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Fiona Malcolm

**Thesis submitted for
PhD in German Literature**

**The Literary Relationship between Klaus
and Thomas Mann**

The University of Kent, Canterbury

Thesis submitted: 14th July, 2003

Supervisor: Professor Osman Durrani

Viva voce: 1st October, 2003

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Abstract

The publication of the diaries of Thomas Mann has led to increased scholarly interest in this writer as a private man. The writer's son, Klaus, has also attracted increasing attention in recent years. Much of this attention has emanated from biased standpoints, however, such as psychological, gay studies or political. This study is the first examination dedicated to the literary relationship between father and son. It seeks to maintain an unbiased view, concentrating on the writings and avoiding unfounded speculation.

Chapter 1 provides an in-depth examination of existing studies, setting this thesis in its context. Chapter 2 then undertakes to analyse the early writings of Klaus, in comparison with writings by Thomas, demonstrating the existence of a dialogue-in-literature in these writings. The third chapter provides a detailed comparison of the diaries of father and son. Chapter 4 conducts an examination of the political undertakings and stance of both figures, and questions some of the standard conclusions, for example regarding the political development of Klaus. Fresh findings are imparted, for example on the *Decision* affair. Chapter 5 examines later writings, focusing primarily on Klaus' *Alexander* (1929), and demonstrating the continuity of themes in the author's writings. A hitherto unexplored source for one of Thomas' literary figures is also considered. The final chapter compares Thomas' *Doktor Faustus* with his son's earlier *Mephisto* and other writings, with ground-breaking results. This chapter also demonstrates that important sources for Thomas' novel have not been acknowledged.

The idea of a father exerting an influence on the writings and approach of his son is not a surprising one. A less expected outcome of such an examination is that of the influence of a son on the approach and writings of his father. Given the status of Thomas Mann, in contrast to that of his son, such an outcome would be even more unexpected. This examination has, nevertheless, dared to pose the question as to whether such an influence could be possible. It is hoped that the results of this examination will constitute a significant advancement on previous scholarship of these two writers.

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List of Abbreviations

Primary Sources

Klaus Mann

Alex	<i>Alexander</i>
AVP	<i>Auf verlorenem Posten: Aufsätze, Reden, Kritiken 1942-1949</i>
DNE	<i>Die Neuen Eltern: Aufsätze, Reden, Kritiken 1924-1933</i>
DVL	<i>Der Vater lacht</i> [in <i>Abenteuer des Brautpaars</i> , 34-62]
HeG	'Die Heimsuchung des europäischen Geistes' [in <i>Auf verlorenem Posten</i> , 523-542]
HuM	'Heute und Morgen: Zur Situation des jungen geistigen Europas'
JUNG	<i>Die Jungen</i> [In <i>Abenteuer des Brautpaars</i> , 7-33]
KdZ	<i>Kind dieser Zeit</i>
KM, BuA	<i>Klaus Mann: Briefe und Antworten 1922-1949</i>
KMD	<i>Klaus Mann: Tagebücher</i>
KM>TM	Letter from Klaus to Thomas
MEPH	<i>Mephisto</i>
MVz50	'Mein Vater: Zu seinem 50. Geburtstag' [<i>Die neuen Eltern</i> , 48-50]
RuK	<i>Rut und Ken</i> [<i>Abenteuer des Brautpaars</i> , 194-203]
SP	<i>Symphonie Pathétique</i>
VG	<i>Vergittertes Fenster</i>
Wie...?	'Wie wollen wir unsere Zukunft?'
WPKT	<i>Der Wendepunkt: Ein Lebensbericht</i>
ZuK	<i>Zahnärzte und Künstler: Aufsätze, Reden, Kritiken 1933-1936</i>

Thomas Mann

Betrog	<i>Die Betrogene</i> [GW, VIII, 877-950]
DrF	<i>Doktor Faustus</i> [GW, VI]
GW	<i>Thomas Mann: Gesammelte Werke in dreizehn Bänden</i>

TMD	<i>Thomas Mann: Tagebücher</i>
TM, GW	<i>Thomas Mann: Gesammelte Werke in dreizehn Bänden</i>
ÜdE	'Über die Ehe' [GW, X, 191-207]
UFL	<i>Unordnung und frühes Leid</i> [GW, VIII, 618-657]
TM, Briefe, R&R	<i>Die Briefe Thomas Manns: Regesten und Register</i>
TM-EB	<i>Briefe an Ernst Bertram aus den Jahren 1910-1955</i>
TM-GBF	<i>Thomas Mann: Briefwechsel mit seinem Verleger Gottfried Bermann Fischer 1932-1955</i>

TM-HM *Thomas Mann – Heinrich Mann: Briefwechsel 1900-1949*

Other Manns

EM, BuA, I	<i>Erika Mann: Briefe und Antworten 1922-1950</i>
EM, BuA, II	<i>Erika Mann: Briefe und Antworten 1951-1969</i>
MM	<i>Monika Mann, Vergangenes und Gegenwärtiges: Erinnerungen und Gedanken</i>

Other Primary Sources

ASZ Friedrich Nietzsche, *Also sprach Zarathustra*

Secondary Sources

CCTM	<i>The Cambridge Companion to Thomas Mann</i>
EH	Eckhard Heftrich, <i>Über Thomas Mann, I, Vom Verfall zur Apokalypse</i>
E-MK	Eva-Maria Kraske, 'Die Darstellung der Jugend in den Erzählungen Klaus Manns'
GH	Gerhard Härle, <i>Männerweiblichkeit: Zur Homosexualität bei Klaus und Thomas Mann</i>
HJ	Helmut Jendreich, <i>Thomas Mann: Der demokratische Roman</i>
HK	Hermann Kurzke, <i>Thomas Mann: Das Leben als Kunstwerk</i>
IvdL	Irmela von der Lühe, <i>Erika Mann: Eine Biographie</i>

JK	James Robert Keller, <i>The Role of Political and Sexual Identity in the Works of Klaus Mann</i>
MG, KM-Biog	Michel Grunewald, <i>Klaus Mann 1906-1949</i> (Biography)
MG, KM-Bibliog	Michel Grunewald, <i>Klaus Mann 1906-1949</i> (Bibliography)
MK	Marianne Krüll, <i>Im Netz der Zauberer: eine andere Geschichte der Familie Mann</i>
MR-R	Marcel Reich-Ranicki, <i>Thomas Mann und die Seinen</i>
NS, KM-Biog	Nicole Schaenzler, <i>Klaus Mann: eine Biographie</i>
NS-KM-Erz	Nicole Schaenzler, <i>Klaus Mann als Erzähler</i>
PdeM	Peter de Mendelssohn, <i>Der Zauberer: Das Leben des deutschen Schriftstellers Thomas Mann</i>
TJR	T.J.Reed, <i>Thomas Mann: The Uses of Tradition</i>
TMHB	<i>Thomas-Mann-Handbuch</i> ¹

Also Worth Noting

EM	Erika Mann
<i>Eissi</i>	Thomas' pet name for Klaus
GM	Golo Mann
HM	Heinrich Mann
KM	Klaus Mann
KMA	Klaus-Mann-Archiv (Monacensia), Munich
K. [in TMD]	Katia Mann
MM	Monika Mann
TM	Thomas Mann
TMA	Thomas-Mann-Archiv, Zurich
X>Y	Letter from X to Y
Z.	<i>Zauberer</i> , the pet name for Thomas Mann

¹ In some further cases, an author's initials are used in reference to his work, where these have not been indicated in this list for reasons of length. In all such cases, the initials follow the full name of the scholar, and title of his or her study.

Introduction

This thesis is an examination of the literary relationship between Klaus and Thomas Mann. Thomas is widely known as one of the greatest writers of the twentieth century. Since the publication of his diaries, between 1977 and 1995, there has been increasing interest in the private persona of Mann, in addition to the constant, widespread interest in his literary oeuvre.

Thomas' son, Klaus, was a considerably less renowned figure for many years. Invariably he was (and is) introduced as the son of his father, a difficulty which had a profound effect on him throughout his life. Klaus was known firstly because of his colourful life in 1920s Germany; the beginning of his career attracted attention because of the taboo-breaking nature of his behaviour, and of the themes treated in his writings. The scandal surrounding the publication of his novel *Mephisto*, in the 1980s, led to increased occupation with this figure. He was first valued for his antifascist contribution, but, more recently, his fictional and other writings have come to be appreciated too. Much of the interest in Klaus has emanated from restrictive viewpoints, however, for example in gay studies, or pseudo-psychological, approaches. This is the first examination of the literary relationship between father and son.

Although this is not the only writing father and son duo from recent times (Kingsley and Martin Amis, the Alexandre Dumas', and others come to mind), Klaus and his father are unique with regard to the German-speaking world. Further, they have come to be associated with political and historical events which have shaped the world in which we live today. They warned about National Socialism, and suffered deeply as a result of it. Both are regarded as powerful representatives of the fight against fascism, and of humanistic values.

The relationship between this father and son was a complex one, and fatherly support for the writings of Klaus was not a marked feature of this relationship. As would be expected, Klaus was influenced in his writings by his father. His early writings carry themes of turn-of-the-century decadence, together with the grotesque irony which characterized his father's own early writings. However, many of the most significant findings in this thesis are of a more unexpected nature: they demonstrate that Klaus exerted a considerable influence on the writings of his father, through his person, and through his own writings. Other interesting findings surround the demonstration that, if the father-son relationship was not always characterized by open, easy dialogue, their writings particularly in the 1920s themselves constitute a dialogue-in-literature, which was not always of the most flattering nature.

The first chapter of this thesis, the Literature Review, provides a detailed analysis of previous scholarship. It makes clear the need for this first, in-depth examination of this literary father-son relationship, conducted from an unbiased point of view, with its primary emphasis on the writings of father and son.

Chapter 2 examines the most fervent period, in terms of literary dialogue, of the literary relationship, outlining the beginnings of Klaus' literary career, and Thomas' response to this.

The third chapter is the first ever in-depth comparison of the diaries of father and son. These diaries, a unique source, are unchallenged in facilitating a private view into this relationship. Thomas' attraction towards his adolescent son was revealed in his diaries, but of equal – or perhaps greater – importance is the view which these allow of his attitude towards the first literary attempts of his son. These diaries also portray the differing reactions of father and son to political developments, in the

1930s, and the resultant tensions. Further, the fundamental tensions surrounding being a writing father and son duo are revealed in these diaries.

Chapter 4 examines the developing political stances of Klaus and Thomas. This chapter challenges the view commonly accepted of Klaus as an individual who was entirely apolitical until the onset of Nazism. Key literary writings of Klaus and his father, at turning points in political developments, are compared in this chapter, which is the first comparison of its kind.

Chapter 5 examines the later literary relationship, focusing primarily on Klaus' *Alexander: Roman der Utopie* (1929). The final chapter of this thesis compares various writings of Klaus' from the 1930s and 1940s with Thomas' novel, *Doktor Faustus* (1947). The influence of Klaus' persona and writings on the writings of his father is examined in both Chapters 5 and 6, often with unexpected, groundbreaking results.

Chapter 1

Literature Review

Introduction

Although Klaus Mann remained for a considerable period of time, in comparison with his father at least, a relatively unknown figure, there has been increasing interest in his life and writings in recent years. In the post-war era, East German and leftist critics were amongst the first to direct their attentions towards the study of Klaus Mann, who was valued predominantly from a political point of view, for his antifascist contribution. In the 1980s, Ariane Mnouchkine's *Théâtre du Soleil* adaptation of *Mephisto*, together with plans to re-release this novel in paperback and the resultant high profile court case, led to Klaus becoming an increasingly renowned figure. This gave rise to more extensive scholarly attention, undertaken with two predominant points of emphasis, however: continued interest in Klaus' political contribution, and homosexuality.

The year 1999, the fiftieth anniversary of Klaus' death, was marked by various new studies, and most notably by Uwe Naumann's *'Ruhe gibt es nicht bis zum Schluß': Klaus Mann (1906-1949), Bilder und Dokumente*. That interest in this writer is still growing is illustrated by the republication in 2003 of *Klaus Mann zum Gedächtnis* - a collection of tributes from friends and colleagues which was published (1950) in the year following Klaus' death but which had unfortunately remained out of print for more than fifty years - and of Fredric Kroll's *Klaus-Mann-Schriftenreihe* (1976-). Celebrations are planned for a *Klaus-Mann-Jahr* in 2006, the hundredth anniversary of the writer's birth.

The relationship between Klaus and his father has received limited critical attention. A tendency of scholars' engagement with Klaus to exhibit an apologetic incentive has been noted.¹ Such idealising portrayals, focusing in particular on Klaus' political stance, have neglected almost by necessity to acknowledge the significance of the role played by Thomas in the life and writings of his son. The literary relationship between father and son has been particularly neglected. Studies which do incorporate material pertaining to the literary relationship tend largely to restrict themselves to a limited pattern of already known material and hitherto accepted conclusions, leading to the danger of a clichéd view. The tendency to choose to ignore the significance of Thomas in examinations of Klaus has re-emerged in recent years, as if the study of the relationship had exhausted all possibilities and an acceptance of this clichéd view were satisfactory.

Few studies have dared to entertain the possibility of Klaus' influence on the writings of his father. Only one Thomas Mann study, Helmut Jendriek's *Thomas Mann: Der demokratische Roman* (1977) has considered such a possibility in detail, and only three other scholars of the wider Mann family, Rolf Schneider (in 1956), Gerhard Härle (in 1988) and Marianne Krüll (in 1991), consider such material in any depth. Their findings are still limited to only a few pages, however. This thesis is the first study to incorporate a consistent examination of the influence of Klaus on his father's writings.

One significant new source for the study of the relationship between Klaus and his father has not yet received the scrutiny it deserves; Thomas' diaries, published in the years 1977-1993, have pointed to numerous intriguing and problematic aspects of this relationship and have revealed the extent of Thomas' attraction towards his

¹ See Gerhard Härle, *Männerweiblichkeit: Zur Homosexualität bei Klaus und Thomas Mann* (1988),

adolescent son. Some of the significant studies of Klaus were undertaken before the publication of these diaries was complete.² Following the diaries' publication, however, scholars have been slow to examine and attempt to discern the significance of these findings (found in the volume published in 1979): the first study which has sought to incorporate this material as a substantial element of its analysis is that undertaken by Härle, *Männerweiblichkeit: Zur Homosexualität bei Klaus und Thomas Mann* (1988). Thomas' attraction to his adolescent son, although it is the most surprising finding, is not the only revelation of the diaries which is of significance to this relationship. Material has also been unearthed which has aided a more realistic picture of the political relationship (see Chapter 4) and has shed new light on Thomas' attitude towards his son and his writings and, particularly, towards Klaus' death (see Chapter 3).

A further significant new source has been provided by the publication (1989-1991) of Klaus' diaries. Härle's study is amongst many of those reviewed which predate these.³ The only study which gives a systematic analysis of the diaries of Klaus, that undertaken by Rong Yang, considers Thomas only relatively briefly.⁴ Another study of Klaus' diaries, undertaken by Blas Matamoro, is more imaginative if – similar to Härle – it risks producing confusion. This thesis is unique in that it is the only study which undertakes a detailed and consistent comparison of the diaries of both writers.

Klaus is not the only member of the Mann family to have enjoyed increasing scholarly and mainstream attention in recent years. Irmela von der Lühe's biography of Erika Mann (first published in 1993) was well received. A number of recent studies

48, 67.

² See Appendix 1.1.

³ See Appendix 1.1.

of Heinrich Mann are available, as are two biographies, in 2003, of Katia Mann.⁵ There has also been increasing interest in the study of the Mann family as a whole. Klaus, who often demonstrated his powerful insight, predicted: ‘Was für eine sonderbare FAMILIE sind wir! Man wird später Bücher über UNS – nicht nur über einzelne von uns – schreiben.’ [KMD, III, 61, 3.7.1936] Recent developments confirm this prediction. This trend, which began with publications such as Reich-Ranicki’s *Thomas Mann und die Seinen* (1990) and Marianne Krüll’s *Im Netz der Zauberer: Eine andere Geschichte der Familie Mann* (1991), recently found prominent expression in the television documentary, *Die Manns: Ein Jahrhundertroman* (2001), directed by Heinrich Breloer.⁶

This review has two objectives: it seeks firstly to give an evaluation of the literature which has informed this thesis and secondly to indicate the scholarly advancement which will be made by this thesis. It is undertaken in six sections:

1.1 Studies of Klaus Mann

1.2 Studies of Thomas Mann

1.3 Comparative Studies of Klaus and Thomas Mann

1.4 Mann Family Studies

1.5 Unpublished Studies

⁴ Rong Yang, *Ich kann einfach das Leben nicht mehr ertragen: Studien zu den Tagebüchern von Klaus Mann (1931-1949)* (1996), 115-133.

⁵ (Details of von der Lühe’s study are given below.) Heinrich Mann: Willi Jasper, *Der Bruder Heinrich Mann: Eine Biographie* (1992, new ed. 1994); Stefan Ringel, *Heinrich Mann: Ein Leben wird besichtigt: Eine Biographie* (2000, new ed. 2002). See also Joachim C. Fest, *Die unwissenden Magier: Über Thomas und Heinrich Mann* (1993, new ed. 1998). Katia Mann: Inge and Walter Jens, *Frau Thomas Mann: Das Leben der Katharina Pringsheim* (2003); Kirsten Jüngling and Brigitte Roßbeck, *Katia Mann: Die Frau des Zauberers* (2003).

⁶ See also Walter A. Berendsohn, *Thomas Mann und die Seinen: Porträt einer literarischen Familie* (1973). Breloer’s film, which received a large audience and has won several awards, has done much to make the Manns a more accessible subject. This film features acclaimed actors playing the roles of the Mann family members, combined with documentary footage of interviews with the Manns and their close acquaintances, whose anecdotes from the family’s life are often moving. The combination works well, rendering the Manns more familiar and serving as a vivid reminder that the Manns were and are a real family.

1.6 Literature of relevance to Specific Aspects of the Literary Relationship

Further, an appendix is provided in order to facilitate a more comprehensive overview of the material covered. (Appendix 1.1: Decade-by-Decade Overview)

1.1 Studies of Klaus Mann

1.1.1 Klaus' Lifetime, 1906-1949

1.1.1.1 Scandal

The attention which Klaus Mann received particularly in the early stages of his career was predominantly of a sensationalist nature, with his activities, writings and plays giving rise to journalistic scandal. Klaus was attacked from left and right: the themes presented by his early writings angered more conservative critics, while his claims to represent his generation aroused the resentment of members of the younger generation such as Bertolt Brecht and Axel Eggebrecht.

The play *Anja und Esther* (1925) which featured Klaus, his sister Erika, Pamela Wedekind and Gustaf Gründgens in the title roles and portrayed a lesbian relationship between the two female protagonists, was received with outrage. Herbert Ihering, a frequent critic of Klaus, denounced the play as the 'szenische Marlittroman der Homosexualität'⁷ and in Hessen it even gave rise to a *Landtag* debate, the Hessen MP declaring:

Was hier auf krankhaft perverse Weise in Herabsetzung des Weibes auf die Stufe tierhafter Schamentblößtheit unter Verwendung kindlicher Mitdarsteller und vor größtenteils jugendlichem Publikum geleistet wurde, mußte Schrecken und Grauen zugleich erregen. [...] Das ist der Skandal, daß ein solcher Schmutzfladen in unserem mit schweren Opfern erhaltenen Kunsttempel überhaupt die Bretter berühren durfte.

⁷ Herbert Ihering, *Von Reinhardt bis Brecht*, II, 191ff.

Ich frage daher die Regierung, was sie zu tun gedenkt, um in Zukunft die Aufführung derartiger Fragwürdigkeiten zu verhindern.⁸

Kurt Tucholsky, who described Klaus as an *Unglücksfall*, criticized the writer's drive to attract attention: 'Klaus Mann hat sich bei der Verabfassung seiner hundertsten Reklamenotiz den Arm verstaucht und ist daher für die nächsten Wochen am Reden verhindert.'⁹

Härle provides substantial material to support his argument that attacks against Klaus Mann, particularly those of Brecht, were intended to victimize homosexuals in general [GH, 91-107] and indeed some of these attacks, quoted below, make this clear, with their references to the anus and connotations of faeces. There are also frequent allusions to Klaus as displaying immature, child-like qualities, or as being a *Greis*,¹⁰ both of these allusions having connotations of impotence. Axel Eggebrecht described Klaus as the 'Führer [einer] Gruppe von impotenten, aber arroganten Knaben',¹¹ and Ihering referred to the actors of *Revue zu Vieren*, Klaus' second play, as both 'kindliche Greise' and 'Limonadenjugend'.¹²

1.1.1.2 The 'son of'-factor

The association of Klaus with his father looms large in much of the criticism which is directed towards him and which clearly contains an element of resentment that the

⁸ Quoted from IvdL, EM-Biog, 42. IvdL cites 'Ausbürgerungsakte KM, Politisches Archiv des AA, Bonn'.

⁹ Kurt Tucholsky, 'Auf dem Nachttisch' (1928) and 'Die lieben Kinder' (1929). In: *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. II 1925-1928, 41-42, here 42. [Quoted from NS, KM-Biog, 85, 412 (notes 417, 418)]

¹⁰ Surprisingly, Härle, whose study is characterized by a theme of (sexual) castration in association with Klaus, does not pick up on the significance of this: that Klaus is portrayed as being of an age which is not normally associated with sexual reproduction. The implication for the wider engagement with Klaus is that he is portrayed as being of an age which is not normally associated with making a significant contribution in any field of work, which is least often taken seriously, and constitutes the weakest and most vulnerable elements of society, posing the least threat to others.

¹¹ Axel Eggebrecht, 'Die jüngste Dichtung', *Die literarische Welt*, 3.34 (August 1927), 6.

writer had such an advantageous start to his literary career, due to his family name and contacts with publishers. The question as to a possible hidden motive behind the praise which he did receive must also be taken into account.¹³

Bertolt Brecht, after reading an interview which W. E. Süskind conducted for the family paper *Uhu*,¹⁴ expressed his anger:

Heute früh las ich in den *Uhu*. Darin blickt Herr Thomas Mann (wer *ist* Herr Thomas Mann?) sorgenvoll auf seinen berühmten Sohn (wer kennt ihn nicht?) [...] da brennt, wenn man *einmal* nicht herschaut, so ein stilles Kind durch und spielt sich wieder im Mastdarm des seligen Opapa!! [...] diese Nachgeburt von Feuilletonschlieferln [...], deren größte Erlebnisse eingestandenermaßen die Sechzigjährigen sind.¹⁵

It is also as a result of Brecht's criticism that the terms 'Baby', 'Kläuschen [mit dem leisen] Stimmchen' and 'Reaktionär' have come to be associated with Klaus. The question of whether the Marxist Brecht's attacks on Klaus were intended primarily or secondarily to aggrive Thomas, who for Brecht was a representative of *bürgerlich* literature, is a valid one.¹⁶

¹² Herbert Ihering, *Theater in Aktion*, 274f.; see also Franz Servaes, 'Die Tragikomödie Berühmter Kinder', *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, 3 May 1927 and Kurt Pinthus, 'Revue zu Vieren', *8-Uhr-Abendblatt*, 3 May 1927.

¹³ Härle is suitably sceptical regarding Gründgens' praise for Klaus and his play *Anja und Esther*, for example, pointing out that the actor's career was going to benefit from his involvement in this project. [Gründgens wrote: "Die junge Generation hat in Klaus Mann ihren Dichter gefunden. [...] er ist nicht nur ein Schilderer der neuen Jugend, er ist vielmehr berufen, ihr Wegweiser zu sein." Gustav [still with 'v'] Gründgens: Announcement for *Anja und Esther*, *Der Freihafen* [October] 1925, KMA. See Härle, 97; 339.

¹⁴ Klaus Mann: *Die neuen Eltern* (1926) and Thomas Mann/Klaus Mann: *Die neuen Kinder*. Interview with W. E. Süskind. In: *Uhu* II, 1926, H.11, pp. 4-8; also in KM, DNE, 84-88.

¹⁵ Bertolt Brecht: 'Wenn der Vater mit dem Sohne mit dem Uhu (1926)', *Gesammelte Werke*, Frankfurt a.M. 1973, vol. 18, 40ff., Brecht's italics. This statement contains the characteristic association of homosexuality and of Klaus as a *Greis* to which reference was made above.

¹⁶ See Härle, 92; NS, KM-Biog, 84f. Presumably Schaenzler includes the word 'nicht' in error when she writes: 'Es ist zu vermuten, daß Brecht seiner Schelte des Sohnes um so mehr Nachdruck verlieh, je heftiger ihn der Zorn auf den Vater erfaßte. Einige Literaturwissenschaftler lassen deshalb auch das Argument nicht gelten, daß Brecht von jeher nichts anderes im Sinn gehabt hätte, als in der Person Thomas Manns die spezifisch bürgerliche Position zu attackieren.'

Herbert Lehnert speaks of Brecht's 'Haß' for Thomas Mann, which led him repeatedly, even in exile, to criticize publicly not just Mann's writings but his lifestyle. [Herbert Lehnert, 'Bert Brecht und Thomas Mann im Streit über Deutschland', in: *Deutsche Exilliteratur seit 1933*, I, Kalifornien, Part 1, 62-88, here 69, 82]

In another piece of satire aimed at father and son, Th. Th. Heine portrays Klaus telling his father: 'Man sagt, Papa, daß geniale Väter keine genialen Söhne haben. Also bist du kein Genie.'¹⁷ The association between Klaus and his father was even used purposefully by the advertisers of his first book, *Vor dem Leben* (1925), in order to encourage interest:

Man wird dieses Buch lesen. Man wird es lesen aus Neugierde und Kuriositätenlust: als das Werk eines Achtzehnjährigen und *als das erste Werk von Thomas Manns ältestem Sohne*. Aber man sollte darüber hinaus bei diesem Buch verweilen [...].¹⁸

The following attack which centres on the association between Klaus and his father is also not alone in its further implication that Klaus, not having served in the military, has nothing of relevance to say:

Wäre Klaus Mann nicht der Sohn des Thomas Mann, wäre dieses Stück sicher nie über die Bretter gegangen. Und hätte Klaus Mann je im Bersten der Granaten gestanden und im Sturm nach vorwärts sein Gewehr gefällt, er hätte dieses Stück nicht geschrieben. [...] Als ich nach Hause ging, marschierten eben ein paar S.A.-Männer im Braunhemd vom Dienst kommend über den Marienplatz. Mit ihnen sprach ich noch vom Kampf der nächsten Tage und Wochen. Das versöhnte mich mit den 2 Stunden in der ersten Studio-Aufführung. Mögen die Literaten auf den Brettern eine sterbende Welt verherrlichen, auf der Straße marschiert das neue Deutschland.¹⁹

Even after going into exile, Klaus' writings continued to be met with mixed – and often negative – reactions. After Klaus' death, Erika persuaded many of Klaus' friends and colleagues to contribute to the book which she put together in memory of

¹⁷ *Simplicissimus*, 9 November 1925.

¹⁸ Advertisement supplement to *Die Neue Rundschau*, H.5, May 1925. Cited from NS, KM-Biog, 46. My italics.

¹⁹ Jacob Berchtold's critique of *Les enfants terribles*. *Völkischer Beobachter* 15 November 1930. Further press notices on the performance in Slg P5236 [=Sammlung Rehse] of the Bayerisches Hauptstadtarchiv. [cited from Irmela von der Lüche, *Erika Mann*, 73]

A further criticism that Klaus had not served in the army was made by Willy Haas, founder of *Die literarische Welt*, who was shocked about 'die Zwanzigjährigen mit ihrer furchtbaren Indifferenz. Wir, die wir den Krieg im Schützengraben mitgemacht haben, sind tief erbittert darüber, daß unter unseren jüngeren Kameraden alles wieder so wird wie vor 1914: Artistik, luxuriöse und komplizierte erotische Psychologie [...] und gar kein Blick für die bewegenden Kräfte unserer Zeit.' [*Die literarische Welt*, 4. November 1927, p.1]

her brother, *Klaus Mann zum Gedächtnis* (1950). This task was not as straightforward as would be expected, and Erika reacted with anger towards those who were reluctant to contribute, or who did not react to Klaus' death as she would have liked.²⁰ Nevertheless, a wide range of contributions was received, including those from Gottfried Benn, Lion Feuchtwanger, Christopher Isherwood, Hermann Kesten; Annette Kolb, Heinrich Mann, Peter de Mendelssohn, Upton Sinclair, Peter Viereck and Bruno Walter. The volume is prefaced with an introduction by Thomas which is highly ambivalent in its message about Klaus, and which will be considered in detail in Chapter 3.

1.1.2 From Klaus' Death until 1980

This period, from Klaus' death until 1980, features an article by the marxist critic Rolf Schneider (1956)²¹ which contains in retrospect a surprisingly progressive suggestion about the literary relationship between Klaus and his father – a suggestion which will not resurface until Helmut Jendreich's study in 1977. Wilfried Dirschauer's political study (1973) sets the tone for the next, exclusively political, studies, and provides an introduction to Klaus' exile activities and writings. Elke Kerker's study (1977)²² is typical of its time and of much of the scholarship on Klaus, which wishes to elevate the writer from his still relatively unpopular and unrenowned status, and to demonstrate the value of his role as an antifascist. It will become evident, however, that there is a problem inherent in this aspect of Klaus Mann scholarship. Fredric Kroll's expansive *Klaus-Mann-Schriftenreihe* (1976-) follows.

²⁰ See TMD, VIII, 94, 4.9.1949; 139, 16.12.1949; 151, 6.1.1950.

²¹ Frederic Kroll describes Schneider as a marxist critic. [Kroll, Frederic, *Klaus-Mann-Schriftenreihe*, II, 109]

²² Kerker is also grouped by Kroll with marxist critics. [Kroll, II, 111]

1.1.2.1 Rolf Schneider (1956)

Rolf Schneider's article, 'Klaus Mann', in the East Berlin publication, *Aufbau* (1956), was the first to establish Klaus' writings as being worthy of scholarly attention. This marks the beginning of a trend which will continue during the two following decades, in which leftist scholars are attracted towards the subject of Klaus in view of his antifascist activity. Schneider's article, however, makes progress in contrast to studies of its time in that it gives a discussion of concrete aspects of the literary relationship between Klaus and Thomas, considering not only the more predictable question of areas in which the son was influenced by the father, but also making the controversial finding of the possibility that elements in the writings of Klaus could have exerted an influence on the writings of his father. In this sense, Schneider's examination is more relevant to this study than much of recent scholarship.

It is remarkable that Schneider should preface his article with a passage from *Der Wendepunkt* (1952), which is deeply significant to this literary relationship. Schneider himself does not comment directly on the significance of this passage, but it relates to the themes of a literary inheritance and of an inevitable literary embodiment which characterize this relationship (see Appendix 5.1). Schneider cites:

Wo beginnt die Geschichte? Wo sind die Quellen unseres individuellen Lebens? Welche versunkenen Abenteuer und Leidenschaften haben unser Wesen geformt? Woher kommt die Vielfalt widerspruchsvoller Züge und Tendenzen, aus denen unser Charakter sich zusammensetzt? Ohne Frage, wir sind tiefer verwurzelt, als unser Bewußtsein es wahrhaben will. Ein umfassender Rhythmus bestimmt unsere Gedanken und Handlungen; unsere Schicksalskurve ist Teil eines gewaltigen Mosaiks, das durch Jahrhunderte hindurch dieselben uralten Figuren prägt und variiert. Jede unserer Gesten wiederholt einen urväterlichen Ritus und antizipiert zugleich die Gebärden künftiger Geschlechter; noch die einsamste Erfahrung unseres Herzens ist die Vorwegnahme oder das Echo vergangener oder kommender Passionen. [KM, WPKT, 9. Quoted in Schneider, 1105]²³

²³ This passage ties in with the theme of a parent's guilt which characterizes this literary relationship. (See Appendix 5.1.)

Schneider's evaluation is, admittedly, condescending at times; in the conclusion that Klaus' oeuvre is 'bedeutsam als Dokument, auch als Leistung' his tone is typical particularly of earlier, more political interpretations, and he refers to *Symphonie Pathétique*, *Mephisto*, and *Der Vulkan* as:

jene drei großen Romane Klaus Manns, die, *bei aller Unausgeglichenheit der Form, Problematik zuweilen auch des Gehalts*, seinem Werk Bestand sichern, sich auch behaupten können im Rahmen deutscher Exilliteratur [...]. [RS, 1112, my italics]

There are also aspects of Schneider's argumentation which give rise to the suspicion of political bias: he puts great emphasis on what Klaus forwent in leaving Germany and maintains throughout a critical undertone in presenting his view that Klaus remained a *Bürger*. [RS, 1111, 1119, see also 1105]

These prejudices, however, serve merely to highlight the progress achieved by this scholar's literary discussion. Klaus' *Kindernovelle* has long been accepted as a reply to Thomas' *Unordnung und frühes Leid*. Schneider discovers a parallel between the two narratives which is forgotten by other interpreters, however: that of the 'Verwirrung und Konflikt durch den Eintritt eines fremden Menschen in den so eng geschlossenen Kreis der Familie.' [RS, 1109]²⁴

More importantly, Schneider proceeds to find similarities in material and milieu between Klaus' *Alexander* (1929) and his father's *Joseph* (1933-). Both writings signify, he realizes, 'Vertiefung in Geschichtlichkeit und geschichtliches Mythos.'

²⁴ In *Unordnung*, it is the figure Max Hergesell who enters the family home. Presented as a more desirable son than that of the main figure, this figure is the centre of the emotional turmoil of the little daughter of Cornelius, who himself looks on in a mixture of desire and envy. In *Kindernovelle*, the equivalent figure, Till, is modelled on Klaus. This time the mother of the family, modelled on Katia Mann, falls in love with the intruder, to whom she will bear a child. Both of these narratives are discussed in more detail in Chapter 2 (Early Writings).

Schneider's basic thesis is of the opposition between father and son, however [RS, 1105, 1108], which also leads him to emphasize the differences in the significance of the use of these parallel materials:

Doch ist die Geschichte von Joseph, dem Sohne Jaakobs, die Geschichte echten Berufen-Seins, Bericht von der Erziehung des jungen Hebräers zur Bewährung in lebensspendender Tat – und *Alexander* ist die Geschichte eines gefährlichen Genius, dem am Ende nur gegeben wird, Leben zu zerstören. Der Vergleich mit dem Werk des Vaters belegt so den Gegensatz, auch hier. [RS, 1110]

This view will be challenged in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

A significant similarity in the writings of Klaus and Thomas is hinted at (but not developed fully) when Schneider refers, in the context of Klaus' Tchaikovsky novel, to 'die Gestalt des Komponisten (man erinnert sich, daß Thomas Mann Leverkühn, möglicherweise in einer Rezeption des Buches von Klaus Mann, einige Züge Tschaikowskys übernimmt) [...].' [RS, 1112]

Schneider neglects to specify these *Züge*. His further description of the figure of Tchaikovsky, however, makes clear the numerous and significant parallels between Klaus' *Symphonie Pathétique* (1935) and Thomas' *Doktor Faustus* (1947), both in terms of thematic basis, and protagonist characterization. These parallels go unnoticed by Schneider who, without reference to Leverkühn, quotes Klaus' description of Tchaikovsky in *Der Wendepunkt*:

Seine neurotische Unrast, seine Komplexe und seine Ekstasen, seine Ängste und seine Aufschwünge, die fast unerträgliche Einsamkeit, in der er leben mußte, der Schmerz, der immer wieder in Melodie, in Schönheit verwandelt sein wollte [...]. [RS, 1112. Refers to KM, *Wendepunkt*, 465]

Tchaikovsky's personality is characterized in Klaus' novel by *das Abseitige*; his development adheres within the lines of the 'Psychisch-Pathologische' and illustrates 'Zerfall und Untergang'; the relationship with Frau von Meck dissolves and further:

die Steigerung des Talents, die künstlerische Reife der Leistung korrespondieren auf verwirrende Weise mit einer Auflösung der Persönlichkeit des Komponisten; Tschaikowsky[s] vollkommenstes Werk, die sechste Sinfonie, wird zu jener Zeit vollendet, da der Todesgedanke erneut suggestivste Gestalt in ihm annimmt. [...] Tschaikowskys musikalischer Romantismus, der weitgehend von westeuropäischen Einflüssen bestimmt war, widersprach den national-folkloristischen Prinzipien der Petersburger Komponistenschule; daraus resultiert eine künstlerisch-gesellschaftliche Vereinsamung des Komponisten. Die innere, die eigentliche Vereinsamung Tschaikowskys jedoch ist bedingt durch den Eros, der zur Lebensverneinung drängt. [RS, 1112]

That Schneider did not become aware of, or failed to make clear, the obvious similarities between his list of Tchaikovsky's traits and the portrayal of Leverkühn more than a decade later, is remarkable. This clearly goes further than the possible adoption of 'einige Züge'. Chapter 6 of this thesis further discusses the parallels between these two novels, and presents further significant material to support the argument of the influence of Klaus' writings on *Doktor Faustus*.

1.1.2.2 Political Studies – Dirschauer and Kerker (1973, 1977)

Dirschauer's study, *Klaus Mann und das Exil* (1973) sets the tone for the next group of studies of Klaus Mann, which concentrate on his significance as a political figure. Most of these studies are undertaken by leftist scholars who seek to give credit to the writer's antifascist role but struggle to reconcile this aspect with the pre-1933 figure, regarded as a wayward bohemian. This problem leads to simplistic criticism of the pre-exile Klaus Mann and praise of the antifascist activist Klaus Mann almost in binary fashion, as if these were two different figures.²⁵ The bias of this type of

²⁵ Härle cites both Kerker and Dirschauer as belonging to a group which ignores the pre-exile, questionable aspects of Klaus' personality and writings, and which also includes: Renate Finkelnburg, 'Die Sammlung Klaus Manns als Instrument des politischen Widerstandes in der Emigration' [unpublished *Magister* thesis, Bonn 1967, KMA]; Armin Kerker, *Ernst Jünger – Klaus Mann: Gemeinsamkeit und Gegensatz in Literatur und Politik; Zur Typologie des literarischen Intellektuellen im 20. Jahrhundert*, Bonn, 1974; Sylvia Kleinteich, 'Künstlerproblematik und Gesellschaftsanalyse in den Zeitromanen Klaus Manns' [Phil. Dissertation, Leipzig 1979]. [Cited from Härle, 326f.]

portrayal of Klaus also applies to many of the standard examinations of exile literature, which count Klaus as a significant contributor.²⁶ Chapter 4 (Politics) presents a challenge to this aspect of Klaus Mann studies.

Dirschauer's introduction to previous Klaus Mann scholarship, although brief, is informative regarding the different reactions of East, and West Germany to the writer. [WD, 98-100]

The next study of the legacy of Klaus Mann was undertaken by another leftist scholar, Elke Kerker. Kerker's study, *Weltbürgertum – Exil - Heimatlosigkeit: Die Entwicklung der politischen Dimension im Werk Klaus Manns von 1924-1936* (1977) covers a limited period of time and concentrates on Klaus' value as an exile writer and political representative. It puts considerable emphasis on the contrast between the pre-exile, and the exiled, Klaus Mann: Kerker is decidedly negative in her pre-exile portrayal, which is characterized by her reference to the writer's 'apolitische[] l'art pour l'art Haltung'. [EK, 7] This figure is for Kerker an entirely apolitical, self-centred, narcissistic and aesthetically-minded dandy.

Kerker's study belongs to a group which has helped to establish the popular view of Klaus as having suddenly changed from an apolitical (and, by implication, unworthy), to a politically active (and by implication, worthy), stance.²⁷ This view is

²⁶ Härle has reached a comparable conclusion and cites the following examples of such a portrayal: Hans-Albert Walter, 'Das Bild Deutschlands im Exilroman', in: *Die Neue Rundschau*, 1966, H.3, partic. 442-445; and 'Ein Bürger verläßt seine Klasse', in: *Die Zeit*, 10.10.1969; Matthias Wegner, *Exil und Literatur: Deutsche Schriftsteller im Ausland 1933-1945*, Frankfurt a.M./Bonn (2nd ed.) 1968; Martin Gregor-Dellin: 'Klaus Manns Exilromane', in: Manfred Durzak (ed.): *Die deutsche Exilliteratur 1933-1945*, Stuttgart 1973, 457-463; Alfred Kantorowicz, *Politik und Literatur im Exil: Deutschsprachige Schriftsteller im Kampf gegen den Nationalsozialismus*, Hamburg 1978. [Cited from Härle, 327. No page references specified.]

²⁷ Bernd Weil's study (1983) also belongs to this group. Weil acknowledges that Klaus did have political interests at an early age [BW, 7], but immediately adds a disqualifier clause which is characteristic of Klaus Mann scholarship on this matter: 'In Wirklichkeit aber waren seine politischen Interessen damals sehr oberflächlich.' [BW, 8]

On the subject of Klaus' autobiographies, Weil points out that Klaus' citations from his unsurviving diaries in his autobiographical writings show 'Bearbeitung' [BW, 7] but proceeds to rely heavily on Klaus' autobiographies as a source.

the manifestation of a widespread problem in Klaus Mann scholarship. Chapter 4 ('Politics') offers a solution.

1.1.2.3 Fredric Kroll (1976-1996)

Kroll reacts to the structuralism and *Rechthaberei* which, he writes, characterized Germanic studies during the course of his education, by opting for a more personally engaged approach to his subject.²⁸ There are elements of Kroll's study which point to the beginning of a trend in Klaus Mann studies which will be continued by Härle and Krüll: psychological considerations feature prominently in Kroll's desire for literary studies to act as a means to self-knowledge and as *eine Art Gruppentherapie*. Kroll himself stresses the importance of biographical material, which does play a dominant role in his study.

Kroll's portrayal of Klaus' political development is confusing. It begins:

Dabei war er von Haus aus [...] fast unpolitisch. Zwar stellt seine erste nachweisbare Veröffentlichung, eine Skizze mit dem Titel 'Die Gotteslästerin!', die [...] 1919 [...] erschien, den Hinauswurf einer Dame aus einer feinen Münchner Gesellschaft dar; sie hatte es gewagt, die herrschenden Spartakisten zu verteidigen.²⁹ Wenige Tage vor seinem zwölften Geburtstag – zum 9. November 1918 – eröffnete Klaus Mann sein erstes Tagebuch mit dem Aufschrei 'Revolution!' Doch nach der Unterdrückung der Räterepublik in München zieht er sich bis zur totalen Versponnenheit in sich selber aus der Politik zurück. Erst im Frühjahr 1922 an der Bergschule Hochwaldhausen erschrickt er heftig, als sein Freund Karl Richard ihn einen Parasiten schilt. [FK, I, 20]

²⁸ Kroll's approach to Klaus Mann was through a copy of *Symphonie Pathétique* which he purchased at the age of fifteen at a jumble sale, prompting the humorous question – a twist on Brecht's critique – to be put, later, to a German teacher, 'ob dieser Thomas Mann etwa ein Verwandter von Klaus Mann sei'. The reader shares his excitement when he is left alone with a box of Klaus Mann's *Nachlass* on first visiting Germany, as one of the first to gain access to this material. Kroll's approach, which does contain a degree of speculation, has led to criticism (notably from Härle, see below) Many of the scholar's references are to conversations, which renders the return to such sources impossible. [passim] On the other hand this contributes to the sense of vitality which characterizes this study.

²⁹ Kroll's account of this story is erroneous in details.

It is important to bear in mind that at the time of the Bavarian *Räterepublik* (1919) Klaus was just thirteen years old, and that in 1922 he was still only fifteen.³⁰

Kroll is right to voice doubts regarding the extent to which Klaus' autobiographies can be accepted as a true reflection of the writer's early political development [FK, I, 22] and he also cites substantial evidence in support of an untruth regarding a publishing contract in Klaus' *Kind dieser Zeit* [FK, I, 78f.], although he himself will rely heavily on the same autobiographies.³¹

Rolf Schneider's examination of Klaus has been the most enlightening of this period and stands alone in its considerations of the literary relationship between Klaus and his father. A satisfactorily critical engagement with the life and writings of Klaus does not feature in the later studies of this period, which either concentrate on applauding the post-1933, politically active, figure, neglecting or disparaging the pre-1933 figure (setting a pattern for future Klaus Mann studies) or adopt a largely biographical approach, characterized by a degree of speculation.

1.1.3 The 1980s

Eberhard Spangenberg's thorough examination of the history of *Mephisto* outlines the importance of Mnouchkine's *Théâtre du Soleil* adaptation (1980) in the move towards

³⁰ Adopting the presentation of events in Klaus' autobiographies, Kroll writes, firstly, that the Mann children were more interested on the effect on their meals and the release of their nanny due to the First World War than in the politics of the war [FK, I, 22, 26]. He then writes about the way in which Bertha von Suttner's pacifist novel, *Die Waffen nieder!* captured the eleven year old's imagination and had a lasting effect on his political outlook. [FK, I, 28] Reference is then made to Klaus' early political statements in his first diaries – although that after one such statement the diary contains reference to the parents' reading to the children, casts doubt, for Kroll, on the child's political interest. Again Kroll would appear to have forgotten that he is writing about a child. Several of Klaus' further early political statements follow, however, as do references to Klaus' first, early political writings. [Kroll, I, 29f.] Kroll establishes at this point that 'Die Ahnungen einer bevorstehenden "Katastrophe" trogen indes nicht.' [FK, I, 31] Further reference is made to early political writings and statements [FK, I, 33, 68, 94]. What is interesting is that each time Kroll does refer to a political statement of Klaus' in these years, there follows a 'wenn auch' reference to his apparent non-political interests. [FK, I, 29, 94] Kroll is not alone in this aspect: the tendency to offset references to Klaus' early political interests with 'wenn auch' and 'aber' phrases is a feature of all of the other studies reviewed.

³¹ This applies particularly to the earlier volumes of Kroll's study.

republishing the novel in West Germany. [ES, 191-207] As a result of the increased attention which was paid to the novel through the play, the re-release of the paperback (1981) and István Szabó's film (1981), not to mention the increased media sensation which had surrounded the novel since the original court case (1964-), there was a significant increase in the numbers of scholars turning their attention to Klaus Mann in the 1980s.

Uwe Naumann's monograph in the *Rowohlts Monographien* series (1984) constitutes a considerable advance for its time in the information available on Klaus and yet, with hindsight, it lays bare some of the pitfalls which have been characteristic of the approach of scholarship.³²

1.1.3.1 Naumann (1984)

Naumann's monograph, *Klaus Mann* (1984), gives extensive coverage of Klaus' life and writings in an accessible format, but is also illustrative of some of the key problems affecting Klaus Mann scholarship. The autobiographical writings *Kind dieser Zeit* (1932) and *Der Wendepunkt* (1952) serve as the predominant sources for this study, with Naumann relying on these to such an extent that it is largely these texts, rather than Naumann's own words, which tell the story of Klaus' life.

While it makes for easy and entertaining reading, Naumann's study does not constitute much of an advancement on Klaus' own autobiographies, one superficial advantage being that these are grouped by Naumann into the same text and are

³² Reich-Ranicki's article, 'Schwermut und Schminke' (1987), makes some interesting points, although it is soon overshadowed, from the point of view of this thesis, by Härle's psychoanalytical examination of Klaus and Thomas Mann. (1988). Annette Wohlfahrt's biographical study, which attempts to portray the relationship in a highly positive light, follows (1989). These other 1980s studies are reviewed in subsequent sections of this chapter.

reproduced in condensed form. The presumably introductory and compendious intention of this study reduces to an extent the gravity of this problem.

Another challenge, again not unique to Naumann, is presented by the confused presentation of Klaus' political development. Naumann refers to Klaus' disinterest in political issues 'am Ausgang der zwanziger Jahre' [UN, 42 and 43ff.] only to state, three pages later: '1927 bereits hatte er in *Heute und Morgen* gewarnt: *Fallen wir also auf keinen Edelfaschismus herein, den irgendein Ästhetizismus als den dernier cri empfiehlt!*' [UN, 45]³³ This scholar has been partly responsible for the perpetuation of popular beliefs held about Klaus, in some cases due to his taking him at his (self-styled) word in his autobiographies. An example of this is the general opinion that Klaus transformed suddenly from an apolitical, to a politically active, stance in the wake of Nazism.

As is the case with Kerker's study (introduced above) and with several others, including notably Schaezler's biography, scholars tend to enter into self-contradictory evaluations of this aspect of Mann, driven by their apparent need to encapsulate different periods of his life in the descriptions 'apolitical' and 'political'. Naumann's study is a prime example of this.³⁴ Chapter 4 (Politics) of this thesis argues for a different view of this issue.

Occasionally Naumann does supplement his citations from Klaus' autobiographies with expressions of his own rather outspoken opinion, and some of his opinions will be questioned in the course of this thesis. For example, his criticism that Klaus and Erika refrained from making direct comment on the world political situation during their journey around the world, in *Rundherum* (1929) is unfounded,

³³ Naumann refers to Klaus' 'Heute und Morgen: Zur Situation des jungen geistigen Europas' (1927). [ZuK, 131-152; here 152]

³⁴ See particularly Naumann, 42-45.

and it also ignores the circumstances under which this book was written. [Naumann, 38f. See Chapter 4]

Thus Naumann's study, although it succeeds in encompassing much information on Klaus Mann in an accessible format, illustrates two inadequacies – the inability to deliver a congruous view of Klaus' political stance, and the unquestioning reliance on his autobiographical writings – both of which are characteristic of Klaus Mann scholarship.³⁵

³⁵ Naumann's more recent *'Ruhe gibt es nicht bis zum Schluß': Klaus Mann (1906-1949), Bilder und Dokumente* (1999) is an advancement. Naumann writes that Klaus has become, since the early 1980s, 'eine[] Art Kultfigur'. [UN, RNS, 11] Regarding the father-son relationship, Naumann writes: 'Das schwierige Verhältnis zum eigenen Vater zieht sich wie ein roter Faden durch die zahlreichen Schriften Klaus Manns, von den frühen Erzählungen und Dramen bis hin zu den posthum veröffentlichten Tagebüchern. Sein Leben lang kämpfte er darum, aus dem Schatten des väterlichen Ruhms zu treten; und auch wenn ihm dies niemals gelungen ist, gehören die literarischen Spuren, die aus dem Vater-Sohn-Konflikt hervorgingen, zu den faszinierendsten Aspekten im Werk und in der Biographie Klaus Manns.' [UN, RNS, 10]

On the quality question (Naumann asks who can say if a life, or a literary piece, has succeeded, suggesting that perhaps Klaus Mann is so well liked by his readers because he, like so many of his literary figures, was in the end a *Gescheiterter*) [UN, RNS, 10f.], Naumann writes: 'Die Antworten auf diese Fragen werden heute zögerlicher ausfallen als noch vor einigen Jahrzehnten, als man den großen Vater uneingeschränkt bewunderte und den Sohn als verschwendetes Talent abzutun pflegte. Die Zeit solcher einfachen Wahrheiten ist vorbei.' [UN, RNS, 10f.]

'Die Quellenlage für den Biographen ist also außerordentlich gut; und die Verschiedenartigkeit der überlieferten Texte erleichtert es zudem, *den Selbststilisierungen, zu denen Klaus neigte*, auf die Spur zu kommen. [...] In der Tat sind *Kind dieser Zeit* und *Der Wendepunkt* [...] in erster Linie als literarische Texte zu lesen: Beide Schriften sind Bekenntnisbücher, und der Leser ist gut beraten, wenn er manches darin geschilderte Detail mit anderen, historiographisch verlässlichen Quellen noch einmal abgleicht. Das Schlußkapitel des *Wendepunkts* zum Beispiel, das aus Briefen Klaus Manns an Freunde und Verwandte besteht, enthält keineswegs echte Briefschaften, sondern fiktive Korrespondenz: literarisch überformte Texte, die erst Jahre nach den angegebenen Briefdaten entstanden sind. Das mindert nicht ihre Bedeutung als Selbstzeugnisse, aber es verändert doch ihren Stellenwert. [UN, RNS, 13]

Naumann's first study is still one of the mainstays of Klaus Mann studies, and its characteristics reflect patterns in scholarship of the writer which are still prevalent today. For this reason, the monograph has been reviewed in detail. Naumann's 1999 publication is more of a coffee-table book with large, glossy images and pithy excerpts from important writings and minimal commentary. (Like the monograph, it

1.1.4 The 1990s

1.1.4.1 Nicole Schaenzler (1995, 1999)

Nicole Schaenzler undertook two studies of Klaus Mann in the 1990s. The first of these is *Klaus Mann als Erzähler: Studien zu seinen Romanen 'Der fromme Tanz' und 'Der Vulkan'* (1995) and the second is *Klaus Mann: eine Biographie* (1999).

In *Klaus Mann als Erzähler*, Schaenzler is highly critical of practically all previous scholarship [NS, KM-Erz, 9-15], criticizing in particular those studies which 'immer wieder vor allem die biographischen Hintergründe des Sohns eines berühmten Vaters ins Zentrum ihrer Darstellungen rücken' [NS, KM-Erz, 9] or which concentrate on 'die besondere Herkunft des Autors':

allzu häufig [wird] auf ein zwiespältiges [a word used with frequency by Härle] bzw. gespanntes Verhältnis von Vater und Sohn Bezug genommen [...]: Jener hat zeit seines Lebens im 'Schatten des berühmten Titanen' gestanden.³⁶ Diese biographisch-positivistische Annäherung an das Mannsche Schaffen hat etwa Gerhard Härle dazu veranlaßt, von einer "Ablehnung des Identifikationsmusters 'Vater'" auszugehen [...] [NS, KM-Erz, 9]

Schaenzler intends with this study to provide a contrast:

Demgegenüber will die vorliegende Untersuchung Klaus Mann als eigenständigen Schriftsteller und autonome Persönlichkeit anerkennen und die Analyse seiner Arbeiten von einer (möglichen) künstlerischen 'Verpflichtung' des Literaten gegenüber seinem berühmten Familiennamen sowie von der spezifischen Vater-Sohn-Konstellation losgelöst vornehmen. [NS, KM-Erz, 9f.]

Schaenzler's method does necessitate the incorporation of reference to Klaus' background, although this must, given the precondition of her study, ignore his being a member of the Mann family, resulting in a somewhat awkward statement of aims:

combines being highly informative with an accessible format.) It does not constitute a replacement for the monograph.

³⁶ The idea of Thomas Mann as a 'Titan' is used prominently, and as a subchapter heading, by Härle. [GH, 72-] Compare WPKT, 465.

Mit Blick auf die enge Verbindung von Werk und Biographie erscheint es schließlich angemessen, seine persönliche Entwicklung und Erfahrung in die Betrachtung miteinzubeziehen. In diesem Zusammenhang verdienen Manns individuelle Daseinsproblematik und seine *soziale Herkunft* ebenso wie seine Homosexualität sowie die Funktionalisierung des Schreibens zur Selbstdarstellung besondere Aufmerksamkeit. [NS, KM-Erz, 12, my italics]

Thus it is clear that Schaenzler's study is of limited relevance to this examination. Indeed, Thomas and the other Manns are virtually ignored. A study devoted to Klaus' writings, rather than his biography, is long overdue, and yet Schaenzler's analysis finds it necessary to block out the question of Thomas' influence on these, with the inevitable result that a full understanding cannot be reached.

Following this, Schaenzler published *Klaus Mann: Eine Biographie* (1999). Schaenzler's biography has been placed at best between Naumann's brief monograph, and Kroll's sprawling *Klaus-Mann-Schriftenreihe*, for its balance in length, with the fact that this study has had access to Klaus' diaries being addressed as its second advantage.³⁷ Schaenzler's biography has also, however, been criticized for failing to find its own tone, in the light of previous studies, and it is presumably the scholar's propensity to surmise the thoughts and the outlook of her subject which has led to the following criticism: 'Die Furcht vor germanistischer Trockenheit treibt die Autorin bisweilen ins Plauderhafte.'³⁸

Just one example of Schaenzler's unqualified conclusions reads:

Klaus Mann selbst schien der eher dürftigen schriftstellerischen Qualität seiner ersten Arbeiten noch ziemlich unbekümmert gegenüberzustehen. Die Hauptsache war, daß seine Werke gedruckt wurden. Alles weitere würde sich mit der Zeit schon finden. Daran hegte er keinen Zweifel. [NS, KM-Biog, 33]

³⁷ Hoven, Heribert, 'Lebenskünstler mit Hang zum Tod. Thomas Mann und Klaus Mann in neuen Biographien: Die kreative Herausforderung, Sohn eines berühmten Mannes zu sein', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 77, 3 April 1999, 4-5.

³⁸ Wolfgang Schneider, 'Bindungsschrecken: Nicole Schaenzlers Biographie über Klaus Mann', *FAZ*, 14 June 1999, 50.

Schaenzler does succeed in covering a large body of material, however.

What is remarkable is that there are several significant contradictions, both within each of Schaenzler's texts, and between these. These contradictions arise regarding two issues: the employment of Klaus' autobiographies as a source, and the portrayal of the writer's political development.

In the earlier *Klaus Mann als Erzähler*, Schaenzler is critical of others who use these autobiographies as a primary source. The author herself cites *Der Wendepunkt* two pages later in the same study, however, in support of a point. [NS, KM-Erz, 12, 14] Moreover, Schaenzler relies heavily and unquestioningly on Klaus' autobiographical writings in her later biography of Klaus.³⁹ She admits in the same study, regarding *Der Wendepunkt*, however: 'Gewiß handelt es sich hier um den Lebensbericht eines routinierten Literaten, dem die bewußte Komposition [...] sehr am Herzen liegt und der natürlich den zeitlichen Abstand für seine Beschreibung zu nutzen vermag.' [NS, KM-Biog, 36]

There is, however, another contradiction to be found here: In her biography, Schaenzler refers to significant material which both calls the genuineness of Klaus' autobiographical writings into question and establishes a different view of the outset of Klaus' writing career. Schaenzler provides evidence to support, namely, her refutation of Klaus' claim in *Der Wendepunkt* to have wished to begin his career publishing anonymously [NS, KM-Biog, 31f.] and refers to a likely untruth about a publishing contract featuring in *Kind dieser Zeit*, first uncovered by Kroll. [NS, KM-Biog, 41, refers to Kroll, II, 78] Schaenzler's findings join a group of dispersed but significant pointers to the unreliability of some of the messages in Klaus' autobiographies.

³⁹ See NS, KM-Biog, first two chapters in particular.

In *Klaus Mann als Erzähler*, Schaenzler is critical of those who have portrayed Klaus as having transformed suddenly from an apolitical, to a political, stance [NS, KM-Erz, 10-14]. However, in her biography, Schaenzler contradicts herself.⁴⁰

One of the ways in which the studies of Schaenzler and others have informed this thesis is in their rendering evident the need for an analysis which insists on supporting interpretations and claims with evidence which is as reliable as can be, which admits an awareness of the problems inherent in this issue, and which avoids unfounded speculation. This thesis seeks where possible to fulfil this need. Further, the important issue of the need for a clear and consistent portrayal of the political development of Klaus is without doubt advanced considerably in Chapter 4.

1.1.5 2000 Onwards

The period from the year 2000 onwards has featured two apparently contradictory currents: Heinrich Breloer's widely acclaimed filming of *Die Manns: Ein Jahrhundertroman* (2001), together with the accompanying books, has illustrated the benefits of looking at the Mann family as a whole. And yet, James Robert Keller's study (2001) of *The Role of Political and Sexual Identity in the Works of Klaus Mann* (2001) expresses the wish, first voiced by Schaenzler in *Klaus Mann als Erzähler*, and by Harald Neumann in his *Psychobiographie* of Klaus (1995, see Appendix 1.1) to

⁴⁰ In her biography, Schaenzler argues firstly that Klaus entertained initially only an 'oberflächliche[s] Interesse' in the politics of his time (14) and that 'keine Hinweise [...] kein Wort' is to be found regarding political developments in Klaus' early writings. (34) Then Schaenzler points out that, on closer reading a 'gewisse Epochenkritik' is to be found (35) and that Klaus' early protagonists are the products of a 'krisenerschütterten Zeit' (36). The scholar then states: 'Kein Zweifel, die von Klaus Mann in seinen frühen Werken immer wieder heraufbeschworene apokalyptische Grundstimmung war keineswegs das Ergebnis eines überempfindlichen oder gar überspannten Gemütes, sondern korrespondierte [...] durchaus mit der tatsächlichen politischen und gesellschaftlichen Situation der jungen Republik.' (37f.) Schaenzler writes later, however: 'Politische Entwicklungen nahm Klaus Mann [...] nur am Rande wahr.' (58) [The suggestion that Klaus was closer to the 'Wegbereiter des Nationalsozialismus' than he realized is both dangerous and unfounded. (24)]

undertake an analysis of the impact of Klaus Mann without incorporating the writer's father as an important element of this.

1.1.5.1 James Robert Keller (2001)

At the outset of his study, *The Role of Political and Sexual Identity in the Works of Klaus Mann* (2001), Keller complains that 'most of the literature on Mann is predisposed to view him in terms of either an antifascist leftist or a gay writer, or as a family member of a famous clan.' [JK, 2] Thus Keller's aim, he writes, is to bridge the divide between studies which have 'focused primarily either on the political aspects of his writings, neglecting its gay content, or on the gay content, neglecting the political features.' [JK, 1] Keller ignores the third item in his list of the prominent aspects of the Klaus Mann reception – that of his being a 'family member of a famous clan' in his proposal to 'bridge that divide' [JK, 1], limiting this study's prospects of rendering a full portrayal of the writer's identity-development.

Various identity theorists are consulted in Keller's study, in order to offer new insights on Klaus Mann and identity questions, as Keller undertakes to consider 'identity as an aspect of social-psychological experience', and to examine the 'literary creative process in the formation of political and social identity as exemplified in Mann's writings'. [JK, 3]

Despite the title of Keller's study, the development of Klaus' political conscience is traced somewhat superficially in this study.⁴¹

One of the themes which Keller rightly picks up on in the writings of Klaus is that, as he puts it, of 'artworks as a kind of progeny' [JK, 15]. This theme features throughout Keller's examination of the writer's self-identity. Material which relates to

⁴¹ See Keller, 3f., 15, 18, 88, 152.

this is key to the discussion in this thesis on the themes of progeny and castration. (See Appendix 5.1 in particular.)

1.1.6 Summary

This thesis differs considerably in focus from Keller's study. While acknowledging that scholarship on Klaus Mann has indeed tended to emanate from restricted viewpoints, such as the exclusively political, or the gay studies point of view, this thesis will argue that the real significance of the writer is that he incorporated all of these aspects – he was a political figure, he was a homosexual and, further, Klaus *was* a family member of a 'famous clan'.

Schneider's early and relatively brief consideration of an element of the literary relationship constitutes an exception. The writings of Klaus Mann have been given scant attention, with political and biographical studies taking precedence. The one study which undertakes a detailed study of two of Klaus' writings – that of Schaenzler (*Klaus Mann als Erzähler*) wilfully ignores the impact of Thomas on these, preventing the possibility of a full understanding.

It is clear from the above review of Klaus Mann studies that the literary relationship between Klaus and his father has remained a largely unexplored subject of scholarship.

1.2 Studies of Thomas Mann

Klaus Mann has not, traditionally, played an important role in the leading Thomas Mann studies. Koopmann's *Thomas-Mann-Handbuch* (reprinted 2001), perhaps the mainstay of Mann scholarship certainly in the German language, contains a mere four

references to Klaus Mann, two of which refer to *Die Sammlung*.⁴² However, the following studies do pay attention to Klaus in different ways: Peter de Mendelssohn concerns himself largely with the significance of this figure for the biography of Thomas Mann, although he does make some pertinent statements regarding the *Sammlung* affair (the main interest of most references to Klaus in more traditional Thomas Mann studies). Helmut Jendreich, unusually, renders a detailed examination of one of Klaus' writings and is unique amongst Thomas Mann studies in the progress which it makes with regard to the study of this literary relationship. Hermann Kurzke's treatment of Klaus, which is less conventional if rather brief in comparison with that of de Mendelssohn, is also evaluated.⁴³

1.2.1 Peter de Mendelssohn (1975-)

In the first two volumes of de Mendelssohn's study, *Der Zauberer: Das Leben des deutschen Schriftstellers Thomas Mann*, a substantial body of information is given

⁴² The other two references are: Klaus' inclusion in a list of the children (and birth years of these) of Thomas Mann and a reference to Klaus' suicide and its effect (briefly) on the 'Goethe-Jahr'. [See Koopmann (ed.), *Thomas-Mann-Handbuch*, 11, 15, 40, 155] Similarly, Klaus is mentioned only twice, in the context of the content of letters to his father (i.e. Klaus himself is not important) in the recent *Cambridge Companion to Thomas Mann* (2002).

Nigel Hamilton's *The Brothers Mann: The Lives of Heinrich and Thomas Mann 1871-1950 and 1875-1955* (1978) was published before Thomas Mann's diaries (thus there are no references to the writer's attraction to his adolescent son). Klaus is incorporated largely in the context of Thomas' biography. Reference is made to Thomas' reaction to *Anja und Esther*, however (see Chapter 2). Hamilton is tactful regarding the *Sammlung* affair, presenting the difficulties of both parties. He is implicitly critical of Mann's failure to attend - or to send a member of the close family - to Klaus' funeral (Michael Mann appeared only at the last moment). In view of the section on Names in Chapter 5 of this thesis, and of the significance of the word *Mann* in the section, the following statement of Hamilton is meaningful: 'It cannot have been easy - as Thomas was deeply aware - for Klaus to establish his own identity as a writer and even as a *man* in view of the renown his father enjoyed. [...].' [NH, 217, 275-277, 354]

Klaus Harpprecht's *Thomas Mann: Eine Biographie* (1995), which does not hesitate to treat the more scandalous elements in the father-son relationship, is not always entirely accurate in its treatment of Mann's son [see e.g. p. 521] and the impression is that the author incorporates the Klaus Mann material without much consideration, in order to write a good story.

Ronald Hayman and Anthony Heilbut incorporate a considerable amount of Klaus Mann material into their Thomas Mann biographies (1995) reflecting the increased interest in the writer's son following the publication of Thomas' diaries.

Mayer's *Thomas Mann* (1984) pays cursory attention to Klaus, but he does point briefly to the similarity in the motives of *Symphonie Pathétique* and *Doktor Faustus*. [HM, TM, 467, 470]

about the childhood of Klaus and his siblings in the context of biographical descriptions of Thomas' family life and role as a father. Most of this information is taken from *Kind dieser Zeit*, to which de Mendelssohn refers as 'dieses bezaubernde kleine Buch',⁴⁴ or from *Der Wendepunkt*, to which the author makes repeated reference.⁴⁵

De Mendelssohn does portray the less idealistic elements of Thomas' fatherhood, such as his obvious preference for his youngest daughter [PdeM, II, 1845] and he does admit Thomas' attraction to his adolescent son, rightly concluding: 'Die Bewunderung des Vaters war nicht ohne Fährnis für das Kind'. [PdeM, III, 58, 114f.] (The author, as the editor of Thomas' 1918-1921 diaries, was in fact one of the first people to have access to information about this.) The portrayal of the relationship includes, further, a detailed examination of the *Sammlung* affair [PdeM, III, 251-316] in which he reveals that Thomas' letter to Bermann Fischer, asking him to consider seriously giving *Joseph* over to Querido and stating that he will, contrary to Bermann Fischer's wishes, not be returning to Germany, 'läßt keinen Zweifel, daß er sich weitgehend von Klaus' Argumenten bestimmen ließ; mehrere Wendungen des Sohnes sind wörtlich übernommen.'⁴⁶

De Mendelssohn also reproduces in full the later, ambivalent, letter from Thomas to his son, which he writes after stepping back publicly from *Die Sammlung*.

⁴⁴ PdeM, II, 1465, my italics. Incidentally de Mendelssohn employs the word *bezaubernd* again in association with Klaus: Klaus is described as a 'bezaubernd anmutiges und schönes Bübchen' and as a 'bezaubernden Jüngling' [PdeM, II, 1469 – source unclear, most likely de Mendelssohn's words but possibly paraphrasing Katia Mann in *Golo-Büchlein*; PdeM, III, 58]. The term *Zauber* is also important to Thomas' vision of himself. [See, for example TM Briefe III, 459] The baby Elisabeth also *bezaubert* her father all day. [PdeM, III, 26]

⁴⁵ PdeM, II, 1287; 1465; 1466-1468; 1469; 1471; 1473-1474; 1475-1477; 1513; 1563; 1577; 1584; 1585-1586; 1641-1642; 1671; 1756-1757; 1759-1760; 1761; 1763; 1808; 1869; 1870; III, 62; 64; 142-143; 149; 153; 168; 177; 244; 245; 253; 277.

⁴⁶ See PdeM, III, 285-288 regarding Klaus' original letter to his father, which influenced that of Thomas to Bermann Fischer; and PdeM, III, 289ff., regarding Thomas' letter. Refers to KM,BuA, 122f. and TM-GBF, 33.

He accepts as 'nur obenhin ironisch verkleidete Wehmut' Thomas' labelling of Klaus as belonging to the 'stolzen Anti-Opportunisten', adding: 'Gern wäre er selbst auch jetzt der stolze Anti-Opportunist gewesen, der er doch sein Lebtag im tiefsten Herzen immer gewesen war!' [PdeM, III, 301] Chapter 4 of this thesis will present a different view. His conclusion, however, vouches for his discerning awareness of the consequences of Thomas' action:

Nur eine Überlegung vermißt man in diesem Brief, und gerade sie werden Erika und Klaus an diesem 'Rettungsakt', wie Thomas Mann ihn später nannte, recht schmerzlich vermißt haben: daß nämlich damit nicht nur der mutigen Zeitschrift, sondern der ganzen, um Bestand, Ansehen und Repräsentanz vor der Welt kämpfenden deutschen Exilliteratur ein arger Prestigeverlust zugefügt wurde. Dachte er daran gar nicht? Fühlte er sich ihr so wenig zugehörig? *Man scheut sich in einer so unsäglich komplizierten Situation, das Wort 'Loyalität' laut werden zu lassen; und doch möchte es in leisem Unterton gehört sein.* [PdeM, III, 301, my italics]

The scholar does add another side to the view of this affair, however, when he states:

Wußten Erika und Klaus sich auch in ihren Unternehmungen vom Vater durchaus unabhängig und zu keiner Rücksichtnahme verpflichtet – von einer solchen konnte für Thomas Mann keine Rede sein [...] [PdeM, 302]

That de Mendelssohn wishes to strike a balance on this issue is illustrated when he adds, regarding Klaus' stance on the *Joseph* affair:

Ein nationalsozialistisches Deutschland, in dem Thomas Mann ungestört erscheinen konnte, war doch wohl kein Barbarenstaat! Solches konnten die Machthaber der Welt dann sagen und sagten es auch. Das sah ein politisch hellwacher Mensch wie Klaus Mann genau, und darauf kam es ihm an. [PdeM, III, 306; refers to KM, BuA, 122ff.]

De Mendelssohn does write about Klaus largely from the point of view of giving a better understanding of his father. Thus, Klaus' writings are hardly mentioned, with the exception of his autobiographies, which are incorporated for what they reveal about Thomas and his family rather than as writings of Klaus. Thus Klaus is not a

great focus of attention aside from in the portrayal of his birth; in some childhood stories including a brief mention of the attraction which he exerted on his father; and then more fully in the examination of the *Sammlung* affair. De Mendelssohn does, however, give a tactful but just examination of this affair which was of great importance to the relationship, as will be shown in Chapter 4.

1.2.2 Helmut Jendreiek (1977)

Helmut Jendreiek's study, *Thomas Mann: Der demokratische Roman* is the only Thomas Mann study which engages in a discussion which is directly relevant to the literary relationship between Thomas and his son, the author even suggesting the possible influence of Klaus' writings on those of his father.

Firstly, Jendreiek points out the connection between the material of Klaus' autobiography, and Thomas' *Königliche Hoheit* (1909):

Wie ein verdeckter Kommentar zu 'Königliche Hoheit' liest sich der 'Prolog' zu Klaus Manns 1942, dt. 1952, publiziertem Lebensbericht, 'Der Wendepunkt'. Die in diesem 'Prolog' skizzierte Geschichte der Verbindung Thomas Manns mit dem Hause Pringsheim durch die Ehe mit Katja erschließt und bestätigt die lebensgeschichtliche Fundierung von 'Königliche Hoheit'. [HJ, 216]⁴⁷

More significantly, Jendreiek points out similarities between the characterization of Thomas' Felix Krull and passages from Klaus' *Wendepunkt* (1942), written a decade before Mann's return to the Krull material. [HJ, 542]⁴⁸ Jendreiek points out formulations and attributes in the characterization of Gründgens in Klaus'

⁴⁷ See further HJ, 216f.; refers to: WPKT, 9-24.

⁴⁸ It was in fact *The Turning Point* which was published in 1942; *Der Wendepunkt*, the different, lengthened, German version was published in 1952 which would indeed point to this material coming to Thomas attention at the time of his return to Krull (written 1906-1954 – finished just two years after the publication of *Der Wendepunkt*, rendering Jendreiek's argument of the influence of this material on Mann's novel more convincing. That formulations are likely to have been borrowed would, further, suggest the influence of the German *Wendepunkt* (1952) rather than the English *Turning Point* (1942). Although no reference is given, Jendreiek's quotations of the biographical material are indeed taken from the 1952, German, *Wendepunkt*, rather than from the earlier English version.

autobiography which could have been used in the characterization of Krull's appearance, manner and effect on others. The passage which Jendreiek cites [from *Der Wendepunkt*] makes this clear:

Er glitzerte und sprühte vor Talent, der charmante, einfallsreiche, hinreißende gefallsüchtige Gustaf! Ganz Hamburg stand unter seinem Zauber. Welche Verwandlungsfähigkeit! Welche Virtuosität der Dialogführung, der Mimik, der Gebärde! Sein Repertoire umfaßte alle Typen und Altersstufen. [...] Der geschmeidige Wuchs, den er als Aiglon oder als Hamlet zeigte, war einfach das Produkt suggestiver Verstellungskunst, ein Triumph des Willens über die Materie. Gustaf war brilliant, witzig, blasiert, mondän. [...] Gustaf war düster und dämonisch, Gustaf war müde und dekadent, Gustaf war von überströmender Lebendigkeit; er war abwechselnd jugendlicher Liebhaber, 'père noble', Intrigant und Bonvivant; er war alles und nichts. Er war der Komödiant *par excellence*. [HJ, 542; See WPKT, 225]

Klaus had employed the Hermes myth in his characterization of Gründgens, naming him a 'neurotische[r] Hermes', before Thomas' similar mythologization of Felix Krull, Jendreiek adds,⁴⁹ continuing:

Klaus Manns Gründgens-Skizze liest sich wie ein Entwurf zur Gestaltung Felix Krulls. Von den wenigen Details der dämonischen Düsternis – die freilich auch nur als Symptome einer genialen Wandlungsfähigkeit zu verstehen sind – abgesehen, enthält Klaus Manns Gründgens-Porträt im Ansatz alle Grundzüge des Krull [...]. [HJ, 542]

A further dimension is added by Jendreiek's assertion that Klaus, in his characterization of Gründgens, stood under the influence of Thomas' Joseph.

Jendreiek refers to the:

[...] verwandtschaftlichen Beziehung [...], die Klaus Manns Gründgens-Bild wie die Erscheinung Krulls mit der Joseph-Gestalt verbindet: Joseph ist eine mythologische Re-Inkarnation des Hermes wie auch Krull als 'Joseph redivivus', und Klaus Mann

⁴⁹ 'Die erste Begegnung mit Gustaf bleibt mir unvergeßlich. Mit dem Elan eines neurotischen Hermes drang er in unser Hotelzimmer ein. So leichtfüßig war sein Gang, daß man nicht umhinkonnte, seine etwas abgetragenen, aber doch irgendwie sehr schicken Sandalen mit mißtrauischem Blick zu streifen. Gab es dort keine Flügel? Nein; auch war es kein antikes Göttergewand, was ihm da mit edler Nachlässigkeit um die Schultern hing, sondern nur ein ziemlich schäbiger Ledermantel.' [WPKT, 226 in HJ, 542]

scheint bei der Ausführung seines Gründgens-Porträts unter dem Einfluß der Joseph-Vorstellungen seines Vaters gestanden zu haben, die ihm zur Zeit der Niederschrift seines Lebensberichts bekannt gewesen sind. [HJ, 543]⁵⁰

Jendreiek in turn refers to Marcel Reich-Ranicki's suggestion of the similarity between Klaus' *Wendepunkt* portrayal of Gründgens and Klaus' own view of himself. Significantly, this would suggest the possibility of Klaus as a model for Felix Krull.⁵¹

1.2.3 Hermann Kurzke (1999)

Kurzke's biography of Thomas Mann is less discreet than that of de Mendelssohn. The author does not hesitate to portray the more taboo elements of Klaus' lifestyle, and refers openly to Thomas' homoeroticism. Unlike de Mendelssohn, Kurzke does go into details regarding the writer's attraction to his adolescent son as illustrated in his 1918-1921 diaries, quoting these at some length. [HK, 370-373] Kurzke reaches the following somewhat flippant conclusion, however:

Mehr als diese stumme Erschütterung erlaubte sich der Vater selbstverständlich nicht, und auch diese verbot er sich schließlich wieder. Die Notate aus späterer Zeit kehren zur väterlichen Tugend- und Tagesordnung zurück. [HK, 373]

Chapter 3 of this thesis will give a more considered discussion, also taking into account the important factor of Thomas' aggression towards his son, originating in the period in question, revealed in these diaries.

⁵⁰ Of course a comparison with the characterization of Hendrik Höfgen, in *Mephisto*, would also be productive.

⁵¹ 'Wenn das Gründgens-Porträt im *Wendepunkt*, wie es Reich-Ranicki für erwägenswert hält, in wesentlichen Zügen als Selbstdarstellung Klaus Manns gelesen werden könnte, würde neben Gründgens auch er in das Feld der auf die Krull-Gestalt verweisenden Modellbeziehungen gehören. Reich-Ranickis Satz über Klaus Mann: 'Er war kein Komödiant, wohl aber ein Poseur, einer, der Schutz suchte hinter Posen' könnte als Formel für Krull verstanden werden, auch wenn Voraussetzungen und Folgen dieser Charakteristik in ihrer konkreten Anwendung jeweils erheblich differieren. [HJ, 592, note 159. Refers to Reich-Ranicki, 'Schwermut und Schminke: Zum Fall Klaus Mann aus Anlaß der zweibändigen Ausgabe seiner Briefe', *FAZ*, 13 March 1976. Reich Ranicki's *Thomas Mann und die Seinen*, which also contains this essay, is reviewed below. See further MR-R, 192-221.] Chapter 5 of this thesis adds a further dimension to this discussion.

Kurzke's interpretation of Klaus' reaction to Thomas' conduct in the *Sammlung* affair is blatantly unfounded, and thus damaging to the proper portrayal of this issue. He writes: "Trauer und Verwirrung" ist seine erste Reaktion im Tagebuch [KMD, 15.9.1933], später *häuft sich das Wort "bitter".* [HK, 408, my italics] A detailed examination of the diaries of Klaus, as undertaken in preparation of Chapter 3 of this thesis, demonstrates that on no account is this word characteristic of Klaus' diary notations regarding Thomas' actions in this affair, and that if anything the absence of such words is significant.⁵²

Kurzke's less than convincing apology for Thomas' actions in this period puts material assets at its forefront, underlining what was a matter of considerable importance to Thomas:

Bedenkt man all die Zwänge, unter denen Thomas Mann stand, all die schwebenden Verfahren und Vorgänge der Jahre von Anfang 1933 bis Anfang 1936, dann wird sein Verhalten verständlich. Er war gefesselt und gelähmt aus vielen Gründen. Er mußte auf zu vieles Rücksicht nehmen. Daß ihm das ersehnte 'Politicum' unter diesen Umständen nicht glücken wollte, ist einsichtig. Er war nicht frei genug dafür. Es wäre wahrscheinlich nicht gut geworden, hätte er es sich verfrüht abgenötigt. *Erst als er auf Haus und Geld und Paß zu verzichten bereit war*, als Bermanns Emigration beschlossen war, als er gelernt hatte, ohne den *deutschen Markt* zu leben, als er innerlich zum Emigrant geworden war, konnte ein souveränes und mutiges Dokument entstehen. [HK, 411, my italics]⁵³

⁵² See Chapter 3 and also Wilfried F. Schoeller: 'Klaus Mann scheint auf die Distanzierung von der *Sammlung*, die unter anderen Thomas Mann, [...] auf Druck ihrer Verleger betrieben, unterschiedlich reagiert zu haben. Wo ihm die Motive zugänglich wurden, hat er sich seine freundschaftliche Zuneigung für den Kollegen nicht schmälern lassen. *Kein Wort jener Bitterkeit, wie sie Erika Mann äußerte, fällt im Tagebuch 1934/1935 über das Schweigen seines Vaters.* [Er] verzichtet in seinen privaten Notizen auf jede Heftigkeit. [Wilfried F. Schoeller, *Nachwort*, KMD2, 165]

Kurzke does cite Thomas' diary entries which betray his negativity regarding the *Decision* affair, but as Chapter 4 will argue, he is overhasty in accepting Thomas' genuine will to aid Klaus in this respect. [HK, 475]

⁵³ The prominence of Thomas' concern for his material assets features in the discussion of Thomas' reaction to political events in this thesis, thus presenting a view of Mann's reactions to the rise of Nazism which is not commonly acknowledged. (Chapter 4) Kurzke does acknowledge Klaus' good natured approach to the *Sammlung* affair when he writes, regarding Thomas' letter to his son defending his public rejection of Klaus' magazine [TM>KM, 13.9.1933; KM, BuA, 132-134]: 'Daß er *Die Sammlung* im Fach "Emigranten-Polemik" ablegt, läßt seine damaligen Wertungen klar erkennen. Er hoffe auf Nachsicht "bei euch stolzen Anti-Opportunisten". Klaus gewärte sie. Die damals noch nicht Geborenen aber runzeln die Stirn.' [HK, 408]

Kurzke cites Thomas' ambivalent near-acknowledgements of his homoeroticism towards his eldest children in his letter to Klaus and Erika regarding Klaus Heuser, a letter which delivers a highly questionable message on the part of this father to his children. He cites another letter, to Golo, also about Klaus Heuser, in which, Golo states, his father asked: 'Nun, bist du froh, daß er weg ist, der Grasaff?' [HK, 381]⁵⁴ Regarding Thomas' last meeting with Klaus Heuser, and Thomas' comment that Heuser has remained unmarried, Erika mocks: 'Da er den Z. nicht haben konnte, hat ers lieber ganz gelassen.' [TMD, 29.8.1954] Kurzke concludes: 'Wie entspannt der Ton geworden ist!' [HK, 384] This is Kurzke's only comment on such near-confessions, despite that the author also cites Thomas' dubious ironic comment regarding his writing of 'Über die Ehe', containing as he tells Erika 'eine prinzipielle Auseinandersetzung mit der Homoerotik, ei ei'. [HK, 379. Letter TM>EM, 26.8.1925] Chapter 5 ('Families') will give a more searching examination of the significance of such near-confessions.

Kurzke's short description of Klaus closes by making this figure sound like a burden on generous and blame-less parents:

'Komm heim, wenn du elend bist' [...]. Und Klaus kam oft. Er wußte, wo er zu Hause war. 'Ich habe es gut getroffen mit meiner family.' Er hatte Schulden, Probleme als Homosexueller und war drogenabhängig. Alles zusammen machte er den Eltern große Sorgen. Er ließ sich nichts sagen, zum Thema Heroin schon gar nicht. [...] [HK, 476]⁵⁵

Perhaps there is more truth in elements of Kurzke's statement that 'Klaus bekannte sich zu Liebe, Tod und Sucht, anders als der Vater, der seinen Kunstbau dagegen errichtete', and the following statement is certainly perceptive: 'Daß Klaus Soldat

⁵⁴ Letter GM>Reich-Ranicki, 20.1.1985, in *Lieber Marcel: Briefe an Marcel Reich-Ranicki* ed Jochen Hieber, Stuttgart, 1995, 216. 'Der Grasaff! Ist er weg?' Mephisto asks in Goethe's *Faust*, Kurzke reminds us.

⁵⁵ Kurzke cites: *Der Wendepunkt*, 245; letter KM>TM, 3.8.1939, KM, BuA, 391-394; here 391.

wird, findet Thomas Mann im Hinblick darauf [refers to 'Liebe, Tod und Sucht'] höchst respektabel. Es kommt ihm wie ein Stück Kunstbau vor, löblich. [...] [HK, 477]

Thus Klaus is not a prominent feature of most Thomas Mann studies. He is mainly referred to from the point of view of Thomas' biography (descriptions of Thomas' children to offer a view of Thomas as a father) or political development (the *Sammlung* affair). Some refer to the writer's attraction to his adolescent son. Jendreich's study is unusual in its literary discussion, although this is presented in a somewhat confusing fashion and without full reflection of the significance of such findings.

1.3 Comparative Studies of Klaus and Thomas Mann

1.3.1 Gerhard Härle (1988)

Despite the confusion which has arisen from Härle's complex and profoundly psychoanalytical study, *Männerweiblichkeit: Zur Homosexualität bei Klaus und Thomas Mann* (1988),⁵⁶ it holds numerous findings which are of consequence to the study of the literary relationship between Klaus and Thomas Mann. The following examination endeavours to extract these and to illustrate their importance.

Perhaps the most significant argument of Härle's analysis for this thesis is that the father-son relationship had a profoundly negative effect on the life and writings of Klaus. For this scholar, appreciating Klaus' most significant legacy lies in the 'Einsicht, daß gerade die Mangelhaftigkeit des Werkes [Klaus Mann's] eigentlicher Ausdrucksgestus, oder doch sein wichtigster sei.' [GH, 60] Härle's insight is

⁵⁶ See Appendix 1.2 'The Critical Reception of Härle's *Männerweiblichkeit*'.

supplemented by the eloquent, but simplistic, statement: 'die meiner Untersuchung zugrunde liegende Idee [ist], daß Klaus Manns Werk nicht in seiner möglichen Vollkommenheit unvollkommen geblieben, sondern in seiner Unvollkommenheit vollkommen geraten ist.' [GH, 49]⁵⁷

This state of affairs is the result of various factors in the father-son relationship. The first of these is epitomized by Thomas' all-important diary entry, in which he states that

Jemand wie ich 'sollte' selbstverständlich keine Kinder in die Welt setzen. Aber dies Sollte verdient seine Anführungsstriche. Was lebt, will nicht nur sich selbst, weil es lebt, sondern *hat* auch sich selbst gewollt, *denn* es lebt. [TMD, I, 10; 20.9.1918,⁵⁸ cited by GH, 51]

This diary entry is portrayed by Härle to be the basis for Klaus' *Lebensproblematik*: Aware of this sense that he ought not to have been produced, Klaus' life is his enemy and there is no desire for a continuation of it. As a result, Klaus loads his characters with this problem, so that they lack dynamism:

[Dem] hohen Auftrag sehen sich bei Klaus Mann Figuren ausgesetzt, deren Lebensenergie das Leben selbst schon verbraucht hat, noch bevor sie 'schaffen' können. [...] Klaus Manns Geschöpfe sind nicht in erster Linie sie selber, sondern Stellvertreter ihres Schöpfers. Sie betreten ihre Welt mit einer charakteristischen Schwerfälligkeit und Unbeholfenheit, da sie eine Last zu tragen haben, die nicht ihre eigene ist; sie ist ihnen von ihrem Autor aufgebürdet worden. [...] Nicht die Welt, die Phantasie und die Gefühle seiner Gestalten zeigt uns Klaus Mann, sondern seine eigene. [GH, 51-65]

Klaus, faced with life itself as his opponent, has no desire for a continuation of his life and thus is figuratively castrated.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Härle is inspired in this argument and several others by his tutor, Gert Mattenklott, and in particular by Mattenklott's essay 'Homosexualität und Politik bei Klaus Mann'. [*Sammlung* 2 (1979), 29-38]

⁵⁸ In order to avoid confusion, I list the diaries of Thomas Mann in chronological order of their being written, as opposed to their being published, i.e. the 1918-1921 diaries are indicated as volume I.

