

THE CAMBRIDGE COMPANION TO



**THOMAS
MANN**

*Edited by
Ritchie Robertson*

CAMBRIDGE

more information - www.cambridge.org/052165310X

This page intentionally left blank

The Cambridge Companion to Thomas Mann

Key dimensions of Thomas Mann's writing and life are explored in this collection of specially commissioned essays. In addition to introductory chapters on all the main works of fiction, the essays and diaries, there are four chapters examining Mann's oeuvre in relation to major themes. These thematic explorations include his position as a realistic writer concerned with the history of his own times and as a commentator on German and American politics; his controversial reputation as an intellectual novelist; the literary techniques that enabled his challenging fictions to appeal to a wide audience; and the homosexual subtext running through his fiction and diaries. A final chapter looks at the pitfalls of translating Mann into English. The essays are well supported by supplementary material including a chronology of the period and detailed guides to further reading. Altogether the volume provides an invaluable resource for scholars and students.

RITCHIE ROBERTSON is Professor of German at Oxford University and Fellow and Tutor of St John's College, Oxford. He is the author of *Kafka: Judaism, Politics, and Literature* (1985) and *Heine* (1988), which have also been published in German translation, and *The 'Jewish Question' in German Literature, 1749–1939* (1999). He has also published numerous translations from German, including works by Heine and Hoffmann. He is an editor of *The Modern Language Review*.

THE CAMBRIDGE
COMPANION TO THE
THOMAS MANN

CAMBRIDGE COMPANIONS TO LITERATURE

- The Cambridge Companion to Greek Tragedy*
edited by P. E. Easterling
- The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*
edited by Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge
- The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance*
edited by Roberta L. Kreuger
- The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre*
edited by Richard Beadle
- The Cambridge Companion to English Renaissance Drama*
edited by A. R. Braunmuller and Michael Hattaway
- The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*
edited by Jill Kraye
- The Cambridge Companion to English Poetry, Donne to Marvell*
edited by Thomas N. Corns
- The Cambridge Companion to English Literature, 1500–1600*
edited by Arthur F. Kinney
- The Cambridge Companion to English Literature, 1650–1740*
edited by Steven N. Zwicker
- The Cambridge Companion to Writing of the English Revolution*
edited by N. H. Keeble
- The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre*
edited by Deborah C. Payne Fisk
- The Cambridge Companion to British Romanticism*
edited by Stuart Curran
- The Cambridge Companion to Eighteenth-Century Poetry*
edited by John Sitter
- The Cambridge Companion to the Eighteenth-Century Novel*
edited by John Richetti
- The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Poetry*
edited by Joseph Bristow
- The Cambridge Companion to the Victorian Novel*
edited by Deirdre David
- The Cambridge Companion to American Realism and Naturalism*
edited by Donald Pizer
- The Cambridge Companion to Nineteenth-Century American Women's Writing*
edited by Dale M. Bauer and Philip Gould
- The Cambridge Companion to the Classic Russian Novel*
edited by Malcolm V. Jones and Robin Feuer Miller
- The Cambridge Companion to the French Novel: from 1800 to the present*
edited by Timothy Unwin
- The Cambridge Companion to Modernism*
edited by Michael Levenson
- The Cambridge Companion to Australian Literature*
edited by Elizabeth Webby
- The Cambridge Companion to American Women Playwrights*
edited by Brenda Murphy
- The Cambridge Companion to Modern British Women Playwrights*
edited by Elaine Aston and Janelle Reinelt
- The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*
edited by Charles Martindale
- The Cambridge Companion to Dante*
edited by Rachel Jacoff
- The Cambridge Companion to Proust*
edited by Richard Bales
- The Cambridge Companion to Thomas Mann*
edited by Ritchie Robertson
- The Cambridge Companion to Chekhov*
edited by Vera Gottlieb and Paul Allain
- The Cambridge Companion to Ibsen*
edited by James McFarlane
- The Cambridge Companion to Brecht*
edited by Peter Thomson and Glendyr Sacks
- The Cambridge Chaucer Companion*
edited by Piero Boitani and Jill Mann
- The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare*
edited by Margaret de Grazia and Stanley Wells
- The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare on Film*
edited by Russell Jackson
- The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare Comedy*
edited by Alexander Leggatt
- The Cambridge Companion to Spenser*
edited by Andrew Hadfield
- The Cambridge Companion to Ben Jonson*
edited by Richard Harp and Stanley Stewart
- The Cambridge Companion to Milton*
edited by Dennis Danielson
- The Cambridge Companion to Samuel Johnson*
edited by Greg Clingham
- The Cambridge Companion to Keats*
edited by Susan J. Wolfson

