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The Preparation of Biographical and Thematic Data for a Computerized Index to the Non-Fiction of Thomas Mann

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF Ph.D.

Thesis Director's signature

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INTRODUCTION

The Thomas Mann Project was initiated by Herbert Lehner as an outgrowth of the research and publication he has undertaken during the last ten years.¹ During this time Professor Lehner has 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 has 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. Lehner, although copies of the letters are located in

the Thomas Mann Archiv in Zürich. Information from his collection has been graciously supplied by Hans Waldmüller, Darmstadt; Georg Wenzel of the Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin has provided information from the unpublished letters, as had Gerhard Hay of the Schiller-Nationalmuseum. Richard Lemp of the Stadtbibliothek München has answered many requests for additional information; Hans Wysling of the Thomas Mann Archiv in Zürich has also assisted us generously. Hans-Otto Mayer, Düsseldorf, has kindly offered his assistance.

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 Data Processing Division of the Fondren Library, with an inquiry as to the feasibility of a computerized approach to his indexing problem.\(^2\) Through the Advanced Library Systems Project of the Fondren Library Lehnert was able to secure Ruecking's assistance.


\(^3\) 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 RICE Project, which plans to service libraries and industries of the Gulf Coast with electronically produced bibliographic information.
in preparing a computer program that could handle his needs. The Thomas Mann Project, as the resulting effort was named, has been supported by subgrants of the National Science Foundation Science Development Grant GU/1153.4

I. THE PURPOSE OF THE COMPUTERIZED INDEX AND THE METHOD OF PROCEDURE

The purpose of the computerized index is to 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. A critic like R. A. Nicholls, whose dissertation *Nietzsche in the Early Work of Thomas Mann* \(^1\) 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, because such material will be universally 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

Manne Schiller-Studien: Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung (Oslo, 1965), is a case in point.

Other purposes of the index include the thematical organization of material leading toward biographical studies. Lehnert has already made a trial use of the index as an aid to interpretative 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. 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, not only in Thomas Mann but in other authors as well, stimulates the imagination. The comparator might use this approach in dealing with a larger body of contemporary material. We envision 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, for the computer can provide a thoroughly cross-referenced guide to the sources and titles pertinent to such a project.

At the same time, however, we do not wish to be accused of setting a mechanical pattern for research. The accusation is conceivable, since our topic index, as a matter of convenience, creates 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."3 A student with a broader or a more specialized background, or another type of receptivity to the material, may well possess the unpredictable research interests suggested in Hazen's statement. 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.

In terms of subject matter our purpose is to incorporate eventually all the fiction into the index as well as related literature—memoirs, for example, like Viktor Mann's *Wir waren fünf*, and biographical studies. At present our goal is to complete the indexing of Thomas Mann's non-fictional material through the year of his death, 1955. The material upon which this dissertation is based includes only the non-fiction produced through the year 1914.

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 thrilling reading. But undoubtedly the actual drudgery of preparing the material has seemed so unglamorous that it has merited little attention. What little 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 such proceedings 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:


5 Gertrude Atherton's *Adventures of a Novelist* (New York, 1932) is one. Her subject was Alexander Hamilton.
...the force of science has fastened biography in a bear-hug—dangerous today, perhaps frightening for tomorrow. Science, wittingly or no, has pressed us—and 'us' includes biographers—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....The vast collecting of data by, let us say anthropology and by biography, the statistical measurements of sociology, garnering mass responses to experience, mass patterns of behavior, have stimulated a magpie competition in the weight, bulk, complexity of fact-compilation.6

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."7 His second rule was "'To index fully all the knowledge in

6P. 119f.

existence relating to [the subject] ...' Machinery can hardly carry out the work of the first rule—and in the tracking and the interviewing lies 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 your extracts from letters written or received; 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.' 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.

8 Ibid.
9 Ibid., p. 246.
The brilliant statement below not only recognizes the problem of mechanization that Kendall cites, but inspires through the challenge it offers to contemporary scholarship—that of understanding and then molding the material acquired:

The less people believe in theology the more do they believe in human experience. And it is to biography that they go for this experience. On the other hand, 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 a readable form. This dual demand throws a severe burden on the twentieth century biographer. To meet the interest in "scientific" biography he has to accumulate a vast amount of authentic material; to meet the concurrent desire for "literary" biography he has to produce this material in synthetic form. 10

If the nature of the technological machinery and the nature 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, seems as exciting and as promising of the adventures of the pioneer or the explorer.

The literature on computers and their uses has mushroomed since 1960. Yet, in checking the various indexes to this literature, I have been able to find no trace of an article dealing with an undertaking similar to the

Thomas Mann Project. 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 programming. 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 some of the more promising titles. However, the major emphasis is almost always on the improvement of machine-reading of texts and automatic indexing. The discussions of the thesaurus or authority list 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

11. The Dictionary of Names and Titles in Poe’s Collected Works (Da Capo Press, New York, June 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, pp. 2f.
opposite purpose. It seeks to compress various connota-
tions into a single authorized term that everyone must
use." In a sense, our topic index is performing both
tasks. To 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
mere 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), has provided many more useful references.

To proceed to the method used in our approach, I
shall first describe the material we work with in more
detail. The published letters provided the first exer-
cise in the preparation of material for the computer
index. For several reasons the letters in Thomas Mann:
Briefe 1889-1936, edited by Erika Mann, 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


13 (Frankfurt am Main, 1961). Volume III, Briefe 1948-
55 (1965), contains an additional section of letters
from this early period of Mann's life.
collection contains letters from such an early date. Second, Erika Mann has appended copious notes to all three of her letter volumes; although the accuracy of the notes to the first volume and the omissions in all the volumes have been deplored, they 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 touch-stone for the identification of similar occurrences of allusions in the unpublished, unedited letters. Fourth, even though Erika Mann is occasionally mistaken, her identification 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 has been. Her names index, which includes references to her notes as well as Mann's letters, also makes it easy to check whether or not a person has been previously identified.  

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

\[14\text{See, however, the criticism of Erika Mann's notes by Inge Jens (pertaining to vol. I), Betrachtungen und Überblicke (Berlin and Weimar, 1966), pp. 464ff; also that of Walter Jens (pertaining to vols. I and II), ibid., pp. 468, 472f; and that of Günter Blöcker (pertaining to vol. II), "Heroische Geduld," Merkur, XVII(1963), 1209.} \]
to Erika Mann's first volume is Thomas Mann-Heinrich Mann: Briefwechsel 1900–1949, published by the Deutsche Akademie der Künste zu Berlin in 1965 and edited by Ulrich Dietzel. Where he was able, Lehnert has supplied the deleted sentences concerning finan-cial 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 has suffered deletion at the hands of the above-mentioned editors. This is Heinrich Mann und Thomas Mann, edited by Alfred Kantorowicz. 15

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. 16 Both Ulrich Dietzel and Inge Jens include name indexes that have been most useful in the proper identification of persons.

I have worked with the essays chronologically and have kept my reading of them 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. 17 Early theater reviews like "Ibsen's 'Baumeister Solness'" or "'Das Sonntagskind' von Karl Millöcker," written for Der Frühlingssturm under the pen-name of Paul Thomas, we have not been

15 Published by the Deutsche Akademie der Künste zu Berlin, 1956.
16 (Pfullingen, 1960).
17 Frankfurt am Main.
able to see, as the material is lost.\textsuperscript{18} Lehnert was able to obtain copies of the early book reviews that appeared in 1895 and 1896 in \textit{Das Zwanzigste Jahrhundert}, such as \textit{Ze Garten: Ein deutscher Sang am Gardasee} (1895) by Karl Habermann; "Ein nationaler Dichter," the review of the book \textit{Vom Gibraltar nach Moskau} (1894) by Karl Weiss; or the early discussion of the role of the critic in the article "Kritik und Schaffen von Hans Brennert." An extremely helpful guide has been provided by Hans Bürgin—\textit{Das Werk Thomas Manns: Eine Bibliographie},\textsuperscript{19} although the \textit{Gesammelte Werke}, currently preferred for scholarly use, appeared a year later. One of Bürgin's co-workers, Erich Neumann, has expanded and continued the bibliography in his contribution to \textit{Betrachtungen und Überblicke: Zum Werk Thomas Manns}, the first volume of a biannual 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 \textit{Rede und Antwort},\textsuperscript{20} we have compared both the text of the 1960 edition of the \textit{Gesammelte Werke} and the original printing from 1908.\textsuperscript{21} One portion had already appeared

\begin{flushright}

\textsuperscript{19}S. Fischer Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 1959.

\textsuperscript{20}\textit{Gesammelte Abhandlungen und kleine Aufsätze}, the 1922 edition of the essays and articles (Berlin).

\textsuperscript{21}Originally in two installments: \textit{Nord und Süd}, XXXII (January/February 1908), 116-119, 259-290.
\end{flushright}
as an independent essay in 1907, "Das Theater als Tempel." 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 a developing writer from the professional and intellectual point of view as well as the social and familial aspect.

The unpublished notebooks have presented another problem. 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 therefore 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

\[22\] Morgen, Berlin, I (July 26, 1907), 214-217.

\[23\] 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.
indexes we have 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.

We have also worked with the unpublished letters as nearly concurrently as possible, but 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—are helpful in making proper identifications for references and allusions in the unedited letters. Of course, the unedited letters have 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 Bürgin and Hans-Otto Maber.\(^{24}\) Occasionally, too, they have had access to a letter that Lehnert has not seen.

\(^{24}\) S. Fischer Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 1965.
Other material by Mann which we have indexed includes the dedications of his works, such as those to relatives and to those early acquaintances he deemed most likely to appreciate such a remembrance. We also included the notation of the extant papalipomemata to published works, fiction or non-fiction, as a fact of biography. We have not yet analysed the fiction for indexing. Interviews will be indexed as they occur chronologically. Certain sources close to Mann have also provided additional biographical data, the memoirs of those intimately associated with Mann, for example. Viktor Mann's *Wir waren fünf*,²⁵ Kurt Martens' *Schonunglose Lebenschronik*,²⁶ and Korff Holm's *ich--kleingeschrieben; heitere Erlebnisse eines Verlegers*,²⁷ 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, because he unwittingly served as the physical model for Spinell in Mann's story "Tristan," felt himself considerably maligned and insulted.²⁸

²⁵ *op.cit.*

²⁶ *Wien*, 1921-1924. Martens, at home in München and Dresden, was at first the better known of the two writers.

²⁷ *München*, 1932. Holm worked with the *Albert Langen Verlag* in München as an editor.

²⁸ *Berlin*, 1924, pp. 219ff.
Documents which are not written by Thomas Mann but which afford precise biographical information are also indexed. For example, we have made an entry for the invitation to contribute toward a gift for Frank Wedekind on the occasion of his fiftieth birthday, which was endorsed among others by Thomas Mann.

This material, then, has 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 has become a routine portion of my procedure; I have endeavored to keep my reading of the contemporaneous fiction as concurrent as possible with my work in the non-fiction. This method has proved particularly fruitful with such works as Buddenbrooks, Königliche Hoheit, the drama Florenza, and some of the short stories like "Tonio Kröger," and "Der Tod in Venedig." Such works, 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, make the correlation of the 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.

Most interesting are also the many notation from contemporary life, including those about his relatives, intended at the time for the projected *Maja* novel and which are 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 "*turris fortissima nome 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.29

29 The "'alte' Stadtschloß;"(II, 45).
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 the king in Schiller's Don Carlos. Other illustrative passages would include Thomas Maddenbrook's impassioned consumption of Schopenhauer, or Späth's enraptured, ecstatic enjoyment of Wagner in the story "Tristan." The use of real people as models for Mann's fictional characters is a variation of this technique. The modelling of Herr Peeperkorn in Der Zauberberg, at least in part, after Gerhart Hauptmann has often been cited. In the correspondence Mann speaks of his infatuation with the personality of Gerhart Hauptmann, 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.


31 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).
Topics of interest to Mann can occur in a sometimes startlingly autobiographical manner in the 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's is confirmed by Mann's references to himself as Tonio Kröger in a letter after the short story became familiar to his family and friends.\(^{32}\) This fact 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, probably until his involvement with Katja Pringsheim.

The matter of the language to be used in our index was considered carefully from the beginning of our work. 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 most of the foreign literature that drew his interest in translation. Both the correspondence 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*

\(^{32}\) E.g., to Paul and Carl Ehrenberg, February 8, 1903 (*Bräße 1948-55*, p. 442).
This means that purely practical reasons make it much easier to leave the material in German and to index it as it is. The formulation of topic headings in German seems 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 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 we have had to include such a category within our classification system of the references to his own work. We have permitted ourselves one deviation from the exclusive use of German: where feasible, i.e., French and English particularly, we have used the original title of works by foreign authors in order to facilitate their recognition by the student. We do not attempt to include quotations in the original language in our abstracts, unless, of course, Mann quoted them in the original, which happens in some instances with French.

The report form itself, which will be described in further detail below and which is used to organize our information for the key-puncher, 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 correlation of multi-lingual topic terminology will present a challenge!

