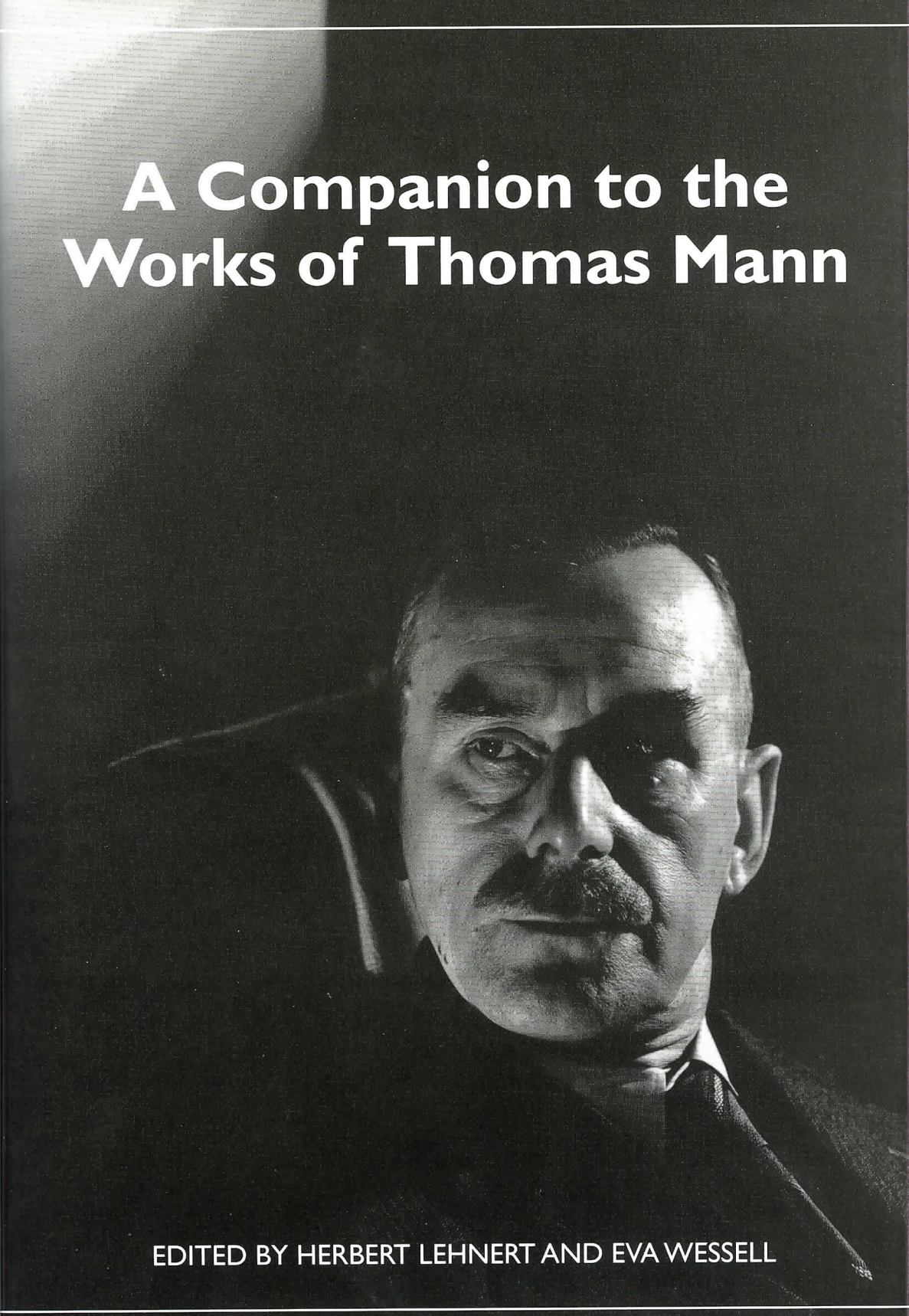
A Companion to the Works of Thomas Mann



EDITED BY HERBERT LEHNERT AND EVA WESSELL

A Companion to the Works of Thomas Mann

Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture

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Contents

Foreword

THE *COMPANION TO THE WORKS OF THOMAS MANN* is meant for readers of Thomas Mann's works who want to become familiar with the present state of scholarly discussion of his texts. We mean to address scholars, teachers, students of German or comparative literature, but we also want to include the many readers of Mann's writings in the English-speaking world who do not read German. For this reason quotations of Mann's texts were paraphrased or translated whenever it was possible without loss of meaning. Often, the German original was provided as well when the flavor of the original text made a quotation in German imperative.

We have chosen the original German texts, not the various English translations, as the basis for our discussion. Thus references are always to the German edition (the thirteen-volume edition of 1960–1974, since the new Frankfurt edition is just beginning to appear). For this reason, the titles of Mann's works are given in their original form and only translated the first time they occur in each essay. Most English renderings of Mann's texts are by the individual contributors. Some contributors have used existing translations if they were close enough to Mann's meaning.

Although we attribute equal importance to Mann's shorter narratives, we wanted to distinguish those clearly from the long novels. Publication records are often confusing. "Der Tod in Venedig," for example, was designated a "Novelle" in its first printings. First published in the journal *Neue Rundschau* in 1911, it appeared in 1912 as a privately printed book (to add to the confusion: the text is a slightly older version than the one in the first printing) and in 1913 as a publicly available book with the revised text of the first printing. In 1922 it was included in a volume called "Novellen" with Mann's approval. Even though the title of this work is often quoted in italics, we decided to treat the work as a novella and place its title in quotation marks. We did the same with all the other shorter narratives, including "Herr und Hund" and "Die vertauschten Köpfe." The latter works appeared first in book form but were subsequently included in collected volumes of stories.

The essays by Manfred Dierks, Werner Frizen, Helmut Koopmann, and Peter Pütz were written in German and translated by the editors; the essay by Hans-Joachim Sandberg was also written in German and translated by Ronald Speirs, University of Birmingham. Several contributors have helped the editors with comments on other contributions, especially Werner Frizen, Jens Rieckmann, and Egon Schwarz. We wish to thank Douglas Milburn for

stylistic help with some translations and the library of the University of California, Irvine, especially its Inter-Library Loan Department, for invaluable help.

H. L.
E. W.

Thomas Mann's Works

SOURCE: POTEMPA, GEORGE. *Thomas Mann Bibliographie. Das Werk.* Morsum, Sylt: Cicero Presse. Vol. 1, 1992; vol. 2, 1997.

All of Mann's novels were published by the Fischer Verlag, originally S. Fischer, Berlin. Because of its exile (1936–1950) the name of the publishing house varies: Bermann-Fischer Verlag: Vienna, 1936–1938; Bermann-Fischer Verlag: Stockholm, 1938–1947; Vienna, Amsterdam, 1947–1950; S. Fischer: Frankfurt am Main since 1950. Mann's American publisher: New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Narratives

"Vision: Prosa-Skizze." Written for and published in Thomas Mann's student paper *Frühlingssturm*, 1893. First public printing 1958. English: "A Vision." *Six Early Stories.* Trans. Peter Constantine. Los Angeles: Sun & Moon Press, 1997.

"Gefallen: Novelle." Written and published 1894. English: "Fallen." *Six Early Stories.* Trans. Peter Constantine. Los Angeles: Sun & Moon Press, 1997.

"Der Wille zum Glück: Novelle." Written 1895, published 1896. English: "The Will to Happiness." Trans. Eric Roman. *Story* 34, 1961. Also trans. Peter Constantine. *Six Early Stories.* Los Angeles: Sun & Moon Press, 1997.

"Der kleine Herr Friedemann: Novelle." Written probably 1894–1896, published 1897. English: "Little Herr Friedemann." *Stories of Three Decades.* Trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter. New York: Knopf, 1936. Also trans. David Luke. *Death in Venice and Other Stories by Thomas Mann.* New York: Bantam Books, 1988.

"Der Tod: Novelle." Written 1896, published 1897. English: "Death." *Six Early Stories.* Trans. Peter Constantine. Los Angeles: Sun & Moon Press, 1997.

"Enttäuschung: Novelle." Written 1895–1896, published 1898. English: "Disillusionment." Trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter. *Stories of Three Decades.* New York: Knopf, 1936.

"Der Bajazzo: Novelle." Written 1895–1897, published 1897. English: "The Dilettante." *Stories of Three Decades.* Trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter. New York: Knopf, 1936. Also trans. David Luke as "The Joker." *Death in Venice and Other Stories by Thomas Mann.* New York: Bantam Books, 1988.

