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THE IMAGE OF HUTTEN IN GERMAN FICTIONAL LITERATURE

By

Karl Eberhard Krueger

A DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

THE IMAGE OF HUTTEN IN GERMAN FICTIONAL LITERATURE

By

Karl Eberhard Krueger

Ulrich von Hutton has been portrayed in German fictional literature intermittently by a number of authors starting with his contemporaries in the 16th century to our own time in the 20th century.

As an activist humanist Hutten had found both admirers and detractors. So it is interesting to follow the picture that emerged by the various interpretations of that man, one who advocated changes and called for freedom, a man accepting hardship and persecution for his beliefs.

Through the years there were times when Hutten's legacy was stronger, when he became a symbol for a national cause. This became especially evident with his re-discovery during the "Storm and Stress" era and other subsequent periods of national activity. It indicated that his popularity varied, but it showed too that it was not restricted to any group in particular. Thus the many presentations show a man with a unique appeal.

Georg Voigt had made a study of Hutten in 1905 in his dissertation "Ulrich von Hutten in der deutschen Litteratur". After seventy five years it is time to re-examine his findings as he had evaluated the works in the era of Wilhelmenian naturalism. Also there are some works which Voigt either was

unable to attain or did not include in his study. Special emphasis is placed on the time which has passed since.

This study's aim is to trace Hutten's image in poetry, drama, and prose; only those literary works will be investigated in which Hutten is either the main character or at least a strong supporting character. The main idea is to trace Hutten's appeal through the different eras with their different interests and philosophies.

The first chapter tries to show how Hutten was seen by his contemporaries in song, dramatic attempts, and dialogues, also in some reactions shortly after his death.

The second chapter begins with Hutten's re-emergence and appeal with the "Stürmer und Dränger", his inspiration to the bourgeois and revolutionary elements. It is, however, mostly a section supplementing Voigt's study.

In chapter three, covering the final years of Imperial Germany, Hutten is perceived as a national hero, as a man against hypocrisy and also as an iconoclast.

The fourth chapter presents how Hutten was used as a medium during the Weimar Republic years. It sees him in the light of biased nationalism, but also as a herald of the nation's conscience.

The fifth chapter refers to Hutten as a medium with a message of national ideas, the advocate of national unity as understood by National Socialism. Hutten's views are molded so that they reflect the trend of the time.

The sixth and last chapter views Hutten from

Switzerland's perspective as well as from voices in the two German States.

There is no consistent interpretation of Hutten. The study will point out that opposing philosophies used Hutten as their hero to enhance their ideologies.

Scarce historical data and the marginal quality of the writers doomed much of the literary works, especially the dramatic ones. Yet in spite of it, Hutten emerges from many of them as one of the most eloquent spokesmen for Germany, as a link between the old and the new.

The various exponents show Hutten in a remarkable diversity. Some copied the stereotype of former writers without analyzing the facts or motives. Others managed to retain a relatively detached objectivity.

Hutten continues to exert his influence on each succeeding generation, though in the present political climate he has no longer the strong appeal of the past. He has shown the world that his intense desire to arouse his nation was not limited to a specific period of time.

Of the two appendices, appendix A gives a sampling of well-known authors reflecting on Hutten, and appendix B lists the works which Voigt with dealt with or referred to.

Dedicated to
my wife Gracene,
my children Karlene and Keith,
and my parents.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To Professor Mark O. Kistler and Professor Raimund Belgardt I wish to express my deep appreciation for their continued interest and the guidance they have given me throughout the preparation of this study. I would also like to thank Professor Kurt Schild and Professor Heinz Dill for their help and encouragement.

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INTRODUCTION

This dissertation attempts to trace the portrayal of Ulrich von Hutten as received in German poetry and prose from some of his contemporaries in the 16th century to our present time with a special emphasis on the 20th century.

As a humanist Hutten found already during his lifetime many admirers and detractors. It is fascinating to observe Hutten's wide acceptability as indicated by the picture that emerges from the various interpretations by generations of writers. Hutten's portrayal, however, has undergone several changes throughout the years. As a man of strong convictions, he was used symbolically as an advocate for desired changes, as a champion for freedom and national unity, and as a man who had suffered unjustly and experienced many hardships for his principles and beliefs.

Hutten lived in a time of great turbulence and change. He became actively involved in it and thrust himself into the midst of it, believing he could help to bring about some of the required reforms. He was forced to choose sides. As a consequence of this he attracted people who cheered him and those who deplored his actions and oppressed him.

Some of Hutten's portrayals are uncritical of his actions and his life. But there are those which point out not only the positive impact he had, but they also refer to his mistakes,

failures and weaknesses. Some writers see him as a catalyst for change. The reader will discover that opposing philosophies, conservatism as well as liberalism, found encouragement and inspiration in his thoughts. Moderates and radicals, even authoritarians, have tried to declare Hutten as one of their own. His great and popular appeal to a vast spectrum of people is indeed astonishing.

1. Hutten's life.

Ulrich von Hutten was born into an old-established family at Steckelberg Castle, near Fulda in Hesse, Germany, April 21, 1488. Through his family he became a member of the knighthood in the Holy Roman Empire. But as a child he was sickly, and his disappointing physical appearance made his father decide that Ulrich, though being the first-born, was unfit to carry on with the family tradition. Thus, he sent him to the old historical Benedictine Abbey of Fulda, where the boy was to be educated for a position in the Church hierarchy, as had been the case with other Hutten relatives. Ulrich, however, escaped from the monastery before he took his final vows. His restless temperament had rebelled against the regimentation of monastic life.

What followed was the life of an aspiring scholar, a vagabond. It took him to a number of German and Italian universities, permitting him to strike up friendships with different members of the humanistic circles. In time he had even to enter temporarily as a soldier into the services

of the German emperor in Italy.

Ulrich von Hutten's fury was aroused greatly, and he took an uncompromising stand against the duke of Württemberg, who had murdered his cousin Hans von Hutten. By pouring out dialogues, which were compared to the Philippics, a series of speeches by Demosthenes, full of vitriolic personal invective, Hutten had indeed taken an active part. In time he participated in the duke's expulsion from his domain in Germany.

In 1517, upon his return from Italy, Emperor Maximilian I crowned him poet laureate in Augsburg. Then he entered the service of Reuchlin's defense after the latter had been maligned and threatened. Hutten had also a tremendous impact through the re-issuing of Lorenzo Valla's Treatise on the Donation of Constantine. In time he issued through his activity a passionate declaration of opposition against Rome and the pope. This was coupled with national demands and pleas for greater unity. He advocated in addition, possibly only as a matter of convenience, a union between Luther and Sickingen, allowing the latter to embrace and start a program of national reforms with the exclusion of the princes. He had in mind a strong imperial nation, supported by the traditions of the established knighthood. By then, however, this class had lost its significance. And Hutten's hopes in the new emperor did not materialize. As time progressed Luther himself began to dissociate himself from Hutten. After Sickingen's death in 1522, Hutten's last venture was the ill-conceived

'Pfaffenkrieg' in the middle Rhine river region.

Due to his various activities, Hutten was banned by the pope, as well as by imperial edict, and forced to leave Germany in 1522. He went to Basel, where he had hoped to find sympathy and assistance from Erasmus. But this former friend was a man who abhorred violence, and he was repelled by Hutten's excesses and actions. Thus, in the end, Hutten was rebuffed by Erasmus, who even refused to see or aid him after he had entered into exile as a hounded transgressor of German law.

Then Hutten befriended the Swiss reformer Huldreich Zwingli, who granted him asylum on the island Ufenau. It was there that Hutten succumbed in 1523 to an illness which had plagued him since his late adolescent life.

2. Hutten's poetic achievements.

What did Ulrich von Hutten write that was and still is of interest? Comparing the literary output of this man to some of our better-known contemporary prolific writers, one might conclude that it was not all that much. But upon a second look one will notice the impact and the quality, not the quantity, of which he wrote.

Hutten appeared on the literary scene with the Querelae (1510), two volumes of elegies in which he expressed his profound aversion to the treatment he had received from a family in Greifswald.

De arte versificandi (1511) was next, a poetic work explaining and recommending to students, followers and

supporters alike the elements of acceptable versification.

In his poem Exhortatio (1512), he turned to the nation exhorting it to rid itself of foreign influences.

Phalarismus (1517) is his first work which had an impact on the whole nation. The will to fight for an idea, for something believed to be right and just, is expressed vividly. Satire, often in the form of scorn and mockery, is used to checkmate opponents. Hutten saw an analogy for a tragedy in the vein of Lucian when Duke Ulrich of Württemberg had murdered Hutten's cousin. Consequently, the dialogue Phalarismus was conceived about the ducal "tyrant."

During the time that Hutten was studying in Italy, he became embroiled in a heated defense of Reuchlin. This involvement led to the issuance of the Epistolae obscurorum virorum (1515-1517), a witty humanistic satire against late scholasticism as exemplified in both science and theology. Hutten is credited with a large portion of the second part. This is a collection of a total of 110 fictitious letters, which are composed in Latin, full of Germanisms, thus altogether barbaric. These letters attack ignorance, the moral depravity of the Cologne theologians, and Church dogma.

His Nemo (1518), written in distichs, shows him as the "lost son" whom the relatives would have preferred rather to live with the pigs, away from home. It expresses his feelings of not having lived up to the expectations of his family, of being a relative nobody.

Aula (1518) followed in the Lucian dialogue form. He

takes to task the deceptive promises of the real courtiers, who practice endless salutations, conduct insidious conversations, and he expresses his profound disgust with the pretensions of the court life. It is a moralistic study framed in an allegory, a court satire from a courtier who had the courage to write about this. It is, however, not one of his better works.

Exhortatio ad principes Germanos ut bellum Turcis inferent (Speech against the Turks) (1518) contains practical politics in regard to the Turkish danger. Here, for the first time, Hutten talks to the people and points out that the core of misfortune is disunity, for without unity the nation would be lost completely. This speech is full of drive and exhorts the cardinals of the Church to wish success rather for the emperor than for the Turks.

The following collection of dialogues, Fortuna (1519), Febris prima (1519), Febris second (1520), Vadiscus, Trias Romana (1520), and Inspicientes (1520) demonstrate the exactness and totality of Hutten's decisive ideas. While Febris prima is directed against Cardinal Cajetan, the papal legate to the diet in Germany, the whole dialogue is seen as a satire against mendicant friars. (Since Sickingen could not read Latin, Hutten had this work translated into German vernacular the same year.)

Febris second is another lively, witty dialogue in which Hutten describes concubinage exercised by the ecclesiastics, as being disadvantageous in regard to the benefits of

matrimony.

The most important work of his leisurely time - if one could call it this - are the dialogues Fortuna and Vadiscus or Trias Romana and Inspicientes. In the first one, Hutten has a conversation with the goddess of fortune in which he expresses his desire for domestic peace, security, and the regular necessities. He reflects on how the fate of the individual and predestination, freedom and law relate to each other. Vadiscus or Trias Romana has a double title, relating the observations of a traveler in Rome. It is constructed in triads which show his criticism known already from some of his earlier charges. Hutten says everything he had wanted to say against Rome. It is a dialogue that became quite popular after its translation.

Inspicientes describes the bustling flurry of activity at the Augsburg Diet. There Cardinal Cajetan experienced difficulties with Germans. These are portrayed as being harmless, more honest than the pale, eternally intriguing Italians. Challenged is also that approximately half of the German land is under Church control, and in addition, that the merchants are the advocates of luxury. In contrast to this, Hutten heaps praise on the Germany of ancient times, the Germany Tacitus had described.

These dialogues, with the exception of Fortuna, which seemed too personal, were translated from Latin to German and published in 1521 in the Gespräch büchlin.

The next of Hutten's works is Bulla decimi Leonis contra

errones Martin Lutheri et sequacium (1520). With irony, Hutten comments on the papal bull. It is an amusing and rather elegant composition, full of dramatic emotion. The bull represents every possible vice, such as perfidity, reckless ambition, avarice, and perjury.

His stand against Rome, the pope and the Church hierarchy grew stronger. This became quite evident when he published Die Klag und Vermahnung gegen die Gewalt des Bapstes (1521). The title already suggests what Hutten implores.

Finally, Expostulatio cum Erasmo (1523) is a discourse pertaining to Erasmus' stand in Luther's cause. Hutten asks questions as to why Erasmus did not take an authoritative position; whether fear, envy, or even bribery had anything to do with this. For Hutten, humanism and Lutheranism are equal because both attack the same opponents. Never in the discourse does Hutten resort to personal invective or malicious insinuations, though he felt very strongly that he was correct in his stand. (It has to be said, however, that Hutten had viewed Erasmus only from his perspective.)

Posthumously, his dialogue Arminius (1529) was published, a dramatic piece in which Hutten points out the greatness of the Teutonic liberator from the Roman yoke. At the same time he describes the parallel situation to his own time in Germany. This work shows a romantic vision of Hutten in regard to Arminius. The dialogue lets Arminius appear before the tribunal of Minos and asks where his standing is in respect to his military accomplishments. Tacitus is quoted as

supporting Arminius. Though he is not ranked among the outstanding generals, Arminius is eventually declared the first among the national liberators.

In 1520 Hutten began writing almost exclusively in the vernacular. It was he who helped to establish German as a language which could express ideological concepts and intellectual sentiments.¹ Hutten, as a poet, surprises, as he did make an impact on the language by using the vernacular with its vigorous straightforward form. Still, his best writings are written in Latin, though he wrote also German verse in the style of the "Volkslied." Eventually, Hutten made a point of his preference of the vernacular by substituting his former Latin motto with a German one.

3. Hutten's personality.

Already during his lifetime Hutten had been a very controversial figure on the German literary scene. Now, as then, his complex character defies understanding. To start with, the question arises: How can he be both, noble knight and humanist, how can these roles be reconciled in one person? How could he be at the same time one of the respected and dedicated humanists as he was seen by his contemporaries, his colleagues, including the great Erasmus², the "prince of the humanists," and, on the other hand, be a fierce and proud patriot? Did he, the hothead, use his humanistic training only as a starting point for his career, or did he never really become a humanist?³

Ulrich von Hutten came from a class which was very proud

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of its illustrious past, but it had outlived its usefulness and had fallen on hard times, Physically, Hutten was not fit for his class, and so he was sent to a monastery where he was exposed to some of the humanistic ideas, those that had been saved from drifting into everlasting obscurity. In the setting of the cloister he began to learn the essentials which permitted him to perfect his poetic talents. In time he was to become "der sprachgewaltige und leidenschaftliche Kämpfer gegen das Papsttum."⁴ He threw in his lot with the adherents of humanism. He became very vocal and demanded changes, as the people were ready to break with past traditions and had become receptive for new ideas and opportunities. A clue for understanding his attitude is found in his motto: "Jacta est alea," or, as he expressed it later in German, "Die Würfel sind gefallen!" It expresses exactly his total conviction for his chosen cause. An appropriate characterization, a dictum ascribed to Molière, shows Hutten's disposition: "Das Fechten ist eine Kunst, ohne selbst getroffen zu werden."⁵ Hutten tried hard to abide by this, using the pen as his most potent weapon. This he did effectively to his very end. It is, however, debatable whether he had been successful in fending off the attacks of his enemies.

Hutten remained a fighter throughout his life.⁶ Some people look at him with mixed feelings, and they regard him and his personality with varying results. Many agree that he must be seen as a "unruhige Natur."⁷ He was one who was enraged by any form of tyranny, injustice, and deception,

and he used his imaginative pen to expose abuses.⁸ This man was convinced that even what the sword - in his opinion the sword in the service of the established church - had won, the pen could destroy. The polemical rhetorical-pathetic style⁹ became his weapon and trademark. He was willing to risk fortune and life for the cause he believed in.¹⁰ His polemic was exciting, he had become a tireless activist, and as such a predominantly literary fighter.¹¹ When he failed to reach the privileged classes, he turned to the "difficult to keep in check masses."¹² This might be one factor why some of his critics disapprove of his methods and associations.¹³

4. Hutten and his critics.

Some of Hutten's critics see him as upright¹⁴ and honest, a man who was and still is the most eloquent and gifted spokesman that Germany ever had.¹⁵ He made a lasting impression on Goethe.¹⁶ With Hutten as a proponent of the humanistic view came a new, creative force into Germany. A German-national movement came into being, due in part to his influence. Hutten's strongest achievement was his ability to call attention to a cause with his appeal for action.¹⁷ Robert H. Fife states that "he was the only German humanist who, without turning on the classical world, implemented his training in the ancients for the service in the struggle for a completely realistic objective."¹⁸ He was a "pioneer and ally of the Reformation,"¹⁹ a "propagandist and romantic, an Imperialist,

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but not a rationalistic liberal humanist."²⁰

Since Hutten sided with the movement of reform and protest, some of his detractors and critics view him differently. Some were willing to give him recognition for his ability, but they emphasize his negative impact or his undesirable characteristics. Thus, Josef Lortz writes: "Er ist schwer erschöpfend zu fassen. In seinem Werk und Leben ist viel Unzulängliches, Zwiespältiges, Zerfahrenes, sittlich Minderwertiges, Lügenhaftiges...."²¹ Fife sees something in his character as "...obstinate and intolerant of opposition, unfair and vindictive in controversy... he had the savage impetuosity of the Frankish knight of his day; and we cannot help suspecting that personal ambition played a considerable role in shaping his course...."²² Lewis W. Spitz is convinced that Hutten was no "scholar,"²³ but his "literary efforts are better than commonly conceded."²⁴ Paul Kalkoff, an eccentric type of historian, an iconoclast who would not tolerate any ideal beside Luther, who did everything in his power to generate a universal acceptance of Martin Luther's accomplishments, saw Hutten as his "pet abomination."²⁵ Bruno Wilhelm, who wrote about Hutten's changed assessment by later critics, states that he was a "publizistischer Gernegroß.... nur auf seinen eigenen Vorteil aus...."²⁶ Wilhelm is convinced that Hutten's rhetoric was mainly negative, implying that the "romantic Hutten" had never existed and was merely a figment of the imagination.²⁷

5. Hutten's influence on others.

Hutten was a complex and involved nature, "... (der) bei dem manigfaltigen Ursprunge seiner Ideen eine zwiespältige Beurteilung nahe legen mußte."²⁸ He exercised a certain influence on not only some of his contemporaries, but also in later generations, because he symbolized political humanism, "studia humanora," which included the conviction, "...wer sich ihnen ergab, glaubte, Zaubermittel zu besitzen, durch die Wissenschaft zur Freiheit zu gelangen."²⁹ It could be said that some of his writings represent, as Jost Hermand calls it, "Unbequeme Literatur," not only having "eine historische Relevanz,"³⁰ but serving the poetic enlightenment, and pointing also the way to reform.

Even though Hutten's feelings of identity had their roots in the Middle Ages, he still had an impact on succeeding generations. Due to his discovery in the Age of Enlightenment and the consequent re-issuing of his works, he became to an increasing extent an idol of those student groups which originated during the 19th century Wartburgtreffen (1817), the pre-March time, and as such was a symbol for all of those who were of the liberal persuasion, those who stood for freedom and the unification of all of Germany.

The humanist Hutten's most important function was on the literary level. He alone with Luther understood how to address the German people effectively in their native tongue.³¹ He demonstrated a courtly elegance of speech. But he never attained quite the command of the "Volkssprache" as Luther

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did. One sees him as an orator much more than as a poet.³² Yet, his influence was very immediate, "he had the impact like a bolt of lightening, immediately destructive."³³ His pet mode of operation was the attack which he used with the greatest mastery. His impulsive "fighter nature" turned with rousing dialogues to the people. These dialogues addressed themselves to the thinking of the common man.³⁴ His pamphlets had a drastic impact on his time, and his manner on later years.³⁵ Some critics accuse him of being unrestrained in writing his lampoon which is full of biting satire,³⁶ as evidenced in the Vadiscus, that his split personality revealed something morally inferior, full of falsehoods, though in spite of it all a tremendous creative strength showed through.³⁷

Herder wrote enthusiastically about Hutten: "Alles lebt in seinen Schriften, und nichts steht geschrieben, das nur so dastehe. Seine Bücher sind Stimmen aus seinem Leben, einzelne Laute seines Wortes, Handlung."³⁸ The effect of his literary works intensifies, and they display his commitment to the cause.³⁹ It was the spirit of his honest conviction against distortion, his zest for the truth as he understood it. And never did he resort to the all too common "grobianischen Stil."⁴⁰

In due time Hutten's influence upon posterity was mainly a result of his German writings,⁴¹ though his appeal was even great during his "Latin" period among some of his coëvals.⁴² Buchwald says that Hutten is the precursor of Schiller and

Goethe.⁴³ Francke states that "with Lessing he shares the restless striving for truth and the indomitable courage of truth. He is akin to Heinrich von Kleist in his contempt and in his unconditional surrender to a cause."⁴⁴ Above all, Hutten states his commitment to the cause of freedom and his opposition to oppression. This he expresses in a slogan, recurring with Schiller, "In tyrannos."⁴⁵

Hutten appealed to the best talents of the German nation, and he succeeded so well that many were swept along in the current of change as it was gaining force. Hutten did not permit his invective to become base. On the contrary, he elevated it to a higher niveau. He personified those forces of humanism which displayed a rejuvenating strength, something which was formed anew even though a German robust bluntness showed through. He worked incessantly and managed to sway a great number of people, though not of his own class.⁴⁶

Regardless of the acceptance Hutten has received, his great influence on his fellow writers is reflected in their works and comments.⁴⁷ He became a rallying point, a symbol, and consequently the subject of hero-adulation. He was a man who wanted to live for the present, one who wanted to enjoy life to the fullest, as it was exemplified by Protestantism.⁴⁸

6. Difficulties with Hutten's character in literature.

Hutten will always be a polemical figure, especially in respect to his literary achievements. To some he is only

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known as a "notorious pamphleteer,"⁴⁹ to others he was then and still is the conscience of the nation. The historian Thomas G. Baily states: "Historical myths and legends are needful in establishing national identity and stimulating pride."⁵⁰ However, Thomas Carlyle believed that history is no more than "the distillation of rumor."⁵¹ And while Baily makes his point for needing myths and legends, Carlyle appraises them realistically. Thus, Hutten's difficulty for the writers could be explained since very little of his life was ever known to other people. Those who knew more of his experiences either did not reveal them or were not able to do so.

7. Method and scope of this investigation, including status of research done in this area.

This study's aim from the outset is to deal with Hutten as he appears in poetry, drama, or fictional prose. Only literary works will be treated in which Hutten is the central figure or at least an important supporting character.

This study is meant to be fairly exhaustive. I was able to locate and secure almost all of the primary works through archives, institutes, and libraries of American and the German republics. Since the national archives of the German Federal Republic do not have a central location, enlisting their aid was often frustrating and time consuming. The only works I was not able to locate and read are the following:

1. Karl Fr. Lang. Ulrich von Hutten. Gedicht in drei Gesängen, Erlangen, 1787.

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2. G. Logau. Ulrich von Hutten. Drama, 1848.
(This work is listed only in Meyers Konversationslexikon, 1888.⁴)

3. Gotthold Lange. Ulrich von Hutten. Trauerspiel, 1848.

4. Hans Harnier. Kampf um Huttens deutsche Sendung. Drama, 1936.

5. Otto Cierski. Ulrich von Hutten. Drama, 1949.

By far the most important literary study on Hutten is the dissertation by Georg Voigt, Ulrich von Hutten in der deutschen Literatur, which was published at the University of Leipzig in 1905. Voigt arranges the primary works according to genres and concludes that, artistically, the area of the lyric is most satisfying. As seen by Voigt, Hutten is not a dramatic character and consequently a play in which he is cast as the hero had little chance of being successful. Hutten appears little in the epic genre as well, that is in the area of the novel and novella. Here too, Voigt sees Hutten portrayed as "ein monotoner, farbloser Charakter."⁵²

Because seventy-five years have passed since Voigt's study was completed, it is useful to reinterpret his findings. Especially since Voigt wrote in the era of Wilhelmenian naturalism and evaluated literary works in the spirit of his age, it is interesting and rewarding to reexamine his findings from the perspectives of our time. Other than in the work by Voigt, Hutten was treated briefly in a half dozen articles in journals.⁵³ A major thrust of this dissertation will be directed toward literature written since 1905. The post World War I period, the National Socialist era, and the post

World War II time, are especially fruitful.

The first chapter will be devoted to Hutten as a literary figure among his contemporaries. Then chapter II will concern itself with the image of Hutten in German literature between 1700 and 1900. Since this period was treated extensively by Voigt, a concerted effort was made to include works which were omitted in this earlier study. There follow then in logical sequence chapters on Wilhelmenian Germany, the Post World War I period, the National Socialist era, and the period after World War II, where the literature is necessarily divided between that appearing in the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic.

Chapter 1

First Poetic Attempts by Hutten's Contemporaries

Hutten's appeal during his lifetime was widespread once he had decided to use the German vernacular. The use of Latin had obstructed his appeal to the common man. Initially, there were difficulties to bring German in "schöpferischen Einklang von Gedanken und Ausdruck."¹ Hutten had been able to circulate numerous pamphlets which had brought him both admiration and derision.

During Hutten's lifetime and shortly thereafter, a variety of literary works were written that dealt with him or mentioned him prominently.

At the beginning, the Volkslied became a viable vehicle through which Hutten was able to appeal to the people directly. The one in question was Ein new lied Herr Ulrich von Hutten with the now famous line "Ich habs gewagt mit Sinnen" There appears the Hutten "...mit dem zornigen Herz, der den robusten Laut des geliebten Deutsch wieder fand, der Hutten des deutschen Liedes."² Ein new lied became popular and was sung by the people after it had been circulated as an anonymous tract.

Consequently, a number of poems appeared that praised Hutten and his friend Sickingen.³ Already during his life

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Hutten experienced "...den Gruß der Dichtung....Kein totgeborener Humanistenschnörkel, die energische Dichterkraft des 16. Jahrhunderts, das unpersönliche Volkslied singt begeistert."⁴ Contz Leffel⁵ apparently had sensed the feelings of the people. Quickly he came up with an answer to the Hutten Lied with Ein schön new Lied von dem Hutten (1520). In it, he talks of Hutten as the champion of freedom and national unity and shows him as a defender of true Christianity.

Leffel's poetic song expresses a deep concern for Hutten:

Ach edler Hut auß Francken,
 Nun sich dich weißlich für,
 Got soltu loben vnnd dancken,
 Der wirt noch helfen dir,
 Die gerechtigkeit vorfecht!
 Du solt beystan dem rechten,
 Mit andern ritteren vnd knechten,
 Mit frummen kriegsleuten guot,
 Beschirmen das Christen bluot.

Diß liedle thue ich singen
 Zuo ainem Doctor werd;
 Ich hoff, jm werd gelingen,
 Er ist groß eren werdt.
 Vlrich von Hutten, ich sagen,
 Thut leib vnd leben wagen
 Vnd thut gantz not verzagen.
 Got geb jm glück vnd sick
 Das er all sach wol schick!

In this song, Leffel refers to the faith and also to Luther's cause, but this was something not very crucial to Hutten.⁶ The author expresses his admiration for Hutten's struggle, as he is championing the people's cause. The love and the

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appreciation of the people blend together in word and in song.⁷

This poem is followed by another tract of Leffel which contained the song, "Im thon sie man singt Franz sickinger, das edel bluot, Der hat gar vil der Landßknecht guot." The author starts to show Hutten as being upright and well-known. The title is a simple Ein new Lied:

Vlrich von Hutten, das edel bluot,
Macht so kostlich buocher guot,
Die lasßen sich wol sehen,
Die gfallen den geystlichen gleyßnern nit wol,
Die warheyт muoß ich jehen,
ja jehen.

And, toward the end, the author continues:

Herr Vlrich ist ein redlich mann,
Wolt got, des ich solt bey im stan
Gegen allen seinen feinden!
Ich hoff zuo got, die warhayт werd
Die falschen überwinden,
ja winden.

Vlrich von Hutten, biß wolgemuot!
Ich bit, das got dich halt in huot
Yetzt und zuo allen zeytten.
Got behüt all Christlich leerer guot,
Wo sie gen oder reyтten,
ja reyтten!

The poem shows that Hutten's and Luther's cause are one. It also appeals to the people to unify behind their leaders in the struggle for a change from falsehood and injustice. The imagination of their leaders had caught on.

Shortly afterwards another poem was published. It is one that has survived only as a written copy among the Palatinate Papers. A printed copy of it from the time of its

publication could not be found. The author is supposedly Hans Breuning,⁸ one of the mercenaries who was either one of Hutten's or Sickingen's group. He wrote the song Ein Lied Huttens auf seinen Pfaffenkrieg during the winter of 1521/22.

Frisch uf mit reichem Schalle,
Ihr werten Reuter gut,
Darzu ihr Kriegsleut alle
Und habt ein' freien Mut!
Ich hoff, es hab' nit not:
Der Hutten ist lebend worden;
Das schafft ahn' Zweifel Gott.

Man meint', er wär' entschlossen.
Ich sprach: er ist nit weit,
Hat noch die Augen offen
Und wartet seiner Ziet,
Die wir erlebt han:
Das weiß Karthuser-Orden,
Den hat er gegriffen an.

Sie wollten ihn verachten,
Die Gugelbuben frech,
Ein Arswisch ausm machen -
Seht nun, was ihn gebrech'.
Ich meint', sie wären gut;
So scheint in dieser Sachen,
Daß s' treiben Übermut.

Gott frist' den werden Hutten,
Geb' ihm die Hilfe sein,
Daß er den Bettelkutten
Mit ihrem falschen Schein
Treib' von der Christenheit,
Die sie bisher betrogen,
Verführet weit und breit.

Wem dann nit ist zu raten,
 Dem ist zu helfen nit.
 Man sollt' die Ketzer braten
 Umb ihr'n verkehrten Sitt.
 Es muß zu Boten gan;
 Hans Breuning hat's gesungen;
 Wills selbs mit Händen dran.

This poem displays the insolent cockiness of a rough horseman who sets out to rectify an intolerable situation, supposedly caused by the parsons and monks. In it one feels again that the lines echo the answer of somebody else to Hutten's initial song which was directed to the likes of him. The tone is very sincere. Thus, this song could be seen as one of the more effective tools in the feud with the friars and the clergy in general.

Still, it was not only the "Volkslied" that took hold of the enigmatic Hutten-phenomenon. Other genres were put to use simply because writers had been inspired and felt compelled to make Hutten a or the central part of their works. Quite early Hutten seems to have had a certain attraction to those around him, as they were the admirers who had embraced his cause and ideas, and then there were those who had learned to respect him and then were willing to fight for the drastic changes advocated by him.

It is with some interest that one must read how one of those admirers who can not be identified with certainty, influenced by Hutten, went about addressing the public with a number of dialogues in the style of the Lucian satire towards the end of 1520.

These dialogues are of a particular importance to this

study. By all indications, the author must have been a theologian and a humanist who had been to Bologna and Rome. He was both a friend of Hutten and an admirer of Luther. While he was witty, he was not sarcastic, though his satire was almost too much.⁹ He was a dialectic poet, who was capable to create a dramatic effect. He understood "...sowohl die verhöhnten Persönlichkeiten satirisch keck zu karikieren, ohne in Übertreibungen zu verfallen, als auch mit dramatischer Spannung die Gespräche zu steigern und wieder abfallen zu lassen...."¹⁰

The author calls on Vadiscus, a Hutten-creation, who meets with Pasquillus, a sharp-tongued critic. Eventually Hutten alights, "... (er) selbst (ist) lebensvoll und wird von der Wahrheit mit Waffen des Geistes und des Christentums für das Vaterland gerüstet."¹¹

In this work it is not the religious thinker who has caught the ear of the people, it is the man of action who is speaking. Böcking, Hutten's foremost editor and Brecht,¹² known for his studies with the Epistolae obscurorum virorum (Die Dunkelmännerbriefe), ascribes the abovementioned dialogues, due to their contents and tone, to Crotus Rubeabus (approx. 1480-approx. 1540).¹³

We are interested here mainly in Huttenus captivus and Huttenus illustris, the two dialogues with which the collection of dialogues Dialogi Septem (1520/21) concludes. The book appeared anonymously under the assumed pseudonym of S. Abedenus Corallus.¹⁴ While Hutten is seen as a captive in

the first work, the second one shows him honored and celebrated. Hutten is the knight of the Reformation, the central figure on the stage. The author clearly demonstrates through him his basic agreement with the hero's campaign, and then presents his reflections on some of the events of this historic time.

The initial cause for the first dialogue was the breve (papal brief)¹⁵ which had asserted that Hutten was to be brought to Rome as a captive. In the text, Decimus (Pope Leo X) instigates curtsians and mendicant friars to eliminate Hutten and Luther. They are to start with Hutten, as he is the more dangerous one of the two. At the start, it had been determined to have him poisoned.

The action opens when Hutten, the "slight one," appears (§§1-8) and his adversaries attempt to overpower him, while at the same time exhorting him to give up and be bound. But he pushes them away without any difficulty (§§9-11).¹⁶ Attracted by the ensuing noise, Sickingen appears, only to find out from Hutten what had happened. As a result of this, Sickingen wants to report to the emperor these actions of the chief culprits. Hutten agrees with that, though he is afraid of further intrigues. For this reason, Sickingen recommends to Hutten to withdraw to the safety of his castle, the Steckelburg.

Hutten suggests a general assembly, a gathering of the Germans, but Sickingen disagrees with this idea, though he does not rule out a suggestion for a priests' war. The

conclusion of this dialogue is apparently influenced by Hutten's Missaulus sive aula.¹⁷ In the final part, a trumpet calls Sickingen to the imperial court. Before he leaves he promises to be active on Hutten's behalf (§§12-16).

The dialogue relates to some extent the real situation that existed during the time of the Diet of 1520 and of the things that occurred between Sickingen and Hutten. It is a report from one who had first-hand knowledge of the ongoing events.

In the Huttenus illustris, the author deals with the plot of Rome against Hutten at a later stage. Hutten asks rhetorically the goddess of truth, Veritas, whether being outlawed by the tyrants in Rome was to be his only compensation. Her unexpected reply states that poison, the cross, stocks, and the tools of torture have been her greatest awards. Upon Hutten's incensed refusal to accept this, she queries him whether he wants to reject immortal fame. She is certain that he does not want to do this, in spite of his assertions to the contrary. Thus, she feels that he should bear some earthly anguish. Reluctantly, Hutten agrees to this, if it would bring freedom to his country. After she assures him of that, he bursts into laments over his country's misfortune caused by Rome, adding to this his own adversity with the Romanists (§§1-7). At this instant she opens her garments, showing the shocked Hutten that she herself has been wounded by the Romanists, having wounds that included her finger, eyes, breasts, and hands, all caused by Aleander,

Murner, Eck, Emser, Hochstraten,¹⁸ and others. These wounds she is keeping untreated, as this would make her more powerful. And she adds that a loss of strength would be impossible, because she is immortal. Eventually, she will appear with these wounds before the judgement seat of Christ,¹⁹ accusing the malefactors of their wrongdoings. Hutten interjects that the opponents do not believe any longer in the immortality of the soul, and that they only profess to do so because of their ulterior motives, namely to be able to hold any legal claim over the secular powers to deal with justice. Then he requests that Veritas would bestow on him the ability to bear these deadly wounds (§§ 7-13).

Veritas equips Hutten with the armor of justice, the helmet of Christ's salvation, the shield of truth, and the sword of the word of God which must be used rather differently than the sword of eloquence. She initiates him into the role of "miles Christianus" with the following words:

Du wirst nicht nach Frau und Kindern und nicht nach Gold fragen, sondern wirst all das als Nichtigkeiten erachten. Dein Vaterland wirst Du lieben und ihm die Freiheit schenken, wirst Du Dein Vaterland verlassen und in irgendeiner Höhle oder einem verlassenen Turm hausen. Du wirst Dir so viele Bücher wie möglich erwerben und nur die besten, vor allem aber das Evangelium Christi. Und wenn Dich einer noch dazu bannt oder verdammt, so wirst Du es ohne Bitterkeit hinnehmen.²⁰

Thus, he will be well-equipped for his most difficult mission. He will be hard as steel against all impending attacks, he will fight with spiritual arms rather than with his previous

material ones. His enemies will fear him, and they will not be able to overpower him, as Veritas would assist him with wisdom, courage, and strength. It will be a bloodless struggle against the Church of Rome, and though he should fall eventually, he will have acquired great fame. Just being killed in the struggle will be evidence of his triumph, and thus he will become immortal as Veritas herself (§§14-23). At that moment Veritas gets pierced by another attack from Murner. Right away Hutten craves for vengeance, but Veritas refuses to allow him to seek revenge. Repeatedly Hutten must promise not to seek an "eye for an eye." Only a fair atonement will do. He is dismissed from Veritas as a well-equipped knight with this consolation: "Fürchte Dich nicht vor dem Angesicht der Pharisäer; denn Dich habe ich zum Rächer gesetzt über ihre Ungerechtigkeit." (§§23-26)²¹

Reading this dialogue, one feels that it is full of alive people in spite of its allegorical elements. But the latter were an almost essential part in the works of the humanists.²²

The dialogue clearly indicates that its author was a Hutten sympathizer,²³ though he does not condone the contemplated "Priests' War." Hutten is criticized for being too rash. This was clearly an attempt to channel Hutten's energy to more productive means. It could have been an attempt from Wittenberg to get him into a more religious direction.²⁴

The dialogues are alive, even though they contain a mixture of Christian and ancient pagan allusions, something that

was in accordance with humanist thinking. One feels the involvement of the writer who demonstrates his feelings with the expressed criticism. His outspoken sincerity make these works convincing documents of their time.

The impact of these works - along with Hutten's - convinced Könneker that they had a considerable influence on "die dramatische Gerstaltung der deutschsprachigen Dialoge der Reformationszeit,"²⁵ on those writers who were convinced that in the fight against the Church of Rome the interests of the nation were at stake.²⁶

In addition to the lyrical and the dramatic works - if one considers the above dialogues to be part of this genre - Hutten became also the subject of didactic works. Johann Eberlin von Günzburg (1468-1533), a former naive²⁷ Franciscan monk from Ulm, had attracted a tremendous group of loyal followers. Next to Luther, he was one of the most impressive speakers in Germany, an orator of powerful expression during the fledgling years of the Reformation. He knew how to fascinate his audience with captivating oratory, pointing out the need for the pureness of conviction while at the same time he himself was showing a fearless frankness. Even though he felt drawn to the teachings of Luther, he retained his independent outlook, stating that it was the right of a Protestant to criticize: "Gottens Wort gilt bei mir mehr, als Petrus, Paulus, Luther, ja alle Menschen und Engel."²⁸

As a prolific writer, he published a number of pamphlets, always very imaginative and full of improvisations. In quick

succession he issued his Fünfzehn Bundsgenossen (1521), a series of short dialogues, generally only a few pages in length. He deals in them with relevant topics. They are spirited in their tone and praise God for bringing Luther, Erasmus, and Hutten, all considered to be spiritual leaders of the Reformation, together. And in this "Klägliche Klag" he considers Luther and Hutten to be equals in their appeal.²⁹

In "Der erst bundsgenosz" Eberlin complains through the pamphlet, which has become his mouthpiece. As such, it becomes the chief spokesman, talking to the emperor about the odious conditions in Germany which are caused by Rome. It suggests that this could be rectified through the enlightenment of the people and through the leadership of capable men, namely Luther and Hutten. Both of these men had started to bring back the gospel for the benefit of all the people, having it made available to them in the vernacular. This action would allow these misled ones to see for themselves and recognize all the wrongdoings committed against them. They, Luther and Hutten, are the spokesmen of Christ:

"...christus, der durch den Luter vnd Hutten redt, ..." ³⁰

Eberlin suggests that the emperor also should take Hutten and his friend Sickingen as his advisors and then start to reform the Church. "Du werdest sunderlich die wältlichen Churfürsten vnd dine redlichen vetter, die frummen Pairischen herren, vnd den edlen Frantz von Sickingen, Vlrichen von Hutten, Hertzog Friderich Pfaltzgraf vnd deren glichen die nächsten nach dir lassen sein." ³¹

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Eberlin deals persuasively with the problems of his country, something he believes could be remedied through the services of reform-minded people. He appeals to his listeners through his sermon-like dialogue approach.

One year later, a peculiar poem appeared, the Koegelspil (1522), a short rhymed dialogue, full of ingenious and profound irony. It is, however, uncertain whether this work's unknown author belonged either to the Protestant or the Catholic camp,³² or if he was a neutral bystander who had observed the arguments that were tossed back and forth by the antagonists of their respective beliefs.³³

As the play opens, Hutten appears in the company of such notables as Luther, Erasmus, and Melanchthon, who are bowling before the emperor and the pope. As a bowling ball they use the Holy Scriptures, and the prize they are trying to attain is the truth. But, since none of them is an accomplished bowler, and because the alley is not level, their attempts must fail. Hutten is pictured as one who is contemplating day and night how he could shove the bowling ball all over, "Tag vnnd nacht will ich mich besynnen/ wie ich die Kugel well dahinnen/ Schyeben über die letze hand/ ich wirff sy durch alle land/ Teütsch vnnd welsch dem bapst zuo laid/ die Kugel laufft heer auff weyter haid/ Jnn dem lufft gleich wie der staub/ auff den Hussen setz ich den besten glaub."³⁴

Ernst Voss³⁵ is of the opinion that this work was directed against Eberlin von Günzburg and his Bundsgenossen.

Hutten and Erasmus are depicted as Luther's sympathizers. It

is also evident that the author has little use for the humanists whom he blames for the troubles within the Church.

Obviously, the Spil³⁶ cannot rank as an equal to those works that were written in Latin by the humanists. But it is the blunt and naive tone that allows one to enjoy this work and to overlook whatever weaknesses one might find.

Many pamphlets,³⁷ Hutten's favorite literary vehicle, were circulating throughout the nation, exhorting the people to follow faithfully their righteous cause. Among them was one which stated: "Freue dich, edler von Hutten, der Schreiner hobelt den Spieß, damit ich dir zu Hilfe kommen will, und ich will nicht säumen."³⁸

This example demonstrates Hutten's popularity and also the support promised by one of his admirers. He is willing to take an active part in the expected conflict.

Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466 or 1468-1536) holds a special position in the literature of the humanists. Many might not identify him with the German scene, since he had his origin in the Netherlands. He was a man who represents humanism at its best, one who was not tied down by national loyalty, but one who was striving for universal understanding and learning. He attempted to initiate reforms without violence, advocating gradual changes through mediation, tolerance, and reason. He was alienated by the violent events and by Hutten's insistence to take a firm and unshakeable position. At one time he had been befriended with Hutten, and they had admired each other.³⁹ However, as Hutten had become more involved in the

cause for change and at the same time was observed to be in sympathy with the Reformation, their relations not only cooled off, but they led to definite animosity.

Some critics have speculated to what an extent Erasmus had used Hutten as a model in some of his writings where the humanist-knight comes through in a somewhat less than commendable way. In The Soldier and the Cartusian, Erasmus could have thought of Hutten, for it is here that he tells the story of a debauched soldier and his quarrels with the Cartusian order.⁴⁰

In the dialogue Marriage that Is No Marriage, Erasmus pleads to bar the diseased from marrying. "Narrated is the story of a young girl married to an old rake with vile disease and abominable habits."⁴¹ The author draws here on his memory of real people and events; though this case might be a "compound portrait owing something to Hutten, something to Eppendorf⁴² and perhaps to Thomas Brun."⁴³ Strauß adds: "...hier finden sich allerdings Züge, welche an die Art wie Erasmus sonst von Hutten spricht, erinnern und Gedanken einer Anspielung auf ihn fast unabweisbar nahelegen."⁴⁴

The most damaging and direct publication in which Erasmus dealt with Hutten was his answer to Hutten's rebuke, the Expostulatio cum Erasmo (1523), namely his Spongia Erasmae adversus adspergines Hutteni (1523).⁴⁵ In this initial work Hutten had written a blunt reckoning with the "ehemals so verehrten Erasmus."⁴⁶ Erasmus' answer is a literary piece of art. It reveals both his masterly sarcasm and his deep

hurt. He had intended initially to make it laconically short, but this defense turned out to be pernicious and verbose. Schubart comments: "Die ganze Fülle seines Unmuths aber ergoß der Roterdamer in seinem berüchtigten Schwamm."⁴⁷ He considers it a "Schmähschrift."⁴⁸ Huizinga says of it: "In der Hand des Erasmus traf die Waffe des Hasses unter den Gürtel."⁴⁹ It was the reaction to an ongoing difference of opinion, a settling of an account. Huizinga continues: "...nowhere does he (Erasmus) show himself so undignified and puny as in that Spongia against Hutten's Mire."⁵⁰ Grimm states that "Die von verhaltener Furcht nicht frei Spongia bewirkte ebensowenig eine Selbsteinigung des Erasmus wie Huttens Große Abrechnung."⁵¹ In this Spongia Erasmus attacks mercilessly the character and conduct of Hutten, and as Jenssen relates: "...enthielt sich sogar nicht des Spottes über dessen Unglück."⁵² He continues then: "Mit vollem Recht stellt er Hutten als ein warnendes Beispiel für die Jugend hin."⁵³ This treatment of Hutten was the culmination of an ever increasing resentment.