⁵⁹ The idea of the castration of Klaus is asserted repeatedly by Härle. Whereas his idea of castration centres on sexual and psychoanalytical development, the idea of the castration of Klaus which will

According to Härle, there is, from the point of view of psychoanalytical development, a healthy movement in Thomas' life away from son-hood and towards fatherhood, which allows him by the time of *Bruder Hitler* (1939) to mock the figure in question as he does. (Chapter 4 will present a different reading of this essay). Klaus, on the other hand, cannot escape his hatred for his father, which leads to his complete rejection of the *Vater-Prinzip*. [GH, 30] It is this hatred which has a laming effect on his writings. Klaus hopes, nevertheless, that he can incur the love of his father and, in order to do so, maintains 'kindliche[s] Unterlegensein' but with the result that 'die als Ausdrucksform zu gestaltende Ohnmacht umschlägt in die Ohnmacht der Ausdrucksform.' [GH, 30] He seeks the love and *Gemeinschaft* which are the result of being permitted to know the other and, because figures like his father do not offer this to Klaus, he finds these qualities instead in the anti-Titans, such as Tchaikovsky. [GH, 30f.]

A further element of the father-son relationship which exerts a laming effect on Klaus' life and writings is the allegation, central to Härle's thesis, that Thomas abused his son. He did this, the author argues, in two ways: firstly, he sexually abused his son.⁶⁰ Secondly, Härle argues that Thomas transferred his problems onto his son in a psychological projection. He finds key indications within Klaus' autobiographies which, he argues, point to physical and emotional (in the form of a psychological delegation) abuse. [GH, 223-259]

feature in this thesis (in particular in Chapter 3, 'Diaries') has more to do with a vocal and intellectual castration, although there are elements in which these two arguments coincide and these will be explained as they occur in the course of the thesis.

⁶⁰ Härle agrees with a modern definition of *sexual abuse* as sexual pleasure on the part of the adult, even if there is no sexual act and the child is possibly unaware of the adult's sexual pleasure: '[...] ich [verstehe] mit der neueren psychoanalytischen Forschung unter "sexuellem Mißbrauch" nicht nur den vollgezogenen sexuellen Akt [...], sondern auch subtilere Formen von Benutzung des Kindes für die Triebbefriedigung Erwachsener.' [GH, 251]

He refers to Ruth S. Kempe and Henry Kempe in order to support his argument of the damaging effect of this 'abuse' on the son. These writers hold that any incestuous, sexually heated father-son

Unlike many other Klaus Mann scholars, Härle is critical in his use of Klaus' autobiographies. Not only does he recognize that these contain possible untruths or inaccuracies, but he also demonstrates an awareness of some of the hidden messages which wait to be discovered in this source. Hidden anger towards Thomas is illustrated by means of the example of an incident which is related in *Der Wendepunkt*, in which Klaus reportedly wished to leave home following a family dispute, despite previous allegations that his father had, in the course of the dispute, behaved most benevolently towards his son. [GH, 70f.] As Härle writes:

Was 'der verbalen Mitteilung' in den autobiographischen Reminiszenzen Klaus Mann nähersteht, ist die Erfahrung väterlicher Größe und Güte. Aber in diese Mitteilung 'hineingeschoben' und dadurch in ihr bewahrt bleibt die Erfahrung tiefster Verstörung. Es ist die Verstörung des Sohnes, die aus dem sexuellen Mißbrauch durch den Vater entsteht [...].⁶¹

Referring to the 'Verdrängung, die [Klaus'] Selbstschutz ist', he writes:

Aber im Untergrund seiner autobiographischen wie literarischen Texte bleibt die Anklage wirksam, ja trägt wesentlich dazu bei, daß die deutliche Grenzziehung zwischen Autobiographie und Fiktion bei ihm unmöglich ist. Denn es ist gerade dieser Haß auf den verführenden, sich selbst am Sohn befriedigenden Vater, der sich als Bleigewicht auf die literarische Erfindungsgabe legt und ihre Flügel lähmt; er ist es, der sich, statt als Impuls die Schaffenskraft Klaus Manns anzufeuern, immer wieder inszenieren, das heißt: sich als Stereotypie von Stoff und Form darstellen muß. [GH, 251f.]

It is germane to Härle's argument that he should emphasize the sexual aspects of the hidden messages within Klaus' autobiographies. While it cannot be denied that this relationship was complicated on a sexual level, there are arguably more significant, and lasting, aspects, particularly of Thomas' attitude towards his son, which are

relationship is fundamentally "ruinös" for the son. [Ruth C. Kempe and Henry Kempe, *Kindesmißhandlung*, Stuttgart (1980), 80.]

⁶¹ Härle adopts the idea of the management of memories from: Heinz Kohut, *Narzißmus: Eine Theorie der psychoanalytischen Behandlung narzißtischer Persönlichkeitsstörungen* [Frankfurt a.M. 3rd ed. (1981), 74]

betrayed in these autobiographical writings. Key examples of these are demonstrated in the course of this thesis.

The section *Klaus als Anreger* is the part of Härle's analysis which relates directly to the objective of this thesis. In this section, the author considers the few comparisons which have been drawn between the writings of father and son, and considers other ways in which Klaus may have influenced the writings of his father.⁶²

Aside from the well-known portrayal of Bert, in *Unordnung und frühes Leid*, there are other attempts to incorporate stimuli from Klaus' person and writings, Härle writes. Firstly, he refers to Jendreiek's suggestion of Klaus as a model for the figures of Joseph and Felix Krull. [See 1.2.2]

He then cites Hans-Albert Walter's realization of the *Mephisto* pact as a precedent to that in *Doktor Faustus*,⁶³ and asserts the hypothesis that Klaus' pact was a catalyst for that of his father's later novel.⁶⁴ Chapter 6 of this thesis will demonstrate that the influence of Klaus' novel on that of his father is more far-reaching than scholars, including Härle, have realized.

Härle then refers to Schneider (see 1.1.2.1), and to Hans Mayer, who have noticed the parallels in the treatment of musicians,⁶⁵ before exploring some of his own findings: he refers to a scene in *Doktor Faustus* – that which introduces the childrens' first contact with music - which has an equivalent scene in *Der Wendepunkt*,

⁶² Adhering to the theme of a bodily occupation of Klaus on the part of his father and his writings, Härle opens this section: 'Weitaus weniger ist jedoch bemerkt worden, daß Klaus auf andere, subtilere Weise als nur durch Nachahmung *Teil des väterlichen Werkes geworden ist.*' [GH, 87, my italics]

⁶³ Walter realizes that Klaus' *Mephisto* 'den Teufelspakt des Adrian Leverkühn fast ein Jahrzehnt zuvor schon angedeutet hat. Die Diagnose von Höfgens Verirrung zielt auf die gleichen Phänomene wie jene, die Thomas Mann seinem deutschen Tonsetzer gestellt hat.' [Hans-Albert Walter, 'Der Mitläufer', *FAZ*, Nr. 272, 23 November 1965]

⁶⁴ The chronology of the writing of the two novels (1936 and 1943-1947) certainly fits this hypothesis, Härle states, although he is right to point out that Thomas did employ materials originating from 1901. [GH, 89]

⁶⁵ Mayer discusses Thomas' musical tastes as revealed in his diaries. Repeated reference to the music of Wagner is noted, before Mayer writes: 'Sonst aber? Immer wieder Tschaikowski. Der Vater scheint nahezu pikiert darüber, daß der Sohn einen Tschaikowski-Roman geschrieben hat. Thomas Mann hat

suggesting that this scene in Thomas' novel may originate from the experience of Mann's own children. [GH, 34f.] He also suggests that the analogies between *Mephisto* and *Doktor Faustus* are deepened by the sexuality of both protagonists.⁶⁶

Chapter 6 of this thesis makes a considerable advancement on the connections introduced by Härle between Klaus' person, and writings, and *Doktor Faustus*. Similarly, Härle's realization of the possibility that Klaus' treatment of the Osiris myth, in *Alexander* (1929), may have exerted an influence on the treatment of the Adonis myth in *Joseph* (1926-1933), is developed further in Chapter 5.⁶⁷

Härle's conclusion regarding this area of the relationship is suggestive of the idea of intellectual and literary castration which features in this thesis:

Wenn sich dem zeitlichen Vorsprung des Sohnes tatsächlich motivische Anregungen verdanken, dann hat der Vater sie souverän enteignet, was auf Klaus Mann nicht 'aufhebend' im Sinne des 'Bergens' gewirkt haben dürfte, sondern als kränkende Negation der eigenen Potenz. Sogar eine weitaus größere Quantität von Belegen dafür, daß auch Klaus Manns Werk und Person Spuren im Werk des Vaters hinterlassen haben, ließe die Annahme einer 'ausgewogenen Bilanz' absurd erscheinen. Die Produktivität Thomas Manns profitiert ja gerade von seiner Fähigkeit, sich selber und seine Umwelt dem Produktionsinteresse zu unterwerfen und ohne Zögern, ja ohne skrupulöses Bewußtsein davon, andere den 'Preis' für dieses Werk zahlen zu lassen. [GH, 90f.]

In the opening section of his study, *Der Zauberer und Mario: Vorspiel im Varieté* [GH, 12-37], Härle conducts a fresh examination of Thomas Mann's narrative, *Mario*

später nicht wenige Tschaikowski-Momente in den *Doktor Faustus* eingebracht.' [HM, TM, 470. See also p. 467]

⁶⁶ 'Zwar ist die lebensgeschichtliche Homosexualität Gustaf Gründgens' in die sadomasochistische Sexualvorliebe Hendrik Höfgens transformiert; auch Adrian Leverkühns Homosexualität ist so verhüllt, daß sie, wenn überhaupt, nur am Rande wahrgenommen wird. Aber als innerer Begründungszusammenhang in Form des "Liebesverbots" ist die unaussprechliche Sexualitätsform in beiden Romanen ein integraler Bestandteil des Pakts.' [GH, 89f.]

⁶⁷ Härle also refers to Frederic Kroll's suggestion that the figure of Ken Keaton, in *Die Betrogene* employs as a model Klaus' friend Ken McConnell. [Kroll, III, 63] Appendix 6.2 will provide an alternative view to this possibility.

und der Zauberer (1930), challenging the traditional, exclusively political, interpretation and arguing for the importance of sexuality in this narrative.⁶⁸

In order to support the case that *Mario* was based on the Klaus Heuser experience, Härle cites a letter from Thomas to his two eldest children. Yet Härle, who ususally has such a keen sense for sexual anomalies, fails to register the most surprising aspect of this letter: an ambiguous admission of a homosexual tendency.

(This letter was mentioned above in the review of Kurzke's biography.) [GH, 18.

Refers to: letter TM>KM&EM, 19.10.1927; EM, BuA, I, 17]⁶⁹

This thesis will move the study of the literary relationship forward from Härle's study in several ways. Unlike Härle's and too many other Klaus Mann studies which focus on homosexuality, or politics, this thesis is a literary study, which engages itself first and foremost in in-depth and unbiased analysis of the writings of father and son.⁷⁰ Further, four volumes of Thomas' diaries have been published since (TMD 1946-1952) and none of Klaus' diaries had yet been published when Härle's

⁶⁸ 'Trotz der Mahnungen Hans Mayers, den politischen Kern und Sinn der Novelle als antifaschistische Parabel nicht psychologisierend zu ignorieren, bleibt die Präsenz des Sexuellen als psychisches Movens der Handlungsklimax unleugbar [...].' [GH, 15. GH refers to Mayer, TM, 162-170, in particular p. 169f.] 'Als "Warnung" für die "deutsche Jugend" kann das nur verstehen, wer den Novellen-Konflikt auf seine politische Dimension festlegt.' [GH, 20. GH refers to Mayer, TM, 170]

Härle introduces the idea of the main scene of this novella as a play of mirrors in which the three protagonists (the father in the audience is to be counted in this group), the audience and the readers play their part. [GH, 13, 18] The man on the stage, Cipolla, 'ein Herr, ein falscher Herr, ein Männlein, ein grotesker Greis, Zauberer seines Zeichens' reflects the other in the audience, 'ebenfalls ein Herr, ein richtiger Herr, ein Mann, das exakte Gegenteil des alerten Trickspielers, ganz und gar keine skurrile Gestalt, sondern ein seriöser Familienvater – Zauberer allerdings vom Metier auch er.' [GH, MW, 13]

⁶⁹ Klaus is not brought directly into association with *Mario* at this stage, although Härle does state that the narrative points to a fatherhood 'die nicht behütend, bergend und bewahrend sein kann, sondern konfrontierend ist, egoman und zerrissen' [GH, 20], further concluding that the *Tribschicksal* of Thomas Mann, this homosexual, husband, father and *Nationalschriftsteller* is of interest, 'weil es in die persönliche Lebensgeschichte eines anderen deutschen Autors, Klaus Manns, mit nachhaltiger zerstörerischer Konsequenz eingewirkt hat.' [GH, MW, 19] Härle will later hint at Klaus' part in the dynamic of the narrative, in that the object of desire, Mario, is removed – the scholar hints that this could be a *Wunschbild* of Thomas Mann's, regarding his son. This suggestion connects to the idea as presented in this thesis to the castration of Klaus – he is vocally castrated in the end; remains childless and his life is ended early. (See Appendix 5.1)

⁷⁰ That Härle's study involves such a categorical dismissal of Klaus' writings as constituting a *Mängelwerk* has received justifiable criticism. [Wes Blomster, review of Härle's *Männerweiblichkeit*, *German Studies Review*, 13.1 (1990), 177-178]

examination was undertaken. Significant findings have been made in the examination of these diaries, as outlined in Chapter 3.

1.3.2 Annette Wohlfahrt (1989)

Annette Wohlfahrt's *Die Vater-Sohn-Problematik im Leben von Thomas und Klaus Mann* (1989) is a purely biographical study. Wohlfahrt compares father and son as they reacted to the different stages of their respective lives. Similarities are found in both men's experience of school; in the meaning to them of their literary idols and in their early ambition. Both similarities and differences are found in their political stance – incorporating their reactions to the onset of Nazism and their actions following this.

Wohlfahrt argues that the father-son relationship improved markedly over the years, from a 'distanziert-ablehnenden Haltung' to a 'liebvollen Annäherung'. This is enabled to a great extent by Thomas' new-found admiration and respect for the writings of Klaus as he turns to expressing his moral values in his later exile writings, she writes. [AW, 107]. The distance between these figures – that it was always the duty of Katia to speak with her son about matters which she and her husband had discussed – and Klaus' public loyalty and tolerance despite his father's behaviour, particularly in the light of the *Sammlung* affair, are made clear [AW, 106f.] and Wohlfahrt is one of few scholars who do not hesitate to admit that Thomas' support of his son's writing career was (at least at the outset, according to Wohlfahrt)⁷¹ lacking.

However, this examination is of limited relevance to the study of the literary relationship. Wohlfahrt concentrates primarily on the letters, diaries and autobiographical writings, ignoring largely the fictional and essayistic writings. [AW,

⁷¹ In accordance with the thesis that the relationship improved over the years.

9] The autobiographical writings are relied upon heavily and their presentation of situations is adopted unquestioningly, so that the conclusions of the study match to a great extent those of the source. At times Wohlfahrt's failure to question her source and to read between the lines is surprising, as is the case with her reading of Thomas' introduction to *Klaus Mann zum Gedächtnis* (1950) which is adopted at the close of the analysis to support the consolidation of a very positive change, both in the writer's view of his son and in the relationship itself. [AW, 117] (A more critical reading of Thomas' introduction to the book will be given in Chapter 3 of this thesis.)

Klaus' diaries had not yet been published when Wohlfahrt's study was undertaken. These diaries contain some very blatant indications of the way in which the writer perceived his father and the relationship, as Chapter 3 of this thesis demonstrates. This side of the story remains unsaid in Wohlfahrt's study. The diaries of Thomas Mann from 1949-1955 had not yet been published, and Wohlfahrt only refers to those up to and including 1943, with the result that important aspects of Thomas' attitude towards his son are ignored. Thomas' private reaction to Klaus' suicide (as opposed to that expressed in *Klaus Mann zum Gedächtnis*) and to *Der Wendepunkt* (1952, published posthumously) are just two examples of these.

This scholar chooses to ignore the notations in Thomas' diary which point to a clear lack of support in the *Decision* affair, thus enabling her positive conclusion [AW, 93]. Remarkably, she erroneously quotes, towards the end of her examination, in her Post-Exile section, Thomas' diary entry of 25.7.1920 in which he refers to his attraction towards his son, in order to support her argument that the relationship had improved over the years and that 'Thomas Mann [...] vermehrt Anteil am Leben seines Sohnes Klaus [nahm]'. [AW, 101]

Wohlfahrt's insistence on comparing each stage and event in the development of both figures can give an overly programmatic impression at times, for example in her comparison of the engagement of Klaus to Pamela Wedekind with that of Thomas to Katia, resulting in the banal conclusion that Klaus' engagement did not end in marriage, whereas Thomas' did. [AW, 39].⁷² In the examination of a relationship, it may be more fruitful to put greater emphasis on relations between the two figures as they experienced one another concurrently.

Thus the studies encompassing both Klaus and Thomas Mann are overtly psychological, and biographical. Aside from Härle's summary of previous findings, and his supplementing this with one or two additional thoughts of his own, an examination of the literary relationship between these figures has not been undertaken by a study in this category.

1.4 Mann Family Studies

1.4.1 Marcel Reich-Ranicki (1960s-1980s)

Marcel Reich-Ranicki wrote several reviews on the Manns – predominantly on Thomas – during the 1960s-1980s, which were brought together and published, in 1987, under the title *Thomas Mann und die Seinen*. The aim of this compilation is the *Entmonumentalisierung* of Thomas Mann; Reich-Ranicki's essays assert a refreshing challenge to the commonly accepted view of this figure.⁷³

⁷² The word 'erstaunend' is used repeatedly in Wohlfahrt's description of similarities, most of which are - at best – *interesting*. [Wohlfahrt, 58, 74; 83. See also Wohlfahrt, 28 ('verblüffend')]

⁷³ Reich-Ranicki has made clear his stance on the relationship between father and son in two ways: Firstly, in his reference to Klaus as an 'Umweg zu Thomas Mann'. [Marcel Reich-Ranicki, 'Umwege zu Thomas Mann', *FAZ*, 14 November 1983] Secondly, the title of this compilation evades reference to the forenames of the other Manns which it features, putting Thomas in the spotlight.

Reich-Ranicki's article, 'Schwermut und Schminke', [MR-R, 199-221] examines Klaus' problematic existence, incorporating the relationship with Thomas as one of these problems. As Reich-Ranicki writes, 'Er war homosexuell. Er war süchtig. Er war der Sohn Thomas Manns. Also war er dreifach geschlagen.' [MR-R, 202] Reich-Ranicki elaborates on the contradictory nature of the beginning of Klaus' career, on the opportunities and the difficulties which presented themselves to him as the son of Thomas, and describes briefly the nature of the father-son relationship:

[Es] konnte hier keine Rede sein von gegenseitigem Vertrauen, von Freundlichkeiten und Herzlichkeit oder gar von Intimität. Statt dessen: Spannungen und Hemmungen, Skrupel und Komplexe, Schuldgefühle und Gewissensbisse. [MR-R, 210]

Reich-Ranicki refers briefly to the ambivalent nature of Thomas' attitude towards his son's writings, and to the elusive praise on which Klaus waited. [MR-R, 215f.] These aspects of the relationship are widely known. He makes one suggestion which has not been made, however, in this context: he refers to the controversy which surrounded the beginning of Klaus' career and alleges that the attacks aimed at Klaus affected, perhaps primarily, Thomas:

Nun war aber Thomas Mann die Reaktion auf sein Werk, gelinde gesagt, nie gleichgültig. Sie war es erst recht nicht in jener Zeit, da Klaus seine Karriere began: Denn Mitte und Ende der zwanziger Jahre wollten gerade die lautesten Vertreter der neuen literarischen Generation – unter ihnen Brecht – von Thomas Mann nichts mehr wissen. Er wurde als Schriftsteller von gestern verhöhnt und sollte ins Museale entlassen werden. Die spektakuläre Wirksamkeit seines Sohnes [...] mußte ihn also verärgern. [KM] störte [...] seine beruflichen Kreise. Für die offenbar schon sehr früh vorhandene Abneigung des Vaters gegen den Sohn gab es also auch prosaische und fast schon banale Gründe. [MR-R, 209]

This previously unacknowledged element of Thomas' attitude – the importance to him of monetary matters even in detail, which is also presented in Reich-Ranicki's examinations of Thomas as businessman and director of his fame elsewhere in this

compendium – will be revealed in this thesis to have had a substantial effect on Thomas' thinking regarding political developments.

A further aspect of Reich-Ranicki's view which sets it apart from other studies is that he recognizes Klaus' foresight early on regarding the implications of the rise of Nazism, and he portrays Klaus' reaction to this as a superiority in the light of Thomas' reactions. [MR-R, 211f.]

Reich-Ranicki's article is almost entirely biographical in emphasis, and it regards the father-son relationship as just one of Klaus' many problems. This thesis will argue for a different view. Reich-Ranicki's study was first published in 1976 and so, although the compendium was published more than a decade later, it pre-dates the publication of all of the diaries.

1.4.2 Marianne Krüll (1991)

Marianne Krüll continues in the 1990s the trend established by Reich-Ranicki of directing attention away from a view which limits itself to the study of Thomas and towards a focus which incorporates the wider Mann family. Krüll's *Im Netz der Zauberer: Eine andere Geschichte der Familie Mann* (1991) is a socio-psychological biography of the Manns and their predecessors. Krüll's primary argument is that the lives and writings of the Manns were intertwined irreversibly into a *Netz*, which exerted a profound effect on the lives and self-image of the other Manns.

The impetus for Krüll's survey is the suicide of Klaus. Her argument is that patterns in the *Familiennetz* of intertwined lives and writings – stories; occurrences; figures; experiences and themes, connected to guilt, despair, hatred and death – are the primary reason for Klaus' suicide. [MK, 11] These patterns are traced in the lives

of earlier generations and are also to be found both in Thomas' treatment of his son and in Thomas' writings.

The sense of a dialogue – or of a battle in words – in the writings of Klaus and his father, which is central to this literary relationship, is introduced in this study, in the chapters '*Der fromme Tanz des Sohnes mit dem Vater*', '*Des Vaters Unordnung und frühes Leid – des Sohnes Kindernovelle*' and '*Der Doktor Faustus des Vaters und der Mephisto des Sohnes*'. [MK, 320-327; 328-334; 383-394] The first of these focuses on *Der fromme Tanz* (1925), Klaus' – as Krüll describes it – 'coming-out' book [MK, 320] and Thomas' disparaging essay on homosexual relationships, 'Über die Ehe' (1925), published shortly afterwards. The second of these chapters compares the derogatory portrayal in Thomas' *Unordnung und frühes Leid* (1925) of a son bearing a strong similarity to Klaus, and Klaus' *Kindernovelle* (1926), in which a young man again bearing a strong resemblance to Klaus makes love to a woman bearing a strong resemblance to Katia, under the death mask of a figure who in turn bears a strong resemblance to Thomas. In both cases, the second writing is thought to be an answer to the first. (See Chapter 2)

In the chapter '*Der Doktor Faustus des Vaters und der Mephisto des Sohnes*', a brief comparison is drawn between *Mephisto* (1936) and *Doktor Faustus* (1947), over two pages. [MK, 392-393] The similar themes of these novels are pointed out, as are similarities between the two protagonists, Hendrik Höfgen and Adrian Leverkühn. Chapter 6 of this study constitutes a massive overhaul of Krüll's portrayal of this issue, as it does that of other interpreters. There is a great deal of significant material pertaining to this connection which until now remains to be addressed.

This thesis is undertaken from an in-depth, literary, as opposed to a largely biographical, point of view. Socio-psychological speculation features throughout

Krüll's study, an extreme example of this being the assertion that Thomas seduced his son into committing suicide. [MK, 394] In contrast, this study aims wherever possible to substantiate its arguments with reference to the writings of father and son or to other sources.

1.4.3 Irmela von der Lühe (1993)

Irmela von der Lühe's *Erika Mann: Eine Biographie* is a rich and for the most part discerning study of Erika Mann, the figure who was Klaus' main ally and source of support in life.⁷⁴ There are five strains to the treatment of Erika's brother:

A slight bias is displayed by von der Lühe, in favour of Erika and against Klaus, but this does not prevent an unusually astute view of the reality on certain significant issues. Von der Lühe's stands out from other analyses in this sphere because of its keen penetration to the truth regarding frequently cited myths and assumptions made about this family. The scholar is right to observe that so many descriptions of family life in the Mann household have led to a picture 'das harmonisierende, verklärende Züge trägt; gerade dann, wenn von extravaganten Streichen und verrückten Unternehmungen der Geschwister Erika und Klaus die Rede ist.' [IvdL, 13] Similarly, von der Lühe points, rightly, to the lack of originality in the available descriptions, including Klaus' autobiographies, of the family's life, and to the scarcity of reliable, candid sources. Klaus' diaries are praised as a rare source of candour in this respect:

Einiges ist den 1931 einsetzenden Tagebüchern Klaus Manns zu entnehmen, der selbst indes durch seine in wissenschaftlichen und populären Darstellungen immer wieder ausgeschriebene Autobiographie *Kind dieser Zeit* (1932) zur Legendenbildung nicht unerheblich beigetragen hat. Es fällt nicht schwer, sich auch die Gegenseite der

⁷⁴ Katia is without doubt Klaus' second support, although this relationship is not as unproblematic as Klaus would like his readers to believe (and many do believe him).

im folgenden wiederholten Schilderungen vorzustellen: familiäre Zwänge, autoritäre Reaktionen, kränkende Erlebnisse und wohl auch bedrü[c]kend öde, weil vom vornehmen Desinteresse des Vaters an seiner Familie bestimmte Tage. [IvdL, 13f.]

Von der Lühe implies that the root of the family's mythology is Thomas Mann's outlook and tendency to stylize his existence:

Thomas Manns zwanghaftem Form- und Repräsentationsbedürfnis, das Tagebücher, Briefe, öffentliches Auftreten und private Ausstrahlung gleichermaßen bestimmte, entspricht bei seinen ältesten Kindern eine tiefsitzende Neigung zur öffentlichen und privaten Selbstinszenierung, zur literarischen Stilisierung von Kindheitserlebnissen und ausgefallenen Streichen, die für die biographische Rekonstruktion familiärer Lebenswelten nicht weniger hinderlich sein kann. Die folgende Darstellung ist sich der daraus entstehenden Lücken bzw. Leerstellen wohl bewußt. [IvdL, 14]⁷⁵

The scholar exposes an incident about which the writings of Erika, Klaus, Thomas and Golo, and in turn those of the philologists themselves, are misleading: the story of Erika's retrieval of the *Joseph* manuscripts from Nazi-occupied Munich, a quick-thinking deed which has become the subject of *Familienlegende*.⁷⁶

Klaus' diaries are again regarded as a source of the truth, as opposed to descriptions in Erika's essays, and in *The Turning Point* and *Der Wendepunkt*, regarding the story of SA attacks on a pacifist women's meeting which Erika attended and which apparently first made her aware of the need to fight fascism. [IvdL, 87, 380]

Von der Lühe does not accept uncritically the common view of Klaus' apolitical outlook before the rise of Nazism, and her portrayal of Klaus' keen political perception is given an added dimension in that she demonstrates that Klaus was in this respect unique in the family. Regarding the first joint book by Erika and her brother,

⁷⁵ IvdL, 88 refers to the frequent untruths of this nature in Erika's descriptions, the details being different from the truth, but not from the tendency, von der Lühe holds.

⁷⁶ This is a kind of *stage appearance* which would feature increasingly in Erika's portrayals, the author concludes. [IvdL, 104ff.] There are also three different versions of Erika's first meeting with her husband-to-be, W.H.Auden. [IvdL, 144]

which some have considered to display a lack of socio-political interest [see Chapter 4, and 1.1.3.1 (Naumann)], the author writes:

Sie genossen alles in vollen Zügen: Keine Party und keinen Boxkampf, keine Filmpremiere und keinen Damentee ließen sie aus. Aber sie sahen auch genau hin: Die verwöhnten Dichterkinder erlebten den ‘American Way of Life’, seine Vorliebe für leichte Unterhaltung und oberflächliches Gerede, die Rassentrennung und die Armut in den Industriemetropolen keineswegs unkritisch. [...] Ihr Buch, so verklatscht und anekdotisch es in vielem ist, zeugt auch von genauer Beobachtung, von einem klaren Blick für die Realitäten. Sie sehen das Absurde, das Erschreckende am amerikanischen Alltag, [...] ebenso sehen sie das Sympathische, das Unkomplizierte [...]. [...] die fremden Welten, die sie während dieser neun Monate kennenlernen konnten, veränderten ihren Blick, veränderten sie selbst.

The author rightly concludes that ‘es sind neue, für die Zukunft durchaus folgenreiche Sätze, die Erika und Klaus Mann nach Besichtigung der paradiesischen Insel Honolulu schreiben’:

Man bewundert; und dann ärgert man sich wieder. Schweinerei, sich in diesem Palmenparadies mit Fabriken beschäftigen zu müssen. [...] *Haß*, zugegeben ehrlichen Haß gegen die Zivilisation, spürt man [...], wenn man Soldaten sieht! Dieses friedliche und schöne Eiland ist scharf mit amerikanischen Truppen besetzt, wahrscheinlich als vorderster Schutzwall gegen Japan gemeint. Schießübungen stören gemein knatternd die Stille, mit Soldaten beladene Lastautos dröhnen vorbei; überall gibt es Übungsplätze, Kanonen, Baracken. Mit Fabriken haben wir uns abzufinden; mit Kanonen nicht. *Mit Kanonen nicht!!* [IvdL, 55f.; Rundherum, 86, KM’s italics]

Klaus’ diaries reveal that, if the Manns’ outward lifestyle did not yet reflect an awareness of the political dangers in the early 1930s, Klaus certainly had a clear idea of these. [IvdL, 72; 377, note 76; 85; 379, note 4] Indeed von der Lühe contrasts his early reaction to the rise of Nazism to the others in his generation, to Erika and to the rest of the Mann household, who restrict their intake of actualities from the *Münchener Neuesten Nachrichten* which tended to feature cultural and theatrical affairs as its front page news. [IvdL, 85] In contrast to others, including Erika, who

did not really believe that Nazism could take power in the land of the ‘Dichter und Denker’, Klaus was ‘klug und richtig’. [IvdL, 72, see also 86]

Von der Lühe’s treatment of the books written jointly by Erika and Klaus is problematic, and is undertaken as if in a bid to secure authorship on behalf of Erika. Two of the figures in *The Other Germany* (Erika and Klaus Mann, 1940), *Studienrat X* and the *Neutral Observer* play an important part in Chapter 6 of this thesis. It is important to bear in mind that arguments regarding authorship on such joint projects miss the important point, which is that these projects demonstrate how closely the members of the Mann family worked together in their writings

Von der Lühe makes clear that Erika’s relaxed relationship with her father was in stark contrast to that between her brother and her father:

Erika verstand überdies noch etwas anderes [als Klaus]: wie man den Vater nehmen, wie man ihn um den Finger wickeln, vor allem, wie man ihn zum Lachen bringen konnte. [IvdL, 26]

In contrast, ‘Klaus, sensibler und vor allem durch den Vater leicht verletzbar, hatte es schwerer. Um so besser, daß er die robuste, temperamentvolle große Schwester hatte.’

[IvdL, 27] The author summarizes the difference effectively:

Daß [...] der geliebte Bruder Klaus den Vater als eitlen, egozentrischen, ja fast liebesunfähigen Mensch erlebte, das hat sie ihm wohl vergeblich auszureden versucht. Ihre Bindung an den Vater war von anderer Art. Sie hat ihn nicht gefürchtet, sie fühlte sich nicht in seinem Schatten; ihren Platz bei ihm, in seinem Herzen, hat sie sich nicht erobern, um seine Liebe hat sie nicht kämpfen müssen. Sie konnte mit ihm streiten, so wie sie ihn amüsieren und zum Lachen bringen konnte; sie bewunderte ihn als Dichter, sie gefiel sich als seine Adjutant. [IvdL, 340]

The bias in Thomas’ treatment of his children becomes apparent when the author examines those occasions on which third parties sought to bring Thomas to influence his daughter’s actions. On a visit to the German consulate in Zurich regarding the

renewal of Thomas' passport, the consul took him to one side and reapproached him about his daughter's carelessness with her *Pfeffermühle* cabaret, but to no avail.⁷⁷

Thomas also received a letter from Hedwig Fischer, asking him urgently to see that Erika be more careful; he, his house and his book (*Joseph*, which Fischer still intended to publish in Germany) could be damaged.⁷⁸

The discrepancy between this father's treatment of his daughter and that of his son is also evinced by the advertisement text which Thomas wrote for his daughter to take with her as she and Klaus travelled to America in 1936. [IvdL, 164f.] As Chapter 4 will demonstrate, Thomas' reaction to Klaus' affairs in America would be a different matter.

Erika's devotion to her brother and to her father becomes apparent in the passages on her handling of their *Nachlässe*.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ The report of 18.8.1934 of the German consulate general in Bern, to the foreign office in Berlin, reads:

'Ich habe übrigens bei dem erwähnten Besuch auf dem Generalkonsulat den Eheleuten Mann nahegelegt, sie möchten auf ihre Tochter dahin wirken, daß sie künftig die böswillige Kritik deutscher Verhältnisse bei ihren Kabarettvorstellungen unterläßt; ich erhielt zur Antwort, eine solche Einflußnahme sei leider nicht möglich, da die Tochter ihre eigene Wege gehe.' [Politisches Archiv des AA Bonn, Dossier Thomas Mann. Quoted from IvdL, 386, note 83]

⁷⁸ [Letter, Hedwig Fischer>TM, 10.4.1934, Samuel and Hedwig Fischer, *Briefwechsel mit Autoren*, Nr 526, 527. See also TMD, II, 387.] The author writes: 'Thomas Mann hat alle derartigen Ansinnen entschieden zurückgewiesen; anders als im Fall seines Sohnes Klaus Mann', before giving a summary of Thomas' actions in the *Sammlung* affair. [IvdL, 119] Gottfried Bermann Fischer warned Thomas and demanded repeatedly that care should be taken. In particular the statements of Heinrich along with those of his two eldest offspring concerned him. Bermann wished that Thomas would distance himself from them and influence his children. Above all, he desired that Erika be less sharply anti-Nazi in her cabaret, and demanded that Thomas bring her to do this, an idea which Thomas rejected decisively. Erika's father always experienced a 'nervöse Rührung' when he attended a performance of the *Pfeffermühle*, which he did with frequency. He was 'liebevoll erschüttert', and filled with 'väterlich-befangener Ergriffenheit' regarding the cabaret's performances. Von der Lühne writes :

'[...] stolz und ohne die emotionalen Vorbehalte, die es den anderen Kindern gegenüber reichlich gab, notierte er im Tagebuch die Alltäglichkeiten rund um die *Pfeffermühle*'. [IvdL, 150]

⁷⁹ She was determined to ensure that Klaus' autobiographies be published, cutting and changing passages on Gründgens in order to ensure this, although refusing to alter *Mephisto*. Sadly, she did not live to see *Mephisto* published in West Germany, but von der Lühne considers that Erika would laugh out loud at the double-scandal that the publication of the novel is still technically illegal since the 1966 ban, and that the ban is merely being ignored. The author writes that, despite the film, Mnouchkine's theatre version, and the paperback, the publication is still illegal, but has occurred merely because Gründgens' benefactor has not demanded that the legal ruling be heeded. [IvdL, 356]

Erika was angered by her sister Monika's plans to publish a book in the same year as her *Das letzte Jahr* (1956), in the knowledge that her sister's portrayal of her father would be far more critical than her own. She would strive to silence anyone who sought to express an opinion of her father

Von der Lühe's study is introduced as one which relies on special research and which refers to hitherto unknown sources. [IvdL, 2]⁸⁰ Thus it would appear that the letters between Erika and her brother were important to this study. The reader would expect, in reading this book, to learn interesting details from this correspondence. However, von der Lühe avoids many of the issues which interested readers would expect to find explored.⁸¹ Further, this review has established a lack of sources given for statements in von der Lühe's study. Citing the content of a letter could have rendered some of the author's arguments more convincing.

A further issue over which von der Lühe skims is that of the increased distance between the two siblings following the end of the Second World War, when Erika devoted herself increasingly to her father and his work. Von der Lühe merely writes (regarding a period of almost two years when both were back in Europe but did not manage a meeting) again without reference to a specific source, and with characteristic critical tone regarding Klaus:

Zufall oder Entfremdung? Erikas Briefe sprechen eine andere Sprache. Sie sehnte die Begegnung herbei, sie sorgte sich um ihn, es gab so viel zu erzählen, so vieles, worüber sie sich mit ihm austauschen mußte. Hatte sie wieder zu viel Erfolg für ihn,

encompassing anything different from that which constituted 'Humor, Bescheidenheit und Güte'. [IvdL, 340] The criticism which her editions of her fathers' writings received is referred to on page 341.

Monika, in contrast, would focus on the egocentricity and the 'einschüchternd' effect of this 'ichwärts gekehrten Wesen' [MM, 18]. For the press echo of both sisters' publications, von der Lühe refers the reader to Klaus W. Jonas, *Die Thomas Mann Literatur*, II, 27, 38.

Erika was similarly on the defensive regarding her brother after his death. Anyone who hesitated to write for *Klaus Mann zum Gedächtnis*, or who wrote about Klaus in a way which did not match her ideas, received bitter letters. [IvdL, 302]

⁸⁰ At the close of her study, the author thanks a research project funded by Freie Universität Berlin on 'Der Brief als kommunikatives und literarisches Faktum', as part of which, the author writes, her study was created. In her list of sources, von der Lühe gives the Erika and Klaus Mann *Nachlasse* of the 'Stadtbibliothek Munich', which contains the unpublished letters of both siblings. Von der Lühe laments that, out of the nearly 130 letters from Erika to her brother from 1933-1949, only four have been published in *Erika Mann: Briefe und Antworten*. Another six are published in *Klaus Mann: Briefe und Antworten*.

Thankfully, a published edition of this correspondence is in preparation. [Strohmeyr, 155]

⁸¹ In the footnote in which she laments that so few of the letters have been published, von der Lühe gives a summary of the unpublished correspondence, writing merely, over five lines, that these reflect Erika's self-doubts, and doubts about the ability of her cabaret to make a difference to the world political scene. [IvdL, 385, note 75]

glaubte er sie zu sehr mit sich beschäftigt, ohne ausreichende Aufmerksamkeit für ihn? Klaus neigte zu diesen selbstmitleidig-eifersüchtigen Gefühlen; er wußte es selbst, konnte es aber nicht immer kontrollieren. Die Schwester wußte es auch, konnte aber nicht immer darüber hinwegsehen. Tatsächlich hatten sie sich lange nicht gesehen. [IvdL, 283]

Studies of the wider Mann family have failed to get to grips with the literary relationship. Reich-Ranicki concentrates on Klaus' biographical problems, with Thomas portrayed as only a small part of these; Krüll does impart a sense of the literary dialogue between father and son, but her literary discussions are kept brief and biographical material, observed from an exclusively socio-psychological angle, is given precedence. Von der Lühe brings Klaus into her discussion, as would be expected, largely from the point of view of Erika's biography, although she does acknowledge the importance of Klaus' diaries as a means of challenging his autobiographies, and makes clear the superiority of his political awareness over that of other Mann family members during the rise of Nazism.

1.5 Unpublished Studies

The number of theses on Klaus Mann has increased markedly in recent years.⁸² The majority of these have concentrated on the political Klaus Mann and on his exile writings. Others focus on the writer's ideological stance, or on his sexuality. Only two completed studies have incorporated discussions of an aspect of the literary relationship: John Brawner's doctoral thesis, 'The interrelationship of autobiography and fiction in the early works of Klaus Mann' (Washington, 1988) and Mirjiam

⁸² See Appendix 1.1. Every effort has been made to consider relevant theses. While it was easier to gain access to, and information regarding, completed theses, it has proved more difficult to obtain data regarding theses in progress; one authority advised that this tends to be more of a word-of-mouth affair.

Sprenger's *Magisterarbeit*, 'Das Vaterbild im Werk von Klaus Mann' (Gießen, 1993).⁸³

1.5.1 John Brawner (1988)

Perhaps in response to the overtly political reception of Klaus, concentrating on the writer's exile years, John Brawner's thesis, 'The interrelationship of autobiography and fiction in the early works of Klaus Mann' (Washington, 1988) has restricted his examination to the pre-1933 period.⁸⁴

⁸³ The only Thomas Mann thesis which was found to be of – more indirect – relevance was George Byron Bridges' 'Homoeroticism and the father-son relation in the principle works of Herman Melville and Thomas Mann.' (Illinois, 1983) Chapter 5 of this thesis has benefited from discussions in Bridges' thesis. Several of the published studies to which this thesis refers began as dissertations: Kroll's 1973 thesis, 'Klaus Mann und die Synthese von Moral und Schönheit: Einführung in das Frühwerk' (Rochester/USA) was incorporated into his *Klaus-Mann-Schriftenreihe* (1976-), as mentioned above; Grunewald's 1983 biographical study, 'Klaus Mann 1906-1949' (Nancy, France) was published in 1984; Keller's 1998 thesis, 'The role of political and sexual identity in the works of Klaus Mann' (City University, New York, USA) was published in 2001; Susanne Wolfram's thesis, 'Die tödliche Wunde: Über die Untrennbarkeit von Tod und Eros im Werk von Klaus Mann' (Frankfurt, 1985/6), which concentrates on the writer's sexuality, and its connections to the theme of death, while incorporating useful examinations of Klaus' unpublished writings, was published in 1986; Gunter Volz's thesis, 'Sehnsucht nach dem ganz Anderen: Religion und Ich-Suche am Beispiel von Klaus Mann' (Marburg, 1993) was published in 1994, and Rainer Schachner's thesis 'Im Schatten wächst das Werk: Familie und Selbstmord in Klaus Mann's erster Autobiographie *Kind dieser Zeit*' (Paris, 1996; Vienna, 1997), was published in 2000.

⁸⁴ The second thesis which limits its focus to the pre-1933 period is A. Ford's 'Klaus Mann and the Weimar Republic: literary tradition and experimentation in his prose 1924-1933' (Nottingham, 1999). As Ford writes:

'The years of Mann's exile have been well documented and researched and place Mann's fiction of this time within the canon of *Exilliteratur*. Those texts which went before, however, have received only scant attention. Yet it is precisely in the novels and essays from the Weimar Republic that Mann developed and refined the techniques and themes that would define his later works. To overlook them is to suggest that the decisive moment of exile represented a caesura in Mann's career, thus masking the underlying continuity within Mann's oeuvre.' [AF, abstract]

Ford's examination of Mann's early prose does not take an exclusively literary basis, but rather seeks to assess the complementary characteristics of the writer's fiction and essays against the social, cultural and political context of their creation during the Weimar Republic.

Ford's thesis is unique in that it examines the pre-1933 fiction and essayistic prose of Klaus with the objective of demonstrating continuity, rather than compartmentalized disparity, in the writer's development. Ford's thesis is therefore the only study, apart from this thesis, which states the express intention of achieving a view which is characterized by continuity, rather than fragmentation. Whereas Ford applies this intention to her examination of Klaus' pre-1933 fictional and essayistic writings, with the setting of these in the Weimar Republic being the primary focus, this thesis applies a similar awareness of the need for a more continuous view to its examination of writings, political and fictional, before, *and* after 1933. (That Ford divides Klaus' writings into pre-1933 [and, by default, post-1933] only serves to perpetuate the division of the legacy of Klaus into these two groupings, it should be noted.)

Brawner's thesis points out the major themes inherent in the early writings, such as the sense of standing *Vor dem Leben*, also the title of Mann's first book publication (1925). Brawner does grant Thomas the importance which he deserves: 'The main conflict in [Klaus Mann's] early writings revolves around a disturbed father/son relationship.' [JB, Abstract] The scholar surveys the father-figures in Mann's *Vor dem Leben* (1925) collection of stories, in *Der fromme Tanz* (1925) and in *Kindernovelle* (1926). Brawner concentrates largely on the question of the ways in which having a famous father affected the development of Klaus' identity, as demonstrated in these writings.

Great importance is given to Mann's *Körperphilosophie*, with which the writer sought both to achieve ideological independence from his father, and unity with his generation. Brawner is critical in his reception of the success with which the writer integrated this philosophy into his fiction, but is perhaps overly optimistic regarding the ability of the philosophy to secure for Klaus an integrated identity, independent from his father.⁸⁵

Brawner's thesis flows well and makes for an entertaining read, aided by the colourful material which it covers. The bulk of the thesis consists of the reproduction of material from the primary literature, however, giving the impression of a light-hearted review, rather than of a searching, independent engagement. Reference to the secondary literature does not feature prominently, although Brawner is aptly critical in his reception of Eva-Maria Kraske [JB, 9f.] and of Stefan Zynda [JB, 14f., 21f., note 26]. His reading of the *Uhu* double article naively accepts that 'Klaus Mann expresses in writing a deep respect for his father's literary accomplishments, and there is no

⁸⁵ Brawner concludes: 'But this [*Körperlichkeit*] is perhaps Klaus Mann's most significant achievement in his early works: to have captured the mood and the intensity of leaving the state of pre-existence by way of physical love, friendship, and sensuality. This process of liberation takes place in Mann's fiction in a manner which has clear parallels to events in his own life.' [JB, 142]

evidence of the hostility or resentment which Mann had previously conveyed [...]', although the author does, rightly, treat Thomas Mann's response more critically. [JB, 38, 40f.; refers to KM, 'Die neuen Eltern', DNE, 84-88]⁸⁶

The title of Brawner's thesis, as well as his proposal 'to ask why Klaus Mann chose to divide a portrayal of himself between these two genres, autobiography and fiction' [JB, 2], is not really satisfied in the thesis. Brawner does respond critically to Klaus' claim in *Kind dieser Zeit* that the father-son relationship was generally harmonious, citing in particular Golo's observations as evidence to the contrary of this claim. [JB, 23-30] Brawner's reference to Klaus' submission of an article in Thomas' name, to the latter figure's annoyance, is unfortunately not supported [JB, 25] and the statement that '[Mann] remained virtually apolitical until shortly before his exile in 1933' [JB, 34] will be challenged in Chapter 4 of this thesis. Complaints regarding insufficient depth should not be at the foreground of the reception of a thesis which encompasses a total of 150 pages, including bibliography and endnotes (the introduction is two, the conclusion just over two pages long, with each of five chapters averaging 20 pages). What is important is that Brawner's thesis is the first to place the father-son problematic in the foreground of its analysis of Klaus' identity struggle, as illustrated in his early fiction.

1.5.2 Mirjiam Sprenger (1993)

Despite the comparatively limited scope of Sprenger's study, 'Das Vaterbild im Werk von Klaus Mann' (*Magisterarbeit*, Justus-Liebig University, Gießen, 1993), the author succeeds in demonstrating that the *Vaterbild* plays an important role in the writings of Klaus Mann. Following considerations of the role of the father in the

history of western civilisation [MS, 5-13], Mann's writings are examined step-by-step, in chronological order and in three genre-categories, so that a well-detailed overview of the *Vaterbild* is rendered. Sprenger acknowledges the difficulty of Klaus as the son of a renowned father, but the importance of Klaus' generation to the writer is slightly over-emphasized (similarly to Brawner, see above).

The advantages of Sprenger's method have been outlined. One of the disadvantages of this systematic structure is that the author is forced at times to make admissions along the following lines: 'Ein Vater-Sohn-Konflikt wird in *Symphonie Pathétique* nicht thematisiert.' (There follows a cursory description of Tchaikovsky's father in the novel, nevertheless.) [MS, 82f.]⁸⁷ Sprenger does, in cases such as this, relate the writing in question to the writer's father-son relationship: in this case she points to Tchaikovsky's homoeroticism, as an opponent to Thomas' position in 'Über die Ehe' (1925). The author misses a vital aspect of the father-son relationship which Klaus does bring in to *Symphonie Pathétique*, however, as illustrated in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

Where the advantage of Sprenger's study is the detailed, systematic outline of the *Vaterbild* in Mann's writings over around sixty pages (the rest is largely scene-setting or biographical material), the main element which the reader of this text misses is the 'why?' and the 'what for?' of this aspect of Mann's writings. Sprenger's systematic focus on the texts has the disadvantage of lacking a certain critical distance to, and interpretative argument regarding, the material in question. This is not intended as a criticism of Sprenger's dissertation, the first to focus on Thomas Mann in Klaus' writings and a well organized piece of work which more than fulfills its purpose, but rather in order to give a sense of where this thesis will move scholarship

⁸⁶ Klaus' essay was first featured alongside his father's 'Die neuen Kinder' (interview with

forward. The most significant advantages of this thesis, apart from the qualities of critical distance and a more interpretative argument, is that it incorporates examinations of concurrent writings of Klaus and Thomas Mann and of other aspects (comparative analyses of the diaries, and political stances, of the two writers are undertaken) so that the sense of a dialogue-in-literature is conveyed. A fuller examination of the literary father-son relationship is achieved by this thesis.

1.5.3 Political-Ideological Studies and Surveys of Exile Writings

Marc Anthony Iwand's thesis, 'Klaus Mann and Europe: critical visionary and disappointed idealist in the twentieth century' (Washington University, 1999), although it tends more towards a portrayal, rather than a critical engagement, of the writer's political thinking, is undertaken from an interesting perspective: it goes back in time from Mann's suicide to his political beginnings, and thus achieves a fresh focus on this matter. Keller's thesis (now published) which focuses on questions of Mann's political and sexual identity, was examined above.

Further unpublished studies concentrate on surveying a group of exile writings, incorporating one of Klaus Mann's writings into their surveys:

Mark Robert Alexander's thesis, 'Mask and discourse: Tragicomedy in German exile drama' (Pennsylvania State University, 1997) incorporates, unusually, an examination of Klaus' late drama, *Der siebente Engel* (1946), along with analyses of plays by Ödön von Horváth, Georg Kaiser and Franz Werfel. The psychological phenomenon of the mask, a phenomenon also important to Mann's *Kindernovelle* (1926), is placed in the foreground of Alexander's study.

W.E.Süskind] in *Uhu*, 11.2 (1926), 4-8.

⁸⁷ See also MS, 76, regarding *Flucht in den Norden*.

Another thesis which follows the trend of the exile-studies reception of Klaus Mann is Bettina Widner's 'Die Stunde des Untertanen: Eine Untersuchung zu satirischen Romanen des NS-Exils am Beispiel von Irmgard Keun, Walter Mehring und Klaus Mann' (Freie Universität Berlin, 1998). Mann's *Mephisto* (1936) shares with the other novels examined by Widner a search for the conditions which gave rise to Nazi rule, employing petit bourgeois protagonists, and following the example of Heinrich Mann's *Der Untertan* (1914).

Other theses have focused on the writer's sexuality (Wolfram, Keller), on suicide and the theme of death (Wolfram, Schachner),⁸⁸ and on religion. (Gunter Volz's thesis, 'Sehnsucht nach dem ganz Anderen: Religion und Ich-Suche am Beispiel von Klaus Mann', published in 1994.)

1.6 Literature of relevance to Specific Aspects of the Literary Relationship

Aside from the studies reviewed above, there are some examinations which are of relevance to specific chapters of this thesis. Chapter 3 ('The Diaries of Thomas and Klaus Mann') has been informed by the studies of Blas Matamoro (1994) and Rong Yang (1995). Yang's *Ich kann einfach das Leben nicht mehr ertragen: Studien zu den Tagebüchern von Klaus Mann (1931-1949)* is a methodical survey of all of the significant themes presented in Klaus' diaries. The portrayal of the relationship with Thomas Mann is brief.

A less comprehensively informative although more imaginative study of these diaries, which puts greater emphasis on the significance of Thomas in his son's life, is

⁸⁸ See Footnote at the beginning of the section on Unpublished Studies.

Matamoro's 1994 article on the diaries of Klaus Mann, 'Los diarios de Klaus Mann. En el nombre del padre.'

Matamoro manages in his article to reproduce a sense of the haunting tone of Klaus' last diaries and of certain aspects of the relationship between the writer and his father. Similarities which relate to the examination of the themes of Names and Inheritance in this thesis are found in the diaries. As Matamoro writes:

The diaries of Thomas and Klaus have some important parallels. Klaus lives in the name of the father, fulfilling the unsatisfied longings that Thomas entrusts to his diary. Thomas acts in his own name, but his name is half that of his father, the senator Heinrich Mann. Klaus is the echo of the echo of a name. [BM, 89f.]

Matamoro has interesting points to make regarding the similarities, and differences, between the two diaries. The similarities are listed as follows:

Thomas' hypochondria and self-medication become Klaus' drug addiction and suicidal fantasies. The homosexual longings become affairs and sexual encounters. The metaphysical understanding of death becomes longing for annihilation and actual suicide. [BM, 89f.]

As Matamoro continues, 'the diaries of Thomas and Klaus also have their negative similarities':

Thomas holds to classicism and Klaus to journalism. One is apolitical, the other militant:⁸⁹ different ways of compromising, in any case. The father's sedentary, home-based life (the same home transported and reconstructed everywhere [...]) becomes the son's wanderings [...]. Thrift and waste, savings and ruinous prodigality compete, as they do for the Buddenbrook brothers (Thomas and Christian). Thomas Mann's diary is his worst writing; that of Klaus probably his most interesting.⁹⁰ The father scarcely comments his dreams (does he censor them?) while his son describes his regularly [...]. Their thinking was certainly reciprocal, in that they wrote diaries at the same time: writings taken from their shared reading. [BM, 90]

⁸⁹ Chapter 4 of this thesis will give a more delicate examination the relationship between Klaus' and Thomas' political stances.

⁹⁰ It is hoped that this thesis will contribute to a relativisation of this statement, and demonstrate that Klaus' other writings are of at least equal interest to his diaries.

Klaus' dreams, mentioned above, contribute to the sense of a haunting surreality and proximity with death which emerges from Matamoro's examination, which also concentrates to a large extent on Klaus' suicide. [See BM, 93-99 (dreams) and passim (death).] Other significant ideas which emerge from Matamoro are Klaus' rejection of German, as Matamoro puts it, 'a paternal element' (the term *Vaterland*, which differentiates Germany from other countries, has connotations of a *Vatersprache*. From this point (1940) onwards, Klaus ceases to record his dreams) and the division of the last diary into two columns, as if the living and the dead Klaus were writing the entries. [BM, 89, 90]

The political significance of Klaus Mann was the first to be addressed and still plays a dominant role in the reception of the writer. There are portrayals of Klaus in all of the main surveys of Exile Literature, such as that of Spalek, and there are numerous reviews of Klaus' politics alone (Dirschauer, Kerker, Weil). Chapter 4 will demonstrate that, despite the abundance of studies of this aspect of Klaus' legacy, scholarship of this area has still failed to address its most significant deficiency: that of a consistent portrayal of Klaus' political development which can acknowledge Klaus' early political interests and encompass these within a more comprehensive view of the writer. This chapter, further, unearths important aspects of Thomas' role in the *Sammlung* and *Decision* affairs which have hitherto not been addressed by scholarship.

Gunilla Bergsten's *Thomas Manns Doktor Faustus: Untersuchungen zu den Quellen und zur Struktur des Romans* (1963) and Lieselotte Voss' *Die Entstehung von Thomas Manns Roman 'Doktor Faustus'* (1975) remain the standard works on the sources of Thomas' novel which have informed Chapter 6.

Conclusion; Looking Forward

This literature review has made clear that, despite the growing abundance of studies of Klaus Mann and of the wider Mann family, along with the long established profusion of Thomas Mann studies,⁹¹ the literary relationship between Klaus and Thomas Mann has not been established as a subject of scholarship. An unbiased, literary examination of the father-son relationship of satisfactory scope and depth has not, until now, been undertaken.

Most of the existing studies which are of relevance to this thesis emanate from biased points of view. Dirschauer, Kerker and Weil undertake exclusively political studies of Klaus Mann, ignoring or failing to incorporate adequately the pre-1933 figure in their portrayals. The Klaus Mann biographies have also struggled in this respect, which has led to contradictory and confusing attempts to reconcile both the pre- and post-1933 figure. Chapter 4 ('Politics') of this thesis has necessitated, given its aim of a fuller portrayal of the political development and relationship of both figures, that this question be readdressed, and succeeds in providing a fresh view of this material.

Other examinations limit themselves to concentrating on Klaus' sexuality (Härle, Zynda and Wolfram).⁹² Keller restricts his focus to a political and sexual consideration of Klaus Mann. Two of the main studies, Härle and Krüll, are undertaken from a decidedly psychoanalytical angle. Many studies concentrate on

⁹¹ Klaus Harpprecht writes:

'Joachim Kaiser schätzte im Jahre 1987 die Zahl der Arbeiten allein über den *Doktor Faustus* auf mehr als eintausend, die zusammen etwa siebzigtausend Seiten füllen mögen. Für das gesamte Oeuvre müßten diese Zahlen wenigstens mit zehn, eher mit zwanzig, dreißig oder vierzig multipliziert werden. Eine Lawine von Worten, die jeden gewissenhaften Germanisten unter sich zu begraben droht. [KH, 17]

See also: Frederick A. Lubich, Review Essay, '*Une mer à boire* oder die Schwanengesänge der Thomas-Mann-Forschung', *Germanic Review*, 69.4 (1994), 177-185.

⁹² Stefan Zynda, *Sexualität bei Klaus Mann* (1986). Susanne Wolfram concentrates on sexuality and death in *Die tödliche Wunde: Über die Untrennbarkeit von Tod und Eros im Werk von Klaus Mann*. (1986, see above).

biographical material (Kroll, Härle, Schaenzler KM-Biog, Krüll), with some of these tending to surmise conclusions. Others deliberately play down the considerable influence of Thomas Mann on his son's life and writings (Schaenzler KM-Erz, Keller, Neumann).⁹³

A few studies are of more direct relevance to the study of this literary relationship. Schneider (1956) is the first scholar to discuss such material in any depth and to point to the possibility not only of the (more predictable) influence of the father on the son's writings but, further, to suggest the more unexpected possibility of Klaus' influence on his father's writings. Schneider points out a forgotten similarity between Thomas' *Unordnung* and his son's *Kindernovelle* and more significantly points firstly to similarities in the fundamental thematic between Klaus' *Alexander* and his father's *Joseph* and then between the characterization and thematic basis of Klaus *Symphonie Pathétique* and his father's *Doktor Faustus* (even if Schneider does not indicate an awareness of the full significance of the similarities in the latter case). Hans-Albert Walter notices with astonishment the similarity in the basic themes of *Mephisto* and *Doktor Faustus* in 1965.⁹⁴ In 1977, Helmut Jendreiek undertakes the first Thomas Mann study to address in detail the question of Klaus' influence on the writings of his father, in the suggestion of Klaus' *Wendepunkt*; its portrayal of Gustaf Gründgens and more importantly of Klaus himself as models for Thomas' Felix Krull.⁹⁵ Perhaps it is due the radical originality of these suggestions regarding the writings of the established *Dichterstürst* and *Literaturpapst* that both Schneider and Jendreiek present their arguments in somewhat confused fashion, with a reluctance to deliberate their implications. However, apart from repeated cursory references to the

⁹³ Harald Neumann, *Klaus Mann: eine Psychobiographie* (1995).

⁹⁴ Hans-Albert Walter, 'Der Mitläufer'. In: *FAZ*, Nr. 272, 23.11.1965.

accepted pairing of Klaus' *Kindernovelle* as a reply to Thomas' *Unordnung*, there are few further developments which match the findings of these scholars. With exception of stating the obvious thematic similarity between *Mephisto* and *Doktor Faustus* and suggesting a link between Klaus and a minor scene in Thomas' novel, Härle largely summarises the findings of others, although he does point briefly to the similarity in the Osiris myth in Klaus' *Alexander* and that of Adonis in *Joseph*. This thesis furthers these findings by daring to give a fuller and more systematic argument of Klaus' influence on the writings of his father.

Despite the brevity of Krüll's consideration of the relationship between the writings of father and son, she is the only scholar who gives the sense of a fascinating dialogue-in-literature, which is such an essential characteristic of this relationship. Brawner's thesis covers fresh ground for its time in its dedication to the early writings of Klaus Mann, and Sprenger's thesis succeeds in rendering a detailed overview of father-figures in Mann's oeuvre.

This thesis is unique and constitutes a massive overhaul of previous scholarship for the following reasons: It is the first dedicated examination of the literary relationship between Klaus and Thomas Mann. It is undertaken from an unbiased point of view, and concentrates on the writings of both figures. It avoids speculation and seeks to support conclusions wherever possible with reference to the writings of Klaus and Thomas Mann. Scholarship's tendency to divide Klaus Mann into different aspects (politics, homosexuality, drugs)⁹⁶ or periods (pre- and post-1933) has not aided the full understanding of this figure but rather has led to fragmentation. For this reason, this thesis avoids such barriers.

⁹⁵ This is in fact the only Thomas Mann study which has been found to address such material in detail. (Given the profusion of studies of the writer it is, however, impossible to rule out that another Thomas Mann study may have considered such material.)

⁹⁶ See Marlis Thiel, who jumps on the Klaus-Mann anniversary bandwagon in 1999 with *Klaus Mann: die Sucht, die Kunst und die Politik*, the catchy title masking a decidedly unoriginal study.

Chapter 2

Early Writings

Introduction

The previous chapter demonstrated that the literary relationship between Klaus and his father remains to be examined in depth. This chapter will compare Klaus' early writings with those of Thomas from the period around 1925. As the first detailed comparison of this material, this examination will make a significant advancement on previous scholarship in several ways. That Klaus and Thomas entered into a veritable dialogue-in-literature in this period has been hinted at,¹ but a full appreciation of the implications of this non-verbal dialogue is given for the first time in this chapter. Of major significance is not so much that this son was influenced by his father's writings, but that this father derived new themes and material from his son's work. In fact a change in the direction of Thomas' writings can be detected from this period onwards, and this will be examined in the course of this chapter.

Klaus' writings have never been interpreted as displaying continuity (the Literature Review indicated that, rather, fragmentation and binary opposites have been associated with this writer). However, the findings of this chapter will draw attention to significant themes in these writings which are employed continually until the end of Klaus' writing career. These include the three mutually related themes of:

- seeing through the respectable exterior of a father figure to his (surprisingly less decorous) interior
- triumph over the father figure
- unveiling the previously hidden superiority of the son

The son's superiority is often founded on his being the only figure in the father-son constellation to experience love for others, and is often hinted at in religious motifs,

which allude to the idea of a Second Coming. That continuity is a feature of Klaus' writings is demonstrated in that all of these ideas lay the seeds for themes which are of key importance to Klaus' later writings, *Alexander* (1929) and *Symphonie Pathétique* (1935), as will be demonstrated in Chapter 5.²

Further, contrary to the standard conclusion of scholarship, these early writings of Klaus do feature political statements, normally of blame directed towards the generation of the fathers for their support of the First World War. Mentioned briefly in this chapter, examples of such statements will form a central part of the argument presented in Chapter 4.

Scholarship has tended to put great emphasis on the theme of opposition between the younger and the elder generation in Klaus' early writings. This chapter will not deny that the theme of the generation conflict is one of the most prominent features of these writings. In fact it uncovers some new material in this sphere, on the ways in which this conflict is represented. This study will, however, be the first to argue that it is the father figure who is of primordial importance throughout these writings of Klaus and to suggest that, when the writer does talk about his generation and that of the fathers, he really means first and foremost himself and his father.³

Five texts have been selected from the large number of Klaus' writings from this period as the focus of this examination. These texts provide the best illustrations of the important themes of Klaus' early writings and also play the most significant role in the early literary relationship with Thomas. They are:

- *Die Jungen* (1925), in which the wayward youths of a *Freie Schulgemeinde*, similar to those which Klaus attended, display their

¹ By Krüll. [MK, 320-327; 328-334; 383-394]

² That continuity is a feature of Klaus' writings is further illustrated in that one of his last fictional writings, *Der siebente Engel* (1946), is to a great extent a repetition of the earlier *Kindernovelle* (1926).

³ Eva-Maria Kraske and Brawner hint at brief points in their arguments that Klaus' biography is what he means to denote, but they do not carry this argument with consequence. (It is muddled together with observations of the importance of the generation conflict, which they appear to consider to be more important. See below.)

indifference towards authority while searching for the real meaning of life, entangled in a complex muddle of largely unrequited love.

- *Der Vater lacht* (1925), a novella which concludes with the seduction of a respectable father by his decidedly masculine daughter.
- *Der fromme Tanz* (1925), Klaus' *Coming-out* book.⁴ A young painter of questionable talent leaves his father's house to experience many dubious adventures in Berlin.
- *Anja und Esther* (1925), a play which features a group of troubled adolescents in an *Erholungsheim für gefallene Kinder*. Homosexual relationships feature; Klaus and Erika starred in the premiere of the scandalous production, alongside Pamela Wedekind and Gusta[f] Gründgens.
- *Kindernovelle* (1926), in which a mother leads a reclusive life with her children, watched over by the death mask of her stern husband.

It is important that the two most significant texts by Thomas from this period are:

- 'Über die Ehe' (1925), Thomas' vehement critique of homosexual relationships, and defence of the institution of marriage.
- *Unordnung und frühes Leid* (1925), a story depicting a family which bears a strong similarity to the Mann family. The main significance of this narrative has usually been held to be its portrayal of the effects of the 1920s inflation on a formerly *bürgerlich* German household. It features the disparaging description of a son who bears a marked resemblance to Klaus.

The year 1925 saw the height of Klaus' early literary productivity.⁵ This was also the year of Thomas' fiftieth birthday, an event which gave rise to a multitude of public commemorations of the renowned writer.⁶ It is perhaps no coincidence that this year was also a high point in the literary dialogue between father and son. Klaus' literary debut was marked by the publication of the volume of stories and novellas, *Vor dem Leben* (1925), which incorporated narratives with much to say about how the writer

⁴ Krüll, 320

⁵ Klaus succeeded in having a total of twelve publications in 1925 alone, which included short stories, plays, novellas and one novel, *Der fromme Tanz*, as opposed to 1924 (three publications) and 1926 (three publications).

⁶ *Unordnung und frühes Leid* is in fact Thomas' contribution to the edition of *Das Neue Tagebuch* dedicated to the event of his birthday, the *Thomas-Mann-Heft*.

viewed the father figure, and culminated in the intensely mocking portrayal of a Thomas cipher, in *Der Vater lacht*.

Later in the same year, Thomas published the story *Unordnung und frühes Leid*, which rendered the highly unflattering portrayal of a son representing Klaus. Klaus' later *Kindernovelle* is widely held to be a reply to the story. What remains to be considered by scholarship is the likelihood that *Unordnung* was itself a reply to Klaus' *Der Vater lacht*.

Klaus subsequently caused a sensation with his play, *Anja und Esther*, which brought about a public reaction on the part of his father, in the form of a statement published in a newspaper (see below).

Der fromme Tanz, one of the first novels about homosexuality in Germany, confirmed the homosexuality of the author.⁷ Shortly afterwards, Thomas published the essay 'Über die Ehe', a vehement critique of homosexual relationships and praise of the institution of marriage.⁸

As has already been stated, the year in question was one of profuse publications on the part of Klaus, and the writings considered in this chapter have therefore been singled out because of their superior ability to illustrate the key issues. This selection remains, however, a relatively large number of texts. Thus the most important of these texts are examined more extensively than some of the others. In all cases a thorough examination of the primary text and the relevant scholarship has been undertaken with a view to pinpointing the (often neglected) primary significance of the texts in question in pertinent fashion but from a well-informed standpoint.

⁷ See Naumann, KM-Mono, 30f. on the novel's special status as a homosexual novel. Further, Krüll writes that this novel 'inzwischen als erster großer Homosexuellen-Roman seinen Platz in der Literaturgeschichte gefunden hat.' [MK, 319]

⁸ In this year, Klaus also published 'Mein Vater: Zu seinem 50. Geburtstag', a questionable homage to Thomas Mann, which is discussed in Chapter 5.

It is central to the findings of this chapter that 1925 also constitutes a significant change of focus in the writings of Thomas. Whereas Klaus' writings up to this point have consistently embodied the theme of the family and conflicts therein, Thomas has not shown a major interest in this theme since, of course, the publication of *Buddenbrooks* (1901). His two writings from this year, however, the story *Unordnung und frühes Leid*, and the essay 'Über die Ehe', both revolve entirely around the idea of the family. Other significant changes in the focus of Thomas' writings from this point onwards will be indicated below. That Klaus could have played a part in prompting such a change in the writings of his father has never before been suggested by scholarship, but this chapter will make clear that such an influence on the part of Klaus must be taken into consideration.

2.1. *Die Jungen*

Die Jungen was first published in the *Vor dem Leben* volume.⁹ This autobiographical narrative has been largely ignored by scholarship, and yet it serves as an important example of the themes and concerns which were prevalent at this time.¹⁰ The main point of the story is that of seeing through the respectable exterior of a father figure to what lies beneath, at the same time revealing the – not initially apparent – superiority of the son figure. This point has not until now been recognized by scholarship.¹¹

⁹ The first version of the story was written in 1922, but has not survived. [See: MK, 300; NS, KM-Biog, 38, 405 (note 7)]

¹⁰ Kroll, Härle, Naumann, Krüll, Sprenger and Grunewald pay scant attention to this story, typically over a few lines. [FK, II, 112; GH, 35; UN, 23; UN, RNS, 56; MK, 300f.; MS, 33-35; MG, KM-Biog, 36]

¹¹ Brawner concentrates on the generation conflict between the teachers and the students – a conflict which does shape the bulk of the narrative material – but this examination will look deeper. This scholar concludes, mistakenly that 'no solution to the tensions in *Die Jungen* [is] offered – except perhaps the alternative of suicide in Maria's case'. [JB, 64] (Maria's suicide is hinted at only very loosely and is certainly not portrayed as a solution to the problems encountered by the characters in *Die Jungen*. [See: JUNG, 23])

Similarly, Schaenzler misinterprets the ending of the story, concluding that its main significance lies in an *apokalyptisch* atmosphere and that all of the characters are ultimately alone. [NS, KM-Biog, 37] It will become clear in this examination that the reverse of the conclusions of both of these scholars is the case.

Klaus' early writings are, with few exceptions, grounded in his own autobiography, with a particular focus being manifestations of his relationship with his father. All of the studies which have referred to this story agree that it is a markedly autobiographical story.¹² It could also be argued that the mere fact that this story centres on a son-figure and on his difficult relationship with his father is enough to suggest that it has something to say about Klaus and Thomas.

Klaus' difficulty in having a well-known and respected father is reflected in this story.¹³ The father in this story is typical of father-figures in Klaus' writings who appear to represent Thomas: he is a 'General', a 'sehr geachteter Mann' and a 'hoher Offizier' who serves 'dem Leben' and 'dem menschlichen Staat', in his 'Uniform' and 'in heiterer Würde'.¹⁴

As in other Klaus stories, the father-son relationship is characterized by an imbalance in *Leistung* and in this case in the associated idea of *Berechtigung zum Leben*, reflecting obvious autobiographical concerns.

That *Die Jungen* is illustrative of Klaus' difficult relationship with his father is first illustrated by Maria, a fellow pupil and admirer of the autobiographical figure Harald. Maria is unhappy at the prospect of leaving the school to return to her family:

Eva-Maria Kraske's article, 'Die Darstellung der Jugend in den Erzählungen Klaus Manns' (1984) tends to emphasize the idea of generation conflict but also to deny the importance of this in the face of Klaus' autobiographical background. [E-MK, 22-27]

The only scholar who has furthered our understanding of *Die Jungen* is Wolfram, the first scholar to detect the importance of love in the ending, in her observation that it constitutes the 'Bekanntnis einer Mannschen Figur zu seiner Homosexualität' [SW, 15], suggesting indirectly that this story is a precursor to *Der fromme Tanz* and relating the narrative to some of the dominant themes explored by *Unordnung*, those of *Leben*, *Liebe* and *Tod*. [SW, 17]

¹² All observe that the pupil, Harald, represents Klaus, and some point out that Harald's father, a *hoher Offizier*, serves as a cipher for Thomas. See: Kroll [FK, II, 112], Grunewald [MG, KM-Biog, 36], Wolfram [SW, 16], Brawner [JB, 51f.], Krüll [MK, 300f.], and Schaenzler [NS, KM-Biog, 38, 405 note 7].

¹³ See Kroll, II, 47, regarding the difficulties which Klaus experienced as Thomas' son at the *Odenwaldschule*, difficulties similar to those portrayed in this narrative.

¹⁴ Thomas is himself described wearing a grey uniform. Klaus renders the following description of his father, during the writing of the *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*: 'Ich sehe ihn sein Arbeitszimmer verlassen, sehr aufrecht in einer straffen uniformierten Jacke aus grauem Stoff.' [WPKT, 80]

‘Andere haben doch ihre Eltern [...]. Aber meine Eltern sind auch so widerlich. Dein Vater, den denke ich mir angenehm’, wandte [Maria] sich plötzlich an Harald, ‘deinen Vater möchte ich gerne kennenlernen. Ist er – ist er auch so wie du?’ sagte sie und lächelte ihm heiß und kokett entgegen. [JUNG, 23]

Maria’s flirtatious (*heiß und kokett*) way of addressing Harald is one of the indicators of her attraction to him. Yet, given that the subject of her curiosity is Harald’s father, the implication is that her interest in Harald is actually rooted in her fascination with his father.

Harald’s reply makes clear his suffering:

Harald senkte den Kopf. ‘Mein Vater’, sagte er ganz leise, ‘ist ein sehr geachteter Mann.’ – Haralds Vater war hoher Offizier. ‘Mein Vater’, sagte Harald noch leiser, ‘liebt mich nicht sehr. Er hat es so leicht, abzulehnen.’ Aber er brach ab und senkte nur den Kopf. [JUNG, 23]

The cold and distant portrayal of Harald’s father mirrors elements of Klaus’ portrayal of his own father in his autobiographies.¹⁵ Many of the pupils neglect to observe the school’s rules, and yet Harald is the only one whose parent is evoked as a threat. This creates the impression that the professor is the accomplice of Harald’s father, giving the sense that Harald cannot escape the association with, or the influence of, his father: ‘Der Professor fing an zu reden. [...] “Was würde dein Vater dazu sagen?” rief der Professor. “Du weißt, daß ich mit ihm befreundet bin, wie soll ich ihm dein Betragen rechtfertigen?”’ [JUNG, 29f.] The duo of Harald’s father and the school professor is portrayed as a closed team, acting in opposition to the protagonist, and against which he does not stand a chance.

The turning point of this story is already hinted at in the above conversation in that, while the professor delivers his long, scolding lecture to Harald, Mann writes: ‘Harald hörte ihm kaum zu’. Further, when the professor has finished scolding Harald,

¹⁵ A cold and distant impression is given of Thomas in *Kind dieser Zeit* [KdZ, 37f.] and in *Der Wendepunkt*. [WPKT, 21-25]

with the words quoted above, Harald reacts as follows: ‘*Da hob Harald den Blick und lächelte.*’ [JUNG, 26, my italics] That Harald lifts his head and smiles, serenely, is significant, hinting that, despite the threat posed to him by the elder generation, and despite his apparent inferiority, this figure is blessed in ways which are not immediately apparent.

The turning point of *Die Jungen* takes place in a conversation between Harald and his fellow pupil, Adolf. Just as Harald smiles, in casual contempt of the professor’s - and indirectly his father’s - authority, he does not surrender and accept Adolf’s view of him. Rather, he succeeds in turning the discussion around, and in making Adolf, the most discerning thinker of the pupils, rethink his verdict. The focus of this dialogue is the question of these young people’s right to life (again, a typical question in Klaus’ early writings); Adolf challenges Harald: ‘Was bist du denn?! Was soll mir deine Wollust und deine Melancholie. – Du bist nichts, du bist nichts. – Du bist ein mißglückter Freudenjunge. – Du bist nichts und wir alle sind nichts.’ [JUNG, 30]

As the exchange between the two youths proceeds, the influence of Harald’s father becomes clear once more. Adolf echoes Maria’s words (quoted above): ‘Deinen Vater’, sagte er, [...] ‘den möchte ich kennenlernen. Den denke ich mir gut und respektabel. Der dient dem Leben und dem menschlichen Staate, und so soll es sein.’ Harald’s reply, also almost an echo (of his reply to Maria, cited above), opposes the public respectability of this figure with his own private knowledge of his coldness: ‘Ja’, sagte Harald leise, ‘der spart mit sich, der hat es wohl gut.’ [JUNG, 30] The debate proceeds:

Aber Adolf richtete sich kerzengerade auf. ‘Ach was’, sagte er, und hob zuckend die Hand, ‘ich halte zu ihm.’ Harald wandte leicht das Gesicht von ihm ab. ‘Dann wünsche ich dir Glück’, sagte er. ‘Es ist schön für die, die zu ihm halten können; auch der Professor wird sich darüber freuen.’ Adolf schüttelte zornig den Kopf. ‘Denn wir’,

rief er aus, 'wie sind denn wir? Ich möchte es wahrhaftig wissen, wo unsere Berechtigung zu leben liegt. Wir sind zu zerrissen und zu traurig, um Gegenpol und Ruhehafen irgendwo zu finden. – Und wer die Ruhe nicht hat, der kann dem Leben nicht dienen. Und wer dem Leben nicht dient, der ist ruchlos und sollte sterben.' [JUNG, 30]

It is noteworthy that, in all of the above exchanges, Harald's father is employed as an example of a desirable existence. He is contrasted to Maria's parents, who are described as *widerlich*, and to Harald himself, whose behaviour is reprimandable and who is described by Adolf as an unworthy non-achiever, as *nichts*.

It is significant that Harald does not surrender and accept the validity of the view of himself presented by Adolf, instead managing to turn the discussion around and bring Adolf to rethink his verdict. Harald objects:

'Aber einmal sterben wir doch – und daß man stirbt, das ist vielleicht schon genug "Recht zum Leben"'. 'Ja', sagte Adolf. 'Und worauf es ankommt', fuhr der andere fort, 'das Dunkelste, weißt du, das können wir ja vielleicht auch ahnen, denn wir haben ja die Liebe. - Und in der Liebe ist auch der Tod. – Ich glaube aber, wer die Erkenntnis des Todes hat, der hat auch die Erkenntnis des Lebens – hat sie besser vielleicht und tiefer, als die Ruhigen und Würdigen, die dem menschlichen Staat dienen und dem Leben.' Adolf sagte noch einmal, fast tonlos diesmal: 'Ja.' [JUNG, 30f.]

Asked by Adolf what he intends to do later, Harald's reply that he will be in a cabaret, in the theatre, or write poems, incites the comment 'Dein Vater würde das liederlich nennen'.¹⁶ Harald adds:

Es wird entschieden werden dort drüben. – Gott wird entscheiden, wer von uns beiden recht hatte – er oder ich. Die Welt auf jeden Fall', fügte er hinzu, und lächelte traurig, 'die Welt entschied sich für ihn.' [JUNG, 31]

This statement suggests Klaus' view that the only possible basis for a son's writing career in view of that of his father was competition, in that God will have to decide

¹⁶ Harald's career plans mirror those of Klaus Mann at the time. [See for example WPKT, 193]

between the two writers. That this view was an accurate one will be confirmed in the course of this thesis.

Adolf's parting words when the two young men bid one another farewell suggest a triumph, however indirect, on the part of Harald over his father:

'[...] – Und was deinen Herrn Vater betrifft', und er ließ plötzlich mit einem Auflachen seine Hand fallen, 'dein Herr möge weiterhin seine Uniform in Würde tragen – mag er uns liederlich nennen – *uns* geht er nichts an.' [JUNG, 31]

Harald would not on the surface appear to be superior to his father, and yet the end of the narrative does suggest that, deep down, this is the case. In a moment of heightened consciousness at the close of the narrative, Harald realizes that all of the people in his life are lonely:

Vor tiefgeschlossenen Augen erstand [Harald] für einen Augenblick die Vision all der Menschen, die in diesem Hause und um ihn lebten. Er sah sie wie weitgeöffnet, er sah ihnen bis auf den Herzensgrund. [Harald recognizes the loneliness and suffering of a list of his fellow students and the teachers of the institute]. Da war auch sein Vater und diente in heiterer Würde dem Leben, ein hoher, geachteter Herr.

Allein war jeder von ihnen. Er sah sie alle, in einer Sekunde tiefen, begreifenden Rausches. Wollte man nicht von ihnen, sie sollten ein Neues sein und ein Anfang? – Und doch lag ihnen Ende im Blut, und so standen sie tragisch an der Wende der Zeit.

Und worauf kam es nun an?

Er öffnete leise die Tür. Kindlich schlief Uto in seinen weißen Kissen. Als der Lichtstrahl sein Gesicht traf, richtete er sich erwachend auf. Er erkannte Harald und lächelte ihm entgegen. Und Harald setzte sich stille zu ihm ans Bett. [JUNG, 34f.]

Anyone familiar with the author's biography will recognize the meaning of the last lines of the narrative.¹⁷ Harald is the only figure in the story to have love in his life, and this makes him superior even to his high-achieving father, who has shut himself off and lives a cold life.

That Harald is given to be superior to all of the people in his life, including his school companions from his generation, is significant. It suggests that the ultimate

¹⁷ Klaus' descriptions of his feelings for a boy named Uto underline the autobiographical nature of the story. [See KdZ, 168, 195f.]

message of this text is to be found not in the opposition of two generations (a theme which does occupy a large volume of the text) but rather in the triumph of a son over his father.

As the first in-depth analysis of *Die Jungen*, this examination has pointed out several significant factors which had not been recognized by scholarship: *Die Jungen* has been demonstrated to be an important early pointer to the theme of seeing through and debunking a well-known and respected father figure, and to the connected themes of the triumph of a son figure over a father figure and the unveiling of the son's superiority. It will be established in the following discussions in this chapter and beyond that these themes are of great significance both to the early writings and to Klaus' oeuvre as a whole. The final part of this examination has, further, asserted a challenge to the view that this narrative – and Klaus' early oeuvre as a whole – are ultimately concerned with the opposition of two *generations*.

2.2 *Der Vater lacht*

Der Vater lacht is the story of a respectable widower who leads an isolated existence until his daughter, on completing her boarding school education, returns to live in the family home with her father for the first time since her mother's death. The relationship between father and daughter, who each represent opposing values, is characterized by distance and tension. The father is also loath to admit his attraction to his daughter. The story culminates in an incestuous sexual act.

Scholarship has embraced this story more readily than *Die Jungen*. As in *Die Jungen*, the father figure is accepted as a cipher for Thomas Mann.¹⁸ Similarly, the

¹⁸ See Grunewald [MG, KM-Biog, 210]; Brawner [JB, 57]; Härle [GH, 371f.]; Kraske [E-MK, 28] and Krüll [MK, 297].

daughter, Kunigunde, a highly masculine figure, is regarded as representing Klaus.¹⁹ It is not surprising that it is the extraordinary ending of the story which has attracted the most attention and given rise to the most contradictory opinions amongst scholars. Kroll suggests a connection between this story and *Der Tod in Venedig* [FK, II, 116] and Grunewald even refers to the novella as a parody of *Der Tod in Venedig*. [MG, KM-Bibliog, 211; MG, KM-Biog, 23] It is perhaps the association between this story and Thomas' novella – and the fact that the protagonist does not die – which has led to the unanimously positive interpretation of the ending of *Der Vater lacht*.²⁰

¹⁹ Kunigunde was as a child 'ein kränklicher Junge' (highlighting the autobiographical basis – Klaus had a near-fatal case of appendicitis as a child [see KdZ, 49-56; WPKT, 73-76]) and is described as 'männlich', as 'gar zu unweiblich' and as 'kaum mehr weiblich von Bau'. She appears to her father like a 'junger Ritter'; like a monk; like a 'nicht mehr ganz junger, aber über die Maßen reizvoller Marquis'; like a 'kluge[r] und charmante[r] Graf'; or a 'junge[r], gottesfürchtige[r] Rittersmann[]', with hands described as 'herrenhaft'. [DVL, 36, 37, 61, 52, 56, 50, 51, 39. For further references to Kunigunde's masculinity, see these pages as cited and DVL, 52, 57, 59] Scholars accept that Kunigunde represents Klaus, without considering other possible models for this figure. See: Brawner [JB, 57f.], Krüll [MK, 297], Kraske [E-MK, 31] and Härle [GH, 276]. It is possible that his sister Erika, who also bore some masculine traits and was herself characterized by a propensity for play-acting, served as a model for some of the characteristics of this figure. Elements of Pamela Wedekind, another masculine girl also with a liking for play-acting and for extravagant eccentricities, may also have been incorporated into this figure.

²⁰ Kroll states: 'Im Gegensatz zu seinem Modell, Gustav von Aschenbach in Thomas Manns *Der Tod in Venedig*, wird Theodor Hoffmann durch seine Begegnung mit dem Tode geheilt.' [FK, II, 116] (Hoffmann falls ill in the course of the narrative and is nursed by his daughter.) Wolfram, like Kroll, regards the ending of the story as signifying healing on the part of the father: 'Weil er schließlich dem Inzest mit der Tochter zustimmt, seine eigenen Gefühle endlich zuläßt, bleibt er am Leben.' [SW, 284] See also:

'In *Der Vater lacht* Klaus Mann experiments with a way in which both the father's and the daughter's inability to communicate could be bridged and their loneliness dissolved through what he understood to be a form of primordial sexuality. [...] In *Der Vater lacht* [incestuous, sexual] impulses are woven into the story, and they seem to provide (through their satisfaction) a way of relaxing the tension between the 'Ministerialrat' and his daughter. [...] The father daughter conflict in *Der Vater lacht* repeats many of the same problems which were dealt with in *Die Jungen*. Whereas no solution to the tensions in *Die Jungen* was offered – except perhaps the alternative of suicide in Maria's case – a kind of solution is offered in *Der Vater lacht* through incest. [...] sexuality is drawn on as a possible solution to the tension in the relationship between Kunigunde and her father.' [Brawner, 63-65. As stated above, Brawner is not alone in failing to recognize that a solution is offered at the close of *Die Jungen*, hinted at through the fact that Harald has love in his life.]; and:

'[...] das Lachen, in das beide nach vollzogenem Inzest einstimmen, wirkt als Befreiung aus einer die Grenzen der Depression erreichenden Einsamkeit, denn der Inzest stellt eine Abweichung vom bürgerlichen Normverhalten dar und hebt zugleich den Unterschied zwischen den Generationen auf. Nur die erotische und sexuelle Freiheit ermöglicht eine Annäherung zwischen Jugend und Eltern-Generation.' [Kraske, 35]

Härle concentrates, unsurprisingly, on the issues of sexual power, observing that: 'Die Erzählung schildert mit kühler Konsequenz die Entmachtung des überlegenen Vaters durch seine gleichermaßen zügellose wie strenge Tochter.' Härle relates the story to his argument of the sexual abuse of Klaus: 'Man kann sich das Bedürfnis vorstellen, das Klaus Mann bewegt haben mag, einen Vater hilflos den sexuellen Attacken seines Kindes auszuliefern; die Dramaturgie der Erzählung läuft darauf hinaus, der

Despite the comparatively large number of studies which mention this narrative, its treatment has been brief in all cases, tending - as stated above - to concentrate on the ending, and a dedicated, in-depth analysis, which would be of undoubted benefit to scholarship, remains to be undertaken: *Der Vater lacht* remains to be valued as a rich piece of writing which is loaded with significant pointers for the study of Klaus' oeuvre in general, and for that of the literary father-son relationship in particular. It is beyond the scope of this examination to detail all of these pointers, but those which are of most significance to the literary father-son relationship are introduced below.

Some highly significant implications of this narrative have gone unnoticed in previous studies: that this story features the bitterly mocking portrayal of a character bearing a strong resemblance to Thomas has hardly been mentioned, and has certainly not been the subject of sufficient reflection.²¹

Further, the theme of seeing through the a father-figure, from his respectable exterior, to his less admirable private sphere, a central feature of this narrative (with equally important implications for the relationship between Klaus and Thomas), appears to have gone unnoticed by scholars. That the father figure, to whom *Haltung* is so very important, is made to appear entirely ridiculous at the close of this narrative, is not taken into account in interpretations of this text.

That the daughter *plans* her seduction of her father in response to his aggressive challenge to her (see below) implies that the seduction is an act of revenge,

Tochter, die eigentlich ein Sohn ist – aber nur ihr Frausein macht das sexuelle Geschehen erzählbar -, die Autonomie über ihre Sexualität, über ihre 'Potenz' zurückzugeben.' [GH, 276f.]

Krüll argues that the novella 'die Lust an der Macht über den Vater zum Ausdruck brachte'. [MK, 297] Again it is not surprising that her reading of the final scene is one embedded in unfounded speculation: 'Der Schluß der Novelle ist ohne Frage als Phantasie zu lesen, die Klaus in Bezug auf seinen Vater hatte.' [MK, 298]

²¹ Brawner refers in somewhat indirect fashion to the idea of the 'mockery' of the *Ministerialrat* over two small paragraphs, but neglects, similarly, to reflect on the implications of this for Klaus and his father. [JB, 59f.] Grunewald has referred to the male protagonist as a caricature of Thomas, but has

an implication which challenges the exclusively positive interpretations of the close of the narrative.

The superiority of the daughter in this story has been mentioned, briefly, by Brawner [JB, 59] and Kraske [E-MK, 30] but again the implications of this have not been considered fully.

It is widely accepted by scholarship that the predominant theme in Klaus' early writings is that of the conflict between two generations. While there is much material in these writings to suggest the importance of such a conflict - indeed new material is uncovered below regarding Klaus' portrayal of the two generations in this story - this study will argue that the generation conflict is utilized by Klaus essentially as a prop for his own, more personal conflict.²²

The father figure in *Der Vater lacht*, the *Ministerialrat*, is similar in age and appearance to Thomas. Firstly, similarities in lifestyle between this figure, Thomas (and Aschenbach) are apparent:

Seit dem Tode seiner ernst und innig geliebten Gattin lebte [Herr Ministerialrat Theodor Hoffmann] in fast völliger Zurückgezogenheit. Nicht, als hätte er sich in leidenschaftlicher Askese abgeschlossen, jeden Verkehr radikal von sich weisend. Ab und zu sah er wohl Gäste in seiner Häuslichkeit, Kollegen meist, alleinstehende wie er selbst, oder solche auch, die in Begleitung ihrer alternden Gemahlinnen erschienen. Man wollte sich wohl in solch ehrbarem Kreis [...]. Im übrigen ging er seinen Geschäften nach und diente rüstig dem Staat. In guten Tagen durchheiterter Leistung ehrte er das liebe Andenken der toten Frau. Fernab lag das Abenteuer, weit weg der Rausch. Stattlich legte er Tag für Tag hinter sich. Er baute an seinem Leben, wie man Stein für Stein einen nicht eben monumentalen, aber immerhin rechtschaffenen Bau – einen gemeinnützigen – fertigstellt. [DVL, 34]

There are also obvious physiognomical similarities between this figure and Thomas:

failed to give a more detailed examination, or to further reflect the significance of the story. [MG, KM-Biog, 210-212]

²² Kraske's article is confusing in its message. Kraske would appear to hold that the generation conflict is at the forefront of Klaus' early writings [E-MK, 22f. and passim] and yet she appears to suggest, later in her article, that Klaus' relationship with his father is more important. [E-MK, 27] Kraske also suggests, erroneously, that the conflict with Thomas was all in Klaus' imagination. [E-MK, 32f.] Brawner is rightly critical of this element of Kraske's argument. [JB, 9f.]

Der Ministerialrat war angenehm von Natur, seine Nase leider war etwas dick und etwas gerötet. Sein grauer Bart war um das Kinn rund geschnitten und ein wenig borstig. Er trug eine goldumrandete Brille. Unter ihr war sein blauer Blick gut und nicht ohne Schwermut, wenn auch schalkhaft anderseits und voll ernster Heiterkeit. *Männlich* schaute der Ministerialrat hinter seinen Brillengläsern, männlich und wohlgesinnt. [DVL, 35]

As if to confirm the association of this figure with Thomas, the *Ministerialrat* is named *Theodor Hoffmann*, the first two letters of his forename and the last section of his surname mirroring Thomas Mann's name. *Theodor* has obvious connotations of divine power, relating this name, and this figure, to other names and figures employed in Klaus' writings. (See Chapter 5, 'Names' section).²³

Some of the outward similarities in the appearances and lifestyles of this literary figure and Thomas, which can be detected in the passages cited above, have been mentioned by scholars (see above). There are, however, further similarities which have gone unnoticed, some of a more superficial nature and some of deeper significance, all of which point even more strongly to the suggestion that Klaus meant to signify his father in his portrayal of the *Ministerialrat*.²⁴

Scholars have not acknowledged or given due reflection to the critical, and in places biting satirical, nature of the characterization of this figure modelled on Thomas. The critical nature of the portrayal of this figure was already hinted at in the passages cited above; the description of this figure's life's work as 'einen nicht eben monumentalen, aber immerhin rechtschaffenen – einen gemeinnützigen' [DVL, 34] is not without significance, given the achievements of Thomas. The description of this

²³ The name Hoffmann also has connotations of Hofmann; as in one who seeks to please those at court, a suggestion which does fit in with this figure's personality.

²⁴ Two such details which have remained undetected are as follows: the *Ministerialrat*'s bedroom 'roch nach frischer Wäsche und ganz sachte nach altem Zigarrenrauch.' [DVL, 35] Similarly, Klaus writes in *Der Wendepunkt*: 'Vater ... das ist [...] der Duft von Zigarren [...] und frischer Wäsche.' [WPKT, 33, KM's italics. Further, on the evening on which Kunigunde seduces her father, we read: 'der sichelförmige Mond stieß sich wie ein silbernes, spitziges Zeug aus dem Himmel heraus'. [DVL, 59] Klaus writes in *Kind dieser Zeit* that, on the outbreak of the First World War, Thomas stated, looking at the mountains (as does the *Ministerialrat*): 'Jetzt könnte auch bald ein blutiges Schwert am Himmel

figure's appearance also has ambivalent undertones. Thus the outwardly dignified appearance of the *Ministerialrat* points already at the outset of this narrative to undertones of sexual, and animalistic, tendencies. This can be appreciated by a comparison of the first, and second, elements of the following sentences:

Der Ministerialrat war angenehm von Natur, seine Nase leider war etwas dick und etwas gerötet. Sein grauer Bart war um das Kinn rund geschnitten und ein wenig borstig. Unter [seine[r] goldumränderte[n] Brille] war sein blauer Blick gut und nicht ohne Schwermut, wenn auch schalkhaft anderseits [...]. [DVL, 35]²⁵

The play on Thomas' surname establishes another link between this figure and Klaus' father, and also provides the opportunity for an ironic reference to Thomas' sexuality: 'Männlich schaute der Ministerialrat hinter seinen Brillengläsern, männlich und wohlgesinnt.' [DVL, 35]

It was central to the portrayal of Harald's father, in *Die Jungen*, that he was a serious, hard-working and respectable man. The father-figure in this narrative is portrayed in similar fashion. He is referred to mostly as *der Ministerialrat* (and on occasions he is referred to as *der Hofrat* and as *der Beamte*). Grunewald suggests rightly that, in making this figure a *Bürger*, as opposed to an artist (like Aschenbach), Klaus insults his father. [MG, KM-Biog, 211] Indeed, it is significant that Klaus should portray a Thomas cipher as a *Ministerialrat*, occupying a position which is essentially *faceless*, however prestigious it may be.

This figure is typical of many Thomas ciphers in Klaus' writings: the word 'stattlich' is employed repeatedly in reference to him, as are terms such as 'sittlich',

erscheinen.' [KdZ, 66. Repeated in WPKT, 65: 'Nun wird auch bald ein blutiges Schwert am Himmel erscheinen.']

²⁵ A large nose and a beard are features of most of Klaus' figures associated with his father. Gold-framed spectacles are also a common feature, as is in some cases a small, *verkniffen*, mouth. In *Unordnung*, the autobiographical Thomas figure indicates that his youngest son has inherited his own large nose and small mouth: 'Er [Beißer] hat [...] ein langes Näschen und einen kleinen Mund. Es sind die Nase und der Mund des Vaters [...].' [UFL, 625] Härle supports the obvious phallic associations of the nasal features of these figures with a reference to Freud. [See GH, 59, 368; refers to: Sigmund

‘in guter Haltung’ and ‘proper und in maßvoller Festlichkeit’. [DVL, 34, 35, 40, 41, 42, 57]²⁶ Indeed the *Haltung*, and *Fassung* of this figure are among his most prominent characteristics. On the first page of the narrative, however, the reader is invited to see through the admirable exterior of this figure, to his decidedly less amiable inner reality:

Mit einer Geschicklichkeit, die ihm Befreundete als ‘Anmut’ rühmten, führte der Ministerialrat eine sachliche, aber angenehm bewegte Konversation. Wie ganz besonders wenig das hohe und liebliche Wort, das man wählte, um seine gesellschaftlichen Gaben lobend zu charakterisieren, hier zutraf, brauche ich kaum zu erwähnen. Die Gefälligkeit seines Betragens war Pflichtbewußtsein – nichts anderes. Pflichtbewußtsein auch hier. Es galt, möglichst getreue, möglichst exakte Erledigung einer Aufgabe, die sich ihm stellte. – So sprach der im Grunde allen Fremde, der, wenn auch unpathetisch, seitab Lebende, seinen Gästen in wohlgebauten Toasten zu. [DVL, 34, my italics]²⁷

That this figure has purposefully established a lifestyle characterized by such a degree of isolation renders an air of the ridiculous to his insistence on fastidious, formal dining, as exemplified by the following excerpt:

Er speiste allein, aber immer in guter Haltung im dunkelgetäfelten Eßzimmer. Scharf gefaltet und blendend weiß lag die Serviette über seinen Knien. Er sprach kräftig dem Kalbsbraten zu. [...] Danko, ein braunes, etwas hinkendes Hundetier mit schlappenden Ohren und gelblichen Triefaugen, kam dann wohl auch dazu, klagte und rieb sich an des Gebieters dunkelgrauen Beinkleidern. [...] [DVL, 35]

The *Ministerialrat*'s daughter, Kunigunde, leads a decidedly colourful life. When her actions confuse or displease her father, however, his chief concern is for his reputation:

Freud, *Die Traumdeutung* (1900), StA, II, 379.] See also W.E.Süskind, ‘Die neuen Kinder’, p. 9 regarding Mann’s spectacles.)

²⁶ The term *sittlich*, for example, was important to the author of writings such as *Der Tod in Venedig*, and ‘Über die Ehe’. [See e.g. TiV, 455; and ÜdE, 197]

²⁷ Not only is the *Ministerialrat* characterized as ‘fremd’ in this narrative; but he also employs the same term repeatedly in his thoughts regarding his daughter. The word ‘fremd’ features prominently in Klaus’ portrayal of the father-son relationship in *Der Wendepunkt*, which refers to ‘der Vater, der dem Sohne ein Fremder bleibt.’ [WPKT, II, 34] Monika describes her father in similar terms. [MM, 17]

The falsehood of this figure’s social bearing is further illustrated when the newly reacquainted father and daughter dine together for the first time. [DVL, 37f.]

Nach und nach kam es zu offenen Mißhelligkeiten. Er hatte nicht geahnt, was an nacktester, unverhohlenster Dreistigkeit dieses Mädchen sich zu leisten leider imstande war. Er hatte Zweideutigstes, Unangenehmstes mit angesehen. Das schien, sagte er sich, *in angebrachter Heimlichkeit wenigstens sich abzuspielen, konnte seinen guten Ruf wohl nicht ernstlich gefährden.* [DVL, 46]

The autobiographical implications of this passage are clear, given Klaus' equally colourful life during the 1920s.

This figure contrasts dramatically with his daughter in the colours associated with him. He dines with a starched, bright white napkin folded stiffly on his knees [DVL, 35, 38, 46] and sleeps in a starched, white nightshirt [DVL, 35, 42]. These imply that he leads a dull lifestyle and is restricted by his moral values. Aside from stark white, the only other colours employed in connection with this figure are dull ones: his dining room is of dark wood; his dog is brown with yellow eyes; his trousers are dark grey and his pillow is 'gelblich'. In addition, he always eats food of a brown or yellow colour. [DVL, 35, 38, 39, 45, 46, 48, 52] When Kunigunde kisses him, the following description is rendered of this figure: 'Sein Antlitz, das sonst gerötete, war gelb, wie der Lehm' [DVL, 60], implying a corpse-like quality.

Despite his outer *Haltung*, the idea of the latent animal within the *Ministerialrat* is subtly suggested throughout the narrative. Early on in the story, a bestial potential in this figure is hinted at, in the description given of his body hair and in the words chosen to describe his morning wash:

Sein grauer Bart war um das Kinn rund geschnitten und ein wenig borstig. [...] Am Morgen stand der Ministerialrat im Trikothemd vorm Waschtisch. Weiß und borstig wucherte das Haar auf seiner halbnackten Brust. An den nicht sehr angenehm aussehenden und ebenfalls behaarten Füßen trug er ausgetretene Pantoffel. Er tauchte das Gesicht, um sich auf kräftige Art zu erfrischen, in ziemlich kaltes Wasser. Er prutschte laut und rieb sich Oberkörper und Nacken tüchtig mit rauhem Frottiertuche. [DVL, 35]

That this figure is seen here, not as he is elsewhere in the text fastidiously groomed or *zum Fortgehen gerüstet* [DVL, 39] but, in contrast, half naked, in a rather unpleasant depiction featuring worn slippers, is significant as an example of the theme of seeing through the father. Klaus refers to his own father in his dressing gown in *Der Wendepunkt* [WPKT, 245]. Kurzke writes, further:

Die bürgerliche Maske kann man wohl draußen aufsetzen und die Gesellschaft stundenweise damit täuschen. Im jahrelang Alltäglichen der Kindererziehung aber haben Masken keine Kraft. *Die Kinder wissen, daß derjenige, den alle Welt nur im feinen Anzug kennt, im Arbeitszimmer eine ausgeleierte Hausjacke trägt und einen Schal wie ein Bohemien.* [HK, 310, my italics]²⁸

A significant part of being Thomas Mann's son was indeed that of the sense of knowing the sometimes less desirable private realities of a figure of world renown, who had a highly respectable public image.

The implications of latent animalistic urges in the *Ministerialrat* are enhanced by the description of this figure's dog, which rubs itself, whining, on his trouser legs while he eats, the notion of the dog rubbing against his leg calling to mind a sexually stimulated and frustrated animal. [DVL, 58] In fact, the *Ministerialrat* seems constantly to be eating, chewing on his food in an animal-like fashion.²⁹ Kunigunde, in contrast, refuses to sit down and eat on her first morning back at home, choosing instead to throw the contents of her suitcase around her bedroom floor, run, dance, and sing Italian arias. [DVL, 39]³⁰

²⁸ Refers to Monika Mann, 'Papa', in: *The Stature of Thomas Mann*, ed Charles Neider, London 1951, 79.

²⁹ The *Ministerialrat* chews on 'Kalbsbraten' three times, on 'Buttersemmeln', on 'Brathuhn' and on yellow pancakes. [DVL, 35, 38, 39, 45, 46, 48]

³⁰ It is interesting that Kunigunde, in contrast to her father, eats little or nothing, giving her a more ascetic air than her father. This implies that, although she is open about her sexuality, he is ruled more than she is by physical desires. [DVL, 37f., 39, 46, 50] Kunigunde is described throughout the story as 'mager', implying frailty on her part and physical brutality on that of the *Ministerialrat*: 'Er durfte sie drücken, durfte sie, wenn sie störend gegen ihn groß werden sollte, klein machen, unterdrücken, erledigen. [...] Extreme Jugend, die *mager* sich gegen ihn aufgerichtet hatte, konnte ihn wohl ärgern und bis zum Wutkoller enervieren. Schwächen konnte sie nicht [...].' [DVL, 42, 48, my italics]

The association of the elder generation with food has already been made by Klaus in *Die Jungen*, in the Professor's attempts to speak with a full mouth of pasta, and in Adolf's comment regarding his failure to attend the school's evening meal, taking an impassioned stroll with his beloved, Martha, instead: 'Auch erschien uns unsere Beschäftigung ersprießlicher, als in Ihrer Nähe Nudelgerichte zu verzehren', he tells the Professor. [JUNG, 24f.] The lesbian lovers in *Anja und Esther* miss one of the institution's meals to go for a walk in the park at dusk, the implication being that this is also an impassioned occasion. Similarly, in Thomas' *Unordnung und frühes Leid*, Abel will make the misplaced insistence that the young guests be fed *Torte*, while his two eldest children leave the table to make phonecalls rather than eat, their serviettes left to dangle on their chairs. [UFL, 622, more on this below].

The Manns were a formal family, and Erika writes that she saw her father routinely only at meal times whilst growing up.³¹ Thus food is a fitting emblem for both Klaus and Thomas of the *bürgerlich* traditions to which the elder generation clings, and in turn of the differences between the generations.³²

Repeated reference to the *Ministerialrat*'s bodily functions and sensations further emphasize the association of the animal with this figure, for example when he speaks with an 'unschöne Rauheit im Organ'. [DVL, 43] We note the sexual implication intended in this phrase and also, when he meets his daughter for the first time, in the description of the 'Erregung' in his stomach and in that of his nose as 'ein wenig gerötet'. [DVL, 36]³³ Mann notes, pertinently and with similar potential for

³¹ EM, *Mein Vater*, 11f. Thomas' *bürgerlich* formality when the family dined also features prominently in Monika's descriptions of her upbringing. [MM, 16]

³² See also *Der Alte* (1925), the story which angered Paul Geheeb. Food, and dining, play an important role in the portrayal of *der Alte*, who also represents features of Thomas comparable to those of other Thomas ciphers of Klaus' (he eats greedily and in animalistic fashion; his dining chair is larger than the students' chairs and he presides at the head of the table, Thomas' favoured position with his family. [See UFL, 619]

³³ See also DVL, 36, 43, 52, 53, for further descriptions of this figure's physical ailments and sensations.

double meaning, the *Ministerialrat's* growing awareness that perhaps fatherhood inevitably brings with it 'unschöne Erregung'. [DVL, 36]

It is significant that three terms which bear a connection to the word *Erregung*, referred to above, which are hallmarks of Thomas' attraction to his adolescent son as demonstrated in his diaries, are also key terms used repeatedly in the portrayal of the *Ministerialrat's* attraction to his daughter. These terms are *Erschreckend*, *Verwirrung*, and *Erschütterung*. This connection has never before been spotted by scholars. In order to establish this connection, Thomas' two diary entries which incorporate these terms are cited. The first entry reads:

Entzücken an Eissi, der im Bade *erschreckend hübsch*. Finde es sehr natürlich, daß ich mich in meinen Sohn verliebe. [...] Eissi lag mit nacktem braunen Oberkörper lesend im Bett, was mich *verwirrte*. [...]. [TMD, 1, 454f., 25.7.1920, my italics]

The second reads:

Ich hörte Lärm im Zimmer der Jungen und überraschte Eissi völlig nackt vor Golo's Bett Unsinn machend. Starker Eindruck von seinem vormännlichen, glänzenden Körper, *Erschütterung*.- [TMD, 1, 470; 17.10.1920, my italics]³⁴

The word *erschreckend*, characteristic of the mixture of horror and attraction in Thomas' feelings, is employed with similar effect in *Der Vater lacht*, with reference to the *Ministerialrat's* attraction to his daughter:

Mit männlich langen Schritten kam sie auf ihn zu, sie ergriff mit einer scharfen und beängstigenden Heiterkeit seine beiden Hände, und wie ihr schneeweißes Gesicht sich verwandelte, war nicht sehr geheuer anzusehen. Ein *erschrecklich* lebenswürdiges Lächeln legte sich um ihren Mund [...]. [DVL, 36f., my italics]

³⁴ *Eissi* was Thomas' pet name for Klaus. It is worth noting in connection with the term *Erregung* as an implier of sexuality and attraction a further diary entry of Thomas: 'Erregung durch eine versehentlich geöffnete amoureuse Briefkarte an Klaus aus Paris. Zu empfindlich immer noch in diesen Dingen.' [TMD, 3, 233; 1.1.1936] (Examined further in Chapter 3)

The term *erschüttert*, which relates to the feeling of *Erschütterung* expressed in the second diary entry, is employed in both scenes when the *Ministerialrat* walks in, unannounced, to his daughter's bedroom, to encounter scenes which are, by implication, of a sexual nature, thus providing a further parallel to the content of the second diary entry (and to a further entry in which Thomas describes discovering his son 'phantastisch entblößt' and implies erotic activity). [TMD, I, 10; 20.9.1918]

Firstly, when the *Ministerialrat* disturbs his daughter and the colourful cavaliers, Klaus writes: 'Das *eigentlich Erschütternde* allerdings war, daß Kunigunde im Seidenmantel mit ihren kreischenden und kichernden Kavalieren die Zeit durch heiteres Ballspiel sich verkürzte. [...]' [DVL, 40, my italics] The *Ministerialrat* clears his throat as he stands in the doorway. Similarly, when the *Ministerialrat* disturbs Kunigunde as she kneels, looking up at her crucifix, an image with phallic undertones, Klaus writes: 'Der Vater, abgestoßen mehr als *erschüttert*, ging, sich zornig räuspernd, den Gang hinunter. Er hatte die Türe unwirsch zugeworfen.' [DVL, 45, my italics]³⁵

The *Verwirrung*, employed with reference to this figure's attraction to his daughter (as well as the comparable terms *benommen* and *schwindelig*), echoes the word *verwirrt* employed by Thomas in the first diary entry: When the *Ministerialrat* walks in on Kunigunde and her colourful young companions, again in the cavalier-

³⁵ That the *Ministerialrat* clears his throat in an irritated fashion, previously having done this in reaction to the cavalier-scene, is significant in that this is also the sign which Thomas gave to his children that they were being too noisy when he was trying to work, Klaus reports with undertones of resentment. [KdZ, 39]

A curiosity in the context of this discussion is that Thomas conveyed his reaction to Verlaine's unashamedly (homo)sexual collection, *Femmes Hombres* (1920) to the publisher of the collection, Paul Steegemann, as follows: 'die Unzucht der Gedichte [hat] mich *erschüttert* [...]. Dies nämlich ist die Wirkung, die Unzucht und Wollust, wenn ihre Tiefen sich aufstun, auf mich auszuüben pflegen.' [Thomas Mann, 'Brief an einen Verleger' (1920). GW, X, 589, my italics]

Härle states: 'Auch Klaus Mann, der sich *Femmes Hombres* 'in einer seltenen Privatausgabe zu verschaffen gewußt hatte', nimmt die Edition, und womöglich auch seines Vaters 'Erschütterung', zum Anlaß, sich an Steegemann zu wenden in der Hoffnung, bei ihm seinen ersten Novellenband *Vor dem Leben* publizieren zu können.' [GH, 111, refers to WPKT, 156]

scene, the picture with which he is met 'verwirrte ihn'. (Kunigunde's outfit, featuring a red feather boa, renders her father 'fast schwindelig', and the scene leaves him 'benommen halb.')

[DVL, 40f.]

The term *erschreckend*, which features in the first of the diary entries, is employed in similar fashion. In the second disturbance-scene, when the *Ministerialrat* enters his daughter's bedroom unannounced to find her kneeling, looking up to her crucifix, her face is, like her *erblindeten Augen*, 'erschreckend groß in seiner Blässe'.
[DVL, 41]

That these terms are employed prominently in the description of the *Ministerialrat*'s attraction to his daughter, in scenes in which he enters his offspring's bedroom unannounced, to be met with scenes with undertones of sexuality, is uncanny given the nature of the diary entries cited above. While it would be impossible to determine whether Klaus had secretly had access to his father's diaries, his use of these terms demonstrates at the very least a keen awareness of the internal workings of his father. It suggests, further, the possibility that Klaus was aware of his father's feelings towards him and certainly creates a sense of him telling his father 'you are caught', which relates to the theme of seeing through the father.

Kunigunde differs from her father in almost every respect. His life is purposefully constricted to two main interests: his work, and 'das liebe Andenken seiner toten Frau'. Kunigunde is in contrast a colourful, flamboyant character, her life full of different impulses, suggesting a flexibility of outlook and of intellect not shared by the *Ministerialrat*.

Her intellectual superiority over her father is significant, and links to the theme of the son's superiority over his father which was uncovered above regarding *Die*

It is this publication to which reference was made in Chapter 1 regarding the (un)reliability of Klaus' autobiographies. The volume was eventually published not by Paul Steegemann but by Gebrüder Enoch. [See Kroll, II, 77ff.]

Jungen, and which will continue to be of considerable importance. Explicit reference is made at two points in the narrative to Kunigunde's superiority in this respect. As the tensions rise between father and daughter and he imagines that she means to upset him, he reflects:

Standhalten, standhalten also diesem von einem Spuk in den andern schillernden Ärgernis. Nicht zerstören lassen die sittliche Ruhe des Lebens. – *Mochte sie ihm überlegen sein an Verstand, an Leidenschaft des Geistes, des Erlebnisses.*³⁶ – Er war der Vater. *Er war der vom Leben Bestätigte, der im Leben Tüchtige, der dem Leben Dienende.*³⁷ [...] – Er war der Vater. – Er war der Ministerialrat. – [DVL, 42]

Similarly, when the *Ministerialrat* accuses his daughter of insufficient *Leistung*, she reflects:

Daß er mich an der einzigen Seite packen mußte, [...], an der ich schwach bin, daß er mir die *Leistung* gerade vorhalten mußte,³⁸ die ich noch nicht vollbrachte. *Sind wir ihnen doch in allem überlegen,*³⁹ und darin gerade müssen wir hinter ihnen zurückstehen. Damit drücken sie uns, damit quälen sie uns so. [DVL, 48]

Kunigunde's intellectual superiority is further underlined when reference is made to her visitors:

Tage kamen, da junge, scharfnäsige Studenten zu ihr kamen, und da der Vater, ging er an ihrem Zimmer vorbei, kluge und radikal höhnische Reden, *mit schwierigen Fremdworten trotzig durchsetzt*, bruchstückweise vernehmen mußte. [DVL, 44, my italics]

Where restricted, uninspiring colours are associated with the *Ministerialrat*, his daughter dresses colourfully and provocatively, usually donning a nightdress at home. Indeed her multitude of coloured nightdresses leads to the observation: 'Stirnrunzelnd von der Zeitung aufsehend, fragte sich der Vater, wie viele Schlafröcke sie denn nun eigentlich besitze.'⁴⁰ [DVL, 42] She adds black stockings under her blue nightdress, a

³⁶ My italics.

³⁷ KM's italics.

³⁸ KM's italics.

red feather boa or long boots, causing the *Ministerialrat* to feel 'schwindelig' and 'verwirrt' (terms discussed above), frightened at his attraction to her. [DVL, 40]

Kunigunde is, in contrast to her father, not frightened by her sexual impulses but, rather, gives into them. The great number of oranges which she brings to her father's house hint at a connection to the South and to the Dionysian. Further, she plays a game with the large group of young cavaliers who visit her, all in differently coloured tunics, in which they throw bright red balls back and forth to her, a possible allusion to Klaus' homosexual pursuits.⁴⁰ In short, Kunigunde embodies in many ways those features which Klaus claimed to emphasize in his writings in order that they should constitute a contrast to those of his father:

Deshalb liebte ich es, das Katholische vor dem Protestantischen zu betonen; das Pathetische vor dem Ironischen; das Plastische vor dem Musikalischen; die 'Vergottung des Leibes' vor der 'Sympathie mit dem Abgrund' (das heißt: den Eros als Prinzip des Lebens, der Gestalt gegen den Eros als Verführer zum Nichts; den *Siebenten Ring* gegen den *Tod in Venedig*). Das Extravagante, Exzentrische, Anrühige gegen das maßvoll Gehaltene; das irrational Trunkene gegen das von der Vernunft Gebändigte und Beherrschte. [KdZ, 239f.]⁴¹

As in *Die Jungen*, the ending of this novella is the result of a confrontation, in this case between father and daughter. Until this point, the two figures have lived beside one another, but their relationship has been characterized by distance and a lack of communication. Much of the narrative is given to descriptions of the father's *thoughts* regarding his daughter's will towards him (he imagines that she means to provoke him, for instance, and he decides early on in the narrative to draw a line between himself and his daughter) and occasionally to what would appear to be hidden interest on the part of Kunigunde in her father (she listens at his door on returning from a night out), but it is significant that actual dialogue is rare between the two figures. The

³⁹ My italics.

⁴⁰ The cavaliers' tunics are referred to as *Überzieher*, a term which can be used to denote 'condoms'. [DVL, 40]

autobiographical implications of this aspect are clear; indeed Klaus recorded in his diary the difficulty which he experienced in interacting with his father in the absence of the rest of the family.⁴²

The confrontation which is to be the turning point of the narrative begins harmlessly enough: Kunigunde begins to smoke sharp and unhealthy-smelling cigarettes at the dining table, whilst her father eats. This leads, however, via Kunigunde's smile (with which she has attempted to conceal her upset at her father's explosive reaction to her cigarettes, but which is misinterpreted by the *Ministerialrat* as a sign of rebellious mockery) to the following accusation:

Du lächelst?! – Du wagst es, mir ins gesicht zu lächeln? Wer bist du? Was *leistest* du? [...] Woher nimmst du zu deiner Schamlosigkeit das *Recht* – frage ich dich?! [...] Ich beherrsche mich [...] fast hätte ich zugeschlagen. Ich beherrsche mich kramphaft!! [DVL, 47]

Whereas Kunigunde has reacted with hurt emotions to the first outbursts of her father in the above scene, she now reacts as follows:

Kunigunde aber, losschreiend in zitternder Wut plötzlich, heulte ihm entgegen: 'So?! So – hättest du das?! Hättest du mich geschlagen? Weil ich noch nichts geleistet habe? Weil du selbstverständlich glaubst, daß ich niemals etwas leisten werde?! Weil du es für ganz undenkbar hältst, daß aus alledem etwas kommt, eines Tages – etwas kommt?! –So?!!' schrie sie immer wieder: 'So?! So?!' [DVL, 47]

The *Ministerialrat*'s starched, bright white napkin has been a key symbol of his formal dining habits and of his *Haltung*. Now, however, 'die gute Serviette lag ihm, traurig zerknüllt, auf dem Schoße', a hint at the shape of things to come. [DVL, 47]

Kunigunde does not wish for *Kampf*, and her body language is despondent, rather than aggressive. However, as did Harald in *Die Jungen* in response to the professor's lecture, and as will a further Klaus cipher in a similar scene in *Der fromme*

⁴¹ Further reference is made to this passage in the 'Discussion' section below.

Tanz, Kunigunde '*hob den Blick*'. [DVL, 49, my italics] She looks in the mirror, and laughs again. (Further discussion of the concept of laughter features below.)

Und als gäbe dieses lachende Mädchen da, dieses schneeweiße im kalten Spiegelglas, ihr einen Plan ein, einen hübschen, kleinen Gedanken, eine nette, eine verteufelt witzige kleine Intuition, lachte sie immer lauter, unter schwarzen Augenbrauen, gebückt, reglos, den Blick im Spiegel. [DVL, 49]

This passage indicates that Kunigunde *plans* what happens at the close of the narrative, and that this development takes place according to a deliberate plan is also made clear as the narrative proceeds. The implication is that the initial impulse for the seduction has been as an act of revenge, for the upset which she has experienced due to her father's rage and his accusations of non-existent *Leistung*. This in turn calls the common, exclusively positive, reception by scholars of the close of the narrative into question.

Kunigunde carries out her plan in two stages, the first stage serving as a preparation for the second, her seduction of her father. Firstly, for his birthday, she takes her father out on a speedy car ride which panics him, and he falls ill as a result.⁴³

The theme of the preservation of the *Ministerialrat*'s dignity is one of the primary concerns of *Der Vater lacht*. Following on from his crumpled napkin, the first sign of a reduction in the composure of this figure, another hint at such a change follows his illness caused by the motor tour:

Nach einigen Tagen war es ihm gestattet, aufzustehen. Etwas blaß noch ging er umher, [...] und seine Würde war leicht forciert, seiner Würde fehlte das Überzeugende, das Natürliche. [DVL, 54f.]

⁴² Klaus spends three days alone with his father at home: 'Leicht forciertes Geplauder, mit Z. [Zauberer/TM], bei den Mahlzeiten.' [KMD, V, 51; 23.8.1940]

⁴³ It is worth noting that, in *Der fromme Tanz* (also 1925), it is also the father-figure's birthday. Erika writes that her father loved to celebrate birthdays: 'Er war der festlichste Mensch, der festfreudigste Mensch, den ich überhaupt gekannt habe, soviel ich weiß.' [EM-Vater, 16] The term *festlich* is employed twice in association with the *Ministerialrat*. [DVL, 40, 51 ('Wiegenfest')] Erika's success at race-driving should not be forgotten in this context, a further indicator that she may have stood next to her brother as a model for Kunigunde. [See IvdL, 74f., 82, 84]

Although he seeks to restore his dignity on the winter holiday which Kunigunde has suggested, he fails to do this entirely convincingly: ‘Immerhin: die frühere Gravität fing wieder an, um seine Reden und seine Gebärden zu sein, ein *bißchen* ins Lächerliche gezogen vielleicht, ein ganz klein wenig übertrieben.’ [DVL, 58, KM’s italics]

The second stage and culmination of Kunigunde’s revenge plan is her seduction of her father. The *Ministerialrat*, attracted to his daughter and frightened by this attraction, senses what she has planned, and knows that he is too weak to resist: ‘In *unwürdiger* Angst nur, in bleicher Not sah er das Große, das Dunkle näher – näher – ganz nahe kommen. -’ [DVL, 56, my italics] When she seduces him, he whines, helplessly: “Nicht küssen ... nicht küssen ... Du bist meine Tochter ...”. [DVL, 60]

The end of the narrative is unexpected:

Sie [...] neckte mit einer kleinen, metallenen Stimme über ihm, kokett, so daß ihm das Blut in den Adern gefror: ‘Hast du denn Angst, alter Papa?’ Seine Worte versickerten, hörten kläglich auf. [...] In schemenhafter Überdeutlichkeit offenbarte sie ihm das Geheimnis.

Als sich ihr Mund in einem scharfen Bisse gleichsam an dem seinen ganz festgesaugt hatte, riß er ihr die Kleider vom Leib. [...] Zu einem Zwiegesang, dessen Ton sie angab, fanden sich röchelnd, lachend und singend ihre Stimmen. [DVL, 60f.]

In the morning they awake to find themselves naked, on the floor:

[Kunigunde] sah neben sich ihren Vater, schlafend und leis schnarchend, mit gelbem Gesicht und hängenden Kleidern. Weiß und borstig wucherten Haare auf seiner Brust. Unweit von ihm lag zerbrochen, zerdrückt die goldumranderte Brille. [DVL, 61]

This figure’s *Haltung* has finally been destroyed. That his glasses are broken implies that he will never see in quite the same way again.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Spectacles are symbolic of the intellect, and that they are broken signifies a move away from the intellect, to other senses and ways of experiencing life. Further, the spectacles are no longer there to act as a barrier between this figure and others, particularly his offspring.

The *Ministerialrat's* hanging clothes, snoring and body hair stand in direct opposition to the image which this figure has striven to uphold throughout the narrative. This effect is underlined by his posture as he sits, unashamedly naked, with his legs apart (and, by implication, his genitals in view) laughing at the end of the story.

On awaking, father and daughter are at first confused and hesitant, but when their eyes meet, they laugh:

Genau gleichzeitig setzte das große Gelächter ein. Gleichzeitig brach es aus ihnen hervor. Er, zertrümmert ganz auf dem Fußboden, lachte, mit auseinandergespreizten und der Länge nach von sich gestreckten Beinen sitzend, nach hinten auf beide Hände gestützt. Er dröhnte und gurgelte. Sein runder, borstiger Bart ragte zuckend gen Himmel. Unter dem Barte hob sich und senkte sich die runzlige Gurgel. Die Tochter aber hatte, ganz gekrümmt in ihrem Jauchzen und Schreien, die Arme wild in die Luft gestemmt. Die hohen und schmalen Fensterscheiben klirrten durchdringend. Die kahlen Wände warfen das Gelächter scheppernd und meckernd zurück. Von ihrem Zimmer aus fuhr der Lärm durch das ganze Hotel, das morgendlich dämmerte, verteilte sich geschwind in den Gängen. [DVL, 61f.]

The final passages of the narrative read like excerpts from Friedrich Nietzsche's *Also sprach Zarathustra*. Nietzsche's influence has already been hinted at by the animalistic undertones of the characterization of the father, by Kunigunde's propensity for dancing and singing Italian arias, and by the many oranges which she brings with her which roll around her bedroom.⁴⁵ The latter two elements point towards the south, and the Dionysian, confirming a connection to the thinking of Nietzsche (and also to *Der Tod in Venedig*, more on this below.)⁴⁶

The laughter which features at the close of the narrative is of course a further indicator of Nietzsche's influence, laughter having been a prominent feature of *Also sprach Zarathustra*. This motif is employed in the characterization of Kunigunde

⁴⁵ Animal like traits are also a prominent feature of the characterization of Kunigunde. [DVL, 40, 41, 42, 43, 50]

throughout the narrative.⁴⁷ Klaus' use of laughter is, like Nietzsche's, ambivalent and omnivalent, the laughter in *Zarathustra* signifying both cold and mocking, and life-enhancing elements.⁴⁸

Thus it would seem that the laughter at the close of *Der Vater lacht* is intended - like that which features in *Zarathustra* - to incorporate various meanings: it can be regarded as a shrill, mocking laughter at the grotesque absurdity of what has happened, and it also implies that this incestuous act is of no great consequence, since humans are essentially driven by bestial urges, over which they have little control. It is a laughter which turns away from the pains of the intellect towards life, and which covers over an abyss of suffering.

The themes of seeing through, and triumphing over, a father figure and Thomas cipher, introduced in the discussion of *Die Jungen*, have been illustrated to be equally important to this narrative. Seeing through an outwardly respectable Thomas cipher to his animalistic inner reality, which features incestuous desire for his offspring, has unmistakable implications for the way in which Klaus regarded his father. The proximity of this narrative to the biographical reality of Thomas' attraction to his adolescent son, as illustrated in his diaries, is particularly conspicuous.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ In *Der Wendepunkt*, Mann cites Nietzsche as belonging to the early *Olymp* of his *Götter* and *Meister*. [WPKT, 145] Thomas' reception of Nietzsche has also been well documented. [See for example TMHB, 260-276]

⁴⁷ See: DVL, 37, 39, 40, 49.

⁴⁸ See *Also sprach Zarathustra*, 16, 34, 61, 120, 122, 125, 130, 135, 142, 221, 237-240. See also Nietzsche, *Nachlaß*, KSA XI, 571. Laughter is connected to dancing in *Zarathustra*, as it is in the early writings of Klaus.

There is a reference to laughter in *Zarathustra* which is of considerable significance to discussions later in this study: 'Es ist *Eis* in ihrem Lachen.' [*Also sprach Zarathustra*, 16, my italics] Ice, and sharp, cold, glassy objects and sounds, are a prominent feature of the characterization of Kunigunde, invoking a threat towards the *Ministerialrat*. The themes of ice and laughter are important in connection to one another in discussions in Chapters Five and Six.

⁴⁹ Chapter 3 of this thesis even hazards the suggestion that Klaus may have acted deliberately to encourage his father's feelings, which puts the ending of the story in a different light.

This narrative can be regarded as incorporating various messages for Thomas, including that Klaus had unmasked his father's private self, but also that Thomas should take himself less seriously.⁵⁰

Whereas scholars have tended to give a positive interpretation of the ending of this story (although none have pointed out the Nietzsche link; they have tended to take their positive interpretations from the contrasts between this ending and that of *Der Tod in Venedig*), the above examination has demonstrated that the ending, like the whole text of the narrative, has been in need of a fuller examination. The nastiness of the portrayal of the *Ministerialrat*, the ridiculing and the total reduction of *Haltung* of a figure bearing such a strong similarity to Thomas has not until now been adequately illustrated or acknowledged.

This story has affinities with well-known Expressionist writings on the theme of adolescence. Whereas the fathers in Reinhard Sorge's *Der Bettler* (1912), Walter Hasenclever's *Der Sohn* (premiered 1916) and Arnolt Bronnen's *Vatermord* (premiered 1922) come to a tragic end, the ending of *Der Vater lacht* is characterized by a union of sorts, and by laughter. Despite the negative aspects of the portrayal of the *Ministerialrat* and his relationship with his daughter, it is important to bear this aspect of the narrative in mind.

Thomas' response to Klaus' publication, *Vor dem Leben*, which incorporated both *Die Jungen* and *Der Vater lacht*, was communicated not to Klaus but to Erika, and was characteristically ambivalent: 'Kläuschens Buch las ich mit Anteil. Vieles ist ganz merkwürdig. Aber einen tüchtigen Z.-Komplex hat der Wackere, unter anderem.'⁵¹

⁵⁰ Krüll speculates, less than convincingly, that this narrative assists Thomas in living out his feelings for Klaus Heuser. [MK, 327]

⁵¹ Letter from TM to EM, 7.5.1925. In TM-Briefe (1950), I, 239.

2.3 *Unordnung und frühes Leid*

Whereas *Unordnung und frühes Leid* is considered to be a precursor to Klaus' *Kindernovelle* (examined below), it remains to be explored as a reply to *Der Vater lacht*.⁵² None of the Thomas Mann studies reviewed (see Appendix 2.1) have given full reflection to the questionable aspects of the novella, and particularly to the negative characterization of the Klaus and Michael figures, Bert and *Beißer*. Scholars fail to evaluate this fully, and to place it in the context of the literary relationship between father and son. None consider the narrative as a reply to *Der Vater lacht*.⁵³

Mann was himself at pains to point out that the novella was a 'Dokument persönlichsten Charakters', implying that he was disappointed in the naïve acceptance of the novella as a family idyllic or portrayal of the effects of the inflation, suggesting that he wished to direct the reader's view to more personal issues, and adding weight to the argument that he intended to assert a reply to his son's *Der Vater lacht* with this piece of writing. [See GW, XI, 620-622]

Unordnung is an equally, if not more, autobiographical narrative, with each member of the Cornelius family corresponding closely to an equivalent in the Mann family, with the result that the reader's association of Klaus with the figure Bert is clearly to be expected. Where Klaus gave a critical portrayal of a Thomas cipher in *Der Vater lacht*, the portrayal of Bert, modelled on Klaus, is equally, if not more,

⁵² Klaus' narrative was written between Easter and Autumn 1924, and Thomas' story was written later, between March and the beginning of May 1925. [See KdZ, 227, 234; Vaegt, TMHB, 594]

⁵³ Perhaps unsurprisingly, Härle does not hesitate to acknowledge the negative basis of the portrayal of Bert: 'In der Erzählung *Unordnung und frühes Leid* fällt der Vaterblick [...] mit grausamer, verächtlicher Ironie auf den homosexuellen Sohn Bert, in dem Klaus Mann sich – mit gutem Grund – karikiert wiederfand.' [GH, 53] Härle does not enter into further discussion of relevance to this study, however. Krüll refers to the novella as a 'recht ungeschminktes Bild der Familie Mann'. [MK, 328]

Sascha Kiefer gives a slightly more thorough comparison of *Unordnung* and *Kindernovelle* (than that undertaken by Krüll, for example) in an article which also branches out into a more broad review of the literary relationship between father and son, although a great amount of fresh material is not introduced. [Sascha Kiefer, 'Gesellschaftlicher Umbruch und literarisierte Familiengeschichte: Thomas Manns *Unordnung und frühes Leid* und Klaus Manns *Kindernovelle*', *WW*, 3 (1999), 355-371]

Krüll misses the *Der Vater lacht*-*Unordnung* connection; this chapter will demonstrate that Klaus' writings did, contrary to Krüll's conclusion, succeed in bringing his father 'aus der Reserve'. [See MK, 298f.]

venomous. Bert is ridiculed from the very outset of the narrative, his recent unsuccessful 5 a.m. *Fluchtversuch* in order to work as a waiter in Cairo being reported in an ironic tone on the first page of the narrative.⁵⁴

When Abel, Bert's father, is introduced at his children's soiree to a bank official, he contrasts this young man in his mind with his own son:

Cornelius ist um so liebenswürdiger gegen ihn, als er, nach Art aller Väter, die Gaben und Werte des fremden jungen Menschen sofort mit denen seines eigenen Sohnes vergleicht und Unruhe, Neid und Beschämung dabei empfindet. Da ist nun dieser Möller, denkt er, ein tüchtiger Bankbeamter. [...] Und dabei hat er noch dies spezielle Talent aufzuweisen,⁵⁵ zu dessen Ausbildung natürlich Energie und Studium gehört haben. [UFL, 643]

The way in which this figure contrasts in Cornelius' mind with his son is particularly acerbic given the proximity of Bert's ambitions to those of Klaus at the time (see above):

Dagegen mein armer Bert, der nichts weiß und nichts kann und nur daran denkt, den Hanswürsten zu spielen, obgleich er gewiß nicht einmal dazu Talent hat! - Er möchte gerecht sein, sagt sich versuchsweise, daß möglicherweise ein Dichter in ihm steckt oder so etwas, und daß seine tänzerischen Kellnerpläne bloß knabenhaftes Irrlichtelieren sind. Aber sein neidvoller Vaterpessimismus ist stärker. - [UFL, 643]

Cornelius' private mental response to another guest at the party, Max Hergesell, is:

Netter Junge [...]. Stud. ing., klare Direktion, alles in Ordnung. Dabei so gut aussehend und freundlich. - Und schon wieder faßt ihn der Vaterneid seines 'armen Bert' wegen [...]. [UFL, 649f.]

Not only does Abel feel that he has been cheated out of the ideal son, but little Lorchen, on being sent to bed after being considerably charmed by the very same

⁵⁴ Reference is made, twice, to Bert's wish to be a dancer or a waiter in Cairo. Klaus himself had expressed the wish to go to Berlin to be a dancer, staying in bed and refusing to receive his tutors, and demanding permission to leave for Berlin immediately, failing like Bert to see the point of gaining his 'Abitur', he relates in *Der Wendepunkt*. [WPKT, 193]

⁵⁵ Möller sings folk songs in their various original languages.

'Stud. ing.' Max Hergesell, sobs to her father: 'Abel... Abel... [...], warum... ist... Max... nicht mein Bruder? Max... soll... mein Bruder sein...'[UFL, 653]⁵⁶

Klaus was understandably displeased at his father's public readings of *Unordnung*, describing the story to Erika as 'Zauberer's Novellenverbrechen', and writing to a friend: '*Mich* kann es nicht gerade erfreuen, daß er sie allerorts vorliest'⁵⁷

2.4 Parallels between *Der Vater lacht* and *Unordnung und frühes Leid*

The following examination is the first comparison of *Der Vater lacht* and *Unordnung und frühes Leid*. There are several parallels between these narratives which suggest that Thomas' story was intended as a reply to his son's previous writings, and most notably to *Der Vater lacht*.⁵⁸

The theme of the generation conflict is one of the most significant similarities between these stories. There are numerous parallels in the way in which this conflict is presented in these narratives which have not been pointed out by scholars.

The differences between the generations are illustrated in similar ways in *Der Vater lacht* and *Unordnung*. The elder generation is represented by father figures who

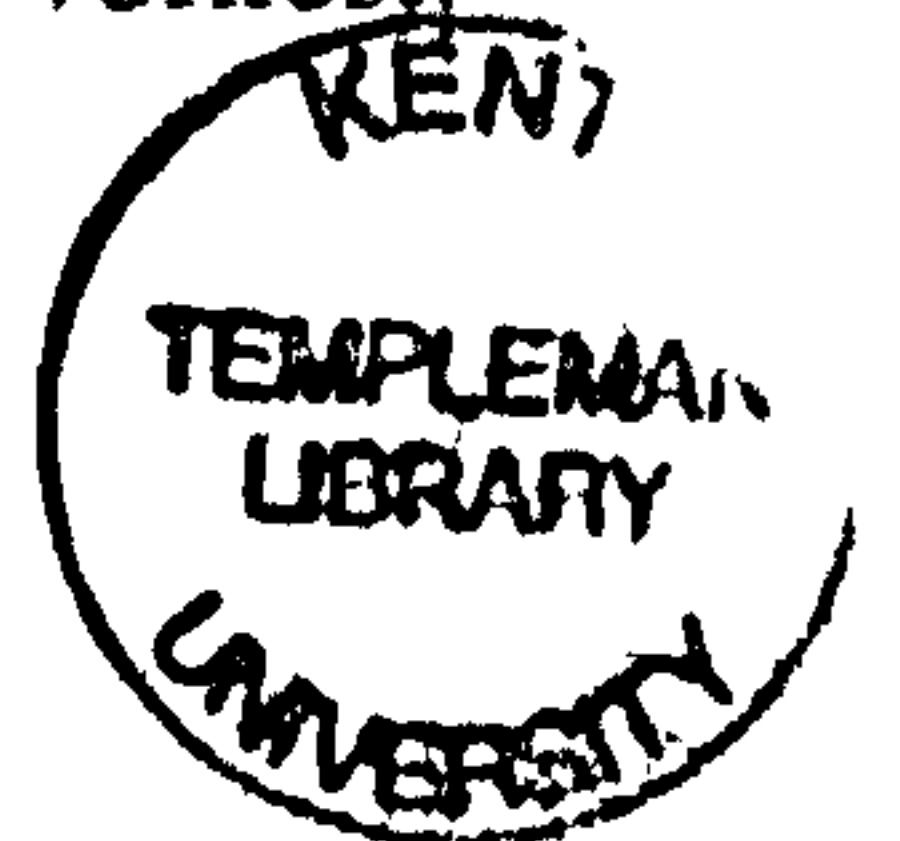
⁵⁶ Further insults are delivered as follows: Cornelius is unable to distinguish his son from Xaver the servant from a short distance, which can be understood as a hint at the social change underway at the time, but which equally implies an insult to Bert. [UFL, 619] (A study of eyes and eyesight in the writings of Klaus and his father could be a worthwhile complement to this study).

In addition, the similarity in appearance between these two figures may be 'kraft einer Annäherung von der anderen Seite her', a further indicator of social change but, more importantly, a hint at homosexuality. [UFL, 618f.] (Further hints at Xaver's sexual ambivalence are implied by Cornelius' repeated observations of this figure's thick lips, and of his mannerism of flicking his hair back, both feminine attributes, as well as of his 'etwas strizzihafte' appearance in civilian clothes. [UFL, 645, 651, 655, 651, 632] Given the strong similarity in appearance and mannerisms between this figure and Bert [UFL, 618], this can be regarded as constituting a further reference, if an indirect one, to Bert's ambivalent sexuality.)

A further insult to Bert in connection with this figure is made in that both like to smoke, but Bert, jobless, cannot afford cigarettes in the same quantities as Xaver the servant. [UFL, 619]

It is worth noting that, according to the ages of the children portrayed, the novella is set in 1923, before Klaus' first literary successes and the scandalous beginnings of his literary career.

⁵⁷ Letter from KM to EM of 13th May, 1925 [from Kroll, II, 122]; letter from KM to Erich Ebermayer, 15.I.1926. [KM BuA, 30, KM's italics] It is worth noting that, despite the implications of this undeniably caustic portrayal of a Klaus cipher by Thomas, Abel's concerns regarding Bert's talent and future plans can also be interpreted as mirroring Thomas' genuine concern regarding his son's future. Further, the reader does receive the impression that the father portrayed is also more than a little amused at, and proud of, the undertakings of his offspring. [See also Krüll, 306]



adhere to the traditional values of their *bürgerliche[s] [...] Herkunft* [UFL, 619], and whose lives are characterized by a long-established routine. The younger generation differs from the elder generation in almost every sense imaginable. They have rejected *bürgerlich* values and abandoned the routines and etiquette of their elders; they are a disparate bunch, socially and otherwise; and they conduct themselves in ways which blur the differences between the genders.

The details which are employed to illustrate these generation differences mirror each other between the two narratives. Figures from all walks of life visit Kunigunde. She is visited by young cavaliers in bright, multi-coloured tunics; by ‘rüstige Damen, mit hochgeschlossenen weißen Blusen und mit energischen Hornbrillen’, by a ‘Herr Nathanael Pellstock’, with whom she ‘[sich] übt’ (the *Ministerialrat* reflects to himself, with clear sexual implications). She also receives ‘herzhaft lachende[] junge[] Leute[] in Wandervogeltracht’; ‘schwarze[] Burschen in grünen Hemdblusen’; ‘blonde[], schwerbusige[], junge[] Mädchen mit Schneckenfrisur’, and a group in ‘Wandervogeltracht’. [DVL, 44]

The young people’s guests in *Unordnung* are an equally disparate bunch, and include characters of a similar description to those who visit Kunigunde, namely members of the *Wandervogel* movement [UFL, 637], and a girl who meets exactly the description of the ‘blonde[], schwerbusige[], junge[] Mädchen mit Schneckenfrisur’ in Klaus’ narrative: *Fräulein Plaichinger*, ‘eine Germania, blond, üppig [...], mit [...] der hohen Stimme beliebter Frauen.’ [UFL, 635]⁵⁹

In addition, the motifs associated with the younger generation in Klaus’ early writings are paralleled in *Unordnung*. The abandoning of gender boundaries is marked in *Die Jungen* by references to make-up. In *Die Jungen*, Klaus writes: ‘Mit

⁵⁸ Elements of *Die Jungen* are also incorporated into this discussion.

einem kleinen Schrecken konstatierte [Maria] bei sich, daß Harald sich schminke. Der Mund war von einem tiefen künstlichen Rot. Er muß Schreckliches erlebt haben, dachte sie [...].’ [JUNG, 21] This figure’s make-up is one of the reasons for the Professor’s general despair at the state of his pupils. During his lecture to Harald, we read:

[...] zum zweitenmal an diesem Abend erschrak der Professor. Angst ergriff ihn, und er atmete schwer. Was ist das für ein Gesicht? dachte er unter Keuchen. Künstlich und tiefrot lächelt der Mund – in weichen Strähnen fällt ihm das Haar in die Stirn. – Das ist eine Art von kindlicher Verderbtheit. – Zum Teufel, dachte er, als wolle er auf den Boden der Tatsachen zurückversetzen, das ist ja ein Lustknabengesicht. Was, du lieber Gott, habe ich für Schüler – der eine ist wahnsinnig,⁶⁰ der andere schminkt sich, und trotzdem er der Sohn eines Generals ist, könnte man ihn für etwas ganz anderes halten.- [JUNG, 26f.]

The cavaliers who visit Kunigunde have faces which are overtly youthful, almost ‘bunt’, implying that they may be wearing make-up. (They also throw the balls back and forth to her, *damenhaft aufkreischend*.) [DVL, 40] In *Unordnung*, considerable attention is paid to the motif of make-up, which features with reference to Bert and, repeatedly, with reference to Herzl, making this a conspicuous element. [UFL, 620, 637-639]

A further motif which marks the differences between the generations is that of dance. In *Die Jungen*, Maria dances for the object of her admiration. [JUNG, 19f.] Kunigunde dances and throws her arms around in dance-like fashion, while also showing a penchant for posing in front of the mirror. She asks her father, ‘Wenn ich nun vor dir tanzen würde: hättest du Freude daran?’ before seducing him. [DVL, 60] It should also not be forgotten of course that the very title of the book with which

⁵⁹ When the ‘blonde[], schwerbusige[], junge[] Mädchen mit Schneckenfrisur’ visit Kunigunde, she is surrounded by ‘kindlicher Lärm und bunte Musik’, similar to the soiree of the children in *Unordnung*, strengthening the ties between these narratives. [DVL, 44]

⁶⁰ Refers to Adolf, who cheekily informs the Professor, following his impassioned stroll, ‘Auch erschien uns unsere Beschäftigung ersprießlicher, als in Ihrer Nähe Nudelgerichte zu verzehren.’ [JUNG, 24f.]

Klaus confirmed his homosexuality was entitled *Der fromme Tanz*. In *Unordnung*, the young people dance in carefree fashion on the carpet with disregard for the gender modes of the previous generation, the narrator notes with critical ambivalence. [UFL, 639f., see also Turner, 46]⁶¹

A further motif which marks the differences between the generations is that of cigarettes. In *Der Vater lacht*, the confrontation and resultant incest-revenge plan are triggered when Kunigunde begins to smoke sharp and unhealthy smelling cigarettes at table, while her father eats. Shortly after their ensuing debacle, he begins to smoke an after-dinner cigar. The implication is that Kunigunde is trying to be grown up but does not observe the etiquette of the previous generation which dictates that it is not acceptable for her to smoke during her father's meal, but that it is acceptable for him to light up as it would appear minutes later, after dinner. Thus according to her father's values, she is not grown-up at all. [DVL, 46-49]

The motif of cigarettes also characterizes the younger generation in *Unordnung*. It has implications which are yet more insulting to this generation. In Cornelius' observations of the similarities between the servant, Xaver, and his son, Bert, he observes: 'beide sind sie leidenschaftliche Zigarettensraucher, wenn auch Bert nicht über die Mittel verfügt, so viele zu rauchen wie Xaver, der es auf dreißig Stück pro Tag gebracht hat [...].' [UFL, 619] Bert is therefore, like Kunigunde, not as grown-up as he would like to think he is. In a strange part of the text, Mann describes how Cornelius gives some of his cigarettes to the young people at the soiree. He decides, however, not to give them the cigarettes which he prefers, but instead cigarettes

⁶¹ In 'Über die Ehe', Mann writes, in the context of the lessening of the differences between the genders, that the young man 'der weiblichen annähert, und seine Haltung hat modisch-zeitbestimmterweise eher etwas feminine Gedrehtes und Weiches, *ins Tänzerhafte Schlagendes*.' [ÜdE, 195, my italics] Mann appears to be talking about young people in general, but the way in which he

von seinem Vorrat, nicht gerade die besten, oder doch nicht gerade die, die er selber am liebsten raucht, ein etwas zu langes und dünnes Format, das er nicht ungern los wird bei dieser Gelegenheit, denn schließlich sind es ja junge Leute. [UFL, 640]

This is an ambivalent part of the text; Thomas' motives are unclear, but it is certainly not complimentary to the young guests.⁶²

The fathers in each narrative represent the epitome of traditional *bürgerlich* values. This is conveyed in the pattern of these figures' daily lives. Both figures live regulated lives structured around work, meal times, walks, siestas and grooming. The similarities in the employment of the motifs of food and dining in Klaus' texts and *Unordnung* were discussed above. In contrast to the elder generation, the young people in Klaus' writings refuse to sit down to dine. One detail which is worth recalling at this juncture is the use of the motif of serviettes. In *Unordnung*, the eldest childrens' serviettes hang over their chairs while they leave the table during lunch to make phonecalls, serviettes having had symbolical importance in *Der Vater lacht*. [UFL, 622] When the young people do sit down in *Unordnung*, it is in an unruly fashion, some even sitting on the stairs, the narrator informs us. [UFL, 640]

Aside from the parallels listed above, there are parallels in the text of two narratives. The description of Abel washing as he does several times daily at the 'Waschtisch' is very similar to that of the *Ministerialrat*'s daily wash:

Am morgen stand der Ministerialrat im Trikothemd vorm Waschtisch. [...] Er tauchte das Gesicht, um sich auf kräftigende Art zu erfrischen, in ziemlich kaltes Wasser. Er prutschte laut und rieb sich Oberkörper und Nacken tüchtig mit rauhem Frottiertuche. [DVL, 35]

The description of Abel reads, similarly:

words this discussion is ambivalent, and could signify that he meant his own son, specifically. [See ÜdE, 194f.]

⁶² See also Turner, 49, regarding this passage.

Cornelius schüttelt, wie täglich mehrmals, den Kopf über die [Wasch]schüssel, macht sich dann fertig – mit Sorgfalt übrigens; er putzt unter dem Deckenlicht seine Brille vollkommen blank und durchsichtig – [...]. [UFL, 634]

The reference to Abel's glasses being cleaned carefully is a further detail which suggests that this story replies to *Der Vater lacht*. In *Unordnung*, the glasses are not crushed but, rather, cleaned for perfect vision.⁶³

Of course there are obvious parallels in the basis of these narratives. *Der Vater lacht* has an evidently autobiographical nature. Rendering the mocking portrayal of a Thomas cipher, it clearly has something to say regarding the Mann father-son relationship. The autobiographical basis of *Unordnung* is yet more evident. It renders the caustic portrayal of a Klaus cipher, and again clearly has a message regarding the Mann family set-up. The structure of both of these narratives is similar in that each features the intrusion of a young person into a world with established values – and in each case that world is rocked as a result.

There are also similarities in narrative voice: *Der Vater lacht* is told largely from the point of view of the Thomas cipher, and is characterized by misunderstandings as his thoughts, questions and concerns regarding his offspring are conveyed to the reader but are not addressed to his offspring. *Unordnung* takes this even further, again being narrated almost exclusively from the point of view of the Thomas cipher and characterized by similar thoughts and concerns, voiced to the reader but not directly to the offspring.⁶⁴

⁶³ That these glasses are 'geteilt' implies that this figure can see the past as well as the future, marking the superiority of his outlook to that of his son. (The reference to Abel's *Erregung* at the prospect of the arrival of his children's guests [UFL, 634] where the *Ministerialrat's Erregung* in *Der Vater lacht* held a sexual insinuation, may also be of significance. [Perhaps Thomas Mann wished to indicate that this sensation was of an innocent, non-sexual nature.]

⁶⁴ See Turner on Mann's employment of *erlebte Rede*.

2.5 *Anja und Esther*

Chapter 1 referred to the outrage caused by Klaus' play *Anja und Esther*, which centred on a group of troubled adolescents in an 'Erholungsheim für gefallene Kinder', and featured dubious sexual relationships. Two aspects of this play remain to be embraced by scholarship. Firstly, the portrayal of the father-figure features political comment. Further, the significance of Thomas' public reaction to this play needs to be considered in the light of the literary relationship.

In the third scene, a conversation between the adolescents about their parents draws attention to the theme of problematic fathers. Anja and Kaspar,⁶⁵ ciphers for Erika and Klaus, share the same mother but have different fathers. Anja's father recalls in many of his characteristics other Thomas ciphers. He is described in terms which are now familiar:

ANJA Er war höherer Offizier. [...] Ganz dunkel erinnere ich mich noch: In einer hellgrauen Uniform. – Ein strenger Herr. – Meine Mutter liebte ihn wohl nicht sehr.-

JAKOB Sogar wenn sie von diesem Vater spricht, der heute keine Sekunde zögern würde, sie als seine Tochter einfach zu verleugnen, ist etwas wie Mitleid in ihrer Stimme.

ESTHER Wir dürfen ihn nicht bemitleiden. Wenn er unser Feind sein kann, ist er das. Daß er den höchsten vielleicht vollkommenen Typus dieser uns hassenswerten Gattung darstellt, macht ihn nur gefährlicher, verabscheuungswürdiger. Mich geht es nichts an, daß er Anjas Vater ist, sie hat beinahe nichts von ihm mitbekommen. – Oh, ich höre die gescheiten und wohlgedrechselten Worte, mit denen er uns, unser Leiden, unsere Lust als unsittlich, als liederlich, undiszipliniert beiseite tun würde. Wie ich seine Worte höre. – Sie gehen uns nichts an. Aber die Haltung, die Klugheit, die hinter ihnen steht, machen, daß sie schmerzen, wie sicher gezielte Pfeile.

KASPAR Außerdem bietet dieser Achtenswerte gerade zu Mitleid denkbar wenig Anlaß. Angesehen und gut situiert wohnt er in der Stadt. Tüchtig ist er und dient dem Staate.

ANJA Ich glaube, Kaspar, daß du zu oberflächlich urteilst. Am Ende ist er doch allein mit seiner Generalsuniform.

ESTHER (*mit einer von Spott verzerrten Stimme*): Er soll den Kriegsdienst leider quittiert haben und sich mit der nützlichen Abfassung human-pädagogischer Schriften beschäftigen. [AuE, 32]

⁶⁵ See Chapter 5, 'Names' section.

This father figure is again a 'höherer Offizier', and a 'strenger Herr' who wears a 'hellgraue[] Uniform', mirroring the father of Harald in *Die Jungen*.

In fact, the critical stance of Esther's comments on this figure echo to a great extent those of the discerning thinker, Adolf, in *Die Jungen*: Adolf's 'uns geht er nichts an' is echoed in Esther's statement, 'mich geht es nichts an, daß er Anjas Vater ist [...]', and that Anja's father would dismiss his offspring's concerns as *liederlich* is a direct repetition of Adolf's words, 'dein Vater würde das liederlich nennen.' [JUNG, 31]

The association of *Haltung* with this figure, and words directed towards the younger generation on the subject of *Sittlichkeit* and discipline, which cause pain like 'sicher gezielten Pfeile', marks a similarity between this figure and the *Ministerialrat*, and his confrontation with his daughter on the subject of *Leistung*. That this figure 'gerade zu Mitleid denkbar wenig Anlaß [bietet]', that he 'angesehen und gut situiert [...] in der Stadt [wohnt]', that he is 'tüchtig' and 'dem Staate [dient]', although 'am Ende [...] doch allein mit seiner Generalsuniform [ist]', highlights the parallels between this father and other Thomas ciphers.

What is different about this play is that, for the first time, the *generation* of the fathers is held to account. This question is introduced by Esther. Firstly, her mocking comment about this father's *Kriegsdienst* and that he 'sich mit der nützlichen Abfassung human-pädagogischer Schriften beschäftig[t]' [AuE, 32] is a critical reference to Thomas' support of the First World War and to the *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*. More significantly, the theme of the guilt of the fathers, one which features prominently in this literary relationship (see Chapters Three and Five), is introduced for the first time in this play. Esther states: 'sie müßten ein schlechtes

Gewissen haben. Denn sie sind doch schuld. [...] Ich mache die Eltern verantwortlich!! Denn sie hatten es leichter!! Die Eltern hatten es leichter.' [AuE, 33]

Her final dismissal of the generation of the fathers reads:

Sollen wir sie auch noch bedauern, daß sie diese enervierende Art, es schön zu haben, entbehren mußten? Gerade deswegen vielleicht hatten sie es tausendmal bequemer, tausendmal leichter. In ihrer unverzeihlichen Skrupellosigkeit setzten sie uns in die Welt. Sie hatten ja den Boden unter den Füßen, den wir verlieren mußten. Sie hatten ihre kleine Trauer, in der sie hausten, ihre kleine Schwäche, die ihnen behaglich war. Aber wir müssen uns stündlich gefährdet fühlen, wie niemals ein Geschlecht noch gefährdet war. Wir sind hilflos zwischen alle Extreme gestellt, und niemand ist unser Führer. Jetzt wendet die Sittlichkeit dieser Väter sich gar noch erschrocken ab von dem fragwürdigen Geschlecht, das sie verschuldet haben.[AuE, 33]⁶⁶

Esther's words pre-empt the sense conveyed, at the beginning of *Der fromme Tanz* (see below) and of *Kind dieser Zeit*, of resentment at the fathers and the circumstances which they have created for their offspring. This is an idea which will feature prominently in the essayistic writings examined in Chapter 4. That Klaus has progressed in *Anja und Esther* to commenting on socio-political affairs, explicitly in the context of generations, marks a development in his socio-political outlook which has not yet been pinpointed by scholars. That Klaus is now talking about *generations*, however, should not fool the reader: he still means first and foremost himself and his father.

2.5.1 Kaspar's father, and *Der Alte*

Klaus' tendency to fragment father figures has been witnessed to a minor extent in *Die Jungen*, in the portrayal of the professor. This is a tendency which will feature

⁶⁶ The comment that 'jetzt wendet die Sittlichkeit dieser Väter sich gar noch erschrocken ab von dem fragwürdigen Geschlecht, das sie verschuldet haben' calls to mind the *Ministerialrat*, who purposefully turns himself away and distances himself from his offspring. (See 'Discussion' section, below.) That this is a 'fragwürdige[s] *Geschlecht*' [my italics], which the parents 'verschuldet haben', signifies that this is not only a socio-political guilt but, rather, implies that it is also a sexual guilt, reflecting Klaus' idea of hereditary (homo)sexuality. Chapter 3 will illustrate a further manifestation of the way in which guilt marks this father-son relationship, denoting the signs of a fundamentally existential guilt.

increasingly, from *Anja und Esther* onwards, and will be seen for example in *Der fromme Tanz* and *Alexander*.

As stated above, Anja and Kaspar have the same mother, but different fathers. Anja's father, described above, recalled many of the features associated with Thomas ciphers in Klaus' writings. The portrayal of *Kaspar's* father preempts that of figures in the later *Kindernovelle* and *Der siebente Engel*. Like the figures named Till in these later writings, ciphers for Klaus,⁶⁷ this figure presents a challenge to Thomas and to his marriage.

A connection which has not been drawn is that between Erik and Kaspar's father. All that is known about Kaspar's father is that he 'kam irgendwoher, und er ging'. [AuE, 32] The only other information about him is related by Kaspar: 'Er soll jung gewesen sein – schön wahrscheinlich. – Er hat wohl eine helle Stimme gehabt. – *Vielleicht sah er dir [Erik] ähnlich.*' [AuE, 33, my italics] The similarity in appearance suggested between these figures implies that, if Erik is a Klaus cipher, so, too, is Kaspar's father.

The idea of Kaspar's mother loving an attractive, young Klaus cipher who 'kam [...] und ging', causing a disturbance, and of her bearing a child to this man, anticipates the fate of the two Katia ciphers in *Kindernovelle* and *Der siebente Engel*. Erik, like the two Till figures in *Kindernovelle* and *Der siebente Engel* (and like Max Hergesell, in *Unordnung*, as Schneider pointed out [RS, 1109] - see Chapter 1), breaks into and rocks a hitherto organized world, shut off from reality, with fixed values and traditions, although the underlying implication in all cases is that this was a

⁶⁷ Erika stated that the figure Erik in *Anja und Esther* was a cipher for her brother: 'Überdies – und weil von der *Kindernovelle* die Rede ist: Dieser strahlende 'Till', der da von außen hereinbricht, ist echter Klaus [...] In *Anja und Esther* bereits tritt er auf (in der Gestalt des 'Erik), und in einem sehr späten und unbekannt gebliebenen Stück, *Der siebente Engel*, gibt es fast dieselbe Figur ein letztes Mal. Nicht, als ob sie übrigens in *Der fromme Tanz* abgängig gewesen wäre.' [Letter from Erika Mann to Ludwig Marcuse, 30.5.1966. EM BuA, II, 175]

world characterized by melancholy and that changing it has actually been a positive development.

In *Unordnung*, Thomas insulted his son by having an autobiographical figure envy the outsider, who also stole the heart of the Klaus figure's sister, who wished that the outsider were her brother. In revenge, in *Kindernovelle*, it is the Klaus figure who steals the heart of the *Katia* figure, *fathering* the little sister figure, the fifth child. That a Klaus cipher fathers a child to a representative of Katia has implications for the portrayal of relationship between Thomas and Katia, and also relates to the themes of offspring/progeny and castration which are important to this literary relationship.⁶⁸

In the above conversation in *Anja und Esther*, on the subject of the largely unknown parents of the young people, Erik interjects a reference to someone with whom they are in contrast well acquainted: 'Aber eure Mutter war die Tochter des Alten. Er ist euer Großvater. Ihr seid seine Enkelkinder. – Das kommt mir – fast unheimlich vor.' [AuE, 32] The pauses in Erik's sentence draw attention to this figure's relationship to Anja and Kaspar. *Der Alte* has been recognized as a portrayal of Paul Geheeb, the director of the 'Odenwaldschule'.⁶⁹ There are several elements in his characterization which point, however, to his being a cipher for Thomas. His preference for the little *Eliza* [AuE, 11 and passim] parallels Thomas' strong affection for his own child with a similar name, Elisabeth, as described in his diaries and

⁶⁸ These themes are discussed in Chapter 5, 'Themes' section.

⁶⁹ The story, *Der Alte*, is also recognized as a portrayal of this figure. [See MK, 302; NS-KM, Biog, 48f.] Geheeb had written to *Thomas*, and not to Klaus, expressing his unhappiness at the portrayal of him in *Der Alte*. Thomas' answer is highly ambivalent regarding the issue of artistic license – particularly given that he himself was the writer of *Buddenbrooks* and *Bilse und Ich* – with undertones of criticism and coldness towards his son. Thomas writes that Klaus 'eben nur geglaubt [hat], starke Eindrücke der Wirklichkeit mit Erfundenem dichterisch vermischen zu dürfen, ohne sich über die menschlichen Gefahren solchen Tuns klar zu sein; und was die menschliche Wirkung auf Sie verschlimmert, sind die spezifisch modernen Kunstmittel, deren er sich zu bedienen versucht und deren eigentümliche Bizarrerie und Kälte der Sache für Sie etwas besonders Abstoßendes geben mußten. Ich [...] werde mit Klaus noch sehr ernsthaft darüber zu reden haben.' [Letter TM to Paul Geheeb of 4.5.1925. In KM, BuA, 668] Harpprecht argues rightly that Thomas' letter is surprising, given that Thomas had himself completed *Unordnung* only days beforehand. [KH, 564]

confirmed by Erika: ‘Er hat dieses Kindchen über alle Maßen geliebt [...]’.⁷⁰ The hints at incestuous behaviour associated with this figure throughout the play are confirmed in the seventh scene,⁷¹ when Esther shares childhood memories with Anja: ‘Wenn sie [Esthers Mutter] fort war, kniete sich der Alte zu uns und sprach stockend von seiner Liebe. Bei aller Wonne erschrak ich, wenn dieser große rote Mund unter dem Bart auf mich kam.’ [AuE, 61]⁷²

The wording of this scene is echoed decades later, in Thomas’ *Der Erwählte*, another piece of writing with the theme of incest at its forefront, in a passage about the siblings Gregor and Sibylla and their father, Herzog Grimald:

Oft nämlich, wenn [Gregor und Sybilla] so saßen und über allerlei Dinge kosten, trat Herzog Grimald wohl zu ihnen, nicht um sich ihnen zu gesellen, vielmehr um den Junker mit starken Worten zu vertreiben und allein mit dem Jungfräulein zu kosen. [...]. [GW, VII, 29f.]

Sibylla tells her brother, however: ‘Ich habe es lieber, wenn du mich küssest, als wenn unser lieb Herre wert mir Hals und Wange mit seinem rostfarbenen Schnauz zerkratzt.’ [GW, VII, 29]⁷³

2.5.2 A Public Response

Thomas’ reaction to *Anja und Esther* has been cited by scholars, but none have given due reflection to its significance.⁷⁴ Prior to the staging of *Anja und Esther* in Vienna, a

⁷⁰ Erika Mann, *Mein Vater der Zauberer*, 22

This is not the only early writing in which Klaus comments on the affection displayed by Thomas ciphers for ciphers of his younger sister Elisabeth, with undertones of resentment. See also: *Traum des verlorenen Sohnes von der Heimkehr* (1925), 45f., and *Der fromme Tanz* [DFT, 25]

⁷¹ The number seven is of great importance to Klaus (and Thomas). A study of the use of this number, which has strong biblical connotations, by father and son could be worthwhile.

⁷² The phrase ‘wenn die Mutter fort war’ relates to the idea that Thomas’ attraction to his son heightened during Katia’s long absence[s] and the connection drawn between this and *Der Tod in Venedig* in Chapter 1. [See also GH, 267] Similarly, Erika recalls her father’s beard tickling her and Klaus when he came to kiss them goodnight as children. [EM, Vater, 11]

Elements of the characterization of *der Alte* are similar to that of other Thomas cipher figures in Klaus’ early narratives. For example, the animal-like portrayal of the *Ministerialrat* in *Der Vater lacht* is repeated in the description of the hairy legs and long beard of ‘der Alte’, and in his eating habits: ‘[er] beginnt in sich hineinzulöffeln’; ‘der Alte, der schweigend in sich hineinißt.’ [AuE, 11, 15, 18] (All of these elements are paralleled in the narrative entitled *Der Alte*.)

rumour circulated that Thomas was refusing to read the play because of its wayward morals. In response, Thomas published the statement: 'Ich bin kein Stiftsfräulein.'⁷³ That he felt it necessary to publish this statement demonstrates the sizeable effect which Klaus' writings and activities were exerting on him. This is a pointer of what was to come later in their relationship, when Thomas would again feel the need to take a public stance regarding the undertakings of his son: central to Chapter 4 are examples of Thomas taking a stance regarding his son's political affairs, statements which will mark a regrettable development in the father-son relationship.

Thomas' more private response to his son's play was marked, typically, by distance, ambivalence, and a critical undertone, and was conveyed not towards his son, but to his friend Ernst Bertram and again to Erika. Thomas' letter to Bertram refers to his son and his endeavours in a strangely distanced and dismissive tone, although not precluding an undertone of pride and amusement. He thanks Bertram for the 'freundliche Aufnahme, die Sie [...] unserem ungeratenen, d.h. nicht weit vom Stamme gefallenem Sprößling in Köln bereitet haben, - so nahe zum Stamme gefallen allerdings, wie es heutzutage möglich ist', continuing:

denn das ist im Ganzen ein wildes Geschlecht, nicht heilig ist ihm, was anderen hehr, unsereins versteht da wenig und verzichtet in dieser Einsicht klüglich auf Versuche, das Ding auf Autorität zu stellen, sondern sieht bescheiden und mit den besten Wünschen zu, wie es laufen will und kann. Was sagen Sie dazu, daß Hartung das unbeschreiblich gebrechliche und korrupte Stückchen des jungen Mannes (es handelt von *gefallenen Kindern* und spielt in einem sonderbar tänzerischen Hospiz für solche) schlankweg für sein Berliner Theater angenommen hat und den Herrn Verfasser eine der höchst morbiden Rollen darin spielen lassen will? Soll, kann ich es verbieten? Das wäre ein Unsinn in der neuen Welt, die freilich selbst Unsinn ist, aber das spricht

⁷³ These words echo those of Erika regarding her own father, cited above. It is worth noting that *Sibylle*, similar to *Sibylla*, is the name given to the Erika cipher in Klaus' *Die Jungen*.

⁷⁴ Compare Krüll, 317.

⁷⁵ The rumour originated in the *Neue Wiener Journal* of 19.2.1926: The article 'Pamela Wedekind und Klaus Mann in Wien' claimed that Thomas had allowed himself to be heard publicly stating that he did not read the writings of his son, and *Anja und Esther* in particular, as these were too *sittlos* for him. Thomas' statement, in a reader's letter, was printed on 4.3.1926. Further, an anonymous critic published the lines: 'Thomas Mann, der Dichter der vielfach unaufgeführten *Fiorenza*, wird schließlich noch seinen Sohn beneiden müssen.' [Anonymous, 'Klaus Manns Stück im Raimund-Theater' In: *Die Stunde*, Vienna, 10.3.1926]

nicht für mich. Sehen wir zu mit den besten Wünschen, aber aus der Ferne. Denn in die Premiere bringen mich keine zehn Pferde. [...] [TM-EB, 135]

His comments directed to Erika (again not to Klaus), following his attendance of the Munich performance, were ambivalent: he wrote that the play held a 'gewissen jugendlich-überjugendlichen Charme' which he would defend 'gegen jedermann', continuing:

Natürlich bin auch ich tüchtig mitgenommen worden, sowohl gedruckt, wie in Form von rempelnden und unqualifizierbaren anonymen Zuschriften. Ich mache mir aber nichts daraus und meine, wenn man das Stück auch nicht unbedingt hätte aufführen müssen, so ist es als erster Anfang doch keineswegs so schlecht, wie die meisten Leute tun.⁷⁶

2.6 *Der fromme Tanz*

Klaus caused a sensation when he 'came out' publicly with his novel, *Der fromme Tanz* (1925). This novel remains to be fully appreciated; it has much to say about how Mann viewed his own situation, (his talents, in the light of his father's talents), and recent socio-political developments. The following examination seeks to outline the most important elements of relevance to the father-son relationship, in the hope (as with *Der Vater lacht*) that a more exhaustive study can be undertaken at a later date.⁷⁷

This novel shares some of the qualities of *Die Jungen* and *Der Vater lacht*. The father-son problematic is again at the forefront, masked only incompletely by the generation conflict. This novel also hints at the superiority of the son, and religion is called upon as a solution for his problematic youth. As in *Anja und Esther*, the generation of the fathers is blamed for the political climate to which it has contributed,

⁷⁶ Letter from TM to Erika Mann from 6.11.1925. [TM Briefe, I, 149]

⁷⁷ The only detailed examination of this novel to date is Schaezler's study, *Klaus Mann als Erzähler* (see Chapter 1; this study does not pay satisfactory attention to the father-son dynamic).

or envied for the comparatively unproblematic socio-political background in which it grew up and found its identity.

The autobiographical son-figure is named Andreas Magnus, and the primary Thomas cipher (there are other father-type figures) Doktor Magnus. Thus, the father's name has strong connotations of importance and power (as in for example Carolus Magnus). The son's name means 'the great man' which in this case of course could also be taken to mean 'the great *Mann*'. Given the closeness of the word Andreas to '(der) Andere', this could also be taken to mean 'the *other* great one.'⁷⁸

Grunewald commented that Klaus insulted his father by making his Thomas ciphers *Bürger*, rather than artists. The following description calls to mind *Der Vater lacht*, and that this figure is depicted in a dressing gown (which Thomas also wore at home, when he worked, see above) is not without significance:

Sein Vater [...] war kein bevorzugter Mann, ein redlicher, kluger Bürger, Arzt gewesen vor Jahren, aber ziemlich vermögend und schon lange im Ruhestand. Der wußte doch, was er wollte. [...] Seine wissenschaftliche Arbeit gedieh, gedieh stattlich sogar, wie es schien. [...] Er kam im Kamelhaarschlafrock aus seinem Arbeitszimmer, wo er bis um diese Stunde ein wenig zu schreiben pflegte, ein paar Zeilen jeden Tag am spezial-wissenschaftlichen Werk, das langsam-langsam fortschritt, [...]. [DFT, 18f., 24]

Der fromme Tanz is not Klaus' only writing in 1925 to feature a father's birthday (*Der Vater lacht* also does). In this text, however, Klaus twice draws attention to the fact that Andreas has *forgotten* his father's birthday, possibly intended as an insult to Thomas. [DFT, 24] In a passage which makes clear the similarity between Dr. Magnus and Thomas, the awkwardness of the father-son relationship is imparted:

Auf der Diele begegnete er seinem Vater. Andreas blieb einen Augenblick stehen. 'Guten Morgen', sagte er und senkte den Blick. Er sah fast niemals den Vater an. [...] 'Guten Morgen - gehst du jetzt also spazieren? Ich hätte ja wirklich beinahe vergessen, daß du heute Geburtstag hast. Ich gratuliere auch schön.' Und er lächelte,

⁷⁸ See also Härle, 269. Härle gives an interesting discussion of the other father-figures in the novel. [GH, 269-271]

höflich und flüchtig. Es wäre aber nicht richtig gewesen, diese Höflichkeit, obwohl sie nicht eben herzlich zu nennen war, als kalt zu bezeichnen. In ihr zitterte eine gewisse Ergebenheit, ja beinahe etwas wie eine melancholisch versteckte Verehrung, die sein Benehmen, kühl und fremd auf den ersten Blick, geradezu innig werden ließ. 'Danke, danke', erwiderte der Vater, die Zigarre im Munde. Und dann, den Blick hinter den Brillengläsern durchs Fenster gleiten lassend: 'Das Wetter ist ja ganz schön geworden. Am Morgen schien es fast regnen zu wollen.'

'Ja, aber Wolken sind immer noch da', sagte Andreas und ging schon die Treppe hinauf. *Das war ihre Unterhaltung gewesen.* [DFT, 24, my italics]

As in *Der Vater lacht*, the conversation is restricted to superficial matters, and yet both do have deeper thoughts and concerns regarding the other party, thoughts and concerns which they keep to themselves however. Thus, the text continues:

Der Vater sah hinter ihm drein. Da ging sein Sohn. - - Oben arbeitete er. Aber der Vater hatte Zweifel an seinem Talent. Frank Bischof, soviel war sicher, schien seine Studien und skizzierten Versuche fast vollkommen abzulehnen. Ablehnen, überlegte der Vater, im Schlafrock mitten auf der Diele stehend, ist ja vielleicht ein zu hartes Wort. Er pflegte sie sich anzusehen mit einem Lächeln, das etwas verächtlich und beinahe mitleidig war. 'Ja, ja', schien so ein Lächeln zu sagen, 'viel ist das nicht - -' [DFT, 25]

The ambivalence in the father's attitude towards his son's work reflects Thomas' attitude towards his son's writings.

The second paternal figure in the story is Frank Bischof, the best friend of Andreas' father. Bischof is a renowned artist with an established reputation. Andreas suffers due to his own inability to move forward and paint with success (and complete the features of God on his painting, significantly), and due to Frank Bischof's contrasting success, with obvious autobiographical connotations. In a scene which repeats aspects of the turning points of *Die Jungen* and *Der Vater lacht*, Mann presents Andreas' self-reflection:

So viele haben ihren Ausdruck gefunden und haben's gebildet, was ihres Herzens Qual und Freude war. Ich werde es nicht können. Zu wie unerbittlich strenger Stellung müssen die Planeten sich geordnet haben, in der Stunde, da ich geboren wurde. Wie grausam, ja wie unverständlich grausam von diesem Gott, einem Menschen, die nicht zu unterdrückende Sehnsucht danach mitzugeben, ein Kunstwerk

zu schaffen, ihn aber unter so unentwirrbar schwierigen Umständen aufwachsen und leben zu lassen, daß er die Kraft nicht findet, aus ihnen heraus etwas zu vollenden. [DFT, 25f.]⁷⁹

This passage implies that, if the generation of the fathers had not, in supporting the war, created this socio-political climate, Andreas would have been more successful as a painter (and Klaus in turn as a writer). Klaus blames his father, the writer of the *Betrachtungen*, for his support of the First World War, and is resentful regarding the better start with which, he feels, his father was privileged.

