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ANDREW MARVELL AND PAYNE FISHER

Abstract:

The Latin-English bilingualism of ~~seventeen~~17th century English poetry remains barely explored, and, with the exception of studies of Milton, almost no work has attempted to map the interaction between major English and Latin poems of the period, even when such works were produced in close temporal and geographical proximity and on the same events. This article explores the significance of such interactions through an examination of the relationship between Andrew Marvell's English political poetry of the 1650s and the work of Payne Fisher, Cromwell's poet, who produced a stream of major Latin works in that decade, issued in fine editions several of which were sent abroad to solicit international support for the Commonwealth and Protectorate. With the work of David Norbrook, Nigel Smith, Blair Worden, Nicholas McDowell, James Loxley, Paul Davis and others, the intertextual connections of Marvell's verse has been particularly well explored; but where Fisher's work has been mentioned in passing in relation to Marvell, comment has almost always depended upon Thomas Manley's workmanlike 1652 translation of just one of Fisher's works, not upon Fisher's Latin itself, and has depicted Fisher as the secondary poet, dependent upon or imitative of Marvell. The evidence suggests that the influence ran mostly in the other direction. Marvell and Fisher were both drawing on, and contributing to, a distinctive political poetry of the Protectorate, and our appreciation of both poets is improved by reading them alongside one another.

A wealth of recent work demonstrating links between Marvell's political poetry and contemporary writing of all kinds has deepened our sense of his literary and political acuity and responsiveness.¹ Scholarship has also enhanced appreciation of his use of classical material – especially Horace and Lucan – and located his work more securely

within the reception history of the period.² Marvell's possible readership of, and response to, contemporary rather than classical Latin literature has however received little attention, although he was an accomplished Latin author in his own right.³ This paper explores one facet of Marvell's engagement with contemporary Latinity: namely, the relationship between Marvell's imagery in the political poetry of the 1650s and the work of a neglected but important figure, Payne (or Fitzpayne) Fisher (1616-93). A substantial number of Marvell's most memorable images – Cromwell as lightning, Cromwell as bold steersman of the ship of state, Cromwell (at his death) as a Lucanian oak, and the motif of a mower – have multiple parallels in the Latin poetry of Fisher, in several cases in works certainly or probably pre-dating the Marvellian example.⁴

Fisher, who had been educated at St. Paul's school, Hart Hall, Oxford and finally Magdalene College, Cambridge (under John Puleyn) spent several years in military service, serving under Sir John Clotworthy in the Bishops' War, during which time he befriended Richard Lovelace, and then fighting in Ulster.⁵ He was present in Prince Rupert's army at the battle of Marston Moor in 1644 – a significant royalist defeat – and was imprisoned afterwards in Newgate, where he appears to have concentrated on composing poetry and subsequently circulating it in print and manuscript in an attempt to seek patronage.⁶ At some point in the later 1640s he was converted to the cause of the Commonwealth and from 1650 onwards he produced a series of major works in support of the Commonwealth and Cromwellian Protectorate. By the end of 1651, he was unofficial poet laureate for the Protectorate, and relatively large numbers of his publications survive.⁷

Both Fisher's general political evolution from royalist to Cromwellian during this period, and details of his acquaintances mirror those of Andrew Marvell. Nicholas McDowell has made a strong case for a close association between Marvell and Lovelace in a literary circle gathered around Thomas Stanley in the late 1640s, which also included

John Hall.⁸ Blair Worden has focused instead on Marvell and Milton's work alongside Marchamont Nedham in the 1650s, while Edward Holberton has explored the links between Marvell, Bulstrode Whitlocke and Edmund Waller.⁹ Fisher is linked to each of these circles. John Hall may have collaborated with Nedham in the production of the Cromwellian newsheet *Mercurius Politicus* in the early 1650s, a publication which mentions Fisher on several occasions, and which, like Fisher's publications of the same period, was also printed by Thomas Newcomb.¹⁰ Hall contributed a dedicatory poem to Fisher's *Inauguratio Olivariana* of 1654, and a poem which appears at the end of *Marston Moor* (1650) to commemorate the printing of the volume is signed by one J. H., probably also Hall.¹¹ Both Fisher and Hall spent time with Cromwell's army in Scotland in the early 1650s.¹² Hall translated Edward Benlowes' *Theophila* (1652) into Latin; according to Fisher's own note of thanks, it was Benlowes who funded the publication of *Marston Moor* in 1650.¹³ Marchamont Nedham contributed the first dedicatory poem to Fisher's *Irenodia Gratulatoria* of 1652.¹⁴ Fisher and Nedham were linked and described as 'servants, poets and pamphleteers to his infernal highness' (that is, Cromwell) in a post-Restoration pamphlet of satirical speeches of which they are listed (presumably falsely) as the authors on the title page: for the satire to work, they must have been generally associated at this point.¹⁵ Finally, Fisher's 1656 collected poems, *Piscatoris Poemata*, includes poems commemorating Bulstrode Whitlocke's embassy to Sweden in 1653, in memory of Whitlocke's daughter Frances, and a final poem in praise of Edmund Waller's 'Panegyric'.¹⁶

Despite the volume of his writings and his semi-official role during the 1650s, Fisher has attracted very little critical attention, and has been often dismissed on both moral and literary grounds – as a turncoat and a hack.¹⁷ Where he is mentioned, criticism has focused almost entirely upon *Veni; Vidi; Vici. The Triumphs of . . . Oliver Cromwell* of 1652; but this work is not by Fisher.¹⁸ It is a translation by Thomas Manley of Fisher's

Irenodia & *Gratulatoria* (also 1652), apparently rushed out within a month of the Latin poem's appearance.¹⁹ Manley's translation makes significant alterations to Fisher, both omitting some elements and expanding others; the overall political effect of the English poem is, as noted by Laura Lunger Knoppers, quite different from Fisher's original, as is its poetic style, tone and allusive effects.²⁰ Moreover, the critical dependence upon Manley has reduced Fisher almost entirely to (the translation of) this single poem of 1652, with the rest of his large body of work attracting very little comment, and almost none from a literary rather than historical perspective.²¹ None of the critics who dismiss Fisher's artistry quote from his Latin verse.

At its best, Fisher's Latin poetry is attractive, exciting and highly readable. It is, of course, modeled in many details upon multiple precedents, both classical and post-classical, and it also builds upon itself: Fisher developed the political associations of an image by repeatedly revisiting it over multiple works.

The overall effect, however, is fresh and accessible. The narrative is pacy and rarely obscure, and he has a particular way with a simile. It does, it is true, have a 'professional' feel to it – but so too does the poetry of Ben Jonson (or, indeed, of Horace and Pindar); Fisher was a professional poet. It is also not at all like Virgil, and only somewhat like Lucan (the most obvious alternative to Virgil); his use of classical sources is distinctive and unusual, with significant borrowings from Statius, Silius Italicus, Valerius Flaccus, Claudian and Prudentius, as well as evidence of wide reading in neo-Latin poetry, including John Milton and George Buchanan.²² This is British neo-Latin poetry, writing recognisably within both the broader neo-Latin and more specifically British Latin traditions. But the point of this article is not, primarily, to defend Fisher's readability, or ~~even to advocate for a new readership~~ encourage new readers; but rather to suggest that he was *read* – probably quite widely, and almost certainly by Andrew Marvell.

Cromwellian lightning

The only scholars, to my knowledge, to comment on specific parallels between Payne Fisher and Andrew Marvell are David Norbrook, Nigel Smith and (very briefly) Estelle Haan.²³ Smith notes parallels between Marvell and Fisher on five occasions, in relation to three of Marvell's works, though in all those cases he quotes from Manley's translation of Fisher, not Fisher himself; and in no instance does he claim any direct influence.²⁴ In an earlier study, Smith comments in passing that '[t]he celebration of Cromwell's martial success [in Fisher] does share many elements with Marvell's poetic language, but it was transparent even to contemporary tastes' – he supports this observation with an English quotation from Manley, and quotes only from Manley at this point.²⁵

In *Writing the Revolution English Republic*, David Norbrook twice suggests in passing that Fisher may have been influenced by Marvell.²⁶ Of these, in the latter and more concrete instance, Norbrook cites two lines from the 1652 *Irenodia & Gratulatoria*, comparing Cromwell's assaults upon the Highlanders at the battle of Worcester (1651) to the effect of lightning, and pointing out that it has elements in common with Marvell's famous opening simile of the 'Horatian Ode on Cromwell's Return from Ireland', written in the summer of 1650 (though unpublished until 1681).

Marvell's well-known image is expanded over four stanzas:

And like the three-forked lightning, first
 Breaking the clouds where it was nursed,
 Did thorough his own side
 His fiery way divide.

(For 'tis all one to courage high,

The emulous or enemy;

And with such to inclose

Is more than to oppose.)

Then burning through the air he went,

And palaces and temples rent;

And Caesar's head at last

Did through the laurels blast.

'Tis madness to resist or blame

The force of angry heaven's flame;

And, if we would speak true,

Much to the man is due:

(13-28)²⁷

Critical discussion of this passage has focused on the sources of the image, traced in particular to the double simile in book one of Lucan's *Bellum Civile* (1.135-57), comparing Pompey to a venerable but unstable oak tree and Caesar to lightning.²⁸

The *Irenodia Gratulatoria*, a poem of just over 1000 lines, dedicated to Bradshaw, as President of the Council of State, but concerned with Cromwell's military triumphs of the preceding two years, was published in 1652, and dated on the title page both with that year and as the fourth year 'Libertatis Angliae' ('of the Liberty of England'). The two lines identified by Norbrook come from the final section of the poem, describing the defeat of the Scottish Highlanders at the Battle of Worcester in 1651:

Sic per densatas acies glomerata vagantur

Fulmina, & excussis apparet *Inane*, *Catervis*.²⁹

And thus the rounded lightning bolts stray

*Among the close-packed ranks, and a Vacuum appears, the troops shaken back.*³⁰

These lines are in fact one element of a longer sequence which uses the image of the lightning bolt to evoke Cromwell's military force during the Battle of Worcester three times over the course of three pages:³¹

Fulminis in morem, lapsisque citatior astris

Hostibus imminuit, sparsam repentibus urbem. (G1r)

In the fashion of a lightning-bolt, faster than fallen stars,

He menaced the enemy as they sought refuge in the ruined city.

