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

Homer 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

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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 1r–38r.

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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


\(^4\) ‘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


\(^6\) ‘nulla unquam obscuratura sit oblivio’; *Wyatt’s Conspiracy*, fol. 6r.

\(^7\) ‘δὸρον […] ἅπα χραδίας’; *Encomium*, fol. 37r, 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

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\(^8\) 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. A1v.

\(^9\) ‘nephario […] Catilina’; *Wyatt’s Conspiracy*, fol. 4r.
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.\(^\text{10}\) 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

drawn and pragmatically applied to the present. 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. 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.

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 ivth man’ in a sizeable company of gentlemen malcontents. 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

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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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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


\textsuperscript{16} ‘Order to proclaim Qu. Mary in co. Sussex: 1553’, BL, MS Add. 33230, fol. 21’.
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. 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 abolysh theym out of this realme’. 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’. A concomitant aim, according to Marian chroniclers, was to install Elizabeth in Mary’s place, and to effect her marriage to the Earl of

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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. A3v.
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. 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.

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 (αἱρετικοί, 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 Exhortation, a work composed by Mary’s chaplain, the Cambridge Hellenist John Christopherson (d. 1558), and printed by John Cawood,

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21 ‘οι τῆς πίστις ἐχθροί’, ‘κακά κεν παλίνορσα […] Δόγματα’; Wyatt’s Conspiracy, ll. 49, 34–35.
who had effectively become the Queen’s Printer.\textsuperscript{22} Not unremarkably, Christopherson had previously composed \textit{Jepthah} (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 \textit{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, \textit{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 \textit{Historie} (sigs A1\textsuperscript{f}–K8\textsuperscript{f}) appeared with two anti-sedition tracts: ‘An earnest conference with the degenerates and sedicious’ (sigs L1\textsuperscript{f}–M3\textsuperscript{f}) and the self-styled \textit{prosopopoeia}, ‘A Prosopey of Englande unto the degenerat Englishe’ (sigs M3\textsuperscript{f}–N2\textsuperscript{f}).\textsuperscript{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, \textit{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 \textit{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

\textsuperscript{22} Christopherson, \textit{An Exortation to Alle Menne to Take Hede and Beware of Rebellion}, London 1554.

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

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24 ‘aliquem fortasse ingenii fœtum & literarium munusculum’, ‘versiculis paucis’, ‘opellæ’; *Wyatt’s Conspiracy*, fols 2r, 4r, 6r.

25 *Encomium*, fol. 37r, ll. 6–7: ‘μικρά γε βιβλίδω | ἢ τὰ ἔπη ἐγγεχρίζων’.

26 ‘redditum’; *Wyatt’s Conspiracy*, fol. 1v.

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

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. Etheridge’s preface explicitly recognises the ‘several men deeply learned in this
language, and even some women’ from the queen’s wider entourage. *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. *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

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28 *‘in utroque tua Academia’, ‘Græcarum Literarum studiosis’; Wyatt’s Conspiracy*, fols 4v, 3v. 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 4v–5v.

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). 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. 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.

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 Christi College, Cambridge.

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31 ‘cætera omnia quæ in Ecclesia Catholica Christi glorie propagande usui esse possunt, in utraque tua Academia’; *Wyatt’s Conspiracy*, fol. 4v. On the centrality of Greek in sixteenth-century England to the study of theology and to ecclesiastical advancement, see Lazarus (as in n. 28), pp. 446–47.


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’.

Comparably, Etheridge’s stated aim was to produce a testimony for future generations, keeping fresh ‘the memory of divine wrath and retribution justly inflicted’. 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. 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 a2r–v.

36 ‘memoriam reficarem iræ & vindictæ divine … iustè inflicta’; Wyatt’s Conspiracy, fol. 7r.

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 Graecis litteris conscripta sint’; *Wyatt’s Conspiracy*, fol. 4v.

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

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’. Recommended texts included Plutarch (in Latin); some dialogues of Plato, ‘especially those which concern the government of the State’; 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. The dedication prefacing Wyatt’s Conspiracy conforms to type, tactfully omitting any mention of Mary’s Greek and strategically assigning

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40 ‘Homerus, fons reliquorum’; Juan Luis Vives, De ratione studii puerilis, Basel 1537, sig. a8v.
42 Ibid.; ‘præséritim qui ad rempublicam gubernandam spectant’ (sig. c2v).
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 noumbrre 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’.

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 English 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. Baroness Jane


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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


\(^{48}\) 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. 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. 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. 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.

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49 BL, Harley MS 1860, fols 59r–379r.

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. 16r, l. 2); ‘ταῖς βιβλίοις’ (fol. 19r, l. 2); ‘Τὸν ἐ’ ἀναγενέσθεν συνεχῶς εἰσθέν τῷ Ὀμηρῷ’ (fol. 24r, l. 7); ‘μικρὰ γε βιβλία […] τὰ ἐπὶ ἐγχειρίζων’ (fol. 37r, ll. 6–7).

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’. 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, 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.

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

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letters and syllables. 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.

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’.

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 ζ consonance and wheezing ι/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 b1v–b2v; see Vives, *Renascence Education*, pp. 139, 140.


59 ‘conscripta’, ‘decantetur’, ‘audire’, ‘silentio involvantur’; *Wyatt’s Conspiracy*, fols 4r, 3v, 4r, 6r respectively.
belligerent Wyatt (Οὐετος) 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. It affords comparisons with John

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

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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 ‘proceeded 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 substanially expounded 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

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⁶² Thomas Elyot, *The Boke named the Governour*, London 1531, sigs D7v, D8r.

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 ὀρκια’) 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

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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.\(^6^5\) 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 panegyrical 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.\(^6^6\) 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 ‘counsailours / Nestor and the witty Ulisses’.\(^6^7\)

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

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\(^{67}\) Elyot (as in n. 62), sig. B2’.

*Wyatt’s Conspiracy*
foolish kings and foolish peoples”...

In its raw schematic outline, *The Iliad* might well resemble an archetype of catastrophic discord, strife (ἐρις), and their far-reaching effects, offering a bleak portrait of a martial class unable to atone for its excesses. 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’. 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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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.

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. Yet that portrait of benign protection and patronage is undercut within fifty lines: Mary’s attitude towards her rebellious citizens (I. 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.

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 (I. 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

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72 ‘Ἀλλοι γὰρ τιμήσουσι με μᾶλλον τε Ἑρμής’; *Wyatt’s Conspiracy*, I. 295. Cf. *Iliad*, I.174–75 (as in n. 71): ‘πάρ’ ἐμοὶ γε καὶ ἄλλοι | οἱ κέ με τιμήσουσι, μᾶλλον δὲ μητίστα Ζεὺς’ (‘There are many others with me who will give me honour, and above all Zeus, the counsellor’).

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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

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73 Elyot (as in n. 62), sig. H8'.

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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),

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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.

although the two remain unclearly aligned. 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. Several Homeric turns of phrase – the stock formula for escaping ‘black fate’, used three times by Etheridge (ll. 92, 194, 250); the reference


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 (πύη) answering Wyatt’s first wish (l. 100); the depiction of fate (μοίρα 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 ‘χραισμεν (σὺν δὲ Θεῶ) τοις γε παροῦσι κακοῖς, σφησιν ἀτασθαλίσαν ύπερ μόρον ὄν ἀρ’ ἔχουσι’; *Encomium*, fol. 11r, 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. 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.  

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

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80 ‘κλειτὸς Ὅμηρος’; *Encomium*, fol. 30r, l. 4.

were on everyone’s lips and in everyone’s hands, 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 ascended up to the braine & head, and therfore was sone spitte out of the mouth againe’. 

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. 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’. 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.

82 *in ore et manibus*; Ascham (as in n. 47), p. 26.
84 Dowling (as in n. 39), p. 182.
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.

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

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

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.

![Fig. 2. Concerted borrowings from Homer in *Wyatt’s Conspiracy*, II. 232–37, 239–45 (George Etheridge, *Συνωμοσία Οὐέτου*, Windsor, Eton College Library, MS 148, fols 28v, 29r).](image)

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.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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’).\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{92}

\textsuperscript{89} On this paradox, see Burrow (as in n. 63), p. 7.


\textsuperscript{92} ‘Psalmos Davidicos in quoddam breve genus carminis Hebraici vertit’; John Pits, Relationum historicarum de rebus Anglica, Paris 1619, p. 785.

Wyatt’s Conspiracy
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). 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, ოμηροκέντρωνες*). 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

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93 Burrow (as in n. 63), p. 16.
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.\footnote{Preface to \textit{Nuptial Cento}, in Ausonius, \textit{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: accessita ne vim redarguant, densa ne supra modum protuberent, hiulca ne pateant’ (p. 374).}

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.\footnote{S. McGill, \textit{Virgil Recomposed: The Mythological and Secular Centos in Antiquity}, Oxford 2005, pp. 4–5, 8.} 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 predating Ausonius’s \textit{Nuptial Cento} by perhaps a decade, is Falconia Proba’s \textit{Cento Vergilianus}, retelling (\textit{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 \textit{Orationes}.\footnote{See G. H. Tucker, ‘From Rags to Riches: the Early Modern Cento Form’, \textit{Humanistica Lovaniensia: Journal of Neo-Latin Studies}, LXII, 2013, pp. 3–67 (p. 41).}

More closely contemporary with Etheridge’s poem, Lelio Capilupi’s \textit{Centones ex Virgilio} (1555–56) – a set of accomplished Latin centones collected by the literary historian and (from
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 Missae saltatone 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.


100 Valeria Falconia Proba, *Probae Falconiae, vatis clarissimae, à divo Hieronymo comprobatae, centones, de fidei nostræ mysteriis è Maronis carminibus excerptum opusculum*, Paris 1550.
(‘to sew centones’). 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. 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 understooode, or once dreamed of any such Christian significations’. 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”’. 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 centuriae fere totidem, Tübingen 1514, sig. 2a4v; see Adages IIi1 to IIvi100, trans. R. A. B. Mynors, CWE, XXXIII, Toronto 1991, pp. 221–22.


103 John Harvey, A Discoursive Probleme concerning Prophecies, London 1588, sig. N4v.

104 ‘quorum versuum membra hinc inde collecta quam assuantur, Rapsodie nomen representant. 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

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. 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. 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

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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 metrical proportions by appointed and harmonical measures and distaunces, he is like the Carpenter or Joyner, for borrowing their tymer 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


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: & *the 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 Juvenicus, who pioneered a kind of centonic Latin poetry. In four books of dactylic hexameter, Juvenicus paraphrased Christ’s life by recasting the Gospels in the style of Virgil. Of all the genres and forms available to

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.\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{r}–9\textsuperscript{r}; fols 9\textsuperscript{v}–11\textsuperscript{v} are blank; the Greek poem fills fols 12\textsuperscript{r}–38\textsuperscript{r}, within which the stub of a missing or removed leaf appears between fols 30\textsuperscript{v} and 31\textsuperscript{r}. The manuscript probably entered Eton College Library after 1697, since it does not appear in Bernard’s catalogue of that year.\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{116} See Kristeller (as in n. 27), p. 276b.

\textsuperscript{117} *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae in unum collecti*, ed. Edward Bernard, Oxford 1697.
Wyatt’s Conspiracy

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 κಠ (a contraction of καί) 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 ‘πουλίνειρων’ (l. 101), may represent licit inventions sanctioned by the flexibility of Homeric language and metre. Other apparent lapses offer valuable orthographic clues to pronunciation: *o* 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 ‘Σονομοσία’ for ‘Σονομοσία’, 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. η5v), whereas the first Greek Homer printed in England reads ‘σέβεσθε’ (as in n. 37, sig. E8’).

who advocated pronunciation reform. 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. 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. 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. 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

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121 Cheke, De pronuntiatione Graecæ potissimum linguæ disputationes cum Stephano Vuintoniensi Episcope, Basel 1555.
122 McDiarmid (as in n. 120), p. 343.
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.\textsuperscript{124}

Other apparent irregularities in \textit{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 \textit{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.\textsuperscript{125} At three points in \textit{Wyatt’s Conspiracy}, Etheridge shows debts to contested readings favoured by the Aldine editions of \textit{The Iliad}. In ll. 176 (\textit{φοβός}), 215 (\textit{ἀφέξων}), and 283 (\textit{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 \textit{Iliad}, \textit{Odyssey}, \textit{Batrachomyomachia}, \textit{Hymns}, and the \textit{Lives} attributed to Herodotus, Dione, and Plutarch).\textsuperscript{126} These readings are retained by other editions following in its wake, such as \textit{Ὅμηρον Ῥήμας} (Venice 1517); \textit{Ὅμηρον Τίλιας Βιβλίοι A. καὶ B.} (Leuven 1523); and \textit{Ὅμηρον Τίλιας} (Strasbourg 1534). Etheridge, then, like More’s Utopians, quite possibly encountered ‘Homer […] in Aldus small Prynte’.\textsuperscript{127}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item\textsuperscript{125} Dowling (as in n. 39), p. 32.
\item\textsuperscript{126} Homer, \textit{Ὅμηρον Τίλιας, Homer i Ilias}, Venice 1504.
\item\textsuperscript{127} Thomas More, \textit{A Frateful, 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'.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
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); κἠ 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.
Serenissimae & Potentissimae
Marie Angliæ, Hispaniarum
Franciæ, Uttriusque Siciliæ
Hierusalem & Hiberniæ
Reginæ et caeteræ Georgius
Ethrigius fælicitatem
perpetuam precatur.

