

NOTES

Introduction

1. Sophocles, *Philoctetes*, in *Four Plays*, ed. T.H. Banks (Oxford, 1966), 140 and idem. See also Oscar Mandel, *Philoctetes and the Fall of Troy: Documents, Iconography, Interpretations* (Lincoln, NE, 1981).
2. Drew Leder, "Illness and Exile: Sophocles' *Philoctetes*," *Literature and Medicine* 9 (1990), 1–11.
3. See also Roselyne Rey, who writes, "When pain is at its worse, Philoctetes is in a sort of delirious state where he can neither recognize nor communicate with those closest to him." Roselyn Rey, *The History of Pain*, trans. Louise Elliott Wallace (Cambridge, MA, 1995).
4. Edmund Wilson, *The Wound and the Bow: Seven Studies in Literature* (Oxford, 1947), 289; William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (London, 1902), 25.
5. See, for example, the classic accounts: A. O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being* (Cambridge, MA, 1936); E. W. W. Tillyard, *The Elizabethan World Picture* (New York, 1943).
6. Kevin Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England: The Culture of Seventeenth-Century Politics* (Cambridge, 2000), 63.
7. *Ibid.*, 114ff.
8. Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640–1660* (New Haven, 1994), introduction.
9. Kevin Sharpe, 40. See also Quentin Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas," *History and Theory* 8 (1969), 3–53; idem, "On Performing and Explaining Linguistic Actions," *Philosophical Quarterly* 21 (1971), 1–21; J. G. A. Pocock, "Verbalizing a Political Act: Towards a Politics of Language," *Political Theory* 1 (1973), 27–45; J. G. A. Pocock, *Politics, Language and Time* (Cambridge, 1989).
10. See Kevin Sharpe, 45.
11. See Ernst Cassirer, *Language and Myth* (New York, 1946); I. A. Richards, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (Oxford, 1936); Paul Ricoeur; *On Metaphor*, ed. Sheldon Sacks (Chicago, 1979); Mark Johnson, *Philosophical Perspectives on Metaphor* (Minneapolis, 1981); idem, *The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason* (Chicago, 1987); George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago, 1980); Samuel R. Levin, *Metaphoric Worlds: Conceptions of a Romantic Nature* (New Haven, 1988); Weller Embler, *Metaphor and Meaning* (Deland, FLA, 1966); A. Goatly, *A Language of Metaphors* (London 1997); Z. Kovecses, *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction* (Oxford, 2002);
12. Kevin Sharpe, 42–44.

13. See Ronald S. Wallace, *Calvin's Doctrine of the Word and Sacrament* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1957), 78–161, 229.
14. Edward Taylor, “Preparatory Meditations before My Approach to the Lords Supper,” in *The Poems of Edward Taylor*, ed. Donald E. Stanford (New Haven, 1960), II, 101, 7–8.
15. Kathleen Blake, “Edward Taylor’s Protestant Poetic: Non-transubstantiating Metaphor,” *American Literature* 43 (1971), 1–24.
16. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. C. B. Macpherson (London, 1968), Part 1, chap. 4, 102–103ff.
17. Conal Condron, *The Language of Politics in Seventeenth-Century England* (New York, 1994), 71. See also David Johnston, *The Rhetoric of Leviathan* (Princeton, 1986).
18. Locke, “Of Human Understanding,” in *Philosophical Works*, ed. James Augustus St. John (London, 1877), 2: 112.
19. Paul de Man, “The Epistemology of Metaphor,” in *On Metaphor*, ed. Sheldon Sacks (Chicago, 1979), 12.
20. Quoted from Roy Daniells, “English Baroque and Deliberate Obscurity,” *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 5 (1946), 118–119; see also Peter Dear, “Totius in verba: Rhetoric and Authority in Early Royal Society,” *Isis* 76 (1985), 145–161.
21. Quoted in Daniells, 119.
22. Paul Ricoeur, *The Philosophy of Paul Ricoeur: An Anthology of His Work*, ed. Charles E. Reagan and David Stewar (Boston, 1978), 44.
23. Paul Ricoeur, *The Rule of Metaphor: Multi-Disciplinary Studies in the Creation of Meaning in Language*, trans. Robert Czerny with Kathleen McLaughlin and John Costello, S. J. (London, 1978).
24. *Ibid.*, 237.
25. Donald Davidson, “What Metaphors Mean,” in *On Metaphor*, 29–45.
26. Marcus B. Hester, *Meaning of Poetic Metaphor: An Analysis in the Light of Wittgenstein’s Claim that Meaning is Use* (The Hague, 1967), 68.
27. Barbara Stafford, *Body Criticism* (Cambridge, MA, 1991), introduction.
28. Quoted in Stafford, 4.
29. Donald G. MacRae, “The Body and Social Metaphor,” in *The Body as a Medium of Expression*, ed. Jonathan Benthall and Ted Polhemus (London, 1975), 62.
30. Geoffrey H. Hartman, “Words and Wounds,” *Medicine and Literature*, ed. Enid Rhodes Peschel (New York, 1980), 181–186.
31. *Ibid.*, 63.
32. See, for example, Jean-Yves Le Naour, *The Living Unknown Soldier: A Story of Grief and the Great War*, trans. Penny Allen (New York, 2004), 8–9 and ff.
33. Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici*, in *The Works of Thomas Browne*, ed. Simon Wilkin (London, 1852), 2: 433.
34. David T. Mitchell and Sharon L. Snyder, “Introduction: Disability Studies and the Double Bind of Representation,” in *The Body and Physical Difference*, ed. Snyder and Mitchell (Ann Arbor, 2000); see also David T. Mitchell, “Narrative Prosthesis and the Materiality of Metaphor,” in *Disability Studies: Enabling the Humanities*, ed. Susan L. Snyder, Brenda Jo Brueggemann, and Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, (New York, 2002), 15ff; Irina Metzler, *Disability in Medieval Europe: Thinking about Physical Impairment during the High Middle Ages, 1100–1400* (New York, 2007), introduction; *Social Histories of Disability and Deformity*, ed. David M. Turner and Kevin Stagg (New York, 2006).
35. Theodore Ziolkowski, *Disenchanted Images: A Literary Iconology*, 8, 10; see also Phillip Stambovsky, *The Depictive Image: Metaphor and Literary Experience* (Amherst, 1988), 71–72.
36. Stephen Greenblatt, “Mutilation and Meaning,” in *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Carlo Mazzio and David Hillman (London: Routledge), 221–241.