"Luischen: Novelle." Written 1897, published 1900. English: "Little Lizzy." Trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter. *Stories of Three Decades.* New York: Knopf, 1936.

"Tobias Mindernickel: Novelle." Written 1897, published 1898. English: Helen T. Lowe-Porter. *Stories of Three Decades.* New York: Knopf, 1936.

"Der Kleiderschrank: Novelle." Written 1898, published 1899. English: "The Wardrobe." Trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter. *Stories of Three Decades.* New York: Knopf, 1936.

"Gerächt: Novellistische Studie." Written and published 1899. English: "A Revenge." Trans. Edgar Rosenberg. *Esquire,* December 1959. Also trans. Peter Constantine. *Six Early Stories.* Los Angeles: Sun & Moon Press, 1997.

"Der Weg zum Friedhof: Novelle." Written and published 1900. English: "The Way to the Churchyard." Trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter. *Stories of Three Decades.* New York: Knopf, 1936. Also trans. David Luke as "The Road to the Churchyard." *Death in Venice and Other Stories by Thomas Mann.* New York: Bantam Books, 1988.

Buddenbrooks: Verfall einer Familie. Written 1897–1900, published 1901. English: *Buddenbrooks.* Trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter. New York: Knopf, 1924. Also trans. John E. Woods as *Buddenbrooks: The Decline of a Family.* New York: Knopf, 1993.

"Tristan: Novelle." Written 1901, published 1903. Trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter. *Stories of Three Decades.* New York: Knopf, 1936. Also trans. David Luke. *Death in Venice and Other Stories by Thomas Mann.* New York: Bantam Books, 1988.

"Gladius Dei: Novelle." Written 1901, published 1902. Trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter. *Stories of Three Decades.* New York: Knopf, 1936. Also trans. David Luke. *Death in Venice and Other Stories by Thomas Mann.* New York: Bantam Books, 1988.

"Die Hungernden: Studie." Written 1902, published 1903. English: "The Hungry." Trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter. *Stories of Three Decades.* New York: Knopf, 1936.

"Tonio Kröger." Written 1900–1902, published 1903. Trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter. *Stories of Three Decades.* New York: Knopf, 1936. Also

trans. David Luke. *Death in Venice and Other Stories by Thomas Mann*. New York: Bantam Books, 1988.

"Ein Glück: Studie." Written 1903, published 1904. English: "A Gleam." Trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter. *Stories of Three Decades*. New York: Knopf, 1936.

"Das Wunderkind: Novelle." Written and published 1903. English: "The Infant Prodigy." Trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter. *Stories of Three Decades*. New York: Knopf, 1936.

"Beim Propheten: Novelle." Written and published 1904. English: "At the Prophet's." Trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter. *Stories of Three Decades*. New York: Knopf, 1936.

Fiorenza: Drei Akte. Written 1903–1905, published 1905. Trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter. *Stories of Three Decades*. New York: Knopf, 1936.

"Schwere Stunde: Novelle." Written and published 1905. English: "A Weary Hour." Trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter. *Stories of Three Decades*. New York: Knopf, 1936.

"Wälsungenblut: Novelle." Written 1905, private printing in 1921; first public printing in German in 1958. English: "The Blood of the Walsungs." Trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter. *Stories of Three Decades*. New York: Knopf, 1936.

"Anekdote." Written and published 1908. English: "Anecdote." *Six Early Stories*. Trans. Peter Constantine. Los Angeles: Sun & Moon Press, 1997.

"Das Eisenbahnunglück: Novelle." Written 1908, published 1909. English: "Railway Accident." Trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter. *Stories of Three Decades*. New York: Knopf, 1936.

Königliche Hoheit: Roman. Written 1906–1909, published 1909. English: *Royal Highness*. Trans. A. Cecil Curtis. London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1916.

"Wie Jappe und Do Escobar sich prügelten: Novelle." Written 1910, published 1911. English: "The Fight between Jappe and Do Escobar." Trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter. *Stories of Three Decades*. New York: Knopf, 1936.

"Der Tod in Venedig: Novelle." Written 1911–1912, published 1912. As book: *Der Tod in Venedig*, private printing 1912, public printing 1913. English: "Death in Venice." Trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter. *Stories of Three Decades*. New York: Knopf, 1936. Also trans. David Luke. *Death in Venice and Other Stories by Thomas Mann*. New York: Bantam Books,

1988. And by Clayton Koelb. *Death in Venice: A New Translation: Backgrounds and Contexts, Criticism*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1994.

Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen. Written 1915–1918, published 1918. English: *Reflections of a Nonpolitical Man*. Trans. Walter D. Morris. New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1983.

Herr und Hund: Ein Idyll. Written 1918, published as a book, private printing, 1919, public printing 1925. English: "Bashan and I." Trans. Herman George Scheffauer. London: W. Collins Sons and Co., 1923. Also trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter as "A Man and His Dog." *Stories of Three Decades*. New York: Knopf, 1936.

"Gesang vom Kindchen: Ein Idyll." Written 1918–1919, published 1919 (Song of the Newborn, no English translation).

Der Zauberberg: Roman. Written 1913–1924, published 1924. English: *The Magic Mountain*. Trans. Helen Lowe Porter. New York: Knopf, 1927. Also trans. John E. Woods as *The Magic Mountain: A Novel*. New York: Knopf, 1995.

"Unordnung und frühes Leid: Novelle." Written and published 1925. English: "Disorder and Early Sorrow." Trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter. *Stories of Three Decades*. New York: Knopf, 1936.

"Mario und der Zauberer: Ein tragisches Reiseerlebnis." Written 1929, published 1930 (also as book). English: "Mario and the Magician." Trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter. *Stories of Three Decades*. New York: Knopf, 1936.

Joseph und seine Brüder: Roman. Written 1926–1943, published in 1933–1943 as individual novels: *Die Geschichten Jaakobs* (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1933); *Der junge Joseph* (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1934); *Joseph in Ägypten* (Vienna: Bermann-Fischer, 1936); *Joseph der Ernährer*. (Stockholm: Bermann-Fischer, 1943). English (all trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter): *Joseph and His Brothers* (contains only *Die Geschichten Jaakobs*) (New York: Knopf, 1934); *Young Joseph: Joseph and His Brothers II* (New York: Knopf 1935); *Joseph in Egypt: Joseph and His Brothers III* (New York: Knopf, 1938); *Joseph the Provider: Joseph and His Brothers IV* (New York: Knopf, 1944).

Lotte in Weimar: Roman. Written 1936–1939, published Stockholm: Bermann-Fischer 1939. English: *The Beloved Returns: Lotte in Weimar*. Trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter. New York: Knopf, 1940; as *Lotte in Weimar: The Beloved Returns*. Trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter. Berkeley: U of California P, 1990.

Die vertauschten Köpfe: Eine indische Legende. Written and published as a book in 1940. English: *The Transposed Heads: A Legend of India*. Trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter. New York: Knopf, 1941; *Stories of a Lifetime*. 2 vols. London: Secker & Warburg, 1961.

Das Gesetz: Erzählung. First printings as a book in German: Los Angeles: Pazifische Presse 1944; Stockholm: Bermann-Fischer, 1944. English: "Thou Shalt Have No Other Gods Before Me." Trans. Georg R. Marek. *The Ten Commandments*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1943. Also trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter. *Stories of a Lifetime*. 2 vols. London: Secker & Warburg, 1961.

Doktor Faustus: Das Leben des deutschen Tonsetzers Adrian Leverkühn, erzählt von einem Freunde. Written 1943–1947, published Stockholm: Bermann-Fischer, 1947 (first licensed edition published inside Germany: Berlin: Suhrkamp, 1948). English: *Doctor Faustus: The Life of the German Composer Adrian Leverkühn as Told by a Friend*. Trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter. New York: Knopf 1948. Also trans. John E. Woods as *Doctor Faustus*. New York: Random House, 1997.

Die Entstehung des Doktor Faustus: Roman eines Romans. Written 1948, published 1949. English: *The Story of a Novel: The Genesis of Doctor Faustus*. Trans. Richard and Clara Winston. London: Secker & Warburg, 1961.

Der Erwählte: Roman. Written 1948–1950, published 1951. English: *The Holy Sinner*. Trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter. New York: Knopf, 1951; reprint U of California P, 1992.

"Die Betrogene: Erzählung." Written 1952–1953, published 1953. English: "The Black Swan." Trans. Willard R. Trask. New York: Knopf, 1954. Also trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter. *Stories of a Lifetime*. 2 vols. London: Secker & Warburg, 1961.

