

Bourgeois Ambivalence: A Comparative Investigation of
Thomas Mann's *Der Zauberberg* and T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land*

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Abstract

The thesis explores important similarities and differences between responses to bourgeois society in Thomas Mann's *Der Zauberberg* (1924) and T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land* (1922). It examines these texts' presentations of the shifting morality of bourgeois culture, the prevailing sense of paralysis and fragmentation at the beginning of the twentieth century, and compares the authors' use of allusions to myth, and their explorations of concepts of time. However, by considering the ambivalent responses to bourgeois society as they are presented within these texts, and a selection of Mann and Eliot's other creative and critical works, the thesis also highlights significant differences in the authors' responses to bourgeois society, which are indicative of the broader divergent traditions in which they positioned themselves. Eliot subscribes to a tradition based upon the framework of the Christian faith, and the classical literary canon, with an 'impersonal' approach to artistic creation. By contrast, Mann places the German 'burgher' at the core of the tradition to which he subscribes, emphasising personality, and favouring a humanistic approach, which values the individual's capacity for ethical judgement based on reason. This framework demonstrates that the thematic similarities and common allusions in Mann and Eliot's creative works are underscored by radically different authorial approaches and belief systems.

*For Mary,
who loved poetry, gossip,
socialism, and shopping*

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‘Smoking a cigar makes me feel so distinguished and European—like Thomas Mann!’

T. S. Eliot

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Note on the Text

All translations from German are my own, unless otherwise stated. My aim has been to provide translations which are as direct as possible, sometimes at the expense of elegance, so that non-German speakers receive a clearer sense of the syntax, vocabulary, and style of the original. Where possible all quotations are given in their original language with translations provided in the footnotes. Where other authors have quoted in English, I quote their translation and provide the original in the footnotes. In the case of single words or short phrases, translations are given directly after in parentheses in the body of the text, for the reader's convenience. Titles of works are referred to in their original language (for example, *Der Zauberberg*), except when they are referred to by another writer, in which case that writer's choice of title is employed.

This thesis follows MHRA conventions on presentation and referencing. All references to Mann's fictional works and essays are taken from the 1990 edition of the *Gesammelte Werke in dreizehn Bänden* (Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer, 1990). I have chosen not to refer to the more recent *Große kommentierte Frankfurter Ausgabe* (which will eventually run to thirty-eight volumes), since a number of the essays to which this study refers are still awaiting publication in this edition. (*Essays IV 1933-1939*, *Essays V 1939-1945*, and *Essays VII 1950-1955*, along with the majority of Mann's letters are yet to be published.)

References to Eliot's poems are to T. S. Eliot, *The Poems of T. S. Eliot Volume I: Collected and Uncollected Poems*, ed. by Christopher Ricks and Jim McCue (London: Faber, 2015). In order to make it clearer to the reader which poem is being referred to, and where the reference can be located within the poem, the abbreviated title of the poem, followed by the section number where applicable, and line number are given in the footnotes. Similarly, references to Mann's novels and short stories, taken from the *Gesammelte Werke*, are given

abbreviated titles, rather than referring to their volume number in the collection to help clarify which text is being referred to.

All references to Nietzsche's works are to the texts as they appear in the electronic version published in the Nietzsche Source collection (<http://www.nietzschesource.org/eKGWB>), edited by Paolo d'Iorio.

List of Abbreviations

ASG	T. S. Eliot, <i>After Strange Gods: A Primer of Modern Heresy</i> (London: Faber, 1934)
B	Thomas Mann, <i>Buddenbrooks</i>
BN	T. S. Eliot, 'Burnt Norton'
CP1	T. S. Eliot, <i>The Complete Prose of T. S. Eliot: The Critical Edition, Volume 1: Apprentice Years, 1905-1918</i> , ed. by Jewel Spears Brooker and Ronald Schuchard (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press and Faber, 2014)
CP2	T. S. Eliot, <i>The Complete Prose of T. S. Eliot: The Critical Edition, Volume 2: The Perfect Critic, 1919-1926</i> , ed. by Anthony Cuda and Ronald Schuchard (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press and Faber, 2014)
CP3	T. S. Eliot, <i>The Complete Prose of T. S. Eliot: The Critical Edition, Volume 3: Literature, Politics, Belief, 1927-1929</i> , ed. by Frances Dickey, Jennifer Formichelli, and Ronald Schuchard (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press and Faber, 2015)
CP4	T. S. Eliot, <i>The Complete Prose of T. S. Eliot: The Critical Edition, Volume 4: English Lion, 1930-1933</i> , ed. by Jason Harding and Ronald Schuchard (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press and Faber, 2015)
DF	Thomas Mann, <i>Doktor Faustus</i>
DS	T. S. Eliot, 'The Dry Salvages'
DTiV	Thomas Mann, <i>Der Tod in Venedig</i>
EC	T. S. Eliot, 'East Coker'
FA	T. S. Eliot, 'Fragment of an Agon'
FP	T. S. Eliot, 'Fragment of a Prologue'
FW	Friedrich Nietzsche, <i>Die fröhliche Wissenschaft</i>

- GT Friedrich Nietzsche, *Die Geburt der Tragödie*
- GWIX Thomas Mann, *Reden und Aufsätze 1 (Gesammelte Werke Band IX)* (Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer, 1990)
- GWX Thomas Mann, *Reden und Aufsätze 2 (Gesammelte Werke Band X)* (Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer, 1990)
- GWXI Thomas Mann, *Reden und Aufsätze 3 (Gesammelte Werke Band XI)* (Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer, 1990)
- GWXII Thomas Mann, *Reden und Aufsätze 4 (Gesammelte Werke Band XII)* (Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer, 1990)
- ICS T. S. Eliot, *The Idea of a Christian Society* (London: Faber, 1939)
- JGB Friedrich Nietzsche, *Jenseits von Gut und Böse*
- LG T. S. Eliot, 'Little Gidding'
- LSP T. S. Eliot, 'The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock'
- LTSE1 T. S. Eliot, *The Letters of T. S. Eliot, Volume 1, 1898-1922*, ed. by Valerie Eliot and Hugh Haughton (London: Faber, 2009)
- LTSE2 T. S. Eliot, *The Letters of T. S. Eliot, Volume 2, 1923-1925*, ed. by Valerie Eliot and Hugh Haughton (London: Faber, 2009)
- LTSE3 T. S. Eliot, *The Letters of T. S. Eliot, Volume 3, 1926-1927*, ed. by Valerie Eliot and John Haffenden (London: Faber, 2012)
- LTSE4 T. S. Eliot, *The Letters of T. S. Eliot, Volume 4, 1928-1929*, ed. by Valerie Eliot and John Haffenden (London: Faber, 2013)
- LTSE5 T. S. Eliot, *The Letters of T. S. Eliot, Volume 5, 1930-1931*, ed. by Valerie Eliot and John Haffenden (London: Faber, 2014)
- NTWL T. S. Eliot, Notes on *The Waste Land*
- O T. S. Eliot, 'Opera'
- OPP T. S. Eliot, *On Poetry and Poets* (London: Faber, 1956)

P	T. S. Eliot, 'Preludes'
PL	T. S. Eliot, 'Portrait of a Lady'
<i>PTSE1</i>	T. S. Eliot, <i>The Poems of T. S. Eliot Volume I: Collected and Uncollected Poems</i> , ed. by Christopher Ricks and Jim McCue (London: Faber, 2015)
RWN	T. S. Eliot, 'Rhapsody on a Windy Night'
SAN	T. S. Eliot, 'Sweeney Among the Nightingales'
<i>SE</i>	T. S. Eliot, <i>Selected Essays</i> 2 nd edn. (London: Faber, 1976)
<i>T</i>	Thomas Mann, <i>Tristan</i>
<i>TK</i>	Thomas Mann, <i>Tonio Kröger</i>
<i>TWL</i>	T. S. Eliot, <i>The Waste Land</i>
WI	T. S. Eliot, 'Whispers of Immortality'
Z	Thomas Mann, <i>Der Zauberberg</i>

Introduction

The creative works of Thomas Mann and T. S. Eliot share a wealth of common features, for example their rootedness in the European literary tradition, their concern with the shifting morality of a culture in decline, the prevailing sense of paralysis and fragmentation at the beginning of the twentieth century, their allusions to myth, and their explorations of concepts of time. Furthermore, Mann and Eliot occupied similar social positions as respectable, middle-class men of letters, social commentators, and journal editors.¹ The authors' contemporaneity also means that their works are often informed by, and respond to, the same historical and cultural events. For example, as will be considered in this study, their works respond to technological developments such as the cinema, contemporary philosophies about the nature of time, and historical events, most notably the perceived decadence and spiritual vacuum at the end of the nineteenth century, and the First World War. It is surprising, given these similarities, that no full-length study of the two authors exists, a gap in knowledge which this study aims to fill.

This investigation will not, however, focus simply on similarities between Mann and Eliot's creative works. By considering the two authors' ambivalent responses to bourgeois society within their works, it will be argued that the differences in these ambivalent responses are indicative of the broader traditions in which the authors positioned themselves.² This

¹ For more on Mann's journal *Mass und Wert*, see Thomas Baltensweiler, "*Mass und Wert*" – die Exilzeitschrift von Thomas Mann und Konrad Falke (Bern: Peter Lang, 1996); Stephen Parker, Peter Davies, Matthew Philpotts, *The Modern Restoration: Rethinking German Literary History 1930-1960* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004), pp. 94-106. For more on Eliot and the *Criterion* see Jason Harding, *The Criterion: Cultural Politics and Periodical Networks in Inter-War Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Agha Shahid Ali, *T. S. Eliot as Editor* (Ann Arbor, MI.: UMI Research Press, 1986). In the forthcoming project 'Editing the Twentieth Century', supported by a British Academy Fellowship, Matthew Philpotts compares Eliot and Mann's roles as journal editors (along with Sartre's *Les Temps Modernes*), although this is still some way from publication.

² Since the term 'bourgeois' can have a number of connotations (its French origin; citizens who practise certain trades; its Marxist use, 'besitzende Klasse' ['property owning class']), it is worth clarifying how the term will be employed here. Both the German and the English languages employ the term 'bourgeois' directly from the French. Marx deliberately used 'bourgeois' because 'Bürger' ('burgher') was too positive and had connections to the 'citoyen' of the French Revolution. The difference between Bürger and bourgeois was integral to Mann's thinking: he said that to translate 'bourgeois' to 'Bürger' was a 'mischief of the literati' ('Er [das Wort

analysis will demonstrate that both authors portray the middle classes with critical scorn, irony, and humour. Yet the varying degrees by which each author presents these attitudes reveal a great deal about their different responses to this social group.

Although Mann is often critical of his middle-class characters, and they are frequently objects of mockery, the warmth with which they are simultaneously treated reveals an underlying sympathy.³ This study highlights an important, and often overlooked, distinction drawn by Mann between the ‘bourgeois’ and the ‘burgher’, through which this sympathetic attitude can partially be understood.⁴ This distinction, outlined in *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen (Reflections of a Nonpolitical Man)* (1918), marks the beginning of Mann’s more openly affirmative attitude to the middle classes in his critical writing through his shaking off the bourgeois decadence of the nineteenth century and repositioning the middle classes in a more favourable, ‘burgherly’ light. It will be argued here that the *Betrachtungen* provides evidence of the formation of what I refer to as Mann’s ‘burgherly tradition’. This tradition focuses on the ‘burgherly’ values marked out for praise by Mann, such as order, routine, craftsmanship, diligence, care for one’s health, capitalist precision, and sensible economy.⁵ Mann’s praise of such values continues in his later essays, most notably in

“Bürger”] ist die mechanisch-literarische Übersetzung des französischen bourgeois, [...] Und das Wort “bourgeois” betrifft, so ist es freilich durch das kapitalistische Zeitalter internationalisiert worden, aber es mit “Bürger” zu übersetzen, ist ein Literatenunfug’, ‘It [the word ‘Bürger’] is the mechanical-literary translation of the French bourgeois, [...] And as far as the word ‘bourgeois’ is concerned, it has, of course, been internationalised by the capitalistic era, but to translate it as ‘Bürger’ is a mischief of the literati’ (*GWXII*, pp. 135-36). The implications of this for his works will be discussed in detail in chapter 1 below. I use the term ‘bourgeois’ to refer to the middle classes but with the acknowledgement of its connotations of materialism and capitalism. The term ‘burgher’ will be employed as the direct translation of ‘Bürger’ which needs to be differentiated from ‘bourgeois’ since it has different connotations and associations.

³ In the case of *Der Zauberberg*, Hans Castorp is the most notable example of this, although Mann’s treatment of other characters such as Frau Stöhr, Settembrini, Naphta, Wehsal, and Ferge will also be considered below.

⁴ See note 2, above. This distinction will be discussed at length in chapter 1 below, pp. 41-52.

⁵ Mann praises as ‘burgherly’: ‘Ordnung, Folge, Ruhe, “Fleiß”—nicht im Sinne der Emsigkeit, sondern der Handwerkstreue’, ‘order, sequence, rest, “diligence”—not in the sense of industriousness but of faithful workmanship’ and Schopenhauer’s ‘kantisch-pedantische Unwandelbarkeit und Pünktlichkeit seines Tagesablaufes; seine weise Gesundheitspflege auf Grund guter physiologischer Kenntnisse [...]; seine Genauigkeit als Kapitalist (er schrieb jeden Pfennig auf und hat sein kleines Vermögen durch kluge Wirtschaft im Laufe seines Lebens verdoppelt); die Ruhe, Zähigkeit, Sparsamkeit, Gleichmäßigkeit seiner Arbeitsmethode’, ‘Kantian pedantic stability and punctuality of his daily life; his wise care for his health based on sound physiological knowledge [...]; his precision as a Capitalist (he wrote down every penny and by clever

‘Goethe als Repräsentant des bürgerlichen Zeitalters’ (‘Goethe as Representative of the Burgherly Age’) (1932). It is in light of this attitude that *Der Zauberberg* will be analysed, suggesting that although Mann portrays the middle classes with ambivalence, the favourable attitude underlying this is unambiguous.

