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Doctor Faustus and the Printer's Devil

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In *Actes and Monuments*, his encyclopedic history of the English church, John Foxe pauses in his account of the reign of Henry VI to celebrate the invention of the printing press, which he praises as a catalytic tool of the Reformation. Print technology, says Foxe, is a "divine and miraculous" gift from God to the Protestant cause, an aid "to convince darkenesse by lyght, errour by truth, ignoraunce by learnyng."[1] In the first edition of 1563, Foxe notes that printing was "fyrste invented and found oute, by one Jhon Guttenbergh in Strawsborow, and afterward by him made perfecte and complete in Mentz."[2] A helpful marginal gloss says simply "1440 / The art of printing is i[n]vented."[3] In updating the 1570 second edition of *Actes and Monuments*, however, Foxe made extensive revisions throughout the text, correcting, amplifying, and adding new supporting materials. Here, his account of the invention of printing expands more than threefold in length and detail, with several sources newly cited in the text and the margin.[4] Foxe now avers, with characteristic scrupulousness, that various authors date the birth of printing to 1440, 1446, or 1450. More significantly, in this edition he reassigns the credit for inventing the printing press to "a Germaine . . . named Joan. Faustus, a goldesmith . . . The occasio[n] of this inve[n]tion, first was by engravyng the letters of the Alphabet in metall: who then laying blacke ynke upon the mettall, gave the forme of the letters

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in paper. The man beyng industrious, and active, perceavyng that, thought to procede further, & to prove whether it would frame as well in wordes, & in whole sentences, as it did in letters."[5] Gutenberg had also been involved, Foxe records: "Which whe[n] he [Faustus] perceaved to come well to passe, he made certein other of his cou[n]sail, one Iohn Guttemberge, & Peter Schafferd, bynding them by their othe, to kepe silence, for a season."[6] To Foxe, however, the important point is the fact of divine Providence. "Notwithstanding, what man so ever was the instrume[n]t, without all doubt God him self was the ordainer and disposer thereof," he concludes.[7]

Although Foxe is hardly an obscure source, it nevertheless may come as a surprise to the modern reader to find a name we associate primarily with Christopher Marlowe's play *Doctor Faustus* embedded in an account of the history of printing. Yet the connection between Faustus the inventor and associate of Gutenberg and Faustus the spectacularly damned sorcerer appears persistently throughout the early history of the technology of printing. The inseparable entwining of the two legends necessarily highlights the importance of books and reading to the blasphemous fantasies of Faustus the necromancer and at the same time implies a diabolical dimension to the experience of reading and the form of the book. In the case of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, as I will argue in what follows, this interaction reflects early modern writers' and readers' trepidation about the potential and danger of print technology, even as it records their rapt fascination with the book as a powerful object.

FAUSTUS IN THE ARCHIVES

Foxe makes no suggestion that the printer Faustus might be connected with the Doctor Faust or Faustus of history and myth, the scholar-turned-sorcerer of German folklore. In fact, the martyrologist may not have heard of Faustus the magician in 1570: while stories about that Faustus were current in Germany from the early sixteenth century, the first *Faustbuch* was not published in Germany until 1587.[8] As subsequent English and Continental writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries revisited the history of printing, however, the two Faustuses, printer and necromancer, both of debatable existence and identity, came to overlap in the historical imagination.

In his 1588 chronicle *Batavia*, for instance, the Dutch historian known as Hadrianus Junius advanced the case for his

countryman Laurens Coster of Haarlem as the inventor of printing, arguing that the *techne* had been stolen from him by a servant named Faust, who then fled to Mainz and set up in business for himself.[9] This story, with its elements of transgression and forbidden knowledge, suggests an association with Faustus the rebellious student who aspires to mastery of the black arts. To this account of the history of printing were added, at some point, explicit associations with sorcery, as the lore of this "other" Faustus grew alongside it. If, as Foxe says, the printing press is a gift from God, then the Faustus who makes a pact with the Devil is Faust the printer's evil twin, shadowing him through the archive. According to a 1609 German account, when the inventor of the press attempted to sell his Bibles in Paris, he was confronted by suspicious shoppers who believed that his printed books were manuscripts produced by supernatural scribes, able to copy with magical speed and accuracy.[10] A century later, in his *Generall History of Printing*, the first English history of the industry, Samuel Palmer recounts this episode of Faust's first offering of printed Bibles: "[T]he buyers finding a greater number upon him, than it was possible for several men to transcribe in their whole life, and the pages of each copy so exactly alike, that he was seiz'd, try'd and condemn'd for *Magick* and *Sorcery*, and was accordingly dragg'd to the stake to be burnt; but upon discovering his Art, the parliament of *Paris* made an act to discharge him from all prosecution, in consideration of his admirable invention. However 'tis not amiss to inform the reader, that his *Black Art*, for which he was so roughly treated, was printing his Bible on the *Black Letter*."[11] While Palmer's jest at the end demonstrates his skepticism about any magical attributes of the Bibles, it is nevertheless clear that, as Adrian Johns points out, for some of Palmer's contemporaries—such as Daniel Defoe—the semilegendary history of the printer and the semihistorical legend of the magician had become genuinely collapsed: Faust the printer and Faustus the necromancer were the same.[12]

The early modern narrative of printing history, then, begins with a man called Faust. It also begins with an apparent encounter with the supernatural, with a book that seems so extraordinary that it must be magic. The beginning of the transition from manuscript culture to print culture is thus marked, for the historians who recorded it and for the sources (named and unnamed) that they collected, by a transforming experience of magic and sorcery. The reproducibility and interchangeability of printed books, their seemingly impossible multiplicity and perfec-

tion, become associated with magic. Indeed, the essence of this story is that print itself is dangerous, even diabolical: deceptive to the observer, potentially fatal to the possessor. Far more than a mundane technological innovation—and rather at odds with its reputation, in Foxe's account (as in much modern book history), as the vehicle of advances in learning and reformed religion—the printing press, and the books it produces, are imagined as supernatural objects. It is unclear at what point the Fausts of printing and magic became definitively associated in the popular imagination; Johns, in his survey of references to Faust the printer, finds no connection to the sorcerer earlier than 1609, and more confidently locates the conflation of the two Fausts in the early eighteenth century.[13] Meanwhile, Elizabeth Eisenstein, in her landmark history of print technology, judges the confusion to be historiographically inconsequential.[14] Yet, as I will suggest, the Faust/Faustus controversy may be an important site at which to take the measure of Renaissance cultural attitudes toward printing. Besides his purported magical abilities, "Faust" himself has an uncanny ubiquity—why does his name attach itself to several different European histories of printing? An innovator, a thief, or a conjurer—a goldsmith or a runaway printer's devil: in the early modern imagination the historical Faust stands at ground zero for the print revolution, closely, though ambiguously and ominously, connected to the history of the printed book.

