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almost entirely in the shade ; that he dwelt with avidity on the abstract and metaphysical, while he made few appeals to the conscience or the heart ; and that hence it was important, if he were presented at all, to hold him up in such a way that his teaching should have an aspect of repulsion rather than attraction. But it would be unpardonable injustice to the memory of the man, and a gross perversion of facts thus to represent one whose best affections clustered about the truth as it is in Jesus, and whose best energies were expended in elucidating that truth so that others might perceive its beautiful harmony, and enforcing it so that others, feeling its constraining and sanctifying power, might rejoice in its freedom and experience its salvation. The stranger who visited him while living, in 'order to see the bear,' found him a man of bright thoughts, genial sympathies, and remarkably fascinating and companionable. He left him with kind wishes and deep veneration, carrying with him remembrances which ever after made that visit an era in his life — a green and hallowed spot in his pilgrimage. So may he who commenced reading this article, expecting to see metaphysical speculations and theological abstractions projected in bold relief, and to behold their author as a rash, stern, one-sided, unpractical teacher, to be gazed at as a monster and then turned away from with fear and trembling, be as agreeably disappointed. May he see the consistency running through the whole of our author's system and giving character to it: and while seeing, may he rejoice in it, and be led to study all his works with profit and delight.

ARTICLE V.

LIFE AND CHARACTER OF THEODORE BEZA.¹

By E. D. C. Robbins, Professor of Languages in Middlebury College, Vt.

The Lineage and Childhood of Beza.

In a wild and mountainous part of Burgundy, a province in the eastern part of France, on the declivity of a mountain at the foot of which flows the river Eure, lies the small town of Vezelay. At a lit-

¹ This Article is founded mainly on a Work entitled: *Theodor Beza nach handschriftlichen Quellen dargestellt von Johann Wilhelm Baum. Erster Theil. Leipzig. 1843.*

the distance out of the village, a stone cross may be seen, marking the spot where the "holy St. Bernard," by his fervid appeals and miracles, roused Louis VII. of France and many of his vassals to undertake the rescue of the holy sepulchre from infidel hands. Here too, forty-five years later, Philip Augustus of France and the Lion-hearted Richard of England, took upon themselves the sign of the cross as leaders of the new crusade to the Holy Land.

Among the noble families of Burgundy, in an early age, was that of de Bèze. And although in the disturbed state of the province which ensued, the castle of the Bezas was demolished, their property wasted; and their privileges taken from them, yet they could not long be kept in a state of subordination. Industry and tact brought wealth, and this was judiciously devoted to the elevation of their fallen family and the improvement of the neighborhood. At the time of the contest between Francis I. and Charles (V.) of Spain, Peter de Bèze had the command of a castle that overlooked the town of Vezelay before designated, and the adjoining region. His wife, Maria Bourdelot, also of noble origin, was distinguished for the activity, zeal, and tenderness with which she performed the duties of wife and mother. Three daughters and two sons already demanded the care and solicitude of these parents, before the birth of Theodore de Bèze, June 24, 1519, more commonly designated among us Beza, who is the subject of the present narrative. As the young Theodore was rather delicate, he seems to have been the object of peculiar care, even during the short time of his stay under the paternal roof.¹ But he was hardly out of the nurse's arms before his uncle, Nicholas de Bèze, a member of the parliament of Paris, who was visiting at Vezelay, pleased with the child, determined to take him back with him to Paris, and rear him as his own offspring. His mother after long refusal, was rather constrained than persuaded to give up her child to his uncle. She could not send the loved one away from the paternal roof, but herself accompanied him to his new home.

The few short years which remained for the mother on earth, were so spent as to indicate, that it was with no empty show of filial piety, nor with the mere partiality of a child, that Beza when he had grown to man's estate thanked God that he had been born of such a mother. Soon after her return from Paris, she was thrown from a horse while riding; and although she fractured the bone of one of her limbs above the knee, yet her own tact and knowledge of medicine enabled her to perfect a cure, without aid from the surgeon. She seems ever to have had a peculiar fondness for this science from her early days, and was

¹ He says of himself, in a letter to Wolmar: *In paternam domo tenerrime educatus.*

thus able to render herself useful to, and beloved by the poor in all the region around. But she was soon attacked by a fever, which baffled all medical aid; and in the bloom of life, when only thirty-two years old, was taken from a family of which she was the centre of attraction, and from a community who lamented for her as for a friend and benefactor. Twenty-five years after her death, Beza, when on a visit to his native town, placed on her monument an inscription commemorative of his sorrow for her early death.¹

• In the house of his bachelor uncle, the young Beza received every attention that wealth and kindness could suggest; but it was long doubtful whether life or death was to claim the puny nursing for itself. He could scarcely leave his cradle till after he was four years old. And soon after this, he took from a servant, with whom he was accustomed to play, a troublesome disease,² which was aggravated not only by his own feebleness, but by the unskilfulness of the physician, although the best which Paris afforded was employed. So severe were the remedies used, that even thirty years afterwards he says, that he cannot think of the tortures which he then endured, without shuddering. At first the physician attended the child in the house of his patron; but when the uncle could no longer endure to witness his sufferings, he commanded his servants to take him, with another young relative, also infected with the same disease, to the physician. The way from the university where the uncle lived to the house of the physician near the Louvre, lay across a bridge. The boys frequently went on before the servants and stopped upon this bridge, which, on one occasion, but for an apparently providential occurrence, had proved fatal to them both. Beza, in a letter to Wolmar, says: "My companion, from a dread of the operation which awaited us with the physician, already possessed of the courage of a soldier, often urged me to throw myself, with him, from the bridge, that we thus might end our sufferings. I being of a more timid nature, at first shrank from it; but afterwards,

¹ *MARIÆ BURDELOTTÆ, MATRIS DULCISS.*

Vix dum vivere coeperam puellus
 Mater, vivere quando desisti,
 Ut te vix ego dixero parentem,
 Vix tu me quoque filium vocaris :
 Hinc lustris tibi quinque jam sepulchri
 Sub hoc pondere frigidi peractis,
 Nunc primum. Aonidum favore fretus,
 Heu mater cineres tuos saluto :
 Felix ah nimium futurus olim,
 Si natus citius forem vel ipse,
 Vel tu mortua serius fuisses.

² The *Scaldhead*, which then was prevalent at Paris.

urged on by the increasing severity of pain and by his more urgent entreaties, promised to follow, when he had first thrown himself over!" When they were on the point of accomplishing the proposed deed, it so happened that their uncle passed that way, in returning home from the parliament-house, and seeing them without the servants near them, took them, though unwilling, home with him. Whether he had any suspicion of their intentions does not appear, but they were not afterwards sent to the physician.

The early Education of Beza; his Teacher Melchior Wolmar.

The young Theodore received the first elements of an education, under his uncle's roof, from a teacher employed for that purpose. The activity of mind that he exhibited, and his readiness to learn, early induced his foster-father to devote him to study. Paris, which under Francis I. became the most cultivated capital in Europe, and was resorted to by many of the learned men of the age, would undoubtedly have furnished the whole intellectual nurture and training of the young student, but for one circumstance. A kinsman of Nicholas de Bèze, a member of the great council of the king, when dining one day with him, noticing the boy, said to his host that he had at his home in Orleans, a son of the same age, who was a pupil of one Wolmar, a proficient in the Greek language, then a rare acquisition, and also peculiarly fitted for the training of the young. The confidence placed in this relative was so great, that the uncle decided to send the young Beza to Orleans, where he hoped perhaps that he would escape the corruptions of the great city; and requested that he might be received as the companion and playfellow of the son of his friend.

Melchior Wolmar, or as he was often termed by friends and pupils, Melior, was a native of Rotweil in Germany. After receiving the elements of an education at Berne, he pursued his studies at Paris under Faber (Stapulensis), William Budaeus, and John Lascaris, and became so distinguished in study, that among one hundred who received the master's degree, he was first. Orleans was celebrated for its school of law at this time, under the direction of the celebrated Peter Stella, president of the parliament of Paris, and Wolmar repaired thither in order to avail himself of his instructions. Here, in order to gain a support, as well as from the desire to see the youth of gentle origin instructed in language and polite learning, he received a limited number of pupils into his family. His treatment of and influence over his pupils, is thus generally described by a Catholic biographer of Calvin: ¹

¹ Audin.