[...]

Sic per densatas acies glomerata vagantur

Fulmina, & excussis apparet *Inane*, *Catervis*. (G2r)

And thus the gathered lightning bolts stray

Through the close-packed ranks, and a Vacuum appears, the troops shaken back.

[...]

Sic Acies Peditum, quae fulmina toto *Diei* (G2v)

Et *Noctis* tulerat, animis elangüit imis,

Et tantis virtus damnis lassata, recessit.

In this way the Infantry line, which had withstood the lightning-bolts

All day and all night, began to lose heart,

And its courage exhausted by so many losses, started to retreat.

~~*In the fashion of a lightning bolt, faster than fallen stars,*~~

~~*He menaced the enemy as they sought refuge in the ruined city.*~~

[...]

~~*And thus the lightning gathered lightning bolts stray*~~

~~*Through the close packed ranks, and a Vacuum appears, the troops shaken back.*~~

[...]

~~*In this way the Infantry line, which had withstood the lightning bolts*~~

~~*All day and all night, began to lose heart,*~~

~~*And its courage exhausted by so many losses, started to retreat.*~~

The association between Cromwell and lightning is not however confined to this passage of the *Irenodia* & *Gratulatoria*; it is rather a motif of the poem as a whole, heralded in its very first line: ‘*Anglorum venerande PARENS! grave fulmen Hybernis, / Et Scotis bis Victor, Ave!*’ (‘Venerable parent of the English! Weighty lightning-bolt upon the Irish, / And twice victor over the Scots, Hail!’).³² Fisher associates Cromwell with lightning – with the unstoppable power of a natural force, as in Lucan; but also quite closely with the fear and

force of modern military artillery – with (modern) warfare itself. This set of associations is rooted in Lucan’s simile, but uses Lucretius (among many other classical and post-classical texts) to identify Cromwell with both ways of thinking about the ‘storm of war’: as natural disaster, and as technological horror.³³

The *Irenodia* ~~g~~*ratulatoria* post-dates Marvell’s *Horatian Ode*, written in June or July of 1650, and therefore cannot have influenced Marvell’s poem (although, as I shall explore below, there are links between the *Irenodia* and Marvell’s subsequent poetry on Cromwell which suggest that Marvell read the poem carefully). But this passage of the *Irenodia* reworks an image – of Cromwell as Lucanian lightning – which Fisher had been developing in various forms and across multiple poems since the late-1640s: that is, clearly *before* Marvell’s ‘Horatian Ode’.

Imagery of lightning and thunder in political and military contexts are favourites of Fisher’s, appearing in several of the poems preserved in two early manuscript verse collections in the British Library, both dating from 1648, and including poetry composed (according to Fisher’s own headnote) between 1645 and 1647.³⁴ In these early sources, the most striking passage describes Cromwell himself, in a Latin poem *De obsidione Praelioque Ebroocensi* (*On the Siege and Battle of York*) which is an early (and much briefer) version of the poem Fisher would eventually revise and publish in early 1650 as *Marston Moor*.³⁵ In this initial – and straightforwardly royalist – version of the poem, the Earl of Manchester (Lord General in command of the army of the Eastern Association) and Oliver Cromwell (Lieutenant-General of the horse in the same army) are introduced together.

Primus honoratis *Ductor Mancest’re* cateruis³⁶

Anteuolas acies *m. validoque hortamine* pulsans

Pectora moliris primae fundamina pugnae.

Tùm formidando *Coromell* [sic]³⁷ cui fulgur in ore
 Et *Bellum Ciuile* sedet sub fronte minaci
 Proximus ingreditur; Thorace et Casside tectus:
 Ferrea Compago laterum; totassque [sic] per artus
 Ferrea clauigeris surgebat lam[ina] nodis.

*You, the Earl of Manchester, first among the honoured companies
 Flew before the battle-line; and striking the breasts [of the men]
 With powerful encouragement you laid the foundations for the battle.
 Then Cromwell on whose dreadful face rests the lightning bolt
 And upon whose threatening brow sits Civil War
 Comes next; protected by a breast-plate and helmet:
 An iron structure on his sides; and over all his limbs
 Rose iron scales with clubbed knots.*

(12r)

This is Cromwell's first appearance in the poem. The combination of ~~the~~ *fulgur* in the first line [of the description of Cromwell](#), and the italicised phrase *Bellum ~~q~~Ciuile* ('Civil War') in the second emphasises in particular the debt Lucan's double simile, important to both Fisher and Marvell, which describes Pompey as an oak tree, Caesar as lightning (Lucan, *De bello civili*, 1.144-57). The emphasis in this earliest appearance of Cromwell in Fisher's verse is not upon his courage or tactical brilliance as such, but his dreadful strength and irresistible military power, already associated with the lightning. The notorious 'ironsides' armour is sketched in a vivid pair of lines (*ferrea . . . nodis*) that combine an allusion to Statius' description of the House of Mars (*Thebaid* 7.43) with a

passage in Claudian (*In Rufinum* 2, 359-65) on the awe inspired by imperial troops in full armour.³⁸

When Fisher described Cromwell in the *Irenodia* & *Gratulatoria* of 1652 as *Fulminis in morem, lapsisque citatior astris* (1652: G1^r, cited above), he was reworking an earlier description of his own from the battle narrative in *Marston Moor*:

Illicet *Ignis Poli* lapsisque citatior Astris
 Clade per *Adversos* rupit; rapidoque *Rotatu*
Scotigenum fuis prostraverant Agmina Signis.
 Ast *Illi* examines gladiis horrore remissis
 Et nunc *Primae* Acies versa statione feruntur
 Terga *Fugae* dederant, Leporum vel more *Ferarum*
 A dorso rabidos quando inspexere Molossos.³⁹

Just then a Heavenly Fire, swifter than falling stars
Broke with devastation through the enemy; and with a sudden whirling
The battle lines of the Scots were laid waste and the standards scattered.
And those men, their swords lost in the terror, quite out of courage
Turned tail and fled, in the manner of wild hares
When they spot from behind rabid Molossian bounds.

This describes an historical event – the unseasonable weather at the battle of Marston Moor on July 2nd 1650, when a summer storm caused confusion on the battlefield. The Scottish forces, fleeing in confusion amid the slaughter, are stopped, and the fortunes of the day reversed, only by the arrival of Cromwell himself:

Anfractus vacuas, & *hiulci* Fragmina *Campi*
 Adductis reparauit Equis; per mille cohortes
 Perrumpens, *mediaeque* terens glomeramina *Turmae*.
 Námque *globos Legionum*, & concurrentia rupit
 Agmina, vulnificos gradiens intactus ad Enses,
 Atque per *Imbriferi displosa tonitrua Plumbi*.
 Turriger innumeris *Elephas* sic cinctus ab Armis
 Erigitur, spumisque Irae furialibus undans
 Ferrea nodoso regerit venabula dorso
 Toruus, et Obstantes Bellantum proterit hastas.⁴⁰

He restored the ravaged horns, and the wreck of the cleft plain
With horses that he brought in, forcing his way through a thousand companies
And restoring to ordered smoothness the small groups of men of the middle squadron.
For he burst the spheres of the Legions and the ranks of men
Rushing together, stepping intact to the wound-bearing swords,
And right through the bursting thunder of the shower-bearing Lead.
Like a tower-bearing Elephant girded with innumerable weapons
He draws himself up, seething with foaming fury
Throws off the iron hunting spears from his knotty back
And ferociously tramples the spears of the warriors in his way.

Cromwell's decisive action in this passage is once again presented in terms that link him to an unstoppable force of nature. Strikingly, his intervention is described *both* in terms of his effect upon his own side (*Anfractus . . . Turmae*, lines 1-3 above) *and* in reference to his action upon the enemy (*Námque . . . Plumbi*, lines 4-6 above). Although there is no

single phrase with the concision of Marvell's 'Did thorough his own side / His fiery way divide' ('An Horatian Ode', 15-16), the effect is similar: Cromwell is experienced as an unstoppable force by the men under his own command as much as the enemy.⁴¹ The passage draws on lines describing undiluted *virtus* in both Prudentius and Lucan, and the elephant simile is modelled on a Lucanian simile for Scaeva, an heroic but ultimately misguided centurion in Caesar's army. The elephant also of course suggests Hannibal. Marvell's 'Horatian Ode' – which was almost certainly composed in June or July of 1650 and so post-dates the published *Marston Moor*, dated by Thomason as 11th April of that year – also compares Cromwell to Hannibal: 'A Caesar he ere long to Gaul / To Italy an Hannibal' (101-2).⁴²

Norbrook is right to make a link between the lightning of Marvell's 'Horatian Ode' and Fisher's Latin poetry, but the influence probably runs from Fisher to Marvell, not the other way around. The lightning motif in the *Irenodia gGratulatoria* is just one iteration of a poetic association between Cromwell and Lucanian lightning which is evident in Fisher's work from the late 1640s onwards. Indeed, the relevant passage of the *Irenodia gGratulatoria* even quotes from *Marston Moor* in its reworking of the image.⁴³ Personal dedications in many of the extant copies of Fisher's works, both in manuscript and print, demonstrate that he took particular care to disseminate his work amongst those he considered important or influential; by contrast, there is notoriously no direct evidence of the manuscript circulation of Marvell's lyrics, including the 'Horatian Ode', in the early 1650s.⁴⁴

The Cromwellian lightning is, however, far from the only link between Fisher and Marvell's Cromwellian verse. The ~~intensity extent of the of~~ overlap in imagery between the two poets is concisely demonstrated if we return to the passage of the *Irenodia gGratulatoria* with which we began. Taken as a whole, that passage incorporates a series of images, most of which are paralleled in Marvell's poetry, whether in the

'Horatian Ode' (1650), the 'First Anniversary' (1652) or 'A Poem Upon the Death of his Late Highness the Lord Protector' (1658/9).

[Formating note: this long extract might be better presented as parallel text in two columns]

Fulminis in morem, lapsisque citatior astris
Hostibus imminuit, sparsam repetentibus urbem.

[. . .]

Agmina per *Peditum* tandem miserabilis ensis,
Missile, & *Hybernae Plumbum*, de more pruinae,
Perruptis spatiis, magnam fecere lacunam.
Flaventem haud aliter segetem cum Falce per agros
Vel matura novo detondet gramina Faeno,
Rusticus, apparent lati vestigia Ferri,
Et jacet ereptis Herbarum Gloria Culmis.
Sic per densatas acies glomerata vagantur
Fulmina, & excussis apparet *Inane*, Catervis.
Ast Illi, intrepidi Fatorum extrema ferentes
Stant dum membra cadent, & dum stant robora fundunt
Ultima, ab excisis vibrantes Brachia nervis.
Non secus Hospitium foelix avibusque Ferisque
Relligione potens, praegrandi *Caudice Quercus*
Quae contra nimbos stetit, omnigenasque procellas,
Innumeris tandem, succisa Bipennibus, aegrum
Declinando caput, spatiosa mole recumbens
Findit Humum, Fossaque aperit tellure sepulchrum.
Sic Acies Peditum, quae fulmina toto *Diei*
Et *Noctis* tulerat, animis elanguit imis,
Et tantis virtus damnis lassata, recessit.

[. . .]

cecidere virorum

Corpora, ceu collapsa cadunt folia arbore, Brumae

Frigus ubi stringit ramos:⁴⁵

*In the fashion of a lightning-bolt, faster than fallen stars,
He menaced the enemy as they sought refuge in the ruined city.*

[. . .]

*At last a wretched sword through the infantry ranks,
And a leaden missile, ~~like an Irish in the fashion of Scottish~~ frost,
Tearing a space right through, they made a void.
No differently than when a countryman in the fields
Mows the golden corn with his sickle, or the ripe grasses into new Hay,
The traces of the sweeping Iron are seen,
And the glory of the Grasses lies, the stalks all torn off.
Thus the gathered [or 'rounded'] lightning bolts wander
Among the close-packed ranks, and a Vacuum appears, the troops shaken back.
But those troops, boldly facing their final trial,
Stand until their limbs collapse, and as long as they are standing they pour out
Their strength to its very limit, whirling their arms with muscles already cut off.
No differently than an Oak, blessed shelter for birds and beasts,
Religiously powerful, with its enormous trunk,*

*Which stands against the clouds, and all types of storm,
 But at last, hacked at by innumerable axes, bending
 Its sickly head, and collapsing in a spreading mass
 It splits the ground, and digs its own grave in the earth.
 In this way the Infantry line, which had withstood the lightning bolts
 All day and all night, began to weaken and lose spirit,
 And, its courage exhausted by so many losses, started to retreat.*

[merciless massacre of Scots on battlefield (not by Cromwell, stresses Fisher)]

The men's bodies

*Fell, as dropped leaves fall from a tree,
 When the cold of a frost nips the branches:*

The essential structure of this passage compares Cromwell's military effect at the Battle of Worcester in 1651 first to lightning, and then to a mower in the fields; the courage and eventual retreat of the brave but doomed Highlanders to the collapse of an ancient and revered oak tree, and then (when they are massacred after the defeat) simply to the fall of leaves in autumn. The combination of lightning and oak tree is again indebted to [the well-known passage near the beginning of Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, 1.135-57](#), in which Pompey is compared to an ancient oak tree, now bare of leaves (*nudos . . . ramos . . . non frondibus*, 139-40) and Caesar to the lightning: the classical passage that stands behind both Marvell's 'Horatian Ode' (1650) and Fisher's depiction of Cromwell:

stat magni nominis umbra;
 qualis frugifero quercus sublimis in agro

exuvias veteres populi sacrataque gestans
 dona ducum nec iam validis radicibus haerens
 pondere fixa suo est, nudosque per aera ramos
 effundens trunco, non frondibus, efficit umbram;
 et quamvis primo nutet casura sub Euro,
 tot circum silvae firmo se robore tollant,
 sola tamen colitur. sed non in Caesare tantum
 nomen erat nec fama ducis, sed nescia virtus
 stare loco, solusque pudor non vincere bello;
 acer et indomitus, quo spes quoque ira vocasset,
 ferre manum et nunquam temerando parcere ferro
 successus urguere suos, instare fauori
 numinis, impellens quidquid sibi summa petenti
 obstaret gaudensque uiam fecisse ruina,
 qualiter expressum uentis per nubila fulmen
 aetheris impulsu sonitu mundique fragore
 emicuit rupitque diem populosque pauentes
 terruit obliqua praestringens lumina flamma:
 in sua templa furit, nullaque exire uetante
 materia magnamque cadens magnamque reuertens
 dat stragem late sparsosque recolligit ignes.

(Lucan, Bellum civile, 1.135-57)

The shadow of a mighty name he stood. As an oak tree, laden with the ancient trophies of a nation and the consecrated gifts of conquerors, towers in a fruitful field; but the roots it clings by have lost their toughness, and it stands by its weight alone, throwing out bare boughs into the sky and making a shade

not with leaves but with its trunk; though it totters doomed to fall at the first gale, while many trees with sound timber rise beside it, yet it alone is venerated. But Caesar had more than a mere name and military reputation: his energy could never stand still, and his one disgrace was to conquer without war. Fierce and unrestrained, prepared to lead his men wherever hope and anger summoned him, and never reluctant to turn to the sword; ready to press his own advantages, to rely upon the favour of the gods, crushing whatever stood in his way as he sought the summit of achievement, and rejoicing to have made his way by destruction: just as the lightning forced through the clouds by the winds flashes forth with the resounding crash as heaven and earth are struck, destroys the day and terrifies the frightened peoples, dazzling the eyes with its slanting flame. It rages against its own temples, and no object can prevent its progress. Both falling and returning it casts great devastation far and wide and gathers together again its scattered fires.

The Lucanian associations of Fisher's lines are emphasised by the presence of both parts of the simile, the oak and the lightning, and the imagery of a falling tree has royalist associations independent of the specific allusion.⁴⁶ The trees in Fisher's simile are cut down, not destroyed by a storm: this detail – which obviously relates to the intentional wounding of battle – also links the passage to royalist laments for woodland destroyed by Cromwell.⁴⁷

Finally, there is connection between the felled tree and the cut grass in the simile of the mower which precedes it:

Flaventem haud aliter segetem cum Falce per agros
 Vel matura novo detondet gramina Faeno,
 Rusticus, apparent lati vestigia Ferri,
 Et jacet ereptis Herbarum Gloria Culmis.
 Sic . . .⁴⁸

No differently than a countryman, who through the fields mows the golden corn with his sickle, or shears the grown grasses into fresh Hay, and the paths of his sweeping Iron appear, and the Glory of the grasses lies, the stalks torn off.

So the lightning . .

Marvell is known for his 'Mower' poems ('The Mower against Gardens', 'Damon the Mower', 'The Mower of the Glow-worms', 'The Mower's Song'), though the closest parallel here is to an image in 'Upon Appleton House' (417-24), which works in the reverse direction to Fisher's simile – comparing in this instance a mown field to the aftermath of a great battle:

Or sooner hatch or higher build:

The mower now commands the field;

In whose new traverse seemeth wrought

A camp of battle newly fought:

Where, as the meads with hay, the plain

Lies quilted o'er with bodies slain:

The women that with forks it fling

Do represent the pillaging.

Upon Appleton House dates probably, though not certainly, from summer 1651 (possibly as late as summer 1652).⁴⁹ It would be misleading to claim evidence of specific influence in either direction on the basis of this image alone – which must after all have been a common sight – but its appearance in the *Irenodia & Gratulatoria* within a sequence each element of which has parallels in Marvell makes an association more likely. Whether

original to him, or inspired by Marvell, Fisher was apparently pleased with the comparison: in his revisions to *Marston Moor* republished in the *Piscatoris Poemata* of 1656 (though the title page for *Marston Moor* is dated 1655), Fisher added around four hundred lines of Latin poetry, but only three new similes. One of these is another version of the mower comparison, referring once again to Cromwell's efficacy on the battlefield and, in this case, the destruction of members of Prince Rupert's army in 1644.⁵⁰

Whereas the passage of the *Irenodia Gratuloria* borrows both elements of Lucan's double simile – the Pompeian oak tree as well as the Caesarian lightning – Marvell's 'Horatian Ode' uses lightning to suggest the equation of Cromwell and Caesar, but has no counterpart for Pompey.⁵¹ Lucan's oak tree appears, however, in Marvell's poem on the death of Cromwell, entered in the Stationers' Register for 20th January 1659, transferring the historic royalism of the image to the loss of the Protector himself.⁵²

Not much unlike the sacred oak which shoots
 To heaven its branches and through earth its roots:
 Whose spacious boughs are hung with trophies round,
 And honoured wreaths have oft the victor crowned.
 When angry Jove darts lightning through the air,
 At mortals' sins, nor his own plant will spare;
 (It groans, and bruises all below, that stood
 So many years the shelter of the wood.)
 The tree erewhile foreshortened to our view
 When fall'n shows taller yet than as it grew.
 ('A Poem upon the Death of his Late Highness the Lord Protector', 261-270

The passage is also modelled upon Lucan (quoted above), and it is surely intended to be recognisable.⁵³ The transferral of Cromwell from Caesarian lightning to Pompeian oak signals, ironically, both his quasi-royal status (because the fall of a Pompeian tree had become so closely associated with royalist lament) and the inevitable brevity of any man's power: Cromwell may not be subject to attack by any mortal 'Caesar', but he can still be struck down by the lightning of an 'angry Jove'. The image resembles Fisher's Lucanian vignette of 1652 at several points: 'sacred oak' is closer in sense to *religione potens* than Lucan's *sola tamen colitur*; and Marvell's phrase 'the shelter of the wood' echoes Fisher's description of the oak as a refuge for the creatures of the forest: *Hospitium foelix avibusque Ferisque* (1652: G2), a feature which does not appear in Lucan.⁵⁴

In short, there is a marked degree of overlap in the political imagery of Marvell and Fisher. In the climactic passage of the *Irenodia* *& Gratulatoria* discussed here, Fisher combines a series of elements – Cromwell as the lightning, the felling of a sacred oak, the image of the mower in the fields, and allusion to Lucan – all of which correspond to passages composed by Marvell at various points between 1650 and 1658. Moreover, in most of these instances, Fisher is himself revisiting and revising images he first developed in *Marston Moor*, composed in stages during the late 1640s.

