RICE UNIVERSITY STUDIES

MONOGRAPH IN COMPUTER APPLICATION

THE PREPARATION OF A COMPUTERIZED INDEX TO THE NONFICTION OF THOMAS MANN

ROBERT G. PORTER

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: PURPOSE AND METHOD

The purpose in constructing any sort of computerized index is to provide rapid access to a large amount of data in as many ways as may be deemed desirable. A computer can be programed to index titles electronically. Such projects are most useful where the key words in titles are concrete enough to minimize semantic ambiguity, as in the title "Student Scheduling System for High Schools" appearing in the IBM *Key-Word-in-Context Index*. Such titles are indexed alphabetically by their key words, which means that each title usually appears several times in the index, but only where the key words in the titles are concrete enough to provide accurate subject analysis.

A computer does not interpret either words or titles. Limited subject indexing can thus be programed "automatically" where the material submitted to the computer is sufficiently concrete and of minimal potential ambiguity. However, where articles of a more general or abstract nature are to be indexed by subject matter for computer access each item must be coded subjectively by a human indexer. The Thomas Mann Project involves the development of several indexes of a subjective nature, including a definitive topic index. To our knowledge no computerized information retrieval system similar to the Thomas Mann Project has yet been produced.

The work with Thomas Mann's nonfiction permitted neither machine scanning nor machine interpretation of the texts; nonetheless, the attempt was made to index a large body of material in a subjective as well as an objective manner. Abstracts were made of every available item, whether the material was of paragraph or essay length. Mann's discussion topics were classified and to a limited extent systemized; thus a topic index was originated, based on scholarly but nevertheless subjective judgment. All references to Mann's own works were indexed not only by title but also, again subjectively, by other considerations, such as the progress of a novel or the reception of a work. The names of persons were mentioned and, where it was judged necessary, also briefly identified.

Thus the Project involved primarily the subjective systematization of topical material as well as a great deal of reference research.

Herbert Lehnert initiated the Thomas Mann Project as an outgrowth of the research he had undertaken during the preceding ten years.¹ During this time Professor Lehnert studied and made notations from the accessible letters and notebooks of Thomas Mann located in such research centers as the *Thomas Mann Archiv der Eidgenössischen Technischen Hochschule der Stadt Zürich*, the *Thomas Mann Archiv der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (East Berlin), the *Handschriftenabteilung der Stadtbibliothek München*, and the Reinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Yale University. Other collections he had access to include the letters to Ernst Bertram and to René Schickele in the *Literaturarchiv des Schiller-Nationalmuseums* in Marbach; the letters at the *Bibliothek der Hansestadt Lübeck*; the Joseph W. Angell Manuscript Collection as well as other letter collections in the Yale University Library; and the letter collection at the Princeton University Library, which holds the private collection of Caroline Newton. The private collection of Mann's letters to Miss Ida Herz (London) was, for fear of the dehumanizing effects of the computer, not made available to Mr. Lehnert, although copies of the letters are located in the *Thomas Mann Archiv* in Zürich. Information from his collection was graciously supplied by Hans Waldmüller, Darmstadt; Georg Wenzel of the *Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* provided information from the unpublished letters, as did Gerhard Hay of the *Schiller-Nationalmuseum*. Richard Lemp of the *Stadtbibliothek München* answered many requests for additional information and Hans Wysling of the *Thomas Mann Archiv* in Zürich also assisted generously. Hans-Otto Mayer, Düsseldorf, kindly offered his assistance.²

The information which Lehnert was collecting expanded so rapidly that the ordinary card file system became unwieldy. Since Lehnert was teaching at Rice University at the time, he approached Frederick Ruecking, the head of the Data Processing Division of the Fondren Library, with an inquiry as to the feasibility of a computerized approach to his indexing problem.³ Through the Advanced Library Systems Project of the Fondren Library, Lehnert was able to secure Ruecking's assistance in preparing a computer program that could handle his needs. The Thomas Mann Project, as the resulting effort was named, is the object of the present study.

A computerized index can speed up considerably certain types of research work. Once such a project is completed, much information can be printed in a very few minutes and can also be made available to those who do not have direct access to a computer. For example, a student interested in pursuing a given topic can be directed quickly and exactly to primary sources and their location. The comprehensive index the Project provides, especially to notebook and letter material, should also aid the student in such work as verifying or rejecting theories concerning influences, sources, and original conceptions. Such a critic as R. A. Nicholls, whose dissertation *Nietzsche in the Early Work of Thomas Mann*⁴ resulted from a close comparison of texts, would presumably have been gratified to see his conclusions regarding the influence of Nietzsche, Schopenhauer, and Richard Wagner on Thomas Mann corroborated in relevant letter and notebook passages. The preliminary preparation of material, such as the marshaling of sources, can be rendered less time-consuming when such material is available on tape. The time involved in such an exhaustive preliminary search for sources as that made by Hans-Joachim Sandberg for his book, *Thomas Manns Schiller-Studien: Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung* (Oslo, 1965), is a case in point.

The index can also facilitate the thematic organization of material leading toward biographical studies. Professor Lehnert has already made a trial use of the index as an aid to interpretive criticism. In August 1967 he searched for material pertaining to the original ideas and sketches associated with the conception of the three stories, "Tristan," "Tonio Kröger," and "Der Tod in Venedig." The search resulted in clear evidence of the contemporaneous conception of the first two stories, although their dates of completion—July 1901 and December 1902 respectively—are separated by a year and a half.⁵ Such a discovery provides important clues to the author's structural intention in the stories and thus makes a contribution to interpretative criticism.

The possibility of searching such an index for the recurrence of motifs and topics stimulates the imagination. The comparatist might use this approach in dealing with a larger body of contemporary material. Anticipated is the possibility of running taped indexes for several authors at the same time, searching simultaneously, for example, for Joyce's, Mann's, and Proust's thought concerning the artist. If the students of other authors respond to the possibilities of the approach, such comparative studies not only will be possible but will also be more inclusive, and probably more

reliable, than previous studies since the computer can provide a thoroughly cross-referenced guide to the sources and titles pertinent to such a project.

The topic index creates, solely as a matter of convenience, an "authority list" that serves as a guide to Mann's work. Yet the organization of a guide does not preclude an original approach to Mann's work. An analogous situation involving the library subject catalog described by Allen T. Hazen, of the School of Library Service, Columbia University, is pertinent. He states that "... the research user approaches the catalog by cutting across the lines necessarily laid down by the subject cataloger... not even the reference librarian can do his research for him since his interest cuts across intellectual divisions so illogically."⁶ Like the subject catalog, our index is intended only as an aid to the researcher; only if it is regarded as an absolute authority does it run the danger of setting a mechanical pattern for research.

The present goal is to complete the indexing of Thomas Mann's nonfictional material through the year of his death, 1955, although the material upon which this present study is based includes only the nonfiction produced through the year 1914. Eventually all the fiction is to be incorporated into the index as well as related literature—memoirs, for example, like Viktor Mann's *Wir waren fünf*,⁷ and biographical studies.

Much has been written about the theory of biography and the history of biography but very little has been written about the actual process of compiling and organizing the necessary information. There are numbers of autobiographies of biographers whose adventures on behalf of their subject can make exciting reading,⁸ but undoubtedly the actual drudgery of preparing the material has seemed so unglamorous that it has merited little attention. What little discussion of the process I have found would, for the most part, support the uses of the computer that have already been pointed out. However, a very recent attack on the amassing of data for any field of research—anthropology or sociology, as examples—has been made by Paul Murray Kendall in his book, *The Art of Biography* (New York, 1965). That the central thrust of the criticism is legitimate cannot be denied: "Science... has pressed us... to worship information as a thing-in-itself, to acknowledge the supremacy of facts, no matter what kind, as the highest goal; to confuse research—the ferreting out of facts—with scholarship, the understanding of them; to put our trust in methods, statistics, machinery..."⁹ Yet Kendall incorporates in his attack the only

rebuttal—his definition of scholarship as the understanding of compiled facts. The confusion of research with scholarship can be perpetrated just as well without the aid of a computer (machinery). The means do not justify the end, even if it is the painstaking hand labor of filing and cross-referencing. Where the computer can be used as an aid to a justifiable end, it certainly should be. Any technological aid that can reduce the burden of busy work in a complex society should be welcomed.

James Parton, biographer of Aaron Burr and Andrew Jackson, gave as the first rule of the trade: knowing the subject thoroughly. "Parton always devoured every scrap of evidence he could track down; he spent months following his subjects' trails, interviewing persons who had known them, and picking up local materials."¹⁰ His second rule was: "'To index fully all the knowledge in existence relating to [the subject] . . .'"¹¹ Machinery can scarcely carry out the work of the first rule—and in the tracking and the interviewing lie the adventure and the challenge—but a computer can speed up the second task tremendously.

Henry Adams, the historian and the biographer of American statesmen like John Randolph and Albert Gallatin, offered this advice: "'The first step . . . is to find out what material you have, and arrange it in chronological order. You would even save labor by making a rough index as you go.' This material . . . should be supplemented with 'all your notes and memoranda: all speeches, reports, controversial papers on both sides . . . and . . . any comments or suggestions that may occur to you as you go on, for nothing escapes the mind more easily than those occasional remarks.'"¹² Both the chronological ordering advised by Adams and the thorough indexing recommended by Parton can be accomplished rapidly with the aid of a computer. If properly stored, there is no reason why elusive facts and comments cannot be retrieved efficiently by the computer without the danger of loss through human forgetfulness.

Harold Nicolson, biographer of such literary figures as Verlaine, Tennyson, Byron, and Swinburne, saw the challenge to the contemporary biographer as early as 1928: "... the intelligent reader also demands literary form. He asks that the details which are given him should be based on that 'certainty of knowledge which not only excludes mistakes but fortifies veracity'; he asks for more and more of these details: and yet he insists that the mass of material be presented in readable form."¹³ If the nature of the technological machinery and the range of its unique potential is

understood correctly, there is little danger of its serving as a substitute for scholarship. With the availability of more material as well as the increased ability to manipulate it, the task of understanding it, synthesizing it, and creating from it, as Nicolson indicates, becomes much more challenging to the imagination.

The literature on computers and their uses has mushroomed since 1960. Yet, I was able to find no trace of an article dealing with an undertaking similar to the Thomas Mann Project.¹⁴ *Computing Reviews* (The Association for Computing Machinery in New York), published since February 1960, puts out an excellent, machine-produced index, directing one to brief abstracts of article contents. *Computer Abstracts* has been published in London since 1957 but seems to limit its selection of articles to the highly technical aspects of programing. *Current Research and Development in Scientific Documentation*, put out by the National Science Foundation's Office of Science Information Service (Washington) since July 1957, contained more promising titles. However, the major emphasis is almost always on the improvement of machine reading of texts and automatic indexing. Article discussions of the thesaurus or authority list also serve this end.

The Annual Review of Information Science and Technology (II, 1967) contains a definition of the terms "thesaurus" and "authority list" that at least throws light on the nature of one aspect of our project, the topic index: "The *authority list* differs from a thesaurus in that it designates a single word as the standard or accepted term that is to be used rather than any other possible alternative in describing a concept. . . . While the thesaurus seeks to expand a concept by listing various words and nuances, an authority list serves the opposite purpose. It seeks to compress various connotations into a single authorized term that everyone must use."¹⁵ In a sense, our topic index performs both tasks. For the purpose of guiding the reader to the Mann material, it has at once to be a restricted authority list of topics and also a thesaurus of the various aspects of these topics. We certainly do not intend to provide key-word indexing, a project which would ultimately resemble a concordance. The relationship our topic index bears to subject-cataloging and book-indexing is discussed in greater detail in the chapter on the topic index (V). For this discussion, *Library Literature: A Quarterly Index to Materials on Library Science and Librarianship* (New York) provided many more useful references.

To proceed to the method used in our approach, I will describe

the material we worked with in more detail. The published letters provided the first exercise in the preparation of material for the computer index. For several reasons the letters in *Thomas Mann: Briefe 1889-1936*, edited by Erika Mann,¹⁶ the author's eldest daughter, provided an excellent point of departure. First, the collection begins with a letter written to Frieda Hartenstein on the 14th of October, 1889, when Mann was only fourteen years old. No other published collection contains letters from such an early date. Second, Erika Mann has appended copious notes to all three of her volumes of letters; although the accuracy of the notes to the first volume and the omissions in all the volumes have been deplored, the notes do provide the reader with valuable introductory information about names, places, and works mentioned in passing or alluded to. Third, these introductory notes provide a point of departure for the identification of similar occurrences of allusions in the unpublished, unedited letters. Fourth, even though Erika Mann is occasionally mistaken, her identifications of friends of the family or personages with whom her father came into contact are especially helpful. Without these valuable notes, the identification of the many names, places, and works would have been a much more difficult and time-consuming chore than it was. Her name index, which includes references to her notes as well as Mann's letters, also made it easy to check whether or not a person has been previously identified.¹⁷

Two additional edited letter collections are essential for the early period of Mann's life. They are the published collections of Mann's letters to his brother Heinrich. Particularly helpful as a supplement to Erika Mann's first volume was *Thomas Mann-Heinrich Mann: Briefswechsel 1900-1949* published by the Deutsche Akademie der Künste zu Berlin in 1965 and edited by Ulrich Dietzel. Where able, Professor Lehnert supplied the deleted sentences concerning financial matters which were removed from the printed text at the request of Erika Mann. Another, older collection occasionally contains the full wording of a letter's text that suffered deletion at the hands of Erika Mann and Ulrich Dietzel: *Heinrich Mann und Thomas Mann*, edited by Alfred Kantorowicz.¹⁸

One other collection contains a number of letters from the first half of Mann's life—*Thomas Mann an Ernst Bertram: Briefe aus den Jahren 1910-1955*, annotated by Inge Jens.¹⁹ Both Ulrich Dietzel and Inge Jens include name indexes that were most useful in the proper identification of persons.

The essays were approached chronologically and my reading of

them was kept as nearly parallel as possible to the reading of the letters. Most of this material is reprinted in the *Gesammelte Werke* published by S. Fischer Verlag in 1960.²⁰ Early theater reviews like "Ibsen's 'Bauermeister Solness'" or "'Das Sonntagskind' von Karl Millöcker," written for *Der Frühlingssturm* under the pen name of Paul Thomas, we were not able to see as the material is lost.²¹ However, Professor Lehnert was able to obtain copies of the early book reviews that appeared in 1895 and 1896 in *Das Zwanzigste Jahrhundert*, such as his review of *Ze Garten: Ein deutscher Sang am Gardasee* (1895) by Karl Habermann; "Ein nationaler Dichter," a review of the book *Vom Gibraltar nach Moskau* (1894) by Karl Weiss; or an early discussion of the role of the critic in the article "Kritik und Schaffen von Hans Brennert." An extremely helpful guide is provided by Hans Bürgin—*Das Werk Thomas Manns: Eine Bibliographie*,²² although the *Gesammelte Werke*, currently preferred for scholarly use, appeared a year later. One of Bürgin's co-workers, Erich Neumann, expanded and continued the bibliography in his contribution to *Betrachtungen und Überblicke: Zum Werke Thomas Manns*, the first volume of a biannual publication edited by Georg Wenzel (Berlin and Weimar, 1966).

In indexing an essay like "Versuch über das Theater," which underwent considerable revision by the author for *Rede und Antwort*,²³ we have compared both the text of the 1960 edition of the *Gesammelte Werke* and the original printing from 1908.²⁴ One portion had already appeared as an independent essay in 1907, "Das Theater als Tempel."²⁵ Reading the essays concurrently with the contemporaneous letters sometimes makes possible the occasional identification of an obscure allusion. Furthermore, such reading affords an opportunity to observe the mind of the developing writer Mann from the professional and intellectual point of view as well as from the social and familial aspect.

The unpublished notebooks presented another problem.²⁶ To a certain extent the dating of these pages is conjecture. However, because Mann includes biographically fixable items such as itineraries for reading tours together with plans for his programs, or notations concerning the publication of a work, it is possible to assign to the notebooks probable dates that are at least accurate within months. All the references and allusions that occur in dated material, the letters particularly, help to test the validity of this dating. In the notebooks it is the ideas and sketches, the notation of books to be read and the notations from works read, that are of

primary interest. Occasionally a similarity in the formulation of an idea or a judgment occurs in a dated letter, again making a correlation in dating more accurate. For the various indexes we separated and reorganized ideas and sketches that pertain to separate works and which occur within a few pages of one another. Naturally Mann simply recorded this material as it occurred to him. Later he transferred certain material pertaining to a particular work or plan to other notebooks so that he would have the material collected in one location and ready for use.

The unpublished letters were approached as nearly concurrently as possible, but by tackling larger blocks of time—i.e. several years of unpublished correspondence—during one period of concentrated effort. Again, all the identifications, references, and allusions from the other edited material—from letters and essays, as well as from the notebooks—were helpful in making proper identifications for references and allusions in the unedited letters. Of course, the unedited letters also provided some additional means of dating the notebook material with more probable accuracy. They also provide, from time to time, additional biographical data which is not recorded in such an excellent biographical study as *Thomas Mann: Eine Chronik seines Lebens* put together by Hans Bürgerin and Hans-Otto Mayer.²⁷ Occasionally, too, Bürgerin and Mayer had access to letters that Lehnert did not see.

Other material by Mann which was indexed includes the dedications of his works addressed to relatives and early acquaintances. Notations regarding the extant paralipomena to published works, fiction or nonfiction, were also indexed as a fact of biography. The fiction has not yet been analyzed for indexing. Interviews were indexed as they occurred chronologically. Certain sources close to Mann also provided additional biographical data, the memoirs of those intimately associated with Mann, for example. Viktor Mann's *Wir waren fünf*,²⁸ Kurt Marten's *Schonungslose Lebenschronik*,²⁹ and Korfiz Holm's *ich-kleingeschrieben; heitere Erlebnisse eines Verlegers*,³⁰ provided the most useful additional data, although Viktor Mann's reminiscences of his older brother are often more entertaining than exact. Also entertaining but less useful is Arthur Holitscher's *Lebensgeschichte eines Rebellen: Meine Erinnerungen*. This writer unwittingly served as the physical model for Spinell in Mann's story "Tristan."³¹

Documents not written by Thomas Mann but which afforded precise biographical information were also indexed. For example, an entry was made for the invitation to contribute toward a gift for

Frank Wedekind on the occasion of his fiftieth birthday, which invitation was endorsed, among others, by Thomas Mann.

This material, then, formed the subject matter actually processed for the computerized index: the published letters; the essays, articles, and book reviews; the notebooks; the unpublished letters; personal dedications; paralipomena; and certain material not of Mann's authorship like the memoirs of his intimates and documents which in some way pertain to him.

Additional reading matter became a routine portion of the procedure; the reading of the contemporaneous fiction was kept as concurrent as possible with the work in the nonfiction. This method proved particularly fruitful with such works as *Buddenbrooks*, *Königliche Hoheit*, the drama *Fiorenza*, and some of the short stories like "Tonio Kröger," and "Der Tod in Venedig." Reading these works concurrently, whose execution and completion run fairly well parallel to the discussion of them in letters and to the related sketches and plans in the notebooks, makes the correlation of these two processes much more probable and often illuminating. It is, for example, fascinating to trace the evidence of the considerable background material Mann marshaled in his notebooks in preparation for his Savonarola-Lorenzo de' Medici drama, *Fiorenza*, and then to follow his great concern for the performance, the reception, and interpretation of the drama in his correspondence. Compared to the amount of space one finds devoted to better known works like *Buddenbrooks*, "Tonio Kröger," and "Der Tod in Venedig," Mann's concern with his drama seems now curiously disproportionate. Facts of biography, however, like the frequent references to dramatic performances attended or planned for attendance, would also seem to indicate a preponderant concern for the drama genre.

Of much interest also are the many notations from contemporary life—descriptions of his relatives, intended at the time for the projected *Maja* novel but in part relegated to the fictitious works of Gustav Aschenbach in "Der Tod in Venedig," in part actually used much later in the novel *Dr. Faustus*. Such notations, however, require not only a knowledge of the contemporaneously produced fiction but also the later fiction. Curious associations occur, such as notations for both *Fiorenza* and for *Königliche Hoheit*, mixed together on the same pages of the notebooks. The Latin motto "turreis fortissima nomen domini" occurs on page 124 of *Notizbuch 7* (1903), and one is apt to associate it immediately with the Renaissance and Savonarola, and hence *Fiorenza*. Mann

used it instead in *Königliche Hoheit* as an inscription over the gateway to the palace courtyard.³²

By reading the fiction it is possible, in the case of Mann at least, to find passages that corroborate and at times magnify the importance of influences. One which is particularly elusive in the notebook material but which nevertheless is magnified in Mann's writings is Tonio Kröger's great empathy with King Philip in Schiller's *Don Carlos*. Other illustrative passages would include Thomas Buddenbrook's impassioned consumption of Arthur Schopenhauer's thought, or Spinell's enraptured, ecstatic enjoyment of Richard Wagner's music in the story "Tristan." The use of real people as models for Mann's fictional characters is a variation of this technique of incorporating influences into the fictional text. The modeling of Herr Peeperkorn in *Der Zauberberg*, at least in part, after Gerhart Hauptmann has often been cited.³³ In the correspondence Mann speaks of his infatuation with the personality of Gerhart Hauptmann,³⁴ despite the distance that Mann's personal taste put between himself and the Naturalists. Frequently the fact of his attendance at a performance of one of Hauptmann's plays or one of Ibsen's is recorded in the letters. The respect or admiration Mann felt for a person did not deter him from using the friend's outward appearance and mannerisms in an uncomplimentary fictional situation.

Topics of interest to Mann occur in a sometimes startlingly autobiographical manner in his fiction. An outstanding example is the thinking of Tonio Kröger concerning the artist and his position in society. That Kröger's thinking is indeed a reflection of that of the author is confirmed by Mann's reference to himself as Tonio Kröger in a letter after the short story became familiar to his family and friends.³⁵ This identification with his own protagonist then indirectly supports the assumption that *Don Carlos* had indeed greatly affected the author, if Tonio Kröger can be conceived of as a real extension of the author's thought and personality at the time of the story's completion and just afterward, as is often conjectured.

The matter of the language to be used in our index was considered carefully from the beginning of the work and we elected to use the German language exclusively in the preparation of the index. The reason for this is explained very simply by the fact that Mann did almost all of his writing and reading in German. At least during the first half of his life, Mann read in German translation most of the foreign literature that drew his interest. Both the cor-

respondence and the notebooks bear witness to this fact, for Mann sometimes mentions the translator. Also, much of Mann's non-fiction has never been translated, even such a lengthy work as *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*.³⁶ This means that purely practical reasons made it much easier to leave the material in German and to index it as it is. The formulation of topic headings in German rather than English seemed therefore much more natural and there is less chance of the additional ambiguity that inevitably arises through the process of translation. Only in the original language can the importance of echoes from the language of the authors Mann read or from his own earlier formulations be fully appreciated. Mann's echoing himself becomes so important an aspect of his writing that it was necessary to include within our classification system the category "references to his own work." One deviation from the exclusive use of German was made: where feasible, the original titles of works by foreign authors were used in order to facilitate their recognition by the student. Mann's quotations from other authors were never noted in the original language unless, of course, Mann quoted in the original.

The report form itself, which will be described in further detail below and which is used to organize our information for computer storage, has been prepared in English, for the benefit of the key-punch operator. However, this accommodation does not affect the print-out of the information requested by the user. All of the English terms found on the report form have German equivalents which are substituted automatically by the computer. Thus the information which one obtains from the computer is entirely in German.

A problem not yet faced is that of searching topics for a comparative study, where tapes in one or more additional languages are to be run simultaneously. The development of topic index terminology that can be translated effectively into several languages will provide a challenging task.

The indexing procedure grew out of consultation with the computer programmer. The development of several separate indexes stems from the necessity of programming for the desired output rather than from strictly scholarly classification principles. It became apparent early in the planning stages that there would have to be several separate indexes in order to make the searching for specific combinations practicable. A work, *Buddenbrooks* for example, might be searched in conjunction with "Schopenhauer" and the topic "Dekadenz." In order to get at combinations like these,

without getting all the possible references under each separate term, it became necessary to establish several types of indexes within the program.

For a time we were uncertain about distinguishing between biographical data, biographical topics, and topics developed in the writings. We wanted to control closely the recovery of verifiable biographical fact, but it was not clear how the topical discussions that are of an autobiographical nature should be handled, e.g., Mann's discussions of himself as an artist or as a writer, as an isolated individual or as a citizen, and so on. At first we attempted to create a separate topic index for items clearly of autobiographical importance, but it gradually became apparent that any topic that concerned Mann could be construed as being autobiographically relevant—even such items as “Renaissance—Italien” or “Kunst—modern.” Therefore the two topic types—the autobiographical and the general topics—as they were first designated, were merged into one—a single topic index. Where topics clearly analyze Mann himself, we subordinate them to the main heading, “Selbstverständnis,” or more specifically, “Selbstverständnis als Künstler” with a sub-topic like “Einflüsse.” Verifiable biographical fact is then kept entirely separate, although a topic reference to the nature of the fact is also made to indicate the presence of this information in a specific writing. The verifiable fact itself is recorded as an abstract, and ordered by the date of its occurrence. The indexes themselves are described in considerable detail in the following chapters.

The abstract, briefly, is intended to give a succinct statement of the content of a specific item. Where the item indexed was not published, the abstract is more detailed. The field provided by the computer program for the abstract is also used to record facts of biography, ordered by date. Thus the computerized index as a whole was programed for two main functions: 1) to provide verifiable biographical information by date, and 2) to provide access to the writings by date. The topic index thus serves as a subject index to a file of biographical information and essay references.

The handling of the notebooks presented a problem peculiar to their nature inasmuch as they represent, for the most part, material collected over several years' time. Dating such material can only be approximate. And since it consists largely of heterogeneous notations, quotations, ideas and sketches, how it was to be handled was not clear. At first it seemed necessary only to bring this varied material into the different indexes. But then we found

that we might want, with a specific date or time span, an indication of the nature of the material to be found in these pages. Consequently it was decided to make abstracts of it. This procedure, in many instances, seemed haphazard. Therefore the material was organized by subject matter, such as the notations for the *Maja* complex, even though they were scattered over a number of pages. Not only does this procedure bring some organization to the notebook material, but it is also a more economical procedure than a page-by-page description. Indexing problems and their resolution, accompanied by illustrative examples, form the main body of this study. Therefore, the problems encountered in indexing will be bypassed here, and the procedure following the actual preparation of the material for the report form will be discussed.

Before the abstracted and indexed material is transferred to the report form in preparation for the key-punching operation, it is necessary to check the handwritten notecards 1) for spelling, 2) for wording, 3) for consistency in terminology, and 4) for conciseness in the abstract. Spelling errors are dangerous for they are liable to cause failure in retrieval. Also, it is necessary to spell out umlauts, i.e., "ä" becomes "ae," etc., because the available print chains do not show this German diacritical mark. Neither are they equipped with the "ß," which is therefore spelled out as "ss."

The wording of the abstract became a major concern. We wanted to be concise, yet we did not want to be so to the point of ambiguity or uncertainty about the content of the material being abstracted. The letter abstracts—a particularly important matter where unpublished letters are concerned—must indicate a diversity of content. Abstracts of the essays and the articles, however, although the writings may be longer, can be stated more succinctly because an essay is usually organized about a specific topic.

The decision concerning the relevance or nonrelevance of material carries important implications for the usefulness of our abstracts. We did not wish to supplant the index user's own reading of the Mann material; therefore we felt completely justified in being as brief as possible. On the other hand, we wanted to give the user an adequate indication of the content of an item. This is particularly important for any of the unpublished material. A student must be able to decide from reading our abstract and the item's indexes whether or not he should make the effort to see the text of the item for himself. The selection of adequate terminology also played an important role in the preparation of the abstract,

as it did in the building of the topic index; the two operations are thus closely linked.

Yet the abstract provides information that the topic index cannot. 1) Although it does not purport to be an outline, it does indicate to the user the approximate order of an author's discussion. Since we did not concern ourselves with the book indexer's task of providing page references, the additional guide the abstract provides will be of importance. 2) The abstract indicates the context in which the persons, places, and miscellaneous other items are considered. This indication is essential with a name that occurs as frequently, for example, as that of Friedrich Nietzsche.

Consistency in the above mentioned terminology is essential. The difficulty with selecting terminology for a developing project such as this one is that concepts change and grow, sometimes making the use of a term for material from the early years inadequate for the later years of an author's production. Also, if topics are subdivided, headings must still be easily located.

In addition to consistency in terminology, it is necessary to watch for consistency in the indexing of proper names—this applies to personal and professional titles as well as pseudonyms—and in the titles of works. Inconsistencies here are liable to cause a failure in the retrieval of a possibly important reference, although we were assured that such failure can be reduced to a very slight probability.

