WEAPONS OF PROPAGANDA: NATIONAL CHARACTER AND HISTORY
IN THE PAMPHLETS OF ULRICH VON HUTTEN AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the interrelationship between nationalism, technological advance and the development of propaganda in the early sixteenth century. It focuses on the function and contemporary impact of pamphlets written by Ulrich von Hutten (1488-1523). It examines the formative influences on Hutten and considers the ways in which he moulded his chosen genres to solicit the adherence of his target audience. Hutten developed two major themes in order to encourage national sentiment and direct hostility against identified enemy groups. The development and use of the themes of national character and history are explored in Hutten's pamphlets with special consideration of the labels, rhetorical devices, and argumentation employed, as well as the cultural patterns and prevailing prejudices that are manipulated. Hutten's work is compared in detail with pamphlets by two other major authors, Eberlin von Günzburg and Hartmut von Cronberg, and a briefly survey is made of other contemporary pamphlets. The reception of both Hutten's nationalist thought and his propagandistic methods is discussed, as well as possible reasons for the diverse response of other authors. Both the potential and the limitations of Hutten's propaganda is revealed in the reactions of other pamphleteers. The thesis emphasizes Hutten's importance as a pioneer and methodologist of early nationalist propaganda, and the relevance of his and his supporters' work in the evolution of nationalism.
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Ich hab's gewagt!
INTRODUCTION

The manipulation of national sentiment through the media is a common theme in modern history, and one which has had particularly striking results in Germany. The National Socialist epoch made abundantly clear how modern technology could be used to produce propaganda aimed at raising a nation's consciousness, stirring national pride and directing hostility at groups designated as national enemies. It is therefore not surprising that ever since the 1930's a large number of studies have appeared which developed propaganda theory, alongside a rash of works dealing with the phenomenon of nationalism. However, these themes are by no means confined to the twentieth century. The connection between technological advance, nationalism and propaganda was already integral to Germany's history in a much earlier period. The sixteenth century has long been recognized as a turning point in the transition from the medieval to the modern world. This case study will focus on one of the products of the early modern period which helped to make many modern developments possible: nationalist propaganda, which in the first decades of the sixteenth century underwent crucial formative and evolutionary stages.

The advent of the printed word, and particularly the development of the pamphlet, provided sixteenth-century authors with a new medium for the mass production and communication of ideas. The first printed books were elaborate and lengthy, produced to compete in the book market with traditional manuscripts. In contrast, pamphlets could be printed cheaply and quickly, and were therefore a far more suitable vehicle for spreading ideas. By modern definition, a pamphlet is an unbound publication of more than one page, self-contained and non-periodical, which is used with the goal of influencing the convictions and/or actions of its
The shift to the use of the pamphlet was most noticeable in the German lands of the Holy Roman Empire. The popularity of the new format in German areas was undoubtedly due to the difficult internal situation that had arisen over the course of the previous century. The decentralization and weakness of the Empire and the resulting papal exploitation of German benefices, along with religious abuses, economic innovations and social change, produced widespread dissatisfaction and unrest. Countless German authors used the new format to air their grievances and suggest solutions. Since pamphlets served as a forum for the expression of diverse opinions on issues of general public relevance, there is clear evidence of a politically-functioning public in the pre-Reformation period. Between 1517 and 1525 around 2000 pamphlets were published. The authors of such pamphlets were not always at the centre of major political and religious movements. While the printing press was at first used primarily by central figures who disseminated their views outward and downward, it also came to be used by people "on the margins of power" who responded to the views presented. Many individuals and social groups whose opinions had never been expressed before in writing began pamphleteering in the

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early days of the Reformation. The relation of printing to the development of political consciousness can therefore be studied in the pamphlets.

The authors' responses to specific political ideas can also be discerned in the pamphlets. Numerous sixteenth-century pamphlets contain manifestations of German national consciousness or national sentiment. The role of nationalism in the calls for a reform of Church and Empire is a controversial issue, primarily because definitions of the term vary so much. The most widely held view is that nationalism is a state of mind which expresses such instinctive emotions as love for one's people and culture, loyalty to the state, affection for the homeland and zeal for its true interests. Some authors take this a step further and assert that nationalism entails a political policy based on the national egoism resulting from a conscious level of the previously stated emotions. Authors who base their definition of nationalism on the degree to which national sentiment has evolved into mass-supported political ideology find it first occurring in the eighteenth century. Not until the French Revolution, they argue, did mass politization turn vague national consciousness into "full-blown" nationalism. One proponent of this classification system, Hans Kohn, maintains that while the "idea of nationalism" emerged in the period of the Renaissance and Reformation, it was confined to the humanist movement and succeeded merely in outlining the possibilities, bringing "no immediate conquest of the human mind." Authors who equate nationalism with feelings of national sentiment, regardless of degree, tend to find such expressions in almost any historical period. They sidestep

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8Hans Kohn, The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in its Origins and Background (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1944), p. 120.
conflicting definitions by summarizing national aspirations and tendencies or concentrating on historical and phenomenological descriptions of nationalism throughout history.\(^9\) E.D. Marcu's study of sixteenth-century nationalism brings together examples of nationalist manifestations from various European countries over the course of a century of historical development. Marcu identifies nationalist expressions such as a longing for greatness, boastfulness, xenophobia, and a penchant for genealogical investigation. He concedes that nationalism was not a central concern of sixteenth century thought, but argues that it was never central to any period nor were all sectors of the population equally affected by it in any given period. Nationalism in its sixteenth-century style was no different than later configurations - "What had more likely changed in the intervening 300 years was the mode of dealing with the impulse to love the homeland above all others, rather than any quality or quantity of the impulse itself."\(^{10}\)

The problem of national feeling and its transformation into a force capable of influencing political policy - precisely, the change in "mode of dealing with" national feeling - is a topic which must be investigated. Definitions and descriptions of nationalist expressions, however useful, have not contributed to an analysis of the development of methods by which these instinctive nationalist tendencies have been encouraged, manipulated and utilized in an endeavour to influence public policy and incite action. Pamphlets are an invaluable source for such a study, for as well as being records of their authors' personal responses to current ideas, they are examples of the development of propaganda technique. The pamphleteers of the early


\(^{10}\)Marcu, Sixteenth-Century Nationalism, p. 7.
sixteenth century were pioneers of propaganda, "the expression of opinions or actions carried out deliberately by individuals or groups with a view to influencing other individuals or groups for predetermined ends and through psychological manipulations." Oddly enough, while some pamphlets which present primarily religious reform programs have been studied specifically as propaganda, those with a more political, nationalist slant have never been carefully analyzed in terms of techniques employed to propagate national feeling.

A case in point is the work of one of the most renowned pamphleteers of this early period, Ulrich von Hutten (1488-1523) saw himself as a valiant crusader for truth, justice and national autonomy. His explicit purpose in writing pamphlets was to promote a reform of Church and State which would return the Holy Roman Empire to its position of international strength and ascendancy over the Church. The national sentiment expressed in Hutten's writings has long been recognized by scholars. Helmut Röhr praises him highly: "The actual historical significance of Ulrich von Hutten lies in his passionate desire to instill in the nation a consciousness of its worth and make the nation's pride in itself the foundation of its claim to political community." Gerhard Ritter agrees that among the German humanists, Hutten especially placed "the idea of a particularly German history and the vision of

11Harold D. Laswell, Institute for Propaganda Research, cited by Jacques Ellul, Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), p.xi. Ellul considers Laswell's definition too narrow for modern propaganda, which he views as a sociological phenomenon, but concedes that earlier forms were indeed deliberate weapons forged for political purposes.

12For example, the treatment of Hans Sachs' work, Balzer, Bürgerliche Reformationspropaganda.

a united, organized and outwardly powerful nation in open view."\(^{14}\) Numerous biographers have summarized the development of Hutten's thought and have assessed his role in the struggle for intellectual, political and religious freedom in Germany. With few exceptions, they have accorded him a special niche in history as a forerunner of modern nationalism, even as "the first political German."\(^{15}\)

Yet the recognition of Hutten's national sentiment is only the first step towards an understanding of the implications of national sentiment in general for the sixteenth century. Little has been done to examine the methods by which Hutten tried to influence others into sharing his convictions concerning the welfare of his homeland. Several studies have surveyed Hutten's writing techniques, but they have tended to concentrate mainly on the artistic style and literary effectiveness of his works. Rhetoric, satire and humour are legitimate and necessary topics of investigation, and yield useful conclusions concerning Hutten's place in the world of Renaissance letters and his influence on the later development of German literature.\(^{16}\) But such studies, however indispensable to an understanding of the literary devices employed by Hutten, contribute little to a greater knowledge of how these devices served his central, nationalistic purposes. To understand this, Hutten's work must be viewed and systematically dealt with as nationalist propaganda. This has not been attempted. His pamphlets have been recognized as


propaganda by several authors, such as Michael Seidlmayer. But aside from a brief mention of Hutten's utilization of German history, Seidlmayer does not attempt to analyze his methods.\(^{17}\) Only Barbara Könneker has made an attempt to trace the development of Hutten's technique as a propagandist in some of his dialogues, but she is not concerned with his efforts to exploit national sentiment.\(^{18}\) Jacques Ridé briefly explores Hutten's creation of images of ideal Germans, but focuses mainly on literary detail and long-range influence rather than on propagandistic purpose or contemporary effect.\(^{19}\) Generally, other treatments of Hutten's techniques are primarily descriptive and tend to ignore or vaguely gloss over the historical context, function and contemporary impact of his writings.\(^{20}\)

Studies of confessional propaganda from the Reformation period note that this is a problem with the evaluation of pamphlets in general. Pamphlets should not be judged simply as poetry, theological tracts or objective reports of facts, but must be examined in light of their function as propaganda.\(^{21}\) Historians have used Hutten's work as a source for studying his nationalist ideas, and in some cases have concluded the degree of their influence from the character of the content alone. Röhr insists that thanks to Hutten a national movement existed in the pre-Reformation


\(^{20}\) For example, the section on Hutten in Eckhard Bernstein, *German Humanism* (Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1983).

period, for he reached "das ganze Volk" with his German writings, gave tone and word to the vague desires of the people, and forged a political goal for them.\textsuperscript{22} No strong evidence is supplied to back this contention. Pamphlets cannot be considered in this manner as a source for measuring the views of the audience: "Propaganda is a deliberate attempt to influence people's opinions and actions, but by itself it provides access not to what people believed, rather to what the propagandist would have them believe."\textsuperscript{23}

Some historians rely on drawing conclusions about Hutten's influence from contemporary letters and reports. These indicate that in the eyes of his enemies at least, Hutten was seen as a dangerous threat. The papal nuncio Aleander reported from Worms: "This Hutten, who has many friends and cousins among the nobility, already instigates too much evil mischief, and his machinations inhibit all of our undertakings.\textsuperscript{24} An electoral counsellor at Worms wrote "Herr von Hutten has put out so many astounding tracts that he is much more incensed and the Romanists much more infuriated against him than against Luther."\textsuperscript{25} These remarks support the long-standing interpretation that Hutten's pamphleteering helped to arouse public recognition of the urgent need for reform and drew attention and support to Luther, thereby contributing to the success of the Reformation. However, they do not indicate the extent to which his national thought was accepted, supported or even

\textsuperscript{22}Röhr, Hutten, p. 31.


\textsuperscript{25}Cited by Hajo Holborn, Ulrich von Hutten and the German Reformation (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937), p. 163.
understood by others.

Other historians claim that Hutten's nationalist ideas were premature and did not adequately express the needs of contemporary Germans. Kohn declares that Hutten's following was so small that "his call died away unheard...Hutten found no active support in his generation. When Hutten reached the end of his brief life he had learned that neither the two great medieval forces, imperialism and religion, nor the German princes, Estates and people comprehended his new nationalism." Likewise, Richard Seyboth suggests that even though Hutten's utopian program addressed the central demands of his fellow knights, he was not able to significantly mobilize them to action. Volker Honemann argues that Hutten's followers were more interested in his image than his work, since his nationalist standpoint was so "quickly rendered obsolete by historical development." If Hutten failed to influence the opinions of fellow Germans, the reasons for this must be sought in the way he went about selling his ideas.

The key to understanding both Hutten's nationalism and its contemporary reception is to be found in the propagandistic methods he developed. This requires some understanding of propaganda in general. A study of propaganda must examine the opinions and intentions of the propagandist, the nature of the medium of communication, and the audience targeted. It must determine the psychological manipulations carried out to build up hostility and resentment and encourage particular action. These include the creation of labels and images intended to

26Kohn, Idea of Nationalism, p. 143.


identify enemies and polarize opinion against them and to integrate the audience into a particular ideological or cultural allegiance, the construction of positive-negative propaganda.²⁹ The nature of the arguments used to justify and legitimate the proposed action must also be surveyed, for example emotional appeals or historical references. If Hutten's work is investigated in this manner, it will become clear that his bid to influence public policy relied in two basic ways on encouraging national feeling and directing it against chosen targets. The two main weapons of his political propaganda were images of the character and history of the German nation and its perceived enemies. These are the fundamental points of his pro-German, anti-Roman crusade that identify it as more than the struggle of a reformer against a pope, or of a knight against a territorial prince. By formulating a concept of national character and national history, Hutten hoped to gain mass support for his program and make reform a cause for the entire German nation to work toward.

The effectiveness of Hutten's methods of promoting his program may be assessed to an extent by comparing the ideas and concepts he developed with those evident in contemporary pamphlets. Many of Hutten's close contacts and followers were inspired to produce propaganda which offered direct support to Hutten's cause. Their pamphlets comprise an excellent source for comparison with Hutten's work to determine whether his national concepts and exhortations were comprehended, supported or even considered useful by fellow propagandists. Johann Eberlin von Günzburg, Hartmut von Cronberg and numerous other pamphleteers had different backgrounds and experience than did Hutten. Yet in many cases their concerns, their arguments and even their methods indicate the

²⁹The methodology summarized in this paragraph is based on H.D. Laswell's and Jacques Ellul's criteria as developed by Balzer, Bürgerliche Reformationspropaganda and Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk, both in the sixteenth-century context. Exact terms will be cited in later chapters.
degree to which Hutten's nationalist leanings influenced their work. If his formulation of national character and history provided strong and convincing enough images to incite hostility against identified adversaries, these themes should be reflected in pamphlets with similar goals. Even if the circle was not large, the response of these pamphleteers should indicate the nature of Hutten's contribution to the development of early nationalist propaganda.

It must be noted that Hutten's ideas concerning national character and history were not all new, but rather his motives for publicizing them and the militancy with which he did so brought these two themes to a new level. Successful propaganda must aim not only to change prevailing opinions, but to intensify existing trends and to sharpen and focus them in order to lead men from simple resentment to action. It must harden current ideas and stereotypes into social, political and moral standards.30 Much of Hutten's energy was directed toward simplifying and codifying humanist ideas and disseminating them to a wider audience than they had previously appealed to. A.G. Dickens identifies the "...need to explore the downward diffusion of humanist and secularist concepts as a whole into society."31

A study of early nationalist propaganda will investigate this "downward diffusion" of certain ideas. It will consider Hutten's dissemination of humanist thought surrounding the German nation and its racial and historical connotations. Before his use of the concepts and their contemporary impact can be examined, the backdrop of thought must be outlined.

The concept of nation underwent several changes in meaning and usage in the century prior to Hutten's lifetime. By the time the council of Constance took place

30Ellul, Propaganda, pp. iii-iv, p. 162.

in 1415, the Latin term "natio", which originally signified representatives from the same homeland grouped together at a university, had gradually come to mean a territory characterized by common blood relationships, language, customs and political ruler. By the late fifteenth century, the term came to be associated with honour, prestige and power. Some authors insist that "nation" referred only to the higher ruling classes. However, Alfred Schröcker demonstrates that the "German nation" attained a geographical and political meaning as well in imperial propaganda aimed at promoting the military service of the noble classes to protect the empire from external threats. The nobility were the rulers and protectors of the nation in a territorial sense. The enemy was not discussed in the category of foreign powers or rulers, but of foreign nations. The term teutscher nation was first added to the name "Holy Roman Empire" in 1471 to indicate the actual territorial confines of the Empire and to express the belief that it was the sole possession of the German people. According to the medieval judicial doctrine of translatio imperii, the Empire had been passed on to the Germans by virtue of their warrior ability. Through the emperor, the German nation was free to rule as sovereign of the

32Hertz, Nationality, pp. 6-7.
universe.

To the prevailing concept of the territorial and political boundaries of the German nation, the German humanists added an ethical undertone. They were part of the humanist intellectual movement born in Renaissance Italy which attempted to revive classical antiquity and utilize the standards and principles of the ancient world in the present. The German humanists were regarded by many of their Italian counterparts as representatives of a barbaric nation which owed its rise to civilization to the influence of the Papacy. The cultural rivalry which grew from such accusations led the German humanists to turn to examples from the German past to exalt their nation. The rediscovery of Tacitus' *Germania*, with its descriptions of ancient Germanic characteristics and customs inspired scholars to investigate cultural history, laws and traditions and to construct numerous genealogies of tribal origins. Insisting that their nation had not been accorded its deserved respect in the international community, German poets such as Conrad Celtis and Heinrich Bebel interpreted Tacitus' descriptions in a positive way to make claims of German racial purity, simplicity and virtue. These were viewed as the inherited characteristics of the nation.

The humanist vision of German history remained closely tied to imperial ideals.

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37One of the foremost examples was Enea Silvio Piccolomini, who wrote a letter which caused a backlash of indignation among the humanists when it was published in 1496. See excerpts and discussion in Kenneth C. Schellhase, *Tacitus in Renaissance Political Thought* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1976), p. 33.


Present-day Germany was connected to Germanic as well as Roman antiquity; Germania was paralleled with the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. The regional history of the German nation was united with the universal history of Rome as one continuous story. The emperor's position as true heir of the imperium romanum served to justify and call for a renewed imperial hegemony over Italy, which Maximilian I attempted to make a reality by campaigning against the French and the Venetians for more control of Italy. Under the patronage of the emperor, the circle of German humanists in Vienna glorified both Maximilian and the German nation with arguments based on historical German rights and national characteristics.\footnote{40}

A confusing array of terms have been ascribed to this development from "national romanticism" to "cultural patriotism".\footnote{41} The humanist striving to affirm the distinctiveness and prestige of Germany by Marcu and Hertz's criteria qualify this phenomenon for the simple label of nationalism.

Did the humanists see this nationalism as a tool for influencing public life, other than in the service of the emperor? Antiquity provided arguments of basic German virtues and historical rights, but it also contrasted with the state of affairs the humanists observed around them. The humanist ideal of "freedom", which included the freedom for action and decision based on an increase in knowledge and wisdom, also implied the freedom of the individual to choose a higher moral and

\footnote{40}{For more on this circle see A.G. Dickens, The German Nation and Martin Luther (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1974), p. 42.}

religious order.⁴² A comparison of the rustic, honourable life of old with contemporary luxuries and spiritual corruption led many humanists to the conclusion that a return to ancient virtues was necessary. The superior moral standards of the Germanic past became an authoritative code for the present, expressed in the humanist appeal to accomplish intellectual and spiritual improvement through education. Their work was written in Latin, designed for the imperial court and fellow scholars. However nostalgic for the past and critical of the present situation, most of the humanists did not make a concerted attempt change their world or to influence public policy in any practical way other than the promotion of humanist education.

An exception to the rule was Ulrich von Hutten, "the only politician among the humanists."⁴³ His humanist ideals and religious beliefs were reduced to themes which he emphasized to promote commitment to his central concern: the welfare of the German nation. Education and religious reform were only secondary to national reform; freedom meant not only freedom for knowledge and belief, but German freedom from the yoke of Roman oppression. Hutten's work represents a distinctly different use of the literary tools and moral themes of German humanism, for his targets were broader and his intentions more militant. His pamphlets also exemplify a break with the traditional use of the themes of Church criticism and anticlericalism evident through the medieval period. While he drew on the existing animosities created by humanist cultural rivalries, clerical abuses and the long-standing grievances against Rome, he placed these themes in a new context and moulded them into national hostilities. As Seidlmayer notes, "Hutten was not the first to carry the


spirit of anti-Romanism and Church criticism to the German people, but he became its most radical and fanatical propagandist."\textsuperscript{44}

Hutten's self-conscious propaganda, aimed at encouraging nationalism through a manipulation of images centred around the character and history of the Germans, must be analyzed and compared to pamphlets written by Hutten's contemporaries. Among these fellow pamphleteers, two stand out as the most prolific and significant: Eberlin von Günzburg and Hartmut von Cronberg. Accordingly, the main part of this thesis will systematically examine the work of Hutten and these two authors. The first chapter will compare their background and motivations. Chapter Two will introduce the three authors' pamphlets and consider how style and genre were adapted to present the pamphleteers' programs to their target audiences. The subsequent two chapters will probe the techniques utilized by each author surrounding the two major themes of national character and history. Finally, the use of these themes and methods will be surveyed less intensively in the work of several other contemporary pamphleteers. In this manner, the function and impact of Hutten's work, and ultimately its importance in the history of nationalist propaganda, will be clarified.

\textsuperscript{44}Seidlmayer, \textit{Wege und Wandlungen}, p. 373.
CHAPTER ONE

THE PAMPHLETEERS

An effort to examine the methods by which propaganda attempts to influence the opinions of its audience must first begin with an introduction to its authors. The views and intentions expressed in the pamphlets are the product of each pamphleteer's social standing, education and life experience. Therefore, the pamphlets cannot be completely disassociated from the context of the lives of the men who wrote them. This chapter will outline the social and political standpoint of the three main pamphleteers with emphasis on the biographical factors which contributed to the development of their ideals and goals for propaganda. It will include a discussion of the pamphleteers' relationships to or knowledge of one another.

1.1 ULRICH VON HUTTEN

Countless biographies have illustrated that Ulrich von Hutten's personality and thought were closely bound to his social background and the difficulties facing the nobility.\(^1\) Hutten was born in 1488 to a noble family living in the Steckelberg fortress on the Franconian border with Hesse. As a member of the imperial free knighthood, he possessed a proud sense of honor, independence and strong allegiance to the emperor, traditionally the sole overlord of the free knighthood. Restlessness and a tendency to violence marked many of Hutten's activities. He represented much of the aggression and instability of the frustrated lower nobility who appeared unable to adapt to the changes taking place in this transition period.

The knights were experiencing a widespread crisis caused by the culmination

of several developments that had begun in the late medieval period. By the sixteenth century, trade and commerce had taken a central position in economic life, threatening the agrarian economy of the knights. Their status and lifestyle were placed under considerable pressure by the increasing wealth and political influence of the merchant classes. The fixed income of the lesser nobility could not support the rising cost of living or provide them with the foreign imports enjoyed by the urban patricians. Sons of rich merchants were being educated as lawyers and clerics, gradually pushing the nobility out of positions as court advisors. In comparison with their urban neighbors, the knights were "little more than privileged farmers." \(^2\)

Militarily, the knights could not finance bigger and better fortresses or the newest methods of artillery and infantry they needed to maintain their value to the emperor. \(^3\) The consolidation of territorial states by dominant princes threatened the independence of the knights by surrounding them and confining them to small local areas and sometimes by forcefully integrating their territory into the larger state. Feuding, the old knightly custom of settling disputes, was banned in 1495. \(^4\) This left the nobility defenseless against encroachment, loudly protesting the outlawing of their traditional means of self-preservation. The tendency for imperial dukedoms to abandon their long-standing political unions and confederacies with the knights and to organize themselves in closer co-operation with the territorial princes


\(^4\)Helmuth Rössler, "Adelsethik und Humanismus" in Rössler, Deutscher Adel, p. 236.
increased the isolation and oppression of the knights.⁵

These difficulties are at the base of Hutten's criticism of Germany's political, social and economic situation. Politically, Hutten looked to the past, to the most magnificent period of the Empire and free knighthood. He longed for a restoration of imperial authority to offset the strength of the cities and princes and ensure the continued existence and social stabilization of the independent knighthood. He attacked the princes whose internal squabbles he blamed for the weakness of the Empire in international affairs. He despised the merchants and city dwellers for their perceived greed, softness and love of luxury, the antithesis and downfall of the lifestyle he cherished.

Like his social standing, Hutten's education focused his thought on ideals drawn from earlier, more glorious eras. In the early period of his life spent as a wandering scholar, Hutten was educated by the pioneers of German humanism. The movement provided him with prototypes of poetry, discourse and rhetoric on which he modelled his artistic and persuasive skills. He was also considerably affected by the 'backward-looking nationalism' of the Vienna humanists whom he met personally during his stay there in 1511. Hutten's early works indicate his adoption of their panegyric style and their imperialistic defense of the cultural and political vigour of the Empire. His understanding of the ethno-linguistic and geo-political delineations of the German nation stems directly from the humanist concepts outlined in the previous section. In Hutten's mind there was no contradiction between the national and universal responsibilities of the emperor. He represented the German nation as the sole heir of the Empire, yet maintained an internationally dominant role as

protector of the 'res publica christiana'. The idealistic humanist image of the
Germanic world, with its themes of moral superiority and ancient freedom served to
justify and motivate a return to the nation's true position and importance. They not
only inspired Hutten's reform campaign, but were moulded by him into tools of
propaganda as will be discussed in Chapters Three and Four.

Hutten's humanist ties also led him to criticize prevailing trends in intellectual
and religious life. Hutten first met Erasmus of Rotterdam in 1514 and maintained a
warm correspondence with him for most of his life. The Erasmian program for
spiritual enlightenment and reform, based on a simple Christian philosophy infused
with humanist ideals had a profound effect on Hutten's thought. He came to share
Erasmus' disapproval of abused and complicated religious rituals and was inspired
to zealously promote reform in the ecclesiastical sphere. In the Reuchlin
controversy, Hutten joined Erasmus and other humanists in protesting the
oppression of intellectual freedom and religious life by the scholastic theologians.