The indexing procedure as we now go about it, grew out of consultation with Frederick Ruecking, the programmer. The development of several separate indexes stems from the necessity of programing 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 the 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 have 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., discussions of Mann himself as an artist or as a writer, as an isolated individual or as a citizen, etc. 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 types—the autobiographical and the general topics—as they were nebulously so thought of, were merged into one—a topic index. Where topics clearly analyze Mann himself, we have subordinated them to the main heading, "Selbstverständnis," e.g., "Selbstverständnis als Künstler" with a sub-topic like "Einflüsse." Verifiable biographical fact was then kept entirely separate, although a topic reference to the nature of the fact is also made to indicate the presence of information or discussion pertaining to such a topic in a specific writing. The verifiable fact itself is recorded as an abstract, i.e., it appears immediately with an item's date, when a specific item is requested by date. 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 has not been published, the abstract is more detailed.
However, the field provided by the computer program for
the abstract is also used to record a fact of biography.
These biographical facts are also ordered by date. Thus
the computerized index as a whole is programmed for two
main functions: 1) to provide verifiable biographical
information by date, and 2) to provide access to the
writings by date, these works also possibly providing
essential biographical material. The topic index serves
then as a subject index to a file of biographical infor-
mation and essayistic references.

The handling of the notebooks presented a problem
peculiar to their nature, i.e., they represent, for the
most part, material collected over several years' time.
Dating such material can only be approximate. And since
they consist largely of heterogeneous notations, quota-
tions, ideas and sketches, it was not at first clear how
we were going to handle them. At first it seemed neces-
sary 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
we decided to make abstracts of it. This procedure, in
many instances, seemed haphazard. Therefore we organized
the material 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 materials, 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 portion of this dissertation. Here I shall by-pass indexing problems and go on to the next step in our procedure, that which follows the actual preparation of the material for the report form.

Before the abstracted and indexed material is transferred to the report form in preparation for the key-punching operation, we check our hand-written 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, we have to spell out umlauts, i.e., "ë" becomes "ae," etc., because the available print chains do not show this German dia-critical mark. Neither are they equipped with the "ß," which is therefore spelled out as "ss."

The wording of the abstract is a major concern. We want to be concise, yet we do 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 concern where unpublished letters are concerned—must indicate a diversity of content. Abstracts of the essays and the articles, however, although they may be longer, can be stated more succinctly, because an essay is usually organized about a specific topic.
The decision concerning the relevance or non-relevance of material carries important implications for the usefulness of our abstracts. We do not wish to supplant the index user's own reading of the Mann material. Therefore we feel completely justified in being as brief as possible. On the other hand, we want 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 plays an important role in the preparation of the abstract, as it does 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 have not concerned ourselves with the book indexer's task of providing page references, this additional guide 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 like ours is the fact that concepts change and grow, sometimes making the adequacy of a term used for material from the early years inadequate later. Also, if we subdivide topics, the main heading must still be easily located.

In addition to consistency in terminology, we also watch for consistency in our 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 Mr. Ruecking has assured us that such failure can be reduced to a very slight probability.

Once we have completed the proof-reading we are ready to transfer the hand-written notations for each item to a report form (Figure 1), using one or more for each separate item. The information from our notecards is transferred to the report form in two ways. First, at the top of the sheet there is provided a series of spaces for information of a fixed length. For the most part a check mark, a number, or a code letter 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
Figure 1

THOMAS MANN INDEX
Report Form

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tag Scheme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Identification</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addressee 110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Essay 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notebook 130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memo 150</td>
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<tr>
<td>S. Story 160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Novel 170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drama 180</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tag</th>
<th>TYPE</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>TEXT</th>
<th>VALUE</th>
<th>PRINT</th>
<th>VARIA</th>
<th>PUBL.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>000</td>
<td>LUST</td>
<td>SPEECH</td>
<td>REPEETIONS</td>
<td>PUBLISHING</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 01 | PLACE NAME HERE (50) PLACE ADDRESS HERE (90) |

999
right, below) of the English word:

A Article  Artikel
B Book review Buchbesprechung
C Document Dokument
D Essay Essay
E Fiction Fiktion
G Paralipomena, non-fiction
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 we give the source of this dated information. It is not a cross-reference in this sense of a "see" reference. 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 in the case of items reprinted often), 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, 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 frequently 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 cannot 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 is lost. Another space indicates whether the text was used as a speech. The space following provides for the number of repetitions, up to ten.

The remainder of the information is transferred onto lines provided for material of a variable length. On the newer form prepared in January 1968, the code numbers for the various indexes and their categories appear above
the lined spaces, rather than to the side, 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 and retrieval of the information. The number code assigned to the various categories of information to be transferred to the report form is necessary to machine storage and search. The present report form is actually the result of a complete revision of the computer program. Mr. Ruecking has changed the program from an IBM 7040 to a 1401 computer, because the coding of text by character proved more suitable. The code numbers on the new 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 now 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. The most references to Mann's own work, in the material I am dealing with up to 1914, come under this category. Thus its subdivisions are the most numerous. The seven subdivisions are as
follows below, the computer output giving the German equivalent to the right:

410 Idea
420 Material
430 Source
440 Plan
450 Progress
460 Publication
470 Preprint

Idea
Stoff
Quelle
Plan
Fortschritt
Verlag
Vorabdruck

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

510 Reception
520 Performance
530 Reading
540 Translation
550 Reprint

Aufnahme
Aufführung
Vorlesung
Übersetzung
Nachdruck

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

610 Self-quote
620 Echo
630 Interpretation

Selbstzitat
Echo
Interpretation

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

The other indexes have been 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 docu-
mentation.

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 have
differentiated between "article" and "essay," because
we feel the word "essay" in Thomas Mann denotes a major
effort to come to grips with a gnawing problem; an
essay of Mann's usually represents his most passionate
thinking, e.g., "Versuch über das Theater" or "Gedanken
im Kriege." Articles arose for him, it seems, more at
the spur of the moment, e.g., 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." 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

34 Literarisches Echo, Berlin, IX(October 15, 1906),
col. 114-115 (Bürgein V, 42).
Although Mann wrote only one drama, Florenza was nevertheless a work of great significance to him during the first half of his life. Therefore I feel justified in using a separate subdivision 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 Evers from 1909, which verifies Mann's own claims to having been a very indifferent scholar in secondary school.35

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

35From an excerpt of the letter in Auktionskatalog 154, November 16/17, 1967; the auction was held by Dr. Ernst Hauswedell, Hamburg.
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 have 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 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. I had 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. I have to admit that my first attempt filled neither bill 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 fiction, Aus einer kleinen Garnison, caused a legal battle over the efficacy of fictional portraits drawn from real life. Mann himself was almost drawn into court as a witness. The prosecution insulted Mann by naming Buddenbrooks and Aus einer kleinen Garnison in the same breath. Such cumbry 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 "Wälzungsblut," whose twin protagonists resembled Klaus and Katja Pringsheim physically, undoubtedly provided additional stimulus. The article first appeared in the Münchener Neue Nachrichten on February 15 and 16, 1906. The foreword to the edition printed immediately thereafter in München by E. W. Bonsels is dated February 17, 1906. In 1910 a second edition was printed for which Mann changed 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 more clear: "[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. The names, however, do appear in the name index; the final formulation was 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 quotable phrases appealed to me, but they are really unnecessary, especially since the essay has been reprinted and is easily accessible. The final formulation reads 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 import allusion to "Wälsungenblut," which was to have appeared in the Neue Rundschau in January 1906. Mann chose to withdraw this story at the last moment; for the head of the Pringsheim family, it was too clearly a product of the Bilse-technique.\textsuperscript{38} From Mann's words at the conclusion of the foreword,..."repräsentativ zu sein....Es ist das strenge Glück der Fürsten und Dichter," I originally failed to note the allusion to Königliche Hoheit, whose fairy-tale quality owes to Mann's happiness in his marriage of 1905 to Katja Pringsheim, although the novel title occurs as early as the summer of 1903.\textsuperscript{39} From the main body of the essay itself, on second examination, the reference to Buddenbrooks and Lübeck as biographically significant was caught. 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 such reference is an allusion to or an echoing in language of a passage in "Tonio Kröger":

\textsuperscript{38} See Bürgin's note in the Bibliographie: V, 40.

\textsuperscript{39} Hans Wysling, "Die Fragmente zu Thomas Manns Fürsten-Novelle: Zur Urhandschrift der 'Königliche Hoheit,'" Quellenkritische Studien zum Werk Thomas Manns (Bern and München, 1967), p. 64.
Der Künstler dieser Art nämlich...will erkennen und gestalten: tief erkennen und schön gestalten; und das geduldige und stolze Ertragen der Schmerzen, die von beidem unzertrennlich sind, gibt seinem Leben die sittliche Weihe. Weiß man um diese Schmerzen? 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. Daß aber auch die Erkenntnis, jene künstlerische Erkenntnis, die man gemeinhin als 'Beobachtung' bezeichnet, wehe tut--weiß man auch das? (X, 19)

The thought, in an altered and highly polished form also occurs in "Tod in Venedig" (VIII, 453). Here in the abstract we note only the pages in question: X, 19, from "Bilse und ich" and VIII, 300, from "Tonio Kröger"; the reference to "Tod in Venedig" is made in the work index as "idea." The page numbers refer to the S. Fischer Gesammelte Werke of 1960. "Bilse und ich" and "Tonio Kröger" are also entered in the work index, subdivision 660.

While wrestling with the abstract for the essay "Bilse und ich," I first came to truly appreciate the nature of the task. I had at first read much too closely, 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. This essay provides several illustrative examples in the following discussions.
II. THE CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX

Much like the indexing of a bibliography, it was early obvious that our procedure would require several separate indexes. The indexes we have prepared then include 1) a work index; 2) a guide to the persons Mann mentions, with their works, if named or alluded to; and 3) a topic or subject index. A remaining index, albeit less obvious, is 4) the very important chronological ordering of both the items of non-fiction to which we have had access and known or deduced biographical data.

This chronological index seemed the easiest means of filing all the items we have examined and indexed. For certain items, however, a good deal of investigation is necessary before an intelligent conjecture can be made as to the date. Such items include, above all, 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; yet often the date of its writing is difficult to deduce. "Versuch über das Theater," for example, did not appear until January and February of 1908. The writing, however, began in February of 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" (Morgen, Berlin, July 26, 1907). The question's importance for Mann is thus witnessed by his giving up valuable time during the year 1907 from the writing of Königliche Hohheit.

The statement in "Mitteilung an die 'Literaturhistorische 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 the commencement of the writing procedure.

The filing of a less precise date such as that described above demands special consideration. We of course want the index user to be aware of the item or data and yet we cannot pinpoint it exactly in time. Consequently a work which we know was written sometime during the month of May will be filed under "Maïs" i.e.,

1 Bürgin-Mayer, Chronik, p. 29.
2 Bürgin, Bibliographie, V, 51.
3 In Mitteilungen der Literaturhistorischen Gesellschaft Bonn, II(1907); quoted from Gesammelte Werke, XI, 74 ff.
at the beginning of the entries for May, even before an entry dated exactly May 1. Such filing we hope will bring the item to the attention of the index user when he is interested in that time period. If we have an indication that an item was written during the summer of a given year, such an entry, labeled "Sommer 1907," is filed under each of the three months most closely corresponding to this time period, i.e., June, July, and August. Whether one searches a time period like 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 their presence or occurrence within and possibly outside the time span being searched. A curious item from Notizbuch 9 (p. 4lf.) may serve as an example. The material surrounding the entry, ideas relating to "Versuch über das Theater," has 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 or can do nothing else. There is a similarity, between this letter and the one written by Rainer Maria Rilke to Franz Xaver Kappus on February 17, 1903. Yet after considerable bibliographical searching, I cannot 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 notebook at a later date. How probable this conjecture is would be difficult to say without a closer look at the notebook itself. Items which cover more than one year, like an unpublished *curriculum vitae* for the years 1910-1912, are entered in detail as a "1910" entry, and again with a "see" reference at the head of "1911" and "1912" entries.

Dates mentioned by Mann himself generate still other procedures. 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-Mayer *Chronik*. Less easily dealt with are plans for future events. Sometimes there is no evidence that the event took place as planned or not. Such an event might be a dinner, for example, to which Mann issued written invitations, 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. If we can verify Mann's attendance at the play, we make 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 is not verified, we do not make a separate entry, but simply note 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, we indicate the absence of verification but do not enter the activity under its planned date. The computer program 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.

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 one can gain access concerns in one way or another Mann's own production. It seems, perhaps more than for some writers, that Mann's works weighed heavily in his thoughts and that this preoccupation with his works compensated to some extent in his mind for the non-bourgeois freedom he enjoyed as a financially independent artist. Several lines from Mann's brief Wordsworthian self-portrait in unrhymed hexameter illustrate the point:

...Gesteh' ich's, manch schönes Gelingen Krönte mein Mühen um deutsches Wort, und ebengeboren Dünkt' ich mich manchem Sänger an Künstlerwürde und -wissen. 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 of course 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.