Once this analytical proofreading is completed, the handwritten notations for each item are ready for transferral to a report form (Figure 1), one or more forms being used for each separate item. (Samples of three completed report forms are provided in Appendix A.) The information from the notecards is transferred to the report form in two ways. First, at the top of the sheet there was provided a series of spaces for information of a fixed length. For the most part a check mark, a number, or a code letter entered in these spaces suffices; a date is always spelled out, an address may be, if it occurs infrequently. Such marks indicate, first of all, the type of writing at hand. The code letter here usually stands for the German equivalent (given at the right, below) of the English word:

A	Article	Artikel
B	Book review	Buchbesprechung
D	Document	Dokument
E	Essay	Essay

F	Fiction	Fiktion
G	Paralipomena, nonfiction	
H	Paralipomena, fiction	
I	Interview	Interview
K	Cross-reference	Kreuzverweis
L	Letter	Brief
M	Memoir	Memoire
N	Notebook or notesheet	Notizbuch, Notizen
P	Postcard	Postkarte, Ansichtskarte
W	Dedication	Widmung
X	Derived biographical information	

The last letter code, "X," denotes an item of biographical data derived from another source. In the abstract the source of this dated information is given. Other marks indicate the presence of an omission in a printed text, the number of times an item has been reprinted (or revised for reprinting), or doubt as to the validity of the dating of an item. Spaces are provided for dating information, both for the completion of an item's writing and for its publication. The dating procedure is described in detail in the following chapter. Spaces are also provided for the code letter of an address from which Mann frequently wrote—e.g., Landhaus Mann, Bad Tölz (Mann's summer home), represented by the letters "BT"—or for the spelling out of an address in the event it was only briefly Mann's residence—e.g., the various hotels or sanatoriums he frequented for recuperative vacations.

If multiple printings of an item exist, the number of such printings is entered in the space provided. If it is known that variations exist in printings of the same item, an "X" is placed in the appropriate space; if omissions can be deduced, a "W" is placed in another space. If completeness is questionable, an "F" is inserted in this space. An additional space is provided to indicate that an original text was used as a speech. The space following provides for the number of repetitions, up to ten.

The abstract and the indexes are transferred to lines provided for material of a variable length. The code numbers for the various indexes and their categories appear above the lined spaces, so that all of the numbers can be seen while the report form is in the typewriter. Each entry for the three indexes is typed on a separate line, a code mark (+) indicating the end of each separate entry. This system—a separate line for each entry—eliminates the confusion of paragraph style entry and also facilitates the storage

AN INDEX TO THOMAS MANN'S NONFICTION

[illegible]

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and retrieval of the information. The number code assigned to the various categories of information to be transferred to the report form is necessary for the machine storage and search programs. The present report form is actually the result of a complete revision of the computer program. The program was changed from an IBM 7040 to a 1401 computer, because the coding of text by character proved more suitable. The code numbers on the present report form reflect the multiplied storage and retrieval power of the new program (three digits instead of only two).

The works category, for example, is divided into three code numbers, all of which represent a logical subdivision of this index—an organizational improvement for the index and a practical improvement for the computer program. The first subdivision, the development of works, bears a "400" tag. Most of Mann's references to his own work, in the material dealt with up to 1914, come under this category. Thus its subdivisions are the most numerous. The seven subdivisions are as follows below, the computer print-out giving the German equivalent to the right:

410	Idea	Idee
420	Material	Stoff
430	Source	Quelle
440	Plan	Plan
450	Progress	Fortschritt
460	Publication	Verlag
470	Preprint	Vorabdruck

The second subdivision indexes the discussion of Mann's completed works, a "500" tag:

510	Reception	Aufnahme
520	Performance	Aufführung
530	Reading	Vorlesung
540	Translation	Übersetzung
550	Reprint	Nachdruck

The third category is a little less tangible, but forms an important subdivision—Mann's own evaluation and allusion to his work. We devised three subdivisions of the category thus far, which bears a "600" tag; experience may necessitate provision for more:

610	Self-quote	Selbstzitat
620	Echo	Echo
630	Interpretation	Interpretation

A precise definition and illustration of all three categories and their subdivisions appear in the chapter concerning this index specifically (III).

The other indexes were treated similarly: the name index bears a "700" tag, the topic index an "800" tag. The abstract, not subdivided, is coded "300." All the other tags serve the purpose of identifying the document.

An item is identified first by its title—in the case of a letter, by the addressee; in that of a notebook, by a volume and page number posthumously assigned by the Zürich Archive's curator, Paul Scherrer. We differentiate between "article" and "essay" because it appears that the word "essay" in Thomas Mann denotes a major effort to resolve a serious problem; an essay of Mann's usually represents his most reflective thinking, e.g., "Versuch über das Theater" or "Gedanken im Kriege." Articles, on the other hand, developed more at the spur of the moment, such as an answer to an open question from the editorial staff of a newspaper or a magazine resulting in a short piece like "Dichterische Arbeit und Alkohol."³⁷ A "miscellaneous" tag was added to cover items of less importance and rarer occurrence, as indicated below. The identification tags, numbers in the "100's," are as follows:

- 110 Name of addressee
- 120 Essay title
- 130 Notebook or notesheet
- 140 Article title
- 150 Memoir title
- 160 Short story title
- 170 Novel title
- 180 Drama title
- 190 Miscellaneous
 - 191 Document
 - 192 Dedication
 - 193 Paralipomena, fiction
 - 194 Paralipomena, nonfiction
 - 195 Interview

Although Mann wrote only one drama, he was long obsessed with the work during the first half of his life. Therefore a separate subdivision was provided for the drama. However, no work of Mann's fiction has yet been indexed, except those fragments (paralipomena) that have a documentary value. Under the tag "191—Document" we understand any sort of material, except a

passage from a memoir, not written by Mann himself that attests to some biographical fact of his life, such as the letter from Julia Mann to Ludwig Ewers (1909), which verifies Mann's own claims to having been a very indifferent scholar in secondary school.

All the information in the fixed-length data field also bears a code number, e.g., "000." The address space is either filled out entirely and thus bears a "010" tag or is marked with an abbreviation code and thus bears a "011" tag. Additional documentation includes notation of the location of an item such as the Archive at Zürich (a "210" tag), or the source in which we found an item reprinted, e.g., *Briefe 1889-1936* edited by Erika Mann (a "200" tag). Further tags here provide a code number for the title of a book Mann reviewed, "230," and the text of a cross-reference, "240." At the end of the entire code system the number "900" is provided for a reference to Hans Bürgin's bibliography, i.e., usually the number assigned each separately printed work described in Section V, "Beiträge in Zeitungen, Zeitschriften und anderen Veröffentlichungen." The code number "999" at the bottom of the report form indicates that the entry is complete. If it is crossed out, the key-punch operator expects another sheet.

Every bit of information transferred to the report form is therefore being prepared for storage and retrieval through an elaborate electronic coding system. The number of digits in the code number play an important role in determining the potentiality and the versatility of the program.

The pamphlet, "Bilse und ich," represented the first attempt to abstract and index a passionately felt statement of Mann's in the essay form. It was necessary to be both as brief as possible, partly because of the length of the piece and partly because it is in print, and yet as precise as possible in outlining the discussion and pinpointing the biographically relevant references. The first attempt failed completely.

"Bilse und ich" is perhaps Mann's first important essay. It grew out of the controversy in his homeland over the novelist Fritz Oswald Bilse, whose book, *Aus einer kleinen Garnison*, caused a legal battle over the propriety of fictional portraits drawn from real life. Mann himself was almost drawn into court as a witness.³⁹ The prosecution insulted Mann by naming *Buddenbrooks* and *Aus einer kleinen Garnison* in the same breath. Such calumny spurred Thomas Mann to a significant discussion and justification of his creative techniques. The strained relationship with his father-in-law, Alfred Pringsheim, caused by Mann's short story "Wäl-

sungenblut," whose twin protagonists resembled Klaus and Katja Pringsheim physically, undoubtedly provided additional stimulus for an explanation.⁴⁰ The article first appeared in the *Münchener Neue Nachrichten* on February 15 and 16, 1906. The foreword to the edition printed immediately thereafter in Munich by E. W. Bonsels is dated February 17, 1906. In 1910 a second edition was printed for which Mann revised and expanded the foreword.

First, in the attempt to be clear, I tended to include too much unnecessary detail; for example, from the foreword I noted: "Erscheinung des Essays in zwei Teilen störte seine Wirkung." From the documentation, the index user will already be aware of the original publication of the article in two parts. The recasting of the statement also made the thrust of Mann's point clearer: "[TM] wünscht Breitenwirkung." Similarly, from the text of the essay itself, I noted Mann's citation of examples of the Bilse-technique in world literature: Turgenev, Goethe, and Shakespeare. Because the names appear in the name indexes, the final formulation read simply: "Beispiele Manns Verfahren aus der Weltliteratur." In the case of the topic, "Beseelung des Stoffes," I wanted also to include Mann's explanatory phrases: "'Subjektive Vertiefung' des Abbildes der Wirklichkeit. Alle Gestalten als 'Emanationen des dichtenden Ich' anzusehen, auch feindlichen." Mann's phrases appealed to me, but it is actually unnecessary to quote them, especially since the essay has been reprinted and is easily accessible. The final formulation read simply—"Beseelung macht den Dichter." Because of my concern for explanatory phrases, I sometimes lost sight of the actual topic. This happened with the phrase, "Schmerz der Erkenntnis," i.e., that "der Künstler muss kalt und leidenschaftlich zugleich sein." This definition was finally stricken and the subject of the discussion was stated: "Wesensunterschied von Realität und Kunst."

Allusions also occur in the essay that are significant autobiographically. From the foreword I missed the important allusion to "Wälsungenblut" which was to have appeared in *Die Neue Rundschau* in January, 1906. Mann chose to withdraw this story at the last moment: the head of the Pringsheim family felt it was too clearly a product of the Bilse-technique.⁴¹ I originally failed to note in Mann's words, "*repräsentativ zu sein* . . . Es ist das strenge Glück der Fürsten und Dichter," as an allusion to *Königliche Hoheit*, whose fairy-tale quality owes to Mann's happiness in his marriage of 1905 to Katja Pringsheim. (The novel title actually occurs as early as the summer of 1903.⁴²) From the main body of

the essay itself, the reference to *Buddenbrooks* and Lübeck as biographically significant was caught on second examination. Such references must also appear in the abstract, as one of the purposes of the abstract is to provide biographical data with a given date. Naturally, these terms appear in their proper indexes too, so that they may be searched as topics. Another reference similar to that described above is an echo of a passage in "Tonio Kröger": "Dass alles Gestalten, Schaffen, Hervorbringen *Schmerz* ist, Kampf und kreissende Qual, man weiss es vielleicht, man sollte es wissen und sollte nicht greinen, wenn einmal ein Künstler darüber die menschlich-gesellschaftlichen Bedenken, die seinem Tun entgegenstehen, ausser acht lässt" (X, 19).⁴³ This thought also occurs in an altered and highly polished form in "Tod in Venedig" (VIII, 453). In the abstract we noted only the pages where the concept appears: from "Bilse und ich," and from "Tonio Kröger" (VIII, 300); the reference to "Tod in Venedig" in the work index is made under the subdivision "idea." "Bilse und ich" and "Tonio Kröger" are also entered in the work index, subdivision "echo."

While wrestling with the abstract for the essay "Bilse und ich," I first came to appreciate the nature of the task. I had at first read the essay closely, much as I had been reading the letters. I had to train myself to adopt a different approach with the essays, "Versuch über das Theater," providing the next test of the new skill: namely, utmost brevity in outlining the content, yet detailed attention to the autobiographical allusions and the references to Mann's own works.

With the foregoing introduction it is hoped that the necessity can be appreciated for a constant correlation of method with purpose as one of the major tasks of implementing a computerized indexing system such as the Thomas Mann Project. The uniqueness of the Project meant that both the programing and the preparation of the material had frequently to be reviewed and revised so that the researcher might have at his fingertips an intelligently constructed and serviceable tool. The ultimate test of the Project's effectiveness will presumably be its accessibility and, even more, its usability. The following chapters describe in detail the various indexes that make up the computerized system and the problems encountered in effecting the desired usability.

CHAPTER II

THE CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX

It was early obvious that our indexing procedure would require several separate indexes, much like the indexing of a bibliography. The indexes finally prepared included 1) a work index; 2) a guide to the persons mentioned by Mann, including their works, if named or alluded to; 3) a topic or subject index; 4) the chronological ordering of the items of nonfiction and biographical data.

The chronological index seemed the easiest means of filing all the items we examined and indexed. For certain items, however, a good deal of investigation was necessary before an intelligent conjecture could be made as to the date. This was especially true of the notebooks. For the most part only the year can be surmised with reasonable accuracy; sometimes even this approximation is rather uncertain. On the other hand, if the item in question is an essay, one can easily find the date of publication in the *Bürgin Bibliographie*; even so the date of its actual writing is often difficult to deduce. "Versuch über das Theater," for example, did not appear until January and February, 1908; the writing, however, began in February, 1907, as Mann attests in the "Mitteilung an die 'Literarhistorische Gesellschaft Bonn.'" ¹ That Mann wrestled long with the open question, "Die kulturellen Werte des Theaters," ² is further indicated by the preliminary appearance of what later became a chapter of the finished essay: "Das Theater als Tempel." The question's importance for Mann is also witnessed by his giving up valuable time during the year 1907 from the writing of *Königliche Hoheit*. The statement in "Mitteilung an die 'Literarhistorische Gesellschaft Bonn'" — "... ich beschloss, den Roman, an dem ich schreibe, 'auf ein paar Tage' zu unterbrechen. ... Ich habe nicht Tage, sondern Wochen damit im Kampfe gelegen. ... aber ich hatte mich engagiert und gehorchte meinem kategorischen Imperativ 'durchhalten!'" ³ — is an example of the sort of chronological clue helpful in dating the writing of a work, or at least in dating the commencement of the writing procedure.

The filing of an inclusive date such as that described above demands special consideration. We of course wanted the index user to be aware of the item or data and yet we could not pinpoint it exactly in time. Consequently a work which we know was written sometime during the month of May was filed at the beginning of the entries for May, even before an entry dated exactly May 1. Such filing we hoped would bring the item to the attention of the index user if he were interested in that time period. If we had an indication that an item was written during the summer of a given year, such an entry, labeled "Sommer 1907," was filed under each of the summer months (June, July, and August). Whether one searches a time period such as "summer" or a certain month during the summer, the item or data of less certain dating will at least come to the attention of the index user. He can then proceed with the information as he sees fit. Also, the entries under July and August refer the user to the first entry under June so that the user also is made aware of the breadth of the time period involved in the dating of an item.

Such a reference is especially important for entries which can only be dated within a period of several years. An index user searching several years can thus be made aware that uncertainty in the dating of an item or an experience exists and that the index user ought to take into account the possibility of the item's presence or occurrence within the time span being searched. A curious item from *Notizbuch 9* (pp. 41f.) may serve as an example. The material surrounding the entry, ideas relating to "Versuch über das Theater," led us to focus the dating on 1906 and 1907. The item itself appears to be the letter of a young writer regarding talent: he advises becoming a writer only when one wants to do or can do nothing else but write. There is a similarity between this letter and the one written by Rainer Maria Rilke to Franz Xaver Kappus on February 17, 1903. Nonetheless, after considerable bibliographical searching, I could not find that the letter was printed earlier than 1926/27. It is, of course, possible that Mann added this material upon blank pages in the middle of used pages at a later date. How probable this conjecture is would be difficult to say without a closer look at the notebook itself. Related to this problem are items which cover more than one year, such as an unpublished *curriculum vitae* for the years 1910-1912, which was entered in detail as a "1910" entry, and again with a "see" reference at the head of the "1911" and "1912" entries.

Dates mentioned by Mann himself required still other proce-

dures. A date that refers to the past, even an allusion to a past event, provides grounds for an additional entry of biographical data and is especially welcome if it has not been previously noted in the Bürgin and Mayer *Chronik*. Less easily dealt with are plans for future events. Sometimes there is no evidence that the event took place as planned. Such an event might be a dinner, for example, to which Mann issued a written invitation, or it might be a holiday trip. When attendance is planned at a play, for example, and only "nächsten Freitag" is given as the date, it is possible to deduce the exact date with the aid of a reference calendar.⁴ If we were able to verify Mann's attendance at the play, we made a separate entry under the date, with the fact of his attendance (and the name of the production) recorded as an abstract. Where such attendance could not be verified, we did not make a separate entry, but simply noted the plan to attend as a portion of the abstract of the item in which the proposed attendance is mentioned. Occasionally, evidence that Mann was elsewhere renders the probability of a change of plans fairly certain. Where there is no certainty, the absence of verification was indicated but the activity was not entered under its planned date. The computer program as finally designed thus provides the capability of altering or adding to the original information, thereby permitting the efficient addition of a verification if evidence is found that an event did take place.

CHAPTER III

THE INDEX TO MANN'S WORKS

The first index entered on the report form is the guide to Mann's own works (if one excludes the date index, which is really the chronological filing system for all the items we have used in preparing the entire index). The work index is also the most complex in structure. Much of the Mann correspondence to which access is possible concerns in one way or another Mann's own production. It seems, perhaps more than for some writers, that Mann's fictional works and longer essays weighed heavily in his thoughts and that the burden of this preoccupation with his works compensated to some extent in his mind for the nonbourgeois freedom he enjoyed as a financially independent artist. Two lines from Mann's brief classical self-portrait in unrhymed hexameter illustrate the point:

Denn *Gewissen* schien immer mir Sinn und Sache der Prosa:
Das *Gewissen* des Herzens und das des verfeinerten Ohres.¹

Because there are so many discussions of and allusions to Mann's own works in his letters and the notebooks (the repository of ideas, sketches, and material related to the works), it became necessary to provide a number of aids for the index user if he were not to be swamped with references when searching for a specific title, even within a limited time period. Because of the varied nature of the commentary which we had encountered at the outset, several categories were established for the various aspects under which Mann might consider his work. Several of these categories were projected needs which have not yet been utilized (for the material to 1914). From the notebook material we established three categories: *material*, *plan*, and *source*. From the letters we established: *progress*, *publication*, *reception*, and *interpretation*. For the future we projected two categories: *translation* and *reprint*. Very soon, however, new categories seemed essential. A new one related to the first group was established: *idea*, or sketch; and another, referred to in both letters and notebooks, *public reading*. Because of the large

amount of letter space devoted to the drama *Fiorenza*, we established a category relating to it specifically: *performance*.

By the time we had developed still other categories and had begun to run into the code number of the next index (the name index), the preparation of a new program was begun which made the subdivision of the various indexes much simpler; at the same time the new program provided much more room for expansion. The new code system, in three digits, made possible the reorganization of the above-cited aspects of reference into three general areas. The code number "400" of the new program deals with work development and includes seven categories: *idea*, *material*, *source*, *plan*, *progress*, *publication*, and *preprint*. The code or "tag" number "500" provides five categories referring to completed works: *reception*, *performance*, *reading*, *translation*, and *reprint*. The three categories with a "600" tag number refer in one way or another to the author's creative relationship to a completed work: *self-quote*, *echo*, and *interpretation*. In each of the three main divisions the round figure indicates the mere mentioning of a work—"400," for example, a work in development, no aspect of the development such as *idea* or *material* being discernible. Technically we have then 99 possibilities to subdivide further, although it is hardly conceivable that we would need to do so.

The first area, work development, concerns writing in progress, all the way from an idea through the arrangements for publication of the finished work until the item appears in print. Under the subdivision *idea* we included only possibilities for development that occurred to Mann or sketches that we assume were never used. A letter to Heinrich Mann, for example, dated December 5, 1905,² contains the remark that Thomas Mann is thinking of writing a novel about Friedrich der Grosse, with the additional comment that it is high time he write his masterpiece. He then shifts to a comparison of Carlyle's hero concept and his own. Here it seems clear that Mann is entertaining an idea, one that he regards with high seriousness. The letter also discusses a new volume of short stories, with "Königliche Hoheit" planned as the principal item. Despite the fact that this story developed into a novel, he still planned it as a short story, even at this late date, i.e., ten months after his marriage to Katja, the event that supplied much of the tale's inspiration. Such a reference was indexed under *plan*, as were all references to the actual disposition of a work. In the same letter Mann discusses the story "Wälsungenblut," a subject of controversy within the family. Because he was preparing a change in

the ending, even though the story was finished, we indexed this reference under *progress*. Any references to Mann's problems with or achievements in completing a work were indexed as *progress*. Also in the letter mentioned above Mann tells his brother that he is writing an article concerning "Erfindung" (invention) and "Be-seelung" (the breathing of life into characters). The subject matter forms the core of Mann's polemical essay, "Bilse und ich," published in February 1906, but since Mann does not give the title, we placed the title in brackets (the computer uses slashes) and indexed this reference under *progress*.

Another letter, addressed to Kurt Martens (one of Mann's closest friends during the early years of his career³) and dated January 2, 1908, provides other examples in the area of work development. Mann speaks of an invitation to read from his work delivered to him while he is sitting in the streetcar after a theater performance, presumably the presentation of *Fiorenza* at the *Münchener Residenztheater* on December 17, 1907. In the course of excusing himself for accepting the invitation, he says: "Und ganz schliesslich: Rang ist gut, und ich habe ziemlich viel prinzliches Empfinden; aber vor Gott sind wir alle Gewürm. . . . Und zuweilen habe ich nicht die Courage zu lebhaftem Distanzgefühl. . . . Es ist sehr schwer aus meinem Roman was Lesbares heraus zu lösen."⁴ In these words we recognize that Mann must be speaking of *Königliche Hoheit*. But the novel is not finished and was not finished until thirteen months later (February 13, 1909). Consequently we considered the remark as *material* (as well as *reading*), and indexed the novel, again in brackets, under this category. The material is obviously biographically significant, so whether this particular formulation of Mann's own self-analysis is an echo of the language of the novel or not is here immaterial. We did not yet consider it interpretation. That he uses self-analysis as material for his hero, Prince Klaus Heinrich, is important.

Mann gleans much of his material from his own and his family's experience. He made notes of his sister Carla's suicide as well as characteristics of his sister Julia, which were intended for his projected *Maja* novel, but used much later as material for the characters in *Dr. Faustus*. The material cited from the letter to Kurt Martens, however, very closely resembles Mann's identification of himself with Tonio Kröger. After the completion of that short story Mann signed himself "Tonio Kröger" occasionally in letters, as has been noted previously (Chapter I, n. 35). Such an identification, after the completion of the work in question, we in-

dexed under *interpretation*. *Material* is therefore those insights, sketches, collected notations, and other material (such as photographs of Lisbon hotels for *Felix Krull*) that can be dated prior to the completion of the finished work in which they are used.

Very seldom did we use the category *source* in indexing a work for the time period up to 1914. Any item which Mann read, or was exposed to in some similar fashion, and from which he received the idea or the seeds of an idea for a later work, was designated as a source. For the most part, the description of an item by another author as a source is at least fifty percent conjecture. Wherever we were uncertain, we placed a question mark beside the work of Mann's involved. Yet the category has validity. It at least indicates to the index user that the item in question is the one antedating Mann's work that is most likely the source that contributed to Mann's original idea. The hope is that the indication might lead to some new bit of evidence that would be useful in interpretation or in biographical studies. The use of the category seems somewhat elusive, as the following examples suggest. It occurred to me during the reading of the "Peter Schlemihl" essay of 1910⁵ that the realism of Peter Schlemihl's most unhappy situation—the ostracism he experiences for having no shadow, which he had exchanged for the pleasures money can buy—may have been an early source for the *Dr. Faustus* idea. Certainly Mann had long been collecting material for his *Maja* project, some of which later was used in *Dr. Faustus*. Mann's receptivity to such subject matter is at least witnessed by the existence of the "Peter Schlemihl" essay.

A more certain illustration of the *source* category is found in a letter to Alexander Eliasberg dated November 14, 1914. Here Mann thanks the well-known translator for his translation, *Ewige Gefährten*, from the Russian of Dimitri Mereschkowski. In "Russische Anthologie" Mann speaks of the impression this work made on him, although in an earlier translation (*Tolstoi und Dostoyewski als Menschen und als Künstler*, translated by Carl von Gütschow [Leipzig, 1903]).⁶ In the same letter Mann speaks of Mereschkowski's Goethe essay, claiming that the Russian's analysis of Tolstoi is very similar to the same author's characterization of Goethe: "...etwas Übergeistiges, etwas Mystischleibliches." Mann then contrasts these men with Dostoevski, "der unleibliche, unfleischliche."⁷ The letter was written during the month that the "Gedanken im Kriege" was published, November 1914.⁸ In September he had written "Friedrich und die grosse Koalition." The ideas and emotions later expanded in *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*

were disturbing Mann during these autumn months. Much later, the essay "Goethe und Tolstoi," begun in 1921, reflects much of Mann's passionate feeling about German culture, here invoked for its own sake, Mann's "unpolitical" feelings from autumn of 1914 having cooled and been transformed considerably. A year later, October 10, 1922, he delivered his speech, "Von deutscher Republik . . . die mir als Abfall vom Deutschtum und Widerspruch zu den 'Betrachtungen' verübelt worden ist, während sie innerlich ihre gerade Forsetzung bildet."⁹ The letter to Eliasberg, in consideration of the development of Mann's production as sketched above, indicates clearly the Mereschkowski work as an important source for the "Goethe und Tolstoi" essay.

A final example will illustrate how tentative the categories *idea*, *source*, and *material* can be. In a postcard written on November 30, 1901, to Kurt Martens,¹⁰ Mann mentions receiving Martens' short story "Das Ehepaar Kuminsky." Because of the early date of the letter and the content of the tale, our entry of *Felix Krull* here was classified as *source*, although it was also the source of some material. It may also be that the tale was the source of the idea. The origination problem I am more concerned with is the role played by two works—*Ein Fürst der Diebe: Memoiren* and *Gescheitert: Aus dem Seelenleben eines Verbrechers*—both by Georges Manolescu, both appearing in German in 1905. Mann does not mention the author in any extant, published writing until September 1913, in the "Vorwort zu dem Roman eines Jungverstorbenen," and here only as an example of "eine Hochflut neuedierter Memoiren und Briefsammlungen [die] den Markt überschwemmt."¹¹ Otherwise Manolescu's work is mentioned only in the notesheets dated 1910. Wysling speaks of material taken from Manolescu, recorded in *Notizbuch 7*, which he says was begun in 1901, and transferred to *Notizbuch 9* in 1906.¹² "Beide Einträge zeigen deutlich, wie Thomas Mann beginnt, autobiographische Züge mit den Hochstaplererinnerungen Manolescus zu vereinen."¹³ Because of this evidence of a much earlier reading of Manolescu's memoirs, Wysling speaks of the works as a *source*. On account of the later dating of the notesheets, we had indexed these works as *material*. They do appear to have served both functions. In the "Lebensabriss" of 1930 (XI, 122), Mann himself credits Manolescu's work with having given him the idea for *Felix Krull*. The postcard to Martens casts doubt on Mann's memory here.¹⁴ The actual origination process itself will undoubtedly remain a mystery.¹⁵

The category of *publication* is, on the other hand, fairly clean-cut. Under this heading we indexed only references to Mann's dealings and arrangements with a publisher about the printing of the work in question. Several remarks concerning "Der Tod in Venedig" will suffice as illustration. On August 21, 1911, Mann wrote to Hans von Hülsen that "Der Tod in Venedig" was being written for *Die Neue Rundschau*, the only appropriate periodical for it.¹⁶ This particular comment might well be indexed under *interpretation*, but since the letter deals with the publication arrangements for another item as well—the essay "Chamisso" which was to appear in the October issue of *Die Neue Rundschau*—we indexed the item under *publication*, as well as *progress*, for Mann also speaks of his work on the story. On January 21, 1913, Mann wrote to Julius Bab a letter devoted primarily to the reception of *Fiorenza* and "Der Tod in Venedig." One paragraph, however, also requires an entry for the story under the *publication* heading. Mann speaks of Bab's desire to publish a very favorable critical review of the story in advance, directing him to request permission from S. Fischer, his publisher.

Sie vor dem Erscheinen des Buches ergehen zu lassen dürfte ich Sie nur bitten, nachdem auch der Verlag seine Einwilligung dazu gegeben hat,—die natürlich nicht rechtlich, nur freundschaftlich nötig ist. Ich hörte, dass Fischer einem jungen hiesigen Literaturhistoriker in der selben Frage geantwortet hat: solche verfrühten Besprechungen seien weder erwünscht noch üblich. Wohl aus geschäftlichen Gründen. Ich persönlich würde dergleichen eher als besondere Ehre empfinden.¹⁷

Beyond the details of publication, the passage suggests a relationship with the publisher that is significant biographically.

