

INTRODUCTION

W. Bradford Littlejohn, The Davenant Trust

THE VOLUME which you have before you, and the conference which produced it, and indeed the organization which put on that conference and published this book, grew out of a group of friends calling themselves the “Reformed irenicists.” To the few Christians today who are even familiar with the term *irenic* (“aiming at peace”), such a moniker might well seem like an oxymoron. If Reformed theology is associated with anything nowadays, it is often with a factiousness and dogmaticism that seems ready to leave a church or denomination (or better yet, kick your opponents out of one) over almost any offense, real or imagined.

But it was not always so. Some of the great names of early modern Reformed theology adopted the term for themselves, or wrote books with the title *Irenicum*. Such authors include a Scots Episcopalian, John Forbes, an English Independent, Jeremiah Burroughs, an English Episcopalian, Edward Stillingfleet, and two of the giants of early Dutch Reformed theology, Franciscus Junius and David Pareus.¹ During the early 17th century, the Reformed world was the focal point for some of the most ambitious and sincerely meant initiatives for the healing of the divisions in Christendom. Perhaps the most comprehensive, worked out by French Huguenot leader Pierre du Moulin and King of England and Scotland, James VI and I, called for all the Reformed churches to unite in council and establish a common

¹ John Forbes, *Irenicum amatoribus veritatis et pacis in Ecclesia Scoticana* (Aberdeen: E. Rabanus, 1629); Jeremiah Burroughs, *Irenicum, to the lovers of truth and peace heart-divisions [...]* (London: Robert Dawlman, 1653); Edward Stillingfleet, *Irenicum, a weapon-salve for the churches wounds [...]* (London: Mortlock, 1662); Franciscus Junius, *Eirenicum de pace ecclesiae catholicae* (1593); and David Pareus, *Irenicum sive de Unione et Synodo Evangelicorum concilianda Liber Votivus [...]* (Johannes Lancellotus, 1615).

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confession of faith, recognizing that they differed only in non-essential matters, and then to approach the Lutheran churches to work out their differences, before finally undertaking an ecumenical council between a united Protestantism and Rome.² Political developments, and the Arminian controversy, ultimately scuttled the scheme, but its mere existence puts the lie to popular perceptions of the Reformed as invariably spiteful, contentious hair-splitters interested only in comprehensive purity of doctrine, rather than unity.

But who were the Reformed? The names mentioned already suggest rather more diversity than is generally recognized, specifically the inclusion of the Anglican churches. We are so accustomed to the stubborn divisions over church government that have characterized Anglophone Protestantism for the past four centuries that it is difficult for us to wrap our heads around the fact that both James (an episcopalian) and du Moulin (a presbyterian) considered the question a secondary one, and no bar to union. At the Synod of Dort, as you will read in this volume, Reformed episcopalians came together with presbyterians of various sorts to craft a common statement of soteriology, and showed in the process respect for one another's differing views on polity. Indeed, although there were by the time of James elements within the Church of England leaning away from the Reformed (or at least "Calvinist" self-identification, they were a decided minority, and would long remain so. The Reformed brotherhood of churches of course also included in its ranks the German Reformed, many of them Melancthonian Lutherans more than Calvinists in their origins and emphases, not to mention the great forgotten Reformed church of Hungary. Indeed, the Reformed can lay some fair claim to being not the narrowest, but the broadest of the Reformation traditions.

But how does such breadth square with a commitment to confessions? Reformed churches are and always have been confessional churches, with the French Reformed drafting the Gallican Confession in 1559, the Scots the Scots Confession in 1560, the Dutch the Belgic Confession in 1562 and the Canons of Dort in 1619, the German Reformed the Heidelberg Catechism in 1563, the English the Thirty-Nine Articles in 1563, the Swiss the Second Helvetic Confession of 1566, and finally the British Presbyterians the Westminster Confession in 1647. Nowadays, many are prone

² See W. Brown Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), ch. 5.

to think of confessionalism as a straitjacket, but few who make such complaints have bothered to familiarize themselves with many of these confessions. Most of them are far more capacious than we expect to find them, never even touching on many of the arcane doctrinal minutia that card-carrying contemporary confessionalists spill much of their ink upon. Even where they do pronounce decidedly on matters debated within the broader tradition, early modern Reformed theologians often emphasized that such points of difference were secondary and no bar to communion.

Still, what role ought confessions to have in the life of the church, especially today when we no longer think in terms of national churches, and no longer assume, as earlier confessionalists did, a godly magistrate to enforce the confessions? Today we find ourselves making common cause against militant secularism with low-church evangelicals of every stripe, not to mention often high-church Anglicans, Lutherans, and even Roman Catholics, and find that the theological and ethical issues that most divide us often go almost entirely unmentioned in the earlier documents. Moreover, vast new advances in biblical scholarship over the past century have shed new light on traditional doctrines, not necessarily invalidating them, but suggesting in some cases fresh, more biblically sound ways of articulating them.