“Melchior cherished as the sons of his own flesh, the pupils which he engendered, rather for Luther than for Sophocles or Demosthenes; he took especial care of them, caressed them, and in case of need even paid their debts.”

It was on the 5th of Dec. 1528, when Beza was in his tenth year, that the anxious foster father committed him to the instruction and guardianship of the teacher at Orleans. Wolmar was at that time thirty-one years old. The kindness with which he received the young student into his house, and the gentleness which he ever manifested toward him soon won his affection; and a mutual friendship, which strengthened day by day and only ended with life, was the result. Wolmar was soon after called by Margaret, duchess of Alençon and Berri, afterwards “Queen of Navarre,” to Bourges, where his pupil followed him, and remained with him in all seven years. When in his seventeenth year he had made such progress under this teacher, that it was said that there was no Greek or Latin author that he had not read, and no science except that of jurisprudence in which he had not made some proficiency.

Wolmar was not however satisfied with merely instructing his pupil in language and science. He was careful in regard to his manners, habits and principles. He had himself been early imbued by his teachers at Paris with something of the new religious spirit that was here and there manifesting itself in France, and as a German he had not been unmindful of or uninterested in the changes that were taking place in his own native land and Switzerland. It was natural that the favorite pupil should also sympathize with him. Besides, Bourges itself, as is well known, was the refuge of many who embraced the new doctrines, and the persecutions of the Sorbonnists only added fuel to the flame which had been kindled. It was during Beza's residence at Bourges that Margaret was so quietly active in defending and disseminating the sentiments of reform. He himself says of this time, in his Church History: “God made his voice heard at Orleans, Bourges and Toulouse, three cities with universities.” At Paris at one time, too, there had been three evangelical preachers. In Guienne and Bearn in consequence of the influence of the duchess Margaret, divine service was performed and the sacrament administered according to the reformed doctrine. The house of Wolmar was ever open for the reception of those who, for conscience' sake, had taken refuge in Navarre. Under such influences at home, and with such examples about him, the young Beza could not have failed to be, at least, secretly influenced in favor of reform. Among those with whom Beza came in contact at Bourges, was John Calvin of Noyon in Picardy. He had studied law

at Orleans, and was attracted to Bourges by the reputation of André Alciato, "the man of all sciences," when about twenty¹ years old, ten years the senior of Beza. Beza in his Church History, says of him just previous to his stay at Bourges: "There were some few at Orleans who knew the truth, as F. Daniel and Nicholas du Chemin; but this was as nothing until Calvin, still a very young man, but already marked out as an excellent instrument for the work of the Lord, came to Orleans to study jurisprudence." He, it is said, by his science and zeal for the kingdom of God, wonderfully promoted the cause in many families. And when at Bourges "he strengthened all the faithful residing in the city, and preached in several castles in the surrounding district."² He had when at Orleans spent his nights in the study of the Bible. But new facilities now awaited him. In the house of Wolmar he found not only encouragement, but assistance in his studies. He made rapid advances under his new teacher, in the study of Greek literature, especially as applied to the study of the New Testament. The liberal and enlightened views of this man, exerted such an influence upon Calvin, that he subsequently declared, that he owed much of his elevation in knowledge and piety to him. As a token of his gratitude he dedicated to him in 1546, his Commentary on the second epistle to the Corinthians. At this time there were points of contrast as well as of similarity between the youthful Burgundian and the more mature scholar from Noyon. The one was so highly adorned with external excellencies as to seem to be made for this world alone, and now in the bloom of youth he was devoted to its pleasures. He was, says Audin, "an elegant young man quite perfumed with amber and poesy, who at the same time, made court to women, to the muses, and to his professor Wolmar." The other, simple and unpretending in appearance, had already begun by his nightly vigils over his books and in meditation upon the studies of the previous day, to waste the freshness of his earlier days. The one, had little love for the more rigid habits and sentiments of the other. But they were both humanists, both possessed the spirit of scholars, and the fire that gleamed from the eye of the guest, often penetrated the heart of the impetuous youth, and the sincerity and earnestness which were characteristic of Calvin attracted Beza; and when his better life had begun, he felt a love for him, which lasted even when the clouds of the valley were resting upon the earthy remains of the senior friend, and dictated the simple but

¹ Baum, in his *Life of Beza*, says when he was twenty-three years old. But Henry in the edition of his *Leben J. Calvinis*, published in 1846, places his residence at Bourges earlier.

² Henry's *Life of Calvin*, Vol. I. p. 26.

earnest biographical sketch of the Life of the great Reformer. But the death of his father soon called Calvin away from his delightful studies in the house of the German teacher, and his acquaintance with Beza was broken off, to be again renewed after ten or twelve years of varied experience.

But Calvin was not the only one who was destined to experience trouble and change. The uncle of Beza, who had thus far reared him as his own child, had died in 1532, and from that time, he had looked upon Wolmar as his foster-father, and upon his home as home. But the persecutions which desolated so many homesteads in France soon made its appearance at Bourges. Not even the duchess Margaret could shield her chosen professor from suspicion, or from fear of violence. His own quiet and blameless life, too, did not conceal him from the threatening glance of the infuriated Sorbonne. But he would not long remain, where he was the object of baseless suspicion, and where he foresaw that he should be constrained to relinquish his favorite pursuits, or mingle his blood with others of the faithful, which he did not feel called upon yet to do. He accordingly decided to take refuge in Germany, where others of a similar faith and spirit had gone before him. The announcement of his determination fell heavily upon the hearts of his companions and pupils, although it approved itself to their judgments, and even in some instances, had been advised on account of the solicitude felt for his personal safety. No one, as may be readily supposed, felt the bereavement so keenly as the foster-son, and the pupil who during seven years had been the daily recipient of kindness, as well as of wisdom and instruction from him. In anticipation of this separation Wolmar had not been unmindful of the religious welfare of his pupil, but had been solicitous to implant in his mind and heart the principles of the true gospel. By this means a new bond of sympathy had sprung up between them which with personal attachment, led to urgent solicitations to the elder Beza to allow his son to accompany his friends to their new home. But the father as little willing that his son should thus forego the preferment which awaited him in his own country, as that he should be exposed to the influence of heretics, refused his consent. Thus sadly but trustingly they separated, and in the first day of Spring, 1535, Wolmar was on his way to Lyons, in order to go thence to Basle, where Calvin was then engaged in the study of Hebrew and in publishing his Institutes, and ere long to Tübingen where he had been invited by duke Ulrich, as Würtemberg counsellor.

Beza at the University of Orleans.

On the same first of May in which Wolmar had turned his steps toward Germany, the young Beza, in obedience to the command of his father, went from Bourges to Orleans, whose university then boasted the best teachers and the largest number of pupils in the department of law, of any in France. Nor was it less distinguished as a seat of classical learning. For Erasmus and Reuchlin and Alexander had been teachers there and had left their impress. But neither the joyousness of all nature, just emancipated from the icy bands of winter, nor the hopefulness of youth in prospect of the free life of the university, were sufficient to dispel the sadness which brooded over the young scholar. Twenty-five years after he says: "The calends of May, the day in which I was torn from you, and you departed for Lyons, and I, by the command of my father (*ex patris imperio*), went to Orleans, always have been and always will be, present to my mind. I remember and always shall remember, that no sadder day ever dawned upon me."¹ One of his first poems if not his very first, written when in his fifteenth year, is expressive of his strong attachment to his friend and teacher.²

Orleans was not a strange place to Beza, but the course of life on which he now entered was new. Temptations throng around any body of young men, who are in frequent intercourse with each other. But nowhere perhaps are more blandishments thrown about vicious inclinations and practices than where young men are associated together for literary pursuits. The most ruinous habits are not rarely concealed under the garb of honor or refinement. The young Beza is now not only exposed to the allurements of vicious companions, but he must meet them single handed and alone. Hitherto a careful and friendly hand has guided him. The restraints of the family, so gently exerted

¹ Epist. ad Wolmarium.

² In Meliorem Wolmarium praeceptorem summe observandum doctissime Homerum in Academia Bituricensi interpretantem, anno Domini 1534, quum ageret annum Beza 15.