Occasionally the category *preprint* was needed, as in the case of the early publication of a fragment of the novel, *Bekenntnisse des Hochstaplers Felix Krull*. In a letter to Hans von Hülsen, dated October 2, 1911,¹⁸ Mann announces the fragment ("Der Theaterbesuch"), which was printed in the *Fischer Almanach* of 1911, celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the publishing house. The category takes on special interest when one considers the time span in which preprints of the novel appeared—1911 through 1954.

The second group of categories was used to index references to completed works. The "500" tag alone indicates a mere mentioning of a completed work. The majority of the references, however, were noted under a specific aspect. The first of these is *reception*. Mann displays in his letters a good deal of concern for the reception

of his work. (His own criticism of his work is indexed under *interpretation*.) All the comments about the criticism of others, favorable or unfavorable, are indexed under *reception*.

I find myself particularly sympathetic toward the commentary from January 1913 centered around the reception of "Der Tod in Venedig," when it is seen in the light of Alfred Kerr's attacks on Thomas Mann after the performance of *Fiorenza* in Berlin on January 3 of that year. Letters addressed to Ernst Bertram and Julius Bab bear witness to the hurt Mann felt following Kerr's attacks. On January 18, 1913, he writes to Bertram that he would like to see Bertram's discussion of the story "Der Tod in Venedig" appear in the Berlin newspaper *Der Tag*, because of its broad circulation; the article could then act as an antidote to Kerr's poisoned pen.¹⁹ On January 30, 1913, he writes to thank him for his "gute Worte" and to repeat that this review should appear in *Der Tag*. He complains further of the vituperative criticism of Kerr's disciple, Ernst Blass. Especially touching is the friendly advance in the last paragraph:

Es ist wirklich hohe Zeit, dass ich Ihre Bekanntschaft mache! Ich gehe jetzt auf einige Wochen aufs Land, nach Tölz, wo wir ein Häuschen haben; hätten Sie Lust zu einem Ausflug dorthin? Sonst findet man sich hoffentlich einmal zusammen, wenn wir beide nach München zurückgekehrt sind. Nachmittags um halb 6 finden Sie mich fast ohne Ausnahme zu Hause.²⁰

To Julius Bab, Mann writes on January 21, 1913, that he is deeply moved by Bab's review of *Fiorenza* and regrets that Bab had so modestly published in such a little read paper.²¹ The discussions of both "Der Tod in Venedig" and *Fiorenza* mentioned here were indexed as *reception*. In a letter to Bab dated March 2, 1913, Mann mentions only that he has sent a copy of the recently printed book edition of "Der Tod in Venedig."²² Here the work was indexed as a mere *mentioning*, i.e., a "500" tag. Mann goes on to express his regret that Bab too has been subjected to unfavorable criticism because of his defense of Mann. From the foregoing it can be seen that the reception category also takes on obvious biographical significance.

Performance, as stated before, was used to index appropriate remarks made concerning the staging of *Fiorenza*. Most of these seem to be concerned with delay or postponement and then Mann's displeasure as well as that of the critics with the performances. Mann's own displeasure is usually bound up with an interpretative remark that makes it necessary to index the reference as *interpretation* as well. An example from a letter to Maximilian Harden

dated December 29, 1912, concerning the coming production of *Fiorenza* in January 1913 provides an excellent illustration of this intermeshed commentary that requires two, sometimes more, index entries. Here Mann's own interpretation affects the actual production, particularly the casting:

Man hat das Ding seiner Sphäre enthoben und aus platonischen Dialogen ein Theaterstück zu machen gesucht, was nicht gelingen konnte. Was ich erreicht habe, ist, dass die Konstantin, die die Rolle der Fiore offenbar persönlich nicht ausfüllte, durch die Dietrich ersetzt worden ist. Den Lorenzo spielt Wegener, und so hat die Aufführung ja schauspielerisch einen gewissen Halt.²³

The account is the most extensive known report of Mann's actual involvement with the production of his drama. Why there is not more such commentary is a matter for speculation. Perhaps Mann's deep fascination with the theater and hence his respect for its technicians—like the director Max Reinhardt—is responsible, as is witnessed by his frequent visits to the theater and his involvement with the theatrical in the lengthy essay, "Versuch über das Theater."²⁴

The *reading* category refers to readings before literary societies that Mann himself gave, although occasionally someone else gave the reading. Much of Mann's travel in the first decade of his popularity is devoted to just such readings. One performance, in Basel toward the end of January 1906, is interesting for the additional related remarks. Thomas Mann had finished *Fiorenza* before his marriage in February 1905. In December, a month after the birth of his first child, Erika Julia Hedwig, he had traveled to Dresden and Breslau, reading from the drama and the *Novellen*. He was expected to read on two evenings in Basel, for on January 11, 1906, he suggests the first act of *Fiorenza* for the first evening. Evidently owing to his experience on the Dresden-Breslau trip, he adds that in case the reading should not prove successful he will read from four short *Novellen* the second evening.²⁵ In a letter to Heinrich Mann, dated January 17, 1906, he writes of his plans, as well as the interpretation and the reception of a number of works. He speaks again of the coming reading of *Fiorenza* in Basel, asserting that "das Repräsentieren" is a source of amusement for him.²⁶ In the spring of this year he began to work seriously on *Königliche Hoheit*, the fictional development of the representation theme. Trained for more naturalistic effects and expecting social-historical relevance, most critics failed to see the positive role of the artist in society in this story of Prince Klaus Heinrich's re-

lationship to his people. When a critic could see it, Mann, as in the case of *Fiorenza*, was deeply moved:

Nach der Fülle von Dummheit und falschem Scharfsinn, die ich in Betreff meines letzten Buches über mich habe ergehen lassen müssen, war ich von Ihrer Analyse so ergriffen, dass die Thränen momentweise nicht mehr sehr fest sassen. Sie sind . . . neben Hofmannsthal der Einzige, der bisher des konstruktiven Elementes inne wurde, das doch gerade die neue Ambition des Romans ist.²⁷

The relationship between Mann and his public, an especially important area of concern for the author, is thus suggested both by commentary concerning the readings and the reception of his published works.

The *translation* category has not yet been used. Here we provide for discussion concerning the translation procedure. Although numerous translations were made before 1915, notably into Danish, Swedish, Czech, and Hungarian,²⁸ correspondence with the translators is not preserved among the letters accessible at this time. However, there is preserved in the Thomas Mann Archive in East Berlin a copy of a contract for the translation of *Königliche Hoheit* into Hungarian, specifying a six percent honorarium, and dated December 3, 1912. The contract is made out to the *Danteverlag* in Budapest. In addition to indexing the reference to *Königliche Hoheit* as *translation*, we also indexed it as *publication*. The item itself was termed a document as it bears witness to the fact of Mann's arrangements with the Hungarian publishing house.

Discussions concerning the reprinting of works are likewise infrequent. I expect that the second half of Mann's life will provide much more material in this category. An amusing remark related to the reprinting of *Buddenbrooks* in the *New-Yorker Staatszeitung* occurs in a letter-card dated February 22, 1904, to Gabriele Reuter. The implied opinion concerning the cultural lack in Americans agrees well with the observations Mann makes about the "Zivilisation" of the French- and English-speaking world in his essays at the time of World War I: "Was sagen Sie dazu, dass jetzt die New-Yorker Staatszeitung meine *Buddenbrooks* abdruckt, ohne an ein Honorar zu denken? Nicht genug, dass dieses Pack den Parsifal aufführt."²⁹

The third main division of the work index expanded the most rapidly. Because of this expansion, it was deemed necessary to establish a separate division for the author's relationship to his own work. Each of the three categories we have at present—*self-quote*, *echo*, and *interpretation*—plays a significant role in

Mann's references to his own work. Throughout the discussion of the work index thus far, the dominant role of the *interpretation* category has been evident. Self-quotation and echoes of his own work became more numerous as the quantity of Mann's finished work grew and as his self-esteem rose, the commentary concerning "Der Tod in Venedig" indicating this self-confidence.

The *self-quote* category is reserved for instances of self-borrowing from Mann's published works, whether exactly word-for-word or not. I say published works because Mann also had the tendency to employ happy formulations of an idea repeatedly and verbatim in letters to his various correspondents. In such instances the reader is referred to the other letters in which the same formulation occurs. As an illustration, the letter to Ernst Bertram dated October 21, 1912, reveals the great amount of self-exposure Mann wove into "Der Tod in Venedig." The last paragraph entreats the kind of intelligent appraisal Mann found in Bertram's review of *Königliche Hoheit*³⁰: "Eine Wendung Ihres Briefes deutet mir an, dass Ihnen die Anfänge meiner Novelle in der letzten Rundschau nicht entgangen sind. Wenn sie Ihnen Vertrauen gemacht haben, sich mit der zweiten (grässlicheren) Hälfte einzulassen: würden Sie mir ein beruhigendes oder zurechtweisendes Wort darüber zukommen lassen? 'Einsamkeit seitigt auch das Absurde und Unerlaubte...' und ich bin noch heute völlig ohne eigenes Urteil."³¹ The short quotation from "Der Tod in Venedig" actually telescopes the original, which belongs to Aschenbach's reflections about the unusual and unsettling circumstances of his arrival in Venice (VIII, 468). Mann's uncertainty about the reception of the story itself is given somewhat unusual expression, although it reveals a nonetheless genuine anxiety, through the self-quotation.

The *echo* category refers the index user to a published work in which an idea or a discussion took much the same form as it does in the item at hand, e.g., a letter or a notebook entry. Here again I believe the category to be significant biographically, for while it draws attention to the repeated use of a formulation, it also testifies to the persistence of certain ideas and arguments in Mann's thinking. In an unpublished letter to Korfiz Holm dated June 27, 1910, Mann praises the composition of Holm's latest novel, presumably *Die Tochter*, as well as the novel's richness in life.³² In addition to being a bit of a naturalist Holm also tried his hand at comedy,³³ and Mann's letter turns his attention to this subject, specifically to the theater in Berlin and Munich, his primary experience being Max Reinhardt, as mentioned above. Mann con-

cludes the passage, however, by stating that the novel is more significant than the theater. The echo here is of Mann's essay "Versuch über das Theater."³⁴ As Mann does not mention the essay itself, we set the title in brackets and indexed it under the category *echo*.

An additional word about the evolution of these categories is in place here. For a time it seemed that we ought to subordinate *self-quote* and *echo* to the work development division. After all, Mann did use these references to his own work and ideas creatively, particularly in the essays. However, as has been pointed out, they also occur in the personal letters. Here they take on the character of self-interpretation. Because the occurrence of the phenomenon is frequent in the letters and not so frequent in the essays, and because we were not dealing with the really creative material—the fiction, we decided to round out the main division of work evaluation with these two categories. Furthermore, through the use of a self-quote or an echo of a previous discussion, Mann expands the reader's appreciation of the passage alluded to; perhaps he clarifies a statement through a later quotation of it in a new context; perhaps he suggests a new significance in the new context. In a real sense, this procedure is self-interpretation. It is certainly not the development of the work alluded to, for that work has already been completed. And the procedure goes beyond the sort of category found under completed work—*reception, reading, performance*, and so on. The reuse of an already formulated statement or the allusion to a previously developed discussion is genuinely self-interpretative. It involves a new evaluation of older material, and it also indicates satisfaction with the original formulation, the confidence that the idea is most happily stated as it was the first time or that the original discussion of an idea remains unchanged in Mann's thinking for the time being.

The *interpretation* category refers, as has been amply demonstrated above, to Mann's interpretation of his own work. The frequency of interpretative remarks suggests a concern for the sort of rapport with the reading public that Klaus Heinrich longed for with the people of his land. In this vein he speaks of *Fiorenza* as "Schmerzenskind und ein wenig Caviar für das Volk."³⁵ The remark, dated January 19, 1906, comes just before the first serious work on the novel. The fact that *Königliche Hoheit* was misunderstood by the critics hurt Thomas Mann deeply. He confides to Samuel Fischer "das Buch ist nicht so gut, wie der Aufsatz, der sich darüber schreiben liesse." "Geist" is a requirement, a rapport

with Mann's way of thinking, necessary in order to review the book.³⁶ To Korfiz Holm he complains about the novel's appearance as a serial in *Die Neue Rundschau*. *Königliche Hoheit* is "fest verwebt und verzahnt."³⁷ The serialization, he feels, destroyed the necessary rapport that uninterrupted reading could produce.³⁸

Mann's interpretive commentary, referring often to his fictionalization of his own dilemmas, is closely related to his own self-understanding, as is illustrated by a brief interpretive remark that indicates how much of Mann himself went into the vacationing protagonist of "Der Tod in Venedig." In a letter cited above to Ernst Bertram, dated January 30, 1913, he speaks of Aschenbach as his "verstorbener Freund." The passage suggests the significant relationship between several processes: self-understanding, self-fictionalization, and interpretation; these three processes seem to be closely linked to Mann's need for friendship and for a tangible rapport with the reading public. When one acknowledges Mann's deep involvement with Aschenbach—an overdisciplined author-critic who degenerates into decadence—the necessity for a rapport with the reading public can be appreciated. To Bertram he continues: "Auf jeden Fall ist es mir, der ich eigentlich eine Atmosphäre von Sympathie nötig habe, um mit Lust thätig zu sein, ein glückliches Bewusstsein, dass ich Freunde—von Ihrer Art—besitze."³⁹

Possibly it will later be necessary to add the category *filming*. In that event this category will, like *reading*, be indexed under the main division, completed work.

One important cross-referencing procedure occurs within the work index. Four collections of Mann's short stories appeared before 1915—*Der kleine Herr Friedemann* (1898), *Tristan* (1903), *Der kleine Herr Friedemann und andere Novellen* (1909), and *Das Wunderkind* (1914). Each bears the title of one of the short stories included. When Mann refers to a collection (most often simply as "Novellenband"), we indexed it by its title with the addition of the identification, e.g., *Der kleine Herr Friedemann—Novellenband*. Because it was programmed to do so, the computer supplies the names of the additional short stories in the collection whenever the item occurs in the print-out. The reader is thereby provided with the names of the additional short stories in question, a possibly important aid in differentiation. *Der kleine Herr Friedemann und andere Novellen* contains, for example, two additional short stories that the first collection did not—"Die Hungern: Eine Studie" and "Das Eisenbahnunglück."

The description of the work index, as it now stands, is concluded. I have attempted not only to define each aspect of Mann's commentary on his own work, but also to indicate through extensive illustrations the interrelationship of the categories we developed from these aspects. While it is important to establish categories for easier access to specific aspects of Mann's creating and evaluating process, it is also important to note the dependency of one aspect upon the other. Not only are specific categories, such as *idea*, *source*, *plan*, and *material*, interrelated; the three general areas—work development, completed work, and relationship to the work—also are often dependent on each other. Thus, for example, categories like *idea*, *source*, and *plan* from the work development area, *reception* and *reading* from the completed work area, and *self-quote* and *echo* from the author's relationship to his work, all contribute to a deeper understanding of the interpretive aspect of Mann's commentary on his own work. It is therefore the task of the work index, an extensive cross-referencing process, to call the attention of the student to each of the possible aspects of Mann's commentary.

CHAPTER IV

THE NAME INDEX

The name index attempts to indicate all the references Mann makes to persons whether he names them specifically or only alludes to them. We did not alphabetize the material we prepared as in-put, although we did place the last name first in the construction of this index. Our aim was to follow the order of the text, entering a name in the index as it occurs in the text. While the machine can sort in a number of ways, and very efficiently, for our program it does not read the text itself. Therefore, our procedure was one of finding and identifying names for the index. If one asks for the taped record of a whole item or the name index specifically, the computer can guide him to the approximate location in the text where a desired name can be found. Indexing by page number would be pointless; not every reader has access to the edition we used—the S. Fischer *Gesammelte Werke* (1960). This edition will also be superseded. Second, and very importantly as counterargument to those who fear the mechanization of humanistic subject matter, we did not want to replace careful reading of the text with a superficial substitute, i.e., the automatic referral to a location that then obviates the necessity of reading the context.

In conjunction with the production of such an index, a number of difficulties arise, both in research and in technical procedure, relating to our intention: e.g., we always wanted to indicate information that we had to supply—sometimes a first name, sometimes a last name, the name of a work or its date, and so on. Since we believe that the abstract should not be cluttered pedantically with a great many brackets, we indicated all supplied information in the traditional way in the indexes. Aside from the matter of academic responsibility, it was essential to indicate deductions we made regarding a name of a work for a number of reasons. For one thing, the absence of a portion of a name probably indicates something of Mann's relationship to the person or the work. Our indication of this absence also signals to the index user not only

that we endeavored to fill in a blank but that he should also be on the lookout for possible errors in our deductions. Where we were quite uncertain, we added a question mark. Where no information could be found, we simply left a blank space with a question mark.

Within the Mann family itself we found it expedient to distinguish in the index between the author's mother and sister by following the first name (set last) with her relationship to Mann:

Mann, Julia—Mutter,

Mann, Julia—Schwester.

Thomas Mann's wife we index simply as:

Mann, Katja.

A cross-reference will direct the computer to her married name if the maiden name (Pringsheim) is used in search. We indexed Katja's mother similarly:

Pringsheim, Hedwig.

If the name "Hedwig Pringsheim-Dohm" is used in search, the computer will again direct itself to the above entry. Where Mann refers to the entire Pringsheim family and it is impossible to deduce which members of the family might actually have been in his mind, we entered simply:

Pringsheim, Familie.

Any works by authors other than Thomas Mann were indexed directly following the name of the author:

Mann, Heinrich—"Die Schauspielerin."

We were able to keep all such entries in the order of their appearance in the text, because we used a new line on the report form for each separate index entry. Thus, the entries can be strictly sequential, but with the recognition that they will not be repeated each time they occur.

Any material supplied to complete the title of a work is placed in brackets. Occasionally we used parentheses to enclose the date of publication where we felt the index user might otherwise have difficulty in locating information about the work without it, or we sometimes included the nature or the genre of the work in question if we thought it is not well-known enough:

Hesse, Hermann—"Lulu" (Gedicht).

Works whose authors or creators cannot be found were indexed by title; no attempt was made to prepare them for an alphabetical search. Two such instances occur in the essay "Süsser Schlaf" (1909), where Mann mentions two paintings, "C'est Lui" (XI, 339)—which hung in Mann's bedroom—and "Marche à l'étoile"

(XI, 336). Since the painters were unknown to me the two works were therefore entered thus in the index:

"Marche à l'étoile" (Gemälde),

"C'est Lui" (Gemälde).

With or without author (or creator), a work can be searched without difficulty by title alone. Since the titles in this index are usually entered after the name of the author, they are never prepared for alphabetical filing. Therefore one can use the title of a work in his search just as it normally appears:

Mann, Heinrich—"Die Göttinnen."

(The reverse is true of the work index where the article beginning a title is set last—"Zauberberg, Der.")

A more important consideration, touched on above, is that Mann often may discuss a work, e.g., Wagner's *Tristan* in one passage as he does in "Versuch über das Theater," go on to a discussion of Richard Wagner himself in another passage, then return to the opera in a later passage. The question arises: should we have attempted to indicate in the name index, by making separate entries, that these separate discussions exist? We concluded that we could not index in such detail without running the danger of the index's becoming overburdened with multiple entries. The decision not to give page references has already been mentioned. The same reasoning applies here. Our index fixes a name the first time it is mentioned or alluded to in Mann's text; it also fixes the first mention of a work. The reader must go to the text itself to determine the extent of Mann's discussion of the person or work in question. If the discussion forms an important part of the content of an item, it is mentioned in the abstract.

The research aspect of the name index was often more difficult. As aids to the identification of well-known contemporaries or authorities of one sort or another, three reference works were especially helpful: *Kürschners Deutscher Literaturkalender* (Berlin, 1878-1967), *Der grosse Brockhaus* (Leipzig, 1928 edition), and *Meyers grosses Konversations-Lexikon* (Leipzig und Wien, 1908 edition). *Kürschners Deutscher Literaturkalender* was especially helpful (for persons with academic title) where a first name needed to be supplied, and where address and/or professional experience were additional aids to identification. Personal friends and acquaintances were the most difficult and where they have not been supplied by an editor such as Erika Mann, they may never be deduced. One such instance is particularly puzzling. In a letter to Otto Grautoff dated August 29, 1903, Mann makes the following

request: "Lieber: Ich möchte Dich nur ersuchen, doch ja nichts von der Beobachtung, die ich Dir gestern Abend mittheilte, gegen K. verlauten zu lassen, auch nicht in der unverfänglichsten Weise. Ich würde ungern vor ihm auch nur halb so lächerlich dastehen wie vor mirselbst. Wenn Du wüsstest, was für Wunder und wilde Mären ich in mir in diesen Tagen—und Nächten—habe träumen lassen . . .," and so forth in the same tone.¹ Erika Mann is unable to identify "K." Considering the tone of the last sentence quoted above and the material immediately following, I would suggest that "K." is Katja Pringsheim. The "ihm" of the first sentence, however, makes this identification doubtful. There is evidence of Mann's correspondence in this very month with Eugen Kalkschmidt, who was planning a review of *Buddenbrooks* for the newspaper *Die Kunstwart*.² But again the tone of the last sentence quoted above speaks against this possibility.

Where Mann includes a greeting to or mentions a wife, such as Frau Martens, I attempted to discover her first name. Mann does not often do this, and I assumed that when he does so, he is acquainted with the woman or in some other respect feels a relationship to her. The most useful source here was the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (Leipzig, 1875-1912); another was the *Biographisches Jahrbuch und deutscher Nekrolog* (Berlin, 1897-1929). The biographies given here are quite extensive. However, the name of Kurt Martens' wife, Mary, was kindly supplied by Richard Lemp of the *Stadtbibliothek München—Handschriften-Sammlung*.

Occasionally alternate spellings of a name occur, as in the case of the painter [Robert Anton] Leineweber.³ In such a case a cross-reference was prepared directing the computer from "Leinweber/Robert Anton/" to "Leineweber/Robert Anton/." This procedure may seem pedantic, but the computer can become confused, and we then run the risk of losing a reference.

We cross-referenced pseudonyms so that the computer is directed to the real names, e.g., "Novalis—siehe Hardenberg, Friedrich von"; or, more obscure, "Engländer, Richard—siehe Altenberg, Peter."

Fictional names sometimes presented difficulty, most often where I was unfamiliar with the work in which they appear. An example of an annoying instance of such difficulty arose from my reading of the essay, "Der alte Fontane." In support of a statement by Fontane about the writer's being as much an ordinary person as anyone else, Mann quotes *Die Fröhliche Wissenschaft* and

characterizes Nietzsche's thoughts as "die Rubek-Betrachtungen des Sechzigers über den Gegensatz von Kunst und Leben und den Vorrang, die Überlegenheit des ungenialen und lebenswürdigen Lebens" (IX, 18). Not being familiar with all of Ibsen's works, I was unable to identify the reference to Rubek until I read Hermann J. Weigand's article about Mann's novel *Königliche Hoheit*, where I stumbled across a clue: "Das Schicksal Aschenbachs ['Der Tod in Venedig'] bedeutet eine zur Selbstwarnung heraufbeschworene Projektion einer eigenen Schicksalsmöglichkeit, nicht anders als die Solness, Allmers, Borkman und Rubek des alternden Ibsen."⁴ Rubek is the sculptor protagonist of Ibsen's drama *Wenn wir Toten erwachen* (1900).

Searching for the title of a work was made relatively easy by three standard works. If a German author is included in Wilhelm Kosch's *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon*, reference is quick, although Kosch does not always include all titles of the authors entered; short story titles were especially hard to come by. For other works published in German, either *Hinrich's Katalog der im deutschen Buchhandel erschienenen Bücher* (1851-1912) or the *Deutsches Bücherverzeichnis* (1834 to date)⁵ are excellent sources if one has a general idea of the year of publication. The publication dates here are also more reliable than those given in Kosch. Very helpful for world literature were *Lexikon der Weltliteratur* (Stuttgart, 1963) and *Die Weltliteratur* (Wien, 1951-1954). The newer volume, *Lexikon der Weltliteratur*, spells names from the Cyrillic and the Greek alphabets, for example, in the more phonetic manner. The older work, *Die Weltliteratur*, spells in the traditional German manner, helpful when one is constructing an index in German, and also very helpfully gives the titles of the German translations of works.

Poem titles had to be searched for in the volumes of the poet in question, in some instances an arduous task. Article titles were not always available in the German guide to periodical literature, *Internationale Bibliographie der Zeitschriftenliteratur* (Dietrich), as such guides never index every periodical. If the bibliographical information is not supplied, newspaper articles are often quite impossible to locate since the newspapers are seldom at hand. In most of these instances long searches, number by number, will be necessary if an article is to be located. Thus far in our work such articles are mainly reviews of Mann's work which Klaus Jonas does not cite but which would be of value for the student of Mann criticism.⁶

The edition of a classic work that Mann used can often be pinpointed if, as he often does in his notebook reminders, he gives the name of the editor. Often as not these were the cheapest editions available, the *Reclam Universal-Bibliothek* booklets, published since 1867. Mann's "Widmung an den Verlag Philipp Reclam" (Bürgin, Sec. V, 60)⁷ testifies warmly to the author's respect for the publishing house. Here he states that the book collection of his youth consisted of Reclam editions and that it was his dream to see a work "seines eigenen Geistes" published by Reclam. In another congratulatory epistle, "Glückwunsch an einen Buchhändler," Thomas Mann praises the book dealer Heinrich Jaffé, his service to the reading public of Munich, and the fine editions he carries. The amusing conclusion testifies further to Mann's thriftiness: "Und dann kaufe ich ein Reclamheftchen" (X, 845).

Much of Mann's reading in world literature was done in translation. Notebook entries indicate that the translator also played a role in his selection. The letter to Alexander Eliasberg quoted earlier in this discussion reveals a great deal about Mann's indebtedness to translators of the great Russian writers. Through them he was moved by the spirit of such a critic as Dimitri Mereschkowski, to which another passage in this letter from November 14, 1914, bears witness, a fascinating documentation of the state of Mann's international sympathies at the outset of World War I:

Dass wir mit dem Volk dieses Mannes nun in Krieg liegen müssen! Ich bringe übrigens gegen Russland weder menschlichen noch selbst politischen Hass auf. Sein Expansionsverlangen hat etwas Instinktives, Elementares und Indiskutables, wie das sich Recken und der Appetit eines Riesen. Ich bin auf den lieben Westen schlechter zu sprechen. Ihn finde ich menschlich schuldig — aber das sind weitläufige Dinge.⁸

Where a quotation occurs in a printed text and we were unable to identify the original work from which it was taken, we entered:

Schiller, Friedrich—Zitat.

If the item we were indexing had never appeared in print (such as a notebook entry), we included the unidentifiable quotation in the abstract. The comparison of one quotation of Mann's with the original source proved to be an interesting commentary on the author's memory. In a letter to his intimate friend Paul Ehrenberg dated June 19, 1903, Mann speaks of his existence in Schwabing, just before his attraction to Katja Pringsheim, in the words of August von Platen: " 'Dem frohen Tage folgt ein trüber, *und Alles hebt zuletzt sich auf,* ' wie der Dichter singt." The italics are Mann's; the variation from the original text from "Antwort"

(1822) indicates that Mann was relying on his memory or, less likely, that he deliberately altered the quotation:

Dem frohen Tage folgt ein trüber,
Doch alles wiegt zuletzt sich auf.

As pointed out in a foregoing discussion, Mann often mentions his theater engagements in letters to his friends, as opportunities for meeting them, for example, or as reasons for staying in town or coming to town from Bad Tölz. Often as not he fails to mention which opera or drama he is going to be seeing. But if he mentions the day of the week of the pending visit to the theater, it is possible to establish from this information the date of the performance, with the aid of a tool like the *Standard Reference Calendar*. Since we had access neither to the German repertoires of fifty to sixty years ago, nor to the newspapers that carried such information, we requested the information from a source such as the archive librarian at the *Stadtbibliothek München*, who was usually able to supply it quickly. The material is of biographical value, as it testifies, for example, to Mann's deep involvement with Richard Wagner, or his interest in the experimental and the naturalist stage.

A search of the name Frank Wedekind would reveal an interesting aspect of Mann's involvement with the state—his image of himself as an artist and at the same time as a citizen. The homage to Wedekind in the article, "Über eine Szene von Wedekind," in which Mann singles out a scene from *Der Marquis von Keith* (1900) as "das Schrecklichste, Rührendste und Tiefste, was dieser tiefe, gequälte Mensch geschrieben hat" (X, 76), is an indication of his artistic judgment concerning the experimental. Another instance, however, illustrates his attempt as an upstanding citizen to reconcile local government in the form of the censorship advisory committee (*Münchener Zensurbeirat*) with the German writers' legal defense league (*Der Schutzverband deutscher Schriftsteller*), an attempt that failed.¹⁰ Another related aspect of Mann's character is indicated by the document Mann signed along with eight other friends of Wedekind, summoning others to donate toward a gift to be presented to the penurious dramatist on the occasion of his fiftieth birthday.¹¹ Thus Mann's visits to the theater and his relationship to it form an important part of his development as an artist. Certainly he would not have gone out of his way on behalf of Wedekind if this were not the case.¹²

I hope to have made clear during the course of the foregoing dis-

cussion that the name index too can contribute significantly to the thematic as well as the biographical information that we are attempting to make available through the computerized index. Indeed, we hope that the finished product will demonstrate how the two aspects can mutually support one another. To this end the searching of the minutiae of detail, which has been used to illustrate the various aspects of the indexes, forms a necessary preliminary step.

