

## Chapter 6.

### “UMSUNST GELEBT?”

#### Progressing to Failure

In any final evaluation of a person's life, one ought to at least begin by examining the image that the individual had of himself. In the case of Oskar Panizza, this image was consistently reflected from his earliest writings in the mid-1880's to the following lines written in 1904:

O Dämon, Trugbild,—all mein Tun und Ringen  
 Vergebens war's—durch dich verführt, verlockt  
 Verflucht mein Dasein, Dichten Träumen, Singen;—  
 Ich hab umsonst gelebt—...<sup>1</sup>

Throughout his life, whether as a high-school pupil, a fledgling opera singer at the music conservatory, a psychiatrist, poet, journalist, novelist, editor, dramatist, actor, philosopher, revolutionary, or a simple human being, Panizza considered himself a failure. His only notable successes were as a university student who received his medical degree *summa cum laude*, and later as an anti-Catholic polemicist who achieved wide-spread notoriety with *Das unbefleckte Empfängnis der Päpste* and *Das Liebeskonzil*. But these were both short-lived successes which only helped him to progress to further failures.

His personal experience was one of complete isolation. A fragmentary family life ended for him long before his childhood did, and later as an adult he shied away from close personal ties, preferring

the undemanding services of a prostitute to any more challenging personal involvement. During the first half of the 1890's, he had a large circle of friends in Munich, most of them associated with the "Gesellschaft für modernes Leben." Within this circle, he was able to assume a prominent role as a public figure, often distinguishing himself by his outspoken radical views. These years, however, only number five out of a total life-span of sixty-eight, and the other sixty-three were filled with an overwhelming solitude. Thus Panizza had good cause to curse his existence, to view his dreams and efforts as all having been in vain. This was his personal evaluation of his life, and it would be presumptuous to even try and contradict it. Feelings of loneliness, impotence, and failure are precisely what constitute loneliness, impotence, and failure.

To simply state that Oskar Panizza's life was a colossal failure, however, is not saying anything about Panizza the artist. The ultimate focus of any literary criticism must be on literature, for it is the artist's ability to articulate his personal experience that enables him to transcend time and space, thus communicating to others through his writings. If Panizza is not to be dismissed as an artist, then it must be shown that his literature has a relevance outside, and well beyond, the narrow confines of his personal biography.

### A Panizza "Renaissance"

One might begin with the observation that there has been something of a Panizza "renaissance" during the 1960's. It started with the publication of Bréjoux' French translation of *Das Liebeskonzil* in 1960, followed two years later by the appearance in Schleswig-Holstein of a limited facsimile edition of the 1895 imprint.<sup>2</sup> History threatened to repeat itself when law enforcement officials moved in to confiscate the plates for this facsimile edition, but the charges were quietly dropped several months later by the district attorney's office in Flensburg. A Dutch translation appeared in 1964,<sup>3</sup> and later that year Hans Prescher published his much needed edition of *Das Liebeskonzil und andere Schriften*, including a selection of stories and poems along with some biographical material. Paris witnessed the world premiere of *Le Concile d'Amour* in 1969, and since then the play has been performed in Germany as well as in Britain, the United States, Holland and even in Italy. Director Werner Schroeter used the pro-

duction of the Teatro Belli in Rome as the basis for his recent film version, *Ein Konzil der Liebe* (screenplay by D. Kuhlbrodt).<sup>4</sup>

The obvious question is why, after so many decades, the works of Oskar Panizza are experiencing such a revival. And the answer seems equally obvious: the times, the readers, and the theater-going public have finally caught up with this writer, who was a good century ahead of his time. If one were to narrow down Panizza's appeal to two factors, one could say that he was the first German writer to explode the old taboos surrounding sex and religion.

### Religion As Absurdity

To be sure, there were numerous authors in the nineteenth century who considered themselves agnostics or even atheists, yet none of them dared to laugh so audaciously at what they considered to be an all-too-human delusion. Goethe respectfully depicted the Lord as a wise, omniscient, and omnipotent controller of the universe:

Weiß doch her Gärtner, wenn das Bäumchen grünt,  
Das Blüt und Frucht die künft'gen Jahre zieren.<sup>5</sup>

The Naturalists, raised on the new perspectives of Marx, Darwin, Feuerbach, Zola, Strindberg, Ibsen, Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Nietzsche, and modern science, could no longer see the world around them in terms of fruits and blossoms. For them, life was not a metamorphosis of beautiful forms, but a psycho-physiological response to genetic and environmental determinants. Human beings were animals, and most of their lives were painfully limited, sick, ugly, and isolated. Previous attacks against religious beliefs had been indirect or abstract, with the focus either on the “social question” or man's existential plight in a world devoid of any transcendental superstructure.

Panizza realized that by simply ignoring this superstructure, it would not fade away. It was the basis for oppressive secular as well as religious institutions, and its continuance insured the dominance by those capable of manipulating existential fears and desires in all segments of the population. Panizza confronted Wilhelminian Germany with the “reality” of its anthropomorphic divinities, by depicting them as the very forces responsible for the miserable human condition. Such a presentation could well be termed absurd, especially

when he takes certain commonly accepted beliefs and logically leads them *ad absurdum*. In his most advanced work, Panizza clearly anticipates the Theater of the Absurd, which Martin Esslin has characterized as being marked by the “ability to face reality in all its senselessness; to accept it freely, without fear, without illusions—and to laugh at it.”<sup>6</sup>