Flacce tibi quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus,
 Sed num propterea caecus Homerus erat.
 Immo oculis captus quoniam credatur Homerus,
 Quem sequitur vatium caetera turba ducem?
 Illius sed enim splendorem longa vetustas,
 Obrucrat densis — heu — nimium tenebris.
 Tu Melior, donec, fato meliore, renato
 Dux ipsi fieri, Volmare Magne, ducl.

as not to be felt, are no longer about him. We look forward into his future with solicitude, yet not without hope.

The study of law, as conducted in the schools of the sixteenth century, had few charms for an imaginative youth of fifteen years. The legal science consisted of little else than dry details, without the philosophical or literary attractions that have since clustered around it. It is not strange then, that the father's authority was not sufficient to induce the son to wholly discard the poets of antiquity for the pragmatic institutes of civil law. We are not surprised to find the young student spending more hours over the pages of Ovid or the lyrics of Catullus and Tibullus than over the clumsy folios of the legal professors. "Since the study of law," he says in a letter to Wolmar, "was pursued in a barbarous, unmethodical and dry manner, I felt an unaccountable repugnance to it, and only engaged in the study of it, on condition that I might devote a great share of my leisure hours to literature, to the reading of the authors of Greece and Rome." Besides the reading of classical authors, his naturally poetical temperament led him to the imitation of his favorite poets in Latin verse. And thus doubtless many an hour was passed, which would else have hung heavily upon him in his present circumstances.

But objects of engrossing interest he was not destined long to want at Orleans. After speaking of his love of classical pursuits his biographer says: "Another and more powerful passion, which even in the most common, and dull natures, is accustomed to awaken poetic sentiment or something akin to it, and which inspirited and nourished the already awakened talent of poetic composition in him, a first love, was kindled in his youthful breast. Not long after his arrival, when looking out for teachers of law, he saw Maria de Stella, niece of the celebrated Peter de Stella, who soon became literally the star around which the whole world of his feeling, poetry and dreams revolved. No wonder that the uncle, aside from his real superiority, soon became the favorite teacher of the young student. Under the influence of the morning rays of this youthful passion, many of the tenderest and most passionate of his poetical effusions burst forth. But this cup of pleasure was soon dashed from his lips. Maria de Stella died in the bloom of her youth, and as a last token of affection Beza placed over her grave an inscription in Latin and French. Two hundred years afterward the stone was yet in existence, but a fanatical hand had obliterated all the inscription except the name: *Marise Stellae*."

The sadness which lingered around the youth of not more than seventeen years, seems to have been gradually dissipated by the assiduity of numerous friends, who already clustered around him in the

university. His pleasant manners and genial and elevated nature made him an acceptable companion to both young and old. The most virtuous and cultivated of the members of the university courted his society and encouraged his devotion to the Muse of poetry. He was also appointed Procurator of the Burgundians, a post of the highest honor and authority in his division of the university.¹ And notwithstanding his devotion to literature and poetry, Beza was able in consequence of his power of acquiring and retaining knowledge, to pass the necessary examination, and August 11, 1539, received the degree of Licentiate of Law. Thus ended his university life.

First years at Paris, Dissatisfaction of his Father, Friendship and Correspondence with Pomponius.

It is not without interest that we see the young student separated from his numerous acquaintance at the university, and severed from his youthful friends such as never afterward greet him in life, and plunged into the great world, to struggle on to posts of honor and usefulness. It is especially perilous to the young aspirant, when thrown into the confusion of such elements of discord as pervaded Paris toward the middle of the 16th century. More than six years before Beza repaired thither from the university at Orleans, John Calvin, then twenty-three years old, had exhorted and instructed those who secretly assembled for that purpose, and the persecutions which ensued are too well known to need recapitulation. Although the bloody Morin, the leaders in parliament and in the Sorbonne were now sustained by Francis I., who publicly declared that if he knew that one of his limbs was infested with heresy, he would not spare his own flesh and blood, yet the word sown was not ineffectual. The contest could not be avoided. Reformation in literature and religion could not long be withstood, although it were compelled to fight every inch of ground which it possessed, and that too, in a city where dissipation and immorality already had a strong hold.

It was not without many backward longings and much discouragement that Beza took up his abode in Paris. His enthusiastic love for the friends that he had left at Orleans, often remanded back his unbidden thoughts. His love for literature, which stood in such opposition to the prosaic path which his father and friends had marked out for him, whom they already in vision saw in his seat in parliament, his aversion to the dry details of law, and the barren themes of the advocate, now

¹ For an account of the division of the different members of the university into separate corporations, and attending circumstances, see Baum's *Beza*, S. 24 seq.

stood out in bold relief before him. Yet his return to the scenes of his earliest years was not without shades of light in the midst of the gloom. His uncle who watched over his childhood, as has been mentioned, had gone from earth. But his colleagues in parliament did not leave unnoticed the young man who had returned among them, with graceful manners, gallant bearing, and the highest literary culture which the age afforded. And another brother, Claudius de Beza, abbot of the Cistercian cloister of Froimont, who was not less devoted to him, and who had a yearly income of five thousand crowns, occupied the place of the departed one. By the exertions of friends the young licentiate had before his arrival and without his knowledge been provided with two benefices which yielded annually about seven hundred crowns.¹ He found also at Paris his own eldest brother who had been canon at Orleans, and had now, in ill health, considerable benefices at his command. Yet in all this prosperity, and amidst the dazzling hopes which beckoned him on to fortune and to fame, internal convictions of religion, which the fear of physical violence, and the anger of his father did not allow him to express, were ever present with him. So strong indeed were they that he early decided with himself that, so soon as he should be independent, and have certain means at his disposal, he would go to Wolmar at Tübingen, where the gospel had free course, and where all could obey the dictates of their consciences without any to molest or make afraid. On his knees before God, with tears, he often entreated that he might soon be able to carry this determination into effect.²

The course of life now entered upon was one of difficulty to the youthful Beza. Thus he writes to his friend Pomponius: 'When I left Orleans my father expected nothing else but that I should devote myself body and soul to courts and the practical life of an advocate; but since both my early training and my whole nature were at variance with it, I could not bring myself, for the sake of paltry gain, to relinquish the study of philosophy.' The consequence was, frequent contentions and constant reproach.³ But a gleam of light shot across his path which though it cheered and strengthened him for the time, left him in greater darkness than ever. In November or December 1589 Wolmar

¹ Huc accedebat quod duobus pinguibus et opimis beneficiis, me alioqui macrum adolescentem et praeterea, quod vere testor, istarum rerum prorsus ignarum et absentem onerabant, quarum vectigalia aureos coronatos annuus plus minus septingentos aequabant. — *Epist. ad Wolm.*

² Omnino decreveram antea, simulatque mei juris essem, et nonnullae mihi facultates non deessent, ad te (sc. Wolmarium) discedere et purae conscientiae libertatem ceteris rebus omnibus anteferre et saepissime a Deo cum precibus et lachrymis postularem ut me hujus voti reum exaudiret. — *Epist. ad Wolm.*

³ Mirae lites, assidua jurgia.

came to Paris on business for his prince, and after four years' separation again took his former pupil to his heart, heard with sympathy his bitter complaints, and admonished and encouraged him. In a warm hearted and pretty poem,¹ he invites the most distinguished and best loved of his friends to a feast in honor of the new arrival, and many, we may suppose, were the free words spoken in this little circle, in reference to the present commotions of and future hopes for France. But his father was not unmindful of the growing distaste of his son for the life which he had marked out for him, and plainly saw, that more decided

¹ I cannot deny myself or my readers the quotation of this poem entire, so descriptive is it of his regard for his friend, and so just a sample of his lighter poems.

Audite, ò lepidi mei Sodales,
 Ter suavem atque hilarem locutionem.
 Ille Volmarius, mei ò Sodales,
 Integerrimus omnium virorum,
 Ille Volmarius modo est reversus,
 Hunc ergo, ò lepidi mei Sodales,
 Diem cantibus, oro, transigamus.
 Procul moestitiæ, molestiæque,
 Procul tristitia, atque solitudo,
 Procul sint gemitus, procul dolores,
 At tu lætitiæ, adveni, tumque
 Adducas comitem, optimum Deorum,
 Lyæum et Cererem optimam Dearum,
 Io, mi bone Bacche, mi Lyæe,
 O Ceres mea, ne mihi negetis,
 Quæso, istam exiguum petitionem :
 Advolate ; rogo, Deis relictis.
 Hic nulli tetrici deambulones,
 Hic rixosus erit Sophista nullus ;
 Sed convivæ aliquot boni poetæ,
 Nempe Rillerius, Jobertiusque :
 Tertius quoque Claudius futurus.
 Locum post alios tenebo quartum.
 At tu, Melchior, in loco supremo
 Sedens, Mercuriique Apollinisque,
 Et vices Charitum supplebis unus.
 Quod si forte tua eruditione
 Audita, (quis enim tuam negarit
 In coelum quoque transisse famam ?)
 Facundus veniat nepos Atlantis,
 Aut Phoebus, Charitesve : tunc manebis
 Suprema nihilominus cathedra,
 Et tacentibus omnibus loqueris.
 Nam quis (ni penitus caret cerebro)
 Phoëbo, Mercurioque, Gratiisque,
 Neget Volmarium eruditorem ?

measures must be taken to dispel the profitless fancies in which he indulged, and bind him to a more practical and available course of action and study.