THE MAN THAT IN HIS STUDY SITS

In Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (probably written and premiered between 1591 and 1593), I would argue, the narrative of the doomed necromancer is unmistakably informed by print culture, suggesting that print and magic were indeed associated in the early modern English imagination before 1600. Marlowe's sorcerer Faustus is shadowed by this black-letter *doppelganger*, and his Faustus in turn haunts the history of printing. *Doctor Faustus* stages the book as a potentially diabolical object, and in doing so, it offers a more complicated picture of the cultural place of the book in Reformation England than Foxe's providential rhetoric reflects, or indeed than most recent scholarship on the history of the book has allowed.

Scholars generally agree that Marlowe's primary source for *Doctor Faustus* was *The Historie of the Damnable Life, and Deserved Death of Doctor John Faustus*, the first English translation of the German *Faustbuch*, by P. F.[15] Of course, the *Damnable Life*,

like its German original, does not connect Doctor Faustus with Faust the printer. To what extent, though, might Marlowe have been interested in the coincidence of names and participated in the commingling of histories? It is certainly reasonable to think that Marlowe was familiar with the widely circulated *Actes and Monuments*; he may well have used Foxe's detailed account of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, which appears in the edition of 1583, in writing *The Massacre at Paris*.[16] While Foxe's history is the most obvious source for Marlowe's awareness of Faust the printer, the many texts that mention the rival candidates for first inventor of the press, published both in England and in the Netherlands, where Marlowe spent time, suggest the general currency of this Faust's name.[17]

Certainly *Doctor Faustus* is pervaded with an awareness of books: with a general thickness of literary reference; with its setting in a scholarly milieu; with books themselves, as material objects. In the pageant of the Seven Deadly Sins that Lucifer, Beelzebub, and Mephistopheles stage for Faustus, the sin of Envy is represented by an illiterate person who resents others' ability to read, "and therefore wish[es] al bookes were burnt."[18] While it might be argued that, as a practitioner in the theater, Marlowe may have been less interested in printed manifestations of his plays than in their performance, we must nevertheless be struck by the sheer number of books in the play, appearing as identifiable quotations or as actual, physical presences.[19] Indeed, it is particularly because *Doctor Faustus* is a play, because the texts it represents had a material, onstage realization, being books and acting the parts of books, that it serves as such a rich site for inquiry into these questions. By comparison, its primary source text, the *Damnable Life*—although of course intended from the beginning by its author, P. F., as a printed commodity—is far less concerned with reading. While the protagonist in the prose source is still a dissatisfied academic, the Faustus of P. F. is never seen reading in his study. As in the play, the demon Mephistopheles gives Faustus a book of spells after he has signed over his soul, but in the prose account this gift comes later in the story, after an interval in which Faustus is described as "living in all maner of pleasure that his heart could desire, continuing in his amorous drifts, his delicate fare, & costly apparel."[20] In the play, in contrast, the book is offered immediately after Faustus's oath, suggesting a direct exchange. Further, in the *Damnable Life*, this book, which is never mentioned again, seems to offer Faustus only what, according to the narrator, he possesses already: "[W]orke

now thy hearts desire," says P. F.'s Mephistopheles, to the man who is already said to have "all manner of pleasure that his heart could desire."[21] Finally, unlike the Faustus of the play, who desperately offers, while being dragged away to Hell, "Ile burne my bookes" (V.ii.115), the Faustus of the *Damnable Life* focuses his regret on the signing of the oath: "[H]e also said his sinnes were greater then God was able to forgive; for all his thought was on his writing, he meant that he had made it too filthy in writing it with his owne blood."[22]

Doctor Faustus, in contrast, opens with a prologue that sets up, from the very beginning, a singularly bookish aesthetic for the play.[23] Marlowe's Chorus starts by telling the audience in what genres the ensuing play will *not* operate:

> Not marching now in fields of Thracimene,
> Where Mars did mate the Carthaginians,
> Nor sporting in the dalliance of love,
> In courts of Kings where state is overturnd,
> Nor in the pompe of prowd audacious deedes,
> Intends our Muse to daunt his heavenly verse.
> (Prologue 1–6)

Some of these lines seem to point to specific earlier works by Marlowe, while others may evoke only a recognized style of dramatic writing: the martial epic, the comedy, the English history. In any case, only six lines old, the texture of the play is already rich with references to text, to literary works and categories. The last line of the prologue establishes the play's location, containing all these references within the personal library of a scholar, when it heralds the entrance of Faustus as "this the man that in his study sits" (line 28). Faustus's first speech, a tour through the books he possesses, attaches more specific texts to the text of the play:

> Settle thy studies Faustus, and beginne
> . . . . . .
> And live and die in Aristotles workes:
> Sweete Anulatikes tis thou hast ravisht me,
> *Bene disserere est finis logicis*,
> Is, to dispute well, Logickes chiefest end
> Affords this Art no greater myracle:
> Then reade no more, thou hast attaind the end:
> A greater subject fitteth Faustus wit,

Bid Oncaymæon farewell, Galen come:
Seeing, *ubi desinit philosophus, ibi incipit medicus*.
Be a physition Faustus, heape up golde,
And be eternizde for some wondrous cure,
Summum bonum medicinæ sanitas,
The end of physicke is our bodies' health:
Why Faustus, hast thou not attaind that end?
Is not thy common talke sound Aphorismes?
. . . . . .
Physicke farewell, where is Justinian?
Si una eademque, res legatus duobus,
Alter rem alter valorem rei, &c.
A pretty case of paltry legacies:
Ex hæreditari filium non potest pater nisi:
Such is the subject of the institute
And universall body of the [law]:[24]
. . . . . .
When all is done, Divinitie is best.
Jeromes Bible, Faustus, view it well.
Stipendium peccati mors est: ha, *Stipendium, &c.*
The reward of sinne is death: thats hard.
Si peccasse negamus, fallimur, & *nulla est in nobis veritas*.
(I.i.1–43)

