Wilhelm Busch: Cryptic Enigma

by

Carol Galway

A thesis
presented to the University of Waterloo
in fulfilment of the
thesis requirement for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in
German

Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, 2001

©Carol Galway 2001

National Library of Canada
Acquisitions and Bibliographic Services
395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Acquisitions et services bibliographiques
395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-60537-X

Canada

The University of Waterloo requires the signatures of all persons using or photocopying this thesis. Please sign below, and give address and date.

Abstract

Wilhelm Busch: Cryptic Enigma

The principal aims of this study are to dispel the notion that Wilhelm Busch was little more than a popular entertainer, and to show, on the basis of his biography and selected primary works, his serious contribution to letters. By using humour as a primary means to conceal social commentary, his cryptic criticism, directed primarily at the philistine limitations of the bourgeois lifestyle, is often overlooked and as a result, readers may remain incognizant of the underlying message.

The study begins with a close, literal translation of Busch's autobiography *Von mir über mich* (1894), deviating as little as possible from the semantics of the German original. A comparison of this autobiography to its earlier versions is followed by an analytical comparison with the biographical facts about him that can be derived from archival sources. This draws attention to Busch's socio-professional origins, refutes legends that have been woven around his persona and establishes the impetus for his development from an aspiring artist making funny pictures for his own pleasure to the creator of mass produced picture stories that succinctly captured contemporary society by integrating societal expectations and cultural trends. In a synthesis of drawings and verses, he depicted a world that became surreal through elimination and exaggeration and in that way presented unmasked reality. Busch's legacy lies in his success in perfecting and popularizing this new form of expression, *the* new medium to express the problems of the era. Addressing the readers' intuitive understanding rather than intellectual comprehension, his work provokes laughter and invokes the dynamics of society. The reader recognizes Busch's picture story world as a humorous representation of the real world with which he is familiar; he can sense the absurdity of the modern human condition and his alienation from society, but at the same time his unwilling participation in it.

These biographical and sociological investigations of Busch as an author are followed by close textual analyses of the two prose tales, *Eduards Traum* (1891) and *Der Schmetterling* (1895). Transcending reality, their surreal environments allegorically mask the absurdity of human existence; here Busch unmistakably demonstrates materialism and resulting selfishness, hostility and dishonesty as universal and irradicable. He had used caustic humour in word and picture to disguise systemic societal hypocrisy in the picture stories, but he clarifies his perceptions through the allegories in *Eduards Traum* and *Der Schmetterling*. Thus, if the social criticism and the messages inherent in the prose works are read and understood *before* the picture stories, then the social criticism in the picture stories becomes heightened and self-evident. Busch's depiction of scenes from the micro-environment allow an accurate extrapolation to the

broader social environment and the collective identity of his contemporary society. They open a window on the bourgeois epoch so that the value systems that provided a behavioural framework for the 19th century bourgeoisie can be recognized. *Die fromme Helene* and *Fipps der Affe* are examples of futile indoctrination and the consequence of resistance. The power of authority and the futility of defiance are seen when *Plisch und Plum* are brought to heel by force, or in the annihilation of *Max und Moritz*. The individual who thinks himself completely in control of his life and his world, but is really without power, is shown in bachelor *Tobias Knopp*'s rude awakening after marriage, in the poet *Balduin Bählamm*, thwarted by so many trite occurrences, and in *Maler Klecksel*, the megalomanic philistine. The citizens in *Der Geburtstag oder Die Partikularisten* demonstrate a collective identity and the superficiality of such conformity. Through the conduct of his figures, Busch exposed greed, arrogance, bigotry and narrow-mindedness as the results of a society perverting interpersonal relationships. Because his works grant this insight into the late 19th century, they represent a contribution to our understanding of the bourgeois epoch. They can help us understand which interpersonal relations, spiritual and intellectual elements were prevalent, and how the bourgeois lifestyle and mentality functioned. Furthermore, because Busch doesn't see the egotism and duplicity of his own environment as a specific product of that society, but rather as a general human evil that cannot be eradicated, his work still provides opportunities for unmasking facades in society today.

Busch's innovative method of line drawings accompanied by verse or short text contributed to the modern beginnings of the comic strip cartoon, which is demonstrated through an analysis of his legacy in that genre and his influence on North American comic strip authors and illustrators, the most far-reaching likely being *The Katzenjammer Kids*. Analytical comparisons include Busch's progressive forward movement from picture to picture, his method of synergizing drawings and text, as well as (dis)similarities in motifs, characterizations, pranks and messages. In the context of reviewing Busch's legacy, the study also demonstrates how Busch and his works were exploited during the Third Reich, and that efforts to categorize him as a forerunner of National Socialism were base propaganda. The investigation of Busch's legacy concludes by examining the continuing presence of Busch and his work in the awareness of German-speaking people, as manifested by an abundance of intertextual and intermedial paradigms which convey messages in poignant, easy to remember fashion. This ongoing reference to Busch's works in vastly different societies is final evidence that modern societies still extract answers from the enigmas in his work.

Acknowledgements

I owe a debt of gratitude to a number of people who supported me in the completion of this dissertation. Without their help my task would have been more gruelling than I care to contemplate.

It is with sincere appreciation that I acknowledge the insights and critical comments received from my "Doktorvater," Professor David G. John, throughout each step in the development of my topic and at the various stages of writing. His keen eye for scholarship and constructive criticism provided valuable feedback. He pushed and cajoled me to venture into areas I did not want to go, and this made for some spirited discussions. Thank you for having faith!

I also thank Professor Manfred Kremer of the University of Guelph, Professor Art Green, Professor Michael Boehringer and Professor Paul Malone of the University of Waterloo for reading, discussing, and supporting my dissertation.

Next, a most sincere "Danke schön" to the Wilhelm-Busch-Society for allowing me access to their archives and library. Particularly the cooperation and support received from Frau Monika Herlt was most helpful, both during my visit there, and afterward, when she took time from her demanding schedule to answer my queries. Without this help and support I would not have had access to some of the more obscure sources.

This also holds true of the staff at the Interlibrary Loans Office of the University of Waterloo's Dana Porter Library. My many requests were indulged with great patience; their searches to locate and gather materials for me were indispensable and I am very grateful.

I would be remiss did I not express my appreciation for generous funding received. Thank you to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council for the award of a Doctoral Fellowship; the Ontario Ministry of Education for granting me an Ontario Graduate Scholarship; and to the University of Waterloo for allocating scholarship support to my studies.

A special word of thanks to Janet Vaughan for her interest in the growing of my work, for keeping me in touch during my "long distance" studies, and for being a life-line between me and the university community.

A heartfelt "Danke schön" goes to Monika, for helping me set up appointments during my stay in Germany and chauffeuring me around to collect primary materials in some remote locations; and to Willi, for educating me on some intricate systemic details.

My fondest expressions of thanks go to my husband Don, whose love and faith has given me the will to succeed, and without whom I could never have realized my studies. His confidence heartened me in the most difficult moments; he convinced me that good writing is actually rewriting, and kept on encouraging me when I became dispirited. Thank you for enabling me to live my dream.

With profound gratitude I finally thank my late father, Karl-Heinz Bolte, who encouraged me to cultivate curiosity; showed me how to do my own thing and do it proudly; and instilled in me a respect for my roots.

Dedication

To Don, my rock.

It must have been cold there in my shadow
To never have sunlight on your face
You've been content to let me shine, you always walked a step behind

I was the one with all the glory, while you were the one with all the strength
Only a face without a name, and I never once heard you complain

Did you ever know that you're my hero, and everything I'd like to be
I could fly higher than an eagle, 'cause you are the wind beneath my wings

It might have appeared to go unnoticed, but I've got it all here in my heart
I want you to know I know the truth, I would be nothing without you

Did you ever know that you're my hero, and everything I'd like to be
I could fly higher than an eagle, 'cause you are the wind beneath my wings
You are the wind beneath my wings

Table of Contents

Introduction **1**

Intention of the Study 5

Scholarly work to date 7

Methodology 14

1. **Wiedensahl's favourite child** **19**

From me about me 24

Genesis of Busch's autobiography 29

Comparison and analysis of Busch's autobiographical writings 37

Factual Realities 60

Various Birthdays 69

Complementary Talents 73

Financial Freedom with Picture Stories 76

Busch and his relationship with Otto Bassermann 82

2. **Travelling a Nightmare: *Eduards Traum*** **88**

The Dream as mode of exploration 90

Narratological Structure 93

The Thinking Dot 98

Pessimism Revisited: Realms, Domains and Dimensions 101

Utopia meets Dystopia 107

Eduard at a Crossroads 110

The End of the Journey 112

Disillusionment and Invalidation 113

Taking Stock 116

3. **Realizing a Fairy Tale: *Der Schmetterling*** **120**

Construction 121

The Butterfly 125

The Illustrations 128

Peter's Evolution: A good-for-nothing in a philistine world 130

Lucinde: Witch Mammon 136

Autobiography and Fiction: Disillusionment Resolved 141

4. **Busch and Society** **146**
The not-so-ideal World: Social Conduct and Morality 150
Vagaries of Life: Family and Marriage 159
The Power of Discipline: Education 163
Unholy Temptations: Religion and Polemics 166
Obstructed Culture and Exploited Art 170
Enigma Unmasked 175
5. **Influences and Legacy** **178**
Historical Background 181
Influence on American Comics 188
Third Reich Stratagems 196
The Legacy of Wilhelm Busch in Germany 202
Intertextuality in Media and Promotions 207
A Classic of Another Kind 210
Conclusion **216**
Appendix A: Chronology **221**
Appendix B: *Von mir über mich* (1894) in translation (From me about me) **225**
Appendix C: Illustrations **231**
Abbreviations **284**
Bibliography **285**
Primary Literature 285
Secondary Literature on Wilhelm Busch in English 286
Secondary Literature on Wilhelm Busch in German 288
Other Secondary Literature 297

Introduction

While Wilhelm Busch is one of the most widely read authors of the 19th century, and continues to be an immensely popular writer in German-speaking countries, he is usually regarded as little more than a humorous entertainer, whose works fell "Opfer ihrer beispiellosen Popularität und der Tendenz, komische Literatur nicht so ernst zu nehmen, wie sie es verdient" (victim of their unmatched popularity and the tendency to not take comical literature as seriously as it warrants [Killy 334]).[1] Patrick Bridgwater suggests in *The Penguin Companion to European Literature* that Busch has been "a household name in Germany" (150) ever since the first publication of *Max und Moritz* (1865),[2] and *Benét's Reader's Encyclopedia* calls him "Germany's most renowned artist-poet" (154). Killy's *Literatur-Lexikon* describes him as "Zeichner, Maler und Dichter," (graphic artist, painter and author) who, as a painter, is today regarded as "eigenständiger Vorläufer der Moderne" (independent precursor of Modern Age), and who "entwickelte einen eigenen Stil der Bildergeschichte, der die . . . Gattung des Comic strip direkt beeinflussen sollte" (who developed his own style of picture story, which would directly influence the genre of the comic strip). It goes on to suggest that the effect of the picture stories comes "gerade von dem meist komischen Kontrast zwischen Text und Zeichnung, wobei die . . . Bilder meist den konkreten anschaulichen Fall, die pointiert witzigen Verse die kühle Abstraktion liefern" (precisely from the usually funny contrast between word and drawing, whereby the pictures usually provide the concretely visible case, the pointedly funny verses the cool abstraction [332-3]). The dilemma in studying Busch is that the literary world sees in him a graphic artist who complemented his pictures with verses and who also wrote some prose; and the world of fine arts sees in him a humorous author who accompanied his texts with illustrations, who also dabbled with paintings in oil, but never exhibited his work. This mixed reception, and the uncertainty about how to classify Busch's oeuvre, have resulted in large portions of his work being ignored by average readers and scholars alike.

---

[1] All German quotations, be they from primary or secondary sources, have been translated into English in order to make this study accessible to both linguistic groups.

[2] I will be using German titles consistently throughout this dissertation, as many of Busch's works have never been translated into English.

A review of secondary literature about Busch and his works reveals that the vast majority of publications about him are newspaper articles, which--while paying homage--contribute very little in the way of scholarly insight. They do contribute, however, to the ongoing popularity of Busch, "whose unrivalled fame in his own time has grown since to the proportions of a cult shared by masses and elites alike" (Kunzle, *Busch Abroad* 99), and have "made him a byword in every German household" (Morgan 130). Success and mass appeal are suspect. It was the success of the picture stories that created the Busch phenomenon, caused the hyperbolized accolades and made him an integral part of bourgeois culture, yet "his bitter satire against bourgeois pettiness is generally missed by the bourgeois himself who adores Busch's work" (Benét 158). Conversely, scholarly investigations are few and are often tinged by the extremes of either unabashed idolatry or disdainful contempt. To the discerning investigator, a multi-facetted author, poet, epigrammatist, painter, caricaturist, and collector of local sayings, legends and fairy tales emerges through Busch's works, and yet an artist who remains at the same time a cryptic conundrum, enigmatic to fathom. Busch's unique ability to tell stories in picture and verse, satirizing contemporary bourgeois hypocrisies, and providing powerful morality lessons, coupled with comedic casualness, places him outside the traditional canon and makes him difficult to categorize. His social criticism is clear, however, can still be recognized by attentive readers today, and maintains its relevance for modern society.

Busch was a controversial artist from the beginning. His contemporary, Wilhelm Raabe, "betrachtete Buschs ungeheuren Erfolg als einen Beweis für das sittliche Elend Deutschlands" (considered Busch's tremendous success as proof for Germany's moral misery [David 51]), yet later waxed eloquently about "welch ein Wohltäter der Mann [Busch war], der da den Millionen zu dem rechten Lachen verhilft!" (what a benefactor the man [Busch was], who helps millions to really laugh! [222]). Kurt Tucholsky called him "meisterhaft" (masterful [398]), while Friedrich Theodor Vischer described him as "grob und gründlich ekelhaft" (coarse and thoroughly disgusting [321-2]). Just as Peter Sprengel credited Busch with a "Vorbildrolle" (role model [238]), Thomas Theodor Heine pronounced him "der eigentliche Erfinder der

zeichnerischen Kurzschrift" (the actual inventor of graphic shorthand [34]), from whom American comic strip artists like Richard Felton Outcault, Rudolph Dirks or Frederick Burr Opper derived their skills, and suggested that only those American comic strips "bringen uns zum Bewußtsein, daß Buschs überlegene Lustigkeit auch häufig satirisch zugespitzt war" (call our attention to the fact that Busch's superior funniness was often pointedly satiric [36]). Hermann Loens declared him greater, more important and valuable for Germany than Zola, Tolstoi and Ibsen (56). In stark contrast, Heinrich Böll bemoaned that "das nationale Unglück der Deutschen wollte es wohl, daß ihre Vorstellung von Humor von [Wilhelm Busch] bestimmt werden sollte . . . Ich halte das für ein Verhängnis" (the national misfortune of the Germans must have wanted it that their idea of humour would be defined by [Wilhelm Busch] . . . I believe that to be a disaster [114]). Finally, Albert Einstein opined, "Wilhelm Busch aber, insbesondere der Schriftsteller Busch, ist einer der größten Meister stilistischer Treffsicherheit. Ich denke--außer vielleicht Lichtenberg--hat es keinen Ebenbürtigen in deutscher Sprache gegeben" (Wilhelm Busch, however, especially Busch the writer, is one of the greatest masters of stylistic precision. I think--other than perhaps Lichtenberg--there has been no one equal to him in the German language [56]), an assessment echoed in Fritz Martini's *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte* (435). It becomes clear from these conflicting assessments which began with some of Busch's first work and have not abated to this day that the reactions to his writings are wide-ranging, ambiguous and bewildering; in a word, enigmatic.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines "enigma" as

> 1.a. A short composition in prose or verse, in which something is described by intentionally obscure metaphors, in order to afford an exercise for the ingenuity of the reader or hearer in guessing what is meant; a riddle. 1.b. In wider sense: An obscure or allusive speech; a parable. 2. [fig.] Something as puzzling as an enigma; an unsolved problem.

This definition can certainly be applied to Busch, who lived the life of a recluse and protected his private sphere fiercely, but more importantly to his works: His stories "talk" on several levels, the most obvious being the humorous one that has received popular attention, even to this day, and the lesser observed levels of sarcasm, irony and social commentary. Complementing the sketchy graphics of his line

drawings, Busch employed pithy, epigrammatic and cryptic doggerel verses to actualize animation and effervescence, which at the same time aided the reader in remembering the verses easily. The *Oxford English Dictionary's* definition of "cryptic" is as follows:

> A.1.a. Hidden, secret, occult, mystical. A.1.b. Mysterious, enigmatic. A.2. Of the nature of a crypt or vault. Rare. A.1.3. Of markings, colouration, etc.: Serving for concealment; protective. B. A secret or occult method (of communicating knowledge).

This definition can be applied to Busch, whose works even today are not fully analysed and use overt humour as a primary means carrier to conceal underlying social commentary and criticism. Andreas Knapp suggests that Busch's reception is typified by an "Ausblenden der teilweise sehr aggressiven und entlarvenden Elemente durch eine Verniedlichung oder Verharmlosung" (Repression of those partly very aggressive and unmasking elements through trivialization or by declaring them inconsequential [112]), and as a result, the reader as receiver remains incognizant of the underlying message. This mode of reception, which supports my contention that Busch and his works are cryptic enigmas, is facilitated through his fusing of laconic verses with contoured caricatures.

To be sure, if Busch is today described as the "ancestor of American comics" (Taylor 77), this was not intentional or planned. He was a frequent contributor to Munich's *Fliegende Blätter* and *Münchener Bilderbogen* since 1859, but in order to be published, he had to follow the production guidelines for producing broadsheets, as laid out by the publisher of the periodicals, Caspar Braun. This work soon led to the creation of versified stories with illustrations. His first resounding success came with *Max und Moritz* (1865), a morality tale in the style of Heinrich Hoffmann's *Struwwelpeter* (1845). Morgan suggests that this "led Busch into a field which was peculiarly his own and in which his undisputed mastery carried him to a unique eminence in German letters. No other German poet before or since has produced work so abounding in familiar quotations of humorous character; . . . a gift for terse and pungent utterance combine in these masterpieces of epigrammatic brevity" (129). Busch's attitude to his works was somewhat more self-effacing, as can be seen from his poetry collection *Zu guter Letzt* (1904) where he lamented:

Grad so behilft sich der Poet.	Just so the poet also makes do.
Du liebe Zeit, was soll er machen?	For goodness sake, what should he do?
Gebraucht sind die Gedankensachen	Used up are all those things of thought
Schon alle, seit die Welt besteht. (H4: 307)	Already, since the world began.

This, of course, echoes the sentiment of Terence, "no word is spoken now but has been said before" (133), but Busch may also have taken Goethe's advice: "Alles Gescheite ist schon gedacht worden, man muß nur versuchen, es noch einmal zu denken" (all smart things have already been thought, one only has to try to think them again [*Maximen* 801]). How well Busch did this is in part the subject of this dissertation.

Intention of the Study

The principal aims of this dissertation are to dispel the notion that Wilhelm Busch was little more than a popular entertainer, and to show, on the basis of his biography and selected primary works, his serious contribution to letters. I address the problem of trying to "categorize" Busch and attempt to make a contribution to understanding his legacy.[3]

In this first major modern study of Busch in English, I include the first English translation and examination of Busch's own autobiography *Von mir über mich* (1894) and an analytical comparison of this with the biographical facts about him that can be derived from archival sources. The differences are significant. Busch was an intensely private person, and guarded carefully both his own private sphere and that of the people surrounding him. Rumours spread about his persona from the early days of his career, but he rarely took steps to correct them, and rather chose to respond through his works. It wasn't only modesty or reticence that prevented him from talking about himself. The ever-increasing accolades that greeted each new picture story after the initial success of *Max und Moritz* caused him discomfort and embarrassment; "Ein Herr [zog] meine *Abenteuer eines Junggesellen* aus der Tasche und las sie laut der Reisegesellschaft vor . . . Es war mir sehr peinlich und ekelhaft; ich tat, als wenn ich schliefe" (a gentlemen pulled my *Abenteuer eines Junggesellen* from his pocket and read out loud to his fellow travellers

[3]The foundation of this study rests in considerable part on materials located in the archives and library of the Wilhelm-Busch-Society in Hanover, Germany, where I worked for several months in early 1999.

... It was very embarrassing and disgusting; I pretended that I was sleeping [B1: 161]). He was severely lacking in self-confidence, saw himself as a failed artist, and after the lack of popular and critical success of the poetry collection *Kritik des Herzens* (1874) also as a failed writer. Although he recognized after a while that he could continue to be successful with his picture stories, he had no sense of having found a new medium of expression, *the* new medium to express the problems of the era. Influenced by other German satirists and epigrammatists before him, Busch perfected his picture stories from the tradition of illustrated broadsheets and book illustrations, and integrated in them societal expectations and cultural trends. Not only do his picture stories depict the darker side of the "Gründerzeit" era, but they also provide an answer to the "crisis of language" that had gripped literary arts since the early part of the century. By using a type of stylized shorthand, Busch drew a world that became surreal through elimination and exaggeration and in that way presented reality unmasked.

This dissertation further offers the first intensive scholarly analyses of *Eduards Traum* and *Der Schmetterling* in English. Structured as fairy tales, the social satire *Eduards Traum* (1891) provides symbolic insights to Busch's philosophy of life, and *Der Schmetterling* (1895) gives an allegorical account of his coming of age. Both can be seen as allegorical parallels to Busch's *Weltanschauung*, provide explanations for his raison d'être, and a basis to show approaches to social commentaries that can be found throughout his works. *Eduards Traum* and *Der Schmetterling* are, therefore, the focal primary works for this study, but numerous others are included. "Für die Gesellschaft [bin ich] nicht genugsam dressiert" (I am not sufficiently trained for society [H4: 151]) is what Busch said about himself. His stories include criticism of that society, such as depictions of brainwashing the individual to be part of a conforming mass, the collective identity, the impotence of the individual, the power of authority and the futility of defiance. *Max und Moritz*, *Hans Huckebein*, *Fipps der Affe*, and *Die fromme Helene* are all examples of futile indoctrination and the consequence of resistance. The individual who thinks himself completely in control of his life and his world, but is really without power in the scheme of the masses of society, can be seen when *Plisch und Plum* are brought to heel by force, in bachelor *Tobias*

Knopp's rude awakening after marriage, in the poet *Balduin Bählamm* thwarted by so many trite occurrences, or in *Maler Klecksel,* the megalomanic philistine. These are all examples of conformity to society's standards gone awry.

The dissertation inter-relates these analyses, demonstrates the social criticism in Busch's works, and attempts to formulate an approach to interpreting and understanding his entire oeuvre. It attempts to show Busch as one of the early trailblazers who uses "sichtbare Gestalten statt . . . flüchtige Worte" (visible figures instead of fleeting words)[4] combined with short verses to deliver poignant messages. The success of Busch's innovations contributed to the modern beginnings of the comic strip cartoon, which I demonstrate by an analysis of his legacy for this genre and his influences on North American comic strip authors and illustrators.

The study concludes with an examination of how Busch's influence continues today, but to ensure an encompassing portrayal of Busch, a chronology of his life is appended. The result is a better understanding of Busch, particularly for English-speaking Germanists, for whom Busch to date is--if at all considered--primarily a caricaturist and the creator of the *Max und Moritz* picture story.

Scholarly work to date

A well known author of the "Gründerjahre," Busch continues to be an immensely popular and widely-read author in German-speaking countries. Part of this is attributable to the fact that glossy editions of his picture stories are continually marketed in high numbers and are readily available in bookstores or supermarkets. Articles and books too numerous to mention here have been written about him in the German language; however, many are not based on scholarly research, but simply additional tributes to an author whose name has become a legend.

It is interesting to note that some of the dissertations written about Busch at European universities were not written by Germanists, but by students from other disciplines. For example, Petra

---

[4]Goethe in conversation with Eckermann, Januar 4th, 1831, in discussing some of Rodolphe Töpffer's early picture novels (Kroeber 726).

Fresser's "Die Bildergeschichten 'The Tooth-Ache' von George Cruikshank und 'Der hohle Zahn' von Wilhelm Busch" was written for a doctorate in dentistry at the medical faculty of the University of Cologne. Because of my focus on Busch in English, I shall limit my review of European theses to those with literary relevance to my topic. Peter Marxer's 1962 dissertation at the University of Zurich, *Wilhelm Busch als Dichter*, discusses one of Busch's autobiographical writings, a few poems, *Balduin Bählamm* and *Der Schmetterling* to provide a one-sided portrayal of the stylistic intricacies of Busch's language as related to Joseph von Eichendorff. Andrea Hilgenstock's 1989 dissertation at the Technical University of Berlin, "Gesellschaftspantomimen. Wilhelm Busch und seine ironische Bild-Welt-Satire," examines selected works for expressions of the absurd or the grotesque. Her dissertation is thoroughly researched and well written, although her Marxist dialectics occasionally lead to specious argumentation. Waltraut Liebl's 1990 dissertation at the University of Innsbruck, "Bild und Sprache: Modelle der Wirkungsästhetik bei Wilhelm Busch," is a contemporary view of how Busch's style of combining epigrammatic verses with concise sketches has influenced advertising today. She provides a good overview to prove that Busch's method of comic art combined with a short, poignant message has been internalized by some of today's creators of advertising.

As already mentioned, many of the German language scholarly investigations are tinged by one of the two extremes of either uncritical reverence or supercilious condescension. Included in the former group are most of the older publications (e.g. Karl Anlauf, Erwin Ackerknecht, Fritz Novotny, Friedrich Bohne and Joseph Kraus), but also more recent studies by Peter Haage, Herwig Guratzsch or Gustav Sichelschmidt, as well as many of the articles published in the *Wilhelm-Busch-Jahrbücher*. A patronizing sort of superiority to their subject is evident in works by Ludwig W. Kahn, Hinrich Hudde, Karsten Imm, Peter Nusser, Jürgen Lieskounig, Berndt W. Wessling, and Heinrich Theissing, to name but a few. It seems odd, as already noted by Gert Ueding, that "diese scharfen Fronten in der Busch-Rezeption weder die Erforschung seines Werkes noch die Beschäftigung mit seiner Lebensgeschichte stimuliert [haben]" (such fiercely opposing viewpoints in the Busch reception have stimulated neither research of his

works nor of his life-story [*Lustrevier* 7]). This may in part be attributable to the resistance of Busch's oeuvre to be categorized, as was already recognized by Heidemarie Kesselmann in 1979: "[Buschs] außerordentlich heterogenes Werk . . . [ist] nicht aber einer für die Literaturgeschichtsschreibung notwendigen formalen Systematisierung zugänglich" ([Busch's] extraordinary heterogeneous oeuvre, however, . . . does not lend itself to the formal systematization . . . as necessary for the writing of literary histories [19]). Relatively few publications deal with Busch and his works in a strictly objective sense, most notably those by Gert Ueding, Michael Hetzner and Gottfried Willems. I shall be referring to these, as appropriate, during the course of my study. Moreover, it seems that the comical traits of the picture stories or poetry in some ways communicated themselves in such a fashion that only very few researchers have been able to penetrate to the serious essence underlying Busch's amusing art.

There is very little literature about Busch in English, perhaps also due to the fact that Busch is not easily categorized. Another question to consider when reviewing the scant writings in English on Busch is whether he is too "German" to achieve much attention on an international stage? Probably not, if one considers that he was translated into at least fourteen different languages during his lifetime.[5] Some of Busch's works were translated into English almost immediately, but these early translators limited themselves to the picture stories. Several of his works, particularly his prose and later poetry, and his autobiography were ignored. More recent translations, some of which include scant introductions to Busch, are limited to the early picture stories. The one notable exception is an anthology in English edited and translated in 1982 by Walter Arndt, *The Genius of Wilhelm Busch. Comedy of Frustration*, in which he expertly reproduces Busch's rhyme and metre in English. Broadsheets and

[5]English (1868), French (1873), Dutch (1860), Italian (1882), Portuguese (1886), Danish (1866), Hungarian (1895), Spanish (1881), Japanese (1887), Russian (1880), Polish (1905), Latvian (1904), Hebrew (1898), Walloon (1889). I compiled this sampling through reading many articles on Busch. It is not intended to be complete. A comprehensive bibliography on Busch does not exist, although Albert Vanselow's 1913 publication *Die Erstdrucke und Erstausgaben der Werke von Wilhelm Busch. Ein bibliographisches Verzeichnis* is important, as is Richard Abich's 1933-37 *Wilhelm-Busch-Bibliographie*, which includes tributes and reviews of Busch publications. The *Wilhelm-Busch-Jahrbuch* periodically (most recently by Ries and Herlt in 1992) publishes a bibliography of articles which appeared there, and prints a yearly listing of secondary literature that has become known to them. A 1990 bibliography by Manfred Görlach of the *Max und Moritz* translations includes translations into more than 190 languages or dialects. A large number of new Busch editions were marketed after the expiration of the copyright protection in 1959, and the Wilhelm-Busch-Society concedes that a reliable figure for the number of copies of primary works in print can no longer be ascertained.

picture stories, including the classics *Max und Moritz, Die fromme Helene* and *Die Knopp-Trilogie*, make up by far the largest part of the anthology, yet Arndt also includes a small selection of poetry, a condensed version of *Der Schmetterling* (1895), and *Was mich betrifft* (1886).

Historians today recognize the importance of Busch as the forerunner of American and British comic magazines,[6] yet little critical attention has been paid in English to review their German origins. Several early comprehensive works about comic strip history and development regard Busch as the "father of the comic sequence" (Murrell 9) and refer to him when discussing the origins of early American comic strips (Martin Sheridan, Coulton Waugh, Stephen Becker), yet this has not been further explored--particularly from a Busch perspective--even in David Kunzle's recent *History of the Comic Strip.* Kunzle describes in some detail Busch's various picture stories and places them in an historical-sociological context, but his conclusions follow traditional interpretations and he does not go beyond a general statement about Busch's influence on American comic strips.

Of the three North American dissertations that have been written about Busch (New York University 1947, University of Minnesota 1951, University of California at Los Angeles 1968), only the first was written in English. This is significant, because dissertations written in German may well receive attention from German or English-speaking Germanists, but not as likely from scholars studying comic strip art or art history. Edmund P. Kurz's 1947 111-page English-language dissertation, "The Political and Social Attitudes of Wilhelm Busch," tries to explain Busch's political and social attitudes against the backdrop of the political, religious and social character of 1940s America. He reiterates in a superficial manner Busch's political and religious ideas as he believes them reflected in some of the political-religious satires, most notably *Pater Filucius, Der Heilige Antonius von Padua, Der Geburtstag* and *Die fromme Helene*, and reflects on Busch's social attitudes toward love and marriage as Kurz sees them delineated in *Die Knopp-Trilogie*, and pedagogy as he sees them reflected in *Max*

---

[6]The first important reference was made by Martin Sheridan, *Comics and their Creators* (Boston: Hale, 1944), but Busch's influence on the American comic strip was--previous to Sheridan--acknowledged in William Murrell, "Wilhelm Busch and American Comic Art," *American-German Review* 1.3 (1935): 9-13.

und Moritz. Analysis is almost completely absent from this dissertation, and the reader gets the distinct impression that Kurz is trying to perpetuate some of the negative views held in post-World War II America about the German psyche by explaining some of the more popular Busch picture stories. Four years later, Alfons Theophil Uhle's 164-page German-language dissertation, "Wilhelm Busch in neuer Beleuchtung," seems to reinforce the notion that Busch is nothing but a shallow, if compassionate, entertainer. Uhle considers four different thematic areas that he contends were preferred by Busch: his position in the "Kulturkampf" vis-à-vis *Der Heilige Antonius von Padua*, Busch's pedagogical theories as delineated in *Max und Moritz*, bourgeois morals and customs as depicted by Busch, and finally the life of artistic genius during the late 19th century as caricaturized in *Balduin Bählamm* or *Maler Klecksel*. Uhle ignores Busch's prose and poetry and draws an erroneous picture of Busch as a magnanimous and chivalrous benefactor, somewhat akin to the "Großvater" in Johanna Spyri's *Heidi* stories. Finally, in 1968 Joseph Kraus completed a 234-page German-language dissertation, "Ausdrucksmittel der Satire bei Wilhelm Busch," which examines satire, irony and the grotesque in *Der Heilige Antonius von Padua, Die fromme Helene*, and *Max und Moritz*, but also what Kraus calls political polemics without humour in *Pater Filucius*, *Monsieur Jacques à Paris während der Belagerung im Jahre 1870*, *Der Partikularist* and other picture sequences first published in the *Münchener Bilderbogen* or the *Fliegende Blätter* in 1870 and 1871. Kraus concludes that Busch in many ways anticipated expressionism and absurd literature but tried to overcome the feeling of absurdity through a belief in eternal reincarnation. He vaguely suggests--and I concur--that Busch's assessment of his own contemporaries could easily be transferred to our own time.

There has only been one book published about Busch in English: Dieter P. Lotze of Allegheny College prefaced his 1979 study with " . . . this is the first critical study of Wilhelm Busch in English . . . " (7) and proceeds with a general introduction to Busch and his works. While Lotze writes broadly of Busch's works, he writes uncritically. The book is entertaining; a short biographical section is followed by a type of chronological "works catalogue" complete with commentary, in which Lotze, in

addition to introducing the major writings of Busch, also presents a small selection of the lesser known works. Strong emphasis is placed on the picture stories, and Lotze manages to refute some preconceived ideas surrounding Busch's works, such as the cliché that *Max und Moritz* was targeted specifically for an audience of children.

Just twenty articles have been published about Busch or his works in English. This meagre collection is surprising, as some of his work has long been translated into English (the first English translation of *Max und Moritz* appeared in the early 1870s). Of these articles, two (Alexander Dorner, William Murrell) were written in the 1930s and can be considered obsolete from today's perspective. Articles by Thomas Berg, Manfred Görlach, Jürgen K. Hoegl, and Gideon Toury are discussions with linguistic themes: Toury reviews difficulties arising through translations by using the Hebrew translation of *Max und Moritz*, and Görlach ("Haw, the wickit Things") has a similar theme with the example of Scots translations. Berg uses some of Busch's couplets for demonstration purposes, while Hoegl's article contains very little on Busch. An article written by Kurz ("Wilhelm Busch and the Problem of Pedagogy") is based on the author's earlier thesis and offers no new insights. Görlach's "A Handsel for J.K. Annand" is a tribute to this Scots writer and contains a Scots translation of *Hans Huckebein*. An article published by William F. Borer is a farcial examination of a one-page manuscript to determine whether it was in Busch's own handwriting. Two essays by Max E. Noordhoorn and Ted Shoemaker deal exclusively with *Max und Moritz*: Shoemaker limits himself to a brief portrait, while Noordhoorn's essay includes a brief survey of contemporary children's literature and a review of Busch's vita until the publication of *Max und Moritz*. Three more essays (John Fitzell, Erich Heller "The little world," C.P. Magill) are empirical studies of Busch offering few new insights. An article by Dieter and Barbara Lotze is directed to those who teach physics as part of a liberal arts undergraduate program, and contains constructive suggestions how classes can be made more interesting by utilizing some of Busch's relevant verses and pictures. An essay by Charlotte M. Craig contrasts Busch to another German epigrammatist, Georg Christoph Lichtenberg. She makes a convincing argument for Busch's aphorisms to be

considered as having the same value as his. R. Loring Taylor's "The ambiguous Legacy of Wilhelm Busch" gives a good account of its subject. Although Taylor concentrates mainly on the picture stories, he does touch on *Eduards Traum* and translates a brief excerpt from it, but stops short of an analysis. The chapter entitled "Wilhelm Busch: Dumping the Chamber Pot on Human Vanity" in Dieter and Jacqueline Rollfinke's *The Call of Human Nature. The Role of Scatology in Modern German Literature* is an attempt to review elements of the grotesque in some of Busch's works. An essay by Jörg Thunecke gathers information about the genesis of Rudolph Dirks' *Katzenjammer Kids* and their connection to *Max und Moritz*. Finally, the title of David Kunzle's article "Busch Abroad: How a German Caricaturist Willy Nilly Helped Launch the New Cheap Comic Magazines in Britain and the United States" promises more than it delivers in that Kunzle discusses the well-known fact that plagiarisms of Busch took place very early, but provides no comparisons or analysis.

Additionally, abstracts about Busch appear in a number of general works, for example by Bayard Quincy Morgan in *The Columbia Dictionary of Modern European Literature,* in William Rose Benét's *The Reader's Encyclopedia, An Encyclopedia of World Literature and the Arts*, Walter Sorrell's *Duality of Vision*, and Maurice Horn's *The World Encyclopedia of Comics*. They typically offer conventional wisdom about Busch, although Patrick Bridgwater in *The Penguin Companion to European Literature* does make the conspicuous suggestion "for other German 'nonsense' poets, turn to Morgenstern and Grass" (150).

Finally, we can read about Busch in English in some translated studies, such as Bettina Hürlimann's *Three Centuries of Children's Books in Europe,* Wolfgang Kayser's *The Grotesque in Art and Literature*, or Reinhold Reitberger and Wolfgang Fuchs's *Comics. Anatomy of a Mass Medium,* as well as in some reviews and critiques (Edgar Alexander, Heller "Creatures").

In summary, other than Lotze's book discussed above, to my knowledge no major study has been published about Busch or his works in English, and articles are limited. A major investigation is thus needed to improve our understanding and to advance the recognition of Busch and his works.

Methodology

My use of the term methodology encompasses the approach used in collecting, classifying, investigating, comparing and evaluating various elements of Busch's work, and to this end I make use of several different methods. "In Wahrheit jedoch paßt Wilhelm Busch überhaupt in keine wie auch immer beschaffene Zunft hinein" (In truth, however, Wilhelm Busch does not fit into any guild whatsoever, no matter what its composition [Glockner 634]). By utilizing a variety of methods, therefore, I can contemplate topics that would not be possible when applying just one technique.

I begin with a close, literal translation of Busch's autobiography *Von mir über mich* (1894), deviating as little as possible from the semantics of the German original. After comparing this autobiography to its earlier versions, I conduct an analytical comparison of what Busch chose to share about himself with factual biographical records, because this will reveal discrepancies, and perhaps lead to new insights into Busch's character. The sociology of authors embraces two approaches to creators of literary works, one stressing their role as imitators, and the other their visionary and expressive powers (Hall 50). In the first approach, the author creates "die Illusion der unmittelbar erlebten Wirklichkeit des Erzählten" (the illusion of the actually experienced reality of the depiction [Lämmert 69]) and mirrors in his works "politische, ökonomische, moralische oder ideologische Aspekte des sozialen Lebens" (political, economic, moral or ideological aspects of social life [Silbermann 43]); the second approach assumes that "der Autor und sein Werk die Gesellschaft gestalten" (the author and his work shape society [Silbermann 43]). The first approach applies to Busch, of whom Otto Felix Volkmann said that "aus der Beobachtung des Wirklichen erwachsen [Busch] die Hauptmotive seiner Dichtungen" (out of the observation of reality grow the primary motifs of his writings [6]). Following Hall's comment that "literature may be seen as telling us the truth about man's life in society" (23), I pursue the social origins of various influences on Busch. Similarly, Robert Escarpit suggests that "in order to fix a writer's place in society, the first step is to investigate his origins" and he advocates two primary considerations in this process, "research into geographical origins and research into socio-professional origins" (33). Therefore, to

illustrate the possible influences of Busch's milieu on his work and extrapolate how he approached his society, how his relations with society were mediated by local connections and feelings, various different environments in which he moved and which affected his life and work are considered, for example private schooling and academies, life in parsonages and artists' colonies, remote villages and major urban centres. This helps to determine "the historical society in which the author lived . . . the social world mirrored in the content of the work . . . and the social world of the reader" (Miles 3), and reveals the intertextuality of Busch's personality in his works. Otto Rank could well have been thinking of Busch when he noted that an artist should "liberate himself" from social pressures as much as he should be concerned to "liberate himself" from the constraint of a literary tradition (372). When Busch perfected his picture stories he moved beyond the tradition of illustrated broadsheets and book illustrations; "a literary genre is not invented: it is adapted to the new demands of a social group and this justifies the idea of the evolution of genres patterned after the evolution of society" (Escarpit 79). There is often a risk in literary criticism when mingling the biography of an author with his works because "investigations of the way in which an artist approaches his society . . . undermine studies that move too brutally from the intentions of a text to an accepted vision of society" (Hall 54). It should also be recognized that a literary work has an effect on the reading audience by virtue of its own characteristics, whereas only those from the reading audience who have come to know the works and then want to know the author as a person become interested in his vita. Alphons Silbermann explains that "Autor und literarisches Werk unterliegen Einflüssen und Reaktionen . . . die zwischen dem Verständnis des Schriftstellers . . . sowie seiner Haltung und seinen Interessen . . . und der Wirkung seines Werkes interagieren" (Author and literary work are subjected to influences and reactions that interact between the understanding of the author as well as his attitudes and interests and the effect of his work [44]). Oeuvre and author are not necessarily complementary, however, which isn't to say that a psychology of literature is irrelevant, but only that a work cannot necessarily be interpreted by using only biographical data as guidelines. Zhdanov suggests that "literature is a social phenomenon, the perception of reality through creative imagery" (qtd. in Escarpit 4). When the various

versions of Busch's autobiography are seen as creative imagery in the form of an aesthetic montage, they repeatedly point to the discrepancy he encountered between the cognitive and affective-emotional experiences of his social origins. These often conflicting experiences were not unusual in the economic, social, moral and cultural realities of middle to late 19th-century German society. In hyperbolizing their disparities Busch created incongruous impressions in his picture stories, overlaying the affective-emotionally perceived discords with a cognitive facade of a largely false, facile harmony.

Following the biographical and sociological investigations of Busch as an author, I attempt a close textual analysis of the two prose tales, *Eduards Traum* (1891) and *Der Schmetterling* (1895). Ralf Schnell contends that *Eduards Traum* represented Busch's ambition "auf dem engen Raum der Kurzprosa die Weite einer ganzen Welt zur Darstellung zu bringen und deren innerem Zustand angemessenen Ausdruck zu verleihen" (to represent the vastness of a whole world in the confined space of short prose and express its inner state appropriately [53]). Transcending reality, the surreal environment of the two prose tales allegorically masks the absurdity of human existence and corresponds to musings already contemplated by Busch some thirty-plus years earlier: "Egoismus, Unklarheit, Wankelmuth, Undank sind die ewig unvermeidlichen Attribute jener großen Masse, die das Volk genannt wird (egotism, uncertainty, fickleness, ingratitude are the eternally unavoidable attributes in that great mass that is called the people [B1: 29]), and reflect Busch's philosophy. The emphasis in the analyses of these two works then must be on the interpretation of meaning, which is stressed in hermeneutics. Andrew Milner summarizes the relevant meaning of literary hermeneutics as "that intended, either consciously or unconsciously, by the author of the literary text" (29). The hermeneutic tradition is based upon independent unities of meaning and significance, which change depending on the reader's own world or social circle, and which Janet Wolff explains thus: "Interpretation of the past is always, and necessarily, from the standpoint of the present" (103). The meaning in the past can be approached through a successful bridging of the hermeneutic difference of the historical distance between the (then-)author and the (now-)reader, as Milner suggests: "authorial intentions . . . are decipherable, especially in the case of texts from the distant

past, only in relation to the horizon of expectations of an anticipated readership" (30). As an example, Busch used caustic humour in word and picture to disguise criticism of systemic societal hypocrisy, and he clarifies these criticisms through the allegories in *Eduards Traum* and *Der Schmetterling*. Therefore, the understanding gained about Busch through the messages immanent in these two works leads to the unmasking of the social criticism inherent in his picture stories. However, the surreal world created by Busch in the allegories of the two prose tales to mask his philosophy of life and his view of contemporary society can be much better understood and explained from the standpoint of the present through the knowledge acquired by the study of surrealistic approaches of the 20th century. Artists of the surrealistic movement aspired to enter the realm of the "super-real" by expressing the irrational and creative products of their imagination. By transcending the bourgeois reality to which they were accustomed they hoped to prevail over the world shaped and represented by rationality, conventions and bourgeois values. While the surreal realm of *Eduards Traum* and *Der Schmetterling* may have been dismissed by some contemporaries as "erratisches Zeichen" (erratic symbol [Rector 73]) or "tollste Ausgeburten des Gehirns" (maddest monstrosities begot by the brain [Nadler 671]), today's understanding and acceptance of surrealistic concepts facilitates immanent analyses of these two works.

The analyses of *Eduards Traum* and *Der Schmetterling*, combined with the knowledge gained about Busch and his raison d'être through sociological and biographical investigations, provide the basis to show the social commentary and messages concealed in Busch's picture stories. In all of his works, Busch depended on the confrontation between the structure of his language, the structure of his drawings, the structure of the world and the structure of what the reader believes is reality, to elucidate the shortcomings of his time without pontificating betterment.

In the last chapter, I survey the tradition of picture stories until the time that Busch started to publish his early works in the *Fliegende Blätter* and the *Münchener Bilderbogen* to get an understanding of Busch's predecessors. This serves to clarify the influences that affected Busch from graphic artists before him, in particular Rodolphe Töpffer and Heinrich Hoffmann. I further try to demonstrate how

Busch's innovative method of line drawings accompanied by verse or short text influenced North American comic strips, with particular reference to the popular target of Busch as a source for plagiarism, considering not only direct copying, but also indirect conceptual semblances of characters, themes, or motifs, as is most clearly evidenced in a comparison of Busch's *Max und Moritz* to Rudolph Dirks' *Katzenjammer Kids*. Beginning with a comparison of physical features, parallels are drawn from the *Max und Moritz* pranks to sequences in the *Katzenjammer Kids*. In the context of reviewing Busch's legacy, this chapter also reviews how Busch and his works were exploited during the Third Reich. Finally, the dissertation surveys the ongoing tradition of Busch's style of writing and drawing, how his influence continues today and how this legacy is still used to convey a message in poignant, easy to remember fashion.

1. Wiedensahl's favourite child

The tiny hamlet of Wiedensahl would have remained obscure, had not Heinrich Christian Wilhelm Busch been born there in April, 1832. The village had first been settled under the direction of the Earl of Schaumburg in the early 13th century. Because of its strategic location along the only road between Stadthagen, the second city in the Earl's fiefdom, and the monastery Loccum, part of the Diocese of Minden, Wiedensahl was often the subject of skirmishes between a succession of earls and bishops until the secular earls ceded their claims to the ecclesiastical monastery, which subsequently continued to receive the Wiedensahl tithe until the 19th century, when villeinage was abolished during the French occupation in 1810. As a result, the tithe was first converted to a yearly rent of 935 taler, until the village made a lump-sum settlement of 25,100 taler in 1841. Mortgages taken out to contribute to this settlement amount were not paid off until the mid 1870s (Strecker 30). This financial hardship was compounded by the fact that it took until 1868 to conclude the constitution which guaranteed the owners appropriate compensation for damages incurred through infractions against hunting and forestry rights by members of the nobility.

While Wiedensahl was thus financially beholden to the monastery in Loccum, throughout the centuries it had looked to Stadthagen for economic guidance and military protection. This was in part because the road to Stadthagen was more used and in better condition than the one to Loccum, and in part because Stadthagen had become a trade centre for the region. Wiedensahl's geographic location in the "Dreiländereck" between Hanover, Prussia and Schaumburg-Lippe, and the experience of all sorts of political unrest had taught the villagers that it was safer to take refuge in the walled city of Stadthagen than to look to their monastic masters for support. Because of this orientation to the secular town, trades developed early in Wiedensahl, and while the craftsmen still kept their farms, most of the farm work fell to the women. Thus, while the fiscal union of the northeastern German states in the 1830s benefitted the Hanoverian Wiedensahl, to travel to Stadthagen in the neighbouring state of Schaumburg-Lippe, the villagers still had to contend with crossing borders and ensuing customs duties. However, the village's

centuries old tradition of changing allegiances based on current necessities is perhaps an explanation why the July 1830 uprisings largely bypassed the area. An uprising in July 1830 by workers and students in Paris had caused the fall of the Bourbons and their king, Charles X, who had been about to overthrow the constitution. This revolution with its demands for parliamentary reform spread from Paris to several other European countries, including most German states, where demonstrations for similar patriotic-democratic goals ensued. Falling wages and rising prices, and craftsmen feeling threatened by factory machinery were the cause for numerous demonstrations and use of force against the property of unpopular manufacturers in urban centres, and during unrest in the countryside peasants destroyed manorial records and attacked customs stations. Wiedensahl was hardly affected by these events; its unusual political and economic situation had caused an apolitical attitude of specious self-sufficiency and independence to become deeply engrained, as can be seen mirrored by the statement of the dream teller in *Eduards Traum*, who, as Busch's alter-ego, is expressing views that can be regarded as equivalent to those of Busch: "Mit der Politik gab ich mich nur so viel ab, als nötig, um zu wissen, was ungefähr los war" (with politics I only bothered enough to know approximately what was going on [H4: 181]).[1]

At the time Busch was born, Wiedensahl was a cautiously prosperous village with 140 houses and about 800 inhabitants (Strecker 54). The properties, strung along both sides of the road, sometimes had only six metres frontage, but the fields stretched up to 1,300 metres into the flatlands behind the farms. Everything appeared orderly, clearly laid out, from the parsonage, pub and the pond that gave the village its name at its centre, to the farms neatly aligned on either side. Its people were arranged in just as orderly a fashion: Their livelihood and place in life was determined depending on the family they were born into, not unlike realities in many other villages of the time. "Ein Bauer traut dem andern nicht" (One farmer doesn't trust the next [H4: 202]). They were reserved and proud, self-righteous and smug, and deeply steeped in "protestantische Anschauungen" (protestant beliefs [B1: 56]). They were conscientious, painstakingly precise, not only in the execution of their responsibilities and duties, but also

[1] All German quotations, be they from primary or secondary sources, have been translated into English in order to make this study accessible to both linguistic groups.

in protecting their own interests. Busch recounts a custom that originated in the middle ages when the Wiedensahl farmers sought protection from plundering robber barons by retreating behind the walls of Stadthagen and regularly receiving help in the defence of their properties from the Schaumburg-Lipper knights. In gratitude, the Wiedensahl farmers delivered eggs and young chickens to the earl's household whenever his consort was in confinement: "Was aber guten Willens geschah, wurde später ein Zwang. Die Eier und Hähnchen mußten . . . geliefert werden, ob die Frau in Wochen war oder nicht. Bis um die Mitte des letzten Jahrhunderts ist die Verpflichtung in Kraft geblieben" (But what happened because of good will later became an obligation. The eggs and chicken had to be delivered, . . . whether the lady was lying in or not. This commitment remained in force until the middle of the last century [H4: 528]). After all, the good will generated by these gifts would pay handsome dividends when protection was again needed! Later immortalized in *Max und Moritz* as Witwe Bolte depicting domestic order, Schneider Böck depicting professional honour, Lehrer Lämpel depicting reason and wisdom, Onkel Fritz depicting familial bliss and finally the collaboration of commerce and religion in the frommen Bäckersleut', these villagers emerge later as hypocrites professing to be pious, honest and upright, but actually replacing right with might, unjustly appropriating authority through the use of force, as can be seen in the final *Max und Moritz* prank: The miller granulates the boys in his mill and feeds them to the ducks. Observing this obviously wicked but self-serving event, the villagers wryly shrug "Wat geiht meck dat an?!" (What's it to me?! [H1: 389]), mirroring similar apathetic reactions of the Wiedensahl villagers, as observed by Busch.

Sociological research has shown strong conformances to community interests especially in rural areas in the 19th century, as well as clear ostracism of those that didn't conform to communal customs. Reinforcing the concept of a common consent and the necessity of social acceptance, the village community and neighbourhood are specifically recognized as having educational authority over children, because households were not private as they are today, but rather communally oriented (Rosenbaum 92). In times of insufficient (or lack of) birth control, children were an inevitable and often undesired by-product of sexual relations and indifference and lack of interest toward children were prevalent. Despite

pregnancies, women still had to complete their regular work load, and infant care had to be integrated into the daily routine as best as possible. Added to that, the lack of interest in children was compounded by the high infant death rate, "die unerträglich gewesen wäre, hätte man dem einzelnen Kind sehr viel emotionale Zuwendung gewährt" (which would have been unbearable if one would have been very emotionally attached to the individual child [Rosenbaum 90]). The presence of many different authority figures combined with the heavy daily workload of all adults and "die geringe Emotionalität und Intensität der häuslichen Beziehungen... verhinderten die heute so ausgeprägte gegenseitige psychische Abhängigkeit von Eltern und Kindern" (the minimal emotionality and intensity of domestic relationships precluded the mutual psychological dependency of parents and children, which today is so pronounced [Rosenbaum 93]). Busch was intimately familiar with these societal interactions in small villages. His early development was influenced by a blend of his geographic origin, social position and hierarchy, economic status and religious affiliation. Synthesizing these socio-emotional foundations, the social structures and cultural surroundings with individual elements like needs, desires and beliefs permits one to extrapolate how he responded to his social surroundings and how resulting interactions were facilitated by village-wide paradigms of authority and hypocrisy. He summarized the lessons learned and wrote a didactic poem, *Strebsam*, to illustrate their importance:

Mein Sohn, hast du allhier auf Erden	My son, if you here on earth
Dir vorgenommen, was zu werden,	resolved to make something of yourself,
Sei nicht zu keck;	Don't be too cheeky;
Und denkst du, sei ein stiller Denker.	And if you think, be a quiet thinker.
Nicht leicht befördert wird der Stänker.	The bellyacher won't easily be promoted.
Mit Demut salbe deinen Rücken,	Anoint your back with humility,
Voll Ehrfurcht hast du dich zu bücken,	In reverence you're to bow and scrape,
Mußt heucheln, schmeicheln, mußt dich fügen,	You must pretend, flatter, you must obey,
Denn selbstverständlich nur durch Lügen	Because of course only through deceit
Kommst du vom Fleck. (H4: 284)	Will you get anywhere.

In many ways, however, Busch's childhood was typical of a German childhood of the 19th century, in that his father and mother adhered to expected behavioural patterns, conventional parental role distributions, as well as domestic standards for disciplining children. They worked hard to be respected members of their rural community. Busch's mother Henriette Dorothee Charlotte was the

daughter of the surgeon and storekeeper Georg Kleine, who had fled to Wiedensahl from Hesse because he did not want to be drafted into the English army. Upon her marriage to Friedrich Wilhelm Stümke, her dowry, consisting of the store and adjoining farm was legally transferred to her husband. The three children from this marriage all died, as did Stümke, and Henriette became his heir. When she married Busch's father, Johann Friedrich Wilhelm Busch, at age twenty-eight, her entire property was transferred into her second husband's name. Busch's father was the premarital son of a Westphalian farmer, Johann Emme. Although his father in turn, Busch's paternal grandfather, later married the mother, Sophie Busch, (Busch's grandmother) and recognized the child (Busch's father) as his own, there were idiosyncrasies: The child--as the eldest--should have inherited the family farm, but did not, and also kept the mother's maiden name as his own. The stigma of illegitimacy held, especially within the confines of a small village. Busch's father left his Westphalian home early, completed an apprenticeship in commercial management in Loccum and after his marriage to Busch's mother took over her general store: "Die Familie Kleine gehörte zu den Honoratioren in Wiedensahl, und der eingeheiratete Busch wollte auch dazu gehören" (The family Kleine was part of the Wiedensahl elite, and through association by marriage Busch wanted to belong also [Wiechert 40]). At the time, economic factors were a primary consideration in selecting a marriage partner. Marriage offered the opportunity "Besitz und Vermögen zu erwerben" (to acquire property and wealth) and it was clear that "jede Ehe mit einem Partner, der weniger mitbrachte als man selbst . . . identisch war mit sozialem Abstieg" (each marriage to a partner who brought less [to the marriage] as oneself . . . was equal to a social come down [Rosenbaum 73]). While the marriage of Busch's parents, therefore, offered his father the opportunity for social advancement, it inversely also amounted to a social demotion for the mother. This social blemish must have reverberated for some time, because "Bauern heirateten unter sich. Jeder Versuch, diese unsichtbare Grenze . . . zu durchbrechen, wurde scharf sanktioniert (peasants married each other. Each attempt to break through this invisible boundary was strongly sanctioned [Rosenbaum 52]), and in light of this the parents' careful attention to the village's behavioural code is particularly plausible, as is their ambition to be respected members of the village.

From me about me

Busch's father was determined to obscure the stigma of his illegitimate birth by advancing socially and economically, being a successful business man and model citizen. He was a sober and calculating man of conservative attitudes, and strict toward his children. His puritanical rigidity was described by Busch as "mäßig und gewissenhaft; stets besorgt, nie zärtlich" (moderate and conscientious, always anxious, never affectionate [H4: 147]). He never did get over the disgrace of his illegitimate birth, an insurmountable blemish in particular within a rural community, and was driven to overcome this "shortcoming" through material success and his children's success in society: "[Er] hat sich durch geschäftlichen Erfolg entschädigt, war aber zu Hause ein gefühlsarmer Tyrann" (he found compensation through success in business, but at home he was an unemotional tyrant [Beer 11]). A cornerstone of 19th century society was the authoritarian-patriarchal family which credited the male with enterprise and rationality, whereas the female was characterized by passivity and regarded almost entirely as a sexual object and workhorse (Hausen 161). Typical for this assessment, Henriette acquiesced to her husband's ambitions, was "still, fleißig, fromm" (quiet, industrious, pious [H4: 147]), too busy with running the farm and tending to her increasing brood of children to show much affection.[2] This led Kraus to speculate that "[es] wäre wohl besser gewesen, wenn sich die Mutterliebe auch in sichtbaren Zärtlichkeiten geäußert hätte" (it would have been better if this motherly love had been reflected with some noticeable affection) because in later years Busch's relationship to women was marked by a "gewisse Sprödigkeit" (certain aloofness [*Selbstzeugnisse* 12]). Busch recalled later that to all appearances, his parents "lebten einträchtig und so häuslich, daß einst über zwanzig Jahre vergingen, ohne daß sie zusammen ausfuhren" (lived in harmony and so settled that once twenty years passed without them going on an outing together [H4: 147]). The surface harmony of this family life taught Busch at a very early age that the outward facade a person shows society is different from the true realities, which he expressed as "Du siehst die Weste, nicht das Herz" (you see the vest, not the heart

---

[2]Busch as the oldest of seven children may well have been thinking of his own parents when describing Helene's parents in *Die fromme Helene*, "Zwar man zeuget viele Kinder, / Doch man denket nichts dabei (Indeed one fathers many children, / but one doesn't think much about it [H2: 205]).

[H4: 393]) in the poetry collection *Schein und Sein*, published posthumously from materials found in his estate. Busch internalized these impressions of an outwardly harmonious family life until the facade is dissembled. The theme of their unmasked reality becoming apparent can be seen in *Max und Moritz*, *Hans Huckebein*, *Fipps der Affe*, and *Die fromme Helene*.

Dettweiler conducted a psychoanalytic analysis of Busch's parents and concluded that Busch's mother was not able to give her children a "Gefühl der Urgeborgenheit" (feeling of basic security [8]) because she was herself psychologically and physically overtaxed. Her husband was a person who demanded "totale Unterwerfung" (absolute subjugation [9]). Dettweiler concludes that the Busch children "diese nicht-verbale Kommunikation als Prägung voll [mitbekamen]" (fully absorbed this kind of non-verbal communication in their psyche [10]). It appears that while both parents provided well for their children, the family atmosphere was cold, void of emotions, filled with an "unterschwellige Spannung" (underlying tension [Dettweiler 10]), yet outwardly, both lived in harmony. The sense of futility to defy authority, first recognized through the mother's example of submitting to her husband, was compounded by the village teacher, who "besaß einen kniffigen Rohrstock" (had a fierce stick [H4: 332]) and used it often to subjugate his pupils. Protestant anthropology, such as taught by Martin Luther, speaks of man and his surroundings as a "disorderly and wild crowd . . . indeed, a pigsty and mob of wild beasts" (Tappert 125) if not disciplined and bridled. This viewpoint gained momentum in the 19th century and contrasted with the teachings of the Enlightenment, which specified that the character of a person is wholly dependent on how s/he was raised and educated. Regular churchgoers, and following the teachings of the Protestant church that "the child needs the discipline of the rod" (Eby 32), village teacher and father between them "[haben Busch] durch die Kinderjahre hindurchgeprügelt" (flogged [Busch] through his childhood years [H4: 545]). The justification for this was that "every individual must be brought up in subserviency to the state, and outwardly at least he must be submissive to the religious doctrines and practices of his prince" (Eby 18). Luther formulated this theory in the early 16th century following the Peasants' War, but over the years this attitude of outward subserviency and submissiveness had spread

to include such behaviour opposite all authority figures. Busch was an apt pupil:

Es saust der Stock, es schwirrt die Rute.	The stick whistles, the rod whooshes.
Du darfst nicht zeigen, was du bist. (H4: 286)	You may not show what you are.

The deceiving appearance of the publicly punctilious behaviour of both parents contrasted to the repressed atmosphere of the private Busch household. The sanctimonious behaviour of the village teacher and the self-righteousness of the villagers communicated to Busch at a very young age the superficiality of interpersonal relationships and the narrow boundaries of acceptable behaviour in society, the double standards of a society where "nichts so ist wie man wohl möcht" (nothing is as you would like it to be [H4: 202]).

Busch spent a large part of his childhood in this environment within the narrow confines of a very structured, rigid farming community. However, because his father did not think the local school would facilitate the kind of successful career he envisioned for his son, after three years in the village school, the nine-year old Wilhelm was placed in the care of his uncle, Georg Kleine, a Lutheran minister in Ebergötzen, another small village a three-day journey from Wiedensahl. It was nothing unusual that Busch was sent away to receive an education superior to that which the village teacher could provide--it was a fate shared by many children from rural areas and for the same reasons, and indeed, Busch "freute [sich] darauf; nicht ohne Wehmut" (looked forward to it, not without melancholy [H4: 147]).[3] He was fortunate that his uncle was a "ruhiger Naturbeobachter und äußerst milde" (a quiet observer of nature and extremely gentle [H4: 148]), who provided a broad, though unconventional, education. Kleine was a follower of Friedrich Schleiermacher's teachings on pedagogy, which rejected the notion that "Erziehung ist nur Unterdrückung des Bösen, das Gute entwickelt sich dann selbst" (education is merely suppression of the essential bad, the essential good will then develop on its own [421]) and instead counselled that as the essential bad in a person should be suppressed through education, changes in living conditions and the essential good in a person should be promoted by those same means. Compared to the previously described

[3]To parallel Helene in *Die fromme Helene* again, sent to be raised by her aunt and uncle: "Da ist Onkel, da ist Tante, / Da ist Tugend und Verstand" (There is uncle, there is auntie, / There is virtue and reason [H2: 205]).

teachings of subservience and submissiveness, this was a much more temperate pedagogy. It "setzte die Formbarkeit des Individuums voraus und gelangte so zu einer Pädagogik, die von einer echten Erziehbarkeit des Menschen ausging" (assumed that an individual can be shaped and in this way arrived at a pedagogy that starts out from the true trainability of man [Mihr 71]). The private tutoring Busch received from his uncle, the village parson, set him apart from the other children attending the local village school, making him at the same time an outsider and placing him in a position of privilege. Busch stayed with Kleine for about seven years, moving with him when his uncle was transferred from the modest parish in Ebergötzen to the larger one in Lüthorst, and only left to attend the Polytechnical College in Hannover. Later, Busch recalled his uncle's mild pedagogy, contrary to the authoritarian pedagogy of the time: "Nur ein einziges Mal, wennschon öfters verdient, gab's Hiebe; mit einem trockenen Georginenstengel; weil ich den Dorftrottel geneckt" (only once, even though more often deserved, did I get a hiding; with a dried dahlia stalk; because I teased the village idiot [H4: 148]). The impact of the broad-minded parson's household had a liberating effect on young Busch. The private tutoring was oriented to the exacting curriculum of Protestant Orthodoxy, but detours were made to include domestic and foreign literature and philosophy. This also followed Schleiermacher's teachings that pedagogy has two distinct areas of responsibility: "Das Ausbilden der Natur und das Hineinbilden in das sittliche Leben" (instructing a person's nature and [his] preparation for an ethical life [416]). Kleine supported Busch's inclination to drawing and painting, encouraged his interest in trout fishing and bird watching, and gave him lessons in his own passion, beekeeping. Almost sacrilegious for a Lutheran minister, Kant's philosophy was tackled with the reading of the *Critique of Pure Reason.* Kleine tolerated Busch's reading of contemporary non-denominational works of literature, which "begierig verschlungen wurden" (were eagerly devoured [H4: 148]).[4] He also

[4]While in Ebergötzen Busch befriended the local innkeeper and storekeeper, a supporter of the Freethinkers of the earlier 19th century. The freethinking congregations evolved as a counter-movement to the Lutheran church, who collaborated with the reactionary Prussian government to prohibit all joys of life, for example, Goethe's works were declared to be "sinful." The underlying belief was that "the corrupting influence of the flesh prevented man from perceiving the divine pattern until total comprehension occurred in the afterlife. Man's lot, therefore, was complete obedience to the divinely sanctioned order on earth" (Brose 226). It is no wonder then, that the rights of the individual, which were dismissed as "sinfulness," were fought for initially within the realm of religion. Popular freethinking literature included *Leben Jesu, kritisch betrachtet* (*Life of Jesus*) (1835) by David Friedrich Strauß and Ludwig Feuerbach's *Wesen des Christentums* (*The*

taught him that by observing nature he would begin to learn about the real values of life. It speaks for the parson's unbiased teaching methods that Busch was able to admit later that "in meinem elften Jahr verblüffte mich der Widerspruch zwischen der Allwissenheit Gottes und dem freien Willen des Menschen; mit 15 Jahren zweifelte ich am ganzen Katechismus" (in my eleventh year the contradiction of God's omniscience and the free will of people baffled me; at age 15 I doubted the entire catechism [B1: 144]).

It was in this environment that Busch lost the inhibitions bred into him in Wiedensahl and developed the foundations of a self-effacing confidence that would later allow him to denounce the hypocritical behaviour of his fellow citizens without condemning them. Yet, Busch's exposure to the diametrically opposed social milieus of village school and life as the son of the village's social climber in Wiedensahl, followed by private tutoring in Ebergötzen and Lüthorst as the nephew of an unquestioned member of those villages' elite, had sharpened his senses to the hidden undercurrents of social interactions. The impressions of the first nine years of his childhood could not be expunged, they could only be suppressed, later to be recalled and relied upon in the creation of *Max und Moritz*, *Hans Huckebein* and *Die fromme Helene*, where hyperbole served to reveal his views of the powerless hiding behind the cover of pretended harmony. From the complex beginnings of subjugation experienced in his parental home, followed by an elitist position as the private student of the village parson, himself a local dignitary, Busch developed into a writer and artist who transformed these early impressions into picture stories, and clearly treasured the experience:

> Um eine Sprache von Herzen sein eigen zu nennen, muß man, glaub ich, etwas drin erlebt haben, etwas sehr Wichtiges--nämlich die Kindheit. In diesem Sinn hab' ich zwei Sprachen: Hochdeutsch und Plattdeutsch. Nur was in diesen Sprachen, in den Sprachen meines Paradieses, geschrieben ist, kann mich rühren, d.h. in innerster Seele rühren; denn ich weiß wohl, daß es ein »Paradise Lost« gibt, welches hinter der ganzen Menschheit liegt.

Essence of Christianity) (1841). The former "deconstructed Jesus by placing him in the context of ancient mythology" and concluded that Christ's birth, resurrection and ascension "remain eternal truths, whatever doubts may be cast on their reality as historical facts" (Brose 227). The purpose of Feuerbach's text was to "galvanize man for constructive work on earth by separating him from distracting preoccupation with perfection in the afterlife . . . [and] convert the friends of God into the friends of man, believers into thinkers, worshippers into workers, candidates for the other world into students of this world" (Brose 227).

> To really call a language one's own, one has to have, I believe, experienced something very important in it--childhood. In this sense I have two languages: High German and Low German. Only what has been written in these languages, the languages of my paradise, can move me, that is, move me to the soul, because I know well that there is a »Paradise Lost«, which can be found behind all of mankind.

This explanation, in a letter dated April 2nd, 1875 to Maria Anderson, concludes that "wer zum Herzen dringen will, der schreib in seiner Muttersprache" (those who want to reach the heart should write in their mother tongue [B1: 137]). It is hence understandable that Busch, who faced the dichotomies of cognitive and affective-emotional experiences in his childhood in Wiedensahl, and who encountered dichotomous behavioural patterns in the households of his parents and his uncle, should create picture stories containing similar dichotomies.

Genesis of Busch's autobiography

After relative obscurity as a freelance illustrator and writer for the *Fliegenden Blätter* and *Münchener Bilderbogen*, and an unsuccessful publication of the *Bilderpossen* in 1864, the immediate commercial success of *Max und Moritz* in 1865[5] catapulted Busch to international fame and such popularity that all of his subsequent picture stories also became best sellers. Despite this success, biographies about Busch emerged slowly. When Busch was in Munich in the fall of 1877, the painter Franz von Lenbach introduced him to the writer Paul Lindau who had become interested in Busch and wanted to write an article about him in the magazine *Nord und Süd*, of which he was editor in the 1870s. Unable to find biographical data on Busch in reference books, he turned to Busch directly, and upon

---

[5]Heinrich Richter of Dresden had published the *Bilderpossen*, containing *Der Eispeter*, *Katze und Maus*, *Krischan mit der Piepe* and *Hänsel und Gretel*, in 1864, but they were a commercial failure. In order to compensate for this, Busch offered him *Max und Moritz* free of charge, but Richter declined. Anxious to get the story published, Busch then offered the manuscript to Braun & Schneider, publishers of the *Fliegende Blätter* and *Münchener Bilderbogen*, and even offered to make changes if required. Braun & Schneider printed 4,000 copies for the first edition, which were distributed in the summer of 1865. The book was an immediate success. The first translation--into Danish--followed in 1866; the first confirmed English translation in 1871, although earlier pirated and unattributed translations are likely. At the time of Busch's death, translations into at least eleven languages existed; and the German text had been published in 56 editions and about 430,000 copies. At the time of expiration of the copyright in 1959, the Wilhelm-Busch-Society estimated in excess of 2 million copies in circulation. Since then, a large number of new editions have been published and reliable numbers for copies in print can no longer be determined. In 1997, Görlach talked of translations into more than 280 languages and dialects (*Wandlungen* 21). Finally, the Wilhelm-Busch-Society advises that a copy of the first edition of *Max und Moritz* fetched in excess of 250,000 DM at a 1998 auction.

compiling the required information, published a biographical essay about Busch in the February 1878 issue of *Nord und Süd.* This essay was the first detailed publication about Busch, and Busch liked the result, which he expressed in a very chatty letter to Lindau: "Die unverdient liebenswürdige Vivisection des Karnickels in *Nord und Süd* hat mir viel Spaß gemacht. Ich durfte ja nicht hoffen, daß Sie so viel Gründlichkeit daran verschwenden würden, sonst hätte ich Ihnen ausführlichere Notizen geliefert" (I very much enjoyed the undeservedly kind vivisection of the rabbit in *Nord und Süd.* I couldn't begin to hope that you would waste so much thoroughness on it, otherwise I would have given you more detailed notes [B1: 183]).

The next detailed discourse about Busch was published in 1885 in France. In the early 1880s John Grand-Carteret, a Swiss national living in Paris, published several articles about caricature and graphic art in German speaking countries for the French journal *Livre.* Intending to write an article about Busch, he requested and received materials from Busch publisher Otto Bassermann. However, rather than use this information for an article, Grand-Carteret instead developed it into the main chapter of his large treatise *Le mœurs et la caricature en Allemagne, en Autriche, en Suisse*, published in Paris in 1885, and introducing Busch as "voici certainement, le roi de la charge et de la bouffonnerie" (certainly the king of caricature and farce [296]). Busch's reaction to this work is not known, although it is known that he had a copy of the text in his possession.[6]

In the same year that Grand-Carteret published his work in France, Busch was contacted by Eduard Daelen who was working on a biography on Busch. Although Busch was doubtful that the subject Daelen had selected for his book would prove fruitful (B1: 262), he agreed to cooperate and even meet with Daelen, which they did in early November 1885. Eleven years earlier, in November 1874, Busch and Daelen had first met at a meeting of the artists' association "Allotria" in Munich; Daelen was a member, and Busch attended as a guest of Lenbach. Perhaps for this reason, Busch had "volle[s] Vertrauen" (complete confidence) that materials Daelen gathered on a research trip to Munich to visit friends and acquaintances of Busch, would be "in den besten Händen" (in the best hands [B1: 263]).

---

[6]Busch's copy of this text, containing his annotations, is located in the archives of the Wilhelm-Busch-Society.

Despite this kind disposition towards Daelen, in a letter to his friend Friedrich August von Kaulbach, Busch formulated some strong reservations about biographies: "Für die gewöhnlichen biographischen Schreibereien, die naturgemäß entweder lügenhaft, langweilig oder indiskret sind, besitz' ich keine absonderliche Verehrung" (I don't have a peculiar admiration for the usual biographical scribblings, which by nature are either mendacious, tedious or indiscreet [B1: 264]). Similar concerns implying that Busch was not fond of biographies or their writers are addressed in a letter to Hermann Levi, another Busch confidante: "Auch ich traue den Biographen nicht . . . Als Herr D. mir schrieb, was er vorhatte, riet ich ihm ab" (I also don't trust biographers . . . When Mr. D. wrote me of his plans, I advised against them [B1: 266]). In both letters Busch claims that he encouraged Daelen to "weniger die Person als die Sachen zu besichtigen und weiterhin zu untersuchen und deutlich zu machen, wann und warum man lacht" (look less at the person and more at the materials and further to examine and make clear when and why people laugh [B1: 266]). These claims stand in odd contrast to Busch's letters to Daelen. Although it is not known what Daelen and Busch talked about when they met in Hanover in November 1885, Busch's letters to Daelen do not support the contentions he made to his friends. His letters to Daelen--both before and after the biography was published--never touch on researching patterns of laughter, but rather repeatedly distinguish themselves through their obvious tone of support for Daelen's undertaking: On request he gave Daelen information about the sources for his works (B1: 265-6), his relationship to publishers (B1: 269-70), and he expressed the hope that Daelen's research would have the result that "auf diesem Wege noch manches von mir entdeckt [wird]" (in this manner various things of mine would be rooted out [B1: 263]).

The Daelen biography *Über Wilhelm Busch und seine Bedeutung. Eine lustige Streitschrift* was published in July 1886. In addition to attempting to stylize Busch as a central figure of the "Kulturkampf" by describing *Pater Filucius*, *Der heilige Antonius von Padua* and *Bilder zur Jobsiade* as important contributions to the clash between Prussia and the Catholic Church, the biography contains lapses of tact which were objectionable to Busch, as well as errors, inaccuracies and fallacies that disturbed him and which he pointed out in a letter to Daelen on July 29, 1886. He preceded this letter

with what amounts to an apology for his comments, "Der Biograph ist in einer mißlichen Lage. Er sollte Alles wissen, um klar zu sein, und erfährt wenig; er sollte Alles sagen, um genau zu sein, und muß doch vieles verschweigen" (The biographer is in an awkward position. He should know everything to be clear, and he finds out little; he should say everything to be precise, and yet has to withhold much [B1: 269]). Busch continues with his critical commentary,[7] but his overall reaction to the book was positive, as the closing paragraph of that letter indicates, and as he expressed again in another letter to Daelen: "Dank für das Wohlwollen . . . welches Sie mir in Ihrem Buche so reichlich haben zu Teil werden lassen" (thank you for the benevolence, which you so richly dispensed on me in your book). In the same letter he reiterates that while he had wanted to clarify some issues in the book, he has "Keine Kritik!" (no criticism! [B1: 271]). He also planned another collaboration with Daelen, and they met for preliminary discussions in Hanover in October 1886. Again in odd contrast is a letter to Kaulbach written in September of the same year, in which Busch states that "für sein schwungvolles Wohlwollen hab ich ihm [Daelen] natürlich meinen Dank ausgesprochen, meine Zustimmung im Übrigen abgelehnt" (of course, I expressed my thanks for his [Daelen's] enthusiastic benevolence, but otherwise declined my approval [B1: 272]).

This note to Kaulbach notwithstanding, it appears obvious that Busch was de facto approving of the Daelen book--perhaps he felt flattered--yet it seems that he stood pretty much alone in this approval.[8] Others were not so eagerly positive and criticized Daelen for inaccuracies, hyperbole and

---

[7]Specifically, he rejected that Daelen wrote about Busch's association with the Frankfurt Banker Johann Daniel Heinrich Kessler and his family, particularly his wife Johanna Kessler. He clarifies his negotiations with the first would-be publisher of *Der heilige Antonius von Padua*, and his dealings with the Dresden publisher Richter about *Max und Moritz*. He emphasized that prior to reading the Daelen text he had not been aware that Friedrich Theodor Vischer had accused him of having a "pornographischer Strich" (pornographic touch), and that he had never had a conversation with Vischer. He denies knowing very much about Catholic affairs, and suggests that perhaps the mistreatment of Martin Luther in the novel *Maria Schweidler, die Bernsteinhexe* by Wilhelm Meinhold (published in 1843) gave him an idea. He indicates agreement with Daelen's strong passionate words against supporters of Ultramontanism. He denies having travelled to Italy to collect satirical material about Catholic priests and points out some spelling errors. Finally, he rejects Daelen's tendency to hyperbole, albeit very mildly: "Da das Lob, welches Sie erteilen, schon dem Belobten viel zu groß erscheint . . . so wird es andern Leuten erst recht so vorkommen" (As the praise that you give already appears too much to the praised . . . other people will certainly have that impression).

[8]Contemporary reviews of the Daelen biography were very negative and secondary literature up to the present day cannot seem to do without a dig at Daelen's work when discussing Busch's autobiographical texts (cf. Ackerknecht 1949, Bohne 1958, Marxer 1967, Kraus 1970, Pape 1977, Lotze 1979, Vaßen 1982, Wessling 1993, Hetzner 1994).

undue bias toward his subject.[9] Otto Bassermann expressed his opinion in a letter to Daelen[10] and the features editor of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Johannes Proelß, found it necessary to write a scathing review of the Daelen biography and at the same time hoped to correct some of the fallacies. The Proelß article, "Aus Wilhelm Buschs Leben," was printed in two parts on September 7th and 8th 1886. Unfortunately, it contained further mistakes. Proelß was rather unscrupulous in his treatment of Busch's personal data, associations, literary and artistic merits. He emphasized his own opinion that Busch copied older existing works and adapted them for his own purposes;[11] he suggested that Busch received a large part of the profits for *Max und Moritz*,[12] and without the connection to the publishing house Braun & Schneider there would be no author named Wilhelm Busch.

While there is conceivably a grain of truth in those assertions, it is perhaps no wonder that Busch at this point felt prompted to come forth and clarify some of the more flagrant fallacies. He had previously commented on the Daelen text in a private letter, but after the Proelß article considered it prudent to print a rebuttal in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*; he sent a letter to the paper with this suggestion and two days after receiving a positive response from Proelß mailed him the first part of *Was mich betrifft*, which was published in 5½ columns in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* (No. 283) on October 10th 1886. The date of "September 1886" on the manuscript indicates that he must have had it written when

---

[9]Some examples of Daelen's inflated exaltations are: "Wahrlich, ein Fürst, ein König, ein unumschränkter Herrscher in dem Weltreiche des Humors ist Wilhelm Busch" (Truly, Wilhelm Busch is a prince, a king, an absolute ruler in the empire of humour [5]); "Es gibt nur sehr wenige Künstler in der ganzen Weltgeschichte, die sich eines ähnlich bedeutenden Einflusses ihrer Werke auf die Geistesrichtung der Menschheit rühmen können" (There are only very few artists in the entire history of the world that can claim that their works have had a similarly important influence on the intellectual direction of mankind [6]); Wilhelm Busch is deserving of a place next to "Dante, Michelangelo, Shakespeare, Goethe" (6); "Wilhelm Busch ist unstreitig der größte Meister des Humors, aber nicht weniger auch der der Satire" (Wilhelm Busch is without a doubt the greatest master of humour, but no less also of satire [7]).

[10]The letters from Otto Bassermann, Busch's long-time publisher, to and/or about Busch are largely unpublished, but are available in the archives of the Wilhelm-Busch-Society. His letter to Daelen dated December 16, 1886 states that "[sein] Urteil [ist] kein gutes" (his opinion is not a good one), yet it is "[ihm] peinlich, Kritik über Ihr Buch zu üben" (it is awkward to criticize your book). He continues the letter expressing hope that a second edition will be published to correct some of the errors of the first edition and offers his own copy of the text, which he had marked up and corrected. (A second edition of the Daelen biography was never published.)

[11]Proelß specifically talks about Don Quixote, the Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum, the Biblia Pauperum and suggests that Busch has an almost unlimited source of material to draw from.

[12]In fact, Busch sold all rights to *Max und Moritz* to Braun & Schneider for a one-time payment of 1,000 Gulden.

he sent the letter offering it to the paper.[13] In the letter accompanying his submission to the newspaper, Busch denies very emphatically that he used older works as sources for his own, and also clarifies the payment he received for *Max und Moritz*. As an autobiography, the first part of *Was mich betrifft* is incomplete, and for this reason Proelß suggested a continuation in further articles. Busch sent him a second part in late November, and it was printed in 6¼ columns in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* (No. 336) on December 2nd of the same year. Meanwhile, however, Busch had received another correspondence from Daelen, and while this letter is not available,[14] Busch's response to him indicates that Daelen must have been concerned that Busch shared some of the Proelß criticism of his book. Busch pacifies:

> Sie haben recht, mit der Kritik Ihres Buches in der *Frankfurter Zeitung* wenig zufrieden zu sein und in Anbetracht dieser Sachlage kann ich wohl verstehen, daß die Veröffentlichung meiner kurzen Lebensbeschreibung *Was mich betrifft* in der gleichen Zeitung den Anschein erwecken könnte, daß auch ich mich gewißermaßen auf seiten Ihrer Gegner stellen wollte. Das wäre ein arges Mißverständnis. (B1: 276)
> You are right to be little satisfied with the criticism of your book in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* and in view of this I can understand that the publication of my short biography *Was mich betrifft* in the same newspaper creates the impression that I, too, wanted to position myself on the side of your opponents. That would be a bad misunderstanding.

Busch goes on to explain that his biography was prompted by the Proelß article and reiterates that his concerns about the Daelen biography are few and insignificant. Those assertions are in stark contrast to a letter to Kaulbach written just four days earlier: "Da er [Daelen] seinen Pegasus auf's Neue von der Krippe zu holen drohte, ging ich hin, um ihm entschieden meine Meinung zu sagen. Ich führte ihm seine Flüchtigkeiten, Unrichtigkeiten, Taktlosigkeiten zu Gemüte" (as he [Daelen] threatened to get out his Pegasus again, I went to firmly give him my opinion. I laid out his flaws, errors, indiscretions [B1: 275]), or to a letter Busch sent to his friend Friedrich Warnecke some two months later that states very categorically, "Die Broschüre von Daelen hat selbstverständlich durchaus nicht meinen Beifall. Ich finde sie weder richtig noch berechtigt, weder geschmackvoll noch taktvoll" (Of course the Daelen booklet does not have my approval. I find it neither correct nor justified, neither tasteful nor tactful [B1: 278]). Indeed, the meeting with Daelen, which

---

[13]Located in the archives of the Wilhelm-Busch-Society.

[14]Other than Bassermann's letters, which were kept in the files of the Bassermann publishing house, most of the correspondence to Busch is not available, because he destroyed most letters to him as soon as he had responded to them.

Busch alluded to in his letter to Kaulbach, took place in Hanover on October 17, 1886, and Daelen reported that Busch "empfing mich wie einen alten Freund mit herzlichster Liebenswürdigkeit" (greeted me like an old friend with warmest kindness [Neumann 591]). This comparison of Busch's comments to Daelen and to his friends shows that throughout the entire Daelen episode, Busch's remarks to friends about the Daelen biography are glaringly different than his remarks to Daelen himself. He repeatedly stressed his displeasure to his friends, and he repeatedly downplayed his criticism to Daelen who must have had an inkling of this and questioned Busch about it, but again Busch responded favourably:

> Ich habe Ihnen sr. Zt. [sic] unumwunden klargelegt, mit welchen Stellen Ihrer Broschüre ich nicht einverstanden bin; aber ebenso unumwunden habe ich auch das Verdienstvolle Ihrer Ausführungen anerkannt und ich will dem heute noch hinzufügen, daß dieser Würdigung des Ganzen gegenüber die wenigen Punkte, an denen ich etwas auszusetzen fand, als unwesentlich zu betrachten sind. (B1: 276]
> I had candidly told you at the time with which parts of your booklet I did not agree; but equally candidly I also recognized that which has merit in your treatise and to that I would like to add today that opposite this appreciation of the whole the few points to which I objected can be considered as negligible.

This creates the impression that Busch was essentially supportive of the Daelen biography, but didn't have the confidence to say so publicly, indeed he created quite the opposite public impression. It could, however, also indicate some of Busch's own hypocrisies that he so valiantly exposed in the picture stories. There is no doubt that he was upset at some of the Proelß assertions that attacked his integrity as a writer. Having written the two parts of his autobiography, Busch turned his back on literary society and never published another picture story again.

Meanwhile, Bassermann continued marketing Busch and his works, published collections of Busch's works in a four volume edition entitled *Humoristischer Hausschatz*,[15] and planned an anniversary edition for the *Fromme Helene* celebrating 100,000 copies of the book in print, in which he also wanted to reprint Busch's autobiography. When Bassermann first approached Busch with this idea

---

[15]The *Humoristischer Hausschatz* has been published by Bassermann in large volumes since then. In the year of Busch's death, 1908, the 19th edition with 121-130 thousand copies was published; an unnumbered edition with 336-345 thousand copies was published in 1932, but a printing from 1950 contains the notation "20th edition." The last edition I was able to ascertain was the 26th in 1964 without an indication of print quantities. However, since the expiration of the copyright protection in 1959 a large number of "unauthorized" identical or similar copies have been distributed by various publishing houses.

in September 1892, Busch was hesitant to agree. By December he had let himself be persuaded, and suggested to use the first part of *Was mich betrifft* unchanged; by January he contemplated some minor changes; in April 1893 he forwarded to Bassermann a copy of the reworked rendition, which he called *Von mir über mich*, and this is what was published the following August in the anniversary edition of *Die fromme Helene*.[16] The introductory paragraph of this revised work is indicative of Busch's attitude to this undertaking, and also contains a caveat directed at the reader: "Wer ist heutigen Tages noch so harmlos, daß er Weltgeschichten und Biographien für richtig hält? Sie gleichen den Sagen und Anekdoten, die Namen, Zeit und Ort benennen, um sich glaubhaft zu machen" (In these days, who is innocent enough to assume world histories or biographies to be correct? They resemble legends and anecdotes which mention names, time and place to appear believable [*Helene* VII).

Reactions to this revised autobiography in various newspapers, most notably the *Berliner Tageblatt*, prompted Busch to yet another revision, which he sent to Bassermann in January 1894 with the comment that "damit hat mein Selbstbiographieren seinen definitiven Abschluß gefunden" (with this, my autobiographical writings have reached a definitive conclusion) and the explanation that this further reworking was necessary "nachdem ich bemerkt, daß man aus der Charakteristik meines Vaters eine unpassende Folgerung gezogen, bin ich mit der Bezugnahme auf Andere noch bedenklicher geworden" (after I noticed that inappropriate conclusions were drawn from my father's characteristics, I became even more hesitant when referring to others [B2: 23-24]). This final version was first published in 1899 in a new edition of *Pater Filucius*. Although Busch had stipulated that the 1894 version should be the only one used in the future,[17] in

---

[16]The anniversary edition of *Die fromme Helene* contains a portrait of Busch, the autobiography *Von mir über mich*, the never-before published poem *Der Nöckergreis*, which was introduced as "ein neues Gedicht, welches als eine Art Résumé seiner Lebensanschauungen gilt" (a new poem, which can be considered as a kind of résumé of his [Busch's] philosophy of life [letter from Bassermann to G. Hirth, May 6, 1893]), and *Die fromme Helene*.

[17]The envelope containing the 1894 manuscript (located in the archives of the Wilhelm-Busch-Society) carries Busch's signature below the following remark in his own handwriting: "Sollte es wünschenswert sein, einem meiner Bücher eine Biographie beizugeben, so soll dies Manuskript benutzt werden, ohne irgendwelche Veränderung. Ein Wiederabdruck des *Von mir über mich* der Jubiläumsausgabe der *Helene* soll dagegen nicht stattfinden. Es wurde mir zugeweht, daß doch vielleicht etwas zu viel Wörtliches aus dem *Was mich betrifft* herübergenommen sei. Auch möcht ich nicht, daß die Charakteristik meines Vaters, die von einem Zeitungsschreiber falsch gedeutet ist, wiederholt würde." (Should it be desired to include a biography with one of my books, then this manuscript shall be used, without any changes. A reprint of the *Von mir über mich* of the anniversary edition of *Helene* shall not occur. A little bird told me that perhaps a little too much was taken over verbatim from *Was mich betrifft*. I also don't want my father's characteristics, which were misinterpreted by a newspaper writer, to be repeated.)

subsequent printings after 1905 the publisher supplemented the 1894 version with parts of the 1893 version. These printings were never authorized by Busch, in fact, the 1894 version of *Von mir über mich*, so to speak the "Ausgabe letzter Hand" and the only one definitively authorized by him, was not published again until Nöldeke produced an edition of his complete works in 1943. My translation of 1894's *Von mir über mich*, the first into English, is located in Appendix B of this dissertation.

Comparison and analysis of Busch's autobiographical writings

The purpose of a biography, or an autobiography, is "the simulation, in words, of a person's life, from all that is known about that person" (Kendall 39) in order to familiarize the reader with the subject person and the essence of that person's life. In arriving at that goal, a biographer "should deal with all aspects of his subject which tend to the transmission of personality" (O'Connor 43) and within a generalized narrative concerning events, movements, factual evidences, recapture a sense of the life being lived. Moreover, for the creator of an autobiography, in other words in writing one's own history, it is important "für sich wie für andere ein inneres Selbstbild glaubhaft und greifbar zu machen" (make an inner picture of himself believable and tangible for himself as for others [Pascal, "Autobiographie" 79]). Therefore, aside from factual data about the subject's life, his physical being and the milieu he lives in, the readers of biographies and autobiographies expect to learn not only material facts, but also personal and intimate details of that person: his psychological make-up, individual traits and features, high and low points of development, what makes him stand out from the crowd. In presenting this information, the autobiographer "presents an inner core, a self beneath the personality that appears to the world, that is his most precious reality since it gives meaning to his life" (Pascal, *Design* 193).

This prying into the "intimsten Winkel" (most intimate corners [W7: 439]) of the inner core was disgusting and objectionable to Busch, who was very reticent in revealing too much about his personal life, providing sparse information about himself to a reading public, and restricting visits to his homes in Wiedensahl or later in Mechtshausen to only very few people. His opinion about biographies or autobiographies was ambivalent: "Wenn einer was erlebt hat, so lese ich Biographien oder auch

Selbstbiographien wie eine Novelle mit großem Interesse; aber ich habe ja nichts erlebt" (If someone has experienced something special, then I read biographies or even autobiographies like a novel and with great interest; but I haven't experienced anything [W7: 431]). Clearly reflecting his opinion that only extraordinary experiences or accomplishments should be for public consumption, not the details of day-to-day life, he elaborated further: "Von Shakespeare weiß man recht nichts, ebenso von Homer nicht; Mozarts Grab ist unbekannt. So ist's gerade recht. Das Gute und Bedeutende von ihnen ist in ihren Werken da. Das andere Minderwertige und weniger Liebenswürdige soll verschwinden" (One doesn't know much about Shakespeare, or about Homer; the location of Mozart's grave is unknown. That's the way it should be. The good and significant of them are represented in their works. The other inferior and less charming should disappear [W7: 439]).

To recall, Busch's autobiography evolved as follows:

Event	Autobiography	Reference Date
Proelß article "Aus Wilhelm Buschs Leben" appeared in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*	*Was mich betrifft (I)*[18]	October 10, 1886
Proelß requested a sequel	*Was mich betrifft (II)*	December 2, 1886
Preparations for the anniversary edition of *Die fromme Helene*	*Von mir über mich*	April, 1893
Public reactions to the revised autobiography	*Von mir über mich* (revised)	January, 1894

Busch begins *Was mich betrifft (I)* with an introduction explaining the reason for his autobiographical writing, "Es scheint wunderlich; aber weil andre über mich geschrieben, muß ich's auch einmal tun" (It seems odd; but because others wrote about me, I must also do it once [H4: 147]). To enhance the impression of being an uninvolved observer, Busch most often uses the passive voice, or the impersonal "man" (one), and therewith implies a general truth of his statements, rather than a personal experience. *Was mich betrifft (I)* forms the framework and narrative structure for the subsequent versions; all versions contain a minimum of personal and biographical data, are very short, relate isolated episodes and only about the first 27 years of his life until about 1859, using the village or city Busch lived in as a point of reference. Stylized anecdotes conveying a seemingly enchanted and blissfully happy paradisiacal childhood are prevalent, and increase in the various versions in reverse proportion to the

[18]The notation "(I)" was not included in the original printing in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, but is shown in the Bohne edition of Busch's complete works. As this is the most readily available edition, I am following this method of identification.

decrease of actual facts. He avoids any kind of self-analysis or justification, usually a typical component of autobiographies. Personal names are not mentioned except for those of his hosts in Antwerp; important events, experiences or acquaintances are not considered; and the success of his works is ignored. The few tangible details he does share are not objectively reported, but cloaked within animated portrayals of isolated incidents. Busch transfers the technique of creating a picture story onto his autobiography and weaves together separate episodes conveying a seemingly harmonious and idyllic childhood and adolescence into the shape of a continuous narrative, and "this shape is the outcome of an interpenetration and collusion of inner and outer life, of the person and society" (Pascal, *Design* 185). In this manner Busch implies to have found "his place in life" and thus avoids having to deal with his various personal and work related crises, or the two biographical writings by Daelen and Proelß.

Although chronologically listed, the information Busch shares appears to be included arbitrarily; his criteria for including some (and presumably excluding other) information are not evident, and together this creates the overall impression that the various stations of his life were just as arbitrary. This impression that he made no conscious decision, but played the role of a bystander who was driven from here to there by chance and circumstance is reinforced by Busch's choice of expression, for example verbs indicating coincidental movements, and in doing so, he is intentionally vague, as the following examples illustrate:

Was weiß ich denn noch aus meinem dritten Jahr? (What do I still know from my third year? [H4: 147])
Als ich neun Jahr alt geworden, beschloß man, mich dem Bruder meiner Mutter in Ebergötzen zu übergeben (When I was nine years old, it was decided to hand me over to my mother's brother in Ebergötzen [H4: 147])
Etwa ums Jahr 45 bezogen wir die Pfarre zu Lüthorst (Around the year 45 we moved to the parsonage in Lüthorst [H4: 149])
Sechzehn Jahr alt . . . erhielt ich Einlaß zur Polytechnischen Schule in Hannover (Sixteen years old . . . I was granted admission to the Polytechnical School in Hanover [H4: 149])
Nachdem ich drei bis vier Jahr in Hannover gehaust, verfügt ich mich . . . in den Düsseldorfer Antikensaal (After I lived in Hanover for three to four years . . . I proceeded to the Dusseldorf Hall of Antiquity [H4: 149])
Von Düsseldorf geriet ich nach Antwerpen (From Dusseldorf I found my way to Antwerp [H4: 149])
Nach Antwerpen hielt ich mich in Wiedensahl auf (After Antwerp I spent time in Wiedensahl [H4: 150])
Von Wiedensahl aus besucht ich den Onkel in Lüthorst (From Wiedensahl I visited the uncle in Lüthorst [H4: 150])
Von Lüthorst trieb mich der Wind nach München (From Lüthorst the wind blew me to Munich [H4: 151])
Es kann 59 gewesen sein, als die "Fliegenden" meinen ersten Beitrag erhielten (It might have been 59 that the "Fliegenden" received my first contribution [H4: 151])

Even in those cases where the precise date would have been easy to include, Busch prefers to remain ambiguous. Moreover, the information he imparts through these cryptic references is limited to providing stylized data only about the factual event, but no insight or reflection. Busch's professional development, his early engineering studies, his move from Dusseldorf to Antwerp, his return to Wiedensahl and then Lüthorst, his attempts at painting in Munich, this continuous floundering followed by new beginnings, reads like a cheerful and amusing tale. No hint can be found of the clashes with his father about breaking off his engineering studies to become a painter, his feelings of isolation, his dire financial straits, his position as an outsider, his debilitating insecurities.