At our 2016 Convivium Irenicum, dedicated to the theme of “Confessionalism and Diversity in the Reformed Tradition,” we explored such questions at length with the aid of our esteemed guest Dr. Carl Trueman, together with Peter Escalante and Rev. Steven Wedgworth. The panel discussions and perhaps even more valuable informal discussions that filled the gaps between the paper sessions cannot, alas, find their way into this volume. But what you will find here is a set of illuminating studies on just how rich, diverse, and frankly surprising the early centuries of the Reformed tradition were. How many card-carrying Reformed Christians today would be sympathetic to an argument for *jure divino* episcopacy in their tradition, as we see with George Carleton, or the hypothetical universalism articulated by John Davenant, or the robust account of unbelievers’ ability to do virtuous acts and build relatively just societies that we find in Turretin? How many would have as broad a view of their fathers in the faith as did Theodore Beza, or address Anabaptists as irenically as did Bucer, or Lutherans as irenically as did Hooker? On all of these points and so many more, we have much to learn from our Reformed forebears, even where we may some-

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times disagree with them. May our churches in the decades to come be enriched with the depth and breadth of these oft-forgotten giants of Reformed irenicism!

As always, we are profoundly grateful to each of the gentlemen who undertook the labor of revising and polishing their papers for publication in this volume, rather than taking them, as in many cases they could have, to a more prestigious academic journal. We also appreciate the fine contributions at last year's event by Matthew Bingham, Joel Carini, and Paul Nedelisky, even though they opted not to publish their essays at this time. Finally, we appreciate the tireless labors of Brian Marr in helping to prepare this manuscript for publication.

II:
WRITTEN MONUMENTS:
BEZA'S ICONES AS TESTAMENT TO AND PROGRAM FOR
REFORMIST HUMANISM

E.J. Hutchinson, Hillsdale College

1. INTRODUCTION

THE CHOICE to focus on Theodore Beza's *Icones* for a volume on "Confessionalism and Diversity in the Reformed Tradition" may seem *prima facie* to be an odd one. After all, the *Icones*,¹ first published in 1580, is not one of Beza's major works. Indeed, the illustrated Latin edition—the one I shall discuss in this essay—was not, to my knowledge, reprinted again until 1971,² unlike so many works of the major Protestant Reformers that saw numerous printings even during the authors' lifetimes. It is true that a French translation, by Simon Goulart and authorized by Beza,³ was pub-

¹ The work's full title is: *Icones, id est verae imagines virorum doctrina simul et pietate illustratum, quorum praecipue ministerio partim bonarum literarum studia sunt restituta, partim vera Religio in variis orbis Christiani regionibus, nostra patrumque memoria fuit instaurata: additis eorundem vitae et operae descriptionibus, quibus adiectae sunt nonnullae picturae quas EMBLEMATA vocant.*

² Théodore de Bèze, *Icones* (Menston: Scolar Press, 1971).

³ R.M. Cummings, "Note" to Bèze, *Icones* (Menston: Scolar Press, 1971), pages unnumbered.

lished the year after the Latin edition in 1581,⁴ but it shows some marked differences from Beza's original.⁵

The work, then, is a minor one.⁶ A further strike against it is the fact that it is not really a work of theology at all; so what could it contribute to the ongoing scholarly discussion of confessionalism and confessionalization? However, it is, paradoxically, precisely these "defects" that make it most serviceable for the topic: I shall endeavor to show that the *Icones* ought to widen our scope of what we mean by "diversity" (albeit it a diversity within a greater unity) in the Reformed tradition—a "tradition" that turns out to be not only theological, but cultural and humanistic as well—far beyond what such a phrase normally signifies.⁷ The fact, furthermore, that Beza could monumentalize the theological and humanistic culture of the Reformers with such extreme erudition⁸ (more on this below) and with a catholicity that is at once confessional, geographical, and occupational or

⁴ 1673 saw a hybrid and expanded edition by the printer Pierre Chouet. As Alain Dufour notes, "Chouet...s'avisait de retirer cet ensemble de gravures en un recueil pourvu d'un titre français: *Les portraits des hommes illustres*, mais ne contenant que les gravures, sans les textes (un exemplaire de ce recueil est conservé au Cabinet des estampes de la Bibliothèque publique et universitaire de Genève) et une édition latine: *Icones*, avec les textes." Introduction to Théodore de Bèze, *Les vrais portraits des hommes illustres* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1986), v. Cummings, "Note," gives 1683 for the date.

⁵ For instance, it contains portraits not found in the Latin edition and all figures receive verse tributes, which is not true of the Latin edition.

⁶ The *Icones* has not often been read as a work of literature—or read at all, for that matter. An exception is Catherine Randall (Coats), *(Em)bodying the Word: Textual Resurrections in the Martyrological Narratives of Foxe, Cresspin, de Bèze, and d'Aubigné* (New York: P. Lang, 1992), 85–115, which does attempt a literary reading. It is hampered, however, by the fact that it investigates the text on the basis of Goulart's translation rather than the Latin original, and incorrectly states that the *Icones* was first published in 1581, the year of publication of the French translation (86). Much of the argument is reprised in briefer form in Catherine Randall (Coats), "Reactivating Textual Traces: Martyrs, Memory, and the Self in Theodore Beza's *Icones* (1581)," in *Later Calvinism: International Perspectives*, ed. W. Fred Graham (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1994), 19–28.

