

Sublimating the Singularity of an Author(ity):  
Textual Publics, Textual Agency, and a Case Study of *Eikon Basilike* (1649-1660)

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For my daughter, Elizabeth, whose fire and vivacity of spirit remind me every day that while a PhD is forever, so too is the love that you have for your child.

Elle, I will credit you always as the one who has taught me that even though you and I may see the world differently from other people, that which sets us apart is also an incredible gift. Never forget that “when you are imagining, you might as well imagine something worthwhile.”

This one’s for you, *Anne-girl*.

## Abstract

This dissertation utilizes a critical post-human theorization of textual agency to demonstrate how, within certain historical circumstances, autobiographical texts are capable of assuming surrogate authorial agency for their Subject-authors through the expression of what Mari Ruti (2012) identifies as *singularity of being*. Building upon the works of Ruti, Sigmund Freud, Jacques Lacan, Slavoj Žižek, and others, I illustrate how, through authorial cathexis, the singularity of the foreclosed Subject-author registers its presence in the Symbolic field through what I call *sublimated metaphoric-metonymic essences of the Real*.

This project employs its theory of the text-agent in a psychoanalytic case study of the regicide of Charles I (1649); the posthumous publication of his book, *Eikon Basilike*; and royalist textual responses to these events during the English Interregnum (1648/9–1660/1). I argue that *Eikon Basilike*—Charles I's textual agent—was fetishized and sublimated with the king's singularity, which enabled royalists to transfer his paternal-monarchical authority to the *Eikon*. Specifically, the book was able to channel the king's monarchical power through the Freudian *paternal no*. The *Eikon* became a Lacanian stain on the English Interregnum literary landscape, and it prompted royalists to combat the parliamentarians as a *royalist textual public* in response to the regicide.

Through lenses of psychoanalysis and trauma theory, I investigate how royalist texts were disrupted by moments of what Mathew Martin (2015) calls *traumatic mimesis*. These texts exhibit moments of destabilized emotional surplus, which manifested mimetically as textual symptoms in the Symbolic field as their authors attempted to process the loss of the English

monarchy. In so doing, royalist texts helped to condition public imagination of the Restoration through their individual contributions to a trans-subjective royalist textual fantasy: the sublimated Subject-object of monarchical ideology, *Eikon Basilike*.

**Keywords:** Charles I, *Eikon Basilike*, Textual Agency, Royalist, English Civil War, Performance, Regicide, Psychoanalysis, Trauma Theory, Post-humanism

## Textual Notes

Given that this project is situated at the intersection of many disciplines, there are instances throughout where I have made conscientious style choices that deviate from the referencing and formatting standards of MLA 9. For example, the reader will note that I have included a robust number of footnotes to provide (sub)disciplinary definitions and contextual information. While I acknowledge that the use of endnotes is preferred in MLA style, I have opted for footnotes for reader accessibility and to remove comprehension barriers for those who may require assistive or adaptive technologies. It is for this same reason that I have abstained from using appendices, opting instead to embed evidence into the main text.

Another style choice informed by the interdisciplinary nature of this project was to shift tenses throughout when it makes sense to do so. When conducting literary analyses of texts, I adhere to the convention of literary studies by writing in the present tense; however, when discussing theory, historical context, or the texts themselves as works, accounts of, or events in history, I use the past tense, as is common practice in historical studies. When the gender of a speaker in a text or an individual is unclear or unassigned, I follow current MLA standards and use *they/them/their* singular pronouns. As is a common practice in the social sciences, I have italicized key terms when defining concepts.

Given that this project has many moving parts, including a wealth of primary, secondary, and tertiary sources, I include the original year of publication alongside the name of authors or titles of texts when introducing them to assist the reader with the larger contextualization of evidence. Though many of the historical primary sources used in this dissertation were published anonymously during the Interregnum period, in instances where texts have been

attributed to authors by scholars who have studied the English civil war, I have chosen to do so as well. I use the Gregorian calendar when citing texts and referencing events, which means that there may be some discrepancy in the dates of those texts published during the Interregnum.<sup>1</sup> In such instances, I have adjusted these dates according to the *Early English Books Online* database, which I acknowledge gratefully as the source for most of my primary materials. Any of my own omissions or adjustments to quoted passages are denoted by square brackets to avoid confusion where texts may contain an ellipsis or existing parentheses. If italics have been used for emphasis by the author in the material that I am citing, my emphasis will be added in bold and denoted as such. Further, while I have provided a short literature review of *Eikon Basilike* in the introduction, given the interdisciplinary nature of this project, I have opted to integrate more nuanced discussions of the relevant contextual arguments and theoretical frameworks into the relevant chapters.

Due to the many different 1649 editions of *Eikon Basilike*, I quote from Jim Daems and Holly Faith Nelson's scholarly edition of *Eikon Basilike* (2006) to maintain consistency during textual analysis. Furthermore, I acknowledge that there are existing historical studies of *Eikon Basilike* that demonstrate the involvement of other persons in the production of the *Eikon*.<sup>2</sup> F. F. Madan's (1950) landmark publication, *A New Bibliography of the "Eikon Basilike" of King Charles I* is one such study and I refer to it several times throughout this project. However,

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<sup>1</sup> When the Julian calendar was changed to the Gregorian calendar by Pope Gregory of the Roman Catholic Church in 1582, England (a Protestant country at that time) was late in adopting the Gregorian calendar in rejection of Catholicism. Therefore, there is a year discrepancy in the dates of some English texts produced during this period.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Wilcher (2013) identifies several people who were likely involved in the process of producing *Eikon Basilike*: Charles I, William Juxon, Edward Symmons, Brian Duppa, Richard Royston, Jeremy Taylor, and John Gauden (the last of whom the *Eikon* is largely credited in contemporary scholarship).

because the *Eikon* was attributed to the king, and for reasons that I hope will become more clear to the reader during this dissertation, I refer to Charles I as both the author of and the speaker in the *Eikon*. Specifically, I identify Charles—who was a barred Subject<sup>3</sup> in the Symbolic order in his own right—by referring to him as the Subject-author because the *Eikon* was published with the understanding that Charles did author(ize) the personal accounts contained therein.

Additionally, unless specified otherwise, I use *monarchy* in reference to both the institution and the king (Charles I) simultaneously. Further, in recognition that not all those who supported Parliament were necessarily members of it, I use the term (*pro-*) *parliamentarian*.

This dissertation is in compliance with the *Guidelines for Ethical Editing of Student Texts* outlined by Editors Canada. No editing services or AI technology were used in the production of this manuscript.

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<sup>3</sup> Lacan uses the ‘\$’ symbol when writing *subject* to acknowledge that the subject is barred by the Symbolic order. I will adopt this practice to avoid or, in some cases invoke deliberately, the ambiguity between the Lacanian Subject and a monarchical subject.



## Acknowledgements

*In everyone's life, at some time, our inner fire goes out. It is then burst into flame by an encounter with another human being. We should all be thankful for those people who rekindle our inner spirit.*

—Albert Schweitzer

First and foremost: I am indebted eternally to the brilliant Dr. Mathew Martin, who agreed graciously to take over supervising this project in 2021. It was he who rekindled my inner academic fire when it had been all but extinguished. Mathew's overall impact upon my graduate training is best encapsulated in the words of Joseph Campbell, who, in *The Power of Myth*, states that to get in touch with one's real self, one should

follow the hints of the myth itself and of your guru, your teacher, who should know. It's like an athlete going to a coach. The coach tells him how to bring his own energies into play. A good coach doesn't tell a runner exactly how to hold his arms or anything like that. He watches him run, then helps him to correct his own natural mode. A good teacher is there to watch [...] and recognize what the possibilities are—then to give advice, not commands. (176)

Mathew, my thoughts here have taken me longer to compose than any other in this dissertation. I've struggled because the esteem in which I hold you and the depth of my gratitude continue to elude Symbolic representation; nonetheless, I shall attempt to do justice to the sentiments. Thank you for taking a chance on me and on this project. Your generosity of spirit, equanimity, sense of humour, and unflagging support have inspired me profoundly. It was your confidence in my academic *bricolage* that helped me to feel both safe and brave enough to push beyond the limits of my disciplinary training and into the amorphous space of interdisciplinary research. Working with you these last three years has been a privilege of the highest order, and I take immense pride in what we have accomplished together.

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To my wonderful friends: thank you for staying by my side as I have walked (and stumbled) along my path. I am grateful to the universe for giving me such an amazing support system. Honourable mentions go out to: Alice Blanchard, who read and edited some of my earlier work and who was always there when I got knocked down on my arse; Christopher Bull and James Jarrell, who listened to my ramblings over the course of many Saturday night dinners and helped me to talk through the connections between different text-agents throughout history; Kate and Drew Beauvais, who have been there with me as we have dealt with the challenges of adulthood; and Josh and Keaghan Cowell-Doucette, whose friendship and support have kept me sane not only during this dissertation, but in the wild west of raising strong-willed daughters.

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To my daughter, Ellie: you will always be my greatest source of inspiration to do hard things. I love you, muppet.

And finally, to my husband, who was undoubtedly the person who suffered the most during my PhD: Josh, you may consider this my *mea culpa*. I offer below, in no particular order, an abridged list of the behaviours for which I am the most repentant:

1. Hermitting in my office for hours or days at a time.
2. Buying way too many academic books, and...

3. ... not feeling more guilt about buying so many academic books.
4. Listening to instrumental music loudly and often on loop while I was writing.
5. Wandering around the house while muttering to myself about this project.
6. Abruptly leaving conversations mid-sentence because an epiphany had struck.
7. Shouldering you with more than your fair share of the “domestic engineering,” including the parental duties.
8. Giving you an existential crisis by teaching you about Lacanian psychoanalysis. That was totally my bad.

Whether it was making sure that Elle didn't run feral in the front yard or making me laugh with your (awful!) jokes about *das Ding*, you've been the MVP of this household. I realize that it takes a very special person to tolerate my idiosyncrasies, never mind take them in stride as you do. That said, I shall leave it simply at this: I love you. Thanks for never running out of time or patience with me.

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## Introduction

No; Thus led,  
I'le scorne it should be said I flinch'd or fled.  
Heav'ns say Amen, and grant I henceforth may  
The broad declining, choose the narrow way!

—“Votum Authoris” (1649)

This dissertation was conceptualized from a disciplinary position—literary studies—as a project about trauma in English civil war texts. However, over time it shifted to become an interdisciplinary project that focuses upon the development of a critical post-humanist theory<sup>4</sup> of textual agency, which I employ in a psychoanalytic case study of royalist literature produced in England between 1649–1660. In *Interdisciplinary Research: Process and Theory* (2017), Allen Repko and Rick Szostak provide the following definition of *Interdisciplinary Studies*:

“Interdisciplinary studies is a process of answering a question, solving a problem, or addressing a topic that is too broad or complex to be dealt with adequately by a single discipline, and draws on the disciplines with the goal of integrating their insights to construct a more comprehensive understanding” (8). There are some scholars who would suggest that to do research involving seventeenth century England is to do interdisciplinary scholarship inherently. Such a claim makes a certain amount of sense since, from a post-new-historicist perspective, one cannot

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<sup>4</sup> Praymod Nayar (2014) differentiates past conceptualizations of *post-humanism* from *critical post-humanism*, the latter of which, “seeks to move beyond the traditional humanist ways of thinking about the autonomous, self-willed individual agent in order to treat the human itself as an assemblage, co-evolving with other forms of life, enmeshed with the environment and technology” (3-4). Stefan Herbrechter (2013) discusses this idea as well, noting that “[t]he word ‘critical’ in ‘critical posthumanism’ names [...] the task of analyzing the process of technologization, based on the idea of a radical interdependence or mutual interpenetration between the human, the posthuman, and the inhuman. This interpenetration happens at a political, economic, philosophical, technoscientific as well as a cultural level” (19-20).



explore the larger significances and implications of texts produced during the Interregnum without comprehending first the social, political, and cultural landscapes within which said texts were being produced, disseminated, encountered, and performed. In fact, interdisciplinarity has roots in the earlier works of scholars such as F. R. Leavis (1943), who argued for a type of proto-interdisciplinarity in his work, *Education & The University: A Sketch for an 'English School.'* Therein he outlines a hypothetical post-secondary degree that investigates the seventeenth century from multiple disciplinary lenses, including sociology, politics, economics, history, and literature. Leavis was astute in his recognition that topics of the seventeenth century, and notably the English civil war, offer scholars a rich opportunity to engage in the process of what would come to be recognized as interdisciplinary research (47-60). Yet there remains value in traditional methods of disciplinary scholarship. I share Joe Moran's (2010) belief that, despite the benefits of interdisciplinarity, of which there are many, we require disciplinary structures to assist us in organizing knowledge. This project does not propose a radical abolition of disciplinary structures; on the contrary, before engaging in interdisciplinary research, the conscientious scholar would do well to devote time to understanding first the various disciplinary approaches—the methodologies, ontologies, and epistemologies—that must be invoked and interrogated to facilitate the interdisciplinary process.

Indeed, as English civil war scholar Kevin Sharpe (2000) acknowledges: “to appeal for a more interdisciplinary praxis, to urge an address to text, to advocate engagement with some of the questions raised by critical theory, and to insist that a history of politics must incorporate the history of reading may seem to ask too much” because it is difficult to remain current in one discipline, never mind several at the same time (*Reading Revolutions* 61). Sharpe is correct in

his assertion that engaging in the process of interdisciplinary work can be daunting. This dissertation has taken me many years to complete and part of that invested time was due to the interdisciplinary agility and various disciplinary epistemologies that I found necessary to cultivate in the pursuit of answers to a question that has intrigued me since I began my doctoral work: if, as English Interregnum scholars have recognized largely, Charles I's posthumous text, *Eikon Basilike: The Pourtraicture of His Sacred Majestie in His Solitudes and Sufferings* (1649), was indeed a prominent factor in the Restoration (1660), how was a single text able to shape and influence the socio-political ideologies of royalists during the Interregnum so profoundly?

During my initial research, I encountered two passages written by English civil war scholars that sparked my fascination about the roles of performance, agency, and textuality in relation to *Eikon Basilike*. The first, written by J. G. A. Pocock (1987), states: "A really complex text, occurring in a really complex historical situation, may be seen as performing polyvalently: not only will there be several continuities of discourse (another term for levels of meaning) within which it may be read and seen to have acted, but it may be seen as performing all manner of cunning games as it moves from one level to another" (28). The second passage, from Elizabeth Sauer's 2005 monograph, states that during the Interregnum, "a collective memory, fed by a material and print culture which achieved a kind of social control, kept Charles's image in circulation. At a time when the printed book became identified with the corpus carrying the life and spirit of the author, *Eikon Basilike* in whole and in parts began the process of resuscitating royalism" (71). The language of personification in these two passages stood out to me as highly significant. The more that I investigated *Eikon Basilike*, the more aware I became of a gap in explanations to account for how the *Eikon* was able to act, perform cunning games, move from

one level to another, resuscitate royalism, or carry the life and spirit of its author if it was not in possession of some form of post-human agency. As I will demonstrate shortly, scholars who continue to study the *Eikon* remain in general agreement that the book was popular and had significant cultural and political impacts upon England. However, during my research, larger theoretical questions began to emerge: can certain texts assume an author's socio-political authority and function as a textual proxy for their author if said author is disenfranchised? Is the author truly dead in the post-Barthian sense, or are texts capable yet of (re)presenting an author through a type of surrogate agency? And, assuming that a form of post-human textual agency is even possible, how and under what circumstances can a text accomplish such a feat?

These questions directed me beyond the traditional subject boundaries of literary and historical studies. As Lisa Lattuca (2001) notes, when a project is informed by research questions that transcend the epistemologies and methodologies of a given discipline, the practice of *informed disciplinarity*—that is, “disciplinary questions requiring outreach to other disciplines” (81)—no longer proves to be sufficient. It became clear to me that the answers to my questions would require an interdisciplinary praxis that would bring literary and historical studies into conversation with the methodologies, epistemologies, and ontologies of several different (sub)disciplines. Building on this premise, my project integrates, synthesizes, and applies theories and concepts from a variety of disciplines in a historical and psychoanalytic case study that advances existing understandings of textual agency and, specifically, the role of textual agency in English civil war literature. I approach this project through a framework of what Lattuca calls *conceptual interdisciplinarity*, which occurs when research is motivated by a philosophical question that is relevant to more than one discipline. Within a conceptual

interdisciplinary framework, the question is central to the scholarship; a variety of disciplinary methodologies, ontologies, and epistemologies are then brought to bear on the question in the pursuit of answers that are applicable widely to many disciplines (117).

The use of interdisciplinary case studies in Interregnum scholarship is an approach for which scholars in that field, including Sharpe, have advocated in the past. He calls attention to the specific need for more case studies that focus on the events of 1649 and that examine the political, psychological, and aesthetic reverberations through approaches that “combine the questions of theory and techniques of textual criticism with empirical research and close historical situation” (*Reading Revolutions* 62). In answer to this call, this project undertakes a consideration of how various disciplines might re-envision the impacts that texts can have upon political/religious ideologies via a psychoanalytic examination of a representative body of royalist texts produced between 1649–1660. I employ an interdisciplinary theorization of textual agency to *Eikon Basilike* and other royalist texts that address the king’s book directly or indirectly as part of a case study of textual agency during this period. In so doing, I interrogate the complex intersections and relationships amongst royalist texts, authors, and audiences during the Interregnum to build upon and extend Slavoj Žižek’s existing arguments about socio-political ideologies, mainly his theory of the sublime object of ideology. I focus upon the regicide of Charles I to demonstrate how, during periods of political and/or social instability, texts that have been attributed to political/spiritual leaders as autobiographies can (re)present and perform as/for their Symbolically foreclosed authorial counterparts. These texts are sublimated by/with the

authority of their disenfranchised authors, which allows them to function as fiduciary agents or Freudian surrogates for the forbidden.<sup>5</sup> I identify these texts as *text-agents*.

### ***Eikon Basilike*: A Literature Review**

There have been numerous speculations regarding the authorship of *Eikon Basilike*, and F. F. Madan's (1950) bibliographic study, *A New Bibliography of the "Eikon Basilike" of King Charles I* has demonstrated that it was likely Dr. John Gauden who assembled *Eikon Basilike* from Charles's various papers and writings, which the king then read and edited. I will abstain from entering the authorship debate directly on the grounds that, regardless of whether Charles I wrote all (or even any) of the *Eikon*, popular public perception at the time was that the book was indeed the king's own work. As Elizabeth Skerpan-Wheeler (2011) notes, issues of accuracy and consistency in *Eikon Basilike* "are irrelevant to audiences' connection to Charles I the star" ("The First 'Royal'" 915). Moreover, even if some (pro-) parliamentarians did not believe the *Eikon* to be the sole work of the king, it was nonetheless ascribed to him as a soul work and was viewed by royalists as "an incarnational text, for it provided a revered, material textual body for Charles I. Many early-modern readers experienced the volume as the sacred, authoritative Word" (Daems and Nelson 16). Acknowledging this position, the more salient point that this project addresses is how the fantasy of Charles I as the *Eikon's* author was being constructed around the book's genesis narrative. As Lois Potter (1989) observes, "one reason for the general belief in the king's authorship of the posthumous *Eikon Basilike* was the fact that he frequently

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<sup>5</sup> A concept in which Freud (1913) merges the ideas of transference and the symptom. The symptom is an explanation and positivity that allows us to detect a trauma that stems from a patient's confrontation with something repressed, unfulfilled, forbidden, unknowable, or unconscious.

told his close associates of his intention to justify himself in writing” (7). The key to the *Eikon*’s success resided in the illusion—the misrecognition or *méconnaissance*—that the king was the sole/soul author of *Eikon Basilike* and the popular perception that this text was a type of final will and testament. Thus, regardless of who was (or was not) involved in putting pen to paper, it was the attribution of the *Eikon* to Charles I—and the royalists’ eagerness to believe that the book indeed had been written by their dead king—that contributed to the sublimation of the king’s book as a metaphor-metonymy for Charles Stuart and a textual expression of himself as a paternal author(ity).

Existing studies on audiences, reception, and literacy during the seventeenth century allow us to form provisional conclusions about how people were likely to have encountered the king’s book and what their corresponding attitudes towards *Eikon Basilike* may have been at the time. Joad Raymond (2011) estimates that by around 1600, the literacy rate in England would have been at about about thirty percent amongst men and ten percent amongst women, though this number was higher in cultural centres such as London (4). As such, during this period, information was conveyed largely through oral and visual cultures. Dagmar Freist (1997) has observed that while there was a literary culture in England, “given that the majority of society possessed only moderate literacy skills, symbolic action, the power of images, rituals, processions, political songs, and the spread of news by word of mouth were still all part of popular communication” (19). Moreover, as Sharon Achinstein (2001) notes, “[o]ral culture was alive to the currents of the day, and not just through song; texts were read aloud, at a time when habits of reading aloud were far more prevalent than they are today” (53). The prominent use of oral and visual communication strategies during this time explains why *Eikon Basilike* achieved

recognition and popularity amongst the masses, despite the relatively high rates of illiteracy: reading was often a communal event. Shared spaces such as taverns, alehouses, and churches would have afforded opportunities for public opinion<sup>6</sup> to (re)form and for news to be disseminated. As Skerpan-Wheeler (1992) notes, “in the early seventeenth century [...] illiteracy did not mean exclusion from political discourse [...] Reading itself became a public and often overtly political activity. Literate people often read to groups of nonreaders, and a printed proclamation itself frequently carried political significance” (*The Rhetoric of Politics* 6). A lack of education or the inability to read did not preclude members of the public from engaging in political discourse; rather, political discourse was made accessible through oral and visual means. It was within this growing communal print culture that the *Eikon* emerged as an almost instant sensation amongst English audiences.

Based upon Madan’s study, we know that within the first year of the king’s death, an impressive thirty-five to forty editions of *Eikon Basilike* were produced in England (2). The first of these editions was in circulation most likely on the day of Charles’s execution, though copies were certainly available at large within a few days of the regicide. The royalists’ timing of the *Eikon*’s dissemination played a significant role in generating the book’s wild popularity and the public demand for copies of the text. Robert Wilcher (2012) observes in his discussion of the *Eikon*’s print and publication history that, in addition to the numerous English editions and copies printed in England during 1649, there were also “English texts printed in Ireland, Holland,

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<sup>6</sup> Freist defines *public opinion* within a seventeenth century context as “a process which was sparked off the moment politics spilled over into everyday life and challenged people’s opinions and private consciences,” happening when “men and women moved from ordinary discourse and the habitual exchange of news to discussing politics” (21).

and France, and translations into Latin, Dutch, French, Danish, and German” (290). The fact that *Eikon Basilike* was printed in many different editions and languages within its first year of publication speaks to its popularity during the Interregnum.

When the Rump Parliament attempted to suppress the king’s book in September 1649 with an “Act Against Unlicensed and Scandalous Books and Pamphlets, and for Better Regulating of Printing,” royalist publishers continued to defy Parliament by printing editions of various size and quality for private consumption. Both Potter (1989) and Kyle Sebastian Vitale (2020) have argued that “the miniscule size [of *Eikon Basilike*] promoted secretive communities as much as individual reading [...] Editions like [the] vicesimo-quarto would have allowed Royalists to carry the book on their body” (Vitale 214). Moreover, where royalists met for “communal prayer book services, they could now, in a physical and mental community, secretly carry their *Eikon* and meet Charles ritually in his sacred offices after death” (Vitale 214). And, while the *Eikon* was being read by and to diverse groups of people, it was also being disseminated and consumed in diverse settings and forms—such as sermons and songs—as a means of royalist resistance. As Sharpe (1998) observes, the *Eikon* contributed to the royalists’ efforts to fight back against Parliament in print by continuing the “debate over the authorship [which] not only kept Charles I at the center of political discussion,” but it pointed to Parliament’s need “to deprive the king of a language that carried such authority. The king’s book, however, succeeded in (re) claiming a number of validating vocabularies for the royalist cause: as one elegist put it with astute use of possessive pronouns: ‘Thy book is our best language’” (“An Image Doting Rabble” 33). As I demonstrate throughout this project, the king’s



book played a fundamental role in helping royalists to reclaim a common Symbolic language and to regain their statuses as (re)barred Subjects in the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure.

Moreover, *Eikon Basilike* invited sympathetic textual receptions and responses from royalist authors as it conditioned the imaginative possibility for the Restoration<sup>7</sup> by invoking the Freudian paternal metaphor. The popularity of *Eikon Basilike* can be attributed in part to the autobiographical form and religious tone of the king's book. David Gay (2012) has argued that encountering the *Eikon* was a sacred experience that was shaped by both the visual images and the voice of Charles I. He notes that “[a] seventeenth-century reader who accepts the premise of sacred majesty would find the *Eikon Basilike* a uniquely intimate and inward experience of the sacred in prayer” (2). Helen Randall (1947) observes that the *Eikon* was “an *apologia pro vita sua* so saint-like in character that it could serve virtually as a royalist book of devotions” (137), and Andrew Lacey (2007) demonstrates that “the *Eikon* and its author were casuistical texts—teachers of holy living and holy dying—and these texts struck a deep chord with people struggling to make sense of their duty and follow their consciences in extraordinary times” (5). Of particular significance to my study is Lacey's position that the *Eikon* and Charles I were both texts to be read. James Loxley (1997) argues along similar lines, though he states that “as a relic of the royal martyr, the *Eikon* appropriates the corporeal substance of its author, *fusing writer and writing in the one object*” (182; emphasis added). By combining Loxley's position that the writer and the writing were fused into one subject with Lacey's stance that the two were separate-yet-connected texts, this project explores how the *Eikon* and Charles-as-Subject were

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<sup>7</sup> I thank Dr. Elizabeth Sauer for her assistance with this point.

constitutive parts of Charles Stuart's (post)humous textual ideal-ego<sup>8</sup> and the royalists' ego-ideal.<sup>9</sup> By sublimating the king's book as both a metaphor and metonymy for Charles I, the royalists' collective textual fantasy facilitated the resurrection of the royal (F)ather<sup>10</sup> through memories of his martyrdom.

While the king's religious and paternal performances in the *Eikon* had much to do with its popular and sympathetic reception, there is a broader consensus amongst scholars that the *Eikon* was able to preserve the monarchy's authority through textual performance by inducing audiences to reimagine the king and his reign. Sauer discusses the performative nature of Interregnum texts, conceptualizing *performance* as being "associated with the production of texts and with the actions carried out by texts *as* events in the period in which they are generated [...]. [P]erformance refers to interpretive practices, especially acts of writing and reading, through which textual communities evolve, intersect, and resist each other" (*Paper-contestations* 56). *Eikon Basilike* was a textual event that was performed and received publicly as an extension of Charles's scaffold performance, but it performed also as a metaphor and metonymy for the king. On one hand, as Steven Zwicker (2018) argues, the king's book "was intended to transmute the king into an aesthetic object. Such a strategy was crucial to the polemic of the *Eikon Basilike*

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<sup>8</sup> The *ideal-ego* is associated with Lacan's Imaginary order. It is the imaginary identification or image of what the ego wishes to become. The ideal-ego is that which the ego perceives to be the idealized version of the ego's infinite possibilities.

<sup>9</sup> The *ego-ideal* is that which Freud would later call the *superego*. In Lacanian psychoanalysis, the ego-ideal is associated with the Symbolic order. It represents the ideal expectations (desires) of the big Other and is a product of identification with the father.

<sup>10</sup> I use *(F)ather* to refer to Charles as the Freudian/Lacanian father, a biological father to his own descendants, and a metaphorical father to English subjects.

and to the myriad of royalist elegies that gloried in the very body of the martyred king transformed into literature” by using “strategies of rhetoric and art to resurrect the body of the king as an everlasting monument in the hearts of true believers” (40). On the other hand, Richard Helgerson (1987) claims that the *Eikon* “is a book that does everything it can to conceal its own bookishness, a book that strives in every way possible to place itself in the category of image and performance” (9). It is my position that the *Eikon* accomplished both of these feats simultaneously by functioning as an anamorphic blot on the literary landscape, the fluidity of which enabled it to move beyond its own textuality and occupy spaces of both materiality and Subjecthood. Laura Knoppers (2003) comes to a similar conclusion about the *Eikon*’s anamorphic nature, stating: “*Eikon Basilike*, the king’s book, draws upon optical and perspectival language to transform the meaning of the king’s life—and death” (151). Moreover, she notes, in *Eikon Basilike*, “Charles examines the actions and events of his life and he meditates upon and prepares for death [... employing] the language and techniques of perspective and vision to justify his own actions and overturn the verdict against him” (157).<sup>11</sup> By combining Knopper’s argument with my own, it is possible to see how the *Eikon* was anamorphic in not just one, but in two dimensions or ontologies. The text was both a Subject and an object because it was sublimated as a text-agent through metaphoric and metonymic language that shaped royalists’ interpretations of the king and current events. As such, *Eikon Basilike* enabled royalist audiences to establish a posthumous relationship with the martyred king.

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<sup>11</sup> I would like to thank Dr. Knoppers for providing a digital copy of her chapter so graciously during the Ontario pandemic lockdowns of 2021.

However, for royalists to interpret *Eikon Basilike* as a metaphor and metonymy of Charles I, it was essential for these authors and audiences to (re)imagine the dead king through common narrative tropes, motifs, and devices. A large part of this (re)imaginative process took place in visual and oral modes as royalists built upon Charles's previous theatrical performances. As Wilcher (1991) has observed, "Charles himself, who was so adept at promoting his own image through the arts of masquing and painting, had apparently first hinted at [his] role" as a martyr of the people, "which was to be so portent in the ideology of Interregnum royalism" (218). Royalist images and imaginings of the king positioned Charles not just as a martyr, but as a hero, Christ-like figure, and (F)ather within the royalists' collective imagination. *Eikon Basilike* resurrected the king in text, which meant that "something essential of the royal remained" in England's political culture, despite "the constitution, policies, or personnel" (Sharpe, "An Image Doting Rabble" 26). Further, the *Eikon* facilitated an intimate relationship between not only Charles I and the text itself, but also amongst the king, the text, and his audiences, the last of whom were invited to become the king's "companions and confessors and, in the last chapter, parties to Charles's political advice for the future" as "his cause became theirs" (Skerpan-Wheeler, *The Rhetoric of Politics* 101-102). It is these intersectional relationships amongst text, community, and discourse that I am interested in exploring in greater depth throughout this project.

One of the goals of this dissertation is to understand more clearly how *Eikon Basilike* is an example of a text that was invested and personified with what critics and theorists from a variety of disciplines and fields have referred to varyingly as vitality, autonomy, libidinal energy, an aura, a soul, an essence, or the singularity of being. Helgerson attributes the vitality of the

*Eikon* to a power shift that took place during the civil war: the absolute power of the king was transferred to the bourgeois writers and readers, amongst whom royalists and sympathizers of the monarchy engaged in a process of “draining energy from the iconic and theatrical aura of the deposed monarchic idol and redirecting it to a new idol—an authorial idol” (21). Skerpan-Wheeler (1999) arrives at a similar conclusion about the book’s relationship to its ostensible author: “because it appeared on the day of the king’s execution, *Eikon Basilike* literally took the place of the king. In the absence of direct royal control or effective government censorship, this image immediately developed an autonomous life, appropriated by readers and the book trade to create a publishing phenomenon” (“*Eikon Basilike* and the rhetoric of self-representation” 122). Similar to Helgerson and Skerpan-Wheeler, Thomas Anderson (2006) detects a type of agency in the *Eikon*’s ability to exceed its own textuality: “it is the king’s own book representing his death as a spectacular martyrdom that most clearly exemplifies the desire for metaphor to perform rather than merely represent. John Gauden’s own assessment of popular reaction to the book suggests that its impact is in excess of its various strategies of representation” (182). He notes further that the *Eikon* occupies the “agentive position of an ‘advocat’ and ‘interpreter’ and possesses a ‘force’ that requires a response” (185). Those who continue to study *Eikon Basilike* refer to it often as a vehicle for the resurrection and transformation of Charles I, and this project explores such claims while contributing a larger theory of textual agency to the larger body of interdisciplinary scholarship.

To that end, *Sublimating the Singularity of an Author(ity)* adopts a scaffolded structure and has four chapters. Chapter 1, “A Case (Study) for Texts, Text-Agents, and Textual Publics,” is divided into two parts that establish the critical and theoretical frameworks for the rest of the

project. First, I contextualize the English Interregnum as a case study for my investigation of the agentic power of texts. I argue for a shift in existing scholarly understandings of textual communities of this period by conceptualizing the *royalist textual public*: an imagined social collective of predominantly royalist authors and audiences in post-regicide England that (per)formed in response to the traumatic episode of the regicide and endowed *Eikon Basilike* with textual agency. The second part of Chapter 1 invokes the works of sometimes seemingly disparate theoretical scholars such as Roland Barthes, Jane Bennett, Pierre Bourdieu, Michel Foucault, Jacques Lacan, Dominick LaCapra, Mari Ruti, and Slavoj Žižek. I use the texts of these theorists as primary philosophical sources to develop a theory of textual agency that extends and complicates theoretical approaches from psychoanalysis, posthumanism, postmodernism, and post-structuralism to offer a new contribution to existing understandings of the relationship between authors and texts. When texts are positioned as autobiographies for political leaders who have been disenfranchised, they have the potential to function as Subject-objects and can assume surrogate agency for a Subject-author(ity).<sup>12</sup> Such theoretical eclecticism is warranted by the heterogeneous nature of the theorists' theoretical work itself and, while I am cognizant of the fact that, on the whole, many of these theorists are incompatible, at various specific points of contact they converge in a way that allows their powerful utilization in the development of an interdisciplinary theory of text agency. For example, while Bennett is not working within a psychoanalytic framework, her flattening of human ontology allows for a

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<sup>12</sup> I use *author(ity)* throughout the project to highlight the close link between the *Subject-author* of a text-agent and the *authority* of said author, which is instilled into a text-agent through the *author function*. I explore these concepts at length in Chapter 1.

theorization of both subjectivity and objectivity beyond the anthropocentric limits that are assumed often in Žižekian theorizations of the subject-object dynamic. This point of contact between Bennett and Žižek opens the field of analysis to non-human as well as human actants. Other such examples located throughout the project are the points of contact between Barthes and Foucault in their discussions on the author and amongst Bourdieu, Freud, Foucault, Lacan, and Žižek in their analyses of power, speech acts, language, and performance.

Chapter 2, “The Execution of the Royal Author(ity),” analyzes two significant political events that preceded the publication of *Eikon Basilike*: the public indictment and the execution of Charles Stuart in January 1649. My analysis builds upon Sharpe’s assertion that “to view the past (and to write about the past) as a series of shifting representations is also to recognise that all social organisations, the structures of power, are themselves constructs, endowed with authority by the discourses and signs that in turn they, and the culture, authorise” (*Reading Revolutions* 11). By analyzing printed narrative accounts and records of Charles I’s trial and execution as literary and historical primary sources, I examine how the king’s performances—specifically his subversive use of speech and silence in Parliament’s co-opted Symbolic structure—shifted the dynamics of socio-political power during the unprecedented indictment of an English monarch. I demonstrate that these two events facilitated royalist reimag(in)ings of the infamous “Man of Blood” as a “Martyr of the People,” and laid the foundation for the emergence of the *Eikon* as a text-agent for the king.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> “Man of Blood” was a sobriquet given to Charles I by the (pro-) parliamentarians to justify their decision to indict and execute him (see *KJV Bible*, Numb. 35.33). During his execution speech on the scaffold, Charles proclaimed himself famously to be a “Martyr of the People.”

Chapter 3, “Resurrecting the Royal Author(ity): The ‘*Eikon*-Phenomenon’ and the Sublimation of the King’s Book as an Intercessory Text-Agent,” builds upon the theorization and analysis conducted in Chapters 1 and 2 to demonstrate concretely how the *Eikon* itself was sublimated as Charles I’s textual agent. I draw upon Ruti’s *The Singularity of Being* (2012) and Žižek’s *The Sublime Object of Ideology* (1989) as primary foundational texts to offer new insights into the applicability of psychoanalytic and trauma theories to the king’s book and the English Interregnum. This application allows civil war scholars to complicate and extend the arguments of these theorists by reconceptualizing how texts, including the text-agent, can affect political events and ideologies by interpellating participants into a *trauma culture*. As E. Ann Kaplan (2005) argues, in trauma cultures, trauma can occur “as dissociation or ‘splitting’ on the national level, a phenomenon that allows sentimentality and a focus on individual suffering to stand in for an uncompromising look at national catastrophe and at its political causes” (21). It is my contention that as a text-agent, *Eikon Basilike* did embody this dissociation and splitting but, at the same time, it was also a type of Lacanian object that fostered an unsettling sense of unity amongst the royalists that is characteristic of trauma cultures. In fact, the *Eikon* functioned as three different types of post-Lacanian *object* after the regicide: a *symbolic object*,<sup>14</sup> an *imaginary objectification of the Real*,<sup>15</sup> and the *objet a/stain* in the royalist textual landscape. I focus predominantly upon the *objet* (object) *a* and the stain in this project. The *objet a* is

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<sup>14</sup> A *symbolic object*, notes Žižek, is “the material presence of a fragment of reality—it is a leftover, remnants which cannot be reduced to a network of formal relations proper to the symbolic structure, but it is paradoxically, at the same time, the positive condition for the effectuation of the formal structure” (*The Sublime Object of Ideology* 206).

<sup>15</sup> Žižek explains this type of object as one that is, “impassive [... and] an image which embodies *jouissance*” (*The Sublime Object of Ideology* 209).



conceptualized by Lacan as the unobtainable object of desire, though, as Žižek (2006) notes, “we have to distinguish here between *l’objet petit a* as the cause of desire and the object of desire: while the object of desire is simply the desired object, the cause of desire is the feature on whose account we desire the object, some detail or tic of which we are usually unaware, and sometimes even misperceive it as an obstacle, in spite of which we desire the object” (*How to Read Lacan* 67). Throughout this chapter, I build towards a larger argument that while *Eikon Basilike* was the object of desire, it was also a stain—that is, a positive expression of the *objet a* that calls a Subject’s attention to a lack or negativity which, in turn, instigates desire in the Subject. To borrow a North American cultural reference, a stain can be likened to what characters in the film *The Matrix* (1999) experience as a “glitch” in the Matrix: a trace or distortion in a Subject’s Symbolic field that alerts the Subject to the presence of something beyond that which we can comprehend consciously and allows us to encounter the drives of the Real. In this case, the *Eikon* (the stain) was a metaphor-metonymy for Charles I (the Subject-object *a*), who/which in turn represented monarchism (the big Other) in the signifying chain.<sup>16</sup>

Royalist authors were using their own texts and textual performances post-regicide to imagine the Restoration of Charles II to the throne of England, and this group filled the interim void of the dead king with the Subject-object, *Eikon Basilike*. The *Eikon* was a *sublime object of ideology*, which, according to Žižek, is: “the *sublime* material of that other ‘indestructible and immutable’ body which persists beyond the corruption of the body physical” (12). A sublime

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<sup>16</sup> To simplify Lacan’s conceptualization, the signifying chain is an infinite set of signifiers that are linked together to create signifieds. Signifieds are created through metaphor (*x* is the same as *y*) or metonymy (*x* represents or stands in for *y*).

object can be a common object that “finds itself occupying the place of what [Lacan] calls *das Ding*, the impossible-real object of desire [...] It is its structural place—the fact that it occupies the sacred/forbidden place of *jouissance*<sup>17</sup>—and not its intrinsic qualities that confers on it its sublimity (*The Sublime Object of Ideology* 8, 221). Expounding upon Žižek’s argument, Chapter 3 demonstrates that during the Interregnum, the *Eikon* became a sublime, sacred-yet-forbidden place of *jouissance* for its royalist audiences, functioning as the king’s second, indestructible and immutable (S)ymbolic<sup>18</sup> body. Charles’s book was elevated as a sublime object within the royalist textual public and it facilitated a trans-subjective royalist ideological fantasy of restoring the English monarchy to power. Royalist authors and audiences helped to consolidate paternal authority and monarchical power in *Eikon Basilike* by fetishizing the book as a relic that was both a sublimated metaphor-metonymy, the Subject-object (Charles I/*Eikon Basilike*), and a fetishized object of commodity that was circulated and exchanged. In *How to Read Lacan*, Žižek explains the concept of *commodity fetishism* as the “belief that commodities are magical objects, endowed with an inherent metaphysical power” which is “not located in our mind, [or] in the way we (mis)perceive reality, but in our social reality itself” (94). When one participates in a social exchange, states Žižek, one bears “witness to the uncanny fact that a commodity really appears to you as a magical object endowed with special powers” (94). Adopting Žižek’s

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<sup>17</sup> *Jouissance* is a concept developed by Lacan (1959), which explains the pleasure that can be derived from pain: “*jouissance* presents itself as buried at the center of a field and has the characteristics of inaccessibility, obscurity, and opacity [...] *jouissance* appears not purely and simply as the satisfaction of a need but as the satisfaction of a drive” (*The Ethics of Psychoanalysis* 209).

<sup>18</sup> To avoid repetition and confusion throughout this project, I use (S)ymbolic in instances when I am speaking of Lacan’s Symbolic order and *symbolic* as an adjective to describe *symbolism*.

position that fetishized commodities are those which are endowed with an inherent metaphysical power, Chapter 3 explores royalist texts to interrogate how authors in the royalist textual public sublimated and fetishized *Eikon Basilike* as a Subject-object, the text-agent. Royalist texts, including the *Eikon* itself, used paternal metaphors and the Freudian *paternal no*<sup>19</sup> to position the *Eikon* as a Subject-object a of monarchical ideology within the royalist trauma culture.

Chapter 4, “‘An Image-doting rabble’: Royalist Trauma and Recovering the Name-of-the-(F)ather in Textual Fantasy,” establishes how *Eikon Basilike* and royalist responses to the regicide and the king’s book cultivated a collective royalist fantasy that conditioned the public’s imagination of the Restoration. First, by exploring the theoretical-textual connections between the text-agent and the trans-subjective textual fantasies of royalist audiences, I demonstrate how the *Eikon* became a surrogate ego-ideal for royalists. Royalist authors then used their own texts to convert the foreclosed Name-of-the-(F)ather into an image of the (F)ather (*Eikon Basilike*) in their state of post-regicidal psychosis.<sup>20</sup> Second, I employ close readings of representative post-regicidal royalist texts to build upon the theoretical foundation of this chapter and illustrate more fully how the royalists’ sublimation and fetishization of *Eikon Basilike* and the psychosis of royalist authors were registering in the literary landscape. This process occurred through

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<sup>19</sup> Freud explains this concept in detail in “The Dissolution of the Oedipus Complex” (1924), wherein he states: “[t]he authority of the father or the parents is introjected into the ego, and there it forms the nucleus of the super-ego, which takes over the severity of the father and perpetuates his prohibition against incest, and so secures the ego from the return of the libidinal object-cathexis” (176-177)

<sup>20</sup> *Psychosis* is one of Lacan’s three clinical structures (the other two are *neurosis* and *perversion*) and it stems from the foreclosure of the Name-of-the-Father. This foreclosure results in a hole in the Symbolic order and the failure of the unconsciousness (language) to function properly. The paternal function is destabilized and instead takes on the *image of the father*. In other words, the Symbolic becomes the Imaginary and without the Symbolic to regulate and maintain the required distance, the Real can come ‘too close’ to the subject. (Lacan, *The Psychoses* 45, 86-88, 208-209, 321)

moments of what Mathew Martin (2015) calls *traumatic mimesis*: those instances where we see “compulsively repeated re-enactment or ‘acting out’ of trauma experienced by trauma sufferers, the flashbacks and nightmares that take them back to the moment of trauma, not to observe it as spectators, but to relive it as participants” (*Tragedy and Trauma* 10). By investigating textual moments of traumatic mimesis as symptoms of royalist psychosis, I argue that the paradox of the *Eikon*’s role as a text-agent is, to quote Žižek, “that although it is a leftover of the Real, an ‘excrement’, it functions as a positive condition of the restoration of a symbolic structure” (Žižek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology* 207). Textual instances of traumatic mimesis are how the leftover of the Real, the singularity of Charles I, was registered by royalists in the Symbolic field. Furthermore, traumatic mimesis enabled the *Eikon* to partially re-install the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure, thereby laying the imaginative foundation for the Restoration.

To demonstrate how this process operated, I utilize the work of Dominick LaCapra (2001) to support my argument that royalists were perpetuating their trauma as they acted out and worked through the political events of the regicide via the production, dissemination, and engagement with other royalist texts-as-fantasy. Further, I investigate how this trauma and the corresponding subjective destitution of the royalists were, in some ways, (self-) inflicted by their (re)witnessing of the regicide through textual performances. As Žižek clarifies, cases of *subjective destitution* change the register from desire to drive: “desire is historical and subjectivized, always and by definition unsatisfied, metonymical, shifting from one object to another, since I do not actually desire what I want. What I actually desire is to sustain desire itself, to postpone the dreaded moment of its satisfaction. Drive, on the other hand, involves a kind of inert satisfaction which always finds its way” (*The Abyss of Freedom* 80). Through a

consideration of how the *Eikon* both caused and prevented subjective destitution in a dialectical tension, I argue that royalist texts created a collective royalist fantasy that mediated between drive and desire by attempting to reinstall the foreclosed paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure after the regicide. By examining royalist texts that responded to *Eikon Basilike* as both a textual agent and a textual truth-event, this dissertation highlights the ways in which royalist texts-as-performances assisted in the preservation of the monarchy during the English Interregnum.

What distinguishes the interdisciplinary approach of this project from a more traditional disciplinary application of psychoanalysis to a literary text is a matter of relative weighting and the lack of disciplinary prioritization. In the application model of literary studies, the literary text is primary, and the goal is to apply critical theory to produce a new interpretation of the text. My approach to interdisciplinarity seeks to integrate and synthesize philosophy, critical theory, political and intellectual history, political studies/science, cultural studies, and literary analysis. While at times I may invoke certain disciplinary epistemologies, methodologies, and ontologies more explicitly than others, no one discipline takes precedence in the larger scope of this project. My goal is as much to articulate an innovative critical theory of textual agency as it is to produce a new literary reading of *Eikon Basilike* and to generate new historical insights about how the king's book was helping to redefine royalism as a trauma culture during the Interregnum. Thus, this dissertation contributes to the creation of original (inter)disciplinary knowledge through a three-pronged approach: 1. By formulating the theory of the text-agent, which can be applied to different autobiographies throughout history. 2. By establishing the critical framework of the textual-public to explore the ability of text-agents to shape socio-political ideologies during

periods of civil or socio-political unrest. 3. By offering a new psychoanalytic reading of *Eikon Basilike* and related royalist literature produced during the Interregnum. This project has broader significance for how researchers in the humanities and social sciences can understand and analyze texts as possessing agency and these theories have the potential to reshape scholarly understandings of many political events and moments in history. In proposing these frameworks, I invite further interdisciplinary investigations into the psychological, philosophical, theoretical, political, literary, cultural, and historical implications of the relationship between text-agents and textual-publics in general, and within English civil war studies in particular.

## Chapter 1

### A Case (Study) for Texts, Text-Agents, and Textual Publics

A really complex text, occurring in a really complex historical situation, may be seen as performing polyvalently: not only will there be several continuities of discourse [...] within which it may be read and seen to have acted, but it may be seen as performing all manner of cunning games as it moves from one level to another.

—J. G. A. Pocock, “Texts as Events: Reflections on the History of Political Thought”

In the years spanning 1642–1651, England was embroiled in a series of three civil wars. During this period, the country saw the regicide of Charles Stuart (Charles I), the abolishment of constitutional monarchy, and the installation of an English republic in 1649. This monarchical interregnum would last until the Restoration of the king’s heir, Charles II, in 1660. The regicide of Charles I left England’s political constitution sundered and the country’s citizens divided amongst competing—though often blurred—socio-political and religious fault lines. While there were many important religious sects and political affiliations that emerged during the English civil war, the two that I interrogate closely in this project can be classified, broadly speaking, as the royalists and the (pro-) parliamentarians.

As those familiar with the political events of the English Interregnum period will be aware, the *Rump Parliament* refers to those members of Parliament who remained sitting after Colonel Thomas Pride (a member of Parliament’s New Model Army) illegally purged the Long Parliament of any members recognized as being sympathetic to the royalist cause in 1648. The Rump retained control of Parliament until April 1653, when it was disbanded by Oliver

Cromwell.<sup>21</sup> The *Barebones Parliament* (known otherwise as the *Nominated Assembly* or the *Parliament of Saints*) was formed later and lasted from July 1653 until December 1653, when it, too, was dissolved due to internal dissent. The Barebones Parliament was followed by a series of three *Protectorate Parliaments*, which were established during the period that Cromwell was Lord Protector of the Commonwealth (1653–1658). Following Oliver Cromwell’s death in 1658, his son, Richard Cromwell, succeeded him as Lord Protector. In 1659, there was a successful officers’ coup to overthrow Richard and those involved in the coup reconvened the Rump Parliament. In 1660, General George Monk betrayed the Rump and seized control of Parliament. Monk recalled the royalist members who were barred originally from the Long Parliament during Pride’s Purge in 1648, thereby allowing Monk to dissolve the *Long Parliament* legally and form the *Convention Parliament*. The Convention Parliament legislated the restoration of the Stuart monarchy, and in May 1660, Charles II returned to the throne of England as a constitutional monarch. The return of Charles II marked the end of the English Interregnum period, bringing the country into what scholars today call the Restoration period (1660–1685).

Given Parliament’s tumultuous history during the Interregnum period and the internal divisions of that group, the term *parliamentarian* is a complicated and historicized construct. As David Norbrook (1999) observes, it is problematic to “describe all supporters of the government

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<sup>21</sup> Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658) was a soldier and politician during the time of the English civil war. He was affiliated with a religious faction called the Independents and was among the political leaders who indicted Charles I. As such, Cromwell is cited often as the figurehead of the parliamentarians because of his military prowess, successes on the battlefield, and his installation as Lord Protector of the English Commonwealth in 1653. Cromwell has been regarded by royalists and historians as having been “king in all but name.”



as ‘republicans’” (or as parliamentarians) because many were waiting for a different form of monarchy to take hold, or they had otherwise accepted the end of the monarchy “merely from fear of a worse outcome” (193). He explains that “it is possible to distinguish between constitutional republicans and the ‘regicides,’ those religious radicals, mainly in the army, whose main concern was the removal of Charles in person as an idolatrous ‘man of blood,’ rather than the royal office” (194). To streamline the definition of *parliamentarian* provisionally in this context, I build upon David Como’s (2018) classification of this group as a “wide range of people, ideas, and activities” that supported parliament as the authority and governing body of England (6). Further, I use (*pro-*) *parliamentarian* to identify parliamentarians as both those persons who were members of the Rump Parliament<sup>22</sup> and those who either led or were in support of the radical parliamentary efforts against the monarchy. I include within this group those who upheld Oliver Cromwell’s Protectorate Parliaments and those who, though they may have participated in the coup against Richard Cromwell, were yet in favour of an English republic.

The classification of a *royalist* is equally complicated. Civil war scholarship at large uses the term *royalist* often to describe those persons who were writing for, fighting for, or supportive of the monarchy in general, and of the Stuarts in particular. But, as Alan Rudrum (2001) has contended, “[n]ot all Royalist poets were consistently supportive of Charles I, even in their published utterances. Nor is there a consistent Royalist poetic, of attitude, theme or of style”

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<sup>22</sup> For the purposes of consistency, I adopt the approach of other scholars and use the term *Rump Parliament* to refer to those who constituted Parliament (such as it was) in its various iterations during the Interregnum from 1649–1660.

(181). Therefore, it is important, as Jerome de Groot (2004) notes astutely, that scholars use the terms *parliamentarian* and *royalist* reflexively while acknowledging that these terms are employed often with silent quotation marks because they are “historically and politically contingent” (2). These political categories were neither fixed in their constitution, nor were they static in their definition; rather, both individual and collective dynamics of identity and allegiance were complex and multifaceted during the civil war. Thus, heeding de Groot’s call for the interrogation of these terms, and for the sake of clarity in this project, I build upon Jason McElligott’s (2007) malleable, though deliberately broad, characterization of a royalist as one who “by thought or deed, identified himself or herself as a supporter of the king’s cause and was accepted as such by other individuals who so defined themselves [...] they were united by a concern to see the Stuarts return to power on their own terms or, failing that, the best possible terms available” (6). The value of McElligott’s definition is in its recognition of those individuals who never fought on the battlefield yet supported and otherwise advocated in defense of the monarchy’s cause. Furthermore, this definition acknowledges that royalism “was not a monolithic movement limited to a small number of ideologues committed to a particular pre-determined idea or series of ideas. It was a fluid and dynamic allegiance which could appeal to people with a range of different opinions on religious and political matters” (McElligott 94-95). McElligott’s conceptualization of royalists can be positioned within Sauer’s framework of *textual communities*, which she identifies as communities that are “generated through the production of books and various kinds of engagements with them, [which] are imaginatively and materially conceived, constructed, or represented” (*Paper-contestations*’ 9). Her work illustrates how these informed communities “developed through the interaction of oral,

manuscript, print, and visual cultures [... through] the interdependence of images, texts, and different forms of recorded speech, rhetoric, and other oral performances” (*Paper-contestations*’ 10). The intersections of culture, performance, language, and rhetoric that Sauer identifies are of particular interest to me in this project because of how language (and the failure of it) was helping to (re)construct political ideologies through textual discourse during the Interregnum. As Skerpan-Wheeler has noted, “The events of 1648 and 1649 swept away any possibility of a common public language. The execution of Charles on January 30, 1649, marked both political and psychological crises in the nation as a whole and in public discourse” (*The Rhetoric of Politics* 83). The political and psychological crises of the regicide and the resultant loss of a common public language were being negotiated by royalists within what I conceptualize as the *royalist textual public*: a more specific form of imagined textual community that emerged in response to the psychological trauma of the foreclosure<sup>23</sup> of the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure in the wake of the regicide of Charles I. The traumatic present-absence of the monarchy registered in this textual public’s Symbolic field through the royalists’ literary responses to and interactions with *Eikon Basilike*.

### **Reading, Writing, and Printing (within) the Royalist Textual Public**

The royalist textual public, a more psychologically nuanced understanding of imagined textual communities, enables us to appreciate more fulsomely how its members were responding

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<sup>23</sup> In Lacanian psychoanalysis, *foreclosure* occurs when the Subject has a complicated relationship with the Big Other in the Symbolic. When this happens, the Subject experiences psychosis as Symbolic meaning and understanding become destabilized. One symptom of foreclosure is the breakdown or failure of language in which the “necessary signifiers are lacking altogether [...] However, what is foreclosed does not simply disappear altogether but may return, albeit in a different form, from outside the subject” (Grigg 4).

publicly to a crisis of political and ideological identity that shook the very foundation of the monarchy in England. The notion of public and private spheres/spaces and their evolution throughout history has been debated by many scholars. I acknowledge the valid and applicable historical conceptualizations of theorists such as Jürgen Habermas (1991), who contends that after the middle of the sixteenth century, *private* “designated the exclusion from the sphere of the state apparatus” and that *public* “referred to the state that in the meantime had developed, under absolutism, into an entity having an objective existence over against the person of the rule. The public [...] was the ‘public authority’ [...] in contrast to everything ‘private’” (11). While bearing Habermas’s framework in mind, I approach the distinction between private and public within this project through an additional theoretical lens: John Dewey’s (1927) alternative paradigm of a *public*, which helps to establish a productive framework for discussing the socio-political events of the Interregnum. Dewey asserts that the demarcation between public and private can be located in the impacts of a problem or conflict upon different parties and, more specifically, in the need of parties or groups to control the consequences of actions. A public is constituted by those who are “affected by the indirect consequences of transactions [...] but] [s]ince those who are indirectly affected are not direct participants in the transactions in question, it is necessary that certain persons be set apart to represent them” (68-69). These two understandings of a public—those of Habermas and Dewey—do not strike me as being mutually exclusive, nor are they incompatible. The advent of the English civil war was accompanied by an explosion of printed texts in England, and specifically, newsbooks, which were being circulated in 1641.<sup>24</sup> As

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<sup>24</sup> See Joad Raymond’s edited anthology, *Making the News: An Anthology of the Newsbooks of Revolutionary England 1641-1660* for a more in-depth discussion of this topic.

Jason Peacey (2013) notes, with the abolition of the Star Chamber and the High Commission in 1641, there was “a dramatic change in the nature of literature which emerged from the printing presses, and the emergence of a great deal more topical and ephemeral political and religious material, much of it poorly produced” (173). The change that Peacey identifies is congruent with the findings of Austen Saunders and Tom Boardman (2022), who have determined through quantitative analysis that there was an explosion in short quartos (those of less than twenty four pages) during the 1640s, and that the “production of these [short quartos] rocketed from practically nothing before 1640 to 985 items in 1641 and 2,606 in 1642” (190). Moreover, they find that there was, later, a “spike in short quarto production in 1648 (peaking at 1,260 times), followed by [a] lesser [peak] in 1660 (750 items)” (190). With this surge in shorter but more widely-accessible and cheaper print, it is fair to say that during this period, a societal shift was occurring within England—one that saw the emergence of a proto-public sphere that was moving towards what we would recognize today as the public sphere, or public discourse. Additionally, I propose that Dewey’s definition of a public intersects productively with Benedict Anderson’s (1991) notion of *imagined communities* in his work on nationalism. Anderson argues that one component of a nation is an imagined political community because “the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (6). Dewey’s public can be re-envisioned alongside Anderson’s imagined community as an imagined textual public that formed in response to what the royalists conceived as a constitutional crisis incited by the regicide of Charles I, the abolishment of the monarchy, and the rise of the English republic. This imagined textual public responded to these events by generating royalist texts that performed a collective

trauma and the monarchical ideology within the royalist textual public and larger textual communities.

However, we can take this permutation of a public further still. Post-humanist scholar Jane Bennett (2010) expands Dewey's definition of a public to include non-human agencies and argues that if "human culture is inextricably enmeshed with vibrant, nonhuman agencies, and if human intentionality can be agentic only if accompanied by a vast entourage of nonhumans" then that which forms in response to troubling circumstances is "neither the individual human nor an exclusively human collective but the (ontologically heterogeneous) 'public' coalescing around a problem" (108). But, as Bennett reminds us, it is important to acknowledge that not every non-human materiality is a participant in a public, nor are all participants alike. Non-human materialities have different types and varying degrees of power that depend upon the "time, place, composition, and density of the formation" (109). Bennett's critical posthuman perspective augments productively the framework of a public that I have discussed thus far by recognizing that non-humans play a key role in the formation of political ecologies in general and, for the purposes of this study, within the royalist textual public specifically. This reframing affords a vantage from which we can consider the royalist textual public as one that was not constituted solely by people, but also by non-human objects (such as texts, or other monarchical relics) that asserted power in their ontological status as what Bennett calls *actants*.

Actants, according to Bennett, are "a source of action that can be either human or nonhuman; it is that which has efficacy, can *do* things, has sufficient coherence to make a difference, produce effects, alter the course of events. It is [...] something whose 'competence is deduced from [its] performance' rather than posited in advance of the action" (VII). She argues

that actants possess *thing-power*, or “the strange ability of ordinary, man-made items to exceed their status as objects and to manifest traces of independence or aliveness, constituting the outside of our own experience,” which enables them to become sources of action and “vibrant things with a certain effectivity of their own, a perhaps small but irreducible degree of independence from the words, images, and feelings they provoke in us” (XVI). Thus, when new publics form, the process entails social reconstructions of both human and non-human actants that are “extrinsic to political forms, which, once established, persist of their own momentum” (Dewey 80). But one significant challenge that new (or reemerging/restructured) imagined textual publics face is an internal instability and disorganization that stems from a lack of access to “inherited political agencies” (Dewey 80).<sup>25</sup> In other words, argues Dewey, a new public must break away from existing political forms and thus it requires revolution to enact such a change. To this argument I would add that in cases of reemerging publics, such as the imagined royalist textual public, said public must find a means to resurrect or re-access foreclosed political forms—in this case, the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure. I contend that if this is the case, then actants can serve as a means for (re)emergent publics to reassert political ideologies and forms, thereby making textual publics imagined ideological collectives of human and non-human actants that form through traumatized and traumatizing narrative discourses via textual performances.