37. Mitchell Merback, *The Thief, the Cross and the Wheel: Pain and the Spectacle of Punishment in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Chicago, 1999), 113.
38. Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror: An Essay in Abjection* (New York, 1982), 3–4.
39. *Ibid.*, 53.
40. *Ibid.*, 101.
41. Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, trans. Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee (London, 1960), 21. See also Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concept of Pollution and Taboo* (New York, 2002).
42. See Miri Rubin, “The Body, Whole and Vulnerable, in Fifteenth-Century England,” in *Bodies and Disciplines: Intersections of Literature and History in Fifteenth-Century England*, ed. Barbara Hanawalt and David Wallace (Minneapolis, 1996), 19–29.
43. Michael Camille, *Images on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (London, 1992), 16.
44. See Eric Jager, *The Book of the Heart* (Chicago, 2000).
45. Quoted from Jager, 122.
46. See W. G. Sebald, *On the Natural History of Destruction* (New York, 2003).
47. Stafford, 58.
48. Maurizio Bettini, *Portrait of the Lover*, trans. Laura Gibbs (Berkeley, CA, 1999), 17.
49. Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London, 2001).
50. Samuel Edgerton, *Pictures and Punishment: Art and Criminal Prosecution during the Florentine Renaissance* (Ithaca, NY, 1985).
51. See Andrew Stewart, *Attalos, Athens, and the Akropolis: The Pergamene ‘Little Barbarians’ and their Roman and Renaissance Legacy* (Cambridge, 2004), 166.
52. Purgatorio, Canto III (51).
53. Nigel Spivey, *Enduring Creation: Art, Pain, and Fortitude* (Berkeley, CA, 2001), Spivey, 28.
54. Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (Oxford, 1985), 198ff.
55. Spivey, 62.
56. For an exploration of Job, see Helene Cixous, “Stigmata, or Job the Dog,” trans. Eric Prenowitz, *Philosophy Today* (1997), 12–17.
57. It was Leviticus and Uzzah’s description of leprosy that provided the template for medieval meditation on Christ’s own woundedness. See 2 Chronicle 26: 16–21 and Leviticus 13: 45.
58. J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (London, 1955), 200. See also Frederick C. Bauerschmidt, “The Wounds of Christ,” *Journal of Literature and Theology* 5 (1991), 83–100.
59. Since some Gnostics, for example, did not recognize the physical body of Christ, the meaning of his passion—and with it, the woundedness it entailed—was likewise not real. One Gnostic text, *The Second Treatise of the Great Seth*, quotes Jesus as saying to Simon that “it was another. . . who drank the gall and vinegar, it was not I. . . [I]t was another upon whom they placed the crown of thorns. But I was rejoicing in the height over. . . their error. . . And I was laughing at their ignorance.” This Gnostic Jesus bore no footprints, never blinked, stood “fair” and physically unbroken; others might have seen the wounds inflicted by nails and thorns, but those wounds were “his fleshly part, which is the substitute,” and thus not real. For upholders of the orthodoxy, such as Irenaeus, Ignatius, or Justin, such claims not only denied the bodily experience of crucifixion and martyrdom, but also denied Jesus a central component of his very identity. *Second Treatise of the Great Seth*, trans. Roger A. Bullard and Joseph A. Gibbons. In *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, eds. James McConkey Robinson, Richard Smith, et al. 4th ed. (New York and London, 1996).
60. See the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, in Ignatius of Antioch and Polycarp of Smyrna, *Lettres: Martyre de Polycarpe*, ed. and trans. P.T. Camelot, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1958), 264.
61. Judith Perkins, *The Suffering Self: Pain and Narrative Representation in the Early Christian Era* (New York, 1995), 10.

62. Bonaventure, *The Discipline and the Master: St. Bonaventure's Sermons on St. Francis of Assisi*, trans. Eric Doyle (Chicago, 1983), 82. See also Anne Derbes, *Picturing the Passion in Late-Medieval Italy* (Cambridge, 1996).
63. "The identification of women with the body demands that their sanctification occur in and through that body . . . the medieval hagiographer wants externally sensible signs of visionary and mystical experience in order to verify the claims to sanctity of the woman saint." Amy Hollywood, *The Soul as Virgin Wife: Mechthild of Magdeburg, Marguerite Porete, and Meister Eckhart* (Notre Dame, 1995), 35.
64. Karma Lochrie, *Margery Kempe and the Translations of the Flesh* (Philadelphia, 1991), 24–26.
65. Caroline Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (New York, 1994), 161, 224.
66. Julian of Norwich, *A Revelation of Love*, ed. Elisabeth Dutton (London, 2008), 147. Wounds were not simply gendered in favor of the female, since they could belong to the province of men as well. In the case of Origen's alleged self-castration—though the procedure was apparently performed by a doctor—Peter Brown has written that what Origen sought was more "unsettling" than simply unsexing himself, for by becoming a eunuch he "had dared to shift the massive boundary between the sexes" and had, in effect, become "exiled from either gender," a "walking lesson in the basic indeterminacy of the body." Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York, 1988), 169.
67. Dante, *Divine Comedy: Purgatory*, trans. Mark Musa (New York, 1985), canto xxix, 1.2. See also Piero Camporesi, *The Incorruptible Flesh: Bodily Mutilation and Mortification in Religion and Folklore*, trans. Tania Croft-Murray (Cambridge, 1988), chap. two.
68. Canto xxix 1.3, "Beati quorum tecta sunt peccata!" In Dante.
69. Aquinas refers to Job's statement when he writes, "There are those who assert that we will rise with celestial bodies, but Job excludes this when he says, 'And my skin will surround me again,' . . . for in this way of speaking he gives the reason of the resurrection, that the soul not remain denuded forever of its proper clothing." See Aquinas, *Expositions on Job*, chap. 19, leccio 2, *Opera omnia*, ed. Frette (Paris, 1976), 18: 119–120.
70. Quoted from Caroline Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (New York, 1995), 123.
71. *Ibid.*, 254.
72. See also Vladimir Gurewich, "Observations on the Iconography of the Wound in Christ's Side, with Special Reference to its Position," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 20 (1957), 358–362.
73. Spivey, 63.
74. Sarah Beckwith, *Christ's Body: Identity, Culture, and Society in Late Medieval Writings* (New York, 1996), 42.
75. Quoted from Beckwith, 56.
76. Bernard of Clairvaux, Sermon 62 on the Song of Songs, in *Bernard of Clairvaux: Selected Writings*, trans. G. R. Evans (New York, 1987), 250–251.
77. Henry Suso, *Wisdom's Watch upon the Hours*, trans. Edmund Colledge (Washington, DC, 1994), 96, 99.
78. Peter Widdicombe, "The Wounds and the Ascended Body :The Marks of Crucifixion in the Glorified Christ from Justin Martyr to John Calvin," *Laval théologique et philosophique* 59 (2003).
79. Martin Luther, "A Meditation on Christ's Passion," in Luther, *Works*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan, Daniel E. Poellot, Walter A. Hansen, et al. (St Louis, 1955–1969), 42: 8–9.
80. Mitchell Merback, 299–301; see also 70–73.
81. For Calvin on Christ's wounds, see John Calvin, *Commentary on the Gospel According to John*, trans. W. Pringle (Grand Rapids, MI, 1979), 2: 265; and *idem*, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, vol. II, ed. J. Neill and trans. F. Battles (Philadelphia, 1960), Bk III.25.3, 990–991, and Bk IV.17.29, 1398–1399.