Bekenntnisse des Hochstaplers Felix Krull: Der Memoiren erster Teil. Written 1910–1954, published 1954. Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer; earlier partial printings: Vienna: Rikola, 1922; Amsterdam: Querido 1937. English: *Confessions of Felix Krull, Confidence Man: The Early Years*. Trans. Denver Lindley. New York: Knopf, 1955.

Selected Essay Collections in German

(All published by Fischer Verlag or Bermann-Fischer.)

Rede und Antwort: Gesammelte Abhandlungen und kleine Aufsätze, 1922.

Bemühungen: Neue Folge der Gesammelten Abhandlungen und kleinen Aufsätze, 1925.

Die Forderung des Tages: Reden und Aufsätze aus den Jahren 1925–1929, 1930.

Leiden und Größe der Meister: Neue Aufsätze, 1935.

Achtung Europa! Aufsätze zur Zeit, 1938.

Deutsche Hörer! 55 Radiosendungen nach Deutschland, 1945.

Adel des Geistes: Sechzehn Versuche zum Problem der Humanität, 1945.

Neue Studien, 1948.

Altes und Neues, 1953.

Nachlese, 1956.

Selected Essay Collections in English

(American Editions)

Three Essays. Trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter. New York: Knopf, 1929.

Past Masters and Other Papers. Trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter. New York: Knopf, 1933.

Freud, Goethe, Wagner. Trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter. New York: Knopf, 1937.

This Peace. Trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter. New York: Knopf, 1938.

Order of the Day: Political Essays and Speeches of Two Decades. Trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter, Agnes Meyer, and Eric Sutton. New York: Knopf, 1942.

Listen Germany! Twenty-Five Radio Messages to the German People over BBC. Trans. Konrad Katzenellenbogen [Konrad Kellen]. New York: Knopf, 1943.

Essays of Three Decades. Trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter. New York: Knopf, 1947.

Last Essays. Trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter, 1959.

Thomas Mann's Addresses: Delivered at the Library of Congress 1942–1949. Washington: Library of Congress, 1963.

Diaries

Tagebücher. All Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer. Edited by Peter de Mendelssohn: *1918–1921* (1979), *1933–1934* (1977), *1935–1936* (1978), *1937–1939* (1980), *1940–1943.* Edited by Inge Jens: *1944–1946* (1986), *1946–1948* (1989), *1949–1950* (1991), *1951–1952* (1993), *1953–1955* (1995). Only a partial selection of the diaries is available in English: *Diaries 1918–1939.* Trans. Richard and Clara Winston. New York: H. N. Abrams, 1982.

Collected Works

The Fischer Verlag published several editions of collected works, which were available as single volumes beginning in 1922, and then again in Stockholm and Frankfurt in 1939–1986.

The edition used in this volume is:

Gesammelte Werke in dreizehn Bänden. Hrsg. Hans Bürgin and Peter de Mendelssohn. Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1974, 1990.

A new edition has been in the process of being published since 2001:

Große kommentierte Frankfurter Ausgabe. Werke — Briefe — Tagebücher. Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer. It will contain all fictional and essayistic works, a selection of letters, and eventually a new edition of the diaries.

Abbreviations

Works by Thomas Mann:

Br. 1–3	Mann, Thomas. *Briefe 1889–1936.* Ed. Erika Mann. Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1961.
DüD 1–3	*Dichter über ihre Dichtungen: Thomas Mann.* 3 vols. Ed. Hans Wysling and Marianne Fischer. Munich: Heimeran; Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1975–81.
Essays 1–6	Mann, Thomas. *Essays,* 6 vols. Ed. Hermann Kurzke and Stephan Stachorski. Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1993–97.
GKFA	Mann, Thomas. *Große kommentierte Frankfurter Ausgabe. Werke — Briefe — Tagebücher.* Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 2001– (in progress).
GW 1–13	Mann, Thomas. *Gesammelte Werke in dreizehn Bänden.* Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1974, 1990. [Original: *Gesammelte Werke in zwölf Bänden.* Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1960].
Nb 1; *Nb* 2	Mann, Thomas. *Notizbücher 1–6, 7–14.* Ed. Hans Wysling and Ivonne Schmidlin. Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1991–92.
Tb	Mann, Thomas. *Tagebücher 1918–21, 1933–55.* 10 vols. Ed. Peter de Mendelssohn and Inge Jens. Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1979–95.
TM/AM	*Thomas Mann-Agnes E. Meyer: Briefwechsel 1937–1955.* Ed. Hans Rudolf Vaget. Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1992.
TM/HM	*Thomas Mann-Heinrich Mann Briefwechsel 1900–1949.* Ed. Hans Wysling. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuchverlag, 1995.
TM/OG	Mann, Thomas. *Briefe an Otto Grautoff 1894–1901 und Ida Boy-Ed* 1903–1928. Ed. Peter de Mendelssohn. Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1975

TMJb 1–15 *Thomas Mann Jahrbuch*. Ed. Eckhard Heftrich, Hans Wysling, Thomas Sprecher, and Ruprecht Wimmer. Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1988–2002.

TMS 1–26 *Thomas-Mann-Studien*. Vol. 1–26. Ed. Thomas Mann Archiv der ETH. Bern: Francke (vol. 1–8); Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann (vol. 9–26).

Works by Friedrich Nietzsche

KSA 1–15 Nietzsche, Friedrich. *Kritische Studienausgabe*. Ed. Giorgio Colli and Mazzini Montinari. 15 vols. Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuchverlag, 1988.

Introduction

Herbert Lehnert

THOMAS MANN'S FIRST NOVEL, *Buddenbrooks,* was published in 1901,[1] and his fame began with its second edition in 1903. Not yet thirty, he found himself a success. Before this recognition he had published vivid stories about odd characters who did not fit into ordinary society. These stories were experiments with the lives of outsiders distanced from society, from a society in which God was dead, and the proper meaning of love and death had to be re-discovered. In the novels outsiders relate to normal people. In *Buddenbrooks* we are shown how the distance from bourgeois society might develop. The connection between the viewpoints of outsiders and those of writers is explicit in the novellas "Tristan," "Tonio Kröger" (both 1903), and "Der Tod in Venedig" (Death in Venice, 1912). Characters living in tension with their society are found in "Wälsungenblut" (Blood of the Walsungs, written in 1905), *Joseph und seine Brüder* (Joseph and His Brothers, 1933–43), *Lotte in Weimar* (1939), and *Doktor Faustus* (1947).

For Mann, society is held together by love and power, and the extraordinary individual has to reckon with both. The unstable relationship between the extraordinary individual and love, power, and society stands at the center of all of Mann's works. Another major theme, in the absence of a binding religion, is the fascination with death. In the Buddenbrook family the acquisition of wealth — that is, power — is favored over sexual love. In *Königliche Hoheit* (Royal Highness, 1909) an outsider's distance is healed by love. In *Der Zauberberg* (The Magic Mountain, 1924) a young middle-class man is thrown out of his normalcy by illicit love and curiosity about death. In "Die vertauschten Köpfe" (The Transposed Heads, 1940) a gifted Brahman and an ordinary person are friends, until sexual desire for a pretty but ordinary girl separates them, with inordinate consequences. Gregorius, the protagonist of *Der Erwählte* (The Holy Sinner, 1951) is what the German title says, "The chosen one." Like all other outsiders in Mann's work, Gregorius clashes with the normal world through sexuality. The medieval model serves Mann to play with the social disapproval, the "sinfulness," of extraordinariness. But this play with sin and human superiority is undertaken with a parodistic veneration for humane religion. The first person narrator in *Bekenntnisse des Hochstaplers Felix Krull* (Confessions of Felix Krull, Confi-

dence Man, 1954) considers himself a chosen person, and this is playfully balanced with his fraudulent existence. Rosalie von Tümmler in "Die Betrogene" (literally, The Betrayed One, translated as *The Black Swan,* 1953) ends her ordinary life with illicit desire, and her stepping out of bounds lets her be reconciled with death. Mann's readers experience individuals who wrestle with a world filled with rules that bind, a world with an appearance of stability that is constantly questioned. Even though Mann's texts are situated in the past, this past is not depicted nostalgically — it is a society as unstable as ours.