Right from the start one detects a note of retaliation and loathing coming from the pen of Erasmus, a man who is gloating over the ill conduct and the political ineptitude of his opponent. Possibly the best example to demonstrate their differences is the section where Erasmus tries "Huttens Kampfhaltung, die sich selbst gegen die Übermacht des Schicksals wandte, als lächerlich abzutun, indem er ihm vorschlug, nach Rom oder ins französische Deutschland (die

Niederlande) zu gehen, um sich die Krone eines Märtyrers zu erwerben."⁵⁴

While Hutten had provoked Erasmus with his angry and embittered as well as passionate writing, the latter clearly seems to have been guided by indignation, evoked by his pent-up fears. Why did he have to resort to ridicule and degradation? Why did he have to overemphasize his own straightforwardness and his own success? Was this an attempt to master his inner anxieties? His defense appears to be to discredit his opponents publically. In this respect he uses sarcasm, the same as Heinrich Heine did later on with great skill.⁵⁵

Hutten had died before Erasmus' writing was published. Some of the knight's friends tried to carry on with his mission. They defended their friend against Erasmus' accusations. Foremost among them was Otto Brunfels, who countered with facts, as well as the passionate defense of Erasmus Alberus.⁵⁶

Hutten and Eobanus Hessus (1488-1540)⁵⁷ had become good friends as members of the Erfurt Humanist group. Hutten had once bestowed praise on his friend, calling him the "greatest of all living poets."⁵⁸ Hessus returned this compliment with a heroid which claimed that only Hutten among the poets should be mentioned with praise:

Inspice Posteritas Hutteni carmina vatis,
Hunc recto poteris jure tuum.
Hac igitur, forte atque alia ratione poetae
Nullius in nosta carmine nomen erit.⁵⁹

The occasion of Luther's appearance before the Imperial Diet of Worms in 1521 caused Hesus to express his support for an alliance between humanism and the Reformation. It inspired him to write some spirited elegies.⁶⁰ While these are mainly addressed to Luther, he concludes the last one with an appeal to Hutten to take up arms:

Auf, tapferer Ritter, verteidige jetzt, ein
deutscher Jüngling, den deutschen Luther,
rette unsere Freiheit, die von den papistischen
Vampyren unterdrückt ist! Deine Klagen
waren bisher vergeblich. Ergreife das Schwert!
Bücher und Gedichte nützen nicht mehr.⁶¹

Hutten would not be alone, as many compatriots, including Sickingen, would fight alongside him in this just feud. The most dangerous enemy was Rome. Hutten would be in a position to frighten them, just as Hannibal had been able to do a long time ago. Hutten had been especially endowed, as he was capable of using both the sword and the pen. He, Eobanus, would like to join the fight too, if only he could do more than just blow the trumpet for battle.⁶² In their opposition to foreign domination by the Church hierarchy, some of the humanists felt drawn to the movement of the Reformation.

Hutten's death brought a response from a number of poets. Schubart even implies that this was not only restricted to Germany: "In- und ausländische Barden griffen zur Harfe, und beweinten den Tod dieses Lieblings der Musen."⁶³ This was generally done among the humanists when one of their respected members had expired, praise and sadness found ample

expression. Moving is the epilogue from Peter Lotichius (1528-1560):⁶⁴

Huttens Schatten erscheine! Due Asche
des strafenden Dichters,
Welch mitten im See ein Klein Eiland
verbirgt;
Geist, o sey mir begrüßt! Vollendet
sind deine Qualen.
Süsse Ruhe sey dein, die Erde drückt
dich nicht!
Veilchen bringen wir dir, und Tränen
der Urne des Helden.
Glücklich, daß du vollendet, glücklich
tapferer Ritten,
Denn nun siehst du nicht mehr die
Schmach des sinkenden Landes,
Dessen Rächer du warst - ein besseres
Vaterland ward dir!
Stets wird wachsen dein Ruhm, die
Enkel werden dich segnen!
Sey auf immer begrüßt - leb wohl auf
ewig Geliebter.⁶⁵

Lotichius expresses his great admiration for Hutten and a deep sense of loss, mixed with sadness, dressed in the appropriate rhetoric of their ancient models. What does he mean by his first entreaty to "Hutten's shadow" and then by the "eternal farewell?" He meant that Hutten will continue to have an impact through his writings and other accomplishments, but that for Hutten, the man, the final goodbye has been said.

Eobanus Hessus also felt compelled to set his friend a final literary memorial:

Verlangt dich, Enkel, jener Heldenthaten
 Zu kennen, so gedenk an unsern Hutten,
 Den Vaterlandsverfechter - der sie aufgrub
 Und neues Licht in seinen Schriften gab.
 Er zog sie aus der Dunkelheit, und ließ
 Die Ehre Deutschlands leuchten weit umher.
 Von seinen schönsten Früchten sieh hier eine
 Die uns der Frühentschlafene hinterließ.

Mauritius,⁶⁶ der Hutten einer hat sie
 Für dich nur der Vergangenheit entrissen.
 Hier steht Armin, der Helden Größter vor dir,
 Der Romas Trotz und seine Ketten brach;
 Der, wär er nicht im Jugendglanz ein Opfer
 Der Seinen worden, dich, o Rhein, zum Herrscher
 Der Tiber machen konnte.⁶⁷

Hutten is compared with a past martyr and a national hero. Hesus shows his true feelings, his conviction, after the irreplaceable loss of his friend and fellow humanist. He appeals to look up with pride and dignity at a time when events were so discouraging. It is also an appeal to re-evaluate the past and to become conscious of its accomplishments.

It was customary among the humanists to compose a posthumous address, generally in the poetic genre, the empicedium, a kind of dirge. Again, it is Hesus who left one which is imposing due to its form and content. The author selected a tone of defiance, given in the form of a dialogue, a genre Hutten had used with mastery. In addition, he chose the medieval motif of the "danse macabre,"⁶⁸ very appropriate to Hutten's constant precarious existence. In this work death

tries sneeringly to drag Hutten away. But the knight retorts proudly: "Sind auch die andern dahin, die gefällt zu haben du stolz bist,/ Bleibe doch ich unbesiegt aufrecht für immer trotz dir!"⁶⁹

Hutten declares that he had dedicated his life for the liberation of Germany from the yoke of the Church hierarchy. He dampens death's triumph over him with a list of his accomplishments. Since he was to die he is not unduly worried, for his fame and his deeds would continue to live on forever while his soul would go to a better life.

As has been pointed out already, the personality of Hutten evoked many reactions from his contemporaries, not always a very favorable one. He had incurred not only admiration, but also harsh condemnation. The latter could have been a reaction to his vagrant conduct of life and his callow demands. This became especially evident when, after his death, Othmar Nachtigal (1478-1537), also known as Luscinus, denounced him publicly in an epigram:

Rhetor, eques vixi et Germanus, - nomine? nescis?
Dicax, sacrilegus, dein temulentus eram.
Jamque silens factusque pedes furo denique Gallus:
Fatum, pauperiem, hinc tetra ferens.
At male cum dixi, non strenuus, integer et non
Cum fuerim, frustra haec nomina pulchra gero.⁷⁰

Kalkoff stresses Lucinius' point that, aside from the cynical reference to the patriot Hutten, he has become a "raving mad Frenchman,"⁷¹ due to his incurable sickness. He shows that the contradiction between Hutten's expressed class-consciousness and his material and his moral depravity

was hardly exaggerated. Melanchthon, the gentle and tolerant man, however, could hardly accept this sarcastic verdict. He countered with unusual severity in a number of epigrams.⁷²

One play should be mentioned which is rather different from the previous discussed works, in that its author is most likely an unknown foreigner.⁷³ In question is here Das Pariser Reformationsspiel (1524), also referred to at a later time as the Stumme Komödie. As such, it has been performed in various versions, some of them plainly in pantomime, others acted it out making it look like a comedy, and then even some suggesting it to be a tragedy.⁷⁴

This play characterizes Ulrich von Hutten in a short and clever presentation. Before an imaginary assembly of churchmen, including cardinals and bishops under the leadership of the pope, in a royal hall, a fire is covered with ashes. A man steps forward, identified as Johannes Reuchlin, who is admonishing the assembly about the sad state of affairs in the Church. He advocates changes. To make his point, he pokes with a stick in the fire so that it would flame up. Erasmus appears then, saluting the assembly amiably. As he intends to continue his friendship with the Church dignitaries, he is not offering advice, then glances over the fire without doing anything about it. He walks over to the cardinals, accepts their respect and then sits down with them. But right after him Hutten enters the stage, accusing the pope to be the Antichrist, then charging the assembly with great abuse. He steps to the fire and under

great exertion kindles it into a big blaze. But the strain is too much, for right away he falls over dead. This pleases the assembly. Upon their order his body is taken out and dumped without allowing him to be buried honorably. For the final appearance Luther enters, knowing beforehand of the fire. Being prepared, he has with him more firewood, which he throws into the blaze, doing this with angry utterances. The fire flares up so much that all those present have to leave in a hurry, as they are afraid of the consuming force.

Hutten was the one who had fanned the fire, but due to his tremendous effort he had to die. In a few packed words, biased as they might be, the typical Hutten is projected. His life was short. Though his actions were not always well received, he did act and exhausted himself quickly, never settling down and always on the move. This contributed to his loss of being effective and being in a position to express his views with moderation. He was unwilling to make concessions, forever in a hurry to get things done, never fully analyzing his goal and its implications. Thus, he was heading toward and causing his own eventual destruction. He was essentially alone in his fruitless struggle.⁷⁵ Initially he had kept his distance from the religious storms, but after his involvement he had managed to alienate himself from those who had felt compromised by his reckless firebrand polemics.

In conclusion to this section, I want to mention a fleeting reference to Hutten in a poem ascribed to Sabinus (1508-1560).⁷⁶ In this poem "Frankfurt a.O." he describes

the city where Hutten, along with Eobanus Hessus, had come to the newly established university, which had been at its inception a refuge for those who had gotten away from the intolerance of scholasticism. It was then a place of learning, beckoning those who wanted to avoid obscure and stifling ideas. Here the scholars could do as Hutten and Hessus had done, calling out: "Hier löschte einst den Durst Eobanus der Hesse, auch Hutten/ (Wer war mutig wie er?) stärkte hier Seele und Leib."⁷⁷

In a typical panegyric in humanistic style, Sabinus shows in the poem the city of Frankfurt with all the important happenings⁷⁸ to which the visits of the abovementioned men belonged.

Time passed and Hutten was almost relegated to obscurity. But a few years after Hutten's death, an unknown Franconian knight⁷⁹ set upon the poets grave a memorial with the following epitaph: "Hic equus laureatus iacet, oratorque disertus/ Huttenus vates, carmine ense potens."⁸⁰

Through these works from the past it becomes evident that not all of them deal exclusively with Hutten. But it is my contention that, at this beginning, some peripheral works should be included in order to establish the procedure which led to the ongoing process of authors selecting Hutten as a man of inspiration and dispute.

Maybe one wonders sometimes why some works that were once acceptable had become forgotten. Some of the works, written in German, are not up to the accepted standards of

our literature. Paul Merker⁸¹ writes:

...ihre Nichtachtung kann ein Grund sein, daß man...die innere Struktur eines Zeitalters völlig erkennt. Besonders gilt dies auch für das 16. Jahrhundert, wo die lateinische Literatur bis zu einem gewissen Grade die fast fehlende deutschsprachliche Kunstliteratur vertritt. Gewiß wird jeder deutschfühlende Geist an der in deutscher Sprache geschriebenen, vollsaftigen und naiv-grobianischen Literatur dieser Jahrzehnte trotz ihrer formalen Mängel vielfach mehr Freude haben als an den Dichterwerken der humanistischen Zeitvertreter.

In addition, subsequent events cast them into a different perspective. Not every historic figure lends itself to an imaginative work, something created to become an inspiring myth. Some historic personalities were rejected because they began to show flaws which were unacceptable to later generations. Their once so important significance had been judged no longer to be relevant.

Chapter 2

The Image of Hutten in German Literature between 1700 and 1900

This section covers a period which had been treated extensively by Georg Voigt. However, some works were either inaccessible or were overlooked by Voigt. So these works help to give a more complete assessment of Hutten from this time span. My aim is to fill in the gaps.

Basically in this period Hutten appears as a champion of freedom in general, of political freedom, of individual rights, and finally of social rights. As time progressed one can observe a development which was initially subtle, but it became stronger, following a two-pronged course: one advocating the interest of the people, the other promulgating and advocating the interest of the state.

The previous chapter closed with those authors who had been Hutten's contemporaries, those who had either been acquainted with him or those who had learned or heard about him during his life or shortly thereafter.

At about 1760, during the last generation of the German "Ancient Regime,"¹ Hutten was rediscovered in an era that had experienced despotic absolutism. Along with Sickingen, Florian Geyer, Thomas Müntzer, and Martin Luther, Hutten

had to be ranked among the great, as "Herold der deutschen Nation, als Kämpfer für deutsche Freiheit, als Streiter für ein einiges deutsches Reich."²

Hutten began to exert an influence which affected Wieland, Herder, and Goethe with enthusiasm. Later on we find among his admirers Herwegh, Freiligrath, and C.F. Meyer as well as representatives from the German working men's movement.

It was, perhaps, Hutten's tempestuous impulse, his rush into things for a cause, that had a tremendous appeal to the "Stürmer und Dränger" who had looked at the 16th century as "eine herrliche Zeit," the last one in German history. To them it was a century which had "in der Dichtung zwei große Sinnbilder: Das eine ist das 'freie Rittertum,' das 'historisch' in Gestalten wie Hutten und Sickingen, 'poetisch' aber in der historisch völlig abseitigen Gestalt des Götz von Berlichingen vor uns steht. Das andere aber sind die freien... 'Städte'...."³

Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) wrote an essay about Hutten along with an appeal for his recognition. This article was published in the Teutsche Merkur in 1776. It reminds one "...auf den kraftgenialen und altertümlichen Ton...und schlägt in die Kerbe von Goethes Götz."⁴ In his essay Herder wrote a little poem, "Huttens Bild im T.M." (February, 1776) This sounds almost like an aphorism, and in it he chides Hutten:

Du steckst die Nase weidlich vor;
 das wird dir schlecht bekommen, Thor!
 Wer stets will ha'n das Schwert zur Hand,
 der wird bald Ritter ohne Land.

This is an admonition against Hutten's foolhardy way of getting into things too eagerly without checking out the pros and cons.

Christoph Martin Wieland (1733-1813) contributed a little monograph to Hutten's memory, "Ulrich von Hutten," possibly stimulated by Goethe.⁵ In it, he gives a short account of Hutten's life, along with its interpretation. It is not hero worship. Hutten is described as one being able to deal with any situation, "...so zog unser Hutten auch den Degen, den er eben so muthig und fertig zu führen wußte als die Feder, und half ritterliche Thaten thun,...."⁶ yet a little while later, Wieland states: "Von dieser Zeit an überließ sich Hutten gänzlich seiner Leidenschaft gegen alle diejenigen, die er als Feinde der literaischen, bürgerlichen und geistigen Freiheit...und ewige Gegner der Aufklärung, gesunden Vernunft und richtigen Empfindung ansah."⁷ At the end Wieland concludes: "Durch den ewigen Streit mit Unglück, Mangel, Elend und Krankheit auf einer Seite, und den unzähligen Feinden, die ihn seine Freiheits - und Wahrheitsliebe auf der anderen machte, wurde er endlich in eine Bitterkeit und innere Wuth der Seele gesetzt, die zuweilen in Anstösse von Grausamkeiten ausbrachen,...."⁸

Korrodi mentions: "Wieland, der sich vor Huttens

Schatten verbindlich verbeugte, hatte im aalglatten Merkur schnell neben Herders Fortissimo ein dreifaches Piano gesetzt, indem er den klugen Leisetreter Erasmus vorschob."⁹ This is in reference to his Fragment über den Charakter des Erasmus von Rotterdam in which Wieland compares one with the other: "...der hatte nicht das kochende Blut und den feurigen Geist eines Hutten, war nicht wie dieser durch Bosheit der Menschen und unablässige Streiche des widrigsten Schicksals aufgereizt, erbittert, und zum Verzweiflungsspiel, alles gegen Alles zu setzen, gebracht worden. Es ist nicht alles Tugend, was uns an Hutten groß erscheint!"¹⁰

One year later, in 1787, according to C.T. Wagenseil, Friedrich Karl Lang (1766-1822) wrote a poem "Ulrich von Hutten, der Knabe, der Jüngling, und der Mann."¹¹ Voigt assumes that this poem must have been influenced by Herder. But as this poem cannot be found anywhere, this must be considered pure conjecture.

The foremost German writers were not primarily concerned with Hutten.¹² Schiller had at one time plans to write a Hutten-history,¹³ but nothing came of it.

Goethe, too, found Hutten to be inspiring. Perhaps it was Hutten's letter to Willibald Pirckheimer¹⁴ that resembles closest Goethe's sentiments, as he makes mention of it in Dichtung und Wahrheit.¹⁵ William A. Cooper¹⁶ suspects even in Faust I influences of Hutten's writing. Other than that, Goethe makes a few references to Hutten in his poems "Mummen-schanz," "Zahme Xenien," and "Buch des Unmuts."

Adolf Wagner (1774-1835), an uncle of Richard Wagner, appeals to his nation with a poem "Huttens Mahnen" (1802). Napoleon had just consolidated his hold on the revolutionary government in France after his military victories. Wagner calls on his country through Hutten. It is a persuasive as well as a sentimental address.¹⁷

The poem begins with a pilgrimage to Hutten's grave on the island of Ufenau in Lake Zürich. The author praises the poet and then comments:

Er, der Teutsche, der Mann, der in gestählter Brust
Seiner Brüder Geschick vest, wie das eigne trug,
Sah die schmählichen Fesseln -
Da zerging ihm das Heldenherz;

"Sterben kann ich - es sey! aber ich diene nicht;
Auch mein Volk wird es nicht," rief er den Herr-
schern zu,¹⁸
Und Thuiskons Erzeugte
Flammen, Göttin, entgegen dir,

Harren Männer in Kraft. Ach, es verhallet schon
Unterm Jubel des Danks klirrender Ketten Schall,
Freiheit woget des Mädchens,
Freiheit pochet des Jünglings Brust.

¹⁹
Weh! Aus Erebus Nacht stürmet Verfolgung an,
Grinsend hämischen Blicks tobet sie geifernd her,
Und in bäumenden Wirbeln
Schnellet Schlangengezücht ihr nach.

Wie den glühenden Dolch zücket die Mörderfaust!
Armer Hutten! - Er fällt....

Ich weine dir still, Retter der Freineit, nach,
Dess bezauberndem Mund lieblich ihr Lob entquoll,
Der ein rächender Donner
Über freche Tyrannen schritt.

Ja, ich schwöre dir jezt bei der Unsterblichen,
 Die den schmerzlichen Blick auf den Geliebten senkt:
 Freiheit ruf' ich hienieden,
 Jauchz' ich dir in Walhalla zu.

The author changes from admiration to concern, and then he finished with a promise to work for freedom.

A while later, in 1821, Ernst Münch (1798-1841) made an attempt to publish Hutten's entire works, those which he had been able to collect. In his introductory dedication the romantically inclined editor inserted his poem "An Ulrich von Hutten." He had written this sonnet in 1819, praising Hutten as one who had given his life for the cause of freedom. Though Hutten had died early, lonely, and forgotten, he should have received fame and recognition. And then Münch concludes:

Ein Kämpfer auf den Tod tratst du in's Leben;
 Früh schlang der Lampe Fleiss die Jugendgluten,
 Zum Höchsten mochte Freiheit dich ermuthen.

Ein Sicking konnte nur Ersatz dir geben,
 Doch raubte dir das Schicksal auch den Guten,
 Und einsam starbst du für dein kühnes Streben.

This was an echo to the existing climate in Germany where the "Karlsbader Beschlüsse" had brought an end to the aspirations of the "Burschenschaften" who had worked for a unified Germany. The decrees had done away with political and intellectual freedom. Perhaps the tone of this poem is too sentimental, but when one considers the upheavals of that time with the desire for normalization, then it will be

understood as an appeal to rally those who wanted to change the inequities in their country.

Not much later, Münch in a courageous apostrophe emphasizes dramatically Hutten's political mission which had again become relevant. Hutten's spirit is evoked, like Hamlet's by the great bard. The following lines suggest a provocative image of Hutten:

So gehe denn, erhabene Gestalt, wie Hamlets Geist
Mit gezücktem Schwert über die Bühne, wo sie der-
mal ein noch bunteres Wesen zu treiben beginnen,
als da du Hochstratens Gesellen und die ganze un-
lautere Schaar der Feinde Deutschlands bekämpftest:
gehe hin, versuche dein Glück noch einmal bei dei-
nen Teutschen, und zürne nicht, wenn du eitel Kna-
benspiel und den Hohn der Unreinen über den Gräbern
großer Jahrhunderte erblickst. Doch, wenn sie dich
auch jetzt nicht aufnehmen, wies deinem hohen Wesen
gebührt; dann kehre auf immer nach deiner Uffnau
zurück. Ihr Undank wird dann statt des Denkmals²⁰
sein, das deiner unbezeichneten Grabstätte fehlt.

The industrial revolution had initiated great changes in the structure of society, causing upheavals among the working classes, as their conditions deteriorated drastically. Liberal ideas too had taken hold in Germany. They were advanced by the proponents of the "Junges Deutschland" who advocated a progressive and enlightened order which was to search and deal with the problems caused by the loss of economic independence (impoverishment), industrial exploitation, and political tutelage.

August Graf von Platen-Hallermünde (1796-1835) took issue with the occurrences during the Polish uprisings, castigating those who had been unreceptive to the need for

political change from the established and timeworn order, the supporters of extreme conservatism. Rhetorically he puts this question in his poem "An einen Ultra" (1831):

Und ist es neu, was einst der Weltgemeinde
 Freiheit verliehn und Glanz,
 Vor jenem fünften Karl und seinem Feinde,
 Dem schnöden Unterdrücker Franz?²¹

He concludes:

Und sollt' ich sterben einst wie Ulrich Hutten,
 Verlassen und allein,
 Abziehn den Heuchlern will ich ihre Kutten:
 Nicht lohnt's der Mühe, schlecht zu sein!

In this last stanza Platen expresses clearly his admiration for Hutten, for the one who had fought so valiantly, even when his support had dwindled away. Coupled with this is his anger which had been stirred up witnessing the bloody suppression of freedom in Poland by the reactionary forces. Thus, this attack of Platen is directed against any form of despotism.²²

Anastasius Grün²³ (1806-1876) had been one of those who had revived political poetry. His opposition was among others against clericalism and the stifling reactionary measures of Metternich. He endorsed the idea of establishing complete freedom, including the freedom of expression.

Grün addressed the emperor directly in his epic Der letzte Ritter (1830) in which he expressed his admiration and acceptance of the former "Last Knight," the Emperor Maximilian I (1459-1519) to whom this poetic biography in

Alexandrine verse had been dedicated.

The epic, also called a "Romanzyklus,"²⁴ contains one part entitled "Ulrich von Hutten," treating the poet-knight. It deals with the episode in Augsburg when Hutten was crowned poet-laureate by the emperor. The emperor expressed that awarding the laurel wreath to the poet, who was equally adept with the sword and the pen, was the nicest duty that he could have exercised.

Hutten had finally found recognition through the emperor's action, he had found joy by being crowned by Peutinger's daughter Konstanze. Now a ray of peacefulness shone upon the restless one, and he dared to look ahead to moments of domestic tranquility. Yet even at that time he thanked the emperor and reiterated his total commitment to his fight for national unity and freedom.

Grün was here the first one "der Hutten um seiner selbst willen in einer Episode, der Dichter Krönung durch Maximilian, Dank abstattet."²⁵ Grün did identify originally with Hutten. Later, though, he must have had second thoughts about the topic which led him to drop this episode.²⁶

Nikolaus Lenau²⁷ (1802-1850) had at one time plans to deal with Hutten in an epic poem,²⁸ as he had expressed in a letter to Emilie Reinbeck (Wien, March 14, 1838): "Ich habe zwei größere epische Gedichte in der Arbeit: Huß und Hutten. Bis zum Herbst müssen sie fertig sein, wenn meine Gesundheit ausreicht." But he did not get past the original research. However, in his lyrical epic "Die Albigenser"

(1842) he depicts the resistance of the heretics in southern France during the 13th century against papal despotism.

There he states:

Das Licht vom Himmel läßt sich nicht versprengen,
 Noch läßt der Sonnenaufgang sich verhängen
 mit Purpurmänteln oder dunklen Kutten:
 den Albigensern folgen die Hussiten
 und zahlen blutig heim, was sie litten;
 nach Huß und Ziska kommen Luther, Hutten,
 die dreißig Jahre, die Cevennenstreiter,²⁹
 die Stürmer der Bastille, und so weiter.

Lenau views Hutten as a spokesman for freedom, as one who would not sing the praises of authority. His plan of the epic trilogy did not materialize.

Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben (1798-1874) was convinced that the reactionary attitude of the government had to be opposed. In this he was not alone. Yet one cannot help to notice the great difference in regard to political involvement and interpretation for action between him and Herwegh, Freiligrath, and Heine. All of the latter were considered progressive and liberal. This is not to say that Hoffmann was not one of them, but traditional concepts were dealt with by each of them from a different perspective. Hoffmann decried the lack of political interest. He felt that a writer had to become engaged. This he did with Goethe in his poem "Goethischer Farbwechsel" (1841) in which he compares him with Hutten.

Der Goethe war fürs Vaterland
 Und deutsche Freiheit einst entbrannt:
 Er schrieb den Egmont, Götz und Faust,
 Daß manchem Fürsten jetzt noch graust.

Doch Herr von Goethe ward er bald,
 Für Vaterland und Freiheit kalt;
 Ei, wie es wunderlich doch geht!
 Der Goethe ward ein Hofpoet.

Der Goethe lobte Hutten sehr,
 Bewies ihm eine große Ehr'.
 Und meint', es stünd' um Deutschland fein,
 Wenn jeder wollt' ein Hutten sein.

Doch Herr von Goethe sah nicht an
 Den weiland hochgepriesnen Mann;
 Ei, wie es wunderlich doch geht!
 Der Hutten war kein Hofpoet.

Goethe, though once having paid homage to the knight,
 is chided for his siding with the privileged class, even for
 becoming a courtier.³⁰

Hoffmann was interested in the exposure and condemnation
 of the defects and weaknesses of the state as well as of soci-
 ety. He appeals for freedom and individual rights.

Robert Prutz (1816-1872) was better known as a literary
 critic, but he had also tried his hand in poetry and drama.³¹
 Politically, he had been very active and adhered to liberal
 and socialistic ideas. He had shown little patience with the
 traditional veneration of antiquated heroes. Consequently,
 he gives only sparing recognition to those who warrant it,
 but this not without caustic comments. This becomes apparent
 in his poem "Hutten" (1843):

Was Hutten hin! was Hutten her!
 Ich mag von ihm nichts hören.
 Laß, deutsche Jugend, nimmermehr
 Von Hutten dich betören.
 Ich geb' es zu, er meint' es gut,
 Doch hatt' er viel zu rasches Blut:
 Schon heut', vor drei Jahrhunderten
 Rief er zu den Standarten,
 Schon heut', vor drei Jahrhunderten -
 O Hutten, lerne warten!

Und wo er einen Schurken fand,
 Und ging er auch in Seide,
 Gleich war am Degen seine Hand
 Der Degen aus der Scheide!
 Was nützt' es ihm? was bracht' es ein?
 Auf Ufnau ruht sein müd Gebein:
 Noch heut', nach drei Jahrhunderten,
 Gibt's Schurken aller Arten,
 Noch heut', nach drei Jahrhunderten -
 O Hutten, lerne warten!

D'rum sollst du, Jugend nimmermehr
 Dir ihn zum Beispiel nehmen:
 Sey gut, sey groß - nur nicht zu sehr!
 Auch Jugend lerne zähmen!
 Die Ungeduld, die Ungeduld,
 Die ist an allem Uebel schuld:
 Vielleicht nach drei Jahrhunderten,
 Vielleicht, wir können warten, -
 Vielleicht nach drei Jahrhunderten
 Weh'n vorwärts die Standarten!

In ten stanzas Prutz gives a short commentary-like assessment of Hutten. He criticizes him for his impatience and his lack of judgement, but also for his deplorable record of achievement as a consequence of this. Then he turns to the youth of Germany and implores them not to look at Hutten for inspiration or to permit him to mislead them by his impetuous activity.

Prutz had seen Hutten in his historical perspective, and he had concluded that he had not been effective and even detrimental, as he had been unable to control his stormy temper. If the unquestionable faith in the virtue of the cause he served was to be sustained, then he had to prove that he could face up to any adversity prudently and without hesitation.

Korrodi calls this "ein galliges Gedicht,"³² one of disapproval in a time of great hope and expectation.

While much had been said and written about Hutten, it was Heinrich Heine (1797-1856) with his acid humor who draws a line from Hutten's "Dunkelmänner" to those of his own generation. In no unmistakable terms Heine declares that those, whom Hutten had once described, were still around. In "Deutschland, ein Wintermärchen" (1844) he writes:

Ja, hier hat einst die Klerisei
Ihr frommes Wesen getrieben,
Hier haben die Dunkelmänner geherrscht,
Die Ulrich von Hutten beschrieben.

Dummheit und Bosheit buhlten hier
Gleich Hunden auf freier Gasse;
Die Enkelbrut erkennt man noch heut
An ihrem Glaubenshasse. -

And again he strikes out against intolerance and censorship in "Der Ex-Nachtwächter" (1844):

Wie du³³ zuckst beim Namen Hutten!
Ex-Nachtwächter, wache auf!
Hier die Pritsche, dort die Kutten,
Und wie ehemals schlage drauf.

Geißle ihren Rücken blutig,
 Wie einst that der Ullerich;
 Dieser schlug so rittermutig,
 Jene heulten fürchterlich.

Heine presses for action. Hutten's role becomes now that of the advocate for the oppressed. This sounds radical and revolutionary. But it had its appeal to the like-minded.

The Swiss Gottfried Keller (1819-1890) dedicated his poem "Lied eines Zerrissenen" (1844) to the political activists, reminding them that they could look back to a long line of people, people who had experienced rejection and obscurity. Keller begins with the "old future," an allusion to a goal not yet achieved. As he continues, he cites the fate of a number of other authors, the ancestors of those who are persecuted. He begins:

Der Hutten schläft im Zürichsee,
 Der Platen am blauen Meer;
 Und beiden war das große Herz
 Zerrissen und gar schwer!

He ends with a reference to his contemporaries:

Da humpelt noch der Freiligrath
 Mit seinem klaffenden Riß!
 Willkommen...
 In unsre Finsterniß!

The tone is depressing, showing the conflict between those who failed to gain recognition for their valiant attempts, and those who had made their peace with the authorities.

Emil Bucher dedicated his epic Ritter, Ulrich von Hutten (1840) to the humanist poet-knight. In the preface he states that not all the words spoken by Hutten coincide with his principles. But he declares Hutten as "der ritterlichste Gelehrte und der gelehrteste Ritter."³⁴ He portrays Hutten as a firebrand with a message, which is still resounding, though not with a pleasant voice, but with one in patriotic unpretentious German. The writer continues to explain that for this reason and to achieve the maximum impact he has chosen to use the "Nibelungenstrophe,"³⁵ a stanza used before to describe heroic events.

The author also states that Hutten should have received a literary monument by a gifted and famous writer and not by a poetically inclined admirer. But since there had been nobody around doing this, Bucher felt compelled to honor the man who had sacrificed so much for his people.

Bucher's Hutten-story is a semi-fictionalized version of the poet's life. He begins with putting Hutten, Emperor Maximilian and Franz von Sickingen into the same distinguished group, the last of the true knights, a triumvirate only overshadowed by Charlemagne. And from there Hutten's motto "Ich hab's gewagt!" originated.

The epic starts on a negative note: a curse and an escape which precipitate revenge. This is counterbalanced by the reunion with a long-lost friend. The climax occurs with Hutten's coronation by the emperor as poet-laureate.

The last high point in Hutten's life is his active

participation in the fight against Duke Ulrich von Württemberg. Before Hutten passes away he sees again his friend. He has also a vision in which Germania, the mother of his country, appears in various future historical stages: first in the upcoming religious disturbances, the Peasant's War; then, during the French domination along with Napoleon's warfare and absolute rule; and, finally, amid the eventual breaking of the imperial crown which is taken away, only to be returned later. Thus, three centuries, the time between Hutten's demise and the author's writing, are represented by the episodes of Hutten's vision.

The epic is really too much of a fictionalized account of the poet's life. It is a rather chauvanistic presentation, better suited for propaganda purposes. The chapters are contrived and do not fit into a continuing sequence. Perhaps the author was aware of this and did this intentionally, as many parts of Hutten's life have never been fully disclosed, and these blank spaces in time had to be covered somehow.

Poetically the work drags, it borrows unsuccessfully from well-known epics from the Middle Ages. The application of the "Nibelungenstrophe" was not the best choice, because Hutten could never be the hero of the action. His life does not report anything that could be considered in the knightly tradition.

On balance, the unexciting elements are dominating. The author tried to rectify this with the prophetic vision in

the last scene. But the concluding lines

Entseelt liegt die Stirne,
 Die manchem Sturm gedräut,
 Geschlossen sind die Blicke,
 Die schauten scharf und weit. -
 Er starb, der's Schwert geführt
 Als Ritter unverzagt,
 Er starb, der schwang die Fackel,
 Rufend: "Ich hab's gewagt!"³⁶

sound as if something had to be added. They sound artificial and forced.

Shortly afterwards, Robert Weber (1824-1896) tried his hand with the dramatic poem Huttens Abschied (1849). It is in stark contrast to all of those works that had advocated justice and freedom. At the start there is one of Ossian's Songs which shows the bard following the warrior, thus preserving the heroic accomplishments for succeeding generations. Obviously this is an attempt to do likewise for Hutten.

Weber dedicated this work to the legendary Hohenstaufen Kaiser who had brought prestige and might to Germany far beyond her borders.

Hutten is introduced moralizing about his impending fight for freedom. He resolves his inner conflict with his sense for honor and duty, and all the arguments of his mother are to no avail. He feels that he must keep the oath he took after he had left the monastery, a promise to fight and destroy those untruths which were ruining his nation.

Hutten enters action whenever freedom is at stake. Yet, even on his way to become involved, he is compelled to

rationalize about the whys and hows for his decision, convincing himself that sacrifices are required so that the chances for a better future will come about. And he concludes: "Das Streben nach dem Leben/ Wiegt wohl ein Leben auf voll Ruh' und Schlummer./ Die Würfel sind geworfen, dunkle Saat,/ Die sich entfaltet nach des Himmels Rath!"³⁷

The author admits that he had treated the material with poetic license. Hutten was for him the bravest and strongest man who had fought for the dissemination of knowledge and for the independence of Germany: "Als Redner und Dichter strahlte er seiner Zeit ein Stern erster Größe, in seinem kleinen Körper wohnte ein hoher freier Geist, der für alles Große und Edle glühte, und eine warme, von jedem Eigennutze ungetrübte Vaterlandsliebe."³⁸

Hermann Kurtz (1813-1873) is a representative of the movement "Vormärz" that dealt with pressing problems of his time. I refer to his ballad "Ostern 1525" (1846) which deals with the peasants' war which is seen in this poem as a struggle for freedom and justice against the unlawful tyranny of the feudal overlords. It accuses them: "Ihr aber habt vom Licht der Sonnen/ Stricke der Knechtschaft schnöd gesponnen,/ Die ihr das Mark des Landes freßt,/ Herab von Aar- und Habichtsnest!"³⁹ The peasants had lacked leadership, they had wanted to be lords themselves. But utterly defeated, they lived a dog-like existence. Jörg (Frundsberg) had been called upon to avenge the excesses of the peasants even with the endorsement of the Wittenberg pope.⁴⁰

Rhetorically, the question is asked: "Volksritter, bist denn du so fern,/ Hort wider Kronen, wider Kutten,/ St. Georg der deutschen Freiheit, Hutten?"⁴¹ Hutten had been dead for two years, yet he was still admired by some as a meritorious man, especially at the time when parts of Germany despaired in the cause of freedom.

The editor Volkmann⁴² characterizes the poem as an "unter dem Alpdruck der letzten Vormärzzeit in den Mißernten stöhnende Zeitballade."

The restless spirit of nationalism touched many of those from the academic ranks who wanted to help their country. Among them was a liberal-minded man who had toyed with the idea of writing a Hutten-tragedy, Carl Schurz (1829-1906). In his Lebenserinnerungen he explains what eventually came of his plans.⁴³

After the 1848 revolution, a period of transition took place. One can detect a confrontation between the adherents of democracy and absolutism. The socialist movement was drifting away from the alliance it had formed before with the liberal bourgeoisie, the third estate. The workers began to organize themselves and to exhort others to unify in their struggle.

Ferdinand Lassalle (1825-1864) proclaimed his call for social justice. At a time when the theater reflected a trend where shallowness and "hollow phrases"⁴⁴ were all too common, while at the same time "the belief in the exclusive rights of the ideolizing form is strenuously upheld."⁴⁵ Lassalle

demonstrated with his play Franz von Sickingen (1859) that the drama should be utilized to advance visionary ideas that were meant to help to correct prevailing iniquities. This play still reflects very definitely the pre-revolutionary ideology, as it attempts to bring out a mood of national and revolutionary sentiments. Lassalle had thought once that he had written the "tragedy of the revolution,"⁴⁶ the vehicle through which he could address the people with his ideas. The stage characters become the speakers for political thoughts, and through this they become less realistic in the eyes of the public.

Initially, one would think that Sickingen is the hero of this play. But upon closer examination of it, we find that Hutten "wird ...zum eigentlichen Träger der Handlung."⁴⁷ Lassalle uses Hutten as a spokesman for his own sentiments, stating that he had made him as "den Spiegel seiner Seele," and he added "Ich konnte das, da sein Schicksal und das meine einander vollkommen gleich und von überraschender Ähnlichkeit sind."⁴⁸

The play deals with the national calamity in Germany: a foreign ruler, the emperor, the grab for power and privileges by the princes, and increased Church interference; this all contributed to more suppression of the peasants. Into this situation steps Sickingen with his passionate comrade-in-arms, Ulrich von Hutten. Sickingen, encouraged by Hutten, takes action to establish national unity. But great hopes were dashed when Hutten returns from an

unsuccessful mission to the royal court. He expresses that:
 "Ihr wißt es, welche Hoffnungen wir alle,/ Das ganze Deutsch-
 land und Ihr selbst zumeist,/ Auf dieses Jünglings Haupt ge-
 setzt."⁴⁹ Hutten had been unable to receive an audience at
 the court; in addition, he had to flee, as the "Romanisten
 Haß" had tried to eliminate him "durch Gift und Schwert."⁵⁰
 Sickingen still wants to convince the emperor that the na-
 tional interest of Germany should come first, yet he, too,
 fails in his attempts.

When Martin Luther is put into the "Reichsacht," Hutten's
 involvement accelerates. From here on the action revolves
 around Hutten. He now lends force to the idea that Sickingen
 must go through with his plans to establish a national state,
 united by Lutheran ideas and supported by the knights. He
 suggests the usurpation of the emperorship if that was neces-
 sary for the creation of stability in the country.

Hutten is determined to make it possible that Sickingen
 will become the "Auferwecker der Nation," and he declares:

Entzünde dich, entflamme deinen Willen
 Am stolzen Anblick deiner eignen Kraft.
 Sieh, Franz, wer steht wie du in Deutschlands Gauen?
 Auf dich hofft jeder Freund der neuen Lehre,
 Auf dich blickt jeder Stand im weiten Reich!

Die Fürsten scheuen dich. Es scheltet dich
 Den "Gegenkaiser" selbst der Feinde Menge,
 Im Schimpf noch ehrend und erkennend deine Macht!⁵¹

But Sickingen is not the man who would or could carry
 through with such a mission. He is a prisoner of his caste.

When he conducts his fight with the princes, notably Richard Greifenklau, the bishop of Trier, he does this in the customary manner of the knightly feuds, stratagems and honor. However, this seals the uprising's success and his own fate, as he has not the ruthlessness nor the craftiness as well as the farsightedness to pursue such an immense undertaking. In the end, he must pay for his cause with his own life. Before he dies, Hutten appears and brings him encouraging news:

...Ich bringe beßre Kunde noch
 Mach dich bereit, Franz, Großes zu vernehmen.
 Die Zeit ist da! Der Bauer greift zum Schwert!
 Dich heischt zum Führer er. In seinem Auftrag
 Steh ich vor dir. Sprich aus ein Wort - und dir
 Ersteh ein Heer von hunderttausend Bauern.
 Das Land steht auf!⁵²

When Hutten realizes that Sickingen is a dying man, he laments:

Zusammenbricht mit diesem einen Mann
 Das deutsche Vaterland - in Scherben liegen
 Die Hoffnungen, für welche wir gelebt.
 Machtlos mit deinem Tod, weicht bang zurück
 Der Adel, wirft ans Fürstentum sich hin,
 Das um sich greifend unser Reich zerreist;
 Zu seinem Schranken sinkt er schnell herab!
 Des Halts beraubt, sich selbst mißtrauend, spinnt
 In seines Weichbilds Sondervorteil sich
 Der Städter ein und stirbt dem Ganzen ab.
 - Der Bauer nur bleibt treu dem großen Zweck,
 Er greift zum Schwert - doch auf sich selbst
 beschränkt,
 Schleppt er zur Metzgerbank nur seinen Leib,
 Zur blutigen, bedeckt mit seinem gräßlich
 Gevierteilten Gebein die weite, deutsche Erde, -
 Die schaudernde!

- Du stirbst und nimmst in deine Grube mit
 was dieses Leben lebenswert gemacht.
 Mich trägt mein flucht'ger Fuß jetzt ins Exil,
 Doch nicht auf lange: wen'ge Wochen, und -
 Es eint sich meine Asche deinem Staub.
 Künft'gen Jahrhunderten vermach' ich unsre Rache!⁵³

Hutten expresses his conviction that, due to the lack of leadership, the peasants' struggle was doomed.

Throughout the play, Hutten prods Sickingen and calls for action. He was the man who puts his confidence into a man who was not up to the responsibility thrust upon him by events and his friends.

Lasalle's problem becomes evident in this work, for he could not decide who of the two men should lead the revolution. He was also torn between the "Reichsritterschaft," the obsolete and influential elite, and the socially deprived peasantry, the proletariat of its time. In addition, Lassalle had unwittingly shifted his total emphasis to Hutten, as he becomes the pivotal character of the play, from whom the initiative for action is generated.

Some of Lassalle's difficulties can be traced to his dependency on Schiller's style of dialogue. The play is too rhetorical and shallow, due to its speeches which carry politically motivated ideas. The work loses its strength. The protagonists appear as lackluster characters who are not involved with the ideas they discuss.

Sickingen was to personify the failure of the revolution. But he lacked the needed leadership qualification

for a situation so different from his former successful exploits. In addition, he had not learned to cope with reality. So, he was the wrong person to represent the cause of the people. Here Hutten takes over from his friend.

Originally, Lassalle had hoped to have his tragedy performed professionally.⁵⁴ But its length and the need for the huge cast made this impractical. It took some time before it was performed on a laymen's stage, initiated by the Allgemeine Deutsche Arbeiterverein. But there difficulties developed because of the iambic rhythm which Lassalle had not always been able to place in an acceptable and correct pattern.