Eliot’s treatment of the bourgeoisie is more ambivalent than Mann’s. While he sometimes presents elements of humour, as will be seen, for example, in ‘Eeldrop and Appleplex’ (1917), he is also unequivocally damning of the middle classes in ‘Marie Lloyd’ (1922).⁶ This ambiguity is further complicated by the differences between his published and unpublished writing, which indicates that Eliot’s private response to the bourgeoisie was less critical than his public response. By considering these views in light of the broader traditions in which Eliot positioned his writing, and in comparison with the centrality of the middle classes to Mann’s tradition, it becomes clear that, to Eliot, class was not nearly as significant as it was to Mann. Through reference to Eliot’s critical essays and social commentary, it will be argued that he favoured a tradition based upon the framework of the Christian faith, and the classical literary canon. Eliot presents Dante as the best representative of this, suggesting that the Catholic church provided the framework upon which *La Divina Commedia* could be built.⁷ Although Eliot did not formally convert to Anglo-Catholicism until 1927, his assessment that Christianity, and specifically Christianity within the Latin tradition, provided the essential cultural framework for the best literature can be found much earlier, in his 1920 ‘Blake’ essay.⁸ Here Eliot also provides evidence of his broader view of cultural and social decline and its causes. He suggests that:

management he doubled his fortune during his lifetime); the tranquillity, tenacity, economy and steadiness of his working methods’ (*GWXII*, p. 104; p. 107).

⁶ Eliot plainly states in ‘Marie Lloyd’ that ‘the middle classes are morally corrupt’ (*CP2*, p. 419). Both ‘Eeldrop and Appleplex’ and ‘Marie Lloyd’ are discussed in detail in chapter 3 below.

⁷ ‘Dante had the benefit of a mythology and a theology which had undergone a more complete absorption into life than those of Lucretius’ (*CP2*, p. 228).

⁸ Here Eliot argues that Blake’s creation of his own philosophy damaged his ability as a poet (*CP2*, pp. 189-90).

We may speculate, for amusement, whether it would not have been beneficial to the north of Europe generally, and to Britain in particular, to have had a more continuous religious history.⁹

The rise of Protestantism, with its greater emphasis on the individual was, for Eliot, a precursor of the increasing secularism which followed and which prevailed by the early twentieth century. By contrast, Mann's 'burgherly tradition', with its roots in Lutheranism, sets great store by the ability of the individual to form his or her own ethical judgements. This opens up the most notable of difference between the two writers: Eliot's Christian faith, and reliance on external moral authority in contrast to Mann's belief in the primacy of the individual to make ethical choices based on education and reason rather than religion. This difference informs their divergent attitudes to the role of personality in the creative process, and their differing ideas about the state of cultural decline in the twentieth century. It is these major differences which will be explored within this study, showing how the differences between Mann and Eliot's ambivalent responses to bourgeois society are rooted within larger, divergent traditions which place the two authors' outlooks, in some respects, in opposition to each other.

Although no full-length comparison of Mann and Eliot exists, parallels between the authors' works have not gone unremarked. Even while the two authors were still alive and actively writing, their works were being compared, although not in any detail. In 1947 Jacques Mercanton published *Poètes de L'Univers* in France, while in Italy, Enzo Paci published *Esistenza ed Immagine: Mann, Eliot, Rilke, Valéry, Proust*.¹⁰ Although both works

⁹ Ibid., p. 190.

¹⁰ Jacques Mercanton, *Poètes de L'Univers* (Paris: Albert Skira, 1947); Enzo Paci, *Esistenza ed Immagine: Mann, Eliot, Rilke, Valéry, Proust* (Milan: Antonio Tarantola, 1947). There are a number of studies which, like Mercanton and Paci's texts, contain chapters on Mann and Eliot separately but offer little comparative analysis: Philo M. Buck Jr., *Directions in Contemporary Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1942); Eugene Webb, *The Dark Dove: The Sacred and Secular in Modern Literature* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1975); Malcolm Bradbury *The Modern World: Ten Great Writers* (London: Penguin, 1989); *European Literature and Theology in the Twentieth Century*, ed. by David Jasper and Colin Crowder (London: Macmillan, 1990); Piero Boitani *The Bible and Its Rewritings*, trans. by Anita Weston (New York: Oxford University Press,

consider Mann and Eliot separately for the most part, they do point out some resemblances between the authors' works. Mercanton, for example, notes the common interest in the Grail legends in *The Waste Land* and *Der Zauberberg*.¹¹ He also notes Mann's humanist approach in contrast with Eliot's Catholicism, one of the essential differences between the authors upon which this study builds.¹² Paci connects Mann and Eliot's works to Wagner through their common use of the leitmotif, picking up on the musical qualities of *The Waste Land* and the way in which Mann constructs his narratives.¹³

There is a small number of articles which compare the authors' works in more detail: Wetzel's 'The Seer in the Spring: On *Tonio Kröger* and *The Waste Land*' (1970); Spivey's 'Major Symbols of Modernism in Mann, Joyce and Eliot' (1976), and Berman's 'Montage as Literary Technique: Thomas Mann's *Tristan* and T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land*' (1981).¹⁴ While these investigations are valuable for their close analyses of the texts with which they deal, and all trace stylistic similarities between Mann and Eliot's works, they are narrow in scope and pay little attention to the relation of the works to their authors. Furthermore, even the most recent of these studies is now over thirty-five years old, predating the waves of scholarship that have resulted from the publication of Mann's previously unpublished work notes and diaries and Eliot's previously unpublished poetry, prose, and letters.¹⁵ This study

1999); Anthony Cuda, *The Passions of Modernism: Eliot, Yeats, Woolf and Mann* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2010).

¹¹ Mercanton, pp. 108-9.

¹² Ibid., pp. 182-4.

¹³ Paci, pp. 32-3.

¹⁴ Heinz Wetzel, 'The Seer in the Spring: On *Tonio Kröger* and *The Waste Land*', *Revue de littérature comparée*, 44 (1970), 322-32; Ted Spivey, 'Major Symbols of Modernism in Mann, Joyce and Eliot', *International Journal of Symbolology* 7 (1976) 106-17; Russel Berman, 'Montage as Literary Technique: Thomas Mann's *Tristan* and T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land*', *Selecta*, 2 (1981), 20-3.

¹⁵ Mann's work notes were published by Hans Wysling in 1991-92, and the complete work notes for *Der Tod in Venedig* by T. J. Reed in 1983. Thomas Mann, *Notizbücher 1-6*, ed. by Hans Wysling (Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer, 1991); Thomas Mann, *Notizbücher 7-14*, ed. by Hans Wysling (Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer, 1992); Thomas Mann, *Der Tod in Venedig. Text, Materialien, Kommentar*, ed. by T. J. Reed (Munich: Carl Hanser, 1983). Mann's diaries for the years 1918-21 and 1933-1955 were published in ten volumes between 1980 and 1995, ed. by Peter de Mendelssohn and Inge Jens (the missing years were destroyed by Mann). The past twenty years have seen huge developments in the publication of Eliot's previously unpublished poetry, first with Christopher Rick's publication of Eliot's early notebook *Inventions of the March Hare* (T. S. Eliot, *Inventions of the March Hare: Poems 1909-1917*, ed. by Christopher Ricks (San Diego: Harcourt Brace, 1996). The T. S.

draws on these recent publications and the deeper insights they have stimulated into the authors' personal opinions and critical writings, taking an approach which values a detailed literary analysis of the authors' creative works, but which also maintains that the works should be read in light of the larger cultural traditions and belief systems within which the authors positioned themselves. Critical approaches focussing on the creative works alone, such as those cited above, often fail to account for important contextual differences in the authors' outlooks which inform their works, and therefore important differences which underlie stylistic or thematic similarities. They also highlight the importance of establishing the authors' knowledge of each other in order to avoid making speculative claims of influence about motifs or themes in their works. For example, Wetzel begins his article with the assertion that Eliot 'may have known' Mann's *Tonio Kröger* (1903) when he was working on *The Waste Land* (1922), using this possible connection to link the cruelty which Tonio associates with spring to the famous opening line of Eliot's poem, 'April is the cruellest month'.¹⁶ However, as will be demonstrated below, a closer investigation of Eliot's knowledge of Mann reveals that it is extremely unlikely that Eliot had read *Tonio Kröger* before the publication of *The Waste Land*.¹⁷

Aside from the close analyses of Mann and Eliot's style cited above, there are some instances where the two authors have been compared within the wider context of modernism. The most notable of these is Quinones' analysis of the phenomenon of time in a selection of landmark modernist texts, including *The Waste Land* and *Der Zauberberg*.¹⁸ Quinones' monograph traces patterns of modernist presentations of time in the oeuvres of Mann, Eliot,

Eliot Research Project, which commenced in March 2009 has already seen the publication of the two volume edition of Eliot's poetry which includes a number of previously unpublished poems: T. S. Eliot, *The Poems of T. S. Eliot Volume I: Collected and Uncollected Poems* and *Volume II: Practical Cats and Further Verses*, ed. by Christopher Ricks and Jim McCue (London: Faber, 2015). The project has also seen the publication of six volumes of Eliot's letters (1898-1933) to date, and four volumes of Eliot's prose (1905-1933).

¹⁶ Tonio states 'Gott verdamme den Frühling [...] Er ist und bleibt die grässlichste Jahreszeit!', 'God damn the Spring [...] It is and remains the cruellest time of year!' (*TK*, p. 294); Wetzel, p. 322; *TWL*, l. 1.

¹⁷ See chapter 1, pp. 23-24.

¹⁸ Ricardo J. Quinones, *Mapping Literary Modernism: Time and Development* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).

D. H. Lawrence, Woolf, Joyce, Kafka, Pound, and Proust. Although his analysis of Mann's presentation of time as it developed from *Buddenbrooks* to *Der Zauberberg* is astute and convincing, his attempt to apply the same parallels to the development between Eliot's early poetry and *The Waste Land* does not take into account Eliot's views on cultural and social decline.¹⁹ As will be argued in detail below, Eliot considered western society to have been in a state of continual decline from the seventeenth century onwards, in large part due to increasing secularisation and industrialisation. Mann, on the other hand, saw the beginning of the twentieth century as a break from the decadence and sense of exhaustion which had characterised the end of the nineteenth century.

Gross' 'The Figure of St Sebastian' (1988) and Smith's *Rape and Revelation: The Descent to the Underworld in Modernism* (1990) take biographical approaches but their comparisons of Mann and Eliot are brief and anecdotal.²⁰ Smith's monograph suggests that a number of major literary works, including *The Waste Land*, *Four Quartets*, *Buddenbrooks*, *Death in Venice*, *The Magic Mountain*, *Joseph and His Brothers*, and *Doctor Faustus* all depict journeys into the underworld, which are inspired by crises in the authors' personal lives at the time of writing.²¹ Although Smith considers the authors separately, he does offer some brief comparisons, likening the 'descent' in section V of *The Waste Land* to Hans Castorp's knight-like quest, 'forever searching for the Grail'.²² Although Smith does not explore this comparison in any greater detail, the shared Grail mythology of Eliot and Mann's texts will be considered in chapter 3 below. Smith draws another fleeting comparison, which raises more questions than his analysis answers, suggesting that the hags of Hans' snow

¹⁹ A detailed account of Quinones' comparison of Mann and Eliot will be given in chapter 5 below, pp.247-51.

²⁰ Harvey Gross, 'The Figure of St Sebastian' in *T. S. Eliot: Essays from the 'Southern Review'*, ed. by James Olney (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), pp. 103-116; Evans Lansing Smith, *Rape and Revelation: The Descent to the Underworld in Modernism* (Maryland: University Press of America, 1990).

²¹ Lansing Smith cites Eliot's marriage to Vivienne, financial pressures, the visit of his mother and his nervous breakdown as evidence of the crises which produced *The Waste Land* (pp. 27-32). As the causes inspiring *The Magic Mountain*, Lansing Smith cites Mann's visit to Katia at a Davos sanatorium in 1912, the financial pressures of the large mortgage he had taken on and the effect of the First World War (p. 69).

²² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

vision are, like the ‘Lady’ with ‘three white leopards’ of ‘Ash-Wednesday’, ‘a manifestation of the archetypal image of the Great Mother (combining loving and terrible, spiritual and material aspects)’.²³ Like Quinones, Smith focuses on tracing larger patterns across modernism, meaning that less attention is given to detailed analysis of individual texts.²⁴

Gross’ article claims that both Eliot and Mann’s allusions to Saint Sebastian were based on the same Mantegna painting in the Ca’ d’Oro, Venice.²⁵ His discussion of the sado-masochistic aspects of both authors’ representations of Sebastian, in relation to the artist and the creation process, considers Eliot and Mann one after the other, only subtly inviting the reader to draw their own comparisons. The only other instance in which he explicitly mentions the authors together is through quoting Eliot’s statement that *The Waste Land* ‘was only the relief of a personal and wholly insignificant grouse against life’.²⁶ Gross suggests that despite this claim, the poem was immediately ‘perceived as the reflection of a prevailing mood’.²⁷ He directly compares this to the assertion made in *Der Tod in Venedig* that:

In order that a significant work of the spirit may have the immediate power to exert a broad and deep effect, there must exist an affinity—yes, a conformity—between the personal fate of the author and the common fate of his contemporaries.²⁸

Although Gross does not offer any further comparison beyond this observation, he hits upon an important theme which will be a central concern of this study: the relationship between the individual and their creative work. For Mann, this is relatively straightforward. His approach to art is in line with the excerpt from *Der Tod in Venedig* just quoted. He places great value on the relationship between the individual and society as well as emphasising the centrality of

²³ Eliot, ‘Ash Wednesday’, II, l. 1; Lansing Smith, p. 32. Lansing Smith later makes the same comparison but extends it to ‘Lawrence (Ursula and Gudrun), Joyce (Anna Livia Plurabelle), Conrad (the jungle’s fertility balanced by its seductive and fatal horror)’ (p. 73).

