

## INTRODUCTION

In his study *The Age of Empire*, Eric Hobsbawm describes the period between 1875 and 1914 as a time of profound identity crisis for the upper and middle classes, one in which social mobility reached unprecedented levels.<sup>1</sup> As a result, there arose a confusion about 'who was who', and it was in this period that reference volumes about persons of status in the nation, such as the British *Who's Who* (1897), first appeared.<sup>2</sup> The growth of the modern city added to the confusion about identity. As Georg Simmel remarked in his essay 'Die Großstädte und das Geistesleben' (1903), the dominance of the money economy granted to the individual new, unheard-of freedoms. For the first time, identity ceased to be defined by one's social background; from now on, one was free to project whichever persona one wished.<sup>3</sup> This background of social upheaval made the turn of the century a boom period for confidence tricksters. There were a number of celebrated cases. In 1902, one of the most influential ladies in Parisian high society, Thérèse Humbert, was exposed as a penniless fraud.<sup>4</sup> Then there was the famous 'Hauptmann von Köpenick' incident. On 16 October 1906, Wilhelm Voigt, a 56-year-old unemployed shoemaker and ex-convict, disguised himself as a Prussian officer. Wearing a second-hand uniform, he commandeered a division of soldiers, occupied the town hall in Köpenick, had the mayor arrested, stole the cash box, and drove away in a carriage.<sup>5</sup> But it was above all the adventures of Georges Manolescu which made the headlines. Manolescu, a Romanian confidence man, disguised himself as an aristocrat. He visited the grand hotels and spas of Europe, stealing jewellery and committing various frauds. The German publication of his memoirs in 1905 was a huge commercial success.<sup>6</sup>

When Thomas Mann decided to write a story about a confidence man around 1905, he was therefore addressing a well-known phenomenon. The first written mention of *Der Hochstapler* occurs in 1905, in Mann's seventh notebook (N II, 124). Mann had been planning a work on the link between art and criminality from as early as 1902, as the newspaper cuttings about Johann Biller testify.<sup>7</sup> The discovery of Manolescu's memoirs in 1905, however, gave a new impetus to the project.<sup>8</sup> The influence of these memoirs upon the developing *Hochstapler* project was central, as Hans Wysling<sup>9</sup> and Thomas Sprecher<sup>10</sup> have shown. Even so, Mann studied other confidence men apart from Manolescu. One case which particularly interested him was that of the jewel thief Carlsson. Arrested in 1907, Carlsson claimed to be an aristocrat and operated in Munich and in the spas of central Europe. Mann collected a number of newspaper cuttings about Carlsson, often underlining sentences which appealed to him:

Carlsson führte ein Manuskript über die Académie Française mit sich, so daß es den Anschein machte, er sei Literat oder gehöre gar der Akademie an. [ . . . ] [Er]

## 2 INTRODUCTION

benahm sich stets sehr taktvoll, errötete, wenn irgendein zweifelhafter Witz gemacht wurde. Er erzählte immer: er sei der Sohn eines englischen Barons, seine Mutter sei Schwedin und er würde einst 80 Millionen Mark erben. Als Monatwechsel sende ihm sein Vater 10 000 Mark. Niemand vermutete, er sei Millionendieb.<sup>11</sup>

Another article, this time undated, contains photographs of a number of notorious confidence men, including Manolescu, Major Schiemangk, von Tschernatieff, Graf von Ostrowski, and Margulin.<sup>12</sup> By November 1909, Mann's collection of newspaper cuttings about confidence men had grown to a considerable size, but at this point he still planned *Der Hochstapler* as a short story.<sup>13</sup> Only in January 1910 did work on the text begin in earnest.<sup>14</sup>

Now, as soon as Mann began actually to write *Felix Krull* in early 1910, his choice of documentary material altered radically. Up to that point, Mann had focused almost exclusively upon newspaper reports about criminals. From now on, his selection of material was determined mainly by sociological concerns, and only rarely by criminology.<sup>15</sup> Increasingly, Mann shifted his attention from newspapers to popular illustrated journals such as *Die Woche*. The bulk of the documentary material that Mann collected for *Felix Krull* comes from *Die Woche* and was gathered between 1910 and 1913. It does not deal with crime at all, but with the universe in which Krull was to operate: the worlds of high society and the grand hotel; the worlds of leisure, tourism, and sport.<sup>16</sup> This is evident from the titles Mann selected for the sections of the dossier. While the earlier material went into folders entitled 'Coups Carlsson', 'Streiche', 'Gefangenschaft', the later material was filed under the following headings: 'Kur- und Lustorte', 'Hôtel. Reise (Dandy. Gartenarbeit) Heimat. Zuchthausaufseher', 'Intérieurs', 'Elegante Festlichkeiten', 'Weiblichkeit', 'Sport', and 'Reisen'.<sup>17</sup>