Marvell's 'First Anniversary', the ship of state and the genre of political panegyric

In the second part of this article, I want to turn from this rich sequence in the *Irenodia* *& Gratulatoria* to pursue ~~instead the areas of overlap~~ a further connection between Marvell's 'First Anniversary of the Government under H.H. the Lord Protector', published anonymously in January 1655, and Fisher's poetry commemorating the same event.⁵⁵ 'The First Anniversary' is a markedly long and complicated poem, with elements drawn, as has often been made clear, from a wide range of ancient and contemporary sources,

including a strong Biblical element.⁵⁶ It is perhaps most memorable for two features: the simile of Cromwell as steersman of the ship of state (265-78), and Marvell's bold decision to make Cromwell's near-death in a coaching accident in late September 1654, and even a meditation on what would have happened had he actually died, the central movement of the poem (159-220).⁵⁷ In both these elements, Marvell echoed or (I think less likely) was echoed by Fisher, in his poems on the first anniversary of the Protectorate (*Anniversarium*) and on the coaching accident (*Pro recuperata valetudine*).⁵⁸

In the most striking simile of the poem, Marvell compares Cromwell to a sailor who, in an emergency, takes over as the steersman of the ship of state:

So have I seen at sea, when whirling winds,
 Hurry the bark, but more the seamen's minds,
 Who with mistaken course salute the sand,
 And threat'ning rocks misapprehend for land;
 While baleful Tritons to the shipwreck guide,
 And corposants along the tacklings slide.
 The passengers all wearied out before,
 Giddy, and wishing for the fatal shore;
 Some lusty mate, who with more careful eye
 Counted the hours, and every star did spy,
 The helm does from the artless steersman strain,
 And doubles back unto the safer main.
 What though a while they grumble discontent,
 Saving himself he does their loss prevent.
 ('First Anniversary', 257-78)

This is a particularly vivid reworking of a conventional political image, with roots in a variety of classical and post-classical sources.⁵⁹ Versions of the motif are found in poems from all political perspectives during the 1640s and 1650s. The development of the motif to include not only a steersman (or his absence), but also – as here – a *change* of steersman, is found in several works of Parliamentary polemic during the 1640s, to justify the overthrow of the King and eventually the regicide itself.⁶⁰ At the same time, royalist authors, especially in the immediate aftermath of the regicide, also return repeatedly to this image, often in poetry indebted especially to Horace.⁶¹ Although rarely noted, contemporary Latin poetry offers a large number of relevant examples, again from all political angles, and throughout the 1640s and 1650s.⁶² Cromwell himself used the image in a speech to Parliament in September 1654.⁶³

Fisher's poem on the first anniversary of the Protectorate begins by invoking Cromwell's handling of both the 'reins' and the 'ship' of the nation:

Nempe *Dies* niveis semper signanda lapillis
 Augurio meliore redit, *Quâ* Maximus *Anglis*
Amphitryoniades Patriis admissus habenis
 Imperii titubantis onus, fidâque levavit
 Naufragium commune manu, totiesque *Rogatus*,
Invitus, vidui subiit moderamina Clavi.
 (B1¹⁻⁶)

Indeed that Day, which is always to be marked with snow-white stones
Now returns with a still better omen, that day on which the greatest
Amphitryoniades [son of Amphitryon: Hercules] took up the burden of command as it was
reeling,

*Took up the ancestral English reins of state, and with a loyal hand brought relief to
The common shipwreck, and, though unwilling every time he was asked,
Finally agreed to take on the steerage of the abandoned tiller.*⁶⁴

The poem returns to the 'ship of state' image four pages later:

His nuper concussa Notis, tria Regna ruissent
Naufragium subitura novum, moderamina clavi
Deserti, laceramque Ratem rectoris egentem
Liquisset mediis si tum Palinurus in undis.
Sed Tu chare Pater miserando in turbine Rerum,
Grande Gubernaculum repetens, solitâque futuros
Propellens virtute metus, Pater euge! Superbos
Stravisti motus, . . .

*Recently shaken by these south winds, the three Kingdoms would have collapsed,
About to succumb to a fresh shipwreck, if Palinurus had then
Abandoned the steering of the deserted tiller, and left the torn ship,
Lacking a captain, in the midst of the waves.
But you dear Father, in the pitiable storm of events,
Taking the great rudder once again, and with your customary courage
Driving away future fears, Father, hail! You have scattered the proud
Rebellions . . .*

Like the association of Cromwell with lightning, these passages represent one stage in Fisher's repeated revisiting of a given image, with shifting political effect, from the late

1640s onwards. The first fully developed example of the motif in Fisher is found in *Marston Moor* (1650), in a set piece simile at one of the most emotive moments in the poem, as Sir Thomas Glemham courageously attempts to defend York against the Scottish and Parliamentarian besiegers:

quassae velut Arbiter *Alnae*
 Saeviùs *Aegeo* pelago quem versat Orion,
 Atque *Tridentiferi* truculentior Ira *Tyranni*:
 Colligit in tantis animum, mentémque Procellis
 Pervigil, insanis státque imperterritus undis:
 Jámq̄ue reformidans crescentem in Carbasa Corum
 Candida Roboreo substringit lintea Malo,
 Atque *Gubernacli flexu* devitat Aquarum
 Verbera, nunc rectâ nunc obliquante carinâ,
 Providus Oceani Coelíque obnititur Irae.⁶⁵

Against the waves of fate; like the Helmsman of a shaken Elder tree [ship]
 Whom Orion tosses still more savagely on the Aegean ocean,
 And the more ferocious anger of a trident-bearing Tyrant:
 He gathers his heart and his mind even in such blasts,
 Always watchful, and stands unafraid amidst the madness of the storm:
 And in dread of the Corum [South-East wind] rising against his Sails
 He binds his bright linen beneath the oaken mast,
 And with inclination of the rudder avoids
 The blows of the waters, with the keel now straight, now at an angle
 Foresightful he strives against the anger of Ocean and Heaven.

This passage stands in the general tradition of the royalist imitations of Horace, *Odes* 1.14, and by doing so associates Glemham, withstanding the assault upon York in 1644, with resistance to the events of the later 1640s, up to and including the regicide.⁶⁶ But in its detail it incorporates an allusion to, and partial quotation of, Silius Italicus, 1.685-9, a passage comparing the Roman Fabius' caution and good sense at the news of Hannibal's incursions to that of a wise ship's captain.⁶⁷

Fisher returned to the image two years later, in the *Irenodia gGratulatoria* of 1652; but 'returns' is a rather weak verb for what amounts to a kind of image-based obsession. The *Irenodia*, a poem of around 1,300 lines long, contains nine separate versions of the 'ship in a storm' motif:

- 1- Cromwell as steersman through storm (B1^v)
- 2- Poet as steersman through storm, risking wreck (B3^v)⁶⁸
- 3- Scottish casualties at Dunbar like wrecked ship (C4^v)
- 4- Scots as a whole like a storm-tossed sailor, with no star to steer by (E3^v-E4^v)
- 5- The city of Worcester, like a pirate ship now itself plundered [Claudian on Alaric] (F3^v)⁶⁹
- 6- Battle of Worcester compared to a storm at sea, ships tossed this way and that (F4^v)
- 7- Cromwell has saved us from shipwreck, struck only Scots with lightning (H1^v)
- 8- Grey of Groby at Battle of Worcester like an anchor in a storm (H2^v)
- 9- Bradshaw as a faithful Palinurus (I3^v)

The image, the *leit motif* of the poem, permits multiple perspectives: a vivid depiction of the destruction and distress of political chaos and military defeat in the body of the poem

(3, 4, 5, 6) framed by the gratitude due to those who ‘take the tiller’ in such a storm (1, 7, 8, 9). The opening image was possibly echoed by Cromwell himself in his speech of 4 September 1654.⁷⁰ Whereas Glemham, defending York in 1644, was described by Fisher as *pervigil*, Cromwell at the close of the *Irenodia*, having withdrawn from battle on the command of Parliament, is *vigilantior Ipse* (‘himself still more watchful’), in a phrase which typically both alludes to and outdoes Fisher’s own earlier versions of the same image: Cromwell, in this passage, is both associated with, and marked out from, Glemham’s doomed heroism, creating a striking continuity of imagery between quite different experiences and political perspectives.⁷¹ An impression of multiple perspectives is characteristic of Marvell’s political poetry; Fisher creates a similar effect *in extenso* by the repeated revisiting of particular images, presented from different angles both within a single long poem and across works produced over several years.