²⁴ The hags of *Der Zauberberg*’s snow vision will be analysed in detail in chapter 4.

²⁵ ‘Because Mann’s story takes place in Venice, we cannot doubt that his image of St Sebastian derives from the same Ca’ d’Oro Mantegna that had made such an impression on the young Eliot’ (Gross, p. 113).

²⁶ Eliot, *Excerpts from Lectures 1932-1933* documented by Henry Eliot (*PTSEI*, p. 577); Gross, p. 111.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.* (translation by Gross). Damit ein bedeutendes Geistesprodukt auf der Stelle eine breite und tiefe Wirkung zu üben vermöge, muß eine geheime Verwandtschaft, ja Übereinstimmung zwischen dem persönlichen Schicksal seines Urhebers und dem allgemeinen des mitlebenden Geschlechtes bestehen (*DTiV*, p. 452).

personality in the creation process. By contrast, Eliot's theory of art relies on a separation between the creative work and the personality of the artist. This is most famously stated in 'Tradition and the Individual Talent' (1919): 'the progress of an artist is a continual self-sacrifice, a continual extinction of personality'.²⁹ This statement seems to contradict Eliot's comment about the personal nature of the writing of *The Waste Land*. This comes back to the distinction which must be drawn between Eliot's published criticism and poetry, and his unpublished poetry, on the one hand, and private correspondence on the other. Eliot's comment on *The Waste Land*, quoted by Gross, is taken from unpublished material collected by Eliot's brother, Henry Ware Eliot. It will be argued here that Eliot the poet and critic presents a firmer stance on the impersonality required for the creative process than Eliot the man, in his personal correspondence and unpublished poetry.

The most thorough comparative analysis of Mann and Eliot to date is Cecil Noble's 1987 study of Mann, Eliot, and Kafka.³⁰ Noble's main focus is on these authors' relationship to religion. He begins his chapter on Eliot by stating that the question of concurrence between Eliot's 'Weltbild' ('worldview') and Mann's later worldview is one of the most interesting, unexplored themes in comparative literature.³¹ In opposition to the framework presented by this investigation which explores the differences underlying the similarities between Mann and Eliot's works, Noble presents the two authors as appearing, on the surface, to have little in common with each other:

Doch was könnte letzten Endes ein Poet und Dramatiker, Autor von *Murder in the Cathedral* und *The Cocktail Party*, und ein Romancier und Essayist, Schöpfer der *Buddenbrooks* und des *Doktor Faustus*, überhaupt gemeinsam haben, besonders

²⁹ CP 2, p. 108.

³⁰ Cecil. A. M. Noble, *Dichter und Religion: Thomas Mann - Kafka - Eliot* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1987).

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

angesichts merkwürdiger kultureller, kunstanschaulicher und stilistischer Divergenzen?³²

He suggests that the striking point of similarity between the authors is the way in which Mann's later works and Eliot's plays merge the past with the present through the mythical.³³ In particular their common use of 'Zeitlosigkeit' ('timelessness') and 'Wiederholung' ('repetition'), and the way in which they use repetition to create timelessness.³⁴ Yet Noble considers this only briefly in relation to Eliot's plays, *Four Quartets*, and Mann's *Joseph* novels.³⁵ The strength of Noble's analysis lies in the detailed exploration of Mann's relationship with religion. He suggests that, intellectually and morally, Mann was strongly influenced by the Protestant faith in which he was raised.³⁶ Noble recognises how Mann merged this with an approach to religion which avoided dogmatism and placed the human firmly at its centre. Importantly, for this study, he also recognises how Eliot demonstrates a much closer relationship to faith than Mann.³⁷ This investigation is in broad agreement with Noble's analysis; the parallels he draws between their later uses of mythology, particularly in relation to religion, and his analysis that the ultimate divergence between the authors lies in Mann's humanism in contrast with Eliot's Catholicism.³⁸ This study will, however, provide a number of answers not considered by Noble, to his question: what do Eliot and Mann have in common?

Aside from these direct comparisons of Mann and Eliot, there are a number of more recent studies in Anglo-German comparative criticism, which highlight the need for a greater insight into Eliot's relationship with German culture. Peter Firchow attempts to address this

³² Really, what, when it comes down to it, could a poet and dramatist, author of *Murder in the Cathedral* and *The Cocktail Party*, and a novelist and essayist, creator of *Buddenbrooks* and *Doctor Faustus*, have in common, especially in light of strange, cultural, artistically vivid and stylistic divergences? (ibid.).

³³ Ibid., p. 105.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 108.

³⁵ Ibid., pp. 108-10.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 38.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 115.

³⁸ Ibid.

by examining the importance of Eliot's visit to Munich in 1911 for 'Prufrock' and *The Waste Land*.³⁹ Firchow focuses predominantly on Marie of the latter poem and questions the lack of attention paid to Eliot's time in Germany in earlier biographies (citing in particular Ackroyd and Miller).⁴⁰ Crawford's recent biography *Young Eliot* (2015) pays more attention to Eliot's experience of Germany than previous biographies, offering a detailed description of the cultural landscape of Munich in 1911 (although there is no mention of Munich's by then famous resident, Thomas Mann).⁴¹ Crawford does not, however, consider Eliot's relation to German culture in any further detail. Similarly, while Firchow's study is useful for filling in biographical details about Eliot's encounters in Munich, there is little about Eliot's intellectual engagement with major German thinkers or writers.⁴² This study aims to address this gap in knowledge by considering in detail Eliot's engagements with Goethe, Nietzsche, and Wagner. Furthermore, it aims to present formerly unexplored analyses which previous critical comparisons have highlighted and, due to narrow scope, limited space, or different objectives, have been unable to consider.

This investigation aims to strike a balance between a close analysis of the authors' creative works and their individual belief systems. An analysis of both authors' responses to bourgeois society requires some inspection of their social backgrounds. Both authors were born into upper middle-class families which were well established and respected in their respective communities.⁴³ Crawford describes Eliot's formidable family tree emphasising his paternal grandfather, Reverend William Greenleaf Eliot, who was the founder of Washington

³⁹ Peter Edgerly Firchow, *Strange Meetings: Anglo-German Literary Encounters from 1910 to 1960* (Baltimore: Catholic University of America Press, 2011), pp. 23-38.

⁴⁰ Peter Ackroyd, *T. S. Eliot* (London: Abacus, 1985); James E. Miller, *T. S. Eliot's Personal Waste Land: Exorcism of the Demons* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1977); Firchow, pp. 23-4.

⁴¹ Robert Crawford, *Young Eliot: From St Louis to 'The Waste Land'* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2015), pp. 159-62.

⁴² Firchow's chapter on Eliot focuses mainly on the poet's possible meeting with Countess Marie Larisch (pp. 28-35).

⁴³ Crawford, *Young Eliot*, pp. 11-18; Joseph Gerard Brennan, *Thomas Mann's World* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942), p. 3.

University and a pillar of Unitarianism.⁴⁴ Mann's family also held a prominent position in their community as his father was a Senator in Lübeck.⁴⁵ Both authors' fathers were successful businessmen who provided comfortable, financially secure lifestyles for their families.⁴⁶ The essential tenets of an upper middle-class upbringing and lifestyle are apparent in both authors' works, notably in the settings, characters, and themes they present.

Mann happily transferred aspects of his family and himself into his works, so that often the distinction between his life and his fiction is tenuous.⁴⁷ Although this thesis aims to avoid placing too much weight on either author's biography, to ignore Mann's willingness to draw on his personal experiences and emotions to inform his literature would be to ignore an important element of the works themselves. Furthermore, Mann's unwillingness to disconnect the personal from the poetic is an important aspect of his 'burgherly tradition' and will be considered throughout this study. The author's own precarious position as the son of a respectable, upper middle-class merchant, struggling to come to terms with his position as an artist in this society, informs his early works. More than this, it displays Mann's mode of thought, which places emphasis on the individual and the personal as worthy literary themes and shows the influence upon his works of the society in which he was raised.

Similarly, the focus on bourgeois existence in Eliot's early poetry also depicts his deep involvement in this society, which is only natural in light of the poet's family and upbringing. However, Eliot takes a much more satirical and detached approach than Mann in his presentation of the bourgeoisie. Eliot's choice to write poetry, rather than pursuing the more bourgeois form of the novel, like Mann, is also indicative of Eliot's greater resistance to

⁴⁴ Crawford, *Young Eliot*, pp. 12-13.

⁴⁵ Brennan, *Thomas Mann's World*, p. 3.

⁴⁶ Eliot's father, Henry Ware Eliot, was a manager at the Hydraulic-Press Brick Company of St Louis and eventually became the president of this company along with several other brick companies. (Crawford, *Young Eliot*, p. 14). Mann's father, Johann Heinrich Mann, was master in the third generation of a flourishing grain business (Donald Prater, *Thomas Mann: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995) p. 1).

⁴⁷ *Buddenbrooks* and *Tonio Kröger* are arguably the most notable examples of this. Heilbut and Kurzke's monographs on Mann trace the author's works in relation to his life: Anthony Heilbut, *Thomas Mann: Eros and Literature* (London: Macmillan, 1997); Hermann Kurzke, *Thomas Mann: Das Leben als Kunstwerk* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1999).

bourgeois custom. Although the title of this thesis refers only to *Der Zauberberg* and *The Waste Land* (the two texts which are at the heart of this comparative analysis), a selection of Eliot's other works which are almost contemporaneous with the writing process and publication of *Der Zauberberg*, but which deal more explicitly with the bourgeoisie, will be analysed.⁴⁸ The most notable of these are 'The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock', 'Portrait of a Lady', 'Rhapsody on a Windy Night', and 'Preludes' from *Prufrock and Other Observations* (1917), 'Sweeney Erect', 'Sweeney Among the Nightingales', 'Whispers of Immortality' from *Poems* (1920), 'Eeldrop and Appleplex' (1917), and *Sweeney Agonistes* (1926-27).⁴⁹ A selection of Mann's earlier works will also be referred to, largely in order to show the significance of the formation of the 'burgherly tradition' in the *Betrachtungen* for the development from these earlier works to *Der Zauberberg*.⁵⁰

The first two chapters of this study focus on defining the nature of Mann and Eliot's traditions, referring mostly to their critical works, along with letters, diaries, and biographies. Chapters 3-5 then analyse the authors' creative works in detail, in light of these traditions. The first chapter will determine exactly what Mann and Eliot knew about each other, a hitherto overlooked question, which demonstrates Eliot's reserved admiration of Mann's work through reference to his correspondence and his willingness to print the German author's essays in the *Criterion*. Mann's attitude to Eliot demonstrates a degree of respect for the poet's work but this is moderated by Mann's preoccupation with Germany. Furthermore, Mann's misinformed knowledge of Eliot's political positioning (in particular his friendship with the openly Fascist Ezra Pound), along with the poet's growing fame and success, which will be analysed below, led Mann to express bitterness and hostility towards Eliot in the years

⁴⁸ Mann began writing *Der Zauberberg* in 1912 and it was eventually published in 1924.

⁴⁹ *Sweeney Agonistes* is a dramatic fragment composed of two parts, the first 'Fragment of a Prologue' appeared in the *Criterion* in October 1926 and the second, 'Fragment of an Agon' appeared in the *Criterion* in January 1927. The two were collected in 1932 as *Sweeney Agonistes* (PTSE1, p. 783).

⁵⁰ Mann's *Buddenbrooks*, *Tristan*, *Tonio Kröger*, and *Der Tod in Venedig* will be referred to.

leading up to and following their meeting in 1949.⁵¹ These responses to each other set the tone for the authors' different interests and worldviews, which this thesis will present. This chapter will outline the details of the authors' divergent traditions and their ideas about social and cultural decline.

Chapter 2 investigates the parameters of Mann's 'burgherly tradition', and its notable representatives, in greater detail through his responses to Goethe, Nietzsche, Wagner and, to a lesser extent, Schopenhauer. By considering Eliot's responses to these figures alongside Mann's, the differences in their attitudes to the middle classes, and to the role of personality in the creative process, becomes clearer. Mann explicitly relates the personalities of each of these figures to 'Bürgerlichkeit', tracing their middle-class origins and praising those aspects of their characters which he deemed 'burgherly' in the *Betrachtungen* (order, routine, craftsmanship, diligence, capitalist precision, and sensible economy). Eliot displays a far more critical attitude to these figures. Indeed, Eliot's initial rejection of Goethe's work was based on his view that the German poet imbued his poetry with too much of his personality, which is precisely the aspect of Goethe's writing that Mann admires. Eliot's opinion of Goethe did become less hostile over time but the divergence between Mann and Eliot's attitudes is evident in this comparison.

The focus of chapter 3 is on Eliot and Mann's presentation of the decline in culture which both authors saw as prevalent at the end of the nineteenth century, and which Eliot saw as continuing into the twentieth century. A consideration of the way in which both authors present the phenomenon of the cinema in their works will show the continuation of Mann's consistent ambivalent but sympathetic attitude to the middle classes both in his fiction and his personal response. By analysing Eliot's outright critical condemnation of the cinema in 'Marie Lloyd' alongside the ambiguous but still critical presentation in the manuscript of *The*

⁵¹ The meeting is recorded in Mann's diary (Mann, *Tagebücher 1949 – 1950*, ed. by Inge Jens (Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer, 1991), p. 56).

Waste Land and his more humorous, light-hearted presentation of film in his private correspondence, it will be shown that while Eliot's private response to the cinema had commonalities with Mann's, his public response was far more disparaging. This is in line with Eliot's presentation of the decline of culture, fuelled in part by technological developments (such as the cinema). The expression of this decline will be analysed in *The Waste Land* through considering the poem's allusions to Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*. Referring back to Eliot's response to Wagner, as outlined in chapter 2, as the touchstone of bourgeois decadence, it will be argued that Eliot presents characters who are 'morally corrupt', like the cinema-goers he refers to in 'Marie Lloyd'.⁵² Eliot's other allusions to Wagner's operas in *The Waste Land* will also be considered in order to demonstrate how the poem presents contemporary society as morally and spiritually empty with little hope for redemption. Mann's use of Wagner in *Der Zauberberg* also functions to show the spiritual vacuum which appeared to exist at the end of the nineteenth century by presenting Hans as a simple, morally empty character who relies solely on social convention to distinguish between 'right' and 'wrong' behaviour. However, with its basis in the story of *Parsifal*, Mann's novel also presents the redemptive aspects of Wagner's final opera by showing that Hans is capable of development and, like Parsifal, of learning empathy.