82. John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of Matters Most Speciall and Memorable...* (London, 1583), 1511.
83. Roy Rappaport, "The Obvious Aspects of Ritual," in *Ecology, Meaning and Religion* (Richmond, CA, 1979), 173–222.
84. Bob Scribner, "Reformation and Desacralization: From Sacramental World to Moralized Universe," in *Problems in the Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Europe*, ed. R. Po-Chia Hsia and R. W. Scribner (Wiesbaden, 1997), 75–92.
85. Emily Dickinson, Poem #599, "There is a Pain So Utter," in *Emily Dickinson, Selected Poems*, ed. Helen McNeil (London, 1996), 57.

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1. Abraham Cowley, *The Civil War*, ed. Allan Pritchard (Toronto, 1973), 73.
2. William Allen, "A faithful Memorial of That Remarkable Meeting of Many Officers of the Army" (1659), in *Somers Tracts*, ed. Sir W. Scott (London, 1809–1815), 5: 501.
3. Patricia Crawford, "Charles Stuart, That Man of Blood," *Journal of British Studies* 16 (1977), 41–61.
4. For the means by which metaphors persuade and shape attitudes, see Elliot Zashin and Phillip C. Chapman, "The Uses of Metaphor and Analogy: Toward a Renewal of Political Language," in *The Journal of Politics* 36 (1974), 309; see also Jeremy Rayner, "Between Meaning and Event: An Historical Approach to Political Metaphors," *Political Studies* 32 (1984), 537–550; Eugene F. Miller, "Metaphor and Political Knowledge," *The American Political Science Review* 73 (1974), 290–326; Giuseppa Saccaro-Battisti, "Changing Metaphors of Political Structures," *Journal of the History of Ideas* (1983), 31–54; James Daly, "Cosmic Harmony and Political Thinking in Early Stuart England," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 69 (1979), 3–41; Judith N. Shklar, *Men and Citizens: A Study of Rousseau's Social Theory* (Cambridge, 1969); Jacques LeGoff, "Head or Heart? The Political Use of Body Metaphors in the Middle Ages," in *Fragments for a History of the Human Body, Part Three*, ed. Michel Feher with Ramona Naddaff and Nadio Tazi, Zone 5 (New York, 1989), 13–25.
5. Derek Hirst, *England in Conflict, 1603–1660* (Oxford, 1999), introduction.
6. See J. P. Sommerville, *Politics and Ideology in England, 1603–1640* (London, 1986), 48–49.
7. Michael Walzer, "On the Role of Symbolism in Political Thought," *Political Science Quarterly* 82 (1967), 191–204.
8. For definitions of metaphor and analogy, see Daly, "Cosmic Harmony," 7. The target of injury was usually perceived to be the body politic, which was not simply a metaphor, or a rhetorical device, but an analogy, which "discovered new truth by arguing from the known to unknown."
9. Giuseppa Saccaro-Battisti, "Changing Metaphors of Political Structures," 33.
10. Rayner, "Between Meaning and Event," 537–544.
11. Richard Lovelace, *Lucasta: Poems Addressed or Relating to Lucasta*, II, lines 4–6, in *Miscellaneous Poems*, ed. W. L. Phelps (London, 1921), 2: 48.
12. Henry Parker, *Observations upon some of his Majesties Late Answers and Expresses* (1642), reprinted in *Tracts on Liberty in the Puritan Revolution*, ed. William Haller (New York, 1934), 2: 167–213.
13. George Wither, *Vox Pacifica* (1645), 138.
14. Thomas Craig, *Concerning the Right of Succession to the Crowne of England* (1594); quoted in David George Hale, *The Body Politic: A Political Metaphor in Renaissance English Literature* (Mouton, 1971), 81.
15. See, however, Conal Condren, "On Rhetorical Foundations of Leviathan," *History of Political Thought* 11 (1990), 715.

16. Jonathan Gil-Harris, *Foreign Bodies and the Body Politic: Discourses of Pathology in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1998), chap. two.
17. Pym's speech on grievances, April 17, 1640, in *The Stuart Constitution, 1603–1688: Documents and Commentary*, ed. J. P. Kenyon, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1966), 183.
18. See Gil Harris, 19.
19. Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (repr. London, 1992). 114–115.
20. See Kevin Sharpe, "A Commonwealth of Meanings," in *Remapping Early Modern England: The Culture of Seventeenth-Century Politics* (Cambridge, 2000), 86.
21. J. G. A. Pocock, *Politics, Language and Time: Essays on Political Thought and History* 13 (1989), 13.
22. A. O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being: A Study in the History of an Idea* (Cambridge, MA, 1936).
23. See for example Plato, *Republic*, Bk. Two; *Laws*, 628ff; *Timaeus*; Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, ed. Robert Williams (London, 1869), 287–288.
24. John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, ed. Cary Needham (Cambridge, 1991), 67.
25. See, for example, Thomas Floyd, *The Picture of a Perfect Commonwealth* (London, 1600).
26. Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, 1977), 218, n7.
27. For Paul's use and rhetoric of the body politic, see Dale B. Martin, *The Corinthian Body* (New Haven, 1999), 38–54.
28. Shklar, 199.
29. John Fortescue, *On the Laws and Governance of England*, ed. Raymond Geuss and Quentin Skinner (Cambridge, 1997), 20.
30. See Paul Archambault, "The Analogy of the 'Body' in Renaissance Political Literature," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 29 (1967), 21–52.
31. John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, ed. and trans. C. J. Nederman (Cambridge, 1990), Bk V, chap. 2, 67.
32. See Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago, 1994), introduction.
33. Gil-Harris, esp. chapter two.
34. Edward Forset, *A Comparative Discourse of the Bodies Natural and Politique* (1606).
35. Quoted from David Jardine, *Criminal Trials* (London, 1835), 2: 216.
36. Zvi Jagendorf, "Coriolanus: Body Politic and Private Parts," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 41 (1990), 458.
37. See David Hale, "Coriolanus: The Death of a Political Metaphor," *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 197–202; Hale, *The Body Politic*, 96–107; Tetsuya Motohashi, "Body Politic and Political Body in Coriolanus," *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 30 (1994), 97–112.
38. Louise Olga Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament: Arts of Rule in Late Medieval Scotland* (Madison, WI, 1991), esp. 142, 242.
39. Jenny Wormald, "James VI, James I and the Identity of Britain," in *The British Problem, c. 1534–1707*, ed. Brendan Bradshaw and John Morrill (New York, 1996), 148–149.
40. *Ibid.*, 165.
41. James Daly, "Cosmic Harmony and Political Thinking in Early Stuart England," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 69 (1979), 37–38.
42. Margaret Judson, *The Crisis of the Constitution* (New Brunswick, 1949); Glenn Burgess, *The Politics of the Ancient Constitution* (London, 1992), 165–167.
43. Sommerville, 137.
44. See Burgess, 111–112.
45. See David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic* (Cambridge, 2000), chap. one, especially 39ff.
46. *Ibid.*, 33.
47. *Ibid.*, 44–45.