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<sup>25</sup> In Chapters 3 and 4, I demonstrate how Dewey’s assertion here is reflected in the foreclosure of the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure after the regicide of Charles Stuart.

In the context of the English civil war specifically, the framework of a textual public allows us to see and appreciate more clearly the role that non-human actants, such as Charles's text-agent, had upon royalists when it was endowed as a surrogate with non-human agency. As I have indicated, in 1649, the royalist textual public (re)emerged in response to the trauma of the regicide and the royalists' desire to restore the monarchy. However, the royalist textual public faced several significant obstacles: first, (pro-) parliamentarians had a distinct advantage over their royalist counterparts because they were supported by parliamentarian-controlled political agencies, including the two Wardens of the Stationers' Company.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, because the Rump dismantled the legal and political mechanisms of the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure—including the divine right of kings and the royal prerogative<sup>27</sup>—royalists were forced to fight back against Parliament from the shadows, producing, disseminating, and engaging pro-monarchist texts often in relative secrecy.<sup>28</sup> Thus, those who generated and consumed royalist texts in a variety of forms during the Interregnum constituted an imagined textual public that was also an intimate public. In her discussion of the public sphere and politics, Lauren Berlant (2011) identifies an *intimate public* as one that is more specific than the public sphere because it is a penumbra within which one does “not need to audition for membership [...] Minimally, you need just to perform audition, to listen and to be interested in the scene's visceral impact” (226).

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<sup>26</sup> See McElligott's *Royalism, Print and Censorship in Revolutionary England*, particularly pp. 199-209, for an extended discussion of the role of the Stationer's Company during the Civil War.

<sup>27</sup> The royal prerogative consisted of several powers that were afforded to the monarch. Those that are relevant to this project include: the king can do no wrong (known as the *grand maxim of state*); the king never dies; royal assent; granting pardons with or without any condition; and the ability to stop legal proceedings against a person.

<sup>28</sup> See Potter's (1989) *Secret Rites and Secret Writing: Royalist Literature 1641-1660* for further details.



Moreover, in an intimate public, individuals have a greater personal investment than they might in Dewey's framework of a public. There is a sense that "matters of survival are at stake and that collective mediation through narration and audition might provide some routes out of the impasses and the struggle of the present, or at least some sense that there would be recognition were the participants in the room together" (Berlant 226). Key to my conceptualization of a textual public is the more fluid and flexible nature of Berlant's framework, in which "any person can contribute to an intimate public a personal story about not being defeated by what is overwhelming. More likely, though, participants take things in and sometimes circulate what they hear, captioning them with opinion or wonder. But they do not have to do anything to belong. They can be passive and lurk, deciding when to appear and disappear" (226-227). As such, one does not need to profess or perform one's belonging in an intimate public; rather, an intimate public focuses upon the roles of narratives and their reception as a means of mediating and processing events and trauma. Berlant's conceptualization of intimate publics supports Norbrook's (2001) argument that "[w]ith the widening of the public sphere in this period [of the English civil war], the people were being encouraged to look on themselves as agents in making and writing history, rather than as clients of social superiors" (235). To Norbrook's notion of people as agents of history, we can include texts as agents, which were active forces in the construction of historical narratives. By considering the conceptualizations of publics, textual communities, and royalism outlined above, a more specific framework for understanding royalist literature emerges—one that helps us to classify this group as an *intimate and imagined royalist textual public* (hereafter "royalist textual public"). The royalist textual public was composed primarily by royalist authors, printers, print sellers, performers, and audiences who, as a

collective, responded to a specific socio-political crisis: the loss of the monarchy. This group was using the power of public discourse subversively to resist subjective destitution and the foreclosure of the paternal-monarchical political structure when it was supplanted by Parliament's maternal-republican Symbolic structure.<sup>29</sup>

In addition, the ideas of Anderson, Bennett, Berlant, and Dewey can be combined productively with Pierre Bourdieu's (1990) concept of *fields*, through which we can understand more comprehensively the role of individual agency—including, as we shall see shortly, that of the text-agent—within textual publics. Moran provides a succinct synthesis of Bourdieu's theories, noting that “because a field is constituted through signifying practices, individual agents (such as authors, critics, publishers and audiences within the field of cultural production) have the ability to transform it through their own responses, interpretations, and writings” (66). If we factor the textual agency of non-humans into this framework, then it is the individual and the collective contributions of authors, printers, print sellers, censors, performers, audiences, texts, and text-agents that shape the textual public, making it porous and amorphous in its ever-changing constitution. Throughout this project, I devote most of my attention to analyzing the efforts of authors within the royalist textual public and their printed reactions to *Eikon Basilike*. By positioning the royalist textual public alongside the theory of the text-agent in this dissertation, I extend the theorizations of ideology and sublimation proposed by Žižek and Ruti

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<sup>29</sup> In Chapter 3, I establish in greater detail how Parliament was figured as a mother and a wife in literature produced during the civil war.

by focusing on royalist authors-as-readers and their audiences to examine how this group was receiving, interpreting, and responding to the king's book.

Due to limitations in scope, I exclude from my analysis most parliamentary publications that responded to the *Eikon*; however, it is important to acknowledge the role of these texts in the construction of the royalist textual public. Audiences and authors who did not support the monarchy were helping to propagate the royalist textual public and its agenda also—albeit to a far lesser degree—by serving as adversaries or antagonists of royalist texts. By engaging in the print debate, those who were trying to counter the monarchy's influence upon textual publics, such as John Milton with his infamous *Eikonoklastes* (1649), participated in the royalist textual public: their anti-royalist or pro-republican texts became vehicles for a type of secondary (re)dissemination of royalist ideas during the print war. The porous nature of the royalist textual public enables Interregnum scholars to account for the influences and impacts that (pro-) parliamentary texts, authors, printers, sellers, performers, and audiences had on royalism and royalist efforts to popularize *Eikon Basilike*. Potter observes that, “while the *Eikon* itself was not licensed, some of its later contents were, and the rather confused accounts in the press have been interpreted by the book's bibliographer, F. F. Madan, as indicating Parliament's own uncertainty as to whether or not to go against public sentiment by banning the book altogether” (11). In their attempts to censor, control, and write back against royalist texts and the *Eikon* specifically, (pro-) parliamentary authors were antagonizing royalists into responding to the constitutional crisis—the elimination of the monarchy—during 1649. This antagonism contributed to the emergence of the royalist textual public by encouraging royalist authors,

performers, and audiences to sublimate the *Eikon* as a text-agent by investing it with paternal authority to combat the maternal-republican Symbolic structure.

By considering a selection of royalist publications produced during the Interregnum, we can discern specific rhetorical strategies that these authors were using to cultivate shared identification and generate sympathy through affective and personal textual modes, such as the epistle or the elegy. Some authors used (pro)nouns (often early modern variations of *you, your, we, our, their, us, and reader*) to create and/or to collapse the distinctions between politicized audiences. In so doing, authors situated audience members in sympathetic proximity to each other, even if only temporarily. For example, in the poem “Another more at large” from William Somner’s *The Frontispice of the King’s Book opened* (1650), the speaker asks: “Did’st *thou* not know him [Charles I], Reader? then look hence: / Here that at hand will cure thy ignorance” (A2). By making an allowance for the potential ignorance of audience members from along the political continuum, the speaker dissolves differentiations or boundaries between royalists and parliamentarians. In so doing, the speaker (re)interpellates audience members into the royalist textual public and paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure, even if only for the duration of the poem. Similarly, Thomas Warmstry’s *A Hand-kerchiefe for Loyal Mourners* (1649) contains an epistle addressed to “a friend,” which makes the audience privy to what was ostensibly private royalist correspondence: “The great obligations that I beare unto you [friend], for your many favours, and more especially for the refuge and comfort that I have received from you in the time of my persecution, will not suffer the sense that I have of the publique calamities that are now upon us, in the losse of our gracious King, now sacrificed to destruction by the Tyranny of insolent and ungodly men” (3). In such instances of contrived textual voyeurism, royalist

authors engaged audiences from both sides of the (print) war as a collective of constituents within the royalist textual public who participated through the acts of reading, hearing, seeing, witnessing, and (re)membering the fall of the monarchy.

Another tactic that royalist authors employed to develop the royalist textual public was the use of paratextual references to promote the sale and dissemination of texts sympathetic to the plight of the monarchy. The publication of newsbooks was the most efficient and powerful means through which royalists were able to spread pro-monarchy propaganda. Of course, newsbooks presented problems of their own for royalists, such as concerns related to counterfeiting, forgery, censorship, and the outright fabrication of news (the circumspect scholar would do well to be skeptical of truth claims in popular royalist writings during this period). However, newsbooks were nonetheless a fast and accessible medium through which authors could disseminate propaganda and the ideology of monarchism widely. For example, issue 26 of John Crouch's *The Man in the Moon* (16 April 1649) concludes with a reference to another royalist text that supports Charles I: "Yet there is a worthy Gent, hath strew'd some flowers on his [Charles I's] grave, in a Poëm entitled, *A Kingly Bed of misery; a Limbick* would distill tears from a Heart of Adamant" (8). Here, Crouch advertises the royalist poem and performs his own royalist identity as a narrator, asserting that even those with the hardest of hearts will cry upon reading this new text. Similar paratextual practices can be found in Crouch's sequel closet drama, *The Second Part of the Tragi-Comedy, Called New-Market-Fayre or Mrs. Parliaments New Figaryes* (1649). Above the *dramatis personae*, the text includes a review entitled "To his much Honored Friend, The Man in the Moon, on his Play called New-Market-Fayre," which is written in verse and praises part one of Crouch's play (see fig. 1). The inclusion of this pro-

royalist poem is notable because it attests to a larger royalist audience and a recognition by producers of this play that (para)textual materials had the power to (in)form and influence subversive interpretive publics. In the poem, the speaker decries the actions of the regicides and lauds Crouch for contributing to the royalist efforts to resurrect and preserve the monarchy in text, stating:

My *Fancy* is too dull, my *Muse* to weak  
 To praise thy [Crouch's] *Genius*; when each line doth speak,  
 And claimes for thee a *Lawrel*; yet Ile strive  
 Within thy *Play* to keep my Name alive.  
 5 I cannot flatter Truth; this happy flame  
 More then thy *Moon*; gives thee Eternal Fame;  
 And builds o're Time a *Tryumph*; Cold desires  
 Grow warm, and kindle by thy *Loyal Fires*:  
 True hearts are now reviv'd, and learnt to sing  
 10 *Vive le Roy*; and *God preserve the King*.  
 Whilst *Regicides* whose vile memories rust  
 And Names descend much deeper then their dust:  
 Like *painted Moons*, that with dull Lamps profane  
 They *cleerest Light*, at *Full*; most in their Waine.  
 15 Whose *Guilt* must line their Coffins; whilst thy *shine*,  
 Shall be a *Light* unto the *Sacred Nine*. (qtd. in Crouch, *The Second Part of the  
 Tragi-Comedy, Called New-Market-Fayre* 5)

In this poem, the speaker acknowledges that Crouch's original play, *New-Market-Fayre*, served as a source of inspiration for the monarchical cause by "reviving true hearts" and "kindling loyal fires" in royalist audiences. Further, the poem promotes the royalist cause by condemning the regicides: "*Regicides* whose vile memories rust / And Names descend much deeper than their dust" (lines 11-12). The regicides are associated with decay and descent (dissent) as they are cursed, presumably, to hell. The metatext itself contributes to the construction of a larger collective royalist identity in post-regicide England exegetically by modelling for audiences what sentiments were expected of royalists in their textual performances of grief and shame.

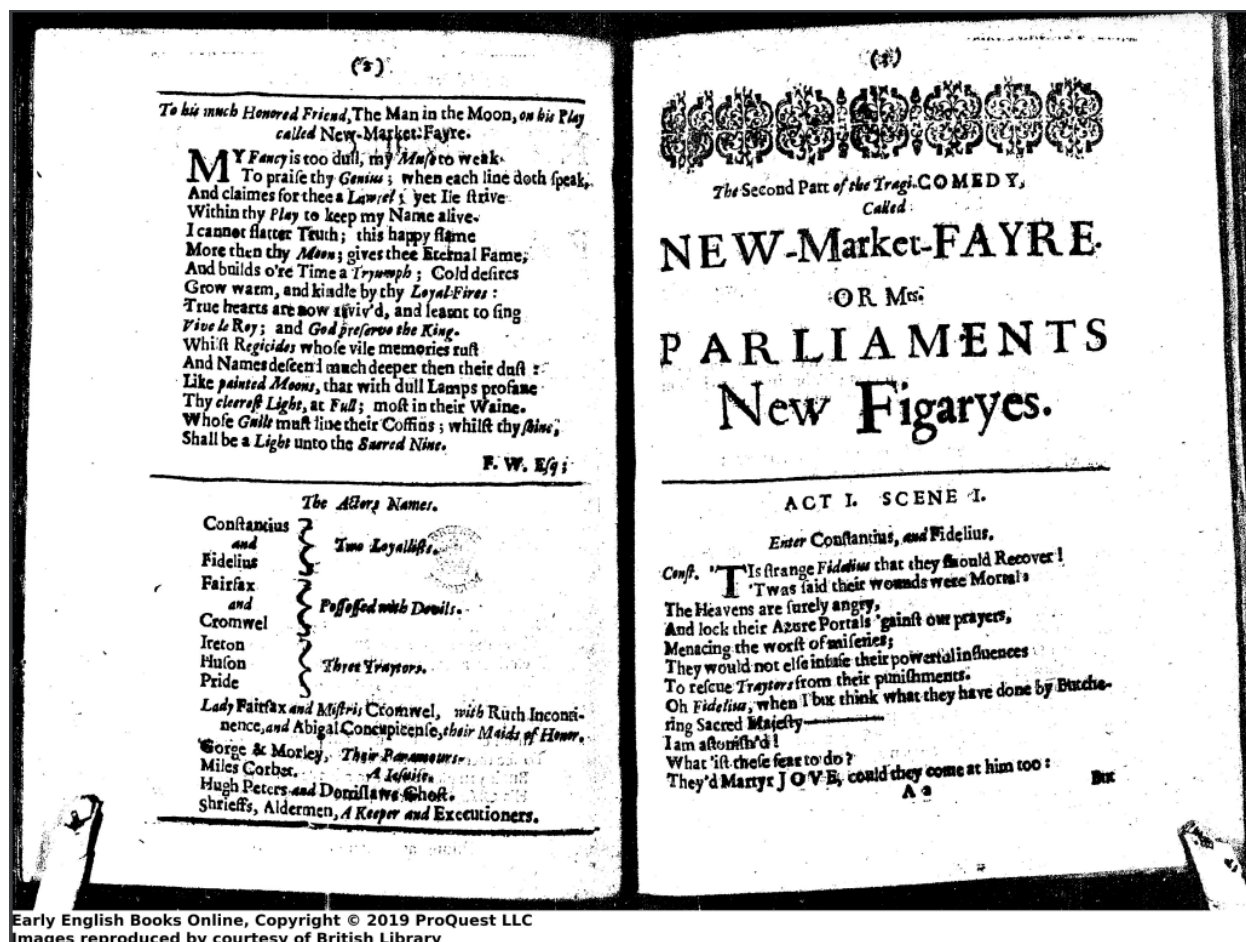


Fig. 1. Pages 2-3 of *The Second Part of the Tragi-Comedy Called New-Market-Fayre*, which contains a poem entitled “*To his much Honored Friend, The Man in the Moon, on his Play called New-Market-Fayre*” at the top of page 2.

Other popular royalist newsbooks included paratextual addendums, oftentimes after the printers’ marks or colophons. For instance, in the 1-8 May 1649 issues of both George Wharton’s *Mercurius Elencticus* (issue 2) and Marchamont Nedham’s *Mercurius Pragmaticus* (issue 53), there are references to a new royalist publication. The addendum in *Elencticus* states: “Reader, there is a Treatise entitled *The Rebels Looking-glasse, or the Traitors-doom*, wherein is

set forth the fate of all such Faithlesse Creatures in all Ages” (16; see fig. 2). The addendum in *Pragmaticus* is similar to that of *Elencticus*: “There is an excelent *Treatise*, but now printed and published, entitled the *Rebells Looking Glasse* or the *Traytors Doom*; wherein is shewed how in all *ages*, they have been rewarded for their *Treason*, by the *Judgements of God* upon them worthy every mans perusal” (8; see fig. 3). We can speculate reasonably about possible explanations for these addendums being placed after the colophons. First, it is likely that newsbooks were being printed with such rapidity that these paratextual references would have been inserted after print production had commenced, signifying a desire for printers to convey the information with certain urgency. We know from studies by scholars such as McElligott (2007) and Wilcher (2009) that pro-royalist printers were under constant threat of being shut down by the parliamentary censors or *bloodhounds*, as the royalists called them. In issue 6 of *Mercurius Elencticus*, Wharton, in defiance of censorship and those that would shut down royalist presses, writes: “But work your worst, I feare you not: for though you *Pad-lock* the *Pulpit*, I will always have a *Presse* in store, to *flank* and *Pelt* you perpetually; never shall you rest in quiet till the *King* bee in his *Throne*, the *Land* in *Peace*, and your selves in *Torment*, that have brought such *miseries* upon us” (41-42). A similar reference to censorship can be found in the epistle to the reader in John Quarles’s *Regale Lectum Miseriae* (1649): “as for the errorrs of the *Presse*, I suppose them pardonable, in respect that it hath received many interruptions, and haste, joyn’d with feare, are conductours to mistakes” (A4). Given the looming threats of censorship and punishment, it makes sense that royalist publishers would rush to include paratextual and transtextual references in their most current editions because there was always a risk that there may not be a next edition.



Additionally, royalists were using various literary techniques to create intimacy within the imagined textual public. For example, by placing information about royalist publications as addendums after the colophon, such paratextual references were set apart visually from the text proper and used by royalists literally and figuratively as subversive spaces on the printed page. This textual space was dissident to republicanism, and it provided royalists with the means to form a shared royalist textual public through the often secretive practices of producing and consuming royalist texts.

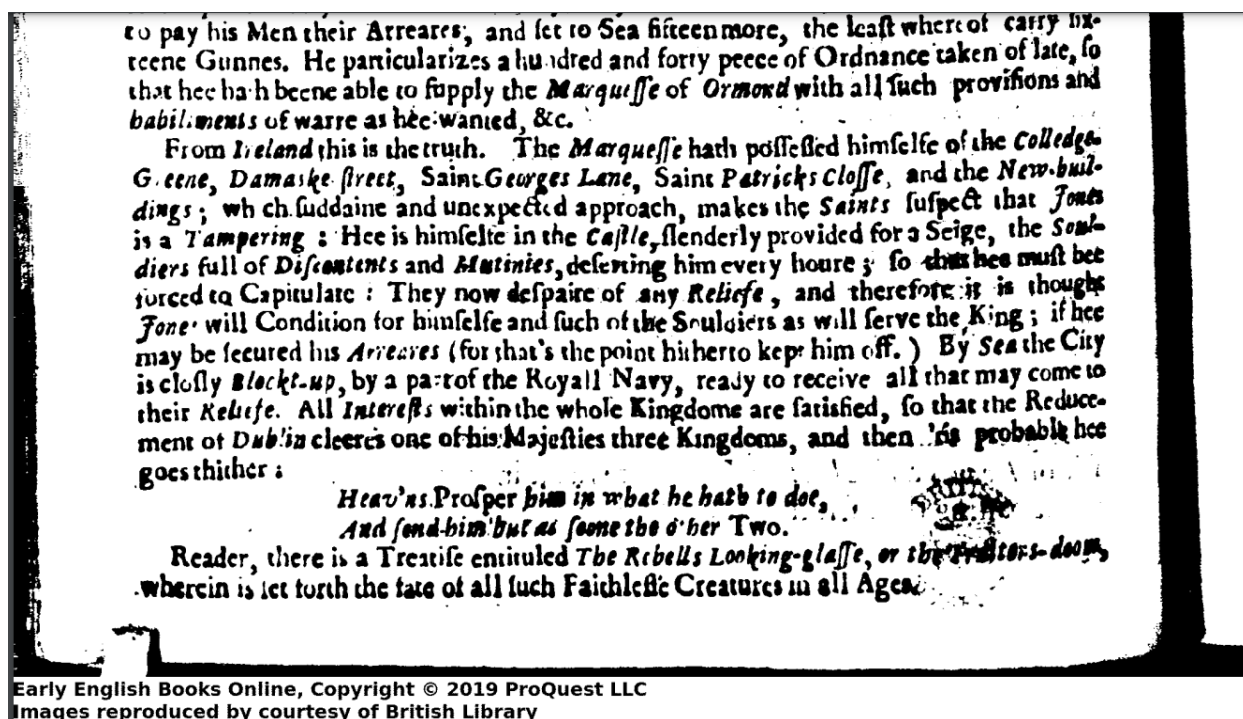


Fig. 2. The final page (16) of the 1-8 May 1649 issue of *Mercurius Elencticus*. The paratextual reference is included after the colophon.

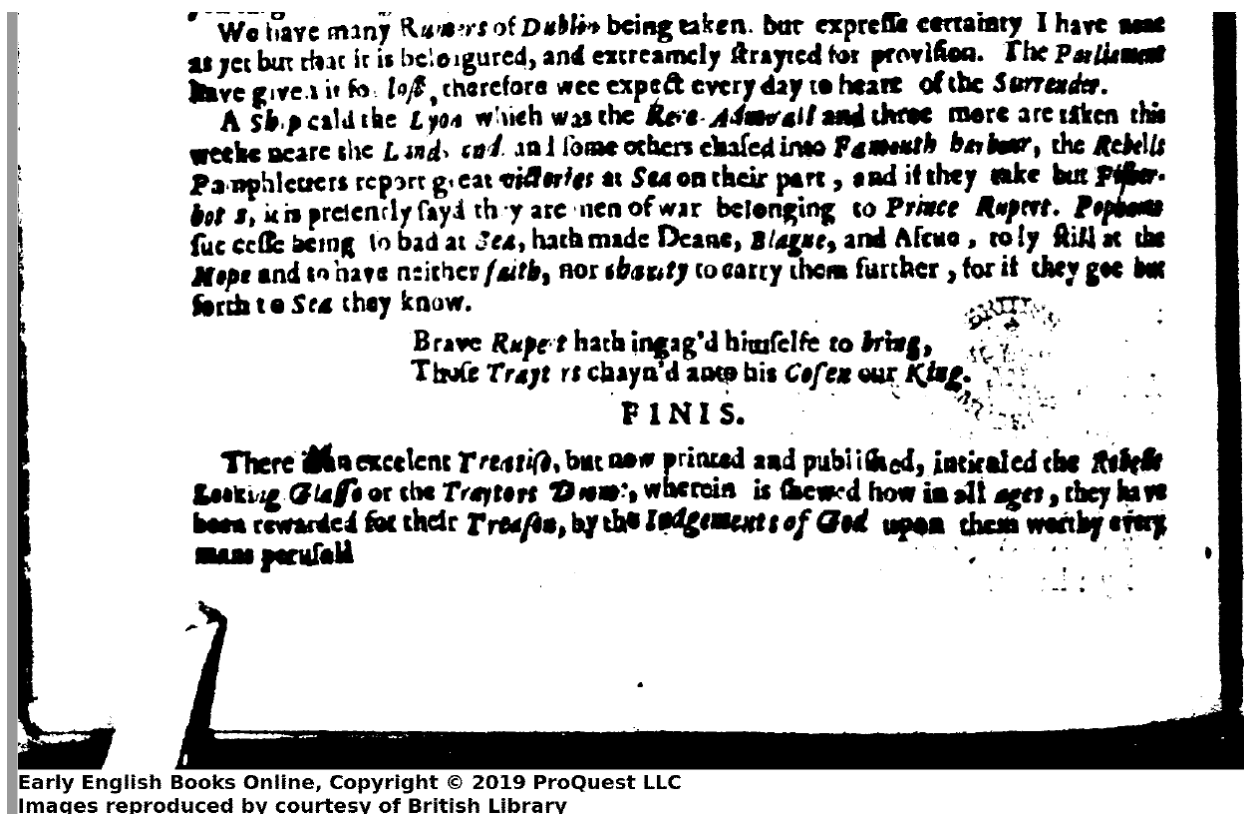


Fig. 3. The final page (8) of the 1-8 May 1649 issue of *Mercurius Pragmaticus*. The paratextual reference is included after the expressive colophon.

Moreover, royalist authors used common monarchical metaphors and rhetoric to generate a sense of community and to persuade possible sympathizers to the monarchy's cause. However, these same authors were invoking also various rhetorical and paratextual practices to distinguish themselves simultaneously from those (pro-) parliamentarians that they viewed as traitors. For example, *The Rebels Looking-Glasse: or, The Traytors Doome* (1649) contains an epistle, entitled "To the Members of that Junto that sit in the Commons House at Westminster," in which the speaker begins:

Gentlemen, for so many of you were, till you *tainted your Bloud with Rebellion*; when you were called to sit in that *House*, you took not the *Covenant*, or *Negative Oath*, but the *Oath of Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, flat contrary to those other two [...] we have a long time justly termed you *Rebells*, but now we must call you *Rebells* in a more exalted note, and stile you *Regicides*. (A2)

The royalist speaker expresses the unsettling nature of the relationship between the royalists and the regicides by stating that the regicides were, once, gentlemen like them. The unnerving similarities between (pro-) parliamentarians and the royalists were a source of royalist anxiety because, as de Groot notes, the royalists desired a stable identity. However, the omnipresent threat of the parliamentarian resided, at least in part, in the established differences between the two groups. It was because of these differences that parliamentarians resisted royalist definitions of what it meant to be English, thereby highlighting “the instability of language and meaning” (18).

To locate de Groot’s argument within this discussion, the uncanny parallels between the (pro-) parliamentarians and the royalists meant that the parliamentarian threat was insidious and oftentimes difficult to discern within the textual/political landscape of Interregnum England. As de Groot observes, to royalists, parliamentarians “look the same, walk the same, almost represent the same things, but they are not the same; they are other, strange weird [*sic*], different, uncategorized, uncivilized, and undefined [...] Royalist writing, loyalist discourse, texts of the civil war period—all betray this slippage and this anxious need for definition” (18). Therefore, as a part of the post-regicide royalist collective fantasy, which I discuss in detail in Chapter 4, royalist authors took aim at those they perceived to be allied with Parliament in the pursuit of a more stable, cohesive royalist identity. Royalist authors incorporated metaphors and imagery of the monstrous—depicting (pro-) parliamentarians often as Jews, hydras, or cannibals—to re-code

and distinguish (pro-) parliamentarians by Othering them. In so doing, royalists distanced themselves from their traitorous, (pro-) parliamentary peers and redefined themselves against Parliament within the royalist textual public.

The efforts of royalist authors to redefine their internal collective against the monstrous (pro-) parliamentary group was an essential part of that group's constitution of the text-agent. The role of a textual public in sublimating a text-agent is threefold. First, those loyal to the Subject-author acknowledge the painful present-absence of the Subject-author and they turn to the text-agent as a surrogate Subject for their leader and as something and object to fill the void generated by that loss. This part of the process contributes not only to the validation and sublimation of the text-agent, but converts it also into the coveted Subject-object a. Second, as I address in the next section, the textual public helps to sublimate the text-agent by mirroring and reinforcing the sublimated metaphoric and metonymic essences of the Subject-author in the textual public's own publications. The textual public demonstrates this recognition in their printed texts by invoking metaphors and metonymies to depict the relationship between Subject-author/text-agent. Third, the relationship between the text-agent and the textual public is reciprocal. By sublimating the text-agent through their own works, authors within the textual public (be they in support of or working against the Subject-author) endow the text-agent with the socio-political power to constitute and solidify the textual public. The result is that a text-agent is forged in the image of the foreclosed Subject (that is, the text-agent is both manufactured and a copy), and it serves as a personified textual residue—or Lacanian stain—within the traumatized memories and fantasy discourse of the textual public. The public performance of

memory and fantasy in textual discourse flattens the ontology between text and human, relocating the Subject-author and their agency into the text-agent.

### **The Text-Agent as a *Sublime Subject-object* of Monarchical Ideology in the Royalist Textual Public**

To appreciate how textual publics can be brought into alignment with an argument for textual agency, it is necessary to establish first the theoretical premises of a text-agent. Building upon a definition of *agent* that dates to the seventeenth century,<sup>30</sup> this section complicates and extends ideas found in the primary works of a diverse array of critical theorists, including Roland Barthes, Jane Bennett, Lauren Berlant, Pierre Bourdieu, Michel Foucault, Elizabeth Grosz, Mari Ruti, and Slavoj Žižek, to offer a theorization of how certain autobiographical texts in history have the capacity to (self-) actualize by moving beyond the more limited capacities of other non-human actants. Instead, text-agents assume a form of post-human agency that makes them capable of functioning as sublimated surrogates for the author(ity).

As we have seen in the previous section of this chapter, Bennett's consideration of non-human actants calls for the cultivation of anthropomorphism to combat what she identifies as the "narcissism of humans in charge of the world" (XVI) and, specifically, an understanding that actants can influence publics through thing-power. However, where Bennett's theorization falls short for literary, cultural, and historical scholars is in her lack of a clear distinction between material actants and the more dynamic role that texts can occupy in the Lacanian Symbolic

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<sup>30</sup> That is, the "means by which something is done; the material cause or instrument through which an effect is produced" ("Agent, n.1 and adj., def. 3")

order. One of Bennett's goals in *Vibrant Matter* is to "give voice to a vitality intrinsic to materiality, in the process absolving matter from its long history of attachment to automatism or mechanism" (3). She considers the vitality and the "capacity of things—edibles, commodities, storms, metals—not only to impede or block the will and designs of humans but also to act as quasi agents or forces with trajectories, propensities, or tendencies of their own" (VII).

However, Bennett recognizes only briefly the potentiality for texts to assume agency when she discusses *emergent causality*, which "places the focus on the process as itself an actant, as itself in possession of degrees of agentic capacity [...and] can refer both to a human subject who is the sole and original author of an effect (as in 'moral agent') and also to someone or something that is the mere vehicle or passive conduit for the will of another (as in 'literary agent' or 'insurance agent')" (33). The epistemological significance that Bennett glosses over here, due in likelihood to her background as a political theorist, is an important and fundamental understanding in the fields of literary and cultural studies: texts occupy a (S)ymbolic register that creates meaning and enables them to be situated in the unique and liminal space between the material and the metaphysical—what practitioners in these disciplines know as *textuality*. Granted, while Bennett's study does not seek to differentiate between books and other actants specifically, her allusion to this distinction is significant. In her explanation, Bennett acknowledges indirectly an important something—a moment—that many scholars (literary scholars, in particular) have sought to articulate. Her assertion is that "the notion of thing-power aims instead to attend to the it as actant," which has a "moment of independence (from subjectivity) possessed by things [...] that must be there, since things do in fact affect other bodies, enhancing or weakening their power," and it is of critical interdisciplinary importance (3). To develop her argument within a

larger literary/cultural studies context, the moment of independence to which Bennett alludes is one point of distinction between Roland Barthes's conceptualizations of *work* and *text*. Books, as Barthes tells us in *The Rustle of Language* (1967), can be understood as both works and texts; however, a "*work* (in the best of cases) is *moderately* symbolic," while a *text* is "*radically* symbolic: *a work whose integrally symbolic nature one conceives, perceives, and receives is a text*" (59). Building upon Barthes's argument, we can see how the materiality of both forms of writing—a text and a work—invoke different degrees of thing-power. A text is predicated, at least in some part, upon the work's materiality insofar as we must have a work to have a text. I contend, then, that a text, in and through its (S)ymbolic textuality, engages audiences at a register beyond the material dimension and the limited thing-power that is inherent in a work by exceeding its own ontological status as a book and work. In other words, a post-human theoretical lens allows us to understand how the ontology between a human author and their non-human autobiographical text can become flattened in/as the text-agent. Thus, while works and texts are both actants within Bennett's framework, Barthes's position that: "the Text is what is situated at the limit of the rules of the speech-act" (58-60) adds a missing distinction. A text has additional capacity as an actant to resonate with and influence publics by exhibiting pluralities of meaning that surpass the vital materiality of a work.

However, any argument for textual agency is complicated by the theories of post-structuralism. As those who have studied the larger body of Barthes's work will be aware, the ability of a text to have agency or for it to possess the persona or essence of an author is an idea that has encountered skepticism in academic communities. Barthes argues that the author is the "past of his own book," and is "an antecedence to his work as a father to a child" (*The Death of*

*the Author* 145). He continues this line of argument to make his famous post-structuralist claim that the author is dead figuratively—a declaration that was interrogated by Foucault (1969), who found this position wanting. Rather, Foucault contends that the role of the author can be re-envisioned more productively as the author function. The difference between the *author* and the *author function*, is that the latter is “not simply an element in a discourse (capable of being either subject or object, of being replaced by a pronoun, and the like); it performs a certain role with regard to narrative discourse, assuring a classificatory function” (209). He maintains that “the author’s name [...] seems always to be present, marking off the edges of the text, revealing, or at least characterizing its mode of being [...] and it] manifests the appearance of a certain discursive set and indicates the status of this discourse within a society and a culture” (211). Foucault’s distinction of the proper name from the author function clarifies how I am conceptualizing the author as three distinct ontological forms that can and do overlap in complex ways. First, there is what I refer to as the *historical author(s)*, or the individual(s) who produced the text (in the case of *Eikon Basilike*, the most current scholarship indicates that the historical authors were Charles I and Dr. John Gauden). The second form is what Foucault calls the *proper name*, but to which I refer by my more Lacanian-informed neologism: the *Subject-author*. The Subject-author is the person to whom a particular autobiography is attributed—it is the “I” of the text’s narrator, and in an autobiography, it is a curated narrative representation of the Subject’s life and experiences. The third form is Foucault’s discursively constituted *author function* which “is located in the break that founds a certain discursive construct and its very particular mode of



being” (211).<sup>31</sup> Throughout this project, I engage with all three ontological formations of the author to propose that while, in most cases, the author can be considered dead in the post-Barthian sense, some autobiographical texts are notable exceptions because of the unique historical and socio-political circumstances that inform their emergent causality.

Influences of Foucault’s author function are found in the work of Elizabeth Grosz (1995), wherein she explores how a text can be considered incarnational during her discussion of sexual signatures. In language that echoes that of Foucault, she articulates a phenomenon called *discursive positioning*, which is “a complex relation between the corporeality of the author, that is, the author’s textual residues or traces, the text’s materiality, and its effects in marking the bodies of the author and readers, and the corporeality and productivity of readers” (18). Grosz observes that “we cannot presume an identity between the ‘I’ of the *énoncé* and the ‘I’ of the *enunciation*, even in the case of autobiography: the ‘I’ who speaks cannot be identified with the ‘I’ spoken about” (19). However, these two understandings of the “I”—that of the *énoncé* and the *enunciation*—cannot be completely separated because

the processes of the production of the utterance are always inscribed in the utterance itself. Although the author cannot control the text—every text exceeds its author—and although we can’t [*sic*] make inferences about the text through a knowledge of the author (nor of the author through a knowledge of the text), nonetheless there remains a process of inscription, some trace of the process of production on the text. (19)

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<sup>31</sup> Adrian Wilson (2004) provides a succinct and perhaps less ambiguous explanation of Foucault’s concept of the author function: Foucault “proposed to examine the author ‘as a function of discourse’, replacing the conventional figure of ‘the author’ with what he called ‘the author-function’—a concept which sought to capture the discursive role played by that figure [...] [I]t is precisely the author-function which authorizes the very idea of ‘an author’ [...] and] ‘the enigmatic link between an author and his works’” (341-342).

Grosz extends her argument to Jacques Derrida's (1971) concept of the three modalities of the signature, which she reads alongside Émile Benveniste (1971) to contend that there is a "paradoxical and divided position of the subject in and beyond the text," and demonstrates that the signature involves the "necessary and irreducible trace of the one in the other, the implication of the text's outside with its inside, and of its inside with establishing its borders and thus its outside, in short, its fundamentally folded, 'invaginated' character'" (Grosz 20). She concludes this line of argument by noting that

[t]he signature not only signs the text by a mark of authorial propriety, but also signs the subject as the product of writing itself, of textuality; it functions as a double mark, a hinge, folding together (or separating) the author/reader or producer and the text or product. The signature cannot authenticate, it cannot prove, it cannot make present the personage of the author; but it is a remnant, a remainder of and a testimony to both a living past and a set of irreducible and ineliminable corporeal traces. It is not that the author/reader and text are entirely other to each other: the otherness of the other is also the condition of the self-consolidating project. The subject is necessarily implicated in the other's otherness, even when this other is a text. (21)

Her suggestion that a signature or a residue of authorial presence can be detected in texts aligns with the position of Paul de Man (1984), who interrogates the relationship between author and text, claiming that often we "assume that life *produces* the autobiography as an act produces its consequences" and asks, "can we not suggest, with equal justice, that the autobiographical project may itself produce and determine the life?" (69). Building upon this point, he contends that the prosopopoeia is a trope of the autobiography, and is, therefore, the "fiction of an apostrophe to an absent, deceased, or voiceless entity, which posits the possibility of the latter's reply and confers upon it the power of speech" (75-76). If we combine the premises of these theorists while considering how texts assume vital materiality and thing-power, then we can

advance the argument for textual agency by another permutation. Certain autobiographical texts come to be distinguished within societies—and as we shall see, within textual publics specifically—for their ability to exert unique levels of socio-political and cultural influence within traumatic circumstances. These texts represent the political and/or religious ideologies of their Subject-authors, which enables them to occupy an additional register wherein they function beyond Bennett's conceptualization of a purely material actant. These privileged texts are written by or attributed to influential leaders, they possess material and (S)ymbolic value, and they emerge into literary landscapes during unstable and tumultuous moments in history. Moreover, they are set apart from other influential texts-as-actants because of their popularity, notoriety, ubiquity, and for their status as political manifestos and autobiographical textual relics. Texts such as *Eikon Basilike*, or the more contemporary *Mein Kampf* (1925)<sup>32</sup> and *Autobiography of Malcolm X* (1965),<sup>33</sup> are examples of some of these augmented textual actants—or rather, *autobiographical text-qua-agents*, which, for the sake of brevity, I call hereafter by my neologism: text-agents.<sup>34</sup> This neologism has roots in the work of Fredric Jameson (2002), who, in his discussion of ideology and symbolic production, observes that

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<sup>32</sup> While a detailed analysis of Adolf Hitler's infamous book is outside of the scope of this project, historical reception (including the banning of the book in several countries) speaks to the socio-political power that this text-agent had during WW2 and in the post-WW2 era.

<sup>33</sup> Again, while an exploration of the parallels between the two is outside the purview of this dissertation, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* has interesting similarities to *Eikon Basilike*. Both autobiographies were collaborative efforts, ideological texts, and were published on behalf of their Subject-authors posthumously.

<sup>34</sup> To be clear, I am not suggesting that we ought to draw moral or ethical comparisons between these text-agents, their Subject-authors, or their roles in history. I make this juxtaposition to point out that it would be productive to apply the theory of the text-agent to consider the socio-political dynamics that inform and underpin these influential texts in relation to larger questions of ideology, censorship, author(ity), and the levels of agency with which they have been endowed historically.

“these [ideological] texts of history, with their fantasmatic ‘actants,’ their narrative organization, and their immense charge of anxiety and libidinal investment, are lived by the contemporary subject as a genuine politico-historical *pensée sauvage* which necessarily informs all of our cultural artifacts” (65). Jameson is correct to call distinct attention to the “charge of anxiety and libidinal investment”<sup>35</sup> that is sublimated into ideological texts of history; in fact, the process of cathexis contributes to the sublimation of the text-agent as a surrogate that performs its author’s vitality. To use a more accessible metaphor, if we consider the Subject-author to be a flu-ridden headliner of a theatrical production, then the text-agent is the star’s understudy—the compensatory replacement who, while capable of performing the lead role, occupies a space of surrogate authority. The very presence of the understudy (*Eikon Basilike*) on the stage continues to call attention to the present-absence of the star (Charles I) because the understudy is a positivity of the absent or missing Subject-author. The textual public, then, is composed of individual supporting cast members who help to create and interact within a larger contextual narrative that enshrines the text-agent’s own individual narrative. Without the supporting cast, the performance would be incomplete, and the text-agent would just be one actor on the stage, monologuing a limited part or scene of a historical narrative. Thus, one of the functions that the textual public performs is to validate and sublimate the text-agent as the understudy—the support

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<sup>35</sup> While the libido and libidinal desire often have sexual connotations in popular understandings of psychoanalysis, *libido* is not understood explicitly as being sexual in current psychoanalytic theory. It can also mean: “psychic energy derived from the unconscious or (more specifically) the id and inherent in instinctual desires and drives; *esp.* that associated with the sexual instinct” (“Libido” 2), or in its figurative use, to have “a strong need or desire (*for* something)” (“Libido” 3).

Freud (1933) understood *cathexis*, which I argue is a part of the sublimatory process of a text-agent, as an allocation of libido that charged dreams with different levels of affect (*New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis* 64).

cast authorizes the understudy to (re)present and perform in lieu of the absent Subject-author. Even in instances where supporting cast members may be antagonists who are attempting to discredit the text-agent or decry the falsity of its performance, any effort to do so must still draw attention to the understudy's presence on the stage and the authority that the understudy assumes when they occupy the vacant role. Indeed, the entire production, in all of its theatrical and material dimensions, would collapse were the cast not to confer legitimacy upon the understudy. The meta-performance of the textual public transfers agency to the understudy—an agency that must be inalienable if the show is to go on.\*<sup>36</sup>

And while it would be unsound to ascribe as much authority to texts or objects as one does to humans—a point that Bennet is mindful to make in her study—text-agents can and do take an active part in the exertion/facilitation of larger socio-political forces. Text-agents serve as vehicles for the cultural transmission of ideologies and trauma amongst textual communities and publics. To recontextualize Bennett's argument about vital materiality and thing-power within a Lacanian psychoanalytic framework, we can consider the text-agent to be a *sublime Subject-object a* that expresses the Subject-author's Real singularity of being. Merging the ideas of Emmanuel Levinas (1985) and Eric Santner (2001), Ruti explains *singularity* as a type of “breach in the horizon of cultural intelligibility” that allows “something of ‘life’ in its excessive ‘perseverance of being’” to rupture the subject's organization of self (*The Singularity of Being*

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<sup>36</sup> I thank Dr. Mathew Martin for his assistance in articulating the last part of this analogy. On that note, I have been informed by a committee member that it is inappropriate to footnote my supervisor's contributions to this dissertation, lest the larger body of work and/or the ideas contained herein be somehow invalidated as my own. However, failure to acknowledge the insights of another scholar does not sit well with me. Thus, in the spirit of compromise, the reader will note the use of asterisks (\*) throughout this project, which are used to denote instances where Mathew's valuable collaboration helped me directly to develop an argument or to express a point.

3). For Ruti, singularity can be conceptualized as those drive energies of the Lacanian Real that penetrate or “ooze through the sieve of the various systems of organization that are designed to stabilize human life” (21). However, there is a tension that she detects in this phenomenon: for singularity to exist at the level of the Real, then within a Lacanian framework, singularity should be unable to express itself in a coherent or cognitive manner within a Symbolic framework (4). Where her argument differs from a more traditional reading of Lacan’s work is in her contention that “this does not mean that it [singularity] does not ‘speak’ or ‘express’ meaning (along with nonmeaning)” (4). Rather, she argues that singularity is an “‘inhuman’ (or not fully human) excess” that cannot be contained fully by the Symbolic or Imaginary (4).

This notion of inhuman excess is one that will be familiar to Lacanians and Žižekians.

Žižek distinguishes between *substance* (or *essence*) and the subject, stating that

[t]he substance is the positive, transcendent Essence supposed to be hidden behind the curtain of phenomena; to ‘experience the substance as subject’ means to grasp that the curtain of phenomena conceals above all the fact that there is nothing to conceal, and this ‘nothing’ behind the curtain is the subject. In other words, at the level of the substance the appearance is simply deceiving, it offers us a false image of the Essence; whereas at the level of the subject the appearance deceives precisely by pretending to deceive—by feigning that there is something to be concealed. It conceals the fact that there is nothing to conceal. (*The Sublime Object of Ideology* 223-224)

Within Žižek’s framework, *Eikon Basilike* acts as a positivization of the transcendent essence of Charles I, which is supposed to be hidden behind the curtain of phenomena (kingship and the monarchy). At the level of substance, the text-agent deceives audiences by offering a false image or representation of Charles’s transcendent essence. At the level of the Subject (Charles I), the appearance—the *Eikon*, including its frontispiece—reveals and re-veils the fact that there is nothing to conceal at all (Charles was dead and the monarchy was abolished). However, Žižek’s

position contrasts with Ruti's (2006) argument about essence, wherein she conceives of *essence* as a

sedimented sort of subjectivity where those layers of metaphoric meaning that have already solidified into "truths"—that are already established enough in the individual's psychic landscape to appear intrinsic—exert a creative power over more recent layers that are still in the process of being formed. In this model, the longer standing layers of meaning are able to determine the shape and content of the more recent layers; the self acquires depth and imaginative agency not from any human essence, but from the gradual accumulation of meanings, all equally metaphoric, yet also at the same time entirely convincing (at least for the time being). The self behind the performance therefore functions as a layered depository of former performances, and the self-stylizing subject emerges as an endless process of revitalization in which the form of the newly constituted self is conditioned by the character of earlier performances. (*Reinventing the Soul* 57)

In Ruti's schema, essence is created through layers of metaphoric meaning, akin to layers of sedimentary rock. The metaphors at the bottom are the most entrenched Symbolically and serve as the ideological and figurative base upon which other metaphors build meaning within a given culture. For example, the English metaphor of the king-as-father builds upon the Christian biblical paternal metaphor of God-the-Father (the king is God's representative on Earth and rules by divine right). The metaphor that the king is the head of the body politic builds upon the metaphor of the king-as-father and the father as the head of the family. Thus, essence is generated through a series of substitutions. Metaphors establishes a legacy of meaning that is sedimented in the Symbolic field through not only a Subject's former performances, but in the case of a monarchy, by the performances that ruler's predecessors. This is one reason that an individual monarch's ability to control representations of themselves in images and larger cultural narratives continues to be of great concern to monarchism at large: the Subject is self-stylizing and conditioned by the character of earlier performers and performances.

I reconcile the tension between these two conceptualizations of essence by suggesting that in the text-agent's undead non-humanness, we can locate both a substitutive metaphoric essence (Ruti) and representational metonymic essence (Žižek). Thus, the performance of the text-agent as a Subject-object stems from a collective negotiation of the Symbolic, the Imaginary, and the Real, and manifests in the illusory sublimation of the *metaphoric essences of the Real* and the *metonymic essences of the Real* (hereafter “metaphoric essence” and “metonymic essence”). That is to say, the text-agent is the result of the sublimation of the foreclosed Subject-object's singularity of being in/as the author function. The text-*qua*-agent's ontology is achieved through the primary text's use of metaphors and metonymy as signifiers of essence and via the textual public's sublimation of the text-agent through a metaphoric and/or metonymic investiture of the Subject-author's singularity-as-essence. And while, admittedly, the Real cannot be articulated in the literal language of the Symbolic, these sublimated signifiers (metaphoric substitutions and metonymic representations) enable audiences to encounter the Real or to articulate around the trauma via its positivized negativity: the symptom. Put another way, when a text is sublimated as a text-agent, the conventional use of (inter)textual metaphor and metonymy takes on an added layer of meaning. These rhetorical moments and techniques become textual symptoms of trauma—or traumatic mimesis—and sites of the foreclosed Subject-author's singularity of being. In turn, these discursive sites sublimate the text with both literal and latent non-meaning.<sup>37</sup> The Subject-author and the textual public brush up against the Real

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<sup>37</sup> According to Lacan, when we choose the Real, “the subject disappears, it eludes us, it falls into non-meaning. If we choose meaning [the Symbolic], the meaning survives only deprived of that part of the non-meaning that is, strictly speaking, that which constitutes in the realization of the subject, the unconscious. In other words, it is of the nature of this meaning, as it emerges in the field of the Other, to be in a large part of its field, eclipsed by the



through the Subject-author's efforts to textualize their singularity through metaphor and metonymy and in the textual public's attempts to register and experience this singularity of the lost/absent Subject-author within a shared framework of Symbolically structured meaning: discursive textuality. This process of investing essence into the text-agent's metaphors animates it as a metonymy, bringing it to life via the drive energies of the Real.

Therefore, sublimation is initiated in response to the Subject-author's and the audiences' libidinal drives to find validity in the text-agent as a textual extension of a truth-event. Alain Badiou (2022) speaks of the *truth-event*, observing that: "the creation of truths can happen entirely within the world—the work and the consequences involved take place inside the world—but at the same time, because of the evental origin of the phenomenon in question, stand apart as an exception, because the work that is implied introduces a tiny, quasi-ontological difference into whatever was recognized as existing in the world" (14). In her analysis of Badiou's work and its larger implications within a Lacanian framework of psychoanalysis, Ruti offers a lens through which we might regard the relationship between a text-agent and a truth-event when she suggests that "the domain of the truth-event is by definition one of rewriting of innovation—an unexpected occasion for something previously unimaginable to shatter the established order of things [...] the truth-event opens the possibility for new possibilities or, to use Badiou's own wording, the "possibility of the impossible" (*The Singularity of Being* 83). By combining the phenomenon of a truth-event with a text-agent, what audiences bear witness to is the performance of a *textual truth-event*. As a textual truth-event, the text-agent possesses a

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disappearance of being, induced by the very function of the signifier" (*The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis* 211).

quasi-ontological difference that distinguishes it from other texts: that is, the text-agent is sublimated with an author(ity) through metaphoric and metonymic essences. This augmentation of a text to a text-agent depends upon that inarticulable (T)hing that gives the text-agent its thing-power: the Subject-author's singularity of being, which is a (S)ymbolic registration of the Subject-author's excessive drive energy. The drives, with their singularity, circulate around the void of *das Ding* ("the Thing") to create a sublimated sublime textual Subject-object *a*, or the text-agent, which attempts to articulate the Subject-author's singularity of being while (re)veiling and revealing the traumatic emptiness of *das Ding*<sup>38</sup> simultaneously.\*

For these reasons, the sublimation of the text-agent through the Subject's metaphoric-metonymic essences can not be completed while the Subject-author remains a neurotic Subject in the Symbolic. The Subject-author must experience some type of (semi-) permanent foreclosure from the (O)ther and the Symbolic: imprisonment and physical death are the most obvious examples of the foreclosure phenomenon. We might consider also how foreclosure occurs during psychotic episodes in which one is detached from or has a fraught relationship with the Symbolic order, often in instances of trauma. However, this argument begs the question of what distinguishes a popular and/or influential text from a text-agent. Certainly, any author can make use of metaphors and metonymy as rhetorical techniques to express mediated *jouissance*, and many authors do so without sublimating a text-agent. Thus, there are two contextual

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<sup>38</sup> To borrow Derek Hook's analogy from his 2021 lecture on Lacan and fantasy, the Lacanian Subject can be conceptualized as an assemblage of puzzle pieces and there is one piece missing (*das Ding*) that leaves a negativity in the Subject. The Subject then searches for the missing piece (the *object a*); however, the Subject can never find the exact piece to replace perfectly what went missing or was lost. This is why the Lacanian Subject is neurotic and why one experiences drives and desires.

requirements that must be met for a text-agent to be sublimated as such: first, the Subject-author must be deposed from or have vacated a leadership role recently. This position of power, if left empty, creates a power vacuum in its negativity that needs to be filled, lest the collective collapse: for example, an imprisoned leader of a political movement or an executed king. Second, metaphoric-metonymic essences of the Real are unable to announce their presence or express singularity of being mimetically so long as the Subject-author remains in (or reclaims) the position of power and authority within the social collective. The process of sublimation is predicated upon the Subject-author's Symbolic foreclosure and the extension of excess drive energies in the form of metaphoric or metonymic essences of the Real to animate the text-agent as a sublime Subject-object *a*. Therefore, there must be a present-absence—a negativity or *das Ding*—that serves as the source of drive energy for a Subject-author and/or members of the textual public to desire the text-agent as a means of filling this void.

The textual public of the text-agent encounters but also mirrors the metaphoric and metonymic essences of the Subject-author by reading, writing, and performing the text-agent while exhibiting individual textual instances of traumatic mimesis as symptoms of trauma that register in the Symbolic field. In other words, moments of textual rupture are symptoms of the Real that allow audiences to detect a Subject-author's traumatized excess. It is by expressing and registering these moments of traumatic mimesis through (a failure of) language that the Subject-author and textual public both create and derive Symbolic meaning and Real non-meaning through the sense of validity that they receive from the text-agent as a truth-event. This argument is supported by Lacan's (1966) assertion that language is a vehicle to register trauma, when he states that "what is important is the version of the text [the dream as a form of writing],

and that, Freud tells us, is given in the telling of the dream—that is, in its rhetoric” (*Écrits* 221). For Lacan, moments of syntactical displacement (e.g. ellipsis, repetition, apposition) and semantic condensations (e.g. metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, and allegory) should be read as intentions “with which the subject modulates his oneiric<sup>39</sup> discourse” (*Écrits* 221-222). In Chapters 3 and 4, I explore some examples of these mimetic expressions in post-regicide royalist texts, which include: speakers’ failed attempts to articulate the unspeakable or unknowable; moments of silence denoted by line/paragraph breaks or ellipses; anxiety and *jouissance*, which are reflected through enjambment or a lack of punctuation; uncertain, disjointed, or overabundant thoughts represented by parentheses or em dashes/horizontal bars; stream of consciousness writing; moments of overly formal or stilted language; and disruptions of poetic meter. These moments of traumatic mimetic rupture are textual symptoms that alert audiences to both individual and trans-subjective traumas. Furthermore, traumatic mimesis is where we can locate the essences and drive energies of the Subject-author as they are being registered by members of the textual public in the Symbolic field.

The theory of the text-agent allows scholars of literature, history, philosophy, politics, and culture to understand more comprehensively how an author can write oneself into a text posthumously through the author function. If a text is ghost-written or it is the product of several authors (as was likely the case with the *Eikon*), then the *méconnaissance*—or misrecognition—on the part of the textual public resides in its members’ willingness to engage (sometimes unknowingly) in the fantasy that the Subject-author-function and the historical author of the text-

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<sup>39</sup> “Dream.”

agent are one in the same. The text-agent must maintain a credible illusion that it represents the Subject-author's sole and authentic voice as a truth-event if the text-agent is to operate as a metaphor-metonymy as/for a Subject-author(ity) within the textual public. For this reason, the illusion or contrivance of authenticity in a text-agent must go beyond a convincing narrative of events from the Subject-author's life. Audiences discern the metaphysical traces of the Subject-author's essence in the text-agent's ability to mimic the speech acts and patterns (or idiolect) of its Subject-author convincingly. Through the replication of the Subject-author's authorial voice and by using metaphor and metonymy, the historical author(s) of the text-agent create an illusion of essence, or what Lacan would call a *fantasy*, of the Subject-author's singularity having been sublimated in the text-agent via the author function. This fantasy (re)animates the text-agent through the displaced drive energies that perforate the Symbolic when the Subject-author is foreclosed.\*

The conditions for the sublimation of the text-agent are met when the Subject-author is barred first by the Symbolic order in their own neuroticism, and then foreclosed in some capacity from the Symbolic structure with which they identify during a time of extraordinary historical circumstances. If, somehow, the Subject-author manages to escape their state of subjective destitution, if they are rescued from their foreclosed status (e.g. they are released from prison), or if they are succeeded by a Subject who has a valid claim to the vacant position of power—as recognized by the Subject-author's Symbolic structure and collective—then the text-agent is emptied of its claims to power as a surrogate for the forbidden. The text-agent is no longer able to harness the power of the Subject-author(ity) (the prohibitive power of the Freudian paternal no) because a valid and recognized successor has now assumed the vacant role of the (F)ather.

The text-agent will yield its borrowed (S)ymbolic power to the legitimate successor and, subsequently, will be de-sublimated from its socio-political position as a surrogate to function as a text or even as a textual relic with a lesser and/or different degree of thing-power. In other words, the text gives up its assumed, non-human agency to function as an actant. It is for this reason that we cannot equate the levels of agency between a text-agent and its Subject-author. Rather, a text-agent is sublimated in and by its historical circumstances—including the Subject-author's fraught relationship with the Real, Imaginary, and Symbolic orders. Further, its emergence is complicated further by the Subject-author(ity) having experienced foreclosure from their own Symbolic structure. The Subject-author's inability to represent a fully developed ideal-ego and ego-ideal in and through the text-agent is inevitable because the metaphoric and metonymic essences will always be illusory and part of a larger trans-subjective textual fantasy. To paraphrase Žižek: there is nothing behind the curtain or the veil, which is to say that the illusionary metaphoric and metonymic essences will always fail to express fully their Subject-author's singularity. This failure is inevitable because these essences are a part of the Subject-author's and the textual public's co-constituted, co-sublimated textual fantasy in the Imaginary-Symbolic.

To synthesize these many theoretical threads, we can understand a text-agent as a commodified, fetishized, prosopopoeic textual relic that is discursively positioned in public contexts (which are formed by and inform the constitution of textual publics) through the author function and signature. The text-agent is sublimated with metaphoric-metonymic essences of the Real in two directions: first, by the Subject-author, who cathects their singularity of being into the text, and second, by Subject-audiences, who recognize and reflect the essences of the

Subject-author back into the text-agent retroactively by using their own texts as figurative mirrors. Because the sublimation of a text-agent is a dually constructed phenomenon, it depends upon a reciprocal process in which the Subject-author and the textual public transform the text into the text-agent and convert it into a sublimated sublime Subject-object of ideology. The text-agent is ascribed thing-power and vital materiality by the textual public, who constitute it in turn with secondary authorial agency as a surrogate for the absent Subject-author by establishing or reaffirming a metaphoric-metonymic relationship between the two. In the case of *Eikon Basilike*, the text-agent was sublimated with a degree of the king's agentic power by the royalist textual public during the book's production, distribution, consumption, and performance. Charles I's text-agent acquired its socio-political authority and legitimacy from other royalist texts that responded to it, thereby empowering the *Eikon* to perform and embody the ideas, beliefs, and ideology of monarchism. Within this theoretical framework, there is a vital (both living and essential) distinction to be made between a *text*, which has influence as an actant within a public context, and a *text-agent* in the text-agent's ability to perform as the author function and to represent the Subject-author metaphorically and metonymically. The text-agent, then, is a textual truth-event—an extension of a historical truth-event—that shapes and is shaped by its textual public and that public's collective *méconnaissance* in the process of generating a trans-subjective textual fantasy. And, because a text-agent is autobiographical in its very nature, its performance serves as a window into the Subject-author's private realm, providing its audiences with compelling voyeuristic—though carefully contrived—glimpses of the (\$)subjective truths, values, and personal insights of the Subject-author.