Fisher reworked the simile of the ‘ship of state’ yet again, on only the second page of the *Inauguratio Olivariana* of 1654, in a version of the motif which combines a modesty topos (Cromwell is Palinurus, not Aeneas) with quasi-divine imagery (Cromwell is also a constellation shining from Olympus):

Propria cum sponte *Senatus*
 Obstreperus surgens, *Navim* Rectoris egentem
 Liquerat, ambiguus & caligantibus undis,
 Ille insperato *Cynosura* eluxit olympto,
 Ille idem *Palinurus* erat. *Navarchaq;* gnarus
 Admisit vidui; clemens moderamina, clavi.

When the nation’s own Parliament,
Rising up noisily and of its own accord, had abandoned ~~the~~ ship of state without a steersman,

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~~A~~mid dark and unpredictable waves –

~~T~~hen that man, like the constellation Ursa Minor, shone forth unexpectedly from Olympus,

~~T~~hat man was a second Palinurus. Like a skilled ship captain,

~~H~~e gently took up the controls of the abandoned rudder.⁷²

When Fisher, on On the first page of his poem on the anniversary of the Protectorate,

Fisher claims that Cromwell- *‘fidâque levavit / Naufragium commune manu, totiesque Rogatus, /*

Invitus, vidui subiit moderamina Clavi (‘has with a loyal hand relieved the common

shipwreck, and, though unwilling every time he was asked, has taken over the steerage of

the abandoned tiller’), ~~he is a passage reworks a phrase in Claudian~~ (*‘certaque levasset /*

Naufragium commune manu’, De quarto consulatu Honorii Augusti, 61-2). But these lines

~~combine Claudian with an alluding allusion~~ to his own ~~repeated~~ mythologising of

Cromwell ~~in similar terms as much as he is to any prior source over the works of the~~

~~previous five years.~~

Whereas Palinurus in the *Aeneid* is determined to keep his eyes on the stars and not to fall asleep (*Aeneid* 5.851-2), but cannot resist the will of the gods, Cromwell at the beginning of the *Inauguratio* is both the steersman and the stars by which he steers.⁷³

Marvell’s poem makes the same move, since Cromwell is also described as a star earlier in ‘The First Anniversary’:

And in his sev’ral aspects, like a star,

Here shines in peace, and thither shoots in war.

While by his beams observing princes steer,

And wisely court the influence they fear.

(101-4)

Marvell's poem is known for its emphasis upon the foreign perception of Cromwell (both in the lines above and, especially, in the speech of the 'princes', 349-94).⁷⁴ This is another feature shared with Fisher, whose *Anniversarium* emphasises both the successes of the English navy and the perception of Cromwell by the rulers and people of other nations (*Anniversarium*, in *Piscatoris poemata*, F2^v-G1^r, also close to the end of the poem). These structural similarities extend to Fisher's treatment of the coaching accident, which, although commemorated by him in a separate work, *Pro recuperata valetudine*, adopts the same strategy as the corresponding section (159-220) in Marvell's 'First Anniversary': both works imagine Cromwell's death, first the grief-stricken response ('First Anniversary', 201-214; *Piscatoris poemata*, H1^r), and then his departure for heaven ('First Anniversary', 215-238; *Piscatoris poemata*, H2^r-I1^r).⁷⁵

Nigel Smith begins his discussion of the form of Marvell's 'First Anniversary' by remarking that '[u]nlike *An Horatian Ode*, *The First Anniversary* does not adhere strictly to the pattern of an extant poetic genre'. In an important recent study, Anthony Miller is right to correct this: '[t]he generic models of Marvell's *First Anniversary* are the consular panegyrics of Claudian'.⁷⁶ But Fisher, in his sustained attempt throughout the early 1650s to import Claudianic form into Anglo-Latin verse was probably the inspiration for that generic move. With 16 verse paragraphs, and running to 402 lines, the 'First Anniversary' closely resembles in form as well as panegyric content most of the extant shorter works of both Fisher and Claudian.⁷⁷ Waller's 'Panegyric' – entered into the Stationers' Register, in May 1655, alongside Marvell's 'First Anniversary', both of which were published, like all of Fisher's major works of the period, by Thomas Newcomb – prints as an epigraph on its title page two lines from the preface to Book 3 of Claudian's *De Consulatu Stilichonis*, 'On the Consulship of Stilicho': the same Stilicho with whom Cromwell is constantly associated by Fisher, from *Marston Moor* onwards.⁷⁸ Although there are examples of the imitation of Claudian's panegyric in England from the medieval period

onwards, this sudden intensification of interest, as demonstrated by Marvell, Waller and – extensively – Dryden, seems to begin with Fisher.⁷⁹

Conclusion

Paul Davis has described with clarity and precision the proliferation of suggested intertexts for Marvell's verse, the confusing variety of these apparent models, and the extent to which that variety has made Marvell harder, rather than easier, to make sense of as a poet.⁸⁰ This paper risks complicating that picture still further; opening Marvell's poetry up not only to Fisher in particular, but to whole vast (and almost undiscovered) realm of contemporary neo-Latin poetry as a whole. But it also lends some coherence to the picture, precisely because the stock of images and source texts to which Fisher and Marvell return most insistently are so extensively shared.

The absorbency of Marvell's political imagination is now well established, and it is not in that sense surprising if he drew on Fisher, just as he demonstrably did upon so many vernacular authors of the period. We can be surer about the likelihood that Marvell read Fisher because Fisher's works were published, mostly in handsome print editions many of which survive in fairly large numbers; because the many surviving personalised inscriptions and dedications demonstrate that Fisher took considerable care over their wide dissemination; and because in several instances Marvell's version of a motif (of Cromwell as lightning or as steersman) certainly dates from after Fisher's development of the image across more than one work. That is not to say, of course, that Fisher was not also reading and being influenced by Marvell, and that they were in that sense collaborating in the creation of a Protectorate poetic style: a style of political panegyric, moreover, which found direct descendants in the political poetry of the Restoration, and especially of Dryden. What is striking is the extent of the shared imagery, the very large

quantity of Fisher's extant verse, and the almost complete neglect of it by literary scholars. Fisher and Marvell were both drawing on and contributing to the same literary milieu in the 1650s, and they surely learnt from each other.

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¹ See especially Nigel Smith, *The Poems of Andrew Marvell* (London, rev. ed. 2007); Blair Worden, *Literature and Politics in Cromwellian England: John Milton, Andrew Marvell, Marchamont Nedham* (Oxford, 2007); Nicholas McDowell, *Poetry and Allegiance in the English Civil Wars: Marvell and the Cause of Wit* (Oxford, 2008); James Loxley, 'The Social Modes of Marvell's Poetry' in Derek Hirst and Steven N. Zwicker (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Andrew Marvell* (Cambridge, 2011), 8-25; Paul Davis, 'Marvell and the Literary Past' in Hirst and Zwicker, *Cambridge Companion*, 26-45.

² The classical roots of Marvell's enigmatic 'An Horatian Ode upon Cromwell's Return from Ireland' have been a particular focus of analysis, especially in relation to Horace and Lucan; see for instance: A. J. N. Wilson, 'Andrew Marvell, *An Horatian Ode upon Cromwell's Return from Ireland*: the Thread of the Poem and its Use of Classical Allusion', *Critical Quarterly* 11 (1969), 325-41; David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics, 1627-1660* (Cambridge, 1999), 243-71; Smith, *Poems*, 266-79; Worden, *Literature and Politics*, 58-75; Takashi Yoshinaka, *Marvell's Ambivalence: Religion and the Politics of Imagination in Mid-Seventeenth Century England* (Woodbridge, 2011), 86-128; Derek Hirst and Steven N. Zwicker, *Andrew Marvell: Orphan of the Hurricane* (Oxford, 2012), 57-8.

³ On Marvell's own Latin poetry, see Estelle Haan, *Andrew Marvell's Latin Poetry: From Text to Context* (Brussels: Latomus, 2003) and notes in Smith, *Poems*. On allusions to neo-Latin poetry in Marvell, see [on Herman Hugo] Kitty Scouler Datta, 'New Light on Marvell's *A Dialogue between the Soul and the Body*', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 22 (1969), 242-55; [on Casimir Sarbiweski], Maren-Sofie Rostvig, 'Benlowes, Marvell, and the Divine Casimire', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 18 (1954), 13-35.

⁴ The literary-political culture on which Marvell drew and to which he contributed was bilingual. Where appropriate, I have included references to other contemporary Latin poems, most of which have not received any previous comment.

⁵ For Fisher's life, see J. T. Peacey, 'Fisher, Payne (1615/16-1693)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9506>, accessed 24 April 2016].

⁶ The BL preserves two autograph collections of verse (BL Harley MS 6932 and BL Add MS 19863) dated 1648, apparently prepared in the hope of patronage or favour. They are dedicated to 'E: P.' (unidentified, but perhaps Edward Popham, who is commemorated at length in *Piscatoris poemata*, Kk2^r-L12^v) and to Sir Denzil Holles respectively, although multiple individual poems are also addressed to specific individuals, including Sir John Clotworthy. The politics of both volumes is markedly royalist. [These two manuscripts are discussed in greater depth in Victoria Moul, 'Revising the Siege of York: from royalist to Cromwellian in Payne Fisher's Marston Moor', *The Seventeenth Century* 31: 3 \(2016\), page numbers not yet confirmed; online publication September 2016: DOI 10.1080/0268117X.2016.1200997.](#)

⁷ For instance, 27 copies of *Marston Moor*, 28 of the *Irenodia gGratulatoria*, 24 of the *Inauguratio gOlivariana* (1654), 17 of *Piscatoris poemata* (1656). A handful of copies recorded by the ESTC are scattered in European libraries (e.g. copies of the *Inauguratio gOlivariana* in Göttingen and Paris), suggesting a possible 'paradiplomatic' role among a European readership. Several extant works commemorate successful diplomatic missions, such as *Negotiatio Whitlociana* (printed in the *Piscatoris poemata* of 1656), or seem to be directly related to such efforts (such as the *Paeon triumphalis* of 1657, on Cromwell's military victories, but dedicated to Cardinal Mazarin). Existing records may however be significantly incomplete: the copy of *Marston Moor* digitised by Google Books, for instance, is held by the National Central Library in Rome, and is not listed in the ESTC.