48. Thomas Adams, *Englands Sickness, Comparatively Conferred with Israels. Divided into Two Sermons* (London, 1614).
49. Quoted in John Forster, *Sir John Eliot: A Biography, 1590–1632* (London, 1864), 1: 545, 549, 552.
50. Quoted from James Holstun, *Ehud's Dagger: Class Struggle in the English Revolution* (New York, 2002), 180.
51. "The Duke Returned Again" in Holstun, 181–182; see also Michael Fixler, *Milton and the Kingdoms of God* (Evanston, 1964), 117–118.
52. See Holstun, 513–552. For other poetry on Buckingham and Felton, see Gerald Hammond, *Fleeting Things: English Poets and Poems 1616–1660* (Cambridge, MA, 1990), 51–66.
53. Sommerville, 138.
54. George Digby, *The Third Speech of the Lord George Digby* (1641), 8–9.
55. Kevin Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment: The Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I* (Cambridge, 1987), 179–264.
56. See Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks, 1641–1649* (Oxford, 2005).
57. Nathaniel Hardy, *The Arraignment of Licentious Liberty...* (1647), 16.
58. George Wither, *Campo-Musae: Or the Field-Musings of Captain George Wither* (1643), sig. A3r.
59. John Milton, "The Second Defence of the English People," in *The Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, ed. D. M. Wolfe (New Haven, 1953–1982), 4: 556.
60. Edward Dorset, *Two Speeches Spoken at Oxford by the Right Honourable Edward, Earle of Dorset before His Majesty...* (1643).
61. John Milton, "The Reason of Church-Government," in *The Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, ed. D. M. Wolfe (New Haven, 1953–1982), 1: 781.
62. John Milton, "Of Reformation Touching Church-Discipline in England," in *The Works of John Milton*, ed. Frank Patterson (New York, 1931–1938), 3: 47–48.
63. For Milton's "rhetorical iconoclasm," see David Loewenstein, *Milton and the Drama of History: Historical Vision, Iconoclasm, and the Literary Imagination* (Cambridge, 1990), esp. 21–25; and Lana Cable, *Carnal Rhetoric: Milton's Iconoclasm and the Poetics of Desire* (Durham, NC and London, 1995), 160, esp. 21–25.
64. William Laud, *A Speech* (1637), 2–3.
65. Robert Baillie, *Letters and Journals: Containing an Impartial Account of Public Transactions, Civil, Ecclesiastical and Military in England and Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1775), 1: 40. Montrose described Scotland to Charles in terms of disease in a letter: "Your antient and native kingdom of Scotland is in a mighty distemper. It is incumbent to your Majesty to find out the disease, remove the causes, and apply convenient remedies. The disease, in my opinion, is contagious, and may infect the rest of your Majesty's dominions. It is the falling sickness; for they are like to fall from you, and the obedience due to you." *News Out of Scotland: Being a Miscellaneous Collection of Verse and Prose*, ed. E. M. V. Brougham (London, 1926), 168.
66. Sarah Barber, "Scotland and Ireland under the Commonwealth: A Question of Loyalty," in *Conquest and Union: Fashioning a British State, 1485–1725*, ed. Steven G. Ellis and Sarah Barber (London, 1995), 197–198, 201. See also Hirst, "The English Republic," 198–199.
67. Cuthbert Sydenham, *The False Brother or, A New Map of Scotland Drawn...* (1651), 4, 5–9.
68. Brian Duppa, *A Collection of Prayers and Thanksgivings, used in His Majesties Chapel, and in His Armies* (Oxford, 1643), 2.
69. Nicholas Lockyer, *Baulme for Bleeding England* (London, 1644), 90.
70. See Hirst, "The English Republic," 178.
71. Stephen Marshall, *A Peace Offering to God* (1641), 40.
72. See, for example, Ethan Shagan, "Constructing Discord: Ideology, Propaganda and the English Response to the Irish Rebellion of 1641," *Journal of British Studies* 36 (1997), 4–34.
73. Marshall, *Reformation and Desolation: A Sermon Tending to the Discovery of the Symptoms of a People* (London, 1642), 36.

74. *Ibid.*, 35.
75. Thomas Fuller, *England's Worthies in Church and State* (London, 1684), 391.
76. Stephen Marshall, *Meroz Cursed* (London, 1641); Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999), 82–85.
77. Exodus, 15: 6–7.
78. Ethyn Williams Kirby, “Sermons before the Commons, 1640–42,” in *The American Historical Review* 3 (1939), 537.
79. William Bridge, *Babylons Downfall...* (London, 1641), 21. See also Kirby, 535–536.
80. Ian Gentles, *The New Model Army in England, Ireland and Scotland, 1645–1653* (London, 1994), chap. 4.
81. Jasper Mayne, *Certain Sermons and Letters of Defence and Resolution to some of the Late Controversies of Our Times* (1653), 18.
82. Kirby, 546–547.
83. See Christopher Hill, *The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution* (London, 1993), 208–215.
84. Nicholas Lockyer, *Balm for England: Or, Useful Instructions for Evil Times* (rep. London, 1831), 4, 83–84ff.
85. John Goodwin, *Anti-Cavalierisme, or, Truth Pleading as well as the Necessity, as the Lawfulness of This Present Warre...* (London, 1642), 30.
86. *Ibid.*
87. Crawford, 58.
88. *Ibid.*, 52.
89. *Ibid.*, 43.
90. Nicholas Lockyer, *A Baulme for Bleeding England and Ireland* (London, 1646), A2.
91. Henry Parker, *Observations upon some of His Majesties Late Answers...* (London, 1642), 1.
92. See Norbrook, 39, 53, 154.
93. Norbrook points out, however, that Lucan’s “more orthodox and humorless readers could persuade themselves that the invocation of Nero [in the Pharsalia] was the expression of a genuine monarchism.” See Norbrook, 36.
94. Cowley, 76–77.
95. Cowley, 95.
96. Charles I, *Eikon Basilike*, ed. Jim Daems and Holly Faith Nelson (Peterborough, ON, 2006), 152.
97. It was a persona so strong, in fact, that the anonymous author of *A Helpe to the Right Understanding* (1645)—probably the Leveller William Walwyn—had to carefully navigate it in order to lodge his criticisms of the later Prynne’s writings. Anon., “A Helpe to the Right Understanding of a Discourse Concerning Independency” (London, 1644), in *Tracts on Liberty in the Puritan Revolution 1638–1647*, ed. William Haller (New York, 1933), 3: 193–201.
98. John Lilburne, *A Work of the Beast, or a Relation of a Most Unchristian Censure...* (1638), 5–7 ff.
99. Thomas Corns, *Uncloistered Virtue: English Political Literature, 1640–1660* (Oxford, 1992), 134–146.
100. Joseph Frank, *The Levellers: A History of the Writings of Three Seventeenth-Century Social Democrats* (Cambridge, MA, 1955), 18.
101. Corns, 138.
102. For issues of authorship in the *Eikon Basilike*, see Corns, 80–81.
103. See Andrew Lacey, “Charles the First and Christ the Second,” in *Martyrs and Martyrdom in England, c. 1400–1700*, eds. Thomas Freeman and Thomas Mayer (London, 2007), esp. 207–208.
104. *Eikon Basilike*, 52, 58, 62. Corns, 86–87.
105. See Zvi Jagendorf, “Coriolanus: Body Politic and Private Parts,” esp. 464–469.