CHAPTER V

THE TOPIC INDEX

In a paper entitled "Studies of Use of the Subject Catalog: Summary and Evaluation," Carlyle J. Frarey of the School of Library Services at Columbia University states that "...much of the difficulty with the subject catalog seems to stem directly from a failure to define precisely what the subject catalog is intended to do, what its true function is. This has never been done with enough precision."¹ Since our indexing process shares some of the difficulties of the library subject catalog, I adopted Frarey's statement as a warning; therefore, the intention of this discussion is to outline as precisely as possible the function of the topic index.

The subject catalog, a device which originated with the public's demand for easy access to a library's holdings in any given field, has had to grow rapidly in the last several decades, sometimes satisfying the researcher, sometimes frustrating him, at other times leading him on a wild-goose chase through inverted headings and cross-references. And, of course, the subject catalog cannot or does not lead the user to all the information on a given topic. Its usefulness depends in part on the knowledge the student brings with him. The inverted headings require at times only a moment's thought, at other times the assistance of a librarian or a cataloger; cross-references sometimes lead to the desired materials, at other times the references do not exist. These frustrations harass both the cataloger as well as the user. New areas of knowledge develop, and current usage changes terminology. Such evolution makes the inversion of headings (a noun before its modifier, for example) a practical necessity, e.g., "Kunst—modern." It also leads to the subdivision of headings. And the necessity of cross-references grows along with the changes in terminology and the expansion and the subdivision of areas of knowledge.

The problems of the Thomas Mann Project topic index are similar to those discussed above in that a client unfamiliar with the terminology may search for a particular topic under an en-

tirely different heading. He may have to be led into our classification system through a cross-reference. In addition, we often found it necessary to subdivide a heading so that our references to Mann's thought might be kept as accurate and as concise as possible. Perhaps our biggest problem was the accessibility of the topic index to the future user, and the anticipation of his terminology or his orientation to Mann's terminology. It is with such difficulties in mind that I intend to discuss the purposes of the Mann Project topic index and the problems involved in its construction.

The primary purpose of the topic index is to provide access to Mann's nonfictional material other than by the title of a work or by the name of a friend, a relative, an acquaintance, or another author. The work and the name indexes provide precise access to specific quantities in the Mann material. The topic index, however, is considerably more subjective. That is, it represents an attempt to define areas of Mann's thought, to systematize his thinking in ways that might or might not have occurred to the author himself. The process is also similar to that of indexing a book, except for an important difference—much of the original material, such as the letters and the notebooks, was not organized by the author for publication. The material found there grows or dissipates with the development of Mann's mind, alters its nature, takes on new relationships and new significance. The process makes it difficult to classify material for the sake of an index. The subject catalog analogy is in this sense a more appropriate one than the book index, because an index is a guide to material that has been organized from a specific point of view—that of the author's thesis. The catalog attempts to organize seemingly unrelated material to enable the researcher to find it. The catalog also attempts to establish an authoritative guide to subject matter and becomes in this sense an authority list. Actually, every reader must ultimately organize Mann's material for himself; each individual confrontation with the author may produce a new way of understanding Mann's thought. The topic index then is intended foremost as a standardized guide to reading.

Several principles derived from subject-heading theory will give an indication of the problems involved in setting up a workable reading guide. Doris Bolef, cataloger at the Washington University Medical School, states as a first principle that the subject heading should be as specific as the subject matter covered.² This principle states the essential value of subject headings: that a

reader can be led to the material he wants with a maximum of accuracy and a minimum of searching. It implies a judicious analysis of the material to be indexed and the development of an effective classification terminology. In the application of this principle to the collected thought of an author like Mann, one must realize that in an argumentative essay, particularly in the letters or in other material not originally intended for publication, any given paragraph can be viewed from a number of aspects. A discussion as general as that of art or the artist may also relate significantly to Mann's thought concerning literature and the writer; it may at the same time be an illuminating bit of the author's self-understanding as a person and/or as a writer. The problem of the indexer is thus a problem of weighing the significance of a discussion, and then of indexing the discussion under as many aspects as he feels are necessary and justifiable. Therefore, an acquaintance with Mann's thought patterns concerning art, literature, and his own self-understanding is essential in analyzing a particular passage.

Closely related to the subject heading is the principle of consistency. David Judson Haykin, formerly consultant on classification and the subject catalog at the Library of Congress, states: "A single term must be chosen and used exclusively, in preference to all other terms no matter how nearly synonymous."³ Consistency in terminology is of course an obvious necessity, yet it is difficult to maintain when dealing with an amorphous body of material like Mann's nonfiction. For example, I found it difficult to decide whether or not a statement about the artist should be indexed under the term "Künstler" or "Dichter," the difficulty being whether Thomas Mann intended the statement to apply generally or specifically to his own artistic orientation, or to both. From the point of view of the index user, my decision could be influential. Mann, of course, comments frequently on the artist or the writer. The question arose: Should I attempt, under the term "Dichter," to direct the user only to that material I judge to pertain to the writer, or should I direct him to all possible relevant references?

Related to the principle of consistent use is that of the consistent application of a term. A primary source of confusion for me was the use of the heading "Bruderproblem." The letters to Heinrich Mann reveal an undercurrent of mutual envy growing into animosity. For Thomas Mann this relationship erupts in a scathing literary attack on Heinrich in *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen* (1918). Mann began writing the volume in 1915⁴; during the same month, Heinrich's essay on Zola appeared. While Thomas at-

tacked his brother's position in the chapter "Der Zivilisations-literat," he did not see the Zola essay until January 1916. In the chapter "Gegen Recht und Wahrheit" Mann criticizes his brother sharply for the essay's veiled attacks and thereby provoked further the literary and political polemics that swell the pages of the *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*. Surely such instances would have to be taken into account by the scholar or biographer interested in treating the problem of the two brothers' relationship.

The problem is more complicated, however: the index user may be interested only in Thomas Mann's statements about his brother Heinrich. Again, he may also be interested in the less obvious signs of the relationship, like the mentionings, the greetings, and the brief congratulations. Probably the most practical solution is to use the subject heading where the problem between the brothers is actually discussed and to let the name index take care of the non-classifiable uses of the name. This solution restores the burden of judgment to the index user.

Another thorny application of the consistency principle was the use of geographic locations as index headings. A portion of Mann's literary and personal activity relates to the topic "Berlin." Seldom does he actually discuss the city itself, at least in the writing and notes up to 1914. It is probable that the index user is not apt to be interested when Mann merely mentions the city, whereas he will very likely be interested in Mann's various relationships to the city since these are important, whether they be literary or personal. Consequently I feel justified in assuming that even the appearance of the city's name in an itinerary will be of some significance.

As Haykin points out in his paper, however, the basic problem in consistency is a semantic one. The most difficult quandary, briefly touched upon above, is one posed, for example, by the terms "Künstler" (artist) and "Dichter" (creative writer). The line between "Dichter" and "Schriftsteller" (writer) also is frequently difficult to draw, yet Mann makes a distinction. These distinctions must be clearly defined in order to achieve the consistency necessary to guide a client's reading. This problem is illustrated in detail in the second section of this chapter, where heading terminology and heading subdivision problems encountered in the making of the Thomas Mann topic index are discussed.

The theory behind the subdivision of headings varies. The subject heading analysts prefer that subdivisions be kept to a minimum. Haykin finds that "... aspects of a subject or topics comprehended within it are likely to be sought under independent

headings, rather than subdivisions under the broad subject. . . . Subdivision should be as far as possible limited to the form in which the subject matter is presented and the place and time to which it is limited."⁵ Presumably he is thinking of headings such as "Art—history—bibliography" or "Kunst—Renaissance." The restriction of subdivisions makes good sense. As is amply illustrated later, it becomes difficult to determine whether frequent usage justifies a separate entry, or to what extent a broad term will actually lead an index user to his information. It is conceivable that he might never think of the broad term, and if it should nevertheless be found desirable to keep the broad term with its many subdivisions, then there must be provided as many cross-references as are necessary to guide the researcher.

On the other hand, L. R. McColvin, Librarian in the City of Westminster Public Libraries, in speaking of indexing, strongly favors the subdivision of headings in order to satisfy varying approaches to a given subject matter. He uses as an example a hypothetical book on French cathedrals, itself arranged possibly in a touring sequence, possibly from a historical or an architectural approach. However, the book's index, he believes, ought to provide a guide to detail of all kinds—biographical, historical, geographical, or architectural. "When an index of this kind is provided, . . . not only does it serve varying approaches, it also discloses relationships which, perhaps not previously manifest, may lead to further and different lines of research or explain the previously inexplicable."⁶ McColvin's statement pleases for it promises discovery. With the proper cross-references, the computer could refer the client looking under one subdivision to the broader heading which could then be searched for its other subdivisions. Thus the index client could also be led to discover relationships that have not yet been explored, as has already occurred in Lehnert's research into the contemporaneous origins of the stories "Tristan" and "Tonio Kröger."⁷

Having pointed out the problems of our index that are similar to those encountered in setting up a subject catalog or in preparing the index to a book, it is necessary not to lose sight of a second requirement of the Thomas Mann index: the topic index must be author centered. Perhaps the requirement seems obvious, but it affects the terminology of our index. Guides like *Sears List of Subject Headings* or the seemingly definitive volume *Subject Headings* published by the Library of Congress do not meet our needs because they attempt to classify published information of all sorts for easy reference; they are necessarily too general. It would be

difficult indeed to organize the personality of a man's notebooks and private letters in terms of encyclopedic categories. The German "Sachregister" comes closer to the technique we have in mind, especially where it indexes the contents of a biographical or an analytical approach to an author.⁸ Examples of the sort of terminology we wish to establish are the "Schlüsselbegriffe" in Gerhart Baumann's treatments of Franz Grillparzer and Robert Musil. Among the "Schlüsselbegriffe" from *Robert Musil: Zur Erkenntnis der Dichtung*⁹ are entries like "Doppelungen," followed by additional parenthetical variation—"(Dopelleben, Doppelgänger, Zwillinge)," or "Koexistenz, Vereinigung des Widersprüchlichen, Gegensätzlichen... (Geschehen und Nichtgeschehen)... (Traum und Wachen)... (Vorgang und Zustand)." Both entries represent central concerns of Musil's work and both require some subdivision, Musil's concepts manifesting themselves in one form and then another. In the second example, "Koexistenz," Baumann found it advisable to restate the concern in two additional forms, both calling forth aspects of Musil's thought. The parenthetical subdivisions here, such as "Vorgang und Zustand," serve as key examples of Musil's "Koexistenz" theories. They also represent a type of indexing which appears to be indispensable when dealing with a creative writer's thought—the succinct statement of an antithesis. On the other hand, an entry such as "Parallelaktion," set in quotation marks, is clearly an adoption of Musil's own terminology.

The revised edition of Baumann's *Franz Grillparzer: Dichtung und österreichische Geistesverfassung*¹⁰ offers other examples related to the author-centered indexing. Under "Bühne" one finds the subdivisions "Welt als Bühne" and "das Bühnengerechte," the first of these two phrases being probably as succinctly descriptive as can be devised. Were the phrase to be alphabetized under "Welt," it would be misleading in terms of the author's interest and concern. "Das Bühnengerechte" draws attention to a totally different topic, Grillparzer's dramaturgy. Because Baumann's discussion is author centered, the phrases, despite their representing two very different topics, adhere organically to the broader topical interest, "Bühne." Under the name "Österreich" Baumann collects a variety of concerns related to Grillparzer's fatherland, such as "Österreicher," "österreichischer Charakter," "österreichische Dichtung," "Österreichertum," "Österreich-Preussen," indicating furthermore the extent of Grillparzer's involvement with his native Austria. Much the same thing will have to be done with

Thomas Mann and Germany, France, Russia, and the United States, for example, primarily because a nation itself comes to stand for certain attitudes, calls up certain emotional responses, coloring the discussion of topics related to the nation in question.

One of our most bothersome problems stems from a wide variety of topics grouped during the preliminary experimenting under the term "Selbstverständnis." Baumann, referring in his work to aspects of Grillparzer's inner struggles with himself, simply alphabetizes all such aspects, all described with a compound of "Selbst-," e.g., "Selbstbegegnung," "Selbstbeobachtung," "Selbstbesitz—Selbstverlust" (here opposites entered as a pair), "Selbstparodie," "das Selbstquälerische," and so forth. This method seems to be quite useful in a printed alphabetical index. It may be impracticable in a computerized index, where the index user cannot run his eye over such a list without asking for an alphabetized print-out of the topics. Our own term "Selbstverständnis" is in any event too broad by itself. We have decided to index discussions that pose the problem under several headings in addition to the "Selbstverständnis" heading in order to insure the user's finding the material. A detailed discussion can be found in the second section of the chapter. Here, the problem that I have been illustrating with examples from Gerhart Baumann's studies is the creation of an index accessible to the layman familiar with card catalog classification terminology, yet centered in the areas and the patterns of the author's own thought.

By making Mann's thought accessible through a topic index and by keeping the index as closely author centered as possible, we hoped to achieve a second main purpose—providing the biographer with a potent and a specialized basic tool that will enable him to proceed immediately beyond the time-consuming stages of preliminary investigation for themes and the appropriate references to them. The index is by no means a substitute for reading or the creative organization of material. Again, it is intended simply as a guide into the material itself; no attempt is made here either to provide page references. The topic index might well serve many projects as a springboard. For example, analysis of the topics and their interrelationship might lead to new conclusions regarding the significance of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche in Mann's production.

A third purpose of the topic index is to provide general scholarship with reliable and quick access to the whole body of Mann's nonfiction. The literary historian, for example, will not likely know

in depth and detail all the material he must organize. An index such as ours should at least give him an accurate assessment of the material that can be found. With this guide he can select and choose topics and ideas that will, it is hoped, more closely represent the actual man than studies formulated solely on the basis of works of fiction, reputation, reviews, public reaction, and the like. These criteria are perhaps more specifically the province of the intellectual historian, who is not so much interested in the facts of a man's life and production as he is in his influence, the importance of his ideas, the public's reaction to him and its assimilation of these ideas, whether accurately understood or not. For such a historian the topic index ought to provide a source from which he can determine both the intellectual life of the contemporary age and the intellectual personality of one of its most significant stimulators, Thomas Mann. The comparatist will also find the topic index a useful tool as he searches for parallel themes among contemporary authors or, with the additional aid of the name index, as he seeks out verifiable mutual influences. The preparation of such indexes for the major contemporary authors might help comparative scholarship by rendering its investigations less dependent upon chance discovery through necessarily very broad reading and might render it more thorough in its coverage of the enormous body of contemporary material.

Finally, a fourth purpose of the topic index is to provide the interpreter of Mann's fiction with a dependable guide to the author's personal interests and concerns as expressed in letters, notebooks, and essays. Such material is essential to the understanding of Mann himself and his personal orientation to life, and as such can be an invaluable asset in the interpretation of the significance of a work of art. The approach of the New Criticism, which seeks to examine the work of art through its own inner coherence and congruity, is an essential method that reminds the reader that the work of art is an organism with an independent unity and life.¹¹ Often an author regards it as such himself, especially where he feels time has separated him from the mood and the inspiration surrounding its production—Goethe's request that Eckermann examine his early essays for their contemporary relevance providing an example in German literature of such an admission. Or the author may assert strongly that he has moved away from an attitude toward life that produced a certain piece of fiction, as did Tolstoi with his entire fictional production, and that the work therefore no longer forms an integral part of his present

orientation to life. Because of such shifts in attitude, the study of an author's orientation can be useful. The evidences of a particular orientation or a shift in orientation may be indicated by the work of art itself, but an investigation of the author's nonfiction, his personal thought, the direct explication of his point of view, can illuminate difficult or problematical questions which may be generated by author obscurity, by public misunderstanding, or by an intellectual climate that is simply quite different from the one that forms the environment of the student.

We hope that undergraduate as well as graduate students will find the index useful. We also anticipate that the various archives holding and collecting Thomas Mann material will want to refer to the computerized index or will be able to contribute important additional material to it. Actually it is really a somewhat specialized group for whom the index was prepared, primarily for students familiar with the German language and literature, but most specifically for the student of Thomas Mann. For this reason and for reasons within the language itself and the author's style, we prepared the index in German. As a corollary to this reasoning, we are of the opinion that each contemporary author who may in the future be indexed as we have Thomas Mann should be indexed in his own language. We have recognized the problem of matching topics in two or more languages that would occur when searching authors writing in different languages, but we did not concern ourselves with the resolution of these difficulties.

Acknowledging the fact that our index was prepared for a specialized group does not preclude its encountering the unknown. Allan M. Rees, of the Center for Documentation and Communication Research at Western Reserve University, makes an important observation in regard to the subject catalog (card file), stating that the "point-of-view" from which a card file has been constructed may become outmoded. Actually then, "the indexer is to a certain extent predicting future information requests (in terms of subject areas, terminology and association of ideas) to be put to the file at a later date, occasioned by a state of technology and subject needs yet unknown."¹² It is at this point that one is hesitant about the terminology he selects for his subject headings and especially the subdivisions of these headings.

The illustrations that are discussed below are based on the preparation of Thomas Mann material up to and including the year 1914, and on the uncertainties and the decisions which the work occasioned as we proceeded.

A. The Broad Heading

A broad heading, as opposed to a specific, author-oriented heading, is liable to be both wasteful in terms of computer use and misleading in terms of desired research efficiency. The term "Philosophie" can serve as an initial illustration. If used indiscriminately it might stand for any of a number of philosophies that Mann discusses. It might also refer to Mann's own philosophy of life or simply to philosophy as a branch of knowledge. To avoid this ambiguity we tried to be as specific as possible in identifying the particular philosophy Mann is discussing, "Monismus," "Nihilismus," and so forth. For Mann's personal philosophy, where it is the subject of discussion, the term "Weltanschauung" was used. The heading "Philosophie" itself was used exclusively as a reference to philosophy as an academic discipline. Under the remaining circumstances I used the term in combination with a subdivision, e.g., the name of a philosopher—"Philosophie—Nietzsche." Mann refers to Nietzsche the man, the writer; the man's works; and the man's philosophy. Referring to all discussions involving Nietzsche through the name and title index alone does not seem to do justice to much of the material. Yet I am not fully satisfied with the entry as given above, partly because of the restricted use assigned to "Philosophie," i.e., the discussion of this branch of knowledge per se. If the term for types of philosophy is subdivided, then, in order to be consistent, all types must be included. If the term is not always subdivided in this way, then, when it is, as in the case of Nietzschean philosophy, the topic is in effect hidden because of the restricted usage of the main heading. Although it might certainly occur to a student to search the computerized index under this combination of terms, one cannot rely on it. The simplest solution, and the most logical, might then be simply to reverse the order of the terms and call the matter in question "Nietzsches Philosophie." Such a topic entry would at least exclude from a search all the references to Nietzsche titles that would result from a search of the name index. It would also exclude irrelevant "Philosophie" entries. A final decision may have to wait until more material from the years between 1915 and 1955 is prepared.

A related aspect of this problem, the broad term versus one that is author oriented, is the grouping of geographical terms under one general heading. In our preliminary material preparation we grouped such terms as "Gebirge," "die See," and even such a specific designation as "Starnberger See," under the heading

"Landschaft." Despite the fact that other experiences and relationships are associated with Mann's trips to the Tyrol, to Zürich, to Lake Garda, or later to Davos, the one aspect most common to these experiences is that of a particular type of landscape—mountains. Another particularly appealing landscape was the sea, a by-product of the Mann family's proximity in Lübeck to the Baltic Sea and the resort beach at Travemünde. Mann's later pilgrimage from Munich to Lübeck and Denmark is well known from "Tonio Kröger." However, in *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen* Mann states his aversion to scene painting and his compulsion to allow his characters to come alive, to dominate a scene with their thinking, their speech, and their reactions to one another: "Meine Bücher haben fast keine Landschaft, fast keine Szenerie bis auf die Zimmer. Aber Menschen leben eine Menge darin, und man sagt, dass sie 'liebevoll' beobachtet und dargestellt seien" (XII, 448). Minimized in its importance as background, landscape nevertheless takes on a significance that is integral in the fiction, if not also mystical or mythological. One need think only of *Der Zauberberg* as an illustration of the importance of the theme "Gebirge," and Mann's mountain experiences were invariably associated with sanatoriums. In *Buddenbrooks* the sea plays an important role at Travemünde; in "Tonio Kröger" the Danish coast a yet more significant and integral role, as does the Adriatic in "Der Tod in Venedig." This significance of the one landscape or the other is, of course, not evident in each and every reference to mountains or sea. Nevertheless, because of the lack of significance of landscape per se, at least as stated by Mann himself, and because of its fictional significance, I am inclined to drop a general heading like "Landschaft" and allow the terms "Gebirge" and "die See" to stand for themselves, providing "see" cross-references from "Landschaft" to the specific geographical term. I think that here, as in the discussion of the term "Philosophie," the use of the word as a heading ought to refer to the concept of landscape itself and a discussion of it as a concept or simply in general terms. The reference to it in *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*, for example, will be so indexed.

The way the index is programed may cause much of this discussion to appear to be hairsplitting. For example, the subdivisions of main topics bear the special tag number "820" for subdivisions. These subdivisions can then be searched with or without the main topic. Specific geographic items, where they are not topics of discussion, can be filed in the name index under a special tag for

place names, "720." This capability could allow us to store a passing mention of a place or some other item that previously seemed too insignificant to cite. Nevertheless, the concept of the main topic and its subdivisions continues to remain important to the index because of its great value in leading the index user to discover relationships among the topics.

A different aspect of the problem of the broad heading is that of ambiguity. "Das Moderne" as a heading, for example, seems to me hopelessly broad. Yet Mann refers to it sometimes rather loosely in his essays. Where the term can be construed as a modifier, it was placed under another heading as a subdivision, e.g., "Literatur—modern," "Theater—modern." A cross-reference from "das Moderne" will guide the index user to these main headings. Where the author appears to have only a general spirit of modernity in mind, the term "das Moderne" was used. Also, when one is dealing with a general descriptor such as this, it is often difficult to decide whether or not a noun like "Modernität" might not be more appropriate. The question persists: How might the index user search for these concepts? Whether the noun is formed from the adjective or is given the abstract form seems to have little relevance here. For the sake of being consistent with the phrasing used in the subdivisions mentioned above, it would seem to make sense to adopt the expression, "das Moderne," the noun formed directly from the adjective, as a sufficiently accessible clue to abstract discussions of the concept.

Another problem related to the discussion of the heading "das Moderne" must be raised here: whether the word of foreign origin is more useful than the German expression. Why not use "Neuzeitlichkeit" instead of "das Moderne"? First, "Neuzeitlichkeit" does not carry the same connotations; it bears a historical association. For some reason, perhaps its international usage, the expression of foreign origin carries with it the breadth of international literary relationships, indeed the breadth of a spirit of newness in general outlook as well as in business undertakings and in a variety of activities. The international quality involved is an important part of the whole concept. Second, Mann uses the word, "das Moderne," exclusively. It is to be expected then that an index user will most likely search under the term of foreign origin, "das Moderne."

Another word pair posing a similar difficulty is "Verfall" and "Dekadenz." Here, however, Mann uses the term "Verfall" for the most part. The very term suggests the history of the Buddenbrook

family or the lapse of moral rigidity in Gustav Aschenbach. "Dekadenz," again perhaps due to its international usage, suggests the decline or deterioration that must be viewed against the background of the imperialism of the late nineteenth century, the old rake on the steamer in "Der Tod in Venedig" providing a portrayal of this quality. Mann's chronicles of "Verfall" (deterioration) concern individuals only (or an individual family). Both Thomas Buddenbrook and Gustav Aschenbach gain new insight, even inspiration, through this process of "Verfall." Buddenbrook responds enthusiastically to Schopenhauer. Aschenbach is lifted from a somewhat sordid environment and personal situation on the wings of mythological fulfillment.¹³ "Dekadenz," however, refers to a widespread situation that is a matter of common concern, a matter of a diseased civilization. Thus, in constructing the topic index, I believed it necessary and helpful to make the distinction; however, such a distinction must also be cross-referenced.

More apt to cause confusion is the term "Moral." This word, in German usage, is too inclusive. Here the use of German expressions rather than the word of foreign origin will clarify the nature of the reference. "Sittenlehre" or "Sittlichkeit" are much less ambiguous. The index user must be directed again by cross-reference to these terms. As another example, it is conceivable also that the heading "Schönheit" could cause confusion. Consequently it is imperative to distinguish between a reference to the abstract theory, "Ästhetik," and beauty itself, "Schönheit." One might refer to "Schönheitslehre," yet where the author himself prefers the humanistic term, and no confusion is apt to arise, I believe it necessary to use it in the index.

B. The Precise Heading

A second group of problems centers around the need for a precise heading. Precision is not quite the same problem as that of the broad versus the specific term discussed above. Here the indexer cannot rely on the author's terminology, nor is there a compulsion to group specific terms under a broader heading. He must make precise distinctions himself in order to help the index user locate his material as efficiently as possible. In several of the letters from 1900 Mann discusses his reactions to military service, which I have indexed as "Militärdienst." Upon other occasions, and more frequently as Mann begins to express his political observations, he discusses militarism as a facet of either Western or German political personality. Such discussions can be easily referred to

with the heading "Militarismus." However, when Mann speaks of the army itself and its nature, I have used the term "das Militär." The term "Militärwesen" would be a bit too technical and suggests the jargon of official propaganda. The term "das Militär" might be used as a heading for any of Mann's comments concerning the military or militarism, if one were concerned to keep the headings as broad and inclusive as possible. However, for the sake of doing justice to Mann's thought, whatever distinctions can be made ought to be made, and with appropriate cross-references, even the uninitiated student can be led to all the aspects of a subject field (such as the military) that can be found in Mann's thought.

The danger of overlapping applicability occurs in the headings we use for experiences with the occult and extrasensory perception. "Telepathie," used alone, would seem to be clear enough. For example, in a letter to Walter Opitz dated April 14, 1909,¹⁴ Mann speaks of having thought of Opitz just before receiving his letter and expresses his enjoyment of such occurrences. "Spiritismus" and "Okkultismus," while related to "Telepathie," generate reactions that range from absolute rejection to hesitant disbelief, and are not the same thing; yet they overlap one another considerably. Or, more precisely, "Spiritismus," the belief that contact can be made with the dead, is a facet of "Okkultismus," which is a broader term signifying all the secret, mystic arts—astrology, black magic, and so on. It is important to separate "Telepathie" from "Okkultismus," for Mann had an early aversion to the latter. Hans Castorp's reaction to a spiritualistic séance in *Der Zauberberg* may reflect this aversion, but the passage must be supplemented with the discussion of séances Mann attended, described in "Okkulte Erlebnisse" (1923). And by the time *Joseph und seine Brüder* appears, one must account for a fascination with occult possibilities, and a distinction between charlatanry and the empirical psychological phenomenon. It is possible that here, as before, the more general term, "Okkultismus," will have to be used where it is wanted, and the more specialized term, "Spiritismus," where it is indicated, e.g., for Rothe's séance which Mann declined to attend,¹⁵ care being taken to cross-reference the two terms.

"Leben," "Lebensbejahung," and "Weltliebe" make up another set of related headings. The least specific of these, "das Leben," serves as a catch-all for pronouncements about or reactions to life in general. The term is not to be confused with "Weltanschauung," because it does not cover theory formulated to systematize attitudes. It simply covers discussions of life and Mann's involvement

with it. "Weltanschauung" would cover attempts to read meaning into it. The latter is the province of the intellect. "Das Leben" is the province of the emotions, the instinct, an important distinction made not only in "Tonio Kröger," but also in *Königliche Hoheit*. Klaus Heinrich is attracted toward "das Leben"; the poet, Alex Martini, celebrates it. "Lebensbejahung" is a more specialized variety of the heading "das Leben." It involves such an instinctive reaction to life as embodied in Tonio Kröger's friend Hans Hansen. A term like "Optimismus" is again an intellectualization of the instinctive positive reaction to life and here, for Thomas Mann, it appears to become questionable.¹⁶ On the other hand, "Weltliebe" represents an expansion of the feeling involved in "Lebensbejahung" into an all-encompassing feeling of belonging in this world. Prince Klaus Heinrich's successful orientation to life through his marriage to Imma Spoelmann is perhaps an acceptable illustration. It is again akin to "Optimismus" but is nonintellectualized and is broader. It is akin to "Lebensbejahung" but is not so limited in scope. It might well signify a love of life and this world that also admits a pessimism concerning human achievement. Certainly both Klaus Heinrich and Imma are realists in this sense. As such, this "Weltliebe" is distinct from philanthropy and progressivism. The terms, while possibly overlapping, signify distinctions which the author himself makes and which carry negative connotations, as in *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*, and must therefore be kept.

The topic "das Leben" takes on added significance for Thomas Mann when it is coupled with the word "Geist" (meaning approximately "intelligence" but with a spiritual, even mystical, quality). The two terms at first appear as antithetical in Mann's thought. The notes to *Fiorenza* emphasize this contrast specifically (*Notizbuch* 4, pp. 87 and 89; *Notizbuch* 7, p. 16). Tonio Kröger suffers from the seeming mutual exclusiveness of the two poles. However, by 1912, in the article "Über Fiorenza," Mann speaks of the contrast between "Geist" and "Kunst" in his drama, seeing the poet, "der Dichter," as the reconciliation of intelligence and art. Somehow related to this shift in antithesis is the "Körperlichkeit," mentioned above, that forms a portion of the concept designated as "das Leben." In 1913 Mann celebrates briefly two young authors who have just died,¹⁷ Friedrich Huch and Erich von Mendelssohn, both of whom represent for Mann the talented artist who is conscious of his physical vitality. The poet, as the mediating figure between the poles of "Geist" and "Kunst," has somehow absorbed

the earlier pole, "Leben." Further complications of the thinking here occur in Mann's World War I essays, notably in "Gedanken im Kriege" (in *Die Neue Rundschau*, XXV [November, 1914], 1471-1484) and later in *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*. Here I think one can justifiably remark that Mann's thought regarding the artist becomes confused with his emotions regarding Germany. The West, "Zivilisation," represented by England and France, stands opposed to Germany, "Kultur," and art is a part of this term as is love and war! By necessity, then, a discussion of the topics "Geist" and "Leben" will also involve an examination of "Kunst" as well as Mann's "Selbstverständnis," both as artist and as poet. The original antithesis, its later development and transformation, forms perhaps the central core of Mann's thought during the period 1900-1914 and beyond.

The distinction between qualities and quantities might cause some confusion, but needs to be made—"Bürgerlichkeit" as distinct from "Bürgertum," for example. The quality "Bürgerlichkeit" connotes a judgment. The quantity "Bürgertum" is likely to indicate a discussion of the actual phenomenon, but does not imply a judgment.

C. The Subdivided Heading

The subdivision of headings ought to be kept to a minimum, as I have pointed out in the first portion of this chapter. It makes little sense to group topics under a general heading if their presence there does not contribute significantly to the accurate and speedy access to relevant material. One of the most difficult headings to control has been what we have called in preliminary preparations "Selbstverständnis." The term itself, according to Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, was fashionable in the Romantic period and has since fallen into disuse in fields other than literature. An alternative such as "Selbsterkenntnis," however, carries the overtone of moral improvement which is undesirable in our context. Terms found in Baumann's "Schlüsselbegriffe"—like "Selbstbegegnung" and "Selbstbeobachtung"—sound too specific, too specialized for our purpose; furthermore, they sound too detached, disinterested, a quality which may well suit Grillparzer, but does not quite characterize Mann's attitude toward himself. We continue to use the term "Selbstverständnis," even if Romantic, because it comes closest to the meaning we desire. The topics ordered under this term are all there because they relate personally to Mann. The topic "Selbstverständnis" could easily become overburdened with subdi-

visions if it were not limited to remarks deriving from genuine self-evaluation. Consequently, certain aspects of Mann's concern, even if obviously stemming from his personal experience, are better left as topic headings in their own right. Such aspects are: 1) physical quantities like "Krankheit," or more specifically "Zahnbehandlung," "Magenleiden," "Nervenschwäche," and so on; 2) emotions or attitudes like "Liebe," "Hass," "Freundschaft," "Leiden," "Sehnsucht," "Pessimismus"; 3) qualities such as "Geduld," "Gewissen," "Würde," "Grösse," and so on; 4) problems like "Bruderproblem," "Rassenproblem," "Ehe" "Frieden," "Krieg," and so forth; and 5) activities such as "Briefeschreiben." All of these items contribute to an understanding of Mann and yet do not seem to be an obvious subdivision of a general heading, "Selbstverständnis."

Where Mann does attempt real self-analysis is in his discussions of himself in certain roles, e.g., as a person reflecting upon himself (primarily his past), as a professional creative writer, and as a citizen. Here then are three organic subdivisions which nevertheless require still further subdivision. I therefore found it advisable to establish three separate but closely related headings—"Selbstverständnis," "Selbstverständnis als Dichter/Künstler," and "Selbstverständnis als Bürger." Under "Selbstverständnis" (as a person) come considerations like "Herkunft" (background), "Kindheit," and "Selbstverständnis—als Schüler," Mann's indifference as a pupil in Lübeck being somewhat of a matter of pride. Under "Selbstverständnis als Dichter" come "Einflüsse" (influences), "künstlerische Arbeit" (artistic production), "Arbeitsweise" (work method), "Künstlerisches Ziel" (artistic goal), "Künstlerischer Geschmack" (artistic taste), and "Rang" (rank). I debated whether or not to include "Repräsentation" and "Hochstapelei" (fraud) as subdivisions under this topic. Certainly they are important concepts for Mann's understanding of himself, but they also have a much wider application in Mann's writings, especially the fiction. For the sake of their own significance and also for easiest accessibility I believe they ought to stand by themselves. Finally, under the main heading "Selbstverständnis als Bürger" was indexed Mann's assessment of his own bourgeois tendencies and obligations; his relationship to politics, however, was indexed as "Politik." Cross-references would have to be provided to and from these topics as independent headings as well, because they are also the subjects of more general discussions. Thus, establishing these three areas of self-analysis—all three are

organic to Mann's thinking and writing—as separate headings, made their application more precise and at the same time helped reduce what would have been otherwise an unwieldy number of subdivisions.

The word "Künstler" (artist) conveys an idea distinct from the label "Dichter" (poet or creative writer). The term connotes a type of individual who is creative whether he writes stories and novels, composes operas, paints, or molds statuary. Special concerns that relate to this general concept of the artist include the artist's concept of duty ("Pflicht") which in Thomas Mann may be equivalent to the artist's ethics, hitherto also indexed under "Selbstverständnis als Künstler—die Moral." While the two may not generally be considered to be the same, Thomas Mann does equate them in *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen* and elsewhere. Perhaps it is safest to use both terms or at least provide a cross-reference from "Moral" to "Pflicht" where it occurs as a subdivision of the topic "der Künstler." Then, too, Mann may later associate different concepts with the morality of the artist. An automatic substitution of the term "Pflicht" for "Moral" may misrepresent later thinking, Tolstoi providing an example from world literature of such shifts in the artist's position.

Also under this topic, "der Künstler," I have subordinated the term destiny or fate ("Schicksal"), i.e., the destiny of the artist. Also as a subdivision here I use the word "Überlegenheit," indicative of that ironic self-elevation over an innate sense of inadequacy (see, for example, the essay "Chamisso" [IX, 38, 42, 56f.]).

Two further subdivisions pose a problem. Instead of limiting the main heading through a one-word subheading, I had to use a phrase. For example, there is the specialized critical activity of the artist, designated by the phrase "der Künstler als Kritiker," under which I included two further subdivisions: "Der Künstler und die Zeit," indicating a critical relationship, and "der moderne (Künstler als Kritiker)," indicating special consideration of the role of the contemporary artist as a critic. However, since secondary subdivisions become unwieldy for the computer program, these topics will have to stand separately as subdivisions of a main heading. Thus the subheading "der Künstler als Kritiker" ought actually to be a main heading, independent of the main heading "der Künstler." The other subheading phrase is "der Künstler gegenüber dem Dichter." At first glance the phrase may seem confusing, as it was pointed out earlier that the term "Dichter" can sometimes be a more specialized concept than the term "Künstler." At times,

however, Mann juxtaposes the two terms. Two additional subdivisions here indicate the nature of the maneuver—"Äusserlichkeit," a complement of the artist, and "Innerlichkeit," a complement of the poet. I am least certain about the effectiveness of the phrase subheadings under "der Künstler als Kritiker," mentioned above, but the computer can search by subheadings also. At this point accessibility is subordinated to precision, but I think the index user will ultimately benefit from the procedure for he will be referred immediately to areas of related concern.

Art ("Kunst") is a related heading which I have had to subdivide frequently. This sort of topic lends itself well to the limitations Haykin recommends, e.g., place and time.¹⁸ In the material indexed to date there are only a few such time subdivisions: "Renaissance" (largely in connection with the drama *Fiorenza*) and "Moderne"—many of Mann's friends, for example, were artists associated with "die Sezession" (which appears also as an independent topic); "Italien" and "München." However, I have had to form a number of phrases for the various relationships Mann draws between art and daily life or life in general: "Kunst und Leben," a central concern in Mann's early thought; "Kunst und Gesellschaft" (art and society); "Kunst und Bürgerlichkeit" (art and the middle-class way of life); "Kunst und Wirklichkeit" (art and reality); "Kunst als Religionsersatz" (art as religion substitute). To eliminate redundancy, I elected, as before with topics related to "der Künstler," to let these topics stand independently as main headings, although they are actually specialized aspects of the central concern, art. Cross-references will be supplied under "Kunst" to these additional but separately accessible topics.

Another broad heading, "Literatur," suggested a considerable number of subdivisions, most of which, upon consideration, were eliminated. Limiting adjectives representing general time periods must be kept as legitimate subdivisions—e.g., "18. Jahrhundert" or "20. Jahrhundert." Under "Literatur—moderne" it would seem appropriate to add two further subdivisions called for by the material prepared up to 1914—"Dichter der Gegenwart" (present-day poets) and "Lyrik der Gegenwart" (present-day lyric). However, such further subdivision is unpracticable. These headings are then best left independent. Nevertheless, cross-references from "Literatur—moderne" must be supplied. Literature of the various nationalities, when referred to as such, was treated as a subdivision of that nation, i.e., "Frankreich—Literatur." Cross-references from the heading "Literatur" must again be supplied. Periods of

literary history were indexed as independent topics, such as "Romantik," since such an expression also involves a "Weltanschauung" and a "Zeitgeist" that is difficult to separate into compartments.

For the various genres I have selected the heading "Literaturgattungen." Recurrent subdivisions here are "Roman" (the novel), "Lyrik," and "Kritik" (criticism), which I think ought to be considered a genre if only because Mann regards good criticism so highly. The compound "Literaturgattungen" should be cross-referenced from the heading "Literatur," and is itself precise, thus preventing a confusing hodgepodge of subdivisions under so general a term as "Literatur." For the same reason I preferred to make a separate heading for terms of the trade employed in the discussion of literature—"Literaturbegriffe." Under this heading are included terms such as "Humor," "Ironie," "Symbol," "Stil," "Form," "moderne Theorie," and "Wirklichkeitskritik" (criticism of actuality)—not a genre in itself, but a term applicable to several genres. This heading—"Literaturbegriffe" or "Literaturgattungen"—presents no difficulty to the student searching for references to "Ironie" or "Roman," for example, since the computer is programmed to search for sub-topics along with main topics. The advantage of the grouping is, again, that attention can be drawn to additional related topics.

Various problems related to literature occur and recur in Mann's writing, all of which, I believe, ought to be maintained as independent headings. They include a personal element as well as a broader application, making them again difficult to compartmentalize. "Hochstapelei" (fraud, with a debonair flavor to be sure) is recognizably a theme of Mann's. Other topics of this category include "Sittlichkeit" or "die Moral" (as in "Der Tod in Venedig"), and "Metaphysik" (as in *Buddenbrooks*).

Of the remaining subdivided topics, "Religion" and "Politik" are the most important. Topics related to religion which I did not classify as subdivisions include "Theologie," "Protestantismus," "Heidentum" (heathendom), and "Christentum." In addition to their relationship to religion, they also connote aspects of their own which again are not necessarily religious in nature. For example, "Theologie" connotes an academic and philosophic discipline. "Protestantismus," as used by Mann, connotes among other things fanaticism. "Christentum" can carry the negative connotation of a limited "Weltanschauung," or an excessive moral concern, or a tendentious political direction (Mann's comments on Tolstoi as

an example). Under the heading "Religion" itself terms were grouped which limit the scope of the discussion within themselves: "die Moral," "Askese," "Enge," "Naivität," and "Kraft." Cross-references can again direct the searcher's attention to the other topics mentioned.

Since "Politik" is itself a topic of concern to Mann, especially in such a work as *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*, and since "Nationalismus," for example, carries a distinctly different connotation for him, the decision was made to separate such topics from one another completely. Thus "Nationalismus," which had been subordinated to the general term "Politik," became a topic heading in its own right. Since Mann discusses it at length, it may well be that it will have to be subdivided as was done with the concept "Vaterland," under which was placed the specialized theme "Parodie vaterländischer Reden" (parody of "Vaterland" speeches). "Vaterland" itself again carries connotations distinct from those of "Nationalismus," and also deserves to stand independently. The parody indicated above is a by-product of Mann's ambivalent fatherland feelings. "Demokratie" can also stand alone and will eventually comprise a number of subdivisions; it should lead to some fascinating studies. "Dr. von Staat," an ironical fiction of Mann's, can stand alone too for it is a term of Mann's own creation. Besides having relevance to politics, "Dr. von Staat" also belongs in part to Mann's irony. Cross-references can be supplied both to and from "Politik" and "Ironie," as well as "Selbstverständnis als Bürger—Politik." Discussions related to politics became more frequent as Mann matured and as his homeland became more and more deeply stirred by its political and military involvements.

With the foregoing discussion of indexing problems and the background material provided in the first section of the chapter, I hope to have carried out my intended purpose: the precise definition of what the Thomas Mann topic index is intended to do. As an index, it must be an efficient and accessible guide to reading, but as a specialized tool, its terminology must be author centered. Its organization must allow access from several different aspects—biographical research, literary-historical and intellectual-historical evaluation, interpretive research, and possible aspects not yet thought of. As work progresses on the indexing of the nonfiction, the index must also be capable of growing, yet remaining as precise and as accessible as possible.

CHAPTER VI

TRIAL SEARCHES OF THE COMPUTERIZED INDEX

Three trial searches were run in order to demonstrate the programmed capabilities of the three main indexes—the work index, the name index, and the topic index. I shall first discuss the search of the name index, and then the search of the topic index. The search of the work index—a trial search for material leading toward an interpretation of the novel *Königliche Hoheit*—actually made use of all the indexes, including the chronological index in addition to the main three, and is therefore described last in this chapter. The first two searches tabulated the items retrieved and the frequency of their occurrence, and from the statistics obtained I will attempt to describe the most obvious indications about Mann's thought and work processes. The last search not only tabulates the search results but also attempts to demonstrate the value of the indexes for an interpretive study. However, one important aspect of Mann's thought has not been considered: we have not had access to the books among the author's literary remains and have therefore been unable to include his marginal commentary.

The tabulations are based on information from the computer print-out produced by the searches. Each record is clearly identified as "Brief," "Notizbuch," "Essay," and so on. Where a letter has been published, the source is given, e.g., "*Briefe 1889-1936*, S. 34." Where it has not yet been published, the location of the letter is given, e.g., *Stadtbibliothek München*. Ten names were searched at once, and because the computer sorted and listed the items chronologically rather than by the names of the persons searched, it was possible to see at a glance the year(s) where a name occurred most frequently.

A. A Trial Search of the Name Index

The ten well-known names in German literature chosen for an experimental search of the name index were those names of liter-

ary importance most frequently occurring in the index to Erika Mann's first letter volume (*Briefe 1889-1936*); Stefan George, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Gerhart Hauptmann, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Henrik Ibsen, Martin Luther, Friedrich Nietzsche, Friedrich Schiller, Arthur Schopenhauer, and Richard Wagner. It must be remembered that the frequency of the occurrence of names in the notebooks and letters does not necessarily reflect the extent of an individual's influence upon Mann. Also, the number of items appearing up to the year 1914 for each name that I searched does not necessarily correspond proportionately to the number of items that would appear if Mann's entire life's work were searched. The frequency of the occurrence of the names in my search is set, in descending order, beside the frequency of the occurrence of the same name in the index to Erika Mann's first volume of letters.

The trial search 1889-1914

Wagner
Goethe
Schiller
Hofmannsthal
Nietzsche
Ibsen
Schopenhauer
Hauptmann
George
Luther

Briefe 1889-1936

Goethe
Wagner
Nietzsche
Hauptmann
Schiller
Hofmannsthal
George
Schopenhauer
Luther
Ibsen

The lists are roughly similar. Nietzsche is mentioned more frequently after 1917. Hauptmann is mentioned regularly through the entire period. It is perhaps surprising that Schiller's name drops below that of Hauptmann. Ibsen's name drops to the end of the list. The trial search of these ten names produced the variety of records described below.

Of 124 items retrieved, 56 were letters, seven unpublished and four (all to Heinrich Mann) published in excerpt only. The other addressees of unpublished letters include Kurt Martens, Hans Brandenburg, Korfiz Holm, and Hans von Hülsen. That the unpublished letters are not necessarily unimportant can be illustrated by two, both addressed to Hans Brandenburg and both located in the *Stadtbibliothek München*. In the first, dated February 20, 1908, Mann speaks of the coming Wagner generation, genuinely Wag-

nerian as opposed to the Wagner imitators, and of Mann's essay "Versuch über das Theater" as a temptation ("Versuchung"). In the second, dated July 25, 1910, he praises Brandenburg's brave modernity, a quality he also sees in Walt Whitman and Richard Dehmel, but fails to find in the holy Stefan (George).

Forty-four notebook entries were retrieved, eleven articles, six essays, and two book reviews; five items recording derived biographical data were also retrieved. The large number of notebook entries means that many references to persons are not accessible except to the researcher at the Zürich Archive and the index user.

By far the most frequently mentioned name is that of Richard Wagner, in 30 letters and in 18 notebook items, as well as in several essays and articles. (The frequency of occurrence in the essays is another matter entirely. A study of the frequency of mentions within an essay text was made by Ernst Keller, *Der unpolitische Deutsche: Eine Studie zu den 'Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen' von Thomas Mann* [Bern, 1965].) Furthermore, the references to Wagner occur continually from 1894 to 1914. Only the name of Goethe shares this distinction, occurring continually from 1893. In fact, after Wagner the next most frequently mentioned name is that of Goethe, in 15 notebook items and in nine letters, and his is the name that occurs in the most essays and articles (12). Schiller lags behind these two considerably, mentioned in 11 letters, in five notebook records, and in six essays and articles. A frequency count of the multiple occurrence of a name in a single item has not been made; only the number of items in which the names occur were tabulated. A multiple occurrence count would most likely put Wagner's name far ahead of the others, but the appearance of Schiller's name would also increase considerably.

Wagner's name occurs in a variety of contexts—discussions of operas and their performance, especially "Tristan"; in conjunction with Nietzsche's criticism; and in conjunction with discussions of art and the theater, for the most part. The name of Goethe, in addition to quotations, seems to be associated with a programmatic reading of the works—*Faust*; *Gespräche mit Eckermann*; the novels, *Wahlverwandtschaften*, *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, and *Werther*; and the drama, *Tasso*. Later, Goethe's name occurs frequently in the articles and essays between 1911 and 1914, in conjunction with Schiller's name, and in general discussions of the creative writer, e.g., "Der Künstler und der Literat" (a portion of the abandoned essay "Geist und Kunst").¹ Schiller's name occurs

most frequently in the notebooks during 1905 and 1906, during and after the writing of "Schwere Stunde."

The name of Hugo von Hofmannsthal appears curiously in the fourth largest number of items—seven letters and three notebook records—due primarily to Mann's visit with him in early December, 1908, and Mann's subsequent references in his letters to Hofmannsthal's opinions and works, an indication of his sincere respect. The name of Nietzsche is seldom found in the letters (3) or notebook items (2), although one particular notebook record serves for several pages of quotations from the author. His name does appear in six essays and articles. The apparent infrequency cannot be mistaken for a sign of negligible influence; many quotes appear in the important essay "Versuch über das Theater," for example. The seminal influence of Nietzsche's thought on Thomas Mann is well known to be considerable; the infrequency of the occurrence of the name in the index is therefore an indication of the index's limitations.

Ibsen's name occurs nine times (nearly as many times as does Nietzsche's), both in conjunction with performances of his dramas as well as his "Weltanschauung." The name of Schopenhauer occurs in only seven items, three being essays—again certainly no indication of the author's influence, especially upon the writing of *Buddenbrooks*. Stefan George is mentioned in four letters and a notebook entry (1908 to 1909), primarily in disparaging tones. Gerhart Hauptmann is mentioned in two letters and in one essay; attendance at one of his plays is recorded twice. The occurrences of Martin Luther's name, though infrequent (in two notebook items, in one letter, and in an essay), span the years 1899 to 1914. Mann speaks of having fled from a discussion of Luther and Christianity at the home of Paul and Carl Ehrenberg.² One of the notebook entries occurs at the time of Mann's work on *Fiorenza* and the name again appears in "Gedanken im Kriege."³

From the description of this search, one can see some limitations but also the advantages of the name index. The limitations are perhaps inherent in the nature of the material that has been indexed: if a person is not mentioned, he does not appear in the index, even though he may have had considerable influence in the development of Mann's thought. The advantages are that references can be provided very rapidly to the items in which a person is mentioned. Frequently a person being searched is mentioned in the abstract, so that the context is immediately clear, as was demonstrated by the two letters addressed to Hans Brandenburg. Perhaps the most

surprising result of the search is the relatively large number of items in which Goethe's name occurs compared to the few items in which the names of Nietzsche and Schopenhauer appear.

B. A Trial Search of the Topic Index

A trial search of topics related to the "Geist-Leben" antithesis core in Mann's development during the first half of his life was made in order to determine what sort of conclusions might be ventured on the basis of the frequency of occurrence. Each topical search was made separately and arranged chronologically by the computer. This chronological ordering provided one very helpful basis for drawing conclusions: as happened with the printed results of the search of the name index, the chronologically ordered print-out brought to my attention immediately the time periods where the topics are most heavily concentrated.

For the topic search itself, the headings "Geist" (defined in Chapter V) and "Leben" (life) were selected as well as all topics clearly related to these two central concerns. Related to 1) "Geist," its subdivisions—"Geist und Kunst," "Geist und der Künstler," "Geist und Leben," and "Geist und Genie" were selected; other related topics included "Erkenntnis," "Selbsterkenntnis," "das Erleben," "Intellektualismus," "Aussenseiter," and "Sehnsucht." This last topic is here considered in the sense of the longing of the intelligence-spirit for the realm of life. With 2) "Leben," its subdivisions were also selected—"Körperfreudigkeit," "Körperlichkeit," and "Vollmenschlichkeit"; other topics included "Lebensbejahung," "Anti-Intellektualismus," "Ehe," "Glück," "Freundschaft," "Gesundheit," "Menschlichkeit," "Selbstgefälligkeit," and "Sinnlichkeit." As was pointed out in Chapter V, "Kunst" (art) relates in a central way to both poles, "Geist" and "Leben." Thus a number of topics were also searched relating to "Kunst und Leben"—"Askese," "Krankheit," "Kunst und Bürgerlichkeit," "Kunst und Bürger," "Kunst und Gesellschaft," "Bürgerlichkeit," "Bürgertum," "Literatur und Bürger," "Literatur und Publikum," and "Selbstverständnis als Bürger." Also related to these topics are, of course, discussions concerning the artist ("der Künstler") and the writer ("der Dichter"), but the retrieval of the many items in which these topics occur threatened to become unmanageable for the purpose of this trial.

The most often discussed topic is "Leben"—of 38 items, the topic occurs in 23 notebook records, nine letters and six articles or essays. "Kunst und Leben" follows with 20 records, all but three

appearing in notebook items. "Geist" is discussed in 16 items—seven letters, five essays, and four notebook records. "Glück" occurs in 13 items, mainly in notebook records and letters. "Bürgerlichkeit" (middle-class way of life) occurs in 11 items—mainly letters and essays. "Freundschaft" (friendship) appears in ten records—letters and notebook items, as does "Krankheit" (sickness)—predominantly in letters. Other topics occurring more than five times (but less than ten) are: "Erkenntnis" (recognition)—8, "Sehnsucht" (longing)—7, "Kunst und Gesellschaft" (art and society)—7, "Gesundheit" (health)—6, and "Selbstverständnis als Bürger" (self-understanding as citizen)—6.

The discussion of "das Leben," heavy during the years 1901 to 1906, seems to undergo the biggest transformation for Thomas Mann during these years. At first, Mann seems to view the concept with misgiving, evidently in a frustration that is witnessed by a bit of material jotted down in 1902 for the *Maja*-complex (*Notizbuch* 7, p. 82) to the effect that life is "stupidity" and "vulgarity." In a notation for *Fiorenza* made in 1903 (*Notizbuch* 7, p. 111), he speaks of Savonarola's "gentle revenge on life." Most of the occurrences of this topic as well as "Leben und Kunst" relate to works concerned with this problematic view of life—"Tristan," "Tonio Kröger," *Fiorenza*, the *Maja*-complex, and then *Königliche Hoheit*, where there is a shift toward a more positive outlook. The topic "Freundschaft" seems to precede "Leben" in its more positive outlook. Indeed, the entries concerning this friendship reveal a feeling of jubilation. In 1902 Mann states (*Notizbuch* 7, p. 97) that Ehrenberg is his first and only human friend. The topic "Sehnsucht" then occurs in 1904 as a result of Mann's courtship of Katja Pringsheim. "Glück" (happiness) occurs frequently, especially in the letters to Heinrich Mann (see, for example, those dated February 27, 1904, and December 23, 1904).⁴ It is about this time that the "Kunst" concept begins to absorb "das Leben" instead of standing opposed to it. "Geist" had been aligned with "Kunst" in this relationship. The alignment is disturbed partly by Mann's discovery of a "human" friendship with Paul Ehrenberg, but mainly by his marriage to Katja Pringsheim.

In the years following his marriage, which are devoted to the writing of *Königliche Hoheit*, 1906 to 1908, "Krankheit" becomes a more frequent topic, the others subsiding almost entirely; the items are letters in which his own illnesses are the subject of discussion. The figure of the ill grand duke Albrecht in *Königliche Hoheit* looms in the background with his inability to meet life or to

master it. By 1910 the topics "Leben" and "Geist" begin to occur again, especially in the essays, both taking on altered significance. "Geist" becomes associated with "Zivilisation," i.e., the culture of the Western powers (as in the essay "Gedanken im Kriege"). "Erkenntnis" (recognition) is associated with the "Literat" (the man of letters), also a Western phenomenon, as discussed in "Der Künstler und der Literat" (1913), and later in *Der Zauberberg*. Elsewhere "Geist," for Mann, becomes the attribute that is reconciled to "Kunst" through the writer ("der Dichter"), as in "Über Florenza."⁵ The topics revolving around "Bürgerlichkeit," particularly "Selbstverständnis als Bürger," are also discussed predominantly during these years, 1910 to 1914. This is the time of Mann's involvement with the Wedekind affair and the *Schutzverband deutscher Schriftsteller* and the *Münchener Zensurbeirat* (see the letter dated January 30, 1913, to Ernst Bertram).⁶ Mann's relationship to Germany's political ambitions is also involved, and in "Gedanken im Kriege" the topic "das Leben" begins to take on patriotic German tones. It is also during this time, 1913, that Mann speaks in glowing terms of "Körperfreudigkeit" (the joyousness of physical well-being) and "Vollmenschlichkeit" (completeness of personality), exemplified by two young authors whose death he commemorated in brief articles.⁷

With the preceding description of the trial search of the topic index I hope to have indicated the value of chronologically ordered print-out: the ready accessibility of a profile of such of Mann's interests as found their way into the notebooks, the letters, and the essays, accompanied by an abstract that often enables the index user to determine the nature of the context at a glance. The other topics searched but not mentioned again in the discussion occur too infrequently to be indicative, although they can be considered as supporting the pattern indicated by the more frequently mentioned topics.

C. A Search for Material Leading Toward an Interpretation of the Novel *Königliche Hoheit*

Anxious to test the indexes and the claims made regarding their use, I initiated several searches relating to Mann's novel *Königliche Hoheit*. I elected to base the trial on this novel because 1) relatively little critical attention has been paid it; 2) I was curious about a possible relationship between the novel and Schiller's *Don Carlos*; 3) the autobiographical aspects of the novel promised important documentation of the development of Mann's self-under-

standing, i.e., its creation falls within an important time span of Mann's early life—his courtship and marriage; 4) the brother relationship in the novel suggested the possibility of additional illumination of the Thomas Mann-Heinrich Mann relationship. Outside of the desire to test the various approaches to the index, the stimuli for the actual search were then primarily a curiosity concerning the sources of the idea for the novel and biographical interest in Mann's inner development and the important formative personal relationships during the period of the novel's creation.

The searches that I made can best be understood from the background given in the preceding paragraph. The first question put to the computer requested all the work index references to *Königliche Hoheit* under the categories of *idea*, *material*, *source*, *plan*, and *progress* during the time span between the summer of 1903 and February 13, 1909, when Mann ended the novel.⁸ Such a search ought then to have produced all the available information relating to *Königliche Hoheit* under work development, every bit of contributory material recorded and accessible, as well as Mann's comments regarding the novel in progress. Therefore the search should have been able to satisfy my curiosity regarding the role Schiller's drama played in forming the idea or plan of the novel, if Mann had recorded a notation about it that is extant.

The second question requested for the same time period all references to topics that might be relevant. It must be remembered, however, that I had the advantage of having worked with these topics and was familiar with the subject-heading formulations that might be most productive. I give these topics here in German as it would be impractical to translate them; the accompanying explanations should clarify their nature.

I selected "Verfall" and "Dekadenz," not only because the principality's treasury in the novel is on the verge of bankruptcy and the palaces of the land are sadly in need of maintenance, but also because similar motifs occur in *Buddenbrooks*, the earlier novel. I thought also of a possible comparison between Prince Albrecht and Hanno Buddenbrook, both suffering from delicate constitutions. "Liebe" had to be included for obvious reasons—the love relationship between Klaus Heinrich and Imma Spoelmann, and the "happy ending," as well as the autobiographical relevance of their courtship to Thomas Mann's courtship and marriage to Katja Pringsheim. Here, again, the relationship to earlier works—*Buddenbrooks*, "Tonio Kröger," and "Der kleine Herr Friedemann"—

and the negative aspects of "Liebe" or the failure to find love weighed heavily in the selection of the topic.

To verify and support the relationship of His Royal Highness to the artist and to marshal the important related biographical material, I requested the entries under "Einsamkeit" for the loneliness of Klaus Heinrich (and also Prince Albrecht); "das Repäsentieren," "der Künstler und der Bürger," "der Künstler und Bürgerlichkeit," and "der Künstler und Bürgertum" for the representative and public duties of the prince and the artist; "der Künstler—Pflicht," "der Künstler—Überlegenheit," "der Künstler—Bescheidenheit," "der Künstler—Fragwürdigkeit," "der Künstler—Fleiss," and "der Künstler—Schicksal" for the self-understanding of the artist (and the prince). The justification for searching these topics related to the artist directly is provided by Mann himself in a short response—"Über 'Königliche Hoheit'"⁹—to an adverse critique of his work written by Princess Feodora von Schleswig-Holstein under the pseudonym F. Hugin:

Wer ist ein Dichter? Der, dessen Leben symbolisch ist. In mir lebt der Glaube, dass ich nur von mir zu erzählen brauche, um auch der Zeit, der Allgemeinheit die Zunge zu lösen, und ohne diesen Glauben könnte ich mich der Mühen des Produzierens entschlagen. "Königliche Hoheit" ist nicht irgendein willkürlich gewählter Stoff, in welchen mein 'Virtuosentum' sich verbiss und auf den meine Unkenntnis kein Anrecht hatte. Sondern indem ich, nach meinen Kräften, an dem Streben einiger weniger teilnahm, den deutschen Roman als Kunstform zu adeln und zu erhöhen, erzählte ich, auch diesmal, von meinem Leben (XI, 571).

The statement does not automatically interpret Mann's fiction, but it certainly opens the door to serious exploration of the relationships between biographical data, discussions in the essays as well as in the personal documents (such as the letters), and themes and motifs in the fiction.

Because I was especially interested in seminal sources, I put a third question to the computer to be absolutely sure that I had all the references to Schiller's *Don Carlos* and another source, Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte*, whether in the time span of the creation of Mann's novel or not. I also searched for the name, Philip II, the object of Tonio Kröger's sympathy in *Don Carlos*, in case there were references to him outside of remarks concerning Schiller's drama. In his chapter on *Königliche Hoheit*, Roger A. Nicholls, the author of *Nietzsche in the Early Work of Thomas Mann*,¹⁰ made me aware of the relationship between Nietzsche and Überbein, Klaus Heinrich's early friend and tutor, and pointed out the source

of Mann's manipulation of the well-known quote from *Die Zauberflöte*:

1. Priester: ... Er ist ein Prinz.
Sarasro: Noch mehr — er ist Mensch!

Although Wysling cites a passage from *Emilia Galotti* that speaks of the loneliness and the aloofness of the prince,¹¹ I do not consider the tragedy otherwise contributory to Mann's fairy-tale novel. Furthermore, I assumed that a search for Pushkin would not turn up anything of further interest beyond the planned motto: "Du bist Kaiser (Czar)—lebe allein!"¹²

The fourth search was designed to bring out through the work index and the name index material relevant to *Königliche Hoheit* involving other works and other influences or material. Among Mann's own works I asked for *Buddenbrooks* and "Tonio Kröger" (primarily for their autobiographical significance), and for "Der kleine Herr Friedemann" (for the sake of Überbein, whose end is also self-destruction). As a possible influence on attitude I asked for references to Hermann Bang, whom Mann was reading at the time.¹³ As a possible influence on style or ideas I asked for Heinrich von Kleist, whose dramatic fragment *Robert Guiscard* had provided a literary parallel to Klaus Heinrich's heroically hiding his deformity.¹⁴ (The actual deformity is modeled after that of Kaiser Wilhelm II.) I also asked for Katja Mann, as her husband made liberal use of his letters written to her during their courtship as material for the novel. In addition, I wanted to find traces of the model for Herr Spoelmann, Imma's father, so I asked for John Pierpont Morgan and Cornelius Vanderbilt, mentioned, Mann notes, by Kurt Martens, who thought them more interesting than the modern prince.¹⁵ At the suggestion of Eric Frey, whose article "An American Prototype in Thomas Mann's *Königliche Hoheit*"¹⁶ discusses Spoelmann's similarities to the John D. Rockefeller of the memoirs (in German, 1908), I also included the name of this millionaire in the search.

Thus the search questions were designed to get at the sources and the material for the novel, as well as to make a trial of the various indexes—the date filing system, the work index and its categories, the name index and the work subdivisions that occasionally appear there, and the topic index. With each reference the computer located, I expected to retrieve the abstract of the item in which the reference was found.

The first question, asking for all references to *Königliche Hoheit* under the aspects of *idea*, *material*, *source*, *plan*, *progress*, and *interpretation* between the summer of 1903 and February 13, 1909, searched for commentary relating to the work in progress. Eighteen notebook entries, twenty letters, an article, and one item of deduced biographical data were retrieved. Of the letters, seven are unpublished and three are published as excerpts only; eight of these ten letters are addressed to Heinrich Mann. No items were retrieved under the aspects of *idea* and *source*. Under *plan*, three of the four items retrieved are letters. Two of three items retrieved under *interpretation* are letters. All eleven items found under *progress* are letters. The notebook entries retrieved are almost exclusively *material* (17). Seven items relating to *material* are letters. The *material* entries occur throughout nearly the entire period up to 1908. *Plan* entries occur from 1903. *Progress* entries begin in 1906, the year following Mann's marriage to Katja Pringsheim and evidently the year most significant in the development of the story into a novel, and predominate in 1908.

The second question asked for specific topics mentioned in any connection during the same time period. The response was not great—nineteen altogether; most items retrieved concerned "Liebe" (five notebook records and one letter) and "das Repräsentieren" (six letter entries, all published, and one notebook item). Two items each were retrieved under "Hoheit" and "Dekadenz." "Einsamkeit" and "Verfall" yielded one item each. It is perhaps of some significance that the topic "Liebe" occurs most frequently in notebook entries and that "das Repräsentieren" occurs more often in letters.

The third question, a check for references to Schiller's *Don Carlos*, Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte*, and Philip II of Spain, yielded one entry each in the notebooks for the first two and none for the Spanish king.

The fourth question, asking for certain names and other works of Mann's mentioned in connection with *Königliche Hoheit*, brought a total of 24 responses. The title of the novel occurred most frequently with the names of Richard Wagner (six letters) and Katja Pringsheim (seven letters and one notebook entry). The items must be read closely, however, before any connection between the simultaneous occurrence of the two search terms can be established. Most of these turned out to be accidental. One item each turned up for Nietzsche and Schopenhauer; one item each, defi-

nately related to the novel, turned up for J. P. Morgan, Cornelius Vanderbilt, and Heinrich Kleist. The novel is mentioned once simultaneously with "Der kleine Herr Friedemann," five times with "Tonio Kröger," and three times with *Buddenbrooks*, all but one of these items being letters. Again, a close reading must determine the relationship of the search terms in these items.

The most productive material, therefore, came from the search of the work itself, *Königliche Hoheit*, under its various indexing aspects—*material*, *plan*, *progress*, and *interpretation*.

As I interpret them, the results of these searches provided ample material for demonstration of the importance of the computer in three areas: 1) the novel itself, its development and its interpretation; 2) Mann's biography; and 3) the computer's valuable ability to bring new associations to the index user's attention. I shall discuss these three aspects in the order given above because a) the novel itself was the subject of the searches, b) the biographical material was anticipated as an important by-product, and c) the new associations were hoped for and serve to demonstrate the unique contribution of the computerized index.

1. The material concerning *Königliche Hoheit* itself falls conveniently into two general subdivisions—*plan* and *material*, and *interpretation*. Actual interpretive commentary after the completion of the work seldom occurs. I am here more concerned with remarks made during the writing of the novel that support or throw light on the author's intention. Whether these remarks can actually be considered "material" or "plan" is debatable.

One motto from Russian literature and two notations from the German classics all shed light on Mann's earliest intention. The earliest was apparently the Pushkin line found in *Notizbuch 7*, page 117, dated August 1903 (or sometime during the summer): "Du bist Kaiser (Czar)—lebe allein!"¹⁷ Probably too strong and too misleading for the finished product, this motto does not preface the novel, nor does any other. On page 132 of *Notizbuch 7*, Mann noted a passage from *Emilia Galotti* spoken by Marinelli. Wysling dates it April or May 1904; the tone is similar to that of the Pushkin quotation: "Fürsten haben keinen Freund, können keinen Freund haben!—Und die Ursache, wenn dem so ist?—Weil sie keinen haben wollen.—Heute beehren sie uns mit ihrem Vertrauen, theilen uns ihre geheimsten Wünsche mit, schliessen uns ihre ganze Seele auf, und morgen sind wir ihnen wieder so fremd, als hätten sie nie ein Wort mit uns gewechselt."¹⁸ By December 1905, however, Mann had found a more sympathetic parallel. On page

146 of *Notizbuch 7* he cites Kleist's Robert Guiscard as the king who must hide his illness from his people—the artist himself! (Wysling does not cite this passage.)

Material for the development of Prince Klaus Heinrich is noted in *Notizbuch 6*, pages 57 through 58, where Mann entered observations pertaining to the prince's dealings with people (1906). Also from 1906 is an entry in *Notizbuch 9*, pages 11 through 13, noting observations of an audience and observations made on a visit to Potsdam. Mann alludes to such first-hand experience in his defense of the novel, "Über 'Königliche Hoheit'" (XI, 569).

An influence that seems to have accompanied the shift in the tone of the novel's intention is Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* (text by Emanuel Schikaneder and Carl Ludwig Giesecke). The earliest notation from the opera also occurs in 1903: "Humanismus der 'Zauberflöte': 'Er ist ein Prinz'—'Er ist mehr, als das, er ist ein Mensch!'—Falsch! Umgekehrt ist es nicht nur wahrer sondern nach aller 'Aufklärung' auch paradoxer!"¹⁹ An entry in the same vein on the next page comments on the happy people of the Age of Enlightenment and their belief in the concept of humanity. Today, he complains, this concept is corroded and eroded.²⁰ The first entry is actually used in the novel as material for the misguided tutor, whose "Weltanschauung" is similar to that negative view of life held by Nietzsche.²¹

Twice Mann records the expression "verfehlte Existenz" and enters observations concerning the phenomenon. The entry appears both times in 1903, *Notizbuch 7*, page 125, transferred from *Notizbuch 6*, page 34. The entry characterizes the ineffective individual who speaks nostalgically in favor of preparatory schools.²² On the preceding page Mann describes the Protestant educational institution in Godesberg am Rhein that he evidently visited on behalf of his younger brother Viktor's education. Perhaps these notations provided material for the descriptions of Klaus Heinrich's education. While Überbein in *Königliche Hoheit* is an effective teacher, he is also a "verfehlte Existenz" in that he seems to have no life outside the realm of the classroom.

A letter to Kurt Martens dated March 28, 1906, demonstrates how Thomas Mann was later determined to counteract a public image of himself that would impute to him a "Weltanschauung" similar to that of Überbein. He will not be called an icy misanthrope nor accused of unkindliness toward all that is flesh and blood. He is heroic in spite of weaknesses, and tenderness belongs to this type of heroism.²³ The impassioned response to Martens'

article, "Die Gebrüder Mann," suggests to me that Thomas Mann was anxious at this time to demonstrate through *Königliche Hoheit* that he was indeed neither a loveless art fanatic nor an icy misanthrope. The discussion of the popular hero further suggests in the word "tenderness" the gentleness of Klaus Heinrich. Martens' analysis undoubtedly added fuel to the fire in which the novel was being forged. The computer directed my attention to this passage, which, while it does not mention the novel specifically, does contribute to the knowledge of the author's state of mind at the time of the writing of the novel.

A passage from Dr. F. Ohmann's "Korreferat" to Ernst Bertram's *Königliche Hoheit* critique, which pleased Mann very much, supports the above contention that Mann did not want to set himself up as a tragic figure:

Manns Dichtung ist gerade die Überwindung dieses persönlichen Erlebnisses, und zwar nicht auf dem Wege einer Steigerung ins Tragische-Allgemeine, sondern durch Ironie... strebt zu einer gewissen nüchternen, fast unpersönlichen Kühle der Betrachtung...²⁴

That Prince Klaus Heinrich's courtship of Imma Spoelmann grew out of Mann's own courtship of Katja Pringsheim is amply demonstrated through Mann's use of his letters to her (*Notizbuch* 7) as well as two personal notations that have correspondent passages in the novel. The first, dated April 9, 1904, notes the first significant exchange of views with the prospective fiancée (*Notizbuch* 7, p. 129). The second, dated May 16, 1904, notes the second such conversation, and remarks that on May 19, 1904, the period of waiting for her reply to his proposal began (*Notizbuch* 7, pp. 132ff.). Similarly, the prince's development between the two big discussions with Imma forms an important part of the intention of the novel.

This period is filled by Klaus Heinrich's awakened enthusiasm for the study of economics, an activity which will enable him to be a better servant of his people. That Katja stands behind the figure of Imma is evidenced by one of the letters to her, assumed to have been written toward the end of August 1904 (the material itself is from the transcriptions in the notebooks). Here he speaks of Katja as

... ein kleines Wunder an allseitiger harmonischer Ausbildung, ein erreichtes Cultur-Ideal. ... Sie waren ja *gut*, waren *gütig*! ... Wo ich liebte, hatte ich bislang immer zugleich verachtet. ... Und nun? Ein Wesen, süß wie die Welt — *und* gut, *und* ungemein, *und* fähig (wenn auch vielleicht nicht

willens), mir mit Geist und Güte entgegenzukommen: etwas absolut und unglaublich neues!²⁵

Imma, too, is good—her acceptance of Klaus Heinrich's withered hand is touching. She is uncommon, a capitalist princess. And she is intelligent—her mathematical studies put off the prince somewhat, for he feels quite incapable of understanding them.

Albrecht, on the other hand, is characterized as always ill. A notebook entry dated 1906, where Mann distinguishes between superior and inferior degenerates, those never anything but ill (*Notizbuch* 9, p. 32), undoubtedly provides material for Albrecht. In a letter to Samuel Fischer, dated July 15, 1906, Mann speaks of his stay at the sanatorium "Weisser Hirsch" near Dresden and confides that it did not help him at all.²⁶ Albrecht, too, is never helped. He becomes confirmed in illness and finally hands over his representative functions entirely to Klaus Heinrich.

Several notations in the notebooks indicate Mann's planning of the figure, Samuel N. Spoelmann, billionaire father of Imma. On page 121 of *Notizbuch* 7, dated 1903, there is the notation: "Fürst und Geldmann (amer. Milliardär) Der Fürst weniger u. mehr. Gegensatz von materieller Macht (Reichtum) und Macht über die Seelen, Herzen. Vornehmheit. Ideelle Herrschaft."²⁷ This contrast does indeed form a part of the structure of the novel, for Klaus Heinrich enjoys a great popularity among his people, whereas the financially powerful Spoelmann has had to bear the dislike of his countrymen. On the same page another notation makes clear the intention underlying the figure of the prince: "Blick auf die Nachwelt, Geschichte, ganz wie beim Künstler und im Gegensatz zum amer. Geldmann, dem die Nachwelt 'keine Kränze flicht.'"²⁸ If Thomas Mann had not yet planned the reconciliation between money and royalty, he had at least set up the contrast clearly in 1903. Undoubtedly, a contrast similar to that in *Fiorenza* (not finished until just before his marriage in 1905) was in his mind: Lorenzo, the wealthy patron of the arts, and Savonarola, the impassioned moralist, the demagogue of the common people. Page 124 of the same notebook provides one further indication of the plan, a step that brings to mind the reactions of the populace to Klaus Heinrich's public appearances: one looks at a prince with other, shyer eyes than those with which he looks at a truly powerful or a rich man.²⁹ On the following pages (*Notizbuch* 7, pp. 125f.) Mann records a conversation with Kurt Martens in which Mann evidently sought to draw out his friend's reaction to this plan.³⁰ Thomas Mann's position was that a German prince has the right,

like the artist, to regard himself as something more genuine than a millionaire such as Morgan or Vanderbilt. Enjoyment of life is denied to both the prince and the artist. Martens' position was that millionaires were more interesting to the average person. The prince is jealous of the wealthy middle-class man, although his jealousy is tempered with irony and contempt, and mixed with dignity.

Two references to Mann's sister Julia and her husband Josef Löhr led me to believe that the marriage of Klaus Heinrich's sister Ditlinde to an aristocrat who had turned capitalist also carried autobiographical overtones. The references turned up on totally unrelated searches, both in letters to Heinrich Mann, one cited above (February 27, 1904) and the other dated June 10, 1908 (located at Marbach). Julia Mann was the most bourgeois of the Mann brothers and sisters. I did not make a thorough search of the names Josef Löhr and Julia Mann—Schwester, which one would have to do in order to turn up more conclusive evidence.

As a result of the searches, nevertheless, much material came to my attention that I think to be helpful in the interpretation of the novel. While most of this material was not indexed as *interpretation*, since it occurred before the completion of the work, it does support and expand the plans and sketches cited above.

Mann's interest in the figure of Philip II is well known from "Tonio Kröger." Twice in this story he mentions the loneliness of the king.³¹ Hans Wysling points out Mann's interest in Hermann Bang's *Exzentrische Novellen* and his use of the loneliness motif from *Don Carlos* in the story "Ihre Hoheit."³² Furthermore, he seems to think as I do: "Herzstück des neuen Planes war das Thema von Hoheit und Einsamkeit—die König-Philipp-Situation einmal mehr, auf die er schon im *Tonio Kröger* angespielt hatte und die ihn während seines ganzen Lebens nicht mehr losliess: immer wieder plante er ja, Philipp II. zum Helden einer historischen Novelle zu machen."³³ In his "Versuch über Schiller," Mann himself speaks of Don Carlos as a princely family portrait. Into it Schiller pumps the contrast between stubborn cynicism, and the noble ideas of freedom and universal happiness (IX, 892). *Königliche Hoheit*, too, is a family portrait, and the happiness of the people is certainly a theme, if freedom is not.

Various notations and letter passages round out the intention behind the character of the lonely prince. The most important of these is the association of the prince with the artist. Ernst Bertram, whose criticism Mann felt to be closest to his own idea of the

novel, cites a passage from "Die Hungernden: Eine Studie" (written in November 1902) that senses this significance: "Fluch, der da unverbrüchlich lautet: du darfst nicht sein, du sollst schauen; du darfst nicht lieben, du sollst wissen!"³⁴ The artist, of course, must have been Mann's original concern. The prince novel is actually an association of the royal figure with the artist. In his earliest sketches from 1903, Mann speaks of the similarity of the prince and the artist (*Notizbuch* 7, pp. 121ff., transferred from *Notizbuch* 6). In a book review from 1903 entitled "Gabriele Reuter" (Bürgin, *Bibliographie*, Sec. V, 32), Mann speaks of the artist in terms similar to the character of the prince developed for *Königliche Hoheit*. The artist is capable of loving, he insists here, but he may believe nothing other than his own talent. The artist is always unsuited to being a bourgeois. And Mann defined his particular talent already in 1903 as representation, the duty of the prince, in the passage from *Notizbuch* 7 cited above. On February 27, 1904, he wrote to his brother Heinrich of the princely talent—representation.³⁵ Also in 1904 Thomas Mann remembered his playing the phantasy role of a prince as a child: "Ich erwachte zum Beispiel eines Morgens mit dem Entschluss, heute ein achtzehnjähriger Prinz namens Karl zu sein. Ich kleidete mich in eine gewisse lebenswürdige Hoheit und ging umher, stolz und glücklich mit dem Geheimnis meiner Würde. Man konnte Unterricht haben, spazieren geführt werden oder sich Märchen volesen lassen, ohne dass dieses Spiel einen Augenblick unterbrochen zu werden brauchte; und das war das Praktische daran."³⁶ The passage suggests how easy it was for Mann to assume the role when writing his novel. Along with the notebook entry of December 1905 citing Robert Guiscard as the king who must hide his illness from his people, Mann added, "the artist himself!" (*Notizbuch* 7, p. 146).

In "Notizen (I)" (*Der Tag*, December 24, 1905), Mann speaks of Rousseau, an egoistic man of letters whose great need is to be recognized and loved. Klaus Heinrich is misled by a similar notion until he himself comes to its recognition at the end of the novel: "Das soll fortan unsre Sache sein: beides, Hoheit und Liebe,—ein strenges Glück" (II, 363). In this vein Mann wrote to Hilde Distel (the half sister of Mann's close friend, Paul Ehrenberg) on November 14, 1906, that self-control is a necessary artistic quality and that the artist is related to the prince in that he also leads a representative existence. That which is protocol for the prince is for the artist commitment to form.³⁷ The discipline of the two

existences is here emphasized. Other notations refer to the more pleasant aspects of this representative existence.

A letter to Walter Opitz written on December 5, 1903, affords an interesting perspective of Mann's new role and links it at the same time to the novel. Opitz had evidently complained of not being able to establish a more familiar relationship with Thomas Mann.

O Zeit der drei bis sechs Bogen langen Briefe, o Zeit, da man sich noch in Briefen ausgab, auslebte, in Briefen sein Talent erprobte und in Briefen seine Erlebnisse bezwang und gestaltete — wohin, wenn ich fragen darf, bist du verschwunden!

The answer to this half-humorous rhetorical question (Where have all the long letters gone?) comes about a page later and indicates how much Mann's newly found symbolic and representative existence through his works is very much bound up with the basic concept of the prince in *Königliche Hoheit*: Anyone who has read "Tonio Kröger" has come as close to Mann as a reader may come to an author who is used to expressing himself in the symbolical, representative existence of his characters, the sort of life a prince leads.³⁸ In this communication one can best see the development of Mann's representation idea, for Mann a step in the direction of professional maturity, brought about partly by the enormous success of *Buddenbrooks*. A sense of being in the spotlight and enjoying it thoroughly is actually expressed in a following remark.³⁹

In the letter to Heinrich Mann of February 27, 1904, cited above, Mann continued to speak of this princely talent—representation. On January 17, 1906, he wrote to his brother, in conjunction with remarks about readings held in Prague, Dresden, and Breslau, and a coming engagement in Basel, that representation is a source of pleasure for him. In the foreword to the well-known defense of himself, "Bilse und ich" (published in February 1906), Mann molds and polishes the idea to the extent that it very closely resembles the concluding statement of the novel (quoted above): "Für viele zu stehen, indem man für sich steht, *repräsentativ* zu sein, auch das, scheint mir, ist eine kleine Art von Grösse. Es ist das strenge Glück der Fürsten und Dichter" (X, 11).

By January 2, 1908, however, Mann confided to Kurt Martens that social position is good and that he has much of the feelings of a prince, although he does not possess the courage for genuine distance between himself and others.⁴⁰ He gave personal expression here to the same doubt that gnaws at the heart of Klaus Heinrich—the disadvantage of position. From these passages it should be

abundantly clear how closely Mann's own thoughts concerning himself as an artist were linked to Klaus Heinrich's princely existence.

From another letter to Kurt Martens, dated April 16, 1906, comes material for the love relationship developed between Klaus Heinrich and Imma Spoelmann. Martens had sent Mann a copy of his latest novel, *Kreislauf der Liebe*. Mann remarked his dissatisfaction with the novel's lack of loftiness, stating that he thought it would some day be of documentary value concerning the reactionary atmosphere of Germany at the beginning of the twentieth century.⁴¹ Undoubtedly Mann's reaction to Martens' work added additional impulse to the planning of *Königliche Hoheit*, a tale that would realize his ideal.

Toward the end of his work on the novel, Mann began to tire of it.⁴² Perhaps for this reason he referred to it lightly, stating in a postcard to Heinrich Mann that the novel was nearing its operative end.⁴³ The statement calls to mind an earlier influence and material source, *Die Zauberflöte*. Another postcard to his brother indicates a possible association of the novel with Wagner's comic opera, *Die Meistersinger*.⁴⁴ Here he upbraids D'Annunzio as a bad, little imitator of Wagner. In the following lines he refers to the progress of *Königliche Hoheit*, the novel having approached the love story. Perhaps Mann had in mind that he could imitate the popular appeal of *Die Meistersinger* better than D'Annunzio. Yet after the novel was finished, Mann seemed to take his creation more seriously again, especially in the face of imperceptive criticism. In a letter to Korfiz Holm dated May 5, 1909, he complains of the novel's appearance in *Die Neue Rundschau* in installments. *Königliche Hoheit*, he insists, is tightly intertwined and dovetailed.⁴⁵ Operative end or not, Mann asserted that the novel deserved perceptive reception and study.

The questions to the computer, based on a notion about Schiller's *Don Carlos*, did not produce much in the way of direct references to this play, but did turn up a large amount of material useful in supporting the notion, and a great deal of material useful for interpretation.

2. The *Don Carlos* search also produced a great deal of material that is relevant to Mann's biography.⁴⁶ Three areas merit special attention: Mann's relationship to his brother; his relationship to his wife's family; and his sense of personal, professional development.

The relationship to Heinrich is a touchy one, especially since members of the immediate family were apparently anxious to minimize the rift that existed between the brothers.⁴⁷ There is much material that needs to be studied and evaluated in order to understand the real nature of the relationship. The material I cite here is only that which resulted from the search of the topic "Bruderproblem" in conjunction with *Königliche Hoheit*.

In a letter that seems to jump from one unrelated topic to another, Mann wrote to his brother on October 15/17, 1905, that his friend, Paul Ehrenberg, had announced his engagement. He went on to ask for Heinrich's opinion of *Fiorenza*, the drama that was so difficult for Mann to write but so important to him in subject matter. He also mentioned an article of Julie Wassermann-Speyer's about Heinrich, then concluded that it is necessary that the brothers stick together. The central feeling seems to be 1) that family ties are ultimately stronger than the friendships of young adulthood, and 2) that both brothers, open to public criticism and analysis as they are, owe it to one another to present a united front.⁴⁸ Klaus Heinrich, despite the difference in temperament, felt identically toward his older brother Albrecht, assuming the duties handed over to him out of a sense of loyalty to the brother. During this time Mann wrote of another brother relationship in a letter to Heinrich that also contains material pertaining to the *Königliche Hoheit* plan. Thomas spoke of his idea of writing a novel about Friedrich der Grosse, and that the brother problem involved (Friedrich and Prince Heinrich von Preussen) interested him particularly.⁴⁹ Here is significant evidence of the importance of Mann's own brother relationship. Not only did it play a role in *Königliche Hoheit*, but he saw it as an important motif in the life of Friedrich der Grosse, about whom Mann planned to write a more serious novel.

Another sympathetic note is struck in the letter to Heinrich dated January 17, 1906. Here, too, Mann discussed both his own and Heinrich's work, praising the brother's story, "Die Schauspielerin," and defending his own historical instinct in the Schiller story, "Schwere Stunde." At the close of the letter he stated how glad he was that Heinrich's life had been warmed through friendship and family relationships.⁵⁰ Klaus Heinrich, too, was depicted as warmly responsive to the infrequent signs of human affection in his brother Albrecht. On January 15, 1906, Thomas Mann had written Kurt Martens about Martens' idea to write an article about the two brothers: "Deine Idee, einen Artikel über meinen

Bruder und mich zu schreiben, ist mir sehr sympathisch. Du bist der Mann dafür, denn Du weisst uns *beide* zu würdigen. Jeder Andere würde den Einen gegen den Anderen ausspielen."⁵¹ Again, consideration for Heinrich and the united front are two of the elements present in the passage. On March 28, 1906, he thanked Martens for the article, "Die Gebrüder Mann," then tore into Martens' portrait of him.⁵² It is interesting to note that all the icy misanthropy and unkindliness that Martens had attributed to Thomas Mann was transmitted to the figure of Albrecht in the novel. Despite all concern for his brother, this image of himself would not do.

In a later letter written during the period Mann was most busily at work on the novel, he commented to Heinrich about his progress and his feeling about his work. The remark, that story telling is an end in itself, may be an indication of more serious disagreement regarding the purpose of the novel as a genre. Nevertheless, Mann also became a bit nostalgic here. He recalled their times together in Rome (1895, 1896-97) before the publication of the *Der kleine Herr Friedemann* collection of *Novellen* (1898), then went on to discuss the difference in their sensitivity.⁵³ Evidently Mann had become a good deal more analytical about their relationship, possibly a result of his thinking through the brother relationship in *Königliche Hoheit*. On April 1, 1909, a month and a half after the novel was finished, Mann finally confessed in another letter to Heinrich that the tone of the brother relationship in the novel was autobiographical.⁵⁴

Actually very little light is shed on Mann's relationship to Katja's family, Alfred and Hedwig Pringsheim and their sons. That Mann used phrases from his love letters to Katja is well known. Less well known, perhaps, are the two courtship exchanges which Mann mentioned in *Notizbuch 7* (pp. 129, 132-134), both times dating them carefully, Sunday, the 9th of April, and Monday, the 16th of May. I have already touched on the significance of these items for the novel. The precise notation of these exchanges adds to their autobiographical significance. More illuminating perhaps are the notations made in 1905 in the same notebook (p. 144). Here he stated simply, for example, that he could smile. This remark is also significant for the novel, for it is Imma who enables Klaus Heinrich to encourage, through a happier facial expression, the confidence of her companion, the demented Gräfin Löwenjoul, and thus Imma's too. He also noted that he is indifferent toward his fate—an achievement Klaus Heinrich made when it became

clear that Imma could love him, even though he must maintain a certain distance as public figurehead, a fate that he formerly rejected. "Am I not an adventurer?" he also asked, one would assume, with some boyish pride. The expression used in the novel is "Stöbern," an adventuresome exploration of the castle he and his sister Ditlinde now and then undertake as children. Ditlinde uses the word to describe his love adventure and his success. Mann also noted his love for Katja, despite the fact that he was unable to communicate completely. And again in the novel, it is Imma who is analytical and most articulate. Klaus Heinrich is able to communicate real love and concern only through his devotion to the economic studies he undertakes after his conference with von Knobelsdorff about the state of the principality's economic affairs.

On page 153 of *Notizbuch 7* there is an indication, also cited above, of a strained relationship to Mann's father-in-law, Alfred Pringsheim. Klaus Pringsheim testified that "Wälsungenblut" caused some tension between the two men.⁵⁵ The story was originated in the summer of 1905, and later suppressed by Mann himself. In 1906, about a year after his marriage, Thomas wrote to Heinrich the reasons for the failure of "Wälsungenblut" to appear in print. He added that he no longer felt himself free socially.⁵⁶ It was at this time that he withdrew the story from publication in the January 1906 issue of *Die Neue Rundschau*. The strained relations with Katja's family are evident, but one would have to search elsewhere for further information. (Spoelmann's first gruff response to Klaus Heinrich would seem to be an echo of the strain in the family relationship.) It is significant that the trial search at least brought this family situation to my attention.

The comment cited above concerning social freedom gains additional significance when one takes into account the change Mann began to see in his own life. In the letter to Hilde Distel dated November 14, 1906, he spoke, as I have cited elsewhere, of the artist who, like the prince, has a high obligation to form. Further on, he speaks of not having seen his old friends, Paul and Carl Ehrenberg: "Von Ihren Brüdern habe ich lange nichts gehört und gesehen,—wie das wohl leider in der Natur der Dinge liegt."⁵⁷ The indication is that social obligations within the family have managed to cut him loose from earlier friendships. At one time the friendship with the Ehrenbergs had indicated to Mann that he was indeed capable of friendship and affection!

Another aspect of this change had already appeared in 1903. The letter to Walter Opitz of December 5, 1903, reveals Mann's feeling that he can no longer let himself go in long letters as he once did (quoted above, page 85). His fame has begun to make demands on him; he has begun to be aware of his representative existence.⁵⁸ On December 5, 1905, Mann wrote to Heinrich that it was high time he [Thomas] wrote his masterpiece. The comment comes after the discussion of the Friedrich der Grosse material in conjunction with his reading of Carlyle's biography. *Königliche Hoheit* is not the masterpiece he means. Here, too, one can catch a glimpse of the shift in Mann's life out of which the very fastidious *Novelle*, "Der Tod in Venedig," was to grow.

This new period is signaled by an accompanying inclination toward high seriousness in devotion to his country, a sentiment that culminated in Mann's political writings of World War I. In a letter to Samuel Lublinski dated December 6, 1908, Mann speaks of Lublinski's essay, "Conrad Ferdinand Meyer: Zu seinem zehnten Todestag,"⁵⁹ as something especially suited to him, for Mann feels himself drawing closer to Meyer.⁶⁰ Mann's concern here is style, but, with the following reference to Friedrich der Grosse, the nature of Meyer's subject matter is also indicated: his dream of a Friedrich novel is bound up with selection and form, in contrast to the outward formlessness of *Buddenbrooks*.⁶¹ Quite clearly, Mann's attention to selection, form, and style indicates a new concern for artistic discipline. It is interesting to reflect that, outside the construction of "Der Tod in Venedig" itself, the burden of discipline and form was later transferred to Mann's "old friend" Aschenbach.

Mann's notation of the exact date of the completion of *Königliche Hoheit* (*Notizbuch* 9, p. 63) is perhaps another indication of his relief to be finished with his "old period." By March 25, 1909, his plans had changed somewhat. He wrote to Heinrich Mann that he was planning an essay that would contain all sorts of criticism of contemporary times, presumably "Geist und Kunst," which was also later attributed to Gustav Aschenbach. He also planned a *Novelle* that would ideally follow *Königliche Hoheit*. This is presumably the Felix Krull story. A reluctance to begin with the masterpiece is perhaps evident, although he did for a time think of "Geist und Kunst" as the contemporary equivalent to Schiller's "Naive und sentimentalische Dichtung." Nevertheless, Krull developed, whereas "Geist und Kunst" did not. However, in the above letter, Mann feels above all that a new period in his writing is beginning.⁶²

Thus, the *Königliche Hoheit* search produced sufficient material on which to base additional searches in specific areas of biographical importance. The computer search also suggested various associations that pertain both to the interpretation of the novel as well as to biography, and ought therefore to be explored thoroughly if one's purpose were either interpretation or biography. Here I shall deal first with links to Mann's other works, and then with the additional topics the computer called to my attention.

The work most clearly linked to the writing of the novel is the plan for the Friedrich der Grosse novel. Little more developed from the plan than the essay, "Friedrich und die grosse Koalition" (*Der Neue Merkur*, January and February, 1915); thus the Friedrich plan actually carries much more of a biographical than an interpretive significance. However, the best indication of the link between the two novels occurs in the letter to Heinrich Mann dated December 5, 1905. In discussing his reading of Carlyle's biography—*The History of Frederick II of Prussia, Called Frederick the Great* (in German translation)—Mann pointed out how his idea of the hero differs from that of Carlyle's. He would prefer to present him as "menschlich-allzumenschlich" (after Nietzsche's *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches*), and would present the hero psychologically and lyrically.⁶³ The tie here to Klaus Heinrich's humanity, stimulated by Sarastro's famous line in *Die Zauberflöte*, is apparent. Even the plan for a psychological and lyrical presentation sounds like Mann's plans for *Königliche Hoheit*. There both Gräfin Löwenjoul and Samuel N. Spoelmann are handled with psychological understanding. The development of the Klaus Heinrich-Imma Spoelmann affair is delightfully lyrical.

On January 22, 1906, Mann wrote to his brother Heinrich that he was making notations for the Friedrich novel, and at the same time he was working on the beginnings of *Königliche Hoheit*.⁶⁴ It is likely that at this time he was making such entries in *Notizbuch 9* as the notation of observations in Potsdam, stemming from his trip to Berlin in the summer of 1905.⁶⁵ These notations were very possibly intended to serve both projects—the fairy-tale novel as well as the historical fiction. On January 17, 1906, Mann had already written to Heinrich of his December 1905 trip to Prague, Dresden, and Breslau, mentioning his observations of the terrain of the Seven Years' War between Austria and Prussia.⁶⁶ Here, also, Mann explained that the Friedrich novel would possess dignity. As a lyricist he was uncertain whether he had had sufficient experience of greatness to be able to present the theme well. Never-

theless, he had already produced two studies of greatness, notably "Schwere Stunde" (the Schiller story) and *Fiorenza* (the Lorenzo de' Medici-Savonarola conflict). Dignity is of course a motif in *Königliche Hoheit*; both Albrecht, passively, and Überbein, aggressively, insist on the quality. Greatness, however, is an aspect that is reserved for Mann's historical studies. Also in the same letter Mann defended his historical instinct against Heinrich's criticism. Perhaps, in the last analysis, his historical instinct did not fail him; at least the Friedrich novel never was written, and the material for it seems to have been consumed in the impassioned political essays from the war years—"Gedanken im Kriege," "Friedrich und die grosse Koalition," and *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*.

Hans Wysling also thinks that the two projects are closely related. In a footnote to his article, "Die Fragmente zu Thomas Mann's 'Fürsten-Novelle,'" he describes the material and cites names drawn from the *Memoiren der Baronin Cecile de Courtot* found among Mann's literary remains, such as a passing in review and a prince's wedding.⁶⁷ All this material, noted originally for the Friedrich novel, is used in *Königliche Hoheit*.

The comment in the letter (cited above, page 84) to Hilde Distel from November 14, 1906, suggests that the origins of the idea for "Der Tod in Venedig" may well be coupled with the planning of *Königliche Hoheit*: that which is protocol for the prince is for the artist commitment to form. Beyond this indication, nothing specific has come to my attention.

The abstract of "Versuch über das Theater" brought to my attention the fact that Mann was working on this essay just in the midst of his writing of the novel. Several of the essay's arguments seem to derive from the sort of dialectic found in the ambivalence of the prince's position—the theater, for example, as a game played with the audience, an art substitute for the masses, as opposed to the intellectuality of reading. Klaus Heinrich, through Imma Spoelmann and von Knobelsdorff, learns to appreciate the intellectual responsibility of his position and to keep the duty of public representation, whose hollowness had discouraged Albrecht, in its proper perspective. Here, again, the material turned up only because a search had been made for references to Wagner and Nietzsche. Undoubtedly more material could be found if a search were made of "Versuch über das Theater."

3. While reading the print-out of the various items the computer selected through the search questions, a number of topics came to

my attention, which, if also searched, would most likely produce further supporting evidence for the relationships that the original search has indicated. I shall cite here those that can be conveniently illustrated.

From the realm of art and the artist, "Kunst und Leben" seemed promising. On page 57 of *Notizbuch 6* (1906?) notations for *Königliche Hoheit* are found concerning the prince and his dealings with people as well as the duty of representation. The topic "Literatur und Publikum" is similarly likely to turn up additional supporting material. The entry my search produced is found in the record of a letter to Hermann Hesse, dated April 1, 1910, in which Mann responded to Hesse's critique of *Königliche Hoheit*. Mann denies that he was flirting with his public. Any popular elements in his novel are to be attributed to his early enthusiasm for Wagner's art, which can be both most common as well as most refined.⁶⁸

Other topics contribute to the general area of Mann's self-understanding. The topic "Krankheit," long a central topic in Mann studies, was searched. In 1906 it appeared in *Notizbuch 9* (p. 32) in conjunction with Mann's reference to those who are never anything but ill. The figure of Albrecht illustrates preoccupation with the topic. In the record of the letter to Kurt Martens dated March 28, 1906, the topic "Askese" occurred because Mann reacted to Martens' labeling him an ascetic. Mann agrees, but finds himself ascetic only in the sense of conscientious production in contrast to gratification and happiness. So much the worse for himself, he adds, for he does not consider himself very productive!⁶⁹ Mann also quoted in a preceding paragraph a line from *Fiorenza* to the same effect; the drama deals with just the contrast indicated. Klaus Heinrich's problem is also that of longing for and achieving some sort of balance between the two extremes—asceticism and enjoyment.

Because of the pity motif involved in the Imma Spoelmann-Gräfin Löwenjoul relationship, an unidentified quote relating to pity noted in 1903 (*Notizbuch 7*, p. 114) suggested that a search of the topic "Mitleid" might be of value.

While the trial searches produced a good deal of material that was not expected, they also produced support for the idea behind the original selection of *Königliche Hoheit* as the focus of the searches. Despite the scant references to Schiller's *Don Carlos* itself, the interpretive material relating to the prince-artist parallel supports the assumption of the play's influence. It has been

possible to demonstrate how Mann's understanding of himself as an artist and his own progress as an artist were bound up with the prince-artist parallel. And the computer provided further support for the linking of the plan for the Friedrich novel to the work on *Königliche Hoheit*. It also suggested the close relationship of this work to the thinking behind the essay, "Versuch über das Theater." And finally it has been seen that additional topics, suggested by the examination of the computer records, ought to lead to the discovery of further supporting material. Furthermore, the search produced anticipated evidence of Mann's assembly-line technique in the development of his work and a stimulating amount of material helpful in the interpretation of the novel. It also marshaled suggestive material that can be useful in defining the brother problem. With the exception of the letters to Katja, the search failed to reveal much material directly linking the Pringsheim family to *Königliche Hoheit*. However, an additional search of entries for the Pringsheim family might yield more information. The primary advantage the computer offers is, therefore, amazingly rapid access to sources, some of which would only be available to the scholar permitted to work with unpublished material at the archive in question. Also, it can handle several conditions in a single question, which eliminates the multiplied effort and time factor of a hand search—the original scanning and notation process.

Through the discussion presented in these chapters, I have attempted to make clear how the various indexes—the dating system, the work index, the name index, and the topic index—all play a significant role in the location of material that can satisfy the requests of a search or that can lead the index user to other areas of the index that are more likely to satisfy his needs. With the illustrations I have given and the accompanying quotations from Mann's own work, I hope to have imparted a sense of the stimulation that has been a result of my work with the Thomas Mann Project.

NOTES

Notes to Chapter I

1. Principally *Thomas Mann: Fiktion, Mythos, Religion* (Stuttgart, 1965); "Thomas-Mann-Forschung: Ein Bericht," Pt. 1, *Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, XL (1966), 257-297; Pt. 2, *ibid.*, XLI (1967), 599-653; Pt. 3, *ibid.*, XLII (1968), 126-157.

2. Detailed information about the archives, the libraries, and the private collections can be found in Lehnert's research report, *op. cit.*, Part I, pp. 259ff. See also Klaus Jonas, "A Note on Thomas Mann's Manuscripts and the Major Research Collections," in Klaus Jonas and Ilse B. Jonas, *Thomas Mann Studies: A Bibliography of Criticism* (Philadelphia, 1967) Vol. II, pp. 19-20.

3. Ruecking, knowledgeable in the field of anthropology as well as computer programming, is currently working on a computerized library circulation system as well as the R.I.C.E. Project, which plans to service libraries and industries of the Gulf Coast with electronically produced bibliographic information.

4. *University of California Publications in Modern Philology*, Vol. 45 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1955).

5. Herbert Lehnert, "'Tristan,' 'Tonio Kröger,' und 'Der Tod in Venedig': Ein Strukturvergleich,'" to appear in *Betrachtungen und Überblicke*, Vol. II (to appear).

6. "Reflections and Observations on Subject Analysis: The Research User," in Maurice F. Tauber (ed.), *The Subject Analysis of Library Materials* (New York, 1953), p. 195.

7. Konstanz, 1949; improved edition, 1964.

8. Gertrude Atherton's *Adventures of a Novelist* (New York, 1932) is one. Her subject was Alexander Hamilton.

9. Pp. 119f.

10. John A. Garraty, *The Nature of Biography* (New York, 1957), p. 245.

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*, p. 246.

13. *The Development of English Biography* (London, 1928), pp. 141f.

14. *The Dictionary of Names and Titles in Poe's Collected Works* (New York, 1968), prepared with the aid of a computer by Burton R. Pollin, has come to my attention. See the *Institute for Computer Research in the Humanities Newsletter* (New York University), III, No. 3 (1967), pp. 2f.

15. Carlos A. Cuadra (ed.), (New York), p. 48.

16. Frankfurt am Main, 1961. Volume III, *Briefe 1948-55* (1965), contains an additional section of letters from this early period of Mann's life.

17. See, however, the criticism of Erika Mann's notes by Inge Jens (pertaining to Vol. I), in Georg Wenzel (ed.), *Betrachtungen und Überblicke*, Vol. I (Berlin and Weimar, 1966), pp. 464ff.; also that of Walter Jens (pertaining to Vols. I and II), *ibid.*, pp. 468, 472f.; and that of Günter Blöcker (pertaining to Vol. II), "Heroische Geduld," *Merkur*, XVII (1963), 1209.

18. Published by the Deutsche Akademie der Künste zu Berlin, 1956.

19. Pfullingen, 1960.

20. Frankfurt am Main.

21. See Georg Wenzel, "Thomas Manns Beiträge aus dem 'Frühlingssturm,' und Gedichte," *Betrachtungen und Überblicke*, I, 421-423.

22. S. Fischer Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 1959.
23. *Gesammelte Abhandlungen und kleine Aufsätze*, the 1922 edition of the essays and articles (Berlin).
24. Originally in two installments: *Nord und Süd*, XXXII (January/February, 1908), 116-119, 259-290.
25. *Morgen*, Berlin, I (July 26, 1907), 214-217.
26. Lehnert's notes, made during his visit to Zürich in 1964, must substitute for the complete texts. Hans Wysling, present curator of the Zürich Archive, has supplemented our information whenever asked.
27. S. Fischer Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 1965.
28. Op. cit.
29. Wien, 1921-1924. Martens, at home in München and Dresden, was at first the better known of the two writers.
30. München, 1932. Holm worked with the Albert Langen Verlag in München as an editor.
31. Berlin, 1924, pp. 219ff.
32. The "'alte' Stadtschloss," (II, 45).
33. S. D. Stirk, "Gerhart Hauptmann and Mynheer Peeperkorn," *German Life and Letters*, V (1952), 162-175; John C. Thirwall, "Orphic Influences in *The Magic Mountain*, or Plato, Christ, and Peeperkorn," *Germanic Review*, XXV (1950), 290-298.
34. *Briefe 1889-1936*, p. 38 (October 29, 1903, to Samuel Fischer), p. 40 (December 5, 1903, to Walter Opitz). Mann's apology to Hauptmann is found on pp. 234-236 (April 11, 1925).
35. To Paul and Carl Ehrenberg, February 8, 1903 (*Briefe 1948-55*, p. 442).
36. Portions have appeared in *The Thomas Mann Reader*, edited by Joseph Warner Angell (New York, 1950).
37. *Literarisches Echo*, Berlin, IX (October 15, 1906), col. 114-115 (Bürgin, *Bibliographie*, Sec. V, 42).
38. From an excerpt of the letter in *Auktionskatalog* 154, November 16/17, 1967; the auction was held by Dr. Ernst Hauswedell, Hamburg.
39. "Ein Nachwort," (*Lübecker General-Anzeiger*, November 11, 1905), XI, 546.
40. Klaus Pringsheim, "Ein Nachtrag zu 'Wälsungenblut,'" *Betrachtungen und Überblicke*, I, 253ff.
41. See Bürgin's note in the *Bibliographie*: Sec. V, 40.
42. Hans Wysling, "Die Fragmente zu Thomas Manns Fürsten-Novelle: Zur Urhandschrift der 'Königliche Hoheit,'" *Quellenkritische Studien zum Werk Thomas Manns* (Bern, 1967), p. 64.
43. The roman numeral followed by the arabic numeral will refer herein after to the volume and page number of Thomas Mann's *Gesammelte Werke* (12 vols.), S. Fischer Verlag, 1960 edition.

Notes to Chapter II

1. Bürgin and Mayer, *Chronik*, p. 29.
2. Bürgin, *Bibliographie*, Sec. V, 51.
3. In *Mitteilungen der Literaturhistorischen Gesellschaft Bonn*, II (1907); quoted from *Gesammelte Werke*, XI, 714f.

4. The *Standard Reference Calendar* by Newton J. Darden (Washington, D.C., 1935) was used in this study.

Notes to Chapter III

1. "Gesang vom Kindchen," VIII, 1068.
2. The text has not been published; the original is located at Marbach.
3. Erika Mann (ed.), *Briefe 1889-1936*, p. 440, fn. 1 to this letter.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
5. Printed first on December 25, 1910, in the *Berliner Tagblatt*. Reprinted in *Blätter der Thomas Mann Gesellschaft*, No. 5 (1965), pp. 17ff. The reference appeared in Erich Neumann's extension of the *Bürgin Bibliographie*, in *Be-trachtungen und Überblicke*, I, p. 506.
6. X, 590ff.
7. *Briefe 1889-1936*, p. 114.
8. *Die Neue Rundschau*, XXV (1914), 1471-1484.
9. *Briefe 1889-1936*, p. 207; quoted in the *Bürgin and Mayer Chronik*, p. 60.
10. Unpublished; located at the *Stadtbibliothek München*.
11. *Süddeutsche Monatshefte*, November, 1913; reprinted X, 559ff.: quote, p. 560.
12. "Archivalisches Gewühle," *Quellenkritische Studien zum Werk Thomas Manns*, p. 236.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 237.
14. Compare, however, Herbert Lehnert, *Thomas Mann: Fiktion, Mythos, Religion*, p. 235, fn. 133. If Manolescu did give Martens the idea for his own story, Mann may have gotten the inspiration from Martens during a verbal exchange.
15. In his latest article on the subject, "Thomas Manns Pläne zur Fortsetzung des 'Krull,'" (*Fischer Almanach*, [Frankfurt am Main, 1967], pp. 21ff.), Wysling demonstrates clearly that the notesheets in question are to be dated 1910. Much of the material found in them comes from the journal of Mann's mother-in-law, Hedwig Pringsheim-Dohm, who had made a trip to South America during the years 1907-1910. Pictures he collected of Argentina and of Lisbon ("von Gesandtschaftsräumen und Konsulaten," p. 28) from the illustrated weeklies further verify the dating. On page 43 Wysling concludes: "Fast allen in der Spätzeit komponierten Szenen liegen Motive zugrunde, die sich Thomas Mann schon zwischen 1906 und 1910 notiert hat." Accepting this judgment, we ought also to index the two volumes by Manolescu as *source*.
16. Unpublished; located at Princeton University in the Caroline Newton Collection.
17. John G. Frank, "Letters by Thomas Mann to Julius Bab," *Germanic Review*, XXXVI (1961), 199; corrections thereto in "Letters by Thomas Mann to Julius Bab. Some New Readings," *Germanic Review*, XXXIX (1964), 34f.
18. Unpublished; located at Princeton University in the Caroline Newton Collection.
19. Inge Jens (ed.), *Thomas Mann an Ernst Bertram: Briefe aus den Jahren 1910-1955*, (Pfullingen, 1960), pp. 13f.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 15f.
21. Frank, *Germanic Review*. XXXVI (1961), 198f. The identity of the journal Mann refers to is unknown to me.

22. Frank, *Germanic Review*, XXXVI (1961), 195f.; corrections in *Germanic Review*, XXXIX (1964), 33f.

23. *Briefe 1889-1936*, pp. 98f.

24. About Max Reinhardt, Mann claims in a letter to Hugo von Hofmannsthal (July 25, 1909): "Das Reinhardt-Theater hat mich sehr beschäftigt; es schien mir dann und wann beinahe als die *interessanteste* Produktion unserer Tage, und jedenfalls glaube ich, dass es, in seiner typischen und tapferen Modernität kritisch genossen, jedem modernen Künstler viel Bestätigung und Ermutigung zu bieten hat. Ich habe keine Premiere vorübergehen lassen und freue mich auf die noch ausstehenden..." (*Briefe 1889-1936*, p. 77).

25. From a letter to an E. Hoffmann-Krayer; an excerpt appears in an auction catalog located in the Thomas Mann Archive in East Berlin.

26. The letter is located at Marbach. An excerpt appears in *Thomas Mann-Heinrich Mann: Briefwechsel 1900-1949* (Berlin and Weimar, 1965), pp. 221f.

27. To Ernst Bertram, January 28, 1910 (*Briefe 1889-1936*), p. 81.

28. Translations were also beginning to appear in Dutch, Polish, and Russian. See the Bürgin *Bibliographie*, Sec. IV.

29. *Briefe 1948-1955*, p. 449.

30. "Thomas Mann: Zum Roman 'Königliche Hoheit,'" *Mitteilungen der Literaturhistorischen Gesellschaft Bonn*, IV (1909), 195-217.

31. *Thomas Mann an Ernst Bertram*, p. 12.

32. The letter is located at the *Stadtbibliothek München*.

33. "Hundestage" (Lustspiel), 1911; "Marys grosses Herz" (Komödie), 1912.

34. X, 27-35.

35. From an auction catalog excerpt of a letter to E. Hoffmann-Krayer; located in the Thomas Mann Archive in East Berlin.

36. An excerpt from a letter dated October 26, 1909, in the autograph auction catalog of J. A. Stargardt for November 28/29, 1967, at Marburg.

37. An unpublished letter dated May 5, 1909, located at the *Stadtbibliothek München*.

38. Mann published his thoughts on the serialization procedure in the foreword to "Bilse und ich" written the day after the second installment had appeared in the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* (February 17, 1906), reprinted in *Gesammelte Werke*, X, 9.

39. *Thomas Mann an Ernst Bertram*, p. 15.

Notes to Chapter IV

1. *Briefe 1889-1936*, p. 37.

2. An unpublished postcard dated August 28, 1903, and a letter dated February 16, 1904, addressed to Eugen Kalkschmidt are located in the *Stadtbibliothek München*.

3. "Der alte Fontane" (IX, 28).

4. "Der symbolisch-autobiographische Gehalt von Thomas Manns Roman-dichtung *Königliche Hoheit*," *PMLA*, XLIV (1931), 879.

5. Known also as *Kayser's vollständiges Bücher-Lexikon*, it cumulates the *Deutsche Nationalbibliographie*.

6. *Fifty Years of Thomas Mann Studies: A Bibliography of Criticism* (Minneapolis, 1955); with Ilse B. Jonas, *Thomas Mann Studies*, Vol. II (Philadelphia, 1967).

7. In *Widmungsblätter an Hans-Heinrich Reclam beim Erscheinen der Nr. 5000 von Reclams Universal-Bibliothek* (Leipzig, n.d.), p. 572.

8. *Briefe 1889-1936*, p. 114.

9. *Briefe 1948-1955*, p. 444.

10. See the letters from May 26, 1913, to Kurt Martens, and from May 29, 1913, to Frank Wedekind (*Briefe 1889-1936*, 102f., 103f.), to Josef Rüderer, and to "Sehr verehrter Herr Professor" (*Jahrbuch der deutschen Schillergesellschaft*, VIII [1963], 192f.).

11. *Die Aktion*, IV (1914), col. 488. Other printings cited in *Jahrbuch der deutschen Schillergesellschaft*, VIII (1963), 199, fn. 17.

12. Mann makes strong statements about the pedagogical role of the theater in public life in "Gutachten über die Theaterzensur," originally submitted to Robert Heindl for his dissertation about censorship of the theater. It appeared also in Heindl's book, *Geschichte, Zweckmässigkeit und rechtliche Grundlage der Theaterzensur* (München, 1907). Mann also defends the dramatist and the critic against the intrusion of governmental censorship.

Notes to Chapter V

1. Maurice F. Tauber (ed.), *The Subject Analysis of Library Materials*, (New York, 1953), p. 163.

2. In a paper entitled "An Analysis and Evaluation of Subject Heading Lists Used in Several Special Libraries in the New York City Area," cited in Carlyle J. Frarey, *Subject Headings*, Vol. I, Pt. 2, *The State of Library Art* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1960), p. 19.

3. "Subject Headings: Principles and Development," in *The Subject Analysis of Library Materials*, p. 45.

4. Bürgin and Mayer, *Chronik*, pp. 43f.

5. In *Subject Headings; A Practical Guide* (Washington, 1951), cited by Mortimer Taube and Associates (eds.), *Studies in Coordinate Indexing* (Washington, 1953), I, 32.

6. "The Purpose of Indexing," *The Indexer*, I (1958), 33.