However, as an intellectual novel of the twentieth century, the theme of Hans' education encompasses far more than just the lesson of empathy. Chapter 4 analyses the nature of the Hans' 'redemption' on the mountain by presenting a detailed discussion of the 'Schnee' subchapter in *Der Zauberberg*. The aim of this chapter is to show how both Mann and Eliot incorporate morally questionable characters into their works, drawing on the primal, the barbaric, and the sensual. In Eliot's poetry these characters (Sweeney, Grishkin, Rachel *née* Rabinovitch, and Cousin Nancy) serve to highlight the fact that a recognition of sin is

⁵² CP2, p. 419.

necessary for salvation. In this way, these morally transgressive characters are preferable to the morally bankrupt characters who populate *The Waste Land*. It will be argued that Mann's presentation of barbarity in Hans' snow vision is ultimately part of the protagonist's exploration of the darker side of humanity in order to understand and rationalise it. This analysis will consider the Nietzschean allusions in Hans' snow vision, the social and political implications of the East/West polarity encompassed within this, and the humanist ethics of Goethe at the heart of Mann's 'burgherly tradition', which, it will be argued, are at the centre of a proper understanding of the italicised message at the end of the vision and indeed the novel as a whole: '*Der Mensch soll um der Güte und Liebe willen dem Tode keine Herrschaft einräumen über seine Gedanken*'.⁵³ The snow vision will further be considered in light of Mann's later essay on Freud, 'Die Stellung Freuds in der modernen Geistesgeschichte' ('Freud's Position in the History of Modern Thought') (1929). This essay reiterates the lesson of *Der Zauberberg* that the darker side of humanity must be explored, acknowledged and rationalised so that the gentler, more humane aspects of humanity can prevail. It also sheds light on Mann's understanding of barbarism, like that displayed by the hags in the temple, within the changing moral codes of tribal and religious ceremonies throughout history. This will then be compared to Eliot's use of ancient ritual in *Sweeney Agonistes*, showing how Eliot presents the barbaric as preferable to modern ennui. Although Sweeney's barbarism is not presented as ideal by Eliot, it at least highlights an acknowledgment of sin, making the acknowledgment of Christian redemption a possibility (although it is not achieved in this work). This comparison reinforces the divergent traditions of the two authors, showing how, for Mann, the individual human and his or her capacity for reason is at the core of his exploration of moral transgression whereas for Eliot, presentations of the primal are informed by a religious framework.

⁵³ '*For the sake of goodness and love, man should let death have no sovereignty over his thoughts*' (Z, p. 686). This is the only passage of the novel that is italicised, emphasising its importance.

The fifth and final chapter of this thesis will further reinforce this distinction between Mann and Eliot's respective underlying humanist and Christian approaches by analysing their presentations of time in *Der Zauberberg* and *The Waste Land*. Both of these texts present time as too strictly controlled by the clock, which is in turn a symptom of increasing industrialisation, cultural decline and moral vacuity. They also present alternative modes of time, most notably experiences of time as cyclical and eternal, to counter the controlling aspect of clock-time.⁵⁴ Mann presents Hans as escaping from the alienating clock-time of Hamburg and experiencing new modes of time in order to show the human capacity for insight and growth when allowed time for reflection, with the ultimate aim of balancing progress and reflection and finding a middle way. By contrast, Eliot presents clock-time as bound to the transient, temporal realm while cyclical time only represents the eternal cycle to which the physical realm is hopelessly bound in the absence of religious faith.

These analyses will achieve the overarching aim of this thesis: to demonstrate that the thematic similarities and common allusions in Mann and Eliot's creative works are underscored by radically different authorial approaches and belief systems.

⁵⁴ The term 'clock-time' simply defines time as measured by the clock.

1: (DIS)RESPECTFUL RELATIONS AND CULTURAL TRADITIONS

The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate the most prominent contrasts between Mann and Eliot, which will in turn provide the framework of difference upon which this thesis is built. These differences are based in the traditions which are at the core of each author's literary and critical work. For Mann, this was the 'burgherly tradition', which began to emerge from his extended essay *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen* (1918), written during the First World War. In this text Mann makes a vital distinction between the German 'Bürger' ('burgher') and the foreign 'bourgeois', which will be considered in detail in the second part of this chapter. Although Mann's ideas about the 'bourgeois' are not very well supported—and he quickly dismissed these soon after the publication of *Betrachtungen*—the qualities he ascribes to the 'Bürger' become central to his 'burgherly tradition'. These qualities include order, routine, sensible economy, craftsmanship, and reliance on the inner ethical judgement of the individual, as will be demonstrated in detail below. The tradition in which Eliot situated himself was established as purely literary in 'Tradition and the Individual Talent', which seeks an external framework for the individual's literary output in the sequence of works that express the 'mind of Europe'.¹ This quickly developed as Eliot looked to both classical literature and the Latin, Christian tradition to provide an external authority by which to judge broader social decline as well as literary value.

This chapter is presented in five parts, which, taken together, will give a larger view of the development of Mann and Eliot's traditions, which in turn are supported by the authors' knowledge of, and responses to, each other. The first section of this chapter establishes this mutual knowledge, referring largely to the authors' correspondence and diaries in order to establish exactly what they knew and thought about each other. This is a new piece of research which lays the groundwork for the comparisons which follow. The second section of

¹ CP2, p. 107.

the chapter focuses on Mann's 'Bürger/bourgeois' distinction and his definition of the 'burgherly age' (which he saw as spanning the period 1400-1900). This will be done by paying close attention to the way in which his ideas about the German 'burgher' developed from *Buddenbrooks* (1901) to the *Betrachtungen* (1918). This will clarify Mann's affirmative attitude to 'Bürgerlichkeit' through which *Der Zauberberg* will be analysed. The third part of this chapter will demonstrate Mann and Eliot's differing ideas about the state of society at the turn of the twentieth century. Since Mann saw the 'burgherly age' as ending with the close of the nineteenth century; the twentieth century marked a new era. Although this era is only vaguely characterised by Mann, he endorses the 'burgherly' values of the previous era, which he believes are salvageable. This third part will then demonstrate Eliot's diagnosis of the deterioration of culture since the seventeenth century and continuing indefinitely, introducing his religious perspective and the connection he makes between cultural decline and secularisation.

The fourth part of this chapter will consider another important contrast between Mann and Eliot which forms part of the framework of difference upon which this thesis is built. It will analyse both authors' early ideas about 'impersonality', drawing on the patterns established in the first and second parts of the chapter, to confirm Eliot's insistence on separating the author from the creative process, in contrast with Mann's belief that the personality of the artist should play an important role in the work that he or she produces. The fifth and final section of the chapter will outline the developments of Mann and Eliot's traditions in the politically charged atmosphere of interwar Europe, showing how the authors' outlooks were in opposition to each other as a consequence of their respective social, political, and religious beliefs. These opposing traditions will be shown to be in line with the authors' attitudes to each other, outlined at the beginning of the chapter, which, however, are complicated by their divergent traditions' shared roots in classical and Latin literature.

i) What Mann and Eliot Knew About Each Other

Before embarking on comparisons of Mann and Eliot's critical and literary works, it is useful first to understand the extent of the authors' knowledge of each other. This determines the degree to which any commonalities in their works were informed by knowledge of the other writer and his work.² This section will demonstrate that, despite multiple points of contact between the authors (they read a selection of each other's works, had indirect contact through their roles as journal editors and contributors, had a number of mutual friends and colleagues and even met at a PEN club dinner in 1949), they had only limited awareness of each other.³ For this reason, the thesis will not be concerned with tracing the notion that the authors may have influenced each other before *The Waste Land* and *Der Zauberberg* were published, not least because 'influence' and its extent are almost impossible to trace with any accuracy. As well as providing an original account of the two authors' relationship, this section will highlight the importance of Eliot's role as editor of the *Criterion* for his knowledge of European culture in contrast with Mann's Germanocentrism, even after being exiled.⁴

There is evidence that Eliot (1888-1965) was aware of Mann (1875-1955) much earlier than Mann was aware of Eliot. This is to be expected considering that Mann, thirteen years Eliot's senior, gained fame and success for his literary achievements at the beginning of the twentieth century, almost two decades earlier than Eliot. By the end of 1903, Mann's first novel *Buddenbrooks* (1901) had sold more than 10,000 copies and by 1906 had achieved sales of 37,000.⁵ Donald Prater states that by 1903 'Mann was established as a successful and

² Heinz Wetzel has demonstrated how inaccuracies in knowledge of what the authors knew about each other leads to inaccurate and unsupported claims of influence and comparisons between their works, see above, p. 5.

³ These points of contact will be discussed in detail below.

⁴ The notion that Mann remained a 'German writer' long after he left the country for good is something which the writer himself encouraged, particularly through his notorious, and quite possibly apocryphal claim that 'Wo ich bin, ist Deutschland' ('Mann finds U. S. Sole Peace Hope', *The New York Times*, 22 February 1938, p. 8). *Doktor Faustus* (1947) also clearly demonstrates how Mann's work was preoccupied with Germany and German culture long after the author's exile in 1933.

⁵ Prater, p. 46. With sales of over six million to date, *Buddenbrooks* is Mann's bestselling novel. Of German twentieth-century novels, only Remarque's *Im Westen nichts Neues* has sold more copies. See Ernest

respected man of letters'.⁶ Eliot's fame began to blossom in 1920, with the reprinting of his early poems (most notably 'Prufrock') in *Ara Vos Prec* and his essay collection *The Sacred Wood*. Bergonzi claims that with these publications 'Eliot emerged from the coterie world of the little review and the fugitive publication [...] and became an established man of letters with a reputation on both sides of the Atlantic'.⁷

Of the published correspondence, most of the evidence conveying Eliot's knowledge of Mann is through the former's role as editor of the *Criterion*. For this reason, his remarks on Mann retain a professional tone, unlike the personal and opinionated comments which Mann recorded in his diaries in response to Eliot, as will be analysed below. In contrast to Eliot, Mann was a thorough diarist, prolific correspondent and kept workbooks of his ideas, almost all of which have been made public.⁸ This major difference between Mann and Eliot's attitudes to recording and publishing details of their private lives largely informs the critical responses to their creative works. While this thesis is not concerned to summarise critical trends in Mann or Eliot studies, a task for which multiple monographs could be devoted to each author, it can be claimed that when the criticism is considered comparatively, a clear pattern emerges of much greater dissonance within Eliot studies than within Mann studies.⁹ This can be explained partly by the fact that Mann gave lectures and wrote essays on, and

Schonfield, 'Thomas Mann's *Buddenbrooks* as Bestseller', in *The German Bestseller in the Late Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Charlotte Woodford and Benedict Schofield (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2012), pp. 95-112 (p. 95).

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Bernard Bergonzi, *T. S. Eliot*, 2nd edn (New York: Macmillan, 1978), p. 48.

⁸ See p. 5, fn. 15, above.

⁹ A number of monographs and articles already exist detailing the criticism surrounding Mann and Eliot: Hugh Ridley devotes a monograph to an assessment of criticism solely on Mann's *Buddenbrooks* and *Der Zauberberg* in *The Problematic Bourgeois: Twentieth-Century Criticism on Thomas Mann's 'Buddenbrooks' and 'The Magic Mountain'* (Columbia: Camden House, 1994). Other critical evaluations include: Klaus W. Jonas, *Die Thomas Mann Literatur: Bibliographie der Kritik 1896-1955* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1972); Klaus W. Jonas, *Die Thomas Mann Literatur: Bibliographie der Kritik 1956-1975* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1979); Klaus W. Jonas and Helmut Koopmann, *Die Thomas Mann Literatur: Bibliographie der Kritik 1976-1994* (Frankfurt a.M.: Vittorio Klostermann, 1997); Robert H. Canary, *T. S. Eliot: The Poet and His Critics* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1982); Armin Paul Frank, 'T. S. Eliot in Germany, 1965 to the Present: An Estimate and a Bibliography', *Yeats Eliot Review*, 7, 1 (1982), 123 – 37; and *T. S. Eliot in Context*, ed. by Jason Harding (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), particularly Benjamin G. Lockerd's chapter, 'Eliot Studies', pp. 370-80.

forewords to, his own works and the intentions behind them.¹⁰ In contrast, Eliot stated in his essay ‘The Use of Poetry and the Use of Criticism’ that ‘what a poem means is as much what it means to others as what it means to the author’.¹¹ Ironically, Eliot’s instruction has been assiduously heeded by many critics and has contributed to the diverse interpretations of his works.¹² The form and style of Mann and Eliot’s works also contribute a great deal to the varying scopes of possible interpretations. Eliot’s deliberately impersonal style lends itself to a wider possibility of readings, while Mann’s narrative often only thinly veils the author’s private experiences and opinions, which in turn have often informed responses to the text.

Eliot first recorded his awareness of Mann in December 1922 in a letter to Scofield Thayer, publisher and editor of the *Dial*. Eliot stated that he was pleased that Thayer considered Hesse’s essay ‘Recent German Poetry’ (published in the first edition of the *Criterion*) to be ‘not unjust towards his contemporaries’.¹³ This reveals Eliot’s awareness of trends in contemporary German literature, as well as highlighting his respect for Hesse.¹⁴ Eliot continued the letter by claiming that he was looking forward with great interest to reading more of ‘the German stuff’ that Thayer had got hold of. He told Thayer that he had ‘heard of Thomas Mann from Curtius’ and was meaning ‘to look into the subject’ when he

¹⁰ See *GWXI*, pp. 545-710 for a collection of pieces of writing about his own works and Thomas Mann, *Über mich selbst: Autobiographische Schriften* (Frankfurt a. M: S. Fischer, 1983); Thomas Mann, ‘*On Myself*’ and *Other Princeton Lectures: An Annotated Edition* by James N. Bade Based on Mann’s Lecture Typescripts, 2nd edn (Frankfurt a. M: Peter Lang, 1997).