106. See Kevin Sharpe, "'So Hard a Text': Images of Charles I, 1612–1700," *The Historical Journal* 43 (2000), esp. 383–394; Joad Raymond, "Popular Representations of Charles I," in Thomas Corns, ed., *Royal Image: Representations of Charles I* (Cambridge, 1999), 47–73.
107. *The Kings Maiesties Speech, As It was Delivered the Second of November...* (Oxford, 1642), 4.
108. *Ibid.*, 5.
109. Edward Symmons, *A Vindication of King Charles: Or, A Loyal Subjects Duty* (London, 1648), 250.
110. Sharpe, "'So Hard a Text?,'" 383–405; see also Lois Potter, *Secret Rites and Secret Writing: Royalist Literature 1641–1660* (Cambridge, 1989), 57–62.
111. Symmons, 241ff. See also Robert Wilcher, *The Writing of Royalism, 1628–1660* (Cambridge, 2001), 268.
112. Wilcher, 241.
113. Skerpan-Wheeler, *The Rhetoric of Politics in the English Revolution, 1642–1660* (Columbia, MO, 1992), 109.
114. See, for example, *Eikon Basilike*, 24.
115. See Keith Thomas, "Cases of Conscience in Seventeenth-Century England," in *Public Duty and Private Conscience in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. John Morrill, Paul Slack, and Daniel Woolf (Oxford, 1993), 29–56.
116. See *Eikon Basilike*, ed. Faith Nelson et al., 94.
117. See Potter, 161–163.
118. *Eikon Basilike*, 149.
119. *Ibid.*, 130.
120. *Ibid.*, 54.
121. *Ibid.*, 183.
122. See, for example, Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640–1660* (New Haven, 1997), 112ff; Laura Blair McKnight, "Crucifixion or Apocalypse? Refiguring the *Eikon Basilike*," in *Religion, Literature and Politics in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge, 1996), 139.
123. John Milton, *Eikonklastes*, in *The Complete Prose Works*, 3: 575.
124. *Ibid.*, 3: 508.
125. Milton, *Areopagitica*, in *The Complete Prose Works*, 2: 549ff.
126. Symmons, *Vindication*, 250ff.
127. *The Subjects Sorrow or Lamentations upon the Death of Britain's Josiah* (1649), E546/16. See also Sharpe, *Images of Charles I*, 392.
128. Henry King, *A Deep Groane, Fetch'd at the Funerall of the Incomparable and Glorious Monarch Charles the First* (London, 1649), II, lines 9–10.
129. Quoted from de Groot, 167.
130. Thomas Jordan, *A Litany for the New Year, with a Description of the New State* (London, 1660).
131. Quoted from Wilcher, 295.
132. Lois Potter, *Secret Rites and Secret Writing: Royalist Literature, 1641–1660* (Cambridge, 1989), 186–187.
133. Henry King, *A Deepe Groane Fetched*.
134. See Dennis Kay, *Melodious Tears: The English Funeral Elegy from Spenser to Milton* (Oxford, 1990), esp. chap. 1.
135. *His Majesties Complaint Occasioned by His Late Sufferings* (1647), E393/38, 4.
136. *A Message from the Royal Prisoner at Windsor, to the Kingdom of Scotland* (London, 1649), sigs. A2–A2v.
137. *Poems of James Graham, Marquis of Montrose* (1612–1650), ed. J. L. Weir (London, 1938), 45.
138. Henry King, *A Deep Groane, Fetch'd at the Funerall*, I, 1–10.
139. See Clement Walker, *Anarchia Anglicana: Or, The History of Independency. The Second Part* (1649). See also Wilcher, 290–292.

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141. Edward Sexby, *Englands Miserie and Remedie* (1645), 1.
142. Jason Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers: Propaganda during the English Civil War and Interregnum* (Burlington, VT, 2004), 240–242.
143. *Ibid.*, 195.
144. See *Ibid.*, 267.
145. Barber, 207.
146. Derek Hirst, “The English Republic and the Meaning of Britain,” in *The British Problem*, 203.
147. See for example Blair Worden, “The Politics of Marvell’s ‘Horatian Ode,’” *Historical Journal* 27 (1984), 525–547.
148. Norbrook, 134.
149. George Wither, “Vox Pacifica,” in *Miscellaneous Works* (London, 1872), 72.
150. James Harrington, *Oceana: And Other Works* (London, 1747), 78.
151. *Ibid.*
152. See Quentin Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric in the Philosophy of Hobbes* (Cambridge, 1996), esp. 267–284.
153. Norbrook, 60. See also Robert Wilcher, *The Writing of Royalism, 1628–1660* (Cambridge, 2001), 279.
154. See Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric*, 386–387.
155. Hobbes, *Leviathan* (Cambridge, 1991), 166, 169.
156. *Ibid.*, 222.
157. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. C. B. Macpherson (London, 1985), II, chap. 29, 375.
158. See “Organic and Mechanical Metaphors in Late Eighteenth-Century American Political Thought,” *Harvard Law Review* 110 (1997), esp. 1845. See also, for the persistence of the body politic, metaphor beyond the end date as postulated by David Hale.
159. Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric*, 387.
160. John Lilburne, *L. Colonel JOHN LILBURNE revived* (1653), 1–3.
161. Wildman, *The Lawes Subversion* (1648), 2.
162. R. G., *A Copy of a Letter from an Officer of the Army in Ireland* (1656), 19.
163. John Rogers, *Mene, Tekel, Perez, or, A Little Appearance of the Handwriting . . . against the Powers and Apostates of the Times* (London), 1654. See also C. H. Firth, *The Last Years of the Protectorate, 1656–1658* (London, 1909), 1: 212.
164. Laura Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell: Ceremony, Portrait and Print, 1645–1661* (Cambridge, 2000), 178 and *idem*.
165. *Oliver Cromwell’s Letters and Speeches: With Elucidations*, ed. Thomas Carlyle (London, 1861), 3: 214.
166. Oliver Cromwell, *Writings and Speeches*, ed. W. C. Abbott (Oxford, 1937–1947), 3: 435.
167. Elyot, *The Boke Named the Governour* (London, 1580), 5–6.
168. John Taylor, *The Disease of the Times, or The Distempers of the Common-wealth . . .* (1642), A2.
169. Anon, *Essayes upon Several Subjects not Unworthy [of] Consideration in These Times* (1651), 8, 27.
170. Brian Duppa, *A Collection of Prayers and Thanksgivings, Used in His Majesties Chapel, and in His Armies* (Oxford, 1643), 2.
171. See J. W. Daly, “John Bramhall and the Theoretical Problems of Royalist Moderation,” *Journal of British Studies* 11 (1971), 26–44; John Sanderson, “Serpent-Salve, 1643: The Royalism of John Bramhall,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 25 (1974), 1–14.
172. Edmund Calamy, *Englands Looking-Glasse Presented in a Sermon . . .* (London, 1642), 1–3.
173. Edmund Staunton, *Phinehas’s Zeal in Execution of Judgement. Or, A Divine Remedy for Englands Misery. A Sermon Preached before the Right Honourable House of Lords in the Abby of Westminster* (London, 1645), 7, 24.

