἐγγὺς]** For the line to scan, the second syllable of ‘ἐγγὺς’ must be taken as long.

χαλκοχιτώνων] Epithet often applied to the Achaeans; common line-end formula in *Iliad*.

201 **Οὐλίαμος]** Rather than a mistranscription of ‘οὐλαμός’ (throng of warriors), the intended word here is evidently the proper noun (‘W[i]lliam’). Either (i) Lord William Howard (c. 1510–73, first Baron Howard of Effingham, and half-brother to the Norfolk introduced in l. 65), pivotal in suppressing the insurrection (rebuffing Wyatt’s forces at Ludgate and forcing them to ultimate defeat at Charing Cross) and referred to simply as ‘lord William’ by the anonymous Tower of London chronicler (*Chronicle of Queen Jane*, p. 43); or (ii) William Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke (1506/7–70), the Queen’s general and commander of the field army, instrumental in blocking the rebels’ advance.

ὄχ᾽ ἄριστος] Cf. l. 172.

202 **εὐφρονέων]** Catalectic verse.

203 **Χρήμασιν … χρῆσθαι]** Cf. Plutarch, *Life of Coriolanus* (X.8), on mastering the use of money: ‘εὖ χρῆσθαι χρήμασι’ (Plutarch, *Lives, Volume IV: Alcibiades and Coriolanus. Lysander and Sulla*, trans. B. Perrin, Cambridge (MA) 1916, p. 140).

204 τιμὴν] For the line to scan, the first syllable (‘τι-’) must be taken as long; cf. ll. 21, 32, and 39.

205 Κινδύνοις … μετὰ] Metrically unorthodox line, requiring ‘-δύ-’ (‘Κινδύνοις’), ‘πᾶ-’ (‘πᾶσι’), and ‘-τὰ’ (‘μετὰ’) to be taken as long for the verse to scan.

206 Οὗτος … ἀνδρῶν] Unmetrical line.

207 Βουλόμενός … ὀρέξαι] Cf. descriptions of Zeus in *Iliad*, XI.79, XII.174, and XV.596 (or *Odyssey*, IV.275): ‘ἐβούλετο κῦδος ὀρέξαι’ (‘determined to give glory’).

209 κατέρυκε … ἱεμένους] Another metrically unorthodox line: ‘-ρυ-’ (‘κατέρυκε’, cf. l. 348) and ‘ἱ-’ (‘ἱεμένους’) must both be taken as long for the verse to scan. May recall ‘κατέρυκε καὶ ἔσχεθεν ἱεμένους περ’ at *Odyssey*, XVI.430, and variations of this formular phrase at IV.284 and XXII.409.

211–12 κατὰ … πλεῖστοι] Cf. *Iliad*, V.8 or XVI.285: ‘κατὰ μέσσον, ὅθι πλεῖστοι κλονέοντο’ (‘into the middle, where men clustered most densely’).

213 Βῆ … ἕς] For the Homeric collocation ‘βῆ δ’ ἴμεν ἐς’ (‘started to go’, ‘began on one’s way’, ‘set out to’), see *Iliad*, XIV.166, or *Odyssey*, VI.15 or XIV.73.

ἀσπιστῶν] See note to l. 130.

214 ὑπέρβιον ὕβριν] Cf. *Odyssey*, I.368, IV.321, and XVI.410: ‘ὑπέρβιον ὕβριν’ (‘overweening pride’, used of Penelope’s suitors).

215 Οὐδεὶς … ἦλθε] May recall Nestor’s rebuke at *Iliad*, VII.160: ‘οὐδ’ οἳ προφρονέως μέμαθ’ Ἕκτορος ἀντίον ἐλθεῖν’ (‘not even you are eagerly inclined to confront Hector’).

βαρείας … ἀφέξων] Cf. the contested reading of *Iliad*, I.97, ‘λοιμοῖο βαρείας χεῖρας ἀφέξει’ (‘will withdraw his heavy hands from the plague’ or ‘withdraw the plague’s heavy hands’), in keeping with the medieval manuscript tradition that retained the wording proposed by third-century BC Alexandrian grammarian Zenodotus (and preserved by West’s edition, I.10). The reading is found also in Venetus A (Marcianus 454 / Graecus 822), fol.

13^{v}, the oldest complete text of the *Iliad* that survives. In a separate tradition, the line reads ‘οὐδ᾽ ὅ γε πρὶν Δαναοῖσιν ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἀπώσει’, following Aristarchus. Cf. also Etheridge’s *Encomium,* fol. 9^{r}, l. 3: ‘Οὐδ᾽ ὅ γε […] βαρεῖας χεῖρας ἀπεῖχον’ (‘he would not withhold his heavy hand [from war]’).

216 κατερύκειν] Unusual infinitive form of ‘ἐρύκω’ (‘hold back’, ‘hinder’); properly ‘κατερυκάνειν’.

217 ἐγγύζειν] A variation on ‘ἐγγίζω’ (‘approach’, ‘bring something near to’). While confusions between *υ* and *ι* are common enough in Reniassance printed texts, their interchangeability for Etheridge likely furnishes further evidence of Reuchlinian pronunciation.

220 Μοῖρα κραταιή] Formular pairing in Homer, as at *Iliad*, V.83, V.629, XVI.334, XVI.853, etc.

ἢ … εἴη] Proposing alternative causal explanations is a suggestively Homeric touch; I am grateful to Victoria Moul for this observation. Proctor presents the lack of resistance as a strategic ploy: ‘for pollicie he was suffered, and a greate part of his men to passe so farre quietlye and with out resistau*n*ce through the horsemen […] for policie and to avoide muche manslaughter Wyat was suffered purposely to passe along’ (*Historie,* sigs I5^{v}, I8^{v}).

221 πυλῶν] Etheridge scans the first syllable (normally short in classical usage) long.

222 Γάγιος] Sir John Gage (1479–1556), the lord chamberlain, attacked Wyatt’s forces at Charing Cross. Gage later served as train-bearer at Mary’s marriage to Philip (D. Potter, ‘Gage, Sir John (1479–1556), military administrator and courtier’, *ODNB,* Oxford 2008, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-10272>).

Νέστορι δίῳ] Cf. *Iliad*, II.57, ‘Νέστορι δίῳ’.

223–24 περὶ … ἔργῳ] Cf. Agamemnon's words to Idomeneus, *Iliad*, IV.257–58: 'περὶ μέν σε τίω Δαναῶν ταχυπώλων | ἠμὲν ἐνὶ πτολέμωι ἠδ' ἀλλοίωι ἐπὶ ἔργωι' ('I honour you, both in war and in other tasks, more than all the Danaans who drive swift steeds').

223 βασιλίσση] The regular nominative, 'βασίλισσα', scans differently from the dative (which would properly require a subscript *iota* beneath the *eta*) and so cannot be considered an alternative here.

εὐφρονέουσα] Participle used again of Mary in l. 261.

225 μέγα … ἀείρει] Cf. l. 9.

226 τῷδε στρατῷ] For the line to scan, '-δε' must be taken as short; as in l. 175, Etheridge treats the consonantal combination 'στρ-' as if 'muta cum liquida'.

ἀγορήσατο … μετέειπεν] This Homeric formula ('he addressed the assembly and spoke among them') recurs in *Iliad* (e.g. I.73, I.253, II.78, II.283, VII.326, VII.367, IX.95, XV.285, XVIII.253).

227 Ὦ … ἱκάνει] Cf. *Iliad*, I.254 or VII.124: 'ὢ πόποι, ἦ μέγα πένθος Ἀχαιΐδα γαῖαν ἱκάνει' ('Alas, great grief has come upon the land of Achaea'). This and the following lines are modelled closely on Nestor's speech (fittingly, given the earlier comparison of Gage to Nestor in l. 222), addressed to the squabbling Agamemnon and Achilles, in *Iliad*, I.254–84 (from which Etheridge had earlier derived l. 66). An example of *paraenesis*, a conventional Homeric speech of encouragement.

πάντας] For the line to scan, the final syllable ('-τας') must be taken as long; cf. ll. 55, 57, and 124.

228 Ἦ … γηθήσαι] Cf. *Iliad*, I.255: 'ἦ κεν γηθήσαι Πρίαμος' ('Priam would surely rejoice').

229 Ἄλλοι … θυμῷ] Cf. *Iliad*, I.256: ‘ἄλλοι τε Τρῶες μέγα κεν κεχαροίατο θυμῶι’ (‘and the other Trojans would rejoice greatly in their hearts’). Cf. the line-ending formula in Etheridge’s *Encomium*, fol. 30^{r}, l. 1: ‘κεχαροίατο θυμῷ’.

230 μηδὲ] Double accentuation in MS; compare ll. 39, 287.