In other words, the principal focus of Mann's dossier for *Felix Krull* is on the aesthetics of society, and not on crime. If he began by underlining sentences in articles about confidence men, soon he was underlining sections in articles with titles like 'Der moderne Dandy', 'Der Beruf eines Hotelkellners', 'Die Dame im Hotel', and 'Beim Fünfuhrtee'.<sup>18</sup> One of the longest texts in the dossier is a memoir by the Russian ballerina Anna Pavlova entitled 'Aus meinem Leben'.<sup>19</sup> The text has many similarities to *Krull*. In it, Pavlova talks about her first visit to the theatre, and the great impression which it made upon her. She goes on to recount her meetings with the crowned heads of Europe, including the Tsar of Russia, the King of Sweden, and Edward VII of England. She describes the time in Stockholm when a crowd appears under her balcony and applauds her. Her maid tells her that she has brought a ray of sunshine into the lives of these people, and Pavlova realizes that this is the true meaning of her art: she helps people briefly to forget life's sorrows ('eine Stunde lang die Trübsal des Lebens vergessen').<sup>20</sup> This is highly relevant to *Krull*, since Krull and Müller-Rosé too bring a touch of beauty into the lives of the people they encounter. It seems that during the composition of the novel, the criminal theme faded more and more into the background, to be replaced by an exploration of the public nature of art.

This becomes clear when one considers the final published version of *Felix Krull*. In it, details of actual criminal activity have been kept to a minimum. This

discrepancy between Mann's initial plans for the novel and the finished result is all-important. Mann's original idea was to explore the analogy between artistry and criminality, as Ignace Feuerlicht points out.<sup>21</sup> But Feuerlicht demonstrates that Krull is far from being a *pícaro* in the traditional sense of the word. No *pícaro* worthy of the name would refuse Diane Houpfle's entreaties to call her a 'süße Hure' (443), or so nobly refuse the generosity of Lord Kilmarnock. And what sort of rogue would turn down the passionate advances of Eleanor Twentyman, telling her to overcome her confusion for the sake of decency ('so müssen Sie sie doch um des gesellschaftlichen Naturgesetzes und der guten Sitten willen überwinden' (487))?<sup>22</sup> In other words, if Krull begins life as a rogue in the manner of Manolescu, he soon finds that he prefers good form to criminality. The direction of the work changes: the initial theme of deception and illusion slowly alters, and is largely replaced by the study of aesthetics in society.<sup>23</sup> The most sublime expression of Krull's art is not the epileptic fit with which he escapes military service — it is his activity as a waiter in a grand hotel. He is an artist first and foremost and a rogue second.

*Felix Krull* begins life as a sceptical attack on the figure of the artist, but it does not remain so. It begins by transposing the artist into the criminal, but it ends by transposing the artist into the social world in general. This pattern of development is perfectly in line with one of the basic premises of the novel, namely, that Krull is one of the happy few who have been blessed by fate. As his first name indicates, Felix Krull is 'ein Sonntagskind', 'ein Vorzugskind des Himmels' (271). There is an allusion here to an operetta that had a special place in Thomas Mann's affections: *Das Sonntagskind*, composed by Carl Millöcker, with a libretto by Hugo Wittmann and Julius Bauer. Mann attended a performance of it on 24 May 1893, and his review of this operetta was one of the very first pieces he ever published. It appeared under the pseudonym 'Paul Thomas' in *Der Frühlingsturm* in Lübeck in June/July 1893. In the review, Mann praises the lightness of *Das Sonntagskind*, appreciating it as a welcome antidote to the heaviness of the recent Wagner-season:

