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THE SYMBOLISM OF THE LUTHERAN CULTUS.*

Divine worship in the Christian Church is not an *adiaphoron*. The Lord expressly commands that His Word be heard, John 8, 47. He has only severe censure for those who forsake the Christian assemblies, Heb. 10, 25. He expressly enjoins public prayer, 1 Tim. 2, 1. 2. 8. He graciously promises His divine presence at such assemblies, Matt. 18, 20. He records with approval the public services of the early Christians, Acts 2, 42—47.

But though He has prescribed the *general* content of public worship, though He is present in the sacramental acts of divine service, declaring and appropriating to the believers the means of grace, and though He graciously receives the sacrificial acts of the assembled congregation, in confession and prayer and offerings, He has not commanded a definite form or order of divine service. It is a matter of Christian liberty whether a congregation wishes one or many prayers, one or several

* In addition to the *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, the following books were consulted: Alt, H., *Christlicher Kultus*. Berlin, 1851. Cooper, F. E.; Keever, E. F.; Seegers, J. C.; Stump, J., *An Explanation of the Common Service*. Philadelphia, 1912. Daniel, H., *Codex liturgicus ecclesiae universae*. Lipsiae, 1847—1853. Fuerbringer, L., *Leitfaden fuer Vorlesungen, Liturgik*. St. Louis, 1915. Gueranger, L. P., *The Liturgical Year*. Vol. I. Worcester-London, 1895. Horn, E. T., *Outlines of Liturgics*. Second Edition. Philadelphia, 1912. Kliefoth, Th., *Liturgische Abhandlungen I*. Schwerin und Rostock, 1854. Kliefoth, Th., *Die urspruengliche Gottesdienstordnung*. Bd. 5. Schwerin, 1861. Lochner, F., *Der Hauptgottesdienst der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche*. St. Louis, 1895. Synodalbericht, Nebraska, 1898, 1903. THEOL. QUART., I, VII.

LUTHER AND ZWINGLI.

A PARALLEL AND A CONTRAST.

18.

“If ever monk got to heaven by his monkery, I, too, should have entered heaven,” thus Luther in 1533 summed up his endeavors during his cloister-life. (19, 1845.) His efforts to attain to that spiritual condition which he ardently coveted can be compared to the frantic effort of a man who endeavors to lift himself out of a pit by his bootstraps. They told him to rely on his penitential exercises: his self-abasement before the confessor, his deep remorse, the works which he was doing from love of Christ would wipe out his guilt, increase his merit, fill his soul with peace, and swell his future reward. He felt none of these effects; on the contrary, his anguish became more keen, and the smitings of his conscience beggared description. (5, 564.) He mounted the altar-steps to read mass: he stood there in his unimpeachable canonical holiness, but at heart a miserable skeptic, and he left the altar a worse doubter. (12, 904.) He shuddered as he passed the crucifix. (7, 959.) The sting of death was in his soul. (8, 1347.) He would swoon away in terror at the thought that Christ, the inexorable Judge, was summoning him to the reckoning. (13, 1924.)

His pitiable condition was greatly aggravated by the solitary life which he was compelled to lead, and owing to the learned studies which he was pursuing he was more lonely

than the other monks. Even when he opened his heart to his confessor, he was not understood. One aged brother only seems to have had an inkling of what was going on in the mind of the young monk: he cut into the self-accusations of Luther with the reminder that the Creed commands us to believe the forgiveness of sin, that is, that God wants the individual sinner to be assured that his guilt has been canceled.

The best influence that was exercised on Luther during this period of internal stress and storm came from the superior of his order, Staupitz. Luther has called Staupitz his father in the doctrine of the Gospel, who begat him in Christ. (21 b, 3077.) An evangelical tendency is indeed noticeable in Staupitz. At first he, too, would shake his head when this strange young monk, whom he beheld prematurely aged by his monkish tasks and study, and bent with an invisible burden of sorrow, would pour out his grief before him. "Magister, I do not grasp you!" he would say; but in the conversations that ensued between them he would drop remarks which showed Luther a chink in the wall of his soul-prison through which rays of the light of grace fell into Luther's heart. Luther was startled by admissions which this man, whom he regarded as a great man in the Church, would make to him: "More than a thousand times," Staupitz told Luther, "I have promised God to become more upright, but I have never accomplished what I promised." (9, 688.) "I have lied to God more than a thousand times that I would be more pious, and I never did it." (8, 82.) "I shall cease vowing to be more godly; I have deceived our Lord God too often; I shall only ask God for a blessed end." (22, 507.) Here, at last, was a sympathetic soul, a brother in trials such as Luther had undergone. More fundamental points of doctrine were touched when Staupitz declared that man cannot satisfy the demands of the Law; his natural powers of will lead him first into presumptuousness and afterwards into despair. The Law says to man: Yonder is a high mountain which you must cross. Precocious man says: I will. Then the conscience interposes the warning: You cannot. Finally, despairing, man says:

I give it up. At this stage, however, the rock appears on which the despairing sinner can gain a safe footing and find shelter; and that rock is Christ. An excellent portrayal of the pedagogy of saving grace!—They also discussed the doctrine of predestination. Luther had come to fear this doctrine, not by the difficulties which it presents to the inquiring and reasoning intellect, but by his moral condition. Staupitz, with consummate pastoral skill, told him: "In the wounds of Christ, and nowhere else, we find and grasp our predestination." He directed him to impress Christ fully on his mind, and he would find himself elected. For God has foreordained that His Son should suffer for sinners and not for the righteous. Whoever believes this is His beloved child, and those only are lost who disbelieve this truth. Staupitz also told Luther that in this way he had applied the doctrine of predestination in his own case, and disposed of all the perplexing questions which that doctrine raises when incorrectly handled. "When I consider the inexpressibly great blessings which God the Father in heaven has by His pure grace and mercy bestowed on me for Christ's sake, without any merit of mine, without my good works, or worthiness, and stop at this reflection, predestination is full of comfort, and a firm and immovable truth; if otherwise, everything is gone."

Staupitz was silently observing the young monk at his work among the brethren and over his tomes in the cell, and was forming plans regarding a sphere of greater usefulness that ought to be found for his unmistakable talents. On one occasion he revealed his thoughts to the despondent Luther somewhat by telling him: "You do not know how good and necessary these afflictions are for you; without them nothing good would become of you." Luther has declared the years which he spent in the cloister lost years of his life. (8, 168.) This is true in a certain respect: Luther might have been much more profitably employed during those years. But in another view those years were formative years for the future Reformer of the Church.

19.

Owing to the division of Saxony in 1485 between the Ernestine and the Albertine line of the ruling house, which had allotted Dresden and Leipzig to the latter, Ernestine Saxony, embracing the electoral precinct with Thuringia had remained without a university. The lack was supplied when Elector Frederick the Wise in 1502 chose Wittenberg, which was centrally located in the electoral precinct, as the site of a new university, and with imperial sanction founded the high school that was destined to become famous through its youngest professor. The Pope gave his approval later. The uninviting locality, meager endowments, and the plague, which had broken out soon after the university had begun its career, made its early years a continuous struggle for existence. Luther was called to this school on the suggestion of Staupitz, because "a vigorous, lively, inspiring professor" was required at the struggling school "in termino civilitatis," on the border of civilization, in a region that was not favorable for farming, and inhabited by poor folk. ("Laendiken, Laendiken, du bist ein Saendiken," Luther used to say playfully in later years when he looked out on the sand hills, in the midst of which the squalid little town of Wittenberg had been built up. 22, 115.)

In the fall of 1508—probably in November—Luther came to Wittenberg. He came with no ambitious plans and no program of revolutionizing the higher learning of the age. He came because he had no other choice, the rules of his order compelling him to any summons that he might receive from his superior. He came as an Augustinian monk; his shelter and physical needs were provided for at the convent which his order maintained at Wittenberg. He moved into the dormitory which had just been erected, and continued his monkish life as at Erfurt. The work at the university he did in addition to his ordinary tasks, and for this work he received no remuneration. The financial plans of the founders of the university had included this feature: professors were to be supplied from the order of Augustinians, because they required no salary.

Luther's first lectures were on philosophy: he expounded the Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle and Dialectics, studies which he had for some time begun to detest. He keenly felt his insufficiency for the task. He compared himself to a student who takes up his first semester at a university, and is by his older fellow-students made to go through the act of "deposition," a farcical performance which is supposed to initiate a student fully into the academic fraternity. While grinding out the old pagan stuff of the Greek sage, as he regarded and called it later, Luther had his mind on theology. He attended the theological lectures of Trutvetter, Pollich, and Staupitz while teaching his own classes, and received the degree of Bachelor of Theology on March 9, 1509.¹⁾ In this new capacity exegetical work was required of him. He lectured one hour each day on a portion of the Scriptures. The famous wrestling with the correct interpretation of Rom. 1, 16 f., which had begun even at the cloister in Erfurt, was carried on with greater intensity here. Also into the scholastic theology of the Middle Ages Luther delved with redoubled energy.