Faustus moves rapidly through a series of books, mentioning authors and specific titles, and quoting freely from each: Aristotle's *Analytics* and *Nicomachean Ethics*, representing the subject of logic; the medical texts of Galen; Justinian's *Institutes*, a compilation of Roman law; and, finally, the Bible translated by Saint Jerome, one of the Church Fathers, whose names stand for a canon, and a real, familiar shelf, of essential theological works. Whether or not this scene is staged with the actor surrounded by prop books, Faustus calls these texts into existence through the specificity and detail of his references.

From these monumental books, then, which constitute a plausible inventory of what might have been on a university scholar's desk in 1592, Faustus draws out highlights, key points, "Aphorismes" in English and Latin, flowers of rhetoric.[25] The quotations he gathers from these diverse works are all decontextualized (in one case, fatally so, resulting in a consequential misreading), and many of them are misattributed: as several editors have noted, neither "Bene dissere est finis logicis" nor "On kai me on" comes from Aristotle.[26] The presence of these details of unscrupulous

bibliography, however, demonstrates all the more emphatically the way in which these sources are being appropriated for the highly particular uses of Faustus as an individual reader. Having been separately collected, these quotations are brought together to lend support to an argument Faustus proceeds to build. In selecting these passages and stringing them together, Faustus condenses a huge amount of "virtual" text into the small space of this opening speech, and the quotations' variety and cumulative effect embody the Erasmian rhetorical ideal of *copia rerum*, eloquence through an abundance of examples. In other words, what is being staged in this moment in *Doctor Faustus* is a vision of a Renaissance reader in the verbal act of creating a commonplace book, a kind of personal encyclopedia.

THE MAGIC OF THE ENCYCLOPEDIA

In this scene Faustus, the "studious artisan" (I.i.57), seems focused on the use value of texts. Throughout, he defines each subject's worth by its "end" or *point*: "the end of every Art," "Logickes chiefest end," "The end of physicke" (I.i.4, 8, 17). This image of reading as a technique for attaining profit, an orderly process of using information, is highly consistent with what recent historians of books and reading in the Renaissance have proposed about cultural attitudes toward books: that reading was first and foremost a professional skill, a practice shaped by necessity and utility, and that books were above all tools.[27] Yet, as we see in the play, the book can also be an agent of chaos. Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* makes a particularly illustrative case. If books were, historically, engines of order—convenient distillations of ancient knowledge for the humanist student, vessels of salvation for the literate Protestant, handbooks of technique for the midwife or yeoman—then ironically, for Faustus, scholar extraordinaire, they are instead the means of his undoing, the broad path to damnation. This disjunction between the modern historiography of the sixteenth-century book and the sixteenth-century theatrical fantasy, I argue, demands both a more nuanced account of the early modern history of the book and a new attention to the signification of the book in *Doctor Faustus*.

Interestingly, when Marlowe's Faustus, the scholar of overweening ambitions, signs over his soul to the Devil in the early, climactic scene of the play, what he receives in exchange is a complete, magic encyclopedia, embodying the quality of infinite compendiousness in compactness, of a bibliographical version of

Marlowe's own "infinite riches"—or great reckoning—"in a little room."[28] The conjuring book Mephistopheles gives to Faustus seems, surprisingly, to contain in one volume every spell that Faustus could ever need, and thus every tool for knowing and ordering the world. I reproduce the stage directions that are in the 1604 text:

> Me[phistopheles]. Hold, take this booke, peruse it thorowly,
> The iterating of these lines brings golde,
> The framing of this circle on the ground,
> Brings whirlewindes, tempests, thunder and lightning.
> Pronounce this thrice devoutly to thy selfe,
> And men in armour shal appeare to thee,
> Ready to execute what thou desirst.
> Fau. Thankes Mephastophilus, yet faine would I have
> a booke wherein I might beholde al spels and incantations, that I might raise up spirits when I please.
> Me. Here they are in this booke. *There turne to them*
> Fau. Now would I haue a booke where I might see al characters and planets of the heavens, that I might knowe their motions and dispositions.
> Me. Heere they are too. *Turne to them*
> Fau. Nay let me have one booke more, and then I have done, wherein I might see al plants, hearbes and trees that grow upon the earth.
> Me. Here they be.
> Fau. O thou art deceived.
> Me. Tut I warrant thee. *Turne to them*
>
> (II.i.157–77)

Faustus repeatedly will not believe that one book contains all the necessary spells, and so Mephistopheles demonstrates the book's encyclopediality again and again; the re-"iteration" of this point, the fact that it is "pronounce[d] . . . thrice devoutly," obviously, underscores the importance of completeness in the book's own terms. Even the conjuring circle, later chosen to emblematize the play on the frontispiece of the 1616 edition, recalls the etymology of the word "encyclopedia," which comes, as William N. West points out, from *enkuklios paideia*, "circle of knowledge," or, as defined by Thomas Elyot in a gloss from his 1538 Latin dictionary, "the circle or course of all doctrines."[29]

Faustus has exchanged all the varieties of study he described in the first scene for the subject of magic only, "These Metaphis-

ickes of Magicians," because that ultimate discipline surpasses all others by containing them:

> All things that moove betweene the quiet poles
> Shalbe at my commaund . . .
> . . . . . .
> But his dominion that exceedes in this,
> Stretcheth as farre as doth the minde of man.
>
> (I.i.58–63)

As the Evil Angel had promised, magic is itself an encyclopedia, "that famous art / Wherein all natures treasury is containd" (I.i.76–7). And in a material metonymy of this intellectual exchange, Faustus has substituted for a library of scholarly books a single book, the encyclopedia of magic spells, which might be titled, in the evil Angel's words, *Thesaurus Naturae*, "Nature's Treasury." What makes this book different from the books Faustus owned before, what makes it almost comically remarkable to him—"Tut I warrant thee"—is its completeness: the disproportionate value that makes one volume exchangeable for a whole library, the fact that it contains everything Faustus needs to know to be omnipotent (or so he thinks). The complete encyclopedia that sixteenth-century historians and compilers such as Konrad Gesner and Jean Bodin (and their English scholarly readers and translators) strove to create, and, overwhelmed by the volume of available information and limited by the constraints of mere mortality, could not, is here realized—by an agent of the Devil.