After two devastating World Wars, the revolutionary discoveries in psychology, physics, bio-chemistry, and a new global consciousness brought about by the breakthroughs in mass transportation, data processing and communications, the hegemony of Christian cosmology has been radically undercut. The concept of a benevolent father-figure mercifully guiding the destiny of planet Earth is now widely viewed as a childishly naive fantasy and a perilous abrogation of human responsibility. A full century ago, Oskar Panizza dared to laugh openly at the most hallowed Christian beliefs. He considered these beliefs to be absurdities in a modern world, and his laughter still has a profoundly liberating effect, not unlike the laughter of the “immortals” in Hermann Hesse’s *Der Steppenwolf* (1927). It was Nietzsche, the great mentor of both authors, who had recognized the cathartic benefit of this kind of laughter when he defined it as “rejoicing at another’s expense [schadenfroh sein], but with a good conscience.”<sup>7</sup>

Among the very first to realize the liberating potential of Panizza’s art were the clerical and secular authorities, who swiftly and mercilessly moved to extinguish the voice which threatened the foundations of their power. Perhaps the author was not fully aware of how grave a threat to established authority his satirical writings actually were. “Didn’t you know,” wrote an admiring Swiss journalist, “that the attempt to liberate the poor creature [humanity] from its miserable condition constitutes a punishable act?”<sup>8</sup>

It was not until the 1960’s, rocking with world-wide political and cultural liberation movements, that Panizza’s formidable satires could be appreciated by a significant segment of the general public. Dieter Wellershoff has pointed to “the emancipation of art as part of a progressive consciousness expansion,”<sup>9</sup> and Panizza’s emancipated art marks a deep thrust into the cultural consciousness of the twentieth century, as well as that of the nineteenth. According to Paul Fechter,

. . . the monomaniacal phenomenon of Panizza is historically more interesting than his work, for he was the first really irreligious figure of modern literature. The significance of his dramas and dialogues lies in the fact that they represent a dawning age of rebellion against all religion, in a manner more blatant and decisive than anyone had dared before, at least in Germany. . . Panizza is the first completely irreligious person of modern literature and, as such, is of even more essential interest for the history of ideas than for literature.<sup>10</sup>

## Sexual Liberation

The second taboo that Panizza assaulted was the one surrounding sex. As his personal feelings about religion were supported and guided by the philosophy of Nietzsche, so his unconventional attitudes toward sex were fertilized by "the psycho-sexual investigations of Moll, Krafft-Ebing, Tarnowsky, et al."<sup>11</sup> His explicitness in sexual matters has since been surpassed by many a modern author; yet here, too, his writings mark a truly significant break with past tradition. Panizza's work does not deal with sex in terms of any ideal concept, whether of romantic love or of bourgeois marital security. It was a most fascinating physiological and psychological phenomenon for him, one that could be studied and described with clinical precision.

An aroused curiosity led him away from the traditional erotic literature with its stereotypic view of sex. His own inclinations rarely conformed to the socially acceptable norms, so that "respectable" sexual behavior held little fascination for him. With an uncompromising honesty he wrote about his own—and therefore very real—sexual concerns, be they masturbation, prostitution, syphilis, or homosexuality. Years before Freud popularized this point of view, Panizza was well aware of "how fundamentally significant the structure of one's sexual drives is for the intellectual development of a human being. In this respect, the psychiatrist is a more important person for us today than the Pope."<sup>12</sup>

This novel emphasis on the role of sex in man's spiritual well-being anticipates many developments that occurred and continue to occur in the twentieth century. One need only look at the prominent role that sex currently plays in popular music, theater, television, cinema,

graphics, advertising, books of fiction and non-fiction, to realize how heavily populated Panizza's once solitary path has now become.

### Psychological Insights

Even more important than his original treatment of either religion or sex was his brilliant insight into a later psychology that would functionally relate these two areas of human behavior. Throughout Christian culture, sexual and religious drives have traditionally been presented as antagonistic. Panizza completely reversed the ethical values attached to these drives, while retaining the antagonistic relationship between them. Thus sex becomes a prime determinant of man's spiritual well-being or, in psychiatric terms, of his mental health. Sex is the vital life-force which, if thwarted, will nevertheless dominate in the form of compulsive behavior caused by its repression. Religion, on the other hand, is seen as an institution which punishes the free expression of man's innate drives, either overtly or with the fear of later anguish in hell.

The hollowness and hypocrisy of the Christian sexual ethic is best reflected in *Das Liebeskonzil*, where God is depicted as a doddering prude, and his representative on earth as a debauched tyrant. The "healthy" sexuality of a Martin Luther, as presented in *Der heilige Staatsanwalt*, comes closest to being an embodiment of Panizza's sexual ideal. Usually, however, the conflict between religious and sexual drives results in deviant and thus "immoral" behavior, an example of which is the necrophilia in "Der Stationsberg." If the conflict remains unresolved, as in "Der Corsetten-Fritz," it leads to hallucinations and full-fledged psychosis.

Throughout his adulthood, Panizza considered his own mental health to be in a rather fragile state. This seems to have made him extremely aware of those forces threatening the human psychic balance. Two of these, sex and religion, have already been mentioned. Others would be imprisonment or a similar isolation within society. Panizza's incisive critique of Wilhelminian penology remains equally relevant today, as do his repeated attacks against literary censorship.

Again and again, often in seemingly unrelated episodes, he battled forces which threatened to punish him for exercising his freedom. If he lost in the end, it was not because he did not fight hard enough, but because he fought too soon and, consequently, alone.

One could, therefore, see Panizza as a martyr to some cultural revolution, as men on both the left<sup>13</sup> and the right<sup>14</sup> of the political spectrum have done. A nonpartisan assessment might more realistically characterize him as the victim of bad judgment and a worse sense of timing.