Nach den schweren Kunstgenüssen, die uns das Stadttheater im vergangenen Winter brachte, wirken die kleine Tivoli- und Wilhelmtheater-Amusements etwa wie ein Glas Selters nach einem großen Diner. — Die gewaltigen Wagner-Gerhäuser-Abende der Saison lagen mir — um im Bilde zu bleiben — noch schwer im Magen; so tat mir Millöckers Kohlensäure-Musik wirklich ganz ausgezeichnet gut. Wenn schon Blödsinn — dann schon gehörig. Das ist ein unstreitbar richtiges Prinzip. Daher geh' ich auch nicht gern zur Schule. Das ist halber Kram. Im 'Sonntagkind' aber ist der Blödsinn mit reizender Konsequenz durchgeführt, und darum ist es ein durchaus lobenswertes und ästhetisch völlig unanfechtbares Stück. (XIII, 245)<sup>24</sup>

This brief text anticipates *Felix Krull* in two important ways. Firstly, there is the metaphorical description of art as carbonated mineral water. This view of art as something effervescent and light-hearted paves the way for the dominant metaphor of sparkling wine ('Sekt') in the opening section of *Krull*. Secondly, there is the dislike of the drudgery of school, a trait shared by both Hanno Buddenbrook and the young Felix Krull. The early provenance of this text (1893) and its humour should not prevent us from taking it seriously. Mann is suggesting that an alternative aesthetic, an aesthetic of lightness, may sometimes have its place alongside the

#### 4 INTRODUCTION

epic grandeur of Wagner. Mann is speaking of opera, but the lesson for literature is clear. Here, in miniature, is the idea that Mann will later formulate in terms of 'doppelte Optik'. This is the idea that at times art can express intense feeling, intense philosophical speculation, and that at other times it can be light-hearted and entertaining.<sup>25</sup> Art, in other words, can speak to the educated elite, but it can also speak to a wider public. This early review shows very clearly Mann's awareness that art takes place in a social context, and that artists create products for public consumption. And when Mann alludes to *Das Sonntagskind* in the early *Felix Krull*, he does so in the belief that comedy, just as much as tragedy, has a key place in the scheme of things.

Much of the secondary literature has portrayed Krull as a mythologist and as an illusionist. In doing so, it has failed to explore the highly socialized and sociable nature of Krull's performances. This relative absence in the secondary literature is, in my view, related to a paucity of research on the collection of documentary material which Mann assembled mainly between 1910 and 1913, and which is held in the Thomas Mann Archive in Zurich. Examination of the dossier reveals an inordinate interest in the aesthetics of society. A study of the genesis of *Felix Krull* shows that it starts as an exploration of the artist as criminal and then tends more and more towards a study of art's involvement in the formation of the self and the community. For example, it is highly significant that the first section of the novel that Mann chose to publish was the Müller-Rosé episode.<sup>26</sup>

Part of the object of this thesis is to rescue *Felix Krull* from readings which place too much emphasis on the mythological aspect of the novel.<sup>27</sup> The problem with such readings is that they are reductive. As John J. White has shown, modern novels tend to use mythological motifs in order to inflect the plot in a certain way or to make specific comments, but not to provide an overall structure.<sup>28</sup> *Felix Krull* may contain allusions to Hermes, but it does not recapitulate Greek myths about Hermes. Instead, the remarks about Hermes being a prefiguration of Felix Krull are made in an ironic, secular context. The myth functions as a point of reference, adding a further dimension to the narrative — without, however, providing an overarching meta-narrative. Indeed, references to Hermes make up only a fraction of the novel. Krull is a Hermes figure, but he is many other things as well: he is a Ganymede and a Casanova, a Lazarillo de Tormes and an Egmont, a butterfly and a glow-worm. The insistence upon Hermes in the secondary literature has diverted discussion away from the text itself and how it operates. This is also true for the view of Krull as a Narcissus. First introduced by Hans Wysling in his impressive study of 1982, and taken up by Hermann Kurzke<sup>29</sup> and most of the subsequent secondary literature, this idea has dominated the research on *Krull*. In my view, this is a pity, since the text itself contains no explicit reference to narcissism whatsoever. It is certainly true that at times the novel resembles a wish-fulfilment fantasy, as Kurzke claims.<sup>30</sup> The world does indeed welcome Krull with open arms, and Benno von Wiese is correct to discern fairy-tale elements in the novel.<sup>31</sup> But an element of wish-fulfilment does not necessarily equal narcissism. In fact, Krull's principal aim in life is to please other people — not what one usually associates with narcissism. Kurzke overstates his case when he claims that Krull wants applause rather than