⁸ McDowell (*Poetry and Allegiance*, 2) notes, for instance, that both Marvell and Hall wrote commendatory poems for Lovelace's *Lucasta* (1649).

⁹ Worden, *Literature and Politics*. On Marvell and Whitlocke's embassy to Sweden, see Edward Holberton, *Poetry and the Cromwellian Protectorate: Culture, Politics, and Institutions* (Oxford, 2008), especially pages 26-36; on Marvell and Waller, see Holberton, 87-118.

¹⁰ *Mercurius Politicus* was published by Newcomb from January 1651. In the first half of the 1650s, Newcomb published Fisher's *Marston Moor* (1650, second edition 1655), *In celeberrimam naumachiam* (1650), *Irenodia gGratulatoria* (1652), *Inauguratio gOlivariana* (1654), *Apobaterion* (1655) as well as *In celeberrimum naumachiam . . . epincion* (1656) and *Piscatoris poemata* (1656).

¹¹ *Piscatoris poemata* (1656), a1^v-a2^r; *Marston-Moor* (1650), P1^v (final page).

¹² On Fisher, see footnote with archival details, Worden, *Literature and Politics*, 103n, McDowell, *Poetry and Allegiance*, 225; also Peacey, 'Fisher, Payne'.

¹³ *Marston Moor* 1650: a4^v; see also Fisher's poem on *Theophila* (*Piscatoris poemata*, B1^r-C2^r).

¹⁴ *Irenodia* *g* *Gratulatoria* (1652), ‘Amico Domino Fishero in Irenodiam Suam Hendecasyllaba’, a2^{r-v}.

¹⁵ *The speeches of Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, and John Bradshaw. Intended to have been spoken at their execution at Tyburne, Jan. 30. 1660. But for many weightie reasons omitted. And now publish't by Marchamont Needham and Pagan Fisher servants, poets, and pamphleteers to his infernal highnesse* (1660 [=1661]). Thomason tract copy dated February 6 [1661] (Thomason, E.1081[5]).

¹⁶ *Negotiatio Whitlockiana, vel in d* *ecessum, p* *editumque vere nobilissimi Dom. Bulstrodi Whitloci nuper in Sueciam Legati preexcellētissimi g* *Gratulatoria* included in *Piscatoris p* *Poemata* (1656: Ii*2^r-Oo*4^r), but with a separate title page, dated 1655. It is followed by a series of tributes (in English and Latin) to Frances Whitlock (e1^r-f4^v) and then Fisher’s poem in praise of Waller’s *Panegyric* (A1^r-A4^r, the final page of the volume). Haan, *Marvell’s Latin Poetry*, 152 briefly compares ‘A Letter to Dr Ingelo’ to Fisher’s Whitlocke poem.

¹⁷ Critical dismissal of Fisher, down to the present day, can be traced back to influential Restoration sources, including William Winstanley, *The Lives of the Most Famous English Poets* (London, 1687), 192-3 (which implies personal acquaintance but also wrongly claims that Fisher was already dead) and Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* (Oxford, 1691-2), iv. 378-82. Both works acknowledge Fisher’s talents as a Latin poet, but condemn his politics.

¹⁸ Gerald M. MacLean, *Time’s Witness: Historical Representation in English Poetry, 1603-1660* (Madison WI, 1990), 226-33, Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640-1660* (New Haven, 1994), 284-6, Smith, *Poems* and Philip Connell, *Secular Chains: Poetry and the Politics of Religion from Milton to Pope* (Oxford, 2016), 23-32 2016 all use Manley’s text. Ruth Nevo, *The Dial of Virtue: A Study of Poems on Affairs of State in the Seventeenth Century* (Princeton, 1963), 82-4 discusses the poem as Manley’s, not Fisher’s. Knopper correctly notes (204n) that ‘previous work has taken Thomas Manley’s translation . . . as a stand-in for Fisher’s own text’.

¹⁹ See Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*, 233, n. 113. Fisher’s Latin poem is dated 1st January 1652, the translation 30th January, that is, the third anniversary of the execution of Charles I.

²⁰ Laura Lunger Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell: Ceremony, Portrait and Print, 1645-1661* (Cambridge, 2000), 204 n44.

²¹ Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic* quotes some Latin in footnotes, and discusses *Marston Moor* (1650) as well as the *Irenodia g* *Gratulatoria*. Two studies in cultural history (rather than literature) do quote Fisher’s Latin and range beyond the *Irenodia*: Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell*, 58-65 (on *Irenodia g* *Gratulatoria*, 1652) and 88-93 (on *Inauguratio o* *linariana*, 1655), and Anthony Miller, *Roman Triumphs and Early Modern English*

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Culture (Basingstoke, 2001), 167-70. Peter Wenham, *The Siege of York 1644* (York, 1970; repr. 1994), 129-32, as part of a detailed account of the contemporary sources for the siege of York, dismisses Fisher's *Marston Moor* (1650) as a historical source in a way that hints at its literary interest: 'By no stretch of the imagination can the work be considered as serious history. It is rhetorical, imaginative, fanciful and vague, being profusely interlaced with classical references and allusions' (129). [See now also the first full study of *Marston Moor*, Moul, 'Revising the Siege of York'](#).

²² Fisher makes frequent use, for instance, of alliteration for structure and emphasis, to a much greater degree than is common in any of the canonical classical poets, but in a manner comparable, for instance, to Abraham Cowley's Latin poetry of the 1650s and 1660s. Claudian is much more alliterative than most classical Latin poets. Fisher's frequent use of epic similes (a point in common with Marvell) is closest, amongst the classical poets, to the practice of Statius, Silius Italicus and Claudian. Fisher's similes are often markedly royalist even in work published in the mid-1650s: the revised edition of *Marston Moor* published in the 1656 *Piscatoris Poemata*, for instance, makes no attempt to remove the pathos of the many epic similes attached to doomed royalists in the poem ([on the similes of *Marston Moor*, see Moul, 'Revising the siege of York'](#)).

²³ Smith and Norbrook discussed further below. Haan, *Marvell's Latin Poems*, 152 comments briefly on Marvell's and Fisher's poems on the embassy to Sweden in November 1653. Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell* notes general similarities in procedure and imagery between Milton, Marvell and Fisher (65) and Milton and Fisher (93), as does Miller, *Roman Triumphs*, 167, in relation to Marvell's 'First Anniversary'.

²⁴ Smith, *Poems*, 130 (on the Mower poems), 267, 274 and 278 ('An Horatian Ode'), 302 ('A Poem upon the Death of his Late Highness the Lord Protector').

²⁵ Smith, *Literature and Revolution*, 285. I agree with Miller (*Roman Triumphs*, 211, n.58) that 'Smith underrates Fisher's technical competence as a Latinist'.

²⁶ Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*, 251 and 264-5.

²⁷ All quotations of Marvell are taken from Smith, *Poems*.

²⁸ Marvell's poem is also indebted to Horace, especially *Odes* 4.4. Amongst a host of discussions, see especially Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*, 243-271, and Smith, *Poems*, 267-72 for a summary of scholarship.

²⁹ Fisher, *Irenodia*, G2^r.

³⁰ All translations of Latin are my own unless otherwise noted. Manley translates ‘So do those towering lightnings sadly cleere / The place from Troopes, and make a *Vacuum* there’ but the Latin phrase *glomerata* . . . *fulmina* is probably intended to suggest bullets in particular – hence *glomerata*, ‘rounded’ or ‘condensed into a circle’.

³¹ This volume prints 20 lines to a page, so these three passages occur over the space of about fifty lines.

³² The word ‘fulmen’ also appears in the first line of Horace, *Odes* 4.4 (*Qualem ministrum fulminis alitem*).

³³ Norbrook comments perceptively on the ‘scientific’ feel of Manley’s lines, and suggests that Fisher (or Manley) also borrowed this from Marvell (Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*, 264-5). In fact, Fisher’s Latin battlefield descriptions are much more markedly Lucretian than Manley’s English translation. In the second passage here, *densatas*, *glomerata*, *excussis* and *Inane* sound Lucretian. The Lucretianism of Fisher’s military terminology is established in the earliest surviving sources (MSS dating from 1648, and the printed *Marston Moor* of 1650), and is particularly associated with artillery: he was apparently interested by a sustained comparison between the action of bullets and the constant collision of Lucretian atoms.

³⁴ BL Add MS 19863 and BL Harley MS 6932.

³⁵ *De obsidione PPraelioque Ebroocensi / vulgo Marstonmoore appellato / Carmen / horis suscisiniis exaratum*. BL Add MS 19863, 10r-15r.

³⁶ BL Harley MS 6932 adds two lines of direct address to the Earl at this point. The patterns of textual variants between the two closely related MS sources suggest that BL Add MS 19863 preserves a slightly earlier version of the poem than the Harley MS, and for that reason is cited here. [The relation between these two early manuscripts is discussed in greater detail in Moul, ‘Revising the Siege of York’.](#)

³⁷ Cromwell is spelt *Coromell* consistently in both BL manuscripts. I have not been able to identify the source for this version of his name, [although in metrical terms it produces two short syllables \(“Coro-”\) which make it somewhat easier to fit into lines of dactylic hexameter.](#)

³⁸ This passage was removed in the expanded and more pro-Parliamentarian version published in 1650, presumably because the powerful mythologising of Cromwell in these lines was deemed too negative. The association between Cromwell and lightning was however retained and developed at various other points in the expanded poem, as discussed below.