174. John Browne, *Adenochiradelogia, or, An Anatomick-Chirurgical Treatise of Glandules & Strumae, or Kings-Evil-Swellings Together with the Royal Gift of Healing*. . . (London, 1684), 77.
175. Robert Herrick, "To the King, To Cure the Evil," in *Hesperides; Or, Works both Human and Divine* (London, 1852), 160.
176. William Chillingworth, *The Petition of the Most Substantiall Inhabitants of the City of London, and the Liberties Thereof, to the Lords and Commons for Peace Together with the Answer to the Same, and the Replye of the Petitioners* (London, 1642), 9.
177. Elizabeth Hedrick, "Romancing the Salve: Sir Kenelm Digby and the Powder of Sympathy," *British Journal for the History of Science* 41 (2008), 161–185.
178. See Archambault, 29.
179. Forset, 93.
180. See John Taylor, "I will Stitch the Wounds Afresh that They may Heale the Better," in *The Diseases of the Time* (1645), A3–A4.
181. William Prynne, *Hidden Workes of Darknes Brought to Publike Light* (1645), A2.
182. Jerome de Groot, *Royalist Identities* (London, 2004), 15–16.
183. Thomas Warmstry, *Ramus Olivae; or, an Humble Motion for Peace* (Oxford, 1641), 20–21; see also de Groot, 15.
184. Henry Parker, *The Case of Shipmoney Briefly Discoursed* (1640).
185. John Lilburne, "The Legall Fundamentall Liberties of the People of England (1649)," in *The Leveller Tracts: 1647–1653*, ed. William A. Haller and Godfrey Davies (New York, 1944), 442.
186. J. Andrew Mendelsohn, "Alchemy and Politics in England, 1649–1665," *Past and Present* 135 (1992), 44.
187. *Ibid.*, 47–48.
188. Edward Hyde, *The History of the Rebellion*, ed. W. Dunn Macray (Oxford, 1979), 1: 2.
189. Thomas May, *The History of the Parliament of England: Which began November the Third, M.DC. XL* (1647); See, in general, Gerald M. MacLean, *Time's Witness: Historical Representation in English Poetry, 1603–1660* (Madison, WI, 1990), esp. 139–176; Smith, esp. 336–355
190. See, for example, Hyde, 2: 57, 59, 126, 167.
191. Jonathan Rogers, "'We Saw a New Created Day': Restoration Revisions of Civil War Apocalypse," in *The English Civil Wars in the Literary Imagination*, ed. Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (Columbia, MA, 1999), 189–190.
192. See Pocock, *Politics, Language and Time*, 7; Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England*, 79.

Two Law's Breakages

1. For recent work on the role of metaphor in the law, see, for example, Peter Brook, "The Law as Narrative and Rhetoric," *Law's Stories: Narrative and Rhetoric in the Law*, ed. Peter Brooks and Paul Gewirtz (New Haven, 1996), 14–23; Yon Maley, "The Language of the Law," in *Language and the Law*, ed. John Gibbons (London, 1994), 11–50; Bernard J. Hibbitts, "Making Sense of Metaphor: Visuality, Aurality, and the Reconfiguration of American Legal Discourse," *Cardozo Law Review* 229 (1994); Milner S. Ball, *Lying Down Together: Law, Metaphor and Theology* (1985), 23–27; Haig Bosmajian, *Metaphor and Reason in Judicial Opinions* (1992); James E. Murray, "Understanding Law as Metaphor," *Journal of Legal Education* 34 (1984), 714; Thomas Ross, "Metaphor and Paradox," *Georgia Law Review* 23 (1989), 1053, 1055–1063.
2. John Cowell, *The Interpreter* (Cambridge, 1607), sig. *3.
3. See Henry Finch, *Nomotexnia* (1613), sig. Jiiiv. Quoted from Richard Helgerson, "Writing the Law," in *Law, Liberty, and Parliament: Selected Essays on the Writings of Sir Edward Coke*, ed. Allen D. Boyer (Indianapolis, 2004), 39.