While Lassalle had still hopes to convey his ideas via the regular theater, the socialist worker's movement through its leadership was convinced that it had to form its own system for the expressed purpose to inform their people. Thus, the "Fortbildungsvereine" were established. It was their task to exhort, encourage, and to demonstrate. A prime part of this was the laymen's theater, which was drafted into political mass service. This theater brought an independent cultural stimulus tailored to the taste and needs of its class. "Vordringlich geht es in den Gesprächen (recited plays) um die Berechtigung des Kampfes der Arbeiterbewegung und um ihre Ziele,..."⁵⁵

This idea had its predecessor in the "Liebhaberbühnen" of the upper classes, the courts of the princes and later on the bourgeoisie. At first the workers copied these,

showing no more than only live pictures.⁵⁶

"Festspiele" were another form to catch the fancy of the audience. These could be traced to the tradition of the "Mysterienspiele" of the Middle Ages or the plays specifically performed for the holidays. In time, these plays allowed in disguise to communicate encoded ideas to the working class audience. As some leaders could not freely address their people, they employed this mode. Among them was Manfred Wittich (1851-1904), a man who worked incessantly through his writings for the working man. It was his aim to free this class from industrial dependency, to see it in time emancipated.

Some of his writings do not appeal to us aesthetically, but they were meant for the people of his time. Once Liebknecht told him: "Sie sollen für Arbeiter schreiben, und die sollen Sie doch verstehen?"⁵⁷

Hutten's upcoming anniversary gave Wittich an opportunity to write his "Reformationsfestspiel" Ulrich von Hutten (1886). The play is chosen to portray the events of the sixteenth century when Hutten had challenged the tyranny of the Catholic Church and the increasing power grab of the crafty princes. Just like Lassalle, Wittich sees Sickingen's rebellion as a revolutionary action. Hutten had allied himself with this cause that culminated with the unsuccessful Peasants' War.

Throughout the play, Hutten appears as the champion of the oppressed, always honorable and ready to oppose the

abusive overlordship of the princes and foreign lords who were so dominant. At the beginning Hutten sides with the oppressed when he assists a farm couple against the arbitrary acts, the robbery of some "Landsknechte," reprimanding them afterwards: "Wer Friede hält, soll auch Friede haben./ Wo bleiben wir, wenn der Bauer nicht wäre?"⁵⁸ And he exclaims a little later: "Die Wahrheit ist für alle wahr,/ Und nicht nur das Eigentum der Auserwählten!/ Das eben wird der Segen unserer Zeit,/ Daß ihre Quellen reicher, lautrer fließen."⁵⁹ Hutten advocated equality.

When some students begin to sing in Latin, he corrects them, reminding them that the language in Germany is German. He wants to make it clear that thoughts should be expressed without bombast, in simple terms, so that even the uneducated mind could understand them.

The burning of Luther's writings causes another of Hutten's challenges. Again this is a reminder of the political climate encountered by the workers who were stifled by the authoritarian censorship of the government. Luther's appearance before the Diet of Worms causes Hutten to reflect:

Wollt sich der Reichstag doch einmal befassen
Mit dem gemeinen Volk und seinem Wohl!
Da streiten sich Herzöge, Fürsten, Aebte,
Bischöfe, Kardinäle, Städteherrn
Um ihren eignen Vorteil hin und her; -
Doch an den armen Handwerksmann, den Bauern
Denkt keiner dieser Herrn!⁶⁰

In an ensuing argument between students and travelling journeymen, Hutten chides the former: "Was muß ich hören?

Warum schmäht Ihr mir/ Die fleißigen Leute vom Handwerksstand!/ Ist das H U M A N I T A S, Ihr Herren Gelehrten?"⁶¹ Shortly afterwards, he realizes sadly that the gulf between the classes would remain:

Mir ahnt es schon, noch lange leider währts,
Eh, alles sich zu Einem Zwecke fügt,
Wo allen Thuns und Handelns Mittelpunkt
Und Angel ist der allgemeine Nutz.
Jetzt rafft und raubt ein Jeder nur für sich,
Wenns hoch kommt etwa noch für seine Gleichen.
Zerrissen ist in Kasten und in Gilden,
Die nur das Ihre suchen, heut die Welt!
Wo glüht die allgemeine Liebesflamme,
Die einst der Nazarener predigte?⁶²

Whenever and wherever Hutten sees a wrong committed, he castigates it. Thus, Tetzl⁶³ draws a hard rebuke from him, since his selling of indulgences clearly demonstrates the exploitation of the people by the Church:

Was ist das für ein Unfug? Hat kein Ende
Das Zehnten und das Schinden unsres Volks?
Mein Reich ist nicht von dieser Welt! So sprach
Dereinst der Herr! Gieb, was Du hast den Armen.
Und Rom? - Es nimmt von aller Welt, was nur
Zu holen ist und dient dem Gotten Mammon.⁶⁴

Again this must be understood as a direct reference to the exploitive measures against the people by those who benefited from the growth of industrialization.

Hutten continues his fight, convinced that truth cannot be kept suppressed. He is not afraid to die, and he is not willing to submit to foreign bondage. Yet it does not mean that he would act foolishly:

Ich bleibe frei, weil ich den Tod nicht fürchte.
 Auch wird man nimmermehr von Hutten hören,
 Daß einem fremden König er gedient!
 Sich gar dem Papst dienbar gemacht!
 Und weil ich die Wahrheit nicht lassen kann,
 Meid ich die Städte, bleibe frei verborgen,
 Wenn frei bei Menschen ich nicht wohnen kann.⁶⁵

And these lines express Hutten's position and avocation.⁶⁶

He turns to all of Germany and pleads with her people:

"Laßt doch nicht streitn mich allein,/ Erbarmt Euch übers
 Vaterland!/ Ihr werthen Deutschen regt die Hand."⁶⁷ He con-
 cludes: "Schließt alle einmüthig Euch zusammen,/ Der Lehr-
 stand, Wehrstand und der Nährstand auch/ Und sucht allein
 gemeinen Nutz zu fördern,...."⁶⁸ This is followed by this
 exhortation:

Des Einen Lust sei nicht des Andern Leid,
 Des Einen Engel nicht des Andern Teufel,
 Des Einen Brod sei nicht des Andern Hunger,
 Des Einen Leben nicht des Andern Tod!
 Nun wohl! Ihr Freunde, auf nach....⁶⁹

The conclusion is a plea for action so that all the
 people can struggle jointly for the common goal.

The tone of the play is "Volkstümlich." By having cho-
 sen the time of the Reformation, the author could point out
 the similarities with his own time. The man Hutten is por-
 trayed arguing for a just cause, and always being there when
 needed. This might be plausible even though it appears too
 contrived.

The choice of words is sometimes puzzling, and a certain

cynicism shows through when Wittich, for example, refers to the sales of indulgences as "Glaubenslotterie"⁷⁰ and to the pope as the "großen und schlaunen Handelsmann im Süden."⁷¹

This is not a work which can be seen as an outstanding achievement in literature. But it reflects an era of genuine concern for people in torment and trouble. Wittich was one of their most gifted spokesmen, pleading their cause eloquently.

Wittich's mentor, Friedrich Bosse (1848-1909), was a well-known leader of the worker's movement. He felt strongly that the proletariat should be informed and entertained in its own cultural setting. It was Bosse's desire that the people's concerns should be presented on the stage of the "Fortbildungsverein,"⁷² an outgrowth of the "Arbeitervereine." To accomplish this, he took great care to develop works for the stage that would serve this purpose.

Initially, Bosse wrote under the assumed name of Heinrich Friedrich, mostly pieces that served propaganda purposes. Among these was Die Alten und die Jungen (1888). In it, he expresses his hope and conviction that the future will bring a time when harassment and any infringement will be eliminated.

In this first literary attempt, Bosse places with the representatives of the modern worker's movement Ulrich von Hutten and Hans Sachs, along with two medieval mercenaries and two travelling journeymen. Thus, the progressive elements of the past and the present are represented.

The choice of Hutten as a leading character in this play could be due to Wittich's play, which still must have been on Bosse's mind.⁷³ The combination of the new, the good, and the rightful demands for freedom and justice are the underlying themes of this play. It was performed on the occasion of the anniversary celebration of the "Verein."

The prologue explains the reason for the play, pointing to those who had lived up to the ideals, and for this reason should be emulated. Hutten introduces himself as a champion of freedom. Hans Sachs explains their mission, for after having watched the situation on earth from heaven for 300 years, they had to conclude that the nations kept on wrecking any chance for progress because they were too busy fighting each other:

Doch, der Hochmutsteufel ist in sie gefahren,
Das sieht man an ihren ganzen Gebaren:
Elemente haben sie in Dienst gezwängt,
Aber immer fühlen sie sich noch beengt.
Statt zu fördern ihr eigenes Glück,
Brechen sie einander das Genick,
So lange man noch hat rohe Gewalt,
Bekommt das Glück keine rechte Gestalt.⁷⁴

But the "heavenly" delegates want to find out what the conditions on earth really are. So they accept an invitation to partake in the celebration of the club. It is through this organization that they are made aware that their works - Hutten's and Sachs' - have given the new generation encouragement and inspiration. And Hutten agrees with the observation of the club's manager: "Mit dem Schwert da ist es vorbei;/ Wir werden auch ohne das frei./ Uns kann das nur durch

Arbeit gelingen,/ Hier gilt allein ein kräftig Ringen. - "75
 and he remarks: "Überall auch in der ganzen Welt/ Geschieht
 ja alles nur um das Geld,/ Nur immer ist das Geld die trei-
 bende Kraft,/ und dabei es so manches Unheil schafft."76

One of the journeymen, who while unemployed went through the
 experience of starvation, adds sarcastically: "Denn ich fand
 da draußen manchen frei,/ Das heißt, frei von Arbeit und
 Brot,/ Hatte gar viel Hunger und Not,/ ..."77

While the stage manager/director concurs with these
 findings of shortcomings, he points confidently to the future.
 He is convinced that the people have suffered enough and that
 they must and will strive jointly for a new era. Through
 vigorous actions, they must proclaim their ideas and goals.

In the ensuing interval gymnasts perform, accompanied
 by music, a reminder of the tradition of Turnvater Jahn,
 who had believed that all things must live in harmony for
 the good of spirit and body.

When the "heavenly" delegates get ready for their depar-
 ture, Hans Sachs is satisfied to know that the people have
 chosen the proper direction in achieving their goal: "Nun
 wollen wir wieder zum Himmel gahn/ Der Fortbildungsverein
 ist auf guter Bahn."78 Hutten adds this admonition:

Möge es gelingen in künftigen Tagen
 Wie ihr es könnt die Wahrheit sagen.

....

Wenn ihr auf alles wohl habet Acht,
 Dann kann euch schaden keine Macht!
 Den Geist man auch nicht töten kann,

So oft man ihn auch greifet an.
 Das hat euch Ulrich von Hutten gesagt,
 Der für sein Lehr' sein Leben gewagt!⁷⁹

The play was intended as an exhortation for the members not to lose faith for the establishment of their socialist goals. The use of historic figures along with their involvement and struggle for freedom was an attempt to establish the continuation of the former aims and a linkage to their legitimate cause.

Bosse tried to follow in the tradition of the "Meistersinger," the artisan-poets of the Middle Ages. And for this reason, he chose to write in verse. Yet he mastered neither the diction nor the elements of the cultured language. When he uses the "Knittelvers mit paarweisem Reim ... verstößt er laufend gegen das Versmaß. Manchmal kommt es durch die unbeholfene Reim - und Verskonstruktion zu schwerwiegenden Unklarheiten,"⁸⁰

Since the actors were amateurs, they were not really expected to act out their roles in the scenes. They had been instructed to recite their roles, adding to the impression of rigid formality. To counteract this, singers and gymnasts were interjected at certain intervals, activities performed with which the majority of the audience could identify.

The play lacks artistic elegance. It is simple, uncomplicated and direct. It is an example for the people.

Little is known about Gustav Adolphi, who wrote the dramatic poem Ulrich von Hutten (1872). Germany had just

experienced the rebirth as a powerful nation. People were still emotional about this event, happy, but at the same time trying to cope with the new situation.

The play recalls episodes from the patriot who had lived through tempestuous times. Hutten had just found recognition and is now ready to settle down to a domestic life. But the election of Emperor Charles I disappoints him and all those who had hoped for changes.

At the Ebernburg plans are discussed for the implementation for a new order in Germany. This happens after Hutten was forced to leave the court of Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz. But the events at Trier prove to be the unfortunate turning point for the plotters who must admit that their vision for a better Germany will not be realized. Their movement had taken such an irreversible direction that a complete catastrophe had become inevitable. Eventually Hutten ends up on the island of Ufenau in Lake Zürich where he was to die.

The language of the drama is often lofty, perhaps a grand attempt in the style of Schiller. But due to the unyielding character of the material, the author was unable to create a suspenseful plot. And the sequence of events in the story makes the outcome predictable.

The choice of words include at various occasions outmoded words (e.g. Huldin, Eidam, Büttel), and, in addition, the writer employed a great deal of syncopes which prove to be very distracting (wiederseh'n, verlieh'n, heil'ge).

The tone of the play is super-nationalistic, very pro-German. It lacks imagination and reads haltingly. One is left with a feeling that this has become an unintentional farce. Hutten comes across as a crass fabrication, unreal, who can come up, even before his impending death, with a strong prophetic vision:

Da geht ein milder Lichtstrahl auf - Jetzt wird
Er hell, - er steigt hoch - (jubilend) die Freiheit
ist's,
Deutschland's Erleuchtung, welch' ein reizvoll Bild!

....
Die Fremden flieh'n, - die Römer sind gefesselt
Und hoch zum Himmel ragt der Kaiserthron! -
Ich komme, großes Deutschland, nimm mich auf!⁸¹

Perhaps the least enjoyable work on Hutten is F. Erich Helf's (1872-1924)⁸² tragedy Ulrich von Hutten (1893). At most it could be considered as a work of youthful extravagance by one who had been caught up with the Kaiserreich's emphasis on greatness, by one who had neither an understanding of the material nor its historical implications.

Here in the play one can detect the author's uncompromising and biased attitude when he refers to foreigners as "gallisches Pack," and "wälsche Spitzbuben."⁸³ Germany by contrast is perpetually held up as a country for greatness: "Unser Volk hat das Weltschicksal zu der großen Aufgabe auserlesen. Wir sollen sie erfüllen gegen eine Hölle von Feinden. Durch Erfüllung werden wir stark."⁸⁴ This is in line with the arrogance of later generations.

In this so-called tragedy, the clergy is pictured as

completely lecherous. Hutten's love is fictitious, yet one of the episodes is followed by a series of related events. They run through the whole play, sometimes bordering on the sensational. In addition, these happenings are utilized to explain why Hutten's life had to end tragically, for as it turns out, it was a case of rejected love that had craved for revenge and destruction which brought Hutten's demise.

Hutten also proves that the crusade against Trier was wholly justified. The new teachings of the Reformation had made the pope in Rome obsolete. Germany required a German primate for her church. Yet when the campaign against Trier ends in disaster for Sickingen, when the worst fears become a reality, Hutten resigns stoically to his fate:

Wir sind alle Fäden an dem Großen Webstuhl,
die sich bewegen und drum lebendig
dunken; alle tanzen wir in einer Hand und folgen
einem Willen. Kein Mensch thut, was er will, nur
was er muß; und prahlend nennt er sein Müssen
seinen Willen.⁸⁵

And Nassau states his thoughts in the same vein:

Hiebe können wir schlagen, aber den Schlag leiten
unsichtbare Mächte. Wir haben keine Gewalt über die
Folgen unseres Thuns, und wir erkennen sie nicht
eher, als bis sie uns unabwendlich geworden.⁸⁶

By this time Hutten feels cursed. The debacle of Trier followed by Sickingen's death has caused him to give up hope for the people's betterment. Disenchanted, he declares rhetorically: "Nur der ist fähig frei zu sein, der sich die Freiheit erringt. Willst Du das Gesindel zur Freiheit

zwingen?"⁸⁷

In one of his final requests he includes a plea which expresses hope for a better fate than his own for those who had become victims of his delusive designs. He is then tormented with suicidal thoughts. But in the end Hutten learns to love and trust God. He makes peace with his creator. It has become clear to him that it was not his time:

Ich bin zu früh geboren. -- Wie ich all' meine
Pläne vernichtet sah, da zweifelte ich an der
Wahrheit und Göttlichkeit meiner Ideale. - Das
war Sünde! - Was ich gewollt, werden Jahrhunderte
nach mir erreichen. Ich bin nicht umsonst gefal-
len. Einer muß zuerst an's Land springen, Prote-
silars⁸⁸ fällt.
Doch sein Tod verbürgt den Sieg, --
Ich grolle dem Schicksal nicht.⁸⁹

The play is neither skillful nor entertaining. It drags along for 135 pages. The plot is crudely constructed and contains some contradictions. The author uses characters that are hollow and quite unconvincing in their actions and speeches.

Helf had tried to mold Hutten into a shape as he had conceived him in his time, a character out of place, a personality that is unreal and unbelievable.

Concluding this chapter, I would like to refer to some poems which display a similar interpretation as was demonstrated by the last few plays.

A new awareness of national pride had come fully to the surface. Germany was engaged in an effort to catch up. Competition was fierce and the idea of sharing power with other

countries was unacceptable. The "Kulturkampf" became a struggle between the German government and the Roman Catholic Church.

A.T. Brück in 1872 wrote a poem "Die Männer zu Fulda" in which he decried the submission of the German Conference of Bishops to Vatican pressure. These princes of the Church had assembled in Fulda, ostensibly behind closed windows and locked doors. In this setting they obeyed Rome's demands. Some were ashamed, others were spiteful. While this took place, Hutten's ghost appeared, the very image of the poet-knight:

Durch die verschlossne Pforte herein mit Geistes-
tritt,
Mit lichtigem Siegesblicke ein Mann in Harnisch
schritt,
Sein Haupt umkränzt mit Lorbeer, in seiner Hand
das Schwert:
Der Geist von Ulrich von Hutten, dem Ritter
ruhmeswert.⁹⁰

He greets the assembly, hails the new empire for being now free from Rome. The churchmen detect scorn in his address, detect his derision and thus counter his arguments. They confess their conviction that the truth resides in Rome. Hutten retorts that if this was the case they should refer to the Epistolae obscurorum virorum and read there what he had observed. Immediately after this he opens the locked doors so that they have an opportunity to view reality where things do not stand still.

Brück sketched a partial scene only from his perspective, trying to incorporate Hutten's legacy. He appeals to

patriotism, pride, and the emotions, rather than to poetic and historic integrity.

Ernst von Wildenbruch (1845-1909) represents the group of those who held on to the traditions of the establishment. Yet, his was a group that tried hard to find a balance between the extremes.⁹¹ He echoed strongly the Protestant point of view though, which at his time not only bordered on the prevalent chauvenism, but surpassed it. Wildenbruch was carried away by his passionate temperament. He lacked insight and dedication to look for causes and then solve them. Thus, he appears to some just as a "rückwärtsgewandter Prophet."⁹² Other critics contend, however, that he had never left his position of "the rosy glimmer of a simple youthful belief in ideals which had not been dimmed by experience."⁹³

Wildenbruch was a prolific writer.⁹⁴ But his characters are not alive, even though he presented them in passionate and lofty terms; they are supposed to represent historical happenings. He expresses his admiration and gratitude for the deeds and accomplishments of his historical heroes.

Wildenbruch's poem "Huttens letztes Lied" (1887)⁹⁵ was written to publicize a campaign for a Hutten monument on Ufenau. The poem is delivered as Hutten's testament when he was dying on foreign soil. He directs it to his beloved country and asks for heaven's blessing upon the people. He is confident because the truth from Wittenberg is spreading, carried by young people who are asserting their claim to

their ancient rights. But the nation should not forget Hutten's motto: "Ich hab' es gewagt!" and the Germans should follow it:

So wende dereinst, wenn die Zeit sich erfüllt,
Zum vertriebenen Sohne dein Angesicht,
Daß mein ruheloses Herz entschlummre im Trost:
Deutschland vergißt seinen Hutten nicht.⁹⁶

Eight years later, Wildenbruch alludes again to Hutten in his poem "Ihr habt es gewagt!" (1895). It is a political poem addressed to a certain segment in the Reichstag.⁹⁷ In it he contrasts the representatives of this parliament with the daring of Hutten:

"Ich hab' es gewagt" - eine schlafende Welt
Fuhr taumelnd empor als das Wort erscholl,
Als Ulrich von Hutten die Nacht zerriß,
Als der Frühlingssturm durch die Lande schwoll.⁹⁸

.....
Mit allem, was Deutschland euch gab und verlieh,
Mit seiner Sprache, mit seinem Geist,
Kämpft ihr für alles, was Deutschlands Feind,
Was den Leib ihn zerfleischt und das Herz zerreißt.⁹⁹

In this poem Wildenbruch clearly demonstrates the chauvenistic Protestant sentiments, of one who expresses his disappointment with the lack of appreciation for past accomplishments. It is no more than a politically motivated outburst.

In concluding this chapter, I do not want to overlook a little poem from Wilhelm Bennecke (1846-1906), entitled "Hutten Buchdrucker" (1905).¹⁰⁰ It is a memorial from an ardent admirer, showing Hutten in his total dedication to

the cause he embraced, never shrinking even from manual work when this helps to accomplish the goal. In this case he operates the printing press:

Ritter Ulrich, der Gelehrte,
Eine Druckerpresse führt,
Die er neben seinem Schwerte
Sich zur Waffe hat erklärt.

....
Wie ein Brandmal den Verbrecher
Auf die Stirne wird geprägt,
Also mancher arme Schächer
Ulrich Huttens Zeichen trägt.¹⁰¹

In a few stanzas, the poem presents Hutten as one who was involved and influential. Its simplicity is reminiscent of the Volkslied. It could not fail to impress the faithful, those who cherished the memory of the poet-knight.

Chapter 3

The Decline and End of Imperial Germany

In the climate of chauvenism and imperialism of the late Wilhelmenian period lies a special appeal to writers. The feverish economic and industrial growth of the resurgent nation contributed to materialistic progress, but at the expense of eroding moral and spiritual values. And here again Hutten appears in literature to warn and admonish his countrymen.

The first author in this period who dealt with the national hero in Germany is Johanna Presler-Flohr (1862-1925). It was her aim to inspire the people through the example of the humanist-knight Ulrich von Hutten¹ in her play Ulrich von Hutten (1905).

The play is somewhat cumbersome, lengthy - 205 pages - consisting of five acts, each divided into numerous scenes (15, 15, 14, 24, 12), and a long list of participating characters (53), plus many extras. Hutten is introduced as the editor of Valla's treatise² and a man who opposes "mönchische Verdummung."³ He is still the "Nemo," unknown and without respect. His brothers invite him to participate in a hold-up of a merchant's caravan in the typical "robber-knight" style. Ulrich rejects this idea, for he is quite different, as his interest is in humanist learning.

Through his writings Hutten has caught the Church's wrath. In a dispute over indulgences, he is rescued by the followers of the "Bundschuh."

During his stay with Sickingen Hutten advises against Glapion's suggestion for a meeting with Luther away from Worms, because he sees Glapion as "füchsisch und schlau,"⁴ a man not to be trusted.

Hutten tries to make Sickingen see that the new emperor is only "Kaiser der Deutschen nebenbei."⁵ He also advocates fighting for freedom, explaining: "..., daß uns das Gute oft nur durch schlimme Mittel gewonnen werden muß."⁶

Sickingen is driven into his feud with Trier trying to implement Hutten's program of reform. However, Hutten's hopes are unrealistic because he believes that together with Luther they would be able to establish a semblance of order for spiritual and temporal needs. But they fail. Before dying, aware of his failure, Sickingen turns to his daughter: "Ich hab' euch, liebe Kinder, in groß Unheil gestürzt mit meinen allzu kühnen Plänen."⁷ He continues to Frowin Hutten: "Wir beide haben fehl gespielt....Wir hatten uns das Ziel zu hoch gesteckt. Die Saat, die erst Jahrhunderte gebraucht zum stillen Keimen und allmählichen Wachstum, wir glaubten sie schon reif zum Ernteschnitt."⁸

Hutten has to go into Swiss exile. There he finds out about the events in Germany and exclaims:

Die Blüte unsrer Ritterschaft sank hin,
Mit Franz, dem ehrenfesten, kühnen Mann.
Mir starb mit ihm der beste, treuste Freund.

Wie vogelfrei fühl ich mich in der Welt, 9
Seit seine starke Hand mich schutzlos laßt.

In spite of the outcome of his fight, Hutten can still declare at his end: "Ich lebte gern auf dieser/ Streitvollen ird'schen; hab mein redlich Teil/ An ihren Kämpfen mutig mitgefochten,/ Trotz aller Fehd' war's eine Lust zu leben."¹⁰

Hutten, though, is bitter over the ingratitude of the nation. He sees his end as a fruit of his youthful transgressions. He is sad that he will not be around to see Germany mature. Defiantly he leaves behind his intellectual legacy, a work entitled In tyrannos, and dies.

The author tried here to use many details from Hutten's life. Many sections of the play lack dramatic action and contain unnecessary details. A case in point is Aleander's objection to Hutten being on Albrecht's court. In some cases it is evident that other characters (Hartmut, Sickingen) act while Hutten is occupied with his daydreams and unrealistic programs. Yet Hutten is at those moments depicted as a sympathetic fighter whose aim is national unity and freedom for his people. To support this idea the writer tried to conjure up a man of action. His subsequent failure is explained by the misunderstanding of the others and by their inability to grasp Hutten's vision. But this argument is not very convincing.

The play is too sentimental, especially in those parts where the supporting characters deal with their personal problems; for example, the reader is introduced to Elsa,

Sickingen's eighteen year old daughter, shown in her conflict between love and duty, in her joys and her despair. Franz Konrad, Sickingen's son, wants to be a man when he is just a child. He is an avid Hutten-admirer and demonstrates to him a faithfulness even after his escape from a traumatic capture and the knowledge of the collapse of his father's plans. Hartmut, the fiance of Elsa, is a hothead who admires Hutten, but he resents the attention Hutten gets, though his dedication to the Hutten-Sickingen cause is total.

Often one is left with the impression that the writer sees the life of Hutten through the enthusiastic eyes of his mother, as one who is deeply involved and not as one who is an objective witness.

There are some words interjected throughout the play which were intended to give a flavor of authenticity, like "Ätzung," "baß," "schwant," and more. The choice of other words seem contrived, especially when we read "Lästerglatzenkopf" and "Hausschein" as the German equivalent for Oekolampus.

Karl Kelber (1862-1954) wrote a long epic, Der deutsche Hutten, Einzelbilder geschichtlicher Dichtung (1910). Kelber himself was born in Franconia as the son of a Lutheran clergyman who had an interest in literature. For this reason he was closely exposed to many ideas associated or having originated with Hutten. He produced a very nationalistic work, heralding the deeds of one who loves his nation, "der echteste Deutsche (der)...am Idealismus zu Grunde (geht)."¹¹

The author retells Hutten's life in four divisions, clearly letting the reader know that he is an ardent admirer of his hero. In a heroic setting many episodes are molded into a joint whole recounting Hutten's accomplishments. Hutten is portrayed as a man who fervently struggles against tremendous adversities, trying to rectify the appalling conditions in his country. Though he is not successful in his attempts, he is instrumental in getting others involved.

At the outset, Hutten is shown just having gained his freedom after having left the monastery. He is trying to become a "German man,"¹² and with the help of Krotus he starts out for the university of Cologne. On the way there they meet Luther who, in contrast to Hutten, had just entered the monastery to become a mendicant friar. Hutten, though, senses that this man will become some day in the future an opposing force to the established Church.

Not much later, Hutten is on his way to Italy to further his studies. Soon, however, he finds out that his expectations had been different from what he encountered. He witnesses corruption and even sees the pope as "Kriegsanstifter,"¹³ and he also gets a taste of the Romans who look at the Germans as a nation "das lebt wie Vieh, das brüllt in seinem Urwald bestialisch."¹⁴

Hutten yearns for his country and returns home without having reached his objective. His father is disappointed, even ashamed of Hutten's lack of accomplishment and calls him derisively a "Knochenritter,"¹⁵ While he disowns his son, his mother blesses him before he leaves his home.

For a second time, Hutten has gone to Italy to complete his studies. Here the author interjects a section in which he addresses Hutten directly, commenting on his exploits and then making references to the three hundred years passed since, comparing Hutten to Theodor Körner and Ernst Moritz Arndt, along with references to the victorious Franco-Prussian War which seemingly realized Hutten's imperial dreams. Hutten, at that time, is also reminded of Canossa, understood by him as a sinister event¹⁶ where the "Pseudo-Petrus"¹⁷ had humiliated the German emperor.

Upon his return to Germany, Hutten is crowned poet laureate by Emperor Maximilian I. Even then, Hutten is not an imposing figure, as a bystander remarks, although his appearance demands respect:

Ganz Leben, schwächliche Gestalt,
Doch großen Geistes in allen Blicken.
Kühn, herb, wild alle Regung schmal 18
Und scharf das Antlitz, treu und trotzog.

In the meantime, the "viroorum obscurorum" direct their activities from Cologne. The writer's objective is to display the corruptive life in the monasteries where pleasures of opulence were enjoyed while at the same time the residents' ignorance and their lack of learning is all too evident. Kelber makes use of the Epistolae obscurorum virorum indirectly, trying to satirize the clergy, as had been done once by their humanist authors, among them Hutten. The author fails totally to give an objective account, as he includes in this scene personal bias and ridicule.

Hutten is informed of the papal orders for his arrest. He is also a loser in his quest and courtship of his girl, who is getting engaged to the Advocatus Adam Knoblauch, for as the mother of the girl puts it: "Hutten war nichts, ist nichts, wird nichts."¹⁹

Back in Nürnberg, Hutten reports to Pirkheimer about his observations in and about Italy, her people's arrogance which was particularly pronounced in respect to Germany: "...in Venedig geht das Sprichwort: alle Städte Deutschlands sind blinde Kühe, nur allein Alt-Nürnberg sieht auf einem Auge!"²⁰ And then he continues about the war-loving pope's cravings: "Leo, du machst an einem Tag einunddreißig Kardinäle, und jeder stiehlt uns, was er kann. Du bist der Deutschen schlimmstes Raubtier."²¹

Luther and Hutten have made contact with each other, as both have become upset and angry by the abuses of Rome. But things do not progress as successfully as Hutten had hoped for. He receives encouragement. In the solitude of the forest, he discusses the situation with the "alten Kaiser Karl" (Charlemagne).

Yearning for action, Hutten takes off on his "Pfaffenkrieg." This venture contrasts dramatically the difference between the god-fearing monk Luther who trusts alone in the power of the word, stating: "Ich will nit, daß mit Gewalt und Blutvergießen die Wahrheit man verfiht,"²² and the impatient knight Hutten who believes that he has to take things into his own hands: "Die Waffe heilt, das Schwert versöhnt...

Krieg ist läuternd Feuer."²³

As a final phase of attempt to free his nation, Hutten calls the people to action with an articulate summons. But the tone of this is abusive, reflecting the author's poor taste along with his blind dislike for anything "un"-German. The time for change has not yet come, the members of the establishment and the Church remain firmly entrenched and in power.

Hutten is told that Luther's teaching will not be suppressed. Even though Hutten is ashamed and depressed by the ongoings in his country, he feels "re-charged" by an imaginary meeting that he has suddenly in the Teutoburger Wald, the forest where at one time the expansion of the Roman Imperium had been brought to an abrupt halt. He is assured that there will come a "zukünftiger protestantischer Kaiser des Luthervolkes!"²⁴

Since the feud with Trier had ended catastrophically, Hutten must flee and ends up eventually with Zwingli in Switzerland. (Ein Ulrich hilft dem anderen.²⁵) The refuge there becomes also his final resting place, far away from his beloved country.

In a long overdue testimonial to Hutten, the author praises him, reminding the reader that Hutten is still with them. With an obvious allusion to Hutten's dreams, he writes: "Erst nach Jahrhunderten erfüllt/ in später Zeit sich die wilde Sehnsucht,/ Ist Glaube, Glut all deines Seins/ Groß aufgewacht zur Tat der Toten."²⁶ He concludes

with the promise: "Und weil er lebt, so sei der Kampf/
 Allem, was undeutsch ist, verkündet!/ Wir wollen schlicht und
 wahr und deutsch/ Wir wollen zornig sein wie Hutten!"²⁷

Germany should be grateful to Hutten, who had proven that
 adversity makes a man, and that sadness creates courage.

This epic is very nationalistic with a strongly biased
 tone, which offends our sensibilities in an age after two
 world wars.

Hutten is clearly the central character of the epic,
 but since a minimum of action revolves around him, various
 other characters, some real, others fictitious, were brought
 into the picture, so that the events would retain a certain
 continuity. To present an aura of historical authenticity,
 the author coined words, some of them sounding quite artifi-
 cial: Schnarchschlaf, Liedritter, Klotzwerfer, Feuerhutten,
 Rittereisenkleid and more. Also his use of the Cologne
 dialect serves to give the impression that the epic is a
 very artificial concoction of a Hutten-admirer.

Not much is known about the next author, Alfred Joeckel
 (*1882) who wrote the play Ulrich von Hutten (1911), ein
 Schauspiel für die Deutschen. Joeckel was a liberal writer
 who used his pen to unmask the obscurists, the bigots and
 the hypocrites, all those who opposed the free expression of
 thought and objected to dissent. He was championing a state
 that would allow the propagation of ideas,²⁸ without censor-
 ship or any other interference. He conceived this play as
 well as his satirical Briefe moderner Dunkelmänner.²⁹

The opening scene of the play shows some of Hutten's antagonists deriding Hutten and at the same time justifying the brazen changes of the Church which allow a conception that life could be savored by the clergy, including amorous adventures. They make this concluding remark: "Die Beichte endet erst im Schlafgemach."³⁰

Hutten appears, and without further ado he discusses his ideas, while others had expected him to be the one who would entertain them. He is tired and finds out that some of his supporters had been intimidated, among them the one who had published his works and who had been stopped doing this. At first, this news makes Hutten angry, but he realizes his rude behavior and apologizes for it.

Even though Hutten wants to settle down, he feels compelled to seek revenge of the Duke Ulrich von Württemberg for the murder of his cousin Hans von Hutten.

Hutten has to be involved, always discussing his ideas and expressing his thoughts. In an argument with a priest³¹ he remarks, in regard to the Church, sarcastically: "Vernunft ist Ketzerei. Der Stumpfsinn Glauben."³²

Hutten had gone to the Netherlands to see the emperor, but without success. Meanwhile back home rumors have it that Hutten had been kidnapped by Rome's myrmidons. It was Angst,³³ who informs a group of sympathizers of Hutten's return. Immediately Hutten appeals to his people to act. And he is the one who could guide them, "ein Dichter von echter Kampflust strotzend",³⁴ one who is convinced that

"das ist kein Spiel mehr, nein auf Leben und Tod kämpft, wer so schreibt."³⁵

Positions become more pronounced. Opponents of the Church face adversity. Luther is dismissed by a prelate as a "...giftig-wildes Tier, herrschsüchtig und in Sünden hart gesotten. Vielleicht auch toll."³⁶ Scheffer, the printer of Hutten's tracts, is getting frightened: "Hört denn kein Gott, wenn unser Angstschrei gelbt, wenn Priester morden, was uns gegeben? O die Schurken in dem frommen Kleid."³⁷ A while later he surrenders to his oppressors so that his family would be spared. Stromer, Hutten's physician, comments: "Im Anfang war das Wort, das Wort war's, das die Welt erschuf. Die Theologen wollen es ermorden."³⁸ Meanwhile, the books condemned by the Church burn.

Hutten has now become aware of Luther's significance in the struggle and is willing to make common cause with him, saying: "Ich biet ihm Schwert und Arm."³⁹ He is convinced the "Wittenberger" had found a way to alert the people so that they would listen and follow.

Events force Hutten to withdraw to the Ebernburg for protection. He is described as someone without any assets: "Er ist nicht schön, nicht reich, kein guter Christ."⁴⁰ While Hutten wants to rush into action, Sickingen cautions to wait. But Hutten does not relent, and relates to him a dream in which Sickingen had become the emperor.

Luther had to come to Worms and justify his teachings. Hutten, after recognizing this significant appearance,

exclaims: "Die Weltgeschichte steht vor einer Wende."⁴¹

It is at that time that he becomes disappointed with Erasmus, a man lacking the desire for action. Also the Trier affair turns into a catastrophe for Sickingen and his allies. Thus, Hutten is disheartened by the state of affairs in Germany and also becomes confused by Luther's position in regard to physical involvement. His only hope lies now with the peasants, provided they could find a capable leader, as the knights have not kept their promises.

In a last desperate attempt to save their cause, Sickingen sends Hutten away so that he could rally others to follow them, exhorting him: "Ihr kämpft mit Waffen, die kein Feind besiegt, schlägt Wunden, die Jahrhunderte noch bluten."⁴² He reminds him: "Es ist die Zukunft, Freund, für die ihr fechtet."⁴³

New troubles confront Hutten in quick succession. After having made it to Basel, he is told that Erasmus has no time for him. He is told too that Sickingen has died and that he must leave town. But he is advised now to look for asylum with Zwingli. It is at that time that he promises to write a treatise against Erasmus, a step showing his complete disassociation from his former mentor. "Sagt dem Erasmus, der sein Fähnlein dreht, ich wär vor lauter Ekel völlig satt.... Er soll sich rüsten zur Entscheidungsschlacht."⁴⁴

In the end, the feverish Hutten hallucinates on the island of Ufenau, referring to his writing against the

tyrants while seeing a number of his former friends and acquaintances.

The drama is an attempt to present Hutten as a tragic hero who, though he had lost, had fought valiantly. The author, however, could not hold back his bias against the Catholic clergy and Hutten's antagonists, thus weakening any convincing argumentation. This opinionated presentation makes the play contrived. It is, though, an appeal for the correction of the abuses and practices.

A transitional period sets in. Some of the writers saw a need for a rejuvenation. Soon the fight for freedom took on a new urgency, as there was the call for action to prevent the encroachment from any foreign domination.

The Great War caused the German populace to view the future with uncertainty and apprehension. Literary writers became concerned, and some of them felt compelled to close ranks for the good of their country. Of course, among them were many nationalists whose efforts sound shrill and distorted to us.

The original enthusiasm had subsided, and it was felt that some genuine inspiration had to be instilled. Somebody had to show that the needs of the nation must come first. Such a person was Adalbert Luntowski (*1883), who wrote the compact drama Hutten (1916).

The play opens with the final chapter of Hutten's life, his sojourn and impending demise on Ufenau. A messenger has arrived with the objective of collecting a debt

when it is apparent that Hutten is hopelessly ill. This man is full of disdain for the knight's predicament. Hutten feels very annoyed by the messenger's presence and requests him to be removed so that he can spend his remaining hours undisturbed.

Hutten is certain that his enemies are trying hard not to let him die in peace. A monk insists on arguing with him about the benefits of the Church, asking inquisitively: "Kam nicht der Deutschen Wahrheit aus Rom?"⁴⁵ following this up with a rebuke against the humanist's attempts: "Ihr Deutschen macht ungebührlich Ernst mit den griechischen Dingen, die wir Euch ans Licht gefördert...und was haben die griechischen Dinge mit dem Volk zu tun? Die Kreatur soll beten und dem verordneten Priester gehorchen."⁴⁶ It is clearly an admonition that demands blind obedience to the instructions of the established institution. Hutten is irate at this suggestion and retorts: "Ihr treibt es ärger mit dem Schacher als es leibhaftig Satan kann. Ihr Werkmeister allen Trugs. Ihr Urheber, daß meines Volkes Seele in Knechtschaft liegt."⁴⁷ It is a pointed remark to the obvious deceit of a nation by the perpetrators of false promises. And true to his character, as a man who wants to initiate actions against abuses, Hutten promises: "Dies Feuer, so ich anzünden kam, nicht stürzen und sticken kann kein Papst und kein Pfaff. Zum Verderben lodern wird es dermaleinst."⁴⁸ And reminiscent of Christ's last moments is Hutten's gesture, aware that his life soon would be

concluded, when he addresses Mrs. Schnegg and her son:

"Das ist dein Sohn, das ist deine Mutter."⁴⁹

Before passing on, Hutten expresses his conviction that a rejuvenation will come to Germany and that the Roman corpse shall be buried. He is happy that he has finally found a place of rest after all the turbulent years of his life, during which he had been breathing hatred and ire, fighting for a German church and the nation. Yet, he also feels disappointed, having failed like Phaeton⁵⁰ and aware that his desire to live a regular life had never materialized. Looking back, he confesses: "Einmal schien es, als sollte ich in einen Hafen laufen und ein menschliches Dasein leben in den Schranken des Friedens."⁵¹ But circumstances had left him to fend with the pen and the sword.

Confident that almighty God had sent adversity so that he would learn patience, he believes now that everything will work for the best and that the German church will grow eventually, as did the German forest: "Alle Schranken stürzen. Alle Fesseln brechen. Bis deutsche Seel um Seel schreit Bruder."⁵²

When lansquenets inform him of Sickingen's death, he is ready to join his friend in the other world, but not without urging all those present not to quit the fight for freedom which is God's will.

The author exhorts his nation to look back in history, to events that had occurred in Germany which had cast a shadow over the country. It was when he had become more aware

of reality, yet without having lost the will to fight. He is telling them to break with the past and to fight for freedom, the freedom from foreign domination and tyrannical rule.

The play should be understood as an attempt to rally the people to a cause. This is not done with the shrill voice which one observes so frequently in nationalistic propaganda tirades. It is a short play, not patterned after the traditional dramatic concepts. Its only action comes from the very last moments in Hutten's life, a time when he had become more aware of reality, yet without having lost his will to believe in his cause. The tone of the play reflects clearly the author's respect for Hutten. Yet it is not at all an uncritical endorsement of the humanist-knight. He is portrayed as a man who admits his hastiness, as one who had to learn and recognize his limitations. In the process he became a new person, one who had undergone a change: "Auf Ufenau ist, als ob dieser Hutten schon gestorben ist, und nun der andere wirkliche Leib lebendig wird."

The author used language which is easily understood by the common reader: rote Wut, Jammertal, einen Pfifferling angehen, Lumpenritter, Würstler. The theme throughout the play says that one must learn from the mistakes of the youthful past, but at the same time one must try to remain true to oneself and committed to one's chosen cause. In addition, the play emphasizes the unsuccessful striving of a man who had the best intentions, but he was one who had

neither the temper nor the talent to channel them into the proper directions.

Georg-Robert Kerl dared to modernize the historic Hutten in his "Thesendrama"⁵⁴ Hutten (1918). In didactic fashion, the author appeals for an understanding and reassessment of beliefs and traditions which had not been changed with the progress of time.

Hutten and his father represent the bourgeois class, and Ulrich is the youngest member of the family.⁵⁵ He is a student, who is remaining at the university much longer than is customary. But he has achieved one thing that the historical counterpart had not: bourgeois Hutten has received his doctorate.

Young Hutten is somebody who wants to be himself. His father, however, insists that he should obey him, regardless what he, the son, wants or feels like doing, as he is still dependent on his father's support. The opening dialogue projects the father as being impatient and not at all impressed with any of his son's accomplishments.

Ulrich, though, wants to live. And so he asks rhetorically: "Sollen die Fremden sagen: Es ist ein schönes und großes Land, aber man gähnt so viel in Deutschland?...Mensch sein, Vater, Mensch sein, das will ich einmal."⁵⁶

The younger Hutten is chided for his carelessness, and the father complains that his son has not fulfilled the expectations of his family, something that would eventually have a negative effect, insinuating that the military could

possibly straighten him out. He characterizes him with the following remarks in reference to his readings: "Äußerlich bist du ein Kraftmeier, und innerlich eine Sauce von Philosophie und Religion, ein Ragout von einem ästhetisierenden Salonphilosophen und einer Betvettel,"⁵⁷ and Hutten receives this advice: "Der Kampf ums Leben ist hart. Mit Fäusten und Ellenbogen muß man sehen, daß man zum Ziele kommt. Denn alles ist ja nur ein Ringen des Egoismus."⁵⁸

The father holds on to old cherished beliefs and emphatically declares that children are raised to assist the parents in their old age and should not ungratefully pursue their own desires. To this Ulrich replies: "Helft ihnen selbständig und frei zu werden, und ihr werdet sie durch Liebe fester als durch Gehorsamsketten an euch schmieden, ..."⁵⁹ He declares: "Ich gehöre zu denen, die erst in Freiheit gedeihen."⁶⁰ It is his desire to be like the spring, to be eternally young and full of life, always in motion, but at the same time solid as a rock.