232–37 ἰόμωροι … ὑπέρσχῃ] Lines closely patterned on Agamemnon’s speech of exhortation and sardonic rebuke (*Iliad*, IV.242–49):

> ‘Ἀργεῖοι ἰόμωροι, ἐλεγχέες, οὔ νυ σέβεσθε;
> τίφθ᾽ οὕτως ἔστητε τεθηπότες ἠΰτε νεβροί,
> αἵ τ᾽ ἐπεὶ οὖν ἔκαμον πολέος πεδίοιο θέουσαι,
> ἑστᾶσ᾽, οὐδ᾽ ἄρα τίς σφι μετὰ φρεσὶ γίνεται ἀλκή;
> ὣς ὑμεῖς ἔστητε τεθηπότες, οὐδὲ μάχεσθε.
> ἦ μένετε Τρῶας σχεδὸν ἐλθέμεν, ἔνθά τε νῆες
> εἰρύατ᾽ εὔπρυμνοι, πολιῆς ἐπὶ θινὶ θαλάσσης,
> ὄφρα ἴδητ᾽ αἴ κ᾽ ὔμμιν ὑπέρσχηι χεῖρα Κρονίων;’

(‘Argive braggarts, dishonourable men, have you no shame? Why do you stand there dazed, like fawns who, grown tired from running over a wide plain, stand motionless, and in whose minds there is no shred of courage? In just that way are you standing around in a daze and do not fight. Are you waiting for the Trojans to come right up to where your ships with splendid sterns are drawn on the shore of the grey sea, to see if perhaps the son of Cronos will reach out a protective arm over you?’).

232 σέβεσθε] Textual crux: the MS reading here (ostensibly from ‘σεύω’, ‘urge’, ‘drive’, ‘put in motion’) may offer further evidence of Reuchlinian pronunciation (‘σεύ-’ for ‘σέβ-’), or alternatively may attest the reading favoured in most print editions available to Etheridge (see section 1.5.2 above).

234 ἑστᾶσι] For the line to scan, the word’s second syllable must be taken as long.

235 προδότους] More usually ‘προδότας’, as at l. 208.

236 Ὄφρα … κεν] Cf. *Iliad*, IV.249, ‘ὄφρα ἴδητ᾽ αἴ κ’’ (‘so that you may know if’).

ἀνάσσῃ] cf. ‘βασιλίσσῃ’, l. 223.

237 ὑμῖν … ὑπέρσχῃ] Allowing for an error in the MS (‘ὑπέσχῃ’ for ‘ὑπέρσχῃ’), the phrase ‘ὑμῖν νῦν χεῖρας ὑπέρσχῃ’ recalls the second half of *Iliad*, IV.249 (‘ὔμμιν ὑπέρσχηι χεῖρα Κρονίων’), the first half of which line (‘ὄφρα ἴδητ᾽ αἴ κ᾽’) was borrowed by Etheridge in the previous line. The first syllable of Etheridge’s ‘ὑμῖν’ needs to be taken as long for the line to scan.

239 ἔβαλε στῆθος] Cf. *Iliad*, V.19 (first three feet): ‘ἔβαλε στῆθος’ (‘struck him on the chest’).

κὦσεν … ἵππου] Cf. the use of ‘ὠθέω’ and an equine image in *Iliad*, V.19 (final two feet): ‘ὦσε δ᾽ ἀφ᾽ ἵππων’ (‘knocked him from his horse [or chariot]’).

240 ὁ … πέσε] Formular phrase for a defeated warrior’s collapse; cf. *Iliad*, IV.482, ‘ὁ δ᾽ ἐν κονίηισι χαμαὶ πέσεν’ (‘and he fell to the ground in the dust’). The stock phrase is applied fittingly here, since, according to Edward Underhill’s account, ‘old Gage fell downe in the durte and was foul arayde’, appearing ‘alle durt, and so fryghted thatt he coulde nott speke to us’ (Underhill, ‘Autobiographical Anecdotes of Edward Underhill, esquire’, in *Narratives of the Days of the Reformation, chiefly from the Manuscripts of John Foxe the martyrologist: With two Contemporary Biographies of Archbishop Cranmer*, ed. J. G. Nichols, Camden Society, LXXVII, Westminster 1859, pp. 132–76 (pp. 166–67)).

φαίδιμος ἥρως] Cf. ending to l. 171.

241–42 Καί … ὀξὺ] Recalls Aphrodite’s rescue of Aeneas at *Iliad*, V.311–12:

> καί νύ κεν ἔνθ᾽ ἀπόλοιτο ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Αἰνείας,
> εἰ μὴ ἄρ᾽ ὀξὺ νόησε Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη,

(‘And now would Aeneas, lord of men, have perished, had Zeus’s daughter, Aphrodite, not been quick enough to notice it’). Etheridge’s next line reprises *Iliad*, V.315: ‘πρόσθε δέ οἱ’ (‘and in front of him’).

241 ἴφθιμος] Homeric epithet (used also at l. 249) applied in Etheridge's *Encomium* twice to Henry VIII (fol. 23^{r}, l. 2; fol. 38^{r}, l. 8) and once to Julius Caesar (fol. 33^{v}, l. 2). Here in l. 241, the word's second syllable needs to be taken as long for the line to scan.

242 Εἰ … θεραπόντων] The line's first half is metrically irregular.

243 Πρόσθε … το] A line added belatedly in MS. The scribe originally copied l. 244, latterly squeezing l. 243 into the available space in a smaller hand and in what appears to be a slightly paler ink.

Πρόσθε … σάκεα] Cf. *Iliad*, IV.113: 'πρόσθεν δὲ σάκεα' (holding 'their shields in front of him'). The final syllable of Etheridge's 'σάκεα' needs to be taken as long for the line to scan.

ἔγχεα μακρὰ] The collocation 'ἔγχεα μακρὰ' ('long spears') appears in *Iliad*, III.135.

244 χάλκεα τεύχη] The same collocation appears at *Iliad*, XXII.322 (in Venetus A, fol. 288^{v}, modified to 'χάλκεα τεύχεα' in modern editions), describing the 'armour of bronze' (plundered from Patroclus) that covered most of Hector.

245 ἅλιον] Etheridge varies the expected idiom from *Iliad*, in which any 'βέλος' is usually thrown 'not in vain' ('οὐχ ἅλιον').

καὶ … θώρηξ] Cf. *Iliad*, XX.415: 'καὶ διπλόος ἥντετο θώρηξ' ('and the double cuirass overlapped'); or IV.133, 'κ. διπλόον ἦ. θ.'.

247 κλείοντο] Unclear form, ostensibly an inflection of 'κλείω' ('shut', 'enclose', 'bar'). Likely an error for either 'κλείοιντο' (middle/passive present optative), or 'ἐκλείοντο' (middle/passive imperfect indicative).

249 ἴφθιμος … τίμιος] For the line to scan, the second syllable in 'ἴφθιμος' (cf. l. 241) and the first syllable in 'τίμιος' (cf. ll. 21, 32, 39, and 204) must be taken as long.

250 κῆρα μέλαιναν] Cf. ll. 92 and 194.

251 δόμον … περικαλλέα] Cf. 'δόμον περικαλλέ'' at *Iliad*, III.421, VI.242.

254–57 ἔκ … ἄστυ] Lines drawing heavily from Hecuba's speech to Hector, returning mid-way through battle (*Iliad*, VI.253–56), here repurposed as an address to Gage:

> ἔκ τ᾽ ὀνόμαζε:
> 'τέκνον τίπτε λιπὼν πόλεμον θρασὺν εἰλήλουθας;
> ἦ μάλα δὴ τείρουσι δυσώνυμοι υἷες Ἀχαιῶν
> μαρνάμενοι περὶ ἄστυ'

('and she addressed him: "My child, why have you left behind the bold battle and come here? Surely the sons of the Achaeans, of hateful name, have worn you down as they fight about the city"').

254 ἐκ … ὀνόμαζε] Frequent Homeric formula of address, occurring at *Iliad*, III.398, V.372, and VI.253, *inter alia*. Cf. the same tmesis in l. 53.

255 Γάγιε … εἰλήλουθας] Rare example of a fifth font spondee; cf. ll. 61 and 285.

258 Τὴν … προσέφη] Cf. l. 337. Etheridge recalls the Homeric collocation 'Τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη' ('then by way of reply he spoke') from both *Iliad* (I.215, I.560, V.764, etc.) and *Odyssey* (I.63, IV.417, IV.265, etc.).

260 ἐπέτρεπες] A rare form; Etheridge means the second-person singular imperfect form of 'ἐπιτρέπω' or, alternatively, 'ἐπέτρεψας' (second-person singular aorist), as used at *Iliad*, XXI.473.

262 Φεῦγε μάλα] Recalls 'Φεῦγε μάλ'' ('Flee, then') at *Iliad*, I.173.

χρειὼ … ἀμύναι] Recalls 'χρειὼ ἐμεῖο γένηται ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἀμῦναι' at *Iliad*, I.341, the formula phrase 'ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἀμῦναι' recurring at I.398 and (with alternative inflections) I.456, IX.491, and XVI.32. Cf. Etheridge's *Encomium*, fol. 25^{v}, l. 7: 'χρειὼ μὲν ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἀμύνειν' ('I wish to ward off shameful ruin').

263 ἀπαμειβόμενη] Cf. ll. 258, 337.

πρὸς … ἔειπεν] Formulaic tmetic expression in Homer: 'πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν' (e.g. *Iliad*, V.632, VI.381, XIII.306, XXIV.285; also in *Odyssey*, and Hesiod). Also cf. l. 76.

264 ἦ … θυμόν] Cf. ll. 3 and (more closely) 302. The Homeric collocation ‘κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν’ (‘in mind and heart’) is routinely used for either inner debate or the expression of unflinching heroic resolve (*Iliad*, I.193, IV.163, V.671, VIII.169, XVIII.15, XX.264, etc.). Mary’s fortitude, especially in calls by her councillours for flight, is celebrated by Proctor: ‘her grace never chaunged her chere, nor woulde remove one foote out of the house’ (*Historie*, sig. I8^{v}).