The plan agreed upon by the father and uncle was, that Beza should remain in Paris, devote a year to the practice of canonical law, the two following years to the acquiring of every facility and artifice of the Parisian courts; and then, that measures should be taken to bring him into public notice, under the direction of some one of the cardinals. Thus a course was marked out, not unfitted to call forth the exertions, and raise the expectations of one of a different temperament and tastes from the pupil of the humanist Wolmar. How he received the plan, is sufficiently evident, from a letter written about this time. "I ask you my dear Pomponius, am I not a ruined, a lost man? But however unpleasant it may be, I must submit myself *at least for a long time.*" He however, proceeds to express the confidence that God will finally have compassion upon him and release from a bondage which has not come upon him unexpectedly, but after he has had time to prepare his mind for it, and which he will bear the more patiently, as he hears that his friend is not displeased with the life marked out for himself. But all his efforts to bring his best thoughts to bear upon his profession, or at least to prevent his feelings from rising in rebellion were in vain. So true is the saying of the wisest among the ancient students of human nature: *naturam expellas furca tamen usque recurrit.* New complaints arose, and the older son coming to the rescue of Theodore,¹ it was again decided, that the two brothers should hire a house and live together; the older, attending to domestic arrangements, and leaving the younger at liberty to devote himself to his studies. Two happy years were passed in this way, by the young student, without care or anxiety; and new zeal animated his breast for the pursuits which were especially congenial with his nature. Neither was he compelled to struggle on without aid and encouragement. In spite of the persecutions at Paris, literature had received a new impulse, and teachers of almost every art could be obtained. "Friendship and knowledge, the two noblest genii of studious youth," says his biographer,² "accompanied and animated him."

The warm regard and friendship of Beza for Pomponius deserves consideration in connection with the first years of his life at Paris. He opened his whole heart to him, but unfortunately many of the letters are lost. Yet enough remain to show the strength of the attachment as well as to cast much light upon his course of life and feeling. His expressions of regard might seem almost enthusiastic to

¹ *Intervenit frater qui causae meae faveret, etc.* Baum, S. 91.

² L. 46.

one of a more phlegmatic temperament. To write to him and assure him of his love, is his only consolation in their separation. He contrives in every manner to induce him to come to Paris, so that he may again see his face and enjoy his society. When the Emperor Charles V. was expected, he describes the preparation for his reception, and the spectacles to be exhibited; so as to induce his friend to be present. He begins the letter to him as follows: "the letter which I committed to the care of the bookseller Stephanus, my dear Pomponius, I fear that you have not received, for there has been enough of time and leisure to you for answering it unless, forsooth, the approach of the emperor has delayed all the couriers between you and us. But however that may be, my good fellow, do not suppose that I have taken offence. I only wish to remind you that if you have received no letter from me, it is to be charged to the negligence of the bookseller rather than to my delay. Moreover, my love for you is so great that I cannot endure the longing that I feel. Do you remember that we often, when I was present with you, discussed the strength of affection? I well recollect, that notwithstanding your eloquence, I could never understand what that which they call love is. But your power has been greater, in this particular, when absent than when present. I confess that I now know the strength of love, I feel its power, and indeed unless you come to heal me I shall soon sink under it. Love is truly a violent thing, therefore come or I shall die." Near the close of the letter he throws out an expression which seems to indicate that he was not allowed by his father the use of the whole seven hundred crowns, furnished by his benefices, and also that he was not altogether submissive in spirit to the restraints put upon him: "In respect to my private affairs," he says, "I do nothing else than that which my furies desire, from whom however I receive *four hundred livres* annually."

Another letter, written not long after, is scarcely less expressive of warmth of affection. "I have received two letters from you, both most acceptable. For what of yours would not bring incredible pleasure to me! Grateful indeed I may say they were, since like light in a mirror, I perceived your regard for me, which is very great, but of a kind that can be excelled. For I so love you, my Pomponius, that I suppose you who much excel me in other things, will grant the precedence to me in this," etc. As a proof of his regard he proceeds to relate in verse to him what he calls a true dream.¹ Beza seems to have devoted some time to the study of Hebrew with Vatable which at this time was so rare an acquisition for one not devoted to theology,

¹ See in Baum's Beza, S. 86, 87.

as to show some interest in the sacred Scriptures, as well as a right appreciation of the proper manner of studying them critically. He also seems to have undertaken to publish an edition of the "Salic Law," probably to pacify his father, in the office of Neobanius, a celebrated printer of the time,¹ but whether the book ever make its appearance is uncertain. Sometime during the first years of the abode of Beza at Paris, Pomponius went to Italy for a time, and the regret of the former at the farther separation, he expresses with much feeling. During his absence a rumor was prevalent that he had perished in the mountains not far from the Lake of Geneva. Beza was almost inconsolable, and thus addresses his spirit: "Hear, oh hear me wherever thou mayest be; whether thou joyfully dwellest near the throne of Jupiter, as a new inhabitant and citizen of heaven, or the nine sisters have bound you to the two pointed summit of Parnassus, hear me! Inexorable fate has snatched thy life from me, has taken from me also thy body. This is all that remains to me, so often as the year revolves around, to pour out the offering of a similar lamentation at thy grave, my Pylades, my Achates! Not before my voice is silent in death, will I cease to lament thee, my dear Pylades, my loved Achates." Letters, however, soon arrived from the living friend, which restored to life the spirit which had sunk in despair.

In May, 1542, Pomponius returned to Dijon and settled there and married. Soon after, Beza directed to him a letter of congratulation, of which the following is the substance: "I hear that you have become a married man (*νυγάμου*), and I congratulate you thereupon, since your prudence and foresight is known to me, and I am sure you would not enter upon this mode of life unadvisedly. Besides, I know that our friend Agianthus,² who is wise in all things, would not have permitted you to entangle yourself in these bonds, if he had not been sure that the connection was desirable. So I am confident you have not taken this step, without advice and consideration. May God add his blessing. In respect to myself, I have no wife but philology, which, while it offers not all the delights that you married men experience, is still free from all those things from which divorces arise, such as caprices, self-will, and the like. Thus I am so delighted with my own bonds, that I will not cease to supplicate equal felicity for you. . . . Ere long you shall receive an Epithalamion from me; in the mean time, show

¹ In the postscript of a letter to Pomponius he says; *Lex Salica intra paucos menses mittetur ex officina Neobanii typographi eruditissimi idque meis auspiciis. Ride Graeculum vestratem.*

² He speaks in terms of the highest praise of Agianthus in another letter, quoted in Baum, s. 92.

yourself a man. Farewell, and salute your bride again and again for me."

We find little in the letters of Beza during these first years at Paris to indicate the progress that his mind was making in respect to religious truth. But it is not strange that it is so. The rigid measures that were taken in respect to heretical books and writings at Paris, and the system of espionage that was maintained, rendered it difficult and dangerous to expose one's self in this way. An occasional expression shows that he was not unmindful of passing events, yet it is evident that poetry and classical studies were the engrossing objects of his attention. Still his silence in respect to the new views of the age were not enough to keep his father quiet. His undisturbed happy life with the young friends who were his constant guests, was destined soon to be interrupted.¹

Last Years at Paris, and Marriage.