Quandoquidem meærum 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. 1'] 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, meærum esse partium existimo, ut non [fol. 2'] solum veluti subditus
pro eo ac debo omnia meæ Celsitudini accepta referam, verumetiam ut quia plus quam
cæteri tot meritis obstrictus devinctusque sum, èò 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. 2'] homines, qui nihil ferè in vita nisi
eruditionem & literas consectari solemus alias opes nullas habemus quas reddamus præter
aliquem fortasse ingenii fætum & literarium munusculum, ecce tuæ Amplitudini offero
libellum parvum quidem illum, sed qui rem sanè magnam & æterna memoria dignam

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*Wyatt's Conspiracy* 53
contineat. Nam cum [fol. 3r] de prædant & 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 conscripterint, ego item aliqua excerperem è multis quæ meæ turbæ hominibus, hoc
est, Græcarum Literarum studiosam commendarem, ut res tantæ, tam illustres, tam splendidæ
& magnificæ non modo iam omnibus linguis decantetur, [fol. 4r] verumetiam legantur
fortasse: in posterum ab ipsis Græcæ 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. 5v]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. 5r] legentur, nec
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. 6r] enim à nobis, qui tua munificentia assiduè alimur, ullo modo committendum censemus, ut res tuae gestae tam amplæ et ad miraculum usque praecleræ 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 tuae exhibere iudicabit quispiam [fol. 6v] 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. 7r] memoriam refricarem iræ & vindictæ divinæ quæ in illum nepharium hominem iustè inflicta est, qui veluti Esaû 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. 7v] consolatur & animos mihi facit ut ausim hoc tam leve mæ erga tuam sublimitatem observantiae symbolum dare, quod ut Rex ipse serenissimus huiusmodi congratulationem nostram in publica omnium honorum lætitia cum in Angliam primum veniret, libello quodam illius nominis nuncupato, libertissimè accepit: ita te pro tuo eximio candore illius incredibi-[fol. 8r]lem & inauditam (ut in tanto Principe)
humanitatem sicutæ 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 protendebae-[fol. 8r]tur, ita nos etiam tuos subditos patiaris gratulationem
qualemcumque nostram adhuc in longius tempus prostrahere & 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. 9r] 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.

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fol. 8r protendebae-] catchword: tur
fol. 8r conservet] catchword: Sic
Οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μούσας τε καὶ ἄργυρότοξον Ἀπόλλω
Εὐχομήν ἐπικουρήσειν ἐμοί, ὃφρα τελέσω
’Ἡν νέον ἐν θυμῷ τε καὶ ἐν φρεσίν εἶχον ἀοίδήν,
Ἀλλὰ Θεὸν Χριστόν γ’ δ’ ὑπέρτατα δῶματα ναίει
’Ελθεῖν εἰς ἐμόν ἦτορ ἐπεύχομαι, δὴ ἐπέέσσι
5
’Ὑμνίζειν τούτοις καὶ ἐπαινέσσαι μάλα ἔγνων
Οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μούσας τε καὶ ἄργυρότοξον Ἀπόλλω
Ἐξερρύσειν τούτοις καὶ ἐπαινέσσαι μάλα ἔγνων.
Ωνεκα ἄρη παρ’ ὑμῖν θαύματα πολλὰ ἐποίει
Νῆσῳ ἐν ἀμφιρύτῳ, ἐριβώλακι Βρεττανιεί.
8
Τῇ βασιλίσσῃ τῇ Μαρίᾳ μέγα κῦδος ἀείρων.
Ὦ πάτερ ἡμέτερε, πάντων Θεὲ δῶτερ ἐάων,
Δὸς πυκινὰ φρονέειν νημερτέα τε λόγον εἰπεῖν.
Πῶς κεν τοῖς ἄγγλοισι χάριν καὶ κῦδος ἄροιο,
Καὶ πάμπρωτα κλέος ἐσθλὸν Μαρίᾳ βασιλίσσῃ,
9
Ἡδ’ ἄρα σοὶ περὶ κῆρι τιέσκεται ἠδὲ φιλεῖται,
Ὅττ’ αὐτῇ ἀρετὴ καὶ τὰ καλὰ πάντα μέμηλε.
10
Πολλάκι γοῦν αὐτὴν ἐσάωσας λοιγὸν ἀμύνας,
Πολλάκι γοῦν αὐτὴν ἐσάωσας λοιγὸν ἀμύνας,
Ὣς ὅτ' ἀπὸ χροὸς ἡ μήτηρ τὴν μυῖαν ἐέργηε
Παιδός, ἀπὸ κραδίας φιλέουσα τε κηδομένη τε.
Καὶ παρεὼ μὲν πολλά γ’ ἔχον ἐνταῦθα ἐειπεῖν,
Ἅν δὲ μόνον λέξω Θεὸς ὁ πρώην μὲν ἐποίει,
Τὴν τιμὴν τε φέρων βασιλίσση καὶ κλέος ἐσθλόν,
"Οφρ’ οὗτῳ ἐς ἀεὶ πάντες μνησώμεθα δόξης.
"Εστι πόλις, Λονδίνον μὲν καλέουσιν ἅπαντες
Οἱ βροτοὶ εἰς ἐπιχθόνιοι, ὄλλων περὶ πασῶν
Γνωρίμη, εὐναιομένη, πολὺ τ’ οὔσα μεγίστη.
Αἱρεσις ἐνθα κακῶν λέρνην (φασὶν) αὔξεται αἰεί
Πόρνους, καὶ μοίχους, καὶ κερδαλεόφρονας ἄνδρας.
Οὗτοι γοῦν ἀρετῇ μὲν βασκῄναντες ἀνάσσης
Τῆς Μαρίᾶς (ἡ πρώτη τούτο ἔχουσα Εὔμορε τῆς τιμῆς, καὶ σκῆπτρου Βρεττανίης)
Τὸν δόλον, ἠδὲ κακὴν ἔριδα καὶ φύλοπιν αἰνήν
Εὗρον, ὡς οὕτω κακά παλίνορσα λάθοιντο Δόγματα, τοὺς τε τρόπους φαύλους εἰς δῆμον ἄγοντες.
Ταῦτα γὰρ ἐκβάλλειν διὰ σπουδῆς εἶχε μάλιστα. Πόρρω τῆς ἀρχῆς ἢ παρθένος οὐδὰ γ’ ἀνάσση.

Κῦδος αἰώρουσα Χριστῷ ὅς ὑπέρτατα ναίει

Καὶ τιμώσα καλούς, καὶ μηδὲ φέρουσα πονηρούς:

Τῆς τ’ ἀρετῆς τιθεῖσα καλῆς τὰ σπέρματα λαμπρά. 40

Κάντιος ἦν ἀνὴρ ἐν τούτοις, Οὔετον αὐτὸν

Ἐξονομάζουσι, θρασὺς μὲν, καὶ Ἀρέος ὀξός·

Ὡς ὤφελεν ἐνὶ καρτίστῳ σώματ’ ἐνεῖναι

Κοσμηθεῖσα ψυχὴ ἀρετῆς, βλαστῆμα λαμπρῶς.

Ἀλλ’ ὅγε δὴ προδότης ὀλοαῖς φρεσὶν ᾗσι κάκιστος 45

Λυγρὸν τὸν πόλεμον βουλεύσατο σύν γ’ ἑτάροισι,

Ἡρῶες τινὲς. Ἑνρῖκος Σουφολχικὸς ἀρχός

Καὶ Καρῶε δύω φαυλοῦ ἡγήτορε λαοῦ,

Τοὺς δ’ ἄλλους παρεῶ ἐξειπεῖν ἐκ τ’ ἄνομαζειν.

36 διὰ] διὰ (MS)
37 οὐδὰ] οὐδα (MS); ἀνάσση] ἀνάσση (MS)
39 καλοὺς] καλούς (MS); μηδὲ πονηροῖς] μηδὲ πονηροὺς (MS)
40 λαμπρὰ] λαμπρᾶ (MS)
41 αὐτὸν] αὐτόν (MS)
42 Ἐξονομάζουσιν] Ἐξονομάζουσι (MS); μὲν] μὲν (MS); δὲς] δόξος (MS)
44 ἀρετῆς, βλαστῆμασι λαμπρῶς.] ἀρετῆς βλαστῆμασι λαμπρῶς (MS)
45 ὀλοαῖς φρεσίν ἥσι] ὀλοαῖς φρεσίν ἥσι (MS)
46 σὺν] σὺν (MS); ἐτάρσοις] ἐτάρσοι (MS)
48 Προκρίνουσι] Προκρίνουσι (MS); θυμῷ] θυμῷ (MS)
49 πιστοῖς ἐχθροῖς] πιστοῖς ἐχθροῖ (MS)
50 δὲ] δὲ (MS); ἄγανοι] ἄγανοι (MS)
51 ἀρχὸς] ἀρχὸς (MS)
53 ἐκ τ’] ἐκτ’ (MS)
Ὅνπερ ἐμηχανᾶτ
Καὶ Βοϊκέλος ἦν ἀλκὴν νέος ὤν,
Νέστορ' ἀτάλαντος φρένα, καὶ κρατερῷ Ἀχιλῆι
Ἠς ἰέναι Λόνδινον, καὶ τῆς Ἀὐτὰρ συγκαλέσας τῶν αἰχμητῶν στίχας ἀνδρῶν
Εὖ φρονέουσα δαμὴν, καὶ μὴν πρῶτον ἑλοῦσα τινὰς ἡγήτορας ἄνδρων
Ὦκα γὰρ οὐλομένων βουλῶν βασίλισσα
Χριστὸς τῶν προδοτῶν δηλώσας ἐφθάνει βουλάς.

[fol. 16']

"Εστι γέρων ἦρως, μάλα ἡλικίαν προβεβηκός,
'Ον καλέουσι πανδημεὶς Νορφόλχικον ἄρχον,
'Ος περὶ μὲν βουλὴ πάντων περὶ δ' ἐστὶ μάχεσθαι,
Νέστορ' ἀτάλαντος φρένα, καὶ κρατερῷ Ἀχιλῆι
"Ικελος ἦν ἄλκην νέος ὦν, ἂ Ἐκτορι δίῳ·
Βούλεται οὖν οὐτὸς προδοτῶν στρατῶν ἀντιφέρεσθαι,
Καὶ ρ' ἐλαθὲν μικρὸ δεῖν εἰσπίπτων λόχων αὐτός,
"Ονπερ ἐμηχανάτο γ' ὦ Οὐδετος ἄγκυλομῆτις. 

[fol. 17']

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55  βουλάς,  βουλάς (MS)
56  βασιλίσσα, βασιλίσσα (MS), second i partially erased
57  ἀνδράς,  ἀνδράς (MS)
58  διμά δε, διμάγγε (MS)
59  ἀσπερχεῖς μεναινεί, ἀσπερχεῖς μεναινεί (MS)
60  ἀνδρῶν, ἀνδρῶν (MS)
61  ἀσπιστάων, ἀσπιστάων (MS)
62  ἡς [Esti (MS); ἡλικίαν προβεβηκός, ἡλικίαν προβεβηκός (MS)]
63  ὁν καλέουσι, ὁν καλέουσι (MS); ἄρχον (MS)
64  ὦς [ός (MS); περὶ δ' ἐστὶ μάχεσθαι, περὶ δ' ἐστὶ μάχεσθαι (MS)]
65  ἂ [ἡ (MS); διῳ-] διῳ (MS)
66  Βούλεται οὖν, Βούλεται ψοῦν (MS); οὗτος (MS); ἀντιφέρεσθαι, ἀντιφέρεσθαι (MS)
67  Καὶ ρ' [Καὶ ρ' (MS); εἰσπίπτων (MS); αὐτός (MS)] αὐτός (MS)
68  ἐμηχανάτο, ἐμηχανάτο (MS); ὦ (ο) (MS)
Ὅς προμάχους τινάς ἀσπιστάς λάθρα προέπεμψε
 Ἁρπερον ἄρχηγόν τινά ἑωρηχήθην’ ἀμα τούτος
Εἰς τε λόχον ἴναι σὺν ἀριστήεσσι κελεύει.