265 ἐμοὶ … πάντων] May recall Hecuba’s description of Hector: ‘ἐμῶι θυμῶι πάντων πολὺ φίλτατε παίδων’ (‘of all my children by far the dearest in my heart’) (*Iliad*, XXIV.748).

266 πάντα μέμηλε] Cf. ll. 15, 296.

267 Ἐλπίδος … ἄγκυρα] Cf. Paul’s *Epistle to the Hebrews*, 6.18–19, likening hope to the anchor of the soul (*Novum Testamentum Graece*, ed. E. Nestle et al., 26th edition, Stuttgart 1983). See also the passing reference in Heliodorus, *Aethiopica*, VII.xxv: ‘πᾶσα ἐλπίδος ἄγκυρα παντοίως ἀνέσπασται’ (Heliodous, *Heliodori Aethiopicorum libri decem*, ed. I. Bekker, Leipzig 1855, p. 211); also, from a fragment of Epictetus, ‘Οὔτε ναῦν ἐξ ἑνὸς ἀγκυρίου οὔτε βίον ἐκ μιᾶς ἐλπίδος ἁρμοστέον’ (‘We ought neither to fasten our ship to one small anchor nor our life to a single hope’) (Stobaeus, IV.46, 22, in Epictetus, *Discourses, Books 3-4. Fragments. The Encheiridion*, trans. W. A. Oldfather. Cambridge (MA) 1928, p. 474). The printer’s device used on title-pages of Aldine publications (including the Aldine complete works of Homer, to which Etheridge may have had access) is an ‘anchora spei’ emblem.

267–69 Ἐλπίδος … ὀρέξει] May recall Proctor’s wording, crediting Mary’s eventual victory to ‘the mightie ha*n*d of God, at the conte*m*platio*n* of her highe merites, and vertues, who remaining in the closet of stedfast hope, & confidence, being appointed with the armour of faith, fought with ardent and continuall prayer, in perfecte devotion’ (*Historie*, sig. K1^{v}).

268 κινδύνων] For the line to scan, the word’s second syllable must be taken as long.

269 χεῖρα ὀρέξει] Cf. ‘χεῖρας ὄρεξας’ at *Iliad*, XXIV.743.

270 Οὐδ’ ὄθομαι] Cf. *Iliad*, I.181, Agamemnon’s declaration to Achilles: ‘οὐδ’ ὄθομαι κοτέοντος’ (‘your anger does not concern me’).

271 Τριπλῇ … τε] Cf. *Iliad*, I.128: ‘τριπλῆι τετραπλῆι τ’’. Compare also Etheridge’s *Encomium*, fol. 37^{v}, l. 1: ‘τριπλῇ τετραπλῇ τ’’.

ἐγὼ … ἀλεγίζω] Cf. *Iliad*, I.180 (Agamemnon’s dismissive reply to Achilles) or VIII.477 (Zeus’s to Hera): ‘ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀλεγίζω’ (‘I do not trouble myself’, ‘I care nothing about’).

272 παντοκράτωρ Θεὸς] Cf. Etheridge’s ‘παντοκράτωρ γε Θεός’ (‘God, ruler of all’, *Encomium*, fol. 17^{r}, l. 4).

Θεὸς αὐτός] May recall the line-ending phrase ‘θεὸς αὐτὸς’ from *Iliad*, IX.445, or *Odyssey*, IV.181 or XII.38.

274 δηϊοτῆτα] Standard line-ending colon in Homer.

275 Ἀλλ’ … δὲ] Cf. line-opening formula ‘ἀλλ’ ὄρσευ πόλεμον δὲ’ at *Iliad*, IV.264, and XIX.139.

277 ἐνὶ] For the line to scan, the word’s final syllable (‘-νὶ’) must be taken as long; cf. l. 289.

278 Ὣς εἰποῦσα] Standard Homeric line-opening formula, as at *Iliad*, V.792, XV.142, or *Odyssey*, I.96, IV.425, etc. Cf. l. 297.

278–79 ναόν … ἱερὸν] Phrase with awkward theological connotations; cf. ‘νηόν’ (l. 306). The noun ‘ναός’ means anything from ‘temple’ to ‘private chapel’ or ‘innermost part of a holy building’ (a kind of *sanctum sanctorum*), to ‘shrine’ or perhaps ‘altar’, to, in specifically Christian usages (and here even more specifically Eucharistic ceremonies of the Roman Catholic mass), ‘the body of Christ’ (as in *1 Epistle to Corinthians*, 3.16, ‘ναος θεου εστε και το πνευμα του θεου’). On Mary’s intense ‘devotion to the sacrament of the altar’,

see D. M. Loades, 'Introduction: The Personal Religion of Mary I', in *The Church of Mary Tudor*, ed. E. Duffy and D. M. Loades, Farnham 2006, pp. 1–32 (p. 25).

279 προσεύχεσθαι] Erronesouly 'προσεύχευθαι' in MS. The word reappears, spelled correctly, twenty lines later (l. 299).

μεμαυῖα] Closes the line at *Iliad*, IV.440 and V.518, and with alternative inflection at V.779, XI.614, and *Odyssey*, XVII.286.

280 Αὐτὴ … θάλαμον] Recalls the line-opening formula 'αὐτὴ δ' ἐς θάλαμον' at *Iliad*, VI.288, or *Odyssey*, VII.7.

281 κατὰ … χέουσας] Homeric formula, recurring in both *Iliad* (e.g. III.142) and *Odyssey*, though Etheridge's scribe reproduces it as a single unbroken word in MS.

282–83 φαίη … ἐκλελαθέσθαι] Recalls *Iliad*, VI.285 (Hector to Hecuba): 'φαίην κεν φίλον ἦτορ ὀϊζύος ἐκλελαθέσθαι' ('then I would say that my heart had forgotten its wretched grief'), with variant phrasing in some witnesses (Zenodotus's conjecture, 'κεν φίλον ἦτορ', often replaced by 'κε φρέν' ἀτέρπου' ('joyless misery'), much closer to Etheridge's wording).

284 νείκεσκε … ἐπέεσσι] Faint echo of *Odyssey*, XXII.26: 'νείκειον δ' Ὀδυσῆα χολωτοῖσιν ἐπέεσσι' ('And raged at Odysseus with words of anger').

285 Τίπτ' … ἔχουσαι] For the line to scan, the first syllable of 'γυναῖκες' must be taken as long. Rare example of a verse with a fifth font spondee; cf. ll. 61 and 255. The interrogatory filler 'Τίπτ'' is common in Homer as a line opening.

κραδίην … ἔχουσαι] Cf. Achilles's derogatory label for Agamemnon at *Iliad*, I.225, 'ἔχων, κραδίην δ' ἐλάφοιο' ('with the heart of a deer', 'cowardly'). Recall the earlier fawn imagery of l. 233. Cf. also 'ἐλάφου κραδίην […] | εἶχέ' (Agamemnon 'had the heart of a deer', *Encomium*, fol. 8^{v}, ll. 7–8).

286 Κλαίετε … πένθος] Echoes Thetis's charged, even brusque, enquiry at *Iliad*, I.362, and again at XVIII.73: 'τέκνον, τί κλαίεις; τί δέ σε φρένας ἵκετο πένθος;' ('Child, why are you weeping? What sorrow has come into your heart?').

τι … ἵκετο] For the line to scan, 'τι' and the first syllable of 'ἵκετο' must be taken as long.

287 βαρὺ στενὰχουσαι] Run together in MS as a single word. The phrase recalls *Iliad*, XVIII.323, 'βαρὺ στενάχων'.

μὴ δὲ] Unclear in MS whether one word or two; cf. ll. 39, 230.

μὴ … φοβεῖσθε] The injunction 'μὴ φοβεῖσθε' is spoken by Christ in Matthew 14.27 and Mark 6.50 (*Novum Testamentum Graece*, ed. E. Nestle et al., 26th edition, Stuttgart 1983).

288 οὐδ' … ἐάσει] May echo the line-ending cola 'οὐδ' ἔτ' ἔασε' (*Iliad*, XI.437) and 'οὐ γὰρ ἐάσει' (*Odyssey*, X.291).

289 ἐνὶ] For the line to scan, the final syllable ('-νὶ') must be taken as long; cf. l. 277. The *iota* in the MS appears with a diaeresis symbol, plausibly demarcating a long syllable; cf. ll. 42, 65, and 152.

291 ὑμέτερα τίσουσιν] Metrically irregular line, requiring 'ὑ-', '-ρα', and 'τί-' to be taken as long for the verse to scan.

292 ἄλγεα πολλά] Phrase appearing frequently in *Odyssey*, II.343, III.232, IX.53, XVI.19, XVI.189, etc. ('much sorrow', 'many griefs').

293 σφῇσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν] Recalls *Odyssey*, I.34 ('σφῇσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν'), or *Iliad*, IV.409. Reused verbatim in *Encomium* (fol. 11^{r}, l. 3).

294 Οὐτιδανοὺς] See ll. 89 and 198.

παρ' … τίθεμαι] The phrase '[τίθημι] παρ' οὐδὲν' ('set at no account', 'consider a mere trifle') has a certain currency; see Euripides, *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, l. 732

(‘θῆται παρ᾽ οὐδὲν’, ‘may make light’) (Euripides, *Trojan Women. Iphigenia among the Taurians. Ion*, ed. and trans. D. Kovacs, Cambridge (MA) 1999, p. 224).