The encyclopedic book strives for completeness, totality, the whole of knowledge in one volume, but, in reality, it can never find it. These numerous and diverse books, printed in England and on the Continent throughout the sixteenth century, addressed a massive range of subjects, from the concrete, such as "histories" of botany or ballistics, to the abstract, as in Girolamo Cardano's twin works on the themes of subtlety and variety *(De subtilitate* [1550] and *De varietate* [1557]); even more generally, "libraries," or massive bibliographies, such as Gesner's *Bibliotheca Universalis* (Zurich [1545]), attempted to catalog all books in existence in the "three languages," Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.[30] Michel Foucault, in *The Order of Things*, uses the early modern encyclopedia as a prime example of the history of the classifying impulse: "Hence the form of the encyclopaedic project as it appears at the end of the sixteenth century or in the first years of the seventeenth: not [merely] to reflect what one knows . . . but to reconstitute the

very order of the universe by the way in which words are linked together and arranged in space."[31]

Yet the project of containing all knowledge on a subject in a single book was a doomed enterprise. One reason was specific to this moment in history: due to the technology of print, the sheer amount of available information was expanding too quickly to be effectively synthesized. Gesner's *Bibliotheca Universalis*, the first attempt anyone made at a printed book that would list the titles of all books in print, was also the last effort of its kind: the phenomenon it cataloged overwhelmed the effort of cataloging. As Ann Blair has suggested, the mid-sixteenth century was on the brink of an information "explosion," at a moment when it was still possible to imagine commanding all available knowledge, but at which knowledge was expanding too rapidly to be actually contained.[32] A further reason for the inevitable failure of the encyclopedia to contain all knowledge seems to have to do with an essential quality of the encyclopedic project itself. In striving for perfect completeness in their texts, the authors continually foiled their own attempts to complete them, to bring them to closure. Authorial ambitions were routinely proven too large: to take one example, the same Gesner of the *Bibliotheca Universalis* also wrote an encyclopedia of animals, the *Historiae Animalium*, which he originally imagined as one volume but which was published during the 1540s in four huge Latin folios: two on beasts and one each on birds and fish. A fifth volume on serpents appeared after his death, while a planned sixth volume on insects was never published. At the same time, an Italian author, Ulisse Aldrovani, was planning a ten-volume encyclopedia of animals, but only completed five folio volumes, wholly taken up with those that live on land as opposed to in the air or water. By the time Edward Topsell published his English translation of Gesner in 1607, he could only hope for coverage of the subcategory of quadrupeds in his four folios, titled *The History of Four-Footed Beasts*.[33]

In all these cases, humanist ambitions outstripped the temporal realities of human ability and human lifespan. When given the chance, of course, authors made repeated attempts at completeness by revising and expanding their works in new editions. Yet each new version effectively invalidated the claims to completeness of its predecessors, and called into serious question the viability of the encyclopedic project. The self-defeating inexhaustibility of the impulse to survey and classify is illustrated by Sebastian Munster's *Cosmography*, a general encyclopedia, first published in 1544 and appearing in eight subsequent revised and expanded

editions before Munster's death. Eisenstein notes that not only did Munster increase the amount of information in the book, but also he enlarged the apparatus provided for navigating it: "As each edition became bigger, more crammed with data, and more profusely illustrated, each was also provided with more tables, charts, indexes which made it possible for readers to retrieve the growing body of information that was being stored in the work."[34] As the content expands, so must the system for ordering it also expand; more information becomes not a simple improvement but a complication, requiring more framing by the author and more work for the reader. The apparatus, the meta-order, threatens to overtake the divine order of nature. As Roger Chartier observes, "One of the major tensions that inhabited the literate of the early modern age and caused them anxiety" was the fact that "a universal library (or at least universal in one order of knowledge) could not be other than fictive, reduced to the dimensions of a catalogue, a nomenclature, or a survey."[35]

Yet the intensity of this anxiety makes the catalogs and surveys—the encyclopedic books—all the more important for us to understand. Walter J. Ong suggests that one of the effects of the advent of the printing press on human cognition was the creation, through the particular visual manifestation of a printed book, of an idea of books as singular and distinct objects, possessing an inherent authority, as manuscripts never were. As Ong says, "Print is curiously intolerant of physical incompleteness. It can convey the impression, unintentionally and subtly, but very really, that the material the text deals with is similarly complete or self-consistent."[36] More recently, Julian Yates has considered the way in which this perceived quality of printed books becomes reified as a desirable, even magical, characteristic: "[T]here is a significant difference between the individual pages of a text and the 'book' that results from binding."[37] Unbound pages, literally susceptible to damage, also figuratively, according to Yates, "maintain a contiguous link with the world at large. By contrast, the 'cover' marks a set of nonporous boundaries that insist on the difference of what they protect from the outside world."[38] Attributing heightened powers to a book's finishedness or separateness—special protection, the ability to take what is inside the book into another space, a place apart—suggests a kind of fetishization of the idea of completeness. The scene of Faustus's magic book, in staging the impossible fulfillment of the humanist dream of the universal encyclopedia as the damnation of a soul, reflects and anatomizes early modern writers' trepidation about

the power of print technology, even as it records their rapt fascination with the book as form, as a special and magical kind of space. It is not just that Faustus's virtuous scholarly zeal is perverted, through overreaching ambition, into sin, the play suggests, but that diabolical magic was always latent in humanist scholarship, always concealed in the encyclopedic genre.