Ὅς ρα προϊσχόμενος φεύγειν, ἐλίσσετο γούνων
 Ηρόδος μεγαθύμοι, καὶ πρὸς μῆθον ἐμπευν·
“Ζώγρει ὁ πανάριστε, σὺ δ’ ἄξια δέξαι ἄποινα
Τὸν ἐχθρόν· γὰρ ἐγὼ λέξω νημερτέα βουλήν.
Δεύρο μαχησόμενο δ’ ἕνεκα σοῦ ἤλυθον αὐτός.
Ὡς 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.
Οἱ δ’ ὅτε δὴ σχεδὸν ἦσαν ἐπ’ ἀλλήλοισιν ἵοντες
ᾚσθετ’ ἐπεῖτα πολύπλοκον ἀρτίφρων δόλον ἥρως·
Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ φεύγειν ἔγνω τοὺς συστρατιώτας
Οὕς ἐκ Λονδίνου πόλεος ἐξήγαγεν ἄρτι,
Οὐτιδανοὺς ἄνδρας, κακ’ ἐλέγχεα, πιστὰ ταμόντας,
Οὐδ’ ὅταν τινὰς τινας λάθρα προέπεμψε.
[fol. 17']

72 Ὄς ζήσει (MS); τινάς (MS); λάθρα προέπεμψε] λάθρα προέπεμψε (MS)
73 ἄρχηγόν] ἄρχηγόν (MS)
74 Εἰς τε] Εἰς τε (MS); ἀριστήεσσι κελεύει,] ἀριστήεσσι κελεύει (MS)
75 Ὄς ζήσει (MS)
76 ἐμπευν] ἐμπευν (MS)
78 ἐξθρόν] ἐξθρόν (MS); βουλήν,] βουλήν (MS)
79 αὐτὸς.] αὐτός (MS)
80 Ὅς φάτο] Ως φάτο (MS)
81 Μίσγεται] Μίσγεται (MS); τοῦ γε γέροντος,] τοῦ γε γέροντος (MS)
83 καλόν] καλόν (MS); ἀγανόν] ἀγανόν (MS)
84 Πλησίον] Πλησίον (MS); ἐξθρόν] ἐξθρόν (MS)
85 Οἴ] Οἴ (MS); ἀλλήλοισιν] ἀλλήλοισιν (MS)
86 Ἡθεῖ] Ἡθεῖ (MS); ἡρώος] ἡρώος (MS)
87 συστρατιώταις,] συστρατιώταις (MS)
88 ἄρτη,] ἄρτη (MS)
89 ταμόντας,] ταμόντας (MS)

Wyatt’s Conspiracy 61
Προφρονέως ἀνεχώρησεν παλίνορσος ἀποστάς· 90
Εἰ δὲ μάχης αὐτὸν γ’ οὐκ ἂν ρ’ ἐξήγαγεν ἵππος,
Οὐδὲ τὸς ἂν μὲν κεῖνος ὑπέκρυψε κῆρα μέλαιναν. [fol. 18v]
Ὡς δ’ ἀπὸ σπινθῆρος κάλαμον τὰ πρῶτα λαβόντος,
Καὶ ὑλῆς ξηρᾶς πῦρ αὔξησιν περιεῖλε 95
Καὶ φλόγι δὴ πολλῇ ἐπιμίσγεται, οὐδ’ ἐτι παύει
Αἰθών τὰ τ’ ἐγγύς, καὶ τὰ ποῤῥωθεν ἐόντα·
Ὡς δ’ ἀπὸ σπινθῆρος κάλαμον τὰ πρῶτα λαβόντος,
Καὶ φλόγι δὴ πολλῇ ἐπιμίσγεται, οὐδ’ ἐτι παύει
Αἰθών τὰ τ’ ἐγγύς, καὶ τὰ ποῤῥωθεν ἐόντα·
Ὡς δ’ ἀπὸ σπινθῆρος κάλαμον τὰ πρῶτα λαβόντος,
Καὶ φλόγι δὴ πολλῇ ἐπιμίσγεται, οὐδ’ ἐτι παύει
Αἰθών τὰ τ’ ἐγγύς, καὶ τὰ ποῤῥωθεν ἐόντα·
Ὡς δ’ ἀπὸ σπινθῆρος κάλαμον τὰ πρῶτα λαβόντος,
Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πτολιέθρῳ πλησίον ἦσαν ἅπαντες
Τὰς κλισίας παρὰ Τομίσσεος τὰ ρεῖθρα τέθεντο·
"Ενθα δυοὶν παρέμειναν ἤδη μόνον ἡμετα κεῖνου,
Τῷ τρίτῳ δὲ ἄμα πάντες πρὸς πόλιν ἐστιχώντο. 110

Αλλ' ἐπεὶ οὖν διαπορθμεύειν στρατὸν ἀδύνατον ἦν:
Οὐετὸς (ὡς λόγος ἐστὶν) δύω λάθρᾳ μὲν ἑταίρῳ
Νυκτὶ κολυμβῶν τε σκαφῶν τὰ σπάρτα κελεύει

Ὡκα λύειν, ἀπάγειν τε, καὶ ἄλλοις ὧδε βοηθεῖν,
Οἳ δ' ἐπεὶ εἰς ἕτερον ρεῖθρου μέρος ἦλθον, ἄγοντες
Χαλκοβαρεῖς ἄνδρας, βροτολοιγοὺς, τειχεσιπλῆτας,
Καὶ τότε δὴ ἡξ' ἐς χῶρον ἕνα ἕσχατον ἱκνον,
Καὶ μὲν ἐπασσύτεραι προδοτῶν φάλαγγες
Νωλεμέως πόλεμον δέ μάχεσθαι δὲ μεμαῶτε 
Πόῤῥω, πάντες ἔβαν προπετῶς ἐγχέσπαλοι ἄνδρες.
Οὐετὸς ἐν προμάχοισιν ἐην,
Ἀλλ' ἑτέρωθεν ἐπὶ βασιλίσσης ὁ στρατὸς εὐρύς
Ἑστηκεν μεῖνας, ὡς ἄρξειεν πολέμοιο.

107  πτολιέθρῳ πλησίον] πτολιεθρῳ πλησιον (MS)
108  κλισίας] κλισιας (MS); τέθεντο ] τεθεντο (MS)
109  ἡματα κεινοι] ἡματα κεινοι (MS)
110  στρατον] στράτων (MS)
112  ἐστι] ἐστι (MS); λάθρα] λάθρα (MS)
113  Νυκτὶ] Νυκτὶ (MS)
114  ὄδε] ὀδος (MS)
115  Οἱ] Οἱ (MS); ρεῖθρου] ρειθρου (MS); ἠθλον] ἠθλον (MS)
116  βροτολοιγοὺς, τειχεσιπλῆτας] βροτολοιγος, τειχεσιπλητας (MS)
117  ἰδ] ἦ (MS); ἐνα ἕξυινιτες ἰκοντο] ἐνα ἕξυινιτες ἰκοντο (MS)
119  δὲ] δὲ (MS)
120  πεδίον] πεδιον (MS)
122  ἐθν.] ἐθν (MS); ἄλκι πεποιθός] ἄλκι πεποιθος (MS)
123  εὐρύς] ευρος (MS)
124  Ἑστηκεν μεῖνας] Ἑστηκεν μεινας (MS); πολέμου.] πολεμου (MS)
Τριπλῇ δὲ στιβαροὶ αἰχμηταὶ ῥ’ ἐστιχῶντο. 125
Δεξίτερον μέρος εἶχον ἑρ’ ἵπποις οἱ πολεμοῦντες
Χαλκεοθωρῆκες, δολιχόσκιτ’ ἐγχε’ ἔχοντες, [fol. 21’]
Ἤλλ’ ἐτέρωθεν ἐτι μέντοι ἄλλοι τε παρῆσαν
 Ἱππόται οἱ κρατεροί, τὰ τεῦχα λεία φέροντες,
'Ἐν μέσῳ πέξῃ δ’ ἔσαν ἀσπιστῶν στίχες ἀνδρῶν. 130
Ἐνθ’ οὐκ ἂν βρίζοντα ἴδοις, οὔδ’ οὐκ ἐθέλοντα μάχεσθαι
Οὔετον, οὔδ’ ἀμελῶς ἐξοτρύνοντα ἕκαστον,
Ἀλλὰ σπεύδοντα μάχην εἰς κυδιάνειραν.
Ὡς δ’ ὅτε τὸν Χριστὸν προδότης προέδωκεν Ἰοῦδας, [fol. 21’]
Οὐκ ὄκνηρος ἐήν, οὐδ’ αὐτὸν γ’ ὑπνός ἵκανε, 135
Οὐδὲ καταπτώσσων τὰ πράγματα φαῦλος ἐποίει,
Οὕτω πῶς σπουδῇ ρα μετεχειρίζετο χάρμης
Οὔετος ὁ προδότης, πολλοῖς τ’ ἐπέεσσιν ἑταίρους
Θαρσύνεσκε παριστάμενος· καὶ ταῦτα προσηύδα·
"Ὡ φίλοι ἄνδρες, ἐπεὶ νῦν τὸ πλεῖστον πολέμοι
Ὑμετέραι χεῖρες διέπουσιν, τὸ πτολίθρον
Λόνδινον μισθὸν δώσει, ὅτε δασμὸς ἵκηται.

125 ἀἰχμηταὶ [αἰχμηταὶ (MS); ἐστιχῶντο, ἐστιχῶντο (MS)]
127 ἁλκεοθωρῆκες [χαλκεοθωρῆκες (MS); ἐγχε’ ἔχοντες, ἐγχε’ ἔχοντες (MS)]
128 ἐτι [ἐτι (MS); ἄλλοι (MS)]
129 οἱ κρατεροί [οἱ κρατεροὶ (MS); κρατεροὶ (MS); φέροντες, φέροντες (MS)]
130 στίχες ἀνδρῶν. [στιχες ἀνδρων (MS)]
131 Ἐνθ’ [Ἐνθ’ (MS); ἄν (MS); μάχεσθαι μάχεσθε (MS)]
132 ἐκαστον [ἐκαστον (MS)]
133 κυδιάνειραν [κυδιάνειραν (MS)]
134 Ἰοῦδας [Ἰοῦδας (MS)]
135 ἑρ’ [ἑρ’ (MS); αὐτὸν γ’ αὐτὸν γ’ (MS); ἰκανε’ ἰκανε (MS)]
138 ἐπέεσσιν [ἐπέεσσιν (MS)]
139 παριστάμενος [παριστάμενος (MS); προσηύδα προσηύδα (MS)]
141 διέπουσιν [διέπουσιν (MS); πτολίθρον πτολίθρον (MS)]
142 μισθον [μισθὸν (MS); ἱκητα’ ἱκητα (MS)]
Ῥᾴστα γὰρ οὗ τινὸς ἕν’ ἀνθιστάντος κεν ἐλωμεν.

Τούτους δ’ οὖδε φοβεῖσθαι χρὴ κἂν ὅπλα φέροντας,

Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄν τλαϊν ποτε ἦμῖν ἀντιμάχεσθαι,

Σύμμαχοι οἱ πλείστοι μὲν ἔσονται πλὴν ὄλιγον γε

Ὑπάνων τούτων, οἱ τηλόθεν εξ ἄπιης γῆς

Ὃλθον. νῦν δὲ μάχης αὐτοὺς ἑ’ ἀριστέρ’ ὀράτε,

Ἡμέτεροι δὲ φίλοι ἐν δεξιτέρᾳ γε παρέντες

ῚΣτανται, κ’ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν δὴ αὐτομολοῦντες,

Ἐνθάδ’ ἐλεύσονται ὡς ἀρήξωσιν ἑκόντες,

Ἡμέτεροι δὲ φίλοι ἐν δεξιτέρᾳ γε παρέντες

Ἁγιστείᾳ κατόπιν ὦκα προϊόντος ἕπονται,

Σπεύδοντάς τε τρέχειν ἐκέλευσεν συστρατιώτας

Αὐτὸς ὅταν πρόφρων σημαίνῃ,

Ὡς ἐκ τῶν βελέων οὕτω σῶοι μαχέοιντο,
Οὔετος οὖν ἄλλων ἦρχε πρῶτος πολέμοιο,

Ως δὲ λιμώττων ἐν ὀρείσι τεσσεράκοντα ἐπιζητεῖ

'Ἡ συώς ἐξ ἀγρίου, τὸν μάρως ἐξεναρίζει.

Οἱ δ’ ἄρα πάντες ἐποντο πολὺς δ’ ὀρισμαγώς ὀρώρει.

Ἀλλὰ μὲν οὐκ ἔτι δὴ στρατὸς ἀμφότερος συνέβαλλε

Τρὶς ἑκατὸν θρασεῖς μὲν ἑταίρους εἶχε μετ’ αὐτοῦ

Οἱ πεζῇ καλὰ τεύχεα εἰμένοι ἐστιχόωντο.

Τοὺς γὰρ ἐὰν ἔδικτο γ’ ἔκων παρελεύθερον φαινόμεν ήρως.

Ἡγεμόνοις ὁ Πεμβρόχικός, ὁ Πεμβρόχικός γε δυναστῆς

Καὶ τὸ στράτευμα κατέτμηξεν προδοτῶν περὶ μέσσαν.