The brother of Beza with whom he resided, finally sunk under the disease that had long preyed upon him. The father again renewed his complaints, and the son obstinately persisted in not submitting himself to those employments against which his whole nature revolted. The abbot uncle was again appealed to for the settlement of the controversy. "He," says Beza in a letter to Pomponius, "was more favorable to me. Since I was so averse to the forum, he decided that I should continue in my chosen pursuits, yet that I should devote myself as client to some chief or noble, from whom I might hope to receive some fruit of my labors. With what feeling do you suppose I received this proposition. I, who had never learned to feign or flatter, should I embrace a life at court exposed to so many commotions, who had anticipated a life of such honest quiet? But it was necessary to be submissive, and I was accordingly just about to go to the house of the bishop of Constance to make application, when these warlike disturbances caused me to defer my application if not to change my plan. Thus I was enabled to return to my former course of life, in which I will pass my days unless some higher power prevents, and I believe that I shall do something that will be a witness to posterity, that Beza did not live an entirely idle and useless life."

The years of the life of Beza after his brother's death until he left Paris in 1548, are the darkest in his history. The little income which fell to him from his dead brother's estate, rendered him more independent of his friends, and enabled him to devote himself with less distraction

¹ See Epist. in Baum, s. 91.

to his literary pursuits. His aim evidently was to become one of the most distinguished humanists of his age, and to strive for the laurel with the most gifted of his contemporaries. He was of too noble a nature to admit feelings of petty rivalry or to harbor jealousies. He had the ability and the advantages for acquiring distinction, and this for a time seems to have been the ruling object of his life. He did not, however, even in his most worldly and thoughtless days, long forget the instructions of Wolmar. He obtained the writings of the reformers notwithstanding their prohibition, and read them with eagerness, and often longed to rank himself among them. So he expressly says in a letter to Bullinger, which will be subsequently quoted. Still, while such thoughts and desires, without doubt, were often in his mind, they were not yet the abiding impressions, which lead to decisive actions. Many waverings and wrestlings with self and with the world, were yet necessary before he was fully ready and prepared for the great work to which his Master had called him. Youthful aspirations for heroic excellence are too often, as in the case of Beza, dispelled as the morning dew by the sun of prosperity, honor, wealth, and friendship.

The youthful foibles and errors of the student of Paris, as those of all the other reformers, have been freely canvassed, greatly multiplied, and much aggravated, by those who have been desirous to bring odium upon the doctrines of evangelical religion. The sentiments that he embraced heartily later in life are, they would have us suppose, to be charged with the sins of his youth. But the injustice of this is too palpable to require a word of confutation. We have no desire to palliate or excuse even the youthful faults of this great man. Such as they were, he himself, in his mature age, and when he was known throughout Christendom, confesses and deplors with a strength and fullness which we cannot but admire: "I will freely and openly unfold the matter as it is. When I was an inexperienced youth, and besides had from my friends leisure and money in abundance, and in short everything that I could desire, I wanted nothing, alas! so much as wise and good counsel. And as Satan suddenly placed all these hinderances in my way, I found myself so drawn away by the glitter, and vain show, and magnificence of such a life, that I easily allowed myself to be enticed sometimes to the one side and sometimes to the other. But why need I here recount all the numerous perils into which I plunged myself knowingly and willingly, and how often, both at home and abroad, I threw both body and soul into jeopardy. But while, on the one hand, the remembrance of that time must, for various reasons, be bitter and painful, so on the other, the consideration of the entirely peculiar and almost incredible goodness

and compassion of God toward me causes me, when I think of *that day*, to feel an inexpressible delight, since I have the clearest and most convincing proof in regard to myself, of the care and love with which our heavenly Father has promised to visit all his chosen ones. For although I, of my own free will, departed from the right way, yet he never allowed me to sink so low and to wander so far, that I did not often, in the depth of my heart, sigh and confirm my vows wholly to renounce popery! He caused me, through his grace, to lead such a life that, although I deserved neither the one nor the other, I at that time was not the last in piety among the devout, and among the learned and cultivated, and was considered as one not devoid of wisdom. Aside from the above-mentioned obstacles, Satan had encircled me with three strong bonds: the enticements of sensuality, which in that city [Paris] were numberless and most powerful; the sweet, alluring hope of celebrity, which I especially by the edition of my Epigrams had in no small degree obtained, even in accordance with the judgment of an Italian, the learned poet M. Antonius Flaminus; and finally the expectation which was held out to me of the highest posts of honor, to which even some of the great ones of the court already called me in anticipation, to the attainment of which my friends spurred me on, and my father and uncle constantly admonished me." Farther statements may be found in connection with the account of the "Juvenilia" and "Departure from France." I may add here, and from the best authority, that the accusation of licentiousness, so frequently made against Beza by the Catholics, as belonging to this period of his life, is wholly without proof or foundation. He gave the explanation quoted in part above, and called upon all his friends of high and low degree, upon his bitter opponents who had known him at this time, and upon all the world, to bring proof, if any they had, of crimes from which he declared himself free; but it was not brought, and we may safely say, that the accusations originated in a desire to prop up a falling cause, and to counteract the influence of one whose learning and ability could not be allowed silently to pass over to the side of the Protestants.

One event which occurred about four years before Beza left France, deserves a more particular notice here, his private betrothal to Claude Deanosz. It was known only to two of his friends, Lorenzo de Normandie and John Crispin, distinguished lawyers in Paris, with the latter of whom he was afterwards associated in Geneva. "This was kept secret," he afterwards says, "partly in order that I might not give offence to others and partly because I could not then deprive myself of that cursed gold, which I obtained from those spiritual

benefices previously mentioned." "But," he adds, "I gave her the express promise at the betrothal, that very soon, all impediments being removed, I would publicly confirm my marriage with her in the church of God."¹ This promise, as we shall see, he fulfilled immediately on his arrival at Geneva. This woman was far inferior in rank and position to Beza, but virtuous, and indeed possessed of qualities which made her during forty years of married life a comfort to her husband, who in old age poured forth burning tears over her dead body; and in his will described the place where she was buried, and requested that he might be allowed to rest by the side of this true companion of his life.² The calumny that she was the wife of a tailor who lived long after this time, is wholly without foundation.³

The Juvenilia.

The fugitive poems of Beza were becoming widely known among his friends during his residence at Paris. His persevering and untiring devotion to literature and the muse in opposition to the will of family friends, and especially of his father, was notorious in the literary circles of the metropolis. Many too of his verses were known out of France. Wolmar at Tübingen had been frequently favored with poetical missives from his devoted pupil and friend. When urged by others to publish, he very naturally turned to this friend for advice. After consulting with the learned Camerarius, they both were of the opinion that Beza should make his appearance as an author before the public. He accordingly soon after sent a selection, made with the aid of learned and judicious friends from the many manuscripts which he had in possession, to the celebrated publisher Jodocus Badius, who brought them out in a beautiful octavo volume. The frontispiece to the volume, suggested, it is presumed, by a couplet from one of his poems, which forms a part of it, was certainly not unhappily designed. It consists of a portrait of the author with the ends of his fingers just touching a crown of laurel, around which these lines were placed :

Vos docti docta præcingite tempora lauro ;
Mi satis est illam vel tetigisse manu.

¹ Fore ut illam primo quidem tempore rejectis impedimentis omnibus in Ecclesiam Dei (eam) abducerem.

² He says of her, p. 64., Uxorem mihi ea quam illa tempora ferebant ratione (at alibi plenissime exposui) quatuor circiter annis ante voluntarium meum exilium despondi, genere quidem impari sed ea virtute præditam mulierem, cuius me poenitere ab eo tempore minime oportuit.

³ See pp. 40 and 51.

The dedication of the volume, written on his birth-day in 1548, was to Wolmar whom he ever remembered with gratitude as his intellectual and spiritual father: A passage from it cannot be without interest in this connection. "This little book, although I indeed at first had determined to dedicate it to no one, because it seemed too trivial a thing to deserve to bear the name of even one of no reputation; yet, I changed my purpose, and did not hesitate to dedicate it to you, partly, that you might help to sustain that which you was so conspicuous an agent in bringing to light, and partly, that by this small offering I might bear witness to my regard or rather filial affection for thee before all others. For there are very many whom I may love either on account of worth or relationship or friendship, to whom, I know, that this testimony of regard had not seemed to be unpleasant, but they, if they knew what benefits you have conferred on me, I doubt not, would acknowledge that Wolmar, although a foreigner, should be preferred to themselves." The time of the appearance of these poems should be borne in mind, in forming a judgment upon them. They were published some months before his leaving Paris and before the severe sickness which brought him to the full determination to yield to the oft-repeated call of Christ to follow him.—Great injustice has been done him, by considering them as the effusions of Beza, the church leader and reformer, and not as belonging to the advocate and parliamentary counsellor, and the young humanist. By this means, the Catholics were assiduous in their exertions to counteract his influence when he became so valiant a champion against them.