295 Ἄλλοι … Χριστός] Cf. Agamemnon (to Achilles) at *Iliad*, I.174–75: ‘πάρ᾽ ἐμοί γε καὶ ἄλλοι | οἵ κέ με τιμήσουσι, μάλιστα δὲ μητίετα Ζεύς’ (‘There are many others with me who will give me honour, and above all Zeus, the counsellor’).

τιμήσουσι] For the line to scan, the word’s first syllable (cf. ll. 21, 32, 39, and 204) and final syllable must be taken as long; the final *iota* in the MS appears with a diaeresis symbol, plausibly demarcating a long syllable; cf. l. 65.

296 πάντα μέμηλε] Cf. ll. 15, 266.

297 Θεὸν ἱλάσκεσθαι] Recalls Achilles’s urging of propitiation, ‘θεὸν ἱλάσκεσθαι’, at *Iliad*, I.386.

298 ἔπειτ᾽ ἀπάνευθεν] Occasional collocation in Homer, as in ‘φεῦγον ἔπειτ᾽ ἀπάνευθε’ (*Iliad*, IX.478; ‘then I hurried far away’).

299 τῷ … προσεύχεσθαι] Cf. Etheridge’s portrait of Henry VIII’s zealous prayer-giving: ‘Τὸν Χριστὸν συνεχῶς εὐχαῖς ἱλάσκετο πολλαῖς’ (‘He continually appealed to Christ with many prayers’, *Encomium*, fol. 16^{r}).

300 εὐθυμίας] For the line to scan, the word’s final syllable must be taken as long; cf. ll. 55, 57, 164, and 227.

πολυκλείτου] Adjective, with a masculine ending, unclearly tethered in this line. Etheridge reuses the epithet in his *Encomium*, fol. 18^{r}, l. 3 (‘Ἐνρῖκος ἄναξ πολύκλειτος’, ‘greatly renowned King Henry’); also at fol. 27^{r}.

301 ὑπέδεισε] Unusual form of ‘ὑποδείδω’; compare ‘ὑπέδδεισαν’ (‘were seized with fear’, *Iliad*, I.406).

302 Ἐλπίδος … κατὰ] For the line to scan, the final syllable of ‘Ἐλπίδος’ must be taken as short and the final syllable of ‘κατὰ’ must be taken as long.

κατὰ … θυμόν] Cf. l. 264 (‘φρένα ἢ κατὰ θυμόν’).

304 Κλαρέντια] Mary’s long-standing confidante and waiting-woman, Susan Clarencius (or Clarencieux), (before 1510 – c. 1564), Mistress of the Robes after Mary’s accession in 1553. Enjoying a position of confidence, Clarencius is the only witness, besides the imperial ambassador Simon Renard, to Mary’s secret, ritually-solemn vow on 29 October 1553 to marry Philip, before the decision was formally announced to Mary’s Council on 8 November (D. M. Loades, ‘Tonge [née White], Susan [known as Susan Clarencius] (b. before 1510, d. in or after 1564), courtier’, *ODNB*, Oxford 2006, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-94978>).

ἡρῴνα] Ostensibly an irregular rendering of ‘ἡρῴνη’ (‘heroine’) to fit the metre.

305–6 ἄλλαι … ἵκανον] Cf. *Iliad*, VI.296–97:

> βῆ δ’ ἰέναι, πολλαὶ δὲ μετεσσεύοντο γεραιαί.
> αἱ δ’ ὅτε νηὸν ἵκανον Ἀθήνης ἐν πόλει ἄκρηι

(‘Then she set off, and the gathering of old women sped after her. And then they reached the temple of Athene in the highest part of the city’).

308 Κλῦθί μευ] In Homeric epic, ‘Κλῦθί μευ’ is a standard plea for a speaker to be heard, when invoking a deity; cf. *Iliad*, I.37, I.451, V.115, X.278. Mary’s prayer conforms to the conventions of Homeric petition: an address listing the deity’s titles and qualities, followed by a request and a plea for its fulfilment.

φιλάνθρωπ’] Cf. praise of Henry VIII as ‘φιλάνθρωπος’ (‘benevolent’, *Encomium*, fol. 37^{v}, l. 5).

ἐλεήμων] Unclear; possible evidence of a (tired) scribal error. Etheridge may be recalling ‘ἐλεήμων’ from *Odyssey*, V.191. The scribe has written an accent above the first *mu*, then crossed it out.

311 ὑπερόρκια] Rare word that seems not to be particularly Homeric. If not an adjective, the intended phrase here is likely 'ὑπὲρ ὅρκια', a collocation that *does* appear, frequently, in Books III and IV of *Iliad* (as at IV.67, IV.72, 'ὑπὲρ ὅρκια δηλήσασθαι', or IV.236 and IV.271, 'ὑ. ὅ. δηλήσαντο', or III.299, 'ὑ. ὅ. πημήνειαν', in the context of truce-breaking). The phrase implies deserved punishment for a transgression. Cf. the whole-word adjective in Etheridge's *Encomium*, fol. 27^{v}, l. 1: 'ὑπερόρκια' ('beyond their oaths').

313–15 ἐλέησον … τελέεσθαι] Cf. Etheridge's portrait of Henry VIII as eirenically minded: 'συγγνώμην πλείστοις ἀλλ' ἐλέαιρεν ἔχων, | βούλετ' ἀναιμωτὶ κῆδος νίκην τε λαβέσθαι' ('having forgiveness took pity on many and wished care to take the bloodless victory', *Encomium*, fol. 12^{v}, ll. 2–3). Etheridge's verse-ending 'ἀναιμωτί τελέεσθαι' in l. 315 may represent a partial acoustic echo of 'ἀναιμωτί γε νέεσθαι' concluding the line at *Iliad*, XVII.497.

314 τόδε … ἐέλδωρ] Cf. *Iliad*, I.41 and I.504: 'τόδε μοι κρήηνον ἐέλδωρ' ('fulfil this wish for me'). Compare 'κρήῃνον ἐέλδωρ' (*Encomium*, fol. 31^{r}, l. 9).

317 Ἄστυ … τέκνα] Cf. *Iliad*, VI.95, VI.276, VI.310: 'ἄστυ τε καὶ Τρώων ἀλόχους καὶ νήπια τέκνα' ('both the city and the Trojans's wives and their young ones').

318 Ὣς … ἔκλυε] Cf. the formula, 'ὣς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος, τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε' ('So he spoke in prayer, and [Phoebus Apollo / Zeus] heard him'), in *Iliad*, I.43, I.357, I.457, V.121, X.295, XVI.249, XVI.527, XXIII.771, and XXIV.314, typically indicating divine assent to the petition.

319 τεκμήρια] Cf. Etheridge's description of his *Encomium* as 'τεκμήριον […] | τῆς τ' εἰλικρινοῦς πίστεος' ('a witness of sincere faith', *Encomium*, fol. 37^{v}, ll. 7–8).

320–21 Εὐθὺς … προδόται] May recall Proctor's sequence: 'GOD wyll not [deceave me] in whom my chiefe trust is, who will not deceave me. And in dede shortlye after newes came all of victorie, howe that Wyat was taken' (*Historie*, sigs I8^{v}–K1^{r}).

323 ἀγριῳ … ἵκελος] Cf. *Iliad*, IV.253, or XVII.281: ‘συὶ εἴκελος ἀλκήν’ (implying undaunted courage for Homer, though presumably not for Etheridge).

324 Ὅς … γε] A hypermetric line; the omission of ‘δὴ’ would restore the verse to metrical regularity.

325 περὶ ἄστυ] Found exclusively in this position (occupying the second and adjacent foot) in Homer (*Iliad*, VI.256, VIII.519, XVI.448, XXII.251, etc., and *Odyssey*, III.107, XIV.473). Cf. l. 257.

πύλας … οὐδείς] Cf. Proctor’s account: a desperate Wyatt ‘lefte his men standinge still in battail araye, and rode backe as farre as the te*m*ple barre gate, with a naked sword in his ha*n*de the hiltes upwarde (as some report) at whiche gate he woulde have gone throughe towardes Charinge crosse to the residue of his me*n*, but he was then stopped by force of the queenes true subjectes, who wolde not suffer him to passe’ (*Historie*, sig. I6^{v}).

326 Μὰψ ἀνεχώρησεν] Cf. ‘ἂψ δ’ ἀνεχώρησεν’, at *Iliad*, III.35.

ἀνὰ … ἀνδρῶν] Standard Homeric line-ending formula, as at *Iliad*, IV.251 and 273, and XX.113 (‘ἀνὰ οὐλαμὸν ἀνδρῶν’).

327 ποσὶ … θυμ{ός}] Cf. *Iliad*, XV.280: ‘ποσὶ κάππεσε θυμός’ (‘their hearts sank down to their feet’). Cf. l. 188.

328 ἔδωκεν … θυμῷ] Hypersyllabic, metrically unkempt line (three successive short syllables shared over the end of ‘ἑαυτὸν’ and start of ‘ἀέκοντί’) that may recall *Iliad*, IV.43 (Zeus’s paradox of reluctant volition, spoken to Hera): ‘καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ σοὶ δῶκα
ἑκὼν ἀέκοντί γε θυμῶι’ (‘since I have yielded to you freely, yet with an unwilling heart’).