¹"Gesang vom Kindchen," VIII, 1068.
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 quickly, 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.

About the time we were developing still other categories and were running into the tag number of the next index, the name index, Mr. Ruecking began the preparation of a new program, which made the subdivision of the various indexes much simpler, at the same time providing much more room for expansion. The new tag system, in three digits, made possible the reorganization of the above-cited aspects of reference into three general areas. The tag number "400" of the new program deals with work development and includes seven categories:
idea, material, source, plan, progress, publication, and preprint. The tag number "500" provides five categories referring to completed works: reception, performance, reading, translation, and reprint. The three categories within "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 subdivisions the round figure tags the mere mentioning of a work—"400," for example, a work in development. 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 through the arrangements for publication, until the finished work appears in print. Under the subdivision idea we include only the mentions of possibilities for development 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 regarded with high seriousness. The letter also discusses a new volume of short stories, with "Königliche

\(^2\) The text has not been published; the original is located at Marbach.
Hoheit" planned as the principal item. Regardless of 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. Such a reference is indexed under plan, as are 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 index this reference under progress. Any references to Mann's problems with or achievements in completing a work are indexed as progress. Also in this same letter Mann tells his brother that he is writing an article concerning "Erfindung"—invention—and "Beseelung"—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 place the title in brackets (the computer uses slashes) and index this reference under progress.

Another letter, addressed to Kurt Martens, one of Mann's closest friends during the early years of his career, 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

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3 Erika Mann, Briefe 1889-1936, p. 440, footnote 1 to this letter.
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." With these words we realize that Mann must be speaking of Königliche Hoheit. But the novel is not finished and was not finished until thirteen months later, i.e., February 13, 1909. Consequently we consider the remark as material (as well as reading), indexing the novel, again in brackets, under this category. The material is obviously biographically significant; so that 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 do not yet consider it interpretation. That he uses self-analysis as material for his hero, Prinz Klaus Heinrich, is important.

Mann gleans much of his material from his own and his family's experience. His sister Carla's suicide or characteristics of his sister Julia early found their way into his notebooks, as material for his projected Maja novel, later used as material for the characters in Dr. Faustus. The material cited from the letter to

\(^4\) Briefe 1889-1936, p. 71.
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 above. Such an identification, after the completion of the work in question, we index 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 have we used the category source in indexing a work for the time period up to 1914. As a source I would designate 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. For the most part, I would say that the description of an item of another author as a source is at least fifty percent conjecture. Wherever we are uncertain we indicate it by placing a question mark beside the work of Mann's involved. Yet I believe the category has validity. It at least indicates to the index user that the item from another author in question is the one antedating Mann's work that is most nearly the source that may have contributed to the 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 1910\(^5\) 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.\(^6\) 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* (trans. Carl von Gütschow; Leipzig, 1903).\(^7\) In the same letter Mann says of Mereschkowski's Goethe essay: "Und zuweilen, wo der Gegenstand es mit sich bringt, wie bei Goethe,


\(^6\)Briefe 1889-1936, p. 114.

\(^7\)IX, 590ff.
hat diese Erkenntnis etwas Übergästiges, etwas Mystisch-leibliches, --worüber fast nicht zu sprechen ist, aber schon in seiner großen Tolstoi-Analyse, früher, war Ähnliches, --wie ich denn glaube, daß Goethe und Tolstoi, die er zwar als Gegensätze sieht, mehr Gemeinsames haben, als Goethe und der unleibliche, unfleischliche Dostojewski." The letter was written during the month that the "Gedanken im Kriege" were published, November, 1914.  
In September he had written "Friedrich und die große Koalition." The ideas and emotions later expanded in Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen were at the boiling point. The essay, "Goethe und Tolstoi," while not begun until 1921, reflects a great deal of Mann's passionate feeling about German culture, here invoked for its own sake, Mann's "unpolitical" feelings having cooled and 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 Fortsetzung bildet." The letter to Eliasberg, in consideration of the development of Mann's production as sketched above, indicates clearly, I feel, the Mereschkowski work as an important source for the "Goethe und Tolstoi" essay.

8 Die Neue Rundschau, XXV(1914), 1471-1484.
9 Briefe 1889-1936, p. 207; quoted in the Bürgin-Mayer Chronik, p. 60.
A final example will illustrate how tentative the categories \textit{idea}, \textit{source} and \textit{material} can be. In a postcard written on November 30, 1901, to Kurt Martens,\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Felix Krull} here was classified as \textit{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—\textit{Ein Fürst der Diebe: Memoiren} and \textit{Gescheitert: Aus dem Seelenleben eines Verbrechers}—both by Georges Manolescu, both appearing in German in 1905. Mann does not mention the author in any extent, published writing until September 1913, in the "Vorwort zu dem Roman eines Jungverstorbenen," and here only as an example of "eine Hochflut neuendierter Memoiren und Briebsammlungen [die] den Markt überschwemmt."\textsuperscript{11} Otherwise Manolescu's work is mentioned only in the notesheets dated 1910. Wysling speaks of material taken from Manolescu, recorded in \textit{Notizbuch 7}, which he says was begun in 1901, and transferred to \textit{Notizbuch 9} in 1906.\textsuperscript{12} "Beide Einträge zeigen deutlich, wie Thomas Mann beginnt, autobiographische...

\textsuperscript{10} Unpublished; located at the \textit{Stadtbibliothek München}.

\textsuperscript{11} Süddeutsche Monatshefte, November 1913; reprinted X, 55ff.; quote, p. 560.

Züge mit den Hochstaplererinnerungen Manolescus zu vereinen..." Because of this evidence of 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. The actual origination process itself will undoubtedly remain a mystery.

The category of publication is, on the other hand, fairly clean-cut. Under this heading we only index references to Mann's dealings and arrangements with a publisher about the printing of the work in question.

13 Ibid., p. 237.

14 Compare, however, Lehnert, Thomas Mann--Fiktion, Mythos, Religion (Stuttgart, 1965), p. 235, footnote 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 Mann's Pläne zur Fortsetzung des 'Krull,'" (Fischer Almanach, 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.
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*—"Der einzige richtige Ort dafür." This particular comment might well be indexed under interpretation, but since the story is not yet completed and 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 *Florenza* 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. "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 Literarhistoriker 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

16 Unpublished; located at Princeton University in the Caroline Newton Collection.
empfinden." Beyond the details of publication, the passage suggests a relationship with the publisher that is significant biographically.

Occasionally the category preprint is 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, Mann announces the fragment ("Der Theaterbesuch"), which was printed in the S. 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 indexes references to completed works. The "500" tag alone indicates a mere mentioning of a completed work. The majority of the references, however, are made 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.


18 Unpublished; located at Princeton University in the Caroline Newton Collection.
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 Florenza 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 antedote 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 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 zurückkehrt 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


20 Ibid., p. 15f.
is deeply moved by Bab's review of *Fiorenza* and regrets that Bab had so modestly published in such a little read paper. The discussions of both "Der Tod in Venedig" and *Fiorenza* mentioned here are indexed as reception. In a later 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." Here I have indexed the work 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. Thus the reception category also takes on obvious biographical significance.

**Performance**, as stated before, indexes appropriate remarks made concerning the staging of *Fiorenza*. The most of these seem to concern delay or postponement and then the displeasure of Mann as well as 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,

21 Frank, *Germanic Review*. The identity of the journal Mann refers to is unknown to me.

sometimes more, index entries. Here Mann's own interpretation affects the actual production, particularly the casting:

Ich war neulich zu einer Probe in Berlin. Schön wird es nicht. Winterstein, der Regisseur, so sympathisch und interessiert er ist, reicht geistig nicht aus; die Striche—notwendig an sich und zwar in ausgiebigem Maß, sind allzu oft falsch angebracht, nämlich so, daß sie den Sinn des Stückes beinahe auslöschen. Was gebracht wird, ist meistens nicht das Entscheidende, und so wird z.B. die Auseinandersetzung zwischen Lorenzo und Savonarola dünn und enttäuschend wirken. Ich habe Einiges zu retten versucht, glaube aber nicht, daß man auf mich hört. Übrigens war kaum noch etwas zu bessern: die Anlage der Aufführung schien mir irrtümlich, schleppend, realistisch-langwierig, ungefaßt. Der Kultus der Geste herrscht, während der des Wortes herrschen sollte. Man hat das Ding seiner Sphäre entzogen 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

This 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

²³ Briefe 1889-1936, p. 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,
The reading category refers to readings before literary societies that Mann gave himself, although occasionally someone else gave the reading. Much of Mann's travel in the first decade of his popularity is devoted to just such reading. One performance, in Basel toward the end of January 1906, is interesting for the additional related remarks. Thomas Mann had finished *Florenza* 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 *Florenza* 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. 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 *Florenza* in Basel, asserting that "das Repräsentieren" is a source of amusement for him.

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...
began to work seriously on Königliche Hohheit, 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 relationship 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 ergeben lassen müssen, war ich von Ihrer Analyse so ergriffen, daß die Thränen momentweise nicht mehr sehr fest saßen. Sie sind...neben Hofmannsthäl der Einzige, der bisher des konstruktiven Elementes inne wurde, das doch gerade die neue Ambition des Romans ist."  

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

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27To Ernst Bertram, January 28, 1910 (Briefe 1889-1936, p. 81).
Hungarian, 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 have also indexed it as publication. The item itself is 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

28 Translations were also beginning to appear in Dutch, Polish, and Russian. See the Bürgin Bibliographie, section IV.
süßführt..."  

The third main division of the work index has expanded the most rapidly. Rather, because of this expansion, we felt it 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. The self-quote and echo categories developed 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 has the tendency to employ happy formulations of an idea repeatedly and verbatim in letters to his various correspondents. In such instances we try to refer the reader to the other letters in which the same formulation occurs. As an illustration, the letter to Ernst Bertzam dated October 21, 1912, speaks movingly for the great amount of self-exposure Mann wove into "Der Tod in Venedig." The last paragraph seems nearly to beg for the sort of intelligent appraisal Mann

found in Bertram's review of *Königliche Hoheit*:

"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 zeitigt auch das Absurde und Unerlaubte...' und ich bin noch heute völlig ohne eigenes Urteil." 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. Mann's uncertainty about the reception of the story itself is lent a somewhat exotic flavor, though nonetheless genuine anxiety, through the self-quotation. However, the passage quoted below for comparison, eschewing the details of Aschenbach's singular experiences, like the old fop on board the steamer and the mysterious gondolier, analyzes the state of mind of the silent, lonely observer:

Die Beobachtungen und Begebenisse des Einsammens Stummens sind zugleich verschwommener und eindringlicher als die des Geselligen, seine Gedanken schwerer, wunderlicher und nie ohne einen Anflug von Traurigkeit. Bilder und Wahrnehmungen, die mit einem Blick, einem Lachen, einem Urteilsaustausch leichthin abzutun wären, beschäftigen ihn über Gebühr, vertiefen sich.


31 Thomas Mann an Ernst Bertram, p. 12.
im Schweigen, werden bedeutsam, Erlebnis, Abenteuer, Gefühl. Einsamkeit zeitigt das Originale, das gewagt und befremdend Schöne, das Gedicht. Einsamkeit zeitigt aber auch das Verkehrte, das Unverhältnismaßige, das Absurde und Unerlaubte. (VIII, 468)

The echo category attempts to refer the index user to a published work where an idea or a discussion took much the same form as it does in the item at hand, i.e., 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 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 its richness in life. In addition to being a bit of a Naturalist, Holm also tried his hand at comedy, and Mann's letter turns to vignettes of the theater in Berlin and München, his primary experience being Max Reinhardt, as mentioned above. Mann concludes, however, that the novel takes precedence over the theater. The echo here is of Mann's essay "Versuch über das Theater." As Mann does not mention the essay itself, we set the title in brackets and index it under the category echo.