- The Cambridge Companion to Jane Austen*
edited by Edward Copeland and
Juliet McMaster
- The Cambridge Companion to Charles Dickens*
edited by John O. Jordan
- The Cambridge Companion to George Eliot*
edited by George Levine
- The Cambridge Companion to Thomas Hardy*
edited by Dale Kramer
- The Cambridge Companion to Oscar Wilde*
edited by Peter Raby
- The Cambridge Companion to
George Bernard Shaw*
edited by Christopher Innes
- The Cambridge Companion to Joseph Conrad*
edited by J. H. Stape
- The Cambridge Companion to D. H. Lawrence*
edited by Anne Fernihough
- The Cambridge Companion to Virginia Woolf*
edited by Sue Roe and Susan Sellers
- The Cambridge Companion to James Joyce*
edited by Derek Attridge
- The Cambridge Companion to T. S. Eliot*
edited by A. David Moody
- The Cambridge Companion to Ezra Pound*
edited by Ira B. Nadel
- The Cambridge Companion to Beckett*
edited by John Pilling
- The Cambridge Companion to Harold Pinter*
edited by Peter Raby
- The Cambridge Companion to Tom Stoppard*
edited by Katherine E. Kelly
- The Cambridge Companion to Herman Melville*
edited by Robert S. Levine
- The Cambridge Companion to Edith Wharton*
edited by Millicent Bell
- The Cambridge Companion to Henry James*
edited by Jonathan Freedman
- The Cambridge Companion to Walt Whitman*
edited by Ezra Greenspan
- The Cambridge Companion to
Henry David Thoreau*
edited by Joel Myerson
- The Cambridge Companion to Mark Twain*
edited by Forrest G. Robinson
- The Cambridge Companion to William Faulkner*
edited by Philip M. Weinstein
- The Cambridge Companion to
Ernest Hemingway*
edited by Scott Donaldson
- The Cambridge Companion to
F. Scott Fitzgerald*
edited by Ruth Prigozy
- The Cambridge Companion to Robert Frost*
edited by Robert Faggen
- The Cambridge Companion to Eugene O'Neill*
edited by Michael Manheim
- The Cambridge Companion to
Tennessee Williams*
edited by Matthew C. Roudané
- The Cambridge Companion to Arthur Miller*
edited by Christopher Bigsby

CAMBRIDGE COMPANIONS TO CULTURE

- The Cambridge Companion to Modern German
Culture*
edited by Eva Kolinsky and
Wilfried van der Will
- The Cambridge Companion to Modern Russian
Culture*
edited by Nicholas Rzhevsky
- The Cambridge Companion to Modern Spanish
Culture*
edited by David T. Gies
- The Cambridge Companion to Modern Italian
Culture*
edited by Zygmunt G. Baranski and
Rebecca J. West

THE CAMBRIDGE
COMPANION TO
THOMAS MANN

EDITED BY
RITCHIE ROBERTSON



PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain
Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa

<http://www.cambridge.org>

© Cambridge University Press 2004

First published in printed format 2001

ISBN 0-511-03313-3 eBook (Adobe Reader)

ISBN 0-521-65310-X hardback

ISBN 0-521-65370-3 paperback

CONTENTS

	<i>Notes on the contributors</i>	page xi
	<i>Preface</i>	xiii
	<i>Chronology</i>	xv
	<i>List of Thomas Mann's works</i>	xix
	<i>A note on references and abbreviations</i>	xii
1	Mann and history T. J. REED	I
2	The intellectual world of Thomas Mann PAUL BISHOP	22
3	Mann's literary techniques MICHAEL MINDEN	43
4	Mann's man's world: gender and sexuality ANDREW J. WEBBER	64
5	Mann's early novellas MARK M. ANDERSON	84
6	Classicism and its pitfalls: <i>Death in Venice</i> RITCHIE ROBERTSON	95
7	The political becomes personal: <i>Disorder and Early Sorrow</i> and <i>Mario and the Magician</i> ALAN BANCE	107

CONTENTS

8	<i>Buddenbrooks: between realism and aestheticism</i> JUDITH RYAN	119
9	<i>The Magic Mountain</i> MICHAEL BEDDOW	137
10	Religion and culture: <i>Joseph and his Brothers</i> WOLF-DANIEL HARTWICH	151
11	<i>Doctor Faustus</i> SUSAN VON ROHR SCAFF	168
12	<i>Lotte in Weimar</i> YAHYA ELSAGHE	185
13	<i>The Confessions of Felix Krull, Confidence Man</i> FREDERICK A. LUBICH	199
14	Mann as essayist HINRICH SIEFKEN	213
15	Mann as diarist T. J. REED	226
16	Mann in English TIMOTHY BUCK	235
	<i>Selected bibliography</i>	249
	<i>Index</i>	253

NOTES ON THE CONTRIBUTORS

MARK M. ANDERSON is Professor of German at Columbia University and author of *Kafka's Clothes: Ornament and Aestheticism in the Habsburg Fin de Siècle* (1992).

ALAN BANCE is Professor of German at the University of Southampton. His publications include *Theodor Fontane: The Major Novels* (1982) and many studies of Thomas Mann and other modern German prose writers.