Thus, a text-agent can be differentiated from *works-as-actants* and even from *texts-as-actants* because the text-agent exhibits the metaphysical traces of the sublimated author function. As a critical post-human construct, the text-agent demonstrates that certain autobiographical texts can possess vitality through the author function, even if their authors are dead or absent physically. From a Lacanian perspective, the text-agent would be the location of the Subject-author *between the two deaths*: the phenomenon wherein a Subject is dead physically but continues to exist or is resurrected (S)ymbolically as the author function.<sup>40</sup> This liminal position allows the Subject-author to resist the finitude of death because this space is one of insistence wherein the (textual) fantasy of the Subject(-author) continues to make demands upon the living.<sup>41</sup>

### **Sublimating *Eikon Basilike* as a Text-Agent**

By extrapolating upon the events of the English civil war as a case study, one can conclude provisionally that text-agents are *sui generis* and thus form a unique subgenre of text unto themselves. To concretize this abstract line of argument, we can turn briefly to *Eikon Basilike* as an illustration. The theory of the text-agent allows scholars to account for how the *Eikon* became a (S)ymbolic body for Charles I: the text-agent was constituted through the intersecting cathexes of the multiple libidinal desires of both the Subject-author (Charles I),

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<sup>40</sup> See Lacan's Seminar VII: *The Ethics of Psychoanalysis*.

<sup>41</sup> Žižek's explanation in *The Sublime Object of Ideology* is particularly helpful in understanding this concept. He conceives of this phenomenon as that which occurs when "the hero who finds himself literally 'between two deaths'—clinically dead and at the same time provided with a new, mechanical body—starts to remember fragments of his previous, 'human' life and thus undergoes a process of resubjectivation, changing gradually back from the pure incarnated drive into a being of desire" (22).



royalist authors, and royalist audiences through both metaphor and metonymy. The drives circulated around *das Ding*, the loss of the monarchy, to create the sublimated sublime Subject-object a—or the king’s text-agent, *Eikon Basilike*—whose metaphoric and metonymic essences constructed a Symbolic veil that covered the traumatic emptiness of the loss.\*

Due to its ostensibly royal origins, *Eikon Basilike* can be distinguished further from other text-agents throughout history because it employs Ernst Kantorowicz’s (1957) concept of the *king’s two bodies*. In his larger discussion of a legal dispute—*Willion v. Berkley* (1561)—Kantorowicz builds upon the remarks of Justice Southcote to conclude that the king has two bodies: a “body natural” and a “body politic” (13). Within this framework, one can argue that the king’s two bodies are constituted by/as a Subject (Charles Stuart) and an object (the king as an objectified role that represents the body politic and the institution of monarchy). Similarly, the *Eikon* functioned as though it, too, was constituted by the philosophy of the king’s two bodies: metaphorically the *Eikon* was Charles Stuart, the Subject-author, and metonymically the text-agent replaced the monarch as the king’s second textual body. Together, these two textual incarnations of Charles I—the metonymy and the metaphor—constituted the fetishized (both mystical and commodified) royalist sublimated sublime Subject-object a of monarchical ideology. This sublimation of *Eikon Basilike* happened at two registers: first, the *Eikon* was sublimated as a metonymy for Charles through paternal metaphors in the *Eikon*. As a metonymized Subject, the *Eikon* was able to articulate the Freudian paternal no by speaking for Charles I. Second, the *Eikon* functioned as a metaphor and master signifier for the monarchy, and this master signifier was venerated by royalists in their own post-regicidal writings. These royalist texts sublimated the *Eikon* as a fetishized object that represented Charles and the English

monarchy. Otherwise stated, the metonymic and metaphoric essences of Charles I both sublimated and animated the non-human, undead text-agent as a royalist sublime Subject-object a of monarchical ideology and as a textual stain on the literary landscape.

Royalist authors contributed to the sublimation of the text-agent by using their own publications figuratively as mirrors to reflect the sublime image of Charles-the-martyr back upon the text-agent, and in so doing, expressed their libidinal longing for the present-absent monarchy. In its sublimation as a text-agent, *Eikon Basilike* validated and inspired fidelity to the royalists' cause by holding together the internal royalist collective through ethical consistency to the text-agent as a textual truth-event. In her interpretation of *ethical consistency*, Ruti states:

If the crisis of fidelity [to an event] emerges from the tension between the subject's "situation" as a mortal and the event as a site of immortality [...] Ethical consistency, then, is a matter of persisting, of persevering beyond one's normal perseverance, even when one is no longer sure of one's direction, when one no longer feels excited about the investment one has made, when the outlines of the event are no longer obvious, and when one can no longer be sure that the truth the event names is not, in actuality, a simulacrum. The injunction to keep going demands the subject's self-sacrificing devotion to its goal when the cost of this devotion is its own well-being, and even when it feels besieged by forces of corruption, exhaustion, and distraction. The moment the subject betrays its fidelity, it is no longer a subject, but reverts to being a mortal "someone" who rates her "situation" to be more important than truth. (*The Singularity of Being* 94-95)

Within Ruti's framework, the *Eikon* was the "life-affirming implication of the event" that "facilitated royalists further in their positive identification with a truth that is worth fighting for" (*The Singularity of Being* 95). In other words, *Eikon Basilike* enabled the monarchy to achieve immortality through print and textual performances. It became a part of the royalist ideological bedrock and a surrogate ego-ideal—the image of the (F)ather—that (re)constituted the royalist textual public's psychotic identity in the literary landscape after the regicide. And, as I will discuss in detail in Chapter 3, the royalists experienced the *Eikon's* textual performance as a

truth-event that helped reify their collective identity as royalists, thereby allowing royalism to persist beyond the abolition of the monarchy in England.

Thus, the king's book contributed to the partial reinstatement of the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure through its textuality and materiality. It played a pivotal role in the royalists' efforts to combat Parliament's (S)ymbolic foreclosure of Charles I and the dissolution of the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure by maintaining a positivized negativity: the present-absence of the king. The *Eikon* performed not only the miracle of resurrecting Charles in/as a second (S)ymbolic textual body—and thereby reaffirmed the sublime power of the monarchy—but it served also as a point of positive identification for royalists, offering them an inspirational narrative that enabled them to “‘persevere’ in the symbolic interruption that the event signifies” through its “intervention as an artistic event” (*The Singularity of Being* 96). If the regicide was a truth-event in response to which the royalists re-solidified in solidarity with the monarchy, then *Eikon Basilike*, as a text-agent, was the artistic invention, or the Lacanian stain, that preserved the (S)ymbolic interruption and extended the truth-event into the royalist textual public by (im)printing the monarchy in the court of public opinion. The *Eikon* accomplished this feat by inspiring royalists to maintain fidelity to the crown by becoming itself a textual extension of the truth-event that conditioned the imagination of the royalist textual public to envision the Restoration.

There is, however, a perplexing phenomenon that emerges if we follow Ruti's line of argument and apply it to *Eikon Basilike*: from the parliamentary perspective, the *Eikon* as a text-agent would have been, in fact, a simulacrum and not a textual truth-event. Ruti outlines the difference between a truth-event and a simulacrum by noting that a *truth-event* is “applicable to

everyone,” while the *simulacrum* “attempts to translate the name into an identarian ‘substance’ of some sort” (*The Singularity of Being* 99). Depending upon one’s position within the textual public(s) and the (fantasy) narrative that those publics constructed through textual discourse and performance, the *Eikon* represented both extremes of this spectrum: it was an anamorphic blot that shifted along a continuum between textual truth-event and simulacrum. *Eikon Basilike*’s ability to move along this continuum is part of what made the book so contentious and yet so compelling as a text-agent. By shifting its ontological status between the poles of textual truth-event and simulacrum, the *Eikon* reinforced ideological divisiveness amongst royalists and (pro-) parliamentarians. That is to say, the royalists regarded the *Eikon* as a testament to the value of the monarchy while the (pro-) parliamentarians believed that it represented everything that was wrong with the monarchy. And while a nuanced discussion of the (pro-) parliamentarian side is outside of the scope of this project, one can imagine how an argument for the text-agent as a simulacrum would have been persuasive from a (pro-) parliamentarian perspective: a text-agent is, after all, a fantasy that is the product of collective *méconnaissance* and psychotic delusion. This fantasy is predicated upon the popular conflation of the historical author, the Subject-author, and the author function within the royalist textual public.

Given the prohibitive paternal powers of the text-agent and its ability to perform as a counter-text to the Rump’s larger republican narrative, it made sense for Parliament to have used the talents of authors such as Milton and the author of *Eikon Alethine* in an attempt to disprove the king’s authorship of *Eikon Basilike*. As Lacey observes: “[t]he efforts of the fledgeling Republic to muzzle the Royalists may seem half-hearted and amateur, but [...] it was very difficult for early modern governments adequately to police the presses of determined opponents.

What the republicans could do was counter the image of the martyr being propagated by Royston, Dugard and Williams by entering the literary battle on their own terms” (87). As such, trying to enforce censorship of the *Eikon* was not enough to combat the monarchist ideology that the book propagated, and so the Rump attempted to use the power of the press to disseminate its own counter-narrative to the king’s book. If (pro-) parliamentarian authors could demonstrate that the royalists had been deceived into believing (or at least pretending to believe) that Charles I was the sole historical author of *Eikon Basilike*, then the royalists’ *méconnaissance* of the *Eikon* as a textual truth-event would be exposed as a simulacrum and lose much (if not all) of its sublimated paternal authority; in turn, this would allow Parliament to dismiss the book and its monarchical legacy as the fantasy of a delusional royalist faction. However, much to the consternation of Parliament, *Eikon Basilike* resurrected Charles I in/as print by serving as a rallying point for royalists to answer the call of the paternal no exhibited by the sublimated text-agent. And so, we begin to see how a text-agent and a textual public can form not just a codependent relationship, but a powerful political alliance during times of socio-political instability. The text-agent, representing the king’s two bodies at the levels of text/work and metonym/metaphor, facilitated royalist audiences’ partial access to the lost monarchy via its sublimated metaphoric and metonymic essences. By revealing and re-veiling the king’s singularity of being simultaneously, the *Eikon* was a sublimated sublime Subject-object that converted the traumatizing Real into a Symbolic field or shared reality in which both consolation and action were conceivable.\* It presented royalists with the monarchical ideological mandate of the (F)ather that would lead them out of what Žižek calls the ideological deadlock of the larger overwhelming question: “what does the Other want from me?” (*The Sublime Object of*

*Ideology* 128). For the royalists, the act of regicide foreclosed the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure temporarily; it was then reinstalled partially in/as the Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy, which provided royalist authors with a negative textual space within which to form a collective fantasy and respond to the book's injunction of the paternal no—an argument to which I return in greater detail in Chapter 3.

In Chapter 2, I analyze texts that narrativize the indictment and execution of Charles I to demonstrate how the king's final living performances informed the sublimation of *Eikon Basilike* as a text-agent by laying the imaginative foundation for Charles's martyrdom. By encountering Charles as a martyr in/as the *Eikon* post-regicide, royalists re-installed the foreclosed paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure (albeit partially and problematically) and were re-interpellated into it through the royalist textual public. This reinstallation prompted a subsequent textual resurrection of the monarchy and enabled the royalists to weaponize the power of the king's book to turn the tide of the English civil war.

## Chapter 2

### Executing the Royal Author(ity)

The glory attending my death will far surpass all I could enjoy, or conceive of in life [...] I thank God, my Enemies' cruelty cannot prevent my preparation; whose malice in this I shall defeat, that they shall not have the satisfaction to have destroyed my Soul with my Body...

—Charles I, *Eikon Basilike* (1649)

Trial accounts have been viewed often by academics as belonging in the discipline of history and, therefore, to be approached from historiographic lenses. However, there is value in considering these accounts as primary records of dramatic performances, which makes them subjectable to methods of literary and cultural inquiry. Shoshanna Felman (2002) addresses what she perceives to be the difference between a trial and a literary text, noting that the two “do not aim at the same kind of conclusion, nor do they strive toward the same kind of effect. A trial is presumed to be a search for truth, but, technically, it is a search for a decision, and thus [...] it seeks not simply truth but a finality: a force of resolution” (54-55). By contrast, Felman argues that a literary text is “a search for meaning, for expression, for heightened significance, and for symbolic understanding” (55). This chapter challenges Felman’s stark distinction between literary and legal texts by considering written records and narrative accounts of legal proceedings as occupying both legal and literary spaces. An understanding of judiciary processes as being theatrical and public in nature has been established already by English civil war scholars, such as Klein Maguire (1989) and Sauer (2000, 2005). In the case of the English civil war, an analysis of the printed trial accounts of Charles Stuart as both literary and legal endeavors within a Foucauldian framework complicates Felman’s diametrical understanding of a trial as a search for

finality and literature as a search for meaning. A conceptualization of trial narratives as being both legal and theatrical in nature exposes a rich site for discourse about the relationship between such performances within textual publics. While acknowledging the subjective nature of testimony and historical accounts, this chapter re-evaluates representative narratives of the king's trial and execution to investigate the power dynamics behind Charles I's final human public performances. By establishing this historical context, we can situate *Eikon Basilike* more clearly in the post-regicidal literary landscape as a posthumous and posthuman textual performance.

### **The King of England on Trial**

On 20 January 1649, Westminster Hall was transformed into a political battlefield during the king's unprecedented indictment. On this day, Charles Stuart was arraigned and stood trial for high treason, and the event ignited a constitutional crisis that had been kindling for years. John Nalson's account of the indictment depicts an anxious scene outside of Westminster Hall on the day that the king's trial began:

Note, both these Passages were strongly Rayled to keep the Multitude (who, when the Court was set, was freely permitted to fill the Hall, between the Rayls and the Wall,) from breaking in upon the Souldiers, who were planted all along within the Rayles, to observe and awe the Multitude, and secure the Court. In these vacant free Passages the Officers walked to and fro in a readiness, and the Souldiers thus fenced from the Multitude, had the free use and security of their Arms upon all Accidents, and which was thought to be no more than necessary. **For how confident soever the said Commissioners might seem to be, yet certainly they had their Fears** [...] [I]t appeared they had Fears within and without, and on every side, else what meant those other Guards also placed above in the Leads on the out side the Hall (and other suspected places) [...] [I]f it were not to prevent the danger, which they feared might otherwise have come from thence upon them; where they sat, indeed, a very fair Mark for any Person that had been but half so bloody-minded as themselves. (qtd. in *A True copy of the journal of the High Court of Justice*; emphasis bolded)



Nelson's several references to soldiers and fear offer insight into the Rump's anticipation of how volatile this trial could become. Moreover, Nelson's impression that "[f]or how confident soever the said Commissioners might seem to be, yet certainly they had their Fears" was justified. As Sean Kelsey (2003) has noted, "the behaviour of key members of the high court of justice in the weeks shortly before and then during the trial itself demonstrates the nature of the divisions of constitutional principle amongst them" (589). The noticeable absences of Thomas Fairfax (Parliament's military commander) and other commissioners who were expected to attend the proceedings were portentous and alluded to internal dissent amongst the parliamentary ranks.

The charges against the king were read to the court by the parliamentary lawyer John Cook, and copies of the charges were authorized later for print by Gilbert Mabbot, who was the official licenser of the press in England from 1647–1649. One of the most intriguing and relevant parts of *The Charge of the Commons of England, Against Charls Stuart, King of England* (1649) was the state's disavowal of the king's royal prerogative, particularly the grand maxim of state:

the said *Charls Stuart*, have been, and are carried on, for the advancing and upholding of the Personal Interest of *Will and Power*, and **pretended Prerogative to Himself and his Family**, against the publike Interest [...] And the said *John Cook*, [...] on the behalf of the said People of England, Impeach the said *Charls Stuart*, as a *Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer*, and a *publike*, and *Implacable Enemy* to the Common-wealth of *England*. (Cook 7-8; emphasis bolded)

By asserting that Charles's royal prerogative was both "pretended" and being misused to better himself and his family, the court attempts to establish legal grounds to indict the king of England, despite there being no legal precedent for such an act. The (illusion of) the court's legitimacy was an essential element to the Rump's success because, as Bourdieu (2003) notes,

“[h]eretical discourse must not only help to sever the adherence to the world of common sense by publicly proclaiming a break with the ordinary order [...but] produce a new common sense and integrate within it the previously tacit or repressed practices and experiences of an entire group, investing them with the legitimacy conferred by public expression and collective recognition” (129). Because the Rump aspired to use the trial performance as a means of breaking with the ordinary order and reshaping the doxa of English subjects, Parliament needed to foster collective public recognition of Charles’s crimes. Through a careful staging and dramatization of his guilt, the Rump attempted to gain popular support for a republic and invest itself with the “legitimacy conferred by public expression and collective recognition” (Bourdieu 129). Indeed, as historians such as Kelsey (2003) and Graham Edwards (1999) have noted, the Rump was cognizant of the judicio-penal powers that were destabilized when the king of England was arraigned, and Parliament took pains to stage the trial in meticulous detail to best display Charles as an insubordinate traitor and “man of blood.” Debates about whether or not Charles should be allowed to wear his hat; where the king’s lawyers, William Say and John Lisle, would sit; where the trial would be held; and the decision to display the ceremonial mace and the sword of state on the table opposite the king—with the sword crossed over the mace<sup>42</sup>—suggest that the Rump was aware of the political nuances embedded in the monarchical trappings of historical English legal practices (see fig. 4). As editor John B. Thompson (2003) notes in his introduction to Bourdieu’s text, symbolic devices are used often in official or formal occasions

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<sup>42</sup> The ceremonial mace was originally designed as a weapon to protect the monarch and was carried before them by the Sergeant-at-Arms. The state sword represents the authority of the Lord Mayor and city of London. To have the sword crossed over the mace symbolized the state’s authority over the monarchy.

as “mechanisms through which those who speak attest to the authority of the institution which endows them with the power to speak” (*Language and Symbolic Power* 9). In this case, the High Court attempted to use such legal (S)ymbolic devices as representations of power to instill legitimacy and lend authority to the indictment proceedings. In addition, what the general public was not permitted to see or hear of the trial performance was significant. The king was brought from St. James’s Palace to Whitehall from the rear approach of the building so that he did not pass by the crowd out front. Spectators were kept at a distance and found it difficult to see into the building or to hear the proceedings.

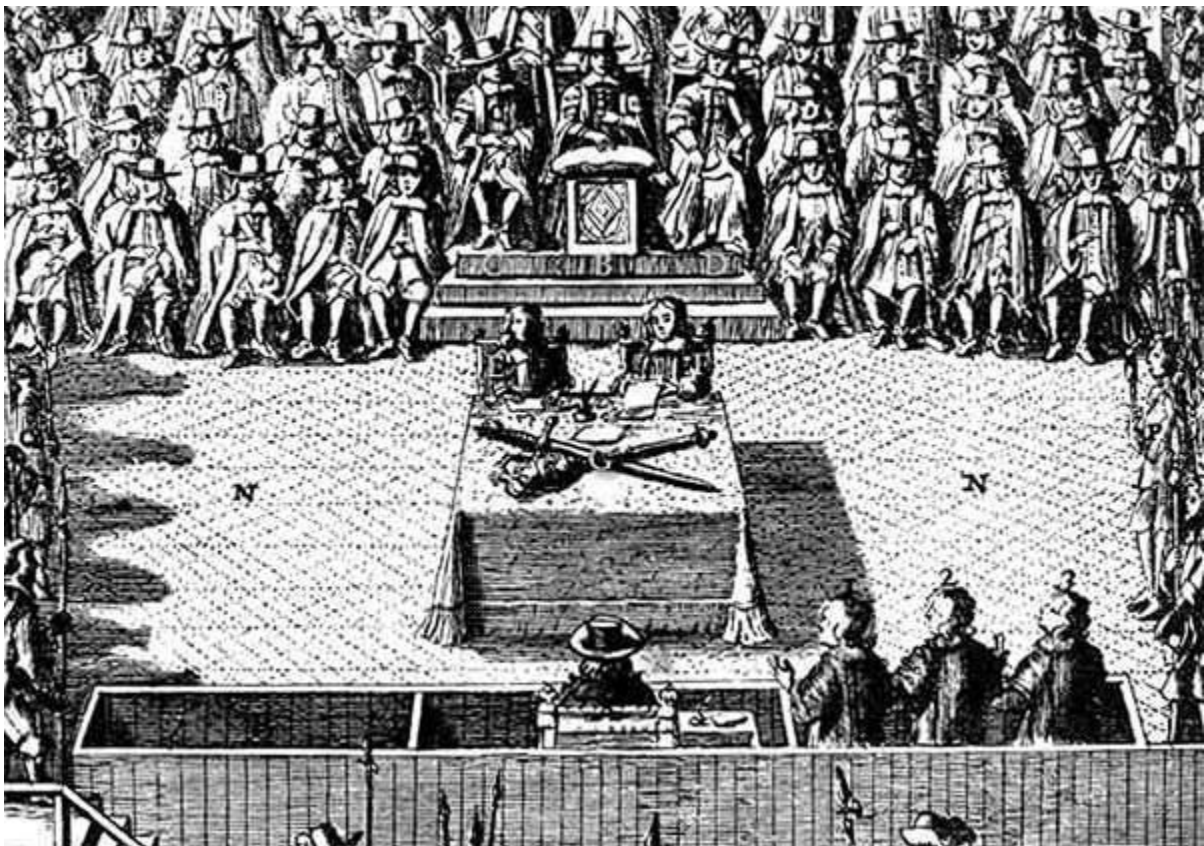


Fig. 4. The High Court of Justice, from John Nalson’s 1683 text, *A True Copy of the Journal of the High Court of Justice* (detail). Charles I is the southernmost figure, shown from behind and seated in the centre. The sword and mace are displayed on the table opposite him.

Given the high-profile and contentious nature of this legal drama, the ways in which the actors performed their roles (or refused to do so, in the case of the king), generated a (S)ymbolic power struggle that was carried over and staged in print in the textual accounts of the trial. In *A Perfect Narrative of the Whole Proceedings of the High Court of Justice in the Tryal of the King* (1649), there is a report of Charles's unwillingness to plead, which presents a challenge to the court's authority and to how the indictment will proceed.<sup>43</sup> The destabilizing impact of Charles's refusal to answer the charges and his insubordination of the court's claim to (S)ymbolic power is discernible in John Cook's address to John Bradshaw, the Lord President of the parliamentary commission to indict the king. Cook requests that "the Prisoner be directed to make a positive Answer either by way of Confession or Negation; which if he shall refuse to do, That the matter of Charge be taken *pro confesso*, and the court may proceed according to justice" (*A Perfect Narrative*, 9-10). This request is a direct violation of English common law precedent: silence or refusal to plead was not to be interpreted as guilt (despite such practices being used often in the Star Chamber before it was abolished by Parliament in 1641). By refusing to answer the charges, Charles situates himself and the indictment proceedings in a liminal space within England's legal history, forcing the court to reappropriate parts of English and historical legal precedents *ad hoc* as they attempt to constitute the high court within the maternal-republican Symbolic structure. In fact, Cook's approach is effective in many ways because it places Charles

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<sup>43</sup> English legal precedent stated that the accused must enter a plea before a trial could commence; as such, a defendant's refusal to plead in such a serious trial would have meant that the Standing Mute Act (1275) would be invoked. This act allowed the use of a torture method called *pressing*, in which the defendant was restrained and stones and/or iron of increasing weight were set upon their chest until either they entered a plea or were pressed to death.

in an impossible situation: if the king responds to the charge with a plea, he is forced to acknowledge the authority of the court; however, to remain silent in the liminal space of the Rump's court means that his guilt will be assumed. Problematically for the king, while the court was grounded in English common law, it was constituting its legitimacy and governance largely in response to events as they proceeded. Thus, the courtroom was an unfamiliar heterotopia of ritual and purification<sup>44</sup> within a foreign maternal-republican Symbolic structure. The legal proceedings were designed to alienate Charles from himself as a Subject and agent of the big Other as the Rump sought to purge the country of the monarchy by manipulating the law to subjugate and foreclose the king from his paternal-monarchical Symbolic authority.

On 22 January 1649, an evidently frustrated Bradshaw attempts to proceed with the trial as traditional legal practices dictated at the time: that is, by asking the accused to answer the charges with a plea:

LD. PRESIDENT. Sir, I must interrupt you, which I would not do, but that what you doe is not agreeable to the proceedings of any Court of Justice, you are about to enter into Argument, and dispute concerning the Authority of this Court, before whom you appear as a prisoner, and are charged as an high Delinquent [...] [Y]ou are to submit unto it, you are to give a punctuall and direct answer, whether you will answer your Charge or no, and what your answer is. (12)

In response to Bradshaw's demand, Charles refuses to submit a plea and it becomes evident that the precedents of English constitutional monarchy will hinder the High Court of Justice in this context as history, theology, and the law collide in the theatrical space of the English courtroom:

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<sup>44</sup> According to Foucault's theory, heterotopic spaces are those that are discursive, marginalizing, or othering. Heterotopias of ritual and purification are those of which people are unable to move in and out freely insofar as they are not accessible to everyone. Rather, people are made to enter the space (for example, a prison), or they must perform some type of ritual and/or purification before being allowed to enter (such as a mosque or temple). See Foucault's article "Of Other Spaces," which was published in English in *Diacritics* in 1986.

THE KING. I doe not know how a King can be a Delinquent, but by any Law that ever I heard of, all men (Delinquents or what you will) let me tell you they may put in Demurrers against any proceeding as legall, and I doe demand that, and demand to be heard with my Reasons, if you deny that, you deny Reason. (12)

Charles's refusal to answer the court's question is a (S)ymbolic rejection of the court's authority because, "symbolic power [...] presupposes a kind of *active complicity* on the part of those subjected to it. Dominated bodies are not passive bodies to which symbolic power is applied [...] Rather, symbolic power requires, as a condition of its success, that those subjected to it believe in the legitimacy of power and the legitimacy of those who wield it" (Bourdieu 23). In short, by refusing to plead, Charles challenges the court's legitimacy directly and registers his defiance in the Symbolic field by asserting that he is not accountable to the court. His refusal to plead should impede the progress of the trial; however, the king goes further than simply refusing to answer the charges. Instead, he undermines the court's authority with a question of his own:

THE KING. I say Sir, by your favor, that the Commons of England was never a Court of Judicature, I would know how they came to be so.

LORD PRESIDENT. Sir, You are not to be permitted to go on in that speech and these discourses. (*A Perfect Narrative* 14)

Charles poses variations of this question throughout his trial as he attempts to subvert the legitimacy of the High Court and demonstrate its own illegality to those witnessing the event. Given the heterotopic nature of the court, the commissioners needed to address Charles's pragmatic and very valid question about the court's authority to establish its own (S)ymbolic power.

Thus, on 24 January 1649, the court becomes embroiled in a philosophical debate and declares its own legal authority by invoking various historical precedents and social contracts throughout history that have limited the rights and powers monarchical authorities. Refusing still to (co)operate in the court's legal drama, Charles rejects active complicity in the (il)legal proceedings again by continuing to refuse to enter a plea. Through his (non-) performance, Charles demonstrates the court's illegal violation of the rules of the paternal-monarchical structure, stating: "Well, Sir, remember that the king is not suffered to give in his reasons for the Liberty and Freedom of all of his Subjects" (15). However, the king's interrogation of the court's legitimacy has more performative power than a direct declaration of the Rump's violation of the laws and legal rights of the (F)ather because, as Žižek observes, "a question, even if it refers only to a given state of things, always makes the subject formally responsible for it, although only in a negative way—responsible, that is, for his impotence in the face of this fact" (*The Sublime Object of Ideology* 203). By refusing to answer the charges until his own question is addressed—"I will answer the same so soone as I know by what authority you do this" (*A Perfect Narrative* 14)—Charles attempts to resist (S)ymbolic foreclosure, instead mocking the court by forcing it to reveal its own impotence in the face of the (F)ather's paternal no and his challenge to the court's (S)ymbolic legitimacy. In so doing, Charles implies the court's own invalid pretensions to his forbidden paternal authority to those witnessing the performance live and, later, in narrative accounts.

In response to the king's insubordination, Bradshaw moves to dismantle Charles's access to the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure by foreclosing the Name-of-the-(F)ather and emptying the signifiers of paternal language upon which Charles's legal claims rest. Bradshaw

declares: “Sir, You are not to be permitted to go on in that speech and these discourses [...] you are not to have Liberty to use his [*sic*] language: How great a friend have you been to the Laws and Liberties of the people, let all England and the world judge” (*A Perfect Narrative* 14-16). Bradshaw’s prohibition of the king from speaking is a critical moment in the trial because, as Bourdieu states, the “efficacy of the performative utterance presupposes a set of social relations, an institution, by virtue of which a particular individual, who is *authorized* to speak and *recognized* as such by others, is able to speak in a way that others will regard as acceptable in the circumstances” (*Language and Symbolic Power* 9). By foreclosing Charles from the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure and by forcing him to operate in the alienating maternal-republican structure (wherein he can not access his divinely sanctioned paternal authority, including the grand maxim of state), Bradshaw strips the monarchy of his/its legitimate competence<sup>45</sup> and linguistic legitimacy.<sup>46</sup> In so doing, Bradshaw asserts the legitimate competence and linguistic legitimacy of the (m)Other, Parliament. The court’s refusal to recognize Charles’s paternal-monarchical authority or heed the (F)ather’s paternal no is another step in its (S)ymbolic attempt to legitimize the indictment of the king and delegitimize the power of the crown—a performance that several royalist authors recognized and decried in their printed

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<sup>45</sup> According to Bourdieu, “legitimate competence is the statutorily recognized capacity of an authorized person—an ‘authority’—to use, on formal occasions, the legitimate (i.e. formal) language, the authorized, authoritative language, speech that is accredited, worthy of being believed, or, in a word, *performative*, claiming (with the greatest chances of success) to be effective” (*Language and Symbolic Power* 70).

<sup>46</sup> Linguistic legitimacy “consists precisely in the fact that dominated individuals are always under the potential jurisdiction of formal law, even when they spend all their lives [...] beyond its reach, so that when placed in a formal situation they are doomed to silence or to the broken discourse which linguistic investigation also often affords” (Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* 71-72).



responses to the trial. For example, in *The Martyrdome of King Charles, or, His Conformity with Christ in his Sufferings* (1649), Henry Leslie writes: “[b]ut our Sovereign was not allowed to speak for himself, he was condemned before he was heard: *Bradshaw* and *Cook*, two foule mouthed Dogges, interrupted him, and told him plainly, that the court would not allow him to speak, nor hear his reasons [...] So that their proceedings were more illegal than the proceedings of the Jewes”<sup>47</sup> (27). In this passage, Leslie identifies Bradshaw and Cook as “foule mouthed dogs,” who bark at the king, interrupting and silencing Charles’s speech acts. Significantly, the court’s foreclosure of the Name-of-the-(F)ather bars the king from his right to exercise the powers of his royal prerogative, which would have saved his life if the court had been operating within the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure (constitutional monarchism). By restricting Charles’s access to paternal-monarchical language and by letting the king’s reasons go unheard, Bradshaw bars Charles-as-Subject from himself as a master signifier of paternal authority and the big Other. Further, by dividing the king’s two bodies (S)ymbolically and emptying the legal and constitutional signifiers that were associated with the power of the divine right of kings and the royal prerogative, the court separates Charles-the-Subject (the man) from Charles-the-object (the king and head of the body politic), effectively giving the court the grounds upon which to indict Charles Stuart as a Subject (of the state) for high treason. Thus, not only was the indictment of the king unlawful according to English legal precedent, but it was also a violation of the social laws of the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure. As such, there was more at stake during this trial than just the illegality of indicting the king: the trial was a performance of competing

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<sup>47</sup> Here, Leslie refers to the Jewish deicide of Christ, in which Jewish leaders betrayed Jesus of Nazareth when he was brought before the Roman governor, Pontius Pilate.

ideologies (monarchism and republicanism) and competing Symbolic structures (paternal and maternal).

Charles's refusal to play his role of the accused/guilty in the Rump's legal drama means that the Rump's kangaroo court is confronted with yet another difficult hurdle. Though the court can restrict the king's linguistic access to the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure in the heterotopic space of the courtroom, they cannot control nor suppress Charles's non-verbal communication. There are many accounts of Charles's behaviour during his indictment that provide insights into how the king uses non-verbal communication to subvert the authority of the court. One major point of contention is that Charles refuses to remove his hat while the court is in session. In "An Elegy" (1649), the speaker recalls the significance of this poignant instance of Charles's defiance:

And some related that their *furies* bred,  
Because his *hatt* inclos'd his royall *head*.  
*Good God, what times are these, when subjects dare*  
*Presume to make their Sovereigne stand bare;* (qtd. in Quarles 69)

Here, the speaker in the poem is affronted that the king should be made to "stand bare" during the trial. The hat becomes a metaphor for the loss of royal dignity, represented by a bare head (which is notably *sans* crown) as the king is forced to bare himself physically and figuratively before the court. In addition, the textual accounts authorized later by Mabbot offer further evidence of how Charles utilizes his hat and other non-verbal methods to convey his insubordination. It is noted in *A Continuation of the Narrative Being The Last and Final Days* (1649) that, "The King came in, in his wonted posture (with his Hat on.)" (3). Further, in *King Charls his Tryal at the High Court of Justice* (1650)—a text that consolidates various accounts

of the king's trial into one volume—we see more lengthy descriptions of the king and his non-verbal mannerisms during the trial:

After a stern looking upon the Court, and the people in the Galleries on each side of him, he [Charles] places himself, not at all moving his Hat, or otherwise shewing the least respect to the Court; but presently rises up again, and turns about, looking downwards upon the Guards placed on the left side, and on the multitude of Spectators on the right side of the said great Hall. (10)

It is observed, that the time the Charge was reading, the King sate down in his Chair, looking sometimes on the Court, sometimes up to the Galleries; and having risen again, and turned about to behold the Guards and Spectators, sate down, looking very sternly, with a countenance not at all moved, till these words, *viz. Charls Stuart (to be a Tyrant and Traytor, &c.)* were read, at which he laughed as he sate in the face of the Court. (19)

Similarly, in *A Perfect Narrative* (1649), the speaker observes that while the charge was being read, “The King smiled often during the time, especially at these words, Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer and Publique Eneme of the Common wealth” (4). And, in *A Continuation of the Narrative Being The Third and Fourth Days* (1649), Charles's entrance into court is described: “The King comes in with his Guard, looks with an austere countenance upon the Court and sits down” (3). Then, when Charles is instructed by Bradshaw to answer the charges of the court, “The King after a little pause, said, When I was here yesterday I did desire to speak for the Liberties of the People of *England*; I was interrupted: I desire to know yet whether I may speak freely or not?” (5). Stripped of his legitimate competence within the maternal-republican Symbolic structure of the court, the king's rebellious use of supplementary forms of non-verbal communication throughout his trial are significant enough to be noted by those spectators who are privy to witness his performance.

Charles's command of silence, pauses, facial expressions, laughter, and gestures enable him to challenge the court's authority throughout the trial—and to have his resistance recorded in

print—despite being silenced and interrupted repeatedly. The plurality of meanings inherent in non-verbal communication, particularly as it is depicted in narrativized accounts, enable Charles to reject the court’s pretended authority during the real-time event of the trial and afterwards in printed records that were presented to the audience-*qua*-jury in the court of public opinion. Even if we allow for the fact that the narrative records of the king’s indictment are subjective and not necessarily an accurate account of what happened (though, given the high-profile nature of this trial, it seems safe to assume that records were being kept and verified meticulously), what is significant is that these printed accounts were disseminated by and amongst textual communities, including the royalist textual public. Therefore, these narratives of Charles’s defiance—even if inaccurate factually—shaped the public’s perceptions of the trial and helped royalists to constitute a larger counter narrative to republicanism. For instance, Charles is said to have “looked with a very austere countenance upon the *Court*, with stirring of his Hat replied, Well Sir, (when the *Lord President* commanded the Guard to take him away,) and at his going down, he says, *I do not fear that*, (pointing with his Staff at the Sword)” (*King Charls his Tryal* 24). This account of Charles’s gesture to the sword adds many layers of (S)ymbolic meaning to his speech act: he does not say *I am not afraid of you*, or *I am not afraid of the court*, or even *I am not afraid of the state* in his response to Bradshaw’s order for his removal from the courtroom. Rather, by pointing at the sword (presumably still in its position on the table, crossed over the mace) while using the pronoun *that*, Charles’s speech act conveys several possible meanings: that he does not fear the power of the state (represented by the sword), that he does not fear being put to the sword (executed), and that he does not fear the Rump’s efforts to position the state above the king, either metaphorically or legally.

Another example of the subversive power of non-verbal communication is Charles's laughter as an act of (S)ymbolic resistance in response to the charges against him being read in court. Bourdieu views laughter as a "bodily expression of emotion" within the framework of spoken non-verbal communication (*The Logic of Practice* 69). The king, having "laughed as he sat in the face of the Court," manifests what Alexandre Saint-Jevin (2018) identifies as "the limit of signification, like the '*jouissance* laughter' [... which] calls for a meaning via its paradoxical relational function. It summons the Other in its failure to speak, of course, but this call is still directed towards language, towards symbolization" (246). Bogdan Wolf (2019) develops Lacan's thoughts about laughter, noting that there is a "distinction between wit and the dimension of the comic on one hand, and the phenomena of *jouissance* linked to laughter as an outburst and discharge [...] There is a laughter in response to which one must not, dares not laugh, a laughter that spreads silence" (par. 2). Charles's laughter during such serious proceedings undermines the authority of the court by summoning the prohibitive power of the paternal no, and by calling attention to the court's own absurdity in its audacity to indict a king. With his laugh, the king implies a plethora of meanings through non-verbal communication, including the unspoken implication that the Rump's claim to authority is farcical at best under the laws of constitutional monarchism. Furthermore, as Saint-Jevin suggests, because "laughter imposes silence through noise [...] a possible interpretation opens up regarding the dimension of sublimation in laughter [...] that of the paradoxical stoppage, since laughter testifies to the nonsensicality of the interdiction" (244). Charles's laughter interrupts the legal proceedings and the court's display of maternal-republican authority, and this stoppage is significant enough to warrant being recounted later in the trial narratives. According to his divine right as the

monarch, Charles represents the (F)ather in the Symbolic; thus, attempts to foreclose him and the paternal-monarchical structure from the Symbolic order creates tremendous socio-political instability in the governance of England by causing mass psychosis (expressions of which manifest through traumatic mimesis in royalist writings, as I explore in Chapter 4). In other words, Charles's laughter signifies the nonsensicality of the interdiction: the court's efforts to foreclose the king from the paternal-monarchical language of the very (S)ymbolic structure that he represents. To add another layer of complexity, while Charles's laughter creates literal and figurative noise, his other acts of non-verbal communication create figurative noise through their silence. To draw upon Berlant's (2011) work, *figurative noise* is: "*the affect of feeling political together*, an effect of having communicated true feeling without the distancing mediation of speech" that allows audiences to "feel the funk, the live intensities and desires that make messages affectively immediate, seductive, and binding" (224). Popular perceptions of Charles's defiance, including his dismissive attitude towards the court, convey his disdain and lack of respect for the entire indictment spectacle. The silence created by his refusal to submit a plea and his non-verbal communication throughout the trial become sources of figurative noise for royalist authors and audiences within the royalist textual public, thus contributing to Charles's and the royalists' redemptive narrative of the king's reign.

Despite his unwillingness to engage in the trial-drama and his disavowal of the court's legitimacy, Charles does recognize that a complete refusal to participate is an ill-conceived strategy because the court will declare him guilty of all charges, *pro confesso*. His solution is to prepare a written testimony, one that he intends to present to the court on the day of his sentencing; however, this request—perhaps predictably, given Charles's non-cooperation during

the trial—is refused. In *A Continuation of the Narrative Being The Last and Final Days*, the speaker recounts the dramatic final scene of the trial: an exchange between Bradshaw and Charles after the king’s sentence is read aloud to the court:

KING. Will you heare me a word Sir?

LORD PRESIDENT. Sir, you are not to be heard after the sentence.<sup>48</sup>

KING. No Sir?

LORD PRESIDENT. No Sir, by your favour Sir. Guard, with-draw your Prisoner.

KING. I may speake after the sentence.

By your favour Sir, I may speak after the sentence ever.

By your favour (hold) the sentence Sir-----

I say Sir I do-----

I am not suffered for to speak, expect what Justice other people will have. (15)

Bradshaw’s (S)ymbolic command over language and the (F)ather in this exchange is the final performative act that renders Charles subjectively destitute: the king is referred to as “sir” and “prisoner,” not by his royal titles or even by his given name. Charles’s protestations and attempts to speak are rejected and silenced by Bradshaw, and with the removal of the king from the stage, the installation of the maternal-republican Symbolic structure is complete. The king’s written testimony, which has no place in this maternal-republican structure, is given to bishop William Juxon after the trial. It would be published post-regicide in later editions of *Eikon*

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<sup>48</sup> In early modern English courts, after a sentence for execution was passed, the condemned was considered no longer to be alive legally and thus was unentitled to speak. See C.V. Wedgwood’s (1964) *A Coffin for King Charles*, p. 183.

*Basilike* as “His Majesties Reasons against the pretended Jurisdiction of the High Court of Justice, which He intended to deliver in Writing on Monday January 22, 1648.”

Had it been accepted as testimony during his trial, “His Majesties Reasons” would have allowed Charles to defend himself off-stage through writing and it would have precluded him from engaging in any speech acts that would compromise his own kingly performance in the Rump’s courtroom drama. The title’s specification that Charles’s defense was intended to have been delivered in writing implies that those royalists responsible for printing “His Majesties Reasons” for public distribution deemed it important to proclaim that while the king did, indeed, have a defense, that he had no intention of participating in the Rump’s illegitimate court. “His Majesties Reasons” contributed to Charles’s posthumous (self-) narrative of martyrdom, and although it was never presented during his trial, the text does offer insight into the king’s own recognition of the importance of utilizing silence to reject the court’s claims to legitimate competence:

Having already made my Protestations not onely against the Illegalitie of this pretended Court, but also that no earthly Power can justly call me (who am your KING) in question as a Delinquent, I would not any more open My mouth upon this occasion, more than to refer My self to what I have spoken, were I alone in this case concerned. But the duty I owe to God, in the preservation of the true liberty of My People, will not suffer Me at this time to be silent [...] Wherefore when I came hither, I expected that you would have endeavoured to have satisfied Me concerning these grounds which hinder Me to Answer to your pretended Impeachment. (*Eikon Basilike* 179 [1649a])

Here, Charles restates his question—upon what grounds or by what authority does the court indict him?—and he addresses the wicked problem with which he is confronted during the trial: he is ill-advised to remain silent as the court will find him guilty without a plea, but he is



permitted to speak only if he adheres to the court's incriminating script and participates in the maternal-republican structure. In his response, the king indicates that he had "*intended to speak in Westminster-hall on Monday, 22 January,*" before his sentence was passed, "*but against reason was hindered to show [his] Reason*" (*Eikon Basilike* 181 [1649a]). And in a clever rhetorical maneuver, Charles claims that he is forced to testify in writing out of his duty to God and to his People, making it clear that he would not participate otherwise in the (il)legal proceedings.

In "His Majesties Reasons," we see the king's efforts to negotiate the maternal-republican Symbolic structure within the precarious liminal space of the courtroom while combating those silences which are both imposed upon him and necessitated of him during his indictment. Portraying himself as an erudite man of reason and as a victim of the Rump's betrayal, Charles's written testimony echoes his assertions of innocence while reiterating the Rump's illegal violation of his divine and (S)ymbolic paternal-monarchical authority under the common interpretation of the grand maxim of state: "Then for the Laws of this Land, I am no less confident, that no Learned Lawyer will affirm that an Impeachment can lie against the *King*, they all going in His Name; and one of their Maxims is, *That the King can do no wrong*" (*Eikon Basilike* 179-180 [1649a]). And if, as Janelle Greenberg (1991) concludes, lawyers of the Stuart era did understand the grand maxim "as guaranteeing royal immunity from legal process and punishment and as reinforcing doctrines of nonresistance," then other arguments surrounding alternative interpretations of the grand maxim were, according to Greenberg, "fashioned expressly to justify opposition to Charles Stuart" (216). Here, Greenberg alludes to a significant point: the commissioners' manipulation of Symbolic language to re-interpret and re-write

historical legal precedents is an attempt to foreclose Charles as/from the Name-of-the-(F)ather.

This argument is reinforced by the king in “His Majesties Reasons”:

Besides all this, the Peace of the Kingdom is not the least in My thoughts, and what hopes of settlement is there so long as Power reigns without rule of Law, changing the whole frame of that Government under which this Kingdom hath flourished for many hundred years [...] and believe it, the Commons of *England* will not thank you for this change, for they will remember how happie they have been of late years under the Reign of Q. *Elizabeth*, the KING My Father, and My self, until the beginning of these unhappie Troubles. (*Eikon Basilike* 181 [1649a])

As Charles suggests, by prohibiting him from deviating from the court’s figurative script during the trial and after his sentencing, the king was alienated from his legitimate competence. The court compromised the power of the monarchy by subverting Charles’s royal prerogative and the sacred narrative of the divine right of kings, thereby “changing the whole frame of that Government under which this Kingdom hath flourished for many hundred years.” However, by invoking the monarchical signifying chain and history of divine rule in England through references to the previous monarchs, Charles uses “His Majesties Reasons” to defy the court and provide a counternarrative that worked in conjunction with *Eikon Basilike* to position the king as a martyr of the people by invoking the divine rights of the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure.

The Rump’s failure to anticipate how effectively Charles, and later the royalists, would weaponize the king’s silence during his trial was a significant tactical blunder. Charles’s performance of silence would become even more powerful as it gave way to the king’s use of paternal-monarchical language during his speech upon the scaffold and in *Eikon Basilike*. As I demonstrate in the next section, the king’s use of non-verbal communication during the trial, his compelling death performance, and the posthumous publications of the *Eikon*, which later

included “His Majesties Reasons,” made tremendous figurative noise before royalist witnesses and narrative audiences. The king’s performances were invoked later by royalist authors against Parliament to serve as a narrative foundation for Charles’s martyrdom in death. Had the king’s trial and execution performances gone as the Rump had intended, the juxtaposition of physical and (S)ymbolic deaths would have allowed the Rump to annihilate Charles Stuart and foreclose the paternal-monarchical structure completely. However, Charles’s question about the court’s legitimacy sabotaged the Rump’s efforts to foreclose the literal and Lacanian Name-of-the-(F)ather, making the court’s attempts to do so successful only in part: monarchism still existed, but the patriarchal-monarchical language of that ideology was forbidden by the new big Other, the (m)Other Parliament. Because the indictment of the king destabilized the ego-ideal in the Symbolic, Charles was able to reconstruct and (re)present his ideal-ego in and as *Eikon Basilike*. This (I)maginary textual space allowed him to construct a narrative fantasy of himself as a “Martyr of the People,” rather than a “Man of Blood.”

During his trial performance, Charles begins the process of what Žižek calls “positing the presupposition” of his own martyrdom, which he extends to his execution performance. This positing of the presupposition is important because, as Žižek observes, “before we intervene in reality by means of a *particular* act, we must accomplish the *purely formal* act of converting reality as something which is objectively given into reality as ‘effectivity,’ as something produced, ‘posited’ by the subject” (*The Sublime Object of Ideology* 247). To adapt this argument to the context of *Eikon Basilike*, by positing himself as a martyr in anticipation of his own execution, Charles “retroactively [posits] the very presuppositions of his activity, of his ‘positing’ . This ‘act before the act’ by means of which the subject posits the very

presuppositions of his activity is of a strictly formal nature; is purely formal ‘conversion’ transforming reality into something perceived, assumed as a result of our activity” (Žižek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology* 247). Charles presupposes his own narrative of martyrdom through the regicide (the action) and the publication of the *Eikon* (the textual act before/after the action) to (self-) actualize as a martyr. However, the notable deviation from Žižek’s theory within the context of the English regicide lies in the contingency that, to posit the presupposition of his own martyrdom, the Subject (Charles) must die physically but not (S)ymbolically so that the text-agent can take his place between the two deaths as the metaphor-metonymy in a form of symbolic mortification. In other words, because an individual had to die to become a martyr within a seventeenth century context, it was the royalists’ post-regicidal fashioning of the text-agent-as-Subject-object-a that contributed to the process of retroactively positing the image of Charles-as-martyr in the royalist collective imagination and (un)conscious.

### **“The King is dead...”**

On 30 January 1649, it seemed that the defeat of the English monarchy was at hand: the king of England had been indicted (albeit illegally), found guilty, and been sentenced to death by public beheading. To add insult to injury, the execution was set to take place in front of Charles’s own banqueting house (see fig. 5). As Norbrook (1999) notes, Charles I became an “exemplary sacrifice designed to stamp the need for justice in the popular memory [...] In staging his execution outside the Banqueting House [...] the regicides did indeed imprint his image on the public imagination—though they had severely miscalculated the spectacle’s effects” (194). The execution was intended by the Rump to be a public, (S)ymbolic display of

justice and of the strength of Parliament's assumed power. However, rather than solidify the government's authority through a demonstration of its political might, the public execution of England's king would help to empower *Eikon Basilike* as a text-agent. In fact, it was by invoking the theatrical powers of the scaffold-*qua*-stage that Charles I was able to memorialize himself as a martyr of the people in the annals of English history.

On the day of the king's execution, Parliament passed *An Act prohibiting the proclaiming any person to be King of England or Ireland, or the Dominions thereof*, which was designed to thwart the declaration of Charles II as the new king of England upon his father's execution. Necessarily, the act was passed without royal assent, leading to the illegal abolishment of the monarchy on 17 March 1649. But, with the Rump's victory seemingly in hand, why then did the regicide as a truth-event signify not the end of the monarchy but instead initiated a sublime textual resurrection of the king? As scholars such as Austin Woolrych (2002) and Blair Worden (2007) have demonstrated, it was not solely the English public's belief in the divine right of kings that accounts for the tremendous shift in support and cult-like worship of Charles I. Instead, the performative nature of Charles's trial, execution, and *Eikon Basilike* offers insights into how the regicide transformed the king from a "man of blood" into a sympathetic martyr figure. Of relevance here is J. A. Sharpe's (1985) observation about the applicability of Foucault's theories of power and penal performance from *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1975) to seventeenth century Stuart England (166). Building upon Sharp's position, this section engages with a Foucauldian critical framework to examine the execution of the king as a constitutive precursor to the sublimation of *Eikon Basilike* as a text-agent. To complement this analysis, I integrate psychoanalytic and trauma theories to demonstrate more clearly the

larger socio-political ramifications of the king's trial and death performances upon royalist authors within the royalist textual public.



Fig. 5. An engraving entitled “The execution of Charles I,” circa 1649. The king has just been beheaded and blood sprays from his severed neck. Charles’s head is held aloft by the executioner for the crowd to see. This version is a print held by the British Library.

Because both England and France treated the scaffold as a theatrical space, a reapplication of Foucault's analysis of the French civil war to the English civil war provides scholars with valuable insights into the complex power dynamics that were at play during Charles I's execution performance. Foucault's assertions about docility, the body, and the scaffold offer explanations for how Charles was able to preserve himself as an author(ity) in/as the *Eikon*, which then counter-acted the dissemination of pro-republican narratives in the royalist textual public. In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault notes that scaffold executions are both judicial and public rituals; therefore, this form of punishment is part of a larger ceremony through which power is manifested (47). He argues also that a criminal's performance on the scaffold is important within the larger socio-political context of discipline and punishment. When the force of penal authority is asserted upon one who has been convicted of a crime, public execution performances serve two important functions, the first of which is that an execution reasserts the larger socio-political powers of the state authority by reactivating power. In the case of a public execution, its "ruthlessness, its spectacle, its physical violence, its unbalanced play of forces, its meticulous ceremonial, its entire apparatus [which] were inscribed in the political functioning of the penal system" (Foucault 49). During an execution the condemned body is a (S)ymbolic body that has been inscribed legally—and sometimes physically, in the case of torture—with sin and civil disobedience through the penal process as a demonstration of power by (or in the name of) the state authority. Once the convicted is executed publicly, a sense of justice and finality are enacted before the audience: the criminal is punished, social order is restored (presumably), and monarchical/state control is reasserted over the public. Within the Foucauldian framework, the second function of an execution is to provide a public forum in



which the condemned could engage in a public *mea culpa* that would help to expunge the sins of the criminal through the confessional act of truth-telling. In the truth ritual, the public expected the condemned to confess to their crimes and to demonstrate their remorse by dying well—that is, bravely and with integrity and remorse. In turn, social order would be reaffirmed and any future wrongdoing by other members of society was deterred through the public demonstration of punishment (43).

While the Rump worked hard to avoid facilitating circumstances that would contribute to a narrative of Charles as a martyr, public responses to the trial and regicide suggest that those efforts were unsuccessful by and large. That the Rump felt it necessary to deploy soldiers to prevent citizens from hearing or rescuing the king from the scaffold suggests that Parliament was aware of a need for crowd and image control in what was potentially a combustible political situation. Within an adaptation of Foucault's framework, we can understand why the Rump's efforts failed to sway popular opinion and secure its control over England. Foucault argues that "every death agony expresses a certain truth"; however, he notes that when an execution takes place on a scaffold, the experience and expression of these truths are made with more intensity, rigour, and ostentation because of the public nature of the death (45-46). In this case, Charles Stuart, though stripped legally of his paternal-monarchical powers, was both the king and a condemned criminal. If Foucault is correct, and I believe that he is, then we must acknowledge that the execution of Charles I was complicated by the king's two bodies and his simultaneous occupation of two roles: monarch and condemned. In his discussion of the body of the condemned man in the seventeenth century, Foucault observes that we can conceive two poles of power: the monarchy and the condemned man, the latter of whom "gives rise to his own



ceremonial and he calls forth a whole theoretical discourse, not in order to ground the ‘surplus power’ possessed by the person of the sovereign, but in order to code the ‘lack of power’ with which those subjected to punishment are marked. In the darkest region of the political field, the condemned man represents the symmetrical, inverted figure of the king” (29). However, in the trial and execution of Charles Stuart, the conflation of the identities of the monarch and the condemned man on the same royal body—notably, a body that represented paternal authority, both state and heavenly—had a destabilizing effect on the balance of power in England. Charles-as-monarch/condemned represented both a surplus and a lack of power in one Subject: he became the subjectively destitute Name-of-the-(F)ather.

This complication was compounded by the performance of the death spectacle. Foucault argues that an execution is a “spectacle not of measure, but of imbalance and excess; in this liturgy of punishment, there must be an emphatic affirmation of power *and of its intrinsic superiority*” (49; emphasis added). The problem with the regicide of Charles I, of course, was that no matter how much the Rump attempted to sunder the king’s two bodies, Parliament was unable to convince royalists or Charles’s sympathizers that an English republican government possessed “intrinsic superiority” over the monarchy. Instead, the king’s scaffold performance recalled the (I)magined paternal relationship that existed between the king and the English people and generated a desire for the (F)ather. So, while the Rump’s exhibition of its usurped authority upon the scaffold was a necessary assertion of the state’s maternal-republican authority over the (F)ather, the king’s scaffold performance created a binary tension in which Charles was *power-full* and *power-less* simultaneously. Because he was a dead man walking metaphorically and legally, Charles was symbolically mortified insofar as he occupied a liminal space between

the two deaths: physical death and (S)ymbolic death. This metaphysical space is where Lacan locates *das Ding*, or “the real traumatic kernel in the midst of symbolic order” (Žižek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology* 150). It is my contention that Charles’s failure to die properly (at least, within a Foucauldian/Lacanian framework) stemmed from his resurrection in and as *Eikon Basilike*, his metaphoric-metonymic text-agent. As such, the king’s book would become a substantive and significant impediment in the Rump’s efforts to root out royalism in England, particularly in the immediate aftermath of the regicide between 1649–1650.

Where the trial had silenced Charles largely, the theatrical nature of the scaffold provided a stage upon which the king could reassert the last vestiges of his paternal authority and give (what many believed would be) his final performance before his people. Sharpe (1985) notes that the act of a felon’s final confession of guilt at an execution was a moment for expressing true repentance for not only the offense(s) for which they were condemned, but for all moral wrongdoings and personal failings. This performance helped to reassert the legitimacy of state power (156). It is noteworthy, then, that in Charles’s refusal to admit to the full catalogue of charges brought against him by the Rump, he resisted the legitimacy of the state’s usurped power through both what he said and by what he refused to say— a theme that was carried over from his trial. The intricate planning of the king’s performance, such as his request for an extra shirt so that he would not shiver in the cold lest it be interpreted by the audience as fear, suggests that Charles understood the larger implications of his death performance within the judicial and ritualistic staging of the execution. The scaffold-*qua*-stage afforded the king one final moment in which he might lay the foundation for his own mythologization as a martyr and the imagination of the Restoration. At the beginning of his scaffold speech, Charles states: “I shall

be very little heard of anybody here, I shall therefore speak a word unto you here. Indeed I could hold my peace very well, if I did not think that holding my peace would make some men think that I did submit to the guilt as well as to the punishment” (Charles I, *King Charls his Speech* 5). During this part of his speech, Charles addresses the literal fact that very few people could hear him from his place upon the scaffold; however, the figurative meaning of this statement is just as crucial: the few people who were able to hear his words were, by and large, unwilling to listen to or to negotiate with him any longer.<sup>49</sup> Indeed, Charles’s refusal to “hold his peace”—despite the inability and/or unwillingness of those around him to hear him—signals his defiance and a clear intention to subvert the traditional conventions of the scaffold as a place of repentance and truth.

It is significant that in his speech, Charles makes a distinction between legal guilt and personal/moral remorse. In his role as a the (F)ather, Charles is adamant about his innocence, calling upon God as his witness before the gathered crowd: “for all the world knows that I never did begin a War with the two Houses of Parliament, and I call God to witness, to whom I must shortly make an account, that I never did intend for to encroach upon their Priviledges, they began upon me” (Charles I, *King Charls his Speech* 5-6). Then, he offers his audience (both the live spectators and those who would encounter later narrativized accounts of his execution) a moment of catharsis with his *mea culpa* for the execution of Strafford:<sup>50</sup> “Many times does he

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<sup>49</sup> Because few in the crowd could hear him, Charles addressed his speech primarily to Bishop Juxon, who was taking written notes, and to Colonel Matthew Tomlinson, a regicide.

<sup>50</sup> In 1641, Parliament condemned Thomas Wentworth, the Earl of Strafford and a favourite of Charles I, to death via a Bill of Attainder on charges of corruption. The bill allowed the court to vote on Strafford’s guilt, despite all of the evidence that he was able to provide to refute the charges. Charles I, facing strong political pressure from Parliament, signed the Bill of Attainder that condemned Strafford to death. The guilty sentiments expressed by Charles during his scaffold speech are reiterated in *Eikon Basilike* in the section entitled “Upon the Earl of Straffords Death.”