32 The letter is located at the Stadtbibliothek München.
33 "Hundestage" (Lustspiel), 1911; "Marys großes Herz" (Komödie), 1912.
34 X, 27-35.
An additional word about the evolution of these categories is in place. 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, most saliently in the non-fiction. 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 are not dealing with the really creative material—the fiction—at the present, 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, etc. The re-use 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 that..."das Buch ist nicht so gut, wie der Aufsatz, der sich darüber schreiben ließe." "Geist" is a requirement--i.e., 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 the Neue Rundschau. Königliche Hoheit is "fest verwebt und verzahnt." The serialization, he feels, destroyed the necessary rapport that uninterrupted reading could produce.37

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


37 Mann published his feelings on the serialization
Mann's interpretative commentary, referring often to his fictionalization of his own dilemmas, is also tightly meshed with his own self-understanding, as is illustrated by a brief interpretative 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 over-disciplined author-critic who lapses into decadence--the necessity for a rapport with the reading public can be appreciated. To Bertram he continues: "Auf jeden Fall

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):

...der Aufsatz [hatte] im Zeitungseuilleron notge-
drungen in zwei Partien erscheinen müssen, was seine überzeugende Wirkung sicher beeinträchtigt hatte. In der vierundzwanzigstündigen Pause hatte man Zeit gehabt, Einwände gegen die erste 'Hälfte' zu erheben, bevor man mich zu Ende gehört; und dann hatte man die zweite 'Hälfte' wiederum als ein Ding für sich genommen und sie zu persönlich und zu pathetisch gefunden. Aber der Artikel ist nicht in zwei 'Hälften,' er ist als ein sich steigerndes Ganzes gedacht, denn keine Unter-
brechung frommt, bevor nicht sein letztes Wort seine Wirkung getan; und so erschien es mir wünschenswert, ja, vielleicht auch 'der Mühe' wert, ihm dem Publikum noch einmal im Zusammenhang vorzulegen. (X, 9)
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."38

Possibly we will later want to add the category filming. In that event it 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 index it by its title with the addition of the identification, e.g., Der kleine Herr Friedemann—Novellenband. Because it is programmed to do so, the computer supplies the names of the additional short stories in the collection whenever the item occurs in output. 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 Hungernden: Eine Studie" and "Das Eisenbahnnunglück."

The description of the work index, as it now stands,

38 Thomas Mann an Ernst Bertram, p. 15.
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 have 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, like 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 interpretation 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.
IV. THE NAME INDEX

The name index attempts to indicate all the references Mann makes to persons, whether he names them specifically or simply alludes to them. We do not alphabetize the material we prepare as input, although we do place the last name first in the construction of this index. Our aim is 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, in our project it does not read the text itself. Therefore, our procedure is one of finding and identifying names for the index. If one asks for a reproduction 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 use—the Fischer Gesammelte Werke (1960). This edition will also be superseded. Second, and very importantly as a counter-argument to those who fear the mechanization of humanistic territory, we do 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 wish to indicate information that we have to supply—sometimes a first name, sometimes a last name, the name of a work or its date, and so on. Since we feel the abstract should not be cluttered pedantically with a great many brackets, we indicate all supplied information in the traditional way in the indexes. Beyond the matter of academic scrupulosity, it is essential to indicate deductions we make regarding a name or a work. 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 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 are quite uncertain, we have added a question mark. Where no information can be found, we simply leave a blank space with a question mark.

Within the Mann family itself we have 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 is used in search. We have 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 enter simply:

Pringsheim, Familie.

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

Mann, Heinrich—"Die Schauspielerin."

With the new program we can keep all such entries in the order of their appearance in the text, because we now use a new line on the report form for each separate index entry. 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 use parentheses to enclose the date of publication, where we feel the index user might otherwise have difficulty in locating information about the work without it, or we sometimes include the nature or the genre of the work in question, if we feel it is not well-known enough:

Hesse, Hermann—"Lulu" (Gedicht).

Works whose authors or creators cannot be found are indexed by title; no attempt is made to prepare them for an alphabetical search. Two such instances occur
in the essay "Süßer Schlaf" (1909). Mann mentions two paintings, "C'est Lui?" (XI, 339) and "Marche à l'étoile" (XI, 336); the first hung in his own bedroom. The painters are unknown to me; the two works are 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 often Mann 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 attempt to indicate in the name index, by making separate entries, that these separate discussions exist? Without the index's becoming overburdened with multiple entries, we cannot indulge in this sort of detailed indexing. 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 mentioning 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.

The research aspect of the name index is often more difficult. As aids to the identification of well-known contemporaries or authorities of one sort or another, three reference works have been especially helpful: 
Kürschners Deutscher Literaturkalender (Berlin, 1878-1967), Der große Brockhaus (Leipzig, 1928 edition), and Meyers großes Konversations-Lexikon (Leipzig and Wien, 1908 edition). Kürschners Deutscher Literaturkalender is especially helpful (for persons with academic title) where a first name needs to be supplied, and where address and/or professional experience are additional aids to identification. Personal friends and acquaintances are the most difficult and where they are not 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 da-stehen 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 just 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 have attempted to discover her first name. Mann does not often do this, and I have 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 has been the Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie (Leipzig, 1875-1912); another is 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 Stadt-
bibliothek München—Handschriften-Sammlung.

¹Briefe 1889-1936, p. 37.

²An unpublished postcard dated August 28, 1903, and a letter dated February 16, 1904, addressed to Eugen Kalk-
schmidt are located in the Stadtbibliothek München.
Occasionally alternate spellings of a name occur, as in the case of the painter Robert Anton Leineweber.\footnote{Der alte Fontane} In such a case a cross-reference is prepared directing the computer from "Leineweber /Robert Anton/" to "Leineweber /Robert Anton/". It may seem pedantic, but the computer can become confused, and we then run the risk of losing a reference.

We cross-reference 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 present difficulty, most often where I am unfamiliar with the work in which they appear. An example of an annoying instance of the 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,\footnote{I quote here the strongest sentences from the passage:}

\begin{quote}
"Immer die Vorstellung, daß ein Dichter, ein Maler oder überhaupt ein Künstler etwas Besonderes sei, während die ganze Gesellschaft (und so war es immer) auf der niedrigsten Stufe steht, so niedrig, daß die meisten übergelegt werden müßten....Man muß den Künstlern gegenüber, wenn es wirkliche Künstler sind, Verzeihung über und Fünfe gerade sein lassen, aber ihre Mischung von Blödsinn, Sittenfrechheit und Arroganz auch noch zu feiern, ist mir widerwärtig. Schon die bloße Redensart 'meine Kunst ist mir heilig' (namentlich bei Schauspielerinnen), bringt mich um." (IX, 18)
\end{quote}

In doing so he refers to Nietzsche's Die fröhliche Wissenschaft.

5 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."  

6 Rubek is the sculptor protagonist of Ibsen's drama Wenn wir Toten erwachen (1900).

Searching for the title of a work is 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 are 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)  

7 are excellent sources, if one has a general idea of the year of publication.

5 Ibid.

6 "Der symbolisch-autobiographische Gehalt von Thomas Manns Romandichtung Königliche Hoheit," PMLA, XLIV(1931), 879.

7 Known also as Kayser's Wollständiges Bücher-Lexikon, it cumulates the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie.
The publication dates here, too, are more reliable than those given in Kosch. Very helpful for world literature are *Lexikon der Weltiliteratur* (Stuttgart, 1963) and *Die Weltliteratur* (Wien, 1951-1954). The newer volume, *Lexikon der Weltiliteratur*, 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 must be searched for in the volumes of the poet, in some instances an arduous task. Article titles are 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, for 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 these are mainly reviews of Mann's work which Klaus Jonas does not cite, but would be of value for the student of Mann criticism. 8

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 are the cheapest editions available, the Reclam Universal-Bibliothek booklets, published since 1867. Mann's "Widmung an den Verlag Philipp Reclam" (Bürgin, V, 60)\(^9\) 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 and his service to the reading public of München. The amusing conclusion testifies further to Mann's thriftiness:

"Was gibt es Neues?" frage ich, und dann breiten Sie gefällig vor mir aus, was es Neues gibt: Große Prunkdrucke aus Hans von Webers Verlag, kostbare Kuriösitäten der 'Insel,' Georg Müllers reiche vielfältige Gaben (besonders seine antiken Klassiker sind eine Lust!), meines ausgezeichneten Freundes Samuel Fischer feinbürgerliche Gaben und anderes mehr. Und ich sehe alles an und lobe alles und erkundige mich nach den Preisen und finde sie angemessen.

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:


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

Schiller, Friedrich—Zitat.

If the item we are indexing is not in print, we include 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."¹¹ The italics are Mann's; the variation from the original text from "Antwort" (1822) indicates that Mann relied on his memory:

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 only
the day of the week of his pending soirée, it is possible
to establish from this information the date of the per-
formance, with the aid of a tool like the Standard
Reference Calendar. Since we have access neither to
the German repertoires of fifty to sixty years ago, nor
to the newspapers that carried such information, we
request the information from the archive librarian at
the Stadtbibliothek München, for example, who is usually
able to supply it quickly. The material is of biographi-
cal value, as it testifies 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. 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. 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.

I hope to have made clear during the course of the foregoing discussion that the name index too can contrib-

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


14 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, Zweckmäßigkeits und rechtliche Grundlage der Theaterzensur (München, 1907). Mann also defends the dramatist and the critic against the intrusion of governmental censorship.
bute significantly to the thematic as well as the biographical information that we are attempting to make available through this 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.
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 functions is. This has never been done with enough precision." The statement applies to the following discussion of the topic index in two ways: 1) some of the difficulties of the library subject catalog occur as well in our indexing process; 2) with this discussion I intend to outline as precisely as possible the intended 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 they 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 a somewhat or an entirely different heading. He may have to be led into our classification system through a cross-reference. In addition, we often find it necessary to subdivide a heading so that our references to Mann's thought may be kept as accurate and as concise as possible. Perhaps our biggest problem is 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 non-fictional material other than by the title of a work or by the name of a friend, a relative, an acquaintance, etc., 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 like the letters and the notebooks was not organized by the author for publication. The material found there grows or dissipates with the development of the organism 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 index, because an index to a book 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 the material for himself; each individual
confrontation with the author may produce a new way of looking at 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 compose an important segment of 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 weighing a particular passage's significance.

Closely related to the specific 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 non-fiction. For example, I have 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 arises: Should I attempt to
direct the user to just 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 noteworthy
source of confusion for me has been 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
1915, and the same month Heinrich's essay on Zola
appeared. While he attacked his brother's position in
the chapter "Der Zivilisationsliterat," 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, which added fuel and
fury to 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 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

*Bürgin-Mayer, Chronik, p. 43f.
relationship, like the mentionings, greetings, brief congratulations. Probably the most practical solution, in some respects a washing of the hands, 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.

Another thorny application of the consistency principle has been 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 merely in Mann's mentionings of the city; whereas he will very likely be interested in Mann's various relationships to the city, as they 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.

However, as Haykin points out in his paper, 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.
I illustrate this problem in detail in the second section of this chapter, where I discuss heading terminology and heading subdivision problems encountered in the making of the Thomas Mann topic index.

The theorizing concerning 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." Presumably he is thinking of headings like "Art--history--bibliography" or "Kunst--Renaissance." The restriction of subdivisions makes good sense. As I will illustrate later amply, 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 I should nevertheless find it desirable to keep the broad term with its many subdivisions, then I am committed to provide 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 an historical or an architectural approach. However, the book's index, he feels, 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 I like McColvin's statement, 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

7See p. 4, footnote 2.
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 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. The example 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 are entries like "Doppelungen;", followed by additional parenthetical variations—"(Doppelleben, Doppelgänger, Zwillinge)," or "Koexistenz, Vereinigung des Widersprüchlichen, Gegensätzlichen... (Geschehen und

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.

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* offers other examples related to 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,

10 Frankfurt am Main, 1966.
despite their representing two very different topics, adhere organically to the broader topical interest, "Bühne." Under the name of "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," etc. 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 printout of the topics. Our own terms "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 hope 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 investi-
gation 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 spring-
board. For example, analysis of the topics and their
inter-relationship 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 non-fiction. 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 an historian the topic index ought to provide a handy touchstone by which he can test 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 or 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

11In 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, pp. 279-292): "...while one must admit that a certain native insight, call it direct intelligence or intuition as you please, is required for understanding any text, it is, all the same, 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. Moreover, once the intuition of the individual critic is accepted as the ultimate basis of all interpretation, the comprehension of a literary work becomes a completely private affair, for the intuition of any one interpreter has no more objective validity than that of any other..." (p. 288).
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 Tolstoy 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 non-fiction, 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 is being 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 are preparing
the index in German. As a corollary to this reasoning, we feel that each contemporary author should be indexed in his own language. We have recognized the problem of matching topics in two languages or more, that would occur when searching authors writing in different languages, but we have not concerned ourselves thus far with the resolution of the difficulties.

Acknowledging the fact that our index is 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): "Changes in the clientele using the file are likely to negate the 'point-of-view' with which the file has been indexed. It is therefore evident that 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."\(^\text{12}\)

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 has occasioned as we have 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 have tried to be as specific as possible in identifying the particular philosophy Mann is discussing, "Monismus," "Nihilismus," etc. For Mann's personal philosophy, where it is the subject of discussion, the term "Weltanschauung" is used. The heading "Philosophie" itself is used exclusively as a reference to philosophy as an academic discipline. Under the remaining circumstances I have used the term in combination with a subdivision, e.g., the name of a philosopher --"Philosophie--Nietzsche." Mann refers constantly 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 I have allotted to the term
"Philosophie," i.e., the discussion of this branch of knowledge *per se*. If I begin to subdivide the term for types of philosophy, then, in order to be consistent, I have to include all types. If I do not always subdivide the term in this way, then, when I do so, as in the case of Nietzschean philosophy, I am in effect hiding the topic, 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, I should not rely on it. The simplest solution, and most logical, might then be simply to reverse the order of the terms and call the matter in question "Nietzsche's 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. I may have to wait to make a final decision until I have prepared more material from the years between 1915 and 1955.