7. See Chapter I, note 2, this paper.

8. The list of descriptors for *Chemical Abstracts* is subject oriented, but based on material that involves a more limited vocabulary. It serves both as an "authority list" of allowable terminology and a "thesaurus" leading the user to synonyms that may be more productive for his specialized field.

9. Bern, 1965.

10. Frankfurt am Main, 1966.

11. In speaking of Stefan George's circle, Harold F. Cherniss points out dramatically the danger in the method in his discussion, "The Biographical Fashion in Literary Criticism" (*University of California Publications in Classical Philology*, XII, No. 15 (1943), pp. 279-292: "... it is... a vicious circle to intuit the nature of the author's personality from his writings and then to interpret those writings in accordance with the 'inner necessity' of that intuited personality. ... the comprehension of a literary work becomes a completely private affair..." (p. 288).

12. "Relevancy and Pertinancy in Indexing," *American Documentation*, XIII (1962), 94.
13. Herbert Lehnert, *Thomas Mann: Fiktion, Mythos, Religion*, pp. 70, 73, 108, 122ff., 132, 134f., 138, and 233, fn. 107.
14. *Briefe 1889-1936*, pp. 74f.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
16. *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*, passim.
17. "Bei Friedrich Huchs Bestattung," held as a funeral eulogy on May 12, 1913, and often reprinted (X, 409ff.); "Vorwort zu dem Roman eines Jungverstorbenen," which appeared first in November 1913, in *Süddeutsche Monatshefte*, XI, Heft 2, pp. 235-239 (X, 559).
18. *Subject Headings; A Practical Guide*, p. 32.

Notes to Chapter VI

1. First published in *März*, München, January 4 and January 11, 1913 (X, 62ff.).
2. *Briefe 1889-1936*, pp. 26f. (January 19, 1901).
3. See Lehnert, *Thomas Mann: Fiktion, Mythos, Religion*, pp. 140ff. for a detailed interpretation of Mann's concept of Luther.
4. Both are reprinted as excerpts in *Thomas Mann-Heinrich Mann: Briefwechsel 1900-1949*, pp. 220-221.
5. Published first in December 1912 in *Blätter des deutschen Theaters* (XI, 563f.).
6. *Thomas Mann an Ernst Bertram: Briefe aus den Jahren 1910-1955*, pp. 15f.
7. "Bei Friedrich Huchs Bestattung" and "Vorwort zu dem Roman eines Jungverstorbenen," op. cit., Ch. V, note 17, this paper.
8. The first date is the earliest known mention of the novel, then planned as a *Novelle* (Wysling, *Quellenkritische Studien zum Werk Thomas Manns* [Bern, 1967], p. 64). The date of completion appears in *Notizbuch 9*, p. 63.
9. Originally titled "Unsere Fürsten und wir" (*Kunstwart*, München, XIII [April 1, 1910, pp. 4-6]): Bürgin, *Bibliographie*, Sec. V, p. 63.
10. Op. cit., Ch. I, note 4, this paper.
11. Wysling, *Quellenkritische Studien*, p. 69.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
13. Wysling cites particularly the short story "Ihre Hoheit," in Mann's possession in 1904 (*Quellenkritische Studien*, pp. 70f.). Mann speaks of the novel *Tine* and the story "Am Wege" in "Versuch über das Theater" (X, 24), written in 1907.
14. *Notizbuch 7*, p. 146 (dated December, 1905).
15. *Ibid.*, p. 125 (printed in Wysling, op. cit., p. 67).
16. *Kentucky Foreign Language Quarterly*, XIII (1966), 125-129.
17. From Boris Godunow; quoted by Wysling, op. cit., p. 67.
18. Wysling, *Quellenkritische Studien*, p. 69.
19. *Notizbuch 7*, p. 121 (Wysling, op. cit., p. 65).
20. Wysling quotes a postcard text that is almost identical with the entry in *Notizbuch 7*, p. 122 (*ibid.*).
21. R. A. Nicholls, op. cit., pp. 68-72.
22. Printed in Wysling, op. cit., p. 68.

23. *Briefe 1889-1936*, pp. 61ff.
24. *Mitteilungen der Literaturhistorischen Gesellschaft Bonn*, IV (November 16, 1909), 218.
25. *Briefe 1889-1936*, p. 53.
26. *Briefe 1948-1955*, p. 451.
27. Reprinted in Wysling, op. cit., p. 65.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid., p. 67.
30. Ibid.
31. Hermann Weigand points this out in "Der symbolisch-autobiographische Gehalt von Thomas Manns Romandichtung *Königliche Hoheit*," *PMLA*, XLVI (1931), 869 (footnote).
32. Wysling, op. cit., p. 71.
33. Ibid.
34. "Thomas Mann: Zum Roman 'Königliche Hoheit,'" *Mitteilungen der Literaturhistorischen Gesellschaft Bonn*, IV (November 16, 1909), 205.
35. *Thomas Mann-Heinrich Mann*, pp. 220f.
36. "Kinderspiele" (XI, 328).
37. *Briefe 1889-1936*, p. 67.
38. Ibid., pp. 39, 40.
39. Ibid., p. 39.
40. Ibid., p. 71.
41. *Briefe 1889-1936*, p. 66.
42. Letter to Heinrich Mann, June 10, 1908 (located at Marbach).
43. November 10, 1908 (located at Marbach).
44. January 15, 1908 (located at Marbach).
45. The letter is located at the *Stadtbibliothek München*.
46. Hermann Weigand deals with these aspects in his article, op. cit., p. 155.
47. The omissions in the three volumes of Mann's correspondence edited by Erika Mann are an indication.
48. *Thomas Mann-Heinrich Mann*, p. 221.
49. December 5, 1905 (located at Marbach).
50. The letter is located at Marbach. An excerpt appears in *Thomas Mann-Heinrich Mann*, pp. 221f.
51. *Briefe 1889-1936*, p. 61.
52. Ibid., pp. 61ff.
53. February 6, 1908 (located at Marbach).
54. The letter is located at Marbach.
55. Bürgin and Mayer, *Chronik*, p. 28. See also Klaus Pringsheim, "Ein Nachtrag zu 'Wälsungenblut,'" *Betrachtungen und Überblicke*, I, 253ff.
56. January 17, 1906 (located at Marbach, excerpted in *Thomas Mann-Heinrich Mann*, pp. 221f.)
57. *Briefe 1889-1936*, p. 67.
58. Ibid., pp. 39 and 40.
59. *Vossische Zeitung*, November 29, 1908, Sonntagsbeilage No. 48.
60. *Briefe 1948-1955*, p. 454.
61. Ibid., p. 455.
62. *Thomas Mann-Heinrich Mann*, p. 31.

63. The letter is located at Marbach. Cf. *Notizbuch 9*, pp. 9f. (reprinted in Lehnert, *Thomas Mann: Fiktion, Mythos, Religion*, pp. 15f. [and p. 224, fn. 7]).
64. The letter is located at Marbach.
65. Pp. 11-13.
66. The letter is located at Marbach and excerpted in *Thomas Mann-Heinrich Mann*, pp. 22lf.
67. *Quellenkritische Studien*, p. 331, fn. 4.
68. *Briefe 1948-1955*, p. 457.
69. *Briefe 1889-1936*, p. 64.

APPENDIX A

SAMPLES OF THREE COMPLETED REPORT FORMS

So that the reader may see more clearly how the information from the various items is transferred to the report form, I include here three samples. Figure 2 is a sample of a letter prepared for transcription to punched cards. Figure 3 is a sample of a notebook entry. Figure 4 is a sample of an article.

In Figure 2, the "L" in the box "TYPE" indicates that the item is a letter. The next box gives its date. In the "TAG" column to the left of the ruled space, the code numbers appear. "011" indicates that an abbreviated address follows: "München—Poschingerstrasse 1" is the address from which Mann wrote the letter. "110" is the addressee, Ernst Bertram. "220" indicates the source of the text, in this case *Thomas Mann an Ernst Bertram: Briefe aus den Jahren 1910-1955*, edited by Inge Jens. "300" is an abstract of the most important topics of the letter. Deduced information is given between slashes as the computer print chain does not have brackets. *Der Zauberberg*, given in quotation marks because the computer does not underscore, is mentioned in the letter in two respects—*progress*, "450," and *interpretation*, "630." The "710" tag indexes the persons mentioned or alluded to in the text. The "810" tag indexes the topics that occur. "Arosa," though not discussed at length, is indexed as a topic because the sanatoriums Katja Mann visited are significant for Mann's fiction.

Figure 3 represents a notebook entry "N," dated January 1899, although the month is doubtful, indicated by the "M" in the "VALIDITY" box. Since the item bears no address, the tag number for the address code is struck through. The code number "130" gives the identification of the entry, this one an entry on a sheet belonging to *Notizbuch 3*. These loose pages bear roman numerals. The "220" tag indicates the source where this material has been printed, here an article by Paul Scherrer. The magazine title, *Neue Rundschau*, is not underscored, but placed in quotation marks. The abstract of the item is brief, indicated by the "300"

tag. That it is *material*, in this case for the novel *Buddenbrooks*, is indicated by the tag "420."

Figure 4 is the information gathered from a short article "A." The writing of it is dated June 1911, but the month is doubtful—"M" in the "VALIDITY" box. One printing of it is known in addition to the original printing. It was first published in July 1911. The title of the work is indicated by the code number "140." The original source is given first—tag "220"—and the second source follows, here indicating that only an excerpt from the article is to be found in the article by Herbert Lehnert and Wulf Segebrecht. A brief abstract appears opposite the tag "300." All persons mentioned in the article are indexed, on separate lines, opposite the "710" tag. A question mark after the first name (given in slashes) of the first entry indicates our uncertainty about the correct identification. Six topics follow the name index, all indicated by an "810" tag. The "900" tag is for the reference to the item in Bürgin's *Bibliographie*. None of the code tags "999" are struck through on these sample sheets, indicating that the record is ended on the single sheet. If the tag were struck through, the key-punch operator would look for a second sheet of information belonging to the item.

THOMAS MANN INDEX

Report Form

Identification		Locations		Work Development		Completed Work		Work Evaluation		Added Names	
Addressee	110	Located	210	Ideas	410	Reception	810	Self-Quote	610	People	710
Essay	120	Source	220	Material	420	Performance	520	Echo	620	Places	720
Notebook	130	Book Rev'd	230	Sources	430	Readings	530	Interpret.	630	Things	730
Article	140	X-Refer.	240	Planning	440	Translate	540				
Memoir	150			Progress	450	Reprint	550			Topics	810
S. Story	160			Publisher	460					Sub-topics	820
Novel	170	Abstract	300	Preprint	470					Buerqin	900
Drama	180										

TAG	TYPE	DATE	TEXT	VALID.	PRINT.	VARIA.	OMISSION
000	L	6 Jan 1914					
	LIST	SPEECH	REPETITIONS		PUBLISHING		
0/1	PLACE NAME AND STREET (810) PLACE ABBREVIATION (011)						
	MP+						
110	Ernst Bertram+						
220	TM/EB, 18f.+						
300	Dankt fuer Bertrams Brief und Gaben, u.s. /Friedrich/ Gundolfs						
	/"Stefan George in unserer Zeit"/. Zweifelt, ob George						
	"populser" wird. Katja Mann in Arosa+						
450	"Zauberberg, Der"+						
630	"Zauberberg, Der"+						
710	Gundolf /Friedrich--"Stefan George in unserer Zeit" (1913)/+						
710	George /Stefan/+						
710	/Mann, Katja/+						
710	Bie /Oskar/+						
810	/Deutschland/+						
810	Weihnachten+						
810	Arosa+						
810	Nervenleiden+						
999							

Figure 2. Thomas Mann index; Report Form, Type L.

THOMAS MANN INDEX

Report Form

Tag Scheme											
Identification		Locations		Work Development		Completed Work		Work Evaluation		Added Names	
Addressee	110	Located	210	Ideas	410	Reception	B10	Self-Quote	610	People	710
Essay	120	Sourced	220	Material	420	Performance	520	Echo	620	Places	720
Notebook	130	Book Rev'd	230	Sources	430	Readings	530	Interpret.	630	Things	730
Article	140	X-Refer.	240	Planning	440	Translate	540				
Memoir	150			Progress	450	Reprint	550			Topics	810
S. Story	160			Publisher	460					Sub-topics	820
Novel	170	Abstract	300	Preprint	470					Buerquin	900
Drama	180										

[illegible]

Figure 3. Thomas Mann index: Report Form, Type N.

THOMAS MANN INDEX

Report Form

Tag Scheme							
Identification	Locations		Work Development		Completed Work	Work Evaluation	Added Names
Addressee 110	Located 210	Ideas 410	Reception 510	Self-Quote 610	People 710		
Essay 120	Source 220	Material 420	Performance 520	Echo 620	Places 720		
Notebook 130	Book Rev'd 230	Sources 430	Readings 530	Interpret. 630	Things 730		
Article 140	X-Refer. 240	Planning 440	Translate 540				
Memoir 150		Progress 450	Reprint 550				
S. Story 160		Publisher 460					Topics 810
Novel 170	Abstract 300	Preprint 470					Sub-topics 820
Drama 180							Buerquin 900

TAG	TYPE	DATED	TEXT	VALID.	PRINT.	VARIA.	OMISSION
000	A	June 1911	M	1			
	LAST	SPEECH	REPETITIONS	PUBLISHING			
			Juli 1911				
01	PLACE NAME AND STREET (810) PLACE ABREVIATION (811)						
140	"Pornographie und Erotik"+						
220	"Der Zwiebfisch," Juli 1911+						
220	Auszug: Herbert Lehnert und Wulf Segebrecht, "TM im Muenchener Zensurbeirat," in "Jahrbuch der deutschen Schillergesellschaft," VII(1963), 199+						
300	Ueber einen Angriff gegen den Jahreskatalog der Buchhandlung Karl Schueler aus moralischen Gruenden. Der Moralist+						
710	Fuerstenwerth /Ludwig?/+						
710	Boccaccio /Giovanni/--"Decamerone"+						
710	Balzac /Honoré de /--"Comédie Humaine"+						
710	Casanova /Giacomo/--"Erinnerungen"+						
710	Menzel, Wolfgang+						
710	Goethe /Johann Wolfgang von/+						
710	Bartels, Adolf+						
710	Kausen /Armin/+						
810	Kunst+						
810	Sittlichkeit+						
810	Halle+						
810	Moralist, der+						
810	Geschlechtliche, das+						
810	Junges Deutschland+						
900	V. 66+						
999							

Figure 4. Thomas Mann index; Report Form, Type A.

APPENDIX B

THREE PRINT-OUT SAMPLES

Three print-out samples are included here, Figures 5, 6, and 7. The search topic is immaterial. Figure 5 reproduces, in reduced size, a series of retrieved letter records. The German phrase at the left identifies the nature of each record entry at the right. The "LAUFENDE NUMMER" is the sequence number for the item as it was prepared for storage on the computer tape. "ART DER VORLAGE," type of item, indicates that the item is a letter, "BRIEF." As can be seen, the address abbreviations have not yet been programed to translate into the full spelling. "M" (the place abbreviation, "ORTABKUERZUNG," in items 578, 751, and 579) should read "MUENCHEN" on the final print-out. "HM" should read "HEINRICH MANN," "BT"—"BAD TOELZ." "INFORMATION VON" indicates the printed source of a letter. "AUFBEWAHRUNGORT," location (items 793 and 751), indicates that the letter is not printed and is preserved at the place given, e.g., "MARBACH." In item 785, both the source and the location are given: an excerpt of the item appears in an auction catalog located at the Thomas Mann—"TM"—Archive in East Berlin—"B" (for Berlin). The addressee for this letter is unknown—"UNBEKANNT." In the abstract—"ZUSAMMENFASSUNG"—dashes are used for quotation marks, e.g., "MITARBEIT AN DER -ZUKUNFT-," from item 578. *Die Zukunft* is a magazine title. The "‡" sign indicates that an entry is ended. Slashes indicate that information is supplied, as in item 579: "-/DIE NEUERE/ DEUTSCHE LYRIK-." Here the supplied information completes the title.

The first item in Figure 6 is a cross-reference supplying derived biographical data, "ERMITTELT," corresponding approximately to "deduced." The information given in slashes at the end of the abstract states the source of the data. Items 410, 413, and 412 (out of order on this print-out sheet because the items are the results of several search topics) are notebook entries—"NOTIZ-

BUCH." The "+" sign, used in place of a question mark, after the supplied title "/-GEIST UND KUNST- /," indicates our uncertainty about the use Mann's notation was intended to serve.

Figure 7 reproduces two retrieved article entries—"ARTIKEL"—and a book review entry—"BUCHBESPRECHUNG." In item 675 the dating of the writing of the article is questionable—"DATUM ZWEIFELHAFT." The day given, May 12, 1913, is questionable—"TAG FRAGLICH." Several reprints exist—"MEHRERE NACHDRUCKE" (five reprints are known in addition to the editions of the collected works). The word "NACHDRUCK" is usually reserved for the reprinting in the *Gesammelte Werke* of 1960. A double space is used by the computer in place of a colon. The print-out states erroneously that the work was published—"VEROEFFENTLICHT"—on May 1, 1913; it should read "1 JUN 1913." Such errors are corrected with a correction program.

LAUFENDE NUMMER	000578
ART DER VORLAGE	BRIEF
DATIERT	20 JAN 1908
ADRESSE	FRANZ-JOSEPH-STR. 2#
ORTABKUERZUNG	M#
AN	MAXIMILIAN HARDEN#
INFORMATION VON	BRIEFE 89-36, 71F#
ZUSAMMENFASSUNG	MITARBEIT AN DER -ZUKUNFT.- SEINE LANGSAME ARBEITSWEISE. VERZOEGERUNG IM ERSCHEINEN DES ESSAYS -VERSUCH UEBER DAS THEATER-#
LAUFENDE NUMMER	000793
ART DER VORLAGE	BRIEF
DATIERT	6 FEB 1908
ADRESSE	POLLING#
AN	HM#
AUFBEWAHRUNGORT	KARBACH#
INFORMATION VON	AUSZUG, BRIEFWECHSEL HM/TM, 1965, S. 223#
ZUSAMMENFASSUNG	TM 5-6 TAGE ALLEIN IN POLLING. SCHREIBT JEDEN VORMITTAG 2 STUNDEN AN -KOENIGLICHE HOHEIT.- KOMMENTAR ZU -KOENIGLICHE HOHEIT- ERZAEHLEN SEI SELBSTZWECK. ERINNERUNG AN DIE GEMEINSAME ZEIT IM ROM. UNTERSCHIED ZWISCHEN HM UND TM IN IHRER SENSIBILITAET. HARDEN-PROZESS IN MUENCHEN. HARDEN UND -DIE ZUKUNFT-. WERDANDI-BUND IN BERLIN. WAGNERS POPULAERITAET EIN MISSVERSTAENDNIS. -NORD UND SUED.- TM HAT GESELLSCHAFT MIT 14 PERSONEN#
LAUFENDE NUMMER	C00751
ART DER VORLAGE	BRIEF
DATIERT	10 JUN 1908
ADRESSE	FRANZ-JOSEF-STRASSE 2#
ORTABKUERZUNG	M#
AN	HM#
AUFBEWAHRUNGORT	KARBACH#
ZUSAMMENFASSUNG	KRANKHEIT HMS. UEBER JULIA MANN UND IHREN MANN, JOSEF LOEHR, ARBEITET REGELMAESSIG AN -KOENIGLICHE HOHEIT- UND LANGWEILT SICH DABEI. HAT EINEN BAND FONTANE INES SCHMIED GELIEHEN#
LAUFENDE NUMMER	C00785
ART DER VORLAGE	BRIEF
DATIERT	30 JUN 1908
ORTABKUERZUNG	BT#
AN	UNBEKANNT#
AUFBEWAHRUNGORT	AUKTIONSKATALOGAUSZUG, TM ARCHIV 8#
ZUSAMMENFASSUNG	MIT DER BEENDIGUNG -KOENIGLICHE HOHEIT- BESCHAEFTIGT /BEENDIGUNG 13.FEB.1909/#
LAUFENDE NUMMER	C00579
ART DER VORLAGE	BRIEF
DATIERT	1 NOV 1908
ADRESSE	FRANZ-JOSEPH-STR. 2#
ORTABKUERZUNG	M#
AN	PHILLIP WITKOP#
INFORMATION VON	BRIEFE 89-36, 72F#
ZUSAMMENFASSUNG	DANKT FUER WITKOPS GEDICHTE UND HABILITATIONSSCHRIFT. -/DIE NEUERE/ DEUTSCHE LYRIK,- KRITISIERT, LOBT. FINDET /JOHANN CHRISTIAN/ GUENTHERS TODESVERSE UEBERHAUELTIGEND, SIEHT VERWANDTSCHAFT MIT PAUL VERLAINE. BARTHOLD BRUCKES ERHEITERTE IHM. -/KOENIGLICHE HOHEIT-/ SEHR UMFANGREICH GEWORDEN. SOMMERHAUS IN BAD TOELZ#

Figure 5. Sample of retrieved letter records.

Figure 6. Sample of cross-reference supplying derived biographical data.

LAUFENDE NUMMER ART DER VORLAGE DATIERT ZUSAMMENFASSUNG	CO0580 ERMITTELT NOV 1908 REISE NACH WIEN (SIEHE CHRONIK, S. 30). 25. NOVEMBER--BESUCH BEI SCHNITZLER. ETWA 27. NOVEMBER MIT JAKOB WASSERMANN AUF DEM SEHMERING. ANFANG DEZEMBER--BESUCH BEI HUGO VON HOFMANNSTHAL IN REDAUN, LESUNG AUS -KÖNIGLICHE HOHEIT- /VGL. BRIEFE AN SAMUEL LUBLINSKI 6 DEZ 1908 UND AN ERNST BERTRAM 28 JAN 1910/†
LAUFENDE NUMMER ART DER VORLAGE DATIERT NOTIZBUCH ZUSAMMENFASSUNG	CO0410 NOTIZBUCH DEZ 1908 NOTIZBUCH 9, S. 54F† HOFMANNSTHAL BETRACHTET SICH OHNE WEITERES ALS EINE ART GOETHE. SYMPATHISCHES DABEI. GRÖßERE VERPFLICHTUNG, STRENGERES LEBEN†
LAUFENDE NUMMER ART DER VORLAGE DATIERT ADRESSE ORTABKUEZUNG AN INFORMATION VON ZUSAMMENFASSUNG	CO0581 BRIEF 6 DEZ 1908 FRANZ-JOSEPH-STR. 2† M† SAMUEL LUBLINSKI† BRIEFE 48-55, 454F† ARTIKEL LUBLINSKIS /CONRAD FERDINAND MEYER, SONNTAGSBEILAGE DER -VOSSISCHEN ZEITUNG,- 29 NOV 1908/. FUEHLT SICH /CONRAD FERDINAND/ MEYER INNERLICH VERWANDT. BRIEFWECHSEL MEYER-/GOTTFRIED/ KELLER. SEINE ARBEIT. BESUCH BEI /HUGO VON /HOFMANNSTHAL---EIN PRINZ-†
LAUFENDE NUMMER ART DER VORLAGE DATIERT ADRESSE ORTABKUEZUNG AN AUFBEWAHRUNGST ZUSAMMENFASSUNG	CO0716 POSTKARTE 27 DEZ 1908 FRANZ-JOSEF-STRASSE 2† M† HM† MARBACH† DIE KINDER AM WEIHNACHTSABEND. HOFMANNSTHAL HAT SEINE GEDICHTE GESCHICKT†
LAUFENDE NUMMER ART DER VORLAGE DATIERT NOTIZBUCH ZUSAMMENFASSUNG	CO0413 NOTIZBUCH JAN 1909 NOTIZBUCH 9, S. 61-63† NOTIZ ZU /-GEIST UND KUNST--/. TITEL DES KÜNSTLERS SOLL FUER DEN SCHRIFTSTELLER GEWAHRT WERDEN. ANTI-LITERATUR VON WAGNER HER. BERNUS ALS ABSCHRECKENDES BEISPIEL. DIE ZUTAT ROMANISCHEN BLUTES HABE I† UND HM DAVOR BEWAHRT. FUERCHTET DURCH PROTEST GEGEN ANTI-LITERATUR IN DIE ROLLE DES VOLKSSCHÜLLERERS ZU FALLEN, DER GEGEN MILITARISMUS PROTESTIERT. /MIT ANDERER TENDENZ VERWENDET IN -BETRACHTUNGEN,- XII, 553/†
LAUFENDE NUMMER ART DER VORLAGE DATIERT NOTIZBUCH ZUSAMMENFASSUNG	CO0412 NOTIZBUCH JAN 1909 NOTIZBUCH 9, S. 58† NOTIZ ZU /-GEIST UND KUNST--/. KEINE KUEZUNGEN BEI WAGNER MÖGLICH, DETAIL WICHTIG. DIES SEI MÖGLICH†

Figure 7. Sample of retrieved article and book review entries.

LAUFENDE NUMMER	000675
ART DER VORLAGE	ARTIKEL
DATIERT	12 MAI 1913
DATUM ZWEIFELHAFT	TAG FRAGLICH
	MEHRERE NACHDRUCKE, 5 SIND BEKANNT
	TEXT ALS REZE VERWENDET
VEROEIFENTLICHT	1 MAI 1913
ARTIKEL	-BEI FRIEDRICH HUCHS BESTATTUNG-*
INFORMATION VON	-SUEDEDEUTISCHE MONATSSHEFTE-. ZWEITDRUCK -DAS 27. JAHR. ALMANACH DES S. FISCHER VERLAGES,- 1913. DRITTER DRUCK -DER LESEZIRKEL,- ZUERICH, JAN. 1914. VIERTER DRUCK FRIEDRICH HUCH, -PITT UND FOX,- AB 1915. FUENFTER DRUCK EINLEITUNG, FRIEDRICH HUCH, -GESAMMELTE WERKE IN 4 BAENDEN,- 1925. NACHDRUCK X, 409FF*
ZUSAMMENFASSUNG	/BUERGIN -FRIEDRICH HUCH.- GESPROCHEN AM 15. MAI 1913./ NACHRUF FUER FRIEDRICH HUCH. DICHTER--SCHRIFTSTELLER. DEUTSCHE NATIONALEIGENTUEMLICHKEITEN. KOERPERLICHKEIT*
LAUFENDE NUMMER	000684
ART DER VORLAGE	BUCHBESPRECHUNG
DATIERT	SEP 1913
VEROEIFENTLICHT	MEHRERE NACHDRUCKE, 2 SIND BEKANNT
ARTIKEL	SEP 1913
INFORMATION VON	-VORWORT ZU DEM ROMAN EINES JUNGVERSTORBENEN-*
BUCHBESPRECHUNG	-SUEDEDEUTISCHE MONATSSHEFTE,- JG. 11, H. 2. ZWEITDRUCK ERICH VON MENDELSSOHN, -NACHT UND TAG,- ROMAN, 1914. NACHDRUCK X, 559FF*
ZUSAMMENFASSUNG	-NACHT UND TAG- VON ERICH VON MENDELSSOHN* /BUERGIN -VORWORT ZU EINEM ROMAN-/ AUTOBIOGRAPHIE. GOETHE -ANGEBORENE VERDIENSTE-. VON MENDELSSOHN UND SEIN BUCH. KOERPERFREUDIGKEIT. LEBEN UND TOD*
LAUFENDE NUMMER	000681
ART DER VORLAGE	ARTIKEL
DATIERT	MAI 1914
VEROEIFENTLICHT	MEHRERE NACHDRUCKE, 3 SIND BEKANNT
ARTIKEL	MAI 1914
INFORMATION VON	-UEBER EINE SZENE VON WEDEKIND-*
ZUSAMMENFASSUNG	-DER NEUE MERKUR,- MUENCHEN. ZWEITDRUCK -DAS WEDEKIND-BUCH,- HRSG. JOACHIM FRIEDENTHAL, 1914. DRITTER DRUCK -FRANK WEDEKIND, PROSA, DRAMEN, VERSE,- 1954. NACHDRUCK X, 70FF* /URSPRUENGLICHER TITEL -UEBER FRANK WEDEKIND-/ LEBER EINE SZENE AUS WEDEKINDS -MARQUIS VON KEITH.- WEDEKIND ALS SCHAUSPIELER. WEDEKIND TIEFER UND GEGUAELTER MENSCH*
LAUFENDE NUMMER	000953
ART DER VORLAGE	BRIEF
DATIERT	14 NOV 1914
ORTABKUERZUNG	MP*
AN	ALEXANDER ELIASBERG*
INFORMATION VON	BR. 89-36, 114*
ZUSAMMENFASSUNG	DANKT FUER GESCHENK, ELIASBERGS UEBERSETZUNG VON DIMITRI MERESCHKOWSKI, -EWIGE GEFAEHRTEN.- SYMPATHIE MIT RUSSLAND.*

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