MICHAEL BEDDOW has recently retired as Professor of German at Leeds University. His publications include *The Fiction of Humanity: Studies in the Bildungsroman from Wieland to Thomas Mann* (1982) and studies of Goethe's *Faust I* and Mann's *Doctor Faustus*, the latter in the series 'Landmarks in World Literature' (1994).

PAUL BISHOP is Professor of German at Glasgow University. His publications include *The Dionysian Self: C. G. Jung's Reception of Friedrich Nietzsche* (1995) and many studies in literary and intellectual history from Goethe onwards.

TIMOTHY BUCK has recently retired as Lecturer in German at Edinburgh University. He has published numerous studies of German linguistic history and medieval literature.

YAHYA ELSAGHE is Professor of German at the University of Berne. He has published numerous studies of Hölderlin, Goethe and Thomas Mann, most recently *Die imaginäre Nation: Thomas Mann und das 'Deutsche'* (2000).

WOLF-DANIEL HARTWICH teaches German literature at Heidelberg University. His publications include *Die Sendung Moses: Von der Aufklärung bis Thomas Mann* (1997).

FREDERICK A. LUBICH is Professor of German at Old Dominion University, Norfolk, Virginia. He has published *Die Dialektik von Logos und Eros im Werk von Thomas Mann* (1986) and two studies of Max Frisch. He is currently working on two books: *Mann-Mosaik: Studien zum Werk von Thomas Mann* and *The Return of the Great Mother: The Discourse of Matriarchy in 20th-Century German Literary and Cultural History*.

MICHAEL MINDEN is Lecturer in German at Cambridge University and a Fellow of Jesus College. He has published *Arno Schmidt: A Critical Study of his Prose* (1982) and *The German Bildungsroman: Incest and Inheritance* (1997), and edited *Thomas Mann* in the series 'Modern Literatures in Perspective' (1995).

T. J. REED is Taylor Professor of German at Oxford University and a Fellow of the Queen's College. His books include *Thomas Mann: The Uses of Tradition* (1974; enlarged edition 1996), *The Classical Centre: Goethe and Weimar* (2nd edition, 1986), and several studies and editions of *Death in Venice*. He is one of the editors of the forthcoming annotated edition of Mann's complete works.

RITCHIE ROBERTSON is Professor of German at Oxford and a Fellow of St John's College. His books include *Kafka: Judaism, Politics, and Literature* (1985) and *The 'Jewish Question' in German Literature, 1749-1939* (1999).

JUDITH RYAN is Harvard College Professor and Robert K. and Dale J. Weary Professor of German and Comparative Literature at Harvard University. Her books include *The Uncompleted Past: Postwar German Novels and the Third Reich* (1983), *The Vanishing Subject: Early Psychology and Literary Modernism* (1991) and *Rilke, Modernism and Poetic Tradition* (1999).

SUSAN VON ROHR SCAFF is Professor of German at San José State University in California, and author of *History, Myth and Music: Thomas Mann's Timely Fiction* (1998).

HINRICH SIEFKEN has recently retired as Professor of German at Nottingham University. Besides studies of medieval literature, Kafka, Broch and Theodor Haecker, he has published *Thomas Mann: Goethe – 'Ideal der Deutschheit': Wiederholte Spiegelungen* (1981).

ANDREW J. WEBBER is Lecturer in German at Cambridge University and a Fellow of Churchill College. He is the author of *Sexuality and the Sense of Self in the Works of Georg Trakl and Robert Musil* (1990) and *The Doppelgänger: Double Visions in German Literature* (1996).

P R E F A C E

Thomas Mann continues to have the widest appeal of all German novelists. Although he identified profoundly with various conceptions of Germany and Germanness, he sought during most of his literary career to build bridges between German culture and a succession of wider worlds. His first masterpiece, *Buddenbrooks*, the unrivalled bestseller in twentieth-century German fiction, adopts techniques from French, Russian, and Scandinavian realism to chronicle the lives of a family in a North German backwater. *The Magic Mountain*, though set in the confines of a Swiss sanatorium, takes its setting as a stage where debates about the shape of European culture can be dramatised. The huge tetralogy *Joseph and his Brothers* explores the cultures of the ancient Near East, the origins of religion and culture, and the foundations of a Judaeo-Christian humanism that, as Mann wrote, was under threat from Hitler's Third Reich. And in *Doctor Faustus* Mann revived a German myth, with its theological underpinnings, to present the fictional biography of a quintessential German artist whose tragedy lay not least in cutting himself off from European culture.

Mann's mission to explain Germany to the wider world was made more urgent by his own exile from Germany. Having been an outspoken opponent of the reactionary Right and of the National Socialists from 1922 onwards, he moved, after Hitler's accession to power, to France, Switzerland, and eventually the United States. Deprived of his German citizenship, he became a citizen first of Czechoslovakia and later of the United States. In America, where the translations of his fiction already had a large readership, he enjoyed more prominence than almost any other émigré, and used it to become a spokesman for humanism and a cultural mediator.