[God] pay Justice by an unjust Sentence, that is ordinary; I will onely say this, That an unjust Sentence that I suffered for to take effect, is punished now, by an unjust sentence upon me; that is, so far I have said, to shew you that I am an innocent man” (Charles I, *King Charls his Speech* 6-7). Notably, Charles does not proclaim his innocence in Strafford’s death based upon the grand maxim of state; rather, Charles’s own distinction of himself as an innocent man enables him to utilize the scaffold as a stage for an intimate performance of Christian reflection that did not undermine his position as a monarch and made him more relatable as a man and a (F)ather. In addition, Charles’s dramatic juxtaposition of his righteous innocence as a monarch with the vulnerability of his personal regret as a man invests an affective force into the king’s performance that is underscored by his self-proclamation of martyrdom before the people of England:

For the people. And truly I desire their Liberty and Freedom, as much as any Body whomsoever; but I must tell you That their Liberty and their Freedom consists in having of Government; those Laws, by which their Life and their Goods may be most their own. [...] Subject and a Sovereign, are clean different things; and therefore, until they do that, I mean, That you do put the people in that Liberty as I say certainly they will never enjoy themselves [...] and therefore, I tell you, (and I pray God it be not laid to your charge) That I Am the Martyr of the People. (Charles I, *King Charls his Speech* 9-10)

In his final moments, the king uses the language of the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure to emphasize his undue suffering and to stress that he is being ransomed, like Christ, but for the people of England and their sins. Furthermore, Charles uses similar non-verbal communication strategies in his scaffold performance to those that he employed during his trial. By turning to address certain men upon the scaffold-stage and by gesturing to others, the king was able to create an additional register of meaning in the paternal-monarchical (S)ymbolic structure.

Interestingly, in editions of Charles's speech that were published by Peter Cole in 1649,<sup>51</sup> the editor's notes read like stage directions to assist audiences by providing contextual information to decipher non-verbal or latent meaning in the king's words (see fig. 6).

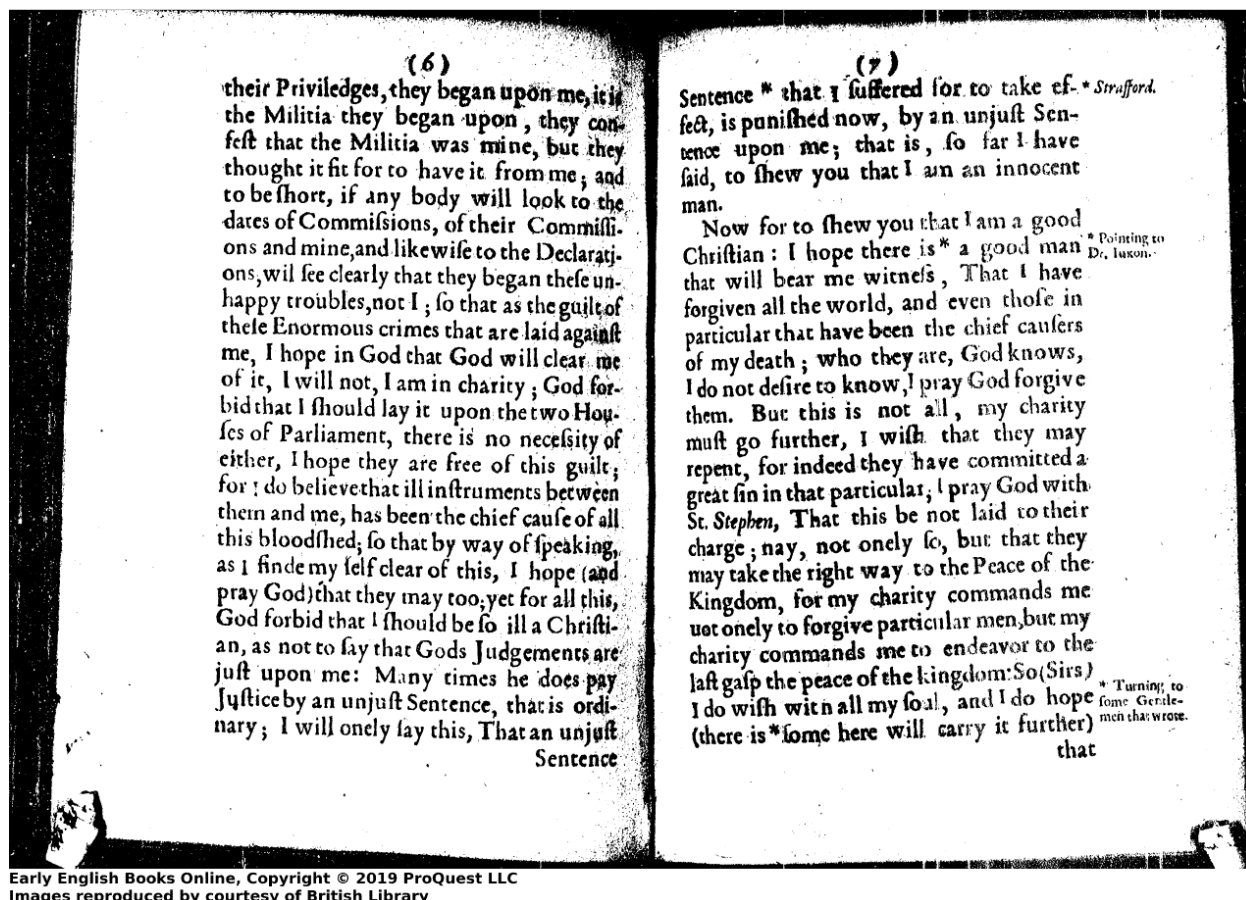


Fig. 6. Pages 6 and 7 of *King Charles His Speech*, in which editorial notes of the king's gestures are included in the right-hand margin on page 7.

The second editor's note on page 7 states "\*Pointing to Dr. Juxon," which, when combined with the king's speech act (his reference to "a good man" as a witness to his piety), lends the

<sup>51</sup> One of which I have been citing throughout this discussion so far—EBO bibliographic name/number: Thomason / E.545[5].

performance clarity and further paternal/divine credibility for his audiences. The third editorial note on that same page achieves a similar effect. The note—“\*Turning to some Gentlemen that wrote”—clarifies to whom Charles was referring when he says, “So (Sirs) I do with all my soul, and I do hope (there is \*some here will carry it further) that they may endeavor the Peace of the Kingdom” (Charles I, *King Charls his Speech* 7-8). The editorial note facilitates the king’s address to the royalist textual public and to those who would disseminate his messages of peace and innocence further through post-regicide texts and performances, including *Eikon Basilike*. In so doing, Charles offers royalists and sympathizers a compelling narrative that perpetuates the (I)maginary reconstruction of his royal image by representing himself as a martyr of the Rump’s insidious political ambitions.

The conclusion of Charles’s speech is followed by a rather dramatic moment in the execution performance: before he is beheaded, Charles gives his George,<sup>52</sup> sash, and cloak to Juxon, while uttering his famous, cryptic injunction: “remember.”<sup>53</sup> And, because there is ambiguity of meaning in the signifier *remember*, there are several possibilities for what this exchange was meant to convey. It is not unreasonable to speculate that the king’s imploration to “remember” is in reference to any final directions that the king had provided to Juxon. Certainly, some understood the king’s utterance to mean that Juxon should give the king’s George to Prince Charles, as is suggested by the editor’s notes in Cole’s version of the text (see fig. 7).

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<sup>52</sup> The badge of the Order of the Garter. The Order of the Garter is the most prestigious British order of chivalry and is believed to have been formed initially by King Edward III in 1349. Charles I’s George, which was intended for Charles II, never made it to the king’s son. It is presumed that the missing George was taken by Parliament after the regicide, and it was never found.

<sup>53</sup> See Chapter 11 of Geoffrey Robertson’s (2005) *The Tyrannicide Brief: Story of a Man who Sent Charles I to the Scaffold* for a more detailed description.

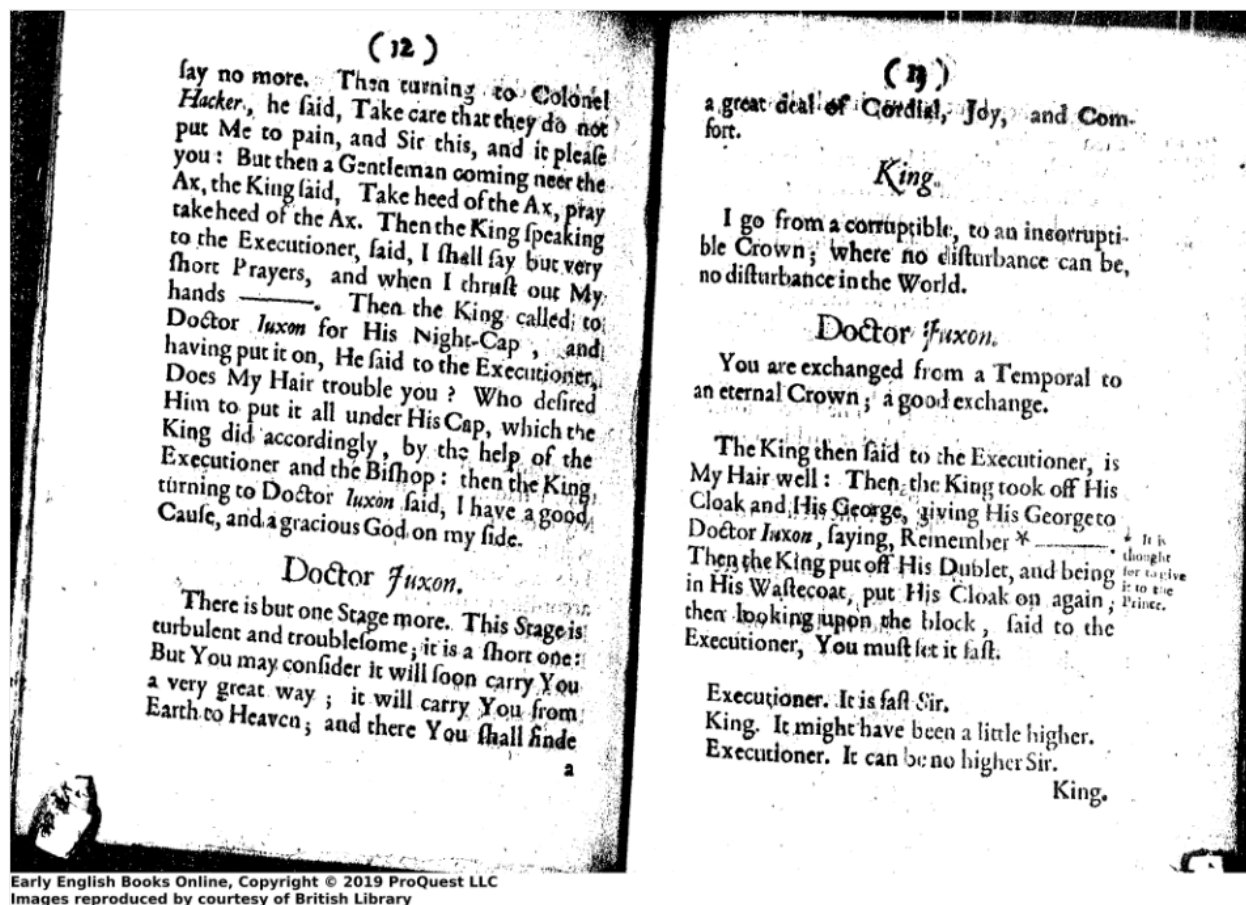


Fig. 7. Pages 12 and 13 of *King Charls His Speech*, published by Peter Cole, in which the marginal note on page 13 glosses “Remember\*” as “\*It is thought for to give it to the Prince.”

However, Charles’s call for remembrance functions also as an invocation for the audience at large to remember him and his paternal-monarchical legacy. As such, his “remember” can be conceived as the sublime act of transferring his paternal-monarchical power and position to his son, Charles II, in a macabre (S)ymbolic coronation. Another possibility is that Charles would have anticipated his scaffold speech being published at large after his execution, and so this call for remembrance is directed to any (non-) present royalists as a reminder that, despite having failed to save their king, they still owe their continued allegiance to Charles II. Charles’s

“remember” can also be interpreted as a declaration to the regicides of the injustice of his execution. In this last scenario, Charles’s haunting injunction to “remember” serves as the Freudian paternal no.\* Having been stripped of his royal prerogative and linguistic legitimacy by the Rump, the force of Charles’s paternal no resonates from the scaffold, registering the looming traumatic foreclosure of the Name-of-the-(F)ather and the paternal structure as it harkens a psychotic relationship between royalist Subjects and the new maternal-republican Symbolic structure. Thus, the ambiguity inherent in Charles’s directive enables him to address his son, his loyal subjects, the regicides, and Juxon at different registers through an encoded speech act that is replete with many levels of unspoken meaning.

In theory, the public execution of Charles Stuart was meant to eradicate the monarchy in England (S)ymbolically. Parliament recognized that to dissuade future rebellions, the royalists, “must be made to be afraid [...] they must be the witnesses, the guarantors, of the punishment, and [...] must to a certain extent take part in it. The right to be a witness [must be] one that they possessed and claimed” (Foucault 57-58). But, as Skerpan-Wheeler notes, in his scaffold speech, Charles I “[broke] the fourth wall of the theatre created by the scaffold” when he “stressed his closeness to his people” (“The First ‘Royal’” 915).<sup>54</sup> By breaking the fourth wall to reaffirm his paternal connection with his Subjects—a point to which I shall return momentarily—Charles’s execution positions many observers as reluctant or unwilling participants in the spectacle of the king’s death through a crisis of witnessing. Significantly, as

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<sup>54</sup> Klein Maguire’s 1989 study of the metaphorical relationship between the scaffold and stage in Early Modern England demonstrates that “[t]heater and politics were so closely meshed by 1649 that they became nearly indistinguishable, metaphorically contaminating each other in many ways” (7).



Foucault observes, “people never felt closer to those who paid the penalty than in those rituals intended to show the horror of the crime and the invincibility of power; never did the people feel more threatened, like them, by violence exercised without moderation or restraint” (63). Here, the “horror of the crime” is the brutality of the Rump’s political coup and its audacity to execute a divinely sanctioned monarch before the people of England. In his diary (published posthumously in 1882), Philip Henry recalls hearing “such a Groane by the Thousands then present, as I never heard before & desire I may neer hear again” (12). Part of the crowd’s horror at the sight of the regicide can be accounted for by Freud’s allegory of the *primal horde*—a group of brothers who murdered their father to assume his power. Freud (1913) addresses this topic in *Totem and Taboo*, stating:

One day the expelled brothers joined forces, slew and ate the father, and thus put an end to the father horde. Together they dared and accomplished what would have remained impossible for them singly [...] [W]e need only assume that the group of brothers banded together were dominated by the same contradictory feelings towards the father [...] They hated the father who stood so powerfully in the way of [...] their desire for power, but they also loved and admired him [...] What the father’s presence had formerly prevented they themselves now prohibited in the psychic situation of “subsequent obedience[.]” (234-36)

By extending Freud’s allegory to the execution of Charles I, the infamous groan of the crowd can be interpreted as the audience’s collective expression of horror and Symbolic mortification as the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure was foreclosed in a traumatizing display of violence that restaged the murder of the (F)ather by the primal horde. Royalist witnesses became subjectively destitute as the trauma of the regicide perforated the Symbolic and destabilized the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure. Even those royalists or sympathizers who were not in attendance at the trial and/or execution were not spared necessarily from the trauma of

witnessing. The performative accounts of Charles's death led royalists to (re)witness the events retroactively and repetitively, and evidence of trauma is expressed mimetically in royalist textual responses to the regicide—further analysis of which I provide in Chapter 4.

The king's regicidal performance effectively cast members of the Rump as the primal horde who murdered—and martyred—their (F)ather, God's chosen, in an illegitimate and unsanctioned pursuit of the forbidden paternal-monarchical power. Regarding the sacrificed father, Freud forms the following conclusion: "The scene of vanquishing the father, his greatest degradation, furnishes here the material to represent his highest triumph. The meaning which sacrifice has quite generally acquired is found in the fact that in the very same action which continues the memory of this misdeed it offers satisfaction to the father for the ignominy put upon him" (246-47). The crowd's horrified response to the Rump's execution of Charles as a monarch-*qua*-criminal can be understood in greater complexity if we consider Freud's analogy of the primal horde and the public degradation or shame of the (F)ather. The regicide recreated the scene of primal trauma and the subsequent foreclosure of the paternal-monarchical structure placed royalists into a state of psychosis. Moreover, it is significant that Charles II, the rightful successor, was absent from England at the time of his father's execution, and thus unable to be crowned formally or legally. Because the place of power remained vacant, royalists were able to sublimate the monarchy's surplus energy—including the singularity of Charles I—as/into *Eikon Basilike* through metaphoric and metonymic essences. To refer to Freud, *Eikon Basilike*

furnished “the material to represent his [the father’s] highest triumph” in a new (h)ontology<sup>55</sup>:  
the text-agent.

### “... long live the King!”

The *Eikon*, then, became a sublimated sublime Subject-object a of monarchical ideology, a surrogate for the forbidden, and a Freudian totem. A *totem*, according to Freud, is part of the ritual of the *totem feast*, wherein those brothers who murdered the primal father come to identify with him by devouring him (S)ymbolically. The consumption of the totem (in this case, *Eikon Basilike*) is an act of commemoration but also one of repetition: is an expression of the desire of the brothers to become like the father and assume his power (*Totem and Taboo* 234, 244). As a text-agent, *Eikon Basilike* continued the memory of the misdeed—the regicide—while offering satisfaction to Charles I posthumously and to his biological son, Charles II, for the ignominy put upon the martyred king. Then, by attacking *Eikon Basilike* as they did Charles-the-(F)ather, the (pro-) parliamentarians violated the rules of the paternal-monarchical (S)ymbolic by desecrating the totem in their efforts to censor and malign the text-agent to deny its author(ity). In so doing, the king became an even more sympathetic figure in the court of public opinion, thus inciting royalists to spurn Parliament’s authority in and through royalist textual performances.

Additionally, as Žižek argues about positions of power, such as monarchy: “the place of Power must always remain an empty place; any person occupying it can do so only temporarily,

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<sup>55</sup> In Seminar XVII, Lacan explains his portmanteau (*h*)ontology as “[d]ying of shame, then [...] namely, being towards death, insofar as it concerns the subject [...] Being towards death, that is, the visiting card by which a signifier represents a subject for another signifier [...] This visiting card never arrives at the right destination [...] It’s a shame (*une honte*) [...which] produces a (h)ontology (*hontologie*)” (180).

as a kind of surrogate, a substitute for the real-impossible sovereign” (*The Sublime Object of Ideology* 165). If the place of power can be filled only temporarily, then much like the laws of energy, the surplus paternal-monarchical power that was untethered upon Charles’s death had to be transferred or be sublimated somewhere else. This power may be reconfigured or redistributed, but the vacuum must be filled by another entity or person(s). Upon the death of a reigning English monarch, the news of the death is shared with the successor through a traditional speech act: “the king/queen is dead, long live the king/queen!” This speech act is a verbalization of the (S)ymbolic transference of power between monarchs and of the installation of the heir apparent as the new ruler. In accessions to the throne prior to 1649, this (S)ymbolic (though informal) speech act was powerful enough to confer paternal-monarchical authority upon the new ruler until a coronation took place. However, in this scenario, there were two competing political camps, each with their own respective ideologies, that were vying for power. The royalists believed that this surplus of paternal-monarchical power was inherited by Charles II by virtue of his divine rights; however, with the legal abolishment of the monarchy and the Rump’s control over London, the (pro-) parliamentarians believed that the paternal power passed rightfully to the Parliament and the republican state.

These competing dialectical narratives were the result of the failure of either side to demarcate the transition of the surplus power successfully and definitively to a clear successor in the radically destabilized Symbolic order. As Marshall Grossman (2002) notes of the regicide, “the judiciary proceedings to which the king had been subjected underlined the fact that it was the throne itself and not strictly the identity of its occupant that had been put in question” (260). Just as the key figures in the indictment had attempted to alienate Charles I from the very

paternal-monarchical language that empowered him as both king and (F)ather, Grossman suggests that the regicide “offered what might be termed a pro-verbial argument to deprive its opponents of the very vocabulary of monarchy and to force contemporary discourse in the direction of a conceptual as opposed to an embodied understanding of the state” (261). The observations that Grossman makes are significant to larger understandings of how the trial and the regicide destabilized the paternal-monarchical (S)ymbolic structure and how these events had the opposite impact to that which the Rump had intended. The indictment and execution made Charles I a more relatable and sympathetic (F)ather figure and, in response to his murder by the primal horde, royalists and sympathizers of the monarchy sublimated *Eikon Basilike* as a text-agent.

To summarize the points of contact amongst Bourdieu, Foucault, Freud, Lacan, and Žižek that I have discussed in this chapter, the regicide-patricide of Charles I created a power vacuum that both the royalists and (pro-) parliamentarians sought to fill and control with their own surrogates for the forbidden: *Eikon Basilike* and the Rump (and later, Oliver Cromwell), respectively. The affective impacts of Charles’s final performances facilitated an imagined trauma bond of solidarity between the martyred (F)ather and the royalists. By challenging the Rump’s authority during his trial and execution through his subversive use of language, his command of silence, and his theatrical prowess, Charles demonstrated that the power of the Rump was not absolute. Rather, the king’s (pre-) regicidal performances were instrumental in facilitating his miraculous resurrection in and as *Eikon Basilike* because, as Ruti suggests: “if symbolic investitures channel the subject’s energies into confining configurations, causing a debilitating stiffness of being, the release of these energies makes it possible to intervene in that

stiffness” (*The Singularity of Being* 30). In other words, if “the subject’s symptomatic rigidity can, through a miracle, be transmuted into more free-flowing energy” (*The Singularity of Being* 30), then it becomes possible to conceive that the king’s death released his drive energies from the constraint and rigidity of the (S)ymbolic. Through the efforts of royalist authors within the royalist textual public (including the king himself), *Eikon Basilike* combatted the rigor mortis of Charles’s dead body\* by effecting a miracle: the transubstantiation of the *Eikon*-as-text into a sublime textual vessel, the text-agent.

In Chapter 3, I continue this line of argument and explore the many facets of the sublimatory process of *Eikon Basilike*, including how Charles I’s death released a surplus of paternal-monarchical power. Royalist authors sublimated this surplus of power into *Eikon Basilike* by using their own texts figuratively as mirrors to reflect paternal authority and the king’s metaphoric-metonymic essences back into the *Eikon*. In their textual counter-performances, the royalists contributed to the sublimation of *Eikon Basilike* as a sublime Subject-object a of monarchical ideology in response to the absence of Charles II. In so doing, royalist textual performances converted the Name-of-the-(F)ather (Charles I and the monarchy) into an image of the (F)ather (*Eikon Basilike*), inducing a state of collective psychosis within the royalist textual public and preventing the complete foreclosure of the monarchist ideology (the paternal big Other). Chapter 3 develops this argument through a close reading of the *Eikon* and an analysis of the para-, trans-, and intertextual references that contextualized and permeated the king’s book to establish how royalist authors weaponized the *Eikon* politically. By (re)reading

the *Eikon* and responding to the book with moments of double reflection,<sup>56</sup> members of the royalist textual public encountered Charles as a (h)ontology that flattened the ontological distinction between the Subject-author and the text-*qua*-agent through metaphor-metonymy. The shame associated with the execution of the (F)ather facilitated Charles's sublime (S)ymbolic resurrection via *Eikon Basilike* as a text-agent through. The book reanimated and refashioned the king and his image amongst royalist authors who depicted him not solely as the martyr king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, but also in the more sympathetic roles of man, husband, and (F)ather.

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<sup>56</sup> *Double reflection* is a retroactive process that involves the “redoubling of the essence, the reflection of the essence into itself, which opens the space for the appearance in which the hidden essence can reflect itself” (Žižek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology* 260).

### Chapter 3

#### Resurrecting the Royal Author(ity): The ‘*Eikon-Phenomenon*’ and the Sublimation of the King’s Book as an Intercessory Text-Agent

The Book stands in the midst of a firmament of Loyall hearts, above your reach; contrary winds may blow, but they cannot divert the beames of this Suns reflection from beating upon the hearts of the people...

—*Eikon e Piste* (1649)

While there can be little doubt about the magnitude of the royalist authors’ contributions to the war efforts through printed text, the most subversive piece of literature to (re)constitute and advance the cause of royalism during the Interregnum was Charles I’s own *Eikon Basilike*. The book challenged its audiences’ abilities to make sense of the king’s actions and to (re)imagine him through an active interpretation of his text. In testimony to the *Eikon*’s power, many (pro-) parliamentary authors sought to discredit and denounce the king’s book. John Milton, one of the most well-recognized pro-parliamentarian authors even today, entered the *Eikon* debates directly in October 1649, having been commissioned by the Rump to produce a response to *Eikon Basilike*. In his text, *Eikonoklastes* (1649), Milton rebuts the king’s book eloquently and with sound arguments; however, *Eikonoklastes* was, by and large, unsuccessful in persuading royalist audiences and sympathizers to support Parliament and the republic.<sup>57</sup> In fact, the royalist speaker of Joseph Jane’s *Eikon Aklastos* (1651) presents a pointed challenge to Milton’s *Eikonoklastes*:

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<sup>57</sup> See pp. 87-94 in Lacey’s (2003) *The Cult of King Charles the Martyr* for further discussion of this topic.



The author [of *Eikonoklastes*] might have done well to shew, why his Majest: booke seemed a Challenge, it provokes no answere nor handles anything by way of controversy but his very devotions, and instructions to his son seeme a Challenge, Evidence of worth in the sufferer torments the persecutor, and they cannot rest, while the virtues live, though the bodies are laid in the dust by their wicked hands. (Jane 10)

In this chapter, I take up the speaker's gauntlet in *Aklastos* and explore why the king's book seemed to be such "a Challenge" for the (pro-) parliamentary side to counter. By examining *Eikon Basilike* in conjunction with royalist print responses to the regicide, I employ the theory of the text-agent and the framework of the royalist textual public to analyze select post-regicide royalist literature and investigate how the *Eikon* was being encountered by royalist audiences as an ideological textual truth-event that facilitated the sublimation of the text-agent. This chapter demonstrates that it was precisely the *Eikon*'s ability to wield the agency of its author(ity) that made the king's book such a threat to the newly established English republic.

Early modern conceptualizations of texts possessing thing-power and vibrant materiality were being explored in England during the seventeenth century, though not in such explicit terms. For example, the speaker in *The Princely Pellican* (1649) states:

It is true, what one well observed touching His [Charles I's] judgement of Bookes. They [books] were the best *Councillours*; the best *Companions*. Councillors to advise us in all our conditions; whether they were breathed upon by more prosperous or adverse gales [...] Neither be good and useful Bookes (for on such onely we reflect) meerly *Councillours* to instruct and prepare the affection to reteine an equal temper or composure in every condition: but they know likewise how to act the Office of good *Companions*, in Arguments and Helpes of Discourse [...] by improving the conceipt & enriching the memory. (22)

Analogous sentiments were expressed by Milton, who argued in support of the textual agency of books in *Areopagitica* (1644). In *Areopagitica*, which was published less than five years before

the regicide and *Eikon Basilike*, Milton gestures towards the ability of texts to be active and even embody their authors, stating:

For Books are not absolutely dead things, but doe *contain a potencie of life in them to be as active as that soule was whose progeny they are*; nay they do preserve as in a violl the purest efficacie and extraction of that living intellect that bred them. I know they are as lively, and as *vigorously productive* [...] We should be wary therefore what persecution we raise against the living labours of publick men, how we spill that *season'd life of man preserv'd and stor'd up* in Books; since we see a kinde of homicide may be thus committed, sometimes a martyrdome[...] (4; emphasis added)

*Areopagitica* anticipated the very phenomenon that would become a driving force behind the royalist cause: the king's book became "vigorously productive" and the "season'd life" of Charles I was "preserv'd and stor'd up" within *Eikon Basilike*. There is an obvious discordance between Milton's two works—*Areopagitica* and *Eikonoklastes*—that Milton was forced to reconcile in the wake of the political events of January 1649. In *Eikonoklastes*, Milton seeks to denounce in *Eikon Basilike* the very thing for which he argues in favour in *Areopagitica*: textual agency. Milton presents his solution in a later text, *Angli pro populo anglicano defensio* (1651), in which he contends that because the king was a tyrant, the *Eikon* should not be considered a *book* in the same way that he outlines in *Areopagitica*. As Lacey (2003) has noted:

Milton in the *Defense* [*sic*] says that a tyrant is 'like a king upon a stage... but the ghost or mask of a king.' To that extent the tyrant is dead, only capable of taking life from others, like a parasite. Milton had a profound respect for the written word and spoke of a book as a thing almost alive; in contrast, the *Eikon Basilike*, as merely the product of theatricality, plagiarism and illusion, was dead. (89)

But, argues Lacey, it is "precisely because it was dead, it was easy for the masses to assimilate. The imagery, metaphors and allusions were commonplace and familiar, thus they were easy to understand, and this, coupled with the glamour of the king's name, accounts for the success of

his book” (89). While I disagree with Lacey’s argument that it was the deadness of the *Eikon* made the king’s book more approachable and popular—in fact, I take quite the opposite stance—his explanation is cogent. However, Lacey does not devote much attention to why the book had such a profound political impact during the Interregnum. To address this larger gap, this chapter builds upon established scholarly understandings of critics such as Potter (1989) and Skerpan-Wheeler (2011) that the *Eikon* received popular reception amongst English audiences to investigate how the *Eikon* was able to challenge the Rump’s political authority despite the regicide in 1649 and the Rump’s crackdown on the presses in the 1650s.

However, it is prudent to consider first how the production of the king’s book, its consumption by the royalist textual public, and the *Eikon*’s textual (counter) performance contributed to the sublimation and reception of the king’s book as a text-agent amidst the chaos of the post-regicide political landscape. Given Charles’s performance of non-verbal communication during his indictment, his inability to be heard during his execution, and the public knowledge that the king had attempted to submit testimony in writing during his trial, English audiences were primed to be if not receptive to *Eikon Basilike*, then at the very least intrigued by it. As an echo of his trial and execution performances, the *Eikon* itself performed a powerful merging of silence and speech that highlighted the king’s present-absence to the royalist textual public. The speaker of *Aklastos* identifies this tension between silence and speech, stating that still, the king “is unwillingly heard [by the regicides], and they, which tooke his blood without hearing, are loath to heare the cry of it and they endeavoured the same course with his booke, they had taken with him, to condemne it unheard, and as this worke was not chosen, nor affected by Iconoclastes, so was not the occasion acceptable to his Masters” (Jane

19). Though the regicides took Charles's blood without hearing the king's testimony and sought to condemn *Eikon Basilike* similarly, by writing back to *Eikon Basilike* and against the (pro-) parliamentarians, royalist authors contributed to the sublimation of the *Eikon* as text-agent.

It was the *Eikon*'s articulation of the king's present-absence and its invocation of the paternal no that made the book such a powerful political threat to England's new republican order. The king's book functioned as a textual truth-event and a Lacanian stain of Charles I, serving as a bastion of the monarchy in the foreclosed-then-destabilized paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure. Royalist print responses to the *Eikon* highlighted (and in some cases, grossly exaggerated) the Rump's precarity and, as a mode of textual resistance, antagonized Parliament. Royalist authors used the power of the press to fight back against Parliament by mythologizing Charles I as a martyr and a celebrity, thereby making the king a more powerful socio-political threat to the Rump post-regicide than he was when he was alive. Parliament then affirmed this truth through its attempts to discredit and censor the *Eikon* in its effort to deny the book its thing-power. As Potter notes, (pro-) parliamentary texts, such as "Milton's *Eikonoklastes*, [and] the *Eikon Alethine*, [tried] to take Charles out of mythology and into history, where his words [could] be compared with his actions and where he [could] be tried and judged" (182). The affective force of *Eikon Basilike* proved to be problematic for Parliament because the *Eikon*, as a sublimated text-agent, interrupted the penal closure of the king's death. Charles was dead physically, but he continued to exert sublime power (S)ymbolically through and as the *Eikon*, thereby leaving him in a state of undeadness, or between the two Lacanian deaths. Essentially, the Rump was trying to combat a sublime martyr figure that was considered by many to be a manifestation of God. And, as the Rump was quick to learn, while individual copies of texts can

be destroyed, it is more difficult to destroy a long-established ideology. In this case, it was the present-absent Charles I and the persistent ideology of monarchism that made the text-agent such a significant weapon in the royalists' print arsenal. Charles-the-(F)ather became a textual ghost and his book became a Lacanian (h)ontology that haunted both the (pro-) parliamentarians and the royalist textual public. As royalist authors continued to resurrect the dead king (S)ymbolically through the material production and consumption of *Eikon Basilike* and in their own responses to the king's book, they acted out their individual-*qua*-collective trauma through textual performances.

The (S)ymbolic and monarchical powers that were sublimated into the *Eikon* stemmed from a variety of sources and were instilled through several strategies during the Interregnum period. The *Eikon's* mysterious and dramatic genesis story prompted a quest for truth, generating a desire in fans and critics alike to identify and name the historical author(s) of *Eikon Basilike*. The *Eikon's* genesis story itself was composed of a variety of inter-, para-, and contextual narratives, including the successful attempt of Parliament to thwart Richard Royston's first print run of the text;<sup>58</sup> the inter- and paratextual strategies that contextualized the *Eikon*; royalists' print responses, which functioned figuratively as mirrors to reflect the dead king's singularity back into the text; and the secrecy with which the *Eikon* was produced, sold, and disseminated. These elements all contributed to the commodity fetishization and the mythological fetishization of the book as a powerful historical relic and totem of the monarchy.

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<sup>58</sup> See Potter, p. 10 for further discussion.

## Pre-Regicidal Paratextual and Transtextual Influences on *Eikon Basilike*

While Chapter 2 has explored the relevance of two key political performances that preceded the *Eikon*'s publication and its subsequent popularity—the trial and execution of Charles Stuart—it is important to acknowledge the para-, inter-, and contextual influences that contributed to the sublimation of the text-agent. The text that served as a model for Charles's *Eikon Basilike*, James I's *Basilikon Doron* (1599, 1603),<sup>59</sup> influenced the composition and rhetorical strategies utilized by the historical author(s) in the creation of the *Eikon*. The *Doron* was a treatise on government and monarchy that was composed by Charles I's father, James, and was intended to be passed down to his heir, Henry (who died in 1612). After Henry's death, James would give the work to Charles, his second son and the new heir apparent. Only seven copies of the *Doron* were produced during its initial publication in 1599, but the book would become popular when it was reprinted for the public at large in 1603.

One does not have to search far for the textual and historical parallels between James's *Doron* and Charles's *Eikon*. The most notable of these parallels is the titles: the title *Eikon Basilike*, in its final iteration,<sup>60</sup> invoked powerfully that of *Basilikon Doron*.<sup>61</sup> By calling upon the Name-of-the-(F)ather through (S)ymbolic contiguity—the intertextuality of the book's title—

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<sup>59</sup> I have elected to cite the 1603 publication of *Basilikon Doron*, since that is the version to which most of the public had access.

<sup>60</sup> *Eikon Basilike: The Portraiture of His Sacred Majesty in His Solitudes and Sufferings*. The title *Eikon Basilike* (*Icon of the King*) is attributed to Jeremy Taylor, who is believed to have changed the text's original title: *Suspiria Regalia* (*The Royal Sighs*).

<sup>61</sup> The title of *Basilikon Doron* means “royal gift,” as it was intended as a legacy of wisdom and knowledge for James I's heir.

the royal phallus as a master signifier was transferred metaphorically from king to king, from father to son, and from book to book as a part of the paternal function (re)asserting itself in the signifying chain of the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure.<sup>62</sup> This invocation of monarchical legacy through the Name-of-the-(F)ather underscores the paternal authority of said ideology. Furthermore, in the signifying chain, the titles of the *Eikon* and the *Doron* named “object[s] which [were] lacking in the field of what is depicted” (Žižek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology* 178). In the case of the *Eikon*, the text’s title announces Charles’s present-absence. Charles is named as the (\$)bject-author of the *Eikon* and the text becomes a stain of/for Charles I and the monarchist ideology. Otherwise stated, the text is a portraiture—a metaphor-metonymy—for the lost king.

By invoking the (N)ame and (S)ymbolic legacy of the (F)ather, *Eikon Basilike* became the ideal-ego and the ego-ideal for royalists as a part of the signifying chain in the paternal-monarchical structure. There are several moments in *Eikon Basilike* where the text functions as a textual ego-ideal by embodying the king’s paternal authority. As a case in point, in section 19 of *Eikon Basilike* entitled “Upon the 19 Propositions<sup>63</sup> first sent to the KING; and more afterwards,” Charles states: “Should I grant some of the things they require, I should not so much

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<sup>62</sup> Another signifier would be added to this signifying chain with the posthumous publication of Charles II’s own *Eikon* text, entitled: *Eikon Basilike Deutera: The pourtraicture of His Sacred Majesty King Charles II with his reasons for turning Roman Catholick*. Charles II died in 1685 and his text was published by James II in 1694.

<sup>63</sup> The *Nineteen Propositions* was a list of proposals (or rather, demands) sent to Charles I by the Long Parliament which, if implemented, would have restricted the monarchy’s authority significantly. The *Propositions* sought to accomplish many things: limit Charles’s power in appointing members to the Privy Council and other key government positions; mandate that public concerns be brought before Parliament for debate; control the education and marriage of the king’s descendants; mandate that laws against Catholicism be enforced; enact reformation in the church government; and declare that Parliament would control the militia.

weaken my outward state of a King; as wound that inward quiet of my Conscience, which ought to be, is, and ever shall be (by God's grace) dearer to me than my Kingdoms" (94). For context, in 1642, Charles had refused to acquiesce to the *Propositions* because, as Jerome de Groot (2004) notes, the king was concerned about Parliament creating instabilities in his legal status. Charles worried that Parliament would "impose a disjunction between representation and power, making him merely a sign in a chain of signifiers rather than a guarantor of meaning. He [would] become a mere representation, inhabiting the unstable region of language rather than having an actualizing presence" (27-28). And indeed, the very phenomenon that de Groot articulates is what happened in the case of *Eikon Basilike*: as a text, the Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy (re)asserted the law of the (F)ather (drawing metaphorically upon Charles's position as king/(F)ather of England and God's position as Father of all), which validates de Groot's argument that Charles was seen by royalists as "the paternal lawgiver, the guarantor of meaning and identity" (24). However, the book complicates its own (h)ontological status as a Subject-object by reducing Charles to a representation simultaneously—the book is an image of the (F)ather, not just the Name-of-the-Father, and as such, it induces psychosis as it asserts paternal authority. In such instances, the text-agent functions as a textual ego-ideal and the mediator of the paternal function by asserting the paternal no. For example, in the earlier passage quoted from *Eikon Basilike*, Charles underscores the legacy of the divine right of kings through his invocation of the Name(s)-of-the-Father—himself as (F)ather, king-as-Father, and God-the-Father—within the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure. There are added complexities of meaning in the *Eikon's* intertextual legacy because the king's book destabilizes the Name-of-the-(F)ather and the monarchical tradition within the signifying chain. The untethered signifieds



slide beneath the Name-of-the-(F)ather as metonymic substitutions via several different subject positions: England's father and the text's progenitor, Charles I; the monarchical ego-ideal inherited from James I in the *Doron*; and God-the-Father. In its capacity as a text-agent to speak as and for Charles, the *Eikon*'s expression of the paternal no is multivalent because the book underscores the power of Charles I as an author(ity), reiterates the legacy of monarchy, and exerts its own Subject-objecthood as a manifestation of the will of God-the-Father.

Additionally, the similarities in form and content between *Basilikon Doron* and *Eikon Basilike* stress the parallels by which kingship was being (re)presented during the Stuart period. In the 1603 preface, James describes the *Doron* as an accurate image of himself: "And thus [...] it onely rests to pray thee (charitable reader) to interpret fauourably this birth of mine, according to the integritie of the author [...] it must be taken of al men, for the true image of my very minde [...] [S]o beareth it a discovery of that which may be looked for at my hand, and where-to, even in my secret thoughts, I have engaged my selfe for the time to come" (B4). This image of the *Doron* as something that James birthed or (F)athered resonates strongly with royalist receptions of the *Eikon*, as I shall demonstrate shortly. And, like the *Doron*, the *Eikon* is presented as a true image of Charles's mind as he builds upon the literary tradition established by his father's book. As James Doelman (1994) observes of the *Doron*, "what had been originally presented as a gift of instruction to his [James I's] son, was now re-presented as a portrait of the King to his people, both as he was, and as he would be in the future. It was the ultimate 'mirror for magistrates,'<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> A collection of English poems, published initially in 1559, that recounts the lives and tragic deaths of different historical figures.

one composed by the King himself, to be the lessonbook of its own author. And such is how readers took it” (2). Audiences of the *Eikon*, too, were encouraged to regard Charles’s book as a true image of the king through the book’s use of personal pronouns; its inclusion of Charles’s ostensibly private confessions of guilt over Strafford’s death (section 2, “Upon the Earl of Strafford’s death”); the incorporation of an intimate textual legacy that Charles left for his son (section 27, “To the Prince of Wales”); and, of course, the very title of the book itself (*Eikon Basilike: The Pourtraicture of His Sacred Majestie in His Solitudes and Sufferings*), which assisted in sublimating the text-agent with its authority through the author function.

In addition to James I’s *Doron*, another source of the *Eikon*’s power was Charles’s previous writings and his tendency to use the written word as metaphorical and metonymic extensions of his royal authority. As de Groot observes, those who were loyal to the crown believed that the king’s word was the truth, and “his image ‘Authority,’ whether his Person is present or not [...] Royalist textuality [...] was predicated upon the authority of the King’s words and language. Proclamations worked in this fashion; irrespective of who was speaking or performing the words, the King’s authority was innate and vested” (25, 31). To thwart Parliament’s efforts during the war, Charles employed statutes as proto-text-agents, which “revived the concept that the King’s word was law and that his proclamations were binding.”<sup>65</sup> The very text of the proclamation, the printed words, took on his authority. Charles effectively governed by statute” (de Groot 29). Thus, not only were royalists familiar with the royal word as synonymous with truth, but audiences would have been accustomed to seeing divine power and

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<sup>65</sup> Previously, James I had “clashed with his judges in 1610 over the legislative power of the proclamation, and since then they had been largely advisory” (de Groot 29).

authority being vested in the king's images and proximate textual performances. As such, royalists were being conditioned by Charles's earlier use of proclamations to recognize the king's word as a manifestation of his paternal and divine powers and were well-primed to receive *Eikon Basilike* as a (S)ymbolic representation and extension of the king's authority after the regicide.

### **Authorial Cathexis and the Sublimation of *Eikon Basilike***

Another explanation for the *Eikon's* wild popularity was the very personal nature of the king's writings. The work of Emmanuel Levinas (1991) contextualizes this argument in a manner that has a stunning resonance with my larger argument for the text-agent in general. He writes that "impersonal discourse is a necrological discourse. Man is reduced to the legacy of man, absorbed by a totality of the common patrimony. The power he exercised over his work while living (and not only through the mediation of his work)—the essentially cynical man—is annulled. Man becomes—not, to be sure, a thing—but a dead soul. This is not reification; this is history" (25). Ruti, building upon Levinas, clarifies that impersonal discourse is necrological because it "draws man into a network of collective significations that reduces him to a list of his accomplishments" (*The Singularity of Being* 3). Based upon this line of argument, if impersonal discourse is necrological, then it stands to reason that personal discourse, such as autobiography or memoir, can be life-giving or, at the very least, life-sustaining. In fact, Ruti asserts that "singularity—and resistance to social hegemonies that singularity almost by definition implies—is not always a function of a categorical rupture with the symbolic order, but can also operate within this order" (*The Singularity of Being* 7). As such, singularity "cannot be the exclusive

province of the symbolic or the real, but rather arises from an always more or less tumultuous encounter between the two” (Ruti, *The Singularity of Being* 9). We can see evidence of this encounter between the Symbolic and the Real in the *Eikon* as a text-agent. The dead king’s sublime singularity is cathected into the text through the sublimated metaphoric-metonymic essences of the Real as symptoms. In its refusal to let its Subject-author be relegated to the annals of history or to become another dead soul, the *Eikon* and royalists harnessed the power of the king’s singularity by building upon those sentiments which he expressed on the scaffold through the performance of the paternal no. Freud describes the power of the paternal no in *Totem and Taboo* (1913), observing that the *paternal no* “owes its strength—its compulsive character—to its association with [...] the hidden and unabated pleasure [...] or] an inner need into which conscious insight is lacking” (50). According to Freud, “[t]he transferability and reproductive power of the prohibition reflect a process which harmonizes with the unconscious pleasure [...] The pleasure of the impulse constantly undergoes displacement in order to escape the blocking which it encounters and seeks to acquire surrogates for the forbidden in the form of substitutive objects and actions” (50-51). Thus, there is a connection between the paternal no and the unconscious. The paternal no speaks to a Subject’s drives and an inner lack—what Lacan refers to as *das Ding*—which leads the Subject to attend to unconscious pleasure via displacement as they experience desire for surrogates and substitutive objects or actions. Further, Lacan argues that the unconscious is structured like a language and that the unconscious is the discourse of the Other.<sup>66</sup> By combining these premises, it is possible to conclude that one

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<sup>66</sup> In *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis*, Lacan observes that: “The primary process [the unconscious...] must, once again, be apprehended in its experience of rupture, between perception and

element that made *Eikon Basilike* so formidable was the author function. The *Eikon* served as a reproductive vehicle—or surrogate for the forbidden, the lost (F)ather—within the maternal-republican structure.

The king's book resurrected his voice and the paternal author(ity) by reclaiming and reasserting the (F)ather's foreclosed powers of the paternal no. For example, in section 6 of the *Eikon*, "Upon His Majesty's retirement from Westminster," Charles discusses Parliament's efforts to restrict his royal prerogative, and specifically his power of royal assent:

So far am I from thinking the Majesty of the Crown of *England* to be bound by any Coronation Oath, in a blind and brutish formality, to consent to what ever its subjects in Parliament shall require; as some men will needs infer; while denying Me any power of a Negative voice as King, they are not ashamed to seek to deprive Me of the liberty of using My Reason with a good Conscience, which themselves, and all the Commons of *England* enjoy proportionable to their influence on the public [...] I shall never think My self conscientiously tied to go as oft against My Conscience, as I should consent to such new Proposals, which My Reason, in Justice, Honour, and Religion bids Me deny [...] (70)

While this section of the *Eikon* pertains to the rioting by London apprentices in 1642, the passage in question calls to mind the fact that Parliament did, in fact, strip the king of his prerogative of royal assent, or his negative voice, during his indictment. To counter-act the Rump's restrictions of the king's royal prerogative, the *Eikon* employs biblical paternal metaphors in several of its passages and prayers to remind audiences that the king is the true paternal-monarchical author(ity) of said Symbolic structure. In so doing, the *Eikon* asserts the author(ity) of Charles I and reinforces the position that the king is owed fealty from all (\$)subjects. One of the more common paternal metaphors invoked in the *Eikon* is the narrative of King David:

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consciousness, in that non-temporal locus [...] which forces us to posit [...] the idea of another locality, another space, another scene, *the between perception and consciousness*" (56).

*I am driven to cross David's choice and desire, rather to fall into the hands of men, by denying them, (though their mercies be cruel) than into thy [God's] hands by sinning against My Conscience, and in that against thee, who art a consuming fire; Better they destroy Me, than thou shouldest damn Me. ("Upon the lifting, and raising Armies against the King," Eikon Basilike 87)*

*Thou, O Lord, canst turn the hearts of those Parties in both Nations, as thou didst the men of Judah and Israel, to restore David with as much loyal Zeal, as they did with inconstancy and eagerness pursue him. ("Upon the calling in of the Scots, and their Coming," Eikon Basilike 113)*

Throughout the text, Charles aligns himself with sympathetic biblical father figures and invokes their traumatic narratives alongside his own. This process facilitates affective responses in audiences as they brush up against Charles's metaphoric essence as a symptom of a traumatizing encounter with the Real. Another such example of the paternal metaphor contributing to the author(ity) of the text-agent can be found in the final section of *Eikon Basilike*, "Meditations upon Death," in which Charles draws upon the story of Moses:

The punishment of the more insolent and obstinate may be like that of *Korah*<sup>67</sup> and his Complices (at once mutinying against both Prince and Priest) in such a method of divine justice, as is not ordinary; the earth of the lowest and meanest people opening upon **them**, and swallowing **them** up in a just disdain of their ill-gotten worse-used Authority: upon whose support and strength **they** chiefly depended for **their** building and establishing **their** designs against **Me**, the Church, and State. (200; emphasis bolded)

Here, the ground of the metaphor becomes blurred as the tenor and the vehicle are conflated after the semicolon. The antecedents of *them* (in the first dependent clause) and *they/their* (in the second dependent clause) are confused easily by the audience until the end of the passage when we encounter the signifier *Me*. It is only at this point that we realize that the signifieds are sliding beneath the signifiers and that the colon signals a shift from the vehicle of the metaphor

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<sup>67</sup> Korah led a rebellion against Moses, and the people were punished by God (*KJV Bible*, Numb. 16.32-33).

to its tenor. The lack of a clear distinction between the tenor and the vehicle reflects the larger point that Charles makes in this passage and throughout the *Eikon* as a whole. By juxtaposing and enmeshing biblical stories of wronged fathers within his own narrative as a type of pastiche, *Eikon Basilike* enables Charles to resurrect himself as the (F)ather in/as his book, thereby underscoring the regicide as an act of patricide. In other words, Charles uses the biblical legacies of paternal authority and of the paternal no to reinscribe the Name-of-the-(F)ather through textual performance and to resist subsequently the (fore)closure of his own tragic narrative.

In so doing, the text-agent registers Charles's essence of the Real through paternal metaphors, preventing the (S)ymbolic death of the monarchy. Charles transcends the limits of his corporal body by reanimating his singularity of being through the death drive energies from his position between the two Lacanian deaths. Or, to borrow from Ruti's interpretation of Lacan: a conceptualization of ethics enables us to comprehend how one can persist in one's desire. She writes that "ethics is not a matter of seeing one's desire to its destructive climax, but rather of keeping desire alive by refusing to close the gap between the Thing and things" (*The Singularity of Being* 148). In this case, *Eikon Basilike* (the thing, the Subject-object) refuses to allow the gap of the monarchy (the Thing, or *das Ding*) to close because the king's book speaks as and for Charles I from between the two deaths. It registers as a stain in the (S)ymbolic literary landscape and functions as a sublimated sublime Subject-object a of monarchical ideology by positioning itself in this gap and by expressing the prohibitive power of the (F)ather through temporal slippages. An example of this phenomenon can be found in the following passage, taken from the final, unnumbered section of *Eikon Basilike*, "Meditations upon Death":

Though, as a KING, *I think My self to live in nothing temporal so much, as in the love and good-will of My People; for which, as I have suffered many deaths, so I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead:* notwithstanding, My Enemies have used all the poison of falsity and violence of hostility to destroy, first the Love and Loyalty, which is in My Subjects; and then all that content of life in Me, which from these I chiefly enjoyed. Indeed, they have left Me but little of life, and only the husk and shell (as it were) which their further malice and cruelty can take from Me; having bereaved me of all those worldly comforts, for which life it self seems desirable to men. (196; emphasis added)

This excerpt challenges audiences to question the Rump's legal and (S)ymbolic sundering of the king's two bodies and it offers a means through which royalists could counter-act Charles's death through the act of re-membrance.\* Charles positions himself as a divided Subject that is sustained by the "love and good will of the people," who give him life and, as such, is "not in that point as yet wholly dead." By hearing the king as an author(ity) resonating through the text-agent and by echoing back or mirroring the Charles/*Eikon* paternal metaphor-metonymy in their own writings as a form of repetition compulsion, royalist authors reanimated the king as a Subject-object—the text-agent—in a state of (S)ymbolic un-deadness. In other words, the *Eikon* becomes a surrogate for the forbidden (F)ather that exercises the Symbolic power of the paternal no upon Charles's enemies for their "violence of hostility" in his murder. So, while the *Eikon* may have been a mirror for magistrates, it was also a mirror in the Lacanian sense: royalist authors and audiences in the royalist textual public continued to locate not only Charles I in/as *Eikon Basilike*, but they found themselves in it also, turning to the book as both the royalist ego-ideal and ideal-ego.

Further, this passage evinces a temporal distortion within the *Eikon*: the book identifies Charles as the Subject-author and presents his (then living) meditations upon death as though the king were speaking in the present moment. In such temporally amorphous passages, we can



detect Charles Stuart existing in two different ontological Subject positions simultaneously: the Charles who was alive physically—the ostensible historical author of the past—and the Charles who is resurrected (S)ymbolically in the present, who is reinscribed through the Subject-author-function of the text-agent and speaks through the text in the present tense.<sup>68</sup> In other words, the *Eikon* speaks metaphorically as Charles in the present and metonymically for Charles’s past self, situating the Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy in the liminal space between the two deaths. In this way, the *Eikon* as a surrogate was able to borrow the king’s singularity and Subjecthood as an author(ity) and use it to prevent the complete transference of the power of the (F)ather to the (m)Other, Parliament. These types of temporal tensions in the *Eikon* capitalize upon one of the unique powers of storytelling, which, to draw from Felman’s argument, is the “power to transmit, to *take across a limit, the uniqueness of life*” (53). The *Eikon*’s ability to manipulate its own narrative temporality enabled the book to account for different outcomes of the civil war and maintain the relevancy of the king’s narrative of martyrdom during the Interregnum by speaking as/for the king from beyond the grave. The *Eikon*, Charles’s new (h)ontological form, ensured that royalists continued to feel his traumatizing present-absence.

This manipulation of narrative temporality is employed most clearly in the final two sections of *Eikon Basilike*, both of which are more hypothetical and anticipatory in nature. In “To the Prince of Wales,” Charles prepares himself and his son for several outcomes:

*If God shall see fit to restore Me, and You after Me, to those enjoyments, which the Laws have assigned to Us [...] then may I have better opportunity, when I shall be so happy to see You in peace [...] But if You never see My face again, and God will have Me buried in such a barbarous Imprisonment and obscurity [...] wherein few hearts that love me are*

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<sup>68</sup> These (S)ubject positions are re-situated and re-animated within the framework of royalist fantasies, which I explore in Chapter 4.

permitted to exchange a word, or look at Me; I do require and entreat You as your Father, and your KING, that You never suffer Your heart to receive the least check against, or disaffection from the true Religion established in the Church of *England* [...] *When they have destroyed Me*, (for I know not how far God may permit the malice and cruelty of My Enemies to proceed, and such apprehensions some men's words and actions have already given me) as I doubt not but My blood will cry aloud for vengeance to heaven [...] *For those that loved Me, I pray God, they may have no miss of Me, when I am gone*; so much I wish and hope, that all good Subjects may be satisfied with the blessings of Your presence and virtues. (191-194)

By anticipating different potentialities (Charles's restoration, his imprisonment/exile, and even his death), and by employing temporal shifts by changing verb tenses, the book's narrativization of various contingencies allows it to remain relevant to every outcome of the trial. The book's ability to maintain its own relevancy meant that it was able to speak meaningfully to audiences, even post-regicide. Further, Charles's shift from the conditional *if* to the certainty of *when* allows audiences to infer which outcome the king believes to be most likely (foreclosure), signalling to his audiences that he was bracing himself already for imprisonment, banishment, or an untimely and unnatural death. This argument is reinforced by how Charles refers to the English people throughout this section of the *Eikon*, wherein he shifts between "My Subjects" and "Your [Charles II's] Subjects":

None will be more loyal and faithful to Me and You, than those Subjects, who sensible of their Errors, and our Injuries, will feel in their own Souls most vehement motives to repentance; and earnest desires to make some reparations for their former defects. (191)

The more conscious You shall be to Your own merits, upon Your People, the more prone You will be to expect all love and loyalty from them [...] This I write to you, not despairing of God's mercy, and My Subjects' affections towards You; both which, I hope You will study to deserve, yet We cannot merit of God, but by his own mercy. (191)

For those that repent of any defects in their duty toward Me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Christian KING, so I believe You will find them truly Zealous, to repay with interest that loyalty and love to You, which was due to Me [...] Happy times, I hope, attend You, wherein Your Subjects (by their miseries) will have learned, That Religion to

their God, and Loyalty to their King, cannot be parted without both their sin and their infelicity. **I pray God bless You, and establish Your Kingdoms in righteousness, Your Soul in true Religion, and Your honour in the love of God and your people.** (194; emphasis bolded)

The shifting (\$)subject positions and varied verb tenses used in these passages demonstrate the *Eikon*'s anamorphic capacity to anticipate a variety of contingencies and its ability to speak from the gap between the two deaths while maintaining an aura of divine prescience. The book's lack of temporal fixidity enables it to remain relevant topically and maintain its own significant as a text-agent by perpetuating the traumatic force of *das Ding* as it resurrects the voice of the undead king (the \$subject-author-function) to maintain the presence of the monarchy in England. Furthermore, Charles I's use of the imperative in the final passage quoted above articulates his conviction of the continuation of the monarchy in and via his son: "God bless You [Charles II], and establish Your Kingdoms in righteousness, Your Soul in true Religion, and Your honour in the love of God and your people." Charles I does not say that he hopes that God *will* bless his son and that he *will* establish his son's Kingdoms in the eventuality of Charles I's own death. Rather, by expressing these sentiments publicly in the post-regicidal literary landscape in the imperative, the Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy posits the succession of Charles's son not as a hypothetical scenario, but as an impending certainty. The *Eikon*, speaking as and for the dead king, performs a speech act that is analogous to the proclamation "the king is dead, long live the king!": it announces its own author's corporeal death and (S)ymbolic resurrection. Thus, through its use of paternal metaphors and temporal slippages in the text, the *Eikon* functions like a last (living) will and testament of Charles I. The king's book instructs royalists on how to reinterpret the past and propagates a revisionist counter-narrative that mythologized Charles I as

a benevolent (F)ather figure who had been martyred by the primal horde. The book's exegetical function allowed royalists to imagine the Restoration and recognize Charles II as the one true king of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

Charles I's revisionist efforts to (re)write his reign in a positive light through *Eikon Basilike* cast subsequent doubt upon his guilt within the royalist textual public and it destabilized the Rump's own republican narrative. We can locate many moments in the *Eikon* when Charles rejects the legitimacy and authority of Parliament, underscores his duty to divine legacy, and seeks to posit his innocence. For example, in section 10, "Upon their seizing the King's Magazines, Forts, Navy, and Militia," Charles speaks of his resistance to Parliament's demand that he should grant unto it the power to control England's armies:

**But here Honour and Justice due to My Successors, forbid Me to yield to such a total alienation of that power from them**, which civility and duty (no less than justice and honour) should have forbade them to have asked of me. For, although I can be content to Eclipse My own beams, to satisfy their fears; who think they must needs be scorched or blinded, if I should shine in the full lustre of Kingly Power, wherewith God and the Laws have invested Me: yet I will **never consent to put out the Sun of Sovereignty to all Posterity, and succeeding Kings; whose just recovery of their Rights from unjust usurpations and extortions, shall never be prejudiced or obstructed by any Act of Mine**, which indeed would be not more injurious to succeeding Kings, than to My Subjects; whom I desire to leave in a condition not wholly desperate for the future[.] (90-91; emphasis bolded)

This passage is another example of how, through the *Eikon*, Charles invokes the legacy the royal prerogative and wields the prohibitive power of the paternal no. In stating, "[b]ut here Honour and Justice due to My Successors, forbid Me to yield to such a total alienation of that power from them," Charles stands firm that he "will never consent to put out the Sun of Sovereignty to all Posterity, and succeeding Kings; whose just recovery of their Rights from unjust usurpations

and extortions, shall never be prejudiced or obstructed by any Act of Mine.” In so doing, he calls attention to the illegal and injurious nature of the Rump’s efforts to foreclose the Name-of-the-(F)ather. By speaking as and for Charles posthumously, the *Eikon* reinscribes the Name-of-the-(F)ather, albeit partially, in the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure through the power of the paternal no.