During his stay at a resort, Ulrich meets a young teacher who, though not understanding his poetic writings, likes some of it. They discuss the effects of imagination, of love and fear in life. Hutten then states:

Wir Männer führen den Kampf ums Dasein mit den Natur Gesetzen, die wir erkennen und befolgen müssen, den Streit um Zeit und Platz für Haus und Gründung der Familie. Wenn wir heiß gearbeitet haben und die Leidenschaft in uns brennt, dann kommen wir zu ihnen (den Frauen)....⁶¹

His remarks must be understood in the light of the time

when chauvenism was rampant, and the role of the woman was to be subservient, as one who would hold herself ready for her man.

Shortly afterwards, Hutten has been put in jail. During his stay there he exchanges his life story with the other prisoners. In great detail they relate their misfortunes, upsetting Hutten with this apparent miscarriage of justice, causing him to ask: "Wann kommt der Tag, wo jeder rechtschaffene Mensch, selbst wenn er Pech hat und Feinde, doch ungehindert seinen Weg finden kann?"⁶² To this a prisoner replies: "Der Staat muß total umgeändert werden."⁶³ Hutten, however, disagrees and believes that the citizens rather must be changed. Criticism is expressed against the privileged few.

Feeling that he does not belong in jail as a free citizen, Hutten objects to being kept there. His attempts with the jailer to alleviate his situation prove to be fruitless, and he now becomes utterly disillusioned with the state:

Staat, bist du wirklich weiter nichts als ein
Moloch, der seine Kinder frißt? Ist es wirklich
so, daß alle Ehrsamkeit eine Maske ist...?
Wie viele schmachten unschuldig in deinen Gefängnissen
dahin, bloß weil sie das allzukünstliche Gefüge
einen kleinen Augenblick belästigten.⁶⁴

Hutten advocates changes, but he knows that for this purpose certain procedures have to be initiated. He is at a loss when his concern is not shared by the majority of the inmates. Sadly, he comments: "Die Ideale und der Geist, den der Mensch mitbringt, sie müssen langsam unter Hohn und

brutaler Schweinerei ersterben."⁶⁵ Still, he does not give up. In a manifesto he advocates "Gewissensfreiheit," explaining: "Wie einst der Papst, so hat sich heute der Staat zu einem Tyrannen aufgeschwungen und läßt zu, daß das Gute und Heilige, das Geheimnis unserer Brust, das nur Gott kennen soll, durch unberufene und dreckige Finger vor die Augen der Menschen gezerrt wird."⁶⁶ This is followed by his declaration: "Die Freiheit ist ein gewaltiger Hauch...Freiheit ist ein süßes Wort...Aber es schallt fürchterlich in den Ohren derer, die es nicht hören wollen! ...Freiheit ist Menschheit! ...Wir wollen bis zum Tode freie Bürger sein!"⁶⁷

This declaration is followed by a debate pointing out the pros and cons for a change in government along with a discussion of the various possibilities. But to the end, Hutten rejects the idea of using force in order to bring that change. He is convinced that it should be accomplished within the framework of the existing order.

A new situation arises that allows Hutten to leave jail unexpectedly. It is then that he uses his persuasive skills with his jailmates beseeching them not to take any actions against their captors. As he is fleeing, he reminds those who accompany him in this breakout:

Wem keine Schuld nach dem Gesetzbuch und nach dem Rechtsempfinden des Volkes nachgewiesen ist, der soll frei sein. Leben, menschenwürdig leben, das wollen wir und arbeiten im Schweiß unseres Angesichts für das tägliche Brot!...Wenn wir arbeiten können, dann sind wir alle froh....Gib uns Arbeit, Staat, daß wir deine dankbaren freien Bürger werden.⁶⁸

The play is obviously a social comment on the injustices and the inadequacy experienced by some members of society as evidenced in the closing years of Imperial Germany. Change, however, must be accomplished in an orderly fashion. Changes have to be initiated either by those who recognized the necessity for them or by others predestined by fate to take an active part in the process.

One might agree with the premise advocated by the author in the play. Yet in his desire to address himself to the grievances of his time, he wrote a work that is limited in its scope and appeals only to his contemporaries. Hoping to reach a wide spectrum of the society, the author used earthy and colloquial expressions as well as some forms derived from dialects: herumbotten, Duselei, Hundepolakei, Flohkiste, and more. But their use does not enhance the play. In addition, the frequent use of proverbial sayings does not add to the understanding

The works about Hutten covered in this chapter show diversity in their approach and interpretation. They are part of the ongoing changes that were in the making or which had already occurred. Hutten was still the hero, though no longer the unselfish humanist-knight or the idealistic patriot.

Chapter 4

The Weimar Republic Years - Toleration and Polarization

The literature of the post World War I years experienced a new freedom that allowed for the change from agonizing despair to utopian optimism.¹ The problem of finding a new identity found its expression through many authors. Hutten had not outlived his appeal as the standard bearer who could rally the people to the needs of his nation.

In 1921 appeared Hans Freiherr von Hammerstein's (1881-1947) novel Ritter, Tod und Teufel, subtitled "Ein Bilderbuch aus dem 16. Jahrhundert." In this ambitious attempt to picture the times of change, Hutten appears only in a relative minor role in this semi-documentary account of this stormy time, full of peace making and unbridled lust for fighting, honesty and conniving, loving and quarrelsomeness. Some of the most important chapters from his life are interwoven into the story, thus making it seemingly a more authentic account of this historical period. Hutten's role borders sometimes on the pathetic, when, after he had expressed the idea of the election of a German emperor by all of the country's people, he states: "Heil dem Römischen Reich! Auf einen gesegneten Untergang!"² and a little later: "Was ragt muß stürzen, was liegt aufstehn. Zerstörung und Untergang.

Nur so wird das neue, deutsche Reich."³ Here one finds thoughts expressed that sound very much like an analysis for the conditions prevalent in the years following the Great War (World War I). Hutten continues: "Was ist der Teufel? Unsere Schwäche. Was ist Gott? Unsere Kraft."⁴ Accompanied with this prediction and warning we read: "Der neue Tag bricht an. Seht euch vor, daß er euch wach finde."⁵ These are apparently watchwords which mix biblical with nationalistic exhortations.

Hutten's inability to gather support for his cause is explained by his mother, who states: "Es versteht ihn keiner, hat ihn nie verstanden."⁶ To Hutten, the Germans are a vigorous, but particularistic ethnic group who lack the necessary self-sacrifice of devotion to make them a nation:

Was ist dies Volk? Eine Herde der widersprechendsten Wesen: Junker, Bürger, Bauern. Keiner will den anderen wahr haben, jeder lebt, will leben, rennt den andern nieder, weil der auch leben möchte. Jeder verbört und vertraut in das, was ihn zunächst für der Nas steht, töricht und rechthaberisch, und doch ein jeder ein Deutscher, ein Kerl, wie's sonst keinen gibt auf der Welt, stark, echt, gut in sich, wann man sie zusammenkriegte, aus tausend Richtungen und Sonderweglein in einem hineinbrächte, ein großer, mächtiger Strom wie der alte Rhein, welcher ein Volk!

A little while later Hutten appeals for a spirit of national unity which will bring freedom for all in its wake: "Frei müssen alle werden, die Bürger, die Ritter, die Bauern. Aber nicht mit dem Schwert allein zerschlägst du die Bande. Der Geist muß auferstehen wie ein Sturm, und das Eis brechen, das den deutschen Frühling bannt."⁸ But then he laments:

"Immer erfind't der Deutsche, was ihn selber zerstört,"⁹

So he concludes in the end with this advice: "Nicht funkeln soll, was ihr schreibt und redet, leuchten, flammen soll es in der Nacht aus eigener Glut. Das ist der Genius, der ins Tagen führt....Nicht welscher Schliff - deutsche Einfalt, Grobheit und Kraft!"¹⁰

The tone of the whole novel is nationalistic. Through the figure of Hutten the author tries to kindle sparks of fervent patriotism in the German people which will inflame in them a sense of mission and destiny.

This novel was followed by its sequel Mangold von Eberstein (1922). In this part, the author attempts to supply a note of authenticity by using elements of folklore in the form of folksongs and proverbs.¹¹

Mangold's fateful demise precedes Hutten's, but both represent a segment of society which is unable to deal with the changes of their time; while the older man is looking to the past for guidance, he must fail. The younger one looks ahead, yet it is too advanced for his generation and time. By doing this, he projects ideas which his society is not ready to accept yet; so he, too, must end in failure.

There are several references to Hutten's activities in his feud with Rome. Hutten says at one point:

Mutter...es ist ein Unglück, an der Wende der Zeit geboren zu haben. Dein Bruder, den du liebst, ein leuchtender Ritter der alten Zeit, geht am Trotz wider die neue zugrund, weil Trotz gegen sie vergebens ist; dein Sohn ist der Herold dieser neuen Zeit...ein Dichter - ein Streiter im Geist - ich

habs gewagt! Nun geht er zugrund, verfolgt, geschmäht, ausgestoßen, innen zerfressen.¹²

and then he continues: "Wir gehen zugrund. Aber die nach uns kommen, die werden leben davon, daß wir scheiterten und zerbrachen."¹³

The new era's description sounds almost like a confession of the author when we hear Hutten say: "Die neue Zeit ist angebrochen, blutig ist ihr Morgenrot im Schlachtgewölk. Noch viele müssen fallen, bis die Sonne strahlt über Deutschlands Einheit und Freiheit. Laßt uns vom deutschen Adel unter den ersten sein."¹⁴

Sickingen's response to that sounds confused, as if it came from one who wants to but does not comprehend: "Vorwärts dann,...zum Kampf für ein heiliges deutsches Reich, einen deutschen Kaiser und ein deutsches Evangelium."¹⁵

His reply is supposed to underline the need for togetherness which alone would accomplish their idealistic goal.

In the epilogue, the author cannot suppress a certain biased pride when he writes:

Schließlich hat doch der deutsche Edelmann ein wesentliches Teil und nicht das ruhmloseste der deutschen Geschichte gemacht und war mit allen seinen Fehlern auch heute noch der Kern jenes Deutschland, das sich fünf Jahre lang gegen die ganze Welt sieghaft gewehrt hat. Und die Fäulnis, die schließlich den Zerfall brachte, kam nicht aus diesem Kern.¹⁶

That is, the noble has always been his country's constant and stout defense against an alien world.

In the same year (1922) Will Vesper (1882-1962)

published his Tagebuch-Roman (novel) Die Wanderung des Herrn Ulrich von Hutten. This diary-type account of Hutten reads easily enough, but it becomes obvious that it is the life of Hutten as seen through the tinted glasses of Will Vesper. It is an almost step by step history of Hutten's life from the time he had escaped from the monastery to his last days on the Swiss island of Ufenau. There he expressed the conviction that he will live and even fight for justice in the hereafter.

The tone of this book is very opinionated, speculative, and apologetic.¹⁷ In the beginning, Hutten wants out of the confines of the cloister, he wants to taste life, stating: "Ich will in die Welt."¹⁸ and "...die Welt soll mein Raub sein und die Freiheit meine Fahne."¹⁹

Hutten relates his impressions and feelings through soliloquies, giving the reader supposedly insights into his thinking and into his soul. All too often these appear too brash and impulsive, prejudiced and exaggerated, i.e. when we read what he has to say about Cologne: "Ein Kölner, das ist ein Sack voll Torheit und ein volles Weinfäß.... Ich will glauben, daß sie viel Buße tun müssen, weil sie viel sündigen."²⁰

Religious references are normally described in demeaning terms: the monastery is a "Froschsumpf" or "Karpfenteich," the university in Cologne, under the leadership of the Dominicans, is "das fromme Hurenhaus," and a clergyman is pictured as "...er sah mich mit seinen kleinen, fetten Augen

an."²¹

Hutten is presented as being full of self-pity. After contracting syphilis he says: "Und warum ich? Tausende leben in Wollust Tag und Nacht. Und ich? Ein Tier, über das ein Rad geht, sinnlos, Zufall, unentrinnbares Schicksal."²² He continues then: "Ich wollte erfahren, was aus mir werden sollte: ein Poet? ein Gekrönter? ein Ritter im Geist? - ein armer verseachter Leichnam, voll ekelhafter Wunden, ein zertretener Wurm und Kot der Straße!"²³ He considers himself "...ein Nichtsnutz, Wortemacher, vielleicht sogar ein gottloser Mensch...."²⁴ Time and again he feels sorry for himself and his condition: "Ich hinke weiter, denn in meinem linken Gebein sitzt der Teufel und zwickt mich...."²⁵ and again: "Lange halte ich nicht mehr (aus). Ich werde vom Turm springen und ein Ende machen."²⁶

Prophetic, though not truly in Hutten's spirit, come his words:

Die Deutschen fangen an, Kunst und Wissenschaft zu treiben. Welche vortrefflichen Geister, welche Maler, Menschen und Gelehrte! Einstmals hies- sen sie vielleicht mit Recht Barbaren, aber da- mals hatten sie Kraft, Rom von der Straße zu wer- fen. Heute, da sie die Barbarei ablegten, fürch- tet sie niemand mehr.²⁷

He goes on: "Unsere Väter haben einst die Römer, die Waffen trugen, vernichtet und die Welt erobert. Und wir, die En- kel sind Sklaven...."²⁸

Hutten comes through rather as a peculiar hybrid charac- ter, as one who looks for self-esteem at one moment, and

then as one who holds out for the honor of the nation, as one who looks with concern at his people, but not really certain whether they deserve it. So he is heard to say:

Was suche ich denn? Nein, nicht das Meine! Ich trachte nach Ehren, die ich verachte, nicht um der Ehren willen. Ich meine Deutschland und dies allein. An eins muß der Mensch sein Herz hängen. Andere haben Weib und Kind, Haus und Hof, Gold und was weiß ich. Ich habe nichts als ein Herz voll Liebe für dieses Land und diese Nation, die sich wahrhaftig nicht Mühe gibt, liebenswert zu sein.²⁹

Hutten advocates the use of force, as otherwise the existing conditions would not change. Thus, the enemies "... sollten (sie) unsere Schwerter fürchten."³⁰ But then one detects a note of despondency when he states: "...ich träume einen Traum von Deutschlands Größe, Freiheit, Einigkeit und Macht. Aber ich träume nur. Niemand will helfen, den Traum wahr zu machen."³¹

Towards the end Hutten appears as one who is schizophrenic, as one who is misunderstood and very suspicious: "Ich bin unsinnig. Alles tobt in mir. Ein dunkler Dämon umkrallt mein Gehirn. Ich bedenke das Menschliche nicht mehr, und kann es nicht lassen, Narren Narren und Schurken Schurken zu nennen."³² And then he resigns himself to his fate: "Untergehen ist das schlimmste nicht. Und siegreich leben ist oft schimpflicher als besiegt zu sterben."³³ This is followed by this stoic comment:

Dahin! Und dennoch, dennoch! Zwar vom Schicksal erwarte ich nichts. Es ist furchtbar und bleibt über unseren Häuptern, und mag es gehen,

wie es will, zuletzt sind wir alle in seiner Hand wie Spreu, und es bleibt uns der Wind, nachdem er uns genugsam geplatzt hat.³⁴

This work ends with an assertion: "Dies Stück wird nicht zu Ende gespielt, ehe nicht der große Spielleiter alle miteinander in den Kasten wirft."³⁵

The author's prejudice manifests itself in a number of passages that lead one to believe that he was convinced in the superiority of an ethnic group which looked with contempt upon its neighbors. A sampling should make this point: "...zum Trotz den Böhmen, die ein fremdes Kauderwelsch sprechen."³⁶; "Ich kann die Schweizer nicht leiden, die Treu und Glauben, Blut und Tapferkeit und ihr Gewissen für Geld verkaufen. We zahlt, der hat sie."³⁷; "...des Kaisers Beichtiger, ein glatter spanischer, schleichender Marder...."³⁸, and about Italy has "...Flöhe genug und viel Trümmer"³⁹; while France has a "... anmaßend und stolzierend Volk!"⁴⁰

Vesper's Hutten is an ambivalent man. On the one hand, he is the swashbuckling Renaissance man, living life to the full, fighting fearlessly for freedom, and asking no quarter; on the other hand he despairs of his miserable lot and that of his nation. Vesper no doubt vents his own frustrations as he watches helplessly the collapse of Germany after the first World War.

Hansfritz Sohns wrote a narrative Trutz, Bruder Tod! Blätter um Ulrich Hutten (1927). It depicts Hutten as a fearless and brave scholarly knight who exemplifies the

uncorruptable nationalist, able to enthuse others and to convince them of a course of action.

After having frustrated an ambush on his life, instigated by his former employer, the cardinal-elect of Mainz, Hutten is on his way to his friend Sickingen so that both of them can consolidate their efforts. He feels that he has to warn his nation and call attention to the prevailing conditions that require the immediate implementation of stringent action.

Hutten's eager willingness to plunge himself into action is stunted by Sickingen when the latter declines his friend's services in the campaign against Trier because he is convinced that Hutten is physically too weak.

The conflict with Trier is portrayed as an ill-understood and badly planned adventure by Sickingen's co-leaders and allies. It is bound to end in disaster. When Hutten consequently is informed of this inglorious affair, it does not bring despair but defiance to him, which he expresses in his song "Ich hab's gewagt mit Sinnen...."⁴¹

Hutten's lonely feelings are reflected in the comments to Riedinger, a soldier serving with him: "Nun Max, steht ihr allein, verlasses und ohne Liebe da, fast so wie ich. Doch wenn das Leben euch Freude weigert, es bietet doppelt dafür die Pflicht...."⁴² Sacrifices have to be made for the good of the country, for the good cause. And to underline this, the author permits Riedinger to break out of the besieged castle in the face of insurmountable odds, showing

that he is not willing to capitulate and to stop fighting for the cause he believes in and which he has embraced.

But at last Riedinger is discouraged, he feels that everything sacred is gone, that he is a rider without a cause, without a master, and without direction."⁴³ To this Hutten gives him his last reply:

...wo Männerblut fließt in ehrlicher Fehde, da gibts kein: Umsonst! Das Blut unser Toten wogt fort in den Enkeln als heimliche Sehnsucht nach dem, was die Väter zum Sterben getrieben. Und wenn unsre Schwerter der Rost zu Erde gefressen, dann weckt wohl der Urenkel einer im Volk den Gedanken ans Reich und vollbringt, was wir schmähtlich versucht.⁴⁴

He continues with a bit of advice: "Nimm Fürstendienst, Max! Der Ritter ist tot und das römische Reich muß sterben. Drum such einen Herrn und diene dem Stärksten, damit er mit Macht die Schwächlichen zwingt: So dienst du am Reich."⁴⁵

This argument does not leave any room for the will of the individual. It was trumpeted out so that the adherents of nationalism could get the attention of the masses. This appeal to duty and action and the exhortation to dedication are meant to influence people to put away their individualism and to strengthen them in their conviction that sacrifice for the fatherland is a sacred duty.

Hermann Walser (*1891) wrote the novel Ulrich von Hutten, "Der Roman seines Lebens" (1930). Again we read an interpretive account of Hutten's life. Conflict, which is so much part of Hutten's existence, is brought into focus when his father decides on the boy's future over the objections of the

close family members. Prophetically, Lorenz Hutten, Ulrich's grandfather, exclaims: "Wenn einst deine Söhne wo wenig auf ihren Vater hören, wie du auf mich, so wirst du noch einiges erleben."⁴⁶ (He was referring to Ulrich's father.)

This conflict can be traced throughout Hutten's life. It appears at his introduction into the monastery where friction between those from knightly and those from bourgeois background is evident, since monks from the nobility are seen as drones.

Hutten gets into a fight caused by his desire to learn. This shows an indication that his scholarly interest is genuine and thus sets him apart from his noble peers. It also leads to his acquaintance with Crotus Rubianus, who is instrumental in convincing Hutten that the real world is beyond the confines of the Fulda Abbey. Hutten begins to think about his destiny; he wants to be his own master, and he asks himself: "Doch wer bin ich eigentlich, da man mich verschachert wie ein Stück Vieh? - Ohne mich zu fragen!"⁴⁷

Hutten's attempt to find an answer sounds like a contradiction when he, with his interest in science and knowledge, goes to a fortuneteller. He is convinced that he must leave, for "mit allen Fasern strebte er in die Welt hinaus."⁴⁸

Once out, after having taken the fateful step away from the monastery, Hutten's uncle supports him, though it is not quite clear how he had managed to find out about Hutten's whereabouts. In Erfurt Hutten makes a number of friends, among them Mutianus, who is capable of kindling Hutten's

enthusiasm for Church reform. But Mutianus declares: "Gegen die Kirche, die mit der Dummheit im Bunde steht, werden sogar Götter vergeblich kämpfen. Trotzdem treten wir auf die Walstatt.... In diesem Kampf um wahre Bildung und Freiheit des Geistes ist ein unsterblicher Ruhm zu ernten."⁴⁹

Opposites come through again when Hutten leaves on foot for Cologne, while Crotus rides by coach with money given to him by Hutten's father. After his arrival in Cologne, Hutten is described as follows: "Er war leicht einzunehmen und zu erwärmen für eine Sache und schnell bereit zur Tat, ohne ihre Folgen lange zu bedenken, führte aus, was der schlaue und vorsichtige Crotus ausgeheckt, und stellte seinen Lehrmeister schon aus angeborenem Anstand niemals bloß."⁵⁰ But later, on his way to Italy, his honorable side seems to have gotten into some disrepute: "Ulrich von Hutten hatte üppig gelebt, gezecht und Würfel gespielt bis in alle Nacht hinein, war sogar des Wirtes Hausehre zu nahe getreten,...."⁵¹ Yet he also shows that he has some sense of responsibility: "Wenn er infolge seiner Gebrechen und seines schwachen Leibes nicht in den vordersten Reihen, so tat er wenigstens untergeordnete Söldnerdienste."⁵² And again: "Der Ritter spielte, wenn er Geld besaß oder zu solchem kommen wollte; oftmals striegelte er als Roßknecht den Maulesel eines Kirchenfürsten."⁵³ Thus, he was showing that he did not only depend on the support from others.

Hutten received some recognition with his writings against the Duke of Württemberg. It is proof that the power

of the word has to be reckoned with. But, as a man of action, he also rises single-handedly and defends the honor of the German emperor against the insulting remarks of a group of Frenchmen.

After the crowning as "poet laureate" by the emperor, Hutten finds himself at the zenith of his career. "Nun besaß er wirklich das höchste irdische Gut, gleich den besten Menschen des Altertums, den Ruhm. Nun hatte er die ersten Stufen der Unsterblichkeit bestiegen. Sein Name konnte nicht mehr auslöschen, sondern mußte in alle Zeiten hinausleuchten."⁵⁴

But soon his mood swings again:

...dann und wann verließen ihn alle Lebensgeister, die ihn an dünnen, zitternden Fädelein ans irdische Leben geknüpft hielten, dann wieder schwellen die Kräfte an und türmten sich auf zu himmelanstürmenden Kampfesübermut, zu Spottsucht und Angriffslust, die selbst dem Teufel Schrecken einjagen wollte.⁵⁵

Hutten even changes his opinion about Luther and then is taken in by an offer from the new emperor. But when he recognizes that he had been duped, he declares: "...jetzt, wo das Eisen infolge der Wormser Ereignisse zum Glühen gebracht worden, muß man's auch schmieden."⁵⁶

The Trier affair must fail from the onset. Sickingen, too, had consulted a horoscope, and according to its prediction, the impending feud could not succeed. And Slör, Sickingen's scribe, also counsels against this undertaking. It is with the unsuccessful conclusion of this event that Hutten has to leave Germany.

The next station relates Hutten's flight and his disappointing encounter with Erasmus. Hutten's position on the issues, his "being different," keeps him apart from the world of other men, the world of Martin Luther, Johannes Ökolampad, Martin Butzer, and Caspar Aquila, all dissidents of the Church. Realizing this, he fights self doubts, telling his conscience: "Du kennst und machst viele Worte, bist zum Sieghaften und Ewigen nicht vorgedrungen."⁵⁷ He is now "gemieden als ein blindwütiger widerwärtiger von Mißerfolg gekrönter Kämpfer."⁵⁸ and "Sein Empfinden kannte kein dankbares Hinhorchen und Empfangen, sondern hieß in seinen Höhepunkten tatenheischenden Zorn und Kampfeswille, Erregen und Bewegen von Menschenleidenschaft,...."⁵⁹

Hutten knows soon that the end is coming, and he refuses Schneeg's spiritual support, stating: "...auf den Weg, den er später einmal gehe, brauche er keine geistlichen Stützen, außer es wäre ein kräftig Wort aus Meister Zwinglis Mund. Cato und Sokrates seien auch ohne Pfaffen rühmenswert aus dem Leben gegangen."⁶⁰

The author concludes Hutten's life with a metaphorical description, echoing the knight's humanistic beliefs, based partially on Greek mythology:

Nicht lange darnach stieß ein unsichtbarer Kahn vom Ufer: ein fremder Schiffer fuhr eine seltene Fracht über die Flut. Der Seelenfährmann der Alten war's, Charon. Er hatte des Sterbenden Wunsch gehört und geleitete nun dessen Seele hinüber in die Gefilde der griechischen und römischen Helden, Götter und Sänger.⁶¹

The writer goes a little too far in his speculations throughout the book, when he mentions:

- a. Hutten could have been fathered by a priest;⁶²
- b. Hutten's father had a concubine, and their offspring was his favorite son;⁶³
- c. Hutten's father had once raped a peasant girl and, consequently, was bothered by his conscience;⁶⁴
- d. the account given of how Hutten had contracted syphilis, including Crotus' symbolic reference to it, as "Fliegenpils;"⁶⁵
- e. Hutten's explanation of his disease along with his contention that even Pope Julius and Erasmus were victims of this dreaded malady.⁶⁶

Flashbacks recall times that had to be bypassed by the story, but these fill in effectively those episodes that are pertinent. Proverbial references make the work at times folksy, though the term "Häuflein Mensch"⁶⁷ used by Hutten's father appears to be uncalled for.

The bias against Rome's representative is quite obvious, as indicated in remarks like the following: "...zu dem ihn (Luther) die Pöpstlichen verleiten wollten, einen Strick zu drehen."⁶⁸ And "... (er) versah sein Amt als Verhörriechter (Luther's) mit viel Geschick und Heimtücke."⁶⁹

Walser used Hutten as an example of a man who meant well, but as one who had not taken responsible or legitimate roads to accomplish his objectives.

The dramatic output for this period, the Weimar years,

was very meager. Only one play, Hastro's (Hans Strobel) Hutten, "ein dramatisches Lebensbild" (1923) was published. The play, a rather lengthy one, opens with Hutten having established himself as a recognized antagonist of Rome. Albrecht of Brandenburg, the elector-cardinal of Mainz and his master, is pressured to keep Hutten under close control. He likes Hutten, but is aware that Hutten's enthusiasm must be managed. He is convinced that Hutten's eagerness will soon have run its course if he is kept under the direction of his court, stating: "Sein Übermaß beschneidet ihn beizzeiten der Dienst an meinem Hof,...."⁷⁰

The opposition against Hutten comes from several circles among the clergy. They object to his appeal for freedom and independence from Church guardianship. The bishop from Würzburg expresses this: "...was Geist und Witz uns schenken, finde Freiheit überall, wo unsre Heilige Kirche siedelt, doch sie habe Macht den Brunnen zu besiegeln, denn fließt er zu frei, trinke mancher sich den Tod."⁷¹ However, then Peutingen's daughter speaks up for Hutten, for she is convinced that the representatives of the Church are mistaken: "...in Hutten irrt Ihr Euch, denn der Ritter Hutten ist echt!"⁷²

When Albrecht meets with Hutten, he accuses him of being too captious. Hutten, of course, disregards this admonition: "Herr, ich sehe mein deutsches Land in welschen Herrenketten! Sie pressen seinen Saft zur Neige aus. Und ist es ausgepreßt, dann wird's zertreten, wie ekler Abfall,...."⁷³

Hence, he feels compelled to do something drastic: "Entflammen will ich! Siehst du nicht: sie schlafen, die blöden Deutschen!"⁷⁴

Albrecht sympathizes with Hutten, but he counsels to use moderation. In addition, he wants Hutten to remain in his service rather than to go to Sickingen, who was politically in agreement with the poet-knight.

Hutten feels that he had squandered his time in utter idleness, and he wants action. He has grown tired being just a spectator, watching the hurt Germany is experiencing. Germany's destiny should be more that of a "...geweihtes Land, erhöhter Küste Ragen, der Freiheit Burg und Gottes reiner Dom!"⁷⁵

Convinced of his mission, Hutten feels that his fight must mean the reduction of Rome's domination, which infringed so strongly upon his country's freedom. So he offers as his weapon: "...Hiebe gegen Rom in Haß gehärtet, mit der Kraft der Treue geschärft,..."⁷⁶

Many of his friends are not sure that he is doing the correct thing. His father even finds his conduct dishonorable. Still, Hutten pursues his objective with fierce determination. The opposition expresses its contempt and animosity for him. Hochstraten, the inquisition zealot and one of the chief antagonists of any reform movement, observes:

Doch höhnen schon die Buben auf den Gassen den
frommen Männern nach, was dieser Hutten in ekler
Frechheit lügt und lästert. Galle sein Geblüt,

sein Denken ist Morast und jedes Wort, das seine Feder kratzt ist giftgedüngt. Die Hölle speit ihn aus, und nun speit er Hölle.⁷⁷

But the waiting and the lack of action are against his hopes, he does not want "tatenlos verhocken und verfaulen,... er muß sich austoben, erst übertaumeln, eh es (his heart) Ruhe findet."⁷⁸

Sickingen still counsels not to overreact, yet he goes through with his campaign against Trier upon Hutten's prodding. After its inglorious failure Sickingen breaks down and sobs, while Hutten remarks ironically: "Zwei große Prahker tragen ihren Plan zu Grabe,...."⁷⁹ Soon afterwards, however, he feels "entehrt, entmannt, entheiligt,"⁸⁰ for it is the time when he had been declared an outlaw. When Albrecht tries to help him, Hutten refuses, utterly depressed, feeling like "...ein Stück verfaultes Vieh zum letzten Elend ab."⁸¹ He is about to kill himself when singing stops him. This scene is reminiscent of the incident in Goethe's Faust I,⁸² though the tone here is very different, defiant: "Und schüttelt der Alte im Himmel den Kopf, wir tollen ihn aus allen Launen! Wir krempeln ihn um noch, den alten Papa, daß Engel und Teufel erstaunen!"⁸³

Before Hutten's life ends on Ufenau he declines to become the leader of the peasants in their struggle against their oppressive lords. Then, just before his demise, he rejects a priest's plea to recant from all those ideas he had advocated. But he denounces instead the Church and dies recalcitrantly.

The play is very partial and strongly anti-Church, as well as anti-foreign. Hutten is portrayed as a hot-headed man, though never in doubt about his mission. The tone is too often exaggerated, unrestrained and lends itself to ridicule. Some scenes, intended to generate a feeling for Hutten's time, actually detract. The whole play is a sensational attempt to show a hero, an attempt that failed due to the author's amateurism.

The lyrical genre provides us with a curious poem: Wolauff Wolumb Woldran (1921), a work which appeared anonymously. It is an appeal for a better future during the bleak post-war years. It pledges that this could materialize if the people would unite. Honor and respectability would return if everybody could get together, if the upper class would stop fighting those of the lower one: "Vnd wir teütschen völlen in gewalt han Römisch reich vnd alle nation wenn wir vnsern kunig erkennen Vnd vnns nit mer von in trennen."⁸⁴

Even though this poem is allegedly from Hutten, this is not the case. It is a clever fabrication of a twentieth century author who composed it in a style similar to the sixteenth century.⁸⁵ This poem appeared when the nation felt dejected after the traumatic experience of a catastrophic war. It is holding out for the possibility of a glorious future, and it compares the present time to the past when the country had experienced disunity and disarray.

The last lyrical author to be treated is Heinrich

Rogge (*1887), who wrote a poetic cycle Drei deutsche Dichter (1932), which includes, besides Hutten, also Heinrich von Kleist and Walther von der Vogelweide, three vocal champions, advocating German unity and also trying to persuade their countrymen not to accept any longer outside interference and domination.

This cycle celebrates Hutten in a series of publicistic poems, each stating one of the most important stations in the knight's career as the writer perceived them.

At the start, Hutten is on his way to Vienna and Italy. From there he returns in disgust. He feels compelled to shake up his people, to point out how much they were misled in the past. It is his idea that the sword and the spirit (the pen) must complement each other. The double standards of the Church are deplored in bitter terms. He takes even Martin Luther to task for the rejection of his offer of assistance, asking rhetorically: "Du sagst, ich sei im Wahn? Die Zukunft wird es lehren, ob du hast wohl getan, Schwert - Feder abzuwehren."⁸⁶

Throughout these poems Hutten is a fighter, yet he must die on foreign soil. Still, Hutten has no regrets; his only wish is not being hampered before his end by his disease. He feels victorious since his spirit will carry on while others would soon be forgotten. In "Der letzte Gang" he is all alone, and even then he radiates confidence:

Doch weiß ich, wenn die Nacht vollbracht,
Ein neuer Tag anbricht.

Weiß nur, daß von dem großen Licht
 Ein Pünklein für mich leucht'.
 Ich streich es wie ein lieb Gesicht,
 Das mir zur Seiten fleucht.⁸⁷

Rogge's presentation is a brief account of different important episodes from Hutten's life. It is short and descriptive, reflecting the author's admiration and agreement with Hutten. There is a distinct note of biased sarcasm in the poems which is directed against Hutten's adversaries. The writer's partiality comes over too freely, thus hampering his artistic creativity.

Looking back at these examples from the twenties and thirties, one feels that these works do not reach beyond a limited group of people, as the authors did not attain any status of recognition. Chauvinism and a strong appeal for nationalism are dominant tones. Hutten appears as a man who sought to lead Germany to her destiny through an appeal to unity and self-dedication. He is depicted as a beacon who lighted the way in a dark period of history, similar to the one that contemporary Germany was experiencing.

Chapter 5

The Nazi Era: Hutten as the Ideological Hero

It must be understood that years before the "Machtübernahme" there were those who had paved the way for this momentous event and its consequences which in "Bestand und 'Stimmung' der deutschen Literatur tief eingriffen."¹ In this fateful era, literature was forced to become a tool of the propaganda machine, utilized for the "Politisierung des Volkes."² So it should be recognized that the bulk of the so-called "'echtes deutsches Schrifttum' ist provinziell und von geringer Qualität,"³ something which gave at best the "appearance of ordinariness."⁴

However, even though the government had attempted to subjugate and to manipulate, to imprison the creativity of the writers, not all of them had given in to its demands. There were those who did neither promote nor endorse the official ideology. The system did not succeed in suppressing completely human dignity or cause a cultural paralysis.⁵

The seizure of power by the Nazis was accomplished through their orchestrated utilization of the existing political machinery and other available channels as well as through their exploitation of the concept of German superiority and fanatical patriotism. Exemplary historic heroes

were highly esteemed. "Kein Volk hat soviel große Männer und Frauen hervorgebracht wie das deutsche, das will man nachweisen. Und alle diese Großen sind bewußt deutsche Menschen gewesen, das heißt Sucher nach Gott und Reich. Muß man erwähnen, daß es in all diesen Darstellungen nicht auf historische Treue, sondern auf weltanschauliche Wirksamkeit und das Geschichtliche sich auf Zeitkolorit beschränkt?"⁶

"Den Beweis für die Sonderstellung des deutschen Menschen, für die einzigartige Schwere seines Schicksals, erbrachten die Volkstumsdichter aber vor allem aus der Geschichte.... Daß Luther...als deutscher Mann in Roman, Lyrik und Drama eingeht, ist selbstverständlich, ebenso daß Ulrich von Hutten die gleiche Ehre widerfährt."⁷ Since literature had become a tool of propaganda, Hutten was utilized as a representative of a violent time, as one who could become inspirational as a rallying point. It appeared as if Hutten had been rediscovered: "Es wird niemanden verwundern, zu erfahren, daß Hutten im Dritten Reich chauvenistischen Machtstreben eine historische Rechtfertigung verleihen sollte."⁸

Joseph Goebbels, the Nazi Propaganda minister, even after the burning of undesirable books, declares, quoting Hutten: "O Jahrhundert, o Wissenschaften! Es ist eine Lust zu leben!"⁹ But it was the time when "hohle, üble Radaubröder"¹⁰ were in charge of the Dichterakademie¹¹ and "die Hauptstadt zerbrach, Refugien gab es nicht mehr,...."¹²

The heroic novel promised to have immense appeal. Bortenschläger observes: "Prosaformen treten wieder in den

Vordergrund: der Roman, der Tatsachenbericht,...die Sprache wird unterkühlt, distanziert sich und zeigt betonte Nüchternheit."¹³ Relegated to the backseat was the lyric genre, as this form of literature could mainly be utilized for the screaming hordes of marchers who had to be intoxicated by song.

Some of the to be discussed works¹⁴ had been in the making prior to this particular period and can thus not be equated with the spirit of Nazism. Yet they seem to radiate a spirit, a belief, which could easily be manipulated by the new rulers. Other works were not available and perhaps lost.¹⁵ This could be due in part to a lack of exposure. Works that did not meet the approval of the authorities would not be published, thus they failed to receive an adequate readership.

The first work of this new epoch is the novel Der Koloß (1933), "Das Schicksal eines Volkes" by Heinz Lorenz-Lamprecht (*1888). It is possibly the best output of an author from this era which deals with Hutten and his friend Sickingen, men who had some impact on the fate of the whole nation. Their inability to lead their cause to a successful conclusion might have had in part its source in the immense clumsiness and the unyielding structure of their nation. In a sense, the happenings of these men demonstrate that they are true surrogates of their people. Yet at the same time they are handicapped in their behavior and in their actions by their limitations and their failure to generate

enthusiasm for decisive action among the general population.

Hutten is introduced riding along with his mute servant. As the servant is unable to hear, Hutten can only converse with himself; thus, the reader is introduced to past events when bits of Hutten's thoughts, "Gedankenfetzen," reveal occurrences from the past.

The reader gets at once the feeling that the final chapter in Hutten's life is about to take its course. His face is contorted from "innerer Krankheit und Leidenschaft."¹⁶ Yet when he arrives in Heidelberg he is greeted with enthusiasm by the students as the "adlige Feuergeist"¹⁷ when he addresses them:

Merkwürdigerweise sind es die Satten, die mit Gott und der Welt und vor allem sich selber zufrieden sind, weil sie Schäflein geschoren und Geld in festen Kasten haben. Was kümmert sie die neue Zeit? Hatten sie es in der alten nicht ganz gut und vergnüglich? Könnte es ihnen in einer neuen noch besser gehen?¹⁸

He follows this up with a declaration: "Ich gehör mir nit selbst. Wenn meine Feinde mich nicht hetzen, so tun das meine Freunde."¹⁹ He now suggests that they should not wait for help from somewhere else, they must do it alone whatever is to be done:

Betet nit die fremden Götzen an, die man als echte Götter aufputzt! Ihr habt euren starken einzigen Gott in euch selbst! Ihr müßt wieder die Liebe zu eurer Heimat lernen, ihr müßt wieder lernen, in erster Linie Deutsche zu sein, bevor ihr Krämer, Priester, Ritter oder Bauern seid, bevor ihr Hessen, Pfälzer, Schwaben, Franken seid! Wenn auch im letzten und ärmsten

Deutschen wieder soviel ehrliche Kraft ist, daß er mehr Geltung hat als ein römischer Kardinal, ein französischer Legat, ein Mailänder Jud und ein spanischer Herzog, dann haben wir festen Boden unter uns.²⁰

To underline the deplorable conditions in Germany the author describes them as follows: "Man lebte und ließ leben. Das deutsche Reich aber lebte über seine Verhältnisse, und die wenigsten Wichtigkeiten gingen unter im gehäuften Kleinkram."²¹

In the ensuing struggle, Hutten, the man of action, is shown as the antithesis to Luther, "...der pedantisch am Bibelbuchstaben klebende Mann, (der) kann nicht begreifen, was Hutten durchglüht."²²

The author gives an indication of the eventual unsuccessful outcome when he warns: "Paß auf, Hutten, der Sickingen läßt sich von den Fürsten an der Nas herumführen und einwickeln."²³

As Hutten presses on he passes one day on his travels a mighty cathedral, which stands there like "ein gewaltiger finsterer Koloß, (der) ragt...in die Nacht."²⁴ It stands symbolically for Germany, majestic, but her fate enshrouded in dark and uncertain times.

At the Ebernburg, where Hutten has joined up with Sickingen, he exhorts those who are striving to bring the needed change. He counsels them to act swiftly and not to hope for a solution through talk: "...wenn ihr nur wüßtet, wie viel besser, klarer, ehrlicher die Sprache eines gut geführten Schwertes als die eines üblen Schwätzers ist!"²⁵

Meanwhile, the rebellion of the united knights draws closer to a climax. Their antagonists, the Elector Richard Greifenklau of Trier, the Pfalzgraf Ludwig, and the Landgraf Philipp of Hesse unite and sign a mutual treaty against Sickingen and his allied knights. Even though Sickingen is faced with the threat of the princes he feels compelled to show Luther his moral support. For this reason he travels with some of his men to Worms where he is enthusiastically welcomed:

Er entflammt die Begeisterung, die in jedem Deutschen seit jeher ununterdrückbar wurzelt, die Begeisterung für das Kriegerische, Kühne, Starke. Für den Deutschen kann es keinen größeren Volksliebling geben als den mit Ruhm gekrönten Truppenführer.²⁶

Hutten uses this occasion to assail the Roman clergy. Sickingen comments "...wie rücklingslos und zugleich unzurechnungsfähig Hutten werden kann, wenn es um sein Ziel geht."²⁷ But Hutten desires to change the dependent status of his nation. He tries to convince Sickingen that he requires the broadest support in his upcoming fight, arguing: "Zum breiten Volk müsse sich jetzt die Ritterschaft zählen, für die soviel wie nichts geschehen sei."²⁸ And then he goes on:

Es gibt nur eine Partei für dich, nicht wahr? Das andere sind Krämer. Die Partei, die du meinst, meine ich auch: das Volk, die Nation. Wer es ehrlich mit der Nation meint, gehört dazu, heißt er sonst nun Ritter oder Bauer, Bürger oder Fürst. Diese Partei muß siegen, Franz, und du bist der einzige, der sie zum Sieg führen kann.²⁹

But then he points out the involved risks:

Es gibt zwei Möglichkeiten für einen Menschen, der so Großes...unternehmen will: Entweder sein Vorhaben gelingt, oder es gelingt nicht. In dem Fall nennt ihn das Volk Gott, in dem andern Verbrecher. Dabei fragt das Volk nicht viel nach seiner ehrlichen Absicht. Es urteilt kurz und bündig - Gott oder Verbrecher.³⁰

Sickingen is eventually persuaded to become actively involved, believing: "Ich denke, ich erwäge, ich handle, denn ich trage Verantwortung,..."³¹ adding: "Auch das widerwärtig Erscheinende kann sich gut aufklären."³²

While Hutten follows his conscience, Sickingen feels that fate determines his course of action. He feels disillusioned when he returns after his inglorious campaign from France.