Πάνω μισγομένων γένεται ἰαχάθει φόβος τε.

Ἐνθα δ’ ἅμ’ οἰμωγή τε, καὶ εὐχωλὴ πέλεν ἀνδρῶν

'Ολλόντων τε καὶ ὀλλυμένων, ῥεῖ δ’ αἴματι γαῖαν...
Σκῆπτρον δ’ ἐν πολέμῳ ἀντώνιος εἶχετο Βροῦνος,

Βροῦνος Ἀντώνιος ἰκελός, οὐδὲ χερείων

Αὐτὸῦ οὐδὲ ψυχὴν οὐδ’ ἄρ’ δέμας, οὐδὲ τί ἐργα.

Οὖτος πρὸς πόλεμον ἐξότρυν’ ἀνδρὰ ἐκαστὸν.

Καὶ πάσι γ’ ἐνι στήθεσιν μένος άτρομον ἦκε.

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ συνεβάλλοντ’ ἀρχομένου πολέμου,

Εὐκλίνοντες ἀπέτραπον αἱ προδοτῶν τε φάλαγγες.

Οὐδὲ τις ἐκ πάντων ἀν υπέκφυγεν αἰτὸν ὀλθρον,

Εἰ μὴ ἔνθα φόβος δειλῶν μὲν ἄν ἔλλαβε γυῖα.

Κάψπεσε γὰρ θυμός πλείστοις ἐλέ ὑπὸ τρόμος αὐτοῦς.

Κάββαλον εἶτα τὰ ἔγχεα καὶ δολιχόσκια δοῦρα

Καὶ γουνῶν μὲν ἐλίσσοντο προμαχῶν ἐνὶ στέθοις τε τρόμος αὐτοῦς·

Αὐτὰρ συνεβάλλοντ’ ἀρχομένου πολέμοι,

Εὐκλίνοντες ἀπέτραπον αἱ προδοτῶν τε φάλαγγες.

Οὐδὲ τις ἐκ πάντων ἀν υπέκφυγεν αἰτὸν ὀλθρον,

Εἰ μὴ ἔνθα φόβος δειλῶν μὲν ἄν ἔλλαβε γυῖα.

Κάψπεσε γὰρ θυμός πλείστοις ἐλέ ὑπὸ τρόμος αὐτοῦς.

Κάββαλον εἶτα τὰ ἔγχεα καὶ δολιχόσκια δοῦρα

Καὶ γουνῶν μὲν ἐλίσσοντο προμαχῶν ἐνὶ στέθοις τε τρόμος αὐτοῦς·

Τῇ δ’ ἁρα κάκεις πρὸς γ’ ἐχθροὺς ἐκφυγον ἤδη,

Οὐδὲ μὲν ἐν δένδροισι κεκρυμμένοι ἐξελάθοντο.

Πολλοὶ γοῦν ἐν τῇ γεμάχῃ ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὄλεσσαν

Πολλοὶ δ’ ἐξέφυγον θάνατον,

Πᾶς ὅτι δυστυχέας στρατὸς ἀνθρώπους ἐλέησεν,

Οὐ γὰρ πλείους ἢ ἕκατον κατὰ φύλοπιν αἰνήσεν.
Ἔλλαβε πορφύρεος θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραται, [fol. 26']
Παμπόλλους δὲ ἐξόγγρεον, οὔτιδανούς μάλα ἀνδρας,
Ἄδυνατὸν γὰρ έην φεύγειν, ὦτι τὸν στρατὸν εὐρύν
Τῇ δὲ ἁγῶν ἐγγύς σχισμητὸν χαλκοχιτώνων 200
Οὐλίαμος μεγάθυμος, ὁ ἡρώων ὅχʾ ἀριστας,
Πλούσιος ἦδε πολυκτήμων, ἀταρ εὐφρονέων,
Χρήσαν εὖ χρήσαι πλείστων εἰδὼν περὶ ἄλλων, 205
Εἰωθὼς τε φέρειν αἰεὶ τιμὴν βασιλίσση [fol. 26v]
Κινδύνοις ἐν πᾶσι μετὰ πλούτου τε καὶ ὅπλων.
Οὖν δὲ ἀρά τοὺς προδότας φεύγων τὰς ὅμιλον ἀνδρῶν,
Βουλόμενος γε στρατῷ βασιλίσσης κῦδος ὀρέξαι·
Εἰς δ' ἄρα τοὺς προδότας φεύγοντας ἱεμένους περ.
Οἱ δ' ἄρα ὡς κατὰ τήν γε μάχην πάντες πονέοντο, 210
Ἀλλ' ἑτέρωθεν ήν ἐν μέσσον, ὅθι κλονέοντο [fol. 27']
Οἱ πλείστοι, στρατὸν ἠην ὁ ἐκφρων Οὔετος ἄλλον
Βῆ δ' ἴμεν ἐς γε πόλιν, στίχες ἀσπιστῶν μὲν ἑταίρων

197 κραταιή] κραταιή (MS)
198 ἐξόγγρεον,] ἐξόγγρεον (MS); ἀνδρας,] ἀνδρας (MS)
199 ἐην] ἐην (MS); εὐρύν] εὐρύν (MS)
200 ἐγγύς] ἐγγος (MS)
201 Οὐλίαμος] Οὐλίαμος (MS); ὅχʾ ἀριστος,] ὅχʾ ἀριστος (MS)
202 Πλούσιος] Πλούσιος (MS); εὐφρονέων,] εὐφρονέων (MS)
203 ἄλλων,] ἄλλων (MS)
204 Εἰωθὸς] Εἰωθᾶς (MS)
205 Κινδύνοις] Κακινδύνοις (MS); πᾶσι] πᾶσι (MS); ὅπλων,] ὅπλων (MS)
206 σπέσιας] σπέσιας (MS); ὅμιλον ἀνδρῶν,] ὅμιλον ἀνδρῶν (MS)
207 Βουλόμενος] Βουλόμενος (MS); ὀρέξαι,] ὀρέξαι, (MS)
208 φεύγωντας] φεύγωντας (MS)
209 περ.,] περ (MS)
210 Ὁ[ Ὁ (MS); τῇ γε] τῇ γε (MS); πονέοντο,] πονέοντο (MS)
212 Ὁ[ Ὁ (MS)
213 ἐς] ἐς (MS)
"Εσποντ' ἀντιπάλοις μὲν ὑπέρβιον ὑβριν ἄγουσαι,
Οὐδεὶς ἀντίος ἠλθε, βαρείας χεῖρας ἀφέξων. 215
Οὐδὲ τις ἐκ τόσσων κατερύκειν ἠθελεν αὐτὸν,
Πρὶν ὡς πύλαις λαμπροῦ ἐγγύζειν τοῦ βασιλείου.

"Ἡ ὁτι μὴ βούλοντο μάχεσθαι ἀνάλκιδες ὁντες,
Οὐδὲ ἂν ἐκ τόσσων κατερύκειν αὐτὸν,
Μοῖρα κραταιή, ὦτι ἄλλος τις δόλος εἴη. 220
Εὖθ' ἐστηκε πρὸ πολλών ἑρωών μετὰ πολλῶν
Γάγιος ὁ πρέσβυς, παρόμοιος Νέστορι δίῳ:
"Ον περὶ μὲν πάντων βασιλίσση εὐφρονέουσα
Ἡμὲν ἐνι πτολέμῳ, ἦλθε δ' οὕτως ἐκ τόσσων κατερύκειν αὐτὸν,
Μετα πολεμίζων εὑφρονέουσα
'Tιμᾶ: τούνεκα γοῦν αὐτῷ μέγα κύδος ἀείρει. 225 [folio 28']
Οὔτς τὸδε στρατῷ ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν.
"Ὡ πόποι, ἤ πάντας ἡμᾶς μέγα πένθος ἱκάνει·
Ἤκεν γηθήσαι προδότης ὁ μὲν Οὔετος οὗτος,
Ἄλλοι τ' οἱ συνομώσαντες κεχαροίατο θυμῷ
Εἰ μηδὲν ὁμόσε προμάχων μηδὲ ἀναστήσει πολεμίζων. 230
Αὐτοῖς, μηδὲ ἀναστήσειν ἔτη πολεμίζων.

214 Ὁ ἕσποντ' Ὁ ἕσποντ' (MS); ὁπέρβιον (MS)
215 ἀντίος] ἀντίος (MS); ἠλθε, βαρείας] ἠλθε βαρείας (MS); ἀφέξων,] ἀφέξων (MS)
216 Οὐδὲ τις] Οὐδὲ τις (MS); αὐτῶν,] αὐτῶν (MS)
217 Πρὶν ὡς] Πρὶν ὡς (MS); τοῦ βασιλείου,] τοῦ βασιλείου (MS)
218 Ἡ Ἡ (MS); ὅντες,] ὅντες (MS)
219 Ἡ Ἡ (MS); ἔσω] ἔσω (MS); ἐσαυ] ἐσαυ (MS)
220 κραταιή, ὦτι] κραταιή, ὦτι (MS)
222 πράσβυς,] πράσβυς (MS); διώ] διώ (MS)
223 Ὁ ν] Ὁ ν (MS)
224 Ἡμὲν] Ἡ μὲν (MS); ἥ] ἥ (MS)
226 τὸδε] τὸ δὲ (MS)
227 πόποι,] πόποι ἤ (MS); ἱκάνει,] ἱκάνει, (MS)
228 κεῖν] κεῖν (MS); οὔτως] οὔτως (MS)
229 ἡμῆ] ἡμῆ (MS)
230 προμάχων] προμάχων (MS); μηδὲ] μηδὲ (MS)
231 Αὐτοῖς] Αὐτοῖς (MS); μηδὲ] μηδὲ (MS); πολεμίζων] πολεμίζων (MS)
Ἀνέρες ὦ ἰόμωροι, ἐλεγχέες, οὗ νυ σέβεσθε;

Τὶφθ’ οὕτω ἐστὶτε τεθηπότες, ἢπε τεθηπότες

Ἀὶ γ’ ἐστάσαι, καὶ οὗ σφι μετά φρεσὶ γίγνεται ἁλκή:

"Ἡ μένετε προδότοις σχεδὸν ἐλθέμεν, οὐδὲ μάχεσθε, Ἡδε γυνή, δειλοῖς ὑμῖν νῦν χεῖρας ὑπέςχει;"

Ως φάτο, καὶ μέσσον ρ’ εἰς ἐμπαςεν ὀὐλαμόν ἐχθρόν,

Τὸν δ’ ἐβαλε στῆθος προδοτῶν τις, κόσσεν ἀρ’ ἐπισ.”

Αὐτὰρ ὁ δ’ ἐν κονίῃσι χαμὶ πέσε φαίδιμος ἥρως,

Καὶ νῦ κεν ἐνθ’ ἀπόλοιτο γέρων ἰφθιμος ἀγανός

Εἰ μὴ ἀρ’ θεράποντες ἐνθ’ ἐπάμυνον Πρόσθε δέ οἱ σάκεα καὶ τ’ ἐγήχεα μακρά τοίνυν θεράποντες

Ἡν δ’ ἄλιον μὲν, ἑπει καὶ διπλὸς ἤντετο θῷρης.

Αὐτὰρ ἑπεὶ πολέμου μὲν ὑπεξέφερον θεράποντες

Πρεσβύτην, κλείοντο πύλαι αὐλῆς βασιλείου-

Ἐνθ’ ἔσηλθον οὐδ’ ἦν ἀρ’ ἐπισ.”

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232 ἐλεγχέες, οὗ νυ σέβεσθε] ἐλέγχες, οὗ νυ σέβεσθε (MS); fol. 28r] Running title: Συνομωσία (MS)
233 Τὶφθ’] Τίφθ’ (MS); τεθηπότες] τεθηπότες (MS); νεβροὶ] νεβροὶ (MS)
234 ἐστάσει] ἐστάσει (MS); οὐ] οὐ (MS); φρεσὶ] φρεσὶ (MS); ἁλκή] ἁλκή (MS)
235 Ἡ] Ἡ (MS); οὐδὲ] οὐδὲ (MS)
236 παρθένος, οὔσα] παρθένος οὔσα (MS)
237 Ἡν γυνῆ, Ἡ] Ἡ (MS); ὑπέρσφη] ὑπέςχει (MS)
238 Ἡς] Ἡ (MS); έχθρον] ἐχθρόν (MS)
239 ἐπισ.] ἐπισοῦ (MS); fol. 29r] Running title: Συνομωσία (MS)
240 ὃ δ’ ἐν κονίῃσι] ὃ’ ἐν κονίῃσι (MS)
241 Καὶ νῦ κεν ἐνθ’] Καὶ νῦ κεν ἐνθ’ (MS); ἰφθιμος ἀγανός] ἰφθιμος ἀγανός (MS)
242 ἐνθ’] ἐνθ’ (MS)
243 дέ] δέ (MS); καὶ] καὶ (MS); τοίνυν το] τοίνυντο (MS)
244 οὐδὲ] οὐδὲ (MS); διελήλατο] διεληλατό (MS)
245 ἄλιον] ἄλιον (MS); διπλῶς] διπλῶς (MS)
247 βασιλείου] βασιλείου (MS)
248 ἐσήλθον] ἐσήλθον, (MS)
Γάγιος ἰφθιμός τε γέρων καὶ τίμιος ἀνήρ,
Πότμον ἐπεί ὑπέφευγε κακόν, καὶ κήρα μέλαιαν,
Εἰς δόμον ἤλθε θοὸς περικαλλέα τῆς βασιλέως
Τὴν δ' εὗρε Χριστῷ ἐπὶ γούνασιν εὐχομένην γε,
Τούς προδότας μὲν καὶ πάντα στρατὸν ὡς ἐλεήσῃ.

'Ηδ' ἄρα μὲν πρῶτον προσεφώνεεν ἐκ τ' ὀνόματι.

"Γάγιε· τίπτε λιπὼν πόλεμον θρασὺν εἰλήλουθα;
"Ἡ μάλα δὴ τείρουσι δυσώνυμοι οἱ προδότα.

"Ἔστι σαφῆς πολλῶν μὲν ἀπόστασις, ὦ βασιλέως,
Οἰς ἄρα τοῦ πολέμου τὸ πλεῖστον ἐπέτρεπες ἡδό.

Σὺγ' οὖν εὐφρονέουσα ὡς ἐλεήσῃ.

"Ως φάτο. ἢ δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πεπνυμένος ἠρως.

"Ὡς φάτο. ἢ δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πεπνυμένος ἠρως.

"Ὡς φάτο. ἢ δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πεπνυμένος ἠρως.

"Ὡς φάτο. ἢ δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πεπνυμένος ἠρως.

"Ὡς φάτο. ἢ δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πεπνυμένος ἠρως.
Ἐλπίδος οὗτος ἐμοὶ μὲν πάσης ἄγκυρα ἐστίν,

Ὡς πάρος ἐκ πολλῶν ἐμὲ κινδύνων ἐσάωσε, [fol. 31']

Καὶ νῦν (οἴδα) βοηθήσον μοι χείρα ὀρέξει.

Οὐδ’ ὥθομαι προδοτῶν πάντων, κἂν πλείονες ὤσι 270

Τριπλῇ τετραπλῇ τε, μόνη ἐγὼ οὐκ ἄλεγίζω.

ἲ ἐσάωσε,

Ὡς εἰποῦσα παρόντας λίπεν βῆ δὲ βάτες, Θεῷ ἥνδαν ἐκ" 275 [fol. 31']

Ἀλλ’ ὥσι εἰρέν γε, προσεύχησθαι Χριστῷ μεμαυία·

Αὐτῇ τ’ ἐς θάλαμον περικαλλέα εὐθὺς ἔβαινε. 280

Εὗρεν ἐκεῖ δὴ ἀμφιπόλου κατὰ δάκρυ χέουσας,

Ἄλλα μόνην φαίη τίς κεν φρένα τὴν βασίλισαν

"Ἡ δὲ παντὸς ἄπειρος διόυς ἐκκλεαλαθέσθαι.
"Ἡ γ’ αὕτας νείκεσκε χολωτοίσιν ἐπέέσσα.

"Τίπτ’ ὦ γυναῖκες, κραδίην ἐλάφους γ’ ἔχουσαι, ἐπέτρεπον, οὐδ’ ἄρ’ ἐάσει [fol. 32’]

Κλαίετε ἄζηχες: τι νῦν φρένας ἱκετο πένθος;

Παίετε νῦν γε βαρὺ στενάχουσαι, μή δὲ φοβεῖσθε:

Πάντα Θεῷ γὰρ ἐγὼ μὲν ἐπέτρεπον, οὐδ’ ἄρ’ ἐάσει [fol. 33’]

Κείνος ἐνι πολέμῳ ἀπολέσθαι οὕς ῥά φυλεῖται,

Οὐδὲ ποτε προδόται γ’ ἐν χάρῃ κρείττονες εἰσὶ.

Οἳ δὴ ύμετερα τίσουσιν δάκρυα, δόντες

Τὴν τε δίκην οὐκ εἰς μακράν, καὶ τ’ ἄλγεα πολλά,

"Ὑβρεῖς εἰνεκα ταύτης σφῆσιν ἀτασθαλίσσας·

Οὕτωδανοὺς ἄνδρας δὲ παρ’ οὐδὲν τίθεμαι αὐτή.

Ἄλλοι γὰρ τιμήσουσι με, μάλιστα δὲ Χριστός,

ὑς βιός τιμήσουσιν οὐ τίσουσιν Οἴκες,

ἐς γυναὶς, τῷ Χριστῷ γε προσεύχεσθαι περὶ λαοῦ.

Ἡ γ’ αὐτάς νείκεσκε χολωτοῖσιν τίσουσιν εἰσὶ.

Τίπτ᾽ ὦ γυναῖκες, 

ὦ τῆς ἀρετῆς πολυκλείτου.

ύ γ’ αὐτὰς νείκεσκε χολωτοῖσιν τίσουσιν εἰσὶ.

Ἕ γ’ αὐτάς νείκεσκε χολωτοῖσιν τίσουσιν εἰσί.
Οὐδὲν τόσσα σοφὴ κακὰ συμπίπτοντ' ὑπέδεισε.

'Ελπίδος γοῦν εὖ εἶχε κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν. [fol. 33']

Αὐτάρ ἔπειτα Θεῷ πόλλ’ ἡμῖντο νόσφιν ιοῦσα,

Σὺν δ’ ἔπεται Κλαρέντια, ἡ ἱρώνα γ’ ἀρίστη,

Αμφίπολοι τ’ ἄλλαι γε μετεσσεύοντο γεραιαί. 305

Αἱ δ’ ὅτι νηὸν ἵκανον, ὁπτε εἰώθη δεήσεις

Τάς τ’ εὐχὰς βασίλισσα φέρειν, ἧράτο μὲν οὕτως.

"Κλῦθι μεν, ὁ Θεὲ Χριστὲ, φιλάνθρωπ’, ἥδ’ ἐλέημων

Καὶ σύγγνωθι λαφ μοῦ, εξήμαρτε γὰρ αὐτός, [fol. 34']

Αὐτὰρ ἐπείτα Θεῷ πόλλ’ ἡὔχετο νόσφιν ἰοῦσα,

Σὺν δ’ ἕπεται Κλαρέντια, ἡ ἱρώνα γ’ ἀρίστη,

Ἀμφίπολοι τ’ ἄλλαι γε μετεσσεύοντο γεραιαί.

Αἱ δ’ ὅτι νηὸν ἵκανον, ὁπτε εἰώθη δεήσεις

Τάς τ’ εὐχὰς βασίλισσα φέρειν, ἧράτο μὲν οὕτως.

"Κλῦθι μεν, ὁ Θεὲ Χριστὲ, φιλάνθρωπ’, ἥδ’ ἐλέημων

Καὶ σύγγνωθι λαφ μοῦ, εξήμαρτε γὰρ αὐτός, [fol. 34']

Τ’ ἄνομα τολμήσας καὶ νῦν ὑπερόρκια ῥέξας.

Ἀλλὰ σύνοιδα ἐγὼ καὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ μὲν ἐμαυτῇ

Σὺ δὲ φιλάνθρωπως ἠμᾶς ἐλέησον ἅπαντας,

Καὶ τῇ σοῦ δούλῃ τὸ δέ μοι κρήῃνον ἐέλδωρ.

Δὸς πόλεμον νῦν τοῦτον ἀναιμωτί τελέεσθαι. 315

Σῶσαν τὸν στρατόν, ἠδὲ κακοὺς περ Λονδονίαιους,

Ἄστυ τε καὶ πάντων ἀλόχους καὶ νήπια τέκνα."
Ὣς φάτο, εὐχομένης τῆς δ´ ἐκλευε Χριστός Ιησοῦς,
Τοῦτ´ ἐλέους αὐτοῦ τεκμήρια δόκει μέγιστα:
Εὐθὺς γὰρ μετὰ τὰς εὐχὰς οἱ γ´ ἤττονες ἦσαν 320
"Εν τε μάχῃ πάντες προδόται, καὶ ὁ Ὀὐετὸς αὐτὸς.
Ὡς τις τῶν γε φρενῶν ἔξεστιν, μενεαίνει.
Ταύρῳ ἢ ἄγρῳ σὺ ἰκέλος ὄν, κατὰ θυμόν, 325
Τοῦτο̂ εἰς τὸς γεφρενῶν ἐξεστηκὼς μενεαίνει,
Ταύρῳ ἢ ἄγρῳ σὺ ἰκέλος ὄν, κατὰ θυμόν, 330
Ταύρῳ ἢ ἄγρῳ σὺ ἰκέλος ὄν, κατὰ θυμόν, 335
Τοῦτο γὰρ ἦλθε φέρουσα γυνή τις καὶ προσέειπεν·
"Οὔετε, πῶς ἐθέλεις ἅλιον θεῖναι πόνον, ἤδ´ ἀτέλεστον
'Ιδρῶτ' ὑ με ζαποκύ, ἐκαμ mue δ' ἀρα λαόν ἀγείρας;

Τὴν ἀπαμειβώμενος προσέφη πόδας Οὔετος ὁ ὤκως·

"Δός πότον ὦ γυναι, ἐπειὴ κάμνω μάλα διψῶ.

Ἐν πολλῇ ταραχῇ θυμός δὲ καθίσται' ἐμοιγε·

Οὖδ' ἀρα ταῦτα ρεῖσα κατα νόυν μου ἔγρ' ἀτέλεστα, ὁ ἱδροῖς, ἔκαμες δ' ἄρα λαὸν ἀγείρας;''

Τὴν ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πόδας Οὔετος ὁ ὤκως· ἔμοιγε·

Οὖδ' ἀρ' ἐχω πός χρησαίμην δόστηνος ἐμαυτῷ.

Μερμηρίζεται ἐν στήθεσι διάνδιχα θυμός

"Ἡ γὰρ ἀποθνήσκειν χρείω ὢ τ' ἄλγεα πάσχειν."

Κλειομένον γε πυλών, ἐγχέσπαλοι ἄνδρες ἐτήρουν

Καὶ πλείστον πολέμοιο πόνον κρατερῶς ὑπέμειναν,

Λονδονιαῖοι γὰρ προδόταις δὴ ταὐτὰ φρονοῦντες

Λάθρᾳ βοήθειαν μὲν ἐμηχανόωντο. Πρεσβύτου, ὅς δὴ λέγεται Νορφολχικὸς ἀρχός·

"Ὡς τις πανταχόθεν τὰ μὲν ὀμάτα ἑνημμένος ᾽Αργος, Εἰ γὰρ ὁ τρὶς τετράκις τε κάκιστος ἐσῆλθε"
Οὐετός, αἱρετικὸς ὡς ἐπιπίζοντο ρ’ ἀπαντεῖς.

Πολλοὶ μὲν λαοὶ κεν ἀπόλλεσαν ἡματι κείνῳ.

Ἀλλὰ Θεὸς δόξαν τε φέρειν χρῆ καὶ κλέος ἐσθλόν,

Καὶ τιμὴν προσάγειν αἱώνιον, ὡς καλὸν ἔστι.

Ὡς γὰρ Ολοφέρνην πῶς Ἰοῦδιθ ἐξενάριξεν,

Καὶ Θεὸς ὑψίστος μέγα κύδος τοῦτο γυναικί

Δῶκεν, ὅταν ταῖς χερσὶ μόνη οὔτεσε τύραννον:

Ὅς γὰρ Ὀλοφέρνη πότ' Ἰοῦδιθ ἐξενάριξεν,

Καὶ Θεὸς ὑψίστος μέγα κύδος τοῦτο γυναικί

Οὐετός, ἀἱρετικὸς ὡς ἐλπίζοντο ἅπαντες.

Πολλοὶ μὲν λαοὶ κεν ἀπόλλεσαν ἡματι κείνῳ.

Ἀλλὰ Θεὸς δόξαν τε φέρειν χρῆ καὶ κλέος ἐσθλόν,

Καὶ τιμὴν προσάγειν αἱώνιον, ὡς καλὸν ἔστι.

Ὡς γὰρ Ολοφέρνην πῶς Ἰοῦδιθ ἐξενάριξεν,
3. Commentary

Preface

1v Angliæ ... Reginae] 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 ‘Hibernæ’, and ‘R’ in ‘Reginae’.

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 σχολαστικοί ὀξονιαῖοι’ (‘we your poor scholars of Oxford’).

2v offero ... parvum] Cf. Etheridge’s humble deprecation of the Encomium, presented as a ‘δῶρόν [...] τοῦτο μικρόν μὲν καὶ ταπεινόν’ (‘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* Græcis literis* Cf. Etheridge’s explanation for writing his *Encomium* to Queen Elizabeth ‘διὰ τῶν ἑλληνικῶν γραμμάτων’, ‘in Greek letters’ (*Encomium*, fol. 1r, 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. 5r, ll. 5–6).