⁷ Randall, *(Em)bodying the Word*, 87, remarks on Beza's "apparent arbitrariness in his selection of material." The argument below will make clear that, appearances notwithstanding, Beza's program is anything but arbitrary.

⁸ On Beza's classical learning, see Kirk M. Summers, "Theodore Beza's Classical Library and Christian Humanism," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte/Archive for Reformation History* 82 (1991): 193–207.

vocational in a work that was not even one of his major productions but whose elegance, refinement, and learning he nevertheless expected his readers in both church and academy to understand and appreciate, demonstrates what common coin this culture used to be; our puzzlement at it is an index of how different we are from our fathers in the faith. In short, I shall try to commend to you Beza's *Icones* as a model of irenic polemicism, or polemical irenicism, in favor of a unitive Protestantism (including its academic culture) over against Roman tyranny, couched in and dependent upon the learned humanism of the sixteenth century. It is a program in which modern Protestants should be interested precisely because modern Protestants are so unlikely to be interested in it.

The *Icones*, then, as a work of unitive Protestantism is, as has just been indicated, deliberately anti-Roman. Thus at first glance we meet already with an enigma, for it seems very un-Protestant (and counterproductive to his purposes) for Beza to make a book of icons. But what he is actually doing is to take the Roman Catholic form of martyrology and iconography and turn it on its head, rendering it word- (and Word-)centered.⁹ In order to indicate what this claim means, I should now say more about what kind of work the *Icones* is; I shall return to its anti-Roman tendencies later, which the interceding discussion will help to illuminate and place in proper perspective.

To be more concrete: in what follows, the *Icones* will be discussed under the three headings of (1) its contents; (2) its purpose, for which the dedicatory epistle to King James VI is singularly useful; and (3) some specific examples that illustrate its purpose. Throughout, and particularly in parts 1 and 3, I shall make special, though not exclusive, use of evidence from the sections of the *Icones* in Latin verse—because they are the most deliberately erudite parts of the work—to establish the argument.

2. WHAT IS THE *ICONES*?: CONTENTS

The *Icones* is a biographical collection of portraits, both visual and verbal, of heroes of the Reformation, organized by region.¹⁰ Many of the en-

⁹ See Randall, *(Em)bodying the Word*, 86, 89–90, 95, though I disagree with the claim that he often undercuts the priority of word over image (cf. the claims on 96). Cf. Catherine Randall (Coats), "Reactivating Textual Traces," 21.

¹⁰ The *Icones* is, in the words of Henry Martyn Baird, "[s]omewhat more than a mere collection of eulogies, yet decidedly less than a series of unprejudiced biographies." Nevertheless, he finds it on the whole trustworthy, with the possible exception of

tries have woodcut portraits, but at the time of the publication of the original Latin edition Beza had not been able to acquire portraits of many of the figures he treats.¹¹ (In the French version, on the other hand, more woodcuts are included.) Many of the entries also include tributes in verse—usually in Latin, though there are also three in Greek: one for Erasmus, one for Guillaume Bude, and one for Robert Estienne.¹² But, though Beza's subjects are his heroes of the Reformational movement, that does not mean that they are limited to those who would come to be called the (confessional) "Reformed." Erasmus and Bude have just been mentioned, but there are many others. Indeed, one of the most striking features of the *Icones* is its confessional *diversity*, one that is complemented by diversities of geography and occupation as well. As Alison Adams has claimed,

In the years around 1580, Bèze had to some extent grown tired of the sectarian struggle. For a while he seemed to stand back from theological battles with, for instance, his Lutheran opponents, devoting himself to his study of the Psalms and the New Testament and their Christian significance. The *Icones* itself, which Bèze had been preparing for many years, does not limit its consideration to members of the Reformed church in the narrow sense, but includes all

the poems, which will form the bulk of my study the argument of which, it should be noted, does not depend on the historical accuracy of Beza's depictions: "[T]he *Icones*, notwithstanding the brevity of the sketches, constitute an important source of trustworthy information, to which we willingly admit our indebtedness on more than one occasion. For if the spirit of high appreciation pervades the work, the words of panegyric are, for the most part, reserved for the epigrams that are interspersed—a species of composition to which Beza was much addicted even down to his latest years." See Henry Martyn Baird, *Theodore Beza: The Counsellor of the French Reformation, 1519–1605* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1899), 312, 314. Randall, *(Em)bodying the Martyrs*, 88, correctly notes the geographical organization of the *Icones*, but incorrectly states that the entries within the geographical subdivisions are "arranged alphabetically"; they are not.

¹¹ Cummings, "Note," remarks that this lack of completeness in the Latin edition "suggests an initial haste inspired by controversial motives." For Beza's historical context during the period surrounding the composition of the *Icones*, cf. Scott M. Manetsch, *Theodore Beza and the Quest for Peace in France, 1572–1598* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 92–143.