Mit rechtschaffenen Zielen ist unser Lebensweg gepflastert und wir kämpfen für sie mit ernsthafter Wichtigkeit, mit Erbitterung und Wut, mit Haß und Hinterlist. Zu was? Um uns am Ende unseres Lebens sagen zu müssen, daß wir die Rechtschaffenen zu böswilligen Schurken gemacht haben, indem wir mit Haß unsere Schwerter unter sie trugen und ihnen den Frieden nahmen.³³

But he holds firmly that he is the champion of the oppressed, that he is their defender. Hutten assures him of his support:

Männer...haben sich zusammengetan, um dem Volk in friedlicher Arbeit das zu geben, wonach es sich sehnt - Wahrheit, Zusammenschluß, Ruhe. Deswegen, weil es eine reine Volksbewegung ist, muß es durchkämpft werden gegen das, was sich ihm entgegenstellt. Und entgegenstehen ihm in erster Linie die Großen, die in schamloser Weise die Volksbewegung zur Vergrößerung der

eigenen Macht ausbeuten wollen. - Dafür kämpfen wir, und da fällt jedes Klügeln und Erwägen und Rücksichtnehmen, und jedes Wenn und Aber fort. Wir wollen...Hüter des wahrhaftigen Heiligtumes der Nation sein.³⁴

In pamphlets Hutten now accuses the opponents "mit erbarmungsloses Geißelhieben,"³⁵ revealing the "Laster und Mißstände im Reich."³⁶

While Hutten believes that Luther should ally himself with their cause, he admits: "Wir wollen offen zugeben: Wir kämpfen nit für Luthers Lehre, aber wir kämpfen für das, was zugleich mit ihr und durch ihr ins Volk gedrunken ist; für die Erfüllung der Sehnsucht nach Freiheit in jeder Beziehung."³⁷

Sickingen, though, interjects some cautious second thoughts, for he sees a conflict in their fight with the trend of their time. He has a feeling that their fight could become doomed:

Kämpfen wir nach der Meinung vieler nicht vielleicht doch für etwas, was sich nit in die neue Zeit fügen will? Was reif ist für den Untergang? ...Ich versuch, das, was absterben will, weil es nit mehr in die neu Zeit paßt, zu retten. Werd ich nit dabei zugrund gehen?³⁸

Luther's rejection of their offer disappoints Sickingen. Hutten is bitterly disenchanted, complaining much over the tepidity with which the masses remain uninvolved, watching the ensuing struggle for freedom. This leads to this observation:

Nirgends auf der ganzen Welt verstehen es Freunde und sonst ganz vernünftige Stammesgenossen so glänzend gegeneinander zu kämpfen wie in Deutschland. ...Das ist mal so, das bringt so...diese gottswiderliche neunmal vernagelte deutsche Sturheit, der Eigensinn oder die Eigensucht, die Eigenbrödelei, diese verblödete Rädelsführersucht....³⁹

Yet, in spite of all their setbacks, Hutten and his friend Sickingen remain faithful to their cause, believing defiantly: "Hilft uns kein Gott, so haben wir Schwerter und Mauern und einen festen Sinn!"⁴⁰ But Hutten sees the end approach, and he predicts that not all their efforts would have been done in vain:

Es ist unser Ende, nicht das der Sache, für die wir gekämpft haben. Es ist vielleicht das Ende der Ritterschaft. Die drüben sind stärker geblieben - diesmal. Nach uns werden andere die Sache weiterführen - die Bauern, die Bürger - immer werden es die Unterdrückten sein.⁴¹

On a note of great confidence he concludes:

Schamlos sind nur die paar, die das Volk führen - die es bewußt irre führen. Aber deswegen bleibt das Volk noch dasselbe. Es ist gutmütig, schwerfällig, töricht, aber es schläft auch eine unbändige Kraft in ihm.⁴²

The novel is readable, but it drags in several parts and does not quite make its point. It sounds like an accusation of a time when the lack of support for a just cause and the unwillingness for commitment doomed a promising movement.

Hutten and his friend Sickingen are portrayed as steadfast men who held on to their convictions, no matter what

the consequences might be. Even though they had become utterly disenchanted and disillusioned, they still continued to believe that their cause would be victorious in the days to come.

Throughout his narrative the author disseminates happenings which are about to come. Thus, the writer is either weakening or destroying some of the inherent elements of suspense. At other occasions, when he tries hard to emphasize a point, he is "kitschig" or inappropriate in his choice. Some statements are either very biased or quite exaggerated, while others are pointless or too general.

In order to create an authentic flavor for his story the author introduced historic figures that distract from it. In some instances they even fail to make their intended impact. There is for instance a love episode that does more to confuse the reader than to help to inject a note of reality into the plot. The author has also taken certain historical liberties which are not acceptable to those who are acquainted with Hutten's time. So this adds to a weakening of the story.

In this novel Hutten reflects National Socialist spirit. He is the fighter for the German people, for unity, and freedom. Although there are enemies inside and outside the country, a nation with proper leadership and dedication to a cause will prevail.

Kurt Eggers (1905-1943) turned out to be one of the most prolific writers and one who had completely accepted

Nazi ideology and thought. In this capacity he had also discovered the value of Ulrich von Hutten. He utilized him more than anybody else in his many writings.⁴³ Hutten had become for him the messenger who represented the beginnings of a new era, which to Eggers paralleled the years after the Great War and the advent of Nazism. In his novel Hutten (1934) "Roman eines Deutschen," Eggers treats the reader with the typical interpretation of this man as conceived and accepted by Nazi propaganda. The story covers the whole of Hutten's life span, and it even presents his parents prior to his birth. The book concludes with Hutten's death in exile where he felt utterly alone, deserted and betrayed.

Ulrich von Hutten was the first-born of an imperial knight, was one "der geboren ist zum Kampf um Ehre und Macht."⁴⁴ But soon after his birth it becomes apparent that the initial hopes of the parents for a worthy son and heir had been misplaced and that a prophecy was about to come true. Even the boy could not help to notice that "...an ihm ein Fluch in Erfüllung gehen müsse."⁴⁵ As a result of this, he becomes a loner. He is taking up formal learning so that he "gerade bei denen Anschluß fand, die von der Umwelt beargwöhnt und gehaßt wurden."⁴⁶

Early in life Hutten had to taste the loss of freedom when he had to enter the monastery in Fulda. It was there that he learned to hate pretense and misrepresentation. It spawned his almost fanatical compulsion to fight falsehoods and for the truth. To Eitelwolf von Stein, who had become

almost a surrogate father to him, he confessed once that he would rather be a knight and a learned man, fighting with the sword and the pen for freedom than to spend the rest of his life behind enclosed walls.

Crotus, his later friend, was one of those who had called his attention to the fact that his career, his future in Fulda, would be arranged, but it would never be useful, informing him: "Betrug ist alles, Ulrich. Lüge ist das, was sie seit Jahrhunderten lehrten...."⁴⁷

After Hutten's successful escape from Fulda, he exclaims: "Heimat, Heimat, ich hab dich wieder. Heimat, ich halte dich und lasse dich nicht mehr!"⁴⁸ He goes to the university in the city of Cologne, only to find out that things he had objected to were there as well. Hutten had not been very tactful and consequently had to realize that he was disliked, "weil er just das aussprach, was der andere nicht hören wollte."⁴⁹

Restlessness makes Hutten leave Cologne. Again he is on the road. Open-eyed, he is willing to learn from everything around him, experiencing the ups and downs of a traveling itinerant scholar. All of this forms and shapes his character, leading him to observe: "Ohne Schmach wäre meine Leidenschaft nicht zum Glühen gekommen."⁵⁰ He feels that he is getting ready for something. He has the inner urge to do something big, "nach einem Kampf für Größeres, für Edleres."⁵¹ He is not a man who does worry about the consequences.

In Italy Hutten experiences utter despair and loneliness.

He signs up with the German imperial forces, even though he is physically unfit to serve. He feels now that he belongs to something, that he is part of a group where the only sin known is "die Sünde wieder den heiligen Geist des Krieges. Das war die Feigheit."⁵²

Meanwhile, Hutten's poetic talent had progressed to the point of becoming the voice that expresses the "Aufschrei des ewigen Deutschlands."⁵³

Again Ulrich von Hutten is in the forefront in the Hutten-family dispute with Duke Ulrich of Württemberg, who had treacherously murdered a member of the clan. This affair led in time to the ouster and exile of the duke.

The Italian experience had caused Hutten to become an active opponent of the Church of Rome. He is convinced that he must oppose the church as adamantly as possible, with violence if needed. In addition, he had concluded that Martin Luther should be approached. The author describes Hutten as follows:

Der Hutten war eben Politiker, und ein Politiker muß, wenn es darauf ankommt, auch die Bibel gebrauchen können. Wer da anfängt, an jeder Sache zu mäkeln, der kommt zu nichts in der Politik. Da gilt zunächst die Idee, und da hat sich alles zu beugen....Wer völkisch denkt, sieht in sich selber nur ein Sprachrohr der Idee, dessen Ehre ist das Schicksal der Nation. Die richtet ihn und spricht ihn frei!⁵⁴

Having switched to the vernacular in his writings, Hutten had been able to address the common people more effectively. He has become "ein so unbedingter Revolutionär,

daß er auch seinen eigenen Stand jederzeit für Deutschland zu opfern bereit war."⁵⁵

His friend Sickingen had failed against Trier. His end became apparent. Still, the cause for which he had dared so much could not be given up. One had to carry on, and Sickingen wanted Hutten to be the man, one who had the ability to bring new forces and new life into the movement. Before Hutten departs, Sickingen tells him: "Ich danke dir für jedes Wort der Freiheit, Ulrich. Du erst hast aus mir einen Deutschen gemacht. Und falle ich jetzt, so liegt mein Leichnam am Tore, das zur Freiheit führt."⁵⁶

Up to the very end, Hutten's faith remains strong and pure, and he is certain that the prevailing situation in Germany could not last forever. Thus, he can state: "Der Tag wird kommen, ob in hundert oder in tausend Jahren, da Deutschland deutsch sein würde."⁵⁷

Eggers got carried away when he molded Hutten into a form that conformed with Nazi concepts. He made him into a stereotype hero so that he could be utilized for propaganda purposes. Throughout the novel it becomes clear that the author attacks everything which is disapproved by his masters. At no time does he consider it presumptuous when he ridicules all that is sacred to others. Some of the happenings in the story appear contrived, as evidenced in the episode when Hutten received a good luck charm with the swastika on one side and a victory rune on the other.⁵⁸

The author represents Nazi philosophy.⁵⁹ This includes

also an anti-religious, arrogant disrespect for anything French and Italian, something very chauvenistic. Some details are overdone, in fact so much that they are perplexing.⁶⁰ The pathetic conclusion is very deplorable: "Wer als Deutscher begonnen und als Deutscher geendet, den ruft die Freiheit zum ewigen Sein."⁶¹

Arno Reußenweber (*1904) in his narrative Dem Vaterland will gedient sein (1938) tries to offer Hutten to the youth. Hutten is an unselfish man who puts himself into the service for his people. His example should be followed by all citizens.

The author starts from the premise that the conditions in Germany during Hutten's time were in dire need of reform. Law had collapsed, and the people were exploited by those who were in power. There was no centralized power structure, and robbers, robber barons, preyed on the land. It was a time when "das Reich keinen Herren (hat), der ihm seinen Willen aufzwingt. und der die Herren, die sich nicht beugen wollen und weder Recht und Gesetz achten, zur Ordnung bringt."⁶²

Ulrich von Hutten was born into tumultuous times, early destined to follow the ecclesiastical career. It was very hard for him to leave his home and family, seemingly forever. In his new surroundings, he recognized soon that "manches in Wirklichkeit anders ist, als es scheint und als man ihm versprochen hat. Weder der Krämergeist noch der Dünkel macht vor der Klosterpforte halt, und auch die Genußsucht

und andere Freuden des Lebens haben eine willkommene Heimstatt hinter den Mauern."⁶³

Hutten realizes quickly that he can not remain in the confines of the monastery, as his attitude and his disposition felt drawn away from that restrictive environment.

After his escape from Fulda, Hutten gladly puts up with whatever shortcomings the outside world offers. He meets the humanists and discovers that the "veredeltere, erhabene Lebensauffassung des Humanismus bringt seine dichterische Ader, die im Kloster versiegt war, zum Aufbrechen."⁶⁴ He also becomes convinced: "Wissenschaft verpflichtet und darf nur Mittel zur Tat sein."⁶⁵ But his unregulated life brings doubts that he often has "keinen Glauben an sich selbst und an seine Bestimmung. Er fühlt sich als ein Nichts, als ein Nemo, ein Niemand."⁶⁶

In Wittenberg Hutten meets Luther and is very impressed by him. From there his way leads him to Vienna, where his friends sense his mission. But his restlessness never permits him to remain at a place for any time. He is driven by a feeling that he has "eine große Aufgabe zu erfüllen."⁶⁷ His conviction leads him to observe and to learn so that in time he would be able to stir up the "ehrlich deutsche Volk."⁶⁸

In spite of the heavy odds against him, Hutten undauntedly continues his mission. He knows that "Deutschland braucht jeden Menschen, der die Kraft und vielleicht den Mut hat es aufzurütteln,...(denn) Deutschland ist...ein heiliges

Land, für das wir kämpfen müssen zu jeder Stunde und, wenn es sein soll, auch sterben."⁶⁹

Any attempt to buy him off is rejected by Hutten, as he does not want to sell "seine lautere und aufrichtige Gesinnung."⁷⁰ Yet all his commitment does not yield the results he had hoped for.

The final stage in Hutten's life is concluded in Switzerland where Zwingli had come to assist the man who had "ganz Deutschland aufgewühlt und die Römischen in Zorn und Schrecken versetzt."⁷¹ Though everything Hutten had fought for seemed to be in shambles, he still does not despair, and he is able to exclaim: "Im Glauben daran will ich sterben, daß Deutschland würdig werde seines Platzes an der Sonne!"⁷²

The author explains in his epilogue that he had felt compelled to write the book for the "wahrhaften, echten Kämpfer...(für den) geschichtliche Treue oberstes Gebot war."⁷³ This he underlined with his opinion that Hutten's struggle was very much like the difficulties of his own time. Thus, Hutten's legacy should be a guide in the ongoing fight for freedom in Germany.⁷⁴

The book's intent was to impress the children. The illustrations and its easily understood tone appeal to them. Hutten is portrayed as an idealistic hero who would not waver in his mission. He can convey his purpose to all with whom he comes in contact. This is expressed when he declares before his father:

Ich habe stets nach einem Ziel gestrebt und immer für eine Idee gekämpft, die höher liegt als der Gesichtskreis der meisten Adligen, die heute Deutschland unsicher machen oder ihm gleichgültig gegenüberstehen. Gleichgültig ist auch, was man von mir und denen hält, die meines Glaubens sind,....Ich lege keinen Wert auf die Meinung derjenigen, deren Kraft sich in Engherzigkeit, Eigensüchtelei, Stumpfsinn oder Gemeinheit erschöpft....⁷⁵

This is further explained by the need for a change:

Das Reich aber ist ein Körper, die Fürsten sind das Haupt, und wir sind die Glieder,....Doch das Haupt ist krank. Es lebt aber in Deutschland eine gesunde Jugend, allen großen Taten geöffnet und begierig nach wahrem Ruhm - niemand leitet sie, niemand führt sie. Darum geht die Kraft zugrunde, erschlappt die Männlichkeit, versiegt die Tatkraft....⁷⁶

The book's main character is built up to heroic proportions. The author makes sure that the anticipation for things to come does not wane. He tries to keep up the suspense. But the hero is too idealized. Hutten's support by his friends sounds mawkish, especially when they strengthen him in his belief for the "hehre Sache"⁷⁷ and when he is addressed as "Ulrich von Hutten, lorbeergekröntes Haupt!"⁷⁸ Hutten's thinking characterizes nationalistic thought when he states:

Entscheidend ist ganz allein der Gedanke an das Wohl des Vaterlandes und seines von Gott und der Vorsehung bestimmten Führers. Wer andere Gründe hegt, ist kein Soldat sondern ein Sklave, der nur arbeitet, weil er dazu getrieben wird. Aber denkt ihr keinen Augenblick daran, daß auch der Soldat eine Ehre hat, die ihn an das Vaterland und dessen Freiheit und Unsterblichkeit bindet?⁷⁹

The theme shows that one's own considerations are not to be taken into account when the nation's future is at stake. Dissent is objectionable. Yet this contradicts the historical Hutten, the man who had been in rebellion with the Church and the emperor.

Reißenweber, however, writes about this book:

Nun zu meinem Buch "Dem Vaterland will gedient sein." Mir ging es zunächst darum, dem Staatsgedanken der Nationalsozialisten den des Humanisten Hutten gegenüberzustellen und zum anderen reizte mich der schillernde Lebensweg dieses im Grunde genommenen 'Einzelkämpfers' der Reformationszeit.⁸⁰

and then he adds:

Ich habe seinerzeits genaues Quellenstudium getrieben und nehme daher in Anspruch, ein authentisches Werk geschrieben zu haben - ob zu Recht, mögen meine Kritiker beurteilen.⁸¹

Bernd Holger Bonsels (*1907) wrote the novel Hutten, published in 1938. Right from the beginning he makes it clear that it is his intention to discredit Christianity, which he sees as corrupt, parasitic, and against life. He seeks support from Friedrich Nietzsche, who once mocked "das unaufhörliche Plappern und Lallen hoffnungsloser Gebete."⁸² But later Bonsels comments in a letter:

Ich schrieb meinen Huttenroman als junger Mann, fasziniert durch Nietzsches Anti-Christ.⁸³ Ich war nie ein Christ gewesen...jedenfalls kam mir Huttens Leben und Kampf gegen Rom gelegen, um ihn nach meinem Dafürhalten einzufärben. Hutten war anders - war nicht der Mann des Anti-Christentums. Aber was macht man als junger Bursch nicht für Fehler? Heute...würde ich das

Buch ganz anders schreiben - vielleicht auch gar nicht mehr.⁸⁴

The novel deals with Hutten, who is subjected at the very beginning to the whims of the established church. Stein, Hutten's mentor who saw his potential, argues against narrowmindedness of the Church, an institution that opposes progress and any investigation into knowledge. Thus, he confesses before the abbot of Fulda: "Die Menschenopferung, Gewissensfolter und Versklavung des braven Willens unter das Joch der Kirche hat mich vor Jahren hinausgescheucht aus dem Vaterland."⁸⁵ Here, then, is a man whose sentiments clearly sympathize with young Hutten, the "Klösterling" who feels imprisoned. However, the churchman maintains: "...es ist nicht gut, daß der Mensch erkennend sei, weil er allbereits im paradiesischen Stande durch sein Erkennen verdorben ward."⁸⁶

In the monastery school Hutten is drawn into a controversy which convinces him that he must act. "Da ist es Hutten, als ergehe ein Ruf an ihn: Weihe Dein Leben dem schwersten Kampf! Ergreife das Schwert der Wiedervergeltung und wirf den Drachen nieder, der im Namen des Himmels die Erde der Heimat verwüstet."⁸⁷

Hutten leaves the restrictive confines of the monastery. He is certain that he is "einem Schicksal unterstellt,... dem er gehorchen müsse,...bestimmt zu entbehren und zu dulden."⁸⁸ It is now his aim "das Zerrbild der als Barbaren berschrieenen Deutschen zurechtzurücken."⁸⁹ He plans to

do this by praising the greatness of the Germanic ancestors and at the same time by voicing his objections to the years of enslavement and humiliation of his nation.

Even through his sickness, Hutten puts the needs of his country before his own. It seems that his unselfish efforts enable him to overcome the restrictions imposed on him by his dreadful and torturous disease. He also finds the adversary who overshadows the world with his power, the one who had enslaved the people and desecrated the heavens: the pope who makes possible the "geistige Freibeutertum der Kurie."⁹⁰

Hutten is aware that he must act fast: "Er lebt, als solle er morgen sterben. Das Tagewerk, die Tat, - das Ziel, die Freiheit, sollen nicht versäumt sein. In solcher Bereitschaft fühlt er mit zaghafter und selbstloser Freunde, daß ihm Werk und Wirken gelingen."⁹¹

In the meantime his writings have had a profound impact. There is no sign of weakness that betrays his sick body. Hutten's insatiable disgust for all the wrongs, his loathing of bondage expresses his independence. It also allows his unbounded hate: "seine inbrünstige Hoffnung heißt Totschlag der Feinde des Vaterlandes, -In ihm erhebt sich der Erbfeind des Priesters: der Soldat."⁹² It sounds heretical when he admits: "Ich liebe ihn ja nicht, den bleichen, verlöschenden Gott....Er fragt mich ja nicht, - er ruft ja nicht, ob ich ihn liebe! - Und täte er's, - meine Liebe wäre auf ewig dahin. -"⁹³

In the end Hutten arrives alone, disease-ridden on Ufenau, the author laments: "Sie haben ihn alle verlassen. Die Welt, die Heimat ist hinter ihm verschollen wie die Erinnerung an eine Sage. Die guten Freunde haben sich von ihm gewandt, zweiflerisch entfremdet vor seinem Blick und Wort. Nur der Bruder seines bitteren Heldentums, Herr Franz von Sickingen, blieb treu bis zum Tode."⁹⁴ Only one thought keeps Hutten going, "die Liebes-Sorge um das deutsche Volk."⁹⁵ He justifies all his actions and concludes that he is free from any wrongdoings. So he has no regrets and parts with his famous "Ich hab's gewagt mit Sinnen."

Bonsels wrote a lamentable interpretation of Hutten. He is used as a mouthpiece for a decisive objection to Christian doctrine. Anti-Semitism is strongly interjected. Thus, this is regrettable and makes a mockery of any sincere commentary. The glorification of the superiority of the "Nordic People," the myth of the super race, are held up to the reader.

The book has been written very clumsily, It contains exaggerations, and some of the episodes indicate that they are clearly a fabrication of the author's imagination. Accompanying commentaries are frequently too long, often provocative and employed only for the purpose of putting down the other side.

The book represents some of the most distorted propaganda. It is really not fit to be submitted to any readership. Only because it deals with Hutten did I feel that I

should mention it in this context.

Leni Wüst (*1907) is the last of those authors who used the narrative during this period of time. In her collection Sturmvogel und Taube "Unsterbliche Liebesgeschichten" (1940), she relates a small episode from Hutten's younger years, entitled "Hutten und die Glauburgerin." In this short story Hutten is the falcon, while the girl is the dove. This anecdote relates Hutten's infatuation, perhaps even his love, with a patrician girl from Frankfurt a.M. Through flashbacks in his mind, previous encounters with the girl are transmitted.

In his second meeting with the girl Hutten has the best intentions and wants their love to grow. But time and duty tear them apart, never allowing them to see each other again.

With only a few strokes the author sketched Hutten as a human with deep, gentle, and sincere feelings. Not much had to be said to make the reader understand that life does not offer everyone happiness, that fate will not favor everybody's wishes and hopes.

For the Nazi propaganda the historic drama was a welcome vehicle, employed for spreading their evil philosophy.

The first one who presented us with a play is Heinrich Rogge (*1887), a writer who has been introduced before.⁹⁶ In his Der Pfaffenkrieg des Ritters Ulrich von Hutten (1933) Rogge tries to leave his mark as a dramatist.

In a highly nationalistic tone the work relates the story which is by now very familiar. At the outset Cajetan

has arrived in Germany with the order to proclaim the papal ban on Hutten and to have him taken to Rome as a prisoner. Hutten had become quite vocal while he had been serving at the court of the archbishop of Mainz. He showed that he was convinced that the required changes in the country could only be accomplished if an influential man would help the nation's cause. This action would sway others and help to avoid civil strife.

Hutten soon knows that the forces of the opposition were not inactive. "Mit List und geheimen Plänen sind die Römer nit so leicht zu fassen. Darin sind die Meister."⁹⁷ Now his prince-bishop has given in partially to Rome's demands, though he is not willing to have his man turned over to Roman justice. Before Hutten departs from Mainz he warns his sovereign that his, Hutten's, fate might possibly be the bishop's in the future. Hutten concludes that the governing factions will suppress the best people, that they will persecute them whenever they dare to show their opposition.

Later at a meeting with Erasmus at Sickingen's Ebernburg the contrast between the famous two men becomes very apparent. While Hutten wants that truth should prevail, requiring that those involved will have to take an active part, Erasmus is of the opinion that knowledge and its preservation would guarantee peace. And this would not involve force.

Erasmus is sketched as a selfish, smug, and arbitrary man, as one who pokes fun at others, and as a fearful and

conniving "alter Schleicher."⁹⁸

When Sickingen is deeply disappointed over Luther's answer to his offer of assistance, Hutten urges on:

Jetzt geht's um die heilige Sach der ganzen deutschen Nation, es geht um Leben und Sterben deutschen Geistes, deutscher Tugend und Ehr. Wer jetzt die Wahrheit in tiefster Seele spüret, der gehet seinen Weg trotz Luther und die ganze Pfaffenwelt!⁹⁹

He continues discarding Sickingen's objections, remarking about the lack of support of the princes and nobles: "Und sind's nit die Fürsten, nit die Ritter, -/so sind's die Bürger und die Bauern."¹⁰⁰ concluding with this estimate: "Es will mir scheinen, als gehe durch deutsche Stadt/ und deutsches Land ein Rucken und Zucken, als wollt/ ein Riese erwachen, der undeutsches Wesen vertilget/ und alle Dinge zur Besserung bringet."¹⁰¹

Hutten confronts a seller of indulgences, chases him away and then addresses the people:

Deutsche, ob Ritter, Bürger oder Bauersmann. Es brennt/ ein Feuer in deutschen Landen. Der Bauer will nit mehr/ ein Tier sein, so man quälet und schindet./...Ein finsternes Netz hat welsche List und Tücke um unseren/ guten deutschen Sinn gewebet, auf daß er heimlich sollt/ ersticken. Zerreißt das Netz!/ Die Freiheit fallet nit ohne Kampf vom Himmel.¹⁰²

He tries to make them understand the situation, and at the same time he appeals to them to rise and act. But Hutten's exhortations meet with little success. As a consequence of his involvement he must flee. He feels compelled to send

away his few remaining faithful followers. All alone he now reflects:

Muß um mein Vaterland zu verlassen, landflüchtig
in's Elend gehn. - Wüßt noch einen andern Weg.
(Zicht sein Schwert, legt es über die Kniee.) -
Hab den Tod in der Hand. Das Schwert tut, was
ich will, und ich bin frei.

...
Luther wider uns, Sickingen tot, - alles fällt
auseinander. Herrgott, warum hast du dein deut-
sches Volk mit Blindheit geschlagen, daß es sei-
ne edelsten Führer mordet und mit allem Fleiße
dem welschen Hasse dienet, der es immer mehr in
Zerrissenheit und Verderbnis führet?

...
War meine Sehnsucht eine falsche Sehnsucht? Mein
Kämpfen ein falsches Kämpfen?¹⁰³

After having arrived in Basel Hutten is refused help from Erasmus, who does not want to jeopardize his position. He does, however, not want to have any part in the elimination of his former friend, as he makes this quite clear when he is approached by a conniving priest.

Hutten's end comes when he dies after being poisoned by one of Rome's agents. Now, during his last moments in life, he is confident that he is returning home and becoming an inspiration to his people.

Rogge presents a picture of many of the parties which had managed to keep Germany fragmented and exploited the nation. Hutten's enemies had become concerned because they had become aware of his impact on the people. So he must be silenced. His erstwhile benefactor, the Archbishop-Cardinal Albrecht of Mainz, succumbs to the pressure. Sickingen, his

only powerful friend and independent power in the land, able to oppose the unholy alliance of the princes, dies in defeat. And Hutten is hounded down unmercifully.

Too much emphasis is put on Hutten's downhill fight and on his end. One gets the impression that he did not have any success in his life. Hutten is presented as honest, but as one who would not compromise. He is the "white hero," while his opponents are the "black villains," indeed not a realistic situation. No attempt has been made to explain or understand the opposition of the Hutten-Sickingen party. They are frequently ridiculed and mocked. Thus, the author permitted his partiality to influence the action.

Hutten's buildup does not show enough action. The reader is left with a negative impression in spite of the attempt to offset this by pointing to the powerful forces over which Hutten had no control.

It is not an inspiring play, as it puts the blame alone on the powerful, self-interested factions in the country. No attempt has been made to analyze the situation with any degree of thoroughness. Implications and exhortations are made without any supportive evidence.

Kurt Eggers has been introduced before.¹⁰⁴ Before he was the author of a novel, but now he is the writer of the "Freiheitsdrama" Ulrich von Hutten (1933). In an introductory short summary, the author relates what to expect, informing the reader that Hutten gave outwardly the appearance of the perpetual scholar and of a wild fighter, yet in

spite of this he was a pure and tender human being. It was Hutten's mission to make the German knights, townsfolk, and peasants aware of the entrapments of their enemies who were out to destroy their spirit. Hutten had caught a dreadful disease during his travels. This prevented him from leading the fight in the forefront of action. But he got Sickingen interested as a leader of an army of concerned knights.

The ensuing uprising fails, demonstrating that the united knights had been too weak to oppose both the Church and the effective alliance of the princes. Hutten's appeal to get revolutionary peasants involved is rejected by Sickingen, thus dooming the cause.

The writer claims in the introduction that his version of the events is based only on verifiable facts. Hutten is pictured as a down-to-earth type of a man who is aware of his limitations. He is one who can joke about his predicaments, always displaying wit and want. But at the same time he appears as one who is more than anxious to defend the national honor and integrity. Thus, he comes across as an incredible figure.

In one scene, when Hutten and his father clash, it borders on the preposterous when he expresses his conviction that he must be instrumental in the needed movement for change. And it sounds fanatical when he declares:

Ich will sein der Prophet der grossen Kriege
und der lodernden Brände über Deutschland....
weil Deutschland allein aus dem Kriege Kraft
und Leben erhält, weil allein im Kampf die

deutschen Geister erwachen und die deutschen Menschen sich einig werden.¹⁰⁵

A while later his father comments on the death of Emperor Maximilian, sounding like a commentary on World War I:

Und wenn sich, wie du sagst, die ganze Welt gegen Deutschland kehrte, so glaube ich doch letztlich an den deutschen Sieg. Wer hat denn auf dem ganzen Erdenrund jemals einen über die deutsche Nation davongetragen! Auch wenn wir Deutschen blutend am Boden lagen, waren wir unter den Wunden stärker als die Sieger!¹⁰⁶

And then comes a part which evokes the totalitarian expansionary reality of later Nazi rule: "Deutschland muß um seine Zukunft kämpfen, will es nicht auf ewig in Knechtschaft und Barbarei verfallen."¹⁰⁷ This is followed with this suggestion for a remedy with an obvious reference of that which was to come: "Nur an einem mangelts: es mangelt an den großen Führern, die ihren Blick von dem Heute mit seinen vielerlei Sorgen und Nöten zu lösen vermögen und ihn richten können auf das Morgen, das empor leuchtet wie der Frührotschein eines herrlichen Tages aus dem kalten Grau der Dämmerung."¹⁰⁸ And Nazi ideology speaks clearly from these lines:

Es könnte wohl ein Mensch der beste Christ sein und dabei der schlechteste Deutsche, und umgekehrt könnte der schlechteste Christ der beste Deutsche sein. Die Nation wird sich den besten Deutschen wählen,....Den ersten Platz im Denken eines Mannes hat das Volk.¹⁰⁹

This is followed with a denunciation and a national appeal:

"Es ist feige, sich dem Schicksal durch jähe Flucht zu

entziehen. Nicht um das Einzelschicksal geht es, sondern um die Nation."¹¹⁰

In the conclusion Eggers manages to mix Hutten's wish with the pastor's appeal for action. This scene could only be directed to an uncritical, conditioned type of people, for it turns out to be pathetic and unbelievable. One gets the feeling that this was written by an irreverent hypocrite for a chauvinistic zealot who would accept anything without fail.

In his Feuer über Deutschland (1939) Eggers continues the Hutten theme. At the beginning Hutten rescues a young woman through the threat of force from a fiery death at the stake. He is identified then as the champion of the oppressed. It sounds quite ironic when a priest asks him: "Im Namen Gottes, wer erdreistet sich so freventlich den Frieden des Gerichts zu brechen?"¹¹¹ To this Hutten responds: "Im Auftrag der Menschlichkeit und des gesunden Denkens rufe ich mein Halt! Im Namen der Nation wehre ich eurem gemeinen und abergläubischen Mord!"¹¹² He appeals to the conscience of the German people, telling them not to listen to strange promises, and to start a fire that will burn away "alle Lüge, alle Gemeinheit, alles Halbe, alles Schwache,"¹¹³ creating the condition for the new man whose god is freedom.

Later on Hutten returns with disgust from Rome. A phantom-like man exhorts him to go ahead and proclaim the German empire for which the best people have died. This entrusted mission does not allow him to live for himself.

His talk and actions must solely be dedicated to help his nation.

Emperor Maximilian recognizes Hutten's meritorious services for the country. When Hutten is in the presence of his sovereign, receiving the honor, he promises: "Und jeder Satz, den ich mit heißem Willen schmiedete, soll wie ein Geschütz der Knechtschaft Mauern brechen."¹¹⁴

In Wittenberg the difference of Hutten's struggle for freedom becomes quite evident when contrasted with Luther's. When protagonists of the two meet, it is the people's cause versus the idea of a reformed church free from any outside control. By now Hutten has declared war on the whole world, "weil eine ganze Welt die Freiheit morden will, hab ich der ganzen Welt die Feindschaft angesagt,"¹¹⁵ he simply explains. Luther wants freedom so that the gospel can be disseminated, but Hutten desires temporal justice. Thus, they go clearly their separate ways.

At the siege of Trier Hutten becomes more skeptical: "Ich glaube an das Volk als an die Einigkeit der Nation und an ihr Reich von dieser Welt. Doch die Gegenwart der Idee von Volk ist die Bevölkerung, der allerdings vermag ich nicht zu trauen."¹¹⁶ It sounds almost disrespectful when he adds: "Die Freiheit nimmt nur Wohnung in den Herzen derer, die weinen können in der Nacht und rufen nach Rache, Tat und Recht! Dort erst wird einer frei, wo das Leben allein wird neben der Forderung der Ehre."¹¹⁷ He continues: "Die Religion der Männer ist der Kampf! Und Krieger sind die Priester

dieser Welt! Was sonst ein Männerherz bestimmen will, ist Tand!"¹¹⁸ Sickingen, his friend, concurs with this: "Nation heißt unser Glaube, und sein Gott der heißt die Ehre. Diesem Gott hingeben aber heißt eher sterben, als vom Wege, der zu Recht und Wahrheit führt, um einer Rücksicht willen einen Fuß abzuweichen."¹¹⁹ In true Germanic tradition, he tries to encourage his men: "Wer das Schwert führt, ist dem Schicksal überlegen."¹²⁰ He orders Hutten to fight on even when it appears hopeless. But Hutten finds it difficult to deal with this situation when he replies: "Du forderst Übermenschliches von mir. So muß ich mir die Kraft der alten Götter nehmen!"¹²¹

The phantom-like sage appears again, promising to assist Hutten. In the fashion of the ancient scalds he asserts:

Ich werde dich geleiten, Hutten!

....
In das Reich der Freiheit,...von
dem die Helden kündend ewig wieder-
kehren! Ich will dich führen zur
wahren Heimat aller Starken, zur Idee.¹²²

In this narrative poem the author shows Hutten on a collision course. While he has some success initially, it is only downhill after the climax, the installation as poet laureate. At first his separation with Luther signals the end, and later the failure at Trier leaves no doubt about it. A softening of the impact has been attempted in the final chapter through a questionable ruse: a reach into the

mythological realms.

In this drama Hutten is apparently a character who is too much of a troublemaker. He is a man who collides with almost everyone. Thus, he is a stereotype. Promises and beliefs attributed to him are in reality those of the author and not Hutten. They reflect the author's political and philosophical convictions. But one gets the impression that Hutten espouses ideas that are in agreement with Nazi creeds and ideology.

Hans Herman Wilhelm (1892-1975) wrestles with the problem in Germany that had been allowed to come into existence by a lack of cooperation between Ulrich von Hutten and Martin Luther. He attempts to explain in his drama Ulrich von Hutten, "Die Tragedie der Reformation" (1934) why the two men had failed to reach an amicable agreement, one that would have been beneficial for the final outcome in the upcoming struggle and would have allowed the nation to rid itself from the destructive, self-serving elements of its society.

Wilhelm believes that the Lutheran Reformation succeeded only half way. As a consequence of the failure of the Rhenish knights' uprising, the peasants' revolt was doomed. The "Zerrissenheit" that plagued Germany did not allow a solution which would bring harmony and cooperation to the land.

The writer tries to show that the "Höhepunkt...ist die Auseinandersetzung zwischen Hutten, dem politischen Genie, der von einem Volksstaat und einer Nationalkirche träumt,

und Luther, dem religiösen Genie, der den politischen Weg Huttens nicht gehen kann."¹²³ The author continues: "Es gibt kein Jahrhundert der deutschen Geschichte, das dem un-
srigen so verwandt ist wie das 16. Die Reformation des
Reiches an Haupt und Gliedern, die die Hutten-Sickingsche
Freiheitsbewegung will, ist von unmittelbar zeitgemäßer Be-
deutung."¹²⁴

The play introduces at once the problematic conditions that faced the nation when the election of the new emperor became necessary. Indications are that Sickingen with Hutten's prodding and enthusiastic endorsement becomes the "heimliche Kaiser." Hutten has learned from experiences, and he tries now to use his learning for the best of the nation. He knows that a different ruler is needed, one who puts the requirements of the country before his own. He explains: "Der Kaiser Max,...war nicht der Kaiser, den wir brauchen. Zu sehr hat er an seines eigenen Hauses Wohl gedacht...."¹²⁵ and he comments further:

Freunde! Sind wir eine kranke Nation? Ich glaub
es nicht und will es nicht glauben. Blühen unsere
Reiche nicht von Stadt - und Landfleiß?...Nur die
Zwietracht und der heimliche Krieg der Deutschen
untereinander wollen kein Ende nehmen. Es ist Nie-
mand, der Deutschland unter einen Hut bringt. Es
ist Niemand, der das allgemeine Beste vor das ei-
gene setzt.¹²⁶

The assembled knights feel strongly encouraged to unite and to make common cause with Luther. Hutten goes even so far as to declare that he would gladly be Luther's shield bearer and exclaims wistfully: "Ach, wenn die Deutschen

begriffen, daß sie eine Nation sind, dann würden sie das erste Volk der Welt sein!"¹²⁷ But in order to achieve this state, the people would have to make sacrifices and bear losses graciously.

Hutten believes in the future. So he tells Sickingen's wife that the day will arrive when Germany will be "ein glücklicher Staat..., wenn einer alle Macht des Geldes und der Gesinnung hat, einer, dem Ritter und Volk, Bauer und Städter, Geistliche und Laien aus Vorteil und Pflicht gleichermaßen verbunden sind."¹²⁸

Apparently Hutten foresees that his mission will not be concluded successfully during his lifetime. He feels driven by an inner force to go on in spite of his knowledge that he will not witness the full realization of his dreams. He willingly accepts anyone who rallies sincerely to his cause. For this reason it is not surprising that he would not reject those peasants who would gladly fight for freedom. He sees them as soldiers without a leader, explaining: "Wir sind Führer ohne Soldaten. Wir können sie in unserem Kampf um die Freiheit gut gebrauchen."¹²⁹

After Sickingen becomes secretly the "Volkskaiser," Hutten is named the chancellor. He unrolls immediately an eight point program which spells out the reforms he deems needed. At the same time he urges on for action because he is convinced that any delay could jeopardize any possible success.

The action moves then to Worms, where Luther had been

ordered by Emperor Charles V, who wants to get the situation in his realm under control. His advisor gives him an assessment of the affairs in Germany:

Die Deutschen sind ein Volk mit geringer politischer Einsicht, aber mit einem starken Gefühl für die Freiheit. Sie vermögen sich einem ihres Volkes schwer unterordnen und befehlen sich untereinander bis zur gegenseitigen Ausrottung.... Hat man sie erst so weit, daß sie gehorchen, so sind sie willfährig und charakterlos wie Sklaven.¹³⁰

He thus echoes Hutten's distressed awareness of his people. While the Diet of Worms is conducted, Sickingen decides to take up arms in his simmering feud with the archbishop of Trier. But this meets with the strongest objections of Hutten. He is sure that it would be of greater importance if they could ally themselves with Luther, as their causes coincide with each other. So he meets Luther, arguing for a united front: "Was fehlt denn ihnen allein, daß die Deutschen aus ihrem Zwiespalt herausfinden? Ein gemeinsames Wollen, eine allgemeine Erhebung, die sie einig und stark machen!"¹³¹

But Luther rejects this course, feeling he is commissioned to fight for the unadulterated gospel alone. He must not mix the gospel's cause with worldly quarrels. He is certain of the direction he has to follow and that he must not waver from it. Hutten is upset about Luther's unwillingness, he even goes so far to call him "Verführer der Deutschen"¹³² because too many had pinned their hopes on the reformer. Luther is determined to keep his movement pure:

"Um rein zu erhalten, was mir armen blinden Knecht durch Gnade des höchsten Herrn für die Sache der Freiheit war vergönnt zu tun, muß ich mich von falschen Versuchern auf beiden Seiten abkehren."¹³³

Hutten turns away scornfully from Luther, but not without telling him that he has betrayed the cause of freedom. When he leaves, it is forever.

It is now only a matter of time before the Hutten-Sickingen movement will collapse. Hutten is of the opinion that he has lost through Luther's unwillingness and lack of cooperation. Sickingen too returns from his fateful campaign, knowing that everything is lost. In a moment of despair he expresses his sentiments: "Ich glaub, das Lied von Deutschlands Freiheit ist ausgesungen. Es gehen zu viele ihrer eigenen Freiheit nach. Darum ist die deutsche stets die unfreieste von allen Nationen geblieben."¹³⁴ And he is convinced that it was Luther "der uns verriet."¹³⁵ Hutten is utterly depressed.

The conquest of Sickingen's last castle is soon accomplished. While the dying Sickingen surrenders, Hutten escapes upon his friend's urging. Followed by the bloodhounds of the Church, Hutten is on his way to leave his beloved country. Meanwhile, the peasants prepare to rise up in revolt. And so it happens that Hutten is attacked by one of their mobs. But when they find out who he is, the only champion of freedom left after Sickingen's death, they let him go. He tells them that he regrets that he did not

succeed in establishing a nation where farmers, knights, and townspeople could live together peacefully. But he knows that despite the apparent failures "Deutschland ist reich genug, daß wir untergehen! Die nach uns kommen, werden das Reich errichten, das wir schauten!"¹³⁶ He parts from them exhorting them not to lose faith.

Wilhelm made an attempt in his work¹³⁷ to sketch a chapter of the heroic struggle in Germany's fight for freedom. He comments on the tragic character of the people whose conflict has been going on for centuries. Central to the conflict is the scene where Hutten tries in vain to win over Luther for the common cause, hoping that the religious reformer could join with the political revolution of the assembled knights at Sickingen's behest. This united force then could have possibly led to a joining up with the impending forces of the rebellious peasants.

Hutten was to be a messenger of peace, one who tried to consolidate the various elements of his country into a united front. He was attempting to help them through their struggle to a successful, just and stable conclusion, namely, the establishment of a free and unified nation. In this he failed. Forces over which he had no control counteracted his moves. Time and again Frowen Hutten "Euer verschlagener und wankelmütiger Vetter"¹³⁸ counteracted frequently the designs and plans of Hutten and Sickingen, symbolizing the disruptive and disarrayed elements within the nation, the elements of self-interest, or as seen by the cynic, those

of "self-preservation."

Wilhelm tried to point out the tragic outcome of this time was only possible because two great men, whose views and goals were so different, could not come together. Luther is too monkish, and Hutten is too much of a firebrand, one who is unwilling or unable to be a realist. Neither of them is willing to listen to the other's arguments. Perhaps these stereotypes are the biggest flaw of the play, making its outcome disputable.

A relatively new genre appeared shortly before this time period, the radio play.¹³⁹ It incorporated initially many different components¹⁴⁰ before it reached the form that is accepted today.

Quirin Engasser (*1907) wrote the "radio play" Ulrich von Hutten (1935). It is rather a listening sequence in which the author put together adaptations and translations¹⁴¹ from other authors in addition to some of his own. The work combines elements of hope with appeals for action, presented by two speakers. This is ended with a recital of selected passages from Conrad Ferdinand Mayer's powerful Hutten epic "Huttens letzte Tage."

Stringed together are summonses that are meant to inspire. But they lack balance, objectivity, and originality. This should not surprise when one keeps in mind that they were meant to reach people at a time when propaganda was the overriding issue.