Furthermore, in the king’s book we encounter a tricky but fascinating tension between the epistemologies of literary and historical studies—one that shapes an (inter)disciplinary understanding of temporality within the text. The *Eikon*, as an extension of the historical truth-event, was experienced by Interregnum audiences as an account of the past. However, as a literary and cultural narrative, the *Eikon* exists in the present, helping to (re)construct a story that was yet unfolding as the royalists and current events continued to contextualize and historicize *Eikon Basilike* and the regicide. In its ability to function in various (I)maginative capacities based upon what the royalist audiences desired or fantasized, the *Eikon* was an anamorphic blot that occupied the empty position of monarchical power as a text-agent. It served also as a surrogate until the empty place of power could be filled by the king’s valid and rightful successor, the exiled Charles II.

### **Constructing the Text-Agent in the Royalist Textual Public**

Fundamentally, *Eikon Basilike* was not able to be sublimated as a text-agent, nor could it occupy the vacant monarchical position, without assistance from other participants in the royalist textual public. Part of what makes a text-agent such a unique phenomenon is that there exists a dialectical and reciprocal relationship between the text-agent and its interpretive textual public

that generates a site for the (re)negotiation and reinscription of socio-political power. Drawing upon the Subject-author(ity) of its counterpart, a text-agent asserts its thing-power as a sublimated sublime Subject-object upon the textual public; however, it has its power ascribed to it also by said textual public.\* Therefore, we can understand the text-agent as an actant that registers the sublimated metaphoric-metonymic essences of the Subject-author in the Symbolic field through the Subject-author's cathexis into and the audiences' sublimation of the text-*qua*-agent via the discursive Subject-author-function. Yet, it is important to acknowledge that the text-agent is dependent constitutively upon its interpretive textual public to ascribe to it the thing-power necessary to have active agency. The Subject-author(ity) of a text-agent is reinforced and validated in a textual public's cultural hegemony by its ability to disseminate and engage with popular and/or controversial ideas while also being disseminated as a fetishized commodity (or work) that possesses mythical thing-power. Royalist authors sublimated the text-agent by maintaining fidelity to the textual truth-event within the textual public, which involved the active (re)negotiation and (re)imagination of Charles and his performance as king.

The process of rehabilitating the dead king's image was pivotal to the sublimation of the *Eikon* as a text-agent within the Symbolic because, as Žižek notes, "the vector of the subjective intention quilts the vector of the signifier's chain backwards, in a retroactive direction: it steps out of the chain at a point *preceding* the point at which it has pierced it" (*The Sublime Object of Ideology* 112). In its (S)ymbolic undeadness, one of the functions of the text-agent is to assist in sublimating itself and helping to mythologize its own Subject-author, who has endowed it with the force of intentionality.\* The relationship between the Real and the Symbolic in this process is of vital importance because it is the "surplus of the Real over every symbolization that

functions as the object-cause of desire,” which implies that “to come to terms with this surplus (or, more precisely, leftover) means to acknowledge a fundamental deadlock (‘antagonism’), a kernel resisting symbolic integration-dissolution” (Žižek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology* xxv). It is the sublimated metaphoric-metonymic essences of the Real that allow us to acknowledge the fundamental dead-lock in the text-agent. However, the royalist textual public, through its own interpretations of and responses to the text-agent, sublimated the king’s book via their own works of fantasy, which were reflections of their own libidinal desires for the restoration of the monarchy. In so doing, royalists reflected or mirrored Charles’s singularity back into the text-agent by positing the *Eikon* retroactively as a master-signifier of the monarchy through metaphor and metonymy, thereby transforming *Eikon Basilike* into a fetishized, sublimated sublime Subject-object a. The *Eikon* represented the Real kernel of the Subject-author and it resisted the (S)ymbolic integration-dissolution of the monarchy by acknowledging the ideological deadlock between monarchism and republicanism. Put alternatively, because it served as a point of resistance and as a point of surplus excess, *Eikon Basilike* was a metaphoric-metonymic master signifier for both the dead monarch and the institution of monarchy. Through the discursive sublimation of the author function by the royalist textual public, *Eikon Basilike* forced the Rump to acknowledge and engage with the lingering, (h)ontological presence of the monarchy and the (S)ymbolic ghost of Charles I in the English textual landscape.

Building upon the king’s final performances, royalist authors within the royalist textual public used the king’s book to extend and reimagine Charles’s trial and regicide in the court of public opinion. In so doing, the textual public (re)initiated the trial of the century, a concept that I invoke here within a specific critical framework of trauma theory. Felman examines the

characteristics of certain famous trials, or what she calls *trials of the century*, noting that there is a propensity for them to be repetitive, traumatizing echoes—and often legal duplications—that are structured by historical dualities. “A trial,” Felman claims, “unexpectedly reveals itself to be the post-traumatic legal reenactment, or the deliberate historical reopening, of a previous case or of a different, finished, previous trial” (62). With the advantage of historical hindsight, we can see how Charles’s trial and scaffold speech anticipated *Eikon Basilike*, and we can appreciate how the book was a dramatic, surprise expert witness in the court of public opinion. The presence and testimony of the king’s book lent new insights into the king’s actions and subsequently generated doubt amongst many in the royalist textual public about the court’s final verdict. This second, textual trial was Charles’s posthumous indictment. Members of the royalist textual public served as both lawyers and judges, with the royalists proclaiming Charles I to be, if not completely innocent of all charges, then certainly not guilty of high treason. As Sauer notes, “judgment of the king would largely be reserved for the readers of the book *Eikon Basilike*, in which his words acquired an extratextual status and lent the dead king an aura and mystique of a martyr” (*Paper-contestations*’ 61). As we shall see, Sauer’s idea accounts partially for why the *Eikon* assumed such cultural importance and political power amongst reading publics. The missing piece is that, as a sublimated sublime Subject-object a of monarchical ideology, the text-agent was a surrogate for the forbidden (F)ather, or the lost and (present-) absent monarchs, Charles I and Charles II.

The sublimation of Charles’s metaphoric-metonymic essences into *Eikon Basilike* through the author function occurred via cathexis of the Subject-author. Audiences positioned the text-agent as a stain and what Žižek calls the locus of the surplus X, or “that ‘surplus’ in the



object which stays the same in all possible worlds [and] is ‘something more than itself’, that is to say the Lacanian *objet petit a*: [...] an objectification of a void, of a discontinuity opened in reality by the emergence of the signifier” (*The Sublime Object of Ideology* 104). The *Eikon* was the object that was the locus of the surplus X, the monarchy. And, functioning as a *point de capiton*<sup>69</sup> for the master signifier of the monarchy, the *Eikon* represented simultaneously the lack of the monarchy. There was a present-absence of negative (textual) space in and via which the *Eikon* registered Charles’s singularity of being. The *Eikon*, then, (re)initiated Charles’s trial in the court of public opinion through a revisionary textual judgment day. In her reading of Walter Benjamin’s (1940) notion of *judgment day*, Felman interprets this concept as “the day on which historical injustice will be canceled out precisely through the act of judgment; the day on which justice and memory will coincide (perhaps the day on which the court will be redeemed from its inherent political *forgetfulness*)” (14). She argues that it is only on judgment day that “the past comes into full possession of its meaning: a meaning in which even the expressionless of history (the silence of the victims, the muteness of the traumatized) will come into historical expression” and emerge in the political unconscious (15). Thus, judgment day involves “a reawakening of the dead” in pursuit of historical justice, the process of which gives life to the dead through the acts and performances of remembrance as the living bear witness to the outrages and atrocities committed (15). As such, “[h]istory,” claims Felman, is thus “above and beyond official narratives, a haunting claim the dead have on the living, whose responsibility it is not only to

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<sup>69</sup> Žižek explains Lacan’s concept succinctly, describing the *point de capiton* as: “the point through which the subject is ‘sewn’ to the signifier, and at the same time the point which interpellates individual into subject by addressing it with the call of a certain master-signifier” (*The Sublime Object of Ideology* 112).

remember but to protect the dead from being *misappropriated*” (15). Felman’s description of the “haunting claim the dead have on the living,” resonates strongly with the Lacanian position of the Subject between the two deaths and the (h)ontology of the text-agent. Both concepts account for narratives in which survivors give undead, post-human life to victims in the pursuit of justice by attempting to fill out the void of loss with the (\$)subject-object a.

And certainly, there is evidence in royalist writings that responded to *Eikon Basilike* to suggest that royalist authors viewed the king’s book as a way for him to exist beyond his corporeal death. The king’s book became a means of protecting the image of the dead (F)ather from being misappropriated by the (m)Other, Parliament. As a case in point, the author of *The Princely Pellican* (1649) observes in the very first paragraph of chapter one that: “I was induced to returne them [the speaker’s patrons] some *Satisfactory Reasons* concerning diverse particulars mainly reflecting upon His *Majesties Divine Essays* lately Published: and for a *Living Memoriall* of Princely piety, and devotion, to all Posterities recommended” (1). Here, the speaker alludes to a desire to serve as a royalist witness and to testify on behalf of the king and his book by recounting publicly the (con)textual particulars of the *Eikon*’s genesis story. Charles’s (h)ontological narrative makes a claim upon the living that creates a troubled relationship between the royalist textual public and *Eikon Basilike*. By positioning those who engaged with the king’s book as secondary jurors, witnesses, and judges in this textual trial of the seventeenth century, royalist authors used the *Eikon* to seek not only legal justice through the Restoration, but also narrative justice, or vindication, for their dead king. Discussing these two concepts, Felman argues that “literature is a dimension of concrete embodiment and a language of infinitude that, in contrast to the language of the law, encapsulates not closure but precisely what in a given legal

case refused to be closed and cannot be closed. It is to this refusal of the trauma to be closed that literature does justice” (8). Applying Felman’s argument, we can discern how the royalists within the royalist textual public contributed to the fetishization and sublimation of *Eikon Basilike* as a text-agent by disseminating it in its materiality and textuality as Charles’s posthumous testimony. By reopening the case and by demanding a public re-evaluation of the king’s guilt, the royalists called upon English audiences to bear witness to the king’s testimony and to his innocence. Like Charles’s paternal call upon the scaffold for various witnesses to “remember,” the *Eikon* refused to allow legal or narrative closure and it served as a call for remembrance in its position as a storytelling text-agent. The king’s book aided in rewriting the tragedy that had been staged before England, recasting Charles from his role as a villainous “Man of Blood” to a sympathetic and heroic “Martyr of the People.”

In Chapter 4, I return to the argument that the regicide and *Eikon Basilike* did, in fact, have traumatizing impacts upon the royalists. However, let it suffice for now to understand that the trauma of the regicide impelled said public to decry the Rump’s actions and to weaponize the *Eikon* as a harbinger of a textual judgment day. The royalists positioned the book itself as a truth-event and trial of the century to mythologize the king as a celebrity and a martyr, and this narrative (re)presentation of Charles I is what made *Eikon Basilike* so dangerous to the Rump. The king’s book appealed to a variety of audiences, as the speaker of *The Life and Death of King Charles the Martyr, Parallel’d without Saviour in all his Sufferings* (1649) notes: “And therefore, as *Apelles* did, so will I, draw a veil over that which I am not able to express; and leave to all men to judge what he was, by his [Charles I’s] *Divine Meditations: That Book, or Golden Manuall*, will tell you what we have lost, having no superior on earth” (3). By leaving all men to

judge, the *Eikon* afforded audiences a last(ing) opportunity to hear the king's missing testimony and to take a more active part in his public trial of conscience. And though Parliament sought to suppress the book, those efforts were not as effective as they may have hoped, according to the speaker of *Aklastos* (1651):

When the booke called Icon-basilice was coming foorth the Rebels gilt Suggested Suspitions to them of danger from the memory of his late Majest: as formerly they apprehended from his life, striving, that he might not appear to posterity out of those ignominious Circumstances, which they had contrived in the murther of him, and thence their rigid Inquisition after persons and Presses. Rebels rise by flattery, rule by force, and they, that made so many appeales to the people, forbid them now to know the groanes of a dead Martyr. (Jane 3)

As the speaker implies in this passage, the *Eikon*, as Charles's proxy, rejects the notion of maternal legal authority, and appeals instead to the power and judgment of the social collective: the people of England in general and the royalists specifically. The speaker notes that "[u]pon the comming foorth of the booke, they [pro-parliamentarians] found what they feared, that many, whose passion kept them from a right judgment in the heate of Action, saw their owne errors in that booke, and that the person, and cause of his late Majest: began to be more Generally understood" (Jane 3). It was the ability of the *Eikon* to perform as the royal author(ity) that persuaded some (pro-) parliamentary audiences back to the side of the monarchy.

The king's book became a (h)ontology and a Lacanian mirror for audiences that erected the image of the (F)ather as a type of textual bogeyman to invoke feelings of guilt and a crisis of witnessing. Part of the royalists' efforts to resurrect and rehabilitate the monarchy involved the careful and conscientious self (re)presentation of the king in/as the *Eikon*, which as the text-agent, became an agent of intercession for the monarchy. In *The Gay Science* (1882), Friedrich

Nietzsche discusses the notion of self-fashioning one's own mythology, stating that the process of giving "style to one's character" is a "great and rare art" that requires one to assess the "strengths and weaknesses of their nature and then fit them into an artistic plan until every one of them appears as art and reason and even weaknesses delight the eye. Here a large mass of second nature has been added; there a piece of original nature has been removed [...and] the ugly that could not be removed is concealed; there it has been reinterpreted and made sublime" (232). Advancing Nietzsche's position, Ruti contends that such a negotiation between the subject and self-authorship offers "a model of subjectivity that is at once constructivist and strongly agentic" because it allows us to reconcile "the collapse of metaphysical models of selfhood with the ideal of agency" in a manner that "encourages us to think about agency as a matter of self-mythologization" (53-55). By extending and applying Nietzsche's and Ruti's arguments, we can see how the text-agent allowed the king to exist as an open-ended narrative in/as *Eikon Basilike* and how the book resisted Parliament's attempts to foreclose the monarchy. Using the *Eikon* to posit his own martyrdom and mythologize himself retroactively, Charles was able to collapse the metaphysical models of selfhood and ideal agency, thereby flattening the ontology of Subject and object by sublimating his metaphoric-metonymic essences into the *Eikon*. This process transformed the text-as-actant into a text-agent that was capable of interceding and speaking to English audiences as a textual (re)presentation of both an ideal-ego and an ego-ideal of the king. The second point of significance behind this perspective of post-human agency and self-mythologization is that such an argument affords a plausible and valuable explanation for the persuasive powers of the king's text-agent. Despite Charles's attempts to control his royal image both before and during the civil war, the monarchy, the Cavaliers, the royalists, and the king

himself had become subjects of scorn and ridicule in the Parliament-controlled London presses during the 1640s.<sup>70</sup> However, Charles's death performances helped the king to re-fashion his own mythology and redeem himself as a royal martyr and celebrity in/as *Eikon Basilike*, thus contributing to his own narrative of martyrdom.

During his execution, Charles proclaimed himself famously to be “the Martyr of the People” (Charles I, *King Charls his speech* 10). We recall Skerpan-Wheeler's argument that in so doing, Charles broke the fourth wall of the theatre of the scaffold and established a sense of closeness with his subjects. The mythologization of the king and the (re)construction of his image as a celebrity are important factors in how Charles was (re)imagined and (re)presented as a martyr by royalist authors. Skerpan-Wheeler suggests that when audiences encounter *celebrity*, each person “appropriates the representation of the famous person in order to identify and even interact with it [...] In 1649, memory was the vehicle for manufacturing the impression of closeness that enabled identification where none—in tradition or practice—had existed before” (“The First ‘Royal’” 916). In the case of *Eikon Basilike*, the book became a “foundation of the royalist memory community” and a locus of political and hermeneutic power that shaped the royalist textual public by “openly encouraging and incorporating audience participation and interpretation” (“The First ‘Royal’” 927). As a text-agent, the *Eikon* “performs the double function”—or double reflection—“of reconstructing the king's memories during his imprisonment and giving audiences their own ‘usable past’ as a foundation for their

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<sup>70</sup> See Joad Raymond's essay “Popular Representations of Charles I” in Thomas Corns's (1999) edited volume, *The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I*. Also informative is Kevin Sharpe's (2010) *Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603-1660*.

understanding of the conflict” (Skerpan-Wheeler, “The First ‘Royal’” 916). This usable past is shaped by not only the *Eikon* and its rhetorical strategies, such as the book’s use of typologies, but also via the royalists’ intertextual use of mythological allusions, biblical allusions, and revisionist narratives (or deliberate performances of *méconnaissance*) in their own texts. The royalists (re)cast Charles as a celebrity-martyr in the cultural imagination of the royalist textual public by treating *Eikon Basilike* as a (h)ontology of their dead king. For instance, in their discussion of the publication of *Eikon Basilike*, the speaker in *The Princely Pellican* (1649) states:

How greatly then are we indeared to the benefit of so unexpected a recovery? To have such a *precious Jewell* retrieved; such an *inestimable treasure* preserved from the clutches of an imperious Enemy; as reserve from the Spoile? which redounded highly to the deserving honour, and succeeding memory of His Majesty. For by this meanes, such as were causelesly jealous of His abilities, became satisfied upon the Survey of this incomparable Piece. Though some there were (so deeply laid was the tincture of their malice towards His Person) as they desired nothing more then to eclipse His splendour, by dispersing reports abroad, that this worke was none of His penning[.] (23-24)

The speaker implies that for the royalists, the *Eikon* is more than just a book: it is “an inestimable treasure,” a symbol of the monarchy, and a source of consolation in their failure to save their king. Furthermore, the speaker contends that the *Eikon* persuaded many to support the monarchy: “For by this meanes, such as were causelesly jealous of His abilities, became satisfied upon the Survey of this incomparable Piece.” Whether or not this claim is historically accurate, the speaker of the *Pellican* redounds the book’s (self-) mythologization of Charles as a martyr. By contributing to the *Eikon*’s material and metaphysical fetishization, royalist texts reinscribed Charles I (S)ymbolically as a sympathetic martyr and celebrity, thereby generating desire for the book as a fetishized commodity and sublime Subject-object a of monarchical ideology.

One specific way in which *Eikon Basilike* prompted the glorification of Charles as an ego-ideal and an ideal-ego in the royalists' collective imagination was via the (S)ymbolic typologies embedded in William Marshall's now-famous frontispiece (see fig. 8). As Potter notes, in the wake of the regicide, *Eikon Basilike* could be "trusted never to change, never to disappoint its admirers. Not what it said, but what it symbolized, made it essential to believe in it as the king's own work" (176). Marshall's frontispiece froze the king temporally in an act of pious meditation between the two deaths, physical and (S)ymbolic, thereby giving its audiences an unchanging, redemptive image of the king via which they could (re)imagine Charles as a martyr. Moreover, Marshall's skilled use of typological traditions was another source of the *Eikon's* (S)ymbolic textual power: as we have seen, English subjects were preconditioned to interpret Charles and his authority through images, and the martyrological symbolism inherent in the dynamic visual frontispiece added yet another register to such royalist interpretive practices. Describing Marshall's frontispiece, Lacey summarizes: "In his right hand he grasps a crown of thorns, at his feet lies the crown of England, discarded in favour of a heavenly crown of glory, the martyr's reward, upon which he fixes his gaze" (*The Cult of King Charles the Martyr* 78). Furthermore, Lacey observes, "[t]his engraving, more than anything else, established the image of Charles as a Christian saint and martyr among a large section of the community, and it drew upon a body of emblems and typologies which [...] were already established by the time of the king's death" (78). Though the image is complex and it would seem that at least some royalists felt that exegetic textual supplements were required to decode its more nuanced typological meanings properly—that is, from a pro-monarchist standpoint (see fig. 9 and fig. 10)—Marshall's frontispiece was a powerful image for English subjects to behold nonetheless because



it (re)imagined the king in the likeness of Christ as both a saint and a martyr.



Fig. 8. William Marshall's 1649 frontispiece to *Eikon Basilike*; worldhistory.org, 27 March 2022, <https://www.worldhistory.org/image/15224/eikon-basilike-frontispiece/>

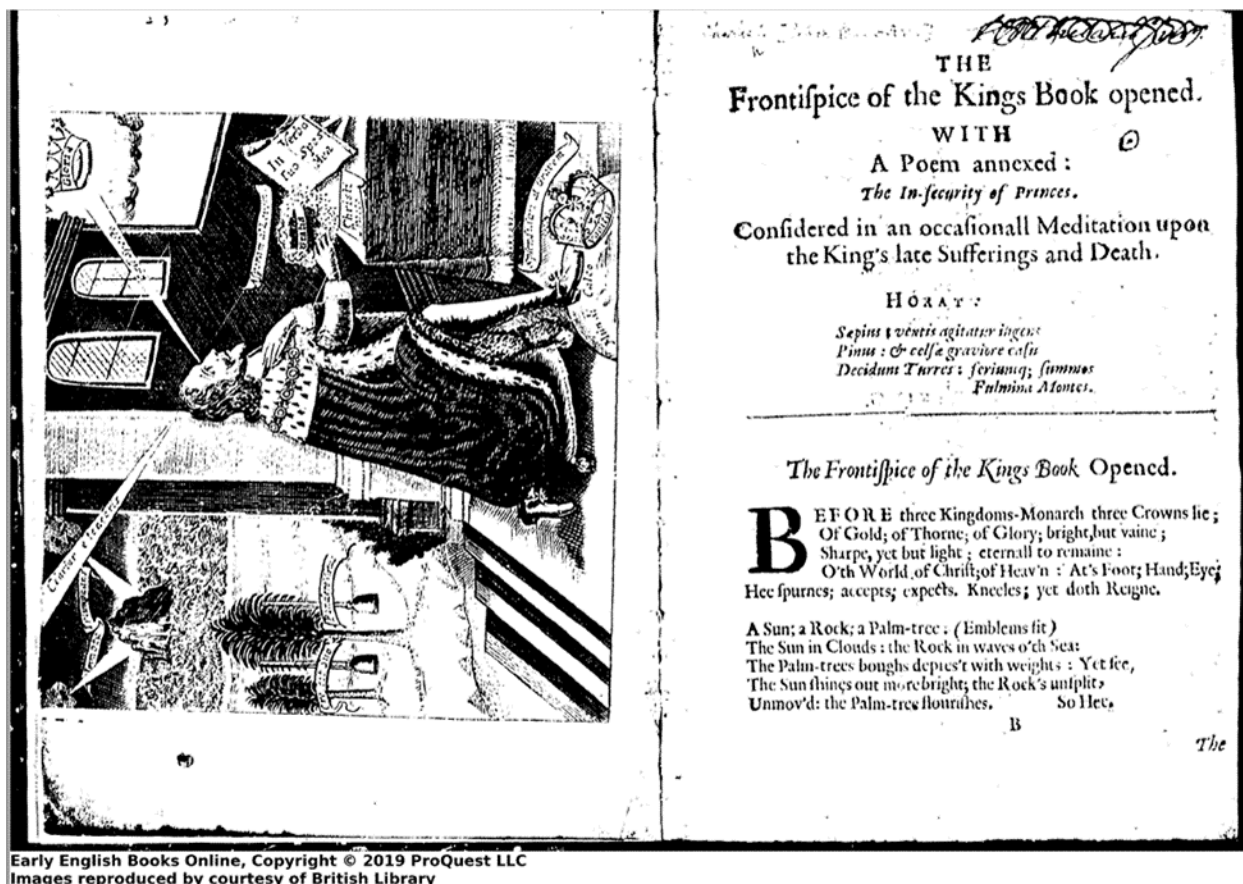


Fig. 9. The first page of Somner's (1649) *The Frontispice of the Kings Book opened*. Marshall's frontispice is accompanied by exegetic poems on how the symbolism of the image is to be understood.





Fig. 10. Explanation I of the emblems found in the front matter of *Eikon Basilike* (1649), printed in both Latin and English. Madan notes that Explanation I was composed by William Dugard and first printed with his edition no. 22. Madan concludes that it was “published, almost certainly, on 15 March 1648/9, having been set up from an original manuscript brought to Dugard by Edward Simmons, to whom it had been presented by the King” (33).

In *Eikonoklastes*, Milton refers famously to those enamoured with the king's book as an "inconstant, irrational, and Image-doting rabble [...] like a credulous and hapless herd, begott'n to servility, and enchanted with these popular institutes of Tyranny, subscrib'd with a new device of the Kings Picture at his prayers" (230).<sup>71</sup> It was clear to even the (pro-) parliamentarians that *Eikon Basilike* was a formidable royalist weapon/opponent in the print wars. One possible explanation for the *Eikon*'s popularity amongst royalists is that if sublimation is a form of "signified sadness" and a "negation of loss" or an "on-going attempt to keep loss at a distance," as Ruti suggests that it is, then the royalists, as "depressed persons [sensed and affirmed] loss by this negation; they nostalgically [reverted] back onto the Thing, the 'real object ... to which they [remained] painfully riveted" (*The Singularity of Being* 129-130). In other words, there was a valid psychological reason for the "image-doting rabble" to be held so enthralled by the *Eikon*'s frontispiece. The visual argument of the image, coupled with its materiality, offered the royalists a redemptive fantasy of Charles-the-(F)ather as a partially recovered Subject-object a, or a sublime text-agent—replete with divinely-inspired prayers—to which royalists could turn during the trials and tribulations of the Interregnum period.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Here, I cite the second edition of *Eikonoklastes* (1650), in which Milton expounded upon his claim that royalists were an "image-doting rabble." The first edition of the text was published in October 1649 and the passage reads: "and above the genius of his *Cleric* elocution, but to catch the worthless approbation of an inconstant, irrational, and Image-doting rabble. The rest, who perhaps ignorance without malice or som error, less then fatal, hath for the time misledd [*sic*], on this side Sorcery or obduration, may find themselves, and recover" (241-242). Milton's later revision of the text would suggest that he and/or Parliament was aware of how compelling and powerful *Eikon Basilike* was amongst the royalist textual public.

<sup>72</sup> I recognize that there is a fruitful connection to be explored here between Lacanian fantasies and royalist texts. I return to this line of argument explicitly in Chapter 4.

However, to regard the frontispiece merely as a summation or representation of the *Eikon's* textual content is to miss the larger point. Rather, the frontispiece is a constitutive part of the whole book. It is a part of the royalists' contributions to the sublimation of the text-agent and not merely a textual illustration of the arguments contained therein. As the speaker of *Eikon Aklastos* observes:

And if they, which set fourth his Majest: booke had been curiously, or stupidly negligent, the Author had detracted nothing from his Majest: It is not the picture but the cruelty exercised upon him, that made him a Martir, and in picture, which they shamed not to commit in the face of the world. The picture is farr short of the measure of his Majest: pietie, and sufferings, and wee may expect hard measure upon the booke, when a picture in the front cannot escape the Image breaker. (Jane 31)

The speaker in *Aklastos* is correct: the frontispiece did not make the king a martyr, nor was it capable of capturing the entirety of Charles's majesty, his singularity, or the indignities that he suffered at the hands of the primal horde. As Lacan tells us time and again, the Subject is barred from the Real (where we locate singularity) by its presence in the Symbolic. Correspondingly, we can understand the relationship between the frontispiece and the *Eikon's* textuality as a larger metaphor for the complex ontological duality of the king's identity. Charles can be perceived and understood properly only when the division between the king's image (the public, performative side of Charles that was on display to the English people during the trial and execution) and the king's words (the internal private reflections of Charles that went unheard) collapses. The king's two bodies, then, could not be separated quite as readily as Parliament seemed keen to demonstrate during the king's indictment. Rather, the *Eikon's* complex merging of image and text invites the book's audiences to look beyond what is visible on the surface of

both man and text-agent and to engage in the work of (re)membering Charles I actively as a martyred king, husband, and (F)ather.

While Charles's addressee in *Eikon Basilike* is ostensibly God alone, part of what made the *Eikon* different from his previous writings—such as his royal proclamations or even *The King's Cabinet Opened* (1645)<sup>73</sup>—was the public's perception of Charles's willingness to share his vulnerabilities with his subjects, however contrived that appearance of willingness may have been in actuality. My earlier discussion of the king's writings as proto-text-agents may appear to have been remiss in its failure to acknowledge the infamous text, *The King's Cabinet Opened*. However, my theorization of the text-agent so far should elucidate why *The King's Cabinet Opened* could not have functioned as a text-agent, despite the letters contained therein having been written by Charles I. The first complication was, of course, that when *The King's Cabinet Opened* was published, Charles was not a foreclosed subject and so the text was not speaking for him—if anything, the king's own words were made to betray him. Second, as de Groot notes, “by continually questioning the hierarchical truths of society, by interrogating and interrupting, Parliament problematized textual discourse and language” (60). By presenting a select and biased representation of the king's letters—which were accompanied by paratextual annotations by (pro-) parliamentarian editors—*The King's Cabinet Opened* was intended by Parliament to convince the English public of the righteousness of the Rump's cause by demonstrating Charles's tyranny and treason. However, these editorial efforts weakened the affective impact of

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<sup>73</sup> Those familiar with the history of the civil war will recall that Parliament seized the king's private correspondence after winning the battle of Naseby (1645) and published his private letters in that same year to incriminate Charles as a secret Catholic and a traitor to England.

this text for many royalist audiences because even though the annotations were intended to be exegetical, they compromised the divine and paternal integrity of the (F)ather's words as the Subject-author-function. Thus, Parliament's paratextual "violation of the King's words is perhaps the most important example of the transgressive and interrogative readings of the parliamentarians. The interpolation of comment and sarcastic aside ruptured the respect due to the commands issued by the body of state, blasphemously challenging and questioning the private comments of the monarch" (de Groot 73). By adding paratextual materials to *The King's Cabinet Opened*, Parliament encouraged the public to engage in a process that would have felt unnatural and foreign to them: to critique a royal text and the words of the (F)ather. This process would have been a direct challenge to the king's (F)atherly authority within the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure. Charles's private letters were violated—perverted, even—by Parliament and thus were not considered by royalists to be an authentic representation of the king's voice. In fact, Parliament's degradation of the (F)ather by reading and publishing his private letters was deemed by Charles to be so egregious that he devoted an entire section of *Eikon Basilike* to addressing this very topic. At the end of section 21, "Upon His Majesty's Letters taken and divulged," Charles presents his objections, stating:

Nor can their malicious intentions be ever either excusable, or prosperous; who thought by this means to expose Me, to the highest reproach and contempt of My People; forgetting that duty of modest concealment, which they owed to the Father of their Country, in case they had discovered any real uncomeliness; which, I thank God they did not; who can, and I believe hath made Me more respected in the hearts of many (as he did *David*) to whom they thought, by publishing My private Letters, to have rendered Me as a Vile Person, **not fit to be trusted or considered, under any Notion of Majesty.** (162; emphasis bolded)

Charles puts himself in the role of the (F)ather, deliberately invoking the paternal metaphor of David to elicit sympathy from the audience. The king portrays himself as one who has been persecuted by the Rump, which has attempted to vilify him as someone “not fit to be trusted or considered, under any Notion of Majesty.” Additionally, the king goes so far as to carry the paternal metaphor and his indignation over into the customary prayer that concludes each section of the *Eikon* in a traumatic mimetic rupture:

*As thou [God] didst blast the council of Achitophel, turning it to David's good, and his own ruin: so canst thou defeat their design, who intended by publishing my private Letters, nothing else but to render me more odious and contemptible to My People. I must first appeal to thy Omniscience, who canst witnesse my integrity, how unjust and false those scandalous misconstructions are, which my enemies endeavour by those Papers of mine to represent the world [...] Thou seest how mine Enemies use all means to cloud mine Honour, to pervert my purposes, and to slander the footsteps of thine Anointed.*  
(162)

Here, Charles calls attention to the Rump's “unjust, false [...] and] scandalous misconstructions” of his letters. The paternal no is asserted in the echo of the paternal metaphor of David and Achitophel<sup>74</sup> to denounce the Rump's publication of the king's letters and Parliament's attempts to denigrate Charles. And while publishing *The King's Cabinet Opened* was undoubtedly a pivotal move in the print war that was intended by Parliament to validate its own cause against the king, the clash between royalist and (pro-) parliamentarian modes of writing, coupled with and the negative royalist reception of the text, prevented *The King's Cabinet Opened* from evolving into a text-agent. These same factors contributed to the ineffectuality of polemics such as *Eikon Alethine* and *Eikonoklastes* because such texts desecrated the totem by perverting and denigrating the words of the (F)ather in *Eikon Basilike*.

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<sup>74</sup> *KJV Bible*, 2 Sam. 18-20.



For the *Eikon* to be successful as a text-agent, it was necessary that the book perform its own author(ity) as though the reflections and meditations contained therein were authentic and unaltered. In other words, generic traditions were incredibly important to the book's success and popularity. Daems and Faith Nelson have identified *Eikon Basilike* as a "curious hybrid of genres: political memoir, *apologia*, spiritual autobiography, martyrology, hagiography, meditation, and Psalter" (23). The pair argue that the *Eikon*'s ability to harness diverse generic codes is what enabled it to form such an iconic portrait of Charles I. And though the idea of Charles as the historical author of the *Eikon* was contested heavily by the (pro-) parliamentary opposition, public reception to the *Eikon* in general was largely positive because the book (re)imagined the king as a (F)ather and royal martyr through the author function. The king's image—his portraiture—was (re)presented to the public as a gift bequeathed to them by Charles I, the martyred (F)ather of England who had been executed barbarously by the primal horde. However, this point raises an important question: if the *Eikon* and royalist texts were produced, distributed, and performed often in relative secrecy or privacy, how then did the circumstances surrounding the *Eikon*'s production and dissemination convert individual acts of reading and witnessing into a communal experience that forged shared bonds and common interpretations of the text? Many print runs and editions of the *Eikon* were produced during the Interregnum, particularly in 1649, and these editions had many different addendums, title pages, and other textual incongruities. While I agree with Sauer's arguments that "*Eikon Basilike* had displaced the king's body and yet bore a synecdochic relationship to the author" and that the "reprints and representative editions of the book bore a synecdochic relationship to the whole" (*Paper-contestations*' 75, 71), it is important to recognize also that the *Eikon* as a work had

discrepancies. These inconsistencies had the potential to complicate the shared royalist experience of the book during the Interregnum, particularly within a textual culture that was shrouded often in secrecy. Thus, understanding how members of the royalist textual public generated and (per)formed within a textual trauma culture is key to appreciating how this public came to understand various editions of the king's book as part of a collective metaphor, metonymy, and synecdoche.

By perpetuating the myth of Charles Stuart as a divine martyr in their own writings connected to the *Eikon*, royalist authors helped to constitute the king's book as an amorphic conglomerate of various editions by forming a shared royalist epistemology and (h)ontology that shaped exegetically how supporters of the crown encountered and interpreted *Eikon Basilike*. For example, many royalist polemics and poems renamed the *Eikon* through shared descriptive sobriquets such as "the king's book" or his "golden manual." In so doing, the royalists sought to invoke royalism through a collective use of the forbidden paternal-monarchical language. This shared language contributed stability and consistency to the royalist narrative and ensured the continuity of the text-agent's author function by entrenching Charles as the historical and Subject-author within the royalist textual public. In other words, in its sublimated textuality, *Eikon Basilike* is renamed by the royalist textual public as a metaphor-metonymy for Charles Stuart as it mythologizes the king by and as the text-agent. As such, royalists engaged communally (yet often privately) in the imagined collective interpretive act of re-membering Charles I as and through his text, rather than just remembering him at the individual level of a work. No one edition or copy of the *Eikon* came to represent the monarchy within the shared reality and imagination of the royalist textual public. Rather, the process of (re)naming,

sublimating, and mythologizing the king in/as *Eikon Basilike* lent (S)ymbolic cohesion to the *Eikon* as a text through royalist narrative fantasies of Charles I as the Subject-author and as a martyr, celebrity, and hero.

Indeed, the royalists' use of language and imagery to discuss *Eikon Basilike* and Charles I shaped how authors and audiences (re)membered the monarchy. In a time of social instability and political upheaval, *Eikon Basilike* was a narrative of paternal constancy that positioned Charles as the head of a dysfunctional family. One of the most important images invoked by royalists was Charles-as-Martyr. As Knoppers (1992) observes, the *Eikon* merged "the Foxean portrait of the martyr with the rich and resonant biblical and literary tradition of royal martyrdom" and the book appears to be self-consciously concerned with defining and portraying its author as such (205). Further to that, Lacey demonstrates that Charles I's self-(re)presentation in *Eikon Basilike* met the typological expectations of a martyr as it was conceptualized by Protestantism during the seventeenth century. He concludes that "the view of Charles [as a martyr] is consistent with the Protestant tradition of martyrology" (65). He points to the literary nature of what he calls the "cult of Charles the Martyr," recognizing that (re)conceptualizations of Charles as such were mediated through three literary genres: *Eikon Basilike*, elegies, and sermons (76). Lacey's identification of *Eikon Basilike* as a genre in and of itself strikes me as a fair encapsulation of the consensus amongst academics who continue to study the *Eikon* to this day. Scholars of the book recognize that while the *Eikon* was invoking and utilizing long-standing typologies and genres, it was also doing something different from other texts produced during the Stuart era. This *something different* is significant enough to warrant the *Eikon* being categorized within a separate genre or classification of its own. Addressing these three literary

genres further (the *Eikon*, elegies, and sermons), Lacey observes that a fully developed corpus of early modern martyrological imagery and typologies were employed in the *Eikon* to provide a consistent image of Charles I as a martyr and authority. The redemptive narrative of the king was constructed through assertions of the “innocence and good intentions of Charles, the baseness of the rebels and their motives, the Christ-Charles parallel, the identification of the rebels with the Jews, etc.,” thus allowing his (self-) representation of his own martyrdom to “become fixed very quickly” (*The Cult of King Charles the Martyr* 77). Yet a dialectical tension within the scholarship emerges here: despite the *Eikon*’s use of intertextuality, including its generic forms and typologies (which served an exegetical function), scholars seem to conclude as well that part of what made the book so sensational was that audiences did *not* know how to receive it. As Potter states: “The *Eikon* posed problems for which seventeenth century audiences, both royalist and parliamentarian, were mostly unprepared. One was a problem of genre. How was the book to be read? Was it a literary work, a series of religious meditations, or a political tract?” (170). The theory of the text-agent is one way to reconcile this discrepancy: while the typologies and paratextual influences that informed the book were familiar to audiences, the ways in which *Eikon Basilike* was being sublimated by royalists and exerting the socio-political agency of its author(ity) certainly were not.

In the case of *Eikon Basilike*, if we understand the execution of Charles I as a psychologically and constitutionally shattering event that foreclosed the Name-of-the-(F)ather and left royalists in a state of psychosis, then the significance of the text-agent as a unique subgenre becomes more clear. In response to these new problems (the death of Charles I and the legal abolishment of the monarchy), royalist authors—particularly those who never fought on the

battlefield for the king—needed to redefine themselves in the wake of the regicide. Or, to put the argument in more Lacanian terms, royalists had to re-encounter the mirror stage upon the foreclosure of the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure. In their state of psychosis after the regicide, royalist authors converted the Name-of-the-(F)ather (Charles Stuart and the monarchy) into an image of the (F)ather (*Eikon Basilike*). The *Eikon* became a surrogate for the forbidden and a text-agent that informed the collective construction of the ego-ideal and a royalist ideal-ego within the royalist textual public. The king's popular text-agent was able to capitalize upon the spectators' encounters with the Real during the trial and the regicide, which royalists experienced as a "traumatic incomprehensible loss" of the monarchy. Hence, the *Eikon* converted the trauma of the Real into something "readable, [that] obtained meaning" (Žižek *The Sublime Object of Ideology* 107). By re-interpellating individual (\$)subjects back into the fragmented and destabilized paternal-monarchical structure, the *Eikon* contributed to the reinstallation of royalists into the monarchical ideology (albeit problematically) by operating as a master signifier for the monarchy in the post-regicide Symbolic. This process, as we have seen, was conducted through the invocation of the Name-of-the-(F)ather and paternal metaphors, but also in the *Eikon's* ability to assert the paternal function through the prohibitive power of the paternal no.

Moreover, royalists bolstered the power of the paternal metaphor and authority of the (F)ather by using maternal imagery that was meant to distinguish (pro-) parliamentarians as effeminate and unfit to lead. The representation of Parliament as a mother figure and significantly, as the wife of the objectified king, was a trope that was used by several authors during the civil war. Sara Luttfiring (2015) observes that

[i]n 1648, three Royalist pamphlets were published under the name Mercurius Melancholicus: *Mistris Parliament Brought to Bed of a Monstrous Childe of Reformation*, *Mistris Parliament Presented in Her Bed*, and *Mistris Parliament Her Gossiping* [...] Mistress Parliament is married to Charles I [...] and the pamphlets offer a strong critique of Mistress Parliament's disobedience to her husband/king, depicting her political defiance in terms of sexual unruliness. (151)

In addition to the texts that Luttfing identifies, there are other examples of this trope being invoked, such as the pamphlet entitled *A new marriage, between Mr. King, and Mrs. Parliament* (1648). This pamphlet's author, John Crouch, would continue to play with this trope in his post-regicidal publication entitled, *The Second Part of the Tragi-Comedy, Called New-Market-Fayre or Mrs. Parliaments New Figaryes* (1649). Furthermore, in Henry King's "A Deepe Groane" (1649), the speaker uses imagery of the Rump as a mother and a villain:

Accursed day that blotted'st out our Light!  
 May'st thou be ever muffled up in Night.  
 At thy return may fables hang the skie;  
 And tears, not beams, distill from Heavens Eye.  
*Curs'd be that smile that guildes a Face on thee,*  
*The Mother of prodigious Villanie.* (1-2; emphasis added)

In such contexts, we can see how royalist literature during the Interregnum served two functions from a psychoanalytic perspective. First, royalist texts engaged individual authors and audiences in a larger textual discourse with the (m)Other to examine the (re)construction of royalist Subjecthood. In their texts, royalists were (re)negotiating the mirror stage via metaphors of Otherness (particularly metaphors of monstrousness) to distinguish themselves from the (pro-) parliamentarians. Second, royalist literature, and especially the *Eikon*, demonstrated a desire for the present-absent (F)ather and a collective longing for the Restoration by casting and rejecting the (m)Other, Parliament, as a monstrous aberration.

As such, the *Eikon's* affirmation of traditional paternal-monarchical social and ethical values was an element of what made the book such a formidable adversary for the Rump. As a text-agent, the king's book named Charles I as the (F)ather within the signifying chain posthumously and it asserted the paternal no repeatedly to all who read, heard, or otherwise engaged with the text. However, the punishing force of the paternal no and the ego-ideal are tempered in the *Eikon* through the sympathetic sentiments of Christian compassion that Charles expresses in his capacity as a (F)ather to absolve the children of England of their sins against him. In the *Eikon*, Charles-the-(F)ather, as God's representative, is aligned not with the vengeful God of the Old Testament. Instead, the king positions himself strategically as a Christ-like figure through expressions of compassion and (self-) sacrifice:

Yet since providence will have it so, I am content so much of My heart (which I study to approve to God's omniscience) should be discovered to the world, without any of those dresses, or popular captations, which some men use in their Speeches, and Expresses; I wish My Subjects had yet a clearer sight into My most retired thoughts: Where they might discover, how they are divided between the love and care I have, not more to preserve My own Rights, than to procure their peace and happiness, and that extreme grief to see them both deceived and destroyed. (*Eikon Basilike* 159-160)

The moderated force of the paternal no that underpins the figure of Charles the Martyr in this passage is echoed throughout other royalist texts, wherein authors demonstrate how the king's book balances the *Eikon's* assertion of paternal power with a call for Christian mercy. In *The Princely Pellican* (1649), the speaker discusses Charles's refusal to name specific traitors in *Eikon Basilike*, contending that Charles

retained a deep sense of those insupportable affronts and indignities he had suffered: and how even *those Persons*, on whom since the first beginning of his Raigne, he had amply conferred his *Royall favours* [...] exprest themselves most ungratefully bitter in the pursuite of their malicious designes. Albeit, so tender was he of their Honour, *and so*

*hopefull of the future recognition of their Allegeance; as his desire was rather to shadow them, then name them. (The Princely Pellican 8)*

Charles expresses both his disapproval and his sufferings at the betrayal of his metaphorical children, yet still he leaves a (S)ymbolic negative space for the unnamed of the primal horde—his prodigal children—to return to him. In so doing, Charles aligns himself metaphorically with Christ, the latter of whom demonstrates mercy in many places within the New Testament. Christ refuses to name Judas as the one who would betray him; forgives Peter for denying him three times; and asks God to forgive the Romans and all of humanity during the Passion because “they know not what they do” (*KJV Bible*, Luke. 23.34). This apposition contributes to the posthumous, mythological construction of the king as a Christian martyr of the people. Additionally, the speaker’s claims in *The Princely Pellican* demonstrate how royalist audiences perceived Charles’s willingness to temper the Symbolic force of the paternal no as an effort to persuade (pro) parliamentarians to (re)interpellate the Name-of-the-(F)ather. The Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy encourages Charles’s (\$)subjects—including those who were working against the monarchy—to turn away from the threat of the (m)Other by refusing to name (pro-)parliamentarian traitors within the Symbolic order. In so doing, the king leaves a (S)ymbolic opening or negative narrative space for traitors to return to the paternal-monarchical structure and reconstitute their egos as monarchical (\$)subjects without fear of public humiliation, punishment, or rejection by the new (F)ather, Charles II.

Furthermore, this negative narrative space is also a secret place akin to a confessional, wherein the public relationship between sovereign and \$subject is translated into a private (I)maginary relationship between (F)ather and child, prompting audience members to feel guilt



and shame about the regicide-patricide.\* We see evidence of textual negotiations of guilt and redemption inherent in the father/child motif that was popular amongst royalist works of this period. For example, Arise Evans, a Welsh prophet and visionary, invokes the *Eikon* as a text-agent repeatedly throughout *The Voice of King Charls the Father to Charls the Son* (1655). In the following passage, Evans entreats Charles II to offer pardon to those persons willing to confess and repent their betrayal of Charles I:

For if you [Charles II] do not offer mercy to all freely without exceptions, and receive all that will accept of your pardon, [...] you wrong yourself, and disobey and dishonour your Royal Father more then any ever yet did, but taking from him that power to forgive all; which power, (as he saith) all his enemies could not take from him [...] [T]here is none more capable under God than your Royal Self, to make your Self and all others in these Kingdomes happie; and there is no way for your Majesty to do it, but by obeying the Royal Father's Voice (A7, B5)

Evans beseeches Charles II to show Christian charity to those guilty of forsaking both Charles I and Charles II, implying that to do so would demonstrate the strength of Charles II's paternal love—both for his martyred (F)ather and for the children of England. Additionally, Evans encourages Charles II to employ what is now his own paternal authority by harkening back to Charles I's voice and the late king's use of the paternal no in the *Eikon*, observing that Charles I

did not say at his death, (nor as you have it in his Speech to you) that he was murdered; but said, that he was martyred [...] for he never did pardon any for wilful murther, yet pardoneth all these men, being his own enemies, looking not on them as his murtherers; but as they wilfully, yet ignorantly, did slay him: and he would have you to pardon them in like manner [...] [R]eceive your Subjects in love and mercy, as your FATHER hath commanded you, who went beyond any one Martyr, because of his power and dignity; and therefore his sufferings were greater, and are more full of glory, which is to you an unspeakable joy full of glory, through Jesus Christ who did enable him. (A6, B5-B6)

The audience can hear the resurrected voice of the (F)ather and the paternal author(ity) being channeled through Evans's text, registering the sublimated metaphoric-metonymic essences of

Charles every time the *Eikon* is referenced. In this text, the paternal no echoes from the *Eikon*, mirroring it as a source of binding guilt between (F)ather and son. This textual mirror forbids Charles II from denying his father's martyrdom and, subsequently, forbids the new king from denying forgiveness to the (pro-) parliamentarians. By citing passages from the *Eikon* as a source of paternal authority, Evans contributes further to the sublimation of the text-agent as the ego-ideal.

Moreover, the title of Evans's text—*The Voice of King Charls the Father to Charls the Son*—reinforces the Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy by registering how the *Eikon* speaks both as and for the dead king. The title itself functions as a metaphor by facilitating the transition of the title of *king* and the power of the (F)ather's voice to Charles II, both in the sense of sending a message and as a (S)ymbolic textual coronation that reinforces Charles II as the one who is (en)titled to the throne of England. This complex intertextual relationship demonstrates how Charles I and his author function refused to succumb to absolute (S)ymbolic death or to Parliament's negation of the monarchy; instead, the Subject-author is resurrected in the author function. We recall Felman's argument that: "authority is what commends a text (a life) to memory, what makes us unforgettable," and that a storyteller has the "power to transmit, to *take across a limit, the uniqueness of life*" (53). This transcendence of bodily limits through narrative positivizes the *death drive* in the text-agent, which, as Derek Hook (2016) argues, is "not a type of (demonic, deathly) content, but [...] a *form*, and, more pertinently yet, a form of emptiness or ontological incompleteness [...] the death drive designates an opening [...] within which the events of historicization can, in effect, take place" ("Of Symbolic Mortification" 246-247). By functioning as a storytelling proxy, *Eikon Basilike* was a means of registering the force of the

death drive in the (S)ymbolic field. In other words, in its positivity as a metaphor-metonymy, the *Eikon* signaled a negativity: the present-absence of Charles I.

The sublimation of the *Eikon* was complicated inherently by its position as both a Subject—a metaphor-metonymy (the text-agent)—and as a metaphorical object and master signifier of the monarchy or the work-as-actant. By cathecting his metaphoric-metonymic essences into the text-agent, Charles annuls himself as a proper Subject so that he can exist as a metaphoric-metonymic Subject-object (or perhaps objectified-Subject) between the two deaths. The text-agent resists Parliament's attempts to foreclose the paternal-monarchical structure and combats the Rump's installation of the big (m)Other, republicanism. Furthermore, the *Eikon* was the foundation for a royalist trauma culture that was built upon the king's tragic and traumatic narrative. The post-regicide royalist trauma culture shaped the *Eikon's* reception in the royalist textual public as royalist texts and textual performances were used to sublimate the *Eikon* as a text-agent. Otherwise stated, by reflecting his own singularity back into *Eikon Basilike*, the king sublimates the book as his new, (h)ontologically flattened form. Royalist authors then continued the process of sublimation and positioned royalist audiences in close proximity with the Real via the repetition of the death drive. Moreover, it repeats the traumatic loss by recreating the (h)ontologically flattened Subject-object, animating the text-agent as a surrogate for the forbidden. The text-agent, then, is a product of shame and symbolic mortification of the Subject-author that acts as a calling card to elicit further shame within the textual public. Building upon a point of contact between Lacan and Giorgio Agamben, Esther Faye (2003) observes that "shame, as testimony to the mark of 'the inhuman' in 'the human', thus broadcasts, from a Lacanian perspective, the eruption of a jouissance that drowns the (human/speaking) subject,"

and asserts that (h)ontology testifies to “the signifier’s failure to do its job” (250). Furthermore, as Agamben himself argues:

Testimony takes place where the speechless one makes the speaking one speak and where the one who speaks bears the impossibility of speaking in his own speech, such that the silent and the speaking, the inhuman and the human enter into a zone of indistinction in which it is impossible to establish the position of the subject, to identify the “imagined substance” of the “I” and, along with it, the true witness.

To adapt Faye’s and Agamben’s arguments, in this case, the traditional English signifiers of monarchism, including the crown, the scepter, and even the king himself, were perverted by the maternal-republican Symbolic.<sup>75</sup> In response, *Eikon Basilike* testifies for the king as the text-agent, through which it enters a zone of indistinction: the (h)ontology of the Subject-object. By becoming the literal inhuman mark that speaks for the human in its assumed role of the foreclosed paternal-monarchical big Other, the *Eikon* functioned as a textual spectre—an ego-ideal—that haunted audiences through an eruption of jouissance. This encounter with jouissance testified to the shameful and lingering present-absence of the monarchy, or the void created by *das Ding*.

### **The Royalist Intertextual Sublimation of *Eikon Basilike***

The traumatic loss of the (F)ather prompted royalists to focus upon (re)defining the royalist identity and its corresponding literary genre. Royalist (\$)subjects were symbolically mortified, or made lacking, by the Rump’s foreclosure of the Name-of-the-(F)ather and the supplantation of the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure by a maternal-republican structure. Post-regicidal royalist texts facilitated the royalists’ subversive use of paternal-monarchical

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<sup>75</sup> A point to which I return in detail in the next section, when I discuss Crouch’s 1649 play *New-Market Fayre*.

language, which became a mechanism of (self-) constitution and re-inscription that shaped the imaginary collective royalist ideal-ego. By writing in lamentational modes, such as the elegy, the epitaph, and the polemic, royalist texts became a vital and vitalizing means of (S)ymbolic resistance against republicanism that were instrumental to the post-human resurrection of the monarchy. In her discussion of overcoming trauma through resistance, Ruti has argued that “[i]f, as Lacan suggests, it is trauma’s ‘resistance to signification’ that results in ‘the transfer of powers from the subject to the Other,’ then weaving a robust network of signifiers around the traumatic experience is a way to assert agency. This explains why narrative control is frequently a vital component of the working through of trauma” (*The Singularity of Being* 52). If Ruti is correct about the relationship between agency and trauma, and I believe that she is, then the collective body of royalist literature produced during the Interregnum was a powerful threat to the English republic because these texts were a part of the royalists’ counter-performance to the Rump’s maternal-republican Symbolic structure. Pro-monarchist texts perpetuated imagery and typologies (or signifiers) that presented Charles I as a martyr—the murdered primal (F)ather—and contributed to reinstalling the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure by giving (S)ymbolic power to the paternal metaphor and registering it in the Symbolic field. These texts aided in the sublimation of the *Eikon* as both a text-agent and master signifier. As such, royalist texts, and most notably the king’s book, became the sites and the means of (S)ymbolic resistance as royalists resurrected the monarchy through the author function. In so doing, royalist authors “counter[ed] trauma’s resistance to signification by a heightened determination to wield the signifier” and the texts that they produced functioned as a means of “fighting trauma’s ability to divest them of signifiers so as to prevent ‘the transfer of powers’ that Lacan describes” (Ruti,

*Singularity of Being* 52). In the absence of Charles II, rather than accepting the transfer of monarchical power to Parliament, royalists used their own texts to sublimate Charles's singularity of being into *Eikon Basilike*, thereby helping to constitute the text-agent as a surrogate for the forbidden.

By mythologizing the king as a martyr, royalist authors were positing retroactively the king's own presupposition of his martyrdom—or reflecting the narrative of martyrdom back upon the *Eikon*—through what Žižek identifies as the process of double reflection. However, as Chapter 2 demonstrates, because the presupposition of martyrdom entailed the physical death of Charles-as-Subject, *Eikon Basilike* was unable to emerge as a sublime Subject-object or engage in this discursive process of retroactive positing of its own accord. Stated otherwise, because the physical death of the Subject-author was necessary for the (re)construction of a Subject as a martyr, Charles I was unable to complete the circle of reflection on his own. Instead, this role had to be taken up by the royalist authors and royalist audiences, post-regicide. These authors then used the mythologized narrative of Charles's execution to serve the monarchist cause. For example, in Robert Brown's (1649) sermon, *The Subjects Sorrow*, he states that the regicides “have now indeed made King *Charles* a *Glorious King*, prov'd Him glorious in His Personall virtues, Glorious in His Divine Graces, but most glorious in the *Christian Constancy* of His glorious *sufferings for Gods cause, the true Protestant Religion, and the Lawes and Liberties, of the three Kingdomes*, thus had God extorted a *truth* from them” (29). Here, Brown employs the success of the regicides to argue that, in his suffering and death, the magnitude of Charles's glory and piety renders him more powerful as an *Eikon/icon*. By murdering the king, the regicides incited larger royalist efforts to posit a redemptive narrative of Charles as a martyr. Constructing

this martyr-narrative prompted royalists to reimagine the king retroactively and to sublimate the text-agent to (re)locate the paternal author(ity) and the monarchy in the maternal-republican structure.

Furthermore, royalist authors contributed to the sublimation of the text-agent by utilizing shared figurative language intertextually in the material and textual productivity of their post-regicidal performances. Some authors established the relationship between the king and the *Eikon* overtly, stating explicitly that the *Eikon* facilitated Charles's immortality. In "Several Verses made by Divers Persons upon His Majesties Death, Another" in *Reliquiae Sacrae Carolinae* (1650), the speaker invokes the Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy directly in a passage that is cited often by current scholars of the *Eikon*: "Unvalued CHARLS: Thou art so hard a Text, / Writ in one Age, not understood i'th' next" (353, lines 5-6). Such sentiments are reinforced in Dr. Peter Heylyn's (1658) *A Short View of the Life and Reign of King Charles, from his Birth to his Burial*, wherein he states: "But though he died thus in the strength of his years, he still lives in the memories of all good men, and by that most excellent Portraiture, which he had made of himself, will be preserved alive amongst all nations, and unto all succeeding Ages" (162). While Heylyn can be interpreted as speaking of Charles making the *Eikon* "of himself" literally—that is, that the king is the historical author of the text—one can understand this passage also from a figurative position. In producing a text that bears his name and likeness, Charles instills some of his sublime power into the *Eikon* as the Subject-author-function, thereby sublimating himself and the ideology of monarchism in the text-agent. In a maneuver of double reflection, Heylyn's text acts as a mirror to reflect the Subject-author's sublimation of the *Eikon* back into the text, positing the text-agent retroactively. Another

moment of double reflection takes place later Heylyn's poem: "Though he *died* [...] he *still lives* in the memories of good men" (162; emphasis added). The temporal shift mid-sentence from past tense to the present tense signals how Charles's life continues to be extended in/as the *Eikon* through royalists' acts of loyalty and re-membrance.

The temporal fluidity in Heylyn's text reinforces one of the unique post-human characteristics of the text-agent: it has the capacity to transcend and extend the temporal and corporeal limits of its Subject-author because its very existence depends upon the sublimation of the non-corporeal author function. This atemporality is evident in the ways in which royalist authors envisioned the connections amongst Charles I, the *Eikon*, and death. For example, in "Memoriæ Sacrum Optimi Maximi CAROLI I" (1649), the speaker laments the loss of Charles I, stating:

But Thou, blest Martyr, who hast here laid down,  
And chang'd a Temporal for a *Glorious Crown*;  
Hast finish't Thy great Work, and by th'event,  
Attained more than *they* promis'd, but ne'r meant.  
Rest ROYAL SIR, rest in Your Sacred Hers  
While wee embalm Your Memorie with our Vers,  
And trickling Tears, which shall like Pearls refine  
Your Urn, and serv for Diamonds to your Shrine.  
You need no other Monument, who have  
No less then three whole Kingdoms for Your Grave[.] (qtd. in Withers pp. 46-47)

Within the larger context of this stanza, the "sacred hers" functions as a trope for *Eikon Basilike*: it is the king's final resting place, and royalist authors embalm—or preserve—the king's memory and legacy in the *Eikon* through double reflection in their own writings. A similar view of the king's relationship to the *Eikon* is articulated in "An Elegy, Sacred to the memory of our most



Gracious Sovereigne” (1649). The final six lines of the poem can be interpreted as a thinly veiled allusion to *Eikon Basilike* and the text’s ability to immortalize Charles:

Rest then in *Peace*, the Glory of this *Age*,  
Whose *forced Death* doth direfull *Plagues* presage;  
Wee weep our owne, not any losse of thine,  
That with sad teares doe wash thy Sacred Shrine;  
No strain’d *Hyperboles* adorne thy *Herse*,  
Thy SELF art both a *Monument* and *Verse*. (lines 95-100)

Similar to the speaker of “*Memoriæ Sacrum Optimi Maximi CAROLI I*,” this poem’s speaker uses the hearse metaphor to allude to *Eikon Basilike*, which is implied by the fact that they claim in line 99 that no hyperboles adorn it.<sup>76</sup> In line 100, “SELF,” then, reveals the Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy: Charles is the metaphorical monument and is represented metonymically by his verse.