¹² Erasmus also receives a poem in Latin: Theodore Beza, *Icones* (Geneva: Ioannes Laonius, 1580), sig. C.iii.r.

those who can be considered to have supported the return to true Christian values.¹³

Let us set this diversity out more precisely.

The *Icones* contains tributes to 93 named individuals, in addition to group tributes to Waldensian, Netherlandish, and Spanish martyrs,¹⁴ of which 38 individual tributes include woodcuts.¹⁵ As one might expect, many are figures of good Reformed pedigree (as the term “Reformed” later came to be understood): men such as John Calvin, Peter Martyr Vermigli, Martin Bucer, Wolfgang Musculus, Huldrych Zwingli, Heinrich Bullinger, and Johannes Oecolampadius, to name a few. In addition, however, is a sizable number of Lutherans—not simply mediating Lutherans such as Philip Melancthon, or celebrities like Martin Luther, but also men such as Georg Anhalt, Johann Bugenhagen, and Caspar Cruciger. Beza praises, in addition, martyrs of the English church such as Thomas Cranmer, Hugh Latimer, and John Hooper, and the Pole John a Lasco. Not only that; there are a number of Roman Catholic entries as well. By this I do not mean pre-Reformation Western Christians in general, though there are those too (Wyclif, Hus, Jerome of Prague, and Girolamo Savonarola);¹⁶ I refer to figures such as Johann Reuchlin, Michel de l’Hospital, King Francis I, and Marguerite of Navarre, in addition to Budé and Erasmus.¹⁷

At this point, it is worth reiterating that it is not confession that serves as the organizing principle of the work; the organizing principle is, rather, geography.¹⁸ After the dedicatory epistle to King James VI of Scot-

¹³ Alison Adams, *Webs of Allusion: French Protestant Emblem Books of the Sixteenth Century* (Geneva: Droz, 2003), 121.

¹⁴ Within the group entries themselves, some individuals are named, but the title of the tributes is to the martyrs of those regions in general, irrespective of rank, age, and sex.

¹⁵ Eleven are added in the French edition (Cummings, “Note”).

¹⁶ Obviously these figures are not “Roman Catholics” in any narrow sense of the term.

¹⁷ The inclusion of these contemporaries of Beza as “Roman Catholics” ought not to obscure the ambiguity surrounding their personal convictions. On the contrary, it goes some way toward explaining that inclusion. It nonetheless remains true that Beza includes individuals who never formally separated from communion with the Bishop of Rome.

¹⁸ For Beza as “spokesman for Protestants in the diaspora” and “reformer of the refugee church,” see Manetsch, *Quest for Peace*, 1–8.

land (to which I shall return below) and the section on pre-Reformation martyrs referred to above, the work is divided into nine major sections based on region:¹⁹ *Germania, Helvetia, Gallia, Anglia, Scotia, Gallia Belgica, Polonia, Italia*, and *Hispania* (roughly, Germany, Switzerland, France, England, Scotland, Belgium, Poland, Italy, and Spain).²⁰

But no one is included in a particular region simply because he was born there, that is, simply because it was his native country. Instead, the criterion for the placement of a figure in a particular place seems to have been that it be a place from which his influence was felt—whether in church, school, or state.²¹ Thus John Calvin, though from Picardy, is included in the section on *Helvetia*, as are the Germans Johannes Oecolampadius, Simon Grynaeus, and Konrad Pellikan, and the Italian Peter Martyr Vermigli.²² It is evident, then, that Beza sees his comrades as part of an international movement for which mobility is a great good. Indeed, by mistreating a Reformer and forcing him into exile a country can forfeit her claim upon her native son, to her own great loss. Two poems can be taken to illustrate both of these points—geographical mobility and the forfeiture of progeny. These are the poems dedicated to Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr.

Theologians: Martin Bucer

Though many of the verse tributes in the *Icones* were re-issued from an earlier edition of Beza's *Poemata* (1569),²³ the poem to the Reformer of Strasbourg was new. Of Bucer, Beza writes:²⁴

¹⁹ Germany in fact receives two sections, *Praecipua Christianismi, nostra patrumque memoria, inter Germanos instaurati organos* and *Sex Germaniae eximii martyres*. When these two sections are combined, Germany receives more tributes than any other region (30 named individuals). *Gallia* is second (23 named individuals).

²⁰ Sometimes Beza uses the name of the region (e.g., *Helvetia, Italia*), sometimes that of the region's inhabitants (e.g., *inter Germanos, apud Polonos*).

²¹ Another point to which I shall return.

²² Some of these figures were itinerant; but for obvious reasons an individual can only be included in one section.

²³ Beza's *Poemata*, sometimes referred to as the *Juvenilia*, was first published in 1548 and went through several revisions. For the controversy surrounding the first edition, see Kirk M. Summers, *A View from the Palatine: The Juvenilia of Théodore de Bèze* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001).