First-hand observations of the political and religious situation in Italy added
to Hutten's sense of the urgent need for reform. While studying law in Pavia (1512-
1513) and Bologna (1515-17), Hutten was drawn to fight as a soldier in the
disastrous Italian wars Maximilian I waged with France for control of Italy. Later as
a student activist, he led other patriotic German students in street fighting against
Italian and French students, and killed a Frenchman in a tavern brawl allegedly for
insulting the emperor. These experiences strengthened his call for a renewal of
imperial power on the international scene, and he increased his output of writings

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6Marie-Noelle Faure, "La relativisation du mythe de l'empereur dans les oeuvres

7Hutten's description of these events is in a letter to Erasmus (1517) in The
Correspondence of Erasmus, trans. by R.A.B. Mynors (Toronto: University of
in favor of the emperor's campaigns. Hutten spent the summer of 1516 in Rome where he obtained vivid impressions of the papal bureaucracy in all its gilded Renaissance splendor. As a result, he intensified his caustic criticism of clerical abuses and curial pomp and exhorted the emperor to reestablish dominance over the pope: "As Christ is the lord of heaven, so is the German emperor lord of the earth. He regards no lord except the lord of heaven." ⁸

By the time Hutten returned to Germany in 1517 his writings had gained him substantial renown and he was crowned poet laureate by Maximilian I. A position at the court of the Archbishop of Mainz allowed Hutten plenty of time for quiet humanist study and meditation, but he was more inclined to a direct political strategy of agitation for reform. The controversial events of the day affected his developing reform program and spurred him to write pamphlets which publicized the state of affairs and suggested changes based on his personal biases. In the proposed crusade against the Turks, Hutten saw both a military role for the nobility and a chance for national unity in a revitalization of imperial power. His criticism of the Diet of Augsburg of 1518 revived the old grievances of the German nation against the Roman Church. Between the summer of 1519 and the fall of 1520, Hutten had several experiences which made him more daring and aggressive in advocating action against Church representatives in Germany. Not only did he come to perceive Luther as an ally in the fight for the "common freedom" of Germany, but his Latin pamphlets were banned by the Church. ⁹ Hutten was forced to seek the protection of his friend and fellow knight, Franz von Sickingen. Until the Diet of Worms in 1521, Hutten placed


his hopes for centralized reform in the newly elected Emperor Charles V and rallied around Luther. When the emperor's support was not forthcoming, Hutten's ideas for the punishment of the clergy took more concrete form in collaboration with Sickingen. Hutten now depicted Luther and himself as victims and examples of the Roman misdeeds against the Germans, but portrayed Sickingen as the leader of the nation in an anticlerical military campaign, the Pfaffenkrieg. The knights were accorded an important moral and military purpose as the protectors of the nation. Hutten's appeal to the lower nobility to carry out this fierce crusade was a direct consequence of the emperor's incapacity to play a real political role in national reform. In August, 1522, Sickingen led a group of knights in an attack on the Archbishopric of Trier in hopes of gaining a foothold from which to continue the secularization of Church property and Church reform. The failure of the Knights' Revolt left its leader dead and forced its main propagandist to flee to Switzerland where he died of syphilis in 1523, exiled from his beloved homeland and outlawed by his many enemies.

In summary, Ulrich von Hutten's life contained many elements which motivated him to produce propaganda. His social background provided him with a temperament suited to action, and with numerous class grievances to prompt his outcry. His education equipped him with communication skills and a familiarity with the historical and ethnic themes of the Vienna circle's nationalism, which he would skilfully adapt to support his campaign. With his many contacts in noble and humanist circles, and his considerable fame, he was for a time in an advantageous position to publicize the

10 Faure, "La relativisation du mythe," p. 64.

causes he believed in. These included the crisis of the knightly class, humanist strivings for intellectual freedom, and the need for religious renewal and political reform, which he combined into a scheme for one national movement. Though these multiple purposes are perhaps the problem of his identity, his program was clear: to unite the German nation in an anticlerical campaign that would end the Roman Church's financial and religious oppression of the Germans and regain the historical freedom and glory of the nation. The leadership outlined for Hutten's campaign changed in response to current developments, but the propagandistic purpose remained constant:

Truly it is a great and excellent deed to bring it about by persuading, exhorting, inciting, driving and impelling that the fatherland come to recognize its own debasement and arm itself to win back its ancient liberty…

1.2 JOHANN EBERLIN VON GÜNZBURG

Though no recorded correspondence took place between Hutten and the Swabian preacher, Johann Eberlin von Günzburg, Eberlin's admiration for Hutten is expressed in his pamphlets. The influence of Hutten's thought on Eberlin's early phase of pamphleteering has been mentioned by several authors. It has not, however, been systematically examined, nor have their propagandistic techniques been compared. Eberlin as an historical figure has been subjected to a wide variety of interpretations made possible by his changing roles and the often contradictory

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nature of his work. Details are scant concerning his life, but a brief sketch will point out formative influences.

Eberlin's social background is unclear. Due to the 'von' in his name and his emphatic concern for and reference to the lesser nobility, some historians maintain that Eberlin had noble roots. Referring to university matriculation records, Susan Groag Bell contends that Eberlin's name often appeared as "von Klein-Kötz", indicating the tiny village where he was born near the town of Günzburg, rather than a noble title. The frequency of certain metaphors and figures of speech point to the probability of peasant origins, as do his references to a childhood of poverty and misery. Eberlin exhibits just as much concern for the common people as he does for the knights.

Education, particularly the study of the Bible, was an important foundation for Eberlin's activities as a pamphleteer. He must have begun very early in life, since records show that he matriculated from the University of Ingolstadt in 1473. This evidence pushes his estimated birthdate back from 1470 to at least 1460. He completed further studies in Basel in 1489 and in Freiburg im Breisgau in 1493. Though he received no rigorous humanist education, influences are apparent in his rhetorical skill, disparagement of scholasticism, admiration for classical heroes and

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later preoccupation with the subject of education.\textsuperscript{20} He translated excerpts of Erasmus' works and echoed his criticism of clerical abuses.

Knowledge of the social and religious problems in the towns and monasteries of contemporary Germany contributed to the timely character of Eberlin's pamphlets. From 1493 to 1519 he was apparently a Franciscan friar, preaching in the areas of Tübingen and Ulm. He was experienced in conveying the messages of scripture to the German people and was familiar with the special concerns of many social groups. Long years of enduring the rigours of monastic life and the spiritual oppression of the clerical hierarchy made him receptive to the influx of reform ideas and harshly critical of all clergy, particularly of monks. At the approximate age of sixty, he abandoned his position as a lector in a Franciscan monastery in Ulm in 1521 to fight for controversial reform proposals. He first went to Basel where he had contact with several humanists and Franciscan enthusiasts of Luther. Then he preached the new evangelical ideas across Germany while travelling from Basel to Wittenberg for a semester of intense study in 1522.

Eberlin's most prolific pamphleteering activity began when he left the monastery. His first pamphlets were written with much the same goal as those of Hutten: to publicize the nation's social, political and religious grievances, point to their cause and suggest remedies. He called for support of those whose reform ideas he admired, including Erasmus, Hutten and Luther, and echoed Hutten's urgent cry for the unity of all the powers in the Empire. Like Hutten, Eberlin looked to the emperor to lead a centralized reform of both the Empire and the Church and to block out the influence of the pope and his representatives in Germany.\textsuperscript{21} He supported the universal role of the emperor as protector of Christendom, but was critical of the


\textsuperscript{21}Noted by Heger, \textit{Eberlin}, p. 20.
Italian campaigns.

Far more pressing to Eberlin than the outward, imperial duties of the German nation were its internal problems. To them Eberlin devoted many pamphlets full of detailed ideas for a reformation reaching to all levels of society, but led by the traditional powers with the rights and responsibilities of each citizen enacted in a formal legal constitution. Eberlin approved of the use of force by the knights in recovering their lost wealth in an anticlerical crusade, though he would later condemn the violence of the Peasants' Wars. While the peasants were admonished to leave political action to those ordained to manage such matters, the knights were lauded for their attempt to carry out their responsibility to solve society's problems. In his partiality for the nobility, Eberlin displays not only a humble reverence for his social betters and a medieval, hierarchical mind as Bell argues. He also shows a sincere desire for the improvement of all of German society, based on traditional social patterns. Germany's betterment was the main intention of his pamphleteering. Yet, despite the extensive detail of his utopian plans for a reconstitution of society, Eberlin was not concerned with the practical implementation of his ideas. He saw them as wishes and models for a later time and agitated for the first steps to be taken in the direction of their fulfilment.

Following another trip in 1523-4 which included preaching in Rheinfelden,

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22 Hitchcock, Knights' Revolt, p. 66.


24 The best treatment of Eberlin's plans is Heger, Eberlin. Bell summarizes it well in "Wolfaria". Less useful is Bernhard Riggenbach's Johann Eberlin von Günzburg und sein Reformprogramm (Tübingen: Franz Füs, 1874.)

Rottenburg am Neckar, Nürnberg and Erfurt, the aging preacher settled down to a new post which ended his travels and altered his pamphlet production. From 1525 to 1530, Eberlin was the evangelical pastor to Count George II of Wertheim am Main, as well as superintendent of several parishes. After his patron died, Eberlin preached in Leutershausen where he died in about 1533. Only a few pamphlets aimed at calming dissatisfied peasants break the concentration of his work on theological and pedagogical subjects. For several reasons he turned his attention more toward carrying out religious reform rather than political agitation. His stay in Wittenberg, along with the emperor's condemnation of Luther, the failure of the Knights' Revolt and the outbreak of peasant uprisings must have combined to convince him that changes in the religious sphere were more pressing and could be attained sooner than political goals. Though much of his energy went toward passing on the messages of men such as Luther and Hutten, Eberlin did have many original ideas and solutions to add in order to promote reform. The treatment of his work in the next three chapters must focus specifically on his connection with Hutten's methods of producing propaganda to encourage national sentiment.

1.3 HARTMUT VON CRONBERG

Though Eberlin was one of the most prolific of the pamphleteers who propagated reform ideas similar to Hutten's, several others made contributions to the pamphlet campaign in support of the Knights' Revolt. Many of the pamphlets were published anonymously, but their content betrays the close ties of the authors with Hutten and Sickingen. Several of these pamphlets will be discussed briefly in Chapter Five. Biographical information is available for at least one noble pamphleteer who backed the revolt, Sickingen's cousin Hartmut XII von Cronberg (1488-1549). Because of his prominent position and the considerable number of his publications, Hartmut's life and work will be examined in more detail.
Hartmut belonged to an aristocratic family that was by no means impoverished, but rather had extensive material wealth and prestige. Nevertheless he was aware of the difficulties faced by other members of his estate, and because of his involvement with Sickingen would eventually experience subjugation at the hands of a powerful territorial prince, Philip of Hesse. Hartmut's writings reveal his awareness of the status and duties connected to his social standing. As a knight, he felt it was his duty to protect Christianity and take a leading role in reform by exhorting his people to be obedient and faithful Christians. This was the primary reason Hartmut turned to pamphleteering.

The education Hartmut received was typical of the practical training needed to prepare for a role within the feudal bureaucracy. Like his father, Hartmut became an official at the court of the Elector of the Palatinate. He had some contact with humanism beginning in his early twenties through his friendship with a Heidelberg publisher, Jakob Köbel, who had connections with such humanists as Celtis, Wimpheling, and Reuchlin. Hartmut never learned Latin or another foreign language. Writing was neither part of his profession, nor a casual pastime, which makes his activity as a pamphleteer all the more striking. Like Eberlin, he began to write pamphlets in 1521 when expectations for a reform of Church and Empire were at their peak. He ceased writing in 1525, presumably after he had made appeals in his pamphlets to all levels of administration and society.

26 For a discussion of his noble "class consciousness" see Hitchcock, Knights' Revolt, p. 79.

27 See statement in letter to Jakob Köbel, printed in Helmut Bode, Hartmut von Cronberg: Reichsritter der Reformationszeit (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Waldemar Kramer, 1987), p. 162. Bode's work will hereafter be cited as Bode, Hartmut, while his modernized reprints of Hartmut's work will be cited as Hartmut in Bode.

28 Ibid., pp. 43-44.

29 Hitchcock, Knights' Revolt, p. 87.
Hartmut's adherence to the "national cause" as conceived by Hutten has been noted by several authors, but none have thoroughly explored the themes and techniques which their pamphlets have in common.\textsuperscript{30} During his visits to the Ebernburg, Hartmut would have had considerable opportunity for personal contact with Hutten. Helmut Bode suggests that Hutten probably gave Hartmut copies of his German pamphlets.\textsuperscript{31} Many of Hartmut's political views were in step with Hutten's. He, too, envisioned a reform led by the emperor and carried out in part by the nobility. A leading role in reform would fulfil the social duties of the knighthood and help reaffirm their status and importance. Reform, accomplished with force if need be, could also reassert the emperor's true position of ascendancy over the pope, so that imperial power could then "penetrate the whole world."\textsuperscript{32} The international functions of the emperor were in Hartmut's mind not at odds with his responsibilities to the German nation. Shortly after the Diet of Worms, a disappointed Hartmut renounced his service to the emperor as did Sickingen and Hutten.\textsuperscript{33} During Sickingen's attack on Trier Hartmut remained behind to protect the Ebernburg. He was forced to flee to Basel when the opposing princes besieged and confiscated his ancestral lands in the fall of 1522. After years of bitter despair, the lands were finally restored to him upon the intervention of Martin Bucer in 1541.

Prior to his exile, the focus of Hartmut's pamphlets was primarily on religious issues. Hutten characterized him as "the most innocent and pious of our order."\textsuperscript{34}

\textsuperscript{30}Ibid., p. 82; Bode, Hartmut, p. 98.

\textsuperscript{31}Bode, Hartmut, p. 97.

\textsuperscript{32}Hartmut in Bode, p. 124.

\textsuperscript{33}Holborn, Hutten, p. 171.

More so than the other knights living on the Ebernburg, Hartmut presented himself as a devoted follower of Luther. The two corresponded and Luther even edited one of Hartmut's pamphlets, making stylistic changes and adding to the simple theological arguments. After the confiscation of his lands, Hartmut's pamphlets became more than just an expression of his faith and a promotion of reform. They represent a diplomatic attempt to regain his lands, discredit his enemies and seek further support for the beleaguered knights. Hartmut met with Hutten while in exile and was allegedly encouraged by him to sharpen his tone against his opponents. The increased harshness of the later pamphlets may not be the only element appearing in part due to Hutten's influence. Hartmut's pamphlets are prime examples of contemporary propaganda techniques which will be investigated in further detail in the following three chapters.

\[35\] The tract was "To the Mendicant Orders", discussed by Eduard Kück, ed., Hartmut von Cronberg: Schriften (Halle a.S.: M. Niemeyer, 1899), p. xxvii.

\[36\] Bogler, Hartmut, p. 44.
CHAPTER TWO
THE PAMPHLETS

The new pamphlet format supplied the men whose ideas and goals have just been examined with a suitable medium through which they could try to influence others to share in their thoughts, biases and beliefs. The pamphleteers sought the widest possible distribution for their ideas, which led to a common problem: who could read their work? Hutten himself cited "ignorance of the written word" as one reason for Germany's plights.¹ Only an estimated 10-30% of townspeople could read, and the national literacy rate for the German territories was a meagre 5%.² Clearly, only a small segment of the public could peruse the pamphlets with their own eyes. The remainder could possibly be reached by the oral repetition, reading aloud, or visual representation of the material. The social composition of literate groups ranged over a wide spectrum, as did the division between readers of Latin and German. Generally, if the Latin readership consisted mainly of lawyers, humanists and other scholars, the uppermost sections of the nobility and most clerics, "it seems plausible that a distaste for Latin pedantry was shared by lay aristocrat and commoner alike... before the advent of mass literacy the most 'popular' works were those that appealed to diverse groups of readers."³ By translating their works or by writing directly in the vernacular, the pamphleteers could attract readers not


²Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk, p. 2.

reached by the Latin tongue and hope that their words would be more readily passed on among the illiterate.

In order to make their ideas as accessible and attractive as possible, the pamphleteers had to mould the form in which they wrote to suit both the new purpose and function of their work and the public they sought to reach. This chapter will examine the style and genre utilized by each writer and will consider how they were structured or modified to carry certain ideas or reach specific goals. In some cases, evidence will illustrate how the chosen language or "linguistic code" was adapted to transmit the author's message most effectively. The target audience envisaged by each author - the groups to whom he addressed his work - will be discussed, rather than the actual audience who read the work. Elizabeth Eisenstein notes that some specialists prefer to call these two groups "assumed public" and "audience." Since the target groups are most important in an evaluation of propaganda techniques, and the actual readership is almost impossible to discern, only the former and not the latter will be dealt with. Works most important in the development of each pamphleteer's propagandistic method will be outlined in terms of the above points, although others may be mentioned later in the chapters on the specific themes of character and history.

2.1 ULRICH VON HUTTEN'S GENRE AND TARGET AUDIENCE

In Hutten's endeavours to convince others to share his opinions, he utilized the theories of rhetoric, the art of persuasive speech. Robert Carleton Goodell asserts that Hutten remained so closely bound to rhetorical patterns and argumentation that "He does not achieve the distance from his material and control over it which is suggested by the word "propagandist". He is rather an impassioned

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4Term used by Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk, p. 12.

5Eisenstein, The Printing Press as an Agent of Change, p. 64.
persuader, overwhelmed by his material." This author disregards the many ways in which Hutten experimented both with traditional patterns and with his material. Rhetoric must be viewed as an important instrument in the presentation of the propaganda Hutten deliberately engineered. While the proud humanist strove to express his convictions in artful, refined fashion, his pamphlets nevertheless had one main purpose: to convince others of the justness of his cause and to mobilize them to action.

One of Hutten's most potent weapons was the device of satire, "essentially an exercise in rhetoric." Most modern scholars consider satire a literary attack in which anger is expressed in an indirect manner, as opposed to open invective. Mockery and indignation are covers for the author's convictions. Hostility, motivated by serious dissatisfaction, is usually revealed in the components of humorous irony or exaggeration, paradox between appearance and reality, and an element of criticism or suggested punishment. There is evidence to suggest that Hutten and many other Renaissance authors considered any kind of literary attack to be satire, whether or not it contained the amusing ridicule or direct abuse of a subject. T.W. Best notes that Hutten attached the term "satire" to at least one straightforward polemical tract. He often mixed elements of comical satire with forthright, openly hostile polemic. Könneker sees Hutten's shift from traditional humanist satire to more direct invective as a move from satire to propaganda. Though his later work is more direct, the propagandistic capacity of the satirical elements in his work must not be

8Ibid., pp. 9-12.
9Best, The Humanist Ulrich von Hutten, p. 32.
overlooked. Francis Walker claims that "Irony is what sets apart the satirist from the propagandist or polemicist."\textsuperscript{11} In the case of Hutten and many religious or political satirists, the line is not so easily drawn. A broader definition of satire is called for in the consideration of Hutten's pamphlets, both the purely satirical and the more hostile forms, as political propaganda. Edward and Lillian Bloom maintain that when irony and other components of satire are used as a means of fostering or negating support for certain ideas, or of showcasing competition between contending powers, they serve propagandistic objectives:

Satire is propaganda whose business it is to display those conflicting aspirations prominently and to implant its bias so as to create an appropriately partisan audience.\textsuperscript{12}

Satire plays a deliberate role in Hutten's propaganda in the formulation of hateful images of the enemy, which will be discussed in Chapter Three. It also functions as covert propaganda by providing the intimation of punishment:

...the satirist wants improvement and indeed expects that it will be brought about...but he does not anticipate a voluntary change in conduct on the part of the satirized person. Rather he hopes and expects that his readers by a concerted effort will either force the offender to change his ways or destroy him.\textsuperscript{13}

Along with this kind of indirect incitement to action, Hutten's talents as a rhetorician aided him in openly exhorting the public to follow his advice and join in his campaign: the most important step in the process of propaganda.

In order to find the genre best suited to publicizing his views, Hutten experimented with several literary forms as his reform ideas developed. He honed his rhetorical skills in early, long-winded panegyric works written to laud certain

\textsuperscript{11}Walker, \textit{Rhetorical and Satirical Elements}, p. 13.


patrons by honoring their virtue and accomplishment. His first more critical commentaries were housed in a series of epigrams, poems with a brisk, lively meter suitable for conveying his sharp wit and sarcasm. When Hutten turned to publishing his work in pamphlet format he began to use satirical and polemical dialogues and open letters in prose or verse. Each of these pamphlet genres will be discussed in turn, but it must be noted that Hutten often combined elements of several genres in any given work or grouped literary types together for contrast and effect.

While studying in Italy, Hutten came across a genre well-suited to his bellicose temperament and propagandistic goals. The ancient dialogues of Lucian which Hutten sampled in Greek and in numerous Latin translations provided him with the ideal model for brief, conversational creations in which satire is used as a didactic tool with which to reprimand and instruct society. In Lucian, Hutten found a moralist who criticized the evil of his day by mocking the vices of the philosophers in a refined literary style. While in Lucian's dialogues the gods or the dead discuss issues in the mythical setting of the past, Hutten often introduces contemporary social problems or events in order to express his political views and goals. Honemann considers this a misuse of Lucian's patterns.\(^{14}\) It seems rather to be a clever propagandist's opportune employment of the model to publicize his program and make concrete attacks on present-day enemies. With the first printing of the Latin version of the dialogue *Fever I* in 1519, a year before the appearance of any other polemical dialogue, Hutten founded the use of the genre for reform purposes. Hutten's *Gesprächbüchlein*, published in German in January 1521 headed a succession of dialogues in German, so popularizing the form that it "became the primary

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\(^{14}\)Honemann, "Der Deutsche Lukian," p. 50.
propaganda weapon of the reformers."\textsuperscript{15} From 1520 to 1550 around 150 dialogues appeared that dealt with the topic of reform.\textsuperscript{16}

Hutten and the pamphleteers who followed his lead undoubtedly recognized the genre's advantages in presenting views at a time of contrasting opinions. Dialogues could be dramatic, humorous and above all entertaining, just the ticket to interest the public in current issues and debates. As propaganda, they contained many potentially effective elements of persuasion. Dialogues could demonstrate ideas in a seemingly objective way by introducing two or more characters who discuss their views freely, but in fact lead to a convincing step-by-step exposé of the author's opinion, leaving the audience with no logical choice but to agree with the author. In some cases, unchallenged information presented as the truth is simply passed on from one speaker to another, while in other cases two opposing figures are depicted attacking one another in a \textit{Gegnergespräch} or "dialogue between opponents."\textsuperscript{17} This may allow the two to discuss their respective beliefs or proposals so that the superior character, who of course represents or even depicts the author, disposes of his inferior's ideas point by point and ends the conflict in triumph. This has been termed a \textit{Streitgespräch}, a "debate" or "argumentative dialogue."\textsuperscript{18} In close

\textsuperscript{15}Bernstein, \textit{German Humanism}, p. 122. There is long-standing consensus among scholars, including Balzer, Walker, Könneker and Ridé, that Hutten introduced the dialogue to polemical literature and contributed to its popularity. See also Kreutz, \textit{Die Deutschen und Ulrich von Hutten}, p. 104 and p. 205. Honemann argues that the dependance of later pamphleteers on Hutten has not been demonstrated, but he neither proves nor mentions any other possibilities, "Der Deutsche Lukian," p. 54. Based on chronology and on Hutten's contemporary renown, Hutten's influence seems plausible.


\textsuperscript{17}Balzer, \textit{Bürgerliche Reformationspropaganda}, p. 104.

\textsuperscript{18}Ibid., p. 105. Balzer notes a possible precedent for these debates in medieval poems called \textit{Streitgedichte}, p. 106.
conjunction with these models, the author chooses a cast, which may include contemporary political figures, stereotypes of specific social groups or the author himself. Words, actions, characteristics and attitudes may be accorded to the speakers in ways that aid the author's intentions.

A brief survey of the characters and methods of instruction developed in Hutten's first dialogues will reveal his focus on contemporary issues. The shrewd presentation of his program through the use of satire, polemic and incitement to action will be demonstrated. The first two dialogues with reform themes, *Fever I* and its sequel, *Fever II*, both written in 1519, involve Hutten himself in a lively discussion with Fever, the personified symptom of his illness, syphilis. Hutten insists that his unwanted guest find some more desirable home and suggests several rich and supposedly more pampered characters, such as the wealthy Augsburg banking family, the Fuggers, and various Church representatives. Hutten finally sends Fever off to plague a canon, from whom it returns in the second dialogue to report on the luxurious and debauched life of the clergy. These depictions and their propagandistic significance will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3. While *Fever I* concentrates on mocking Hutten's enemies, *Fever II* begins in similar fashion but moves toward more direct polemic and more clearly stated goals. Clerical abuses are not only satirized, but a solution is offered: to bring the Empire into a better state, justice must be done to the priests. The emperor must lead the princes in taking the money from the clergy and forcing them to turn from their evil lives to concern themselves only with spiritual matters. In light of the author's portrayal of the clergy, punishment seems the only logical and acceptable action to be taken.