Furthermore, this metaphor of the *Eikon* as a hearse reveals embedded tensions in the poem through the juxtapositions of stillness and movement, silence and speech, and life and death. On one hand, monuments are silent, unmoving, and they mark the burial sites of the dead. Hearses, on the other hand, are literal vehicles of transition that move a corpse to its final resting place. There is also figurative meaning behind the hearse metaphor: the hearse is a poetic vehicle for the *Eikon* and its tenor is Charles I, who is dead physically and thus unmoving. This tension between movement/stillness and life/death is reflected in the structure of this final stanza. The caesurae in lines 95-99 maintain the movement and momentum of the meter until the

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<sup>76</sup> In an alternative reading, this line was likely also a reference to the unceremonious and largely silent funeral for Charles I. The king was buried in a lead coffin, to which a second strip of lead was soldered that read: “KING CHARLES 1648.” The funeral was in no way hyperbolic or extravagant, as one might have expected of a state funeral during the early modern period. The lack of a proper funerary ceremony contributed to the image of Charles as a martyr.

speaker/audience reaches the final resting place in line 100, denoted by the end-stop and the conclusion of the poem. In the final couplet, the speaker provides reconciliation to the tensions through a dissonant juxtaposition: the king is both a monument and a verse. This interpretation parallels the manifestation of the death drive in the *Eikon*. Charles is dead physically, bodily entombed and unmoving in his sacred shrine, but he is alive also, persisting (S)ymbolically in/as his (h)ontological text-agent. The text-agent functions as a textual monument and shrine that is, paradoxically, capable of movement (there is movement in the lines of the *Eikon* itself as the audience progresses through the king's ideas and explanations, and in the book's ability to move its audiences emotionally). The vehicle and tenor collapse at the end of the poem and reflect the sublimation of Charles's metaphoric-metonymic essence into *Eikon Basilike*: the king is both a frozen monument (an object) and a living verse (a Subject).

In a similar vein, the royalist speaker in *Eikon e Piste* (1649) uses images of the body to construct the Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy in response to the pro-parliamentarian speaker of *Eikon Alethine* (1649): "Hadst thou but done with his [Charles I's] Book, as the Regicides did with his Body, brought it to the bar of Reason, and there arrign'd it of high non-sence, as *Charls Stewart King of England* his Book; though thou hadst as little to say to it, as they to him, and wert as much afraid of his reasons as they of his; yet thou hadst *done bravely*" (*Eikon e Piste* 17). Here the audience encounters two different—though complementary—meanings in the speaker's lament. In the first interpretation, the speaker's facetious proposal to arraign the book "as the Regicides did with his [Charles's] Body," juxtaposes the king's body with the *Eikon* and implies that the book constitutes the other half of the royal identity. In this way, the *Eikon* functions metaphorically, allowing Charles's internal reflections and thoughts (which were silent/silenced

during his trial), to become knowable to the book's audiences. The larger implication is that, during the trial, the regicides were only able to indict half of the king—his corporeal body—because the court never heard Charles speak in his own defense, nor was he permitted to submit his defence in writing. As such, the trial added the “mockery of Justice, to the cruelty of Malice,” as the king notes in *Eikon Basilike* (197). In the second interpretation of this passage, the book displaces Charles when the Name-of-the-(F)ather is invoked to (re)name the text: “*Charls Stewart King of England his Book.*” Here, the speaker in *e Piste* (re)names the metonymy, replacing Charles as a person (the Subject) with the king's book (the object) via this new title. By renaming the text, the speaker flattens the ontology between the man and the book, articulating instead the birth of the king's second body/incarnation: the text-agent, which replaces the corporeal body. This literary christening allows the speaker to perform the double function of positing the king as a martyr retroactively while sublimating the *Eikon* with the king's metaphoric-metonymic essence to lend the book its thing-power and singularity. These dual interpretations of the passage allow the audience to discern a tension between the metonymy (the *Eikon* substitutes as an agent for Charles) and the metaphor (the *Eikon* is Charles) that reflects the king's liminal position between the two deaths. Further, the duality of meaning reinforces the dualistic nature of the relationship between Charles and the *Eikon*: the book is both the king's metaphor and his metonymy. Both interpretations of this passage highlight to the audience that it is only after the king's death and by reading *Eikon Basilike* that the true portraiture of Charles Stuart emerges for audiences and that the king continues to live on in the metaphor-metonymy.

The *Eikon*'s metaphoric-metonymic slippage is evidenced later in *e Piste* through the speaker's use of body and death imagery. The speaker claims that the author of *Eikonoklastes* (Milton) has erected a strawman fallacy by misrepresenting the king's sentiments in *Eikon Basilike*:

He [Milton] brings in the Book, affirming that the Kings Subjects, *could not so much as pretend to lay faster hold on their Religion, but by shaking hands with their allegiance:* whereas the Kings Book saies only, that *it cannot be safe for a King to tarry amongst them, who are shaking hands with their allegiance, under pretence of laying faster hold on their Religion:* is it not enough for you to cut off the Books head, but you must joynt the bones? (36)

Again, we encounter two potential interpretations of a single passage: the "Books head" refers to its Subject-author, Charles I, literally losing his head; however, the question can be interpreted also from a figurative position if we understand *head* as a reference to Charles as the head of the church of England and the body politic. Certainly, the attempts by (pro-) parliamentary authors to censor the *Eikon* and to invalidate Charles Stuart as the Subject-author (S)ymbolically can be interpreted as an attempt to remove the figurative head from the text, church, and country. Thus, (pro-) parliamentary efforts to negate and censor Charles's book constituted a second (textual) execution of the king through the (S)ymbolic invalidation of the *Eikon*. In both interpretations of this passage, the speaker in *e Piste* laments the unjust attempts of (pro-) parliamentarians to suppress and lampoon the *Eikon* while decrying their (post)humorous mistreatment of Charles I and *Eikon Basilike*. The anamorphic and ambiguous nature of *Eikon Basilike* allowed royalist texts, such as "An Elegy Upon the most Incomparable K. Charles the First" and *Eikon e Piste*, to contribute to the sublimation of the text-agent and facilitate the king's resurrection in and as the (S)ymbolic text-agent. By articulating the metaphoric-metonymic relationship between the

martyred king and *Eikon Basilike*, royalists demonstrated the nature of the text-agent's power before English audiences and empowered the text-agent to re-introduce the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure by invoking the the literal and Lacanian Name-of-the-(F)ather.

The use of metaphor-metonymy to position the *Eikon* as a signifier of the king's (S)ymbolic immortality occurs also in *The Life and Death of King Charles the Martyr, Parallel'd with our Saviour in all his Sufferings* (1649). The speaker, claiming to be at a loss for words in the wake of the regicide, defers to *Eikon Basilike* to speak for the king. The speaker states: “[a]nd therefore, as *Apelles* did, so will I, draw a veil over that which I am not able to express; and leave to all men to judge what he was, by his *Divine Meditations*; That Book, or Golden Manuall, will tell you what we have lost, having no superiour on earth” (3). In this passage, the speaker contributes to the construction of the *Eikon* as a text-agent by positioning it as a metonymy for Charles I. The speaker articulates the post-regicide void—“what we have lost,” or *das Ding*—which the *Eikon* fills temporarily. *Eikon Basilike* functions as the paternal voice of the king, speaking as/for Charles until his rightful successor, Charles II, can reclaim the throne. However, there is valuable meaning located in the ambiguity of the final dependent clause. By stating that the *Eikon* has “no superiour on earth,” the speaker implies that the king's book represents its author(ity) *par excellence* and exalts it as a metaphor for the king. The *Eikon* becomes an expert witness that enables Charles to testify posthumously in the court of public opinion by speaking as and for the dead king. Thus, the *Eikon*—as a sublimated representation/representative of Charles I—had “no superiour on earth” during the Interregnum because it wielded the paternal-monarchical authority as/for Charles I.

Another rhetorical strategy that the royalist authors employed to posit the king as a martyr was to challenge the Symbolic finitude of his death by invoking the Name-of-the-(F)ather in conjunction with metaphors of transcendence and eternal life. In Henry King's (1649) "An Elegy Upon the most Incomparable K. Charles the First," the speaker positions the *Eikon* as a metaphor-metonymy for the martyred king:

Beyond these mournful Rites there is no Art  
 Or Cost can *Thee* preserve. Thy better Part  
 Lives in despite of Death, and will endure  
 Kept safe in Thy unpattern'd *Portraicture*:  
 Which though in Paper drawn by thine own Hand,  
 Shall longer than *Corinthian-Marble* stand,  
 Or Iron Sculptures: There Thy matchless Pen  
 Speaks Thee the BEST OF KINGS AS BEST OF MEN:  
 Be this Thy *Epitaph*: for This alone  
 Deserves to carry Thy Inscription. (18-19; emphasis bolded)

In this passage, Charles is both king and man, conflated in/as the *Eikon* through a series of metaphoric-metonymic substitutions in the signifying chain: the metaphor of Charles's pen is a metonymy for *Eikon Basilike*, which is a metonymy for Charles. Further, the speaker claims that the image of the king shall last longer in the royalist collective's imagination than it will in marble or iron monuments, despite the *Eikon* having been printed on paper which, like the body, is subject to decomposition and decay. In other words, while paper, marble, and iron can be destroyed physically, the idea of Charles as a martyr and the ideology of monarchism cannot. In this sense, the object (the *Eikon* as a metaphorical monument) is distinct from Charles/*Eikon Basilike* as a metonymic Subject. The speaker sends a clear message: while the Rump can do its best to obliterate material copies of the king's book, their attempts to censor and expunge the

*Eikon* from the English textual landscape grants the text-agent more (S)ymbolic weight and contributes to the narrative imaginings of Charles's resurrection by positivizing the negativity.

However, if we examine the lines of the previous passage more closely, we can see how these two textual (h)ontologies of Charles—the *Eikon* as a sublimated metaphor and the metonymy—are working together to create additional meaning in the interjection between the first two colons in this passage. While the metaphoric essence and the metonymic essence of the king can and do function independently and distinctly from each other, there is sometimes an apposition or conflation of these textual (h)ontologies in royalist conceptualizations of the *Eikon*. The colons allow us to locate the king's metaphoric essence as the speaker uses metaphor-metonymy to sublimate the king's singularity back into the text-agent through double reflection. Through the comparisons to stone columns and iron sculptures, the Charles/*Eikon* sublimated metonymy becomes metaphorically an erect phallic monument, which in turn metaphorically and metonymically becomes "Thy matchless pen" that "speaks Thee the BEST OF KINGS AS BEST OF MEN." The monument is the pen metaphorically, but it is also displaced by the pen, becoming the place ("There") upon which the pen writes. The metaphorical and metonymic sliding here completes a cycle that rejoins the two figures in the sublime figure designated as "unpattern'd Portraiture" before the colon and "BEST OF KINGS AS BEST OF MEN" after it. This cycle makes the *Eikon* a generically *sui generis* and ontologically singular text-agent that carries Charles's self-inscribed image out of the zone between two deaths and into the historicity of the royalist reading public's memory.\* The singularity of the king is highlighted by the fact that his hand—which still exists technically, though it is no longer animated—serves the productive role of transferring the phallus to *Eikon Basilike*. In so doing, the king's metaphoric-

metonymic essences are sublimated into his book and used to destabilize the finality of the king's death through the juxtaposition of his animated drive energies in the *Eikon* with his inert, rigid body.

Charles's pen/pencil was invoked often in royalist literature as a phallic image of his sublime power. Royalist authors then used this image to articulate and validate their investiture of (S)ymbolic power and singularity in the *Eikon* through (S)ymbolic representations of essence. In "Another more at large" from Somner's (1650) *The Frontispice of the Kings Book opened*, the speaker breaks the fourth wall and addresses the reader/audience directly:

Did'st thou not know him, Reader? then looke hence:  
 Here that at hand will cure thy ignorance:  
 His Picture by his owne rare Pencill ca'ne;  
 None ever by Apelles better drawne:  
 His *Golden Manual*, so divine, so rare,  
 As, save God's booke, admits of no compare.  
 The Booke of Bookes, so choice (one word for all)  
 As e're the Christian world was blest withall. (3-4)

In this stanza, the *Eikon* is the "Booke of Bookes"—an anaphor that positions the Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy in parallel to Christ, the "King of Kings." However, the speaker demonstrates that the *Eikon* is a text that exceeds its own textuality: it is the *Booke of Bookes* and a metaphor-metonymy that compares and replaces Charles I as the King of Kings, or as one title for all. The anaphor is an expression of royalists' desire for the lost (F)ather and the paternal-monarchical structure, wherein Charles is portrayed as a Christ-like figure in his (re)presentation of himself in *Eikon Basilike* and by royalists in their own texts<sup>77</sup> through double reflection.

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<sup>77</sup> See Andrew Lacey's *The Cult of King Charles the Martyr*, specifically Chapter 4, for a robust discussion of this topic.



Further, the poem contributes to the construction of the *Eikon* as a metaphoric-metonymic proxy for the king by observing that *Eikon Basilike*, written by Charles's own hand using his pen-*qua*-phallus, has the power to "cure thy ignorance." According to the speaker, the king's book—a product and metaphorical extension of Charles's own hand—is instilled with the power to cure ignorance, much as kings were believed to possess the power to cure the ill through the royal touch (a form of laying on of hands).<sup>78</sup> The speaker alludes to the *Eikon*'s thing-power, which allows the book to substitute for Charles I and cure ignorance by speaking as an expert witness for the monarchy *in absentia* in the textually constructed court of public opinion.

To extend this argument, the speaker in John Birkenhead's (1649) "Loyalties Teares" observes that Charles's pen was able to stand in place of his impotent sword in the king's posthumous battle against Parliament:

What though's betrayed *Sword* appear'd too weak  
 To vindicate his Honour? yet his *Pen*  
 Doth all the *Rebels* proudest Conquests break;  
 And oh how much more than his *Britain* win!  
     For all the *world* now bowes down to look  
     Of his illustrious most triumphant *Book*. (4)

In this passage, the king's pen replaces his sword (both the sword of battle and the sword of state) in a phallic extension or a re-erection of the monarchy's power. This rhetorical strategy affirms the king in the author function through the speaker's use of the present tense ("yet his Pen / Doth all the *Rebels* proudest Conquests break"). The speaker encourages the audience to imagine Charles's pen and text as having active thing-power to combat (pro-) parliamentarians in the form of *Eikon Basilike*. This same reproductive power is attributed to the pen-*qua*-phallus in

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<sup>78</sup> I thank Dr. Leah Knight for this observation.

“An Elegie upon the Death of Our Dread Sovereign Lord King Charles the Martyr” (1649), wherein the speaker addresses the dead king:

Dread SIR! What shall wee saie? *Hyperbole*  
 Is not a Figure, when it speak's [*sic*] of *Thee*:  
 Thy *Book*, is our best Language; what to this  
 Shall e're bee added, is Thy *Meiösis*:  
 Thy *Name's* a *Text* too hard for us: no men  
 Can write of it, without *Thy Parts* and *Pen*. (lines 13-18)

In this instance, the speaker claims that Charles and his name are inarticulable (the literal Name-of-the-(F)ather is absent notably, an argument to which I return in Chapter 4). As such, the speaker and royalists must rely upon the *Eikon* as the best source of testimony for the king as it speaks metonymically for Charles and metaphorically as Charles. As a textual offspring of the king (being the sum of Charles's parts and pen, coming together to produce the text), the *Eikon* is positioned as a textual heir-apparent with a fiduciary duty to serve as a witness for the king.

Similarly, in *A Short View of the Life and Reign of King Charles, from his Birth to his Burial*, Heylyn expresses an analogous sentiment to the aforementioned texts regarding the reproductive power of Charles's pen:

*The Pourtraiture of King Charles in his Solitudes and Sufferings*, will be a Character of his Parts and Piety beyond all expressions but his own; a Monument of richer metall than all the Tombs of Brasse or Marble erected to the honour of his Predecessors, which no Inscription whatsoever, though in Letter of Gold, and engraven with a pen of Diamonds, can be able to parallel. (162-163)

First, Heylyn echoes earlier royalist representations of *Eikon Basilike* as Charles's textual offspring, the product of his corporeal body (his image) and his thoughts (his expressions) coming together in textual performance. Further, by identifying the *Eikon* as a “character of his [Charles's] parts and piety,” being so constructed by a “pen of diamonds,” the durability of the

erect monarchical phallus is showcased through the hardness of diamonds, encouraging royalists to view the *Eikon* as having been sublimated as an enduring source of the reproductive paternal author(ity).<sup>\*</sup> Heylyn's assertion that Charles's pen is made of diamond underscores the durability of the king's words, situating Charles's book as a tangible and enduring site at/in which monarchists may mourn, memorialize, and mythologize the martyr king.

Yet another strategy that royalists used to reinforce the Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy was imagery of Charles's soul as transcendent. The use of soul imagery to sublimate the *Eikon* aligns with Kantorowicz's argument about the king's two bodies, wherein he has demonstrated that the connection between the king and soul was powerful in both religious and political contexts:

This migration of the 'Soul,' that is, of the immortal part of kingship from one incarnation to another as expressed by the concept of the king's demise is certainly one of the essentials of the whole theory of the King's Two Bodies [...] Interesting, however, is the fact that this 'incarnation' of the body politic in a king of flesh not only does away with the human imperfections of the body natural, but conveys 'immortality' to the individual king as King, that is, with regard to his superbody. (13)

Kantorowicz's work affords additional insight into how *Eikon Basilike* was able to become a surrogate for the king's soul and achieve immortality as a superbody or text-agent. Charles's singularity of being, or what the royalists were calling Charles's soul, was reincarnated textually into the *Eikon* through the (S)ymbolic use of sublimated metaphoric and metonymic essences, which gave the book its vitality and thing-power as a text-agent. In support of this argument, we can turn to *The Subjects Sorrow*, in which Brown uses such a rhetorical maneuver to articulate how Charles's singularity of being registers in the *Eikon*:

His writings present unto us the heavenly pourtraicture of his divine, large, and grasping Soule [...] [T]hat Book is the quintessence of knowing zeale, the store-house of the ripe

and choice fruits of Christian piety [...] [T]here is the true Princely Image of King *Charles*, that *Golden Manuall*, being a stately building of Meditations, Consultations, Essayes, Debates, and Devotions [...] that it shews his Body was the *Temple of the Holy Ghost*, that there was no corner or vacuity in his great and glorious Soul. (23)

Brown suggests that the *Eikon* is a vessel of knowledge and a manual of paternal authority for audiences. The king's book is regarded as a source of truth, or as a truth-event, that offers audiences privileged access to Charles's soul as a metaphor-metonymy: the text is a storehouse for Charles I's singularity or soul. Similarly, in Henry Leslie's (1649) *The Martyrdome of King Charles*, the speaker articulates the Charles/*Eikon* metaphor through soul imagery as they condemn the (pro-) parliamentarians:

[T]hese Jewes [have] raged against his Majesties Book, the issue of his divine soul, and laboured by all means to suppress it; but they can no more obscure his glory that shineth in that book, then they can obscure the sun in the firmament: Finally they are more malicious than the Jews, because they committed this parecidem more directly against their knowledge and conscience[.] (28).

The speaker states that the king's book was the issue (or creation) of Charles's soul, positioning the book as a metaphorical offspring that represents the king metonymically, both replacing Charles and speaking for him simultaneously. The speaker reinforces the paternal author(ity) of the king's book by invoking the imagery of the primary horde through references to "parecide" and the Jewish deicide, which draws parallels between the betrayal of Charles and Christ.<sup>79</sup> We see similar soul imagery invoked also in "Loyalties Tears" when the speaker acknowledges the sublimation of the king's soul/singularity into the *Eikon*:

That *Booke*, on which *astonishment* must dwell  
For evermore: whilst every Reader there  
Beholds what miracles of worth did swell

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<sup>79</sup> *KJV Bible*, Matthew 27.24-25.

**The Authors Soule.** Nor shall his *Murderers* dare  
 (Though bloody malice at his life repines)  
 Not to admire and love Him in his *lines*. (4; emphasis bolded)

Here, the speaker draws an explicit connection between the Subject-author's soul and the *Eikon* by joining the two together via the colon in the second line of the passage. As we can see in all three texts, the king's book is identified as a metaphor-metonymy for Charles I that performs a (S)ymbolic resurrection of the Charles-the-(F)ather by sublimating the author function with the paternal author(ity).

To synthesize this discussion of how royalists sublimated the king's book through their own texts, there are two additional royalist poems that exhibit the various strategies of textual sublimation that I have illustrated above: F. N. G.'s (1649) "Upon His Sacred Majesty's incomparable *Eikon Basilike!*"<sup>80</sup> and "The second anniversary on Charls the First, 1658," which was published in Thomas Forde's (1660) *Virtus Rediviva*. It is helpful to review these poems at length to trace the authors' rhetorical maneuvers and arguments. I begin with an analysis of F.N.G.'s text, which is both short and significant enough to present in most of its entirety:

*Dread Sir!*  
 Couldst thou before thy death have *giv'n*, what we  
 Might *ask*, **Thy Book had been the Legacy.**  
**Thy Will can make but Heirs of Monarchy;**  
 5 **But This doth make each man an Heir of Thee.**  
**Blest Soul! Thou art now mounted up on High,**  
**Beyond our Reach, yet not above our Eye.**  
**Lo here Thy other-Self:** Thus Thou canst be  
 In Heav'n and Earth, without *Ubiquity*.  
 10 Like This Thou hast no *Picture*: So Divine,

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<sup>80</sup> As Daems and Nelson observe, this poem is in the prefatory matter of the twenty-second edition of *Eikon Basilike* (215). As such, this poem would have served exegetically to instruct future audiences on how to interpret the king's book. The author of this poem is still unknown.

Might any *Image* be ador'd, 'twere *Thine*.  
 So curious is this Work; 'tis easily known,  
**'Twas drawn by no man's Pencil, but Thine own.**  
 None could express a *King*, but Thou: We see,  
 15 Men cannot, *Gods* may limn a *Deity*.  
 The *Style* betrays a *King*, the *Art* a *Man*,  
 The high *Devotion* speaks a *Christian*.  
 These meet in CHARLES alone; but *He*, there's none  
 So fully *All*, as if He were but *One*:  
 .....  
 26 **They that would know thy Parts, must read Thee:** Look,  
 You'll find each *Line* a *Page*, each *Page* a *Book*:  
 Each *Comma* is so full, each *Colon* good,  
 'Tis Pity, death did put a *Period*.  
 30 Great *Tully* had been silenc'd amongst men,  
**Had but Thy Tongue been equal to Thy Pen:**  
 But this *Defect* doth prove Thy skill more choice,  
**That makes the Echo sweeter than the voice:**  
 Our *Bodley's* shelves will now be full; No man  
 35 Will want more Books; This one's a *Vatican*.<sup>81</sup>  
**Yet 'tis but CHARLES contracted: Since His fall**  
**Heav'n hath the Volume, Earth the Manual.** (qtd. in Daems and Nelson 215-216,  
 emphasis bolded)

Here, the speaker reconciles the tension of Charles having presence on Earth and in heaven simultaneously through the Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy. According to the speaker, the king can exist in both places because the book is his "other self," or the (re)productive offspring of his own pencil that is capable of both metaphorically being and metonymically representing Charles. Like the speakers in many other royalist poems during this time, this speaker suggests that if one desires to know Charles Stuart truly, then one should turn to his *Eikon* as a metaphorical (re)embodiment and a metonymic representative of Charles as a Christian, king, martyr, husband, and (F)ather. The speaker positions the *Eikon* as the vehicle in a metaphor that

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<sup>81</sup> "Used with reference to the artistic or literary treasures preserved here; the Vatican galleries or library" ("Vatican, n.1, def. 1b).

enables Charles to be present in all of these capacities, or parts, posthumously: “They that would know thy Parts, must read *Thee*: Look, / You’ll find each *Line* a *Page*, each *Page* a *Book*” (lines 26-27). Here, the signifieds slide beneath the signifier as the book is personified as *thee*.

Moreover, according to the speaker, the king’s book has a type of thing-power, which can make each royalist an heir of Charles I: “Thy *Book* had been the *Legacy*. / Thy *Will* can make but *Heirs* of *Monarchy*; / But This doth make each man an Heir of *Thee*” (lines 3-5). By situating the *Eikon* as both the surrogate for the forbidden and as the metaphoric-metonymic (h)ontology of the (F)ather who was killed by the primal horde, the poem reiterates the (S)ymbolic legacy of the monarchy. The speaker fantasizes that *Eikon Basilike* is a legacy left by the king for both his biological children and for his English (\$)subjects, his figurative children. F.N.G.’s poem affords audiences of the *Eikon* an opportunity to imagine a personal relationship with the Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy via the text-agent as a surrogate for the (F)ather and master signifier for the paternal-monarchical (S)ymbolic author(ity). Interestingly, the speaker suggests also that the *Eikon* is more effective at speaking for Charles than the man himself, lamenting that “had but Thy *Tongue* been equal to Thy *Pen*: / But this *Defect* doth prove Thy skill more choice, / That makes the *Echo* sweeter than the *voice*” (lines 31-33). The speaker claims that the echo of Charles I, *Eikon Basilike*, is “sweeter than the voice” of the (F)ather. Given the life-long stutter with which Charles was afflicted, the speaker’s meaning is quite clear in this excerpt: the king was better at communicating in writing than he was at communicating orally. However, we can interpret this passage also as an expression of how thing-power and singularity in the *Eikon* were influencing royalist audiences. The king’s pen, which is a metonymy for his book, is given an

active role in (re)presenting the king to his people by glorifying and enshrining the monarchical legacy and the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure before the children of England.

The speaker in “The second anniversary on Charls the First, 1658” uses similar rhetorical techniques as the speaker in F.N.G.’s text:

The year’s return’d, and with the year my task,  
 Which to perform no other aid I ask,  
 No Muse invoke, but what my grief affords,  
 Grief that would fill a dumb mans mouth with words.  
 5 A King’s my subject, and a King whose name  
 Alone, speaks more than all the tongues of fame.  
*Charls*, good as great, whose virtues were his crimes,  
 The best of men duell’d the worst of times.  
 .....  
 Thou [Charles] art all wonder, and thy brighter Story,  
 Of former ages; all their Worthies, now  
 (By thee out-done) do blush, and wonder how  
 25 They lost the day, beclouded with a night  
 Of silence, rising from thy greater light.  
 Their mortal deeds are of too faint a dye,  
 If once compared with thy piety.  
 Be dumb ye lying Legends, here’s a Reign,  
 30 Full of more miracles than ye can feign.  
 Here is a saint, more great, more true than e’re  
 Came from the triple crown, or holy chair.  
 We need no farther for Example look,  
**Than unto thee, thou art the onely book;**  
 35 **Thou art the best of Texts**, hereafter we  
 Expect no more, but Comments upon thee:  
**Thou art the great Original, and he**  
**Who will be famous now, must transcribe thee;**  
 Spight of the Sword and Axe, you found a way  
 40 To win the field, although you lost the day.  
**In thy rare Portraicture thou livest still,**  
 And triumphant more by **thine all-conquering quill;**  
 There shalt thou reign, **and as immortal be,**  
 As was the malice of thine enemy.  
 45 Thou hast out-witted all thy foes, **and by**  
**Thy Book thou gain’st the greatest victory.**  
 That hath enlarg’d thine Empire, and all men



Stoop to the Scepter of **thy Royal Pen**. (qtd. in Forde lines 1-8, 22-48; emphasis bolded)

In the beginning of this passage, the speaker claims that Charles is his subject and addressee, though at line 34 a shift is discernible. The speaker, though still addressing Charles, includes his narrative, *Eikon Basilike*: “Than unto thee, thou art the onely book; / Thou art the best of Texts, hereafter we / Expect no more, but Comments upon thee:” (lines 34-36). The speaker then personifies the *Eikon*, referring to it not as an object (or *it*), but as a living Subject through personal pronouns in lines 33-36. This use of personal pronouns allows the audience to observe the metaphoric-metonymic substitution taking place in the subsequent lines of the poem. The king is the speaker’s original subject, but the *Eikon* is positioned by the speaker as a metaphor-metonymy for Charles that transcends the physical limits of death to take up the battle for the king. The *Eikon*, speaking and working for Charles as a metaphor-metonymy, emerges as the king’s posthumous champion: “and by / Thy Book thou gain’st the greatest victory.” The signifieds (*Charles* and *Eikon Basilike*) slide beneath the signifiers *thou*, *thy*, and *thee* within the larger passage, thereby merging while also distinguishing the two as a metaphor-metonymy. Moreover, the speaker invokes quill/pen imagery to suggest that the royal pen (re)produced this second metaphorical textual body and metonymic representative for Charles I in lines 41-44. The speaker implies that the king’s metaphor-metonymy contributes to Charles’s immortality through textual sublimation. Significant in this passage is the speaker’s reverence for the iconographic *Eikon Basilike* as a textual agent that obtained a larger (S)ymbolic victory in/through Charles’s physical death. The speaker claims that the king continues to live on triumphantly in/through his writing, and that the *Eikon* grants him immortality. As a member of

the image-doting rabble, the speaker continues to proclaim boldly in an act of *méconnaissance* that all men should bow to “the Scepter of thy Royal Pen,” registering the monarchical power and paternal author(ity) that have been sublimated into the *Eikon*.

By writing about *Eikon Basilike*, royalist authors were, to borrow from Žižek, converting that which had “fallen out”—the monarchy—during the Real act of regicide into a Symbolic field: the sublime Subject-object of a of monarchical ideology. The many indirect titular references to the king’s book that are littered throughout royalist texts (golden manual, king’s book, thy book, royal portraiture, &c.), *Eikon Basilike* (a *Vorstellung*) registers Charles Stuart as the *Vorstellungsrepräsentanz*, which occurs when

[t]he field of representation (*Vorstellung*) is the field of what is positively depicted, but the problem is that everything cannot be depicted. Something must necessarily fall out [...] and the title takes the place of this void, of the missing, ‘originally repressed’ representation: its exclusion functions as a positive condition for the emergence of what is being depicted [...] the signifier [... is] the substitute filling out the void of some originally missing representation: it does not bring to mind any representation, it represents its *lack* [...] the *Vorstellungsrepräsentanz* (the pure, reflexive signifier incarnating the lack itself) fills out the void of the lost object. (Žižek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology* 179-180)

Here, Žižek discusses the *Vorstellungsrepräsentanz* as a phenomenon that occurs when attempts to articulate or represent something in the (S)ymbolic field inevitably fail. What Symbolic language fails to capture becomes itself a positivization. We might liken the process of the *Vorstellungsrepräsentanz* to detecting a major plot hole or lacuna in a film: something has fallen out of the film’s narrative and is left on the cutting room floor because not everything about the narrative can be depicted in the Symbolic field of the film (the *Vorstellung*). Thus, detecting a plot hole (the *Vorstellungsrepräsentanz*) is to positivize the negativity of what is missing or lost: footage from the film that lends narrative cohesion within the Symbolic. In the case of *Eikon*

*Basilike*, the text and its title take the place of the king through metaphoric-metonymic substitutions and, in its positivity, the text-agent converts and (re)presents the death drive as a conscious desire for Charles I and the monarchy. The text-agent functions as a metaphor and master signifier for the monarchy, filling out the void of the lost Subject incompletely. By understanding how the royalists' rhetorical techniques and textual performances facilitated the renaming of *Eikon Basilike*, scholars can comprehend better how the king's book was an instant best-seller that made Charles I more popular and relatable in death than he was in life. The royalist collective sublimated *Eikon Basilike* (the *Vorstellung*) as something more than a fetishized commodity: they converted the Subject-object (the *Vorstellungsrepräsentanz*) into a historical truth-event through the *méconnaissance* of the text-agent, which solicited fealty to the monarchical cause and the Stuart line.

To sustain the cultural phenomenon and sensationalism of *Eikon Basilike* as both a fetishized commodity and as a truth-event, royalist printers employed different strategies to both objectify and contribute to the sublimation of the king's text-agent by driving demand for further consumption of the king's book. As Karl Marx (1867) argues in *Capital Volume I*, a commodity's value "does not have its description branded on its forehead; it rather transforms every product of labour into a social hieroglyphic. Later on, men try to decipher the hieroglyphic, to get behind the secret of their own social product: for the characteristic which objects of utility have of being values is as much men's social product as is their language" (167). To maintain the *Eikon's* relevancy and social/commodity value in the royalist textual public, many different editions of the book were printed. For example, some were printed in different sizes (including miniatures), and some had different addendums and paratextual

materials, such as the *Prayers* and additional writings of the king. In his discussion of *Eikon Basilike* and sacramental reading, Vitale observes that printers rushed to produce many volumes of the king's book, which were often defective in terms of printing and paper quality, to satisfy the "urgent and widespread demand" of a mass audience. Furthermore, notes Vitale, "[a]s critical consensus rightly shows, the book fed a massive, gut-level need for some kind of devotional guide in the midst of an unheard of crisis in England" (212-213). In some of the more expensive editions (such as Nos. 22-24, Nos. 31-35, and No. 63 in Madan's bibliography), red ink was used on the title page to symbolize the *Eikon* having been written in Charles's metaphorical blood (see fig. 11 and fig. 12).<sup>82</sup> Other editorial changes repackaged the king and his text in different ways, such as abridging the *Eikon* into shorter editions and restructuring content from the *Eikon* into prayer, verse, prose, and lyric. These sorts of revisions—coupled with the secrecy in which the book was printed, sold, and often encountered—contributed to the mysticism, mythologization, and fetishization of the *Eikon* as both a commodity and as a textual truth-event in history.

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<sup>82</sup> See Vitale's "'Read it o're and o're: *Eikon Basilike* and Sacramental Reading in the Seventeenth Century" for a discussion of the red ink on title pages of *Eikon Basilike*, including the religious parallels and the symbolization of ink as blood.



Fig. 11. Title pages of *Eikon Basilike* from editions No. 22 and No. 24 in Madan's bibliography. Red ink was used to symbolize the king's blood.



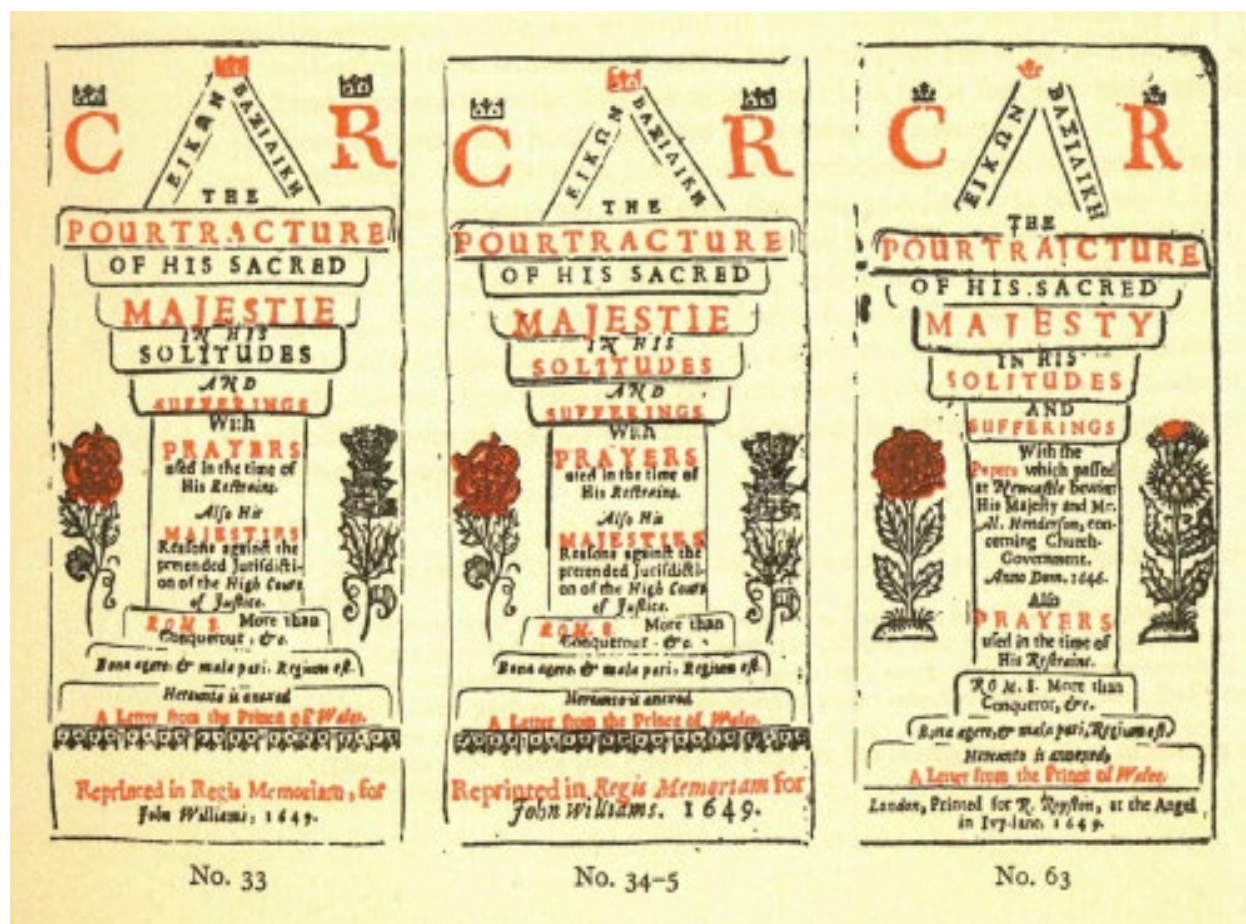


Fig. 12. Title pages of *Eikon Basilike* from editions Nos. 33-35 and No. 63 in Madan's bibliography.

However, as a text-agent, the *Eikon* functioned at a more complicated register than a fetishized commodity because, to circle back to Freud, it was also a totem. We recall that a totem is a representation of the murdered (F)ather—or in this case in particular, Fathers, both Charles and God—at the hands of radicals within the internally divided primal horde. Freud's theorization of the primal horde is worth quoting here at length because of its resonance with both the theory of the text-agent and the case study of Charles I:

This violent primal father had surely been the envied and feared model for each of the brothers. Now they accomplished their identification with him by devouring him and each acquired a part of his strength. The **totem feast**, which is perhaps mankind's first celebration, **would be the repetition and commemoration of this memorable, criminal act** with which so many things began, social organization, moral restrictions and religion [...] The situation created by the removal of the father contained an element which in the course of time must have brought about an extraordinary increase of longing for the father. For the brothers who had joined forces to kill the father had each been animated by the wish to become like the father and had given expression to this wish by incorporating parts of the substitute for him in the totem feast. In consequence of the pressure which the bonds of the brother clan exercised upon each member, this wish had to remain unfulfilled. No one could or was allowed to attain the father's perfection of power, which was the thing they had all sought [...] **The surrogate was perhaps used in the attempt to assuage the burning sense of guilt, and to bring about a kind of reconciliation with the father [...]** **The deification of the murdered father from whom the tribe now derived its origin, was a much more serious attempt at expiation than the former covenant with the totem.** (*Totem and Taboo* 234, 244, 238, 245; emphasis added)

To adapt Freud's theory in relation to *Eikon Basilike*, every time that audiences engaged with the *Eikon*, they were partaking in the ritual of the totem feast through their consumption of the Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy in/as a text. In other words, audiences were both consumers of and participants in the ritualist consumption of the metaphoric-metonymic totem through the acts of purchasing and/or engaging with the king's work. As a surrogate, the *Eikon* both perpetuated and assuaged guilt in its audiences by enabling the divided primal horde to internalize and reflect upon (or digest) the paternal no in different ways. This dialectical tension accounts for how and why the *Eikon* generated what were often polarized responses amongst audiences and yet was able still to achieve such profound popularity. Amongst royalists and sympathizers to the monarchy, *Eikon Basilike* contributed to the deification of the murdered (F)ather and, through the repetitive consumption of the totem. The performance of remembering

the king's dismembered body led to the act of dismembering the king's (re)membered body.\*

To quote the author of *The Princely Pellican*:

As in the choise of our *Acquaintance*, so in our approvement of *Bookes*; Such we are to receive into our bosome, as by our familiar intertainment of them, and conference with them, we may become bettered; but in no particular depraved or corrupted by them. This it was which moved that Learned, but unfortunat States man, to distinguish Books by these three Notions: some [books] were to be *swallowed*, some *eaten*, others *chawed*<sup>83</sup> [...] All of which in this Singular work of *Meditation [Eikon Basilike]*, and pious Devotion any disinterested judgement shall easily finde" (23).

By reading, viewing, singing, or hearing the (F)ather's words and voice in *Eikon Basilike*, audiences engaged in a perverse form of figurative cannibalism by consuming Charles Stuart. Eating the totem meal (the text-agent) conflated acts of consumerism, consumption—and even Catholic communion—by making audiences complicit in Charles's murder by partaking in the ritual of textual performance. Even (pro-) parliamentary audiences would consume the totem and participate in the cannibalization of the (F)ather in their attempts to decipher *Eikon Basilike* and, to use Žižek's analogy, to demonstrate that there was nothing behind the curtain.

In fact, Žižek's analogy of a curtain is highly apt in this scenario. The metaphor of a curtain was invoked in response to the *Eikon's* authorship debate in the frontispieces of both *Eikon Alethine* and *Eikon e Piste* (see fig. 13 and fig. 14). In the context of England's print-war, the identity of *Eikon Basilike's* historical author was, paradoxically, of the utmost importance and yet not important at all. For royalists, the truth that the king was the sole author of the

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<sup>83</sup> Here, the speaker is misquoting Francis Bacon's essay "Of Studies" (1598): "some books are to bee tasted, others to bee swallowed, and some few to bee chewed and digested. That is, some bookes are to be read onely in partes; others to be read, but cursorily; and some fewe to bee read wholly, and with diligence and attention. Reading maketh a ful man, conference a ready man, and writing an exact man" (qtd. in *The Essays or Counsels Civil and Moral of Francis Bacon* 1). Thank you to Leah Knight for bringing this connection to my attention.



*Eikon*—that Charles I was the man behind the curtain—meant that the book could speak as/for Charles. Thus, royalists sublimated the image of the (F)ather as a text-agent to reinstall partially the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure and maintain a negative space for the restoration of the monarchy. The affixation of the king's name to the text as the historical-Subject-author through the author function highlighted the book's paternal author(ity) and lent it gravitas amongst royalist audiences. The (S)ymbolic weight of the Name-of-the-Father made reading or engaging with the *Eikon* a sublime act that led audiences to turn to it as a surrogate ego-ideal. However, as historical hindsight has demonstrated, the historical author's identity was at the same time completely irrelevant: we know now that John Gauden was most likely a historical author and that he compiled and edited Charles's papers and arranged for them to be printed and sold on the king's behalf. Thus, it was not Charles as the sole historical author that empowered the *Eikon* as a text-agent. Rather, it was Charles as the Subject-author-function—or the post-regicide (con)textual narrative put forth by the royalists—and the creation myth of *Eikon Basilike* as Charles's textual resurrection which gave the king/book its (S)ymbolic power as a text-agent.

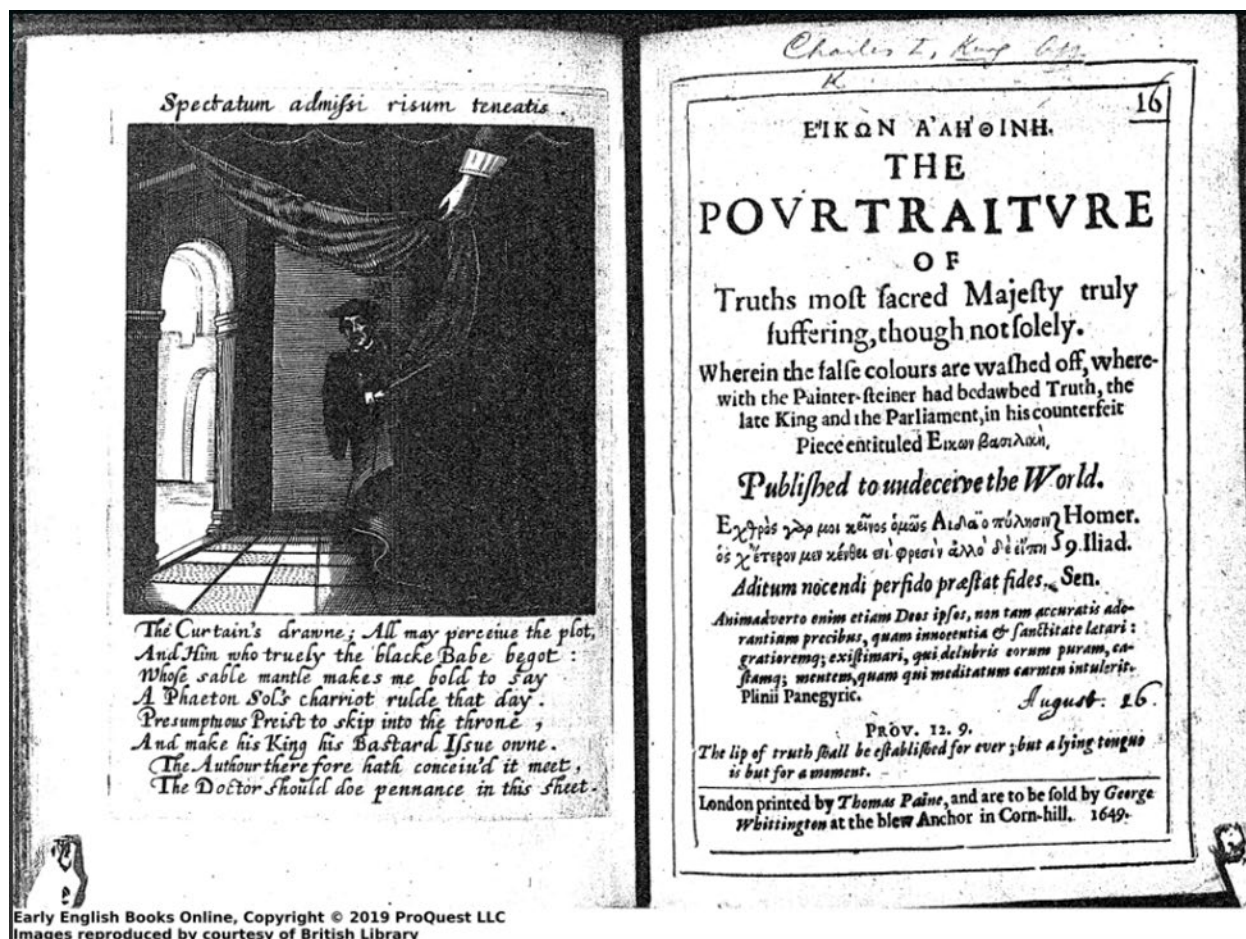


Fig. 13. The frontispiece of the pro-parliamentarian polemic, *Eikon Alethine* (1649), showing the curtain being pulled back to reveal John Gauden, whom pro-parliamentarians accused of having written *Eikon Basilike*. The caption at the top reads: "Spectatum admissi risum teneatis," or "If you saw such a thing, could you keep from laughing?"





Fig. 14. The frontispiece to the royalist polemic, *Eikon e Piste* (1649), which depicts the author of *Alethine* as a fool in a jester's cap who is trying to remove the crown from Charles I's head. This frontispiece makes a mockery of the *Alethine* by re-attaching its own, disparaging caption to the *Alethine*'s author. ("*Eikon e Piste*, Frontispiece")

The efforts of some (pro-) parliamentary authors to peek behind the curtain to determine the historical author of *Eikon Basilike* was an attempt to expose Charles I as a fraud and to invalidate the book's power as a text-agent. However, what these authors failed to consider was the readiness of the *Eikon*'s royalist audiences to engage in acts of *méconnaissance* related to the book's historical author(s). Royalists were devastated and traumatized by the regicide and the foreclosure of the paternal-monarchical structure. As such, when (pro-) parliamentary authors attempted to pull back the curtain and reveal the sublimated sublime Subject-object for what they perceived it to be—a biased narrative account that was attributed falsely to a dead king—these attacks on the *Eikon* served to (re)announce the present-absence of Charles I rather than induce royalists to renounce the monarchy. In other words, such attacks on the *Eikon* granted the king more power in death by generating fidelity to the book as a sacred textual truth-event amongst royalists. As Žižek argues, “[i]f, behind the phenomenal veil, there is nothing, it is through the mediation of this ‘nothing’ that the subject constitutes himself in this very act of his misrecognition” (*The Sublime Object of Ideology* 220). However, as Žižek tells us, we must recognize that “the illusion that there is something hidden behind the curtain is thus a reflexive one: what is hidden behind the appearance is the possibility of this very illusion [...] The illusion, albeit ‘false’, is effectively located in the empty place behind the curtain—the illusion has opened a place where it is possible, an empty space that it fills out” (*The Sublime Object of Ideology* 220). In the case of the *Eikon*, the king's book was not only a sublimated sublime Subject-object of monarchical ideology, but it was also a sublime and fetishized metaphor-metonymy of Charles I. In other words, the regicide created a (S)ymbolic void that royalist authors sought to fill with a mass of printed materials that supported the monarchy,

including the *Eikon*. The royalists imagined a sublime encounter with Charles (the *Vorstellungsrepräsentanz*) in *Eikon Basilike* (the *Vorstellung*), because, as Žižek notes, “the Sublime is [not just] an (empirical) object indicating through its very inadequacy the dimension of a transcendent Thing-in-itself (Idea) but an empty place of the Thing as the void, as the pure Nothing of absolute negativity—The Sublime is an object whose positive body is just an embodiment of Nothing” (*The Sublime Object of Ideology* 234). Further, according to Žižek, the sublime object is one that “by its very inadequacy, ‘gives body’ to the absolute negativity of the Idea” (*The Sublime Object of Ideology* 234). By engaging with and writing in support of the king’s book, members of the royalist textual public were attempting to make sense of the *Eikon* and its socio-political power through printed discourse. Moreover, as Žižek argues: the “‘last secret’ of dialectical speculation” is not the “mediation-sublimation of all contingent, empirical reality, not in the deduction of all reality from the mediating movement of absolute negativity, but in the fact that this very negativity, to attain its ‘being for itself’, must embody itself again in some miserable, radically contingent corporeal leftover” (*The Sublime Object of Ideology* 234). The “miserable, radically contingent corporeal leftover” in this case was, of course, *Eikon Basilike*. By sublimating the *Eikon* as a corporeal leftover, Interregnum authors (even those attempting to reveal the *Eikon* as fraudulent) positivized the absolute negativity of Charles Stuart. Otherwise stated, texts that responded to the *Eikon* registered Charles’s present-absence in the (S)ymbolic field and contributed to a social and textual landscape within which the book could emerge as a text-agent.

There are historical indications that Parliament understood just how serious the threat of the king’s book was to republican control. For example, the polemical debates in response to the

*Eikon*, the attempts of Parliament to ban the *Eikon*, and Parliament's attempts to censor royalist propaganda altogether reflect legitimate concerns about the *Eikon*'s larger socio-political influences upon English publics. The Rump was right to be concerned. Even (pro-) parliamentary efforts to negate the credibility and paternal authority of the *Eikon*'s author function contributed to the royalist textual public's *méconnaissance* and thus, paradoxically, to the solidification of the book as a metaphor-metonymy. In fact, it is this phenomenon that makes a text-agent in general so difficult for its opposition to counter-act. Because those who engaged with the *Eikon* contributed to the dead king's efforts to keep the monarchy present in the imagination and memory of audiences through public discourse, even attempts to discredit or malign the text contributed to its (S)ymbolic power. And while there is certainly much room to explore the contributions of the (pro-) parliamentary textual public to the emergence of the *Eikon* as a text-agent, due to the limitations in scope of this project, I shall restrict my observations to the royalists' efforts. Indeed, the royalists were able to weaponize *Eikon Basilike* by building upon the symbolization and theatricality that the king used in his trial, his scaffold performance, and in the *Eikon* itself. Royalist texts quilted the monarchy to the Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy (S)ymbolically as a *point de capiton*, thereby converting the void of the monarchy into a master signifier through the *Vorstellung*. This process invested the text-agent with (an illusion of) political power: the paternal no and the monarchy's author(ity).

In fact, one could argue that after the regicide, the *Eikon* remained the only material signifier of the monarchy that still functioned as was intended within the maternal-republican Symbolic structure. By usurping the king, the Rump and its act of regicide disempowered and corrupted other monarchical signifiers that were associated typically with the Name-of-the-

(F)ather in England, such as the crown, the throne, or the king's George. The Rump went so far as to sell or destroy many of these important monarchical trappings because they recognized the threat of their (S)ymbolic power to the republic. This is not to say that such master signifiers of the monarchy were meaningless; rather, post-regicide, these signifiers were meaning-less than they did within the paternal-monarchical structure. Stripped of their divine sanctification through their commodification, these master signifiers became perverted, desecrated, failed symbols of England's former monarchical power and glory. Evidence of this shift occurs in Crouch's play, *New-Market-Fayre* (1649), wherein the crier calls attention to Parliament's violation of sacred monarchical iconography through its monetary commodification of these symbols: "Who buyes any of the late Kings *Revenues* belonging to His Crown, worth many hundred Thousand pounds [...] Here be broken Seals[,] Maces, and Members with hollow hearts, and double faces" (7). The crier suggests that the crown, seals, and maces still have monetary value, but as monarchical signifiers they are broken because they have been reduced to base commodities. In other words, they no longer operate (S)ymbolically as they should within the Rump's maternal-republican structure—that is, they no longer possess sublime paternal-monarchical authority.

Furthermore, the crier remarks that traitors to the monarchy have been corrupted also by rejecting the paternal-monarchical structure. (Pro-) parliamentarians possess "hollow hearts" and "double faces" because they have forsaken the (F)ather and contributed to his death through their complicity with the murderous actions of the primal horde. However, evidence of the text-agent's subversive socio-political influence is concealed within the first lines of Crouch's play when the crier denounces the profanation and commodification of royal relics and possessions:

*Enter CRYER with a Crown and Scepter, a Cabinet of Jewells, Suites and Roabes belonging to the late King.*

CRYER. *O yes, O yes, O yes*; here is a golden Crowne, worth many a hundred Pound; ‘twill fit the head of a Fool, Knave, or Clowne; ‘twas lately taken from the Royall Head, of a King Martyred; Who bids most? Here is a Scepter for to sway a kingdom a new *reformed* way; ‘twas usurp’d from one we did lately betray; pray Customers come away: Here be Jewells of wondrous price, they will dazzle both your eyes; [...] **Here be Cabinets with Letters, to instruct all your betters; his *Meditations* and *Prayer-book*, in which all Nations may look**; here is his *Haire* and *royall Blood*, shed for his Subjects good; here be Libraries [*sic*] and Books, and **Pictures that containe his Looks**; Here you may all things buy, that belong to Monarchy; (3-4; emphasis bolded)

The crier lists an inventory of the late king’s possessions, which are being auctioned off by Parliament: clothing, jewels, and the like are presented to buyers (and the audience) for their perusal. Notably, however, many of these symbols are described as having been defiled or tainted by the corruption of the primal horde. The crown, once a master signifier *par excellence* for the monarchy, is now said to fit the head of any average “fool, knave, or clown.” The king’s scepter has been “usurped” and his jewels are said to be “dazzling”—and thus blinding and disorienting—to any customers so barbarous as to purchase the relics of a dead king. But, when the crier gets to the king’s texts, they qualify rather than quantify the value of these works. In other words, the value of the king’s writings resides not in their commoditized/fetishized materiality; rather, their value is in their mythically fetishized textuality. The crier proclaims that the king’s texts may be used—or read—to “instruct all your betters,” and that all Nations may find value in the king’s *Meditations* and his *Prayer-book*. The act of looking in the texts (or reading them)—not merely looking at them to assess their material value, as one would do if bidding on a purchase at auction—distinguishes Charles’s writings and paternal-monarchical



texts from the rest of his itemized possessions. While the king's texts indeed are listed amongst the other monarchical relics-*qua*-commodities, the crier acknowledges that the texts and images of the king continue to exert influence upon audiences and, in fact, can provide moral instruction to those who were complicit in the regicide. In Crouch's play, the value of traditional monarchical signifiers, such as the crown and the scepter, are commodified and debased because Parliament ascribes monetary value to sacred monarchical symbols; however, it is the crier's discerning commentary upon the king's texts and images (and the *Eikon* in particular), that calls the audience's attention to the (S)ymbolic value and the true worth of these items.

Crouch's efforts to distinguish the king's texts and images surreptitiously from other monarchical symbols in his play resonates clearly within the larger argument of this project: the *Eikon*, having been published in secret after the regicide, was not a symbol that the Rump could destabilize or disempower by commodifying it and selling it off as a spoil of the Parliament's victory. Because the king's book was a master signifier for the ideology of monarchism and a sublimated Subject-object, seizing and destroying physical copies of the books or the printers' presses would not be enough to destroy its mystical fetishism. Parliament could not commodify Charles's text-agent in any way that would debase its mysticism because it was already a (h)ontological commodity of the print industry. This quandary induced the Rump and (pro-)parliamentarian authors to attempt to nullify the text-agent's (S)ymbolic Subject-author(ity) by foreclosing the literal and Lacanian Name-of-the-(F)ather and through attempts to negate the author function. Royalist texts, such as *New-Market-Fayre*, demonstrate why these (pro-)parliamentarian efforts were unsuccessful by and large. Royalists fetishized the *Eikon* not only as a commodity-relic but as a text-agent because it was a potent symbol of Charles's martyrdom

and a site of social resistance against Parliament. In contrast to the meaning-less monarchical symbols that were sold off to the highest bidder after the king's execution, the *Eikon* was a privileged monarchical signifier, or a master signifier, that retained and even exceeded its moral value and social currency. For royalists, the *Eikon* "served as an incarnational text, for it provided a revered, material textual body for Charles I. Many early-modern readers experienced the volume as the sacred, authoritative Word" (Daems and Nelson 16).

Because it was a sublime Subject-object a, by engaging with the *Eikon* and other royalist texts, royalist authors began to identify with and see themselves as part of a traumatized royalist collective. Chapter 4 will demonstrate how this group formed a trauma culture within the royalist textual public based upon a shared experience of psychosis from the regicide. Within this trauma culture, royalist authors positioned the *Eikon* as a surrogate ego-ideal, which then informed a collective royalist ideal-ego and influenced the performance of individual royalist egos. The *méconnaissance* of the *Eikon* as a surrogate ego-ideal converted the Name-of-the-(F)ather into an image of the (F)ather, which induced a psychotic state that re-interpellated individual royalist (S)ubjects problematically into the royalist trauma culture as an imaginary textual public. As a metaphor-metonymy of the paternal function, Charles/*Eikon Basilike* became a surrogate master signifier for the monarchy that, while lacking in its ability to replace the (F)ather because of its materiality and (h)ontological status as a Subject-object, became a surrogate for the forbidden. As a surrogate, the *Eikon* gripped and held the royalist textual collective in the throes of the death drive, thereby reducing royalist audiences to an image-doting rabble as they converted the Name-of-the-(F)ather into an image of the father. However, while the royalists' *méconnaissance* of the Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy did induce psychosis, it

also enabled royalists to recognize the taboo of the (m)Other Parliament and conditioned the collective imagination for the resurrection/Restoration of the (F)ather and monarchy. Royalist textual performances of this desire held a negative (S)ymbolic space for the Restoration by sublimating *Eikon Basilike* as a sublime Subject-object of monarchical ideology and as a stain of *das Ding* through the process of double reflection. By engaging with the *Eikon*, royalists were reborn to the (F)ather in the traumatized and traumatizing paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure and were re-anchored as (\$)subjects of kin(g)ship through the *Eikon* as a master signifier of the monarchy. As a metaphor-metonymy and an extension of the historical truth-event, the king's book (re)inscribed royalists as monarchical (\$)subjects and instilled a corresponding sense of loyalty and fidelity to the monarchist ideology. In short, by re-interpellating royalists into a trauma culture within the royalist textual public, the *Eikon* reinforced a deep-seated desire within royalist (\$)subjects to imagine and fight for the Restoration.