During Mann's lifetime, his public persona inevitably coloured the reception of his novels. They were often understood with dutiful awe as intellectual fiction of a high order, top-heavy with German philosophy and history. Over-attention to this aspect of Mann's fiction often distracted readers, especially those reliant on imperfect translations, from the light and polished irony,

apparent even in the short stories with which Mann entered the literary scene in the 1890s, and from the practically Dickensian humour governing the characterisation in the major novels. In the 1970s scholars drew attention to Mann's career as a politically engaged intellectual and to the close links between his political stances and his writing, especially *The Magic Mountain*, the short fiction of the 1920s, and the large body of reflective and thought-provoking essays that Mann produced for many public occasions. It was also in the 1970s that Mann's surviving diaries began to be published, not only proving an invaluable biographical source and a major addition to the canon of literary journals, but also disclosing much about his lifelong homosexuality. Although *Death in Venice* and some published correspondence were frank enough, the insights provided by the diaries coincided with the new perspectives of gender-oriented criticism to open up additional layers of meaning in large areas of Mann's fiction.

Like any classic, therefore, Mann has continued to be reread in new ways, and part of the purpose of this collection of introductory essays is to offer a variety of approaches to his work. The first four contributions are thematic. They consider Mann in the light of his engagement with German history; as an intellectual novelist; as a supremely skilful practitioner of the novel, both heightening his readers' moral awareness and providing them with gratification; and using these techniques to explore forms and categories of masculinity. There follow three essays on the shorter fiction, six on the major novels (other fictional works, including *Royal Highness*, are dealt with in passing), and appreciations of Mann the essayist and the diarist. Finally, there is a critical examination of the translations of Mann currently available in English, reminding us that despite his popularity in the English-speaking world, part of his claim to fame lies in his uniquely skilful and untranslatable use of the German language. The essays are intended to be useful both to readers who have access to the original, and readers who know Mann in English translation. Each chapter concludes with a list of further reading relevant to the subject of the chapter; the selected bibliography at the end of the book gives information about German and English editions of Mann's works and includes a wide selection of criticism written in both languages.

I should like to thank all the contributors to this book for their enthusiastic and good-natured co-operation; the four anonymous readers enlisted by Cambridge University Press for their detailed, supportive and constructive comments; and Linda Bree for her invariable helpfulness and patience as editor.

Ritchie Robertson

CHRONOLOGY

- 1875 6 June: birth of Paul Thomas Mann to Julia (née da Silva Bruhns, born 1851) and Thomas Johann Heinrich Mann (1840), the second of five children. Paul Thomas's siblings are Luiz Heinrich (born 1871), Julia (1877), Carla (1881) and Viktor (1890).
- 1877 Mann's father is elected to the Lübeck senate.
- 1891 Mann's father dies on 13 October; the family firm (Johann Siegmund Mann Corn Merchants, Commission and Transport Agents) is liquidated and the family house sold, leaving Heinrich and Thomas with independent means sufficient to establish themselves as writers.
- 1893 Frau Mann moves to Munich with the three younger children (Julia, Carla, and Viktor); Thomas stays at school in Lübeck.
- 1894 Thomas leaves school and joins his mother in Munich, where he starts working for an insurance company, but leaves it after four months in the hope of a career as a journalist. His first story, 'Gefallen' [Fallen], is published in the Naturalist journal *Die Gesellschaft* [Society]. In the next few years he gradually publishes short stories in the periodical edited by his brother Heinrich, *Das Zwanzigste Jahrhundert* [The Twentieth Century]. The two brothers also work and travel together.
- 1898 *Der kleine Herr Friedemann* [Little Herr Friedemann], a collection of short stories, Mann's first book, is published.
- 1899 beginning of friendship with Paul Ehrenberg
- 1900 Mann completes the novel *Buddenbrooks* in May. Called up for military service, beginning on 1 October, but thanks to an inflamed tendon in his right foot he is confined to bed and given leave in December.
- 1901 *Buddenbrooks* published in two volumes. This novel was the foundation for Mann's reputation and success: it sold a million copies in just over a year, and continued to have a steady sale.