Luther's aim was to take his next degree in theology, that of Sententiarium, within a year. He would then have been promoted to the dignity, dear to the heart of theologians of that age, of lecturing on the dogmatics of that great light of the Roman Church, Peter of Lombard. But this plan was thwarted by Luther's sudden recall to Erfurt. The exact cause of this is not known; it seems to have some connection with internal troubles in the Augustinian order. By the rule of the order the convent at Erfurt where Luther had taken the vow had a special claim on him which he could not set aside. When the summons came to return to his first monkish domicile, he again had no choice but to obey. However, he came back to Erfurt as a uni-

1) There is a curious entry in the Dean's Book of the Wittenberg Faculty, in which all promotions to theological degrees are recorded. The entry says that Luther had not paid the Faculty the customary fee for his promotion. Years after, Luther came upon this entry and added the remark, "I had nothing!"

versity man. It is quite probable that the withdrawal of Paltz from Erfurt in 1507 had some connection with the recall of Luther. Hausrath even suggests that Luther's recall to Erfurt was to compensate that university for the loss of their great expounder of Lombard, Trutvetter, who had gone to Wittenberg. It is certain that Luther was not summoned merely to reenter the cloister.

Pedantic punctiliousness on the part of the authorities of the Erfurt school and small jealousies which they were harboring against the little academic upstart on the Elbe created annoying difficulties for Luther on entering upon his work at the university. Luther's academic status seemed to them hard to define; at any rate, they were unwilling to admit Luther's claims to academic efficiency for work in a certain degree. The rules of the Faculty required 'two years' work on the Bible before a Bachelor of Theology could apply for the degree of *Sententiarius*, though monks could be exempted from this rule and the term of two years could be reduced for them. Another rule required the applicant for a degree to begin and finish his preparation for that degree at the same university. The historians are not clear in their account how Luther became a *Sententiarius*. They are agreed that the degree must have been conferred on Luther at Erfurt, but there is also evidence that Luther came to Erfurt, probably in the fall of 1509, as *Sententiarius*. Koestlin solves the difficulty by saying that Luther had discharged the required "disputation"—equal to our modern examination—for the degree of *Sententiarius* while still at Wittenberg, and all that was still required when he left Wittenberg, was his formal promotion. The exact date when this occurred at Erfurt is not given.

The Weimar Edition of Luther's Works (Vol. 9, 28 ff. 2 ff.) has reproduced the marginal notes which Luther entered in his copy of the Sentences of Lombard, and in a volume containing writings of Augustine. Buchwald gives a facsimile of the title page of the latter volume, with Luther's indentures. There is no doubt that these notes were made during the period at

Erfurt, some of them perhaps at Wittenberg. Luther lectured on the Sentences three semesters at Erfurt. The two first books of the Lombard he most likely treated during the first year, and later, when he had become a "Sententiarius formatus," that is, a duly accredited Sententiarius, the third book. His notes reveal the deep interest in Rom. 1, 17, regarding the righteousness that is "from faith to faith." He attempts an explanation: following Augustine, for whom he expresses profound respect, he calls Christ our righteousness and sanctification. The light that we need for understanding divine things he proposes, with Hilary, to seek in the divine Word, not in the subtile dialectics which he sees many of his contemporaries favoring. But there is no hint of any conscious dissent from the authoritative teaching of the Church. The little critical freedom which the young professor exercised at this time was the privileged freedom of academicians of that age. It did not spell heresy.

Nevertheless, coupled with the nervous temperament that was noticeable in Luther at this time, it disturbed the pleasant relations with his colleagues at Erfurt. From the start they had accepted Luther's coming among them as a premature Sententiarius with a sort of sullen recognition. For years they showed their ill will against Luther in small ways: he had not paid the fee of the Sententiarius to them (the reason was the same as on the previous occasion at Wittenberg; besides, Luther questioned that it was due them); he ought to have taken his Doctor's degree at their university, etc. Moreover, these Erfurters were hide-bound Aristotelians, and when the young professor, whom they could not stomach anyway, displayed his contempt for the adored idol of medieval theology and the theological method of that age, and when in his public lectures and disputations he sometimes spoke of these matters in an irritated manner, the grave doctors were duly offended. We should remember that it was in this crowd of academic malcontents that Luther found his lifelong calumniator Oldecop, whose father confessor he had become, and that another crafty story-teller, Cochlaeus, obtained his information against

the naughty Luther, which he portrayed to his age, from this most unfavorable source of the circle of professors in the theological Faculty at Erfurt.

20.