### Name-Calling

Another reason for Panizza's ineffectiveness as a cultural revolutionary was his strong personal bias against Catholicism. All too often, his assaults against religion dissolve into a fury of hatred against his father's faith. Much of his time and intellectual energy went into the research and writing of what can only be called mammoth, boring, scholarly pamphlets, all directed against what he saw as the Vatican stranglehold on Germany. Even Bierbaum, one of Panizza's staunchest supporters, was forced to admit in reviewing *Das unbefleckte Empfängnis der Päpste*: "Panizza's battle is a striking-out against ghosts. What has he achieved by this whole effort of his unusual gifts? . . . 'A great talent has been shamefully wasted,' that is my feeling about the book when I consider the target of his attack. . ."<sup>15</sup>

Panizza had the inclination to concentrate so furiously on the symbols of oppression, that he would often lose sight of the issues themselves. His hatred, directed against Jews as well as Catholics, blinded him and only increased his isolation from his contemporaries, who knew better than to follow a blind leader. After his release from prison, he set out "to expose Wilhelm II as the public enemy of mankind and its culture,"<sup>16</sup> but he was incapable of progressing beyond simple name-calling. There is a fear, as well as a desire, linked to this juvenile emphasis on name-calling. This fear seemed to haunt the author's entire life and work; it is still evident in his last extant note from the asylum, where he imagined that the Kaiser's wife was hanged while screaming "Sau-Panizza!" to the very end.<sup>17</sup>

### Anti-Esthetics

Panizza's esthetic deficiencies are no less damaging to his art than is his immoderate anti-Catholic bias. He joined the Munich Moderns in rejecting the empty formalism of a Paul Heyse, and yet he neglect-

ed to develop new forms for his unconventional ideas. Some of his "hospital poetry" anticipates the early verse of Gottfried Benn, but for the most part his poetry is little more than warmed-over Heine. His prose is characterized by hasty conception and execution, and more often than not, the result is a stylistic hodge-podge. He was capable of generating a subtle humor by the juxtaposition of "high" and "low" language, which he so effectively used in "Das Wirthshaus zur Dreifaltigkeit" and *Das Liebeskonzil*.

Panizza had a keen ear for dialects, but he tended to view them as peculiarities of speech with distinctly negative connotations. Thus he is consistent with Naturalism in using Bavarian and Yiddish dialects to characterize local Catholics and Jews. However, when he openly deprecates these dialects, as in *Das Liebeskonzil*, *Abschied von München*, or "Der operirte Jud," they tend to function as a bigoted and elitist form of name-calling, thereby diminishing their potential stylistic impact.

His desire to accurately reproduce dialectical nuances also led to the development of his own distinctive orthography, numerous examples of which have been cited throughout this study. Panizza's lack of discipline might well account for most of the inconsistencies within his fairly simple phonetic system. The others are likely to be the result of careless or nonexistent proofreading, a further indication of his disregard for formal details. Within the two covers of *Parisjana*, for instance, the name of Panizza's own publishing house is spelled four different ways: *Zürcher Diskuszjonen*, *Diskussionen*, *Diskuβionen*, and *Diskuβjonen*.

Even if one were to ignore these irregularities and inconsistencies, the question still remains: what could possibly be the purpose of single-handedly trying to alter an already highly phonetic orthography? A craving for publicity should not be discounted. Max Halbe, for one, believed that Panizza would stop at nothing to satisfy his hunger for notoriety.<sup>18</sup> But there is no reason why his nonconformist orthography could not also be seen as simply one more rebellious act of defiance against the established norm, one more assertion of his own personal freedom. From this perspective, his orthographic irregularities appear not so much to be signs of inconsistency, as manifestations of his consistent refusal to follow prescribed patterns, even his own.

Either way, as a publicity gimmick or as a gesture of liberation, Panizza's unconventional spelling remains an attempt to appear orig-



inal by merely being different. This arbitrary lack of formal consideration and control has caused many a reader to assume the same for the content of his writings, as though Panizza were on the order of a sensationalist filth monger. In the long run, his formal negligence has proven to be an insurmountable handicap, one that has greatly diminished his standing as an artist.

### Invitation to Freedom

Oskar Panizza is more than just a curiosity in German literary history. Though hardly a great artist, he was nevertheless one of the most progressive and committed German writers of his time. His fragile mental health kept him "in the doghouse" all his life, but feeling like a dog did not prevent him from exploring this limited perspective to its fullest. Had he continued in the direction indicated by *Das Liebeskonzil*, he might indeed have become something of a German Aristophanes.<sup>19</sup> His decision to stand trial for writing this play reflects a self-confidence that was irrevocably shattered during his year in prison. This step was detrimental to his career as well as to his sanity, and he was never able to recover from the forced isolation of the jailhouse.

In numerous writings, he fiercely attacked the forces oppressing him, be they religion, prison, morality, laws, the government, marriage, the German *Volk*, or the Kaiser. His various positions on these issues would, for the most part, still be considered progressive today. In Panizza's day, they constituted an unforgivable outrage. By 1900, even his old friend Bierbaum was suggesting that Panizza had written with "a very pointed manure-fork," and should exhibit himself at the world's fair in Paris as the world-champion in long-distance spitting at movable targets.<sup>20</sup>

Without fortune, fame, family, fatherland, or friends, his life spiraled steadily downward in the eight years from jailhouse to madhouse. His life may serve as a warning to the lone rebellious artist in a culturally reactionary society. But the best of his writings are an invitation to freedom. They remain an enticement to follow Oskar Panizza in his quest to overcome the constricting forces of external and internal limitations, oppression and repression.<sup>21</sup> It is an eloquent reflection on his times that he could find this freedom only in madness.

# FOOTNOTES

## Introduction

<sup>1</sup>Max Krell, *Das alles gab es einmal* (Frankfurt a.M., 1961), p. 57. In 1928, several Panizza manuscripts were auctioned in Munich, among them a substantial text with the title "Imperjalja." None of these manuscripts has ever been published, nor is the identity of their purchaser known. Cf. "Oskar Panizza über Wilhelm II," *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, March 24, 1928; and Hans Prescher, "Panizza: Umsunst gelebt," *Der Spiegel*, March 7, 1962, p. 87.

<sup>2</sup>Walter Mehring, *The Lost Library*, Indianapolis, 1951. His biographical sketch of Panizza contains literally dozens of factual errors.

<sup>3</sup>Oskar Panizza, *Le Concile d'Amour*, tragédie céleste, trans. Jean Bréjoux, Paris, 1960.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>5</sup>Written in 1837 and performed in 1913.

<sup>6</sup>München, 1926. Hereafter cited as *In memoriam*.

<sup>7</sup>Lippert is the author of two historical studies, *Die Reformation in Kirche, Sitte und Schule der Oberpfalz*, Rothenburg o.T., 1897, and *Geschichte der Gegenreformation in Staat, Kirche und Sitte der Oberpfalz zur Zeit des 30-jährigen Krieges*, Freiburg i.B., 1901.

<sup>8</sup>Unpublished; copyright 1969.

## PART I: PANIZZA'S LIFE

## Chapter 1: The Early Years

<sup>1</sup>Unless otherwise noted, the source for biographical details is *In memoriam*.

<sup>2</sup>There is no shred of evidence to support Adolf Bartels' ludicrous contention that Panizza was "perhaps of Jewish descent." *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1928), III, 426.

<sup>3</sup>*In memoriam*, p. 9.

<sup>4</sup>*Loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup>Oskar Panizza, *Das Liebeskonzil und andere Schriften*, ed. Hans Prescher (Neuwied, 1964), p. 249f. Hereafter cited as Prescher, *op. cit.*

<sup>6</sup>*In memoriam*, p. 9.

<sup>7</sup>*Loc. cit.*

<sup>8</sup>E.g., *Der Reichsplan Gottes mit den Menschen*, Stuttgart, 1886.

<sup>9</sup>Mathilde Panizza's feelings after the birth of her youngest son were expressed in her fiction. See Siona, *Drei Brautgeschichten und Sonne, stehe still*, 3rd ed. (Bad Kissingen, 1895), pp. 5-12.

<sup>10</sup>*In memoriam*, p. 39.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 10

<sup>13</sup>Leipzig, 1881.

<sup>14</sup>*In memoriam*, p. 11.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>17</sup>Leipzig, 1886.

<sup>18</sup>*In memoriam*, p. 11.

<sup>19</sup>Leipzig, 1887.

<sup>20</sup>Leipzig, 1889.

<sup>21</sup>*In memoriam*, p. 12

<sup>22</sup>Leipzig, 1890. Stories from this volume, as well as from his later collection *Visionen* (Leipzig, 1893), are currently in print under the title O. Panizza, *Der Korsettenfritz: Gesammelte Geschichten*, München, 1981.

<sup>23</sup>There is a perfunctory mention of Panizza in Wolfgang Kayser, *Das Groteske: Seine Gestaltung in Malerei und Dichtung* (Oldenburg & Hamburg, 1957), p. 151.

<sup>24</sup>Hanns von Gumpenberg, *Lebenserinnerungen* (Berlin, 1929), p. 135.

<sup>25</sup>Oskar Panizza, *Visionen der Dämmerungen*, ed. Hannes Ruch [pseud. Richard Weinhöppel] (München, 1914), p. VIII.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, p. IX.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. VIII f.

<sup>28</sup>Ernst von Wolzogen, *Wie ich mich ums Leben brachte* (Braunschweig, 1922), p. 175.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 174 f.

<sup>30</sup>For a more detailed discussion of the aims and activities of the "Gesellschaft für modernes Leben," see Adalbert von Hanstein, *Das jüngste Deutschland*, 3rd. ed. (Leipzig, 1905), pp. 204-208.

<sup>31</sup>*Münchener Flugschriften*, ed. M. G. Conrad, I. Serie No. V & VI, München, 1891.

<sup>32</sup>Cf. Cesare Lombroso, *The Man of Genius*, London, 1891.

<sup>33</sup>The familiarity with which these topics are discussed, his experience as a clinical psychiatrist, and numerous literary references to hashish would indicate that Dr. Panizza had some first-hand experience with cannabis.

<sup>34</sup>*In memoriam*, p. 50.

<sup>35</sup>*Visionen der Dämmerung*, p. XV.

<sup>36</sup>Prescher, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

<sup>37</sup>Max Halbe, *Jahrhundertwende* (Danzig, 1935), p. 72.

<sup>38</sup>"Gesellschaft für modernes Leben" zu München, *Gegen Prüderie und Lüge*, München, 1892.

<sup>39</sup>Weinhöppel in *Visionen der Dämmerung*, p. IX.

<sup>40</sup>*Modernes Leben: Ein Sammelbuch der Münchner Modernen* (München, 1891), pp. 109-118.

<sup>41</sup>Cf. Anon. notes on Panizza in *Das Magazin für Litteratur*, LX (1891), 623; LXI (1892), 63.

<sup>42</sup>*In memoriam*, p. 11.

<sup>43</sup>A complete chronological listing of Panizza's journal publications can be

found in the bibliography.

44“Prostitution: Eine Gegenwartsstudie,” pp. 1159-1183.

45A footnote explained that he was “intentionally using this purely phonetic spelling,” p. 1162.

46Leipzig, 1892. Reprinted in O. Panizza, *Aus dem Tagebuch eines Hundes*, München, 1977.

47February 22, 1894. Quoted from *Max Halbe zum 100. Geburtstag* (München, 1965), p. 52.

48*Visionen der Dämmerung*, facing p. 376.

49Martin Möbius [pseud. O. J. Bierbaum], *Steckbriefe* (Leipzig, 1900), p. 102.

50Gumpfenberg, *loc. cit.*, p. 154.

51*Einmal und nie wieder: Lebenserinnerungen* (Prague, 1935), p. 235.