CHRONOLOGY

- 1903 Another collection of short stories, *Tristan*, appears (including 'Tonio Kröger').
- 1905 11 February: Mann marries Katia Pringsheim (born 1883), daughter of a wealthy Munich mathematics professor of Jewish descent.
9 November: birth of their first child, Erika Mann
- 1906 18 November: birth of Klaus Mann
- 1909 27 March: birth of Gottfried ('Golo') Mann. Mann publishes the novel *Königliche Hoheit* [*Royal Highness*], which is judged lightweight by comparison with *Buddenbrooks*.
- 1910 Mann begins work on *Felix Krull*, only to abandon it in 1911.
7 June: birth of Monika Mann
30 July: suicide of Mann's sister Carla
- 1911 May: feeling ill and depressed, Mann visits the Adriatic island of Brioni and Venice with his wife; they stay (26 May to 2 June) in the Hôtel des Bains on the Lido at Venice.
- 1912 *Death in Venice* completed in June, published in a journal in October and November. 15 May to 12 June: Mann visits Katia, who is staying in a sanatorium in Davos in Switzerland.
- 1913 Mann begins work on *The Magic Mountain*, planning it as a novella similar in length to *Death in Venice*.
- 1914 August: outbreak of war. Mann shares the widespread patriotic euphoria.
- 1915 November: Heinrich Mann's essay on Zola is published, with a hostile reference to Thomas Mann, who is inspired to start work on the *Reflections of an Unpolitical Man*.
- 1918 24 April: birth of Elisabeth Mann
9 November: proclamation of a German Republic
Just before the war ends, Mann publishes *Reflections of an Unpolitical Man*.
- 1919 7 April: a Soviet Republic is declared in Munich; it is overthrown by government and paramilitary troops on 1–3 May.
21 April: birth of Michael Mann
Mann resumes work on *The Magic Mountain*.
- 1922 24 June: assassination of the Foreign Minister, Walther Rathenau
15 October: Mann delivers his address 'Von deutscher Republik' ('On the German Republic') in the Beethovensaal in Berlin; ostensibly a celebration of the dramatist Gerhart Hauptmann's sixtieth birthday, it is recognised as Mann's public avowal of support for the Weimar Republic.
- 1926 31 August to 13 September: the Manns take a holiday at Forte di

CHRONOLOGY

- Marmi in Italy, where the events inspire *Mario and the Magician* (published 1930).
- 1927 10 May: suicide of Mann's sister Julia
- 1929 Mann is awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature, explicitly for *Buddenbrooks*.
His speech on Lessing, at the bicentenary of the latter's birth, marks an important attempt to reconcile myth with reason in the struggle against fascism.
- 1930 February to April: travels in Egypt and Palestine
- 1932 The centenary of Goethe's death brings forth important lectures and essays.
- 1933 30 January: Hitler becomes Chancellor of Germany.
10 February: Mann delivers lecture on Wagner at Munich University.
11 February: Mann leaves Germany with his wife, initially to lecture in Holland and Belgium, then to visit Switzerland; while there, his children Klaus and Erika warn him not to return. After spending the summer on the French Riviera, the Manns settle at Küsnacht outside Zürich in Switzerland.
October: publication of *The Tales of Jacob* (first volume of *Joseph and his Brothers*)
- 1934 April: publication of *The Young Joseph*
May–June: Mann pays his first visit to the United States; lectures on Goethe at Yale University.
- 1935 June–July: Mann revisits the United States and receives an honorary doctorate from Harvard.
- 1936 Mann is deprived of German citizenship; becomes a Czech citizen. Also deprived of his honorary doctorate from Bonn University. *Joseph in Egypt* is published in Vienna by Bermann-Fischer, Mann's publisher, now also in exile.
8 May: lecture on 'Freud and the Future' delivered in Vienna to celebrate Freud's eightieth birthday.
- 1937 April: Mann revisits US at invitation of the New School for Social Research in New York.
- 1938 February: returns to US for long visit; news of Hitler's annexation of Austria encourages Mann to settle in US; accepts a chair at Princeton University.
1 October: German invasion of Czechoslovakia
9 November: 'Kristallnacht': attacks on Jewish homes and synagogues throughout Germany

CHRONOLOGY

- 1939 3 September: Britain and France declare war on Germany after Germany invades Poland.
- 1941 April: the Manns move to Pacific Palisades, Los Angeles.
December: US declares war on Japan after its attack on Pearl Harbor; Germany and Italy declare war on the US.
- 1943 *Joseph the Provider* published by Bermann-Fischer, now in Stockholm.
23 May: Mann begins work on *Doctor Faustus*.
'The Tables of the Law', Mann's story about Moses, is published in a book entitled *The Ten Commandments: Ten Short Novels of Hitler's War against the Moral Code*.
- 1944 Thomas and Katia Mann become American citizens.
- 1945 12 April: death of Roosevelt
7 May: Germany's unconditional surrender
29 May: lecture, 'Germany and the Germans', delivered at Library of Congress: it is Mann's major statement on the German catastrophe, closely linked to *Doctor Faustus*.
- 1947 May to August: Thomas and Katia visit Europe, including Britain, Switzerland, Italy and Holland, but not Germany.
- 1949 21 May: suicide of Klaus Mann
Mann revisits Germany (Frankfurt, Munich, Weimar) in connection with celebrations of Goethe bicentenary.
12 October: founding of German Democratic Republic in Soviet zone of occupation
Beginning of anti-Communist hysteria in US, stirred up by Senator Joseph McCarthy
- 1950 2 March: death of Heinrich Mann
- 1951 Mann resumes work on *Felix Krull*.
- 1952 Alarmed by McCarthyism, Mann moves to Switzerland; he and Katia rent house at Erlenbach near Zürich.
- 1954 The Manns buy a house at Kilchberg on Lake Zürich.
- 1955 12 August: Thomas Mann dies in Zürich of arteriosclerosis.