³⁹ *Marston Moor*, 48-9. This passage appears in the earliest manuscript versions of the poem, though in those sources the Scots are compared to *Cerviarum* (female deer) rather than to hares. ‘Molossian’ hounds are notorious for their ferocity. Although the Scots were fighting on the same side as Cromwell in 1644,

their depiction in the poem – including their collapse in the face of this Cromwell-like lightning – hints at their status as enemies of Cromwell by 1650.

⁴⁰ *Marston Moor*, 52-3. The intervening section describes the chaos on the battlefield, and then General David Lesley's failed attempt to restore order.

⁴¹ Compare also a similar passage in Fisher's 'First Anniversary' poem (*Anniversarium*), which again uses the phrase *fulminis in morem* at the beginning of a line to compare Cromwell with lightning, and also stresses his ability to destroy everything in his way (*prorumpens obvia*), depicting Cromwell in that instance both as lightning and as expertly *wielding* the lightning (*libraveris . . . Fulmina*) (*Piscatoris poemata*, D2^{r-v}). There are two consecutive gatherings labelled 'D' in this volume (but no E). This is the first gathering 'D'.)

⁴² *Marston Moor* elsewhere uses similes borrowed from Silius Italicus to suggest that the Earl of Manchester is like Hannibal, though the 1656 revision of the poem reworks them to apply to Cromwell instead. The *Irenodia* *Gratulatoria* of 1652 compares Cromwell to Hannibal directly.

⁴³ Nigel Smith in fact cites (Manley's translation of) Fisher as evidence for the manuscript circulation of Marvell's 'Horatian Ode' in the early 1650s (Smith, *Poems*, 267). This does not stand up: whether or not Fisher had read Marvell's poem at this point, these lines are revisiting – and indeed quoting – an image Fisher had already been developing for several years.

⁴⁴ Some critics believe that Milton's sonnet 'To the Lord General Cromwell' (May 1652) in which Cromwell is described as having broken 'through a cloud / Not of war only, but detractions rude' (1-2) is indebted to Marvell's ode and represents additional evidence for the circulation of Marvell's poem by this point (first argued by David Crane, 'Marvell and Milton on Cromwell', *NE&Q*, n.s. 33 (1986), 464). Milton could equally have been influenced by Lucan, either in Latin or in Thomas May's translation; or indeed by Fisher himself.

⁴⁵ *Irenodia* *Gratulatoria*, G1^r-G3^v.

⁴⁶ The association between the oak tree and the King himself is particularly strong after the Battle of Worcester (after which the future Charles II was supposed to have hidden in the Boscobel Oak) but was established before this: Smith, *Poems*, 233 notes parallels in Howell, Herrick, Cowley, Lovelace and Evelyn; Robert Wilcher, *The Writing of Royalism 1628-1660* (Cambridge 2001), 291 reproduces the engraving of the felling of the English oak from Clement Walker, *Anarchia Anglicana: Or, The History of the Independency. The Second Part* (1649) (engraving between pages 112 and 113). Versions of the Lucanian motif are also found quite widely in Latin poetry of this period: compare for instance the simile in Peter Du Moulin, *Ecclesiae*

Gemitus (1649), 5 comparing Piety amid the civil war to a still beautiful but rotten beech-tree. In *Marston Moor* Fisher compares the death of ‘Phennixus’ (probably John Fenwick), to the collapse of an Italian oak tree or mountain ash which, struck by lightning, *nutat . . . lapsura* (59), an echo of Lucan’s *nutet casura* (1.141). On the reception of Lucan in general, including May’s translation, continuation and the Latin version of the continuation, see Edward Paleit, *War, Liberty, and Caesar. Responses to Lucan’s Bellum Civile, ca. 1580-1650* (Oxford, 2013), though Paleit does not discuss either Marvell or Fisher.

⁴⁷ Cromwell’s irreverent destruction of woodland is a common *topos*, also found for instance in Cowley’s civil war narrative in Book 6 of *Plantarum Libri Sex* (1668) and indeed in Fisher’s own earlier *Marston Moor*, in which Cromwell’s troops outside York desecrate the woodland like Caesar does at Massilia in Lucan (*Marston Moor*, 15). Compare also the first poem (on the regicide) in James Windet, *Ad Augustiss: Majestatem Caroli Secundi Sylave II* [1660], 1-13, in which the tree is felled intentionally.

⁴⁸ Unlike most of Fisher’s similes, this comparison does not seem to have been borrowed in detail from a classical text, though the phrase ‘falce per agros’, in the same position in the line, appears in Claudian, *De bello Gothico*, 463. Fisher quotes, adapts and alludes to Claudian’s political poetry systematically throughout the 1650s.

⁴⁹ Smith, *Poems*, 210. Hirst and Zwicker, *Orphan of the Hurricane*, 12-14. On the possible post-Restoration dating of both ‘The Garden’ and ‘The Mower against Gardens’, see Alan Pritchard, ‘Marvell’s “The Garden”: A Restoration Poem?’, *SEL* 23 (1983), 371-88 and Hammond, ‘The Date of Marvell’s “The Mower against Gardens”’, *N&Q* 53 (2006), 178-81; counter-argument in Hirst and Zwicker, *Orphan of the Hurricane*, 164-177.

⁵⁰ *Piscatoris poemata* (1656: 58/Gg1^{r-v}). Rupert’s squadrons *saeva reformidant ferri tondentis acuti / Imperia* (‘shudder at the savage commands of the sharp shearing steel’), a borrowing from a memorable piece of personification in Virgil *Georgics* 2.369-70, on the pruning of vines.

⁵¹ Though Smith, *Poems*, 233 suggests that the rotten oak in ‘Upon Appleton House’ (545-52) is ‘an oblique reference to the regicide’.

⁵² Cromwell died in September 1658. Although entered in the Stationers’ Register as part of a pamphlet alongside poems by Dryden and Sprat, Marvell’s poem was replaced in the published volume by Waller’s ‘Upon the Storme and Death of his Late Highnesse Ensuing the same’. Fisher’s poem on the death of Cromwell, In *Obitum Serenissimi Potentissimique Principis Olivari*, was published twice in 1658 – in first as a single-sheet broadside (ESTC R213735; Wing F1022A) and then a substantial folio volume (ESTC

R29836; Wing F1040). In *Obitum . . . Olivari* also compares the death of Cromwell to the fall of a tree, though in this case a cedar caught in a fierce storm, and the details of the description are not indebted directly to Lucan.

⁵³ Smith, *Poems*, 310 cites both Lucan and Manley's translation of Fisher in relation to these lines. Thomas May's Latin version of his continuation of Lucan (*Supplementum Lucani*, published Leiden 1640) probably influenced Fisher (see Paleit, *War, Liberty, and Caesar*).

⁵⁴ Fisher reused this element of the motif in his *Apobaterion* (1655) in honour of the Marquès de Lede, Ambassador Extraordinary of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, a2^v. In that simile, the tree shelters birds like a mother.

⁵⁵ Marvell's 'First Anniversary' was published, like *Mercurius Politicus* and most of Fisher's publications in this period, by Thomas Newcomb. The Thomason tract edition is dated 17th January and the poem was also advertised that month in *Mercurius Politicus* (240, 1-18th January). Oddly, it does not appear on the Stationers' Register until the end of May that year, alongside Waller's 'Panegyric'. See Smith, *Poems*, 281.

⁵⁶ Smith, *Poems*, 281-298, with a summary of relevant scholarship.

⁵⁷ Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*, 337-357. See also Alastair Fowler, *Triumphal Forms: Structural Patterns in Elizabethan Poetry* (Cambridge, 1970), 76-84.

⁵⁸ The full titles of Fisher's poems are: *Anniversarium; In diem inaugurationis Olivari Angliae, Scotiae, & Hiberniae, Praepotentissimi Principis et Protectoris Epico Carmine decantatum* and *Pro recuperata valetudine Serenissimi Praepotentissimique Principis Olivari D. G. Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae, Cum dominiis circum nec non longius jacentibus, &c. Imperatoris Semper Augusti; Cum nuper à curru (ferocientibus equis) corruens graissimoque casu contusus ut de salute desperaretur, Eucharisticon*. They are extant only in *Piscatoris poemata* (1656) where they appear consecutively (B1^r-G1^v and G2^r-I1^r; no gathering marked 'E' but two marked 'D'). They were almost certainly however published either in anticipation of (in the case of the *Anniversarium*) or at the time of the events they mark. The full title of the *Pro recuperata valetudine* describes the accident as happening *nuper* ('recently'), and probably dates from the point in October at which it became obvious that Cromwell would recover from the accident. The opening of the poem (lines 6-10, G2^{r-v}) compares the celebration to that commemorating the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, marked on November 5th, which may also suggest that the poem was issued in late October or early November. In his edition of Marvell's 'First Anniversary', Nigel Smith (*Poems*, 281, 295) notes allusions to events immediately after the anniversary itself, in December 1654, which suggest that Marvell's poem dates from shortly after that point, rather than being

written in advance. I have found no comment on either of Fisher's poems except for Miller, *Roman Triumphs*, 168-70, who focuses on Fisher's depiction of Cromwell's recent and projected victories overseas.

⁵⁹ Plato *Phaedrus* 247C and *Republic* 488e-489d; Alcaeus frs. 6, 208 and 249; Cicero, *De inventione* 1.4;

Plutarch *Caesar* 24, Lucan *De Bello Civili* 1.498-504; Seneca, *De brevitate vitae* 5.1; Horace *Odes* 1.14. Calvin's use of the metaphor in his *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos* is discussed in J. M. Wallace, 'Marvell's "Lusty Mate" and the Ship of the Commonwealth', *Modern Language Notes* 76 (1961), 106-110. ~~Indeed, the image remains current; compare~~ Compare David Cameron's speech of resignation on the morning of 24th June, 2016: 'I will do everything I can as Prime Minister to steady the ship over the coming weeks and months but I do not think it would be right for me to try to be the captain that steers our country to its next destination.'