We should note about this book that, in the play, we never see Faustus "peruse it thorowly," or use the book to cast spells at all; indeed, after the following scene, in which Faustus's servant Robin steals a conjuring book (which may or may not be the same magic encyclopedia—Faustus, as we know, does own other occult texts) and gleefully announces his intention to summon up wine and women, it disappears for the rest of the play. Faustus effects the conjuring tricks we subsequently witness, not with the book or through the elaborate book-and-writing-based techniques Mephistopheles describes above, but simply by speaking ordinary language, by setting Mephistopheles to the task, or through no apparent written or spoken agency at all, causing illusions even while sleeping (IV.i.131–61). The magic book, after this scene in which we hear about its compendiousness (and then, perhaps, see Faustus the conjurer parodied by a fool, who is also, like the Faust of the printing press in some versions of the story, a thief), reappears once more (II.iii.162–5) and then disappears from the stage, ceasing to have any identity as a physical book.[39] As West contends, "Faustus sees words-as-things—books, spells, contracts—as possessing power not in their application to situations but inherently, and as sufficient to interpret and enforce themselves, although the play will continually point out their failure to do so."[40] Though not onstage, the book is evoked, of course, in Faustus's very last line, a too-belated effort to repent: "Ile burne my bookes." The book's sudden reappearance in Faustus's spiritual economy, offered as a sacrifice that might redeem his life—his books in place of his body—serves to remind us of the original transaction, an encyclopedia given in exchange for the eternal damnation of Faustus's soul.

MONUMENTAL BOOKS AND AUTHORIAL ANXIETY

Doctor Faustus stages an encyclopedia as a magical tool, a powerful object that also spells the jeopardy of a soul. If Marlowe is suggesting that there is something supernatural and dangerous about the encyclopedic book's quest to contain all knowledge between covers, he is not alone in casting these aspersions on

scholarly endeavor and humanist print culture. One outgrowth of the encyclopedic method that flourished in England in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, yet questioned itself in the midst of its own success, was the monumental reference book on Britain itself, which often came with a self-conscious, self-doubting preface. These texts—vast in physical size as well as in scope—have been dubbed by Richard Helgerson, succinctly, "the fat books": histories, ecclesiastical and general, such as Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, John Stow's *Annales of England* (1580), and Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (1577), or such geographic and "chorographic" atlases as William Camden's *Britannia* (1586, trans. 1610) or John Speed's *The Theatre of Great Britian*.[41]

Helgerson reads these publishing projects, some of the biggest and most ambitious books of early modern England, as expressions of a new Protestant nationalism, a desire to codify in print the glories of the English church, government, land, and language. I would also argue for their association with the more general humanist encyclopedias of the fifteenth and earlier sixteenth century. Possessed by a version of the same dream of the ideal, unitary text, I suggest, the authors and compilers of English histories and atlases share the same passion for completeness and the same rage for order as the humanist encyclopedias, as well as the same obsessive research methods. In prefaces and addresses to the reader, the authors of these texts present their copious collections of materials with a remarkable ambivalence or trepidation about the significance of their books. In these texts, the traditional authorial pose of self-deprecation, the modesty trope, takes on a curiously vivid, and Marlovian, language of anxiety, suffering, and physical pain.

In the classic modesty trope, the author protests his inequality to the great task he has undertaken and avows that had he not been driven by a deep sense of duty and responsibility to a great cause (scholarship, polemic, praise of a great man), he would never have been so audacious as to begin to write at all. In the same rhetorical gesture, he both foregrounds and abases himself and his labors, registering both his humility and his authority. The Renaissance preface has been read as a site of social anxiety, in which the aspiring poet denies association with the hack writer, and as a location of emergent modern subjectivity, in which the writer's private consciousness collides with the public sphere of discourse.[42] In the prefaces to the fat books, however, we can see a different and unexpected kind of concern emerging on the part

of the author: not an admission of insufficiency to the task, but a fear of superfluity; not regret that it was not possible to include everything, but instead an apprehension about the book's very largeness; not a desire to have produced a more fully encyclopedic book, but an anxiety about what that encyclopedic completeness might mean.

In *Actes and Monuments* Foxe includes (in addition to an epistle dedicatory to Elizabeth, lauded as the New Emperor Constantine, and a Protestation to the Whole Church of England) an entire prefatory essay defending "The utilitie of this Story," in which he acknowledges that "the worlde is replenished with such an infinite multitude of bookes of all kynd of matters, I may seme (perhaps) to take a matter in hand superfluous and nedeles, at this present to set out such Volumes, especially of histories, consideryng now a dayes the world so greatly pestred, not onley with superfluous plenty thereof, but of all other treatises, so that bookes now seme rather to lacke Readers, then Readers to lacke bokes."[43] Rather than participating in a celebration of scholarly textuality, Foxe instead expresses acute textual fatigue, a fear of tiring and "pestering" his audience. Foxe's language is drained of energy by the foreknowledge that his task is already too complete—that there are already so many books in the world that the addition of his own monumental, two-folio history is not only itself superfluous, but also adds superfluity to superfluity. Such oppressive awareness of risk stands in contrast to the tone of relief and satisfaction with which Foxe notes the effects of the printing press in the later account "Of the benefite and invention of Printing": "in those former dayes, bookes were then scarce . . . which bookes now by y^{e} meanes of this arte, are made easie unto al men."[44] In his combination of idealistic celebration and jaded irony—"such an infinite multitude of bookes"—Foxe seems caught between his passion for completeness and his ambivalence about the worthiness of his task.

The "Preface to the Reader" that opens the third volume of Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1586) goes far beyond simple book-weariness, conjuring a sense of risk and peril associated with the production of a monumental book. The first line reads "IT is *dangerous*," featuring a huge, historiated capital "I" that takes up a third of the space of the page and shows God looking down on Adam and Eve in the Garden, at the ultimate, emblematic moment of human danger, the act of eating the apple. The sentence continues: "(gentle Reader) to range in so large a fielde as I have undertaken, while so many sundry men in divers things may be

able to controll me, and many excellent wittes of our countrey (as well or better occupied I hope) are able herein to surpass me."[45] It turns out that the danger lies in Holinshed's being shown up by another historian, or censored by the Privy Council, but the typographically highlighted declaration of dangerousness makes the stakes seem much higher than the risk of being outdone academically or even frowned upon officially.[46] Meanwhile, the massive illustrated capital "I" foregrounds the writer's authorial agency, concentrating the whole weight of the fall of mankind on the author himself.