*Natales, Bucere, tuos **Germania** iactat,
 Natalibus felix tuis.
 Quis vero et quantus fueris, **tua scripta** loquuntur,
 Ad littus orbis ultimum.
 De vita si quis rogitet, **Germania** dicet,
 Invita Bucerum expuli.
 Ast ego sic pulsum (pia dixerit **Anglia**) fovi,
 Tandemque texi mortuum.
 Verum mox eadem (factum o immane) sepulcro
 Flammis cremavit erutum.
 Fallor ego, totus terraenae fecis an expers,
 Bucere sic caelum tenes?*

Germany boasts of your birth, Bucer,
 Happy because of your birth.
 But who and how great you were, **your writings** say,
 To the furthest shore of the world.
 If anyone should ask about your life, **Germany** will say,
 “I, unwilling, drove out Bucer.”
 “But I,” pious **England** will say, “cared for him when he
 was driven out,
 And finally covered him over when he died.”
 But soon the same one (O monstrous deed!) burned
 Him with flames when he had been dug out of his grave.
 I am deceived, Bucer: do you thus hold heaven
 Whole, or without earthly dregs?²⁵

The last couplet is somewhat difficult; it presumably turns on a pun on Bucer’s name, for a *Butze* is something that protrudes or projects.²⁶ The rest of it, however, is clear enough. Two markers of geography are mentioned. Though a native of Germany,²⁷ Bucer was eventually forced to make his

²⁴ Beza, *Icones*, sig. G.i.r. The meter is the First Pythiambic. All translations are my own.

²⁵ All translations are my own.

²⁶ I owe this observation to Stephen Naumann. The repetition of his name is significant, occurring in lines 1, 6, and 12 and thus acting as a thread holding the poem together. Cf. the poem on Hyperius, discussed below, where Beza does the same with his name in lines 1, 11, and 17.

²⁷ This is consistent with what was said above. Though a native of Germany, that is not the reason why he is included in the German section of the *Icones*, as the *titulus* to his entry makes clear: *Martinus Bucerus, Germanus, Selestadiensis, ecclesiae Argentinensis*

way to England, where he taught at Cambridge. But why are these places important? They are the locations from which the influence of his writings (*tua scripta*) was felt—it is a commonplace of the *Icones* that writings (as opposed to, say, images) constitute the true bridge to universality and immortality, allowing one a voice even from beyond the grave. The local is a staging-ground for the international, and the divide is crossed by literary productivity. We might additionally note in passing that, even when a Reformer has died, a country can still incur guilt on his behalf:

thus does England, because of the posthumous burning of Bucer's body, along with that of Paul Fagius, at the hands of Mary I, or "Bloody Mary," on 6 February 1556.²⁸ It is no coincidence, given what has just been said about the transnational power of the word, that their writings were burned together with their remains in accordance with the law *De comburendo haeretico*.²⁹

Theologians: Peter Martyr Vermigli

Similar is the poem to Peter Martyr in elegiac couplets (included, as noted above, in the section devoted to *Helvetia*), of whom Beza says:³⁰

*Tuscia te pepulit, Germania et Anglia fovit,
Martyr, quem extinctum, nunc tegit Helvetia.
Dicere quae si vera volent, te et nomine dicent,*

pastor, et demum in Academia Cantabrigiensi theologiae professor. Fagius receives the next entry, and his description is similar: *Paulus Fagius, Germanus, Tabernensis, ecclesiae Argentinensis pastor, ac tandem in Cantabrigiensi Academia theologiae professor.* Beza has already given the reader his principle in the heading of the section as a whole: *Praecipua Christianismi, nostra patrumque memoria, inter Germanos instaurati organos* ("Exceptional instruments of the renewal of Christianity, in the memory of us and our fathers, among the Germans").

²⁸ A similar point is made with respect to Zwingli's posthumous treatment in the poem dedicated to him. See Beza, *Icones*, sig. M.ii.r.

²⁹ See A. Edward Harvey, *Martin Bucer in England* (Marburg: Heinrich Bauer, 1906), 94–95. They were rehabilitated by Elizabeth I on 22 July 1560.

³⁰ Beza, *Icones*, sig. Piii.r. The meter is the elegiac couplet. Unlike the poem to Bucer, this one was previously published, though without the final couplet. Its opening words (*Tuscia te pepulit*) perhaps echo the opening of the verses, also in elegiacs, that supposedly adorned Vergil's tomb (*Mantua me genuit*). Those verses, like Beza's, are about two things: geography and writing.

*Hic fidus Christi (credite) Μάρτυρ erat.
Utque istae taceant, satis hoc tua scripta loquuntur:
Plus satis hoc Italis exprobrat exilium.*

Tuscany begat you, **Germany** and **England** nourished
you,
Martyr, whom, dead, **Switzerland** now covers.
If these places wish to speak the truth, they will also speak
of you by name:
“This was a faithful (believe!) Μάρτυρ [witness] for
Christ.”
And even if they be silent, **your writings** sufficiently say it.
More sufficiently does this³¹ reproach the **Italians** with
your exile.

The primary motifs of this short poem are already familiar from the poem to Bucer: itinerancy, productivity, and the pun on his name (*Martyr*, of course, means “witness”). Though born in Italy, Peter Martyr made his way to Germany, England, and finally to Switzerland.³² All of these places ought to testify to Martyr’s status as “witness for Christ.” But, in the end, no matter, for if they remain silent, his writings (again, *tua scripta*) will speak for him and continue to make him heard from beyond the grave.³³ His books, in fact, are a satisfactory rebuke to the Italians for having exiled him. Vermigli shares in the status of exile equally with Bucer, to the discredit of the homeland of each.