A related aspect of this problem, the broad term versus *die* that is author-oriented, is the grouping of geographical terms under one general heading. In our preliminary material preparation we have 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 München 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 feel 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 programmed 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, I have placed it 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, I have used "das Moderne." 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 the concepts involved? 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.

While discussing the heading "das Moderne" here, I shall mention briefly another problem related to its use: 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 an 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 Buddenbrooks and Gustav Aschenbach gain new insight, even inspiration, through this process of "Verfall." Buddenbrook responds enthusiastically to Schopenhauer. Aschenbach is lifted from a somewhat wordid environment and personal situation on the pinions of mythological ful-
fillment. 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 believe it is necessary and helpful to make the distinction, although the two expressions 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. 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, "Schönheit," itself. One might refer to "Schönheitslehre," yet where the author himself prefers the humanistic term, and no confusion is apt to arise, I feel 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 essence, I have used the term "das Militär." The term "Militärwesen" would be a bit too technical and smacks of the jargon of official propaganda. "Das Militär" might become a tempting 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, whatever distinctions can be made, ought to be made, and with appropriate cross-references, even the uninitiated student can be led through them, first, to a recognition of the aspects of a subject field like the military that can be found in Mann's thought, and second, directly to these various aspects through the precision of the index terminology.

The danger of overlapping applicability occurs in the headings we use for experiences with the occult and
extrasensory perception. "Telepathhäs;" 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 remarks his enjoyment of such occurrences. "Spiritismus" and "Okkultismus," while related to "Telepathie," perhaps in a general attitude that ranges from absolute rejection to hesitant disbelief, 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, etc. 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 in "Okkulte Erlebnisse" (written in 1923). And by the time Joseph und seine Brüder appears, one must account for a fascination with the possibilities, and a distinction between charlatanry and the empirical psychological phenomenon. It is possible that here, as before, I will have to use the more general term, "Okkultismus," where it is wanted, and the more specialized term, "Spiritismus," where it is indicated, e.g., for Rothe's séance which Mann

¹⁴ Briefe 1889-1936, p. 74f.
declined to attend, being careful 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. It is not to be confused with "Weltanschauung," in that 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, perhaps, of this quality, and here, for Thomas Mann, it appears to become questionable. 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 orientation to life

15 Ibid., p. 15.
16 Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen, passim.
through his marriage to Imma Spoelmann is perhaps an acceptable illustration. It is again akin to "Optimismus" but is non-intellectualized 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 it is distinct from philanthropy and progressivism. The terms, while possibly overlapping, signify distinctions which the author makes himself 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" (approximately "intelligence," but with a spiritual, even mythical 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, 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 antitheses 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" (November 1914, in the Neue Rundschau, XXV, 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 belongs here as does sexual 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, I feel—"Bürgerlichkeit" as distinct from "Bürgertum,"

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).
for example, the quality "Bürgerlichkeit" connotes a judgement. 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 come into disuse in fields other than literature. An alternative like "Selbsterkenntnis," however, carries an over-tone of a resulting effort toward 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. Because the entire index is
author-oriented, no one can expect a given topic entry
to indicate an encyclopedically thorough discussion.
The topics are all there because they relate personally
to Mann. The topic "Selbstverständnis" could easily
become overburdened with subdivisions 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," etc.; 2) emotions or attitudes like
"Liebe," "Haß," "Freundschaft," "Leiden," "Sehnsucht,
"Pessimismus"; 3) qualities such as "Geduld," "Gewissen,
"Würde," "Größe," etc.; 4) problems like "Bruderproblem,
"Rassenproblem," "Ehe," "Frieden," "Krieg," etc.; 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 head-
ing, "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 have 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) would come considerations like "Herkunft"—background, "Kindheit," and "Selbstverständnis—als Schüler," his indifference as a pupil in Lübeck being somewhat of a matter of pride with Mann, I feel. Under "Selbstverständnis als Dichter" one would find "Einflüsse,"—influences; "künstlerische Arbeit"—artistic production; "Arbeitsweise"—work method; "künstlerisches Ziel"—artistic goal; "künstlerischer Geschmack"—artistic taste; and "Rang"—rank. I have 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. For the sake of their own significance and also for easiest accessibility I feel they ought to stand by themselves. Finally, under the main heading "Selbstverständnis als Bürger" I have indexed Mann's assessment of his own bourgeois tendencies and obligations, his relationship to politics, however, 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, makes their application more precise and at the same time helps reduce what would otherwise be an unwieldy number of subdivisions.

The word "Künstler," artist, forms an area of concern distinct from the label "Dichter," poet or creative writer, for it represents thinking about a way of life, a type of individual who is creative regardless of whether he writes stories and novels, compôses 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 will be 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-evaluation 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 sub-heading, I have 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 have 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 sub-heading phrase is "der Künstler gegenüber dem Dichter." At first glance the phrase may seem confusing, as I have pointed out earlier that "Dichter" is a more specialized area of the term "Künstler"—sometimes. Mann, however, at other times 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 effective-
ness of the phrase sub-headings under "der Künstler als Kritiker," mentioned above, but the computer can search by sub-headings too. At this point accessibility is subordinated to precision, but I think the client 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 I have indexed to date there are only a few such limitations: "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 as an independent topic); "Italien" and "Minchen."

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"; "Kunst und Bürgerlichkeit"; "Kunst und Wirklichkeit"; "Kunst als Religionsersatz." To eliminate redundancy, I have 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

18 Loc. cit., Subject Headings; A Practical Guide.
will be supplied under "Kunst" to these additional but separately accessible topics.

Another broad heading, "Literatur," has bred a considerable number of subdivisions, most of which can, upon consideration, be 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" and "Lyrik der Gegenwart." However, further subdivision is unpracticable. These headings are then best left independent. Cross-references from "Literatur--moderne" will have to be supplied. Literature of the various nationalities, when referred to as such, is treated as a subdivision of that nation, i.e., "Frankreich--Literatur." Cross-references from the heading "Literatur" are easily supplied. I have indexed periods of literary history thus far as independent topics, e.g., "Romantik," for 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 feel ought to be considered a genre if only because Mann regards good criticism so highly. The
compound "Literaturgattungen" will be cross-referenced from the heading "Literatur," and is itself precise, thus preventing a confusing hodge-podge of subdivisions under so general a term as "Literatur." For the same reason I prefer 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"—not a genre in itself, but a term applicable to several genres. This heading—"Literaturbegriffe"—will also be cross-referenced from "Literatur." The grouping of such topics under a single main heading like "Literaturbegriffe" or "Literaturgattungen" presents no difficulty to the student searching for references to "Ironie" or "Roman;" for example, since the computer is programed 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 feel, ought to be maintained as independent headings. They include a personal element as well as a broader application, making them again difficult to compartmentalize. "Hochstapelmaß"—fraud, with a debonair flavor to be sure, is the most recognizably a theme of Mann's. Other topics of this category include "Sittlichkeit" or "die Moral"
(as in "Der Tod in Venedig"), "Metaphysik" (as in Buddenbrooks).

Of the remaining subdivided topics, "Religion" and "Politik" are the most important. Topics related to religion which I have not classified as subdivisions include "Theologie," "Protestantismus," "Heidentum," 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 philo-
sophic discipline. "Protestantismus," as used by Mann, connotes among other things fanaticism. "Christentum" can carry the negative connotation of a limited "Welt-
anschauung," for example, or of an excessive moral con-
cern, or of a tendentious political direction (Mann's comments on Tolstoi as an example). Under the heading "Religion" itself I have grouped terms which limit the scope of the discussion and which cannot suggest the central theme of the discussion within themselves: "die Moral," "Askese," "Enge," "Naivität," and "Kraft." Cross-references can again direct the client'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 Mann, I have decided to separate such topics from one another
completely. Thus "Nationalismus," which I had subordinated to the general term "Politik," ought to be a topic heading in its own right. Since Mann discusses it at length, it may well be that I will have to subdivide it as I have done with the concept "Vaterland," under which I have placed the specialized theme "Parodie vaterländischer Reden." "Vaterland" itself again carries connotations distinct from those of "Nationalismus," and deserves, too, I feel, 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 eventually lead to some fascinating studies. "Dr. von Staat," an ironical fiction of Mann's, can stand alone too, I think, for it is a term of Mann's own creation. Besides having relevance to politics, it also belongs in part to Mann's irony. Cross-references can be supplied to and from both "Politik" and "Ironie," as well as "Selbstverständnis als Bürger--Politik."

Discussions related to politics become more frequent as Mann matures and as his homeland sinks deeper and deeper into turmoil.

With the foregoing discussion of indexing problems and the background material provided in the first section of the chapter outlining the purposes of the index and problems in indexing and cataloging related to ours, I hope to have carried out the second intention--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; interpretative research; and possible aspects not yet thought of. As work progresses on the indexing of the non-fiction, the index must also be capable of growing, yet remaining as precise and as accessible as possible. To this end this chapter's discussion is directed.
VI. TRIAL SEARCHES OF THE COMPUTERIZED INDEX

Three trial searches have been run in order to demonstrate the capabilities of the three main indexes—the work index, the name index, and the topic index. I shall discuss the search of the name index first, 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 makes use of all the indexes, including the chronological index and is therefore described in this chapter last. The first two searches tabulate the items retrieved and the frequency of their occurrence, and from these statistics that summarize the results of the searches I 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 interpretative study. One important aspect of Mann's thought has not, however, 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," etc. 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. For the name search I had to check many records on the print-out of the entire Thomas Mann index, because a name entered in the name index does not always appear in an item's abstract. This was necessary because ten names were searched at once, and the computer sorted and listed the items chronologically rather than by the names of the persons searched. The chronological listing proved very helpful in that it revealed at a glance the year(s) where a name occurs most frequently.

A. A Trial Search of the Name Index.

Ten well-known names in German literature were chosen for an experimental search of the name index—the names of literary 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 importance of or the lack of influence of an individual upon Mann. Also, the number of items appearing up to the year 1914 for each name that I have 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 names in the index to Erika Mann's first volume of letters.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The trial search</th>
<th>Briefe 1889-1936</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wagner</td>
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<td>Goethe</td>
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<td>Luther</td>
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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's. 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 Hülser. 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, he speaks of the coming "Wagner-generation," genuinely Wagnerian as opposed to the Wagner imitators, and of his essay "Versuch über das Theater" as a temptation ("Versuchung"). In the second, dated July 25, 1910, he praises Brandenburg's brave modernity, which he also sees in Walt Whitman and Richard Dehmel, in opposition to "dem heiligen 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 Wagner, both 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. Such a study was made by Ernst Keller, *Der unpolitische Deutscher: 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 1895. 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 an item has not been made; only the items in which the names occur have been counted. A multiple occurrence count would most likely put Wagner's name far ahead of the others, but the mentionings of Schiller's name would also increase considerably.

Wagner's name occurs in a variety of contexts—discussions of the 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 programatic reading of the works—Faust; Gespräche mit Eckermann; then the novels—Wahlverwandtschaften, Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre, Werther; Tasso. Later, it occurs frequently in the articles and essays between 1911 and 1914, in conjunction with Schiller's name and 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

¹First published in März, München, January 4 and January 11, 1913 (X, 62ff.).
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 in nearly as many items as does Nietzsche's—nine, 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. He speaks of having run from a discussion of Luther and Christianity at the home of Paul and Carl Ehrenberg. One of the notebook entries occurs at the time of Mann's work on Fiorenza and the name again appears in Gedanken im Kriege.

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 the 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 the person in question 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

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3 See Lehmert, Thomas Mann: Fiktion, Mythos, Religion, op.cit., pp. 140ff., for a detailed interpretation of Mann's concept of Luther.
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 ordered chronologically by the computer. This chronological ordering has 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 has brought to my attention immediately the time periods where the topics are most heavily concentrated.

For the topic search itself, I selected the headings "Geist" (defined in Chapter V) and "Leben" (life), and as many topics as I felt were clearly related to these two central concerns. Related to 1) "Geist," I selected its subdivisions—"Geist und Kunst," "Geist und der Künstler," "Geist und Leben," and "Geist und Genie"; other related topics included "Erkenntnis," "Selbst-erkenntnis," "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" I also

As has been pointed out in Chapter V, "Kunst" (art) relates in a central way to both poles, "Geist" and "Leben." Thus I also searched a number of topics related to 3) "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" occurs in 11 items—mainly letters and essays. "Freundschaft" appears in
ten records—letters and notebook items, as does "Krankheit"—predominantly in letters. Other topics occurring more than five times (but less than ten) are: "Erkenntnis" (8), "Sehnsucht" (7), "Kunst und Gesellschaft" (7), "Gesundheit?" (6), and "Selbstverständnis als Bürger" (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 out of certain feelings of frustration, as 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 "Vulgarität." In annotation 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 approaching 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 relationship with Paul Ehrenberg creates a feeling of jubilation in the entries deriving from this friendship. In 1902 Mann states (Notizbuch 7, p. 97) that Ehrenberg is: "Mein erster und einziger menschlicher Freund."
The topic "Sehnsucht" then occurs in 1904 as a result of
Mann's courtship of Katja Pringsheim. "Glück" occurs frequently, especially in the letters to Heinrich Mann (see, for example, those dated February 27, 1904, and December 23, 1904). 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. This 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 that follow his marriage and which are devoted to the writing of Königliche Hoheit, 1906 to 1908, "Krankheit" becomes a more frequent topic, the others subsiding almost entirely, although the items are letters in which his own illnesses are the subject of discussion. Yet the figure of the ill Gräßherzog Albrecht looms in the background and 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 Western powers, as in the essay "Gedanken im Kriege." "Erkenntnis" is associated with the "Literat," also preferrably banned to the West, as discussed in "Der Künstler und der Literat" (1913), and later in Der Zauberberg.

4 Both are reprinted as excerpts in Thomas Mann-Heinrich Mann: Briefwechsel 1900-1949, pp. 220ff and 221 respectively.
other thinking it becomes the attribute that is reconciled to "Kunst" through the writer ("der Dichter"), as in "Über Fiorenza." 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). Mann's relationship to Germany's political ambitions is also involved, and in "Gedanken im Kriege" the topic "das Leben" begins to take on holy Germanic tones. It is also during this time, 1913, that Mann speaks in glowing terms of "Körperfreudigkeit," and "Vollmenschlichkeit," exemplified by two young authors whose death he commemorated in brief articles.

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 Mann's interests that found their way into the notebooks, the letters, and the essays, accompanied, again, by an abstract that often enables the index user to determine the nature

5 Published first in December 1912 in Blätter des deutschen Theaters; (XI, 565ff.).


of the context at a glance. The topics which I did not mention again in the discussion, although they occur infrequently, do support the pattern indicated by the more frequently mentioned topics.

C. A Search for Material Leading Toward an Interpretation of Königsche Hoheit.

Anxious to test the indexes and the claims made regarding their use, I initiated several searches relating to Mann's novel Königsche Hoheit. I elected to base the trial on this novel because 1) relatively little attention has been paid it critically; 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-understanding, 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 relationship 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 idee, material, source, plan, and progress during the time span between the summer of 1903 and February 13, 1909, when Mann ended the novel. 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 question 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 the topics that I could think of that might be of importance. It must be remembered, however, that I had the additional advantage of having worked with these topics and was familiar with 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

8 The first date is the earliest known mention of the novel, then planned as a Novelle (Wysling, Thomas-Mann-Studien, p. 64). The date of completion appears in Notizbuch 9, p. 63.
clarify their nature.

I selected "Verfall" and "Dekadenz" not only because of the condition of the principality's treasury and the accompanying decline in general maintenance of the palaces, as well as the figure of the mother, Dorothea, and weak Prince Albrecht; but also because of possible associations with similar motifs in *Buddenbrooks*, the earlier novel, thinking, for example, of a comparison between Prince Albrecht and Hanno Buddenbrook. "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 of and marriage to Katja Fringsheim. Here, again, the relationship to earlier work—*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 Repräsentieren," "der Künstler und der Bürger, "der Künstler und Bürgerlichkeit," "der Künstler und Bürgerturn?; "der Künstler—Pflicht," "der Künstler—Überlegenheit," "der Künstler—Bescheidenheit," "der Künstler—Fragwürdigkeit," "der
Künstler--Fleiß," "der Künstler--Schicksal." The justification for searching these topics related to the artist directly is delivered by Mann himself in his short response--"Über 'Königliche Hoheit'" to an adverse critique written by a Princess Feodora von Schleswig-Holstein under the pseudonym F. Hugin:


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, like the letters, and themes and motifs in the fiction.

I put a third question to the computer to be absolutely sure that I got all the references to Schiller's Don Carlos and another source, Mozart's Zauberflöte, whether in the time span of the creation of Mann's novel

9 Originally titled "Unsere Fürsten und wir" (Kunstwart, Münchener, XIII [April 1, 1910, pp. 4-6.]) § Bürgin, Bibliographie, V, 63.
or not. I also searched for the name, Philipp II, in case there were references to him outside of remarks concerning Schiller's *drama*. Roger A. Nicholls, the author of *Nietzsche in the Early Work of Thomas Mann*, in his chapter on *Königliche Hoheit* 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 the *Zauberflöte*:

1. Priester:...Er ist ein Prinz.

Sarastro: Noch mehr--er ist Mensch!

Although Wysling cites a passage from *Emilia Galotti* that speaks to the loneliness and the aloofness of the prince, 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!'"

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*, "Tonio Kröger," primarily for their autobiographical significance; and "Der kleine Herr Friede-

10 Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1955.
12 Ibid., p. 64.
mann," 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. As a possible influence on style
or ideas, I asked for Heinrich von Kleist, whose dra-
matic fragment Robert Guiscard had provided a literary
parallel to Klaus Heinrich's heroically hiding his
deformity. (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. I also 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. At the suggestion
of Eric Frey, whose article, "An American Prototype in
Thomas Mann's Königliche Hoheit," discusses Spoel-
mann's similarities to the John D. Rockefeller of the
memoirs (in German, 1908), I also included the name of
this millionaire in the search.

13 Wysling cites particularly the short story "Ihre
Hoheit," in Mann's possession in 1904 (Thomas-Mann-
Studien, p. 70f.). Mann speaks of the novel Tine and
the story "Am Wege" in "Versuch über das Theater"
(1, 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.
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 machine 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, 20 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; the most items were retrieved for "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 mentionings of Schiller's Don Carlos, Mozart's Zauberflöte, and Philipp II of Spain, yielded one entry a piece in the notebooks for the first two, none for the Spanish king, the object of Tonio Kröger's sympathy in Don Carlos.

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 novel title most frequently occurred with the name of Richard Wagner (six letters) and with that of 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, definitely 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.

The most productive material, therefore, came from the search of the work itself under the various indexing aspects—material, plan, progress, and interpretation—in connection with the first question.

As I interpret them, the results of these searches have provided ample material for demonstration of the importance of the computer in three areas—the novel itself, its development and its interpretation; Mann's biography; and 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 the novel itself was the subject of the searches. The biographical material was expected as an important by-product. The new associations were hoped for and serve to demonstrate the unique contribution of the computerized index.

The material concerning Königliche Hoheit itself falls conveniently into two general subdivisions—plan and material, and interpretation. Actual interpretative
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 they 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, p. 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 precede the novel, nor does any other. On p. 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 "Der König, der seinem Volk seine Krankheit verbergen muß: der Künstler

17 From Boris Gedunow; quoted by Wysling, loc.cit.
18 Wysling, Thomas-Mann-Studien, op.cit., p. 69.
selbst!" (Wysling does not cite this passage).

Material for the development of Prince Klaus Heinrich is noted in Notizbuch 6, pp. 57-58, where Mann entered observations pertaining to the prince's dealings with people (1906). Also from 1906 is an entry in Notizbuch 9, pp. 11-13, 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 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!" An entry in the same vein appears on the next page in which Mann speaks of the "Humanität" of Die Zauberflöte: "—die glücklichen Leute glaubten noch daran! Heute ist das alles angefressen und zernagt..." 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.

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.
Twice Mann records the expression "verfehlte Existenz" and enters observations concerning the phenomenon. The entry appears both times in 1903, Notizbuch 7, p. 125, transferred from Notizbuch 6, p. 34. The entry characterizes the ineffective individual who speaks nostalgically in favor of preparatory schools. On the preceding page Mann describes the "Evangelisches Pädagogium" 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 a "Weltanschauung" similar to that of Überbein's to himself:

Es geht nicht an, mir "eisige Menschenfeindschaft" und "Lieblosigkeit gegen alles Fleisch und Blut" nachzusagen, die durch Kunstfanatismus "ersetzt" werde....

....Ich halte also Leute wie Herakles oder Siegfried für populäre Heroen, aber nicht für Helden. Heldentum ist für mich ein "Trotzdem," überwundene Schwäche, es gehört Zartheit dazu....Körperliches Leiden scheint mir historisch eine beinahe notwendige Begleiterscheinung der Größe zu sein und das leuchtet mir psychologisch ein. Ich glaube nicht, daß Caesar

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22 Printed in Wysling, op.cit., p. 68.
Caesar geworden wäre ohne seine Schwächenheit und seine fallende Sucht, und wenn er geworden wäre, so wäre er ohne sie in meinen Augen weniger ein Held gewesen.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 "Zartheit" 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:

Es scheint mir, als wenn das Gefühl für die tragische Isoliertheit des Erkennenden, des Dichters, das gewiß das zentrale Erlebnis für den Menschen Th. [sic] Mann ist, mit Unrecht zum beherrschenden Problem seiner Dichtung gemacht worden wäre.... Manna 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 Kühe der Betrachtung...24

23 Briefe 1889-1936, p. 61ff.

24 Mitteilungen der Literarhistorischen Gesellschaft Bonn, IV (November 16, 1909), 218.
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 exactly April 9, 1904, notes the first big exchange of views with the prospective bride (Notizbuch 7, p. 129). The second, dated May 16, 1904, notes the second such conversation and that on May 19, 1904, the waiting period began (Notizbuch 7, p. 132ff.). 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....Aber war die Freude an diesem Anblick im Vergleich mit dem Entzücken über die Erkenntnis, die ich dann allmählich gewinnen durfte und die ich auf den ersten Blick nicht hatte gewinnen können. Sie waren ja gut, waren gültig!...Wo ich liebte, hatte ich bislang immer zugleich versachtet....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 un--
glaublich 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 "Dégénérés supérieurs und inférieurs, die Nichts-als-Kranken" (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 a confirmed "Nichts-als-Kranker," never anything but ill, 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 1212 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 Seele, Herzen. Vornehmheit. Ideelle Herrschaft."27 This

27 Reprinted in Wysling, op.cit., p. 65.
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 escape the disrespect 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.'" 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: "Man sieht doch einen Fürsten mit anderen, scheinewen Augen an, als den wahrhaft Mächtigen, den Reichen." On the following pages (Notizbuch 7, p. 125f.) Mann records a conversation with Kurt Martens, in which Mann evidently sought to draw out the friend's reaction to his plan. Thomas Mann's position was that

28 Ibid.
29 Ibid., p. 67.
30 Ibid.
a German prince has the right, like the artist, to feel himself as something more genuine than a millionaire like Morgan or Vanderbilt. Enjoyment of life is denied to both the prince and the artist. Marten's position was that millionaires were more interesting to the people. 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 have led me to believe that the marriage of Klaus Heinrich's sister Ditlinde to an aristocrat who has turned capitalist also carries 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 have not made 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 feel to be helpful in the interpretation of the novel. While most of this material was not indexed as interpretation, as it occurs before the completion of the work, it does support and expand the plans and sketches cited above.
Mann's interest in the figure of Philipp II is well-known from "Tonio Kröger." Twice in this story he mentions the loneliness of the king.\textsuperscript{31} Hans Wysling points out Mann's interest in Hermann Bang's \textit{Exzentrische Novellen} and his use of the loneliness motif from Don Carlos in the story "Ihre Hoheit."\textsuperscript{32} Furthermore, he seems to feel as I do: "Herzstück des neuen Planes war das Thema von Hoheit und Einsamkeit—die König-Phillip—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.\textsuperscript{33} In his "Versuch über Schiller," Mann himself speaks of Don Carlos as "ein fürstliches Familiengemälde." Into it Schiller pumps the contrast between "starrer Menschenverachtung und edelmutigeren Ideen, Ideen von Freiheit und Völkerglück." (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 criti-

\textsuperscript{31}Hermann Weigand points this out in "Der symbolisch-autobiographische Gehalt von Thomas Manns Romandichtung Königliche Hoheit," \textit{PMLA}, XLVI(1931), 869 (footnote).
\textsuperscript{32}Wysling, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 71.
\textsuperscript{33}Ibid., p. 69.
cism 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 unverbrücklich lautet: du darfst nicht sein, du sollst schauen; du darfst nicht läben, du sollst wissen!' 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, p. 121ff., transferred from Notizbuch 6). In a book review from 1903 entitled "Gabriele Reuter" (Bürgin, Bibliographie, 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 soon defines his particular talent already in 1903 as representation, in the passage from Notizbuch 7 cited above. On February 27, 1904, he writes to his brother Heinrich of the princely talent—representation. Also in 1904 Thomas Mann remembers especially his playing the phantasy role of a prince

34 "Thomas Mann: Zum Roman 'Königliche Hoheit,'" Mitteilungen der Literarhistorischen Gesellschaft Bonn, IV (November 16, 1909), 205.