In another, later preface—two decades after Marlowe's death but useful as an example of the continuing trajectory of the encyclopedic preface—the language of risk gives way to a rhetoric of actual bodily pain. Sir Walter Ralegh's apology in the preface to his *History of the World* specifically addresses the encyclopedic scope of the work, a history of the whole world since the Creation: "I confesse that it had better sorted with my dissability, the better part of whose times are runne out in other travailes, to have set together (as I could) the unjoynted and scattered frame of our English affaires, than of the universall . . . But those inmost, and soule-peircing wounds, which are ever aking while uncured . . . have caused mee to make my thoughts legible and my selfe the Subject of every opinion."[47] Many kinds of physical depredation are concatenated in this dense passage. Ralegh invokes his own "disability" and implied old age, and the "travails" his body has undergone; he remarks on the dismembered state of the English historical record, its "scattered" limbs broken and dislocated; he characterizes unsatisfied scholarly ambitions as a piercing wound, festering, "uncured," that incessantly aches. Moving from bodily pain and piercings to the archetypal sufferer, the Man of Wounds, Ralegh takes over the commonplace image of the speaking wounds of Christ and makes them textual. Ralegh's wounds are not tongues, but by implication pens, the medium that makes them "legible." Throughout the preface, Ralegh's rhetoric traces an acute tension, even a crisis, between the ambition to produce a big book, a complete book, and an intense anxiety about the implications of publishing such a monumental text. The negative consequences seem so pressing that his rhetorical response is the melodramatic display of his wounds, staging his pain as the extreme force that drives him onward, and evoking the Faustus-like suffering of an anguished conscience.

What, then, is going on in these prefaces, with their language of fatigue, ennui, effort, disability, pain, wounding, dismember-

ment, and even fatal error?[48] Certainly these authors, in the audacity of publishing, putting themselves forward as authorities for public consumption, walk a line between pure scholarship and worldly ambition. Yet the anxious rhetoric seems overheated, far in excess of the occasion. What is so "dangerous," as Holinshed says, about creating a monumental or encyclopedic book? And what is so obviously attractive, that makes the laborious quest worthwhile?

One answer might lie in the questionable nature of the book itself in early Protestant culture. Certainly, the Reformation was an intensely bibliographic phenomenon, inspired by and inspiring a radically closer engagement between the worshiper and the book, through the use of the vernacular and the emphasis on individual study of the Bible. Stephen Greenblatt has suggested that as Protestant believers developed devotional habits of private reading of printed texts, replacing auricular confession, "the book could have a special kind of presence that perhaps no manuscript ever had."[49] At the same time, however, for an intensely iconoclastic movement, the idea of a "special presence" inhering in a material object would be a dangerous one indeed.

Brian Cummings has noted that, in the period of doctrinal upheaval between Henry VIII's break with the Pope and the accession of Elizabeth, both icons and books were burned as an anti-idolatry gesture. Protestant reformers' zeal in destroying saints' images was matched by Counter-reformers' ritual revenge on heretical books, and both were motivated by a hatred for just such a presence or aura inhering in the object. "The book is felt to be more than the contents of its letters, just as the image is felt to be more than stocks or stones," Cummings says.[50] Yet he concludes that both iconoclasm and "biblioclasm" are built on the same ideological grounds: the desire, ultimately an impossible one, to establish an absolute dichotomy between word and image, and thus between the two orthodoxies. In fact, Protestantism and Catholicism are not opposed on this issue but inextricably linked.

Clearly, as scholars are increasingly reminding us, English religious culture in the 1590s had hardly resolved its ambiguities, resentments, and nostalgias, despite more than thirty years of the Elizabethan *via media*.[51] I suggest that in *Doctor Faustus*, and in Foxe's, Holinshed's, and Ralegh's prefaces, we find Reformation writers still unsettled around the question of the materiality of books, a question increasingly pressing as books continue to become more available to a growing literate population. A magic

book, of course, is nothing if not a book endowed with an aura; a magical aura, moreover, is a specifically Popish one, thanks to the insistent charges of "hocus pocus" leveled by reformers at the Catholic Mass. Encyclopedic books, too, here evoked by Mephistopheles' universal conjuring book—"Tut I warrant thee"—strive for a quasi-magical completeness. As revered, desired material objects, cherished and idealized by scholars, are books in danger of becoming idols? James Kearney has argued convincingly that bibliolatry is explored and carefully defused in Caliban's fetishization of Prospero's magic book in *The Tempest*.[52] In these encyclopedic Protestant prefaces, is it also the specter of bibliolatry that introduces such profound yet unlocalized discomfort, and at the same time so much dramatic energy? And is this association one reason why Doctor Faustus the sorcerer, who idolizes books, persists in becoming tangled up in the history of print in England? For it is not just that humanist learning risks transgression if it goes too far, seizes too much authority over nature; scholarship of any kind, dependent as it is on books and bookish practices, is damned at its source.

A resituation of Faustus's books in the context of Renaissance print culture both offers a vision into the play's bookish context and suggests a further deepening of the complexity of early modern attitudes toward print technology, attitudes so much less rational, practical, and orderly than most recent book-history scholarship has imagined them, so much more ambivalent than Foxe's simple "divine and miraculous." Foxe, of course, acknowledges this ambivalence in his account of printing's primal scene: when Faustus first discovered the technology of print, as Foxe says, he abjured his collaborators "by their othe, to kepe silence, for a season."[53] In some ways, English readers and writers in the late sixteenth century, a hundred years after William Caxton, seem still caught in that moment of uncertainty alongside Faust and Gutenberg, knowing they were onto something immensely powerful and exciting, witnessing some irrevocable change, yet unsure exactly how to proceed.