4. Thomas G. Barnes, "Introduction to Coke's Commentary on Littleton," in *Law, Liberty, and Parliament*, 2. Coke also used metaphorical language of illumination to convey the law; thus could treason laws be "darke and hard [to understand]" necessitating that he "[open] such windowes, and [make] them so lightsome, and easie to be understood" *Third Institutes*, "Proeme" (London, 1809).
5. D. Alan Orr, *Treason and the State: Law, Politics, and Ideology in the English Civil War* (Cambridge, 2002), 46–47.
6. Jer. 31.33.
7. See Karen S. Feldman, *Binding Words: Conscience and Rhetoric in Hobbes, Hegel and Heidegger* (Chicago, 2006). See also John Locke on figurative language: "If we must speak of things as they are, we must allow that all the art of rhetoric, besides order and clearness, all the figurative application of words eloquence hath invented, are for nothing else but to insinuate wrong ideas, move the passions, and thereby mislead the judgment, and so indeed are a perfect cheat..." John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (Philadelphia), 327.
8. Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 3.42, ed. Richard Tuck (Cambridge, 1996), 290. See also Eric Jager, *The Book of the Heart* (Chicago, 2000), 153.
9. See, in general, Wilfred R. Prest, *The Inns of Court under Elizabeth I and the Early Stuarts, 1590–1640* (Totowa, NJ, 1972).
10. See, for example, James Boyd White, *Heracles' Bow: Essays on the Rhetoric and Poetics of the Law* (Madison, WI, 1989), 67.
11. Hibbitts, 229–235.
12. For the interface between language, literature, and the law, see James Boyd White, *The Legal Imagination* (Boston, 1973); Richard Posner, *Law and Literature* (Cambridge, MA, 1988); John Hollander, "Legal Rhetoric," in *Law's Stories: Narrative and Rhetoric in the Law*, ed. Peter Brooks and Paul Gewirtz (New Haven, 1996), 187–205.
13. Indeed, such language pervades modern judicial discourse today when a legal concept such as freedom of expression is described as having to be "ringed about with adequate bulwarks." For a discussion of law and metaphors of boundaries, see Jennifer Nedelsky, "Law, Boundaries, and the Bounded Self," in *Law and the Order of Culture*, ed. Robert Post (Berkeley, CA, 1991), 162–189.
14. See Subha Mukherji, *Law and Representation in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge, 2006), esp. 233–242.
15. Peter Goodrich, *Reading the Law* (Oxford, 1986), 4.
16. Orr, 5.
17. See Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (Oxford, 1985), esp. 27–38.
18. See, for example, Peter Lake and Michael Questier, "Agency, Appropriation and Rhetoric under the Gallows: Puritans, Romanists and the State in Early Modern England," *Past and Present* 153 (November 1996), 64–107; J. A. Sharpe, "Last Dying Speeches: Religion, Ideology and Public Execution in Seventeenth-Century England," *Past and Present* 107 (1986), 144–167; Thomas Laqueur, "Crowds, Carnival and the State in English Executions, 1604–1868," *The First Modern Society: Essays in English History in Honour of Lawrence Stone*, ed. A. L. Beier, David Cannadine, and James M. Rosenheim (Cambridge, 1989), 305–356; Molly Smith, "The Theater and the Scaffold: Death as Spectacle in the Spanish Tragedy," *Studies in English Literature* 32 (1992), 219–232; Katharine Royer, "Dead Men Talking: Truth, Texts and the Scaffold in Early Modern England," *Penal Practice and Culture, 1500–1900: Punishing the English*, ed. Simon Devereaux and Paul Griffiths (London, 2004), 63–84; Andrea McKenzie, *Tyburn's Martyrs: Execution in England, 1675–1775* (New York, 2007); Randall McGowen, "The Body and Punishment in Eighteenth-Century England," *The Journal of Modern History* 59 (1987), 651–679.
19. Curt Breight, "'Treason Doth Never Prosper': The Tempest and the Discourse of Treason," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 41 (1990), 3.
20. See Orr, 48–49.

21. Much of the statute, despite Coke, was derived from Roman law. See J. G. Bellamy, *The Law of Treason in England in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1970), 14.
22. See Gerald Bodet, *Sir Edward Coke's Third Institutes: A Primer for Treason Defendants* (Toronto, 1970), 472. Other treasonous acts included the violation of the king's relatives, counterfeiting money, murdering the treasurer or justices.
23. See Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957).
24. Coke, *The Reports of Sir Edward Coke, Knt. In Thirteen Parts*, ed. John Henry Thomas and John Farquhar Fraser (London, 1826), 7 Reports, fol. 10a.
25. Coke, 7 Reports, fol. 10a; see also Polly J. Price, "Natural Law and Birthright Citizenship" in Calvin's Case, *Yale Journal of Law and the Humanities* 9 (1997), 73–145.
26. As Orr has pointed out, parliamentarians such as Prynne continued to insist upon the inseparability of the king's bodies, however. See Orr, 109–110.
27. See, for example, Quentin Skinner, "The State," in *Political Innovation and Conceptual Change*, ed. Terence Ball, James Farr, and Russell L. Hanson (Cambridge, 1989), 90–131.
28. Alan Cromartie, *The Constitutionalist Revolution: An Essay on the History of England, 1450–1642* (Cambridge, 2006), 257.
29. Conrad Russell, "The Theory of Treason in the Trial of Strafford," *English Historical Review* 80 (1965), 33–34.
30. Russell points out that in the case of Strafford, the charge that Strafford made not a division but a perpetual division, was new. See Russell, 33.
31. *In Answer to the Earle of Strafford's Conclusion* (1641), 1.
32. Bellamy, *Tudor Law of Treason*.
33. See Orr, 18; G. R. Elton, *Policy and Police: The Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell* (Cambridge, 1985), 263–326.
34. *A Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason and Other Crimes and Misdemeanors from the Earliest Period to the Year 1783*, ed. Thomas Bayly Howell and William Cobbett (London, 1816), 1: 1003.
35. William Palmer, "Oliver St. John and the Legal Language of Revolution in England: 1640–1642," *The Historian* 51 (2007), 276.
36. "The Substance of The Several Treasons found by Inquest against O'Rourke" (1591); quoted from Hiram Morgan, "Extradition and Treason-Trial of a Gaelic Lord: The Case of Brian O'Rourke," in *The Irish Jurist* (1987), 293. I wish to thank Dr. Edgar McManus for directing me to this reference.
37. Morgan, 301.
38. See Julie Crawford, *Marvelous Protestantism: Monstrous Births in Post-Reformation England* (Baltimore, MD, 2005), 104.
39. *State Trials*, 2: 167, 177.
40. Russell, 31–32.
41. Jonathan K. van Patten, "Magic, Prophecy, and the Law of Treason in Reformation England," *The American Journal of Legal History* 27 (1983), 9. See also Russell, 31.
42. See, for example, the case of Sir Francis Windebank, Charles' Secretary of State, in *State Trials*, 4: 42.
43. Conrad Russell, *The Fall of the British Monarchies, 1637–1642* (Oxford, 1991), 286. See also the case against Manwaring, who was charged with "set[ting] division between the head and the members, and between the members themselves." See Thomas B. Howell, *Cobbett's Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason and other Crimes and Misdemeanors* (London, 1809–1826), 2: 336–337, 2: 156.
44. See Nathaniel Fiennes, "If It be Treason to Kill the Governor, Then Sure 'Tis Treason to Kill the Government," *Verney's Notes of the Long Parliament*, Camden Society, 1st ser., xxi (1845), ed. Bruce, 54. See also Robert Berkeley's statement that sedition, "severs the people

- from the king is treason,” in *State Trials*, ed. T. B. Howell (21 vols., London, 1836), 3: 257–258 and 246–229.
45. Quoted from David Martin Jones, “Sir Edward Coke and the Interpretation of Lawful Allegiance in Seventeenth-Century England,” in *Law, Liberty, and Parliament*, 91.
 46. *State Trials*, 2: 614.
 47. For an example of an oath of allegiance regarding Catholics, see 3 James 1, c.4, sec. 15.
 48. *Ibid.*, 351. Arbor imagery was also extended by Coke to the Gunpowder Plot trial: the plot had “three roots all planted and watered by Jesuits and English Romish Catholicks, the first root in England in December and March, the second in Flanders in June, the third in Spain in July. In England it had two branches” See *State Trials*, 378.
 49. *State Trials* 2: 26–27.
 50. *A Selection of Cases from the State Trials*, ed. J. W. W. Bund (Cambridge, 1879), 1: 359.
 51. *State Trials*, ed. Howell, 2: 157
 52. For Jonson’s treatment of treason, see Lemon, 145–149.
 53. See Orr, 44–45.
 54. Jean Bodin, *Six Bookes of the Commonweale*, trans. Richard Knolles and ed. Kenneth D. McRae (Cambridge, MA, 1962), book I, 159, 162. See also David Parker, “Law, Society and the State in the Thought of Jean Bodin,” *History of Political Thought* 2 (1981), 252–285; George L. Mosse, “The Influence of Jean Bodin’s *République* on English Political Thought,” *Medievalia et Humanistica* 5 (1948), 73–83.
 55. See Palmer, “Oliver St. John” and the Legal Language of Revolution in England, 1640–1642,” *The Historian* 57 (1989), 273.
 56. W. R. Stacy, “Matter of Fact, Matter of Law, and the Attainder of the Earl of Strafford,” *American Journal of Legal History* 29 (1985), 343–344.
 57. *State Trials*, ed. Howell, 4: 51.
 58. J. P. Kenyon, *The Stuart Constitution* (Cambridge, 1966), 214.
 59. See Austin Sarat and Thomas R. Kearns, “The Cultural Lives of Law,” in *Law in the Domains of Culture*, ed. Austin Sarat and Thomas R. Kearns (Ann Arbor, MI, 2000), 9.
 60. John Eliot, *Negotium Posterorum*, ed. A. B. Grosart (1881), 1: 130–139.
 61. Glenn Burgess, *Absolute Monarchy and the Stuart Constitution* (New Haven, 1996), chap. one.
 62. For Bacon, in general, see Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago, 1992), 73–78.
 63. James I, “The True Laws of Free Monarchies,” in *The Political Work of James I*, ed. Charles Howard McIlwain (Cambridge, MA, 1918), 62.
 64. Paul Christenson, “Royal and Parliamentary Voices on the Ancient Constitution,” in *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court*, ed. Linda Levy Peck (Cambridge, 1991), 71–95; Richard Cust, “‘The Ancient Law of Freedom’: John Selden and the Civil War,” in *Reactions to the English Civil War, 1642–1649* (New York, 1983), 140–142.
 65. Peter Goodrich, *Languages of Law: From Logics of Memory to Nomadic Masks* (London, 1990), 117.
 66. J. G. A. Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law: A Study of English Historical Thought in the Seventeenth Century*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1987), chap. two; see also Burgess, *The Politics of the Ancient Constitution*, chap. 2.
 67. Goodrich, *Reading the Law*, 131; and *Languages of Law*, 83; Donald Kelley, “English Law and the Renaissance,” *Past and Present* 65 (1974), 37.
 68. See Coke, *Reports*, 6: 282; see also John Underwood Lewis, “Sir Edward Coke (1552–1634): His Theory of ‘Artificial Reason’ as a Context for Modern Basic Legal Theory,” in *Law Quarterly Review* 84 (1968), 330–342.
 69. See, for example, Tuck, 138–140.
 70. John Selden, *Opera omnia* (London, 1725), iii, col. 2. 040.

71. Tuck, 145, 153; see also Alan Cromartie, *Sir Matthew Hale, 1609–1676: Law, Religion and Natural Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1995), 30, 32.
72. *State Trials*, ed. Howell, 3: 62.
73. Glenn Burgess, *Absolute Monarchy and the Stuart Constitution* (New Haven, 1996), 50.
74. See Jeffrey Goldsworthy, *The Sovereignty of Parliament: History and Philosophy* (Oxford, 1999), 95–96.
75. Alan Cromartie, “The Constitutionalist Revolution: The Transformation of Political Culture in Early Stuart England,” *Past and Present* 163 (1999), 81.
76. Henry Parker, *An Answer to the Lord Digbys Speech in the House of Commons* (London, 1641), 21.
77. Russell, 31.
78. William Laud [and John Hinde], *The Archbishop of Canterbury’s Speech, Or His Funeral Sermon: Preacht by Himself on the Scaffold on Tower-Hill, on Friday the 10 of January 1644* (1644), 9–10.
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85. John Pym, “The Speech or Declaration of John Pym,” *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State* (1721), 8: 661–671.
86. J. P. Kenyon, *The Stuart Constitution, 1603–1688* (Cambridge, 1966), 206.
87. Oliver St John, *An Argument of Law Concerning the Bill of Attainder of High Treason of Thomas, Earle of Strafford*, Thomason Tracts, E 208 (7), 71–72.
88. Stacy, 324; Orr, 98ff.
89. *State Trials*, ed. Howell, 5: 904.
90. Orr, 120.
91. Cromartie, *The Constitutionalist Revolution*, 90.
92. Marchamont Nedham, “A Short History of the English Rebellion (1661),” in *The Harleian Miscellany: A Collection of Scarce, Curious, and Entertaining Pamphlets and Tracts*, 10 vols. (London, 1808–1813), 2: 528.
93. Quoted in *Barthomley in Letters from a Former Rector* (London, 1856), 232.
94. Firth and Rait, *Acts and Ordinances*, 1: 1253–1254.
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98. See Francis Oakley, “Anxieties of Influence: Skinner, Figgis, Conciliarism and Early Modern Constitutionalism,” *Past and Present* (1996), 60–110.
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101. Adele Hast, “State Treason Trials during the Puritan Revolution, 1640–1660,” *The Historical Journal* 15 (1972), 37–53.
102. *Ibid.*, 45.
103. Firth and Rait, 2: 120–121, 194.
104. *Ibid.*, III: 15.
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107. Hast, 45.
108. Firth and Rait, 2: 1038–1039.
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111. *State Trials*, 4: 1321.
112. *State Trials*, 5: 518–538.
113. Edward Sexby [William Allen], *Killing, No Murder* (London, 1659), 3. See also Robert Zaller, “The Figure of the Tyrant in English Revolutionary Thought,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 54 (1993), 585–610; David C. Rappaport, “Messianic Sanctions for Terror,” *Comparative Politics* 20 (1988), 195–213; David George, “Distinguishing Classical Tyrannicide from Modern Terror,” *The Review of Politics* 50 (1988), 390–419.
114. *Ibid.*, 4
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Five Wounds of the Soul

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Conclusion

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