love.<sup>32</sup> In my opinion, Krull wants both. After all, this is the Krull who decides early on that it is better to regard other people as 'voll und wichtig' (275), and who explicitly states that his attraction to Genovefa is unselfish ('nicht eigenütziges Wesen war meine Lust' (314)). This is the Krull who delights in Professor Kuckuck's description of 'Allsympathie', because it confirms what he already sensed as a youth ('die große Freude' (312, 547)). As Jürgen Scharfschwerdt points out, Krull's yearning for the world is a vitally important part of his character and must be taken into consideration along with his other, more selfish tendencies.<sup>33</sup> The narcissistic reading of *Krull* is one-sided; it ignores the subtle ambivalence of the novel, the way in which Krull is continually drawn out into the world. The whole point of the conversation about 'Allsympathie' with Kuckuck is that Krull may imaginatively expand his being in order to recognize his relatedness to other forms of life.

*Felix Krull* is an important novel to get right because, as we have already noted, its composition spans almost all of Thomas Mann's creative life, from the first years of the twentieth century to 1954. Indeed, if one includes the 1893 text 'Das Sonntagskind', *Krull* goes back even further. This is what Hans Wysling means when he asserts that Krull's confessions form a summation of Thomas Mann's entire oeuvre, leading thematically to the very heart of his creative endeavour:

Seit 1905 geplant, mit ihren tiefsten Wurzeln aber in die Vor-Buddenbrooks-Zeit zurückreichend, nach jahrzehntelangem Unterbruch in den fünfziger Jahren abgeschlossen, bilden sie [die *Bekanntnisse*] einen Rahmen um Thomas Manns gesamtes Werk [. . .]. Sie führen thematisch und motivisch ins Zentrum von Thomas Manns Schaffen.<sup>34</sup>

Jürgen Scharfschwerdt offers a similar evaluation of *Krull*, reading it as evidence for the overall thematic unity of Mann's work.<sup>35</sup> However, while Scharfschwerdt analyses the continuity of Mann's engagement with the tradition of the Bildungsroman, this book will investigate other continuities, such as the theme of 'Sympathie' and the treatment of art as a social phenomenon.

The principal aims of this book are threefold: (i) to provide a balanced and synthetic reading of *Felix Krull*, one which analyses its full philosophical and social implications, but without becoming so heavyweight that one loses sight of its stylistic elation and levity, (ii) to show how the novel portrays art and aesthetics as constitutive elements of both social life and the life of the mind, and (iii) to explore the profound implications which a study of the novel can have for the understanding of Thomas Mann's work as a whole.

This book contains three main thematic sections. The first, 'Art and the Notation of Identity', studies the involvement of art in the articulation and cultivation of the self. Arising from Mann's early theoretical deliberations, *Felix Krull* is shown to elaborate a fluid and experimentally open model of identity. The second section, 'Art and the Notation of Community', analyses the way in which *Felix Krull* explores interaction and complicity between *Bürger* and *Künstler*. It reflects upon the novel's affinities with developments in the social sciences in the early twentieth century, and maintains that social interaction in *Krull* involves a series of aesthetically modulated negotiations. The third section, 'Narrative Performance in *Felix Krull*', explores narrative features including play of genres, interaction

## 6 INTRODUCTION

with the reader, and polyvalent realism, showing that the novel's form operates as a meta-commentary upon the thematics of the work as a whole. In particular, the direct form of narrative address seeks to cultivate a community of highly self-conscious readers. Each of these three chapters concludes with a discussion of how these features relate to Mann's other major works. In this way, the thesis seeks to demonstrate the overall continuity of Mann's literary achievement.