Luther's journey to Rome is a most interesting chapter in his life, but it offers little to show that Luther was spiritually advanced by it. Reminiscences of what he had seen and heard at the seat of the Church's greatest power and glory were valuable to him later in his reformatory work, but for the time being he was at Rome and did as the Romans, except that he eschewed their profligacy. The net results of his spiritual gains he has summed up in a remark in a sermon in 1538: "I brought onions to Rome, and came back with garlic." (7, 1068.) That means, that he went to Rome on a fool's errand, and came back with a fool's prize. The only thing that he recalls with approval in later years was the administrative ability of the Roman Rota, the ecclesiastical office through which the Church's business connections with all parts of Europe were maintained.

The year of Luther's journey to Rome is still being debated, though the evidence that it occurred in the fall of 1510, probably in October or November, has been materially strengthened, if not placed beyond all doubt, by Boehmer's monograph *Luthers Romfahrt*. Luther's route of travel, too, both on the going and on the return trip, is not settled in detail. If it were exactly known, a little pleasant speculation might be indulged in; whether Luther did not on this trip pass through localities that were visited about a year later, or the same year, by Zwingli. The war of Louis XII for the possession of Milan had just been concluded, and the war of Pope Julius's II Holy Alliance against Venice had commenced, when Luther started Rome-ward. Swiss soldiers were in the French and later in the papal armies. The headquarters of the latter, until January 2, 1511, were at Bologna. These wars, as we shall see in a later chapter, brought Zwingli to Italy, in the capacity of army chaplain, in 1512, 1513, and 1515.

If Koestlin is right in placing Luther's journey to Rome

in the fall and winter of 1511—12, Luther returned to Wittenberg near the end of February, 1512; if the journey occurred a year earlier, he must have returned to Erfurt and continued his labors there. It is certain that he was in Wittenberg May 8, 1512. Various causes concurred to bring about his return to the university where he had begun his academic labors. Trutvetter had left Wittenberg and returned to Erfurt. Staupitz was preparing to withdraw from the Faculty, because his duties as Provincial of the Augustinian order just at this time seriously interfered with his duties as professor, and at his advanced age he felt that he did not possess the full strength necessary for teaching. However, the internal troubles in the Augustinian order also had something to do with Luther's return to Wittenberg, as they undoubtedly caused his journey to Rome. Staupitz had planned to amalgamate both the cloisters of the strict observance and the laxer ones. In this endeavor he was resisted by a number of German cloisters in Saxony and Bavaria. Luther also opposed him at first. It was to carry the complaint of the dissatisfied party to the Curia that Luther went to Rome. Afterwards he changed his mind, and sided with Staupitz, and now the brethren at Erfurt charged him and his friend Lang with defection. Conditions were made so unpleasant for the latter that he was transferred to Wittenberg in 1511, and assumed the teaching of the same branches which Luther had first taught there. Dr. Usingen has called Lang's removal to Wittenberg "going into exile." Cochlaeus has bitterly complained about Luther's "defection" to Staupitz, almost charging Luther with treason. Add to these causes the restored *entente cordiale* between Luther and Staupitz, and his removal to Wittenberg is fully explained. At Pentecost, 1512, Luther was at Cologne, where Staupitz was holding a chapter of the Augustinian convents, and where the troubles between the contending factions seem to have been composed, all the more since Staupitz may have permitted it to become known that he was heartily tired of his office as Provincial. "The first three years," he is reputed to have said, "I tried to run affairs

my own way, and did not succeed; then I conducted my office by the advice of the holy fathers and failed; lastly, I tried to let God conduct my affairs, and then I did not get along at all. It's time there were a new Provincial."

Luther's labors at Wittenberg were now entirely theological. "One might suppose," says Koestlin, "that he lectured on the Fourth Part of the Sentences during the summer semester of 1512, but there is nothing definitely known about this, nor about his general activity at the university at this time. Having made two of the academic degrees in the theological career, Luther must have looked forward to the last one, that of Doctor of Theology. However, when it was suggested to him that he must take this last step towards professional perfection in theology, he was startled and abashed. Again it was Staupitz who supplied the push for this step. In the account which Cordatus has given of this episode a number of reminiscences seem to have flown together. It was in the convent garden at Wittenberg. Staupitz was sitting in the shade of a pear-tree, buried in thought. Suddenly he addressed Luther: "Magister, you shall take the doctor degree; that will give you something to do." Luther protested: his strength was exhausted, he had not long to live. Staupitz kept urging: "Don't you know that our Lord has many and great affairs that must be attended to? He needs many prudent and wise men to help Him and to take counsel with Him." Luther continued to put the suggestion from him. "More than fifteen reasons," he relates, "I set up against becoming a doctor." Lastly, he exclaimed: "Doctor, you will kill me; I shall not live three months if I take the degree." Staupitz smiled and remarked humorously: "In God's name, then; our Lord has great business on hand; He needs smart men also in heaven. If you die, you will have to be His counselor there." (22, 634 f.) Luther yielded "to coercion and constraint, and with no grateful heart." (16, 1700.) On September 22d he announced to the brethren at the convent in Erfurt that his promotion to the Doctor's degree would take place, in obedience to the order of their superior,