But a little more definite account of this volume may not be out of place here. It consisted of four *Sylvae*, twelve *Elegies*, several *Epitaphs*, and the remainder, comprising nearly half of the volume, was made up of *Epigrams*. Of the four *Sylvae* the first two, *The Self-sacrifice of Decius*, and *The Death of Cicero*, as we might expect from the subjects, belong to the first productions of the youthful scholar, while yet in school life. The remaining two, "*Christmas*" and "*A Poetical Preface to the Penitential Psalms*," remind one of the author's familiarity with *Virgil* and in accordance with the spirit of the age are a singular medley of the precepts of Christianity and heathen mythology, which his biographer says reminds one of the statues of *Apollo* and *Venus* on each side of the *Grave of Sannazar*, upon which some one, in order to preserve the sanctity of the church where they stood has caused the names of *David* and *Judith* to be inscribed.

The *Elegies*, many of them at least, indicate an advancement in poeti-

cal beauty and grace, and more independence and self reliance than the preceding pieces, but remind one both in style and manner of Ovid. There is much feeling exhibited in many of them, and much beauty of poetic imagery, as for example, in one where he represents himself as wandering about through field and wood in order to forget his love, but field and wood, mountain and valley only remind him of it, and flight only can restore him to sanity; or where he compares the storm of feeling to a tempest at sea, where one is continually and hopelessly tossed about with the desire to come to land; or when he implores all the gods to spare his friend Validus who is sick with a mortal fever. His lament at the fate of Ovid, too, of which he is reminded by a cold rainy new year's day, is both poetical and touching.

The Epitaphs and funeral poems that follow the Elegies, for the most part, belong among his earlier poems. They are generally of serious and loving cast, although some of them are not without irony and sarcasm. The one upon the learned reformer of Basle, Simon Grynaeus, and upon Huss, seem to flow from a warm heart, and show that he had learned to know and appreciate the distinguished men of foreign nations.

The last, longest, and best division of the volume is more miscellaneous, some of them being mere short epigrammatic pieces full of wit and humor, and longer amatory pieces inscribed "Ad Candidam," and others of a more general nature. These were in the style of Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius, all three of whom, it is said, he imitated successfully, both in purity, and ease, and graceful turn of expression. The poem written to welcome Wolmar to Paris, we have already quoted. The one to the author in his library, in apology for his neglect of it, is so much in accordance with the feelings of the scholar, when driven from his books to practical life, that we cannot refrain from quoting it entire :¹

¹ Salvete, incolmes mei libelli,
 Meae deliciae, meae salutes.
 Salve, mi Cicero; Catulle, salve,
 Salve, mi Maro, Plinîumque atque—
 Mi Cato, Columella, Varro, Livi—
 Salve, mi quoque Plaute, tu Terenti,
 Vos salvete etiam, disertiores
 Graeci, ponere quos loco priore
 Decebat, Sophocles, Isocratesque.
 Et tu, cui popularis aura nomen
 Dedit, tu quoque, magne Homere, salve.
 Salve Aristoteles, Plato, Timacee,
 Et vos ô reliqui, quibus negatum est

The composition of these poems falls entirely into the period of his abode at Orleans and Paris, from his sixteenth to his twenty-ninth year, and he himself attributes a large share of them to his school days at Orleans, although it is evident that many of them were written at Paris, after he had devoted himself more exclusively to the muse. The poems were everywhere well received,¹ and indeed he was the first to express disapprobation of them, even while he was reaping the laurels of general approbation from his humanist contemporaries. Scarcely two years after the first appearance of this volume, he says: "I confess that I by nature always loved the noble art of poetry; I can never regret this, yet I am sorry to say, that I have not devoted this gift to God, as small as it may be, but to things the remembrance of which already fills me with shame." In explanation of his feelings in reference to these poems, we quote further from the Preface to the second edition of poems, published when he was in his fiftieth year: "Some may wonder, and perhaps justly, that a man of my age, who is engaged in such serious studies, and whose previous edition of such poems resulted so disastrously, should now turn back to youthful days, and seek again his old sports, and add to them perhaps new follies. I will therefore here explain somewhat circumstantially the facts in the case, partly in order to confute the calumnies of certain persons, and partly to forestall the reproaches that may be in store for me. From my boyhood I was devoted to the

Incladî numeris Phaleuciorum.
 Cuncti denique vos mei libelli,
 Salvete, iterumque, tertiumque
 Atque audite meam precationem.
 Hoc ergo precor, ô mei libelli,
 Ut ne longa mihi mora illa (senis
 Nam a vobis procul abfui diebus)
 Obsit, quominus undiquaque tali
 Sitis in me animo et favore deinceps,
 Quali, dum profisciscerer, fuistis,
 Nimirum faciliquæ candidoque.
 Quod si istam supplicationem
 Vos concesseritis, mei libelli,
 Id vobis quoque pollicebor ipse,
 Non me unam hebdomadam procul, quid ? immo
 Non diem ? immo nec horulam, immo nullam
 Punctum temporis, ut libet pusillum.

¹ Stephen Pasquier, himself a poet nine years younger than Besa, says in his *Recherches sur la France*, p. 913: *Bèze pendant sa jeunesse fit divers poèmes François et Latins qui furent très favorablement embrassés par toute la France, et singulièrement ses Epigrammes Latins dedans lesquelles il celebrait sa mairesse sous nom de Candide.*

art of poetry and diligently practised it, both because the natural bent of my mind impelled me thereto, and because Wolmar, at that time teacher at Bourges, not only urged me on in other studies suitable to my age, but also in the practice of this art. When I, near the beginning of my seventeenth year, went to Orleans in order, in obedience to my father's will, to engage in the study of civil law, and found there cultivated men and those inspired by the muses . . . John Dampierre, Antonius Agianthus, afterwards first president of the parliament of Rouen, and not now long dead, John Trouchy, Maclot Pomponius, and L. Validus, who are, as far as I know, now alive and in France, clothed with the highest dignity, and in the most honorable employments, I did not neglect the study of poetry. But on account of the emulation that existed in some measure among us, I devoted myself to it with greater love than ever. In my bucolic poems and the *syvae*, I took Virgil, the king of all poets, as my prototype, than whom, at that time, I knew no higher. But in my elegies I copied Ovid, whose genial fulness enchained me more completely than the measured elegance of Tibullus. As respects the epigrams, those of Catullus and Martial so charmed me, that as often as I suspended my more grave pursuits (for poetry was only an incidental employment), I betook myself nowhere else with more delight than to their gardens of pleasure. Although my feeling sometimes (as I can truly bear witness) was so offended by their obscenity, that I, in reading, would turn my eyes from some passages; yet, as it too often happens in that age, I was not sufficiently prudent, and became so captivated with the honeyed tenderness of the one, and the keen wit of the other, that I strove to imitate their style of writing as much as possible. Thus the most of these poems, which were afterwards published, came into existence. . . . Through the hope of some renown, as well as from the desire to comply with the urgent solicitation of a teacher deserving so much, I was moved to the publication of the little volume; and it was so favorably received, both by my own countrymen the French, and the Italians, that they quite put me to the blush by their congratulations." He then proceeds to confute the calumnies of the Catholics in reference to his moral character, and says: Let us see upon what they base such accusations. They adduce my little poems, for they cannot (God be praised) bring forward anything else, even if they suborn ever so many witnesses. But I may now remark before all, that they, in such a small book, can find only a few which merit the definite appellation of amatory poems; and these, with the exception of a very few epigrams, are written rather in style too free than strictly indelicate. After speaking of the ideal Candida and of his young and gifted friend Audebert, to whom he had addressed lines

reformation at a later period, and to supply his place in the consistory of Geneva."¹

It has been previously mentioned that his marriage was publicly celebrated the first time that he entered a church after his arrival in Geneva. It was not without much feeling that he, as he approached, heard chanted forth from the assembly, many of them like himself refugees for the sake of the gospel, the words of the ninety-first Psalm according to Marot's version: He, who sits under the protection of the Most High and abideth under the shadow of the Almighty, saith to the Lord: My refuge and my fortress, my God in whom I trust, etc. And the answering declaration of Jehovah was specially consoling to him: He calleth upon me, and I will hear him; I am with him in his necessities, I will deliver him and honor him. With long life will I satisfy him, and will show him my salvation. The Psalm was ever after especially dear to him, and ever recurred to him in times of trouble.