329 χεῖρας … ὑπηρετέοντος] The formular phrase ‘χεῖρας ὕπερθεν’ appears at *Iliad*, V.122, XIII.61, XVII.541, and XXIII.772, and four times in *Odyssey*. Wyatt was invited to yield by a herald, and he assented by surrendering into Sir Maurice Berkeley’s custody (see Archer, as in n. 15).

330 λαοῦ] For the line to scan, the word's first syllable must be taken as long.

331 θέαμα ἰδέσθαι] Cf. *Iliad*, V.725 (of Hera's chariot), X.439 (of Rhesos's golden armour), XVIII.83 (of the arms of Achilles), XVIII.377 (of Hephaestus's automated gold statues): 'θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι' ('a marvel to behold'). For Etheridge's line to scan, the middle syllable in 'θέαμα' must be taken as long.

332 ἦγε] For the line to scan, the word's final syllable must be taken as short; Etheridge treats the following consonantal combination ('σχ-') as if it were an instance of 'muta cum liquida'.

ἄξιον ἐστί] Conceivably an echo of the Eastern Orthodox, and Eastern Catholic, tradition of the theotokion 'ἄξιον ἐστίν'. The phrase 'ἄξιον ἔσται' crops up once in *Iliad* and a few times in *Odyssey*.

333 θυμὸς ἀνώγει] Cf. *Iliad*, VIII.322, XX.77, XXII.142, or XXIV.198, or *Odyssey*, XI.206, XIV.246, XV.395, XVI.466, or XXI.194: 'θυμὸς ἀνώγει' ('my heart bids me [do something]'). Also with the optative, as at *Iliad*, IV.263: 'πιέειν ὅτε θυμὸς ἀνώγοι' (or, slightly differently, VIII.189).

334 ἦλθε φέρουσα] Cf. 'ἦλθε φέρων', used of Ajax on three occasions in *Iliad* (VII.219, XI.485, XVII.128).

καὶ προσέειπεν] Recalls the line-ending colon 'καὶ προσέειπε' at *Iliad*, V.756, XXIV.361, and *Odyssey*, XI.91.

335 πῶς … ἀτέλεστον] Cf. Hera's identical complaint at *Iliad*, IV.26: 'πῶς ἐθέλεις ἄλιον θεῖναι πόνον ἠδ' ἀτέλεστον' ('How can you wish to make my labour vain and ineffectual?'). The addition of the vocative, 'Οὔετε', as the first foot makes this line hypermetric. The adjective 'ἀτέλεστον' (which recurs five lines later, 'ἀτέλεστα') occurs only in *Iliad* IV, again attesting Etheridge's particular debts to that book. (It is found also in *Odyssey*).

336 Ἰδρῶτ' … ἱδροῖς] Cf. *Iliad*, IV.27, continuing the quotation from the previous line: 'ἱδρῶ θ' ὃν ἵδρωσα'. Etheridge's 'ἱδροῖς' looks irregular, and the second foot ('ὅν ἰδ-') lacks a long syllable to complete the dactyl. Cf. Etheridge's *Encomium*, fol. 9^{r}, l. 7: 'ὅς γ' ἵδρωτ' ἵδρωσε' ('he, who shed sweat').

λαὸν ἀγείρας] Cf. *Iliad*, II.664: 'λαὸν ἀγείρας'.

337 Τὴν … ὠκύς] A wholly dactylic line (excluding the final foot), recalling *Iliad*, I.84: 'τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς' ('And then in answer to him Achilles, swift of foot, spoke').

338 ἐπειὴ] For the line to scan, the word's first syllable must be taken as long.

339 Ἐν … ταραχῇ] The phrase 'ἐν πολλῇ ταραχῇ' ('in great disarray') is fairly standard, though not specifically Homeric: cf. Thucydides, *History*, III.79.3, and VII.44.1.

θυμὸς] For the line to scan, the word's first syllable must be taken as long; cf. ll. 76 and 188.

340 ἔργ' ἀτέλεστα] Cf. Theognis, *Elegiac Poems*, 1290: 'ἔργ᾽ ἀτέλεστα' (*Greek Elegiac Poetry: From the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC*, ed. D. E. Gerber, Cambridge (MA) 1999, p. 370).

342 Μερμηρίζεται … θυμός] Cf. *Iliad*, V.671: 'μερμήριξε […] κατὰ θυμὸν'. Cf. also scenes of pondering at *Iliad*, VIII.167 and XIII.455: 'διάνδιχα μερμήριξεν'. And cf. especially *Iliad*, I.188–89: 'ἐν δέ οἱ ἦτορ | στήθεσσιν λασίοισι διάνδιχα μερμήριξεν' ('and in his shaggy breast his heart was divided in two as he pondered').

343 ἄλγεα πάσχειν] Cf. *Iliad*, III.157 and XX.297: 'ἄλγεα πάσχει(ν)'.

344 Κλειομένων … ἐτήρουν] This section, after Wyatt's speech, seems chronologically and narratively out of place – a kind of analeptic leap to an earlier part of the action.

ἐγχέσπαλοι ἄνδρες] Cf. l. 121.

347 ἐμηχανόωντο.] Unclear in MS if the terminal punctuation is a full stop or semi-colon.

348 κατέρυκεν] Metrically irregular succession of short syllables; for the line to scan, the middle syllables ('-τέρυ-') would both need to be taken as long. The orthography 'κατήρυκεν' in MS provides one long syllable. Cf. l. 209 for long '-ρυ-' in 'κατέρυκε'.

349 Αὔαρτος] Lord William Howard (c. 1510–73), first Baron Howard of Effingham (ennobled with that title on 11 March 1554, a few weeks after Wyatt's Rebellion), decisively stymied the rebels' advance at Ludgate. Shortly before the rebellion's peak, Howard had formally greeted the Spanish ambassadors who arrived in London in January 1554 to negotiate Mary's proposed marriage to Philip (J. McDermott, 'Howard, William, first Baron Howard of Effingham (c. 1510–1573), naval commander', *ODNB*, Oxford 2008, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-13946>).

κυδίστου] Homeric epithet used especially of Zeus and Agamemnon.

ἄγλαὸς υἱός] Stock phrase: 'ἀγλαὸς υἱός' occurs eight times in *Iliad* V alone. Lord William Howard was the fourth son of Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk (1443–1524), and the half-brother of the third Duke of Norfolk (Thomas Howard, 1473–1554) who is mentioned from l. 65 onwards.

351 πεπνυμένος ἀνήρ] Recalls the line-ending colon 'πεπνυμένος ἀνὴρ' at *Odyssey*, IV.204.

352 Ἄργος] The primordial giant Argos (or Ἄργος Πανόπτης, 'all-seeing Argos'), appointed by Hera as a watchman; a figure connoting wakeful attentiveness.

353 τρὶς τετράκις] Cf. l. 271. Also cf. *Odyssey*, V.306 ('τρὶς […] καὶ τετράκις'); and Pindar's *Nemean Odes*, VII.104, 'τρὶς τετράκι' (Pindar, *Nemean Odes. Isthmian Odes. Fragments*, ed. and trans. W. H. Race, Cambridge (MA) 1997, p. 84).

354 ἐλπίζοντο] Unclear; evidently a scribal misreading. Either 'ἐλπίζονται', 'ἐλπὶζοιντο', or 'ἐληίζοντο' is intended here.

355 Πολλοὶ … κείνῳ] Irregular line that does not scan.

λαοί … ἀπόλεσσαν] Faint echo of Agamemnon's 'βούλομ᾽ ἐγὼ λαὸν σόον ἔμμεναι ἢ ἀπολέσθαι' ('I would prefer the army to be safe than to perish') at *Iliad*, I.117.

ἤματι κείνῳ] Cf. the Homeric syntagm 'ἤματι κείνῳ' ('on that day') in *Iliad*, II.37, II.482, IV.542. XVIII.324, XXI.51.

356 κλέος ἐσθλόν] See also ll. 13, 21; cf. *Iliad*, V.3, XVII.16, XVII.143, XVIII.121, or *Odyssey*, XIII.422. For the close proximity of this phrase to the verb 'ἀπόλλυμι' (as in the previous line), see *Iliad*, XXIII.280: 'κ. ἐ. ἀπώλεσαν'.

358 Ὀλοφέρνην] The name appears unaspirated in Appian's *Syrian Wars* (Appian, *Roman History, Volume III*, ed. and trans. B. McGing, Cambridge (MA) 2019, p. 98) as also in the Greek text of the Book of Judith in the Septuagint (*Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum, Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum VIII, 4: Iudith*, ed. R. Hanhart, Göttingen 1979).

Ἰοῦδιθ] A version of this biblical analogy (from Book of Judith, 10.11–13.10) appeared in the preface to *The Agrement of the Holye Fathers*, composed by Mary's chaplain, John Angel: Mary is 'a newe Judith' enlightening her people with 'knowledge of Goddes worde'; 'this Judith, at the risynge of our Holifernus [the Duke of Northumberland, Lady Jane Grey's father-in-law], had the hartes of men, and not the bodyes: And that at the risynge, and proceding forth of that pestiferous traytor Wyat, had the bodyes and not the hartes and yet overcame her enemies by the power of God' (John Angel, *The Agrement of the Holye Fathers, and Doctors of the Churche, upon the Cheifest Articles of Christian Religion*, London 1555, sigs A3^{v}, A5$^{r–v}$).