A third dialogue exposes Hutten's motives in an even more direct way. Roman

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Trinity expresses Hutten's desires for a centralized reform of the Church with the sharpest invective of any of his works. With his friend, Ernholt, Hutten discusses the experiences and observations of an acquaintance, Vadiscus, who has just returned from Rome. Vadiscus presents the activities, sins and abuses he found there in groups of three; for example: "Three things are held highly in Rome: The authority and reputation of the pope, relics, and the sale of indulgences." The tireless repetition of the triadic form serves to clearly identify each point of criticism and allows the characters to discuss the content of the triads in more detail to drive their message home. Studies suggest that the majority of these triads were composed by Hutten's friend Crotus Rubeanus, and that Hutten built this vehement dialogue around their framework. Walker complains that "the triads reflect little originality on Hutten's part" and ignores his ingenuity in employing them. Likewise, Bernstein overlooks the didactic purpose of the triads and argues that, due to the long inventory of observations repeated in triadic form, "viewed as a work of art it [the dialogue] must be considered a failure." This is one example of a misinterpretation which results from the neglect of a pamphlet's function as propaganda.

The proposal for action in Roman Trinity is the climactic end to a systematic and exhaustive reiteration of the long-standing grievances of the German nation against Rome. Ernholt - and the author hopes, every other German reader - is left in total agreement with Hutten, convinced that the Germans have been lied to and robbed, and agitated to the point that he cries:

21Ibid., I:72. These triads contrast with the legitimate Trinity the Church should have upheld, hence the name of the dialogue.

22Walker, Rhetorical and Satirical Elements, p. 145.

23Bernstein, German Humanism, p. 124.
Do the Germans not seek weapons? Do they not use iron and flames...against the robbers of this nation?...Or who is so patient that these things do not move him?  

Violent punishment is suggested here and throughout the dialogue. Hutten again expresses his hope that the Emperor Charles V will break the power of Rome and emancipate the Germans. This dialogue not only publicizes grievances and attacks perceived enemies but demonstrates an attempt to place specific action in the minds of the reader. Walker argues that the latter passages reveal a direct call for action and thus "can no longer be called satire but must bear the labels of polemic and propaganda." The division is not this clear. The entire dialogue mixes didactic, satirical and polemical components, with an overall propagandistic aim.

In *The Onlookers* (1520) Hutten himself is not present in the role of a speaker discussing the issues directly. Instead, the two "onlookers" are the Sun-god Sol and his young boy Phaeton who ride across the heavens in their chariot and discuss with bitter irony the follies of the men they observe below. The model is pulled directly from the discourse between the Greek gods in Lucian's works, but Hutten breaks away from the antique example by having the gods comment on the events unfolding at the Reichstag in Augsburg in 1518 and then on the social situation in Germany. This allows him to present both his anti-Italian and class biases in a formulation of national characters which will be examined in Chapter Three. Following this long commentary is an argument between Cajetan and the gods, an example of Gegnergespräch in which adversaries hurl insults at one another. Phaeton finally expresses Hutten's fondest desires for a national uprising against the papacy and its agents in Germany. The call to action is slightly veiled by the humor of the situation and the persona of the speakers, but is nevertheless an obvious attempt


to motivate the Germans to free their homeland.

These four dialogues were grouped together and published first in Latin in 1520, followed a year later by the German translation, the Gesprächbüchlein. Könneker insists that despite its translation, the intentions expressed in it were too obscured by humanist satire to directly serve as propaganda in aid of Hutten's more brutal and clear goals for a Pfaffenkrieg by the time the booklet was published. She maintains that several of Hutten's later writings contain stronger, more direct formulations of his program and are more effective as propaganda.26 These include the Klagsschriften published in German before the completed translation of the Gesprächbüchlein, and the later dialogues, the Novi dialogi, composed on Sickingen's Ebernburg fortress from late 1520 on. It must be emphasized that Hutten was experimenting to gradually find the most persuasive techniques. He must have considered these four dialogues helpful to his cause, or he would not have bothered to translate them into German. Nevertheless, he realized that they needed some adaptation to carry his message more forcefully. The translation, carried out in part by Hutten and in part by friends under his close supervision,27 was only part of a bid to broaden the possible impact of these dialogues. A comparison of the Latin and German versions of the Gesprächbüchlein illustrates other efforts to improve the propagandistic potential of the original dialogues and widen the audience.

26Könneker, "Vom Poeta Laureatus," p. 303. See also Könneker, Die Deutsche Literatur der Reformationszeit: Kommentar zu einer Epoche (Munich: Winkler Verlag, 1975), p. 96. In a later article, however, she contradicts herself by pointing out that certain images in The Onlookers may have had a dangerous influence on the Knights' Revolt. This will be discussed in Chapter Three.

27Mettke, ed., Hutten: Schriften, p. LVII. Honemann contends that since the German version was published only twice and the Latin version three times, the pamphlet was more popular in Latin, "Der Deutsche Lukian," p. 53. Hutten's enemies could also have been reading the Latin editions, and in any case Scribner maintains that the effectiveness of propaganda cannot be measured in the numbers of editions, For the Sake of Simple Folk, p. 9.
Though these four dialogues were originally written for readers of Latin who could appreciate the aesthetics of humanist satire, several attempts were made in the German version to spell out the purpose and meaning more clearly to a less sophisticated, non-humanist audience. Explanations were added to clarify difficult mythical allusions; for example the characters of Sol and Phaeton are briefly introduced. In other places, repetitions are removed to sharpen the criticism to one focus point, and words alluding to mythical elements are omitted. At the end of the Roman Trinity in a poem addressed to the reader, the main points of the dialogue are summed up, such as "Papal Thievery" and "Robbery of the German Lands". The didactic phrase "Here you see..." is repeated in front of each main point in order to make the content perfectly clear to the reader. Alongside the summary and throughout many of the dialogues, these central concepts are often reduced to catch-phrases, printed at the edge of the text for easy reference. This summary and a short introductory poem addressed "To the reader" are rendered in a popular contemporary German verse form, Knittelvers. This is an easily absorbed form with a direct, clipped rhythm that could be heavily laden with simplified meaning. Because poetry is easy to remember and repeat, it was undoubtedly more accessible to a public of varying literacy than prose. Hutten also reduced some of his main ideas to slogans, such as "We shall overcome," "Long live liberty" and "Jacta est alea": the die is cast, rendered in German as the famous "Ich hab's gewagt!"


29 Hutten, Schriften, I:146.

slogans could be connected with the thrust of Hutten's position, readily recalled and passed on.

The linguistic code of the dialogues was also transformed in some cases to better communicate the message to a new audience. In order to speak to his countrymen in words that were familiar and therefore more readily trusted than a pretentious sounding, literal translation of the classical Latin would have been, Hutten concentrated on conveying the sense of the original dialogue in a colloquial style. Interjections, figures of speech, German proverbs, crudities and slang terms were added.  

Citations from classical authors such as Ovid appear in Knittelvers, as the humanist in Hutten sought to popularize ancient wisdom by presenting it in a well-known, comfortable form. The audience could share in classical literature without becoming frustrated. In the religious sphere, however, Christian references such as "God help us!" replace the classical "O Jupiter" to appeal to a monotheistic public with little knowledge of Roman deities.  

By doubling synonyms and adjectives, or by changing the phraseology or syntax of a sentence, Hutten sought to amplify certain points, making them more negative or more positive. Most of these changes deal with the vices or activities of Church representatives and enhance the vehemence and forcefulness of the dialogues. Abusive diction aimed at one or more of the enemies identified by Hutten tends to repeat words such as deceit, force, robbery, evil, greed and other equally harsh and derogatory terms. In the Roman Trinity alone these terms appear anywhere from 20 to 45 times.  

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31 Walker, Rhetorical and Satirical Elements, p. 70; Kuhlmann, Untersuchungen, p. 100.

32 Kuhlmann, ibid., p. 164 and p. 158.

33 Walker, Rhetorical and Satirical Elements, p. 66.

34 Ibid., p. 170.
violence in the translated version serves to focus on Hutten's central idea of the need to discipline the wayward clergy with force if need be. Even if the Pfaffenkrieg is not named, it is certainly suggested.

The title page of the German pamphlet (Fig. 1) is an emphatic confirmation that Hutten fully intended to connect the contents of the Gesprächbüchlein to current events and to developments in his program. It also exhibits an effort to make the textual hints for a brutal anticlerical war obvious even to elements of the public who could not read. Even though it is not mentioned in the dialogues, Luther's cause is associated with that of Hutten, for both are depicted here, Luther as the man of the Word holding a Bible and Hutten as the man of action dressed in full armour. God is on their side, aiming his spear at the pope who is huddled in panic with a group of clergymen who cower before the extended lances of a throng of mounted knights and foot-soldiers. For the majority of the common people who were heavily dependent on oral communication accompanied by visual aids, this woodcut must have been a powerful image.

By the fall of 1520, Hutten clearly planned for his propaganda to reach as many eyes and ears in the German-speaking lands of the Empire as possible. Some clues can be found as to his specific target groups throughout his publications of this period, the remainder of which must also be discussed in terms of their focus, genre and technique of presentation.

Hutten's first work written directly in German was printed in September 1520 and carried the full inscription:

A Remonstrance and Warning against the presumptuous and unchristian Power of the Bishops of Rome and the unspiritual spiritual Estate by Ulrich von Hutten, Poet and Orator of all Christendom, to describe in

35Discussed by several authors: Walker, ibid., p. 59; Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk, p. 35; Könneker, "Das Huttenbild in der Flugschriftenliteratur der frühen Reformationszeit," in Laub, Hutten, p. 271.
rhyme the common burdens and his own difficulties for the good and utility of the Fatherland, the German Nation.\textsuperscript{36}

It is a rhymed letter which restates the national grievances expressed in the Roman Trinity with passion and urgency, but adds Hutten's personal complaint that he has been placed under Church bans for speaking what he considers to be the truth. The verse form is again the popular Knittelvers, used intentionally to make the content easier for the audience to recall and recite. This was very likely the result; two folk-songs written in 1521 echo phrases from Hutten's political poems.\textsuperscript{37} By reiterating much of the material expressed in the Gesprächbütchlein in a forceful, direct and more compact way, the Remonstrance was a strategic complement to the translated dialogues which soon appeared in print.

In the Remonstrance, the intent to broaden the target audience is clearly stated. Hutten explains that while he previously wrote in Latin, it could not be understood by everyone, and for this reason he now cries "to the Fatherland, to the German Nation in its tongue" in order to bring issues to light.\textsuperscript{38} In the role of the speaker, Hutten backs his exhortation with his private opinion and experience, including an eyewitness account of an ostentatious Roman procession. Alternating with these accusations, he displays authoritative expertise in offering proposals, such as his identification of Charles V as Germany's salvation.\textsuperscript{39} He stresses that the hardships imposed by the Church concern all Germans, naming particularly the

\textsuperscript{36}Hutten, Schriften, II:35.


\textsuperscript{38}Hutten, Schriften, II:44. Labels and appeals to the "nation" will be discussed in Chapter Three.

\textsuperscript{39}Melin discusses Hutten's changing roles in this pamphlet, "Propaganda and Poetry," pp. 55-54.
suffering of the common people, the nobility and urban dwellers. He appeals not only to the emperor, the princes, dukes, and knights, but to "all pious Germans...and all who have courage" to make use of horses, armour and swords to punish the evil priests, drive out superstition, and bring in the truth. 40

Targeted groups are also apparent when Hutten addresses his writings to certain people. In his introductions to parts of the *Gesprächbüchlein* he addresses fellow nobles including his brother-in-law Sebastian von Rotenhan and Franz von Sickingen. The *Klagschriften* written in eloquent, straightforward letter form in September, 1520, were addressed to Charles V, Albrecht of Brandenburg, Friedrich the Wise of Saxony and again to Sebastian von Rotenhan. The letters repeat and re-emphasize complaints made earlier. Hutten tries to justify himself as a self-sacrificing defender of the truth, rather than a rabble-rouser. This is an effort to play by the rules and "sell" his program to powerful men and to trustworthy class and family members. In a paragraph introducing the letters, the translator points out to all "pious Germans" that with these letters Hutten is awakening "the great heads, emperor, princes and nobility" to come to their aid in recovering their long-lost freedom. 41 Though the political rulers of the nation are looked to for leadership and unity, the "common good" is stressed throughout the letters. This concept comes from an old Germanic term which relates to undertakings from which the whole community shared the proceeds. 42 In Hutten's work it takes on a national connotation, implying that all classes of the whole nation will benefit. Another

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41 Ibid., II:83.

Klagschrift published separately but also written in the fall of 1520 addresses "all estates of the German nation...princes, lords, noblemen, urban dwellers and commoners, whatever class or type they are." It presents Hutten's cause as that of all Germans and requests their aid and protection of him in the interest of the entire nation.

In the four dialogues included in the *Novi dialogi* a noticeable realignment of purpose and target group is apparent. The role of the knights and their leader Franz von Sickingen comes to the fore, suggesting that Hutten still not only needed to convince his compatriots of their part in the scheme and its possibility for success, but that he had to justify the whole program to other segments of his intended audience. Importantly, these works exhibit Hutten's improving skill in developing the propagandistic potential of the dialogue form to its full capacity. Though they were never published in German, Hutten probably intended to translate them too, but was too preoccupied with the proceedings of the Diet of Worms to accomplish this before the tumult of the Knights' Revolt. Even in their Latin form these dialogues could have been studied by other pamphleteers, and therefore the developments achieved in them are very important. Instead of relying on satire and polemic as seen in the *Gesprächbüchlein*, Hutten used more dramatic methods of agitation. The dialogues appear to have been thought out and carefully arranged to unfold a calculated program for action, in which the first dialogue functions as an exciting, stage-setting preview. The Bull or Bullkiller pits a personification of German Freedom in a suspenseful battle against the personified Papal Bull which


threatened both Hutten and Luther. The images created are so vigorous that the reader easily forgets that the opponents in this hostile \textit{Gegnergespräch} are merely symbolic figures. Hutten himself springs valiantly into view to answer Freedom's cry for help, followed by Sickingen who bids all "German princes and men" to listen to him, for the time is ripe to attain freedom.\footnote{From German translation by David Friedrich Strauss, \textit{Gespräche von Ulrich von Hutten} (Leipzig: F.U. Brockhaus, 1860), p. 260. Hereafter cited as Hutten, \textit{Gespräche}.} Luckily the Bull, which is only an over-inflated bubble (a Latin pun: bulla means bull and bubble), bursts, emitting all manner of vice and indulgences. Hutten concludes that the Germans must take care that all courtesans are likewise exterminated.\footnote{Ibid., p. 264.} The triumph of good over evil is symbolically demonstrated.

In \textit{Monitor I} and its follow-up, \textit{Monitor II}, questions are discussed which no doubt occupied the minds of the men surrounding Hutten on the Ebernburg. What kind of action should be taken, who would take part in it, and who would lead it? Sickingen, not Luther, is recommended as the leader of the Reformation. In each dialogue, Hutten sets up a \textit{Streitgespräch} in which one party attempts to sway a second to support his reform program. Luther tries unsuccessfully to persuade a sceptic that, simply through his teachings the state of affairs will be rectified. He speaks only of Church reform. In contrast, Sickingen succeeds in convincing a similar sceptic of the urgent necessity for a forceful crusade against the clergy in the interest of all Germans and the freedom of the Fatherland. Based on information presented in these dialogues, the public can only reasonably conclude that Church reform is not enough; Sickingen must be backed. At the very end of the dialogue Sickingen addresses the emperor and relates the strategy for a national movement for political and religious freedom in the Bohemian model, with himself in Ziska's
position. The knights hoped that by demonstrating their desire and will to carry out the *Pfaffenkrieg* they could still persuade the emperor to condone and support the move.

The final dialogue in this collection, *The Robbers*, is Hutten's "propagandistic masterpiece." In this combination of a violent *Gegnergespräch* and refined *Streitgespräch*, a merchant is influenced first by Hutten's threatening stance and then by the skilful argument he and Franz von Sickingen make on behalf of the knights. Together they demonstrate that not all knights are robbers, and not all robbers are knights. In ascending order of destructiveness, they describe four main categories of robbers in Germany. The most harmless is the impoverished petty noble, driven by social pressure to become a street robber. Merchants, lawyers and ultimately Church representatives are identified as far more detrimental. The merchant finally agrees that the cities should abandon their sordid enterprises and band with the knights to expel or punish their common enemies. He exclaims "How much good will come to our Germany, how strong and blooming it will be, when this succeeds!" While similar reasoning is offered in German letters Hutten published in the same period which address specific cities more directly, this dialogue by far presents the planned campaign in the most flattering, persuasive light. It is aimed to convince knights and urban-dwellers alike of the just motives, crucial necessity and powerful potential of their proposed union.

This sketch of Hutten's gradual mastery of propaganda technique has

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concentrated on his use of carefully chosen literary forms and their adaptation to suit his intended audience. While he developed the dialogue into his most powerful vehicle for propaganda, the use of open letters in prose and verse complemented and repeated the main thrust of the dialogues. It remains to be seen what effect Hutten's skilful presentation of these methods may have had on his contemporary pamphleteers.

2.2 EBERLIN VON GÜNZBURG'S GENRE AND AUDIENCE

In his own right, Eberlin has earned praise for being "next to Luther the most impressive, eloquent and vivid popular author of the early Reformation period."\(^{51}\) Certainly not all of his methods can be attributed to Hutten's influence, for Eberlin was also inspired by other authors such as Erasmus, Luther and Melanchthon, and made his own unique contributions to pamphlet literature. Nevertheless, some of his pamphlets exhibit not only the nationalist thought, but also the techniques typical of Hutten's work. This section will point out similarities between the two men's methods concerning the adaptation of the genre to purpose and audience. It will refer to differences where necessary to give a sense of Eberlin's own style and program exposure. A complete, in-depth assessment of all of Eberlin's pamphlets is not called for; only those in which national themes are most evident will be highlighted.

As a preacher, Eberlin was conscious of the power of language for the purpose of argumentation and agitation. He takes a special position next to Luther as a language theoretician for his conscious attempt to set down the foundation for a

normative use of the language.\textsuperscript{52} Eberlin speaks to the people in the comfortable southern vernacular of his home territory with a style modified to be easily understood. His agitation is not based on the severity and forcefulness often apparent in other popular pamphlets, but on level-headed, philological arguments.\textsuperscript{53} While some of his pamphlets are in the form of spontaneously improvised, printed sermons, carefully planned rhetorical, satirical and didactic elements are also evident. Eberlin cited authors such as Cicero and Quintilian, stating that rhetoric was a useful tool in passing on God's Word.\textsuperscript{54} He also perceived satire as an effective method of instruction and included excerpts in two of his pamphlets dealing with the cult of the saints and other religious abuses from Erasmus' satire \textit{Praise of Folly}. Like Hutten, Eberlin spiced his work with satirical ingredients, rhetorical appeals to the emotions and instructive aids, some of which will be indicated in the discussions of his work here and in the following chapters.

The majority of Eberlin's pamphlets were written as letters in prose, sometimes addressing or exhorting certain groups to action, and in other instances attacking or warning wrongdoers and setting out guidelines for proper behaviour. Unlike Hutten, Eberlin often published his pamphlets anonymously, except for his more theology-based works, such as those written after his first stay in Wittenberg which concern such topics as clerical celibacy and the misuse of "Christian Freedom."\textsuperscript{55} Though he is sometimes mentioned in his works, he rarely appears as a speaker or letter author. Instead, he attempts to place his words in the mouths of the German people in order to represent their needs and attitudes and give his ideas the

\textsuperscript{52}Weidhase, \textit{Kunst und Sprache}, p. 224.

\textsuperscript{53}Ibid., p. 238.

\textsuperscript{54}Eberlin, \textit{Schriften}, III:204.

\textsuperscript{55}Ibid., II:22 and II:40.
appearance of popular sanction. Thus his work seems to be "a critical report from the mouth of the laity", undoubtedly a shrewd tactical move.

Eberlin's first and most well-known publication is the *Fifteen Confederates*, a collection of fifteen short pamphlets which appeared in the fall of 1521, but was probably begun earlier, closer to the Diet of Worms. Each pamphlet speaks as a separate "confederate", which joins the others in an alliance "sworn together for the good of the German nation...to expose the common injuries borne by us all for so long" and to symbolize the unified effort needed to relieve all Christian Germans from the burdens imposed on them. The instructive nature of the pamphlets is underscored in an attached woodcut which depicts the confederates in human form at the podium of an advisory meeting. Behind them a group of men and women wait under the inscription "Help and advise us in our need", answered by the confederates with "We give you advice by God." Both God and the people are portrayed as supporters of the ideas presented in order to add to their legitimacy and appeal.

The organization of the *Fifteen Confederates* suggests meticulous planning by the author. Weidhase sees the ordering of the pamphlets as part of a structure laid out to build up and ease tensions by alternating between negative accusations and positive instruction. Some of the confederates introduce several general themes while others deal specifically with single problems. For example, the "Third

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56Adamcyk, *Die Flugschriften*, p. 16. Rupprich notes that many pamphleteers used similar ploys, attempting to pass themselves off as craftsmen or peasants in hopes of attracting the lower classes, *Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur*, p. 111.


Confederate" pleads with parents not to place their daughters in monasteries and the seventh assaults clerics by satirically praising their practices. The tenth and eleventh delineate more broadly the suggestions for new spiritual and worldly statutes brought from the utopian land of Wolfaria by the character Psitacus. A sixteenth pamphlet was added in 1524 to summarize the themes of the previous fifteen and articulate them in a more clearly Lutheran context. Judging from the vehemence of its Catholic critics, including Thomas Murner, the work must have achieved some popularity.

In certain "Confederates", national themes are particularly strong. Evidence in the "First Confederate" suggests that Eberlin was familiar with Hutten's Klagschrift written as an open appeal to the emperor. Here Eberlin speaks on behalf of the entire nation, first making a case for the obedience and worthiness of the emperor's German subjects and reminding Charles V of his duty to protect them. Then he praises the actions of both Luther and Hutten and contrasts them with the activities of papal courtesans and certain monastic orders. This will be discussed fully in Chapter Three. A list of recommendations for action is proposed, including the expulsion of all monks and cardinals from Germany and the destruction of the Fuggers. The final call is for the emperor to strengthen the Germans, so that they may serve him in moving against Rome and making all Italy submissive.

The use of the German language for reform purposes is the subject of the "Eighth Confederate". The title page sums up what is revealed in the pamphlet:

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60 His name is both a pun on the latin word for "parrot" and on the name of Eberlin's cousin, Huldrich Sittich, Könneker, Kommentar, p. 111.

61 Adamcyk discusses their accusations, Die Flugschriften, p. 51.

62 Noted by J. Werner, Eberlin, p. 12.

63 Eberlin, Schriften, I:13.
"Why Erasmus of Rotterdam is translated to the German language, Why Doctor Luther and Sir Ulrich von Hutten write German, How useful and necessary it is that such things reach the common man." An account of the long-standing historical foundation of present-day grievances is coupled with attacks on the evil character and detrimental effect of courtesans and friars in Germany. It is hardly a coincidence that these arguments, backed by historical examples and national characteristics which will be examined in the following chapters, are most clearly developed in the pamphlets containing specific references to Hutten. Where Hutten's program is defended, his own methods serve in his defense by a perceptive fellow propagandist.

National concerns are also expressed in a later pamphlet, the only one of Eberlin's which, in the form of a satirical dialogue commenting on public affairs, follows the trend begun by Hutten for the use of the genre. Satire is revealed in the title, *It's surprising that there's no money in the land* (1524), for the discussion which takes place emphasizes the overwhelmingly obvious reasons for Germany's perceived poverty and weakness. The dialogue focuses on political and social issues rather than theological problems. The characters are three travellers who range from simple-headed to calm to aggressive, with names that suggest they might represent people met by Eberlin on his journeys through Germany, and they discuss him by name. By having typical, everyday German characters mention his wise preaching, rather than openly speaking for himself, Eberlin once more seeks followers by presenting himself as supported by the people. The humorous, often dramatic conversation is led and ultimately "recorded" for distribution by the wise and jovial Psitacus depicted in the *Confederates*. Like Hutten's *Roman Trinity*, the dialogue appears to be a simple, objective exposition of various opinions and observations.

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\(^{64}\text{Ibid.}, I:80.\)
It is not presented as a representation of the views of its author, though Psitacus commends the speakers' astute remarks and sometimes corrects extreme positions or warns against false teachers. In fact, the pamphlet cleverly sets out Eberlin's opinions, restating many expressed in earlier pamphlets. It exposes in descending order of destructiveness the perceived threats to the welfare of the German nation, pointing to the groups disparaged in similar fashion in Hutten's *Robbers*. This will be explained in Chapter Three in more detail. The dialogue culminates in the realization that the Germans are fools for not having noticed how far the financial exploitation has progressed. The urgent state of emergency conjured by Eberlin is meant to open readers' eyes, so that "all good fellows" may learn and "decide for themselves." In reality, they would logically choose to follow the one-sided advice so eloquently presented to them.

The author's effort to make his pamphlets easily understood by the general public is clear in several aspects. Didactic phrases such as "take note" or "you see" often point to main ideas. Following detailed discussions of points, Eberlin provides brief summaries or even step-by-step instructions to be followed. The closings of certain pamphlets are, like many of Hutten's, intensified by the addition of short rhymes or slogans. These include "I hope and wait" and "Onward with freedom." The characters of the dialogue are introduced along with a summary of their main arguments, repeated again in headings before each speaker starts in on his topic. The use of popular proverbs to emphasize or illustrate points gears his works toward a wide audience. At least one of Eberlin's pamphlets, the final 1524

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67 See for example *ibid.*, I:43 and I:199.

The Fifteen Confederates appeared in a Low-German translation\(^{69}\) to reach a previously ignored segment of the population and widen the potential audience.