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 liebenswürdige Hoheit und ging umher, stolz und glücklich mit dem Geheimnis meiner Würde. Man konnte Unterricht haben, spazieren geführt werden oder sich Märchen voreingenommen, ohne daß dieses Spiel einen Augenblick unterbrochen zu werden brauchte; und das war das Praktische daran." The passage suggests how easily Mann was able 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 adds: "...der Künstler selbst!" (Notizbuch 7, p. 146)

In "Notizen (I)" (Der Tag, December 24, 1905), Mann speaks of Rousseau, the egoistic man of letters whose great need is "gekannt und geliebt zu sein." Klaus Heinrich is misled by a similar notion, until he himself comes to the recognition at the end of the novel: "Das soll fortan unsere Sache sein: beides, Hoheit und Liebe,—eine strenge Glück." (II, 363) In this vein Mann wrote to Hilde Distel on November 14, 1906: "Selbstbeherrschung ist sicher eine gute Sache, und als Künstler wird man ihrer schlecht entsagen können. Der Künstler ist in sofern den Fürsten verwandt, als er, gleich diesen, ein repräsentatives

36 "Kinderspiele" (XI, 328).
Dasein führt. Was für den Fürsten die Etikette ist, das ist für den Künstler die hohe Verpflichtung zur Form.\textsuperscript{37} The discipline of the two existences is here emphasized. Other notations refer to the more pleasant aspects of this existence—representation.

A letter to Walter Opitz written on December 5, 1903, affords a fascinating 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 to 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 entschwunden!

The answer to this half-humorous rhetorical question comes about a page later:

...Näher, als jemand, der, wie Sie, ein Leser des 'Tonio Kröger' ist, kann mir niemand kommen, und wenn Sie mich persönlich verschlossen fanden, so mag es daran liegen, daß man den Geschmack an persönlicher Mittheilsamkeit verliert, wenn man gewohnt ist, sich symbolisch, das heißt: in Kunstwerken zu äußern. Man führt, möchte ich sagen, ein symbolisches, ein repräsentatives Dasein, ähnlich einem Fürsten,—und, sehen Sie! in diesem Pathos liegt der Keim zu einer ganz wunderlichen Sache, die ich einmal zu schreib'en gedenke, einer Fürsten-Novelle, einem Gegenstück zu 'Tonio Kröger,' das den Titel führen soll: 'Königliche Hoheit'.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{37} Briefe 1889-1936, p. 67

\textsuperscript{38} Ibid., p. 39, 40.
by the enormous success of *Buddenbrooks*. A sense of being in the spotlight and enjoying it thoroughly is actually expressed in the sentence that begins: "Nun fühlt man sich im Lichtbereich eines ungeheuren Scheinwerfers, in ganzer Figur sichtbar der Öffentlichkeit..."\(^{39}\)

In the letter to Heinrich Mann from February 27, 1904, cited above, Mann continues 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. Mann molds and polishes the idea in the foreword to the well-known defense of himself, "Bilse und ich" (published in February 1906), to the extent that it very closely resembles the concluding statement of the novel (quoted above, p. 157): "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 confides to Kurt Martens: "Rang ist gut, und ich habe ziemlich viel prinzipielles Empfinden; aber vor Gott sind wir alle Gewürm...Und zuweilen habe ich nicht die Courage zu lebhaftem Distanzgefühl."\(^{40}\) He gives personal expression

\(^{39}\)Ibid., p. 39.

\(^{40}\)Ibid., p. 71.
here to the same doubt that gnaws at the heart of Klaus Heinrich—the advantage of position. From these passages it should be abundantly clear how closely Mann's own thoughts concerning himself as an artist are 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, to which Mann remarks: "Ich glaube, daß dieses Buch einmal seinen Werth als Dokument haben wird für die neudeutsch-reaktionäre Stimmung vom Anfang des 20sten [sic] Jahrhunderts....zu wenig Ironie, Romantik, Keckheit, Höhe. 'Höhe' ist vielleicht das Wort, das am besten ausdrückt, was ich meine....daß Dein Buch mein Ideal nicht verwirklicht."\(^4\) Undoubtedly Mann's reaction to Martens' work added additional impulse to the planning of Königliche Hoheit, a tale that would realize his idea.

Toward the end of his work on the novel, Mann began to tire of it.\(^5\) Perhaps for this reason he refers to it lightly, stating in a postcard to Heinrich Mann that the novel is nearing its operatic end.\(^6\)

\(^4\) Briefe 1889-1936, p. 66.
\(^5\) Letter to Heinrich Mann, June 10, 1908; located at Marbach.
\(^6\) November 10, 1908; located at Marbach.
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*. Here he upbraids D'Annunzio as a "schlechter, kleiner Wagnerimitator." In the following lines he speaks of 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. Yet after the novel was finished, Mann seems 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 the Neue Rundschau in installments. Königliche Hoheit, he insists, is "fest verwebt und verzahnt." Operatic end or not, the novel is deserving of perceptive study and criticism.

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. The search has also produced a great deal of material that is relevant to Mann's biography.

44 January 15, 1908; located in Marbach.

45 The letter is located at the Stadtbibliothek München.

46 Hermann Weigand deals with these aspects in his article, op.cit., p. 155.
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 are 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 gain a good impression 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 writes to his brother on October 15/17, 1905, that his friend, Paul Ehrenberg, announced his engagement. He goes on to ask for Heinrich's opinion of Florenza, the drama that was so difficult for Mann to write but so important to him in subject matter. He also mentions an article of Julie Wassermann-Speyer's about Heinrich, then concludes 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

47Erika Mann's cuts in her three volumes of Mann's correspondence are an indication.
analysis as they are, owe it to one another to present a united front. Klaus Heinrich, despite the difference in temperament, feels identically toward his older brother Albrecht, assuming the duties he hands over to him out of a sense of loyalty to the brother. During this time Mann speaks of another brother relationship in a letter to Heinrich that also contains material pertaining to the Königliche Hoheit plan. Thomas speaks of his idea of writing a novel about Friedrich der Große, and that the brother problem involved (Friedrich and Prince Heinrich von Preußen) interests him particularly. Here is significant evidence of the importance of Mann's own brother relationship. Not only does it play a role in Königliche Hoheit, but he sees it as an important motif in the life of Friedrich der Große, about whom Mann plans to write a more serious novel.

Another sympathetic note is struck in the letter to Heinrich dated January 17, 1906. Here, too, Mann discusses 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 states how glad he is that Heinrich's life has been warmed through friendship and family relationships.

48 Thomas Mann-Heinrich Mann (1965), p. 221.
49 December 5, 1905; located at Marbach.
50 The letter is located at Marbach; an excerpt appears in Thomas Mann-Heinrich Mann (1965), p. 221f.
Heinrich, too, is 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." Again, consideration for Heinrich and the united front are two of the elements present in the passage. On March 28, 1906, he thanks Martens for the article, "Die Gebrüder Mann," then tears into Martens' portrait of himself. It is interesting to note that all the "eisige Menschenfeindlichkeit" and "Lieblosigkeit" which Martens had attributed to Thomas Mann is 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 comments 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 virulent disagreement regarding the purpose of the novel as a genre. Nevertheless, Mann also becomes a bit nostalgic here.

51 *Briefe 1889-1936*, p. 61.
52 Ibid., p. 61ff.
He recalls their times together in Rome (1895, 1896-97), before the publication of the Der kleine Herr Friedemann collection of Novellen (1898), then goes on to discuss the difference in their sensitiveness. 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 confesses in another letter to Heinrich that the tone of the brother relationship in the novel is autobiographical.

Actually very little light is shed on Mann's relationship to Katja's family, Alfred and Hedwig Pringsheim and their sons. That Mann used phrasings from his love letters to Katja is well known. Less well-known, perhaps, are the two courtship exchanges which Mann mentions in Notizbuch 7 (pp. 129, 132-134), both times dating them precisely: "Sonnabend, d. 9. April [1904]" and "Montag, d. 16. Mai [1904]." I have already touched on the significance of these items for the novel. The precise notation of these exchanges adds poignancy to their autobiographical significance. More illuminating perhaps are the notations made in 1905 in the same notebook (p. 144). Here he states simply, for example: "Ich kann lächeln." This remark is also

53 February 6, 1908; located at Marbach.
54 The letter is located at Marbach.
significant for the novel, for it is Imma who enables Klaus Heinrich to encourage, through his facial expression, the confidence of the demented Gräfin Löwenjoull and thus hers too. He also notes that he is indifferent toward his fate—an achievement Klaus Heinrich also makes when it becomes clear that Imma can love him, even though he must maintain a certain distance as public figurehead, a fate that he formerly rejected. "Bin ich ein Abenteurer?" he also states, 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 undertook as children. Ditlinde uses the word to describe his love adventure and his success. Mann also notes 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 testifies that "Wälsungenblut" caused some tension between the two men.\footnote{Bürgin-Mayer, Chronik, p. 28. See also Klaus Pringsheim, "Ein Nachtrag zu Wälsungenblut," Betrachtungen und Überblicke, op.cit., p. 253ff.} The story was originated in the
summer of 1905, and later suppressed by Mann himself. In 1906, about a year after his marriage, Thomas writes to Heinrich the reasons for the failure of ”Wälzungblut” to appear in print. He adds that he no longer feels himself free socially. 56 It was at this time that he withdrew the story from publication in the January 1906 issue of the Neue Rundschau. The strain of the ties 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 begins to see in his own life. In the letter to Hilde Distel dated November 14, 1906, he speaks, as I have cited elsewhere, of the artist who, like the prince, has a high obligation to form. Further on, he speaks of 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, I feel, is that social obligations within the family have managed to cut him loose from earlier friendships. At one time the friendship

56 January 17, 1906; located at Marbach; excerpted in Thomas Mann—Heinrich Mann (1965), 221f.

57 Briefe 1889–1936, p. 67.
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, p. 158). His fame has begun to make demands on him; he has begun to be aware of his "repräsentatives Dasein." 58 On December 5, 1905, Mann writes to Heinrich that it is high time he [Thomas] write his masterpiece. The comment comes after his 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 Todes- tag": 59 "Er [the essay] ist so recht etwas für mich, denn ich komme seinem Helden immer näher und spiele ihn innerlich manches Mal gegen jenen alten Breitfuß von

58 Ibid., pp. 39, 40.
59 Vossische Zeitung, November 29, 1908, Sonntagsbeilage No. 48.
Keller aus, den unsere Gemütspoeten jetzt nachahmen." Mann's main concern here is style, but with the following reference to Friedrich der Große, the nature of Meyer's subject matter is also indicated: "Was meinen Friedrich-Traum betrifft, so dringen Sie mit Recht auf Auswahl und Form. Mir ist ganz klar, daß das Buch keinesfalls von der äußeren Formlosigkeit der Buddenbrooks sein dürfte." Quite clearly, Mann's new period is in mind. It is interesting to reflect that, outside the construction of "Der Tod in Venedig" itself, the burden of discipline and form was transferred to Mann's "old Friend" Aschenbach.

Mann's notation of the exact date of the completion of Königlich 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 writes to Heinrich Mann that he is planning an essay "der allerhand Zeitkritisches enthalten soll," presumably "Geist und Kunst," which was also later attributed to Gustav Aschenbach. He also plans "eine Novelle, die sich ideal an 'K. H.' anschließen wird." 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

61. Ibid., p. 455.
Schiller's "Naive und sentimentalische Dichtung."

Nevertheless, Krull developed, whereas "Geist und Kunst" did not. The above remark, however, is followed by the statement: "Überhaupt ist mir immer, als begäche nun eine neue 'Periode.'"62

Thus, the Königliche Hoheit search produced sufficient material, I believe, 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 interpretation or biography. Here I shall deal first with links to Mann's other works, and then 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 interpretative 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 points 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.\textsuperscript{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 writes to his brother Heinrich that he is making notations for the Friedrich novel, and at the same time he is working on the beginnings of Königliche Hoheit.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{65} These notations were very likely 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


\textsuperscript{64}The letter is located at Marbach.

\textsuperscript{65}Pp. 11-13.
of his December 1905 trip to Prague, Dresden, and Breslau, mentioning his observations of the landscape of the Seven Years' War between Austria and Prussia. Here, also, Mann explains that the Friedrich novel will possess dignity. He questions himself, as a lyricist, uncertain whether he has had sufficient experience of greatness to be able to present it well. Nevertheless, he has 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 this letter Mann defends his historical instinct against Heinrich's criticism. Perhaps, in the last analysis, his historical instinct did 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 feels that the two projects are closely related. In a footnote to his article, "Die Fragmente zu Thomas Mann's 'Fürsten-Novelle,'" he

66 The letter is located at Marbach; excerpted in Thomas Mann-Heinrich Mann (1965), 221f.
describes the material drawn from the Memoiren der Baronin Cecile de Courtot, found among Mann's literary remains: "Das Prozedere bei der Defiliercour, beim Cercle, bei einer Fürstenhochzeit sind aufs genaueste beschrieben. Auch einige Namen fand Thomas Mann, die seinen Zwecken dienlich waren: Der Pastor Wislizenus, Fräulein Isenschnibbe, die Gräfin Schulenburg, der Kandidat Vultejus sind nach Figuren aus dem Kreis der Baronesse benannt [Königliche Hoheit]. Die Studien zur 'Fürsten-Novelle' sind also eng mit jenen zum Friedrich-Roman verzahnt."  