LIST OF THOMAS MANN'S WORKS

English titles given here in square brackets are not published titles.

1894	'Gefallen'	'Fallen'
1896	'Enttäuschung'	'Disillusionment'
1897	'Der kleine Herr Friedemann'	'Little Herr Friedemann'
	'Der Bajazzo'	'The Joker'
1898	<i>Der kleine Herr Friedemann</i>	
1901	<i>Buddenbrooks</i>	<i>Buddenbrooks</i>
1902	'Gladius Dei'	'Gladius Dei'
1903	<i>Tonio Kröger</i>	<i>Tonio Kröger</i>
	'Tristan'	'Tristan'
1905	'Schwere Stunde'	'A Weary Hour'
	<i>Fiorenza</i>	<i>Fiorenza</i>
1909	<i>Königliche Hoheit</i>	<i>Royal Highness</i>
	'Süßer Schlaf'	'Sweet Sleep'
1910	'Der alte Fontane'	'The Old Fontane'
1911	'Über die Kunst Richard Wagners'	[On the Art of Richard Wagner]
1912	<i>Der Tod in Venedig</i>	<i>Death in Venice</i>
1914	'Gedanken im Krieg'	[Thoughts in War]
1915	<i>Friedrich und die große Koalition</i>	[Frederick and the Grand Coalition]
1918	<i>Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen</i>	[Reflections of an Unpolitical Man]
1919	<i>Herr und Hund</i>	<i>Master and Dog</i>
	<i>Gesang vom Kindchen</i>	<i>A Birth and a Christening</i> (literally, 'Song of the Baby')
1921	'Goethe und Tolstoi'	[Goethe and Tolstoy]
1922	<i>Rede und Antwort</i>	[Address and Reply] (a collection of essays)

LIST OF THOMAS MANN'S WORKS

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| 1924 | <i>Der Zauberberg</i>
'Vorspruch zu einer
musikalischen Nietzsche-Feier' | <i>The Magic Mountain</i>
[Opening Words to a
Musical Celebration of
Nietzsche] |
| 1925 | <i>Unordnung und frühes Leid</i>
<i>Bemühungen</i>

'Deutschland und die Demokratie' | <i>Disorder and Early Sorrow</i>
[Endeavours] (a collection
of essays)
[Germany and Democracy] |
| 1928 | 'Kultur und Sozialismus'
'Dürer' | [Culture and Socialism]
'Dürer' |
| 1929 | 'Die Stellung Freuds in der
modernen Geistesgeschichte' | 'Freud's Position in the
History of Modern
Thought' |
| 1930 | 'Rede über Lessing'
<i>Mario und der Zauberer</i>
<i>Die Forderung des Tages</i>

'Deutsche Ansprache. Ein
Appell an die Vernunft'
'Lebensabriss' | [Speech on Lessing]
<i>Mario and the Magician</i>
[The Day's Demand]
(a collection of essays)
[German Address: An
Appeal to Reason]
[A Sketch of my Life] |
| 1931 | 'Die Wiedergeburt der
Anständigkeit' | [The Rebirth of Decency] |
| 1932 | 'Goethe als Repräsentant des
bürgerlichen Zeitalters'
'Goethes Laufbahn als
Schriftsteller'
'Die Bäume im Garten. Rede für
Pan-Europa' | 'Goethe as Representative
of the Bourgeois Age'
[Goethe's Career as a Writer]

[The Trees in the Garden.
A Speech for Pan-Europe] |
| 1933 | <i>Die Geschichten Jaakobs</i> | <i>The Tales of Jacob</i> |
| 1934 | <i>Der junge Joseph</i> | <i>The Young Joseph</i> |
| 1936 | <i>Joseph in Ägypten</i>
'Freud und die Zukunft' | <i>Joseph in Egypt</i>
'Freud and the Future' |
| 1938 | 'Schopenhauer' | |
| 1939 | <i>Lotte in Weimar</i>

'Bruder Hitler' | <i>The Beloved Returns/Lotte</i>
<i>in Weimar</i>
[Brother Hitler] |
| 1940 | <i>Die vertauschten Köpfe</i>
'On Myself' | <i>The Transposed Heads</i> |
| 1941 | 'Goethe's "Werther"' | |

LIST OF THOMAS MANN'S WORKS

1943	<i>Joseph der Ernährer</i> 'Das Gesetz'	<i>Joseph the Provider</i> 'The Tables of the Law'
1945	<i>Adel des Geistes</i> 'Deutschland und die Deutschen'	<i>Nobility of the Spirit</i> [Germany and the Germans]
1947	<i>Doktor Faustus</i> 'Nietzsches Philosophie im Licht unserer Erfahrung' 'Die Aufgabe des Schriftstellers'	<i>Doctor Faustus</i> 'Nietzsche's Philosophy in the Light of our Experience' [The Task of the Writer]
1948	'Phantasie über Goethe'	[Goethe: An Imaginative Portrait]
1949	'Goethe und die Demokratie'	[Goethe and Democracy]
1951	<i>Der Erwählte</i>	<i>The Holy Sinner</i>
1953	<i>Die Betrogene</i>	<i>The Black Swan</i> (literally, 'The Deceived Woman')
1954	<i>Bekenntnisse des Hochstaplers Felix Krull</i>	<i>Confessions of Felix Krull, Confidence Man</i>
1955	'Schiller'	

A NOTE ON REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

Unless otherwise stated, translations of German works are the chapter author's own.