ἐξενάριξεν] Scenes of slaying, or stripping of armour from, a vanquished foe are a set-piece in Homer, sometimes endowed with much pathos: see 'ἐξενάριξεν', invariably a line-ending word in Homer, at *Iliad*, IV.488, VI.30, VI.36, XI.299, etc.

359 ὕψιστος] Epithet common in epigraphic texts from late antiquity; also in biblical usage (see Mark 5.7, Luke 8.28, Acts 16.17, and Hebrews 7.1 for 'ὁ Θεός ὁ ὕψιστος'; also Genesis, 14.18, and Deuteronomy, 32.8). On the formulation 'Θεὸς ὕψιστος', see S. Mitchell, 'The Cult of Theos Hypsistos between Pagans, Jews, and Christians', in *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity*, ed. P. Athanassiadi and M. Frede, Oxford 1999, pp. 81–148; 'Further thoughts on the cult of Theos Hypsistos', in *One God: Pagan Monotheism in the Roman Empire*, ed. S. Mitchell and P. van Nuffelen, Cambridge 2010, pp. 167–208. Cf. Etheridge's *Encomium*, fol. 7^{v}, l. 5: 'Χριστὸν Θεὸν ὕψιστον' ('Christ, God the Most High').

μέγα κῦδος] See ll. 9 and 225. The collocation 'μέγα κῦδος' is frequent in *Iliad* (e.g. VIII.176, VIII.237, IX.303).

361 κῦδος ὀρέξας] Cf. 'μέγα κῦδος ὀρέξῃς' at *Iliad*, XXII.57.

365 κράτος … μέγιστον] Recalls the line-ending colon 'κράτος ἐστὶ μέγιστον' ('[his] power is very great') at *Iliad*, II.118, IX.25, IX.39, XIII.484, etc., and *Odyssey*, I.70, V.4.

368 Σὺν … Δαβίδῳ] The final line and a half of Etheridge's poem closely recall the final verse of Psalm 20 (sometimes numbered 19). The second foot of this line lacks a long syllable to complete the dactyl, or alternatively treats both syllables ('Δαβί-') as if they were long.

Σῶσον … βασίλισσαν] Cf. final line of Etheridge's *Encomium*, fol. 38^{v}: 'τὴν βασίλισσαν δή, ὦ Θεέ, σῶσον ἀεί' ('O God forever save the Queen', namely Elizabeth I).

369 ῥ' … καλέσαιμεν] Beyond the aforementioned psalm, the line may also recall the preces in Roman Catholic liturgical worship.

4. Translation

Note on translation. Homeric borrowings in Etheridge's Greek poem are italicised in the following translation: casual or incidental similarities with Homer's text are not registered this way, and only instances of convincing reuse – fragments derived from Homer with evident intent, especially those verse-units that replicate their prosodic position in the Homeric verse-line – are italicised. Non-Homeric borrowings and phrases (e.g. 'Θεὸς ὕψιστος', l. 359) are not represented in italics.

Upon the fairest and most puissant Mary, Queen of England, Spain, France, both the Sicilies, Jerusalem and Ireland, and all other titles, George Etheridge wishes everlasting prosperity.

Seeing that the terms of my livelihood – these have always been the arrangements, fairest queen – for nurturing all my studies and for supporting both me and all my dependants, first came into effect out of the utmost kindness of your father, Henry the Eighth, [fol. 1^{v}] the noblest king, when he hired me for the public promotion of Greek Literature at Oxford, and it was thereafter renewed and confirmed again for me, likewise, through your generosity above all; and now, most recently, I have come to enjoy even greater prosperity from the immense generosity of our utterly invincible king, Philip; I consider it my duty that [fol. 2^{r}] I register everything of mine that has been granted by your Highness. I do so not only because I am in debt for what I owe but also, since I am duty-bound and obliged by so many more benefits than others have, because, as I strain every nerve, I will all the more resolutely strive to be tireless in fulfilling every confidence and attention and, finally, every service I am able to, from the bottom of my heart.

Now since we men of slender fortune, [fol. 2^{v}] who tend to strive after virtually nothing in life except learning and scholarship, have no other assets to offer apart from perhaps some

sort of hatchling of the imagination or a trifling literary present, I herewith present to your Majesty this little book – it is modest, to be sure, but relates a highly important event, and one that deserves lasting remembrance. Now, as [fol. 3^{r}] I am often inclined to reflect upon your mind's pre-eminent and distinguished vigour, which God, Best and Greatest, long since planted in you, and as I consider in more depth not only all those things which you accomplished firmly and resolutely over many years before taking up the tiller of this your kingdom, but also those things which you performed a few years ago so magnificently as should, without any doubt, [fol. 3^{v}] be marvelled at by all future generations, I thought it my duty to set about doing something diligently. Just as several others have written about these events both in English and in Latin, I thought that I, too, should somehow distinguish myself from among the many men thronging about me: namely, that I should entrust to those fond of studying Greek Literature matters of such great importance – so renowned, so luminous and distinguished – as should not only be sung in all languages now, [fol. 4^{r}] but also perhaps be read in the future by those very residents of Greece, who, I am fully persuaded, should hereafter hear, wonder at, and (with the fullest admiration) emulate your virtues. That's to say, I wrote down here in a few little lines the extraordinary victory – that most brilliant triumph – you had in defeating that abominable Catiline, Wyatt, three years ago. [fol. 4^{v}]

It's not that I'm afraid that these events should be any less pleasing to your considerable intelligence because they are written down in Greek letters, when even here and now you are nurturing, through magnificent and truly kingly stipends, these Greek studies – studies which can be put to the same service as all those other things actively spreading Christ's glory throughout the Catholic Church, in both your Universities – and while [fol. 5^{r}] you have about you several men deeply learned in this language, and even some women, people you rate highly who are so wonderfully versed in Greek literature that this Kingdom of yours is now able almost to match antiquity itself in this particular, most distinguished arena [of Greek learning].

It's not – indeed, this is something I'm almost anxious to avoid – that I want these things to be read by only a few people; [fol. 5^{v}] nor is it that I consider it a matter of such great importance only now while the still-recent memory of those events remains warm in the people's minds, and has in any case been already sufficiently engraved in the deepest, innermost parts of our conscience. But it's rather that great care and pains must be taken to ensure that we leave behind us, here, all this testimony for future generations to guarantee continued belief in them.

Then again, it's not [fol. 6^{r}] that we think that we, who are endlessly sustained by your generosity, should in any way be entrusted with the matter – with the result that your accomplishments, so great and so distinguished as to be quite miraculous, become enwrapped in silence – but rather that, by every possible means, they should thereby be published, so that no oblivion ever envelops them. But nor would anyone at all consider it untimely for me to present this little work to your Highness – anyone at all, that is, [fol. 6^{v}] who considers what's in here to be written well, or who's determined to be a just appraiser of my mind, and my intentions, and my studies. To be sure, all my efforts tend in particular to this one end – that in this work, such as it is, I aim to congratulate you and the Entire Realm for the favourable return to England of our Most Powerful King. And so I did not consider it inappropriate that, in a sense, [fol. 7^{r}] I should have renewed the memory of divine wrath and retribution justly inflicted upon that abominable man who, like a second Esau, was determined to come to meet you with 400 men; whereas your Jacob [Prince Philip], or rather your Israel (for he proved himself most mightily in the service of the Lord), first came here so as to consecrate with you a truly hallowed wedding.

Now, therefore, there is one thing in particular which comforts me a good deal [fol. 7^{v}] and makes me resolved to dare to offer this slender token of my reverence for your highness. Namely, that just as the most renowned King [Philip] himself, when he first came to England, very graciously accepted our congratulation during the public celebration of every honour, and

did so in a similar way to this – that's to say, in a little book bearing his name – so I am resolved to convey in the best way to you, in recognition of your extraordinary brilliance, that person's incredible [fol. 8^{r}] and (in the case of this great Prince [Philip]) unheard-of humanity along with his other illustrious traits. This is why, sustained by this hope, I am not ashamed to ask you to turn your thoughts to whatsoever it is that is right and just in your public duties; and that just as, once upon a time, when Tobias and Sara came together in marriage, the joy of good blessings was stretched out over many days, [fol. 8^{v}] so I ask that you should allow us, your subjects, to extend our congratulations, of whatever form, for a while longer and to rejoice beyond measure.

In this way may Lord Jesus – who in his unknowable providence sent [Philip] off for a time, with his Angel as a guide, to perform great deeds and brought him back unharmed – watch over and preserve you both together, and forever. [fol. 9^{r}] So, may he, like Joshua, greatest in strength, cast down the enemies of the Catholic Church and overthrow them utterly:

'In this way, for this service, he shall spend all his years with you';

and, thereafter,

'In this way, you will make him father of beautiful offspring',

with whom the whole Christian world rejoices, in absolute tranquillity, and in truly joyful peace.

Oxford, 2 April [1557].