Echoing similar points in the narrative of *Die Jungen* and *Der Vater lacht*, Andreas' body language is defeatist and submissive, but it will not remain so:

Er hatte, vor der Staffelei sitzend, das Antlitz ganz tief gesenkt. Ihm war, als würde er es nie wieder aufrichten können. Ihn ekelte so vor seinen Händen – er mochte sie nicht heben und mit ihnen schaffen. Der da – der andere, der hatte es ja gekonnt – Frank Bischof hatte es gekonnt. Dem huldigte man heute, und sein Herz war satt. Satt, dachte Andreas in einer Art von machtloser Wut, satt ist der heute. [DFT, 26]

Andreas observes Frank Bischof as his face eclipses, suggestively, with that of God on his painting. Bischof shares some of the facial features of other Thomas figures (he has a 'gebogene[r] Nase' and a 'kurzgehaltene[r] Spitzbart'):

[Andreas] dachte nur – und bewegte sich gar nicht auf seinem Stuhl, aber um seinen Mund verzerrte sich etwas, als müßte er Bitteres schmecken -: Der ist jetzt also Vorbild, der ist jetzt Repräsentant. [DFT, 26]

Contemplating the failure of this next painting, Andreas closes his eyes:

Ja – und wenn nun auch dieses mißlang – [...] Aber irgendwo wußte er schon, warum sich jetzt *ein so seliges und ein so erlöstes Lächeln* um seine Züge legte. Durch das offene Fenster trug der Wind die kleinen Schreie der Kinder [...]. [DFT, 27, my italics]

⁷⁹ This passage relates to the ideas of inheritance and the guilt of the (fore)fathers, themes explored in Appendix 5.1.

Thus Andreas, like Harald and Kunigunde, does not give in to his feelings of inferiority in the light of the achievements of, and apparent superiority of, the fathers. The hints that Andreas has or will discover something else, of greater importance, are made in a religious tone, which hints at the idea of a Second Coming in association with this Klaus figure and points towards other, future writings such as *Alexander*.⁸⁰ The open window signifies the larger world outside, and the *irgendwo* which precedes this idea anticipates this figure's as yet unplanned or unrealized journey to Berlin, and beyond (prophetically, Andreas does not cease to travel at the close of the novel), a journey of self-discovery which features the realization of Andreas' homosexuality at its forefront. Thus here, again, the hinted superiority of this figure has to do with his letting love into his life. This is a further implication which has not been recognized by scholarship.

Chapter 1 outlined that scholarship has tended to presume that an interest in political affairs is not a feature of Klaus' early writings. There are, however, significant parts of this novel which indicate that Klaus was thinking along socio-political lines in writing this book. The autobiographical intent of the following passages becomes clear when we remember that Klaus was born in 1906 (and was therefore around twelve years old in 1918) and Thomas in 1875 (and was therefore *around forty*). In the *Vorwort*, the author cites Raymond Radiguet:

'Ich werde mich zahlreichen Vorwürfen aussetzen', heißt der erste Satz eines erschütternden Romans, den ein Siebzehnjähriger drüben in Frankreich schrieb: 'Aber was kann ich dafür? Ist es meine Schuld, daß ich einige Monate vor der Kriegserklärung zwölf Jahre alt war? Zweifellos waren die Verwirrungen, die diese außergewöhnliche Zeit für mich mit sich brachte, so, wie man sie sonst niemals in meinem Alter empfindet. Ich bin nicht der einzige. [DFT, 7f.]

⁸⁰ Härle adopts a typically different stance: adhering to his idea of Mann's *Mangelwerk*, Härle holds that this smile is as if to signify that failure itself is a solution. Härle also brings this idea into connection with a psychoanalytical view, writing:

'Das Lächeln signalisiert die Idee der Aussöhnung; es gibt vor, der Sohn könne dem Konflikt zwischen der väterlichen und der eigenen Leistung entkommen; das Lächeln will die "ödpale Rivalitätssituation" umbiegen in vor-ödpale Harmonie.' [GH, 272f. See also GH, 76, 333, 271 regarding the posture of Klaus' autobiographical figures in *Der Vater lacht* and *Der fromme Tanz*.]

Klaus apologizes for the possible *Mängel* of his book, adding:

Und wie jener Radiguet in Frankreich führe ich die große, historische Erklärung alles dieses an. Daß mein Held Andreas und seine Altersgenossen *dreizehn* Jahre alt waren, als die Revolution begann, der andere, zweite verhängnisvolle Aufstand: kann ich dafür?! [DFT, 8, my italics]

Klaus describes the childhood of his autobiographical figure, Andreas, accordingly:

Seine dumpfe, träumevolle Kindheit war also in die Aufbruchtage von 1914 gefallen, deren Größe, deren gewaltiges Pathos er aber noch nicht hatte verstehen können, sondern die eben nur als irgendeine große Erhebung, als ein klirrender dröhnender Lärm, als eine unerklärliche Stunde, nach der alles anders werden mußte wie vorher, seiner Seele sich eingepägt und diese umgebildet hatten – und den Hintergrund, die Umgebung für die Jahre seines ersten Erwachens, seines ersten Sehens – Lernens – für die Jahre also *zwischen 11 und 13* – war der andere zweifelhaftere, noch gefährlichere Aufbruch gewesen, jene verzweifelte Unruhe, die wohl ein Altes, Mürbes zerstören konnte, aber nicht fähig war, aus ihrer Zerrissenheit ein Neues zu gebären – der Aufbruch also von 1918. [DFT, 18, my italics]

He adds:

Die Generation vor ihm – das hatte er damals wohl schon gefühlt – das Geschlecht, das vom Tage des Kriegsbeginnes *etwa vierzigjährig* angetroffen wurde, es erfuhr wohl auch Erregung und ungewohnte Verwirrung durch diese Katastrophe.⁸¹ Die große Unruhe warf sich auch über sie, und mancher, der sich schon fertig und reif geglaubt hatte, mußte in Nöten umlernen, nach innen und außen. Aber diese mußten doch eben nur umlernen, aus etwas, was sie schon waren, sich, soweit es noch anging, hinüberverwandeln zu etwas anderem, was die Zeit forderte in ihrer hohen Unerbittlichkeit. – Wie viel schlimmer jedoch, ja, wieviel verzweifelter stand es für die, die aus dem Chaos heraus überhaupt erst irgend etwas zu werden hatten, die ihren Ton erst finden mußten aus diesem entzügelten Gerauschk von Tönen, ihren Weg suchen, vorbei an allen Extremen, zwischen die sie gestellt waren. [DFT, 18, my italics]

These passages reflect the political resentment, also expressed in *Anja und Esther*, at the beginning of *Kind dieser Zeit* and in Klaus' early essayistic writings, at the generation of the fathers.

⁸¹ (The terms *Erregung* and *Verwirrung*, discussed earlier in this study, may be read as indicators that Thomas is meant in this passage.)

2.7 'Über die Ehe'

That Thomas chose, shortly after the publication of Klaus' *Der fromme Tanz*, to take his only ever public stance on homosexual relationships, is significant. There was no need to make a statement at that particular time; the essay was written merely in response to a circulated question, and to be published in an anthology. Thomas could have declined an entry, or written a more neutral response, both of which courses of action he had often taken. Instead, 'Über die Ehe' is a vehement criticism of homosexual relationships, in favour of the institution of marriage.

It is not surprising, given the thematic of Thomas' oeuvre and in retrospect the thoughts which have been discovered in his diaries, revealing the importance of homoerotic desire to the writer, that this essay should, on close reading, give a slightly uneasy and tendential impression, as if the writer had been put on the spot. Indeed the question put to him went to the very core of his private world. Although he had treated themes of homoeroticism in his writings, had written about homoeroticism to a (less renowned) colleague in a way which hinted that it affected him, and had made statements of a dubious nature to his elder children (particularly to Erika), Thomas had never made a public statement on this subject until now. Again that he chose to do so now is of great importance.⁸²

At the beginning of his essay, Thomas adopts the guise of a newly liberal outlook, stressing that he is a married man but wishing create the sense that even he, a married man coming from such strong *bürgerlich* traditions and values, is now so liberated (and proud of it) that he does not mind opening himself to discussing the phenomenon of homosexuality, as distanced as it may be from him. [ÜdE, 190-197]

⁸² 'Außer in seinen Tagebüchern verhandelt er dieses – offen und mit Blick auf sich selbst – allein in einem Brief an C.M. [Carl Maria] Weber und in einem Essay über Platen.' Rolf G. Renner on 'Über die Ehe'. [TMHB, 655] Further, Renner contrasts the 'bürgerlich-familiale[] Selbstkontrolle im Brief-Essay *Über die Ehe*' with a letter to Carl Maria Weber. [TMHB, 657]

After a few initial thoughts on the changes taking place in men and women and observations similar to those made in *Unordnung* about the youth of today (that the differences between the sexes are becoming less and less emphasized) and a concession that the homoerotic is admittedly associated with some great works of art (speaking of this phenomenon as distanced from his experience, he cites not *Der Tod in Venedig* but rather the examples of the Medici-grave, David, the Venice sonnet and the *Pathétique* in b minor) and even with the origins of the state (Blüher) [ÜdE, 190-197] however, Mann completely changes tone and delivers biting criticism of homoeroticism, in favour of marriage:

Die Homoerotik [...] ist 'freie' Liebe im Sinn der Unfruchtbarkeit, Aussichtslosigkeit, Konsequenz- und Verantwortungslosigkeit. Es entsteht nichts aus ihr, sie legt den Grund zu nichts, ist 'l'art pour l'art', was ästhetisch recht stolz und frei sein mag, doch ohne Zweifel unmoralisch ist. Sie selbst hegt das innere Gefühl ihrer Aussichtslosigkeit, Wurzellosigkeit, ihrer Nicht-Gebundenheit and die Zukunft, ihres Mangels an Zusammenhang. Ihr inneres Wesen ist Libertinage, Zigeunertum, Flatterhaftigkeit. Ihr fehlt die Treue. Es gibt tatsächlich keine untreuere, so sehr nach allen Seiten schweifende Liebe, wenn ich recht sehe. [...] sie ist nicht gründend, nicht familienbildend und geschlechterzeugend. [...] Alles, was die Ehe ist, nämlich Dauer, Gründung, Fortzeugung, Geschlechterfolge, Verantwortung, das ist die Homoerotik nicht; und als sterile Libertinage ist sie das Gegenteil der Treue. [ÜdE, 197ff., TM's italics]

Mann continues, deflecting questions which such a stance on the homoerotic may raise from the author of such writings as *Der Tod in Venedig*:

Mit vierundzwanzig Jahren konnte ich die Flucht eines Abgekämpften in den metaphysischen Individualismus erzählen – wahrhaftig, ich verstand mich schon in diesem Alter darauf. Aber das Wissen ist etwas anderes als das Sein, höchstens ein Teil des Seins. Goethe wußte vom Werther mehr, als er von ihm *war*, er hätte sonst nicht fortleben und –wirken können. Und der jugendliche Autor des Thomas Buddenbrook heiratete wenige Jahre, nachdem er ihn zum Sterben geleitet. [ÜdE, 200f.]

Thomas concludes his essay with more praise of the institution of marriage.⁸³

⁸³ It is worth noting that it was this essay that Mann described in private to his daughter as 'eine prinzipielle Auseinandersetzung mit der Homoerotik, ei, ei.' [TM to Erika Mann, 26.8.1925] Further,

Given that Klaus had shortly before this *come out* in *Der fromme Tanz*, after publishing several other stories treating dubious sexuality, including homosexuality, and attracting great attention for his play *Anja und Esther* treating similar subjects, Thomas' decision to publish his first ever, and only, public statement on homosexuality, delivering biting criticism of - and distancing himself from - the phenomenon, in the very same year as all of the above works were published or performed by his son, cannot go unnoticed.

2.8 Kindernovelle

Klaus was decidedly unhappy about his father's *Unordnung* and his frequent public readings of the story. His *Kindernovelle*, published the following year, has been suggested by several scholars to be a reply to *Unordnung*.⁸⁴ The role of *Kindernovelle*

just two years later, Mann imparted to both Klaus and Erika his strange semi-admission of a homoerotic tendency in his letter about Klaus Heuser. [TM to EM&KM, 19.10.1927. In: EM, BuA, I, 16-19] In private he allowed himself such near-admissions, but in public distanced himself, in 'Über die Ehe', from associations with his son and homosexuality. Again, Krüll takes a different view, writing in the context of this essay: 'Doch ein Jahr später gestattete Thomas Mann sich nicht nur eine *Sünde* mit einem jungen Mann, sondern ließ auch noch Klaus und Erika in einem Brief andeutungsweise von seinen Gefühlen wissen.' [MK, 323] [Refers to above cited letter from TM to KM and EM] She adds that the Klaus Heuser letter can 'auf jeden Fall' be read as a 'Danksagung an die Kinder [...], die ihm durch ihr Coming-out zu seiner Befreiung verholfen und die *Erfüllung* mit ermöglichten. Mir scheint, als habe Klaus als 'tanzende Kunigunde' den Vater tatsächlich zum 'Lachen' gebracht, als habe der eine K.H. (Klaus Heinrich) dazu beigetragen, daß der andere K.H. (Klaus Heuser) den Vater – ein bißchen – erlösen konnte.' [MK, 327]

This development demonstrates, rather, the differences between the public, and the private, Thomas. In public, he distanced himself from his son's undertakings, although in private he allowed himself such near-admissions. Chapter 4 will demonstrate similar developments.

It is interesting that the only passage which Thomas quotes at length from one of his writings [*Buddenbrooks*] in the essay reads:

'In meinem *Sohne* habe ich fortzuleben gehofft? In einer noch ängstlicheren, schwächeren, schwankenderen Persönlichkeit? Kindische, irreführte Torheit! Was soll mir ein Sohn? Ich brauche keinen Sohn! Wo ich sein werde, wenn ich tot bin? In allen werde ich sein, die je und je Ich gesagt haben, besonders aber in denen, die es voller, kräftiger, fröhlicher sagen [...].' [ÜdE, 199f., my italics] Thomas includes this passage in the slightly defensive part of the essay which is designed to show how far he has come from his early days (and thus ward off the criticism that his own writings feature homoeroticism).

⁸⁴ See Kraske [E-MK, 36], Krüll [MK, 329], Schaenzler [NS, KM-Biog, 71], Brawner [JB, 91], Kesten [Knovelle, 126f.] and Harpprecht [KH, 567]. Surprisingly, Härle does not enter into a discussion of sexuality in this novella and the possible oedipal implications of this. He does make an interesting comment regarding the burdens left by the fathers, however, and also on dead parents, in Klaus' writings. [GH, 263f.]

in the dialogue of anger and resentment that characterized the literary relationship particularly around 1925 has not, however, been fully appreciated. Just as a biting negative portrayal of a Klaus figure is rendered in *Unordnung, Kindernovelle* paints no less of a critical picture of a Thomas cipher. Further, this novella is the first to make explicit comments (merely hinted at, previously) on the state of a marriage which bears a strong similarity to that between Thomas and Katia. That this follows Thomas' essay on marriage cannot be entirely coincidental.

Like *Unordnung, Kindernovelle* is a highly autobiographical story which again features *four* children similar to the Mann children (this time including ciphers for the middle two children, Golo and Monika, but omitting ciphers for the younger two children). Like the mother in *Unordnung*, the mother in this story features a strong resemblance to Katia. The death mask of her late husband hangs on her bedroom wall, the features of which are described in the now familiar terms:

[...] in Christianens Zimmer hing seine Totenmaske, vor einem schwarzen Samttuch über ihrem Bett. Mit großer Nase, unerbittlich verkniffenem Mund und einem strengen, träumenden Blick beherrschte die Maske das Zimmer der Witwe. – [Knovelle, 22]⁸⁵

An ironic and slightly mocking reference to the status of Thomas Mann is made in that this cipher is continually referred to as *der Meister*. This figure is a prime example of the type of father figure in Klaus' writings who imposes a burden on his family, and impedes their ability to enjoy life (with obvious autobiographical implications).

The setting of the story underlines the autobiographical nature of the narrative, bearing as it does a strong similarity to the Mann's house in Bad Tölz, a setting which

⁸⁵ Of course the idea of a death *mask* associated with a Thomas cipher relates to the theme of seeing through the father. (Mark Robert Alexander's thesis, 'Mask and discourse: Tragicomedy in German exile drama' (Pennsylvania State University, 1997) places the psychological phenomenon of the mask at its forefront.)

Klaus describes in his autobiographies ('Immer, wenn ich *Kindheit* denke, denke ich zuerst *Tölz*'. [KdZ, II, 17. See also KdZ, 16-21])

In this story, the Katia cipher (*Christiane*) takes a lover, Till, who is a cipher for Klaus. Whereas her feelings for her lover are both erotically charged and maternal, her relationship with her dead husband is portrayed as having been one which lacked passion. Rather, the sense is created that Christiane felt threatened by her husband. In bed with Till, and watched over by her husband's death mask, she remembers her husband in terms which can hardly be regarded as complimentary to Thomas:

Viele Liebesnächte mit ihrem Gemahl wurden plötzlich in ihr gegenwärtig. Sie sah sein großes Gesicht über sich, vor dem sie fast Angst gehabt hatte, die schwarz strahlenden Augen, die riesige Nase, der scharfe Mund, der exakt und hymnisch ihrer Schönheit huldigte. In diesen beinahe unerträglichen großen Nächten hatte sich die furchteinflößende Bewegtheit seines Geistes über die Ruhe ihres Leibes geworfen. [Knovelle, 68]

Christiane bears a child to Till.⁸⁶

There are further aspects of this story which suggest that Klaus wished to take a critical stance regarding the marriage of his parents. Christiane is portrayed as a woman who feels alienated and almost threatened by her husband and by her four children, too, in the sense that they are extensions of him. She fails to understand the 'arge' and 'grausige' ballads of her son Heiner (a second Klaus Mann cipher. *Kind dieser Zeit* relates that Klaus' very first writings were also ballads of this description. [See e.g. KdZ, new, 33f., 113]) Her alienation is described: 'Aber der Mutter kam dies

⁸⁶ Krüll asserts rightly that, in having Christiane's fifth child, which would represent Elisabeth Mann (arguably Thomas' favourite child, portrayed as Lorchen in *Unordnung*) fathered by the Klaus Mann cipher in this story, Klaus delivers a harsh insult to his father. [MK, 334]

Brawner points out that the intellectual dissent of Till, a former follower of the *Meister*, from the ideas of this figure, corresponds to that of Klaus from the writings of his father. [JB, 93] Brawner regards Christiane as bringing the two men, her lover Till and her late husband, the *Meister*, together, in her sexual act with Till, and holds that this highlights the ability of Till to equal the philosopher. Her function is according to this scholar to provide a physical means on which the differences between the two figures can be played out. (With Till she experiences the primacy of the body, whereas in her husband she experienced the intellect.) Brawner does not comment, however, on the biting nastiness of the description of the *Liebesnächte* of Christiane with her late husband. [JB, 93-97]

alles fremd und sonderbar vor, sie verstand es beinah so wenig, wie sie ihren toten Gemahl verstanden hatte.' [Knovelle, 21] Christiane's late husband is not the only father figure in Klaus' writings to leave behind a daunting burden for his family.⁸⁷

The burden left by this figure is demonstrated in the following passage, in which the autobiographical connections are obvious:

Der Gemahl war ein berühmter Philosoph gewesen, aber sie kannte nicht eines von seinen Büchern, er hatte ihr stets aufs unbedingtste untersagt, in ihnen zu lesen, auch waren sie ihrem Verstande zu schwierig. In seinem schwarzen Arbeitszimmer, dessen Einrichtungsgegenstände ihre Ehrfurcht in allen Einzelheiten unverändert ließ seit seinem Tod, standen seine Werke in dunklen Reihen. [Knovelle, 22]

The children's similarity to their father is stressed and their crazy conversation with their own vocabulary (again this is based on the Mann children) leads to her observation: 'In welchen Hexensabbat war sie geraten? Gewiß war von ähnlichen Dingen die Rede in des Gemahls geheimnisvoll-verbotenen Büchern.' [Knovelle, 22, 25] Again the autobiographical implications of this statement in the light of the writings of Thomas Mann are clear. As in *Der Wendepunkt*, the vulnerability of Christiane is implied in the portrayal not only of her relationship to her husband but also of that to her children: 'Auch bei den Kindern blieben ihre Augen nicht lang, sie streichelten sie liebevoll, aber fremd, fast erschrocken. [...] Mama [...] fürchtete sich fast vor ihren fremden Kindern.' [Knovelle, 18f.]⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Härle demonstrates that this is an aspect which features continuously throughout Klaus' writings, adding strength to the argument in this chapter that continuity *is* a feature of Klaus' writings: 'Väter werden als Charaktere geschildert, deren Leben eine Pein und deren Ableben eine Erleichterung für die Ehefrauen und Kinder darstellt. Einige von ihnen wirken noch nach dem Tod als Belastung fort, indem sie ein *Werk* hinterlassen, das den Hinterbliebenen Rätsel oder Probleme aufgibt: beispielsweise das *philosophische Werk* in *Kindernovelle*, das zu lesen der Mutter 'aufs unbedingtste untersagt', weil [es] ihrem Verstande zu schwierig' ist; oder das *Weltreich* König Philipps in *Alexander*, das bayerische Königtum in *Vergittertes Fenster* oder auch die spiritistische Gesellschaft van Straatens in *Der siebente Engel*.' [GH, 263f. Refers to Knovelle, 79]

⁸⁸ See WPKT, 20-24 regarding the impression of vulnerability given by Katia in the early days of her marriage.

The not entirely uncritical portrayal of this mother has not been the focus of full scholarly examination. There are indicators that the portrayal of mother figures and of Katia herself in the autobiographies indicate that the relationship between Klaus and his mother was not entirely harmonious, despite the impression which Klaus would sometimes appear to present.

Thomas' reaction to *Kindernovelle* fitted the phrase *der Vater lacht*: he wrote that he had 'recht gelacht', again not to Klaus but to Erika, although he added with typical ambivalence that 'mich hie und da Zweifel beschlichen [hatten]'.⁸⁹

2.9 Discussion

None of the scholars reviewed has pointed out that there are significant similarities in the very early writings of Klaus and Thomas. Klaus' earliest writings are characterized by the grotesque malice which is also a dominant characteristic of his father's earliest writings. Thus, the early story, *Monika Nachtigall*, about a lonely, retired opera singer who is called back to stand in for a singer, thinks that all of her dreams have come true, but is hissed off the stage and dies, bears certain similarities to *Der kleine Herr Friedemann* and *Der Weg zum Friedhof*.⁹⁰ In fact the *Simplicissimus* editor's letter stated that this story showed talent and that it contained 'etwas von der väterlichen Ironie', adding, however: 'Für den *Simplicissimus* reif ist Ihre Geschichte allerdings noch nicht.' [TMD, I, 767. Refers to TMD, I, 11.7.1920]

The connection between *Der Vater lacht* and *Der Tod in Venedig* has already been drawn by scholars, first by Kroll and most notably by Grunewald (see above). A full examination of the similarities between these two novellas has not been undertaken, however.

⁸⁹ Letter from TM to EM of 17.10.1926. In TM-Briefe, I, 259. Krüll claims that the story *Schauspieler in der Villa* is an even more caustic reply to *Unordnung*. [MK, footnote 583] A comparison of these two texts would therefore be worth undertaking.

⁹⁰ Golo remembers that *Monika Nachtigall* portrayed 'eine[] alte[], ehemals erfolgreiche[] Opernsängerin', who now lives 'in einem melancholischen Ruhestand'. The third lady in *The Magic Flute* falls ill and she receives a call to replace her. She accepts, is excited and gloriously happy, seeing this as the beginning of a new career. But she performs very badly, is hissed off the stage and insulted by the audience. She then suffers a heart attack in her dressing room. 'Es riecht nach Puder, Schminke, ranzigem Öle etc. Zum Schluß wird dem lieben Gott höhnischer Dank abgestattet: Wie gerecht und harmonisch er doch alles eingerichtet habe.' [TMD, I, 767. Refers to TMD, I, 452; 11.7.1920] See also KdZ, (II), 114-118 regarding a similarly grotesque story, *Marie Heilmann*.

The above examination illustrated that there are significant parallels between the characterization of Klaus' Thomas-ciphers and Thomas' own autobiographical figures. The resonance between the *Ministerialrat* and Aschenbach is particularly strong. These figures share a similar outlook and lifestyle, Aschenbach's, like that of the *Ministerialrat*, being characterized by *Dienst, Fleiß* and *Zucht*. [TiV, 448, 450, 452] Significantly, the description of Aschenbach's ancestry reads like a description of the father figures in Klaus' writings: 'Seine Vorfahren waren Offiziere, Richter, Verwaltungsfunktionäre gewesen, Männer, die im Dienste des Königs, des Staates ihr straffes, anständig karges Leben geführt hatten.'⁹¹

The *Leistung, Zucht, Haltung* and *Anmut* which characterizes the *Ministerialrat* and other Thomas-ciphers in his son's writings can be seen to echo the characterization of Aschenbach. [TiV, 452f.]⁹²

In *Der Tod in Venedig*, Aschenbach's wife is dead, as is the wife of the *Ministerialrat*. His relationship to his wife also seems to have been lacking in passion. [TiV, 456]

Where Aschenbach's 'ganzes Wesen auf Ruhm gestellt war' [TiV, 450], one of the criticisms made of the *Ministerialrat* was his falseness in company in order to gain admiration. [DVL, 34, 37f.] What is more, Aschenbach 'begann [...] seinen Tag beizeiten mit Stürzen kalten Wassers über Brust und Rücken'. [TiV, 452] The *Ministerialrat* begins his day similarly. [DVL, 35]⁹³

Thus it is important to bear in mind that Klaus was not the first writer to portray his father with critical undertones; his father had already done so; there are

⁹¹ This connects to the idea that Klaus saw his father in the same way that Thomas saw his own father, an idea which may benefit from further exploration.

⁹² Indeed throughout Klaus' early writings, *Leistung* is portrayed as the opposite of the surrender to (homo)sexual impulses.

⁹³ A similar description of Abel Cornelius in *Unordnung* was cited in the above examination. [UFL, 634, check]

elements of self-parody in the portrayal of Aschenbach, and also of Cornelius (and in the later writings too, for example in the portrayal of Zeitblom).

In addition to the similarities outlined above between *Der Tod in Venedig* and *Der Vater lacht*, there are also parallels between Klaus' novella and *Der Zauberberg*: the close of *Der Vater lacht* takes place in a hotel in the mountains, in a setting which parallels that of *Der Zauberberg*. The *Ministerialrat* feels that the mountains and the silence, aided by heavy snow, are his daughter's *Bundesgenossen*, and have been employed by her to act against him, and to unnerve him. The grotesque, parody feel of Klaus' novella and again the motif of snow also relates this novella, more loosely perhaps, to *Tristan*.

Although Klaus adopted the theme of homosexuality openly in his writings, he was not the first member of the Mann family to allude to it, and many scholars would indeed argue that homoeroticism was the driving force behind his father's writings. It is interesting to note in this context that there is a passage in *Der fromme Tanz* which bears a striking resemblance to one in *Tonio Kröger*. Thomas writes:

Schelten Sie diese Liebe nicht, sie ist gut und fruchtbar. Sehnsucht ist darin und schwermütiger Neid und ein klein wenig Verachtung und eine ganze keusche Seligkeit. [TK, 338; repeats to a degree TK, 281]

Klaus makes a comparable plea for (homoerotic) love:

[Andreas] gab sich dieser Liebe ganz hin, die er nicht als Verirrung empfand. Ihm kam es nicht in den Sinn, sie vor sich zu leugnen, sie zu bekämpfen als *Entartung* oder als *Krankheit*. Diese Worte berührten die Wahrheit so wenig, sie kamen aus anderer Welt. Gut hieß er diese Liebe vielmehr ganz und gar, er lobte sie, wie alles, was Gott gab und verhängte – sei es noch so leicht oder schwierig zu tragen. [DFT, 152]⁹⁴

A theme which occupied both Thomas and his son was incest. The above examination cited similar wording in incestuous scenes in *Anja und Esther*, and *Der Erwählte*.

Thomas' *Wälsungenblut* (1906) features an incestuous relationship between twins bearing a similarity to Katia and her brother Klaus.⁹⁵ The relationship between Cornelius Abel and his younger daughter in *Unordnung* bears the hallmarks of a sexual relationship, most notably jealousy. [See Turner, 56] Incest is the predominant theme in the later *Der Erwählte*, which features repeatedly both parent-offspring and sibling incest. Around the time of Thomas' strongest attraction towards his adolescent son, he told Katia that he believed a father's love for a daughter similar to her mother was entirely natural. [TMD, I, 457: 1.8.1920; see also Chapter 3] Prominent examples of the theme of incest in Klaus' writings are the father-offspring incest in *Der Vater lacht*, and sibling incest, in *Geschwister* (1930).

Several Thomas Mann scholars have pinpointed a change in direction in the writings of Thomas from around the time of *Unordnung*.⁹⁶ However, no scholars have examined the possibility that Klaus himself could have incited this change.

Whereas Klaus' writings up to this point have consistently embodied the theme of the family and conflicts therein, Thomas has not shown a major interest in this theme since the publication of *Buddenbrooks*. Yet his two writings from this year, 'Über die Ehe' and *Unordnung*, both revolve around the idea of the family. The centering of narratives within the family is, according to Lehnert, unusual for its time:

Besonders bedeutsam ist der familiäre Schauplatz, weil er im Gegensatz steht zu einem grossen Teil der Literatur über die Inflationszeit, die von entfremdeten oder rücksichtslosen oder entwurzelten Alleingängern erzählt, die sich ihren Familien entzogen haben, von ihr nicht gehalten werden konnten, oder wo die Familien selbst in Zersetzung waren. Damit zeigten die Autoren an, dass die erzählten Vorgänge ausserbürgerlich waren, das Bürgertum pervertierten. Denn in der Familie spielen sich die eigentlichen Entscheidungen der bürgerlichen Welt ab [...]⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Grunewald also relates *Der fromme Tanz* (briefly) to *Tonio Kröger*. [MG, KM-Bibliog, 27]

⁹⁵ (This story features in the 'Literary Inheritance' / 'Literary Embodiment' section in Chapter 5.)

⁹⁶ See for example Veget [TMHB, 595f.]; Kurzke [HK, 307, 309] and Anthony Heilbut [AH, 195, (446), 449f.]

⁹⁷ Lehnert, 241. Thomas was not entirely alone in his move towards featuring the family in his writings at this time, however, and it should be noted that Brecht had undertaken a similar change of viewpoint, satirising the family with his account of a bourgeois family revealing itself to the world in *Die*

Klaus' writings and actions from this period encouraged his father to react, and to present himself in a way which was entirely different from before, in order to make clear that he was not to be associated with those themes with which his son was associated. Thus, in response to the mocking portrayal of the Thomas cipher in *Der Vater lacht* which implied that Klaus had seen through his father and his sexuality, the characterization of Abel Cornelius is so *bürgerlich* that it almost has the effect of a caricature. This figure is portrayed as a family man, distanced entirely from the dubious gender divisions of youth, denoted by young men's use of make-up and an absence of salon etiquette.

Following Klaus' public announcement of his homosexuality in *Der fromme Tanz*, Thomas felt himself obliged to distance himself from this form of homosexuality, to make clear that he had killed off autobiographical figures associated with homoeroticism such as Aschenbach, and to establish himself as a firm upholder of the institution of marriage; in 'Über die Ehe', Thomas deliberately draws the reader's attention to the distance between himself and the loosening of sexual restraints apparent in the next generation. Aware of his vulnerability to incite the charge of hypocrisy, his way of explaining his reasons for writing *Buddenbrooks* and *Der Tod in Venedig* has a rather defensive tone. [ÜdE, 201, cited above]

An abrupt change from what has gone before is evident not only in 'Über die Ehe' and *Unordnung und frühes Leid*, but also in the most important writings following on from these, in that the figures associated with Thomas are now family men. No longer the single outsiders troubled by their own inner dichotomy between the intellect, or art, and *Bürgerlichkeit*, as in *Buddenbrooks*, *Tonio Kröger*, *Der Tod in Venedig* and *Der Zauberberg*, these are now in fact purposely characterized as

Kleinbürgerhochzeit (1919) and in *Die Dreigroschenoper* (1928), having begun his career exploring

quintessential *Bürger*. It is emphasized that they serve life and the state, in that they have children, alongside their respectable careers. No longer the artistic loners with bohemian tendencies and undertones of dubious sexuality which they had been, Thomas' autobiographical figures are now family men, with strong responsibilities (*Mario und der Zauberer, Joseph*) and with a high degree of representativity (*Joseph*).

Although the theme of the generation conflict occupies a considerable portion of text in Klaus' early writings, this examination has sought to underline the primary importance of the father figure in these writings, and to suggest that when Klaus talks about his generation and that of the fathers, he means first and foremost to denote himself, and Thomas. In the following passage in *Kind dieser Zeit* (1932) Klaus writes about the themes which he strove to illustrate in his early writings, in order to make his mark in the light of his father's achievements:

Deshalb liebte ich es, das Katholische vor dem Protestantischen zu betonen; das Pathetische vor dem Ironischen; das Plastische vor dem Musikalischen; die "Vergottung des Leibes vor der "Sympathie mit dem Abgrund" (das heißt: den Eros als Prinzip des Lebens, der Gestalt gegen den Eros als Verführer zum Nichts; den "Siebenten Ring" gegen den "Tod in Venedig"). Das Extravagante, Exzentrische, Anrühige gegen das maßvoll Gehaltene; das irrational Trunkene gegen das von der Vernunft Gebändigte und Beherrschte. [KdZ, 239f.]

Indeed a figure such as Kunigunde would appear to be the very embodiment of the above principles. Yet, Klaus fails to mention that the conflict between father and son will characterize his writings, although this chapter has demonstrated the father to be, ultimately, the primary concern of these early writings. In 'Mein Vater: Zu seinem 50. Geburtstag', Klaus writes, regarding his relationship to his father:

Mag das ein Problem oder ein Glück für mich sein – oder beides in einem: das ist meine eigenste, privateste und geheimste Sache, dieses problematische Glück, und öffentlich darf das erst dann werden, wenn ich es eines Tages in irgendeine Art Werk oder Gestaltung formen und also über sich selbst zum Sinnbild erhöhen kann. [Mein Vater zu seinem 50, 21]

This passage indicates that Klaus *did* of course intend to employ his writings as a means through which to express his feelings regarding this problematic relationship. It will be illustrated in the following chapters, and particularly in Chapter 5, that this would continue to be the case.

It has been necessary in the above discussions to point out the extent of the derision in Klaus' portrayal of figures modelled on his father, and vice versa, in order to establish the importance of an aspect of the literary dialogue which had been neglected by scholarship. There is, however, a further aspect, if a secondary one, which has also not been adequately addressed by scholars: that of the wish for harmony with the father figure. This wish is evident in the early narrative, *Der Vater lacht*, written before Thomas retaliated with *Unordnung* and the ensuing literary contretemps between father and son.⁹⁸

It is important to note that, in *Der Vater lacht*, the father *decides*, early on in the story, to wilfully separate himself from his newly arrived daughter, before any real dialogue has taken place. [DVL, 39, 41f.] Kunigunde has not done anything deliberately to upset or insult her father, and when he is angered at her this is usually based on his misunderstanding, or guessing at, her intentions, tending to blow things out of proportion and take things personally (all characteristics of Thomas as a writing family member, which will be further illustrated, particularly in Chapter 4). He decides, unprovoked, that he intends to *siegen*, whereas his insistence on *Kampf* merely depresses her. [DVL, 47-49] Kunigunde shows an interest in her father (if it is an interest marked by pain, and animalistic, corporeal undertones), listening at his

⁹⁸ It could be asserted that the portrayal of father-figures in Mann's other writings, although largely negative, is not always *entirely* without sympathy, however. In *Die Jungen*, the father is almost pitied in the end in his loneliness. In *Anja und Esther*, again it is the loneliness of Anja's father which leads her to sympathize with this figure. In *Der fromme Tanz*, Andreas reflects that his father bears no guilt, even if he is unable to perceive his son's concerns. [DFT, 20] Andreas' reflection fails to convince,

door to his breathing as he sleeps, seeking to overcome her inhibitions and call him *Vater*, and being characterized on more than one occasion by the expression *bittend*. [DVL, 42, 45f.]

There are clearly autobiographical implications of this aspect of the narrative. It is another way in which Klaus' life and writings *can* be regarded as displaying continuity. A wish for harmony which persists even in the face of aggression, resentment and distancing will be characteristic of Klaus' attitude towards his father throughout his life, and this will be a particularly important aspect of the political interaction between father and son, discussed in Chapter 4. Further, the late drama *Der siebente Engel* repeats the implication of a wish for harmony, and for a union of sorts, more than two decades after *Der Vater lacht*. Towards the end of this complex drama, a Klaus cipher (*der Bote aus der Tiefe*) is thrown off a cliff into the sea and *vermählt sich* with the ocean before playing with a Thomas cipher, *der Meister*, who had also drowned at the same spot, the scene being described repeatedly as a *Hochzeit*.⁹⁹

JAKOB *Der Bote aus der Tiefe* – gar lieblich aufgeputzt mit Muscheln, Algen, feuchten Wasserrosen – vermählt sich mit dem Ozean. In der Tiefe drunten spielt er dann mit dem Meister – und wir schauen zu ... [...] Wir schauen zu, wie die zwei miteinander scherzen und sich ergötzen und befreundet sind. Schließlich sind sie eins – eins miteinander, eines mit der Tiefe ... [7Engel, 408]

Conclusion: Looking Forward

This chapter has brought scholarship on the early writings of Klaus and on the literary relationship between father and son forward by a considerable step. As the first

however, and the negativity of the portrayal of father figures far outweighs any positive effect brought about by these small degrees of sympathy.

⁹⁹ The Klaus figure's name is actually Till. He is the equivalent of the Klaus cipher (also named Till) in *Kindernovelle*. *Der Meister* is the equivalent of the Thomas cipher, Christiane's late husband (also referred to as *der Meister*) in *Kindernovelle*.

dedicated comparison of the early writings of Klaus with those of his father, it has produced several significant findings.

This examination has been one of the first to challenge the traditional viewpoint of the precedence of the generation conflict in Klaus' early writings. It has found, instead, that the father figure and the father-son conflict are the most significant aspects of these writings.

Indeed one of the most important and original findings of this chapter has been its uncovering of the significance of themes of seeing through and triumphing over the outwardly respectable father figure, revealing the hidden superiority of the son figure.

This chapter has demonstrated that these themes run throughout the early writings of Klaus. *Die Jungen* featured the debunking and triumph over an outwardly respectable Thomas cipher, to reveal the hidden superiority of a son, whose life *did* feature love. In *Der Vater lacht*, the *Ministerialrat*, a further Thomas cipher, was outwardly highly respectable, but his social graces were revealed to be a mere façade, and his fastidious insistence on *bürgerlich* formality was ridiculous, given his self-chosen loneliness (a typical trait, as has been demonstrated). Beneath his mannered exterior lay less decorous, animalistic tendencies, which paved the way for him to be seduced by his own daughter, an act which removed every last trace of the *Haltung* which was of such importance to this figure. Like *Die Jungen*, this novella featured the superiority of the Klaus cipher over the Thomas cipher: not only was Kunigunde intellectually superior to her father, but her life contrasted to his in that it was varied and colourful, and the implication was that she was able to give in to her sexual impulses (and perhaps, further, that if her father had been able to do so, this would not have left him open to the incestuous act at the close of the narrative).

The drama *Anja und Esther* was found, again for the first time in this chapter, to mark a significant stage in Klaus' development, towards taking a political stance,

and observing the socio-political undertakings of the *generation of the fathers* in a critical light. (Of course, a further finding of this chapter has been that, in talking about his generation or that of the fathers, Klaus has in mind, first and foremost, himself and his own father.) A similarly critical stance regarding the socio-political legacy of the fathers was found to be taken in the novel *Der fromme Tanz*. All of these factors anticipate the examination of the development of Klaus' political thinking, in Chapter 4. In *Anja und Esther*, a father figure was presented who was again outwardly highly respectable, but who would not hesitate to deny his own offspring, and was ultimately *lonely in his uniform*, a fate typical of fathers in Klaus' writings (as observed for example in *Die Jungen*). Further, this drama was shown to pre-empt a theme which would mark Klaus' later writings, *Kindernovelle* (1926) and *Der siebente Engel* (1946): that of the insult of having a Katia-cipher, as wife of a Thomas-cipher, fall in love with - and bear a child to - a Klaus-cipher. This relates to the themes of progeny and castration which characterize this literary relationship (and are discussed in Chapter 5).

Klaus' difficulty in having a father of such renown was illustrated in the theme of *Leistung* which featured in *Die Jungen*, *Der Vater lacht* and *Der fromme Tanz*, although in each case with the implication that the son-figure's hidden superiority constituted, ultimately, his triumph over his father.

As the first dedicated examination of the literary *relationship* between Klaus and Thomas, this thesis has made headway in this chapter in establishing that there was a dialogue in literature between Klaus and his father, which was particularly vigorous in these years around 1925. This had been hinted at in brief by Krüll, but this chapter has undertaken the first in-depth examination, and it has put forward some highly significant and original findings. One of these was its argument that Thomas'

novella, *Unordnung und frühes Leid*, which had been suggested as a precursor to Klaus' *Kindernovelle*, could be understood as a reply to Klaus' *Der Vater lacht*.

Thomas Mann has been demonstrated in this chapter to have responded in several ways to the writings and undertakings of his son in these years at the beginning of his literary career: he has responded literally, in *Unordnung*, and 'Über die Ehe'; he has responded publicly, feeling the need to advertise that he was no *Stiftsfräulein*, in the wake of Klaus' theatrical debut with *Anja und Esther*; and he has responded privately, in letters to his daughter Erika and to his friend Bertram. These responses are significant, and anticipate the findings of future chapters in this thesis.

That Thomas responded to his son with writings such as *Unordnung* and 'Über die Ehe' is significant in several ways. These writings mark a change in direction, away from being centred on the artistic loner with dubious tendencies, to being centred on the *family*, a theme featuring throughout Klaus' writings but not having been a focus for Thomas since *Buddenbrooks*. That Thomas is a family man is underlined in *Unordnung*, and his vehement defence of the institution of marriage in 'Über die Ehe' is intended to cement this. This change in direction paves the way for *Mario und der Zauberer* and the *Joseph* novels, which carry forward family themes, and also for the essay 'Bruder Hitler' (examined in Chapter 4), which is again a vehement bid to establish Thomas as a father, and family man, at a distance from questionable forces. This shifting direction points away from individualistically dubious complexities to more representative, timeless themes. That Klaus could have played a part in this change of direction has never been suggested by scholarship, but this chapter has demonstrated that such a possibility needs to be taken into account.

That Thomas responded with a public statement in the light of *Anja und Esther* is important in that it illustrates that he clearly was bothered by his son's activities.

This statement anticipates future developments of a more serious note in an unfortunate stage of the father-son relationship, which will be examined in Chapter 4.

Klaus' early writings feature no dialogue of any meaning between father and son figures. In *Der Vater lacht*, the father asks his daughter polite questions while thinking thoughts of a very different nature. In *Der fromme Tanz*, the father and son's conversation is restricted to the topic of the weather, although the father reflects to himself his concerns regarding his son's future, immediately afterwards. Thus it is fitting that Thomas chose to comment on the writings of his son not to him directly, but to Erika and Bertram. Fatherly support for Klaus' writing career was certainly not on the agenda, as will be demonstrated in the following chapters.

The above discussions also cautioned that there are other elements of the portrayal of father-offspring relationships in the writings of both Klaus and his father which, if secondary to the negative aspects, should not be forgotten: the degree of sympathy with which some Thomas ciphers are portrayed, the wish for harmony on the part of a Klaus cipher, and the degree of humour which can be detected, if faintly, in the Thomas-ciphers' observations of their offspring.

The literature review indicated that fragmentation and disparity are characteristic of the scholarly reception of Klaus Mann. One of the important achievements of this chapter has, therefore, been its demonstration that continuity *is* a feature of Klaus' life and writings. That aspects of the literary relationship as illustrated in this chapter are also continuous features will become clear in the following chapters: Chapter 3 will illustrate the problematic basis of this relationship; and lacking support, resentment, but also concern, will contend with existential difficulties and the wish for harmony. Chapter 4 will illustrate the development of Klaus' political thinking, and Thomas' public statements of a rather different nature will mark a regrettable stage in this relationship. Chapter 5 will demonstrate the

continuation of the themes of triumph, and the superiority of love and companionship. Finally, Chapter 6 will further examine Klaus' influence, this time on the later writing of his father, *Doktor Faustus*.

Chapter 3

The Diaries of Klaus and Thomas Mann

Introduction

This chapter features the first comparative examination of the diaries of Klaus and Thomas.¹ These diaries constitute a unique source, affording an invaluable insight into the private lives and personae of these two figures who, in their public capacity, played an important part in shaping European and world literary and political history.

Particularly the publication of the diaries of Thomas has had a resounding impact on the study of his writings and of his life, due to the discrepancy between the image of this figure - who led a highly public life, and had a powerful representative capacity, particularly in the USA - and his recurring inner preoccupations, as recorded in his diaries. This has led to a focus on re-evaluating Thomas the (private) man in recent scholarship.

The survival of the first volume of Thomas' diaries has facilitated a very private view of the early relationship between the writer and his adolescent son. While these diaries reveal Thomas' attraction to his adolescent son, they also record the writer's reactions to Klaus' first literary attempts. Indeed there is much material to be found in these diaries which gives an indication of each figure's attitude towards the writings of the other, material which inevitably enhances, in turn, our understanding of the writer's vision of himself.

The study of these diaries has benefited the study of this relationship in further chapters; material which sheds new light on the political relationship has been

¹ Individual studies of the diaries of Klaus were introduced in Chapter 1 (Section 1.6, Yang and Matamoro). As stated in that chapter, Yang pays only brief attention to Thomas as he is featured in Klaus' diaries, and Matamoro's study, though highly imaginative, adopts an approach comparable to that of Härle. Just as no study has given a dedicated, in-depth examination of the impression made by Thomas, in Klaus' diaries, so no study of Thomas' diaries has reflected adequately the way in which Klaus features in his father's diaries.

incorporated into Chapter 4, and material which aids the interpretation of literary writings has supported findings in Chapters 5 and 6.

This chapter encompasses the following sections:

- 3.1 Thomas' Diaries 1918-1921
- 3.2 Klaus' Diaries 1931-1949 and Thomas' Diaries 1933-1955
- 3.3 Klaus' Death

3.1 Thomas' Diaries 1918-1921

Thomas' 1918-1921 diaries have a history that is even more unusual than that of the writer's other surviving diaries. It is thought that these diaries were preserved, initially, for the writing of *Doktor Faustus*.² However, the reason for the ultimate preservation of these early diaries remains a mystery.

Thomas had considered destroying all his diaries more than once, but those from 1933 onwards were in the end preserved from destruction, and those from 1918-1921 were packed, together with these, to be brought to Switzerland in 1952. On this parcel, Thomas wrote: 'Daily notes 1933-1951 without literary value and not to be opened before twenty years after my death', [TMD, IX, 5.6.1952] without reference to the earlier diaries. It was only when the parcel was opened after the twenty-year ban that they were discovered. De Mendelssohn attributes this to forgetfulness on the part of the writer [PdeM, TMD, I, vii]; Eckhard Heftrich entertains the following intriguing speculation, however:

Abwegig wäre es anzunehmen, er habe sie gleichsam in das Paket der zu erhaltenden hineingeschmuggelt, um zwanzig Jahre nach seinem Tod für eine gründliche Überraschung zu sorgen. Da er später sogar gelegentlich noch an die Vernichtung der ab 1933 geschriebenen dachte, hätte ihm kaum daran gelegen sein können, gerade diese hochprekären Papiere zu erhalten, deren Benützung für den *Faustus* ihm selbst

² See De Mendelssohn's explanation, TMD, I, v-vii. Thomas notes destroying the remaining pre-1933 diaries on 21st May 1945, omitting to explain the preservation of these 1918-1921 diaries. That he was in the middle of writing *Doktor Faustus*, and that he refers to reading these said diaries for this purpose at several junctures in 1945, makes the above explanation likely. Indeed this is the conclusion reached by the editor of this volume (De Mendelssohn). [TMD, I, vi]

recht quälend gewesen war. [...] Ein Psychologe würde es dabei nicht bewenden lassen, denn für ihn gibt es sowenig wie für den Theologen einen Zufall. Es fiel einem Seelenauguren wohl nicht schwer, nachzuweisen, daß hier 'Zufall' wieder einmal mehr nur der verdeckende und damit enthüllende Name für einen Vorgang sei, bei dem das Unterbewußte Regie geführt habe. [EH, 105]

What is clear is that these diaries are different from the others that remain. De Mendelssohn does not hesitate to point this out [PdeM, TMD, I, v] and Heftrich rightly describes them as one of the most revealing sources about the writer, '*überragend* sogar im Vergleich zu den übrigen Tagebüchern.' [EH, 106, my italics] Heftrich's estimation of the unique value of these diaries is certainly not misplaced.³

These diaries enable us to trace the beginnings, and basis, of the personal and literary relationship between father and son. It is due entirely to their existence that we know of Thomas' overwhelming attraction to his adolescent son. A further significant, if less sensational, aspect is that these diaries betray Thomas' highly questionable attitude towards his son's first attempts at writing and publishing.

The view presented in Klaus' autobiographies of Thomas as an egocentric, biased and unpredictable parent is confirmed by these diaries. His treatment of his son as a mere object becomes clear – he is one of the favoured ones while the fascination of the attraction holds. Particularly towards the end even of these diaries, however, Thomas begins to behave aggressively towards his son. It is unfortunate that the diaries from the years 1921-1933 have not survived; by the time of the 1933- diaries, the basis of the relationship between father and son had changed dramatically (as will be demonstrated below, and in Chapter 4).

An Appendix of notable entries referring to Klaus in these diaries is provided.

[Appendix 3.1]

³ Heftrich's chapter 'Eros und Politik. Die Tagebücher 1918-1921: Lebenslänglich, Tag für Tag' is one of the most colourful and thought-provoking studies of these diaries. [EH, 103-156]

3.1.1 Attraction and Literary Beginnings

These diaries convey the height of Thomas' attraction to his adolescent son, at the same time documenting his reactions to Klaus' first literary attempts. Thus, an entry from July 1920 reads:

Eissi, der mich zur Zeit bezaubert, hat eine natürlich unmögliche Geschichte an den *Simplicissimus* geschickt und gedenkt eine andere an die Rundschau zu schicken. Ein Unsinn, der ihm ausgeredet werden muß. [TMD, I, 452, 11.7.1920]

Thomas' description of the piece which Klaus sent to *Simplicissimus* as 'natürlich unmöglich', betrays his low expectations of his son. This is the first indicator of his critical attitude towards his son's writings, which will feature throughout Klaus' literary career. The gruff final sentence of this entry reflects Thomas' apprehension at the prospect of another family member choosing a literary career, an apprehension which was enduring, as further discussions will reveal.

This attempt on the part of a thirteen-year-old boy to have a story published in a quality publication could be regarded by a parent as a reason for parental pride and encouragement, as being without serious consequence, and even as slightly amusing, but this was clearly not something which Thomas welcomed, or took lightly.

The editor of *Simplicissimus* reacted more positively towards the story, *Monika Nachtigall*, informing its author that it revealed talent and 'etwas von der väterlichen Ironie', although '[f]ür den *Simplicissimus* reif ist Ihre Geschichte allerdings noch nicht [...]'.⁴

This episode is a significant demonstration of one of the most important characteristics of this literary relationship. Not only did Thomas fail to support, encourage or advise his son in this matter, but he also sought to discourage Klaus from his writing ambitions. As such this diary entry serves as an important anticipator of the future status quo of this literary relationship. This lack of support demonstrated

in this diary entry and in other sources has largely been ignored by scholars, who have either failed to perceive it, or been reluctant to address it.

A further aspect of these diaries which has not been reflected is that they suggest a connection which is at least temporal between Thomas' sexual attraction to his son, and Klaus' writing attempts, as illustrated in the entry cited above.

Thomas' attraction towards his adolescent son can be traced throughout these early diaries [see Appendix 3.1], from the 1918 entry in which he finds his eldest son 'phantastisch entblößt' on his bed [TMD, I, 10, 20.9.1918] onwards. Following this are several records of Thomas' pleasure at his son's appearance: Klaus is described, for example, as 'besonders anmutig', and Thomas is delighted 'einen so schönen Knaben zum Sohn zu haben'. [TMD, I, 114, 24.12.1918]

However, just days before the entry first cited above, Thomas notes: 'Verliebt in Klaus dieser Tage. Ansätze zu einer Vater-und-Sohn-Novelle' [TMD, I, 451, 5.7.1920, my italics]; again drawing a connection between this father's attraction to his son, and writing. A further entry reads:

Entzücken an Eissi, der im Bade erschreckend hübsch. Finde es sehr natürlich, daß ich mich in meinen Sohn verliebe. [Thomas returns from Feldafing to Munich the night before Katia's birthday:] Kurze Unterhaltung, mit dem sympathischen jungen Mann in weißen Hosen, der in der III. Klasse neben mir saß. Freude hierüber. Es scheint, ich bin mit dem Weiblichen endgültig fertig? [...] Eissi lag mit nacktem braunen Oberkörper lesend im Bett, was mich verwirrte. – Gestern K.'s Geburtstag. [...] Nahm mittags Eissi auf einen kurzen Mittagsspaziergang mit und unterhielt mich mit ihm über die Aufsatz-Frage. [...] Heute den pädagogischen Artikel beendet, las ihn K. und Klaus in Garten vor, [...]. [TMD, I, 454f., 25.7.1920]⁵

A further entry reads: 'Traf auf dem Heimwege Eissi, der vom Rade stieg und mit mir ging. Ich sprach ihm zu wegen seiner Produktion, riet ihm, sie allenfalls als *Vor- und Fingerübung* aufzufassen.' [TMD, I, 452: 12.7.1920, my italics] The potentially ambivalent undertones of this suggestion made to an adolescent boy are clear. Again

⁴ Golo Mann gives a summary of the story [see TMD, I, 767f.] No details are given regarding the source of the editor's letter (presumably cited from Golo's memory).

⁵ Refers to 'Brief an einen Lehrer: Erziehung zur Sprache'. [GW, X, 859-864]

this entry suggests that Thomas wished to discourage his son from his writing ambitions.

Although the material examined above suggests that Thomas wished to discourage his son from entertaining serious literary ambitions, it is possible that a connection between sexual attraction and writing exerted a different kind of influence on the beginnings of Klaus' career, perhaps even affecting his career choice: At the same time as the height of Thomas' attraction to, and fascination with, his son, Klaus was encouraged to view literature as a means of pleasing his father, Thomas taking him on solitary walks (leaving Katia behind, on her birthday) to discuss an essay [25.7.1920, cited above], and caressing him whilst critiquing a story of his of a sexual nature.⁶

An entry about a poem, written by Ernst Bertram for Elisabeth's birthday, reads: 'Die Kinder aßen zur Feier des Tages mit mir zu Abend. Ich las ihnen Bertrams Gedicht vor. Klaus hatte nasse Augen.' [TMD, I, 211, 24.4.1919] If Klaus' tears were genuine, this indicates a marked sensitivity to literature at an early age. If not, this suggests that the boy was aware that literature was a way in which he could please, and gain the attention of, his father. A comparable entry reads: 'Klaus machte bei Tisch, offenbar mir zuliebe, eine antiradikale Bemerkung. Rührung darüber.' [TMD, I, 440, 26.5.1920]

It is unlikely that Klaus was unaware of the extra attention which he was receiving as a result of his father's attraction to him. That this attention encouraged him to regard himself as part of a literary world, being singled out and consulted on an essay of his father's, and being praised – and receiving caresses – for his own literary production, cannot have been entirely without consequence for his self-vision, and resultant career choice.

⁶ The first story of Klaus' in which Thomas appears to have demonstrated a genuine, complimentary interest, also appears to have been one of the boy's first to treat the subject of sexuality. Thomas

3.1.2 Aggression

Aside from observations of Klaus as source of attraction, these diaries vouch for a great deal of aggression on the part of Thomas towards his son. One entry reads:

Ärger und Gram über das Wesen der Kinder: Klaus hemmungslos genäschig, fünf Minuten nach dringlichem Verbot, sodaß ich ihn im Zorn derb schlug. Erika nimmt ohne Erlaubnis K's goldnen Federhalter an sich, zur Schule, und verliert ihn dort. Verstimmung. [TMD, I, 195, 12.5.1919]

Another states:

Nach Tische Schreck, Aufregung und Zorn, veranlaßt durch die Dienstmädchen und Klaus, die zusammen den kleinen Bruder festhielten und kitzelten, sodaß er um Hülfe schrie und weinte. Empört, da gewaltsames Kitzeln zu den mir widerwärtigsten, infamsten Dingen gehört. Schalt laut mit den Jungen, indem ich die Weiber Beleidigungen hören ließ. [TMD, I, 216, 30.4.1919]

Further entries read:

Brachte vor K.'s Mutter das Unwesen mit den Kindern und Dienstweibern wieder zornig zur Sprache. [TMD, I, 218, 1.5.1919] Bei Tisch Ausbruch von Zorn gegen Klaus. [TMD, I, 306, 27.9.1919] Klaus von K. und mir hart gescholten wegen seiner Schlaffheit und Selbstzufriedenheit. Schließlich ist es Pflicht, sich nicht aus Selbstschonung der unangenehmen Emotion des Zorns ganz zu entschlagen. [TMD, I, 499, 4.4.1921] Vom Lärmen der Jungen in den oberen Zimmern in der Ruhe gestört, außerordentlicher Zornanfall gegen Klaus, der auf Vorhalt nicht schweigen wollte. Heftige Erschütterung. [TMD, I, 505, 16.4.1921]

This aggression allows a different view of the aggressive treatment by fathers of their sons, or son-type offspring, in writings such as *Der Vater lacht* (Chapter 2) and *Alexander* (Chapter 5).

critiqued the story at his son's bedside, 'unter Zärtlichkeiten, über die er sich, glaube ich, freut.' [TMD, I, 455, 27.7.1920. See also KdZ, 121ff.]

3.1.3 Seduction

The references in these diaries to behaviour on the part of Klaus which could be interpreted as constituting a coy attempt to please his father (see above) can be regarded as a type of seduction.

Further, while references to Thomas' sexual fascination with his son in these diaries have been cited (and further such references are cited in Appendix 3.1), a question raised by these diaries, which has not been addressed, is that of the part played by Klaus. When Thomas notes that 'Eissi lag mit nacktem braunen Oberkörper lesend im Bett, was mich verwirrte' [TMD, I, 454, 25.7.1920], he has found his son naked in his bedroom on returning home for Katia's birthday. Klaus would surely have been aware that his father was due to return for this occasion, which suggests the possibility at least that his nakedness was deliberate. (On another occasion, again when Thomas returns home after a period of being away, he is disturbed by noise in the boys' room and stumbles upon Klaus fooling around naked at the foot of Golo's bed, experiencing *Erschütterung* at the sight of his attractive body. [TMD, I, 470, 17.10.1920]) If it is the case that either of these scenes were the result of a deliberate act on the part of Klaus, this has implications for the interpretation of Klaus' story *Der Vater lacht*, in which a masculine daughter seduces her father (Chapter 2).

3.1.4 Existential Questions

These diaries contain material which uncovers problems surrounding the very existence of Thomas' son. An entry which illustrates this clearly reads:

Gestern Abend bemerkte ich durch die verschlossene Glastür der Kinderwohnung Licht, und da ich Katja ohnehin wecken mußte, denn sie hatte mich ausgesperrt, so wurde nachgeforscht. Es zeigte sich, daß Eissi bei beleuchtetem Zimmer und phantastisch entblößt in seinem Bette lag. Er wußte auf Fragen keine Antwort zu geben. Pubertätsspiele oder Neigung zu schlafwandlerischen Handlungen, die wir schon in Tegernsee wahrnahmen? Vielleicht beides in einem. Wie wird das Leben des Jungen sich gestalten? Jemand wie ich 'sollte' selbstverständlich keine Kinder in die Welt setzen. Aber dies Sollte verdient seine Anführungsstriche. Was lebt, will nicht

nur sich selbst, weil es lebt, sondern *hat* auch sich selbst gewollt, *denn* es lebt. [TMD, I, 10, 20.9.1918]

This ambivalent entry expresses vividly the mixture of feelings of attraction, concern, and guilt which this father experienced as he looked on his son's life. This is perhaps the most significant entry of all regarding Klaus, and discussions in other chapters will return to it.

Thomas is known to have regarded a son as 'poesievoller' than a daughter, as a 'Fortsetzung und Wiederbeginn meiner Selbst unter neuen Bedingungen',⁷ a tall order for the beginning of the life of the eldest son of a great man. Often, there is a coldness in his tone as he writes about this child, however, and it seems as if he is attempting to distance himself from responsibility towards him, or at least struggling with this responsibility; this is indeed the impression made by the final sentences in the entry cited above.

Following the discovery of Klaus' diary, Thomas writes, with a coldness of tone which seems to exclude responsibility (and again referring to his son not by name, but as *der Junge*): 'Den tobenden Vater werde ich nie spielen. Der Junge kann nichts für seine Natur, die ein Produkt ist.' [TMD, I, 432, 5.5.1920] It is interesting that Thomas also writes, regarding the same incident: 'das *arme Mutterherzchen* tief enttäuscht und verwundet [...] K. weinte über den Jungen, wie *sie* es vor Jahren that, als er sterben sollte.' [TMD, I, 431, 5.5.1920, my italics] Thomas' emphasis on his wife's concern, implying that he himself is free from upset, expresses a key element of his attitude which will resurface in the course of further discussions.

The impression is often given in the 1918-1921 diaries of Thomas as a self-centred and ill-tempered parent and family man. In 1918, he records '[...] in Todesgedanken, wie so oft.' [TMD, I, 103, 6.12.1918] He is frequently irritated at the presence and undertakings of his family: 'Nachmittags durch die Kinder gestört. [...]

⁷ TM-HM, 62.

Übrigens ermüdete und verstimmte mich die Geselligkeit. Abends Ärger über die Kinder. Las im Baudelaire, der mich langweilt.' On his forty-sixth birthday, the family attends a performance of *Carmen*. Thomas is 'sehr müde, nervös, gereizt durch sachkundiges Geschwätz der Kinder und Redereien des Fräuleins [...].' [TMD, I, 151, 16.2.1919; 429, 1.5.1920; 529, 6.6.1921] Thomas returns from an extended stay in the 'still-egoistischen Jungesellenheim' in Feldafing to record with *horror* the state of the household and of his wife, a comical entry to the outside eye. On the following day he notes a visit to town, nevertheless,

[...] wo ich für 55M einen Strohhut kaufte u. mir das Haar schneiden ließ. [...] Ich trug zum ersten Mal den umgearbeiteten hellen Anzug und die neu gelieferten 500M-Stiefel; freute mich der guten, eleganten Kleidung. [TMD, I, 439f., 26.5.1920]

Thomas thinks nothing of eyeing his children's attractive friend while the children play in the paddling pool: 'Der 14 jährige Otto Marcks *hübsch*, mager und *anmutig*.' [TMD, I, 254, 1.6.1919, my italics]

Elements of Thomas' attraction to his son suggest that this was in part due to narcissism. Shortly before Thomas reaches the peak of his attraction to his son, he refers to: 'Klaus, von dessen Ähnlichkeit mit Papa sie [Eda Boy-Ed] verblüfft war [...].' [TMD, I, 447, 16.5.1920] At the height of this attraction, in July 1920, he notes: 'Annette Kolb [...] fand [...] Klaus mir sehr ähnlich.' [TMD, I, 456, 28.7.1920] It can not be without significance that, the very next day, he writes:

K., mit der ich über 'Blutschande', d.h. sinnliche Liebe des Vaters zu einer die Mutter jugendlich wiederholenden Tochter, unterhielt, einen Fall, den ich für sehr natürlich erklärte. [TMD, I, 457, 1.8.1920]

Thomas' reference to the socially more acceptable idea of a father's attraction to his daughter does not conceal the likelihood that he was in fact thinking of himself and his son.

Thomas' 1918-1921 diaries are of great significance to the study of the literary relationship between father and son. Although this attraction has been noted by scholars, this section has provided the first examination dedicated to this material, and an appendix cites all of the most important entries. [Appendix 3.1]

Thomas' attitude towards his son's first literary and publication attempts had not until now been fully acknowledged. These diaries vouch for an almost complete lack of support in this respect (except for certain descriptions of literary consultation and praise which bear decided undertones of incestuous attraction, and gratification). This lacking support anticipates indeed the future literary relationship.

The study of these diaries has suggested that there was at least a temporal connection between sexuality and writing at play in the early literary relationship. This chapter has hazarded the suggestion that such a connection may have borne an influence on Klaus' wish to pursue a literary career; indeed material has been cited which implies that he regarded literature as a way of pleasing his father and seeking his approval. Further, statements of Klaus' made deliberately for the benefit of his father have been cited. These findings have informed the discussions presented in Chapters 5, and 6, of this thesis.

The very problem of the existence of Klaus as the offspring of Thomas is expressed in these diaries, which demonstrate the mixture of attraction, concern, guilt and distancing in Thomas' view of his son; but aggression, too, is a marked feature, perhaps an expression of Thomas' tension regarding this difficult mixture. The Thomas presented in these diaries is no different from the father portrayed in Klaus' autobiographies: he is egocentric, and often coldly distant. The study of Klaus' diaries, from 1931-1949 will demonstrate that these qualities will remain characteristic of Thomas' attitude towards his son.

3.2 Klaus' Diaries 1931-1949 and Thomas' Diaries 1933-1955

These two series of diaries, largely contemporary to one another, are a vital means of gaining insight to the private thoughts of father and son during these tumultuous years. The study of these diaries gives a vibrant sense of the interaction between the two writers based on some of the least self-conscious materials available.⁸

3.2.1 Literary Involvement

The study in parallel of these diaries of Klaus and his father reveals just how great the extent of the literary and intellectual interaction between father and son was. Reading from one's ongoing works was a tradition established by Thomas, who depended on the feedback given by his audience and was influenced by it. This process was carried out with great frequency whether guests (normally close friends of the family such as the Bruno Franks) were present or not. Klaus also read from his writings when at home and the sense of a genuine literary interaction emerges. Often each writer records what material he – or the other - has read, the reactions to this, and his own impression. Thus, when the family is together for three days in 1937, Thomas records:

Von ½10 bis Mitternacht Vorlesung großer Teile des Riemer-Kapitels vor Franks, K., Erika, Klaus, Golo und Medi. Exzeptioneller Eindruck. Bier in der Pause. Erhitzung und Vergnügen. Spät ins Bett. [...] A.M. [Annemarie] Schwarzenbach, später die [Therese] Giehse. Vorlesung von Klaus aus seiner Ludwig II-Novelle, vor uns, den Geschwistern und Gästen. [...] Abends Vorfeier von K.'s Geburtstag mit den 5 Kindern und der Giehse. Nach dem Essen [...] in meinem Zimmer Vorlesung der ganzen zweiten Hälfte des Riemer-Kapitels. [...] Erfreuliche Anteilnahme. Feststellung, daß Amüsantheit in so schwierigem Fall das Entscheidende, und daß sie Vorhanden. Riemers dialektische Erörterung über All und Nichts zeitgerecht, da Hegels Logik damit beginnt. [TMD, IV, 75f., 12.7.1937; 77, 15.7.1937; 77, 16.7.1937]

⁸ Klaus' diaries are published with certain omissions. The original diaries are housed in the KMA, and are not available to be viewed by the public until 2010. The diaries of Thomas which were published with de Mendelssohn as editor also have some omissions but are unfortunately unavailable for view. (Housed in the TMA) The later diaries of Thomas edited by Inge and Walter Jens are published without omissions.

Klaus writes about this occasion too: 'Familien-Geselligkeit. 3 Vorlese-Abende: Zauberers grosses, sehr fascinierendes Riemer-Kapitel. Ich, Vorgestern, Anfang und Schluss des 'Ludwig' vorgelesen.' [KMD, III, 144, 17.7.1937]

On another occasion, Thomas notes: 'Klaus [las] vor K., mir, den 6 Kindern und der Giehse aus seinem Tschaikowski-Roman vor. Reizvoll, aber es fehlt ein wenig an Bedeutung' [TMD, III, 116, 7.6.1935], to which Klaus adds his own somewhat deflated commentary: 'Abends: im grossen Familienkreis [...] 2. Tsch.-Kapitel vorgelesen. Z's Einwände – die wohl einleuchtend.--' [KMD, II, 111, 7.6.1935]

It emerges from these entries and others that Thomas is more focused on his own work, giving importance to how successfully he feels that he has read, and to the reactions given to this. It is interesting, however, that when he gives a public lecture which, for the first time ever, receives no applause, he writes: 'Der Verlauf mir peinlich um der Kinder, Verwandte u. Freunde willen, die dabei waren.' [TMD, I, 472, 19.10.1920] That his thoughts were directed first towards the impression made on his children cannot be without significance.

Where Thomas is more centred on his writings, Klaus is also more focused on the writings of his father (reflecting his general receptivity towards the writings of others). Thomas gives more extended reports of his own readings and their effect, only giving very brief, one-line reports of his son's writings.

Thomas admits in 'An Klaus Mann über den Roman *Der Vulkan*' that he would not normally engage himself in any particular depth with the writings of his son, [KM, BuA, 388]⁹ and when he does pay proper attention to the novel *Flucht in den Norden* (1934), the exceptional nature of this attention is betrayed in a letter from Klaus:

⁹ Letter TM>KM, 22.7.1939. Compare KM, BuA, 388-391 and GW, X, 766-769. The printed versions of this letter have been doctored in varying places to moderate the emphasis of Thomas' admission. See Härle, 88f., 336 (note 23).

Du hast das Buch ja äußerst aufmerksam und ganz gelesen – *wo Du doch an sich ein großer Anblätterer bist*. Genau in dieser Art habe ich mir das Buch beurteilt gewünscht; es war alles gesagt und betont, woran mein Herz hing. [...] Über den Brief habe ich mich wirklich stark gefreut. [KMBuA, 197f. Letter KM>TM, 26.9.1934, my italics]¹⁰

Indeed this is the impression given by Thomas. Some comments are of a congratulatory nature:

Abends las Klaus [...] aus seinem Theater-Roman eine recht brillante Szene. [...] Gestern Nacht lange in Klausens *Mephisto* gelesen; leicht und geschickt; moralische Wirkungen. – [...] In Klaus' Roman [*Der Vulkan*] weiter, der mich doch sehr interessiert und rührt. [TMD, III, 320, 25.6.1936; 396, 20.10.1936; IV, 435, 16.7.1939]

Most comments are more negative, however:

Klaus [las] eine hübsche, nur im Motiv etwas arme Emigrantinnen-Novelle vor.¹¹ [...] Klaus [las] aus seinem Tschaikowsky-Roman vor. Reizvoll, aber es fehlt ein wenig an Bedeutung. [...] Klaus [liest] den 1. Akt seines spiritistischen Dramas [*Der siebente Engel*]. Möglicherweise effektiv. [...] poetisches Werk, aber voller theatralischer Bedenklichkeit. [TMD, II, 276, 25.12.1933; III, 116, 7.6.1935; VII, 28, 9.8.1946; VII, 44, 24.9.1946]

While all of the above comments are rather curt, they at least give the impression of some kind of evaluation, whether negative or positive, of the writing in question.

These comments are, however, the exception; the majority of Thomas' evaluations of his son's writings in his diaries tend to be more terse in tone, and are generally at best polite, employing non-committal, clichéd descriptions such as *hübsch*, *nett*, *loblich* and *anmutig*. Examples read:

Klaus' Aufsatz über George in seiner *Sammlung* ist eine lobenswerte Arbeit. [...] Habe Klaus' *Flucht in den Norden* zu lesen begonnen. Anmutig. [...] Die *Sammlung*, worin Klaus einen hübschen Aufsatz über de Quincey hat. [...] Netter Aufsatz von Klaus in *Common Sense* über his fathers politics. [...] [TMD, II, 522, 5.9.1934; II, 416, 13.5.1934; IV, 28, 15.2.1937]

¹⁰ Klaus also wrote, in a letter to his mother, 'Lest alle fleißig den *Mephisto* – der ja bald kommt. (Der Zauberer soll NICHT nur 'Kontakt' nehmen!))' [Letter KM>Katia Mann, 19.9.1936, KMA. See also Letter KM>Katia, 22.6.1939, KMA. Cited from Härle, 88; 336, note 21]

¹¹ Presumably refers to the novella, *Letztes Gespräch*, published in *Die Sammlung*, February 1934.

These comments point to an ambivalent distance on the part of Thomas, and to a refusal to engage fully with his son's writings. It should be noted, however, that Thomas was also depreciative about the works of many other, particularly contemporary, writers. Whereas Klaus comments with zeal on the works of a surprising range of writers and thinkers, his father often appears to be ignorant of his colleagues' achievements. One of his diary entries even reads: 'Annette Kolb, die mir ziemlich mißfiel. [...] Sie pries sehr einen franz. Romancier, der Proust o.ä. heißen soll.' [TMD, I, 456, 28.7.1920] Klaus also notes: 'Mit E[rika] darüber, dass Zauberer Green nicht kannte.' [KMD, I, 93, 22.11.1932]

Klaus' diary notes convey an openness and enthusiasm for the writings of others which is largely free of any tone of resentment. Every day, he records reading - usually several - new writings by others and evaluates these with fervour.

As stated above, Klaus gives detailed accounts of what material his father has read and usually notes his reaction. Often Klaus noted material from his father's writings which can be seen to have held a personal significance for him. This is the case when he notes:

Z. [liest] vor: die heiligen Eltern aus dem Oberstock, im Pavillon über die heilige Tagesordnung und die Kastration ihres Sohnes sprechend. Sehr tief und kühn, mit unheimlichen Höhepunkten; [...]. [KMD, II, 68, 29.10.1934]

In the *Huij und Tuij* chapter of *Joseph in Ägypten*, to which this entry refers, the elderly couple discuss their Last Judgement. Their feelings of guilt at having had their son castrated surface. Their daughter-in-law, Eni (which sounds similar to *Eri*, the family's pet name for Erika) is unable to bear children as a result, and they ask themselves whether she resents this. The couple's feelings of guilt are the result of their having taken the decision to castrate Potiphar, their son, before he was old enough to protest. They did this as a concession to the 'New Order', so that he would

stay 'in the light' (with obvious connotations of Nazism), but Joseph (who eavesdrops on this conversation, unintentionally) reflects in the following chapter that this has merely served to make them stuck all the more in the old order. [GW, IV, 875]

The old couple become rather unpleasant about the decision, sniggering and chuckling at the trick which they have played on their children, as these are bound by the laws of decorum to respect their parents' undertakings. Joseph concludes that the old couple are a pair of fools:

'Das sind mir Narren vor dem Herrn', dachte er, 'diese heiligen Elterlein! Und Einblicke habe ich gewonnen in dieses Segenshauses peinliche Hinterbewandtnisse, daß Gott erbarm'! Da sieht man, daß es vor Narrheit nicht schützt und nicht vor den ärgsten Schnitzern, im Himmel des hochtragenden Geschmacks zu wohnen.' [GW, IV, 873]

This excerpt is clearly a reference to the Mann family itself, which meets the description of a 'Segenshaus' living 'im Himmel des hochtragenden Geschmacks' but which also has 'peinliche Hinterbewandtnisse'. Thomas and Katia were themselves often addressed as *Elterlein* in particular by their eldest children.¹²

There are several significant ways in which this chapter of *Joseph* can be regarded as relating to the concerns of the Mann family at that time. The decision to castrate Potiphar was apparently initially the father, Huij's, decision but the mother, Tuij, agreed. [GW, IV, 863f.] Their guilt at the castration of their son relates to the guilt of Thomas (and Katia) regarding the part played by Thomas in the *Sammlung* affair, which happened not long before the writing of this material (the first edition of *Die Sammlung* was published in September 1933, and the *Huij und Tuij* chapter was written between late 1933 and February 1934 [TMD, II, 292, 296, 297, 329]) and further regarding Thomas' reaction in general to the Nazis' seizure of power. The

¹² See KM, BuA, 488, 613. This manner of addressing family members (with the suffix *-lein*) is also exemplified in that Thomas is addressed *Pielein* in some letters from Klaus. [KM, BuA, 9, Letters of 6.6.1922 and 17.6.1922.] Katia is addressed in these same letters as *Mielein*. [See also KM BuA, 27, letter of 6.11.1925; 113, letter of 19.7.1933; 127, letter of 28.8.1933; 198, letter of 26.9.1934; 464, letter of 30.7.1941; 486, telegram of September 1942; and 509, 513, 542]

references to this castration as a concession to the 'New Order', and the realization that this in fact only served to make the couple all the more stuck in the old order, add weight to the suggestion of an association of this castration with the *Sammlung* affair. The idea of this vocal or intellectual castration does not restrict itself to the *Sammlung* affair, but, rather, can be seen to apply to Thomas' attitude towards his son in all important aspects of his life: his literary writings, his political activity, and (especially) his lifestyle.

3.2.2 An Abstract Castration

The idea of the castration of a son can be seen to relate to Thomas' attitude towards his son, and to Klaus' experience within the Mann family, throughout. From the very beginning, when he tries to have a story published at an early age, his father's reaction is that he must not be permitted to do this, as illustrated above. When Klaus did show the beginnings of a literary career, his father was critical of his activities and reacted with dismissal, refusing for example to attend the premiere of *Anja und Esther*. These attempts to curb Klaus from expressing himself, together with Thomas' emphasis of his marital status and vehement criticism of homosexuality in 'Über die Ehe', in the light of his son's openness regarding his sexual disposition, in his lifestyle and in his writings, can be viewed a form of intellectual-vocal castration, or gagging.

Thomas' 1933- diaries begin with his anger at Klaus' will to speak out (or *protest*; the parents the *Huij und Tuij* chapter castrate their son when he is too young to *protest* [GW, IV, 868]) against fascism. The first entry of any significance regarding Klaus in this second published volume of Thomas' surviving diaries reads: 'Ärger über Klaus, der unautorisierte Weise groben Brief an Dr. Friedrich

geschrieben.' [TMD, II, 25, 29.3.1933]¹³ What is significant is that Klaus appears to have written this letter because he was angered by the *SDS*'s treatment of his father:

Langer Mielein-Brief, sowohl üsis, als interessant. Skandalöses Benehmen des Schutzverbandes gegen Z. Mit geharnischt-pathetischem Brief an Friedrich Austritt erklärt. [KMD, I, 126, 23.3.1933]

Thomas reacts in an irritated fashion towards his son, who seeks to enlighten him as to the reality of the political situation in 1933:

Krach mit Zauberer, weil ich ihn auf die Statuten der deutschen Organisation aufmerksam machte. Sein Nicht-hören-Wollen, Nicht-wissen-Wollen, Flucht in die Gereiztheit. Diese Situation, ganz unhaltbar. Ungewiss, was meinerseits zu tun. [KMD, I, 182, 8.12.1933]

3.2.3 Three Journals

Material has been found in these diaries which enables the three journals, Klaus' *Die Sammlung* and *Decision*, and Thomas' *Maß und Wert*, to be considered in a new light in this thesis. The *Sammlung* and *Decision* affairs are examined in detail in Chapter 4. In all three cases, Thomas acted selfishly, and in opposition to the interests of his son. He publicly abandoned his son's *Sammlung* project (and thus, many felt, the exile cause as a whole) and, as the next chapter will also reveal, his support of *Decision* was not as heartfelt as he implied, publicly. Further, despite the wealth of experience which Klaus had gained as the editor of *Die Sammlung*, Thomas did not invite his son to contribute to his *Maß und Wert* project.¹⁴ In fact, it seems that he even failed to tell his son about the project. Klaus notes: '[...] Bin etwas verstimmt, wegen der Zeitschrift, über die man mich nicht unterrichtet.' [KMD, III, 110, 25.2.1937] The same entry continues with the following, key passage:

¹³ The Munich writer, Hans Friedrich, was a member of the board of the *Schutzverband deutscher Schriftsteller*.

¹⁴ *Maß und Wert* was a bi-monthly edited by Thomas, and Konrad Falke. Published by Oprecht, Zurich, September 1937-Autumn 1940

Empfinde wieder sehr stark, und nicht ohne Bitterkeit, Z.'s völlige *Kälte*, mir gegenüber. Ob wohlwollend, ob gereizt (auf eine sehr merkwürdige Art 'geniert' durch die Existenz des Sohnes): *niemals* interessiert; *niemals* in einem etwas ernsteren Sinn mit mir beschäftigt. Seine allgemeine Interesselosigkeit an Menschen, hier besonders gesteigert. Konsequente Linie von der ungeheuer *oberflächlichen* – weil un-interessierten – Schilderung in 'Unordnung', bis zu der Situation: mich in dieser Zeitschriftensache glatt zu vergessen. Dieses trifft meine Freunde mit, [...] – Verstehe nur zu genau Bruno F[rank]'s *Zorn* über diese tiefe Uninteressiertheit, eigentliche Unnahbarkeit. – Reizende Äusserungen, wie etwa gelegentlich 'Flucht I[n] d[en] N[orden]' oder 'Mephisto' *kein* Gegenbeweis. Schreibt an gänzlich Fremde ebenso reizend. Mischung aus höchst intelligenter, fast gütiger Konzilianz – und Eiseskälte. – Dies alles mir gegenüber besonders akzentuiert. Ich irre mich nicht. [KMD, III, 110, 25.2.1937, KM's italics]

Klaus adds, a short time later:

mit Mielein, [...] über Z.'s merkwürdiges und kränkendes Verhalten, mir gegenüber, die Zeitschrift betreffend. Mieleins richtige Bemerkung: Z. sei irritiert durch schreibende Familienmitglieder – mehr durch Heinrich, etwas auch durch mich ... Schlimm. [KMD, I, 120, 31.3.1937]¹⁵

Shortly after Klaus wrote the above diary entry, he overdosed on morphine. Thomas was dismissive: 'Der Junge moralisch und selbstkritisch nicht recht intakt. Verträgt keine Autorität, verscherzt aber das Recht, sie nicht zu ertragen.' [TMD, IV, 72, 7.6.1937] Thomas' aggression is still a feature of the relationship, and Klaus' way of introducing his father's reading of the aforementioned *Huij und Tuij* chapter is interesting in this context:

Geweckt durch hässlichen kleinen Krach Z.'s (seinen Kamm betreffend) [...] Nach dem Essen liest Z. vor: die heiligen Eltern aus dem Oberstock, im Pavillon über die heilige Tagesordnung und die Kastration ihres Sohnes sprechend. Sehr tief und kühn, mit unheimlichen Höhepunkten; [...]. [KMD,II, 68, 29.10.1934, my italics]

This period is illustrative of one of the most decisive characteristics of the relationship as a whole. The period from 25th February to 17th July 1937 was difficult for Klaus, and potentially critical for his relationship with his father (Klaus discovered his

¹⁵ Klaus has an interesting dream shortly after his disappointment regarding *Maß und Wert*: 'Geträumt: dass ich plötzlich keine Vorderzähne mehr hätte. Gefühl des nackten empfindlichen Zahnfleisches. Sehr schrecklich. -'[KMD, III, 116f., 17.3.1937] This dream ties in with the theme of intellectual or

father's failure to mention *Maß und Wert* to him, reported Thomas' coldness towards him, overdosed and was then lectured by Thomas about his morphine consumption, although Thomas' diary was dismissive and distanced regarding this development). However, in this same period, Klaus wrote several times with deep respect about his father's *Lotte in Weimar*. [KMD, III, 111, 26.2.1937; III, 113, 3.3.1937; III, 119, 26.3.1937; III, 144, 17.7.1937] That Klaus was able, on the day after the entry of 25th February 1937 quoted above, to express his heartfelt praise and admiration for the first chapter of *Lotte in Weimar*, vouches for his magnanimity in this respect; despite Thomas' actions and treatment of his son, Klaus expressed ill-feeling towards him on only a very few occasions in his diaries, and was quick to overcome any ill-feeling. Peter Laemmle, one of the diary editors, writes:

Vergleicht man die Tagebücher des Vaters und des Sohnes, so fällt auf, daß Klaus Mann zwar ausführlich über das Familien-Leben, die familiären Ereignisse berichtet, sich bei seiner Beurteilung der Familien-Angehörigen jedoch zurückhält. [...]. [KMD, I, 203 (epilogue)]

3.2.4 Themes of Love and Sexuality

Klaus emerges from his diaries as a sensitive and perceptive observer of the themes which govern his father's life and oeuvre. In a key entry, he conveys his thoughts on the differences between them:

Heute Nacht beim 'Wagner'-Lesen notiert, dass das Thema der 'Verführung' für Zauberer so charakteristisch – im Gegensatz zu mir. Verführungsmotiv: Romantik-Musik-Wagner-Venedig-Tod-'Sympathie mit dem Abgrund'-Päderastie. Verdrängung der Päderastie als Ursache dieses Motivs (Überwindung der 'Verführung' bei Nietzsche; siehe Wagner.) – Bei mir anders. Primärer Einfluss Wedekind-George. Begriff der 'Sünde' – unerlebt. Ursache: ausgelebt. Päderastie. Rausch (sogar Todesrausch) immer als Steigerung des Lebens, dankbar akzeptiert; nie als 'Verführung'. Noch im Fall der Drogen so, die höchstens physisch für mich gefährlich, nicht psychisch. Grundsätzlich nichts abgelehnt. Todesverbundenheit: Teil des Lebensgefühls. Auch Wagner wäre also ungefährlich -: wenn er überhaupt Verführungstiefe für mich hätte, was er nicht hat. [KMD, I, 129, 4.4.1933]

vocal castration and is fitting, in the context of Klaus' contribution not being sought regarding Thomas' publication.

Indeed the themes of love and sexuality run like a leitmotif through Klaus' observations on his father and his writings. These suggest that Klaus was not unaware of the homoerotic aspect of his father's sensibility. One entry reads:

Abends: Vorlesung vom Zauberer, die Liebe der Madame Potiphar wächst, es werden wundervolle Dinge über sie und über die Liebe im Allgemeinen gesagt. Die Begegnung im Garten. Sehr merkwürdig, psychologisch sehr beachtenswert: die engen Bezüge zum 'Tod in Venedig'. Auch hier wieder Plato-Einflüsse. ('Der Liebende' und 'der Geliebte'.) Wie tief geht die homoerotische Komponente! – Nur gefällt mir diesmal 'der Geliebte' nicht. Der Begehrenswerte sollte unbewusster, *rührender* sein. Joseph *spricht* zuviel, ist zu gewandt und zu ehrgeizig. – Ich sage das auch, nach der Vorlesung -----' [KMD, II, 150, 16.12.1935, KM's italics]

On another occasion, Klaus notes:

Zauberer liest aus dem *Joseph* vor: das sehr schöne Gespräch J's mit Potiphar unter den Bäumen. (Das Bild des Knaben Jesus im Tempel. Die schmeichlerische Klugheit. Vom Geschlechtlichen und Übergeschlechtlichen. Die unbefleckte Empfängnis.) [KMD, II, 80, 23.12.1934]

Again this is a potentially intensely personal image which Klaus has chosen to note from his father's writing. The idea of this wise son with stupid parents relates to the relationship between Klaus and his parents on a political level, and specifically to Thomas' failure to get to grips with the political situation and speak out against the Nazi regime. This relates to the theme of the superiority of the son figure over the father figure, which emerged from the examinations in Chapter 2, and will continue to play a part in examinations of the literary relationship. Chapter 5, for example, will demonstrate that in his novel, *Alexander*, Klaus identifies with a figure who is superior to his father not least in intellectual capability and morality. The idea of a birth being as the result of an immaculate conception is also of interest in that, due to the homoerotic aspect of Thomas' sexuality, it could be argued that the conception of Klaus and his siblings was not the result of a true sexual union.

3.2.5 Difficult Relationship

Material in the diaries has illustrated that Thomas' treatment of his son can be considered as a kind of intellectual or vocal castration. This applies to the material surrounding the *Sammlung* affair (See Chapter 4). Klaus is literally stopped from speaking out about the political situation because of his father (and his interests); one of Thomas' entries from this time reads:

Klaus unzufrieden, weil man ihn gehindert hat, im Pariser Emigranten-Cabaret aufzutreten, um die Herausschaffung meiner Bücher nicht zu gefährden. Er überschätzt die befreiende Wirkung dieser Aktion, an der ich ihn nie gehindert hätte. [TMD, 2, 107, 8.6.1933]

Klaus writes to his father, similarly:

Gestern haben wir ein wenig mit Beri [Bermann Fischer] disputiert. Was er sagt und erklärt, hat schon Hand und Fuß – nur daß ich ihm leider nicht recht geben kann. Aber – man wirds ja erleben. Etwas arg und verwirrend ist für mich, daß er es immer so hinstellt, als ob jedes Wort, das ich nun irgendwo sagte, in Deutschland wie als von Dir aufgenommen würde – wenn es sich nämlich gegen Deutschland richtet. Das KANN doch gar nicht so sein; aber schon daß Fischers es so ansehen, ist etwas schlimm für mich, vor allem auch, was die neue Zeitschrift [*Die Sammlung*] betrifft. [KM, BuA, 107, Letter KM>TM, 23.6.1933]

Klaus' diaries illustrate his intense suffering as the son of Thomas. This affects him in superficial ways, such as being ignored in the presence of his father:

Abends: Besuch [...]. Die Naivität solcher Leute in Gegenwart des Zauberers einfach entschlossen *nur* das Wort an ihn, an *kein* anderes Glied der Gesellschaft zu richten. Mir immer etwas peinliche Situation. [...] M. gehört zu jenen, die in Gegenwart der Berühmteren für die jüngere, 'zweite' Garnitur keinen Blick mehr hat – was ich stets endgültig übel nehme. [KMD, I, 134, 9.5.1933; IV, 60, 5.9.1938, KM's italics]

In exile in the USA, Thomas begins to adopt a leading role. In an uncanny repetition of a concern voiced earlier by Thomas himself ('Jemand wie ich "sollte" selbstverständlich keine Kinder in die Welt setzen' - TMD, I, 10, 20.9.1918), Klaus expresses the very key to the problematic of his existence:

[...] Verschiedenes spricht dafür, daß Z. in Hollywood wirklich grossen Abschluss getätigt. Meine Reaktion – mir selbst überraschend und eigentlich fatal -: ich muss mir zugeben, Neid und eine sinnlose *Gekränktheit* überwiegen. Er siegt, wo er hinkommt. Werde ich *je* aus seinem Schatten treten? Reichen meine Kräfte so lang? ... Bref: "grosse Männer" sollten doch wohl keine Söhne haben ... [KMD, IV, 31, 30.3.1938, KM's italics]

Perhaps one of the ways in which tension is released (or expressed) is in Klaus' dreams; his diaries refer repeatedly to dreams about the death of his father. He notes: 'Detailliert geträumt, der Z. sei gestorben. Erst darüber geweint' [KMD, III, 171, 2.12.1937], and:

Mit *schauerlicher* Lebhaftigkeit geträumt, der Zauberer ware von Nazis – die ihn wegen eines Artikels über die Butterfrage verhaften wollten – zum Selbstmord gezwungen worden; und zwar, sich zu erschiessen und, mit Wunde im Herzen, aus dem 5. Stock zu springen (vor den *nächsten* Präsidentwahlen, bei denen Hitler endgültig durchkommt). Mit starken Angstgefühlen aufgewacht. [KMD, I, 41, 7.3.1932, KM's italics]

A further entry reads: 'Sehr ausführlich über Zauberer, seine Krankheit, sein Sterben geträumt; im Traum geweint, während E[rika] kühl war.' [KMD, I, 68, 26.7.1932]

The following dream is intriguing:

Völlig lebendig geträumt, dass Z. gestorben, mit allen Einzelheiten (Bedauern, dass 'Joseph' nicht fertig geworden usw.) Ich hatte es in einem anderen Traum vorausgeahnt; rühmte mich, in der doch von mir erfundenen Traumhandlung, der prophetischen Gabe: ich hätte es vorher gewusst. [KMD, 1, 109, 8.1.1933]¹⁶

To summarize, this discussion has illustrated the ways in which the diaries stand as a testimony to the tensions inherent in this father-son relationship. One of the most puzzling aspects of Thomas' feelings regarding his son is his reaction to the death of Klaus. The diaries provide a candid account of Thomas' feelings in the light of his son's death, which differ markedly from those expressed in an official capacity.

¹⁶ See also Matamoro, for a colourful interpretation of Klaus' dreams.

3.3 Klaus' Death

3.3.1 Thomas' initial, private reaction

Thomas recorded his initial reaction to the suicide of his son as follows:

[...] Bei Ankunft im Hotel schwerster Chock. Telegramm, daß Klaus in der Klinik von Cannes in verzweifelter Zustand liege. Bald darauf Telephonat von seiner u. Erikas Freundin dort: Mitteilung seines Todes. Langes Beisammensein in *bitterem* Leid. *Mein Mitleid innerlich mit dem Mutterherzen und mit E. Er hätte es ihnen nicht antun dürfen.* [...] Viel über ihn und den von langer Hand unwiderstehlich wirkenden Todeszwang. *Das Kränkende, Unschöne, Grausame, Rücksichts- und Verantwortungslose.* [...] [TMD, 8, 57, 22.5.1949, my italics]

From this entry it is clear that the predominant emotions of Thomas' are bitterness, resentment, blame, and anger that this has been done to Katia and Erika. (In contrast to this private statement, Thomas will later claim more publicly that he is *free* from bitterness, or blame.) The final sentence betrays a deep lack of respect for this deed and, by implication, for Klaus, rather than a wish to understand, or sympathize. That Thomas regrets the effect of this action on his wife and daughter is telling; the theme of Katia and Erika's caring for Klaus, in contrast to Thomas' lack of concern, can be seen to apply throughout Klaus' life. When Klaus almost died as a child, Thomas emphasized his *wife's* anguish. (See TMD, I, 431, 5.5.1920, cited above, 3.1.4.) Klaus himself stressed in *Der Wendepunkt* that it was his mother who dealt with the children's needs, emotional and practical, while Thomas remained a *Fremder*. [WPKT, 34f.]¹⁷

There is no change from the ordinary in Thomas' diary entry about the day on which he received the news of Klaus' death. Although the diary entry was not made until the following day, he records the events of this day in chronological order. He describes the previous day's weather, his lunch, and visits to a Danish school and to a

¹⁷ Indeed Klaus dedicated this book to his mother and sister; he never dedicated a writing to his father. (I am grateful to a discussion with Professor Uwe Naumann which has confirmed this.) Klaus also

castle in his usual detailed, matter of fact manner, before writing of the news which he received on his return to the hotel (cited above).

Minimal disruption was caused by this event. Indeed Klaus' suicide - a development on which Thomas' triumphal journey back to Europe, including both East and West Germany, cannot have been without influence - does not appear to have exerted a tremendous effect on Thomas. It was decided that the lecture tour would continue without disruption, and the only family member present at Klaus' funeral in Cannes was Michael, who appeared unexpectedly at the last minute.¹⁸

The very next day after receiving news of Klaus' death, Thomas noted with pleasure the applause which he received following a lecture. In his diaries there is no evidence of soul-searching or self-blame as a result of his son's suicide, and no expression of regret at the premature loss of his son, and of his life.

The initial entry cited above suggested that Klaus' death had brought forth a clear sense of disapproval in Thomas, of his son's life as well as his death. Thomas notes, further: 'Erikas Zorn [...]. Vielfache Mißbilligung seines Todes – nicht unbegreiflich [...].' [TMD, VIII, 94, 4.9.1949] and:

Der 'Wendepunkt' von Klaus, dessen Grab in Cannes, wie Breitkopf schrieb, in gutem Stande gehalten wird. Las viel in dem Buch, bewegt von den späteren Teilen, dann doch recht gequält von Vielem. *Eine kranke Literaten-Existenz, angezogen von allem Faulen, was schon recht wäre, wenn es dabei auch einen Sinn für das Gesunde, Lebensgesegnete, Heilvolle gäbe.* Wo ist ein Interesse an Goethe, Tolstoi, kurz an der Kraft und irgendwelcher Erquickung durch sie? Ergreifend Lob und Preis für Mielein. Fürchte für Erika, daß es mißfallen wird. [TMD, IX, 220, 27.5.1952, my italics]¹⁹

made clear on several occasions in his diary that it was solely the existence of Erika which kept him alive. An example reads: 'E[rika] steht zwischen mir und dem Tod.' [KMD, II, 140, 27.10.1935]

¹⁸ Thomas eagerly records the letter which he receives from Klaus' friend Doris in Cannes, telling of 'der kindliche Ausdruck tiefster Wunscherfüllung auf seinem Gesicht im Tode.' [TMD, VIII, 59, 25.5.1949] Although he himself has not been to the funeral or seen the corpse, he contents himself with believing this account. (I have found no record in these diaries of Thomas' visiting the grave of his son.)

¹⁹ This entry suggests at least an element of envy regarding the precedence of Katia in *Der Wendepunkt*. Further, that Thomas misses more of 'das Gesunde, Lebensgesegnete, Heilvolle [...] ein Interesse an Goethe, Tolstoi' [my italics] implies that he wishes *his* elements had featured more prominently.

It is worth noting in this context that Thomas' response to Klaus' death was not unique, however. Thomas' main reaction to the suicide of his sister Carla was also one of blame. [See Kurzke, 196-203]

There are other examples of Thomas having unexpected reactions to deaths. On hearing of the death of his son-in-law, Jenő Lányi, for example, he noted:

Morgens Kabel von Erika, daß Moni und Lanyi auf dem torpedierten Schiff waren, der Mann tot ist und Moni sich in einem Hospital in Schottland befindet (in welchem Zustande?!), von wo Erika sie abholt. Sie scheint also transportfähig. – Grauen und Abscheu. Erbarmen mit dem gebrechlichen Kind. [...] Mit Gumpert zur preview von 'Spring parade' in Hollywood. Harmloses Vergnügen, ein paar charmante Einfälle, *konnte lachen*. [TMD, V, 153, 24.9.1940, my italics]

Again this demonstrates the minimal upset caused by this family tragedy, Thomas being 'able to laugh' just having lost his son-in-law and without concrete information regarding the wellbeing of his daughter.

Thomas' reaction to Heinrich's death would suggest that this was not without featuring an element of gratitude. Informed of Heinrich's brain death, he notes:

Das Ableben eine Frage von Stunden. Natürliche Erschütterung ohne Widerstand gegen dies Geschehen, da es nicht zu früh kommt und die gnädigste Lösung ist. [...] Müde und bewegt. Der Letztausharrende von Fünfen. [...] [TMD, VIII, 175, 11.3.1950]

Thomas was not informed of his brother's coma until after he had finished his morning's work, and it was only Katia who went to be with Heinrich, a telling indication of Thomas' priorities.

On the following day, news arrives of Heinrich's death, and again Thomas refers to this as 'die gnädigste Lösung'. He goes on to note that he is suffering from a *cold*. As with Klaus, the final summary of the life of Heinrich suggests Thomas' view of him as a depraved individual.

K. berichtet von dem Fund einer Menge obszöner Zeichnungen in des Verstorbenen Schreibtisch. Die Nurse wußte davon, daß er jeden Tag gezeichnet, dicke nackte

Weiber. Das Sexuelle in seiner Problematik bei uns Geschwistern, Lula, Carla, Heinrich und mir. Vikko scheint simpel gewesen zu sein, freilich seine Frau reichlich betrogen zu haben. [...] [TMD, VIII, 175, 12.3.1950]

Thomas' reaction to the death of Bruno Frank shows more of the expected feelings of sorrow, and sympathy (perhaps because Frank was *not* a family member):

Heute Morgen, durch Liesl, Nachricht vom Tode Bruno Franks, 'im Schlafe'. Schmerzliches Gefühl des Verlustes. Ein Mensch, der mich liebte, und dem ich mehrmals aus Nachlässigkeit weh getan habe. 35 Jahre kaum unterbrochener Nachbarschaft und des Austausches. Doch hatte uns sein Abnehmen und wachsendes Versagen zuletzt schon sehr seines Beistandes entwöhnt. [TMD, VI, 218, 21.6.1945. Frank had died of heart failure on 20.6.1945, in Beverley Hills]

On seeing Liesl, he notes: '[...] Liesl Frank. *Tränen und Mitgefühl*. Viel über den Verstorbenen und das Sterben.' [TMD, VI, 223, 4.7.1945, my italics]

3.3.2 Klaus Mann zum Gedächtnis

The following is an examination of the foreword which Thomas wrote for *Klaus Mann zum Gedächtnis* (1950). Reading between the lines, this is a writing with a decidedly double-edged message. Every positive statement about Klaus is cancelled out by one of a negative nature. This applies from the very outset of the piece, when Thomas refers to the

Reiz, der auf sie [the contributors to the volume] ausgegangen ist von dem früh geschlossenen Leben meines lieben Sohnes, der heiteren, bangen, in ihrer Art einmaligen Sympathie, die es ihnen eingebläst hat, und an der sie festhalten, obgleich sie ihn nicht zu halten vermochte, obgleich er ging, ohne nach ihrem und unser aller Kummer zu fragen. [KMzG, 7]

At the close of the passage quoted, an undertone of blame towards Klaus can be detected. The following passage is typical of the effect created by this document:

Ungeachtet dieser Vergeßlichkeit, vor der ich ihn väterlich oft gewarnt habe, entgegen vieler Abgunst und Ungerechtigkeit, denen sein Leben und seine Leistung begegneten, zeugen sie für ihn; und da es Geister sind, aufmerksam auf das Menschliche, erfahren in ihm und zum Urteil berufen über seinen Wert, so wird ihre

Fürsprache der Nachwelt höher gelten als Verneinung und Widerwillen. Diese können wohl schrecken, das weiß ich auch. [Aber wenn Liebe ihnen entgegentritt, verblassen sie und haben nicht viel mehr zu sagen. Die Liebe ist das Gültige; sie gibt den Ausschlag.] [KMzG, 7]

Thomas' reference to his warning to Klaus is peculiar in that the impression given by all other sources is that Thomas was the person least concerned about the welfare of his son, in comparison at least with Katia and Erika. The effect of the first sentence is to cancel out the positive statements by negative ones, and this actually has the effect of drawing attention to Klaus' *Vergeßlichkeit*, to the 'viel[] Abgunst und Ungerechtigkeit, denen sein Leben und seine Leistung begegneten', and to the 'Verneinung und Widerwillen' apparently called forth by Klaus' life, and death. That those in support of Klaus are necessarily advocates of *das Menschliche*, and that Klaus can only be held in esteem from the point of view of *Liebe* implies that sympathy, rather than moral, artistic, or intellectual discernment, is required in order to appreciate the legacy of Klaus.

Thomas states that Erika 'hat um das Bleiben des Abgeneigten, Fortstrebenden gerungen, wie außer ihr nur noch seine gute Mutter; und durfte sie nicht immer wieder hoffen, den Weggenossen zu halten?' [KMzG, 7] The implication of this statement continues a theme explored earlier.

Reading between the lines, this text is highly condescending. Thomas writes, in a self-contradicting passage:

Er wollte ja *brav* sein, wollte seinen Mann stehen in diesem Leben und hat es getan in einem Maß, das ich heldenhaft nenne bei einem, dem Todessehnsucht früh im Herzen keimte. Seit wann? Wahrscheinlich seitdem seine Kindheit endete. Sie endete, diese spielerisch-übermütige und begabte Kindheit, eigentlich erst mit dem Exil. Dieses machte ihn zum Mann; die Erfahrung des Bösen rief seinen Ernst auf, reifte in ihm, einem Weltläufigen mit der Affinität zum Tode, den Entschluß dem Guten, also dennoch dem Leben zu dienen. [KMzG, 7f., my italics]

Further, the remainder of this text becomes a testament to Klaus' good will, and *Fleiß*, as illustrated in the following passage (which continues to negate positive statements, in this case regarding Klaus' exile journals, with double-edged, negative ones):

Seine rasche, oft fieberhafte Tätigkeit war guter *Wille*. Draußen begann sie mit der Herausgabe der Emigrantenzeitschrift 'Die Sammlung', einer notwendig ephemeren Erscheinung, der sein geschickter Eifer gleichwohl dokumentarische Dauer gesichert hat. Später, in Amerika, versuchte er Ähnliches in sehr viel weiterem Rahmen mit der internationalen Monatsschrift 'Decision', [...] die wohl wirklich die beste, farbigste literarische Revue war, die Amerika je gesehen hat. Sie sollte nicht leben, fand keinen Boden [...]. Er [...] bewährte sich als ein so guter, genauer Soldat, daß hohe Vorgesetzte mir lobende Briefe über ihn schrieben. *Ist das kein guter Wille?* [KMzG, 8, my italics]

Thomas manages in this text, as he will at the beginning of 'Brief über das Hinscheiden meines Bruders Heinrich', to incorporate a reference to himself and to another of his birthdays (Thomas' liking for such *festlich* events having been illustrated in the previous chapter):

Damals war es auch, daß er für das Heft der 'Neuen Rundschau', das meinem siebenzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet war, den kleinen Aufsatz schrieb, der [...] die Bezeichnung führt: 'Feierlich bewegt', und mir teuer ist, nicht nur weil er so sehr den Stempel trägt der *Anmut* seines Geistes, sondern vornehmlich, weil er in ganz bestimmter Hinsicht ebenfalls ein Dokument ist seines *guten Willens* nämlich, den Schatten zu leugnen und sein Gefühl nicht von ihm verdunkeln zu lassen, der, wie ganz und gar ungewollt! Von meinem Dasein fiel auf das seine, und ihm, wie sehr meiner Liebe entgegen! Das Leben erschwerte. Seine Sohnschaft mag ihm in der frühe Spaß gemacht haben; später hat sie ihn belastet. Aber wie zeugt seine reizende Art, von der Tröstung und Stärkung zu sprechen, die ein väterliches Buch, der letzte Band der Josephsgeschichten, ihm in seinem harten kriegerischen Dasein gewährt habe, von seiner 'innigen Vertiefung' in dieses Buch, - wie ergreifend zeugt sie für den *reinen Willen*, Verwünschungsgefühle seiner Seele fernzuhalten! Auch das ist *Tapferkeit, und wenn niemand sie anerkennt, ich will sie rühmen*. [KMzG, 8f., my italics]

Condescending statements regarding Klaus' *Fleiß* and *guter Wille* were cited above.

When Thomas decides to devote a whole passage to his son's *Fleiß*, he succeeds entirely in creating the impression that he is now truly scraping the bottom of the barrel:

Ich will auch seinen Fleiß rühmen [...]. Ein solcher Fleiß ist nach meiner Meinung etwas mehr, als eben er selbst. Kein Mensch ist so fleißig ins Blaue hinein, ohne drängende Begabung, ohne das Bewußtsein eines Auftrags. Und wie viele Raschheiten und Leichtigkeiten seinem Werk, all diesen Romanen, Reisebüchern, biographischen und autobiographischen Produkten, Theaterstücken und unzähligen, in zwei Sprachen geschriebenen Aufsätzen abträglich sein mögen, ich glaube ernstlich, daß er zu den begabtesten seiner Generation gehörte, vielleicht der Allerbegabteste war. [KMzG, 540]²⁰

The following passage is ambivalent, both in the dubious effect of the exclamation mark on the subject of similarities in the lives of Thomas and the (homosexual) Tchaikovsky as portrayed in *Symphonie Pathétique*, and in the latter section, which fails to make clear whether the letters referred to existed:

Ich habe seinen Tschaikowsky-Roman, als Kulturbild vortrefflich und wie schmerzlich-schön als mitempfundenes Leben! von Herzen gelobt und noch mehr den 'Vulkan', diesen unübertroffenen Roman der Emigration von 1933. Ich wollte wohl, unter seinen Papieren fänden sich noch einige Briefe, die ich ihm im Lauf der Jahre über seine Hervorbringungen geschrieben habe und die eingegeben waren von dem väterlichen Wunsch, ihn zu stützen und zu stärken, ihn durch ehrliche Anerkennung und Freude zum Dableiben anzuhalten. [KMzG, 10]

The latter part of this writing is dedicated to Klaus' apparent constant wish to part from this world, caused by disappointments but increased by his view of the post-war political situation. Quoting the passage recommending a mass suicide of intellectuals, in 'Die Heimsuchung des Europäischen Geistes' (1949), Thomas writes: 'Das war das letzte, was er aufschrieb; dann tötete er sich.' Thomas adds: 'Er starb gewiß auf eigene Hand und nicht, um als Opfer der Zeit zu posieren. Aber er war es in hohem Grade.' [KMzG, 11, my italics] Thomas then refers to the letter from Doris, Klaus' friend, stating that 'auf seinem Gesichte habe im Tode der Ausdruck tiefer Befriedigung, tiefer Wunscherfüllung gelegen'. Thomas is purposefully emphasizing the role which the political situation played in his son's suicide. In citing the letter regarding Klaus' expression in death, he is conveniently distancing further the

²⁰ Krüll, whose examination of this text is the only other (of any depth) which I have encountered, states rightly "Fleißig" nennt man jemanden, dessen Arbeit man geringschätzt.' [MK, 19; see MK, 15-19 regarding KMzG]

question of guilt or blame, in that if Klaus was as content as this to be dead, there would be no blame. Throughout this relationship there are occasions on which Thomas appears to be suiting himself, and this is one of them. It is significant that Thomas states:

Mein Herz ist ohne Bitterkeit, weil er zum Schluß nicht mehr unser gedenken konnte. Es fehlte nur, daß man von Undank spräche für ein so zweideutiges und schuldhaftes Geschenk wie das des Lebens. [KMzG, 11, my italics]

The above contrasts directly with the *bitterness* expressed in Thomas' diary (cited above), and also in private, in letters. After Klaus' death, Thomas wrote to Hermann Hesse:

Wann der Todestrieb sich zu entwickeln begann, der so rätselhaft mit seiner augenscheinlichen Sonnigkeit, Freundlichkeit, Leichtigkeit, Weltläufigkeit kontrastierte, liegt im Dunkeln. Unaufhaltsam, trotz aller Stütze und Liebe hat er sich selbst zerstört und sich zuletzt jedes Gedankens an Treue, Rücksicht, Dankbarkeit unfähig gemacht. [Letter TM>Hermann Hesse, 6.7.1949, TM, Briefe, III, 91]

Following one of Klaus' failed suicide attempts, he had written to Theodor Adorno:

Mein Verhältnis zu ihm war schwierig und nicht frei von Schuldgefühl, da ja meine Existenz von vornherein einen Schatten auf die Seine warf. [...] *Ich grolle ihm etwas, weil er seiner Mutter das antun mochte.* Er ist verwöhnt durch ihr Alles verstehen – und durch meines. Die Situation bleibt gefährlich. Meine beiden Schwestern haben sich getötet, und Klaus hat viel von der Älteren. Der Trieb ist in ihn gelegt und wird durch alle Umstände begünstigt – außer allein von einem Elternhaus, auf das er sich immer verlassen kann, auf das er aber natürlich nicht angewiesen sein will. [TM>Theodor W. Adorno, 12.7.1948, TM, Briefe, III, 37, my italics]

Ambivalent letters indeed, which betray a tone of resentment and anger, and also a sense of the guilt which has been found to characterize this relationship, in other chapters.

3.3.3 'Brief über das Hinscheiden meines Bruders Heinrich'

It is interesting that Thomas' *Brief über das Hinscheiden meines Bruders Heinrich* [GW, X, 521-523] is a document of equally questionable nature.

Thomas commences this letter by bringing attention to his own achievements:

Es hat mich gefreut, von Ihnen zu hören, und gerührt hat es mich, Ihrem Brief zu entnehmen, daß Sie vorhaben, in Ihrer Zeitschrift meines fünfundsiebzigsten Geburtstags mit einer oder der anderen wohlwollenden Betrachtung meiner Lebensarbeit zu gedenken. [GW, X, 521]

Thomas thanks the publisher for his intention to honour Heinrich in his journal, agreeing with the recipient that this country '[an Heinrich] einiges gutzumachen hat', before his next questionable statement:

Er lebte recht unerkant, recht einsam hier, und wenn ich ihm, solange es nicht augenscheinlich zu spät war, zuredete, der dringenden Einladung der volksdemokratischen deutschen Regierung nach Berlin zu folgen, so war es, weil ich wußte, daß dort ein Lebensabend voller Ehren sein gewesen wäre. Den wünschte ich ihm, fand, daß es ihm zukam und unterstützte also den Wunsch der offiziellen deutschen Stellen, obgleich seine Übersiedlung wohl die Trennung von ihm für immer bedeutet hätte und auch obgleich immer deutlicher wurde, daß er nichts mehr wünschte, als in Ruhe gelassen zu werden. [GW, X, 521]

Several aspects of this passage beg to be commented on: Thomas' beginning with a put-down that actually has the effect of emphasizing the non-successes of the figure in question is by now familiar from the analysis above of his *Klaus Mann zum Gedächtnis* foreword. Further, Heinrich lived a lonely existence in the USA largely *because* of Thomas' treatment of him. [See Kurzke, 477-481] The motivation behind Thomas' attempts to encourage his brother to accept the invitation of the DDR remains questionable; Thomas gave his brother financial support in the USA, to his resentment, in particular given his and Katia's attitude towards Heinrich's wife Nelly. As illustrated in the following chapter, Thomas' concern for his *Hab und Gut* prevailed. Further, Thomas' implied attitude of martyrdom (again familiar from *Klaus Mann zum Gedächtnis*, this will be discussed further in the context of *Decision*, in

Chapter 4), at the prospect of a final separation from Heinrich, is in stark contrast to the way in which he kept Heinrich at a distance in the USA. [See Kurzke, as above]

Thomas relates that Heinrich had aged rapidly recently, and had given up working. There follows another ambivalent passage:

Mit der Produktivität ist es sonderbar: wird man schließlich zu müde für sie, so vermißt man sie auch nicht; ich habe ihn nie über das *Versagen seiner Arbeitskraft* klagen hören, sie ließ ihn scheinbar ganz gleichgültig. Auch wußte er wohl, daß sein Werk – ein gewaltiges Werk! – getan war, *wenn auch sein letztes ganz großes Unternehmen*, die in eigentümlichem Emaillenglanz historischen Kolorits leuchtenden episch-dramatischen Szenen, welche (*überraschende Stoffwahl!*) dialogisch das Leben des preußischen Friedrichs erzählen, *unvollendet liegen blieb. Was liegt daran, daß diese Fragmente Fragment bleiben!* Sein Kunsterleben ist vollendet ausgeklungen in den beiden letzten Romanen, dem ‘Empfang bei der Welt’ [...] und dem ‘Atem’ [...]. [GW, X, 521f., my italics]

Thomas repeats his turn of phrase from his diary, describing the way in which Heinrich died as ‘im Grunde die gnädigste Lösung’ [GW, X, 522], suggesting his desire to have the potentially traumatic aspects of life smoothed over, and betraying at least an element of relief.

Conclusion

These diaries are unique in that they afford an exceptionally private view into the literary relationship between Klaus and Thomas. The first section of this chapter demonstrated the view that this source facilitates of the early relationship. Thomas’ attraction to his son is documented as is, perhaps more significantly, his largely lacking support of his son in his first literary endeavours. Thomas appears as an egocentric parent and family man. Later in the relationship, Klaus is an avid and sensitive observer of his father and his writings, whereas Thomas’ comments on his son’s writings are generally politely non-committal at best. Material has been cited from these diaries which touches the very core of the problematic existence of Klaus,

particularly in Thomas' *Kälte*, and Katia's explanation of this, regarding Thomas' attitude towards other writing family members. The examination of Thomas' private response to Klaus' death was interesting, particularly given the discrepancy between private statements, and those made in a more public manner, in *Klaus Mann zum Gedächtnis*. The material found in these diaries anticipates the status quo of the literary relationship as examined in the following chapters, in which the diaries will continue to play an important role.

Chapter 4

Politics

Thomas and Klaus are remembered not only for their literary works, but also for the important political roles which they played. Thomas' most renowned political role was that of Germany's representative par excellence in exile in the United States during the Second World War; Klaus is remembered most for his fervent contribution to antifascism, and for bringing artists of multiple nationalities and political standing together for this cause, in his journals *Die Sammlung* and *Decision*.

This chapter undertakes the first comparison of the political stance and activities of Klaus and Thomas. Firstly, scholars' view of the pre-1933 Klaus as an apolitical figure is challenged. Klaus' early political thinking is illustrated, with the hope of affording a new, more consistent view of the writer. Following this, the interaction between father and son, and the ways in which they reacted to one another, both publicly and privately, as they began to adopt their roles in the political arena particularly with the onset of Nazism, are examined. Two essays written just after the 1930 election suggest that Klaus was more in touch with the realities of the present political situation, and with the dangers which it held, than his father was. In the immediate aftermath of the 1933 rise to power of the Nazis, Klaus acts swiftly, with confidence and conviction, his father in contrast plagued by indecision; now Thomas relies on the advice of his eldest children to lead him forward (and indeed to keep him from danger). This is the beginning of an unfortunate period for the father-son relationship, with Thomas putting the publication of his books in Germany first, stepping back publicly from his son's journal, *Die Sammlung*, in doing so dealing a harsh blow not only to his son and his enterprise, but to the exile community as a whole, and its cause. Thomas acts no less selfishly regarding the publication of his own

journal, *Maß und Wert*, and material examined regarding Klaus' *Decision* journal compounds this effect. In exile in the USA, the tables were turned, and it was Thomas' turn to become the ultimate representative, while Klaus experienced a depressing lack of success or recognition. In a somewhat strange development, Klaus then decided to enter the US army, and was awarded with more heartfelt praise and support from his father than he ever did as a writer. The momentary optimism and sense of purpose afforded by this move was not to last, however, and the post-war period, with the enemy removed but the political scene no more hopeful, was particularly bleak for Klaus. Thomas, in this period, took a step back from his representative role, leading to the conclusion for this chapter that Klaus reacted with more selfless, and engaged, immediacy to the political demands with which he was confronted; while his father was able to gaze on the socio-political arena with a more timeless, and universal view.

4.1 Pre-1933

4.1.1 Klaus' Early Political Views

4.1.1.1 Childhood and Adolescence

Chapter 1 demonstrated scholars' tendency to portray Klaus as a figure who was apolitical until the onset of Nazism, when he suddenly evolved into a vehement antifascist. That chapter also indicated the lack of clarity in this sphere, characterized by contradiction and fragmentation. The following examination will demonstrate that Klaus *did* think in political terms from an early age, long before 1933, and will argue for a fuller, more coherent, understanding of this aspect of the writer's impact.

Klaus began his very first diary in November 1918, at barely twelve years old, with the exclamation 'Revolution! [...] Wir gehen einer großen Katastrophe entgegen!' [KdZ, 87] His conviction of a coming catastrophe was well founded.

In 1920, Klaus knew enough about politics and his father's political stance for Thomas to be able to note: 'Klaus machte bei Tisch, offenbar mir zuliebe, eine antiradikale Bemerkung. Rührung darüber.' [TMD, I, 440] Thomas also noted, not without a note of pride and affection, the growing adolescent's revolutionary opinions, and his visit to a political demonstration. [TMD, I, 426, 26.4.1920; 209, 22.4.1919]

Klaus' attention to the local political situation was also marked by the play, *Bayerns Revolution* (1918). In this play, Kurt Eisner wishes in the revolution, in the face of Wilhelm Herzog's bloodthirsty opposition, 'doch noch ein wenig Zucht [zu] halten', lamenting when dropped by the people 'Wie schön dachte ich mir's doch, ein Volk zu befreien, zu erlösen, zu regieren, ihnen ein *Vater* zu sein! Das waren verlorene Illusionen'. [KdZ, 92, my italics] Herzog's wish to serve as a *father-figure* to his people is conspicuous, given Thomas' problematic relationship with his adolescent offspring. However, Golo relates that Herzog was portrayed as an evil menace because of his father's description of him in *Die Betrachtungen* as 'ein widerlicher Revolutionär und Literat'. [Kroll, II, 30]¹ This further example of Klaus' gearing political conceptions towards those of his father demonstrates the adolescent's unusually keen ability to penetrate the political views of adults (and, perhaps, the wish to put this ability to use in order to please his father and to gain his recognition).

Klaus continued to follow political events avidly, even if his political interest featured a strong element of the adolescent's taste for scandal: Eisner was shot not far from his school, in which building the regiment that murdered Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht had its quarters, he notes in *Kind dieser Zeit*, adding that two spartacists were shot in the playground. [KdZ, 89]² In Klaus' perceptive and comic short story, *Die*

¹ Kroll refers to a conversation with Golo, 25.5.1977.

² The adolescent also noted his tears at the death of Kurt Eisner, an action which, if it displayed typical adolescent melodrama (as Thomas suspected), certainly vouches at least for an interest in the drama of the political scene. [TMD, I, 173; 18.3.1919]

Gotteslästerin (1919) he mocked the bourgeois' hysterical fear of the bolshevists as they took tea in a Munich salon. [*Maskenscherz*, 7f.] Klaus also notes the powerful impression made on him in his youth by Bertha von Suttner's pacifist novel, *Die Waffen nieder!* (1889) [KdZ, 85f.]

4.1.1.2 *Rundherum*

Significant proof of the development of Klaus' early socio-political awareness is documented in *Rundherum* (1929). Naumann is over-hasty in his conclusion that Klaus and Erika failed, on their round-the-world trip, 'hinter die Kulissen der besuchten Länder zu schauen'. This scholar criticizes Klaus' avoidance of comment on the Russian situation as follows: 'Wieso nicht? Für unbekümmerte Anekdoten der beiden Touristen war Platz reichlich vorhanden.' [UN, KM-Monog, 38f.]

It is important to bear in mind that the authors were not free to determine the nature of *Rundherum*: it was on one of the many occasions when they had run out of money that they agreed to the contract for the book with S. Fischer. Klaus and Erika both made statements which suggested that they would have wished to go into more detail about the socio-political situations observed on their travels: Klaus thanked Stefan Zweig for his praise of the book, which he described as 'ja ganz kess, aber eben doch ein bißchen auf Bestellung gemacht.' [KM, BuA, 62] Further, Erika wrote to the American publisher, Joseph Brewer: 'Ich freue mich, daß *Rundherum* Dir nicht allzusehr mißfallen hat. Niemand kann es dümmer finden als wir; Du mußt wissen, wir haben das Geld dafür in Tokio gekriegt!' [EM, BuA, I, 23f.]

Despite these misgivings, this book *does* feature valuable socio-political comment, on the issues of racism; unemployment; poverty; militarization; arms testing; environmental damage; communism and propaganda.

Racial discrimination was a great problem in the USA (and was soon to pose an even greater concern closer to home): Klaus and his sister form a friendship with a black servant on a train journey, leading to the following reflection:

Man macht sich während der Fahrt so seine Gedanken. In Amerika hat der Rassenhaß abscheuliche Dimensionen. Der Neger soll kulturell auf einer tieferen Stufe als wir stehen, deshalb wird er nicht anders als ein Hund behandelt. Wir sehen unseren sympathischen jungen Freund an und müssen den Kopf schütteln. Warum wäre Schande, am selben Tisch mit ihm zu sitzen? Nach und nach wird es ein bißchen komisch, wenn wir uns auf unsere 'Kultur' so besonders viel einbilden, nach allem, was schließlich vorgefallen ist. [...] Fremde Rassen – schwarze, braune oder gelbe – verachten, ist reaktionär, weil die Zukunft den gemischten Rassen gehört. Die Menschheit des nächsten Jahrhunderts wird lachen, wenn sie denkt, daß einmal weiße Männer Schwarze unter sich stellten. Achten wir doch die Zeichen! Die Zeit bereitet sich vor, da Rassenunterschiede ebensowenig gültig wie Klassenunterschiede sein werden – Die weiße Rasse allein wird die Zukunft nicht tragen. [*Rundherum*, 25f.]

A timely observation indeed. Klaus' adoption of a decided stance on this issue at this point is given added significance when considered in the context of his father's ambivalent views on race, towards Jews in the Weimar Republic, but also towards blacks.³

Besides racism, American unemployment is perceived in *Rundherum* as a serious problem. [*Rundherum*, 67] A slaughter house visited in Chicago incites a strong reaction; 'wobei die Frage ist, wem unser Mitleid gelten muß: dem Tier, das zu sterben hat, oder dem Mann, dessen *Lebensarbeit* es ist, Stunde für Stunde zu töten – zweiundachtzigeinhalb Cent Lohn für die Stunde –'. [*Rundherum*, 71, KM's italics] Further socio-political comment is made via the siblings' regret, on visiting a Hawaiian pineapple canning factory, at this unsightly intrusion of the forces of capitalism on such a beautiful landscape. [*Rundherum*, 86] The downside of capitalism is not the only problem which they perceive, however:

³ Regarding Thomas' anti-Semitism, or ambivalent views on Jews, see TMHB, 62, 64, 73, 578, 725. For examples of Thomas' comments on race in writings examined in this thesis, see Thomas' scepticism of

Man bewundert; und dann ärgert man sich wieder. Schweinerei, sich in diesem Palmenparadies mit Fabriken beschäftigen zu müssen. [...] *Haß*, zugegeben ehrlichen Haß gegen die Zivilisation, spürt man [...], wenn man Soldaten sieht! Dieses friedliche und schöne Eiland ist scharf mit amerikanischen Truppen besetzt, wahrscheinlich als vorderster Schutzwall gegen Japan gemeint. Schießübungen stören gemein knatternd die Stille, mit Soldaten beladene Lastautos dröhnen vorbei; überall gibt es Übungsplätze, Kanonen, Baracken. Mit Fabriken haben wir uns abzufinden; mit Kanonen nicht. *Mit Kanonen nicht!!* [*Rundherum*, 92f., KM's italics]⁴

In addition, there *is* political comment about the fear of communism in Japan, about the predicament of the Chinese army and about the use of propaganda in art in Russia. [*Rundherum*, 97, 119, 136] Naumann's criticism of a lack of political comment is therefore patently unwarranted.

To conclude, the above examination has demonstrated that Klaus *did* think in political terms, from an early age onwards. This is further supported by the following examination of the ongoing development of Klaus' political stance from 1925, viewed in comparison with that of Thomas.

4.1.2 Differences in the Pre-1933 Political Outlook of Klaus and Thomas

The early text 'Der erste Tag' (1925) illustrates Klaus' will, at a young age, to emphasize the independence of his political outlook from that of his father's generation, and indicates that he was already drawing critical conclusions about actions undertaken by this generation. Klaus writes, regarding his first visit to Paris:

[...] plötzlich, wie eine Schreckvorstellung, kommt der Gedanke über uns, daß alle diese Völker ja Krieg geführt haben gegeneinander. Sie haben geschossen... Es ist keine pazifistische Lehrmeinung. Aber es ist eine Angst, ein plötzliches, atemabschnürendes Grauen – vielleicht dem nur verständlich, der den 'Aufbruch'-Tag vom August 1914 *nicht* miterlebt hat, weil er damals ein Kind noch war. Es mag sein, daß dieser Tag, die er ergriff, eine Art *Rechtfertigung* bedeuten konnte, später, für die vier Jahre. Aber uns fällt es plötzlich nur ein, im Caféhaus, zwischen den Völkern, wo alle Sprachen zum

Jazz music in *Unordnung*, and 'Bruder Hitler' (examined below), in which he employs the description of the dance of a group of primitives in contemplation of the forces of barbarism.

⁴ See also IvdL, 55f.

phantastischen Stimmengewirr sich treffen: sie haben geschossen ... Und daß es welche gibt, die das wieder erreichen wollen, wagen wir kaum zu denken. [*'Der erste Tag'*, DNE, 45f., KM's italics]

The factor of whether, or not, one had experienced certain dates and events surrounding the First World War will reappear in further political statements of Klaus', as a means of distinguishing, and suggesting the superiority of, his experience.⁵

Chapter 2 referred to early fictional writings, and to the opening passages of *Kind dieser Zeit*, both of which carry the theme of blame directed towards the fathers for their political actions regarding the First World War. These imply the superiority of those who had, as children, not consciously experienced or contributed to the scene of the First World War, but who had been, helplessly and against their will, damaged by it, and as a result now lacked, as young adults, direction and unity.

The essay 'Heute und Morgen: Zur Situation des jungen geistigen Europas' (1927) is a further example of Klaus' will to delineate his experience in this way, and to demonstrate the independence of his generation as a collective from that of his father.

The opening lines state, frankly:

Noch nie war eine Generation so vielfältig gespalten wie die europäische Generation, die den Krieg noch nicht bewußt miterlebt hat, sondern die während des Krieges heranwuchs. Man sagt sich, daß sie keinen einheitlichen Willen habe, und es ist nichts als die Wahrheit. [...] [HuM, DNE, 131]

'Heute und Morgen' is a perceptive evaluation of the irrationality and confusion prevalent in Germany at the time. It makes timely and valid criticism of the hatred of *Geist*, promoted above all by Brecht, which had permeated the cultural scene.

Contrary to the conclusions of Naumann and Schaenzler, Klaus does not merely duplicate the ideas of other thinkers (Bloch, Coudenhove-Kalergi and Heinrich Mann),

incapable as yet of an independent, original stance. [UN, KM-Monog, 36; NS, KM- Biog, 88]

On the contrary, this essay constitutes an overt expression of Klaus' will to assert his individual political stance, and demonstrates that the writer was very much in touch with current socio-political developments and their dangers. (Klaus perceives the danger in the continuation of *Geistesfeindlichkeit* and the associated worship of the body, for example, commenting that Italy is not the only country which is home to young fascists). [HuM, DNE, 132]

It is perhaps due to the fact that a comparative examination of the political stance of Klaus and Thomas has not until now been undertaken that scholars have failed thus far to address or perceive Klaus' criticisms of his father's political stance in the First World War, in writings examined above and others. Such criticisms are no more apparent than in the essay 'Heute und Morgen'.

Klaus warns in this essay of the likelihood of another war, his appeal to intellectuals *not* to support such a war reading:

Das, was wir heute nicht mehr zu Ende denken können, geschah: der Weltkrieg brach aus – und was tat der Geistige, wie verhielt sich der Intellektuelle? Er erlag der Psychose, er machte mit, er verteidigte das Fürchterliche. Statt daß die dazu Verpflichteten, die Vorhut aller Länder [...] sich gesammelt hätten zum ungeheuren Protest, schrieben sie *Bücher, die das Blutbad glorifizierten*, sie hielten nicht stand, sie verfielen dem triumphierenden Wahnsinn, anstatt seiner zu fluchen. [...] Wir aber haben diese beinahe unverzeihliche geistige Niederlage der väterlichen Generation als warnendes Beispiel. [HuM, DNE, 143, my italics]

The criticism intended for Thomas in this passage is evident, not least because one of the most famous and disputed '*Bücher, die das Blutbad glorifizierten*' was of course

⁵ Klaus was not alone in this respect: Thomas later emphasized, in 'Meine Zeit' (1950), that he esteemed *his* experience to be advantageous, and worth listening to, because he *had* experienced this period and others. [GW, XI, 302-324]

Thomas' *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*. Further criticism, which could hardly be described as veiled, is made of Thomas, when Klaus describes his own generation as:

unsentimentaler, als man den Typus 'junger Mensch' konventionellerweise kannte [...]. Die Gebärde Tonio Krögers war nicht mehr charakteristisch, die abgewendete Haltung der spöttischen Sehnsucht und der keuschen Seligkeit. [Der junge Mensch von heute] ist nicht mehr parsifalhaft, nicht mehr 'unschuldig' im bürgerlich frühen Sinne. [...] Der Typus, den Tonio Kröger etwa symbolisiert, steht ironisch, schmerzlich, beobachtend, wissend und außerhalb. Ich sehe den anderen, *meinen* Altersgenossen: vielleicht nicht weniger wissend, vielleicht sogar nicht unerfahrener im Schmerz, aber bestimmt nicht mehr ironisch. Er steht anders über das Leben gebeugt, hingerissener, blinder. [HuM, DNE, 136f., KM's italics]⁶

Thus Klaus was thinking on political terms, and his will to assert his political independence from his father has been illustrated, along with new findings regarding Klaus' view of his father's political stance. The following discussion will compare the reactions of Klaus and his father to the 1930 election.

4.1.3 'Wie wollen wir unsere Zukunft?' and 'Deutsche Ansprache: Ein Appell an der Vernunft'

Klaus' 'Wie wollen wir unsere Zukunft?' (1930) and his father's 'Deutsche Ansprache: Ein Appell an der Vernunft' (1930) were both written in response to the September 1930 election result which brought the Nazis to power. The following discussion is the first comparison of these writings.

A comparison of these documents suggests that Klaus' socio-political acumen was now more advanced than that of his father. While Klaus' essay is written with a clear confidence, Thomas' speech is, in contrast, awkward in tone, and is directed towards a limited, specific section of the community: the bourgeois (he attempts to win them over

⁶ Klaus' description of his outlook in contrast to that of his father's alias recalls the *Kind dieser Zeit* passage cited in Chapter 2 in which Klaus listed the opposite attributes of the two writers, noting his father's disposal to the ironic, and his own contrasting disposal to the pathetic. [KdZ, 231] In a sense such a polarity could be said to have a bearing on the political sensibilities of father and son throughout, if Klaus'

to social democracy). Klaus demonstrates a sensitive awareness of the current socio-political status quo, and of the dangerous developments which have permitted this election result, and makes concrete suggestions as to how the situation may be improved. Thomas' essay suggests that he is less sensitive to the dangers at stake, and to society's real needs for change.⁷

Klaus is aware of the likely consequences of Nazism; he appeals in favour of the intellect, detecting the anti-intellectual, non-reflective element of German youth which wants 'überhaupt keine Zukunft, sowenig wie das Füllen auf der Weide' as a danger:

Die Front gestaltet sich in unserem Lande so, daß der Teil der Jugend, der denkt und deshalb auch eine Zukunft will, scharf gegen den anderen Teil der Jugend steht, der von Natur aus gar nicht denkt, jetzt aber leider in Ansichten gedrängt worden ist, die nur zu *einem* Ziele führen können: zu einem neuen Kriege und zum Untergange der europäischen Zivilisation. ['Wie...?', DNE, 305, KM's italics]

Thomas fails, in contrast, to predict the direction detected by his son, stating somewhat lamely:

Wohin aber der Nationalsozialismus uns führen würde, das wissen wir aus dem einfachen Grunde nicht, weil er es selber nicht weiß – weshalb denn auch an der Aufrichtigkeit seines Willens zur Macht die Zweifel sich täglich verstärken. [GW, XI, 885f.]

Klaus' essay tackles the question of the manner in which intellectuals should respond to the new situation, stating, perhaps with the Tonio Kröger-like tendencies of his father (referred to above) in mind: 'Da wir die Gegenpartei mit einem so enormen Aufgebot am Werke sehen, dürfen wir selbst wahrhaftig nicht mehr die *Feinen und Reservierten* spielen' [KM, 'Wie ...?', DNE, 305, my italics], and:

tendency towards the pathetic implies an emotional attachment to events and a susceptibility to their influence, while Thomas' irony implies an ability to maintain emotional detachment.

⁷ Scholars' emphasis that Thomas was first, before Klaus, to speak out in protest at the election result is misplaced [See for example Kroll, III, 103; Schaenzler, KM-Biog, 138], not least given that these two protests were made in the same period, Klaus' following immediately that of his father. This examination concentrates instead on the *content* of these protests. [Klaus' response was published in 'Autumn' and

Verachtung gegen die Politik sitzt dem deutschen Intellektuellen sehr tief im Blut. Sie galt ihm als die Sphäre, wo der Gedanke herabwürdigt, vergrößert und falsch benutzt wird. [...] Wer in politics bis gestern noch apathisch war, den hat das Resultat unserer Reichstagswahlen aufgerüttelt. Wenn sechs Millionen sich in aller Form zu einem Programm bekennen, das den Geist haßt [...], dürfen die Geistigen bei ihren 'metaphysischen Abstraktionen' nicht länger verweilen. Sie müssen erst aufhören zu fürchten, daß politische Entschiedenheit mit metaphysischer Vertiefung vereinbar wäre [...].

Diejenige, die sich aus geistigem Dünkel zu gut für die Politik halten und die glauben, Versenkung in metaphysische Spekulation mache ein für allemal zu fein für politische Gesinnung [sind] weit, weit, besonders weit gefehlt. ['Wie...?', DNE, 306]

Klaus demonstrates that he maintains reservations about his father's political reasoning:

Having praised Heinrich for his ability to unite political activity with artistic creation (as an example for Gottfried Benn to follow), he states, with reference to his father's 'Deutsche Ansprache':

Auf die Gefahr hin, lächerlich zu wirken, führe ich mit Stolz auch meinen Vater als Repräsentanten für diese Haltung an. Er hatte *die Hochherzigkeit und den Mut*, in die tagespolitische Arena zu steigen, sein höchst persönliches, eigensinning und religiös persönliches Werk vorübergehend im Stich zu lassen, um dem deutschen Bürgertum, das nicht mehr wo aus und wo an weiß, so befremdlich entwickelt sich alles – um ihm also zu erklären, daß die Sozialdemokratie ihm näher stünde als irgendein 'militanter Nationalismus'. ['Wie...?', DNE, 315, my italics]

Klaus' pride regarding his father's political activities does not convince, particularly given his reference to 'die Gefahr [...] lächerlich zu wirken', and his condescending tone. Further, his reference to Thomas' work as individualistically religious recalls in a sense his warning cited above to those concentrating on the metaphysical.⁸

Klaus makes an open-minded appeal – admitting that he himself is tempted – for Benn's irrationality not to be applied to any sphere other than the imaginary sphere of art, predicting, prophetically, 'ein Jahrhundert der rauschhaft barbarischen Katastrophen'

Thomas' was made in October. (DNE, 471; GW, XI, 1172f.) Klaus refers to his father's speech in his writing, so we know that it was composed slightly later. ('Wie...?', DNE, 315)]

should this force be allowed to shape real life: 'das wäre ein weltgeschichtlicher Irrtum, schauerlich ohnegleichen und nie wiedergutzumachen.' ['Wie ...?', DNE, 314]

Where Klaus arrives at a feasible, practical and yet appealing strategy for the artist to adopt, [see 'Wie...?', DNE, 314-316 in particular], Thomas appears to deem the unity of social concern and art to be impossible. [TM, GW, XI, 870-890, particularly 870-873]

Unlike his father, Klaus does not appear to suggest that artists should abandon art in periods of serious or worrying political developments; rather he suggests that artists should be permitted to continue to occupy themselves with any concerns, however morally desirable, and be these irrational, but merely that such concerns should be restricted to the sphere of their artistic production. His statement 'Die Frage: "Kann der Dichter die Welt ändern?" beantworte ich mit: Ja, ja, ja [...].' could be taken as a motto for his political view per se. ['Wie...?', DNE, 316]

Klaus' forward-looking attitude differs from that of his tradition-conscious father. Thomas begins 'Deutsche Ansprache' with a reference to the *Bürgertum* which was *handed down to him*, and in his statement that art must now take a back seat, he harks back to 1914, and to 1918, when he found himself in a similar position. Further, in his description of the population's hardship, he refers back to the war, and post-war, years. He also concentrates on past reasons for the current status quo, blaming the Treaty of Versailles at some length and appealing at the end of his markedly pro-German speech: 'Der Name voll Sorge und Liebe, der uns bindet, der nach Jahren einer halben Entspannung uns *heute wieder wie 1914 und 1918* im tiefsten ergreift, uns Herz und Zunge löst, ist für uns alle nur einer: *Deutschland*.' [GW, XI, 890, my italics]

Where Klaus points to solutions, Thomas tells the bourgeois in a very sympathetic tone that it is justified in its feelings of having been wronged since the Treaty of

⁸ Chapter 2 referred to two Thomas-figures, in *Kindernovelle* and *Der siebente Engel*, who were involved in spiritualist undertakings; further, Monika Mann refers to her father's visits to 'okkulten Sitzungen'.

Versailles, approaching social democracy as an idea which he is obliged to sweeten for them by the reassurance that it does not promise the arrival of the Russians, rather than crying out for much-needed social and economic change, as Klaus does. While Thomas reaches the suggestion of an alliance with France [GW, XI, 889], Klaus suggests pan-Europe and hints at a future of global unity. ['Wie...?', DNE, 308, 317] While Thomas praises workers for volunteering to accept lower pay in order to create more jobs [GW, XI, 883], Klaus calls for the entire pay structure to be reformed:

Solange ein Generaldirektor verdient, wie Zehntausende von seinen Arbeitern zusammen es selbst dann nicht täten, wenn sie Arbeit hätten, so lange hat nichts geändert, was uns zufriedenstellen und Aussicht auf eine vernünftige Entwicklung geben könnte. ['Wie ...?', DNE, 309]

Klaus admits that his conception of an industrial and economic solution is void without the support of professionals, to whom he appeals for cooperation ['Wie ...?', DNE, 310], but the suggestions which he does make are both realistic and prophetic, and he demonstrates a genuine social conscience:

Großzügige Föderationen nach außen, unter Aufhebung der Zölle sowie der Grenzen; innen aber eine soziale Entwicklung, die keinen Anlaß mehr für den drohenden Bürgerkrieg geben könnte; eine geistigere Pädagogik; eine Justiz, die keinen Klasseninteressen mehr diene, keine unmöglich gewordenen Paragraphen – Todesstrafe, Abtreibungsparagraph, 175 – mehr mit sich schleppte: Sie wissen schon, daß diese Forderungen zu den wichtigsten gehörten, die wir an eine Zukunft zu stellen hätten. ['Wie...?', DNE, 311]

Klaus' involvement with the question as to what artists can do *now* to help is typical of his hands-on approach, and is an important anticipator of his response to the events of 1933. Thomas' speech demonstrates that he is coming to terms with political realities less readily than his son, and again this is important as a prediction for future reactions.

The first part of this section demonstrated that Klaus *was* thinking in political terms, and from an early age. His early independent stance and critical thinking regarding the political actions of *the fathers* was illustrated.

In the second part of this section, the comparison of the initial responses of Klaus and Thomas to the 1930 election illustrated important differences in the political thinking of father and son. These differences will become more important with the progression of the political situation. Some scholars have tended to emphasize the initial role played by Thomas; but this comparison of ‘Wie wollen wir unsere Zukunft?’ and ‘Deutsche Ansprache’ has demonstrated that Klaus’ political thinking was superior to that of his father, in that he had a heightened awareness of the realities of the situation, of the dangers inherent in the situation, and of the likely outcome. He was sensitive to the needs of the socio-political situation, and displayed a prophetic vision of the future, while making clear without hesitation his view that the artist should, and could, play an engaged political role.

4.2 Early Exile Years

4.2.1 Initial Reactions to the outcome of the 1933 Election

The Nazis gained power on 30th January, 1933. Klaus emigrated from Germany soon afterwards, on 13th March 1933.⁹ In an effective short piece, ‘München, März 1933’, he gives an impression of the unsettling atmosphere in his native city: he and Erika telephone friends because they do not wish to risk meeting in a public place, and they are aware that their telephone conversations are being tapped: ‘[...] man spricht in

⁹ Klaus and Erika were in Switzerland for much of this intermittent period; they returned to spend only two days in Munich before going into exile.

Andeutungen und dunklen Formen.' Some of the people whom they try to contact have already been arrested, and Klaus writes that:

In diesem von General Epp regierten München waren wir vom 11. bis zum 13. März. Solange brauchten wir, um uns darüber klar zu werden, daß wir zunächst das Land verlassen müßten, das im Begriff ist, alles zu zerstören, was seinen Wert, seinen Reiz und seine Würde ausgemacht hat unter den Völkern der Erde. ['München, März 1933', ZuK, 17]

Klaus was soon working in Paris, publishing reviews and political essays. It is interesting, in the light of Thomas' concentration on the problem of the role of the artist in society in his *œuvre*, and of his failure to take a public stance against fascism with the speed of his son, that Klaus comments, in the essay 'André Gide und Russland' (February/March 1933):

Wer von uns hätte noch den Mut, sich ihrem [Literatur] Dienste mit jener asketisch-wollüstigen Ausschließlichkeit zu widmen, die die *Generation unsrer Väter* aufbrachte? Wer hätte noch die Möglichkeit, die Problematik des Künstlers in den Mittelpunkt seiner Arbeit zu rücken, solange es in unsrem Erdteil und überall sonst so aussieht wie eben jetzt? ['André Gide und Russland', DNE, 458, my italics]¹⁰

By March, Klaus was already making plans to publish an anti-fascist journal, entitled *Die Sammlung*, which he would publish in Amsterdam along with the publisher Fritz Landshoff from September 1933 to August 1935. *Die Sammlung* would be the first and most prominent German language literary journal in exile. It provided Klaus with a platform from which to speak out against the German dictatorship, and he successfully gathered prominent writers, thinkers and artists from all over Europe to make contributions. Klaus very quickly assumed a role as the mouthpiece of German exiles opposed to the Nazi dictatorship, taking it upon himself to write to Gottfried Benn, who had opted to remain in Germany.

Benn, known for his love of the irrational (a love shared by Klaus, until he realized the way in which this phenomenon could be manipulated by the Nazis), had publicly pledged his support for the regime. In a *private* letter to Benn, Klaus wrote:

Es scheint ja heute ein beinahe zwangsläufiges Gesetz, daß eine zu starke Sympathie mit dem Irrationalen zur politischen Reaktion führt. Erst die große Gebärde gegen die 'Zivilisation' – eine Gebärde, die – wie ich weiß – den geistigen Menschen nur zu stark anzieht -; plötzlich ist man beim Kultus der Gewalt, und dann schon beim Adolf Hitler. ['Brief an Gottfried Benn', ZuK, 26.]

Benn replied *publicly*,¹¹ however, transforming the discussion into a *Grundsatzdebatte*, and Klaus published a commentary in the first edition of *Die Sammlung*, describing Benn's development as a *Verrat am Geist*. ['Gottfried Benn oder Die Entwürdigung des Geistes', ZuK, 40-43]

Klaus further demonstrated his perception that his was an official, representative, role, in writing an open letter to Emmy Sonnemann-Göring, the wife of Hermann Göring. [ZuK, 286-289] Klaus accused Sonnemann-Göring of turning a blind eye to the undertakings of her henchman husband, and of being only too willing to accept extravagant gifts financed by these said undertakings. His letter was printed in the *Pariser Tageblatt*, and also in *Deutsch für Deutsche*.¹²

Where Klaus had made clear from the beginning that he wanted nothing more to do with Nazi Germany, Thomas struggled to come to this conclusion. Following a lecture tour with his 'Leiden und Größe Richard Wagners', he was taking a break in Switzerland with Katia for a couple of weeks, when the Nazis came to power. Thus it is only by coincidence that he was not in Germany at the time. Even when acquainted with the

¹⁰ This was actually Klaus' first writing to be published after Hitler's rise to power. The manuscript dates from 8 February 1933 [KMA]; the article was published in *Die Neue Weltbühne*, 29 March 1933. [DNE, 474]

¹¹ Benn's open letter was broadcast on 24th May by the 'Berliner Rundfunk' and printed in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*.

events, however, Thomas seriously considered for a long time returning to Munich, still hoping for an improvement in the political situation, and finding the prospect of a long-term exile deeply disturbing. It was only on the insistence of his eldest children that he agreed to wait. Thomas noted in his diary:

Die Kinder drängen auf vollständige Liquidierung der Münchner Verhältnisse, auch auf den Weggang der beiden Alten, der aber kaum zu erreichen sein wird. [...] Besprechungen mit den Kindern. Es wird besser sein, einen mobilen und nur provisorisch-definitiven Zustand zu wahren und ins Hotel Bandol zu ziehen. [TMD, II, 55, 21.4.1933; 78, 8.5.1933; see also ixf.]

One factor in Thomas' reaction to political developments which is not widely discussed is that the writer Thomas took several measures to seek to pacify the Nazi regime in this period. He notes in his diary:

[...] Ich habe, wie all diese Tage, [...] einige Zeilen, eilig, an Suhrkamp geschrieben, die Streichung betreffend einer censurwidrigen Phrase im Wagner-Essay über den Nationalismus. *Wozu in diesem Augenblick diese Tiere reizen?* [TMD, II, 3; 15.3.1933, my italics]

Further, in a letter to the president of the 'Preußische Akademie der Künste', Max von Schillings, Thomas reveals his desire not to be cut off from Germany: '*Ich habe nicht im Geringsten die Absicht gegen die Regierung zu wirken und der deutschen Kultur glaube ich immer gedient zu haben, werde auch in Zukunft versuchen, es zu tun.*' [Letter TM>Max von Schillings; TM, Briefe, R&R, 691, my italics] Further demonstrating the wish to protect his interests in Germany, he considers for a long time writing to Reichskommissar von Epp:

[...] Den Gedanken, mit dem ich auch schon spielte, nämlich eines Tages an den bayr. Reichskommissar einen ernsten, meine Verbundenheit mit Deutschland aussprechenden

¹² Pariser Tageblatt, 21.4.1935. Klaus writes: '[...] für eine Handvoll Edelsteine, für einen schönen Namen und ein schönes Kleid vergessen Sie alles, lassen das Ärgste geschehen und sind am Ende nicht besser und werden am Schluß nicht weniger gehaßt als Ihr mörderischer Gemahl.'

Brief zu richten u. um Garantien für meine Sicherheit vor Chikanen zu ersuchen [...]. [TMD, II, 16]

The writer is, further, fearful of making statements in private letters which could 'get into the wrong hands', or be regarded as an official stance. [TM, Briefe, R&R, I, 693f.]¹³

These factors put Reed's statement that 'at no time was there any question that he might come to terms with the Nazi regime' in a questionable light. [TJR, 311]

Thomas sought to defend his silence on numerous occasions; in two cases, for example, implying not very convincingly that his silence was due to his belief that he would actually be endangering lives in Germany were he to speak out. In a letter to Ludwig Lewisohn, he writes:

Wem aber wäre damit gedient? Wie ich denke, weiß man. Man weiß es selbstverständlich auch in Amerika, wo ich mich speziell über das jüdische Problem gerade im Lauf des letzten Jahres mehrfach geäußert habe. Wiederholte ich das in diesem Augenblick, so würde es aller Erfahrung nach in meinem Lande nur die gegenteilige Wirkung haben für die, in deren Interesse es geschähe. [Letter TM>Ludwig Lewisohn, 12.4.1933; TM, Briefe, R&R, I, 694f.]

Later, in his 'Briefwechsel mit Bonn', he writes similarly:

Gab es Ungeduldige daheim, die, selbst geknebelt, dem in der Freiheit frei Lebenden sein Stillschweigen verübeln würden: die große Mehrzahl, durfte ich hoffen, würde meine Zurückhaltung verstehen, ja sie mir danken. [GW, XII, 788]

A significant aspect of this father-son relationship throughout the exile years is that, much as Thomas disappoints and causes pain to his son by his actions, Klaus refrains from voicing this disappointment to Thomas, and supports him unerringly in public.

Erich Ebermayer reports that Klaus' first reaction, on hearing of Hitler's rise to power, was one of concern for his father:

¹³ See also for example Thomas' letter to Jean Schlumberger dated 18th March 1933. [TM, Briefe, R&R, I, 692; further, see his letter on 23.4.1933 to René Schickele]

‘Das ist furchtbar-‘ sagt er leise. Faltet mechanisch das Blatt zusammen. Geht weiter. Geht ganz schnell, rennt von mir her, als habe er Eile, irgendwohin zu kommen. *‘Es wird auch für den Zauberer furchtbar...’* [KMzG, 43, my italics]

Seeking to defend his father against a criticism made by his former close friend, W.E.Süskind, who has opted to remain in Germany, Klaus writes:

Du druckst, gleich in Deinem ersten Heft, das Sätzchen in dem der Zauberer als der Prototyp des Entarteten bezeichnet wird, hättest Du damit nicht ein bißchen warten können? [Letter KM>W.E.Süskind, KM, BuA, 117; End July/beginning August 1933]

In contrast to Klaus, who refrains from complaining about his exile, Thomas displays a great deal of self-pity. Reading between the lines, there is an undercurrent of emphasis on his material assets. This can be detected in a letter defending his silence regarding the Nazis’ treatment of Jews:

Sagte ich Ihnen, was Sie zu hören wünschen, so würde mir nicht nur morgen in Deutschland mein *Hab und Gut* weggenommen, sondern mein Sohn [Golo] würde als Geisel festgesetzt, meinen alten Schwiegereltern, die Juden sind, geschähe, ich weiß nicht was, kein Buch dürfte mehr von mir in Deutschland verkauft werden. [TM, Briefe, R&R, I, 694f.; 12.4.1933, my italics]

In the 1933 text, ‘Ich kann dem Befehl nicht gehorchen’, which Thomas declined on reflection to publish at the time, he complains:

Offenbar wußte das Schicksal es besser. *Ich verliere Heim und Heimat, ich verliere nebenbei den größten Teil meines Vermögens* und bin als annähernd Sechzigjähriger gezwungen, mein Leben auf eine völlig neue Basis zu stellen. [GW, XIII, 95, my italics]

The impression that financial concerns were high on Thomas’ list of priorities will suggest itself further below. This examination has demonstrated the contrast in the initial reactions to the events of early 1933 of Klaus and his father. Klaus emigrated quickly, and immediately adopted a decisive, and enthusiastic, antifascist role. Thomas hesitated, confounded by indecision, considering returning to Germany, and seeking to pacify the

regime in order to keep his options open. That Thomas put himself, and his affairs, financial and otherwise, first, has suggested itself in this examination, and will continue to do so. It has been illustrated that the writer now relied on the clear vision and advice of his eldest children.

4.3 *Die Sammlung*

4.3.1 The *Sammlung* Affair

On the insistence of his publisher, Gottfried Bermann Fischer, Thomas stepped back publicly from his son's journal, in order to protect the publication of *Joseph* in Germany, although he had agreed to be a contributor, and had been announced as such in the first edition. Thomas' telegram, published on 13th October, 1933 in the *Berliner Tageszeitung*, read 'Kann nur bestätigen, daß erste Nummer Sammlung ihrem ursprünglichen Programm nicht entspricht.'

Not only did Thomas abandon his son's project publicly, with the *Berliner Tageszeitung* telegram, but when the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, accused him of 'Verrat am Geist' [19 October 1933] because of this action, he replied in a lengthy open letter, published in three newspapers, stating that his ability to publish in Germany was more important to him than contributing to his son's journal, and adding that he had '[der *Sammlung*] von Anfang an wenig sachliche Bedeutung zugeschrieben.'¹⁴ In Prague the *Neue Deutsche Blätter* found his explanation less than satisfactory, however, and replied, describing 'Thomas Manns "Absage and die Zeitschrift seines Sohnes"' as 'eine Absage an den antifaschistischen Kampf'.¹⁵

¹⁴ *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 28 October 1933; *Neue Deutsche Blätter*, 15 November, 1933; *Das blaue Heft*, 1 December 1933. [PdeM, 316f.]

¹⁵ Cited from Kerker, 218 and 235, note 103.

The *Sammlung* affair has been discussed at length by Klaus Mann- and Thomas Mann-scholars alike.¹⁶ The effect of Thomas' actions deserves to be stated frankly, however. Thomas acted selfishly, and as the *Neue Deutsche Blätter* insisted, financial gain *was* an undeniable factor behind this. [See Kerker, 218] He not only stepped back publicly from the journal, but dealt a further, entirely *unnecessary*, insult in his reply to the *Arbeiter Zeitung* (cited above). This was a blow to Klaus' career; to Querido, the Amsterdam publishers; to the exile cause as a whole but, further, to Klaus' credibility as someone capable of putting together something of 'sachliche Bedeutung'.

Thomas' letter to his son following his initial public stepping-back is a document of now familiar ambivalence which, reading between the lines, insults Klaus and the exile cause in a similar fashion. His tone at the outset of this letter is aggressive, and there is at least a hint that suggests that the writing-family tension referred to by Katia was coming into play in this affair (a factor which has been ignored):

[...] daß Du's Dir nicht versagen konntest, H[einrich] M[ann]'s hochleidenschaftlichen Artikel in die erste, das Bild bestimmende Ausgabe aufzunehmen [...] war die Rücksichtslosigkeit eines, der vom ersten Tage an gründlich Schluß machen durfte, eine Rücksichtslosigkeit gegen mehrere Schriftsteller, die nicht in dieser Lage sind [...]. [Letter TM>KM, KM, BuA, 132-134, 13.9.1933]¹⁷

Thomas expresses the wish to see if he can fare better alone, claiming that *Joseph* will be published in Germany as an experiment, although he is still unable to resist boasting about the extraordinarily high sales figures of the novel in Germany, not without a hint of glee. [KM, BuA, 133]

In a further insult to his son and to the émigré cause, Thomas states:

¹⁶ See for example Grunewald, KM-Biog, 97-106; Kroll, IV/I, 64-148; Kerker, 211-227; Walter, VII, 242-247; Schaenzler, KM-Biog, 185-203; De Mendelssohn, III, 310-318.

¹⁷ A similar undertone of aggression is displayed by Thomas' diary entry shortly beforehand, which also suggests that he regarded this affair from a competitive point of view. [TMD, I, 172; 7.9.1933]

Wenn [der Versuch] gelingt, wenn das Publikum in Deutschland diesem Buch, dem Werk eines Verfehmten und einem schon stofflich opponierenden Werk einen Erfolg bereitet, ohne daß die Machthaber es daran zu hindern wagen, - man muß zugeben, daß das viel richtiger und lustiger, für die Machthaber viel ärgerlicher, ein eklatanter Sieg über sie wäre als *ein ganzer Stoß Emigranten-Polemik*. [KM, BuA, 134, my italics]¹⁸

Klaus' diaries allow a private view of his reactions. At the beginning of the affair, he notes, not without concern for his father's publication opportunities:

Sorgen und Erklärungsversuche über die Haltung des Zauberers. (Seine Reserviertheit; und, der *Joseph* erscheint in Deutschland - -) [...] mit L.[andshoff] [...] Beratung. Gefahr, die Autoren durch Zeitschrift politisch zu kompromittieren – *nicht zu vermeiden*. [...] infamer Artikel über *Sammlung* im Buchhändler-Börsenblatt; peinlichste Folgen wahrscheinlich (*Joseph-Verbot??*) [KMD, I, 150, 23.6.1933; 163, 9.8.1933; 174, 12.10.1933]

When Thomas first steps back from the journal, Klaus notes:

[...] grosser Brief vom ZAUBERER, die peinlichste Sensation: sein zweites Telegramm an Fischer, sein Abrücken von der Sammlung, gleichzeitig das von Döblin-Schickele; sehr schmäbliche Angelegenheit; Trauer und Verwirrung. Dazu noch Brief von Stefan Zweig – auch ein ganz feiger Rückzieher. Elend. Erst, ziemlich scharf an Zweig geschrieben. Dann lange Briefe an Zauberer, Heinrich und Gide. [KMD, I, 168, 15.9.1933. Refers to the above-cited letter, KM, BuA, 132-134]]

The *Arbeiter-Zeitung* declarations meet with the following response: '*Arbeiter-Zeitung* mit Zauberers Brief und Erwiderung. Was für eine bittere Situation!' [KMD, I, 178, 3.11.1933] and:

In den Verlag. L[andshoff]. Die Aufregung mit der nun also doch erschienenen Erklärung gegen die *Sammlung* im B.T. (Döblin, Schickele, Zauberer.) Scheusslich – und man kann fast nichts machen (Rücksichten, die die anderen nicht nahmen.) [...] Grosse Peinlichkeit der [...] Beziehungen zu Z. - - L.[andshoff] nett. [KMD, I, 174, 13.10.1933]

This affair vouches for Klaus' good nature and wish for harmony in his relationship with his father. As one of the diary editors, Schoeller, writes:

¹⁸ There are further tones of blame and resentment at the beginning of the final paragraph of this letter. [See KM, BuA, 134]

Klaus Mann scheint auf die Distanzierung von der *Sammlung*, die unter anderen Thomas Mann [...] auf Druck ihrer Verleger betrieben, unterschiedlich reagiert zu haben. Wo ihm die Motive zugänglich wurden, hatte er sich seine freundschaftliche Zuneigung für den Kollegen nicht schmälern lassen. Kein Wort jener Bitterkeit, wie sie Erika Mann äußerte, fällt im Tagebuch 1934/1935 über das Schweigen seines Vaters. [Er] verzichtet in seinen privaten Notizen auf jede Heftigkeit. [Schoeller, *Nachwort*, KMD, II, 165]

4.3.2 The term *Sammlung*; attitudes towards exile

A curiosity in the context of a comparison of the attitudes of Klaus and Thomas towards being in exile is the contrasting employment by father and son of the term *Sammlung* itself. Their differing use of this term can be seen to be paradigmatic of their attitudes towards being in exile.

It is clear from Klaus' repeated use of the term in the first editorial of his journal that he regarded this term as an important expression in terms of solidarity for the émigré cause:

Die wir *sammeln* wollen, sind unter unseren Kameraden jene, deren Herzen noch nicht vergiftet worden sind von den Zwangsvorstellungen einer Ideologie, die sich selber 'die neue' nennt, während sie in Wahrheit alle bedenklichen Zeichen der Überständigen trägt, und die wir verabscheuenswert finden; [...]. *Sammeln* wollen wir, was den Willen zur menschenwürdigen Zukunft hat [...]. Eben für dieses verstossne, für dieses zum Schweigen gebrachte, für dieses wirkliche Deutschland wollen wir eine Stätte der *Sammlung* sein [...]. ['Die Sammlung', ZuK, 39, my italics]

Indeed Klaus acted as a *gatherer* of exiles, featuring writers of wide-ranging political leanings and nationalities in his journal.¹⁹

Thomas uses the term *Sammlung* in a very different way with regard to his approach to being in exile. One of his first reactions to his new situation is to renounce official duties and responsibilities. He notes:

¹⁹ In fact this is where *Die Sammlung* and later *Decision* have incurred criticism; Klaus was so eager to incorporate as many writers as possible that some critics have complained that the journals lack a sense of solidarity in their opinion. [Angela Huß-Michael, *Literarische und politische Zeitschriften des Exils 1933-1945*, 101-109]

Vorhaben, alle Amtlichkeiten und Repräsentativitäten bei dieser Gelegenheit von meinem Leben abzustreifen, die ich im Lauf der Jahre aus sozialer Gutmütigkeit, 'Pflicht', 'Eitelkeit' oder wie man es nennen will, daran hängen ließ, und mich 'aus den Schlingen der Welt' mit einem Ruck zu befreien, fortan in voller *Sammlung* mir selbst zu leben. [TMD, II, 3f., 15.3.1933, my italics]²⁰

His is a defensive interpretation of the term *Sammlung*, whereas Klaus' is the opposite.

4.3.3 Comparison of *Die Sammlung* and *Maß und Wert*

Thomas' failure to mention to Klaus his intention to publish a journal (*Maß und Wert*, published in Zurich from 1937 until 1940), and his neglecting to invite his son to help or contribute – especially as Klaus, with his publishing experience from *Die Sammlung*, would have been a valuable asset to his enterprise – was a further blow to Klaus. Despite this, *Maß und Wert* shares notable similarities with those of *Die Sammlung*. These are compared in detail for the first time in the following examination.

In the first *Sammlung* editorial, Klaus stresses the importance of an optimistic, creative outlook. He writes that the spirit (*Geist*) which stood for a sensibly governed Europe, and had been forced to leave Germany, must not manifest itself merely in analysing the wrongs which it has suffered, but must remain, more positively, as 'jenes kostbarste Element, das fortfährt, produktiv zu sein, während es kämpft; das blüht, während eine Übermacht es ersticken möchte, und, kämpfend-spielend, ein Licht hat, das die Finsternis überdauert.' ['Die Sammlung', ZuK, 38] *Maß und Wert* stresses its enthusiasm for a similarly positive outlook, with an emphasis on 'Überlieferung und Erneuerung', quoting Goethe:

Entzieht euch dem verstorbenen Zeug, Lebend'ges laßt uns lieben! Ich statuere keine Erinnerung in eurem Sinne [...]. Was uns irgend Großes, Schönes, Bedeutendes

²⁰ This is reminiscent of Thomas' telling employment of a cocoon image in relating his wish, after *Die Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*, 'mich in den "Zauberberg"-Roman wieder einzuspinnen'. [TM, Briefe, I, 163f., my italics]

begegnet, muß nicht erst von außen her wieder *er-innert*, gleichsam er-jagt werden, es muß sich vielmehr gleich vom Anfang her in unser Inneres verweben, mit ihm eins werden, ein neues bessres Ich in uns erzeugen und so ewig bildend in uns fortleben und schaffen. [GW, XII, 800]

Maß und Wert further mirrors *Die Sammlung* in that both journals set out to preserve something held to be precious. Klaus concludes his first editorial with the proclamation:

Wir müssen uns, Angehörige aller Nationen, die wir, noch verstreut, in den verschiedenen Ländern und Erdteilen arbeiten, als einen Trupp finden, als ein "Fähnlein von Aufrechten", das, in einer Lage von akuter Bedrohtheit, etwas von dem, was uns lebensnotwendig und heilig ist, *hinüberretten* will in eine andere Zukunft, an die wir, trotz allem, glauben. ['Die Sammlung', ZuK, 39f., my italics]

Where Klaus employs the word *hinüberretten*, *Maß und Wert* stresses, equally, the need, 'das Errungene, dem Chaos Abgewonnene [zu] *bewahren*'. Further developing the idea of saving something precious for a better time, Thomas states in *Maß und Wert* the belief that *Kunst* has 'nie *rettenderen* Berufes' gewesen. [GW, XII, 799, all my italics]

A final similarity lies in the humanitarian values proclaimed by both publications. *Die Sammlung*'s intention is to gather 'was den Willen zur menschenwürdigen Zukunft hat, statt dem Willen zur Katastrophe'. *Maß und Wert* refers to its ideal of 'das erneuernde Menschheitsbewußtsein', further proclaiming: 'Totalität – es gibt nur eine: die menschliche, die Totalität des Humanen', and underlining that art is 'das Menschlichste, das Menschenfreundlichste'. [GW, XII, 805, 800]

This is where the similarities between *Die Sammlung* and *Maß und Wert* end, however. Again the differing understandings of the term *Sammlung* of father and son, explored above, are paralleled by the differences between the outlook of the two journals.

Die Sammlung's contributors have remarkably varied ideological beliefs; contributions are featured from marxists; socialists; radical democrats; zionists; liberals; conservatives and apolitical writers. Non-German writers also account for a large number

of contributions. Differing points of view are voiced side by side, and the journal concentrates in its reviews mainly on the works of exiled writers.

In contrast to *Die Sammlung*, *Maß und Wert* works according to very aesthetically-orientated criteria. Thomas explains that he has chosen this rather obscure title because the two words *Maß* and *Wert* are the criteria for an apolitical, autonomous art. (Klaus' first editorial to *Die Sammlung* is short and direct, and would be more likely to incite action than his father's first address, which is largely a more ponderous examination of the reasoning behind his choice of title for the publication.) The political spectrum featured in *Maß und Wert* is narrow. Angela Huß-Michael describes the political stance of the journal as 'ziellos und zufällig zusammengestellt.' [See AH-M, 110-114] Under Ferdinand Lion's editorship only one political essay was published on average each issue, although this increased when Golo took over. The literary contributions featured were from a narrow spectrum, and reviews tended to by-pass leftist or exiled writers. Writers from *Maß und Wert*'s publishing house, Oprecht, dominated. Further, because Thomas elected to publish his journal in Switzerland, it was subject to ever-increasing political restriction (in contrast to *Die Sammlung*, published in Amsterdam).

All of these factors reflect the ways in which Thomas and Klaus regarded their roles in exile. Klaus sought to reach out and gather together writers and artists with differing political orientations, and to support exile literature, while being prepared to take a political stance. Thomas in contrast published a journal which abstained largely from political comment, and failed to reach out to support exiled writers.

4.4 USA

The tables are turned for father and son during their exile in the USA. Thomas becomes one of the leading representatives of democracy, and receives international renown in this capacity. Klaus, in contrast, suffers a series of setbacks, before enlisting as an American soldier, an ambivalent development for a figure who had been noted for his staunch pacifism. This section provides some answers to the question as to why these changes occurred, tracing the transformation in Thomas' perception of his political role in the USA, and exploring the reasons as to why Klaus, a successful representative of the anti-fascists in Europe, received far less acclaim in the USA than he had done previously.

Thomas' 'Briefwechsel mit Bonn', published in *Nation* and *Readers Digest*, had earned him a reputation in the USA as the most powerful Hitler-opponent, and he was fortunate to have the support of wealthy and influential members of American society, most significantly that of Agnes E. Meyer, who did all that she could to ensure his success in his new country of exile, including arranging his lectureship at Princeton, and his first visit to President Roosevelt in the White House. Now a very publicly political figure, Thomas was very busy with political lectures fighting against fascism and for democracy, and no longer shrunk back from political comment.

4.4.1 'Bruder Hitler'

One essay from this period stands out from all of Thomas' political writings and speeches. On the surface, 'Bruder Hitler' (1939), planned as the final piece in the essay volume *Achtung, Europa!*, is another demonstration, like his speeches and lectures, that he was now by no means holding back from adopting a provocative stance. On closer examination, however, there are elements of this writing which are deeply personal to Thomas, in contrast to some of his other political writings which tend to suggest that the

writer was merely striking a pose (a suggestion which Thomas himself will later confirm).

In this polemical essay, it is easy for Thomas to take the moral highground in bringing the figure in question into view, and the reader senses that he does this with pleasure. None of the studies reviewed has spotted that, reading between the lines, Thomas could be interpreted to have the tendencies of some figures – closer to home – in mind.

Firstly, there are several parallels in the features of this figure, and Heinrich. The use of the word *Bruder* in the title of this essay is indeed conspicuous. Thomas writes, further, ‘Ein Bruder ... Ein etwas unangenehmer und beschämender Bruder; er geht einem auf die Nerven, es ist eine reichlich peinliche Verwandtschaft.’ [GW, XII, 849] This comment – and indeed this essay – reaches the core of the tension surrounding the writing family. Indicators of Thomas’ treatment of his brother in American exile in the period directly preceding the writing of the essay would appear to confirm that he had his own brother in mind. Kurzke portrays the way in which Thomas kept his brother at a distance, and the relationship, particularly in the light of the presence of his alcoholic, unintellectual wife Nelly, appears indeed to have been one which was felt by Thomas and Katia to be *beschämend*, and *peinlich*. [HK, 477-481] Klaus noted in his diary, in August 1938, during the period of Heinrich’s stay at the family’s house: ‘Heinrich [...] Z. ihm gegenüber oft gedankenlos-grausam. (Wem gegenüber *nicht*?)’ [KMD, IV, 59, 28.8.1938, KM’s italics] In March 1937, Katia had explained to her son her husband’s resentment of other writing family members. [KMD, III, 120, 31.3.1937] In September 1938, Thomas himself noted: ‘Ich brauche Heiterkeit und das Bewußtsein meiner Bevorzugung.’ [TMD, IV, 20.9.1938] Heinrich had also recognized this element in his brother’s make-up, writing to him: ‘Ich wusste, um sicher zu stehen, brauchtest Du die Selbstbeschränkung, sogar die Abwehr des Anderen.’ [See Kurzke, 257] Erna M. Moore writes, further, in her

contribution to the California exile volume, edited by Spalek, that Thomas would have been happier without any of the other literary émigrés being there. [Spalek, I (Kalifornien), 35] Thomas would later note: 'Zu denken, aufs neue, über die Verherrlichung des Bruders auf meine Kosten. [...] Auferstehung alter Qual.' [TMD, VI, 24.6.1944]²¹

The criticisms of Bruder Hitler mirror some of those of the Zivilisationsliterat, modelled on Heinrich, in Thomas' *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*, further. Both of these figures are artists of a dubious nature; both are immoral; both are self-important, with a need for adoration, and both are masters of cheap, but appealing, rhetoric. Indeed, both are successful, the writer conveys with the same resentment as regarding the success of his brother.²²

Thomas implied a hidden impotence on the part of the Zivilisationsliterat. This figure has a love of the idea of being a pleasure-lover but, as a decadent effigy of *Künstlertum*, is confined to celebrating the idea, for aestheticism is:

rhetorisch entschlossene 'Menschenliebe [...], die geistenreich-hochbegabte Ohnmacht zum Leben und zur Liebe. [...] Sie ist periphere Erotik. Wo sie verkündet wird, wo man sich mit ihr brüstet, da pflegt es in Zentrum zu hapern ... [GW, XII, 544]

Bruder Hitler is, similarly, an impotent figure, who 'rein technisch und physisch nichts kann, was Männer können, kein Pferd reiten, kein Automobil lenken, *nicht einmal ein Kind zeugen*' [GW, XII, 847, my italics].

This statement is without doubt the most important in this essay. It sets 'Bruder Hitler' apart from Thomas' other political writings, and puts it more in line with 'Über

²¹ Thomas also refers to this figure as a 'zu keiner Arbeit fähigen Dauer-Asylisten und abgewiesenen Viertelskünstler[], characterized by 'Minderwertigkeitsgefühlen eines geschlagenen Volkes [...], welches mit seiner Niederlage das Rechte nicht anzufangen weiß und nur auf die Wiederherstellung seiner 'Ehre' sinnt [...]', which coincides with Thomas' view of his brother [See Kurzke, 477-481] in exile in the USA in this period. [GW, XII, 846]

²² See also GW, XII, 848: Compare the beginnings of this figure with the beginnings of the Zivilisationsliterat, and with Thomas' view of his brother in the USA.

die Ehe'. Like the earlier essay, 'Bruder Hitler' is about a play of opposites, such as that between moral and immoral. (Thomas even admits the simplifying effect of the character in question, an effect which paves the way for such a play of opposites. [GW, XI, 253f.]) Thus, in this essay, morality is equated with an ability to do what *Männer* do (the term Mann, which holds an ironic significance given the surname, and sexuality of father and son, was employed by Thomas at certain significant points, as discussed in Appendix 6.1). As in 'Über die Ehe', Thomas sets himself apart from dubious forces as a great upholder of morality and as the ultimate progenitor. Heinrich was not the only close relative who caused embarrassment and was immoral, however, and the following passage gives rise to suspicion that Thomas may also have had his son in mind as he wrote this essay. The figure in question is portrayed as follows:

[...] die unterbewußte Ansammlung explosiver Kompensationswünsche, das zäh arbeitende Bedürfnis, sich zu rechtfertigen, zu beweisen, der Drang zur Überwältigung, Unterwerfung, der Traum, eine in Angst, Liebe, Bewunderung, Scham vergehende Welt zu den Füßen des einst Verschmähten zu sehen [...] auch die Unersättlichkeit des Kompensations- und Selbstverherrlichungstriebes ist da, die Ruhelosigkeit, das Nie-sich-Genüge-Tun, das Vergessen der Erfolge, ihr rasches Sich-Abnutzen für das Selbstbewußtsein, die Leere und Langeweile, das Nichtigkeitsgefühl, sobald nichts anzustellen und die Welt nicht in Atem zu halten ist, der schlaflose Zwang zum Immerwieder-sich-neu-beweisen-Müssen. [GW, XII, 848f.]

4.4.2 Klaus in the USA; *Decision*

While Thomas had now emerged as a public political figure to be reckoned with, Klaus struggled to have his work published, eventually deciding to set up a journal. *Decision* proved, like *Die Sammlung*, to be a journal of high quality. *Decision* fulfilled its intention of acting as a symposium, with numerous reputed writers contributing to controversial exchanges of ideas in answer to important questions, such as that of the possible structure of Germany after the end of the war.

Unfortunately, in view of the undeniable success in terms of quality of *Decision* (Thomas himself described it as 'wohl wirklich die beste, farbigste literarische Revue [...], die Amerika je gesehen hat' [KMzG, 8]), it was plagued with financial difficulties from the outset, and was forced to go into liquidation after just over a year (having been published from January 1941 until January/February 1942).

Thomas agreed to act as Editor-in-Chief in an attempt to gain financial backing, while asking influential friends (notably the journalist Dorothy Thompson - who declined) and colleagues for their financial support, further giving Klaus the sum of \$1500, 'für die letzte Nummer oder zur Liquidierung', in April 1941. [TMD, V, 287, 28.6.1941]

Thomas relates with a tone of almost boastful martyrdom the Schritte which he was (unusually, he wrote) prepared to take in order to try to save his son's journal, in *Klaus Mann zum Gedächtnis* (although Thomas' account is not without an undertone of resentment for the *klägliche Korbe* which he received in his efforts). [KMzG, 8] Scholars tend to accept that Thomas showed genuine support for his son in this issue. [NS, KM-Biog, 349; UN, KM-Monog, 254] However, Thomas' diaries allow a different view of this issue. They diaries betray, namely, that he had had no intention of agreeing to the Editor post, and also demonstrate a great unwillingness in working on contributions for the journal. His diary notes read:

Klaus schreibt wegen der Finanzierung von 'Decision', zu deren Bedingung man machen will, daß ich als Editor zeichne. *Durchaus abzuwehren*. [...] Desperater Brief von Klaus über das Leiden mit 'Decision'. Wir beschlossen Liquidation, was aber ebenfalls viel Geld kostet u. mich nicht von der Notwendigkeit befreit, die Meyer anzugehen und so um dieses *Leichtsinn*s willen eine notwendige Reserve anzugreifen. Beunruhigend und verstimmend. [...] Brief von Klaus wegen Beitrag für Decision, beschwerlich. [...] Aufsatz für Klaus *widerwillig* unternommen [...]. Auch nachmittags an *dem Ärger*nis. [...] Brief an Klaus wegen eines Vorabdrucks aus 'Joseph' in 'Decision', *-unlustig*.' [TMD, V, 14.4.1941; 1.8.1941; 16.6.1941; 19.6.1941; 26.1.1942, my italics throughout]

It is conspicuous that Thomas' description of how he supported his son and sought financial support for the *Decision* project in *Klaus Mann zum Gedächtnis* gives no expression of this reluctance. [KMzG, 8]²³

4.4.3 Attitude Towards America

The attitude displayed by father and son towards America was an ambivalent one, and was one which became increasingly problematic as the result of political developments. Both were keen to display their gratitude towards America, but they also experienced frustration at certain American tendencies.

In 'Lob der Dankbarkeit' (1939), Thomas praises America for its eagerness to accept émigrés, stating that 'Amerikaner kann man werden, und zwar erstaunlich rasch', because America is a 'menschheitlich gestimmter Kontinent'. Thomas describes the welcome which he received in the USA as follows:

eine moralische Freundschaft, die mit mir in dem entschiedensten Abscheu gegen das Widerwärtige übereinstimmte, das in Europa sein Wesen trieb, empfing und umgab mich überall. Großartig weiträumige Verhältnisse, eine Atmosphäre der Freiheit, das Leben einer mächtigen Nation, welche die Macht in den Dienst der Gesittung zu stellen gesonnen war, sprachen mich glücklich an; es winkte die Möglichkeit eines erneuerten Wirkens auf breiter Basis, mit dem kontinentweiten Hintergrund einer kulturell noch ganz unermüdeten, dem Geistigen ehrlichst zustrebenden Öffentlichkeit. [GW, XIII, 121-127]

In his speech 'After Hitler - What? [Family]' (1940), Klaus gives a similarly positive impression of his new homeland: 'Feel at home, will become citizens. Participate more and more in American Life. The *promises of American life* give us new hopes...' ['After Hitler – What [Family]', Typescript, KMA]

²³ Thomas seemed almost pleased, reporting to Emil Oprecht, that his *Maß und Wert* will be forced to close for financial reasons, to be able to inform Oprecht that *Decision's* future appears to be equally bleak. [TM, Briefe, R&R, 498, letter TM>Emil Oprecht of 6.2.1941]

Reading between the lines, however, this speech hints at the tensions which Klaus experienced as an immigrant in America; he feels the need to draw attention to the fact that 'I have never belonged to any political party nor did my father or any other member of my family' (and thus that he is not a communist).²⁴

In this speech Klaus claims that he and Golo (also a covert homosexual) might like to marry American girls, wilfully evoking the impression that he is a 'regular American guy', rather than some obscure bohemian, homosexual intellectual. (The hefty F.B.I. files against him nevertheless had him confirmed as a communist and as a sexual pervert). [FBI Dossier, KMA; See also Alexander Stephan, *Im Visier des FBI*]

In 'I Am An American' (1941) the tension is mounting as Thomas seeks to allay the Americans' fears that their country will be flooded with European immigrants and that this will have negative repercussions for their country:

Every nation is apt to fear that its national character will be weakened if it permits extensive immigration. But I have the utmost faith that in America the absorption and assimilation of immigrants is nearly inexhaustible. [...] History shows that Americans need not fear that foreign-born citizens will remain foreign. They have always sought to become true Americans as quickly as possible.²⁵ [GW, XIII, 708]

Klaus begins *Decision* with a very flattering statement about America:

Where else is the creative spirit to continue its play and work, if not in this last haven of free thought and expression? Where else is the seriousness of our plight to be recognized and discussed, if not in this country - last bulwark of liberty, focus of our hopes? [DEC, I, 7]

However, it was not merely in their reluctance to back his project, financially, that Klaus was disappointed in the Americans. In the fourth edition, Klaus was forced to defend his journal against criticism that too many foreign names were featured.

²⁴ See similar in: Klaus' speech: 'After Hitler – What?' [Typescript, KMA]

²⁵ TM, GW, XIII, 708

Thomas addressed this problem in an outspoken article, 'War and the Future', published in *Decision*. With reference to the advice of his European and American friends, he states:

Europeans, [their advice] says, should keep still nowadays in this country - Europeans, that is, 'aliens', strangers. But what is an alien, and what importance should still be attached to this word today in the world in which we all live? *A World Civil War* is raging which no longer has anything in common with the national wars of the past. National frontiers are in the process of fully breaking down, [...]. One says no longer: I am a German, an Italian, a Britisher, an American; one says: I believe in the higher ideals in man, in his relationship to the world of the spirit, in right, in freedom. Or: I believe in force, in high-explosive bombs and bestiality. [DEC, II, 11f., TM's italics]

Thomas proceeds to warn Americans that fascism could arise in their country, in the guise of an individualist conception of freedom. He attacks the idea of the 'Fifth Column', 'already not infrequently used in this country as if it meant a conspiracy of aliens to drag America into the war which does not concern her', together with pacifists (a 'pacifism which supports the enemy in his perverted insults belongs to the Fifth Column, whether it knows it or not'); and 'the "objective" ones' (to which his reply is that the 'important point is that the mistakes and sins committed by France and England in the years from 1918 to 1933 have no longer the slightest connection with the events which are taking place and threaten to take place today.'). Thus the tensions in Klaus and his father's relations with Americans are apparent in these later writings.

4.4.4 Klaus as a US Soldier

Following the collapse of *Decision*, Klaus decided to volunteer as a soldier in the US Army. His reasons for doing so are ambivalent, particularly in the light of heated disagreements between father and son about the war in the months prior to this decision and to Klaus' eventual being called up, with Thomas supporting the war as he had done

in 1914, and Klaus opposing the war, particularly following the American intervention. [See TMD, V, 51; 23.8.1940, 148; 9.11.1940, 456; 30.7.1942, 462; 13.8.1942]

Naumann traces his reasons for this step in detail, from his early abhorrence of militarism, to realizing, witnessing the Spanish Civil War, that something *can* be done to fight fascism, and eventually to his decision to volunteer for the US army. This scholar puts the development of Klaus' theoretical approach to armed conflict first. [UN, 'Der Pazifist als Soldat', KM Text+Kritik, 88-99] Perhaps greater emphasis should be placed on Klaus' unhappiness and lack of purpose caused by the failure of *Decision*.

This is suggested by Klaus' lack of interest in the war: '*Kein Interesse am Krieg. Trotzdem wäre ich froh, wenn diese 'exklusive' Army [his entry to the army was actually delayed because of suspicion that he was a communist] endlich zustimmen würde, mich einzuberufen. Es würde mir allen Ernstes gefallen.*'²⁶ [KMD, 18.VIII.1942] In a letter to Katia, he writes, further:

Das Seltsame ist, ich *möchte* gern genommen sein. Mehr aus Überdruß und Masochismus, als aus eigentlich honorigen Gründen. [...] Ich weiß nämlich, unter uns gesagt, nicht ganz genau, was jetzt grade schreiben, denken, und wie mein Brot verdienen. Fühle mich gelähmt und angewidert. Von Dorothy Thompson bis Curt Riess hängt mir die ganze, schleimige, blutdürstige Bande zum Halse heraus. [...] [Letter KM>Katia, 21.5.1942; KM, BuA, 482ff.]

Indeed this letter confirms the suggestion of a connection between the failure of *Decision* and his wish to enter the army, possibly as an escape from reminders of the failed enterprise. He had tried to carry on fighting fascism in America 'with the pen' as he had done in Europe, and, as he was no longer allowed an opportunity to do this, entering the army was perhaps the natural consequence for him to take. Financial difficulties and practical needs were also a consideration.

²⁶ KM, TB, 18.VIII.1942

Thomas was 'bürgerlich-stolz' of his 'soldier son', and the correspondence between father and son was at its most animated and friendly during these years. Thomas noted in his diary his '*Vergnügen über Klaus' Transferierung in das Intelligenz-Camp bei Washington und die Aussicht, daß er bald Lieutenant werden mag*' [TMD, 5, 562; 11.4.1943] and '[...] Brief von Klaus, dessen stockende Carrière mich grämt. Die geradezu offizielle Erklärung: "Premature Anti-Fascist"!' [TMD, 5, 603; 22.7.1943]]

His unusually strong pride in his son's being an American soldier (stronger than his pride in Klaus' literary achievements had ever been) is conspicuous. Thomas goes so far as to write to his son: 'Du bewährst Dich nun [...] ganz richtig und tapfer wie ein *Mann*.' That he was 'bürgerlich-stolz', together with his praise (for the first time) of his son's *manhood*, points back to the discussion above of 'Bruder Hitler'. Thomas' reaction suggests that he took pleasure in the knowledge that Klaus was now in a normal, socially acceptable position; which suited the image which he wished to project of himself as father of the family, in the States.²⁷ Further, while Klaus was in the army, this signified the removal of a writing family member.

4.5 Post-war Period

Both father and son were disillusioned by the turn of events in the post-war period, and maintained an awkward relationship with Germany, in which country they never resettled. Two texts from this period allow a comparison of how each evaluated the general political trend and his own role in the face of this. Klaus shows despair, while Thomas retreats completely from his representative political status and, in a gesture

²⁷ See Erika Mann, *Mein Vater*, 19, which gives the sense that Thomas wished that his offspring should serve him in some way in their career choice.

befitting of his pet name *Zauberer*, shockingly reveals this role to have been a *trompe l'oeil* all along.

Klaus' 'Die Heimsuchung des europäischen Geistes' (1949) is a melancholy portrayal of the situation of the European intellectuals, who no longer know what to believe in. Their panic is expressed very dramatically in a shrill choir of voices:

Sie sagen: 'Sind die Produktionsmittel erst verstaatlicht, so werden unsere Probleme gelöst sein [...] So hat er's gesagt, der große Karl Marx, [...]' Und sie sagen: 'Die heilige Kirche wird uns retten. [...]' Und sie sagen: 'Mein geliebtes Land! Meine Rasse! Mein Volk! Oh, über das ewige Geheimnis von Blut und Boden! [...]' Und sie sagen: 'Die Naturwissenschaften! Die erstaunlichen Erfindungen! Die tollen Entdeckungen! [...] Der technische Fortschritt - die große Hoffnung!' Sie sagen: 'Der technische Fortschritt - der Erzfeind aller wahren Kultur!' [...] Und: 'Der Stalinismus - der Erzfeind aller wahren Kultur!' [...] Und: 'Der Wall-Street-Imperialismus - der Erzfeind aller wahren Kultur!' [...] Sie hören, sie verstehen einander nicht. [HeG, AVP, 524]

Their moral disorientation leads them to talk about

Kafka und über Picasso und über die Tabaklage [...] [und] über Geschlechtliches, über dialektischen Materialismus, Schnaps, Proust, Schostakowitsch und die Atombombe. Sie reden vom Kriege. Sie haben Angst. Angstvoll und verwirrt suchen sie Trost in den alten Aufzeichnungen der Hindus und in den Schriften von Lenin. Sie zitieren die Bibel und Jean-Paul Sartre, Anna Pauker und Heidegger, Jung, Einstein, General de Gaulle [...], Gary Davis [...] [und] Paul Valéry [...]. Sie sagen: 'Camus ist auch nichts Besonderes.' Und: 'Was treibt bloß Strawinsky?' Und: Die Mendelsche Vererbungstheorie ist die reinste bürgerliche Reaktion.' Und: 'Der Surrealismus ist überholt.' Und: 'Rilke ist noch immer recht gut.' Und: 'Der arme Gide wird allmählich senil.' [...] [HeG, AVP, 524f.]

In the light of the hopelessness of this situation, Klaus cites a young student (whose thoughts are actually his own), who calls for a wave of suicides amongst European intellectuals as the only remaining means for them to have any effect on a world paralysed by East-West hostility:

Eine neue Bewegung sollten sie ins Leben rufen, die europäischen Intellektuellen, eine Bewegung der Verzweiflung [...]. Wir sind an einem Punkte angelangt, wo nur die dramatischste, die äußerste Geste noch irgend Aussicht hat, bemerkt zu werden und den blinden, hypnotisierten Massen ins Gewissen zu reden. [...] Hunderte, ja Tausende von Intellektuellen sollten tun, was Virginia Woolf, Ernst Toller, Stefan Zweig, Jan Masaryk getan haben. Eine Selbstmordwelle, der die hervorragendsten, gefeiertsten Geister zum

Opfer fielen, würde die Völker aufschrecken aus ihrer Lethargie, so daß sie den tödlichen Ernst der Heimsuchung begriffen, die der Mensch über sich gebracht hat durch seine Dummheit und Selbstsucht. [HeG, AVP, 541f.]

The text *The Last Decision* (1941), which coincided with Klaus' first suicide attempt following the failure of *Decision*, takes the form of a bitter pseudo-report on the suicide of the son of a world-famous novelist. The consequence drawn due to the world-wide political situation parallels that in 'Die Heimsuchung':

Hitler wird diesen Krieg verlieren. Natürlich wird er das, denn er ist dem Untergang geweiht. Doch die Frage, um die sich alles dreht, ist die: Wer wird der Sieger sein? Wird das Volk diesen Krieg gewinnen? Die Intellektuellen? Besteht überhaupt eine Chance, daß diejenigen, die geduldig und stark genug sind, um diesen Schrecken zu überstehen, zu ihren Lebzeiten eine Weltdemokratie erleben oder gar selbst schaffen werden? Ich glaube kaum. Deswegen will ich nicht mehr leben.²⁸

Outer political events had the ability to deeply affect Klaus' emotions.²⁹

In 'Bruder Hitler' (1939), Thomas had stated the opinion that it is not necessarily the duty of the artist to concern himself with embodying what is morally desirable: '[...] übrigens ist Moral, insofern sie die Spontaneität und Unschuld des Lebens beeinträchtigt, nicht unbedingt Sache des Künstlers.' [GW, XII, 849] Similarly, in 'Der Künstler und die Gesellschaft' (1952), he writes:

Denn man weiß wohl, daß der Künstler kein ursprünglich moralisches Wesen, sondern ein ästhetisches ist, daß sein Grundtrieb das Spiel ist und nicht die Tugend, ja, daß er sich in aller Naivität herausnimmt, mit den Fragestellungen und Antinomien der Moral auch nur dialektisch zu spielen ... [GW, X, 386]

He detaches himself from his own political reputation, and regards his former role with humour:

²⁸ The Last Decision, in *Zweimal Deutschland*, 380-385. Schaezler writes that this text took the place of a letter or note when Klaus tried to commit suicide. [NS, KM-Biog, 351]

²⁹ That Klaus took outer, political events very personally is also suggested by the text 'Berlin's Darling' (1946) [unpublished typescript, KMA], in which Klaus voiced his bitterness at Gründgens' tumultuous return to the Berlin stage, and even more by his feeling that a German publisher's decision in the light of

Der Faschismus [...] war es, der mich durch seine Siege und seine nicht recht erwünschte Niederlage mehr und mehr auf die linke Seite der Gesellschaftsphilosophie getrieben und mich tatsächlich zu einer Art Wanderredner der Demokratie gemacht hat, - eine Rolle, für deren Komik ich, selbst zu der Zeit meines leidenschaftlichsten Verlangens nach Hitlers Untergang, nie ohne Blick war. Unleugbar hat ja das politische Moralisieren eines Künstlers etwas Komisches, und die Propagierung humanitärer Ideale bringt ihn fast unweigerlich in die Nähe – und nicht nur in die Nähe – der Platitüde. [GW, X, 397]

Endorsing an English critic's view of his political stance over the past three decades as 'almost too good to be true', he acknowledges:

Der junge Toynbee hat recht: es steht leise fragwürdig um diese Haltung, um alles, was Optimismus, Demokratismus, Humanitarismus, Menschheitsgläubigkeit an ihr ist – und sogar um meine 'World Citizenship'. [GW, X, 398]

This essay contrasts with Klaus' 'Heimsuchung' in that there is no trace of the feelings of its personal despair and powerlessness. Rather, having stepped back from his political role, Thomas makes an impassioned appeal for the value of art, demonstrating that the turn of events has by no means left him feeling a lack of purpose. Art exists as 'geistige Belebung', inciting laughter and joy, but has never taken it upon herself to attempt to halt 'das Böse', since:

Sie ist keine Macht, sie ist nur ein Trost. Und doch – ein Spiel tiefsten Ernstes, Paradigma allen Strebens nach Vollendung, ist sie der Menschheit zur Begleiterin gegeben von Anfang an, und diese wird von ihrer Unschuld nie ganz das schuldgetrübte Auge wenden können. [GW, X, 399]

Conclusion

In conclusion, Klaus' 'Die Heimsuchung' and his father's 'Der Künstler und die Gesellschaft', discussed above, reveal much about their respective appreciation of their political mission. Klaus' political experiences are much more powerfully influenced by the here and now. Thus he reacts immediately to the enemy, fascism, struggling to understand his father's hesitancy. Klaus' more intense involvement in the present can be seen in association with the lack of irony in his outlook. Golo wrote perceptively that 'er hatte nicht die Ironie, die schützt.' [GM, KM, BuA, 630] Klaus himself had underlined his preference for 'das Pathetische' as opposed to the 'Ironische' in *Kind dieser Zeit*; and in 'Heute und Morgen' he had emphasized that his generation no longer looked on events from an ironic point of view but, rather, in a way that was 'hingerissener, blinder'. This facet of his political outlook led to more immediate action, but in turn to frustration when challenges could not be met with the desired momentum, and when he experienced the inability to bring about palpable changes. The decision to enter the U.S. army is, as illustrated above, an ambiguous one, but perhaps the wish to undertake a visible step to do *something* in the face of frustration played a part.

Thomas differs considerably in his understanding of his political role, and is highly aware of the significance of its representative nature. In 'Briefwechsel mit Bonn' (1937), he states: 'Ich bin weit eher zum Repräsentanten geboren, als zum Märtyrer' and he repeatedly refers to himself in his diaries as 'der letzte Repräsentant des Deutschtums'. In 'Meine Zeit' (1950), Thomas voices his belief that his representative function is of great importance, not least because he has lived through such a number of historical developments, the sum of which '[kommt] quantitativ den Erfahrungen Goethes [gleich]'. Thomas' political view differs from that of his son in that it is characterized by the distancing mechanism of irony. In his essay 'Goethe und Tolstoi, Fragmente zum

Problem der Humanität'(1921), he provides a succinct summary of his ideal of a 'Politik der freien Hand', incorporating

jene nach beiden Seiten gerichtete Ironie, welche verschlagen und unverbindlich, wenn auch nicht ohne Herzlichkeit, zwischen den Gegensätzen spielt und es mit Parteinahme und Entscheidung nicht sonderlich eilig hat: voll der Vermutung, daß in großen Dingen, in Dingen des Menschen, jede Entscheidung als vorschnell und vorgütig sich erweisen möchte, daß nicht Entscheidung das Ziel ist, sondern Einklang, - welcher, wenn es sich um ewige Gegensätze handelt, im Unendlichen liegen mag [...]. [GW, IX, 170f.]

This passage is of immense value in its expression of the fundamental attributes of Thomas' political understanding. It is diametrically opposed to that of Klaus: where the latter is deeply involved in and influenced by the present, Thomas adopts in contrast a more timeless, universal view. Thomas is, further, superior to Klaus in his ability to maintain a freedom from immediate involvement in events, rejecting the importance of decisions, so dear to Klaus, when viewed on a timeless scale. His thinking is on mythical, eternal, harmonious terms. Thus *Doktor Faustus* differs from *Mephisto's* more immediate approach in that it is a mythical work which traces the development of events in Germany over centuries, taking as it does as one of its sources the 'Volksbuch' and undertaking an exploration going back to the Lutheran period, encompassing consideration of Nietzsche and countless other influences which shaped German culture. This gives the impression of a more inevitable series of developments which began centuries ago and which are therefore not so immediately significant individually when viewed on a global scale.

Chapter 5

Later Writings

Introduction

The primary focus of this chapter is an examination of Klaus' novel, *Alexander: Roman der Utopie* (1929), a fictional biography of Alexander the Great. This novel has been examined by several scholars, but this chapter will argue for an entirely fresh view; and will undertake the first dedicated examination of the implications of this novel for the literary relationship between Klaus and his father.

A connection between Klaus' *Alexander* and Thomas' *Joseph und seine Brüder*, also a product of this period (1933-), has been pinpointed in outline form by Schneider, and Härle. The research on which this thesis is based has, however, had further findings, which suggest that the connection between Klaus and his father's *Joseph* is of far greater dimensions than had been considered. It would go beyond the scope of this thesis to undertake a full and comprehensive evaluation of this connection, but this material is introduced in a section of this chapter (5.2), in the hope that it can be further developed in a subsequent study.

An appendix to this chapter brings together, in a more informal discussion, some of the themes which have been found to be characteristic of this literary relationship. (Appendix 5.1)

5.1 *Alexander der Große: Roman der Utopie*

5.1.1 Scholars' Reception of *Alexander*

Most scholars introduce *Alexander* as a more mature writing, citing as reasons for this view the length of time which Klaus took to write the novel, the reference which he

made to historical sources, and the fact that he was attempting to portray the life of an historical figure, extraneous to himself. [MG, KM-Biog, I, 66f.; NS, KM-Biog, 119, 121; UN, KM-Monog, 41] Such introductions tend to be somewhat patronizing in tone; and are generally followed by criticism. Indeed the overall impression gained from a study of the scholarship of this novel is that it is held to be a two-fold failure; a failed writing, describing a failure.

Considerable ground is assigned to cataloguing the differences between Klaus' portrayal of Alexander, and the standard history of this figure, often with the implied assumption that these differences constitute shortcomings on the part of Klaus' novel; but without meaningful reflection on the reasons for, or effects of, these differences. An example of this is Kroll's discussion of the contrast between the relatively minor role of Cleitus in the Alexander history, and the dominant role assigned to this figure by Klaus. [FK, III, 71f.] Despite discussing this issue at some length, Kroll fails to perceive the true implications of this contrast.¹ Naumann complains, following his

¹ Kroll's is not the only discussion to concentrate on the difference between Cleitus' prominent role in Klaus' novel, and this figure's less prominent role in the history of Alexander. [See also Grunewald, KM-Biog, 68; Ford, 256, 266; Strohmeyr, 46f.; Zynda, 64, NS, KM-Biog, 121f.] Scholars concentrate on the fact that Alexander's motivation arises from the will to gain the love of Cleitus, in Klaus' portrayal. A highly significant difference between the history of Alexander, and Klaus' portrayal, which has nevertheless been left unreflected by scholars, is that Klaus has Cleitus as the main instigator of Philip's murder, and Alexander is implied to be innocent of this plan (even if he welcomes its result with ambivalent readiness). Thus, in contrast to the conclusions of several historians regarding the real Alexander the Great (these conclude that Alexander was involved in the murder plan, and do not even mention Cleitus in this respect), Klaus' Alexander enters his reign in an ethically sound manner. This is important to the discussions below in this chapter. [See E. Badian in Bosworth and Baynham, 54 (certain of Alexander's involvement); Lane Fox, 23-25 (speculates Alexander's involvement)]

A further aspect of the characterization of this figure has gone unnoticed:

That Cleitus is intended as an alternative Klaus-figure in *Alexander* has not been spotted by scholars. (Klaus' tendency to fragment both autobiographical- and father-figures was indicated in Chapter 2. In this case, Cleitus is the secondary Klaus-figure, Alexander acting as Klaus' primary representative.) There are several grounds for considering this figure as such: his coldness; his dreamy playfulness; his over-sensitive skin and repugnance of *Zärtlichkeiten* (compare Thomas' use of the word in his diaries, in relation to critiquing Klaus' writing at his bedside, as discussed in Chapter 3), his abhorrence of *Leistung* and his incessant *laughter*. [Alex, 17] The *interaction* between Alexander and Cleitus is, however, a mirror of that between Klaus and his father. This is a set pattern of interaction; of the will for closeness and recognition, which is always met with cold rejection and, worse, indifference and unawareness. It was introduced in the scene between Sibylle and Adolf in *Die Jungen*, and will continue to be a characteristic feature of Klaus' writings. [Compare Jung, 29 and Alex, 19f.; see also Alex, 18 regarding this aspect of Cleitus' attitude towards Alexander.]

reference to the historical sources used by Klaus, 'allerdings mischte er ungeniert manches Selbsterlebte in seiner Fiktion', and proceeds to take a whole paragraph to outline the similarities between Alexander's nurse, a minor character featured only briefly, at the beginning of the novel, and Klaus' own nurse, although he only devotes a total of five paragraphs to the novel. [UN, KM-Monog, 41f. See also MG, KM-Biog, I, 67f.]²

A further preoccupation is the discussion of the social models, which are held by scholars to be introduced by the novel. These discussions focus on homosexuality, on the idea of matriarchy and, occasionally, on the treatment of the concept of patriarchy in the novel, as contenders for bringing Utopia. Such discussions have, however, not resulted in clarity in this sphere. Where the concept of patriarchy *is* introduced, this is secondary to discussions of homosexuality and matriarchy, and is largely concerned with the question as to whether or not the novel can be described as cyclical. [See Heinzl, 35; Kroll, III, 75 and Härle, 378, note 72]³ That the very idea of an Utopia in association with Alexander the Great is of course a questionable one, given the violence associated with the conquests of this figure, seems to be an obvious reservation, and yet this is a problem which is largely overlooked in such discussions. The following will demonstrate that, in their adherence to the discussion of these (problematic) models for potential Utopia, as well as in other respects, scholars have failed to recognize the most significant message of Klaus' *Alexander*.⁴

² Naumann's KM-Ruhe, although it too can only refer to the novel in summary form, gives a more positive and pertinent view, as is often the case with this later publication by the scholar. [UN, KM-Ruhe, 92f.]

³ Heinzl argues that the novel is cyclical, on the grounds that there are elements of the personality of Alexander which appear to reflect that of Philip, later in the novel.

⁴ For a detailed discussion of the potential of Alexander for contradictory interpretations, see Ford. Ford's exposé of Alexander as a product of the Weimar Republic entertains such a variety of these possibilities, however, that, although it is highly informative, it does not arrive at the degree of clarity propounded by this examination. (Indeed this is not Ford's intention.) [Ford, 208-266]

Scholars are unanimous in their reception of Klaus' portrayal of *Alexander* as a story of defeat, and failure. Grunewald's bibliography even summarizes the novel in a couple of lines as follows: 'Die Geschichte von K.M.'s Alexander ist die eines Scheiterns. Der König ist zum Welteroberer und Tyrannen geworden, weil die Liebe ihm versagt war.' [MG, KM-Bibliog, 42] In his biography, he assesses the primary impact of *Alexander* thus: 'L'originalité de la biographie écrite par Klaus Mann est de présenter la carrière du roi de Macédoine comme l'histoire d'un échec complet.' [MG, KM-Biog, 68] Although the christological implications of the novel are recognized, this does not alter the perception of this story as one of failure.⁵

The following examination is intended to illustrate that a very different view of Klaus' *Alexander* is possible. In contrast to the findings of previous examinations, this view is clear-cut and consistent; and succeeds in illuminating what it holds to be the main point of Klaus' *Alexander*. This view is one of the ultimate triumph; of a triumph on several levels and which, through failure, is not diminished but, rather, is enhanced, to become the insurpassable triumph *par excellence*.

Regarding the reception of this novel in the specific context of this literary relationship, Härle is the only scholar to have addressed, briefly, the negative treatment of Philip; and to have considered the implications of this for Klaus and his father. Härle observes, rightly, that:

In seinem *Roman der Utopie* benutzt Klaus Mann Philipp von Makedonien, den Vater Alexanders, nicht als Gestalt der abendländischen Geschichte, an der historische Geschehnisse veranschaulicht werden können, sondern, gleich dem unfertigen Gottesbild des Andreas Magnus, als Projektionsfläche eigener Vater- und Königs-Vorstellungen. [GH, 298]

⁵ The above review of scholarship is based on: Heinzel; Grunewald, KM-Biog, 66-68; Grunewald, KM-Biog, 42; Kroll, III, 70-78; Härle, 90, 237, 263, 295-298; Naumann, KM-Monog, 41f.; Naumann, KM-Ruhe, 92f.; Wolfram, 48-63; NS, KM-Biog, 119-128; Sprenger, 65-71; Ford, 121-130, 208-266; Strohmeyr, 46-48 and Zynda, 63-72.

The problematic aspects of this novel mean that it can be accommodated perfectly into Härle's *Mangelwerk* scheme; and although Härle also interprets Klaus' *Alexander* as one of failure, he does so from his unique and characteristic perspective, a perspective which succeeds in reconciling a non-patronizing view with a sympathetic one. This study will take things even further, however, and will look for ways in which the successes – *and* the failings – of Alexander can be seen to relate to Klaus' theme of the son's *triumph* over his father.

Given the objective of Sprenger's study, her discussion of *Alexander* is occupied far less than would be expected with the (negative) portrayal of Philip in Klaus' novel. Instead, she restricts her study to a discussion of the ideas – already overelaborated by scholars – of homosexuality and matriarchy as possible bringers of Utopia in the novel; only addressing the question of the relation of this material to her thesis, an examination of the *Vaterbild* in Klaus' writings, in the conclusion of her examination, and in decidedly non-committal fashion:

In diesem Roman wendet sich Klaus Mann auf eine distanziertere Weise gegen die Welt des Vaters als in den bisherigen Werken. Die Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Vater und Sohn sind in eine metaphysische Sphäre gerückt. Dem starren väterlichen Herrschertum stellt er eine homosexuelle Utopie entgegen, die aber nur mit christlicher Nächstenliebe zu verwirklichen wäre. Dies bedeutet auch, daß Klaus Mann sich gerade von der christlich-abendländischen Kultur mehr Toleranz gegenüber Homosexuellen wünschte. [MS, 70]

It has been pointed out that this novel constitutes a change in direction in that, for the first time, Klaus has elected, in portraying an historical figure, to focus on a figure extraneous to himself.⁶ Klaus' decision to portray the life of Alexander the Great in particular, and at this particular time, has by no means been the subject of adequate reflection, however.

⁶ NS, KM-Biog, 119. It should be noted that Klaus had already written his *Kaspar-Hauser-Legenden*.

5.1.2 The Appeal of Alexander to Klaus

Alexander the Great is a figure who has continued to fascinate people around the world for longer than two millennia.⁷ Klaus' decision to write a fictional biography of Alexander the Great at this time is of considerable significance. It was not the first occasion on which he would write about an historical figure; some scholars forget that he had already chosen to focus on Kaspar Hauser, in his *Kaspar-Hauser-Legenden* (1925). He would also go on to write further fictional biographies of Tchaikovsky, and of King Ludwig II. Mann found something in each of these figures with which he could identify himself strongly.

Even scholars who do register their awareness that Alexander was not the first historical figure portrayed by Klaus fail nevertheless to point out that the figure of Alexander stands in absolute contrast to the three figures mentioned above. These were lost, melancholic souls who were each by implication entitled to greatness, but instead were the subjects of ill-treatment, neglect and misunderstanding. Alexander *the Great*, by contrast a figure of unchallenged magnitude and renown, remains for us the epitome of power and greatness. He achieved no less than to conquer the world as

⁷ There have been countless historical studies of Alexander. I would recommend A.B. Bosworth and E.J. Baynham, *Alexander the Great in Fact and Fiction* (2000). The classic work of reference is Robin Lane Fox's *Alexander the Great* (1973). N.G.L. Hammond's *The Genius of Alexander the Great* (1997) is also to be recommended. There have been several films made of the life of Alexander, including the 1955 Robert Rossen film starring Richard Burton as Alexander. Two films of the life of Alexander are currently in production, one directed by Oliver Stone and featuring Colin Farrell and Anthony Hopkins, and the other directed by Baz Luhrman, featuring Leonardo DiCaprio and Nicole Kidman. [Guardian, 8 May 2003, p. 14] An excellent documentary series was recently broadcast by the BBC: *In the Footsteps of Alexander the Great: A Journey from Greece to Asia*, in which journalist Michael Wood retraced Alexander's 20,000 mile journey. (1997) There are many Alexanders – he is regarded as a bringer of Utopia, as 'one of the first leaders in the Western world to assert the principle of the brotherhood of mankind' [Lord Chalfont in Frank Lipsius, *Alexander the Great* (1974), 7] and he is a ruthless murderer. The modern historian, Bosworth, writes: 'For Alexander's campaigns there is [no testimony of the slaughter]. Nobody describes what it was like to be splitted by a *sarisa* [a six-metre long Macedonian sword] [...]. As a result one becomes immune to the casualty figures. Alexander's men may have killed countless thousands, but one gets the impression that nobody was really hurt, just as in some Disney cartoon. [...] The conquerors created a desert and called it empire.' [Bosworth and Baynham, 38, 49]

it was known in his day, his influence shaping world history and culture for millennia to come. His is the story of the ultimate triumph.

A further aspect which is of crucial importance but which has, nevertheless, been overlooked by scholarship is that Alexander's story is the classic blueprint for the *son who outdoes his father*.⁸ That Klaus chose to write this story of a son of such power and achievement when he was aware that his father would shortly receive the Nobel Prize for Literature cannot be purely coincidental.⁹

There are numerous elements of the Alexander story, aside from its embodiment of the principle of surpassing the father, which would have appealed to Klaus, and with which he could have identified closely. Alexander grew up aware of his noble descent (indeed he was held to be the son of Zeus),¹⁰ separated from other children because of his status. He was raised in a cosmopolitan court and was used to interaction with renowned artists and thinkers from an early age; and was given an exclusive education, at the hands of Aristotle. The Mann children were also raised in a cosmopolitan background and were from an early age familiar with the company of renowned artists and thinkers. They grew up as an exclusive group, and were aware of the differences which separated them from other children, as Klaus recalls in *Der Wendepunkt*. [WPKT, 36-38] They also received an exclusive education.

⁸ Philip II was ambitious and a brilliant organizer and leader in war, but was unable to extend his kingdom to the East. His son, on the other hand, conquered Persia soon after Philip had died, going on to conquer the *whole known world*, while also making some dramatic military innovations. While relatively few laypersons have heard of Philip II, a great portion of the population are familiar with the name of Alexander the Great.

⁹ Letter from TM to KM and EM [TM, Briefe, R&R, 494] Naumann draws a merely temporal connection between the publication of this novel and the Nobel Prize, but does not give further reflection on this. [UN, KM-Monog, 42]

¹⁰ A curiosity worth noting in this context that Zeus overthrew and succeeded his father, Cronus, who was one of the *Titans*; thus it is fitting that Zeus is implicated as the true father of Alexander in Klaus' novel. [Alex, 54] (See Howatson for other ways in which an association with this god may have exerted an appeal over Klaus.) [Margaret Howatson, *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature*, 603f.] See also Bridges, 270.

Legend has it that, when he was in India, a speaking tree informed Alexander that he would die young, but that his name would be remembered forever; a message which would have exerted an appeal over Klaus, and which renders a strangely prophetic quality to his wish to study this figure.¹¹

This chapter will add significant weight to the argument that Klaus' life and writings *were* characterized by continuation, necessitating a more all-encompassing view of the writer. Chapter 2 was the first examination to illustrate the importance of the themes of debunking, and triumphing over, the father-figure, unveiling the superiority of the son in terms which often had religious undertones. The following will demonstrate that such themes continued to hold significance for Klaus, exploring the related theme of a son surpassing on a vast scale the achievements of his father. The scholarly reception of *Alexander* has not considered this theme, but this chapter will illustrate that an appreciation of this theme is key to a fuller understanding of the novel.

Before the examination of *Alexander*, two writings of Klaus' which can be seen to anticipate this chapter's findings, and which have not been fully appreciated in this aspect of their message, are introduced. In 'Die neuen Eltern', Klaus' essay referred to in Chapter 1, which so incited the anger of Brecht, the author states:

Wie unendlich viel zum Beispiel verdanken wir der väterlichen Generation im dichterischen und literarischen gerade, wie unendlich viel können wir lernen an dem, was sie uns hinterließen oder woran sie jetzt noch an der Arbeit sind. [...] unsere Verehrung [...] gilt [...] d[en] großen Werke[n] der heute Fünfzig- und Sechzigjährigen oder derer, die um die Jahrhundertwende starben. [...] Das Werk des Vaters steht vor uns, und wir bilden uns und lernen von ihm. [...] Wir halten zu denen, die, neuen Zielen zustrebend, für die sie noch keine Worte haben, [...] zu den Vorigen, zu den Vollendeten, zu den Vätern trotzdem zurückschauen – getrennt von ihnen, immer *weiter wegstrebend* von ihnen, aber lernend dabei, ehrfurchtsvoll vor dem, was diese gelebt und gebildet. [DNE/DNK, 7, my italics]

¹¹ Wood, 9. Klaus himself claims to have noted in his diary, when he was fourteen years old: 'Ich muß, muß, *muß* berühmt werden...' [WPKT, 113, KM's italics]

As in other writings, Klaus' references to *generations*, and to the *Väter*, in *plural*, do not conceal that he means *himself* and *his* father, and the casual reference to 'd[ie] heute Fünfzig- und Sechzigjährigen' does not disguise a reference to Thomas in particular. This passage is interesting in that it implies a pat on the back for Thomas and that his task is completed, whereas Klaus will go on to achieve greater things (*weiter wegstrebend*), an aspect of this essay which has remained to be acknowledged.

In 'Mein Vater: Zu seinem 50. Geburtstag' (1925), Klaus writes, tensely, of the problematic nature of any thanks expressed by *youth* to the *previous generation*. Complaining about critics' reactions to *their* work, which is allegedly unpolished, in comparison with that of the *previous generation*, Klaus nevertheless does not shrink back in this instance from becoming openly personal, hinting at the problems which he faces as the son of such a great writer:

Mag das ein Problem oder ein Glück für mich sein – oder beides in einem: das ist meine eigenste, privateste und geheimste Sache, dieses problematische Glück, und öffentlich darf das erst werden, wenn ich es eines Tages in irgendeine Art Werk oder Gestaltung formen und also über sich selbst zum Sinnbild erhöhen kann. Aber meine Huldigung soll öffentlich sein [...]. [MVz50, DNE, 50]

It is interesting that Klaus writes: '*Aber meine Huldigung soll öffentlich sein*' – implying that his *criticism* will not be so – adding, ambivalently: 'Denn sie bedeutet ja nicht die interne Huldigung des Sohnes an seinen Vater – und man weiß ja, daß *das* immer eine schwierige und fragwürdige Huldigung sein muß - .' [, my italics]

The remainder of this writing echoes the passage from 'Die neuen Eltern' cited above. Klaus writes that this is not a private tribute (as above):

[...] sondern es ist der große Dank eines, der, in tiefster Bewußtheit seiner eigenen, schwankenden Verwirrung, dennoch etwas hergeben und hingeben möchte, das eigene Form hat und eigene Melodie, an denjenigen, der seine Melodie schon

gesungen hat und singt, und in vielen neuen Liedern singen wird – so daß wir diesen seinen klaren und doch so verschlungenen Weisen immer wieder lauschen können und achtsam ihren strengen Aufbau verfolgen, damit wir es einmal, auf unsere andere Art, ebenso schön können. Denn lieben, *aber über den geliebten Gegenstand hinaus und weiter drängen* – immer auf ihn zurückschauend, immer an ihm lernend -: das heißt ja verehren. [...] Niemand kann sein Werk, sein großes, deutsches, zweiflerisches Werk gründlicher kennen wie ich, gründlicher – verehren, wie ich. [MVz50, DNE, 48-50]

This public birthday congratulation is remarkable in that this is not really about Thomas and his birthday but, rather, about Klaus. Reading between the lines, the primary message to be detected is: 'Listen to *me*. I can sing my song (or write my books) just as well as – if not *better* than - him.' In fact, in view of the definition given of *verehren* ('lieben, aber über den geliebten Gegenstand hinaus und weiter drängen [...]'), it is conspicuous that Klaus proceeds to write that nobody can *verehren* his father's work better than himself.

These ambivalent autobiographical texts indicate not only that Klaus was struggling as the writing son of Thomas, but that the idea of *going further* than his father was in his mind. Thus these anticipate the theme of surpassing the father, which was central to Klaus' *Alexander*, as will be demonstrated below.¹²

5.1.3 Alexander's superiority

5.1.3.1 Philip

Alexander's superiority to his father is marked by Klaus throughout this novel, and it is surprising that this has not been acknowledged by scholars. He is presented as being

¹² It is fitting in the context of the theme of taking on the father at his own game that, for the first time, Klaus endeavoured to work more in the manner of his father, taking longer than ever before to write this novel (a fact which scholars tend to cite in the context of their mildly patronizing praise of the novel, before launching into criticism). He wrote to Pamela Wedekind of his intention (in contrast, he felt, to the previous *Rundherum*) '*ganz seßhaft [zu] sein und etwas Schwerwiegendes [zu] arbeiten.*' [KM, BuA, 55, my italics] This certainly sounds like an attempt to work like Thomas. (Not only did he wish to emulate his father's writing methods, but Klaus set himself the greater challenge of doing this 'noch dazu auf Reisen', he boasts in *Der Wendepunkt*. [WPKT, 300])

superior to his father on several levels. His intellect surpasses not only that of Philip, but also that of the philosopher Aristotle; he is of superior morality to his father; he remains elevated from base human instincts, and he retains an almost chilly calm in the face of conflict, and of others' emotions.

Philip, in contrast, is portrayed as an intellectually inferior Philistine, who is limited by his base, human instincts, and is at the mercy of his emotions, behaving in an uncontrolled, aggressive, childish or even blasphemous manner.¹³

Whereas the autobiographical basis of the father- and offspring-figures in the writings examined in Chapter 2 was pointed out by most scholars, scholars have been more reluctant to view Alexander as a directly autobiographical Klaus figure.¹⁴ Further, few have drawn a correlation between Philip and Thomas, and none have undertaken a dedicated examination of the father-son relationship portrayed in Klaus' novel as a possible paradigm for that between Klaus and his father. Thus the following constitutes the first such examination.

The interaction between Philip and Alexander is introduced in the following description:

Das Leben war vollkommen schön, solange der Vater sich im Hintergrund hielt. Das tat er meistens, nur bei festlichen Gelegenheiten unterhielt er sich mit dem Kinde, wobei er es auf eine raue Art zu necken liebte. Das Kind weinte nicht, es sah den dröhnend lachenden, bärtigen Herrn durchdringend an, aber der merkte nicht, wie haßerfüllt und wie böse.

Alles schien gut, sogar die Schlangen der Mutter, nur der Vater blieb abzulehnen. Warum lachte der Vater so unangenehm, und wenn man nicht mitlachte, wurde er mürrisch? In seiner Nähe roch es nach Schweiß und Alkohol, in der Nähe der Mutter aber nach Kräutern und schönem Haar. [Alex, 9]

¹³ While this aspect of the portrayal of Philip has remained to be pointed out, or evaluated (as it is, below), it is important to note that the portrayal of this figure does not fail entirely to arouse the sympathy of the reader.

¹⁴ See for example Zynda, 65.

This first reference to Philip is highly indicative. Like other fathers in Klaus' writings, this father is experienced as an unpleasant burden, and acts as a hindrance on his family's ability to enjoy life.¹⁵ That he occupies himself with his child only on *festlich* occasions is a pointer to the fact that Thomas is meant.¹⁶

Once more the description of this Thomas-figure, whose features are now familiar, is hardly flattering. The nature of his smell, and of his laugh, are suggestive of his restriction to base, human concerns; and that he behaves in a childish and grumpy manner when his companions refrain from laughing with him indicates his self-centredness.¹⁷

Perhaps the most significant element of this description is contained, however, in the sentence, 'das Kind weinte nicht, es sah den dröhnend lachenden, bärtigen Herrn durchdringend an, aber der merkte nicht, wie haßerfüllt und wie böse'; Alexander is not frightened by his threatening father, but rather displays, at a very young age, indomitable strength, an important anticipator of the future status quo of this relationship. That Philip fails to perceive the nature of his son's expression is a continuation of the misunderstanding which characterized father-son type relationships in the writings discussed in Chapter 2 (particularly *Der Vater lacht*).

That the basis of this novel is autobiographical, and that it reflects the Mann father-son relationship, is further suggested by the next reference to Philip:

¹⁵ See also Härle, 263f. regarding such fathers.

¹⁶ See Chapter 2. This chapter found that the word *festlich* was often employed in association with Thomas figures.

¹⁷ Philip's will to direct interaction recalls both the will of the *Ministerialrat*, in Chapter 2, to direct conversations along his desired lines, and the tension which surrounded the question of whether or not Cornelius had willingly directed the conversation towards the subject of his own hobbyhorse, Philip of Spain, in *Unordnung*. Klaus later observed a childish will to direct the course of interaction in his father: 'Tannis schlägt nach Tisch Schreibspiele vor [...]. Grosse Verstimmung Zauberers, der sich rätselhaft erniedrigt fühlt, weil ihm auf Englisch nichts einfällt. Sein jäher Ausbruch – während Gumpert und ich leicht bestürzt zurückbleiben. Z., heute den ganzen Vormittag ganz zerfressen von Gram und Pikiertheit [...]. Mit Sorge und nicht ohne Aversion beobachte ich übrigens, wie seine "Distanciertheit" zu den Menschen sofort in mißtrauische Gerechtigkeit umschlägt, wenn die Unterhaltung sich nicht völlig in den ihm vertrauten, von ihm gewünschten Gleisen bewegt – [...] Es ist

Ein äußerer Einschnitt war die Übersiedlung ins Männerhaus. Das Kind wurde dem erregenden Einfluß der Olympias entzogen [...]. Allerdings hielt auch Philipp sich vorläufig zurück, er war in politischen Angelegenheiten stark beschäftigt. Zudem interessierten Kinder ihn nicht, er hatte beschlossen, persönlich sich erst dann mit Alexander abzugeben, wenn der Junge fünfzehn Jahre alt sein würde. – Um diese Zeit war er noch nicht dreizehn. [Alex, 14]

This passage serves as a cutting reference to Thomas both in terms of him as a father, reflecting the portrayal of him as a distant father in Klaus' autobiographies (discussed in Chapter 2), and as a political commentator, as the writer of the *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*.

The Greek pedagogues whom Philip engages for Alexander's initial tuition are outwardly pleasant to the uncultured Philip but in a patronising manner, enjoying the large salaries which they obtain from him whilst subtly making a fool of him. [Alex, 14f.] He tries to create the impression of being an educated, cultured man when Aristotle arrives, but his 'dröhnend unsichere[s] Benehmen' merely embarrasses Alexander. [Alex, 22f.]

Philip is not a good husband to Olympia, flaunting his relationships with other women publicly and eventually deciding to celebrate his marriage to a second wife, the much younger Kleopatra. At this wedding, the father of the bride, satisfied with his triumph in having manipulated his friend into the marriage, points to Alexander and exclaims that all is now over for him, and that the true heir to the Macedonian throne will be the future son of the bride. Alexander punches Attalus' wine beaker into his face, so that he bleeds from the mouth.¹⁸ Provoked by his son's silence, the drunken Philip loses his self control in a pitiable scene which emphasizes Alexander's composure, and his father's lack of it:

einem auch schmerzlich zu sehen, in wie zunehmendem Grade er erwartet – oder es vielmehr braucht, dass ihm ständig Komplimente gesagt werden.' [KMD, V, 58; 8.9.1940, my italics]

[Philip] schrie, stampfte: man hatte seinen eigenen Oheim beleidigt. Da ihn Alexanders haßzitterndes Schweigen bis zur Raserei und Tollwut reizte, stürzte er torkelnd auf ihn zu, mit wackelnd gereckter Faust, zornesrot geschwollenem Gesicht. [...] 'ich prügle ihn!' schrie der König, ihn erwartete unbeweglich der Kronprinz. Dicht vor ihm stolperte der Vater, schlug hin, lag besudelt zu seinen Füßen. [Alex, 37]¹⁹

This scene highlights the aggression of Philip and his almost infantile loss of self-control (the use of the word *besudelt* is ambiguous, but implies that this figure has lost control of his bladder, or bowels), in contrast to Alexander's fearlessness, and unwavering composure.

Following the victory of Chaeronea, the following scene is described:

Damals war es das zweitemal, daß Philipp aus Freude über den Sohn weinte;²⁰ diese Instinktlosigkeit erfüllte Alexander mit Ekel, '*Er merkt nichts*', dachte er, völlig angewidert; und er wandte sich kurz, beinahe unhöflich, als der gerührte Vater ihn umarmen wollte. Der stutzt, versteht nicht, bleibt, mit noch geöffneten Armen, täppisch stehn. Alexander, seitlich abgewendet, mißt den rüstigen, aber doch schon alternden Mann mit einem kurzen Blick von so gnadenloser Grausamkeit, wie nur Söhne für ihre Väter ihn haben [...]. Nur, daß [Philipps] Augen jetzt naß sind, sieht der Sohn nicht, auch nicht das rührend Ungeschickte, Bittende, Hilflose in Philipps Geste. Er hört nur, wie der Vater mit einer Feierlichkeit, die nicht zu ihm paßt und die komisch wirkt, murmelt: 'Mein Sohn, ich siege für dich – du sollst ein größerer König als ich sein -'

Da dreht, mit einem Rest von Mitleid, Alexander endlich das Gesicht ganz fort, damit Philipp sein böses und verächtliches Lächeln nicht sehe. [Alex, 40f., KM's italics]

¹⁸ Compare Härle's insightful interpretation of similar scenes in Klaus' autobiographies and *Der fromme Tanz*. [GH, 255-259; 270f.]

¹⁹ This Thomas figure's aggression echoes that of *Der Ministerialrat* in the confrontation scene: the *Ministerialrat* figure also had a reddened face, and his fist came into play, too:

'[...] seine Geduld [riß]. Sein Gesicht rötete sich, gewaltig schwoll ihm die Zornesader, er schlug mit der Faust auf den Tisch. Wütend und im Bewußtsein väterlicher Machtvollkommenheit blähte sich seine Rede [...] wettete er, mit einer Stimme, die sich peinlich überschlug [...]. Seine Wut erschütterte, benahm ihn so ganz und völlig, [...]. Rasend im blinden Mißverständnis eiferte der Beamte [...]. Der Vater saß in mühsamer Haltung. "Ich beherrsche mich", murmelte er bebend, "fast hätte ich zugeschlagen. Ich beherrsche mich kramphast!!!" [DVL, 46f.]

Chapter 3 referred to diary entries of Klaus and Thomas, and a statement by Golo, which demonstrated that aggression and violence featured repeatedly in Thomas' behaviour towards his son, in scenes similar to those described in *Der Vater lacht* and *Alexander*. Given the role of such aggression in the real-life relationship, it is easy to imagine that Klaus would have taken pleasure in describing a Klaus-figure's fearless defiance and composure; and a Thomas-figure's ridiculous fall, in a scene portraying the father's aggression towards the son.

²⁰ The first occasion was Alexander's taming of the stallion Bucephalus. [Alex, 21]

Given the realities of the relationship between Klaus and his father, it is easy to imagine that Klaus would have taken pleasure in writing this passage describing the *son's* cold and ruthless rejection of his *father*. This passage continues some of the points of discussion in Chapter 2. This time, it is not Kunigunde looking at her father, with an air of *das Bittende*, but instead the roles are reversed, and it is the role of the *offspring* to fail to perceive the true emotions of the *father*. The sense that *Alexander* gains revenge for Klaus is also conveyed in that Alexander 'mißt den rüstigen, aber doch schon alternden Mann *mit einem kurzen Blick von so gnadenloser Grausamkeit, wie nur Söhne für ihre Väter ihn haben [...]*', echoing Thomas' words in *Unordnung* when Cornelius '*nach Art aller Väter, die Gaben und Werte des fremden jungen Menschen sofort mit denen seines eigenen Sohnes vergleicht*', with such unfavourable consequences for Bert. [UFL, 643, my italics]²¹

Alexander is highly critical of his father, and of the ways in which he operates. A clear sense is imparted of his will to go further, breaking all boundaries. Mann writes:

Mit einer Genauigkeit, die aus Haß kam, beobachtete, beurteilte, prüfte Alexander die Politik seines Vaters. Er kam zu dem Resultate, daß er sie vorzüglich fand, gleichzeitig aber abscheulich.

Alexander, der Sechzehn- und Siebzehnjährige, wußte, was er selber wollte, noch nicht; oder wußte es doch nur undeutlich-großartig, [...]. Aber täglich klarer wurde, daß das Ziel des Philipp nicht das seine war, wenngleich es ihm äußerlich ähnlich sehen mochte. [Alex, 37f.]

The following passage also implies Klaus' criticism of Thomas' conduct regarding the First World War, and support of Germany. The calculating nature of this figure,

²¹ Indirectly related to this material is the statement in *Athen* (1932), a comparable generalisation on the subject of fathers and sons, 'Es ist die natürliche Beschäftigung aller Söhne, sich den Tod ihres Vaters vorzustellen. [*Athen*, 314] This drama, largely ignored by scholars, deserves an in-depth examination. [See particularly *Athen*, 314]

further, echoes the characterization of Aschenbach, and of the *Ministerialrat*, cementing the idea of a connection between this figure and Thomas:

[Philipp] wollte, das war alles, griechischer Nationalheld werden, der asiatische Feldzug sollte ihn dazu machen. Dieser grobe, aber listige Mann ging Schritt für Schritt vor, er war nie ungestüm, immer verschlagen und konsequent. Sein Sohn beobachtete, angeekelt und bewundernd, diese grausam schlaue berechneten Schritte. [Alex, 38]

This aspect of Philip's character is further illustrated in the following passage, which introduces the idea of Alexander's resentment of his father:

Philipp, dieser aufgeräumte und ungebildete Grobian – der nicht einmal rechtmäßiger König von Mazedonien war, denn er vertrat nur Amyntas, seinen kränklichen Neffen, des alten Perdikkas Sohn -, der hatte Erfolg mit allen seinen Listen und Ränken. [...] Die Reihenfolge dieser fatalen Triumphe hielt Alexander sich in den Nächten vor, da er nicht schlafen konnte.

Zäh war er gewesen, zäh und infam. Unerbittlich und listig hatte er eine Macht nach der anderen besiegt, einen Regenten nach dem anderen sich verpflichtet. [Alex, 39]

Alexander resents his father and feels the need to claim his achievements as his own:

Gehässig überlegte Alexander auf seinem Lager: 'Freilich, da es zur Auseinandersetzung kam, wollte sogar ich unseren Sieg, obwohl doch nur mein Vater ihn genießen wird. Schließlich war es *mein* Eingreifen, das die Schlacht von Chaironea entschied.' [Alex, 40, KM's italics]

Although he finds them *verrannt* and *kurzsichtig*, Alexander quite enjoys listening to the nationalistic Demosthenes' mocking *Haßgesänge* about his father. [Alex, 39]

That Alexander's vision surpasses that of his father is demonstrated by the following passage, which again implies a criticism of the lifestyle, outlook (politically and otherwise) and working methods of Thomas. The beginnings of Alexander's reign are described as follows:

Nach außen hin ist die Begründung seines asiatischen Zuges der panhellenische Rachegedanke: was Xerxes den Griechen angetan, will Mazedonien an Dareios Kodomannos rächen. Er behauptet, Philipps Testament zu vollstrecken, nur auszuführen, was dieser geplant. Dabei entfernt er sich immer weiter von Philipps Ideen. Sein Vater wollte nur das Vernünftige, Begrenzte, ihn zieht allein das Grenzenlose an. Philipp hatte sich zunächst um die Geographie Kleinasiens gekümmert; Alexander studiert schon die klimatischen Verhältnisse Irans, läßt sich über Baktrien und Sogdiana berichten. [Alex, 59]

5.1.3.2 Aristotle

Aristotle is employed as a secondary father figure in order to demonstrate the insurpassable intellect and boundless thinking of Alexander. As with Philip, the theme of Alexander going further dominates the portrayal of his interaction with Aristotle. This is an aspect which has also not been reflected by scholars.²²

The passage in which Aristotle is introduced indicates one or two aspects which can be interpreted as pointers to this figure as an alternative Thomas cipher: his *großer Ruf* precedes him, but: 'Um so angenehmer berührte es, in ihm einen vollendeten *Hofmann* zu finden, er hatte immer das passende Lächeln und das verbindliche Wort.' [Alex, 22, my italics] The surname of the *Ministerialrat* in *Der Vater lacht was Hoffmann*, and it was stated in Chapter 2 that this name (with connotations of *Hof*) seemed to fit in with the outer (false) politeness of this figure. The use of the word *Hofmann* with reference to Aristotle echoes this, and the remainder of the description indicates that this figure shares the type of politeness featured by the other Thomas figures described in Chapter 2. [See Alex, 22f.]

Alexander and Aristotles' interaction is characterized by paramount polite correctness. Alexander is however by no means humbled by his renowned tutor, and

²² Alexander's rejection, and surpassing, of those in authority has been introduced earlier in the context of his nurse and initial pedagogue: 'Von welchem Tage an verschwand die graue, schaukelnde Landike in einer zärtlich schattenhaften Dämmerung? Wann wurde es plötzlich klar, daß der stöckelige Herr Leonidas nicht ernst zu nehmen war, daß man lachen durfte, wenn er hüstelte und sich spreizte?' [Alex, 14]

the pupil's critical judgement of Aristotle is conveyed from the beginning of their interaction, continuing the theme of seeing through a father-type figure.

Alexander knows how to show himself to be *bezaubert* at the jokes of his tutor,²³ and has penetrated the thinking of his tutor to such an extent that he knows in advance when to stop walking (their discussions take place in gardens) as is the habit of Aristotle before making an important point, allowing the tutor to gain the impression that he is stopping for the sake of his student. [Alex, 23f.]²⁴ Alexander's critical view of this figure is nevertheless apparent throughout their interaction: 'Weniger höflich war der Blick, mit dem der aufmerksame junge Zuhörer den Vortragenden zuweilen ganz kurz, doch um so konzentrierter von der Seite musterte und prüfte.' He knows the facial features (described in now familiar Thomas-like terms) so well, having studied these with such a critical, penetrating eye, that he almost feels ashamed. (Aristotle is described in now familiar gently mocking terms which underline the humanness of this figure.) [Alex, 24]

Alexander asks questions, he wants to know things, and he is never satisfied. 'Ihre Neugierde ist unersättlich', his tutor tells him 'sanft tadelnd, doch *zärtlich*'. Then Aristotle becomes more serious, however:

Dann noch einmal, verändert, ganz ernst, mit einem stählern gesammelten, eisgrauen Blick, mitten ins wartende Gesicht des Knaben an seiner Seite, in der gedämpften Stimme Angst und Bewunderung: 'Ihre Neugierde ist unersättlich, so wahr die Götter mir helfen.'

Alexander, ohne zu zucken, ertrug den Blick, der durchbohrte. Er erkundigte sich unbefangen weiter nach den Dingen, die ihn interessierten, verlangte Auskünfte, bat um Belehrungen, schmeichelte und warb, kokettierte und lockte. Ihn nochmals anzusehen, hütete sich Aristoteles; um so verführerischer kam die Stimme des Knaben, süß verschleiert, matt silbrig; plötzlich klirrend hell, aufleuchtend, wie wenn

²³ Words stemming from *Zauber* appear with frequency in the writings of Klaus. Given that Thomas' pet name was *Zauberer*, an investigation into Klaus' employment of such words would doubtless have interesting results.

²⁴ Again Alexander's *flirting* with his mentor in this way recalls some aspects of the relationship between Klaus and Thomas, as revealed in Chapter 3.

Licht durch eine schöne Dämmerung dringt. Wandte *der Meister* sich,²⁵ durch das Wunder dieser Stimme verleitet, und sah doch wieder hin, so erschrak er über das Gesicht, das sich ihm Antwort heischend, dabei spöttisch, entgegenhielt. Dieses Gesicht wollte *wissen*,²⁶ es wollte maßlos viel, unermesslich viel wissen. Es bestand darauf, hier war nicht zu spaßen. [Alex, 25]²⁷

Aristotle tells his pupil all that he knows about the animals; but when he seeks to inform him about animal psychology, 'hierbei *versagte* er etwas', Mann writes. [Alex, 26, my italics]

The philosopher is encumbered by his ego, and displays petty jealousy when talking about others working in his field. For each of his predecessors, he holds, 'außer der gemessenen Anerkennung, eine trefflich formulierte Bosheit.' [Alex, 27]

He becomes particularly *giftig* when speaking of the situation of the present academy, much preferring to talk about the 'unvergleichlich interessantere' school which he will found:

Bei solchen Gelegenheiten wandte Alexander, plötzlich gelangweilt, den Blick. Dieser war wieder nur der ehrgeizige Alte, der sich mit dem faden *Hofmannslächeln* vor König Philipp verneigte. [Alex, 29, my italics]

Alexander's main interest, much to the displeasure of his tutor, is for another thinker, whose *Unruhe* and life journey anticipate his own:

Alexander interessierte sich am Meisten für den Pythagoras, dessen abenteuerliche und bedeutende Lebensgeschichte er kannte: dieser unruhigste von allen Wahrheitssuchern war über Ägypten, Babylon und Persien bis nach Indien gekommen. Seine Unersättlichkeit erschütterte und faszinierte den Prinzen, er versuchte das auszudrücken.

Aber Aristoteles hielt sich die Ohren zu. 'Dieser Pythagoras!' jammerte er, [...]. [Sein] intellektuelle[s] Gewissen empörte sich derart, daß er stampfte und schrie.

Darüber lächelte Alexander. Er schwieg höflich, aber er dachte im stillen, daß noch das wenige, was er aus der Geheimlehre des umgetriebenen Pythagoras wußte, ihn

²⁵ My italics; the use of this term is an further indicator that this figure is to be considered as a secondary Thomas figure.

²⁶ KM's italics.

²⁷ See Alexander's further *flirting* with, or charming, his mentor for knowledge. [Alex, 29f.] This continues the idea of a Klaus figure *flirting* with a Thomas figure; scenes of a similar nature are to be found in Thomas' *Joseph und seine Brüder* (see below).

mehr verlockte und anzog als das ganze klare und übersichtlich weise System seines schimpfenden Mentors, des Aristoteles. [Alex, 27f.]

The 'ganze klare und übersichtlich weise System seines schimpfenden Mentors' stands for Thomas' way of working, but the disputed Pythagoras is more *verlock[end]* to Alexander/Klaus. This is a means by which Klaus can demonstrate that those who are *umgetrieben*, and whose talents are not appreciated by those around them, are actually justified and will be proved as such, if not in their lifetime, then beyond this. This is a theme which is not new to the writings of Klaus: in *Die Jungen*, his autobiographical figure stated:

'Es wird entschieden werden dort drüben. – Gott wird entscheiden, wer von uns beiden recht hatte – er oder ich. Die Welt auf jeden Fall', fügte er hinzu, und lächelte traurig, 'die Welt entschied sich für ihn.' [JUNG, 31]

In *Symphonie Pathétique*, Klaus will call on Tchaikovsky to represent him, and criticize the music of the popular, but cold, Brahms, to similar effect. Further historical figures chosen by Klaus as being representative of his own fate were Kaspar Hauser, who was rumoured to have been the heir to the throne of Baden,²⁸ and Ludwig II, who was in effect removed from power, although he had been the rightful heir to the throne and had, as Klaus portrays him, the love of the common people who knew him. [VF, 242, 245] In all cases, achievement, *Leistung*, may be the deciding factor in this lifetime, but the christological implication is that, ultimately, love will decide, and recognition will be received in the next life.

A further description of the 'einteilende, ordnende und sichtende Verstand des Alten' consolidates the idea of this thinker as a representative of Thomas, as does the sentence: 'In dem Munde des Gelehrten wurde alles zum Schema.' [Alex, 30]

²⁸ Kálman Kovács, *Kaspar-Hauser-Geschichten*, 15.

Philip asks Aristotle about the impression Alexander has made upon him, to which Aristotle replies:

‘Prinz Alexander [...] ist ohne Frage der begabteste junge Mensch, dem ich jemals zu begegnen das Vergügen gehabt. Die Frage ist nur, ob er es verstehen wird, sein Genie zu konzentrieren und auszunützen. Er liebt das Unbegrenzte, schweift gerne ab; deutet an, ohne auszuführen. – Freilich ist er sehr jung [...].’ Majestät nickte besorgt. [Alex, 32]²⁹

The concerns of Aristotle and Philip are reminiscent of that of Thomas and other critics of Klaus’ early writings, as reported in ‘Meinem Vater: Zu seinem 50. Geburtstag’:

Wir, die wir beinah nichts haben als einen wirren, großen, süßen Traum von einer neuen Zukunft [...] sollten in edler Demut zu lernen trachten, von denen, die schon Form gewinnen durften und allereigensten Ausdruck. Da ist es immer noch besser, der Kritiker wirft uns vor, daß wir eben diese Form in der eigenen Bemühung nachzumachen suchten, als er hätte ein Recht zu sagen: *das tummelt sich ungeschlacht, formlos weiter*, dumm die hohe Leistung, die hinter ihm steht, übersehend und tut so heftig und kindisch, als sei ein Werk nie gebaut, gearbeitet – und vollendet worden. [MVz50, DNE, 21]

Aristotle has been unable to satisfy Alexander’s yearning for knowledge. He has ‘den ihm Anvertrauten in der Einzelheit bereichert, aber im Großen enttäuscht.’ [Alex, 31]

In the last lesson, it is evident that the tutor has failed his pupil:

So standen in der letzten Stunde ihres Zusammenseins Lehrer und Schüler fremder als in der ersten: der alte Weisheitsfreund hatte umsonst geworben. Er hatte den ihm Anvertrauten in der Einzelheit bereichert, aber im Großen enttäuscht. Aristoteles, nur die Verehrung gewohnt, fühlte sich das erstemal in seinem Leben durchschaut, gerichtet, abgelehnt, und zwar da, wo er am ausdrücklichsten versucht hatte, zu wirken und zu gefallen. Dieser Mißerfolg lähmte und ernüchterte ihn [...] [Alex, 31]³⁰

²⁹ Kroll applies this criticism to *Alexander* itself. [FK, III, 76] A similar impression was made by the young Klaus. [Report from the *Wilhelmsgymnasium*, Copy in KMA; Letter from *Schloß Salem* director to Paul Geheeb, Copy in KMA.]

³⁰ The employment of the word *fremd* is a further indicator that Aristotle is a representative of Thomas.

Thus this father-type figure is 'durchschaut, gerichtet, abgelehnt' like other father-figures in Klaus' writings. Alexander's final judgement of Aristotle, whose hypochondriacal tendencies he mocks, reads like a critical summary of Thomas: 'Er ist vielleicht ein Genie. Aber es gibt geniale Pedanten.' [Alex, 32]³¹

5.1.3.3 Success in Failure; the ending of *Alexander*

Not only does Alexander surpass the achievements of his father on an epic scale; but when he has failed, at the end of the novel, this only leads to the cementing of his success, so that it becomes the ultimate triumph. Scholars have failed to give due reflection to this implication of the ending of the novel.

Alexander's superiority echoes that of many of the Klaus figures discussed in Chapter 2, in that it is based on the idea of love.

When Olympia, Alexander's mother, receives her son shortly after the death of her husband,³² she tells him:

'Es gab Zeiten [...], schöne, friedensfrohe Zeiten, da die Welt viel besser eingerichtet war, als wir armen sie kennen, das Menschenleben sanft und zufrieden dahinging, bis zur feierlichen Stunde des Todes. Damals, mein Sohn, war es die Frau, die regierte, ihr war der Mann untergeordnet. Wir Frauen sind milder, klüger, fleißiger als ihr, wir wissen auch mehr von den Göttern. Unter unserer Herrschaft war die Erde beinahe das Paradies. [...] Das Regiment des Mannes zerstörte bald alles Gute, was wir in Jahrhunderten aufgebaut hatten. - -Philipp vereinigte in sich alle schlechten männlichen Eigenschaften, er war *der* Mann, darum haßte ich ihn. Ein Glück, daß du nicht wirklich sein Sohn bist.' Sie lächelte hinterhältig. [Alex, 53f., KM's italics]

Of course Olympia's use of the word *Mann* can be interpreted as an insult to Thomas.

Olympia continues:

³¹ Thomas' diaries are marked throughout by the writer's hypochondriacal tendencies.

³² In Klaus' novel, Alexander is not implicated in the murder of his father; this is necessary for the maintenance of his (moral) superiority over Philip and he enters his reign thus morally intact. See above, regarding Cleitus.

Dir aber, Alexander, gibt die Mutter den Auftrag. Ziehe nach Asien, *liebend* wird es sich dir unterwerfen, denn du bist schön, Enkel des Achill! Das mütterliche Asien wird dir gehorchen, denn du hast den Auftrag der Mutter. Dieser Auftrag geht nicht dahin, daß du erobern sollst, Männer haben schon so viel erobert. Eine Hochzeit wird anzurichten sein - - [54f.]

This *Auftrag* is important as it makes clear Alexander's superiority over his father; his mission is to have *love* at its forefront of his way of reigning. Further, the christological implications are evident when Olympia tells her son:

Aber du bist ausersehen, der Menschheit Glück zu bringen, mein Alexander! Die geheimnisvollen Götter und ich, wir wollen es, Alexander! Du erzwingst es mit Liebe und Schwert! Du erzwingst es mit deiner Schönheit, mit deiner Jugend. Denn du bist jung, Alexander, siehe, das ist das Wunderbare.³³

The christological implications of this figure are an important element of the characterization of Alexander from the beginning. As a child, Olympia relives repeatedly with her son, in passages which hint at an incestuous mother-son union, the stories of Orpheus, Osiris, Tammuz and Adonis:

das Zerstückeltwerden des Gottes war die Voraussetzung für das Wunder seiner Auferstehung; der Jammer mußte groß gewesen sein, damit der Jubel unendlich sein durfte. [...] Hatten die Weiber auch lange um ihren Tammuz-Adonis geweint und sich die Brüste geschlagen, er kam wieder, er offenbarte sich ihnen in der zweiten und eigentlichen Lebendigkeit. – [...] Sie enthüllte ihrem Kinde, nur ihm, was sie wußte: es war das Mysterium der blutigen Opferung und der Auferstehung im Lichte. [Alex, 11-14]

In these passages it is almost as if Olympia is hinting at her awareness of her son's fate. Indeed, Alexander's fascination with *die letzten Dinge* and with the *Ewigkeitsbegriff* – he pushes Aristotle to tell him more and more about this, but is never satisfied – seem to imply that he also has an idea of his fate. [Alex, 29f.]

³³ Klaus was not alone in having himself or his autobiographical figures appear as chosen ones; see Appendix 5.1

At the end of the novel, before Alexander's death, he is visited by an angel who tells him 'Du hast einen anderen geopfert, nicht dich! [...] Du hast deine Sendung wesentlich verfehlt.' As the conversation continues, however, the angel tells him: 'Das nächste Mal wirst du so weit sein, daß du für die sterben kannst, die du liebst.' [Alex, 244] As Alexander discusses the triumphs and failures of his life with the angel, he reaches the conclusion, '*Ach, ich habe wesentlich gefehlt.*' [Alex, 246, KM's italics] Mann continues, however:

Dieses reuevolle Wort hatte der bewanderte Engel noch aus keines Griechen Mund gehört. So fühlte er: dieser war reif. Und er verhieß ihm [...] 'Du wirst wiederkommen, in anderer Erscheinung.'

Alexander darauf, wißbegierig wie als Knabe im Brunnenhain: 'Um das Reich aufzurichten, mein Engel? *Um das Reich aufzurichten?*' [Alex, 246, KM's italics]

Scholars have concentrated on the fact that Alexander fails to create a kingdom founded on love and interpreted this as his failure. Alexander's *intention* had been to create such a kingdom, however, with the result that this can be regarded as his success. The christological implications indicate, further, that he will be reborn, and will succeed in founding a kingdom founded on love.

Alexander cannot lose however, because if his life is to be interpreted as a failure, this is rendered the ultimate success by the overt christological implications of the ending.

It has remained to be stated clearly that the idea of the reign of Alexander the Great being associated with love is a problematic one, given the violence which we know to have been associated with the triumphs of this figure. That the fulfilment of the *Auftrag* of Olympia is, in Klaus' novel, portrayed to be no less questionable – indeed Alexander admits himself that he has *wesentlich gefehlt* – means that this material is no less suitable for consideration in the context of Klaus' themes of the

triumph over the father, and superiority of the son. Not only is this the ultimate story of a son's surpassing of his father and his achievements; but the ways in which the son fails constitute, also, a second triumph, facilitating the future rebirth of the son, an idea presented in overtly christological tones.³⁴

This examination of Klaus' *Alexander* has argued for an entirely fresh view of this novel. Rather than accepting the standard view expressed by scholarship of this novel as telling the story of the ultimate failure, this analysis has demonstrated that there are considerable grounds for regarding *Alexander* as the story of the ultimate triumph; the triumph of a son who surpasses the achievements of his father on a grand scale, and who, when he does fail, despite his good intentions, receives the assurance that he will be reborn to lead mankind to a new, golden age. The repeated reference in recent years to the phenomenon of the *Klaus Mann Renaissance* adds a touching parallel to this novel.³⁵

5.2 *Joseph und seine Brüder*

Scholars have, on occasions, drawn a connection between Klaus' *Alexander* and Thomas' *Joseph und seine Brüder*. Schneider first made reference to the 'verwandtes Berühren in Stoff und Milieu' of these writings, describing both as 'Dokument[e] einer Vertiefung in Geschichtlichkeit und geschichtliches Mythos'. [RS, 1109f.] The scholar detected, further:

hier wie dort der Versuch, die großen Völkermythen nebeneinander zu stellen, um aus Vergleich und Synthese das Gemeinsame, den mythischen Urgrund zu erhellen. Es ist der gleiche Blick in den 'Brunnen der Vergangenheit', gleiche Faszination von der Unendlichkeit seiner Tiefe. [RS, 1110]

³⁴ See also towards the end of the novel, when Alexander is described as 'wie gekreuzigt, aber dabei jubelnd.' [Alex, 239]

³⁵ Frido Mann, *Der Wendepunkt*, epilogue, 730; Strohmeyr, 10; Von der Lühc, 9.

Parallels in the style of the two writings have also been observed by this scholar:

Manche Parallelen sind freilich frappant. 'Wissen Sie nicht, da[ß] Meister Plato gegen Ende, unter dem Einfluß der Zahlenmystik, zugegebenermaßen spleenig war?' fragt Aristoteles den jungen Alexander. Spleenig – wer denkt nicht an die humoristische Verwendung modernster Idiome am Hofe Echnatons, da der junge Joseph Ägypten erlebt? [RS, 1110]

Schneider concludes his examination by seeking to point to differences between the writings of father and son, however, as he has done at other points in his article, and as with other scholars the signalling of these differences assumes the equation of Thomas and his *Joseph* with success, and Klaus and his *Alexander* with failure. Schneider closes his discussion with a reference to what is admittedly one of the more problematic aspects of Klaus' novel:

Doch ist die Geschichte von Joseph, dem Sohne Jaakobs, die Geschichte echten Berufen-Seins, Bericht von der Erziehung des jungen Hebräers zur Bewährung in lebensspendender Tat – und *Alexander* ist die Geschichte eines gefährlichen Genius, dem am Ende nur gegeben wird, Leben zu zerstören. Der Vergleich mit dem Werk des Vaters belegt so den Gegensatz, auch hier. Bei Thomas Mann erfährt der Mythos eine Rationalisierung, wird 'vernünftig'; bei Klaus Mann wird die geschichtliche Gestalt des mazedonischen Alexander durch Einbeziehung des Mythos verdunkelt. Die Neigung zum Irrationalen setzt früh ein, der junge Alexander 'dachte im stillen, daß noch das wenige, was er aus der Geheimlehre des umgetriebenen Pythagoras wußte, ihn mehr verlockte und anzog als das ganze klare und übersichtlich weise System seines schimpfenden Mentors, des Aristoteles.' Der Rebellion des Irrationalismus entspricht der Hang zur Macht – dem Weg zur Macht, dem Triumph der Macht die wachsende Entmenschlichung. Der Roman könnte als beachtliche Deutung gewertet werden angesichts des nahen Faschismus, wäre nicht die Selbstidentifikation des Autors zu deutlich. [RS, 1109f.]

Härle spots that there are parallels between the Osiris myth and its equivalents, as told repeatedly by Olympia to her young son, and the development of these myths in *Joseph und seine Brüder*. Even Härle is more positive regarding Thomas' employment of these myths than regarding that of Klaus:

In *Joseph und seine Brüder* entfaltet Thomas Mann kurze Zeit später denselben Mythos beziehungsweise Mythenkreis, stellt ihn ins Zentrum der Mythologisierung der Joseph-Figur, womit er Klaus Manns Technik wiederholt und perfektioniert, und bereichert schließlich die in *Alexander* schon angedeuteten Querverbindungen und Beziehungen noch um den Bedeutungsbereich Adonis-Adonai-Christus. Auch hier hat Klaus Mann erste Ansätze bereits vorgegeben, insofern der Tod seines Makedonenkönigs Alexander, der auf die Osiris-Mythe hin transparent ist, zusätzlich eine durchaus christologische Perspektive eröffnet. [GH, 90]³⁶

The above comparisons are brief, and the full significance of the parallels has remained to be stated: this is that, shortly before his father focused on such material, Klaus concentrated on one of the most important historical figures of all time, who shaped humankind for millennia to come, marking our cultural memory to the present day, and associated the timeless story of this figure with christological implications of rebirth.

The research on which this thesis is founded has had findings which lead to a significant suggestion which is made for the first time in the following discussion: there are several aspects of the characterization of Joseph which suggest strongly that Thomas gained inspiration for this figure from observations of his son, Klaus.

The first scene in which Joseph appears is the *Brunnen* scene, in which he exposes himself to the moon. This scene displays unmistakable parallels with the diary entry of Thomas, in which he noted observing his semi-naked son. Thomas wrote:

Gestern Abend bemerkte ich durch die verschlossene Glastür der Kinderwohnung Licht [...]. Es zeigte sich, daß Eissi bei beleuchtetem Zimmer und phantastisch entblößt in seinem Bette lag. Er wußte auf Fragen keine Antwort zu geben.

³⁶ Kroll is self-contradictory to an extent in his judgement of *Alexander*, calling for more historical detail but then complaining, when Klaus does concentrate on such material, that the result is 'lang und leblos'. He writes, regarding the Egypt scenes in Klaus' novel, perpetuating the view of *Joseph* as a success and *Alexander* as a failure: 'Dort sehnt man sich nach dem Joseph-Zyklus Thomas Manns, um mehr von den Mythen zu erfahren.' Kroll fails nevertheless to consider further parallels between these writings, following this casual remark. [FK, III, 76]

Pubertätsspiele oder Neigung zu schlafwandlerischen Handlungen, die wir schon in Tegernsee wahrnahmen? Vielleicht beides in einem. Wie wird das Leben des Jungen sich gestalten? Jemand wie ich 'sollte' selbstverständlich keine Kinder in die Welt setzen. Aber dies Sollte verdient seine Anführungsstriche. Was lebt, will nicht nur sich selbst, weil es lebt, sondern *hat* auch sich selbst gewollt, *denn* es lebt. [TMD, I, 10; 20.9.1918]

The *Brunnen* scene, in *Joseph*, seems to reflect the scene reported by Thomas in his diary. This scene is also characterized by the parental concern, mixed with other feelings, of a father as he unexpectedly discovers his semi-naked son. There are similar implications of sexual undertakings, and behaviour which could give rise to concern, in this scene:

[...] während das Fortging mit erhobenen Händen, mit Schaukeln, Kopfwiegen und Liebeslächeln zum lichtströmenden Monde empor, war Sonderbares und fast *Erschreckendes* an dem Einsamen zu beobachten. Seine Andachtsübung, lyrische Unterhaltung oder was es nun war, schien ihn fortzureißen, die wachsende Selbstvergessenheit, in die sein *Treiben* ihn einlullte, ins nicht mehr ganz Geheuerere auszuarten. Er hatte nicht viel Stimme gegeben zu seinem Gesang und hätte nicht viel zu geben gehabt. Sie war spröde und unreif, diese noch scharfe, halb kindliche Stimme von jugendlich unzulänglicher organischer Resonanz. Jetzt aber blieb aller Ton ihm aus, versagte krampfhaft und abgeschnürt; sein 'Jahu, Jahu!' war nur noch ein keuchendes Flüstern bei völlig von Atemluft leerer Lunge, die wieder zu füllen er unterließ, und gleichzeitig entstellte sein Körper sich, die Brust fiel ein, der Bauchmuskel geriet in eigentümlich rotierende Bewegung, Nacken und Schultern stiegen verzerrt, die Hände zitterten, an den Oberarmen trat der Spannmuskel strangartig hervor, und im Nu hatte das Schwarze seiner Augen sich weggedreht – das leere Weiß schimmerte unheimlich im einfallenden Mondlicht. [Joseph/GW, IV, 66f., my italics]³⁷

The sexual implications of this scene are evident, the boy's behaviour paralleling that associated with a sexual climax. His voice can be understood as being representative of his developing reproductive organ. This is not the first occasion on which one of Thomas' figures will be observed performing a musical activity with strong sexual implications, as will be illustrated in the following chapter.

³⁷ The use of the word *Erschreckendes* is conspicuous; see the discussion of this and equivalent terms in Chapter 2. The word *treiben* is employed in a comparable passage in *Doktor Faustus*, discussed in the following chapter.

The concern which such behaviour would incite on the part of the onlooker is mediated by the following description:

Man muß hier sagen, daß niemand sich leicht einer solchen Unordnung im Betragen des Jungen versehen hätte. Sein Anfall, oder wie man es nennen wollte, wirkte als Unstimmigkeit und besorgniserregende Überraschung, er stand zu dem Eindruck freundlich verständiger Gesittung, den seine wohlgefällige und allenfalls etwas zu stutzerhafte Person auf den ersten Blick und überzeugend vermittelte, in unwahrscheinlichem Gegensatz. War es Ernst damit, so fragte sich nur, wessen Sache es war, sich um seine Seele zu kümmern, die in diesem Falle vielleicht als berufen, aber jedenfalls als gefährdet zu gelten hatte. Handelte es um Spielerei und Laune, so blieb die Sache bedenklich genug, - und daß dergleichen hier zum mindesten einschlägig war, schien aus dem Verhalten des jungen Mondnarren unter folgenden Umständen hervorzugehen. [Joseph/GW, IV, 67]³⁸

Disturbed by his father's 'wie immer gefühlsbewegte, leicht klagende' voice, Joseph 'lächelte verschämt auf seine Brust herab.' His father's eyes 'spähten besorgt nach dem Knaben am Brunnen.' [Joseph/GW, IV, 67f.] Jaakob's 'Decke deine Blöße!' enhances the reflection between this scene and Thomas' diary entry. [Joseph/GW, IV, 70]

This first Joseph scene recalls the mixed undertones of attraction and concern which characterized Thomas' diary entry.³⁹

The femininity of Joseph's beauty (a whole chapter is devoted to this [Joseph/GW, IV, 393-396]), with this figure being described in the scene cited above as 'etwas zu stutzerhaft', reflects the femininity of the adolescent Klaus expressed in Thomas' diary notes of his attraction to his son, examined in Chapter 3.

Joseph's *Koketterie* with his father is also noted in the Brunnen scene. [GW, IV, 70] The ways in which Joseph *flirts* with, or charms, his father, for example in

³⁸ The word *gefährdet* in connection with Joseph is conspicuous, given that this word has been employed on numerous occasions in connection with Klaus, and that this is also the implication of Thomas' concern in his diary entry, cited above. [See for example Krüll, 15-23] (The use of the word *Unordnung* may be significant, given that this was the name of the highly autobiographical narrative in which Thomas expressed his concerns regarding his son, examined in Chapter 2.)

order to obtain the coat of many colours [Joseph/GW, IV, 470-483] can be compared to Klaus' behaviour towards his father in making political statements calculated for Thomas' pleasure; or in the way in which he reveals himself in bed, Chapter 3 having hazarded the suggestion that this may have been a deliberate act. This act even incites one of Joseph's brothers to compare him to a *temple whore*. [Joseph/GW, IV, 494]

Joseph's gift with language and words relate to Klaus the storyteller as he wandered around the Mann garden, fabulating fantastic stories for Golo. Joseph does the same with his younger brother Benjamin. [WPKT, 103; Joseph/GW, IV, 349-623⁴⁰]

Joseph's narcissistic undertones; his sense of having been chosen by God; his love of play-acting; his ability to say things that are pleasing to others; and his ability to combine political persuasion and mediation with his artist nature are further ways in which this figure relates to Klaus. Like Thomas, Jacob sees his son as a 'höhere Wiederholung des Vaters' [Joseph/GW, IV, 70]⁴¹ and his concern for the young Joseph's morality, and for his safety, expressed in the *Brunnen* scene, is reminiscent of that of Thomas for Klaus. Jacob is described as 'der ewig besorgt sich nach [Joseph] umtuende Vater.' [Joseph/GW, IV, 79]

As a father, Jacob is very similar to Thomas, further, in that he prefers some of his offspring very much compared to others; and feels to need to explain his favouritism.

Jacob indulges his feelings towards his son, showering him with gifts and *tendernesses*: '[Er] war von jeher unterderhand an Sondergaben und zärtlichen Aufmerksamkeiten, [...].' [Joseph/GW, IV, 471] This recalls the *Zärtlichkeiten* which

³⁹ A comparable onlooker whose view mixes attraction and concern in the same fashion is discussed in Chapter 6.

⁴⁰ Significantly, the stories which Joseph tells his brother are rooted in the Adonis / Tammuz / Osiris myth.

Thomas showered on his adolescent son as he critiqued his writings at his bedside.

[See Chapter 3]

Jacob refrains for the most part from asserting his paternal authority over Joseph, just as Thomas had done. He also tends to deal freely with gender differences, having the 'Neigung, es mit dem Geschlecht nicht genau zu nehmen [...].' [GW, IV, 649] This reflects the playful attitude of Thomas and Katia regarding gender differences. (See Appendix 5.1)

The following passage reflects Thomas' raising of a similar question reported in his diaries, at the height of his attraction to Klaus:

Das Doppelte wird nur mit doppelter Liebe ganz geliebt; es ruft das Männliche auf, sofern es weiblich, das Weibliche, sofern es männlich ist. Ein Vatergefühl, das in seinem Gegenstande zugleich den Sohn und die Geliebte erblickt, in das sich also eine *Zärtlichkeit* mischt, die eher der Liebe der Mutter zum Sohne gehört, ist zwar männlich, sofern es der Geliebten im Sohne gilt, doch mütterlich, sofern es Liebe zum Sohne ist. [GW, IV, 649-650]⁴²

That in the case of Jacob and Joseph, father and son may be one and the same person, discussed under the term *Wechselverhältnis* in the chapter *Der Rote* [Joseph/GW, IV, 188-194; here 192], relates to Thomas' idea of the son as a continuation of himself under different circumstances. [See Appendix 5.1]

That Jacob sacrifices his son, knowingly or otherwise, is conspicuous. [Compare Joseph/GW, IV, 642]⁴³ This relates also to the theme of castration, also a feature of the portrayal of father and son, in Thomas' novel. [Joseph/GW, IV, 194]

These parallels between Klaus and Joseph have never been suggested before. Jendreiek came close to realizing these parallels, in that he considered the influence

⁴¹ Compare Appendix 5.1

⁴² This passage is not alone in evoking the sense that Thomas is seeking to convince himself of the acceptability of his feelings and/or actions; my italics; here again the word *Zärtlichkeit* points to the Klaus-attraction.

⁴³ Compare the discussion in Appendix 5.1.

on Thomas' Felix Krull figure of Klaus' portrayal of Gründgens in *Der Wendepunkt*, stating nevertheless his opinion that, in this portrayal of Gründgens, Klaus had stood under the influence of his father's Joseph portrayal, and going on to refer to Reich-Ranicki's observation of the similarity between Klaus' Gründgens in the aforementioned autobiography, and Klaus' view of himself. Jendreiek states, fleetingly, that this means that Klaus may be considered as a model for Krull but fails, however, to take this one step further and consider the existence of parallels between Klaus and Joseph. [HJ, 542f.]⁴⁴

The study of Thomas' 1918-1921 diaries suggests that Klaus exerted an influence on his father's *Joseph*, which went beyond the characterization of Joseph: In the chapter *Der Rote*, Abraham, the father of Ishmael and Isaac, happens one day to see his elder son Ishmael disporting himself in an underworldly manner with Isaac, his younger half-brother:

[...] Es begab sich, daß Abram 'durchs Fenster' den Ismael auf unterweltliche Weise mit Isaak, seinem jüngeren Halb-bruder, scherzen sah [...]. [Joseph/GW, IV, 192f.]

This passage bears a striking resemblance to that describing Klaus' carrying on, naked, with Golo in their bedroom, a scene which is also described by Thomas with sexual undertones:

Ich hörte Lärm im Zimmer der Jungen und überraschte Eissi völlig nackt vor Golo's Bett Unsinn machend. Starker Eindruck von seinem vormännlichen, glänzenden Körper, Erschütterung.- [TMD, I, 470; 17.10.1920]

The above discussion has not intended to go beyond serving as an introduction to these significant new findings. It has nevertheless demonstrated significant grounds to

⁴⁴ In fairness, the parallels pointed out above are founded on the familiarity with Thomas' 1918-1921 diaries, which had not yet been published when Jendreiek wrote his examination. (1977; these diaries were published in 1979.)

support the argument that Klaus did exert an influence on the writing of his father's *Joseph und seine Brüder*. It is hoped that a study of greater scope, dedicated to the connections between Klaus, his writings, and *Joseph und seine Brüder*, will further reflect on this material.⁴⁵

Conclusion

This examination has been the first in-depth consideration of Klaus' *Alexander* in the light of this father-son relationship, and of Klaus' view of his father. It has demonstrated the continuous themes of seeing through and debunking the father figure in Klaus' writings, in arguing for an entirely fresh view of *Alexander* - the ultimate story of the son who surpasses his father - as one of triumph, rather than failure.

The fact of a writer of Klaus' status writing himself into the story of this son who outdoes his father, conquering the whole known world, may appear to be curious, given the monumental status of Thomas. It has been demonstrated in this chapter, however, that this was not the first occasion on which Klaus entertained such fantasies; his earlier 'Die neuen Eltern' and 'Mein Vater: zu seinem 50. Geburtstag' were shown for the first time when reading between the lines to exhibit a stance on Thomas and his writings which was far from humble.

⁴⁵ Aside from these findings, Chapter 3 drew a connection between the *Huij und Tuij* chapter of *Joseph*, and the theme of castration, which has been found to characterize this relationship. one which was of deep importance to Klaus, and is further discussed in an Appendix. [See Appendix 5.1]
I would like to express my grateful indebtedness to Bridges' excellent examination of the Joseph figure. Bridges does not suggest in his discussion of the Jacob-Joseph relationship that it could be based on the autobiographical background of Mann (he does not even refer to this), but his discussion of homoeroticism in the father-son relationship in this context has provided highly thought-provoking background reading. [See Bridges, 265-308]

Although a connection had been drawn between the uses of myth in Klaus' *Alexander* and his father's *Joseph*, Klaus' further influence on his father's novel had not been considered. This chapter has pointed out several significant ways in which Klaus himself can be seen to have exerted an influence on *Joseph*. In particular, the figure Joseph reflects characteristics of Klaus, and particularly of the Klaus in Thomas' 1918-1921 diaries. It is hoped that a more extensive study will further reflect on these connections.

An appendix to this chapter has brought together some of the themes which have been found to be characteristic of this father-son writing relationship. (Appendix 5.1)

Chapter 6

Mephisto and *Doktor Faustus*

Introduction

This chapter examines the connections between Klaus and *Doktor Faustus: Das Leben des deutschen Tonsetzers Adrian Leverkühn, erzählt von einem Freunde* (1947), arguably Thomas' most significant writing. Thomas himself referred to the novel as his *Parsifal*, thinking, mistakenly, that it would be his last writing. [GW, XI, 157] Erich Heller, on reviewing the entire body of Mann's writings, concludes:

All themes come together once more in *Dr. Faustus*, and, greatly intertwined and infernally illuminated as they now are, make the work a *summa demonologica* of Thomas Mann's imagination.¹

The primary focus of the examination is a comparison of Klaus' earlier *Mephisto: Roman einer Karriere* (1936) with Thomas' novel. A small number of scholars have made brief suggestions as to a connection between these two novels, but the following constitutes the first in-depth examination. Other literary and political writings of Klaus' from the 1930s and 1940s, in particular *Symphonie Pathétique: Ein Tchaikowsky-Roman* (1935) and *The Other Germany* (1940) are compared to Thomas' novel. Again, where scholars had suggested a link, an in-depth analysis had not been undertaken. Following these literary comparisons, an autobiographical section argues that scholars have overlooked a highly significant source for the protagonist of Thomas' novel. Two Appendices to this chapter consider some of the interesting uses of names in the writings of father and son. (Appendices 6.1 and 6.2)

6.1 Comparison of Klaus' writings with *Doktor Faustus*

6.1.1 *Mephisto* and *Doktor Faustus*

Given the titles of *Mephisto* and *Doktor Faustus*, with their obvious relation to the Faust material, it is not surprising that some scholars have considered the existence of a link between these two novels. In 1965, Walter spotted that Klaus' novel 'den Teufelspakt des Adrian Leverkühn fast ein Jahrzehnt zuvor schon angedeutet hat. Die Diagnose von Höfgens Verirrung zielt auf die gleichen Phänomene wie jene, die Thomas Mann seinem deutschen Tonsetzer gestellt hat.'² Härle then considered the idea that the devil's pact in *Mephisto* had inspired that in Thomas' novel. However, aside from that hypothesis, this scholar fails to further our understanding of any significant connection between the novels. In his comparison, of just over one page, he suggests parallels between the writers and their respective Faustian figures, in an equation that fails to convince; cites Walter's realization, quoted above; and considers a minor autobiographical connection, before coming to consider as would be expected the sexuality of the two protagonists. [GH, 88f.] Here, Härle finds parallels:

Zwar ist die lebensgeschichtliche Homosexualität Gustaf Gründgens' in die sadomasochistische Sexualvorliebe Hendrik Höfgens transformiert; auch Adrian Leverkühns Homosexualität ist so verhüllt, daß sie, wenn überhaupt, nur am Rande wahrgenommen wird. Aber als innerer Begründungszusammenhang in Form des 'Liebesverbots' ist die unaussprechliche Sexualitätsform in beiden Romanen ein integraler Bestandteil des Pakts. [GH, 90]

Härle's point is worth considering in the context of his sexually-oriented study, but his tendency for concluding discussions with dramatic statements which are often

¹ Erich Heller, *Thomas Mann: The Ironic German*, London, 1958, 260-261

² Hans-Albert Walter, 'Der Mitläufer', *FAZ*, Nr. 272, 23 November 1965

nevertheless obscure, or of questionable relevance, appears to come into play when he concludes:

Der 'offen' homosexuelle Tschaikowsky hingegen richtet sich ohne Teufel zugrunde; seine Leidenschaft und sein künstlerisches Mittelmaß sind Satan genug. [GH, 90]

Krüll's brief comparison of *Mephisto* and *Doktor Faustus* is disappointing. The scholar compares Höfgen with Leverkühn; Klaus with Höfgen and Thomas with Leverkühn, with unoriginal results. Krüll does refer to the significant use of a name, examined later in this chapter, but her conclusion, with its repeated use of the word *Verführung* (and derivatives), and suggestion that Thomas had 'Klaus [...] zum Selbstmord verführt' has an air of the ridiculous. [See MK, 392-394]

The only other scholar who has considered a parallel between these two novels is Osman Durrani. He refers to *Mephisto* in his study *Fictions of Germany: Images of the German Nation in the Modern Novel* (1994) in a consideration which is brief but of considerable importance: Durrani is the first scholar to compare the appropriation by father and son of the Faust material, in the wider context of the history of its use. This question is examined in the following section.

6.1.1.2 Concept of *Mephisto* and *Doktor Faustus*

The following is a consideration of the relation of the novels of Klaus and Thomas to the original Faust story. This story dates back to a *Volksbuch* from the sixteenth century, which told of a sorcerer, who abandoned the study of theology, and made a pact with the devil, going to hell after an alliance of twenty-four years. This figure has come to be associated with being a seeker of knowledge. The story was passed from one generation to the next until the eighteenth century, when it was put to prominent use in a deliberate effort to give the Germans a national story, in the light of French

cultural dominance. These versions of the material, and Goethe's drama in particular, deliberately accentuated the German nationality of Faust, so that his story came to be viewed as a kind of key to the German soul.

Spengler, in his *Untergang des Abendlandes* (1922), bestowed on this material a kind of prophetic significance, devoting a whole chapter to the Faust material in his study of the seven stages of the decline of the West, and even referring to the past five hundred years of western civilisation as the 'Faustian Age'. This rendered the Faust story naturally very attractive as propaganda material to the Nazi regime. The Nazis led the Germans to believe in their tragically 'Faustian' destiny, that they were a chosen people, equipped with superior and hidden insights about the world and destined to rise to new heights of achievement. Rosenberg, the Nazi ideologue, gave his version of what was 'Faustian': 'eine nordische Heldensage, ein preußischer Marsch, eine Komposition Bachs.'³ However, this material has also been brought into contact with considerations of more negative aspects of the German character, by Wilhelm Böhm, whose *Faust der Nichtfaustische* (1933) considered the the 'non-Faustian' aspects of the myth.

However, as Durrani writes, 'Klaus [Mann] was probably the first German writer to use the material for an examination of the National Socialist ideology, in his novel *Mephisto*.' [OD, 100] Thus Klaus' novel can be seen to have anticipated that of his father, who also had the intention of employing this material in an examination of the darker side of the German character.⁴

Klaus' concern when writing *Mephisto* was to attempt to give a literary model of the German 'soul'. The actor, Höfgen, makes a pact with the Nazi regime. In return

³ Alfred Rosenberg, *Der Mythos des Zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts*, Munich, 1935, pp. 515, 680. In: Smeed, *Faust in Literature* (1975), 30. See also Böhm, *Faust der Nichtfaustische*, 1933.

for placing his talents at the Nazis' disposal, Höfgen receives great success in his stage career and is promoted to *Staatsintendant*. This pact, the equivalent of Faust's, with the devil, works on two levels, however: Höfgen's pact is also symbolic of that of the German nation, with its new rulers. Klaus brings a realistic aspect to the novel, in featuring portraits of real family members and acquaintances, as well as some chillingly vivid depictions of members of the Nazi regime. Some aspects of Hendrik's move towards the Nazis, and darkness, are related by a (suffering) narrator who makes clear that these developments coincide with the move towards darkness of the German nation.

In *Doktor Faustus*, Thomas uses a similar design to that of his son. The composer, Leverkühn, makes a pact with the devil, and in return is saved from the sterility that has afflicted the music of his time. As in *Mephisto*, this pact with the devil is not merely that of an individual, but is also representative of that of a nation. Thomas' narrator, Zeitblom, is far more conspicuous than that in *Mephisto*, and his suffering is more apparent, but he can be seen to follow the pattern of that in *Mephisto*, and he also makes clear that developments for Leverkühn coincide with those of the nation. Thomas also incorporates a substantial body of portraits of real members of his family and circle of acquaintances, and was inspired, as the following discussion will argue, by Klaus' depiction of Nazi figures, too.

At the end of Goethe's drama, Faust is saved, and at the end of the chapbook, judgement is withheld on Faustus. Klaus revokes this optimistic ending: the implication of the visit of the *Fassadenkletterer* towards the close of the narrative is that a worrying future awaits Höfgen. Instead of finding higher knowledge, this figure discovers that he is no longer able to act the part of Hamlet, and that he has lost both

⁴ I am indebted in this examination to Durrani's outline of the history of this material, see particularly

women whom he loved, who have left Germany. [Meph, 390, 396] Similarly, Thomas ends *Doktor Faustus* on a starkly pessimistic note, with Leverkühn paralysed and a broken man. Höfgen does at least comprehend the significance of his actions, while it is perhaps impossible for Leverkühn, always having been a sick, infected individual, even to recognize what has gone wrong.

6.1.1.3 Characterization in *Mephisto* and *Doktor Faustus*

The portrayals of some of the figures which Thomas incorporated into his novel in order to suggest elements of the darker forces within the German character bear notable similarities to figures in the Nazi regime, portrayed by Klaus.

6.1.1.3.1 *Der Propagandaminister*

The theme of the spectacle of Nazism features throughout *Mephisto*, and it is therefore appropriate that Klaus bestows on his Nazi leaders impersonal, stage-like names, such as *der Propagandaminister*; *der Ministerpräsident*; *der Führer*; *der Dicke* and *der Mächtige*. Similarly, the name given to the *Doktor Faustus* character, *Schleppfuß*, sounds like a descriptive stage-name. (Other names of a comparable nature employed by Thomas are *Dr. Zimbalist*, *die Dicke* and *der Dienstmann*. [DrF, chapters 16, 19])

The *Propagandaminister* in *Mephisto* is modelled on Goebbels. Although the figure *Schleppfuß*, in Thomas' novel, also bears similarities to Goebbels, the way in which he is portrayed suggests that Thomas was also inspired in the characterization of this figure by his son's figure.

The *Propagandaminister* is characterized as a verbally empowered figure who is 'jedem Kompromiß, besonders in kulturellen Dingen, unerbittlich abgeneigt.' [Meph, 334] Thomas' figure, *Schleppfuß*, is also a very talented and uncompromising dialectician. He argues with steely determination that freedom need not apply to the individual, but rather to the nation, and that an element of evil is necessary to the existence of the positive aspects of society. Further, he makes a determined apology for the devil, and his malicious accounts of the treatment of women in mediaeval times are unnerving. [DrF, Chapter 13]

A further indicator that the characterization of *Schleppfuß* may have been inspired by that of the *Propagandaminister* is to be found in the physical appearance of these figures. Klaus' figure has a 'scharfe[r] Mund' [Meph, 41], while the teeth of Thomas' figure are 'splittrig-scharf'. [DrF, 134] *Der Propagandaminister* has a club-foot which he drags along behind himself as he walks: he 'humpelte behende, seinen Klumpfuß graziös hinter sich her ziehend.' [Meph, 41] A comparable description is given of *Schleppfuß*:

Nach meiner Meinung schleppte er wirklich etwas den einen Fuß, doch wurde das bestritten, und auch ich konnte mich meiner Beobachtung nicht jedesmal, wenn ich ihn gehen sah, mit Bestimmtheit versichern, so daß ich nicht darauf bestehen und sie lieber einer unterschwelligem Suggestion durch seinen Namen zuschreiben will, - [...]. [DrF, 133]⁵

In addition, Klaus' figure is small in stature, described as a 'gefürchtete[r] Zwerg'. [Meph, 41] Similarly, *Schleppfuß* is a 'kaum mittelgroße, leibarme Erscheinung'. [DrF, 133] Each figure is also given the sinister air of a vulture: the *Propagandaminister* has a 'Raubvogelprofil', and *Schleppfuß* is 'gehüllt in einen schwarzen Umhang'. [Meph, 41; DrF, 133]

6.1.1.3.2 *Der Ministerpräsident*

Another character in *Mephisto* who may have provided features for a character in *Doktor Faustus* is the *Ministerpräsident*. The figure, Kumpf, in *Doktor Faustus*, bears a striking resemblance to this figure. Modelled on Reichskanzler Göring, the *Ministerpräsident* is fond of the character Mephisto in Goethe's *Faust*. It is Höfgen's performance of this role which leads the *Ministerpräsident* to invite him to his box, at which point the 'pact' is made. Later the *Ministerpräsident* greets Höfgen, now his protégé, with affection: 'Na, wie geht's, Mephisto?' Whenever Höfgen is invited for dinner to the *Ministerpräsident*'s home, his host's preferred topic of conversation is always the figure of Mephistopheles. On one such occasion, he tells Höfgen:

Sie haben mich diesen Kerl erst so richtig verstehen lassen, mein Lieber [...]. Das ist ja ein toller Bursche! Und haben wir nicht alle was von ihm? Ich meine: steckt nicht in jedem rechten Deutschen ein Stück Mephistopheles, ein Stück Schalk und Bösewicht? Wenn wir nichts hätten als die faustische Seele – wo kämen wir denn da hin? Das könnte unseren vielen Feinden so passen! Nein nein der Mephisto, das ist auch ein deutscher Nationalheld. [Meph, 289]

Kumpf, in *Doktor Faustus*, has a similar attitude towards the devil. He believes passionately in his existence, and applies various old-fashioned euphemisms when referring to him, such as *Sankt Velten* and *Meister Klepperlin* which denote his almost affectionate recognition of the devil's presence. [DrF, 131f.]

The *Ministerpräsident* has a powerful, gregarious personality, and likes his pleasures, enjoying good food and wine, his blonde, buxom wife, and the theatre, as a distraction. [Meph, 288f.] Further, he is portrayed as a corpulent figure:

⁵ Zeitblom's suggested hesitancy about this matter is typical of Thomas' narrative method, and actually has the effect throughout the novel of drawing attention to his subject, and underlining its importance.

In den grauen Hosen wirkten seine Beine – die er sonst gerne unter langen Mänteln verbarg – besonders umfangreich: es waren Säulen, auf denen er sich langsam dahinbewegte. Die kolossalische Größe und Breite seiner monströsen Figur waren geeignet, Schrecken und Ehrfurcht um sich zu verbreiten [...]. Der Ministerpräsident schob seinen Bauch, dessen enorme Wölbung in die der Brust übergang, majestätisch durch die [...] Versammlung. [Meph, 47]

Like the *Ministerpräsident*, Kumpf is described as having a very heavy, solid personality, described as *wichtig*. He also likes pleasure, enjoys food and drink, and also has a 'runde Frau'. Further, Kumpf, like the *Ministerpräsident*, enjoys *Kulturgenuß*. [DrF, 128-132] In addition, Kumpf's physical description is similar to that of the *Ministerpräsident*, and is given as follows: 'Wichtig war er schon seiner Physis nach: ein großer, massiger, voller Mann mit gepolltersten Händen, dröhnender Stimme.' [DrF, 128f.]

This examination has pinpointed parallels between *Mephisto* and *Doktor Faustus* which would suggest that Thomas was inspired in writing *Doktor Faustus* by his son's novel. The basic concept of *Doktor Faustus* has been shown to echo that of *Mephisto*: both employ the Faust material in order to illustrate the effects of darker forces, in the context of the Nazi ideology; both use a two-fold allegory, in which the fate of an individual can be seen to be symbolic of that of the nation; and both have a suffering narrator relate these developments. Further, aspects of the characterization of these novels explored above suggest that Thomas was inspired by his son's incorporation of figures modelled on members of the Nazi regime, in order to illustrate these dark forces sweeping over Germany.

6.1.2 *Symphonie Pathétique* and *Doktor Faustus*

One of the principal ways in which *Doktor Faustus* deviates from the original *Faust* story is that its character modelled on Faust is not a scholar, but a composer.

Schneider pointed out this parallel between Klaus' *Symphonie Pathétique* and *Doktor Faustus* in a brief comparison in 1956 [RS, 1112], as did Mayer, in *Thomas Mann* (1980). [HM, 470] However, an in-depth comparison of these two novels has not been undertaken.

Like *Doktor Faustus*, *Symphonie Pathétique* renders a sensitive, sympathetic portrayal of a composer, who is a public figure, but also a sensitive and vulnerable artist. There are further parallels in the characterization, and endings, of these two novels.

6.1.2.1 Nadeshda von Meck

Thomas admitted in *Die Entstehung des Doktor Faustus* (1949) that the figure Frau von Tolna in his novel had been inspired by the real figure, Nadeshda von Meck. [GW, XI, 166] He neglected, however, to mention his son's close portrayal of Nadeshda von Meck in *Symphonie Pathétique*. Gunilla Bergsten has cited the fact of Klaus' portrayal of this figure, in a footnote, but has not elaborated on this. [GB, 83, note 2]

Nadeshda von Meck plays a significant role in Klaus' novel. Not only does she provide security for his existence, as his patroness, but she is described as Tchaikovsky's 'eigentliche, wahre Gattin', and as his 'Wohltäterin, Vertrauteste und die beste Freundin, [...] die große Unbekannte.' [SP, 150f.] Refusing to meet the composer in person, she supports his work from a distance, while maintaining close correspondence, and allows the composer to make use of her residence, in her absence. Thomas' figure, Frau von Tolna, also a wealthy middle-aged woman, echoes that of Klaus in each of these respects. Frau von Meck gives Tchaikovsky a watch, described as his 'Talisman', and 'schönstes Ding', which is precious and of great

importance to the composer. [SP, 16, 149, 152] Frau von Tolna, similarly, gives Leverkühn a ring, and the implication is that this denotes a symbolic betrothal, constituting a further parallel between the two novels. [DrF, 521f.] In both cases, the implication is that, though composer and patroness never meet, but correspond in letters, their knowledge of one another is absolute, perhaps because of this fact, and this also lends an erotic charge to their bond. [See SP, 149-152; DrF, 518-526]

6.1.2.2 Siegfried Neugebauer

Siegfried Neugebauer, Tchaikovsky's agent in *Symphonie Pathétique*, can be considered as a prototype for certain elements of two characters in *Doktor Faustus*: the devil, as he first appears in chapter 25, and Saul Fitelberg, the travelling musical agent, in chapter 37.

A highly persuasive personality, Neugebauer takes it upon himself to make an unannounced visit to Tchaikovsky in his hotel room. Characterized by a sense of omniscience, he is privy to unexpected details about Tchaikovsky's past career, and about his concert dates and travel plans, which disconcerts Tchaikovsky. [SP, 24] Neugebauer's precocious nature is illustrated not only in this unannounced visit, but also in the playfulness of his speech. The following conversation gives an example of his coquettish manner:

[Tchaikovsky:] 'Woher wissen Sie, in welchem Hotel ich wohne? [...] Woher wissen Sie überhaupt, daß ich hier bin?-' 'Ich mußte es doch wissen, um Sie abholen zu können, Meister', antwortete der Agent und lächelte rätselhaft.

'Abholen – wozu?' [...]

'Zum Frühschoppen' [...]

When Tchaikovsky, angered, reminds the agent that he had made very clear to him that he had no intention of attending his *Frühschoppen*, Neugebauer replies: 'Oh, das habe ich doch nicht so ernst genommen [...].' [SP, 19f.]

There are hints at a demonic side to this figure's nature: Tchaikovsky describes him as a 'fataler Mensch', a 'teuflischer Mann', and as 'der würdeloseste Mensch, den ich jemals getroffen habe'. The composer even tells his companions: '[...] ich versichere euch: der Mann hat eine Art von dämonischer Kraft.' [SP, 25, 18, 19, 46] The sense of the association of a demonic aspect with this figure is enhanced in that he returns at the end of the narrative in the figure of the *Empfangschef*, who supplies Tchaikovsky with the glass of cholera-infected tap water which leads to his death. [SP, 381f.]

Neugebauer is clearly a character of questionable nature, but despite Tchaikovsky's repugnance, he is seduced into showing an interest in him: Tchaikovsky watches him 'angewidert, aber mit starkem Interesse', opening up at length about himself to him, unprompted, as if under the spell of some mysterious power: "Aber warum erzähle ich das diesem fremden [...] Menschen?" dachte er plötzlich. "Er macht mich geschwätzig – ich komme mir wie ein geschwätziger alter Onkel vor -" [SP, 25] Further, he finds Neugebauer attractive, commenting on his good figure, and ends up accompanying Neugebauer to a concert, later surprised that he has allowed himself to do so. [SP, 19; 46] This again implies that Neugebauer has demonic powers, and is capable of disarming Tchaikovsky in what is almost a sexual manner.

6.1.2.2.1 Inspiration for the figure of the devil

The devil, as he appears at the beginning of chapter 25 in *Doktor Faustus*, shares many of Neugebauer's attributes. His visit is also uninvited. Further, as with Neugebauer, there is an eerie sense of omniscience associated with this figure; Leverkühn is surprised at his acquaintance with unexpected and private details about himself: 'Ihr sagt lauter Dinge, die in mir sind und aus mir kommen, aber nicht aus Euch. [...] Woher solltet Ihr denn das alles wissen?' [DrF, 300]

Like Neugebauer, the devil has a playfully confident manner, which is illustrated for example when he instructs Leverkühn to fetch his coat, in an allusion to the fires of Hell: 'Du wirst schnattern, mag es auch nicht zum Verkühlen sein.' [DrF, 301] Although Leverkühn's initial reaction at the unexpected entrance of this figure seems to be displeasure, the implication is, as with Tchaikovsky's reception of Neugebauer, that he is secretly rather pleased. When he protests at the devil's presence, the devil mocks him:

Ich: 'Es scheint ja, ich muß hören.'

Er: 'Möchtest darneben auch gern und bist wohl content, daß du hören kannst. Ich glaube sogar, es tanzert dich gar nicht wenig, zu hören, und tätest greinen und grannen mit dir, wenn ichs dir verhielte.' [DrF, 308]

This impression is reinforced when the devil says:

Spiele bitte nicht den Belästigten! Ich habe auch mein Selbstgefühl und weiß, daß ich kein ungebetener Gast bin. [...] Ich weiß, daß du nur deine Affecten bei dir verdruckst und mir mit so viel Vergnügen zuhörst wie das Mägdlein dem Flüsterer in der Kirche. [DrF, 310f., 316]

When the devil informs Leverkühn as to the 'deal' between them, and the implications which this entails for him, the composer does not complain. This confirms the devil's statement that '[...] auf die Disponiertheit, die Bereitschaft, die

Einladung kommt alles an.’ [DrF, 311] The impression that Leverkühn would not have wished to receive a visit from this character is further damaged by his writing: ‘Aber gesehen habe ich ihn doch, endlich, endlich; [...] unerwartet und doch längst erwartet, [...].’ [DrF, 296] As with Tchaikovsky’s visit from Neugebauer, this questions, naturally, the authenticity of Leverkühn’s displeasure at the devil’s visit.

The similarity of the physical portrayal of Neugebauer and the devil in *Doktor Faustus* serves to affirm the suggestion that Thomas was inspired by his son’s character. Neugebauer has red hair and a red beard: ‘Neugebauer war merkwürdig anzusehen. Sein rötliches Haupthaar war schütter [...] sein Bart [...] [war] intensiver rot gefärbt als das Kopfhaar – [...]’. [SP, 23] Similarly, the devil has ‘rötlich Haar von der Schläfe hinauf’, and ‘rötliche Wimpern’. [DrF, 298] Neugebauer’s dress serves to underline his suspect nature: dressed in an exotic manner, he wears a ‘hoh[er] Stehkragen’, a ‘lange[s] gehrockartige[s] Jackett aus dunkelbraunem großkarierten Stoff’. [SP, 19] The devil’s attire serves the same purpose: he is dressed in a similarly unusual fashion, also donning a checked garment: he wears a ‘Sportmütze’, tilted to the side, and ‘über quer gestreiftem Trikothemd eine karierte Jacke [...]’. [DrF, 298] Neugebauer has ‘das Haupt eines schnuppernden Zwergenkönigs’. [SP, 19] The devil also has unattractive facial features, described as ‘käsigt das Gesicht, mit etwas tief abgebogener Nasenspitze’. [DrF, 298]

Further inspiration for Thomas’ devil figure would appear to have been derived from Neugebauer’s speech, which Klaus describes as ‘näselnd’. [SP, 17, 21, 27, 105] Similarly, the devil speaks ‘mit Nasenresonanz’. [DrF, 299f.] Neugebauer speaks like an actor, his rather affected manner allowing him to speak in close succession ‘mit sanfter Stimme’; ‘mit sanftem Vorwurf geölte Stimme’; ‘mit einer schaurigen Koketterie’ and so on. [SP, 17, 20] Similarly, the devil speaks ‘wie

geschult' and 'geübt', and laughs 'ruhig und überzeugend wie ein Schauspieler'.

[DrF, 299f.]

It is significant that the dubious character Siegfried Neugebauer has a German name, and that he shares the forename of Wagner's most well-known hero, in *Die Walküre*. Indeed Tchaikovsky comments that he has always imagined Wagner's Siegfried to look like Neugebauer. [SP, 47] This corresponds to a tendency throughout Klaus' writings of the thirties and forties to associate Germanness with sinister forces. This association is also applied by Thomas to the devil in *Doktor Faustus* who, like Neugebauer, can be seen as an embodiment of the German Question. He is characterized as feeling most at home in the German domain, suggesting an association of the demonic with Germany, referring to his 'kerndeutsch[e] Popularität' [DrF, 301], and demanding:

Sprich nur deutsch! Nur fein altdeutsch mit der Sprache heraus, ohn einige Bemäntelung und Gleisneri. Ich versteh es. Ist grad recht meine Liebblingssprache. Manchmal versteh ich überhaupt nur deutsch. [DrF, 298; see also DrF, 302]

6.1.2.2 Inspiration for Saul Fitelberg

Saul Fitelberg bears a strong similarity to Neugebauer, too. Like Neugebauer, he is an agent, and an enterprising opportunist who wishes to have a stake in a composer's success. He shares Neugebauer's precocious manner, taking it upon himself to visit Leverkühn's isolated home in the country without invitation. He also knows details about Leverkühn, such as that his birth-place is Kaisersaschern, which is unnerving. [DrF, 536] As with Neugebauer, there is a demonic aspect to this figure. He frequently changes to speaking in French whenever he wishes to assure his audience that he is telling the truth, which actually has the effect of rendering his statements more suspect. [See particularly DrF, 530, also 527-542] Like Neugebauer, Fitelberg is dressed flamboyantly, and somewhat bizarrely: 'Gekleidet war er sommerlich elegant,

in einen aus Taille gearbeiteten, bläulich gestreiften Flannelanzug, zu dem er Schuhe aus Leinen und gelbem Leder trug.' [DrF, 529]⁶

This examination has demonstrated the existence of considerable parallels between *Symphonie Pathétique* and *Doktor Faustus*. Both novels portray the life of a composer in sympathetic, sensitive terms; and parallels have been demonstrated in the characterization of these novels. It is worth noting that the endings of these novels parallel one another, too: at the end of *Symphonie Pathétique*, Tchaikovsky is deranged and confused, lying helplessly in a pile of his own excrement [SP, 388] and a visit of friends and family to his death bed takes on the impression of a 'festliche[r] Empfang'. [SP, 395] His face is distorted. [SP, 387] The call of the mother has been important throughout the last days of the composer, and towards the end he confuses his mother with death, and with a black angel. [SP, 394] The way in which the end of the life of Leverkühn is portrayed parallels all of the important aspects of this. (Compare SP, 384-399 with DrF, Chapters 46-48.)

6.1.3 *The Other Germany and Doktor Faustus*

Mephisto is not the only writing of Klaus' which can be seen to have anticipated the employment of the Faust legend in the survey of developments in Germany in *Doktor Faustus*. *The Other Germany*, written by Klaus and Erika, examines the roots of Nazi Germany, and the legacy of Goethe and Luther is deemed to be of a more questionable nature than first appearances would imply. [OG, 35ff.] The middle classes are held to account for their failure to prevent the Nazi dictatorship. Klaus refers to the Faust legend, stating that he appreciates the appeal of the Faust material

⁶ As mentioned, Neugebauer can be regarded as an embodiment of the German question. Saul Fitelberg can, in turn, be interpreted as a counterpart to Klaus' figure, in that he is an embodiment not of German elements, but of Jewish ones: Fitelberg is an ironic characterisation of the parasitic 'Wandering Jew'.

as an explanation of these developments: ‘There is always the feeling that there must be some secret key to the nation which causes so much trouble to other nations.’ [OG, 26] Admitting the suitability of this story as a symbol for the German soul, he writes:

We constitute an arresting problem: for we [embody] the rebellious insatiableness of Faust – the doctor-magician who bore ‘two souls within his breast’ – one of them manifesting itself in the guise of Mephistopheles. Yes, we too have demonic traits. [...] we are strange and sinister beyond all measure!’ There is more than a grain of truth in this confession [...]. [OG, 32]

The Other Germany features two characters who anticipate significant aspects of the narrator, Zeitblom, in *Doktor Faustus*.

6.1.3.1 Studienrat X

The following examination will demonstrate that it would not be inappropriate to describe Studienrat X, in *The Other Germany*, as an embryonic form of Zeitblom. Studienrat X is introduced into *The Other Germany* in order to facilitate an explanation as to how the Nazis were permitted to rise to power in Germany; he embodies the guilt of the middle classes in helping to bring about this state of affairs, and the failure of the intellectuals to stop Hitler. Thus he anticipates the ideas expressed by the members of the Kridwiss circle, in *Doktor Faustus*. More significantly, however, he serves as a precedent to the portrayal of the narrator, Zeitblom.

Studienrat X, a philologist and teacher, is described as ‘a typical representative of [...] blind and worthy German officialdom and bourgeoisie’. [OG, 85] He is suspended two years after Hitler’s rise to power for his unwillingness to cooperate with the Nazi regime. [OG, 220f.] Following his dismissal, he is supported by his

[DrF, 530] It is worth noting that it was Klaus who gave Thomas a well-founded warning that he was laying himself open to accusations of anti-Semitism in this chapter. [See TMD, VII, 31]

wife. Studienrat X has a son who fights with the Nazi Storm Troops. [OG, 89, 92] Nazism has taken its toll on this family, and his wife is forced to deny that their soldier son, when he is murdered as one of Röhm's soldiers, was fathered by Studienrat X, in order to save her husband's reputation. [OG, 220f.]

The figure Zeitblom in *Doktor Faustus* is similar to Studienrat X in every one of his features. He, too, is a philologist and teacher, and a typical representative of German bourgeoisie. Like Studienrat X, he resigns due to his unwillingness to comply with the Nazi regime, with the implication being that he is then also supported by his wife. Further, like Studienrat X, Zeitblom has an estranged son who becomes a Nazi soldier. Nazism has taken its toll on this family, too: things have come so far that Zeitblom is afraid of being denounced to the Nazis by his own sons. [DrF, 45f.]

Studienrat X, although a humanist, fails to change the course of events through his actions. He regards himself as an educator, but deserts his pupils when their need of him is greatest. Further he fails to educate even his own son, unable to stop him entrusting his services to the Nazi regime. The bumbling, middle-aged Zeitblom resembles Studienrat X in each of these respects.

Studienrat X and Zeitblom are illustrative of the need felt by Klaus and his father to use a *type* in order to illustrate certain beliefs. One of the most well known types used by Thomas is that of the 'Zivilisationsliterat' in *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*. In *Die Entstehung des Doktor Faustus*, Thomas admits that his employment of the fictional narrator Zeitblom was in part to relieve himself of the burden of responsibility for the events related and to free himself from their being associated with his person. [GW, XI, 164]

6.1.3.2 The 'Neutral Observer'

The figure of the 'neutral observer' is another such type, whom Klaus urges us to 'try [...] to imagine'. [OG, 148] Thomas' narrative method, and his portrayal of Zeitblom, show signs of the influence of this character. The 'neutral observer' has come to Germany, a country which he loves, and sits down on the day of Hitler's being made *Reichskanzler* to write his reflections on the course of events in Germany's history (with which he is well acquainted) leading up to this day. During his reflections, this normally highly-composed figure loses his composure, experiencing sharp pains in his stomach and contractions of his heart. Further, Klaus writes: '[...] his fountain-pen dropped from his grasp. His hands trembled so much that he was unable for some time to continue writing.' [OG, 153, 158]

It is significant that Zeitblom also suffers physical discomfort on reflecting on similar material, and also has difficulty holding his pen: when describing Leverkühn's visit to the brothel, which can be interpreted as paradigmatic of Germany's infestation, not with syphilis, but with the dark forces of fascism, he experiences a 'leises Sichzusammenziehen meines Inneren', and frequent references are made along the lines of 'wohl zittert die Hand mir beim Schreiben.' [DrF, 195; 205; 280; 296; 334; 503; 656]

The 'neutral observer' is a rational, unadventurous figure who would not stand out in a crowd. He is devoted to his neutral standpoint, and once gave up a job in diplomacy for this very reason. He has a plain-faced girlfriend in Paris, and the relationship seems to be one based on the wish for harmony, lacking in passion. [OG, 148-185] In all of these respects he can be seen to have acted as a source of influence for the portrayal of Zeitblom: Zeitblom is also a rational and cautious figure who has also resigned for the sake of maintaining his neutrality, in his case from an

undesirable regime. Just as the 'neutral observer' goes on extended travels while his equally uninspiring girlfriend lives in Paris, Zeitblom rarely feels the urge to spend time with his wife, whom he describes as at best plain, confessing that he married her in order to achieve a sense of order. [DrF, 18]

Thus *The Other Germany* has been demonstrated to have anticipated important elements of *Doktor Faustus*: the survey of German's history, with a bid to shedding light on the reasons for the development of National Socialism; reference to figures from Germany's past in passages with a mediaeval, antiquated feel in the course of this survey, and the employment of the idea of Faust legend in connection with the German Question and National Socialism. Further, the two figures Studienrat X and the 'neutral observer' have been demonstrated to have anticipated important elements of the make-up of the narrator Zeitblom, in *Doktor Faustus*.

6.1.4 *Vergittertes Fenster* and *Doktor Faustus*

Bergsten has made brief reference to Thomas' appropriation of some of the details from Klaus' novella *Vergittertes Fenster* (1937) into *Doktor Faustus*. [GB, 21f.] Zeitblom's description of Leverkühn's attempt to drown himself in the postscript to *Doktor Faustus* has clearly been inspired by the description in *Vergittertes Fenster* of King Ludwig II's suicide. [Compare VF, 257-260 and DrF, 672f.] Details featured in *Vergittertes Fenster*, such as the missing door handles, are repeated in *Doktor Faustus*, and the title of Klaus' novella is even mentioned during Zeitblom's lengthy retort. [VG, 14, 52; DrF, 573] The repeated juxtaposition of 'die Wissenschaft der Staat' [VG, 215, 216, 222], and 'Medizin und Politik' [DrF, 571], with the interests of the monarch, vouches for Thomas' close knowledge of Klaus' text, as do references to the servants and laypersons who sympathize with Ludwig (their views mirrored by

‘Mutter Schweigestill’) and who would be prepared to go into revolution in order to defend him. [VG, 215, 217; DrF, 570f.].

These examinations have demonstrated considerable parallels between writings of Klaus, from the 1930s and 1940s, and *Doktor Faustus*.

The following examinations discuss similarities between structure of certain intrusions in these same writings of Klaus’, and intrusions in *Doktor Faustus*; the ways in which three motifs, employed by Klaus to suggest an abandonment to demonic forces, are echoed in Thomas’ novel; and Thomas’ borrowing of names from Klaus’ writings.

6.1.5 Structure: Three Intrusions

Parallels between Klaus’ characters and two of Thomas’ *Doktor Faustus* figures, the devil, and Saul Fitelberg, were considered above. It is also worth noting that the structure of the entrance of these two figures parallels aspects of three comparable scenes in the writings of Klaus: the intrusions of the *Fassadenkletterer* at the end of *Mephisto*; of the the agent, Neugebauer, in *Symphonie Pathétique* (introduced above) and that of the implied entrance of some demonic spirit in *The Other Germany*. In each of these passages, a character is alone, in private contemplation, when he is disturbed by the harbinger of a threat.

At the end of *Mephisto*, Höfgen is alone in his study, when he feels a shiver: ‘Hendrik fröstelte, er zog sich den seidenen Schlafrock über der Brust zusammen.’ [Meph, 390] Sitting with his eyes closed, reflecting on his situation, he is shocked to hear ‘eine rauhe Stimme’ call: ‘Holla! Herr Intendant!’ A character dressed in working-class clothes has climbed up the outside of the building to his window. Höfgen considers for a moment whether this could be a vision. This character has

come to threaten the established *Staatsintendant* that the communists will take their revenge for the murder of one of their comrades, a former friend of Höfgen's. (Höfgen has failed to persuade his protector to prevent the murder of this former friend). Höfgen has presumed this affair to be forgotten, and the fact that his visitor possesses this knowledge constitutes a potential threat for him. This character also warns the Nazi protégé Höfgen that his life will not be as comfortable as it is at present, following the dissolution of the present regime. [Meph, 390-395]

In the Neugebauer scene in *Symphonie Pathétique*, Tchaikovsky is busy, again in a private moment, grooming himself at the mirror, when he is disturbed by Neugebauer. As illustrated above, there is a demonic, threatening aspect to Neugebauer's nature. He also constitutes a real threat to Tchaikovsky's career, constantly announcing concerts and arranging meetings for Tchaikovsky at the wrong times, in the wrong places, and thus hampering Tchaikovsky's relations with important members of the music world. [SP, 27f.]

In *The Other Germany*, the 'neutral observer' is sitting alone in his hotel room in Munich on the day on which Hitler has come to power. Busy in private contemplation, the neutral observer 'rises in sudden fright, seized by an abrupt fear as though by a cold hand. He quickly walks across the room to close the window'. While the Nazi youths sing gruesome anti-Semitic songs in the streets outside, Mann writes: '[...] again the neutral felt, more vehemently than before, an icy, horrible fright which manifested itself as a sharp pain in the region of his stomach and a sudden contraction of the heart.' [OG, 152, 158]

It is likely that these pieces of Klaus' writings have borne influence on the writing of chapter 25, and to some extent on chapter 37, of *Doktor Faustus*. Like the characters discussed above, Leverkühn is alone, in this case reading, when he is at

once aware of a chill in the air. He then looks up to notice that he is not alone. Like Höfgen, Leverkühn thinks at first that he is merely seeing a vision. Further, as in Klaus' three writings discussed above, the intruder, in this case the devil, has come to deliver a message with threatening implications.

In chapter 37 of *Doktor Faustus*, Saul Fitelberg arrives at 'Haus Schweigestill' unannounced. Again Leverkühn is not given any choice but to receive his visitor. Just as Neugebauer intrudes on Tchaikovsky's privacy, coming to inform him of (unwanted) meetings which he has arranged for him with society members, so Fitelberg has come on a potentially threatening mission: to persuade Leverkühn to abandon his solitary lifestyle and step out into society.

6.1.6 Symbols and Motifs

Some of the key themes and motifs employed by Klaus to suggest demonic forces are echoed in *Doktor Faustus*. These motifs are: the colour red, an icy coldness, and laughter. While it would be ill-advised to suggest that Klaus was the only writer to have used such motifs before his father,⁷ Thomas himself even having used some of these motifs on prior occasions (the colour red, in description of the mysterious graveyard-figure at the beginning of *Der Tod in Venedig*, for example), the similar employment of these motifs in order to suggest the same dubious, diabolical forces in Klaus' writings and *Doktor Faustus* has never before been considered, and is worth exploring.

⁷ The motif of the colour red has been used, for example, by Kleist, and Nestroy.

6.1.6.1 the colour red

Klaus employs the motif of the colour red to denote that a figure has demonic qualities, red calling to mind as it does the fires of Hell. In *Mephisto*, the *Fassadenkletterer* who threatens Höfgen in chapter 10 has a thick red beard; red eyebrows; red eyelashes and red skin. [Meph, 391f.] The agent, Neugebauer, in *Symphonie Pathétique*, has red hair and a red beard. [SP, 18]

Thomas echoes his son's use of red facial hair to denote demonic qualities in his portrayal of the devil, who has 'rötlich Haar von der Schläfe hinauf' and 'rötliche Wimpern'. [DrF, 298] Similar use of the colour red as a signal of demonic qualities is made in the portrayal of the *Dienstmann* who leads Leverkühn to the brothel, this figure characterized as donning a 'rote Mütze'. [DrF, 189]

Klaus' description of Höfgen's laughter includes the following phrase: 'Wangen und Stirne waren hektisch gerötet'. [Meph, 71] Thomas *repeats* the key elements of this phrase in reference to Germany, in *Doktor Faustus*: 'Deutschland, *die Wangen hektisch gerötet*, taumelte dazumal auf der Höhe wüster Triumphe, im Begriffe, die Welt zu gewinnen [...].' [DrF, 676] In both of these cases, the reddened cheeks imply an association with harmful demonic, or sexual, forces.⁸

6.1.6.2 icy coldness

Klaus employs the motif of coldness to suggest a threatening, or demonic, presence: As mentioned above, the *Propagandaminister* in *Mephisto* exudes a chill, for example: 'Eine eisige Luft schien zu wehen, wo er vorbeiging.' [Meph, 41] Further, Höfgen feels a sudden chill before the entrance of the threatening *Fassadenkletterer*.

⁸ See also the repeated reference to Affa's 'festlich erlützten Wangen'. [KdZ, 56-64; here 57] Affa is portrayed as the embodiment of 'das böse Prinzip' [KdZ, 64, my italics], her 'blitzen[den] [...] grünen Augen' compounding this effect. [KdZ, 57]

The neutral observer feels a chill, too, on the day of Hitler's rise to power, again implying the proximity of a demonic power. In *Symphonie Pathétique*, coldness has demonic associations and as such is also regarded as a German trait, associated with an over-concentration on the cerebral, and neglect of true feeling. Tchaikovsky says about Brahms, who is portrayed in the novel as the representative German composer:

[...] ich finde in der Musik Ihres Meisters etwas Trockenes, Kaltes, Nebelhaftes und Abstoßendes. Es ist in allem, was er macht, eine Neigung zum Bodenlosen, die mich abstößt. [...] Mir wird in meinem Herzen nicht warm, wenn ich diese Musik höre, im Gegenteil, ich fühle mich recht frostig angeweht, ja: es friert mich. [...] Ist dieser deutsche Meister wirklich so tief [...]? Oder kokettiert er nur mit der Tiefe, um die erschreckende Armut und Trockenheit seiner Phantasie zu verbergen? [SP, 55f.]

(This passage also constitutes a critical reference to Thomas' writings, as has been discussed previously.)

In *Doktor Faustus*, coldness is also used in association with a demonic presence: in chapter 25, the devil exudes such a chill that Leverkühn is forced to fetch his thick winter coat. The devil instructs Leverkühn: 'Liebe ist dir verboten, insofern sie wärmt. Dein Leben soll *kalt* sein – darum darfst du keinen Menschen lieben. [...] *Kalt* wollen wir dich!' [DrF, 332f., my italics] In addition, Leverkühn's music, with its concentration on rigid structures, could be regarded as sharing the *coldness* of that of Brahms, as described above.

6.1.6.3 laughter

Chapter 2 demonstrated that laughter is an important motif in the writings of Klaus; this was demonstrated particularly with regard to the narrative *Der Vater lacht*. This motif is employed by Klaus with three intentions: to denote the cold, threatening aspect of a figure's personality; to insinuate possession by dubious, undesirable,

dangerous, or demonic forces and, at times alongside the above, to suggest an abandonment to sexuality; and sexual promiscuity.

Höfgen's smile reflects his emotional coldness and falseness: it is described as 'ein erfrorenes, vieldeutiges, zugleich höhnisches und um Mitleid werbendes Lächeln'. His convulsive laughter and reddened cheeks suggest his sexual promiscuity, and imply that he is at the mercy of some undesirable force: 'Wangen und Stirne waren hektisch gerötet. [...] das nervöse Lachen, das ihn schüttelte [...]. Das Lachen beutelte ihn, sein Gesicht wurde immer röter.' [Meph, 71f.]

The laughter of the *Fassadenkletterer* at the end of *Mephisto* highlights the threatening nature of this figure: 'Das kurze Gelächter [...] hatte einen recht schaurigen Klang. [...]. Der Besucher hatte wieder das schaurig-aufgeräumte kurze Gelächter.' [Meph, 391, 393]

Laughter is also employed on a wider scale as a kind of gauge to the atmosphere of society under Nazi rule:

Hier haben die Gelächter etwas Höhnisches und etwas verzweifeltes; etwas Freches, Provokantes, und dabei etwas Hoffnungsloses, schauerlich Trauriges. So lacht doch Niemand, der sich wohl fühlt in seiner Haut. So lachen doch Männer und Frauen nicht, die ein anständiges, vernünftiges Leben führen... [Meph, 33]

There is much in Thomas' use of the motif of laughter in *Doktor Faustus* to suggest that he was inspired by its use in *Mephisto*. Like Höfgen, Leverkühn has a cold laugh, reflecting the coldness of his personality. Zeitblom describes this as follows:

Es war ein leises Ausstoßen der Luft durch Mund und Nase bei gleichzeitigem Zurückwerfen des Kopfes, knapp, kühl, ja geringschätzig, oder höchstens so, als wollte er sagen: 'Gut das, drollig, kurios, amüsant!' – Aber seine Augen merkten eigentümlich auf dabei, suchten im Fernen, und ihre metallisch gesprenkelte Dämmerung verschattete sich tiefer. [DrF, 43f.]

Further, laughter is employed in *Mephisto* to denote sexual promiscuity. Zeitblom appears to feel threatened by Leverkühn's laughter, hinting at his unease regarding the homosexual relationship implied between Leverkühn and Rüdiger Schildknapp when he informs the reader: 'immer habe ich Adrians *Neigung zum Lachen* gefürchtet, der ich, anders als Rüdiger Schildknapp, stets schlecht zu sekundieren wußte'. [DrF, 501, my italics] This association of laughter and questionable sexual encounters is further given when Leverkühn refers to Schildknapp as 'mein Kumpan [...], mit dem ich *lache*'. [DrF, 297, my italics]⁹ Thomas' employment of the motif of laughter to denote orgiastic sexuality on the part of Leverkühn is similar to that of Klaus' in the ending of *Der Vater lacht*, as can be seen in the following passage:

Seine Neigung zum Lachen, ja zum Tränen-Lachen habe ich schon früher zu bemerken gegeben, und ich hätte ein falsches Bild von ihm vermittelt, wenn der Leser solche Ausgelassenheit nicht mit seinem Charakter zu vereinigen wüßte. Von Humor möchte ich nicht sprechen [...] Seine *Lachlust* schien vielmehr eine Art von Zuflucht und eine leicht *orgiastische*, mir niemals ganz liebe und geheure Auflösung der Lebensstrenge, [...]. [DrF, 115, my italics]

The employment of these motifs will be discussed further in a closer examination of the protagonist of Thomas' novel, later in this chapter. In order to introduce that material, the narrative perspectives of Mephisto and Doktor Faustus are examined, briefly.

6.1.7 Narrative Perspective

Mephisto has a third person narrator who enters the narrative at important points of the political development in Germany, which coincide with important points in the career of Höfgen. This is most obvious in the seventh chapter of *Mephisto*, entitled

⁹ Of course the implication is that, in the title of Klaus' narrative, as well as in Leverkühn's statement, the word *laughter* could be exchanged for 'has/have sex', thus 'Der Vater *hat Verkehr*'; and 'mein

'Der Pakt mit dem Teufel'. This chapter begins with a dramatic lament about the situation in Germany, in the tone almost of a market crier in earlier times: 'Wehe, der Himmel über diesem Land ist finster geworden. [...] Wehe, dieses Land ist beschmutzt, [...] Wehe, die apokalyptischen Reiter sind unterwegs, [...].' [Meph, 240] In this same chapter, Höfgen goes on to make his 'pact' with the Nazi regime. Further, in chapter 9, entitled 'In vielen Städten', the heights of the (false) success of the Nazi regime are proclaimed. This chapter then gives a portrayal of the (false) artistic success of Höfgen under this regime. This also recalls the 'neutral observer' in *The Other Germany* who can hear Nazi youths singing violent anti-Semitic songs outside while he writes.

Similarly in *Doktor Faustus*, Thomas' timescale is calculated so that events in the life of Leverkühn correspond to the 'real' events surrounding Zeitblom as he writes.

The narrative technique employed by Klaus, and in turn by his father, has the effect of underlining the allegorical aspects of all three of these writings. Not only is the fate of the protagonist (in *Mephisto* and *Doktor Faustus*) illustrative of that of a nation, but the fate of this nation affects and runs parallel to, in turn, the feelings of the narrator, more obviously in *The Other Germany* and *Doktor Faustus* (see above) but also to an extent in *Mephisto*. This narrator has the dual effect of making the developments described appear more tangible, but at the same time keeping these at a safe distance, in that they are filtered through the eyes of the narrator.

One of the distinctive qualities of the characterization of *Doktor Faustus* is the perspective given of the central character. This has incited the discovery of a hitherto undiscovered source, discussed below.

6.2 An undiscovered Source

Despite that scholars have considered at length in various studies the sources for *Doktor Faustus* (notably Bergsten, and Voss), a significant source of characteristics for the protagonist of the novel has remained undetected. Most of the pointers to this source are to be found within Thomas' 1918-1921 diaries. The general consensus is that these diaries were preserved for the writing of *Doktor Faustus*,¹⁰ but literary scholarship has left undetected significant clues given in these diaries regarding an undiscovered source for the main figure, Leverkühn. In the following it will be argued that Klaus himself stood as a model for significant aspects of the character of Leverkühn.

One of the most important diary entries regarding Klaus was that which expressed Thomas' concern regarding his son's existence. That entry read:

Gestern Abend bemerkte ich durch die verschlossene Glastür der Kinderwohnung Licht, [...]. Es zeigte sich, daß Eissi bei beleuchtetem Zimmer und phantastisch entblößt in seinem Bette lag. Er wußte auf Fragen keine Antwort zu geben. Pubertätsspiele oder Neigung zu schlafwandlerischen Handlungen, die wir schon in Tegernsee wahrnahmen? Vielleicht beides in einem. Wie wird das Leben des Jungen sich gestalten? Jemand wie ich 'sollte' selbstverständlich keine Kinder in die Welt setzen. Aber dies Sollte verdient seine Anführungsstriche. Was lebt, will nicht nur sich selbst, weil es lebt, sondern *hat* auch sich selbst gewollt, *denn* es lebt. [TMD, I, 10, 20.9.1918]

The way Zeitblom looks on the life of Leverkühn is comparable to the way in which this father looks on the life of his son: both onlookers suggest a mixture of feelings of concern, and fascination bordering on attraction, but there is also the sense that the person in view is somehow doomed; and that person is also associated with untempered sexuality. That Zeitblom observes Leverkühn as would a concerned

¹⁰ See de Mendelssohn, TMD, I, vi; Inge and Walter Jens, TMHB, 721, and Heftrich, 105.

parent is suggested as various points in the narrative of *Doktor Faustus*. Following the brothel-scene, Zeitblom states:

Hier lasse ich einen Brief folgen, den ich zwei Monate nach meinem Dienstantritt in Naumburg von [Adrian] erhielt, und den ich mit Empfindungen las, wie sie wohl eine Mutter bei solchen Mitteilungen eines Kindes bewegen mögen, - nur daß man freilich einer Mutter dergleichen schicklich vorenthält. [DrF, 185]

The examination of the 1918-1921 diaries in Chapter 3 established a connection between writing, and sexuality. A further entry describes Thomas' concern, having discovered that his son has sneaked into his study to read Wedekind. [TMD, I, 405, 23.3.1920] The Mann children were not permitted to enter their father's study, in which all of his books were shelved, a rule which has the effect of treating literature as something reserved for adults. Chapter 3 demonstrated that Thomas felt uneasy about his son's first writing attempts, and tried to persuade him against this, clearly regarding this activity as one of a questionable nature for a boy of his age. These factors have the result of implying an association of writing with sexuality. Similarly, throughout *Doktor Faustus*, music is associated with sexual activities, and correspondingly also with the adult world. The implication of a key scene in which Zeitblom discovers Leverkühn practising secretly on the harmonium can be read as an association of music with masturbation. Thus when Zeitblom catches Leverkühn red-handed as it were, 'musizier[end]' (with a remote acoustic suggestion of onanieren), his reaction is 'beschämend und ängstlich':

Warum war ich mehr als überrascht, nämlich bewegt und auch ein wenig erschrocken? Er hatte erhitzte Wangen, wie er sie bei Schulaufgaben niemals [...] bekam. Daß er, wenn er sich ohne Zeugen glaubte, musikalisch laborierte [again there are connotations of 'onanierte'] wußte ich nun, und bei dem *exponierten Standort des Instruments* konnte das auch nicht lange Geheimnis bleiben. [DrF, 66f., my italics]¹¹

¹¹ See also the comic scene immediately following this, when Leverkühn's uncle discovers his new activity: 'Wende nicht Unschuld vor! Du musizierst ja. [...] Macht es dir Spaß? [...] Wir wollen die

The *double entendre* of the description of the *Instrument*'s situation underlines the idea of an association with masturbation. Zeitblom's reaction is reminiscent of Thomas' reaction on witnessing by accident the adolescent Klaus' 'Pubertätsspiele oder Neigung zu schlafwandlerischen Handlungen', in the diary entry cited above, suggesting that Thomas had this in mind when writing this passage. Thomas' advice to his son to limit his writing to a *Vor- und Fingerübung*, suggests further that an association of writing with sexual undertakings in Thomas' observations of his son in these diaries inspired the association of music with sexuality in his novel.

Zeitblom's feelings about his friend's decision to turn his back on theology and commit himself to music echo, further, the feelings expressed in Thomas' diary regarding his son's writing career. Zeitblom states:

Das war ein bedeutender, für mein Gefühl eigentümlich verhängnishaft geprägter Entschluß, der, gewissermaßen unter Annullierung der Zwischenzeit, an weit zurückliegende Augenblicke unseres gemeinsamen Lebens wieder anknüpfte, deren Andenken ich im Herzen trug: an die Stunde, wo ich den Knaben am Harmonium seines Onkels experimentierend betroffen hatte [...]. Mir erhob er freudig das Herz, dieser Entschluß, - und preßte es zugleich zusammen. Ich kann das Gefühl nur dem Leibziehen vergleichen, das man als Kind auf der sehr hoch ausschwingenden Schaukel erprobt, und in dem Jauchzen und Beklemmung des Fluges sich mischen. [DrF, 184f.]

This points back to the Harmonium/Pubertätsspiele scene/diary entry referred to above, further treating entering a writing – or musical career as something potentially threatening and dubious, as if Leverkühn or Klaus were abandoning himself to untempered sexuality. When Leverkühn and Zeitblom part ways, Zeitblom expresses his concern:

alte Kommode [...] zu dir hinauf ins Zimmer stellen. Dann ist sie dir *zur Hand, wann immer du Lust hast.*' [DrF, 67, my italics]

Erst jetzt, so schien es mir, lösten sich unsere Existenzen voneinander ab, begann für jeden von uns das Leben auf den eigenen zwei Beinen, und ein Ende sollte es haben mit dem, was mir doch so notwendig (wenn auch zwecklos) erschien [...]: nicht mehr sollte ich wissen, was er tat und erfuhr, nicht mehr mich neben ihm halten können, um auf ihn acht-, ein unverwandtes Auge auf ihn zu haben, sondern mußte ihm von der Seite gehen gerade in dem Augenblick, wo mir die Beobachtung seines Lebens, obgleich sie gewiß an diesem nichts ändern konnte, am allerwünschenswertesten schien, nämlich wo er die gelehrte Laufbahn verließ, 'die Heilige Schrift unter die Bank legte', [...] und sich ganz der Musik in die Arme warf. [DrF, 184]

It is interesting that Zeitblom perceives this point as a parting of ways and as the end of an era for himself and his friend. At the time of writing *Doktor Faustus*, Thomas had no more diaries from the time between 1921 and 1933, and so in a way these diaries constitute an era in themselves for the father-son relationship, as was also suggested in Chapter 3.

A later diary entry, from 1936 reads: 'Erregung durch eine *versehentlich geöffnete* amoureuse *Briefkarte* an Klaus aus Paris. Zu *empfindlich* immer noch in diesen Dingen.' [TMD, 3, 233, 1.1.1936, my italics] The sense that Klaus has already given himself over to the dangerous artistic career, and thus to untempered sexuality, is echoed the passage, cited above equating the feelings of Zeitblom with that of a parent, which follows shortly after the passage quoted immediately above. Zeitblom writes:

Hier lasse ich einen *Brief* folgen, den ich zwei Monate nach meinem Dienstantritt in Naumburg von ihm erhielt, und den ich mit *Empfindungen* las, wie sie wohl eine Mutter bei solchen Mitteilungen eines Kindes bewegen mögen, - nur daß man freilich einer Mutter dergleichen *schicklich vorenthält*. [DrF, 185, my italics]

A close look at Thomas' 1918-1921 diaries establishes that 'Eissi' (Klaus) can be seen to have inspired further key aspects of the characterisation of Leverkühn, related to those aspects of the Zeitblom-Leverkühn / Thomas-Klaus experience discussed above. Klaus embodies the characteristics of the dangerous, depraved, diabolical, and

irresistible seducer. In the entry describing Thomas' discovery of his son's implied masturbation, Klaus inspires Leverkühn's untempered sexuality, and immorality. [TMD, I, 10: 20.9.1918] There is a sense of danger in the attraction exerted by Klaus, who is described as '*erschreckend* hübsch' [TMD, I, 454f., 25.7.1920, my italics], and whose naked body brings his father to feel 'Erschütterung'. [TMD, I, 470, 17.10.1920] Some of Thomas' diary observations regarding his son, cited in Chapter 3, implied that he looked on his son with disrespect, and saw him as a depraved, immoral individual. ('Der Junge moralisch und selbstkritisch nicht recht intakt'; 'eine kranke Literaten-Existenz, angezogen von allem Faulen'. [TMD, IV, 72, 7.6.1937; IX, 220, 27.5.1952] Thus Klaus can be considered as an anticipator of characteristics of Leverkühn. Further, the three symbols referred to above, laughter, coldness and the colour red, which introduce demonic, dangerous themes into the writings of Klaus, and *Doktor Faustus*, can be seen to bear a relation to Klaus, as illustrated below.

6.2.1 Laughter

A key motif of Leverkühn's abandonment to detrimental, destructive forces is that of the association of laughter with this figure. A study of the 1918-1921 volume of Thomas' diaries reveals that Klaus was, of all the Mann children, the one most given to outbursts of laughter which were on occasions uncontrollable. The references to Klaus' laughter suggest implicitly his abandonment to dubious, or destructive, forces.

This is illustrated in the following excerpt:

Mein 44. Geburtstag. [...] Das Abendessen sehr heiter. [...] K. und die Kinder in guten Kleidern. Klaus in sehr knappem, ausgewachsenem Anzug, bekam Lachkrampf beim Gespräch über eine 17jährige, die schon ein Kind habe. Ob sie noch zur Schule gehe, fragte ich. Nein, sie sei ausgetreten. Weil sie ein Kind bekommen habe? Da gab sich Klaus seinen Wein von sich. [TMD, I, 258f., 6.6.1919]

Here Klaus' outburst of laughter is caused by a subject which is of a sexual nature, and it is something which is taboo, and potentially degrading. On another occasion, Thomas notes: 'Die Marcks – Nichte [...]. Eissi bei Tisch mit ihr sehr ausgelassen, unter Einwirkung des Sekts.' [TMD, I, 443, 6.6.1920] Klaus, in a drunken delirium, is out of control with a young woman, and the suggested potential for untempered sexuality and moral depravity again preempt elements of Leverkühn's character. When Klaus buys tickets for himself for the first time, it is in order to attend a *comical* performance [TMD, I, 374, 15.2.1920] and shortly after this he attends a '*lustige[r]* Vortragsabend'. [TMD, I, 433, 7.5.1920, my italics] Further, Thomas notes the 'Gelächter Eissi's über die komischen Dinge im "Eisenbahnunglück"'. [TMD, I, 368: 18.1.1920] Klaus' appreciation for the humour of the potentially tragic again points to the working of Leverkühn's mind. Laughter is a motif employed by Thomas to signify an abandonment to detrimental, bestial forces in the characterisation of Leverkühn.

6.2.2 The Colour Red

The colour red features in the diaries in association with Klaus and literature: 'Mittags kam man darauf, daß die beiden älteren Kinder in die Vorlesung gehen könnten. Eissi wurde *rot* vor Freude.' [TMD, I, 180, 29.3.1919, my italics] On sneaking into his father's study to read Wedekind, Klaus confesses that his cheeks were '*gerötet* vom Gefühl, das Böseste zu treiben' [KdZ, 110, my italics]. The colour red is employed in *Doktor Faustus* in order to suggest sexual arousal and degenerate forces. When Leverkühn practices on his *Instrument*, his cheeks are described as reddened as they would never be during homework. [DrF, 66] Germany, further, has reddened cheeks, succumbing to a delirious ecstasy as she approaches world domination. [DrF, 676]

6.2.3 An Icy Coldness

1918-1921 is the only surviving diary volume in which Thomas refers to his son almost exclusively as *Eissi*.¹² An obvious connection exists between this pet name and the word *Eis*. Given Thomas' tendency to concentrate on the phonetic nature of names, [See TMD, I, ix] it would appear that this connection cannot have escaped him. Further, a haughty coldness, and an absence of love, can be detected on the part of the young Klaus:

Klaus führt ein Tagebuch, worin er sich einerseits vormacht, über Eisners Tod geweint zu haben, andererseits sein Verhältnis zum Bruder Golo analysiert und *erörtert, ob er ihn liebt* – [...]. Gestern Abend erschütterndes Vorkommnis mit K. Sie hatte Klaus' Tagebuch offen liegend gefunden und gelesen. Ohne gerade eigentlich Schlechtigkeit zu offenbaren, zeugt es von so *ungesunder Kälte*, Undankbarkeit, *Liebllosigkeit*, Verlogenheit, abgesehen von den literarisch-radikalistischen Flegeleien und Albernheiten [...]. [TMD, I, 173, 18.3.1919; 431, 5.5.1920, my italics throughout]

Thomas echoes these observations about his son, employing a motif of icy coldness in the characterisation of Leverkühn, and giving him an inability to love. Zeitblom refers to 'die allgemeine Kühle seines Charakters'. [DrF, 60] Further, the devil tells Leverkühn 'Dein Leben soll *kalt* sein – darum darfst du keinen Menschen lieben. [...] *Kalt* wollen wir dich!' [DrF, 332f., my italics, see also 296]

Coldness is associated with arrogance in the young Klaus, especially in his manner at school. Klaus is described as 'fein veranlagt', and as a 'Herrennatur' 'mit allzu starkem Selbstbewußtsein' by teachers at school.¹³ Similarly, the schoolboy Leverkühn is characterized by his 'Hochmut'. [DrF, 63] This coldness is also exuded towards the subjects taught at school. Klaus is described as an intellectually gifted

¹² This applies to innumerable diary entries. [TMD, I, 10, 37, 38, 40, 65, ...] See also Thomas' letters to his son: 'Lieber Eissisohn'; 'Dear Eissi'; 'Mein lieber Eissi', etc... [KmBuA, 320, 350, 388,...]

¹³ Report from the *Wilhelmsgymnasium*, Copy in KMA; Letter from *Schloß Salem* director to Paul Geheeb, Copy in KMA.

pupil, who nevertheless holds most of the subjects taught in contempt.¹⁴ This description also applies to Leverkühn: Zeitblom refers to his 'kühler und ubiquitärer, alles leicht auffassender, durch Superiorität verwöhnter Intellekt' and further comments: 'Er [ließ] bei jeder Gelegenheit bemerken [...], wie gleichgültig und sozusagen nebensächlich ihm das ganze Schulwesen war.' [DrF, 111, 63; see also 44] By choice, Klaus was permitted, in the *Odenwaldschule*, to determine his activities as he wished, and spent most of his time reading and writing alone. [KdZ, 177] Similarly, Leverkühn takes up his own interest in mathematics, and musical composition, at an unusually early age. [DrF, 64f.]

The young Klaus was very quick to adopt an adult way of talking, and similarly developed interests which were unusual for a boy of his age. A teacher rendered the following description of him:

[Klaus] hat sehr ernsthafte geistige Interessen, ist durch vieles Lesen sehr früh an die meisten Probleme des menschlichen Denkbereiches herangeraten, und hat seine Kindlichkeit und Natürlichkeit bei dieser Art geistigen Tätigkeit eingebüßt.¹⁵

The same could be said for the young Leverkühn. [See DrF, 82f.] Klaus read literature at a young age 'mit Heißhunger', often reading a book a day at twelve years old¹⁶, [KdZ, 109] which also applies to the young Leverkühn. [DrF, 97f.] Zeitblom is concerned about the effect that this amount of reading may have on Leverkühn's 'junges System'. In fact, Zeitblom's concern is well-founded. Just as Klaus' 'Lebenskraft' is 'angeknaxt'¹⁷, so Leverkühn is often pale, from too much reading into the night. [DrF, 98]¹⁸ (That Thomas was concerned about Klaus' early reading

¹⁴ *Wilhelmsgymnasium* Report, Copy in KMA

¹⁵ Letter from Schloß Salem to Paul Geheeb, copy in KMA

¹⁶ KdZ, 83f.

¹⁷ Letter from Schloß Salem to Paul Geheeb, copy in KMA

¹⁸ Here the activity of reading has sexual undertones, an idea which is the subject of further discussion below.

was demonstrated above, by diary entry reporting that Klaus had sneaked into his father's study and read Wedekind.) Thomas' unease about his son's first writing attempts was also discussed above, and in Chapter 3. This concern of Thomas' about his son's writing is reflected in *Doktor Faustus* in Zeitblom's reaction to Leverkühn's early musical experimentation. Throughout *Doktor Faustus*, music is associated with sexual activities, and correspondingly also with the adult world. The implication is that the young Leverkühn's composing is associated with masturbation. Thus when Zeitblom catches Leverkühn red handed as it were, composing, his reaction is 'beschämend und ängstlich', as cited above, a scene which calls to mind Thomas' feelings on discovering his adolescent son's 'Pubertätsspiele'.

The motif of laughter as employed in the characterization of Leverkühn can also be regarded as originating in Thomas' view of his son. The precocious Mann children ran wild growing up in Munich, and showed little respect for traditional values. Further, they were accustomed due to their parentage to an ironic way of looking at things. Accordingly, this was frequently the tone with which Klaus regarded his father. Erika reports: 'das Seltsame ist, daß wir Kinder sehr oft über [our father] gelacht haben.' [EM-Vater, 20] Chapter 2 demonstrated the mocking portrayal of figures representing Thomas in Klaus' early writings, and the portrayal of Studienrat X, discussed above, is also gently mocking (as is that of Aristotle, discussed in the previous chapter). That Leverkühn laughs repeatedly at his father's nature experiments could therefore have been derived from Thomas' observations of his son's attitude towards his own paternal authority. [DrF, 25, 26, 30]

It is significant that Thomas' pet name used by Klaus in all of his letters to, and diary entries concerning, his father was *Zauberer*. The speculative nature experiments of Jonathan Leverkühn correspond to the black magic of the original

Faust. This establishes a link between this figure and Thomas the 'magician'. Thus Leverkühn's mocking laughter at his father's 'magical' experiments can be viewed as a representation of Klaus' laughter at his father's interests and outlook.¹⁹

Cold, mocking laughter can be an expression of a lack of spirituality. Thomas observed lacking spirituality in his son, in his wayward lifestyle and disregard for traditional values. (As commented above, he summed up his son's life as 'eine kranke Literaten-Existenz, angezogen von allem Faulen.' [TMD, VIII, 220]) Klaus' lack of spirituality, as observed by his father, is reflected in the characterization of Leverkühn. Zeitblom writes: 'Naturen wie Adrian haben nicht viel "Seele".' [DrF, 197] Leverkühn shares Klaus' loose-living, too: he has a sexual encounter with a prostitute, enters into a homosexual relationship and also enters into relationships with unmarried women. It should be noted that Leverkühn is punished for his sexual habits when he contracts syphilis. Again, Thomas can be seen to have sourced this aspect of his character in his own son; Klaus also contracted syphilis. [KMD, V, 8.6.1942, Kroll, V, 376]²⁰ In 'Über die Ehe', Thomas made clear that he regarded sexual relations outside of marriage and, particularly, homosexual relations, as decadent. Leverkühn's illness can therefore be seen as a deserving fate for the sexually promiscuous, which can in turn be viewed as a demonstration of the value which Thomas attached to his son's lifestyle.

¹⁹ Further, a mystical representative of Thomas is mocked in *Kindernovelle* and *Der siebente Engel*; the Klaus figure urging the Katia figure to leave her enclosed, bizarre, mystical world of 'spiritistischen Sitzungen' and live a healthier, more normal life. Thomas is known to have been fond of attending 'okkulten Sitzungen', in days when he was 'ganz spiritistisch aufgelegt'. [Monika Mann, 18f.]

²⁰ Also with gratitude to discussions with Philipp Angermeyer, of New York University, working on code-switching in the diaries of Klaus.

6.3 Borrowed Names

It is significant that Thomas is known to have chosen the name *Andreas* for his protagonist, before settling on Adrian, given that *Andreas* was the name of the Klaus-figure in *Der fromme Tanz*.²¹

It is conspicuous that the devil is referred to in *Doktor Faustus* as 'Kesperlin', or 'Kaspar'. [DrF, 303] Kumpf refers to the devil as 'Der schwartze Kesperlin' [DrF, 131] The dog, which, sinisterly, refuses to refrain from barking except at Leverkühn's command, is referred to as 'Kaschperl'. [DrF, 273, 340, 344, 575] Klaus had repeatedly given the name Kaspar to autobiographical figures, for example in his *Kaspar-Hauser-Legenden*, and in *Anja und Esther*,²² and he felt a life-long empathy with the figure of Kaspar Hauser. In *Kind dieser Zeit*, Klaus refers to an autobiographical figure from one of his early, unpublished writings, in terms which are now familiar:

Prinz Kaspar, sonderbarstes Kind eines strengen und zuchtvollen Monarchen, in den stillen Wandelgängen des klösterlich dunklen Pädagogiums tief zu Hause, mußte fort und davon; mußte, wie sehr auch der Vater solcher Liederlichkeit zürnen mochte, hingegeben jeder Lust und jeder Verzweiflung, mitten im Leben sein, um sich, *war er nicht stark genug*, in ihm untergehend gänzlich zu verlieren; oder um einsamer, starker, mehr noch er selbst zu werden, als vielleicht der herrschende Vater, der nicht aus Hingabe an sich selbst gewachsen, sondern, sie umgehend, stolz und abgeschlossen, sich den Weg wohl gar zu sehr erleichtert hatte. [KdZ, 228f., KM's italics]

He even adds:

²¹ [Notizenkonvolut; TMD, V; 17.5.1943; Voss, 88, 138; ENTS, GW, XI, 163] I am very grateful to Professor Ruprecht Wimmer (President, Katholische Universität Eichstätt-Ingolstadt) for discussions which have confirmed this. (Thomas may have been inspired in part in his final choice of name for his protagonist by the name of an *artist* described by Klaus in one of his texts. In *The Other Germany*, Klaus refers to 'Gerschwin's *Rhapsody in Blue*, which we heard for the first time in the studio of the artist Adrian', making the connection between the name Adrian, art (the figure in *The Other Germany* is a graphic artist), and music. [OG, 6]

²² See also *Der fromme Tanz*, 117.

Der Name Kaspar – den auch in *Anja und Esther* die autobiographische Figur tragen wird – weist die Beziehung zum Kaspar-Hauser-Komplex. Kaspar Hauser, der Fremdling der Erde, das Waisenkind, l'enfant de l'Europe, wird das meistgeliebte Symbol dieser Zeit. [KdZ, 231]

The haunting *Kaspar Hauser singt* was even used as a kind of prologue to *Klaus Mann zum Gedächtnis*, so strong was felt to be the connection between these two figures. [KMzG, 5] Thomas was, therefore, well aware of his son's identification with Kaspar Hauser, and of his association of the name Kaspar with himself. This suggests that Thomas' employment of this name was intentional, again perhaps in a bid to associate dangerous, demonic forces with his son.

One of Leverkühn's lady admirers is given the name *Kunigunde Rosenstiel*. Her unusual forename was, significantly, bestowed upon the figure of the daughter in *Der Vater lacht*. Leverkühn has a sexual relationship with this woman out of marriage.

6.4 Implications for the Literary Relationship between Klaus and Thomas

The slightly mocking treatment given to *Studienrat X* in *The Other Germany*, a character who bears resemblance in many of his traits to Thomas, can be understood as an expression of Klaus' sentiments towards his *bürgerlich* father. *Studienrat X* bears a physical resemblance to Thomas, wearing a gold-rimmed pince-nez, and having a stiffness of bearing (*Studienrat X* is one of Germany's 'eminently correct gentlemen'). [OG, 84] The political convictions of this character suggest that a dig is being made at the the early political stance of Thomas. He is one of the 'good patriots chafing under the German defeat as if it were physical pain; men knowing but one emotion over and above their love of country – love of their own, secure, middle-class

position in life'. In addition, this figure despises the Treaty of Versailles, the 'shameful peace dictate'; is devoted to his collection of war souvenirs, and has always been moderately anti-Semitic. [OG, 84f., 87, 99] All of these convictions apply to the early political stance of Thomas. Given that the political beliefs of Studienrat X are blamed in *The Other Germany* for clearing the way for the rise of Nazism, it is likely that this constitutes an expression of Klaus' serious disrespect of his father's early political convictions, tying in with the theme of political blame towards the fathers which has been illustrated to characterize particularly the early writings of Klaus.

Chapter 5 cited a critical reference to Thomas in *Symphonie Pathétique*, in Tchaikovsky's condemnation of the music of Brahms as 'cold' ('Ist dieser deutsche Meister wirklich so tief, [...]? Oder kokettiert er nur mit der Tiefe, um die erschreckende Armut und Trockenheit seiner Phantasie zu verbergen?' [KM, SP, 55f.]) A possible reply to this comment is featured in Chapter 9 of *Doktor Faustus*, which may be understood as a comment on the relationship between the two authors' works:

Zu zeigen, wie bloße Zeitgenossenschaft Wechselbeziehungen herstellt zwischen so verschiedenen Naturen wie Tschaikowski und Brahms, gehörte auch zu diesen Lehrunterhaltungen. [Kretzschmar] führte ihm Stellen vor aus den Werken des einen, die ebensogut von dem anderen hätten sein können. [DrF, 104]

This reads like a covert defence on the part of Thomas for his unacknowledged borrowing, in *Doktor Faustus* as in other writings.

If a gently mocking portrayal of a Thomas-like figure is rendered in *The Other Germany*, the material which Thomas derives from his son for *Doktor Faustus* is far from flattering. The aspects of Leverkühn's character which are modelled on Klaus – coldness, arrogance, and a lack of moral integrity – indicate a critical view of him, and that Leverkühn contracts syphilis expresses Thomas' impression of the

fruitlessness of his lifestyle. That Leverkühn contracts the disease in 1906, the year of Klaus' birth, is unlikely to be fortuitous, given Thomas' fascination with numbers. Thomas' adoption of the name often favoured by his son for his narrative voice, Kaspar, for the devil, has serious implications for his view of Klaus as one 'possessed' by a destructive obsession and lacking spirituality. Again, in choosing to name a character 'Kunigunde', Thomas voices his disapproval of Klaus' sexual habits. As outlined in Chapter 2, Kunigunde, in *Der Vater lacht*, is a promiscuous figure, and her very stiff, *bürgerlich* father with obvious physical resemblance to Thomas, is mocked throughout the narrative, before his daughter seduces him. In choosing to give the name 'Kunigunde' to an unmarried woman with whom Leverkühn has a fleeting relationship may be taken as a reply to, and as a criticism of, Klaus' wayward lifestyle, whilst also serving as a form of retaliation for *Der Vater lacht*.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that Klaus, and his writings, exerted a considerable influence on *Doktor Faustus*, from the appropriation of the Faust legend in order to examine the development of National Socialism; to characters, and names from Klaus' writings. Further, it has been demonstrated that Klaus himself anticipated many of the key features of Thomas' protagonist, suggesting that Thomas also took inspiration from his son's character. Thomas composed an intriguing exposé on the writing of his novel, *Die Entstehung des Doktor Faustus* (1949). In this he neglected entirely to mention any details of what, it is been demonstrated in this chapter, must be considered as a significant influence on his novel. It is hoped that this examination

has succeeded in putting the record straight on a sizeable aspect of the writing of what many scholars would consider to be Thomas' most important work.

Conclusion

This thesis has been the first examination dedicated to the literary relationship between Klaus and Thomas.

Chapter 1 set the scene for this study, with a detailed review of previous scholarship.

The following chapter investigated the early literary relationship between father and son. This chapter depicted the beginnings of Klaus' literary career, and Thomas' reaction to these, including in his writings *Unordnung und frühes Leid* and 'Über die Ehe'. This chapter demonstrated the interesting portrayals of father-figures in Klaus' early writings, and uncovered the themes of seeing through, and triumphing over, the father.

Chapter 3 featured a comprehensive comparison of the diaries of both writers; these were found to contain significant indicators of the nature of the beginning of the literary relationship. Further, this source was shown to offer a candid view of each writer's view of the other and his writings, a view which also tells the diary reader something about the way in which each writer saw himself, in turn. The diaries have been a useful aid to understanding the reactions of both figures to political developments (and they have facilitated an original view of certain political issues, in Chapter 4). Perhaps the most essential advantage to this source is that it demonstrates the deep tensions which affected this relationship, due to the very existence of Thomas' son, above all as a writing family member.

Chapter 5 demonstrated that Klaus was still imagining sons triumphing over their fathers, in *Alexander*. Further, a hitherto unnoticed connection was suggested between the figure Joseph in Thomas' *Joseph und seine Brüder*, and Klaus.

Chapter 6 undertook a comparison of various writings of Klaus' from the 1930s and 1940s with Thomas' *Parsifal*, *Doktor Faustus*, with significant results. A further hitherto unnoticed connection was unveiled in this chapter, which demonstrated that Klaus could be seen to have anticipated important aspects of the characterization of the protagonist in Thomas' novel.

It is hoped that this thesis has provided a valuable addition to scholarship. Several areas which would benefit from further study have been indicated in the course of the thesis. The most important aspect which has been introduced by this study which would doubtless benefit from a more comprehensive examination is that of the connections between Klaus and Thomas' *Joseph*. Further, the possibility of parallels between Klaus and the Felix Krull figure has been alluded to; this is also an issue which may benefit from further study.

Appendix 1.1

Decade-by-Decade Overview

1950-

- 1950: *Klaus Mann zum Gedächtnis*, edited largely by Erika Mann (unnamed), with a preface by Thomas Mann. Contributions include those from Gottfried Benn, Lion Feuchtwanger, Christopher Isherwood, Hermann Kesten, Annette Kolb, Heinrich Mann, Peter de Mendelssohn, Peter de Mendelssohn, Upton Sinclair, Peter Viereck and Bruno Walter. (republished, 2003)
- 1956: Klaus Mann's controversial novel *Mephisto* (1936 – published in exile, in Amsterdam) is published in the DDR after Erika Mann fails to persuade six West German publishers to take on the project.
- 1956: Rolf Schneider undertakes the first scholarly analysis of KM and his writings (published in *Aufbau*, Berlin).

1960-

Mephisto fails to find a West German publisher until 1963, when the Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung announces its intention to publish the novel. Gustaf Gründgens' adoptive son takes the publisher to court in 1964. 10, 000 copies are distributed until an injunction of 1968 bans circulation altogether. The case occupies the German courts and public for almost eight years and remains to this day the most renowned literary court case in postwar Germany.

1970-

1973: the *Klaus-Mann-Archiv* is founded in Munich.

- 1973: Walter A. Berendsohn publishes *Thomas Mann und die Seinen: Porträt einer literarischen Familie* (1973)

Left-wing scholars take an interest in KM largely with respect to his political significance, in fighting fascism. A prime example of this is:

- 1977: Elke Kerker's study, *Weltbürgertum – Exil - Heimatlosigkeit: Die Entwicklung der politischen Dimension im Werk Klaus Manns von 1924-1936*.
- 1977: The first volume of TM's Diaries is published (TMD, 1933-1934). The following volume (1935-1936) is published in 1978 and the volume encompassing 1918-1921, an unexpected discovery (See Chapter 3, 'Diaries') and of far reaching significance for the study of the relationship between KM and TM, is published in 1979. The publication of TM's diaries continues until the final volume is made available, in 1993.

1978: Peter T. Hoffer publishes the first (and only) monograph on KM in English.

1979: Gert Mattenklott's essay, 'Homosexualität und Politik bei Klaus Mann' is published.

- 1979: Ariane Mnouchkine's adaptation of *Mephisto* in the Vincennes/Paris *Théâtre du Soleil* attracts an audience 200,000. The text is available in print.
- 1980-
- 1980: Mnouchkine's *Mephisto* adaptation visits Berlin and Munich and also achieves a large West German television audience.
- 1981: István Szabó's film of *Mephisto* is released in Cannes.
- 1980 an illegal copy of *Mephisto* is made available in West Germany, followed in 1981 by a legal publication, by *Rowohlt*.
- 1982: Eberhard Spangenberg's *Karriere eines Romans: Mephisto, Klaus Mann und Gustaf Gründgens* is a rich source, incorporating many original documents, tracing the controversial history of Klaus' *Mephisto: Roman einer Karriere*.
- 1982: Heinrich Breloer's documentary film, *Treffpunkt im Unendlichen: Die Lebensreise Klaus Manns* (NDR) is broadcast.
- 1984: Uwe Naumann's monograph *Klaus Mann: Mit Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten* is published. (reprinted, 1996)
- 1984: Michel Grunewald publishes his 1983 doctoral thesis, *Klaus Mann 1906-1949* and his extensive bibliography, *Klaus Mann 1906-1949. Eine Bibliographie*, going on to publish extensive studies particularly on KM and France and KM in exile.
- 1984: Rudolf Wolff's *Klaus Mann: Werk und Wirkung* is published.
- 1987: *Text+Kritik* devotes a volume to KM, including contributions by Martin Gregor-Dellin, Michel Grunewald, Lutz Winckler and Uwe Naumann. [This volume, devoted mainly to the exile writings of KM and to *Mephisto*, features in Chapters 4 ('Politics') and 6 ('Klaus Mann's *Mephisto* and Thomas Mann's *Doktor Faustus*').]
- 1986: Stefan Zynda publishes his study, *Sexualität bei Klaus Mann*.
- 1986: Susanne Wolfram's thesis, concentrating on the effect of homosexuality-problematic on Klaus Mann's life and works, is published: *Die tödliche Wunde: Über die Untrennbarkeit von Tod und Eros im Werk von Klaus Mann*.
- 1987: Marcel Reich-Ranicki's two essays on KM, '*Mephisto*, der Roman einer Karriere' and '*Schwermut und Schminke*' feature in his provocative take on the Manns, *Thomas Mann und die Seinen*.
- 1988: John Brawner presents his thesis on 'The Interrelationship between Autobiography and Fiction in the Early Writings of Klaus Mann.' This thesis is unusual in that most theses (see others below) treat Klaus' political and exile writings. Chapter 2 refers to Brawner's comparison of Klaus' autobiographical writings and early fiction. The addition of Klaus' diary materials, published from the following year, would make for a fruitful comparison.

- 1988: Gerhard Härle publishes his controversial study, *Männerweiblichkeit: Zur Homosexualität bei Klaus und Thomas Mann*, which causes a stir amongst some of the more traditional TM scholars (reprinted, 2002)
- 1989: The first volume of KM's diaries is published (publication continues until 1991). These diaries have provided many significant insights which are of great importance to the study of the KM/TM relationship, particularly in that these reveal that KM was in fact well aware of the ambivalent nature of TM's attitude towards him. (See Chapter 3, 'Diaries').
- 1990-
- 1991: Marianne Krüll *other* version of the history of the Mann family, *Im Netz der Zauberer: Eine andere Geschichte der Familie Mann*, is published.
- 1993: Mirjiam Sprenger writes a *Magisterarbeit* on 'Das Vaterbild im Werk von Klaus Mann'. (Justus-Liebig University, Giessen)
- 1995: Irmela von der Lühe's thorough biography of Erika Mann is published.
- 1994: The Heinrich-Heine-Institut, Düsseldorf presents an exhibition in memorial of Klaus Mann, on the forty-fifth anniversary of his death. Frank Hermann's exhibition catalogue, *Auf der Suche nach einem Weg: Klaus Mann* provides a highly informative commentary to accompany all of the exhibited pieces, with a great number of pertinent quotations from all of the most important of Klaus' writings, with the result that this serves as an accessible but satisfactorily in-depth guide to the writer's life and oeuvre.
- 1994: Blas Matamoro's article on the diaries of Klaus Mann is published ('Los diarios de Klaus Mann. En el nombre del padre.')
- 1995: Nicole Schaenzler's study, *Klaus Mann als Erzähler: Studien zu seinen Romanen 'der fromme Tanz' und 'der Vulkan'* is published.
- 1995: Harald Neumann's somewhat eccentric *Klaus Mann: eine Psychobiographie* is published.
- 1996: Rong Yang's 1995 thesis, a study of the diaries of Klaus Mann, is published: *Ich kann einfach das Leben nicht mehr ertragen: Studien zu den Tagebüchern von Klaus Mann (1931-1949)*
- 1996: Carol Petersen's overtly brief monograph, *Klaus Mann*, is published as part of Morgenbuch's *Köpfe des Jahrhunderts* series.
- 1996/1997: Rainer Schachner's thesis 'Im Schatten wächst das Werk: Familie und Selbstmord in Klaus Manns erster Autobiographie *Kind dieser Zeit*' (Paris/Vienna) is completed.
- 1997: Gerald Gunter Hauck's thesis, 'Reluctant immigrants: Klaus and Erika Mann in American Exile, 1936-1945' is completed. (University of Texas/Austin, USA)

- 1998: Bettina Widner submits a PhD dissertation on 'Die Stunde des Untertanen: Eine Untersuchung zu satirischen Romanen des NS-Exils am Beispiel von Irmgard Keun, Walter Mehring und Klaus Mann. (Freie Universität, Berlin).
- 1999: The fiftieth anniversary of Klaus' death receives much attention. A *Klaus-Mann Workshop* is held in London, for example, with contributors including Fredric Kroll. This anniversary is also marked by Naumann's publication (see below).
- 1999: Schaenzler goes on to publish her extensive biography, *Klaus Mann: Eine Biographie*. (reprinted, 2001)
- 1999: Naumann's "*Ruhe gibt es nicht bis zum Schluß*". *Klaus Mann (1906-1949): Bilder und Dokumente* is published to coincide with the fiftieth anniversary of KM's death. This is a glossy, large-format publication, filled with vibrant photographic images and pithy extracts from significant writings. (reprinted, 2001)
- 1999: Fischer Taschenbuch and Rowohlt Taschenbuch launch a joint initiative, in May (the month of Klaus' death, fifty years previously), publishing sixteen special editions of Mann family writings, introduced, together with a portrait of the family, in a colourful pamphlet, *Thomas/Katia/Heinrich/Klaus/Erika/Golo – Die Familie Mann* similar in character to Hans Wißkirchen's book (see below).
- 1999: Hans Wißkirchen's brief but colourful introduction to the Mann family, *Die Familie Mann* is published.
- 1999: A. Ford's thesis, 'Klaus Mann and the Weimar Republic: literary tradition and experimentation in his prose 1924-1933' is presented. (PhD, Nottingham, UK)
- 1999: Marc Anthony Iwand's thesis is completed: 'Klaus Mann and Europe: critical visionary and disappointed idealist in the twentieth century'. (PhD thesis, Washington University, USA)
- 2000 onwards**
- 2000: Armin Strohmeyr publishes *Klaus und Erika Mann: Les enfants terribles* and his informative monograph, *Klaus Mann*.
- 2001: James Robert Keller publishes his study on *The Role of Political and Sexual Identity in the Works of Klaus Mann*.
- 2001: The film *Escape to Life: The Story of Erika and Klaus Mann (Flucht ins Leben: Die Erika-und-Klaus-Mann Story)* is released (a book under the same title, also by Andrea Weiss, is published.)
- 2001: Heinrich Breloer's television film, *Die Manns: Ein Jahrhundertroman* is broadcast on ARD and arte (and on British television in 2002, with subtitles). The accompanying text is published in a book under the same title. Further interview material is presented by Breloer in the book *Unterwegs zur Familie Mann*.
- 2003: *Klaus Mann zum Gedächtnis* and Kroll's *Klaus-Mann-Schriftenreihe* are republished.

2006: *Klaus-Mann-Jahr*

Appendix 1.2

The Critical Reception of Härle's *Männerweiblichkeit*

Gerhard Härle's *Männerweiblichkeit: Zur Homosexualität bei Klaus und Thomas Mann* (1988) is a complex study, undertaken from a deep-rootedly psychoanalytical point of view, which has given rise to both outrage and confusion. Helmut Koopmann's reaction has been the most scathing, the latter angered by what he describes as the 'Mode [...], auch Thomas Mann auf seine erotischen Phantasien und seine Homosexualität hin zu befragen'. Koopmann writes: 'Hier läuft ein Psychodrama ab, wie es grotesker und schauerlicher kaum zu denken ist', mocking the psychoanalytical basis which brings both writers 'auf die Couch': 'Man muß nur genau lesen, psychoanalytisch'.¹ Koopmann's response is typical of a section of Thomas Mann scholarship. As Härle writes in his postscript to the second edition, summarising the reaction to the first edition of his study:

Während eine immer größer werdende interessierte Leserschaft sich zunehmend auch mit den irritierenden Aspekten in Leben und Werk Thomas Manns auseinandersetzt, fühlen sich bestellte Vertreter der etablierten Thomas-Mann-Forschung weiterhin bemüßigt, den vermeintlichen "guten Ruf" des Dichturfürsten zu verteidigen – wobei sie in Übereinstimmung mit dem gesunden Volksempfinden allzu selbstverständlich davon ausgehen, daß die Zuschreibung von Homosexualität von vornherein eine Rufschädigung bedeutet. [GH, MW, 2nd ed., 413. January 1993. GH's italics]

It is not surprising that Grunewald, as a Klaus Mann scholar, is more positive in his reception of this study, although he does make an admission which has not been uncommon in its reception: 'Die vorlieg[ende] Untersuchung ist [...] nicht immer leicht lesbar.'² Similarly James W. Jones, who rightly praises the well researched, textual basis of Härle's study but has reservations regarding its application of psychoanalysis, writes:

¹ Helmut Koopmann, 'Marzipans tieferer Sinn: Homosexualität bei Klaus und Thomas Mann'. In: *FAZ*, 15.11.1988

² Grunewald, review of Härle's *Männerweiblichkeit*. In: *Germanistik* 1989, p.828, entry 5844.

Härle's writing style tends toward that of Thomas Mann's, making it sometimes difficult to follow his argument. The rather associative structure of the book as well demands a reader's effort to draw connections.³

Another reviewer describes this study as being "through its many asides [...] at times disorganized to the point of incoherence."⁴ A likely reason for the confusion arising from this study, apart from the author's writing style (characterized by digressions and complex, cyclical, cross-references), is its method: This study is a hybrid of several different approaches [the review of Kroll, above, alluded to this] and as such makes additional demands on its readers. It is at once a plea for homosexuality and for the powers of the anus; a history of literary scholarship's - and society's - approach to homosexuality; an exposé of the psychological consequences of homosexuality and a psychoanalytical study of two individuals and their writings. Koopmann complains:

Der Bericht über die Methode dieser Untersuchung findet sich nicht am Anfang dieses Buches, sondern auf Seite 128. Es soll "Im Bereich des wissenschaftstheoretischen Diskurses" (so spricht man heute) "der Zusammenhang zwischen dem literaturwissenschaftlichen Anliegen [...], dem psychoanalytischen Denkmodell [...] sowie der Diskussion thetischer und empirischer Befunde zur männlichen Homosexualität genauer begründet werden. Hier werden also Kunstwerke psychoanalysiert [...]. [HK, 'Marzipan']

Criticism of Härle's method features prominently in another review. Frank Busch complains that Härle

[...] seine Gedanken "Zur Homosexualität bei Klaus und Thomas Mann" in die Zwangsjacke akademischer Beweisführung gequetscht [hat]. Fußnotenreich und lebensarm verbinden sich Literaturwissenschaft und Psychoanalyse, bis die subjektive Erfahrung, die Härle in die Untersuchung einzubeziehen verspricht, hinter Worthülsen fast verschwindet. Schon das Verständnis der Homosexualität wird durch Härles Formulierung eher erschwert [...]. Ein so mühselig zusammengenageltes Begriffsdach [...]. Das Buch ist eine Fundgrube von psychologischen Symboldeutungen und daran anschließenden Spekulationen über das Pathologische in der Beziehung von Vater und

³ James W. Jones, review of Härle's *Männerweiblichkeit*. In: *The German Quarterly*, vol. 63, no. 2, Spring 1990, 309-311.

⁴ Wes Blomster, review of Härle's *Männerweiblichkeit*. In: *German Studies Review*, vol. 13.1. (1990), 177-178

Sohn. Über die Wirklichkeit von Klaus und Thomas Mann erfährt man allerdings wenig, über ihre Homosexualität nur freudianische Gemeinplätze und über ihre Literatur gar nichts.⁵

Wes Blomster writes:

Härle's book defines him more as a theoretician of the homoerotic than as an analyst of the phenomenon in literature. He [...] focuses his attention [...] upon the often highly-abstract and somewhat tenuous expressions of same-sex attraction in literature. The result – in this case – is a book which says more about the literary dimensions of homosexuality than about the Manns and the role of this orientation in their lives and work. [...] the Manns are used as laboratory material [...].⁶

The disparity of reviewers' opinions regarding what material is covered and conclusions drawn by Härle is a further demonstration of the lack of clarity that has resulted from this study.⁷

⁵ Frank Busch, 'Ohne Kraft: Eine Studie "Zur Homosexualität bei Klaus und Thomas Mann"'. In: *Die Zeit*, 3.11.1989

⁶ Wes Blomster, review of Härle's *Männerweiblichkeit*. In: *German Studies Review*, vol. 13.1. (1990), 177-178

⁷ See all of the reviews cited above and Irmgard Seil Immel, review of Härle's *Männerweiblichkeit*. In: *German Studies Review* vol 15.1.(1992), 170-172; Peter C. Pfeiffer, review of Härle's *Männerweiblichkeit*. In: *Monatshefte*, vol. 83, no. 4, Winter 1991, 466-469. Some think that political questions are ignored by Härle (Koopmann) while others interpret this as one of Härle's main points, for example (Peter C. Pfeiffer) and there are other significant disparities.

Appendix 2.1

What about Bert? Thomas Mann scholars' reception of *Unordnung und frühes Leid*

Thomas Mann scholarship has failed largely to address the questionable aspects of the portrayal of some of the figures in *Unordnung und frühes Leid*, notably that of Bert, *Beißer* and *Lorchen*, three of the children of Abel Cornelius.⁸ This applies with particular pertinence to more traditional interpretations of the text: the significance of *Unordnung* has widely been accepted in more traditional interpretations to lie in its vivid portrayal of the effects of the 1920s inflation on a *bürgerlich* German family.

Scholars were slow to undertake examinations of this narrative, perhaps due to the initial problem of the naïve acceptance of it as a domestic idyll. As Lehnert wrote in 1978,

Es gibt wenig Literatur über unsere Erzählung. [...] Die Erzählung wird als relativ harmlose autobiographische Geschichte gelesen, [...] wissenschaftliche Beachtung findet sie kaum. [HL, 242]⁹

Indeed one of the first studies of the story, Joachim Müller's 'Thomas Manns Sinfonia Domestica' (1964) places *Unordnung* along with the the other shorter works *Herr und Hund* (1919) and *Gesang vom Kindchen* (1919), although Müller himself admits the closer connection between these latter two works.¹⁰

Müller's examination is typical of earlier studies of the narrative in its uncritical reading. Thus Müller writes regarding the portrayal of the two youngest children:

⁸ An exceedingly derisive portrayal is given of both Bert (modelled on Klaus) and *Beißer* (modelled on Klaus' youngest brother, Michael). The portrayal of the relationship between the father in the story and his younger daughter, Lorchen, modelled on Elisabeth Mann (the *Kindchen*) raises further questions. That there are no characters modelled on Golo and Monika is illustrative of the role which they were felt to play in the Mann family.

⁹ Lehnert complains that Michael Zeller's *Väter und Söhne bei Thomas Mann* (1974) which examines the theme of the family in Thomas' writings, ignores *Unordnung*, as does Koopmann's essay 'Väter und Söhne'. [HL, 242]

¹⁰ Lehnert holds that there are equal grounds for grouping the narrative together with *Mario und der Zauberer*, in that both stories portray the confrontation of a *bürgerlich* family with outside forces, and

Die Schilderung der beiden Kleinen und ihrer Eigenarten gehört zum *Hübschesten und Liebenswertesten im epischen Werk des Dichters*, der sich hier bei aller heiteren Distanz ungemein einfühlsam zeigt. [JM, 164, my italics]

Lehnert's 1978 examination, which concentrates largely on the opposing forces of life and death in the narrative, and on Thomas' tendency towards what he names 'das Reservat, oder, wi[e] wir schärfer formulieren können, die ästhetische Wirklichkeitsfeindschaft' [HL, 245] is somewhat condescending (particularly when he concludes his examination with the statement that the narrative is 'wert, hier und da genannt zu werden'.) [HL, 256] Lamenting scholars' neglect of the narrative, perhaps due to the its reputation as a harmless autobiographical story, Lehnert proposes:

Das ist nicht ganz berechtigt, denn wenn wir Thomas Manns Versuche, seine deutschen Leser mit der Weimarer Republik zu versöhnen, wichtig nehmen, dann hat *Unordnung und frühes Leid* einen Platz in Thomas Manns Werk. [HL, 242]

There are of course many other compelling reasons for a study of this narrative, which amounts no less than to a record of Thomas and his concerns about the world he lived in – as a family man, as a father, and as a duty-bound intellectual and artist.

Lehnert's article does actually mention the treatment of the young people in the narrative, an element which has tended to be ignored along with the treatment of *Beißer* – perhaps because it does not fit into the popular categories of 'domestic idyll' or 'social record', - although he claims that 'Die ins Groteske spielenden Züge der Erzählung sind jedoch nicht provokativ eingesetzt, im Gegenteil, die Provokationen werden durch Humor neutralisiert.' [HL, 251] Although Lehnert has dared to broach this aspect of the characterization, he does not dare to acknowledge the potential harm of this. Klaus' reaction to the story is mentioned only in a footnote: Lehnert holds that the figures

portray political developments (that this is more obvious in the case of *Mario* may be a reason for the

portrayed failed to understand or acknowledge the above-mentioned *Humor*. [HL, 256 (note 5)] Lehnert suggests that Thomas' statement in his self-interpretation of the narrative, that Cornelius was in need of 'des erzählerischen Humors weit mehr als die Jungen, die ihn in sich haben' may vouch for the author's wish to distance himself from his autobiographical figure in the light of the reaction of the models of the figures portrayed. [Refers to TM, GW, XI, 620-622]

Lehnert's study does put the narrative in context amongst other prominent writings of its time which also portrayed a sense of disorientation, pointing out that the difference between Thomas' narrative and others (by Hofmannsthal; Hauptmann; Thiess; Neumann; Feuchtwanger, Mehring and Wassermann [See HL, 240f.]) is that it takes place in a *family* setting. [HL, 241] This question is the subject of further discussion later in this chapter.

Sidney Bolkosky's 1981 study concentrates on praising the narrative on the grounds of its social awareness; he argues that *Unordnung* - and not *Mario und der Zauberer* - should be regarded as Thomas' first sociopolitically-aware fictional work. [SB, 219] Of most interest to this study is the material to which Bolkosky draws attention with reference to Cornelius' hobbyhorse, Philip II. [See Appendix 2.2]

Vaget's brief examination of the novella in the *Thomas-Mann-Handbuch* makes some noteworthy points. Vaget writes:

Die Novelle wurde allgemein beifällig aufgenommen. Thomas Mann hatte aber offenbar den Eindruck, daß man sie als bloßes Nachspiel zum Roman [*Der Zauberberg*] zu leicht nahm, und so schrieb er eine einläßige Selbstdeutung [XI, 620-622], mit der er *Unordnung und frühes Leid* als Dokument einer sich wandelnden Einstellung zur Geschichte energisch aufzuwerten versuchte - ohne großen Erfolg nach dem Desinteresse der Forschung an diesem Text zu schließen. Hochgeschätzt als kulturgeschichtliches Dokument der Inflation, eines massiven Traumas der deutschen Geschichte, wird die Kunstleistung dieser anmutigen Erzählung [refers to Henry Hatfield, 87f.] immer noch unterschätzt. [...] [TMHB, 595]

greater interest which it has attracted, Lehnert writes. [HL, 242]

Vaget points out a significant change in the focus of the narrative, which will relate to the following discussion:

Da ist einmal die veränderte Blickrichtung. War bisher der Herd der Unordnung vornehmlich in der Seele des Künstlers lokalisiert, so wird die Unordnung hier von außen herangespült und muß also auch in ihren objektiven Bedingungen wahrgenommen werden. Und figurierte bisher der Künstler als die zentrale Sensibilität der Novellen, so probiert Thomas Mann hier das ihm wesensfremde akademische Gewand eines Historikers an, wodurch ebenfalls ein gewisser Zwang zu einer Wendung nach außen gegeben ist. [TMHB, 595f.]

Harpprecht does refer to the nature of the portrayal of Bert and other figures, and has an interesting point to make regarding the circumstances of the story:

Es sollte ihn auf schöne und auch auf beschwerende Weise eine Weile begleiten: seinem Publikum Anlaß zu herzlichem Jubel, unter den Seinen ein Element der Verstörung, *die er freilich fürs erste nicht zur Kenntnis nehmen mußte, denn nun war alles auf Feier und Harmonie gestimmt* [...]. [KH, 555, my italics]

Although this scholar does refer briefly to the critical portrayal of the children in the story, he refrains from drawing further conclusions. [KH, 562-564]

David Turner's article, 'Balancing the Account: Thomas Mann's *Unordnung und frühes Leid*' (1999) covers new ground on the narrative perspective of the story.

The Cambridge Companion to Thomas Mann (2002) contains three essays which refer to *Unordnung*. (T.J. Reed's essay, 'Mann and history', Andrew J. Webber's essay, 'Mann's man's world: gender and sexuality' and Alan Bance's essay, 'The political becomes personal: *Disorder and Early Sorrow* and *Mario and the Magician*'.)

Where T.J.Reed describes the novella as a 'relaxed and good humoured novella' [CCTM, 14], Andrew J. Webber introduces it as 'the satirical story [...]'. [CCTM, 80] Webber's article concentrates on gender 'as a paradigm for social behaviour at large' [CCTM, 80] and refers to the portrayal of the two youngest children, but there is, disappointingly (particularly given the title of the essay), little material of relevance to this

study in this essay. Bance's essay is rich in information about the historical background to the narrative. There is no direct reference to the treatment of Bert or of its relation to the literary relationship between Thomas and his son in this anthology.¹¹

¹¹ De Mendelssohn's study has not been mentioned, as it refers to *Unordnung* only briefly and does not engage itself with a critical reading of the narrative. [dcM, II, 1463, III, 332] Mayer's *Thomas Mann* (1980) is not mentioned for the same reason.

Appendix 2.2

Philip II and Don Carlos

Bolkosky draws attention to the fact that the story of Philip II and his son, Don Carlos, is a father-son story and one of the tension between two generations of the same family. It is significant, as Bolkosky points out, that Mann has referred to Schiller's *Don Carlos* in *Tonio Kröger*, and that he does so again in *Unordnung*:

Tonio Kröger wept for the father. [...] Philip the king wept at the loss of his son and loyal servant who abandoned him to his lonely throne. Abel the historian and father reads but does not weep in his loneliness. [SB, 226f.]

One of the insults made to the *Ministerialrat* was his will to direct conversations along his own chosen lines. In *Unordnung*, similarly, considerable emphasis is given to Abel's embarrassment, fearing that he has appeared to direct the conversation towards his favourite topic, that of Philip II of Spain. This occurs during a conversation about *Don Carlos*:

Schon sieht sich der Professor wieder in sein Fahrwasser bugsiiert, auf das Spanien der Gegenreformation gebracht, was ihn fast peinlich dünkt. Er ist ganz unschuldig daran, hat gar nichts getan, dem Gespräch diese Wendung zu geben. Er fürchtet, daß es aussehen könnte, als habe er die Gelegenheit gesucht, zu dozieren, wundert sich und wird darüber schweigsam. [UFL, 638f., see also UFL, 633]

The mention in *Unordnung* of Philip II and Don Carlos is not accidental, but serves to draw attention to the theme of the father-son conflict. Further reflection is given to this subject on the following page: 'Mit Gesprächen, findet er, ist es geheimnisvoll. Sie sind gefügig, gehen ganz un gelenkt einem insgeheim dominierenden Interesse nach. Er meint das öfters beobachtet zu haben.' [UFL, 639] Klaus himself noted his irritation at his father's will to have conversation follow along his desired lines, and his childish behaviour when this did not happen. [KMD, V, 58; 8.9.1940]

The conventional image of Philip II reveals some telling parallels in outlook and lifestyle between Philip and Abel:

The embodiment of the hard-working civil servant and bureaucrat, he sought to direct the destinies of a world empire from the seclusion of his cabinet, devoting infinite time and pains to the minutest administrative details, which he was unwilling to delegate. He did not trust even his ablest and most loyal servants [...]. [*The New Columbia Encyclopedia*, Columbia University Press, 1975, 2129]

Philip II's wife, Maria of Portugal, died giving birth to the unfortunate Don Carlos. The following description of Don Carlos makes clear the relevance of elements of his fate to the wider study of the literary relationship between Klaus and his father:

Don Carlos, who seems to have been mentally unbalanced and subject to fits of homicidal mania, was imprisoned by his father in 1568. When he died shortly afterward, it was rumored (falsely) that Philip had poisoned him. [*The New Columbia Encyclopedia*, Columbia University Press, 1975, 458]

Thus not only is there a similarity between the working methods of Philip and Abel, alongside their distrust of their servants (Abel is annoyed by Xaver's habit of tearing off too many calendar pages and by implication pushing time forward), but there are analogies between Don Carlos and themes favoured by Klaus, namely that of death (throughout), imprisonment (*Kaspar-Hauser-Legenden*; *Vergittertes Fenster*) and poisoning (*Symphonie Pathétique*). The analogy established by this narrative between Klaus and Don Carlos given the above description of this figure serves as a cutting insult to Klaus, and also relates to the themes of (vocal/intellectual) castration and visions of grandeur, explored further in Chapter 5.

It is notable, however, that Thomas appears to concentrate on Schiller's version of this father-son story, which idealizes both figures. Don Carlos may have been mentally impaired, but writers like Schiller have chosen to adopt the theme of a king feeling threatened by a brilliant son. Philip II maltreats his son, who is handed over to the Spanish

Inquisition in order to keep him from spoiling Philip's success. The implications for this literary relationship are clear. Chapter 5 will examine another royal son, also the son of a King Philip, who lives his life under decidedly different circumstances.

Although Bolkosky refers in general to the association of this material and 'the conflict between fathers and sons' [SB, 227], this is as far as he takes such observations. He does refer to the other insults to Bert, but avoids drawing Klaus into his discussion. [SB, 223]

It is worth noting in the context of *Unordnung* and of *Alexander*, examined in Chapter 5, that Erika referred to her brother as 'Philipson'. The editor of Erika's letters interprets this as a play on the words 'Viel-lieb-son', but this would seem more likely to be a play on the connection established in *Unordnung* and *Alexander*. [EM, BuA, I, 139f. (EM to KM, 3.9.1939)]¹²

¹² We also know that Thomas originally intended his *Joseph* to be the first in a triptych also incorporating Erasmus and Philip II of Spain. [See Heilbut, 449]

Appendix 2.3

Dead Parents: thoughts on the parent's marriage in Klaus' writings

The idea of marriage as expressed by Thomas in 'Über die Ehe' has much to do with duty and little to do with passion. Emphasising his favour of marriage for its 'Sittlichkeit' throughout, he writes:

Hegel hat gesagt, der sittlichste Weg zur Ehe sei der, bei dem zuerst der Entschluß zu Verehelichung stehe und dieser dann schließlich die Neigung zuzufolge habe, so daß bei der Verheiratung beides vereinigt sei. Ich habe das mit Vergnügen gelesen, denn es war mein Fall [...]. [ÜdE, 137]

In his diaries, Thomas expresses his gratitude to Katia. His feelings are illustrated in the following entry: 'Abendspaziergang mit K., *die mich sehr liebt und der ich unendlich dankbar bin.*' [TMD, 1, 295, 15.VIII.1919. My italics] When he does write about their sexual relationship, he does so in a distant and scientific manner, never writing about his pleasure or passionate feelings but rather about what benefits sexual relations bring him.

This is illustrated in the following excerpts:

Geschlechtliche Nacht. Aber Ruhe darf man quand même nicht wünschen. – [...] Nach geschlechtlicher Nacht in dem hiernach üblichen, teils reduzierten, teils ruhigeren und gewissermaßen auch erfrischten Zustand. [...] Geschlechtliche Ausschweifung, die aber, obgleich durch die nervöse Erregung¹³ noch lange der Schlaf hintangehalten wurde, sich geistig eher als zuträglich erwies. [TMD, I, 218, I.V.1919; 272, 23.VI.1919; 327, 25.XI.1919]

These are not the only indicators in Thomas' diaries that the marriage was not a source of great pleasure for him or, by implication, for Katia.

The basis of the relationships between the parents in Klaus' early writings is similar: in not one of these early writings is there a family where both parents are alive and living happily together. In fact all of Klaus' early writings examined in this chapter

¹³ Compare the discussion of the term *Erregung*, above.

feature parental relationships where one of the parents is dead, a characteristic of Klaus' writings which undoubtedly has something to say about his view of the relationship between his parents. The father in *Die Jungen* lives a lonely existence and his wife is not mentioned, implying that she is dead. In *Der Vater lacht*, the *Ministerialrat* cherishes the memory of his dead wife but with the feeling that their relationship was not a passionate one. His love for her was 'ernst und innig' and the description of his lifestyle reads: 'In guten Tagen durchheiterter Leistung ehrte er das liebe Andenken der toten Frau.' [DVL, 34] At night the *Ministerialrat* sleeps, 'ruhig atmend', with 'das Bild der Seligen im goldenen Rahmen zur Seite'. [DVL, 35] His *Verwirrung* following the cavalier-scene (during which he has discovered her daughter throwing bright red balls back and forth to the young cavaliers in brightly coloured tunics) leads to the following reflection:

Wie es hatte zustande kommen können, dieses spukhafte, beängstigende Wesen mit den Tieraugen – wie es hatte zustande kommen können, aus dem *ruhigen und so wenig erregten Bündnisse*, zwischen ihm und Luise? War denn alles, was die Eltern diesem Kinde von Rechts wegen hätten mitgeben sollen durch einen schaurigen Scherz der Natur ins Gegenteil umgeschneit? [DVL, 41, my italics]

It has been demonstrated that the term *Erregung* is associated by Thomas with feelings of a sexual nature. Thus the above passage gives a strong implication that the Mann marriage was not characterized by passion. (Again the similarities between this aspect of the characterization of the *Ministerialrat* and that of Aschenbach and other autobiographical figures should also be noted.)

In *Der fromme Tanz*, Andreas' mother is dead and her picture looks 'sorgenvoll und in Güte' from frames on furniture throughout the house. [DFT, 20]

It is worth noting that Thomas himself portrays many of his autobiographical figures as having dead wives and passionless marital relationships. Aschenbach married a girl from an academic family (as did Thomas) only to become a widower shortly

afterwards. [TiV, 456] The details regarding the marriage between Zeitblom and Helene are similar to that of Aschenbach, although in *Doktor Faustus* Zeitblom takes this further, admitting that his wife was far from a match for her beautiful namesake, emphasising the marriage's basis on solid *bürgerlich* tradition and not on attraction: 'Ordnungsbedürfnis und der Wunsch nach sittlicher Einfügung ins Menschenleben leiteten mich bei diesem Schritt', he concedes. [DrF, 15f.]

In *Unordnung und frühes Leid*, both parents are alive and yet reading between the lines their concerns are strangely disparate. The impression of disparity in this marriage is introduced by Frau Cornelius' closeness to the young people (they sit, chatting freely to her in the kitchen [UFL, 637]) and by her awareness of their needs. Abel insists that the young guests be served 'eine Torte [...], etwas Tortenähnliches', showing his 'bürgerliche[r] Ehrgeiz', while she is met with the eldest children's agreement when she points out that this would be far beyond the young people's expectations. [UFL, 622]

The following passage further creates the impression that, although this husband and wife live beside one another, their lives are separate:

[...] während der Professor sich in sein Arbeitszimmer zurückzieht, um zu lesen, wie es nach Tische seine Gewohnheit ist, *und* seine Frau Gedanken und Tätigkeit auf die Anchovis-Brötchen und den italienischen Salat richtet, die für die Tanzgesellschaft vorzubereiten sind. [UFL, 633, my italics]

The word *und* between the two clauses quoted is misleading, given that these two clauses actually deal with very different concerns.¹⁴ This passage also illustrates the contrast between Abel's habit of withdrawing as if from battle and his wife's action.

Klaus' writings do not only feature dead mothers: *Kindernovelle*, and the later *Der siebente Engel*, feature dead fathers. While dead mothers are represented in framed

¹⁴ See also Turner, 54

photographs which look on with kindly concern, these fathers are represented in a death mask, and in a bust, and present their families with a more daunting presence.¹⁵

¹⁵ Härle provides a list of dead parents in Mann's writings. [GH, 368f. See also GH, 264f.]

Appendix 3.1

Timetable of Key Diary Excerpts and Dates, TMD, 1918-1921

20.9.1918:

‘Gestern Abend bemerkte ich durch die verschlossene Glastür der Kinderwohnung Licht, und da ich Katja ohnehin wecken mußte, denn sie hatte mich ausgesperrt, so wurde nachgeforscht. Es zeigte sich, daß Eissi bei beleuchtetem Zimmer und phantastisch entblößt in seinem Bette lag. Er wußte auf Fragen keine Antwort zu geben. Pubertätsspiele oder Neigung zu schlafwandlerischen Handlungen, die wir schon in Tegernsee wahrnahmen? Vielleicht beides in einem. Wie wird das Leben des Jungen sich gestalten? Jemand wie ich “sollte” selbstverständlich keine Kinder in die Welt setzen. Aber dies Sollte verdient seine Anführungsstriche. Was lebt, will nicht nur sich selbst, weil es lebt, sondern *hat* auch sich selbst gewollt, *denn* es lebt.’ [TMD, 1, 10]

24.12.1918:

‘Eissi[] [...] besonders anmutig’ – Freue mich, einen so schönen Knaben zum Sohn zu haben. [Eissi] reizend anzusehen.’ [TMD, 1, 114]

16.5.1920:

‘Klaus, dessen Ähnlichkeit mit Papa [Eda Boy-Ed] verblüfft war [...].’ [TMD, 1, 447]

14.6.1920:

‘Nach Tische zärtlich mit Eissi.’ [TMD, 1, 447]

22.6.1920:

‘Klaus, zu dem ich mich neuerdings sehr hingezogen fühle [...].’ [TMD, 1, 448]

5.7.1920:

‘Verliebt in Klaus dieser Tage. Ansätze zu einer Vater-und-Sohn-Novelle.’ [TMD, 1, 451]

11.7.1920:

‘[...] Eissi, der mich zur Zeit bezaubert, hat eine natürlich unmögliche Geschichte an den Simplicissimus geschickt und gedenkt eine andere an die Rundschau zu schicken. Ein Unsinn, der ihn ausgeredet werden muß.’ [TMD, 1, 452]

25.7.1920:

‘Entzücken an Eissi, der im Bade erschreckend hübsch. Finde es sehr natürlich, daß ich mich in meinen Sohn verliebe. *TM returns from Feldafing to Munich the night before Katia’s birthday*: Kurze Unterhaltung, mit dem sympathischen jungen Mann in weißen Hosen, der in der III. Klasse neben mir saß. Freude hierüber. Es scheint, ich bin mit dem Weiblichen endgültig fertig? [...] Eissi lag mit nacktem braunen Oberkörper lesend im

Bett, was mich verwirrte. – Gestern K.'s Geburtstag. [...] Nahm mittags Eissi auf einen kurzen Mittagsspaziergang mit und unterhielt mich mit ihm über die Aufsatz-Frage. [...] Heute den pädagogischen Artikel beendet, las ihn K. und Klaus in Garten vor, [...].'
[TMD, 1, 454f., 25.7.1920]

27.7.1920:

'Las gestern Abend eine weltschmerzlich zerrissene Novelle Eissi's und kritisierte sie an seinem Bett unter Zärtlichkeiten, über die er sich, glaube ich, freut.' [TMD, 1, 455, 27.7.1920]

28.7.1920:

'Annette Kolb [...] fand [...] Klaus mir sehr ähnlich.' [TMD, 1, 456]

1.8.1920:

'K., mit der ich über "Blutschande", d.h. sinnliche Liebe des Vaters zu einer die Mutter jugendlich wiederholenden Tochter, unterhielt, einen Fall, den ich für sehr natürlich erklärte.' [TMD, 1, 457]

13.8.1920:

'Klaus, reizend anzusehen.' [...] [TMD, 1, 460]

17.10.1920:

'Ich hörte Lärm im Zimmer der Jungen und überraschte Eissi völlig nackt vor Golo's Bett Unsinn machend. Starker Eindruck von seinem vormännlichen, glänzenden Körper, Erschütterung.-' [TMD, 1, 470]

Appendix 5.1

Themes of the Literary Father-Son Relationship

The following discussion seeks to bring together some of the themes which have emerged as being characteristic of this literary relationship. This material is presented in an appendix, because it is intended as a more light-hearted collection of thoughts and ideas, in accompaniment to the material presented in the main body of the thesis. The characteristic themes are grouped broadly under the following three headings: Progeny, Visions of Grandeur, and Names.

i) Progeny

It would seem fitting that some of the dominant themes which have presented themselves as characteristic of this literary relationship revolve around the concept of progeny.

Indeed in this case the father had particular and meaningful expectations regarding the birth of his first son: when Erika was born, Thomas expressed his disappointment to Heinrich: 'Ich empfinde einen Sohn als poesievoller, mehr als Fortsetzung und Wiederbeginn meiner selbst unter neuen Bedingungen.'¹⁶ Indeed Thomas' at times narcissistic attraction to his son was noted in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

Bringing offspring into the world is associated to a great degree by both father and son with a sense of guilt. Thomas noted in his diary that 'Jemand wie ich "sollte" selbstverständlich keine Kinder in die Welt setzen' [TMD, I, 10; 20.9.1918], whereby the phrase *Jemand wie ich* is ambivalent (does he mean a renowned writer; or a man with homoerotic tendencies?), particularly given that the diary entry responded to the father's feelings having discovered his son, naked in bed.

Klaus attributes guilt to the parents perhaps even more markedly than his father does. The very first lines of his mature autobiography suggest his belief that his fate has

¹⁶ TM-HM, 40.

already been decided by the *passions and crimes* of those preceding him, while again the fact that he appears to concentrate on the dubious influence of earlier *generations* does not detract entirely from the feeling that he may have someone more immediate in mind.

Klaus asks:

Wo beginnt die Geschichte? Wo sind die Quellen unseres individuellen Lebens? Welche versunkenen Abenteuer und Leidenschaften haben unser Wesen geformt? Woher kommt die Vielfalt widerspruchsvoller Züge und Tendenzen, aus denen unser Charakter sich zusammensetzt?

Ohne Frage, wir sind tiefer verwurzelt, als unser Bewußtsein es wahrhaben will. Niemand, nichts ist zusammenhanglos. Ein umfassender Rhythmus bestimmt unsere Gedanken und Handlungen; unsere Schicksalskurve ist Teil eines gewaltigen Mosaiks, das durch Jahrhunderte hindurch dieselben uralten Figuren prägt und variiert. Jede unserer Gesten wiederholt einen urväterlichen Ritus und antizipiert zugleich die Gebärden künftiger Geschlechter; noch die einsamste Erfahrung unseres Herzens ist die Vorwegnahme oder das Echo vergangener oder kommender Passionen.

Es ist ein langes Suchen und Wandern: Wir mögen es zurückverfolgen bis ins fahle Zwielflicht der Höhle, des barbarischen Tempels. Das blutige Zeremoniell der Darbringung geht weiter in unseren Träumen; in unseren Unterbewußtsein widerhallen die Schreie vom primitiven Altar, und die Flamme, die das Opfer verzehrt, sendet noch immer ihre flackernden Lichter. Die atavistischen Tabus und inzestuösen Impulse früher Generationen bleiben ins uns lebendig; die tiefste Schicht unseres Wesens büßt für die Schuld der Ahnen; unsere Herzen tragen die Last vergessenen Kummers und vergangener Qual.

Woher stammt diese Unruhe in meinem Blut? Unter meinen nordischen Vorfahren mag es Piraten gegeben haben, deren Rastlosigkeit in mir weiterlebt. Welche meiner Schwächen und Laster verdanke ich einem hanseatischen Urgroßvater – Kapitän, Handelsmann oder Richter -, dessen Namen ich nie kennen werde? Was ich für mein persönlichstes Drama hielt, ist vielleicht nur die Fortsetzung von Tragödien, die sich einst in der stickigen Gemütlichkeit eines norddeutschen Patrizierhauses abgespielt haben – weit weg, irgendwo am Gestade der Ostsee. [WPKT, 9f.]

This passage hints that Klaus believes even his sexual disposition to have been inherited from, or influenced by, the *fathers*. The reference to the *blutige Zeremoniell* calls to mind the idea of the castration of this son which has cropped up at various stages in this thesis. Further, Klaus appears to indicate his awareness of the incestuous feelings which have been present as the background to his upbringing. Chapters Two and Four demonstrated Klaus' view of the guilt of *the fathers* for their conduct regarding the First World War, and the world which they had created for their offspring. That famous men create deep-

seated problems for the sons which they bring into the world was not just a question on Thomas' mind, as illustrated by the following diary entry of Klaus': '... Bref: "grosse Männer" sollten doch wohl keine Söhne haben ...' [KMD, 4, 31; 30.3.1938]

The sense that Klaus' fate has been decided by his father's actions is furthered by the ways in which Klaus himself can be regarded as being one of his father's literary figures. Before Klaus was even born, Thomas was writing *Königliche Hoheit* (1909; written 1905-1909) in which the main figure carries the same name (Klaus Heinrich) as Thomas' son (Klaus Heinrich Thomas). In *Wälsungenblut* (1906) Thomas described the incestuous relationship between twins. Klaus and Erika's birthdays were so close together that their birthdays were celebrated on Erika's birthday (this has the two-fold effect of making the siblings seem more like twins, but also of negating in a sense the existence of Klaus. [TMD, I, 65; 9.11.1918; Klaus' actual birthday is in contrast not even mentioned in this year (18.11.1918).]) Erika and Klaus themselves were often believed to be twins, and they deliberately presented themselves as such during their travels in the USA in 1929. Their relationship was not without undertones of an incestuous connection, and indeed Klaus' *Geschwister* (1930) echoes to a great degree the sense of indulged, decadent opulence of the world of the siblings which emanated from *Wälsungenblut*. Thus Klaus and his sister can be seen to have adopted and enacted the roles of their father's literary figures.¹⁷

Thomas deliberately highlighted that he was a father in writings such as 'Über die Ehe' and *Bruder Hitler*,¹⁸ it was suggested in Chapter 2 that this way of presenting himself was in part as a reaction to Klaus' activities. Although Thomas wished to present *himself* as a progenitor, this thesis has referred to several areas of this father-son

¹⁷ See Kroll, II, 71, 90f. and Härle, 83-86, regarding the idea of Klaus as one of his father's literary figures; Härle interprets this aspect, and particularly the naming of Klaus, as a kind of libidinous occupation by Thomas. [GH, 84]

¹⁸ See also Appendix 5.1 regarding the name *Abel*, in *Unordnung*.

relationship which are characterized by the idea of the castration of the son. Chapter 3 demonstrated from Thomas' diaries the sense that Thomas resented, or felt a degree of awkwardness about, the existence of his son, while Chapter 4 pointed out ways in which Thomas can be seen to have acted as a kind of intellectual, or vocal, castrator of Klaus.

Chapter 3 also pointed out that Klaus made a diary note regarding the theme of castration in the *Huij und Tuij* chapter of *Joseph*. Thomas and Katia themselves played a game with gender modes with their offspring, purposefully dressing the boys in a colour normally reserved for girls, and vice versa (red; and blue) as Klaus notes in *Der Wendepunkt*, and these were the colours in which the children were made to walk around the *Herzogpark*, suffering the mocking of the *Gassenkinder*; an ambivalent action which, if playful, is not entirely without an element of cruelty. [WPKT, 37f.]

The study of Thomas' 1918-1921 diaries undertaken for Chapter 3 revealed that, while Klaus' attractiveness was praised in feminine terms by Thomas in his diaries, Erika was praised in more masculine terms;¹⁹ and Klaus continues this in his masculine descriptions of his sister in his autobiographies.²⁰

Katia referred to her extreme annoyance whenever she bore a girl; stating also that she had wished vehemently that she were a boy, and had even insisted for a long time as a child that she be called *Peter* by her family.

Such a background cannot have been without influence on the Mann children's perception of their gender.

¹⁹ Thomas often praises Klaus' appearance with words which would normally imply femininity, whereas he often praises Erika's appearance with masculine-sounding words: 'Eissi [...] besonders anmutig [...].Klaus sehr anmutig. [...]Eissi kurz geschoren mit schieferm Scheitel, hübsch [...].Klaus mit dem kurzen Haar hübsch zu sehen. [...] Eissi erschreckend hübsch [...] reizend anzusehen.' [TMD, I, 206; 20.4.1919; 249, 24.5.1919; 454, 25.7.1920; 460, 13.8.1920; 114, 24.12.1918] Erika on the other hand is described in terms with more masculine connotations. She is: 'kräftig und stattlich', 'fleißig' and 'oft von aparter Schönheit'. [TMD, I, 249; 24.5.1919; 210;23.4.1919; 19; 29.9.1918]

²⁰ Further, one of Klaus' diary entries reads: 'Mielcins [...] Schimpfen gegen Z. und Familie. E[rika] sei "ein Mann"; ich – "eine Frau". [...] [KMD, IV, 57; 16.8.1938]

The question of progeny occupies Klaus both in his diaries and in his writings. Klaus notes in 1938: 'Besuch [...] mit dem besonders süßen kleinen Michael. (Neidisch; möchte auch so einen Sohn haben ----).' [KMD, IV, 66; 8.10.1938] Two years later, however, he writes: 'Stolz, dass ich mich nicht belade mit der Schuld der Fortpflanzung' [KMD, V, 29; 23.3.1940], a statement which fails to convince and which was doubtless influenced by his feelings regarding the political background. Chapter 2 discussed writings in which Klaus pushed his father out and had a Klaus-figure father children to a Katia-figure instead. Alexander reflects to himself: 'Warum darf ich keinen Sohn haben?' [Alex, 157]

In this novel, as in *Vergittertes Fenster*, there is a great deal of angst regarding the question of finding an heir, and even more so regarding a particular king's right to the throne. This is also an issue which affects *Kaspar Hauser*, a further autobiographical figure, rumoured to have been the son of the Duke of Baden. The tension in Klaus-figures particularly regarding staying in place as the heir, and that the right to the throne is removed from some of these figures (or that this is perceived as a threat) connects in a sense to the theme of the castration of the son; he is in effect *cut off* both from taking his place in the genealogical line; and from extending it.

In direct association with the ideas of progeny and castration which permeate this relationship, the sense emerges of Thomas' will to *outsurvive* others. Chapter 3 cited a diary entry of Klaus', in which Katia explained that Thomas was simply uncomfortable with the existence of other writing family members. This chapter also explored Thomas' reaction to the deaths of Klaus and Heinrich. Thomas' reaction to the death of his son was strangely distanced, and puzzling; and his memorial in *Klaus Mann zum Gedächtnis* was found, reading between the lines, to betray an element of spite towards his son. Thomas was also demonstrated in this chapter to have welcomed enthusiastically the plans for a

move away from the United States for Heinrich; and to have reacted to his death in an almost relieved manner, stating, not without an element of pleasure, his awareness of the fact that he was the sole remaining child.²¹ In this context it is worth remembering that two of Thomas' siblings, and two of his children, committed suicide.²² While it would be inappropriate in this context to interpret the above in the manner of a scholar like Krüll, it cannot be denied that a sense of Thomas wishing to be the sole (remaining) player permeates his relationship with his writing family (as it did with most other writers, especially his contemporary colleagues).

Visions of Grandeur

A further impression which is gained from the study of this literary relationship is the propensity on the part of both father and son to perceive themselves in visions of grandeur. This can be seen in Thomas' lifelong *Goethe-Imitatio* [Heftrich, TMHB, 447], and in writings such as *Königliche Hoheit*, and the *Joseph* novels. Further, if Klaus portrayed himself in christological tones as the chosen one, in *Alexander*, Thomas went one better and wrote a highly autobiographical novel on the theme of being the chosen one, *Der Erwählte* (1951). The exile period in the USA, a period of particular representativity for Thomas, saw the writer regarded (and regarding himself) in terms which verged on statesmanly, or regal. This is illustrated succinctly by his statement, on disembarking in the USA, 'Wo ich bin, ist Deutschland'.²³ Thomas noted during this period, not without pleasure, one suspects: 'Klaus bemerkt, die Emigranten gleichen einer Nation, die mich als ihren Gesandten betrachtet' [TMD, V, 117; 14.8.1940], Klaus' not being the only observation of this nature in this period.

²¹ TMD, VIII; 11.3.1950.

²² See Krüll, 438, regarding the death of Michael Mann.

²³ See Harpprecht, 978.

Klaus regarded himself in a similar fashion, characterizing himself as a prince from his earliest writings. [See KdZ, new, 228-231] It is interesting that Klaus progressed from such princely self-portrayals, to characterizing himself as *kings*; as Alexander the Great, in *Alexander*, and as Ludwig II, in *Vergittertes Fenster*.

Klaus also characterized himself into the role of the – as he saw him, neglected, but nevertheless renowned worldwide – composer, Tchaikovsky.

In *Symphonie Pathétique*, Klaus deliberately chose to portray, as Gregor-Dellin writes, a *Stern zweiter Größe*, and an *Umstrittener*, Tchaikovsky never having succeeded in gaining the admiration of the German public in the way that the *Meister*, Beethoven and Mozart, had done.²⁴

As Klaus writes in *Der Wendepunkt*:

[...] die Art seines Talents, sein künstlerischer Stil war zu gemischt, zu schillernd, zu kosmopolitisch, um irgendwo ganz goutiert zu werden. In Rußland galt er als 'westlich' [...]; die Deutschen warfen ihm 'asiatische Wildheit' vor, wozu noch [...] ein störender französischer Einfluß kam. In Paris [...] fand man ihn zu 'germanisch' [...]. [Wpkt, 334]

That Klaus sympathized with this side of Tchaikovsky, particularly given the political background to the writing of this novel, in 1935, is clear. He adds:

Ich wählte mir diesen Helden, weil ich ihn *liebe* und weil ich ihn kenne: Ich weiß alles von ihm. Ich liebe auch seine Musik, [...], oft ist sie mir so recht aus der Seele gesprochen [...]. Freilich weiß ich [...], daß der Komponist der gar zu gefälligen 'Nußknacker'- Suite und des gar zu effektvollen '1812' kein Beethoven ist, kein Bach. Aber welcher Erzähler würde sich an diese Titanen wagen? [...] Gerade die Fragwürdigkeit seines Genies, die Gebrochenheit seines Charakters, die Schwächen des Künstlers und des Menschen machten ihn mir vertraut, verständlich, *liebenswert*. [Wpkt, 333, my italics]

In his *Selbstanzeige*, he added: 'Ich *liebte* ihn mit all seinen Fehlern, Schwächen und Irrtümern [...].' [*Selbstanzeige*, KMA, my italics] Here, the reader gains the impression

²⁴ *Symphonie Pathétique* [edition spangenberg/Ellermann], *Nachwort*, 403.

that Klaus could equally have exchanged the word *mit* with *wegen*. Thus, an analogy has been established in Klaus' thinking between failings, and love.

Klaus' writing (like Tchaikovsky's music) was less calculated than that of Thomas (or Brahms' music), and could also be said to be imbued with more spontaneous, warm-hearted feeling. The reference to Brahms as 'dieser deutsche Meister' applies as much to Brahms as to Thomas, while Tchaikovsky's work meets criticism for being too cosmopolitan [SP, 186], perhaps another reflection on Klaus' part about the nature of his own oeuvre and at the same time a sarcastic reference to the status of his father, regarded by many as the representative German.

Brahms is adopted in the Tchaikovsky-novel as a representative of Thomas, and provides a means for Klaus' challenge to his father, Brahms being portrayed almost as Tchaikovsky's adversary. Just as Klaus shares many of his attributes with Tchaikovsky, Brahms bears numerous similarities to the acclaimed Thomas. Brahms is known as one of the greatest 19th Century composers. His musical tastes were mainly classical and very serious, and Brahms rejected Liszt's radical wing of contemporary German music to become, instead, a figurehead of the classical faction, his works often tightly written in Classical forms and his composition, not least of the *Deutsches Requiem*, rendering him *Meister* status. Tchaikovsky's oeuvre is portrayed, in comparison with that of Brahms, as more approachable, more imbued with (often melancholic) feeling, less structured, and more cosmopolitan, with the result that, if Brahms can be regarded as a representative of Thomas, Tchaikovsky is no less fitting as a representative of Klaus.

Tchaikovsky describes his reaction to Brahms' music accordingly:

[...] ich finde in der Musik Ihres Meisters etwas Trockenes, Kaltes, Nebelhaftes und Abstoßendes. Es ist in allem, was er macht, eine Neigung zum Bodenlosen, die mich abstößt. [...] Mir wird in meinem Herzen nicht warm, wenn ich diese Musik höre, im Gegenteil, [...] es friert mich. [...] Ist dieser deutsche Meister wirklich so tief [...]? Oder

kokettiert er nur mit der Tiefe, um die erschreckende Armut und Trockenheit seiner Phantasie zu verbergen? [KM, SP, 55f.]

Klaus is almost certainly addressing his own reaction to his father's oeuvre in this passage. The music of Tchaikovsky is warm, uncalculated and comes from the heart, whereas that of Brahms is cold, clever and calculated. Brahms is referred to as *dieser deutsche Meister*, a term which could also have been applied very fittingly to Thomas.

Appendix 6.1

Names

Some interesting names have been encountered in the course of this study in the writings of Klaus and Thomas. This is not the place for an exhaustive, comprehensive study of these.²⁵ Rather, this section seeks merely to pinpoint some of the more interesting of these names which can be seen to hold a significance for the literary relationship. Some of these hold a direct significance; others are curiosities. As with some of the other appendices, this material is intended as a more light-hearted accompaniment to the discussions in the individual chapters. In some cases, material is referred to which, it is felt, would benefit from further study.

Perhaps the most interesting names of all are those of our two writers: the surname *Mann* has the potential for a highly ironic interpretation, not least given the sexual disposition of our writers. The word *Mann* has been employed to notable effect in places in the writings discussed in this thesis; '*Männlich* schaute der Ministerialrat hinter seinen Brillengläsern, männlich und wohlgesinnt' mocked Klaus in *Der Vater lacht*. [DVL, 35, KM's italics] In *Alexander*, Klaus became more serious and, in keeping with the development of his political thinking, and in continuation of the theme of blame of the political legacy of *the fathers*, Philip was despised by Olympia as '*der Mann*':

²⁵ Several studies of names in the writings of Thomas exist. Those which have been consulted are: Walter L. Robinson, 'The name-characterisation in the works of Thomas Mann' (1959); Lee Stavenhagen, 'The name Tadzio in *Der Tod in Venedig*', (1962); Jürgen Lodemann, 'Thomas Mann und seine Namen' (1965); Manfred Link, 'Namen im Werk Thomas Manns', (1966); Doris Rümmele, 'Mikrokosmos im Wort: Zur Ästhetik der Namengebung bei Thomas Mann' (1969); Siegmund Tyroff, *Namen bei Thomas Mann in den Erzählungen und den Romanen 'Buddenbrooks', 'Königliche Hoheit', 'Der Zauberberg'* (1985); Siegfried Lenz, 'Etwas über Namen' (1985); Yahya A. Elsayid, 'Herr und Frau X. beliebig? Zur Funktion der Vornamensinitiale bei Thomas Mann' (1999) As yet only one study has been found to refer to names employed by Klaus: Margit Frank's study of Jewish names in German fiction, which does give an analysis of names employed by Klaus in *Der Vulkan*. The main sources for the meanings of the names explored in this section have been the *dtv-Atlas Namenkunde* (1998); Reclam's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (1966) and the *Oxford Dictionary of English Christian Names* (1977), referred to as 'dtv' and 'Reclam'.

[...] Das Regiment des Mannes zerstörte bald alles Gute, was wir in Jahrhunderten aufgebaut hatten. - –Philipp vereinigte in sich alle schlechten männlichen Eigenschaften, er war *der Mann*, darum haßte ich ihn. [Alex, 53f., KM's italics]

Thomas' will to be regarded as a progenitor, and as a *proper* man, has characterized various writings examined in the course of this thesis, from 'Über die Ehe', and *Unordnung*, to 'Bruder Hitler'. It is interesting, in the light of this, that the only occasion on which he showed any real satisfaction, pride or approval of his son was when he had managed to be accepted by the US army. "Du bewährst Dich nun [...] ganz richtig und tapfer wie ein *Mann*", wrote the 'bürgerlich-stolz' Thomas. The ambivalent prologue to *Klaus Mann zum Gedächtnis* cites that 'Er wollte ja *brav* sein, wollte seinen *Mann* stehen in diesem Leben und hat es getan in einem Maß, das ich heldenhaft nenne bei einem, dem Todessehnsucht früh im Herzen keimte.' [KMzG, 7-11, TM's italics (*brav*); my italics (*Mann*)] The overall implication of this document is that Klaus did not quite manage, his '*Mann* [zu] stehen', however, a message which is clearly not entirely against the author's wishes, as discussed in Chapter 3.

A further interesting aspect of the names of our writers is that Thomas viewed a son as a kind of higher continuation of himself under different circumstances. Indeed given the theme of castration which has permeated this thesis, this is fitting in that, if Klaus is to be a continuation of Thomas, this does not leave much room within the son for Klaus himself. That his name was 'Klaus Heinrich Thomas Mann' holds various implications. This emphasizes the idea, which was also Klaus' belief, that our lives and experiences are unavoidably influenced by the darkest deeds and *passions* of previous *generations*, as he wrote at the very beginning of his later autobiography, cited in Appendix 5.1. Indeed in carrying this name he is a continuation not only of his father, but of his uncle, of his grandfather, and so on. [See Mann Family Tree; supplied with De

Mendelssohn and Krüll] That Thomas had already named a literary figure 'Klaus Heinrich' and was still writing about this figure in the period in which Klaus was conceived, carried and born, has implications for the life of this offspring, suggesting that it would have been difficult for him *not* to be viewed as a kind of literary figure of his father's, and not to fall inevitably into this role, as Klaus did. [Appendix 5.1]²⁶

Klaus' tendency to give autobiographical figures names which suggest power and superiority has been noted. In *Der fromme Tanz*, he named his autobiographical figure *Andreas*. The stem of this Greek name is, like that of the name *Alexander*, the *bravery* group of names. *Andr-/andros* means *man*. Combining this figure's name with his surname gives *Andreas Magnus*, which would be taken to mean 'the great man'. Given our writers' surname, however, this could also be interpreted as 'the *great* Mann' (as opposed to any others bearing the name 'Mann'), with obvious implications for Thomas.²⁷ That this figure is named *Andreas Magnus* relates his name to *Alexander der Große* in that the latter parts of the names parallel one another (*Magnus* being the Latin term for *der Große* or *the Great*; as in *Carolus Magnus*) and serve as further reminders of Klaus' wish to suggest power with his autobiographical figures.

Alexander is a Greek name composed of two parts: *Andr-/andros* meaning 'man', and *Alex-* meaning 'defence' or 'fear-inducing' (*Abwehr*). [dtv] Reclam interprets the name as 'der Männer abwehrt'. Again this is given double significance by the surname of our writers.²⁸

²⁶ It is further interesting that if Klaus did have a love of his life, the name of this lover was Thomas ['Thomas Quinn Curtiss']; although Klaus insisted for obvious reasons perhaps on calling his lover 'Curtiss'. [See KMD and also Breloer, *Die Manns*, 247.]

²⁷ Given the proximity of the name *Andreas* to the term 'der andere', this name could also be regarded as signifying 'the *other* (great) Mann'.

²⁸ The name given to Klaus' autobiographical figure in the first writing of Klaus' discussed in this thesis (*Die Jungen*), Harald, is also a power-name; a compound of *here* (host, army) and *weald* (power).

Klaus' writings have tended to employ epithets, particularly with reference to Thomas ciphers (*Der Ministerialrat*; *Der Alte*). In *Kindernovelle* and *Der siebente Engel*, these were found to be ironic references to the status of Thomas (*Der Meister*). In *Der fromme Tanz*, the Thomas cipher is named *Doktor Magnus*, again a reference to the status of Thomas, who had received his honorary doctorate from Bonn in 1919. [PdeM, III, 114].²⁹

Klaus repeatedly gave the name *Kaspar* to autobiographical figures, notably in his *Kaspar-Hauser-Legenden* (1925), and he felt a life-long empathy with the figure of Kaspar Hauser. *Klaus Mann zum Gedächtnis* was even prefaced with Klaus' poem, *Kaspar Hauser singt*. It is conspicuous, therefore, that the devil in *Doktor Faustus* is referred to as 'Kesperlin', or 'Kaspar' [DrF, 306] and that the dog, which, sinisterly, refuses to refrain from barking except at Adrian Leverkühn's command, is referred to as 'Kaschperl'. [DrF, 37; 276; 342; 346; 573]

²⁹ (It should be noted, however, that Thomas had already used this name for a married couple in *Der Zauberberg*.) The title of a further Thomas-like figure, Professor Benjamin Abel, in *Der Vulkan*, further underlines the stature of the Thomas-figures. A curiosity is that the names of the father and son in *Unordnung* are connected. The name of the son, Bert, means *glänzend, hell, or strahlend*, but the unfortunate son-figure is thus named no doubt merely because it was taken from Bert Fischel, an actor friend of Klaus and his sister. The father's name in this story, Abel, is short for Albert and Albrecht, which in turn are shortened from Adalbert. Adalbert is made up of the two Old High German components 'adal' ('Adel') and '-bert' ('glänzend'). (Reclam) Margit Frank writes in contrast that 'Abel' is 'most often a diminutive of Abraham'. (Frank, 221) The name 'Abraham' means 'Vater der Menge' (dtv). Thus the Thomas figure's name can be regarded as a more noble (*Adel*) version of his son's, but also as a diminutive of a naming meaning 'Vater der Menge', which is fitting given the characters described in *Unordnung*, and again vouches for Thomas' wish to be regarded as a progenator

Klaus employs the same name, Abel, for one of his figures again bearing a strong resemblance to Thomas: the figure 'Professor Benjamin Abel' in *Der Vulkan*. (Frank concludes that this figure is a portrait of Ernst Bertram, helped to this conclusion by these figures' sharing the letter 'b' in their names. While there may be elements in this figure of Ernst Bertram, the most obvious similarity is that between this figure and Thomas) Benjamin, the youngest son of Jacob, was originally named 'Benoni' ('son of my sorrow'). This may relate to the suffering caused to this figure by the Nazis. Just as Klaus borrowed from Thomas, in his use of the name 'Abel', Thomas had used the name 'Benjamin' in *Joseph und seine Brüder* (1933). Benjamin was a name commonly associated with Jewish people in the Third Reich, and was a name which Jewish people often sought to have changed. (dtv, Frank)

Klaus employed several other names which also began with the first letter of his forename for autobiographical figures, to underline the connection.³⁰ The medieval sounding name, Kunigunde, is given to the daughter in Klaus' *Der Vater lacht* and then, conspicuously, to Adrian's admirer Kunigunde Rosenstiel in *Doktor Faustus*. In choosing to give the name 'Kunigunde' to an unmarried woman with whom Leverkühn has a fleeting relationship, Thomas may have intended to criticize his son's wayward lifestyle, and to gain revenge for the portrayal of the Thomas figure in Klaus' novella.³¹

That Klaus also gave two prominent autobiographical figures names beginning with the letter *A*, *Andreas* and *Alexander*, is interesting in the light of the argument presented in Chapter 6 that Thomas found inspiration for *Adrian Leverkühn* in his son.

The pet names employed by the Mann family are also significant. The name *Eissi*, for Klaus, was shown in Chapter 6 to hold an added meaning, given the cold aspects of Klaus' nature, which, it was argued, exerted an influence on the characterization of Leverkühn. The name *Zauberer*, for Thomas, has haunting implications both of magic, and control. Given that derivatives of the word *Zauber* have been found to appear frequently in the writings of Klaus, a detailed examination of these instances would doubtless have interesting results. Klaus' pet name deviated greatly from his actual forename, in comparison with those of his siblings which were obvious derivatives; and Klaus' way of addressing his father also avoids any reference to this figure's actual name, or position within their relationship, as his father. While this has a magical and almost un-

³⁰ Klaus' first pseudonym was Karl Trebitsch, he writes in *Kind dieser Zeit*. [KdZ, old, 115] There are two Klaus-figures in the late story *Letztes Gespräch*, Karl again, and Annette (see below on Klaus-figures' names beginning with *A*. See also NS, KM-Biog, 213] The figure Martin Korella, in *Der Vulkan*, carries the first initials of Klaus' name in reverse order.

³¹ The name 'Cunegund' is that of three saints, nuns who lived in convents, which ties in with the association of Klaus' Kunegunde and religious piety. This name also sounds, however, like the female sex organ ('cunnus') which may be an allusion to the other dimension of this figure's personality, her uninhibited sexuality. It is worth noting that 'Kunigundenkraut' is a name for 'eupatorium cannabinum', or cannabis, which is significant given Klaus' drug addiction during most of his adult life; and could also imply that the 'scharf riechende Zigaretten' which Kunigunde dares to smoke at table may contain more than tobacco.

real effect, as a continuation of the habit of the Mann family to fabricate their own words and expressions, enhancing in a way the privacy of the family medium but also creating the sense of magic and that all life was fictional, this also has the effect of negating the relationship between these two figures and in a sense the existence of one another within the family framework.³²

³² See also Matamoro, 90f. on the fact that Klaus avoids addressing his parents with the usual parental terms.

Appendix 6.2

The Two Kens: Klaus' *Rut und Ken* and Thomas' *Die Betrogene*

Klaus' tendency to give autobiographical characters names beginning with the first letter of his own name was noted above, in discussions of the names Kaspar, and Kunigunde. Two further figures share the same name, which also begins with the letter *K*, *Ken*, in Klaus' *Rut und Ken* (1930) and Thomas' *Die Betrogene* (1953)³³; although these figures were examined in this light as possible Klaus-ciphers, a close reading of these texts had rather different, and unexpected, results. It would appear that these two figures share more the same forename, and that Thomas was inspired in the portrayal of his figure by many other aspects of his son's Ken, as will be demonstrated in the following discussion; again this is material which has never before been unearthed by scholars.

The likelihood that Thomas was inspired by his son in naming, and characterizing, his figure seems to be confirmed not least by the significant parallels in the purpose fulfilled by each of these figures in their respective narratives.

The implication that an older woman is (unhappily) in love with Ken X, in *Rut und Ken*, is conspicuous. This older woman is described as follows: '[...] eine schon gereifere Dame, die wenig aß und ihn [Ken] traurig ansah'. [RuK, 198] Thomas' story *Die Betrogene* centres on the emotional involvement of a middle-aged woman with a man many years her junior. Beyond the shared association of these two young male figures with attachments to older women, both of the figures named Ken are associated in their respective stories with parallel sets of values: with youth; sexuality; promiscuity; attractiveness; athleticism; cosmopolitanism; westernism; non-Germanism; a disregard for a disciplined or structured outlook; a relaxed bearing; taking advantage of people, false appearances, and with being non-intellectual.

In *Rut und Ken*, two cousins, Rut and Rudi, holiday together in the South of France.³⁴ Rut entertains thoughts of the prospect of marrying her cousin one day (she finds this thought reassuring, not exciting, in case life should one day become too unpleasant). A young Englishman, Ken, appears and Rut is attracted to him. Her cousin experiences feelings of concern, mixed with jealousy, for Rut. Eventually Rut goes on a 'date' with Ken, who has instructed her to bring along some money (they will go to a casino). When they leave a club in the early hours of the morning, Rut has fallen in love but Ken abandons her, 'forgetting' to return her money. Rudi consoles Rut and reassures her that no great harm has been done and that it will simply be necessary for them to travel home by third class, and Rut again entertains the consoling thought of marrying her cousin one day.

The very order of events in the two stories is surprisingly similar, as demonstrated in the following table:

<u><i>Rut und Ken</i></u>	<u><i>Die Betrogene</i></u>
• Rut and Rudi	• Rosalie and Anna
• Ken arrives	• Ken arrives
• Rut and Rudi on Ken (Rut's attraction and Rudi's concern; negative comment about Ken's facial features)	• Rosalie and Anna on Ken (Rosalie's attraction and Anna's concern; negative comment about Ken's facial features)
• Rut and Ken	• Rosalie and Ken
• Ken away	• Ken away (in that Rosalie fails to visit him)
• Rut and Rudi reunited	• Rosalie and Anna reunited

³³ Klaus' figure was doubtless inspired by a lover of his from 1929: the Scot, Ken McConnel, to whom he dedicated *Gegenüber von China*. The Ken in Klaus' story will be referred to for ease as 'Ken X', his surname not being given.

³⁴ The first line of the story appears to feature an error: 'Die Februarreise von Rut und Ken an den kleinen Rivieraort war eine Angelegenheit, die seit September besprochen war.' Presumably *Ken*

The only significant difference between the two schemes is that Rosalie dies in connection to her affair, whereas the only negative effect for Rut is the necessity of returning home in third class.

6.2.1 The Two Kens

6.2.1.1 Youthfulness

Ken X, in *Rut und Ken*, is strongly associated with youthfulness. He is described in the first reference to him as ‘der große englische Jüngling [...], den sie vorläufig “big boy” nannten.’ [KM, RuK, 195] This association is made repeatedly throughout the story, with Ken described again as ‘big boy’, and as ‘der junge Engländer’, ‘der Junge von großer Welt’, ‘der junge Mann’, ‘junge[r] Angelsachse[r]’ [RuK, 196, 197, 198; see also 201].

Similarly, Ken, in *Die Betrogene*, is introduced as ‘ein [...] junger Mann namens Ken Keaton’ and is referred to repeatedly in similar terms: he has a ‘Jungengesicht’; he is ‘der Junge’; he is ‘der junge Mann’; he is one of ‘die jungen Leute’ and he is a ‘Junge’. [TM, Betrog, 893, 895, 913f., 900, 907, 939, 913f.]

6.2.1.2 Sexuality

Ken X, in *Rut und Ken*, is portrayed as a sexually attractive figure. His description is paralleled to a great extent by that of Ken Keaton:

Ken (<i>Rut und Ken</i>)	Ken (<i>Die Betrogene</i>)
Tall: ‘der große englische Jüngling, den sie “big boy” nannten’ [KM, RuK, 195]	Tall: ‘[Ken] [...] war vorzüglich gewachsen [...]’ [TM, Betrog, 895]
Blond: Ken’s hair is ‘hell’ [KM, RuK, 197f.]	Blond: ‘dichtes blondes Haar’ [TM, Betrog, 895]

should be replaced by *Rudi*. [KM, RuK, 194] The more recent publication of the story in KM, *Maskenscherz*, revised ed. (Reinbek:Rowohlt, 1995, 253) features the same error.

Slim Hips: 'diese[] schmalen und elastischen Hüften' [KM, RuK, 196]	Slim Hips: 'schmalen Hüften' [TM, Betrog, 895]
Attractive Hands: 'diese[] großen, sehnigen, schlanken, rötlichbraun verbrannten Hände' [KM, RuK, 196]	Attractive Hands: 'Sehr anständige Hände hatte er auch [...]'; 'die weißen, herrschaftlichen Hände' [TM, Betrog, 895f.]
Fair Skin: 'sein heller Körper war [...] an manchen Stellen von der Sonne rötlich verbrannt. Auf seinen Armen zeigten sich, wie übrigens auf seiner Stirne, Sommersprossen'	Fair Skin: 'die weißen, Hände'; 'sehr ansehnliche, [...], weiße junge Arme' [TM, Betrog, 896, 900]

6.2.1.3 Popular Lovers

That Ken X, in *Rut und Ken*, eats lunch with a different type of person every day seems to point to more than lunch, as does Rut's question: 'Woher kamen diese Boys, mit denen er nach Tisch auf dem Platz vorm Hotel spielte, Arm in Arm durch die Gassen des Hafenplatzes schlenderte?' [RuK, 198] Ken disappears at night, not usually returning to the hotel until the following day. [KM, RuK, 199] In addition, Rudi calls this figure a 'Makro' implying his promiscuity. [RuK, 199] Further, he is repeatedly referred to as 'big boy', which has an obvious sexual implication. [RuK, 195, 196] The implication of the above is that this figure may even be serving as a gigolo. This impression is enhanced by Ken's being accompanied on his holiday by the older lady mentioned above, and by one of his lunch partners: 'einmal erschien eine schon gereiferte Dame, die wenig aß und ihn traurig ansah; [...].'[KM, RuK, 198] That Ken luncheons at one point with 'ein ergrauter Herr mit feinem, sorgenvollem Gesicht' is ambivalent: is this a father figure or a sexual partner? This question will reappear below.

Ken Keaton, in *Die Betrogene*, is a similarly popular lover whose activities also take on a hint at his being a gigolo of sorts. Ken has, reportedly, 'viel Glück bei Frauen' [TM, Betrog, 895], a rumour which Rosalie finds understandable. Ken's flirting with

society women has made him very popular, and although he is already in a relationship with a society woman, he wishes to begin a relationship with Rosalie. [TM, Betrog, 907f., 933] Speculating as to whether Ken is in a sexual relationship with society lady Louise Pfingsten, or with Amélie Lützenkirchen, Rosalie concludes that he may well be having a love affair with both women, 'wozu er durchaus komplett genug ware!' [TM, Betrog, 915] The word 'komplett' holds of course a double significance, echoing the repeated descriptions of Ken X in *Rut und Ken* as 'big boy'.

6.2.1.4 Westernism / Cosmopolitanism

The Westernism of these two figures is very much emphasized in both narratives. Ken X, in *Rut und Ken*, is introduced as a 'junge[r] Angelsachse[r]' [KM, RuK, 198], the same term being used to describe Ken Keaton's features, which are 'angelsächsischen Gepräges' [TM, Betrog, 895]. It is significant that the ideas associated with Ken X's westernism, or cosmopolitanism, in Klaus' narrative, are identical to those associated with Ken Keaton's westernism, or cosmopolitanism. The manifestations of this aspect of the characterization of Ken X, in *Rut und Ken*, lend to the story a pervasive opposition of values.

Ken X is characterized by his laid-back outlook on life. Rut observes Ken lazing around at the beach and remarks with envy: 'Nur junge Angelsachsen bringen es fertig, mit so schöner Selbstverständlichkeit, absolut *nichts* zu tun. [...] Wie leicht ihm die Stunden vergehn, [...].' [KM, RuK, 198, Klaus' italics] Similarly, Ken Keaton is introduced to the 'von Tümmler's in order to teach Eduard English. Reading between the lines, however, it emerges that Eduard spends the one and a half hour lesson laughing, while Keaton, actually 'gar kein gelernter Lehrer', follows a 'völlig lockere Methode', meaning that he:

[stellte] alles aufs Gelegentliche ab [...] und unbekümmert drauflos praktizierend, mit slang-Geschwätz und nonsense den Schüler, der sich nichts Besseres wünschte, in seine bequeme und humoristische, weltläufige Sprache hineinzog. [TM, Betrog, 894]

Keaton's outlook is also characterized by the fact that he does not seem to have a clear purpose, or goal, in mind, having been honourably discharged from the army and now wandering round Germany teaching English. The implications of this aspect will become apparent below.

A further manifestation of the westernness of Ken X is his gracious ease of manner. Even in the shabby bar he manages to lean on the counter 'mit der Haltung des Jungen von großer Welt'. [RuK, 197] Keaton creates a similar impression with his 'ungezwungenes, aber nicht unmanierliches Wesen' and in his loosely styled, casual clothes: 'So bewegte er sich zwanglos in den Salons [...].' [TM, Betrog, 895, 907]

Ken X benefits from the novelty aroused by his being a non-German. He arouses the interest of Rudi's boring friends, the Lubliners: 'Lubliners rückten angeregt auf den Stühlen: mit einem Ausländer zu sprechen, bedeutete Sensation.' [KM, RuK, 197] The '*drollige[r]* Akzent' (my italics) of Ken is highlighted, and a hint is given that the foreignness of this figure may be a large element of Rut's attraction to him: 'Von den Berliner Freunden [Lubliners] degoutiert, merkte, daß der junge Engländer schön war, Rut plötzlich, [...].' [KM, RuK, 196]

Similarly Keaton speaks '*drolliges* Deutsch' [TM, Betrog, 895, my italics] and he is well aware of the attraction exercised by his foreignness. He:

profitierte vergnüglich von der deutschen Schwäche für alles Ausländische und wußte recht wohl, daß seine Aussprache des Deutschen, die kindlichen Wendungen, deren er sich dabei bediente, sehr gefielen. [TM, Betrog, 907]

Aside from the foreignness of these figures, it is important to point out that they share another important quality: neither is what he seems to be and both take advantage of others.

6.2.1.5 False Appearances/Taking Advantage

There are numerous pointers to underhand activities in Ken X's life. His many colourful visitors and strange 'Boys' hint at this, as do his nocturnal disappearances, and when he forgets to return Rut's money the implication is that this is not the first time he has behaved in this way. It is repeated that his voice does not fit his light hair or slim hips – that it is deeper than would be expected – another indicator that he is not so innocent. [KM, RuK, 197, 199, 200] Further, Rut comments: 'Dafür, daß er so kurz in Heidelberg war, spricht er famos Deutsch.' [KM, RuK, 200]³⁵ Again this arouses suspicion: could he actually be living in this holiday resort, popular with Germans, making a living by using his foreignness to seduce girls for their money? Before Rut's date with Ken, a hint is already given at the possible unreliability of this figure, when Ken tells Rut stories about himself of doubtful truth:

Seinen Geschichten und Aufschneidereien lauschte sie hingegen, daß sie manches unwahrscheinlich fand, wagte sie sich nicht einzugestehen. [...] Vielmehr lächelte sie selig, da er von dem italienischen Schößchen seiner Mutter, von seinen sportlichen Rekordleistungen in London, seinen gesellschaftlichen Triumphen in Paris, Rom und Madrid sprach. [KM, RuK, 200]

Beneath the surface, Ken Keaton lives under appearances which are just as misleading. It was related above that he speaks German, deliberately emphasising the appeal of his accent and child-like phrases. He has also maintained his American habit of cutting up the meat on his plate before beginning to eat, as he knows this to have a similar appeal. [TM,

³⁵ It is related that Ken had studied in Heidelberg at one point.

Betrog, 908] Siegmund Tyroff points out: 'Sein ungezwungenes amerikanisches Wesen wird verdächtig durch die Tatsache, daß er "in einer kleinen Stadt eines östlichen Staates" geboren wurde.' [Tyroff, 295] Rosalie defends the simplicity of Keaton's thinking, explaining that it has at heart the great democratic thinking of his country, but Anna's reply, 'Er mag sein Land ja gar nicht', is a reminder that all may not be what it seems. In addition Keaton receives an invalid's pension, but the disputation between Rosalie and Anna as to whether having a missing kidney would enable Keaton to live in perfect health, again points to possible suspicious circumstances. [TM, Betrog, 914]

Keaton's stories about himself contain an element of the fantastic, like those of Ken X. There is something too good to be true about his story of how he, the son of a jack of all trades, advanced himself through university, and his enthusiasms about Germany coupled with his negative attitude towards his own country have an air of the ridiculous. This is summed up in his declaration that Germany is his favourite country, although he has only seen a small part of the country, and that he tells of an old folk tradition (a fertility ritual, fittingly) of which the 'von Tümmeler's have never heard, implying that he has invented this or at least that it is irrelevant to Germany. [TM, Betrog, 894-899]

The connotations of prostitution associated with Ken X are echoed in the portrayal of Keaton. This idea is introduced in the sexual language used to describe Eduard's English lessons, and in the appeal of this to Rosalie, who comes to listen, '*angelockt von der in Eduards Zimmer herrschenden Vergnügtheit*' [TM, Betrog, 894f., my italics] The behaviour of this figure at society gatherings provides a further hint: '[Keaton] machte sich angenehm bei den Damen, mit denen er Englisch *trieb*, und bei solchen, von denen er noch dafür gewonnen zu werden wünschte [...].'[TM, Betrog, 907f., my italics] The word 'trieb' has a sexual association, and this points to Ken's wish to win over these ladies for more than English conversation.

The above aspects of Ken X's character - his youth; attractiveness; sexual promiscuity; his foreignness and associated habits; his hinted deceptive appearance; hints at his being a prostitute of sorts, not to mention his association with older women, indicate that Thomas found more to borrow from Klaus' story than a character's name: namely that he found the basis for a whole character. The themes which are inextricably linked to the two figures named Ken in these stories provide yet more persuasive indications that Thomas was inspired by Klaus' story.

6.2.2 Common Themes

6.2.2.1 Intellect Versus Non-intellect

The idea of the intellect and its opposite is one of the most important themes of *Rut und Ken*. It is conspicuous that the elderly lady in *Rut und Ken* is described as 'eine jener sehr, sehr Dummen', and as 'die sehr, sehr Dumme' [RuK, 195f.]. One of the most noticeable qualities of Rosalie, in *Die Betrogene*, is that she is not intellectually gifted – she is described as 'nicht sehr klug'. [TM, Betrog, 882] In *Rut und Ken*, the intellect is contrasted to sensuality; to nature; to the ideas of 'Herz' and of 'selig'; to happiness and to sexual attractiveness. Rut relishes in abandoning her inherent strong intellectuality under the influence of her captivation by Ken. Ken's ability to laze around causes the following reaction:

Wie leicht ihm die Stunden vergehn, dachte Rut, die den Dostojewski fortlegte. Angesichts seines wundervollen Müßigganges kam die Beschäftigung mit der Literatur ihr geschmacklos, plebejisch vor. [KM, RuK, 198]

The use of the word 'fortlegte' indicates that Rut's reading material has been more of a chore than a pleasure for her. The reason behind Rut's patience with Ken's fabrications becomes clear:

Sie war spöttisch und kritisch gewesen; aber da sie sich im Zustande der Verzauberung befand, verzichtete sie, ach wie gerne darauf, den Intellekt zu gebrauchen, der so lange ihr Leben beherrscht hatte. Vielmehr lächelte sie selig [...]. [KM, RuK, 200]

A key passage in this narrative (on Rut and Ken's return from their date) introduces many themes which stand out in the light of the purpose of this study (in italics):

[...] – Um einer Ergriffenheit³⁶, die sie erschreckte, Herr zu werden, *schloß sie die Augen*. Aber erst ihr in Rührung erblindetes Gesicht bestürmte mit unwiderstehlicher Macht *der Geruch dieses Morgens; Kühle, Feuchtigkeit, sanftes, starkes, trauriges Geräusch*. Sie hielt die Augen mehrere Sekunden geschlossen. In diesen Sekunden *reifte ihr Herz*, das spröde gewesen war. *Nun wurde es weich, wie die Frucht, die lange genug Sonne gehabt hat*; öffnete sich, ergoß süßen Inhalt. Sie atmete, von noch nicht gekannten Kräften durchströmt, immer seliger. Endlich wagte sie's, die Augen wieder aufzumachen, *da fand sie Ken schon ziemlich weit fort*. [KM, RuK, 202]

This passage is important in that each of the ideas it expresses is uncannily echoed prominently in *Die Betrogene*. That Rut closes her eyes is significant. The implication is that only once she has switched her intellect off can she be aware of her senses, of smelling and hearing and touching, and that only then can she experience love and passion. Similarly, *Rosalie's* admission of her passion for Ken Keaton does not take place until the pair are inside a passage which is pitch black. [TM, Betrog, 945-947]

The idea of Rut's heart ripening and the prominent association of nature with this is also a pointer to *Die Betrogene*, where the association of Rosalie with nature is repeated with great frequency. Rosalie talks at great length about the smells of nature, asking Anna to attempt to express smells in her paintings and expressing the wish in particular to smell flowers in a painting. [TM, Betrog, 880, 886]

The use of the word 'Herz' will not go unnoticed by those acquainted with *Die Betrogene*, this word taking on the effect of a leitmotif in association with Rosalie's

³⁶ Rut realizes her attraction to Ken 'und zwar mehr mit Schrecken, als mit Vergnügen.' [KM, RuK, 196] It is worth noting that the term 'Schrecken' is used prominently to describe Rosalie's reaction to her feelings for Keaton, in *Die Betrogene* [TM, Betrog, 901], and that the word 'Vergnügen' is

character. [TM, *Betrog*, 880, 908, 910, 911, 915, 916, 917, 919, 926, 950] Similarly the word 'Süßigkeit' is repeated in Thomas' story, in a passage not dissimilar to that quoted from *Rut und Ken* above: 'wieder fühlte [Rosalie] dies Überströmt- und Überschwemmtwerden ihres Inneren von ungeheuer Süßigkeit [...].' [TM, *Betrog*, 909. The word 'Süßigkeit' is also associated with Rosalie and with nature - see p. 885]

That, when Rut opens her eyes, Ken is already some distance away is a foretoken of what is to come. This could also be said of Rosalie's return to daylight.

The opposition of intellect to sensuality and even happiness is a theme which is fundamental to *Die Betrogene*. In this story, Anna, Rosalie's daughter, is gifted with an 'ungewöhnliche Intelligenz' and her 'Blick' is 'von sinnender Kühle'. [TM, *Betrog*, 879] Anna, born with a club foot, has never been able to take part in the normal things in the life of a young person. She did have an admirer at one point but was too proud to enter a relationship despite her strong attraction to the man concerned. Anna is opposed to her mother's thoughts of an affair with Keaton.

In *Rut und Ken*, Ken represented the opposite of intellectual endeavour. This element is taken one step further in *Die Betrogene*, his face described as 'nicht eben vom Geiste gezeichnet' and his character featuring 'freundliche Schlichtheit' and 'Einfalt'. [TM, *Betrog*, 893, 907, 913f.] An opposition is thus established between attractiveness/sexuality and intellect.

The following table sums up the thematic opposition created in *Rut und Ken*, and its echo in *Die Betrogene*:

employed with unmissable pointedness to describe Eduard's feelings associated with his activities. [TM, *Betrog*, 894, 895, 907, 915, 932]

<i>Rut und Ken</i>	<i>Die Betrogene</i>
Intellect (Rut, Anna)	Non-intellect (Ken)
Intellect = unattractive (Rut is characterized as being skinny, with yellowish limbs which are covered with thick hair); deformed (Anna has a club foot)	Non-intellect = attractive (see above) Rosalie takes great pleasure in nature's smells / Rosalie is passionate. When Rut closes her eyes to her intellect, she is aware of her senses and feels passion. Rosalie falls into dialect when talking about human passions.
Nature's smells give Anna a headache / Anna is not passionate	
Anna never speaks in dialect	
Rut expresses her attraction to Ken to Rudi	Rosalie lets slip her attraction to Ken to Anna
Rudi makes a negative comment ("Sein Gesicht ist mäßig", sagte Rudi plötzlich [...].' [KM, RuK, 196])	Anna makes a negative comment ('Das neue Gesicht, herzlich wenig bemerkenswert, wie Anna fand [...].' [TM, Betrog, 893])
General description of attractiveness of Ken, given presumably through Rut's eyes, where at beginning fact that Ken's face is not his best feature is acknowledged but defended ('Sein Gesicht war nicht eigentlich hübsch, aber unter dem frischen Haar war die Stirn schön geformt.' [KM, RuK, 197])	General description of attractiveness of Ken, given presumably through Rosalie's eyes, where at beginning fact that Ken's face is not his best feature is acknowledged but defended ('Ken [hatte] ein nicht sonderlich hübsches, aber auch nicht unangenehmes, harmlos freundliches Jungengesicht, das dank einem Anfluge angelsächsischen Gepräges denn doch hier nicht ganz gewöhnlich wirkte [...].' [TM, Betrog, 895])
Rudi tells Rut that he finds her behaviour/attraction 'unwürdig'. [KM, RuK, 199]	Anna tells Rosalie that she finds her behaviour/attraction 'unwürdig' [TM, Betrog, 892] and the idea of the abuse or otherwise of 'Würde' becomes one of the most crucial motifs of the narrative [See TM, Betrog, 892, 893, 901, 902, 912, 913, 922, 933, 941] ³⁷

³⁷ The shared first letter of the forenames of the two female protagonists of these stories ('R' and 'K') is, particularly in the light of the large body of parallels between the stories, conspicuous. The discussion of characters whose names began with the letter K featured above.

There are *elements* of Klaus' personality in the Ken figures (their promiscuity, and lack of discipline), although, as stated above, the primary model for Klaus' figure, the first Ken, appears to have been a man named Ken McConnel.

In the light of the Mann family's pet name for Thomas, it is interesting that Rut finds herself in a 'Zustande des Verzauberung' when Ken spends time with her telling his *stories*. [KM, RuK, 200] The idea of a 'Verzauberung' being caused by the object of one's desires is repeated in *Die Betrogene*, when Anna accuses Rosalie of being in an 'absurde Verzauberung'. [TM, Betrog, 915]

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¹ See Grunewald, KM-Biog, 41, regarding the original publishing date of this novel.

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