NOTES

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[1] John Foxe, *The First Volume of the Ecclesiasticall History Contaynyng the Actes and Monumentes of Thynges Passed in Every Kynges Tyme in this Realme, Especially in the Church of England Principally to be Noted, with a Full Discourse of Each Persecutions, Horrible Troubles, the Sufferyng of Martyrs, and Other Thinges Incident, Touching Aswel the Sayd Church of England as also Scotland, and All Other Foreine Nations, from the Primitiue Tyme Till the Reign of K. Henry VIII* (London: John Daye, 1570), p. 837. In quotations from early modern sources, I have reproduced the original spelling while silently modernizing the long *s*, *i/j*, and *u/v*, and supplying expansions for common contractions in brackets. All references to this text are to this edition (referred to as *Actes and Monuments*), unless otherwise noted. On the Reformation and print, see Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1979), 1:367–78; Jean-François Gilmont, ed., *The Reformation and the Book*, trans. Karin Maag (Brookfield VT: Ashgate, 1998); Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1991); and, specifically on Foxe, see John N. King, "'The Light of Printing': William Tyndale, John Foxe, John Day, and Early Modern Print Culture," *RenQ* 54, 1 (Spring 2001): 52–85.

[2] Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of These Latter and Perillous Dayes, Touching Matters of the Church, Wherein Ar Comprehended and Described the Great Persecutions and Horrible Troubles, That Have Bene Wrought and Practiced by the Romish Prelates, Speciallye in This Realme of England and Scotlande, from the Yeare of Our Lorde a Thousande, Unto the Tyme Nowe Present* (London: John Daye, 1563), p. 362.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Foxe's principal source is Mattheum Judicem [Matthias Richter], *De Typographiae Inventione et de Praelorum Legtima Inspectione, Libellus Brevis et Utilis* (Copenhagen: Johannes Zimmerman, 1566), sigs. B5r–B7r. Foxe also cites medieval and sixteenth-century chronicle historians of the low countries: Johannes Aventinus, Johannes Nauclerus, and Jacobus Wimphelingus. For identifying these sources, I thank the Foxe scholar Freeman.

[5] Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, p. 837. This revised account remains substantially the same in the edition of 1583, the last new edition supervised by Foxe. In his preface to *The Whole Works of W. Tyndall, John Frith, and Doct. Barnes, Three Worthy Martyrs, and Principall Teachers of This Churche of England, Collected and Compiled in One Tome Togither, Beyng before Scattered, & Now in Print Here Exhibited to the Church. To the Prayse of God, and Profite of all Good Christian Readers* (London: John Daye, 1573), Foxe includes another encomium on printing, expressed in much the same terms (sig. Aii).

[6] Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, p. 837.

[7] Ibid.

[8] See Philip Mason Palmer and Robert Pattison More, *The Sources of the Faust Tradition: From Simon Magus to Lessing* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1936). On the date of the English *Faustbuch* and its implications for the date of the composition of *Doctor Faustus*, see Frederick S. Boas's introduction to his edition of the play, *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus* (London: Methuen, 1932), pp. 6–8, and, on a possible earlier publication date for the first English *Faustbuch*, R. J. Fehrenbach, "A Pre-1592 English Faust Book

and the Date of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*," *The Library*, 7th ser., 2 (2001): 327–35.

[9] See Adrian Johns, "Faust and the Pirates: The Cultural Construction of the Printing Revolution," in his *Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1998), pp. 324–79, for an excellent account of the early historiography of printing.

[10] Johann Walch von Schomdorff, *Decas Fabularum Humanii Generis Sortem, Mores, Ingenium, Varia Studia, Inventa Atq.* (Strasbourg: Lazarus Zetzner, 1609), pp. 178–83.

[11] Samuel Palmer, *The General History of Printing* (London: S. Palmer, 1732), pp. 31–2.

[12] See Johns, pp. 351–2. According to Daniel Defoe, "This was the whole story of the famous Dr. *Faustus* of which so many Books and Ballads . . . have been made" (*A History of the Principal Discoveries and Improvements, in the Several Arts and Sciences: Particularly the Great Branches of Commerce, Navigation, and Plantation, in All Parts of the Known World* [London: W. Mears, F. Clay, D. Browne, 1727], pp. 223–4), qtd. in Johns, p. 351.

[13] Johns, pp. 350–2, 360–4, and 367–9. Harry Levin suggests, briefly, that the association with printing, an "ambiguous" innovation, may have contributed incidentally to the "Titanism" of Christopher Marlowe's Faustus (*The Overreacher: A Study of Christopher Marlowe* [Cambridge MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1952], p. 109). This article addresses the play's more direct investigation of this "ambiguous" nature of print culture.

[14] Eisenstein, 1:49–50.

[15] P. F., *The Historie of the Damnable Life, and Deserved Death of Doctor John Faustus* (1592; rprt. London: Windet, 1608).

[16] Marlowe, *The Massacre at Paris, with the Death of the Duke of Guise* (London: Edward Allde, n.d. [1593?]). The St. Bartholomew's Day passage appears in Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of Matters Most Speciall and Memorable, Happenyng in the Church with an Vniuersall History of the Same, Wherein Is Set Forth at Large the Whole Race and Course of the Church, from the Primitiue Age to These Latten Tymes of Ours, with the Bloudy Times, Horrible Troubles, and Great Persecutions agaynst the True Martyrs of Christ, Sought and Wrought as Well by Heathen Emperours, as Nowe Lately Practised by Romish Prelates, Especially in This Realme of England and Scotland* (London: John Daye, 1583), pp. 2152–4. In fact, the 1616 "B-text" of *Doctor Faustus* is itself partly based on passages from Foxe; many scholars believe these passages to be the work of William Birde and Samuel Rowley, but for a recent converse opinion, see Thomas Healy, "*Doctor Faustus*," in *The Cambridge Companion to Christopher Marlowe*, ed. Patrick Cheney (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2004), pp. 174–92.

[17] See Palmer and More, pp. 81–126.

[18] Marlowe, *The Tragicall History of D. Faustus As It Hath Bene Acted by the Right Honorable the Earle of Nottingham His Servants* (London: V. S[immes] for Bushell, 1604), II.iii.106–55, 127–8. In quoting from Marlowe, I follow the original "A-text" of 1604, but with lineation, for ease of reference, from the A-text in the Oxford Drama Library edition of Marlowe's plays (Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus and Other Plays*, ed. by David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995]).