### Notes to the Introduction

1. Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire 1875–1914* (London: Abacus, 1994), pp. 10, 170.
2. Hobsbawm, *Age of Empire*, p. 174. Hobsbawm distinguishes such guides from the already established directories of aristocratic lineage, such as the *Almanach de Gotha*.
3. Georg Simmel, 'Die Großstädte und das Geistesleben' [1903], in Georg Simmel, *Soziologische Ästhetik* (Bodenheim: Philo, 1998), pp. 119–33.
4. Hilary Spurling, *La Grande Thérèse or The Greatest Swindle of the Century* (London: Profile, 1999).
5. Voigt's memoirs appeared in 1909. Voigt, *Wie ich Hauptmann von Köpenick wurde* (Leipzig and Berlin: Püttmann, 1909). The incident was later dramatized by Carl Zuckmayer in 1931.
6. Georges Manolescu, *Ein Fürst der Diebe and Gescheitert. Aus dem Seelenleben eines Verbrechers* (Berlin/Lichterfelde: Langenscheidt, 1905). Mann's own copies are not to be found in the TMA.
7. TMA, Mat. 3/260 and 3/261.
8. Mann seems to have been sent the two volumes of Manolescu's memoirs by the publisher, Langenscheidt, since a quotation from Mann appeared on some advertising for the books. Cf. Wysling, TMS 5, p. 344. Manolescu's memoirs also inspired a popular French novel of the time, Maurice Leblanc's *Arsène Lupin, gentleman-cambrioleur* (Paris: Lafitte, 1907).
9. For Wysling's analysis of the influence of Manolescu on *Krull*, see TMS 5, pp. 153–70. Wysling also notes the influence of other contemporary works on the *Krull* project, including Heinrich Mann's *Im Schlaraffenland* (1900), Frank Wedekind's *Der Marquis von Keith* (1901), Herman Bang's *Exzentrische Novellen* (1905), and Otto Julius Bierbaum's *Prinz Kuckuck* (1907/08), (TMS 5, pp. 36–53).
10. Thomas Sprecher, 'Das grobe Muster. Georges Manolescu und Felix Krull', *TMJ* 19 (2006), 175–200.
11. 'Von dem Juwelendieb und Hochstapler Carlsson', *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, October 1907, no. 507; cf. TMA, Mat. 3/306. [Underlinings by Mann].
12. TMA, Mat. 3/510–11.
13. Cf. undated letter to the *Saale-Zeitung*, published 2 November 1909, quoted in Scherrer and Wysling, TMS 1, p. 234: 'Ich arbeite jetzt an einem Essay, der den Titel "Geist und Kunst" führen wird. Ferner beschäftige ich mich mit einer kleineren Erzählung "Der Hochstapler", die psychologisch eine gewisse Ergänzung zu meinem Fürstenroman bedeuten wird'.
14. Cf. letter of 10 January 1910 to Heinrich Mann: 'Ich sammle, notiere und studiere für die Bekenntnisse des Hochstaplers, die wohl mein Sonderbarstes werden' (Br H, 104). For a more detailed account of the work's genesis, see Wysling, 'Archivalisches Gewühle', in Scherrer and Wysling, TMS 1, pp. 234–57.
15. The sociological significance of the confidence man also forms the basis for a book written in the late 1920s: the Dadaist Walter Serner's book *Letzte Lockerung. Ein Handbrevier für Hochstapler und solche, die es werden wollen* [1927] (Munich: Renner, 1981). For a discussion of this work, see Helmut Lethen, *Cool Conduct: The Culture of Distance in Weimar Germany* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 115–27. A confidence man named Stefan Zannowitch also crops up at the beginning of Alfred Döblin's novel *Berlin Alexanderplatz: Die Geschichte vom Franz Biberkopf* [1929], in *Ausgewählte Werke in Einzelbänden*, ed. by Walter Muschg (Olten, Breisgau: Walter, 1961), pp. 21–28.
16. The dossiers for *Felix Krull* comprise 102 double-sided pages of notes, and 521 cuttings from newspapers and illustrated journals, and are held in the Thomas Mann Archive (TMA) in