on October 18th. "God knows," he declared, "how little I deserve this high honor, and how little I appreciate it." (21 a, 5.) His former colleagues at the University of Erfurt were profoundly shocked to hear that a young man of twenty-eight years should receive the Doctor's cap, when at their school they created no one a Doctor under fifty years of age. (22, 665. This astonishment is one of the most robust and virile on record; it still lives. Rome has never recovered from it.) This time the expenses of the academic actus were duly defrayed by Elector Frederick, who thanked Luther in this practical manner for a sermon which he had heard from him, and which had made a deep impression on him by its spiritual force, oratorical power, and chiefly by its excellent contents. Rome has a more spicy explanation of the manner in which the expenses of Luther's promotion to the Doctor's degree were paid: Staupitz had received money from a noble lady for the promotion of another monk to the Doctor's degree. This money he filched to show Luther a favor. Decidedly a more dramatic version than the trite one noted before!

On October 21st Luther was received as a member of the theological senate, and on the same day the resignation of Staupitz was accepted. Staupitz was content to leave his work in the hands of his young *protégé*, and confident that the latter's talents would now be given the proper scope and development.

21.

The ten years which Zwingli spent as people's priest at Glarus, 1506—1516, have been sketched in a general way in chap. 11. Though active and energetic in the discharge of his pastoral functions, an assiduous student, and carefully cultivating his oratorical powers, so that he began to be mentioned as an impressive speaker, Zwingli spent a life of comparative ease in his beautiful Alpine parish. "Being convinced that the preacher needed every help available, he read widely in the classics, studied eloquence, and for purposes of pulpit illustration memorized Valerius Maximus, the Latin author who has so industriously collected anecdotes." His life was the con-

ventional life of a Catholic priest of those days, even *in puncto sexti*. It was an easy, pleasant life, and contained much more of the elements of social culture and refinement than ever fell to Luther's lot. It was at Glarus that Zwingli took up the study of Greek, which at that time was still in its infancy in Western Europe. Jackson mentions as Zwingli's text-book the *Erotemata* of Chrysoloras, who had died on Swiss soil a century before (at Constance, 1415). Zwingli's friend Loriti promised to send him a Greek dictionary from Basel in 1516. In a letter to another friend, Zwingli accounts for his taking up this study, which he began in earnest about 1513, as follows: "I do not know who has stirred me up to the study of Greek unless it is God; I do not do it on account of glory, for which I do not look, but solely for the sake of sacred literature." Zwingli also built up a remarkably fine private library during his pastorate at Glarus, partly out of the papal pension which he received since 1512. "He was deeply interested in the literary events of the day, and, like other friends of the New Learning, watched eagerly the printing-press to see what treasures it would bring forth." (Jackson, 77, 81 f. 89.)

It remains now to examine a few events in the life of Zwingli which indicate in what way he was reaching out beyond the confines of his parish to make his influence felt in the great world of affairs, and to note a few of the friendly connections which he found during this period.

It is significant of the general character of Zwingli as a reformer that his first reformatory efforts were made in the domain of the social and political life of the Swiss. He attempted to stop the ignominious "Reislaufen" of the Swiss youth, that is, the custom of hiring themselves out as mercenaries in armies of foreign potentates. True, there were religious considerations that prompted Zwingli's attack on this custom: the soldiers returning from a campaign with their pockets full of money and valuable booty exerted a demoralizing influence on the humble population and the quiet life of their native villages and towns. By their marvelous tales, their osten-