¹¹ *CP4*, p. 673.

¹² Lockerd explains how Eliot’s poetry was central to the New Criticism movement in the mid-twentieth century since its ‘allusive and difficult style was particularly suited to intensive university study and it encouraged source hunting’ (Benjamin G. Lockerd, ‘Eliot Studies’ in *T. S. Eliot in Context* (pp. 370-80), p. 370).

¹³ *LTSEI*, p. 809; Hermann Hesse, ‘Recent German Poetry’, *Criterion*, 1 (October 1922), 89-93. In this short essay, Hesse laments the state of recent German poetry. He focuses on the young men who have experienced the First World War and have an understanding of Freudian psychology but due to their rage and youth are unable to turn their knowledge and experience into good poetry.

¹⁴ In a letter of 19 September 1960 to G. W. Field, Eliot explained his first encounter with Hesse’s *Blick ins Chaos* by which he was ‘very much impressed’. He also stated that in 1921 or 1922, whilst in Lugano, he took the opportunity to visit the German author. Eliot described his respect for Hesse and claimed that he would have been happy to have had further contributions [to the *Criterion*] from him (George Wallis Field, ‘Hermann Hesse as Critic of English and American Literature’, *Monatshefte*, 53, 4 (1961), 147-58, (p. 158)).

had time.¹⁵ This provides firm evidence that Eliot was made aware of Mann both through Curtius and Thayer, although the extent of Eliot's awareness was at this point minimal.

In 1925 Eliot wrote again to Thayer regarding a review of Schnitzler which the *Dial* editor had requested from Eliot. In this letter Eliot stated: 'It is quite true that I was impressed by what I read [of Schnitzler] in the *Dial*, and also, by the way, very much so by Thomas Mann's *Death in Venice*'.¹⁶ The fact that Eliot read the work in the *Dial* indicates that he did not read the story in its original German but rather in Kenneth Burke's serialised translation which appeared in the March, April and May editions of 1924.¹⁷ The *Dial* had also featured Burke's translations of Mann's *Luischen* (Loulou) in April 1921 and *Tristan* in December 1922 and January 1923.¹⁸ This is testimony to Mann's growing fame in England and America. The English translation of Mann's *Herr und Hund* (*Bashan and I*) was also praised in the 'Briefe Mention' section of the February 1924 issue.¹⁹ Further to this, 'Unordnung und frühes Leid' ('Disorder and Early Sorrow') was printed in translation in 1926 and Mann contributed eight 'German letters' to the *Dial* between 1922 and 1928.²⁰ This warm review, along with the translations of *Luischen*, *Tristan*, and *Der Tod in Venedig* are indicative of Mann's popularity amongst the readership of the *Dial* in the decades after the First World

¹⁵ *LTSE1*, p. 809. Ernst Robert Curtius (1886-1956) was a German scholar, philologist, and literary critic; he was Professor of German at Marburg, Heidelberg, and Bonn.

¹⁶ *LTSE2. 1923-1925*, p. 608.

¹⁷ Thomas Mann, *Death in Venice* trans. by Kenneth Burke, *Dial*, ed. by Scofield Thayer, 76 (March 1924), 213-35; (April 1924), 311-33; (May 1924), 423-43.

¹⁸ Thomas Mann, 'Loulou', trans. by Kenneth Burke, *Dial*, 70 (April, 1921), 428-42; Thomas Mann, 'Tristan' trans. by Kenneth Burke and Scofield Thayer, *Dial*, 73 (December 1923), 593-610; cont. 74 (January 1923), 57-76.

¹⁹ The review states, 'this novel was written during the war, when amenities were rarest; but Thomas Mann looked to his dog and did succeed in finding here that grace and humanity which were lacking among his contemporaries' (*Dial*, 76 (February 1924), p. 198).

²⁰ Mann's 'German Letters' were also translated by Kenneth Burke. *Unordnung und frühes Leid* was translated by Hermann Georg Scheffauer (David Horton, *Thomas Mann in English: A Study in Literary Translation* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), p. 28). The *Criterion* noted the publication of *Disorder and Early Sorrow* in the *Dial* in its 'American Periodicals' section, *Criterion*, 5 (January 1927), 177.

War and display the most likely means by which Eliot would have been aware of Mann's work.²¹

In a letter to Orlo Williams in August 1927, Eliot's praise for Mann continued: 'I have only read two short things by Mann myself, but they inclined me very much in his favour. Have you read *Death in Venice*? That seemed to me first-rate'.²² Although Eliot does not go into any more detail about why he formed this opinion, the classical structure (five-act tragedy) of *Der Tod in Venedig*, its roots in ancient Greek mythology, and its wealth of allusion to myth are in line with the literary framework which Eliot favoured, as expressed in 'Ulysses, Order and Myth' (1923).²³ The fact that Eliot did not name or go into any detail about the second piece of Mann's work which he had read suggests that it was a minor work, most likely to be one of Burke's translations from the *Dial*. Williams had written to Eliot explaining that he had 'reviewed Mann's *The Magic Mountain*' and found it an 'impressive book' although he claimed that Mann 'is very German and needs putting in a German background'.²⁴ One week later, Eliot wrote to Alec Randall stating:

Thomas Mann's *Magic Mountain* has appeared in an English edition and has attracted a certain amount of attention [...] There is no-one here who knows enough about Mann to be able to review it. It seems to me that Mann is an important writer, from what I know of his work, and I think that we ought to say something about him.²⁵

From these two letters it can be established that Eliot admired Mann's work and that his reading of *Death in Venice* left a lasting impression, even if Eliot's interest in the German

²¹ For more on Mann's international fame, particularly in America and Britain, see Tobias Boes, 'Thomas Mann, World Author: Representation and Autonomy in the World Republic of Letters', *Seminar*, 51 (2015), 132-47.

²² *LTSE3*, p. 600.

²³ Isadore Traschen explores the myths on which *Der Tod in Venedig* is based, namely the Apollonian/Dionysian structure of the novella, adapted from Nietzsche, and its basis in what Joseph Campbell refers to as the 'monomyth' (Joseph Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1949), pp. 36-7). Traschen explains that the 'monomythic' structure is based on the 'Adventure of the Hero, divided into the phases of Departure, Initiation, and Return', Traschen suggests that *Der Tod in Venedig*'s basis in these structures (although she notes that Aschenbach does not return) anticipates Eliot's mythic structure, outlined in 'Ulysses, Order and Myth' and applied in *The Waste Land* (Isadore Traschen, 'The Uses of Myth in *Death in Venice*' in *Modern Fiction Studies*, 11, 2 (1965), 165-79 (pp. 165-66).

²⁴ *LTSE3*, p. 600.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 614.

author was not strong enough to inspire him to read and review *The Magic Mountain* himself. He asked Randall to write a ‘review or notice’ of *The Magic Mountain* but left it to his discretion whether he thought it worthy of review or not.²⁶ No review was forthcoming in the *Criterion* although this is probably because Randall contracted, and almost died of, typhoid shortly after this exchange.²⁷ The letter to Randall displays Eliot’s shrewdness as an editor; he recognised the importance of the German writer but was unwilling to allow a review which would not be well enough informed. Although Eliot displayed an awareness of trends in German poetry through his response to Hesse’s essay, he arguably lacked the necessary broader knowledge of German culture—particularly after Williams’ advice that Mann’s novel needed ‘putting in a German background’—to pursue the review of *The Magic Mountain* any further. The fact that he left the judgement down to Randall as to whether or not the novel was worth reviewing shows that Eliot did not have a particularly strong opinion of his own on Mann.

After his publications in the *Dial*, Mann’s presence in the *Criterion* began to increase. He was mentioned in two prominent pieces printed there in 1926. The first was Henri Massis’ ‘Defence of the West’ which appeared in the April and June issues.²⁸ Eliot believed Massis’ ‘La Défense de l’Occident’ to be of great importance and asked his permission to have the article, which first appeared in *La Revue Universelle*, translated into English for publication in the *Criterion*.²⁹ Massis’ article is largely about the dangers posed by eastern and Asiatic modes of thought to western Europe, which he claimed was weak and suffering from disunity. Massis’ overarching argument was that the values of the West: namely personality,

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Eliot communicates the details of Randall’s illness to Richard Aldington in a letter of 3 January 1928 (*LTSE4*, p. 2).

²⁸ Henri Massis, ‘Defence of the West’, translated by F. S. Flint, *Criterion*, 4 (April 1926), 224-243 and (June 1926), 476-93.

²⁹ *LTSE3*, pp. 27-28.

unity, stability, authority and continuity, needed to be protected.³⁰ In the article, he argues that Germany, weakened by defeat in the First World War, was the most susceptible to the forces of the East and claimed that the country was turning its back on ‘Germano-Latin civilisation’ in favour of ‘Slavo-Germanic’ primitivism and the Orient.³¹ He employs a long quotation from Mann’s 1925 essay ‘Deutschland und die Demokratie’ (‘Germany and Democracy’), which stresses the plight and demoralisation of the German people after 1918 and their ‘stigmatised, outlawed’ position.³² Massis refers to Mann’s confession as ‘pathetic’ and claims that many German writers such as Hesse and Bonsels had ‘fallen beneath the oriental spell’.³³ However, Massis goes on to recognise that Mann had denounced Germany’s ‘Asiatic tendencies as a danger to the German national spirit’ but suggests that Mann was simultaneously questioning whether the humanist tradition of classicism was the ‘spiritual form of an age that was passing’.³⁴ This analysis is central to this study and will be considered in greater detail in the final section of this chapter. For now, it is important to know that Eliot was aware that this was Mann’s attitude and that he deemed Massis’ article so important that it warranted the commissioning of a translation to disseminate it further. This is certainly not evidence that Eliot agreed with all of Massis’ ideas but he thought that

³⁰ Massis (April 1926), p. 231.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 235.

³² Massis quotes from Mann’s essay: ‘The disaster suffered by France after the defeat of 1870-1871 was mere child’s play compared with the sufferings of Germany in the years following 1918. The German people suffered a collapse, physical and mental, which they are a long way from having surmounted, such a collapse as history, doubtless, had never known before our time. For it is without precedent that a great civilised nation, conscious of having rendered eminent and original services to humanity, should find itself one fine day in the character and position of an outcast, an enemy of the human race, stigmatized, outlawed, abandoned by all, and to be fought to death by a league of all civilised nations [...] What followed was an unparalleled, a complete and unconditional capitulation, the surrender of a moral fortress that had long defended itself with clenched teeth, but that finally was left without the slightest power of resistance [...] The demoralisation had no limits; it could be seen in the deep and almost fatal anxiety of a whole nation that despaired of itself, and its history, of its finest treasures; all of which, from its first origins, seemed refuted and reduced to absurdity by such a result; for it had all been morally implicated in a war which, for that very reason, it was declared, must absolutely be won, and which, in fact, with such a weight of ideas behind it, ought not to have been lost’ (*ibid.*, pp. 233-34). For the German original see Thomas Mann, ‘Deutschland und die Demokratie’, in *Von Deutscher Republik: Politische Schriften und Reden in Deutschland*, ed. by Peter de Mendelssohn (Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer, 1984), pp. 213-22.

³³ Massis (April 1926), p. 233; p. 235.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 235-236.

the threat of encroaching eastern ideals and the decline of western civilisation was a pertinent issue which needed to be discussed in England, as well as France.

In the October 1926 issue of the *Criterion*, Max Rychner responded in the ‘German Chronicle’ section to Massis’ article.³⁵ He refutes Massis’ claim that Germany never truly possessed Græco-Latin culture and cites Goethe’s famous statement ‘Jeder sei auf seine Art ein Grieche—aber er sei’s’ as evidence of the close ties to Hellenism which were fundamental in the German mind.³⁶ He goes on to argue that ‘the idea of humanity and the adherence to the West’ still lived on in the best minds of contemporary Germany and claims that Mann’s *Von Deutscher Republik* demonstrates this.³⁷

The impression of Mann which Eliot would have gained from these articles is that of a critical but deeply patriotic German writing in, but critical of, the humanistic western tradition. An impression which would have been supported by his reading of *Death in Venice* and Williams’ statement about Mann being ‘very German’.³⁸ Further to these articles, Eliot would have remained aware of Mann’s prominent reputation since he was mentioned fourteen times in the ‘Foreign Reviews’, ‘German Periodicals’, and ‘Books of the Quarter’ sections of the *Criterion* between January 1925 and January 1938, often with high esteem.³⁹ Mann’s ‘German Letters’ for the *Dial* were also praised in the ‘American Periodicals’ reviews of the *Criterion*.⁴⁰ Although Eliot did not write any of these sections, as editor he would have looked over them before publication. Regardless of his limited knowledge of Mann’s works, Eliot would have been aware of Mann’s eminent status as an author and social

³⁵ Max Rychner, ‘German Chronicle’, *Criterion*, 4 (October 1926), 726-32.

³⁶ The translation given in the *Criterion* is ‘Let everyone be a Greek in his own way—but let him be a Greek’, a more literal translation is ‘Everyone is a Greek in his own way—but he is a Greek’ (Rychner, ‘German Chronicle’, p. 729).

³⁷ Rychner, ‘German Chronicle’, p. 730; Thomas Mann, ‘Von Deutscher Republik’, *GWXI*, pp. 809-52.

³⁸ *LTSE3*, p. 600.

³⁹ *Criterion*, 3 (Jan 1925); (April 1925); (July 1925); 4 (January 1926); (June 1926); (October 1926); 11 (July 1932); 12 (January 1933); 13 (October 1933); (April 1934); 14 (October 1934); (July 1935); 16 (October 1936); 17 (January 1938). To quote from one example of these, the January 1926 ‘Foreign Reviews’ says of *Der neue Merkur*: ‘If Messrs. Fischer’s authors are put forward rather prominently in each number it is a fair retort that they are in the front rank, including Thomas Mann (to whom the June number is devoted)’ (p. 218).