The comment in the letter (cited above, p. 158) 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: "Was für den Fürsten die Etikette ist, das ist für den Künstler die hohe Verpflichtung zur 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 aspect of 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."

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. The entry is found with notations for Königliche Hoheit on page 57 of Notizbuch 6 (1906?): the prince in his dealings with people; 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 responds to Hesse's critique of Königliche Hoheit:
...und dessen kann ich Sie versichern, daß keine Berechnung, kein bewußtes Liebäugeln mit dem Publikum dabei im Spiel ist. Die populären Elemente in 'Königliche Hoheit' z.B. sind ebenso ehrlicher und instinktiver Herkunft wie die artistischen, soviel ich weiß. Oft glaube ich, daß das, was Sie 'Antriebereien des Publikums' nennen, ein Ergebnis meines langen leidenschaftlich-kritischen Enthusiasmus für die Kunst Richard Wagners ist--diese ebenso exklusive wie demagogische Kunst, die mein Ideal, meine Bedürfnisse vielleicht auf immer beeinflußt, um nicht zu sagen, korrumpiert hat. Nietzsche spricht einmal von Wagners 'wechselnder Optik': bald in Hinsicht auf die grössten Bedürfnisse, bald in Hinsicht auf die raffiniertesten.

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 appears in Notizbuch 9 (p. 32) in conjunction with Mann's reference to the "Nichts-als-Kranken." The figure of Albrecht illustrates the preoccupation with the topic. In the record of the letter to Kurt Martens dated March 28, 1906, the topic "Askese" occurs because Mann reacts to Martens' labeling him an ascetic, "Ich bin Asket, insofern mein Gewissen mich auf die Leistung im Gegensatze zum Genuß und zum 'Glück' verweist,-- desto schlimmer für mich, denn ich bin nicht sehr leistungsfähig." Mann also quotes 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--

69 Briefe 1889-1936, p. 64.
ascetiscism 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 search produced a good deal of material that was not expected, it did also produce support for the idea behind the original selection of Königliche Hoheit as the center of interest. Despite the scant references to Schiller's Don Carlos itself, the interpretative 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 are 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 has 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 also to lead to the discovery of further supporting material. Furthermore, the search has produced expected 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 has also marshaled suggestive material that helps define 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.
APPENDIX I

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 A is a sample of a letter prepared for transcription to punched cards. Figure B is a sample of a notebook entry. Figure C is a sample of an article.

In Figure A, 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. "Oll" 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 B represents a notebook entry--"M," 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 C 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 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 Segebrecth. 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

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0/1 MP*

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220 TM/EB, 18f.+

300 Danke für Bertrams Brief und Geben, u.s. Friedrich Gundolf

/"Stefan George in unserer Zeit". Zweifelt, ob George

"populär" 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+
### THOMAS MANN INDEX

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APPENDIX II

Three print-out samples are included here, figures D, E, and F. The search topic is immaterial. Figure D 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 to the full phrase. "M" (the place abbreviation, "ORT-ABKUERZUNG," in items 578, 751, and 579) should read "MUENCHELEN" on the final print-out. "HM" should read "HEINRICH MANN," "BT"---"BAD TOELZ." "INFORMATION VON" indicates the printed source of a letter. "AUFBEWAHRUNGS-ORT," 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 529: "-/DIE NEUERE/ DEUTSCHE LYRIK-." Here the supplied information completes the title.

The first item in Figure E 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 are notebook entries—"NOTIZBUCH." The "+" sign, used in place of a question mark, after the supplied title "/-GEIST UND KUNST-+/" indicates our uncertainty about the use this notation was intended to serve.

Figure F 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 FRÄGLICH." Several reprints exist—"MEHRERE NACHDRUCKE;" five, outside of collected works, are known. 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. The entire Mann index record is being proofread and corrected at this writing.
LAUFENDE NUMMER 000578
ART DER VORLAGE BRIEF
DATIERT 20 JAN 1908
ADRESSE FRANZ-JOSEPH-STR. 2#
DATABIKURZUNG M#
AN MAXIMILIAN HARDEN#
INFORMATION VON BRIEFE 89-36, 71F#
ZUSAMMENFASSUNG MITARBEIT AN DER "ZUKUNFT." - SEINE LANGSAME ARBEITSWEISE, VERZÖGERUNG IM ERSCHEINEN DES ESSAYS - VERSUCH ÜBER DAS THEATER - #

LAUFENDE NUMMER 000793
ART DER VORLAGE BRIEF
DATIERT 6 FEB 1908
ADRESSE POLLING#
AN HM#
AUFWÄHRUNGSORT MARLBACH#
INFORMATION VON AUSZUG, BRIEFEWECHEL HM/IM, 1965, S. 223#
ZUSAMMENFASSUNG IM 5-6 TAGE ALLEIN IN POLLING. SCHREIBT JEDEN VORMITTAG 2 STUNDEN AN - KÖNIGLICHE HOHEIT. - KOMMENTAR ZU - KÖNIGLICHE HOHEIT - ERZAHLEN SEI SELBSTZWECK. ERINNERUNG AN DIE GEMEINSAME ZEIT IN ROM. UNTERSCHEID ZWISCHEN HM UND TM IN IHRENS SENSIBILITÄT. HARDEN-PROZESS IN MÜNCHEN. HARDEN UND - DIE ZUKUNFT. - WERDANDI-BUND IN BERLIN. WAGNERS POPULARITÄT EIN MISSVERSTANDNIS. - NORD UND SUED. - TM HAT GESELLSCHAFT MIT 14 PERSONEN -

LAUFENDE NUMMER 000751
ART DER VORLAGE BRIEF
DATIERT 10 JUN 1908
ADRESSE FRANZ-JOSEF-STRASSE 2#
DATABIKURZUNG M#
AN HM#
AUFWÄHRUNGSORT MARLBACH#
ZUSAMMENFASSUNG KRANKHEIT HMS. ÜBER JULIA MANN UND IHREN MANN. JOSEF LOEHR. ARBEITET REGELMÄSSIG AN - KÖNIGLICHE HOHEIT- UND LANGWEILT SICH DABEI. HAT EINEN BAND FONTANE INES SCHMIED GELEHEN -

LAUFENDE NUMMER 000785
ART DER VORLAGE BRIEF
DATIERT 30 JUN 1908
DATABIKURZUNG 3T#
AN UNBEKANNT#
AUFWÄHRUNGSORT AUKTIONS KATALOGAUSZUG, TM ARCHIV 8#
ZUSAMMENFASSUNG MIT DER BEENDIGUNG - KÖNIGLICHE HOHEIT/- BESCHAFFT /BEENDIGUNG 13.FEB.1909/

LAUFENDE NUMMER 000579
ART DER VORLAGE BRIEF
DATIERT 1 NOV 1908
ADRESSE FRANZ-JOSEPH-STR. 2#
DATABIKURZUNG M#
AN PHILLIP WITKOP#
INFORMATION VON BRIEFE 89-36, 72F#
ZUSAMMENFASSUNG DANK FUER WITKOPS GEDICHTE UND HABILITATIONSSCHRIFT, - / DIE NEUERE/ DEUTSCHE LYRIK/- KRITISIERT, LOBT.
FINDET /JOHANN CHRISTIAN/ GUENTHERS TODESVERSE ÜBERWELTIGEND, STEHT VERWANDTSCHAFT MIT PAUL VERLAINE.
BARTHOLD BRUCKES ERHEITETE IHN. - / KÖNIGLICHE HOHEIT/- SEHR UMFANGREICH GEWORGEN. SOMMERHAUS IN BAD TOELZ -
LAUFENDE NUMMER
ART DER VORLAGE
DATIERT
ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

COO580
ERMITTELT
NOV 1908
REISE NACH WIEN (SIEHE CHRONIK, S. 30). 25. NOVEMBER—BESUCH BEI SCHNITZLER. ETWA 27. NOVEMBER MIT JAKOB WASSERMANN AUF DEM SEMMERING. 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

COO410
NOTIZBUCH
DEZ 1908
NOTIZBUCH 9, S. 544#
HOFMANNSTHAL BETRACHTET SICH OHNE WEITERES ALS EINE ART GOETHE. SYMPATHISCHES DABEI: GROSSE VERPFlichtUNG, STRENGERES LEBEN#

LAUFENDE NUMMER
ART DER VORLAGE
DATIERT
ADRESSE
ORTABKUERZUNG
AN
INFORMATION VON
ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

COO581
BRIEF
6 DEZ 1908
FRANZ-JOSEPH-STR. 2#
M#
SAMUEL LUBLINSKI#
BRIEFE 48-55, 454#
ARTIKEL LUBLINSKIS /CONRAD FERDINAND MEYER, SONNTAGSBEILAGE DER -VOSSISCHEN ZEITUNG/- 29 NOV 1908/-
PFEHLT SICH /CONRAD FERDINAND/ MEYER INNERNLICH VERWANDT. BRIEFWECHSEL MEYER—/GOTTFRIED/ KELLER. SEINE ARBEIT. BESUCH BEI /HUGO VON HOFMANNSTHAL—CHINE PRINZ—#

LAUFENDE NUMMER
ART DER VORLAGE
DATIERT
ADRESSE
ORTABKUERZUNG
AN
AUFBEWahrUNGsort
ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

COO716
POSTKARTE
27 DEZ 1908
FRANZ-JOSEF-STRASSE 2#
M#
MARBACH#
DIE KINDER AM WEIHNACHTSABEND. HOFMANNSTHAL HAT SEINE GEDICHTE GESCHICKT#

LAUFENDE NUMMER
ART DER VORLAGE
DATIERT
NOTIZBUCH
ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

COO413
NOTIZBUCH
JAN 1909
NOTIZBUCH 9, S. 61-63#
NOTIZ ZU "-GEIST UND KUNST—/. TITEL DES KUENSTLERS SDOLL FUER DEN SCHRIFFSTELLER GEWAHRN WERDEN.
ANTI-LITERATUR VON WAGNER HER. BERNUS ALS ABSCRECKENDES BEISPIEL. DIE ZUTAT ROMANISCHEN BLUTES HABE TP UND HM DAVOR BEWARET. FURCHTET DURCH PROTEST GEGEN ANTI-LITERATUR IN DIE ROLLE DES VOLKSSCHULLEHRS ZU FALLEN, DER GEGEN MILITARISMS PROTESTIERT. /MIT ANDERER TENDENZ VERWendet IN -BETRACHTUNGEN— XII,
553#

LAUFENDE NUMMER
ART DER VORLAGE
DATIERT
NOTIZBUCH
ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

COO412
NOTIZBUCH
JAN 1909
NOTIZBUCH 9, S. 58#
NOTIZ ZU "-GEIST UND KUNST—/ KEINE KUERZUNGEN BEI WAGNER MOEGLICH, DETAIL WICHTIG. DIES SEI MODERN#
LAUFENDE NUMMER: 000675
ART DER VORLAGE: ARTIKEL
DATIERT: 12 MAI 1913
DATUM ZWEIFELHAFT
TAG FRAGLICH
MEHRERE NACHDRUCKE; 5 SIND BEKANN'T
TEXT ALS REUE VERWENDET

VEROELFENTLICHT
ARTIKEL
INFORMATION VON
ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

BUERGIN -FRIEDRICH HUCH- GEPRACHEN AM 15. MAI 1913. NACHRUF FUR FRIEDRICH HUCH.
DICTHER--SCHRIFTSTELLER. DEUTSCHE NATIONALGEMEINDE. KOERPERFREUDIGE. LEBEN UND TOT.

LAUFENDE NUMMER: 000684
ART DER VORLAGE: BUCHBESPRECHUNG
DATIERT: SEP 1913
MEHRERE NACHDRUCKE; 2 SIND BEKANN'T

VEROELFENTLICHT
ARTIKEL
INFORMATION VON
ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

BUERGIN -VORWORT ZUM ROMAN EINES JUNGVERSTORBENEN-

LAUFENDE NUMMER: 000681
ART DER VORLAGE: ARTIKEL
DATIERT: MAI 1914
MEHRERE NACHDRUCKE; 3 SIND BEKANN'T

VEROELFENTLICHT
ARTIKEL
INFORMATION VON
ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

BUERGIN -Uber eine Szene von Wedekind-

LAUFENDE NUMMER: 000953
ART DER VORLAGE: BRIEF
DATIERT: 14 NOV 1914
ORTABKUERZUNG: MP
AN: ALEXANDER ELIASBERG
INFORMATION VON
ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

DANKT FUR GESCHENK, ELIASBERGS ÜBERSETZUNG VON DIMITRI MERECHKOWSKI, -EWIGE GEFÄHRTEN.- SYMPATHIE MIT RUSSLAND.
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----------. *Gesammelte Werke in zwölf Bänden.* Frankfurt am Main, 1980.


------------- "Thomas Manns Pläne zur Fortsetzung des 'Krull,'" Fischer Almanach. Frankfurt am Main, 1967, pp. 21-46.