tatious display of wealth, their prodigality, and their habits of living they created discontent among the mountaineers with their lowly and simple life. They were also carriers of diseases which they had contracted abroad, and they spread lax views of religion, which they had imbibed chiefly in the papal campaigns. But more than by these plainly immoral symptoms, Zwingli was shocked by the estrangement of these soldiers from the national ideals of the Swiss Confederacy. They had grown away from the liberty-loving fatherland; they had become French Swiss, or Italian Swiss, or German Swiss; they were becoming denationalized. This observation roused the patriotic indignation of Zwingli. The evil became immeasurably aggravated in his eyes because in nearly every canton and in every large city in Switzerland there were well-to-do citizens and men in official stations who favored the practise of "Reislaufen" because it brought them considerable revenue. They would act as *agents procurateurs*, now for the French king, now for the emperor, now for the Pope, whenever these needed soldiers for their armies. Some of them were permanently hired to act as recruiting agents, and were called by the inoffensive title of "pensionaries." They would also receive extra gifts for a specially large or efficient contingent of troops which they would furnish their masters. At the sessions of the cantonal diets disgraceful scenes would be enacted: the representatives of foreign powers would outbid each other to secure the military power of the Swiss for their masters, and prominent Swiss gentlemen would unblushingly sell their social and political influence to the highest bidder. This happened in the very town of Glarus, where Zwingli could observe it. The old Swiss honesty was being undermined; the Swiss came to be known as perfidious people, whose word could not be relied on.— We briefly touched upon this matter in chap. 1, but it has been necessary to give a fuller account of the existing state of affairs, in order that Zwingli's earliest reformatory actions may be understood, and he may be given such credit as is due him, but no more.

Out of the defensive wars which the Swiss had successfully waged against Burgundy and Germany towards the end of the fifteenth century, the Swiss Confederacy had sprung. It was justly proud of its independence. But Swiss bravery on the battlefield during these wars had also attracted the attention and roused the admiration of the neighboring nations. Where the Swiss banners were flying, there victory was supposed to perch. Everybody who had a war to wage began to court the favor of the Swiss: the Emperor of Germany, the King of France, the Italian dukes, the Senates of Italian republics, and, last not least, the Holy Father at Rome.

During 1500—4 there was a three-cornered conflict for the possession of the Duchy of Milan between Emperor Maximilian, King Louis XII, and Duke Louis Sforza of Milan. The rival bribes and mercenary fees which these contending parties offered the Swiss created scenes like those referred to before. The French king on this occasion bagged the game: the bulk of the Swiss soldiery accepted service under him, and with their aid Milan was taken, and in 1507 the Genoese were deprived of their independence and liberty. — The battle of Agadello (May 14, 1509), where Louis XII crushed Venice, the sister republic of Switzerland was won with the aid of 6,000 Swiss. In this case the Swiss magistrates had protested against their taking service against a republic; they felt something of the turpitude which such service involved; but the love of lucre proved too powerful for their covetous countrymen, and that covetousness the magistrates themselves had nourished on previous occasions. — It is an old observation that rogues fly apart as easily as they fly together. After the Swiss Moor had performed his service for his French master, the Moor was told to go. Amid the taunts of their comrades of an hour ago and without wages the Swiss departed. But the arrogance and insolence of the French came to be felt by another ally, the Pope, who had with them formed the Holy Alliance, by which he hoped to bring recalcitrant Venice to terms. Pope Julius II concluded that he might not be able to rid himself of the spirits

which he had summoned to his aid; and hastily patched up an understanding with Venice in order to obtain a free hand against his ally, the French king, whom he first must drive from Italian soil. His crafty agents came into Switzerland and discovered that the Swiss politicians were dreading an alliance that might be formed against them by the emperor and the king, for they had on different occasions fought against both of them, although they had on other occasions fought for them. The papal agents worked on this fear, and with the powerful aid of Cardinal Schinner of Wallis, on March 13, 1510, concluded an alliance with the Pope. Schinner's cardinalate dates from this occasion, for it was the papal reward for his share in this transaction. The Pope now summoned 6,000 Swiss to invade Lombardy, and to demand free passage through the territory from the French to join the papal army. The French refused the free passage, destroyed the bridges to the south, massed their cavalry for an attack upon the Swiss from all sides, and at the same time offered the Swiss a bribe if they would retreat. Since the Swiss were out of provisions, the bribe was accepted, and the shameful retreat commenced. The angry curses of the Pope were speedily conveyed to the Swiss, but these had the effrontery to demand the payment of their wages from the Pope, and at the same time to admonish him to make peace, reminding him that "he ought to be a prince of peace and void of treachery." Still more incensed, the Pope now threatened to form an alliance against the Swiss, yea, to rouse all nations against them as traitors to the Holy See. Their wages they shall not receive until they have fulfilled their treaty obligations. Now fear seized the leaders of the Confederacy; they felt themselves surrounded by enemies, having lost their last friend in the Pope. Distrust of each other, factionalism, and disorders began their disintegrating work among them and to bring their political organization to the verge of dissolution.

At this psychological moment, in 1510, Zwingli came forward with his first literary product, two allegorical poems in Iambic verse, written in wretched German, "The Labyrinth"

and "The Fable of the Ox and Some Animals." There is no real worth in these productions; the copious introduction of mythological references in the former poem shut it out from the understanding of the common people. It is also doubtful whether the poems were given circulation. A Latin translation of one of them, which Zwingli had made for his friend Gla-reanus, was pronounced inferior by that humanist. But the poems show with what matters Zwingli at this time was occupying his mind, and for this reason we shall essay a synopsis of them.

In "The Labyrinth," after mentioning that structures thus named were known to have existed in Egypt, Italy, and Lemnos, Zwingli describes the structure which Daedalus erected near Candia, on the island of Crete, for King Minos (vv. 1—11). Here was confined the monstrous offspring of the wife of Minos, Pasiphae, who had cohabited with a bull and had brought forth the Minotaurus, a being half man, half beast (vv. 12—20). To this monster Minos fed captured Athenians, whom he thus punished for slaying his son Androgeos. The young hero Theseus, having already achieved several remarkable feats of valor, which make him the rival of Hercules, comes to Athens and visits King Aegeus. Being told of the shameful humiliation of the Athenians, he undertakes to liberate the stricken city (vv. 21—30). He goes to Crete, where Ariadne, the daughter of Minos, falls in love with him, and hearing of his intention to slay the Minotaurus and knowing of the bewildering maze of paths and cross-paths in the Labyrinth, in the deepest recesses of which the monster dwells, she hands Theseus a ball of thread, the end of which she bids him fasten near the entrance, and then unravel the ball as he penetrates the Labyrinth (vv. 31—60). As Theseus enters the cavernous building, the jarring door wakes echoes so awful that they sound as if the bellowing monster is rushing forward to meet his assailant; but Theseus advances undaunted along confusing paths, and is suddenly startled by terrible apparitions along the walls of the corridors through which he is walking (vv. 61—78). He sees

a fierce lion glaring at him with one eye; but walking up to him courageously, he discovers that it is a painted lion (vv. 79—87). This lion is the poet's symbol for Spain—Aragon. Next he beholds a crowned eagle, ready to make a dash for him (vv. 88—97; this represents Emperor Maximilian). Next he beholds a proudly strutting cock (vv. 98—109, the symbol of France); next, a winged lion (vv. 110—134, the symbol of the Republic of Venice). Presently he beholds an ox that is led hither and thither by cats (vv. 134—146; this is Switzerland, drawn into all sorts of alliances by her "pensioners"). After the ox comes a wild bear with a ring in his nose (vv. 147—158 = the Abbot of St. Gall, who looks dangerous to Swiss patriots, but is harmless). Finally, Theseus sees a number of dogs wandering about aimlessly (vv. 159—164; these are the confederate cantons of Switzerland). Theseus now meets the Minotaurus, throws what remains of Ariadne's ball of thread into the jaws of the beast, and then dispatches the monster with his sword (vv. 165—196). If Zwingli himself had not added the interpretation of his weird poetic vision, it would have been difficult to understand his intention, unless the educated reader were to assume that it was to display the author's knowledge of antiquity and power of imagination. Zwingli tells us that the Labyrinth represents this life with its worry and toil and perplexing situations (*notabene!* such as confronted the Swiss people at the time). Theseus is the upright man, who has the strength and courage to rise in defense of the right (*notabene:* any one may claim this distinction, Zwingli not excluded). The animals in the poem stand for shame, sin, vice, in whatever form (*notabene:* these vices may be traits of particular nations). The thread of Ariadne represents Reason, which guides man unerringly in the paths of duty; and finally, the maiden Ariadne symbolizes the reward of virtue (vv. 197—210). The poem concludes with an application of wider scope, in which these thoughts are developed: All the world is gone astray from the teaching of Christ. What do the Christians of the time still retain of Christ beyond the name?

Therefore, let all the readers of this poem strive to enter into its deeper meaning: let them abandon their vices, their greed, etc., and adopt—better manners (vv. 211—272).²⁾

“The Labyrinth” was followed in the same year, before October, by the other allegory, which is usually referred to under the caption “The Ox.” Behind stout fences a fine ox is grazing in a beautiful, well-watered meadow (vv. 1—14). Sly cats are leading the trusting ox about at their will (vv. 15—24). A faithful dog, Lyzikus, always gives the ox a warning bark when he is about to be led into danger (vv. 25—36). The ox is attacked by a lion and other beasts, but conquers every one of them (vv. 37—42). Since the animals are not able to conquer the ox, they resort to a stratagem: they send a leopard, who gives the cats nice things to feed on, and while they feast, he addresses the ox, praising him for his wonderful strength and marvelous victories, and inciting him to still greater deeds that are to amaze the world (vv. 43—56). Here the dog barks vehemently, but the cats are leading the ox after the leopard, who takes him wherever there is hard and rough work to be done, and the ox does it (vv. 56—70). The lion, jealous of the leopard’s powerful ally, proposes to the ox an alliance with himself (vv. 71—80). The cats, afraid that they will lose the dainties which the leopard is furnishing them, urge the ox to decline the lion’s offer (vv. 81—93). The ox obeys; and the lion in a rage now prepares to undo the ox; he forms an alliance with the leopard, and the two begin to terrorize all the other animals (vv. 94—119). The fox, who has been maltreated by them, goes to make complaint to the shepherd, and receives from him the promise of aid (vv. 120—138). The shepherd now pleads with the ox to submit to his guidance, and the ox promises to obey; the dog gives a joyful bark (vv. 139—152). The ox now follows the lead of the shepherd, but the cats are longingly looking back in the direction of the leopard, and make also the ox look back (vv. 153—158). The lion and the leopard now declare war upon the ox for having

2) Zwingli’s Works, ed. Schuler and Schulthess, Vol. II, II, 243—256.

allied himself to the shepherd (vv. 159—168). Now follows an Epilog by a goat, that wonders whether the ox must not finally succumb to the combined onslaught of the lion and the leopard. He surely will, if the shepherd does not protect him. If only the cats would not always try to lead the ox back to the leopard! If they should succeed, let the ox be afraid of the shepherd! (vv. 169—202.) In the concluding lines Zwingli introduces the *denouement* of his allegorical characters: the shepherd is the Pope; the dog is any faithful Swiss priest (*e. g.*, the pastor of Glarus); the lion is the emperor; the leopard, the French king; the ox, the Swiss people; and Zwingli leaves you to guess who the cats are.³⁾

The allusion to the Pope under the pleasing image of the shepherd of the nations, particularly of the Swiss, brought Zwingli material reward. The Roman Curia, ever observant of rising genius and power in any part of its domain, had discovered efficiency in Zwingli that could be made subservient to its interests. Pope Julius,—the particular shepherd of Zwingli's fable,—whom to denominate shepherd is the worst *lucus a non lucendo* imaginable, placed Zwingli on the papal pension-list with an annual allowance of 50 gulden, "for the purchase of books," which was a pellucid euphemism for being a papal agent. The editors of Zwingli's works remark that this was frequently done to "the most prominent agents" to attach them to the Pope's interests. In 1523 Zwingli had come to feel the ignominious *role* which he had played at one time. In his *Auslegen der Schlussreden* he remarks: "I admit my sin before God and all men; for prior to 1516 I still clung rather much to the sovereignty of the Pope, and thought that it was proper for me to accept money from him, although I always told the Roman messengers in plain words, when they admonished me not to preach anything contrary to the Pope, that they must not hope that I would omit a single word of the truth for the sake of their money; and so they might take their money back

3) Zwingli's Works, Vol. II, II, 257—268.

again or leave it.—I am speaking before God, the Judge of all men, (and declare) that aside from this instance I have received no pension or hire from any prince or lord, nor have I been financially beholden to any one in any way.”⁴⁾ It is the later Zwingli that is here speaking, and we can feel his keen regret over his former mistake, and admit the genuineness of his sorrow. But we cannot, withal, extend the force of the reservation which he has woven into his confession to all his transactions with the papal messengers. At the time he wrote “The Ox,” he was in no frame of mind to make such a statement to them, and it is doubtful whether that statement was ever made while he was at Glarus; it may possibly have been made during the last year of his pastorate. But what was the moral worth of the statement if it was made at any time as long as Zwingli took the money? While he was denouncing “pensionaries” as traitors to the country, he was himself the Pope’s “pensionary.” As we shall have to refer to this matter in connection with later events at Zurich, we defer further remarks here.

After October. Luther lectures on Aristotle at Wittenberg.	1508	
March 9. Luther becomes a Bachelor of Theology.	1509	
Fall. Luther returns to Erfurt to lecture on the Sentences of Lombard.		
November. Luther starts for Rome.	1510	Zwingli at Glarus, writes “The Labyrinth” and “The Ox.”
End of February. Luther back at Erfurt.	1511	
May. Luther has returned to Wittenberg.	1512	
Pentecost. Luther at Cologne, attending chapter of Augustinians.		Zwingli accompanies the Glarean contingent of soldiers to Italy as chaplain.
October 4. Luther becomes Licentiate of Theology.		Zwingli describes the campaign of the Glareans.
October 18. Luther made a Doctor of Theology.		
October 21. Luther received into the theological senate. Staupitz, resigns.		

4) Works II, II, 243 f.