- Zurich. They are described in Wysling, TMS 5, pp. 395–97, 476–81. Wysling has published the bulk of the notes in TMS 5 and many of the images from the dossier in *Bild und Text bei Thomas Mann. Eine Dokumentation*, ed. by Hans Wysling and Yvonne Schmidlin (Bern and Munich: Francke, 1975). Even so, much of the documentary material still remains unpublished.
17. Cf. Wysling, TMS 5, pp. 395–97, 476–81. Wysling fails to comment on the chronological shift in the nature of the documentary material.
  18. Paul von Szczepanski, 'Der moderne Dandy', *Die Woche*, vol. 14, no. 27, 6 July 1912, pp. 1111–13, TMA: Mat. 3/132–33; 'Der Beruf eines Hotelkellners', source unknown, TMA: Mat. 3/381; Ola Alsen, 'Die Dame im Hotel', *Die Woche*, vol. 12, no. 28, 9 July 1910, pp. 1181–87, TMA: Mat. 3/135–38; Ola Alsen, 'Beim Fünfuhrtee', *Die Woche*, 12. 50, 10 December 1910, pp. 2129–32. TMA: Mat. 3/140–41.
  19. Anna Pawlowa [English: Pavlova], 'Aus meinem Leben', *Die Woche*, vol. 14, no. 27, 6 July 1912, pp. 1128–33, TMA: Mat. 3/25–26, 43–44.
  20. Anna Pawlowa, 'Aus meinem Leben', p. 1130: Als sich die Menge danach nicht zurückzog, fragte ich mein Mädchen, womit ich ihnen wohl die Köpfe verdreht hätte. Sie antwortete mir: 'Madame, Sie machten sie eine Stunde lang die Trübsal des Lebens vergessen.' Ich vergaß diese Antwort niemals. Das einfache russische Mädchen, das sie mir gab, wies meiner Kunst ein neues Ziel.
  21. Ignace Feuerlicht, *Thomas Mann und die Grenzen des Ich* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1966), p. 98.
  22. Feuerlicht, *Thomas Mann*, p. 97: Krull ist, obwohl Mann und die Kritiker dies behaupten, kein *pícaro*. [ . . . ] Kein Schelm, der etwas auf sich hält, [ . . . ] würde es ablehnen, das Wort "Hure" in den Mund zu nehmen, wie es Felix in der Episode mit Diane tut. [ . . . ] Was für ein *pícaro*, der ein liebestolles Mädchen beschwört, sich 'um des gesellschaftlichen Naturgesetzes und der guten Sitten willen zu überwinden'! Das ist ja förmlich eine Parodie oder Negation des Schelmenromans.
  23. In the later *Krull*, the theme of deception does not disappear entirely, but, in Professor Kuckuck's speech, it is modulated into a celebration of the transitory nature of all things.
  24. And the piece continues in the same insouciant style: 'In den Couplets wird sogar Ibsen zitiert. Ich meine, mehr kann man doch nicht verlangen!' (XIII, 245).
  25. Letter to Hermann Hesse, 1 April 1910 (Br Hs, 6). Cf. XII, 109–10. For a more detailed discussion of 'doppelte Optik', see Chapter III(vi).
  26. The first fragment, 'Bekanntnisse des Hochstaplers Felix Krull: Bruchstück aus einem Roman', consists exclusively of the Müller-Rosé episode. It was published in *Das fünfundzwanzigste Jahr. Almanach des S. Fischer Verlages* (Berlin: Fischer, 1911), pp. 273–88.
  27. For mythological and Jungian readings of *Krull*, see Donald F. Nelson, *Portrait of the Artist as Hermes: A Study of Myth and Psychology in Thomas Mann's 'Felix Krull'* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971) and Frederick A. Lubich, 'The Confessions of Felix Krull, Confidence Man', in *The Cambridge Companion to Thomas Mann*, ed. by Ritchie Robertson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 199–212.
  28. John J. White, *Mythology in the Modern Novel: A Study of Prefigurative Techniques* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1971), pp. 13–15, 21–22.
  29. Kurzke, *Thomas Mann* (1985), pp. 289–92.
  30. Kurzke, *Thomas Mann* (1985), p. 290.
  31. Benno von Wiese, "'Die Bekenntnisse des Hochstaplers Felix Krull" als utopischer Roman', in *Thomas Mann 1875–1975. Vorträge in München-Zürich-Lübeck*, ed. by Beatrix Bludau, Eckhard Heftrich, and Helmut Koopmann (Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer, 1977), pp. 189–206.
  32. Kurzke, *Thomas Mann* (1985), p. 289.
  33. Jürgen Scharfschwerdt, *Thomas Mann und der deutsche Bildungsroman: Eine Untersuchung zu den Problemen einer literarischen Tradition* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1967), p. 251: 'Ist die von der Welt distanzierende Phantasie die eine Hauptkomponente, die das Hochstaplerdasein der Hauptfigur ermöglicht, so [ist] die Sehnsucht zur Welt, der ausdrückliche Weltbezug die andere Komponente'.
  34. Wysling, TMS 5, p. 10.
  35. Scharfschwerdt, *Thomas Mann*, pp. 246–69.