⁶⁰ Wallace, 'Marvell's "Lusty Mate"', discusses several examples in prose texts of the period.

⁶¹ Manuscript examples include John Polwhele's moving translation and imitation of *Odes* 1.14, dated 1649 (Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. f16, 51^v-52^r); Mildmay Fane's Latin imitations of Horace, including (in manuscript) an imitation of *Epodes* 11 including the ship of state motif (Harvard University Library fMS Eng 645, p. 81) and (in *Otia sacra*, 1648) both a Latin (128) and an English (161) poem on this theme. Marvell's own earliest work includes a royalist imitation of Horace *Odes* 1.2 ('Ad Regem Carolum Parodia'), published in 1637.

⁶² In addition to the multiple instances in Fisher discussed below, examples include the anonymous pamphlet *Ex spinosa anonymi sylva, Folia quaedam* ([no place of publication], 1649), the first poem of which is addressed to the Scottish ship [of state], and dated pointedly 1st January 1649. The author stresses that God alone should be the 'steersman' of the craft. Abraham Cowley's Latin poem to Cambridge University, the first item in the 1656 *Poems*, also uses this image (A2^r), in a publication which makes a considerable if perhaps unconvincing display of its new loyalty to Cromwell.

⁶³ See Smith, *Poems*, 294.

⁶⁴ The addition of the detail of 'reins' perhaps hints at the coaching accident, provocatively so given that Cromwell's rash decision to take the reins of the coach himself, leading to his fall, was widely satirised by his opponents and criticised even by his supporters (examples from a range of named and anonymous sources in Holberton, *Poetry and the Cromwellian Protectorate*, 111; Norbrook, *Writing the English Revolution/Republic*, 352; Annabel Patterson, *Marvell: The Writer in Public Life* (Routledge, 2014), 44-46 usefully relates the poem to the conventions of *soteria*, but does not consider contemporary Latin examples; Fisher's *Piscatoris poemata* (1656) includes a *soteria* for Edmund Ludlow at H4^r-Kk1^v). In Latin, *habena* can also refer

more generally to ‘steering’ or ‘command’, but the detail of *Amphitryoniades* suggests horsemanship, since Hercules’ eighth task was to tame the horses of Diomedes and drive them home. For the image, compare Marvell, ‘First Anniversary’, 224, ‘To turn [become] the headstrong people’s charioteer’.

⁶⁵ Fisher, *Marston Moor*, 30-1.

⁶⁶ This kind of ‘dual perspective’ is evident at several points in the poem, for instance in an association made via allusion to Claudian between the Scots and Alaric: Alaric had been Stilicho (that is, Cromwell’s) ally at an earlier point, just as the Scots were fighting with Parliament at Marston Moor, but went on to be his greatest enemy, as the Scots were Cromwell’s enemy by 1650.

⁶⁷ The shared phrases are *in carbasā Corum* (Silius Italicus, 1.688) and *substringit lintea malo* (1.699); Silius’ *providus* (1.685) corresponds to Fisher’s *pervigil*. Both passages are a simile (Silius: *ut saepe e celsa grandaevus puppe magister*, 1.687). Glemham is more active than Fabius, who only reefs his sail at the sight of the coming storm; whereas Glemham, already caught up in it, is forced to tack back and forth. An association between Cromwell (or Manchester) and Hannibal, explicit in the *Irenodia* §*Gratulatoria*, is hinted at several times in *Marston Moor* via allusions to Silius Italicus.

⁶⁸ The second instance of the image, applied by Fisher to himself, explores a similar choice between the apparently safer shore and the riskier but more rewarding high seas as that found in Marvell’s version.

⁶⁹ The link between Stilicho and Cromwell, Alaric and the Scots was already established in the 1650 edition of *Marston Moor*, though further expanded in the *Irenodia* §*Gratulatoria*.

⁷⁰ Smith, *Poems*, 294, citing Carlyle, 35: ‘It’s one of the great ends of Calling the Parliament, that the Ship of the Commonwealth may be brought into a safe harbour’; compare Fisher *ut tandem damnis secura, quiescens, / Haereat Immota foelix RESPUBLICA Portu*, ‘so that at last, safe from loss, / The Republic be calmed and stand at rest, happy in the harbour’ (*Irenodia*, B1^v).

⁷¹ (*poscente Senatu*) / *Dumque Domi Duc clare manes, vigilantior Ipse / Subsidiis vaga castra Foràs foelicibus implet* (*Irenodia* §*Gratulatoria*, H3^v). Manley translates ‘with a more watchfull eye’. Compare Marvell ‘Some lusty mate, who with more careful eye’ (‘First Anniversary’, 271). In both cases, the comparative is suggestive – Marvell’s lusty mate is ‘more careful’ than the passengers who precede him and the ‘artless steersman’ who comes two lines later. In Latin, a comparative adjective can mean ‘rather’ or ‘very’ as well as ‘more . . . than’, but in Fisher the phrase suggests more watchful than the Parliament itself, or perhaps that Cromwell was even more *vigilans* when not engaged in active combat.

⁷² This passage is discussed briefly in Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell*, 89-90. She suggests that the passage makes Cromwell a 'Palinurus who survives'. She comments '[q]uite audaciously, given the circumstances, Fisher portrays the parliament itself as dissolving (*liquare*) the storm-tossed ship of state, which Cromwell then rescues' (90). The blaming of Parliament is indeed clear, though *liquerat* here is the pluperfect of *linguo* (not from *liquo*, *-are*), meaning simply that Parliament had 'left' or perhaps 'abandoned' the ship (of state) without a steersman.

⁷³ In the final lines of *Irenodia* *Gratulatoria* (13^v), it is Bradshaw, President of the Council of State, and nominally the addressee of the poem, who is Palinurus; at that point, the comparison tends to suggest that Bradshaw, like Palinurus in the *Aeneid*, is destined only to be replaced by Cromwell as Aeneas. The comparison does not have the same tinge of irony when later applied to Cromwell himself, though the careful modesty of the comparison is no doubt intended to emphasise Cromwell's non-kingly position.

⁷⁴ Marvell's innovative presentation of this passage as direct speech is probably indebted in particular to the speech of Hannibal in Horace, *Odes* 4.4.50-72.

⁷⁵ The central conceit of Fisher's poem asks how, when he does finally die, the heavens will make space for the apotheosis of Cromwell. The conceit derives from Virgil, *Georgics* 1.32-5, itself drawing on Hellenistic panegyric; but is probably indebted most directly to Claudian, *De tertio consulatu Honorii Augusti*, 171-84 (ironically a passage invoked by Ogilby in his description of the 1661 coronation of Charles II). There is a hint of the same conceit in the passage of Marvell's 'First Anniversary' ('And in his sev'ral aspects, like a star'). Compare also Dryden, *Albion and Albanus* (1685, 51); Paul Hammond, 'Dryden's *Albion and Albanus*: The Apotheosis of Charles II', in David Lindley (ed.), *The Court Masque* (Manchester, 1984), 169-83.

⁷⁶ Miller, *Roman Triumphs*, 177. Miller offers a very brief sketch of the reception of Claudian in English political culture on pages 36-7, but does not discuss Fisher's imitation of Claudian.

⁷⁷ Fisher's shorter poems are typically several hundred lines long, without section breaks: *Anniversarium in diem inaugurationis* (probably 1654, published in *Piscatoris poemata* 1656) 512 lines; *Pro recuperata valedutine* (probably 1654, published in *Piscatoris poemata* 1656), 139 lines; *Apobaterion* (on arrival of Marquis of Lede, 1655), 286 lines; *In celeberrimam Naumachiam* (1656) 193 lines; *Epinicion, vel Elogium* (on Louis XIV, dedicated to Cardinal Mazarin) (1658) 420 lines. Fisher's longer poems are all between approximately 1,000 and 1,500 lines long; *Marston Moor* (1, 367 lines long in 1650; 1, 714 in *Piscatoris poemata* of 1656) is subdivided into five 'metra' or 'idyllia', although Fisher did not repeat this in his later long works (*Irenodia Gratulatoria* (1652) 1,080 lines; *Inauguratio Olivariana* 1,456 lines long (1654)). In this distinction between

longer (sometimes subdivided) and shorter works, Fisher is also imitating Claudian (e.g. *De consulatu Stilichonis* (three books, of 385, 476 and 369 lines); *Panegyricus dictus Probino et Olybrio consulibus* (279 lines), *Epithalamium* (341 lines), *De tertio consulatu Honorii Augusti* (211 lines)).

⁷⁸ Increasingly directly so during the course of the 1650s: the *Anniversarium* calls Cromwell a second Stilicho: *alter adest Stylicho (Piscatoris poemata 1656: B2^r)*. The final item of collected poems of 1656 *Piscatoris Poemata* (1656) is a poem on Waller's 'Panegyric' (A1^r-A4^r). Holberton, *Poetry and the Cromwellian Protectorate*, 90-1 comments briefly but perceptively on Waller's invocation of classical panegyric in general, and Claudian in particular. Early modern English literary reception of Claudian remains largely unmapped, though see J. D. Garrison, *Dryden and the Tradition of Panegyric* (Berkeley CA, 1975) and Alan Cameron, *Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius* (Oxford, 1970; repr. 2002), 419-51. Milton's imitation of *In Rufinum* in *Paradise Lost*, the only well-known example, may itself have been influenced by Fisher.

⁷⁹ A forthcoming article will discuss the scale and political effect of Fisher's imitation of Claudian, within the context of Claudian's imitation in early modern English political poetry (from More to Dryden).

⁸⁰ Paul Davis, 'Marvell and the literary past', in Derek Hirst and Steven N. Zwicker (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Andrew Marvell* (Cambridge, 2010), 26-45.