First Abode in Geneva; Journey to France and Germany.

Beza was soon settled in a house at Geneva, and with a peaceful conscience, both in respect to his domestic relations and his religious duties, he experienced a happiness which had never before fallen to his lot. It is true, he had exchanged affluence for poverty, and instead of a life of careless ease, he now looked forward to one of toil and struggle. But he had counted the cost. He preferred the asperities of a life of obedience to God and conscience, before all the luxuries and blandishments of a life devoted to the god of this world. Neither did he feel that his influence on the side of the reformers gave him any claim to favor. He immediately applied himself to the acquisition, by personal exertion, of maintenance and independence for himself and family. Crispin, a kindred spirit, first made the proposal to him, which subsequently eventuated in so much good, to establish a printing press in Geneva, which might powerfully aid the cause of the reformation and humanistic learning, especially in France, where in consequence of rigid edicts and the vigilant watchfulness of the inquisition, the printing of the writings of the reformers and even of translations of the Bible was attended with danger, and the deficiency could not be supplied without recourse to Basle or Germany. But while Crispin was preparing to put his plan into execution, and endeavoring to persuade Beza who was yet undecided, perhaps partly through the influence of Calvin, who urged him to higher exertions, the last months of the year passed away, (occupied mainly in resisting the obstinate attacks

¹ Henry, Vol. II. p. 84.

his true church and honor ; in brief, I gave myself entirely up to him. Thus it happened that the image of death presented as a reality before me, awakened in me a slumbering and concealed longing after the true life ; and that sickness was the beginning of my recovery and of real soundness. So wonderful is the working of the Lord with his own, that he, by the same means, casts down and raises up, wounds and heals. Accordingly, so soon as I could leave my bed, I burst all bonds which had previously held me bound, gathered together my few goods, and left my native land, parents, and friends, in order to follow Christ, and with my wife went into voluntary banishment to Geneva."

Beza arrived in the city of Geneva on the twenty-third of Oct. 1548, as it is said, under the assumed name of Thibaud de May. Many refugees from France had already taken up their abode there, where it had been decreed and placed on a brazen tablet, in large letters, at the entrance of the senate house, as a witness of their gratitude to God and as an everlasting memorial to all posterity, that both the gospel and the city should be free from all tyranny. The contests which Calvin and his coadjutors had maintained for liberty and the gospel against all classes of opposers, are too well known to need to be enlarged upon here. The year 1547 was celebrated for the contests with the political libertines of Geneva, headed by Ami Perrin and Gruet. In the same year of the arrival of Beza, and but a few days before, Calvin had summoned Farel to come to aid him in withstanding the factions, which pressed so constantly and violently upon him ; and he had given the disaffected members of the council that severe rebuke which they so richly deserved.

At such a time, as we should naturally suppose, Calvin was prepared to heartily welcome the young stranger, who was brought to him by Crispin, a refugee from France and one of Beza's most intimate friends, who had been a witness of his private marriage at Paris. The Genevan reformer was not long in calling to mind the young student whom he had formerly met in the house of Wolmar, and in whom he had even then discerned a spirit which would, if not repressed, make itself known upon the side of free principles and scholarly pursuits. But he now, his biographer says,¹ proved to be even more ; a great consolation to Calvin, and a great gain for the church and protestantism. For not only the genius and talent, but also the lineage and civil position, gave to the formal transference of such a man to the side of the reformed, a peculiar importance. " Calvin saw in him one whom God had sent to share his conflicts, to become as it were his right arm, to carry forward the

¹ S. 114.

God, sprung into vigorous life. After the first greetings were over, Beza made known the object of his journey. The state of things at this time was specially unsettled in Germany under the Interim which had just come into full operation, and any desires that Beza might have had to reside permanently in Germany were soon dispelled. Many evangelical preachers had already taken refuge in Switzerland, and a general persecution of the "evangelicals" was feared, so that Geneva with all its factions scarcely held in subjection by the strong arm of Calvin, was a more safe and desirable place of residence than any of the German towns. Yet the project of a printing press and the usual concomitant, a book-shop, did not strike Wolmar favorably. Although this business had been sanctioned by such scholars as Robert Stephens, J. Badius, Oporinus and Plater, yet he thought that a young man of so much genius and cultivation as Beza, should occupy a more influential position in the learned world and in the church.

Beza took leave of his friends in Germany near the end of August without having fixed upon his future course. He returned in company with the Genevan book publisher, stopping at Basle, where he made the acquaintance of Oporinus, and at Lausanne, where he immediately sought out Viret, whom he had probably before seen at Geneva. His arrival was a source of joy to the numerous refugees collected there from the different provinces of France. Any new comer from there was hailed as a brother, but Beza, so well fitted to interest by his genius, learning, and especially by his noble nature and courtly bearing in society, was received with enthusiastic delight. The school at Lausanne was an object of special solicitude to those who embraced the principles of the reformation, and especially to Viret who was the very mainspring of the reformed cause there. Well might they count it a great gain if they could retain the services of Beza as teacher. It was a post that he seemed eminently qualified to fill. After Viret had given his guest a most hearty welcome, he told him that his face seemed to indicate a restoration of health, and besought him to devote himself to the service of the church and, if it might be, take the chair of ancient literature in the school. So much in earnest was he, that when Beza gave an undecided answer, he wrote forthwith (Aug. 29th) to his friends at Geneva to implore them to unite their solicitations with his; "for," he says, "I doubt not that the assistance of this man will in a short time be very serviceable to us. He would truly be a great ornament to the school here, and an instrument in the highest degree fitted for the execution of the greatest and varied offices. He hopes to return within a month. I am aware that you cannot but desire the society and companionship of such a man, but the welfare of

the church is an object that lies even nearer your heart." Calvin's answer shows that Viret had not misjudged him: "So soon as Beza arrives," he writes, "I will use every exertion in order to influence him to comply with your wishes." But two days after this letter was received, Viret was sent to the council of Berne, under whose jurisdiction they were, with the request that they would give a favorable hearing to their representative in reference to the appointment of the two "brothers," Theodore Beza and Francis Hotoman, as teachers in the academy, the one of the Greek language, and the other of the Latin and eloquence. Viret was delighted with the favorable reception with which his request was met, and more so at the reception of a letter (Oct. 21st) from Calvin signifying Beza's willingness to make the attempt, although he thinks there is danger that his health will not be adequate to the burden. "For," says Calvin, "I hear that the boys are almost overburdened by the multitude of their lessons. If the relinquishment of the two hours after noon could be obtained of the council at Berne, the future teacher could more easily and better attend to the remainder." Yet with his usual disinterestedness he adds, neither myself nor Beza desires that the public welfare should be sacrificed for individual good.

Not long before Beza left Geneva he wrote the Satire entitled: *Brevis et utilis zoographia Joannis Cochlaei*, and addressed to Conrad Gessner, who remembered Beza when a pupil of Wolmar at Bourges, and sent him a poetical welcome by Calvin on his return with Farel from Zurich. This was occasioned by a silly and ignorant attack upon Calvin by Cochlaeus, which, Beza thinks, renders it necessary that the learned world in future ages, should know that such a celebrated beast once lived: and as Gessner had written a *History of Beasts*, he directed his account to him, thinking that he might insert it in an appendix to that work.¹

Removal to Lausanne, and reception as Professor of Greek.

On the 6th of November, Beza bade adieu to Geneva, Calvin to his spiritual father and his friend Crispin, and was soon settled among the hills by the side of the beautiful Lake Lemán. On the 25th of the same month Farel writes to Calvin, 'I heartily congratulate the city of Lausanne on account of its good fortune in the acquisition of Beza.' The people of the city itself had also sufficient appreciation of his

¹ Those who have the curiosity to look at this second of the publications of Beza, will find it entire in the App. to the first Vol. of Beza's Life of Beza.

worth to give him a warm reception. We have already seen that it cost Beza no little struggle to take upon himself the responsibilities of the station. So sensitive and conscientious was he in reference to his past errors, especially in regard to his poems which were scattered about everywhere, that he would not formally enter upon his duties as teacher of Greek, before he had submitted to his colleagues a full explanation in regard to them, and requested them to decide whether they were a valid objection to his connection with a Christian school. This frank and humble course was so pleasing to all, that they unanimously decided, that as this volume was published before he renounced popery, it should be no obstacle either in their or his way. He was accordingly formally inducted into office, by taking the customary political and religious oath¹ and subscribing his name thereto.