Erich Bauer contributed to the cause of the new creed

in Nazi Germany with his festival play¹⁴² Laßt Hutten nicht verderben! (1938). It is introduced under the motto: "Das Gebot der Stunde lautet wie in Huttens Tagen nicht das Mittelalter, nicht Wort Gottes, auch nicht Humanismus, sondern Deutschland."¹⁴³

The author asserts that Hutten's appeal was never better understood than during the 1930's, for it was then that his dream had been realized as the "Reich (war) geeint und im Erwachen und Aufbau,...im Glauben an den Führer gegründet."¹⁴⁴ Hutten was forever a part of Germany's history. The unification of the nation had proven that the "Rufer ins Reich"¹⁴⁵ was "kein Träumer, kein Phantast, er ist... ein Deutscher der Tat."¹⁴⁶

The play informs the audience that Hutten had experienced a cruel youth, culminating with his deliverance into a monastery so that a dark prophecy would not come true. But the youth did not remain there. "Er ward ein Fahrender ...heimat - und ruhelos."¹⁴⁷ He now attests to the correctness of the prediction that he had to be "gepeitscht, gehetzt, von einer Welt von Feinden, fliehen durch ein Land, dem er die Freiheit schenken wollte."¹⁴⁸

Hutten is driven by his compassion, by his desire to help. He wants to act:

Ich will die Tat!
Allein entscheidend ist die Tat, und nur die Tat
(allein,
nicht der Erfolg, den sie vollbringt!
....
Die Tat als flammender Protest, gleich einem
(Fanfaren-

stoß, der alle Schläfer schreckt und weckt, der
zum Tag macht, Traum zur Wirklichkeit.¹⁴⁹ (Nacht

He is addressing the best in the nation, accusing the Church of disseminating dishonest teachings: "Doch sagt ihr Gott und meint Macht damit, wo immer euer Kreuz erscheint, stirbt alles Leben ab."¹⁵⁰

Hutten exclaims: "Ich bin Deutschland, - das Sinnbild eines Reiches aller Deutschen....Deutschland erwacht! Deutschland steht auf!....Der Tag, der die Entscheidung bringen wird, steigt aus tiefester Schmach herauf - Gott will den Kampf."¹⁵¹ He challenges the knights, asking them: "Nennt ihr das Freiheit, ist das der alten Deutschen hochberühmter Freiheitssinn, wenn Römer, Spanier, Welsche mehr bei uns zu sagen haben, als selbst in ihrem eig'nen Land?"¹⁵²

In his final appeal Hutten addresses the people of his nation, exhorting them to come forward and do their duty, to fulfill their destiny:

Deutschland kann und wird nur da zu finden sein,
wo starke, reine, heldenhafte Herzen mutvoll
schlagen, wo man den Marschtritt machtvoll hört,
mit dem entschlossene Männer unverdrossen, nie
verzagend, den Weg der Pflicht beschreiten. Ihr
dürft den Glauben nicht verlieren an des Reiches
Sendung, Macht und Größe.¹⁵³

The play contains very little action. Throughout it, the hero harangues the people in a very anticipatory manner. But this is alien to the Hutten character. Only during this era for distortion, hate, and bigotry it could possibly

have had an impact on its listeners. Only people who either did not want to think or were unable to do so, people who were not critical, could alone accept such an arrangement of a play.

Friedrich Franz von Unruh (*1893) made his name as a novelist after the horrifying Great War. He wanted the renewal of man. He looked into the past for those who could point the way, those who were able to inspire their fellow man. At the same time he opposed those who represented the "force of disintegration."¹⁵⁴

In his essay Hutten, "Der Vorkämpfer eines deutschen Aufbruchs" (1935), Unruh deals eloquently with the man who had struggled so passionately for justice and freedom in Germany.

Hutten had always his admirers and detractors, those who either had elevated him, or those who had tried to explain his actions and motives as selfish ambitions. Unruh takes issue with some of them, especially Paul Kalkoff.¹⁵⁵

After having dealt with them, Unruh relates Hutten's life, explaining the conflicts Hutten had to put up with. Early in his life, Hutten was confronted with scholasticism and humanism. Studying the pros and cons of those two schools made him decide for transconfessional ethics rather than for immoral paganism, as has been claimed by his detractors.

When Hutten had recognized the need for reform, he tried to implement this by stirring up the people, by

inciting them to seek revenge. Others, meanwhile, took the situation and the events as inevitable. In his attacks, Hutten shifted from hatred to satire, often mixed with bitterness. These spirited attacks sometimes evoke a feeling of exaggeration and seem to contain too much rhetoric.

Hutten had been involved all along in some minor skirmishes with the Church. Eventually, he turned his full energy against the abuse, the luxury, the waste, and the baseness of the clergy; this included its leadership in Rome. He launched his formidable attack in his fight with the Church with the re-issuing of Valla's "Donation of Constantine." Hutten's goal was nothing less than the independence from Rome. "Immer klarer bricht Huttens Wesen hervor. Der Grundzug ist Zorn. Zorn auf das Unrecht."¹⁵⁶

At the same time Unruh shows that Hutten remained very carnal, "er spielte und trank, er verkehrte mit Dirnen... (er) schoß oft übers Ziel, lärmte, wo es besser war, stillzuschweigen oder klug zu verhandeln, dies ist die Tragik seiner Bereitschaft."¹⁵⁷ Still "Er kämpfte, ob die anderen auch wichen. Seinen Willen brach nur der Tod."¹⁵⁸ Hutten always followed an inner drive; his bearing demonstrated a combination of knowledge and wit. His strong will carried him for a time over the dreadful consequences of his terrible disease. Hutten did what he felt compelled to do. So he was looking for Luther's friendship, believing that with this man's strength, events of the future could be dealt with. Hutten admitted that his plans and his position were

still too faulty, that they were not approaching those of the more divinely inspired goals of Luther.

Later, Hutten secured the friendship and protection of Sickingen. This man was "ein gewiegter, handfester Bandenführer....Ein Realist, der sich Protestantismus und Nationalismus zunutze machte."¹⁵⁹ At Sickingen's Ebernburg Hutten immersed himself into his work. "Was er nun schreibt, scheint dem Inhalt nach wenig zu sagen, aber für das Wort, die Wucht des Wortes alles."¹⁶⁰ He started to write in German. And Unruh sees it like this:

Es ist nicht die brausende Sprache Luthers, die orgelgleich stürmt und dröhnt. Es ist nur die stete, fast heisere Stimme des Mahners. Gegenüber der Kunst, der geschliffenen Form der lateinischen Schriften wirkt diese arm, unbeholfen, fast kindlich. Dafür tritt sein Herz unverhüllt, von Reim zu Reim, wie in Bluttakten pulsend, zutage. Er sagt, wie er's denkt und fühlt, schlicht, fast ohne Gestaltung.¹⁶¹

But it must not be understood as a political smear campaign. Not being able to speak with the same authority as Luther, he worked within his limitations. Still his courage and sincerity were never in doubt.

Generally Hutten was a positive force, for he exemplified resolute determination in his fight against injustice. He believed that he could help by initiating those efforts which were required to bring about the necessary changes. He had recognized the urgency for these changes. Doing this he not only wrote history, "er machte Geschichte."¹⁶² In Unruh's assessment, he sees the positives of Hutten outnumber

the negatives. "Sein Verdienst um die Reformation war groß. Wichtiger aber, bleibender noch sein Vorbild...er half einem kommenden Deutschland hoch."¹⁶³

Unruh portrays Hutten with his weaknesses and his strengths. What comes through is a very human man who had lived as one who was compelled to follow his destined course. It is a forceful portrait of a man, reflecting the author's admiration for Hutten.

The lyrical treatment of Hutten for this period is very limited. Herman Hüniche¹⁶⁴ wrote Der junge Hutten, "Gedichte aus Huttens Vagantenjahren" (1938), a cycle of poems. These start with Hutten's escape. This incident is interpreted as the stage where Hutten was given the opportunity to find himself and his calling. He becomes the champion for the strong and unified Germany. It is he who vocalizes the secret yearnings of his people.

The cycle touches on various episodes from Hutten's life that end with his Italian experiences, the "Vagantenjahre." Some of these actually are not based on historical facts, but they very likely could have been part of his life. They show a man who is possessed with determination, pursuing his goals in the face of great odds. But he is a down-to-earth type, one who can get along with people from all walks of life.

After his Italian experience, Hutten is more than ever ready to risk his life for his country. In so doing, he trusts God. He is certain that he must kill "dragons" in order to bring liberty to his nation.

The tone of these poems is light, mixed with words that are humorous¹⁶⁵ in their overtones. Sometimes the characterization is a bit overdone.¹⁶⁶ The whole cycle is written in a lighthearted vein, relating Hutten's formative years. The implanted ideological tenor, which is normally so much in evidence during this era, has been kept at a low key.

The works of this period have not generated great enthusiasm. The reason for this is that they are generally very opinionated and propagandistic. They have been conceived mainly to arouse the emotions and to share messages not normally acceptable to other generations in society. These works do not stimulate the aesthetic appreciation, as they do not encourage the constructive discussion of ideas.

Generally, with the exception of Unruh's essay, these works cannot be classified as anything but nationalistic-inspired literature. This includes even those authors who did not embrace Nazism officially.

The literary output of this time is very dreadful with its shrillness and loudness. It contains little moral or artistic value, thus revealing the bankrupt state of affairs during these years.¹⁶⁷ Yet, as far as the Nazi literature is concerned, one can and should not assign it completely to obscurity. Its impact on some of the succeeding writers cannot be denied, for it must be acknowledged that "Der Ungeist wurde weder mit der Machtübernahme der Nationalsozialisten geboren, noch verschwand er mit dem unseligen Ende des 'Tausendjährigen Reiches.'" ¹⁶⁸

Chapter 6

The Post-War Years: A Transitional Time

The end of World War II had brought a "politisch-historische Zäsur"¹ to the repressive rule of totalitarianism. Attempts had to be made to deal with the unpleasant past. It was a search, a reflection for an understanding of what really took place. These included observations which pointed out the discrepancy between the language and the world around, leading to efforts to find "eine neue Sprache, die der neuen Wirklichkeit gerecht wird."²

During the reign of Nazism Switzerland had become a stronghold of the German exile community, thus a patron country for their literary endowment. So the writers there were able to assert themselves in a free and unruffled way.

In East Germany there was an attempt to demonstrate that the aims of the Liberal Revolution of 1848 were again pursued. "Socialist Realism" from the Soviet Union mixed with "zeitgemäße" writings set the tone. The individual was pushed into the background in this society which wanted to equalize its people.

In West Germany there was a concerted effort to overcome the past.

While confusion and searching reigned in the two German

parts, the situation in Switzerland was more stable. It was here that a work dealing with Hutten appeared on stage, Helmut Schilling's (*1906) play Die Würfel sind gefallen (1949). The author presents his ideas in a rather interesting fashion. He is following the Greek theater tradition mixed with an anti-conventional open dramatic form. It turns out as a dramatic creation which is full of energy. It echoes noble sentiments, and it is as such an honest attempt away from the previous rationality and heroic egotism. It is a search for honesty.

All of this is accomplished by creating a scene devoid of petty irrelevancies, a condition beyond time. This state is achieved by a representative from the past, by one who has seen what had happened, and by one representing the new untested age, one who wants to be guided and who is searching for better ways. The characters are complemented by a team of speakers whose purpose is to comment on the events after they have occurred. This group is reminiscent of the ancient Greek chorus. The location is somewhere in contemporary times.

Both the young and the old rearrange the stage between the scenes without the benefit of the curtain, elucidating on the just completed events and leading with their comments into the upcoming scene. Thus, the spectator is never allowed to drift into the realms of historic or sentimental fantasy.

The author took pains to keep out anything that could

possibly interfere with his ideas. The stage is therefore described at the very beginning. It is allowed only to contain the barest essentials.

The play is divided into seven scenes, each relating one of the main chapters of Hutten's life. At the start it does not appear that Hutten could possibly realize his goals, but after the initial setbacks he reaches a time of recognition. Yet, after having accomplished this, it is all the way down to his final demise.

The stage has been supplied by the old one with a "gate of peace," and he feels that the "gate of war" could be torn down. A young lad appears, demanding impatiently freedom and independence, believing that he can achieve this alone. He wants to be his own master. Everything should be very simple and without obstructive formalities. The old man is reminded of Hutten.

And then scenes of Hutten's life unfurl. In a flashback, Hutten is back at Greifswald, ready to leave, for he knows that the world awaits him. He searches for truth, for absolutes. Konstanze Lötze, his local love, can no longer keep him. Henning, her father and the mayor of the town, enters, demanding from Hutten to pay right then his debts. Noticing Hutten's readiness to move on, he mocks him cruelly: "Ei seht! Die Grashüpfer wollen gleich den/ Himmel. - Löst ihr nicht bald die Hände? - Fetzen/ am Leib und Freier gespielt! Vergesst ihr/ wer den Schiffbrüchigen aufgenommen, den Aermsten/ der Armen bekleidet?"³

Konstanze feels, though, that if they would get married, everything would normalize. At this point Eppendorf, recognized by Hutten as a "Mietling," an agent of Albrecht of Brandenburg, appears. This appearance more than anything strengthens Hutten's urge to get away from the narrowminded petty bourgeoisie where hypocrisy and deception are an essential part of life.

Hutten goes through with his plans to leave the city. Lötze sends Eppendorf, Hutten's opportunistic antagonist, after the knight, promising a considerable reward if he would strip him of all his belongings yet leaving him alive.

Pavia in Italy is Hutten's next station. The time is just prior to the victorious entrance of the imperial troops. Cronberg and Crotus, two of Hutten's closest friends, are introduced before his arrival. The two underline Hutten's duality, his knightly descent and bearing as well as his unrelenting drive for knowledge. One, Cronberg, is willing to commit himself recklessly, full of contempt for the vacillating companion, while Crotus holds back in fear, yet full of scorn for those who differ from him with their lack of learning. Cronberg accuses Crotus: "Ihr zerschlägt keine Brust,/ doch spritzt ihr Gift ins Herz...."⁴ To this Crotus retorts that "raufen und saufen"⁵ was only his opponent's aim.

When Hutten appears he sees the situation as utterly hopeless. He had been in Rome and feels now that he is pursued by his unrelenting enemies. Pessimistically, he

deplores his situation, concluding: "Ich halte Augenblicke fest und verliere die Ewigkeit."⁶ Explaining his goal, but without being radical, he declares: "Die Köpfe will ich säubern, nicht vom Helm,/ sondern vom schimmligen Hirn."⁷ Yet right afterwards, in a moment of depression, apparently disheartened, he caves in and composes his own epitaph.

Again, Hutten is seen at a time of a rather inglorious chapter of his life. But this is as it was, the truth. The old one states between the scene that he only shows what really happened.

Hutten has gone to the Steckelburg, his parental home. There his mother agonizes over his condition, particularly his sickness. She is worried and suggests that he join the powerful and strong people, the princes. Thus, he would be under their protection and would not have to continue encountering the uncertainties of his former vagrant lifestyle.

The downcast Hutten, the nobody, meets again the slippery Eppendorf, this time as the go-between of Hans von Hutten and his bride. Again Hutten and he spar and display their disdain for each other. But Crotus comes and draws Hutten's attention to Reuchlin's predicament, challenging him to stand up and write in Reuchlin's defense against the Church which has caused so much hardship. This suggestion is a new challenge for Hutten. He accepts it and prays: "Gib mir Kraft, dein (meaning God) Gegner zu sein."⁸ Knowledge of his impending excommunication only strengthens his

intent, and he exclaims: "Die Würfel sind gefallen!"⁹ Hutten grows in adversity. And the old commentator states: "Nicht die Freunde, nur die Feinde machen groß."¹⁰

The next station is Augsburg. Here Hutten receives his greatest triumph, being honored by the emperor. Eppendorf sours this occasion, as he, the emperor's assistant, is reading the scroll conferring the honor upon Hutten. Shortly after the ceremonies in an ensuing discussion with the emperor, Hutten cries out, with an obvious reference to the Epistolae obscurorum virorum: "Ich wünschte, jedes Wort wär ein Trommelschlag für/ des Reiches Einheit, Freiheit, Redlichkeit und/ Kraft!"¹¹

Now Hutten has reached his zenith of recognition. It is then that the news of his cousin's murder rips the solemnity of the assembled guests. Hutten breaks out right then in angry diatribes against the murderer, the duke of Württemberg, influencing the emperor to endorse the impending fight of the Hutten clan against this lawless prince.

The old fellow concludes this scene with his important comment regarding Hutten's life: "Des Lebens Mittag - nicht des Lebens End!"¹²

The campaign against the duke of Württemberg had been successful. In Stuttgart, at Reuchlin's place, Hutten is described with disdain by Crotus, trying to impress Konstanz. Thus, he declares: "Er liebt das Eisen mehr/ als das Wort, grüßt mit der Brandfackel, betet mit/ dem Foltergerät."¹³

When all are assembled, even Reuchlin admonished Hutten about his participation in the fight, referring to Crotus as having served the cause better than those who had done so with the sword: "Fluch dem, der das Innere des Menschen mit Pech und/ Schwefel reinigen will! Fluch dem, der dem Kurzsichtigen die Augen aushackt! Fluch dem, der dem/ Fehlbaren das Schwert entreißt, um ihn mit demselben/ Schwert zu richten!"¹⁴ He finishes his condemnation with "Verflucht der Sieger, der zum Mord-/knecht wird!"¹⁵

Crotus has now revealed himself for what he really is. He is one who works only for his own good behind the scene, even if this means to turn against his trusting friend, resorting to blackmail, and not being restrained by anything. Hutten, confronted by that treachery, realizing then the full implications of his friend's action, feeling that he has lost big, exclaims: "So stürzt alles zusammen. Kraft, Freundschaft./ Liebe. Das himmlische Heil."¹⁶ The young one comments afterwards: "...spät betrachtet war's ein Spiel um nichts."¹⁷

Hedwig, Sickingen's wife, berates her husband for still keeping his faith with Hutten who had advised him so badly. Sickingen, she feels, should think of himself and his family. This Sickingen refuses to do.

Hutten's attempts to build a new nation, hoping also to enlist Luther to their cause, do not materialize. The conniving opposition wants Hutten surrendered to the authorities, a demand Sickingen refuses. But the end is at hand. Before

Sickingen dies he instructs Hutten to go to Basel and to carry on with the fight.

In Basel Eppendorf and Lötzt await Hutten. While the first of these men wants to cash in on Hutten's mission, the second had come to collect his debts. Eppendorf apparently had come to the conclusion that "wo Hutten geht, da ist der neue Weg."¹⁸ Lötzt, in the meantime, had been able to advise the city to expel Hutten, who is now at the end and aware of Eppendorf's dubious role: "Der sich mir/ anklammert und mein Blut saugt. Spiegel meiner eigenen/ Schmach!"¹⁹

Lötzt suggests to Hutten that all of them should throw the dice and see who gets what is left of Hutten's belongings, his money and his writings. Hutten loses everything, unaware that Eppendorf had used loaded dice. Even after this abominable affair Lötzt is convinced that he is on the winning side. Still, when Hutten has gone, he proposes a toast to the knight's demise: "Ein Trunk auf/ seinen Tod!/ Solche Menschen brauchen wir nicht!"²⁰

It is all over, and as the old man states, the game is up. The chorus adds: "Zuerst den Kampf in uns - dann erst den/ Kampf der Welt."²¹ And then turning to the audience: "Den Menschen gilt es zu befreien -/ und REDLICH OHNE PRUNK soll uns're Losung sein."²²

The play projects Hutten as a man who had an ambitious goal. The author leads his man through several stages before he reaches his climax, the coronation as poet laureate by the emperor. Yet right then he must hear the news of his

cousin's murder. From thereon Hutten's path comes down steadily, from the lofty heights to utter despair. Hutten is human with all the foibles and faults, but they impaired his mission too much. Though he had to deal with tremendous bouts of depression he was a man who was able to live his life.

Taking all these facts into account Hutten could never develop into that force which could bring the intended changes. He had been unable to be successful with the fight within himself. Proud and true to his nature he could not withdraw when he had to realize that the impending outcome would not match his expectations. Neither able or willing to lie he was destined to fail through his undiplomatic and uncompromising zealotry which proved to be too much of a handicap against his ruthless and powerful opponents.

Hutten was unselfish in his pursuit for truth. Others had shown clearly that they were crass egotists. The author arranged for the effective appearance of Eppendorf in all the important chapters of Hutten's life. As the protagonist of this trusting man he projects the seamy side of an opportunist, doing this even when he feigns loyalty. Lötze, on the other hand, is no more than a selfish predator, filching from his victims. Reuchlin appears as one who is self-assured, possibly too much, as he either does not or can not understand the sentiments of others. As a judge he feels that he must not condone actions incompatible with his reasoning. Out of touch with reality, he comes close to being a

hypocrite. Crotus is projected as a totally indecent person. It had been his prodding which had awakened Hutten's curiosity along with his desire for an alternate lifestyle away from the cloister. Later it was he who worked both sides and who gave his friend the final push into despair. If his actions were those of a realist, he still displayed a very selfish attitude. Sickingen alone appears faithful to his friend, never considering the consequences for himself. He is the "Ritter ohne Furcht und Tadel," one who would not waver in the face of death and destruction.

The author succeeded in injecting an element of suspense into the action. His commentaries, given by the old and the young "stage workers," allow the audience not to be carried away by the action on the stage. They allow, too, for a time of reflection on the action. The speaker-chorus underlines this at the appropriate occasions. The language is kept very simple, yet very effective.

The play shows a man in his attempt to accomplish the nearly impossible. But the absurdity of reality does not allow him to be successful. In this existential world he continually hopes for change, facing harsh reality with truth and honesty.

The next work originated in the German Democratic Republic, where - as previously in Nazi Germany before - the literary output has been under the control of the state for some time. Published material must pass the scrutiny of the authorities and receive their mark of approval. Many of the

writings have to be understood in this light, fulfilling the explicit purpose of educating, guiding, and influencing the readership.

Often, in their attempts to deal with the contemporary scene, authors utilized history. Rosemarie Schuder (*1928) belongs to this group of writers. Through her historical writings she attempts to draw attention to the problems of her time, problems which have their origin in the past. It is her desire to demonstrate the relevancy of history and its connection to the present time:

...jene Verschmelzung der geschichtlichen Vorgänge mit dem heutigen Geschehen zu erreichen, daß der Konsumer betroffen wird, daß er sich getroffen fühlt, daß er weiß: Ich bin gemeint, meine Sache wird hier abgehandelt. Das ist das Schwerste und gleichzeitig der schwerwiegende Unterschied zwischen Forscher und Schreiber, mit denselben Fakten nicht das Vergangene, sondern das Gegenwärtige zu erklären, anhand des historischen Geschehens ermitteln, welche Triebkräfte heute wirksam sind.²³

Schuder puts the emphasis "an den Versuch, die Gegenwartigung zu erreichen,...bestimmte Probleme darzustellen,...."²⁴ To accomplish this she feels that she must "Unbekannte revolutionäre Traditionen erschließen, die die reaktionäre Geschichtsschreibung gehässig entstellt überliefert hat."²⁵ She wants to explore the "progressive christliche Traditionen"²⁶ and to show the "präzise Erfassung der Klassenkräfte und -kämpfe der dargestellten Epoche."²⁷ In this the "poetische Element stellt eine Zugabe dar. In historischer Dichtung durchdringen sich

wissenschaftliches und künstlerisches Denken besonders eng."²⁸ A writer must also find out what the concerns of the people were during the bygone times so that the work bears a mark of authenticity. Schuder tries to present real people.

In the series "Große Patrioten" Schuder wrote the historic-biographic narration about Ulrich von Hutten Ich hab's gewagt (1954). In this work the life and the effect of a great man is given so it could be of some inspiration to the young. Franz Mehring, a prominent Socialist, is quoted at the start, stating that Hutten had earned immortality through his undying hatred for Rome. Thus, the tone is set.

Hutten enters the action at the height of his glory, the crowning as poet laureate by the emperor. But even there he is seen as being slight and ugly, perhaps even as obnoxious, as the "liederliche Ritter."²⁹ Hutten had lived his life, joys and hardships had been part of it, including a "souvenir,"³⁰ the lues that haunted him for the rest of his life.

Hutten's mind flashes back to earlier days, those at Fulda and at the Baltic Sea. As the emperor honors him in appreciation of his poetic accomplishments for Germany, Hutten is aware "Maximilian sah allerdings die Sache der Deutschen weniger dringlich an als die Sache seines Hauses."³¹

When Hutten discusses with the emperor the affairs of the Church, he takes issue with the pope's actions, "über das kriegslüsterne Gebaren des Mannes, der eigentlich seinem Berufe nach der Friedlichste unter der Sonne sein

sollte."³² He is reminded in a flashback of Reuchlin's struggle with Pfefferkorn and his subsequent co-authorship of the Epistolae obscurorum virorum (1509). Hutten admits that he is an advocate of change, stating that the privileged classes must modify their positions for the sake of their people and justice.

Another side of this energetic man becomes apparent in a later meeting with Erasmus. Hutten, the forceful, optimistic activist, declares: "Alles, was wir uns zutrauen, mit unserem Geist zu erfassen und mit unseren Händen zu greifen, alles das können wir zur Tat werden lassen."³³ He meant by that the inclusion of force, something Erasmus abhorred.

The unsuccessful trip to Brussels, where Hutten had planned to plead his cause before the new emperor, completed Hutten's change in becoming an ardent adherent of revolutionary thought. His opposition to the establishment had made it impossible for him to move around freely. Yet he feels compelled to talk to the people. So he changes from the polished Latin of his humanist training to German and addresses the common man in his own tongue, the vernacular: "Die Sache aber, für die er lateinisch schrieb, ging jetzt nicht mehr nur die gelehrten Leute an, sie hörte auf, ein Gespräch der Studierstuben zu sein, sie gehörte auf die Straße, unter die Leute, sie mußte den Menschen aller Stände in die Ohren geschrieben werden. Dafür genügte Latein nicht. - ...Und er schrieb deutsch."³⁴ Hutten had realized that he had to call on all, the townspeople as well as the knights

so that they would unite and fight together.

In his dialogues Hutten portrays Sickingen as one standing for truth and honesty, as the defender of the good cause. Both of them had come to the realization that "Es kann zuweilen geschehen, daß Ungehorsam der beste Gehorsam ist."³⁵ Now Hutten puts himself fully into his role as a fighter for his ideas. Yet success seems to evade them. And some express their disappointment. Hermann von dem Busche puts it this way: "Warum, Hutten, hast Du nur geschrieben, nur gedroht - und nichts getan? Jetzt lachen die Leute über Dich, besonders die Römlinge. 'Er bellt nur', sagen sie, 'und beißt nicht.'"³⁶

But Hutten's pleading and writings have not been in vain. Some of the knights unite in opposition to the oppressive princes. It is their desire to restore the glory of the nation. Sickingen even agrees to organize peasants into a fighting group. He thus prepares them in the art of fighting, useful for the later Peasants' Revolt.

However, Hutten's calculations do not materialize. Most of the nobility and the cities do not rise and join the fight. The federation of the knights falls apart, and the princes remain in power, while Hutten is forced to leave the country. Still, he is not ready to give in, he continues to hold on to his ardent wish to create a world,

...in der die Deutschen aus allen Ständen und in allen Landen sich zusammenfinden zum brüderlichen Verbündnis gegen alle Gewalt der romhörigen Fürsten und Geistlichen; eine Welt, in der jeder, er sei, wer er wolle, die Wahrheit sagen und

schreiben kann, ohne verfolgt zu werden.³⁷

Yet when the situation does no longer hold any promising hope, he remarks: "So lange es Menschen gibt, die diesseits stehen, hier, und dabei nicht verzagt sind, nicht ängstlich und zweifelnd, so lange ist noch nichts verloren."³⁸ But in spite of his unbroken spirit he soon succumbs. Zwingli gives him this ardent testimony: "Er hat sich selbst sein Werk hingestellt als Denkmal. Und dieses sein Werk wird leben, auch wenn es sonst nichts gibt, was von ihm zeugt, wenn kein Stein dort steht, wo sein Leib in die Erde gebracht wurde."³⁹

Hutten's own restlessness had consumed him. He had put his own needs behind those of his nation. In this process he had become more than a poet, he had become a revolutionary, siding with the oppressed who yearned for change, the change that would do away with the abusive old order. Hutten had pointed the way, though he did not see the new order arrive. He had realized that his class alone could do nothing. His plan did not succeed, but he had managed to wake up the people.

Later, looking back at her work, the author states: "...jetzt, noch einmal hineinschauend...finde ich, daß der Ton der ironischen Betrachtungsweise, eine Art der Vergegenwärtigung, schon damals angeschlagen war...der Überlegung über die ordentlichen Leute, die nie einen Revolutionär verstehen werden,...lese ich mit Genugtuung,...."⁴⁰

The writer was influenced by the Marxist interpretation

in her historical approach. She herself states about her aims:

Die Verantwortung des Menschen für sein Tun und Handeln, für das, was er aus seinem Leben macht, und für das, was er unterläßt, wird klargestellt. Gemessen wird der Wert eines jeden daran, wie er an der Veränderung der Welt teilnimmt und dadurch seinem Leben einen Sinn gibt.⁴¹

She portrayed a man who stuck by his conviction even when surrounding events did not warrant any further commitment. This is an interesting book, it is holding one's attention, especially the young reader's. It is well researched. The author succeeds to revise a calculated interpretation of a man and his time in a credible fashion without distortion of the historical facts.

Ernst Sommer (1888-1955) was one of the authors who had gone into exile during the Hitler years. In the post-war years his book Das Leben ist die Fülle, nicht die Zeit, "Eine Portraitstudie Ulrichs von Hutten" (1954) was published in East Germany by the Aufbau-Verlag, indicating an endorsement by the officials of the German Democratic Republic. Sommer had himself established as a prose writer with a liking for history. His work inserts the experiences of Hutten in a framework story. It begins with him being at Ufenau, his final station, looking back on his life. He awakens from a dream in which Erasmus had haunted him. Schnegg, his protective physician-priest, is with him. He reminds Hutten that not everybody is either willing or able to adopt new

concepts and then would be willing to die for them.

Hutten is conscious that his life will come to an end very soon. He goes back in his thoughts and must think of his father, the "wenig barmherzige Burgherr,"⁴² the man who had sent his son to the monastery in Fulda so that he would "nicht nur den Ruhm des Hauses mehre, sondern auch bei der großen Familie der Hutten den Weg zu Gott erleichtere."⁴³ But Ulrich could not remain there, his immense drive for freedom and independence made him make his escape.

Hutten had the ambition to become a humanist, one of those who "lebte in einer unwirklichen Welt, in der Diesseits und Jenseits einander begegneten."⁴⁴ Soon, however, just twenty years old, Hutten was struck unmercifully by fate, he contracted syphilis, and so his existence was permanently poisoned, also having a steady reminder of death as his companion. But his spirits remained unbroken, "er wuchs an Schwung und Stärke, allen Symptomen zum Trotz."⁴⁵

Soon afterwards Hutten was in Pavia, the best known German student at the university. The French who controlled the city looked at him with suspicion. This was due to his loyalty to the emperor and his German feelings, which he professed unashamedly. He was filled with a great lust for life. He wanted to be everywhere, always where the struggle for truth was fought, as he believed that to remain impartial was to become a tool of evil.

Ironically with the reign of the new young emperor, who had been seen initially as a leader to welcome reforms, the

decay of the empire accelerated. War and social unrest were among the contributing factors.

The tragic murder of Hutten's cousin propelled Ulrich into a leading position, because he had proven himself indispensable in the family struggle for honor and vengeance. Hutten had found his true vocation when he had flung his tirades against the perpetrator of the crime. It was then that Hutten's total lack of "Respekt vor der Autorität"⁴⁶ revealed itself. He had pointed out to the subjects that even rulers could act unfairly and be indeed inhuman.

After Hutten had reissued Valla's De Donazione Constantine he won the respect of those who recognized his courage, though some disagreed with his vehement attack on the pope. He collaborated with some fellow humanists on the satire Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum. In it the authors demonstrated clearly that they intended to give scholasticism, already in its death throes, the coup de grâce.

Hutten had lived his life, finding happiness whenever possible. He had found beauty and appreciated it. Freedom was for him always the overriding issue. He had also been keen enough to recognize that his support for Luther could give his mission a chance for success. With his addresses he did not only try to appeal to the bourgeoisie, but also to the peasants. He sympathized with them, for "Die Armut der fronenden Bauern erregte sein Mitleid."⁴⁷ He was convinced that reforms had become necessary, observing too that the peasants had lost their patience and were beginning to

speak openly of insurrection.

If Hutten was unequivocal it must be added that he was true to his conviction, never hesitating to make any sacrifice. Erasmus, on the other hand, deplored conflicts. Sickingen sought only to extend his power. Luther's appeals combined with those of Hutten ostensibly had been successful, for "...schon damals dachten die Aufgeklärten, ...daß die religiöse Freiheit der Anfang der politischen sei."⁴⁸

Hutten had undergone a remarkable transition about which the author comments: "Es ist seltsam, wie die Empörung den Polemiker zum Dichter machte."⁴⁹ He adds: "... (so) hat sich ...der internationale Humanist in einen deutschen Volksdichter verwandelt...."⁵⁰ He had become someone who felt that he could speak for his people. Hutten had become the "Evangelist des neuen Evangeliums, er war der Vorkämpfer der noch im Werden begriffenen Weltanschauung."⁵¹

Hutten had become convinced that real reforms could only be accomplished through armed uprisings. This Luther rejected. So Hutten had to wait for others to start the action, as he was unable to do so himself. Through his gift of persuasion he had been able to win Sickingen. But as it turned out, it had been too late. With Sickingen defeated and dead, Hutten was forced to leave Germany and go into banishment, something that turned out to be "eine Einbahnstraße."⁵² He was then alone, blaming himself for all the failures. "Am meisten quälte ihn seine moralische Urheber-schaft an Sickingens Krieg."⁵³ By this time death had

become more than ever his constant companion. One last task he had to settle yet with Erasmus, "der ehemalig Abgott, der zum Todfeind (wurde)." ⁵⁴ In Expostulatio (1523) he dealt with him as a man who would not show his true conviction. This was his last literary effort.

Sickingen's defeat had encouraged Hutten's enemies to give up any restraint, and they were showing then brazenly their intentions, hoping to liquidate Hutten. Hutten had to fight for his life, and this he did as best as he knew. He was unaccompanied, deserted by his former friends, when Zwingli granted him for his final days his friendship and protection. He instructed Schnegg to care for Hutten on the tranquil island of Ufenau.

Hutten finished his life without any regrets. He could say: "Ich habe nur meine Pflicht getan. Ich sterbe, weil meine Aufgabe erfüllt ist." ⁵⁵ And then he continued: "Ich habe nichts zu beichten. Denn ich fühle keine Schuld." ⁵⁶ Those that were present during his last moments were aware of his serenity, noticing that he had expired peacefully.

Erasmus' response did not come in time. No longer could the "prince of the humanists" antagonize Hutten, the one he had envied, for this "Feuerbrand hatte seine Aufgabe, die Aufgabe seines Lebens in wenigen Jahren vollendet. Ihm, Erasmus, hatte die Vorsehung die doppelte Zeitspanne gegeben, und er hatte die Jahre vertan." ⁵⁷ The narrator asked rhetorically: "Wem würde Gott eher vergeben: dem ehrlichen Häretiker oder dem unaufrichtigen Orthodoxen?" ⁵⁸

In his portrait of Hutten, the author attempted to sketch the man in his historical greatness, but also the man with his limitations. As a humanist he had opposed clerical regimentation, and as a nationalist he had striven for the unification of his country. Thus, he had paved the way for those later generations who were able to embrace progressive ideas. They had become his heirs.

Sommer's presentation of Hutten is both interesting and realistic. He mentions as an example Hutten's blind loyalty as an official of the archbishop of Mainz when he condoned judicial murder.⁵⁹ Also Hutten's character is shown so that: "...oft genug war der adlige Stolz stärker als seine adlige Vernunft."⁶⁰

Hutten's physical exploits were limited. His only deed of valor was with the French who had been mocking the German emperor; as the narrator says; "Es war Huttens einziges ritterliches Abenteuer."⁶¹ Neither was he Camelot, the white knight in shining armor: "Der lahme Ritter auf seinem ausgerangierten Roß bot einen grotesken Anblick."⁶²

Throughout his narrative the narrator makes numerous references to Hutten's impending death. It is his way to emphasize the achievements, for the constant threat of death did not stop him from action. Undaunted he continued with his mission, always inspiring others.

The book takes also issue with Hutten's acquaintances. Some of the comments are not in line with their usual image. Sickingen expressed his prejudice against the peasants,⁶³

and Luther was apparently successful in his attempts to appease the upper stratum of society.⁶⁴

The author's descriptive style is quite vivid, perhaps in some cases a little overdone.⁶⁵ He gets carried away when he calls the archbishop of Trier "ein halber Franzose."⁶⁶ In spite of this the book succeeds to picture Hutten realistically, as an articulate man who had a vision, though he had been only very limited in his effectiveness.

The last work that deals with Hutten is Heinrich Rogge's play Hutten, "Ritter, Tod und Teufel" (1970). This will serve as an example of an interpretation from West Germany. In previous works⁶⁷ Rogge has already shown his admiration for the knightly humanist. Now he depicts Hutten as the herald of an upcoming time, a man remaining faithful to his cause, a man unbroken to his tragic end.

The subtitle clearly recalls Albrecht Durer's engraving by the same name, evoking the idea of the artist: the noble courageous knight going his way even when death and the devil flank him as his constant companions.

Hutten is depicted through three stages:

1. Hutten becomes aware of his country's plight; he accepts his mission.
2. Hutten breaks with the establishment.
3. Hutten fights without interruption to the very end.

The time span of Hutten's life is relatively short. It is set during the reformation of 1523. At the beginning there is a discussion about one of Hutten's polemical

treatises which he had written after he had become conscious of his nation's predicament. Some of those present reject his argumentation. The fear of denunciation to the Church authorities becomes apparent, and the sale of indulgences is interjected into the discussion.

Soon afterwards, Erasmus arrives for a visit with the Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz. Erasmus has found Albrecht's admiration because he opposes the narrowmindedness of scholasticism. Yet in spite of this rejection Erasmus counsels caution. He praises Hutten while at the same time he is critical of his rashness.

Not long after this, Hutten is told that Albrecht is giving in to the pressure of his superiors and that he would withdraw his support for Hutten. The suggestion that he, Hutten, should leave the court and accept Sickingen's protection, Hutten sees as an escape, as an impossibility, because he feels that he must remain as long as possible at the bishop's residence, trying to convince Albrecht of the urgency and relevancy of reform. Albrecht in turn could then persuade the influential German princes.

The archbishop is then visited by Aleander and Glabio, the representatives of the Church and the Empire, who want Hutten's deliverance to Rome. At first Albrecht tries to side with his man and cautions that the implications of such an arrest could be too much as Hutten is "ein Gelehrter, dessen Ruf schon jetzt weit über die Grenzen des Reiches hinausgeht."⁶⁸ Aleander's reaction is that he

threatens Albrecht with the power of the Church, reprimanding him also for having been so lax.

The action shifts to a minor incident, showing the predicament of the peasants, their exploitation. They plead their cause before Sickingen who listens and promises to help. He realizes that their need is great and that they could only succeed under experienced leadership, which he is willing to give them. And for this he wants Hutten's able pen.

When Hutten is called before Albrecht he had been warned about the impending dismissal and danger. His last appeal to Albrecht is unsuccessful, for Albrecht is too much a man of the privileged class, unable to sympathize with the exploited people. Surprised at Hutten's suggestion he asks: "Wahrheit und Freiheit für die Masse, für das einfältige Volk? - Was wird daraus? Unglauben, Unfreiheit, Unwahrheit, Unruh und Gewalt. Die Kirche dienet dem Volk besser, die ihm seine Ruhe bewahrt und ein festes Regiment über seine Seele führt."⁶⁹ Though he disagrees with Hutten, Albrecht respects him and permits him to leave, convinced later that he has lost his best man.

Sickingen has not given up his attempts to convince the emperor that changes were necessary. But this turns out to be in vain. He is also informed of Luther's rejection of the offer to combine forces with him and Hutten. Luther explains: "Sein Werk sei nicht ein Werk des Schwertes und der Gewalt, sondern allein des Geistes und des Glaubens."⁷⁰

When the emperor names Sickingen "Feldhauptmann" in

a campaign in France, Hutten sees this as a trap, as an attempt to split and weaken the opposition. He explains his position against it: "Ein Kaiser, der weder deutsch sprechen noch denken kann, ist kein deutscher Kaiser."⁷¹ He implies that this man has not Germany's interest in mind, thus he should not be obeyed. He implores Sickingen to take advantage of the prevailing situation and act as a real German emperor, especially since the people call him already the "Afterkaiser."⁷² Franz replies that he needs time to think. Hutten resigns himself to the inevitable, convinced that the opportunity will not present itself again, that Sickingen's inactivity will doom their plans.

Shortly after this, Hutten is a hounded man, banned by the emperor and excommunicated by the Church. He escapes to Switzerland. In Basel Erasmus refuses to see him, for he is afraid that any contact with his former friend, now an outlaw, could have negative repercussions for him. Yet when a priest requests his cooperation in a plot to do away with Hutten he refuses to participate.

Finally, Hutten finds a refuge on Ufenau where he is cared for during his remaining days. Although the end is quickly approaching, Hutten stays active with his pen. Upon being informed of Sickingen's death he exclaims: "Wo Tyrannen herrschen, herrscht Unrecht, ja das Unrecht selbst ist der größte Tyrann."⁷³ Hutten does not lose his courage and is certain that he would not have done anything differently if he had to do it all over again. He declares:

Das Leben hält manchen zum Narren, aber glaube mir, sollte ich mein Leben noch einmal leben, es würde nicht viel anders sein. Dieses Jahrhundert voller Wissenschaften und schöner Künste, voll Kampf für Wahrheit, Freiheit und Gerechtigkeit! Is ist eine Lust zu leben!⁷⁴

Up to the moment when his life comes to an end, Hutten still feels that his mission had not been in vain. Rogge's work employs "earthy" language to inject a note of interest. He uses "Saukerle," "Mordbuben," "Geschmeiß," "Schergen," "Schranzen," and more of this kind.⁷⁵ Some of the main characters are identified by a "Leitmotiv." For Hutten's hot-tempered personality fire is used: "Feuerkopf," "an seinem Feuer Verbrennen," "der ist nur noch Feuer," "Euer Eifer wird euch verbrennen," and more.⁷⁶ The cautious Erasmus on the other hand repeats a phrase "nicht zu scharf"⁷⁷ several times.

The author's bias against the Church of the Reformation time shows when he sketches the opponents too harshly, rendering a very partial treatment. This holds especially true when he comments on events in which they were involved.⁷⁸

On some occasions Rogge uses proverbial sayings which fit well into the text. His admiration for Hutten goes so far that he declares his hero a symbol for Germany, the conscience of the nation.

As these last works of our own time show Hutten's appeal is timeless. His sincere concern for freedom and justice for all men appeals to succeeding generations and transcends all ideologies.

Conclusion

In this study Hutten as a literary subject has been treated in every literary genre: poetry, drama, and prose. Yet what stands out so much is that the various exponents show a remarkable diversity in their interpretations. Some authors looked only for that side of Hutten that fit their philosophical or political concepts, thus neglecting to present the complete man. It is interesting to observe how Hutten is claimed as the champion of opposing philosophies and orientations.

The authors' approaches to the topic are quite different. While some presented Hutten thoughtlessly, uncritically, perhaps even copied partially from the stereotype of former authors, others showed his foibles and limitations. Some analyzed critically the material and the facts, others investigated Hutten's actions and motives from a psychological point of view. Only those authors who had kept a certain detachment from the subject succeeded in creating a more credible character, rather than a mouthpiece for their own ideologies. All works throw an interesting light upon the authors and their times.

First attempts to use Hutten as a literary subject were made by his contemporaries. Yet even then during his short

life Hutten had to experience how fleeting glory and admiration could be, succeeded by envy and defamation. "Lorbeer ist ein bittres Blatt dem, der's sucht und dem, der's hat."¹

Due to the political and religious events in Germany, the effect of Hutten - and of like minded men - subsided.² Some of their ideas were allowed to continue in Switzerland, because this country was willing to grant asylum to the fleeing emigrees. Switzerland was less restrictive and demonstrated greater tolerance to those who advocated new ideas. Thus, "wird die Schweiz im 16. Jahrhundert der Treffpunkt und Tummelplatz von Führern der geistigen Bewegung,...."³ Hutten's legacy is preserved.