## Chapter 4

### An “Image-doting rabble”: Royalist Trauma and Recovering the Name-of-the-(F)ather in Textual Fantasy

They may be sure, though they destroy the King, and his partie, God will raise them Enemies they thinke not of...

—Joseph Jane, *Eikon Aklastos* (1649)

Chapter 4 builds upon the analyses conducted in the preceding chapters to demonstrate how the text-agent and royalist textual fantasies facilitated royalists in their navigation of traumatizing encounters with the Symbolic, the Imaginary, and the Real orders through textual performance. The complex and co-constituted relationship between the royalist collective and the *Eikon* as a text-agent was the impetus for ruptures of traumatic mimesis within royalist texts that were being produced within this trauma culture. However, upon the Restoration, the *Eikon*, while still an influential and important cultural text possessing thing-power, was no longer required to serve as a text-agent or as a source of the paternal-monarchical author(ity). Rather, the Restoration re-veiled the void of *das Ding* by dividing the text-agent back into its proper ontological status as an object and text-as-actant. Thus, *Eikon Basilike* was desublimated and functioned as a textual monument. As a relic, the book was a metaphor that represents not only Charles I but the socio-political trauma of the English civil war to this very day.

The development and application of a critical theory of textual agency throughout this project is designed to understand how and why certain unique texts—or text-agents—come to possess cultural capital and function as surrogate Subject-authorities in times of socio-political

upheaval. Building upon the arguments for textual agency and the royalist textual public from the previous chapters, Chapter 4 utilizes a scaffolded approach to explore the text-agent's traumatizing impacts upon the royalist textual public via a close reading of royalist texts as fantasies that were produced within a trauma culture. I begin by outlining a theoretical framework for how *Eikon Basilike*, as a text-agent, was able to shape collective memory through textual fantasies produced and consumed by royalists. Then, I engage in close readings of several representative royalist texts to demonstrate how royalist authors and audiences were negotiating their post-regicidal subjective destitution.

### **The Text-Agent, Textual Fantasy, and the Royalist Trauma Culture**

To pick up the threads of the argument from the previous chapter, the Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy spoke as and for the monarchy and it became a *point de capiton*. The text-agent was the cultural site at which the Subject-author, Charles I, was sewn (S)ymbolically to the signifier (*Eikon Basilike*) through the author function and, at the same time, it was the textual space within which royalists were (re)interpellated as monarchical Subjects. It is relevant to add that royalists registered the *Eikon's* synchronic dimension as a *point de capiton*<sup>84</sup> within the Symbolic field because the book functioned metaphorically as a master signifier for the monarchy. The diachronic dimension of the *point de capiton* was established through the royalists' retroactive sublimation and understanding of the king's book as a text-agent.

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<sup>84</sup> Summarizing Lacan's argument in more accessible terms, Ben Tyrer (2013) observes that "the *point de capiton* has both synchronic and diachronic dimensions: the synchronic aspect is its punctuation of discourse, the terminal point that brings the sentence into existence, the resultant retroactive production of meaning is its diachronic, albeit retrogressive, aspect [...] This process, through which the signifier meets, or more accurately, *produces*, the signified Lacan calls 'signification'" (101).

However, as a text-agent, the *Eikon* was doing something far more complex than serving as a *point de capiton* for the monarchy. Because of its constitution and reception by royalist audiences as the Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy, the king's book was also a "signifier without the [literal or present] signified" (Žižek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology* 109), and functioned as both the *Vorstellung* and the *Vorstellungsrepräsentanz*. The *Eikon* was a signifying placeholder or surrogate for the forbidden—the paternal author(ity)—that was co-constituted as a text-agent by royalist texts within a space of lack. The text-agent emerged during the Interregnum because of the king's death and the foreclosure of the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure because the master signifier of the monarchy (Charles I as king or object) no longer existed physically or legally in post-regicide England. In response to the crisis of witnessing and the trauma of loss, royalists positioned the *Eikon* as the surrogate master signifier for the monarchy and monarchism, hence the king's book as a *point de capiton*.

The speaker in *The Princely Pellican* reinforces this argument in their attempt to establish Charles in/as the historical author of *Eikon Basilike* by recounting what was behind the curtain of the text-agent through the author function:

His *Majesty* (as may appear by His whole Labour) desired nothing more then to be understood by His People: to remove all prejudicate Opinions: and to satisfie the whole world that whatsoever He had done, held consistency with his *Prerogative Royall*; without so much as the least intendment of encroaching upon His *Subjects Liberties*: or assuming to Himselfe more power then His *Progenitors* legally claim'd [...] For, said He, **the pretended losse of a State, has gain'd me a tongue.** *Passion, which usually made my tongue inarticulate*<sup>85</sup>, *is become a stranger to Me* [...] *Neither, said He, is this all the*

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<sup>85</sup> Charles I was afflicted by a life-long stutter, which he was able to overcome when performing his scaffold speech. His articulate performance lent a sense of divine credibility to his speech and self-proclaimed martyrdom.

*benefit that My present infelicity<sup>86</sup> has brought Me; for this groundlesse distaste of the Publick **has made me My own private Secretary.*** (26; emphasis bolded)

The speaker suggests that the loss of the State is a “pretended losse” (a fantasy) on the part of the (pro-) parliamentarians. The larger implication here is that Charles believed that by challenging him both on the battlefield and in printed works such as the *Grand Remonstrance* (1641)<sup>87</sup> and the *Nineteen Propositions* (1642), factions of Parliament were pretending that Charles no longer possessed the divine right of kings and were ignoring the laws of constitutional monarchy. Further, the speaker recounts Charles’s prior inability to utilize language effectively in speech while acknowledging that the Rump’s effort to deny the king access to the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure enabled Charles to find his voice in writing (“*the pretended losse of a State, has gain’d me a tongue*”). As the speaker observes, “the misery of a calamitous State had advantag’d him as much in some particulars, as it had lost Him” (26). By forcing the king to become his “own private Secretary” and to express himself in writing through his royal proclamations, “His Majesties Reasons,” and *Eikon Basilike*, the state enabled Charles to transcend his physical death and reassert his paternal-monarchical authority in the Symbolic order. By invoking the legacy of the monarchy to sanction his actions and re-legitimize the royal prerogative through the paternal-monarchical signifying chain, the king’s book allowed Charles to regain and use his voice from beyond the grave. Subsequently, the *Eikon* provided the

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<sup>86</sup> While the speaker does not state so explicitly, they are likely referencing the period during which Charles was imprisoned by the Parliament and the New Model Army on the Isle of Wight from November 1647 until the time of his trial in 1649. While Charles was given various freedoms initially (such as the ability to have private audiences and correspondences), these privileges were restricted greatly in January 1648 when royalists facilitated unsuccessful attempts to help the king escape.

<sup>87</sup> A list of grievances against Charles I that was compiled by the House of Commons and presented to the king.

monarchy and royalists with a sublime vehicle through which the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure could be reinstalled, though to reiterate, because the text-agent was precisely that—a textual agent operating as and for the king—the *Eikon* was incapable of reinstalling the paternal-monarchical structure in its entirety. Rather, the *Eikon* (the *Vorstellung*) produced a positive negativity (a stain) in its inability to depict what “fell out” in the process of Symbolic representation (the *Vorstellungsrepräsentanz*, or Charles I and the monarchy).

According to Lacan (1964), desire is our defense against our drives and fixations, and it is through desire that a Subject encounters a negative space. In this negative space, we search for that which we imagine to be missing, lost, or taken from us. But as a text-agent, the *Eikon* both filled and became this negative space paradoxically as a Subject-object of desire. In other words, the *Eikon* precipitated a desire to sublimate the king’s book as a sublime Subject-object of a of monarchical ideology making it a source of consolation for the traumatic void left by the regicide/patricide of the (F)ather; however, its consolatory effects were achieved through the continuous (re)traumatization of its audiences. Because the *Eikon* denied (\$)subjects closure to the regicide and became a stain, it fuelled the collective royalist fantasy (the book as a metaphor-metonymy) that reinforced the royalists’ desire for the restoration of the monarchy in England. This argument that the royalist collective fantasy was a part of the textual mechanisms that sublimated *Eikon Basilike* as a text-agent is supported by Skerpan-Wheeler’s analysis of celebrity and memory in relation to the king’s book. As she observes, “[w]hen images are personalized, when they represent the thoughts and feelings of an individual, they allow readers and viewers to identify with that individual and to feel that they know him or her—the feelings characteristically produced by the celebrity” (“The First ‘Royal’” 916). She argues that



prosthetic memory (one's relationship to memories of which events one did not participate or live<sup>88</sup>), can shape a historical narrative as part of a collective past. Thus, *Eikon Basilike*, she notes, “ingeniously allows readers to structure their own memories through the figure of Charles I and the representation of his memories, thus making a celebrity the vehicle for recovering a community shattered by revolution” (916).

By bringing Skerpan-Wheeler's argument into juxtaposition with Jeffrey Alexander's (2012) conclusions about the nature of trauma, one can appreciate how the royalist collective memory was shaped in part by the “symbolic residues that the originating event”—the regicide—“left upon contemporary recollection,” and how these memory residues appeared in “public life through the creation of literature” (Alexander 11). Trauma, as Alexander conceptualizes it in his book, is a socially constructed event in which “material forces are deeply implicated in social suffering, and the strategic calculations and practical considerations surrounding traumatic events have significant effects on social organization” (2). The causes and effects of the trauma are “mediated by symbolic representations of social suffering” and become collective when events are “conceived as wounds to social identity” (2), as in the case of the royalists' experience of the regicide. Most importantly in the context of the larger scope of this project, Alexander conceives collective traumas as being both symbolic and performative because they are “reflections of neither individual suffering nor actual events, but symbolic renderings that reconstruct and imagine them” (4). Accordingly, the larger impact of the truth of a cultural narrative upon an ideology “depends not on its empirical accuracy,” but on “its

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<sup>88</sup> For further reading, see Allison Landsberg's “Memory, Empathy, and Politics of Identification.”

symbolic power and enactment” because the trauma process is intentional insofar as “[i]t is people who make traumatic meanings, in circumstances they have not themselves created and which they do not fully comprehend” (4). And so, we come full circle back to Sauer’s argument that performance is, “associated with the production of texts and with the actions carried out by texts *as* events in the period in which they are generated [...] [P]erformance refers to interpretive practices, especially acts of writing and reading, through which textual communities evolve, intersect, and resist each other” (*Paper-contestations*’ 56). My own argument in this chapter builds upon the positions of Alexander, Skerpan-Wheeler, and Sauer by adding Lacanian and trauma theory lenses. I contend that royalist textual fantasies operated in the intersections of the Real, Imaginary, and Symbolic orders by offering royalist authors and their audiences the space and ability to confront the traumatic Real and to (re)imagine Charles I through a collective (S)ymbolic narrative composed of individual textual fantasies.

As a part of the larger argument, it is important to acknowledge that as a *work*, a *text*, and a *text-agent*, the *Eikon* was a radical response to the regicide that invoked culturally established topographies and genres in new ways. Its presence became a site of repetitive re-wounding in and through which royalists were able to “transform individual suffering into collective trauma [through] cultural work,” via textual performances—a process that, as Alexander notes, “depends upon speeches, rituals, marches, meetings, plays [...] and storytelling of all kinds” (3-4). Or, to reframe Alexander's argument within a Lacanian context: fantasies, which are another type of storytelling, are always formulated partially in the language of the (S)ymbolic. One way that the *Eikon* and royalist responses to the regicide and the king’s book translated individual suffering into collective suffering was through the formation of a collective royalist identity that was

constructed discursively through a unifying trans-subjective fantasy of the royalist ideal-ego. By expressing royalist sentiments in and through texts, the royalist textual public was constituting the ideal representation of royalism and generic expectations for how a royalist should perform their trauma. This ongoing performance of trauma was a necessary part of the narrative construction of the collective ideal-ego and was required to sustain the traumatized royalist textual public.

Moreover, within this collective, textually mediated fantasy, royalists worked to remember, re-enact, and re-present history by mythologizing Charles I as a martyr and by valourizing their own (self-) traumatizing efforts to combat Parliament. Through the production and performance of royalist texts, authors maintained the wound of the regicide in/as *Eikon Basilike*. In its (h)ontological ambiguity as neither completely a Subject nor completely an object, *Eikon Basilike* performed the *Vorstellungsrepräsentanz* by converting the negativity of the drive into the positivity of desire. In the process, the *Eikon* contributed to the royalist trans-subjective fantasy, and it conditioned the royalists' cultural imagination for the Restoration. And, because the *Eikon* was a *point de capiton*, it enabled royalist audiences to imagine (re)connecting with Charles I through fantasies of communion. The book signalled a call to arms—or pens, as it were—in the defense of the monarchy as it resurrected Charles (S)ymbolically and exerted the force of intentionality through the author function and the paternal no to (re)interpellate royalist audiences of the king's book back into a traumatized and traumatizing paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure. In so doing, the *Eikon* (re)inscribed subjectively destitute individuals as monarchical (\$)subjects, despite the physical and legal absence of the monarchy in England. *Eikon Basilike* was thus the only material proxy capable of

standing in as a surrogate for the monarchy because it was the only master signifier of the monarchy that was not yet rendered meaning-less by Parliament's corruption and desecration of royal signifiers. By using the king's book to announce the present-absence of the monarchy, royalist authors and audiences subverted the Rump's efforts to foreclose the Name-of-the-(F)ather through the penal process by sewing "Charles I" to the *Eikon* as master signifier and *point de capiton*.

I have contended so far that for a text to be sublimated as a text-agent, its Subject-author must be disenfranchised and experience some form of Symbolic foreclosure. The Subject-author's inability to access and represent themselves publicly within their Symbolic structure is vital to the textual public's sublimation of the text-agent because, to build upon Ruti's observation, "it is because we feel that we have lost something infinite (and infinitely valuable) that we know how to long for its resurrection or reincarnation—that we possess the capacity, however tentatively, to covet what surpasses our customary world" (*The Singularity of Being* 24). As such, there must be a sense of (S)ymbolic instability that is encountered as a lack—a loss and/or absence—by audiences of the text to convert drive into the desire for the sublimated text-agent. There is, however, a tension here that warrants acknowledgement: in Lacan's conceptualization, the Real is inarticulable in the Symbolic; rather, it is anathema to the Symbolic and it resists any sort of attempts to represent it. Instead, Lacan contends that we experience the Real in moments of trauma and psychosis in/as the unspeakable, unintelligible, unrepresentable, and—somewhat paradoxically—in the unimaginable. That said, Ruti's work offers scholars one way in which we can conceive of an interaction between the Real and the Symbolic. Rather than positioning them as mutually exclusive or as separate experiences of

reality that are wholly independent of each other, her understanding of “what it means to reach the real offers us a posthumanist way of conceiving how it might be possible for us to experience an immediacy of being and to achieve an (always transitory) taste of self-presence” (*The Singularity of Being* 27). Transcendental encounters with the sublime, she argues, have the potential to “put the consistency of the self in question even more radically than do deconstructive theories of signification, for they transport us to nonlinguistic realms that liquefy the coherence of subjectivity even more effectively than the polyvalence and slipperiness of language” (*The Singularity of Being* 27). This slipperiness of language is evident in the metaphorical displacements and metonymic substitutions that royalist authors used to sublimate the *Eikon*. In fact, Ruti’s argument suggests that such displacements and substitutions within language are one way by which the Subject attempts to articulate an encounter with the Real when “powers of representation falter in the face of such episodes” of trauma. She argues that “transcendent encounters repel or defeat the power of language as a social glue [...] But this does not mean that they do not happen. Or that they lack reality” (*The Singularity of Being* 27). According to Ruti’s position, while we may lack the literal language necessary to articulate the Real and the trauma of it within the Symbolic order, we can detect the Real through the gaps, failures, or negativities in language—or, in moments of traumatic mimesis. However, because we can only detect traces of the Real in the Symbolic order through moments of positivized negativity, any ability to master the Real is only ever illusory. As Ruti notes, “if language is what holds the subject together, then the transcendent episodes that manage to puncture the canvas of our sociolinguistic reality by definition undermine any lingering faith that we might have in the capacity of the symbolic to master the real” (Ruti, *The Singularity of Being* 27). In

this point, I agree with Ruti that we cannot master the Real. However, following this line of argument, what then do we make of human efforts to do just that: to conquer experiences of the traumatizing Real in and through the (S)ymbolic? If we can never master the Real, why then do Subjects seem compelled to try to work through such encounters via artistic mediations such as journaling, art therapy, record keeping, or even by writing polemical texts that address recent traumatic political events? If we cannot master the Real, then why do we not simply throw in the proverbial towel and accept our seemingly inevitable fates as damaged Subjects who are—or will be—marred forever by our traumatic encounters with the Real?

It is at this point of the discussion when trauma theory serves as a productive framework for explaining the tendency of Subjects to attempt to work through trauma by acting it out, which they do often through fantasies or acts of revenge or justice. In *Writing History, Writing Trauma*, Dominick LaCapra (2001) defines *acting out* as the process whereby “one is haunted or possessed by the past and performatively caught up in the compulsive repetition of traumatic scenes—scenes in which the past returns and the future is blocked or fatalistically caught up in a melancholic feedback loop” (21). According to LaCapra, when we act out, “tenses implode, and it is as if one were back there in the past reliving the traumatic scene. Any duality (or double inscription) of time (past and present or future) is experientially collapsed or productive only of aporias and double binds” (p. 21). He distinguishes this process of acting out from that of *working through*, the latter of which entails “mourning and modes of critical thought and practice, [which] involve the possibility of making distinctions or developing articulations that are recognized as problematic but still function as limits and as possibly desirable resistances to undecidability, particularly when the latter is tantamount to confusion and the obliteration or

blurring of all distinctions” (p. 22). Complementary to LaCapra’s discussion of acting out and working through trauma is Lacan’s understanding of the unconscious. From Lacan’s perspective, the unconscious is not an individualized, inaccessible, unknowable, inner psychic world, as it is depicted often in contemporary popular culture. Rather, the Lacanian unconscious is knowable only through language or, to be more precise, through the signifying processes of language. For Lacan, the effects of the unconscious manifest in instances when language somehow fails or slips in a Subject’s attempts to communicate or represent experiences in the Symbolic field. We recall that in *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis*, Lacan observes that: “[t]he primary process [the unconscious...] must, once again, be apprehended in its experience of rupture, between perception and consciousness, in that non-temporal locus [...] which forces us to posit [...] the idea of another locality, another space, another scene, *the between perception and consciousness*” (56). In other words, when we encounter ruptures or slippages in the signifying chain, as we do in instances of traumatic mimesis, Lacan would argue that we are encountering the unconscious at work. The unconscious is located (at least in part) in the failure of language and meaning to be anchored by the signifier as a link in the signifying chain—or, in the untethering of the thread that attaches a given signifier to a particular signified. This uncoupling of a signifier from a designated signified allows other signifieds to slide beneath the signifier *ad infinitum*,<sup>89</sup> thereby destabilizing meaning and creating moments of ambiguity or *méconnaissance* in language. For example, in the poem “Another more at large” (1650), the speaker performs such a moment of *méconnaissance* in the final stanza:

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<sup>89</sup> Except in instances of master signifiers or *points de capiton*.

But Reader! on, leave Strawes and gather Pearles;<sup>90</sup>  
 Leave these, *and to the Lines of brave King CHARLES:*  
*Of whom, besides this admirable EIKΩN*  
*Wee have another in our CHARLES the SECOND:*  
 One, of the virtues as apparent Heire,  
 As of the Crowne of his illustrious Sire:  
 In referrence to whom, let's pray, say, sing,  
 May Rebells perish: But

GOD SAVE THE KING. (Somner 4; emphasis added)

In this passage, the signifier *lines* has dual signifieds, which leaves ambiguous negative space for the speaker's and audience's possible *méconnaissance*. In the first interpretation, the signified of *lines* could be the lines of text contained in the *Eikon*; however, the second signified is the royal lines of succession. In both interpretations, the contextual cues in the stanza—or, in the signifying chain—lead audiences to the same conclusion: Charles II is the rightful heir and monarch of England. This message is reinforced by the printed lines of *Eikon Basilike* and by the divine rights inherent in the line of succession (the Stuart *bloodline*). Furthermore, we see a demonstration of grammatical slippage at play in the third line of this passage when the speaker refers to the *Eikon* directly. The king's book is positioned between Charles I and Charles II in the lines of the stanza: "Leave these, and to the Lines of brave King CHARLES: / Of whom, besides this admirable EIKΩN / Wee have another in our CHARLES the SECOND:" (4).

Literally and figuratively, the *Eikon* occupies the liminal (S)ymbolic space between the (F)ather and the son in this fantasy as it facilitates the transfer of paternal-monarchical power between the two. The *Eikon* is situated between two colons, a punctuation mark of which the "best defined use is to separate clauses which are grammatically independent and discontinuous, but between

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<sup>90</sup> A reference to Aesop's fable, *The Rooster and the Pearl* in which the moral is: "precious things are for those that can prize them" (Aesop).



which there is an apposition or similar relation of sense” (“Colon, n.2, def. 2”). Charles I and Charles II, though independent Subjects, are linked by “similar relation[s] of sense” via their royal bloodline, their connection in the written lines of *Eikon Basilike*, and in the lines of this poem. This point is reinforced by the fact that while the two allusions to *lines* mentioned above (lines of text and lines of succession/bloodlines) are both legacies of Charles I, they do not carry equal weight in the poem: the *Eikon* is referenced in one line, whereas six lines of verse are devoted to the glorification of Charles II. However, the investiture of royal power is amorphous and incomplete because the antecedent of the signifier *one* is unspecified: “One, of the virtues as apparent Heire, / As of the Crowne of his illustrious Sire:” (4). While the obvious interpretation here is that *one* refers to Charles II (Charles I’s biological heir apparent), *one* can be interpreted also in reference to *Eikon Basilike*, which was Charles I’s (albeit temporary) surrogate heir apparent. In other words, the *Eikon*, the crown jewel in the king’s literary cabinet, is the only descendant in England that possesses the author(ity) to speak as and for the monarchy. This ambiguity destabilizes any sense of closure that may otherwise have come at the end of the poem because, to return to my earlier point about the Lacanian unconscious, there are multiple signifieds of *king* that are sliding beneath the signifier. In these lines, to which *king* is the speaker referring? Charles I, the *Eikon*, or Charles II? Or perhaps to all? This ambiguity reflects the Symbolic instability generated by the existence of conflicting post-regicidal Symbolic structures (monarchism and republicanism) as royalists and (pro-) parliamentarians sought to establish a dominant ideological narrative.

One of the important functions of any textual public, then, is to establish a framework of intelligibility through which shared understanding of certain signifiers is cultivated via a

common matrix of meaning. Royalist authors attempted to make sense of their encounters with the Real via textual mediation in the (S)ymbolic by generating a shared parlance of metaphors and metonyms. As they co-constructed textual (I)maginary-(S)ymbolic fantasies in print, these authors engaged in a type of ego-forming *bibliotherapy*<sup>91</sup> (reading therapy) and *expressive writing* (writing therapy) to identify themselves within a larger genre of royalist work. This collective body of work enabled them to create a shared reality and to position audience members sympathetically within the royalist textual public, even if only for the duration of a particular textual performance. By reading and writing the trans-subjective fantasy, royalists situated themselves and each other fluidly in the roles of analysands<sup>92</sup> and analysts within the royalist textual public by using the *Eikon* and their own texts as means to process and interpret their encounters with the traumatizing Real. These royalist texts articulated individual and collective desires for (and the desires of) the lost paternal big Other (monarchism) in fantasies of revenge, justice, and the Restoration.

Importantly, according to Lacan's position on the topic of fantasy, every fantasy will have two dimensions: 1. a stabilizing, consoling register and, 2. a destabilizing, traumatic, and troubling register. In the royalists' collective fantasy, the consoling, stabilizing register was that of Charles's two bodies. Specifically, it was the trans-subjective textual fantasy of Charles's immortality having been achieved through the sublimation of the Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy as a Subject-object *a*. And while *Eikon Basilike* was a part of the royalist fantasy, it

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<sup>91</sup> "The use of reading matter for therapeutic purposes in the treatment of nervous disorders" ("Bibliotherapy, n.").

<sup>92</sup> A psychoanalytic term for the individual that is undergoing psychoanalysis.

elicited very (R)real, traumatized responses from royalist authors within the second fantasy register simultaneously. Functioning as a stain, the *Eikon* announced the present-absence of the monarchy which, in turn, converted the royalists' drive into the desire to see the monarchy and the paternal Symbolic structure reinstalled in its completion through the Restoration. Thus, the propagation of an imagined, collective textual fantasy was one way that royalists contributed to and advanced the monarchical cause. Royalist authors perpetuated the on-going trauma of the regicide and by impelling audiences to act out this trauma by (re)witnessing it through repeated (inter)textual engagement with *Eikon Basilike*. The text-agent maintained a present desire—a positivized negativity—through the book's (h)ontological status as a sublimated sublime Subject-object of monarchical ideology and a stain.

One by-product of the *Eikon*'s role as a text-agent was that the king's book engaged royalists in the force of the death drive through what Žižek calls the "paradox of fantasy." In this paradox, fantasy is both "the frame co-ordinating our desire" and the "defence against 'Che vuoi?', a screen concealing the gap, the abyss of the desire of the Other" (*The Sublime Object of Ideology* 132). Germane for both Lacan and Žižek is that within the fantasy, a Subject's desire is not fulfilled but, rather, is constituted. Fantasy is a means of protecting a Subject from the desires of the Other and the "pure", trans-phallic desire (i.e. the 'death drive' in its pure form)" (*The Sublime Object of Ideology* 132). To apply this concept in the context of *Eikon Basilike*, by desiring something that went against the ideological desire of the maternal big (m)Other (republicanism), royalist audiences engaged the death drive through the trans-subjective fantasy of the Charles I/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy as a defence against the desire of the (m)Other. This framework elucidates why the metaphoric-metonymic substitution of

Charles/the *Eikon* was unsatisfactory as a long-term solution for the present-absent monarchy. The text-agent could only ever restore the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure in/through the (I)maginary-(S)ymbolic space of (textual) fantasy unless/until Charles II (or a legitimate royalist successor) returned and completed the reinstallation of the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure. As Žižek argues, “when we encounter in reality an object which has all the properties of the fantasized object of desire, we are nevertheless necessarily somewhat disappointed; we experience a certain ‘this is not it’; it becomes evident that the finally found real object is not the reference of desire even though it possesses all of the required properties” (*The Sublime Object of Ideology* 100-101). In this case, royalist audiences encountered the *Eikon* as a Subject-object that had many of the properties of the object of desire (Charles I), but it was not the reference of desire (the reference of desire being the lost monarchy).

Taking as a given the rather obvious logistical issues of having a non-sentient, post-human (h)ontology, such as a book, stand in the stead of a human leader long-term, we can focus our attention upon how the *Eikon* had both a reparative effect and a traumatizing impact upon royalists precisely because it was a metaphor-metonymy for Charles I. The function of the text-agent and other royalist post-regicide texts was to help the *Eikon* to maintain that positive-negativity—or to articulate the present-absence of the monarchy—in England’s body politic by imagining and constructing textual fantasies of resurrection and the Restoration. As such, what was happening during this pivotal moment in history went beyond individual instances of royalist *méconnaissance* of the Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy. Rather, there was a collective *méconnaissance* manifesting across the royalists’ texts as a trans-subjective fantasy in the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure. The death drive, then, was an expression of the

royalists' desire to know Charles I through the *Eikon* as a metaphoric-metonymic surrogate. This misrecognition is how the royalist textual public contributed to the sublimation of the text-agent: the image-doting rabble converted the Name-of-the-(F)ather into an image of the (F)ather, thereby inducing a state of psychosis and conferring upon *Eikon Basilike* the uncanny socio-political power of the author(ity). By flattening the ontology between Charles I and *Eikon Basilike*, or between Subject and object, royalists endowed the book with its status as a textual agent of the martyred king.

By contributing to the process of textual sublimation, royalists imagined the *Eikon* as both a celebrity Subject a (an ideal-ego) and an ideological object of desire (a textual ego-ideal). However, this collective *méconnaissance* contributed also to the creation of a royalist trauma culture within the royalist textual public through what Žižek identifies as an “error of perspective,” or an *ideological anamorphosis*. This phenomenon occurs when “[t]he element which represents within the field of Meaning, the agency of pure signifier [...] is perceived as a point of extreme saturation of Meaning, as the point which ‘gives meaning’ to all the others and thus totalizes the field of (ideological) meaning” (*The Sublime Object of Ideology* 110). In the case of a text-agent—and *Eikon Basilike* specifically—the positivity of the textual performance is “the element of which only holds the place of a certain lack, which is in its bodily presence nothing but an embodiment of a certain lack, is perceived as a point of supreme plenitude” (*The Sublime Object of Ideology* 110). The *méconnaissance* or ideological anamorphosis of which Žižek speaks accounts for how the *Eikon* reinforced the royalists' collective desire for the lost monarchy, the non-sense of a book functioning as a text-agent, and the many instances of virtue

signalling<sup>93</sup> in royalist texts. *Eikon Basilike* haunted the royalist textual public through paternal metaphors and the prohibitive paternal no, which prompted and shaped a collective royalist textual fantasy that reimagined the king as a martyr to justify the more dubious political and economic decisions that he made during his reign. The *Eikon*, then, served as a means for Charles I to achieve eternal (S)ymbolic life and it perpetuated the royalists' desire to meet the hypothesized ideological demands of the paternal big Other through the restoration of the monarchy.

The trauma culture that emerged within the royalist textual public in response to the primary loss of the (F)ather was compounded by the abolishment of the monarchy—an institution and an ideological framework that had been a stabilizing foundation for the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure in England for hundreds of years. Discussing the connection between fantasy and ideology, Martin (2023) observes that “ideology works [...] because it is a kind of fantasy that provides the subject with an answer to the traumatizing force of the real” (*Psychoanalysis and Literary Theory* 111). In the case of the regicide, the traumatizing impact of loss was two-fold: the king's execution signalled not only the loss of the (F)ather, but also the loss of the protective ideological fantasy that shielded royalist (\$)subjects from the Real. In response, royalists (re)formed as an imagined textual public through textual performance and public discourse, and this process forged trauma bonds amongst the collectivity by positioning

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<sup>93</sup> *Virtue signalling* is “to express oneself or act in a way thought to be motivated primarily by a wish to exhibit one's good character, social conscience, political convictions, etc., or to garner recognition and approval. Also *transitive*: to communicate or exhibit (a personal quality, viewpoint, etc.) in a manner considered self-promoting” (“Virtue Signal, v.”). Thank you to my dear friend, Keaghan Cowell-Doucette, for helping me make this connection.

audiences as secondary witnesses within the royalist fantasy scene. Thus, the repetition compulsion to (re)read and (re)encounter the regicide and Charles I in/as *Eikon Basilike* (inter)textually facilitated royalist members in engaging with the Real and traumatizing force of the death drive. Royalist authors and audiences generated and engaged with this dark, excessive side of the collective textual fantasy—the death drive—from multiple Subject positions within the fantasy scene. And though they may have read or heard the king's book in secret as individuals or in small groups, they experienced the *Eikon* “together as itself an object/scene of desire” for community (Berlant 224). In turn, desire and fantasy facilitated the collective process of mourning and a subversive textual resistance to the Rump within the royalist textual public by “sustaining attachments, which [are] only sometimes one's social relations. In this way repetition, heavily marked as a process of reading and rereading, has a reparative effect on the subject” (Berlant 123). Here, I would qualify that the reparative effect of textual discourse does not, within a Lacanian context, necessitate a return to wholeness, some form of pre-Symbolic ontological completeness, or a pre-traumatized existence. Rather, if we understand that the *Eikon* was both the stain that revealed *das Ding* and the sublimated sublime Subject-object that re-veiled it, then we can appreciate how the *Eikon* formed imagined trauma bonds amongst royalists through the processes of consuming and responding to the king's book.

Furthermore, the *Eikon* served also as a form of Lacanian gaze, wherein the Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy was looking back upon its audiences in an uncanny and anxiety-provoking manner that aided in the re-interpellation of audiences as royalists under the prohibitive, post-human gaze of the (F)ather. In other words, the *Eikon* materialized the Real by registering the loss and the present-absence of the king and the monarchy. The textually-

resurrected (F)ather stared back at royalist audiences each time they engaged with it, and the gaze was particularly evident in the compelling frontispiece that had so entranced the image-doting rabble. Thus, the desire to possess material copies of and to engage with *Eikon Basilike* brought royalist audiences into proximity with the death drive as they were (re)Subjectivated in the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure. This process had a traumatizing yet reparative effect upon royalist authors and audiences as it re-split (or re-barred) them as neurotic monarchical Subjects. Or, to put it alternatively, royalist Subjects experienced Symbolic (re)castration upon (re)entry into the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure through the *Eikon* and other royalist texts. During this process, authors and audiences attempted to discern what the lost big Other desired from them by performing, or acting out, an individual-*qua*-collective trauma: the regicide of Charles I.

The reason that the *Eikon* became an inspiration for royalists to act out this trauma can be found in Žižek's argument about the connection between fascination and *jouissance* and how this relationship generates (S)ymbolic weight and thing-power in *das Ding*. We recall Žižek's assertion that *das Ding* is "a certain inert presence [...] the material leftover, the materialization of the terrifying, impossible *jouissance* [...] by looking at the [Thing], we gain an insight into the forbidden domain, into a space that should be left unseen: visible fragments are a kind of coagulated remnant of the liquid flux of *jouissance*" (*The Sublime Object of Ideology* 76). The *Eikon*, as a *point de capiton* and a text-agent, functioned as a stain that registered *das Ding* in the (S)ymbolic field after the regicide. As a site of terrifying, impossible *jouissance*, the king's book resurrected the dead king and afforded the royalist textual public access to Charles I's inner thoughts and perspectives posthumously. Not only that, but as Chapter 2 has demonstrated, the



*Eikon* complicated the process of penal (fore)closure that (\$)subjects expected after the execution. By haunting the royalist textual public as a present-absence of the monarchy (or that left over something), the *Eikon* became the metaphoric-metonymic fragment of the dead king, the text-agent. In other words, because the Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy was also a post-human master signifier for the monarchy, the book was not just a stain for *das Ding*: it was *das Ding*. Moreover, it was because the *Eikon* was *das Ding* that it was so difficult for (pro-)parliamentarian authors to counter the (S)ymbolic power of the book's \$Subject-author-function. Through its affective invocation of *jouissance* in royalist \$subjects, the act witnessing *Eikon Basilike* registered and performed the trauma of *das Ding* in the Symbolic field and, as I will demonstrate shortly, prompted moments of traumatic mimesis in royalist texts. These instances of traumatic mimesis emerged in response to the regicide and the *Eikon* itself as a traumatizing textual truth-event.

Following this thread, we can understand how the *Eikon* became a source of royalist *jouissance*, particularly as royalist authors positioned themselves as storytellers and agents of history. In the wake of a public indictment that had silenced Charles I and a scaffold performance that allowed very few people to hear the king before his execution, the *Eikon* enabled members of the royalist textual public to encounter the wreckage of monarchical splendour up close. The royalist textual public then (re)constructed the *Eikon* as a cultural truth-event through textual fantasy to mythologize Charles I as a martyr. The book facilitated royalists in (re)enacting the regicide as a performance of excessive *jouissance* through the acts of writing, reading, and witnessing but, more than that, the *Eikon* extended the Truth—the value of the monarchy—amongst its audiences as a textual truth-event. The trial and execution of the

monarch provoked the sublimation of *Eikon Basilike* as a text-agent and a surrogate for the monarchy, thereby presenting the *Eikon*'s as a sublimated author(ity) and textual truth-event before the court of public opinion as it testified to Charles's innocence.

To return to my earlier point about the non-human element of the text-agent, what made the book both sublime and uncanny was its mimicry and undead/resurrected use of the paternal no as a textual truth-event. When encountering these sublimated instances of essence and Subjecthood within the *Eikon*, the audience experiences *jouissance*—the painful too muchness of Real pleasure derived from brushing up against the singularity and thing-power in the Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy. The true power of the text-agent, then, resides in its ability to move beyond its (S)ymbolic and (I)maginary mandates via its indirect expressions of singularity and the death drive of the Real. As the royalists experienced Charles's singularity and the sublimity of kingship within the text-agent, the *Eikon* evoked an affective response from royalist audiences by performing the *Vorstellungsrepräsentanz* and registering the death drive in the Symbolic as desire for the king's book. In addition, the repetitions of the Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy that appear throughout various royalist texts responding to *Eikon Basilike*—including the indirect invocation of Charles's paternal no, the repetition of the dead king's words from his book, and the royalists' use of paternal metaphors—are part of a reciprocal relationship that the royalists had with the *Eikon*. Royalist texts helped to sublimate the *Eikon* as a text-agent that represented the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure by giving voice to the dead king. In turn, the text-agent helped to shape the royalist textual public by serving as the ego-ideal and informing the royalist ideal-ego to structure the trans-subjective identity of the royalist collective through textual fantasy and their shared desire to be desirable to

the present-yet-absent paternal big Other.

To summarize the arguments of this chapter so far, royalist audiences encountered *Eikon Basilike* as both the Subject-object a—a metaphor that was *das Ding*—and as a stain or a metonymy that revealed (or spoke for) *das Ding*. The *Eikon* subverted the Rump's attempts to establish narrative closure to the penal process of the regicide, the foreclosure of the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure, and the installation of a maternal-republican structure. In response to these events, royalist authors began to construct a trans-subjective fantasy by writing and engaging with texts that responded to the regicide and *Eikon Basilike* while attempting to determine what the paternal big Other—monarchism—desired from royalists-as-(\$)subjects in this foreign and alienating political landscape. Royalist fantasies, particularly those related to the Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy, were instrumental in helping this group to sublimate the *Eikon* as a text-agent. Fantasies, which are always formulated in conversation or within textual discourse/performance, are propelled by the desire of their Subjects (in this case, the royalists) to understand what the big Other (monarchism) desires from them. By narrativizing and (re)performing the fall of England's monarchy, *Eikon Basilike* continued to (re)present history as an on-going textual truth-event. The *Eikon* complicated the processes of acting out and working through by conflating these two processes, thus positioning audiences to feel the traumatic immediacy of the regicide and the foreclosure of the paternal-monarchical structure even years after the historical event itself. In turn, royalist texts collapsed the psychic distance between authors/audiences and the traumatizing event through subsequent encounters with the dead king in/as *Eikon Basilike*. In so doing, textual performances perpetuated a crisis of (re)witnessing that encouraged audiences to retain their traumatized positions within the royalist trauma culture.

## Royalist Trauma and Fantasies of Restoring the Name-of-the-(F)ather

As Potter's study of royalist genres demonstrates, the passionate language found in this group's responses to the regicide was characteristic of their struggle to produce adequate literary responses to the king's death. To Potter's conclusion I would add that the royalist authors' struggle for language points to the formation of a royalist trauma culture. Speaking specifically on the topic of elegies, though the general premise of her argument can be extended to other genres of emotionally charged texts, such as polemics, Potter observes that all elegies face a common problem, which is "how to prove one's sincerity in a formal genre, how to control the expression of supposedly uncontrollable grief. But when the subject of the elegy is the embodiment of all traditional values on the one hand, and an unprecedented and shocking event on the other, the problem of steering between cliché and hysteria becomes particularly acute" (186-187). In the wake of the regicide, the *Eikon*, as a text-agent, was an intervening agency of culture that, like the elegy, embodied traditional monarchist values and performed the *Vorstellungsrepräsentanz* by functioning as a stain that drew Symbolic awareness to the present-absence of Charles I. Royalist authors sought to convey the trauma of this present-absence to audiences through the rhetoric of excessive *jouissance* and moments of traumatic mimesis in textual fantasies as symptoms of their psychotic relationship with the surrogate paternal-monarchical big Other: the Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy.

Many royalist fantasies focused upon witnessing the regicide, the imagined Restoration, and the full force of paternal punishment being brought to bear upon (pro-) parliamentarians and the regicides. Part of the trauma inherent in textual performances of remembrance stems from

the trans-subjective fantasy situating royalist authors and audiences too close to the surrogate big Other (monarchism) and the traumatizing left-over of their encounter with the Real (the regicide and the essences of the lost Charles I) simultaneously. This tension gripped authors and audiences in the death drive and perpetuated the acting out of trauma in and through textual fantasy. For instance, in “An Elegie on *Charls* the First, &c.” (1660), the poem’s speaker attempts to make sense of the royalists’ traumatic encounter with the Real during the regicide by constructing a fantasy scene in the Symbolic-Imaginary through imagery and metaphor:

35     *Since the breath of our nostrils we have lost,*  
        *We are but moaning statues at the most,*  
        *Our wisdom, reason, justice, all are dead,*  
        *As parts that liv'd, and died with our Head.*  
        *How can we speak him praise, or our loss, when*  
 40     *Our tongue of language silenc'd is with him.* (qtd. in Forde 30)

The speaker’s use of *we* positions the audience within the royalist textual public in this fantasy scene and encourages individuals to imagine themselves as moaning statues—facsimiles of themselves who have experienced subjective destitution through the foreclosure of the Name-of-the-(F)ather. The speaker is unable to “speak him [Charles I] praise or our loss” because their “tongue of language”—the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure—has been silenced (or foreclosed) with Charles’s execution, along with the death of wisdom, reason, and justice. This encounter with the (I)maginary through the textual Symbolic highlights the speaker’s post-regicidal psychosis as the result of their subjective destitution. The speaker desires being in the Imaginary over Symbolic meaning; that is, they prefer the traumatizing narrative of the (F)ather to the narrative that is being constructed by the maternal-republican structure. As such, the speaker’s subjecthood falls apart, giving way to non-meaning as they encounter the force of the

traumatizing Real. To a certain extent, the speaker elects to become part of this traumatized, moaning—even symbolically mortified<sup>94</sup>—un-dead collective. They perceive their subjective destitution as an honourable, affective state of being to which others should aspire:

*Weep ye three Orphan Kingdoms, weep for He  
To you was truly Pater Patriæ.  
Mourn too Religion, Liberty, and Lawes,  
He was your Martyr, and died in your cause.*  
55 *Levy a tax of grief, for who'll deny,  
For this so general loss, a general cry.* (qtd. in Forde 30)

The speaker places themselves in the position of the Lacanian pervert<sup>95</sup> as they welcome these feelings of grief and they fetishize the trauma of their subjective destitution through the acts of textual performance. By insisting on witnessing the Father's symbolic mortification, the speaker encounters the shaming gaze of the “Martyr” who “died in your cause” and who “lev[ies] a tax of grief,” whose payment becomes the source of an excessive jouissance and is denoted in the poem through its virtue signalling. The tax of grief—the castrating cut of the executioner's axe—renders Charles's martyrdom the fetishistic, shameful source of the speaker's perverse but no less traumatizing pleasure.\* Moreover, the speaker's indignation that “loyal tears should be accounted treason,” positions those who read or hear this poem within the royalist textual public

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<sup>94</sup> As Hook explains, the state of *symbolic mortification* is “being *dead while alive* (‘death’ here being qualified in terms of a relation to the symbolic) [...] The notion of the death drive applies then to two apparently discontinuous spheres: those of symbolic mortification (death in or via the symbolic order) and those [*sic*] where the obscene stuff of enjoyment, the libidinal insistence of drive overflows the symbolic and overruns the self-preservative imperatives of the organism (a type of *deathly—or ‘undead’—life*)” (“Of Symbolic Mortification” 30).

<sup>95</sup> According to Lacan in *Seminar XI*, “what defines perversion is precisely the way in which the subject is placed” within a radical structure (181-182). He continues with the example of voyeurism, adding: “[a]lthough this analysis brings out the agency of the gaze, it is not at the level of the other whose gaze surprises the subject looking through the keyhole. It is that the other surprises him, the subject, as entirely hidden gaze [...] The gaze is this object lost and suddenly refound in the conflagration of shame, by the introduction of the other” (182).

by pre-supposing the regicide to be a “general loss” that should result in a “general cry.”

Engaging with the paternal-monarchical structure during the Interregnum becomes a perverse experience that the audience encounters through royalist textual performances.

Oftentimes, the speaker and the audience of post-regicidal royalist texts occupy the position of secondary witnesses within a textual fantasy scene that re-stages and re-performs the regicide. This phenomenon is demonstrated in “An Elegy, Sacred to the Memory of our most Gracious Sovereigne Lord King Charles” (1649):

My weeping *Muse* — Bloody Saints farwell,  
*Judas* betray'd his King; roars now in hell.  
 45           **But is he Murderd: — too too true, Alasse**  
**My heart is full, — I cannot let him passe**  
**Without *Deep Sighs*, — nor can any eyes forbear**  
 To waste his sad Remembrance with a teare.  
           **I saw him dye**, pursu'd through crooked wayes  
 50 To's end; would make sad *England blush* out her dayes.  
 .....  
*Fair-faux* I would know (wer't not *Treason*) why  
 80 He might no longer live! Thou hast hereby  
 Gain'd nothing; **wee lost much; we lost our King.**  
**And in Him lost our selves, and every thing, —**  
 .....  
 Wee weep our owne, not any losse of thine,  
 That with sad teares doe wash thy Sacred Shrine;  
           No strain'd *Hypurboles* adorne thy *Herse*,  
 100 Thy SELF art both a *Monument* and *Verse*. (“An Elegy,” lines 45-100; emphasis  
 bolded)

In the second fantasy dimension, the speaker and audience are relegated to the roles of helpless observers. Such a position is perhaps the most traumatizing to occupy within the fantasy scene because the speaker/audience must face their own impotence: they are forced to bear witness to the regicide without any possibility to intervene to change the outcome—either in the fantasy

scene or the course of history. In other words, both speaker and audience become the unmoving, paralyzed statues that are depicted in “An Elegie on *Charls* the First, &c.” Furthermore, in lines 45-50 of this poem, the speaker/audience re-live the regicide as spectators and re-encounter the loss of the king: “I saw him dye, pursu'd through crooked wayes / To's end; would make sad *England blush* out her dayes.” Notably, the speaker does not articulate the specific details of what they saw during the regicide, leaving the (R)eal trauma and horror of the scene unspoken and to the audience’s imagination. Ironically, the speaker is rendered Symbolically speech-*less* in the face of the trauma and is unable to recount what they witnessed. Instead, they rely upon figurative language, deep sighs, and symbolic substitutions to convey their trauma, the last of which is reflected in the silence of the em dashes/horizontal bars that interrupt the lines. The audience, too, finds itself speech-*less* in such moments in the poem through the speaker’s/author’s choice of punctuation. Poetry was meant to be read aloud during the early modern period, and the use of em dashes/horizontal bars throughout the poem presents unspeakable pauses, forcing the speaker and reader/audience into moments of inarticulate and inarticulable silence.

In addition to these forced silences, the speaker’s shift to using the collective pronouns *we* and *our* in line 81 situates the audience alongside the speaker as witnesses to the regicide within the royalist collective: “wee lost much; we lost our King. / And in Him lost our selves, and every thing, —” There is a slippage in these lines that coincides with the silencing: in losing the king, both the royalist speaker and the audience have lost their ability to speak. The lines recreate the traumatizing experience of subjective destitution, which registers



mimetically in the (S)ymbolic as a visual void (the em dash) and the absence of language in the rest of the line. Equally important is the speaker's use of shifting verb tenses throughout the poem. The past, present, and future tenses are employed fluidly and the switches are particularly notable in the speaker's use of the modal auxiliary verb *would* in line 50: "I saw him dye, pursu'd through crooked wayes / To's end; would make sad *England blush* out her dayes." This lack of temporal consistency in the poem, juxtaposed with the linear progression of time that accompanies the audience's progression through the lines, highlights the overwhelming closeness of the trauma for the royalists as they act out the trauma in textual performance. The speaker is unable to maintain a healthy distance from the historical past; instead, they return again and again to the event in question, even as time continues to advance chronologically and for the reader. The larger effect of the modal auxiliary verb is that England will continue to blush in shame in perpetuity, never able to recover fully from the stain of the regicide/patricide.

We see similar examples of silence and traumatic mimesis in the poem "Caroli" (1649), wherein the speaker explores their fraught relationship within the maternal-republican Symbolic structure and the tension of unspeakable trauma. The poem opens with the speaker, who "come[s] with trembling," and expresses their fear of being unable to do justice to the topic of the regicide because the "*Theam's too heavy*" and their "*Pen too light*" (qtd. in Cleveland 20). Charles's name is described as "*unweildy*" (qtd. in Cleveland 20), and it cannot be articulated by the speaker from their place of subjective destitution. To compensate, the speaker attempts to express the unspeakable through language of the forbidden by positioning Charles, the audience, the royalist textual public, and the nation metaphorically in an apposition of (S)ymbolic

undeadness:

And so our *Sovereign's*, like our *Saviours Passion*,  
 Becomes a kind of *Doomsday* to the *Nation*  
 If *Dead men* did not *walk*, 'twould be admir'd  
 (The *Breath* of all our *Nostrils* thus *expir'd*)  
 What 'tis that gives us *motion*. **And can I,**  
**Who want *my self*, write *Him* an *Elegie*?**

.....  
 'Twere all as *inarticulate*, and *weak*,  
**As when those men make *signes*, that cannot *speak*.**<sup>96</sup>  
 But where the *Theme confounds us*, 'tis a **sort**  
**Of glorious *Merit*, proudly to fall short.**  
*Despair* sometimes gives *courage*; *any one*  
 May *lisp him* out, who can be *spoke* by none;  
 None but a *King*; No *King*, unlesse He be  
 As *Wise*, as *Just*, as *Good*, as *Great* as *He*. (qtd. in Cleveland 21-22; emphasis bolded)

The speaker in "Caroli," much like the speakers in the previous poems, fetishizes the trauma and their foreclosed (S)ymbolic status in the maternal-republican structure through the royalist fantasy. There is a "sort of glorious Merit, proudly to fall short" in one's inability to speak in the maternal-republican structure. The speaker and other royalists (denoted by the collective pronouns *our* and *us*) experience subjective destitution as a form of resistance in response to their own foreclosure. The speaker, lacking a sense of self, is "inarticulate," "weak," and unable to find the correct language to express their trauma in the alienating maternal-republican structure. Notably, the Name-of-the-(F)ather is absent, and it is only through the paternal-monarchical linguistic framework that the speaker can convey meaning through alternative signifiers for *Charles*, such as *sovereign*, *him*, and *king*. The royalist framework of intelligibility

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<sup>96</sup> The use of sign language.

generates collective meaning in this poem, allowing the speaker to communicate with audiences through textual cues/clues in the signifying chain, such as the title and the royalist speaker's use of *our*. Furthermore, the speaker notes that the only person who can speak of Charles I properly is a king—or successor of (F)ather—who is as wise, just, and good as Charles I. Such a king would be able to reinstall the paternal-monarchical structure through the Name-of-the-(F)ather, and the speaker implies that this king is Charles II, the absent monarch. However, a case can be made that the Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy can fulfill this function as a surrogate for the forbidden until Charles II can assume the throne. As an uncanny metonymy, metaphor, and synecdoche for Charles I, the *Eikon* can “lisp out” the king, or continue to make Charles's presence known and his person imaginable through the (S)ymbolic text.

In the aforementioned passage, the speaker alludes to an emptiness or void within themselves caused by the regicide (*das Ding*), but they are unable to articulate this Real nothingness. Rather, the speaker uses language of symbolic mortification—or metaphors of undeath, such as reanimated corpses, the lack of breath, and the loss of self—to convey the traumatic encounter that they and their fellow royalists continue to (re)experience via *Eikon Basilike*. The speaker, having been traumatized by the regicide as truth-event that foreclosed the paternal-monarchical structure, asks an important rhetorical question: if they are lacking a sense of self-identity in the maternal-republican structure (or, if they are subjectively destitute), then how can they possibly write an elegy for the (F)ather? However, instances where the speaker and audience are unable to speak are significant. Within a psychoanalytic framework, that which is unsaid or absent creates (non-) meaning, particularly when language fails to operate properly in the Symbolic structure. In the larger body of post-regicidal royalist literature, failures of language evince

psychosis in speakers and other members of the royalist collective. Such moments of traumatic mimesis are sources of royalist power because they register the royalists' trauma in the Symbolic field. Through virtue signalling and their depictions of suffering, royalist authors convert the Name-of-the-(F)ather (Charles Stuart and the monarchy) into an image of the (F)ather (*Eikon Basilike*), which they then fetishize by helping to sublimate it with Charles I's metaphoric-metonymic essences. Such performances of trauma lent validity and inspired fidelity to the *Eikon* as a textual truth-event amongst audiences/witnesses through the articulation of individual-*qua*-collective suffering.

This notion of fidelity through suffering resonates within a Lacanian-Žižekian framework of psychoanalysis. According to such psychoanalysts, when we engage in acts of *jouissance*, we engage the death drive as we move beyond the Freudian pleasure principle.<sup>97</sup> In the English Interregnum, the production, dissemination, consumption, and sublimation of the *Eikon* was a collaborative and collective experience of *jouissance* within the royalist textual public as royalists derived pleasure in the painful acts of re-membrance and (S)ymbolic rebellion against the (m)Other, Parliament. Moreover, subjective destitution was a type of *jouissance* that shaped the collective royalist ideal-ego. This experience of *jouissance* informed larger understandings of how a royalist ought to act out their trauma and loss in and through textual performance within the royalist textual public. The royalists' subjective destitution was shaped by the *Eikon* as a text-agent and master signifier, which re-veiled *das Ding* and was a source of solace for the

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<sup>97</sup> Put succinctly, the Freudian pleasure principle states that subjects will seek pleasure and avoid pain whenever possible. Lacan's notion of *jouissance* explains the experience of pleasurable pain that moves the subject beyond the pleasure principle as an incongruity. See Freud's *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920).

royalists. However, at the same time, the king's book was *das Ding* and it revealed the present-absence to the royalists through textual fantasy. We might conceive of this phenomenon—the traumatizing lack or absence of the monarchy—as a second dimension of *das Ding* during the English Interregnum. Stated alternatively, the *Eikon*, sublimated with Charles's singularity of being and made the trauma of the Real intelligible in the royalists' Symbolic field through moments of traumatic mimesis.

By registering collective trauma in the Symbolic field, royalists enabled the king's book to function simultaneously as both a source of consolation and as a source of trauma for audiences as they moved between both registers of textual fantasy. One such example of the duality of the text-agent's function can be found in *The Princely Pellican* (1649). In this text, the speaker experiences excessive *jouissance* from the *Eikon*'s ability to function as both a source of grief and as a cure for said grief:

The repetition, or renuall of our Griefes, though they<sup>98</sup> may in some measure allay the bitternesse of them by a seasonable discovery, and temperate delivery: yet they necessarily require some *precious Balme*, or *soveraigne Receipt* to cure them. Now, what cure more requisite then spiritually to converse with One, who had drunk of the same Cup; and partak't deeply of the like affliction, whereof he himselfe was become a Sharer? This was His Majesties condition;  *Davids* parallel for affliction, in every particular saving onely an *Absalon*. (12)

The speaker acknowledges the trauma that the royalists continue to experience from having witnessed the regicide in-person and that they continue to (re)experience vicariously through post-regicidal textual accounts. Then, they observe how *Eikon Basilike*, and the prayers within

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<sup>98</sup> Each section of *Eikon Basilike* ends with a prayer/psalm, to which the speaker of *The Princely Pellican* alludes here with the pronoun “they.”

that text, are a balm or “sovereign Receipt”—a means of receiving the Sovereign, akin to how one would receive the host during Catholic communion. The speaker claims that this sovereign receipt, *Eikon Basilike*, has the potential to cure the psychic wounds from this crisis of (re)witnessing. In this passage, the speaker sublimates the Subject-author (Charles I) in the undead author function and provides an explanation for the king’s choice to include prayers at the end of each section of the *Eikon*. Then, in the final line in this excerpt, the speaker invokes a paternal metaphor: the biblical narrative of King David and Absalom.<sup>99</sup> The speaker’s use of this paternal metaphor is significant because they represent Charles as David, and this juxtaposition highlights an important contrast between England’s story and the biblical narrative: unlike Amnon, Charles II still lives and is now the rightful king of England. Further, this metaphor allows the speaker to rewrite Charles I’s narrative, relocating him from his position as a treasonous “Man of Blood” to the role of David, who like Charles I, was the second ruler of a united kingdom.<sup>100</sup> It was God’s will for David to establish a dynasty, and this parallel to the Stuart dynasty reaffirms the divine right of kings and reinforces Charles II’s claim to the throne of England.

And though the *Eikon* was a site and means of resistance against Parliament and the foreclosure of the Name-of-the-(F)ather, the king’s book was experienced simultaneously as both comforting and traumatizing by royalists. The text-agent was a source of solace, but it refused

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<sup>99</sup> Absalom murders David’s eldest son, who is also Absalom’s half-brother, prince Amnon; he does so in revenge for Amnon’s rape of Absalom’s full-blooded sister, Tamar.

<sup>100</sup> David ruled the united tribes of Israel as a single monarch, much like Charles I ruled England, Scotland, and Ireland.

simultaneously to allow the psychic wound of the regicide to heal. In *The Princely Pellican*, the speaker recounts a conversation amongst Charles and his courtiers in which the king demonstrates an awareness of the power of language to both wound and heal. In response to concerns about the potential for the king's writings (those which would be published as *Eikon Basilike*) to be misappropriated and wound him further, Charles is purported to have said: "[t]he way to cure wounds is not to *close* but discover them. They *rankle* by being *closed* before they be *cured* [...] For my part, this shall be my constant *Resolve* (and it shall be my daily prayer, that no *earthly Object* may weaken me in it) *that my Sinnes may be ever before me*. For there is such a pretious *Eye-salve* in a *pious teare*" (5). It is likely that at least some, if not all, of the speaker's account of this conversation is at best an imperfect recollection and, at worse, is entirely fictitious and thus a part of the royalist fantasy construction in and of itself. However, the author's choice to include this exchange in *The Princely Pellican* does gesture towards how trauma was being conceptualized and understood by royalists during the civil war.<sup>101</sup> In this passage, the speaker recounts Charles's assertion that by publishing *Eikon Basilike*, the king was aware that he was wounding himself. The speaker intends clearly to laud Charles for such acts of public reflection and sacrifice in the name of truth and the Church of England. This account contributes to the royalists' collective (re)imaginings of a royalist ideal-ego and their *méconnaissance* of the *Eikon* as a surrogate paternal ego-ideal. According to the king/speaker's logic, those who are true royalists will welcome the trauma and grief that accompanies the

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<sup>101</sup> Though to be clear, *trauma* is an ahistorical term and was not conceived of using such language or within such theoretical frameworks during the early modern period.

perverse engagement with the *Eikon* because it is only by (re)opening the wound that one can (re)member the king properly in the maternal-republican Symbolic structure. Thus, collective memory in the royalist trauma culture became a means of resisting Parliament's complete foreclosure of the paternal-monarchical structure. In the complex post-regicide Symbolic landscape, *Eikon Basilike* was a bastion and master signifier of royalism in the print war and the stain that announced the continual present-absence of the monarchy.