References to Thomas Mann's essays and literary works are to *Gesammelte Werke*, 13 vols. (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1974), cited by volume and page number.

This edition is supplemented where necessary by Thomas Mann, *Essays*, ed. Hermann Kurzke and S. Stachorski, 6 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1993-1997), referred to as *Essays*.

Diary entries are cited by date from *Tagebücher*, 10 vols., ed. Peter de Mendelssohn (vols. I-V) and Inge Jens (vols. VI-X) (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1979-95)

Letters are cited by date and correspondent, from the following volumes:
Thomas Mann, *Briefe*, ed. Erika Mann, 3 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1962-5)

Thomas Mann and Karl Kerényi, *Gespräch in Briefen* (Zürich: Rhein-Verlag, 1960)

Thomas Mann, *Briefe an Ernst Bertram aus den Jahren 1910-1955*, ed. Inge Jens (Pfullingen: Neske, 1960)

Thomas Mann, *Briefe an Otto Grautoff 1894-1901 und Ida Boy-Ed 1903-1928*, ed. Peter de Mendelssohn (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1975)

Thomas Mann, Heinrich Mann, *Briefwechsel 1900-1949*, ed. Hans Wysling (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1984)

Some personal statements are quoted from *Dichter über ihre Dichtungen: Thomas Mann*, ed. Hans Wysling (Munich: Heimeran, 1975-82), abbreviated as *DD*.

Other authors

Unless otherwise stated, Goethe is quoted from Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Werke*, Hamburger Ausgabe, ed. Erich Trunz, 14 vols. (Hamburg: Wegner, 1949–60), abbreviated as G with volume and page number.

Freud is quoted from *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. James Strachey, 24 vols. (London: Hogarth Press, 1953–74), abbreviated as *SE*.

Nietzsche is quoted from Friedrich Nietzsche, *Werke*, ed. Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari, 8 vols. (Berlin and New York, 1972–), abbreviated as *Werke*. References to Nietzsche's works are by abbreviated title, with roman numerals for 'book' and arabic for 'section': e.g. *GM* III, §13. Abbreviations used are:

<i>GM</i>	<i>The Genealogy of Morals</i>
<i>A</i>	<i>The Antichrist</i>
<i>BT</i>	<i>The Birth of Tragedy</i>
<i>CW</i>	<i>The Case of Wagner</i>
<i>D</i>	<i>Daybreak</i>
<i>EH</i>	<i>Ecce Homo</i>
<i>GS</i>	<i>The Gay Science</i> (also known as <i>The Joyful Wisdom</i>)
<i>TI</i>	<i>The Twilight of the Idols</i>
<i>WP</i>	<i>The Will to Power</i>

I

T. J. REED

Mann and history

It is paradoxical that a body of work which begins by being so narrowly preoccupied with problems of the writer's self, and which to the end centres on characters expressing his intimate and unchanged concerns, should also contain so much history. Partly it is a matter of natural growth, the widening range of experience in increasingly turbulent times, which a novelist of all people could hardly ignore; but it also sprang from a remarkable congruence between Thomas Mann's themes and the patterns of twentieth-century German history. His work, with all the traditions, ambitions and temptations that lay behind it, was representative of fundamental German situations and responses before he set out consciously to represent them in fiction. When awareness dawned and representation became deliberate analysis, he was able to represent those phenomena with such depth of insight because he had been so deeply part of them and they of him. We can read him for pleasure, but also for understanding. *Crede experto*: believe the man who has gone through it himself. He can offer, in a word that is central to both Mann's art and his ethics, *Erkenntnis* (a complex concept which embraces knowledge, insight, analysis, understanding). Two of Mann's novels in particular are impressive reports – they are a great deal more than that, but they are that too – on crises of modern history: *The Magic Mountain* of 1924 on pre-1914 Europe and on the conflicts, especially acute in Germany, which were left unresolved by the First World War; and *Doctor Faustus* of 1947 on the long roots of Nazism in German culture and society.

There is already history of a kind in Mann's precocious first masterpiece, the family saga *Buddenbrooks* (1901). The novel preserves in amber the commercial and private lives and attitudes of a German nineteenth-century city state (plainly Lübeck, though only its streets and landmarks are ever mentioned, not its name) and displays them in their full dignity, idiosyncrasy and sometimes tragedy. From the grand scenic opening where the city's merchant class and their professional friends gather for a lavish Buddenbrook house-warming, down through four generations of the family and all their

vicissitudes to a final bleak scene where only spinsters, divorcees and a widow are left, everything Mann narrates and describes is concretely characteristic of its time and place: the place he knew as the scene of his early years, and the times he had heard tell of or could be informed about by his older relatives.