Was mich betrifft (I) hence represents a superficial curriculum vitae, very different from the sequel, *Was mich betrifft (II)*, which encrypts Busch's inner disposition within whimsical, seemingly unconnected, anecdotes. *Was mich betrifft (II)* makes clear that Busch's intention was not to provide a fact-filled synopsis of his life, but rather to describe events and experiences that helped shape him as a person. Busch does not, however, present himself or his views as objective; his recollections are often "im scharfen Sonnenlicht früher Eindrücke; manches überschattet von mehr als vierzig vergangenen Jahren; . . . Alles so heiter, als hätt es damals nie geregnet" (in the glaring sunlight of early impressions; quite a few overshadowed by more than forty years passed . . . everything so bright as though it never rained then [H4: 154]). This assertion is supported by Pascal's suggestion that "der Autobiograph die Wahrheit seines Lebens und seiner Persönlichkeit [sucht]; sie kann aber keine objektive sein (the autobiographer is searching for the truth of his life and his personality; but this truth cannot be objective ["Autobiographie" 80]). Even more abstruse than *Was mich betrifft (I)*, a desperate seeming self-mockery is discernible as Busch rambles through his "putzwunderliche Polterkämmerchen der Erinnerung" (strange-wondrous junk room of memory) with its various compartments containing "scheinbar welke[s], abgelebte[s] Zeugs; das dennoch weiter wirkt, drückt, zwickt, erfreut; . . . obwohl nicht eingeladen" (seemingly wilted discarded stuff; that nevertheless still acts, pinches, nips, delights; . . . although not invited), and "weißen, roten Türen, ja selbst mit schwarzen" (white, red doors, yes even black ones [H4: 152]) concealing old follies which open at whim and which he quickly closes

again. "Schnell eine andere Tür" (Quickly, a different door [H4: 154]) is the reaction to avoid his own personal self-doubts before those memories can touch his present inner self. Hence, these memories become anecdotal images, neatly compartmentalized behind their various doors, and personal statements are replaced by detached observations and descriptions of seemingly incidental episodes.

There is no direct biographical reference in *Was mich betrifft (II)*. Busch's "self" is completely obliterated, but the cloaking of momentous episodes from his life in comical or satirical anecdotes could perhaps be described as an "indirect autobiography." As such, the technique of weaving separate scenes together to create a collage is intensified as Busch conceals episodes from his own life behind a fictional narration. His reminiscences begin with a cheerful childhood Christmas scene, followed by the bright image of a beloved woman, and abruptly jump to the black door hiding nightly fears. Some following episodes depict Busch's compassion and empathy to a cold-hearted world, and another childhood idyll before several images of death complete the anecdotal memories. Comprehensible only to the initiated, Busch alludes to his relationship with Johanna Kessler, "Aber ich, Madam! und Sie, Madam; und der Herr Gemahl" (But I, Madam! and you, Madam; and your lord husband), something he had objected to when Daelen did the same in his biography, but hastens to pacify those in the know in the next sentence: "Doch nur nicht ängstlich. Die bösen Menschen brauchen nicht gleich alles zu wissen" (But don't be anxious. Those wicked people don't have to know everything [H4: 153]). This clearly visualizes his dichotomous behavioural pattern of wanting to tell, yet needing to disguise at the same time.

Satirizing illusions of "die gute alte Zeit," (the good old days) Busch inserts social criticism and by using various episodes from his stays in Munich illustrates his point of view that "die Zeit [nicht] ideal [ist]" (times aren't ideal [H4: 152]), that there is misery and poverty in the city (H4: 154), and that "überall [gibt] es Verdrießlichkeiten" (annoyances happen everywhere [H4: 156]); the village is not Arcadia, either, "auch hier gibt's arme Leutchen" (there are poor folks there, too [H4: 154]). Addressing himself directly to the reader, Busch pacifies his middle class audience with acute irony:

> Du aber sei froh. Du stehst noch da, wie selbstverständlich, auf deiner angestammten Erde. Und wenn du . . . wohlgemut nach Hause gehst zum gutgekochten

> Abendschmaus und zwinkerst deiner reizenden Nachbarin zu und kannst schäkern und lustig sein, als ob sonst nichts los wäre, dann darf man dich wohl einen recht natürlichen und unbefangenen Humoristen nennen. (H4: 156)
> And you be glad. You're still standing there, very matter-of-fact, on your hereditary soil. And when you . . . cheerfully go home to the well-prepared evening feast and wink at your charming lady neighbour, and you can flirt and joke and be merry, as though nothing else was happening, then one can indeed call you a quite natural and uninhibited humorist.

This clearly illustrates that Busch intentionally used his art to mock the issues of his time, specifically disguised within his picture stories, without attempting to resolve or even unravel them. He had preceded his recollections with an explanation of his philosophy and point of view:

> Man wirft sein Bündel ab, den Wanderstab daneben, zieht den heißen Überrock des Daseins aus, setzt sich auf den Maulwurfshügel allerschärfster Betrachtung und schaut dem langgeschwänzten Dinge nach, wie's mehr und mehr nach oben strebt . . . bis es tiefer und tiefer sinkt, um schließlich matt und flach auf's dürre Stoppelfeld sich hinzulegen, von dem es aufgeflogen. (H4: 152)
> One throws down one's bundle, the staff beside it, takes off the warm topcoat of existence, sits down on the molehill of keenest observation and gazes after that long-tailed thing, as it strives ever more upward . . . until it sinks lower and lower to finally come to rest weary and shallow on the withered stubble-field from where it started.

Searching for workable and practical guidelines from the teachings of various philosophers to live his life, Busch had found repeatedly that their teachings, the "langgeschwänzten Dinge" (long-tailed things), while theoretically sound, had no functional impact on day-to-day life, until they finally, "matt und flach" (weary and shallow) as an expression of failure and rejection, come to rest on a "dürre[s] Stoppelfeld" (withered stubble-field), fallow thoughts and questions with no answers. Mankind only has at his disposal "Mittel temporärer Erlösung" (means of temporary relief) like watching a ballet, celebrating a birthday, reading poetry or playing cards (H4: 152); all tools to temporarily escape the realities of life, because "durch all die Herrlichkeit hindurch, allgegenwärtig, [existiert] ein feiner, peinlicher Duft, ein leiser zitternder Ton" (throughout the entire splendour, exists, omnipresent, a gentle, embarrassing scent, a quiet, shivering sound [H4: 156]): Death or the sense of impending death is forever present, making self-actualization or happiness unattainable for mankind. Recognizing that he failed to reveal as much as the readers perhaps would have liked, nor entertain as much as his audience was accustomed from him, Busch concludes *Was mich betrifft (II)* with an ironic reproach directed at the reader:

> Doch ich sehe, du hast dich gelangweilt. Das beleidigt mich. Aber ich bin dir unverwüstlich gut. Ich werde sonstwie für dich sorgen; ich verweise dich auf den vielsagenden Ausspruch eines glaubwürdigen Blattes. "Il faut louer Busch pour ce qu'il a fait, et pour ce qu'il n'a pas fait." Wohlan, mein Freund! Wende deinen Blick von links nach rechts, und vor dir ausgebreitet liegt das gelobte Land aller guten Dinge, die ich nicht gemacht habe. (H4: 157)
>
> But I can see you were bored. That insults me. But my liking for you is indestructible. I shall look after you in some other way; I refer you to the profound declaration from a credible paper. "One has to praise Busch for that, which he has done, and for that, which he has not done." Now then, my friend! turn your eyes from left to right, and spread out before you lies the promised land of all the good things that I haven't done.

He also points his reader in the direction of Goethe, Cervantes, Rubens, and others. He is, in effect, suggesting that he is much less skilled than those masters, and his readers should be glad that he is not worthy to compare his skills to theirs. Busch is asking to be granted his privacy in personal matters and in return he'll provide his readers with other things. He was aware that reflection or self-analysis should be a crucial aspect of any autobiography, but he denied having such ability. When asked in late 1888 to provide an autobiographical essay for the journal *Deutsche Dichtung*, Busch declined, responding:

> Daß einem nichts absonderliches passiert ist, wie z.B. mir, das wäre gar nicht so anstößig; auch der allergewöhnlichste Gegenstand, in Licht und Gegenlicht, ist wert der Betrachtung. Aber eben dies Gegenlicht, die zur Deutlichkeit so hochnotwendigen Reflexe--da liegt's. Selbst Scharfsinn und Aufrichtigkeit, nach innen und außen, zureichend vorausgesetzt, kann ich mich jetzt, wie ich nun mal geworden bin, nicht mehr für berechtigt halten, die vielen Menschen, die ich liebe, oder gar die wenigen, welche ich ehemals haßte, so mir nichts dir nichts vor's Licht zu holen, um mich selber in's Klare zu setzen. (B1: 310)
>
> That nothing out ot the ordinary happened to a person, like myself for example, wouldn't be so offensive; even the most ordinary thing, in lighting and backlighting, is worthy of contemplation. But just this backlighting, the reflection so very necessary for clarity--that's the issue. Even assuming sufficient acumen and honesty, to the inside and outside, I can now, the way I have turned out to be, no longer consider myself to be justified to drag the many people that I love, and the few that I used to hate, willy-nilly into the bright light, just to make myself clear.

As Busch, therefore, avoids any kind of self-analysis in his autobiographies, the reader has to read between the lines, and Busch intentionally makes this method of reading and understanding his autobiography more and more difficult with each version. *Was mich betrifft (II)* was eliminated entirely in the subsequent versions of the autobiographical writings, with the exception of the description of the childhood experience of finding the village copper dead under a pear tree. Even this scene, which Busch

included in *Von mir über mich* in much abbreviated and idyllicized form, was stripped of all of the social criticism inherent in the depiction of this episode in *Was mich betrifft (II)*. Additionally, the introductory paragraph from *Was mich betrifft (I)* changed completely from 1886 to 1893 and moved the emphasis from "weil andre über mich geschrieben, muß ich's auch einmal tun" (because others wrote about me, I must also do it once [H4: 147]), to the warning "Kein Ding sieht so aus, wie es ist" (Nothing looks the way it is [*Helene* VII]). In this manner, the stated purpose of writing about himself moved from the implication that Busch wanted to clarify and correct what Daelen and Proelß had written about him to the suggestion that the reader should receive the narrative as an entertaining story, not necessarily based only in fact, but perhaps supplemented by fiction.

A consistent feature of all versions of Busch's autobiographies is that they are more and more general and less and less specific from version to version; slight changes from version to version, each in itself almost irrelevant, illustrate his growing reluctance to share any kind of private information. Even something as banal as his birth date is increasingly more obscured:

1886	1893	1894
Ich bin geboren am 15. April 1832 zu Wiedensahl als der erste von sieben. (I was born April 15, 1832 at Wiedensahl as the first of seven. [H4: 147])	Ich bin geboren im April 1832 zu Wiedensahl als der erste von sieben. (I was born in April 1832 at Wiedensahl as the first of seven. [*Helene* VII])	Ich bin geboren 1832 in Wiedensahl. (I was born in 1832 in Wiedensahl. [H4: 205])

The fact that Busch was enigmatic about his birth date has been used by researchers as an example that "Busch befürchtet, daß seine Umwelt zu viel über sein Leben erfährt" (Busch is concerned that those around him find out too much about his life [Vaßen 67]). Another possible reason for this particular change, namely, that there are inconsistencies surrounding his birth date in official records as also in statements from Busch himself, will be discussed later in this dissertation.

This characteristic of obscuring details appears to start a pattern that continues throughout all versions of his autobiographical writings. The description of his parents remained unchanged from 1886 to 1893, but was then drastically reduced to two sentences in the 1894 version after some newspapers had printed some disparaging remarks about Busch's father:

1886	1893	1894
Mein Vater war Krämer; klein, kraus, rührig, mäßig und gewissenhaft; stets besorgt, nie zärtlich; zum Spaß geneigt, aber ernst gegen Dummheiten. Er rauchte beständig Pfeifen, aber, als Feind aller Neuerungen, niemals Zigarren, nahm daher auch niemals Reibhölzer, sondern blieb bei Zunder, Stahl und Stein, oder Fidibus. Jeden Abend spazierte er allein durchs Dorf; zur Nachtigallenzeit in den Wald. Meine Mutter, still, fleißig, fromm, pflegte nach dem Abendessen zu lesen. Beide lebten einträchtig und so häuslich, daß einst über zwanzig Jahre vergingen, ohne daß sie zusammen ausfuhren. (My father was a storekeeper; small, crinkly, active, moderate and conscientious, always anxious, never affectionate; inclined to joke, but grave opposite pranks. He constantly smoked pipes, but, opposed to all innovations, never cigars, hence he also never used matches, but stuck to tinder, steel and flint, or used spills. Every evening he went for a solitary walk through the village; during the time of the nightingales into the woods. My mother, quiet, industrious, pious, was in the habit of reading after supper. Both lived in harmony and so settled that once twenty years passed without them going on an outing together. [H4: 147])	Mein Vater war Krämer; klein, kraus, rührig, mäßig und gewissenhaft; stets besorgt, nie zärtlich; zum Spaß geneigt, aber ernst gegen Dummheiten. Er rauchte stets Pfeifen, doch als Feind aller Neuerungen niemals Zigarren, nahm daher auch niemals Reibhölzer, sondern blieb bei Zunder, Stahl und Stein oder Fidibus. Jeden Abend spazierte er allein durchs Dorf; zur Nachtigallenzeit in den Wald. Meine Mutter, still, fleißig, fromm, pflegte nach dem Abendessen zu lesen. Beide lebten einträchtig und so häuslich, daß einst über zwanzig Jahre vergingen, ohne daß sie zusammen ausfuhren. (My father was a storekeeper; small, crinkly, active, moderate and conscientious, always anxious, never affectionate; inclined to joke, but grave opposite pranks. He always smoked pipes, though opposed to all innovations never cigars, hence he also never used matches, but stuck to tinder, steel and flint, or used spills. Every evening he went for a solitary walk through the village; during the time of the nightingales into the woods. My mother, quiet, industrious, pious, was in the habit of reading after supper. Both lived in harmony and so settled that once twenty years passed without them going on an outing together. [*Helene* VII-VIII])	Mein Vater war Krämer, heiter und arbeitsfroh; (My father was a storekeeper, cheerful and industrious;) meine Mutter, still und fromm, schaffte fleißig in Haus und Garten. (my mother, quiet and pious, busily toiled in house and garden.) Liebe und Strenge sowohl, die mir von ihnen zuteil geworden, hat der "Schlafittig" der Zeit aus meiner dankbaren Erinnerung nicht zu verwischen vermocht. (The sands of time have not been able to erase from my grateful memory the love as well as the discipline which were bestowed upon me by them both. [H4: 205])

Although only brief, the early description causes the reader to suspect a conflict between father and son, and points to a "puritanische Strenge und Kühle" (puritanical strictness and reserve [Ueding, *Kinder* 5]) within the early parent-son relationship that had a lasting influence on Busch. In the working manuscript of the 1893 version of *Von mir über mich* the description of the mother is followed by this passage:

> Wir lebten in einem kleinen Überfluß, zu essen gab's genug und wenn gespart wurde, so geschah's für die Zukunft der Kinder. Diese Liebe und Entsagung rührt mich noch immer, obwohl ich doch schon ziemlich lange hübsch abgeschabt bin auf dieser Erdkruste.
>
> We lived with a little affluence, had plenty to eat, and if there was economizing, it happened for the future of the children. I am still moved by this love and renunciation, although for quite a long time I've been worn pretty thin on this earth's crust.

This was stroked out prior to submitting the final manuscript. In 1894, the above shown passage

beginning with "Liebe und Strenge sowohl . . ." (The sands of time...) was added. All potentially ambiguous descriptions of his parents were removed from the 1894 version and their characterization was prettified, their love and strictness are given grateful and emphatic praise. As "love" was not mentioned in the earlier versions at all, it can be deduced that the reference was added to draw a more complete stylized, idyllic picture.

The recollections of his parents are followed in all three versions by little childhood episodes; *Was mich betrifft (I)* leads from idyllic images of summer, flutes and bountiful harvest to the macabre vision of "ein Kübel voll Wasser, und ich sah mein Schwesterchen drin liegen, wie ein Bild unter Glas und Rahmen, und als die Mutter kam, war sie kaum noch ins Leben zu bringen. Heut (1886) wohne ich bei ihr" (a trough filled with water, and I saw my little sister lying inside, like a picture under glass and frame, and when Mother came, she was scarcely to be brought back to life. Today (1886) I live with her. [H4: 147]). Aside from making stylistic improvements, the 1893 version removed only the reference "Heut wohne ich bei ihr" (Today I live with her) although Busch lived with this sister until he died, and in 1894 this section was deleted entirely. The contrasting images of young Busch viewing his sister like a piece of art while she is drowning, not helping her, and an elderly Busch being aided by the same sister[19] were perhaps too personal to remain in all versions. In the 1893 version Busch had already enhanced those early childhood memories with a quaint story from the time he was seven; a pastoral image of little Busch joining his grandmother early in the mornings, obviously intended to give the impression of an idyllic childhood.

Busch's description of his move to Ebergötzen concludes the early Wiedensahl years. The pithy remark "Ich freute mich darauf; nicht ohne Wehmut" (I looked forward to it, not without melancholy [H4: 147]) only hints at the nine-year-old's mixed feelings. Cloaked within a stylized anecdote of the cart [Leiterwagen] and horse used on the journey, in which order those who accompanied him got onto the cart, this depiction is much more detailed than other recollections; an indication that leaving his early

[19]Busch lived in the home of his sister Fanny Nöldeke from 1872, first in the Wiedensahl parsonage; after Fanny's husband, Pastor Hermann Nöldeke, died in 1878, in the Wiedensahl Pfarrwitwenhaus; from late 1898 with Fanny in her son's (Pastor Otto Nöldeke) home in Mechtshausen.

childhood home and his parents had much more impact on Busch than he ever conceded. Busch's recollections conclude with an idyllic image of "ein Rudel Hirsche springt über den Weg; oben ziehen die Sterne" (a herd of deer jumps across the path; the stars move above [H4: 148]). The portrayal of the trip remained largely unchanged in the later versions, but his musings about arriving in Ebergötzen and meeting the miller's son are greatly reduced in their meaningfulness:

1886	1893	1894
Gleich am Tage der Ankunft schloß ich Freundschaft mit dem Sohne des Müllers. (Already the day of arrival I became friends with the miller's son.) Sie ist von Dauer gewesen. Alljährlich besuch ich ihn und schlafe noch immer sehr gut beim Rumpumpeln des Mühlwerks und dem Rauschen des Wassers. (It was enduring. I visit him every year and still sleep very well near the rackety-rack of the millwork and the murmuring of the water. [H4: 148])	Gleich am Tage nach der der Ankunft schloß ich Freundschaft mit dem Sohne des Müllers. Wir gingen vors Dorf hinaus, um zu baden. Wir machten eine Mudde aus Erde und Wasser, die wir "Peter und Paul" benannten, überkleisterten uns damit von oben bis unten, legten uns in die Sonne, bis wir inkrustiert waren wie Pasteten, und spülten's im Bach wieder ab. Das Bündnis mit diesem Freunde ist von Dauer gewesen. Alljährlich besuch ich ihn und schlafe noch immer sehr gut beim Rumpumpeln des Mühlwerks und dem Rauschen des Wassers. (Already the day after arrival I became friends with the miller's son. We went out in front of the village for a swim. We made a mire out of dirt and water, which we named "Peter and Paul," covered ourselves with it from top to bottom, laid down in the sun until we were encrusted like pastries, and rinsed it off again in the creek. The alliance with this friend has endured. I visit him every year and still sleep very well near the rackety-rack of the millwork and the murmuring of the water. [*Helene* IX-X])	Gleich am Tage nach der der Ankunft schloß ich Freundschaft mit dem Sohne des Müllers. Wir gingen vors Dorf hinaus, um zu baden. Wir machten eine Mudde aus Erde und Wasser, die wir "Peter und Paul" benannten, überkleisterten uns damit von oben bis unten, legten uns in die Sonne, bis wir inkrustiert waren wie Pasteten, und spülten's im Bach wieder ab. (Already the day after arrival I became friends with the miller's son. We went out in front of the village for a swim. We made a mire out of dirt and water, which we named "Peter and Paul," covered ourselves with it from top to bottom, laid down in the sun until we were encrusted like pastries, and rinsed it off again in the creek. [H4: 206])

While a description of childhood play is added, the very personal declaration of friendship with Erich Bachmann, who would be a lifelong friend, was eliminated. The 1886 narrative leads the reader to the present time, and the need for a lasting friendship can be extrapolated from the admission that he still visits this childhood friend every year. Ergo, the reference was deleted. In the final version only the beginning sentence remains, followed by an anecdotal episode and the vivid image of the two encrusted boys, widely familiar to the readers from *Max und Moritz*. The personal, intimate disclosure was replaced by an impersonal but vividly graphic image.

Contrary to the impersonal description of his parents, the portrait Busch draws of his uncle in *Was mich betrifft (I)* conveys a deep attachment. Obviously too revealing, it was reduced to something much more perfunctory in both subsequent versions:

1886	1893	1894
Der Onkel (jetzt über 80 und frisch) war ein stattlicher Mann, ein ruhiger Naturbeobachter und äußerst milde; nur ein einziges Mal, wennschon öfters verdient, gab's Hiebe; mit einem trockenen Georginenstengel; weil ich den Dorftrottel geneckt. (The uncle, (now over 80 and bright) was a strapping man, a serene observer of nature and extremely mild-mannered. Only once, although more often deserved, did I get a beating; with a dried dahlia stalk; because I teased the village idiot. [H4: 148])	Mein Onkel war äußerst milde. Nur ein einziges Mal, wenngleich öfters verdient, gab's Hiebe; mit einem dürren Georginenstengel; weil ich den Dorftrottel geneckt hatte. (My uncle was extremely mild-mannered. Only once, although more often deserved, did I get a beating; with a withered dahlia stalk; because I teased the village idiot. [*Helene* XI])	Von meinem Onkel, der äußerst milde war, erhielt ich nur ein einzigmal Hiebe, mit einem trocknen Georginenstengel, weil ich den Dorftrottel geneckt hatte. (From my uncle, who was extremely mild-mannered, I received a beating only once, with a dried dahlia stalk, because I teased the village idiot. [H4: 207])

In contrast to curtailing the portrayal of his uncle, the image of the innkeeper[20] who introduced Busch to "freireligiöse Schriften" (liberal non-denominational writings [H4: 148]) was cultivated. Although described as an "ältere[r] Freund" (older friend [H4: 148]) in *Was mich betrifft (I)*, this clear admission was reduced to a vague "guter Bekannter" (good acquaintance [H4: 206]) in *Von mir über mich*, thereby obscuring the extent of their friendship. The very eloquent characterization of the innkeeper as "unklar, heftig, nie einen Satz zu Ende sprechend" (vague, forceful, never finishing a sentence [H4: 148]) from 1886 was deleted and Busch left it up to the reader to form his own opinion about the man when he refers to the innkeeper's philosophy of "Optimismus mit rückwirkender Kraft" (optimism with retrospective strength [H4: 207]) and shares his memory of being slapped by him. Both uncle and innkeeper had considerable influence on Busch, he was fond of them and they played a big role in what Busch considered his private life. This explains both his reticence about his uncle and his desire to not seem overly critical of his friend.

The recollections of the innkeeper in *Was mich betrifft (I)* are followed by a description of the village teacher in Ebergötzen, and here Busch sets himself apart from the other children in the village,

[20]Heinrich Brümmer (March 9, 1801 to March 9, 1871).

reinforcing that impression by emphasizing "meine Studien" (my studies [H4: 148]). This elitist implication of private tutoring is considerably weakened in 1894, when Busch removed the reference to the teacher and stressed that his friend, the miller's son (Bachmann) shared his own lessons (H4:207).

The move to Lüthorst, caused by his uncle's posting to a larger parish, concludes another chapter in Busch's young life. Comparing the matter-of-fact sentence about this move with the detailed recollections of the earlier move from Wiedensahl to Ebergötzen, this latter move doesn't appear to have had much impact on Busch. Following a brief factual statement, Busch immediately leads into an anecdote of a graphic description of marital strife at the neighbour's house:

1886	1893	1894
Etwa ums Jahr 45 bezogen wir die Pfarre zu Lüthorst.—Vor meinem Fenster murmelt der Bach; dicht drüben steht ein Haus; eine Schaubühne des ehelichten Zwistes; der sogenannte Hausherr spielte die Rolle des besiegten Tyrannen. Ein hübsches natürliches Stück; zwar das Laster unterliegt, aber die Tugend triumphiert nicht. (Around the year 45 we moved to the parsonage in Lüthorst. In front of my window the creek gurgled; close by on the other side is a house, a theatre for marital strife; the so-called head of the household played the role of defeated tyrant. A pretty, naturalistic piece; although depravity succumbs, virtue does not triumph. [H4: 149])	Etwa ums Jahr 45 bezogen wir die Pfarre zu Lüthorst. Unter meinem Fenster murmelte der Bach. Gegenüber am Ufer stand ein Haus, eine Schaubühne des ehelichen Zwistes. Das Stück fing an hinter der Szene, spielte weiter auf dem Flur und schloß im Freien. Sie stand oben vor der Tür und schwang triumphierend den Reiserbesen; er stand unten im Bach und streckte die Zunge heraus; und so hatte er auch seinen Triumph. (Around the year 45 we moved to the parsonage in Lüthorst. Under my window the creek gurgled. On the opposite bank was a house, a theatre for marital strife. The play began behind the scene, continued playing in the hall and concluded outside. She stood above in front of the door and triumphantly brandished the twig broom, he stood below in the creek and stuck out his tongue; and that way he had his triumph, too. [*Helene* XII])	Etwa ums Jahr 45 bezogen wir die Pfarre zu Lüthorst. Unter meinem Fenster murmelte der Bach. Gegenüber am Ufer stand ein Haus, eine Schaubühne des ehelichen Zwistes. Das Stück fing an hinter der Szene, spielte weiter auf dem Flur und schloß im Freien. Sie stand oben vor der Tür und schwang triumphierend den Reiserbesen, er stand unten im Bach und streckte die Zunge heraus; und so hatte er auch seinen Triumph. (Around the year 45 we moved to the parsonage in Lüthorst. Under my window the creek gurgled. On the opposite bank was a house, a theatre for marital strife. The play began behind the scene, continued playing in the hall and concluded outside. She stood above in front of the door and triumphantly brandished the twig broom, he stood below in the creek and stuck out his tongue; and that way he had his triumph, too. ([H4: 208])

The changes from 1886 to 1893 remove the sting of social criticism inherent to the early version. All versions follow this episode with a second reference to his schooling, an emphasis on reading Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* and developing an inclination to philosophical musings.

Busch's acceptance at the Hanover Polytechnical School is mentioned in all three versions. The two earlier versions also inform of his participation in a militia during the 1848 revolution and his

sarcasm toward this involvement becomes evident when he declares "die bislang noch nicht geschätzten Rechte des Rauchens und des Biertrinkens" (the heretofore not appreciated rights of smoking and beer drinking [H4: 149]) as his most notable achievements of that time. This satire and the reference to any participation during the 1848 revolution was eliminated in the final version, and replaced by a comical episode in Hanover involving his overcoat; a further indication that Busch was intent on removing any social criticism.

While Busch's recollection about his stay in Dusseldorf underwent only minor changes, his memories about his stay in Antwerp were considerably altered. Although some of his warm feelings for his hosts Jan and Mie[21] can still be gleaned from the 1894 version, this is much more evident in the 1886 text. *Was mich betrifft (I)* also recalls his sadness when he visited Antwerp years later and found that the Timmermans had passed away; this glimpse of his personal feelings was eliminated. Busch also discusses his introduction to the old Dutch masters:

1886	1893	1894
Von Düsseldorf geriet ich nach Antwerpen in die Malschule . . . (From Dusseldorf I came to Antwerp to the Painting Academy. . .) In Antwerpen sah ich zum erstenmal im Leben die Werke alter Meister: Rubens, Brouwer, Teniers; später Frans Hals. Ihre göttliche Leichtigkeit der Darstellung, die nicht patzt und kratzt und schabt, diese Unbefangenheit eines guten Gewissens, welches nichts zu vertuschen braucht, dabei der stoffliche Reiz eines schimmernden Juwels, haben für immer meine Liebe und Bewunderung gewonnen; (In Antwerp I saw for the first time in my life the works of old masters: Rubens, Brouwer, Teniers; later Frans Hals. Their divine ease of portrayal, no botching, scratching or scraping, this innocence of a good conscience which does not need to hush	Von Düsseldorf geriet ich nach Antwerpen in die Malschule. (From Dusseldorf I came to Antwerp to the Painting Academy.) In dieser kunstberühmten Stadt sah ich zum ersten Mal die Werke alter Meister: Rubens, Brouwer, Teniers; später Frans Hals. Ihre göttliche Leichtigkeit der Darstellung malerischer Einfälle, verbunden mit stofflich juwelenhaftem Reiz; diese Unbefangenheit eines guten Gewissens, welches nichts zu vertuschen braucht; diese Farbenmusik, worin man alle Stimmen klar durchhört, vom Grundbaß herauf; haben für immer meine Liebe und Bewunderung gewonnen. (In this art-renowned city I saw for the first time the works of old masters: Rubens, Brouwer, Teniers; later Frans Hals. Their divine ease in the portrayal of picturesque	. . . begab ich mich nach Antwerpen in die Malschule, wo man, so hieß es, die alte Muttersprache der Kunst noch immer erlernen könne. In dieser kunstberühmten Stadt sah ich zum ersten Male die Werke alter Meister: Rubens, Brouwer, Teniers, Frans Hals. Ihre göttliche Leichtigkeit der Darstellung malerischer Einfälle, verbunden mit stofflich juwelenhaftem Reiz; diese Unbefangenheit eines guten Gewissens, welches nichts zu vertuschen braucht; diese Farbenmusik, worin man alle Stimmen klar durchhört, vom Grundbaß herauf; haben für immer meine Liebe und Bewunderung gewonnen. (. . . I made my way to Antwerp to the Painting Academy, where one, it was said, could still learn art's ancient mother tongue. In

[21]Jean Baptiste and Maria Marier Timmermans.

up anything, with that the material attraction of gleaming jewels, have forever garnered my love and admiration;) und gern verzeih ich's ihnen, daß sie mich zu sehr geduckt haben, als daß ich's je recht gewagt hätte, mein Brot mit Malen zu verdienen, wie manch anderer auch. Die Versuche, freilich, sind nicht ausgeblieben; denn geschafft muß werden, und selbst der Taschendieb geht täglich auf Arbeit aus. (and I gladly forgive them that they cowed me too much to ever really attempt to earn a living with painting, as some others do. The attempts, nevertheless, didn't fail to appear; one must toil and sweat, and even the pickpocket goes to work daily. [H4: 149-150])	notions, coupled with a gem-like appeal of the subject; this innocence of a good conscience which does not need to hush up anything; this music of colours in which one is able to hear all voices coming through clearly, from the lowest bass on upward, have forever garnered my love and admiration. [*Helene* XIII])	this art-renowned city I saw for the first time the works of old masters: Rubens, Brouwer, Teniers, Frans Hals. Their divine ease in the portrayal of picturesque notions, coupled with a gem-like appeal of the subject; this innocence of a good conscience which does not need to hush up anything; this music of colours in which one is able to hear all voices coming through clearly, from the lowest bass on upward, have forever garnered my love and admiration. [H4: 208-209])

The 1886 version contains the personal admission that the impact of their works was such that he afterward never thought himself good enough to be able to attempt to earn a living as a painter, but Busch played down this key experience, which reverberated through his entire life, with a half-comical, half-mocking self-deprecation. In an "interplay, a collusion, between past and present; its significance . . . more the revelation of the present situation than the uncovering of the past" (Pascal, *Design* 11), Busch elaborates with unusual honesty by suggesting that "diese Versuche . . . sich immerfort durch die Verhältnisse hindurchziehen, welche mir schließlich meinen bescheidenen Platz anwiesen" (these attempts . . . steadily run through the conditions which eventually showed me to my modest place [H4: 150]). In 1893 he removed all confessions revealing an impact on his present existence or his professional development, and changed the text to unabashed admiration. Moreover, the verb [geraten] used in 1886 to indicate his coming to Antwerp created the sense of a chance arrival; this was changed in the final version to convey a conscious decision to travel to Antwerp. An implication of a sense of purpose, missing up to this point, has therewith been added and appears to indicate a turning point.

Returning to Wiedensahl from Antwerp, Busch took an interest in local legends and fairy tales. The images he evokes when reminiscing about the various village people who told him these stories, already an idyllic visualization in *Was mich betrifft (I)*, were expanded and even more idyllicized in the

first version of *Von mir über mich.* After efforts to publish the entire collection failed in 1857, Busch never attempted to publish the collection again. However, he adapted at least one of these stories for a publication in the *Fliegende Blätter* ("Klassischer Weisheitsspruch," FB#780 [H1: 49]), and several of the stories were printed in the *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung* ("Volksüberlieferungen aus Wiedensahl," 1901). The complete collection was published posthumously in 1910.[22]

Busch then describes a visit to his uncle in Lüthorst. His recollections factually encompass several lengthy visits between 1854 and 1858. He became involved with the amateur theater in Dassel, close to Lüthorst, in the fall and winter of 1857/58, wrote one play for their stage (*Das Liebhabertheater oder Einer hat bebimmelt und alle haben gebummelt*) and also participated in at least five plays as an actor. This personal reference was later eliminated. During the earliest stay in 1854 Busch became interested in his uncle's hobby of beekeeping, prompting thoughts of emigration to Brazil, and leading him to read Darwin. Both Daelen and Lindau had overstated this interest and claimed that Busch was a practising beekeeper. Busch opted to correct that error in the earlier versions, but then removed this private detail, as also the private admission that he had thought of emigrating to Brazil:

1886	1893	1894
Von Wiedensahl aus besucht ich den Onkel in Lüthorst. Ein Liebhabertheater im benachbarten Städtchen zog mich in den angenehmen Kreis seiner Tätigkeit; aber ernsthafter fesselte mich das wundersame Leben des Bienenvolkes und der damals wogende Kampf um die Parthenogenesis, den mein Onkel als gewandter Schriftsteller und Beobachter entscheidend mit durchfocht. Der Wunsch und Plan, nach Brasilien auszuwandern, dem Eldorado der Imker, blieb unerfüllt. Daß ich	Von Wiedensahl aus besucht ich den Onkel in Lüthorst. Ein Liebhabertheater im benachbarten Städtchen zog mich in den angenehmen Kreis seiner Tätigkeit; aber mehr noch fesselte mich das wundersame Leben des Bienenvolkes und der damals wogende Kampf um die Parthenogenesis, den mein Onkel als gewandter Schriftsteller und Beobachter entscheidend mit durchfocht. Der Wunsch und Plan, nach Brasilien auszuwandern, dem Eldorado der Imker, hat sich nicht	Von Wiedensahl aus besucht ich auf längere Zeit den Onkel in Lüthorst. (From Wiedensahl I visited the uncle in Lüthorst for a lengthy stay.) Es hatte sich grad um einen Grundsatz der Wissenschaft, nämlich, daß nur aus einem befruchteten Ei ein lebendes Wesen entstehen könne, ein Streit erhoben. Ein schlichter katholischer Pfarrer [Johann Dzierzon, 1811-1906] wies nach,

[22] *Ut ôler Welt. Volksmärchen, Sagen, Volkslieder und Reime* gesammelt von Wilhelm Busch. (München: Lothar Joachim, 1910).

überhaupt praktischer Bienenzüchter geworden, ist freundlicher Irrtum. (From Wiedensahl I visited the uncle in Lüthorst. An amateur theatre in the neighbouring town drew me into the pleasant circle of its activities; but even more I was gripped by the wondrous life of the bees and the fight about parthenogenesis, which my uncle as skilled author and observer decisively participated in. The wish and plan to emigrate to Brazil, the Eldorado of beekeepers, did not fulfil itself. The assumption that I became a practising beekeeper, is a friendly error. [H4: 150])	verwirklichen sollen. Die Annahme, daß ich praktischer Bienenzüchter geworden sei, ist freundlicher Irrtum. (From Wiedensahl I visited the uncle in Lüthorst. An amateur theatre in the neighbouring town drew me into the pleasant circle of its activities; but even more I was gripped by the wondrous life of the bees and the fight about parthenogenesis, which my uncle as skilled author and observer decisively participated in. The wish and plan to emigrate to Brazil, the Eldorado of beekeepers, did not fulfil itself. The assumption that I became a practising beekeeper, is a friendly error. [*Helene* XIV-XV])	daß die Bienen eine Ausnahme machten. Mein Onkel, als gewandter Schriftsteller und guter Beobachter, ergriff seine Partei und beteiligte sich lebhaft an dem Kampf. Auch mich zog es unwiderstehlich abseits in das Reich der Naturwissenschaften. (A dispute had just arisen concerning a scientific principle, namely that a living being could only develop from a fertilized egg. A modest Catholic priest [Johann Dzierzon, 1811-1906] established proof that bees are an exception. My uncle, as adept writer and skilled observer, took a position and participated spiritedly in the fight. I also was irresistibly drawn away into the realm of natural sciences. [H4: 209])

Busch's recollections then focus on Munich. As his introductory statement to the Antwerp phase changed to indicate a purposeful reason for going there, the introductory statement to Munich was also firmed up: *Was mich betrifft (I)* and the early *Von mir über mich* text imply a chance journey, but a sense of purpose and direction is injected with the final phrasing in 1894. He fails to disclose that he travelled between Wiedensahl, Lüthorst and Munich for several years before finding a foothold in Munich:

1886	1893	1894
Von Lüthorst trieb mich der Wind nach München, wo bei der grad herrschenden akademischen Strömung das kleine nicht eben geschickt gesteuerte Antwerpener Schifflein gar bald auf dem Trockenen saß. (From Lüthorst the wind carried me to Munich, where in the prevailing academic current of the time, the little boat from Antwerp, not exactly piloted well, was soon sitting on dry land. [H4: 151])	Von Lüthorst trieb mich der Wind nach München, wo bei der grad herrschenden akademischen Strömung das kleine nicht eben geschickt gesteuerte Antwerpener Schifflein gar bald auf dem Trockenen saß. (From Lüthorst the wind carried me to Munich, where in the prevailing academic current of the time, the little boat from Antwerp, not exactly piloted well, was soon sitting on dry land. [*Helene* XV])	Von Lüthorst ging ich nach München. Indes in der damaligen akademischen Strömung kam mein flämisches Schifflein, das wohl auch schlecht gesteuert war, nicht recht zum Schwimmen. (From Lüthorst I went to Munich. However, in the academic current of those days, my small Flemish boat, which was probably also steered badly, didn't really get afloat. [H4: 210])

Pointedly dismissive, Busch reports in all versions on his failure at the Royal Academy of Arts, and includes only the most cryptic suggestion of a conflict between his love for Dutch painters and the contemporary ideas about painting, as he encountered them in Munich, and this is even further diluted in the final version. Referring to his involvement with an artists' association, *Was mich betrifft (I)*

expresses the desire that "die Veröffentlichung der dort verübten Späße, besonders der persönlichen Verhohnhacklungen, ist mir unerwünscht," (the publication of the jokes played there, in particular the personal ridicules, is not welcomed by me) but concludes with the resigned recognition "Was hilft's? Dummheiten, wenn auch vertraulich in die Welt gesetzt, werden früher oder später doch leicht ihren Vater erwischen, mag er's wollen oder nicht" (What's the use? Sillinesses, even if confidentially put about, will sooner or later easily catch their creator, whether he wants it or not [H4: 151]). Likely recognizing the futility of expressing his wishes for non-publication of those early texts and caricatures, this remark was eliminated in *Von mir über mich*; instead he added analytical explanations about laughter or gloating, and the explicit assurance that all characters in his picture stories are taken from his imagination, "Phantasiehanseln" (imaginary ninnies) or "Konturwesen" (contoured beings), who are freed from laws of gravity (=laws of society) and as such can "viel aushalten, eh' es uns weh tut" (endure a lot before it hurts us [H4: 210]). This phrasing, particularly the inserted "uns" (us), which is easily overlooked by casual readers, is another indication of disguised social criticism in the picture stories. Their characters can endure much before the conditions illustrated from their encounters have so much overt impact that the readers have to react in a manner more serious than amused laughter.

The 1894 version of *Von mir über mich* follows these analytical discussions with a satirically idyllic picture of farm life in the mountains. This section communicates not only irony, but also bitterness and appears to replace the genre scenes from *Was mich betrifft (II)* and their inherent messages.

As already indicated, Busch spent very little time and space discussing his works and successes. He also did not talk about any of his friends or acquaintances from Munich, neither his friendships with Levi, Kaulbach, Lenbach, Lindau, nor his association with Braun & Schneider, nor his friendship and business relationship with Bassermann. The self-effacing report on his works from 1886, while further reduced, is considerably more self-confident in 1894, although the explanations concerning the picture stories are more abstract:

1886	1893	1894
Es kann 59 gewesen sein, als die "Fliegenden" meinen ersten Beitrag erhielten: zwei Männer auf dem Eise, von denen einer den Kopf verliert.--Ich hatte auf Holz zu erzählen. Der alte praktische Strich stand mir wie andern zur Verfügung; die Lust am Wechselspiel der Wünsche, am Wachsen und Werden war auch bei mir vorhanden. So nahmen denn bald die kontinuierlichen Bildergeschichten ihren Anfang, welche, mit der Zeit sich unwillkürlich erweiternd, mehr Beifall gefunden, als der Verfasser erwarten durfte. Wer sie freundlich in die Hand nimmt, etwa wie Spieluhren, wird vielleicht finden, daß sie, trotz bummlichten Aussehens, doch teilweis im Leben geglüht, mit Fleiß gehämmert und nicht unzweckmäßig zusammengesetzt sind. Fast sämtlich sind sie in Wiedensahl gemacht, ohne wen zu fragen und, ausgenommen ein allegorisches Tendenzstück und einige Produkte des drängenden Ernährungstriebes, zum Selbstpläsier. Hätte jedoch die sorglos in Holzschuhen tanzende Muse den einen oder andern der würdigen Zuschauer auf die Zehe getreten, so wird das bei ländlichen Festen nicht weiter entschuldigt. Ein auffällig tugendsames Frauenzimmer ist's freilich nicht. Aber indem sie einerseits den Myrthenzweig aus der Hand des übertriebenen Wohlwollens errötend von sich ablehnt, hält sie anderseits gemütlich den verschleierten Blick eines alten Ästhetikers aus, dem bei der Bestellung des eigenen Ackers ein Stäubchen Guano ins Auge geflogen. (It may have been in '59, when a drawing with	Es kann 59 gewesen sein, als zuerst in den "Fliegenden" eine Zeichnung mit Text von mir gedruckt wurde: zwei Männer, die auf's Eis gehn, wobei einer den Kopf verliert. Vielfach, wie's die Not gebot, illustrierte ich dann neben eigenen auch fremde Texte. Bald aber meint ich, ich müßt alles halt selber machen. Die Situationen gerieten in Fluß und gruppierten sich zu kleinen Bildergeschichten, denen größere gefolgt sind. (It may have been in '59, when a drawing with text of mine was first printed in the "Fliegenden": two men who are going out on the ice, where one of them loses his head. Many times, as necessity dictated, I then also illustrated other texts beside my own. Soon however I felt that I should really do it all by myself. The scenes started to flow and grouped themselves into little picture stories, which were followed by bigger ones.) Fast alle hab ich, ohne wem was zu sagen, in Wiedensahl verfertigt. (Almost all of them I composed in Wiedensahl, without saying anything to anyone.) Dann hab ich sie laufen lassen auf den Markt, und da sind sie herumgesprungen, wie Buben tun, ohne viel Rücksicht zu nehmen auf gar zu empfindsame Hühneraugen; (Then I let them run to market, and there they jumped about, as boys will do, without showing much consideration about stepping onto peoples' toes,) und sogar ein altes, schwäbisches Bäuerlein, das seine Ferkel zu Markte trieb, hat sich recht drüber ärgern müssen. (and even a little old peasant from Swabia, who drove his mucky pups to	Es kann 59 gewesen sein, als zuerst in den "Fliegenden" eine Zeichnung mit Text von mir gedruckt wurde: zwei Männer, die aufs Eis gehn, wobei einer den Kopf verliert. Vielfach, wie's die Not gebot, illustrierte ich dann neben eigenen auch fremde Texte. Bald aber meint ich, ich müßt alles halt selber machen. Die Situationen gerieten in Fluß und gruppierten sich zu kleinen Bildergeschichten, denen größere gefolgt sind. (It may have been in '59, when a drawing with text of mine was first printed in the "Fliegenden": two men who are going out on the ice, where one of them loses his head. Many times, as necessity dictated, I then also illustrated other texts beside my own. Soon however I felt that I should really do it all by myself. The scenes started to flow and grouped themselves into little picture stories, which were followed by bigger ones.) Fast alle hab ich, ohne wem was zu sagen, in Wiedensahl verfertigt. (Almost all of them I composed in Wiedensahl, without saying anything to anyone.) Dann hab ich sie laufen lassen auf den Markt, und da sind sie herumgesprungen, wie Buben tun, ohne viel Rücksicht zu nehmen auf gar zu empfindsame Hühneraugen; (Then I let them run to market, and there they jumped about, as boys will do, without showing much consideration about stepping onto peoples' toes,) wohingegen man aber auch wohl annehmen darf, daß sie nicht gar zu empfindlich sind, wenn sie mal Schelte kriegen. (while one can probably also assume, that they aren't all too sensitive when they get an occasional

text of mine was first printed in the "Fliegenden": two men who are going out on the ice, where one of them loses his head.–I had to narrate on wood. That old practical stroke was available to me as it was to others; the enjoyment of the interplay of wishes, the growing and becoming, was also existing in me. That's how the continuous picture stories got their beginning, which, with time spontaneously grew, and found more approval than the author could expect. Those who approach them kindly, perhaps like music boxes, will perhaps find, that despite their playful exterior they are nevertheless partly burnt in real life, hammered and put together with industry. Almost all were done in Wiedensahl without asking anyone, and with the exception of an allegorical tendentious piece and a few products of the pressing survival instinct, for my own pleasure. If however the carelessly dancing muse in her wooden clogs stepped on one or the other of the dignified spectator's toes, then that isn't particularly apologized for at country celebrations. Of course, she isn't a particularly virtuous woman. But if she blushingly rejects the myrtle branch of exaggerated goodwill on the one hand, she on the other hand easily bears the veiled look of an old aesthetician, who got a speck of guano into his eye while tilling his own field. [H4: 151])	market, was really upset about that. [*Helene* XVI])	scolding. [H4: 210-211])

The 1886 version still points to an underlying meaning within the picture stories. They are not like music boxes simply to enjoy, not meaningless funnies, as Ueding (*Miniature* 15) implies; rather, they have their basis in reality, despite their playful exterior, and Busch simply used a funny way of being serious. The suggestion that the picture stories are "im Leben geglüht" (burnt in real life) and thus exemplify actual societal paradigms was eliminated in the later versions. In reference to the Daelen biography, which had placed Busch next to Goethe, Michelangelo and Shakespeare, the 1886 text "[lehnt] den Myrthenzweig des übertriebenen Wohlwollens errötend von sich [ab]" (blushingly rejects the myrtle branch of exaggerated goodwill), but this bashful rejection of exaggerated praise for himself was removed in the later version. The other notable change is the pointed reaction to Vischer's accusation of having a pornographic touch (320). While the 1893 version still has a toned down reference to Vischer, probably only understood by few contemporaries, Busch took a more relaxed position to criticism in 1894, in keeping with the tone of the final version in which he appears to paint himself as a relaxed sage.

Some personal clarifications, explanations and justifications follow:

1886	1893	1894
Man hat den Autor, den diese Muse begeistert, für einen Bücherwurm und Absonderling gehalten. Das erste ohne Grund, (People have thought the author, who is fascinated by this muse, for a bookworm and a weirdo. The first without reason,)	Man hat den Autor für einen Bücherwurm und Absonderling gehalten. Das erste mit Unrecht. Zwar liest er unter anderm die Bibel, die großen Dramatiker, die Bekenntnisse des Augustin, den Pickwick und Don Quichotte und hält die Odyssee für das schönste der Märchenbücher, aber ein Bücherwurm ist doch ein Tierchen mit ganz anderen Manierchen. Ein Sonderling dürfte er schon eher sein. Für die Gesellschaft, außer der unter vier bis sechs Augen, schwärmt er nicht sehr. Seine Vergeßlichkeit im schriftlichen Verkehr mit Fremden wurde schon mehrfach gerüchtweise mit dem Tode bestraft.	Man hat den Autor für einen Bücherwurm und Absonderling gehalten. Das erste mit Unrecht. Zwar liest er unter anderm die Bibel, die großen Dramatiker, die Bekenntnisse des Augustin, den Pickwick und Don Quichotte und hält die Odyssee für das schönste der Märchenbücher, aber ein Bücherwurm ist doch ein Tierchen mit ganz anderen Manierchen. Ein Sonderling dürft er schon eher sein. Für die Gesellschaft, außer der unter vier bis sechs Augen, schwärmt er nicht sehr. Groß war auch seine Nachlässigkeit, oder Schüchternheit, im schriftlichen Verkehr mit Fremden. Der gewandte Stilist, der seine Korrespondenten mit einem zierlichen Strohgeflechte beschenkt, macht sich umgehend beliebt, während der Unbeholfene, der seine Halme aneinanderknotet, wie der Bauer, wenn er Seile bindet, mit Recht befürchten muß, daß er Anstoß erregt. Er zögert und vergißt.
das zweite ein wenig mit Recht. Seine Nachlässigkeit im schriftlichen Verkehr mit Fremden ist schon mehrfach gerüchtweise mit dem Tode bestraft. Für die Gesellschaft ist er nicht genugsam dressiert, um ihre Freuden geziemend zu würdigen und behaglich genießen zu können. Zu einer Abendunterhaltung jedoch, unter vier bis höchstens sechs Augen, in einer neutralen Rauchecke, bringt er noch immer eine Standhaftigkeit mit, die kaum dem anrückenden Morgen weicht. (the second with some justification. The rumourmill has several times punished his negligence in written correspondence with strangers with his death. He isn't sufficiently trained for society to appropriately appreciate its pleasures. For an evening's entertainment, however, among four to six eyes at the most, in a neutral smoking corner, he still has the stamina that barely diminishes as the morning advances. [H4: 151])	Verheiratet ist er auch nicht. Er denkt gelegentlich eine Steuer zu beantragen . . . (People have thought the author to be a bookworm and a weirdo. The first unjustly so. Although he reads among other things the Bible, the great dramatists, the Confessions of St. Augustine, Pickwick and Don Quixote and considers the Odyssey the best of fairytale books, but a bookworm is really a creature with totally different manners. More likely he could be an eccentric. For society, except to be in the company of four to six eyes, he has little enthusiasm. The rumourmill has several times punished his forgetfulness in written correspondence with strangers with his death. He's not married, either. He is thinking to sometime apply for a tax . . . [*Helene* XVI-XVII])	Verheiratet ist er auch nicht. Er denkt gelegentlich eine Steuer zu beantragen . . . (People have thought the author to be a bookworm and a weirdo. The first unjustly so. Although he reads among other things the Bible, the great dramatists, the Confessions of St. Augustine, Pickwick and Don Quixote and considers the Odyssey the best of fairytale books, but a bookworm is really a creature with totally different manners. More likely he could be an eccentric. For society, except to be in the company of four to six eyes, he has little enthusiasm. Great also was his negligence, or bashfulness, in written contact with strangers. The skillful stylist, who presents his correspondents with a dainty ornament of straw will immediately make himself popular, while the clumsy one, who knots his straws together like the peasant when he makes rope, must rightly fear that he causes offence. He hesitates and forgets. He's not married, either. He is thinking to sometime apply for a tax... [H4: 211])

At first glance, the final version of 1894 appears to be much more detailed, but only well-known facts and some impersonal musings were added. Removed is the 1886 reference to his death. A rumour about Busch's death had been circulating since the mid 1870s; obituaries about Busch were printed in newspapers, and Bassermann, as Busch's publisher, received numerous inquiries whether Busch had indeed died or was still alive. Daelen's biography, Busch's own *Was mich betrifft* and the *Von mir über mich* in the anniversary edition of *Die fromme Helene*, as well as the publication of *Eduards Traum* altogether succeeded in quelling that rumour, so that Busch no longer felt a necessity to refer to it in 1894. The admission of being a bachelor and his plan to apply for a tax on all husbands was already considered in 1893. It is of note that here, where Busch talks directly of himself in connection with the present time, he refers to himself as "der Autor" (the author) in the third person, rather than use the first person "I," and shares his view about himself as though talking about someone else, thereby creating additional distance.

Busch was aware that his autobiographical writings were lacking some essential ingredients to be complete, that they perhaps disguised more than they revealed, and he gives this justification:

1886	1893	1894
So viel wollt ich von mir selber sagen.--Das Geklage über alte Bekannte hab ich schon längst den Basen anheimgestellt, und selbst über manche zu schweigen, die ich liebe und verehre, kam mir hier passend vor. (That's how much I wanted to say about myself.–I have long left the complaining about old acquaintances to the gossips, and to keep silent about some who I love and admire seemed fitting to me here. [H4: 151])	Ich komme zum Schluß. Das Porträt, um rund zu erscheinen, hätte mehr Reflexe gebraucht. Doch manche treffliche Menschen, die ich liebe und verehre, für Selbstbeleuchtungszwecke zu verwenden, wollte mir nicht passend erscheinen, und in bezug auf andre, die mir weniger sympathisch gewesen, halte ich ohnedies schon längst ein mildes, gemütliches Schweigen für gut. (I'm coming to the end. The portrait, to be complete, would have needed more reflection. But it did not seem appropriate to me to use some splendid people, whom I love and respect, for the purpose of self-illumination, and in reference to others that I find less pleasant, I have long considered a lenient and easy-going silence as preferable. [*Helene* XVII])	Ich komme zum Schluß. Das Porträt, um rund zu erscheinen, hätte mehr Reflexe gebraucht. Doch manche vorzügliche Menschen, die ich liebe und verehre, für Selbstbeleuchtungszwecke zu verwenden, wollte mir nicht passend erscheinen, und in bezug auf andere, die mir weniger sympathisch gewesen, halte ich ohnehin schon längst ein mildes, gemütliches Schweigen für gut. (I'm coming to the end. The portrait, to be complete, would have needed more reflection. But it did not seem appropriate to me to use some outstanding people, whom I love and respect, for the purpose of self-illumination, and in reference to others that I find less pleasant, I have long considered a lenient and easy-going silence as preferable. [H4: 211])

Notwithstanding the emphasis on a "lenient and easy-going silence" becoming of a mild and wise and philosophical thinker, the persona that Busch was in the process of creating around his name, he had not been able to resist including that mildly biting reference to Vischer as "ein altes schwäbisches Bäuerlein, das seine Ferkel zu Markte trieb" (a little old peasant from Swabia, who drove his mucky pups to market [*Helene* XVI]) in the 1893 version--hardly indicative of leniency or serenity--but after "reflecting" more about it, removed that reference in 1894. After all, Vischer had died in 1887.

The assertion then that Busch deleted all potentially negative inferences from the final version--whether they could be applied to himself or to those around him--is generally applicable. The alienation which Busch experienced during the formative years of his life corresponds in many ways to the style of his autobiographical writings. Just as his life can be separated into dichotomous episodes and experiences and suppressed impressions so that there are gaps in his personal memory bank, his autobiographies separate into unconnected scenes and episodes as well. Private information is increasingly removed as Busch reports on his life retrospectively, that is, from his situation at the time of writing, and he attempts to exclude all potentially problematic influences of his past. Including them would relate the disturbing components of his past to his present identity. Busch was unwilling to engage in what Pascal calls the "representation of the self in and through its relations with the outer world, . . . the self comes into being only through interplay with the outer world" (*Design* 8) and this disinclination to bring his present position to the reader prompted Busch to eliminate all controversial references and instead to connect separate idyllicized snapshots of his life with accompanying humorous or ironic comments, expressions or idioms. As such, while his autobiographies are not technically fictionalized, they are not authentic autobiographies either, because they stylize and idyllicize his background and development. In that sense, they are not unlike his picture stories which are also intended to superficially entertain while disguising the underlying realities, which Busch further obscured more and more from version to version.

Factual Realities

The idyllic environment described in Busch's autobiographies, the realities of living in remote villages and the implication of being a recluse created the persona of a lenient, wise, serene thinker and sage. Busch encouraged that persona in his final autobiography and the picture was fostered by his heirs and all too often in the secondary literature. That the "real" Wilhelm Busch had altogether different characteristics can be gleaned from his letters, from his interactions with others, and from reports of friends, not the least his friend and publisher Otto Bassermann who succinctly said of Busch in 1859, when Busch was still feeling his way around the arts community in Munich: "Und sagt man ja, so sagt er nein!" (And if one says yes, then he says no! [Hochhuth 2: 904]).

Far removed from an idyllic environment, Busch's childhood was marked by an emotional void and many restricting rules. His Protestant upbringing implied the infusion of a strong sense of duty, discipline, rigidity, severity, and obedience. That he also needed warmth and closeness caused him to have a guilty conscience, and those feelings of guilt toward his parents stayed with Busch throughout his life. Growing up in a family ruled by pragmatic considerations, Busch soon learned that suppressing his own emotions and conforming to parental expectations was the easiest way to avoid conflict, and shaped his opinion that "der natürliche, unverdorbene (?) Mensch, also besonders das Kind, muß überwiegend böse sein, sonst ist seines Bleibens nicht in dieser Welt" (the natural, unspoiled (?) person, therefore especially the child, has to be primarily bad, otherwise he cannot remain in this world [B1: 157]). The realistically dysfunctional families later depicted by Busch's picture stories thus had their origin in his own childhood. "Ein freundliches Nahesein ist immer gut. Das weiß Keiner besser, als ich, der in den Kinderjahren die Bangigkeit gründlich studiert hat" (A friendly closeness is always good. Nobody knows that better than I, who thoroughly studied fearfulness in his childhood [B2: 157]) is how he later described the fears that resulted from this emotional conflict. Conforming to necessities, he accepted his move to Ebergötzen with outward calm, yet much later compared that loss of his entire known surroundings as being choked with fear: "Heimweh--das sind solch eigentümliche Halsschmerzen; ich hab sie in

Ebergötzen gehabt, als ich in frühsten Kinderjahren von Hause fortkam" (Homesickness--that's like some strange sore throat; I had it in Ebergötzen, when I left home in my early childhood [W7: 429]). Three years passed before Busch travelled back to Wiedensahl again: "Als ich dann wieder mal nach Hause kam, ging meine Mutter grade ins Feld, den Leuten Kaffee zu bringen. Ich kannte sie gleich; aber sie kannte mich nicht, als ich an ihr erst mal vorbeiging." (When I got back home again after a time, my mother was just going into the fields to take coffee to the workers. I knew her right away, but she didn't recognize me when I first walked past her [W7: 429]). Busch formulated the lasting impression from these early experiences and the restrictive upbringing as follows: "Das entscheidende Wort, welches durch unsre Seele klingt, ist Resignation" (the deciding word that sounds throughout our soul is resignation [B1: 27]). Rather than be defeatist, he adopted a behavioural pattern that endeavoured to transcend resignation.

Suppressed resignation and the untried belief that obedience would result in success caused him to obey his father's edict and begin engineering studies in Hanover, although his inclination leaned toward drawing and painting and the margins of his engineering notebooks were covered with caricatures. He suffered from the usual insecurities of a country boy living in a big city for the first time. His mathematics professor's assessment of him was: "Viel guter Willen, etwas flüchtig" (lots of good will, a little careless); the remark "tadeloses Betragen" (impeccable behaviour) implies that he was intent on complying with expectations, but his drawing instructor's appraisal "Erste Klasse" (first class) indicates that Busch's interest lay elsewhere.[23] Perhaps influenced by the public mood of the day, reacting in the 1848 revolution against the powers of established governments, Busch was already testing his boundaries of conformity. This was intimated by an acquaintance with: "ein Komiker war an ihm verdorben, denn er verstand, alles ins Lächerliche zu ziehen" (a comedian was lost in him, because he knew how to make fun of everything [Hollmann 26]). This he employed during times of stifling rigidity when everything was to be taken seriously and with solemnity. After the revolution, however, Busch received reinforcement of his childhood lesson of conforming to societal order: "Für die Radaumacher schloß man die Schule. Für

[23]The notebooks and report cards are located in the archives of the Wilhelm-Busch-Society.

uns andere, die brav gewesen, ging der Unterricht weiter" (the school was closed for the hooligans. For us others, who had remained docile, the lessons continued [H4: 538]). In light of this indoctrination, it is perhaps surprising that his own progression from conformity to family and societal expectations to a more unorthodox career path evolved dramatically when he decided after 3½ years in Hanover to discontinue his engineering studies against his father's express wishes and follow his inclination to become a painter.

Busch's father was incensed by his son's decision to dedicate himself to the "brotlose Kunst der Malerei" (penniless art of painting [W8: 228]), but during a three-months stay in Wiedensahl, Busch, aided by his uncle, managed to persuade his father to continue financial support. Many aspiring artists were drawn to the Art Academy in Dusseldorf,[24] which had the reputation of a "Mekka der modernen Malerei" (Mecca of modern painting [Wessling 43]) and Busch was hopeful to improve his untrained skills. Quickly disappointed by the prevailing atmosphere, he nevertheless made a genuine effort to apply himself, as is evident from the "selbstgegebene oktroyierte Verfassung für Wilhelm Busch" (self-imposed coerced constitution for Wilhelm Busch), which demanded a rigorous daily work habit. Noncompliance would be "von einem moralischen Katzenjammer höchstlicht malträtiert" (highly maltreated by a moral hangover [Hochhuth 2: 897-898]). In light of his precarious relationship with his father this was perhaps a droll thought, yet it clearly reflects his ongoing lack of self-worth. Fellow students from this time describe Busch as an "ernster, zurückhaltender Mensch, . . . der wenig sprach, der oft etwas Sarkastisches in seinen kurzen Bemerkungen an sich hatte und der fleißig seinen Studien oblag" (serious, reticent person, . . . who spoke little, who often had something sarcastic in his brief remarks and who diligently applied himself to his studies [W8: 230]). His teachers, too, commented on his industry, basic talent and conduct, but one teacher also added "später größtenteils gefehlt" (later primarily absent). Probably not wanting to admit a further misguided attempt at finding a profession, Busch stuck it out in Dusseldorf for two semesters before he

---

[24]The director of this art school had been since 1826 the then-renowned Friedrich Wilhelm von Schadow-Godenhaus. The son of famed classicistic Berlin sculptor Johann Gottfried Schadow, he had studied in Rome, gained followers for his work and enjoyed an illustrious name throughout the first half of the 19th century. By the time Busch entered the academy, Schadow's romantic and idealistic style of depicting primarily biblical motives had become dated, and although his reputation still drew many students of fine arts, most were also quickly disenchanted and left again.

transferred to the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Antwerp, preceded by fellow student August Klemme, who had previously paved Busch's way to Dusseldorf as well.

Enthusiasm for the works of the old Dutch and Flemish masters and zealous anticipation of his own achievements prompted Busch to make the June 26, 1852 diary entry: "Von diesem Tage an datiere sich die bestimmtere Gestaltung meines Charakters als Mensch und Maler. Es sei mein zweiter Geburtstag" (Let the more specific shaping of my character as a person and painter be dated from this day forward. It shall be my second birthday [H4: 595]). A letter to his parents continued in the same ardent spirit, "Ich lerne hier in einem halben Jahre ebensoviel als ich in Düsseldorf in einem ganzen gelernt haben würde" (I have learned here in half a year just as much as I would have learned in Dusseldorf in an entire year [B1: 4]), and was probably also intended to pacify his impatient father who was increasingly unwilling to financially support his vacillating son. In comparing the Antwerp experience to a second birthday, Busch described one of the primary psychosocial developments in any person, namely the necessity to find a meaningful balance between one's own dreams of grandeur and realistic goals. Not surprisingly, an identity crisis soon followed his euphoria and turned into a lengthy depression when he realized the gap between his ability and his expectations. Although some paintings and sketches from the time in Dusseldorf and Antwerp remain, Busch destroyed most, and this started a lifelong pattern of destruction during times of despair. Loath to admit to another failed attempt, his explanation for leaving Antwerp after only a brief stay was rather that "ich denke jetzt zu dem Punkte gekommen zu sein, wo ich meine Vorstudien so ziemlich beendigt nennen kann." (I believe I've arrived at the point where I can consider my preliminary studies as nearly completed [B1:6]). His plans were to return to Wiedensahl, complete some drawings from nature and start work on a painting, but a serious bout with typhoid fever delayed his departure. Scarcely recovered, he arrived in Wiedensahl in urgent need of both physical and mental recuperation, and stayed for about eighteen months while he collected local legends, fairy tales, and songs. An attempt to publish these along with his own illustrations failed, much to the chagrin of his father, who was impatiently waiting for Busch to "make something of his life." Debilitated by another failed attempt, his growing

insecurities and his apparent inability to support himself financially, Busch several times fled to his empathetic uncle in Lüthorst before the same friend who had already paved his way to Antwerp sent him enticing letters from Munich and prompted Busch to follow him. This pattern of fleeing Wiedensahl, crisis and failure elsewhere, and returning to Wiedensahl for recuperation would continue for many years until Busch finally refused to leave the village for more than a short holiday. Lindau described it thus:

> Der Aufenthalt in der Großstadt war für ihn immer eine Aufregung und Anstrengung, ein Opfer gewesen, das er der Belehrung und Anregung bringen zu müssen glaube. Mit den Jahren aber hatte sich in ihm der Drang, sich durch die Reibung mit dem großstädtischen Treiben seine Frische zu bewahren, immer mehr gemindert, und die Anstrengung war für ihn immer beschwerlicher geworden. ("Erinnerungen" 36-37)
> A stay in a large city was always an excitement and a strain for him, a sacrifice that he thought he had to make for personal development and inspiration. As the years passed, however, the urge to maintain his freshness through contact with the big city hustle and bustle, became less and less, and the effort became more and more arduous for him.

Busch had no real choice but to make another attempt at continuing his studies to become a painter, unless he wanted to admit defeat to his father, something he was unwilling to do. At the Munich art school Busch found a style similar to the one he had left behind in Dusseldorf,[25] quickly came to the conclusion that "die Malschule in München war nichts wert" (the art school in Munich was useless [W7: 434]), and was faced with having to admit another false start when he joined the artists' association Jung-München, where he first met Otto Bassermann and Caspar Braun.[26] Busch very much lived the life of a Bohemian, very aware of his image as a "bildhübscher Bursche" (attractive young fellow), who would "niemals ernstlich arbeiten" (never work seriously [Pixis "Geburtstag" 313]). Theodor Pixis, a fellow Jung-München member, remembered later: "Was er eigentlich trieb, das wußte niemand. Bekam er in seiner Wohnung unerwartet Besuch, so verschwand gewöhnlich irgendwas in seiner Tischschublade, ohne daß

---

[25]The Royal Academy of Arts in Munich was under the direction of Wilhelm von Kaulbach, and classicistic historical paintings of the crusades, war battles, and fantastical paintings of graces, muses and angels were prevalent.

[26]The artists' association "Jung-München" was founded in 1853, and included primarily young art students who were not local to Munich. When Busch joined in November 1854, he was one of the older members. Braun, a painter and illustrator trained in the art of wood engraving, together with the bookseller and writer Friedrich Schneider had founded the publishing house Braun & Schneider in 1843. They had begun publishing the journal *Fliegende Blätter* in 1844, and the broadsheets *Münchener Bilderbogen* in 1848; their emergence was called by Vischer "das Aufleben einer spezifisch deutschen Karikatur" (the revival of a specifically German style of caricature [309]).

jemand wissen konnte, was es war" (Nobody knew what he was actually doing. If he received unexpected company in his flat, usually something disappeared into his desk drawer, without anybody knowing what it could have been ["Erinnerungen"]). Noticeable at this time in Busch's behaviour is the polarity of excessive extroversion manifested by active participation in carnivals, parties, drunken revelling and pub crawls, and the diametrically opposed phenomenon of an increasing aversion to personal closeness. Busch was at a crossroads: After a third futile attempt at art school, he had convinced himself that he was a failed painter, but he was far from ready to settle into the mundane career path his father had envisioned for him. Despite still hoping to find an artistic foothold in Munich during the next several years, he never stayed there for more than six months before heading home again, and even those stays were often interrupted by lengthy visits to outlying villages in the Alps and at the Starnberg See. While his associates from Jung-München still found time to work despite frequent partying, Busch did little painting, and instead dedicated himself to contributing caricatures, parodies, fictitious letters and newspaper reports to the Jung-München newsletter, *Der Beiwagen*, which printed his caricatures of fellow members, with whom he "ging unbarmherzig um, nicht minder aber mit sich selbst" (dealt without mercy, but no less so than with himself [Pixis, "Erinnerungen"]).

During one of his visits home he met up with a friend who was interested in heraldry; for him Busch copied many coats of arms from surrounding churches. When Busch realized that he couldn't turn this into a money-making venture, he tried his hand at treasure-hunting for supposed urns in a megalithic grave, but to no avail. A renewed attempt to publish his collection of fairy tales failed, and he definitively gave up on that idea. During one of his visits to Lüthorst he resumed his interest in beekeeping, contemplated emigration to Brazil, but shied away from travelling to the unknown.

Busch was drifting with no real sense of direction until the death of his sister Anna in July 1858 wrenched him out of this mode and induced a frenzied creative period. That fall, Busch began his freelance work for Caspar Braun. As it turned out, the Jung-München newsletter had been a good training ground. A comparison of Busch's early contributions to the *Fliegende Blätter* shows no

difference in style, but soon, his intrinsic disdain for society asserted itself in his caricatures.[27]

Still financially destitute, Busch acted as Otto Bassermann's secretary during travels in Bavaria during the summer of 1859. Encouraged by his theatrical successes in Dassel,[28] Busch provided lyrics to several operettas in Munich, some of which received great reviews. He also continued his work for the Jung-München newsletter,[29] but in April 1864 was removed as a member because he was unable to pay his membership fee. Furious, he left Munich for Wolfenbüttel, where he proposed marriage to Anna Richter, whom he had met the previous year, but her father refused to let her marry a "starving artist," which only added to Busch's frustration. The following winter, desperate for money, Busch offered *Max und Moritz*, created in Wiedensahl in the summer in an effort to overcome this latest depression, to Braun & Schneider. The success of this picture story indicated that Busch had found his medium, and enabled him to boast later, "Wem was einfällt, der findet auch seinen Weg" (anybody who has an idea will find his way [W7: 434]) and obscure his many false starts followed by new beginnings, as well as his initial resistance to this "Papiertheater"(paper theatre [H2: 543]), as he called his picture stories. At the time, however, Busch was scarcely aware that he had stumbled upon a new medium, and simply continued his uncertain path of freelancing for Braun & Schneider and several other publishers.

An 1867 visit to Frankfurt, where his brother Otto had begun work as a tutor for the Kessler family, put Busch into contact with Johanna Kessler, who firmly believed in his talent as a painter, furthered it and showed it off during the "jour fixe" in her salon. As their friendship developed, she financed his studio in Frankfurt, and Busch lived there for about four years. While the nature of their

---

[27]Braun had very rigid production guidelines and Busch followed these meticulously, resulting in numerous commissions to provide illustrations to the texts of other authors. Busch's first publication in *Fliegende Blätter* #705 was *Der unbequeme Posten*. The same issue also contained *Der vergeßliche Stadtschreiber*, and *Enthusiastische Huldigung*. While someone else had done the woodcut for his first publication, Busch very quickly decided to do the engraving himself, beginning with *Die kleinen Honigdiebe*, his first *Münchener Bilderbogen* publication. In the next thirteen years, Busch contributed about 150 works with about 1,500 woodcuts for the *Fliegende Blätter* and the *Münchener Bilderbogen*, about 130 within the first five years.

[28]Compare page 52 of this dissertation.

[29]The spring 1863 newsletter contains probably the first draft of what would later become *Der heilige Antonius von Padua*. The fifteen illustrations with text are reworked and included in chapter nine of *Antonius*.

relationship can only be surmised, it seems obvious from letters that Busch found in her the love and warmth that he had been lacking from his mother. Their friendship continued their entire lives; after Busch moved away from Frankfurt he visited frequently and often wrote letters, except during a thirteen year silence following a disagreement in 1877.[30] He continued work on picture stories while in Frankfurt, spent much time painting, sculpting and sketching, and together with his brother devoted himself to the study of Schopenhauer's philosophical teachings.

In Frankfurt society Busch found plenty of materials to draw on for his *Fromme Helene*, which began the exclusive publishing arrangement with Otto Bassermann that would remain until 1896. Favourable conditions granted to him by Bassermann and the increasing success of his picture stories gave Busch independence and some measure of wealth from about this time onward. At about the same time, Busch set up permanent residence with his sister Fanny in Wiedensahl. Accepting that his future lay with picture stories, he published one or two picture stories every year for the next decade, and also continued painting, although he never exhibited any of his works. His own observances of societal interactions in Munich and Frankfurt, and his own family's hypocrisies[31] were increasingly assimilated into his works. In an attempt to articulate the messages in his picture stories, he published the poetry collection *Kritik des Herzens* in 1874, in which he clearly expressed what he observed as a dichotomous societal behavioural pattern between the facade of societal hypocrisy and the "Zeugnis meines und unseres bösen Herzens" (evidence of my and our wicked heart [H2: 557]). This showed his conviction of the

---

[30]Much to Johanna Kessler's chagrin, Busch had given up his studio in Frankfurt in 1872, and she was upset when Lorenz Gedon helped him furnish a new studio in Munich in 1877. To make matters worse, Busch complained to her that he couldn't work because "alle Augenblick klopft's" (there's a knock at the door every few moments) and "Café- und Abendgesellschaften, durchreisende Fremde, die nicht uninteressant--das alles gibt Gelegenheit, das Wetter bei Nacht zu prüfen . . . Es muß annersch werden! Aber wie? Aber wann?" (Afternoon and evening socials, strangers who are not uninteresting passing through--all that provides the opportunity to check on the weather at night . . . That has to change! But how? But when? [B1: 182]). She suggested he give up the Munich studio and come back to Frankfurt where he would have the solitude he was looking for. When Busch refused, she went into a huff. Busch sent her an ironic letter, calling her tantrum "eine Art von Rute" (a kind of cane [B1: 183]), which concluded their relationship for thirteen years.

[31]When Busch's father died in 1868 a bitter family feud regarding his estate ensued, which had to be settled by the courts. It left Busch's mother almost destitute with only the legally required portion of the inheritance, and Busch supported her until she died.

veneer of civilization imposed on baser instincts. After having long thought of himself as a failed painter, the lack of the poetry collection's critical and commercial success convinced him that he was also an inferior writer and this brought on another bout of depression, which he was only able to overcome with the philosophical musings in an exchange of letters with Maria Anderson, a Dutch journalist who admired the poetry collection. Although Wiedensahl "war ihm nicht recht grün" (didn't care for him [Heumann 70]), when Busch found his "stilles Eckchen" (quiet corner [B1: 32]) in his sister's house there, he gave in to his longing for the "Ruhe und Einsamkeit" (solitude and remoteness [B1: 176]) of the small villages, where he was able to sit "an den offenherzigen Quellen des Lebens, die sich ja sonst unter der Dressur verstecken" (by the candid and outspoken springs of life, which otherwise hide under forced training and conditioning [B1: 161]). Depressions plagued him as he questioned his outlook on life, which he described with "meine Seele ist heiser; ich habe eine philosophische Erkältung" (my soul is hoarse, I have a philosophical cold [B1: 215]). He also questioned his ability to produce more adult stories, "zu den Büchern für große Leute kommt so bald nichts hinzu" (nothing will be added to the books for grown-ups for a while [B1: 224]). Although still maintaining a studio in Munich, he soon started expressing his dislike for that city, "Ich bin eigentlich nur ungern hier" (I actually don't like it here [B1: 202]), and never returned there after creating a public spectacle of himself during a short visit in 1881.[32] For the rest of his life he stayed in Wiedensahl, and later Mechtshausen, except for short visits elsewhere, and the legend of the "Weise von Wiedensahl" (sage of Wiedensahl) stems from this time. He kept up a lively correspondence with friends and acquaintances, and Lindau recalled that "seine Antworten [auf Briefe] ließen auch gewöhnlich nicht lange auf sich warten" (his answers [to letters] usually did not take long to arrive ["Erinnerungen" 33]), but generally refused visitors to his home and rather met with them in a nearby town.

---

[32]Bassermann reported this incident. Apparently, Busch, who was drunk, with several of his friends, including Bassermann, attended a performance by the hypnotist Hansen in the Kunstgewerbehaus. "Busch zog der einen Schwester Lenbachs hinterrücks den Stuhl fort, als sie sich eben setzen wollte, rief Hansen laut zu, seine Vorführungen könne er ebenso gut machen, sie seien Schwindel, als man dann zum gemeinschaftlichen Essen begab, riß er mir den eben aufgetragenen Käse vom Teller und warf ihn über die Köpfe der Umsitzenden hinweg an die Wand." (Busch pulled the chair of one of Lenbach's sisters out from under her, just as she wanted to sit down, yelled out to Hansen that he could do his performances just as well, called them frauds, then when we all went to dinner, he grabbed the served cheese from my plate and threw it against the wall over the heads of the people sitting around [11]).

Coming from rural beginnings, Busch felt an outsider in urban bourgeois surroundings, yet he experienced the major political and social upheavals that occurred during his lifetime in exactly that milieu. He witnessed the impact that political changes, industrialization and technological advances had on the social structure, which brought about a type of person whose essential insignificance was hidden behind greed and ostentatiousness. However, while few of Busch's picture stories can be described as overtly political, they depict in acute detail the human foibles and interactions partly brought on by these unprecedented political and social changes. Busch used irony, wit and sometimes sarcasm to expose and ridicule the vices and foibles of his time, yet he had no illusions of being able to bring about a reform in society's behavioural patterns: "Die Welt ist wie Brei. Zieht man den Löffel heraus, und wär's der größte, gleich klappt die Geschichte wieder zusammen, als wenn gar nichts passiert wäre" (The world is like a gruel. If you pull out the spoon, the whole thing collapses as though nothing had happened [H4: 182]). Busch's works mirror the petty conventions and customs of the bourgeoisie of which he was a part, and they adored his work and never tired of reading it, generally able to identify, but not able to recognize the satire against themselves.

Various Birthdays[33]

Numerous biographical references about Busch specify his date of birth as Sunday, April 15, 1832. However, in reviewing the various statements Busch made about his birthday, the early biographical writings, and the official records about Busch, inconsistencies are noticeable.

The first inconsistency can be found in Busch's letters to Maria Anderson. This Dutch journalist had contacted Busch to compliment him on his publication of *Kritik des Herzens*, a poetry collection, and for Busch quite a departure from the usual picture stories. An exchange of letters that lasted for 3½ years followed. A distinguishing characteristic of Busch's letters to Anderson is his apparent willingness to share his innermost thoughts and ideas with her, a feature scarcely noticeable in his letters to any other

[33]My research and findings in this segment have been published as "Wann hatte Wilhelm Busch Geburtstag??" *Germanic Notes and Reviews* 31.1 (2000): 14-18.

correspondent. During the time of the most intimate letters, in July of 1875, Busch shared some details about his appearance: "Alter: 42 Jahr" (age: 42 years) and wrapped a 181.5 cm long black thread around the letter to indicate his height (B1: 150). He obviously went to some lengths to provide precise details in a manner that was very romantic for Busch. If he was born in 1832, however, Busch would already have been forty-**three**. An age of forty-two, as he indicated to Anderson, would consequently suggest a birth year of 1833.

The first Busch biographer, Paul Lindau, also assumed a birth year of 1833. Lindau reports in his *Erinnerungen an Wilhelm Busch*, "Als ich ihm sagte, daß ich etwas über ihn schreiben wollte, . . . schickte er mir folgendes nüchterne curriculum vitae: »Geboren in Wiedensahl (Hannover) 1833«" (when I told him that I wanted to write something about him, . . . he sent me the following simple curriculum vitae: »Born in Wiedensahl (Hanover) in 1833« [30]). Based on this information, Lindau published an essay about Busch in the February 1878 issue of *Nord und Süd*, in which he wrote that Busch "im Jahre 1833 das Licht der Welt erblickt hat" (first saw the light of day in the year 1833 [258]). This is a further inconsistency to biographical references, but it matches Busch's statements to Maria Anderson: The birth year is specified as 1833 and not 1832. When expressing his appreciation of the article, Busch complimented Lindau on his "Gründlichkeit" (thoroughness [B1: 183]), which would appear to imply that Lindau's statements were accurate. Busch neither corrected nor disputed the birth year, and it can thus be concluded that both in 1875 to Anderson and in 1878 to Lindau Busch assumed his birth year to be 1833.

When John Grand-Carteret published the next biographical essay about Busch in 1885,[34] he explained in a footnote that Busch "est un Allemand du Nord. Il est né le 15 April 1832 à Wiedensahl (Hanovre)" (is a German from the north. He was born on April 15, 1832 in Wiedensahl (Hanover) [296]). My research indicates this to be the first published reference to a birth date of April 15, 1832.

Around this time, Daelen was preparing his own biography about Busch,[35] and the next

---

[34]Compare pages 29-30 of this dissertation regarding Lindau and Grand-Carteret.

[35]Compare pages 30-35 of this dissertation regarding Daelen.

reference to the birth date can be found here. On January 16, 1886 Busch wrote a long, chatty letter to Daelen, which among other things contains the reference ". . . da ich aber bereits am 15. April 1832 geboren wurde. . ." (. . . however, as I was already born on April 15, 1832. . . [B1: 265]). To the best of my knowledge, this is the first time that Busch deviated from his statements to Maria Anderson and Paul Lindau, and this resulted in two different birth years from Busch's pen.

As described earlier, Busch wrote his first autobiographical essay in the wake of the Daelen biography and its aftermath, and subsequently undertook two rewrites in which he was increasingly reticent about his actual date of birth.[36] While the 1886 composition still stated "Ich bin geboren am 15. April 1832 zu Wiedensahl als der erste von sieben" (I was born April 15, 1832 at Wiedensahl as the first of seven [H4: 147]), this was reduced to a much more perfunctory "Ich bin geboren 1832 in Wiedensahl" (I was born in 1832 in Wiedensahl [H4: 205]) in the final essay of 1894.

Busch's diverging statements to Anderson and Lindau notwithstanding, the date of April 15, 1832 is generally regarded as Busch's date of birth. This date was also recorded in the "Familienbuch" (book of family events) kept by Busch's father.[37] However, a birth certificate[38] issued for the purpose of Busch entering the Polytechnical School in Hanover in 1847 raises questions about the various statements about his birth date. As illustration 1 shows, a birthday of April **fourteen** 1832 is recorded there, both in letters and in numerals, although the numeral is underlined in red and someone had added a "15" in pencil in the margin.

The statements by Busch himself with regard to his birthday vary in that he first spoke of 1833 as his birth year and then of 1832. The second discrepancy can be found between the birth certificate and "Familienbuch," that is, the 14th and the 15th of April, 1832. While the "Familienbuch" reflects private records only, the birth certificate, carrying a seal and an original signature, has to be regarded as

---

[36]Compare page 44 of this dissertation.

[37]The original "Familienbuch" is privately owned and I did not have access to it. However, a photocopy of it is available in the archives of the Wilhelm-Busch-Society.

[38]I found this birth certificate in the archives of the Wilhelm-Busch-Society.

a legal document. However, it contains the notation "ausgezogen aus dem Kirchenbuch der Gemeinde Wiedensahl" (extracted from the church book of the parish Wiedensahl), so the possibility of a copying error remained, and a verification of the church book entry seemed prudent. Prior to the introduction of civic registers for births, deaths, and marriages in 1876, church books served as legal registers. Between 1811 and 1841 the church book for Wiedensahl was kept by the preacher Dietrich Georg Eberhard Krop, who baptized Busch and made the entry in the church book recording his birth and baptism. On October 10, 1841 Hermann Georg Albrecht Wilhelm Nöldeke[39] joined the parish as pastor and in 1847 issued the aforementioned birth certificate. The church book provides the following details to the birth of Heinrich Christian Wilhelm Busch on leaf 61 verso, where births for the year 1832 are recorded: "geboren d. 14ten April morgens 6 Uhr" (born the 14th April, 6 o'clock in the morning [see illustration 2]).[40] As the church book was the legal record of the time, this date should be regarded as Busch's actual date of birth. Further research of letters and documents yielded no additional results; nor did a review of published articles about Busch and his forefathers. It can be assumed that Christian Krollmann, who reviewed church books during his genealogy research and refers directly to the Wiedensahl church book, quietly ignored this discrepancy. Other biographers likely simply relied on what had been written previously.

Of course, the reception of the works of an artist is independent of his birthday. The question about Busch's birth **year** appears to have been answered, although there is no satisfactory answer as to why Busch made the statements he did to Anderson and Lindau. Whether he was born on Saturday, April 14th, 1832 or Sunday, April 15th, 1832 remains unclear, but according to the church book, the official register for births, deaths, marriages, and confirmations of the time, Busch was born on April 14th, 1832, and biographies about Busch should be adjusted accordingly. Did Busch know about this discrepancy? Perhaps, if one considers a caricature in *Hernach*, the sealed collection of drawings and

---

[39]This pastor later married Busch's sister Fanny.

[40]I was given access to review this church book in the parish office in Wiedensahl.

verses Busch gave to his nephew Otto Nöldeke in 1905 with the stipulation that it should only be opened after his death, the answer becomes clear. Entitled "Der Gratulant" (see illustration 3), the caricature of a man with a donkey's head presenting a bouquet of flowers carries the caption:

Zu spät, mein Lieber!	To late, my dear!
Der Namenstag ist längst vorüber. (H4: 372)	The special day has long been here.

Complementary Talents

Busch thought of himself as a painter throughout his life; his calling card announced him as "Maler" (painter) and his will identified him as "Maler und Schriftsteller" (painter and author).[41] The self-analysis that is missing in his various autobiographical writings can be found in his self-portraits as they exist in large numbers of oil paintings, drawings and caricatures; this would seem to indicate that Busch's choice of expression was the visual picture, not the written word (see illustrations 4a-b).

Busch started as a writer: A poor performance during entry exams at the Hanover Polytechnical School required a supplementary show of skills, and Busch produced a sonnet to convince the director, Karl Karmarsch, to admit him as an engineering student. "Damals ging so was noch!" (In those days something like that still worked! [W8: 220]) was his laconic rationale to this seeming incongruity. Busch also ended as a writer. He stopped creating picture stories in 1884, drawings probably around 1892, painting in 1895, but continued to write prose and poetry until the last year of his life. In his poetry collection *Kritik des Herzens* he had "versucht, möglichst schlicht und bummlig die Wahrheit zu sagen" (attempted to speak the truth as simply and triflingly as possible [B1: 129]), but only "alte Geheimräte und Professoren wie junge Privatdozenten" (old privy councillors and professors as well as university lecturers) appreciated the book.[42]

---

[41]Busch's calling card, copies of his will and several codicils can be viewed in the archives of the Wilhelm-Busch-Society.

[42]In a letter from Bassermann to Busch, dated November 28, 1874, discussing reviews in various newspapers, sales of the book to-date, and a letter from Germany's ambassador to Turkey to the publisher regarding the "obscene" character of *Kritik des Herzens* (located in the archives of the Wilhelm-Busch-Society). Although never confirmed by Busch, it had been widely speculated that he published *Kritik des Herzens* only to countermand the persistent rumour that while he drew the caricatures for the picture stories, he had hired someone else to write the verses for him. The likely underlying cause

Busch likely knew that his poetry was a misfit amid the exaltations of the "Gründerzeit," much as he later predicted that few readers would appreciate the subtleness of *Eduards Traum* (B1: 331).

Contrary to publishing both prose and poetry, Busch never exhibited any of his oil paintings or drawings from nature, but he left behind a large collection of both, despite bouts of despair, during which he destroyed many paintings and drawings in garden bonfires. Aside from more than 4,500 caricatures of the broadsheets and picture stories, almost 1,000 oil paintings and more than 2,000 drawings from nature are known to have survived, as well as some etchings, silhouettes and sculptures. Their artistic value has only been acknowledged in the last couple of decades. Many of his drawings from nature in pencil, ink or water colours show how Busch immersed himself in the study of an object and would sketch it repeatedly until all details must have become imprinted on his subconscious, so that he could recall their essence at any time. Busch's oil paintings are mostly landscapes, peasants or genre scenes on small canvasses. He began in the tradition of the Dutch masters with almost monochromatic light-dark shadings; more colour was introduced later; his late paintings are of an expressive impressionistic style.

These were the two sides to Busch: In his paintings, which he kept private, he was a post-romantic, reverberating in the spirit of the 1830s, but in his picture stories, which he published widely, he denounced the societal realities of the "Gründerzeit." The picture stories embody Busch's drawing skills as a caricaturist, complemented by his gift for pithy rhyming. He had stumbled on picture stories quite by chance, and when asked later what had come first, the text or the pictures, was very adamant: "Zuerst wurden die Zeichnungen gemacht" (first the drawings were done [B2: 226]). He followed his instinct that the text under the drawings would be more fun as rhymes than in plain prose, a brief caption of usually two or four lines eliciting meaning from common clichés. The succinct unadorned language, its abrupt accuracy, its easy memorability clearly point towards the twentieth century, into an era that

---

for this rumour can be traced through Busch's later explanation to Lindau: "Die ersten Bilderbogen waren bloß in Zeichnungen gedacht. Einige davon erklärte ich nachträglich in Versen, nur einen, soweit ich weiß . . . , in Prosa. Was sonst von Text in Prosa vorkommt, rührt vom Verleger her." (The first broadsheets were only thought out in drawings. I later explained some of them in verse, only one, as far as I know . . . , in prose. Other occurrences of text in prose comes from the publisher [B1: 183-184]).

demands a fastidious presentation of the literary word and even more so the visualization of life and art. The picture stories thus exceed the range of conventional art classification, but precisely because of the novelty of their form of expression they cannot be codified. For Klotz, the connectivity within the overlapping of the various genres is the primary determinant:

> Erst beide Komponenten gemeinsam [erzielen] die eigentümliche Signatur und Wirkung von Buschs Bildergeschichten. Gewiß gibt es in der Kulturgeschichte auch noch andere Autoren, die zweierlei Künste beherrscht und miteinander verbunden haben . . . [Michelangelo, William Blake, Richard Wagner] . . . Der Unterschied zu Busch ist jedoch deutlich genug. Bei den andern Künstlern haben die einzelnen Komponenten--Text und Bild oder Text und Musik--keineswegs gleichen Rang und gleiches Gewicht. Und die Verbindung ist nicht unauflöslich. Das heißt: wir können Michelangelos Skulpturen auch ohne seine Sonette begreifen. (11)
>
> Only both components together attain the distinctive mark and effect of Busch's picture stories. Of course there are other authors in the history of civilization that were proficient in two art forms and combined them with one another . . . [Michelangelo, William Blake, Richard Wagner] . . . But the difference to Busch is plain enough. With the other artists the various components--word and picture or word and music--by no means have the same importance or the same weight. And the connection is not insoluble. That is, we can indeed understand Michelangelo's sculptures without his sonnets.

Busch's drawings within the picture stories are not only presented in a series, they are at the same time translated into rhymed language which encourages reading comprehension. The drawings, without their text, would have only a vague meaning; the text, without the drawings, would be equally nebulous. Thus, the impact of the picture stories results from the synergistic value of their verses and drawings. This was a new medium of expression, able to enunciate what readers subliminally sensed, but were unable to articulate.

Further supporting the strength of the synthesis of picture and word, Busch's development as a visual artist complemented his development as an author. Both were fused in the picture stories. The evolution of Busch's language to contraction and intensity augmented his progressive emphasis on contoured figures in his drawings, that is, as his drawings were reduced to few strokes to carry the essence of visualized meaning, so his language contracted to elicit meaningfulness from few effective and compelling words. Therefore, while Busch developed as a multi-talented artist in various artistic forms, his fundamental quest to say more with less remained the same regardless of which art form was used, and is similar in its expressive aesthetics. As such, the vibrancy of the skilful unity of drawing and

complementary verse in the picture stories was in high demand, whereas Busch's elusive prose and poetry received little attention, and his paintings and drawings from nature were for private enjoyment only.

Financial Freedom with Picture Stories

Kayser made the observation that one would have to go back to the authors of German classicism before finding one whose works are as well known as those of Busch, but with a twist:

> Goethe und Schiller liefern uns die Zitate, wenn es feierlich wird; Festredner steigern ihre Würde mit Goetheworten, und wenn sie gar Hölderlin zitieren, dann erhöht sich der Podest um ganze Stufen. Wilhelm Busch aber begleitet unseren Alltag. (*Humor* 3)
> Goethe and Schiller supply us with quotations for solemn occasions, keynote speakers heighten their eminence by citing Goethe, and if they even go as far as to quote Hölderlin, the pedestal is raised by several steps. But Wilhelm Busch accompanies our everyday life.

Celebrated in his own time, Busch's fame has since vastly increased, but seems suspect because of his appeal to the elite and masses alike. Was his an art? Was it a craft? Or was it simply a money-making proposition? Certainly, after selling the rights to *Max und Moritz* for a very modest amount and watching their tremendous commercial success, of which he would have no part, he was always very aware of the "business" side of his publications. He objected strongly to an English publication of *Die fromme Helene* in 1872 because ". . . das [sic] der Mann [William P. Nimmo, the Edinburgh publisher] meinen Namen nicht auf den Titel gesetzt, gefällt mir nicht; nicht aus Eitelkeit, sondern weil es nicht ohne praktische Bedeutung für mich ist" (I dislike the fact that that man [William P. Nimmo, the Edinburgh publisher] didn't put my name on the title[page], not because of conceit, but because it's not without practical meaning for me [B1: 91]). Yet, as there was no copyright agreement with England at that time, he could do little.

As has been shown, Busch saw himself first and foremost as a painter, although he would never exhibit his traditional paintings. Beginning with his first stay in Munich he made public the caricatures he had drawn for his own enjoyment. Suffering from a chronic shortage of money, he eventually turned this pastime into an income-generating scheme by adhering to the production guidelines for Braun &

Schneider's *Fliegende Blätter* and *Münchener Bilderbogen*,[43] which would pay him modestly per drawing. As the publisher had a large pool of artists to draw from, they were able to not only pay very little, but also make sparse use of each contributor. Busch, like other artists, was thus very much dependent on the publisher's continuing good will in order to derive a small income. During a bout with typhoid fever in 1860, Busch's primary concern was loss of money and the cost of his illness: "... nur kostet es doch etwas viel Geld, besonders, wenn ich das mitrechne, was in der Zeit hätte verdient werden können" (... only it costs quite a bit of money, especially if I consider what could have been earned during this time [B1: 20]). Although he was comparatively frequently published in the *Fliegende Blätter* and the *Münchener Bilderbogen* for the next several years, Busch's continuous lament was, "Wenn ich nur Geld hätte!" (If I only had money [B1: 23]) and he borrowed often from whomever he could.[44]

Publisher Heinrich Richter of Dresden was interested in emulating the broadsheet model when he met Busch and other Jung-München artists during an 1858 trip to the Brannenburg artists' colony with his father, the painter Ludwig Richter, who was greatly admired by the Jung-München group. Richter had become familiar with Busch's caricatures in the Jung-München newsletter and offered him a collaborative venture. Although Busch failed to act on this offer for several years, he recalled it in 1863 when first attempting to free himself from his dependence on Braun & Schneider. He had become increasingly irritated by the dictate to sell all rights to his works to the publisher, who was then free to publish the same work repeatedly, earning more with each subsequent edition while Busch, as author, would be left empty-handed. Therefore, he tried to negotiate a price per edition when he submitted some work to Richter, but was flatly refused. The response from Busch to this rejection reveals his attitude

---

[43]Guidelines for the journal *Fliegende Blätter* were drawings supplemented by text; often the stories and picture sequences would be spread out over several issues. Subscription information suggested a weekly issue, and 24 issues with about 400 woodcut drawings would form one volume. The guidelines for the broadsheet *Münchener Bilderbogen* called for individually complete sequences comprised of two to four rows with three to five drawings on each row (= six to twenty drawings per broadsheet), and preferably a caption of two lines for each drawing (= twelve to forty lines per broadsheet).

[44]Indeed, it would take until the mid-seventies until he repaid all his debts: "Es wäre mir überhaupt lieb, wenn ich aus meinen Ebergötzer Schulden endlich mal heraus käme" (I would indeed appreciate finally getting out of my debts in Ebergötzen [B1: 126]).

to the artistic and commercial value of his picture sequences: "Ich betrachte meine Sachen einfach als das was sie sind, als Nürnberger Tand, als Schnurrpfeifereien, deren Wert nicht in ihrem künstlerischen Gehalt, sondern in der Nachfrage des Publikums zu suchen ist" (I consider my things to be simply that which they are, as Nuremberg trinkets, as follies, whose value is not to be found in their artistic content, but in the demand of the public). He also left no doubt as to his underlying purpose: "Wenn ich meine Kuh zu Markt bringe, so will ich sie auch verkaufen" (When I bring my cow to market, it's because I want to sell her [B1: 26]). Although the artistic merit of Busch's picture and drawing combinations is well known today, he was totally oblivious to their significance. Indeed, only because "[er] nun Geld nötig habe" ([he] needs money [B1: 27]) did he accept Richter's less favourable counter offer, which again required Busch to sell all publishing rights. The *Bilderpossen* were subsequently published both individually and in book form, but were a flop.[45] To recompense Richter and to maintain his goodwill in hopes of future collaborations, Busch then offered him the manuscript for *Max und Moritz* gratuitously, but Richter refused.

Some time later, Busch tendered the manuscript to Braun & Schneider, suggesting it could be used "für einige Nummern der fliegenden Blätter [sic] und mit entsprechender Textveränderung auch für die Bilderbögen" (for some issues of the *Fliegende Blätter* and with appropriate changes in text also for the broadsheets [B1: 32]). The publisher accepted the manuscript, paid Busch considerably more than usual,[46] and prepared a book publication of the story. Busch was grateful, but thought that they were being foolishly generous: "Ich habe mit Freuden gesehn, daß Sie mir Ihr früheres Wohlwollen und sich selber einen vortrefflichen Humor bewahrt haben" (I was delighted to see that you retained your earlier goodwill towards me and for yourself an excellent sense of humour). Nevertheless, he sceptically expressed his wishful thinking: "Geben die Götter, daß Ihr freundlich-prophetischer Blick in die Zukunft sich bewahrheiten [möge]" (May the gods grant that your friendly-prophetic view into the future may come true [B1: 32]).

---

[45]In 1874 Busch and Bassermann purchased (back) the publishing rights and woodcuts for the *Bilderpossen* (*Der Eispeter*, *Katze und Maus*, *Krischan mit der Piepe* and *Hänsel und Gretel*) from then owner Paul Bette of Berlin, who had previously bought out the Richter publishing house. Records to support this transaction are located in the archives of the Wilhelm-Busch-Society.

[46]Busch was usually paid about 3 Gulden per drawing with text (cf. B1: 273). *Max und Moritz* has 97 drawings, but Braun & Schneider paid Busch 1000 Gulden for full rights to the story.

The success of *Max und Moritz* made other publishers aware of the fledgling artist, and Busch was finally able to demand a higher price for his drawings. Although Braun & Schneider raised his stipend slightly, Busch continued to be motivated by a need for greater compensation for the next several years. This can be seen by his ongoing debt problem (B1: 42) and complaints that efforts to free himself from Braun & Schneider in 1866 failed[47] because of the political unrest[48] (B1: 41). Still regarding his caricature and verse combinations as folly, his opinion that they only deserved "ephemeres Dasein" (ephemeral existence [B1: 42]) was strengthened, and his correspondence with Braun & Schneider took on a very commercial flavour:

Die feindlichen Nachbarn bitte ich mir mit 80 fl aufzuschreiben. (Please credit *Die feindlichen Nachbarn* with 80 fl [B1: 42])
12 Stöcke zum *Rendez-vous* bitte ich mir mit 80 fl gut zu schreiben. (Please credit me with 80 fl for the 12 blocks for the *Rendez-vous*. [B1: 44; *Der Korb* was first published as *Das gestörte Rendez-vous*])
Den *Vetter Franz* bitte ich mir mit 120 fl gut zu schreiben. (Please credit me with 120 fl for *Vetter Franz*. [B1: 47])
Da Sie so freundlich waren, mir ein Honorar dafür [*Die Fliege*] anzubieten und ich's gebrauchen kann, so mögen Sie mir gefälligst für jedes dieser Versconglomerate 8 Gulden gut schreiben. (As you were so nice to offer me a fee for it [*Die Fliege*] and I can use it, kindly credit me with 8 Gulden for each of these verse conglomerations. [B1: 49])
Vorläufig erhalten Sie wieder eine Anzahl von Stöcken. Sie würden mich verpflichten, wenn Sie mir noch vor meiner Abreise von hier 200 fl zuschicken möchten. (Meanwhile you will receive a number of blocks again. You would oblige me, if you would send me 200 fl before my departure from here. [B1: 50])
Den Stöcken [zu *Schnurrdiburr*], die ich Ihnen hier zuschicke . . . wenn Sie mir vielleicht bis Ende nächster Woche einiges Geld übermachen wollten. (The blocks [for *Schnurrdiburr*], which I am sending you now . . . if you could perhaps transfer some monies to me by the end of next week. [B1: 52; he received 140 fl.])
. . . der alte Particularist und *Mr. Jacques à Paris* auf 32 Stöcke berechnet, im Preise von 250 rth. (. . . the old particularist and *Mr. Jacques à Paris* calculated for 32 blocks, at a price of 250 rth. [B1: 60])
Sie erhalten hier zwölf Skizzen zu einer Geschichte betitelt: Der hastige Rausch., im Preise von 160 Thalern. (You herewith receive twelve sketches to a story entitled "Der hastige Rausch," at a price of 160 taler. [B1: 61])
. . . die Skizzen zu zwei Bilderbögen im Preise von zusammen 260 Thalern. (. . . the sketches for two broadsheets at a price of altogether 260 taler. [B1: 63])

[47]Although seemingly illogical, Busch wanted to discontinue his association with Braun & Schneider. He felt exploited by them and thought that if he could work with another publisher and control his stipend better, he would no longer be dependent on Braun & Schneider. In his own mind, his debt problems were a direct result of being underpaid by Braun & Schneider, therefore, if he could work with someone else and get paid better, he would then be able to pay his debts.

[48]Prussia heightened its expansionist policy throughout 1866, culminating in the dissolution of the German Confederation on June 14th, Prussia's declaration of war against Austria and other German states on June 15th, and the Treaty of Prague on August 18th, in which Austria conceded the dissolution of the German Confederation and Austrian exclusion from German affairs. Moreover, Prussia annexed Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, Hesse-Kassel, Nassau and the city of Frankfurt/Main. Saxony and other states would join this new North German Confederation under Prussia's leadership, uniting 22 states north of the Main.

Much like any for-profit venture, he kept careful track of agreements and did not fail to protest when the publisher made a mistake in calculating his payment for a picture story and underpaid him by some 197 Gulden (B1: 53).

Busch eventually did connect with various different publishers for whom he wrote some essays, and with whom he published a few picture stories over the next several years;[49] here, too, his business sense is very apparent in these dealings. Asked by the Grotesche Buchhandlung of Berlin to provide illustrations to Karl Arnold Kortum's *Jobsiade*, he offered "ich würde alles mit der Feder auf's Holz zeichnen und 1200 Thaler dafür verlangen" (I would engrave everything on wood and ask 1200 talers for it [B1: 63]). They declined, and Busch peddled the illustrations to other publishers. His terms were explicit: "... Sie beginnen dann die Zahlungen in bestimmten Fristen, aber, wie ich meine, sofort und nicht etwa nach drei Monaten" (You will then make payments in specific time intervals, but, I think, beginning immediately, and not, for example, after three months [B1: 64]).

It thus becomes evident that the creation of picture stories was, at least in the beginning, primarily a money-making proposition. Most certainly, it was only a sideline giving him the financial freedom to pursue painting, at which he spent much more time. However, he quickly developed some artistic pride, as is seen when he declined to illustrate someone else's verses, "zum Teil ist es Unfähigkeit und Trägheit, zum Teil auch Eitelkeit, die alles allein machen möchte" (in part due to inability and lethargy, in part also vanity, which wants to do everything herself [B1: 66]). The same pride can be seen in his objection to a poor translation of his verses, which "geläufig ins Gedächtnis und über die Lippen gehen [müssen], eine Eigenschaft, die Fleiß erfordert und worauf ich nicht wenig stolz bin." (must easily move into memory

[49]Most notably, *Hans Huckebein, der Unglücksrabe* (1867/68 in the journal *Über Land und Meer* in four issues with 12 drawings each) and several smaller works with Eduard Hallberger of Stuttgart, as well as *Der heilige Antonius von Padua* with Moritz Schauenburg of Lahr in June 1870. The sale of this book was banned by the censors and a lawsuit against the publisher "[wegen] durch die Presse verübter Herabwürdigung der Religion und Erregung öffentlichen Ärgernisses durch unzüchtige Schriften" (due to practising disparagement of religion through the press and causing public mischief through obscene writings) ensued, but the subsequent acquittal permitted book sales to continue in April 1871. The timing of the initial publication of this book just after the announcement of the Doctrine of Papal Infallibility by the Vatican Council was unfortunate. In fact, the manuscript had been ready in 1865, but was dropped by the original publisher (Karl Hallberger) after some woodcuts had already been made and it took Busch five years to find another publisher.

and across the lips, a feature which requires diligence and which makes me not just a little proud [B1: 91]).

From 1859, when his first contribution to the *Fliegende Blätter* appeared, until 1872, when *Die fromme Helene* was published, Busch's publications were sporadic and with several different publishers. Trying to eke out a living with whatever means possible as an artist, living on the fringe of society, always at the mercy of the "Herren Verleger" (Messrs publisher)[50] had sharpened his view of the darker side of society. He had slowly become known for his satirical vignettes of societal aspects as he saw them. Part of the success of the picture stories is then certainly attributable to the fact that the bourgeois readers recognized the depicted behavioural patterns as something familiar from within their own surroundings. By using exaggeration as a means of portrayal, Busch confronted his readers with the dichotomies of what society claimed to be reality to actual realities. By depicting something inherently familiar, and without suggesting change, Busch's stories and the author himself became non-threatening and something to be enjoyed with impunity.

Busch was slow to realize that emulating the successful *Max und Moritz* pattern of looking behind the benign facade of the pretenses of his society, would grant him economic success. His commercial endeavours regarding the picture stories were often interrupted by his overriding desire to get back to his first love, painting. This all changed in 1872, seven years after the publication of *Max und Moritz*, when Busch settled on a permanent publishing contract with his friend Otto Bassermann, also marked by his last contributions to the *Fliegende Blätter* and *Münchener Bilderbogen*, and the publication of *Die fromme Helene*. Bassermann began to actively and aggressively market Busch works and Busch's willingness to capitalize on the successful *Max und Moritz* pattern became obvious when he sent Bassermann the *Bilder zur Jobsiade*: "Das Schema, welches ihr zum Grunde liegt, ist das

[50]Busch used this seemingly polite expression often when referring requests for permission to re-print some of his works to the publisher. He could neither grant nor reject such requests himself because he had sold all publishing rights. Placed in context within these letters, the ironic intent of the term becomes obvious (ref. letters 87, 1330, 1359, 1379, 1396, 1400, 1433, 1486, 1501 in B1 and B2). According to the succinct report of Busch's nephews, his opinion was that "Die Verleger sind weiter nichts wie Krämer. Ob einer mit Büchern oder mit Heringen handelt ist einerlei. Sie sind die Kapitalisten und beuten die andern aus und bauen sich Villen, haben auch die unangenehmen Eigenschaften der Ausbeuter" (Publishers are nothing more than shopkeepers. Whether they deal in books or in herring is all the same. They are the capitalists and exploit the others and build mansions, and have the unpleasant characteristics of exploiters [Nöldeke 151]).

Unverwüstliche daran; es ist der Lebenslauf in abstracto" (The pattern on which it is based is its indestructible ingredient, it is life in abstracto [B1: 79]). Attaining financial independence came at the price of following this tried and tested pattern, cookie-cutter crafting and running the danger of drifting from aesthetically valuable creations to epigonism and dilettantism; yet the collaboration with Bassermann appealed to his commercial instinct and inspired him artistically. The ever-present anxiety inherent in this dichotomy caused Busch's own self-deprecations, but Bassermann had no such concerns. His job was merchandising and he did it admirably well.

Busch and his relationship with Otto Bassermann

Busch and Bassermann, son of a politician turned publisher,[51] first met when they were both members of the Jung-München artists' association. Their relationship was mutually beneficial: Bassermann found a supportive and mature friend in the seven years older Busch and the penniless Busch was able to support himself by working for Bassermann as his secretary (Bassermann 8). Even after Bassermann left Munich in late 1860 to train at the publishing house founded by his father, Busch and Bassermann stayed in touch and corresponded frequently.

Almost immediately after Bassermann assumed control of the family publishing business, he suggested that they publish something authored by Busch, but because the company concentrated their operations on publications of a scientific or academic nature, Busch turned him away (B1: 42). Several years later, frustrated in his dealings with various other publishers, still trying to sell the *Bilder zur Jobsiade*, and also the newly created picture story *Die fromme Helene*, Busch recalled Bassermann's

[51]Friedrich Daniel Bassermann, representative of the liberal opposition in the Lower House of the Baden Landtag, founded the Bassermann publishing house together with Karl Mathy, leader of the liberal opposition in Baden's Lower House, in 1843 in Mannheim, and managed it until his suicide in 1855. His son, Otto Friedrich Bassermann, trained first with Cotta in Munich and then in the family-owned business, moved operations to Heidelberg after assuming management responsibility in 1865, and to Munich in 1878. Contrary to popular belief, the expression "Bassermannsche Gestalten," describing figures of a dubious nature, does not refer to the various figures created by Busch, but rather to a speech given by Friedrich Daniel Bassermann at the National Assembly in Frankfurt on 18 November 1848, in which he described conditions in revolutionary Berlin and reported of strange figures he saw on Berlin streets, and which he declined to describe further (256).

offer and travelled to Heidelberg in 1871 to offer both manuscripts to his old friend. The contract between Busch and Bassermann was concluded very quickly, and this time Busch was able to negotiate an agreement retaining the publishing rights and thereby ensuring him a profit share for each printing, a deal that no other publisher would have granted at that time. Henceforth, Busch published only with Bassermann, although their contractual agreements changed often, until Busch was satisfied with receiving a 45% share of sales, while Bassermann had to bear all costs associated with printing, publishing and marketing.

In a blend of artistry and self-promotion, Busch was closely involved in all production details. He specified the print font and type of paper to be used: "Schwarzer Druck; Latein oder Schwabacher; gewöhnliches Papier, aber genugsam dick, daß es nicht durchdruckt" (black ink; Latin or Schwabach font; regular paper, but heavy enough that it does not print through [B1: 82]) and layed out margins, text and drawing placement on a page in letters: "Obenstehend der Raum, den Text und Bild einnehmen würden" (see above the space that would be taken up by text and picture [B1: 69]). He proof-read all galleys, approved printers and marketing schemes and suggested sales outlets outside the regular book buying venues: "[Du] mußt auch dafür sorgen, daß Helene die Bäder besucht (die Saison ist nahe) und daß sie auf den Bahnhöfen sich orientieren lernt" ([you] have to ensure that Helene visits the resorts (the season is nearing) and that she learns to find her way around train stations [B1: 76]). Finally, he recommended sales prices: "Preis 10-15 Silbergroschen" (price 10-15 silver Groschen [B1: 81]). He rejected reviews of his works: "Was Rezensionen anbelangt, so muß ich Dir wiederholentlich bekennen, daß derartige Sachen nicht rezensiert sein sollen . . . guter Humor und guter Vertrieb, die tun's." (As far as reviews are concerned, I have to repeat to you that such things should not be reviewed . . . good humour and good sales, that does it [B1: 76]). He complained frequently that Bassermann printed too few copies, and that sales and delivery failed to keep up with demand, thereby impeding income: "Wenn's Brei regnet, so fehlt der Löffel" (when it rains milk and honey, the spoon is missing [e.g. B1: 77]). He suggested cheap editions for mass printings to "Schmiede das Eisen, so lange es heiß ist" (make hay while the sun shines [B1: 89]). Busch ascertained his own deadlines so that

Bassermann could do his work, "um das Ding rechtzeitig zu Markte zu bringen" (to take the thing to market on time [B1: 80]) in order to take advantage of prime selling periods, and he expedited the publication of new works in order that they become "möglichst rasch rentabel" (profitable as quickly as possible [B1: 96]). He even designed and created advertising posters for Bassermann to promote his works. Ever the prima donna, he was not above insinuating that he was being pursued by other publishers, but as long as Bassermann granted him favourable conditions, he would prefer to publish everything with him.

Bassermann, from the early days of their collaboration, suggested editorial changes: "Für den moralischen, resp. unmoralischen Inhalt der *Helene* hätte ich nur ganz kleine Änderungsvorschläge, die mein Gewissen als Verleger in etwas beruhigten ohne dem Ganzen irgend Eintrag zu tun" (For the moral, resp. immoral content of *Helene* I only have some very minor suggestions for change that would pacify my conscience as publisher without harming the story).[52] Busch usually disregarded those suggestions. Bassermann frequently recommended topics for future picture stories, but those suggestions only came to fruition once: After the Jesuit laws were enacted, he prompted Busch to write and draw something relating to the Kulturkampf.[53] Busch prepared *Pater Filucius*.[54] When Bassermann prompted Busch to write a

---

[52]Letter from Bassermann to Busch dated October 9, 1871. Located in the archives of the Wilhelm-Busch-Society.

[53]The Doctrine of Papal Infallibility was interpreted as a major aggression by the Roman Catholic Church on the autonomy of the state and its modern understanding of evolution based on natural sciences research. Bismarck strove for a separation of state and church and enacted laws giving the state control over the school system. This was fought against by the increasingly strong Catholic fraction in parliament, but an imperial law expelling the Jesuits from Germany in 1872 further inflamed the Roman Catholic population. In addition to non-denominational schools and the banning of the Jesuits, Bismarck enacted laws giving the state legal control over the churches, introduced civil marriages and registry offices, thereby considerably weakening control of the Church over the population. This confrontation between Bismarck and the Roman Catholic Church is known as the "Kulturkampf."

[54]"Der *Fil.*, der ja auf Deine Anregung entstanden. . ." (*Fil.*, which was created based on your suggestion . . . [B1: 81]). Busch wanted to call this picture story "Pater Filuzi" (B1: 79), but on Bassermann's recommendation changed the ending "i" to "us" to call the story "Pater Filucius." Because of the allegorical complexity of the story, Bassermann asked for and received a breakdown of what the various characters represented (i.e. Gottlieb Michael = the German Empire, Tante Petrine = the Roman Catholic Church, Tante Pauline = the Protestant Church, Angelika = the future free state church, Filuzio = the Jesuits, Hund Schrupp = the ultramontane newspapers, Inter-Nazi and Jean Lecaq = international and French Social Democrats as accomplices and allies, Hiebel, Fibel, Bullerstiebel = soldiers, teachers, farmers), which Bassermann at first only communicated to book dealers, but later included with new editions of the picture story.

satirical picture story about a contemporary scandal in Munich dealing with the "Dachauer Banken,"[55] Busch requested that Bassermann send him research material such as newspaper articles, bank brochures, photographs and the like, because although the court case had not been concluded, it was "interessant genug, um sich dran zu versuchen" (interesting enough to try a hand at it [B1: 93]). Bassermann provided all the requested background material, but a picture story on this topic was never published, and if Busch did try his hand at this subject matter, he did not bring it to completion.

The correspondence between Busch and Bassermann until 1896 is punctuated with minutiae pertaining to the publishing of the various picture stories and the balancing of accounts. Many letters pertain to Busch's ongoing grievances about money and profit shares. He considered his talent to be his capital (B1: 91 and 98) and with increasing success his resentment of what he considered to be an injustice, namely having to share the profits of his capital with his publisher, escalated. While Bassermann indulged Busch, over time the unrealistic position put forth by Busch caused a serious disruption of their friendship, although their business relationship never suffered. In light of the numerous contract re-negotiations that granted Busch ever more favourable conditions, and his detailed involvement with production details, Busch's repeated protestations of "Unbeholfenheit in Geschäftsangelegenheiten" (clumsiness in business matters [B1: 224]), "zum Kaufmann bin ich nun einmal verdorben" (I'm not a business man [B1: 263]) or "[ich bin] in geschäftlichen Dingen ganz unerfahren" ([I am] completely inexperienced in business matters [B2: 79]) sound false and coquettish. The fact remains that during a time when most authors had to supplement their income by working in other professions, Busch made a very comfortable living through picture stories. This was largely effected through Bassermann's marketing efforts and distribution network. Although he was a cautious publisher who usually only

---

[55]The actress Adele Spitzeder had founded a bank in Munich in 1871, offering high interest rates for short term deposits. She assumed that she would be able to cover interest payments and withdrawals with new deposits. Other organizations, called "Dachauer Banken," or later "Sandbanken" colloquially, tried to emulate her method, which essentially tried to exploit the widespread wealth among the population after the German-French war. Many branches opened in cities and villages throughout Germany, but the pyramid scheme collapsed, and Adele Spitzeder declared bankruptcy late 1872, after she had defrauded 30,000 customers of 8½ million Gulden. She was sentenced to three years in the penitentiary in 1873.

printed 5,000 to 10,000 copies per edition, he was also quick to produce another edition when demand warranted it, and Busch also did not hold back with demands for new printings: "Also schleunigst voran mit 10,000 neuen, aber satiniert und gut gedruckt!" (So get moving, on the double, with 10,000 new copies, but glazed and well printed! [B1: 91]). These combined efforts of Busch and Bassermann resulted in constant demand for availability of Busch works, and therefore many editions of his stories. The following table shows Busch's publications with Bassermann up to the time of Busch's death in 1908:[56]

Year First Published	Title	Copies in print in 1908
1872	Die fromme Helene	205,000
1872	Bilder zur Jobsiade	42,000
1872	Pater Filucius	63,000
1873	Der Geburtstag oder die Partikularisten	52,000
1874	Dideldum	45,000
1874	Kritik des Herzens	38,000
1875	Abenteuer eines Junggesellen	75,000
1876	Herr und Frau Knopp	90,000
1877	Julchen	83,000
1878	Die Haarbeutel	43,000
1879	Fipps der Affe	49,000
1880	Stippstörchen für Äuglein und Öhrchen (6 Geschichten für Nichten und Neffen)	14,000
1880	Bilderpossen (previously published in 1864 with Richter)	10,000
1881	Der Fuchs. Die Drachen.	12,000
1882	Plisch und Plum	49,000
1883	Balduin Bählamm, der verhinderte Dichter	40,000
1884	Maler Klecksel	43,000
1884	Humoristischer Hausschatz	120,000
1891	Eduards Traum	12,000
1895	Der Schmetterling	20,000
1904	Zu guter Letzt	35,000
1906	Knopp-Trilogie	6,000

[56]The basis of this information is from a letter by Lothar Joachim, business manager for the Bassermann publishing house to Busch's nephew, Pastor Otto Nöldeke, dated October 21, 1907, less than three months before Busch's death. I compared this information with a variety of records located in the archives of the Wilhelm-Busch-Society and found only one discrepancy: Joachim had indicated 10,000 copies in print for *Der Schmetterling*, but actual printing records show 20,000 copies in print by that date.

In his dealings with Bassermann, Busch had finally achieved his long sought-after goal of retaining all publishing rights to his creations, which effectively gave him artistic control and ensured him payment per edition. This became the cornerstone of the contracts between Busch and Bassermann, and gave Busch a powerful negotiating tool, and he made use of it by repeatedly threatening to sever his relationship with Bassermann and sign on with a different publisher. When he became disinterested in the commercial affairs of his books in 1896 and offered to sell all rights to Bassermann for a one-time lump sum, a settlement contract was quickly concluded. Eight years later, Busch wanted to have his poetry collection *Zu guter Letzt* published, and he sold those rights to Bassermann for a one-time payment also.[57]

Intended as a mass medium by both Busch and Bassermann, the picture stories against Busch's expectations produced an effect on society that contradicted his own pessimistic *Weltanschauung*. After he had achieved fame and financial independence with his satirical picture stories, Busch again wanted to concentrate on painting, but, as he wrote to Johanna Kessler, "als meine Bekannten davon hörten, hieß es: Tun Sie das doch nicht! Bleiben Sie bei dem, womit Sie uns Allen Pläsir machen" (when my friends heard about it, they said: Don't do that! Stick with that, which gives pleasure to us all [B1: 176]). Busch heeded their advice and continued producing picture stories, succinctly capturing contemporary society in drawings and verses. His pastime of making funny pictures for his own pleasure had become the craft that would thereafter rule his life.

---

[57]Both of these agreements were objectionable to Busch's heirs, who tried to rescind them after his death by accusing Bassermann of exploiting Busch and having taken advantage of his naiveté in business matters. However, Busch's business savvy is plainly recognizable; both contracts were initiated by him, and Bassermann complied with his wishes. Busch approached Bassermann during a personal meeting about the sale of the publishing rights, then asked Bassermann to offer "zahlenmäßige Vorschläge" (suggestions for payment [B2: 79]), only eleven days later declared "mit der gebotenen Summe bin ich einverstanden" (I agree to the offered sum [B2: 79]), the contract was subsequently signed and Busch emphatically stressed that "Auch mich hat's gefreut, daß wir unser Sach so ohneweiteres erledigt haben, und sag ich Dir gleichfalls meinen Dank dafür" (I, too, was glad that we concluded our matter without much to-do and I also want to thank you for that [B2: 292]). Busch's letter to Bassermann regarding *Zu guter Letzt* then explicitly states his conditions, including "Fünftausend Mk. einfürallemal" (five thousand marks, once and for all [B2: 220]).

2. Travelling a Nightmare: *Eduards Traum*

Conceding that his autobiographies were less informative than his audience would have liked, Busch had promised his readers in *Was mich betrifft (II)* that he would satisfy their curiosity in other ways: "Ich werde sonstwie für dich sorgen" (I shall look after you in some other way [H4: 157]). Busch's experiences, sentiments and attitudes can be ascertained by interpreting the symbols, metaphors, allegories and associations within the surreal environments of *Eduards Traum* and *Der Schmetterling*; both could be characterized as "subliminal autobiographies."

Eduards Traum illustrates the mosaic of the realities of 19th century existence and contemporary issues as viewed through the eyes of a thinking man who is part of that setting--Eduard as Busch's alter-ego. In a dream, Eduard has been changed into a thinking dot and in this metamorphosis embarks on a journey through various realms and dimensions where he encounters prejudice, hypocrisy, immorality, greed and lack of compassion. Not following a causal or consecutively structured pattern, the journey could appear to emulate the vagaries of a person's unpredictable progress through life. Both a "Traumerzählung," the telling of a dream, and a "Reiseerzählung," a travel report, the adventures of the thinking dot begin in an arithmetic town. From there, Eduard travels to the nation of dots, enters the geometric plane, and visits the three-dimensional room and the realm of weightlessness. Continuing his journey, Eduard briefly stays in the community of heads, then experiences life in the country and leaves there to encounter bourgeois big-city living. He embarks on a journey through space and upon his return lands on a futuristic island. After a short stopover he calls on a natural philosopher. Resuming his travels again, Eduard observes strange activities in a tavern, and later arrives at an enchanted castle. After catching a glimpse of a fantastic city of temples he is chased by little devils and in a sudden reversal of the metamorphosis is quite happy when his wife Elise wakes him in the morning. Skeletonized abstractions caricature thoughts and reactions, beginning with reflections on time and space and ending with contemplations of man's limits of understanding in search for the meaning of life within a competitive and hostile environment. Throughout the narrative, a sudden departure from one locale

to the next is the indicator that a new episode is about to begin. Busch explained the process thus: "Ein emsiger Schritt des Wortes schien mir heilsam. Durch stilistische Behaglichkeit nach Landesbrauch wär mir meine Sache leicht unpaßend dick geworden" (A quick step of the word seemed beneficial. My thing would easily have become inappropriately large by employing the stylistic homeliness of national custom [B1: 331]).

The first prose work after *Was mich betrifft* (1886), *Eduards Traum* was written between September and December 1890, six years after Busch had ceased to create picture stories. The handwriting in the working manuscript changes often and contains many internal, marginal and inter-linear corrections (see illustrations 5a-b). It contains the footnote "Wilh. Busch Wiedensahl Dec. 1890. Für den Druck abgeschrieben Januar 1891" (Copied out for printing January 1891). The text is not separated into chapters, but divided into separate sections, which were defined in the final manuscript by a red line under the first letter of each section. The first printed edition (5,000 copies) shows these letters in red ink,[1] but subsequent editions typically insert a triple line spacing. Offered to booksellers as a "Seiten-stück zur *Kritik des Herzens*, nur in Prosa" (counterpart to *Kritik des Herzens*, only in prose),[2] the first edition of *Eduards Traum* was available in April 1891, but Busch's departure to prose literature was not well received by the reading public, as Busch himself had astutely anticipated in a letter to Franz Lenbach:

> Besten Dank ferner für die freundlichen Worte über meinen kleinen Schnickschnack auf Druckpapier. Viel werden's ihrer nicht sein, denen . . . in angestammter Hellhörigkeit schon ein leichtes Säuseln der Probleme genügend ist, um sich selbstdenkend zu belustigen. (B1: 331)
> Many thanks also for your kind words about my little chitchat on printing paper. There won't be many whose intuitive perception is keen enough so that a slight whisper of the problems is sufficient for their thoughtful amusement.

The problems he alludes to in the letter to Lenbach had been metaphorically expressed by Busch in an earlier letter, just before he started work on *Eduards Traum*:

> Alles will reiten, sozusagen; nicht bloß der Kavalier und Millionär. Der löbliche Mittelstand, seit einiger Zeit bemerkend, daß er Geld verdient, hat sich aufs hohe Roß

---

[1]Both manuscripts and a copy of the first edition can be viewed in the archives of the Wilhelm-Busch-Society.

[2]From the Bassermann publisher's circular announcing the upcoming publication and also in a letter from Otto Bassermann dated March 9, 1891. Located in the archives of the Wilhelm-Busch-Society.

> gesetzt. Nun möchten aber alle die, welche zu Fuß gehn, welche das Putzen und Misten tun, auch ihrerseits reiten; nach dem uralten Naturgesetz der Neidhammelei. Sie legen Striegel und Mistgabel nieder und machen die Pferde scheu. (B1: 324)
> Everybody wants to ride, so to speak; not just the gentleman and millionaire. The laudable middle class, noticing for some time that they are making money, has got on their high horse. But now all of those that are walking, those that do the cleaning and mucking out, they all want to ride too; following the ancient natural law of envy. They put down the currycomb and pitchfork and frighten the horses.

With repetitions of ever changing scenarios which have a cumulative effect, *Eduards Traum* depicts hypocrisy, immorality, social climbers, greed and lack of compassion as virtually unchangeable continuously recurring phenomena in ever different forms. Like a surrealistic montage, Busch created a portrait of the overall materialism of society and this visualization of images created an intentionally critical cryptogram of society, people and the era. The reader becomes the viewer of a picture, seeing completed fragments of an unexplorable whole.

The Dream as mode of exploration

Much like the picture stories and the autobiographies, *Eduards Traum* strings together seemingly unrelated episodic incidents into a continuous narrative. Connections between the various dream fragments can be made through their similarities and by repetition. Diverging phenomena and fragments are forced together to create an eruption as reader expectations are invalidated through alienation or disillusionment. By framing the narrative as a dream, Busch employed a technique that since Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* had facilitated the articulation of social criticism and authorial viewpoints (Wilpert 855). In *Eduards Traum* Busch used the technique of a fictionalized dream to unmask reality and voice his own social criticism. In doing so, he transferred the compact imagery of the picture stories into prose.

Prior to Freud's dream analysis (*Die Traumdeutung*, 1900), the theory of dreams put forth by the philosopher Gotthilf Heinrich Schubert (*Die Symbolik des Traumes*, 1814) had enjoyed a strong resonance, particularly among early 19th century Romanticists. According to his theory,

> die Seele des Menschen [fliegt] im Traum auf jene Höhe, die ihre ursprüngliche Heimat ist, und nur in diesem Zustand einer Lösung der Seele vom Leib kann der Mensch der

> Seele innerstes Wesen erfahren. Höhere Kräfte durchziehen dann die Seele, sie vermag bis in die Eingeweide der Welt vorzudringen, wo Subjekt und Objekt verschmelzen, und auf diesen Fähigkeiten und Kontakten beruht die prophetische Kraft des Traums. (Frenzel, "Traum" 826)
> A human's soul in a dream moves to those heights that is its source of origin and only in this state of separation of soul from the body can humankind learn of the innermost essence of the soul. Higher powers then move through the soul, it is able to penetrate to the guts of the world where subject and object merge, and the prophetic strength of a dream rests on these abilities and relations.

According to this theory, dreams are an avenue to the irrational, to the world of the hereafter, contain prophetic elements, and reveal the character of a person. The romantic concept of poeticizing life, as expressed in Novalis's *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, "Die Welt wird Traum, der Traum wird Welt" (The world becomes a dream, the dream becomes the world [367]), is however decidedly not part of *Eduards Traum*. Busch's characters are greedy, cruel and dishonest. In the story, Busch also incorporated knowledge about natural sciences as they developed in the 19th century, as well as about the breakup of the traditional social structure and ensuing social changes. However, it was the concept of irrational elements of a dream that facilitated for Busch the

> Enthüllung und dadurch psychische Realisierung desjenigen Teils der Wirklichkeit, der unter gesellschaftlichen Imperativen nicht wahrgenommen werden darf, weil er im Widerspruch zu dem Bild steht, das die Gesellschaft von sich selber hat. Die traumartige Literatur deckt etwas auf, was die »realistische« Literatur verschleiert, die immer nur das erlaubte Bild: die Sozialfassade reproduziert. (Lenk 260)
> disclosure and with that psychological realization of that part of reality, which may not be noticed according to societal laws because it is contradictory to the picture that society has of itself. Dreamlike literature uncovers something which the »realistic« literature disguises, it always only reproduces the permitted image: the social facade.

By using a dream Busch was able to disclose those facets of reality that in deference to convention could otherwise not be acknowledged. Bracketed within the cozy frame of bourgeois respectability, the more frightening elements of the dream are nullified: A person cannot be held responsible for his dreams, they are an uncontrollable energy from the unconsciousness after the consciousness has fallen asleep. This concurs with 19th century knowledge of the unconscious, defined as "all mental processes except those discrete aspects or brief phases which enter awareness as they occur" (Whyte 21), later formalized by Freud's divisions of the psyche into the ego (consciousness), id (unconsciousness) and superego (internalized consciousness) and stressing the inability of rational thinking to dominate dreams.

Busch expressed his understanding of dreams as "während der Mensch träumt, geht sein inneres Ich aus ihm heraus und treibt sich selbständig herum" (while a person is dreaming, his inner self moves to the outside of him and meanders about independently [B2: 159]). He had stressed this independency of the unconscious at the very beginning of *Eduards Traum*: "Träume . . . die doch meist nichts weiter sind, als die zweifelhaften Belustigungen in der Kinder- und Bedientenstube des Gehirns, nachdem der Vater und Hausherr zu Bette gegangen" (dreams . . . which really are nothing but dubious amusements in the mind's nursery and servants' quarters, after the father and master of the house has gone to bed [H4: 159]) and followed this supposition to the end of the narrative.

By unmasking bourgeois reality through irrationality within traditional romantic notions and employing a narrative framed as a dream, Busch connected the past world with the future world, the dream world with the real world. This enabled him to eliminate the distance between himself as author and the story's narrator Eduard because

> die traumartige Erzählung [bringt] diese Distanz tendenziell zum Verschwinden, weil der Autor sich im Augenblick des Schreibens in seine Figuren auflöst, weil er augenblicksweise zu dem wird, was er beschreibt. (Lenk 259)
> a dream-like narrative generally causes this distance to disappear, because at the moment of writing the author dissolves into his figures, because for a moment he becomes what he describes.

As such, the dream had a dual function for Busch: His own philosophy of life and his criticisms about contemporary society are embedded within the story as is his approach on how to communicate these ideas and themes. Although the criticism is weakened because it is encased in a dream, the dream provided Busch with the opportunity to be openly critical: Busch needed the mask of the dream to be himself and to disclose thoughts and impressions he believed he could not otherwise voice. Therefore, "die Bedeutung des Traums als Ausdruck einer surrealistischen Überwelt und der freischaltenden Phantasie, z.T. mit Einfluß auf die Realität" (the meaning of a dream as an expression of a surrealistic superworld and the freely roaming fantasy, in part with influence on reality [Wilpert 855]) explains *Eduards Traum* as an expression of Busch's reaction to internal and external stimuli.

Narratological Structure

To obscure the direct criticism of his society, Busch carefully constructed distance by bracketing the dream with two separate frame structures in order to stress his detachment from Eduard and his dream. The first, or outer frame, consists of the auctorial introductory and closing commentaries of an omniscient observer, beginning with a satirical irony calling into question the purpose and value of the ensuing narrative. This outer frame's circle closes at the end of the story with a wistful irony challenging the reader to reflect on and dissect the just-read narrative. This frame makes the author appear as a reporter of a true occurrence, rather than as creator of fiction and thus lends authenticity to the story. The second, or inner frame, is a first-person report by Eduard, the protagonist of the narrative, who describes his actual evening ritual before leading into the narration of the dream and closes with a description of waking up in the morning and his morning ritual. These two frames encircle the actual adventures of Eduard as the thinking dot in the dream. Eduard's telling of a dream, rather than a personal experience, further increases the distancing effect created by the two frames. In that manner, the entire narrative interlocks three separate time- and reality levels: The first level is that of an author, who reports on a past actual event, namely that Eduard told his dream to a group of listeners which included the author. The second level is that of Eduard as narrator, who recounts a dream he had dreamt. The primary narrative occurs at the third level, consisting of the fragmented episodes in the dream. Eduard in his metamorphosis as a thinking dot is the narrator at the dream level. It is at this level that Busch articulates his social criticisms, corruption within human motives and the immorality of man's objectives; neither Eduard, who narrated the dream, nor the author, who reported Eduard's telling of the dream, can be held responsible for what happens in a dream because "die Worte gehorchen nicht dem intentionalen, überlegenden, wachen, alles überwachenden Ich" (the words do not pay attention to the intentional, superior, awake and omniscient I [Lenk 259]).

The gradual transition from the level of the author to that of the narrator to that of the dream at the beginning of the story and the reverse at the end of the story implies a linear structure, but the non-

responsibility for the events of the dream supports the narrative's cyclical structure: Eduard returns to the point of departure at the end of the narrative without undergoing any change. The narrative's three levels (auctorial, Eduard's dual role as narrator of the dream and "Thinking Dot" narrator) are connected and interlocked by a fourth component merging into the dream level. Recurring admonitions from Eduard's wife Elise: "Eduard schnarche nicht so!" (Eduard quit snoring),[3] comments addressed to the reader from the authorial level, and numerous comments at the narrator level demonstrating Eduard's stream-of-consciousness through direct speech to the listening audience all intrude into the neutral telling of the dream. The following chart shows the narrative structure with every interruption into the telling of the dream:

H4:	Level	Focus	Voice	Position	Content Summary
159	1	Auctorial	3rd person-comment	outer frame	Establishes non-responsibility for dream
159	2	Eduard-personal	1st person-report	inner frame	Describes activities before going to bed
160	2	Eduard-personal	1st person-report	transition to dream	Explains sensation of metamorphosis into a thinking dot
161	2	Eduard-personal	1st person-comment	INTERRUPTION	Addresses audience to comment on metamorphosis
161	2	Eduard-personal	1st person-report	transition to dream	Continues to explain sensation of metamorphosis
161	4	Elise	direct speech	INTERRUPTION	Eduard schnarche nicht so!
161	2	Eduard-personal	1st person-comment	INTERRUPTION	Addresses audience to comment on Elise's interruption
161	3	Thinking Dot-neutral	1st person-report	dream	Arithmetic town
163	2	Eduard-personal	1st person-comment	INTERRUPTION	Addresses audience to comment on dream
164	3	Thinking Dot-neutral	1st person-report	dream	Nation of Dots
164	2	Eduard-personal	1st person-comment	INTERRUPTION	Addresses audience to comment on dream
164	1	Auctorial	3rd person-report	INTERRUPTION	Addresses audience to report Eduard's next words
164	3	Thinking Dot-neutral	1st person-report	dream	Nation of Dots; Geometric plane

[3]The manuscript is in Gothic script, but these interjections are in Latin print.

H4:	Level	Focus	Voice	Position	Content Summary
165	2	Eduard-personal	1st person-comment	INTERRUPTION	Addresses audience to explain his thoughts as a thinking dot
166	3	Thinking Dot-neutral	1st person-report	dream	Geometric plane
166	4	Elise	direct speech	INTERRUPTION	Eduard schnarche nicht so!
166	2	Eduard-personal	1st person-comment	INTERRUPTION	Addresses audience to comment on Elise's interruption
166	3	Thinking Dot-neutral	1st person-report	dream	Geometric plane; Three-dimensional room
167	2	Eduard-personal	1st person-comment	INTERRUPTION	Addresses audience to explain his thoughts as a thinking dot
167	3	Thinking Dot-neutral	1st person-report	dream	Three-dimensional room; Realm of Weightlessness
168	2	Eduard-personal	1st person-comment	INTERRUPTION	Addresses audience to comment on dream
168	3	Thinking Dot-neutral	1st person-report	dream	Moves from geometric realm to community of heads
169	2	Eduard-personal	1st person-comment	INTERRUPTION	Addresses audience to comment on dream
169	3	Thinking Dot-neutral	1st person-report	dream	Community of separate body parts; Arrival in village
170	4	Elise	direct speech	INTERRUPTION	Eduard schnarche nicht so!
170	2	Eduard-personal	1st person-comment	INTERRUPTION	Addresses audience to comment on Elise's interruption
171	3	Thinking Dot-neutral	1st person-report	dream	Events in the village
171	2	Eduard-personal	1st person-comment	INTERRUPTION	Addresses audience to comment on future happenings
171	3	Thinking Dot-neutral	1st person-report	dream	Events in the village
172	2	Eduard-personal	1st person-comment	INTERRUPTION	Addresses audience to make a philosophical comment
172	3	Thinking Dot-neutral	1st person-report	dream	Events in the village
172	2	Eduard-personal	1st person-comment	INTERRUPTION	Addresses audience to make a philosophical comment
172	3	Thinking Dot-neutral	1st person-report	dream	Events in the village
173	2	Eduard-personal	1st person-comment	INTERRUPTION	Addresses audience to explain his thoughts as a thinking dot
173	3	Thinking Dot-neutral	1st person-report	dream	Events in the village; Events on the road
175	4	Elise	direct speech	INTERRUPTION	Eduard schnarche nicht so!
175	2	Eduard-personal	1st person-comment	INTERRUPTION	Addresses audience to comment on Elise's interruption
176	3	Thinking Dot-neutral	1st person-report	dream	Arrival in the city

H4:	Level	Focus	Voice	Position	Content Summary
176	2	Eduard-personal	1st person-comment	INTERRUPTION	Addresses audience to comment on perception in the dream
177	3	Thinking Dot-neutral	1st person-report	dream	Observes funeral procession
177	2	Eduard-personal	1st person-comment	INTERRUPTION	Addresses audience to comment on dream
177	3	Thinking Dot-neutral	1st person-report	dream	Events in the city
178	2	Eduard-personal	1st person-comment	INTERRUPTION	Addresses audience to comment on his naiveté
179	3	Thinking Dot-neutral	1st person-report	dream	Events in the city
179	4	Elise	direct speech	INTERRUPTION	Eduard schnarche nicht so!
179	2	Eduard-personal	1st person-comment	INTERRUPTION	Addresses audience to comment on Elise's interruption
179	2	Eduard-personal	1st person-comment	INTERRUPTION	Addresses audience to share his opinion about a work of art
179	1	Auctorial	3rd person-report	INTERRUPTION	Addresses audience to report Eduard's next words
179	2	Eduard-personal	1st person-comment	INTERRUPTION	Addresses audience to share philosophical thoughts
180	3	Thinking Dot-neutral	1st person-report	dream	Events in the city
181	2	Eduard-personal	1st person-comment	INTERRUPTION	Addresses audience to reflect on the impact of events on him
181	3	Thinking Dot-neutral	1st person-report	dream	Events in the city
181	2	Eduard-personal	1st person-comment	INTERRUPTION	Addresses audience to explain his reaction in the dream
181	3	Thinking Dot-neutral	1st person-report	dream	Thoughts about politics; Search for a "good man"
183	2	Eduard-personal	1st person-comment	INTERRUPTION	Addresses audience to share a philosophical attitude
184	3	Thinking Dot-neutral	1st person-report	dream	Travel to outer space
184	2	Eduard-personal	1st person-comment	INTERRUPTION	Addresses audience to comments on events in the dream
184	3	Thinking Dot-neutral	1st person-report	dream	Events in outer space; Arrival on futuristic island
185	4	Elise	direct speech	INTERRUPTION	Eduard schnarche nicht so!
186	2	Eduard-personal	1st person-comment	INTERRUPTION	Addresses audience to comment on Elise's interruption
186	3	Thinking Dot-neutral	1st person-report	dream	Events on the futuristic island
187	4	Elise	direct speech	INTERRUPTION	Eduard schnarche nicht so!
187	2	Eduard-personal	1st person-comment	INTERRUPTION	Addresses audience to comment on Elise's interruption

H4:	Level	Focus	Voice	Position	Content Summary
187	3	Thinking Dot-neutral	1st person-report	dream	Events on the futuristic island
187	2	Eduard-personal	1st person-comment	INTERRUPTION	Addresses audience to comment on events in the dream
187	3	Thinking Dot-neutral	1st person-report	dream	Leaves futuristic island; Visits natural philosopher; Arrives at the tavern
193	4	Elise	direct speech	INTERRUPTION	Eduard schnarche nicht so!
193	2	Eduard-personal	1st person-comment	INTERRUPTION	Addresses audience to comment on Elise's interruption
193	3	Thinking Dot-neutral	1st person-report	dream	Observes people leaving tavern; Goes up the mountain, Meets various people
198	4	Elise	direct speech	INTERRUPTION	Eduard schnarche nicht so!
198	2	Eduard-personal	1st person-comment	INTERRUPTION	Addresses audience to comment on Elise's interruption
198	3	Thinking Dot-neutral	1st person-report	dream	Events at the enchanted castle
200	2	Eduard-personal	1st person-report	transition from dream	Explains perceptions in semi-wake state, still as thinking dot
200	4	Elise	direct speech	INTERRUPTION	Eduard steh auf, der Kaffee ist fertig!
200	2	Eduard-personal	1st person-report	inner frame	Describes perceptions upon waking up
201	1	Auctorial	3rd person-comment	outer frame	Re-affirms non-responsibility for the dream; Reflects on content of dream; Reflects on usage of books

The chart shows the seventy-six different phases in the narrative line. This is unusually complicated and demonstrates the deliberate fragmentation of the telling of the dream and the multiple roles of the narrator. On a different time line than the narrated dream, the interruptions distinguish themselves through their supposedly actual content versus the unreal events of the dream. Although interrupting the narrative flow of the dream each time, reminding the reader that a dream is narrated and thereby stressing its unreal nature, the interruptions do not question the content and messages of the dream. Moreover, the direct addresses to the audience lend an authenticity that can give an aura of reality to the events narrated as a dream. Finally, the interruptions fragment the distance created by the construction of a dream encased within two frames. In this manner, the distance created by the dream is partly

reversed, a relevance to reality's society is implied and the notion of non-responsibility for a dream product is at least partly annulled. Inasmuch as the many interruptions can be plainly seen and denote a separation between the rational and irrational, they are merged into the narrative flow in such a way that these boundaries become blurred.

The Thinking Dot

Busch explained his use of phantom figures to express his opinions about society during an 1880 discussion with his brother about early sociological studies[4] and deficiencies in their society, "Übrigens bin ich bis jetzt noch der Meinung, daß ein- oder zweidimensionale Wesen grad so zweckentsprechend sein würden, wie vierdimensionale; Punkte und Ebenen sind durchaus geisterhaft" (Incidentally, I am so far still of the opinion that one- or two-dimensional beings would be just as appropriate as four-dimensional ones; dots and planes are quite ghostly [B1: 208]). Such creatures and dimensions are an important element of *Eduards Traum*. The notion of such creatures travelling between dimensions had been contemplated by Busch long before he began work on *Eduards Traum*:

> Ich denke mir z.B. Garnichts, aber hübsch rund, nenne es Punkt, lege mich daneben und ruhe nun im stillen, mäßig beleuchteten Grunde meiner Seele, dem einsamen Aufenthaltsorte jenes nulldimensionalen Wesens, vorläufig ein wenig aus. Indem ich hierauf meinen Punkt der Länge nach, ohne zu wackeln, ganz ehrbar spazieren führe, beschreib ich eine grade Linie und bilde so die gefahrlose Straße der ersten Dimension. Sie ist etwas schmal und öde. Ich schiebe sie zur Seite; eine reizende Ebene dehnt sich in zwei Dimensionen vor den erstaunten Blicken aus. Was könnte man hier nicht der Läng und Breite nach für ein behagliches Leben führen! Aber Veränderung muß sein. Ich lupfe die Ebene in die Höh und--ei sieh da!--ein mathematischer Körper ist auferbaut. Drin kann ich nun nach drei Dimensionen, ganz unbehindert vom Gesetz der Schwere, diekreuzundquer und auf und nieder flattern. Ich darf auch umkehren und über die Ebne auf dem Pfade der geraden Linie oder im Zickzack in die beschränkte Häuslichkeit meiner nullten Dimension zurück bummeln; und so immer hin und her.--Aber man muß doch sehr aufpassen.--So wie der mathematische Körper ein physischer wird, so wie noch sonst wie Was herein kömmt, ists mit der Gemütlichkeit aus. (B1: 210-211)

---

[4]Specifically they discussed Johannes Huber's *Forschungen nach der Materie*, Karl August Wilhelm Nagel's *Einiges über den Einfluß der Naturwissenschaften auf Religion und Volksbildung überhaupt* and Friedrich Zöllner's *Naturwissenschaft und christliche Offenbarung* (B1: 208).

> I think e.g. of Nothing, but nice and round, call it a dot, lie down next to it and now rest a little in the quiet, slightly lit bottom of my soul, the lonely whereabouts of that zero-dimensional being. By respectfully taking my dot for a walk lengthwise and without wobbling, I then describe a straight line and in that way form the harmless road of the first dimension. It is a little narrow and desolate. I push it aside; a pleasant plane stretches out in two dimensions before surprised looks. What a comfortable life could be lived here along the length and the width! But change must be. I lift the plane upward and--oh, look!--a mathematical body has been built. In there I can now flutter about to and fro and up and down in three dimensions, totally unencumbered by the laws of gravity. I may also turn around and bumble across the plane along the path of the straight line or zigzag back into the limited homeliness of my zero dimension; and in that way always back and forth.--But one has to be really careful.--Just as the mathematical body becomes a physical one, just as who knows What enters, the pleasantness is over.

In this abstract form, Busch explained the genesis of form as beginning with a dot and suggested motion as the cause of all change. But contrary to the personified dot, the "history of humanity is not linear. It is the history of a point which becomes a sphere. But it is also the history of a sphere which . . . has come forth entirely from a point. This point has therefore determined all the rest" (Poulet 98). Busch's social criticism had manifested itself in satires about individuals conforming to be part of a faceless mass and of a collective identity, the power of authorities and the futility of defiance. In doing so, Busch depicted the shortcomings of his time, but was not yet able to identify their cause. A generation later, expressionist painters had recognized those causes and protested "gegen das in alten Autoritätsstrukturen erstarrte Wilhelminische Bürgertum und gegen eine zunehmende Mechanisierung des Lebens" (against the Wilhelminian bourgeois ossified in old authority structures and against an increasing mechanisation of life [*Meyers* 144]). This can be connected to Busch's earlier social criticism in that it also placed the dot (or point) at the beginning of form and concluded that motion is at the root of all growth:

> The point is not dimensionless but an infinitely tiny elemental plane, an agent that carries out no motion; in other words, it is at rest. Apply the pencil and shortly a line is born. The point as a primordial element is cosmic. Every seed is cosmic. The point as an intersection of ways is cosmic. As a point of impact the point is static. Tension between one point and another yields a line. The universal cause is therefore reciprocal tension, a striving for two dimensions. (Klee, *eye* 19)

Much as Paul Klee explained these contemplations with "I begin where all pictorial form begins: with the point that sets itself in motion" (24), so for Busch the point in motion is the beginning of a discovery of reality that describes actuality. The point in motion in *Eduards Traum* is Eduard. After daydreaming for a while "an den Grenzen des Unfaßbaren" (on the boundaries of the inscrutable [H4: 159]), he goes to

sleep at midnight and his "intellektuelles Ich" (intellectual self) shrinks to a weightless dot to look into his own nostrils, from the outside onto his own self in a surrealistic image of self-alienation. He realized that he was "nicht bloß ein Punkt, ich war ein denkender Punkt . . . Nicht nur eins und zwei war ich, sondern ich war dort gewesen und jetzt war ich hier. Meinen Bedarf an Raum und Zeit also macht ich selber, ganz en passant, gewissermaßen als Nebenprodukt" (not only a dot, I was a thinking dot . . . Not only was I one and two, but I was here and there and now and then. Thus, following my needs I created my own time and space, quite casually, sort of as a byproduct [H4: 160]). The distinction that he took on the status of a "thinking" dot is important because it implies the ability to reason and reflect. Much like the "Mittelpunkt, der heilge Quell" (central point, the blessed source [365]) of Astralis's impassioned speech in Novalis's *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, the centrality of Eduard's thinking dot is the actual embodiment of human liberty, as there is in the "Totalität eines jeden Menschen ein Hauptzug, ein Brennpunkt, ein punctum saliens . . . um welches sich die Nebenpartien abstufend bilden" (totality of every man a chief characteristic, a focal point, a punctum saliens . . . around which the secondary parts will shape themselves in layers [Jean Paul 433]). But whereas in Romanticism man "is a living point destined to become a circle" (Poulet 97), a point as the true symbol of human liberty, "has no direction. It contains in itself all possible directions. It is an infinite possibility for action . . . The point is concentration. In the midst of the indefinite diffluence of space, it represents willful and well-regulated autonomy. The point wills and wills itself" (Poulet 98-99). Not unlike this romantic concept of surmounting actual reality, Busch described a society that sought to control reality and personal liberty by reducing actual reality to clichés and meaningless phrases.

Creating its own space and time in his metamorphosis as a thinking dot, Eduard's journey circumscribes many different examples of societal shortcomings, infers pars pro toto from the individual episode to a universal truth and thus holds up a mirror to society to show the absurdity of existential reality. However, the caveat that "die Sache aber sehr einfach [ist]. Man muß nur noch mehr darüber nachdenken" (the matter is very simple. One just has to think about it more. [H4: 161]) is a first indication that the story will remain without solution.

Pessimism Revisited: Realms, Domains and Dimensions

After leaving familiar surroundings, Eduard's first stop is in a "hübsches arithmetisches Städtchen" (pretty arithmetic town) where numbers, lines and figures take on human qualities and traits. The masses of their society, "unbenannte Ackerbürger" (unnamed field dwellers), till multiplication tables and a mathematical dot succeeds in inflating itself to become a strutting hollow ball. Eduard critically observes "intrigante Nullen" (scheming zeros [H4: 161]) and the sophistry of "kleine Ungenauigkeiten aus verbindlicher Rücksicht" (small irregularities due to obliging consideration). Eventually, he meets a butcher's wife demanding money for an escaped sausage, "93 Pfennig gleich so nur in den rauchenden Schornstein zu schreiben, das ginge gegen ihr menschliches Defizit" (to let 93 pennies go up in smoke just like that is against her humane deficiency [H4: 162]). To give anything away without material gain is unthinkable, as is compassion or selflessness. Looking around, Eduard finds no-one without this "humane deficiency," but rather sees "gebrochene Zahlen; arme geschwollene Nenner, die ihre kleinen schmächtigen Zählerchen auf dem Buckel trugen" (broken numbers, poor swollen denominators carrying their small frail little numerators on their back [H4: 163]) on all street corners. Eduard comments on the change in his nature, "Ich hatte kein Geld bei mir, aber wenn auch, gegeben hätt ich doch nichts. Ich hatte meine Natur verändert; denn daß es mir sonst da, wo die Not groß ist, auf zwei Pfennige nicht ankommt, das wißt ihr, meine Lieben!" (I had no money on me, but even if I had, I wouldn't have given any. I had changed my nature, as you know my friends, I don't pay heed to a penny or two where the need is great! [H4: 163]). The passage plainly indicates Busch's intentions to depict in the fantastic environment of the dream the immorality and heartlessness of mankind in ever changing images.

On a side trip to the "Völklein der Punkte" (small nation of dots) Eduard observes skirmishes between ideas and philosophies, "kritische Punkte . . . Streit- und Ehrenpunkte . . . Kontrapunkt" (critical points . . . disputed points . . . points of honour . . . counterpoint [H4: 164]). Other than various philosophical ideas, Eduard also watches "Atome, die eben zur Française antraten" (atoms that just took up to dance a minuet [H4: 165]) and Busch uses this image to point to the interconnectivity among the various philosophies.

Eduard next arrives at the "geometrische Ebene" (geometric plane [H4: 165]) inhabited by grovelling two-dimensional beings who must "platt auf dem Bauche rutschen" (slide along flat on their stomach) and where nothing "Schatten wirft" (throws a shadow [H4: 166]). On side trips to the "dreidimensionalen Raum" (three-dimensional room) and the "vierte Dimension" (fourth dimension), the realm of weightlessness, Eduard finds identical geometric figures, "eins genau das geliebte Spiegelbild des andern" (one precisely the beloved mirror image of the other), notes that "die Bewohner dieses unwesentlichen Landes sind hohl" (the inhabitants of this insignificant land are hollow [H4: 167]) and that the inhabitants are "heuchlerisch . . . und zugleich wie wesenlos" (hypocritical . . . and at the same time as though without substance [H4: 168]). Superimposed onto these abstract figures is Busch's social criticism: In this world of abstract forms and figures, without individual life but with mathematical constellations and geometric proportions, equations and unknowns can be solved if the formula is known, much like mastery of current societal rules is essential for the hypocrite.

Eduard's journey continues and although he has more experiences, they are variations of the same continuously recurring phenomena: Hypocrisy, immorality, competitiveness, cunning and their cumulative effect intensify the effect of Busch's criticism. Arriving in the realm of separate body parts, Eduard finds only "Stückwerk" (piecemeal [H4: 168]), that is, specialists. The dances of the "zierlichsten Füße" (most dainty feet [H4: 169]) provide entertainment for everyone. The "Kommunalwesen von lauter Köpfen" (community of nothing but heads), residence of the intelligentsia "auf der Höhe eines Berges" (at the top of a hill [H4: 168]), employs "geeignete Hände" (suitable hands) from a nearby shantytown "etwas tiefer am Berg hinab" (a little lower down the hill [H4: 169]) and a little lower in the social hierarchy for all necessary labour:

> Sie sind teils Schreiber und Schrupper und sonst dergleichen für die Köpfe weiter oben . . . Ihre Geschicklichkeit ist mitunter nicht unerheblich. Ein Barbier, der mit wenig Seife viel Schaum schlagen konnte, war kürzlich unter die Literaten gegangen. Er hatte großen Erfolg, wie ich hörte, trug bereits drei Brillantringe an jedem Finger und wollte sich demnächst mit einer Köchin verheiraten, die ohne Schwierigkeit ein einziges Eiweiß zu mehr als fünfzig Schaumklößen aufbauschte, also auch noch was leisten konnte. (H4: 169)

> They are partly scribes and scrubbers and other things of that sort for the heads further up . . . Their skilfulness is not insignificant at times. A barber, able to make a lot of foam with little soap, recently joined the literati. He was very successful, as I heard he already wore three diamond rings on each finger and wants to get married soon to a cook, who was able to whip up one eggwhite into more than fifty foam dumplings without any difficulty, therefore she also managed to achieve things.

Two shrewd individuals are shown here; their principles are to make much with little and thereby offer mediocre service to voracious readers or diners while profiting substantially. This depiction shows Busch's criticism of the performance oriented attitude of an unfeeling society. Not only is the disparity between ideal and reality stressed, but the pair's success underscores Busch's criticism of a production oriented and materialistic society: The world, their fellow citizens, wants to be beguiled. Eduard's stay in the realm of separate body parts is an allusion to the modern diverging society, where each member is left to himself. The connection between the various body parts is limited to a paid service and a harmonious coexistence of the various body parts is out of the question. Eduard quickly leaves this "Gebiet der aparten Körperteile" (realm of the separate body parts) to journey to a "gewöhnliche Welt . . . wo jeder seine gesunden Gliedmaßen beieinander hat" (regular world . . .where everybody has their limbs together [H4: 170]), an indication that he is moving from the abstract world into a more concrete environment.

He encounters human beings for the first time during a stop in a "freundliches Dörfchen" (friendly hamlet). Here, Busch's first criticism is against Christianity and the forced renunciation of pagan gods, some of whom had once been "ungewöhnlich reizende Walküren" (unusually charming valkyries) but were reduced to "Hexen . . . in böswilliger Absicht" (witches . . . with malicious intentions). The pastoral Christian story of the creation becomes clouded by mockery:[5]

> Drunten am Boden kneteten zwei Bauernknaben schöne Klöße aus Lehm, den sie selber befeuchtet hatten. Ein Zwist brach aus. Sie klatschten sich ihr Backwerk auf die beiderseitigen Nasen, und die Töne, die sie dabei ausstießen, lauteten a! e! i! o! u! (H4: 170)
>
> Down on the ground two farm boys were kneading nice dumplings from clay, which they themselves had moistened. A fight broke out. They slapped their baked goods onto their mutual noses while making noises that sounded like a! e! i! o! u!

---

[5]The biblical reference is Genesis 2: 7: "And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul" (King James version). The German language Luther bible uses the expression "aus Erde vom Acker" (from the soil of the field [1. Mose 2: 7]).

The subsequent comment from Eduard, "Der Urrsprrung der Sprrraaache" (the orriggin of lannguaage [H4: 170]) invokes Herder's *Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache.* The ironic treatment of the words (repeated "r" and "a") and blending of the story of the creation with a philosophical work alludes to Busch's conviction that Christian belief and philosophical logic are incompatible.

Moving from house to house in the village, Eduard repeatedly encounters devious craftiness. He meets up with swindlers (the farmer's wife who mixes mashed potatoes into the butter to be sold at market), arsonists and perjurers (the farmer who burns his barn for the insurance money), frauds (the incompetent physician who kills his patient yet doesn't hesitate to ask for his fee), and forgers (the craftsman who pays with forged money). In this manner, an inferno of universal lies and deceit unfolds to the reader in the form of concrete examples of everyday calamities, which reflects Busch's view, as stated in his autobiography: "Nothing looks the way it is. Least of all man, this leather sack filled with wiles and guiles."[6] The inference is that appearances are deceptive, that people disguise their persistent readiness to defraud the next person behind a benign facade. This was also a central theme of Busch's picture stories, but by encasing this opinion in a dream surrounded by two frames, Busch was able here to enunciate what had only been a sub-text in the picture stories. Using ever changing scenarios Busch shows that regardless of the facade, the underlying reality in all situations is remarkably similar.

Disenchanted, Eduard leaves to watch "was auf der Landstraße passierte" (what was going on on the road [H4: 173]) and finds the same cunning he had already noticed in the village. He meets the "Besen- und Rutenbinder" (broom- and cane-maker), who is thinking about "die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts" (the education of humanity). The combination of the cane-maker with an allusion to Lessing's work from the Enlightenment is a first indication that the following passage will include an ironic treatment of educational methods. The supplier of canes and rods used for flogging illustrates through his own behaviour that of society in general. Finding a wallet on the road, he carefully looks around to ensure that there are no witnesses and only then picks it up to let it "sanft in das Rohr seines

---

[6]Compare page 225 of this dissertation.

Stiefels gleiten" (gently slide down the shaft of his boot). When the wallet's owner, the village physician, comes searching, his reply to the query whether he had found a wallet is a firm "Nein, Herr" (No, sir) uttered with "überzeugender Mimik" (convincing mimicry). A perverse moral sense enables the cane-maker to turn this wrong into a right. Asserting that "da wird er nicht dümmer nach" (this won't make him more stupid) justifies his own less-than-honest action. On the contrary, the physician gets a lesson because he will be more careful next time in order to not suffer a loss again and therefore, the loss has "heilsame Folgen" (beneficial results). If the cane-maker had acted honestly and returned the wallet to the physician, the latter would have been deprived of a lesson. Busch used this episode to infer a general behavioural pattern within his society, which cannot distinguish between good and bad, right and wrong, honesty and deceit anymore, but is only able to distinguish that which is beneficial or detrimental for each individual separately. The lie has been elevated to a truth and the cane-maker returns home with the pleasant feeling of having done a "gute Tat" (good deed [H4: 174]). Thus reinforced in his behaviour, he will take every opportunity in the future to create an advantage for himself by use of lies and deceit.

Eduard's next stop within the concrete world is a "feine und hochgebildete Metropole" (refined and highly educated metropolis [H4: 177]) where he quickly realizes that behavioural patterns are no different than elsewhere. Industrialization and growing cities had not only brought about an improved standard of living to most people, but had also brought about a shift in the social structure. At the top of this new hierarchy are "pfiffig und selbstzufrieden[e]" (sharp and smug [H4: 177]) bankers and industrialists, but the "klagende Volksgetümmel" (groaning masses of the public [H4: 180]) expose on whose back their fortunes have been made. "Kummer und Elend" (Sorrow and misery [H4: 163]), first encountered in the realm of mathematics, are observed in the city also. As the train of industrial progress races toward new ventures, Eduard observes that

> auf dem Bahndamme standen mehrere Personen. Ein Greis ohne Hoffnung, eine Frau ohne Hut, ein Spieler ohne Geld, zwei Liebende ohne Aussichten und zwei kleine Mädchen mit schlechten Zeugnissen. Als der Zug vorüber war, kam der Bahnwärter und sammelte die Köpfe. Er hatte bereits einen hübschen Korb voll in seinem Häuschen stehn. (H4: 176)
> A number of people were standing on the railway embankment. An old man with no hope, a woman

> with no hat, a gambler with no money, two lovers with no prospects and two little girls with bad report cards. When the train had gone by, the gatekeeper came to collect the heads. He already had a pretty full basket sitting in his little house.

Busch's criticism is also obvious in this allegory describing "das herbe Elend, wie es leibt und lebt" (the stark misery, to a T [H4: 181]). The gruesome image of the dismembered human is abruptly confronted with the diminutive description of placing the heads into a "pretty basket" kept inside the gatekeeper's "little" house. These diminutives underscore the pitiful collection of what society perceives to be the prerequisites of success: Hope, a hat, money, prospects and good report cards. Perversely, their suicides contribute to the gatekeeper's collection efforts and keep him employed.

The city's residents are depicted as intent on orderliness and strictly observe proprieties in public. Unmasked as a pretence, the refined facade crumbles in the privacy of their homes (the young lady preparing poison for her unfaithful fiancé, the nanny feeding on the baby's food while the infant goes hungry, the barbed insults exchanged between a long-married couple, the creative bookkeeping of the businessman). Collectively, this series of scenes demonstrates a universal tendency to deceit and treachery irrespective of age, gender or social class. Through repetition within the variations the meaning, or meaninglessness of societal relationships is underscored.

Eduard's next stop at the "Tempel der Wissenschaft" (temple of knowledge) and its "Besengilde, die gelehrte, die den Kehricht zusammenfittchet vor den Hintertüren der Jahrtausende" (broom guild, the learned one, who amass rubbish at the back doors of the millennia) is an obvious satire directed at 19th century scientists who expected to solve all questions through positivistic theories.[7] The metaphor that these scientists are robbed of compassion but strut around like a "Ziegenbock, der jeden Morgen sein Wägelchen Milch in die Stadt zieht. Sieht er nicht so stolz aus, als ob er selber gemolken wäre?" (billy goat, pulling his little milk cart to town every morning. Doesn't he look so proud, as though he himself had been milked) and Eduard's subsequent visit to the museum, the "Verpflegungsanstalt für bejahrte Gemälde" (nursing

---

[7]19th century Positivism suggested that positive knowledge is based on natural phenomena inasmuch as their properties and relations could be verified by empirical sciences. Ernst Haeckel, a Busch contemporary and well-known positivist, published his *Natürliche Schöpfungsgeschichte* in 1868 and Busch was familiar with this text (W7: 442-443).

home for elderly paintings [H4: 180]) are critical allegories directed at the smug enthusiasm for scientific, technological and industrial advancement by Busch's contemporaries, who gloried in their achievements without considering the equally important achievements of their predecessors.

Contemplations about the fate of dismissed politicians are an allusion to Bismarck's resignation: "Vor wenigen Tagen war der größte Mann seines Volkes vom Bocke gestiegen und hatte die Zügel der Welt aus den Händen gelegt. Nun hätte man meinen sollen, gäb's ein Gerassel und Kopfüberkopfunter. Doch nein!" (A few days ago the greatest man of his society stepped down and laid down the reins of the world. Now one would have thought that that would have created a rattling and total confusion. But no! [H4: 181]). This prompts Eduard's observation that the affairs of an individual person remain largely untouched by political concerns, and also that the individual is only interested in political matters inasmuch as they have impact on himself.

Utopia meets Dystopia

Eduard the thinking dot began his journey as an uninvolved observer, but after reaching the concrete world, he gradually changed from an incidental passerby to an engaged eyewitness. Musing about how people consistently cloak their greed and treachery in pious behaviour and pretended virtue, Eduard realizes that he has yet to meet a truly good man, "nicht, daß ich mich so recht herzlich danach gesehnt hätte; es war nur der Vollständigkeit wegen" (not that I really sincerely longed for one; it was only for the sake of completeness [H4: 182]). Searching, he encounters the philanthropist whose selfless deeds remain hidden and who is ridiculed by his beneficiaries. He then observes the hollow pathos and pompous public donations of a rich bourgeois, who pacifies his conscience with empty gestures and pathetically declares, "Ich bin viel zu gut!" (I'm much too good [H4: 183]). In an inhumane machine-inventor-society, aspects of the Industrial Revolution, characterized by mechanistic behavioural patterns, superficial appearances and direct correlations of cause and effect, truth and lie, appearance and reality have been reversed.

Desirous to see whether "die Welt eigentlich ein Ende hätte oder nicht" (the world actually has an end or not [H4: 184]), Eduard next journeys far into space and is disappointed that a visit to the personified figures of the zodiac exposes the same cunning as on Earth when he sees "der schlaue krummnasige »Wassermann« . . . regulierte die »Waage« zu seinen Gunsten" (the clever hook-nosed water bearer [Aquarius] . . . regulated the scales [of Libra] to his advantage [H4: 184]) and the pretty virgin (Virgo) with twins (Gemini) on her arms flirting with the centaur (Sagittarius). Busch's inference is that no matter how far one travels, the basic traits remain the same in all living beings.

Returning to earth, Eduard lands in the futuristic "Reiche der Behaglichkeit" (realm of comfort [H4: 185]). Here, he tackles Marxian class struggles and bourgeois self-righteousness at the same time. On this remote island of the future researchers from all areas of science had collaborated to create the prerequisites for a "bequeme bürgerliche Gemeinschaft" (comfortable bourgeois community) where everybody "tut gleich wenig und hat gleich viel" (does equally little and has equally much [H4: 186]), and had successfully solved the problems of world hunger, the capture and storage of solar energy, and had achieved the removal of all crime and illnesses as well as the political ideal of equality. Envy, assiduity and the resulting competitive sense has been eliminated through the obligatory surgical removal of the "Konkurrenzdrüse" (competitive gland) and inevitably a certain monotony has set in. "Das Lachen hatte aufgehört" (The laughter had stopped) and although "Lachklubs und Lachkränzchen" (laughter clubs and laughter circles) to revive laughter had been started, any laughter attempted was a "heiseres, hölzernes, heuchlerisches Lachen" (hoarse, wooden, hypocritical laughter [H4: 187]). Despite all supposed advances and the assumption that more equality brings about more happiness, complete equality was only achieved by an obligatory brain surgery performed on everybody; even then hypocrisy could not be eradicated. The utopian world has taken on dystopian character. The imagery is eerie, and reminds late-twentieth century readers of present-day gene manipulations, or Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World.* Once again, however, Busch's criticism is obvious: Progress only seemingly leads to a pleasant, comfortable life. By sacrificing that which makes life worth living, the "strebend sich bemühen" (striving to make an effort

[II: 346]) struggle of Goethe's *Faust*, the residents have had to pay a dreadful price. The dream of the ideal state ran into human boundaries and ignored egotism and self-serving interests as a basic reality of human nature.[8] This could only be overcome by sacrificing humanity. Busch infers that all men are not and cannot be equal, but if they should be made equal, the loss suffered would be greater than any gains. Therefore, he accepts an unjust competitive society where personal advancement to the detriment of others is the order of the day versus a just and uncompetitive society, where the lack of necessity to make an effort had resulted in a lack of will to live, demonstrated by the observation that "an jedem Baum" (on every tree [H4: 187]) a person had committed suicide.

Upon leaving this anti-utopian world, Eduard's next stop in his quest to understand "was eine Sache ist, abgesehen davon, wie sie uns vorkommt" (what a thing is, disregarding how it appears to us) is a visit to a famed researcher and natural philosopher. At first suggestive of Kant's "Ding an sich" (thing in itself),[9] a further reading clarifies that Busch is criticizing Schopenhauer.[10] The natural philosopher's explanations of the "automatische Kunstwerk" (automatic artwork [H4: 188]) as a reincarnation machine, the "Kreislauf der Dinge" (cycle of things), the "Ding an sich" (thing in itself [H4: 189]) by using banal

---

[8]In commenting on Emile Zola's *La ventre de Paris*, Busch suggested, "Nicht Wohltätigkeit sondern Gerechtigkeit lautet die Parole. Ja, wenn's man ginge." (Not charity, but justice is the slogan. Well, if it were only possible. [B2: 127])

[9]From Kant's *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (*Critique of Pure Reason*) (1781), well familiar to Busch as he had stated in his autobiographies and as is evident from his correspondence. An inquiry into the limits of knowledge, it proclaimed that "things" exist independent of a recognizable subject; a true existence, whose manifestations are empirical "things" which point precisely to those manifestations. Human beings can only recognize a "thing" as an object of perception in the manner in which it appears. The mind impresses the limitations of known forms of sensibility (space and time) on the original data of the senses and orders them according to the categories of thought (causality, substance, etc.). According to Kant, the ultimate nature of reality would forever remain inaccessible to human beings, who can only know phenomena and would never recognize "things in themselves."

[10]Busch studied Schopenhauer extensively in the 1850's and many writings suggest a strong and lasting influence from his teachings on Busch. While Busch accepted many of Schopenhauer's premises for a while, he ultimately failed to be convinced. Central to Schopenhauer's premise is that the will is the key to reason, the thesis of his main work, *Die Welt as Wille und Vorstellung* (*The World as Will and Idea*) (1818). It suggests that everything is object in reference to a subject, is imagination of the will. Therefore, the body is objectification of the will, the will is the essence of the body. According to Schopenhauer, the will is the "thing in itself" and as such is outside of space and time and all causality: It is unfounded, without reason, goal or knowledge, but as soon as it shows itself to objective cognition, it is subject to space and time and with that becomes the will to life. The will, therefore, must always seek, because that is its only essence and no goal that has been reached will terminate this search, therefore, no pleasure is possible. Schopenhauer demonstrates the suffering of life in all its forms and suggests no other salvation than the negation of the will to life. Therefore, to Schopenhauer, pain, or suffering, is the essence of life and pleasure is only the absence of pain.

buzzwords, the tedious matter-of-factness in explaining the five senses as pure automatons or defining thoughts as matter fail to convince Eduard, nor is he persuaded by the depiction of pain as a positive sensitivity and pleasure as a negative sensitivity, ironicizing the central element of Schopenhauer's teachings. In response to Eduard's final question "Wie steht es mit der Ethik? Was muß der Mensch tun, daß es ihm schließlich und ein für allemal gut geht?" (What about ethics? What does mankind have to do in order to be well off once and for all? [H4: 191]), the natural philosopher uses a metaphor to suggest that one should turn one's back on those who fail to accept one's advice, as a clear ridicule of Schopenhauer's tendency to be intolerant of any opposition. Not accepting this supposition, Eduard rejects the natural philosopher's teachings, much like Busch ultimately rejected Schopenhauer's philosophy.

Eduard at a Crossroads

The next leg of Eduard's journey takes him to a heretofore unknown valley. From this part in the narrative until the end of the dream the Christian belief system is strongly evoked. The valley, an allegorical landscape with two opposing poles, is dissected by a heavily travelled "breite, musterhaft angelegte Chaussee" (wide, exemplary laid out avenue [H4: 191]) leading into a "dunklen Tunnel" (dark tunnel H4: 192]) and a narrow path into the mountains aside the valley leads to the "Bergstadt" (city in the mountains [H4: 193]). Eduard stops in a tavern, located where the wide road disappears in the tunnel. Called "Zum lustigen Hinterfuß" (The Jolly Hind Foot), it is run by a limping landlord and his daughters, the "sieben Todsünden" (seven deadly sins [H4: 192]). Overwhelmed by the revelry inside, Eduard steps outside only to observe a black carriage, pulled by a black horse and driven by an emaciated coachman dressed in black picking up guests from the tavern and transporting them into the tunnel. The allegory is obvious. Lucifer, returned to Earth after his unsuccessful rebellion in heaven, is the landlord. The carousing guests in the tavern are the people of this world. The emaciated coachman is Death transporting the guests, once finished their frolicking, into the tunnel of damnation. The satirical intent is expressed with dramatic irony: The reader senses the outcome, whereas the masses in the allegory remain blind.

Wanting to travel to the city in the mountains, Eduard joins up with four other wanderers, the "guten Vorsätze" (good intentions) named "Willich, Wolltich, Wennaber, Wohlgemut" (Wantto, Wantedto, Butif, Cheerful [H4: 193]). Although the path into the mountains is steep, good intentions make the going easy for a while, but as it gets more arduous, Eduard's fellow wanderers prefer to stay behind and join the carousing in the tavern. Eduard perseveres up the steep mountain road, not without meeting up with various wanderers on their way down who had been unable to traverse the steeper portions of the path.

On the steepest sections Eduard meets purpose-seekers of all kinds. First he passes an inert cave-dweller, the "unglückliche Mensch" (unhappy person) who is facing the rear wall of the cave and is only vaguely aware of what passes outside the entrance. Next he encounters a "tätigen Manne" (active man) who justifies his ceaseless self-flogging with "das Leben ist ein Esel! Ich prügle ihn durch!" (Life is an ass! I'm giving it a thrashing!). He is a masochist, but perhaps also an ass himself. If life is an ass, why would he be flogging himself? Because he himself is an ass in life. For society it is nevertheless better that he flogs and destroys himself, rather than take out his aggressions on other people, but even his senseless self-torture does not bring him closer to understanding the purpose of life. After that Eduard meets the "kahlen Mann" (bald man) who persistently stares at the same spot and explains to him that "das Leben ist ein Irrtum! Ich denke ihn weg!" (Life is a mistake! I'm thinking it away!). All his thinking, however, only caused him to lose his hair--he did not find an answer to the question about the purpose of life. Lastly, Eduard is faced with a hermit who had remained immobile for a long time. In response to Eduard's question, he explains that "das Leben ist eine Schuld! Ich sitze sie ab!" (Life is a penalty! I have to serve it! [H4: 197]). With these allegorical images Busch unmasks the absurdity of different and individual efforts. Man's search for understanding the purpose of life is futile, each activity and inactivity is unmasked as being equally pointless. The thinker loses only his hair but finds no answers, and while masochistic self-flogging is perhaps better than the sadistic treatment of other people, it is as ineffective as the passive cave-dweller's ignorance of his own surroundings, or the hermit's immobility.

As Eduard continues his trek he finds the path easier and suddenly is on top of the highest ridge

before a lush meadow in a clearing occupied by "viele kleine pechschwarze Teufelchen" (many little pitch black little devils). The huge castle "aus blankem Stahl" (made of shiny steel) at its centre appears as the origin of mankind. "Ein heimlicher Tunnel" (a secret tunnel) that exists "zwischen dem Schloß hier oben und dem Wirtshaus da unten" (between the castle up here and the tavern down there) symbolically explains the reincarnation of the tavern guests. When the gates to the castle open, "kleine rosige Kinderchen" (little pink children [H4: 198]) push toward the exit and before storks carry them away play with the little devils on the meadow so that some of their black colouring rubs off on the children, an indication that good and bad is present in all people. Unable to enter the castle, Eduard moves on to the "Tempelstadt" (city of temples). Despite exhaustive attempts[11] he is again unable to gain entry because, as a passing pilgrim who has no difficulties traversing a much narrower pass and gaining entry into the city[12] explains to him: "Du hast kein Herz!" (you have no heart! [H4: 199]). Completely fatigued by his futile attempts, Eduard becomes pursued by "kleinen abscheulichen schwarzen Teufeln" (little disgusting black devils [H4: 200]), a metaphor for philosophical thoughts, and after a frantic chase takes refuge in the abyss of a sleeping giant's open mouth, a metaphor for a belief system that most people turn to when answers cannot be found in other ways, and loses consciousness.

The End of the Journey

Although Eduard the thinking dot changed to an active observer during the narrative, he remained uninvolved until he became an active participant and the object of the narrated events near the end of the dream. He becomes a fugitive desperately searching for a way out of the dream world until

---

[11]Eduard's description of trying in vain to gain entry until he fell to the ground in exhaustion so that it "klirrte, wie eine tönende Schelle" (tinkled like a resounding cymbal [H4: 199]) is a pointer to 1 Corinthians 13:1: "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal." Lotze uses this connection to conclude it to be an "affirmation of Busch's belief that the castle of faith cannot be penetrated by intellect" (*Busch* 139). I cannot concur with this conclusion, as will be seen later in this chapter.

[12]The inference is to Matthew 7: 13-14: "Go in through the narrow gate, because the gate to hell is wide and the road that leads to it is easy, and there are many who travel it. But the gate to life is narrow and the way that leads to it is hard, and there are few people who find it."

he plunges into the abyss--to wake up out of the dream and return to reality. Slowly regaining consciousness, he finds himself in a type of garret--and after ignoring Elise's admonishing "Eduard quit snoring" all night, the metamorphosis is reversed and Eduard succumbs to her enticing "Eduard steh auf, der Kaffee ist fertig!" (Eduard get up, coffee is ready! [H4: 200]). The thinking dot of the dream is transformed back into Eduard's physical and spiritual self of husband and father. This dawning of consciousness connects the realm of the dream and the rational world: "Wer war froher als ich. Ich hatte mein Herz wieder" (Who was more glad than I. I had my heart back [H4: 200]). A thinking person has to make a choice, whether it is based on spiritual faith or secular philosophy. The thinking dot, however, did not have to make a decision, he woke up. Within the closed frame of home life--dream journey--home life, the narrative had progressed through various stations. Because the journey is dreamed, Eduard wakes up the next morning unchanged, whereas the thinking dot, his dream-self, fell into the abyss. Eduard does not incur any moral or intellectual change because his adventures were only in his dream. As such, he remains an upstanding member of the society that had been denounced there.

Disillusionment and Invalidation

In the dream, various dimensions had been experienced before returning to the point of origin. Eduard had his heart back and concluded this to be of utmost importance, as "nur wer ein Herz hat, kann so recht fühlen und sagen, und zwar von Herzen, daß er nichts taugt. Das Weitere findet sich" (only he who has a heart can truly feel and declare, straight from the heart in fact, that he is no good. All else will sort itself out [H4: 200]). This suggests that neither the logical-rational mathematical point, nor the unhappy man, nor the thinker, nor the hermit was able to travel the pilgrim's path; only the person with a heart (representing compassion) can enter the temple city and find ultimate knowledge about mankind. This is reflective of Busch's own development. Still convinced in 1875 that "Gewißheit gibt allein die Mathematik" (Only mathematics will provide certainty [B1: 144]), he had by 1880 begun to question the teachings of Darwin and Schopenhauer (B1: 214-215) which prompted him a year later to proclaim: "Meine alte Philosophie langt

nicht mehr aus; ich sehe mich nach einer neuen um" (My old philosophy is no longer sufficient; I'm looking around for a new one [B1: 225]). His autobiographical writings state this dilemma clearly:

1886	1893	1894
Bei Gelegenheit dieser naturwissenschaftlichen Liebhaberei wurde unter andern auch der Darwin gelesen, der unvergessen blieb, als ich mich nach Jahren mit Leidenschaft und Ausdauer in den Schopenhauer vertiefte. Die Begeisterung für dieselben hat etwas nachgelassen. Ihr Schlüssel scheint mir wohl zu mancherlei Türen zu passen, in dem verwunschenen Schloß dieser Welt, nur nicht zur Ausgangstür. (At the occasion of this natural sciences hobby I also read, among others, Darwin, who remained unforgotten when years later I immersed myself into Schopenhauer with passion and persistence. My enthusiasm for both has waned a little. To me it seems that their key might fit to various doors in the enchanted castle of this world, only it doesn't fit the exit door. [H4: 150])	Bei Gelegenheit dieser naturwissenschaftlichen Liebhaberei wurde unter andern auch der Darwin gelesen, der unvergessen blieb, als ich mich nach Jahren mit Leidenschaft und Ausdauer in den Schopenhauer vertiefte. Die Begeisterung für dieselben hat etwas nachgelassen. Ihr Schlüssel scheint mir wohl zu mancherlei Türen zu passen, in dem verwunschenen Schloß dieser Welt, nur nicht zur Ausgangstür. (At the occasion of this natural sciences hobby I also read, among others, Darwin, who remained unforgotten when years later I immersed myself into Schopenhauer with passion and persistence. My enthusiasm for both has waned a little. To me it seems that their key might fit to various doors in the enchanted castle of this world, only it doesn't fit the exit door. [*Helene* XV])	Auch mich zog es unwiderstehlich abseits in das Reich der Naturwissenschaften. Ich las Darwin, ich las Schopenhauer damals mit Leidenschaft. Doch so was läßt nach mit der Zeit. Ihre Schlüssel passen ja zu vielen Türen in dem verwunschenen Schloß dieser Welt; aber kein "hiesiger" Schlüssel, so scheint's, und wär's der Asketenschlüssel, paßt je zur Ausgangstür. (I also was irresistibly drawn away into the realm of natural sciences. I read Darwin, I read Schopenhauer in those days with a passion. But those things diminish with time. Their keys do fit to many doors in the enchanted castle of this world; but no "local" key, so it seems, even if it would be the ascetic's key, would ever fit the exit door. [H4: 209-210])

Busch's correspondence shows that he spent much time considering questions of the hereafter and philosophical versus Christian teachings. Doubtfully asking in 1880, "Haben die Christen recht?" (Are the Christians right? [B1: 215]), an 1899 letter to Bassermann ties this question to his autobiographical comments, and the Christian allegories in *Eduards Traum*: "Mit der . . . »Tür aus der Welt« hab ich natürlich eine gemeint, durch die man nicht zurückkehrt. Die Frage nach dem »Aufschluß« aber kann ihrer Art nach nur durch einen »Glauben« beantwortet werden" (Of course, with the »door from this world« I meant a door through which one doesn't return. Because of its type, the question concerning the »unlocking« can only answered with a »belief«. [B2: 146]). By depicting "belief" as the abyss of a sleeping giant's open mouth within the realm of the irrational, the fragmented imagery of *Eduards Traum* makes clear the absurdity of the modern human condition. The individual is essentially isolated and alone, even when surrounded by other people and things. Busch had verbalized the insolubility of the meaning of life much earlier:

So ist sie nun mal, unsere Tante Philosophie, die schöne Besitzerin der luftigen Villa auf dem Sandhügel der Hypothese. Stets ist sie da, wenn es uns gut geht, bringt das Krimskrams in Ordnung, zieht die alten Puppen neu an, redt gar gescheid über dies und das und tröstet uns liebreich über die peinlichen Vielleichts. Bricht aber die peinliche Wirklichkeit im Hause aus--weg ist die Tante;--und wohl uns, wenn sich leise die Türe auftut und herein tritt--nun, Wer? (B1: 228)

That's how she happens to be, our Aunt Philosophy, the beautiful owner of the airy mansion on the sandhill of hypothesis. She is always present when we are doing well, organizes the bits and pieces, puts new clothes on old dolls, even talks intelligently about this and that and comforts us affectionately over the awkward Maybes. But if the awkward Truth breaks out in the house--gone is the aunt;--and we are well served if the door softly opens and in comes--well, Who?

The same sentiment is expressed in the narrator's comment in *Eduards Traum*,

Geht's uns nicht so mit allen Dingen, denen wir gründlich zu Leibe rücken, daß sie grad dann, wenn wir sie mit dem zärtlichsten Scharfsinn erfassen möchten, sich heimtückisch zurückziehn in den Schlupfwinkel der Unbegreiflichkeit, um spurlos zu verschwinden, wie der bezauberte Hase, den der Jäger nie treffen kann. (H4: 164)

Isn't that the way with all things that we examine closely, that just then when we want to seize them with the most tender astuteness, they withdraw insidiously into the hideout of incomprehensibility, to disappear without a trace, like the enchanted rabbit that the hunter can never hit.

Not accepting boundaries of knowledge in order to recognize that which they enclose--our empirical world--Busch moves into the irrational. The Christian imagery at the end of the narrative therefore is only a crutch to overcome the crisis of language that exposed dichotomies throughout Busch's works. "Werden wir jemals die Wahrheit in Worten fangen?--Nie!--Unsere Philosophie nach dem dreißigsten Jahr heißt **Glaube**" (Will we ever catch the truth with words?--Never!--Our philosophy after the thirtieth year of our life is called **belief** [B1: 137]) might best summarize Busch's inability to find answers to the problems of his time. Spiritual faith and secular philosophy, cause and reaction, appearance and reality, significance and banality of life in ever varying shape and form were the antitheses that led Busch to question the "Geistesfreiheit," the independent ability of an individual to reach conclusions or decisions without constricting forms of viewing or restrictive rules of interpretation, as he expresses here:

Hat nicht zudem unser Hirn die Eigenheit, daß es uns **zwingt**, in Formen zu denken, die mit den Dingen an sich nichts zu tun haben? Das hochfliegende Wort Freiheit bedeutet hienieden, fürcht ich, immer weniger, je mehr mans sich ansieht. Vielleicht, um es neckisch auszudrücken, waren wir frei **vor** Raum und Zeit, vielleicht werden wirs wieder **nach** Raum und Zeit. (B2: 161)

Doesn't our brain also have the idiosyncrasy that it **forces** us to think in shapes that have nothing to do with the things in themselves? Down here, the high-flying word freedom means less and less, I'm afraid, the more one regards it. Maybe, to express it coquettishly, we were free **before** space and time, maybe we will be free again **after** space and time.

Any philosophical or spiritual position is therefore subjective and dependent on a specific starting point. A "slight whisper"[13] in *Eduards Traum* refers the reader to the philosophy of Leibniz and Plato's *The Republic*. The allusion to Lessings *Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts* directs the reader to questionable contemporary teaching and educational methods. The inference to Herder's *Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache* implies a mockery of the socio-historic meliorism of the Enlightenment. Comparing Earth to a "Semmelknödel" (bread dumpling [H4: 185]) may lead readers to the grandmother's fairy tale in Büchner's *Woyzeck*. The transfer of human behavioural patterns onto abstract creatures alludes to its hypocrisy. As such, *Eduards Traum* is a many-layered survey of the realities of the world and concludes that although the existential reality of the world humans live in may be faulty, a better reality is not to be had. Therefore,

> Wer sagt, die ganze Welt sei schlecht, — He who says the whole world is bad,
> Der hat wohl nur so ziemlich recht. (H4: 542) — Is probably only almost right.

Hence, *Eduards Traum* shows not only Busch's criticism of egotism, immorality, hypocrisy, prejudices and inequities in his contemporary society and his conviction that all scientific or economic advances are futile without preserving compassion and humane conduct, the dystopian island also shows that the darker sides of society must be an integral part of it. The dream verbalizes the cultural taboos of his society and ties together what would otherwise be fragmented. The story remains without solution and the dream realities complement the incongruous narrative which juxtaposes reality and fiction, humanizing inanimate objects and robotizing people.

Taking Stock

The concluding authorial comment in the outer frame delivers proof that Busch intentionally used the dream structure to discuss matters that "dem Ohre eines feinen Jahrhunderts recht schmerzlich sind" (are rather painful to the ears of a fine century). His internalized conscience subjected him to the rules

---

[13]Compare page 89 of this dissertation.

of society. "Warum gleich . . . jedermann merken lassen, daß die Bilanzen ein Defizit aufweisen?" (Why . . . let everyone realize right away that the balance sheet shows a deficit?) is his argument for masking criticisms of his society. That author and reader are both part of the same society, "der als Teilhaber anzugehören wir sämtlich die Ehre haben" (we all have the honour to belong as partners and part owners [H4: 201]) clarifies not only his complicity, it also explains the preventative invalidation of using a dream structure to cloak his social criticisms. However, Busch obviously was still not convinced that he had left a sufficient beacon to point the way to an unmasking of his "Schrullen, die sich nun mal nicht unterdrücken lassen" (vagaries that just can't be suppressed)[14] and he became even more direct:

> Ein Buch, wenn es so zugeklappt daliegt, ist ein gebundenes, schlafendes, harmloses Tierchen, welches keinem was zuleide tut. Wer es nicht aufweckt, den gähnt es nicht an; wer ihm die Nase nicht grad zwischen die Kiefern steckt, den beißt's auch nicht. (H4: 201)
> A book, lying there closed, is a bound, sleeping, harmless little animal which doesn't harm anyone. If you don't wake it, it won't yawn at you; if you don't stick your nose between its jaws, it won't bite either.

The book not only conveys a warning, it is also an invitation to dissect and unmask *Eduards Traum*. Busch actually masked his intentions double and triple. Firstly, he defused the sting of social criticism by cloaking them within a dream; secondly, he played down his blunt observations by simply referring to them as "vagaries;" and lastly he suggested that the terrifying reality has been rendered harmless because it has been "auf das bescheidenste eingewickelt [im] . . . Stoff des Papiers" (wrapped most modestly into . . . the material of paper [H4: 201]). The traumatic is only recognizable in the dream and was defused to become literature.

Disillusionment and validation achieved through the interrupted narrative flow, the stops of Eduard's journey, the dichotomy of confronting the reader with a narrative reality contrary to initiated expectations, the distancing of dreamed versus existential reality indeed summed up a "fine century." *Eduards Traum* testifies to Egon Friedell's assertion about the entirety of Busch's work: "What the middle-class German looked like in the second half of the 19th century posterity will learn with certainty

---

[14]"Schrullen" (vagaries) or "Schosen" (stuff) are two terms that Busch often used in his correspondence to refer to his picture stories.

from . . . Wilhelm Busch, who has also in his way created a »collective art-work«" (317). Yet, to "shoot the messenger," as Ludwig Kahn did when he suggested Busch thought little of the "idealistisch-bürgerlichem Moralsystem; er hat sein gut Teil zur Entwertung dieses Moralsystems beigetragen" (idealistic-bourgeois moral system; he contributed a good deal toward the devaluation of this moral system [722]) is wrong. Busch merely described how the framework of this moral system was decaying and he expanded individual and separate episodes to become something typical, general and universal. Thus he revealed a self-satisfied society, which preened itself in the glow of the industrial boom, scientific advancements and cultural awareness. By using dream and alter-ego to defuse these "rather painful" truths about his contemporary society, Busch was able to avoid indignation or outrage among his readers. Busch was able to express realities about his society with impunity because he told of them so casually and non-threatening that no-one took him seriously.

Eduards Traum is not only an autobiographical reckoning, it is equally the reporting and accounting of the pretences of society, and as such provides a key to understanding the subliminal sub-text of his picture stories. After peeling back the layers of dream and double frames used by Busch to mask his intentions in *Eduards Traum*, the social criticisms in the picture stories are decipherable. The reporting of bourgeois culture with its hypocritical behaviour, faulty value systems and profiteering competitive mentality, and the failure of arts and sciences to provide answers was masked--"wrapped in paper"--because a book is harmless, when closed. The caution at the end of the narrative that those things that are "rather painful to the ears of a fine century" will be rendered harmless if left in the closed book, because then "it won't bite either" conversely warns that the book's cover will reveal the truth when opened.

Validation and invalidation are thus held in balance. As in Surrealism, "the point . . . is a fortiori that point where construction and destruction can no longer be brandished one against the other" (Breton 124). The fragile co-existence of the close formal proximity of validation and invalidation therefore expresses not only the truths about the assertions within the narrative, but also makes a statement about

the power and potency of creative writing. The "vagaries that can't be suppressed" point to a mutiny by the author against his society, a personal certification of their truths and the belief that the power of creative writing lies in its ability to depict the truth. The harsh social criticism of *Eduards Traum* manifested itself through the principle of repetition next to variation and is thus indicative of a *Weltanschauung* that is convinced of the virtual sameness through constant recurrences.

When Busch wrote *Eduards Traum* he was able to express what he had only been able to allude to in the picture stories, the mainstay of his economic security, which he didn't want exposed to censorship and which he wanted to sell widely. Cognizant of his dilemma, he had made a conscious decision to compromise, and wrapped his picture stories in an acceptable package--superficial humour to camouflage the absolute realities. Financially secure, Busch ceased to create picture stories in 1884, but he continued his depiction of the dark side of humanity in *Eduards Traum* of 1891 through exclusively literary means.

3. Realizing a Fairy Tale: *Der Schmetterling*

Busch had asserted that he would like to "etwas dem *Eduard* Ähnliches publizieren" (publish something similar to *Eduard* [B1: 347]) in January 1892, but it would take him until December 1894 to submit the manuscript for *Der Schmetterling* to Bassermann and have it published in April of the following year. He defined the narrative as a "Seitenstück zu *Eduards Traum*" (counterpart to *Eduards Traum*) and the inserted illustrations were to "eng mit dem Text zusammen gehen" (closely go along with the text [B2: 45]). While *Eduards Traum* exposed the underside of human nature and shortcomings of societal realities as a whole, *Der Schmetterling* singles out one individual and uses his vita to describe how those realities affect a person.

Der Schmetterling tells of the biography of naive, easy-going Peter, a peasant's son who has no interest in a regular job, leaves his home to travel, has numerous edifying experiences, evolves and is assimilated into society. His travels begin with the pursuit of a butterfly that eludes him time and again and leads him to various different locales. Peter travels through the supposedly idyllic towns of Dösingen and Juxum and meets several figures from the fringes of society. After he prevents the suicide death of the cunning and sly hunter Nazi,[1] the two form an unlikely pair and together exist on the fringes of society, stealing and begging, until Peter falls under the spell of the beautiful witch Lucinde and is metamorphosed into an obsequious poodle. Only after Lucinde cuts off the poodle's tail to gain possession of a gold chain that Peter had stolen is Peter able to return into his old body and escape. That same night a spirit transports him to a cabbage patch where he awakes after a sleep lasting seven years. A renewed interest in the butterfly seizes him but he is still unable to catch it; instead he observes a black bird snatch and devour it. Peter then aimlessly travels about until he reaches a brightly illuminated castle where he watches Lucinde frolicking with the devil. When Lucinde and the devil leave in a carriage, Peter jumps onto the running board, but burns his foot and falls off into the dirt. A peasant gives him

---

[1] "Nazi" is an abbreviation for the male first name "Ignaz," shortened from "Ignatius." This name is a variation of the Latin "Egnatius," the meaning of which is still unclear (Drosdowski 115). In 19th century colloquial German, "Nazi" was also an expression used for "lächerlichen, dummen Mann; Tölpel" (silly, stupid man; fool) or as a swearword (Küpper 2021).

a ride to a doctor's office where his foot is amputated and he is outfitted with a pair of crutches. Now a cripple and a beggar, Peter returns home. His father has died, the servants have inherited the farm and started their own family. Peter remains unrecognized as the dead farmer's son, but is welcomed and spends the rest of his life as an esteemed member of the household, working as a tailor, a profession he had shunned as a young man. The various stations of Peter's life show repetitive variations of human foibles and are an expression of Busch's conviction that humane social relations are an impossibility.

Much like *Eduards Traum*, the handwriting in the working manuscript of *Der Schmetterling* changes often and contains many corrections (see illustrations 6a-d). It has no illustrations. The final manuscript, on the other hand, contains twenty-one illustrations. The last illustration ("Ende") was done as Busch created the final manuscript; all others were separate and pasted into the manuscript later on. Text separation and printing convention were similar to what had occurred with *Eduards Traum*.[2] Although *Der Schmetterling* was slightly better received by the reading public than *Eduards Traum*, Busch later concluded that "im Verhältnis zu [den Bildergeschichten hat die Prosa] nur bei Wenigen Beifall gefunden" (in comparison to [the picture stories the prose] received only few accolades [B2: 186]). The accuracy of this assessment was recently confirmed:

> Im Gegensatz zu seinen berühmten Bildergeschichten haben diese wahrhaft außerordentlichen Erzählungen aber bis zum heutigen Tag keine auch nur annähernd vergleichbare Resonanz und Wirkung erreicht. (Lieskounig 405)
> Contrary to his famous picture stories, these truly outside-the-norm stories have until today not attained an even remotely comparable response and influence.

Beyond an interpretation of the work, the following analysis will also attempt to explain why this was so.

Construction

Similar to Busch's other works, *Der Schmetterling* has a cyclical structure and joins fragmented episodic events into a contiguous narrative. A prologue by the first-person narrator is followed by an inner narrative consisting of nineteen separate episodes, and a concluding epilogue supposedly written

---

[2]Compare page 89 of this dissertation.

by the publisher. However, prologue and epilogue do not have the function of a frame; this function is taken on by the first and last episodes of the inner narrative.

The prologue has Peter, the inner narrative's protagonist, pondering with "Warum?" (Why?) questions about the reasons for a person's destiny, and he gives himself the fatalistic answer, "Was im Kongreß aller Dinge beschlossen ist, das wird ja wohl auch zweckgemäß und heilsam sein" (Whatever has been decreed at the conference of all things must surely be proper and salutary [H4: 213]).[3] To want nothing, wish for nothing, question nothing, only accept the portion the fates have given, therefore, becomes the anticipated conclusion of the narrative.

Of the nineteen episodes of the inner narrative, the first is an introduction in which Peter summarizes his life up to the actual events of his adventures. The last episode forms a conclusion in which he alludes to events after his adventures. These two episodes form the frame of the inner narrative. The first-person account of the inner narrative implies an authenticity of the reported events, but the first episode begins with "Ich bin geboren anno dazumal . . . " (I was born in the year dot [H4: 214]), reminiscent of "Once upon a time" fairy tale beginnings and thus removes the narrative from a temporal and spatial reality into a realm of fantasy. This contrast is typical of the different tensions between the fantastic and realistic levels of the plot. The narrative flows on a realistic level, but irrational elements are continuously interlaced. This surrealistic crossing of boundaries between the irrational and rational, a "resolution of these two states . . . which are seemingly so contradictory, into a kind of absolute reality" (Breton 14), is achieved by connecting various levels of reality, the bourgeois world with the rural world, fairy tale and dream, literary fiction and allegorical puzzle. It makes temporal and spatial relationships questionable. To create the impression of a realistic chronicle, precise references to the passing of time

---

[3]This points to the Norns of Germanic or Norse mythology. The three Norns (Urd, Verdandi and Skuld) were goddesses of fate and jointly determined the lifespan of humans, their experiences, the good and bad within them, and fortunes and misfortunes (Simek 290-291). If the underlying belief system is that life has been pre-determined by the gods, then the logical conclusion would be that it should not matter whether one breaks away from the familiar. It would also imply that all the bad experiences Peter has are pre-destined by the gods, as are the behavioural patterns that Peter encounters in other people.

introduce new experiences;[4] the spatial structure of the various locations of the journey that provide the backdrop for Peter's experiences appear similarly realistic, but the frequent interplay with fantastic elements quickly negates those impressions.

The first-person account of prologue and inner narrative pretend a personal account. In contrast, the auctorial epilogue was ostensibly added by the publisher at a much later date. The purpose of the epilogue is to present the story as one that really happened and thus provide a type of authentication. It completes Peter's story and gives it credibility, "Nur der Halbgebildete, dem natürlich die neueren Resultate der induktiven Wissenschaft auf dem Gebiete des Wunderbaren nicht bekannt sind, wird Anstoß nehmen an diesem und dem, was man früher unmöglich nannte" (only the semi-educated, who of course is not familiar with the more recent results of inductive sciences in the area of the supernatural will object to this or that which was called impossible in earlier times [H4: 263]). Lotze described the epilogue as "pseudorealistic" and suggested that "the fairy tale of the Romantic movement and the Realism of the second half of the century confront each other" (*Busch* 145). Prologue and epilogue could be said to emulate Romanticism, which often used a realistic, objectifying frame for fantastic narratives. However, Busch moved beyond the "pseudorealistic." Instead, he depicted unmasked reality, and the epilogue provides Busch with a distance between himself and the narrated events.

Although the inner narrative contains elements of a *Bildungsroman*, Busch reverses the process of the "geistige Entwicklung der Hauptperson . . . in der Auseinandersetzung mit den Einflüssen seiner Umwelt" (mental development of the main character . . . through reflection on the influences of his surroundings [*Meyers* 123]) which typically shows the moral and psychological growth of the main character in that genre. The protagonist of *Der Schmetterling* does not reflect upon what he has experienced or learned; his development flows in a negative direction. There is no harmony between the "I" and "world" in the sense of a *Bildungsroman*, but rather, the story seems to end with a severely maimed Peter who subordinates himself to his destiny rather than living in self-determined harmony with his surroundings. As such, *Der*

---

[4]For example, "Die Mittagssonne des nächsten Tages" (the next day's noon sun [H4: 217]), or "die folgende Nacht" (the following night [H4: 221]).

Schmetterling appears as a parody of a *Bildungsroman*; the disillusionment and mutilation of the protagonist are central to the narrative in portraying the negative aspects of reality and society.

Many motifs from fairy tales and legends can be found in *Der Schmetterling*: the ever changing shapes of the witch Lucinde; the mythical dragon "Muddebutz" living in the nearby "unergründliche Grummelsee" (bottomless Grummel Lake [H4: 214]); the devil incarnate; talking animals; hermaphroditic plants; the "Goldesel" (the ass which rained gold coins) of the Grimm's fairy tale; the allegorical figures of the right principles; and finally naive, good-natured Peter, who together with the cunning Nazi forms a pair of contrasting characters. Burlesque scenes emulate Shrovetide plays (Fastnachtsspiele) or the Schildbürger, and pranks are reminiscent of Till Eulenspiegel. Peter is dressed in a *Werther*-like costume of "Strohhut, himmelblauer Schniepel; stramme gelbe Nankinghose; rotbaumwollenes Sacktuch" (straw hat, skyblue tails, narrow yellow nankeen trousers, red cotton kerchief [H4: 214]), and the figure of the poodle that Peter is metamorphosed into can also be paralleled to that in Goethe's writing: Lucinde speaks of a "pudelnärrisches Hundsvieh" (mutt silly as a poodle [H4: 247]) and Goethe's Wagner in *Faust I* speaks of a "pudelnärrisch Tier" (animal silly as a poodle [566]). Parallels might also be seen with Novalis's *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* as a critical analysis of the *Bildungsroman* in that it negates the possibility of the realization of a person's yearnings within a bourgeois society. Similar to *Heinrich*'s search for the blue flower, the narrative is moved along by the pursuit of the butterfly, but while Novalis's *Heinrich* is certain to find his flower, Busch's Peter has to abandon all hope when the black bird devours that insect. Therefore, while Busch adopted some of the motifs of Romanticism, he did this only to underscore negative aspects of society. He may have had yearnings for a "paradise lost,"[5] or the harmonious synthesis of society and nature of Novalis's new golden age, but such goals had to remain an impossibility for Busch because he was too aware of the definitive loss of such blissful states. Contrary to Novalis, whose work was created from within the aesthetic autonomy of the artist, Busch's work was the result of his close observation of his surroundings and hence mirrors reality.

---

[5]Compare page 28 of this dissertation.

The Butterfly

Motivated by the pursuit of the butterfly, carrying his net, young Peter leaves his rural home full of hopes, chasing an elusive, brightly-coloured butterfly. Recurring in the narrative much like a Leitmotiv, the butterfly ultimately leads to the destruction of the naive illusions Peter has about people and life. Just as he will never catch the butterfly, he will never attain his dreams. Instead, he will return home, to the starting point of his journey, but maimed, mutilated and disillusioned. The longer the chase continues, the more clearly the butterfly is revealed as an ambassador and a decoy of a depraved world of greed and immorality. Both appear inseparably interlaced with each other and signify bodily mutilation, loss of possessions and disappointment. The encounter with Lucinde, personification of malice and greed, arrests Peter's impetus to continue his chase, which is renewed only after he is free of her spell. The butterfly eventually leads Peter into a completely fantastic realm. The churchyard, the cabbage patch, the castle and the creatures encountered there are entirely within the irrational world. This location is the furthest removed from Peter's natural state and the impetus provided by the butterfly is definitively removed during his stay there. What at first seemed like a linear process, the protagonist's introduction to more unfamiliar areas, at the end returns to the point of departure and is thereby cyclical. The two opposite directions, the further distancing from his home brought about by the chase after the butterfly, and the opposite, the desire to return home, turn out to have the same effect. By causing the spatial distance from Peter's home, the butterfly indirectly also facilitates his return to it.

Several different meanings are associated with the image of the butterfly. In reality it is an insect with often brightly coloured wings, on the symbolic level it is primarily a representation of the soul. An important reference to understanding the symbolic meaning of the butterfly is the Greek term psyche (ψυχή), which means "soul," but also "butterfly."[6] In old-Greek mythology such a creature was considered to be a nocturnal lepidoptera (moth) and according to this understanding, the souls of the

[6]Even in contemporary Greek the term for butterfly is "psychari" (Lurker, *Symbolik* 663).

dead would flutter like little winged creatures around burial places. During Hellenistic Greece the symbol shifted to the diurnal lepidoptera (butterfly), was part of Aphrodite's retinue, and Psyche, in love with Amor, is often shown with butterfly wings. Because of its metamorphosis from egg to caterpillar to pupa to iridescent insect, Christianity accepted the butterfly primarily as symbol of reincarnation, the caterpillar points to life, the pupa to death and the butterfly to resurrection (Lurker, *Symbolik* 651). Vernacularism also charges the butterfly with fickleness, ephemeral beauty, flame-seeking and being chiefly occupied with the pursuit of pleasure.

Busch combined the various meanings of the butterfly symbol, and by adding an element of deliberate choice in beginning and continuing the butterfly chase, he at the same time denoted the butterfly as a symbol of will and wishes. The butterfly colour symbolizes for Peter the fulfilment of his undefined hopes and wishes and the pursuit of the butterfly is symbolic of his efforts to gain fulfilment. Peter catches butterflies on a meadow and releases them again because he already has more than enough "von der gewöhnlichen Sorte" (of the common kind [H4: 215]), that is, the familiar and conventional does not interest him. An unknown butterfly of the "schönsten Farben der Welt" (the most beautiful colours in the world [H4: 216]) entices him and initiates his departure from the familiar world. Unable to catch it, he reflects, "Zu dumm! So ein klein winziges Luder; will sich nicht kriegen lassen; ist extra zum Wohle des Menschen geschaffen und verwendet doch seine schönen Talente nur für die eigenen selbstsüchtigen Zwecke. Es ist empörend!" (How silly! Such a tiny little hussy; doesn't want to be caught; has been created especially for man's benefit and despite that persists in using its fine talents only for its own selfish purposes. That's outrageous! [H4: 217]). Metaphoric for man's belief that money and riches will bring happiness, Peter does not understand that the lure of the unfamiliar is enticing him and will cause his misfortune. Although Peter often loses sight of the butterfly, it always reappears when he is homesick or demoralized, thereby giving him new encouragement. Indeed, the greater his set-backs, the more enticing the butterfly appears to him, such as after his escape from Lucinde, "im eigenen Lichtglanz seines grün juwelenhaft funkelnden Hinterteils" (in the bright halo of his own backside sparkling like a green jewel [H4: 253]), or after his sleep in the

cabbage patch, "mein Schmetterling . . . in verjüngter Herrlichkeit, so munter und farbenschön, wie ich ihn noch niemals gesehen hatte" (my butterfly . . . in rejuvenated splendour, lively and colourful as I had never seen him before [H4: 255]).

The butterfly, looked upon by Peter as a positive symbol, is an ambivalent creature. On the outside beautiful and colourful, it gives expression to Peter's optimism. But vernacularism also charges the butterfly as "Hexentier oder Krankheitsdämon" (witches' beast or demon of illness [Lurker, *Symbolik* 651]) and this negative component gradually surpasses Peter's positive outlook. His depersonalized metamorphosis into a poodle is the most profound result of the butterfly chase; it is equivalent to the deformation of Peter's identity. For Peter to understand, however, necessitates a final disillusionment. Just as he is finally close enough to catch the butterfly in his net, a black bird gobbles up the insect. Therefore, inherent to the symbol of the butterfly is misfortune. Just like a moth, drawn by the light, flies into the flame of a candle and burns, it is the fate of personal wishes to be doomed when reality sets in. However, by permanently developing new wishes, people maintain their drive to live--this is symbolized by Peter's renewed impetus every time he catches sight of the butterfly again--but the subsequent disappointments are increasingly disillusioning. Busch expressed this in a letter: "Je mannichfaltiger das Wünschen und Wollen, je stärker die Begehrlichkeit ist, um so mannichfaltiger sind die Enttäuschungen, um so stärker die Rückschläge" (The more manifold wishes and wants are, the stronger the covetousness, the more manifold are the disappointments, the stronger the set-backs [B2: 36]). Peter's bodily mutilations represent the thesis that a deformed personality is the inevitable result of repeated disappointments. The pursuit of happiness can only continue when Peter is able to transcend calamities and carry on, as is shown in the narrative when, after a bird devours his butterfly, he reacts angrily by throwing away his butterfly net, but then overcomes his anger and moves on with indifference. In spite of painful experiences, Peter is able to accept and transcend the calamities incurred because of choices he had made. The will to live remains.

By equating the soul and the will, Busch was able to use the symbol of one (soul) for the other

(will). The progression of butterflies and their connection to man he describes in a symbolic passage: When Peter wakes up after his seven years' sleep he observes on top of cabbages how caterpillars quickly change to pupas and then to butterflies. But the cabbages transmutate into humans, who chase after the butterflies with their nets. The butterflies, symbolic for something ideal, unreachable, as easily destructible as destructive, in their metamorphosis as caterpillars feed on those cabbages from which humans evolve, and these, in turn, immediately chase after their own butterflies.

The Illustrations

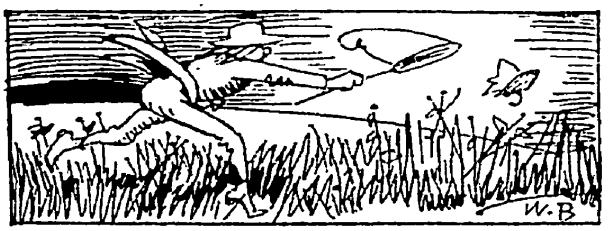
Unlike *Eduards Traum*, Busch included some illustrations with *Der Schmetterling*. Of the twenty-one illustrations, the nineteen inner illustrations help the reader's visualization of the described episodes. In contrast, neither the first nor the last illustration has an immediate direct reference to the text. All illustrations are very small and many have a dark background. Busch's intention was that the illustrations should be closely related to the text, "wie bei alten Drucken" (as in old books [B2: 45]), which would mean that they assume no independent function of their own but merely amplify the written word.

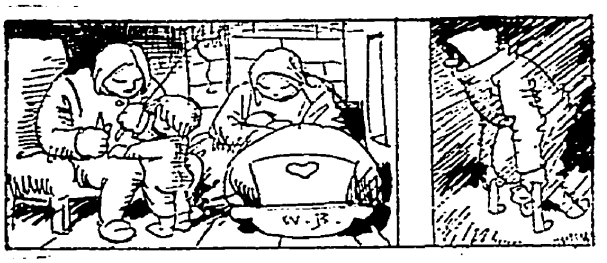


The prefacing illustration sets the mood for the narrative and visualizes its essential elements: a boy's face (Peter) fascinatedly peering over the top of a wall at a butterfly fluttering in the air. On the other side of the wall is a blooming flower and a snake with a crown on its head winds its way around the flower's stem. The motif of the wall--indicated only with a single line--recurs in the garden episode where Peter is enticed to the other side by the butterfly, marking the beginning of the inner narrative. The blooming flower, symbol for beauty and transitoriness, is embraced by the snake, symbolic for misfortunes, and both are personified in the narrative by Lucinde. The fluttering butterfly is symbolic for something that is ideal and elusive.

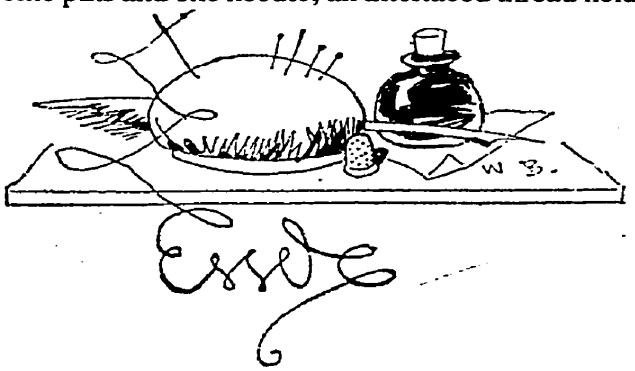
The nineteen inner illustrations serve as a direct visual supplement to the episodic incident within the story. Although the text always remains the focal point, the illustrations reinforce and clarify it. For

example, "Herumstreifen in leichtsinniger Freiheit" (roaming about in careless freedom [H4: 215]) is supplemented by the dynamics of Peter's forceful leaps and bounds in the illustration. Other illustrations, such as the one showing Peter on crutches returning to his home, also intensify the impression of the written text.





The last illustration[7] represents visually various tools from Peter's last stage in life: A pin-cushion with some pins and one needle; an interlaced thread held by the needle forms the word "Ende" (end); and also



a thimble, an inkpot, a pen and a sheet of paper. Altogether these objects represent the tools for his tailoring profession as also those needed for writing the story. The thread picks up the question from the prologue,

> Kinder, in ihrer Einfalt, fragen immer und immer: Warum? Der Verständige tut das nicht mehr; denn jedes Warum, das weiß er längst, ist nur der Zipfel eines Fadens, der in den dicken Knäuel der Unendlichkeit ausläuft, mit dem keiner recht fertig wird, er mag wickeln und haspeln, so viel er nur will. (H4: 213)
> Children in their naiveté always and always ask: Why? The rational person no longer does this; because each Why, this he has learned, is merely the tail end of a thread which runs into the thick tangled balls of eternity and nobody quite knows what to do with it, no matter how much one wraps or ravels.

This touches on a basic questions of human existence,[8] and appears to indicate that not only are there no answers to them, but also that in a cyclical pattern human existence will continue to regenerate itself.

---

[7]The printed editions by Bohne [H4: 262-263] and others inaccurately place this final illustration after the epilogue ("Das Manuskript der obigen Erzählung..."); however, the final manuscript has this illustration before this final paragraph. The first edition followed the final manuscript and Hochhuth I, 1016-1017 accurately maintains this continuity.

[8]The image is from Greek mythology. Similar to the Germanic Norns, the Greek Moirai were three female figures believed to have control of human destiny. They were Clotho (spinner), who spun the thread of life, Lachesis (caster of lots), who measured its length, and Atropos (the inflexible), who cut it (Lurker, *Götter* 276).

Der Schmetterling is the only prose fiction by Busch that also includes pictures and as such is a unique example of a blend of literary and visual elements in his oeuvre. The picture stories and broadsheets, despite including a brief prose text or rhymed verses, are primarily visual and *Eduards Traum* is pure prose; *Der Schmetterling* links both of these modes in what was for Busch a singular blend.

Peter's Evolution: A good-for-nothing in a philistine world[9]

Peter's social background and his education are touched on in a few sentences. The fact that he was born on a remote farm "gleich links von der Welt und dann rechts um die Ecke, nicht weit von der guten Stadt Geckelbeck, wo sie alles am besten wissen" (just left of the world and then a sharp right around the corner, not far from the good town Geckelbeck, where they know everything best [H4: 214]) exposes the typical bourgeois position to regard one's own moral and ethical principles as generally accepted axioms. Peter describes himself as a "nette[r] und vorzügliche[r] Mensch" (pleasant and remarkable fellow [H4: 213]) who had no real inclination to work but preferred to "herumzustreifen in leichtsinniger Freiheit" (roam about in careless freedom [H4: 215]) despite the fact that life on the farm is dominated by an attitude of "ora et

[9]The use of the term "good-for-nothing" (the German "Taugenichts") requires explanation. Various authors (Marxer 42-48; Ueding, *Miniature* 221; Lotze, *Busch* 151-152; Lieskounig 412-414) have pointed to a similarity between Busch's *Der Schmetterling* and Joseph von Eichendorff's *Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts*. Lieskounig suggests Busch used the Eichendorff text as a "literarische Folie, gegen die sich die Geschichte Peters als ein mehrschichtiges Beziehungs- und Anspielungsgeflecht abhebt" (literary background, against which Peter's story contrasts in a multi layered network of connections and allusions [412]). Ueding notes a similarity in narrative flow, and Marxer and Lotze point to parallels between the protagonists of the two narratives, such as both boys leaving their rural homes, steadily continuing their journey despite misfortunes, repeatedly finding themselves in situations beyond their understanding and both having the ability to sleep anywhere and at any time. Additional parallels can be found in their substantial naiveté, guilelessness, their innocence in sexual matters, and strong affinity for nature. However, the jump onto the carriage's running board indicates a pleasant continuation of the journey for Eichendorff's protagonist, whereas it causes Peter to lose his foot. While Eichendorff's *Taugenichts* gets engaged, Peter remains single. Finally, while *Taugenichts* plays the violin, Peter can only whistle through a gap in his teeth. The "weite Welt" (wide world) with its "Wundern" (miracles [566]), of which the *Taugenichts* sings, loses its benevolent magic in *Der Schmetterling* and is instead unmasked as evil, irrational and absurd. Therefore, Eichendorff's novella can end with the contented "und es war alles, alles gut!" (and everything, everything was good! [647]), whereas Busch's narrative has an ending that society would consider a failure (a conclusion reached by Marxer, Lotze and Lieskounig).

labora."[10] This is manifested by Peter's description of the people living there: The "zuverlässige Botenfrau" (reliable messenger woman); the "brave Knecht Gottlieb" (worthy farmhand Gottlieb), who together with Peter's father "bestellte fleißig die Felder" (diligently tilled the fields); the "hübsche Bäschen Katharine" (pretty young cousin Katherine [H4: 214]), who "betete [abends] ihren Rosenkranz" ([in the evening] said her rosary [H4:215]). Attempts at schooling from "Herrn Damisch, dem gelehrten Magister" (Mister Damisch, the learned schoolmaster)[11] go awry when this teacher "[gab Peter] als nicht ganz zweckentsprechend, bestens dankend zurück" (with thanks [returned Peter] as not quite appropriate); this implies that the teacher used his student only as an object for practising his educational methods and thus there is here an underlying criticism of those methods. The deciding factor in the subsequent choice of apprenticing with a tailor was not based on interest or inclination, but rather on purely rational reasons, "So ein Schneider kann sein Brot im Trocknen verdienen, wie der feinste Schulmeister, ob's regnet oder schneit" (a tailor can earn his living indoors, just like the most refined schoolmaster, regardless whether it's raining or snowing [H4: 214]). Work was therefore considered as an end in itself, and fulfilment of personal desires or wishes did not enter into the decision making process. Although Peter initially accepted his father's choice of the tailoring profession, his refusal to complete the apprenticeship showed his true self and represented a rebellious provocation. The disillusioning events Peter experienced through these teachers (maliciousness, miserliness, indifference) influenced his behaviour. For example, coming to terms with lack of nourishment when his master's miserliness kept him near starvation, he solved the problem by returning to his father's home.

Soon after beginning his pursuit of the brightly coloured butterfly, Peter meets an old blind man who could have been a warning example for him. He, too, at one time had the desire to explore the world, and had to pay with blindness for his curiosity:

---

[10]Compare episode with "the right principles," pages 138-139 of this dissertation.

[11]The dialectics of the combination "the learned schoolmaster" with "Damisch" are unfortunately not easily translatable. "Damisch" is colloquial and infers "dumb" or "daft."

Auf einem Meilensteine saß ein älterer Mann, der eine ungewöhnlich breitschirmige Mütze trug. Zwischen seinen Knien hielt er einen grauhaarigen Hund.
"Guter Vater!" sprach ich ihn an. "Ich möchte gern nach der Stadt Geckelbeck."
"Genehmigt!" gab er zur Antwort.
"Könnt Ihr mir vielleicht zeigen, wo der Weg dahin geht?"
"Ne! Ich bin rundherum blind."
"Schon lange?" fragt ich teilnahmsvoll.
"Fast neunundfünfzig Jahr; nächsten Donnerstag ist mein dreiundfünfzigster Geburtstag."
"Was? Schon sechs Jahre vor Eurer Geburt?"
"Sogar sieben, richtig gerechnet. Ich wollte schon damals gern in die Welt hinein, tappte im Dunkeln nach der Tür, fiel mit dem Gesicht auf die Hörner des Stiefelknechts, und das Unglück war geschehen."
"Dann laßt Euch raten, Alter!" sagt ich. "Und schielt nicht zu viel nach hübschen Mädchen, denn das hat schon manchen Jüngling zu Fall gebracht."
"Faß!" schrie der Blinde und ließ den Hund los. (H4: 217-218)

An older man with an unusually wide beak on his cap was sitting on a milestone. He held a greyhaired dog between his legs.
"Good father!" I addressed him. "I would like to get to the town of Geckelbeck."
"Allowed!" he replied in answer.
"Could you perhaps show me the way there?"
"Nope! I'm blind all the way around."
"For a long time?" I asked sympathetically.
"Almost fifty-nine years; next Thursday is my fifty-third birthday."
"What? Already six years before you were born?"
"Actually seven, to be precise. I was really eager to come into the world back then, groped for the door in the dark, fell face first onto the boot-jack's horns and that's when the accident happened."
"Then let me give you some advice, old man!" I said. "And don't ogle the pretty girls so much, because that has been the downfall of many a youngster."
"Sic 'm!" yelled the blind man and let go of the dog.

This absurdly illogical passage alludes to Peter's journey through life, but more importantly, it represents Busch's answer to the illogicality of society and the futility of asking questions. Busch puts logic into a seeming contradiction, a blind man is in the dark trying to find the light ends up in a new dark realm. Peter's thoughtless advice to the blind man, not to ogle the pretty girls, is reminiscent of Till Eulenspiegel, "der sich in zahlreichen Streichen über die beschränkten Begriffe seiner Mitmenschen lustig macht" (who in many pranks pokes fun at the limited concepts of his fellow man [Frenzel 209]), but Peter's escapades don't carry the educational values of his predecessor. Instead, they serve to temporarily give him a feeling of self-satisfaction and superiority, which is only possible at the expense of an obviously disadvantaged person. This shows that Peter is still endowed with traits of a philistine society, benefitting at the expense of others. Moreover, not only does Peter not take his own advice, but during

the attempt to catch his beautiful butterfly falls under the spell of the beautiful Lucinde and this in turn results in his own handicaps. The first bodily assault on Peter, however, comes from a beggar, who knocks out one of his teeth with a stone after Peter has given him more than half of his money. Peter's motivation for his charity, to have "[das] Gefühl einer behaglichen Erhabenheit" (feelings of a smug superiority [H4: 219]), self-exaltation rather than compassion, is unmasked by the beggar. Rather than learn a lesson, Peter becomes indignant, because the beggar had accurately interpreted his motive. The mimicry of the picture stories has been transformed into a fateful irony and Busch moves the narrative toward Peter's experiences during the journey: greed, hypocrisy, cunning and treachery.

Peter learns about dishonesty from a "wohlgemästeter Bauer" (well-fattened peasant), who looks very cheerful because he had just been able to sell a wild horse as a tame animal. When asked whether he had warned the buyer, the peasant's "traurig[e] und niedergeschlagen[e]" (sad and despondent) answer was, "Gott erhalte jedem ehrlichen Christenmenschen seinen gesunden Verstand. Seh ich wirklich so dumm aus?" (May God leave each honest Christian person his common sense. Do I really look that stupid? [H4: 220]). First cheerful at his treachery, the peasant becomes sanctimonious as soon as the question about the honesty of his actions is raised. The reference to honest Christianity is an ironic reference to the hypocrisy and greed of the "Gründerzeit." Busch suggests that honesty is a fallacy, and the reader is reminded that if common sense is applied in this episode, honesty is sorely missing. Another peasant is the only positive figure in the narrative. He gives Peter food without looking for anything in return. Dishonesty is thus not limited to one segment of society, but both honest and dishonest people can be found anywhere. This message is reinforced by the behaviour of various personified animals. The cockfight (H4: 226) and the fight between two ducks (H4: 225) are representative of greed and envy. Viciousness, malice, treachery and spite are portrayed in the chickens that emulate the ducks (H4: 225), the ants that bite Peter (H4: 227) and the pigs that gnaw on his ears (H4: 228).

Peter, meanwhile, remains naive and without guile, trusting in the good of humanity. Failing to recognize that he is being exploited by the fat man in the idyllic town of Dösingen (H4: 233), he travels

on to Juxum,[12] where he encounters people without compassion who are unkind, malicious and fatalistically cheerful. Only materialistic values count in this society. As in the picture stories, Busch criticizes philistine mentality. The baker Pretzel is a happy-go-lucky man who refuses to worry. "Regelmäßig weiterleben" (Regularly continue living) is his motto and sensory joys are important, as is a regular structure and order, and he says of himself, "Ich esse, trinke, schlafe regelmäßig, und wenn meine Frau stirbt, so heirate ich regelmäßig wieder" (I eat, drink, sleep regularly, and when my wife dies, then I will regularly get married again [H4: 234]). He visits the pub regularly at precisely five o'clock each day to have precisely five drinks. A typical Busch philistine, Pretzel has no spiritual needs, only physical ones. Part of a "vollkommenste Philisterwelt" (most complete world of philistines), the baker Pretzel in *Der Schmetterling* is a typical example of a "geselliges, jedoch völlig unpolitisches Tier" (social, but completely unpolitical animal [Marx 46]). Animals don't have compassion nor do they know tact. Animals look after their physical needs and do what is necessary to maintain their species. Whether they are called Schmöck, Knopp or Pretzel,[13] these characters procreate, sleep and eat without worry and reflect Busch's observations of his surroundings. Busch's depiction of the town's reaction to the baker's death borders on the macabre. The fact of his death is suppressed, as the general laughter following the news demonstrates. The philistine creatures of habit obscure and push aside anything unpleasant and have parties at any and every opportunity. For example, a party followed the news of Pretzel's death. Moving from one event to the next, without ever spending time to reflect or think, the philistine believes himself contented, safe from any outside intrusions. Moreover, the unabashed competitive thoughts of baker Prillke, happy at the other baker's death because it means more business for him, and Pretzel's regularity, illustrate the excessive philistine work ethic, which completely subjugates interpersonal relationships and everyday life. Busch introduced this passage with a pastoral image: "Die Saaten standen üppig; auf jeder

---

[12]A play on words, "Dösingen" is derived from "dösen," meaning "to doze." "Juxum" is derived from "juxen," meaning "to joke." Arndt translates these towns as "Drowsington" and "Jokesham," respectively (194).

[13]Schmöck is a character in *Die fromme Helene,* Knopp is the protagonist in *Die Knopp-Trilogie.*

Blume saß ein Schmetterling; in jedem Baum saß ein zwitscherndes Vöglein; rot schimmerten die Dächer und hellgrün die Fensterläden" (the seedlings were lush; there was a butterfly on each flower, there was a chirping bird in every tree; red gleamed the roofs and light green the shutters [H4: 234]). Everything seems to be idyllic and in perfect order, but life is not as structured or as regular as a philistine would like. Unexpected events disturb established habits and customs, but after only a short time the merry dancing continues as though uninterrupted. Because Peter fails to understand the hypocrisy and falseness of the townspeople, he is severely beaten and dejectedly leaves town. He had already lost a tooth due to the beggar's stone throw and now has a pug nose from his adventures in Juxum. Bodily harm as a visible sign of his experiences is representative of the growing disillusionment experienced, although not yet recognized, by their bearer.

The first signs of a recognition come only after his disillusioning encounter with Lucinde, but still contemplating his situation, he becomes distracted by the butterfly--who had been absent during that entire encounter–and picks up the chase again, stumbling into a long sleep, an allegory for his inability to recognize the futility of the chase. Awaking seven years later, Peter is told about the essence of the world by two bugs, but again spots his butterfly and wants to resume the chase. The bugs don't hold him back, but let him go with the comment "Wer will, der darf!" (Those who want to, may!). With "übernatürlicher Leichtigkeit" (supernatural ease [H4: 255]), ergo almost weightless like in a dream, Peter jumps over a wall to continue his chase. This evokes a picture familiar from the picture stories: Pater



Filucius is "wirbelartig fortgeschafft" (removed as though in a whirl [H2: 364]) "als säßen Sprungfedern drunter" (as though springs were underneath [H4: 255-256]). Movement, usually painfully formed into a spiral, causes Busch's figures to be propelled forward and come to recognize futility. The suggestion that Peter jumps over the wall with "supernatural ease" is ironic, because immediately preceding is the information that he had received "einen Schlag mit der

flachen Schaufel hinten vor zur Nachhilfe" (a whack with the flat spade on the backside to help along), which caused him to leap the wall "in hohen Bogensätzen" (in high bounds). The association "in high bounds," with considerable speed and suddenness, therefore suggests less "easy" but more so "suddenly." This sudden movement enables Peter to observe in real life what the bugs had told him: an "angenehme Erwartung" (pleasant expectation) is shattered by an "unangenehme Möglichkeit" (unpleasant possibility [H4: 255]) when the black bird devours the butterfly before Peter can catch it and the brutal "first come, first served" mentality of a greedy society is exposed.

Carrying brutality to its most absurd extent, the doctor's cruelty in the final stage of Peter's journey is described over two pages. Peter's final mutilation comes as the doctor cuts off Peter's injured foot. This brings about Peter's recognition of his horrific state. Dispassionately, he regards himself in a mirror, "Der, den ich darin erblickte, gefiel mir nicht. Kopf kahl, Nase rot, Hals krumm, Bart struppig; ein halber Frack, ein halbes Bein; summasummarum ein gräßlicher Mensch. Und das war ich." (The person I saw in there was not to my liking. Bald head, red nose, crooked neck, scruffy beard, half a tailcoat, half a leg, all in all a horrible person. And that was me. [H4: 259-260]). This sober contemplation of his hideous appearance, his injuries and handicaps, demonstrates his final disillusionment.

Lucinde: Witch Mammon

Lucinde, with the combined attributes of money and sexuality, represents avarice and the principle that everything is for sale and can be bought. Her sphere is totally fantastic, and there is no clear demarcation between the level of reality previously experienced by Peter, and her irrational realm. Her influence reaches far into the rational sphere.

After the butterfly, Lucinde becomes Peter's second great temptation. Seeking refuge from wind and rain in a little hut, he "wurde auch umgehend so heftig gedrückt und abgeküßt, daß [er], der so was nicht gewohnt war, in die peinlichste Angst geriet" (was right away tightly hugged and smothered with kisses, that [he], who was not used to such matters, became embarrassingly frightened [H4: 229]). The black-haired witch

with shining white teeth, headband made of gold coins, wide gray skirt and dainty feet had seduced him. Peter has no doubt that she is a witch because she deflects a threatening bolt of lightning onto a nearby barn. When she eats from a lapful of dried pears and Peter also wants some, the fruits change into mice and bite him severely, an indication that his encounter with her will not be positive. Since that first meeting, Peter is obsessed with her, but she has vanished. Searching for her, he is told, "wer kein Geld hat, den beißt sie" (if you have no money, she bites you [H4: 236]). Lucinde's headband with gold coins is the most visual image of her connection with money. Peter schemes to obtain money in order to win her over because he is willing to buy her affection, for he has recognized that she always gives her attention to the wealthiest suitor.[14] With Lucinde's metamorphosis into a snake, her golden headdress becomes a crown. Whether as snake or human, she is drawn by gold. As such, Nazi's gold was sufficient for a week of tenderness, but Schlumann, having access to the jackass's everlasting well, has better chances. With him Lucinde can be certain that his wealth is steady, unlike Nazi's, who just occasionally embezzles money. Peter, in his metamorphosis as a poodle, is completely ignored and after a while realizes that his feelings for this "Teufelsmädchen" (devil of a girl) are not love, but "einfach hundsmäßige Unterwürfigkeit" (simply dog-like servility [H4: 247]). Disappointed and disillusioned, he escapes from her sphere and, vacillating between self-pity and self-accusation, takes stock of his experiences thus far:

> Was hatt ich gefunden heraußen in dieser verlockenden Welt, als Schmerz und Enttäuschung; wie tief, durch meine unsteten Begierden, war ich gesunken! Ein Streuner war ich geworden, ein Faulenzer, ein Gauner beinah, und schließlich ein Pudel, ein kriechender Hund mit dem Pelz voller Flöhe, der verächtliche Sklav einer geldgierigen, ruchlosen Hexe. [H4: 253]
>
> What had I found out here in this enticing world, but pain and disappointment; how low did I sink because of my fickle longings! I had become a vagrant, a slouch, almost a crook, and finally a poodle, a grovelling mutt with a pelt full of fleas, the contemptible slave of an avaricious dastardly witch.

This is a sad summation of his life, but similar to that of other Busch protagonists, Tobias Knopp or Balduin Bählamm. All are injured home-comers. Pain, disappointment and disillusionment prompted

---

[14]It should be considered that during Busch's times financial security was considered the necessary prerequisite to "gain" a wife. Although the text does not give any indication how Peter envisages a relationship with Lucinde, the passage is nevertheless reminiscent of Busch's own futile courtship to Anna Richter (compare page 66 of this dissertation).

their retreat from a hostile world. For Busch this personal disappointment was always an opportunity to inject a comical element into a tragic situation. This passage in *Der Schmetterling*, like the picture stories, is imbued with "Scherz, Satire, Ironie und tiefere Bedeutung" (Jest, Satire, Irony and Deeper Meaning).[15] For example, the sentence "Welch ein wertvolles Geschenk, gewissermaßen warm aus dem Prägstock der Natur" (What a precious gift, so to speak warm from nature's punch [H4: 244]), is comical, referring to the jackass's anus which excreted gold coins. The derrière, often a taboo part of the anatomy, becomes "nature's punch." The subtext is that coins (= money) are synonymous with excrement. Later, and that is the deeper meaning of the passages with Lucinde, it becomes clear that money is at the root of all evil. It causes envy, creates enemies, causes more dependence than freedom, destroys love and creates "dog-like servility."

The final phase of the process of disillusionment is signalled by Peter throwing away his net after the black bird had devoured his butterfly. Apathetically, he strolls about until he hears the "Klänge der herrlichsten Blechmusik" (sounds of the most magnificent brass music), likely the sound of money, entertaining at a "vornehme Gesellschaft" (distinguished party) in a brightly lit castle. In their midst and successful at the gaming tables is Lucinde, and also the devil in the disguise of a "jovialer Herr"(jovial gentleman), easily identifiable by the "vergoldete Bockshörnchen [auf der Stirn]" (gilded little goat's horns [on the forehead]), and the description continues:

> Die Lakaien, die herumstanden, machten einen soliden, vertrauenerweckenden Eindruck. Sie waren weiß gepudert, glatt rasiert, dick und fett, und jeder trug in großen goldenen Buchstaben einen trefflichen Wahlspruch auf der Livree, der eine 'Gut,' der andere 'Schön,' der dritte 'Wahr,' der vierte 'ora,' der fünfte 'labora,' und so ging's weiter.
> "Es freut mich" -- sagt ich --, "solch biedere Leute zu sehn!"
> "Mit Recht!" sprach der dickste von allen, dem 'Treu und Redlich' am Buckel stand. "Wir sind die guten Grundsätze."
> Gerührt wollt ich ihm die Hand drücken, aber sie war weicher als Butter, und als ich ihm auf die Schulter klopfte, sackte der Kerl zusammen, wie ein aufgeblasener Schlauch, wobei ihm die ausströmende Luft geräuschvoll durch sämtliche Knopflöcher pfiff. (H4: 256)

---

[15]The title of an 1822 play by Christian Dietrich Grabbe. The play does not unmask itself, but rather exposes the viewer as player within a complete grotesquerie, which even with laughter cannot be overcome.

> The lackeys that stood about made a solid, confidence inspiring impression. They were powdered white, clean shaven, plump and fat, and each one bore a splendid motto on his livery in large golden letters, one saying 'Good,' another 'Nice,' a third 'True,' a fourth 'Ora,' a fifth 'Labora' and thus it continued.
> "I'm delighted"--I said--, "to see such upright people!"
> "Rightly so!" said the fattest of all, who had 'Loyal and Honest' on his back. "We are the right principles."
> Touched, I wanted to shake his hand, but it was softer than butter, and when I patted him on the shoulder, the guy collapsed like an inflated balloon, and the escaping air whistled noisily through all his button holes.

Manifested in these allegorical figures of the "right principles" that are only hollow shells and collapse as soon as they are touched, in the asserted "Schein" (appearance) of a veneer without substance, is Busch's attitude toward society. He unmasks the "Schein und Sein" (appearance and reality), the emptiness, meaningless and hypocritical falsehood of claims of "good" or "true." Regardless of appearances or of how many people have the motto of "ora et labora,"[16] the prevailing attitude is in reality quite different. Furthermore, by placing the "right principles" in a subservient position to Lucinde and the devil, Busch is suggesting that high principles are always subject to the controls of money and evil.

Only material values count in this society. As soon as the possession of money is evident, a person's reputation and respect for him increases. This behaviour can be observed in the innkeeper, who becomes "dienstbeflissen und munter" (zealous and lively) upon sighting Nazi's and Peter's money. Prior to that he was highly suspicious about their ability to pay, and took their pants as security, albeit with the excuse of just wanting to brush them clean. First, he was "träge und bedenklich" (lethargic and dubious [H4: 244]), but as soon as he caught sight of the money, his behaviour changed and he sought to secure some it for himself.

Peter innocently enters this society. He learns the rules of the game and tries to play along. Because of his obsession with Lucinde, he attempts to assimilate into his surroundings, but because they are essentially alien to him, he fails. His failure can be traced back to his naiveté and his inability to see through the inherent bad intentions of people in his surroundings. During his cohabitation with Nazi--the personification of an unscrupulous selfish egotist, completely without morals in his pursuit of happiness

---

[16]"Ora et labora" (pray and work) is an old monastic rule, particularly of the Benedictine order.

through money--Peter has to suppress all moral concerns about theft, fraud, treachery, indifference and selfishness. Nevertheless, he remains in Nazi's company for weeks and participates in his wrongdoings: "Mir war nicht ganz wohl bei der Sach; allein der Schlingel machte das alles so lustig und wohlgemut, daß ich schließlich doch lachen mußte" (The matter didn't sit right with me; but the rascal did all that so merrily and cheerfully that I had to laugh in the end after all [H4: 242]). The fact that Peter was quite able to live with Nazi's misdeeds and that the break between the pair only occurred when Nazi defrauded him, suggests that Peter's moral scruples only surfaced when a transgression affected him personally. When it affected others, he remained selfishly apathetic, not unlike the indifference displayed by Busch's contemporary bourgeois society. Busch unmasks the value system of this bourgeois society thoroughly and ruthlessly. Money is shown as *the* catalyst and omnipotent in a largely corrupt world; "[it] played such an important role . . . that possessing some is an absolute necessity for anyone who wants to make his way in life" (Sheehan 778), increasing self-esteem and individual arrogance. The two rich people of *Der Schmetterling*, Schlumann and Schröpf, are both described as "klug" (clever). Schröpf is ironically described as "der Klügste im ganzen Dorf, seit er das große Los gewann" (the most clever in the entire village since he won the lottery [H4: 234]) and Schlumann exploits his jackass. The implication is that in a materially-oriented world the opinions of affluent people must be worth more than those of people without means, and it becomes of secondary importance whether that opinion is really "clever." Therefore, economic potency permits an affluent person to wield social and political influence and power over others solely because of his possession of money, as is seen in Lucinde's affection for Schlumann. Conversely, loss of money brings loss of power. Busch exposed some aspects of pure capitalism here. During a time of tremendous economic and industrial growth, lacking social protection and political change, the greed for profit and selfishness of industrialists at the cost of workers was a well-known phenomenon that endangered societal relations. *Der Schmetterling* makes clear that greed for money is a catalyst that can deform and destroy societal relationships, and that material wealth is particularly threatening because of the connection between societal power and monetary wealth. By reducing

Schlumann's wealth to the ownership of a "Goldesel" (ass which rained gold coins) and Schröpf's wealth to a lottery win, Busch additionally suggests that material wealth can only be attained through exploitation or luck.

Autobiography and Fiction: Disillusionment Resolved

Several researchers have concentrated on the autobiographical content of *Der Schmetterling*, and parallels to Busch's life can indeed be extrapolated. His refusal to become the engineer his father wished him to be; his repeated change of residences from Dusseldorf, Antwerp, Munich and Frankfurt until his return to his home village Wiedensahl; his relationship with Johanna Kessler; finally the intertwining of tailor's tools and writer's tools in the last illustration--all these make it easy to assume an identical author and narrator and consider *Der Schmetterling* as a "Generalbeichte über sein Schicksal" (general confession about his life). The story is a processing of Busch's background, training, experiences and influences that shaped him as a writer and as such makes transparent the social and cultural realities of his time, but it is not the "vierte der großen Rechenschaftsberichte, die uns Wilhelm Busch hinterlassen hat" (fourth of the large testimonials that Wilhelm Busch left behind for us [Bohne, *Leben* 263-264]). Although written as a first-person account, Busch put considerable distance between himself and the first-person narrator. He did this with casual language, ironic treatments, and with the epilogue of a fictitious publisher.

The ambivalence of distance and closeness is particularly noticeable in the last episode of the inner narrative. There is a considerable difference between Busch's last years and those of his protagonist. Taking on the name "Fritz Fröhlich" (Fred Cheerful), though people call him "Humpelfritze" (Hobbling Freddy [H4: 262]), Peter had reached a state of inner peace, resisting the fluttering of butterflies and Lucinde's temptations. Although Busch perhaps desired such an inner contentment himself, "Nichtwollen, Ruhe wär' das Beste" (not wanting, peace would be best [B1: 144]), it remained unattainable for him. His description of himself, "[er] hockt in seinem Winkel und sieht leidlich zufrieden aus" ([he] sits in his corner and looks reasonably content [B1: 294]) suggests that he had ambivalent thoughts about his

own life in remote locations. He was not as contented as Peter in *Der Schmetterling*, he had not attained that state to which he aspired. Although like Peter in the narrative Busch withdrew to the isolation of the remote Wiedensahl, he did not withdraw from critical analysis and examination of his society. *Der Schmetterling* depicts the hypocritical, philistine society of his day, as is evident in the picture stories. In order to be able to voice such analyses at all, to avoid censorship and earn a living, Busch had to reduce, play down and trivialize the messages of the picture stories, since they were directed at a large audience and he wanted to please, not annoy them. Although financially secure and firmly entrenched as a popular author, he still disguised his social criticism in *Der Schmetterling* by using fantastic imagery and ironic commentary to encode it. This gave his candid appraisals a playful gravity that was non-threatening, mild and enigmatic. The harsh messages in the picture stories are dissolved through the synthesis of picture and verse, and the critical theme in the prose is softened by the oblique language used. In both cases, Busch nevertheless paints a distorted picture of society, whether he used satirical verses and forceful line drawings to unmask specific figures and attitudes through mimicry in the picture stories, or absurd and ironic imagery for the (expressed) futile "immer strebend sich bemühen" (always striving to make an effort [Goethe, *Faust II* 346]) of mankind in the prose.

In this sense, Busch's construction of *Der Schmetterling* can be connected to the labours of Peter, the tailor, who said of himself "Durch reichhaltige Übung steigerte sich meine Geschicklichkeit nicht bloß in der Wiederherstellung des Alten und Verfallenen, sondern ich schuf auch Neues nach eigener Maßnahme aus dem Vollen und Ganzen heraus" (Through extensive practise my skills improved not only in the restoration of the old and derelict, but I also created new things of my own measure out of the full and the whole [H4: 262]). This realistic, positive summary of the useful work of a tailor was metaphorically expressed in *Was mich betrifft (II)* when Busch suggested that "oft muß man schon froh sein, wenn nur einer, der Wind machen kann, mal einen kleinen philosophisch angehauchten Drachen steigen läßt, aus altem Papier geklebt" (Often one has to be glad if someone, who is able to create a stir, can launch a kite with philosophic tendencies, made of old paper [H4: 152]). Both quotations together provide an indication to how Busch saw

his own work as a writer. Convinced that "jede Sprache ist Bildersprache" (every language is a metaphorical language [B1: 154]), he used disillusioning montages, parodistic confrontations and distancing effects in *Der Schmetterling*. The narrative thus depicts the realities of his time as experienced by many more precisely than would a mere echoing of visible realities.

Showing his ambivalent position as a social critic, Busch vacillates between pessimistic despair and oblique demands for humanity and compassion. Although laying bare the faults of his society, he nowhere attempts to resolve issues nor advocates change outright. The cruelty of his figures, the black humour and the questionable comedy of the antihero who returns home a cripple are expressed in poetic images rather than intellectual phrases. As such, *Der Schmetterling* represents not a rational narrative flow but rather the accumulation of an irrational world of images, with an almost "anti-literary attitude, [a] turning away from language as an instrument for the expression of the deepest level of meaning" (Esslin 328). However, Busch does not leave his narrative open-ended, but rather closes the inner narrative with Peter's moralizing commentary, "So leb ich denn allhier als ein stilles, geduldiges, nutzbares Haustier.--Schmetterlinge beacht ich nicht mehr.--Oben im alten Giebelstübchen hab ich mir eine gemütliche Werkstatt eingerichtet" (So now I live here as a quiet, patient, useful pet.--I pay no more attention to butterflies.--Up top in the old attic room I have set up a cosy workshop for myself [H4: 262]). Juxtaposed to the anguishes of the materialistic world which Peter had encountered during his travels, is inner contentment, the ideal of a pastoral idyll of the "Gründerzeit" and Wilhelminian eras, whose people amidst the public turmoils and conflicts retreated to an escapist home life, hoping for tranquillity. The narrator Peter speaks of himself as a "quiet, patient, useful pet," in other words slightly derisive of perhaps the loyal family pet dog. Rather than being embittered at finding his inheritance in the hands of the former servants, and being resigned about what fate has apportioned to him, his recognition of

Was erst verdrießlich schien	What first seemed irksome
War schließlich gut für ihn (H4: 261)	For him was good after all.[17]

[17]Arndt translates this verse well by using the proverb "Hardship despised: / Blessing disguised" (199).

becomes the impetus for a practical occupation on the estate. Although living in a world he could not fathom, Peter ultimately accepts responsibility for his acts of free will. Rather than a resigned acceptance of destiny, the "Knäuel der Unendlichkeit" (tangled balls of eternity [H4: 213]) lose their threatening characteristics and give way to an intrinsic and inner balance. Thus, Busch depicts a possibility of overcoming the absurdities of life: creative activity to transcend the incomprehensible. Man is not able to suppress his own drives freely, with an act of reason, and as Peter's example shows, he is not able to extract himself from his drives and therefore has to suffer. Only one's own destructive experiences enable a person to finally harness his drives and desires, accept responsibility for his choices and actions, and facilitate a self-contained contentment.

Busch's letters endorse this viewpoint,[18] but also reveal his considerable scepticism and irony about the attainment of an inner peace. The most idyllic pastoralism is deceptive and only temporary. An idyll is an unnatural, forced condition. It suppresses bad drives and desires, which subliminally are always present and can at any time rise to the surface. His statement, "bei den besten Menschen, die mir begegnet, habe ich noch immer die Reißzähne von den Schneidezähnen ganz deutlich unterscheiden können" (Even in the best of people that I have met, I have always been able to clearly distinguish the carnassial teeth from the incisors [B1: 139]), suggests that Busch was convinced of the ever present existence of suppressed negative traits. This surfacing of instinctive physical urges, the invasion of chaos into the idyll is what Busch depicts in his picture stories. The search for tranquillity beyond reality, beyond the fierce competitive battles for survival, remains illusory. While it can be depicted in fiction, as in *Der Schmetterling*, that is where it will remain.

The "Weltsystem, dessen Übersicht im ganzen ja schwierig ist" (universe, which is difficult to view

---

[18]Beginning with a defensive "Wollen Sie es mir, der mit voller Überzeugung eine »idyllische« Zurückgezogenheit erwählt, verdenken . . ." (Do you want to hold it against me, who of conviction chooses an »idyllic« seclusion . . . [to Maria Anderson, Sept. 8, 1875, B1: 153]) to a firm philosophical point of view "Denn nur der Mensch mit seinem weitläufigen Intellekt (=Hirn) kann die Mängel der Welt durchschaun, kann austreten aus dem Geschäft, kann sich zur Ruhe setzen im seligen Nirgendwo" (only man with his sprawling intellect (=brains) can see clearly the shortcomings of the world, can withdraw from the business, can retire to the blessed Nowhere [to Grete Meyer, Aug. 27, 1897, B2: 107]). Other references may be found in letters to Franz von Lenbach dated Oct. 19, 1875 (B1: 172), Friedrich August von Kaulbach dated Feb. 28, 1884 (B1: 249), Johanna Kessler dated Aug. 22, 1891 (B1: 336) or Paul Lindau dated Jan. 18, 1892 (B1: 346).

overall [H4: 254]) depicted in *Der Schmetterling* immerses the reader into a completely estranged world, unmasked as deformed and causing deformation, marked by irrationality, the blind pursuit of individuals for their particular brand of happiness, the battle of everyone against everyone when money as the real power of the world is involved. Humanity and compassion are left by the wayside in this pursuit, much like the possibility to regard the world as meaningful, rational and comprehensible. Bourgeois and humanistic moralities, fatalism and irrationalities are interconnected, often with blurred points of connection. In a surrealistic reality filled with abrupt transitions and allegorical ingredients one-sided portrayals are stressed and intentionally preclude any familiar point of orientation. Individual events and thoughts become independent in relation to the entire narrative, so that the impression of a continuously changing chaotic and uncontrollable environment is created. By remaining without solution, but retaining a sense of hope, Busch had transcended the disillusioning realities and moved from the veiled renderings of the picture stories to a uniting synthesis:

Die Welt, obgleich sie wunderlich,	The world, although it's strange
Ist mehr als gut genug für mich. (H4: 293)	Is more than good enough for me.

4. Busch and Society

Golo Mann once said, "one can learn more about the mind of the German middle classes in the age of Bismarck from Busch than from many sociological theses" (*History* 235). As the analyses of *Eduards Traum* and *Der Schmetterling* have shown, Busch exposed the difference between "Schein und Sein" (appearance and reality) of his society. The comedy of the picture stories masks his view of the realities that lay behind a facade of "*bürgerlich* domesticity, with its emphasis on decorum, modesty, and manners" (Sheehan 796).

A self-described "Pessimist für die Gegenwart, aber Optimist für die Zukunft" (pessimist for the present, but optimist for the future [B1: 139]), Busch was a keen eyewitness of his time. He observed Germany's industrialisation, perhaps best described as the economic exploitation of technological improvements, causing migration from rural areas to rapidly growing cities in the newly developed industrial regions. He watched the entrepreneurial class come to power, ostentatiously flaunting their wealth, gaining entry into the realm of the privileged classes by marrying into the impoverished nobility. As one observer put it, "Germany did not see the nobility becoming bourgeois, but the bourgeoisie being »feudalized«" (Sagarra 261).[1] The ensuing sociological changes caused a breakdown of the traditional social structures and gave rise to new ones: the newly-rich industrialist whose technological or business savvy created almost instantaneous wealth; the so-called "Privatbeamten," the white-collar workers of the new middle class who became responsible for the organization and management of production as well as the marketing of produced goods; and finally the masses of the industrial proletariat. Uncertain about their own class affiliation, all these groups, as well as those in the traditional class hierarchy, were vulnerable in their existential reality. The old, familiar division of classes and behavioural patterns had become obsolete, so inevitably new class identifiers and boundaries developed, but in these times of social uncertainty, they were not secure enough to defy any part of the written or unwritten societal code.

---

[1]The traditional social structure of nobility, burghers and peasantry had established itself in the late Middle Ages; it entailed a clear division of rights and responsibilities for each group (Fuchs 764-765). This social order was slowly eroded by the combined effects of the teachings of the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution.

What emerged was an overly inflexible clinging to the supposed rules that "defined the form and content of culture for everyone . . . [how] to dress, rear children, express affection, measure success, and enjoy leisure" (Sheehan 801). The 19th century sociologist Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl (1823-1897) suggested that the largest part of the population, the peasants, "in social terms still remained a virtual cipher" (Diephouse 211),[2] the aristocrats had "become nothing but a mere historical fossil, a hoary, antiquarian museum piece" (Diephouse 183), while "the middle classes incontestibly constitute[d] the dominant force of [the] time, both moral and material. [The] entire era [bore] a middle class stamp" (Diephouse 205). As a kind of refuge from external political powers, with whom they had failed to cope during the 1848/49 revolution, many people withdrew to the pretence of an idyllic home life, and the ideals of the Biedermeier period. Order, tranquillity and conformity became the invoked surrogate. This inward retreat can be regarded as an expression of public impotence, and manifested itself through "a spirit of apathy toward all social issues, an unconscionable indifference to public life in any form" (Diephouse 212). Occasional existential fears, brought on by the realization of limited influence on economic trends, were subjugated by means of an increased awareness of status, which gave rise to the "belief that only exams, certificates, official approval, office, titles, orders, in short everything which smacks of state, can confer worth and value" (Sagarra 283).[3] The hallmarks of middle class life, well-structured domestic virtues, diligence and frugality in daily life were cultivated by other social groups "in conscious imitation of bourgeois standards" (Sagarra 254) and became the accepted ideal. Children were taught its "complicated values and habits: How to cook and eat their food, how to dress and behave, how to work

---

[2]Unless otherwise indicated, I quote Riehl from an abridged 1990 translation by David J. Diephouse of Riehl's publication *Die Naturgeschichte des Volkes als Grundlage einer deutschen Sozialpolitik*, a four-volume collection comprised of the separate publications *Die bürgerliche Gesellschaft* (1851), *Land und Leute* (1854), *Die Familie* (1855) and *Wanderbuch* (1869), and revised several times by Riehl during his lifetime. Diephouse advises that "the basis of this translation is the text of the last editions published in Riehl's lifetime, incorporating revisions made by the author during the early 1880s" (19). He also apprises readers of his translation that he took "an ecclectic approach to rendering many characteristic terms, such as »Stand,« »Volk,« and their derived compounds--»Volkstum,« »Volksleben,« »Volksgeist,« and the like--for which no exact English equivalent exists" (20). As such, some of his translations are not as crisp as the German original, as I demonstrate on page 148, note 4.

[3]Sagarra (295-296) and Sheehan (779-780) provide vivid descriptions of the status awareness attached to such titles as "Kommerzienrat" or "Bergassessor a.D."

and relax, how to express or conceal love and hate" (Sheehan 796); adherence to these norms was controlled by the society at large.

Busch's "Konturwesen" (contoured beings [H4: 210]) open a window on that time period. They have all the attributes that identify them as part of the bourgeoisie. The ability to adapt to the demands of their society is demonstrated by their susceptibility to conditioning and conformism. Determined to hold onto their own idyllic haven, their idyll is transformed into chaos at the slightest disturbance, and with realistic penetration Busch depicts the superficiality of this easily destroyed deceptive tranquillity. Thus he exposed precisely those traits that the "Gründerzeit" and Wilhelminian societies employed for self-identification, idyllic pastoralism and genteel behaviour; and a populace that had developed into "ordinary, contented folk who desired nothing more than to be left in peace, and who often had to be mightily provoked before the thread of their patience would snap and drive them to violence" (Diephouse 207).[4] Therefore, the common denominator within all his picture stories is a depiction of weaknesses and pretenses of 19th century Germany, although the portrayal of its shallowness is never obtrusive.

The picture stories are constructed following similar patterns. A portrait of the protagonist is followed by a prologue providing a general introduction to the story. The end of a picture story is given

---

[4]As previously indicated, Diephouse had some difficulties translating Riehl's language. This quote is a good example, as a comparison to the German original indicates: "Spießbürger, die ihre Ruhe liebten und denen man oft viel bieten mußte, bis ihnen der Geduldsfaden riß, und bis sie dann aber auch um so ingrimmiger ihre Schläge austeilten" (Riehl 254). The difficulties of translating German social history writings or writing about German social history in English are compounded by the absence of an English equivalent of the German "Bürger" and its compounds, "Bürgertum," "Kleinbürger" or "Spießbürger." 19th century Germans tended to distinguish between "Bürger/Bürgertum" and "Bourgeoisie," the former term closely linked with traditional ways and conveying the historical sense of rights and duties conferred on a citizen of a town or city (somewhat akin to the "burgher" of England); and the latter being a product of the industrial revolution. Theodor Fontane used this distinction consistently to distinguish between the older and economically weaker groups and the new rich. "Kleinbürger" had associations of "lower middle class," but in their own mind were an established element of the solid citizenry of a state. As such, the conventional translations of "petty bourgeois" or "lower middle class" are insufficient, because they do not convey the notion of self-regard of the "Kleinbürger." Often, this subjective self-importance did not correspond to the actual social or economic position, but it made these people content with their circumstances. It is this disparity between reality and image that Busch alludes to in his picture stories. Finally, "Spießbürger" is a pejorative term for a narrow-minded person who conforms unthinkingly to prevailing middle-class standards and organizes his own life according to the opinion of others. As such, Diephouse's translation of "ordinary, contented folk" for Riehl's "Spießbürger" fails to convey the derogatory intent of the original. There is another problem of translation evident in this particular sentence: For "um so ingrimmiger ihre Schläge austeilten," Diephouse uses "and drive them to violence." The intimation of ire, wrath, furious anger and mad enragement that becomes part of that violence communicated in the original with "um so ingrimmiger" is completely missing in the translation and as such, the translation has watered down the meaning of the original considerably.

to an epilogue expressing bourgeois morals. Within that frame are repetitive episodes that are always variations of the already known in a different shape, whether these are the pranks by Max und Moritz or Tobias Knopp's stations in looking for a wife. Often, a refrain will signal the conclusion of an episode.[5] Gradually accelerating, the story moves from the first impetus for the action that will eventually cause turmoil in the hypocritical, idyllic world, to the description of the invasion of chaos. Detailed portrayals of disruptive elements and how they are overcome retard the plot. Finally an obvious morality is expressed that stresses a general truth, the upset is resolved and the tranquillity of the idyll is restored. Although the principle of repetition could be criticized as redundancy, such criticism would overlook the fact that the various repetitions are necessary to the outcome. Not the individual episode carries the final meaning, but the meaning is in the variation of the repetition, the repeated mechanism of a new start and another defeat. If the individual episode could be explained as unfortunate, the synergistic sum of all episodes embodies the irrefutable and undeniable universal validity of the individual episode. Therefore, the individual experience leads to a universal, general truth. The protagonists in the picture stories follow the same pattern of experiences: An infinite succession of expectation and disappointment. They experience the futility of their actions and understand this only when they are either destroyed or have given up their expectations. However, the cyclical form of idyll-chaos-idyll, whereby the chaotic elements of the individual episodes are repeated so many times that they form a whole, at the same time defuse the chaos; only because the circle is closed can the individual episodes with their depressing and distressing images be narrated. Consequently, the construction also

---

[5]These refrains can vary slightly in their wording from one episode to the next, but are almost like a Leitmotiv. Examples are "Dieses war der erste Streich, / Doch der zweite folgt sogleich." (This was the first prank, / but the second one follows right away.) from *Max und Moritz*; "Helene denkt: Dies will ich nun / Auch ganz gewiß nicht wieder tun." (Helene thinks: This I now / For sure don't want to do again.) from *Die fromme Helene*; "Ach, man will auch hier schon wieder / Nicht so wie die Geistlichkeit!!" (Oh, one again doesn't want to do / What the clerics would like one to!!) from *Pater Filucius*; "Gesagt, getan.--Für Mutter Köhm / War dies natürlich angenehm." (Said and done.--For Mother Köhm / this of course was very pleasant.) from *Der Geburtstag oder die Partikularisten*; "Knopp verfügt sich weiter fort / Bis an einen andern Ort." (Knopp moves right along / To another town.) from *Abenteuer eines Junggesellen*; or "Einszweidrei, im Sauseschritt, / läuft die Zeit; wir laufen mit." (Onetwothree, with lively steps / Time is running; we run along") from *Julchen*. Many of these refrains have become "Geflügelte Worte," familiar or standard quotations in the German language, and are today often used without being attributed to Busch (in print) or without the speaker being aware that s/he is quoting Busch.

provides release. The comedic effect is heightened through generalizing narrator comments, the cool discussion of emotional events, or the supposed outrage. The "comic phenomena come from past conflicts of the ego. The comic enables us to repeat an earlier victory and once more overcome half-mastered fear . . . Hence to laugh, one needs detachment or distance" (Holland 55). It therefore follows that the readers of Busch's picture stories could identify with a character's fears and anger because laughing at the events in the picture stories indicates the readers had been able to transcend those problems that caused the characters in the picture stories to fail. Thus, the readers found their cathartic effect not only in the fact that life is reduced to a "Papiertheater" (paper theatre [H2: 543]) and thereby removed from reality, but also in the "malign pleasure" of "man's delight in man's inhumanity to man" (Holland 45). This compensation of traumatic experiences through fantasy figures minimizes the anxieties besetting the reader. The vicarious satisfaction thus attained was productive for the reader of Busch's picture stories and yet remained critical of society; the paper theatre remained decipherable and could be transposed into the bourgeois of everyday life.

The not-so-ideal World: Social Conduct and Morality

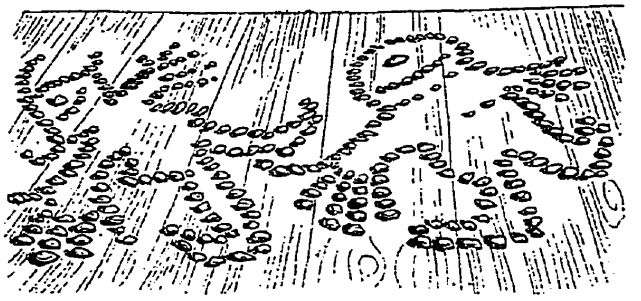
Questionable morality and suspect social conduct are the underlying topics of most of Busch's picture stories. In the most widely known of them, *Max und Moritz*, smug duplicity amongst the supposedly bucolic peasantry is exposed. Acting against a common enemy, the established system, the boys are able to inflict severe, although not lasting, defeats on a composite of the social hierarchy and its various authority figures. Their first target is Witwe Bolte, commanding respect because she is widowed. She is a "gute Frau" (good woman [H1: 345]) and--the story implies--above reproach. Her value system that regards chickens as her "Lebens schönster Traum" (life's most beautiful dream [H1: 348]) and suggests their material loss to be a reason for mourning is questionable and thus her greedy small-mindedness is exposed. Schneider Böck is the next target. His skills made him so popular that "jedermann ihn gern zum Freunde [hat]" (everybody likes have him as a friend [H1: 355]), indicating that

society bases friendships on material considerations. Lehrer Lämpel,[6] the teacher, subject of the next prank, embodies moral authority as the village pedagogue, church sexton and organist. But what kind of respect can this teacher command, whose "größte Freude" (greatest pleasure [H1: 365]) is sitting by the stove in his slippers and puffing away at his pipe? Another target is the boys' uncle, Fritz, whose demands for outward signs of respect foster ritualistic and obsequious behaviour toward a person of superior status. The boys should be "dienstbeflissen und bereit" (zealous and prepared) and always "darauf bedacht, was dem Onkel Freude macht" (concerned about what gives their uncle pleasure [H1: 367]). The aforementioned all represent the village elite, and together with the baker, miller and peasant evoke the extended family structure of a village community.

After the boys keep the upper hand in a number of episodes, the prank in the bakery is the first indication of the establishment gaining control. Max and Moritz, after attempting to steal some sweets,



are turned into loaves of bread and put in the oven,[7] but they escape by eating their way out of the crust. Their instinct propels them to yet another prank, but they are caught by the peasant and taken to the mill to be ground up as grain. The erstwhile victims feel no sorrow; instead, their natural vindictiveness is satisfied and their moral complacency justified. The destruction of Max und Moritz restores order, as is shown in the neat array of pellets the boys were ground into.

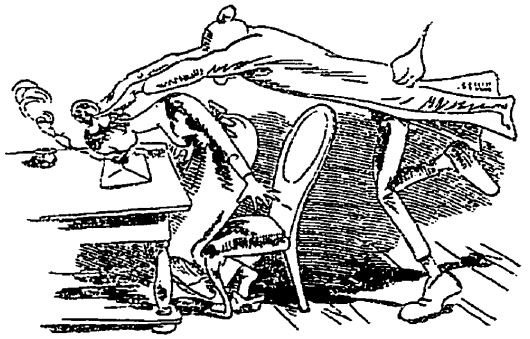


[6]The name "Lämpel" is derived from the German "Lampe" (lamp), thus implying an "enlightened" person, yet the story suggests he is the opposite.

[7]As Busch had said in his autobiography, "such a contoured being easily frees itself from the laws of gravity and is able, especially if it's not pretty, to endure a lot" (compare page 229 of this dissertation). Suspended here from natural law, Max und Moritz survive the fire in the baker's oven. On the other hand, Ueding suggests it to be "eine in den Rückzugsgebieten des Aberglaubens noch Anfang dieses Jahrhunderts übliche Praxis, Kranke oder kränkliche Kinder in Backöfen umzubacken" (still a common practise at the beginning of this century in the retreats of superstition, to place ill people or sickly children in big ovens for re-baking [*Miniature* 78]). In that sense, this action could represent a final attempt of turning the naughty boys into good children.

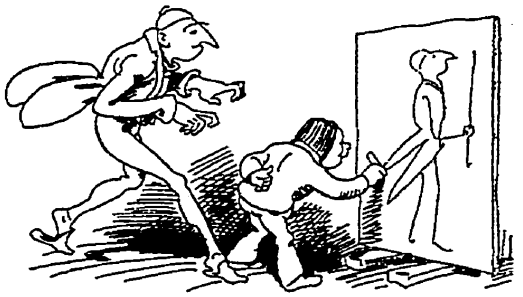
Busch's criticism lies in the villagers' obvious delight at the destruction of the two young trouble-makers. The upright and self-righteous villagers were filled with malice when their possessions or their comfort were threatened, and they strike back ruthlessly when they condone the execution of Max und Moritz, a punishment that is in no relation to the gravity of the committed "crimes." The villagers' actions, however, agree with contemporary pedagogy which advocated that the child is "eine Quelle von Unordnungen, das die Beschäftigungen und Einrichtungen der Erwachsenen verletzt und stört," (a source of disorders that hurts and disturbs adult activities and institutions) and that children create havoc with an "einseitigen, rücksichtslosen Gewalt" (one-sided reckless force [Rutschky 136]). The necessary conclusion for society was therefore that "unter allen Umständen die Gesellschaft gegen Störungen von seiten der Jugend geschützt werden muß" (under all circumstances, society has to be protected from interruptions by youths [Rutschky 139]). This appears to express a fear and distrust of children that could only be eradicated by destroying or ruthlessly subjugating them.

This fear and distrust of children is also shown in *Die fromme Helene*, when Onkel Nolte spies on Helene as she writes a letter to Franz. Reading what she has written about the Noltes' bourgeois life, her uncle's stupidity, her aunt's bickering and their bigotry, he becomes vicious. His (over-re)action of pushing her nose into the hot sealing wax contradicts the assertion that he is pious; rather he is shown



to be cruel and small-minded. Nolte lashes out at Helene in an attempt to remove the truth of what she had written and in that manner hopes to uphold the false idyll of his petty bourgeois life. After first ridiculing Nolte's snooping, Busch declares his attack on Helene as actually reprehensible. Behind the benign facade of genteel and pious demeanour and the proclaimed appearance of high moral values, vindictive and malicious intentions are exposed. Aggressive behaviour becomes visible, suggesting piety and moral affectations to be false appearances, a facade for deceptions of all kind.

The same kind of aggression can be seen in *Maler Klecksel.* Lehrer Bötel viciously attacks young Kuno Klecksel, who has drawn an accurate portrait of his teacher, and wipes it off the board using



Kuno "als Schwamm" (as a sponge [H4: 90]) in order to "wipe out" the truth contained within the image. Kuno avenges this unjustified and savage punishment by setting



off a homemade explosive device under Bötel's window. The implication: Parents or educators instigate childish pranks through unjust(ifiable) behaviour. It then follows that Busch saw the adult world as the evil realm in which children function as corrective devices for the deceptive morality of the adults themselves. But children, in their eagerness to learn, in time adapt to the societal norms and themselves become part of a group whose behaviour and attitudes they once considered dishonest.

Busch's criticism of society is perhaps most visible in *Die fromme Helene*, when Helene turns more and more to religion after her marriage and Busch demonstrates that pious demeanour is a facade for egotistic behaviour.[8] The Christian edict of "Love thy neighbour as you would love yourself" (Gal. 5: 14) is shattered by Helene's class consciousness; on her way to church, she is accompanied by her servant, carrying her song book, and walking the appropriate three steps behind her. The reader is told,

Ein guter Mensch gibt gerne acht,	A good person likes to watch
Ob auch der andre was Böses macht;	Whether the next person is also acting badly;
Und strebt durch häufige Belehrung	And with frequent admonition
Nach seiner Bess'rung und Bekehrung. (H2: 261)	Strives for his improvement and contrition.

This good person pays attention to what his neighbour is doing, and whether his behaviour is possibly worse, or rather as bad as his own. It exposes the false facade of virtue that people like Helene like to

[8]Several applications from "katholischen Kreisen" (Catholic circles [Bassermann letter to Busch dated June 19, 1872]) to have *Die fromme Helene* banned were unsuccessful. The story was never listed on the Index Librorum Prohibitorum of the Roman Catholic Church.

build around themselves. A "good person" like Helene is acting badly? The verse reads "O nein!" (Oh, no! [H2: 260]), but the implication is "Yes!", as becomes apparent in the next sequence showing that Helene is not a devout Christian when she distributes wine to the poor in front of her house. This action creates the impression of a good deed, but that is a false impression. Rather, her doctor had suggested that she bathe in tepid wine, which she then distributes to the poor, a vile and despicable act. The criticism is obvious in the picture that shows a ragged horde of beggars in front of an impressive mansion behind a high privacy wall where Helene and Schmöck reside. The class differences between those inside, "wohlgeborgen" (well secure) and "ohne Sorgen" (without worries [H2: 260]), and those outside are evident in both verse and picture. The people on the inside are so rich and decadent as to bathe in wine, those on the outside are poor and grateful to "auch mal etwas Warmes haben" (have something hot for a change [H2: 263]) when they receive the alcoholic waste. At the same time, Helene is not directly attacked, although no reader could not feel disgusted by this sickening act. By leaving the reader to form his own opinion, Busch does not become the spokesperson for a specific social class; rather he remains the detached observer and chronicler, not judge. He illustrates through the behaviour of his characters that petty bourgeois stiffness and insistence on appropriate societal conduct can be disguises for immoral behaviour.



The shallowness of "political correctness" is demonstrated in *Der Geburtstag oder Die Partikularisten*, seemingly a satire against Particularism, much like the broadsheet *Der Partikularist* that Busch had published earlier in the *Fliegende Blätter*.[9] Although Particularism is the starting point of

[9]A picture sequence against Particularists, a small splinter group within the opposition to the declaration of the German Empire. The Hanoverian Particularists rejected the annexation of their kingdom by Prussia in 1866 and hoped to restore the House of Hanover with Ernst-Augustus, their erstwhile monarch, at its helm. As reactionaries, interested in regaining the old status quo, these "Particularists" became an ideal target for Busch.

the picture story, the satire becomes more general, and the criticism of only the Particularists disappears. The prologue introduces the protagonists. These "gute Menschen" (good people), loyal to the old royal house, regularly meet in their local tavern "zu Milbenau im weißen Pferd" (in Milbenau at The White Horse [H2: 382]) to discuss the fall of the royal house, concluding their meetings with demands to restore the old order. The descriptive name of the tavern alludes to the visual symbol of the loyalists' cause, the "Niedersachsenpferd," the jumping horse of Lower Saxony. The name of the village calls into question whether the residents are really good people: "Milbenau" is a derivation of the German word "Milben" (mites), tiny parasitical or bloodsucking arachnids that infest other species and transmit diseases. The use of dialect underscores the stolidity of the villagers, their inability to adjust to changed times. Meaningless repetitive expressions like "Et blivt nich so! Et blivt nich so!!" (It won't stay like this! It won't stay like this!! [H2: 382]) or "Un dat seg eck! Un dat seg eck!" (And I'll say this! And I'll say this! [H2: 383]) emphasize the rigidity of the villagers' thought processes. The mayor, worried about rebellious attitudes in his village although secretly anti-Prussian also, promotes cowardice in direct contradiction to what his name, "Mumm," implies: "spunk, courage."

The ex-king's upcoming birthday celebration becomes the impetus for presenting him with a gift, thus showing the villagers' continued loyalty to their sovereign. After several aborted efforts of gift-giving, a final attempt calls for a hen made of butter and sculpted by the baker to be given to the monarch "als ein Symbol" (as a symbol) "für treue Liebe und sonsten eingepflanzte Triebe" (for devoted loyalty and other implanted drives [H2: 422]). Busch's contradictory use of "implanted" versus "inborn" shows his conviction that people's motivations are learned from their environment. The inclination to defraud the next person, to enrich oneself at the cost of others is shown in this sequence. The villagers donate as much butter as they can, except Krischan Stinkel, who dilutes the butter he donates with mashed potatoes. Rather than use all donations for the sculpture, the baker sets aside most of it for his own use. The motivating force behind these deceptions--look after yourself first--suggests that self-love is always stronger than "devoted loyalty" for another person. The main criticism, however, is in the baker's

excuse. Declaring the first sculpture to be too big when he notices how little he can set aside, he proceeds to make a smaller one, because



> Da das Ganze ein Symbol,
> So kann's nicht schaden, wenn es hohl. (H2: 427)
> As the present is symbolic,
> It can't hurt it if it's hollow.

Whereas the first sculpture had been of solid butter, the second one is hollow and the baker is able to put aside more butter for himself. With these ironic words Busch exposes the specious self-justification of a person who fools himself and others. The symbol of devoted loyalty becomes a deceptive appearance, and puts in question the supposed loyalty; the meagre, hollow gift is an allusion to the hollow support the Particularists give their dethroned king. The picture story is a depiction of the darker side of ordinary people, be it mayor Mumm's cowardice, Krischan Stinkel's deceptions, or baker Knickebieter's fraudulence. Thus, Busch ridicules the initial claim "Es gibt auch gute Menschen noch" (there are still good people around [H2: 382]) and exposes, much like in *Pater Filucius*, financial greed. In that sense, both picture stories show that societal relations are not founded on a principle of give and take, but much rather on a principle of giving in order to take, first considering one's own advantage. Moreover, stolid attitudes--reactionary, inflexible and unwavering--are uncovered as Busch observed them in his society; these can also be found today. Preconceived notions or opinions are rigid and difficult to break, they hardly change over the course of time and years, political directions or governments.

In a picture story of anthropomorphic character, *Fipps der Affe*, upright bourgeois citizens are contrasted to Fipps, the displaced monkey from Africa, whose "uncivilized" behaviour is contrasted to the socially acceptable contortions of the bourgeoisie. Of the opinion that "die gebildeten, wohldressierten Leute lassen sich nichts merken" (the educated, well-trained people remain aloof), Busch was convinced that in order to depict "was schnell geschieht und mit ursprünglicher Begierde, wird [man] . . . meist Bauern und Tiere in Aktion bringen müssen" (what happens quickly and with natural inclination, one usually has to put farmers and animals into action [B1: 184]). This is demonstrated in *Fipps der Affe*. The

monkey's "Rührig- und Betriebsamkeit" (vigorous and dynamic nature [H3: 276]) in his natural habitat and natural inclinations are juxtaposed to the platitudes of bourgeois civility espousing the superiority of man over animals. Fipps is trapped in Africa, and after some adventures finds a home in Dr. Fink's household. Severe punishment turns Fipps into a "bescheiden, sanft und zahm, demutsvoll und lendenlahm" (modest, gentle and tame, humble and broken-backed [H3: 309]) animal that quickly learns to imitate adults. The process of taming him seems completed when he is given a jacket and trousers as a sign of his civilization. How well he has been educated and trained, including in hypocrisy, can be seen when he benignly "schließet seine Augen zu mit abgefeimter Seelenruh" (closes his eyes with cunning calmness [H3: 317]) after taking revenge on Jette, the nursemaid who had tricked him. His natural inclinations seem to be replaced by the deceptive behaviour that he emulates from his human surroundings.

Busch parallels the intellectually pretentious Klöhn to the African native who had tried to capture

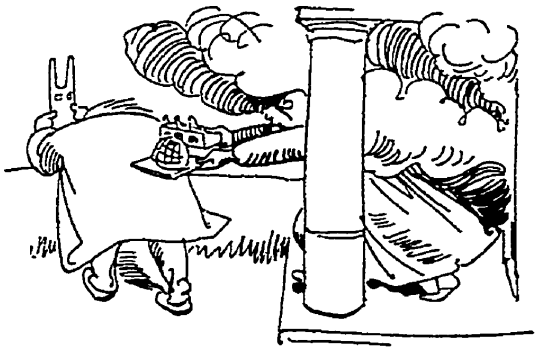


Fipps for food at the beginning of the picture story, when Professor Klöhn[10] claims that everything in nature has been designed to enhance man's supremacy: "Aufrecht stehet er da, und alles erträgt er mit Würde" (upright he stands and endures everything with dignity). The native suffers a painful defeat when Fipps attached his nosering to a tree, but learns his lesson from the incident because he eats only vegetables thereafter. When Fipps hears Klöhn verbally ridiculing him, he fights back by filling Klöhn's hat with ink and glueing his handkerchief. This turns Klöhn's claim that man "endures everything with dignity" into a fallacy when he becomes enraged at the monkey's prank and with only "mäßiger Würde" (mediocre dignity [H3: 340]) makes a quick and undignified exit.

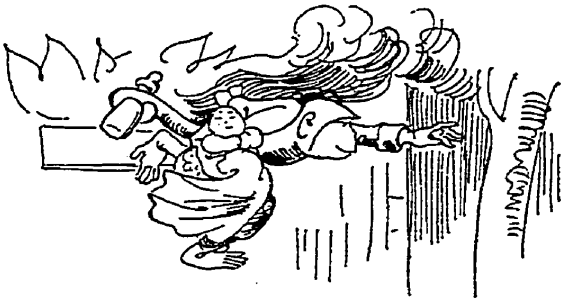
---

[10]The name "Klöhn" is derived from the German "klönen," pejorative "to chatter," or to talk idly, incessantly or meaninglessly.

Perhaps nowhere is Busch's criticism of parenting more evident than when a fire breaks out in Dr. Fink's home and the facade of educated, well-trained superiority crumbles. Dr. Fink's main concern



is to rescue the bootjack, symbol of bourgeois gentility, and his wife's main concern is to bring her mousetraps to safety, symbolic of a tidy household. Not until both are safe, do either think of their sleeping child--who is rescued by Fipps, along with her bottle.



The monkey is the only one acting in a humane manner, he is the caring parent. Busch cynically refers to the Finks as "Vater" or "Mutter" in this sequence, although they clearly don't behave in a parental fashion. Fipps is lionized for rescuing the infant, but his natural inclinations to be "grade so zu sein, wie er eben ist" (just exactly like he happens to be [H3: 348]) cause more unrest when he strips his trousers and jacket (symbolic for stripping off civilization) and indulges in several more pranks, until he is hunted down and killed.

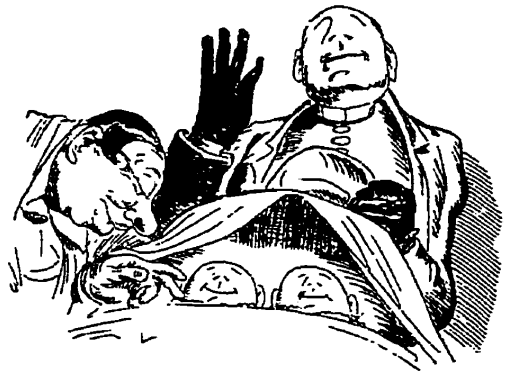
When Busch wrote this story, a vigorous and dynamic nature among enterprising business people was highly regarded, but through Fipps, Busch exposes the complacency of the "also-rans" of the larger population. The message is an important one: High-energy individuals (like Fipps) will be beneficial to society on occasion, but overall, they are not appreciated by that same society, which nevertheless preens itself--and benefits--from their achievements. While high achievers will be lionized for a while, their natural inclinations are too cumbersome for society and their downfall will be welcomed: Hardly anyone sheds a tear when "Fipps muß sterben, weil er so ein Racker" (Fipps must die because he is such a glutton [H3: 357).

Fipps der Affe is a good example of the obliqueness of the messages contained in Busch's word and picture combinations. Disguising more than they directly express, a critical reading cannot overlook

their sharp censure, in this case, Busch's critique of what is deemed socially acceptable behaviour, indefensible pretentiousness, or (lack of) parental care. The picture story also reflects Busch's treatment of the proverb "Undank ist der Welt Lohn" (never expect thanks for anything), which to him was a logical extension of the inherent selfishness of people.

Vagaries of Life: Family and Marriage

The interdependencies of husband and wife in a bourgeois marriage are depicted in *Die fromme Helene*. Her decision to marry a rich industrialist, "ich nehme Schmöck und Kompanie!" (I'll take Schmöck and Company [H2: 252]), reflects the deplorable situation that "unter dem Aspekt ihrer Versorgung war die Ehe die einzige Perspektive der bürgerlichen Frau" (considering her [financial] well-being, marriage was the only alternative for a bourgeois woman [Rosenbaum 340]). When the couple remains childless, Helene resumes her affair with Franz, whom she had known since her youth and who had since joined the clergy. In due time she gives birth to twins. Their facial expressions compared with those of Franz reveal their real parentage and suggest that the priest broke his vows of celibacy. Schmöck, with the broad grin of the proud father fails to notice that he had been cuckolded. And how should he? Busch drew him as the quintessential Philistine, "a burgher who has been duped, a person tricked and bamboozled by every party without ever being aware of it" (Diephouse 213). The fact that he can finally claim to be a father is good enough for him. In a society that considered childlessness to be a "defect" (Rosenbaum 355), this blemish was removed when Helene gave birth to twins and Schmöck's social standing is assured.



This concurs with the contemporary understanding that places a high value on family, "it is the family, not the individual person, that constitutes the prime requisite of social classes, of society as a whole, indeed of national character as a whole" (Diephouse 293). This theme is explored in detail in the

three picture stories making up the *Knopp-Trilogie*: *Abenteuer eines Junggesellen, Herr und Frau Knopp*, and *Julchen*. Tobias Knopp, worried about being past his prime, still unmarried and without children, sets out to look for a suitable bride within his own social class, because "considerations of personal preference play as prominent a role in marriage as do considerations of class and convenience" (Diephouse 275-276). Knopp's search moves through eleven stations, each illuminating possible marital constellations that might be in his future. When he finally finds a suitable bride, the repressive attitudes about what was deemed moral behaviour in the German Second Empire interfere. As a guest in the bride's parents' home, Knopp falls asleep in the library while looking for some bedtime reading material. Waking up the next morning he discovers several females in the room. In the silly hope that he will not be recognized with his nightshirt over his head and a newspaper around his lower body, he tries to leave, but trips and "entblättert sich" (defoliates himself [H3: 72]), effectively ruining his marital prospects with this lapse in "proper" social conduct. Similar to Victorian England, natural behaviour is suppressed by rigid norms. Busch's commentary was on the concept that marriage in middle life was seen as a form of exposure before women and society,[11] and also on the fact that the goal of a bourgeois marriage was a "Verbindung mit einer renommierten Familie, [die das] eigene Ansehen [steigert]" (connection with a renowned family, which would increase his own reputation [Rosenbaum 332]). Unsuccessful in doing so, Knopp returns home at the end of *Abenteuer eines Junggesellen* to marry his housekeeper in direct contravention to societal proprieties which frowned on marriages it considered "unstandesgemäß" (not befitting one's rank [Rosenbaum 336]).



[11]For example, Franz Grillparzer continuously postponed his wedding to Katharina Fröhlich, because he felt his love for her would not survive the physical intimacy of marriage. The repressive attitude toward sexual urges can be seen in the following quote by Friedrich Jahn, "The grave-diggers of domestic bliss are a lack of moderation, deviation from nature, shamelessness, impurity of heart, and a loss of modesty through inhuman curiosity and animal tastelessness." He suggested that if men found it impossible to overcome the urges leading to these deplorable conditions, they should visit brothels which catered to every taste and every pocketbook, or they should take up with one of "an army of desperate young women available for temporary liaisons or long-term exploitation." (Sheehan 541)

The importance of bearing children soon after the marriage as a societal necessity has been shown with the example of Helene and her husband Schmöck in *Die fromme Helene*. In contrast, the second part of the *Knopp-Trilogie* demonstrates the impact of such societal norms on the family environment. *Herr und Frau Knopp*, after transcending the trials and tribulations of marital bliss and marital strife, ends with Knopp achieving his ambition and proving his self-worth when a child is born, as "die Zeugung von Kindern als Beweis von Potenz und Leistungsfähigkeit der Männer galt" (the fathering of children was considered proof of male potency and ability [Rosenbaum 355]). Knopp, "jetzt hat er seine Ruh" (now he can relax [H3: 146]), has reached his goal. He can take on the role that contemporary family structure demands, but that he could not fulfil thus far.



First rejecting the news that the child is "nur ein Mädel" (only a girl), Knopp resigns himself with a "säuerlich" (sour [H3: 149]) smile, a reflection of the low regard that can generally be observed in patriarchally structured societies to the birth of a female child. *Julchen* traces the girl from infancy to marriage and the picture story's underlying message is directed at a bourgeoisie that fashioned their behaviour according to acceptable patterns, most importantly, finding a suitable husband for a daughter. The materialistic motivation behind each action is shown in the reasons why the girl was named Julchen after an aunt, or in the displayed joy at the aunt's arrival:

Unvermutet, wie zumeist,	Unexpected as usual,
Kommt die Tante zugereist.	Aunty arrives for a visit.
Herzlich hat man sie geküßt,	She was warmly greeted with a kiss,
Weil sie sehr vermöglich ist. (H3: 187)	Because a woman of means she is.

The indication that her visits are usually unexpected--and thus would not be well received in most households--reveals that the warm greeting is motivated by considerations of material wealth, not by pleasure of her unexpected arrival. Just like naming the girl after this aunt, the welcome is not spontaneous, but rather calculated behaviour to signal affection in order to ensure an inheritance.

While Julchen is growing up, Knopp's role is limited to "Kosten tragen" (paying the expenses [H3: 176]). His actual worries begin in the chapter entitled "Vatersorgen" (worries of a father). Julchen is at a marriageable age, but Knopp objects to the inadequate social standing of three suitors. The fourth, Fritze, would be welcome "einfach bloß als Mensch genommen" (simply taken as a person [H3: 179]), but the materialistic consideration that Knopp would have to "ganz bedeutend zu[zu]schießen" (contribute quite considerably [H3: 180]) financially to the household is a deciding factor against him. However, when Knopp catches Julchen with Fritze in the garden shed, he barely hesitates and concedes his daughter: An illicit rendezvous that ended in chaos wins the bride. Fritze, who was best able to camouflage his real self behind an agreeable facade from a young age, had demonstrated his persistent readiness to cheat for his own gain. Conversely, the other three suitors, less deceptive and less hypocritical, suffer by losing. The message is clear: False behaviour will win out; congenial appearances deceive. With Fritze and Julchen's wedding the marital responsibility of reproduction has been passed on to the next generation. Knopp "hat seinen Zweck erfüllt" (had served his purpose [H3: 204]), and literally shrivels up and dies. The trilogy thus centres around procreation of the human species as the most important element of existence within the artificial conditions of a pretended, only external and feigned morality.[12]

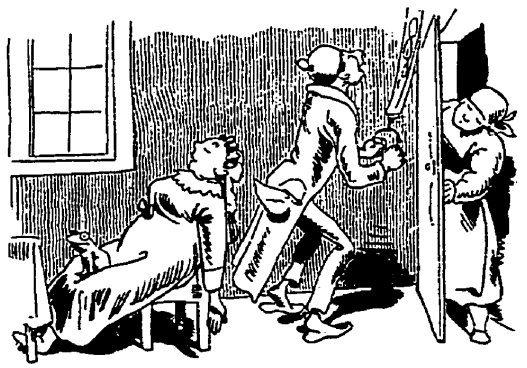
Another element of family life that Busch commented on was that servants had an important role in maintaining peaceful tranquillity in bourgeois homes: "Mindestens ein Dienstmädchen [war] ein unverzichtbarer Bestandteil eines jeden bürgerlichen Haushalts" (at least one servant was an inalienable part of each bourgeois household [Rosenbaum 341]). Knopp, by marrying his servant, had created a problem. The series of maids who replace Frau Knopp in her former role embody typical concerns. The first is the target of Knopp's attentions and causes his wife's jealousy; the second is fired for unhygienic habits;

---

[12]Busch became heavily involved in beekeeping in the 1850s, and this led him to read Darwin's works "mit Leidenschaft" (with passionate enthusiasm [H4: 210]). His treatment of both these interests can be seen in the picture story *Schnurrdiburr oder die Bienen* (1869), and Darwin's influence in *Fipps der Affe* and also the *Knopp-Trilogie*. Darwin had published a summary of his theory of natural selection in 1858; a year later his monumental work *Origin of Species*, which detailed the structure and support of his theory of organic evolution in plants and animals, appeared.

the third for using Knopp's toiletries. Knopp, meanwhile, has to pitch in to grind coffee, polish boots, and milk the goat. Humiliating because menial, these chores must have seemed doubly disgraceful--and therefore comical--in the 19th century, because such tasks were considered "women's work." As such, it may be no surprise that Knopp strikes back. He rejects the meal his wife has prepared and goes out to get gleefully drunk, thus upsetting the peaceful idyll of their marriage.

The family idyll is also destroyed in *Die fromme Helene* when a frog that Helene's visiting Vetter Franz has placed into his uncle's tobacco jar ravages the breakfast table and finally jumps onto Tante's lap. The tranquillity at the breakfast table collapses, which metaphorically causes the entire "Spießbürger" world to do the same. Onkel and Tante are ridiculed in the drawings. She faints and he



is incapable of dealing even with this minor issue. Instead, he looks foolish grabbing the bellcords with both hands to call for the maid. Servants were responsible for the smooth running of the household, and as such, for the peaceful existence of the bourgeoisie. Once gone, as the Knopp example has shown, the idyll is quickly disrupted.

The Power of Discipline: Education

Busch not only uncovered societal immorality, but also illustrated the educational system that from his point of view perpetuated this behaviour. The laws enacted by Bismarck giving the state control over the school system required that the "Volksschule" (public school) prepare students only for practical life within family, trade, church and society. Central to the curriculum were religion with six lessons weekly, reading and writing with twelve, arithmetic with five lessons and singing with three lessons, not dissimilar to Busch's own experience in the village school prior to his private schooling: religion with five lessons weekly, reading, writing and reciting with fourteen, arithmetic with four lessons and singing with three (Strecker 128). In appropriating an important part of the socialization process

from the family, community and church, the state was in a position to influence children at a critical stage in their development, but Busch alludes to the flaws of the educational system, regardless of whether one applies Rektor Debisch's method of moral admonitions,

Das ist Debisch sein Prinzip:	Debisch's principle is this:
Oberflächlich ist der Hieb.	Flogging only mars the skin.
Nur des Geistes Kraft allein	Only mental force alone
Schneidet in die Seele ein. (H3: 29)	Can cut down to the soul.

or Meister Druff's method of physical punishment:

Druff hat aber diese Regel:	Master Druff however has this rule:
Prügel machen frisch und kregel	Caning gets the student lively
Und erweisen sich probat	And that is especially true
Ganz besonders vor der Tat. (H3: 30)	In advance of any deed.

Neither appealing to the child's intellect, nor flogging "in advance" prevents children from acting out their instincts and playing pranks; therefore, both methods are equally unsuccessful.

Magister Bokelmann, who applies yet another technique in *Plisch und Plum*, also fails. He tries to convince his two charges of the social prestige and material gains to be had with a good education, and of the potential to avoid unpleasant situations with politeness:

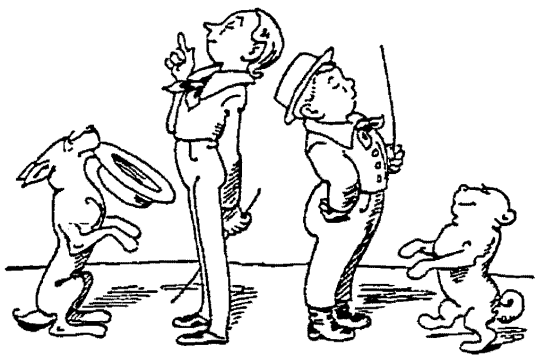
Zum ersten: Lasset uns fleißig betreiben	First of all: Let's study hard
Lesen, Kopf-, Tafelrechnen und Schreiben,	Reading, writing, 'rithmetic,
Alldieweil der Mensch durch sotane Künste	'Cause only with these special skills
Zu Ehren gelanget und Brotgewinnste.	Can man have honour and bread-winnings.
Zum zweiten: Was würde das aber besagen	Second: But what would all that be
Ohne ein höfliches Wohlbetragen;	Without good mannerly deportment;
Denn wer nicht höflich nach allen Seiten,	As he who isn't all-round pleasant,
Hat doch nur lauter Verdrießlichkeiten.	Has only bags of irks and bother.
Darum zum Schlusse--denn sehet, so bin ich--,	That's why in conclusion--see, that's how I am,
Bitt ich euch dringend, inständigst und innig,	I implore you, sincerely, strongly, profoundly,
Habt ihr beschlossen in eurem Gemüte,	If you've decided in mind and soul,
Meiner Lehre zu folgen in aller Güte,	To follow my teaching very kindly,
So reichet die Hände und blicket mich an	Then stretch out your hands and look at me squarely.
Und sprechet: Jawohl, Herr Bokelmann! (H3:500-501)	And say to me: Yessir, Herr Bokelmann!

His lessons of cause and effect suggest that the goals of bread-winning and honour cannot be attained with the "special skills" alone; instead, "good mannerly deportment" and kowtowing are even more

important. The two boys, however, only pay heed to Bokelmann's lessons after he reinforces them with the predictable flogging. Concurring with contemporary pedagogy that "education and discipline are one and the same thing" (Diephouse 304), discipline was reinforced by means of flogging, and thus the benefits of conformity and the drawbacks of straying from expectations were promoted. This societal "Dressur" (training [B1: 184]), as Busch called it, was advocated in the educational handbook *Enzyklopädie des gesamten Erziehungs- und Unterrichtswesens* (1887), where it says,

> Der Gegenstand der Zucht ist der sittliche Wille in der Ungleichmäßigkeit, Schwäche und Verkehrtkeit seiner Lebensäußerungen. Der Wille des Kindes muß gebrochen werden, d.h. es muß lernen, nicht sich selbst, sondern einem andern zu folgen. (Rutschky 377)
> The purpose of discipline is the moral will within the irregularity, weakness and wrongness of its aspects of life. A child's will must be broken, i.e., it must learn not to follow itself, but someone else.

The utilitarian thinking of the Enlightenment had been transformed into something that considers only the "useful" advantages of disciplining--the destruction of the individual in order to become an acquiescent member of society. That the boys have learned their lesson well and adapted to society is shown when they beat their dogs into submission just like they were beaten by Bokelmann. The virtual



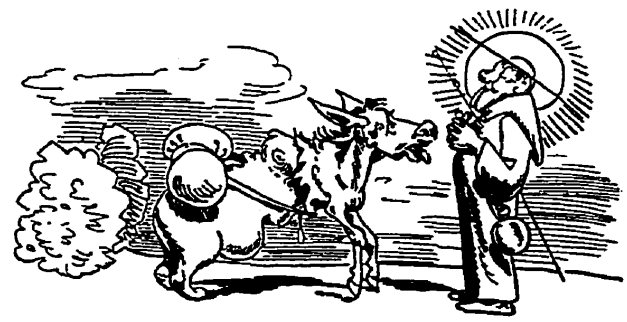
sameness of "Hundedressur" (training of dogs) and "Kindererziehung" (educating of children) is striking. The German "Männchen machen" for a dog to sit up on his hind legs also has the pejorative meaning "to grovel." For mastering this skill, boys and dogs are soon "allgemein beliebt" (generally well liked) and the results are similar for both,"auf die Kunst folgt der Profit" (skill is followed by profit [H3: 507]). The dogs are sold and rewarded with an easy life as pets of an eccentric Englishman, and the boys--successfully camouflaging their instilled willingness to defraud--profit exorbitantly from the sale. Thus, Busch again illustrated the hypocritical pretense of conforming to societal norms in order to be successful.

Unholy Temptations: Religion and Polemics

The hypocrite who hides his selfishness behind the image of a good Christian is unmasked in *Der heilige Antonius von Padua*, but without questioning his religious belief. This picture story raises questions about the infallibility of a church representative, here a Catholic saint, of which Busch said, "in protestantischen Anschauungen aufgewachsen, mußte es mir sonderbar erscheinen, daß es im Ernste einen wirklichen Heiligen, einen Menschen ohne Sünde geben sollte" (having grown up with Protestant notions, I was bound to find it odd that a true saint, a man without sin, could really exist [B1: 56]). The picture story claims to show how Antonius "litt und stritt und triumphierte--Kurz!--ein christlich Leben führte" (suffered and argued and was triumphant--In short!--lived a Christian life [H2: 77]). It moves from the early hypocrisies of Antonius's "Christian life," who, as a child circumvented the period of fasting by feasting on those dishes that were not forbidden--various kinds of sweets--and demonstrates that joining the monastery was not a religious calling but a means to an end. In fact, he was looking for a safe haven after being found in his beloved's bedroom by her husband. This is a man whose insincerity, duplicity, selfishness and ability to use flattery and deception as means to further himself result in canonization. The bishop performing the ritual is himself a sinner because he contravened the rule of celibacy. He presents his resulting boy-child as a deaf-mute orphan, but when the boy speaks to disclose his parentage, the bishop interrupts him and Antonius is canonized for the miracle of giving speech to a mute. The rituals of the church become a facade. Because Antonius understood the necessity of maintaining this facade (and keeping the bishop's secret), the canonization became a bribe to ensure his silence. The message is obvious: Even the most hypocritical person can advance precisely because of his hypocritical behaviour. Embracing Antonius's model as correct, the church honoured him for his dishonesty, duplicity, and flattery.

This criticism at the centre of the picture story is not repeated, but the double standard of Christian moral principles, brotherly love and compassion, is exposed when Antonius embarks on a pilgrimage with a donkey carrying his luggage. According to Busch, the sequence follows the legend of Saint Corbinian (B1: 57) in which a bear devours the donkey. Busch's intent is seen in Antonius's

behaviour during the donkey's struggle. He stoically waits, twiddles his thumbs and stays out of things until he can turn the situation to his benefit. When the bear takes on the role of pack animal and is able to carry twice as much as the donkey, Antonius





sadistically overburdens him. His comment on the bear's complaints shows indifference:

> Das hilft ihm aber alles nit,
> Wir kümmern uns nicht drum. (H2: 118)
> It does him no good, does that,
> We don't pay attention.

With the inserted pronoun "wir," the royal "we," reader and narrator are implied to be in cahoots with the immoral Antonius. In this manner, Busch points to the reader's own indifferent and ignorant behaviour and suggests that Antonius is really a type of Everyman. In the end, most people are not unlike Antonius, ignoring despicable conditions, rather than getting involved.

Antonius's finely-tuned skills at turning a situation to his benefit are again confirmed when he becomes a hermit. In a variation of his childhood behaviour when he sidestepped the rules of fasting, he interprets the action of a wild pig routing in the earth to uncover truffles and a spring as signs from heaven, and vows never to separate from the animal. Both die, arrive at the gate of heaven at the same time and are invited inside by the Queen of Heaven:

Willkommen! Gehet ein in Frieden!	Welcome, come inside in peace!
Hier wird kein Freund vom Freund geschieden.	We do not separate friend from friend.
Es kommt so manches Schaf herein,	So many sheep gain admittance here,
Warum nicht auch ein braves Schwein!! (H2: 136)	Why not a worthy pig as well!![13]

[13]The translation of "a worthy pig" for "ein braves Schwein" is incomplete. The secondary meaning contained in the German is roughly translated with the colloquial English "poor bugger." In the above translation, both meanings cannot be conveyed in English by using just one term.

It was mainly on the basis of the double entendre contained in "ein braves Schwein" that the book publisher was indicted for publishing blasphemous materials.[14] However, Busch was able to establish that Anthony of Padua was the patron saint of animals and point to various religious writings and legends as sources for his story. The publisher was thus acquitted and the satirical double meaning of the closing line remained. Busch stressed that "das Heilige, welches allen christlichen Religionen gemeinsam, ist nirgends berührt und angetastet worden" (the truly sacred, which is common to all Christian religions, has not been touched nor encroached upon [B1: 57]); rather, he exposed the ability to twist any given situation to be beneficial, and showed that the compliance that gives Antonius the saint's halo directly makes a hypocrite.

When *Pater Filucius* was published in 1873, the "Kulturkampf" between state and church was intense. Wanting to build on the success of Busch's previous works, Bassermann wrote to him saying, "ich weiß, daß man Dir nichts vorschlagen darf, allein Papst, Infallibilisten, Jesuiten und Mucker sind jetzt die Ziele, auf welche sich alle Blicke richten, und Pfeile, welche nach diesen Zielen fliegen, werden mit Beifall begleitet werden" (I know that you don't like suggestions, only the Pope, supporters of [the Doctrine of Papal] Infallibility, Jesuits and sycophants are the targets everybody eyes these days, and the arrows aimed at those targets will be accompanied by approval [qtd. in Burger 28]). Busch took up the suggestion and created *Pater Filucius*.[15] Inasmuch as the story exploits a contemporary topic for the purposes of selling copy, it is an exception in Busch's oeuvre. Although always keen on good sales, Busch never before or after involved himself so directly in the issues of the day.

Filucius, a Jesuit priest, is a rogue and swindler who plans several crimes to satisfy his financial greed, remains unsuccessful and is chased away. The laws expelling Jesuits from Germany were passed in July 1872; as such, the picture story conformed with current affairs and could be regarded as a one-sided political pamphlet. Still, contrary to Busch's deprecating remark that it was an "allegorische

---

[14]Compare page 80, footnote 49 of this dissertation.

[15]Compare page 84, footnotes 53 and 54 of this dissertation.

Eintagsfliege" (allegorical nine-day wonder [B1: 92]), he also alluded to the story's timeliness by suggesting its time period to be "Vergangenheit, Gegenwart, Zukunft" (past, present, future [B1: 95]). The collaboration of Petrine and Pauline, the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches, in their jealousy of the relationship between Michael, the German Empire,[16] and Angelika, the state church, clarifies that Busch is not caricaturing only one church, but the fears of both the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches at the potential loss of power if a state church was to gain a foothold. Moreover, polemics against Jesuits were not new. Johann Fischart (1546-1590) had been convinced they came from the devil, "sie sind seine Brut . . . ihr Name wird . . . als Verdeutschung von Antichrist gedeutet (they are his brood . . . their name is defined as a Germanism of Antichrist [XLI]), and Johann Caspar Lavater (1741-1801) characterized them with "Biegsamkeit, Einschmeichlungskunst, künstliche Beredsamkeit, Übung im Schweigen und Verstellen" (flexibility, skill at ingratiation, artificial eloquence and experience in silence and deception), whose distinguishing physiognomic features included "beinah immer große, meist gebogene und vorne scharfknorpelige Nasen" (almost always large Roman noses, usually hooked and strongly cartilaginous at front) and "beinah immer große, nicht fette, aber rund vorstehende Kinne" (almost always large, not fat, but roundly protruding chins) and "immer fast etwas zusinkende Augen" (always almost slightly drooping eyes [268]). This description fits Busch's Filucius exactly. Assisted by Petrine (the Roman Catholic Church), Schrupp the dog, representing ultramontane newspapers, Inter-Nazi and Jean Lecaq, who are international and French social democrats, Filucius is the instigator of all assaults as he attempts to gain possession of Michael's wealth.



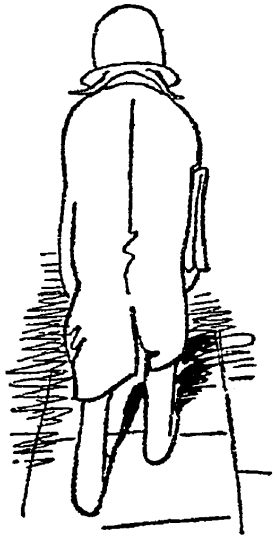
In the end, Inter-Nazi, Jean Lecaq, Schrupp and Filucius are chased away, and empire and state church come together in the marriage of Michael and Angelika which is the classical "happy ending" of

[16]Gottlieb Michael is shown as superior to Filucius. The contrast of the "deutsche Michel" as the "weltfremde, unpolitische, etwas schlafmützige Deutsche" (unworldly, unpolitical, somewhat dopey German [Duden]) to Filucius, whose name is the Latinized form of the French "filou" (crook, cheat, swindler) seems to underscore the slant of the story.

a farce.[17] A "Tendenzstückerl" (tendentious piece [B1: 273]), created for commercial considerations and taking advantage of the current political climate, probably could not end any other way, but the record of social and religious aberrations by an overly zealous man of the church nevertheless remains a timeless social commentary.

Obstructed Culture and Exploited Art

In his last two picture stories, *Balduin Bählamm, der vehinderte Dichter* and *Maler Klecksel*,[18] Busch satirizes his own professions and provides a commentary about how the creation and reception of art was perceived in the "Gründerzeit."



Balduin Bählamm is the story of a bourgeois male office clerk, married with children, who hopes to find happiness as a writer.[19] In search of this goal he journeys into the countryside, but returns home disillusioned and prepared to resume his clerk job. Parallels can be seen to Peter in *Der Schmetterling*, who also set out to find his happiness away from home. The prologue sets the tone. It compares a poet's activity of daily writing to a farm woman's ordinary skill of making butter and implies the conclusion that just like the farm woman offers her wares for sale, "der Lyriker bringt seine

[17]A state church never did exist in Germany, although a control of church by the state was the stated target. Notwithstanding the merger of the Protestant and Calvinist Churches in Prussia, the goal of a state church was anticipated. This is evidenced by Wilhelm II, who liked to be portrayed as the foremost patron of a European State Church and who went on a trip to Jerusalem to promote the concept. Today, the impression of state controlled churches may exist in Germany because "church taxes" are collected by the Tax Office. In fact, these are not taxes at all, but a levy the Tax Office collects on behalf of a religious society. German Basic Law entitles all religious societies that are deemed public bodies to authorize the Tax Office to collect these levies, whereby the authorization must be provided for each state separately. At present, the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant Church avail themselves of that service in all German states, and other religious societies that are deemed public bodies may have funds levied in some states but not in others.

[18]The name "Bählamm" invokes the mindless bleating of little lambs, but can also be associated with the German "blähen," the colloquial "to puff oneself up." The name Klecksel is derived from "Klecks," meaning "blob" or "blotch" and indicative of sloppy workmanship, suggesting Maler Klecksel's ability to create art to be limited.

[19]Lotze suggests that "twenty years before Thomas Mann's *Tonio Kröger* Busch dealt with the theme of the bourgeois who strayed off into art" (*Busch* 87). In contrast, Kraus sees a specific vilification of epigonic writers of the "Gründerzeit" (*Selbstzeugnisse* 101) in *Balduin Bählamm*.

Gefühle zum Markt wie der Bauer seine Ferkeln" (the lyricist takes his feelings to market just like the farmer his piglets [H4: 546]). Thus, writing poetry is implied to be purely functional, and the finished poem is compared with a consumer product.

Trying to find the right setting to be creative, Bählamm encounters many obstacles that prevent him from putting pen to paper.[20] He decides to overcome his writer's block by travelling to the countryside, where he believes that "Ruhe herrscht und Friede waltet" (quiet reigns and peace prevails [H4: 23]). This unrealistic and distorted view of the village as a perfect idyll is alluded to ironically upon his arrival when he observes the farmer enjoying his pipe while standing on his "trauten Düngerhäufchen" (cozy little manure pile [H4: 31]). Completely caught up in his bucolic expectations, Bählamm rhapsodically "schwelgt im Sonnenuntergang" (revels in the sunset [H4: 32]). The picture shows this idyllic scene, flowerpot on the sill, and Bählamm poised to begin writing. But the pastoral mood is interrupted by the cow's mooing and the "Macht der rauhen Töne" (power of the rough sounds [H4: 33]) intrudes into the idyll. The artistic muses are disturbed, the poet's masterpiece again delayed, just one of the numerous distractions that again prevent Bählamm's artistry,[21] all of which suggests that turmoil, not harmony, is the natural state.





Busch's message is that serenity is seldom, if ever, to be found. More than inspiration is required for a work of art to be completed; hard work, not dissimilar to the process of making butter,

---

[20]These are in turn: He wants to sits down on a park bench to write, but they are all taken; the waitress in the tavern distracts him; a friend joins him in the tavern; his wife reminds him to pay some bills; his children want to play.

[21]These distractions are in turn: The strapping girl Rieke Mistelfink mucking out the goats' barn; a cow mooing in the window and throwing a flowerpot off the sill; various pranks by the farmer's son; a bug crawling in Bählamm's ear while he is lying on the meadow; a bird singing in the tree under which he is sitting, and then defecating on him; the beginning rain; flirting with Rieke, but she slaps his face when he becomes too forward; pursuing a rendezvous with Rieke in the goats' barn, but instead being attacked by a goat; a toothache and visit to the dentist, who pulls his tooth.

is a necessity. Whether at his home where he dressed "mit Joppe sich und Samtbarett" (himself with jacket and velvet beret [H4: 17]) or in the country, Bählamm never moved beyond the preliminaries of sharpening his pencil and outfitting himself with the accessories he considered to be a poet's necessary adornments,

Ein Hut von Stroh als Sommerzier,	A straw hat as a summertime frill,
Ein Dichterkragen von Papier,	A poet's collar made of paper,
Das himmelblaue Flattertuch,	The sky blue handkerchief,
Der Feldstuhl, das Notizenbuch,	The folding stool, the journal,
Ein Bleistift Nr. 4 und endlich	A number 4 pencil and finally
Das Paraplü sind selbstverständlich. (H4: 24)	The umbrella are all obvious.

This is Busch's attack on the bourgeoisie's superficial grasp of the essence of poetry. Outfitting Bählamm with some adornments to make him a writer could be parallelled to outfitting a plain sentence with meter and rhyme to make it a poem and then rejoice at its sensory nature. Like other Busch characters, Balduin Bählamm was doomed to failure. He thought he could control his environment, and had to learn that he had no power over external forces which prevented him from realizing his dream. But his failure is not adaptation due to force, rather it is manifested in his attempt to give a world of societal norms and constraints art. Busch suggests that while the desire to create art may be genuine, the terminology attached to art by society is illusory and false. His criticism is thus directed less at the Bählamm figure, and more at the bourgeoisie, who want to imbibe what they consider high-brow culture from the morning papers "zum Frühkaffee mit frischen Brötchen" (with their morning coffee and freshly baked rolls [H4: 9]), or at spurious admirers--unable to tell art from dabble--who let public success guide their own feelings:

Und daß du so mein Herz gewannst,	And you only won my heart like that
Macht bloß, weil du so dichten kannst!! (H4: 10)	Because you write in verse, just so.

Balduin Bählamm is more than the story of a "bourgeois who strayed off into the art" or an attack against the Epigonism of the "Gründerzeit;" it is directed at a society that had subjugated art to personal gain, to "provide a fitting image of status and importance" (Mommsen 125). This theme of associating with art not for art's sake, but for reasons of social or material benefit, was much more elaborated in *Maler Klecksel*.

Maler Klecksel is someone who adapts to present circumstances and due to lack of talent, diligence and commissions gives up his dream of being a painter.[22] Instead, marriage to an heiress launches a complacent bourgeois lifestyle and Klecksel becomes the same kind of "Spießbürger" he abhorred earlier. The suggestion to a young Klecksel to take up painting, "vielleicht verdienst du was dabei!" (perhaps you'll earn something that way! [H4: 84]), is sound business advice because it reasons that painters are the most rewarded as their work embellishes life. Klecksel's taking that advice is proof that his actions are driven by his desire for fame and wealth, not by inclination. That same materialism is illustrated in society's perception of paintings:

Hier gibt die Wand sich keine Blöße,	There is no wall that bares itself,
Denn Prachtgemälde jeder Größe	Because beautiful paintings of any size
Bekleiden sie und warten ruhig,	Dress it up and quietly await,
Bis man sie würdigt, und das tu ich.	Until they're appreciated, and that I do.
Mit scharfem Blick, nach Kennerweise,	With a keen glance, like an expert,
Seh ich zunächst mal nach dem Preise,	I first look at the price,
Und bei genauerer Betrachtung	And then upon closer contemplation
Steigt mit dem Preise auch die Achtung. (H4: 83)	Esteem rises with the price.

Regarded primarily as part of interior decorating to adorn bare walls or as a trophy to proclaim the owner's wealth, feigned appreciation of paintings rises with the price tag. This launches Busch's commentary of the "superficial and pseudo-idealistic salon culture of the Gründerzeit" (Mommsen 129) where

ästhetisch durchgeglühte[n] Tanten	aesthetically aglowing biddies
Durch Reden bald und bald durch Lauschen	By talking now and listening then
Die Seelen säuselnd aus[zu]tauschen. (H4: 82)	Purringly exchange their souls.

Satirizing the trivial small talk of salons or art exhibits, Busch calls attention to the affected genteel "purring" of those "biddies," only to contrast it acoustically to a loud concert, which presumably can be good entertainment for less "aesthetically aglowing" people. With ironic accuracy he depicts the atmosphere in the opera, concert hall or theatre:

---

[22]Several researchers (e.g. Lotze, *Busch* 87; Pietzcker 52; Kunzle, *History* 279; Wessling 170-174) suggest that both *Balduin Bählamm* and *Maler Klecksel* contain autobiographic elements. This position is usually based on the fact that Busch gave up his career plans to be a painter.

Man sitzt gesellig unter vielen	One socially sits amongst many
So innig nah auf Polsterstühlen,	So intimately close on upholstered chairs,
Man ist so voll humaner Wärme,	One is so filled with humane warmth,
Doch ewig stört uns das Gelärme. (H4: 83)	But the racket is incessantly disturbing.

The double entendre in "humane warmth" is another example of Busch's incongruous use of language. The reader associates "warmth" in the theatre, created by the tightly packed human bodies, with often uncomfortable heat. The word "humane" is less associated with the literal meaning derived from "human" as person, than with the figurative meaning of compassion and human dignity. By meshing human dignity with purely physical warmth, Busch exposes the idea of "human dignity" as a fallacy. Further, the orchestra's "Grunzen, Plärren und Gegirre" (grunting, whining and cooing [H4: 83]) led by conductor "Zappelmann" (Jumping-Jack) precludes conversations amongst the theatre goers whose need to talk turns theatre visits into "occasions for general social interaction" (Mommsen 127). The criticism targets the hollow pathos of a society that was supposedly devoted to the arts and considered a "Loge im Theater" (box in the theatre [Rosenbaum 342]) a necessity, but was in truth only interested in self-exhibition. The noise of the music must then be an "incessant disturbance," because it causes "die rechte Unterhaltung nur ungenügend zur Entfaltung [zu kommen]" (a proper conversation to develop only insufficiently [H4: 83]).

A similar criticism is expressed in the prologue to *Die fromme Helene*, in which a "fromme Sänger" (pious minstrel) laments about increasing moral corruptness. The minstrel sees himself as the upholder of high moral standards, but it is quickly apparent that he--while haranguing everything and everybody--is doing nothing to effect change. Here also, Busch relied on his language structure to satirize aspects of society:

Schweigen will ich von Konzerten,	I'll say nothing of those concerts,
Wo der Kenner hoch entzückt	Where the expert most delighted
Mit dem seelenvoll-verklärten	With the soulfully entranced
Opernglase um sich blickt; (H2: 204)	Opera glasses looks about;

The intentionally wrong association of "soulfully entranced" with "opera glasses" points to the expert's eye. The relation of the compound adjective (soulfully entranced) to the dative object (opera glasses),

rather than the nominative object (expert) creates a comical effect and stresses the voyeur's glance, the expert's eyes, who is "soulfully entranced" while ogling the plunging necklines in the audience, as becomes clear in the next verse:

Wo mit weichem Wogebusen,	Where with softly heaving breasts,
man schön warm beisammen sitzt. (H2: 205)	folks sit together nice and cozy.

Maler Klecksel reflects not only Busch's bleak view of his society, but also his conciliatory attitude toward its shortcomings. Living in any society, one has to adapt. In captivity, birds must have their wings clipped; similarly, humans--as part of a society--are moulded to conform to its conventions. In the end, Klecksel becomes one of the bourgeois citizens. Rehabilitated, the erstwhile renegade is "blessed" with the same (im)morality that had earlier driven him to despair.[23] His former adversaries partake in his social advancement, "false friends," whose philistine and materialistic world view draws them together as acquiescent members of society, content within the narrow confines of their bourgeois world, and Klecksel, the one-time social contrarian, readily gives up his dream of being an artist for the materialistic comfort of a bourgeois life.

Enigma Unmasked

The picture stories discussed above are examples of how Busch saw and related to his society. Hypocrisy, materialism and the resulting selfishness, hostility or indifference to others that are the topics of *Eduards Traum* and *Der Schmetterling* are masked in the picture stories. Humour camouflages the harsh realities of a world in which only people like Maler Klecksel know how to survive. The comedic and humorous blanket enfolding the social criticism in the picture stories is lifted if the picture stories are read after the messages in *Eduards Traum* and *Der Schmetterling* are deciphered. Busch's cryptic language either clarifies his intention, or is a commentary from his position as observer, or creates a

[23]Examples of these annoyances are: His friend Gnatzel had skilfully avoided any situation that might give Klecksel an opportunity to ask for a loan; Klecksel had been provoked to pouring varnish over the sleeping Quast who had deprived him of food; Klecksel's livelihood had been threatened when his art was degraded by the art critic Dr. Hinterstich.

comical effect because of the discrepancy of language and the truth in the explicit drawings. His utopian hopes that people may find compassion and morality within the confines of domestic limitations and restrictions, as delineated by Peter in *Der Schmetterling*, were caught up in the contradiction of "Nichtwollen, Ruhe wär' das Beste" (not-wanting, peacefulness would be best [B1: 144]) and "der Wille ist Kraft . . . [und] lebt, so lang er will" (the will is energy . . . [and] lives as long as it wants [B1: 144]). This contradiction, peacefulness equated with immobility and desire or will equated with activity, is the impetus in the picture stories. The artificially achieved tranquillity, an idyllic world, is displaced by ever new and renewed activity and agitation, resulting from people's drive to improve, enrich or aggrandize themselves. Because Busch had internalized an ideology of the unalterable malevolence of humankind, he did not advocate change, but embedded his criticism of society's inner workings in hyperbole and satire. Not politically motivated, his depiction of scenes from the family environment allow an extrapolation to the broader social environment and the collective identity of the conforming mass of his contemporary society, obsequious to the mightier and tyrannical to the weaker, thereby perpetuating the power of authority and further manifesting the impotence of the individual. Through the conduct of his "Phantasiehanseln" (imaginary ninnies [H4: 210]) Busch destroyed idyllic dream worlds. He exposed greed, false piety, smugness, arrogance, bigotry, narrow-mindedness and dilettantism as the results of a society perverting interpersonal relationships. In doing so, he demonstrated that petty bourgeois righteousness and the proliferation of wickedness are close neighbours, prompting Thomas Theodor Heine to declare that "ich weiß keinen Vorgänger, dem es gelungen wäre oder der auch nur versucht hätte, in so knappen Strichen das Leben einzufangen" (I know of no predecessor who was successful, or who had even attempted to capture life with such clean strokes [34]).

Busch's contemporary bourgeois readers kept up their own pretense by reducing the satirical mirroring of their existence to humorous fiction, and their laughter at the messages within Busch's picture stories was "a social signal to other members of the group that they can relax with safety" (Holland 43). In that manner Busch's contemporary society freed itself from its own embarrassment,

people "felt that he saw through them, but in a way they liked" and they "derived never-ending pleasure" (Mann, *History* 234) from his picture stories.

Busch's progressiveness, and his historical importance, result from his far-reaching and far-sighted ironic way of looking at his surroundings. It is a larger-than-life ironic depiction of imaginary ninnies, smaller-than-life counterparts of his contemporary surroundings. Bourgeois moralities and educational tenets, sanctimony and righteousness created the facade that mirrored hypocritical societal conditions. Busch saw the contradictions within his society, which had sprung from increasing industrialization, the subsequent displacement of people and intensification of class differences with the eyes of an idealist. Rather than reflect or analyse the underlying causes, however, he chose to blatantly magnify the realities he saw, without glossing over sordid or unpleasant truths.

5. Influences and Legacy

Busch moved from studying engineering to art, then evolved from caricatures and parodies beyond broadsheets in *Die fliegenden Blätter* and *Münchener Bilderbogen* to picture stories, a hybrid genre perfected by him in the 1870s, and finally to a type of prose, which also combined visual and literary components. In this manner he moved from social commentary of an excerpt of life (in the broadsheets) to an entire phase of life (in *Max und Moritz*), then to complete life stories (in *Die fromme Helene* or *Tobias Knopp*) and finally to more general commentaries in the prose. He aimed his pen at the smug self-righteousness and hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie to expose the timeless conflict between self-assertion and a safe but repressive environment. There is no doubt about the truth of his often stated claim "zuerst das Bild und dann erst das Wort" (first the picture and only then the word [B1: 66]) to define the process of creating his works, and if Busch has attained a "Shakespeare-Webster-and-the-Bible sort of household stature in German-speaking countries" (Arndt 2), then this is primarily due to the picture stories. To understand this evolution, one first has to look at the conditions that enabled him to publish this type of work.

The ripples of the Paris July Revolution of 1830, triggered by censure, voting restrictions and demands for constitutional reform, had far-reaching consequences across the entire continent. In its wake, German interest in public affairs steadily increased and many young (literary) intellectuals, believing themselves to be a successor generation that stood at the end of one era and at the beginning of another, gradually changed the aesthetically inspired literature of classicism and romanticism with its detachment from reality to a literature with realistic political and contemporary implications.[1] It was in

---

[1]The main representatives of this new concept were Heinrich Heine (1797-1856), Ludwig Börne (1786-1837), Karl Gutzkow (1811-1878), Ludolf Wienbarg (1802-1872), Theodor Mundt (1808-1861) and Heinrich Laube (1806-1884). Ironically, it was the authorities that gave these writers their collective identity of "Junges Deutschland" (Young Germany) when a series of laws banned their works in 1835, their publishers were prosecuted and in 1837 a law was passed that prohibited even the mentioning of these writers' names. The legal justification declared that this "literary school openly attempted, in belletristic works accessible to all classes of readers, to attack the Christian religion, undermine the existing social order, and destroy all discipline and morality" (qtd. in Sheehan 579). Although never a literary school or even a movement, these writers still belonged together because of their common discomfort with traditional culture and social values. They saw classicism and romanticism as an escape from the challenges of the present into the comforting illusions of antiquity and aimed to make their writings an effective tool for societal or political progress as cosmopolitan literature.

this mood of cultural change and public involvement that the satirical journal *Die fliegenden Blätter* was founded in Munich in 1844 by Kaspar Braun (1807-1877) and Friedrich Schneider (1815-1864).[2]

Humoristic reviews of daily affairs, political satire and social criticism, but also sentimental novellas and poetry without any satire were the content of the first years. Among many artists freelancing for the journal, Moritz von Schwindt (1804-1871) and Hermann Dyck (1812-1874) were the primary satirists next to publisher Braun, while Carl Spitzweg (1808-1885), Franz Graf Pocci (1807-1876) and Eduard Ille (1823-1900) were best known for their idyllic treatments. Political satire became the main focus for a short time after the March Revolution in 1848 with its demands for a German national unity, a constitution and freedom of the press. Public interest in daily affairs waned after the revolution's failure, and *Die fliegenden Blätter* changed from political satire and assertive social criticism to a "lächelnde Gesellschafts- und Menschheitskritik ohne politischen Akzent, hinter der aber oft ein großer Lebensernst stand" (smiling criticism of social affairs and interpersonal relations without political overtones, behind which, however, was often a serious statement about life [Zahn 13]), a much more benign social commentary without the aggressive bite of the "Vormärz" period. This reflected the political indifference of a large portion of the population and their withdrawal to an unpolitical lifestyle.[3] The concept of integrating droll drawings with three or four lines of text had long been established, but a somewhat unusual operating method contributed to shaping *Die fliegenden Blätter* into a kind of window into its time: Ideas for content were taken from about 1,500 to 1,600 letters to the editor received monthly. These letters often dealt with popular resentments of authority. The publishers Braun & Schneider decided which of these topics their pool of freelancers should put into artistic form. In many cases, a

---

[2]Other than *Die fliegenden Blätter*, the most important humoristic-satirical journals in Germany were *Kladderadatsch* in Berlin (beg. 1848) and *Düsseldorfer Monatshefte* (beg. 1847). Satirical journals had been established in England (*Punch*, 1841) and France (*Le Caricature*, 1830; *Le Charivari*, 1832) and are reflective of the changing *Zeitgeist* throughout Europe. In 1848 Braun & Schneider began the publication of the broadsheets *Münchener Bilderbogen* in loose sequence, often re-publishing here a particularly popular picture sequence from *Die fliegenden Blätter* but also using new material.

[3]This political withdrawal was humoristically ridiculed in the "Auserlesene Gedichte von Weiland Gottlieb Biedermaier," published in *Die fliegenden Blätter* between 1854 and 1857, and which later were to give an entire epoch and lifestyle its name.

kind of naive innocence was displayed in these portrayals that--without directly verbalizing it--pointed to the many different injustices of the world, all as outlined in the letters to the editor.

It was this atmosphere that Busch entered when he began his work for *Die fliegenden Blätter* in 1858 and its sister publication *Münchener Bilderbogen* in the following year. Kaspar Braun gave Busch commissions with specific thematic guidelines, and initially Busch was only required to furnish drawings to text done by other writers. However, he soon began to supply both drawing and text himself, beginning with *Aus dem Rathausener Tageblatt* (FB#706), at first only occasionally, but then more and more frequently.[4] Largely following Braun's thematic guidelines, Busch honed his graphic art skills and perfected his style of writing, first providing prose, later verse.[5] The mandated format for the *Münchener Bilderbogen*, six to twenty drawings per broadsheet with a brief caption for each picture, soon became his preferred medium. At this stage, a shift took place that would set Busch's work apart from other works in *Die fliegenden Blätter* or the *Münchener Bilderbogen*. While the illustrations had so far been used to elucidate the text, it became apparent that in Busch's works the drawing became the central focal point and text was used to elucidate the picture. Thus, his broadsheets were accompanied either by a short prose caption (e.g. *Rache ist süß*, FB#775; *Unbewußte Kunstkritik*, FB#776; or *Klassischer Weisheitsspruch*, FB#780 [H1: 48-49]), by no text at all (e.g. *Die Maus oder Die gestörte Nachtruhe*, FB#783 [H1: 50-55])[6] or by a verse caption (e.g. *Der Frosch und die beiden Enten*, FB#841 [H1: 103-109]). A comparison of these works clearly shows Busch's evolution from the style dictated by Braun & Schneider to a style in which the illustration is not secondary to the verse. Thus he took the

---

[4]Busch provided drawings for other people's texts as late 1863 while at the same time providing work that comprised both text and illustration.

[5]The other artist who adjusted perfectly to the stringent guidelines of the journal was Adolf Oberländer (1845-1923), who could literally be considered the journal's "artist-in-residence" because he lived for decades on the third floor of the publishing house. It is frequently claimed that his drawings "eine ernsthafte Kulturgeschichte seiner Zeit scherzhaft illustrieren" (comically illustrate a serious cultural history of his time [Zahn 15]). Other noteworthy artists that joined the journal in the 1860s were Emmanuel Geibel (1815-1884) and Victor von Scheffel (1826-1886).

[6]This sequence was re-published in the *Münchener Bilderbogen* in 1862 (MBB#10) with a prose text that was not Busch's.

Münchener Bilderbogen format and developed it into a style all of his own that would become the picture stories in which illustration and verse interact and complement each other within a frame of verse prologue and epilogue as first introduced in *Max und Moritz*.

Historical Background

Although *Die fliegenden Blätter* and *Münchener Bilderbogen* had given Busch a starting point, they were not the only influences on his early career. Busch was familiar with traditional mythology as well as handed down sayings, legends, stories and fairy tales; he relied on these to develop some of his own works. Sources and motifs he used can be traced to Greek Mythology (e.g. *Diogenes und die bösen Buben von Korinth*), the legends surrounding Charlemagne (e.g. *Eginhard und Emma*), *Till Eulenspiegel* (e.g. the first and third pranks in *Max und Moritz*), Grimm's Fairy Tales (e.g. *Hänsel und Gretel*), and sixteenth century farces or shrovetide plays by Hans Sachs.[7] Requested to provide illustrations to Karl Kortum's *Jobsiade*, he shortened Kortum's work and added new chapters, so that in Busch's treatment parallels to the original can scarcely be found. For this project, he studied copperplate engravings by Daniel Chodowiecki (1726-1801), whose influence can be seen in Busch's *Bilder zur Jobsiade*.

Friedrich Bohne may have been correct in describing the painter and engraver William Hogarth (1697-1764) as one of Busch's "künstlerischen Ahnen" (artistic ancestors [*Leben* 31]). Hogarth became known in eighteenth century England for moralizing picture sequences containing considerable social criticism, but without the accompanying meshing of picture and word.[8] Furthermore, Busch's abrupt

---

[7]The most convincing and complete study about Busch's treatment of traditional topics is still the 1910 publication by Otto Felix Volkmann, *Wilhelm Busch der Poet. Seine Motive und seine Quellen.* More recent publications reiterate Volkmann's results without adding substantial new information. A 1988 study by Michael H. Schwibbe, *Das Bild der Frau bei Wilhelm Busch. Ein inhaltsanalytischer Vergleich zu Bilderromanen, Schwänken, Märchen und Sagen,* provides a summary of comparisons of Busch to others that have been made in the secondary literature.

[8]Hogarth established himself as a satirist of English manner and customs with the series *Modern Moral Subjects* beginning in 1731 with *A Harlot's Progress* and culminating in 1735 with *A Rake's Progress*. Other series of engravings (*Marriage à la Mode, Beer Street and Gin Lane, The Four Times of Day, Four Prints of an Election*) similarly comment on moral follies.

change of perspective, hyperboles and contoured drawings, the interconnectivity of his pictures rather than independent illustrations in what has been described as "Vorwegnahme späterer filmischer Mittel" (anticipating later film techniques [Ueding, *Miniature* 255]), differentiate him from Hogarth.[9]

Many researchers consider Busch a "Nachgeborener [Heinrich] Heines" (descendant of [Heinrich] Heine [Bohne, *Geist* 71]), and it is true that disillusioning poetry with a surprising punch line can already be found in Heine's versified stories and some of his poetry. Busch likely learned from him. Much like Heine, Busch also used trochaic metre, colloquial language, unusual syntax and onomatopoetic devices, but the verse and picture combinations of the picture stories evidence a substantial detachment from Heine.

Also worth noting is the parallel between Georg Christoph Lichtenberg's *Aphoristik* and Busch's "Sprikker" and other aphoristic couplets. Goethe's suggestion about Lichtenberg, "wo er einen Spaß macht liegt ein Problem verborgen" (wherever he makes a joke there is a problem hidden [*Maximen* 848]), could equally well apply to Busch. However, the description of Lichtenberg's aphorisms as "amusing, sharply witty, or even sarcastic, of penetrating insight, frequently of didactic intention" (Craig 130) also points to the most distinct difference between Lichtenberg and Busch. In accordance with Busch's statement, "Wer mal so ist, der bleibt auch so." (He who happens to be that way will remain like that [B1: 160]), his aim was to reflect societal realities with astute humour and perceptive irony, but without sermonizing, that is, without didactic intent.

Two obvious influences are also the most controversial and merit closer attention. In the 1830s Rodolphe Töpffer had experimented with a combination of text and pictures that he called "littérature en estampes" (literature in [copperplate] pictures), and in 1847 Heinrich Hoffmann published *Struwwelpeter*, a children's book that in its layout is comparable to *Max und Moritz*.

Rodolphe Töpffer (1799-1846) was a Swiss artist, educator, author and teacher, who developed humoristic picture novels in 1827 and published the first of them, *L'Histoire de Monsieur Jabot*, in

---

[9]Another graphic arts influence may have come from Honoré Daumier (1810-1879), whose politically motivated caricatures in *Le Charivari* and *Le Caricature* had strong elements of social criticism. Not only a caricaturist, but also a sculptor and painter, he experimented with intense dark-light contrasts and sketchy outlines.

1831. His picture novels then enjoyed a wide distribution in the 1840s and were published in oblong albums, each page containing one to seven differently sized pictures. Sometimes, the prose caption referred to one picture, and at other times it covered several pictures. The text ranged from very short captions (three words) to several paragraphs; as a result the picture was sometimes the predominant feature and at other times the text was predominant (see illustrations 7a-b). Busch claimed in 1887 that he only knew of Töpffer "von Hörensagen" (from hearsay [B1: 284]). Notwithstanding this assertion, it is highly probable that Busch saw Töpffer's work in the 1840s when it was widely available and Busch was being educated by his liberal minded uncle and had access to the Ebergötzen innkeeper's collection of books. As such, a comparison of these two artists, so similar in style, is appropriate.[10] An essay by Karl Riha stresses the influence of Töpffer on Busch's early work:

> Im Frühwerk Buschs . . . sind Spuren Töpffers leicht zu entdecken. Ähnlich wie die Bildromanhelden des Schweizers entwachsen die ersten Karikaturen . . . der kritzligen Improvisation, die auf physiognomische Treffer aus ist, formen sich zu 'Partnern' aus, die die Phantasie anregen und ein Eigenleben zu führen beginnen, und entwickeln sich auf diesem Wege zu Akteuren von Erzählhandlungen. (190)
>
> Traces of Töpffer are easily recognizable in Busch's early works. Similar to Töpffer's picture novel protagonists, the first caricatures grow from . . . a scribbling improvisation which seeks to draw attention with physiognomic details, they are refined into 'partners' that stimulate one's imagination and begin to take on a life of their own, and in this manner develop into participants in a narrative action.

The stylistic similarities between Busch and Töpffer, which in turn are quite different from their contemporaries, were described in Vischer's discourse "Über neuere deutsche Karikatur":

> Beide sind gleich wunderbare Meister der unendlichen Geschicktheit im Ungeschickten der Zeichnung . . . Beide Humoristen setzen ihre unzulänglichen paar Punkte und Striche just so zum beabsichtigten Ausdruck genügend, als könnten sie, wenn sie wollten, vollendete Meisterwerke in völliger Durchführung aller Mittel der Malerei schaffen, und daß man doch wieder--so grundnaiv erscheint jene Armutseligkeit--eine solche Vermummung für rein unmöglich hält.
>
> Both are equally marvellous masters of the infinite dexterity within the clumsiness of a drawing . . . Both humorists place their insufficient few dots and lines just so to be sufficient for the intended expression, as though they could, if they wanted, create masterpieces using all methods of painting, and yet again--that's how very naive such bliss of sparseness appears--one would consider such a disguise to be downright impossible.

---

[10]Some researchers declare Töpffer to be a direct predecessor of Busch (e.g. Novotny, Hochhuth, Riha). Others accept Busch's claim and reject the idea of a Töpffer influence (e.g. Kraus, Pape). Most, however, sidestep the issue.

With this "very naive bliss of sparseness" both Busch and Töpffer cultivated a style of drawing that inspires cartoonists to the present day and that caricaturists often still employ, whether it is Peter Gaymann, Robert Gernhardt or Charles Schulz. Rightfully so, Vischer recognized satire in this style, not idle doodlings:

> Töpffer begleitet die Bilderreihe einfach mit leicht ironischem Kommentar, Buschs Text ist komisch auch für sich, nimmt ganz naiven Schein an . . . also Text ganz dem drolligen Zug des Zeichners entsprechend. Töpffer ist satirischer. (315)
> Töpffer simply accompanies the picture sequence with a slightly ironic commentary, Busch's text is funny in itself, takes on a very naive appearance . . . in other words the text completely corresponds with the funny drawing. Töpffer is more satirical.

As such, Töpffer's irony about destructive elements in social or political life is quite open, whereas Busch's satire is oblique, calamities are portrayed as comical, and his "Kunst zeigt [uns], wie weh [der Ernst in der Sache] tut" (art shows us how painful the seriousness of the matter is [Vischer 317]).

This leads to a comparison of Töpffer's and Busch's targeted audiences. Töpffer began by developing little picture novels "aus einer Laune heraus, in ganz primitiver Weise zum eigenen Vergnügen" (giving in to a mood, in a very primitive way for [his] own pleasure [Riha 185]). His first published printing was limited to fifty copies and only the second printing was directed at a larger audience. Busch, for all his claims that most of his works were created for "Selbstpläsier" (his own pleasure [H4: 151]), was published in *Die fliegenden Blätter*, which had a large circulation; as such, his works were widely distributed from the beginning. However, Töpffer's picture novels cannot be dismissed as purely private entertainment either. His 1845 *Essai de Physiognomonie* provides his theoretical considerations and clarifies the intentions of his "literature in pictures:"

> One can write stories with chapters, lines, words: that is true literature. One can write stories in pictures and successive scenes: that is literature in pictures . . . Literature in pictures has its own advantages: the richness of detail permits an extremely concise mode of expression . . . It also has the unique advantage of somehow being understood intuitively and as such be of extreme clarity . . . For these reasons literature in pictures, which critics don't consider and of which scholars know little, has great influence in all epochs, and is perhaps more effective than the other literature, because aside from the fact that there are more people who look than people who read, literature in pictures primarily speaks to children and the populace, that is, two classes of people who can most easily be corrupted and of whom it would be most desirable to educate them

> morally . . . In effect literature in pictures with its unique advantages of greater conciseness and relatively greater clarity could surpass the other literature that otherwise is its equal. This is because it speaks with greater animation to a larger audience and because he who attacks immediately in a fight will conquer him who speaks in chapters . . . Finally, the line drawing is incomparably advantageous when it, as in a picture story, serves to provide quick and successive images which only have to be lively and amusing and which, as links in a chain, often only remind of ideas, like symbols or rhetorical figures in a speech, and are not integral chapters of the subject. (1-2, 9)[11]

This positive assessment of a pictorial narrative suggests that "literature in pictures" is a new medium that developed as a hybrid of other art forms. It is this hybrid that Busch developed further and popularized, although his argumentation was different:

> Man lacht, wenn man Andere in Verdrießlichkeiten und kleinen Malheurs bemerkt, wenn man ihre Verstellung, ihre Pfiffigkeit, ihre Einfalt durchschaut; denn da fühlt man sich verhältnismäßig so wohl und gescheidt, daß es ein rechtes Vergnügen ist. (B1:264)
> One laughs, when one notices other people involved in irksome matters or little mishaps; when one sees through their disguise, their cuteness, their simple-mindedness; because then one feels relatively good and clever, so that it's a real joy.

These remarks by Töpffer and Busch show their different approaches. Therefore, while it may be true that Busch did not study Töpffer consciously, he can indeed be considered an intellectual forerunner. The creation of "literature in pictures" as a new medium was imminent: Hoffmann's *Struwwelpeter* was published in 1847, Busch's *Die kleinen Honigdiebe*, in text arrangement and drawing style still very close to Töpffer, followed in 1859. Six years later, 1865, Busch published *Max und Moritz* with versified text and an even more abbreviated drawing style.

Both Hoffmann's *Struwwelpeter* and Busch's picture stories in many ways combine the broadsheet tradition with the tradition of minstrel songs or broadside ballads; as such, a comparison seems obvious.[12] Heinrich Hoffmann (1809-1894), a physician in a Frankfurt lunatic asylum, wanted

---

[11]The source for this quote is a 1980 German publication that includes a German translation and an "autographically reproduced" copy of an 1845 handwritten copy of the French original. Töpffer's entire essay has been translated into English and published in Ellen Wiese's *Enter: The Comics* (Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1965).

[12]If one considers that Hoffmann's *Struwwelpeter* has been widely published since 1848, and that Busch's picture sequence *Trauriges Resultat einer vernachlässigten Erziehung* (1860) is a recognized parody of *Struwwelpeter*, it would stand to reason that the question whether Busch was influenced by Hoffmann is answered. Indeed, Pape, Novotny and Ueding (among others) accept this premise, yet others (Kraus, Lotze and most early researchers) reject it.

to give his toddler son a picture book for Christmas. However, he considered the drawings in the books that were available for purchase to be too realistic; rather he believed a naive, childlike clumsiness to be more suited to a book for children. So, he created the writings and drawings of the now famous *Struwwelpeter* stories.[13]

Both Busch and Hoffmann used picture and verse combinations to describe naughty children who are drastically punished for unruly behaviour. Busch and Hoffmann both used onomatopoetic devices in their verse and placed the protagonists into situations that presupposed a metamorphosis (Max and Moritz into loaves of bread; the Suppenkaspar into a stick man) or a complete dissolving (Max and Moritz into grain; Paulinchen into ashes). But whereas Busch's story is about seven pranks by two boys, *Struwwelpeter* is a collection of ten individual stories. Hoffmann's stories (except the one-picture "Struwwelpeter" story) follow the same pattern: An exposition (the protagonist is introduced by his nickname), accelerated action (the protagonist "mis"behaves), peripeteia (the protagonist is confronted with an authority figure or the immediate results of his action), finally an epilogue that describes the catastrophe and the final results for the protagonist. All of Hoffmann's protagonists accompany their infractions with motoric disquiet (jumping, skipping), for the Zappelphilipp this restlessness is an infraction in itself. The message to the child-reader is to always behave well, expectations were for restraint and good behaviour; rationality and logic; absolute acceptance of adult based authority; absolute obedience; and quiet, because parents may not be disturbed. These ideals reflect the requirements of the bourgeoisie, and the precisely formulated behavioural guidelines represent "ein Bürgertum, dem es

---

[13]The original manuscript was published in 1845 as *Lustige Geschichten und drollige Bilder von Reimerich Kinderlieb*. The "Struwwelpeter" figure, today the obvious symbol of the book, was on the very last page and held a secondary position. Changes were made in subsequent editions and only beginning with the fifth edition in 1848, the number and sequence of the various stories was established as we know it today, and Hoffmann began publishing the picture book under his own name. Hoffmann's precursor to the *Struwwelpeter* image was Paul Gavarni's lithograph *Un enfant terrible* (1840), which shows the main features of Hoffmann's protagonist, overly long hair and fingernails. This lithograph was intended as a caricature of advertisements for "unfailing" products to induce hair growth. Gavarni's caricature was copied by German lithographers, as A. Kneisel's *Industrielles Wunder der Jetztzeit* (1843) evidences. It contains the caption: "Abbildung eines Knaben, der über ein Büchschen mit haarwachsender Loewen-Pommade, oder ein Fläschchen mit Schweizer-Kräuter-Oel geraten ist" (illustration of a boy who stumbled across a tin of Loewen hair-cream or a bottle of Swiss herbal oil). This caricature as well as advertisements for hair growth were frequently featured in the *Intelligenz-Blatt der Freien Stadt Frankfurt*, to which Hoffmann subscribed (see illustration 8).

im wesentlichen nur noch um formale Disziplin und Unterwerfungsbereitschaft geht" (a bourgeoisie, whose fundamental concern was about formal discipline and willingness to subjugation [Könneker 142]). Hoffmann was intent on leading a child to these virtues and gave this explanation:

> Das Kind lernt einfach nur durch das Auge, und nur das, was es sieht, begreift es. Mit moralischen Vorschriften zumal weiß es gar nichts anzufangen. Die Mahnung: sei reinlich! sei vorsichtig mit dem Feuerzeug und laß es liegen! sei folgsam!--das alles sind leere Worte für das Kind. Aber das Abbild des Schmutzfinken, des brennenden Kleides, des verunglückenden Unvorsichtigen, das Anschauen allein erklärt sich selbst und belehrt. (qtd. in Könneker 14)
>
> A child simply learns through the eye, and only understands those things he sees. He doesn't know in the least what to do with moral rules. The admonition: Be neat and tidy! Be careful with the lighter and don't touch it! Be obedient!--all those are meaningless words for a child. But a picture of a mucky pup, a burning dress, the misfortunes of the reckless, just looking at this is self-explanatory and instructive.

Thus, the principle underlying the *Struwwelpeter* stories is the didactic intention:

> Setzet den launenhaften Kundgebungen seines [des Kindes] Willen nur physische Hindernisse oder solche Strafen entgegen, die als Folgen seiner Handlung zu betrachten sind, und deren es sich bei gegebener Gelegenheit wieder erinnert. (qtd. in Könneker 167)
>
> Counter the expressions of his [the child's] will only with physical obstacles or such punishments that can be considered a result of his action, and which he remembers when the opportunity arises.

Hoffmann's goal was to educate children with his *Struwwelpeter* and to enforce a strict upbringing to bourgeois ideals, which to him could only be possible through severe and immediate punishment of even minor infractions. A child begins reading the stories with the warning, "Wenn die Kinder artig sind" (If the children are behaved), then it will be rewarded. Thus, the converse cause-and-effect mechanism of "if you don't--then" is also inferred. Busch uses satire. Whenever his stories deal with the problem of educating, the pedagogue or educator is defeated by the "natürliche Bosheit des Menschen" (natural human evil [B1: 157]) and Busch accepts this evil as unchangeable. In contrast to Hoffmann, who attempts to discipline this evilness, Busch's works are directed at that which pretends to be something it is not: hypocrisy. Hoffmann's perpetually raised index finger as a warning signal is completely missing in Busch's work. Thus, although there are similarities between Hoffmann's *Struwwelpeter* and Busch's *Max und Moritz*, the main difference is in the authorial intention. Hoffmann wanted to educate, his

stories were to be a deterrent. Busch depicted the world the way he saw it, without any didactic intent.[14]

Busch's picture stories have been received by a much larger audience than either Töpffer or Hoffmann. If his picture stories still appeal today, this is in part because his figures evoke sympathy, and in part because the illustration was Busch's starting point; as such, the stories became visual and easy to read. This concurs with a comment Busch made about his approach,

> Daß sie zunächst gezeichnet und dann erst geschrieben wurden, also die Anschaulichkeit, mag wohl eine von den Ursachen ihrer weiten Verbreitung sein. (B2: 186)
> That they were drawn first and only then written, in other words their visualization, may be one of the reasons for their wide distribution.

Influence on American Comics

The suggestion that Busch was a trailblazer of the modern comic strip, that Busch's work "strengthened the link between text and graphic" (Gordon 8), has come to be generally accepted in comic strip literature, although no studies exist that prove this connection beyond anecdotal references. Busch's *Max und Moritz* and his subsequent picture stories as narratives containing sequential stories, recurring characters and told in interdependent pictures and text fulfil most of the requirements that define a comic strip: "The narrative in the strip is not conveyed visually, but is expressed in both pictures and words.

---

[14]Both books are generally classified as stories for children, and both books have been read by generations of children in Germany. If the intent of literature for children is to familiarize them with their surroundings or with reality, then neither *Struwwelpeter* nor *Max und Moritz* is suitable. However, *Max und Moritz* has some other advantages. The expressive gestures and mimicry of the figures in the illustrations, the simple and funny language of the verses, the fantastic story lines and the unusual ideas of the protagonists challenge and stimulate a child's imagination. There is no didactic intent: A child's cognitive capacity is such that he cannot recognize a didactic parody, if that is what is intended. This could only be recognized by adult readers. Children merely recognize the exaggeration in the funny depiction of the actions. They classify the pranks and the punishment of *Max und Moritz* as unrealistic and as such are able to regard the story as funny. In contrast, *Struwwelpeter* has a didactic intent, with the stated goal of adapting a child to conform to society's demands. The reading child can relate to the depicted stories from his own experience, but he cannot recognize the transfer from reality to exaggeration within the stories: The figures in the *Struwwelpeter* stories have no opportunity to develop their own initiative, or if they do, are punished for it. This punishment at times is exaggerated, as in the "Geschichte vom Daumenlutscher," but it raises fear in the child reading the story because he knows about the supposed infraction--thumb sucking--from his own experience. A certain distance precludes a complete identification, but because all stories are taken from a child's daily life, a partial identification is possible. Parents, when buying *Struwwelpeter*, were hopeful of a positive influence on their child, and were also secure in their authority over their child. While it is possible to exaggerate the influence and impact of a story, it must be considered that they are interdependent with the entire upbringing the child experiences. Reading *Struwwelpeter* will not inevitably provoke fear, subjugation and moral cowardice, but it is a good example of a children's book that is imbued with nineteenth century moral ideas.

While emphasis may be given to one of the dual aspects of the strip over the other, the interest most often shifts back and forth, according to the demands of the action or the needs of characterization and atmosphere" (Horn, *World* 1: 9).

Already during Busch's own lifetime, via casual plagiarism, imitations of his picture stories were distributed to a wide audience in Britain and North America. Busch's *Max und Moritz* inspired the creation of the first recurring English comic strip hero, *Ally Sloper* by Charles Henry Ross in 1867, which displays "unmistakable borrowings of Busch motifs" (Kunzle, *History* 322). The American satirical journal *Puck* shortly after its founding in 1877 plagiarized freely from the *Knopp-Trilogie*; and two years later almost the entire *Fipps der Affe* story.[15] *Schnedderedengg*, a German language weekly launched in New York in January 1873, printed *Pater Filucius* in its March and April issues, without giving any credit to Busch.[16] An early Franklin Morris Howarth comic strip also shows Busch's influence. Howarth was a pioneer of American comics alongside with Richard Felton Outcault, Rudolph Dirks and Frederick Opper. Howarth's comic strip *The Revenge of the Persecuted Baker* appeared in *Judge*, another American illustrated humour magazine combining social humour with sharp-edged political cartoons, on July 11, 1891. This strip, in which "two naughty boys steal pastries from an overladen baker, who eventually gets his revenge by lacing his goods with coal oil, reworked Busch's theme in *Max und Moritz*" (Gordon 22). Adaptations of Busch's *Max und Moritz* were also used in advertising: The sewing thread company "Clark's O.N.T. Spool Cotton" of Newark, New Jersey, as early as 1879 published an advertising pamphlet directed at children, entitled *The Adventures of Teasing Tom and Naughty Ned* (see illustration 9). It was inspired by *Max und Moritz*.

---

[15]On September 19, 1877, *Puck* printed twelve drawings from *Die Knopp Trilogie* and new text with the title *Teutonic Courtship*. *Fipps der Affe* was copied with the title *Troddledums, the Simian* between August 13 and October 8, 1879. Several other plagiarisms of Busch's works appeared intermittently between 1877 and 1894.

[16]March 27, April 10 and April 24, 1873, pp. 8-9 in each case. *Schnedderedengg* also printed Busch's *Ein Abenteuer in der Neujahrsnacht* (1863) under the title *Der Sylvesterabend* in the January 5, 1874 issue; *Der Katzenjammer am Neujahrsmorgen* (1863) as *Der Morgen nach der letzten Carneval-Sitzung* on March 9, 1874; drawings from *Der Partikularist* (1870) using the title *Freuden und Leiden eines Demokraten* and captions referring to American politics on March 3, 1877; and two more drawings from *Der Partikularist* under the title *Zur Situation* commenting again on American politics on April 14, 1877.

The new medium "comic strip" evolved in the United States during the 1890s as a result of fierce competition between the newspapers of Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst. Pulitzer used a Sunday supplement as a showcase for his newspaper, the *New York World.* To attract readers and increase circulation, the *Sunday World* included coloured sections with reproductions of fine art, fashion drawings, society illustrations, news pictures and cartoons. Cartoons were copied from *Puck, Life, Judge* and other journals, reprinted from overseas or bought from freelancers. Drawings of tenement urchins and immigrant ragamuffins by R.F. Outcault (1863-1928) began appearing in 1894. Showing both the humour and the anguish of the slums, his illustrations "provoked chuckles, but they also purposefully pricked the conscience" (Marschall 22). By 1895, Outcault's drawings had become a regular half-page panel in Pulitzer's *Sunday World* and were titled *Hogan's Alley.* At about that time, Outcault also added a recurring character, a little flap-eared, gap-toothed, bald-headed, bare-footed street urchin with a quizzical, yet knowing, smile, dressed only in a long, dirty nightshirt, which Outcault frequently used as a placard to print messages, jokes, and slogans--and thus moved the written word into the picture itself. This little ragged gamin was the first recurring character in a cartoon series, and the first successful character to appear in colour--the printing of colour pages in newspapers was just beginning. Initially, the colours of this nightshirt varied, but beginning in early 1896, it was always yellow, and the little waif was henceforth known as the "Yellow Kid." Immensely popular from the beginning, the Yellow Kid panels entrenched coloured cartoons with a continuing titled series and with the written word integrated into the picture as a regular newspaper feature. The combination of these important elements in Outcault's creation proved that comics could sell newspapers: The circulation of the *Sunday World* increased sharply. While Outcault's *Hogan's Alley* contained the recurring characters and text within the picture, it was not a comic strip as we know it today, but rather a single panel cartoon. Nevertheless, its popularity and reader demand paved the way for a distinct medium.



Impressed by the success of the Yellow Kid and its impact on circulation numbers, William Randolph Hearst of the rival newspaper *New York Journal* decided to introduce similar humorous narratives to be included with the Sunday edition of his paper. Recognizing that the cartoon was the Sunday supplement's strongest feature, he started a weekly colour comic supplement, *The American Humorist*, in 1896.[17] The story goes that Hearst remembered seeing a copy of *Max und Moritz* while on a trip to Europe and instructed Rudolph Dirks (1877-1968), a German immigrant illustrator in his employ, to create "something like *Max und Moritz*" for the American audience--the result was *The Katzenjammer Kids*, which began appearing on December 12, 1897.[18] That first strip introduced three boys in a backyard mayhem featuring the boys, a gardener and a hose. A week later, the third of the brothers had disappeared, never to be seen again; the remaining two brothers received the names Hans and Fritz, and they spoke a German-English patois. In form and structure very similar to Busch's style of contoured line drawings and humorous text combined into a comic synthesis, the boys' crude pranks and rejection of any kind of authority figure are reminiscent of Busch's motive of the rebellious protagonists who nevertheless are punished at the end of the day.

Emulating Busch's progressive forward movement from picture to picture, Dirks used sequential panels to tell a story, and combined these with the conventions popularized by Outcault, but also contained in Busch's picture stories: recurring characters, synergism of text and picture. The final ingredient, weekly publishing in a mass medium, was added by the publisher. Thus, the basic elements

---

[17]The publishing war between Hearst and Pulitzer started because of the Yellow Kid's success. After Hearst introduced the *American Humorist*, Pulitzer started an aggressive advertising campaign featuring the Kid and he even had his delivery trucks painted yellow. This led to the descriptive term "yellow journalism." Although Outcault discontinued the Yellow Kid illustrations in 1898, the term is still in use today to describe a sensationalising press.

[18]The Hearst anecdote is reported in many publications, most recently in Andrea Schulte-Peevers, and David Peevers, "Mayhem, Mischief and Moguls: The Katzenjammer Kids Turn 100." *German Life* Febr./March 1997: 18-23. However, prior to *The Katzenjammer Kids*, the *New York Journal* published a short-lived comic strip by Harry Greening entitled *The Tinkle Brothers* (between September 5, 1897 and October 17, 1897), which "was an adaptation of Wilhelm Busch's *Max und Moritz*" (Gordon 33). The Hearst anecdote may indeed be true, but the earlier work by Howarth and others in *Puck*, *Judge* and other satirical journals, and the publication of Greening's *Tinkle Brothers* suggest a "general awareness of Busch's work and a desire to emulate its success" and a "conscious, deliberate decision, by many comic artists, to imitate Busch" (Gordon 180). Indeed, Gordon suggests that Outcault's Yellow Kid was also "developed from *Max und Moritz*" (23).

of comic strips were in place, although they were not yet called that. When *The Bookman* first discussed this new medium in 1902, it was called "the new humour," later that changed to "funnies" until the term "comics" became fixed in 1908 (Blackbeard 1: 21).[19] Coulton Waugh in his pioneering book *The Comics* (1947) first formulated an analytical definition of comics. In summary, he propounded that comics are a form necessarily including a narrative told by way of a sequence of pictures, a continuing cast of characters from one sequence to the next, and the inclusion of dialogue and/or text within the picture or closely related to the picture. Within this external structure, there has to be an internal cohesiveness, that is, the two elements of text and pictures must blend into one organic whole. As such, the expression in the comics

> is the result of this interaction between word and picture, the product and not the sum of its component parts. The art and the writing reinforce (or pull down) each other in a variety of ways . . . The basic element in the language of the comics is the panel, a simple drawing most often enclosed in a rectangular or square frame, that stands both in isolation from, and in intimate relation to, the others, like a word in sentence. . . . The panels are grouped, again like words in a sentence, into strips or pages . . . In turn these strips and pages articulate themselves, in a more or less complex manner, into sequences and episodes. (Horn, *World* 1: 49)

---

[19]Both Hearst and Pulitzer found the comic supplements to be vastly popular with readers and circulation numbers soon showed that the newspaper with the more popular comic strip had the higher readership. This led to a bidding war between the publishers for the artists. After Hearst had enticed Outcault away from Pulitzer in 1897, Pulitzer won him back briefly, before he was again outbid by Hearst. Pulitzer reacted by assigning George B. Luks to continue Outcault's *Hogan's Alley* for the *World* and at the same time obtained an injunction against Outcault. The resulting lawsuit assigned Outcault the right to draw the character "Yellow Kid" for whomever he wanted, but Pulitzer won the right to have the feature *Hogan's Alley* drawn by other illustrators. As a result, Luks' *Hogan's Alley* appeared in Pulitzer's *World* parallel to Outcault's *The Yellow Kid* in Hearst's *Journal*. Dirks and his *Katzenjammer Kids* were to suffer a similar fate when Dirks fell out with Hearst in 1912 and switched to Pulitzer's *World*. After the resulting lawsuit, Hearst retained the title *The Katzenjammer Kids* and Dirks kept the copyright to the characters. Dirks called his new strip, with the same characters and the same type of plots, *Hans and Fritz*. Beginning in 1914, this new strip appeared on the front page of the Sunday magazine of Pulitzer's *World*. It changed its name to *The Captain and the Kids* during World War I after the boys had declared that they were Dutch, not German. Always, however, it carried the notation "by the famous originator of the Katzenjammer Kids, R. Dirks." Dirks continued to draw the strip until his retirement in 1958, when his son John took over until the strip's cancellation in 1979. The two strips ran simultaneously, albeit in different newspapers, for about 65 years. *The Katzenjammer Kids*, with only superficial changes to characters and plots, after the lawsuit was drawn by Harold Knerr and continued to be published by Hearst. For a time, it appeared as *The Original Katzenjammer Kids*, but the adjective was quickly dropped. In 2000, *The Katzenjammer Kids* comic strip is drawn by Hy Eismann and distributed to more than 50 newspapers by the King Features Syndicate, founded by Hearst in 1914. Hearst first used the comic strips produced in New York in his other newspapers, such as the *San Francisco Examiner*, but to further offset the high costs for producing colour comic strips, he began selling them to newspapers around the country. *The Katzenjammer Kids* became one of the first syndicated comic strips when it was carried by the *Pittsburgh Post* on January 6, 1901 (Gordon 39).

While this explains the language of the comics, it could also explain Busch's language in the picture stories, which was copied by Dirks when he developed *The Katzenjammer Kids*. Much like the pranks of *Max und Moritz* were targeted at the social hierarchy of their village, the pranks of the "Katzies," Hans and Fritz, were primarily directed at "die Mama" (the mother of the Katzies), "der Captain" (a shipwrecked sailor acting as their surrogate father) and "der Inspector" (an officer of the school system).[20] Aptly, the inspector's recurring opinion, "Mit dose kids, society is nix" is a sentiment that the fellow citizens of *Max und Moritz* could echo, although the Katzies' pranks "[übertrafen] in ihrer Grobheit die Helden Buschs noch" (exceeded in their brutality Busch's protagonists [Knigge 23]). The premise, style and substance of Busch's convention of young male pranksters involved in a generational confrontation had changed little, but Hans and Fritz "took the practical joke . . . and raised it to an art" (Goulart 212). Each episode was set in the semi-rural Katzenjammer home;[21] a series of panels led to the climax, the prank played on an unsuspecting victim. But although their pranks were usually successful, most closing panels showed the boys receiving a spanking, which was not quite the final destruction that met *Max und Moritz*, and Hans and Fritz lived to inflict their pranks on someone else in the next sequence.

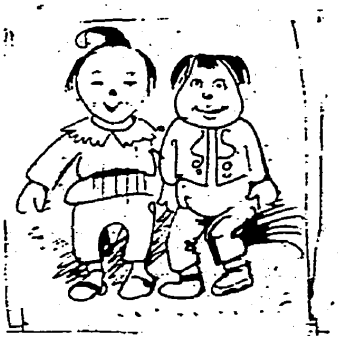
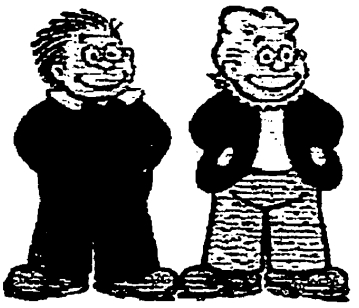
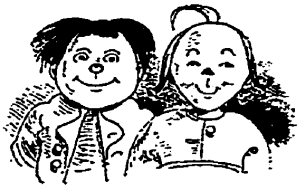
Not only the form and structure of *Max und Moritz* was repeated in *The Katzenjammer Kids*, but "Dirks occasionally paid silent homage to Busch by reworking some of Busch's classic sequences" (Marschall 47). A comparison of Hans and Fritz and the older *Max und Moritz* shows that the two pairs are of equal artistic merit. The Katzies' rebellious pranks and their "display of violent contempt for pompous authority" (Daniels 4) are very similar to *Max und Moritz*'s "seven misdeeds against the righteous philistine torpor" (Arndt 1) and leads to the inevitable punishment, a vital ingredient of the "morale" of each episode of Dirks's strip, not unlike the expressions of bourgeois morals in Busch's epilogues.

---

[20]The early strips did not include the captain or the inspector, but rather a Papa Katzenjammer and Grandfather. These were phased out as der Captain (in 1902) and der Inspector (in 1905) were introduced.

[21]After a number of years, the family embarked on several journeys. They visited the Grand Canyon in 1915, Panama in 1916, a circus in Peru in 1917 and travelled the Amazon in the mid 1920s before settling permanently on a tropical island off Africa known as Squee-Jee in 1936.

The Katzies resemble Busch's protagonists very closely in hair-style, facial features, height and size, as well as clothing.


Similarly, Mama Katzenjammer appears quite deliberately modelled after Busch's "Witwe Bolte." Both women are matronly figures, "true to the stereotype of the German Hausfrau" (Horn, *Women* 18). Many episodes infer a German background: The boys are sons of German immigrants, as their names, Hans and Fritz, suggest; their dog is called "Kaiser;" they count in German; various adults are seen reading German newspapers; the social club their mother frequents is called "Eiche."[22] Even more suggestive than a physical resemblance to Busch's figures and allusions to the Katzies' German origins are the similarities in the pranks played by Hans and Fritz to those conducted by *Max und Moritz*. Reminiscent of the "Schneider Böck" sequence in *Max und Moritz*, the captain is similarly assailed by Hans and Fritz as the tailor by *Max und Moritz*, by falling into the local stream after the boys had sawed into the bridge. *Max und Moritz*'s prank against "Onkel Fritz" is found again in a similar prank by Hans and Fritz against the captain. Echoes of *Max und Moritz* in the bakery can be seen when Hans and Fritz are discovered in a barrel of flour, covered from head to toe. Busch's influence can also be seen in a number of episodes when the collective anger of all those at the receiving end of the Katzies' pranks explodes in a similar way as those of Busch's villagers: a gleeful picture of a smug bourgeoisie happily witnessing the punishment of children (see illustrations 10a-b).




[22]Reflecting World War I anti-German feelings, the strip from July 7, 1918 shows the whole family going before a judge, requesting their name change from "Katzenjammer" to "Shenanigan" because it's such a nuisance to be mistaken for, as they say in their inimitable way, "Choimans" (Schulte-Peevers 21). As such, the strip's title changed to "The Shenanigan Kids" and Hans and Fritz became Mike and Aleck, but all reverted back to the original name in April, 1920. A similar foolishness was not attempted during World War II.

This comparison demonstrates that Dirks used Busch's model to develop his main characters and some of the motifs. Building on the given concept, Dirks introduced and developed a huge number of new themes and moved the picture and text combination beyond Busch. As such, Dirks's works "zielen in der Regel auf Eindeutigkeit ab" (usually aim for explicitness) contrary to the "Doppelsinnigkeit" (ambiguity [R. Hartmann 74]) of Busch's picture stories, and therefore lack any sort of social criticism. Busch's model also helped Dirks develop innovations. Like Busch, he eliminated detail in his drawings and popularized this style of line drawing. Dirks entrenched the now conventional usage of the dialogue balloon, the multi-panel story (as opposed to the single-panel cartoon), and the regular cast of characters. He also moved the cartoon from the one-prank episode to a story-telling device, similar to Busch's picture stories. Dirks established the colourful usage of onomatopoeia and sound effects, advancing from Busch's "Schnupdiwup!," "kritze kratze!," or "Rickeracke! Rickeracke!" to name just a few of the onomatopoetic constructions used in *Max und Moritz*, to the today well known "pow," "vroom," or "ka-boom!" And finally, he introduced the visual comics vocabulary, stars symbolizing pain, a lamp to represent a bright idea, sweat beads representing fear or effort, clouds of dust, and footprints or lines indicating motion, "all devices introduced, or institutionalized, by Rudolph Dirks" (Marschall 45). *The Katzenjammer Kids*, widely considered to be "the first true comic strip" (Goulart 212), are now in their second century of antics in the funny pages. They have held their own against fierce competition from film and television. Influenced by Busch, "the format and conventions introduced or developed by Dirks with the *Katzenjammer Kids* set a pattern that has continued to influence its successors to this day" (Goulart 212), the most widely known likely being Charles Schulz and his *Peanuts* comic strip.[23] Today, the language of comics with its innovations and symbols is familiar and commonly accepted, and the comics have given us a new way of looking at external reality.

---

[23]In commenting upon Dirks's contribution to the development of comic strips, Marschall suggests that "Dirks took the young art form's basic formula--peace, scheming, mayhem, exposure, punishment--and made it appeal to all ages and types of readers, expressed through a new vocabulary appropriate to comic strips alone" (57). This basic formula had prior to Dirks been applied by Busch. Furthermore, much as Dirks laid the cornerstone for a distinct comic strip vocabulary commonly known today, many of Busch's verses have become familiar quotations in the German language.

Third Reich Stratagems

What Friedrich Schiller said about Wallenstein, "Von der Parteien Gunst und Haß verwirrt, schwankt sein Charakterbild in der Geschichte" (Confused by the parties' favours and hatreds, his image fluctuates in history [5]), can also be said also about Busch. Despite many parodies and (unattributed) usages of Busch quotes, his name is still occasionally thought of in the context of "Juden- und Katholikenhasser" (hater of Jews and Catholics).[24] He was accused in the 1870s as anti-Catholic or even anti-Christian because of the picture stories *Der heilige Antonius* and *Pater Filucius*. I have discussed the fallacy of that accusation in chapter 4. Particularly since 1945, Busch has been accused of being anti-Semitic; that accusation will be explored in this section.[25]

Two Busch verses are used to prove his anti-Semitism. The first is from the prologue of *Die fromme Helene*:

Und der Jud mit krummer Ferse,	And the Jew with the crooked heels
Krummer Nas' und krummer Hos'	Crooked nose and crooked pants
Schlängelt sich zur hohen Börse	Winds his way to the mighty stock exchange
Tiefverderbt und seelenlos. (H2: 204)	Badly corrupt and without a soul.[26]

Taken out of the context of the picture story, an anti-Semitic sentiment could indeed be superficially attached to these verses. However, the next but one verse should make obvious that Busch is

---

[24]This quote is from a newspaper article "Wilhelm-Busch-Schule für Maier unmöglich" in the *Schwarzwälder Bote (Oberndorf)* of July 24, 1998, which discussed complaints about naming a school after Wilhelm Busch. Newspaper articles with similar sentiments can be found almost every year, just as there are many, many schools in Germany named after Wilhelm Busch. The process is always similar: The proposal to name a school after Busch is made (very often by students or teachers), it is rejected by a phobic individual or group and receives media attention, a procedure that is followed by public pro and con discussions which most often resolve the conflict.

[25]Inasmuch as the Emancipation of Jews had been completed throughout Europe by the middle of the 19th century, Germany during Busch's time is marked by two opposing trends: The Emancipation of Jews and the first signs of political Anti-Semitism. The nationalist historian Heinrich von Treitschke agitated openly against the Jews: "Jews have always been an element of national decomposition; they have always helped in the disintegration of nations" (1: 299) and Wilhelm von Humboldt wrote in a letter "I like the Jews only en masse; en détail I very carefully avoid them" (Sweet 2: 208). The literature of the time reflects the ambivalent attitudes; e.g. Wilhelm Raabe's *Hungerpastor* or Gustrav Freytag's *Soll und Haben* stress negative characteristics, whereas Anette von Droste-Hülshoff's *Judenbuche* or Franz Grillparzer's *Die Jüdin von Toledo* place emphasis on positive characteristics.

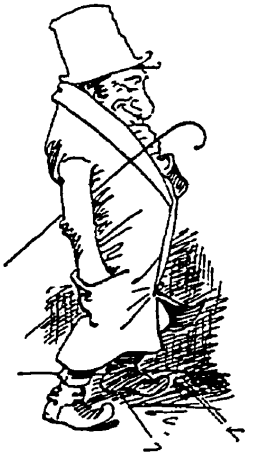
[26]Arndt's translation as follows: And the Hebrew, sly and craven, / Round of shoulder, nose, and knee, / Slings to the Exchange, unshaven / And intent on usury. (42)

caricaturing the image the bourgeois have of Jews, and as such is caricaturing just those Christian bourgeois themselves:

Schweigen will ich von Lokalen,	I'll not speak of those inns and pubs,
Wo der Böse nächtlich praßt	Where the Evil feasts each night,
Wo im Kreis der Liberalen	Where amongst the Liberals
Man den Heil'gen Vater haßt. (H2: 204)	People hate the Holy Father.[27]

The second verse (and accompanying graphic) frequently used to document Busch's anti-Semitism is from *Plisch und Plum*:

Kurz die Hose, lang der Rock,
Krumm die Nase und der Stock,
Augen schwarz und Seele grau,
Hut nach hinten, Miene schlau–
So ist Schmulchen Schiefelbeiner.
(Schöner ist doch unsereiner!) (H3: 479)



Too short the pants, too long the jacket,
The nose as crooked as the cane,
Eyes are black, the soul is gray,
Hat tilted to the back, a cunning face–
That is Schmulchen Schiefelbeiner.
(The likes of us are prettier!)

This again is a caricature of the stereotypical Jew, the image that the Christian bourgeoisie liked to perpetuate in the 19th century. It is perhaps appropriate to quote the Jewish composer and author Jan Meyerowitz from his work *Der echte jüdische Witz* in which he refers to the above quote from *Die fromme Helene*:

> Die irrationale Art des Antisemitismus hat eine besonders komplizierte Form des Humors provoziert: die Parodie auf den Antisemitismus. Sie ist heute, nach den Exzessen der Propaganda und selbst Augenzeugen unvorstellbar gebliebenen Greuel, schwer erkennbar . . . Keine noch so absurde Parodie kann sich an Absurdität mit den wirklichen Ereignissen messen, der Verfasser fürchtet also, er wird es mit dem Beweis, daß es sich im folgenden um »Humor« handelt, bei den jüngeren Lesern ziemlich schwer haben. Die oft beanstandeten Verse von Wilhelm Busch . . . gehören ohne Zweifel in die Kategorie der satirischen Übertreibung. Sie stehen in der *Frommen Helene* als Teil einer ironischen Kritik des Großstadtlebens und sind im Stil der ganzen

[27]Arndt's translation as follows: Let me pass in pained disquiet / Over taverns of ill fame / Where the Liberals run riot, / Blackening the Pontiff's name. (42)

> Stelle: Warum hätte der Freund Paul Lindaus und Hermann Levis, der sich nach damaligen Verhältnissen nichts vorzuwerfen hatte, gerade die Juden in einer solchen lustigen Diatribe auslassen sollen?[28] Busch hat niemanden geschont, auch sich selbst nicht. Freilich, heute klingen diese Verse beängstigend." (105)
>
> The irrational manner of anti-Semitism provoked a particularly complicated type of humour: the parody of Anti-Semitism. Today, after the excesses of propaganda and the atrocities that have remained unimaginable to even eyewitnesses, it is difficult to recognize . . . No matter how absurd a parody is, its absurdity cannot be gauged by the actual events, therefore, the author fears that it will be difficult for him to prove to the younger readers that the following is »comical«. The often criticized verses by Wilhelm Busch . . . without a doubt belong into the category of satirical exaggeration. They are to be found in *Die fromme Helene* as part of an ironic criticism of big-city life and are within the context of the entire section: Why should the friend of Paul Lindau and Hermann Levi, who could not be accused of anything considering the attitudes of those days, exclude the Jews in such a funny diatribe? Busch didn't spare anybody, including himself. Of course, today those verses sound alarming.

Meyerowitz touches on the crux of why Busch is today repeatedly accused of being Anti-Semitic. Today, we cannot easily look at such verses without remembering the atrocities of the Third Reich. However, Busch wrote those verses before the 20th century persecution of Jews and the Holocaust and in order to be objective, these passages must be seen in the light of the times in which he wrote them, they must be seen in the context of his entire work, which is consistently critical of societal hypocrisies. As such, it becomes clear that Jews were a regular part of the society portrayed in his picture stories, and he caricatured Jews just like he did the bourgeoisie, peasants, teachers, politicians or Catholics.[29]

---

[28]The journalist Paul Lindau wrote the first biography about Busch (compare pages 29-30 of this dissertation). He was introduced to Busch in Munich in 1877 by the painter Franz von Lenbach. The trio spent much time together. Eventually Lindau had to leave and this is how he describes his departure:

> Die Trennung von den beiden wurde mir nicht leicht . . . als ich mich von ihnen verabschiedete, hatte ich das Gefühl, in Wilhelm Busch einen ebenso lieben, anhänglichen und interesssanten Freund gewonnen zu haben, wie ich ihn in Lenbach seit Jahren besaß. ["Erinnerungen" 28].
>
> (The separation from the two of them was not easy for me . . . when I said my good-byes, I had the feeling that I had won in Wilhelm Busch the same kind of dear, loyal and interesting friend, as Lenbach had been for years.)

This initial meeting was the beginning of a warm and long friendship. Similarly, letters from Busch to Wagner conductor Hermann Levi consistently close with phrases like "Dein getreuer Wilh.Busch" (your loyal Wilh.Busch [B1: 221]), or "Dein getreuer Freund Wilh. B." (your loyal friend Wilh. B. [B1: 307]), or similar expressions indicating a close friendship. Levi wrestled with his Jewish belief system, considered converting to Christianity and discussed his doubts with Busch.

[29]The following verse from the prologue to *Die Haarbeutel* (1878) perhaps circumscribes the range of Busch's targets best: "Du wächst heran, Du suchst das Weite, / Jedoch die Welt ist voller Leute; / Vorherrschend Juden, Weiber, Christen, / Die Dich ganz schrecklich überlisten, / Und die, anstatt Dir was zu schenken, / Wie Du wohl möchtest, nicht dran denken. / Und wieder scheint dir unabweislich / Der Schmerzensruf: Das ist ja scheußlich!" (You're growing up, you're taking to your heels, / But alas the world is full of people; / Primarily Jews, Women, Christians, / Who quite terribly get the better of you, / And who, instead of giving you something for nothing, / As you would like, they wouldn't dream of it / And again it seems conclusive to you / The scream of pain: Why, that is dreadful! [H3: 209]). Peter Dittmar's essay "Ein schönes Vorurteil. Wilhelm Busch, die Juden und wir" analyses Busch's writings for anti-Semitic tendencies and reaches the conclusion "wenn er Antisemit war, dann war er auch Anti-Christ, Anti-Feminist, usw. bis hin zum Anti-Antisemiten" (if he was anti-Semitic, then he was also anti-Christian, anti-Feminist, etc. and finally also anti-anti-Semitic [39]).

Indeed, the happy-go-lucky Schievelbeiner is treated much more leniently than *Der heilige Antonius von Padua* or *Pater Filucius*. The following passage from *Eduards Traum* should clarify another aspect of Busch's attitude:

> Das Geschäft steht in Blüte; der Israelit gleichfalls. Warum wollte er auch nicht? Seine Sandalenfüße, seine getreulich überlieferte Nase, die merklich abgewetzt wurde vom wehenden Wüstensande, dem die Väter einst über vierzig Jahre lang entgegenmarschierten, geben ihm das Zeugnis einer schönen Beständigkeit. Mit Vorsicht wählt er die Kalle, und nimmt er sie mal, so pflegt er sie auch zu behalten, es sei wie's sei, und nicht, wie die andern, so häufig zu wechseln. Nüchtern geht er zu Bett, wenn die andern noch saufen; alert steht er auf, wenn die andern noch dösig sind. Schlau ist er, wie nur was, und wo's was zu verdienen gibt, da läßt er nicht aus, bis »die Seel' im Kasten springt«. Daß man sich durch dergleichen bürgerliche Tugenden nicht viel beliebter macht, als Ratten und Mäuse, ist allerdings selbstverständlich. (H4: 177)
> Business is flourishing; the Israelite also. Why shouldn't he? His sandalled feet, his truly traditional nose, which has been clearly worn smooth by the blowing desert winds against which the fathers once marched for over forty years, they testify to his great durability. He carefully selects his bride, and once he takes her, he tends to keep her, be things as they may, and not like others, to change so often. He goes to bed sober while the others are still boozing; gets up alert while the others are still dopey. He's smart as a whip, and where there's money to be made, he doesn't let up until every last bit has been earned. It should come as no surprise that such bourgeois virtues are not much more popular than rats or mice.

Busch's description of the Jewish resident of the town as a bourgeois par excellence is carried further when the same paragraph leads to an unmasking of the refined facade of the household of an "antisemitischer Bauunternehmer" (anti-Semitic builder [H4: 178]). However, as little attention as *Eduards Traum* has received in the reception of Busch's works, it is not surprising that this text was ignored during the Third Reich period. Instead, Busch and his works received a new ideologic and propagandistic appraisal in an article entitled "Rasse und Humor" in the SS journal *Das schwarze Korps*, which defined humour as something "spezifisch Nordisches. Zur Klassik formte er sich in Wilhelm Busch" (specifically Nordic. It became a classic with Wilhelm Busch). The Ludendorff journal *Am Heiligen Quell Deutscher Kraft* was even more blatant:

> Selbst rassetümliche Unterschiede kleidet er in humorvolle Worte und schildert uns z.B. den Juden als einen verabscheuungswürdigen Menschen . . . Die Erkenntnisse, daß durch das Judentum alle artfremden Lehren und Anschauungen wie Christentum, Jesuitismus, Okkultismus, Freimaurerei, Marxismus usw. verursacht wurden, waren ihm leider noch verborgen, doch hat er alle diese seelischen Gifterzeugnisse grundsätzlich abgelehnt. (Lemke 430).

> He even dressed racist differences in humorous words and shows for example the Jew as a despicable person . . . The knowledge that the Jewish tradition caused all foreign teachings and notions such as Christianity, Jesuitism, Occultism, Freemasonry, Marxism, etc. was unfortunately not known to him; however, he absolutely rejected all these spiritual poisonous products.

These two articles from 1936 are near the beginning of an intentional transformation of the Busch image, culminating in the publication of a 1939 book entitled *Der Philosoph von Wiedensahl: Der völkische Seher Wilhelm Busch*, which puts forth this curious hypothesis:

> Aber allen Literaten, Kritikussen wie aufrichtigen Freunden ist es bisher noch nicht aufgegangen, daß Wilhelm Busch ein völkischer Seher gewesen ist! . . . Er dachte sozial, und weil er seine Heimat über alles liebte, mußte er notwendig ein Nationalist sein. (8)
> But all literati, critics and true friends haven't realized so far that Wilhelm Busch was a national seer! . . . He thought in socialist terms, and because he loved his homeland more than anything else, by necessity he had to be a Nationalist.

This book by Karl Anlauf, the then-archivist of the Wilhelm-Busch-Museum, became popular and was widely reviewed in the press of the day. Most of these reviews are of the same tone as the following from the *Dresdner Neueste Nachrichten*: "Man erkannte nicht, mit welcher leidenschaftlichen Treue er zu Blut und Boden hielt, daß er ganz und gar ein deutscher, kämpferischer Mensch war" (One didn't recognize with which passionate loyalty he held to blood and soil, that he was altogether a German, aggressive, person [Dec. 20, 1939]). From today's perspective there is no doubt that Busch's preference for small towns and the public's general knowledge of his quotes was exploited by the "Reichsschrifttumskammer," who controlled the media and other publications and also rejected the publication of an article "Wilhelm Busch und Hermann Levi," which included their letters to each other and discussed their friendship.

The Nazis were ruthless in their exploitation of everything that appeared suitable for their ideology and propaganda.[30] As such, the popularity of a dead German author and painter could easily be capitalized on for maximum benefit. After carefully selected verses from Busch's picture stories had been successfully used to support their cause, the popularity of his figures was exploited in 1940 for the

---

[30]It is well known today that the works of other authors, including Goethe and Schiller, were similarly abused by the Third Reich propaganda apparatus. At the same time, authors alive at the time, like Erich Kästner, were banned from publishing altogether.



Ueberall ſieht man die Tante,
wie ſie Wilhelm Buſch benannte.
Außerdem noch weitere Köpfe,
welche mit und ohne Zöpfe,
ſtellen ſich mit viel Humor
für das WHW. jetzt vor.

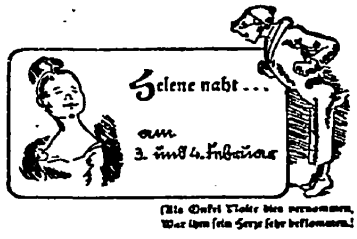
4. Reichsſtraßenſammlung
3./4. FEBRUAR

Nazi "Kriegswinterhilfswerk.[31] A series of twelve Busch figures was offered during the "vierte Reichsstraßensammlung" (fourth street collection drive) of the winter 1939/40. The drive was actually held on February 3rd and 4th (Saturday and Sunday), but in the preceding week, radio and television broadcasts and newspaper and journal articles promoting the drive flooded the media (see illustrations 11a-h for pre- and post-drive print media coverage). Each of the colourful majolica figures was outfitted with a pin to enable the buyer to show off his purchase (and donation) on his lapel. Each figure was sold for 20 Pfennig. Although the organizers had arranged for the manufacture of 34.5 million of these figures, it turned out that this quantity was too small. They sold out very quickly and subsequently were traded at much higher prices.[32]



Max und Moritz, Julchen, Schneider Böck, Knopp — heute einmal locken ſie uns an den Opfertiſch des WHW!





Helene naht ...
am
3. und 4. Februar

Als Onkel Moritz hier vorbeikam,
War ihm ſein Herz ſehr beklommen.



Maler Klecksel
am
3. und 4. Februar
übervoll!

[31]The "Winterhilfswerk" (WHW [Winter Relief Campaign]) was a charitable organization founded in 1931 and incorporated into the "NS-Volkswohlfahrt" (NSV [NS People's Welfare]) in 1933. Contributions were to be used to support the unemployed and the needy who were "politisch, rassisch und erbbiologisch würdig" (politically, racially and genetically worthy [qtd. in Rohr 185]) and aggressive collection drives were conducted each winter. Camouflaged as a social cause, these collections served to educate the public to "Gemeinschaftssinn, Einsatzfreude und Opferbereitschaft" (community spirit, willing application and readiness to make sacrifices), likely in view of war preparations. How donations were used was actually never made public, but it seems certain today that contributions to the WHW were used for war preparations; the name change to "Kriegswinterhilfswerk" (Wartime Winter Relief Campaign) after 1939 and public announcements made clear that contributions were used for wartime expenses. Door-to-door collections and street collection drives were organized with much publicity monthly between October and March of each year. Each of these drives began with a public call by high officials (sometimes even Hitler himself), encouraging the population to have a "gebefreudige Hand" (generously open hand). During these drives, badges, plaques, wooden figurines, Christmas decorations or artificial flowers were sold in series to encourage the population to collect all of a series.

[32]It is interesting to note that during the Winter of 1942, the *Struwwelpeter* figures were offered by the WHW as Busch figures and 58 million were sold (see illustration 12).

Parallel to the collection drive, a special performance took place in the "Deutsches Opernhaus" in Berlin under the banner "Wilhelm Busch im Dienste des WHW." Aside from readings from supposed Busch texts, a ballet for children was performed. In Vienna, a radio broadcast with agitative political verses and prose attributed to Busch could be listened to. Other cities had similar events. This falsification, however, was only the beginning of abusing the Busch identity for propaganda purposes. The *Hamburger Illustrierte* conducted warmongering of a worse kind in 1941, when *Max und Moritz* were transformed into "Win und Franklin" (i.e. Winston Churchill and Franklin D. Roosevelt) agitating against the Allied Forces (see illustrations 13a-c). Similarly, *Die fromme Helene* became "Die fromme Elene" (i.e. Eleanor Roosevelt) suggesting a love affair between her and Stalin, which is brought to an end by a vigorous German soldier (see illustrations 14a-e). For these aberrations, the journal's caricaturist, Hicks, created new pictures and verses in Busch's style, intermingled them with true Busch verses, and (falsely) suggested on the masthead that the story contained "altbekannte Verse von Wilhelm Busch zu neuen Zeitbildern von Hicks" (widely known verses by Wilhelm Busch with new contemporary pictures by Hicks).

Of course, the above quoted verses caricaturing Jewish characteristics were also often misquoted and exploited for propaganda purposes. In light of these perversions, it should perhaps come as no surprise that the German post-war generation was suspicious of Busch. Nevertheless, the popularity of his verses did not abate, and objective consideration of those of his verses that could be construed as anti-Semitic makes clear that they are caricatures of contemporary hypocrisies. It should therefore be amply apparent that Third Reich attempts to paint Busch as a forerunner of National Socialism can be dismissed as base propaganda.

The Legacy of Wilhelm Busch in Germany

Busch's legacy lies in his success in developing and popularizing a new form of expression in which the medium had become a key part of the message. Unfortunately, because of its inherent easy memorability, his work was a ready target for misuses such as the described systematic exploitations

during the Third Reich. Conversely, his most obvious legacy, his accepted influence on American comics, and with that also on comics the world over, demonstrates the timeliness of his work. Thus, in considering the legacy of Busch, it should first be noted that criteria for demand and acceptance refer mainly to his primary work, but this knowledge allows an understanding of its presence in the general awareness of today's reading public. In addition to the reception of his works, Busch's relevance is manifested in numerous paradigms and an extraordinary presence in politics and political caricature, education, medicine, sports, literature, entertainment, commerce and advertising.

The demand for Busch's primary work remains uninterrupted. Following his death in 1908, the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* printed an obituary entitled "Wilhelm Buschs ungeheure Popularität" which included a summary of the number of copies published of his works, and the suggestion that his work was "shamelessly pillaged" for advertising purposes:

> . . . Also sind von den in Buchform erschienenen Werken Buschs weit über anderthalb Millionen Exemplare verkauft worden. Ein anderer Beweis für Buschs Popularität ist--die Schamlosigkeit, mit der er geplündert wurde. Seine Verleger wissen ein Lied davon zu singen: die einen wollten ihn auf Papiertüten drucken, die andern auf Porzellangeschirr jeder Art malen, Wäsche mit seinen Bildern besticken, den ganzen *Max und Moritz* als Backwerk verkaufen, wieder andere zeigten ihn im Guckkasten, als Tapetenmuster, als Sofakissen, in scheußlicher Plastik sind Max und Moritz erschienen, als Form für »Gefrorenes« sind sie hochbeliebt, sie wurden vertont und dramatisiert. Ein ganz schlauer Fabrikant maßte sich an, die Geschichte der beiden Helden »in verbesserter Zeichnung« als Wanddekoration herauszugeben. (9. April 1908).
>
> . . . Consequently, of Busch's work published as books much more than one-and-a-half million have been sold. Another example for Busch's popularity is--the shamelessness with which he was pillaged. His publishers can tell stories about that: some wanted to print him on paper bags, others wanted to paint him on china of any kind, embroider linen with his pictures, sell the entire *Max und Moritz* as pastry, others showed him at the peepshow, as a pattern for wallpaper, as cushions. Max and Moritz have appeared as terrible sculptures, as a mould for ice-cream they are extremely popular, they have been set to music and dramatized. A really smart industrialist dared to issue the story of the two heros »with improved drawings« as a wall mural.

The merchandising of the Busch name or Busch figures, or the sales of Busch works, did not stop with his death. When the copyright protection for Busch's works expired in 1959, a deluge of new publications flooded the market and in the traditional give-and-take of demand and supply, "die Busch-Nachfrage setzte stürmisch ein, die steady seller waren über Nacht Bestseller geworden" (the Busch

demand began rapidly, the steady sellers became best-sellers overnight [Weigel 307-308]). In the mid 1960s, Helmut Heißenbüttel critically remarked on the topic "Es gibt keine deutsche Literatur" (there is no German literature) that German language literature fails to contribute significantly to increasing sales for publishing houses and concluded that "Wenn überhaupt, gibt es nur innerdeutsche Bestseller. An ihrer Spitze steht immer noch Wilhelm Busch" (if at all, there are only domestic best-sellers. At the top is still Wilhelm Busch [121]). The boom in sales of Busch works did not abate as years went by. In 1986 the then-director of the Wilhelm-Busch-Museum, Herwig Guratzsch, suggested that "Busch läuft und läuft und läuft" (Busch just keeps going [7]). The publication of an inexpensive seven-volume paperback edition of Busch's work by the Diogenes publishing house has contributed to Busch's recent popularity as have the many publications of separate editions by sometimes obscure publishers. Additionally, cheap editions are "flogged" in department stores, discount outlets or supermarkets. Despite obvious editorial concerns about accuracy or poor quality of such editions, the positive benefit of such a wide distribution is that it ensures that a basic knowledge of Busch and his works in almost all social groups continues:

> Wilhelm Busch ist Deutschlands populärster Autor. Es gibt da kaum einen Menschen, der nicht direkt oder indirekt mit Buschs Produkten in Berührung gekommen ist. Und zwar quer weg durch fast alle sozialen Klassen. Viele von uns haben als Kind mit Buschs Bildern sozusagen sehen und beobachten gelernt. Viele von uns haben an Buschs Texten zum ersten Mal gemerkt, was denn Verse und Reime sind; ja, daß Sprache überhaupt noch mehr leisten kann als die notwendigen Mitteilungen im alltäglichen Leben. (Klotz 11-12)
>
> Wilhelm Busch is Germany's most popular author. There is hardly a person who hasn't directly or indirectly been touched by Busch's products. And that can be said right across almost all social classes. As children many of us so to speak learned to see and observe with Busch's pictures. Many of us first noticed in Busch's texts what verses and rhymes are; indeed, that language can accomplish more than the necessary communications of everyday life.

This basic knowledge is the foundation on which secondary usage of Busch's work is built. The marketing of the Busch name as "Liebling einer Nation" (favourite of a nation [Mann, *Busch* 18]), trying to turn a quick profit, was a prime consideration not only for Busch himself, but much more so for those who used his name for marketing and merchandising purposes. This secondary usage can be divided into two parts: copies or imitations and parodies of Busch's work, and the application of Busch figures or verses for promotional or publicity purposes.

The best known of Busch's work is without a doubt the picture story *Max und Moritz*; the pattern of their pranks can be repeated in endless variations. It is therefore not surprising that the continuing success of that picture story encouraged imitations. Other works by Busch were used less frequently for parodies or as a source for imitations. The first of the *Max und Moritz* imitations was a children's book entitled *O diese Kinder!*, published in 1894 by Braun & Schneider, a parody on the original, written by Georg Bötticher and drawn by various artists. The first female counterpart, authored by Helene von Levetzow, followed in 1896 with *Lies und Lene. Die Schwestern von Max und Moritz*, and it became a very successful publication in its own right: the 215th edition was published in 1924. On the occasion of Busch's 70th birthday in 1902, the satirical journal *Simplicissimus* published a special edition with a satirical parody by Ludwig Thoma and Thomas Theodor Heine against the armaments industry, the public prosecutor pursuing the "bad" democrats and the power of money, which is primarily consumed by military expenses (see illustrations 15a-b).[33] This satire was published the following year under the title *Die bösen Buben*. During World War I, a war-time parody, *Max und Moritz im Felde. Eine lustige Soldatengeschichte*" was published. Similarly, during World War II, an agitative parody was published with the title *In Russland steht ein Panjehaus*. After the student demonstrations in 1967/68, several parodies appeared on the market that provided a kind of commentary to the contemporary events: *Marx und Maoritz. Eine Bubengeschichte in sieben Streichen für Erwachsene umfunktioniert* and *Marx und Engels. Eine Zeitgeschichte in sechs Streichen*, the latter published by the German Communist Party (DKP). More recently, a 1987 publication, *Mac und Mufti. Punk in Ebergötzen*, or a 1994 publication, *Max und Moritz. Die Story von zwei irren Fuzzis*, are post-modern contributions to the *Max und Moritz* parodies. While this broad survey is not complete, it is representative of the ongoing use of the Busch story as a source for parodies and imitations for

---

[33]The 1902 special edition of *Simplicissimus* further contained a parody on *Fipps der Affe* (text: Ludwig Thoma, illustrations: O. Gulbransson) and a parody on *Naturgeschichtliches Alphabet* (text: Peter Schlemihl, illustrations: W. Schulz). On the occasion of Busch's 75th birthday in 1907, *Simplicissimus* issued a special edition, "Der Fall Max und Moritz," in which the boys' pranks are prosecuted and the boys are sentenced to 38 years "Zuchthaus" (penitentiary) and three years "Gefängnis" (prison), to be served together as 40 years penitentiary.

contemporary purposes, and as such an impressive testimony to the continuous presence of Busch and his work in the awareness of German speaking people.[34]

Another element in considering Busch's legacy is the manner in which today's graphic artists and satirists have internalized Busch's techniques. Contemporary German cartoonists like Hans Traxler, Chlodwig Poth or Robert Gernhardt speak openly about being inspired by Busch's style; Traxler's *34. Versuch, W.B. das Wasser zu reichen* is its most poignant testimony. They all distinguish themselves with the same complementary tools–writing and drawing–that Busch applied and the obvious impulse taken from Busch is best seen by a look at excerpts of their work; Chlodwig Poth's 1979 *Schnurrdiburr oder ein Kindheitserlebnis* is clearly a takeoff on Busch's *Schnurrdiburr oder die Bienen*, as is Hans Traxler's *Schnurrdiburr oder das Sklylab. Ein Versuch, sich Wilhelm Busch von heute her zu nähern* (see illustrations 17a-b). Robert Gernhardt pays homage primarily to the comic element in Busch's work, "Komik ist angesagt, und Busch war und ist komisch" (comedy is announced, and Busch was and is funny [260]), but after emphasizing the comic functions in Busch's work, he illustrates Busch's anticipation of various directions that painting would take in the 19th and 20th centuries (267, see illustration 18). Gernhardt's deliberate following of Busch's footsteps earned him the 1999 "Erich-Kästner-Preis." In its explanation, the awards committee suggested that Gernhardt "demaskiere den Alltag und mache sich über akademischen Jargon, über Verbalprotzereien oder die Widersprüche im linksliberalen, rotgrünen Milieu lustig" (unmasks every day life and pokes fun at academic jargon, verbal ostentatiousness or the contradictions within the left-liberal, red-green environment [qtd. in *FAZ*, "Ohne Maske" January 11, 1999]). This description of Gernhardt's work could easily be transposed onto Busch's work, once allowances are made for the different eras in which both work(ed). Thus, Busch's legacy to contemporary satirists is as undiminished as his method of viewing his surroundings and presenting those observations. This has been recognized

---

[34]Another imitation of the *Max und Moritz* story is the "Contibuben," developed in 1923 by Erich Maria Remarque for the advertising journal *Echo Continental* published by the tire company Continental A.G. (see illustrations 16a-b). These boys also get up to all kinds of pranks, and readers are also introduced to company products, from bicycle tires to fan-belts. The Remarque archives in Osnabrück can evidence 28 picture sequences that Remarque modelled after Busch originals (11 "Conti-Buben" pranks and 17 "Kapitän Priemke" adventures).

by the Wilhelm-Busch-Society, the second largest literary society after the Goethe-Society in Germany. As a result, their museum has gradually incorporated the works of graphic artists and satirists into their exhibitions, and since the mid 1980s double bills itself as "Wilhelm-Busch-Museum" and "Deutsches Musum für Karikatur und kritische Grafik." Although this places emphasis on Busch's work in the combined medium of picture and word, it also stresses his skill of subliminal articulation, his ability "die äußere Erscheinung zu transzendieren hin auf die Wirklichkeit der Dinge hinter ihr" (to transcend the external appearance toward the truth of things behind it [Ueding, *Miniature* 248]).

Intertextuality in Media and Promotions

It should not be surprising that merchandisers and marketers have tried to capitalize on Busch's high name recognition and the basic knowledge of Busch verses or motifs amongst the public. Vast (unattributed) usage of verbal or pictorial Busch quotes in a text or graphic suggest an intertextuality expressed in the reception of the next work.[35] Research has shown that intertextuality is present in a work

> wenn ein Autor bei der Abfassung seines Textes sich nicht nur der Verwendung anderer Texte bewußt ist, sondern auch vom Rezipienten erwartet, daß er diese Beziehung zwischen seinem Text und anderen Texten als vom Autor intendiert und als wichtig für das Verständnis seines Textes erkennt. Intertextualität . . . setzt also das Gelingen eines ganz bestimmten Kommunikationsprozesses voraus, bei dem jeder . . . der beiden Partner des Kommunikationsvorgangs darüber hinaus auch das Intertextualitäts-bewußtsein seines Partners miteinkalkuliert. (Broich 31)
>
> when an an author, as he is writing his text, is not only aware of the use of other texts, but also expects of the recipient that he will recognize the relationship between his text and other texts as intended and as important for the comprehension of his own text. Therefore, intertextuality . . . presupposes the success of a very specific process of communication, in which each . . . of the two partners in this communication process considers his partner's awareness of such intertextuality.

---

[35]As literary intertextuality is a multi-dimensional concept, I am selectively using aspects as they apply to advertising and journalism. At the same time, I intend the term to include "intermedial intertextuality" (Weisstein 6). Hence, when I use the term "text," this also includes references to pictures or illustrations, and when I use the term "quotation," this includes copies of pictures or drawings as well, because it relates to the "Beziehung von Literatur und bildender Kunst. Es ist die intermediale Konjunktion selbst, die wir als *synchrone* Intertextualität lesen" (relationship of literature and art. It is the intermedial conjunction in itself that we read as *synchronous* intertextuality [Hoesterey 13]). Consequently, references to "reading" or "reader" will also include viewing a picture, listening to a sound-track or radio broadcast, or watching a performance in the theatre or a television broadcast.

This suggests that three distinct conditions are necessary for an intertextual reception:

- The degree of awareness of an intertextual relevance determines a text's intensity. Therefore, the author of the new work must consider "außertextliche Faktoren als für den Textaufbau konstitutive Elemente in die Modellierung" (text external factors as constitutive elements necessary in the modelling of a text [Lachmann 224]), that is, both author and recipient must be situated in the same cultural tradition for this awareness to be present;
- The integration of a quotation into a new work determines an intertextual intensity. Whether it is a casual reference, a parody, a paraphrase or a precise duplication of the original, the allusion has to be recognizable, that is, the recipient must recognize a familiarity. The assimilation of a quotation cannot be such that it becomes indistinguishable from the author's own work, or an "allusion to a work unknown to the reader, which therefore goes unnoticed, will have a dormant existence in that reading" (Worton 2);
- The precise insertion of a quotation into a new work "is a metaphor which speaks of that which is absent and which engages the reader in a speculative activity" (Worton 12). It summons the meaning of the work the quotation is taken from in the sense of Roland Barthes's "echo chamber" (Worton 18) and simultaneously "[wird] mit dem knappen Zitat der ganze Prätext in die neue Sinnkonstitution einbezogen" (with the brief quote the entire [original work] is included within the new structure of meaning [Broich 29]); that is, the recipient should recognize and process a quote not only denotatively (i.e. as a direct and specific meaning distinct from the implied or associated idea), but also connotatively (i.e. the suggestion of a meaning apart from what it explicitly names or describes).

These intertextual elements can just as easily be transposed onto merchandising efforts. Just as Busch himself was concerned about marketing, those that use his name or his figures have the same interests. Microsoft and Mercedes-Benz are only two of the organizations that have capitalized on the recognition of Busch caricatures. They can also be found on dishes, towels, greeting cards, napkins and several hundred other everyday items. Furniture, wallpaper and lamps with Busch motifs are available, as are clothing items like sweaters, shirts and ties. Images of various Busch figures have been used to sell consumables from cheese to vitamins, from sausages to breads. Hotels, restaurants, pharmacies, theme parks, schools and streets have been named after Wilhelm Busch. The Deutsche Bundespost celebrates anniversaries with special editions of stamps or postmarks with Busch representations; the Deutsche Telekom uses these stamps to brighten up their telephone calling cards. Busch verses or adaptations are employed in timetables of the Deutsche Bundesbahn. The 1999 Spring/Summer catalogue of the German tour operator "Jahn Reisen" used the image of *Max und Moritz* to indicate destinations catering to families with children (see illustrations 19a-f).

Articles about Busch can be found in the news magazine *Der Spiegel* as easily as in the tabloids; his works are regulars in the theatre, on radio or television, and literary parodies are extremely popular.[36] Similarly, the same magazines or tabloids can be seen to use Busch verses or pictures (unattributed!) to emphasise a topic, or to supplement articles on assorted subjects.[37] Finally, political commentaries and editorials frequently use Busch adaptations to illustrate a viewpoint (see illustrations 20a-e).

Busch would not be prevailed upon in so many different ways if those who use his name, verses or pictures would not expect a benefit. Therefore, these many uses of Busch's work that presuppose an intertextual awareness permit the conclusion that a basic knowledge of his non-canonized oeuvre within all social groups has informally been handed down from generation to generation, much like legends and fairy tales were handed down in earlier times.

---

[36]As examples, in 1996 *Max und Moritz* was shown as a play in 24 cities, as a ballet in 15 cities, as a dance in 4 cities. *Die fromme Helene* played as a musical in 4 cities in 1997. Busch's operetta-parody *Liebestreu und Grausamkeit*, written in 1860 for the Jung-München stage, was performed in Zurich in 1995. An adaptation of Busch's *Abenteuer eines Junggesellen* was widely marketed in 1949 as "der erste deutsche abendfüllende Zeichenfilm" (the first German feature-length animated cartoon film). Since then, animated films or cartoon series based on Busch characters can be seen almost yearly (compare page 212-213 of this dissertation). Radio broadcasts include productions of individual stories (*Max und Moritz*, *Die fromme Helene*, *Hans Huckebein*, *Balduin Bählamm* and others), medleys combining various stories, documentaries and readings). Sound-tracks include records and cassettes of Loriot (1989) or Heinz Rühmann (1979) reading *Max und Moritz*. Busch's *Humoristischer Hausschatz* was released on CD in 2000; *Max und Moritz* and several other stories were separately released on CD in 1999; most of Busch's pictures stories as well as selections of his poetry are available on various sound-track media. Ufa released a film *Max und Moritz* in 1938 and since then several of Busch's picture stories have been filmed (It is interesting to note that a photograph of the actor Axel von Ambesser, who played Busch in an 1965 film called *Die fromme Helene*, is sometimes used as a Busch photo). A video tape, *Hans Huckebein und andere lustige Streiche aus dem Wilhelm Busch Album* was released by Polygram in 1993. A 95-minute "Dokumentar-Spiel" (docu-drama) *Wer einsam ist, der hat es gut* directed by Hartmut Griesmayr premiered in 1986 on the ZDF television channel to 6.63 million viewers (21%) and has been repeated yearly ever since. It mixes Busch's life story with scenes from his picture stories, as does a 1995 television documentary entitled *Schein und Sein--Der Lebenslauf des vielseitigen Künstlers.*

[37]To list just a few examples: In an article "Minderjährige im Zeugenstand" in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Aug. 31, 1993, about pop-artist Michael Jackson: "Jetzt singt er wieder, Gott sei Dank" is an adaptation of "Jetzt raucht er wieder, Gott sei Dank!" (H1: 109). An article "Stefan Selke: Bomben nur aus Rache gelegt" in the *Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung*, Sept. 3, 1993, about the perpetrator of bomb attacks against Hanover's mayor, contains "Dieses war der erste Streich, und der zweite folgt sogleich" from *Max und Moritz* (H1: 349). An article "Hin wie nichts. Durs Grünbein ruft den Teuren Toten nach" in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Oct. 4, 1994, about poetry with topics of death contains "Nicht weniger intensive als mit dem Sterben beschäftigen sie sich mit den Geschichten, die wir davon hören oder lesen. Wie zum Beispiel hier mit diesen . . ." a paraphrasing of the opening lines of the *Max und Moritz* prologue (H1: 343). An article entitled "Seht, da steht die Witwe Müller" in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Aug. 8, 1996, about author Heiner Müller's widow picks up on the same line about "Witwe Bolte" in *Max und Moritz* (H1: 344). An article entitled "Mutanten vom Friedhof der Kuscheltiere" in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Jan. 25, 1999, about various theatrical performances, contains "Wehe, wenn ich auf das Ende sehe!" reminiscent of the similar warning lines in the *Max und Moritz* prologue (H1: 343) and invoking the destructive ending of the boys.

A Classic of Another Kind

This continuing presence of Busch's work in the public eye for more than a century has contributed to the fact that Busch "ist längst ein unreflektierter Bestandteil unseres Bewußtseins wie ein Volkslied, wie die Fünfte von Beethoven, wie gewisse Graphiken von Albrecht Dürer" (for a long time has been an unreflected part of our awareness, like a folk song, like Beethoven's Fifth, like some of Albrecht Dürer's graphics [Weigel 308]). The question then remains why Busch, despite this ageless reception, has not been accepted into the literary canon, why "die Zunft der Germanisten, die sich sublimer Sinnausdeutung noch sublimerer Texte verschrieben hatte, die mit Strichfiguren illustrierten Knittelverse eines zeichnenden Verseschmieds verschmähte" (the guild of Germanists, dedicated to the sublime interpretation of meaning of even more sublime texts, scorned the doggerel verses illustrated with line drawings by a sketching rhymester [Vogt 7])? If Busch's verses and figures are readily recognized as classics not only in the general public, but also in the diverse field of German literature and art, why is it that "nur darin war man sich immer einig: [er] gehört nicht zu den kanonischen Autoren deutscher Sprache" (only in this people always agreed: [he] didn't belong to the canonical authors of German language [Ueding, *Klassiker* 7])?

To evaluate Busch's classicism, it is first necessary to define the term. The term "classic(al)" is derived from the Latin "classicus," which originally meant "belonging to the highest tax bracket," thus, "upper class, aristocratic." As such, with "classic(al)" one associates such terms as standard, model, exemplary, nothing higher, excellent, everlasting, permanent, timeless, absolute, pinnacle, etc. *Oxford English Dictionary* defines "classic" as

> A adj. 1 Of the first class, of the highest rank or importance; approved as a model; standard, leading. . . B n. 1 A writer, or a literary work, of the first rank and of acknowledged excellence.

Classical German literature is generally described as the time beginning with Lessing and Wieland and reaching its culmination in the more narrowly defined "Weimar Classical Period" with Goethe and Schiller, who are the quintessential "German classical writers." However, the *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie* states:

> Im weitesten und heute nach dem allgemeinen Sprachgebrauch geläufigen Sinne meint das Klassische das Vorzügliche und Musterhafte. Als Klassiker kann jeder Autor und Künstler bezeichnet werden, dessen Werk zu den Gipfelleistungen seiner Art gehört. (Ritter 853)
> In the furthest sense and in the sense of general usage of today, classical refers to the excellent and exemplary. Every author can be described as classic if his works belong to the top achievements of its kind.

This concurs with the definition of the classical as a model, that is, it is understood to be exemplary. However, the very definition of a work as exemplary presupposes a "Doppelaspekt von Historizität und andauernder Geltung" (dual function of how [it is seen] in the light of history and continuing validity and influence [Preisendanz 114]) because of its ongoing relevance over a long period of time. This was expressed by Martin Walser in his contemplations about the literary canon as "die Bücher, die die meisten Leute am längsten brauchen, sind dann klassisch" (the books that most people need for the longest time, are classics [Walser 4]), and he concluded that "die [Bücher, die] uns beleben, die können wir brauchen, das sind Klassiker" (those [books] that enliven us, those we can use, those are classics [10]). The concept of usefulness is important in considering today's reception of Busch's works:

> Brauchbarkeit entsteht durch historische Bedingungen. Wenn der Bürger Selbstbewußtsein braucht, ist Goethe fällig. Wenn dem unsittlichen, also häßlichen Feudalismus die bürgerliche Freiheit als das menschlich Schönste entgegentreten soll, ist Schiller fällig . . . Und weil wir alle mehr Gefahr als Rettung erleben, insbesondere in der Kindheit, und weil angesichts der Wirklichkeit ein Retter gar nicht tadellos genug sein kann, brauchen wir am Anfang unseres Lebens dringend Karl May. Also wenn eine Qualität Maßstab werden darf, dann die Brauchbarkeit. Sie empfiehlt sich doch durch ihre Unbestreitbarkeit. Brauchbarkeit ist überhaupt nichts Absolutes. Wenn über die Frage der Brauchbarkeit gesprochen werden soll, ist weniger Anmaßung möglich, als wenn über Klassik als bestimmtes Niveau oder Klassik als auszuhandelnder Wert gesprochen werden muß. (Walser 5)
> Usefulness emerges from historical circumstances. When the bourgeois has a need for self-assurance, Goethe is called for. When bourgeois liberty is to act against immoral, therefore ugly, feudalism, Schiller is called for . . . And because we experience more danger than rescue, especially in childhood, and because in view of reality a rescuer cannot be perfect enough, we desperately need Karl May at the beginning of our life. Therefore, if a quality can become a standard, then it is usefulness. Usefulness recommends itself because of its indisputability. Usefulness is not at all absolute. If the question of usefulness is to be discussed, less presumptuousness is possible than when classic as a certain standard or classic as a negotiable value must be discussed.

These contemplations suggest there to be primary classic authors and others: Goethe and Schiller versus

Karl May and Wilhelm Busch.[38] However, in all cases, the mandatory elements for the continued survival of a work are: usefulness, functionality, applicability and relevance. Usefulness as a standard implies the relativity of a historical dimension and places emphasis on the interaction and interdependency of text and recipient, that is the relativity of circumstances, or the relationship of the reader-recipient and his current situation to the text.[39] Busch's works have retained their usefulness to the present day. His verses have long become part of the general knowledge in German-speaking Europe, much like proverbs, sayings, or slogans. Vast numbers of Germans can recall some of his verses, although more often unidentified and unattributed. Every era has applied distinct uses to Busch's work; thereby revealing a truth enclosed within it, appropriate only to that era and subject to change by the next user group. Gerhart Hauptmann called Busch "der Klassiker deutschen Humors, und das will in gewissem Sinne auch sagen, des deutschen Ernstes" (the classic author of German humour, and in a certain sense that also means of German seriousness [35]). The catalogue for the exhibition entitled "Klassiker in finsteren Zeiten 1933-1945" describes the reading materials of German soldiers during World War II:

> Nicht nur Hölderlin's *Hyperion* oder sein *Empedokles* . . ., auch Wilhelm Busch wurde als »guter Kampfbegleiter für unsere Soldaten« empfohlen. (Zeller 316)[40]
> Not only Hölderlin's *Hyperion* or his *Empedokles* . . ., but also Wilhelm Busch was recommended as »good battle companion for our soldiers«."

The Swiss publishing house Diogenes has for more than twenty years included Busch in their catalogue entitled "Alte und neue Klassiker" (old and new classics). Finally, the subtitle "Anarcho-Klassiker" of a

---

[38]An essay about Karl May concludes that May's "Wirkung nur den Märchen der Gebrüder Grimm und den fabelhaften Figuren Wilhelm Buschs vergleichbar sei" (influence is comparable only to the fairy tales of the Brothers Grimm and the fantastic figures by Wilhelm Busch [Wilink 27]).

[39]This is not unlike "werkimmanente" interpretation of a literary text, whose goal it is to understand a literary work based only on its language, content and meaning in relationship to the reader, without considering external socio-historic factors, biographical information about the author or other extraneous information. Concentrating on meaning and content, the recipient of a work must "begreifen, was uns ergreift" (understand what moves us [Staiger 11]).

[40]The *Magdeburgische Zeitung* reported on November 2, 1939: "Für den Soldaten im Felde unser täglicher Buchvorschlag--*Schein und Sein* von Wilhelm Busch" (for the soldier in the field our daily book recommendation--*Schein und Sein* by Wilhelm Busch); on November 20, 1939 the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* reported a statistic on "Leserwünsche der Front" (book requests from the front) that 31 of each 250 requests are for works by Busch; the Berlin newspaper *Der Westen* reported on October 31, 1941 that "*Max und Moritz* [ist] das begehrteste Buch" (*Max und Moritz* is the book most in demand).

new animated cartoon series entitled *Max und Moritz* that began on German television in November 1999 is another testimony to Busch's prevailing classicism.[41]

One would be hard pressed today to find someone in Germanic Europe who is not familiar with the name Wilhelm Busch and doesn't know the images of *Max und Moritz* or other Busch figures. Titles like *Wilhelm Busch für alle Fälle*; *Lexikon der treffenden Wilhelm-Busch-Verse. Die bekanntesten Verse des größten Humoristen deutscher Sprache nach 2000 Stichwörtern und Versanfängen von A-Z geordnet*; *Wilhelm Busch alphabetisch*; *Sechs Dutzend Spruchweisheiten von Wilhelm Busch*; *Lebensweisheiten von Wilhelm Busch*; or *Philosophie für den Alltag von Wilhelm Busch*[42] are a further indication of the usefulness or relevance of Wilhelm Busch, as is the fact that the Bertelsmann publishing house has issued a "Wilhelm Busch Kalender" for the past several years. Unquestionably embedded and established in daily life, this continuous reference to Busch's work can lead to the conclusion that a large number of German speaking people relate to the messages in his work, although a certain tension exists between the "Zeitgebundenheit des Formulierens und Dauerhaftigkeit der Formulierung" (historical determination of composing and the permanence of what is finally said [Preisendanz 121]). That Busch's work--at least in the genre of picture stories--despite these tensions is generally recognized to be unique, "einmal und nicht wieder" (once and not again [Preisendanz 123]), is another indication of his ongoing applicability.

Thus, Busch can indeed be classified as a "classic of another kind," but with one important caveat: The pessimistic assessment, "Was sich klassisch kanonisiert zeigt, braucht nicht mehr gelesen zu werden, was klassisch ist, scheint kulturell deponiert" (That which is canonized as classic no longer has to be read, that which is considered classic, would appear to be culturally deposited [Honnefelder vi]), does not apply

---

[41]Produced by the "TFC Trickcompany Filmproduktion Hamburg," the series is shown on the children's network "Kinderkanal." Books accompanying the series are available, and a comic book spin-off is planned. The boys are styled as late 1990s mischief makers; in the opening part their targets were the chimney sweep and "Oma Mühlmann," an elderly neighbour.

[42]This is a random selection of titles available through www.amazon.de. Other titles listed there, such as *Beamte und Advokaten beobachtet von Wilhelm Busch*; *Mit Wilhelm Busch im Garten*; *Mit Wilhelm Busch in Küche und Keller*; *Frisch gezapft bei Wilhelm Busch*; *Musiziert mit Wilhelm Busch*; *Ärzte, Apotheker und Patienten bei Wilhelm Busch*; *Schreiberlinge und Poeten, vorgestellt von Wilhelm Busch*; *Schulmeister und Schüler im Klassenzimmer von Wilhelm Busch*; *Verliebte, Freier, Eheleute, beobachtet von Wilhelm Busch*; or *Wilhelm Busch im blauen Dunst* indicate more specific areas of applicability.

to Busch. Instead, the central aspect of Busch's classicism can be directly related to what has been defined as the central aspect of classicism itself:

> Nicht die statische Institution der Aufbehaltung des Klassischen, wie sie unsere Gesellschaft vorsieht, sondern die Lebendigkeit der Tradition entscheidet über das, was als klassisch akzeptiert und damit fortgilt, gegenwärtig bleibt. (Gethmann-Siefert 74)
> Not the static Institution of Preservation of the Classical, which our society provides for, but the vividness of tradition decides what is accepted as classical, and with that continues to exist and remain current.

In other words, the determination whether an author or a work is a classic cannot be made by a government, by academia or a leading class; rather, it is decided by the people, the recipients of a work, who, with their decision to accept the presence of a work or an author, also determine whether a work or an author is a classic or not.

Nevertheless, this Busch presence in all areas of life can be irritating and is suspect. It has led to concerns about "Ruch der Trivialität und Stammtischfröhlichkeit" (a bad reputation for triviality and tavern humour [Ueding, *Werke* 629]). According to Wolfgang Preisendanz, the ongoing commercial success of Busch's works is "vielleicht . . . mit ein Grund des Ausschlusses aus dem konventionellen Klassiker-Kanon" (perhaps . . . one of the reasons for the exclusion from the conventional canon of classic authors [115-116]), and indeed, the reasons for the lack of attention literary scholars have paid to Busch can be found in the same one-sided image created by the commercializing and merchandising of Busch and his works. However, a work remains vibrant if it is used or referred to continuously. There can be no protection against mundane usages; still, Busch's work remains familiar because it is read. The "timeliness" of Busch is due to the fact that his readers have been able to relate to his work since it was first published. Moreover, today's vast and frequent usage illuminates the contemporary relevance of Busch's work and illustrates its diverse character.

His method of using a "Stenographie des Angeschauten" (shorthand of the observed [Heine 34]) combined with short verses to deliver poignant messages has been universally adopted not only in the German language, but the world over to convey a message in a powerful and easily remembered fashion. As has been shown, Busch was influenced by other German language satirists and epigrammatists.

Building on the tradition of broadsheets and book illustrations, he perfected his picture stories and integrated in them societal expectations and cultural trends. In Busch's art, his chosen medium became a part of the message. His style of line drawing combined with short pithy verses was (and is) emulated by comic strip artists, cartoonists and graphic artists, who use this technique to communicate a message compactly and precisely, sometimes--as has been shown in the section entitled "Third Reich Stratagems"--for nefarious political purposes. Still, the easy memorability of his verses lend themselves to today's expectations. We live in an era that has come to rely on the digested presentation of the literary word and even more so on the visualization of life and art with a brief caption, and Busch led the way to this in forcing everyday calamities into a form of this sort. The manner in which his drawings or verses have been adapted to drive home a point of view is ample testament to that fact, as has been demonstrated through many examples. Unfortunately, this type of reception afforded to Busch or his works also means that much of his popularity is based on a continuing disability to see more in him than just a humorous entertainer, and a large segment of his work is still unknown to the average reader.

Conclusion

Busch comments on human nature in all of his works, be it hypocrisy, dishonesty, insincerity, egotism or stolidity. It is these characteristics that are in his opinion responsible for the conditions and realities of the society of which he was a part. Rooted in rural society, Busch's perception was sharpened by the micro-environment of his childhood villages, where he was exposed to the diametrically opposed social milieus of life as the son of the village's social climber in Wiedensahl and the elitist position as a private student of his uncle, the village parson, a local dignitary in Ebergötzen and later Lüthorst. These early experiences had sharpened his senses to the hidden undercurrents of social interactions: "durch Übung wächst der Menschenkenner" (practice improves the judge of character [H4: 87]). Busch's childhood impressions of the powerless hiding behind the cover of pretended harmony were reinforced when as an adult he was dependent on the goodwill of patrons and publishers. Realizing that following the production guidelines for the *Fliegenden Blätter* and *Münchener Bilderbogen* would result in commissions, he suppressed his own desire to paint in favour of broadsheet caricatures. His subsequent collaboration with Bassermann taught him that he could attain financial independence at the price of following and expanding this tried and tested pattern.

Busch chose rural settings for many of his works, in part because he was mindful of the polypragmatic character of village life, and also because "die Zeit kramt alles um; nur tut sie es an einsamen Orten etwas später als anderswo" (time changes everything, only it does so in remote locations later than elsewhere [H4: 528]). His prose study *Meiers Hinnerk* (1905), a reminiscence of his early Wiedensahl life, depicts village life as dispassionate and stoic, and includes the blunt verdict that "Gelehrsamkeit war Hinnerk sein Fall nicht" (Erudition was not Hinnerk's cup of tea [H4: 332]), suggesting a disinclination to learn from experiences. Transferring this assessment from Hinnerk to society as a whole, the very general nature of this criticism demonstrates Busch's doubt that things would change for the better. He could show concrete examples, but could not show a way to improvements; his pessimistic assessment in 1875 that ongoing cultivation of mankind "[wird] im Verlaufe einiger Milliarden von Jahren hoffentlich die Organe der Erkenntnis auf Kosten der Organe des Begehrens zu immer höherer Entwicklung bringen" (will hopefully in the course of several billions

of years cause the organs of realization to attain an ever higher evolution at the expense of the organs of desire [B1: 139]) had only slightly improved by 1889 when he held out no hope that this would happen before the year "10889" (B1: 313).[1] His optimism had to remain vague because of his conviction that people would again and again revert to familiar and self-serving patterns of behaviour. Through artistic expression that has been described as that of a "well-oriented European" (Klee, *Diaries* 225), Busch transformed his oppressive impressions of society into picture stories by caricaturing the realities he observed. His drawings and verses condense and clarify human traits and interactions, and then exaggerate them. With that technique Busch finds the comical element in life. The clear meaning of the substance of the messages inherent in the picture stories was clouded by the technique of his style, something Busch well recognized: "Ich denke meine Geschichte ehrlich durch und durch, so weit meine Fähigkeit dazu ausreicht . . . Ich weiß selber zu gut, welche Mängel in meiner individuellen Art der Anschauung, welche Hindernisse in der Schrift durch Bilder überhaupt liegen" (I think my story through and through in depth, to the best of my ability . . . I know all too well the flaws of my own kind of visualization, which obstacles are inherent within the writing in pictures [B1: 94]). By "writing in pictures," he attempted to fight against the abhorrent in human behaviour in favour of an honourable life by depicting human foibles and interactions in acute detail. A honourable life was beyond the hypocrisy of *Antonius*, beyond the insincere idyll of *Helene*'s home life, beyond the greed and selfishness of *Pater Filucius*, the *Particularists*, or some of his other figures.

The reader often recognizes the world in Busch's picture stories as a harshly humorous representation of the real world with which he is familiar. If one considers that "[reading] involves [the reader] cognitively and often affectively within a fictional situation rather than in the immediate and practical circumstances of their real lives" (Noble 212), the bizarre segments of the picture stories invoke both fear and laughter in the reader. He can sense the absurdity of the modern human condition, his alienation from society,

---

[1]This hope for a continuous development of the human species is reminiscent of Darwin's theory of evolution. However, Busch's hope is coupled with considerable scepticism. A letter to Levi formulated a utopia about the evolution of mankind and contains a considerable amount of irony. It suggests that in this utopia man is "Fast nur Kopf. Kaum etwas Wille. Vermehrung: keine. Die Intellekte, blasig herumschwebend, durchschauen Alles gründlich. Das Bischen Wille verneint sich leicht" (Almost completely head. Hardly any will. Reproduction: none. The Intellect, floating about light and frothy, sees through Everything. That Bit of Will is easily negated [B1: 214]).

but at the same time his unwilling participation in it. Busch portrayed these cognitive and affective-emotional experiences and reactions as dichotomous; therefore, if a reader "could become the reader of his own self" (Hall 132), the relationship of these dichotomies becomes crucial in understanding Busch's works, their inherent criticism, and also their mass popularity. Although Busch used humour, irony, wit and sarcasm to expose the contradictions and inconsistencies of his time in the picture stories, its distorted sense of morality, mental stagnation and chest-pounding pride of accomplishment, he stopped short of exposing the economically enterprising forces of the "Gründerzeit."

Busch stopped creating these picture stories in 1884, only twelve years after his break-through success with *Die fromme Helene*. The following excerpt from an 1887 letter may explain why he stopped so early, and also suggests that he intentionally camouflaged reality in those picture stories: "Auch wollen die alten Reimsprüche neuerdings nicht so recht mehr bei mir wachsen. Übrigens darf ich wohl annehmen, daß eine geschmackvolle Realität auch ohne poetische Umhüllung eine allgemein freudige Aufnahme findet" (Lately, the old rhymed verses don't really want to grow with me anymore. But I should be able to assume that a tasteful depiction of reality will generally be received well even without a poetic cloak [B1: 281]). The picture stories had been the mainstay of his economic security; their "poetic cloak" avoided censorship, and humour camouflaged the harsh realities of a world inhabited by people like *Antonius*, *Filucius*, *Helene*, or *Maler Klecksel*. Financially secure, Busch no longer needed these disguises and proceeded to a "tasteful depiction of reality" in the completely estranged worlds of *Eduards Traum* and *Der Schmetterling*, and here he unmistakably demonstrated hypocrisy, greed, hostility and dishonesty as universal and irradicable. The picture stories conceal more than they unmask, but the prose openly exposes the targets of Busch's criticism. The harsh social criticism and the messages inherent in the prose works *Eduards Traum* and *Der Schmetterling* have been largely overlooked by critics to date, but if they are read and understood before the picture stories, then the social criticism in the picture stories becomes heightened and self-evident.

Unfortunately, the intense merchandising and marketing efforts surrounding Busch and his works do not encourage decoding the more serious messages concealed in his work. Added to that is the fact, as

has been shown, that Busch packaged his social commentary and criticism well. The overt humour of the picture stories discourages a critical examination of what lies behind the comical veneer. This humour is the impetus for and at the same time the obstacle blocking Busch's impact; as anticipated and intended reader reaction the humour itself becomes a part of his criticized world. In the words more clearly than the pictures a gentle resistance is attempted, but that too was difficult for someone whose motto was "Die individuelle Revolution ist zuweilen eine Sache der Notwendigkeit" (An individual revolution is occasionally a matter of necessity [B1: 44]), but who also said of himself that he was "hübsch untertan der Obrigkeit" (nicely subjugated to the authorities [B1: 324]). From these conflicting attitudes come Busch's cryptic verses, his ironic hide-and-seek that enigmatically attempted to undermine societal norms while at the same time wanting to be well received; in other words, he wanted his books to sell well. It explains why Busch was rebellious against societal realities, but not revolutionary. His awareness of these dichotomies within himself, as also within his society, makes for the ambivalence in Busch's oeuvre. The humorous elements in his picture stories provoke laughter, and also penetrate to a subliminal comprehension of the dichotomy made up of conformity to societal norms and a muted resistance to them. Marcel Reich-Ranicki describes the phenomenon in general terms:

> . . . die Satire zeigt die Welt mißbilligend, entlarvend und aggressiv . . . der Humor einsichtsvoll, wohlwollend und lachend . . . Die Satire ist auf den Humor angewiesen, aber nicht der Humor auf die Satire. Die Satire verdankt ihre Entstehung dem Haß, der Humor der Liebe. Hinter der Satire verbergen sich Zorn und Wut, hinter dem Humor Schmerz und Schwermut. Die Satire macht ihren Gegenstand verächtlich, der Humor verständlich. Die Satire kennt kein Mitleid, der Humor keine Unbarmherzigkeit. Die Satire kann klug sein, der Humor weise. Die Satire ist offensiv, der Humor defensiv. Kurz und bündig: Humor ist Widerstand. (188)
>
> . . . Satire shows the world disapproving, unmasking and aggressive . . . humour shows it with understanding, benevolence and laughter . . . satire is dependant upon humour, but not humour on satire. Satire owes its creation to hate, humour to love. Behind satire are hidden anger and rage, behind humour grief and melancholy. Satire belittles its subject, humour makes it understood. Satire doesn't know compassion, humour doesn't know callousness. Satire can be clever, humour can be wise. Satire is offensive, humour is defensive. Concisely put: humour is resistance.

With the premise that "humour is resistance," Busch's picture stories demonstrate his strong awareness of the non-sensical society in which the individual is lost. In the closing of *Eduards Traum* he justifies his oblique social criticism, but also challenges the reader to unmask and decipher his stories. *Der Schmetterling* explains why he was subjected to the rules of his society. The necessity for conformity and

universal dishonesty as suggested in both prose works either led to destruction or to subjugation in the picture stories. The value systems that provided a behavioural framework for the 19th century bourgeoisie can thus be recognized, which closes the gap between Busch's works and the historical reality of his era. Because his works grant this insight into the late 19th century, Busch is a chronicler of his time and should be taken seriously. Moreover, because he doesn't see the egotism and duplicity of his own environment as a specific product of that society, but rather as a general human evil that cannot be eradicated, his oeuvre still provides opportunities for unmasking facades in society today.

If one considers the domestication of children in *Max und Moritz* or *Plisch und Plum*, the marital relationships in *Die fromme Helene* or *Die Knopp Trilogie*, the hypocrisy of *Der heilige Antonius* or the self-serving interests of *Die Partikularisten*, for example, modern applications become readily apparent. Societal norms and values are transported from the 19th into the 20th or 21st century, as is evident by the presence and intertextual recognition of Busch's works in media and advertising, and the fact that his primary works continue to sell, despite the repulsive abuses during the Third Reich period. Busch's success in popularizing a form of expression in which the medium became a part of the message had a direct influence on American comics, it caused parodies, copies or spin-offs of his work to be made from the earliest days until the present time. For all these reasons, he remains a vibrant part of the literary evolution. Because of this lasting impact, Busch should be included in the literary canon, not just as a rudimentary knowledge of *Max und Moritz* images. As Rolf Geißler puts it, that canon "hätte uns das zu vermitteln und als bedenkbar aufzugeben, was noch immer wirksam ist, obwohl es überholt ist" (should acquaint us with and encourage our reflection of those works that are still effective, even though they are outdated [15]). Busch's work is a contribution to our understanding of the bourgeois epoch of the late 19th century and well into our own. Rather than merely introduce the bourgeois world, it is much more important to understand what this epoch was, which interpersonal relations, spiritual and intellectual elements were prevalent, and how the bourgeois lifestyle and mentality functioned; moreover, how much of that mentality is still prevalent today.

Appendix A: Chronology

1832 April 14: Heinrich Christian Wilhelm Busch is born in Wiedensahl as the first of seven children to Johann Friedrich Wilhelm Busch, merchant, and Henriette Dorothea Charlotte Busch, née Kleine.

1841 September: Busch is moved to his uncle's house, pastor Georg Kleine in Ebergötzen, for private tutoring.

1844 First visit to Wiedensahl after Busch's move to Ebergötzen. Passes his mother unrecognized.

1846 Moves with his uncle, Georg Kleine, to Lüthorst.

1847 September: Enters the Polytechnical School in Hanover as an mechanical engineering student.

1848 Busch participates in a militia during political unrests in Hanover.

1851 March: Busch drops out of the engineering program in Hanover and returns to Wiedensahl.
June: Enrols at the Dusseldorf Academy of Arts in order to begin studies to become a painter.

1852 May: Begins fine arts studies at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Antwerp.

1853 March: Severe typhoid fever. Busch drops out of the Art Academy in Antwerp.
May: Return to Wiedensahl. There and in Lüthorst gathering of fairy tales, folk legends.

1854 Immersion into informal science studies in Lüthorst. Involvement with the Dassel amateur theater.
November: Enrols in fine arts studies at the Royal Academy of Arts in Munich. Joins the artists' association Jung-München.

1855-58 Frequent change of residences between the artists's colony in Brannenburg, Munich, Lüthorst and Wiedensahl.

1855 Fall: Continues collecting fairy tales; heraldic studies and treasure hunting at a megalithic grave.

1856 First contributions to the Jung-München newsletter *Der Beiwagen.*

1857 Renewed involvement with the amateur theatre in Dassel. Interest in bee keeping triggers thoughts of emigration to Brazil. Efforts to publish his collection of fairy tales fail.

1858 January: Involvement with the amateur theatre in Dassel. Includes acting; writing and directing *Einer hat gebimmelt und alle haben gebummelt.*
May: Continuation of his studies at the Munich Royal Academy of Arts.
July: Busch's sister Anna dies in Wiedensahl at age 16.
Summer: Stays in the artists' colonies in Ammerland/Starnberg Sea and Brannenburg.
October: First contributions to the *Fliegende Blätter.*

1859-1967 Frequent change of residences between Munich and Wiedensahl, frequent visits to his uncle in Lüthorst and his brother in Wolfenbüttel.

1859 First publications in the *Münchener Bilderbogen.*
19 contributions to *Die fliegenden Blätter* and 3 contributions to the *Münchener Bilderbogen.*

1860 February: Provides text to the operetta *Liebestreu und Grausamkeit,* performed in Munich (music: Ed. Heinel).
October: Another bout with typhoid fever.
30 contributions to *Die fliegenden Blätter* and 1 contribution to the *Münchener Bilderbogen.*

1861 Winter: Provides texts to the operettas *Hänsel und Gretel* and *Der Vetter auf Besuch* (music: Georg Kremplsetzer) and the farce *Schuster und Schneider.*
20 contributions to *Die fliegenden Blätter* and 4 contributions to the *Münchener Bilderbogen.*

1862 Directs *Die deutsche Märchenwelt* during the artists' carnival celebrations in Munich.
31 contributions to *Die fliegenden Blätter,* 2 contributions to the *Münchener Bilderbogen* and 4 contributions to *Münchener Bilderbücher,* another Braun & Schneider publication.

1863 First meets Anna Richter in Wolfenbüttel.
23 contributions to *Die fliegenden Blätter* and 3 contributions to the *Münchener Bilderbogen.*

1864 *Bilderpossen* (*Der Eispeter, Katz und Maus, Krischan mit der Piepe, Hänsel und Gretel*) are published with Heinrich Richter, Dresden.
1 contribution to *Die fliegenden Blätter* and 4 contributions to the *Münchener Bilderbogen.*

1865 July: *Max und Moritz* are published with Braun & Schneider, Munich.
2 contributions to *Die fliegenden Blätter* and 1 contribution to the *Münchener Bilderbogen.*

1866 1 contribution to *Die fliegenden Blätter* and 7 contributions to the *Münchener Bilderbogen.*

1867-68 Extended stays in Wiedensahl, Munich, Frankfurt and Lüthorst.

1867 June: First visit to the Kessler house in Frankfurt/Main where his brother Otto holds a position as tutor.
"Hans Huckebein, der Unglücksrabe" and "Das Pusterohr" in *Über Land und Meer* (ed. Eduard Hallberger, Stuttgart).
Three essays for the *Bienenwirtschaftliches Centralblatt* (ed. Georg Kleine).
2 contributions to *Die fliegenden Blätter* and 5 contributions to the *Münchener Bilderbogen.*

1868 Several journeys to Frankfurt and beginning of relationship with Johanna Kessler.
August 30: Busch's father dies. Busch is named executor of the estate.
"Die kühne Müllerstochter" and "Das Bad am Samstagabend" in *Über Land und Meer.*
"Die Prise" in *Die illustrierte Welt* (ed. Eduard Hallberger, Stuttgart).
"Der Wurstdieb" in *Daheim* (ed. Velhagen & Klasing).
2 contributions to *Die fliegenden Blätter* and 2 contributions to the *Münchener Bilderbogen.*

1869-1872 Primary residence in Frankfurt.

1869 Own studio in Frankfurt. Together with his brother Otto extensive Schopenhauer studies.
April: *Schnurrdiburr oder die Bienen* (Munich: Braun & Schneider).
"Der Schreihals" in *Über Land und Meer.*

1870 January 16: Busch's mother dies.
June: *Der heilige Antonius von Padua* (Lahr: Moritz Schauenburg). The book is almost immediately banned by the public attorney.
3 contributions to the short-lived journal *Deutsche Latern.*
2 contributions to *Die fliegenden Blätter* and 1 contribution to the *Münchener Bilderbogen.*

1871 April: After a favourable court decision, *Der heilige Antonius* is released for sale.
October: Publishing contract with Otto Bassermann. With very few exceptions, Busch henceforth publishes all his works with Bassermann.
1 contribution to *Die fliegenden Blätter* and 2 contributions to the *Münchener Bilderbogen.*

1872-1879 Frequent change of residences between Munich and Wiedensahl. Stays in those two places are often interrupted by short visits elsewhere.

1872 April: Busch gives up his studio in Frankfurt.
April: *Die fromme Helene.*
October: *Bilder zur Jobsiade.*
November: *Pater Filucius.*
November: Busch moves his permanent residence from his parental home in Wiedensahl--now owned and occcupied by his brother Adolf--to the Wiedensahl parsonage, where he occupies a room in the home of his sister Fanny and her husband Hermann Nöldeke, the Wiedensahl pastor.

1873 Beginning of friendship with Franz Lenbach, Friedrich Kaulbach and Lorenz Gedon.
June: *Der Geburtstag oder die Partikularisten.*

1874 May: *Dideldum.*
October: *Kritik des Herzens.*

1875 January: Correspondence with Maria Anderson begins.
November: *Abenteuer eines Junggesellen.*

1876 December: *Herr und Frau Knopp.*

1877 August: *Julchen.*
September: Own studio in Munich. Meets Paul Lindau.
December: Quarrel with Johanna Kessler leads to a thirteen year hiatus of their friendship.

1878 February: Paul Lindau's article about Busch in *Nord und Süd.*
May: *Die Haarbeutel.*
August: His brother-in-law Hermann Nöldeke (Fanny's husband) dies. Busch formally takes on guardianship for Fanny's sons Hermann, Adolf and Otto.

1879 February: Busch, his sister Fanny and her sons move into the Wiedensahl "Pfarrwitwenhaus." Despite frequent trips elsewhere, this becomes his primary residence.
June: *Fipps der Affe.*

1880 Friendship with Hermann Levi begins.
December: *Stippstörchen für Äuglein und Öhrchen.*
New edition of *Bilderpossen* published with Bassermann.

1881 March 22 - April 12: Last visit to Munich.
June: *Der Fuchs-Die Drachen.*

1882 June: *Plisch und Plum.*

1883 June: *Balduin Bählamm, der verhinderte Dichter.*

1884 June: *Maler Klecksel* (the last of the picture stories).
Fall: First copies of *Humoristischer Hausschatz* are published.

1886 May: Eduard Daelen's *Über Wilhelm Busch und seine Bedeutung.*
September: Johannes Proelß's review and rebuttal in the *Frankfurter Zeitung.*
October and December: *Was mich betrifft* in the *Frankfurter Zeitung.*

1891 April: *Eduards Traum.*
August: Reconciliation with Johanna Kessler.

1893 Spring: *Von mir über mich* and *Der Nöckergreis.*
August: Anniversary edition of *Die fromme Helene.*

1894 *Von mir über mich,* final version.

1895 April: *Der Schmetterling.*

1896 Busch discontinues painting. Sale of all publishing rights to Otto Bassermann.

1898 October: With Fanny change of residence to Mechtshausen to live with Fanny's son Otto, pastor in Mechtshausen.

1901 Essay "Volksüberlieferung aus Wiedensahl" published in the *Korrespondenzblatt für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung* (ed. Christoph Walther).

1902 April 15: Major festivities in honour of his 70th birthday. More than 1,500 congratulatory notes, letters and telegrams arrive.

1904 April: *Zu guter Letzt.*

1905 June: Transfers the sealed manuscript of *Hernach* to Otto Nöldeke for posthumous publication.

1907 January: Writes the poem "An Helene" for the special edition of *Die fromme Helene* to be published in honour of his 75th birthday.
March: Writes the poem "Mein Lebenslauf" for the journal *Jugend* (followed by "Dank und Gruß" in late April).
April 15: Major festivities in honour of his 75th birthday.
"Meiers Hinnerk" published in the journal *Der Heidjer.*

1908 January 9th: Busch dies @ 8 a.m.
Hernach (ed. Otto Nöldeke, published with Lothar Joachim, Munich, who had previously been Bassermann's business manager).

1909 *Schein und Sein* (ed. Otto Nöldeke).

1910 *Ut ôler Welt. Volksmärchen, Sagen, Volkslieder und Reime gesammelt von Wilhelm Busch* (ed. Otto Nöldeke).

Appendix B: *Von mir über mich* (1894) in translation (From me about me)

The following is my own translation of Busch's *Von mir über mich*, as he had revised it in 1894, and as it first appeared in print in 1899. This first translation into English was taken from the final manuscript, which Busch mailed to Bassermann on January 16, 1894.

Nothing looks the way it is. Least of all man, this leather sack filled with wiles and guiles. And also disregarding the flings and masks of vanity. Always, if one wants to know something, one has to rely on the dubious servanthood of the brain and brains, and never really find out properly what has happened. In these days, who is innocent enough to assume world histories or biographies to be correct? They resemble legends and anecdotes that mention names, time and place to appear believable. If they are narrated enjoyably, if they are encouraging and informative, or striking and exhilarating, well then! we'll accept it. However, if one isn't exactly a professor of eloquence and all kinds of other things which St. Augustine was, and is nonetheless determined to write about oneself, then one would be best served to keep it short. And that goes for me, too.

I was born in 1832 in Wiedensahl. My father was a storekeeper, cheerful and industrious; my mother, quiet and pious, busily toiled in house and garden. The sands of time have not been able to erase from my grateful memory the love as well as the discipline which were bestowed upon me by them both.

My dear good grandmother was the first one to awake in the morning. She struck sparks on the P-shaped steel, until one would ignite and jump into the mantle, into the half-charred canvas in the lid of the tinderbox, and soon dancing merrily away in the kitchen on the open hearth beneath the tripod and the copper kettle; and it wasn't long before the little pot-bellied stove in the parlour also had a red-hot belly, in which it roared. When I was seven, eight years old, I was occasionally permitted to get up along with her; and in the winter especially it seemed to me to be delightfully mysterious to be so self-confident in this world so early in the day, when all around everything was still quiet and dead and dark. Then the two of us sat, until the water boiled, in the narrow sphere of light from the Pompeian shaped pewter lamp. She spun. I read aloud some fine morning songs from the hymnbook.

Later on at breakfast, master and mistress, farm worker and maid took their place at the same table, as is befitting for good friends.

Around this time of my life a little incident occurred which turned out to be rather painful and humiliating for me. In servitude with the sexton was a cowhand, five, six years older than I. Into a rusty church key, as big as the one St. Peter has, he had filed a percussion hole, and he already had plenty of chopped up window lead; he was merely lacking powder for lightning and thunder. Due to his powers of

persuasion I paid a quiet visit to a certain crock, which stood in the attic. In the afternoon we tagged along with the cows to the secluded forest meadow. Splendid was the reverberation of the cannon. And quite by chance an old farmer also passed by, in the direction of the village.--In the evening I cheerfully went home and was really looking forward to the evening meal. My father met me by the door and invited me to follow him up to the attic. Here he grasped me on my left and with the aid of a bamboo cane beat me around in a circle, round and round the crock that had the powder inside. My embarrassment could be heard far and wide. And strange! I turned neither into a hunter nor a soldier.

When I was nine years old, I was to stay with my mother's brother in Ebergötzen. On the eve of departure, as children will be, half glad, half wistful, I splashed about with my hand in the rain barrel, above which was a bush of white roses, and I naively sang Christine! Christine! to myself.

And then early in the morning farmhand Heinrich hitched the Pomeranian nag before the cart. The whole family, excepting the father, got on, to escort the dear boy. The stars were shining brightly as we drove through the Schaumburg Forest. Deer jumped across the path.

We didn't stop at roadside inns; at the side of the road we would stop, the lid to the victuals basket would be opened and among other things an entire smoked ham exposed, which however soon dwindled noticeably. After repeated overnight stays with relatives we safely reached the parsonage in Ebergötzen.

Already the day after arrival I became friends with the miller's son. We went out in front of the village for a swim. We made a mire out of dirt and water, which we named "Peter and Paul," covered ourselves with it from top to bottom, laid down in the sun until we were encrusted like pastries, and rinsed it off again in the creek.

The innkeeper of the village, too, became a good friend of mine, because he owned a piano. He was rugged, just like Esau. The black hair would continuously creep into the cravat and again out of the sleeves almost to the finger nails. When he shaved he cried, because the year 48, which liberated even the most unruly beards, hadn't yet put in an appearance. He wore leather clogs and a yellow-green jacket, which rarely sought to cloak the rear facial expressions of the pale blue pants. His philosophy was retrospective optimism; he often loved to claim that he was too good for this world. When he once intentionally stepped on the toes of a hound and I remarked that didn't quite tally with his assertion, I immediately received a clip round the ears. Our friendship too. But the sting didn't last long. He always remained a dear and odd man to me. He was a tasteful flower-grower, a heavy user of snuff, and he wed three times. At his place I found a voluminous book of music, which I plonked through in its entirety, and liberal non-denominational writings of the time, which were eagerly devoured.

My friend from the mill, who shared my scholarly lessons, also shared my studies in the open

countryside. Snares and traps were diligently constructed, and the hiding place of not even a single trout along the entire creek, underneath stones and the roots of trees, remained unnoticed by us.

Always amid all this hustle and bustle, lingered the charming image of a child with fair curly hair. Of course, I often longed for that famed inferno and subsequent death at the feet of the rescued beloved. Most of the time, however, I was not that reckless toward myself, but rather was content with the desire that I could magically fly and jump, high up in the air, from one tree to the next, and that she would watch me and be mesmerized with admiration.

From my uncle, who was extremely mild-mannered, I received a beating only once, with a dried dahlia stalk, because I teased the village idiot. He had his pipe stuffed with cowhairs and zealously lit. He smoked it down to the last hair, with an expression of the most blissful satisfaction. Thus success for me was an undesired one in two different ways. It doesn't matter. A fool always remains a flattering memory.

With fondness I also remember the little old copper, who in those days carried the "beggar's spear," the short blade, as a sign of his powerful office. During the warm summertime he took his midday nap in the grass. He could snore remarkably. When he drew in air, he opened his mouth wide, and out came: "Craw!" When he pushed it out, he puckered his mouth to a fine point, and out came: "Phew!" like the mellow sound of a flute. One day we found him dead under the most famous pear tree in the village; the spear on his arm; his mouth open; so that one could see: Craw! had been his last sound. Round about him were the sweetest summer pears; but for once we wanted none.

Around the year 45 we moved to the parsonage in Lüthorst.

Under my window the creek gurgled. On the opposite bank was a house, a theatre for marital strife. The play began behind the scene, continued playing in the hall and concluded outside. She stood above in front of the door and triumphantly brandished the twig broom, he stood below in the creek and stuck out his tongue; and that way he had his triumph, too.

Metrics now also crept into the lesson plan. Writers, native and foreign ones, were read. At the same time the *Critique of Pure Reason* came into my hands, which, even though at the time rather superficially understood, nevertheless aroused an inclination to catch mice in the brain chamber, where there are far too many hideouts.

Sixteen years old, equipped with a sonnet and an approximate knowledge of the four basic arithmetical operations, I was granted admittance to the Polytechnical School in Hanover.

There a proud change happened to my outward appearance. I received my first watch--old, of the turnip watch type--and my first overcoat--new, as beautiful as the village tailor was able to create. On the very first morning, so that this overcoat would really be seen, I positioned myself very close to the classroom stove.

A smoke-filled cloud and the enthusiastic participation of my fellow students let me guess what was going on in back. The substantial damage was cured by the hacking method, shameful to see; and thereafter only during extremely distressing weather did this once so splendid garment show itself on a public street again.

In pure Mathematics I soared to an "A with distinction," but in the applied I moved with an ever more feeble beat of the wings.

A painter showed me the way to Dusseldorf. I arrived, as near as I know, during one of those spring festivals, this time for the storming of one of the castles; famous far and wide. I was very enthused about it, and about the May wine, too.

After I had dabbled my way through the Hall of Antiquity after a fashion, I made my way to Antwerp to the Painting Academy, where one, it was said, could still learn art's ancient mother tongue.

In this art-renowned city I saw for the first time the works of old masters: Rubens, Brouwer, Teniers, Frans Hals. Their divine ease in the portrayal of picturesque notions, coupled with a gem-like appeal of the subject; this innocence of a good conscience which does not need to hush up anything; this music of colours in which one is able to hear all voices coming through clearly, from the lowest bass upward, have forever garnered my love and admiration.

I lived at the corner of the Käsbrücke at a barber's. His name was Jan, his wife was called Mie. On mild evenings I would sit with them on the doorstep; in a green dressing-gown; clay pipe in mouth; and the neighbours also came by; the daughters in glossy black painted wooden clogs. Jan and Mie took turns shaving me, looked after me during an illness and when saying farewell during the cold season gave me a warm red jacket and three oranges.

After Antwerp I spent time at home.

What folks back then told of the olden days, I painstakingly tried to memorize, but unfortunately I knew too little to know what would be academically remarkable. The ghostly vestigial sparking of a future fire was called "flicker." The whirlwind that funnels the dust on the country road upward was called "warnwind"--there is a witch inside. Incidentally, I heard that since "Alter Fritz" had prohibited witchcraft, the witches really have to be careful with their art.

An old, quiet, usually taciturn man knew the most about fairytales. The shepherd, however, was the authority on ghost stories and evil dead people who, to the vexation of the living, return. When he told his stories in the evenings, he lay crosswise on the bed, and when his mouth got dry and parched, he would jump up and step in front of the table drawer and bite off a new bit of chewing tobacco as a refreshment. His wife sat next to him and spun.

The girls sang in the spinning-rooms what their mothers and grandmothers had sung. During the

break, in the evening at nine, they would dance on the large threshing floor, beneath the stable lamp, to the song:

> Tomorrow we will mow the oats,
> Who shall be the binder?
> Meier's Dorty shall do that,
> I will surely find her.

From Wiedensahl I visited my uncle in Lüthorst for a lengthy stay. A dispute had just arisen concerning a scientific principle, namely that a living being could only develop from a fertilized egg. A modest Catholic priest established proof that bees are an exception. My uncle, as adept writer and skilled observer, took a position and participated spiritedly in the fight. I also was irresistibly drawn away into the realm of natural sciences. I read Darwin, I read Schopenhauer in those days with a passion. But those things diminish with time. Their keys do fit to many of the doors in the enchanted castle of this world; but no "local" key, so it seems, even if it would be the ascetic's key, would ever fit the exit door.

From Lüthorst I went to Munich. However, in the academic current of those days, my small Flemish boat, which was probably also steered badly, didn't really get afloat.

It was all the more pleasant in the artists' club, were one would sing and drink and at the same time be in the habit of teasing each other with caricatures. I was not adverse to such friendly pranks either. One is human and likes to refresh and uplift oneself at the expense of the small distresses and stupidities of other people. Even about oneself one can occasionally laugh, and that's an added pleasure, because then one feels even smarter and more smug than one already is.

Laughter is an expression of relative contentment. Frankie-Boy behind the oven savours the warmth so much more when he sees how Jack-O outside blows into his frost-red hands. For public consumption, however, I only used imaginary ninnies. One can make them up better as required and more easily have them do and say as one likes. To me the trochee often seemed fitting for ordinary speech; ever handy the woodcut line for stylishly cheerful figures. Such a contoured being easily frees itself from the laws of gravity and is able, especially if it's not pretty, to endure a lot before it hurts us. One looks at the matter and meanwhile drifts in a state of complacent self-esteem beyond the sufferings of the world, indeed high above the artist, who is so very naive.

The mountains too, never before seen from close-up, were visited for an extended time. One late afternoon on foot, I arrived outside the small village where I intended to stay. Right away the first cottage with the splashing fountain and the fence with pumpkin braided through it looked temptingly idyllic. Folding stool and sketch book were opened up. On the threshold was an ancient grandma who slept, the kitten next to her. Suddenly from the background of the house came a younger woman, grabbed the old one by the hair

and dragged her onto the refuse heap. All the while, the old woman squawked like a chicken about to be slaughtered. Folding stool and sketch book were closed up. With this fracas, fickle fate led me to those splendid peasant folks and into a glorious region, to which I only reluctantly said farewell later.

It may have been in '59, when a drawing with text of mine was first printed in the *Fliegenden*: Two men who are going out on the ice, where one of them loses his head. Many times, as necessity dictated, I then also illustrated other texts beside my own. Soon, however, I felt that I should really do it all by myself. The scenes started to flow and grouped themselves into little picture stories, which were followed by bigger ones. Almost all of them I composed in Wiedensahl, without saying anything to anyone. Then I let them run to market, and there they jumped about, as boys will do, without showing much consideration about stepping onto peoples' toes, although one can probably also assume that they aren't all too sensitive when they get an occasional scolding.

People have thought the author to be a bookworm and a weirdo. The first unjustly so.

Although he reads among other things the Bible, the great dramatists, the Confessions of St. Augustine, Pickwick and Don Quixote, and considers the Odyssey the best of fairytale books, a bookworm is really a creature with totally different manners.

More likely he could be an eccentric. For society, except to be in the company of four to six eyes, he has little enthusiasm.

Great also was his negligence, or bashfulness, in written contact with strangers. The skilful stylist, who presents his correspondents with a dainty ornament of straw will immediately make himself popular, while the clumsy one, who knots his straws together like the peasant when he makes rope, must rightly fear that he causes offence. He hesitates and forgets.

He's not married, either. He is thinking to sometime apply for a tax on all husbands who cannot prove that they only got wed with a view to the welfare of their country. Whoever has a pretty and bright wife, who treats her servants well, pays double. The proceeds go to the old bachelors, so that they too derive some pleasure.

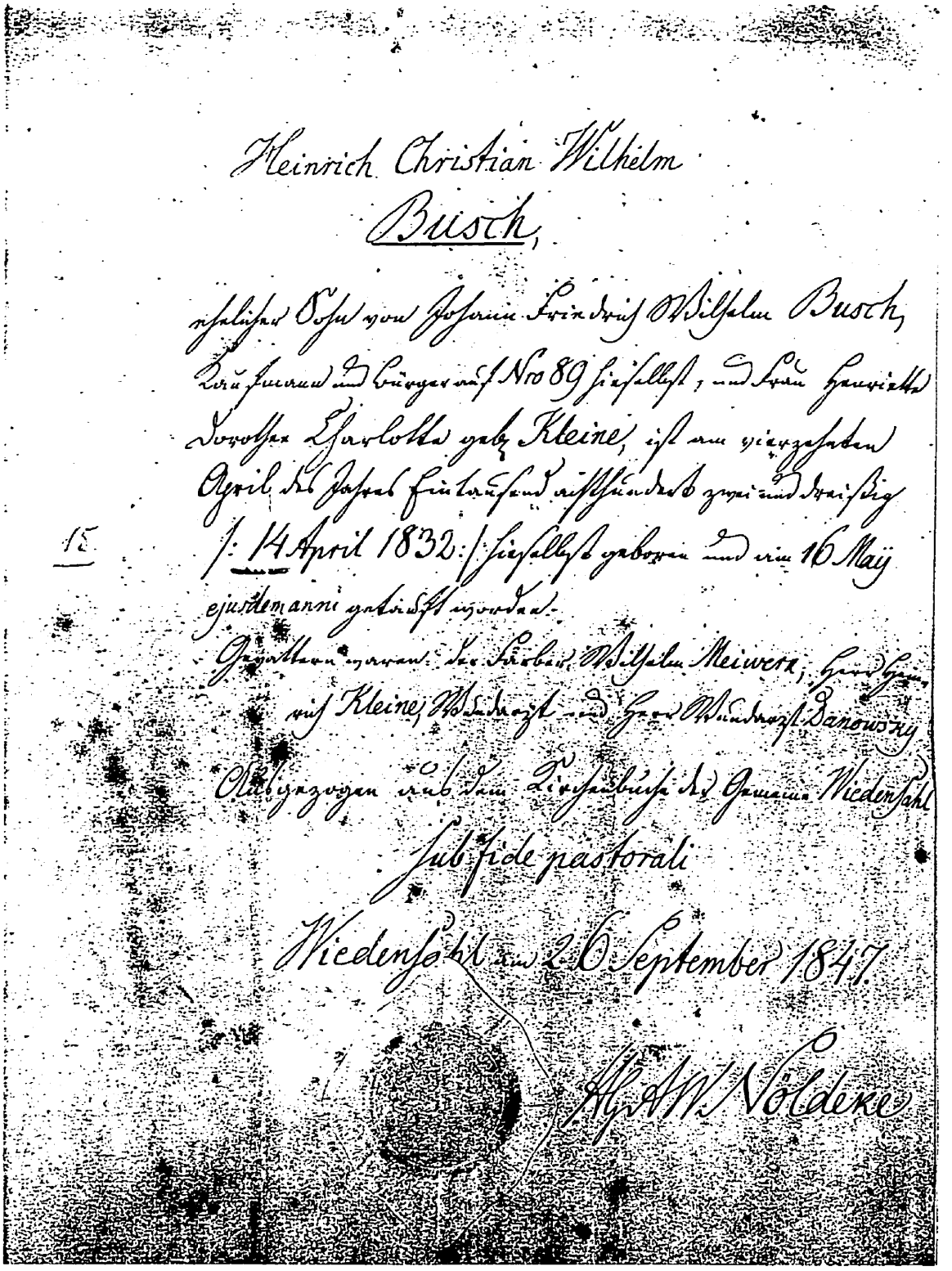
I'm coming to the end. The portrait, to be complete, would have needed more reflection. But it did not seem appropriate to me to use some outstanding people, whom I love and respect, for the purpose of self-illumination, and in reference to others that I find less pleasant, I have long considered that a lenient and easy-going silence is preferable.

So now I'm standing way at the bottom on the dark side of the mountain. I didn't become morose; instead, rather cheerful, half smiling, half moved when I hear the gay laughter from over the other side, where youth follows in the sunshine and strives upward in happy anticipation.

Appendix C: List of Illustrations

Illustration	Description	Reference in text on page #	Illustration page #
1	Birth Certificate for Wilhelm Busch	71	232
2	Church Book entry documenting the birth of Wilhelm Busch	72	233
3	"Der Gratulant" from the collection *Hernach*	73	234
4	Wilhelm Busch self-portraits	73	235
5	*Eduards Traum* manuscript samples	89	237
6	*Der Schmetterling* manuscript samples	121	239
7	Rodolphe Töpffer, sample pages from *L'Histoire de Monsieur Jabot*	183	243
8	*Der Struwwelpeter* and its precursors	186	245
9	*The Adventures of Teasing Tom and Naughty Ned*	189	246
10	*Max und Moritz* and *Katzenjammer Kids* comparison	194	247
11	Print media coverage before and after the WHW collection drive selling Wilhelm Busch figures	201	249
12	*Struwwelpeter* figures offered as Wilhelm Busch figures for the WHW collection drive	201	257
13	"Win und Franklin." *Hamburger Illustrierte*	202	258
14	"Die fromme Elene." *Hamburger Illustrierte*	202	261
15	*Simplicissimus* Special Editions	205	266
16	Erich Maria Remarque: "Conti-Buben" and "Kapitän Priemke"	206	268
17	Chlodwig Poth and Hans Traxler tributes to Busch	206	270
18	Robert Gernhardt on Busch as forerunner of modern art	206	272
19	Busch figures in advertising	208	273
20	Busch figures in political cartoons	209	279

Illustration 1: Birth Certificate for Wilhelm Busch, issued on September 26, 1847, showing a birth date of April 14, 1832.



Heinrich Christian Wilhelm

Busch,

ehelicher Sohn von Johann Friedrich Wilhelm Busch,
Bürgermeister und Eigenthümer auf No 89 hieselbst, und dessen ehelicher
Ehefrau Charlotte geb. Kleine, ist am vierzehnten
April des Jahres tausend achthundert zwei und dreißig
15 1/ 14 April 1832 /1 hieselbst geboren und am 16 May
ejusdem anni getauft worden.

Gevatter waren: der Schreiber Wilhelm Meiwes; Herr Gen.
Inf. Kleine, Excellenz, und Frau Wittwe Excellenz Banowsky
Adelheid geb. von Dassel, sämmtlich zu Ganderkesee.

Subsidio pastorali

Wiedensahl, am 26 September 1847.

Hpdt. W. Nöldeke

Illustration 2: Wiedensahl church book entry recording the birth of Wilhelm Busch on April 14, 1832.

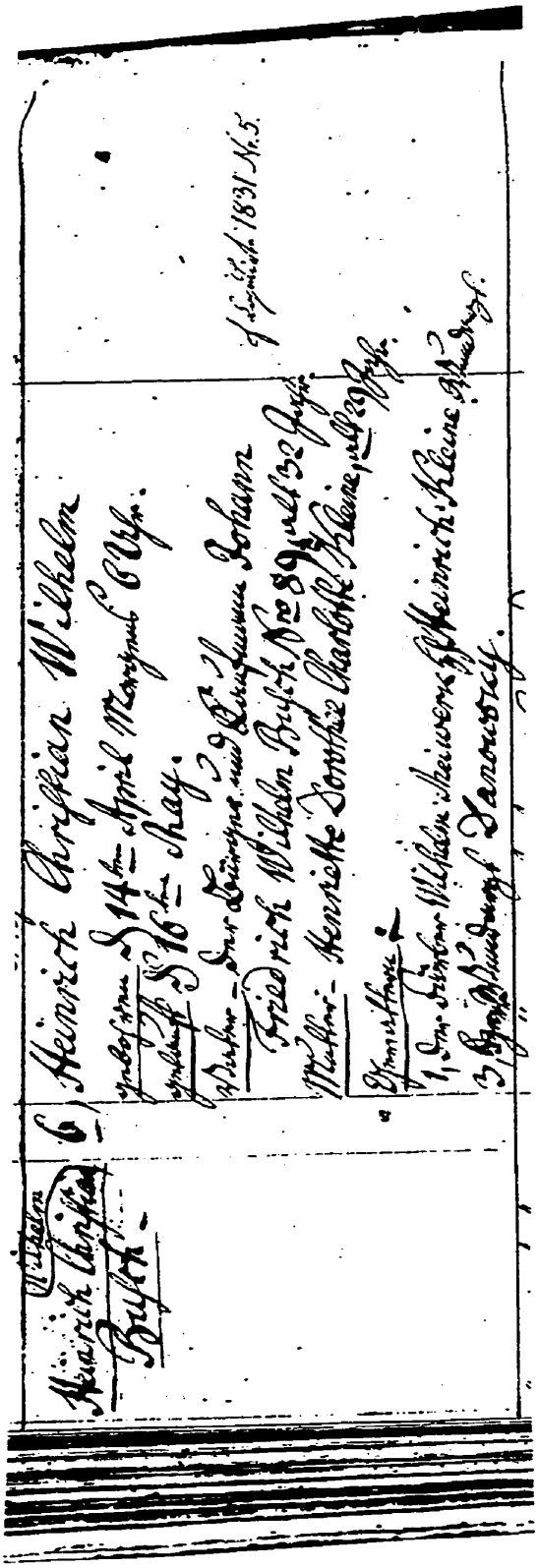


Illustration 3: "Der Gratulant" from the collection *Hernach*, published posthumously in 1908.

Der Gratulant



Zu ſpät, mein Lieber!
Der Namenstag iſt längſt vorüber.

Illustration 4a: Busch self-portrait "als Bettler" (as a beggar), oil on canvas, 36x21cm, ca. 1878.

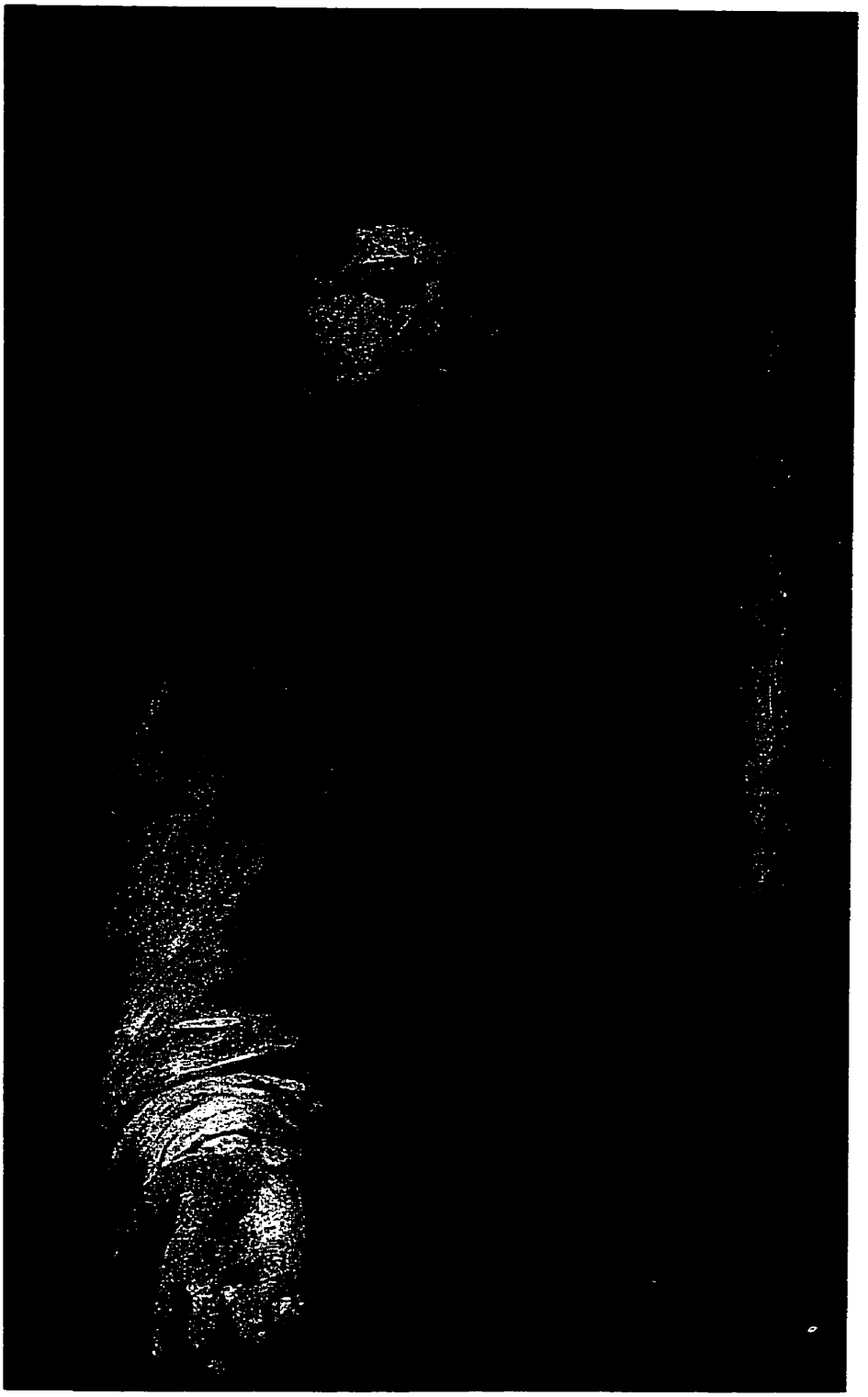
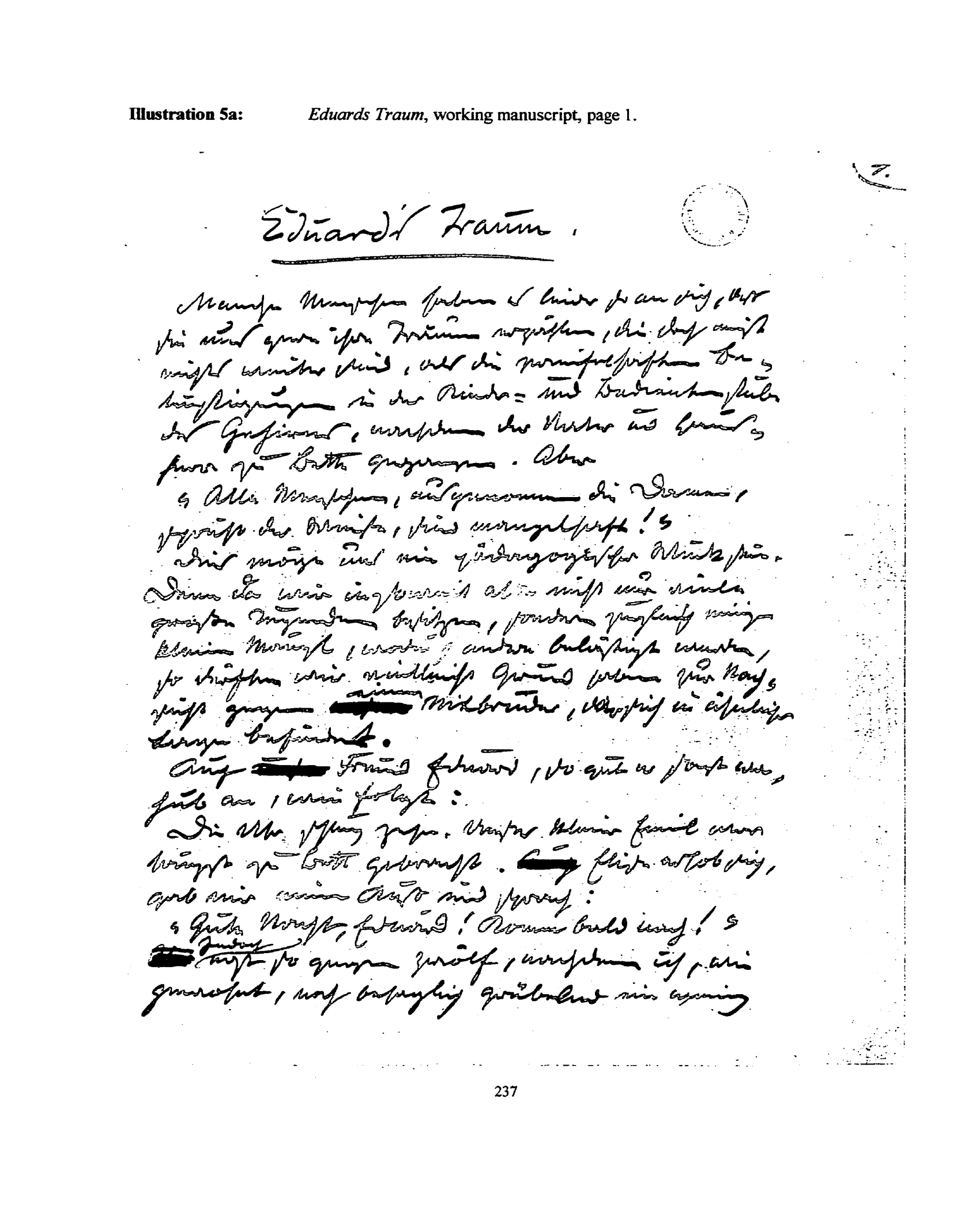


Illustration 4b: Busch self-portrait "in Feder" (sepia ink) on paper, 152x102mm, 1894.



Illustration 5a: *Eduards Traum*, working manuscript, page 1.



Eduards Traum.

Manche Menschen haben es leicht, die an sich, über die wir gern ihre Träume vergessen, die doch meist wichtig sind, oder die vermischen die Erscheinungen in der Wirklichkeit und Phantasie, der Geschichte, wenn sie Worte und Bilder finden zu Gott gelangen. Aber

Alle Menschen, ausgenommen die Dichter, besonders die Künstler, sind unglücklich!

Ihr möge Euch wie ein Hindergottes Künstlerin. Denn da wir eingeboren als wissen wir nichts gewissen Irgendwo bestehen, sondern jeglich wenig Kleine Menschen, wenden andern Gelüsten wenden, so möchten wir vielleicht Grund haben Euch Menschen ganz [redacted] Mitbrüder, Hoffnung in ähnliche Lage befindet.

Ein [redacted] Freund schrieb, da gute es doch oder, fuhr an, wie folgt:

Die Welt ist ganz. Unser Kleine Kreis eben bringt es Gott gebrauchte. [redacted] schlecht oder ob ich, oder wie einen Arzt sind Herren:

Gute Menschen, schreibt! Denken bald wenig! Es [redacted] Jahre so ganz Zweifel, wenn ich, wie gemacht, noch ordentlich grübelnd wie einmal

Illustration 5b: *Eduards Traum*, final manuscript, page 1.

Eduards Traum.

Manche Menschen haben es leider so an sich, daß sie uns gern ihre Träume erzählen, die doch wenig interessant sind, weil die genauesten Beschreibungen in den Kinder- und Dienstmädchenstuben des Großvaters, unseligen Andenkens und Erinnerungen zu Dutzenden gefunden. Also

„Alle Menschen, ausgenommen die Dummen, Kinder und Narren, sind vernünftig!"

Dies möge uns ein philosophischer Mensch sein. Denn der muß imponieren, alle nützlichen großen Tugenden besitzen, sondern gelegentlich einige kleine Mängel, wodurch andere Leute — anderen, die Möglichkeit uns willkommen Grund geben, ihre Menschlichkeit gegenüber einem Mitbruder, der sich in ärmlicher Lage befindet.

Aus Freundschaft, da gibt es doch gewiß, sich an, wie folgt.

Die Uhr schlug zehn. Unser kleiner Emil war bereits zu Bett gebracht. Elise wohl sich, gab mir einen Kuß und sprang.

„Gute Nacht, Eduard! Komm bald wieder!"

Jedoch nicht so gegen zwölf, nachdem ich, wie gewohnt, noch besonders grübelnd mir eine

Illustration 6a: *Der Schmetterling*, working manuscript, page 1.

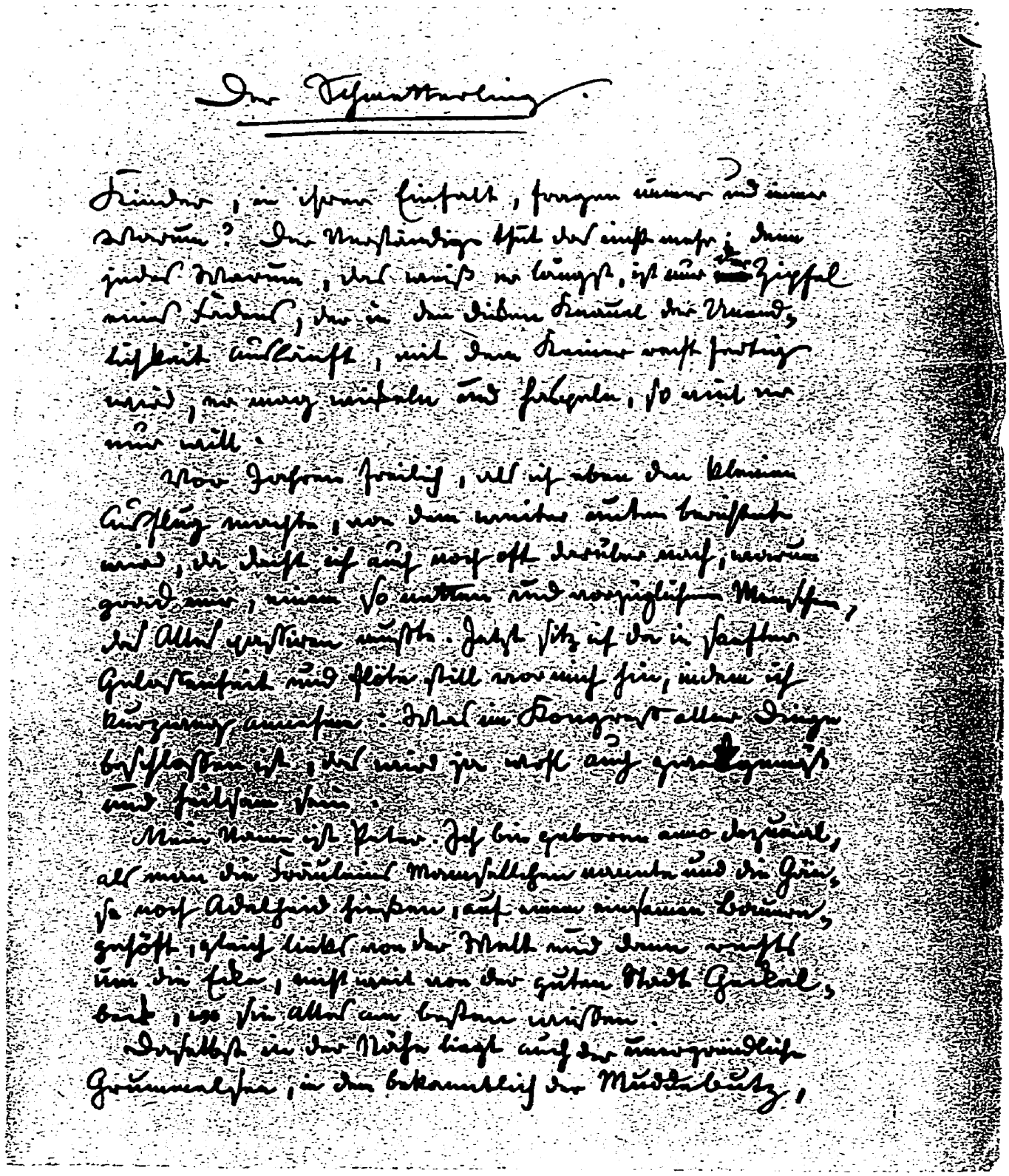


Illustration 6b: *Der Schmetterling*, working manuscript, page 5.

denn von der gewöhnlichen Kost hatte ich längst allen Ekel voll.

Aber jetzt, in der Ferne, flog einer auf, den kannt ich noch nicht. Ich lief hinter ihm her über Hecken und Zäune, an, mocht wohl drei Stunden lang in einer Tour, bis mich schließlich zu dumm wurde. Unwillig warf ich mich ins Gras. Oben in der Luft schwebte mir Herbert. Wenn hätte ich seine sanften Bogenzüge, wenn ich bald mir gedräumt. Als ich vorsichtig, wollte die Dame Hor entdeckte, und da ich die höchste Zeit war, auch Ge zu nehmen, klatschte ich auf einen Baum [illegible] am Rande der Wiese [illegible], um zu sehen, wo ich den eigentlich wäre. Nichts als Feindschaft gegen mich die Blicke und Bäume. Fast erwürgt; denn hinter und gleichgültig, morgen ich mich in meine Decke. Ich stieg [illegible], suchte einen geeigneten Platz, setzte mich und fing an Pflaumen zu essen. Plötzlich, wie durch die Luft vor freudigem Erstaunen, denn es an gefliegt, der einzige Schmetterling, [illegible] [illegible] gesellte sich allen Farben des Regenbogens, und kam auf mich zu auf den Rücken meiner Hand, wie der. Leise hob ich den Netz; ich zielte hindurchsam. Schlief! Fort flog er hin. Aber gut gezielt wurde doch, denn mit dem riesigen Netzbügel hatte ich wichtig die kleine Hexe getroffen, einen der, wo wie am allerwichtigsten waren. Ich sprang auf, betrachtete auf meinem Beine und stieß dazu.

„Aha! dachte ich hinter mir. Auf's Auge getroffen!"

Ein schöner blauer Schmetterling, gaukelnd wie ein Zaubervogel, saß unter meinem Hute.

„Ich bin der Fürst!" sagt er und sieht mich zu essen.

„Und ich der Narzi!" sagt er.

Illustration 6c: *Der Schmetterling*, final manuscript, page 1.



Kinder, in ihrer Einfalt, fragen immer und immer: Warum? Der Verständige schüttelt den Kopf; denn jedes Warum, das weiß er wohl, führt zuletzt auf Gott, der in den dicken Bereich der Ewigkeiten verschlossen, mit dem Sinne nicht fassbar wird, wo mag wandeln und schaffen, so wird er nun will.

Von Johann Jenisch, als ich ihm den kleinen Aufsatz machte, von dem wir hier Bruchstücke geben, da dacht ich auch noch oft darüber nach, warum gerade mir, einem so unedlen und verwerflichen Menschen, das alles geschehen müßte. Jetzt sitz ich da in ganz stiller Gelassenheit und stör mich nicht daran, indem ich kürzlich annehme: Weil im Konzept alles Dinge beisammen ist, das wird ja wohl auch manchmal gemischt und seltsam sein.

Meine Mama ist tot. Ich bin froh, davon etwas verstanden, als unser Herr

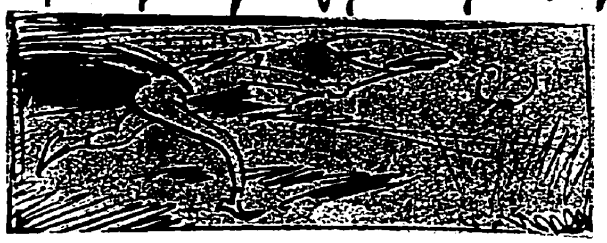
Illustration 6d: *Der Schmetterling*, final manuscript, page 5.

Frühling. Mal aber wurde mein junges Herz krank. Die hatte mir Schmetterlinge von Goldflügeln ins Herz gemalt, flatterten. Die blühenden Bäume und Sträucher. Ihre weißen Blüten blitzten, wie ich das Licht ins Gesicht schien, gegen den dunklen Hintergrund.

Als der Sommer kam, als die Welt mir wurde von Laub und Blüten, warf ich mir in Netz und jagte nach Schmetterlingen. Da fuhren sie auf, flogen in leichtsinniger Fröhlichkeit, aber mich wieder zu locken zu beliebigen Flüge, das war mein Fang; und suchen, wie den wichtigsten Hauptzweck, das Fangen ich auf.

Einen Donnerstagmorgen, während die andern zur Messe waren, versah ich mich schlich und ging auf den Hintersteig, das Netz in der Hand, dem Feind voller Pflichten. Hell schien die Sonne. Vom Garten ins Feld, vom Feld in die Wiesen dämmerte ich glückselig dahin. Schmetterlinge flogen in Menge. Von Zeit zu Zeit verfehlte ich einen, bis ich es fliegen, denn von der gewöhnlichen Sorte hatte ich längst alle Farben voll.

Aber jetzt, in der Ferne, flog einer auf, der kannte ich noch nicht. Ich lief hinter ihm her über



Hecken und Zäunen, wohl gegen drei Stunden lang in einer Ferne, bis mir schließlich zu dumm wurde.

Illustration 7a: Rodolphe Töpffer, *L'Histoire de Monsieur Jabot*, pages 40-41.

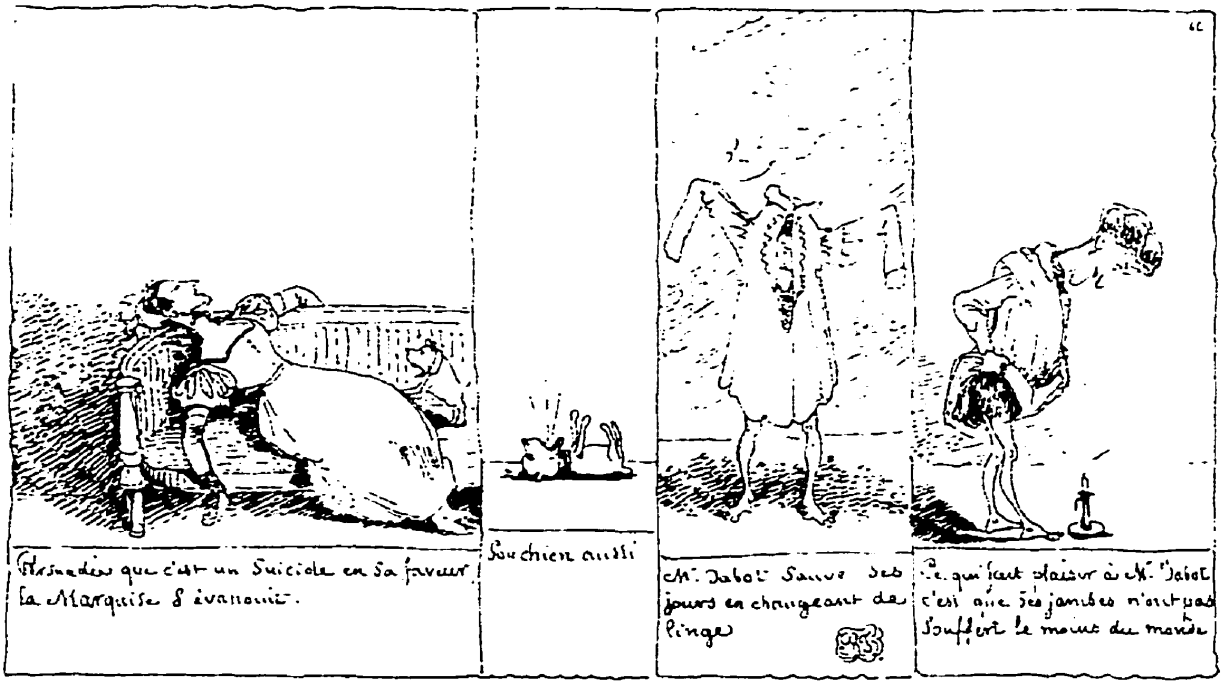




Illustration 7b: Rodolphe Töpffer, *L'Histoire de Monsieur Jabot*, pages 42-43.





Illustration 8: *Der Struwwelpeter* and its precursors.
Top left: Paul Gavarni, *Un enfant terrible* (1840)
Top right: A. Kneisel, *Industrielles Wunder der Jetztzeit* (1843)
Bottom: H. Hoffmann, *Der Struwwelpeter*, 2. Aufl., Frankfurt/M., 1845; page 1: Prologue: "Wenn die Kinder artig sind . . . " (left); page 20: "Der Struwwelpeter" (right)

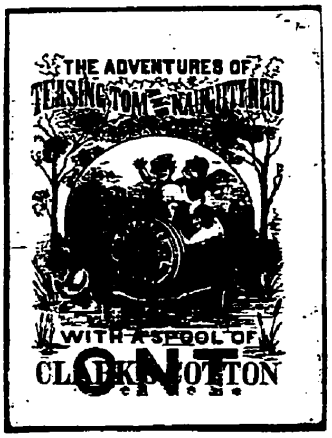








Illustration 9: Advertising pamphlet for the sewing thread company "Clark's O.N.T. Spool Cotton," featuring *The Adventures of Teasing Tom and Naughty Ned with a Spool of Clark's O.N.T. Cotton*, inspired by the first and second prank of *Max und Moritz*.
8 page booklet (plus paper cover), 3in.x4½in.



The Adventures of
TEASING TOM and NAUGHTY NED
With a Spool of
CLARK'S O. N. T. COTTON.



Here's Teasing Tom just out of school,
And likewise Naughty Ned;
Of Clark's best cotton they've a spool,
And four small bits of bread.

Quoth Tom to Ned, "some fun I know;
We'll take this spool of thread
And with it we will die—just so—
These little bits of bread."



"The ducks will see it on the ground,
We'll hide behind a tree,
And watch them skip and hop around;—
Now you just wait and see."

Use Clark's O. N. T. Spool Cotton.

And sure enough each greedy duck,
Not dreaming of *foul* play,
Soon grabbed them up—"quack! quack!
we're stuck."
They quackled in dismay.



These wicked boys then laughed in glee,
And hung 'em on a bough:—
"The thread will hold, it's O. N. T.!—
Oh, hookey! what a row!"

George A. Clark, Sole Agent.

Each duckling's life hung by a thread.
(Now had that thread been rotten,
These greedy ducks would not be dead.)
N. B.—It was *Clark's* Cotton!



Old Granny Blobkin heard their cry,
And out she rushed in fear,
To find her ducklings hanging high:—
She shed a bitter tear.

Use Clark's O. N. T. Spool Cotton.

She got a knife—'t was wondrous keen—
And tried the threads to sever:
Quoth she, "dear me! I never see—
That is, I *hardly* ever!"



She hacked away, at last they fell;
(Of course, she *finished* her bread,)
She picked 'em up remarking, "well,
I s'pose they *must* be dead!"

George A. Clark, Sole Agent.

"I'll go and bake a nice duck pie:"
Then thusly reasoned she,
"Those ducks would not have had to die,
If 't were not O.N.T. (Originally Necessary
Too.)



The boys still hung about the house,
They could not keep aloof;
Soon each, as quiet as a mouse,
Was crawling up the roof.

Use Clark's O.N.T. Spool Cotton.

Adown the chimney each one looked,
Then took another look;
"Oh, hookey! Tom, they're nearly cooked,
Let's hook 'em with this hook!"



What happened then I blush to tell,
My courage almost fails,—
Those shameless boys threw ducks did—well,
They hooked them by their tails!

George A. Clark, Sole Agent.

"O goodness me! why, what was that?"
Cried Granny, turning round:
"My ducks are gone, it was the cat,
You'll catch it now, I'm bound."



The spool's unwound, the story's done,
Boys' pranks are soon forgotten,
If after deeds are tried and strong
And useful—as *Clark's* Cotton!

THE END.

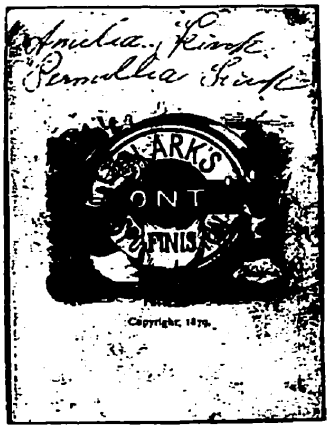
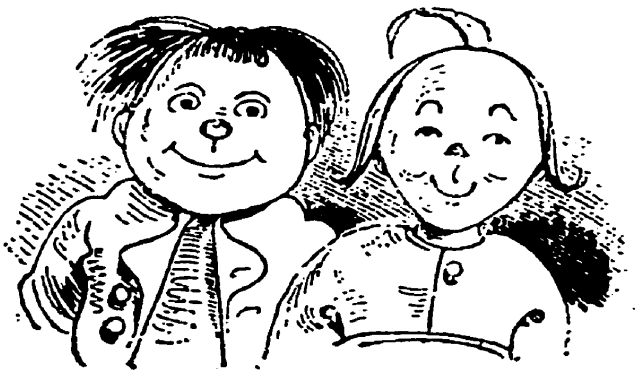
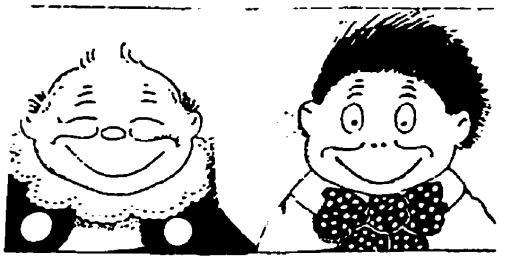


Illustration 10a: Comparison of *Max und Moritz* and *Katzenjammer Kids* frames.





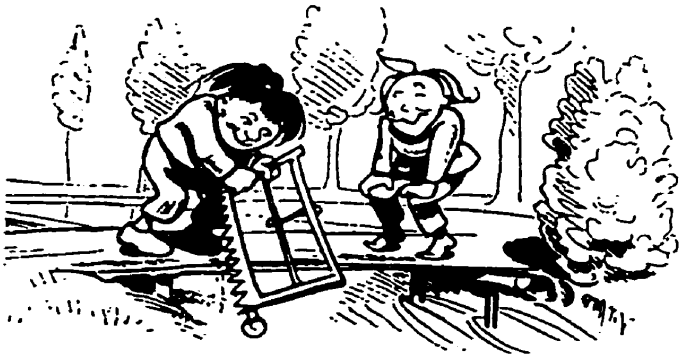
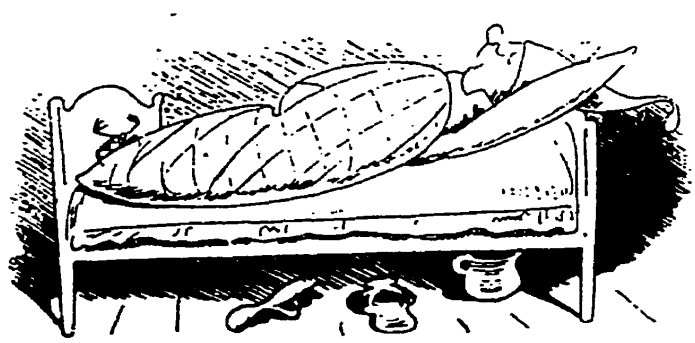


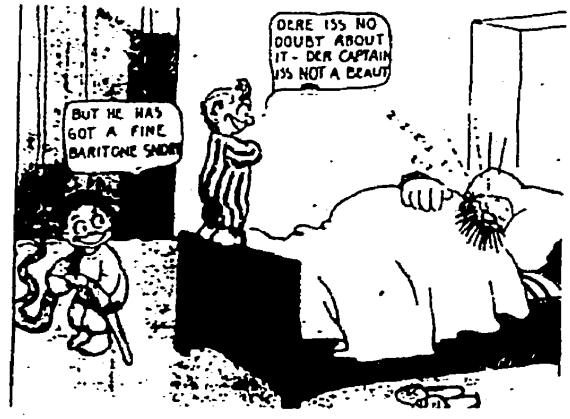


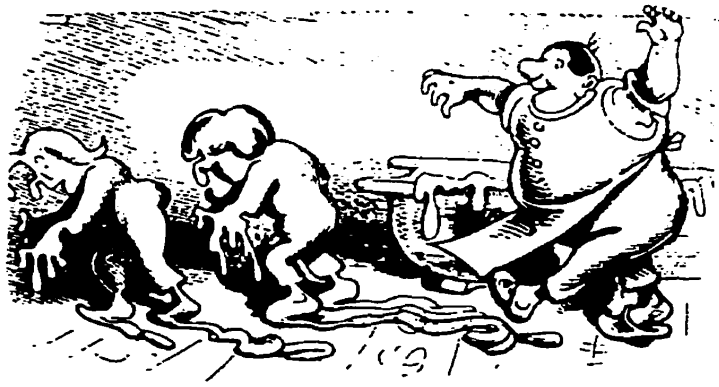




Illustration 10b: Comparison of *Max und Moritz* and *Katzenjammer Kids* frames (cont'd).









Max und Moritz end with a versified epilogue expressing a similar delight as what can be seen on the onlookers' faces in the last panel of the *Katzenjammer Kids*.

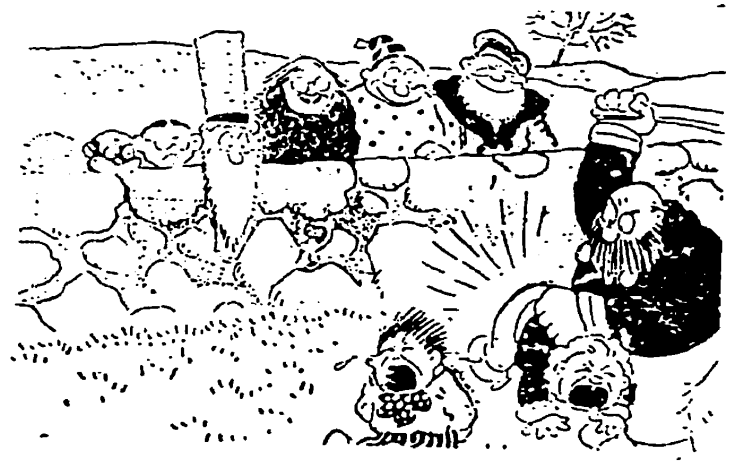


Illustration 11a: *Ewiges Deutschland*, 2 (February) 1940 promoting Busch figures for the WHW collection drive.



Illustration 11b: Promotion in the *Hamburger Illustrierte*, 5 (Febr.) 1940 for the WHW collection drive.















„Ja. Das Geld ist auf der Kreissparkasse eingezahlt. Die Beträge wurden entsprechend den vorgeschriebenen Bedingungen gesperrt. Ich habe selbst alles erledigt und unangreifbar gemacht. Die Zinsen werden Frau Korn vierteljährlich ausgezahlt."

„Und wie hat Frau Korn die Nachricht aufgenommen?"

„Sie war überglücklich, Herr Brauer. Ich habe in meiner Praxis noch keinen Fall erlebt, in dem einer meiner Klienten so außerordentliche Freude zeigte. Zuerst konnte Frau Korn es kaum fassen, bis ich ihr alles genau auseinandergesetzt habe. Dann weinte sie vor Freude und beruhigte sich mühsam. Die Mitteilung an ihre auswärts lebenden Kinder hat sie selbst unter meiner Anleitung vorgenommen. Ich wünschte, daß ich oft solche Aufträge hätte, die viel Schwereres, was man sonst mit anzusehen hat, überdecken."

„Vielen Dank, Herr Rechtsanwalt. Ich bitte, auch in Zukunft von meiner Vermittlerrolle niemand gegenüber zu sprechen, da ich überflüssige Dankesbezeigungen vermeiden will."

„Wird besorgt, Herr Brauer."

Koßmann hängte ein. Er wandte sich zu Schwiegermutter und Schwager. „Gott sei Dank, daß ich wenigstens das tun konnte. Es ist eine Sühne für die Sorge und Angst, die Frau Korn und ihre Kinder ausgestehen hatten."

„Ja, Hannes." Frau d'Oleron nahm seinen Kopf zwischen beide Hände. „Wenn es dir nur innerlich hilft. Geld ist erst dann etwas wert, wenn man damit Freude machen kann."

„Und jetzt will ich gehen, Mutter."

„Willst du —", sie schluckte, „willst du nicht noch von den Jungen Abschied nehmen, ich meine für alle Fälle, wenn du nicht gleich zurückkommst?"

„Besser wäre es nicht, Mutter. Sagt ihnen, ihr Vater hätte verreisen müssen und bliebe ein paar Wochen fort."

Draußen in der Diele brach Lärm aus. Zwei Kinderstimmen stritten und machten Spektakel genug für ein Dutzend. Hannes Koßmann lächelte. „Meine Jungen. So war ich auch einmal." Er ging zur Tür und öffnete sie. Sobald ihn die Kinder erblickten, ließen sie Spielzeug und Gegenstand des Streites sofort fallen und stürmten mit Geheul auf ihren Vater zu.

„Fein, daß du da bist, Vati. Ist denn heute Sonntag?"

„Nein, Sonntag ist nicht. Ich muß verreisen und bin deshalb nach Hause gekommen. Aber Großmutter und Onkel Richard bleiben hier, um mit euch zu spielen, oder wollt ihr lieber zu Großmutter auf Besuch nach Werder?"

„Klar." Utz, der ältere, erklärte das energisch. „Besuch ist immer fein, und Großmutter hat einen größeren Garten als wir hier, Vater, außerdem das viele Wasser."

„Dann sprecht einmal mit Großmutter, ob sie euch mitnehmen will."

Sofort ließen sie von ihm ab und stürmten zu der Großmutter hin. Bettelnd, schmeichelnd und fordernd wünschten sie sofortige Übersiedlung nach Werder. In diesem Augenblick betrat Gitta die Diele. Ihr Mann stand allein, da die Kinder mit ihrer Großmutter eine Gruppe bildeten, die für nichts anderes Augen hatte. Frau Koßmann trat auf ihren Gatten zu. Sie war bleich wie eine Tote, hatte tiefliegende Ringe um die Augen und sah nicht so gepflegt aus wie sonst. Sie schien nicht dreißig, sondern vierzig Jahre alt zu sein.

Mit einer bittenden Gebärde, die hilflos aussah wie die einer Sterbenden oder eines eingeschüchterten Kindes, trat sie näher zu ihm. „Hannes, verzeih mir." Ihre Augen schwammen voll Tränen.

Eine Sekunde überkam ihn Rührung. Dann hatte er sich wieder in der Gewalt. Nur nicht weich werden. Die Schande, die große Schande stand deutlich vor seinen Augen. Und vor ihm lag eine Zukunft grau und trübe, deren Ausgang nicht abzusehen war. Diese Frau war schuld an allem.

„Verzeihen mag dir ein anderer. Ich kann es nicht. Es ist billig, erst alles heraufzubeschwören und dann zu kommen und um Verzeihung zu bitten. Alles, Gitta, ohne Ausnahme, alles hätte ich dir verziehen, selbst wenn du ein Verbrechen begangen hättest. Nie würde ich dich verlassen und mit deinem Schmerz allein gelassen haben. Aber das kann ich dir nicht verzeihen, nicht heute und nicht morgen und nicht am Ende meiner Tage."

Er drehte sich auf dem Absatz herum. Sein Gesicht blieb unbewegt und gewann erst wieder Leben, als er sich zu seinen Kindern herabbeugte, sie küßte und sich von ihnen verabschiedete.

„Seid schön brav, solange ich verreist bin, ja?"

„Ja, Vater." Sie küßten ihn heftig. „Bleibst du lange weg?"

„Nicht lange, nur ein paar Wochen."

„Oh, das ist aber sehr lange."

„Auf Wiedersehen, Mutter, auf Wiedersehen, Richard." Er drückte beiden die Hand und küßte seiner Schwiegermutter auf die Stirn, während sie ihn umklammert hielt. Dann nahm er seinen Hut vom Haken und ging ohne einen Blick nach rückwärts durch die Diele. Sein Schritt war fest und sicher.

Dem Chauffeur gab er Weisung, zum Gebäude der Staatsanwaltschaft zu fahren. Der Mann würde ohnehin morgen alles wissen. Er sah geradeaus, als der Wagen durch Berlin fuhr. Keine Miene war anders als sonst. In der gleichen straffen Haltung, wie man es von ihm gewohnt war, stieg er die Treppe zum Gebäude der Staatsanwaltschaft empor, nachdem er dem Chauffeur bedeutet hatte, heimzufahren. Dann fiel die Tür hinter ihm zu.

*

„Ich habe Ihnen ein Geständnis zu machen, Herr Staatsanwalt." Koßmann stand aufrecht neben dem Schreibtisch Doktor Fechts, obwohl dieser seinem Besucher nach der Begrüßung einen Stuhl angeboten hatte.

„Nanu, Geständnis? Was haben Sie denn verbrochen?" Der Staatsanwalt schlug einen scherzhaften Ton an.

„Ich habe den Kapellmeister Ralf Kühlich erschossen."

Fecht gab sich einen Ruck, stand auf und starrte Koßmann an. „Sie, Mann? Wissen Sie, was Sie da sagen? Gestern hat vor Gericht der Angeklagte Korn gestanden, und jetzt kommen Sie mit der Behauptung, daß nicht er, sondern Sie der Täter seien. Und warum kommen Sie erst jetzt?"

„Korn hat nur aus Angst ein falsches Geständnis abgelegt, weil er sich in alle möglichen Indizien verwickelt sah. In Wirklichkeit bin ich der Täter."

„Setzen Sie sich, bitte." Der Staatsanwalt ließ sich schwerfällig nieder.

„Wollen Sie mir das nicht ein wenig näher erklären, Herr Koßmann?"

„Selbstverständlich, Herr Staatsanwalt. Ich muß dazu etwas weiter ausholen." Mit regelmäßiger, fast monoton wirkender Stimme erstattete er Bericht. Wie am Morgen bei Justizrat Hirte vergaß er nichts, was von Bedeutung war, ging nur einmal etwas ausführlicher darauf ein, was ihn zu seiner abwartenden Haltung bis zur Urteilsfällung veranlaßt hatte.

Fecht wußte schon wenige Minuten nach Beginn der Erklärung Koßmanns, daß dieser die Wahrheit sprach. Logisch reihte sich ein Geschehnis an das andere. Sein Beruf hatte den Staatsanwalt hart gemacht gegenüber den Nöten der Menschen.

„Ich stehe heute als Beamter vor Ihnen, Herr Koßmann, und müßte es mir versagen, ein menschliches Wort an Sie zu richten, das über die mir gezogenen Grenzen hinweggeht. Bevor ich Ihre Aussagen protokollieren lasse, möchte ich Ihnen aber doch sagen, daß Sie sich in Dinge hineindrängen ließen, die furchtbar auf Ihnen lasten müssen und die weit über die Befugnisse des einzelnen hinausgehen. Geständnisse von Verbrechern habe ich oft gehört, auch ganz freiwillig gegebene, von Männern die sich selbst stellten, aber ein Fall wie der Ihre gehört Gott sei Dank zu den größten Seltenheiten." Dann beauftragte er durch den Fernsprecher seinen Protokollschreiber, sofort zu kommen. (Fortsetzung folgt)











Wilhelm Busch

wirbt für das

KRIEGS-WHW.

Am 3. und 4. Februar werden SA., SS, NSKK. und NSFK. zur 3. Reichsstraßensammlung antreten und zwölf verschiedene Wilhelm-Busch-Figuren zum Kauf anbieten. 34½ Millionen Stück dieser Figuren, nach Entwürfen der Majolika-Manufaktur in Karlsruhe, sind in insgesamt zehn Werken in Baden, in der Steiermark, in der Eifel und an der Nordseeküste hergestellt worden und haben vielen Menschen in der Porzellan-, Majolika- und Tonindustrie monatelang einträgliche und befriedigende Beschäftigung gegeben.

Illustration 11c: *Berliner Illustrierte Nachtausgabe*, January 29, 1940.

Vierte Reichsstraßensammlung im Zeichen von Wilhelm Busch

Max und Moritz im Knopfloch

Zwölf der lustigen Figuren werben für das Winterhilfswerk

Die kommende 4. Reichsstraßensammlung am 3. und 4. Februar wird im Zeichen unseres unvergeßlichen Humoristen Wilhelm Busch stehen. Nicht weniger als 34½ Millionen Exemplare von 12 köstlichen Typen aus den Werken des Meisters sind in der Porzellan- Majolika- und Tonindustrie in Baden, in der Steiermark, in der Eifel und an der Nordseeküste hergestellt worden. In einer Höhe von 3½ Zentimetern, mit bunten Farben bemalt, werden sie nun — aus der flächigen Zeichnung in die Plastik übertragen — von den freiwilligen Helfern aus den Reihen der SA, der SS, des NSKK und NSFK am kommenden Sonnabend und Sonntag angeboten. Max und Moritz, Julchen und Adele, die fromme Helene und der Maler Kleckſel, Herr und Frau Knopp, die gute Tante und der Meister Böck, Bauer Nolte und die Witwe Bolte sollen unsere Rock- und Mantelaufschläge schmücken.



In den 12 verschiedenen Abzeichen der kommenden Reichsstraßensammlung am 3. und 4. Februar werden wir volkstümliche Gestalten aus den Werken von Wilhelm Busch wiedererkennen. Sie wurden nach Entwürfen der Majolikamanufaktur Karlsruhe angefertigt Scherl-Bilderdienst

Tausend Erinnerungen werden damit wieder lebendig aus den Tagen, da wir über einem zerlesenen Bande aus den vielen Schöpfungen Wilhelm Buschs hockten und uns köstlich freuten über Hans Huckebein, den Unglücksraben, über die Streiche von Max und Moritz, über Balduin Bählmann, den verhinderten Dichter, über Fips, den Affen, den Pater Filuzius und den Vetter Franz. „Eins, zwei, drei, im Sauseschritt" ist die Zeit seitdem dahingelaufen, aber der Name Wilhelm Busch hat die Jahrzehnte überdauert. Die Straßensammlungen am Sonnabend und Sonntag werden wohl so manchen wieder veranlassen, in einer müßigen Stunde die Wilhelm-Busch-Bände aus dem Bücherschrank zu nehmen. Man wird dann die Schöpfungen des Meisters mit anderen Augen betrachten als ehedem. Neben dem Humoristen wird uns der Philosoph und auch der Erzieher Busch aus seinen Büchern anblicken, und Staunen und Hochachtung wird uns der gradsinnige, kompromißlose Niedersachse abnötigen, der gerecht und unbestechlich, mit Verstand und Herz sich niemals vom ureigenem Wesen seines Volkes entfernt hat.

Und nun wird die Persönlichkeit und das Werk des Meisters mit seinen Hauptfiguren, die uns das Winterhilfswerk vermittelt, wieder unter das deutsche Volk treten. In fast 35 Millionen kleinen Denkmälern wird dieser große Dichter und Zeichner eine volkstümliche Wiederauferstehung feiern. Niemand wird dabei, um mit den Worten des Meisters zu sprechen, „tief und voll Empörung die pekuniäre Störung" fühlen. Mancher wird vielleicht gar, um wieder mit Wilhelm Busch zu reden, „mit sanftem Druck in die entzückte Hand zwei größere Scheine" legen, und ein jeder wird an des Erziehers Verse denken, mit denen die Sammler an uns herantreten:

„Guter Menschen Hauptbestreben
Ist, andern auch was abzugeben."

Illustration 11d: *Völkischer Beobachter München*, January 29, 1940.

Maler Klecksel und die Witwe Bolte

Wilhelm-Busch-Figuren zur 4. Reichsstraßensammlung am 3. und 4. Februar

Die Reichsstraßensammlungen des Winterhilfswerkes haben seit jeher die Eigenart an sich, daß sie trotz des tiefen Ernstes, der hinter ihnen steht, stets mit frohem Schwung und vielfach mit Witz und Humor sowohl von seiten der Gebenden wie von seiten der Nehmenden durchgeführt werden. Das liegt nicht zuletzt an der Art der Abzeichen, die verkauft werden. Sie waren oft so originell und schön und fanden solchen Anklang, daß sie vielfach auch in den folgenden Jahren in gleicher Art wieder zum Verkauf kamen.

Die 4. Reichsstraßensammlung des Kriegswinterhilfswerkes, die am 3. und 4. Februar stattfindet und von der SA., der SS, dem NSKK. und dem NS.-Fliegerkorps durchgeführt wird, aber bringt uns etwas ganz Neues, etwas, das uns an manche stillvergnügte Stunde erinnern wird, die wir als Kinder sowohl wie als Erwachsene hinter einem dicken Bilder- und Gedichteband verbrachten: Wilhelm-Busch-Figuren!

Denkt ihr noch an Hans Huckebein, den Unglücksraben, an die Geschichte mit dem Pusterohr, an die Hühner der Witwe Bolte, an den Affen Fips, an Baldwin Bählamm? Entsinnt ihr euch noch der formvollendeten Knittelverse, der meisterlich mit wenigen Strichen hingeworfenen Zeichnungen des großen Künstlers?

Zwölf der unsterblichen Figuren Wilhelm Buschs werden nun am kommenden Sonnabend und Sonntag als immer wieder erneuertes Bekenntnis zur Tat unsere Rock- und Mantelaufschläge zieren. An ihrer Spitze marschieren natürlich Max und Moritz. Es folgen Julchen und Adele, dann die fromme Helene und der Maler Klecksel, Herr und Frau Knopp, die gute Tante und der Meister Böck und schließlich der Bauer Nolte und die Witwe Bolte.

34½ Millionen Wilhelm-Busch-Figuren stehen zum Verkauf. 34½ Millionen Denkmäler werden sozusagen dem großen Meister des Humors gesetzt. In der Majolikamanufaktur in Karlsruhe wurden sie entworfen, aus der flüchtigen Zeichnung in die Plastik übertragen und dann in zehn Werken in Baden, der Steiermark, in der Eifel und an der Nordseeküste hergestellt. Sie haben eine Höhe von 3½ Zentimeter und geben vollkommen naturgetreu die Originale Wilhelm Buschs wieder.

Wir freuen uns heute schon auf die lustigen Verse des Meisters, die sicherlich das Klappern der Büchsen mahnend und anfeuernd begleiten werden. Allen voran aber wird ein Zweizeiler stehen, der so ganz für das Geschehen solcher Sammeltage geschrieben scheint: Guter Menschen Hauptbestreben / ist, andern auch was abzugeben!



Aufn.: NSG (Reichsbildarchiv)

Illustration 11e: *Düsseldorfer Stadt-Anzeiger*, January 31, 1940.

Die Geburt der „Frommen Helene"

Wilhelm Buschs Figuren werden lebendig / Die Entstehung der neuen WHW.-Abzeichen

Durch eine der weiten Hallen der Staatlichen Majolika-Manufaktur in Karlsruhe klingen die wiegenden Rhythmen des unsterblichen Walzerkönigs Johann Strauß. Ab und zu hebt eine der vielen Frauen, die hier sitzen, den Kopf zum Lautsprecher, um sich diesen Klängen für Sekunden hinzugeben. Dann aber beugt sie den Kopf wieder, fleißig tupft ein Pinsel in eine kleine Farbtube, unermüdlich werden auf kleine Figuren Farbtupfen angebracht.

„Der große Auftrag, den das Winterhilfswerk uns und vielen anderen keramischen Werken in Baden, in der Eifel, in der Steiermark und an der Waterkant mit der Herstellung von fast 35 Millionen Wilhelm-Busch-Figuren im Sommer des vergangenen Jahres übertrug, hat sich überaus segensreich für uns herausgestellt. Denn naturgemäß wirkte sich der Kriegsbeginn zunächst auf den Bestellungseingang für unsere Erzeugnisse, die ja nicht lebenswichtig, wenn auch kulturwichtig sind, aus. Gerade aber durch den WHW.-Auftrag konnten wir auch im September und Oktober nicht nur unsere Stammbelegschaft restlos beschäftigen, wir mußten darüber hinaus noch mehr als 300 Frauen einstellen, die sich mit den mechanischen Arbeiten an den WHW.-Figuren, wie Bemalen oder Anheften der Ansteckadeln nun schon seit vielen Monaten beschäftigen."

Das berichtet der Direktor der Staatlichen Majolika-Manufaktur in Karlsruhe, die wir besuchten, um uns einmal einen Einblick in die Herstellung der Wilhelm-Busch-Figuren zu verschaffen.

Nach dem allerdings auf andere Verhältnisse gemünzten Motto von Wilhelm Busch: „Gar mancher schleicht betrübt umher, sein Knopfloch ist so öd und leer" sollen diese Figuren am 3. und 4. Februar dazu dienen, das Knopfloch eines jeden Deutschen zu schmücken, der sich in seine Zeit mit Bewußtsein hineinstellt und für das größte soziale Hilfswerk aller Zeiten sein Scherflein gibt.

„Dann erfüllen also die WHW.-Abzeichen eine doppelte soziale Aufgabe! Nicht nur ihr Vertrieb hilft mit, die großen Aufgaben des WHW. und der NSV. zu erfüllen, sondern auch ihre Herstellung setzt viele Menschen zusätzlich nach in Arbeit und Brot?"

„Sehr richtig! Bei uns etwa 300, im Gesamtauftrag sicher das Zehnfache von Frauen, die für länger als ein halbes Jahr einen gewiß sehr erwünschten Verdienst mit nach Hause nehmen können."

„Wie verhält es sich mit der Entlohnung dieser Frauen? Arbeiten sie im Akkord oder im Stundenlohn?"

„Im Stundenlohn! Wie wir bei unseren übrigen Erzeugnissen Wert auf allerbeste handwerkliche Arbeit legen, so halten wir das auch



Die lustigen Max- und Moritz-Figuren werden bei der Reichsstraßensammlung für das Kriegs-Winterhilfswerk des deutschen Volkes am 3. Febr. werben. In der Mitte die Geschwister Höpfner in einem drolligen Max-und-Moritz-Tanz.

bei den WHW.-Abzeichen der Wilhelm-Busch-Serie. Zwangsläufig würde bei einer Bezahlung nach Stückzahl dieses oder jenes Abzeichen schlecht ausfallen. Das vermeiden wir durch den Stundenlohn. Denn gerade diese lustigen Abzeichen sollen ja nicht nur der Beweis für ein WHW.-Opfer sein, sie haben in ihrer Ausführung auch eine künstlerische, kulturelle Sendung zu erfüllen. Nicht nur deshalb, weil sie 35 Millionen Deutschen am ersten Wochenende des Februar eine Quelle reiner, ungetrübter Freude sein sollen, sondern vor allem deshalb, weil es ja galt, das Erbe eines der größten deutschen Dichter und Zeichner würdig zu vermitteln."

„Es war doch gewiß nicht so einfach, die flächigen Strichzeichnungen Wilhelm Buschs in die Form der Plastik so zu bringen, daß sie dem Sinn und der Auffassung entsprachen!?!"

„Ich glaube, daß unser Bildhauer, dem diese Aufgabe übertragen wurde, sie auch recht gut gelöst hat. Er hat die typischen Merkmale der einzelnen Gestalten in so markanter Weise wiedergegeben, daß „Helene" mit ihrem Stupsnäschen, Herr Nolte, der Zipfelmützenträger, das mollige Ehepaar Knopp, die Lausbuben Max und Moritz und die vielen anderen Figuren so lebensecht gelungen sind, wie sie Wilhelm Busch selbst auch empfunden hat."

Wir gehen durch die großen Säle, in denen überall nach der große WHW.-Auftrag zu verspüren ist. Da stapeln sich zu Tausenden die Gipsplatten auf, in denen je achtmal der Maler Kleckel oder die Witwe Bolte als Negativform eingegraben sind. Jede dieser Tausende von Gipsformen ist sorgfältig überprüft und mit der Mutterform verglichen worden — nach der übrigens alle am Auftrag beteiligten Werke gearbeitet haben —, bevor sie in die Formräume gelangen, wo geschickte Männerhände Ton in sie hineinpreßten. Als Abzeichen verläßt der Ton die Form wieder, um nach langem Trocknen bei etwa 1000 Grad Hitze gebrannt zu werden.

Nachdem die Abzeichen dann bemalt und mit einer Ansteckadel versehen sind, gelangen sie in die Packerei, um von dort ihren Weg in die einzelnen Gauamtsleitungen, die Kreise, die Ortsgruppen und schließlich in die Hände der einzelnen Männer der SA., SS, des NSKK. und des NSFK. zu nehmen.

Das liest sich alles recht einfach. Wieviel Millionen Handgriffe aber dahinter stehen, bis die Abzeichen fertig sind, wieviel organisatorische Arbeit zu bewältigen ist, bis der Sammler die Abzeichen anbieten kann, wieviel Opfergeist die Sammler selbst aufbringen, die nach des Tages harter Arbeit ihre Freizeit opfern, um sich in den Dienst des WHW. zu stellen, das läßt sich in einigen Sätzen nicht beschreiben. Das kann man nur empfinden und selbst erleben.

Daß aber diese Abzeichen zur vierten Reichsstraßensammlung des Kriegswinterhilfswerkes in Städten besten deutschen Kulturschaffens hergestellt werden, mag Beweis genug dafür sein, daß auch das kleinste WHW.-Abzeichen ein Dokument deutscher Kultur ist.

Illustration 11f: *Völkischer Beobachter München*, February 5, 1940.

Max und Moritz erzielten Liebhaberpreise

Wilhelm-Busch-Humor beherrschte die Reichsstraßen-Sammlung

Berlin, 4. Februar.

Zugegeben, daß Wilhelm Busch schon immer als volkstümlicher Humorist und liebenswürdiger Spötter in den allermeisten deutschen Familien zu Hause war, am Sonnabend und Sonntag beherrschten zwölf seiner unsterblichen Figuren das ganze Straßenbild. Und so humorvoll wie Max und Moritz, Juschen und Adele, Maler Klecksel, die fromme Helene, Herr und Frau Knopp, die gute Tante und Meister Böck sowie Bauer Nolte und Witwe Bolte von Natur aus sind, so reich waren der Witz und die Einfälle der Männer der SA., ##, NSKK., und des NSFK., die schönen Keramik-Plaketten zugunsten des KWHW. an den Mann brachten. Für die fromme Helene sowie für Max und Moritz wurden am Sonntagvormittag bereits Liebhaberpreise „notiert". Und es soll Hamsterer gegeben haben, die von Sammler zu Sammler gingen, um hier noch die Lücken in der „Kollektion" zu füllen.

Wenn auch die große Kälte manche geplante Überraschung verhinderte, so stand doch der Sonntag ganz im Zeichen der Reichsstraßensammlung. Auf dem Wittenbergplatz hatte die Motorstandarte 30 ihr „Feldlager" aufgeschlagen. Den ganzen Tag über umlagerten die Berliner die hier zur Schau gestellten Beutestücke aus dem polnischen Feldzug. Ganz besonderes Interesse fand ein alter Panzerwagen aus dem Jahre 1914 mit primitiven Drahtspeichenrädern, zu dem ein moderner Wagen unserer Panzertruppen das Gegenstück bildete. Viel Bewunderung fand hier auch eine Plastik des Münchener Bildhauers Josef Edelbauer, der ein zweipferdiges Gespann aus Schnee modellierte und seine Arbeit auch in den Dienst des KWHW. gestellt hatte.

In den frühen Nachmittagsstunden zog das große „Autbord-Rennen rund um die Gedächtniskirche" viele Zuschauer herbei. Die Motorbootstandarte des NSKK. hatte mehrere Rennboote, die mit bekannten Rennfahrern besetzt waren, auf Fahrzeuge montiert, und die Berliner konnten sich dabei überzeugen, daß ein Rennboot auch einmal ohne Wasser fahren kann.

Eine nette Überraschung brachte der Sturm 4 der Motorstandarte 30, der auf der Ostseite des Wittenbergplatzes die Engländer „vernageln" ließ. Eine Karte von England mit dem Schirm und dem Zylinder Chamberlains boten dafür die nötige Grundlage. Der Nagel, der London traf, hat dem KWHW. einen Zehnmarkschein eingebracht. Größere Orte kosteten 50 und das übrige Gebiet 10 Pfennig. Auch die Kinder kamen hier auf ihre Rechnung. Sie konnten gegen einen Obolus englische Schiffe „torpedieren".

Wenn auch infolge der Kälte der Einsatz der Musikzüge ausfallen mußte, so hallten doch durch die Straßen fröhliche Märsche aus Lautsprecherwagen. Für das große Sammelwerk hatte sich auch die Gruppe von ungarischen Waffenkameraden des Weltkrieges unter Führung ihres Präsidenten von Szigethy freudig zur Verfügung gestellt.

Guten Besuch hatte auch eine Eisenbahn-Modellausstellung zu verzeichnen, die aus Anlaß der Straßensammlung im Heim des Motorsturmes 33/M 31 zugänglich war. Das NS.-Fliegerkorps zeigte und verkaufte Flugmodelle, und auch die bekannte Rothaut Os-Ko-Mou war wieder mit von der Partie.

*

Im Deutschen Opernhaus führte die Gauführung des KWHW. zusammen mit der Wilhelm-Busch-Gesellschaft eine außerordentlich gut besuchte Sondervetanstaltung unter dem Leitwort „Wilhelm Busch im Dienste des WHW." durch. Nach der Ouvertüre aus der „Fledermaus", gespielt vom Orchester des Deutschen Opernhauses unter Leitung von Leo Spies, brachte der hervorragende Busch-Sprecher Emil Kühne eine Auswahl aus den Werken des großen Meisters, wobei er auch weniger bekannte Verse und Prosa vortrug. Mit besonderer Freude und Beifall wurde das Spiel „Max und Moritz" aufgenommen, das von den Geschwistern Höpfner mit dem Kinderballett der Staatsoper getanzt wurde. Der herrliche Humor der Dichtung fand durch den beschwingten Tanz seine besondere Untermalung; nicht nur in choreographischer, sondern auch in technischer Hinsicht trug das Spiel den Stempel der Vollkommenheit.

Illustration 11g: *Niedersächsische Tageszeitung Hannover*, February 5, 1940.

Aus der Hauptstadt Hannover

„Dieses war ihr achter Streich . . ."

Max und Moritz, Böck und Bolte sammelten für das WHW.

Am liebsten sitzt der Mensch an Sonntagen wie dem gestrigen hinter dem Ofen. Der SA. aber gelang es doch, die südstädtische Einwohnerschaft nicht nur hinter dem Ofen hervor-, sondern geradezu auf den windigen Balkon zu locken. In das Kommando des SA.-Sturms teilten sich an diesem Sonntag einige Bilderbuchfiguren: Max und Moritz, die Witwe Bolte, der Schneider Böck und Onkel Nolte. Die Kostümkammer des Opernhauses hatte die Buschsche Uniform geliefert, ein SA.-Mann sorgte für die Maske, und die übrigen Männer des Sturms für die weithin hörbare gute Laune.



Was schert sie Frost, was kalte Haxe,
Hier sammeln Moritz und auch Maxe,
Oh Frau, ob Fräulein oder Mann,
Ein jeder gibt, was er nur kann.

Aufn.: Wilh. Hauschild.

Drei Pimpfe kündigten den Marschblock mittels Fanfarenstöße an, die Bilderbuchgestalten schwärmten mit wild bewegten Büchsen aus, und die übrigen Männer des Sturms sagten ihr Verslein auf. Beispielsweise:

Max und Moritz, diese Knaben,
woll'n fürs WHW. was haben.

oder:

Guter Menschen Hauptbestreben
ist es, andern abzugeben.

Die „Wilhelm-Busch-Nummer" des Sturms 22/13 wurde ein rasanter Publikumserfolg. Sie wurde vor allen Dingen in den Höfen der Neubaublocks vorgeführt. Ein Tusch und ein Sprechchor — schon füllten sich die Balkone, schon setzte ein Schneefall von Scheidemünzen ein. Die Firma Max u. Moritz, Böck u. Nolte klaubte das Kleinzeug liebend gern aus dem Schnee und äugte nach silbernen, demnächst wertlos werdenden Einmarkstücken. Geruhsam und im Besitz eines nicht ganz symmetrischen Busens ging auch die ehrbare Witwe Bolte ihrem Sammelgeschäft nach, und ein erhebender Augenblick war es, sie in der Pfalzstraße ein paar Steinhäger wegwischen zu sehen; denn ein verständnisinniger Südstädter ließ an der Wäscheleine ein Körbchen mit fester und flüssiger Atzung herab, und das Bilderbuch füllte sich zusehends mit neuer Kraft.

Gegen Mittag vermochten die Büchsen nur noch gedämpft zu rasseln. Dem in Sammelstürmen ergrauten SA.-Mann sagte dieser Umstand genug; die Gemäße hatten sich bis zum Rande mit Münzen vollgefressen.

Eine Stunde Mittag — dann schleppten Max und Moritz, Nolte und Böck und Bolte samt ihren übrigen Sturmkameraden auf dem Südbahnhof . . . Hausbrandkohle.

*

Auch in der Innenstadt lenkten lustige Figuren, frisch den Wilhelm-Busch-Büchern „entsprungen", die Aufmerksamkeit und Gebefreudigkeit der Hannoveraner auf sich. Das NSFK. hatte wieder Segelmaschinen ausgestellt, und auf allen Straßen und Plätzen warben Männer der Kampfformationen der Partei trotz Schnee und Kälte unermüdlich für das Kriegs-WHW. Der Erfolg blieb nicht aus.

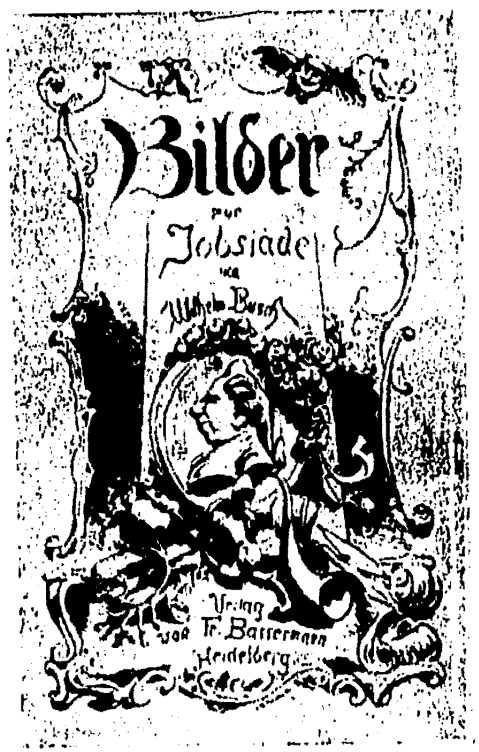
oc.

Die „Fromme Helene" erschien in Heidelberg

Wilhelm Busch und der Offenburger Staatsanwalt

Seit acht Tagen ist in den Heidelberger Bibliotheken Wilhelm Busch nicht mehr zu bekommen, die Buchhandlungen verkaufen „Max und Moritz" am laufenden Band — wir haben uns durch mehrfache Rückfragen von diesem Tatbestand überzeugt. Den und jenen hörten wir sagen: „Ich muß mir doch wieder mal die „Fromme Helene" zu Gemüte führen." Wilhelm Busch wurde immer viel gelesen, aber in solchen Maße, wie augenblicklich, waren seine Bücher wohl noch nie gefragt. Die WHW.-Sammlung vom vergangenen Sonntag hat diesen großen Humoristen in den Mittelpunkt der literarischen Neugier gestellt, zuerst half Wilhelm Busch dem WHW., nun quittiert das WHW. diese Hilfe. Daß ein Dichter einer WHW.-Sammlung eine Steigerung seiner Popularität zu verdanken hat, ist gewiß eine einzigartige Erscheinung. Die englischen Zeitungen behaupten, in Deutschland sei die Barbarei ausgebrochen — die Deutschen aber lesen Wilhelm Busch. Welch ein Zwiespalt der Natur.

Wir haben vor kurzem darauf hingewiesen, daß die „fromme Helene" vor Zeiten in Oesterreich als „unsittlich" verboten war. Ein Mitarbeiter hat uns darauf aufmerksam gemacht, daß der Ruhm der k. k. Hofbürokratie das Musterländle Baden nicht schlafen ließ. Auch bei uns hat man's diesem „verdächtigen" Busch gegeben! Der Stuttgarter Buchhändler Hallberger hatte zwar den „Antonius von Padua" erworben, er hatte dann aber doch nicht die Courage, das Buch herauszugeben. Der Lahrer Verleger Moritz Schauenburg, der Herausgeber des bekannten „Lahrer Hinkenden Boten", zeigte mehr Schneid; im Jahre 1870 erschien in seinem Verlag der „Antonius". Verbohrte Moralinfanatiker stürzten sich auf diese amüsante Glosse, die jedem Mitteleuropäer Spaß macht, wenn er nur einen Funken Humor besitzt. Der Offenburger Staatsanwalt allerdings verstand keinen Spaß. Man zitierte den Verleger Schauenburg vor den Kadi „wegen Herabwürdigung der Religion und Erregung öffentlichen Aergernisses durch unzüchtige Schriften". In der Anklageschrift donnerte der Staatsanwalt mit „Verspottung der Kirche, Erhitzung der Phantasie des Publikums in Wort und Bild, Herabwürdigung der Unsterblichkeit der Seele". Der Kardinalsatz lautete: „Text und Bilder sind unzüchtiger Natur". Noch



Titelseite der „Jobsiade" verlegt bei Bassermann in Heidelberg

in späteren Jahren behauptete man, der „Antonius" sei eine Streitschrift gegen den Ultramontanismus, dabei war das Werk schon 1865 entstanden, also einige Jahre vor Beginn der Kulturkampfdebatten. Wilhelm Busch hatte eben das Pech, einer Partei muffiger Sittlichkeitsfanatiker vor die Flinte zu kommen.

Um den Unsinn zu widerlegen, versuchte der Verteidiger Schauenburgs, die Anklage auf Wilhelm Busch selbst auszudehnen. „Die Sache gewinnt ein anderes Aussehen", schrieb der Verteidiger, „wenn der Künstler selbst vor den Geschworenen erscheint, nicht nur durch den ganz persönlichen Eindruck, den er macht, sondern auch deshalb, weil alsdann der künstlerische Wert der Druckschrift und der Bilder gegenüber der gegnerischen Auffassung der Anklage in den Vordergrund gestellt werden kann." Der Antrag des Verteidigers wurde aber abgelehnt. Der Niedersachse Wilhelm Busch war ja „Ausländer" und hatte nichts verloren vor dem großherzoglich-badischen Kreis- und Hofgericht in Offenburg.

Moritz Schauenburg wurde jedoch freigesprochen, jenes Offenburger Gericht hat die badische Justiz vor einer unsterblichen Blamage gerettet. Die beschlagnahmten 21 Exemplare des „Antonius" wurden wieder freigegeben. Schauenburg bekam jedoch nur 18 Exemplare zurück, die drei restlichen hatten bei den Offenburger Gerichtsbeamten Liebhaber gefunden!

Der „Antonius" wurde ein großer Bucherfolg. Wilhelm Busch verkrachte sich jedoch später mit Schauenburg vermutlich über die Honorarfrage. Als Wilhelm Busch die Fromme Helene und die Jobsiade fertig hatte und mit Schauenburg nicht einig wurde, reiste er kurz entschlossen nach Heidelberg zu seinem Freund Otto Bassermann, um ihm die beiden Arbeiten anzubieten — nach einer halben Stunde war man einig. So erschienen die Fromme Helene, die Jobsiade und zahlreiche andere Veröffentlichungen in Heidelberg im Verlag Otto Bassermann. Wilhelm Busch hatte unsere Stadt sehr ins Herz geschlossen, wir erinnern nur an den hübschen Zweizeiler:

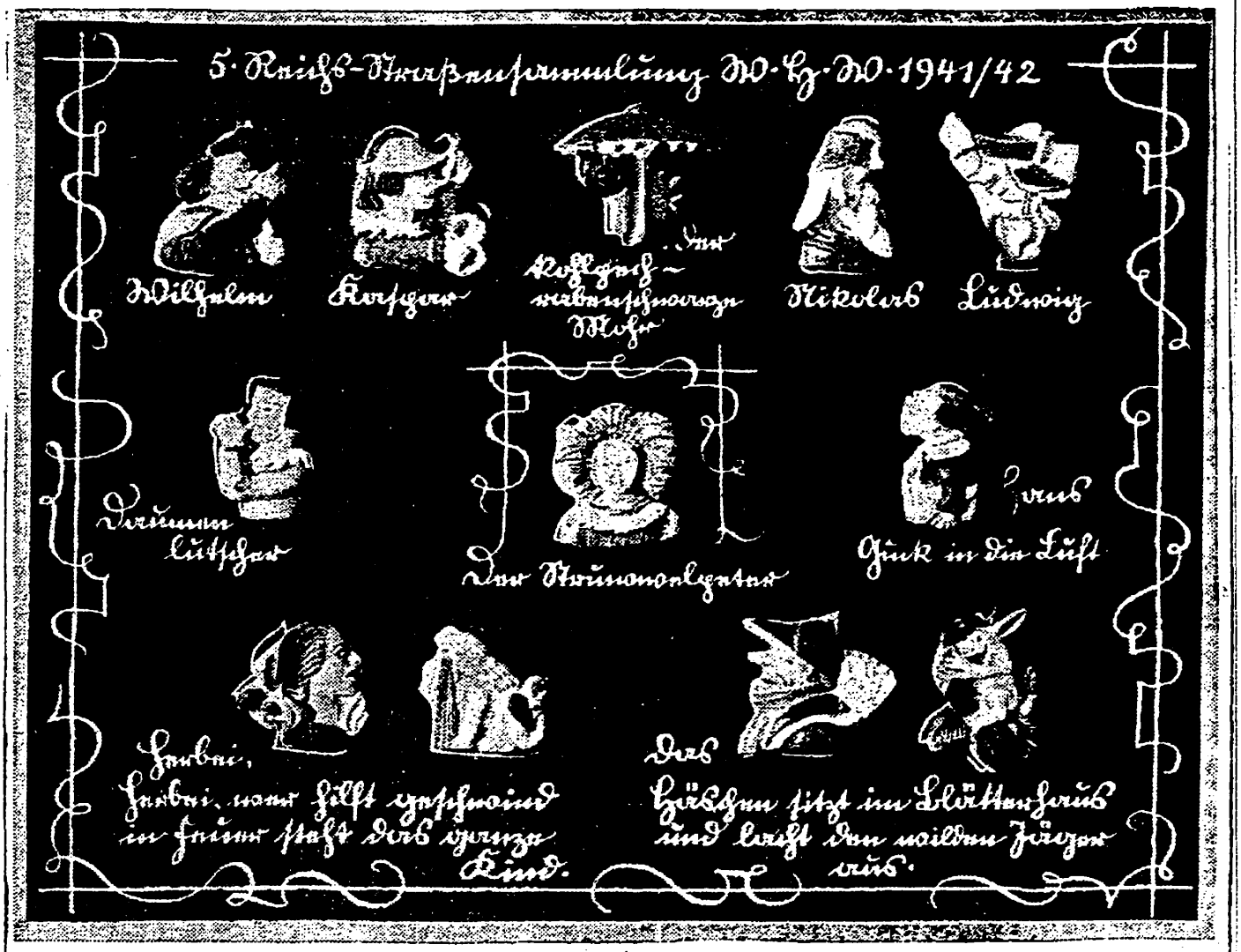
„'s war Heidelberg, das sich erwählten,
Als Freudenort die Neuvermählten" —

ein Vers, dem wir nichts hinzuzufügen hätten.

H. W.

Illustration 11h: Volksgemeinschaft Heidelberg, February 10, 1940.

Illustration 12: 5th street collection drive of the WHW, 1941/42.
Struwwelpeter figures offered as Wilhelm Busch figures.
Armee-Nachrichtenblatt No. 477, January 30, 1942.



Die schönsten Figuren aus Wilhelm Buschs Werken werben für die 5. Reichs-Strassensammlung des WHW.
Aufn.: Schurt.

Illustration 13a: "Win und Franklin." *Hamburger Illustrierte*, October 4, 1941.

Win und Franklin

EINE BUBENGESCHICHTE, NACH WILHELM BUSCH GEZEICHNET VON Dick

Vorwort

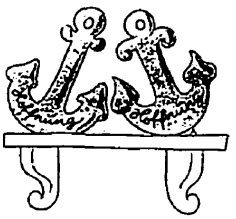
Ach, was muß man oft von bösen
Kindern hören oder lesen!!
Wie zum Beispiel hier von diesen,



Welche Win und Franklin hießen;
Die, anstatt durch weise Lehren
Sich zum Guten zu bekehren,
Oftmals noch darüber lachten
Und sich heimlich lustig machten. -
- Ja; zur Übeltätigkeit,
Ja, dazu ist man bereit! -

Erster Streich

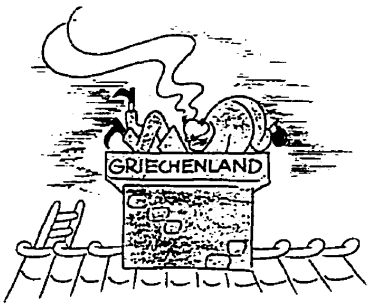
In der schönen Osterzeit,
Wenn die frommen Bäckersleut'
Viele süße Zuckersachen
Backen und zurechte machen,
Wünschen Win und Franklin auch



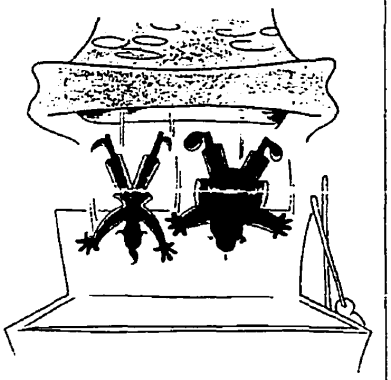
Sich so etwas zum Gebrauch. -



Doch der Bäcker, mit Bedacht,
Hat das Backhaus zugemacht.



Also, will hier einer stehlen,
Muß er durch den Schlot sich quälen. -



Ratsch!! - Da kommen die zwei Knaben
Durch den Schornstein, schwarz wie Raben.



Puff! - Sie fallen in die Kist',
Wo das Mehl darinnen ist.

Verse aus „Max und Moritz" von Wilhelm Busch, Verlag Braun und Schneider, München



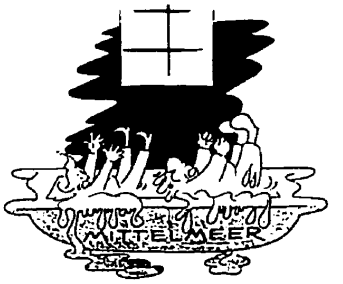
Da! Nun sind sie alle beide
Rund herum so weiß wie Kreide.



Aber schon mit viel Vergnügen
Sehen sie die Brezeln liegen.



Knacks!! - Da bricht der Stuhl entzwei;



Schwapp!! - Da liegen sie im Brei.

\+ + +

Dieses war ein dummer Streich,
Ein noch dümmrer folgt sogleich.

Hauptschriftleiter *Dr. Hans Berendsen*. Anzeigenleiter *Helmuth Klostersiede*, Hamburg. Druck und Verlag: Broschek & Co., Hamburg 36, Gr. Bleichen 36-37. Fernruf 34 10 10. Postscheckkonto: Hamburg 372 11. Berliner Schriftleitung: SW 11, Hedemannstraße 6. Fernruf 17 26 69. — Entered as second class matter. Post Office New York N. Y. — Derzeit durch den Zeitschriftenvertrieb frei Haus 22 Pf. je Heft, durch die Post monatlich 0,86 RM. Anzeigen lt. Preisliste Nr. 11. Printed in Germany. — Auslandspreise: Belgien 2 Ldrs, Dänemark 40 Öre, Finnland 4,50 mk, Frankreich 4 Frs, Holland 20 Cents, Italien 2 Lire, Norwegen 45 Öre, Portugal 2 Esc, Schweden 48 Öre, Schweiz 40 Rappen, Spanien 1,25 Ptas, Ungarn 34 Filler, Rumänien 14 Lei.

Illustration 13b: "Win und Franklin." *Hamburger Illustrierte*, October 11, 1941.

Win und Franklin

EINE BUBENGESCHICHTE, NACH WILHELM BUSCH GEZEICHNET VON Vicky

Zweiter Streich

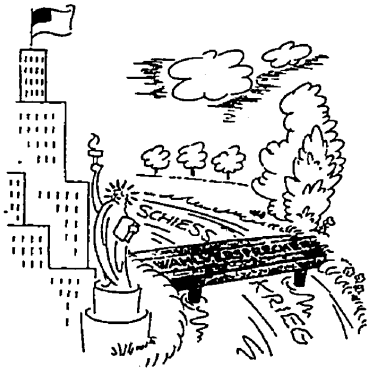
Jedermann im Dorfe kannte
Einen, der sich Sam benannte.



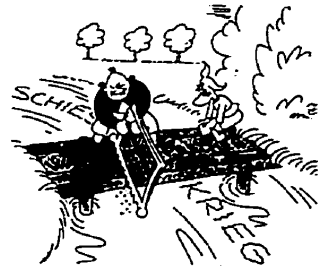
Und es hat in der Gemeinde
Jedermann ihn gern zum Freunde.



Aber Win und Franklin dachten,
Wie sie ihn verdrießlich machten.



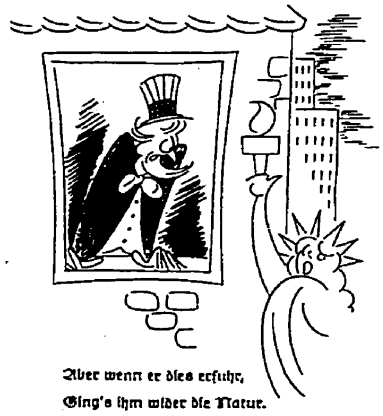
Nämlich vor des Meisters Hause
Floß ein Wasser mit Gebrause.
Übers Wasser führt ein Steg
Und darüber führt ein Weg. –



Win und Franklin, gar nicht träge,
Sägen heimlich mit der Säge,
Nichtsnutze! Voller Tücke,
In die Brücke eine Lücke. –
Als nun diese Tat vorbei,
Hört man plötzlich ein Geschrei!



Alles konnte Sam ertragen,
Ohne nur ein Wort zu sagen;



Aber wenn er dies erfuhr,
Ging's ihm wider die Natur.



Schnelle springt er mit der Elle
Über seines Hauses Schwelle,



Und schon ist er auf der Brücke,
Kracks! Die Brücke bricht in Stücke.



Dieses war Streich Nummer zwei,
Im nächsten Heft folgt Nummer drei.

Verse aus „Max und Moritz" von Wilhelm Busch
Verlag Braun und Schneider, München

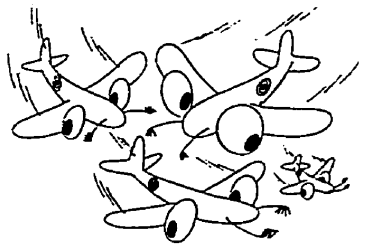
Hauptschriftleiter Dr. Hans Herrmann. Anzeigenleiter Helmuth Klusenfelde, Hamburg. Druck und Verlag: Broschek & Co., Hamburg 36, Gr. Bleichen 36-37. Fernruf 34 10 10. Postscheckkonto: Hamburg 376 22. Berliner Schriftleitung: SW 11, Herkmannstraße 6. Fernruf 192689. — Entered as second class matter. Post Office New York N. Y. — Bezug durch den Zeitschriftenvertrieb frei Haus 22 Pf. je Heft, durch die Post monatlich 0,86 RM. Anzeigen lt. Preisliste Nr. 11. Printed in Germany. — Auslandspreise: Belgien 2 Lire, Dänemark 40 Öre, Finnland 4,50 mk, Frankreich 4 Ifrs, Holland 20 Cents, Italien 2 Lire, Norwegen 45 Öre, Portugal 2 Esc, Schweden 48 Öre, Schweiz 40 Rappen, Spanien 1,25 Ptas, Ungarn 34 Filler, Rumänien 14 Lei.

Illustration 13c: "Win und Franklin." *Hamburger Illustrierte*, October 18, 1941.

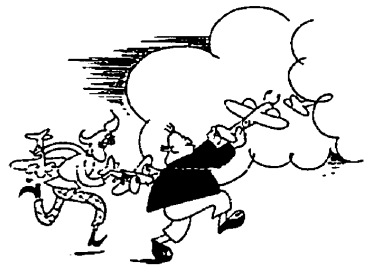
Win und Franklin

EINE BUBENGESCHICHTE, NACH WILHELM BUSCH GEZEICHNET VON Vicky

Dritter Streich



Jeder weiß, was so ein Mai-
Käfer für ein Vogel sei.



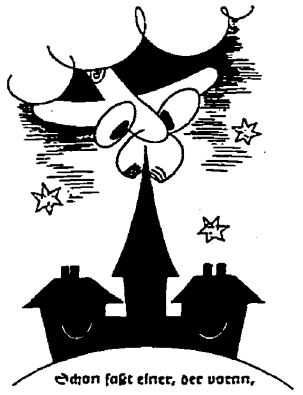
Fort damit, und in die Ecke
Unter Onkel Fritzens Decke!



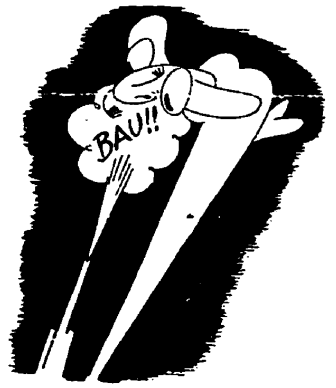
Fritz macht seine Augen zu,
Hüllt sich ein und schläft in Ruh.



Doch die Käfer, feine, feate!
Kommen schnell aus der Matratze.



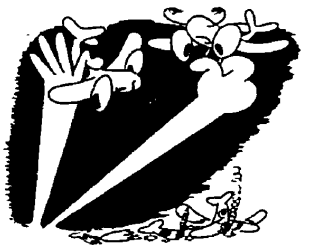
Schon faßt einer, der vornan,
Onkel Fritzens Nase an.



„Bau!!" schreit er — „Was ist das hier?!"
Und erfaßt das Ungetier.



Hin und her und rund herum
Kriecht es, fliegt es mit Gebrumm.



„Autsch!!" — schon wieder hat er einen
Im Genicke, an den Beinen;



Gucke wohl! Jetzt ist's vorbei
Mit der Käferknabberei!!



Onkel Fritz hat wieder Ruh'
Und macht seine Augen zu.

\+ + +

Dieses war ein übler Streich,
Doch der letzte folgt sogleich.

Verse aus „Max und Moritz" von Wilhelm Busch
Verlag Braun und Schneider, München

Hauptschriftleiter *Dr. Hans Herrmann*. Anzeigenleiter *Helmuth Klostermeier*, Hamburg. Druck und Verlag: Broschek & Co., Hamburg 36, Gr. Bleichen 36-52. Fernruf 34 10 10. Postscheckkonto: Hamburg 374 12. Berliner Schriftleitung: SW 11, Hedemannstraße 6. Fernruf 19 26 64. — Entered as second class matter. Post Office New York N. Y. — Bezug durch den Zeitschriftenvertrieb frei Haus 2.- RM. je Heft, durch die Post monatlich 0,86 RM. Anzeigen lt. Preisliste Nr. 11. Printed in Germany. — Auslandspreise: Belgien 2 Frs, Dänemark 40 Öre, Finnland 4,50 mk, Frankreich 2 Frs, Holland 20 Cents, Italien 2 Lire, Norwegen 45 Öre, Portugal 2 Esc, Schweden 46 Öre, Schweiz 40 Rappen, Spanien 1,25 Ptas, Ungarn 34 Filler, Rumänien 14 Lei.

Illustration 14a: "Die fromme Elene." *Hamburger Illustrierte*, November 29, 1941.

Die fromme Elene

ALTBEKANNTE VERSE VON WILHELM BUSCH ZU NEUEN ZEITBILDERN VON

1. Elenens Heimat

Wie der Wind in Trauerweiden
Tönt des frommen Sängers Lied,
Wenn er auf die Lasterfreuden
In den großen Städten sieht.



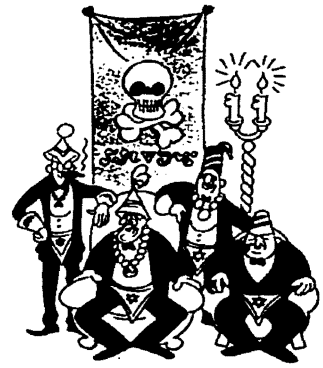
Ach, die sittenlose Presse!
Tut sie nicht in früher Stund'
All die sündlichen Exzesse
Schon den Bürgersleuten kund?!



Kaum trank man die letzte Tasse,
Packt man schon den ird'schen Leib.
Auf dem Walle, auf der Gasse
Wimmelt man zum Zeitvertreib.



Und der Jud' mit krummer Ferse,
Krummer Nas' und krummer Hos',
Schlängelt sich zur hohen Börse
Tiefverderbt und seelenlos.



Schweigen will ich von Lokalen,
Wo der Böse nächtlich praßt,
Wo im Kreis der Liberalen
Man den heil'gen Vater haßt.



Schweigen will ich von Konzerten,
Wo der Kenner hoch entzückt
Mit dem seelenvoll-verklärten
Opernglase um sich blickt;



Schweigen will ich vom Theater;
Wie von da, des Abends spät,
Schöne Mutter, alter Vater
Arm in Arm nach Hause geht.



Wie sie schauen, wie sie grüßen!
Eher die gleichen Moajds,
Dort die Damen mit den süßen
Himmlisch hohen Prachtpopös.



Zwar man zeuget viele Kinder,
Doch man denket nichts dabei.
Und die Kinder werden Sünder,
Wenn's den Eltern einerlei.



Im nächsten Hefte allsofort
Eilen wir an jenen Ort,
Wo sie wohnt, die jeder kennt,
Welche sich Elene nennt.

•

Ihre Taten schwarzes Bild
Sei vor deinem Blick enthüllt.
Und nur dieses sage ich:
Im nächsten Heft wird's gruselig! —

Verse aus „Die fromme Helene" von Wilhelm Busch, Fritz Kassermannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, München

Hauptschriftleiter Dr. Hans Kerrenbock, Anzeigenleiter Helmuth Schwichtenhöfel, Hamburg. Druck und Verlag: Broschek & Co., Hamburg 36, Gr. Bleichen 30-42. Fernruf 34 10 10. Postscheckkonto: Hamburg 124 27. Berliner Schriftleitung: Berlin SW 11, Hedemannstraße 6. Fernruf 19 5801. — Entered as second class matter, Post Office New York N. Y. — Herausgegeben vom Zeitschriftenverlag der Hansa. 29. Heft, durch die Post monatlich 2,80 RM. Anzeigenpreisliste Nr. 12. Printed in Germany. — Auslandspreise: Belgien 2 Belga, Dänemark 30 Öre, Finnland 4,00 mk, Frankreich 4 Frs, Holland 20 Cents, Italien 2 Lire, Norwegen 15 Öre, Portugal 2 Esc, Schweden 28 Öre, Schweiz 40 Rappen, Spanien 1,25 Ptas, Ungarn 34 Filler, Rumänien 12 Lei.

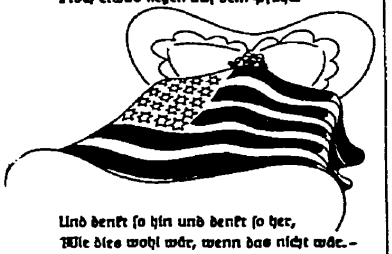
Illustration 14b: "Die fromme Elene." *Hamburger Illustrierte*, December 6, 1941.

Die fromme Elene

ALTBEKANNTE VERSE VON WILHELM BUSCH ZU NEUEN ZEITBILDERN VON hicks

2. Böser Vorsatz und dringliche Warnung

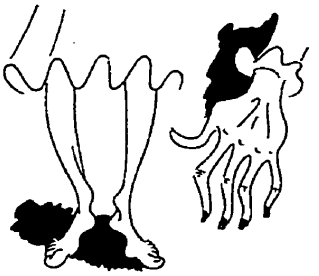
Wenn's einer davon haben kann,
So bleibt er gerne dann und wann
Des Morgens, wenn das Wetter kühle,
Noch etwas liegen auf dem Pfühle



Und denkt so hin und denkt so her,
Wie dies wohl wär, wenn das nicht wäre.–
Und schließlich wird es ihm zu dumm.–
Er wendet sich nach vorne um,
Kreucht von der warmen Lagerstätte
Und geht an seine Toilette.



Die Properität ist sehr zu schätzen,
Doch kann sie manches nicht ersetzen.–



Wie sich dies äußert ist bekannt.
Krumm wird das Bein und krumm die Hand;



Die Augenlöcher schließen sich,
Das linke ganz absonderlich;



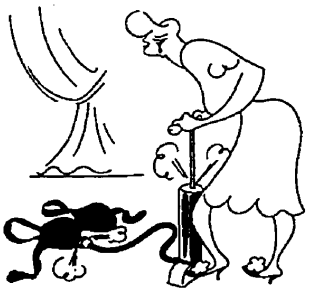
Dagegen öffnet sich der Mund,
Als wollt er flöten, spitz und rund.



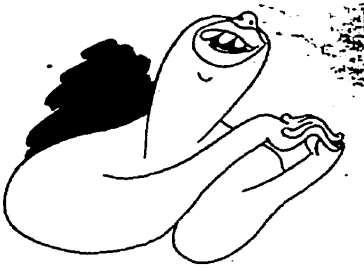
Der Mensch wird schließlich mangelhaft.
Die Locke wird hinweggerafft.–



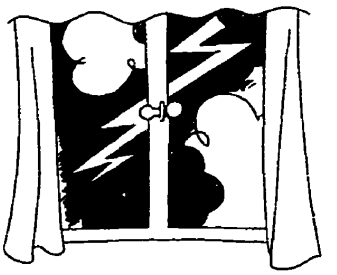
Wehe ist hier schon die Kunst zu loben,
Denn Schönheit wird durch Kunst gehoben.–
Allein auch dieses auf die Dauer
Fällt doch dem Menschen schließlich sauer.–



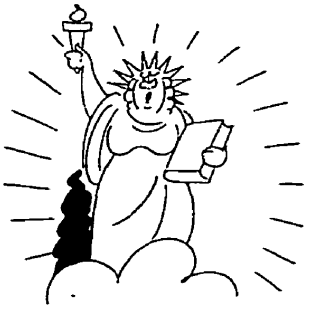
Und derweil man so allein,
Sucht man sonst sich zu zerstreu'n.



„Es sei!" sprach Lene heute zu
sich selbst, „Ich geh' zur G. P. U.!"



Hui! Draußen weht ein schrecklich Brausen!
Blitz, Donner, Nacht und Sturmesbrausen!–



Oh, sieh! – Im sel'gen Nachtgewande
Erscheint die längstverstorb'ne Tante.



Mit geisterhaftem Schmerzgetöne –
„Elene!" – ruft sie – „Oh, Elene!!!
Ach, wie ist der Mensch so sündig! –
Lene, Lene! Gehe in dich! – –"

\+ + +

Schon die nächste Nummer, ach,
Zeigt, wie wahr die Tante sprach. –

Verse aus „Die fromme Helene" von Wilhelm Busch, Felix Bassermannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, München

Hauptschriftleiter Dr. Hans Herrmann. Anzeigenleiter Helmuth Klemperer, Hamburg. Druck und Verlag: Broschek & Co., Hamburg 36, Gr. Bleichen 36-42. Fernruf 34 10 10. Postscheckkonto: Hamburg 374 62. Berliner Schriftleitung: Berlin SW 11, Hedemannstraße 6. Fernruf 19 26 69. — Entered as second class matter. Post Office New York N. Y. — Durch den Zeitschriftenvertrieb frei Haus 12 Pf. 30 Heft, durch die Post postamtlich 0,86 RM. Anzeigen-Preisliste Nr. 11. Printed in Germany. — Auslandspreise: Belgien 2 Belga, Dänemark 40 Öre, Finnland 4,50 mk, Frankreich 4 Frs, Holland 20 Cents, Italien 2 Lire, Norwegen 45 Öre, Portugal 2 Esc, Schweden 48 Öre, Schweiz 40 Rappen, Spanien 1,25 Ptas, Ungarn 36 Filler, Rumänien 24 Lei.

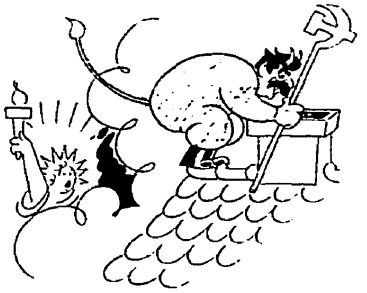
Illustration 14c: "Die fromme Elene." *Hamburger Illustrierte*, December 13, 1941.

Die fromme Elene

ALTBEKANNTE VERSE VON WILHELM BUSCH ZU NEUEN ZEITBILDERN VON

3. Triumph des Bösen

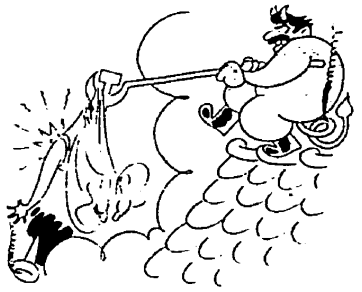
„Ach, wie ist der Mensch so sündig! –
Ach, Elene, gehe in dich!
Ich warne dich als Mensch und Christ:
Oh, hüte dich vor allem Bösen!
Es macht Plaisier, wenn man es ist,
Es macht Verdruß, wenn man's gewesen!"



Schon wartet an des Hauses Schlote
Der Unterwelt geschwänzter Bote.



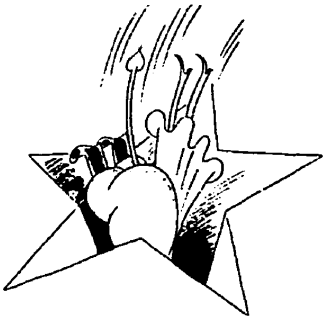
Zwar Lenen's guter Genius
Bekämpft den Geist der Finsternis.
Doch dieser dreht sich um und packt
Ihn mit der Gabel scharf gezackt.



O weh, o weh! Das Gute fällt!
Es siegt der Geist der Unterwelt.



Er faßt Elenens Seele schnelle



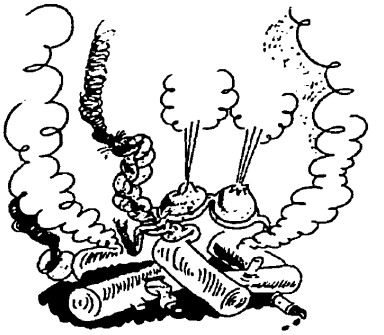
Und fährt mit ihr zum Schlund der Hölle.



Hinein mit ihr! Huhu! Haha!
Der Frank Delano ist schon da.



Fort, ihr falschgesinnten Töpfe,
Schminke und Pomadentöpfe!



Fort, du Apparat der Lüfte,
Hochgewölbtes Herzgerüste!
Trödelkram der Eitelkeit,
Fort, und sei der Glut geweiht!



Sieh, da geht Elene hin,
Als Jüngerin des Herrn Stalin!

\+ + +

Bereits im nächsten Hefte steht,
Wie es Elene nun ergeht.

Verse aus „Die fromme Helene" von Wilhelm Busch, Fritz Bassermannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, München

Hauptschriftleiter *Dr. Hans Bernhagen*. Anzeigenleiter *Helmuth Klosterfelde*, Hamburg. Druck und Verlag: Broschek & Co., Hamburg 36, Gr. Bleichen 36-32. Fernruf 34 10 10. Postscheckkonto: Hamburg 374 22. Berliner Schriftleitung: Berlin SW 11, Hedemannstraße 8. Fernruf 19 26 69. — Entered as second class matter. Post Office New York N. Y. — Bezug durch den Zeitschriftenvertrieb frei Haus 22 Pf. je Heft, durch die Post monatlich 0,86 RM. Anzeigen lt. Preisliste Nr. 11. Printed in Germany. — Auslandspreise: Belgien 1 bfrs, Dänemark 50 Öre, Finnland 4,50 mk, Frankreich 1 frs, Holland 20 Cents, Italien 2 Lire, Norwegen 45 Öre, Portugal 1 Esc, Schweden 48 Öre, Schweiz 40 Rappen, Spanien 1,25 Ptas, Ungarn 36 Filler, Rumänien 14 Lei.

Illustration 14d: "Die fromme Elene." *Hamburger Illustrierte*, December 20, 1941.

Die fromme Elene

ALTBEKANNTE VERSE VON WILHELM BUSCH ZU NEUEN ZEITBILDERN VON

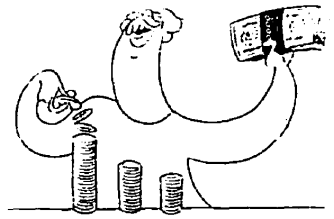
4. Elene wird sozialistisch



Seht, da geht Elene hin,
Als Jüngerin des Herrn Stalin!

\+ + +

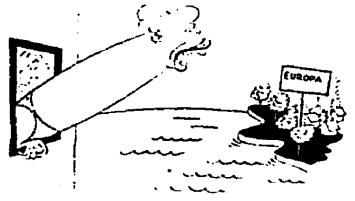
Viele Ladies, die ohne Sorgen,
In Sicherheit und wohlgeborgen,
Die denken: Pah! Es hat noch Zeit!
Und bleiben ohne Frömmigkeit. —



Wie lobenswert ist da Elene!
Elene denkt nicht so wie jene. —



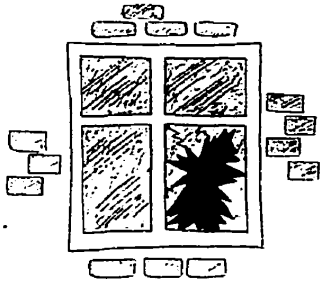
Nein, nein, sie wandelt oft und gerne
Zur Böse hin, obschon sie ferne.



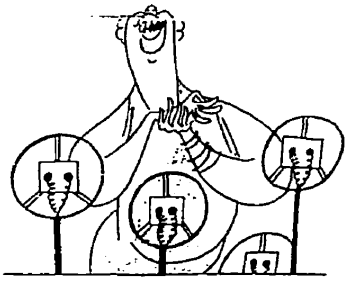
Doch ist Elene nicht allein
Nur auf sich selbst bedacht. O nein! —
Ein guter Mensch gibt gerne acht,
Ob auch der andre was Böses macht;



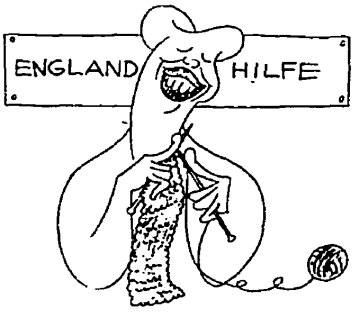
Und strebt durch häufige Belehrung



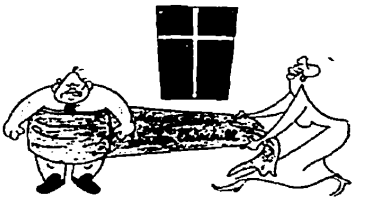
Nach seiner Bess'rung und Bekehrung.



Doch nicht durch Worte nur allein
Soll man den andern nützlich sein. —



Elene strickt die guten Jacken,
Die so erquicklich für den Nacken;
Denn draußen wehen rauhe Winde. —



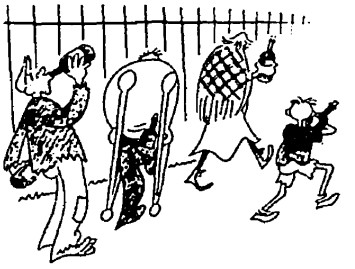
Sie fertigt auch die warme Binde;
Denn diese ist für kalte Mägen
Zur Winterszeit ein wahrer Segen. —



Besonders aber tat ihr leid
Der armen Leute Bedürftigkeit. —
Und da der Arzt mit Ernst geraten,
Den Leib in warmem Wein zu baden,



So tut sie's auch. Oh, wie erfreut
Ist nun die Schar der armen Leut;



Die, sich recht innerlich zu laben,
Doch auch mal etwas Warmes haben.

\+ + +

Diese Taten schwarzes Bild
Hat mit Abscheu uns erfüllt.
Und ich sage dreimal Wehe!
Wenn ich auf das Ende sehe.

Verse aus „Die fromme Helene" von Wilhelm Busch. Fritz Bassermannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, München

Hauptschriftleiter *Dr. Hans Brenbeck*. Anzeigenleiter *Helmuth Klesterfelde*, Hamburg. Druck und Verlag: Broschek & Co., Hamburg 36, Ge. Bleichen 36-52. Fernruf 34 10 10. Postscheckkonto: Hamburg 372 42. Berliner Schriftleitung: Berlin SW 11, Hedemannstraße 6. Fernruf 19 26 89. — Entered as second class matter. Post Office New York N. Y. — Bezug durch den Zeitschriftenvertrieb frei Haus 22 Pf. je Heft, durch die Post monatlich 2,80 RM. Anzeigen lt. Preisliste Nr. 11. Printed in Germany. — Auslandspreise: Belgien 2 Bfrs, Dänemark 40 Öre, Finnland 4,50 mk, Frankreich 4 Frs, Holland 10 Cents, Italien 2 Lire, Norwegen 45 Öre, Portugal 2 Esc, Schweden 48 Öre, Schweiz 40 Rappen, Spanien 1,25 Ptas, Ungarn 34 Filler, Rumänien 12 Lei.

Illustration 14e: "Die fromme Elene." *Hamburger Illustrierte*, December 27, 1941.

Die fromme Elene

ALTBEKANNTE VERSE VON WILHELM BUSCH ZU NEUEN ZEITBILDERN VON hicks

5. Das schlimme Ende

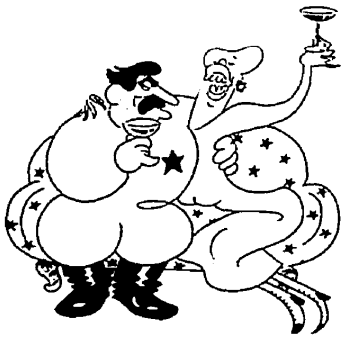
Es ist ein Brauch von alters her,
Wer Sorgen hat, hat auch Likör.



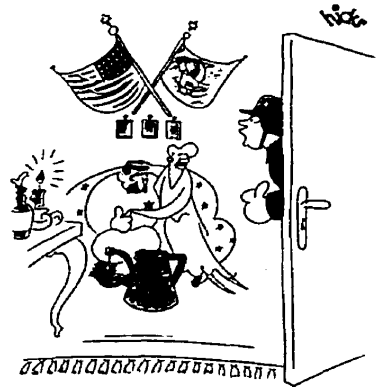
„Stalin", spricht Lene, und sie weint —
„Stalin! Du bist mein einz'ger Freund!"



„Ja", schwört Stalin mit mildem Hauch,
„Ich war's, ich bin's und bleib es auch!"
Gefährlich ist des Freundes Nähe.
Oh, Lene, Lene! Wehe, Wehe!



Leichter schmiegt sich Seel an Seele
In der schmerzensreichen Stund,
Und man schwört in der Bergère
Sich den ew'gen Freundschaftsbund.
Aber wie sie da so sitzen,
Öffnet plötzlich sich die Tür



Und es schallt mit rauher Stimme:
„Ei, ei, ei! Was macht man hier?"



Freilich hüllen sich die beiden
Schnell in fromme Lieder ein;
Doch nur kurze Zeit erschallen
Diese schönen Melodein.



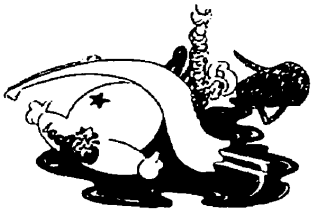
Denn — Kracks! Es dringt der scharfe Schlag
Bis tief in das Gedankenfach.



's ist aus: — Der Lebensfaden bricht. —
Elene schreit. — Es fällt das Licht. —



Pardauz! — Es fällt die Kanne um,
Gefüllt mit dem Petroleum.



Und hilflos und mit Angstgewimmer
Verkohlt das fromme Frauenzimmer.



Hier sieht man ihre Trümmer rauchen.
Der Rest ist nicht mehr zu gebrauchen.

ENDE

Im nächsten Heft beginnt:

Hein Jibberbein und Konsorten

Erfreuliche Bilder von unerfreulichen Zeitgenossen

Verse aus „Der fromme Helene" von Wilhelm Busch. Fritz Bassermannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, München

Hauptschriftleiter *Dr. Hans Herrmann*. Anzeigenleiter *Helmuth Klostermann*, Hamburg. Druck und Verlag: Broschek & Co., Hamburg 36, Gr. Reichen 36-52. Fernruf 34 10 10. Postscheckkonto: Hamburg 374 22. Berliner Schriftleitung: Berlin SW 11, Hedemannstraße 6. Fernruf 19 36 69. — Bezug durch den Zeitschriftenvertrieb frei Haus 12 Pf. 50 Heft, durch die Post monatlich 2,86 RM. Anzeigen lt. Preisliste Nr. 11. — Auslandspreise: Belgien 2 Frs., Dänemark 40 Öre, Finnland 4,50 mk, Frankreich 4 Frs, Holland 20 Cents, Italien 2 Lire, Norwegen 45 Öre, Portugal 2 Esc, Schweden 48 Öre, Schweiz 40 Rappen, Spanien 1,25 Ptas, Ungarn 34 Filler, Rumänien 14 Lei.

Illustration 15a: *Simplicissimus*. Special edition to Busch's 70th birthday, April 15, 1902.

Extra-Nummer Preis 40 Pfg. Max und Moritz

SIMPLICISSIMUS

Zu Wilhelm Buschs siebzigstem Geburtstag

(Verse von Ludwig Thoma, Zeichnungen von Th. Th. Heine)



Sieht man nicht mit Mißvergnügen
Eigentlich die Jahre fliegen?
Hat sich schon ein Mensch gefreut,
Daß so schnell vergeht die Zeit?
Wenn es uns nicht freuen kann,
Warum feiert man es dann?
Wilhelm Busch, auch du bist heute
Jubilar. Und viele Leute
Geben uns die Rechenschaft
Ueber deine Dichterkraft.
Ueber deines Innern Wesen
Dürfen wir so manches lesen,
Was dir selbst verborgen blieb,
Bis der Kritiker es schrieb.
Ach ja wohl! Bei langer Dauer
Fällt dir das Bewundern sauer
Und du gehst mit müdem Blick
In dein stilles Haus zurück;
Denn es hat dich mitgenommen.
Horch! Da sind noch zwei gekommen!

Sieh doch nur die altbekannten
Wohlvertrauten Gratulanten!
Max und Moritz stehen hier
Heut' vor deines Hauses Thür;
Etwas älter, als vor Jahren
Da sie noch zwei Buben waren.
Max ist Maler, Moritz Dichter,
Aber beide Bösewichter.
Herrscher necken, Menschen quälen,
Hohe Ideale stehlen,
Die man sich in Deutschland schuf —
Ja, das ist nun ihr Beruf!
Schickst du sie von deinem Hause?
Wünschest du in deiner Klause
Auch zum Teufel diese zwei?
Sieh! Da kommt er schon herbei,
Denn er hält für gute Beute
Dichter oder Malersleute;
Niemand wird so oft verflucht
Und ist so durchaus verrucht.

Diesmal freilich hilft noch jene,
Die wir kennen als Helene,
Und die auf den Teufel jetzt
Ihren guten Engel hetzt.
Aber kann der liebe Gott
Länger dulden, daß der Spott
Dieser beiden das vergiftet,
Was er selber einst gestiftet,
Nämlich Militär und Thron
Und dazu die Religion?
Nein! die Staatsgewalt muß siegen
Und das Böse unterliegen.
Dies wird die Geschichte lehren,
Welche Wilhelm Busch zu Ehren
Und der Menschheit zum Genuß
Schrieb der

Simplicissimus

Illustration 15b: *Simplicissimus*. Special edition to Busch's 75th birthday, April 15, 1907.

Wilhelm Busch-Nummer

München, 15. April 1907 — 12. Jahrgang No. 3

SIMPLICISSIMUS

Abonnement vierteljährlich 3 Mk. 60 Pfg. — Herausgeber: Albert Langen — In Oesterreich-Ungarn vierteljährl. K 4.10

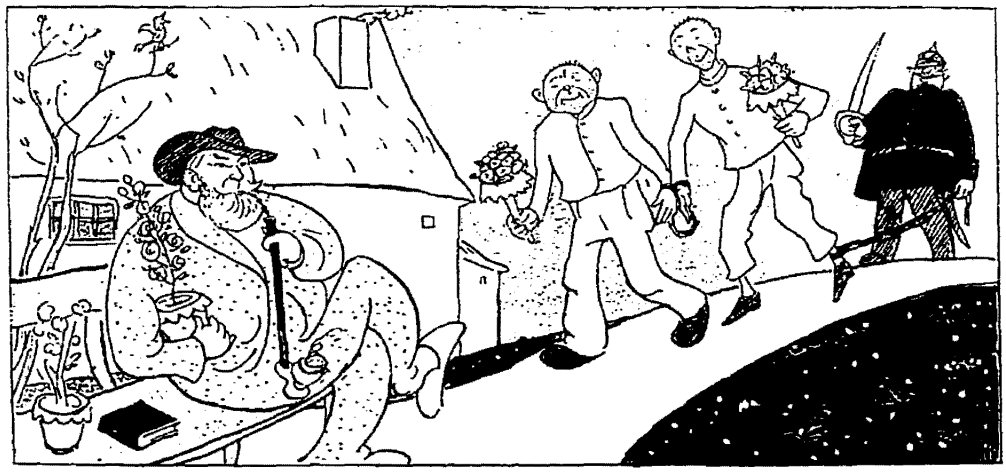
(Alle Rechte vorbehalten)

Der Fall Max und Moritz

(Zeichnungen von Th. Th. Heine)



Das Urteil: Fall Bolte, Sachbeschädigung und Bandendiebstahl, §§ 303, 243 des R.St.G.B., Gefängnisstrafe von 2 Jahren und Zuchthausstrafe von 8 Jahren, zusammengezogen in 9 Jahre Zuchthaus. — Fall Böck, Körperverletzung, § 223 des R.St.G.B., 3 Jahre Gefängnis. — Fall Zuckerbäcker, Einbruchsdiebstahl, § 243 des R.St.G.B., 10 Jahre Zuchthaus. — Fall Lämpel, Verbrechen gegen § 6 des Sprengstoffgesetzes, 9 Jahre Zuchthaus. Schwere Körperverletzung, §§ 225, 229 des R.St.G.B., 10 Jahre Zuchthaus. — Insgesamt 38 Jahre Zuchthaus und 3 Jahre Gefängnis, zusammengezogen in 40 Jahre Zuchthaus.
Trotz der glänzenden Verteidigungsrede Wilhelm Buschs mußten leider mildernde Umstände versagt und fast durchgängig auf die Maximalstrafe erkannt werden, da die Angeklagten ihre moralische Verkommenheit dem hohen Gerichtshof aufs neue vor Augen führten, indem sie wilde Maikäfer, welche sie sich auf unbegreifliche Weise zu verschaffen gewußt hatten, auf die Richter hetzten.



Zur Feier des fünfundsiebzigsten Geburtstages Wilhelm Buschs ist durch einen Gnadenakt des Landesfürsten den Büßern Max und Moritz gestattet worden, dem Jubilar persönlich ihre Glückwünsche darzubringen. Unter scherer Begleitung erscheinen sie dort in ihrer schmucken Zuchthauskleidung. Fast ist zu befürchten, daß Meister Busch sich im Laufe der Jahre selbst von der Schuld der Verbrecher überzeugt hat und über das Wiedersehen nicht recht erfreut sein mag.

Illustration 16a: Erich Maria Remarque's "Contibuben" in imitation of *Max und Moritz*.
The first and second of eleven "Contibuben" pranks:
"Der Contibuben erster Streich," *Echo-Continental* 1/2 (1923): 17.
"Der Contibuten zweiter Streich," *Echo-Continental* 5 (1923): 57.



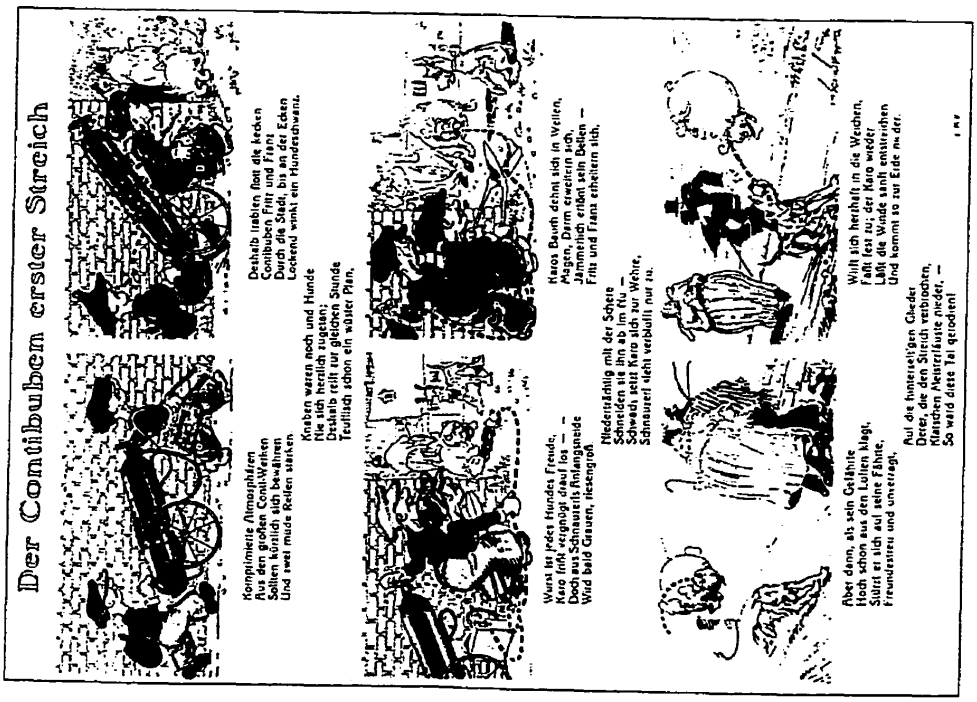


Illustration 16b: Erich Maria Remarque's "Kapitän Priemke" inspired by *Max und Moritz*.
The first and second of seventeen "Kapitän Priemke" adventures:
"Kapitän Priemkes Landabenteuer," *Echo-Continental* 11/12 (1922): 213.
"Priemkes 2. Abenteuer: »Faltbootfahrt«," *Echo-Continental* 3/4 (1923): 37.

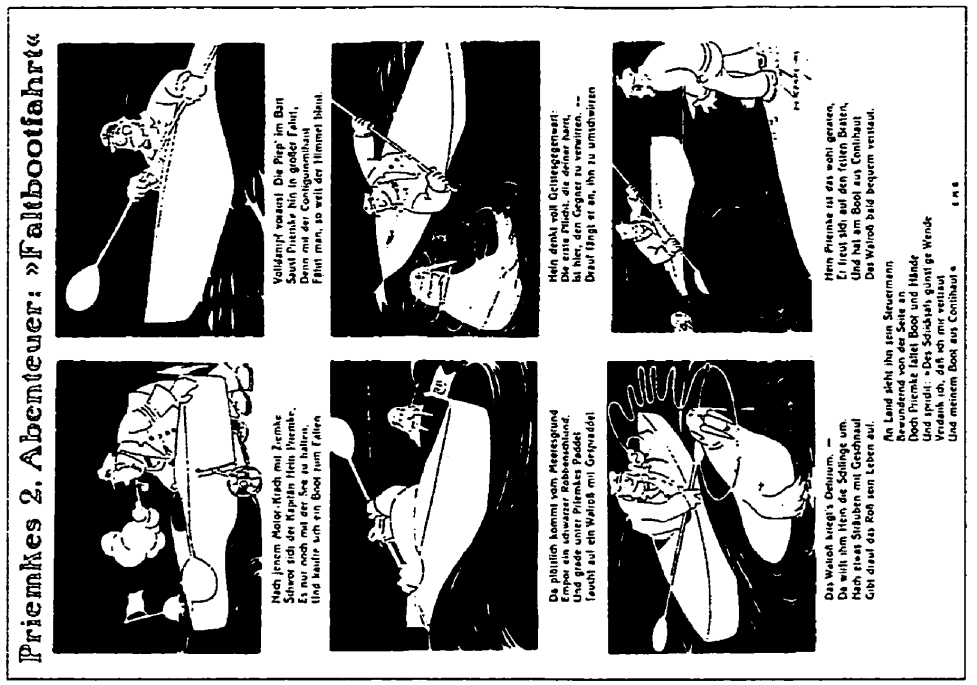




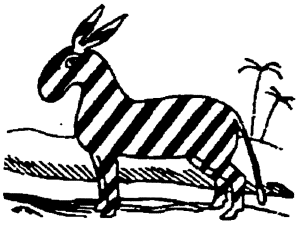
Illustration 17a: Chlodwig Poth, *Schnurrdiburr oder ein Kindheitserlebnis* (1979).

Illustration 17b: Hans Traxler, *Schnurrdiburr oder das Sklylab. Ein Versuch, sich Wilhelm Busch von heute her zu nähern.* (1979).



Illustration 18: Robert Gernhardt on Busch as a forerunner of modern art. The pictures are taken from the following of Busch's works: Left column top to bottom: *Naturgeschichtliches Alphabet* (H1: 67), *Der Katzenjammer am Neujahrsmorgen* (H1: 511), *Julchen* (H3:204), *Der Katzenjammer am Neujahrsmorgen* (H1: 507), *Der Virtuos* (H1: 410), *Max und Moritz* (H1: 365). Centre column top to bottom: *Der Eispeter* (H1: 297), *Abenteuer eines Junggesellen* (H3: 67), *Hans Huckebein* (H1: 487), *Der heilige Antonius* (H2: 86), *Max und Moritz* (H1: 388), *Der Virtuos* (H1: 409), *Max und Moritz* (H1: 379). Right column top to bottom: *Max und Moritz* (H1: 382), *Maler Klecksel* (H4: 88), *Die fromme Helene* (H2: 287), *Die Rache des Elefanten* (H1: 183).

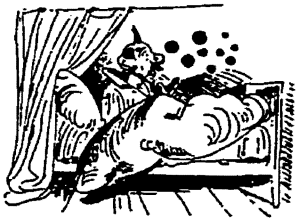
der Maler, sondern der komische Zeichner Busch. Der freilich nahm gleich so ziemlich alles vorweg, was viel spätere Stilrichtungen und Künstler dem Menschenbild und der Welt der restlichen optischen Erscheinungen antaten. Busch hat nämlich die



Op- bzw. Pop-art vorweggenommen



den Jugendstil die Neue Figuration



den Konstruktivismus



den Surrealismus

den Expressionismus







den Kubismus den Kubismus, jawohl,



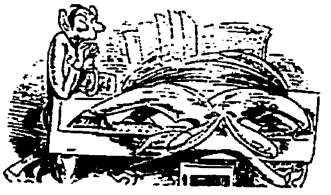
den Tachismus



den Tachismus, doch!



den Pointillismus

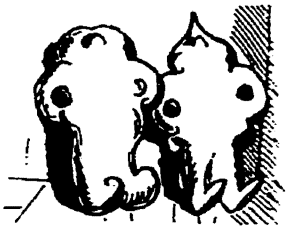


den Futurismus.

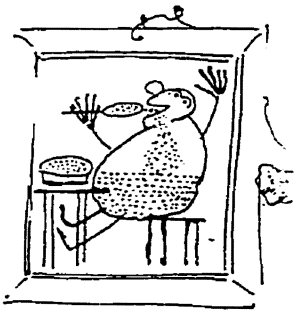
Ferner nahm Busch eindeutig und zweifelsfrei folgende Künstler vorweg:



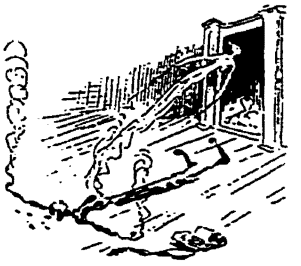
Salvador Dali, bzw. Claes Oldenburg



Henry Moore



Jean Dubuffet



Alberto Giacometti



sowie Gerd Uecker.

Das mag vorerst reichen, sicherlich gibt es noch weitere Vorwegnahmen zu entdecken, das aber soll bitteschön die Wilhelm-Busch-Gesellschaft besorgen. Die gibt es, sie hat ihren Sitz in Hannover und wird, hör ich, am 24. Juni 50 Jahre alt.

Illustration 19a: Microsoft advertising in *Der Spiegel* #45, 1986 (top), refer to Busch's "Prosaischer Kauz" (H4: 337); and *Stern* #40, 1995 (bottom), refer to Busch's *Max und Moritz* (H1:352).



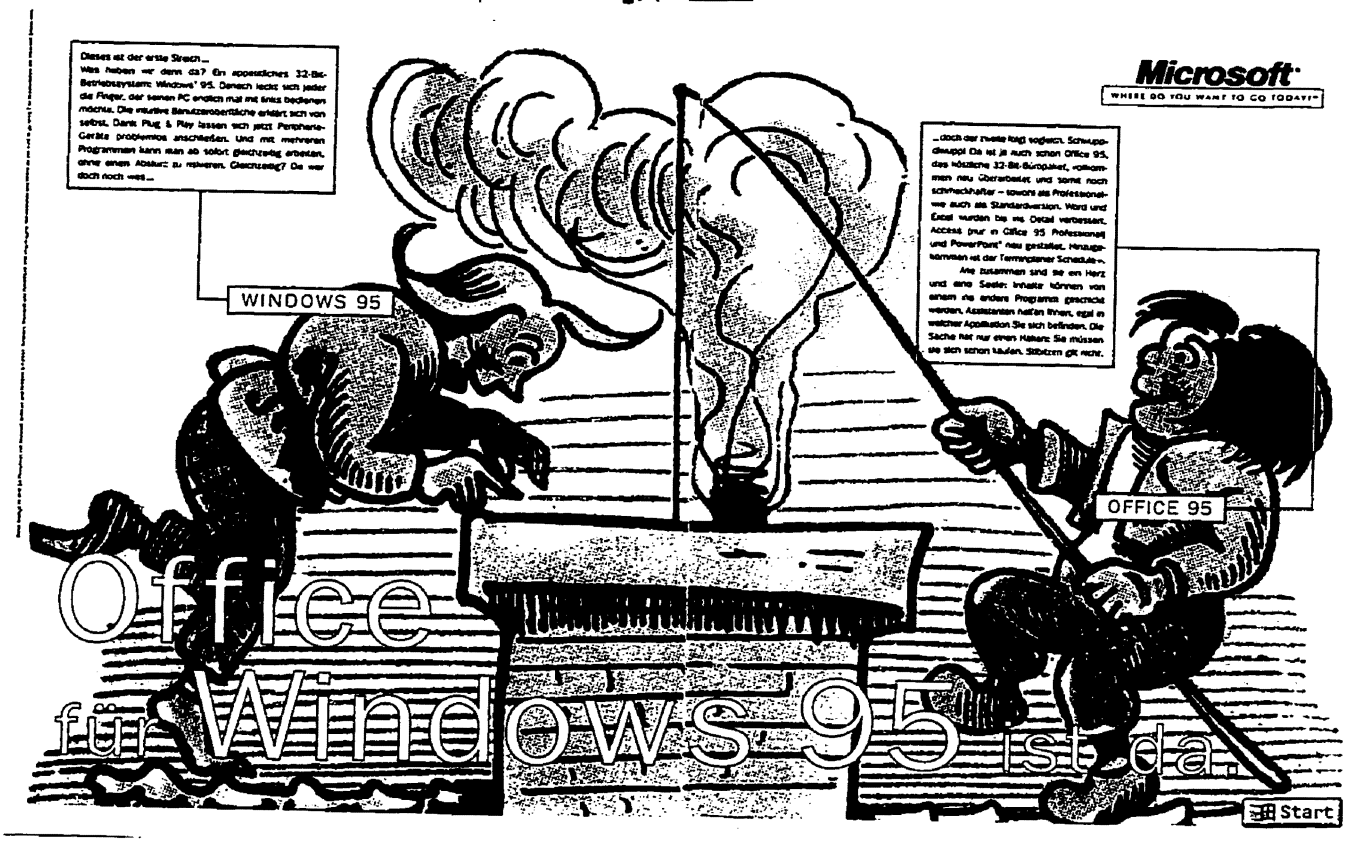


Illustration 19b: Mercedes-Benz advertising in *Der Spiegel* #5, 1999.

Vorwort: Max allein, das darf nicht sein.

Das Leben wäre ärmer ohne Partner.

► Erster Streich: Wenn Sie einen nach dem 24.10.98 erstmals zugelassenen Mercedes Pkw besitzen, werden Sie automatisch unser Partner. Zweiter bis dritter Streich: Das bedeutet, daß wir in den ersten vier Jahren sogar bei Schlüsselverlust oder Reifenschäden immer für Sie da sind. Vierter bis fünfter Streich: Und daß wir 30 Jahre lang Ihren Wagen gegen Durchrostung schützen und bei technischen Pannen oder Startproblemen stets für Mobilität sorgen. Sechster Streich: Und Sie? Sie lassen nur Ihren Mercedes auch ab dem fünften Jahr spätestens alle zwei Jahre in einer autorisierten Mercedes Werkstatt warten. Letzter Streich: Mobilo life gilt fast überall in Europa. Noch mehr erzählen wir gern unter 0180/22336.

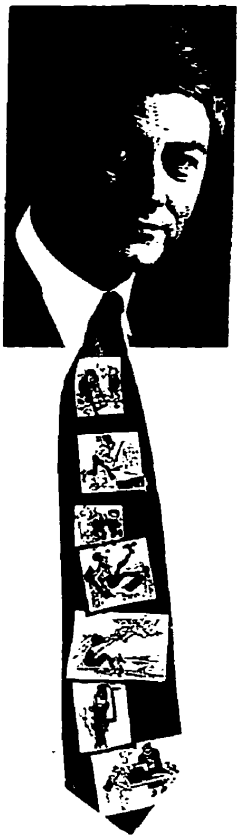
Mobilo-life. Die Partnerschaft für 30 Jahre Mobilität.

Mercedes-Benz
Die Zukunft des Automobils.

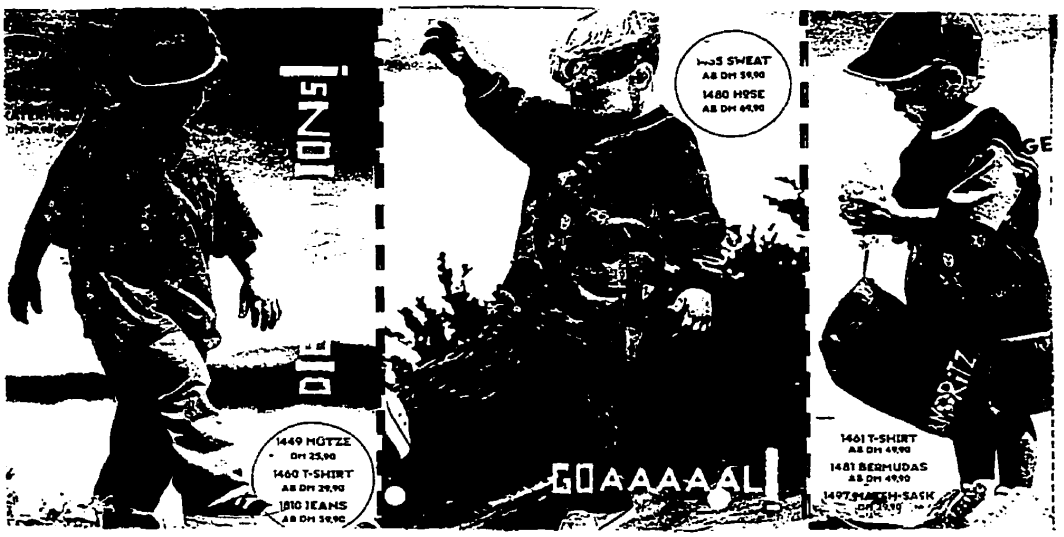
Illustration 19c: Busch figures in clothing advertising.



Advertising Campaign for Mustang-Jeans
in numerous magazines and newspapers 1979/80

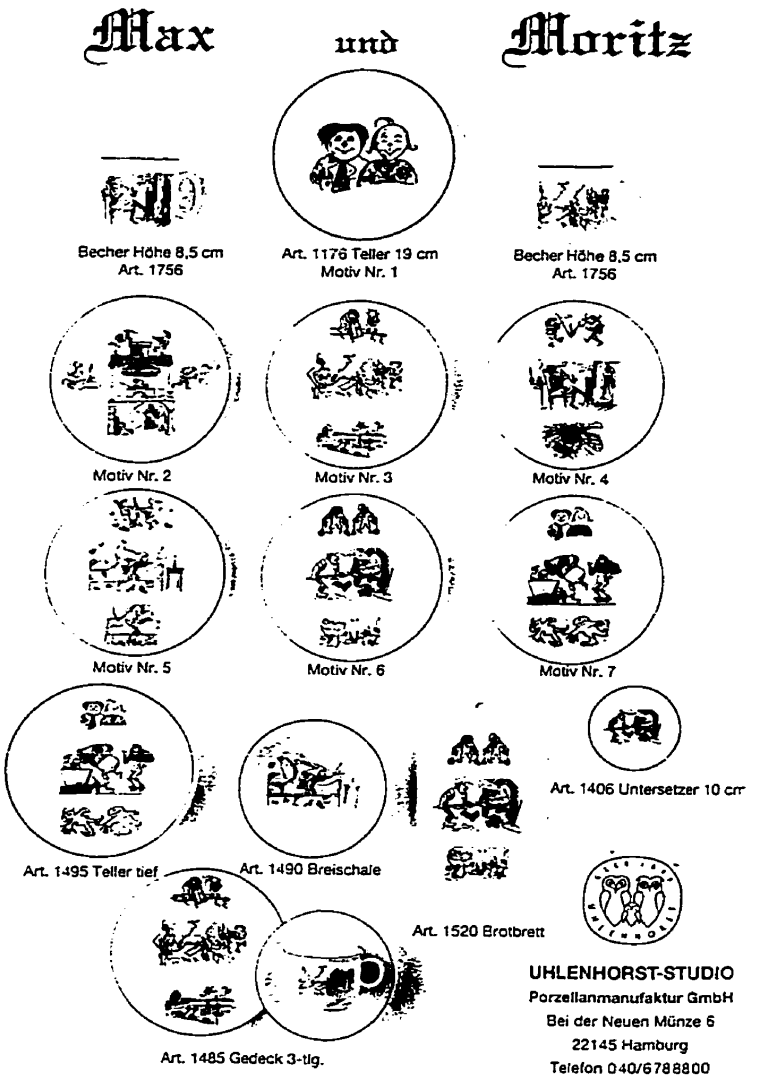


Otto-Versand, 1997



Sanetta-Versand, 1998

Illustration 19d: Busch figures used in advertising and promotions.



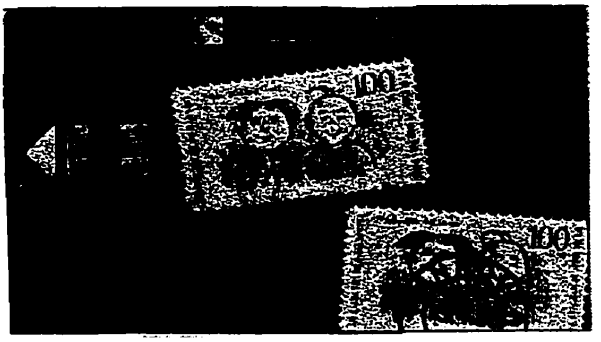
Uhlenhorst-Studio, Hamburg
Collectible porcelain, 1999



Hess. Nieders. Allgemeine Zeitung (Kassel), April 5, 1996



The lid of cook cheese tubs, offered in numerous grocery stores and supermarkets, ca. 1995



Telekom Telephone card, 1997

Jahn-Reisen catalogue
Spring/Summer, 1999

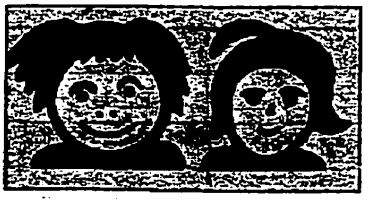
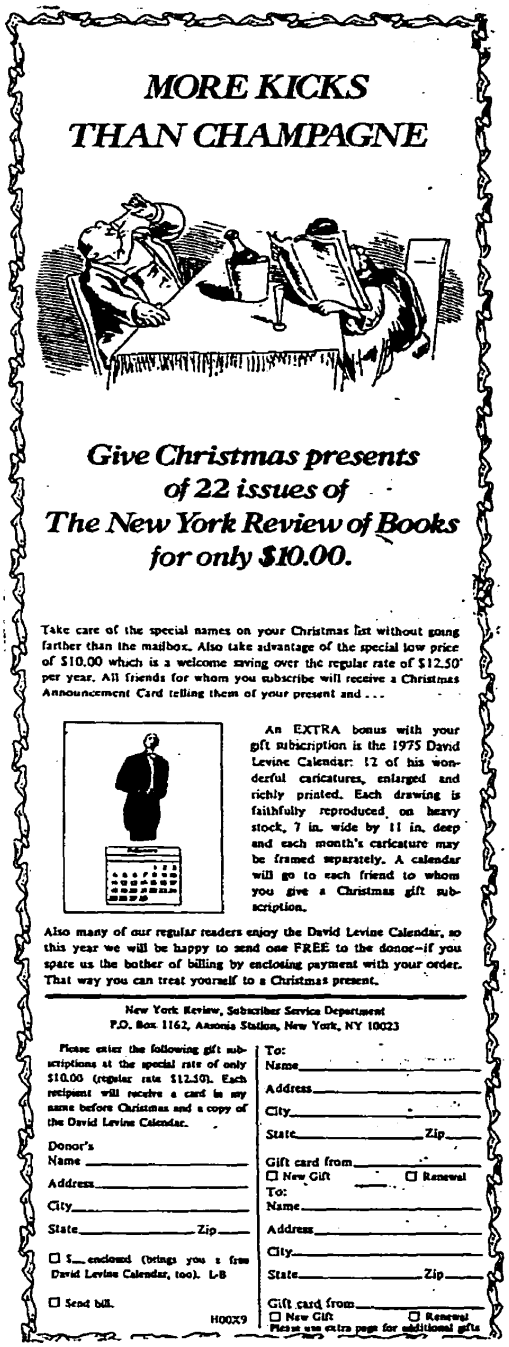


Illustration 19e: Deutsche Bundespost, series of special stamps, 1990.



Illustration 19f: Busch in advertising: Gift subscription for *The New York Review of Books*.
Left: late 1974 featuring a drawing from *Die fromme Helene* (H2: 257)
Right: late 1976, featuring a drawing from *Plisch und Plum* (H3: 498)



MORE KICKS THAN CHAMPAGNE

Give Christmas presents of 22 issues of The New York Review of Books for only $10.00.

Take care of the special names on your Christmas list without going farther than the mailbox. Also take advantage of the special low price of $10.00 which is a welcome saving over the regular rate of $12.50 per year. All friends for whom you subscribe will receive a Christmas Announcement Card telling them of your present and . . .

An EXTRA bonus with your gift subscription is the 1975 David Levine Calendar: 12 of his wonderful caricatures, enlarged and richly printed. Each drawing is faithfully reproduced on heavy stock, 7 in. wide by 11 in. deep and each month's caricature may be framed separately. A calendar will go to each friend to whom you give a Christmas gift subscription.

Also many of our regular readers enjoy the David Levine Calendar, so this year we will be happy to send one FREE to the donor—if you spare us the bother of billing by enclosing payment with your order. That way you can treat yourself to a Christmas present.

New York Review, Subscriber Service Department
P.O. Box 1162, Astoria Station, New York, NY 10023

Please enter the following gift subscriptions at the special rate of only $10.00 (regular rate $12.50). Each recipient will receive a card in my name before Christmas and a copy of the David Levine Calendar.

Donor's
Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip ____

☐ $___ enclosed (brings you a free David Levine Calendar, too). L-B

☐ Send bill.

H00X9

To:
Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip ____

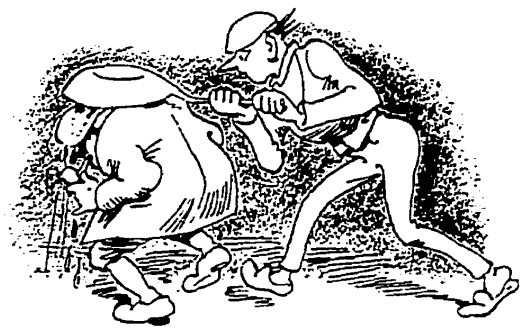
Gift card from _____
☐ New Gift ☐ Renewal

To:
Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip ____

Gift card from _____
☐ New Gift ☐ Renewal

Please use extra page for additional gifts

The Christmas gift your friends will fight over all year long.



A gift subscription to The New York Review of Books brings your friends something to argue about all year long.

22 issues filled with the kind of essays and reviews by brilliant writers and critics that are bound to excite their passions—intellectual, political, personal.

So why fight the holiday shopping crowds later? When you give *The New York Review* for Christmas right now . . .

. . . We'll enter each gift at the holiday rate of just $10, saving you $2.50 from our regular $12.50 price . . .

. . . send each of your friends an announcement of your Christmas gift . . .

. . . and add an extra year-round gift, sent with your compliments and ours: The 1977 David Levine Calendar, with 12 caricatures from the pages of *The New York Review*.

You, too, can enjoy this Calendar free of charge, by sending payment now.

In this way, you'll have completed those Christmas shopping chores long before the holidays begin. And your gift of good reading will surely be appreciated—and fought over—again and again throughout the year ahead.

Yes, I want to give *The New York Review* this Christmas and keep my friends fighting all year long.



Enter the following gift subscriptions at the special rate of just $10 per year—and be sure to send the new David Levine Calendar for 1977, plus an announcement of each gift:

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

☐ *I've enclosed $_____ at $10 each, for the _____ subscriptions I've indicated at left. For saving me the bother of billing, send me the David Levine Calendar for 1977 free of charge.*

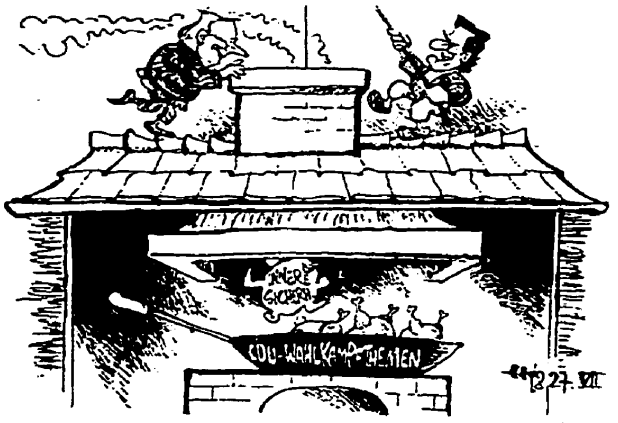
☐ *Bill me $_____ at $10 each, for the _____ subscriptions I've indicated at left.*

Mr. Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

☐ *Enter or* ☐ *Renew my own subscription for one year at $12.50. If renewal, I've enclosed my mailing label.*

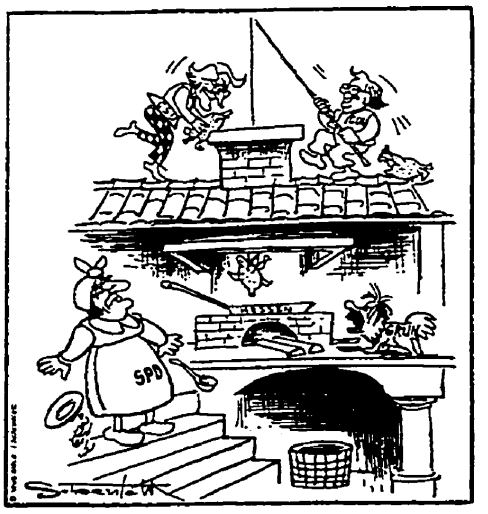
Please note: Add $2 per subscription for Canada, Mexico, PAUL $3 for all other foreign countries.

Illustration 20a: Political cartoons



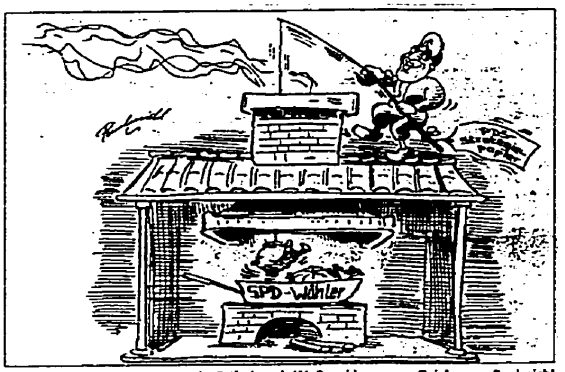
„Schwupp! Schon wieder wird nach oben eins der Hühner raufgehoben!"

Braunschweiger Zeitung
July 28, 1998
(cf. *Max und Moritz*, H1: 352)



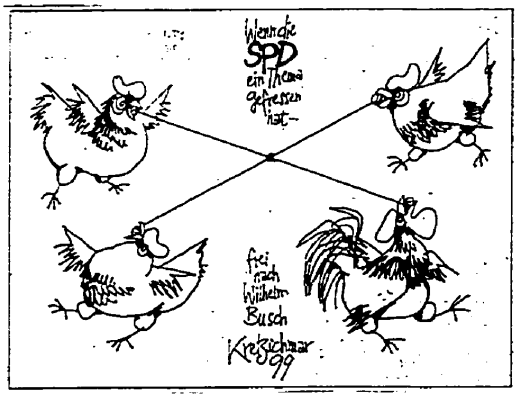
„Angewurzelt stand sie da, als sie nach der Pfanne sah"

Bayernkurier
February 13, 1999
(cf. *Max und Moritz*, H1: 352)

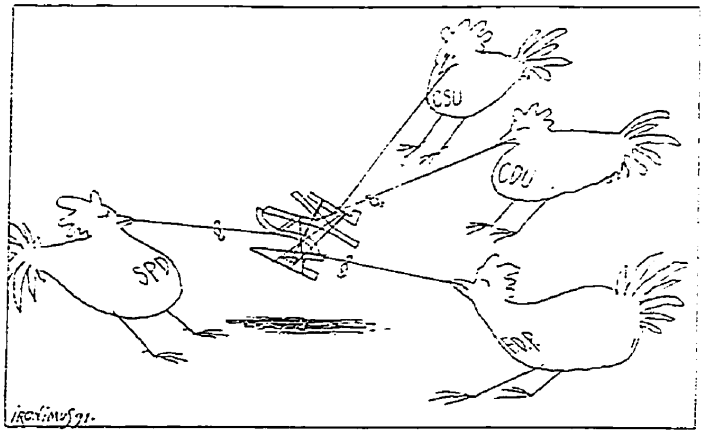


Schwupdiwup, bald Numero eins? (frei nach W. Busch) Zeichnung: Paulmichl

Münchner Merkur
August 4, 1999
(cf. *Max und Moritz*, H1: 352)

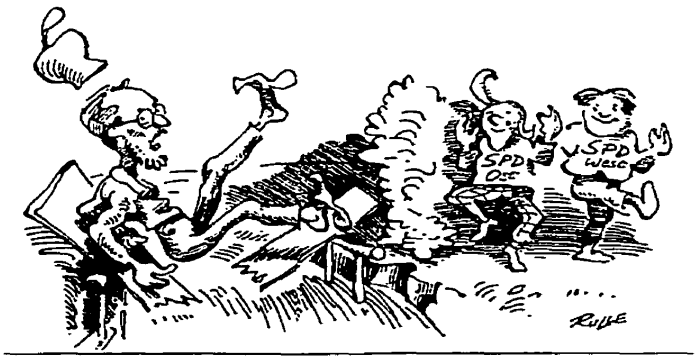


Neues Deutschland (Berlin)
August 14, 1999
(cf. *Max und Moritz*, H1: 346)



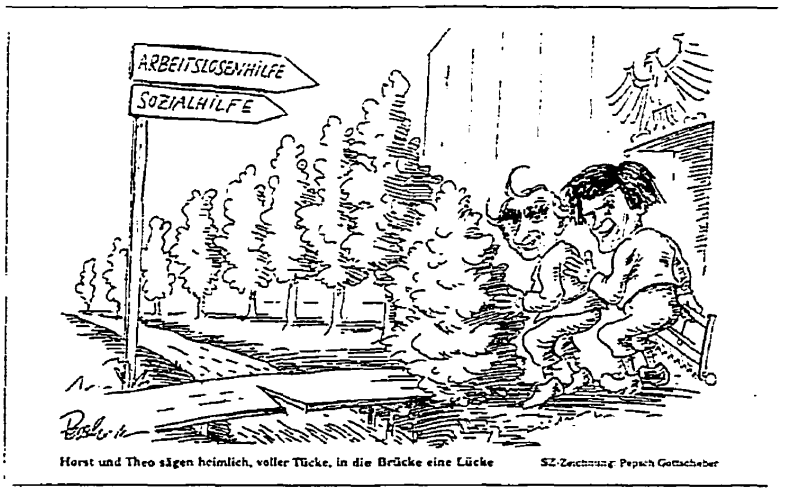
Süddeutsche Zeitung
September 30, 1991
(cf. *Max und Moritz*, H1: 346)

Illustration 20b: Political cartoons



Und schon ist er auf der Brücke. Krachst die Brücke bricht in Stücke

Donau-Kurier (Ingolstadt)
August 21, 1990
(cf. *Max und Moritz*, H1: 358)



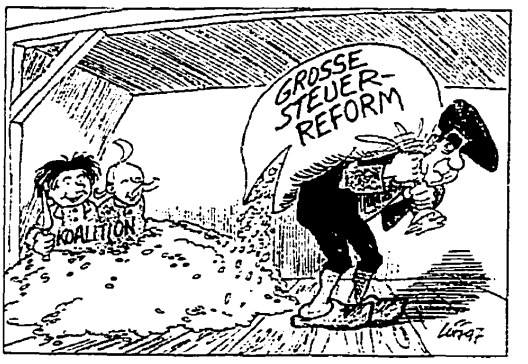
Horst und Theo sägen heimlich, voller Tücke, in die Brücke eine Lücke SZ-Zeichnung: Pepsch Gottscheber

Süddeutsche Zeitung
July 6, 1995
(cf. *Max und Moritz*, H1: 357)



Mühsames Geschäft

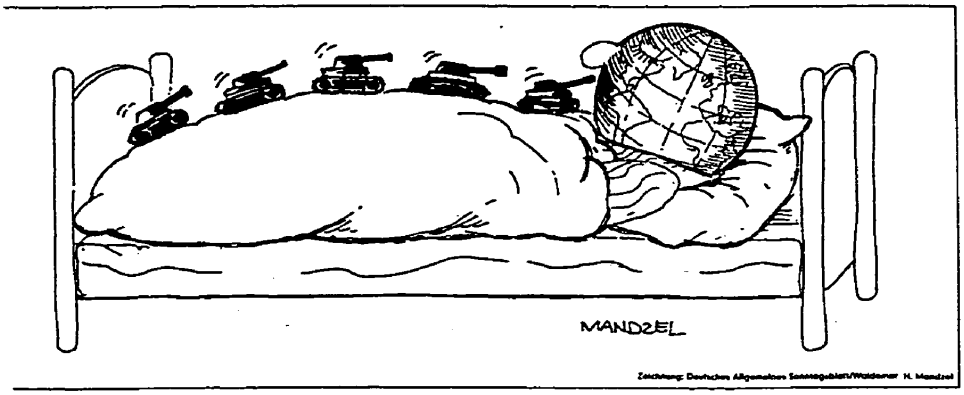
Süddeutsche Zeitung
October 17, 1990
(cf. *Max und Moritz*, H1: 384)



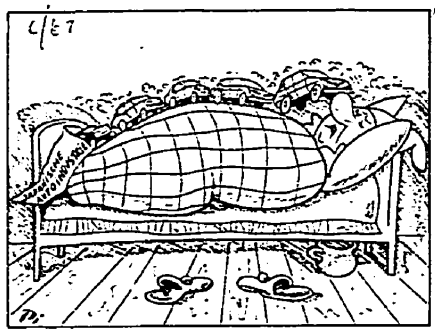
Aber kaum daß er von hinnen,
fängt das Korn schon an zu rinnen. (Frei nach W. Busch)

Stuttgarter Zeitung
January 21, 1997
(cf. *Max und Moritz*, H1: 384)

Illustration 20c: Political cartoons



Dt. Allgem. Sonntagsblatt
February 8, 1981
(cf. *Max und Moritz*, H1: 371)



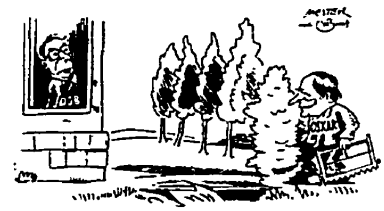
Schon faßt einer, der voran, Onkel Michels Nase an. (Frei nach Wilhelm Busch) HANDELSBLATT: Pielert

Das Handelsblatt
July 2, 1980
(cf. *Max und Moritz*, H1: 371)

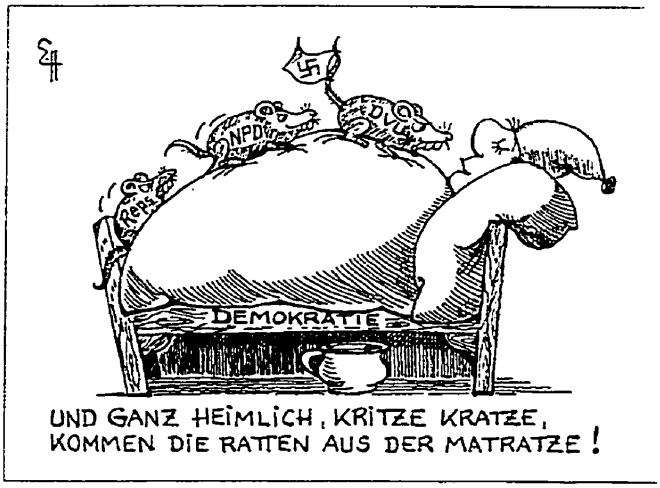
Die Tageszeitung (Berlin)
April 25, 1988
(cf. *Max und Moritz*, H1: 369, 357)



Dieses war der erste Streich...



... doch der nächste folgt sogleich!



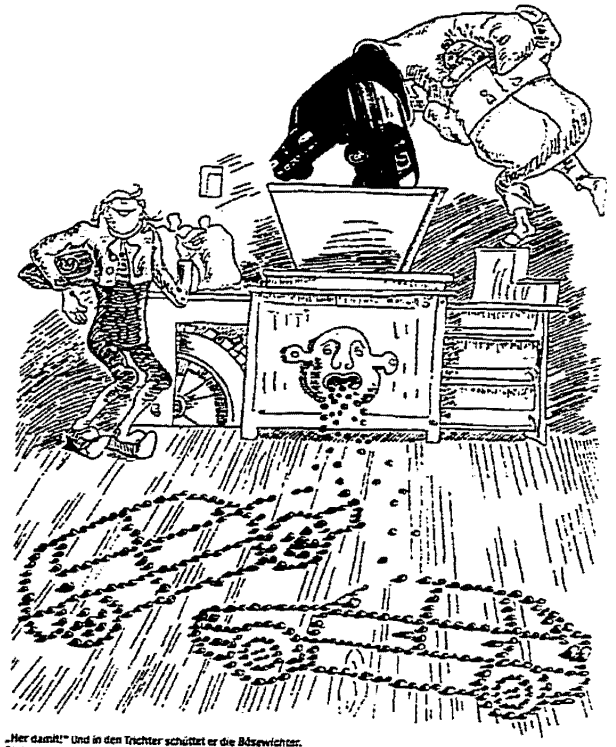
HNA Allgemeine (Kassel)
August 18, 1998
(cf. *Max und Moritz*, H1: 371)



Onkel Sam in seiner Not ... (F. n. W. Busch)

Bunte
May 24, 1995
(cf. *Max und Moritz*, H1: 371, 372)

Illustration 20d: Political cartoons



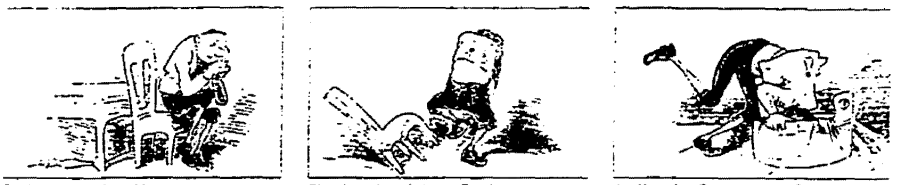
„Her damit!" Und in den Trichter schüttet er die Bösewichter.
Rickeracke! Rickeracke! Geht die Mühle mit Geknacke.
Hier kann man sie noch erblicken, fein gehäckselt und in Stücken – das ist Auto-Recycling frei nach Wilhelm Busch

Auto
October 23, 1991
(cf. *Max und Moritz*, H1: 388)



Der Dumme schlemmt an einem fort, der Denker lebt allein vom Wort. Wilhelm Busch porträtiert den Hungerkünstler
Foto AKG

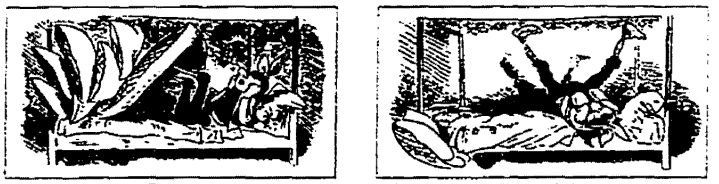
Frankfurter Allgem. Zeitung
April 21, 1994
(cf. *Der neidische Handwerksbursch*, H1: 459)



Streitpunkt Lohnfortzahlung

Ohmalen bringt ein harter Brocken

des Menschen Freude sehr ins Stocken



So geht's nun auch dem Friedrich Kracke

er liegt ganz krumm und hält die Backe

Wochenpost
April 18, 1996
(cf. *Der hohle Zahn*, H1: 137, 138, 139, 140, 141)

Illustration 20e: Political cartoons



Hohenloher Tageblatt
February 2, 1985
(cf. *Hans Huckebein*, H1: 475)



Max und Moritz (USA-Version)

Stern
#17, 1998



Als der Dampf sich nun erhob
sah man Michel, der Gottlob
lebend auf dem Rücken liegt;
doch er hat was abgekriegt
SZ-Zeichnung: Hanitzsch

Süddeutsche Zeitung
September 28, 1998
(cf. *Max und Moritz*, H1: 366)

Abbreviations

Quotations presented in the text with abbreviations and page number in parentheses are cited from the following sources:

H# Bohne, Friedrich, ed. *Wilhelm Busch. Historisch-Kritische Gesamtausgabe*. 4 vols. Hamburg: Standard, 1959. Later printings: *Wilhelm Busch. Gesamtausgabe in vier Bänden*, Wiesbaden: Vollmer, n.d.

B# Bohne, Friedrich, ed. *Wilhelm Busch. Sämtliche Briefe*. 2 vols. Hannover: Schlütersche, 1982.

W# Nöldeke, Otto, ed. *Wilhelm Busch. Sämtliche Werke*. 8 vols. München: Braun und Schneider, 1943.

Bibliography

Primary Literature

Bohne, Friedrich, ed. *Wilhelm Busch. Historisch-Kritische Gesamtausgabe.* 4 vols. Hamburg: Standard, 1959. Later printings: *Wilhelm Busch. Gesamtausgabe in vier Bänden*, Wiesbaden: Vollmer, n.d.

---. *Der Diogenes-Busch. Schöne Studienausgabe in 7 Bänden.* Zürich: Diogenes, 1974.

---. *Wilhelm Busch. Sämtliche Briefe.* 2 vols. Hannover: Schlütersche, 1982.

Brunngraber-Malottke, Ruth. *Wilhelm Busch. Handzeichnungen nach der Natur. Werksverzeichnis.* Stuttgart: Hatje, 1992.

Busch, Wilhelm. *Was mich betrifft.* September 1886 ms. Wilhelm-Busch-Archives, Hannover, #1587 (I), #7500 (II).

---. *Eduards Traum.* December 1890 working ms. Wilhelm-Busch-Archives, Hannover, #4/037.1.

---. *Eduards Traum.* January 1891 final ms. Wilhelm-Busch-Archives, Hannover, #4/037.2.

---. *Von mir über mich.* April 1893 ms. Wilhelm-Busch-Archives, Hannover, #4/040.2.

---. *Von mir über mich.* January 1894 ms. Wilhelm-Busch-Archives, Hannover, #4/041.2.

---. *Der Schmetterling.* 1895 working ms. Wilhelm-Busch-Archives, Hannover, #4/042.1.

---. *Der Schmetterling.* 1895 final ms. Wilhelm-Busch-Archives, Hannover, #4/042.2, 4/042.3.1-21.

---. *Humoristischer Hausschatz. Sammlung der beliebtesten Schriften mit 1500 Bildern.* München: Bassermann, 1884. Many other editions, too many to be recorded here, have since appeared. Compare page 35, footnote 15 of this dissertation.

---. *Eduards Traum.* München: Bassermann, 1891.

---. *Die fromme Helene.* Jubiläums-Ausgabe. München: Bassermann, 1893.

---. *Der Schmetterling.* München: Bassermann, 1895.

---. *Pater Filucius.* 36.-39. Tausend. München: Bassermann, 1899.

---. *Hernach.* Ed. Otto Nöldeke. München: Lothar Joachim, 1908.

---. *Ut ôler Welt. Volksmärchen, Sagen, Volkslieder und Reime.* Ed. Otto Nöldeke. München: Lothar Joachim, 1910.

Gmelin, Hans Georg. *Wilhelm Busch als Maler. Mit einem vollständigen Werksverzeichnis.* Berlin: Mann, 1980.

Hochhuth, Rolf, ed. *Wilhelm Busch. Sämtliche Werke und eine Auswahl der Skizzen und Gemälde in zwei Bänden.* Vol. 1: *Und die Moral von der Geschicht.* Vol. 2: *Was beliebt ist auch erlaubt.* Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1959.

Nöldeke, Otto, ed. *Wilhelm Busch. Sämtliche Werke.* 8 vols. München: Braun und Schneider, 1943.

Secondary Literature on Wilhelm Busch in English

Arndt, Walter, trans. and ed. *The Genius of Wilhelm Busch. Comedy of Frustration.* Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: U of California P, 1982.

Benét, William Rose. *The Reader's Encyclopedia. An Encyclopedia of World Literature and the Arts.* 1948. New York: Crowell, 1960. 158.

Benét's Reader's Encyclopedia. 4th ed. Ed. Bruce Murphy. New York: Harper Collins, 1996. 154.

Berg, Thomas. "On the internal structure of polysyllabic monomorphemic words: the case for superrimes." *Studia linguistica* 43 (1989): 5-32.

Borer, William F. "A newly discovered manuscript of Wilhelm Busch." *Monatshefte* 53 (1961): 298-301.

Bridgwater, Patrick. "Wilhelm Busch." *The Penguin Companion to European Literature.* Ed. Anthony Thorlby. New York, St. Louis, San Francisco, Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1969. 150.

Craig, Charlotte M. "Wisdom-whimsy-humanism: Georg Christoph Lichtenberg and Wilhelm Busch." *Lichtenberg. Essays commemorating the 250th anniversary of his birth.* Ed. Charlotte M. Craig. New York: P Lang, 1992. 129-152.

Dorner, Alexander. "Wilhelm Busch." *American-German Review* 4.4 (1938): 20-24.

Fitzell, John. "Tension and dimension in late poems of Wilhelm Busch." *Wilhelm auf den Busch geklopft. Essays and translations in honour of Dieter Paul Lotze*. Ed. Jörg Thunecke. Nottingham: Sherwood, 1987. 14-24.

Görlach, Manfred. "A Handsel for J.K. Annand: On the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday." *English World Wide. A Journal of Varieties of English* 9.1 (1988): 101-117.

---. "»Haw, the wickit Things Weans Dae!« *Max and Moritz* in Scots." *Scottish Language* 9 (1990): 34-51.

Heller, Erich. "Creatures of Circumstance." *Times Literary Supplement* 7 October 1977: 1124-1126.

---. "The little world of Wilhelm Busch." *The age of prose. Literary and philosophical essays*. Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge UP, 1984. 251-268.

Hoegl, Jürgen K. "Literary semiotics: an approach to comparing the arts." *Ars semiotica* 4 (1981): 127-137.

Kunzle, David. "Busch Abroad: How a German Caricaturist Willy Nilly Helped Launch the New Cheap Comic Magazines in Britain and the United States." *Victorian Periodicals Review* 25.3 (1992): 99-108.

Kurz, Edmund P. "The Political and Social Attitudes of Wilhelm Busch." Diss. New York U, 1947.

---. "Wilhelm Busch and the Problem of Pedagogy." *Revue des Langues Vivantes* 31 (1965): 55-61.

Lotze, Dieter P. *Wilhelm Busch*. Boston: Twayne, 1979.

---, and Barbara Lotze. "Alive throughout: Wilhelm Busch and physics." *American Journal of Physics* 52.8 (1984): 692-695.

Magill, C.P. "A Belated Encounter with Wilhelm Busch." *German Life and Letters* 34 (1980): 39-48.

Morgan, Bayard Q. "Wilhelm Busch." *Columbia Dictionary of Modern European Literaure*. 1947. Ed. Horatio Smith. New York, London: Columbia UP, 1971. 129-130.

Murrell, William. "Wilhelm Busch and American Comic Art." *American-German Review* 1.3 (1935): 9-13.

Noordhoorn, Max E. "Wilhelm Busch's *Max und Moritz*: A German Tale of Innocence and Experience." *Imagination, Emblems and Expressions: Essays on Latin American, Caribbean and Continental Culture and Identity*. Ed. Helen Ryan-Ransom. Bowling Green, Ohio: Popular, 1993. 259-274.

Rollfinke, Dieter and Jacqueline. "Wilhelm Busch: Dumping the Chamber Pot on Human Vanity." *The Call of Human Nature. The Role of Scatology in Modern German Literature*. Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1986. 34-53.

Shoemaker, Ted. "*Max und Moritz* by Wilhelm Busch." *American-German Review* 32.2 (1965): 36-37.

Sorell, Walter. "Wilhelm Busch, Cartoonist." *The duality of Vision. Genius and Versatility in the Arts*. Indianapolis, New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970. 310-313.

Taylor, R. Loring. "The Ambiguous Legacy of Wilhelm Busch." *The Great Excluded: Children's Literature*. Vol 1. Ed. Francelia Butler. Storrs: U of Connecticut P, 1972. 77-92.

Thunecke, Jörg. "Wilhelm Busch's *Max und Moritz* and Rudolph Dirks' *Katzenjammer Kids*. Aspects of a cultural exchange." *Wilhelm auf den Busch geklopft. Essays and translations in honour of Dieter Paul Lotze*. Ed. Jörg Thunecke. Nottingham: Sherwood, 1987. 42-66.

Toury, Gideon. "German children's literature in Hebrew translation: the case of *Max und Moritz*. *In search of a theory of translation*. Tel Aviv: Porter Institute for poetics and semiotics; Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv UP, 1980. 140-151.

Secondary Literature on Wilhelm Busch in German

Abich, Richard. "Wilhelm Busch Bibliographie." *Mitteilungen der Wilhelm Busch Gesellschaft* 1/2 (1933): 16-23. 3 (1934): 16-23. 4 (1935): 29-31. 5 (1936): 52-55. 6/7 (1937): 73-90.

Ackerknecht, Erwin. *Wilhelm Busch als Selbstbiograph*. München: Bassermann, 1949.

Ahlers, Thomas, and Volker Dehs. *Mac und Mufti. Punk in Ebergötzen*. Göttingen: Davids-Drucke, 1987.

Anlauf, Karl. *Der Philosoph von Wiedensahl: Der völkische Seher Wilhelm Busch.* Berlin: Gutenberg, 1939.

Rev. of *Der Philosoph von Wiedensahl: Der völkische Seher*, by Karl Anlauf. *Dresdner Neueste Nachrichten* December 20, 1939.

Bassermann, Otto Fr. "Mittheilungen über Persönliches von Wilhelm Busch und mein Verhältnis zu ihm." *Wilhelm Busch Jahrbuch* 44 (1978): 5-22.

Beer, Ulrich. *». . . gottlos und beneidenswert« Wilhelm Busch und seine Psychologie.* München: Ehrenwirth, 1982.

Bohne, Friedrich. *Wilhelm Busch und der Geist seiner Zeit.* Diss. U Leipzig, 1931. Jena: Vopelius, 1931.

---. *Wilhelm Busch: Leben-Werk-Schicksal.* Zürich, Stuttgart: Fretz & Wasmuth, 1958.

Bonati, Peter. *Die Darstellung des Bösen im Werk Wilhelm Buschs.* Bern: Francke, 1973.

---. "Zum Spielcharakter in Buschs Bildergeschichten." *Die boshafte Heiterkeit des Wilhelm Busch.* Ed. Michael Vogt. Bielefeld: Aithesis, 1988. 79-102.

Bötticher, Georg. *O diese Kinder.* München: Braun & Schneider, 1894.

Brenneisen, Wolfgang. *Max und Moritz. Die Story von zwei irren Fuzzis.* München: Heyne, 1994.

Budzinski, Klaus, and Rainer Hachfeld. *Marx und Maoritz. Eine Bubengeschichte in sieben Streichen nach Wilhelm Busch für Erwachsene umfunktioniert.* Bern: Rütten+Loening, 1969.

Burger, Ilse. "Wilhelm Busch und Otto Bassermann." *Mannheimer Hefte* 1 (1961): 23-35.

Daelen, Eduard. *Über Wilhelm Busch und seine Bedeutung. Eine lustige Streitschrift.* Düsseldorf: Felix Bagel, 1886.

Dettweiler, Christian. "Wilhelm Buschs menschliche Problematik. Versuch einer psychoanalytisch-schriftpsychologischen Deutung." *Wilhelm Busch Jahrbuch* 42 (1976): 7-27.

Dittmar, Peter. "Ein schönes Vorurteil. Wilhelm Busch, die Juden und wir." *Wilhelm Busch Jahrbuch* 53 (1987): 29-41.

Einstein, Albert. Letter. *Wilhelm Busch Jahrbuch* 33 (1967): 56.

Ekkes. *Marx und Engels. Eine Zeitgeschichte in sechs Streichen.* Ed. DKP Ruhr-Westfalen, 1969.

Fechter, Paul. "Anmerkungen zum *Schmetterling.*" *Wilhelm Busch Jahrbuch* 27/28 (1961/62): 7-18.

Fresser, Petra A. "Die Bildergeschichten 'The Tooth-Ache' von George Cruikshank und 'Der hohle Zahn' von Wilhelm Busch." Diss. U of Cologne, 1993.

Frey, Ulrich H. *Lexikon der treffenden Wilhelm-Busch-Verse. Die bekanntesten Verse des größten Humoristen deutscher Sprache nach 2000 Stichwörtern und Versanfängen von A-Z geordnet.* Thun: Ott, 1982.

Galway, Carol. "Wann hatte Wilhelm Busch Geburtstag??" *Germanic Notes and Reviews* 31.1 (2000): 14-18.

Gernhardt, Robert. "Eiskalte Pointen." *Der Spiegel* 21.1980 (May 19, 1980): 259-267.

Glockner, Hermann. "Wilhelm Busch. Der Mensch. Der Zeichner. Der Humorist." *Kulturphilosophische Perspektiven. Studien und Charakteristiken aus der Sphäre der Individualität.* Bonn: Bouvier, 1968. 634-663.

Görlach, Manfred. "Bibliographie der Übersetzungen." *125 Jahre Max und Moritz. Entstehung und Wirkung des berühmten Buches.* Ed. Wilhelm-Busch-Gesellschaft e.V. Stuttgart: Hatje, 1990. 149-164.

---. *Max und Moritz in aller Munde. Wandlungen eines Kinderbuches.* Köln: Universitäts- und Stadtbibliothek, 1997.

Guratzsch, Herwig. Vorwort. *Wilhelm Busch Jahrbuch* 52 (1986): 5-7.

---, ed. *Wilhelm Busch. Lebenszeugnisse. Aus der Sammlung des Wilhelm-Busch-Museums Hannover.* Stuttgart: Hatje, 1987.

Haage, Peter. *Wilhelm Busch. Ein weises Leben.* München: Meyster, 1980.

Hartmann, Anneli. "Wilhelm Buschs Alp: *Eduards Traum.*" *Deutsche Dichtung um 1890. Beiträge zu einer Literatur im Umbruch.* Ed. Robert Leroy and Eckart Pastor. Bern: P. Lang, 1991. 311-332.

Hartmann, Regina. "Mit Zeichenstift und spitzer Feder. Wilhelm Busch als Vorläufer heutiger Comics." *Informationen zur Deutschdidaktik* 18.3 (1994): 68-78.

Hauptmann, Gerhart. Letter. *Wilhelm Busch Jahrbuch* 9/10 (1939): 35.

Heine, Thomas Theodor. "Über Wilhelm Busch." *Kunst und Künstler* 1932. Rpt. in *Wilhelm Busch Jahrbuch* 27/28 (1961/62): 34-36.

---, and Ludwig Thoma. "Max und Moritz." *Simplicissimus*. Extranummer zu Wilhelm Buschs 70. Geburtstag. April 15, 1902. Rpt. as *Die bösen Buben*. München: Langen, 1903.

---. et al. "Der Fall Max und Moritz." *Simplicissimus*. Wilhelm-Busch-Nummer. April 15, 1907.

Herbert, Günther. *Der Versteckspieler. Die Lebensgeschichte von Wilhelm Busch*. Stuttgart: Union, 1991.

Hetzner, Michael. *Gestörtes Glück im Innenraum. Über Ehe und Familie bei Wilhelm Busch*. Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 1991.

---. *Identität im Umbruch. Wilhelm Buschs autobiographische Skizzen im Vorfeld der Moderne*. Frankfurt/M.: Fischer, 1994.

Heumann, Friedrich. "Der Moritz war er selber." *Wilhelm Busch Jahrbuch* 37 (1971): 70-72.

Hilgenstock, Andrea. "Gesellschaftspantomimen. Wilhelm Busch und seine ironische Bild-Welt-Satire." Diss. U of Berlin, 1989.

Höllerer, Walter. "Das Wildschwein und Hans Huckebein. Zur Semiologie des Witzes." *Wissen aus Erfahrungen. Werkbegriff und Interpretation heute*. FS für Herman Meyer. Ed. Alexander von Bormann. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1976. 917-931.

Hollmann, Amalie. "Ein junder Bursch aus Wiedensahl . . . " *Wilhelm Busch Jahrbuch* 22 (1956): 26.

Imm, Karsten. "Wilhelm Busch: *Eduards Traum*. Ein Feuerwerk der Phantasie. *Sprache im technischen Zeitalter* 25.103 (1987): 256-265.

---. *Absurd und Grotesk. Zum Erzählwerk von Wilhelm Busch und Kurt Schwitters*. Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 1994.

Kahn, Ludwig W. "Wilhelm Busch und das Problem des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts." *Die Sammlung* 6 (1951): 721-725.

---. "Der Doppelsinn der Aussage bei Wilhelm Busch." *Probleme des Erzählens in der Weltliteratur.* FS für Käte Hamburger. Ed. Fritz Martini. Klett: Stuttgart, 1971. 138-149.

Kayser, Wolfgang. *Wilhelm Buschs grotesker Humor.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1958.

Kesselmann, Heidemarie. "Wilhelm Buschs Auseinandersetzung mit dem wilhelminischen Bürgertum." *Diskussion Deutsch* 45 (1979): 19-29.

Killy, Walther, ed. *Literatur Lexikon. Autoren und Werke deutscher Sprache.* Vol. 2. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1989. 332-334.

Klotz, Volker. "Was gibts bei Wilhelm Busch zu lachen?" *Die boshafte Heiterkeit des Wilhelm Busch.* Ed. Michael Vogt. Bielefeld: Aithesis, 1988. 11-49.

Knapp, Andreas. "Vergartenlaubisierung." *Kleine Lauben, Arcadien und Schnabelewopski.* FS für Klaus Jeziorkowski. Ed. Ingo Wintermeyer. Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 1995. 111-122.

Kohut, Thomas A. "Die Erfindung eines literarischen Nationalhelden 1902-1908." *Lili - Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik* 27.106 (1997): 157-167.

Kraus, Joseph. "Ausdrucksmittel der Satire bei Wilhelm Busch." Diss. U of California, Los Angeles, 1968.

---. *Wilhelm Busch mit Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten.* Reinbek/Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1970. 13th ed. 1997.

Krollmann, Christian. "Wilhelm Busch und seine Ahnen." *Euphorion. Zeitschrift für Literaturgeschichte* 31 (1930):292-307. Rpt. in *Mitteilungen der Wilhelm-Busch-Gesellschaft* 5 (1936): 1-10.

Lebensweisheiten von Wilhelm Busch. Niederhausen: Bassermann, 1998.

Lemke, Kurt. K.G. "Der völkische Wilhelm Busch." *Am Heiligen Quell Deutscher Kraft* 11 (1936): 430.

Lemmermann, Heinz. *Wilhelm Busch für alle Fälle.* Bremen: Schünemann, 1981.

Levetzow, Hulda von. *Lies und Lene. Die Schwestern von Max und Moritz.* Hamburg: n.p. 1896.

Liebl, Waltraut. "Bild und Sprache: Modelle der Wirkungsästhetik bei Wilhelm Busch." Diss. U of Innsbruck, 1990.

Lieskounig, Jürgen. "Die Odyssee eines späten Taugenichts. Wilhelm Buschs Erzählung *Der Schmetterling.*" *Wirkendes Wort* 41.3 (1991): 405-416.

Lindau, Paul. "Wilhelm Busch." *Nord und Süd. Eine deutsche Monatsschrift* 11 (1878): 257-272. 4. Band. Berlin: Georg Stilke. Rpt. in *Jahrbuch der Wilhelm-Busch-Gesellschaft* 29 (1962-63): 11-25.

---. "Erinnerungen an Wilhelm Busch." *Wiener Neue Presse* Jan. 28, 1908. Rpt. in *Jahrbuch der Wilhelm-Busch-Gesellschaft* 29 (1962-63): 26-38.

Loens, Hermann. "Wilhelm Busch." *Hermann Loens. Die Hunde beheulen den Tod des Herzogs. Der andere Löns.* Ed. Michael Schulte. Düsseldorf: Claassen, 1986. 56-59.

Mann, Golo. "Wilhelm Busch." *Wilhelm Busch Jahrbuch* 48 (1982): 7-25.

Marxer, Peter. *Wilhelm Busch als Dichter.* Diss. U Zürich 1962. Zürich: Juris, 1967.

Mihr, Ulrich. *Wilhelm Busch: der Protestant, der trotzdem lacht.* Tübingen: Narr, 1983.

Neumann, Carl W. "Wilhelm Busch und sein erster Biograph." *Reclams Universum* 27 (1911): 588-591.

Nöldeke, Hermann, Adolf und Otto. *Wilhelm Busch.* München: Lothar Joachim, 1909.

Novotny, Fritz. *Wilhelm Busch als Zeichner und Maler.* Wien: Schroll, 1949.

Nusser, Peter. "Wilhelm Buschs schwarzer Humor." *Deutschunterricht* 42.3 (1990): 80-94.

Pape, Walter. *Wilhelm Busch.* Realien zur Literatur 163. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1977.

---. "»Zwar man zeuget viele Kinder« Das Vaterbild bei Wilhelm Busch." *Die boshafte Heiterkeit des Wilhelm Busch.* Ed. Michael Vogt. Bielefeld: Aithesis, 1988. 153-184.

Pietzcker, Frank. *Wilhelm Busch - Schuld und Strafe in Werk und Leben.* München: Minerva, 1984.

Pixis, Theodor. "Wilhelm Busch in München. Erinnerungen aus den fünfziger und sechziger Jahren." *Die Woche* Nr. 15, April 12, 1902.

---. "Wilhelm Busch. Zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag (15. April)." *Die Kunst für alle* 17.14 (1902): 313-318.

Poth, Chlodwig. "Schnurrdiburr oder ein Kindheitserlebnis." *Das große Wilhelm Busch Buch.* Ed. Dieter Leube. München: Piper, 1979. 399-402.

Preisendanz, Wolfgang. "Wilhelm Busch oder das Inkognito des Klassischen." *Über das Klassische.* Ed. Rudolf Bockholdt. Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp, 1987. 111-136.

Proelß, Johannes. "Aus Wilhelm Buschs Leben." *Frankfurter Zeitung* No. 250, Sept. 7, 1886; and No. 251, Sept. 8, 1886.

Rector, Martin and Ralf Schnell. "Der nicht-versöhnte Pessimist. Überlegungen zum Spätwerk Wilhelm Buschs." *Wilhelm Busch Jahrbuch* 48 (1982): 72-82.

Ries, Hans, and Monika Herlt. "Bibliographie aller Wilhelm Busch gewidmeten Beiträge in den Mitteilungen und Wilhelm-Busch-Jahrbüchern 1982 bis 1992." *Wilhelm Busch Jahrbuch* 58 (1992): 29-40.

Riha, Karl. "Zwei Bildergeschichten-Erzähler des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts. Wilhelm Busch und Rodolphe Töpffer im Kontrast und Vergleich." *Die boshafte Heiterkeit des Wilhelm Busch.* Ed. Michael Vogt. Bielefeld: Aithesis, 1988. 185-199.

Roebling, Irmgard. "Du liebe Zeit! Welch ein Malheur! Man kennt das schöne Bild nicht mehr." Versuch über Zerstörungsphantasien bei Wilhelm Busch." *Phantasie und Deutung. Psychologisches Verstehen von Literatur und Film.* FS für Frederick Wyatt. Eds. Wolfram Mauser, Ursula Renner and Walter Schönau. Würzburg: Königshausen+Neumann, 1986. 70-88.

Schneider, A. *Max und Moritz im Felde.* Berlin: Otto Schloß, 1914.

Schnell, Ralf. "Kulturpessimismus und Ironie. Wilhelm Buschs Erzählung *Eduards Traum.*" *Die boshafte Heiterkeit des Wilhelm Busch.* Ed. Michael Vogt. Bielefeld: Aithesis, 1988. 50-78. Rpt. in *Die verkehrte Welt. Literarische Ironie im 19. Jahrhundert.* by Ralph Schnell. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1989. 129-147.

Schwibbe, Michael H. *Das Bild der Frau bei Wilhelm Busch. Ein inhaltsanalytischer Vergleich zu Bilderromanen, Schwänken, Märchen und Sagen.* Diss. U Göttingen, 1988. Göttingen: Goltze, 1988.

Sechs Dutzend Spruchweisheiten von Wilhelm Busch. Hannover: Fackelträger, 1997.

Sichelschmidt, Gustav. *Wilhelm Busch. Der Humorist der entzauberten Welt. Eine Biographie.* Düsseldorf: Droste, 1992.

de Smed, Erik. "Ideologiekritik in »Eduards Traum«." *Germanistische Mitteilungen* 4 (1976): 55-69.

Spinner, Kaspar H. "Wilhelm Busch: *Max und Moritz.*" *Große Werke der Literatur.* Vol. 4. Ed. Hans Villmar Geppert. Tübingen: Francke, 1995. 159-173.

Soehle, Gerhard, and H. Klein. *In Russland steht ein Panjehaus.* Ed. 134. Infanterie-Division. Neuruppin: Kühn, n.d. (ca. 1941).

Theissing, Heinrich. "Wilhelm Busch, die Romantik und die Renaissance. Die Grotteske und das Groteske." *Romantik und Renaissance: Die Rezeption der italienischen Renaissance in der deutschen Romantik.* Ed. Silvio Vietta. Stuttgart, Weimar: Metzler, 1994. 253-279.

Traxler, Hans. "Schnurrdiburr oder das Skylab. Ein Versuch, sich Wilhelm Busch von heute her zu nähern." *Das große Wilhelm Busch Buch.* Ed. Dieter Leube. München: Piper, 1979. 403-405.

Ueding, Gert. "Wilhelm Buschs missrat'ne Kinder." *Wilhelm Busch Jahrbuch* 40 (1974): 5-20.

---. *Wilhelm Busch. Das 19. Jahrhundert en miniature.* Frankfurt/M.: Insel, 1977.

---. *Buschs geheimes Lustrevier. Affektbilder und Seelengeschichten des deutschen Bürgertums im 19. Jahrhundert.* Frankfurt/M., Berlin, Wien: Ullstein, 1982.

---, ed. "Nachwort." *Wilhelm Busch. Ausgewählte Werke.* Stuttgart: Reclam, 1988. 629-650.

Uhle, Alfons Theophil. "Wilhelm Busch in neuer Beleuchtung." Diss. U of Minnesota, 1951.

Vanselow, Albert. *Die Erstdrucke und Erstausgaben der Werke von Wilhelm Busch. Ein bibliographisches Verzeichnis.* Leipzig: Weigel, 1913.

Vaßen, Florian. "Er zeigt die Weste, nicht das Herz. Wilhelm Buschs autobiographische Portraits." *Wilhelm Busch Jahrbuch* 48 (1982): 63-71.

---. "Körper-Nähe und Distanz Blick. Zu Körper und Lachen in Wilhelm Buschs Bildergeschichten." *Die boshafte Heiterkeit des Wilhelm Busch.* Ed. Michael Vogt. Bielefeld: Aithesis, 1988. 103-128.

Vogt, Michael, ed. *Die boshafte Heiterkeit des Wilhelm Busch.* Bielefeld: Aithesis, 1988.

---. "Mit abgefeimter Seelenruh. Über Sinn und Moral bei Wilhelm Busch." *Die boshafte Heiterkeit des Wilhelm Busch.* Ed. Michael Vogt. Bielefeld: Aithesis, 1988. 129-152.

Volkmann, Otto Felix. *Wilhelm Busch der Poet. Seine Motive und seine Quellen.* 1910. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1973.

Weigel, Hans. "Apropos Wilhelm Busch. Er war nicht sozialkritisch, sondern hatte Humor." *Die Furche* (Wien), May 25, 1974. Rpt. in *Das Wilhelm Busch Bilder- und Lesebuch.* Ed. Gerd Haffmans. Zürich: Diogenes, 1981. 307-310.

Wessling, Berndt W. *Wilhelm Busch. Philosoph mit spitzer Feder.* München: Heine, 1993.

Wiechert, Karl. "Das Loccumer Rezeptbuch. Buschs Eltern in neuer Sicht." *Wilhelm Busch Jahrbuch* 32 (1966): 30-45.

Wilhelm Busch alphabetisch. Kehl: Morstadt, 1990.

"Wilhelm-Busch-Schule für Maier unmöglich." *Schwarzwälder Bote (Oberndorf)* July 24, 1998.

"Wilhelm Buschs ungeheure Popularität." *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* April 9, 1908.

Willems, Gottfried. *Abschied vom Wahren--Schönen--Guten. Wilhelm Busch und die Anfänge der ästhetischen Moderne.* Heidelberg: Winter, 1998.

Winther, Fritz. "Wilhelm Busch als Dichter, Künstler, Psychologe und Philosoph." *University of California Publications on Modern Philology* 2.1 (1910): 1-79.

Zähle, Wolfgang. *Philosophie für den Alltag.* Recklinghausen: Manuscriptum, 1999.

Other Secondary Literature

Alexander, Edgar. "Rolf Hochhuth: Equivocal 'Deputy'." *America* October 12, 1963: 416-423.

Bassermann, Friedrich Daniel. *Denkwürdigkeiten von Friedrich Daniel Bassermann, 1811-1855, Mitglied des badischen Landtags, des Vorparlaments der deutschen Nationalversammlung und des Reichsministeriums.* Frankfurt/M.: Frankfurter Verlags-Anstalt, 1926.

Becker, Stephen. *Comic Art in America.* New York: Simon & Schuster, 1959.

Berghahn, Volker Rolf. *Imperial Germany, 1871-1914: Economy, society, culture and politics.* Providence: Berghahn, 1994.

Blackbeard, Bill, et al., eds. *100 Jahre Comic-Strips.* 2 vols. Hamburg: Carlsen, 1995.

Böll, Heinrich. *Frankfurter Vorlesungen.* München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1966.

Breton, André. *Manifestoes of Surrealism.* Trans. Richard Seaver and Helen R. Lane. 1962. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1972.

Broich, Ulrich, and Manfred Pfister, eds. *Intertextualität: Formen, Funktionen, anglistische Fallstudien.* Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1985.

Brose, Eric Dorn. *German History 1789-1871. From the Holy Roman Empire to the Bismarckian Reich.* Providence, Oxford: Berghahn, 1997.

Chickering, Roger, ed. *Imperial Germany: A historiographical companion.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood P, 1996.

"Classic." *The Oxford English Dictionary.* 2nd ed. 1989.

"Cryptic." *The Oxford English Dictionary.* 2nd ed. 1989.

Daniels, Les. *Comix. A History of Comic Books in America.* New York: Dutton, 1971.

Darwin, Charles. *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection; Or, the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*. Ed. J. W. Burrow. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968.

David, Claude. *Von Richard Wagner zu Bertolt Brecht. Eine Geschichte der neueren deutschen Literatur*. Trans. Hermann Stiehl. 1959. Frankfurt/M.: Fischer, 1964.

"der deutsche Michel." *Duden. Deutsches Universalwörterbuch*. 2. Aufl. 1989.

Diephouse, David J., trans. *The Natural History of the German People*. By Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl. Ed. David J. Diephouse. Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter: Mellen, 1990.

Dirks, Rudolph. *The Katzenjammer Kids. Early Strips in Full Color*. New York: Dover, 1974.

Drosdowsky, Günther. "Ignatius." *Duden Lexikon der Vornamen*. Mannheim: Bibliographisches Institut, 1968. 115.

Eby, Frederick. *Early Protestant Educators. The Educational Writings of Martin Luther, John Calvin, and Other Leaders of Protestant Thought*. New York, London: McGraw-Hill, 1931.

Eichendorff, Joseph von. "Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts." *Romane. Erzählungen*. München: Winkler, n.d. (1970). 565-647. Vol. 2 of *Werke*. Ed. Jost Perfahl.

"Enigma." *The Oxford English Dictionary*. 2nd ed. 1989.

Escarpit, Robert. *Sociology of Literature*. Trans. Ernest Pick. 2nd ed. London: Cass, 1971.

Esslin, Martin. *The Theatre of the Absurd*. 3rd ed. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1980.

Feuerbach, Ludwig. *The Essence of Christianity*. Trans. George Eliot. New York: Harper, 1957.

Fischart, Johann. *Werke. Eine Auswahl*. Vol. 1. Ed. Adolf Haussen. Stuttgart: Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft. n.d. 3 vols.

Frenzel, Elisabeth. "Weissagung, Vision, Vorausdeutender Traum." *Motive der Weltliteratur*. 4. Aufl. Stuttgart: Kröner, 1992. 802-30.

---. "Eulenspiegel." *Stoffe der Weltliteratur*. 8. Aufl. Stuttgart: Kröner, 1992. 208-212.

Freud, Sigmund. *The Ego and the Id*. Trans. Joan Riviere. Ed. James Strachey. New York: Norton, 1962.

---. *Die Traumdeutung*. Frankfurt/M.: Fischer, 1972.

Friedell, Egon. *A Cultural History of the Modern Age. The Crisis of the European Soul from the Black Death to the World War*." Vol. 3. 1931. Trans. Charles Francis Atkinson. New York: Knopf, 1954.

Fuchs, Konrad, and Heribert Raab. *dtv-Wörterbuch zur Geschichte*. 2 vols. München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1972.

Gay, Peter. *Freud, Jews and other Germans. Masters and Victims in Modernist Culture*. New York: Oxford UP, 1978.

Geißler, Rolf. *Arbeit am literarischen Kanon. Perspektiven der Bürgerlichkeit*. Paderborn: Schöningh, 1982.

Gethmann-Siefert, Annemarie. "Das Klassische als das Utopische. Überlegungen zu einer Kulturphilosophie der Kunst." *Über das Klassische*. Ed. Rudolf Bockholdt. Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp, 1987. 47-76.

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang. "Faust. Eine Tragödie. (Faust I)" *Weimarer Klassik 1798-1806*. Ed. Victor Lange. München: Hanser, 1986. 535-673. Vol. 6.1 of *Sämtliche Werke nach Epochen seines Schaffens. Münchner Ausgabe*. 21 vols. Ed. Karl Richter, et al.

---. *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre. Maximen und Reflexionen*. Ed. Gonthier-Louis Fink, Gerhart Baumann and Johannes John. München: Hanser, 1991. Vol. 17 of *Sämtliche Werke nach Epochen seines Schaffens. Münchner Ausgabe*. 21 vols. Ed. Karl Richter, et al.

---. "Faust. Der Tragödie zweiter Teil. (Faust II)" *Letzte Jahre. 1827-1832 (I)*. Ed. Gisela Henckmann and Dorothea Hölscher-Lohmeyer. München: Hanser, 1997. 103-351. Vol. 18.1 of *Sämtliche Werke nach Epochen seines Schaffens. Münchner Ausgabe*. 21 vols. Ed. Karl Richter, et al.

Gordon, Ian. *Comic Strips and Consumer Culture 1890-1945*. Washington, London: Smithsonian Institution P, 1998.

Goulart, Ron, ed. *The Encyclopedia of American Comics from 1897 to the present.* New York, Oxford: Facts on File, 1990.

Grand-Carteret, John. *Le mœurs et la caricature en Allemagne, en Autriche, en Suisse.* Paris: Hinrichsen, 1885. 296-327.

Grunberger, Richard. *The 12-Year Reich. A Social History of Nazi Germany 1933-1945.* New York, Chicago, San Francisco: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971.

Haas, Frithjof. *Zwischen Brahms und Wagner. Der Dirigent Hermann Levi.* Zürich, Mainz: Atlantis Musikbuch, 1995.

Haeckel, Ernst. *Natürliche Schöpfungsgeschichte: Gemeinverständliche wissenschaftliche Vorträge über die Entwicklungslehre im allgemeinen und diejenige von Darwin, Goethe und Lamarck im besonderen.* 9. Aufl. Berlin: G. Reimer, 1911.

Hall, John. *The sociology of literature.* London, New York: Longman, 1979.

Hausen, Karin. "Die Polarisierung der »Geschlechtscharaktere«. Eine Spiegelung der Dissoziation von Erwerbs- und Familienleben." *Seminar: Familie und Gesellschaftsstruktur. Materialien zu den sozio-ökonomischen Bedingungen von Familienformen.* Ed. Heidi Rosenbaum. Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp, 1978. 161-191.

Heißenbüttel, Helmut. "April 1965: Es gibt keine deutsche Literatur." *Zur Tradition der Moderne. Aufsätze und Anmerkungen 1964-1971.* Neuwied, Berlin: Luchterhand, 1972. 111-125.

Heinrich-Hoffmann-Museum. *Der Struwwelpeter--Entstehung eines berühmten Kinderbuches.* Frankfurt, 1983.

Herder, Johann Gottfried. *Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache.* Ed. Wolfgang Pross. München: Hanser, 1978.

Hoesterey, Ingeborg. *Verschlungene Schriftzeichen: Intertextualität von Literatur und Kunst in der Moderne/Postmoderne.* Frankfurt/M.: Athenäum, 1988.

Hoffmann, Heinrich. *Der Struwwelpeter, oder, Lustige Geschichten und drollige Bilder für Kinder von drei bis sechs Jahren.* Frankfurt/M.: Literarische Anstalt, 1876.

Holland, Norman N. *Laughing. A Psychology of Humor.* Ithaca, London: Cornell UP, 1982.

Honnefelder, Gottfried. "Warum Klassiker? Zur Eröffnung der Bibliothek deutscher Klassiker." *Warum Klassiker? Ein Almanach zur Eröffnungsedition der Bibliothek deutscher Klassiker.* Ed. Gottfried Honnefelder. Frankfurt/M.: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1985. v-xi.

Horn, Maurice, ed. *The World Encyclopedia of Comics.* 2 vols. New York: Chelsea House, 1976.

---. *Women in the Comics.* New York, London: Chelsea House, 1977.

Hübl, Michael. "Gemischtes und Ungemischtes Doppel. Maler und Literaten zwischen den Künsten." *Kunstforum International* 139 (Dec. 97/Mar 98): 72-83.

Hudde, Hinrich. "Das Schäfchen und der Dornstrauch. Wandlungen einer Fabel von La Motte bis Wilhelm Busch." *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift. Neue Folge.* 28.4 (1978): 399-416.

Hürlimann, Bettina. *Three Centuries of Children's Books in Europe.* Trans. and ed. Brian W. Alderson. Cleveland, New York: World Publishing; Oxford UP, 1959.

Jean Paul. "Der Jubelsenior." *Kleine erzählende Schriften 1796-1801.* München: Hanser, 1962. 409-559. Vol. 4 of *Jean Paul. Werke.* Ed. Norbert Miller.

Kant, Immanuel. *Critique of pure reason.* Trans. and Ed. Paul Guyer and Allen W. Wood. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge UP, 1998.

Kayser, Wolfgang. *The grotesque in art and literature.* Trans. Ulrich Weisstein. New York: Columbia UP, 1963.

Kendall, Paul Murray. "Walking the Boundaries." *Biography as High Adventure. Life-Writers Speak on Their Art.* Ed. Stephen B. Oates. Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1986. 32-49.

Klee, Paul. *The thinking eye.* Ed. Jürg Spiller. Trans. Ralph Mannheim. 1956. New York: Wittenborn, 1961.

---. *The Diaries of Paul Klee. 1898-1918.* Ed. Felix Klee. London: Peter Owen 1965.

Knigge, Andreas C. *Comics. Vom Massenblatt ins multimediale Abenteuer.* Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1996.

Kolbe, Jürgen, ed. *Ansichten einer künftigen Germanistik.* München: Hanser, 1973.

Könneker, Marie-Luise. *Dr. Hoffmanns* Struwwelpeter. *Untersuchungen zur Entstehungs- und Funktionsgeschichte eines bürgerlichen Kinderbuchs.* Stuttgart: Metzler, 1977.

Kramer, Hans. *Deutsche Kultur zwischen 1871 und 1918.* Frankfurt/M.: Athenaion, 1971.

Kroeber, Hans Th. *Eckermann Gespräche mit Goethe.* Weimar: Kiepenheuer, 1913.

Kunzle, David. *The Nineteenth Century.* Vol. 2 of *The History of the Comic Strip.* 2 vols. Berkely, Los Angeles: U of California P, 1990.

Küpper, Heinz. "Nazi." *Illustriertes Lexikon der deutschen Umgangssprache in 8 Bänden.* Vol. 6. Stuttgart: Klett, 1984. 2021.

Lachmann, Renate. "Zum Umgang mit Texten--Linguistischer Reduktionismus und modellierende Praxis. *Neue Ansichten einer künftigen Germanistik.* Ed. Jürgen Kolbe. München: Hanser: 1973. 219-225.

Lämmert, Eberhard. *Bauformen des Erzählens.* 8. Aufl. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1991.

Lavater, Johann Caspar. *Physiognomische Fragmente zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntnis und Menschenliebe.* Vol. 3. 1775-1778. Zurich: Orell Füssli, 1969. 4 vols.

Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm. *The Monadology and other philosophical writings.* Trans. Robert Latta. London: Oxford UP, 1898. New York: Garland, 1985.

Lenk, Elisabeth. *Die unbewußte Gesellschaft. Über die mimetische Grundstruktur in der Literatur und im Traum.* München: Matthes & Seitz, 1983.

Lessing, Gottfried Ephraim. *Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts.* Ed. Louis Ferdinand Helbig. Bern: P. Lang, 1980.

Lurker, Manfred. *Lexikon der Götter und Dämonen.* 2. Aufl. Stuttgart: Kröner, 1989.

---, ed. *Wörterbuch der Symbolik.* 5. Aufl. Stuttgart: Kröner, 1991.

Magee, Bryan. *The Philosophy of Schopenhauer*. Oxford, New York: Oxford UP, 1983.

Mann, Golo. *The History of Germany since 1789*. Trans. Marian Jackson. New York, Washington: Praeger, 1968.

Marschall, Richard. *America's Great Comic Strip Artists*. New York: Abbeville P, 1989.

Martini, Fritz. *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte*. 19. Aufl. Stuttgart: Kröner, 1991.

Marx, Karl. "Die Philisterwelt ist die politische Tierwelt." *Philister - Kleinbürger - Spießer. Normalität und Selbstbehauptung*. Ed. Gerd Stein. Frankfurt/M.: Fischer, 1985. 45-48.

Meyerowitz, Jan. *Der echte jüdische Witz*. Berlin: Colloquium, 1971.

Meyers Kleines Lexikon: Literatur. Mannheim, Wien, Zürich: Bibliographisches Institut, 1986.

Miles, David H. "Literary Sociology: Some Introductory Notes." *The German Quarterly* 48.1 (1975): 1-35.

Milner, Andrew. *Literature, Culture, and Society*. New York: New York UP, 1996.

Mommsen, Wolfgang J. *Imperial Germany 1867-1918: Politics, Culture, and Society in an Authoritarian State*. Trans. Richard Deveson. London, New York: Arnold, St. Martin's P, 1995.

Nadler, Josef. *Staat (1814-1914)*. Vol. 3 of *Literaturgeschichte des deutschen Volkes. Dichtung und Schrifttum der deutschen Stämme und Landschaften*. 4 vols. Berlin: Propyläen, 1938-1941.

Nipperdey, Thomas. *Gesellschaft, Kultur, Theorie*. Vol. 18 of *Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft*. Ed. Helmut Berding, et al. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972.

Noble, Trevor. "Sociology and Literature." *British Journal of Sociology* 27.2 (1976): 211-224.

Novalis. "Heinrich von Ofterdingen." *Das dichterische Werk, Tagebücher und Briefe*. Ed. Richard Samuel. München: Hanser, 1978. 237-413. Vol. 1 of *Werke, Tagebücher und Briefe Friedrich von Hardenbergs*. Ed. Hans-Joachim Mähl and Richard Samuel.

O'Connor, Ulick. *Biographers and The Art of Biography*. Dublin: Wolfhound, 1991.

"Ohne Maske. Robert Gernhardt erhält den Kästner-Preis." *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* January 11, 1999.

Pascal, Roy. *Design and Truth in Autobiography*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1960.

---. "Autobiographie." *Das Fischer-Lexikon Literatur II*. 1. Teil. Ed. Wolf-Hartmut Friedrich and Walther Killy. Frankfurt/M.: Fischer, 1968. 78-84.

Pape, Walter. *Das literarische Kinderbuch*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1981.

Poulet, Georges. *The Metamorphoses of the Circle*. Trans. Carley Dawson and Elliott Coleman. 1961. Baltimore: John Hopkins P, 1966.

Raabe, Wilhelm. "Kunst, Wissenschaft und Leben." *Jugend* 14 (1902): 222.

Rank, Otto. *Art and Artist. Creative Urge and Personality Development*. Trans. Charles Francis Atkinson. 1932. New York: Agathon P, 1968.

"Rasse und Humor." *Das schwarze Korps*. April 9, 1936.

Reich-Ranicki, Marcel. "Hamlet im falschen Zug." *Der Spiegel* 9.1995 (Feb. 27, 1995): 184-188.

Reitberger, Reinhold, and Wolfgang Fuchs. *Comics. Anatomy of a Mass Medium*. Trans. Nadia Fowler. Boston: Little, 1971.

Riehl, Wilhelm Heinrich. *Die bürgerliche Gesellschaft*. 1851. 6. Aufl. Stuttgart: Cotta, 1861.

Ritter, Joachim, and Karlfried Gründer. "Klassische (das)." *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*. Vol. 4. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976. 853-856.

Rohr, Alheidis von. "Die Spendenabzeichen des »Winterhilfswerks«." *Heimatland* 12 (1996): 185-188.

Rosenbaum, Heidi. *Formen der Familie. Untersuchungen zum Zusammenhang von Familienverhältnissen, Sozialstruktur und sozialem Wandel in der deutschen Gesellschaft des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp, 1982.

Rutschky, Katharina, ed. *Schwarze Pädagogik. Quellen zur Naturgeschichte bürgerlicher Erziehung*. 1977. Frankfurt/M.: Ullstein, 1997.

Sagarra, Eda. *A social history of Germany, 1648-1914.* London: Methuen, 1977.

Schiller, Friedrich. *Wallenstein.* Ed. Hermann Schneider and Lieselotte Blumenthal. Weimar: Böhlaus, 1949. Vol. 8 of *Schillers Werke. Nationalausgabe.* Ed. Julius Petersen and Hermann Schneider.

Schleiermacher, Friedrich Ernst Daniel. "Zur Pädagogik." *Werke.* Ed. Otto Braun and Johannes Bauer. Vol. 3. 1927. Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1967. 399-535. 4 vols.

Schopenhauer, Arthur. *The World as Will and Idea.* Trans. R. B. Haldane and J. Kemps. 1883. London: Routledge +Paul, 1957. 3 vols.

Schubert, Gotthilf Heinrich. *Die Symbolik des Traumes.* Bamberg: C.F. Kunz, 1814. Heidelberg: Schneider, 1968.

Schulte-Peevers, Andrea, and David Peevers. "Mayhem, Mischief and Moguls: The Katzenjammer Kids Turn 100." *German Life* Febr./March 1997: 18-23.

Sheehan, James J. *German History 1770-1866.* 1989. Oxford: Clarendon, 1991.

Sheridan, Martin. *Comics and their Creators.* Boston: Hale, 1944.

Silbermann, Alphons. *Einführung in die Literatursoziologie.* München: Oldenbourg, 1981.

Simek, Rudolf. "Nornen." *Lexikon der germanischen Mythologie.* Stuttgart: Kröner, 1984. 290-291.

Sorg, Bernhard. *Zur literarischen Schopenhauer-Rezeption im 19. Jahrhundert.* Heidelberg: Winter, 1975.

Sprengel, Peter. "Bildergeschichte." *Geschichte der deutschsprachigen Literatur 1870-1900. Von der Reichsgründung bis zur Jahrhundertwende.* München: Beck, 1998. 237-240.

Staiger, Emil. *Die Zeit als Einbildungskraft des Dichters.* 2. Aufl. Zurich: Atlantis, 1953.

Strauss, David Friedrich. *The life of Jesus, critically examined.* Ed. Peter C. Hodgson. Trans. George Eliot. Philadelphia: Fortress P, 1972.

Strecker, Helmut, ed. *Wiedensahl früher und heute.* Stolzenau: Kirchengemeinde, 1975.

Sweet, Paul R. *Wilhelm von Humboldt. A Biography.* 2 vols. Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State UP, 1980.

Tappert, Theodore C., ed. *Selected Writings of Martin Luther. 1529-1946.* Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967.

Terence. *The Plays of Terence.* Trans. William Ritchie. London: Bell, 1927.

Töpffer, Rodolphe. *Essai de Physiognomonie.* 1845. Rpt. as *Essai de Physiognomonie. Essay zur Physiognomonie.* Trans. Wolfgang and Dorothea Droste. Afterword Wolfgang Droste and Karl Riha. MUK Heft 7. Siegen: Massenmedien und Kommunikation an der Universität, 1980.

Treitschke, Heinrich von. *Politics.* Trans. Blanche Dugdale and Torben de Bille. 2 vols. 1916. New York: AMS P, 1978.

Tucholsky, Kurt. *Ausgewählte Briefe.* Ed. Mary Gerold-Tucholsky and Fritz Raddatz. Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1962.

Ueding, Gert. *Die anderen Klassiker. Literarische Porträts aus zwei Jahrhunderten.* München: Beck, 1986.

Vischer, Friedrich Theodor. "Über neuere deutsche Karikatur. Die Fliegenden Blätter." *Kritische Gänge.* Vol. 5. 2. Aufl. Ed. Robert Vischer. München: Meyer und Jessen, 1922. 308-336. 6 vols.

Walser, Martin. "Was ist ein Klassiker?" *Warum Klassiker? Ein Almanach zur Eröffnungsedition der Bibliothek deutscher Klassiker.* Ed. Gottfried Honnefelder. Frankfurt/M.: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1985. 3-10.

Waugh, Coulton. *The Comics.* 1947. Jackon: U of Mississippi P, 1990.

Weisstein, Ulrich. "Literature and the (Visual) Arts. Intertextuality and Mutual Illumination." *Intertextuality: German Literature and Visual Art from the Renaissance to the Twentieth Century.* Ed. Ingeborg Hoesterey and Ulrich Weisstein. Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1993. 1-17.

Whyte, Lancelot Law. *The Unconscious before Freud.* New York: Basic Books, 1960.

Wiese, Ellen. *Enter: The Comics.* Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1965.

Wilink, Andreas. "Empor ins Reich des Edelmenschen. Karl May und ein Jugendtraum zum 75. Geburtstag." *Überblick* 1987: 24-27.

von Wilpert, Gero. "Traumallegorie, Traumdichtung." *Sachwörterbuch der Literatur*. 6th ed. Stuttgart: Kröner, 1979. 855-856.

Wolff, Janet. *Hermeneutic philosophy and the sociology of art*. London, Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975.

Worton, Michael, and Judith Still, eds. *Intertextuality: Theories and Practices*. Manchester, New York: Manchester UP, 1990.

Zahn, Eva, ed. *Facsimile Querschnitt durch die Fliegenden Blätter*. n.p. [Germany]: Scherz Verlag, n.d.

Zehnder, Frank Günter, ed. *Wow! 100 Jahre Comics. Die Originale*. Köln: Rheinland Verlag, 1996.

Zeller, Bernhard, ed. *Klassiker in finsteren Zeiten. 1933-1945*. Vol. 2 of 2. 2. Aufl. Marbach: Deutsche Schillergesellschaft, 1983.