Further evidence of the royalists' regard of *Eikon Basilike* as a type of traumatic stain and means of reinstalling the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure can be found in Evans's (1655) *The Voice of King Charls the Father to Charls the Son*. In this publication, we see the Name-of-the-(F)ather and the voice of Charles I/*Eikon Basilike* invoked in both the title and in the body of the text itself:<sup>102</sup>

*And I beseech your Royal Majesty [Charles II]. (though you may well think me inconsiderable, to intercede between you and your People) yet hear the voice of your Royal Father of famous memory, saying, Son, (for so he beginneth) I have offered Acts of Indempnity, and Oblivion [...] I would have you always propense to the same way: whenever it [royal pardon] shall be desired and accepted, let it granted [...] And again, (saith he) for those that repent of any defects in their duty toward me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Christian King, so I believe you will find them truely zealous to repay with interest, that loyalty and love to you, which was due to me, &c. And, dear Sovereign, may such exhortations to press you to offer a free pardon to all, and not seek to be revenged on any, ye have in his Book, and last Speech to you. (A4-A5)*

In this passage, Evans summons the (S)ymbolic ghost of Charles-the-(F)ather to testify posthumously through the invocation of the *Eikon* with strategic instances of intertextual repetition. *The Voice of King Charls the Father to Charls the Son* functions as a vehicle for the

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<sup>102</sup> In the original text, Evans's/the speaker's text is in italics, and the passage quoted from *Eikon Basilike* is in regular case. I have recreated the passage here as it appears in the original.



text-agent's performance of Charles's voice from the *Eikon*. The king's words supplant Evan's own narrative voice as the (F)ather's voice asserts control in Evans's text and exerts the power of the paternal no. Moreover, in the following excerpt, Evans refers to the Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy as a source of paternal authority, stating that

there is none more capable under God then your Royal Self, to make your Self and all others in these Kingdomes happie; and there is no way for your Majesty to do it, but by *obeying your Royal Father's Voice*, as abovesaid: and though that be most contrary for flesh and blood to do, yet you must humble your Royal Self more then that, by sending your free general pardon to all, without any seeking, but my seeking of it: *for according to that which goeth for Law with us, it is not safe for any, and specially they in power, to seek to you*: but what I say, (who have ways hazarded my life for my conscience sake) *may prove as authentick, as if all had sent to your Majesty [...]* Wherefore (not withstanding they have so *violently persecuted your Royal FATHER to the death*) most glorious Sovereign, (upon their repentance) *receive your Subjects in love and mercy, as your FATHER hath commanded you, who went beyond any one Martyr, because of his power and dignity [...]*. (B5-B6; emphasis added)

Here, Evans turns to the text-agent and its author(ity), Charles I, within the textual fantasy to assert the power of the paternal no upon Charles II. He appeals to Charles II to obey his "Royal Father's Voice" and offer "free and general pardon to all" but the regicides. Evans uses *Eikon Basilike* to underscore his argument, claiming that Charles II ought to show mercy to the (pro-) parliamentarians, implying that to do otherwise would be to reject the paternal-monarchical author(ity) of his (F)ather and the very signifying chain and institution that grants Charles II his status as the current king and (F)ather of England.

In addition to using *Eikon Basilike* intertextually to invoke the words of the (F)ather and to reinstall the paternal big Other, royalists were using the *Eikon* as a literary device to recover the paternal-monarchical structure in several texts produced during the Interregnum. One such example is John Gauden's (1656) "Upon the Kings-Book bound up in a Cover coloured with His

blood,” which was published in *Parnassus Biceps*. In the following excerpt, *Eikon Basilike* functions as a master signifier for the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure:

Let abler pens commend these leaves; whose fame  
 Spreads through all languages, through time whose name;  
 Nor can those Tongues add glory to this book  
 So great, as they from the translation took.  
 5 **Shine then rare piece in thine own Charls his ray;**  
**Yet suffer me thy covering to display,**  
**And tell the world that this plain sanguine vail**  
**A beauty far more glorious doth conceal**  
 Then masks of Ladies: and although thou be  
 10 A Book, where every leaf's a Library  
 Filled with choise Gems of th' Arts, Law, Gospel;  
 The chiefest Jewel is the Cabinet. (lines 1-14; emphasis bolded)

The speaker tells the audience that while the *Eikon* is being spread (or published) through all languages (translated), Charles's original text is the most glorious for it is a piece of Charles that represents him as a synecdoche: “Shine then rare piece in thine own *Charls* his ray.” The *Eikon* is sublimated through metaphoric essence by building upon the established metaphor of the king as the sun to suggest that the *Eikon* is a ray of the sun, or a synecdochic representation of Charles. Additionally, the Name-of-the-(F)ather is recovered at this point in the poem, and upon its partial reinstallation, the speaker attempts to find the language to convey their grief and the glory of Charles I within the paternal-monarchical structure: “Yet suffer me thy covering to display, / And tell the world that this plain sanguine vail / A beauty far more glorious doth conceal / Then masks of Ladies[.]” Additionally, the speaker's reference to the veil aligns with one of the larger arguments of this dissertation. The drives, and specifically the death drive, circulated around the hole of *das Ding* to create the sublimated sublime Subject-object of a of monarchical ideology—the Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy, or the text-agent—whose

essence was the veil covering the traumatic emptiness of the loss of the monarchy behind the metaphorical textual mask. The Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy is reinforced in the enjambment in lines 9-10: “and although thou be / A Book[.]” The pronoun *thou* allows the signifieds to slide beneath the signifier. The speaker does not say “and although *it* be a book”; rather, the speaker personifies the *Eikon*, positioning it as a metonymy for Charles by building upon the synecdoche in line 5.

The poem’s speaker then continues to sublimate the *Eikon* as a text-agent by reinforcing the Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy through blood metaphors:

A shrine much holier then the Saint; you may  
 To this as harmeslesse adoration pay,  
 15 As those that kneel to Martyrs tombs, for know,  
 This sacred blood doth *Rome* a Relique show  
 Richer than all her shrines, and then all those  
 More hallowed far, far more miraculous.  
 Thus cloth’d go forth, bless’d Book, and yield to none  
 20 But to the Gospel, and Christs blood alone. (lines 15-22)

The speaker invokes the imagery of Charles I’s “sacred blood” alongside Christ’s blood to highlight the audiences’ textual encounters with the sublime when engaging with *Eikon Basilike*. The speaker sublimate Charles’s metaphorical essence and authority into the *Eikon* by drawing upon a complex and multivalent intersection of blood metaphors: the king’s literal blood from his execution; his figurative blood or his ink (the lifeblood of his ideas) that he used to compose the text; and even the red lettering on the title pages of the *Eikon*. In so doing, the speaker draws an intertextual parallel between the ransoming and resurrection of Christ and Charles I. As Vitale notes, “[l]ike the Bible’s narrative of Christ incarnate, the *Eikon*’s incarnation of Charles illustrates his sacramental presence, lending phrases, moments and material not just for

devotional succour, but more deeply to open his blood, words and teaching for transformation or communal, ritual reading” (213). We can see an example of how Gauden was using textual performance to open Charles’s “blood, words and teaching for the transformation or communal, ritual reading” of the king in the final eight lines of the poem. Here, the speaker continues to develop the blood metaphor, stating:

Thy Garments now like his; so just the same,  
 As he from *Bozra*, and the wine-*presse* came;  
 Both purpled with like gore: where you may see  
 This on the Scaffold, that upon the Tree  
 25 Pour’d out to save whole Nations. O may’t lye  
 Speechless like that, and never never cry  
 Vengeance, but pray father forgive these too,  
 (Poor ignorant men!) they know not what they doe. (lines 23-30)

In this passage, the speaker juxtaposes the aforementioned blood metaphors with the biblical story of the Christian prophet Isaiah.<sup>103</sup> The speaker hopes that Charles’s blood will not cry out for vengeance, but rather, that it will pray for the forgiveness of those who “know what not they do.” Building upon this metaphor and the allusion to the Passion, the speaker places Charles and Christ in the same position in the textual fantasy through an invocation of Christ’s words on the cross and appeals to the ultimate author(ity), God-the-Father: “but pray father forgive these too, / (Poor ignorant men!) they know not what they doe.” The speaker of “Upon the Kings-Book bound up in a Cover coloured with His blood” demonstrates how the text-agent was able to mediate the royalists’ subjective destitution and their desire for the Restoration by invoking biblical blood metaphors intertextually and in apposition with *Eikon Basilike* and the Name-of-the-(F)ather in the poem. In response to the *Eikon*’s expression of the paternal no, royalists

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<sup>103</sup> *KJV Bible*, Isaiah 63.1-3.

fashioned the book as a master signifier for the monarchy and *point de capiton*. In so doing, royalists sublimated the *Eikon* as a sublime Subject-object of a of monarchical ideology and stain that precipitated the royalists' desire for the restoration of the rightful (F)ather, Charles II, and the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure.

Similarly, in "An Elegie upon the Death of our Dread Sovereign Lord King Charles the Martyr" (1649), the speaker's reference to the *Eikon* signals a partial reinstallation of the paternal-monarchical structure. The *Eikon* represents and speaks as the Name-of-the-(F)ather, which enables the poem's speaker to articulate around the trauma of the regicide and (re)present the absence of the monarchy indirectly through the *Vorstellungsrepräsentanz*. In the first stanza of the poem, while the speaker recognizes and positivizes a negative space for the monarchy, they imply also that (S)ymbolic language is inadequate to articulate their encounters with the Real and subsequent feelings of loss:

Com, com, let's Mourn; all eies, that see this *Daie*,  
 Melt into Showrs, and Weep your selvs awaie:  
 O that each Private head could yield a Flood  
 Of Tears, whil'st *Britain's Head* stream's out His Blood;  
 5 Could wee paie what His *Sacred Drops* might claim,  
 The World must needs bee drowned once again.  
 Hands cannot write for Trembling; let our Eie  
 Supplie the Quill, and shed an *Elegie*.  
 Tongues cannot speak; this Grief know's no such vent,  
 10 Nothing, but Silence, can bee Eloquent.  
 Words are not here significant; in This  
 Our Sighs, our Groans bear all the *Emphasis*.  
 Dread SIR! What shall wee saie? *Hyperbole*  
 Is not a Figure, when it speak's of *Thee*:  
 15 Thy *Book* is our best Language; what to this  
 Shall e're bee added, is Thy *Meiösis*:  
 Thy *Name's* a *Text* too hard for us: no men  
 Can write of it, without *Thy Parts* and *Pen*. (lines 1-18)

Because the speaker is unable to articulate their traumatic encounters with the Real (the regicide and the posthumous encounter with the king in *Eikon Basilike*), the literal name of the (F)ather eludes the speaker: *Charles* is the *Vorstellungsrepräsentanz*, or a signifier that is unarticulated by the speaker in the beginning of the poem and thus, present in its absence. However, this lack of articulation does not mean that the king's presence is not being registered by royalist audiences (sub)textually behind other signifiers. Rather, the speaker uses alternative signifiers from the royalist linguistic matrix within the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure to acknowledge and speak around the negativity of the king's present-absence in the Symbolic field, referring to Charles I in line 4 as "Britain's Head," and in line 13 as "Dread SIR."

The speaker does recover the Name-of-the-(F)ather indirectly through a metaphoric-metonymic reference to Charles/*Eikon Basilike* in lines 15-18. According to the speaker, the *Eikon*, which is representative of the paternal-monarchical structure, is the royalists' "best Language." Anything else that could be added to the king's book would be "Thy *Meiösis*" (an intentional understatement and a deliberate misrepresentation). This assertion has an interesting resonance with Lacan's idea of *méconnaissance*, especially considering that many royalists did, in fact, add to or rework the king's book after its initial publication and positioned it within their own works as a metaphor-metonymy. While the act of naming Charles directly appears as yet to be too difficult or traumatic for the poem's speaker (Charles's name is "a *Text* [or signifier] too hard for us"), by sewing the Subject-author (Charles I) to the object a (*Eikon Basilike*) through alternative signifiers—"Thy Book," "Thy *Meiösis*," "Thy Name"—the audience is able to ascertain the speaker's meaning through the paternal-monarchical signifying chain within the royalist textual public. In other words, speakers and audiences engage in the

*Vorstellungsrepräsentanz* in their attempts to articulate around the source of the trauma by acknowledging the lacuna. The Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy allows the royalists to re-access their “best language,” or the language of the paternal-monarchical structure and marks the psychotic re-interpellation of the speaker/audience into this shared reality. Once this re-inscription occurs and the speaker and audience (re)establish a common language matrix, the speaker invokes the Name-of-the-(F)ather in the second stanza to articulate the royalists’ trauma through questions that both are and are not rhetorical: “[...] Where’s the Man? / Where is the King? CHARLES is all *Christian*” (lines 24-25). These questions register the speaker’s sense of disorientation in the textual fantasy scene as audiences are challenged to discern if the questions are rhetorical, literal, or both. Moreover, the obviousness of the answer—that Charles is dead—reinforces the speaker’s disconnection from reality by suggesting that the trauma of the regicide has rendered the memory/scene unreadable and unrecognizable to them. The speaker’s questions continue to announce their confusion in the face (or image) of the present-absence of the monarchy.

The speaker’s confusion is underscored further by the noticeable inconsistency in their use of verb tenses throughout the rest of the poem: “CHARLS **is all** *Christian*” (line 25); “Wretch! could’st not thou bee rich, **till Charls was dead**?” (line 59); “Great CHARLS, **is this Thy Dying-place**?” (line 65); “**Did You**, Yee *Nobles*, envie CHARLS His *Crown*?” (line 95); “CHARLS **is most** blest of men; / **A God on Earth**, more then a Saint in Heav’n” (lines 103-104; emphases bolded). These shifts amongst different auxiliary verbs (primary and modal) and the switching of tenses mimics the sudden unmoored experience of the royalists in the post-regicide Symbolic. The unstable use of tenses and changing (I)maginary interlocutors

throughout “An Elegie” contribute to the audience’s impression of internal instability and even psychosis in the speaker, in the poem, and in England. For example, in the fourth stanza, the speaker shifts interlocutors again to address an unspecified audience:

Behold what *Scribes* were here, what *Pharisees!*  
 What *bands of Souldiers!* What *fals witnesses!*  
 55 Here was a *Priest*, and that a *Chief* one; who  
 Durst strike at *God*, and His *Vicegerent* too.  
 Here *Bradshaw*, *Pilate* there: This make’s them twain,  
*Pilate* for *Fear*, *Bradshaw* condemn'd for *Gain*.  
 Wretch! could'st not thou bee rich, till *Charls* was dead?  
 60 Thou might'st have took the *Crown*, yet spar'd the *Head*.  
 Th'hast justifi'd that *Roman* Judg; Hee stood  
 And washt in *Water*, thou hast dipt in *Blood*. (lines 53-62)

The lack of specificity of just who is expected to “behold” leaves the audience feeling as though they, too, are being implicated in the scene of Charles’s death and in this crisis of witnessing within the textual fantasy scene. Another change of interlocutors takes place at line 59 and signifies the speaker’s turn to a new addressee. The speaker directs their anger towards Bradshaw, accusing him of murdering Charles for material gain. Through an intertextual reference to Matthew 27.24-25, the speaker vilifies Bradshaw through an apposition to Pilate, the latter of whom ordered the crucifixion of Christ: “Here *Bradshaw*, *Pilate* there: This makes them twain.” By invoking the Jewish deicide of Christ as a metaphor for the regicide, the speaker implicates audiences as spectators in the textual fantasy scene: witnesses in both audiences were forced to stand by and watch Pilate/Bradshaw sentence Christ/Charles I to death. Later in the poem, the speaker condemns those who stood by and did nothing to rescue the king, stating in lines 82-89:

*London*, did’st though Thy Prince’s life betraie?  
 What? Could thy *Sables* vent no other waie?



Or els did'st thou bemoan His *Cross*? then, ah!  
 85 Why would'st thou bee cursed *Golgotha*?  
 Thou once hadst Men, Plate, Arms, a Tresurie  
 To *binde* thy KING, and hast thou none to *free*?  
 Dull beast! thou should'st, before thy *Head* did fall,  
 Have had at least thy Spirits *Animal*.

The speaker extends the analogy of the regicide as the Passion in this stanza, personifying London as a “dull beast” that represents those members of the House of Commons and the House of Lords who witnessed the persecution of Charles I and did nothing to prevent it. The speaker gestures towards a crisis of witnessing and guilt that implicates the entire primal horde in the death of the (F)ather, though to varying degrees of culpability. While Bradshaw and the regicides are positioned in this fantasy as bearing the most guilt, other members of the horde are not exculpated by their inaction or ineffectuality.

Moreover, the trauma that the speaker suffers in response to the regicide is reinforced in stanza five of the poem. Charles I, as the speaker's imagined interlocutor, interrupts the narrative in lines 65-68 in a display of traumatic mimesis:

And where's the Slaughter-Hous? *White-hall* must bee,  
 Lately His *Palace*, now His *Calvarie*.  
 65 **Great CHARLS, is this Thy Dying-place? And where**  
**Thou wer't our KING, art Thou our MARTYR there?**  
**Thence, thence Thy Soul took flight; and there will wee**  
**Not cease to *Mourn*, where Thou did'st ceas to *Bee*.**  
 And thus, blest Soul, Hee's gon: a *Star*, whose fall,  
 70 As no *Eclips* prove's *Occumenical*. (lines 63-70; emphasis bolded)

The speaker's repetitive and interruptive addresses to the dead king throughout the poem highlight the speaker's engagement with the death drive as the trauma of *das Ding* announces itself through the repetition compulsion. For example, the speaker expresses their disbelief that the king was martyred in front of his own banqueting hall: “Great CHARLS, is this Thy Dying-

place? And where / Thou wer't our KING, art Thou our MARTYR there?" Their horror is underscored by the assertion that "Thence, thence Thy Soul took flight[,]" as though the speaker may be able to make sense of this new reality by locating the scene of the regicide and confirming the crisis of witnessing through the repetition of "thence." This repetition reinforces also that royalists (the *we* in this passage) will "[n]ot cease to mourn / where Thou [Charles] did'st ceas to *Bee*." The royalists are trapped in an indefinite state of mourning as they act out and (re)witness the regicide-patricide through textual fantasies and performances of remembrance.

In the final stanza, which is addressed to no one specifically, the speaker/audience encounters the speaker's own thoughts and reflections in the textual fantasy scene:

*Religion* Vail's her self; and Mourn's that shee  
 100 Is forc'd to own such horrid Villanie.  
 The *Church* and *State* do shake; that Building must  
 Exspect [*sic*] to fall, whose *Prop* is turn'd to *Dust*.  
     But ceas from Tears. CHARLS is most blest of men;  
     A God on Earth, more then a Saint in Heav'n.

Here, the speaker and the audience are forced to confront the traumatic emptiness of *das Ding* as a residue or the stain of the monarchy. The monarchy has "turn'd to *Dust*," much as Charles's corporeal body will as it continues to decay. With Charles's death, the paternal-monarchical structure—represented in this stanza by the institutions of Church and State—has collapsed without its king, or the Name-of-the-(F)ather, to serve as the foundation upon which both institutions rest. "But," says the speaker, "ceas from Tears. CHARLS is most blest of men / A God on Earth, more then a Saint in Heav'n." With their use of the present tense ("*is*"), the speaker contributes to the royalist's Christian fantasy of Charles's resurrection and eternal life

through the text-agent. Thus, it is fitting that “An Elegie” concludes by reasserting the power of the trans-subjective royalist fantasy. While Charles is a saint in heaven, through the sublimation of the *Eikon* as a metaphor-metonymy that expresses the paternal metaphor, the king continues to demonstrate a God-like power and (F)atherly influence on Earth within the fragmented paternal-monarchical (S)ymbolic structure.

Similar rhetorical techniques are employed in “An Elegy upon That never to be forgotten Charles the First,” printed in Quarles’s 1649 text, *Regale Lectum Miseriae*. The poem’s speaker, like the speakers in the texts analyzed previously, expresses the trauma of subjective destitution through textual fantasy in the wake of the regicide as they commence the poem from a position of uncertainty:

What; doe I dream, or does my *fancy* scatter  
 Into my various *minde* a reall matter.  
 What ayls my *thoughts*? what uncorrected *passion*  
 Is this, that puts my *Senses* out of fashion?  
 .....  
 Where am I now? what rubicundious *light*  
 Is this? that bloodyes my amazed sight?  
 .....  
 Awake my *fancy*, come, delude no more,  
 Say; are my *feet* upon the *English shors*?  
 Sure not; these are usurping thoughts that raine,  
 Within the Kingdom of a troubl’d braine:  
 If this be *England*, oh what alteration  
 Is lately bred within so blest a *Nation*;  
 My soul is now assured; for I see  
 Those lofty Structures where mild Majestie  
 Did once recide; abounding with a *flood*  
 That swells (& almost moates them round) with blood,  
 .....  
 Look round about thee, and thou shalt discry  
 How every *face* imports an *Elegy*.  
**Review thy self, see how thou art ingrain’d**  
**With guiltless *blood*? was ever *Land* so stain’d?** (qtd. in Quarles pp. 47-49; emphasis

bolded)

This elegy begins with a speaker who cannot make sense of the textual fantasy scene. The speaker's disorientation is conveyed in their failed attempts to recognize or locate themselves within the textual (I)maginary landscape that represents (S)ymbolic reality. The England in which the speaker and audience find themselves now is an England that they cannot recognize because the land and its people are traumatized and stained with the blood of Charles I: "Review thy self, see how thou art ingrain'd / With guiltless *blood*? was ever *Land* so stain'd?" The speaker is amazed, convinced that they are dreaming, because they cannot reconcile the reality that they behold with the English political landscape that they once knew.

The speaker attempts to rally in the face of this traumatizing fantasy scene, stating that the topic of the regicide will prompt the nation to reflect upon the loss of the king. The speaker claims that it is incumbent upon royalists to bear witness to Charles's greatness through textual performances:

**Be well advis'd, oh Nation; learn to know  
That language cannot ebb, when blood shal flow.**  
*All beares all eyes, all hands, all tongues, all Quills  
Will think, will weep, will write, & speak their wills,  
I'll not invoke; this Subject will invite  
Th'obdurest hearts, and teach that pen to write  
Which never fram'd a Letter, and infuse  
The seed of Life, into a barren Muse:  
Thou Great Instructor, teach me to distill  
An Eagles Vertues, with an Eagles quill:  
Rais'd by a fall, my Muse begins to sing  
The melancholy farewells of a King.*

And is he gone! did not the dolefull *Bells*  
Desolve, when as they told his sad *Farwells*.  
If he be gone? what language can there be  
Remaining in this *land*, except, *Ah me*.  
Ah me, Ah lasse, how is this *realme* unblest

In such a losse? — I cannot speak the rest:  
 My *heart* is full of *arrows* shott of late  
 From the stiffe *Bowe* of a commanding *State*.

.....  
 I am resolv'd (let death diswade) to speake  
 What *Reason* dictates, or my *heart* must break,  
 I'le mount the *stage*, let *standers* by behold  
 My *actions*, for my *sorrows* must be bold,  
 I feare not *those*, whose *powers* may controul  
 The language of my *tongue*, but not my *soul*; (qtd. in Quarles pp. 51-53; emphasis  
 bolded)

At the beginning of this excerpt, the speaker encourages others to contribute to the royalists' efforts at (S)ymbolic resistance, stating that they must not be silent ("language cannot ebb") in the face of such injustice ("when blood shal flow"). In addition, the efforts of the royalists to fight back against (pro-) parliamentarians through textual performances prevents the complete foreclosure of the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure. By not allowing royalist "language to ebb" in the wake of the regicide, those of the royalist textual public continue to bear witness to the tragedy through the production and consumption of *Eikon Basilike* and other royalist texts. The speaker wishes to add their own voice to this collective effort, beseeching assistance from the "Great Instructor" to help them to do justice to the memory of Charles I and to convert audiences to the monarchist cause:

Thou Great *Instructor*, teach me to distill  
 An *Eagles* Vertues, with an *Eagles* quill:  
 Rais'd by a *fall*, my *Muse* begins to sing  
 The melancholy farewells of a *King*. (qtd. in Quarles p. 51)

Interestingly, while the "Great Instructor" in this passage can be interpreted as God or another artistic muse, the metaphor of the eagle's quill invites the audience to interpret the identity of this

“Instructor” or muse as the Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy. The eagle metaphor is linked with Charles I later in this same poem by the speaker:

The *Commons* of the *aire* conspire to throw  
 Their *Soveraigne* downe, and will not fly so low  
 As formerly; but are resolv'd to be  
 Oppugnant to the *Eagles Majesty*. (qtd. in Quarles p. 57)

And, to digress for a moment, the eagle was invoked as a symbol for the monarchy in other royalist texts such as *An Elegy on the Meekest of Men* (15), *An Elegy upon That never to be forgotten Charles the First* (51), *A Deepe Groane* (5), and *Virtus Rediviva* (18). Further, a quill, or pen, as I have established already in Chapter 3, is used in royalist literature often as a metonymy for *Eikon Basilike*. As such, we can conclude reasonably that the speaker's reference in this poem to an eagle's quill is a coded reference to *Eikon Basilike*. The *Eikon* is the only muse that is capable truly of teaching the speaker to “distill / *An Eagles Vertues*.” The Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy was “rais'd by a fall” of the monarchy and sublimated as a text-agent by royalists who infused “the seed of Life, into a barren *Muse*.” Thus, in a stunning move of double reflection, the speaker turns to the *Eikon* as the ideal guide and interlocutor (a text-agent) to help them not only to express the king's virtues, but to endow the book with Charles's singularity and help it to perform as a muse for the speaker that has the thing-power to “sing / The melancholy farewells of a *King*.”

However, as we know from the discussions in earlier chapters, the *Eikon* was destined to disappoint royalist audiences as a surrogate for the forbidden because it could never satisfy fully the void of *das Ding*. Despite using the *Eikon* as a muse and source of inspiration, the speaker in this poem struggles still to reconcile the present-absence of the king's person post-regicide,

which is reflected in the repeated failure of language. For example, lamenting the king's death, the speaker cries: "And is he gone! did not the dolefull *Bells* / Desolve, when as they told his sad *Farwells*" (qtd. in Quarles p. 51). The first sentence of this passage, "And is he gone!" is structured grammatically as a question and yet is punctuated with an exclamation mark. We find similar grammatical confusion in the next sentence: "did not the dolefull *Bells* / Desolve, when as they told his sad *Farwells*." (p. 51; emphasis bolded). Here, a period (bolded) is used in the place of a question mark. While these instances of (mis)punctuation may have been due to a printing error, the audience is left nonetheless with the impression that the speaker is (S)ymbolically disoriented. The (mis)punctuation in these lines of text reflects the breakdown of paternal-monarchical Symbolic rules that governed England formerly; that is to say, the punctuation of these lines is not following the (S)ymbolic rules, much like Parliament has broken the rules of constitutional monarchism by executing the king and installing a republic.

The disorientation and the trauma that the speaker experiences because of the regicide is reflected further in moments within the fantasy scene wherein language continues to fail the speaker as they confront the (S)ymbolic implications of Charles's present-absence. The speaker continues their lament, asking:

If he be gone? what language can there be  
 Remaining in this *land*, except, *Ah me*.  
 Ah me, Ah lasse, how is this *realme* unblest  
 In such a losse?— I cannot speak the rest:  
 My *heart* is full of *arrows* shott of late  
 From the stiffe *Bowe* of a commanding *State*. (qtd. in Quarles p. 51)

The speaker's destabilized relationship with reality and the paternal-monarchical structure is emphasized in this passage by their encounter with the death drive. The speaker becomes

trapped in the (lack of) language, repeating the vocable *ah* and unable to finish their thoughts, noting that they “cannot speak the rest.” And much like the previous encounters that we have seen between speakers and em dashes/horizontal bars in other royalist texts so far, this speaker and the audience are “unable to speak the rest” or the pause.<sup>104</sup> Instead, the speaker and the audience encounter the absence of speech or sound in the em dash and must remain silent. Additionally, the speaker’s question has another register of meaning if we consider it to be rhetorical. If Charles is gone—and the paternal-monarchical structure is foreclosed with him in death—then by what means can subjectively destitute royalists express their grief about the lost (F)ather other than through failures of speech that emphasize the limitations of the (S)ymbolic, such as vocables and silences? In both interpretations of these lines, the speaker demonstrates symptoms of a psychotic relationship with the maternal-republican Symbolic structure, which is evidenced in the use of ruptures, silences, and the failure of speech to convey the speaker’s trauma within the lines of the poem.

Further, if we examine the prosody of this section (see fig. 15), we can appreciate how the internal structure of the lines and meter begin to break down as the speaker confronts the unspeakable trauma of the Real in the fragmented Symbolic. The last foot of the fourth line and the first foot of the fifth line below can be performed as spondees that emphasize the loss with which the speaker is struggling:

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<sup>104</sup> Interestingly, moments or beats of silence in music are denoted by *rests*, which lends additional meaning to this line.



And is|he gone!|did not|the dolefull|Bells  
 Desolve,|when as|they told|his sad|Farwells.  
 If he|be gone?|what language|can|there be  
 Remaining|in this land,|except,|Ah me.  
 Ah me,|Ah lasse,|how is|this realme|unblest  
 In such|a losse?|— I cannot|speak|the rest:  
 My heart|is full|of arrows|shott|of late  
 From the|stiffe Bowe|of a|commanding|State. (qtd. in Quarles p. 51)

Fig. 15. A scanned section of verse from “An Elegy upon That never to be forgotten Charles the First,” printed in John Quarles’s (1649) text, *Regale Lectum Miseriae*.

The spondees in line 4 and line 5 of this excerpt are sites of repetition. The syllabic stresses of the two vocables (*ah*) disrupt the iambic pentameter and signify the speaker’s loss of self. The speaker, caught in the grip of the death drive, continues to exhibit the same symptom: an excessive amount of stress(es) and the repeated vocable *ah*. The *ah* is a forceful mimetic rupture of trauma, and the speaker’s equal emphasis on *me* in the spondees suggests that the speaker did not just lose their king (the *he* in this passage), but also their sense of self with the regicidal foreclosure of the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure. The speaker refers to themselves as an object noun (*me*) rather than a (\$)subject noun (*I*). This loss of self is underscored further by the

punctuation enclosing these metrical feet, which isolates the object noun (*me*, or the self-alienated speaker) from the rest of the lines.\* In these instances of repetition and excess, we can detect the speaker encountering the force and the emptiness of *das Ding* as the rules of grammar and iambic pentameter are broken and the lines are overburdened with affective and linguistic stress. Moreover, if we understand that iambic pentameter was the dominant poetic meter of the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure during the early modern period, then this spondaic rupture is even more significant. The partial foreclosure of the paternal-monarchical structure is reflected in the moments of traumatic mimetic rupture of the iambic pentameter. The overwhelming grip of the death drive is reinforced in the em dash/horizontal bar in the middle of the next line, which functions as a (S)ymbolic representation of the traumatizing Real and is experienced as a silence that interrupts the language and flow of the meter. Caught in the death drive, the speaker asserts that they “cannot speak the rest,” and this assertion is trapped between the silences of the em dash and the end-stop of the line (the colon). Unable to convert drive into an expression of (S)ymbolic desire, the speaker shifts topics suddenly to focus upon the usurper,

(m)Other Parliament:

*Sorrow* will not be tongue-tyd, *tydes* must run  
 Their usuall *courses*, till their strength is done,  
 I have a streame of *grief* within my brest,  
 That tumbles up, and down, and cannot rest,  
 I am resolv'd (let death diswade) to speak  
 What *Reason* dictates, or my *heart* must break,  
 I'le mount the *stage*, let *standers* by behold  
 My *actions*, for my *sorrows* must be bold,  
 I feare not *those*, whose *powers* may controul  
 The language of my *tongue*, but not my *soul*;  
 Advance dejected *souls*, hear *reason* call,  
 Let not the *truth* be passive, though we fall.  
 Blush not to owne those *teares*, which you have spent

In *private*, for a *Publick* discontent;  
 Let not your *tongues* be Pris'ners to your *lippes*  
 When *Justice* calls, oh let not *fear* eclipse  
 The light of *truth*, rouse up your selves, draw neare  
*When Justice findes a tongue, finde you an eare.* (qtd. in Quarles pp. 53-54)

Here, the speaker expresses their disdain that the Rump has attempted to censor and suppress royalist sentiments by seizing control over the presses in an assertion of the political and ideological powers of the maternal-republican structure. The speaker's resistance to Parliament's efforts is reflected in the number of caesurae in the first twelve lines of this passage. This run-on grammatical sentence creates a verbal abundance or a sense of *jouissance* in the speaker's (failed) attempt to articulate the trauma and get their words out before they are censored and punished by the (m)Other. The speaker is un-tongue-tied in a twelve-line sentence that "tumbles up, and down, and cannot rest," as sorrow is released from its linguistic prison figuratively by the speaker's determination to fight back against the (m)Other. They proclaim that they will "mount the stage" to act out their unspeakable sorrows so that others might witness their defiance of Parliament's attempts to silence them. The enjambed, and thus unrestricted, structure of these lines reflects this assertions of the speaker's (S)ymbolic self-empowerment.<sup>105</sup> The speaker defies grammatical rules within the maternal-republican (S)ymbolic just as they defy the Rump's rules of censorship. By speaking truth to power, the speaker calls upon and encourages other royalist authors and audiences to participate in acts of textual and performative subversion against Parliament.

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<sup>105</sup> Thank you to Leah Knight for directing me towards to this connection.

For several pages, the speaker remains caught in the compulsive grip of the death drive, continuing to repeat the cycle of lamentation. There is little movement or development of meaning in the content of the elegy. The text, much like the speaker's view of the earth, is "fill'd / With doleful *ecchoes*" (qtd. in Quarles p. 57), as they continue to invoke various metaphors for Charles's downfall and seek the paternal-monarchical language necessary to express their grief adequately. The speaker bemoans their lack of (S)ymbolic power, stating:

**Could I translate my *heart*** into a *verse*,  
 I'de pinne it with my *soul* upon his *herse*.  
**Could I command the *word***, I'de make it burne  
 Like a pure *lampe* upon his sacred *Urne*:  
**Could I command all *eyes***, I'de have them make  
 (As a memoriall for Great *Charles* his sake)  
 A *sea* of teares, that after *ages*, may  
 Lament to see, but not lament to say  
 He dy'd without a *teare*; and it should be  
 Call'd the salt of *Sea* of flowing *Loyaltie*:  
**Could I command all *hearts***, I'de make them  
 Some drops of *blood* upon his *tombe*, and send  
 Millions of *sighes* to Heav'n, that may expresse  
 His death with *Englands* great unhappinesse;  
**Could I command all *tongues***, I'd make them run  
 Devision on his *praise*, till *time* were done;  
**Could I command all *hands***, I'de strike them dead  
 Because they should not rise against their *head*.  
**Could I command all *feet***, I'de make them goe  
 And give the *Son* that duty which they owe  
 To His deserts— (qtd. in Quarles 59-61; emphasis bolded)

Throughout the passage, the speaker's desires are subsumed in their repetitive declarations about the futility of language. The speaker wishes that they could translate their heart into verse and then proceeds to fantasize about what they would do if they had a proper command of patriarchal-monarchical language. The phrase "Could I command all \_\_\_\_" is repeated six times

in this passage (bolded above). The speaker's repetition of their lack ("could I") conveys their frustration about the inability to employ the language necessary to express their trauma and their inability to elicit the affective responses they desire from (pro-) parliamentarians.

It is notable that in line six of this same excerpt, the Name-of-the-(F)ather is recovered. Finally, seven pages into this very lengthy elegy, the speaker articulates the (F)ather's name, *Charles*. However, as a symptom of the speaker's continued psychosis, the literal and Lacanian Name-of-the-(F)ather is walled off; it is enclosed grammatically and foreclosed metaphorically from the rest of the line by the parentheses. "Charles" is visible still to the audience, much like his singularity of being is visible in/as the *Eikon* through his sublimated metaphoric and metonymic essences. In this line, the king—and the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure that he represents—are not completely accessible to the speaker. Rather, they are represented as an aside, much like Charles and the monarchy were cast aside or displaced in the maternal-republican structure. In addition, the way in which the speaker invokes the Name-of-the-(F)ather belies an unconscious attempt to impose a measure of textual distance from the source of the trauma. Charles I is a present-absence, distanced grammatically from the language of the speaker by the parentheses; however, the position of this parenthetical line within the larger stanza suggests that the trauma and the lingering presence of the king continue to haunt the language of the maternal-republican structure. The Name-of-the-(F)ather remains embedded in the royalist speaker's (S)ymbolic expressions of grief throughout the lines of the elegy, hidden (sub)textually in the lines beneath alternative royalist signifiers. However, the speaker's meta-fantasy falls apart at the end of the stanza where, again, a horizontal bar is used to silence the speaker abruptly. This silencing disrupts the meter and leaves the rest of the line—and the

desires of the speaker—unspoken. In these moments of traumatic mimesis, we can detect the speaker’s struggle to perform their trauma because the *Eikon*, the speaker’s muse, is only able to recover the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure partially and imperfectly in its (h)ontological (re)presentation of the (F)ather. The speaker is limited in their ability to articulate their thoughts because the *Eikon* cannot reinstall the limitless capacity of Symbolic language. Rather, the *Eikon* is a fixed image of the king and the paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure that incites the psychotic. In other words, because it is an image of the (F)ather and a surrogate for the paternal-monarchical big Other, the text-agent can never reinstall the paternal-monarchical structure—or its corresponding (S)ymbolic language—completely in its vast infinitude.

From this point onward, whenever the speaker invokes the king’s name in the poem, they begin to exhibit greater confidence and a clearer sense of purpose as their re-interpellation into the psychotic paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure begins to take hold. The speaker remembers themselves and expresses their anger towards the regicides as they discuss how language and identity in England are divided now between the two Symbolic structures: the paternal-monarchical and the maternal-republican. This divide places England into internal conflict with itself:

I’m in a desert, and I know not where  
 To guide my steps, that path which seems most faire,  
 Proves most pernicious to me, and will lend  
 My feet a good *beginning*, but no *end*.  
*Great Charles*, oh happy word, but what’s the next  
 (Bad’s th’application of so good a *Text*)  
 Is dead; most killing word; what is he dead?  
 Nay more (if more be) hee’s murdered:  
 .....

But now (unhappy Land) thy glorie's fled,  
 They *Crowne* is fallen, and thy *Charles* is dead;  
 Goe then, deplore thy self, whilst others sing  
**The living *vertues* of thy martyr'd King;**

.....  
 But did my *tongue* expresse that they [the regicides] should be  
 Forgot; oh no, their long liv'd *Tyrannie*  
 Shall be *perpetuall*; harke, misfortune sings  
*The work of Tyrants, kill'd the best of Kings.*  
 He was the best; what impious *tongue* shall dare  
 To contradict my language, or impair  
 His living *worth*, and they that goe about  
 To blast his *Fame*, oh may their *tongues* drop out.  
 Pardon oh *Heav'n*, if passion makes me break  
 Into extreames, who can forbear to speake  
 In such a lawfull *cause*? may we not claime  
**A Priviledge to speak in *Charles* his name.**  
 Is any timerous? then let them keep  
 Their language, and reserve themselves to weep. (qtd. in Quarles pp. 61, 65-67;  
 emphasis added)

Within these lines, the speaker struggles to articulate the traumatic present-absence of Charles and to express their subjective destitution in the maternal-republican structure. They are in a metaphorical desert of language and have only a surrogate ego-ideal—an image of the (F)ather—to guide them as they negotiate their re-entry into the psychotic paternal-monarchical Symbolic structure. In other words, they desire the restoration of the (F)ather and the paternal-monarchical structure so that they might work through their psychosis and recover their status as a neurotic Subject in the Symbolic order. Furthermore, the speaker's language is affected by their psychotic status. While the speaker wants to label the regicides as *tyrants*, they recognize that such language will be contradicted or even censored and punished by the monstrous (m)Other, Parliament. But as the speaker tells us, *Charles* is a “happy word,” and it is a privilege (and a source of *jouissance*) to “speak in *Charles* his name” or to invoke the Name-of-the-(F)ather,

even if the (m)Other Parliament forbids royalists from so doing. Here, speaking Charles's name becomes a perverse (S)ymbolic act of defiance of the (m)Other through a painful-yet-pleasurable textual performance of remembrance.

However, the poem's speaker occupies a liminal state as they are both inside and outside of the maternal-republican structure simultaneously. Their status locates them within the royalist trauma culture—a position that must, by definition, be accompanied by inevitable pain. As the speaker expresses to their muse:

Here stop my *Muse*, let's labour to accost  
Our former glory, *Charles*, though we have lost  
His Sacred *Person*, yet we must not loose  
His happy *memory*; Ah who can chuse  
But *sigh*, when as they seate his glorious *name*  
Within their *serious thoughts*: If ever *Fame*  
Receiv'd a *Crown*; It was from *him*, whose *worth*  
My wearied Quill's too weak to blazon forth; (qtd. in Quarles p. 79)

Charles I is represented in these lines as the former glory of both the speaker and the muse (“Our former glory, Charles, though we have lost / His Sacred Person”). Building upon my earlier argument that the muse in this poem is the sublimated *Eikon Basilike*, then in this excerpt, the speaker addresses the king's book directly as an interlocutor and text-agent. The speaker's words suggest that re-membling the (F)ather within the royalist trauma culture entails a painful yet pleasurable acting out the repetitive function of the death drive of the Real through an engagement with *jouissance*. In this instance, the speaker poses a rhetorical question: “who can chuse / But *sigh*, when as they seate his glorious *name* / Within their *serious thoughts* [...]” Interestingly, a sigh can signal pleasure, pain, and even a combination of the two. In this case, the happy memory of Charles and the Name-of-the-(F)ather is accompanied by a sigh which,



within the context of the surrounding lines and subtext of the poem, suggests that the speaker's sigh is born of the pleasurable-pain or *jouissance* that accompanies the act of remembrance.

Further, the speaker uses again the vocable *ah*, this time to express and contextualize the sigh.

This utterance is followed by the assertion that their quill has become weary and weak, signalling their struggle to convey meaning in the Symbolic. Because the act of remembrance invokes *jouissance*, the Name-of-the-(F)ather prompts instances of traumatic mimesis in the poem. Such moments of rupture are located in the vocable *ah*, the symbolic representations of silence, and the outright assertions that language cannot represent the trauma that royalists encounter in their memories and textual performances.

In the final stanza, the speaker engages audiences actively in negotiating the tension between acting out and working through via textual performance when they break the fourth wall of the poem:

**Now *Reader*, close thine eyes, & doe not read**  
**My following lines, except thy heart can bleed,**  
**And thou not dye;** ah heer's a mournfull *text*,  
Imports a *death*, suppose what follows next,  
And 'tis enough; oh that I could *ingrosse*  
The *language* of the *world*, t'expresse this *losse*;  
Break *hearts*, weep *eyes*, lament your *Sovereigns fall*  
And let *him* swimme unto his *funeral*  
In subjects *teares*; oh had you seen his *feet*  
Mounted the *stage* of *blood*, and run to meet  
The *fury* of his *foes*, and how his *breath*  
Proclaim'd a *correspondency* with *death*;  
Oh then thy diving *heart* must needs have found  
The depth of sorrow, and received a wound,  
That *Time* could not rescue, of such a sight  
Had been sufficient to have made a *night*  
Within this little *world*, hadst thou but seen  
What soul-defending *patience* stood between  
*Passion* and *him* [...] (qtd. in Quarles 85-86; emphasis bolded)

The speaker begins this stanza by addressing the audience with a warning or challenge, depending upon one's position within the royalist textual public. The audience should not continue to engage the text unless their "heart can bleed, / And thou not dye." In other words, if the speaker's efforts have been successful throughout the elegy, the poem should have persuaded the audience to empathize with Charles I and the monarchist cause. If this is the case, then the speaker warns the audience that their heart already bleeds and so they need not subject themselves to the trauma of (re)witnessing the regicide textually in the remaining lines of the poem.

However, if the speaker has been unsuccessful thus far in persuading the audience of the merits of the monarchist cause, this speech act is a challenge that signals to the audience that the speaker is about to present their most effective/affective argument yet: an account of the king's scaffold performance. Having said that, in both interpretations the use of enjambment at the end of the first line in this stanza belies the speaker's words and suggests to the audience that they are not meant to stop reading/witnessing at all. Instead, the movement of the lines continues through the speaker's use of commas, semicolons, caesurae, and enjambment, generating a sense of overwhelming *jouissance* in the speaker's account, which the audience then experiences vicariously. Again, the audience encounters a speaker who, like those speakers from other royalist texts, seems to lament not having proper access to the paternal-monarchical structure, or "The *language* of the *world*, t'expresse this *losse*[".]” Instead, they must rely upon figurative language, such as the metaphor of a bleeding heart, which contributes further to the overabundance of affect in this poem and grips the speaker and the audience both in a mutual engagement with the death drive. By positioning the audience in the fantasy scene as having a

heart that can bleed but not die, the speaker uses metaphor to collapse the space between the Imaginary-Symbolic of the poem and the trauma of the Real, allowing the audience to feel the immediacy of the regicide through the speaker's attempts to articulate their loss.

The speaker continues to be overcome and subsumed in the death drive as they—and the audience, presumptively—experience a crisis of (re)witnessing in the speaker's recount of the regicide. They struggle to find the language necessary to express their grief properly, stating:

[...] oh that I could *ingrosse*  
 The *language* of the *world*, t'express this *losse*;  
 Break *hearts*, weep *eyes*, lament your *Sovereigns fall*  
 And let *him* swimme unto his *funeral*  
 In subjects *teares*; oh had you seen his *feet*  
 Mounted the *stage* of *blood*, and run to meet  
 The *fury* of his *foes*, and how his *breath*  
 Proclaim'd a *correspondency* with *death*; (p. 85)

Because paternal-monarchical language has failed within the maternal-republican structure, the speaker suggests that the tears of loyal (\$)subjects are a better mode for expressing grief.

Accordingly, the speaker's quill is personified and it "recoyles." The quill refuses to perform its (S)ymbolic duty of communicating the speaker's experiences through written language, no matter how much the speaker desires that it would, or even that it could:

[...] but my burthen'd *Quill*  
 Recoyles, and will not prosecute my will;  
 My *Pen*, and *I*, must now abruptly part,  
 Pardon (*oh Reader*) for *love* binds my *heart*  
 With *chaines* of *sorrow*, let me *crave*, what I  
 Shall want in *language*, that thou wilt *supply*  
 In *Meditation*; but before I let  
 My *quill* desert my *hand*, I'le make it *sett*  
 The *Tragi comick period* to my *story*,  
 Charles *liv'd in trouble*, and he *dy'd in glory*. (p. 89)

The speaker and the quill must part ways because the nature of their relationship has been altered by their now psychotic relationship with the Symbolic. The rhetorical relationship has broken down and the quill is no longer an extension of the speaker because it cannot function properly to articulate their trauma and desire. Expressing an internal conflict that reflects the tension of the speaker's encounter with the three Lacanian orders, the speaker craves proper paternal-monarchical language to articulate their grief; however, they suggest also that the failure of language is an expression of their grief and trauma in and of itself. In this poem, subjective destitution is converted into a defining characteristic of the collective royalist ideal-ego. The speaker's inability to express their trauma leaves a negative space in which they attempt to recruit audience members to the royalist cause by calling upon audiences to engage in the act of meditation to re-member the (F)ather: "what I / Shall want in *language*, that thou wilt *supply* / In *Meditation*." The speaker abandons their pen in rejection of the maternal-republican structure, prioritizing being in the Imaginary over meaning in the Symbolic. They encourage audience members to do the same by implying that audiences must navigate their own relationships with the Imaginary-Symbolic and construct their own fantasy scenes within which they must perform individual acts of public remembrance. These individual performances then contribute to the trans-subjective royalist fantasy of a resurrected and restored monarchy.

And while *Eikon Basilike* certainly inspired royalists to act out the regicidal trauma psychotically within the textual public, it would be reductive to presuppose that this process was only detrimental to the royalist cause when, in fact, it was a necessary step in imagining the Restoration. The royalists' deliberate performances of textual *méconnaissance*—the Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy as a truth-event—was one of their best weapons to counter-

act the Rump's installation of a maternal-republican Symbolic structure. It was the royalists' collective (mis)recognition of the Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy—and the metonymic substitution of *Eikon Basilike* as a sublimated surrogate for Charles I—that prompted this group to (re)encounter the regicide at personal and traumatic registers by bringing royalist (\$)subjects into contact with the Real in and through the text-agent. The regicide foreclosed the Name-of-the-(F)ather and destabilized long-standing English monarchical traditions, such as the divine right of kings, the royal prerogative, and the political tenets that constituted the history of divine rule in England. The royalist textual public attempted to mediate drive and desire through the *Eikon*, and this contradictory relationship with the death drive allowed royalist audiences to experience both symbolic mortification and *jouissance* simultaneously. As Hook observes, this phenomenon happens when one encounters “the death drive simultaneously as excessive libidinal substance (*jouissance*) and as a form of negativity (the mortification imposed by the symbolic). The dual location of the death drive is also thus illuminated, that is, the fact that the death drive is both (as libidinal force) *of* the subject, and ‘psychical’ as such, yet also of the broader ontological realm more generally” (“Of Symbolic Mortification” 31). This tension in the death drive led royalists to fetishize the king's text-agent as a commodity-relic and as a sublimated sublime Subject-object a of monarchical ideology. However, the royalists' psychotic encounter with the text-agent prompted authors and audiences within the royalist trauma culture to convert the Name-of-the-(F)ather (Charles Stuart and the monarchy) into an image of the (F)ather, *Eikon Basilike*. In so doing, royalists transformed the *Eikon* into a surrogate ego-ideal that served as a stain in the literary landscape and registered the Real—the present-absence of the monarchy—in the Symbolic field, as it veiled, revealed, and became *das Ding*.



### Conclusion

I'll mount the *stage*, let *standers* by behold  
 My *actions*, for my *sorrows* must be bold,  
 I feare not *those*, whose *powers* may controul  
 The language of my *tongue*, but not my *soul*.

—“An Elegy upon That never to be forgotten Charles the First” (1649)

As this project has demonstrated, it is possible for specific autobiographical texts to acquire a level of post-human agency that enables them to serve as surrogates, or text-agents, for their Subject-authors. The text-agent is multivalent: as a work, it is a fetishized commodity; as a text, it becomes fetishized and sublimated with authorial essences of the Real, which allow it to register the Subject-author's singularity of being in the Symbolic order through the author function. However, this discursive process is dependent constitutively upon a text-agent's relationship with textual publics. These publics produce texts that function as mirrors and sublimate the text-agent via double-reflection and *méconnaissance*. The Subject-author and the text-agent are encountered by audiences through a trans-subjective textual fantasy as a metaphor-metonymy that possesses the power of the Freudian paternal no and the authority of the (F)ather. The loyal and/or sympathetic collective of the Subject-author experiences psychosis upon the foreclosure of the (F)ather and, in response, it converts the Name-of-the-(F)ather into an image of the (F)ather: the text-agent. This image of the (F)ather replaces the foreclosed (F)ather, functioning as a surrogate ego-ideal that the loyal collective uses to mediate the desire and drive of (\$)subjects within destabilized Symbolic structure. Furthermore, said collective turns to the

text-agent for consolation as it seeks to know/understand the absent paternal big Other in an attempt to anticipate what the big Other desires from the larger group.

The text-agent becomes a sublimated sublime Subject-object a of ideology and a stain that generates desire for the lost Subject-object. It announces the present-absence (*das Ding*) in a way that is psychologically traumatizing for those in the textual public who are loyal/sympathetic to the Subject-author and the larger ideological cause that the Subject-author represents. The text-agent is ascribed vital materiality within the textual public and it speaks as and for the Subject-author who has been foreclosed from their Symbolic structure. In this way, the textual performance extends the traumatizing foreclosure event (such as the regicide of Charles Stuart) to extend a truth-event into and as the text-agent. The sublimated text-agent validates and inspires fidelity amongst those who are loyal and/or sympathetic to the Subject-author's ideological cause by mythologizing the Subject-author as a celebrity, hero, and martyr. As a result of the complex interactions between texts, publics, and discourses, multiple conflicting and competing narratives can emerge in moments of socio-political instability and revolution. The theory of the text-agent allows scholars to understand more concretely the ways in which certain texts come to acquire agency and the manner and force with which these texts exercise that agency amongst their audiences. Further investigation of other text-agents throughout history would be a rich site for future scholarship. Developing this body of knowledge would enable scholars from various disciplines to understand with greater nuance the circumstances within which text-agents emerge. Additionally, this knowledge would give scholars the ability to anticipate the emergence of future text-agents and help us to appreciate the



larger socio-political ramifications of, and power inherent in, these unique forms of autobiography.

In the case of *Eikon Basilike*, the fetishized text-agent was a relic that was sublimated with the paternal author(ity) in ways that scholars today continue to attempt to understand. Previous historical and literary scholarship has conceived of *Eikon Basilike* largely as epiphenomenal and as a reflection of the (R)real political struggles that shaped the aftermath of the English civil war. This project allows scholars to consider the *Eikon*—and indeed, all post-human text-agents—as active forces in socio-political Symbolic landscapes. Specifically, the works of psychoanalytic theorists such as Freud, Lacan, Ruti, and Žižek afford us greater insights into how Charles I’s spiritual autobiography became both the king’s second textual body and was a constitutive part of his Subjecthood, speaking both as and for him after the regicide. Charles’s text-agent conditioned the imaginative possibility for the Restoration by preventing the wound/void in English socio-political identity—the lost Name-of-the-(F)ather and the foreclosed paternal-monarchical structure—from healing or closing. In so doing, the *Eikon* maintained a positive-negativity in the English textual and ideological landscapes for eleven years, preserving negative space for the resurrection of the monarchy and eventually, the Restoration.

Upon the Restoration, *Eikon Basilike*, while still an influential text that possessed thing-power, yielded its surrogate paternal authority to Charles II and it was de-sublimated as a text-agent. This is not to say that the *Eikon*’s role as a surrogate was attenuated suddenly or that it disappeared from England’s literary landscape altogether. Certainly, as Madan’s bibliography demonstrates, there were indeed (inter)textual references to and imitations of *Eikon Basilike* that continued to appear during the Restoration period (1660–1689). According to Madan’s study,

four separate texts contain excerpts from the *Eikon* and other works of Charles I (Madan 108-110), and four texts imitated/invoked the title, *Eikon Basilike* (Madan 112-113). Further, there was a proclamation that was issued by Charles II in 1660: “For calling in, and suppressing of two Books written by *John Milton*; the one Intituled, *Johannis Miltoni Angli pro Populo Anglicano Defensio, contra Claudii Anonymi aliàs Salmasii, Defensionem Regiam*; and the other in answer to a Book Intituled, *The Pourtraicture of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitude and Sufferings* [...]” (Madan 117-118). Finally, there were four different editions of the *Eikon* produced during the Restoration period (Madan 122-123). Altogether then, there were a total of thirteen texts (not including separate issues or reprintings) that either referenced or were editions of *Eikon Basilike*, according to Madan’s bibliography. This number is smaller comparatively than what was being produced during the Interregnum period, especially amidst the proverbial explosion of royalist texts immediately after the regicide between 1649–1650.

Through the lenses of psychoanalytic and trauma theories, the dwindling number of references to *Eikon Basilike* makes sense. Upon the Restoration, the fantasy of the Charles/*Eikon* metaphor-metonymy was no longer necessary to mediate drive and desire. The coronation of Charles II was accompanied by the complete reestablishment of the paternal-monarchical structure through the successful reinstallation of the Name-of-the-(F)ather. In other words, the text-agent had served its purpose. It had maintained the negative space in the (S)ymbolic field that was necessary for the Restoration, and thus, it was no longer required to be or to fill the void of *das Ding* in the paternal-monarchical structure as an agent of Charles I and a master signifier of the monarchy. Instead, when Charles II was reinstated in his proper role as the (F)ather in England, *Eikon Basilike* was de-sublimated and re-historicized as a text-as-actant

and it was used by royalists and the monarchy to stabilize the monarchical signifying chain and ideology. England's mythologized martyr-king became a warning, a cautionary tale used by the church of England to deter future insurrection or rebellion. As Lacey has demonstrated, after 1662, the Anglican church placed emphasis on fashioning and establishing typologies of Charles I by providing exegetic readings of *Eikon Basilike* and the history of the civil war. The church also used the (re)imaginings of Charles I as a martyred king to serve as a (S)ymbolic warning against disobedience and rebellion (*The Cult of King Charles the Martyr* 143). It would be interesting to trace the Anglican church's use of *Eikon Basilike* as a cautionary tale—and its care to provide a specific reading of the *Eikon* as a work—throughout the Restoration period to see how the book's paternal-monarchical author(ity) was being invoked and used upon English audiences.

Due to limitations of scope, this study has focused predominantly upon Interregnum royalist works and how they contributed to the construction of Charles I's text-agent. However, there remains an entire side of this process—the (pro-) parliamentary textual responses to *Eikon Basilike*—that I have been unable to examine in any real depth. A more nuanced investigation into the role of the (pro-) parliamentary texts in the construction of *Eikon Basilike* as a text-agent would be a productive and fascinating site for future interdisciplinary analysis of the English civil war. Such an examination would allow for a more robust understanding of how the *Eikon* shaped the relationship between Parliament and the monarchy during the Restoration period. Moreover, it would be enlightening to extend the arguments put forth in this dissertation to literature of the Restoration to investigate any additional coded literary references to *Eikon*

*Basilike* that may have escaped Madan's bibliography, which would allow scholars to re-examine how Charles I and the *Eikon* have been depicted in Restoration writings.

There remains much work that can be done in this area to build upon existing Restoration research conducted by scholars such as Lacey, Thomas Anderson, Jerome de Groot, Sean Kelsey, Laura Knoppers, Nancy Klein Maguire, Kevin Sharpe, Nigel Smith, and Stephen Zwicker. A closer examination of how the text-agent was de-sublimated upon the return and coronation of Charles II, and how English audiences were processing the trauma and lingering guilt of the Interregnum in and through texts, would provide new insights into the socio-political and cultural landscapes of the early Restoration period. Then, of course, there is Charles II's own textual addition to the monarchical signifying chain, *Eikon Basilike Deutera, The Portraicture of His Sacred Majesty King Charles II with his reasons for turning Roman Catholick*, which was published after Charles II's death by King James II in 1694. It would be informative to trace how various monarchical narratives, particularly spiritual autobiographies, were used to reinforce the monarchical signifying chain throughout history and what larger socio-political and psychoanalytic effects such texts had upon their audiences.

Overall, a more extensive understanding of how thing-power and singularity of being inform the sublimation of a text-agent has the potential to reframe (inter)disciplinary ontological and epistemological understandings of texts in fields such as philosophy, history, politics, literary studies, and cultural studies. This project contributes to the production of original (inter)disciplinary knowledge by recognizing that the hermeneutic circle as a model for interpreting events, ideas, and texts can be adjusted productively through a post-human lens to incorporate textual agents and non-human actants in the process of textual interpretation. Text-

agents possess a unique ability to participate in the hermeneutic process by influencing and collaborating in the collective interpretive undertakings by textual publics. There are many valuable (inter)disciplinary insights yet to be gained by broadening existing understandings of textual agency and interpretive publics to explore the complex conceptual interrelationships amongst texts, works, text-agents, textual-publics, trauma cultures, and political/religious ideologies throughout history.

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