Recording history was not, however, Mann's aim. He drew on the rich materials to hand for quite different purposes. *Buddenbrooks* is a history of decline and rise: the decline of the family's old vitality and outward standing (the 'Verfall' of the subtitle), and the rise (nowhere so precisely labelled) of inward qualities – intellect, artistic sensibility, creative potential. These new and subtler strengths did not necessarily follow from the waning of vitality, but it seemed in some mysterious way to be their cause when they did arise. That, at any rate, was a common perception of the period; in the wake of Darwin and Nietzsche and their popularisers, heredity and decadence were common coin in the cultural debates of the 1890s. Nietzsche gave the terms a deeply ambivalent sense, decrying mankind's loss of healthy primitive instincts, yet at the same time recognising that the human animal only became 'interesting' when 'sick', that is to say, when instinct had been tamed and transformed into spiritual systems, however perverse.¹ So the thesis of decline and its problematic compensation is itself a piece of history that Mann's first novel enshrines. If the idea was not original, it certainly seemed to fit his own case as an artist sprung from an old merchant line. In *Buddenbrooks*, under the narrative's social surface, he was writing the history of his own talent. The novel grew indeed from the idea for a novella wholly devoted to a sensitive latecomer, a last-generation figure. This would not have been very different from other early stories of Mann's about suffering outsiders. They are all set in the present, with no space for more than a gesture towards causal explanation – accident, illness, mixed parentage. The novel form, in contrast, gave Mann room to show how this human type gradually came about. But the family's genetic history inheres in and interacts with social history. Tracing that inner history down through time by subtle hints and touches, the novel also registers external changes as it goes along, not least the hardening of an older commercial tradition into more hard-nosed business practice. These things compose a varied historical reality which is part of the novel's triumph and a large part of its readers' pleasure. This was not, for Thomas Mann, its point. It is symptomatic that as significant an event as Europe's 1848 revolutions is treated in an offhand, if beguilingly humorous way (I, 181–94; Part 4, Chapter 3).

Buddenbrooks remains Mann's one large social canvas. Though his interest in society and the political forces that shape it later became intense, he never again treated social reality head-on on such a scale. That approach

belonged to a nineteenth-century realist tradition he had left behind, having just this once used its means for his own ends. It is ironic that his fullest portrayal of society was achieved, and in masterly fashion, when he was least concerned with it for its own sake.

Elsewhere in Mann's early work up to 1914, society is presented unambiguously as the outsider's antithesis and sometimes his antagonist. Society and its members have something he lacks: an unthinking normality and order, what in *Tonio Kröger* (1903) is called a 'seductive banality' (VIII, 302). For the excluded or self-excluding outsider, the 'joys of ordinariness' (ibid.) become an object of yearning. Mann, like Kröger, idealises its fair-haired, blue-eyed representatives. In another mood he pillories its less ideal embodiments, like Herr Klöterjahn and his alarmingly robust baby son in 'Tristan' (also 1903). Yet whether it is soft-focus idealisation or the sharp outlines of satire, these emblematic figures are ultimately biological rather than social types, animals living out their unimpaired vitality, as the figure of the infant Klöterjahn makes clear. Behind ideal and satire is a single reality; they are the contrasting faces of the life-force. As Mann later half-ruefully said, the leitmotif of blondness in his ideal figures was a harmless remnant of the 'blond beast', the vitality-symbol Nietzsche had set against modern decadence (XI, 110). Nietzschean vitalism is constantly present behind the young Thomas Mann's judgements and self-judgements.

Both the finished works and the unfinished projects of the years between *Buddenbrooks* and the First World War show the same inward-looking focus that scarcely engages the outside world. On the face of it, Mann's second novel, *Royal Highness* (1909), is a romantic comedy in which the prince of a small Ruritanian state saves its fortunes by marrying one. Mann had just consolidated his own fortunes by a good marriage. Private reference does not stop there. The tale's point is the allegorical equation of prince and artist: both are purely 'formal' existences, with no real function in society. Ruritania likewise has no real history. This slight idea is worked out over some 350 pages, a mass that did not prevent critics finding it too light from the author of *Buddenbrooks*. Mann did soon afterwards plan a novel about a prince of quite another calibre, Frederick the Great, which would have offered real historical substance and demanded a quite different treatment, but it came to nothing. The writer's points of contact with the subject were too limited and self-referential: the King's ascetic self-discipline and heroic 'ethos of achievement' (i.e. yet more of the prince-writer parallel), and perhaps the homosexuality common to them both.

A second project that seemed to promise and demand substance was the novel 'Maya', conceived as a tapestry of Munich society, a kind of Bavarian *Buddenbrooks*, though with a more calculated philosophical theme: