The erudition reflected in the annotations is breathtaking: this volume is particularly enriched by the imprint of B. Niccollier's knowledge of Hubert Languet's correspondence, and R. Bodenmann's study of the works of Daniel Toussain and Rudolf Hospianianus (note the discovery in #1198 that Toussain was the author of the anonymous treatise *Ein billiche und nothwendige Klog von der andern Babylonischen Gefangnuß...*). The editors are probably incorrect in assuming that the Bernese mercenaries who participated in Casimir's campaign in France did so without the consent of the authorities (see Albert Gobat's *La République de Berne et la France pendant les Guerres de Religion*, Paris 1891). Nonetheless, this present volume of Beza's correspondence contributes substantially to our knowledge of the embattled reformed communities, perched precariously between Lutheran Germany and Catholic France in the last quarter of the sixteenth century.

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Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze, recueilli par Hippolyte Aubert, publié par Alain Dufour, Béatrice Niccollier et Reinhard Bodenmann, tome 18: 1577, Genève: Droz, 1995 (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance 292), XIX, 270 S., ISBN 2-600-00083-6, Fr. 69.40

A visitor to the Bibliothèque publique et universitaire in Geneva can still see a painting of Theodore Beza, achieved in 1577, showing the fifty-eight year old reformer with a long grey beard and an impassive look upon his face. The impassivity of the portrait is in stark contrast to Beza's correspondence from this same year, filled with the anxiety of a man who believes that the «hora potestatis tenebrarum» is at hand (#1251). Three-quarters of the fifty-two extant letters from 1577 are written by Beza; as in previous years, his correspondents are from throughout Europe, from as far away as Scotland and Poland, and as near as Neuchâtel and Montbéliard. In addition to frequent letters to Rudolf Gwalther (Zürich), Lorenz Dürnhoffer (Nürnberg), and Simon Grynaeus (Basel), Beza will correspond regularly in 1577 with the Landgrave Wilhelm IV of Hesse, whose son had come to study in Geneva the previous year.

Beza's fears about the efficacy of the Edict of Beaulieu – expressed frequently in his correspondence the year before – are realized in 1577. Following the example of the Estates General at Blois, Henry III outlaws reformed worship in early January and decrees that, henceforth, only the Catholic religion will be permitted in France. In subsequent months, the dukes of Damville and Anjou (Alençon) waiver, and then «defect» to the king, even as the Huguenots prepare for a resumption of war. Anjou's conquest of La Charité and ruthless sack of Issoire provided painful proof of his treachery (#1265, Zwingliana XXIV, 1997
Beza, crushed by sadness, bemoans the fate of his beloved France (patriae calamitas), once a kingdom as beautiful «as the garden of Eden» now filled with violence and wickedness and on the verge of complete ruin (#1245, #1273). But can Beza trust the Huguenot princes Navarre and Condé? The reformer often complains about the princes’ advisors: «utinam bonis consiliis utantur» (#1260). On occasion, he will criticize Navarre’s conciliatory nature (#1246). Beza politely declines an invitation to visit Navarre in France, but is nonetheless eager to give advice to François de la Noue, counselor of the young prince: the reformed must never agree to a peace which limits the culte to fewer places than those stipulated in the edict of Beaulieu (#1255). For Beza, it is of utmost importance that internal liberty of conscience be accompanied by external exercise of religion: «j’appelle rien, ou plutost liberté de n’avoir nulle religion, ce qu’on appelle liberté de conscience sans exercice de religion» (#1263). The Edict of Poitiers, which ended the Fifth War of Religion in September, was in fact more restrictive than the edict of the previous year, showing the distance between Beza’s hopes and French political realities in 1577.

As armies march in France, the «spirit of error» continues to ravage Germany. At the initiative of Auguste of Saxony, Lutheran theologians have revised the Book of Torgau; the resulting «Formula of Concord» is now used to unite gnesio-Lutherans in the Empire in their campaign against the followers of Melanchthon and the «crypto-Calvinists». The reformed watch in horror as German princes subscribe en masse to this Formula, in large part through the efforts of Jacob Andreae, that Lutheran «pope» (#1271, #1283). When Montbéliard succumbs to this onslaught, Beza fears that Strasbourg and Basel will soon follow (#1278). The situation is no better in the Palatinate, where Louis VI – though not an advocate of the Formula – continues to purge the reformed in his territories, forbidding reformed preaching and dismissing Calvinist pastors and professors. Daniel Toussain, Zacharias Ursinus, and Jerome Zanchi must leave Heidelberg and seek refuge in the court of Jean Casimir at Neustadt. It seems that true Christianity («verus Christianismus») has been entirely expelled from the Palatinate (#1277). Despite various proposals, Beza and his correspondents fail to find a way to contain the miseries issuing from this Pandora’s box: the Landgrave of Hesse’s attempt to intercede before the German princes on behalf of the reformed comes to naught, while Casimir’s dream of convening a universal reformed synod and framing a new confession of faith meets with the disapproval of the church of Zurich (#1264, #1283).

Geneva and the Swiss evangelical cities are not immune from dangers of their own. The plague infects Bern in the Summer of 1577, killing over a thousand people (#1271). Jesuits are becoming more aggressive in their tactics, sowing dissension among the Protestants (#1247). Indeed, the new abbot at St. Gallen has been trained by the Jesuit Juan Maldonat at Paris (#1248). Of more concern to Beza are secret reports that Spanish soldiers returning from the Low
Countries have been enlisted by the Guise to destroy Geneva so completely that «toute l’eau de la Saone ou du Rosne ne suffiroit pour esteindre le feu...» (#1257). Beza waits and worries surely this is life sub cruce.

The eighteenth volume of Beza’s Correspondance deserves our highest praise. The équipe of M. Dufour, Mme. Nicollier, and M. Bodenmann have again succeeded through meticulous editing and copious annotations to display the lustre of this valuable source. Their willingness to attend to criticisms and suggestions of reviewers of past volumes (see the ever growing addenda et corrigenda!) has payed dividends. The present fascicle is more user-friendly, thanks to the editors’ decision to signal biographical information from past volumes about each of Beza’s correspondents. The letters continue to provide unexpected insights: Beza’s low opinion of Navarre in 1577, as well as the reformer’s assertion that he has finished an initial draft of the Paraphrase des Psaumes in this same year (#1281), challenge Edward Goselin’s thesis that these paraphrases were intended to portray «the nature of the holy kingship to be constituted in France by Henri de Navarre» even while promoting Huguenot resistance to the Valois monarchy (David in Tempore Belli, in: Sixteenth Century Journal VII, 1976, Nr. 2, p. 31). Such conspiracy theories aside, the eighteenth volume of Beza’s correspondence provides a fascinating picture of the reformed in tempore belli, fighting Catholics, debating Lutherans, and battling their own fears.

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Büser setzt an den Anfang dieses Buches ein Zitat aus Bullingers Reformationsschronik: «Wie und wenn man Zürich angehept die Biblisch Lection in dryen sprachen läsen.»; gehörte doch die Ausbildung der Zürcher Theologen in den drei Sprachen Latein, Griechisch und Hebräisch zu den reformatorischen Grundpfeilern. Hier hat Büser Wichtiges zu sagen:

Im ersten Aufsatz, «Zwingli, ein Zeitgenosse des Erasmus», macht Büser klar, wieviel Zwingli von den Vorstellungen des Erasmus übernommen hat. Zwingli selber anerkannte diese Vorbildrolle des Erasmus, auch als er sich vom