5* 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. 5r, ll. 10–13).

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

6* in … proferantur* Idiom (lit. ‘brought to light’) comparable to the French ‘mettre à jour’; I am grateful to Anthony Ossa-Richardson for this observation.
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.

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’.

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).

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.

Etheridge’s noun ‘humanitas’ economically encompasses several traits: ‘humane conduct’, ‘generous disposition’, and ‘liberal education in the humanities’.

Likely scribal corruption: the Latin phrasing reads awkwardly.
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).


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).


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. 29r, l. 1: ‘οὐτος 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 open rebellion’ (Historie, sig. a3r). The Latin title appended by a later hand in grey ink to the flyleaf (‘Conjuratio Wiati | sub Maria Regina’, fol. 0r) 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).

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

3  θυμῷ … φρεσίν] 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 φρεσί’, e.g. Iliad, XIX.121, ‘ἐπος τί τοι ἐφ. θήσω’ (‘I will put a word in your mind’), or Odyssey, XV.445, ‘ἐξετ’ ἐφ. μῦθον’ (‘keep in

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*ἀοιðήν* 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 ‘ἀειδήν’. For ‘ἀοιðή’ collocated with ‘φρήν’, cf. Penelope’s listening in her mind, or taking into her heart, the inspired song at *Odyssey*, I.328 (‘φρέσι σύνθετο θέσπιν ἀοιδήν’).


5 *Ἐλθεῖν ... ἐπεύχομαι* Cf. the invocation in the pseudo-Homeric *Batrachomyomachia*, l. 2: ‘Ἐλθεῖν εἰς ἐμὸν ἥτορ ἐπεύχομαι’, ‘I pray [for the chorus from Helicon] to come into my heart’ (Pseudo-Homer, *Homer 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, ll. 5–6: ‘Μᾶλλον δὲ Χριστὸν Θεόν ὑψιστόν ὑψιστὸν μὲν ἐσελθεῖν, | ἐξομαί εἰς
ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ 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 ... ἁμφιρύτῳ] Cf. formular line-opening ‘νῆσῳ ἐν ἁμφιρύτῃ’ (‘in a sea-girt island’) in Odyssey, I.50, I.198, XII.283.


9 μέγα ... ἁμφιρύτῳ] Cf. Iliad, IX.303: ‘μέγα κῦδος ἄροιο’ (‘will win great glory’). See also l. 225.

10 Ὦ ... ἡμέτερῳ] Cf. Iliad, VIII.31: ‘ὀ πάτερ ἡμέτερῳ’ (‘father of us all’); Athene reprises this address to Zeus three times in Odyssey. Etheridge’s ‘ἡμέτερῳ’ 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).


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11 πυκινά φρονέειν] Cf. ‘πυκινά φρονέοντι’ (Odyssey, IX.445, ‘have wise thoughts’, ‘be cunningly minded’). A similar phrase recurs in Encomium, fol. 25v, l. 6: ‘πυκνὴ ἐν φρεσίν ἡ σοφία’ (‘shrewd wisdom in mind’).

νημερτέα … εἰπεῖν] Cf. Homeric collocations for speaking truth: ‘νημερτέα εἰπή’ ( Odyssey, III.19); ‘ἔπος νημερτές ἔειπες’ ( Iliad, III.204). See also l. 78, ‘νημερτέα βουλήν’.

As with Etheridge’s ‘ἡμέτερ’ 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 δὲ κε Τρώεσσι χάριν καὶ κύδος ἄροιο, 
ἐκ πάντων δὲ μάλιστα Αλεξάνδροι βασιλῆι.
τοῦ κεν δὴ πάμπρωτα παρ᾽ ἅγλαδ ὀρόποιο

(‘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 ἐσθλὸν’ (occurring six times in Iliad), as at Iliad, V.3: ‘κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἀροῖτο’ (‘win glorious renown’), an echo strengthened by ‘ἀροῖτο’ 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 ἀροῖτο κλέος’ in Encomium, fol. 26v, 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 τιέσκετό Ἡλίος ἱρή’ ( Iliad, IV.46)

(‘sacred Illos 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. 17r, 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.


Πολλάκι … ἀμύνας] Cf. *Iliad*, ‘λοιγὸν ἀμύναι’ (‘to ward off ruin’) (I.67, I.341, I.398), ‘λ. ἀμύνει’ (V.603), ‘λ. ἀμύνης’ (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. 7v, 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[en]e Spiritu Dei th[a]n vanquished humano robore’ (*Historie*, sig. E1r).

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. 9r), 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 certainly, 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'). Heavily
indebted to Iliad, IV.129–31:

\[\text{ἄμυνεν.}\]

\[\text{ἡ δὲ τόσον μὲν ἔξεργεν ἀπὸ χρῶδος, ὡς ὅτε μήτηρ}

\[\text{παιδὸς ἔξεργη μυῖαν}\]

(‘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. 28r, l. 1: ‘ὡς ὅτε μὲν μυῖαν μήτηρ
tοὐ παιδὸς ἔξεργη’.

18 ἀπὸ κραδίας] Cf. Encomium, ‘ἀπὸ κραδίας’ (fol. 15r, l. 4), ‘ἀπὸ κραδίας’ (fol. 37v, l. 7) (‘from the heart’).

\[\text{φιλέουσά … τε} \]

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.

\[\text{βασιλίσσῃ … ἔσθλον} \]

Cf. l. 13; also l. 356.

23 Ἡςτι … Λονδίνων] Cf. Iliad, VI.152: ‘ἔστι πόλις Ἐφύρη’ (‘There is a city, Ephyre’).

24 Οἱ … ἐπιχθόνιοι] Cf. Iliad, I.272: ‘τῶν οἵ νῦν βροτοί εἰσιν ἐπιχθόνιοι’ (‘of all the
mortals who are now on the earth’).

Encomium: ‘εὐναιομένη […] πόλιν’ (fol. 9r, l. 6), or ‘εὐναιομένη […] πόλις’ (fol. 10r, l. 2)
(‘well-peopled city’).


\[\text{ὁπη} \]

For metrical conformity, the final syllable (‘-πη’) must be taken as short.

28 κακὸν λέρνην] Lernê (or Lerna), a marsh in Argolis, is the mythological abode of the Hydra, hence the proverbial phrase ‘Λέρνη κακὸν’ (‘an abyss of ills’). Cf. Strabo, *Geography*, VIII.6.8: ‘ἡ δὲ Λέρνη λίμνη τῆς Ἀργείας ἐστί καὶ τῆς Μυκηναίας, ἐν ἑῇ τὴν ὤδραν ἱστοροῦσιν διὰ δὲ τοὺς γινομένους καθαρμοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ παροιμία τις ἐξέπεσε, Λέρνη κακὸν’ (‘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).


32 Ἐμμορε … τιμῆς] Cf. the collocation ‘ἐμμορε 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 ‘Εμμορε τῆς τιμῆς | ὄρσομεν’ (*Iliad*, IV.15–

φύλοπιν αἰνήν] Cf. Zeus’s deliberation as to whether the gods should ‘πόλεμόν τε κακὸν και φύλοπιν αἰνήν | ὄρσομεν’ (‘stir up evil war and dread battle-din’) (*Iliad*, IV.15–
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 αἰνήν’ (fol. 12r, l. 7; fol. 27r, 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 A1r–v, A2r).

36 εἶχε] MS unclear: either an interlined gamma (‘εγ’-εἰχε’) or, likelier, ‘εἰχε’, 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 ‘ἀρνομαι’ 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 ἀνήρ] 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.

Ἀρεος δέος] Cf. formular line-ending, ‘δέος Ἀρηος’, in Iliad, II.540, II. 704, II.745, II.842, etc. The noun ‘δέος’ (lit. ‘scion’, ‘offshoot’) has the force of ‘follower’, ‘servant’. In Etheridge’s Encomium, fol. 12r, l. 1, Henry VIII is more favourably portrayed as ‘ἀρηφίλος’ (‘dear to Ares’).
43 Ως ... ἐνὶ] As with the preceding verse, the first half of the line does not scan regularly.

44 Κοσμηθείσα] 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 28r–v: ‘βλαστήματα [...] Βλαστήσαντ’ [...] βλάστημα’ (fol. 28r, l. 9; fol. 28v, ll. 2, 7).

46 Λυγρὸν ... πόλεμον] Cf. Etheridge’s *Encomium*, fol. 11v, 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. A2v).

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. 29r, 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, wherewith he was largelye endued, I had him in great admiration’, acknowledging in Wyat ‘so manye good & commendable qualities’ that were regrettably ‘abused in the service of cursed heresie’ (Proctor, *Historie*, sig. a7v).

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

51–52 Ἠνρῖκος ... 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 ‘-ρι-’ of ‘Ἐνρῖκος’ (l. 51) and the first syllable of ‘Καρῶε’ (l. 52) must be taken as long.


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

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

δηλώσας ἔφθανε] Cf. Proctor’s account of how Wyatt, ‘suspectynge his secretes to be reveled’, felt ‘compelled to anticipate his time’ (*Historie*, sig. A3r). At a slightly later point in the historical sequence, Proctor attributes the forestalling of Wyatt’s progress to divine intervention: ‘Where amongst other thinges Gods secret hand was greatly felt to the great comfort & present ayd of true subjectes against the traitours’ (sig. D8r). For Etheridge’s line to scan, the final syllable of ‘δηλώσας’ must be taken as long.
57 μὴν ... ἄνδρας] May echo ‘πρῶτα μὲν ... ἡγήτορας 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).


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 ἄνδρῶν] 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 ... ιέναι] 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.

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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.


ἡλικίαν προβεβηκός] A loose collocation, though not Homeric: cf. ‘ἡλικίαν ἡδὴ μετρίως προβεβηκός’ (‘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 ἄρχον] 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 from London’ (Proctor, Historie, sig. D3'). 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. peece of ordinance, and treasure’ (Foxe, Actes and Monuments, London 1583, II, sig. 4P3'). 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).
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᾽ ἐστὶ 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 βουλή’. Cf. Etheridge’s celebration of Henry VIII as the nonpareil in counsel and combat: ‘ἡ συμβουλεύσας ἠδὲ μαχησάμενος’ (*Encomium*, fol. 26′).

May faintly echo ‘μήστωρ ἀτάλαντος’ at *Iliad*, VII.366, XVII.477.

 Cf. *Encomium*: ‘σοφία γ’ ἀτάλαντος’ (‘equal in wise judgement’ (to Zeus), fol. 11′, l. 9); ‘μῆτιν ἀτάλαντος’ (‘in wisdom [...] equal’, fol. 26′, l. 1); and, specifically, the comparison with Nestor’s renowned wisdom in counsel, ‘Νέστορα [...] συμφράδμών’ (fol. 26′–27′).

May recall the line-ending pair ‘κρατερὸς Ἀχιλῆ’ at *Iliad*, XXI.553.

Cf. the formular pairing ‘εἰκελος ἀλκήν’ at *Iliad*, IV.253, XVII.281, XVIII.154, and the epithet-noun formula ‘ἔκτορι δίῳ’ throughout the epic (e.g. V.211); see also ‘ἰκελος Ἐκτορὶ δίῳ’ (*Encomium*, fol. 8′, l. 9).

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′).
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.

ήγκυλομήτις Epithet occurring in Iliad, IV.59, used by Hera of her father Kronos.

73 Ἀρπερον] 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: ‘ἄμα λαῶι θωρηχθῆναι | οὖτε 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, XX1.71), 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 E1v–v). For Etheridge’s line to scan, the first syllable of ‘ἐλλίσσετο’ must be taken as long.

76 μεγαθύμου] Etheridge reuses the common Homeric epithet ‘μεγάθυμος’ three times of Henry VIII (Encomium, fol. 23r, l. 2; fol. 26r, l. 1; fol. 35r, 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*.


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

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

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

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

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

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

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

85 **Οἱ ... ιόντες**] 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 ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους ἱόντες’ (‘And when they had come near, advancing each against the other’).
86 Ὄσθετ᾽ Another signature set-piece in Homeric epic: the vigilant hero who spots and obviates danger.

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

89 Οὐτιδανοῦς Cf. ll. 198 and 294. This form, ‘οὕτιδανος’ (‘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 whiteotes’ (Historie, sig. E8º); Etheridge omits any uncomfortable reference to the Whitecoats’s patriotic cries of ‘we are all Englishe men, we are al Englishe men’ (sig. E6º) as they defected from Norfolk to Wyatt’s camp.

κακ’ ἔλέγχεα Cf. ‘κακ’ ἔλέγχεα’ (‘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 Κᾶξ … 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 δὲ τε πολλοῖ ἀπὸ σπινθῆρες ἔνεται’ (‘and sparks issue from it thickly’). Simile with axiomatic currency: see Erasmus’s *Adages* III.viii.23, ‘ex minimis initii 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, ‘ἵδοι ἠλίκον πῦρ ἠλίκην 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 ‘بطل’ and ‘πῦρ’ must be taken as long.