Two of Mann's earliest stories, "Der Wille zum Glück" (The Will to Happiness, 1896) and "Enttäuschung" (Disillusionment, 1898) carry implied references to Friedrich Nietzsche; both also are concerned with sexual tension. Clear traces of Nietzsche's philosophy are noticeable in an essay the eighteen-year-old Mann wrote for a student paper. In all these early literary activities he competed with his older brother, Heinrich, who had rebelled against their father by refusing to take over the family firm. Heinrich had left home and, as a book dealer's apprentice, had engaged in intensive self-study for a literary career. Thomas, four years younger than Heinrich, showed no inclination to fill in for his brother. He resisted by performing poorly at school and soon followed his brother in reading Schopenhauer and Nietzsche. He also wrote poetry in the style of Heinrich Heine and prose in the manner of the Austrian Hermann Bahr (1863–1934), the prophet of literary modernism.

Thomas and Heinrich Mann belonged to a generation of young writers who questioned the values of a staid and inflexible bourgeois order in the face of rapid social change. One such change was Darwinism, which shattered the belief in God the creator of a stable world. Nietzsche had attacked the veracity of traditional worldviews. God was not only dead, he proclaimed; we all had killed him.[2] Since the old slave-morality was based on the idea of sinning against a God who had now vanished, Nietzsche demanded the creation of a new morality.

The young writers who formed a new phase of German literature, Hauptmann, Schnitzler, George, Hofmannsthal, Heinrich and Thomas Mann, entered the German literary scene in the last decade of the nineteenth century. The reading of Nietzsche had sanctioned their rebellion against the bourgeois family tradition and its patriarchal morality. Thomas Mann's *Buddenbrooks* questions, even condemns, the ambience created by such a tradition. However, the narrator tells the story in a way that lovingly evokes sympathy for the family in his reader. The family's bourgeois ambition self-destructs, but the novel does not attack the bourgeois social system itself. *Buddenbrooks* is not an anti-bourgeois propaganda piece. And yet, the reader is made uneasy about the values and standards the novel portrays. The scholarship dedicated to Thomas Mann's fiction has learned to penetrate the seemingly conservative surface of Mann's works. Mann's language is filtered

through a narrator who, while sharing the world of his readers, also remains distant from it. He thereby unobtrusively questions the foundation of the language he employs, and therefore also the foundation of his readers' world. Mann called this distanced position of the narrator irony; it is an ambivalent form of irony, not the usual brand with its mere opposite signifiers but rather one that allows for multiple meanings.

Mann appreciated Nietzsche's "psychological" criticism of the contemporary world, which exposed a bankrupt moral order, and he accepted Nietzsche's high valuation of creativity, intellectual insight, and affirmation of self. But he desired even more to become a successful writer, and that meant addressing his readers on their own terms. Mann's language is thus rarely provocative but seemingly realistic; as such it was appropriate for addressing the conservative public of the time. The provocative avant-garde Expressionist writers who came to dominate the literary scene in Germany since 1910 often found this objectionable, and critics from both the Right and the Left tended to misjudge Mann's work, finding it dated. They declared it inadequate because it did not provide utopian visions of social change such as the dominant ideologies of the twentieth century, fascism and Leninist socialism.

Thomas Mann was affected by the humanist dimension of these ideologies: cultural elitism on the Right, humane all-sympathy on the Left. He was even more affected by the void that had been left behind when the Christian religion ceased to serve as a general framework of values in Western society. *Der Zauberberg* plays with this empty space by placing Nietzsche's idea of God's death into the soul of a simple young man, Hans Castorp, in whom it turns into a fascination with death. Mann has his character explore and play with various ideologies, all of which cancel each other out in the end. *Der Zauberberg* reflects Mann's desire to keep his imagination free of all intellectual commitments in order to protect his work (more than his person) from the ideologies that so strongly influenced the thoughts and imagination of his contemporaries.

The outsider theme in Mann's fiction was generated by both the literary fashion of his time and by a very personal trait. The literary fashion was decadence, a perception of weakness of the will or the nerves, medically called neurasthenia. Neurasthenia was believed to be an actual physical condition but also a reaction to the increasing complexity of modern life. The other, more personal characteristic, which nurtured Mann's exploration of the outsider theme and with it the contradictory structure of all his work, was his own sexuality: he was bisexual with a dominant homoerotic trait. I use the word "homoerotic" rather than "homosexual" because Thomas Mann, in all likelihood, never consummated any of his homoerotic relationships.[3]

Decadence was seen as a positive, even desirable, expression of modernity by artists such as Oscar Wilde. As such, it functioned as a welcome

opposition to the restrictive morality of the middle class, and was a condition reserved for creative artists or dilettantes who wanted to be different. Nietzsche saw decadence only in negative terms. In *Der Fall Wagner* (The Case of Wagner, 1888) he offered a definition of the decadent style in regard to the modernist music of Richard Wagner: decadence meant "life" had gone out of all cultural forms and creations, "so that life no longer lived in the whole" (dass das Leben nicht mehr im Ganzen wohnt).[4] Nietzsche took this formula from the fashionable French writer Paul Bourget (1852–1935) who by "the whole" meant the closed worldview of his Catholic faith. Bourget recommended a return to the church, but Nietzsche and Thomas Mann had no such designs. The "whole" for Nietzsche may have been "life," nature, or the universe, but here he was merely concerned with denying the value of Wagner's music, a value that, he claimed, lay only in details that never condensed into a meaningful aggregate.[5] Wagner's music represented modernity, which itself must be defined as decadent. Because God no longer anchored the modern world, nor lent it a sense of wholeness, and since modern science offered no substitute, there was no longer any "wholeness" to be found.

Nietzsche's tragic vision was indebted to Arthur Schopenhauer, one of his mentors. Mann had also read Schopenhauer and taken in his pessimistic worldview. A godless world, Schopenhauer taught, was dominated by the "Will," a force present in all beings that were compelled to fight for their existence. Thus the world was a chaotic struggle of everything against everything, and human society was held together only tenuously by the power of the state. Only pity with the subjects of this ill-designed world, and art, the artificial world transcending the chaotic Will, could give some sense to life. This godless, skeptical worldview, even its metaphysical aspect, which allowed for a vision of the world as a "whole" with hints of unknown forces outside of human rationality, made a lasting impression on Mann. This can be seen in some of the major characters in his fiction: Thomas Buddenbrook reads a chapter by Schopenhauer, and in presenting Hans Castorp's resistance toward Settembrini's optimistic rationality in *Der Zauberberg,* Mann was guided by the views of the pessimist. The many affinities of Mann's fiction with the writings of Carl Gustav Jung (1875–1961), which have occupied some Thomas Mann scholars, turned out to have been caused by Schopenhauer's laying a common ground for both.[6]

Rejecting Schopenhauer's denigration of life, Nietzsche transposed Schopenhauer's irrational Will into the "Will to Power," a will to take charge of one's own world. Nietzsche dreamt of an elite group of superior human beings, *Übermenschen,* who would exert power over the dependent masses and give directions through a new morality. Nietzsche's "psychology" meant to tear the existing falsehoods of a loveless world apart in favor of a future

dominated by free, creative men, capable of a tragic view of the world and of human existence.

Mann did not care for Nietzsche's dream of strong men.[7] But, he was nevertheless attracted by Nietzsche's sharp criticism of society and his dream of a creative renewal beyond the decadence of the present. He realized that Nietzsche's judgment stemmed from a personal condition similar to his own: Nietzsche never experienced fulfilled sexual love, and Mann did not expect to satisfy his own homoerotic desire. Both compensated their want by writing. Mann admired Nietzsche's greatness, not in the least because he knew its origin so intimately. Even when Mann felt forced to reconsider Nietzsche's influence in his essay "Nietzsche's Philosophie im Lichte unserer Erfahrung" (Nietzsche's Philosophy in the Light of Our Experience, 1947), he pointed out Nietzsche's "errors" but left no doubt about his greatness.

One of Mann's early plans — he jotted down the first existing notes for it in one of his notebooks during the writing of *Buddenbrooks*[8] — was to write about the Italian reformer and martyr Girolamo Savonarola (1452–98). This came to fruition in 1905 with the drama *Fiorenza,* the two protagonists of which confront two examples of Nietzsche's dream world: Lorenzo de Medici, a strong Renaissance man whose affinity to Nietzsche is indicated in the text by once being called "Dionysos,"[9] and the Prior, Savonarola, who prevails through a different form of the Will to Power. Lorenzo is a powerful and ruthless Renaissance ruler who is dying and expresses fear of his imminent death, while the Prior is modeled after the powerful ascetic priest in section fifteen of Nietzsche's essay "Was bedeuten asketische Ideale?" (What do Ascetic Ideals Mean?).[10] The Prior's last words in the play are "I love fire," an allusion both to Savonarola's burning of artworks during his future rule of Florence and to his eventual execution. Both forms of the "Will to Power" end in death.

After *Buddenbrooks* was completed Mann planned a society novel to be titled "Maja," for which extensive notes exist. Some of these notes bear the alternate title "Die Geliebten" (The Beloved). The character Albrecht in these notes resembles Mann's brother Heinrich, with whom he was competing for domination of the German literary scene. Albrecht belies the Nietzschean cult of Life, beauty, instinct, and strength, exhibiting the neurasthenia that Heinrich attributed to himself.[11] Another of Thomas's fictionalized portraits of Heinrich, again with the name of Albrecht, is the reigning grand duke in *Königliche Hoheit,* whose "vornehm" (distinguished) aloofness is caused by his neurasthenia rather than based on strength. The condition almost causes him to abdicate in favor of his younger brother; even the word abdication itself appears in the text (*GW* 2, 156). A poet appearing in the same novel, suggesting Heinrich, is a false Nietzschean: he exhibits strength only on paper. The fictional portrayal of the competition between the younger brother and the elder shows the potential for viciousness that

would eventually spill over into real life. Book reviews by Thomas contained deprecatory allusions to Heinrich's writings, without naming them or him.

The sibling rivalry between Heinrich and Thomas Mann was aggravated by Heinrich's heterosexuality. While Thomas in his writings camouflaged his desires as well as the need to suppress them (for example in making little Herr Friedemann a cripple), Heinrich could fantasize openly about his. Writing, in Thomas's opinion, should not be easy. He expected his brother to transform his desires differently but with no less effort. When Thomas read Heinrich's trilogy *Die Göttinnen* (The Goddesses) and his social novel *Die Jagd nach Liebe* (The Hunt for Love), both published in 1903, he found them hastily written, deficient in content and style. Heinrich, his brother felt, had ceased to be the model of a distinctive writer that he once had been; he had begun to write down to his readers, stimulating their lasciviousness. This went against Nietzsche's writings, which had deeply affected both brothers. Nietzsche had written for a new creative aristocracy that was to break the old social conventions and push aside the old morality, not in favor of licentiousness but to create a new humanity of a higher order. Writing down to one's audience meant serving primitive instincts. Thomas's opinion is contained in his letter to Heinrich of 5 December 1903. In order to guard against the possibility that Heinrich would dismiss his criticism as plain old-fashioned moralism, Thomas specifically refers to Nietzsche's ideas of a new morality. It is clear that he wanted to be understood in Nietzsche's terms.

Heinrich's *Die Jagd nach Liebe* was a society novel dealing with frustrated love, and set in Munich, as Thomas's "Maja" was planned to have been. The main theme of "Maja" was the frustrated love of a woman protagonist for a flirtatious young man. For his novelistic plans Mann used notations of his relationship with a male friend, the painter Paul Ehrenberg. Thomas's text, if he had developed it beyond mere notes, would have been quite different. Still, the publication of Heinrich's novel was most likely one reason for the shelving of "Maja." Another reason was Thomas's marriage, which for a while meant the end of his frustrated homoerotic desires.

Much happened in Thomas Mann's life during the years between the publication of *Buddenbrooks* late in 1900 (with the date of 1901) and his marriage in February of 1905: a frustrating homoerotic friendship with Paul Ehrenberg, a temporary love relationship with a young English woman in Florence, and, since the fall of 1903, the courting of Katia Pringsheim. Besides making plans for the society novel "Maja" and for the Savonarola drama *Fiorenza,* Mann produced two novellas during that time which present the outsider theme in contrast: "Tristan," in which art means death, and "Tonio Kröger," in which a writer, though bitterly complaining about his alienated existence, finds his life's task in putting his love for the common people, the non-artists, the insiders, into his writing. "Tonio Kröger" assigns literature the mission of introducing love into the miserable Schopenhauerian world.

The writer from his distant outsider point of view looks into the center of the world ("das Innere der Welt"), Schopenhauer's "Will," and sees comedy and misery ("Komik und Elend," *GW* 8, 290). But in the end he promises to apply love when bringing into form what he has seen (*GW* 8, 338). "Tristan" and "Tonio Kröger" were probably written side by side. They were both published in 1903. *Fiorenza* was written from mid 1903 to January 1905.

Mann's marriage in February of 1905 ended his outsider existence, but his idea of proper modern writing still required the distance from society that an outsider position afforded. Only from a distant vantage point could modern society, with its constant changes, be adequately observed. Mann even felt that he had to justify his marriage, asserting in a letter to his brother of 23 December 1904 that it would not impede his writing. He assured Heinrich, who could still serve him as his artistic conscience, that he was not simply craving happiness ("Glück") but meeting life ("Leben"). "Leben" was a key word in Nietzsche's philosophy contrasting flexible, chaotic life with fixed morality and set conventions, condemning the latter. But Mann assigns his own meaning to the word "Leben." Nietzsche would not have considered the social reality of family life inspiration for creativity. Thomas's apology to Heinrich means that he, like Heinrich, recognized Nietzsche's distance from bourgeois society obligatory for the modern artist. In his innermost self Thomas Mann knew that his art was a translation of his outsider position, induced by his sexual otherness. He played with the danger of losing his creativity together with his outsider position in plans for subsidiary plots for "Maja" or new novellas. Several of his notes for such future works written in the fall of 1904 are concerned with a writer who degenerates because of the fame he has attained. In one, written about the time when Mann was courting Katia, an artist, sick with syphilis, courts a pure sweet girl and shoots himself shortly before the wedding.[12] Syphilis stands for the impurity of the outsider; it was also Nietzsche's illness. Another note, written probably in the spring of 1905, after the marriage, tells us that the idea began to fascinate Mann; the syphilitic writer, after having approached the pure sweet girl, has made a pact with the devil; the syphilitic poison in his blood acts as stimulus and inspiration. He creates great works, but in the end the devil takes him by means of syphilitic paralysis.[13]

In 1905, during the first year of his marriage, Mann wrote the novella "Wälsungenblut" (Blood of the Walsungs, privately printed 1921, first publication 1958), another variation on the outsider problem. On protestation of his father-in-law Mann withdrew the work after it had been printed.

The novel *Königliche Hoheit* was in progress since 1906 and was published in 1909; Mann's earliest notebook entries concerning it are from 1903. This story of a prince, protected from crude reality, occupied with merely ceremonial duties, was originally planned as another outsider story, symbolizing the "formal" existence of the writer. Mann had the prince shake

off his outsider status by falling in love and earning the respect of his future wife, a commoner and a rich heiress. He looks forward to an "austere happiness" (strenges Glück) with his bride (*GW* 2, 363). "Austere happiness" also describes the fulfillment the novel's author could find in a relationship that excluded his dominant sexual desire.

Thomas Mann found security in his family, living with a wife of high intelligence who nevertheless devoted herself entirely to the service of her husband's career and to the psychic well-being of their six children. But the austere happiness remained brittle. This intimate conflict in Mann was the driving force behind his greatest novella, "Der Tod in Venedig." On a trip to Venice in 1911 Mann was accompanied by his wife Katia and his brother Heinrich. Katia represented Mann's new socially adjusted role and Heinrich the stimulus for his ambition as writer. On the beach of the Lido of Venice Mann fell voyeuristically in love with a boy but left soon with his company. In the novella this experience is transferred to the writer Gustav von Aschenbach and imaginatively amplified. Aschenbach goes to Venice to escape a bout of writer's block. A dignified traveler, he arrives in Venice alone. He has achieved fame by an extraordinary discipline and commands national authority. He has even been honored with the rank of nobility, and his books have become required readings in public schools. Even though Aschenbach never touches or speaks to the boy with whom he falls in love, he loses his bearings and his sense of dignity by allowing his desire to take control of him. His death, seeing the beloved boy as Hermes, leader of the dead, beckoning him before the empty horizon of the sea, destroys as well as fulfills his life. Succumbing to the cholera ironically preserves his dignity before the world. In a way "Der Tod in Venedig" answers Mann's fears of losing his creative powers by adjusting to social normalcy contained in the plans for novellas jotted down in 1904. This answer became a tightly woven text that contained his fears by transforming them. Aschenbach's public authority cannot satisfy his innermost emotional needs. These needs are anarchic and defy discipline but can be transformed into the imaginative artistic construct. While the text narrated a breakdown of discipline, it confirmed Mann's self-control. Creativity requires a well-maintained inner distance from the world; it cannot be absorbed in serving society. "Der Tod in Venedig" both praises and condemns Mann's decision to suppress his dominant sexual desire in order to establish a conventional bourgeois facade for achieving fame and authority. It contradicts Nietzsche's vision of man employing his creativity to attain a higher state of being. The work also was an early answer to Heinrich Mann's call to use the writer's authority for a political agenda: propagandizing for the democratization of Germany.

From about 1904 on, Heinrich Mann had engaged himself in efforts to bring about liberal democracy in Germany. Heinrich's manifesto "Geist und Tat" (Intellect and Action, 1911) exhorted German writers of high literature

to further democratic developments in Germany and polemicize against the traditional complacency of the German bourgeoisie. Reactionary forces should no longer be allowed to remain in power. Heinrich characterized German authors writing on unpolitical subjects as apostatizing literati. He meant this label to fit his brother. Thomas did not react; at least there is no record of him having done so. (He burned his diaries from that period in 1945.)

For the time being, the personal relations of the brothers remained intact, sometimes even cordial. Heinrich answered Thomas's aggressive letter of December 1903 defensively but with dignity.[14] He defended his brother against a poor review of *Fiorenza* in 1906. But his review of "Der Tod in Venedig" reads like a prose poem about the need for the abdication of the authority of the genius in a decadent environment. It begins, ominously, with a discussion of Zola's novelistic history of the empire of Napoleon the Third. The review can be read as Heinrich's praise for the artistic achievement of his brother's novella, but also as a demand that Thomas reject the German "Kaiserreich."[15]

Heinrich had understood that "Der Tod in Venedig" contained an answer to his essay "Geist und Tat." In Thomas's text the government has given a social role to the eminent artist Gustav von Aschenbach, whom Heinrich, in his review, refers to as the "genius." Aschenbach's writings are standard readings in the public schools, but their value as described in Thomas's text is moralistic, not political, and Aschenbach even loses his moral superiority.

In his essay "Zola" (1915), which was to cause the most severe break between the brothers, Heinrich used the word *Nationaldichter* for writers who supported the German war effort in 1914. He aimed at the ambition of his brother, his desire to become *the* writer of national prominence. Considering the goals that Thomas Mann pursued from 1909 to 1914 — a novel on Frederick the Second of Prussia and an essay judging the contemporary literary scene from a superior point of view — one would have to agree that the mantle of *Nationaldichter* indeed was his aim (as it was Heinrich's). The novel on Frederick of Prussia was to have shown Frederick's superiority, which was based on his intelligence and his human weaknesses as well. But the project did not materialize; instead, Mann turned to the depiction of a false superiority. *Bekenntnisse des Hochstaplers Felix Krull* is a narrative about a confidence man of questionable bourgeois origin whose success is the result of his ability to act as a nobleman. The beginnings of the text contain parodic allusions to Goethe's autobiography *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (Poetry and Truth, 1811–14). *Krull* plays with the authority of Goethe's genius and, at the same time, with the deceptiveness of art. Nietzsche had given art both a positive and a negative value: art was good because it deceived, as life itself did; but art was problematic because it never was what it pretended to be.

The memoirs of the confidence man, narrated in the first person, soon assumed novel size. The bourgeois standard of value that Krull displays is

belied by the sexual instruction he receives from the prostitute Rozsa. Her teaching is to prepare him for later sexual exploits. Mann abandoned the novel at this point, in 1913, in order to write *Der Zauberberg*. In the continuation of the novel about the confidence man, written late in Mann's life, Krull's heterosexual adventures paradoxically convey homosexual desires. As in the "Maja" notes, Mann has a woman, Madame Houpflé, express her author's desire for adolescent boys (*GW* 7, 445). In another passage, he has Krull evoke the desire of a Scottish Lord who resembles the author, only thinly disguised. Krull's superiority and noblesse are false. The playfulness of Mann's representation of Krull's falsehood can be read both as a making fun of Nietzsche's attempt to achieve a new form of nobility and as a criticism of the social and moral orientation of the bourgeois world before the First World War.

Besides the Frederick novel, another unfinished work that betrays Mann's aim to become *Nationaldichter* is the plan of an essay on literature under the title "Geist und Kunst" (Intellect and Art). This title is also found among the fictional works of Gustav von Aschenbach in "Der Tod in Venedig." "Geist und Kunst" was intended to discuss the question of how deceptive art can be serious business. Nietzsche's *Der Fall Wagner* and his psychology of demasking remain the models for Mann's argumentation. Establishing the value of playing with contrasts and contradictions rather than overwhelming the reader with unambiguous rhetorical persuasion seems to have been the essay's goal. One of the notes lists a series of contrasts, among them those of intellect and nature, intellect and art, and naive and sentimental. The last and most challenging one is "Plastik und Kritik" (plasticity and criticism). "Plastik" meant full-bodied, fictional writing, persuading the reader by creating concrete images in his mind, while "Kritik" meant writing from an intellectual distance, analyzing the common world and its general assumptions, while using Nietzsche's psychology of demasking as a model.[16] To demonstrate the tension between these two contrasting literary modes in his writing had always been Mann's hidden goal. Such literature could rise above mere entertainment while not losing readers by boring them with abstractions. Wagner's music, which aimed for effect, always served Mann as the model for his own way of writing, but one of which he remained somewhat suspicious; much as Wagner's, his work might be read as catering to the sympathies of his readers. But Nietzsche's demasking psychology allowed him to address his audience's intellect as well, making the intellectual aspect of his writing as challenging as Nietzsche's and its artfulness as effective as Wagner's. The plan for the essay on "Geist und Kunst" was never executed, most probably because Mann wanted to draw in and judge too many contemporary phenomena. Among them were the fashion of art for art's sake and the "Lebensphilosophie" that Nietzsche's followers pursued after his death. With the "Geist und Kunst" essay Mann

had the intention of instructing, but the modernism that was taking hold at the time resisted such directives.

Work on the novel *Der Zauberberg* began in 1913. Mann claimed that the plan was originally a parody of "Der Tod in Venedig." His protagonist was to be a simple young German rather than an artist. But the figure of Hans Castorp, cast out of his ordinary life, soon began to fascinate his author. Castorp's magic mountain, a sanatorium, became a symbol of European decadence, and Hans Castorp's very German resistance to the rhetoric of an Italian liberal became a kind of answer to the unanswerable question, "What is German?" Here there was potential for the great national novel, to be read by the readers of "higher" German literature, the educated class or *Bildungsbürger,* the core of which were the higher civil servants. The brothers Mann fought one another for their attention. Heinrich wanted those *Bildungsbürger* to become political and to take power away from established authority; literature was to be the instrument of political change. Thomas, by contrast, was satisfied with the existing order, since it offered sufficient freedom for a writer. He was convinced that political involvement would reduce the writer's "ironic" distance and his freedom to assume any or all positions.

Who were the *Bildungsbürger,* the readers of "high" German literature? Middle-level civil servants with modest incomes formed the core of the class, and they were less affected than the richer classes by a capitalist ideology that considered wealth the standard of value. These people also had little interest in progressive social ideologies aimed at changing the governmental system of which they were part. But they also had come in contact, during their university educations, with criticism of the then-current values of society, and this served to balance their political conservatism. As civil servants they believed in government under the law. Such readers appreciated texts that played with contrasting worldviews rather than presenting defined and specific utopias. They enjoyed novels that invited them to understand not only the ordinary member of the middle class but also the outsider, and to value both on their own terms.

The *Bildungsbürger* measured their value by their ability to participate in culture, and culture included high literature, a literature not produced to meet average tastes. They considered themselves a separate class by virtue of their university degrees and titles. Although it was not easy for a person of the lower classes to gain access to a university, the path was not closed in principle. Thomas Mann himself advocated free access to higher education even in his essay *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen* (Reflections of a Nonpolitical Mann, 1918), his defense of a specific German culture free of politics. He located the idea of freedom exclusively in the mind of the individual, maintaining that political movements tended to stimulate envy and greediness (*GW* 12, 259).

If Mann's works were written for the *Bildungsbürger,* a class that no longer exists in its original fashion, why should we read him? Did German *Bildungsbürger* not fail dismally in protecting their culture from National Socialist barbarism? And is the historically conditioned inclination of the *Bildungsbürger* to lean on authority not responsible for their tolerating a totalitarian regime? And did Mann not write specifically for those more conservative, authoritarian *Bildungsbürger*? It is true that Mann's fictional worlds give the appearance of stability: while the Buddenbrook family declines, the Hagenströms rise; while Hans Castorp is surrounded by the sick and dying, an orderly world exists below his mountain. But even in these cases foregrounds and backgrounds are constructed as dichotomies; stability is cancelled by an irritant. This, in variations, is true everywhere in Mann's work. In *Der Zauberberg* Hans Castorp's illicit love for a libertine woman is grounded in homosexual desire and linked with his religious and Romantic fascination with death. There is always an anarchic ingredient in the seemingly stable social backgrounds of Mann's fiction. For Mann, like Nietzsche, culture is in constant need of creative renewal.

Thomas Mann's dream of a better future meant the rule of culture in human affairs, of a culture generated by free human beings who determine their own future, guided by a humane morality of love and tolerance. Such a dream stood already at the core of his critique of the lifestyle of the grandbourgeoisie in *Buddenbrooks,* and such a dream is the driving force in Mann's great novel *Joseph und seine Brüder*. The knowledge that Mann, as a person, was less humane than appears from his writings does not change the picture; fictional texts owe their existence to being separated from their author.

European culture, including the contemplation of new moralities, was severely shaken by the First World War. The war was initially seen by both brothers Mann as the cultural catastrophe that it was. When it broke out in August of 1914 Thomas used the word "madness" (*Wahnsinn*) to describe it.[17] While Heinrich, convinced that Germany would inevitably lose the war, immediately voiced his aversion to war against his beloved France, Thomas shifted, and, moved by popular patriotic enthusiasm, spoke in a letter of 22 August 1914 of a cleansing experience, an elevation and liberation from the rotten pre-war civilization saturated by comfort.[18] Writing to Heinrich on 18 September he called the conflict a "people's war" (*Volkskrieg*), using Romantic terminology.[19] After this letter, the relationship between the brothers ruptured; apparently there had also been a face-to-face altercation.

Heinrich put his enmity into his essay "Zola," which appeared in November 1915. In it he alludes to Thomas's first war essay "Gedanken im Kriege" (Reflections in War, 1914), which probably repeated much of what he had said to Heinrich in the hostile discussion that had ended their relationship. Thomas lauded the German war of liberation from Western civilization, liberalism, capitalism, and decadence in favor of culture, as he had

conceived it in *Der Zauberberg*. This contrast of creative and tragic culture with rational and comfortable civilization reflected Nietzsche's thinking. *Die Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen,* Mann's long war essay, displays a strong national German bias, but also declares a certain cosmopolitan openness to be an inherent part of German culture. Mann called the ideological form of liberalism "democracy" and his own anti-ideological stance "conservative." He suggested a Romantic form of democracy he called a "people's state" (*Volksstaat*) (*GW* 12, 272–82).

The bitter enmity of the brothers affected Thomas more deeply than Heinrich. It lasted until 1922 when they reconciled. In the Weimar Republic the two cooperated, helping when the Prussian Academy of Arts established a section for poetry and writing, giving the profession of letters official status. Heinrich became president of the section.

After the First World War Thomas Mann took a while to reorient himself. He had difficulties accepting the victory of the Western allies; he understood it as a victory of capitalism over German culture. *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen* had been published in the fall of 1918, only weeks before the German capitulation. The book was successful among the *Bildungsbürger,* but was naturally not much liked by the more liberal and radical intellectuals. But during the Bavarian revolution and civil war, including the short period of a Bavarian *Räterepublik* (soviet republic) run by anarchists and then by communists, Mann's house and family in Munich were protected by leftist intellectuals. In 1919 the University of Bonn awarded him a honorary doctorate. The faculty meant to honor Mann's *Betrachtungen* but would not say so openly because Bonn was under British occupation. However, when Mann realized that the German rightist parties' brand of conservatism was a regressive political ideology that had no interest in preserving an open and tolerant, non-ideological culture, he moved away from the nationalist orientation of his *Betrachtungen*.

National Socialism originated in Munich, where Mann made his home. He resisted this movement from its very beginnings. He could not tolerate its regressiveness, because his Nietzschean view of culture required constant cultural renewal. Some right-wing writers and National Socialists also claimed Nietzsche's anti-democratic notions for their movement. This would become an irritation for Mann, especially after 1933 when Hitler seized power in Germany.

In 1921 in his hometown of Lübeck, Mann held his first public speech; he spoke about Goethe and Tolstoy.[20] He repeated the speech in many places in Germany. By including the great Russian author, Mann continued the cosmopolitan line of thought set forth in *Betrachtungen,* though Goethe won higher praise than his Russian counterpart. Goethe and Tolstoy shared a love of education inspired by Rousseau: the Rousseau of *Émile* rather than the Rousseau of the *Contrat social* that Mann had ridiculed in *Betrachtun-*

gen.[21] Both Goethe and Tolstoy offered examples of how life could be turned into writing and writing into education. A writer whose imagination is free of social or monetary interests can set the national mood and become a spiritual leader. Mann's conception of the possible role of a writer in national life is less comprehensive than Nietzsche's idea of a creative ruling elite and involves less activism than advocated by Heinrich; it was a more realistic conception, but also a step in Heinrich's direction.

Mann first publicly voiced support for the Weimar Republic in 1922, in a speech honoring Gerhart Hauptmann titled "Von deutscher Republik" (On German Republic). He advocated a republican form of government as the appropriate political model for a nation that had found itself in patriotic fervor at the outbreak of the war and that, in addition, could no longer see itself ruled by a monarchy that had degenerated into theatricality. Mann presented the Romantic monarchist Novalis and the American Walt Whitman (whose poems had just appeared in a new translation) as examples of the kind of cultural nationalism he had in mind. In this speech Mann still tried to avoid the word "democracy," using the term "Humanität" (humaneness) instead (*Essays* 2, 133), but he soon learned that the preservation of culture and *Humanität* against rightist intolerance required not only political involvement, but explicit support for democracy.

Mann's speech was addressed to the majority of *Bildungsbürger* who leaned toward the right. "Republicanism" and "democracy" were catchwords in their eyes: they opposed and ridiculed these forms of government because they saw them forced on Germany by the victors. Mann's support of the republic was widely seen as a move away from the patriotic conservatism that had governed his *Betrachtungen*. Yet he refused to admit to any such shift. He claimed that he had addressed the relationship between politics and culture in *Betrachtungen,* and he did so now by exposing the politics of the right. Any change was merely one of words, not of substance.

In 1925, Mann turned the speech about Goethe and Tolstoy into an essay under the title "Goethe and Tolstoi: Fragmente zum Problem der Humanität." He added a section in which he struck out against "German Fascism," calling it "romantic barbarism" (*GW* 9, 169). In 1930, when the National Socialists gained seats in the Reichstag and the agony of the Weimar Republic began, Mann traveled to Berlin and delivered his "Deutsche Ansprache. Ein Apell an die Vernunft" (German Address. An Appeal to Reason). The political place of the German "Bürger," he concluded, was now at the side of the Social Democratic Party (*Essays* 3, 278). In 1932, with the republic in its death throes, Mann, undaunted, commemorated the hundredth anniversary of Goethe's death by giving two speeches. He reminded the audiences of the aged Goethe's interest in progress, and implored his fellow Germans to think in terms of a democratic future.[22] During 1932 and up until January 1933, Mann condemned National Socialism and

supported a humanitarian socialism in newspaper articles, answers to public queries, and speeches (*Essays* 3, 343–58). With this support of socialism, Mann moved beyond Nietzsche, who regarded Socialism as an impediment to the higher development of man.

Mann had taken up *Der Zauberberg* again in 1919 and finished the novel in 1924. The original counterpart figure to the humanist Settembrini in the first conception, a Lutheran minister, now became Naphta, a Jewish Jesuit who in a seeming contradiction is both a scholar of medieval thought and a supporter of a communist revolution. The change was a reflection of Mann's experience of revolutionary postwar turmoil. Although socialist intellectuals find this absurd, as Marxism means progress to them, Mann understood communism in terms of a pre-capitalist medieval communal economy. The idea suggested to Mann by Gustav Landauer's *Aufruf zum Sozialismus* (Call for Socialism, 1911) is not far-fetched: communism developed practices analogous to those of the church: excommunication and the inquisition; and the medieval economy exerted means of control. Naphta's criticism of Settembrini's liberal humanism often hits the mark. His Jewishness represents alienation, as Jewishness generally does in Mann's fictional world. Naphta reveals capitalist modernity as an ideology, and it is humorous that Mann has him do that from the points of view of both the right and of the totalitarian left.

Nietzsche's cult of Life is represented in *Der Zauberberg* by a Dionysian figure, Mynheer Peeperkorn, whose role in the text becomes satirical when he commits suicide because he feels impotent. Such a depiction implies skepticism toward Nietzsche's cult of Life as a foundation for new values. But Nietzsche's overcoming of Wagner's lure is offered by the narrator as a link to Germany's future: Wagner's Romantic music stands for the nostalgic desire for a return of the pre-war world; Nietzsche's rejection of his beloved friend stands for rejection of political nostalgia and a courageous acceptance of change. Neither Wagner nor Nietzsche are named, but they are clearly meant. At the end we see Hans Castorp participate in the destruction of the First World War, paradoxically singing a Romantic theme song of dreams, home, and death. The novel does not only have an open ending, it is a novel of openness.

The novel tetralogy *Joseph und seine Brüder,* conceived by Mann in the early twenties, was begun in 1926 and completed in 1943. The novel's four volumes were published in 1933, 1934, 1936, and 1943 while he lived in Swiss and American exile. *Joseph* reflects the difficulties a creative narcissist like Mann had in dealing with the world. His character Joseph overcomes his love of self: strengthened by his conviction of having to fulfill a divine task, he becomes a leader, engages himself in the service of his fellow human beings, and in the end saves his family — but not without pitfalls along the way. In a way the novel answers Heinrich Mann's call for writers to become

politically engaged in his essay "Geist und Tat" of 1911. The biblical model allowed Mann to depict Joseph's position in Egypt — borrowing his power from the king — as the political ideal of the *Bildungsbürger*, a genial authority for the common good. The last volume, *Joseph der Ernährer* (Joseph the Provider), telling of Joseph's social programs, alludes to Franklin Delano Roosevelt, whom Mann had met personally: Mann wanted to see Roosevelt as a social democratic leader. *Joseph und seine Brüder* can be read as the fictional wish fulfillment of the creative imagination empowered to set the world right. The transformation of the artistic Joseph into a leader and an economist, however, is not presented as a general model: Joseph does not win the primary religious blessing from his father Jacob. That Joseph becomes an economist assigns him to this world and excludes him from the religious future of his people.

Mann's exile had begun late in February of 1933, after Hitler had been appointed to form a government and had used the burning of the Reichstag as a pretext for assuming dictatorial power and for abolishing the civil rights of the Weimar constitution. The political police in Munich had prepared an order to incarcerate Mann in the concentration camp at Dachau, but Mann, on a winter vacation in Switzerland, heeded dire warnings not to return.

Mann was deeply shaken by his banishment from his home country; more so than by the loss of his house and savings. Even more galling was a public protest of the Munich Wagnerians against a speech he had given there before his departure and again in Amsterdam and Paris. This protest action, while being signed by a few Nazis, was not the result of a National Socialist campaign but an action by Munich *Bildungsbürger*, instigated by the opera director and conductor Hans Knappertsbusch. In his essay on Wagner, Mann had confessed his lifelong attachment to Wagner's music, but he had also described Wagner in terms that fell short of the kind of exaltation the signers considered appropriate. The Munich protest hit Mann in the center of his being. Mann had judged his value for the German nation to lie in his sophisticated writing: enough Wagner to be popular among *Bildungsbürger*, enough Nietzsche to challenge them with ironic detachment. Just this combination the Munich protesters had rejected.

Mann resolved at first to withdraw completely into private life. He settled in Switzerland, near Zurich. After weeks of being unable to write, he continued *Joseph und seine Brüder*. In 1934, he seriously considered an essay or letter to the London *Times* exposing the Nazi regime as a threat to all culture. He decided to refrain from such direct attack because his books were still published and read in Germany: there was still a chance to exert an influence on his fellow Germans. Instead of the political statement, he combined a diary of his first cruise to America with essayistic comments on Cervantes's *Don Quixote* (1604–14) for a feature published in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*. In it he retells the episode of the Morisco Ricote who

mourns the loss of his homeland after having been driven out of Spain for religious and racist reasons. Spain, Mann writes, pretending to report on Cervantes's opinion, will not become purer but poorer by the "eradication" (*Ausmerzung*) of its Jewish citizens (*Essays* 4, 129). This early protest against National Socialist policies had to be veiled because it was to appear in a conservative newspaper in neutral Switzerland.

The German Ministry of Propaganda, fearful of negative publicity, prevented the revocation of Mann's German citizenship demanded by the Munich Gestapo. Other writers, among them Thomas's brother Heinrich and Thomas's older children Erika and Klaus, were similarly threatened. Mann became a Czech citizen in December 1936. When a dean of Bonn University informed him that Nazi law required the repeal of his honorary doctorate, Mann responded in a letter charging Bonn and all other German universities with sharing in the country's responsibility for supporting a regime that was devastating Germany morally, culturally, and economically (*Essays* 4, 184). In this letter, he proudly announced that Harvard University had bestowed an honorary degree on him; it had happened in 1935, when he was honored together with Albert Einstein. Warning of the threat of war entailed by Germany's rearmament, Mann ended his letter with an invocation that God may help his misused country to make peace. This letter was first published in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* in January 1937, gaining worldwide publicity.

During another journey to the United States in 1938, Mann delivered the lecture "Vom kommenden Sieg der Demokratie" (Of the Coming Victory of Democracy) in several cities. When Hitler occupied Austria that same year, Thomas and Katia Mann no longer felt safe in Switzerland. They relocated to New Jersey, where Mann was appointed Lecturer in the Humanities at Princeton University, and they lived there from 1938 to 1941.

In 1939 Mann finished the novel *Lotte in Weimar,* which had been in progress since 1936, when it had interrupted the writing of *Joseph und seine Brüder*. In the final scene of the Weimar novel, a dreamlike, unreal Goethe comforts the disappointed Lotte for having been distant throughout her visit, speaking in the language of his poetry. Thus, the novel grows into a confession: Mann, playfully identifying himself with Goethe, wants to be appreciated for his works, not for his person; only his creative language has worth. Implied is a criticism of Nietzsche's assertion that the aim and purpose of all culture is to produce great men. Rather, the individual should serve culture and with it all of mankind. This idea permeates *Joseph und seine Brüder;* it is radically opposed to the *Führer* principle in National Socialism and its hero worship.

In 1941 the Manns moved to California and settled in Pacific Palisades in western Los Angeles, and in 1944 Mann and his wife became United States citizens. He appreciated the reception he had received in America, but

he never fully embraced capitalist democracy. After Roosevelt's death and the war's end, he came to increasingly oppose the course the country took: the return to a free enterprise economy, the imperial foreign policy designed to protect American trade, and, especially, the Cold War with its ideologically driven anti-communism. He also opposed the Korean War, but in this case kept his opposition to himself. Mann favored a democratic socialism and a rapprochement with the Soviet Union: he knew that Stalin's Russia was a totalitarian state, and abhorred this, but he wanted to believe that a humane aspect was part of socialism.

Mann's daughter Erika, who had become his valuable assistant, could not obtain American citizenship. The FBI, relying on informers, was convinced — incorrectly — that she was a communist, and she feared being refused re-entry if she traveled abroad with her father. After Mann himself was attacked for participating in several peace movements, some of which had been communist inspired without his knowledge, he emigrated to Switzerland in 1952.

At this time, his relationship with Germany was still uneasy. His books were being read there again, and he had visited Germany in 1949, but his radio broadcasts during the war, carried by the BBC from Great Britain, had not endeared him to his home country. The estrangement had actually increased now, making him a new kind of outsider. Mann had produced his speeches for the BBC beginning in November 1940; since March 1941 they had been recorded in his own voice. In those speeches, he vituperated the German people for following Hitler, the "false victor" (*Falschsieger*) (*GW* 12, 993), predicting Germany's eventual defeat even in 1940 when German war fortunes were at their peak. In January 1942 he cited a report of the gassing of Jews. Once, on 27 June 1943, he praised the protest movement at the University of Munich and mentioned the executions of students and faculty with deep empathy. For a moment he distinguished between the Germans and the National Socialists (*GW* 12, 1076–77), but only for a moment. Deep down he saw the National Socialists as a bad caricature of Nietzsche's vision of the creative ruler. A 1939 essay titled "Bruder Hitler" (published in English as "A Brother") depicted Hitler as an evil artist, and in the speech "Deutschland und die Deutschen" (Germany and the Germans) of 1945 Mann refused to distinguish between a good old Germany and the bad new one. Many Germans opposed to Hitler's regime appreciated his radio addresses, but many others, whether opponents of the National Socialist regime or not, felt that he no longer was one of them.

Between 1943 and 1947 Mann wrote the novel that had been on his mind since 1904, the story of a creative artist inspired by the Devil, *Doktor Faustus*. It is the biography of a German composer with allusions to the biographies of Nietzsche and Thomas Mann himself. Mann had admired Nietzsche's call for cultural renewal, but he also criticized Nietzsche's ideas