The target audience suggested by Eberlin's works varies according to the role of each pamphlet. While they were published for general distribution, many of the pamphlets address specific groups in order to admonish, warn or attack them. When exhorting the emperor to lead the reform, Eberlin takes the position of the complainant and uses a polite, official style. When prodding parts of his audience, such as parents, to follow his advice, he is gentle but firm. When directing his vehemence toward groups such as the friars, he resorts to more crude invective.\(^{70}\)

The "Fifth Confederate" echoes both Hutten's and Luther's admonishment of the authorities in the country and in cities to put their strengths toward the reform of the priests. Throughout other pamphlets Eberlin, like Hutten, stresses the need for "all estates of the German nation" to take part in reform.\(^{71}\)

Hutten's stress on working towards the "common good" finds emphasis in Eberlin's work as well, with the added strong connotation of Christian brotherly love.\(^{72}\) Eberlin also makes practical suggestions for the welfare of the nation, such as the establishment of orphanages and hospitals in present monasteries. He warns the emperor that the distress of all classes requires urgent attention:

> Our needs are so great that we will have to go further than mere complaints if conditions do not change for the better...we fifteen confederates have experienced these restless complaints among princes, nobles, city-dwellers and peasants, and dare with all our power to

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\(^{69}\)Enders, Eberlin: Schriften, p. vi.

\(^{70}\)Differing styles noted by Könneker, Kommentar, p. 110.

\(^{71}\)Eberlin, Schriften, III:125.

\(^{72}\)Adamcyk, Die Flugschriften, p. 42.
report such evils to you.\textsuperscript{73}

Clearly, Johann Eberlin von Günzburg was a talented pamphleteer, capable of adjusting his writings to a variety of propagandistic purposes and addressing disparate segments of his assumed audience. While his choice of genre and many of his basic techniques bear similarities to Hutten's, the most telling evidence of his adoption of Hutten's themes and methods will be explored in the ensuing chapters.

2.3 HARTMUT VON CRONBERG'S GENRE AND AUDIENCE

Hartmut von Cronberg's chosen genre was one familiar to him through his experience at the Palatine court. In the manner of both Hutten and Eberlin, he expressed himself in letters written in a formal manner with prescribed salutations and closings. His use of customary formulas and dignified language are influences of chancellery style.\textsuperscript{74} The letters are repetitive and unorganized, with little original thought or dogmatic content. The later pamphlets show improvements in logic and precision and are richer and livelier.\textsuperscript{75} Hartmut's pamphlets are indeed "eloquent manifestations of his spiritual convictions,"\textsuperscript{76} which display his devotion with passion and urgency. His primary concern was that the evangelical truth "should be set down clearly in good German."\textsuperscript{77} Simple themes, such as the metaphor of darkness and light and the fountain of Christ, are used repeatedly to put the evangelical teachings in easily discernible form. Despite the stress on religious issues, other concerns are evident. Hartmut's emphasis on the duty of the nobility to lead in reform, coupled with the target audiences chosen indicate a double

\textsuperscript{73}Eberlin, \textit{Schriften}, I:10-11.

\textsuperscript{74}Kück, \textit{Hartmut: Schriften}, p. xi.

\textsuperscript{75}Noted also by Bogler, \textit{Hartmut}, p. 26.

\textsuperscript{76}F. Ulmann, cited by Hitchcock, \textit{Knights' Revolt}, p. 87.

\textsuperscript{77}Hartmut in Bode, p. 234.
purpose for his propaganda. It was intended not only to spread the evangelical faith, but to drum up support for the actions of those already in favour of it.

A look at Hartmut's target audience, both stated and implied, will help to clarify his purpose. With good reason Hitchcock refutes Bogler's claim that Hartmut appealed to "the most important political elements in the empire" in a strategic, planned move to campaign from one level to the next.\footnote{Bogler, \textit{Hartmut}, p. 42.} He addressed a variety of groups in and outside of the empire in both high and low positions, in an haphazard, emotional way which "followed no prearranged schedule."\footnote{Hitchcock, \textit{Knights' Revolt}, p. 87.} Nevertheless, this shows Hartmut's concerted endeavour to further his cause using every possible avenue. Certainly the powers are addressed, beginning with an appeal to the Emperor Charles V, and later the Archduke Ferdinand, the Council of Regency, the Diet of 1522-1523, and even the city councils of Strasbourg and Frankfurt. For outside help Hartmut petitioned the Bohemians and the Swiss confederates. He faced the established Church head-on in letters to Pope Leo X, Pope Adrian VI and the Mendicant orders, demanding that they become true Christians and abandon their worldly powers and goods. He fulfilled his noble obligation by instructing his own charges, the people of the town of Cronberg, in a manual of the true faith. Like Hutten, Hartmut backed his specific missives with more general appeals, saying "I want to speak to the land of Germany."\footnote{Answer to Luther's Missive, Hartmut in Bode, p. 188.} Two pamphlets call on all estates of the empire, "each and every estate, high and low" including "princes, counts, knights and cities of the German nation" to pay heed to his warnings for the sake of the common good.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p. 274 and 295.} Finally, Hartmut addressed members of his own estate, as did
Hutten. These include Walter von Cronberg, a highly potential supporter due to his close family ties, and Sickingen, who hardly needed the practical encouragement Hartmut supplied him. By publishing his letters for general distribution, Hartmut automatically changed them from direct, personal appeals to a single entity or group. They became examples of the religious motivations and correct intentions of the knights, regardless of whether they were written before or after the attack on Trier. Through publication, these examples were held out for all to see, in order to explain and justify the need for a military crusade against the clerics.

The strategy of Hartmut's writings varies depending on who they are addressed to. At times he is politely requesting, at others demanding that the truth be obeyed and justice served. In numerous letters, Hartmut expresses his adherence to Hutten's plan for an all-out war against the worldliness of the spiritual estate. He argues that, if the pope will not give in, the emperor should take away the possessions of the spiritual princes, monasteries and priests with the use of the sword, and warns that the time has come for justice. There is no need to enumerate the details of each pamphlet's contents. The most important in terms of the possible manipulation of national sentiment are those in which the position of the nobility is defended, clerics are attacked or the basis of the pope's temporal power is undermined. Examples of such argumentation, which are interspersed throughout several of the letters, will be examined within their context in the coming chapters.

It is sufficient to say that Hartmut's letters are brief and rudimentary, yet purposeful samples of one noble's compelling urge to defend his faith and its allies by pamphleteering. Hartmut's letters are proof that not every pamphleteer could attain the refined style of Ulrich von Hutten, even if he adapted his genre in similar fashion to meet propagandistic objectives.

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82Supported by Bogler, Hartmut, p. 43.
CHAPTER THREE
"WE" & "THEY": IMAGES OF NATIONAL CHARACTER

In order to influence an audience to think and act in a certain way, the pamphleteers attempted to arouse hostility and direct it against their adversaries, as well as present their own ideas as the only feasible solution to current problems. By setting up an opposition between two extreme points of view, the pamphleteers were in modern terms seeking to polarize the field of public opinion. Despite the non-continuous flow of information and the hindrance of a completely free exchange of opinions, "public opinion" did exist in a narrow sense. By surveying the techniques each pamphleteer utilized to accomplish this polarization of the field of opinion, some questions may be answered regarding the manipulation of national sentiment through the production of propaganda. How did the pamphleteers identify, label and describe their enemies? How did they attempt to discredit them and raise resentment and anger? What existing ideals, apprehensions and grievances did they exploit? How did they seek to create a particular sense of allegiance and responsibility to call their audience to action? Hutten’s development of a concept of national character will be explored and compared with the ideas apparent in the work of his fellow pamphleteers.

3.1 ULRICH VON HUTTEN AND NATIONAL CHARACTER

The purpose of Hutten’s propaganda was to spread and win allegiance to the national cause: the freedom of Germany from Rome. His task was to break down the traditional loyalty of his countrymen to the religious hierarchy and replace it with a strengthened sense of devotion and responsibility to the German nation. To instill

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his audience with a sense of antagonism to one group and belonging to another, Hutten manipulated a variety of images, devices, labels and rhetorical arguments in aid of his national campaign.

One of Hutten's most potent means of classifying enemies and inciting hostility against them was the use of caricature, the ridicule of a subject through the humorous exaggeration of its faults. In two of his dialogues commenting critically on the Diet of Augsburg in 1518, Hutten makes a personal attack on Cardinal Cajetan, the papal legate who had been sent to the Diet to request the financial backing of the Germans in a crusade against the Turks. Hutten lowers him with malicious glee from his lofty status to create a distasteful, comical figure. Cajetan is portrayed as a devious Italian who has come to cheat the Germans of their money in order to provide the Pope Leo X and his pampered Curia with luxuries. In Fever I, the cardinal's extravagant taste and habits, as well as his pretentious attitude toward the Germans are lampooned:

You'll find him comfortably ensconced in a scarlet robe, behind plenty of drapes. He eats only off silver dishes and drinks from golden vessels, but he's such a gourmet that he won't admit that the people of Germany have any taste at all. He despises our local wild fowl and field fare and says they can't compare with the Italian kinds in flavour or in any other way. He finds our game repulsive, says the bread has no taste, and when he drinks our wine he bursts into tears and cries, 'O, Italia, O, Italia,' and calls for good Corsican wine. And chiefly, for the reasons mentioned, he calls us uncouth beasts and drunken louts.²

Cajetan's arrogance is the central point of another caricature in The Onlookers where he shakes his fist at the Sun-god and orders sunshine for the duration of his stay in Germany. A quarrel resumes in which the cardinal threatens to use all his power as a papal legate in order to send the Sun-god to the devil and excommunicate him for his impudence and blasphemy. By treating the gods in this

manner, Cajetan appears as an absurd, pompous idiot. Studies of Cajetan suggest that Hutten's assertions concerning aspects of the cardinal's character and lifestyle are not only over-exaggerated but often completely fictitious. Holborn interprets this as a sign of Hutten's inability to accomplish a true literary portrayal of a great personality, but as Franz Rueb notes, a truthful portrait would not have served Hutten's purpose. Cajetan is clearly made the scapegoat in Hutten's scheme to provoke widespread resentment of the exploitive foreign system Cajetan represents.

Alongside this mockery of one representative of the Church, Hutten uses caricature and polemic to paint a similarly negative portrait of other members of the Church hierarchy. The papal courtiers or "courtesans" as Hutten calls them, are scorned for their pomposity and neglect of spirituality. When the symbolic Papal Bull bursts in the dialogue Bull or Bull-killer, it discharges "the common vices of the courtesans" including ambition, greed, thievery, deceit, superstition, vanity and so on. Bishops are portrayed as "soft, feminine and pampered, and also lying, openly thieving and robbing." Monks are depicted as idle, worthless parasites, while canons are attacked for their love of luxury and their immoral activities with women. This lurid sketch of the clergy and their concubines backs Hutten's plea for the abolition of clerical celibacy. The vices depicted in the clerics are directly connected to their city of origin; because of them the Germans' "inborn customs suffer shameful contagion from the corrupt inhabitants of the city of Rome."

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5Hutten, Gespräche, p. 263.

6Hutten, Schriften, I:134.

7Monitor II, in Hutten, Gespräche, p. 296.
source of these evils, Rome must be purified.\(^8\) Coupled with his call for action against the clergy, Hutten turns this ethical consideration of vices into a political argument. Clerical abuses appear as distinctly foreign evils which must be removed from Germany.

This trend is stressed more clearly elsewhere. To heighten his audience's awareness of the national opposition he so strongly perceives, Hutten moves from castigating the clerics to accusing all Romans of corruptness. The enemy is not only found in the fraudulent papacy, high clergy and other institutions of the Church, but in the decadent city of Rome and the degenerate people of Italy: "The concept of Rome includes all at once a city, a power, a state, a nation, an institution, a political body and a moral comportment."\(^9\) Hutten derides Rome as "a part of every disgrace and vice, a collective mudhole of impurities, an infinite puddle of all sins and evil deeds..."\(^10\) All the problems of the Church are blamed on the weak character of the Italians and their supporters and agents in Germany. The Romanists are likewise portrayed as haughty, effeminate, lazy thieves tainted by their contact with foreign vice. "What great pride and arrogance clothes the Romanists!"\(^11\) What are originally clerical abuses are extended to appear as a product of Italian national character.

Already in the early years of his political campaigning, Hutten used caricature in order to ridicule the nations involved in the wars in Italy. In several epigrams and a poem called *Marcus* he employs allegorical figures drawn from heraldic motifs and

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\(^8\)For example see *Fever II*, in Hutten, *Schriften*, I:27 and 34.


\(^10\)Roman Trinity in Hutten, *Schriften*, I:143.

\(^11\)Ibid., I:83.
classical satires and applies them to the current political entities. He depicts France as an arrogant, strutting cock and Venice as a treacherous, luxury-loving toad that crawls from the swamp to disguise itself as a lion and declare its power over the Roman Empire. The German imperial eagle tires of the frog's pompous usurpation and flings it back into the swamp. The Venetians are characterized in another poem as poor Venetian Fishermen who, made rich and powerful by their greed and deceit, are humbled and forced by the noble eagle to end their urban tyranny. In some cases Hutten stretches the shortcomings of each of the contending powers into national characteristics. By contrast, the German vice is the least severe:

Venetians, French, and Germans covet Latium; deceitful one, one proud, one steeped in wine - All odious. 'Apollo, grant the lightest yoke,' Prays Italy, and Phebus says, 'The French Are always proud; Venetians, always full of guile; The Germans, though, not always drunk - choose one!'

In The Onlookers, Hutten returns to this notion of character as the hereditary endowment of a nation, but reveals that it is not unalterable. Phaeton remarks that he has little respect for the Germans because they cannot organize anything when they are inebriated. Their impetuosity and drunkenness leads them to discord and political incompetence, and they accomplish nothing. This critique of German national vices, placed at the beginning of the dialogue as a warning and a call to improvement is soon softened in comparison with non-German vices. Sol declares:

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13 Hutten, Opera III: 254-255, no. 120. Translated by Best, The Humanist Ulrich von Hutten, p. 44.

They have been drinking since ancient times... this fault is inborn with their children, as is deceit with the Italians, thievery with the Spaniards, pride and arrogance with the French, and other vices with other peoples. PHAETON: If indeed they must have a fault, then I would rather they had this one than those you have just mentioned. I hope, however, that time which heals all human faults will remove this as well.  

In this dialogue Hutten sets out distinct formulations of the Italian and German characters, contrasted conveniently to stir both pride and loathing in aid of his campaign:

If you look at good habits, attention to friendly customs, diligence in virtue, constancy and honesty, this is a well-mannered nation, and the Romans in comparison are decked with all outward barbarousness. First, they are corrupt people, spoiled by softness and a womanly lifestyle. Among them is great vacillation, feminine instability, lack of faith, deceit and evilness... The Germans trust one another and live together in good faith, free and honest, without lies and deceit. O a people that need not be regarded with mistrust! For one sees the Italians at all times hateful, stingy and greedy, seeking gain, lying, cheating, breaking faith, concealing themselves amongst one another, secretly murdering and giving poison...  

In these and many other passages, Hutten applies the rhetorical device of antithesis which sets out an ethical comparison of good and bad. In the Remonstrance, German bravery is contrasted with the weakness and fear of the Roman legions. The picture of the enemy is not just "drawn in order to make German morals stand out" as Rueb claims. This contrast was intended to evoke strong emotional reactions, including both the positive reaction of pride in the character of one nation and the negative reaction of abhorrence to the other. The praise of the Germans carries into the religious sphere. No people can be shown to be more constant in their beliefs or more devoted to Christ than the German nation: "The Germans, above all the people...

15Hutten, Schriften, I:180.
16Ibid., I:164-5, 168.
17Ibid., II:70.
of the world have been faithful, honest and charitable and in spirituality and fear of God they have surpassed all nations."^{19}

Alternating with Hutten's exaltation of German national virtues is his disparagement of German vice, which only aids in maintaining the nation's oppressed and demeaned position. Hutten reflects on the unfortunate state of affairs, in which it is obvious that German piety has been soiled by the Romanists. It is useful to the Romans that the Germans are affected by evil vices. They applaud drunkenness, for if the Germans were sober they could sooner recognize the Italian lies. Hutten goads the Germans for their servility, intemperance and long-standing superstitions. The Italians give no money to support the Turkish Crusade, and they laugh at the silly Germans: "We are threefold fools who allow the errors of our forefathers to continue to our detriment."^{20}

Once he has identified the national foes and described their character, Hutten catalogues their misdeeds in order to raise hostility against them. Scribner notes that "a propagandist can not aim his message too wide of the major concerns of his audience, and at best he may hope to exploit their fears and anxieties."^{21} Hutten undoubtedly played on several of the existing apprehensions of his readership. These included the generally anticlerical mood of the populace which resulted from the grievances of the nation against Rome. An instinctive antipathy to strangers originated in the narrow-minded agrarian society of rural Germany.^{22} The humanists, as explained in the introduction to this thesis, displayed cultural and intellectual insecurity and wounded pride at being regarded as a nation of uncivilized

^{19}Roman Trinity, in Hutten, Schriften, I:66.

^{20}Ibid., I:180.

^{21}Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk, p. 8.

barbarians. Hutten makes countless rhetorical appeals to his audience's emotions which are oriented by these grievances of financial loss, foreign domination, religious degradation and mockery. He discusses at length Rome's exploitation and oppression of the German nation. He exposes how the cunning Italians play on the piety and superstitions of the Germans, leading them to believe they must give their gold to the Church in order to be good Christians - never realizing that the money flows directly to the bellies of the papal Curia. To give his readers a sense that the time for awakening and taking action is at hand, Hutten optimistically insists that the Germans are getting wise to such long-standing lies. Soon they can no longer be called 'barbarians' as "Rome and no less the French and all other people besides Italy judge them." 23

An excerpt from the Roman Trinity illustrates several of Hutten's rhetorical techniques, such as praising the nation and revealing its suffering at the hands of the Romans, provoking a sense of insult and outrage at the injustice done to such a fine people, and suggesting the immediacy of collective action:

ERNHOLT: It is a pathetic thing that we Germans tolerate and bear. When will there be an end to it, with the [payments for] Bishop's robes, annates and the same robberies? I fear we Germans will not stand for it any longer. This unjust oppression gets worse daily...
HUTTEN: I believe the German nation has eyes again, and recognizes how it has been misled and deceived, how the people have been plundered. A free, valiant nation, a courageous people, with many proud nobility and attentive princes... I hear them speaking openly and setting out as though they want to throw off our servitude. Will God that it happens, so that we will be no longer scorned by our neighbours... What the Romans can't get with lies, hypocrisy and tricks they will try to obtain through threats and force. Is that not unfair and unheard of violence? How could they more contemptuously and humiliatingly oppress a people born and given to rule the whole world? It is as though they had forced us with weapons and war to pay them taxes... Is there any people more mockingly and hatefully regarded by Rome than the Germans? 24

23 Onlookers, in Hutten, Schriften, I:164.

24 Ibid., I:61-62.
Debates of essentially religious origins are nationalised and given a xenophobic tone. Hutten deliberately attempts to create a sense of national consciousness and pride among the Germans in order to motivate them to free their land from the clutches of the Papacy. He shrewdly renews the sense of foreign domination and insult and channels these hostilities in the direction of the Italian nation.

The opposition between the groups Hutten is "for" and "against" is emphasized in the terms used to identify them. Though Hutten sometimes singles out a group in his anticipated following for a specific task, he usually addresses his audience as one collective entity, "the Germans", or with an added, positive moral connotation "pious Germans". Most importantly, where the dialogue characters permit, the phrase is "we Germans," which reveals not just that "the characters think of themselves as only two of many who will move against the Roman tyranny." It also helps to reassure the reader that he would not be alone in taking the decisive action suggested. Evidence shows that this sense of alliance and collectivity was deliberately encouraged through the addition of certain terms in the Gesprächbüchlein. Vague Latin expressions such as "among the barbarians" are translated with the concrete term "in German lands". Petra Kuhlmann notes that the use of the designation "German" or "Germans" is 25% higher in the German translation of The Onlookers and 40% higher in Roman Trinity than in the original Latin versions. But this, as well as the often repeated connections of the adjective "German" with the terms Nation or Volk, is not only an expression of


26 For example see the introduction to the Gesprächbüchlein, Hutten, Schriften, I:7.

27 Walker notes this concerning the Roman Trinity, in Rhetorical and Satirical Elements, p. 155.

28 Kuhlmann, Untersuchungen, p. 152.
Hutten's national feeling as Kuhlmann suggests.\textsuperscript{29} It is an attempt on his part to spread that feeling among his countrymen and create a collective national consciousness.

The opponents receive corresponding treatment. To designate the perceived foes and emphasize their foreignness from and opposition to the German nation, Hutten interchangeably uses the labels "Roman" and "Italian". When used as adjectives, it is generally in a derogatory context such as "Roman tyranny" or "Italian lies". Even the representatives of the Church in Germany, whether of Italian origin or not, are given a foreign-sounding name which ties them in with the non-German power. The term "Romanist" was coined in Hutten's \textit{Letters of Obscure Men} (1515-1517), not in Luther's 1519 \textit{Address to the Christian Nobility} as was earlier suggested.\textsuperscript{30} That the term came into common usage to indicate high Church officials, scholastic theologians or other clerics in Germany is a tribute to Hutten's influence. In a small number of places Hutten expresses hatred of the \textit{velches} or \textit{Welschen},\textsuperscript{31} a term which roughly encompasses all those who possess a Latin temperament, including the French and Italians. This term was used particularly when Hutten's anger focuses directly on the French due to their interference in Italy. Otherwise, Ridé notes that it appears generally as a synonym for Italian.\textsuperscript{32}

Alongside the external enemies of the nation, Hutten identifies and describes several internal enemies as well. All are characterized by their promotion of detrimental foreign vices and their connection with Rome. The princes, "who weigh down the whole land and ruin honour, law and fairness" have "betrayed all Germany

\textsuperscript{29}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 148.


\textsuperscript{31}For examples see Hutten, \textit{Opera}, III:484 and \textit{Schriften}, II:54.

\textsuperscript{32}Ridé, "Hutten contre Rome," p. 17.
and sold the Empire".33 They are attacked for their love of imported luxuries and especially for their creation of internal squabbles and disunity which play directly into Rome's hands:

   Each prince...is against the other. Truly, among the common people there is more understanding than in the heads of their overlords! The people call for one lord, one emperor! An overflow of small lords...great princes and little princes, and everywhere the net of the huge spider of Rome, who is happy to see this strong people divided, so that it can be ordered around at will.34

   Clerks, lawyers and notaries are shown to be of equal service to the interference of foreign power in German lands. These "scoundrels in the pay of Rome"35 keep the Empire weak by pocketing the emperor's revenues, purloining seals and forging signatures. They, and not the emperor, are blamed for composing the Edict of Worms against Luther. They are attributed the foreign faults of dishonesty, greed and overblown self-importance which emerge in conjunction with their attachment to Roman law. Hutten also brings up the specific grievances of the knights against the lawyers who push the nobility out of their traditional positions of service to the princes and bring in laws which rule out the old knightly privilege of feuding. Hutten's biographers have generally interpreted this only as a manifestation of social bias in his political thought.36 More importantly, this is a propagandistic effort to exploit the dissatisfaction of the lesser nobility, the target group Hutten was most eager to influence by the time this dialogue, The Robbers was produced. As Könneker states, Hutten represents his own class interests as the

33From Warning to the Free Imperial Cities, in Hutten, Schriften, I:248.

34Cited by Rueb, Ein radikaler Intellektueller, p. 34.

35From translated excerpt of The Robbers in G. Strauss, Manifestations, p. 205.

36For example see Seyboth, "Hutten und sein Verhältnis zur ritterschaftlichen Bewegung," p. 136.
legitimate interests of the nation. Nevertheless, the lawyers are in first place exposed as foes of the entire Empire, and only secondarily as enemies of the knights.

Hutten's effort to manipulate the prejudices of his fellow knights and to spread them to the general public is again apparent in his attack of the merchants as another group which robs the empire through its profiteering. Here again the emphasis is on foreign morality. Hutten blames foreign interference for the present growth of commerce and the consequent rise of cities, the centres of greed, dishonesty, robbery and other previously unknown vices. He repeatedly scorns imported luxury items such as silk and spices; the only import receiving his praise is a tropical wood which was used as a cure for his affliction, syphilis. Otherwise he is adamantly opposed to the introduction of any products from outside of Germany. By bringing in foreign wares and customs that lead to a soft lifestyle, he argues, the merchants "defile the best and manliest morals of the nation" and "Murder, war, rape and injustice occur because of these wares."

The affluent Augsburg banking family, the Fuggers, are singled out for particularly harsh treatment. They are ridiculed for showing off their wealth and surrounding themselves with doctors, though their greed renders them sicker than those without doctors. Due to their financial dealings with the papal Curia, they are classified as no better than courtesans:

The Fuggers deserve to be called the princes of the courtesans. They have set up their bank counter and buy from the pope in order to sell higher: not only benefices but also continued favours. One finds bulls among them and dispensations are transacted through their bank. If

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37 Könneker, "Vom Poeta Laureatus," p. 308.
40 Fever I, in Hutten, Schriften, I:12-14.
you want the revenue of a priest you only need to have the Fuggers as friends... now you see the Fuggers are also courtesans.\textsuperscript{41}

Hutten denounces all forms of capitalist enterprise, especially those involving transactions between bankers and Church representatives, as \textit{Fuggerei}. In turn, he stigmatises the all-powerful merchant family of Florence, the Medicis as "Italian Fuggers."\textsuperscript{42} The worldly pretensions of Pope Leo X are in Hutten's view a direct consequence of his family's background as money-grubbing "ennobled merchants who are not noble."\textsuperscript{43} Hutten depicts the pope as "a careless, money-hungry Florentine, a holy man whose unholliness is obvious to all his deeds" and as a "Tuscan usurer."\textsuperscript{44} Such portrayals not only exhibit Hutten's hatred of capitalist economic developments, as Marxist historians point out.\textsuperscript{45} More significantly, it is an indication of his propagandistic motive to instill or play on similar apprehensions among the populace. A mistrust and fear of new customs and habits, as well as envy and dislike of displays of wealth existed at this time; the Fuggers were partly for these reasons regarded in their community as a foreign element outside the normal bounds of urban society.\textsuperscript{46} Luther and other reformers were also pamphleteering against capitalist financial practises, notably the traffic in interest that had been

\textsuperscript{41}From \textit{The Robbers}, in Hutten, \textit{Gespräche}, p. 381.

\textsuperscript{42}Discussed by Ridé in \textit{L'image du Germain}, I:441, and in "Hutten contre Rome", p. 4. For example, see Hutten, \textit{ OPERA}, IV:373.

\textsuperscript{43}\textit{The Robbers}, Hutten, \textit{Gespräche}, p. 334.

\textsuperscript{44}Cited by Bernstein, \textit{Hutten}, p. 92 and Best, \textit{The Humanist Ulrich von Hutten}, p. 76.


sanctioned by the pope. 47 Hatred of the "peppersacks" was widespread in noble circles, and the hostile movement against large trading houses reached its peak in this period. 48 By highlighting the harmful greed and foreign ties of the Fuggers and other merchants, Hutten was hitting a tender nerve. He sought to direct the existing resentment among his audience towards the merchants as collaborators with the pope and initiators of the major social evils afflicting the nation.

While all the perceived menaces of the German nation are granted a clearly negative ethical connotation, within Germany only one group is singled out from the general population for a special characterisation of any length. The knights are portrayed as the "the great power and strength of the German nation", the only class that has protected the ancient Germanic virtues of fortitude, honesty, simplicity and love of freedom and that strives to protect the land from corruption by foreign imports. 49 The excesses of the merchants are amplified by contrast with the sober, strict lifestyle of the lesser nobility. 50 The knights are the saviours of the nation; as warriors they are best suited to make war on the clerics. This is undoubtedly a bid to utilize the ideals of German character to vindicate violence and incite the knights to join in the militant crusade being planned.

The good and evil qualities which play such an important role in Hutten's characterisation of the German nation and its enemies are drawn from a range of sources chosen explicitly to correspond with the cultural ideals of a broad audience. To appeal to general Christendom, many of these qualities represent the antithetical


49 Onlookers, in Hutten, Schriften, I:172.

50 The Robbers, in Hutten, Gespräche, p. 339.
Christian virtues and vices. In one example, the vices which afflict Church representatives are compared with those Hutten hopes will replace them and are listed in a rhetorical contrast for the most impact:

...that the upper echelons of the Church, [in trade] for the moral habits they now have, such as stupidity, idleness, affluence, greed, robbery, perjury, drunkenness, deceit, infidelity, arrogance, quarrelsomeness, faithlessness, force, injustice, villainy, rage, will instead take on these virtues: caution, exercise of duties, industriousness, satisfaction with necessities, moderation, honesty, sobriety, simplicity, fidelity, constancy, harmony, faith, justice, devotion, gentleness and mercy.\(^51\)

Logically, any good Christian would be awed by this enumeration of vice and be predisposed against those who are said to possess it.

Set far above the image of Christian morality is the notion of distinctly German moral ideals. Several of the qualities accorded to the Germans are those which Hutten and earlier humanists gleaned selectively from Tacitus' *Germania*. Hutten's historical sources will be dealt with more thoroughly in Chapter Four. Roman moral philosophy would have influenced Tacitus in his praise of certain qualities in the Germans, including the basic virtues of honesty, integrity, faithfulness to agreement and simplicity. As a humanist, Hutten valued these same characteristics and held to the Roman notion that virtues and vices may exist not only in the individual, but may be reproduced in the character and institutions of a city or state.\(^52\) In Hutten's case, this was extended to the nation. The ideals of ancient Germanic character would no doubt appeal to the humanists in Hutten's readership, but the effort was made to reach beyond this circle and forge these characteristics into a source of pride, moral legitimation and motivation for all Germans, especially the knights.

A set of double, yet parallel humanist and chivalrous values are evident in


\(^52\) Goodell, *Hutten as Orator-Poet*, p. 67.
Hutten's often repeated self-justification. In the rhetorical pattern of a classical orator-poet, Hutten makes an ethical appeal to persuade his audience of his own inherent goodness. He seeks to demonstrate that he is a "good" man in the Roman sense - wise, just, courageous, temperate and devoted to unselfish service to the common good of the nation, even in the face of danger.⁵³ But alongside this classical pattern, he conforms to the decorum consonant with his nobility: "When these writings of mine appear in German it will be seen that I have written honourably and in a manner befitting a good man of noble birth."⁵⁴ The medieval chivalrous code which still provided Hutten and his fellow knights with strong ideals envisioned the perfect knight as a warrior-aristocrat with ethical and religious overtones. Classic chivalric virtues included physical prowess, loyalty, honour, generosity, courtesy and bearing. It was believed that such qualities were hereditary, possessed only by right of noble blood. Though not necessarily theologically derivative, they could be brought into line with biblical virtues, and in fact Christian piety became one of the requirements of a good Christian warrior, stemming from the period of the Crusades.⁵⁵ By the late fifteenth century, chivalrous ideals were translated into more practical social obligations due to religious and humanist ethical influences. It was hoped that renewed piety and humanist education could transform the knighthood into a spiritual and moral elite which would regain its lost positions in princely service and improve society by aiding the poor and oppressed.⁵⁶

⁵³Ibid., p. 25.
⁵⁴Hutten, Opera, I:419.
With such an invigorated goal for the knighthood in mind, Hutten portrays his friend Franz von Sickingen as a paragon of chivalrous virtue. In the dedication of Fever I to Sickingen, Hutten lauds him as a noble, renowned, courageous and trustworthy protector of truth and justice, a fine example that the true German blood still flows in the knights. His fortress is hailed as "the asylum of justice."\(^{57}\)

In the dialogue Bull or Bull-killer the vice-ridden city of Rome is set in antithetical contrast with the Ebernburg:

...where horses and weapons are valued and laziness and cowardice are despised, where the men are real men...where fear of God and love of humanity rule, where virtues are held in honour, avarice finds no place, ambition is banned, where faithlessness and evil are far removed...\(^{58}\)

To provide evidence of the inherent goodness of the knights, in The Robbers Sickingen proclaims that the obligatory role of the nobility is to exercise fortitude in the cause of justice:

...to help the oppressed, bring aid to the wretched, succour the afflicted, be mindful of the forsaken, revenge those enduring hardships, resist the wicked, defend the innocent and protect widows and orphans.\(^{59}\)

Finally, the knighthood as the epitome of the Germanness is symbolically called to action. When the personification of German Freedom calls for help in The Bull or Bull-killer, she appeals to the kind of ideal German that Hutten builds up in the previous dialogues:

Your assistance, Germans! Help, citizens! Does no one dare to stand by me? Is no true lover of Freedom there? No one who strives for virtue, loves good, hates deceit, honours justice, detests crimes? In a word, is no true German there?\(^{60}\)

\(^{57}\)Hutten, Schriften, I:5.

\(^{58}\)Hutten, Gespräche, p. 240.

\(^{59}\)Ibid., p. 320.

\(^{60}\)Ibid., p. 232.
Of course Hutten and Sickingen appear on the scene. This is a deliberate effort to provoke the adherence of all "good" Germans, but particularly of the knighthood to their cause. In the words of Jacques Ridé, "The mythical construction of German character serves as an inspiration in a dynamic scheme destined to mobilize the energies of the collective to moral perfection or political action."\(^{61}\)

In summary, Hutten's conceptualization of national character supports his propaganda in several ways. As the major foes of the German nation, he targets the Italian nation as represented by Cardinal Cajetan, the Curia, the clerics, the city of Rome and ultimately the Italian people. Around these scapegoats he develops a set of positive-negative stereotypes which build up a sense of opposition between the "we"-group and the "they"-group to weaken the opponent while strengthening his own position.\(^{62}\) Hutten endows his enemies with every undesirable character trait possible, including deceit, greed, hypocrisy, avarice, lust, arrogance and impiety. These are strategically polarized by the supposed purity, honesty and goodness of the Germans, preserved primarily by the valiant knights. The Romanists are accorded the same corrupt character as every Italian, whether German or not. Lawyers and notaries are likewise detrimental to the German nation due to their connection with a foreign, and thus evil system of law. Even the merchants are blamed for having the same effect on German morals by maintaining commercial and cultural relations with the Mediterranean world, and especially with the papal Curia. In short, Hutten links all of his enemies with the negative image he builds of Italian national character and sets them up in opposition to his readers.

With the aid of rhetorical skills, Hutten masterfully pinpoints the following


\(^{62}\)Terms used by Balzer, \textit{Bürgerliche Reformationspropaganda}, p. 27.
requirements of propaganda:

An observable feature of propaganda is that it simultaneously creates and eases tensions. It creates them by its function of evoking polarized stereotypes and by channelling fears and apprehensions against distinct persons and objects. It eases them by identifying the causes of apprehension and providing a comprehensive ideological explanation and solution.63

In outline, Hutten's persuasive plan takes the following steps to provide identification, motivation and finally a call to action. He first identifies his enemies both with specific labels and with a set of negative character traits which associate them all with a foreign nation. All foreign morality is rendered as vice; thus all opinions in favour of foreign elements are discredited. This technique of propaganda, the creation or strengthening of negative images of opponents in order to convince the public of the justness of the author's campaign has been termed "negative assimilation."64 The more positive technique of "cultural assimilation" is also apparent in Hutten's attempt to evoke positive images of the target audience to align his cause with a particular kind of cultural allegiance.65 He attempts to instill the audience with a sense of belonging and allegiance to their own nation by formulating a positive delineation of the German national character, set in distinct opposition to the Italian. This effort to strengthen national self-consciousness through pride in moral superiority goes far beyond the work of previous humanists. Hutten's work is a conscious effort to utilize national sentiment in order to mobilize the nation to take political action on its own behalf.

Finally, by exposing the lies and misdeeds of the external and internal enemies, Hutten supplies the Germans with ample motivation and justification to

63Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk, p. 245.

64Ibid., p. 246.

65Ibid., p. 247.
incite them to rise up and remove the cause of their suffering. After building these tensions, he presents his program as the only possible solution: one nation must make war on the representatives of the other. To promote the common welfare of the German nation, cities must abandon their lurid ways and join the courageous knights in a united effort to rid the nation of the clerics. In sum, this is a neat package of blueprints for positive-negative propaganda.

As exaggerated and comical as these stereotypical images and accusations might seem to the modern reader, at the time they appeared in published form they were taken very seriously. As a result of his pamphleteering, Hutten was regarded as a dangerous radical. Ecclesiastical documents show that the satires of Cajetan and the Roman Trinity were held by Rome to be especially subversive and menacing. Könneker implies that Hutten's polarized images provided a dangerous and explosive set of ideals based on the connection of Germanic values with national feeling, which led to a concrete attempt to realize his political ideas in the Knights' Revolt. This suggestion has never been explored. The following discussion will consider whether other pamphleteers found these techniques as potent and useful in their similar bid to polarize public opinion and justify violent means of reform.

3.2 JOHANN EBERLIN VON GÜNZBURG AND NATIONAL CHARACTER

Hutten and Eberlin shared many of the same enemies and sought corresponding allies. They had, in some cases, very similar goals. It is not surprising that Eberlin would find many of Hutten's propagandistic methods worth repeating, especially those concerning national character. By praising Hutten, Eberlin exposes his understanding and acceptance of Hutten's opinions:

Ulrich von Hutten uses the quill pen and the sword to awaken the old
German honours of loyalty, faith and truth in the German nation, which is in every way self-sufficient in all bodily necessities, gold, fruits of the earth, and useful customs and laws. But now the respectability and necessities of body and soul have been terribly weakened by useless people, as you will hear.  

This interpretation of Hutten's program points out the main elements that Eberlin values. He agrees that the German people possess certain inherited character traits, but that these virtues have been soiled by others. He also holds that Germany does not need foreign commodities or laws. These themes from Hutten's work, and the argumentation surrounding them are reiterated to defend both Hutten's ideas and Eberlin's own parallel views.

When identifying the perceived enemies of the nation and disclosing their offenses to public view, Eberlin characterizes groups by using tactics similar to Hutten's and presenting supposed misdeeds in a negative light. Though he does not caricature any specific historical figure, he sometimes uses humour in order to ridicule subjects. One example is the amusing word-play used when a character states that the priests should have the first two letters removed from their name to expose their true identity. Thus by changing "Pfaffen" to "Affen" the priests are shown to be apes. More often, Eberlin engages in bitter invective, emphasizing the foreign connections of the national foe. While he criticizes all clerics, from the upper echelons of the Church hierarchy down to lowly priests, nuns and all manner of monks, the worst offenders by far are the papal courtesans and the Mendicant friars. These are regarded as "the sworn slaves of the Roman pope" who "seek the damage and corruption" of the emperor and his Empire. Eberlin's view of the Franciscan and Dominican orders as papal representatives was due to the direct

68 Eberlin, Schriften, I:4-5.
69 Ibid., III:154.
70 Ibid., I:7.
subordination of these orders to the pope.\textsuperscript{71} Because of their foreign ties, the courtesans and friars are accused of bringing "from foreign countries, especially Italy and Rome, all false and faithless cunning by which honesty and faith are broken."\textsuperscript{72} To shut out this alien influence, both groups must be dismissed from Germany immediately. Only "god-fearing" monks from other orders, especially those fleeing the monastery, receive Eberlin's sympathy in pamphlets condemning the poor educational and spiritual standards of German monasteries.\textsuperscript{73}

The damages inflicted on Germany by these enemies occur in both the economic and moral spheres. The financial persecution suffered in the German lands is backed with statistical allegations of the supposed sums which the monastic orders "suck...out of poor and rich, lords and servants..." and what the priests and "hellish courtesans steal and rob from the German nation..."\textsuperscript{74} Men with such wicked intentions could only have a detrimental influence on the nation:

The courtesans and friars impede God's favour and our honour, good and utility with their unjust, devilish and anti-Christian actions...these false tricksters and misleaders of pious hearts make a good appearance, but it is untrue...\textsuperscript{75}

The stereotypical liars and robbers that appear in Hutten's pamphlets resurface in full force.

To emphasize the corruptness of his foes and the goodness of his allies, Eberlin employs the rhetorical device of contrast. The evil of Roman representatives appears far worse when placed beside the examples of Luther and Hutten:

\textsuperscript{71}Heger, \textit{Eberlin}, p. 87.
\textsuperscript{72}Eberlin, \textit{Schriften}, I:9.
\textsuperscript{73}For example, see the "Ninth Confederate", \textit{ibid.}, I:89-105.
\textsuperscript{74}\textit{Ibid.}, I:7. Further examples in III:176-78.
\textsuperscript{75}\textit{Ibid.}, I:84-85.
The courtesans and friars hinder the common good and promote the devil's vices...they are a special poison to the Christian ways of Germany, which is why they are against the blessed Luther and the noble, Christian Hutten and all who advise the people of beneficial things...there are no greater friends of the Empire than Luther and Hutten, who seek only your and your subjects' honour, happiness and blessedness... 

Eberlin commends Hutten for risking his life to defend German freedom and suggests that the emperor should take the advice of Hutten, Sickingen and Friedrich the Wise rather than that of his papist confessor, Glapion, and other "devious and self-centred" Romanist advisors. Contact with Rome automatically implies adherence to trickery and vice, while German roots denote purity. The fact that Luther and Hutten are "German-born" is commended before their education and piety. 

The portrayal of the Germans in Eberlin's pamphlets also follows the pattern set by Hutten. They are depicted as eager to serve the emperor, obedient, diligent, loyal and above all, pious. "The heart of Christendom" is found in German lands, a nation especially "warm, loyal, of good disposition and blood..." The commendable, hard-working nature of the German people contrasts with the idleness of monks: "No-one does Christian ways more damage than such uneducated, lazy, indecent, selfish preachers." Like Hutten, Eberlin indicates certain weaknesses of German character which make them susceptible to the lies of the Romanists:

See, dear pious Germans that such credibility and simplicity is inborn

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76 Ibid., I:6-7.

77 See ibid., I:6, I:12, III:172.

78 Ibid., I:4.

79 Ibid., I:2.


81 Quote from Eberlin, Schriften, I:52. Other examples of contrast on I:17 and III:167.
in us that we believe others would not want to deceive us, because we would not want to lie to them, therefore we gladly believe all those who show us an earnest appearance...the devil has dared to use our inherited simplicity to our ruin and brought us the Italian lies and inconstancy, and their ungodliness and soullessness, especially the anti-Christianity of the Roman court, for he knew we would be easily misled from the right ways...

The character of the Germans is assaulted by Italian traits.

Labels for friend and foe often receive a national connotation in Eberlin's pamphlets. In general, he uses the labels of "Italian," "Roman," and "Romanist" in the same manner as Hutten, emphasizing the foreign nature of the enemy and corresponding vices. In addressing his audience, Eberlin adapts the term to the purpose of each pamphlet. When speaking on behalf of the nation in the "First Confederate" Eberlin includes himself in the group of complainants, saying "we Germans" to stress the collective nature of the burdens. When warning groups he uses their specific name; when instructing them he resorts to "you Germans", or even "you simple laity." The call to action in the "Eighth Confederate" is phrased "Rise, rise, pious Germans!" The appellation of "Christians," though usually with the addition of "in German lands" appears more frequently in Eberlin's pamphlets than in Hutten's, a reminder of his activity as an evangelical preacher.

When Eberlin places blame on Germany's internal problem-makers, he associates them with foreign influence, as does Hutten. The ecclesiastical princes are especially guilty of damaging German unity; the French in Milan should be no cause for worry when Halle, Mainz, Würzburg, Bamberg, Trier and Erfurt have been

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82 Ibid., I:80.
83 Ibid., I:37 and I:63.
84 Ibid., I:104.
85 Ibid., I:75.
"taken from the Empire." Wars between German lands are discussed as a major cause of financial waste, agricultural destruction and death. Though the greed of the princes is partially at fault, the disunity of Germany is also blamed on the influence of Roman representatives: "The Roman pope sends ambassadors so often into the land to cause dissension among princes and lords..." 

Lawyers are also included in the list of internal oppressors of the nation because of their links with Rome. As in Hutten's works, they are disparaged as practitioners of foreign evil, who confirm the false aims of papal supporters with Roman law: "What is taken from the German nation with the evil laws of Rome cannot be calculated." Eberlin demands that lawyers, clerks and notaries no longer be allowed to arrange matters of utmost importance to the nation in the legations and councils of the Empire, but that nobles be appointed instead.

Continuing with the accusations, Eberlin moves on to another group targeted in similar fashion by Hutten. He links the activities of the merchants with the abuses of the Church. The Fuggers in particular co-operate with Roman advocates in crime and deceit. Eberlin points to the example of a papal supporter, Johann Eck and accuses him of supporting the merchants on the issue of interest-taking in order to keep Germany weak. He urges the emperor to destroy all Fuggerei. In It's surprising the merchants are classified as more dangerous than wars, because they

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86 Ibid., III:154.
87 Ibid., III:150.
88 Ibid., I:8.
89 Ibid., I:8.
90 Discussed by Hitchcock, Knights' Revolt, p. 68.
91 Pointed out by Cole, Eberlin, p. 117.
92 Eberlin, Schriften, I:13.
"corrupt us secretly so that we spoil in lust and joy..." By importing unneeded commodities, they promote avarice, robbery and murder. Due to their influence, the quest for honour is replaced by greed for riches. They display their wealth in ways that were previously considered too ostentatious for a Duke. The merchants grow rich and the Germans are ruined, financially and spiritually: "As soon as the shopkeepers and merchants win the upper hand, the nobility is ruined, the city-dwellers have nothing, the country people go begging..." In his utopian statutes, Eberlin outlaws the import of wine and cloth, reserves castles for the nobility, forbids the building of new palaces and extravagant private homes, and moderates clothing and festivities with strict regulations. In this way the merchant classes are condemned as a major cause of social distress in Germany, with suggestions for the curtailment of their vices.

Economically, Eberlin considered Germany rich in resources and craftsmen, fully capable of self-sufficiency. His promotion of the ideal of an agrarian society is not just a nostalgic "yearning for the good old days" as Berger claims, nor is it a manifestation of Eberlin's class origins as Hitchcock and Cole argue. If his viewpoint appears to be that of the nobility, the reason is two-fold. First, Eberlin considered the displacement of the nobility by the merchant classes to be serious matter of general interest. His attack on the merchants, as well as on the greedy, squabbling princes and Roman lawyers, was made in part on behalf of a sincere belief in their detriment to the entire nation. On the other hand, it was also a tactical

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93Ibid., III:156.
94Ibid., III:159.
96Berger, Sturmtruppen, p. 54; Hitchcock, Knights' Revolt, p. 63; Cole, Eberlin, p. 44.
move. Eberlin was attempting to gain the support of the nobility for himself and for those he admired, including Luther, Hutten and Sickingen. By portraying the general socio-economic biases of the nobility, he could try to convince them that the ideas he imparted truly represented their interests. The nobility was not the only social group that disapproved of the merchants' shows of wealth. Heger notes that Eberlin's criticism of the merchants follows the general opinion of the period. 97 But it also plays on the existing popular apprehensions for a set purpose in the same fashion as Hutten's. The effects of propaganda are stronger where recipients already agree with the opinion expressed. 98 Through his agitation, Eberlin aspired to intensify existing hostilities and supply suggested actions and targets for their release.

Eberlin frequently demonstrates his concern for the needs of the impoverished nobility. When one of the travellers in It's surprising accuses Psitacus of being "completely on the side of the nobility", he explains "I stand by the nobility to further the freedom of the poor. How can I seek the mercy of the great lords for a poor oppressed man if I openly scold the lords?"99 He goes on to cite examples of his benevolent actions on behalf of needy nobles. Hitchcock dismisses this passage once more as evidence that Eberlin's attitudes are those of a noble. 100 It is more likely an indication that Eberlin was conscious of the need to legitimize his program in a strategic manner. He is careful to stress the ethical nature of his suggestions for concrete actions by which the nobles can relieve their poverty. A pamphlet section addressed "To the nobility who would like to do the honest thing" urges them

97 Heger, Eberlin, p. 105.
98 Ellul, Propaganda, p. 36.
100 Hitchcock, Knights' Revolt, p. 65.
to take money from Church.\textsuperscript{101} In the final addition to the \textit{Fifteen Confederates} the knights are urged to "put on the armour of God... if you haven't enough, take back the donations of your ancestors... take the feathers from the monasteries and clothe yourselves and your children."\textsuperscript{102}

In numerous allusions to chivalrous honour, Eberlin speaks the language of the nobility to appeal to their sensibilities. He praises "the true noble Christian heart of our gracious Emperor Charles" and exhorts him to "awaken in masculine, noble nature" and come to the aid of the Germans.\textsuperscript{103} The virtues of the nobility are praised; they exemplify all that is good in Germany. Franz von Sickingen is cited as evidence of the changing times and gradual enlightenment of the nobility. The young nobles are learned and would rather serve the emperor than the ecclesiastical lords; they find evangelical preachers for the good of their souls.\textsuperscript{104} The pitiful state of the monasteries is ascribed to the lack of chivalrous virtue found there: "There is no noble nature in monastic people, no free, steadfast virtuous heart, but all are slaves, oppressed and half-confused people."\textsuperscript{105}

An example of Eberlin's summation of the many grievances bearing down on the Germans illustrates several of his complaints. He applies the rhetorical device of antithesis to emphasize the change from good to evil brought on by Roman influence in Germany:

Through such things the German people have been misled from Christian law to papal law, from wealth to poverty, from truth to falsehood, from loyalty to faithlessness, from honesty to deceit, from

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[Eberlin, \textit{Schriften}, I:39.]
\item[Ibid., I:191.]
\item[Ibid., I:2, I:14.]
\item[Ibid., III:154.]
\item[Ibid., I:90.]
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
manliness to femininity...  

Legal, economic, spiritual and moral degradation is the result. Such passages, and many previously cited, are rich in their appeal to the pride, piety and emotions of the assumed audience. By repeating over and over the sufferings of the Germans at the hands of their adversaries, Eberlin hoped to push the resentment already felt among his readers into outrage and concerted action.

National character, with all its connotations and attached social biases, proved to be serviceable to Eberlin in his personal pamphlet war. Not only did he find Hutten's cause praiseworthy, but his criticism of Roman representatives, monastic orders, merchants and lawyers made ample use of Hutten's arguments. The antithetical stereotypes of wicked Roman advocates and good, pious Germans, as well as the terms used to label or address both groups, serve to identify chosen enemies and potential allies. These images and labels point to the author's use of both negative assimilation and cultural assimilation to establish the "we" and "they" polarity by attacking enemies and praising allies. Eberlin plays on fears, prejudices and emotions, and finally provides the motivation and justification for specified actions in much the same fashion as Hutten.

3.3 HARTMUT VON CRONBERG AND NATIONAL CHARACTER

Hartmut von Cronberg supported Hutten's proposed campaign against the clerics both in person and in writing. This section will inquire whether he presented the allies and enemies of his cause in the polarized, pro-German fashion formulated by Hutten and repeated by Eberlin.

Hartmut's attitude to monks is only partially revealed in a pamphlet addressed "To the Mendicant Orders." Notably, this is the tract which was edited by Luther, and as such it contains none of Hutten's vicious anticlericalism. It has no threatening

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106 Ibid., I:84.
tone, but is rather brotherly warning to the monks to leave the path of the devil. Hartmut wishes them God's mercy, emphasizing brotherly love and the power of the Word of God to change the world.\textsuperscript{107} It is a gentle attempt to educate the monks, rather than a battle-cry. The tone is different in Hartmut's letter to Sickingen which hopes that such "servants of the devil" including "useless priests and monks would be recognized and dismissed by the emperor..."\textsuperscript{108} Though his dislike of these groups comes through, Hartmut makes no effort to develop a clear image of their character. He does not connect them in any way with "Italian" vice, but rather with the devil's.

The deceitful nature of all Church representatives is likewise attributed to satanic links. A letter to Strasbourg's Mayor and city council clarifies Hartmut's view of papal corruption: "Such temptations happen with a seemingly spiritual appearance...the devil is the head of the Papacy, who has brought the Roman Empire under his power through the idle, false lies of his limbs, the popes..."\textsuperscript{109} The anti-Christian wickedness of popes and bishops is attacked in a letter to all estates: "Their whole life and being is oriented completely in devilish lies and the sour sweat of the poor, widows and needy orphans..."\textsuperscript{110} Hartmut makes similar accusations in his letter to the Bohemians: "The pope in Rome, together with his supporting laws and his whole supposedly spiritual crowd, is a false lie of the devil."\textsuperscript{111} These examples and many other passages suggest that Hartmut did not view, nor portray his opponents as representatives of a foreign, detrimental

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{107} Hartmut in Bode, p. 151-153.
\bibitem{108} Ibid., p. 130.
\bibitem{109} Ibid., pp. 253-4.
\bibitem{110} Ibid., p. 277.
\bibitem{111} Ibid., p. 260.
\end{thebibliography}
character. Hartmut discredits his foes by relating their lies to the devil, rather than to inborn traits. This is more of an appeal to his readers' Christian morality than to their xenophobic instincts.

When it comes to depictions of those he hoped to attract, however, Hartmut solicits one specific national group alongside of his appeals to general Christendom. In his answer to Luther's missive, Hartmut expresses his pride in the special destiny of the Germans: "God has made his irrefutable truth known to us Germans before other nations... O Germany, rejoice in the afflictions from the lord; accept with humble thanksgiving the heavenly light, the godly truth..." As proof of God's favour, Hartmut cites the discovery of printing and the translation of scripture as important events in Germany which promote evangelical learning. Such references have been interpreted by Bogler and Hitchcock as evidence of Hartmut's national consciousness. But published for a general readership, these examples also display his effort to foster the same feelings among other Germans, and to make reform a German obligation. In the same vein, he reminds the Reichstag of the great burdens carried by the entire nation, and underlines the nation-wide benefits of evangelical truth. If it is suppressed, "then woe be to Germany." In his pleas for outside support, Hartmut presents the Germans as pious protectors of the Word of God and true justice. His petition for internal and external allies alike is founded on promoting the vision of a distinctly German piety and German responsibilities, not only Christian ones.

The labels Hartmut applies to the opposition and to would-be supporters within

112Ibid., p. 188.

113Bogler, Eberlin, p. 28; Hitchcock, Knights' Revolt, pp. 107-8.

114Hartmut in Bode, p. 232.

115"Letter to the Bohemians," in ibid., p. 264.
Germany indicate the same patterns as his references to their character. Church representatives are labelled as "anti-Christian" and "unspiritual", but never as "Italian", though the term "Roman" appears intermittently when the pope is discussed. "Romanists" make no appearance in Hartmut's pamphlets. By contrast, "Germans" are mentioned often where the target permits. For example, when addressing Walter von Cronberg, Hartmut promotes a sense of shared national misery and urgency by referring to the plight of "us poor Germans."\textsuperscript{116} Nevertheless, the polarity developed in Hartmut's work is not as much of a nation-to-nation opposition as Hutten fosters. The choice to be made is not between the yoke of Rome and German freedom. Instead, Hartmut admonishes Germany to "Throw off the sweet yoke of the devil and take on the sweet yoke of Christ."\textsuperscript{117} A polarity is more often built up between God and the devil, Christ and the anti-Christ than between evil clerics and pious Germans.

Even though Hartmut recognizes many of the same internal foes as Hutten and Eberlin, he does not associate them with foreign vice in order to denigrate their character. He voices straightforward complaints, accusing the princes of tyrannical injustice and "unending Juristerei."\textsuperscript{118} He castigates followers of Roman law because it does not serve all people, but is most useful in the hands of the territorial princes.\textsuperscript{119} In the future, he hopes that "Justice will be set in the hearts and conscience of man and not so much on the unfounded lawbooks."\textsuperscript{120} Hartmut makes no direct attack on merchants but shows his disapproval of them by connecting

\textsuperscript{116}Ibid., p. 140.
\textsuperscript{117}Ibid., p. 188.
\textsuperscript{118}Ibid., p. 140.
\textsuperscript{119}Noted by Hitchcock, Knights' Revolt, p. 105.
\textsuperscript{120}In Letter to Walter von Cronberg, Hartmut in Bode, p. 140.
clerical avarice to the merchants' buying and selling activities, criticizing the greed with which "they sell spiritual wares for money." Hartmut undoubtedly represents the views of his class in making allegations against these groups. Though he does not present them in connection with foreign character flaws, the airing of such complaints could still, if perhaps less effectively, promote the allegiance of readers who sympathize with his biases.

The stronghold of traditional society, as in Hutten's view, is for Hartmut the knighthood. The knights are above the insatiable greed that he finds so distasteful in contemporary life; he assures the emperor that "Your unconquerable warriors cannot be satisfied by all the silver and gold in the cursed spirit that rules us in the world." Hartmut attempts to attract the nobility to his cause by playing on their values. He applauds the emperor's "noblest of noble courage" and calls him the "unconquerable, most illustrious, all-powerful and Christian emperor." Later he reminds him of his "eminent, noble, royal birth, endowed with noble virtues," rhetorical praise meant not only as decorum. Such references are intended not only to urge the emperor to action by reminding him of noble obligations, but to make him appear valorous and mighty to others. Hartmut demonstrates the possible support of the nobility while concurrently soliciting it by referring to their virtues: if only the emperor is a true servant of God, he "would awaken many manly, pious men among your people..." Likewise, in the letter to Charles' brother, Hartmut warns: "Look to your two strongest weapons, prince Ferdinand, God and the German

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121Cited by Bogler, Hartmut, p. 23.
122Hartmut is also commenting on mercenary soldiers in this passage, in Bode, p. 123.
123Ibid., pp. 120-123.
124Ibid., p. 123.
nobility...\textsuperscript{125} Both letters emphasize the knights' bravery, unconquerable power, obedience and readiness to serve.

The letters written in exile are more defensive of the knights. Hartmut presents himself as a "poor, persecuted knight" writing out of Christian obligation to warn all knights, all estates and envoys at the Diet of 1524-5, stating "We wretched knights have no true status in the Empire..."\textsuperscript{126} Hartmut rebukes Ferdinand for acting against Sickingen, "the truest servant" of both the duke and the emperor, who with his friends could have been effective help against foes of the Empire. Hartmut stands up for the "other nobles of my estate, all excellent people of honest mind, who have always represented the interests of the house Palatine, just as our forefathers have done..."\textsuperscript{127} By contrast, Hartmut points out Ferdinand's error in aiding the tyrannical princes, who are "not only against his imperial majesty but even against God and his higher justice..."\textsuperscript{128} While Hartmut's praise and defense of the knights touches on many of the same points as Hutten's, he does not portray their virtues as specifically German. They are basically the characteristics lauded in the chivalric code, which even without a nationalist overtone could be presented to both justify the knights' activities and attract noble backing.

In summary, Hartmut does not repeat as clearly as Eberlin the formulas built by Hutten around national character. There is evidence in his pamphlets of a German national consciousness intertwined with chivalric ideals, expressly used in his campaign to convince the Germans and especially the German nobility of their special

\textsuperscript{125}Ibid., pp. 240-241.
\textsuperscript{126}Ibid., p. 233.
\textsuperscript{127}Ibid., p. 239.
\textsuperscript{128}Ibid., p. 238.
obligations to fight for reform. Hartmut does write positive-negative propaganda which includes allusions to the Germans and their evil opposition, but these images are not the clear delineation of two polarized nations evident in Hutten's work. They are rather the product of a much more Lutheran world view of good and evil, integrated with the double-edged pride of a German knight.
CHAPTER FOUR
THEN & NOW: HISTORICAL TESTIMONY

Many of the goals the pamphleteers hoped to reach were rooted in the ideals of the past. The pamphleteers' interest in the past often resulted from dissatisfaction with the present, and for this reason they used historical examples for a variety of purposes in their pamphlets. This chapter will explore the role history played in the three major pamphleteers' attempts to polarize public opinion. Several questions must be raised: what sources did the pamphleteers turn to and what were their attitudes toward the sources? How could historical documents or allusions be used to support arguments and help persuade an audience? How could they be employed to support images of national character and promote national feeling? In the hands of the pamphleteers, the past could be a potent instrument with which to sanction present action.

4.1 ULRICH VON HUTTEN AND NATIONAL HISTORY

Next to ridicule and invective, historical argumentation was Hutten's most formidable way of attacking and discrediting his foes.¹ He also used biblical and classical references to back his arguments, but history was so integral in forming his ideas that his whole campaign became a mission to renew idealized historical patterns. Ancient and medieval sources inspired and aided his gradual conceptualization of the distinct history of Germany, which in many ways entailed a departure from traditional interpretations of history. The various procedures Hutten used to employ history against his adversaries will be outlined in this section.

True to his humanist education, Hutten held ancient sources in high esteem,

especially those dealing with Germanic history. As a young student in Leipzig in 1509, he became acquainted with Tacitus' descriptions of ancient Germany through lectures on the Germania by a humanist scholar, Aesticampianus. While in Rome he perused Beroaldus' new 1515 edition of Tacitus' Annales. His admiration of the Roman historian is revealed in several passages. Tacitus is lauded as a trustworthy eyewitness: "For he was especially honest and there was none who had written a history more sincerely and with less affectation than he. Indeed, he even saw Germany and described the customs of its people..." However reverently Hutten spoke of Tacitus, he clearly saw this source as a political tool. He expressed his anger at the papal privilege which prevented the republication of the Annales and made it impossible for him to expose this national treasure in a German edition. He perceived this as part of a plot to keep the Germans ignorant of their past greatness, since "no other historian has written of our people and praised our old glory higher." The implication is that Hutten thought knowledge of the past could be useful in combatting the superstitions, weaknesses and lies which he believed maintained the subjugate position of the Germans.

This notion is not apparent in Hutten's earliest reference to Germanic history, which betrays his adherence to the trends of the Vienna circle. Like these other German humanists, Hutten sought a connection between the past and the present, and like them he was spurred by rivalry with the Italians and the need to glorify the emperor in hopes of gaining his patronage. His first publication mimics their reference to ancient history for the sole aim of demonstrating that the cultural and

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3From Arminius, translated citation in Schellhase, Tacitus in Renaissance Political Thought, p. 46.

4Roman Trinity in Hutten, Schriften, I:60.
moral qualities of the ancient tribes contribute to the present greatness of the Empire. A poem written in 1511 entitled *Why the Germans are not Degenerate in Comparison to Former Times* refers to the *Germania* to optimistically assert that while the natural simplicity and valiant energies of the ancients are no longer fully expressed in the Germans of his day, they are being revived by humanist studies. To illustrate the Empire's strengths, Hutten catalogues contemporary German brilliance in industry, invention and scholarship and naively praises the emperor's political power.⁵

Once the actual weakness of the Empire was revealed to Hutten during Maximilian's Italian wars, a new note appeared in his reference to ancient heroes. Of all the humanists, Hutten placed the most emphasis on the warrior virtues of the ancients.⁶ In his works, Germany is often portrayed as a "land rich in heroes, sole nation of the world in which the present carries on the past..."⁷ The warrior ideal, embodied in heroic historical examples, functions both to glorify the German nation and exhort it to follow the tradition of its predecessors. Hutten urges his countrymen to emulate the heroic greatness of their Germanic forebears, not just contemplate it:

> Why, O Germany, do you marvel at your kings of old? Why do you recall the ancient leaders of these times? Do not seek Gambrivius and all the sons of Tuisco, courageous hearts that were seen under the god Mannus, eagerness in arms from Hermione and the sons of Ingeva, the chiefs of the Cimbri and the Teutonic race. And if you look for people who can make you glorious, both at home and abroad, seek neither Ariovistes nor fierce Arminius...⁸

Instead of resting on ancient glory, Maximilian should take action to solve his

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⁵Hutten, *Opera*, 3:331.


⁷Hutten, *Opera*, III:373.

⁸Cited by Schellhase, *Tacitus in Renaissance Political Thought*, p. 41.
present problems and revive imperial power. Hutten had begun to see the relevance of historical knowledge for the sake of present action.

For Hutten, the continuity of the past with the present did not overleap the Middle Ages. Next to the ancient Germany depicted by Tacitus, he highly valued the medieval history of the German Empire. This is first evident in a panegyric poem composed in 1513 on the occasion of Albrecht of Brandenburg's accession to the post of Archbishop of Mainz. History is manipulated in order to glorify Hutten's patron. For Hutten, the continuity of the past with the present did not overleap the Middle Ages. Next to the ancient Germany depicted by Tacitus, he highly valued the medieval history of the German Empire. This is first evident in a panegyric poem composed in 1513 on the occasion of Albrecht of Brandenburg's accession to the post of Archbishop of Mainz. History is manipulated in order to glorify Hutten's patron.  

The elector is made part of a long and glorious tradition of powerful and just rulers, including Arminius, Charlemagne, and the Ottonian emperors, whose standards he is advised to live up to. Similarly, in the Letters to Maximilian Hutten sweeps through the legacy of German history from the military victories of Arminius, the Cimbri and the Teutons through the achievements of the Carolingian and Ottonian emperors to Maximilian's own day. He delights in describing the panic and humiliation of the Romans at the hands of the Germanic tribes, actions which he desires will be repeated. Legendary feats are cited to inspire and motivate a parallel victory in the present.

Hutten's choice of specific historical figures and events was oriented by his imperial ideals as well as the current state of international affairs and the campaigns of the emperor. With the weakness and disunity of the current Germany in mind, he praised Charlemagne for forging a strong, unified Empire. His dissatisfaction with the power and authority of ecclesiastical representatives led him to search for evidence of the opposite situation in the past, where the emperor was legitimate master of Italy. The Ottonian era was held high as a period when the German

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10 Hutten, Opera, 3:353.
emperors were at the peak of their power, maintaining the greatest control over popes and bishops. Friedrich Barbarossa is presented as an invincible warrior, sovereign over the pope as the proud leader of a valiant crusade. Here Hutten's shift from the emphasis of traditional interpretations must be underlined. The historian, Nauklerus praised Barbarossa in his World Chronicle (1498-1506) as "the greatest ruler since Charlemagne, though his opposition to the Church is not to be lauded." This is exactly the point Hutten would find so worthy of praise.

All of these considerations are apparent in Hutten's never-delivered Speech on the Turkish War, written in hopes of influencing the Diet of Augsburg in 1518. Backed by historical examples, it admonishes the emperor to take over the pope's position as leader of the planned Crusade against the Turks and reproaches the particularist princes for their dissension and indifference to the international affairs of the Empire. The noble strength of the Hohenstaufen, Ottonian and Carolingian emperors still courses in the blood of Maximilian, and now is his chance to prove himself and live up to it. The Turkish war is justified as an opportunity for Germans to display their ancient virility and zeal and regain world importance: "Make War! Up! Then will our former glory revive, our ancient German valour gleam like the plough in the furrow." Once again, history sets the precedent for contemporary mobilization.

The best example of Hutten's employment of an historical figure in his agitation for action is found in the dialogue Arminius, the first political use of

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11 Noted by Seidlmayer, Wege und Wandlungen, p. 211.
13 Hutten, Opera, 5:130.
14 Cited by Holborn, Hutten, p. 105.
Tacitus' descriptions of the ancient leader by a German. Hutten set out to depict Arminius as an illustrious example of ancient Germanic virtues, the exact kind of fearless leader which Germany needed in the present day. In the dialogue, Arminius comes before the throne of Minos to argue his priority over Alexander the Great, Scipio Africanus, and Hannibal in their places of honour as great military leaders. The personal rivalry of the heroic leaders becomes a competition for national supremacy, and in the end, Minos is persuaded to name Arminius "first in rank among the great defenders of their countries' freedom...the most freedom-loving, most victorious and most German of all heroes."\(^{16}\)

This dialogue demonstrates that Hutten was by no means a careful historian. What he researched and published had to serve his nationalist sentiments and political purposes, or it did not interest him: "Not knowledge for its own sake, but knowledge for the sake of action was always his guide."\(^{17}\) Hutten was not concerned with closely following his sources to achieve a truthful picture of Arminius. The symbol created was far more important than the actual history.\(^{18}\) Hutten emphasized the qualities he admired, such as courage, honesty, simplicity and determination, while side-stepping any negative characteristics mentioned by Tacitus. He contradicts Tacitus' account by claiming that Arminius had never striven for

\(^{15}\)Schellhase, Tacitus in Renaissance Political Thought, p. 46. Arminius previously appeared in Nauklerus' World Chronicle, Joachimsen, Geschichtssauflussung, p. 95.

\(^{16}\)From an excerpt translated by G. Strauss, Manifestations, p. 81.


personal gain or glory, but for the freedom of his people alone. Hutten freely manipulated ancient sources in order to glorify German antiquity, unmask the Roman foe, past and present, and produce a heroic symbol of the national liberator who would awaken the nation to unite against the common enemy. Arminius had a specific historical message to impart to the Germans of the day, based on the obvious parallel of their oppressed situation with that of the ancient Germans:

No one, I decreed, was worthy to be called a German who paid tribute to an alien ruler...Having in this way inflamed the spirits of my countrymen with the love of liberty, I made them a solemn promise that within a short time every trace of the Roman yoke would be extinguished from Germany.  

Paradoxically, this dialogue, which was intended to provoke the Germans to shake off the tyranny of the Papacy, was neither translated to German nor printed in Hutten's day. The work that contributed to a virtual cult of the Arminius figure in patriotic literature was not published until 1529, several years after the author's death. Perhaps he had set it aside because it was only an indirect attack on Rome, probably written in 1519 prior to his concern with much more biting polemics. It is also plausible that Hutten suppressed the dialogue when his hopes for the rise of a new Arminius in the person of Charles V were dashed by the emperor's edict against Luther. Whatever the case, the political goals of the dialogue were not reached.

However, many of Hutten's other references to German history were able make

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20 From excerpt in Strauss, Manifestations, pp. 79-80.
22 Holborn discusses the various explanations used in dating the dialogue, Hutten, p. 77.
an impact in his lifetime. In Italy, Hutten came across Lorenzo Valla's tract which revealed the fraud of the Donation of Constantine, the chief document used by the Papacy to back its claim to temporal power. Convinced of the Papacy's long-standing deviousness and usurpation, Hutten edited and published the essay in 1518. He dedicated it to Pope Leo X and expressed hope that he would help to lead the present age to religious improvement and liberty, first by renouncing all temporal power and living up to the title "Restorer of the peace". Whether or not he really expected the progress from Pope Leo, he was clearly drawing on historical proof to justify the imperial attempt to dominate the pope. The publication had its most famous effect on Martin Luther, convincing him the pope was the anti-Christ.

Hutten attempted to make the forgery known to readers of German as well as Latin when he began his publication of more militant anti-papal propaganda. In Roman Trinity, Hutten's complaints against the popes are magnified by historical arguments. He cites the Donation of Constantine and bewails the secular pretensions of the Papacy which lead to war, murder and bloodshed. In the Remonstrance, Hutten acts as an interpreter of the document by pointing out how the popes tried to become the head of the Empire, and admonishes his readers to refer to the histories and chronicles so that they are better informed. The Donation backs his accusation that the Papacy has violated the ancient rights and liberties of the


24Holborn, Hutten, p. 142. See also Johannes Schilling, "Hutten und Luther," in Giese, Hutten in seiner Zeit, p. 95.

25Hutten, Schriften, 1:75.

Germans. In the pope’s mouth Hutten places these words:

I am the heart of the Empire, the emperor is my agent, therefore I have taken the Empire from the Greeks and the Franks and made it over to the free Germans on the condition that they become my vassal and that their wealth become my own.  

The Robbers contains similar arguments to show how gradually the "Roman bishop laid his thieving hands on Germany" by oppressing the "ruler of the world," taking the city of Rome and then Italy from him, and finally claiming the whole medieval Empire as his own.

Hutten uncovered other documents as historical proof of the Papacy's usurpation of temporal power and used them to strategically support his campaign for German freedom. In March, 1520 he published a tract discovered at Fulda which contained details of the investiture conflict during the period of Henry IV and Pope Gregory VII. The document revealed to him the long-hidden greatness of Henry IV. By publishing this tract, Hutten wanted to inspire a renewal of the struggle of the Hohenstaufen emperors of the high Middle Ages. He dedicated it to Ferdinand of Austria, urging him emulate his predecessor's opposition to the pope and help lead the war of German liberation. From the letters of Petrus de Vineus and a tract on the Council of Basel, Hutten selectively gleaned information to aid him in his portrayal of emperors and popes in conflict.

The fruit of Hutten’s research was a pamphlet called Disclosure of How the Roman Bishop or Popes have acted against the German Emperors. It compiles all the wrongs done by various popes to the emperors, beginning with Otto I, who freed Italy from the Saracens in return for which the thankless pope incited uprisings

\[27\] From a German tract comparing the sayings of the pope with those of Christ, Hutten, Opera, V:386-87. Cited by Brann, "Pre-Reformation Humanism," p. 176.

\[28\] Hutten, Gespräche, p. 380.

\[29\] Joachimsen, Geschichtssauffassung, p. 108.
against him. On through the Middle Ages, Hutten discusses every slight and intrigue up to Maximilian's struggle with Leo X, and concludes that papal policy means only ruin for the Empire. Hutten's tone is biased and he avoids any finer details, such as dynastic squabbles which might alter the picture in favour of the Papacy. The emperors are depicted as pious ultra-German heroes, and the popes as perfidious Italian liars, the traditional antagonists of the Empire. Henry IV, for example, is lauded as the most hot-blooded and combative of emperors:

...the likes of whom have never been born in German lands...but the more brave, courageous and virtuous he was, the more he had to suffer persecution by the pope, for as soon as they recognized his great disposition and skill, they opposed him so that he would not grow above them.  

Pope Hildebrand, by contrast, is labeled "the most disgraceful monk that ever lived"\textsuperscript{31}, notorious for conspiring with other kings against the emperor. Like Bebel before him, Hutten depicts the popes as the main hindrance to the Crusades.\textsuperscript{32} While much of the content of the Disclosure is not new material, the special emphasis Hutten places on these events is strategically designed to promote anti-Roman, pro-German sentiment by stressing the historical wrongs done to the valiant Germans by evil popes. Hutten claims to expose the truth to inform and advise Charles V, whom he urges to heed the overwhelming evidence and emancipate the Germans from the papal yoke. His slanted interpretation of these historical figures and events serves this central goal, while it also functions to educate other readers and agitate for their involvement in reform.

In a similar vein, the authority of Church history is precisely used to further Hutten's propaganda in favour of an anti-clerical crusade. The history of the

\textsuperscript{30}Hutten, \textit{Schriften}, 1:228.

\textsuperscript{31}\textit{Ibid.}, I:229.

monastic orders is related by Hutten in The Robbers, to demonstrate at Sickingen's request how the monks came to plague Germany. Though the Mendicant orders began in poverty, they strayed from their pure beginnings when they were given confirmation by the pope who sent these "tricksters" to uphold papal tyranny in Germany. The merchant, convinced by this historical evidence, exclaims "With what justice they will be expelled and exterminated!" Similar references are employed elsewhere in Hutten's Remonstrance and other pamphlets to back Hutten's assertion that Germany can be helped if the monastic orders are completely abolished.

Though Hutten usually avoids promoting any Stämmepatriotismus or regional pride among the Germans, there is one notable exception. The Klagschrift addressed to Friedrich the Wise attempts to move the elector to action by conjuring courageous images of his Saxon ancestors. Arminius, the ultimate freedom-fighter, originated in old Saxony and the battle of Varus which triumphantly expelled the Romans took place there. As proof that subsequent Saxons had never submitted to foreign domination, Hutten cites their struggles against the Poles and the Huns, and mentions exploits led by Saxon ancestors in Italy, Gaul and Spain to attest to their warlike virility. He voices his high hopes that a prince of such birth will rise to defend the freedom of the present Germany. The history of one region is interpreted to imply a special historical role and responsibility which carries into the present day. Nevertheless, this is far from the intense regional pride exhibited by the

33Hutten, Gespräche, pp. 368-369.

34For example, Hutten, Schriften, II:47 and II:80. On Hutten's criticism of the the idolization of Francis and Dominic, see Christoph Burger, "Hutten's Erfahrungen mit Kirche und Frömmigkeit und seine Kritik," in Giese, Hutten in seiner Zeit, pp. 46-48.

35Hutten, Schriften, 2:103-4.
Swabian humanists and serves political rather than personal objectives.

Apart from this isolated example of regional history, Hutten concentrated on depicting the continuous history of the German nation. Unlike the humanists of the Vienna circle, Hutten did not glorify the German emperors as successors of the ancient Romans, but placed them in the historical sequence as successors of the Germanic warriors. The conflicts of the medieval period are rendered as a confrontation between peoples and nations, a struggle for the dominance of the mighty German nation over the Roman Empire and the Papacy. The history of the Germans is depicted not only as a fight for the imperium romanum but also for the self-protection and assertion of national values against foreign influences. The battle begun by the ancient Germans and the Romans of old stretches over the centuries; its triumphant end is for Hutten the most urgent political task of the present. The entire nation bears the responsibility to carry on the struggle.

In connection with this view of history, the norms of the past are of utmost importance. The example of the ancients becomes a standard to be met in the present. Hutten surmises in the Remonstrance that "Our ancestors would never have believed that their successors would come to this...Where is that old courage and sense? Is all manliness gone?" Ancestral heroes are likewise called forth to judge the present Germans in the Klagschrift to Friedrich the Wise:

What would Arminius say if he saw us Germans, who once were honest and noble lords of the whole world and who never submitted to another's rule, now oppressed by soft, delicate priests and effeminate

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37 Holborn, Hutten, p. 78.

38 Hutten, Schriften, II:69-70.
bishops? He would be ashamed of his successors.\textsuperscript{39}

When Hutten refers to Germany's historical claims to the Empire, he employs a mixture of positive and negative rhetorical appeals. In \textit{Roman Trinity}, he attempts to promote national pride in the inherited rights of Germany, calling it "a nation that should not only be free, but should also rule the world..."\textsuperscript{40} This positive promotion of pride alternates with the arousal shameful feelings at the failure of the Germans to live up to the imperial name: "We Germans should either not ascribe the title of Holy Roman Empire to ourselves...or we should throw off papal tyranny."\textsuperscript{41}

In conjunction with the struggle against the historical foes outside the nation, Hutten turns to historical testimony to emphasize the foreign origins of Germany's internal problems. Tacitus' descriptions of ancient Germanic customs provide him, as they had provided Celtis and other humanists, with examples of the simplicity and self-sufficiency of German life in the golden age before the invasion of Roman influences. In \textit{The Onlookers}, the gods reflect wistfully on the idyllic life of the past: At that time did no merchants approach them who imported foreign goods. They used all things produced among them and only these things. They clothed themselves in the pelts of wild beasts. In food as well, they used only those things which the soil of the fatherland produced. External things were unknown everywhere and no pedlars defrauded anyone at that time. There was rigid probity everywhere and everyone adhered to it. Nobody had seen any money, nor did they have silver and gold...This was the best time of the Germans.\textsuperscript{42}

The ideal past is then contrasted with the problems of present-day Germany to aid the all to reestablish the moral austerity and independence of ancient Germany.

\textsuperscript{39}Ibid., II:103.

\textsuperscript{40}Ibid., I:121; see also I:62. Walker notes the positive rhetorical appeal to national pride in conjunction with these examples, \textit{Rhetorical and Saitirical Elements}, p. 153.

\textsuperscript{41}Hutten, \textit{Schriften}, II:105.

Where Celtis had addressed his nostalgic recollection of rustic ancient lifestyles and his disparagement of imported vice to other humanists and students, Hutten makes it part of more aggressive, wider-reaching propaganda aimed at blaming contemporary social groups for the corruption of German morals. Similar arguments are used in The Robbers to admonish the merchants to abandon their import of luxury items:

SICKINGEN: It is against nature to bring in what does not grow here. Would God that you had not taught Germany to love disgraceful things, luxuries, useless stuff like foreign clothing, gold and gems, then our customs would not have been ruined and our money would have remained here. Murder, war, rape which has occurred because of these wares would not have happened...we would still live like our ancestors, those valiant men who fought for virtue and honour. How wise were our forefathers who never let the merchants near them...their highest fame was to be valued as a people to whom deceit and slyness were foreign...our forefathers never knew how to lie. You have gradually introduced these vices. O Auslaenderei!  

Likewise, the example of an historical age without Roman law is presented to back Hutten's vituperation of lawyers and notaries. Because their forefathers had no knowledge of lawyers, Sickingen sees no need for them in the present day: "Germany was better ruled when law rested on weapons, than now when the lawyers rule...Then, the sword sufficed to preserve the innocents from violence and injustice." Hutten replies that if the old laws were restored, the fatherland would return to its old fame and brilliance. History justifies the knights' plans to return to the traditional way of solving disputes, the feud.

In his most systematic dialogue, The Robbers, Hutten once again utilizes the ancient warrior ideal to sanction his call for action. Enthymeme, a rhetorical device of logic, is put to use. Since the ancient Germans refused to submit and were

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43 Hutten, Gespräche, pp. 328-329.

44 Ibid., p. 355. See also Ridé's discussion of feuding, L'image du Germain, I:460.
virtuous, it follows that the modern should act just like them. After the crimes of
the various groups who plunder Germany have been exposed in detail, the nation is
urged to move against them with force:

HUTTEN: And should we continue to tolerate such people in our midst? Let us instead emulate our forefathers, those brave warriors who, having won their great victory over the Romans and restored liberty to their country, struck at all enemies without distinction but saved their most violent vengeance for Roman advocates. Whenever one of these ranters fell into their hands they cut out his tongue, sewed up his lips and said to him: "Now, viper, will you cease hissing?"

MERCHANT: Would God that all Germans heeded your admonition.

In summary, Hutten referred to examples from German history with three main
goals of argumentation. Ancient or medieval situations were conjured in order to
illustrate a parallel or contrast between the past and the present. The virtues of
ancient Germany contrasted with the vice of the present day. The ancient struggle
to expel the Romans from Germany paralleled the contemporary German battle to oust
the Romanists. History could also be applied as a legitimation of an opinion or
proposed action. Since the temporal power of the Papacy rested on a fraud, it should
be taken away. Because feuding was allowed in the past, it was legitimate under
present circumstances. Finally, history could be used as a motivation to inspire or
provoke action, such as the call to action created by the potent image of the ancient
Germans battling the Romans.

Historical references performed three main functions to supply examples,
causal connections, or norms. The figure of Arminius was produced as an
inspirational example. The examples of papal misdeeds of yore provided an arsenal

45 Goodell, Hutten as Orator-Poet, p. 236.
46 From excerpt translated by G. Strauss, Manifestations, p. 207.
47 The "goals" and "functions" in this and the following paragraph are adapted from Juliane Marschalk, "Argumentation mit Geschichte in frühneuzeitlichen Flugschriften: Ein Forschungsbericht," in Köhler, Flugschriften, pp. 225-231.
for invectives against the present pope. Hutten implied a causal connection between
the liberty Arminius fought for, the medieval conflicts with the Church and the
contemporary opposition to papal exploitation. Warrior virtues and other morals
supplied norms and standards with which to judge present activity. Norms from the
past were held up to promote or justify similar actions on the part of the emperor,
the Saxon elector and all good Germans.

The references to German heritage found in Hutten's works were more than
just a nostalgic longing for the past. They were not made by a meticulous historian
hoping to present truthful facts; rather by a propagandist experimenting with
images and techniques of persuasion. They were a distinct part of his deliberate
attempt to rouse support for his campaign. By promoting a sense of long-standing
traditional opposition to the Italian nation, its Church, pope and other
representatives, Hutten was legitimating the opinions he held and the actions he
hoped to incite.

4.2 EBERLIN VON GÜNZBURG AND NATIONAL HISTORY

Tacitus' Germania was first translated into German in 1526 by none other than
Eberlin von Günzburg. His attitude to German history is best summed up in his own
words at the end of the translation:

It is shameful that a German man can relate and recall so little about his
nation. This is why one of us has applied himself to make known the
origin, development, valorous actions and subsequent misfortunes of
this very noble nation, in order to teach and warn others.48

In the dedication of his work to the Count of Wertheim, Eberlin discusses the need
for special effort in the collection of legends and historical fragments of the Germans'
magnificent deeds and accomplishments in the past and present. He urges the duke

48Cited by Weidhase, Kunst und Sprache, p. 160 and Ridé, L'image du Germain,
II:644. This complete tract is unavailable, but a full treatment of it appears in Ridé,
II:642-663.
and other rulers to lead the way in this undertaking and stresses that it would contribute to the betterment and education of contemporary and future Germans.\footnote{See full citation, Ridé, \textit{ibid.}, pp. 644-645.} This translation, with its goal of preserving the past for educational purposes, was at once Eberlin's most humanistic project and a "symptom of his patriotism".\footnote{Dickens, \textit{The German Nation and Martin Luther}, p. 118.} Moreover, as an attempt to make Tacitus' writings accessible to a larger audience, it is proof of Eberlin's hope to instill national pride in his fellow Germans by increasing their knowledge of the nation's history. Earlier references in his pamphlets indicate that German history was for Eberlin both an educational and political tool. It furnished him with parallels, contrasts, and examples with which to teach, but also to warn his countrymen and hopefully move them to action.

Eberlin's selection and annotation of passages from the \textit{Germania} offer some clues to his view of the ancient Germans. His praise is reserved for the moral qualities and austere lifestyle of the German tribes, their freedom from luxury and the severity of justice practised among them.\footnote{Ridé, \textit{L'image du Germain}, II:648-649.} Though the connection is not made explicit, these are all aspects that appear in his utopian view of society, models from the past worthy of exaltation and imitation. Eberlin avoids reproducing passages considering the rituals of pagan worship, but in keeping with the iconoclastic views of many Reformers calls attention to the fact that the tribes had no images of their gods.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, II:656.} Such examples served to contrast the ideal past with the decadent position of present-day Germany,\footnote{Contrast noted by Cole, \textit{Eberlin}, p. 41.} with emphasis on the moral, economic and religious spheres. This is done in the manner of Hutten, Celtis and other humanists but with
a sometimes apparent overtone of Reform teachings. In other aspects, Eberlin has a slightly less idealistic view of the Germans. He does not excuse their drunkenness as a vice less evil than those of other nations, nor does he point to the Battle of Varus as a sign of German invincibility. Eberlin admits that portions of Germany were indeed conquered by the Roman legions. Discipline in combat is valued above military power, with the tribal taste for violence labelled as "unchristian". By 1526, Eberlin clearly had developed his own unique interpretation of Germanic history.

Despite these comments on the most important source of ancient history, Eberlin's earlier pamphlets make no specific reference to Tacitus nor to his depictions of the Germans. Eberlin's pacifist stance in regard to peasant uprisings at the time he translated Tacitus suggests why he refrained from rousing action by evoking images of the Germanic precedent for the violent expulsion of the Romans. However, this does not explain the curious dearth of ancient references in previous pamphlets where the issues of morality, economic self-sufficiency and resistance to Roman oppression could have been supported by historical parallels and examples in the manner of Hutten's arguments. Perhaps Eberlin had little opportunity to personally examine the ancient sources at this time. Only a few remarks suggest his awareness of them. He may be alluding to the Germania, as well as other works when he notes "We recognize from old histories how well-disposed our nation is and how evil our circumstances are today." When he mentions the corruption of "old German honour" by Roman representatives, it is probable that he is speaking of ancient Germanic virtues. In a complaint against luxurious dress, Eberlin insists that "Our ancestors were joyous and courageous, and not one of them was dressed

54Ridé, L'image du Germain, II:651.

55Eberlin, Schriften, I:9.
in silk." In any case, such examples are sparse and vague.

By contrast, references to the medieval period are far more specific and frequent in Eberlin's pamphlets. Despite humanist influence on his education, his knowledge was more centred on theology and Church issues than on ancient sources. Examples from Church history are utilized to document the ways in which the Pope distanced the Church from its true origins. Eberlin often utilizes Hutten's most potent argument against papal power by bringing up the Donation of Constantine. He notes that the nobility has begun to see the true nature of the Romanists' claim by finding "the old histories", presumably a reference to Hutten's publication of Valla's exposure of the fraudulent Donation. Elsewhere, Eberlin argues that "The monks say the pope is God on earth. The true teachings show that this is false, he is a bishop like any other bishop and has no power over the Empire."

Using other arguments similar to Hutten's, Eberlin uses historical evidence to stress the basic opposition between the emperor and pope. In the "Eighth Confederate" Eberlin asserts that the emperor should not lie at the feet of the pope like a servant, gullibly accepting his lies. He contrasts the uncalled for respect of the princes and the emperor for the pope in the present day with historical cases:

Our forefathers thought the popes' pretences were false and their demands unfair, and that is why some German emperors resisted and strove to throw off the papal yoke, such as the worthy emperors Henry, Otto, Friedrich Barbarossa and Friedrich II and Ludwig the Bavarian. When the papists saw this, they thought up other tricks...

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56 Ibid., III:150-160.
57 Noted by Heger, Eberlin, p. 81.
58 See Eberlin, Schriften, III:154, mentioned by Hitchcock, Knights' Revolt, p. 69.
59 Eberlin, Schriften, I:85.
60 Ibid., I:81.
The examples serve to contrast with the inaction of the current emperor and recommend that he emulate his wise forebears.

In the same pamphlet, Eberlin goes on to discuss the historical development of the monastic orders, stressing their humble and righteous origins in "two pious men named Francis and Dominic who strove to preach the Word of God...and accomplished much good among the people, for they lived spiritual and innocent lives." But "then came the beggar-fools" who took on their title, corrupted the order through their worldly ambitions, and were richly endowed by papal power in return for the collection of money by appealing to the piety of the simple Germans. History is used to explain the orders' transformation from good to bad and point to contemporary misdeeds. Finally, Eberlin makes suggestions for present action against the monastic orders based on an historical parallel. He notes that the wise forefathers of the Germans had once set on the immigrating friars with force, and that it will not surprise him if the present-day Germans do likewise or send them all back to the Pope. The rhetorical device of enthymeme serves here to emphasize the logic of the probable outcome.

One final note in this pamphlet is instructive. After sketching the history of papal and monastic misdeeds in Germany, Eberlin exclaims that men such as Hutten write in German to expose the deceitfulness of the pope and his representatives and open the eyes of the Germans to such evil acts. This statement, along with the similarity of his argumentation, suggests that Eberlin was familiar with Hutten's pamphlets outlining the traditional antagonism of the popes to the emperors and the corruption of the monastic orders. Though biblical citations are more numerous than

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61Ibid., I:81-82.

62Ibid., I:83; noted by J. Werner, Eberlin, p. 19.

63Eberlin, Schriften, I:86.
historical references in Eberlin's works, clearly historical themes were useful in the production of anti-Roman, pro-German propaganda. Eberlin, like Hutten, recognized the importance of German history as a weapon with which to bias his audience against the identified adversaries and provoke outraged action against them.

4.3 HARMUT VON CRONBERG AND NATIONAL HISTORY

The pamphlets written by Hartmut von Cronberg must now be examined for their use of historical argumentation. If Hartmut recognized Hutten's masterful employment of German history in legitimating and promoting action similar to that which he himself was advocating, this should be apparent in his pamphlets. Of course, his perception and understanding of history was largely dependent on his educational background, despite his personal contact with Hutten and the historical references in Hutten's pamphlets. Judging from Hartmut's rudimentary education and the content of his writings, his knowledge of history was scant. What little historical information he did incorporate into his pamphlets could have been gleaned from his contact with the humanist movement through both Sickingen's circle and Köbel's. Hartmut had a limited understanding of the potential of German history as an instrument of propaganda. As the following discussion of Hartmut's references to the past will show, he made only occasional use of historical argumentation to back points or contrast the past with the present.

Historical allusions in Hartmut's pamphlets tend to be unexplicit. Without any reference to specific reigns or dates, he relates in his tract "to all estates" the way the pope unlawfully became highest lord over the emperor. In his letter to the Strasbourg city council, Hartmut emphasizes the long-standing, historical nature of this problem. He mentions that anti-Christian temptations began at time of

64Bogler, Hartmut, p. 8.

65Hartmut in Bode, p. 277.
apostles, adding that "we and our ancestors have erred..." Present-day conditions are directly related to the past. Hartmut admonishes Leo X: "O Leo, your papacy stands truly on an evil, foul basis..." This implied reference to the Donation of Constantine backs his exhortation for the pope to abandon his "worldly rule and devilish power" and turn his riches over to the emperor. A similar reference, which states that the "worldly power of pope has no basis and is unacceptable to God" appears in Hartmut's letter to Walter von Cronberg. Though vague, this allusion to the Donation is part of a genuine effort on Hartmut's part to educate fellow nobles and justify proposed action, such as the secularization of Church property. No solid connection is made between the Donation and its consequences in the German lands.

Like Hutten, Hartmut refers to ancient history to argue against the greed and luxury he perceives in society. However, while the examples he chooses serve to point out contemporary follies by highlighting their dissimilarities with a golden past, it is not German history which provides the contrast. In his "Christian Letter and Warning to all Estates" Hartmut refers not to idyllic period of Germanic tribes, but to the "time of the common Roman government" when the "noblest of heathens" ruled. Hartmut advises the princes, counts and knights to follow the example of the ancient Romans who "did not consider goods and money but noble virtues to be the highest riches. Many excellent leaders were among them, who could have attained great riches, but they all held the richness of virtue to be in manly deeds and service to the common good." The Romans are also applauded for their high

66 Ibid., p. 277.
67 Ibid., p. 144.
68 Ibid., p. 137.
69 Ibid., p. 277.
respect for agriculture, praise which Hitchcock interprets once again as mere indications of Hartmut's class interests.\textsuperscript{70} Such examples are in fact an alluring justification of the knights' chivalric values and agrarian lifestyle, assisted by mention of a time long past. This might please or attract the noble factions of Hartmut's audience by expressing their standpoints, but it could in no way contribute to a proud sense of distinctly German history, nor strengthen a polarized antagonism between the Germans and the Romans. Hartmut understood the need to represent the views of the nobility in a positive way both to interest target groups among the nobility and enhance the knights' reputation among other groups. On the other hand, where questions of national history were concerned, had missed out on a valuable lesson in Hutten's propaganda.

Hartmut's meagre attention to German history is perhaps best explained by his overriding concern with biblical references. Instead of evoking images of the valiant ancient Germans and demanding that his readers emulate them, Hartmut remains devoted to biblical genealogy. He refers to Adam and Eve as \textit{Stammeltern}, "our first father and mother."\textsuperscript{71} His purpose in mentioning these "ancestors" is not to call his readers to action, but to remind them of the nature of original sin and the presence of evil temptations in the world. Hartmut rarely rises above this deeply religious tone to give his pamphlets a more nationalistic edge. Despite his contact with Hutten, the potential of German history as a legitimation for the \textit{Pfaffenkrieg} remained beyond Hartmut's grasp.

\textsuperscript{70}Hitchcock, \textit{Knights' Revolt}, p. 103.

\textsuperscript{71}Hartmut in Bode, p. 236 and p. 137.
CHAPTER FIVE
NATIONAL THEMES IN OTHER PAMPHLETS

The previous chapters have illustrated that the two most important themes developed in Ulrich von Hutten's propaganda, national character and history, were recognized and used by Eberlin von Günzburg far more than by Hartmut von Cronberg. Both made more use of character than history to back their arguments. These men are only two representatives of countless authors who took part in the explosion of pamphleteering activity in the early years of the Reformation. The following discussion will show that other pamphleteers, from the well-known to the obscure and anonymous, responded to Hutten's national themes and the techniques involved in their use in a similarly varied fashion. Points concerning these pamphleteers' lives, genre, target audience and program exposure will be briefly addressed where necessary. Finally, some general patterns of response and possible reasons for this diversity will be considered.

Because Hutten's national themes in part expressed prevailing apprehensions and perceptions, the argumentation based on them was well-timed and was utilized by other propagandists, including Martin Luther himself. Luther's Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation, written in August 1520, may have achieved much inspiration from Hutten's Roman Trinity published in April of that year. Due to the affinity of Hutten and Luther's ideas concerning the need for a reform led by national authorities, Hutten's possible influence on Luther has been discussed mainly in terms of the development of reform strategy; propaganda technique has not been mentioned.¹ Luther's primary purpose for the Address is to explain the theological

¹For example Holborn, Hutten, p. 140; Meyer, "Hutten und Luther", p. 258; Walker, Rhetorical and Satirical Elements, p. 258. None go much further than to admit that certain "verbal reminiscences" of Hutten's polemic appear in Luther's pamphlet.
ramifications of his reform program to the powers he beseeches to carry it out. In this letter several appeals to national sentiment are made which echo Hutten's methods. Luther portrays the simple, pious Germans as innocent victims of the Romanists' "false and deceptive terrors" through the "shameless and impious regime of Rome."\(^2\) He manipulates his audience's strong emotions of pride and humiliation much in Hutten's manner:

> The popes have made such use of the praiseworthy and straightforward intentions of the German people that they have taken these revenues now for more than a hundred years...their opinion is that the Germans will always be gullible fools, and go on paying the money to satisfy their indescribable greed...All the time, they have misused us in our simplicity to the advantage of their arrogant and despotic ways. They call us "senseless" Germans for letting ourselves be deceived and fooled just as it suited them.\(^3\)

The "we" and "they" polarity is emphasized through the use of terms and phrases which include the reader in a cultural alliance while emphasizing the foreignness of the opposition. "Let us wake up, my dear fellow countrymen,"\(^4\) Luther calls. He portrays Rome as the centre of all immorality and connects the pope with the avaricious buying and selling activities of the Fuggers in words that echo the bitter hatred in Hutten's _Trinity._\(^5\) Luther also refers to the Donation of Constantine to undermine papal authority and uses other historical argumentation to further discredit the enemy and contrast Germany's present situation with the past: "I fear that Germany today is giving far more to the pope in Rome than she used to give formerly to the emperors."\(^6\) As is well-known, Luther's love for

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\(^3\)Ibid., pp. 421-422, 477.

\(^4\)Ibid., p. 418.

\(^5\)See ibid., pp. 429-430.

\(^6\)Ibid., p. 440, p. 421.
Germany was always subordinate to religious commitments and was neither as
determined nor as methodical as the nationalism of the humanists. Nevertheless,
Luther could not ignore the possibility of drumming up support for his campaign by
stirring national feeling. Therefore, he made some use of national themes which
reflect the techniques formulated most clearly and repeated most often by Hutten.

Another major Reformer, Martin Bucer (1491-1551), had much closer contact
with Hutten and his methods. He is purported to be the author of New Karsthangs,²
a dialogue published anonymously in 1521 which used Hutten's favoured genre much
as he did to promote the Pfaffenkrieg in a way that was accessible and attractive to
a broad audience. The son of a poor cobbler, Bucer was educated in the scholastic
tradition, though through humanist contacts he studied Greek and became an
Erasmus enthusiast.³ He entered a Dominican monastery at the age of 15 and
completed his Baccalaureum and Magister at Heidelberg in 1517. Soon he rebelled
against the restrictions of both monastic life and the scholastic system by openly
supporting Luther and fleeing to become Sickingen's evangelical pastor. While taking
refuge on the Ebernburg for several months prior to the Knights' Revolt, Bucer
worked closely with Hutten to translate the Gesprächbüchlein and the Klagschriften
from Latin to German, and therefore had intimate contact with Hutten's methods that
was unavailable to other pamphleteers. Without backing his assertion with examples,
Berger remarks that Bucer "took on not only Hutten's fighting spirit, but much of

²The title indicates the author's calculated effort to connect the pamphlet with a
popular satire attacking Thomas Murner entitled Karsthangs (1520) which was printed
nine times, Bode, Hartmut, p. 125. The name comes from the old Franconian word
for field-worker, Rupprich, Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur, p. 117. Though
both dialogues depict a typical peasant, the content is otherwise unrelated.

³David C. Steinmetz, Reformers in the Wings (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book
his style." A brief look at New Karstans will consider what methods and themes Bucer may have gleaned from his work with Hutten.

The central figure of the dialogue, the peasant Karstans, asks Franz von Sickingen for aid in a humorous dispute with a bishop's official. He receives not only a promise for help, but a thorough education concerning the Roman anti-Christ's corruption of the true faith and the robbery and oppression of Germany through the devious machinations of the clergy. Though Sickingen is more knowledgeable than Karstans, he merely backs up many of the peasant's personal observations and complaints with explanations and biblical references, leaving the reader with the impression that the leader of the knights represents the needs of the German peasantry. It seems that the different social interests of the peasantry and the nobility are unimportant in the face of the common foe. At the end of the dialogue the grateful peasant vows to join in an alliance with other lords, knights and peasants. A compact, easily memorized list of thirty articles enumerates the steps for action in support of the evangelical faith and the anticlerical operations of Sickingen and Hutten. The dialogue is intended to convince all of these groups that the cause is worthy and legitimate.

Hutten's character formulas appear clearly in Bucer's dialogue. Sickingen praises Ziska's wisdom in expelling and eradicating the monks, "for he was right to think that the basis of all misbelief comes from these liars, and that they are never satisfied." Karstans and his allies swear to the following:

...[to] regard all monks as liars...all cardinals, officials...as the devil's apostles...help Ulrich von Hutten against the courtesans and their followers...regard papal legates as the traitors of the German

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9Berger, ed., Sturmtruppen, p. 58.

10Könneker, Kommentar, p. 108.

11Bucer, Sturmtruppen, p. 198.
nation and the common enemy of the fatherland...\textsuperscript{12} That Hutten is mentioned in a list which presents Church representatives as devious foes of the whole nation is not coincidental.

To further discredit the clergy in the eyes of noble readers, the author depicts them as the special enemies of the knights:

\begin{quote}
\textellipsis with good reason, the clergy should have been driven out long ago...to speak the truth, there is no one in Germany who is more burdened by the clergy than the lesser nobility...why don't we recognize the great robbery Rome makes yearly?...who would be surprised if the disgraceful priests are punished by the people?...we must expel one devil with the other...\textsuperscript{13}
\end{quote}

Sickingen explains that the nobility's donations to the Church only benefit "treacherous courtesans and Romanists."\textsuperscript{14} In contrast to the evil clergy, the portrayal of the knights is in keeping with the ultra-chivalrous cast set by Hutten. He and Sickingen are depicted as "knights of Christ", courageous, truthful Germans who are completely free of greed and ambition. Hutten is also praised for leading Sickingen to study Luther's teachings and for exposing the illegitimacy of papal power. Without further explanation, Berger notes that this favourable depiction of the knights is part of an effort to unite all estates in the struggle against Rome.\textsuperscript{15}

Such glowing portrayals could certainly impress members of the knighthood and encourage their allegiance to the cause, but these positive images were also intended to improve the reputation of the knights and inspire other groups to support their activities. Based on polarized images, this dialogue delivers a powerful incentive to the knights to carry out the violent action suggested as retribution for the clergy's

\textsuperscript{12}Ibid., p. 202.

\textsuperscript{13}Ibid., pp. 199-200.

\textsuperscript{14}Ibid., p. 199.

\textsuperscript{15}Berger, ed., Sturmtruppen, p. 57.
misdeeds.

Historical argumentation in New Karsthans appears far less frequently than the denigration of the opponents' character. The author stresses the lengthy time-span of German grievances, insisting that "for so long the heretical men have lied to us" and that the popes "for several hundred years have been the heads of all evil, disgrace, vice and misdeeds."\(^{16}\) The author does not supply specific examples of events where clerical lies or papal misdeeds could be interpreted from the historical context.

Other less renowned pamphleteers were also receptive to Hutten's methods. A monk of probable noble descent, Heinrich von Kettenbach supported the Knights' Revolt and used imagery similar to Hutten's to depict both the knights and their opponents. Some of the similarities in their writings may be due in part to his contact with Eberlin von Günzburg, for the two fled the same monastery. Because of Kettenbach's later ties with the radical Zwickau prophets, he was executed in Munich in 1524 or 1525.\(^ {17}\) In one of his pamphlets, Kettenbach portrays an idealized Sickingen as the leader of the Reformation giving an impassioned speech to his army. Sickingen appears as a chivalrous hero who risks everything for God and is the enemy of all those who have destroyed the nobility and stolen their goods.\(^ {18}\) Kettenbach's brief letter, entitled Complaint to the Nobility of the Empire, is interspersed with imagery that recalls the stereotypes in Hutten and Eberlin's work:

O pious knights of the German lands...we are all servants of the effeminate, unspiritual sodomites... why do we not use force against

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\(^{16}\)Bucer, ibid., p. 178.

\(^{17}\)Könneker, Kommentar, p. 113.

these marauding wolves, the greedy thieves and robbers, the papists?...O Christian nobility, strong, daring, upright above all other lands, take my complaint to heart...

The devout German knights are once again set in opposition to their morally corrupt enemies. In this fashion, Kettenbach attempts to stir pride in German moral superiority and arouse outraged action against the identified oppressors. No allusion to the past is made in this letter.

While Luther, Bucer and Kettenbach belong to the group of pamphleteers who sometimes utilized patterns perfected by Hutten to stir national sentiment, other authors share the essentially religious perceptions of Hartmut von Cronberg. Hans Landschad von Steinach (1465-1531), a nobleman who was the Mayor of Oppenheim in 1511 wrote two pamphlets which promoted the Lutheran cause. Like Hartmut, Landschad had no humanist education, but he did have contact with Köbel's circle and with Hartmut. His letter entitled Missive to Ludwig of the Palatinate (1522) was accompanied by a poem and collection of bible citations. In it, Landschad criticizes Church representatives for the abandonment of their spiritual duties but makes no stand for or against the planned Pfaffenkrieg. A second pamphlet addressed to Landschad's friend Otto Brunfels in 1523 calls the heads of Christendom and all Christians to support the evangelical faith. Like Hartmut, Landschad relies on bible citations rather than historical examples to support his views and presents his readers with these alternatives: God, the truth and good, or the devil, lies and evil. In no way do Landschad's pamphlets make use of national themes. Gustav Benrath notes that Landschad's pamphlets "...can not compare in form, content,

19Kettenbach, Sturmtruppen, pp. 228-229.

distribution and importance with the writings of Cronberg or Hutten." 21 Nevertheless, his work is proof that another noble pamphleteer completely disregarded the possible national implications of the Reformation and failed to use techniques developed to manipulate the public's instincts and emotions regarding the German homeland. Helmut Bode suggests that Hartmut was the pioneer of such confessional propaganda among the nobles which was primarily concerned with convincing other nobles to fulfill their responsibility to lead their people to obedient faith in God. 22 This could certainly hold true in Landschad's case.

Another more renowned noble may have also followed Hartmut's example. Franz von Sickingen himself completely avoids national issues and themes in his only pamphlet, a letter to his son's father-in-law, Dieter von Handschuchsheim which first appeared in June 1522 and went through seven printings. 23 Sickingen's letter deals only with religious issues and answers questions Handschuchsheim had asked him about the new evangelical teaching. The letter may have been composed originally to satisfy the religious conscience and curiosity of Sickingen's relative. Yet its publication was undoubtedly a strategically timed move to publicize Sickingen's true religious convictions, alleviate the uneasiness of fellow nobles and add to the legitimacy of the impending action against Trier. Along with other pamphlets produced by Sickingen's circle, the letter was seen as a mere gesture of piety by some contemporaries, such as the vehement Matthias Siegel of Trier. 24

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21 Ibid., p. 66.

22 Bode, Hartmut, p. 199.


has subsequently been down-played or virtually ignored by later historians convinced that Sickingen's goals were primarily self-serving. Volker Press makes no mention of the pamphlet in his discussion of Sickingen's religious commitments; Kurt Baumann insists that the idealized picture appearing in later historical interpretations which depicts Sickingen as a virtuous knight true to the Bible and the evangelical movement is based on his portrayal in New Karsthan. He takes no notice of similar portrayals in the work of Hutten and other pamphleteers and disregards the faith expressed in Sickingen's own pamphlet. Miriam Chrisman has recently re-emphasized Sickingen's genuine religious commitment. Whatever Sickingen's true beliefs may have been, he made no other written attempt to publicize them or spread any of the nationalist convictions he must have shared with Hutten. After all, the eloquent pamphleteer was resident in Sickingen's castle, busily producing propaganda in his favour.

Other knights took a more direct, aggressive stance in favour of the Pfaffenkrieg in anonymous publications. A series of four pamphlets bearing the label "turned out by the nobility" appeared in late 1521 or 1522. Due to the affinity of the content with Hutten and Sickingen's views, these pamphlets are held to be the work of a group of noblemen who were resident at the Ebernburg prior to the revolt. In the first dialogue, A nice and useful booklet of the Christian faith, a wise and pious count persuades a canon and several priests to discuss evangelical teachings. With prodding, they finally cease their characteristic avoidance of the truth and express their approval of Luther. The nobility's obligation to take a leading role in religious

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reform is stressed, indicating the authors' goal to urge the direct involvement of other nobles in reform. A non-noble reader could likewise be convinced of the valid duties and designs of the militant knights. The action escalates progressively from the first pamphlet to the final one, so that a reader who accepts the responsibilities stated in the first dialogue is favourably inclined to adhere to the more radical conclusions of the subsequent ones.

Throughout the Ebernburg pamphlets, Church representatives are discredited through the creation of vivid images of their vile activities in Germany, the products of their greedy, insatiable character. In the second dialogue, the count, Luther and a nobleman who has just joined Sickingen answer the question of *Who made the whole world poor?* with resounding criticism of the clergy. The main theme is that Church representatives have brought the German people to anarchy and poverty. As evident in the richness of the monasteries, they gain their power unlawfully through control of the land. The clergy are not teachers, but "empty the pockets and rob the nobility and have corrupted us all." Hutten's main theme from *The Robbers* is distinctly expressed in this pamphlet. It is not nobles who are highway robbers; the real ones are priests and monks who make the nobles poor and drive the impoverished knights to rob in order to survive. The noble urges the duke to enter into an alliance with the nobility to administer justice to the priests.

In the final two dialogues the noble plays the role of a fool, who is nevertheless wiser than his counterparts and speaks out in an open, irresponsible manner forbidden to the other speakers. The third pamphlet entitled *Who are the living martyrs?* contains his harshly polemical diatribe. The noble identifies Hutten as the leading opponent of the clergy: "Be glad, noble Hutten...I want to come to

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your aid, and I will not hesitate...I understand that we must send the priests to the
desert with the monks and force them to speak the real truth."²⁹ He is asked by the
clergy to continue his instruction in the conclusion of the series, entitled The good,
pious Lutheran priest's fool. The nobleman praises Hutten and Luther for revealing
the insatiability of Rome and the monks and priests, and concludes:

This is why it would be good if the nobility does not hesitate to take
back its goods and free the land, cancel trading among the people and
outlaw merchants and shopkeepers, for when the goods that the monks
and priests possessed unlawfully are redistributed, they would all have
enough, and let no more evil hunters into the land, who hunt our bodies
and goods and want to corrupt us all.³⁰

The German people are the hunted, but the "evil hunters", the voracious priests and
merchants, should be hunted down instead and chased out of the land. As in
Hutten's work, both the clergy and the merchants are perceived as the oppressors
and corrupters of Germany with the connotation that they come from outside of the
country and must be barred from entering.

The connection of Church representatives with the merchants is developed in
the third Ebernburg pamphlet. The noble attacks monks for "selling treasures of
heaven" and warns "We didn't understand who the merchants are, but I fear that if
we search, we will find them among the monks and priests."³¹ Chrisman notes that
in these pamphlets, "merchant" was "used as an epithet to describe the avarice and
duplicity of the clergy."³² By connecting the distasteful activities of these two
groups as Hutten did, the pamphleteers attempted to convince readers with an
already growing distrust of the merchant enterprises to hate similar practises

²⁹Ibid., p. 107.

³⁰Ibid., pp. 124-5.

³¹Ibid., p. 99.

carried out by the clergy.

The Ebernburg pamphlets contain only vague references to the past. They are interspersed with general descriptions of the clergy's gradual acquisition of worldly goods. The feeling that these grievances began long ago and continue to plague the Germans is developed in the second dialogue despite the lack of particular historical references to events or dates:

They destroy land and people, as you see before your eyes. People who had land two hundred years ago now have nothing, and the benefices and monasteries that had nothing two hundred years ago have all become rich, and where there was one before, now stand two. 33

The third pamphlet contains a striking historical reference, used to encourage action in the present that is the opposite of that which took place in the past. History provides the evidence which insists on vengeful justice and retribution. A legend is related about a group of Dominicans who tricked a novice tailor in Berne. The debate about this abominable act leads the speakers and the reader to the conclusion that "If the monks destroyed us in the past, so we will destroy them in the future..." 34 The historical precedent contributes to the negative image of the Dominicans and supplies the reader with supportive reasoning for the suggested violent eradication of the order. It does not, however, relate the incident to specific Dominican misdeeds within Germany to build up national animosities against "Roman" representatives. The Ebernburg pamphlets contain more passages in which allusions to character, rather than to history are used to encourage a polarization of opinion.

The diverse response to national themes is exemplified further in another pamphlet presumably written by a knight. The failure of the Knight's Revolt did not mean the end of its supporters' pamphleteering. The anonymous Dialogue spoken by

33Clemen, Flugschriften, p. 97.

34Ibid., p. 110.
Franz von Sickingen at the Gates of Heaven with Saint Peter and his Knight Saint George (1523) is a prime example of the continued effort to justify the cause of the knights and attack their enemies. In it, Sickingen effectively defends his actions on behalf of the German nation in a systematic listing of the evil forces fought against by the virtuous knights. Even though the economic and political slant represents the point of view of the imperial knights, there are constant references to the common good and the benefits that the common man would have received had Sickingen succeeded. The two saints are convinced of Sickingen's selfless sacrifice for the welfare of the nation, just as the author intends his readers to be.

This pamphlet is especially instructive in its depiction of Sickingen and the internal foes of the nation. Sickingen is drawn as pious servant of God, an "authorized executor of justice" and selfless, "champion of justice in the cause of the poor" who claims to have had the support of the common people. The dialogue portrays princes as oppressors and castigates their pride, covetousness, greed and love of luxury. It deplores the practice of Roman law, and "chicaneries in the administration of justice that force a man who hasn't the patience to wait out the interminable delays into taking the law into his own hands through a feud or private war." The injustice of Roman law is blamed for Sickingen's need to resort to launching a feud. The "merchant lords of our cities" are censured because they are above justice, wallow in luxury, and make common cause with princes in "sucking the blood and sweat" of the people. They victimize the common folk by usury, deception,


36 Ibid., pp. 171, 177, 174.

37 Ibid., pp. 170-171.
profiteering and greed. Bankers and creditors are likewise attacked as profiteers. Like Hutten's pamphlets, this dialogue attempts to exploit the existing biases of the nobility, especially their hatred of the merchant classes, by magnifying the perceived misdeeds of all groups reproached by the nobility until they appear as a the enemies of the whole nation. Yet there is no effort made to link them with Rome, the curia, or "Italian" vices in Hutten's manner.

In this dialogue only one brief mention of history crops up. The conversation otherwise deals only with the present situation in Germany and sets up no parallels or contrasts with the past. When Sickingen is urged to explain the deficiency of justice and good government in the German lands, he remarks that it is a long and tiresome story, adding "I'll not bore you with ancient history but shall start in the present." The historical foundation of Germany's problems is recognized, but a thorough treatment of it is not considered necessary to argue the knights' case against the princes and merchants. Likewise, when the author complains of the corruption of the nation through foreign imports, he misses a perfect opportunity to bring in Tacitus' confirmation of Germany's economic self-sufficiency. Sickingen states that without imported fruits and luxuries, the Germans "would manage to live just the same, eating our own native products..." No parallel is made to measure present-day vice against historical example.

The survey of these pamphlets, as well as the previous sections on the work of Eberlin and Hartmut has shown these pamphleteers' mixed responses to the techniques of positive-negative propaganda contained in Hutten's works. In all of the pamphlets examined, a polarized opposition is built up between a "we" group and

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a "they" group, but the images of the stereotypical groups do not always correspond as strongly with the national models formulated in Hutten's pamphlets. National character is not the major focal point of any of the letters and dialogues discussed here. The pamphlets in which Hutten is mentioned by name, including those by Eberlin, Bucer, and the Ebernburg knights, are most explicit in their usage of Hutten's xenophobic images of the clergy and echo most loudly his nationalistic pro-German tone and violent anticlericalism. Yet Hartmut's pamphlets, as well as the dialogue between Sickingen and St. Peter, point to very different conceptions of Germany's problems which make little use of national stereotypes. For Hartmut, the battle is essentially a religious one between pious Christians and the evil advocates of the devil. For the anonymous author who was probably a knight as well, the struggle is seen from the slanted perspective of socio-economic prejudice. Some of the pamphleteers catch on to Hutten's scheme to incorporate these religious and class biases into a primarily nationalistic framework, in which pious German knights combat vice-ridden Italian clerics. Others simply do not see the confrontation in this manner.

It is difficult to discern why the response to Hutten's methods concerning national character varied so widely. Hartmut had ample opportunity for personal contact with Hutten, though perhaps less than the knights who may have lived on the Ebernburg, and definitely less than Bucer who worked with Hutten on translations. Yet Hartmut made considerably less use of Hutten's methods than did Eberlin, who had no known contact with Hutten. The author of the dialogue between Sickingen and St. Peter may not have had access to Hutten's work, though his support of Sickingen indicates that he should at least have known what Hutten stood for. The decision to appeal to national sentiment in Hutten's manner is probably less based on exposure to his methods than on the actual comprehension of or adherence
to his nationalist concepts.

Personal experience may be another factor in an author's employment of images of national character. The pamphleteers with monastic experience, including Eberlin, Luther, Bucer and Kettenbach, associate monks and other Church representatives most strongly with Roman authority and "foreign" moral corruption. The noble pamphleteers, by contrast, tend to centre their work on Germany's internal problems and the position of the knights regarding reform. They judge clerical abuses against Christian moral standards and chivalric values, but tend not to associate these abuses with Italian national character. The knights had less experience with the actual power of Rome and probably had no opportunity to travel to Italy as Hutten did to supplement their perceptions of foreign character.

Above all, one of Hutten's stereotypical images and the methods surrounding its implementation appears to have made the most impact on the pamphleteers. All of the pamphlets attempt to play on the emotions and convictions of their targeted audience. This can be seen most strongly in the portrayal of the nobility which is uniformly positive in the pamphlets. To solicit the attention, support and action of the knights as well as justify their militant stance against the foes identified in each pamphlet, the authors promote the chivalrous ideal of the just, pious and manly German knight proudly fulfilling his duties in the administration of justice and the protection of the true faith for the benefit of the "common good". The knights were after all the major component of the "we" group in all of the propaganda in favour of the Knight's Revolt, regardless of the "they" group perceived by individual pamphleteers. Even if the foe is not necessarily associated with a foreign group or power in every pamphlet, the appeal to the pride and superior moral character of the German nobility is distinctly made. The building of a positive image of the knights through the development of strong stereotypes founded on already existing cultural
values appears to be the most powerful lesson taught by Hutten's masterful propaganda.

What possible explanations are there for the dearth of historical argumentation in so many of the pamphlets? In his search for the "image of the German" in sixteenth-century literature, Jacques Ridé notes that "in general, polemical and satirical literature did not use arguments taken from [Germanic] history" since its authors were above all preoccupied with religious issues and therefore relied heavily on scriptural authority. This may be a partial explanation for some of the pamphlets, such as Hartmut's, but cannot hold true for others. For example, the dialogue between Sickingen and St. Peter deals primarily with secular issues and contains no biblical citations. Here, and in the case of the Ebernburg pamphlets where the authors are presumed to be nobles, the question of education is probably a more decisive factor in the acquisition and utilization of historical references. Hartmut considered himself a "simple man" and based his arguments more on piety and a basic knowledge of religious questions than on history. Perhaps these other "noble" authors, due to their lack of humanist education and historical learning, felt obliged to stick to issues they were more familiar with, leaving the complicated historical analysis to more humanistically-trained pamphleteers such as Hutten.

At first glance, it seems odd that a man with Bucer's education did not refer to history in a more concrete way using episodes from Church history as Eberlin did. But the speakers in his dialogue are not learned men, though the Sickingen portrayed appears to know far more about theology than was probably the case. Such dialogues were, after all intended to explain issues to a general public for whom simple references such as "two hundred years ago" were probably significant enough to emphasize long-standing evils. Mention of specific popes, emperors and "ancient

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41 Ridé, L'image du Germain, I:635.
history" might in this context have proved confusing or even "boring" as Sickingen suggests in his conversation with St. Peter. There is also the issue of anonymity to consider, for Bucer was hoping to conceal his true identity. By exposing little of his humanist education in the dialogue, he could perhaps convince his enemies that the author of the pamphlet was a less learned man. In the same way, he might also appeal to knights and others who might be intimidated by more scholarly expositions of history.

As effective as Hutten's historical argumentation appears in his own pamphlets, it seems that the pamphleteers examined here, other than Eberlin, made very little use of his concepts and techniques in their own propaganda. Parallels with the past and other historical examples are subordinated to observations concerning the present and solutions for the future. The idea of a unified German history, in which the nation was engaged from ancient times to the present in a struggle against Rome, did not catch on as a method for inciting action against Roman representatives. This may have occurred partially due to the other pamphleteers' lack of historical education, or simply due to strategy or choice. Whatever the reason, Hutten's concept of national history remained a little-used weapon.
CONCLUSION

The sixteenth century produced only one Ulrich von Hutten. His unique position as both a humanist and a knight enabled him to forge a nationalism which was based on the moral, historical and imperial themes of German humanism, but which specifically accommodated the special concerns of the German knights. His program combined many of the goals of the movement for religious reform with the social and economic biases of the lesser nobility. In a bid for support from all the estates of the German nation, Hutten shrewdly "packaged" his program as more than a simple call for religious or political changes, or for a renewal of the knights' traditional status and lifestyle. It was presented as a national movement to restore the historical freedom and glory of the nation and rejuvenate the ancient virtues inherent in the German people, to benefit not only the knights but also the "common good" of the entire nation. This study has focused on the techniques developed by Hutten to "sell" his program on a national scale, techniques which must now be briefly summarized and assessed.

In supporting the shift to pamphlet format, Hutten fully recognized its utility as a tool for propaganda. Gradually he developed his chosen literary forms to suit his new purpose and function: the presentation of his views in a strategic manner to solicit the attention and adherence of his targeted audience. He moved from writing primarily satirical dialogues directed at fellow humanists, to creating more polemical and agitational dialogues and letters aimed at inciting all social groups to carry out specific action. Hutten tailored the language and style of his pamphlets to meet the needs of his new audience, and even made changes in his earlier work to declare his message more powerfully.

In order to promote his vision of a strong, unified German nation free of papal oppression and founded on traditional social and economic patterns, Hutten
developed two important themes. He used the concept of national character to encourage national feeling and direct it against all the groups and individuals he perceived as detrimental to the nation's well-being. Drawing on instinctive xenophobia, current cultural rivalries, anticlericalism and social prejudices, Hutten gave these hostilities a single focus by formulating negative images of the Italian national character. To set up a polarity between "we" and "they" groups, all the internal and external foes of the German nation were endowed with undesirable foreign traits. The German national character, especially preserved among the knights, consisted of a positive combination of Germanic, chivalrous and Christian virtues. This sophisticated positive-negative propaganda was supported by labels for each group, detailed descriptions of the enemies' misdeeds, and strategic rhetorical appeals. It must be stressed that the negative portrayal of national enemies was in no way secondary to the positive delineation of the ideal German, as Jacques Ridé's lopsided focus on the long-term development of the German myth implies. In their contemporary context, Hutten's character formulations were complementary and inseparable.

A second theme utilized in Hutten's pamphlets to foster national consciousness and discredit national foes centres on the history of the German nation. Hutten initially referred to Germanic and medieval history in much the same manner as previous humanists did, but eventually came to view the historical relationship between the Germans and the Romans in a way that emphasized the persisting opposition between them rather than the continuity of the Empire. Hutten used historical examples, connections and norms to strengthen his views and arguments by providing parallels and contrasts. Such references could serve to inspire, motivate and legitimate the action suggested. While he did some valuable historical research, Hutten's major endeavour was to reinterpret and restate German history
with a nationalistic slant. The history of the nation was alluded to with the specific goal of promoting pride among the Germans and outraged action against their national foes.

A detailed examination of the pamphlets by Eberlin von Günzburg and Hartmut von Cronberg, followed by a general survey of the themes in several other pamphlets, has cast light on the reception of these methods by Hutten's contemporaries. Unquestionably, Hutten's work played a part in raising the national consciousness of some of his fellow Germans who turned to the printed word to offer him their support and express similar hopes and recommendations. In many cases, they made use of literary form, images and arguments in ways that followed Hutten's models. The propaganda techniques and national themes evident in Hutten's pamphlets were generally stronger and more complex than those used by most of his contemporary pamphleteers. Thus his uniqueness and importance as a pioneer and methodologist of early nationalist propaganda can be asserted. The lack of a uniform response to Hutten's methods does not necessarily mean that he had only marginal success in convincing his contemporaries of his national program and the superior techniques for presenting it to the public. The pamphleteers' acceptance and use of these themes and methods were limited to an extent by their experience and educational background as well as their perception of Germany's dilemma and of their role in solving it.

These findings, based solely on the response of various pamphleteers to Hutten's unique formulation and emphasis of national themes, offer some clues concerning the larger implications of his work in the sixteenth century. The possible connection between Hutten's nationalism and the Knights' Revolt, which is merely suggested by Barbara Könneker,\textsuperscript{1} arises distinctly in the analysis of propaganda

\textsuperscript{1}Könneker, "Germanenideologie," p. 291.
written by several supporters of the Knights' Revolt. Some of the pamphleteers clearly had no difficulty accepting Hutten's nationalistic biases and implementing techniques for their propagation. In many instances, national themes were utilized in Hutten's fashion to urge the knights and other social groups to join in the anticlerical campaign. Therefore, Helmut Röhr is mistaken when he asserts that the Knights' Revolt had little to do with the topic of German national consciousness.²

The image of the ultra-German knight as a proud defender of the nation, the true faith and the "common good" connected strong cultural ideals with an urgent call to action. Some of the knights themselves may not have fully grasped the national connotations of such pamphlets, as Hartmut's obliviousness to some of the themes implies. Yet they could be attracted by the traditional cultural patterns and prevailing social convictions on which Hutten's appeals were based. Even if the Germans were not all receptive to the call for national action made so explicitly in Hutten's work, they could respond to the appeal to their social and religious duties. This conclusion reinforces Martin Brecht's assertion that the combination of nationalistic, anti-Roman tendencies and social prejudices and the emphasis on the role of the knights as protectors of the Reformation in these pamphlets represented a powerful force for moulding opinions. He argues that this helped to win a wider basis for the reform movement by ensuring that it did not remain a mere debate among intellectuals.³ The mixture of these themes and forces are indeed what made Hutten's pamphlets both shrewdly sophisticated and at times too complicated for segments of his audience. Both the attractive, persuasive qualities and the limitations of this kind of propaganda are exposed in the reactions of other pamphleteers.

²Röhr, Hutten, p. 68.
³Brecht, "Die Deutsche Ritterschaft und die Reformation," p. 35.
In his attempt to reach all the estates of the nation and harness the power of national sentiment to push for religious, social, and political change, Ulrich von Hutten developed techniques for propaganda that adapted current sentiments and hostilities to fit a nationalistic framework. Ultimately, Hutten failed to move the majority of the German populace to carry out his ideas. But the Knights' Revolt, which was partly inspired by his nationalist propaganda and backed by others who integrated his techniques into their own work, demonstrated the potential political power of national sentiment. The pamphlets written by Hutten and his supporters represent an important development in the evolution of nationalism from simple manifestations of national feeling to a mass-supported political policy.
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FIGURE 1

Title page of Ulrich von Hutten's *Gesprächbüchlein*