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 ‘πυρκαίας’ (fire, pyre).

98 πήμα τα λυγρά] May echo the line-ending pair ‘σήματα λυγρὰ’ (‘baneful tokens’) at *Iliad*, VI.168.

99 ἐξότρυνε … θυμὸν] Cf. the formular phrase (used ten times in *Iliad*), as applied to Ares rousing the Trojans at *Iliad*, V.470: ‘ὅς εἰπὼν ὄτρυνε μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἑκάστου’ (‘So saying, he stirred every man’s force and spirit’); or XX.174, ‘ὅς 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 E7v, F1’).
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 F1v–F2r).

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

πουλυάνερον] Unclear in MS; evidently an irregular formulation, the bizarre orthography conceivably the product of Reuchlinian habits of pronunciation – ‘τ’ (MS) for ‘υ’; ‘ο’ (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 ὅτι 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 F7v–8r).

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

103 ΟÏ ⋅⋅⋅ ἀλκῆς] The line’s first foot does not scan properly.
μνησθέντες ... ἀλκής] 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. 9r, 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. 7v, 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 Achaeian 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 ‘τεθέντο’ (third-person plural imperfect, a Homeric form).
Wyatt's Conspiracy

109 δυναὶ ... ἡματα] Proctor likewise mentions a pause ‘in Southwarke a day or two’ (Historie, sig. H3v).

�新αι κεῖνοι] An acoustic play (‘κεῖνοι’ for the phonetically indistinguishable ‘κείνο’) on a recurrent line-ending formula in Homer, ‘ἥματι κείνο’ (‘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 τρίτο] For the line to scan, the first syllable must be taken as long.

ἔστιχῶντο] 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 ἐπεὶ ... 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 that were left standing, practised with two mariners to swim over to conveye a barge unto him. Which the mariners (tempted with great promises of preferment) did. Wherein Wyat & certaine with him were convoied over […] as by ten of the clocke in the night was in suche plighte, that both his ordinaunce and band of men mought passe over without perill’ (Historie, sig. I3v). A similar narrative is offered in the anonymous Chronicle of Queen Jane, p. 47.

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


βροτολοιγούς, τειχεσιπλῆτας] Used epithetically by Athene of Ares at Iliad, V.31: ‘Ἀρες βροτολοιγέ, μιαφόνε τειχεσιπλῆτα’ (‘Ares, bane of mankind, slaughter-stained stormer of walls’); ‘τειχεσιπλῆτα’ (lit. ‘approacher of walls’) more idiomatically denotes a ‘stormer of cities’.
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 δὴ ἰ´ ἔχωρον ἐνα ξυνίότες ἵκοντο’ (‘And when they had joined together and come to the same place’).

*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 δὴ ἰ´ ἔχωρον ἐνα ξυνίότες ἵκοντο’ (‘And when they had joined together and come to the same place’).

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 (‘κι-’) must be taken as long.

*Cf. Iliad*, V.244, V.569, VI.120, XX.159, XXII.814), ‘μεμαώτι 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.

*Cf. Iliad*, II.131: ‘ἐγχέσπαλοι ἄνδρες’ (‘spear-wielding men’).

See also l. 344.

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

*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.*

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

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

ἀρξείεν πολέμοιο] Cf. Iliad, IV.335: ‘καὶ ἀρξείαν πολέμοιο’ (‘and begin battle’).

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

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

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


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

Ένθ ... ἱδοί] Cf. ‘ἐνθ’ οὐκ ἄν βρίζοντα ἱδοίς Ἀγαμέμνονα δίον’ (‘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. I4r).

οὐδ’ ἀμελῶς] 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 ἐκαστον] Cf. Homeric collocations of ‘ὀτρύνω’ with ‘ἐκαστος’:
‘ὀτρυνεν ἐκαστον’ (Odyssey, II.392), ‘ὀτρυνεν δὲ ἐκαστον’ (Iliad, XVII.215), and ‘ὀτρυνε
mένος καὶ θυμὸν ἐκαστον’ (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’).

135 γ’ ... ικάνε] Recalls Homeric line-ending phrases ‘γ’ ὑπνος ικάνει’ (Iliad, X.96) and
‘ὑπνος ικάνοι’ (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 ‘ἐπεα 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 πλείον πολυύκος πολέμοιο | χεῖρες ἐμαὶ διέπουσ’ ‘(‘But my hands
bear the brunt of impetuous battle’).
Ὦ … ἄνδρες] Cf. Homeric line-opening formula, ‘ὦ φίλοι ἄνερες’ (Iliad, V.529, XV.561, XV.661), although properly ‘φίλοι’ and ‘ἄνερες’ are there syntactically separate.

141–42 πτολίεθρον … δόσει] May recall, from earlier in Proctor’s chronology, Wyatt’s speculations with his close comrades: ‘being ones [=once] in London, & having the tower in our handes, 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).

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


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

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

145 Υσπάνων 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').

τηλόθεν ... γῆς Cf. Iliad, I.270: ‘τηλόθεν ἐξ ἀπίθανης γαίης’ (‘far away from a distant land’). Compare also ‘ἐξ ἀπίθανης γῆς [...] τηλόθεν’ (Encomium, fol. 13v, l. 9).


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’ (‘ήμῖν’), 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. I5v).

156 πᾶσι] 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. 23r, l. 8).

χεῖρά ... ἐπαίρων] Faint echo of ‘χεῖρας ἐναίρων’, the line-end pairing at Iliad, XXI.26.

160 σῶοι μαχέοιντο] Cf. Iliad, I.344: ‘σῶοι μαχέοιντ’ (‘that they might do battle in safety’).
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 συνός ἄγριου ἤλεόντος’) – looks irregular, likely the result of poor copying; errors, or at least irregularities, appear in orthography (‘Παπταίνον’) and in breathing (‘εὑρεῖν’).

For the line to scan, the word’s final syllable (‘-ψας’) must be taken as long. ‘ἐξεναρίζω’ in Homer often concludes the line, as here; e.g. ‘ἐξενάριζεν’ at *Iliad*, V.842.

Recurrent formula in Homer, e.g. *Iliad*, III.95, and *Odyssey*, I.381.

The formula ‘πολύς 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.

Etheridge scatters successive verses from *Iliad*: IV.447 (l. 167), IV.448 (l. 127), IV.449 (l. 165).

Cf. ‘he sodenlye forsooke hys waye intended thorowe Holborne’ (Proctor, *Historie*, sig. I5”).


tευχέα … ἐστιχώντο Cf. *Iliad*, IV.432, ‘τεύχεα ποικίλ’ ἔλαμπε, τὰ εἱμένοι ἐστιχώντο’ (‘the inlaid armour in which they were girded glittered as they marched’).
171 παρελέυθειν] 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 ‘-εωθ’ and ‘-εσθ’ in l. 279.

φαίδιμος ἡρως] Likely an acoustic memory of Odyssey, IV.617, ‘Φαίδιμος ἡρως’, 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 Ἐκτώρ’ (nearly thirty times in Iliad). Cf. ending to l. 240.

172 δχ’ ἄριστος] Homeric formula: ‘δχ’ 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. 37r, l. 7.

174 εὐφρονέων] Epithet favoured by Etheridge, both in this poem (see also ll. 202, 223, 261) and in Encomium (fol. 11v, l. 5; fol. 13v, l. 2; fol. 26v, l. 6; fol. 27r, l. 4; fol. 29v, l. 8; fol. 30v, 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. I5v).

"Ἐνθα … γαῖα] Cf. the chiastic distich at Iliad, IV.450–51 (also, identically, VIII.64–65): ‘ἐνθα δ’ ἁμί οἰμωγῆ τε καὶ εὐχολὴ πέλεν ἀνδρῶν | ὀλλύντων τε καὶ ὀλλυμένων, ὅτε δ’ αἴματι 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’).


Ἀχιλλῆϊ … ἱκέλος] Cf. Etheridge’s comparison between Achilles and Henry VIII: ‘Ικέλος […] διὸς Ἀχιλλεύς’ (Encomium, fol. 8v, l. 5).

χερείων … ἔργα] Cf. Iliad, I.114–15: ‘ἔστι χερείων, | οὐ δέμας οὔδὲ φυήν, οὔτε ἁρ φρένας οὔτε 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, οὔτε φρένας οὔτε 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. 26r, ll. 9–10).

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

ἄνδρα ἐκαστον] 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... ἥκε] Cf. Iliad, V.125–26: ‘ἐν γάρ τοι στήθεσσι μένος πατρώιον ἥκα | 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... ὀλέθρον] Cf. ‘ὑπέκφυγοι αἰπὺν ὀλέθρον’ in Odyssey, IX.286, XII.446, and ‘ὑπεκφύγοι αἰπὺν ὀλέθρον’ (‘were to escape headlong destruction’) in Iliad, VI.57, latterly recycled in Etheridge’s Encomium (fol. 33v, l. 1).

187 ψόβος... 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 ‘θυμός’ scans long (cf. ll. 76 and 339).


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 ‘δένδρεισι’.

193 ἀπὸ... ὀλέσσαν] Cf. the formulaic verse-ending threat, as at Iliad, XVI.861, ‘ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὀλέσσαι’ (‘lose his life’); ‘ἀ. θ. ὀλέσσεν’ (VIII.90, VIII.270); ‘ἀ. 0. ὀλέσσης’ (X.452, XI.433); ‘ἀ. 0. ὀλέσσεις’ (XII.250); ‘ἀ. 0. ὀλέσσῃ’ (XVIII.92). Etheridge reworks the phrase in Encomium: ‘θυμὸν ὀλέσσάμενος’ (fol. 23v, l. 4).


κῆρα μέλαινα] Cf. II. 92 and 250.
δυστυχέας] More usually ‘δυστυχίας’.

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

φύλοπιν αἰνήν] Cf. l. 33.


οὐτιδανοὺς] Cf. ll. 89 and 294.

ἔγγυς] For the line to scan, the second syllable of ‘ἐγγύς’ must be taken as long.

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

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.

εὐφρονέων] Catalectic verse.

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

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

Οὗτος … ἀνδρὸν] Unmetrical line.

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

κατέρυκε … ἱεμένους] Another metrically unorthodox line: ‘-ρυ-’ (‘κατέρυκε’, cf. l. 348) and ‘-ι-’ (‘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.

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

Βῆ … ἔς] For the Homeric collocation ‘βῆ δ’ ἵμεν ἔς’ (‘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.


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

βαρείας … ἀφέξεων] 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.', the oldest complete text of the Iliad that survives. In a separate tradition, the line reads 'οὐδὲν γε πρὶν Δαναοῖσιν ἄικέα λογήν ἀπέσει', following Aristarchus. Cf. also Etheridge’s Encomium, fol. 9r, l. 3: ‘Οὐδὲν γε [...] βαρείας χεῖρας ἀπεῖχον’ (‘he would not withhold his heavy hand [from war']).


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

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

ὶ ... 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 resistaunce through the horsemen […] for pollicie and to avoide muche manslaughters Wyat was suffered purposely to passe along’ (Historie, sigs I5v, I8v).

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


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113
223–24  περὶ ... ἔργῳ] Cf. Agamemnon’s words to Idomeneus, Ἰλιάδ, IV.257–58: ‘περὶ μὲν σὲ τίῳ Δαναῶν ταχυπόλων | ἠμὲν ἐνὶ πτολέμωι ἤδ᾿ ἄλλοιοι ἐπὶ ἔργῳ’ (‘I honour you, both in war and in other tasks, more than all the Danaans who drive swift steeds’).

223  βασιλίσσῃ] The regular nominative, ‘βασιλίσσα’, 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 ‘mota cum liquida’.

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

227  Ὦ ... ἱκάνει] Cf. Ἰλιάδ, I.254 or VII.124: ‘ὡ πόποι, ἦ μέγα πένθος Αχαϊδα 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 Ἰλιάδ, 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  Ἡ ... γηθήσαι] Cf. Ἰλιάδ, I.255: ‘HELL γηθήσαι Πρίαμος’ (‘Priam would surely rejoice’).
229 Ἀλλοι ... 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. 30v, l. 1: ‘κεχαροίατο θυμῷ’.

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

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

‘Ἀργεῖοι ἰόμωροι, ἐλεγχέες, οὐ νῦ σέβεσθε;
τίφθ᾽ ὡς ἡμῖν ἐπιδρότες θύμῃ νεβροί,
αἱ τ᾽ ἐπεὶ σὺν ἐκαμον πολέος πεδίου θέουσαι,
ἔστιν᾽, οὐδ᾽ ἄρα τίς σφι μετὰ φρέσι γίνεται ἀλκή;
ὡς ὡμœὶς ἐστίντε τεθηπότες, οὐδὲ μάχεσθε.
ἡ μὲν ἔστε ἦτωσι σχοινὸ εὐθὺς ἐλθέμεν,
ἐνθά τε νῆς ἀργεῖα ἀκροβόλλησι,
ὅφρα ἵδητ᾽ αἱ κ᾽ ὑμῖν ὑπέρσχη 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 (‘σεύ̆’ for ‘σέβ̆’), or alternatively may attest the reading favoured in most print editions available to Etheridge (see section 1.5.2 above).

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


236 Ὅφρα ... κεν] Cf. *Iliad*, IV.249, ‘ὅφρα ἵδητ’ αἱ κ’’ (‘so that you may know if’).

Allowing for an error in the MS (‘ὑπέσχη’ for ‘ὑπέρσχη’), the phrase ‘ὑμῖν νῦν χεῖρας ὑπέρσχη’ recalls the second half of *Iliad*, IV.249 (‘ὑμῖν ὑπέρσχη χεῖρα Κρονίων’), the first half of which line (‘ὄφρα ἴδητ’ αἰ 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.

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

Cf. the use of ‘ὁθέω’ and an equine image in *Iliad*, V.19 (final two feet): ‘ὁσε δ’ ἄφρ’ ὑπιων’ (‘knocked him from his horse [or chariot]’).

Formular phrase for a defeated warrior’s collapse; cf. *Iliad*, IV.482, ‘ὁ δ’ ἐν κονίηι χαμαι 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 thathe 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)).

Cf. ending to l. 171.

Recalls Aphrodite’s rescue of Aeneas at *Iliad*, V.311–12:

καὶ νῦ κεν ἐνθ’ ἀπόλοιτο ὁναξ ἀνδρῶν Αἰνείας,
εἰ μή ἃρ’ οξύ νόησε Διὸς θυγάτηρ Αφροδίτη.

(‘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 δ’ ο’ (‘and in front of him’).
117

41 ἰφθιμος] Homeric epithet (used also at l. 249) applied in Etheridge’s Encomium twice to Henry VIII (fol. 23r, l. 2; fol. 38r, l. 8) and once to Julius Caesar (fol. 33v, 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.

ἐγχεα μακρά] The collocation ‘ἐγχεα μακρά’ (‘long spears’) appears in Iliad, III.135.

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

245 ἄλιον] Etheridge varies the expected idiom from Iliad, in which any ‘βέλος’ is usually thrown ‘not in vain’ (‘οὐχ ἄλιον’).

καὶ … θώρηξ] Cf. Iliad, XX.415: ‘καὶ διπλόος ἤντετο θώρηξ’ (‘and the double cuirass overlapped’); or IV.133, ‘κ. διπλόον ἢ. θ.’.

247 κλειόντο] Unclear form, ostensibly an inflection of ‘κλείο’ (‘shut’, ‘enclose’, ‘bar’). Likely an error for either ‘κλειόντο’ (middle/passive present optative), or ‘ἐκλειόντο’ (middle/passive imperfect indicative).

249 ἰφθιμος … τίμιος] For the line to scan, the second syllable in ‘ἵφθιμος’ (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.

254–57 ἐκ ... ἀστυ] 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:

ἐκ τ’ ὀνόμαξε:
‘τέκνον τίπτε λυπών πόλεμον ὑπαγόντας εἰλήλουθας;
ἡ μάλα δὴ τείρουσι δυσώνυμοι υἱὲς Ἀχαιῶν
μαρνάμενοι περὶ ἀστυ’

(‘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 ... ὀνόμαξε] 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 Τήν ... προσέφη] Cf. l. 337. Etheridge recalls the Homeric collocation ‘Τήν 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.

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

263 ἀπαμειβόμενη] Cf. ll. 258, 337.

πρὸς ... ἔειπεν] Formulaic tmesetic expression in Homer: ‘πρὸς μὴδον ἔειπεν’ (e.g. *Iliad*, V.632, VI.381, XIII.306, XXIV.285; also in *Odyssey*, and Hesiod). Also cf. l. 76.
264 ἥ ... 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 councillors for flight, is celebrated by Proctor: ‘her grace never chaunged her chere, nor woulde remove one foote out of the house’ (Historie, sig. I8°).

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

266 πάντα μέμηλε] Cf. ll. 15, 296.

267 Ἐλπίδος ... ἀγκυρα] 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 ἀγκυρα 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 nd of God, at the contemplation 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°).

268 κινδύνων] For the line to scan, the word’s second syllable must be taken as long.
269 χεῖρα όρέξει] Cf. ‘χειρας όρεξας’ at Iliad, XXIV.743.

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


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

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

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

274 δηϊστήτα] 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 (‘-νἰ’) must be taken as long; cf. l. 289.

278 Ὡς 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’,

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279 προσεύχομαι] Erroneously ‘προσεύχομαι’ 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 ὁῖζυος ἐκλελαθέσθαι’ (‘then I would say that my heart had forgotten its wretched grief’), with variant phrasing in some witnesses (Zenodotus’s conjecture, ‘κεν φίλον ἢτορ’, often replaced by ‘κε φρένʾ 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, ‘ἐχον, κραδίην δ’ ἐλάφωοι’ (‘with the heart of a deer’, ‘cowardly’). Recall the earlier fawn imagery of l. 233. Cf. also ‘ἐλάφου κραδίην […] | εἶχε’ (Agamemnon ‘had the heart of a deer’, Encomium, fol. 8r, ll. 7–8).
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?’).

For the line to scan, ‘τι’ and the first syllable of ‘ἵκετο’ must be taken as long.

Run together in MS as a single word. The phrase recalls *Iliad*, XVIII.323, ‘βαρὺ στενὰχουσαι’.

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


May echo the line-ending cola ‘οὐδ’ ἔτ’ ἔασε’ (*Iliad*, XI.437) and ‘οὐ γὰρ ἔασε’ (*Odyssey*, X.291).

For the line to scan, the final syllable (‘-νι’ 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.

Metrically irregular line, requiring ‘ὦ-’, ‘-ρα’, and ‘τί-’ to be taken as long for the verse to scan.

Phrase appearing frequently in *Odyssey*, II.343, III.232, IX.53, XVI.19, XVI.189, etc. (‘much sorrow’, ‘many griefs’).

Recalls *Odyssey*, I.34 (‘σφῇσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν’), or *Iliad*, IV.409. Reused verbatim in *Encomium* (fol. 11r, l. 3).

See ll. 89 and 198.

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.

295 Ἀλλοι ... Χριστός] Cf. Agamemnon (to Achilles) at Iliad, I.174–75: ‘πάρ’ ἐμοὶ γε καὶ ἄλλοι | οἱ κε με τιμήσουσι, μάλιστα δὲ μητίετα Ζεὺς’ (‘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.


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. 16r).

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

πολυκλεῖτον] Adjective, with a masculine ending, unclearly tethered in this line. Etheridge reuses the epithet in his Encomium, fol. 18r, l. 3 (‘Ενρῖκος ἄναξ πολυκλεῖτος’, ‘greatly renowned King Henry’); also at fol. 27r.

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

302 Ἐλπίδος ... κατὰ] For the line to scan, the final syllable of ‘Ελπίδος’ must be taken as short and the final syllable of ‘κατὰ’ must be taken as long.
κατὰ ... θυμόν] Cf. l. 264 (‘φρένα ἣ 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>).

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

305–6 ἀλλαὶ ... ἱκανον] Cf. Iliad, VI.296–97:

βῆ δ’ ἰέναι, πολλαὶ δὲ μετεσσεύοντο γεραιαί.
αἱ δ’ ὅτε νηὸν ἱκανον Ἀθήνης ἐν πόλει ἁκρη

(‘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 Κλῦθμε] In Homeric epic, ‘Κλῦθμε’ 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.


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

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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. 27r, 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. 12r, ll. 2–3). Etheridge’s verse-ending ‘ἀναιμωτὶ τελέεσθαι’ in l. 315 may represent a partial acoustic echo of ‘ἀναιμωτὶ γε νέεσθαι’ concluding the line at Iliad, XVII.497.

314 τόδε ... ἔελδωρ] Cf. Iliad, I.41 and I.504: ‘τόδε μοι κρήηνον ἔελδωρ’ (‘fulfil this wish for me’). Compare ‘κρήηνον ἔελδωρ’ (Encomium, fol. 31r, l. 9).

317 Ἀστυ ... 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 Ὡς ... ἔκλυε] Cf. the formula, ‘ὡς 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. 37v, 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 I8r–K1r).
323 ἀγριω ... ἰκελος] Cf. *Iliad*, IV.253, or XVII.281: ‘σοι εἴκελος ἀλκήν’ (implying undaunted courage for Homer, though presumably not for Etheridge).

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

325 περι ἀστν] 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 temple barre gate, with a naked sword in his hande the hiltes upwarde (as some report) at whiche gate he woulde have gone throughe towards Charinge crosse to the residue of his men, but he was then stopped by force of the queenes true subjectes, who wolde not suffer him to passe’ (*Historie*, sig. I6’).


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

327 ποσὶ ... θυμ[ός]] Cf. *Iliad*, XV.280: ‘ποσὶ κάπησε 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 ‘ἐκαπτόν’ and start of ‘ἀέκοντί’) that may recall *Iliad*, IV.43 (Zeus’s paradox of reluctant volition, spoken to Hera): ‘καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ σοὶ δῶκα ἀέκοντί γε θυμόι’ (‘since I have yielded to you freely, yet with an unwilling heart’).

329 χεῖρας ... ὑπηρετέοντος] The formular phrase ‘χεῖρας ὑπηρετέον’ 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).
λαοῦ] For the line to scan, the word’s first syllable must be taken as long.

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.

ἡγε] 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 ἔστι] Conceivably an echo of the Eastern Orthodox, and Eastern Catholic, tradition of the theotokion ‘ἄξιον ἔστιν’. The phrase ‘ἄξιον ἔσται’ crops up once in Iliad and a few times in Odyssey.

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).

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

καὶ προσέεπεν] Recalls the line-ending colon ‘καὶ προσέεπε’ at Iliad, V.756, XXIV.361, and Odyssey, XI.91.

πῶς … ἀτέλεστον] Cf. Hera’s identical complaint at Iliad, IV.26: ‘πῶς ἐθέλεις ἥλιον θεῖναι πόνον ἤδ’ 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 ‘ἲδρῶτ’ … ἱδροῖς] Cf. Iliad, IV.27, continuing the quotation from the previous line: ‘ἲδρῳ θ’ ὁν ἰδρωσα’. Etheridge’s ‘ἵδροῖς’ looks irregular, and the second foot (‘ὁν ἰδ’) lacks a long syllable to complete the dactyl. Cf. Etheridge’s Encomium, fol. 9r, l. 7: ‘ὁς γ’ ἰδρωτ’ ἰδρωσε’ (‘he, who shed sweat’).


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

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


342 Μερμηρίζεται … θυμός] Cf. Iliad, V.671: ‘μερμηρίζει … κατὰ θυμόν’. Cf. also scenes of pondering at Iliad, VIII.167 and XIII.455: ‘διάνδικα μερμηρίζειν’. And cf. especially Iliad, I.188–89: ‘ἐν ὃδὲ οἱ ἂτορ | στήθεσιν λασίοσιν διάνδικα μερμηρίζειν’ (‘and in his shaggy breast his heart was divided in two as he pondered’).


344 Κλειομένον … 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.

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


κυδίστου] Homeric epithet used especially of Zeus and Agamemnon.

ἀγλαὸς 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.

πεπνυμένος ἀνήρ] Recalls the line-ending colon ‘πεπνυμένος ἀνήρ’ at Odyssey, IV.204.

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


ἐλπίζοντο] Unclear; evidently a scribal misreading. Either ‘ἐλπίζονται’, ‘ἐλπίζοντο’, or ‘ἐληίζοντο’ is intended here.
Πολλοὶ … κείνῳ] Irregular line that does not scan.

λαοὶ … ἀπόλλεσαν] Faint echo of Agamemmon’s ‘βούλομ’ ἐγὼ λαὸν σῶν ἐξακολουθήσαμ’ (‘I would prefer the army to be safe than to perish’) at Iliad, I.117.

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

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 ‘ἀπόλλυμ’ (as in the previous line), see Iliad, XXIII.280: ‘κ. ἐ. ἀπόλλεσαν’.


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 A3v, A5r-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.

See ll. 9 and 225. The collocation ‘μέγα κόδος’ is frequent in *Iliad* (e.g. VIII.176, VIII.237, IX.303).

Cf. ‘μέγα κόδος ὁρέξεις’ at *Iliad*, XXII.57.

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.

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.

Cf. final line of Etheridge’s *Encomium*, fol. 38v: ‘τὴν βασίλισσαν δῆ, ὦ Θεέ, σῶσον ἀεί’ (‘O God forever save the Queen’, namely Elizabeth I).

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. Ὁεὸς 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. 1v] 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. 2r] 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. 2v] 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. 3r] 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. 3v] 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. 4r] 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. 4v]

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. 5r] 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].

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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’] 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’] 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’] 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’] 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’] 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
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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 chiepest 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’.

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[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

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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

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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] Clarenicius, 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.’