Wyatt's Conspiracy

Let me not pray for the muses and *silver-bowed Apollo* to aid me *in bringing to completion* this new *song* I have in my heart and *in my mind*; instead, *I pray* that Christ who is God, who dwells in the highest mansions, [5] *come into my heart*, fully knowing that I should sing praise to Him

with these words and laud Him publicly; for just recently did He perform many wondrous things for us *on the sea-girt island, deep-soiled* Britain, as He *brought great glory* to Queen Mary. [10] *Father of us all*, God, *giver of* all *good things*, give me *shrewd thoughts to think* and a story *true to tell*. In what ways *might you win favour and fame* in the eyes of the English, and *glorious fame, before all others*, for Queen Mary; for she is *thoroughly honoured in your heart* and loved by you, [15] because virtue and *all* good *things are her chiefest concern*? Well, you have often saved her, *by warding off ruin, as when a mother brushes aside a fly from the skin of her child, whom she loves and cares for* from the heart. And while I pass over many other such instances here, [20] I will nevertheless say one thing that God lately performed, bringing honour and glorious fame to the queen, so that we might all forever be mindful of His glory.

There is a city, all *mortal men on earth* call it London, [25] which is renowned above all others, *well-situated*, and by far the greatest. Yet a multitude of wicked things was set to come about *very rapidly*, when a large and vulgar mob, as it took over there 'an abyss of ills' (so to speak), was constantly swelling the number of prostitutes, and adulterers, and *gain-greedy* men. [30] Consequently, these people, as they envied the virtue of Queen Mary (the first of that name *who received, as her due, her share of honour* and the sceptre of Britain), devised treachery, and *evil strife*, and *dread battle-din*, and in such a way that wicked and retrograde beliefs would go unnoticed [35], as they introduced wretched turns-of-thought to the citizens. For these people had means to depose her with great speed.

From the very beginning, when the lady became queen – winning fame for Christ who dwells in the highest, holding virtuous things in reverence, and keeping wickedness at bay – [40] she had been busy planting the bright seeds of fair virtue. Opposed to her in these pursuits was a man they call Wyatt – insolent indeed, *a servant of Ares*. How I wish that a soul of virtue, adorned with bright offshoots, had been implanted in this man's considerably stout body. [45]

But, you see, this traitor was, with deadly intent, set upon being thoroughly wicked, and plotted baneful war together with his associates, conspirators who turned out to be not only many in number – all such people as favoured destructive deeds in their hearts more highly than honourable things – but also thoroughly heretical, and the enemies of faith.

[50] Now, certain noble men became the source of wicked counsel. Lord Henry [Duke of] Suffolk and Carew were the *two leaders of the* common *mob* – and the others I omit to speak of, or to call by name. As He took pity on and showed care for the queen, [55] Christ anticipated the designs of the traitors by bringing them to light, as He swiftly made known to the queen their wretched plans. And, to be sure, she first seized some of *the leading men*, rightly thinking that she would subdue them by having them clapped in chains. And so Wyatt, once he had come to learn of these matters, *began raging incessantly*, [60] and what's more, after he had summoned together *ranks of warlike men*, armed 3,000 troops. With these men, with as much speed as he could manage, *he set out for* the City of London, and *turned his mind to battle-lust*.

There was *an old hero*, very advanced in years, [65] whom the whole country knows as Lord Norfolk, *who surpassed* everyone *in counsel and in fighting*; he was the equal of Nestor in his wits, and *the match of mighty Achilles in strength* when he was young, or *of godlike Hector*. And it was this man who determined to confront the army of traitors in combat; [70] yet he almost fell into an ambush, unawares, which *crooked-counselling* Wyatt contrived by cunning, as he had secretly sent on ahead an advanced party of men-at-arms. He commanded Harper, one of the plotters, *to arm himself* with them and *to go into an ambush with the chief noblemen*. [75] Now Harper, after pretending to take flight, *begged on his knees for pity* from the *great-hearted* champion, and *spoke to him this speech*: '*Take us alive*, you who are the foremost among men, *and receive a worthy ransom* from the enemy; for I will declare my *resolute purpose*: that *I came here myself to fight* on your behalf'.

[80] *He spoke those words*. And he yielded over ranks of spearmen, and duly mixed in with the other soldiers under the command of this old man [Norfolk], and he *vowed to be* worthy of trust *at the hands of the army*; and led down the honourable, great-hearted, noble champion right up to the sturdy ranks of the enemy conspirators. [85] *And just at this moment when they had come into close proximity, as they were advancing towards each other*, the quick-witted hero spotted a cunning stratagem; and when he realised that his fellow-soldiers were taking flight – *worthless* men whom he had only just now led out of the city of London, *wicked objects of reproach, who had sworn false oaths* – [90] he drew himself back again *in agile fashion, as he recoiled backwards*. And if his horse had not carried him back from the battle, then this man would not *have escaped black fate*.

And just as *the first few sparks* take hold of a reed and from the dry wood the fire grows [95] and mingles with *a great deal of flame*, and continues burning what's nearby and then what's further off; so, out of vice, out of a few, small acts of mischief, is born great tumult and baneful calamity. For here Wyatt *incited the rage and spirit of each man*, [100] in such a way that fortune answered his first wish; and he raced with utmost speed to the well-peopled City of London, taking along his rebellious companions. And, once they had each in turn *set their minds on fierce valour*, looking for an alliance of some sort outside of the city, they followed him, [105] expecting the Londoners to be allies and to take their side in *the heinous battle*. Now then, once they were all near the City they pitched their camp alongside the waters of the Thames; there they remained only *for those two days*, [110] and on the third they all *marched* as one towards the city. But when it was not possible to ferry over the army, Wyatt (as the story goes), with night as his ally, commanded two divers to *untie the* boats' *ropes* quickly, to draw them over and to help the others across. [115] And once the boats had arrived on the opposite river-bank, ferrying men heavy with bronze – men who were *the bane of mortals and stormers of walls* – it was *just at that point that they met together and converged on one place, as the*

battalions of the traitors *moved, rank upon rank, unrelentingly into battle*. Clearly *eager to fight* [120] *on open ground* and set apart from – not further into – the city, all *the spear-wielding men* marched headlong.

Wyatt was *in the foremost ranks, trusting to his* own *strength*. But from over on the other side the queen's *broad army* stood fast, as *it made a beginning of battle*. [125] And on three occasions did the stout spearmen *surge in ranks*. The war-mongers, *men breast-plated in bronze*, wielding *spears that cast long shadows*, held the right side of the field against the cavalry, but from the opposite side were yet more men at hand, and no doubt about it – knights who were stout, wearing smooth armour, [130] and in the midst of the infantry were *ranks of shield-wielding men. There you would not have seen* Wyatt *sluggish, or unwilling to fight*, or *negligent in urging on each man*; *instead, he was fully bent on battle in which men win fame.*

And just as when Judas, the traitor, forsook Christ, [135] and was not idle, nor *gave in to sleep, nor cowered* when he (wicked man) performed those deeds, in just this way did Wyatt, the traitor, fervently take his battle lust in hand, and with several *words did he embolden* his comrades, as he came up to them. *And he addressed* these *words* to them: [140] '*My fellow men*, since now *your hands bear the greatest brunt of battle*, the City of London will pay you your hire, *when the time for distribution comes*. For we will take it with ease, since nobody there will put up resistance. And in no way should we fear that they will be bearing arms, [145] *as they would* never *dare* fight against us, for they will be our greatest allies notwithstanding those few Spaniards, who come *afar from a distant land*. Now, you see them *on the left-hand side* of the battle, but our friends, once they've passed over to the right, [150] are standing firm; and they, certain to desert pretty promptly, *will come to this side*, and will readily come to our aid, and should immediately bring help to us. And so, *be men, and turn your thoughts to fierce valour*'.

Now to be sure, as he said this, he surged into the throng of warriors, fighting in front. [155] And, first among the other leaders, he led out the men, and he sent this signal to all his comrades-in-arms. With speed, they duly followed behind him, as he was advancing out in the front, and as they pressed forwards he commanded his fellow-soldiers to run, wherever he, with zealous intent, would instruct, by raising his hand, [160] showing how *they should fight safely* from out of the reach of missiles. And so Wyatt was the foremost among all others in this combat, just as when a famished lion, in the mountains, seeks out, with a searching glance, a whelp and finds nourishment either in the form of a bull *or a wild boar* and, once he has taken hold of it, slays it. [165] *And they all followed him and a great din arose*. But as the two armies were, you see, still to *dash their shields together*, or *their spears*, or *the wrath of their soldiers*, *guileful* Wyatt then turned down another road. With him he had 300 daring comrades [170] who *marched* on foot, *clad* in fine *armour*.

Now, *a glorious hero* deliberately gave the slip to these men – a hero *by far the best* of the commanders, called Lord Pembroke, who expertly led the queen's *broad army*. And then, with prudent mind, he thrust himself into a throng of the enemy soldiers [175] and cut the army of the traitors in two about the middle. *From the joining of* all *these forces came shouting and fear*. *And you could hear, equally, the lamentation and the victory cry of the slayers and the slain, and the earth ran with blood*. And Anthony Browne held the royal command in the battle, [180] Browne who was the match of Achilles in courage, and *in no way inferior* to him *either in stature or form or martial accomplishments*; he it was who urged on *each man* for battle. And *fearless courage* came into each *of their hearts*. But when, now that the battle had really begun, they clashed together, [185] the ranks of the traitors, wheeling round, turned away; not a man among them all would have been able *to escape headlong destruction*, had not cowards' fear there *taken hold of their limbs*. For the most part *their spirits fell* and *quaking took hold* of them; and then they threw down their weapons and their *long-shadow-casting* spears [190] and

begged on their knees for mercy from those fighters who were foremost in battle, due to which they had already fled to the enemy, and in no way did they escape notice, even though they had hidden themselves in the trees.