Nine years was Beza united in the closest bonds of fraternity and intercourse with the colleagues to whom he now joined himself. Those who are familiar with the life of John Calvin, will recollect that the patriarch of this little band, was the excellent Maturin Cordier, who had been the teacher of the Genevan reformer, and who in turn had dedicated to him his Commentary on the Epistle to the Thessalonians. This man though now seventy years old, when Beza went to Lausanne, was as active in mind and fresh in spirit as those who were his juniors in age. He was, says Baum, a true type of a schoolman who had devoted his whole life to the instruction of youth in Latin; and they in turn were sincerely attached to him. "Good Latin and good habits" was his motto in school, and barbarisms and solecisms were the only proper heresies in his opinion; although he was at heart both a friend to man and reverent toward God. Others of the fraternity we should like to introduce to our readers, but must refer them to more extended biographies of the Greek professor.

The school at Lausanne under the care of those possessed of so much zeal and learning, soon gained celebrity, and youth flocked there from different parts of Switzerland, both to attend to the usual school studies and to the French language. The fame of Beza was soon noised abroad, and early in the year after his settlement in Lausanne, Gessner, the most distinguished man of the church of Zurich, sent him a letter expressing his great joy at his present position, and his confidence in him, notwithstanding the severity of his satire against Cochlaeus. He also became known to Peter Paul Vergerius, previously papal nuncio, and bishop of Istria, but at this time, preacher to a reformed church in the country of the Grisons, and through Bullinger,

¹The form of the oath may be found in Baum's Beza, S. 132.

had received a letter from him. His first letter to Ballinger exhibits so well the warmth of his feelings and especially his regard for the leaders of the reformation in Switzerland, that I cannot withhold a rather long extract from it: "Now I know," he says (March 14, 1550), "that that is true, which the Lord has promised his followers, that not even a drink of cold water given by them shall be unrewarded, for I know of nothing smaller, to which I may compare the very little that I have hitherto done for the church of God; and yet, I have reaped the richest fruit from it, namely, your friendship, which I value so highly that I would not exchange it for the treasures of all kings. Your distinguished condescension and kindness is conspicuous, in that you not only receive a man of so little consideration with so much affection, but also of your own free will, honor him with your correspondence. And what now shall I offer in recompense? That indeed, I think, which I have already offered without your perceiving it, myself, all that I am and have. Formerly, to wit, when I, in my own unfortunate country, read some of your Christian writings and those of others, and with a sigh said to myself: Alas! how much longer shall I wallow in the filth of popery? When shall I hear all those truly pious men with my own ears, enjoy their society, confess with them the true faith before the God of heaven and earth, and joyfully finish the course of this troublesome life? These at that time silent wishes, He has to a good degree vouchsafed, who gave the thoughts. First he sent to me the grace of which I might always boast, that I preferred the cross to native land and all riches; then he sent to me the friendship—of what men?—of Calvin, Viret, Musculus, Haller. When I recollect that I enjoy the friendship of such men, I feel not only that I do not live amid the privations of banishment, but that I must with Themistocles exclaim: 'I had been lost, if I had not suffered loss.' But since I now perceive that I am not only known, but also am dear to you, which my unworthiness scarcely allowed me to hope, I have truly received more than I anticipated."

The deepening interest of Beza in his work and in the success of the cause for which he had embarked, as well as the deplorable state of the church, is exhibited in a subsequent part of the same letter: "In respect to the Council of Trent, the Romish Antichrist has not deceived our expectations, but I know full well that his hopes will prove futile. The Lord will surely sustain his church. In the mean time, I am ashamed when I compare our remissness with the activity and watchfulness of our opponents, and I must freely express to you my feelings. I regret much in our church, but especially desire at the present time when our enemies unite and conspire together, that

representatives chosen from the clergy of the several Helvetic and neighboring churches would assemble and consult together in accordance with the word of God, in reference to church discipline, now at an end, and the threatening perils which surround us. I wish that for once at least, we might follow the example of the Ninevites. All, even the blind, see that the anger of God is enkindled against us. All lament the misfortunes of the church, but only a very few seek to avert the anger of God. No one is warned by the punishment of his neighbor. The magistrate believes that he has wholly performed his duty when he has issued certain orders. In vain the clergy zealously lift up a warning voice, since public scandal is entirely overlooked, or not punished with the rigidity which the irreligion of the people deserves. Zeal for the Lord has grown cold. Here at least the ordinances of the princes are openly violated with impunity. Drunkenness, blasphemy and lewdness are common. Few attend the churches, so that I may say in short, that the circumstances of the church are pitiable. I know how much your authority avails in both republics (Berne and Zurich) with most of the magistrates, therefore I beseech you by the Lord Jesus Christ, whom we all serve, that you exert your influence in favor of the common cause of the church in common peril. These are the things, most excellent father, which I wished to write you, and perhaps I have been too presumptuous in doing it; but if you do not approve of my counsel, you will I doubt not accept my good intentions, and my good will to you.¹

The heterogeneous mass of the reformed community of Lausanne, has been previously noticed. As we might suppose, they were united more by opposition to the existing religious domination and by their common privations and voluntary expatriation, than by any strong attachment, or even accurate knowledge of the true faith. Beza, sensible of this, soon applied himself to their instruction. After he had completed the duties of the day in the Gymnasium, he called together his countrymen, and explained to them in French, practically and yet methodically and thoroughly the Epistle to the Romans. He chose this epistle as containing the ground principles of apostolic teaching, and after he had gone through with it, he took up in the same manner the two Epistles of Peter. These explanations of the Scripture in which Beza undoubtedly derived much aid from the Commentary of Calvin, led him to a thorough study of the original text which laid the foundation for his later exegetical and critical expositions of the New Testament, which continued to be a favorite occupation until old age,

¹ S. 134 sq

and which contributed not more to his reputation than to the profit of the church and theological science. His earnest piety and powerful eloquence, united with a fascinating manner, now had an opportunity for full exertion. We, for the present, take leave of Beza, surrounded by his pupils and the listeners to his expositions of the word of life. His private study too is not neglected, and as we may at some subsequent time see, he is not wholly deserted by the Muses. We can easily imagine that the Catholic biographer of Calvin¹ is not at all partial when he says of his first labors at Lausanne: "The professor met with brilliant success; they flocked to attend his lectures from Berne, Fryburg and even from Germany. His language was well condensed and very correct. Those who listened to him imagined themselves hearing Melancthon. 'He had,' they said 'the harmonious and copious style of Luther's disciple, but more warmly colored.'"

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ARTICLE VI.

THE THEOLOGY OF THE INTELLECT AND THAT OF THE FEELINGS.

A Discourse delivered before the Convention of the Congregational Ministry of Massachusetts, in Brattle Street Meeting-house, Boston, May 30, 1850, by Edwards A. Park, Professor in Andover Theological Seminary.²

THE STRENGTH OF ISRAEL WILL NOT LIE NOR REPENT: FOR HE IS NOT A MAN THAT HE SHOULD REPENT.—1 SAM. 15: 29.

AND IT REPENTED THE LORD THAT HE HAD MADE MAN ON THE EARTH, AND IT GRIEVED HIM AT HIS HEART.—GEN. 6: 6.

I HAVE heard of a father who endeavored to teach his children a system of astronomy in precise philosophical language, and although he uttered nothing but the truth, they learned from him nothing but

¹ J. M. V. Andin, p. 464.

² When the author began to prepare the ensuing discourse, he intended to avoid all trains of remark adverse to the doctrinal views of any party or school belonging to the Convention. But, contrary to his anticipations, he was led into a course of thought which he was aware that some clergymen of Massachusetts would not adopt as their own, and for the utterance of which he was obliged to rely on their liberal and generous feeling. Although it is in bad taste for a preacher on such an occasion, to take any undue advantage of the kindness of his hearers, yet perhaps it is not dishonorable for him, confiding in their proverbial charity, to venture on the free expression of thoughts which he cannot repress without an injurious constraint upon himself.