52See *Das litterarische Echo*, VII (1905), 639.

53Gumpfenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

54Anon. article in *Kirchliche Korrespondenz des evangelischen Bundes*, XXXV, Nov. 1, 1892; Panizza's rebuttal: “Luther und die Ehe. Eine Verteidigung gegen Verleumdung,” *Die Gesellschaft* (1893), pp. 355-363.

55*Ibid.*, p. 356.

56*Ibid.*, p. 361.

57*Die Gesellschaft* (1893), pp. 275-289.

58*Ibid.*, p. 289.

59*Ibid.*, p. 277.

60Cf. Oskar Panizza, *Deutsche Thesen gegen den Papst und seine Dunkelmänner*, Berlin, 1940; Oskar Panizza, *Aus Werk und Leben*, ed. Kurt Eggers, Berlin, 1943.

61Panizza's own designation, *In memoriam*, p. 13.

62Leipzig, 1893.

63*Die Gesellschaft* (1893), p. 289.

64Zürich, 1893.

65*In memoriam*, p. 13.

66See excerpts from reviews appended to Oskar Panizza, *Das Liebeskonzil*, 3rd ed. (Zürich, 1897), pp. 36-42.

67*Ibid.*, p. 36.

68*Loc. cit.*

69O. J. Bierbaum, “Oskar Panizza,” *Die Gesellschaft* (1893), p. 987.

70Cf. *Berliner Tageblatt*, May 17, 1893.

71*Die Gesellschaft* (1893), pp. 956-977.

72*Ibid.*, p. 977.

73Oskar Panizza, *Der teutsche Michel und der römische Papst. Altes und Neues aus dem Kampfe des Teuschtumes gegen römisch-wälsche Überlistung und Bevormundung in 666 Tesen und Zitaten*, Leipzig, 1894.

74*Ibid.*, p. 100.

75Oskar Panizza, *Deutsche Thesen gegen den Papst*, Berlin, 1940.

<sup>76</sup>*In memoriam*, p. 13.

<sup>77</sup>Leipzig, 1894.

## Chapter 2: Jailhouse, Madhouse

<sup>1</sup>Max Halbe, *Jahrbundertwende* (Danzig, 1935), pp. 75f.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 74f. Halbe discerns a certain kinship between Borgia and Panizza, which allegedly helps explain the latter's attraction to the former.

<sup>3</sup>The title page erroneously bears the year 1895, and this has become the generally quoted publication date. The only German version of the play still in print is Oskar Panizza, *Das Liebeskonzil: Mit Materialien zum Film von Werner Schroeter*, Sammlung Luchterhand no. 388, Darmstadt and Neuwied, 1982.

<sup>4</sup>Panizza cites Alexander's German Master of Ceremonies, Burcardi, *Diarium*, nouvelle ed. L. Thuasne, 3 vols., Paris, 1885.

<sup>5</sup>*Das Liebeskonzil*, p. 24.

<sup>6</sup>Prescher, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

<sup>7</sup>From a letter of November 20, 1894. Quoted from the appendix to *Das Liebeskonzil*, 2nd. ed. (Zürich, 1896), p. 2.

<sup>8</sup>From a letter of November 17, 1894. *Loc. cit.*

<sup>9</sup>From a letter of November 19, 1894. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>11</sup>December 30, 1894. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

<sup>12</sup>July 22 and 27, and August 8, 1895. First published in *Merkur*, X (Nov. 1956), pp. 1094f.

<sup>13</sup>*Loc. cit.*

<sup>14</sup>Panizza appended several dozen pages of press comment to the second edition of *Das Liebeskonzil*, Zürich, 1896. This was slightly augmented in the third edition, Zürich, 1897.

<sup>15</sup>*Literaturgeschichte der deutschen Stämme und Landschaften*, 4 vols. (Regensburg, 1928), IV, 691f.

<sup>16</sup>Otto von Leixner, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* (Leipzig, 1910), p. 992.

<sup>17</sup>*Geschichte der deutschen Literatur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts und der Gegenwart* (Leipzig and Wien, 1908), p. 341

<sup>18</sup>Quoted from Prescher, *op. cit.*, p. 138

<sup>19</sup>Leipzig, 1895

<sup>20</sup>*In memoriam*, p. 12.

<sup>21</sup>*Der Illusionismus*, p. 52.

<sup>22</sup>Nietzsche condemned martyrs as being both foolish and cowardly with the force of three exclamation marks: ". . . a very popular error: having the courage of one's convictions; rather it is a matter of having the courage for an *attack* on one's convictions!!!" Friedrich Nietzsche, *Gesammelte Werke, Musarionausgabe*, 23 vols. (München, 1920-29), XVI, 318.

<sup>23</sup>Prescher, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

<sup>24</sup>*Der Illusionismus*, p. 62.

25 April 29, 1895.

26 Oskar Panizza, *Meine Verteidigung in Sachen "Das Liebeskonzil,"* Nebst dem Sachverständigen-Gutachten des Dr. M. G. Conrad und dem Urteil des k. Landgerichts München I, Zürich, 1895. Reprinted in *Das Liebeskonzil*, Sammlung Luchterhand no. 388, 1982.

27 Max Halbe, *Jahrhundertwende*, p. 148.

28 *Meine Verteidigung in Sachen "Das Liebeskonzil,"* p. 36.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 34.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 30.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 32.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 6.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

34 The play is contained in *Sebastian Sailers sämtliche Schriften in schwäbischem Dialekte*, ed. K. D. Haßler, Ulm, 1850.

35 *Meine Verteidigung in Sachen "Das Liebeskonzil,"* pp. 19f.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 36.

37 *Merkur*, X (1956), 1095.