Within these geographical divisions, moreover, confessional identities are mixed. If we once again limit ourselves to those figures who receive poetic tributes, we see immediately that the section devoted to Germany (*Germania*) includes not only the Roman Catholic Erasmus,³⁴ but also the

³¹ I.e. his status as *martyr* or “witness.” *Hoc* is lengthened *metri gratia*.

³² For a brief biography, see the *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, ed. Hans J. Hillerbrand (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), vol. 4, s.v. “Vermigli, Peter Martyr,” 229–31 (hereafter *OER*).

³³ *Scripta* (“writings”) feature prominently in the the poem to Grynaeus as well (Beza, *Icones*, sig. O.iii.r–v).

³⁴ Beza identifies Erasmus as *Batavus* (“Dutch”), and appears to include the inhabitants of *Batavia* (Holland or the Netherlands) among the *Germani*. I say “appears” because there is an alternative explanation, viz., that Erasmus lived for some time in Freiburg im Bressgau after Basel became officially Reformed. See Cornelis Augustijn, *Erasmus: His Life, Works, and Influence*, trans. J.C. Grayson (Toronto: Univer-

Lutherans Luther, Melanchthon, and Joachim Camerarius; not only these, but also the Reformed Martin Bucer and Wolfgang Musculus; and not only these, but also Andreas Gerhard Hyperius, who was neither quite Lutheran nor quite Reformed.³⁵ Again, the section on France (*Gallia*) includes the ambiguous Guillame Budé and Michel de l'Hospital, but also Calvin's (and Beza's) Greek teacher Melchior Wolmar and the printer Robert Estienne, not to mention Roman Catholics such as King Francis I and Marguerite of Navarre, as well as the unbeliever Francois Vatable.³⁶

Theologians: *Ioannes Oecolampadius*

Not only are confessional identities mixed in each section, but—as may already be evident—professional identities are at first glance jumbled together as well. Beza, that is, is not interested only in theologians in any kind of narrow sense. This is not to say that he is not interested in theologians at all; he is. We can again avail ourselves of the poems for purposes of elucidation. First, a poem to the Basel Reformer Johannes Oecolampadius:³⁷

*Oecolampadius, serena nuper
Lampas, aede sacra Dei coruscans,
Qualis limpidiore, puriore
Vix ullis micuit lucerna seclis,
En mortis iacet obrutus tenebris.
At vobis male sit, malae tenebrae,
Lucis munere quae brevi fruentes,
Eheu, nos miseros homunciones*

sity of Toronto Press, 1991; German original 1986), 158–60, 173–83. Though Beza mentions nothing of this move in his tribute, he often identifies figures geographically by their base of operations rather than by ethnicity (see above).

³⁵ Gerhard Rau notes similarities with both camps, but ultimately “because of his dogmatic method” groups Hyperius with “early Reformed orthodoxy.” He nevertheless refers to him as “supraconfessional” and remarks that “in Hyperius there appeared a further developed Lutheran, a Reformed, and not least of all, an Erasmian ecclesiology.” See *OER*, vol. 2, s.v. “Hyperius, Andreas,” 299–300. It is worth remarking that Beza himself was still trying to reach agreement with the Lutherans as late as 1586 at Montbeliard. Cf. Jill Raitt, *The Colloquy of Montbeliard: Religion and Politics in the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

³⁶ These last three do not receive poems in the original Latin *Icones*; I include them only for the purpose of fuller illustration.

³⁷ Beza, *Icones*, sigs. M.ii.r–v. The meter is hendecasyllabic.

*Nocte sic premitis tenebricosa.
Sed bene hoc cecidit, nigrae o tenebrae,
Quod dum ipsam petitis, malae, lucernam,
Laternam tamen obruistis unam:
Laterna ut lateat quidem hic sepulta,
Ipsa sed magis emicet lucerna.*

Oecolampadius, recently a peaceful
Lamp, shining in the sacred abode of God,
Of such a kind that a clearer or purer
Light has scarcely shone forth in any age—
Behold, he lies covered in the darkness of death.
But may it go evilly for you, evil darkness,
Who thus oppress with darkness-shrouded night
Us wretched little men, who, for a brief time,
Were enjoying the gift of light.
But this has turned out well, O black darkness,
Because, although you, evil, attack the light itself,
You nevertheless cover the lantern alone,
Such that the lantern, indeed, hides buried here,
But the light itself shines out all the more.

As is his custom, Beza puns on the etymological meaning of his addressee: “Oecolampadius” means “house lamp,” and Beza treats Oecolampadius as a light that continues to shine in God’s house (or temple)³⁸ for God’s people, even in the darkness and even after his death—presumably, once again, through his writings, for that is the only way in which he could continue to do so.