At any event, in the battle many *lost their lives,* and many *escaped death* and *black fate.* [195] The entire army took pity on the men, because of their ill luck, as not more than a hundred did *onrushing death and irresistible fate carry off during the dread battle-din.* And they took alive a very great number – utterly *worthless* men – for it was impossible for them to escape, because leading *the broad army* [200] near the front of the *bronze-clad* spearmen came great-hearted [Lord] William [Howard], *by far the best* of the heroes, wealthy and possessed of many riches, but kindly disposed, knowing how to use wealth correctly in a great many other matters, and accustomed always to bring honour to the queen, [205] in all hazards with both wealth and feats of arms. For with eagerness he marshalled a great throng of men, as he was *determined to give glory* to the queen's army; and the hero launched upon the fleeing traitors and *held them back, eager though they were* for flight.

[210] And since they were all busily engaged in the battle, frenzied Wyatt, as he went from the other side *into the middle where men clustered most densely,* led the other army and *set out to go* to the city. *And the ranks of the shield-bearing* fellow-soldiers, full of *overweening insolence,* pursued their opponents, [215] and nobody *came to withstand him, to ward off his heavy blows,* nor did a single person from out of so many people come to hold him back, right up to the point where he approached the gates of the illustrious palace. Whether because they were cowardly and unwilling to fight, or because they had lost their wits, [220] *irresistible fate* wanted it like this, or some other force of crafty cunning allowed it to be so. The venerable Gage, an equal of *noble Nestor,* stood there before the gates with many heroes – the very person the prudent-minded queen *esteems above everyone, in military matters and in other tasks*; [225] and so for that reason *great glory accrued* to him. And he it was who *addressed the assembled*

army *and spoke among them*: '*Well now*! To be sure, *great sorrow has come over* us all. Without a doubt that traitor Wyatt *would rejoice, and the rest* of the conspirators *would be overjoyed at heart*, [230] if not a single one of the foremost troops were to rush upon them there, or dared not put up resistance in battle. *You braggarts, dishonourable men, have you no shame? Why are you standing around like this, dazed like fawns fixed motionless* and *in whose minds there is no shred of courage?* [235] *What, are you waiting for* the traitors *to come right up to you? And are you not fighting because you're waiting to see perhaps whether* the lady, who is our queen and mistress, *will stretch out an arm in protection* over you now, cowards that you are?'

So he spoke. And he charged right into the midst of the enemy throng, but one of the traitors *struck* him *on the chest, and knocked him from his horse*. [240] *And* so *the glorious hero fell then to the ground, into the dust, and now would the sturdy*, noble old man *have perished had not* some of his squires *been quick* to come to his rescue and hold their *shields* and *long spears in front of him*, so no *weapon-point* could pierce *his bronze armour*. [245] Any assault *was in vain*, since *the double cuirass overlapped*. And once his retainers had shepherded the old man out from underneath, away from the battle, the gates to the palace courtyard were shut. To where did the ranks of the traitors then withdraw? They certainly did not go in. Gage, *a robust* old man and one held in high honour, [250] after managing to evade a hideous fate, *and black doom*, went with speed to the *gorgeous chamber* of the queen and found her praying on her knees to Christ, that He should show mercy towards the traitors and the whole army.

And she immediately called him by name first *and addressed him*: [255] 'Gage; *why have you left the fierce battle behind and come here? Can it really be that* the traitors *(a hateful name) have worn you down as they fight about our city?* Are you bearing some news? Speak it'.

Then in answer to her spoke the prudent hero: 'There is, my queen, an undeniable revolt made up of many men, [260] to whom you have already given over the battle for the most part. And so, as you are prudent, you naturally will be safer by doing as follows: *take flight instantly*, since *you must avoid unseemly ruin*'.

So he spoke. And responding in turn, *she spoke this speech*, struck in no way by panic *either in mind or heart*. [265] 'Venerable man, best of all men *to me, and nearest and dearest* of all to Christ, all my affairs *have been taken care of* by God the father; He it is who is the anchor of all my hope, who has hitherto kept me safe from many perils, and now (I know), sure to help, *will stretch out His arm* over me. [270] *I have no regard for* any of the traitors, and even if there should be *three or four times* more of them, *I*, for one, *do not trouble myself with them. God Himself*, the omnipotent, is my protector. How to defeat the wicked enemies in the course of *combat* – whether going to great lengths or with little effort – is not a matter of concern to Him. [275] *But strike up battle*, venerable man, and do not fear slight things. This at least I know well, that before long they will be weaker, or will be overpowered in battle, as pleases God'.

So she spoke, and left those who were present and went to the innermost part of the chapel – the hallowed part – because *she had been yearning* to offer up prayers to Christ. [280] *And she* proceeded directly to the gorgeous *inner room*. Just there she found her waiting-women *pouring out tears*, but *anyone would say* that the queen alone had *in her mind* already *forgotten* all *joyless misery*. And she *railed* at them *with words of anger*: [285] '*Why*, women, *as if you had the hearts of deer, are you crying with such abandon? Now what sorrow has come into your hearts?* Desist this instant *from heavy sighing*, and do not be afraid, for I have entrusted everything to God, and He *will not permit* those whom He truly loves to perish in war, [290] nor traitors ever to be victorious in battle. Those people will, to be sure, pay for your tears, and *many griefs*, as they will soon be punished for their presumptuous folly and *for this*

wanton violence. Now I, for one, set *worthless* men at no account. [295] *For there are others who will do me honour, and especially* Christ, who *has taken care* of both my very life and *all my affairs of state*'.

So she spoke, and she urged them *to appease God* with prayers. Then she went *further off* and she in turn offered up to Christ prayers for the people. [300] What remarkable cheerfulness, what far-famed virtue. She, who is so wise, in no way cowered in fear from the wicked events that had conspired to come together; at any rate, she was well off for hope *in her mind and heart*. And when she had prayed a great deal to God and had moved apart from them, then [Susan] Clarencius, the best noblewoman, [305] and *the other* waiting-women and *the older women raced after her*. *And when they came to the innermost part of the chapel*, in which the queen was accustomed to offer up entreaties and prayers, she began praying in this way: '*Hear me*, Christ who is God, and who loves mankind; be merciful and pardon my people, for it has committed wrongdoing, [310] and deserves great punishment for what it has done, since it had the effrontery to commit lawless deeds and *has violated oaths of loyalty*. But I know very well my own errors; you, though, have mercy on all of us, for you love mankind, and *fulfil this wish for me*, who serves you. [315] Grant that this war will be ended now, without the shedding of blood. Keep the army safe, and even those wicked Londoners, *and the city itself and the wives and young ones* of everyone'.

So she spoke, and Christ Jesus *heard her as she prayed*, and gave His mercy as a very substantial sign [of compassion]. [320] For straight after these prayers all the traitors, and Wyatt himself, were defeated in the battle. Just as someone who has lost his wits rages, in his heart, *like* a wild bull or *a wild boar*, after he had run a great deal indeed and bustled [325] *about the city* of London, and nobody opened the gates, *he went back in vain*, and retreated, unsuccessful, *along with a throng of* many *men*, and then *his heart sank down to his feet*. But *he surrendered, of his own will* yet with *an unwilling heart*, into *the hands* of someone who

had been a squire in the battle. [330] But it was a more miserable thing to most of them that not a single person from out of so great a body of men seized him – *quite a sight to behold*. For (and this was a thing that was particularly remarkable) he had leisure enough there to receive a cup and drink it, *to his heart's content*. For *along came* a woman, *bringing* the cup, *and she spoke to him*: [335] 'Wyatt, *how can you have wished to make your efforts, and the sweat you have sweated, vain and ineffectual?* And how have you wasted *the people you gathered together?*'.

Wyatt, *swift of foot, spoke in answer to her*: 'Give me the drink, woman, and I will drink it, as I am extremely weary. You have plunged my heart into great distress: [340] not only do these feats of mine – proven fruitless – not follow the course that I had intended, but also I do not know how I, a wretched man, can learn what will become of me. *In my breast, my heart is anxiously puzzling* whether I must die or *suffer* [even worse] *woes*'.

Once the gates had been shut, *the spear-wielding men* kept guard, [345] and sturdily endured the greatest toil of war, since the Londoners, seeing as they were mindful of these events, contrived to offer help to those very traitors in secret. But the heroic commander in chief, Howard, held them back – Howard, *the noble son* of a most praiseworthy father, [350] an elderly man who is of course called the Duke of Norfolk. It was this *prudent man* who defended the gates, who like Argos was equipped with eyes on every side, should Wyatt, *thrice or four-times* the worst, ever break through, as all the heretics were hoping.

[355] Many soldiers brought destruction *on that day*. But we must offer glory and *glorious renown* to God, and add timeless honour, as is only propse. For just as Judith once *slew* Holofernes, and God the most high bestowed this *great fame* on the woman [360] when she alone, with her own hands, dealt a fatal blow to the tyrant; so in just this way Christ *gave glory* to Queen Mary, and saw to it that the many conspirators were defeated, along with the villain Wyatt. The lady, through her prayers, defeated the enemy in battle. [365] And so all of

us, as we are English, must rejoice in the deathless queen, *whose power is immense*. And we must also give glory to God, and often repeat, after David: 'God save the queen, and hear us when we call upon Thee in prayer.'