38 T. M., "Das Liebeskonzil," V (1895), 522. Cf. Klaus Schröter, *Thomas Mann* (Reinbek, 1964), pp. 34-44, 164; Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 12 vols. (Fkft., 1960), X, 70; XI, 102. Cf. Hans R. Vaget, "Thomas Mann und Oskar Panizza," *Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift*, XXV (1975), 231-237.

39 *Das Liebeskonzil*, 2nd ed.; Appendix, p. 6.

40 *Loc. cit.*

41 München, 1895.

42 Theodor Lessing, *op. cit.*, pp. 234f.

43 *Der Fall Panizza*, p. 35. Cf. Ansgar Skriver, *Gotteslästerung?* (Hamburg, 1962), pp. 64-74.

44 *In memoriam*, pp. 14f.

45 *Ibid.*, p. 26.

46 *Loc. cit.*

47 Prescher, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

48 *Ibid.*, p. 183.

49 *Loc. cit.*

50 Zürich, 1897. Reprinted under the same title, München, 1979.

51 Schabelitz refused to cooperate any longer with Panizza in 1897, and the only published diary excerpts appear in Prescher, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-186.

52 *In memoriam*, pp. 44f. For a detailed discussion of Lippert's pastoral relationship with the author, which became more important in later years and continued until Panizza's death in 1921, see Friedrich W. Kantzenbach, "Der Dichter Oskar Panizza und der Pfarrer Friedrich Lippert," *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*, XXVI (1973), 125-142.

53 Prescher, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

54 *Loc. cit.*

55 *In memoriam*, p. 46.

56 Prescher, *op. cit.*, pp. 174f.

57 *Ibid.*, p. 176.

58 *Ibid.*, p. 185f.

59 *In memoriam*, p. 28.

60 Prescher, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

61 *In memoriam*, p. 46.

62 Prescher, *op. cit.*, pp. 166f.

63 *Visionen der Dämmerung*, pp. XI f.

64 *Die Gesellschaft* (1896), pp. 1252-1274.

65 S. Lublinski, *Die Bilanz der Moderne*, 3rd. ed. (Berlin, 1904), p. 135.

66 By the end of the century, Panizza had evolved into an outspoken philo-Semite. See "Intra muros et extra," *Zürcher Diskussionen*, II (1899), no. 20/21, p. 14.

67 First published in the continuation of the *Freie Bühne für modernes Leben* titled *Neue deutsche Rundschau*, V (1894), 37-56; reprinted in *Der Sammler*, daily supplement of the *Augsburger Abendzeitung*, 1894, No. 129; the book version appeared as *Die Haberfeldtreiben im bairischen Gebirge: Eine sit-tengeschichtliche Studie*, Berlin, 1897.

68 *Die Haberfeldtreiben*, 1897, p. 104.

69 *Abschied von München: Ein Handschlag*, Zürich, 1897. This text forms the basis for the final scene in Dietrich Kuhlbrodt's screenplay, "Ein Konzil der Liebe," in O. Panizza, *Das Liebeskonzil* (Darmstadt, 1982), pp. 105f.

70 *Ibid.*, p. 14.

71 *In memoriam*, pp. 15f.

72 Vol. I., no. 5.

73 Vol. III., no. 28.

74 The last issues of volume III, bearing the date 1900, were not published until 1902.

75 Prescher, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

76 *Loc. cit.*

77 It is amazing how even Panizza's crudest satire was so often not recognized as such. Thus, the U. S. Surgeon General's Office procured a copy of this book on November 1, 1898, where it remains to this date.

78 *Psychopatia Criminalis* (Zürich, 1898), p. 48. Reprinted as Oskar Panizza, *Die kriminelle Psychose, genannt Psychopatia criminalis*, München, 1978.

79 Zürich, 1898.

80 *Zürcher Diskussionen*, I (1898), no. 12, p. 7.

81 The Swiss may have viewed this ex-convict as a security risk.

82 *Zürcher Diskussionen*, III (1900), no. 28/32, p. 70.

83 *Parisjana: Deutsche Verse aus Paris*, Zürich, 1899.

84 II (1900), 672. Conrad also wrote two blistering reviews of the book in *Die Gesellschaft* (1900), pp. 127-128 and pp. 265-275.

85 *In memoriam*, p. 17.

86 *Ibid.*, pp. 26ff.



<sup>87</sup>Frank Wedekind, *Gesammelte Briefe*, ed. Fritz Strich, 2 vols. (München, 1924), I, 332.

<sup>88</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 335. No mention can be found of "Imperjalja," a work sold to an anonymous purchaser in 1928 and probably written in Paris.

<sup>89</sup>*In memoriam*, pp. 18f.

<sup>90</sup>*In memoriam*, p. 21.

<sup>91</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>92</sup>See, for example, aside from *Das Liebeskonzil*, the following articles in *Die Gesellschaft*: "Prostitution. Eine Gegenwartsstudie," 1892, pp. 1159-1183; "Luther und die Ehe. Eine Verteidigung gegen Verleumdung," 1893, pp. 956-977; "Bayreuth und die Homosexualität. Eine Erwägung," 1895, pp. 88-92.

<sup>93</sup>*Das litterarische Echo*, VII (1904), 349, refers to his "konträr-sexuelle Veranlagung." Panizza strongly condemned paragraph 175, the law that prohibited homosexual contacts. See *Zürcher Diskussionen*, III (1900), no. 25/26, p. 13, and no. 27, p. 8.

<sup>94</sup>*In memoriam*, p. 24.

<sup>95</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 25.

<sup>96</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 30f.

<sup>97</sup>*Loc. cit.*

<sup>98</sup>Max Halbe, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

<sup>99</sup>*In memoriam*, p. 31.

<sup>100</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 48f.

<sup>101</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>102</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 49f.

<sup>103</sup>Walter Mehring, *The Lost Library* (Indianapolis, 1951), p. 65.

<sup>104</sup>Max Krell, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

<sup>105</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 57. Panizza's extensive literary estate, containing over one hundred manuscripts, as well as scores of diaries and notebooks from 1875 to 1904, is deposited in the Handschriften Abteilung der Stadtbibliothek München.

## PART II: PANIZZA'S LITERATURE

### Chapter 3; Life is Hell: The Poetry of Pain

<sup>1</sup>Prescher, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

<sup>2</sup>*Die Gesellschaft* (1893), pp. 978ff.

<sup>3</sup>*Visionen der Dämmerung*, p. IX, 2nd paragraph.

<sup>4</sup>*Die Gesellschaft* (1893), p. 979.

<sup>5</sup>Otto von Leixner, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* (Leipzig, 1910), p. 992.

<sup>6</sup>*Loc. cit.*

<sup>7</sup>In "Genie und Gesundheit," Benn mentions Panizza as the last in a series of schizophrenic geniuses which includes Hölderlin, van Gogh, Tasso, Newton, and Strindberg, *Der Querschnitt*, X (1930), 575; reprinted in *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. Dieter Wellershoff, 4 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1959ff.), I, 86. Cf. *ibid.*, I, 113.

<sup>8</sup>*Faust: Der Tragödie zweiter Teil*, ll. 6259–6305

<sup>9</sup>Although masochism in literature had existed long before Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, his writings may well have had some influence on Panizza. Cf. his *Venus in Pelz*, Mit einer Studie über den Masochismus von Gilles Deleuze, Frankfurt, 1968.

<sup>10</sup>Panizza occasionally used this term in the contemporary colloquial sense, i.e., a hallucinatory experience. A good example of this is the poem “Lustfahrt” in *Düstre Lieder*: “In meiner Brust rollt auch eine Chaise, / Es peitscht, die Pferde streben nach Haus’, / Der Kutscher hält, es huschen zum Schlag / Viel schwarzvermummte Gedanken heraus” (p. 106).

<sup>11</sup>The subtitle is misleading, since none of the poem-“cycles” in *Legendäres und Fabelhaftes* are true cycles, but merely single poems divided into individual stanzas.

<sup>12</sup>These are the only lines quoted in Bierbaum’s discussion of Panizza’s poetry, *Die Gesellschaft* (1893), p. 978; these same lines serve as the motto for the novel by Hanns Heinz Ewers, *Der Zauberlehrling oder Die Teufelsjäger*, München, 1909.

<sup>13</sup>H. Prescher, “Panizza—Umsunst gelebt,” *Der Spiegel*, March 7, 1962, p. 86.

<sup>14</sup>*Das Liebeskonzil und andere Schriften*, ed. Prescher, p. 255.

<sup>15</sup>Ignaz Wrobel (Pseud.), “Oskar Panizza,” in *Freiheit* (Berlin), Nov. 7, 1920; reprinted in K. Tucholsky, *Gesammelte Werke* (Reinbek b. Hamburg, 1960), I, 696.

<sup>16</sup>Tucholsky, *Gesammelte Werke*, I, 476.

<sup>17</sup>##3, 6, 12, 19, 21, 38, 39, 40, 43, 49, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 67, 70, 95, 96, and Geleit; parenthetical numbers will refer to individual poems rather than pages.

<sup>18</sup>*In Memoriam*, p. 17.

<sup>19</sup>*Gesammelte Werke*, I, 477.

<sup>20</sup>*Op. cit.*, p. 255.

#### Chapter 4: From Moon to Madness: Prose Fiction

<sup>1</sup>*Dämmrungsstücke*, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. “Der Teufel im Oberammergauer Passions-Spiel. Eine textgeschichtliche Studie mit Ausblicken auf andere Mysterien-Spiele,” *Die Gesellschaft* (1890), pp. 997-1022; and “Theater-koups und Machinationes. Ein geschichtlicher Überblick über Szene und Konstruktion der Mysterien-Bühne, bei Gelegenheit der Oberammergauer Passions-Aufführung 1890,” *Die Gesellschaft* (1891), pp. 592-614, 806-829.

<sup>3</sup>See also pp. 18f.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Nietzsche, *Gesammelte Werke*, X, 362; XIII, 129, 165; XIV, 201.

<sup>5</sup>*Visionen der Dämmerung*, pp. 377f.

<sup>6</sup>“Zwei Satiriker,” *Das Magazin für Litteratur*, XLVII (1893), 756.

<sup>7</sup>“Oskar Panizza,” *Die Gesellschaft* (1893), p. 986.

<sup>8</sup>The phrase "zwischen Himmel und Erde" also occurs on pp. 145 and 297.

<sup>9</sup>pp. 167, 168, 171, 199, 206, 207, 208-211, 216, 225-227, 229, 255-257, 273, 274, 275, 278, 279, 280.

<sup>10</sup>"Zwei Satiriker," *Das Magazin für Litteratur*, XLVII (1893), 756.

<sup>11</sup>Cf. Walter Benjamin, "E. T. A. Hoffmann und Oskar Panizza," *Gesammelte Werke* (Frankfurt a.M., 1977), vol. II/2, 641-648.

<sup>12</sup>2 vols. (Berlin, 1820/22).

<sup>13</sup>*Die Gesellschaft* (1893), p. 986.

<sup>14</sup>Minor artist associated with Max Liebermann and *Pan I*.

<sup>15</sup>"Oskar Panizza," *Die Gesellschaft* (1893), p. 985.

<sup>16</sup>Cf. Panizza's discussion of "Christus in psicho-patologischer Beleuchtung," *Zürcher Diskussionen*, I, no. 5 (1898), 8 pp.

<sup>17</sup>*The Complete Works of Edgar Allen Poe*, ed. James A. Harrison, 17 vols. (New York, 1902), XIII, 153.

<sup>18</sup>Cf. Fritz E. Hoevens, "Eine Fetischistennovelle von O. Panizza," *Praxis der Psychotherapie*, XVIII (1973), 205-213.

<sup>19</sup>*Der Illusionismus und die Rettung der Persönlichkeit*, p. 17.

<sup>20</sup>"Oskar Panizza," *Die Gesellschaft* (1893), p. 986.

<sup>21</sup>See Abraham L. Sachar, *A History of the Jews* (New York, 1935), p. 192.

<sup>22</sup>"Oskar Panizza," *Die Gesellschaft* (1893), p. 986. Jack Zipes offers a perceptive interpretation and a first-rate translation of "Der operirte Jud" in "Oskar Panizza: The Operated German as Operated Jew," *New German Critique*, XXI (1980), 47-80.

<sup>23</sup>*Meine Verteidigung in Sachen "Das Liebeskonzil,"* p. 32.

## Chapter 5: Supernatural Dogs and Bitches: The Theater of Blasphemy

<sup>1</sup>Leipzig, 1894.

<sup>2</sup>Sigmund Freud, *Die Traumdeutung* (Leipzig and Wien, 1900), p. 149n.

<sup>3</sup>*Gesammelte Werke*, XV, 295.

<sup>4</sup>*Burcardi Diarium* [1483-1506], ed. L. Thuasne, 3 vols. (Paris, 1885).

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, III, 167.

<sup>6</sup>*Meine Verteidigung in Sachen "Das Liebeskonzil,"* p. 7n.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. S. Lublinski, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

<sup>8</sup>*John V*, 19 and 30.

<sup>9</sup>*In Memoriam*, p. 12.

<sup>10</sup>Translation by Lord Alfred Douglas, quoted from *The Works of Oscar Wilde*, ed. G. F. Maine (London, 1948), p. 560.

<sup>11</sup>III, 2.

<sup>12</sup>"Oskar Panizza," *Die Gesellschaft* (1893), p. 988.

<sup>13</sup>*Das Liebeskonzil*, 2nd ed. (Zürich, 1896), p. 28 in appendix.

<sup>14</sup>"Die Hütte wird durch dich ein Himmelreich," *Faust*, I, 2708.

<sup>15</sup>The text was slightly altered on pp. 49, 54, 57 and 62 of the first edition.

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<sup>13</sup>H. Prescher, “Panizza—Umsunst gelebt,” *Der Spiegel*, March 7, 1962, p. 86.

<sup>14</sup>*Das Liebeskonzil und andere Schriften*, ed. Prescher, p. 255.

<sup>15</sup>Ignaz Wrobel (Pseud.), “Oskar Panizza,” in *Freiheit* (Berlin), Nov. 7, 1920; reprinted in K. Tucholsky, *Gesammelte Werke* (Reinbek b. Hamburg, 1960), I, 696.

<sup>16</sup>Tucholsky, *Gesammelte Werke*, I, 476.

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<sup>3</sup>See also pp. 18f.

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## Chapter 5: Supernatural Dogs and Bitches: The Theater of Blasphemy

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<sup>16</sup>*In Memoriam*, p. 46.

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at the Bloch banking firm.

<sup>18</sup>*In Memoriam*, p. 36.

<sup>19</sup>October 15, 1895.

## Chapter 6: "Umsunst gelebt"?

<sup>1</sup>*In memoriam*, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup>Glücksburg, 1962.

<sup>3</sup>*Het Liefdesconcilie*, Een hemelse tragedie in vijf bedrijven, trans. Yves van Domber, *Ranstad* (Amsterdam), No. 7, 1964.

<sup>4</sup>Oskar Panizza, *Das Liebeskonzil: Mit Materialien zum Film von Werner Schroeter*, Sammlung Luchterhand no. 388 (Darmstadt and Neuwied, 1982), pp. 100-127.

<sup>5</sup>*Faust*, ll. 310f.

<sup>6</sup>*The Theatre of the Absurd* (Garden City, N.Y., 1961), p. 316.

<sup>7</sup>*Die fröhliche Wissenschaft*, §200, *Gesammelte Werke*, XV, 295.

<sup>8</sup>E. Meyer-Brenner in *Berner Tagwacht*, 1895, no. 40.

<sup>9</sup>"Die Kompetenzzweifel der Schriftsteller," *Merkur*, XXIV (August 1970), 735.

<sup>10</sup>*Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, 3 vols, (Leipzig, 1938), III, 248.

<sup>11</sup>*Der teutsche Michel*, p. 100.

<sup>12</sup>*Loc. cit.* Cf. Nietzsche on the importance of sexuality, *Gesammelte Werke*, XV, 91.

<sup>13</sup>E.g., Kurt Tucholsky in "Panizza," *Die Weltbühne*, no. 38 (November 9, 1919), p. 321.

<sup>14</sup>E.g., the glorification of the author as a proto-Nazi in Oskar Panizza, *Aus Werk und Leben*, ed. Kurt Eggers, Berlin, 1943.

<sup>15</sup>"Oskar Panizza," *Die Gesellschaft* (1893), p. 988.

<sup>16</sup>*In memoriam*, p. 17.

<sup>17</sup>September 4, 1906. Unpublished note in the manuscript collection of the Stadtbibliothek München.

<sup>18</sup>*Jahrhundertwende*, p. 72.

<sup>19</sup>Arthur Eloesser wrote that "if he had really possessed such artistic talent as his friends complaisantly ascribed to him," he "would have become another Baudelaire." *Die deutsche Literatur*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1931), II, 396.

<sup>20</sup>*Steckbriefe*, pp. 103f.

<sup>21</sup>An excellent overview of Panizza's reception during the last two decades was written by Dietrich Kuhlbrodt for the *Liebeskonzil-Filmbuch*, München, 1982, pp. 145-158.