Theologians: Heinrich Bullinger

Likewise, Beza’s poem to Heinrich Bullinger praises him for his *doctrina*, *pietas*, and *candor* (learning, godliness or practice of the true religion, and purity):³⁹

*Doctrina si interire, si Pietas mori,
Occidere si Candor potest,
Doctrina, Pietas, Candor, hoc tumulo iacent,*

³⁸ *aedes* means both “house [of God or the gods,” i.e. “temple,” and “house [of man],” i.e., “dwelling.”

³⁹ Beza, *Icones*, sigs. N.iiii.r–v.

Henrice, tecum condita.
Mori sed absit illa posse dixerim,
Quae vivere iubent mortuos.
Immo interire fors an illa si queant,
Subireque tumuli specum,
Tu tu illa doctis, tu piis, tu candidis,
Et non mori certissimis,
*Tenaci ab ipsa morte **chartis** asseras,*
Ipsa approbante numine.
Foedus beatum! Mortuum illa te excitant,
Et tu mori illa non sinis.
At hunc, amici, cur fleamus mortuum,
Qui vivit aliis, et sibi?

If learning can perish, if piety can die,
 If purity can be lost,
 Learning, piety, purity lie in this tomb,
 Heinrich, buried with you.
 But far be it from me to say that those things can die
 Which command the dead to live.
 Nay, if by chance those things could perish,
 And enter the cavern of the grave,
 You, you by your learned, you by your pious, you by your
 pure
writings, and most certain not to die,
 Would liberate them from clinging death itself,
 As divinity itself gives approval.
 Happy covenant! Those things raise you up, though you
 are dead,
 And you do not allow them to die.
 But why, friends, do we weep over him, dead,
 Who lives for others, and for himself?

Beza first says that, if it were possible for learning, godliness, and purity to die, they have been buried with Bullinger. But he next reverses course: these qualities have not died, but live on in his writings (*chartis*),⁴⁰ which possess those same qualities of learning, godliness, and purity; and for that reason Bullinger himself can be said to continue to live. The pattern is so far consistent: the written word is the vehicle of immortality. Here it is combined

⁴⁰ Bullinger's writings primarily theological/doctrinal/pastoral, so I include him with the theologians

with the metaphor of manumission, signalled by the verb *asseras* (“you would liberate”), for Bullinger as author frees virtue from slavery to the bonds of death. Thus Beza heroizes Bullinger as a pious and erudite theologian in possession of a kind of poetic immortality.

Theologians: Josias Simmler

One final example with respect to theology, this one more specific. I refer to the poem for Josias Simmler, Bullinger’s godson, who taught New Testament (from 1552) and theology (from 1560) at the Carolinum in Zurich.⁴¹ Beza writes:⁴²

*Simlere, mi Simlere, quo superstitie
Tot mortui revixerant,
Quos ira nobis numinis, tam pauculis
Ademit annis plurimos.
Simlere, quem treumuit renatus Arrius,
Tremuit renatus Eutyches,
Vastator ille Poloniae, hic Germaniae,
Laesi flagella numinis.
Heu subita et immatura te mors auferens
Quam multa tecum sustulit!
Lamenta amicis quanta, quot iustissimos
Secum dolores attulit!
Quos inter, ecce Beza quondam haud ultimus,
His irrigat te lacrymis:
Beza repetito vulnere isto saucius,
Communis ad tumulum patris.*

Simmler, my Simmler, as long as you survived
So many of the dead had come back to life,
Very many of whom the divinity’s anger took away
From us in so few years.
Simmler, at whom Arius reborn trembled,
At whom Eutyches reborn trembled—

⁴¹ Scholarship on Simmler is rare. For a brief account, see the entry by Georg von Wyß in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, ed. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften (München) Historische Kommission, Band 34 (Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1892), 355–58.

⁴² Beza, *Icones*, sig. P.iii.v.

The former the devastator of Poland, the latter of Germany—
 [you were] the scourge of the harmed divinity.
 Alas, how much sudden and untimely death took away
 When it carried you off!
 How great the lamentations for friends, how many most
 just
 Grievs it brought with itself!
 Amidst these, behold Beza, by no means the last in former
 days,
 Soaks you with these tears:
 Beza, hurt again by that recollected wound,
 At the tomb of a common father.

The poem begins with misdirection. The opening gesture toward resurrection is quickly deflated, for Beza is actually referring to particular heresies that had reared their heads again in his own day. The reference to “Arianism” in Poland indicates Simmler’s stance against Socinianism; the reference to “Eutychianism” in Germany is directed toward certain Lutherans. Simmler as author is in the background here as in many of the other poems already discussed—though only implicitly, for Beza does not mention his writings. Indeed, the departure of the loved one in this poem seems much more final, as Beza makes no claim about Simmler continuing to live on through his books. And yet—paradoxically, perhaps—we can connect the references in the poem much more closely with particular works that was possible in the previous poems cited. Here one would include works such as his *Assertio orthodoxae doctrinae de duabus naturis Christi, servatoris nostri, opposita blasphemis & sophismatibus Simonis Budnaei nuper ab ipso in Lituania evulgatis*, first published in 1575; his *De aeterno Dei filio domino et servatore nostro Iesu Christo & de spiritu sancto, adversus veteres & novos antitrinitarios, id est Arianos, Tritheitas, Samosatenianos & Pneumatomachos, libri quatuor* (1568); his *De vera Iesu Christi domini et servatoris nostri secundum humanam naturam in his terris praesentia, orthodoxa & brevis expositio* (1574); and his *Responsio ad maledicum Francisci Stancari Mantuani librum adversus Tigurinae ecclesiae ministros, de trinitate & mediatore domino nostro Iesu Christo* (1563).

Non-Theologians: Joachim Camerarius

In any case, it is now evident (and unsurprising) that theologians and theological writings play an important role in the imaginary hall of heroes Beza

constructs in the *Icones*. But many other types of figures are included as well, particularly those who were renowned and admired for their liberal learning and exemplary pedagogy. As Baird comments, “To anyone that remembers the close connection which the Reformers always recognised as existing between the progress of letters and the advance of pure religion,” the inclusion of such figures is not surprising.⁴³ Three poems will serve as examples. First, a short poem dedicated to the Lutheran Joachim Camerarius:

*Extinctis olim, Musae, flevistis alumnis,
Et vitam vestra restitulistis ope.
Nos contra vobis, Ioachimi in funere, Musae,
Has miseri extinctis solvimus exequias.
Namque omnes tecum, tecum, Ioachime, Camoenae
Ut vixere simul, sic periire simul.*

In former times, O Muses, you wept over your dead foster-sons,
And you restored their lives by your aid.
We, on the other hand, at the funeral of Joachim in
wretchedness
Performed these funeral rites for you, Muses, dead.
For as all the Muses lived together with you, Joachim,
So they died together with you.

This thoroughly classicizing poem of lament, written fittingly in elegiac couplets,⁴⁴ is addressed to the Muses, invoked under both their Greek (*Musae*) and Italic (*Camoenae*) names. The first couplet alludes to the Muses’

⁴³ Baird, *Counsellor of the Reformation*, 313. He mentions in this connection figures such as Erasmus, Reuchlin, and Francis I (cf. above and Randall, *(Em)bodying the Word*, 99). Randall Coats, “Memorializing the Martyrs,” 24, offers the following false dichotomy: “Beza’s choices for inclusion in *Icones* are not always theologically motivated, but rather arise from subjective preference.” First, one might coyly respond that his theological motivations are no less a matter of subjective preference than any other preference. Second—less cynically and therefore more importantly—one might resist too swift a use of “subjectivism” as a meaningful analytical category and, in the absence of an immediate logic of selection by objective criteria, continue investigating. *Pace* Randall Coats, such a logic of selection is in fact present, as will emerge in the remainder of this essay.

⁴⁴ See *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd ed., ed. Simon Hornblower and Anthony Spawforth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), s.v. “elegiac poetry, Greek,” 516–18 (hereafter *OCD*).

resuscitation of singers beloved to them.⁴⁵ Then, the conceit: with the death of *this* poet, the Muses themselves have died. The link between Camerarius and the classical Muses—and, indeed, of Beza's transition from the Greek term to the Latin one—is appropriate, given that Camerarius devoted a great deal of time to translating classical Greek works into Latin, such as those of Homer, Sophocles, Theocritus, Herodotus, and Demosthenes. He also wrote commentaries on works such as Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*⁴⁶ and Homer's *Iliad*.⁴⁷ In addition, he was a poet in his own right,⁴⁸ as well as a teacher of Greek. Though he had a significant role to play in the world of theology (he was involved in drafting the Augsburg Confession),⁴⁹ Beza says nothing about it here. Why? Perhaps because Beza was never able to come to terms theologically with the Lutherans. If that is the case, however, the fact serves to highlight another kind of catholicity all the more, for it does not prevent Beza from continuing to hold him in the highest esteem for the gifts he bestowed on humanistic learning—and therefore, implicitly, on the church.

Non-Theologians: Conrad Gessner

That we should not be too quick to read the theological omission polemically is made clear by our next example, a poem dedicated to the Reformed Conrad Gessner.⁵⁰

*Te caelo mutante solum, Gesnere, volucres
Quaecunque pennis aera permeant,
Replevere modis omnia tristibus,
Migrantem amicum, extrema supra sidera,
Omnes eum sonitu gravi insequuntae.*

⁴⁵ I am, however, aware of no such instance in Greek myth. It is possible that he refers to a metaphorical resuscitation; the Muses' aid (*opē*) would in that case be memory, their peculiar province. (I owe this suggestion to Joseph Garnjobst.)

⁴⁶ The *Commentarii explicationum in M.T. Ciceronis Tusculanarum Quaestionum libros V.* https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_964YJ7bdqRYC.

⁴⁷ The *Commentarius explicationis primi libri Iliados Homeri.* https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_0svT_XAcCA8C

⁴⁸ The *Libellus continens Eclogas et alia quaedam poematia diversis temporibus et occasionibus* https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_j06-RLP8TGEC.

⁴⁹ See OER, vol. 1, s.v. "Camerarius, Joachim," 249.

⁵⁰ Beza, *Icones*, sigs. R.i.r–v.