[19] See, however, Lukas Erne's recent and compelling argument for rethinking, in the case of Shakespeare, the conventional idea of the sixteenth-century dramatist as unconcerned with the print publication of his texts, in *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2003).

[20] P. F., *Damnable Life*, sig. B3r.

[21] Ibid.

[22] P. F., sig. K2v.

[23] Ann Blair has usefully revived the term "bookish" to describe the practices of humanist scholarship in the late sixteenth century. See Blair, "Methods of Bookishness," in *The Theater of Nature: Jean Bodin and Renaissance Science* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1997), pp. 49–81, 49. Garrett A. Sullivan Jr. notes that Faustus's books serve as occasions for remembering and forgetting in a way related to the medieval technologies and "theaters" of memory (Sullivan, *Memory and Forgetting in English Renaissance Drama* [Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2005], pp. 65–70).

[24] The 1604 "A-text" actually has "universal body of the Church" here, but because Faustus is contrasting the law with the church, his next subject, many editors agree that "Church" may be a misreading for "law," which appears in the 1616 "B-text." See Roma Gill's notes to her edition of *Doctor Faustus*, vol. 2 of *The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe*, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 4; and *Doctor Faustus*, ed. Bevington and Rasmussen, p. 433.

[25] West notes that Faustus's syllabus corresponds authentically to the university curricula of the *trivium* and the advanced disciplines undertaken by those who had mastered the *trivium* (*Theatres and Encyclopedias in Early Modern Europe* [Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2002], p. 177).

[26] See Michael Keefer's notes to his edition of *Doctor Faustus* (Peterborough ON: Broadview, 1991), p. 6nn12, 13.

[27] See, particularly, Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, who in "'Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy" (*Past and Present* 129 [November 1990], pp. 30–78), stress that "scholarly reading . . . was always goal-orientated" (p. 30); and Margaret Ford, who observes that "On a basic level, people owned books which they needed: books were professional tools" ("Private Ownership of Printed Books," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, 1400–1577*, ed. Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp, vol. 3 of *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, gen. ed. D. F. McKenzie, D. J. McKitterick, I. R. Willison, 7 vols. projected [Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999], p. 206.)

[28] Marlowe, *The Jew of Malta*, ed. Gill, vol. 4 of *The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe*, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 6, I.i.37; Shakespeare, *As You Like It,* in *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. G. Blakemore Evans and J. J. M. Tobin (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), pp. 399–436, 421; III.iii.15.

[29] Qtd. in West, p. 3.

[30] See Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1994), pp. 70–2; and Blair, *Theater of Nature*.

[31] Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Vintage, 1994), pp. 37–8.

[32] Blair, *Theater of Nature*, pp. 1–2.

[33] Willy Ley, introduction to Edward Topsell, *The History of Four-Footed Beasts* (1607), vol. 1 of *The History of Four-Footed Beasts and Serpents and Insects*, 3 vols. (1658; rprt. New York: Da Capo, 1967), n. p. [iii–v].

[34] Eisenstein, 1:109.

[35] Chartier, p. 88.

[36] Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Routledge, 1982), p. 133.

[37] Julian Yates, *Error, Misuse, Failure: Object Lessons from the English Renaissance* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2003), p. 107.

[38] Ibid.

[39] This second appearance may or may not be intended as a different book; although Paul Budra reads it as a separate text, the fact that Lucifer uses the same line as Mephistopheles ("take this book, peruse it thoroughly") suggests that Marlowe may have made two attempts at writing the book-giving scene, which were mistakenly both printed (Budra, "*Doctor Faustus*: Death of a Bibliophile," *Connotations* 1, 1 [March 1991]: 1–11, 5).

[40] West, p. 178.

[41] Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 8.

[42] The classic article on print and social anxiety is J. W. Saunders, "The Stigma of Print: A Note on the Social Bases of Tudor Poetry," *EIC* 1, 2 (April 1951): 139–64. Arthur F. Marotti and Harold Love have made important contributions to the idea of the print-technology "stigma," suggesting that print gradually gained cultural status over the course of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (see Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* [Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1995], and Love, "Manuscript versus Print in the Transmission of English Literature, 1600–1700," *Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand Bulletin* 9, [1985]: 95–107). On the preface as a site of self-fashioning, see Kevin Dunn, *Pretexts of Authority: The Rhetoric of Authorship in the Renaissance Preface* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1994).

[43] Foxe, *Actes and Monuments (1583)*, sig. 6r.

[44] Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, p. 708.

[45] Raphael Holinshed, William Harrison, John Hooker, et al., *The Third Volume of Chronicles, Beginning at Duke William the Norman, Commonlie Called the Conqueror, And Descending by Degrees of Yeeres to All the Kings and Queenes of England in their Orderlie Successions: First Compiled by Raphaell Holinshed, and by Him Extended to the Yeare 1577* (London: Henry Denham, 1587), sig. A3r.

[46] See Sarah A. Kelen's analysis of Holinshed's preface in "'It is Dangerous (Gentle Reader)': Censorship, Holinshed's *Chronicle*, and the Politics of Control," *SCJ* 27, 3 (Autumn 1996): 705–20. Kelen argues that the preface is indeed by Holinshed, rather than by another author or authors (pp. 706–7n6).

[47] Walter Raleigh [Ralegh], *The History of the World* (London: [William Stansby], 1614), sig. A1r.

[48] It must be said that Ralegh and Foxe had both literally suffered, in one way or another, for their writings and opinions: Foxe fled to the Continent during the Marian years, and Ralegh wrote the *History of the World* during his

thirteen-year imprisonment in the Tower. Still, in their prefaces, the rhetoric of uncertainty and pain is situated specifically in relation to publishing.

[49] Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1980), p. 86.

[50] Brian Cummings, "Iconoclasm and Bibliophobia in the English Reformations, 1521–1558," in *Images, Idolatry, and Iconoclasm in Late Medieval England: Textuality and the Visual Image*, ed. Jeremy Dimmick, James Simpson, and Nicolette Zeeman (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2002), pp. 185–206, 205.

[51] See, for example, Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1992), esp. pp. 1–8, and Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2001), pp. 102–50.

[52] James Kearney, "The Book and the Fetish: The Materiality of Prospero's Text," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32, 3 (Fall 2002): 433–68.

[53] Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, p. 837.