A revival of interest in Hutten occurred with the arrival of the "Storm and Stress" period, a time which brought a new awareness of the problems of the people and called attention to the abuses of absolute and arbitrary rule. From this point on the interest and pre-occupation with this man was never again completely neglected. Schiller would have agreed with Hutten's function as the pamphleteer rather than the man of the sword when he expressed:

Das ist nicht des Deutschen Größe
Obzusiegen mit dem Schwert,
Vorurteile zu besiegen,
Männlich mit dem Wahn zu kriegen
Das ist seines Eifers wert.⁴

The expression against sedition or revolutionary ideas had to be tempered with a respect for tradition and order. The educated classes, the intelligentsia, was to aim for

ethical greatness. Yet shortly afterwards Ernst Moritz Arndt stated the national consciousness and desire for unity when he exclaimed: "Ein Volk zu sein, ist die Religion unserer Zeit."⁵

Hutten's spirit continued to exert its influence on each succeeding generation. As the times became repressive some were impressed by his courage and conviction. Hutten, too, had once become "unbequem" and was forced into exile.⁶

There were also times when Hutten was completely misunderstood and even exploited. While the ideas of the so-called "degenerated arts" were banished, Hutten, as a national hero, was manipulated in any conceivable way by the propagandists of the "Third Reich."⁷ Still, the crisis brought about by the totalitarianism rendered also a humanist reaction. When the negative, destructive changes in society became all too apparent, the call for freedom was heard again. The opposition addressed the people through "Huttenbriefe,"⁸ pamphlets informing them of the deception of their government.

In our own time Hutten's appeal has diminished. Nationalism has no longer the strong appeal as in the past. Perhaps only through the cynic's eyes do we read a cryptic mentioning of Hutten.⁹

The political and literary climate undergoes changes. But we also know that "Wer lebt, erzählt. Und wer erzählt, zählt auf: was er erlebt hat oder was er glaubt, erlebt zu haben; er läßt erkennen, was er erleben möchte oder was er befürchtet, erleben zu müssen. Ein Bekenntnis und ein

Geständnis steckt also insgeheim in jeder Erzählung - aber zugleich ein Element des Kampfes."¹⁰ Thus, we can confidently say that others will again find inspiration in the works and the person of Hutten.

Hutten showed the world that he had a tremendous power to arouse an interest for change. It was not for him to see truth and freedom triumph, yet he demonstrated that one must continue to fight for it. As a brilliant writer he was convinced that worlds could be opened through the power of the word, proving that "Those for whom words have lost their value are likely to find that ideas have also lost their value."¹¹ Great ideas of thought as in literature will endure. Their memory will be strong and hard to efface, and this knowledge alone will guarantee Hutten's future influence. A quote from Muschg seems an appropriate conclusion:

Das Wort ist unendlich mächtiger als das Schwert,
und wer es zu führen weiß in starker, weiser Hand,
ist viel mächtiger als der mächtigste der Könige.¹²
Wenn die Hand erstirbt, welche das Schwert geführt,
wird das Schwert mit der Hand begraben, und wie die
Hand in Staub zerfällt, so wird das Schwert ver-
zehrt. Aber wenn im Tode der Mund sich schließt,
aus dem das Wort gegangen, bleibt frei und leben-
dig das Wort. Über dasselbe hat der Tod keine
Macht, ins Grab kann es nicht verschlossen wer-
den....¹³

FOOTNOTES

Footnotes: Introduction

¹Otto Flake, Ulrich von Hutten, (Berlin: S. Fischer Verlag, 1930), p. 239. There he states: "...wenn einer, so brachte Hutten alle Voraussetzungen mit, um eine gebrauchsfähige Bildungssprache zu schaffen, die zur Darstellung geistiger, intellektueller Themen geeignet gewesen wäre."

²Max Spindler, ed., Handbuch der Bayerischen Geschichte, Vol. 3, (München: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1971), p. 588. Here we read: "Cochläus hielt Pirkheimer, Erasmus und Reuchlin für die 'drei Sterne am Himmel des deutschen Humanismus.'"

³Carl Krause, Helius Eobanus Hessus, Sein Leben und seine Werke, Vol. 1, p. 154. "Die Humanisten waren von jeher das Stiefkind der Universitäten, das fünfte Rad am Wagen..."

⁴Rudolf Endres, "Die Ausbreitung der Reformation," Handbuch der Bayerischen Geschichte, p. 199. "... (Hutten) der sprachgewaltige Humanist und leidenschaftliche Kämpfer gegen das Papsttum..."

⁵A motto attributed to Molière, found in DER SPIEGEL, 26, (29.Vol), p. 82. It is found in Molière, Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme, Act II, Scene II, p. 39, (Paris: Libraire Larousse, 1970). There it reads: Maître D'Armes: Je vous l'ai déjà dit; tout le secret de armes ne consiste qu'en deux choses: à donner et à ne point recevoir.

⁶Josef Lortz, Die Reformation in Deutschland, Vol. I, (Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 1949), p. 319. Lortz writes that Hutten remained a "literarischer Streiter," but his goal "die Ritter zu bewegen, blieb aus." He achieved, though, one success, a "propagandistischen Erfolg für das Reich der Realität."

⁷Karl Borinski, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, Vol. II, Seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters, (Stuttgart: Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1893), p. 49.

⁸Allgemeine deutsche Real-Encyclopedie, (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1824), p. 904. "Tyrannei, Unrecht und Betrug empörte ihn (Hutten) und er entlarvte mit aller Kraft der Feder..."

⁹Arnold Berger, ed., Die Sturmtruppen der Reformation, (Leipzig: Verlag von Philipp Reclam Jun., 1931), p. 19. About Hutten: "...kämpferisch...der rhetorisch-pathetische Stil lag ihm."

¹⁰Fr. Chr. Schlosser's Weltgeschichte für das deutsche Volk. (Oberhausen & Leipzig: A. Spaarmann'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1872²), Vol. 9, p. 327. See also: Harald Drewinc. Vier Gestalten aus dem Zeitalter des Humanismus. (St. Gallen: Verlag Zollikofer & Co., 1946), p. 28. He writes: "Im Feuer der Empörung und des Aufruhrs gab er die Wissenschaft preis und kämpft für ein freies Vaterland, für sein Recht, das ihm verweigert wurde, und schließlich um das nackte Dasein." He adds on p. 226: "Die rein humanistische Beschäftigung mit der Dichtung war für ihn ein Durchgangsstadium."

¹¹Lortz, p. 319.

¹²Schlosser, p. 331. See also Fritz Martini. Deutsche Literaturgeschichte. (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1965), p. 11f. There he writes: "Neben Luther tritt ... Ulrich von Hutten als unbändiger Anwalt eines nationalen Humanismus von revolutionärer Tendenz."

¹³Ludwig Schubart. Leben und Charakter Ulrichs von Hutten. (Leipzig: Jacobaersche Buchhandlung, 1817), p. 48. Schubart writes: "So viel scheint gewiß: wäre Hutten nach dem Rath seiner Freunde minder gewalthätig gegen das Papstthum zu Werk gegangen, hätte er sich durch sein Feuer nicht zu oft zu persönlichen Kränkungen hinreissen lassen, er würde nicht nur mehr ausgerichtet, sondern gewiß auch eine bleibende Stätte, und Ruhe unter seinen Mitkämpfern gefunden haben."

¹⁴Wolfgang Panzer. Ulrich von Hutten in litterarischer Hinsicht. (Nürnberg: J.C. Monath & J.F. Kußler, 1798), p. I.

¹⁵According to Josef Nadler. Literatur-Geschichte des deutschen Volkes. Dichtung und Schrifttum der deutschen Stämme und Landschaften. Vol. I. (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1939), p. 367.

¹⁶Robert Herndon Fife. "Ulrich von Hutten as a literary Problem," Germanic Review, XXIII (1948), p. 25. He states there: "The Pirkheimer letter of 1518... made such an impression on Goethe and found a place, in partial translation, in the seventeenth book of Dichtung und Wahrheit."

¹⁷Lortz, p. 51: "Humanismus besaß wirklich eine neubildende Kraft in Deutschland, ... wird zu einer nationalen Bewegung, zeigt dabei eine deutsche Derbheit, härtere Linien Hutten mit seinen Kampfrufen, ... das ist die stärkste Leistung."

¹⁸Fife, p. 29.

¹⁹Lewis W. Spitz. "Hutten - Militant Critic," The Religious Renaissance of the German Humanists. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963), p. 128.

²⁰Spitz, p. 128.

²¹Lortz, p. 67f.

²²Fife, p. 20.

²³Spitz, p. 111.

²⁴Spitz, p. 111.

²⁵Fife, p. 19.

²⁶Bruno Wilhelm. "Der Wandel des Urteils über Hutten," Schweizerische Rundschau, 29 (1929/30), p. 461.

²⁷Wilhelm, pp. 460-461.

²⁸Wilhelm Kaufmann-Bühler. Ulrich von Huttens humanistisch-politische Gedankenwelt. Diss. Heidelberg 1922. (Heidelberg: Universitätsbibliothek, 1923), p. 7.

²⁹Harald Drewinc. Vier Gestalten aus dem Zeitalter des Humanismus. (St. Gallen: Verlag Zöllighofer & Co., 1946), p. 18.

³⁰Jost Hermand. Unbequeme Literatur. Literatur und Geschichte. (Heidelberg: Lothar Stiehm Verlag, 1971), p. 15.

³¹Schlosser, p. 329.

³²Siegfried Szamatolski. Ulrich von Huttens deutsche Schriften. (Straßburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1891), p. 14. See also: Wolfgang Stämmeler. Von der Mystik zum Barock. (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1950), p. 120.

³³Schlosser, p. 326: "...Hutten hatte nicht, wie die anderen Schriftsteller, einen langsamen mittelbaren Einfluß, sondern er wirkte wie der Blitz augenscheinlich vernichtend."

³⁴Drewinc, p. 276.

³⁵Schlosser, p. 327.

³⁶Lortz, p. 67.

³⁷Lortz, pp. 67-68.

³⁸Johann Gottfried Herder. Der Teutsche Merkur. (Weimar: 3H, 1776), p. 3.

³⁹Georg Ellinger. "Das Huttenbild in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart," Westermanns Monatshefte, 141 (Oktober 1926/27), p. 166. He writes: "...in mächtiger Steigerung baut sich sein schriftstellerisches Werk auf... ganz entfaltet sich sein Wesen erst, wenn er seiner Lebensaufgabe bewußt zum Vertreter des nationalen Gedankens wird....In der Form des Epigramms, der Invektive, der Satire, des Dialogs kleidet er seine Angriffe...."

⁴⁰Szamatolski, p. 10.

⁴¹Ellinger, p. 161.

⁴²Julius Schall. Ulrich von Hutten. (Halle a.d. Saale: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1890), p. 23. He writes: "Beatus Rhenanus nennt..., zwar mit etwas Übertriebung in einem Schreiben an Zwingli, Hutten den kühnsten aller Sterblichen."

⁴³Reinhard Buchwald. Schiller, Leben und Werk. (Wiesbaden: Insel Verlag, 1959), p. 688.

⁴⁴Kuno Francke. Personality in German Literature before Luther. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1916), p. 209f.: "With Lessing he shares the restless striving for truth and the indomitable courage of truth. He is akin to Heinrich von Kleist in his contempt of compromise and his unconditional surrender to a cause. Something of Ernst Moritz Arndt one seems to feel in his romantic enthusiasm for German nationality and his defiance of foreign fashion."

⁴⁵Friedrich Franz von Unruh. Hutten. (Stuttgart: Karl Gutbrod Verlag, 1935), p. 42.

⁴⁶Schubart, p. 29: "Und wie viele Köpfe und Herzen hat hinwiederum das Beispiel Huttens befruchtet?" This is typical for Schubart's opinion of Hutten.

⁴⁷See some examples in Appendix A.

⁴⁸Herbert Wolf. "Humanistische Einflüsse in der früh-protestantischen Literatur," Wirkendes Wort, 3, Vol. 20 (1970), p. 145.

⁴⁹This is from a comment I overheard during a conversation dealing with authors from the past as well as from the present.

⁵⁰Thomas A. Bailey. "The Mythmakers of American History," Journal of American History, 60 (June, 1968), p. 5. The statement to which I refer was part of the presidential address during the 1968 convention of the Organization of American Historians.

⁵¹Thomas Carlyle. The French Revolution. Vol. I. (London: 1898), p. 256.

⁵²Georg Voigt. "Ulrich von Hutten in der deutschen Litteratur." Diss. University of Leipzig, 1905, p. 7.

⁵³Other materials which deal in part with Ulrich von Hutten in literature are as follows:
1. Eduard Korrodi. "Ulrich von Hutten in deutscher Dichtung."

Wissen und Leben, 5 (1911), 27-41.

2. Wilhelm Kaufmann-Bühler. Ulrich von Huttens humanistisch-politische Gedankenwelt. Diss. University of Heidelberg, 1922. (Heidelberg: Universitätsbibliothek, 1923).

3. Eduard Korrodi. "Deutsche Huttendichtung vor C.F. Meyer," Neue Zürcher Zeitung, (26 Aug. 1923), Sec. 2, 1-2.

4. Georg Ellinger. "Das Huttenbild in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart," Westermanns Monatshefte, 141 (Oct., 1926), 159-167.

5. Bruno Wilhelm. "Der Wandel des Urteils über Hutten," Schweizerische Rundschau, 29 (1929/30), 457-464.

6. Albert Becker. "Hutten-Sickingen im Zeitenwandel," Beiträge zur Heimatkunde der Pfalz, 16 (Heidelberg, 1936).

7. Robert H. Fife. "Ulrich von Hutten as a Literary Problem," Germanic Review, XXIII (1948), 18-29.

8. Hans Joachim Wulscher. "Erasmus von Rotterdam im 19. Jahrhundert." Diss. Freie University Berlin, 1954.

9. Elisabeth Frenzel. "Hutten, Ulrich von," Stoffe der Weltliteratur. (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1970), pp. 329-331.

Footnotes: Chapter 1

¹Arnold Berger, ed. Satirische Feldzüge wider die Reformation. Thomas Murner/Daniel von Soest. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1967), p. 6.

²Eduard Korrode. "Ulrich von Hutten in deutscher Dichtung," Neue Schweizer Rundschau. 5, Vol. 9 (1911/12), 27.

³F.O.H. Schulz. Hutten. Ein Kampf ums Reich. (Berlin: Theodor Fritsch Verlag, 1939). On p. 75 he writes the following: "Manigfaltig war das Echo aus dem Lande. Von allen Seiten kamen Briefe. Auch Gedichte auf Hutten und Sickingen kamen in großer Zahl."

⁴Korrodi, p. 27.

⁵Otto Flake. Ulrich von Hutten. (Berlin: S. Fischer Verlag, 1929). Flake states: "In Eberlin hat man neuerdings den Verfasser des Liedes 'Ach edler Hutt aus Franken' und 'Ulrich von Hutten das edel Blut,' mit anderen Worten den Kunz Löffel sehn wollen. Die Hypothese hat viel für sich. An jenen Liedern fällt sofort auf, daß sie von einem theologisch gebildeten Mann geschrieben sein müssen." p. 319.

⁶Johannes Klein. Geschichte der Deutschen. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1960), p. 35.

⁷F.F.v. Unruh. Hutten. (Stuttgart: Karl Gutbrod Verlag, 1935), p. 37.

⁸Paul Kalkoff. Ulrich von Hutten und die Reformation. (Leipzig: Rudolf Haupt Kommissionsverlag, 1920), p. 431: "Das Gedicht entspricht Huttens Absichten und Anschauungen dabei in so korrekter sprachlicher und metrischer Form aus, daß man ernstlich vermuten darf, dieser Hans Breuning sei Hutten selbst gewesen." He adds on p. 420, note 1: "...das Lied des Hans Breuning 'Frisch uf mit reichem Schalle,' das in der Stimmung und Sprache diesem anerkannten Gedicht Huttens (Ich habs gewagt mit Sinnen) überraschend ähnlich ist. Die kaum abzuweisende Annahme seiner (Huttens) Autorschaft an dem Reiterliede muß die gleichzeitige Entstehung des andern Gedichts bestätigen."

⁹Walter Brecht. Die Verfasser der Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum. (Straßburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1904), p. 187.

¹⁰Wolfgang Stämmeler. Von der Mystik zum Barock. (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1950), p. 123.

¹¹Stämmeler, p. 123.

¹²David Friedrich Strauß. Ulrich von Hutten. (Meersburg & Leipzig: F.W. Hendel Verlag, 1930), p. 334.

¹³Crotus Rubeanus (1480-1539), his real name was Johannes Jäger from Dornheim-Arnstadt; he was a member of the Erfurt humanist circle.

¹⁴Strauß on p. 334: "...alle Kennzeichen deuten auf Crotus als Verfasser dieser Schriften...." And Brecht on p. 188, note 1: "Das Pseudonym erklärt Böcking wohl zutreffend: 'Corallus' verdeckt den Namen 'Rubeanus,' wie wenn er von 'rubere' und nicht von 'rubus' abgeleitet wäre: 'Abydenus' ist eine antike Bezeichnung eines die Gebrechen der Menschheit witzig durchhechelnden Spötters." He adds on p. 188: "Die Untersuchung gelangt zu demselben Ergebnis, wie das abschätzende Urteil." Hans Rupprich. Vom späten Mittelalter bis zum Barock. (München: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1970), p. 719, seemingly agrees: "Eduard Böcking und Walther Brecht schrieben aus inhaltlichen und formalen Gründen dem Crotus eine ganze Reihe in die Nähe der Epistolae obscurorum virorum gehörigen anonym und pseudonym erscheinenden Satiren zu." Hajo Holborn. Ulrich von Hutten. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968), p. 179 supports Crotus as the author of the abovementioned dialogues. Stämmeler, p. 123 refers to Nikolaus Gerbel as the possible author of these dialogues. He writes: "Die vielen Dialoge, die Nikolaus Gerbel (um 1485-1560) Ende 1520 erscheinen ließ, sind in Motiven und Tendenzen von Hutten abhängig,...schließlich erscheint Hutten selbst lebensvoll und wird von der Wahrheit mit Waffen des Geistes und des Christentums zum Kampf für das Vaterland gerüstet." Paul Merker. Der Verfasser des Eccius Dedolatus und anderer Reformationsdialoge. (Haale/Saale: Verlag von Max Niemeyer, 1923), p. 288, writes: "Resultat des sechsten Kapitels: Nicolaus Gerbelius ist der Verfasser der drei Murnersatiren, der drei Ecksatiren und der acht unter dem Pseudonym Abydenus Corallus Germ. gehenden Schriften."

¹⁵Breve submitted to the elector of Mainz (October 25, 1520). See: Siegfried Szamatolski. Ulrich von Huttens deutsche Schriften. (Straßburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1891), p. 60, note 2.

¹⁶Brecht, p. 218 states that this incident could be an allusion to the Viterbo affair when Hutten encountered some Frenchmen in a fight.

¹⁷Brecht, p. 219, note 1.

¹⁸All of these mentioned men had been active in the fight against the forces of the Reformation.

¹⁹Brecht, p. 221, note 1, states that this humanistic naive mixture of Christianity with ancient-pagan elements was typical, as evidenced in the peculiar compilation of Christi Tribunal with Plutonis carnifina and Tartarus.

²⁰Holborn, p. 179, where he follows the translation from Hutten Opus IV, p. 598. Hutten is here taking the role of a crusader like those of the "Deutschordensritter."

²¹Brecht, p. 222.

²²Friedrich Gaede. Humanismus, Barock, Aufklärung. (Bern, München: Francke Verlag, 1977), p. 36, says: "In Literaturwerken der Humanisten: dominierende Rolle allegorischer Personifikation ist unübersehbar."

²³Arnold Berger, ed. "Anmerkungen," Sturmtruppen der Reformation. (Leipzig: Verlag von Philipp Reclam Jun., 1931), p. 29, states: "Es ist die Sprache eines glühenden Huttenverehrs, der aber den bewunderten Helden zugleich brüderlich warnt, sein christliches Rittertum nicht mit unrecht vergossenem Blut zu beflecken."

²⁴Strauß, p. 94.

²⁵Barbara Könniker. Die deutsche Literatur der Reformationszeit. (München: Winkler Verlag, 1975), p. 90.

²⁶Könniker, p. 90.

²⁷Flake, p. 319.

²⁸Berger, p. 52.

²⁹Flake, p. 319.

³⁰Berger, p. 133. "I. Bundesgenosse."

³¹Berger, p. 133.

³²Alfred Götze, ed. "Das Kegelspiel" 1522), Flugschriften aus den ersten Jahren der Reformation. 3rd Vol., 6th Pamphlet, (Leipzig, 1909), p. 16. Th. Schiess. "Das Kegelspiel," Zwingliana. Vol. V, Nr. 4 (1930, Nr. 2), p. 143f. Schiess states that he is one "der aufmerksam, aber mit geringem Gefallen den bisherigen Verlauf der Bewegung (Reformation) verfolgt hat, am liebsten alles rückgängig machte und, besorgt um den Ausgang des Streites warnend seine Stimme erhebt:...." p. 145.

³³Könneker, p. 30.

³⁴Ernst Voss. "Koeegelspil," Modern Phililogy. 2 (1904/05), 3.

³⁵Voss, pp. 17ff.

³⁶Also known as Das Pariser Reformationsspiel von 1524. See: Karl Voretsch, ed. Das Pariser Reformationsspiel. (Halle a.S.: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1913).

³⁷Pamphlets and polemical dialogues were the preferred forms of circulation for the dissemination of ideas. The handling of the dialogue and Hutten's vividness had made them important teaching documents; this was followed by numerous people who wanted to circulate their views.

³⁸Helmut Röhr. Ulrich von Hutten und das Werden des deutschen Nationalbewußtseins. (Hamburg: Paul Evert Verlag, 1936) p. 38, note 76.

³⁹Carl Krause. Helio Eobanus Hessus. Sein Leben und seine Werke. Vol. I. (Nieukopp: B. de Graaf, 1963), p. 294. The author refers to a letter from Erasmus to Eoban from October 19, 1518: "...erfreute mich der Lieblichkeit Huttens...."

⁴⁰Preserved Smith. A Key to the Colloquies of Erasmus. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1927), p. 18: "Whereas some features of the picture in the present dialogue recall Hutten, others are taken from the typical landsknecht." And Strauß, p. 501, has this to say: "...auch auf Hutten soll Erasmus (in)...hämischer Weise in einigen seiner Dialoge angespielt haben...."

⁴¹Smith, 47.

⁴²Eppendorf was an ambiguous, perhaps shady acquaintance of Hutten.

⁴³Smith, pp. 47-48. He writes: "Thomas Brun, a Carthusian of Basel who had recently left the cloister, married and contracted syphilis."

⁴⁴Strauß, p. 501.

⁴⁵Also known as Schwamm des Erasmus zur Abwischung von Huttens Anspritzungen.

⁴⁶Berger, p. 28.

⁴⁷Ludwig Schubart. Leben und Charakter Ulrichs von Hutten. (Leipzig: Jacobaersche Buchhandlung, 1817), p. 150.

⁴⁸Schubart, p. 150.

⁴⁹Huizinga as quoted in: Heinrich Grimm. Ulrich von Hutten. Wille und Schicksal. (Göttingen: Musterschmidt, 1971), p. 131.

⁵⁰Johann Huizinga. Erasmus and the Age of the Reformation. (New York: Harper & Row, Publ., 1957), p. 159.

⁵¹Grimm, p. 131.

⁵²Johannes Hanssen. Geschichte des deutschen Volkes seit dem Ende des Mittelalters. Vol. 2. (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1897), p. 271.

⁵³Janssen, p. 271. He writes: "In seinem 'Schwamm' rechnete er (Erasmus) Hutten zu den Menschen, welche 'unter dem Vorwande des Evangeliums lediglich auf Beute und Plünderung ausgehen, berechtigt zu sein glauben, einen Wanderer auf offener Straße zu berauben, und nachdem sie ihr Geld bei Wein, Dirnen und Spiel durchgebracht, einem Jeden von dem Etwas zu gewinnen, Fehde anzukündigen.'" (Janssen was a Roman Catholic clergyman.)

⁵⁴Holborn, p. 177.

⁵⁵Karl Hagen. Deutschlands literarische und religiöse Verhältnisse im Reformationszeitalter. Vol 2. (Frankfurt a.M.: Verlag von Karl Theodor Volker, 1868), p. 75, "...natürlich kommt es ihm nicht immer auf die strenge Wahrheit an, sondern er verdreht die Thatsachen und Aeusserungen auf die perfideste Weise."

⁵⁶Hagen, p. 77; quotes Böcking, Hutten Opera. Vol. IV.

⁵⁷Eobanus Hessus was Eoban Koch from Hesse before he Latinized his name. He was one of the humanists and a co-author of the Epistolae obscurorum virorum.

⁵⁸Krause, p. 113, writes: "In der Schlußelegie der Querelen an die deutschen Dichter nannte er (Hutten) ihn (Hessus) den größten aller lebenden Dichter."

⁵⁹Krause, p. 113.

⁶⁰Krause, p. 322, states: "Das für die Erfurter Schule so folgenschwere Ereignis wurde von Eoban zum Gegenstande einer Reihe schwungvoller Elegien gemacht, welche den Titel führen: Zum Lobe und Verteidigung des evangelischen Doctors Martin Luther. (Mai 1521) Es sind deren sechs;...." One of those is entitled Ad Vldaricum Huttenum Equitem Germanum ac Poeta nobilissimu. De causa Lutheriana. Elegam I.

⁶¹Krause, p. 326.

⁶²Grimm, p. 119, states: "Eobanus Hessus, der zugleich im Namen anderer Erfurter Freunde ihn (Hutten) mit einem Gedicht gemahnt hatte, zu den Waffen zu greifen,...ist ein Beleg für die Anteilnahme der Erfurter Akademiker an Huttens Kampf."

⁶³Schubart, p. 152.

⁶⁴According to Georg Ellinger. "Das Huttenbild in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart," Westermanns Monatshefte. 141 (Okt. 1926), p. 162, was Lotichius the greatest of the new-Latin poets and a friend of Melanchthon. The original was in Latin and appears here in the author's translation. See also: Alois Schreiber, ed. Gedichte von Ulrich von Hutten und einigen seiner Zeitgenossen. (Heidelberg: Joseph Engelmann, 1810), p. XXV. There is the following translation:

Huttens Schatte, sey mir gegrüßt! Du Asche des
Dichters,
Dem eine Insel im See endlich die Ruhe gewährt,
Sey mir gegrüßt, o Freund. Du hast dir mühend
errungen,
Ruh' im Grabe. Wohlan! gib sie dem Todten, o
Grab.
Nimm dir Veilchen, die hier ich streue, nimm auch
die Thränen,
Tapferer Ritter! Der Tod, Er nur gewärte dir
Glück.
Glücklich im Tode bist du; du siehst die größeren
Uebel
Deines Landes nicht mehr, (dem du, ein Rächer er-
schienest;)
Seit ein höheres Vaterland, der Himmel, dich auf-
nahm.
Doch auf Erden erwächst, Jahre nach Jahren, dein
Ruhm.
Enkel werden dich einst, dich, glückliche Asche,
verehren;
Und so leb' wohl, ewig, o Redlicher, wohl.
Petr. Lotich.

⁶⁵Schubart, p. 153.

⁶⁶Reference is made to the leader Mauritius of the Theban Legion which had been ordered by Caesar Maximian (286-305) to persecute Christians. Since this legion, including its leader, were Christians, they refused to follow orders and were consequently executed.

⁶⁷Schubart, pp. 180-181; it is his translation.

⁶⁸Stammler, p. 129.

⁶⁹Stammeler, p. 129. He mentions that above poem, found in Huttens Schriften. Vol II. pp. 355-357.

⁷⁰Kalkoff, p. 586.

⁷¹Kalkoff, p. 586.

⁷²Kalkoff, p. 586. He relates Melanchthon's thought: "Der du zerfleischst den beklagenswerten Gestorbenen, nenne dich Nachtigall nicht, nenne dich Geier vielmehr!" See also: p. 585, and Ellinger, p. 162. Camerius. Vita Melanchthon. (Leipzig, 1566), p. 94. It contains the reply in Luscinium proscindetum mortum Huttenum:

Cum laceres miseror crudeli carmine manes,
Nomen erit vultur, non Philomela, tibi.

⁷³Schubart claims that this play originated in Paris and was performed before the French king. It was Burckhard who had drawn public attention to this play. See: p. 161. Voretsch states, p. 3f.,: "Zuletzt hat Ludwig Geiger eine eingehende Untersuchung des Stückes vorgenommen: Das Spiel zu Paris, (Schnorrs Archiv für Literaturgeschichte V, 1876, 543-54). Er gibt neue Belege für die Abhängigkeit des deutschen Textes von dem lateinischen, sucht den Verfasser, wegen der Einführung Huttens, in Basel und erklärt schließlich Guillaume Farel, den Reformator der Westschweiz, für den Verfasser des lateinischen Originals." The author, however, doubts this and thinks that the play might have originated in France, though there is no proof for that. (Pp. 5-7).

⁷⁴Ludwig Geiger. Zwei Abhandlungen über reformationsgeschichtliche Schriften. (Leipzig: Archiv für Literaturgeschichte, 5 (1875/76), pp. 543-67). The author describes his investigation regarding the Spiel. Voretsch also goes into some detail in his "Introduction" about the Spiel.

⁷⁵Ludwig Geiger. "Ulrich von Hutten," Vorträge und Versuche. (Dresden: Verlag von Ehlermann, 1890), p. 56. This account follows closely Geiger's narration.

⁷⁶He was Melanchthon's son-in-law, also a friend of Hessus.

⁷⁷Gustav Schäfer, ed. Die Mark Brandenburg und Berlin im Spiegel der Dichtung. (Berlin, 1926), p. 70.

⁷⁸The original version shows Sabinus as a representative and prominent expert of the new-Latin poetry, having its beginning with the ideas of the humanists. See also: Herbert Wolf. "Humanistische Einflüsse in der Frühprotestantischen Literatur," Wirkendes Wort. 3 (1970), 150f.

⁷⁹Hermann Walser. Ulrich von Hutten. (Zürich und Leipzig: Grethlein, & Co., nd.) p. 351, thinks that it could have been Moritz von Hutten.

⁸⁰Hans Gustav Keller. Hutten und Zwingli. (Aarau: Verlag H.R. Sauerländer & Co., 1952), p. 69, note 34, states: "Gessners Bibliotheca vniversalis (1545) 342 a-b. H II 353 al 1-5 wenn Strauß erzählt (S. 469-470), ein fränkischer Ritter habe auf dem Grab einen Stein mit einer lateinischen Inschrift errichten lassen, so stimmt das mit Gessners Bericht nicht überein. Die Stelle bei Gessner lautet (342 a-b) "...in lacus Tigurini insula, ubi nuper epitaphium, nobili quodam Franco procurante, lapidi sepulchrali incisum ab amicis ei positum est...." Heller states further, p. 69, that the grave marker had come from a Zürich admirer in 1545. Julius Schall. Ulrich von Hutten. (Halle a.d. Saale: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1890), p. 55, gives the following translation:

Hier ruht ein edler Ritter, ein Redner beredt vor
andern,
Hutten der Sänger und Held, mächtig im Lied und
durchs Schwert.

⁸¹Merker, p. VII (Vorwort).

Footnotes: Chapter 2.

¹Heinrich Grimm. Ulrich von Hutten. (Göttingen: Musterschmidt, 1971), p. 135.

²Helmut Scheuer. "Ulrich von Hutten: Kaisertum und deutsche Nation," Daphnis 2 (1972), 152.

³H.A. Korff. Geist der Goethezeit. (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 1966), p. 105.

⁴Franz Schulz. Klassik und Romantik der Deutschen. Vol. 1, 3rd Ed., (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1959), p. 208.

⁵Richard Newald, Von Klopstock bis zu Goethes Tod. 1750-1832. (München: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1964), p. 94.

⁶C.M. Wieland. Sämtliche Werke. (Leipzig: G.M. Göschen'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1858), p. 256.

⁷Wieland, p. 259.

⁸Wieland, p. 260.

⁹Eduard Korrodi. "Ulrich von Hutten in der deutschen Dichtung," Neue Schweizer Rundschau, 5, Bd. 9 (1911/12), p. 28.

¹⁰Christoph Martin Wieland. Werke. Vol. 3. (München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1967), p. 257.

¹¹C.T. Wagenseil. Ulrich von Hutten. (Nürnberg: Friedrich Campe, 1823), p. 257.

¹²Schulz, p. 41f. There: "...das von der Zensur beanstandete Gedicht "Gelübte" mit dem Schluss:

So spotte jeder der Gefahr,
Die Freiheit ruft uns allen;

So wills das Recht und es bleibt wahr,
 Wie auch die Lose fallen
 Ja, sinken wir der Übermacht,
 So woll'n wir doch zur Todesnacht
 Glorreich hinüber wallen.

Dies vielberufene Kampflied (von Friedrich Schlegel) ist - wer will es aus dem Ganzen überhören? - mit gewissen Tönen der volkstümlichen Markigkeit von Huttens Trutzgesang 'Ich hab's gewagt' von 1521 verpflichtet,...."

So one can see that Hutten was known and had inspired some. But to set him a memorial in literature was another thing, something left to be done by later writers who unfortunately did not have the gift to do justice to his memory.

¹³Letter from Schiller to Christian Gottfried Körner, Volkstadt, July 27, 1788, in: Bodo Lecke, ed. Friedrich von Schiller. Von den Anfängen bis 1795. Vol. I. (München: Ernst Heimerl Verlag, 1969), p. 295.

¹⁴Ulrich von Hutten. Deutsche Schriften. Ed. by Peter Ukena. (München: Winkler Verlag, 1970), p. 332. Hutten writes: "...Weh über mich, Wilibald, wenn ich mich als adlig erachten wollte, ohne diesen Namen durch meine eigene Leistung zu verdienen." Augsburg, den 25. Okt. 1518. Des Ritters Ulrich von Hutten Brief an den Nürnberger Patrizier Willibald Pirkheimer, in dem er über sein Leben Rechenschaft ablegt.

¹⁵Goethes Werke. Vol. X. (Hamburg: Christian Wegner Verlag, 1964), p. 631. There in Faust I, "Nacht," 682/683: "Was du ererbt von deinen Vätern hast, / erwirb es, um es zu besitzen!"

¹⁶William A. Cooper. Goethe Jahrbuch 1911. Vol. 32. (Frankfurt a.M.: Rütten & Loening, 1911), p. 182. Korrodi says of it ironically: "...das (the book) leider froh ist, wenn es Regenwürmer findet." Korrodi, p. 28, commenting on the reference to Faust I, lines 682f.

¹⁷Wagner had himself acquainted with Hutten, as he had come out in 1801 with a German edition of Ulrich von Huttens fünf Reden wider den Herzog Ulrich von Württemberg.

¹⁸"Thuiskon:" Tuisto, Tuisco, -s: der erdentsprossene Gott, nach Tacitus der Stammvater der Germanen. Der Sprach-Brockhaus. 7. Erneuerte Auflage. (Wiesbaden: F.A.

Brockhaus, 1968), p. 707.

¹⁹"Erebus:" this name signifies darkness, given to the gloomy section of the underworld which was transversed by mortal souls on their way either to the beatitude of Elysium or to the torments of Tartarus. Encyclopedia Americana. Vol 10. (New York, N.Y.: Americana Corporation, 1969), p. 471.

²⁰Korrodi, p. 30.

²¹Meant is here the Austrian Emperor Francis II (1768-1835), under whose rule Metternich had helped Russia to squelch the Polish uprising.

²²Lonely, away from Germany, Platen died in Italy, his hopes utterly dashed, reminding the reader of a similar fate, that of Hutten on Ufenau, Switzerland.

²³Pseudonym for Anton Alexander Graf Auersberg. Having been born into nobility had caused him an inner conflict, which he "solved" by adopting a bourgeois name.

²⁴According to Der Tagesspiegel. In "Spiegel der Woche," Sept. 5, 1976.

²⁵Korrodi, p. 33.

²⁶Originally written in 1830, this work reappeared in a shortened version in 1838, which had not this Hutten episode included. Perhaps this was due to a feeling of ineffectiveness of both, the poet and the episode of this epic, thus having led Grün to drop this part.

²⁷Pseudonym for Nikolaus Niembsch von Strehlenau.

²⁸Lenau had planned an epic trilogy in which Hus was to be the first hero, Savonarola the second, and Hutten the last one. See: Lenaus Werke. Ed. by Carl Schaeffer. Vol I. (Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, n.d.), p. 60.

²⁹Helmut Lamprecht, ed. Deutschland, Deutschland. (Bremen: Carl Schünemann Verlag, 1969), p. 573f.

³⁰Other names for Goethe: Stabilitätsnarr, Fürstendiener, seniler Hofrat (Börne), Weiberheld, egoistischer Aristokrat, Verächter der republikanischen Literaturverfassung. See: Jost Hermand. "Nachwort," Das Junge Deutschland. (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam Jun., 1966), p. 372.

³¹Korrodi calls him a "Halbdichter," p. 32.

³²Korrodi, p. 33.

³³Referred is here to the reader of tyrants, Hofrat Dingelstadt, who was quite active with his satires.

³⁴Emil Bucher. Ritter Ulrich von Hutten. (Worms: A. Kranzbühler, 1840), p. 3.

³⁵Bucher, p. 4.

³⁶Bucher, p. 120.

³⁷Robert Weber. Huttens Abschied. Stimme aus der Reformation. (Zürich: Mahler und Weber, 1849), p. 30.

³⁸Weber, "Anmerkungen," p. 32.

³⁹Herman Kurtz. "Ostern 1525," Deutschland, Deutschland. Ed. by Helmut Lamprecht. (Bremen: Carl Schurmann Verlag, 1969), p. 77.

⁴⁰Meant is here Martin Luther, the German reformator.

⁴¹Kurtz, p. 79.

⁴²Lamprecht, p. 582.

⁴³Schurz had begun to work out some scenes for his tragedy "Ulrich von Hutten," and he had received enthusiastic support from his friend Althaus. However, he explains then in his Lebenserinnerungen: "Eines Morgens gegen Ende Februar 1848 - wenn ich mich recht erinnere, war es ein Sonntagmorgen - saß ich ruhig in meinem Dachzimmer am Ulrich arbeitend, als

plötzlich einer meiner Freunde atemlos zu mir hereinstürzte und rief: 'Da sitzt Du! Weißt Du es denn noch nicht?' 'Nun was denn?' 'Die Franzosen haben Louis Phillippe fortgejagt und die Republik proklamiert!' Ich warf die Feder hin - und der Ulrich ist seitdem nie wieder berührt worden." Carl Schurz. Lebenserinnerungen Vol. I. (Berlin: Verlag Georg Reimer, 1906), p. 116.

Schurz had been acquainted with the political literature of the likes of Freiligrath, Herwegh, and Heine. His youthful enthusiasm made him decide to support the fight for the elimination of social injustice. And Spael writes in this context: "...die großen Charaktere der Geschichte...ziehen ihn magisch an....Kühn faßt er den Ritter Ulrich von Hutten beim Schopf, der mit seiner Losung 'Ich hab's gewagt!' ihn mächtig imponiert. Aber es ist ein verfehltes Bemühen, nachzumachen, was Shakespeare vorgemacht hat. Oft genug entfällt die Feder seinen Händen...es will nimmer gelingen." Wilhelm Spael. Karl Schurz. Vol. I. (Essen: Verlag Friede- beul & Koenen, K.G., 1948), p. 80.

⁴⁴Georg Wittkowski. The German Drama of the Nineteenth Century. (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1909), p. 45.

⁴⁵Wittkowski, p. 45.

⁴⁶Helmut Schanze. Drama im bürgerlichen Realismus. (1850-1890), (Frankfurt a.M.: Vittorio Klostermann, 1973), p. 72.

⁴⁷Georg Ellinger. "Huttenbild in der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart," Westermanns Monatshefte, Nr. 141 (Oct., 926/27), 164.

⁴⁸Ellinger, p. 164.

⁴⁹Ferdinand Lassalle. "Franz von Sickingen," Gesammelte Reden und Schriften. Vol. I. Ed. by Eduard Bernstein. (Berlin: Paul Cassirer, 1919), pp. 169-170.

⁵⁰Lassalle, p. 171.

⁵¹Lassalle, p. 229-230.

⁵²Lassalle, p. 343.

⁵³Lassalle, p. 345.

⁵⁴Since this is a rather lengthy play, incorporating in addition a great number of actors, this proved to be impractical and could only be considered after extensive changes had been made.

⁵⁵Gustav Schröder. Frühes Leipziger Arbeitertheater. Friedrich Bosse. (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1972), p. XXI.

⁵⁶Peter von Rüden. Sozialdemokratisches Arbeitertheater. (1848-1914). (Frankfurt a.M.: Athenäum Verlag, 1973), p. 12.

⁵⁷A.R. Manfred Wittich. (Leipzig: Richard Lipinski, 1902), p. 12.

⁵⁸Manfred Wittich. Ulrich von Hutten. Ein Reformati-onsspiel. (Leipzig: Commissions-Verlag von E. Thiele, 1886), p. 9.

⁵⁹Wittich, p. 13.

⁶⁰Wittich, p. 18.

⁶¹Wittich, p. 20.

⁶²Wittich, p. 20.

⁶³Johann Te(t)zel, the German monk had caught Luther's ire for his preaching of indulgences to raise money for the construction of St. Peter's Church in Rome.

⁶⁴Wittich, p. 21.

⁶⁵Wittich, p. 25.

⁶⁶von Rüden, p. 66. This author mentions the infamous "Sozialistengesetze." These allowed the authorities to expell dissenters from the city, in this case from Leipzig.

⁶⁷Wittich, p. 27.

⁶⁸Wittich, p. 27.

⁶⁹Wittich, p. 27.

⁷⁰Wittich, p. 24.

⁷¹Wittich, p. 24.

⁷²Schröder, p. XV.

⁷³Schröder, p. XIX.

⁷⁴Friedrich Bosse. "Die Alten und die Jungen," in Schröder, p. 9.

⁷⁵Bosse, p. 11.

⁷⁶Bosse, p. 12.

⁷⁷Bosse, p. 12.

⁷⁸Bosse, p. 18.

⁷⁹Bosse, pp. 18-19.

⁸⁰Schröder, p. 109.

⁸¹Gustav Adolphi. Ulrich von Hutten. (Berlin Friedländische Buchdruckerei, 1872), p. 72.

⁸²Pseudonym for Karl Helfferich who became later for a while deputy chancellor and also a leader of the right wing opposition in the German Reichstag.

⁸³F. Erich Helf. Ulrich von Hutten. (Dresden & Leipzig: E. Pierson's Verlag, 1893), p. 3.

⁸⁴Helf, p. 20.

⁸⁵Helf, p. 77.

⁸⁶Helf, p. 81.

⁸⁷Helf, p. 107.

⁸⁸Protesilar, also Protesilaus, was the first Greek killed during the landing of the Greek forces in the Trojan war.

⁸⁹Helf, p. 134.

⁹⁰Helene Adolf, ed. Im neuen Reich. (Leipzig: Verlag von Philipp Reclam Jun., 1932), p. 32.

⁹¹Meant is here the representation of the two schools: the classical and the naturalistic.

⁹²Adolf, p. 14.

⁹³Wittkowski, p. 134.

⁹⁴Wildenbruch wrote also a play, Die Tochter des Erasmus (1899). Hutten plays a major role in it.

The author contrasts Hutten, a man dedicated to the inevitable changes of progress, but at the same time with feelings and compassion, a man believing that good will triumph, an optimist who strives for the just cause even when circumstances do not warrant this any longer, with Erasmus, the non-committal, calculating, self-seeking character, who is full of malicious joy, over-ambitious, insidious, and lurking, one who does not take a stand, afraid to compromise and one who would deny his association with others if that denial would benefit him; he is scornful of those upon whom bad times have fallen.

⁹⁵Ernst von Wildenbruch. Gesammelte Werke. Ed. by Bertold Litzmann. Vol. 15. (Berlin: G. Grotesche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1924), p. 551.

⁹⁶von Wildenbruch, p. 551.

⁹⁷Adolf, p. 185. There in "Anmerkungen:" "1 April 1895 - Die Mehrheit des Reichstages hatte sich geweigert, dem Fürsten Bismarck zu seinem 80. Geburtstag Glückwünsche zu schicken. Das Präsidium kam damals durch Verzicht der Konservativen und Nationalen an das Zentrum." (This party was the Catholic party which had previously been involved in the "Kulturkampf," instigated by Bismarck.)

⁹⁸Adolf, p. 184.

⁹⁹Adolf, p. 185.

¹⁰⁰Wilhelm Bennicke. "Hutten Buchdrucker," Hessenland. 19 (105), 226.

¹⁰¹Bennicke, p. 226.

Footnotes: Chapter 3.

¹Johanna Presler-Flohr had spent some time in the Schlüchtern district, Hutten's home county, where she had lived in her younger years. This permitted her to become thoroughly acquainted with Hutten's history and his ideas.

²The reference is to The Treatise of Lorenzo Valla on the Donation of Constantine. Text and translation by Christopher B. Coleman. (New York: Russell & Russell, 1922).

³Johanna Presler-Flohr. Ulrich von Hutten. (Berlin: Marquardt & Co., n.d.), p. 3.

⁴Presler-Flohr, p. 98.

⁵Presler-Flohr, p. 106.

⁶Presler-Flohr, p. 121.

⁷Presler-Flohr, p. 171.

⁸Presler-Flohr, pp. 171-172.

⁹Presler-Flohr, p. 190.

¹⁰Presler-Flohr, p. 195.

¹¹This statement is on the title page of Karl Kelber. Der deutsche Hutten. (Dresden: Kommissionsverlag von C. Ludwig Ungelenk, 1910).

¹²Kelber, p. 10.

¹³Kelber, p. 26.

¹⁴Kelber, p. 28.

¹⁵Kelber, p. 32.

¹⁶Pope Gregor VII had forced the German Emperor Henry IV in 1077 to come to Canossa and beg for forgiveness. This the emperor did, barefoot in the snow and in a beggar's habit. Hutten is also reminded of Pope Leo X, the waring pope, who was engaged in preserving and extending his secular powers and his secular state.

¹⁷Kelber, p. 45.

¹⁸Kelber, p. 53.

¹⁹Kelber, p. 97.

²⁰Kelber, p. 102.

²¹Kelber, p. 107.

²²Kelber, p. 159.

²³Kelber, p. 162.

²⁴Kelber, p. 193. A reference to the establishment of the Prusso-German Empire and the rule of the Hohenzollern.

²⁵Kelber, p. 207.

²⁶Kelber, p. 212.

²⁷Kelber, p. 213.

²⁸Konrad Beißwanger, ed. Stimmen der Freiheit. (Nürnberg: Verlag von Konrad Beißwanger, 1914), p. 758.

²⁹Beißwanger, p. 758. This is an obvious reference to the Epistolae obscurorum virorum, to which Hutten had contributed.

³⁰Alfred Joeckel. Ulrich von Hutten. (Frankfurt a.M.: Verlag Kritik, 1911), p. 6.

³¹Named in the text is the historical figure of Barthlomaus Zehender, a cleric from Mainz and an opponent of Hutten. See: David Friedrich Strauß. Ulrich von Hutten. (Meersburg & Leipzig: F.W. Hendel Verlag, 1930), p. 216.

³²Joeckel, p. 16.

³³Reference is made to Wolfgang Angst, a friend of Hutten in 1510, a humanist and factor of the Schöffersche Druckerei. Strauß, p. 249.

³⁴Joeckel, p. 19.

³⁵Joeckel, p. 19.

³⁶Joeckel, p. 20.

³⁷Joeckel, p. 22.

³⁸Joeckel, p. 23.

³⁹Joeckel, p. 26.

⁴⁰Joeckel, p. 32.

⁴¹Joeckel, p. 48.

⁴²Joeckel, p. 53.

⁴³Joeckel, p. 53.

⁴⁴Joeckel, p. 60.

⁴⁵Adalbert Luntowski. Hutten. (Leipzig: Erich Matthes, 1916), p. 10.

⁴⁶Luntowski, p. 10.

⁴⁷Luntowski, p. 10.

⁴⁸Luntowski, p. 11.

⁴⁹Luntowski, p. 11.

⁵⁰Phaeton was, according to Greek mythology, a name given to the son of Helios, the sun god. He had received permission from his father to drive the sun wagon. However, he came too close to earth, causing an immense fire. Thus, Zeus hurled him then through a bolt of lightening into the Eridanus River.

⁵¹Luntowski, p. 12.

⁵²Luntowski, p. 15.

⁵³Luntowski, p. 15.

⁵⁴Thesis play: a play that advances, illustrates, or defends a thesis. The thesis could be in this case a proposition to be proved or advanced without proof, esp. in contrast with a negation as the proposition or point of view by an argument. See: Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language. (Springfield, Mass.: G. & C. Merriam, Publ., 1968), p. 2374.

⁵⁵This is not in line with historical facts, for the real Ulrich von Hutten was the first-born son.

⁵⁶Georg-Robert Kerl. Hutten. (Jenna: Dr. Kerls Verlag, 1918), p. 8.

⁵⁷Kerl, p. 10.

⁵⁸Kerl, p. 10.

⁵⁹Kerl, p. 15.

⁶⁰Kerl, p. 15.

⁶¹Kerl, p. 24f.

⁶²Kerl, p. 42.

⁶³Kerl, p. 42.

⁶⁴Kerl, pp. 47-48.

⁶⁵Kerl, p. 49.

⁶⁶Kerl, p. 54.

⁶⁷Kerl, p. 55.

⁶⁸Kerl, p. 68.

Footnotes: Chapter 4.

¹K.A. Horst. Die deutsche Literatur der Gegenwart.
(München: Nyphenburger Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1957), p. 9.

²Hans Freiherr von Hammerstein. Ritter, Tod und Teufel.
(Leipzig: C.F. Amelang Verlag, n.d.), p. 130.

³Hammerstein, p. 133.

⁴Hammerstein, p. 133.

⁵Hammerstein, p. 133.

⁶Hammerstein, p. 204.

⁷Hammerstein, p. 206.

⁸Hammerstein, p. 372.

⁹Hammerstein, p. 204.

¹⁰Hammerstein, p. 397.

¹¹Hans Freiherr von Hammerstein. Mangold von Eberstein.
(Leipzig: C.F. Amelang Verlag, n.d.), e.g. pp. 22, 27, 53,
68, etc. These were taken in part from: Uhland's Volkslieder
and Simrock's Sammlung deutscher Sprichwörter. From hereon
Mangold will be referred to as Hammerstein (I).

¹²Hammerstein (I), p. 390.

¹³Hammerstein (I), p. 390.

¹⁴Hammerstein (I), p. 472.

¹⁵Hammerstein (I), p. 472.

¹⁶Hammerstein (I), p. 486.

¹⁷Will Vesper. Die Wanderung des Herrn Ulrich von Hutten. Tagebuch-Roman. (Gütersloh: Verlag C. Bertelsmann, n.d.); on p. 13 the author mentions that Hutten had been sent to the monastery to make up for the sins committed by his father.

¹⁸Vesper, p. 14.

¹⁹Vesper, p. 15.

²⁰Vesper, p. 25.

²¹Martin Luther. "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott."
3rd stanza, lines 2-4.

²²Vesper, p. 38.

²³Vesper, p. 39f.

²⁴Vesper, p. 43.

²⁵Vesper, p. 53f.

²⁶Vesper, p. 56.

²⁷Vesper, p. 51.

²⁸Vesper, p. 51.

²⁹Vesper, p. 103.

³⁰Vesper, p. 149.

³¹Vesper, p. 158.

³²Vesper, p. 173.

³³Vesper, p. 174.

³⁴Vesper, p. 177.

³⁵Vesper, p. 183.

³⁶Vesper, p. 50.

³⁷Vesper, p. 112.

³⁸Vesper, p. 154.

³⁹Vesper, p. 54.

⁴⁰Vesper, p. 55.

⁴¹Hansfritz Sohns. Trutz, Bruder Tod! (Leipzig: Heinrich Blömer's Verlagsbuchhandlung, n.d.), p. 42.

⁴²Sohns, p. 46.

⁴³Sohns, p. 53.

⁴⁴Sohns, p. 54.

⁴⁵Sohns, p. 54.

⁴⁶Hermann Walser. Ulrich von Hutten. (Zürich & Leipzig: Grethlein & Co., n.d.), p. 27.

⁴⁷Walser, p. 77.

⁴⁸Walser, p. 85.

⁴⁹Walser, p. 108.

⁵⁰Walser, p. 121.

⁵¹Walser, p. 141.

⁵²Walser, p. 145.

⁵³Walser, p. 161.

⁵⁴Walser, p. 174.

⁵⁵Walser, p. 184f.

⁵⁶Walser, p. 227.

⁵⁷Walser, p. 242.

⁵⁸Walser, p. 243.

⁵⁹Walser, p. 244.

⁶⁰Walser, p. 262.

⁶¹Walser, p. 263.

⁶²Walser, p. 30.

⁶³Walser, p. 39.

⁶⁴Walser, p. 39.

⁶⁵Walser, p. 131.

⁶⁶Walser, p. 147.

⁶⁷Walser, p. 36.

⁶⁸Walser, p. 220.

⁶⁹Walser, p. 226.

⁷⁰Hastro (Hans Strobel). Hutten. (Rüsum i. Holstein: Dithmarschen Verlag, n.d.), p. 10.

⁷¹Hastro, p. 17.

⁷²Hastro, p. 29.

⁷³Hastro, p. 31.

⁷⁴Hastro, p. 32.

⁷⁵Hastro, p. 49.

⁷⁶Hastro, p. 54.

⁷⁷Hastro, p. 71.

⁷⁸Hastro, p. 105.

⁷⁹Hastro, p. 135.

⁸⁰Hastro, p. 138.

⁸¹Hastro, p. 148.

⁸²Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. Faust I. Lines 736-741.

⁸³Hastro, p. 151.

⁸⁴Wolauff Wolumb Woldran. ({Offenbach a.M.}: P{ischer &} S{tein}, {1921}, p. 13.

⁸⁵See also letter from Dr. Peter Ukena, a Hutten-authority, dated December 12, 1977.

⁸⁶Heinrich Rogge. Drei deutsche Dichter. Ulrich von Hutten, Heinrich von Kleist, Walther von der Vogelweide. (Lübeck: Pfeiler-Verlag, 1932), p. 25.

⁸⁷Rogge, p. 32.

Footnotes: Chapter 5.

¹Kindlers Literatur Lexikon. Vol. VII. (Zürich: Kindler Verlag, 1965), p. 265.

²Guido K. Brand. Werden und Wandlung. Eine Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von 1880 bis heute. (Berlin: Kurt Wolff AG., 1933), p. 70.

³Franz Schonauer. Deutsche Literatur im Dritten Reich. (Olten & Freiburg i. Br.: Walter Verlag, 1961), p. 15.

⁴Ronald Gray. The German Tradition in Literature. (Cambridge: University Press, 1965), p. 80.

⁵Joseph Wulf. Literatur und Dichtung im Dritten Reich. (Gütersloh: Sigbert Mohn Verlag, 1963), p. 12. There the author refers to Ernst Jünger, Werner Bergengrün as representatives of the "Innere Emigration." Though not allowed to express themselves publicly, these men never lost their faith nor their conviction. See also: Gray, p. 88.

⁶Schonauer, p. 99.

⁷Schonauer, p. 98.

⁸Helmut Scheuer. "Ulrich von Hutten: Kaisertum und deutsche Nation," Daphnis 2 (1972), 141.

⁹Walter A. Berendson. Die humanistische Front. Einführung in die deutsche Emigranten-Literatur. Vol. I. Von 1933 bis zum Kriegsausbruch 1939. (Zürich: Europa Verlag, 1946), p. 16.

¹⁰According to Oskar Loerke as quoted in: Walter Jens. Deutsche Literatur der Gegenwart. Themen, Stile, Tendenzen. (München: R. Piper & Co. Verlag, 1961), p. 51.

¹¹Jens, p. 51.

¹²Jens, p. 52.

¹³Wilhelm Bortenschlager. Deutsche Dichtung im 20. Jahrhundert. Strömungen - Dichter - Werke. Eine Bestandaufnahme. (Wunsidel, Wels, Zürich: Verlagsbuchhandlung Leitner & Co., 1966), p. 177.

¹⁴Hans Hermann Wilhelm states that he had written his play Ulrich von Hutten at the 400th anniversary of Hutten's death, August 1523, yet this work was not published until 1934.

¹⁵Quirin Engasser wrote a letter (May 5, 1978): "Auch ein abermaliges Durchsuchen aller in Frage kommenden Stellen hat das Manuskript des Hutten-Hörspiels nicht zutage gefördert. Wahrscheinlich habe ich noch vor dem Krieg (W W II) das Manuskript einem Sender angeboten, von dem ich es dann im Trubel der Ereignisse nicht mehr zurückerhielt." However, he found it later, allowing me to deal with it at the appropriate time.

¹⁶Heinz Lorenz-Lamprecht. Der Koloß. (Ludwigshafen a.R.: Verlag Julius Waldkirch, 1933), p. 13.

¹⁷Lorenz-Lamprecht, p. 19.

¹⁸Lorenz-Lamprecht, p. 19f.

¹⁹Lorenz-Lamprecht, p. 24.

²⁰Lorenz-Lamprecht, p. 28.

²¹Lorenz-Lamprecht, p. 36.

²²Lorenz-Lamprecht, p. 37.

²³Lorenz-Lamprecht, p. 38.

²⁴Lorenz-Lamprecht, p. 40.

²⁵Lorenz-Lamprecht, p. 57.

²⁶Lorenz-Lamprecht, p. 77.

²⁷Lorenz-Lamprecht, p. 87.

²⁸Lorenz-Lamprecht, p. 155.

²⁹Lorenz-Lamprecht, p. 157.

³⁰Lorenz-Lamprecht, p. 157.

³¹Lorenz-Lamprecht, p. 166.

³²Lorenz-Lamprecht, p. 169.

³³Lorenz-Lamprecht, p. 216.

³⁴Lorenz-Lamprecht, pp. 226-227.

³⁵Lorenz-Lamprecht, p. 229.

³⁶Lorenz-Lamprecht, p. 229.

³⁷Lorenz-Lamprecht, p. 292.

³⁸Lorenz-Lamprecht, p. 292.

³⁹Lorenz-Lamprecht, p. 337.

⁴⁰Lorenz-Lamprecht, p. 343.

⁴¹Lorenz-Lamprecht, p. 407.

⁴²Lorenz-Lamprecht, p. 409.

⁴³In addition to his own writings Eggers also edited and translated some of Hutten's works.

⁴⁴Kurt Eggers. Hutten. (Dortmund: Volkshaft-Verlag, 1934), p. 11.

⁴⁵Eggers, p. 23.

⁴⁶Eggers, p. 30.

⁴⁷Eggers, p. 52.

⁴⁸Eggers, p. 62.

⁴⁹Eggers, p. 78.

⁵⁰Eggers, p. 150.

⁵¹Eggers, p. 167.

⁵²Eggers, p. 200.

⁵³Eggers, p. 203.

⁵⁴Eggers, p. 287.

⁵⁵Eggers, p. 324f.

⁵⁶Eggers, p. 333.

⁵⁷Eggers, p. 346.

⁵⁸Eggers, p. 33.

⁵⁹Eggers, pp. 88, 181, 218, etc.

⁶⁰Eggers, p. 294. The author goes into a detailed account of what Hutten could expect if he was taken to Rome as a prisoner.

⁶¹Eggers, p. 347.

⁶²Arno Reußenweber. Dem Vaterland will gedient sein!
Dem Leben Ulrichs von Hutten nacherzählt. (Stuttgart: Herold
Verlag, 1938), p. 12.

⁶³Reußenweber, p. 31.

⁶⁴Reußenweber, p. 49.

⁶⁵Reußenweber, p. 59.

⁶⁶Reußenweber, p. 63.

⁶⁷Reußenweber, p. 94.

⁶⁸Reußenweber, p. 95.

⁶⁹Reußenweber, p. 130.

⁷⁰Reußenweber, p. 156.

⁷¹Reußenweber, p. 187.

⁷²Reußenweber, p. 188.

⁷³Reußenweber, p. 190.

⁷⁴Reußenweber, p. 191.

⁷⁵Reußenweber, p. 112.

⁷⁶Reußenweber, p. 140.

⁷⁷Reußenweber, p. 83.

⁷⁸Reußenweber, p. 165.

⁷⁹Reißenweber, p. 104. It reminds the writer of Hitler's declaration: "Du bist nichts, dein Volk ist alles!"

⁸⁰Quoted from a letter (Nov. 2, 1978) the writer received from Arno Reißenweber.

⁸¹Same as above.

⁸²Quotation taken from the introduction of Bernd Holger Bonsels. Hutten. (München" Ludendorffs Verlag, 1938), p. 12.

⁸³Friedrich Nietzsche. Der Antichrist. (1888).

⁸⁴Quoted from a letter (Oct. 29, 1978) the writer received from Bernd Holger Bonsels.

⁸⁵Bonsels, p. 21.

⁸⁶Bonsels, p. 25.

⁸⁷Bonsels, p. 41.

⁸⁸Bonsels, p. 93.

⁸⁹Bonsels, p. 98.

⁹⁰Bonsels, p. 131.

⁹¹Bonsels, p. 141.

⁹²Bonsels, p. 201.

⁹³Bonsels, p. 224.

⁹⁴Bonsels, p. 250.

⁹⁵Bonsels, p. 250.

⁹⁶See chapter 4: Heinrich Rogge. Drei deutsche Dichter. (1932).

⁹⁷Heinrich Rogge. Der Pfaffenkrieg des Herrn Ulrich von Hutten. (Bremen: Pfeiler Verlag, n.d. {1933}), p. 12.

⁹⁸Rogge, p. 20.

⁹⁹Rogge, p. 22.

¹⁰⁰Rogge, p. 23.

¹⁰¹Rogge, p. 23.

¹⁰²Rogge, p. 31.

¹⁰³Rogge, p. 34.

¹⁰⁴Kurt Eggers is also the author of the novel Hutten (see chapter 4, pp. 137-141) and of another play Feuer über Deutschland (which will be dealt with at a later section). He was active as an editor of selected Hutten works. He had them especially selected and explained; some he translated from Hutten's Latin writings. In addition, he wrote also several articles about Hutten. But all of Egger's output had to be understood in the light of Nationalsocialism, since he was in complete agreement with this doctrine, also being known as the "revolutionärste Dichter der Hitler Bewegung." {See: Wilhelm Kosch. Deutsches Literatur Lexikon. Vol. III. (Bern & München: Francke Verlag, 1971), p. 952.}

¹⁰⁵Kurt Eggers. Ulrich von Hutten. (Berlin: Drei Masken Verlag, 1933), p. 42. From hereon any reference to this play will be as Eggers (I).

¹⁰⁶Eggers (I), p. 60.

¹⁰⁷Eggers (I), p. 46.

¹⁰⁸Eggers (I), p. 47.

¹⁰⁹Eggers (I), p. 55.

¹¹⁰Eggers (I), p. 68.

¹¹¹Kurt Eggers. Feuer über Deutschland. (Oldenburg i.O., Berlin: Verlagsbuchhandlung Gerhard Stalling, n.d.), p. 13. This work will be referred to as Eggers (II).

¹¹²Eggers (II), p. 13.

¹¹³Eggers (II), p. 20.

¹¹⁴Eggers (II), p. 46.

¹¹⁵Eggers (II), p. 84.

¹¹⁶Eggers (II), p. 91.

¹¹⁷Eggers (II), p. 93.

¹¹⁸Eggers (II), p. 94.

¹¹⁹Eggers (II), p. 99.

¹²⁰Eggers (II), p. 104.

¹²¹Eggers (II), p. 108.

¹²²Eggers (II), p. 110.

¹²³Hans Hermann Wilhelm. "Introduction," Ulrich von Hut-
ten. (Berlin: Deutscher Bühnenvertrieb, 1934), p. 3.

¹²⁴Wilhelm, p. 3.

¹²⁵Wilhelm, p. 15.

¹²⁶Wilhelm, p. 15.

¹²⁷Wilhelm, p. 20.

¹²⁸Wilhelm, p. 23.

¹²⁹Wilhelm, p. 26.

¹³⁰Wilhelm, p. 61.

¹³¹Wilhelm, p. 81.

¹³²Wilhelm, p. 90.

¹³³Wilhelm, p. 90.

¹³⁴Wilhelm, p. 99.

¹³⁵Wilhelm, p. 105.

¹³⁶Wilhelm, p. 114.

¹³⁷This is #3 in a tetralogy. The other works are: Störtebecker, Till Eulenspiegel, (followed by Ulrich von Hutten), Gustav Adolf. It is interesting to note the choice of characters. They seem to indicate an upward climb. They were all rebels in their own way, starting with a pirate, then a rascal, a man who attacked arrogance and false self-assertion, the patriotic humanist, and finally the meddling, perhaps well-meaning king of Sweden, "protector" of the Protestants.

¹³⁸Wilhelm, p. 25.

¹³⁹The radio play was still in an experimental stage where the air waves were utilized to tell something "mit Hilfe modulierter elektrischer Wellen auf drahtlosem Wege einer unbegrenzten Anzahl von Hörern über Tausende von Kilometern hinweg...." Eugen Kurt Fischer. Das Hörspiel. (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1964), p. 7.

¹⁴⁰Hermann Pongs believes that the word had become a sound and in its "nach innen führenden geistigen Bewegtheit, die auf ein den ganzen Menschen erfassenden Miterleben zielt, nicht nur auf das Aktivieren der Bildphantasie." Quoted in Fischer, p. 26. And Arno Schirokauer explains: "Der Begriff Hörspiel gestattet jedem, alles, was er will oder kann, darunter zu verstehen....Man sendet unter Stimmen aufgeteilte Aufsätze, hymnische Selbstgespräche, überlegte und festgelegte Streitgespräche, Anrufungen der Elemente, Balldaden, Fragegespräche, Auftritte, Hörberichte, Lyriken, Urkunden, Zeugnisse, Belehrungen und Traumdichtungen...das alles gibt es, und es gibt niemanden, der behaupten kann, ein einziger dieser Bestandteile sei für das Hörspiel verboten." Quoted in Fischer, p. 29.

¹⁴¹These include David Freidrich Strauß, Kurt Eggers, and C.F. Meyer, in addition translated renditions from Hutten's Latin texts.

¹⁴²The author initiated the festival plays on the Steckelburg in 1937. This is Hutten's birthplace. The commemoration for Hutten was done with the full endorsement of the authorities, as it allowed them to utilize the stage for the propagation of the official ideology.

¹⁴³Erich Bauer. Laßt Hutten nicht verderben! (Gießen: Julius Christ, n.d.), p. 4. This was quoted by Wilhelm Bachmann.

¹⁴⁴Bauer, p. 5.

¹⁴⁵Bauer, p. 6.

¹⁴⁶Bauer, p. 7.

¹⁴⁷Bauer, p. 14.

¹⁴⁸Bauer, p. 19.

¹⁴⁹Bauer, p. 21.

¹⁵⁰Bauer, p. 29.

¹⁵¹Bauer, p. 30.

¹⁵²Bauer, p. 41.

¹⁵³Bauer, p. 42.

¹⁵⁴Franz Lennartz. Deutsche Dichter und Schriftsteller unserer Zeit. (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1969), p. 704, "Mächte der Auflösung."

¹⁵⁵Paul Kalkoff was an ardent Luther defender, but at the same time he saw Hutten only as a scoundrel.

¹⁵⁶Friedrich Franz von Unruh. Hutten. (Stuttgart: Karl Gutbrod Verlag, 1935), p. 18.

¹⁵⁷von Unruh, p. 19.

¹⁵⁸von Unruh, p. p. 19.

¹⁵⁹von Unruh, p. 29.

¹⁶⁰von Unruh, p. 31.

¹⁶¹von Unruh, p. 33.

¹⁶²von Unruh, p. 49.

¹⁶³von Unruh, p. 60.

¹⁶⁴I could not find anything on this writer. Hüniche's work is apparently the only one in the lyrical genre. I found, however, one poem entitled "Sickingens Tod" by Eduard Koelwel (*1882) in which he made a short reference to Hutten, the man who had been Sickingen's inspiring friend. But at the final moments, when Sickingen wanted his friend most, Hutten was unable to appear. This poem appears in an anthology of ballads: Wilhelm von Scholz. Die Ballade. Menschen und Mächte, Schicksale und Taten. (Berlin: Th. Knaur Verlag, 1944), p. 503.

¹⁶⁵A sampling of words used by the author: Hinausgeworfensein, Sausebrauseblut, Fieberschleppetritt, Heckenschenkenpossenreißer, Hurenlotterbett, Himmelschockschwernot, Wendeltreppenochsentour.

¹⁶⁶See the description of the scholastic university at Cologne: "...Die hochgelobte Wissenschaft/ vermöncht, verpatert, verpfaßt,/ zum Narrengeschwätze herabgezogen." Hermann Hüniche. Der junge Hutten. (Frankfurt a.M.: Bromers Druckerei & Verlag, n.d.), p. 16.

¹⁶⁷By contrast one cannot help to notice the marked difference in the quality from those works written by the authors who had gone into exile.

¹⁶⁸Ernst Loewy. Literatur unter dem Hakenkreuz. (Frankfurt a.M.: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1963), p. 12.

Footnotes: Chapter 6.

¹Dietrich Weber, ed. Deutsche Literatur seit 1945. (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1968), p. 2.

²Weber, p. 9.

³Helmut Schilling. Die Würfel sind gefallen. (Unpublished stage manuscript, 1948), p. 4.

⁴Schilling, p. 9.

⁵Schilling, p. 9.

⁶Schilling, p. 13.

⁷Schilling, p. 14.

⁸Schilling, p. 24.

⁹Schilling, p. 25.

¹⁰Schilling, p. 26.

¹¹Schilling, p. 29.

¹²Schilling, p. 32.

¹³Schilling, p. 34.

¹⁴Schilling, p. 36.

¹⁵Schilling, p. 36.

¹⁶Schilling, p. 39.

¹⁷Schilling, p. 40.

¹⁸Schilling, p. 49.

¹⁹Schilling, p. 51.

²⁰Schilling, p. 54.

²¹Schilling, p. 54.

²²Schilling, p. 54.

²³Rosemarie Schuder. "Das Erbe Münsters," Sinn und Form (1/1970), p. 7.

²⁴Helga Herting. "Vom Wert historischer "Dichtung," Interview mit Rosemarie Schuder, Auskünfte. Werkstattgespräche mit DDR-Autoren. Ed. by Anneliese Löffler. (Weimar & Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, 1974), p. 379.

²⁵Helga Herting. "Geschichte und Gegenwart im Werk Rosemarie Schuders." Weggenossen. Fünfzehn Schriftsteller der DDR. (Leipzig: Verlag Philipp Reclam jun., 1975), p. 234. From hereon referred to as Herting (I).

²⁶Herting (I), p. 236.

²⁷Herting (I), p. 242.

²⁸Herting (I), p. 244.

²⁹Rosemarie Schuder. Ich hab's gewagt. (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1954), p. 9. The author has Konstanze reflect on Hutten as she sees him. This term is used seven times in this book. From hereon referred to as Schuder. (I).

³⁰The author calls it "Andenken," meaning here the venereal disease, known in Germany as "Lustseuche."

³¹Schuder (I), p. 24.

³²Schuder (I), p. 35.

³³Schuder (I), p. 74.

³⁴Schuder (I), p. 93.

³⁵Schuder (I), p. 102.

³⁶Schuder (I), p. 112.

³⁷Schuder (I), p. 123.

³⁸Schuder (I), p. 125.

³⁹Schuder (I), p. 132.

⁴⁰Thoughts from a letter from Rosemarie Schuder (January 2, 1979).

⁴¹Herting (I), p. 262.

⁴²Ernst Sommer. Das Leben ist die Fülle, nicht die Zeit. (Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, 1955), p. 8.

⁴³Sommer, p. 9.

⁴⁴Sommer, p. 11.

⁴⁵Sommer, p. 13.

⁴⁶Sommer, p. 30.

⁴⁷Sommer, p. 80.

⁴⁸Sommer, p. 106.

⁴⁹Sommer, p. 106.

⁵⁰Sommer, p. 108.

⁵¹Sommer, p. 111.

⁵²Sommer, p. 147.

⁵³Sommer, p. 152.

⁵⁴Sommer, p. 162.

⁵⁵Sommer, p. 173.

⁵⁶Sommer, p. 174.

⁵⁷Sommer, p. 178.

⁵⁸Sommer, p. 178.

⁵⁹Sommer, p. 19.

⁶⁰Sommer, p. 25.

⁶¹Sommer, p. 37.

⁶²Sommer, p. 17.

⁶³Sommer, p. 90.

⁶⁴Sommer, p. 102.

⁶⁵Sommer, p. 106. He states: "Die Glut seines Herzens versengte beinage das beschriebene Papier." And on p. 126: "Hutten hatte gedonnert, aber ihm fehlten die Blitze."

⁶⁶Sommer, p. 90.

⁶⁷See: Drei deutsche Dichter, Ulrich von Hutten, Heinrich von Kleist, Walther von der Vogelweide. (1932), and Der Pfaffenkrieg des Ritters Ulrich von Hutten. (1933).

⁶⁸Heinrich Rogge. Hutten. (Hannover: Hans Pfeiffer Verlag, 1970), p. 24.

⁶⁹Rogge, p. 38.

⁷⁰Rogge, p. 43.

⁷¹Rogge, p. 48.

⁷²Rogge, p. 49.

⁷³Rogge, p. 72.

⁷⁴Rogge, p. 75.

⁷⁵Rogge, p. 7, 8, 27, 35, 22, 42.

⁷⁶Rogge, p. 15, 18, 26, 38.

⁷⁷Rogge, p. 13, 14, 15, 65, 69.

⁷⁸It sounds somewhat contrived when the author uses the following dialogue: "Man sollte ihnen die Kästen um die Ohren schlagen, daß ihre eigenen Seelen in den Himmel springen." (p. 6) This is apparently a reference to the old saying: "Sobald das Geld im Kasten klingt, die Seele in den Himmel springt."

Footnotes: Conclusion.

¹Emmanuel Geibel (1815-1884) in Klemens Altmann, ed. Deutsche Epigramme aus fünf Jahrhunderten. (Kempten: Heimeran, 1966), p. 37.

²An indication of Hutten's decline is demonstrated by an almost total interest in his works. By 1756 Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700-1766) included Hutten's book De arte versificandi, published in Leipzig 1511, in his prosody. "(It) held long a place in humanistic schools, also of Catholic Germany, as is attested by the numerous reprints until the eighteenth century,"³² See: Robert Herndon Fife. "Ulrich von Hutten as a Literary Problem," Germanic Review, XXIII (1948), p. 29.

³Emil Ermatinger. Dichtung und Geistesleben der deutschen Schweiz. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1933), p. 108: "Nach dem 15. Jahrhundert wird die Schweiz im 16. Jahrhundert der Treffpunkt und Tummelplatz von Führern der geistigen Bewegung,"

⁴Rosemarie Wildermuth, ed. Als das Gestern heute war. (München: Ellermann Verlag, 1977), p. 9.

⁵Wildermuth, p. 9.

⁶This is according to the idea of Jost Hermand. He writes: "Wenn ein Mann wie Ulrich von Hutten von allen katholischen Hunden gehetzt - 1523 krank und verlassen auf der Ufenau stirbt, so nimmt das schon exilartige Züge an." See: Jost Hermand. "Schreiben in der Fremde," Exil und Immigration. 3rd Wisconsin Workshop. Ed. by Reinhold Grimm & Jost Hermand. (Frankfurt a.M.: Athenäum Verlag, 1972), p. 11.

⁷Alfred Rosenberg. Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts. (München: Hoheneichen Verlag, 1940), p. 568. He states: "Ulrich von Hutten deutet seinerseits (Im Gespräch "Die Räuber") auf die Niedersachsen, die sich in ihrem Recht ohne die neuen Doktoren behelfen. Deutschland sei besser dran gewesen, als das Recht noch in Waffen, nicht in Büchern gelegen hätte."

⁸Huttenbriefe. See: Exilliteratur. 1933-1945. Ausstellung der Deutschen Bibliothek Frankfurt a.M. Mai-Aug. 1965, p. 145.

⁹Klaus M. Rarisch writes in his "Das gerettete Abendland:"

Kalte Krieger tragen Kutten,
alte Nutten tragen Krieger,
überm Bett balzen Putten
überall bleibt Amor Sieger,
Syphilis frißt Linksabbieger,
liquidiert wird Ulrich Hutten.

From: Wolfgang Weyrauch & Johann Peuthen, ed. Lyrik aus dieser Zeit. 1967/68. 4th Sequence. (München & Esslingen: Bechtle Verlag in Verbindung mit dem Süddeutschen Rundfunk Stuttgart, 1967), p. 113.

¹⁰Marcel Reich-Ranicki. "Nachwort," Erfundene Wahrheit. Deutsche Geschichten seit 1945. (München: R. Piper & Co. Verlag, 1965), p. 507.

¹¹Edwin Newman. Strictly Speaking. Will America be the Death of English? (New York: Warner Books, 1975), p. 17.

¹²Recent events in Iran make this point. There the monarchy has come to an abrupt end after centuries. (1978/79)

¹³Walter Muschg. Die Zerstörung der deutschen Literatur. (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1956), p. 46.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

It is not the scope of this sampling to exhaust all the references or passages made to Hutten. There are just too many. Hutten is too well known as a humanist. He has left his mark and influenced many who have become acquainted with his thoughts. However, in some cases this reference is no more than a casual mentioning of his name.

It follows now a sampling from some of the better known authors:

1. C.M. Wieland. Sämtliche Werke. (Leipzig: G.J. Göschen'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1858); there from "Hutten" (Essay), p. 260:

Ulrich von Hutten war klein von Person, wiewohl von starkem Bau; abgehärtet zur Ertragung alles Ungemachs; ein Verächter aller Vorteile und Wollüste, die er mit der geringsten Beugung seiner freien Seele, der mindesten Gefälligkeit auf Unkosten seines Charakters hätte erkaufen müssen; von einem unternehmenden kühnen Geist, der allem Widerstand trotzte, und durch nichts zu bändigen war; heftig in Taten und Worten, unveränderlich hatte, treu in seinen Verbindungen....

2. Christoph Martin Wieland. Werke. Vol. 3. (München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1967); from: "Über Erasmus von Rotterdam," p. 353:

...das kochende Blut und den feurigen Geist eines Hutten, er war nicht wie dieser, durch Bosheit der Menschen und unablässige Streiche des widrigsten Schicksals aufgereizt, erbittert und zum Verzweiflungsspiel, Alles gegen Alles zu setzen, gebracht worden. Es ist nicht alles Tugend, was Hutten groß scheint....

3. Friedrich von Schiller. Von den Anfängen bis 1795. Dichter über ihre Dichtungen. Vol. I. (München: Ernst Heimerl Verlag, 1969). From: Schiller an Christian Gottfried Körner, p. 295:

Huttens Geschichte ist noch nicht ganz im Reinen;
aber der erste Plan hat wichtige Veränderungen er-
litten.

4. Johann Wolfgang Goethe. Schriften zur Literatur.
(Stuttgart: Artemis Verlag, 1964). From: "Entwurf zu einem
Volksbuch historischen Inhalts" (1808), p. 470:

Kriege beider Parteien
Große Männer beider Teile
Frunsberg)
Schärtlin) sich selbst darstellend
Hutten)
Götz)
Persönlichkeit der Anarchie
Staaten insofern sie Staaten sind
Monarchische Verfassung
Plicht des Regenten

5. Novalis. Schriften. Vol. 4. (Leipzig: Biblio-
graphisches Institut A.G., n.d.{1929}). From: "Briefe I,"
p. 25:

...welcher Edle stimmt mir nicht bei, wenn ich
Franklin, Linné, Haller, Newton, Bacon, Luther,
Hutten, Galilei, Lessing, Leibnitz, Spinoza,
Michelangelo, d'Alembert und Machiavelli nenne?

6. Heinrich von Kleist. Sämtliche Werke und Briefe.
Vol. 2. (München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1965). From: "Was
gilt es in diesem Kriege?", p. 379:

Eine Gemeinschaft gilt es,...die große Namen, wie
der Lenz Blumen aufzuweisen hat, die den Hutten und
Sickingen, Luther und Melanchthon, Joseph und Fried-
rich aufzog;....

7. Joseph Freiherr von Eichendorf. Geschichte der
poetischen Literatur Deutschlands. Vol. 1. (Paderborn:
Verlag von Ferdinand Schöningh, 1857). From: "Die Poesie
der Reformation," p. 190:

Ulrich von Hutten (1488-1523) ist ein Vorbild un-
serer heutigen jugendlichen Weltverbesserer, denen
nur seine Kraft und sein Talent fehlen, um es
gleichzuthun. Hutten stand vollkommen auf der

Höhe der Bildung seiner Zeit; und doch blieb er, weil dieser Bildung trotz christlichen Phrasen das Christentum mangelte, sein ganzes Leben hindurch ruhe- und rastlos, ein verlorener Schiffer, ohne Steuer und Compaß in's Ungewisse treibend....

8. Wilhelm Hauff. Lichtenstein. (München: Winkler Verlag, 1970). From: "Vorwort," p. 8:

...ob man nicht in Beurteilung dieses Fürsten (Ulrich von Württemberg) nur seinem erbittertesten Feinde, Ulrich von Hutten, nachbetet, der, um wenig zu sagen, hier allzusehr Partei ist, um als leidenschaftlicher Zeuge gelten zu können.

9. Uhlands Schriften zur Geschichte der Dichtung und Sage. Vol. 2. (Stuttgart: Verlag der Cotta'schen Buchhandlung, 1866). From: "Schrift II," p. 456:

Huttens ganzes Leben war Polemik, aber diese Polemik war nicht auf das Innere der Glaubenslehre gerichtet, sie gieng einerseits gegen die mönchischen Finsterlinge, welche der freieren Geistesbildung, wie sie durch das Aufleben der classischen Studien angeregt worden war... (Hutten) war mehr Humanist als Theolog....

10. Gutzkows Werke. (Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, n.d. {1911}). From: "II Ersatz und Aufschwung," p. 427:

...Willibald Pirkheimer und Erasmus von Rotterdam waren... 'korrekte Denker' der Reformationszeit, während Hutten und Luther mit der Tür ins Haus fielen.

11. Friedrich Engels. Der deutsche Bauernkrieg. (Berlin: Verlag Neuer Weg GmbH, 1946), p. 70:

Die Forderungen des Adels... diese Zusammenfassung übernahm Ulrich von Hutten, der theoretische Repräsentant des deutschen Adels....

12. Thomas Mann. Gesammelte Werke. Vol. X. (Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer Verlag, 1960). From: "Reden und Aufsätze" (2), p. 341:

...wir haben ferner das Bündnis zwischen dem jungen Protestantismus und dem Humanismus, die Vereinigung beider in Männern wie Melanchthon und Hutten....

13. Gerhard Hauptmann. Sämtliche Werke. Vol. VI. (Frankfurt a.M.: Propyläen Verlag, 1962). From: "Autobiographisches," p. 1062:

... 'Die Geister erwachen,' hieß es mit Hutten,....

14. Ernst Barlach. Die Briefe I. 1888-1924. (München: R. Piper & Co. Verlag, 1968). From: "#73 An Friedrich Düsel (1894)," p. 209f.:

Kurz 'es ist eine Lust zu leben' wie einst Ulrich von Hutten,....

15. Ricarda Huch. Gesammelte Werke. Geschichte 2. (Köln & Berlin: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1970). From: "Reuchlin und die Dunkelmännerbriefe," p. 950:

...Zwingli und Hutten haben betont, daß die Liebe zu ihrem Vaterlande und Volk ihr Leben bestimmt habe....

From: Same, p. 525:

...Hutten gehörte zu den wenigen Rittern, die sich den Wissenschaften widmeten und sich dessen rühmten,....Hutten selbst liebte die Freiheit über alles, darum setzte er von allen Menschen, besonders von allen Deutschen voraus, daß sie freiwillig nicht Knechte sein wollten, deshalb haßte er diejenigen, die andere knechteten....

Appendix B

Hutten Works Referred to by Georg Voigt:

1. David Friedrich Strauß (1808-1874). Ulrich von Hutten {1858}, Bibliography, p. 10.
2. Eduard Böcking. Ulrichs von Hutten Schriften {1858-1862}, p. 10.
3. Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803). "Huttens Bild im T.M." {1776}, pp. 10, 12.
4. Chr. Jakob Wagenseil (1756-1839). "Auf Ulrich von Hutten." {1783}, pp. 10, 13.
5. Ludwig Schubart. Leben und Charakter Ulrichs von Hutten {1817}, p. 14.
6. Meiners. Hutten Biography, p. 14.
7. Fr. Karl Lang (1766-1822) Hutten Poem, lost {1787}, p. 15.
8. G. Schoder. "An Hutten." {1803}, Sonnett, p. 15.
9. Karl Ph. Conz (1762-1827). "Blumen auf das Grab Ulrichs von Hutten" {1806}, Elegy, p. 15.
10. Leonhard Wächter (1762-1837). "Deutschen Knaben Ulrich von Hutten" {1817}, Poem, p. 16.
11. Christian Ernst K. Graf von Benzel-Sternau (1767-1849). Ulrich von Hutten zu Fulda oder was eine Nessel werden will, brennt bei Zeiten. {1828}, Playlet, p. 17.
12. Nikolaus Lenau (1802-1850). Hutten Epos remained only an idea in the 1830's, p. 18.
13. Ad. Pichler (1819-1900). Ulrich von Hutten {1839}, Drama Fragment, p. 18.
14. Georg Herwegh (1817-1875). "Ufenau und St Helena" {1841}, Poem, p. 21.
15. Wilhelm Ruckmich. Ulrich von Hutten {1844}, Poetic Cycle, p. 22.
16. Ferdinand Freiligrath (1810-1876). "Ein Denkmal" {1844}, Poem, p. 24.
17. Rudolf von Gottschall (1823-1909). Ulrich von Hutten {1843}, Play, p. 25.

18. Ernst Georg von Brunnow (1796-1845). Ulrich von Hutten, der Streiter für deutsche Freiheit {1842}, Novel {3 Vol.}, p. 27.
19. Eduard Duller (1809- 1853). Franz von Sickingen {1833}, Dramatic Poem, contains Hutten epilogue, p. 29.
20. A.E. Fröhlich (1796-1865). Ulrich von Hutten {1845}, Epos, p. 30.
21. Eduard Hobein (1817-1882). Ulrich von Hutten {1846}, Tragedy, p. 31.
22. Hans Köster (1818-1900). Ulrich von Hutten {1846}, Tragedy, p. 32.
23. Adalbert Schröder/Fr. Schmezer. Hutten {1849}, Opera-Libretto, p. 39.
24. Ernst Ulrich. Ulrich von Hutten {1851}, Tragedy, p. 43.
25. Gottfried Keller (1819-1890). "Ufenau" {1858}, Poem, p. 46.
26. Friedrich Julius Kraus (1807-1878). "Ulrich von Hutten" {1860?}, Poem, p. 46.
27. Theodor Creizenach (1818-1877). "Ulrich von Huttens Lied" {1860}, Poem, p. 46.
28. Carl Nissels (1817-1900). Ulrich von Hutten {1861}, Tragedy, p. 48.
29. Arnold Schloenbach (1817-1900). Ulrich von Hutten {1862}, Poetic Cycle, p. 48.
30. Carl Berger. Ulrich von Hutten {1864}, Tragedy, p. 49.
31. Karl Albert Türcke (1824-1886). Ulrich von Hutten {1864}, Tragedy, p. 49.
32. Hermann Ethé (*1844). Ulrich von Hutten {1870}, National Drama, p. 50.
33. Conrad Ferdinand Meyer (1825-1898). Huttens letzte Tage {1871}, Epos, p. 51.
34. Karl Oskar Teuber (*1852). Ulrich von Hutten {1873}, Drama, p. 55.
35. David Freidrich Strauß (1808-1874). Poetisches Gedenkbuch {1877}; it contains: "Hutten," "Huttens Gespräche," p. 56.

36. Heinrich Leuthold (1827-1879). "Ufenau" {1878}, Poem, p. 57.
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