⁴⁰ *Criterion*, 2 (October 1923); (April 1924); 6 (December 1927).

commentator and would have had a reasonably accurate impression of his major concerns and values throughout the 1920s.

In the early 1930s, Eliot's awareness of Mann became more firmly established. At the beginning of this decade, the *Criterion* launched an award for the best short story in Germany, England, France, Italy and Spain, one to be chosen annually from each country, in the order listed. Thomas Mann, along with Curtius, was on the committee to select the German winner for the first of these awards.⁴¹ A more significant point of contact between the two authors came in April 1931, when the *Criterion* published Helen Lowe-Porter's translation of Mann's speech 'Ein Appell an die Vernunft' ('An Appeal to Reason').⁴² In this speech, Mann warns of the dangers posed by the success of the National Socialist Party in the 1930 elections and recognises the prospect of another war.⁴³ Eliot's letters provide a small insight into his opinion of Mann, in connection with this speech. Eliot agrees with A. L. Rowse's opinion that Mann's essay (published in the *Criterion*) 'showed such a really political judgement of political affairs' and claims: 'I understand that there was a riot when he delivered it. I like his courage'.⁴⁴

Agha Ali discusses Eliot's decision to publish this speech in the *Criterion*, highlighting Eliot's lack of commentary on the German elections but noting that 'he had not hesitated to speak out about the general election of 1929 in England, referring to it as "the brainless election"'.⁴⁵ Ali considers that the decision to print Mann's speech could have been

⁴¹ See *Criterion*, 9 (January 1930), p. 181.

⁴² *Criterion*, 10 (April 1931), 394-401.

⁴³ 'An Appeal to Reason', *Criterion*, 10 (April 1931), 399-411, trans. H. T. Lowe-Porter. For the original German version of the speech see *GWXI*, pp. 870-90. This speech was first given 17 October 1930 at the Beethoven Hall, Berlin and printed in the *Berliner Tageblatt*, 18 October 1930 (*GWXI*, pp. 1172-3). The detail of this speech will be analysed more closely in the final section of this chapter.

⁴⁴ *LTSE5*, p 553. Eliot is likely to be referring to the disorder which broke out in response to Mann's speech as he delivered it. For a detailed description of this event, and the highly-charged political atmosphere surrounding it, see Thomas Friedrich, *Hitler's Berlin: Abused City*, trans. by Stewart Spencer (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012), pp. 195-97.

⁴⁵ Ali, p. 91; T. S. Eliot, 'A Commentary', *Criterion*, 10 (October 1931), 182. In the Reichstag elections of 14 September 1930, the Nazis had achieved a major political breakthrough, securing 18.2% of the popular vote (or 107 of the 577 seats in the German parliament).

Eliot's way of 'recording the intelligent and civilized man's response to Hitler', in place of expressing his own views in his regular 'Commentary' section, and suggests that this is reinforced by the placement of Mann's speech as the lead article of the issue.⁴⁶ However, this, along with his admiration of Mann's courage, are not evidence that Eliot agreed with Mann's ideas, only that he thought his speech was important. It must also be considered that Mann's prominence might suggest a commercial motive for the leading position of the article. Further to this, Eliot's decision to publish Mann's reaction to the German elections rather than comment on them himself is consistent with the behaviour expressed in his correspondence with Randall about reviewing *The Magic Mountain*. Eliot's style of editorship allowed those he considered more knowledgeable about a subject, or with more direct experience of it, to speak on it. In fact, he even printed the opinions of those with whom he explicitly disagreed but whose views he deemed important and relevant to contemporary intellectual debate, as demonstrated by his printing of articles on the ideals of Communism and Fascism by A. L. Rowse and James Barnes, respectively.⁴⁷ Mann and Eliot's differing responses to the political turbulence between the two World Wars will be considered in detail in the final section of this chapter, particularly through their roles as social critics.

A second important point of contact between Eliot and Mann through the *Criterion* came in 1933 when Eliot printed Lowe-Porter's translation of Mann's essay 'Die Stellung Freuds in der modernen Geistesgeschichte' ('Freud's Position in the History of Modern Thought').⁴⁸ Eliot had previously displayed a critical attitude to Freud when reviewing *The Future of an Illusion* for the *Criterion* in December 1928.⁴⁹ Eliot's review failed to find

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 92.

⁴⁷ A. L. Rowse, 'The Literature of Communism: Its Origin and Theory', and J. S. Barnes, 'Fascism', *Criterion*, 3 (April 1929), 422-36 and 445-59.

⁴⁸ Thomas Mann, 'Freud's Position in the History of Modern Thought', trans. by H. T. Lowe-Porter, *Criterion*, 12 (July 1933), 549-70. For the original German version see *GWX*, pp. 256-80. This speech was first given at the University of Munich on 16 May 1929 and first published in *Die Psychoanalytische Bewegung*, Vienna, Vol 1, No. 1, May/June 1929 (*GWX*, p. 943).

⁴⁹ 'Books of the Quarter', Freud's *The Future of an Illusion* reviewed by T. S. Eliot, *Criterion*, 8 (December 1928), 350-53.

anything positive about Freud's book, challenged its author's ability to reason and betrayed a tone of personal frustration and dismay. Eliot wrote, 'I have the impression that the real pundits of the real sciences, such as mathematical physics, are often less confident of anything than Freud is of everything'.⁵⁰ In a 1929 letter to I. A. Richards, Eliot also stated that Freud's *The Future of an Illusion* 'deals with a subject to which his [Freud's] own knowledge is irrelevant'.⁵¹ Herbert Howarth considers Eliot's review to be a rare eruption of feeling from his usual 'Olympian tranquillity'. Howarth also cites the fact that Eliot published Rivière's 'Notes on a possible valuation of the theories of Freud', Mann's article on Freud, and Philip Mairet's critical valuation of the psychoanalyst as evidence of Eliot's balanced editorship.⁵² It must further be noted that Eliot's criticisms of Freud were aimed only at *The Future of an Illusion*. This is unsurprising, given that the central thesis of that text is an attack on religious belief.⁵³

A detailed analysis of the content of Mann's essay on Freud and its relevance to Mann and Eliot's differing views on religion and anthropology will be considered in chapter 4 in relation to *Der Zauberberg* and *Sweeney Agonistes*.⁵⁴ For now, it is enough to say that Mann's essay shows Freud a large degree of respect for his field of research, suggesting that psychoanalysis is 'einer der wichtigsten Bausteine, die beigetragen worden sind, zum Fundament der Zukunft, der Wohnung einer befreiten und wissenden Menschheit'.⁵⁵ Despite Eliot's own reservations about Freud, he found Mann's interpretation of the psychologist interesting and important enough to deem it worthy of publication in the *Criterion*, again as a

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 353.

⁵¹ *LTSE4*, p. 379.

⁵² Herbert Howarth, *Notes on Some Figures Behind T. S. Eliot* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1965), p. 251; Rivière's article appeared in *Criterion*, 1 (July 1923); Mann, 12 (July 1933); Mairet, 16 (April 1937).

⁵³ Sigmund Freud, *Die Zukunft einer Illusion* (Vienna: Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, 1927). Howarth also points out that Eliot was reviewing *The Future of an Illusion* and not a clinical work (Howarth, p. 378).

⁵⁴ See chapter 4, pp. 204-19. For more on Eliot's dislike for (and affinities with) Freud, see Adam Phillips, 'The Soul of Man Under Psychoanalysis in *London Review of Books*, 23 (November 2001), 19-23.

⁵⁵ 'one of the most important foundation stones underpinning a future in which a free and conscious humanity may dwell' (Mann, *GWX*, p. 280).

lead article. Yet Mann's essay is only partly concerned with Freud; it is for the most part an assessment of the values of the Enlightenment and German Romanticism as well as a call to youth not to be taken in by Fascist ideals masquerading as something new and revolutionary.⁵⁶ This article provided Eliot with further evidence of Mann's preoccupation with Germany and, just as with his previous essay, allowed Mann to speak on a subject of which he had more direct experience and knowledge than Eliot.

Although Eliot was impressed by *Death in Venice*, and liked Mann's 'courage', there is no evidence to show that he was inspired to pursue his engagement with Mann's literary work any further in the following years. The forthcoming publication of Eliot's letters after 1933 may reveal more insights into the poet's opinion of Mann, but the absence of any mention of him in Eliot's published essays implies that his attitude remained one of distant respect.⁵⁷ As the above analysis has shown, it is certain that Eliot recognised Mann's eminence as a man of letters and gave his essays due prominence in the *Criterion*.

Although there is no mention of Eliot in Mann's correspondence until 1941, he does record in his diary the cheque for eight pounds which he received from the *Criterion* for his 'Freud' essay in 1933, but there is no mention of the journal's editor.⁵⁸ The first reference to Eliot in Mann's correspondence is in a letter of September 1941 to Louis Finkelstein, who had sent Mann a manuscript of Van Wyck Brooks' *On Literature Today*.⁵⁹ In this instance Mann only states that although he found Brooks' work to be 'kühne, intelligente und aggressive Kritik', he was not sufficiently familiar with Eliot's work to be able to agree with

⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 549-70.

⁵⁷ The next edition of Eliot's letters, *The Letters of T. S. Eliot, Volume 7:1934 - 1935*, is due to be published February 2017.

⁵⁸ Thomas Mann, *Tagebücher 1933 - 1934*, ed. by Peter de Mendelssohn (Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer, 1980), p. 139.

⁵⁹ Van Wyck Brooks, *On Literature Today* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1941). Van Wyck Brooks was a correspondent of Eliot, beginning in 1920 when Brooks contacted Eliot about reviewing books for the *Freeman*. Eliot had reviewed Brooks' *The Wine of the Puritans* in the *Harvard Advocate*, 87, 5 (7 May 1909), 80 (*LTSEI*, p. 397).

Brooks' criticism.⁶⁰ In this letter Mann also stresses his tolerant nature and claims that he would never have the courage to express such contempt for Joyce and Valéry as Brooks does in his criticism.⁶¹

A little over a year later, in October 1942, the first record of Mann's direct engagement with Eliot's work appears in his diary. He wrote that after returning from a lunch party in Beverly Hills and spending the afternoon with Katia and their grandson, he read essays by Eliot and Wilson in *American Harvest*.⁶² Although Mann wrote that he found it to be 'hochstehende Kritik' ('highly superior criticism'), this impression warrants only half a sentence amidst the descriptions of his activities that afternoon.⁶³ The rest of the diary entry goes into comparatively much greater detail about the latest news from the Battle of Stalingrad, the aerial bombardment of Munich and the expected retaliation on London.⁶⁴ Although Mann was impressed by Eliot's criticism, this diary entry demonstrates that it was the war which preoccupied Mann.

Mann soon became more familiar with Eliot's works. In a letter to Agnes Meyer dated 21 June 1943, Mann thanked Meyer for the gift of a copy of Eliot's *Four Quartets* which he referred to as 'Beethoven-Quartette' ('Beethoven-Quartets'). He claimed that he had read much about them and had wished to read them.⁶⁵ In this letter, he also stated that while he

⁶⁰ 'bold, intelligent and aggressive criticism' (Thomas Mann, *Die Briefe Thomas Manns Regesten und Register: Die Briefe von 1934 bis 1943*, ed. by Hans Bürgin and Hans-Otto Mayer, vol. II of IV, (Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer, 1980), p. 552).

⁶¹ Mann, *Briefe 1934 bis 1943*, p. 552.

⁶² *American Harvest*, ed. by Allen Tate and John Peale Bishop (New York: L. B. Fischer, 1942). Eliot's 'Ash-Wednesday' and 'Tradition and the Individual Talent' appear in this collection (pp. 187-94; pp. 291-300).

⁶³ 'Zu Hause lange geruht, nach dem späten Thee etwas mit K. u. dem kleinen Fredo gegangen, dann gelesen in »American Harvest«, Essays von Wilson und Eliot, hochstehende Kritik', 'Rested for a long time at home, after a late tea walked about a bit with K. and the little Fredo, then read from *American Harvest*, essays by Wilson and Eliot, highly superior criticism' (Thomas Mann, *Tagebücher 1940 - 1943*, ed. by Peter de Mendelssohn (Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer, 1982), p. 484).

⁶⁴ Mann, *Tagebücher 1940 - 1943*, p. 484.

⁶⁵ 'Dann, heute, [...] kam Ihr Buchgeschenk, diese Beethoven-Quartette, über die ich schon manches gelesen und die zu kennen ich mir gewünscht hatte', 'Then, today your gift of a book arrived, these Beethoven-quartets, about which I have already read a great deal and which I have wanted to become acquainted with' (Thomas Mann, *Briefe 1937 - 1947*, ed. by Erika Mann (Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer, 1992), p. 323).

struggled somewhat with the language, he was sure from Meyer's high opinion of the poems that the effort required would be rewarded.⁶⁶ The letter continues:

(Sonderbar, daß Eliot in einem der Stücke das deutsche Wort "Erhebung" benutzt, so, als griffe man zum Ausdruck dieser Idee am besten nach der deutschen Vokabel.) Übrigens kenne ich ihn als Essayisten. Ein Aufsatz von ihm, über Henry James, wenn ich nicht irre, hat mir großen Eindruck gemacht, und es scheint, auch diese Gedichte haben einen stark intellektuellen oder besser: geistigen Einschlag.⁶⁷

Mann was clearly impressed by Eliot to give such high praise not only to his poetry but also to his skill as an essayist. However, the essay by Eliot which appeared in *American Harvest* was 'Tradition and the Individual Talent'. Although Eliot did write an essay on Henry James (1918), Mann does not mention reading any other essays by Eliot anywhere in his published diaries or correspondence.⁶⁸ The most likely explanation is that Mann was in fact mistaken and had confusedly attributed Wilson's essay in *American Harvest* entitled 'The Ambiguity of Henry James' to Eliot.⁶⁹ This is supported by the fact that one week before Mann had recorded reading essays by Eliot and Wilson, he wrote in his diary that he had read in *American Harvest* about Henry James' 'Ambiguity'.⁷⁰ The fact that Mann mentioned having read essays by Eliot and Wilson together, and also expressed a degree of doubt when remembering the essay he read by Eliot ('wenn ich nicht irre' – 'if I am not mistaken'),

⁶⁶ 'Ob ich diesen Gedichten sprachlich schon gewachsen bin und aller ihrer Beziehungen werde habhaft werden können, ist eine andere Frage. Aber ich habe Ihr erhebendes Urteil und weiß also, daß die Eroberung jede Anstrengung lohnt', 'Whether I am linguistically advanced enough for these poems and will be able to grasp all of their connections is another question. But I have your extolling judgement and know therefore that the conquest of every effort will be rewarded' (Mann, *Briefe 1937 – 1947*, p. 323).

⁶⁷ '(Curious that in one of the pieces Eliot uses the German word 'Erhebung', as though the best expression of this idea can be grasped through the German word.) By the by, I know him as an essayist. An essay by him about Henry James, if I'm not mistaken, made a great impression on me, and it seems, that these poems too have a strong intellectual, or better put, spiritual-cerebral impact' (Mann, *Briefe 1937 – 1947*, p. 323).

⁶⁸ In the notes for this diary entry in Hans Rudolf Vaegt's *Thomas Mann – Agnes E. Meyer Briefwechsel 1937-1955* (Frankfurt a.M: S. Fischer, 1992), Eliot's 'Henry James' essay is listed as appearing in *The Shock of Recognition* ed. Edmund Wilson, (New York, 1943), 854-65 and it is also noted that Eliot's essay first appeared in 1918 in *The Little Review* (p. 978). However, there is no evidence in his letters or diaries to suggest that Mann read either of these.

⁶⁹ Edmund Wilson, 'The Ambiguity of Henry James' (*American Harvest*, pp. 257-90). Wilson's essay appears directly before 'Tradition and the Individual Talent' in this edition, further reinforcing the possibility that Mann confused the two.

⁷⁰ Mann, *Tagebücher 1940 - 1943*, p. 481.

reinforces this suggestion. This does, however, undermine Mann's assessment of Eliot since he was not attentive enough to distinguish between Eliot and Wilson. Yet Mann was clearly impressed by both essays to refer to them as 'hochstehende Kritik' and his failure to differentiate between Eliot and Wilson suggests that his lasting impression of both was one of respectful approval.

This misremembering on Mann's part also demonstrates a broader factor which is prevalent throughout Mann's entire literary and critical oeuvre: Mann's Germanocentric attitude to culture and to politics. The fact that Mann was particularly interested in Eliot's use of the German word 'Erhebung' ('uplift') emphasises this interest in his native language. There is even a hint of pride in the suggestion that this idea is best expressed through the German word. This primacy of German expression is echoed in Mann's praise of Eliot through the term 'geistig' which cannot directly be translated into English. The adjective 'geistig' can mean 'spiritual'—in terms of both the soul or the supernatural—or 'intellectual', the latter referring more generally to cerebral and cognitive functions, and consciousness. The meaning comes from the stem of the word: 'Geist', which translates in English to 'mind', 'spirit' and also 'ghost'. This further lends the word 'geistig' otherworldly connotations which all combine in this loaded expression. As will be seen throughout this investigation, this term is central to much of Mann's writing. His use of the word to describe the *Four Quartets* is entirely appropriate since the poems play on all the meanings of the word rather than the narrower 'intellektuell' ('intellectual') quality which Mann dismissed in favour of 'geistig'.

Over the following years, there is evidence that Mann is becoming more aware of Eliot. In 1946 he writes to Hans Feist thanking him for sending a copy of his anthology of English verse entitled *Ewiges England: Dichtung aus sieben Jahrhunderten von Chaucer bis*

Eliot.⁷¹ He praises the book highly and claims that Feist had translated his favourite works by Blake and Keats.⁷² Mann does not, however, mention Eliot. The animated and excitable tone of the letter reveals Mann's genuine enjoyment of reading these authors in German translations. The fact that Eliot is not mentioned is significant, reinforcing the notion that although Mann praised *Four Quartets*, Eliot did not rank amongst his favourites.

From 1948 Mann was becoming increasingly aware of Eliot's growing reputation. In January of that year, his diary reveals that he read Jacques Mercanton's *Poètes de l'Univers*, which dealt with himself, Joyce, Eliot, Rilke and Valéry.⁷³ Again, Mann only noted this in passing in his diary, not providing any further commentary on the matter at this stage. However, in November that year, Mann began to pay more attention to Eliot. On 15th November he recorded in his diary that Eliot had won the Nobel Prize for literature, an accolade which Mann had received nineteen years earlier.⁷⁴ Mann notes this only briefly, and also misspells Eliot's name: 'Nobelpreis für den Lyriker Elliot' ('Nobel prize for the poet Elliot').⁷⁵

Yet the following day Mann goes into much more detail in his diary about his view of Eliot. He writes that he had read about the poet in the New York periodical *Aufbau* and that he was jealous of the advantage given to those who are born into the English culture and

⁷¹ Mann, *Briefe 1937 – 1947*, p. 498.

⁷² '...daß "Ewiges England" ein *erstaunlich* schönes Buch und ein Besitz ersten Ranges ist, über den ich mich täglich freue. Von Blake und Keats haben Sie genau meine Lieblinge übersetzt', 'that "Ewiges England" is an *astonishingly* beautiful book and a first-rate asset about which I am daily pleased. You have translated precisely my favourites by Blake and Keats' (Mann, *Briefe 1937 – 1947*, p. 498). Hans Feist, *Ewiges England: Dichtungen aus sieben Jahrhunderten von Chaucer bis Eliot* (Zurich: Amstutz, Herdeg & Co., 1945). The poems by Blake which appear in this anthology are: 'Oh for a voice'; 'The Little Black Boy'; 'On another's Sorrow'; 'The Divine Image I'; 'Introduction'; 'The Divine Image II'; 'The Sick Rose'; 'The Lily'; 'London'; 'I saw a chapel'; 'Never seek to tell'; 'Are not the joys'; 'There is a smile of love'; 'And did those feet'; 'The Tiger'; 'My spectre around me' (pp. 338-63) and by Keats: 'On Death'; 'Ode to a Nightingale'; 'Ode to a Grecian Urn'; 'To Autumn'; 'Last Sonnet' (pp. 458-71). The poems which appear by Eliot are: 'Journey of the Magi'; 'Animula'; 'Marina'; 'Ash Wednesday I'; From *Burnt Norton*; From *The Rock*; From *The Dry Salvages* (pp. 554-69). The poems appear in their original English with German translations on the opposite page.

⁷³ Thomas Mann, *Tagebücher: 28. 5. 1946 - 31. 12. 1948* ed. by Inge Jens (Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer, 1989), p. 210. Mercanton's (brief) comparison of Mann and Eliot is discussed above, in the introduction, pp. 4-5.

⁷⁴ Mann, *Tagebücher* 28. 5. 1946 - 31. 12. 1948, pp. 329-30.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

language.⁷⁶ This was arguably brought about through contemplation of the ease with which Eliot was able to emigrate from America to England, compared with the relative linguistic difficulties which Mann experienced when moving from Europe to America, as the difficulty he experienced reading Eliot's *Four Quartets* demonstrated. Mann's jealousy of Eliot's ability to move from America to England seemingly so successfully can be seen as a direct response to the article in *Aufbau*. Rather hyperbolically, this article states of Eliot: 'Der Dichter, den England mit Stolz als den Seinen reklamiert, gilt heute im Urteil der Welt als der grösste lebende Poet englischer Zunge'.⁷⁷ It then goes on to list the many honours which had been showered upon Eliot, including honorary doctorates from the universities of Edinburgh, Oxford, Cambridge, Leeds and Bristol in England, and Harvard, Yale and Princeton in America.⁷⁸ Mann clearly read the article intently, as he summarised it in the rest of his diary entry:

Seine Poesie soll viel ausdrücken von der Ratslosigkeit des modernen Menschen u. der Banalität seines Daseins. Seine Sprache schien unverständlich, wurde aber führend bei den Jungen. Er hat sich dabei als engl. Katholik, Klassizist und Royalist erklärt.⁷⁹

Mann's close attention to the *Aufbau* article can be seen through the fact that, just like the article, he closes the diary entry by noting down Eliot's famous comment that he was 'classicist in literature, royalist in politics, and Anglo-Catholic in religion'.⁸⁰ The article's journalistic and uncritical style presented Mann with a somewhat two-dimensional and

⁷⁶ 'Neid auf den Vorteil in die englische Kultur u. Sprache hineingeboren zu sein', 'Jealousy of the advantages of being born into the English culture and language' (ibid., p. 330); Richard Dyck, 'Literatur-Nobelpreis für T. S. Eliot', *Aufbau*, XII, 46 (New York: New World Club, November 12, 1948), p. 8.

⁷⁷ 'The poet, whom England has proudly reclaimed as its own, is deemed by the judgement of the world as the greatest living poet of the English language' (ibid.).

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ His poetry apparently contains many expressions of the perplexity of modern mankind and the banality of his existence. His language appears incomprehensible but is foremost among the young. He has also declared himself to be Anglo-Catholic, Classicist and Royalist (Mann, *Tagebücher* 28. 5. 1946 - 31. 12. 1948, p. 330).

⁸⁰ CP3, p. 513.

factually inaccurate impression of Eliot.⁸¹ It did not mention the context in which Eliot's famous 'classicist, royalist and Anglo-Catholic' statement was coined, playing on the more extreme impact of the statement when removed from this context. Eliot did not attribute these characteristics to himself but rather to the collection of his essays which he was presenting. He also immediately followed the statement with the acknowledgement that 'the first term is completely vague, and easily lends itself to clap-trap; I am aware that the second term is at present without definition, and easily lends itself to what is almost worse than clap-trap, I mean temperate conservatism; the third term does not rest with me to define'.⁸² This proviso displays some of Eliot's irony, an aspect which is absent from the decontextualized version of the statement.

While Mann's view of Eliot was slightly distorted by the *Aufbau* article, he continued to read Eliot's work directly. On 1 December 1948, he recorded in his diary that he had read Eliot's *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture* but he stated that the essay 'mutet mich nicht wie das Werk eines großen Geistes an'.⁸³ Clearly Mann was not nearly as impressed by Eliot's direct commentary on culture as he had been by *Four Quartets*. There is much more scope for disagreement with *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture*, since the essay presents a pronounced social and religious position. Mann's comment on Eliot's essay reveals a degree of disillusionment, which is unsurprising given the hyperbolic praise of Eliot's work which Mann had read in *Aufbau*. Mann's reference to the work as not that of a 'großen Geistes' ('great mind'), directly modifies his previous assessment of Eliot's essays and poetry as 'geistig'. Mann's earlier opinion of Eliot appears to alter dramatically as he learned more about his social, political and religious stance.

⁸¹ There are many factual errors in the article, including listing Eliot's first wife as 'Virginia Haigh-Wood', his mother as 'Charlotte Chauncey Sterns Eliot', and his editorship of the *Criterion* as beginning in 1923 (Dyck, p. 8).

⁸² CP3, p. 513.

⁸³ 'Does not seem to me to be the work of a great mind' (Mann, *Tagebücher* 28. 5. 1946 - 31. 12. 1948, pp. 335-36).

There is more evidence to suggest that Mann's growing coolness towards Eliot was rooted in religious and political incompatibility. Only two days later, Mann recorded in his diary that he had received confirmation that the possibility of his receiving an honorary doctorate from Oxford University had come to nothing. Mann suspected that this was due to his political background and that 'man Katholik und Royalist sein muß wie Eliot'.⁸⁴ There is undoubtedly a sense of bitterness and personal resentment in this statement. There is a clear connection between Mann's comment and the impressive list of Eliot's honorary doctorates which he had read about so recently. This would have been compounded by Eliot's conservative stance in *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture*.

Mann's growing critical distance towards Eliot continued into 1949. In February he wrote in his diary that 'Eliot, Auden, etc.' had awarded the Bollingen Prize for poetry to Ezra Pound. He questioned the judges' objectivity and stated that 'die wohl nicht standgehalten hätte, wenn Pound, statt Faschist zu sein, Kommunist wäre. Es ist *keine* kühne, sondern eine harmonisch sich ins Ganze fügende Handlung'.⁸⁵ Mann's personal reaction was echoed in the public controversy which surrounded the choice of Pound for the prize.⁸⁶ Mann's assumption that Eliot found fascism forgivable but that he would not have tolerated Communism is indicative of his limited knowledge of Eliot's political position. As this thesis will go on to discuss, Eliot was reluctant to become involved in politics and showed no strict adherence to either Communism or Fascism.⁸⁷ There is a strong argument that Mann's antipathy to the Bollingen prize decision was heavily informed by the fact that the political atmosphere in

⁸⁴ 'one must be a Catholic and a royalist, like Eliot' (Mann, *Tagebücher 28. 5. 1946 - 31. 12. 1948*, p. 336). Mann did, however, receive an honorary doctorate from Oxford the following year on May 13, 1949 (Mann, *Tagebücher 1949 - 1950*, p. 56).

⁸⁵ 'They would not have stood so firm if Pound, rather than being a Fascist had been a Communist. It [the awarding of the prize] is *not at all* a bold act, but rather an act that makes perfect sense when one considers who was making the award' (Ibid., p. 24) (italics in original).

⁸⁶ See Robert A. Corrigan, 'Ezra Pound and the Bollingen Prize Controversy', *Midcontinent American Studies Journal*, 2, 8 (1967), 43-57.

⁸⁷ See chapter 5, p. 251.

which he was living at the time was becoming increasingly saturated with anti-Communist sentiment.⁸⁸

Returning to Mann's impression of Eliot's ever-growing fame, a diary entry of March 1949 displays another example of his impression being formed through a newspaper article:

Gelesen in N. Y. Herald Tribune über die tausend Studien und Bücher, die über Eliot geschrieben, das Auffinden der weltliterarischen Citate, aus denen guten Teils seine Gedichte bestehen.⁸⁹

In the same entry, Mann recorded Eliot's revolutionary style and his conservative, traditional demeanour. He also noted his similarity to Joyce; claiming that both were 'evocative' more than 'creative'.⁹⁰ This statement suggests that Mann recognised the heavy use of montage in both authors' works, but there is faint note of spite in this analysis, inferring that their success lies in their shock-value rather than in their creative talents. This extract reveals that Mann's interest in Eliot was literary as well as political, but the latter seeped into his view of the former. Clearly Mann recognised Eliot's fame and was interested enough in his career to record the details of his work and the criticism surrounding it.

Only two months later, Mann and Eliot eventually met at a PEN club reception in London on 17 May 1949.⁹¹ Two days later, Mann recorded this in his diary: 'Dinner des englischen Pen mit meiner ein wenig mahnenden Rede und dem unhöflichen, übrigens

⁸⁸ Mann contributed the foreword to Gordon Kahn, *Hollywood on Trial: The Story of the 10 Who Were Indicted* (New York: Boni & Gaer, 1948). In this, Mann compares the government persecution of filmmakers for smuggling Communist propaganda into their films to the 'spiritual intolerance, political inquisitions, and declining legal security' which were present during the rise of fascism in Germany (p. v).

⁸⁹ Read in the N. Y. Herald Tribune about the thousands of studies and books which have been written about Eliot, detecting the citations from world literature which comprise a large part of his poetry (Mann, *Tagebücher 1949 - 1950*, p. 34). (Malcolm Cowley, 'T. S. Eliot's Ardent Critics—and Mr. Eliot' in *New York Herald Tribune* (13 March, 1949), 1-2).

⁹⁰ 'Erinnerungsvoller und immerfort aus der Kultur citierender Revolutionär von konservativ traditionalischer Haltung. Bei Joyce sehr Verwandtes. Das Evokative statt des Creativen, oder doch dieses stark mit jenem vermischt. Das Resümierende (Provençalisch, Sanskrit, etc)', 'A reminiscing and constantly-culture-referencing revolutionary with a conservative, traditional demeanour. Very similar to Joyce. Evocative rather than creative, or at least the two are heavily mixed up. The resumptive one (Provençal, Sanskrit, etc)' (Mann, *Tagebücher 1949 - 1950*, p. 34).

⁹¹ Prater, p. 412.

zurückgesetzten T. S. Eliot'.⁹² It seems that Mann's impression on first meeting Eliot did not even warrant a full sentence. However, Mann's trip to England had been very busy and his relatively short diary entry attempts hasty coverage of his activities of the previous two weeks.⁹³ Taking this into account, the fact that Mann decided to mention Eliot takes on some significance. As we have seen, Mann had read and heard a lot about Eliot's popularity amongst readers and critics over the previous eight years. Although Mann had initially found *Four Quartets* to be impressive, Eliot's *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture* did not support this estimation. Eliot's social and political views had further damaged his standing in the German author's view. It appears that this meeting confirmed Mann's increasingly hostile attitude towards the poet.

The final piece of available evidence of Mann's knowledge of Eliot is his comment in December 1953 after receiving a copy of Eliot's 'Journey of the Magi' in English with German translations. He refers to the poems as '[ein] recht seltsame[s] 3 Könige-Gedicht'.⁹⁴ Taking into account Mann's varied reactions to Eliot over the decade through which he became increasingly familiar with him, this is perhaps a fitting summation of his overall response. Discovering Eliot relatively late in his life, it could be argued that Mann had neither a sense of Eliot's development as a poet, nor a deep enough understanding of the reasoning behind his faith or his aims and concerns as a critic fully to understand him or his use of the English language, leaving him with this 'very curious' impression of a highly successful yet rather flawed author. Further to this, the jealousy he felt for Eliot's ease of migration, choosing to leave his homeland rather than being banished from it, and literary success based on what he saw as antiquated traditionalist beliefs, provides another explanation for the bitterness he displayed in his private reflections. Finally, Eliot's support for the openly fascist

⁹² 'Dinner at the English PEN club, with my slightly admonitory speech and the impolite and furthermore standoffish T. S. Eliot' (Mann, *Tagebücher 1949 – 1950*, p. 56).

⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.

⁹⁴ 'very curious 3 Kings poem' (Thomas Mann, *Tagebücher 1953 – 1955*, ed. by Inge Jens (Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer, 1995), p. 157).

Pound was certainly a factor which seems to have influenced Mann's judgement and contributed to transforming the polite but disinterested respect he once held for the intelligent essayist and 'geistig' author of *Four Quartets* into the dismissive attitude he displayed towards the 'impolite' author who wrote 'curious' poems.

It is clear from the authors' knowledge of each other that there was a degree of disparity between their social, political and religious views. These views will be considered more fully in the following sections of this chapter in relation to their responses to bourgeois society. As will be seen, Mann expressed a number of opinions about the history of the middle classes in Germany and their role in past and contemporary societies. Eliot was conspicuously less forthcoming with any such detailed commentary on the role of the bourgeoisie. In order to consider these responses an important distinction which Mann made between the terms 'bourgeois' and 'Bürger' must first be explored.

ii) Defining 'Bürgerlichkeit' in Opposition to the 'Bourgeois'

The following analysis of Mann's idea of 'Bürgerlichkeit' in contrast with 'bourgeois' is essential for a proper understanding of what will be referred to as Mann's 'burgherly tradition', through which *Der Zauberberg* will be interpreted. Furthermore, Mann's notion of the 'burgherly age', and its end in 1900, forms an essential part of the framework by which he is contrasted with Eliot, who considered culture to have been in continual decline since the seventeenth century.

Mann's ideas about the meaning of the term 'bourgeois' were deeply rooted in his German heritage and can only be understood in relation to the German word 'Bürger'. 'Bürger' can translate directly in English as 'bourgeois', 'burgher' and 'citizen'.⁹⁵ For Mann,

⁹⁵ This thesis will only use the word 'burgher' as a direct translation of 'Bürger', to avoid confusion. 'Bürger' is the stem of the terms 'bürgerlich' (translating to 'burgherly') and 'Bürgerlichkeit' (translating to 'burgherly nature' or 'burgherly way of life')—however, in German 'Bürgerlichkeit' is a noun.

however, the terms ‘Bürger’ and ‘bourgeois’ came to be incompatible with each other.⁹⁶ In the *Betrachtungen* Mann explains this through the distinction which Georg Lukács had made between the terms in his work, *Die Seele und die Formen (Soul and Form)*.⁹⁷ Mann describes how Lukács distinguished between the ‘fremden, gewaltsamen und maskenhaften, asketisch-orgiastischen Bourgeoisium, dessen berühmtestes Beispiel Flaubert [...] sei, - und dem echt bürgerlichen Künstlertum eines Storm, Keller, Mörike’.⁹⁸

The chapter in *Betrachtungen* in which this appears is entitled ‘Bürgerlichkeit’ and goes into detail about the kind of characteristics which Mann associated with the ‘Bürger’. He uses Schopenhauer to suggest that the philosopher’s genius, world fame and tragic, painful life seem to contradict burgherly characteristics but despite this, Schopenhauer managed to maintain his burgherly nature. Mann describes these ‘burgherly’ characteristics as:

Seine hanseatisch-kaufmännische Herkunft; seine Selbsthaftigkeit in Frankfurt; die kantisch-pedantische Unwandelbarkeit und Pünktlichkeit seines Tagesablaufes; seine weise Gesundheitspflege auf Grund guter physiologischer Kenntnisse [...]; seine Genauigkeit als Kapitalist (er schrieb jeden Pfennig auf und hat sein kleines Vermögen durch kluge Wirtschaft im Laufe seines Lebens verdoppelt); die Ruhe, Zähigkeit, Sparsamkeit, Gleichmäßigkeit seiner Arbeitsmethode (—er produzierte für den Druck ausschließlich während der ersten beiden Morgenstunden).⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Brennan offers a good explanation of the distinction made by Mann between ‘Bürger’ and ‘bourgeois’ but then inexplicably chooses to continue to employ ‘bourgeois’ as the translation of ‘Bürger’ throughout the rest of his monograph (Brennan, p. 4).

⁹⁷ *GWXII*, p. 103; Georg Lukács, *Die Seele und die Formen* (Berlin: E. Fleischel, 1911).

⁹⁸ ‘the foreign, violent and mask-like, ascetic-orgiastic bourgeois spirit, whose most famous example is Flaubert [...] and the genuine burgherly artistry of the likes of Storm, Keller or Mörike’ (*GWXII*, p. 103). The definition of ‘bourgeois’ as this thesis refers to it has been outlined in the introduction, see pp. 1-2, fn. 2. To avoid unnecessary confusion, Mann’s definitions of ‘bourgeois’ and ‘Bürgerlichkeit’ will always be given in inverted commas to clarify that they are Mann’s definitions of these terms.

⁹⁹ ‘His Hanseatic-merchant origins; his sedentary life in Frankfurt; the Kantian pedantic stability and punctuality of his daily life; his wise care for his health based on sound physiological knowledge [...]; his precision as a Capitalist (he wrote down every penny and by clever management he doubled his fortune during his lifetime); the tranquillity, tenacity, economy and steadiness of his working methods (—he wrote for publication exclusively during the first two morning hours)’ (*ibid.*, p. 107).

The traits ascribed to 'Bürgerlichkeit' in this passage are more closely associated with ethics and a mild form of asceticism than with social class.

This becomes clearer when Mann returns to Lukács' distinction, praising his suggestion that 'Bürgerlichkeit' was 'die Herrschaft der Ordnung über die Stimmung, des Dauernden über das Momentane, der ruhigen Arbeit über die Genialität, die von Sensationen gespeist wird'.¹⁰⁰ It is implied that the latter qualities are 'bourgeois' while the former are 'bürgerlich'. These 'bourgeois' qualities have clear links to characteristics which dominated much Romantic writing of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹⁰¹ However, Mann associated German Romanticism with his idea of 'Bürgerlichkeit'. This raises the issue of the difference between German Romanticism and other national forms of Romanticism, as well as revealing the complexity of the relationship between 'bourgeois' and 'Bürgerlichkeit', as Mann viewed them.

It is important to note that Mann and Eliot's responses to bourgeois society were largely informed by their notions of Romanticism, which differed considerably. The authors discussed by Eliot in relation to Romanticism are rarely the same as those whom Mann considered to be Romantic writers.¹⁰² It must also be noted that German Romanticism can be considered to have features which separate it from other forms of European Romanticism, notably its openly philosophical nature and the close links between science and poetry.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ 'the dominance of order over mood, of the lasting over the momentary, of quiet work over genius that is fed by sensations' (ibid., p. 103).

¹⁰¹ The twentieth century saw much debate about the difficulty of defining Romanticism: Sharon Ruston and Aidan Day both open their monographs on Romanticism with this caveat (Sharon Ruston, *Romanticism* (London: Continuum, 2007); Aidan Day, *Romanticism* (London: Routledge, 1996)). Day, however, offers a brief but well-considered outline of definitions of Romanticism and their development during the twentieth century, claiming that the focus on imagination, the individual and spiritual reality are defining characteristics which are agreed upon (pp. 1-4). Further to this, Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich's study stresses the variances in Romanticism between nations by considering national ideas of Romanticism separately (*Romanticism in National Context* ed. by Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988)). The distinction between German Romanticism and English Romanticism is of central importance for considering Mann and Eliot's largely disparate ideas about Romanticism.

¹⁰² As will be discussed in more detail below, Eliot refers to authors such as Tennyson, Arnold, Browning and Meredith in relation to Romanticism.

¹⁰³ See 'Romanticism in Germany' in Porter and Teich, pp. 109-33 for more details of the specific characteristics of German Romanticism. Porter and Teich also note the 'contradiction between artist and

Mann frequently refers to German Romanticism throughout the *Betrachtungen* with respect and appreciation and considered himself a genuine child of the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁴ He characterised that period with the qualities: ‘Romantik, Nationalismus, Bürgerlichkeit, Musik, Pessimismus, Humor’.¹⁰⁵ While the apparent contradiction between the (foreign) Romantic qualities of ‘bourgeois’ and the coupling of (German) Romanticism and ‘Bürgerlichkeit’ can partly be explained by the national differences of eighteenth and nineteenth-century literature, there are a number of other explanations.

Firstly, it should be made clear that the link between the characteristics Lukács described as ‘bourgeois’ and Romanticism is my own and was not made by Mann. However, the link highlights some of the inconsistencies in Mann’s thinking, particularly in the *Betrachtungen*. In his attempt to define ‘Bürgerlichkeit’ as a diminished ideal of the previous age, he set it up against a multitude of traits which he considered foreign to the ‘burgher; his praise for Lukács’ analysis is a clear example of this. Yet in doing so, Mann displayed a lack of attention to the characteristics against which he was positioning his ‘burgherly’ ideal. For instance, he points to Goethe as a great burgher but leaves out the poet’s central role in the ‘Sturm und Drang’ movement; a movement which can be considered to embody the ‘bourgeois’ qualities outlined by Lukács.¹⁰⁶ Secondly, in the *Betrachtungen* Mann often

bourgeois’ as a particular trait of German Romanticism and argue that Mann was continuing this Romantic tradition (p. 127).

¹⁰⁴ ‘Ich bin, im geistig Wesentlichen, ein rechtes Kind des Jahrhunderts, in das die ersten fünfundzwanzig Jahre meines Lebens fallen: des neunzehnten.’ (‘I am, in what is intellectually essential, a genuine child of the century into which the first twenty-five years of my life fall: the nineteenth.’) (*GWXII*, p. 21).

¹⁰⁵ ‘Romanticism, Nationalism, burgherly nature, music, pessimism, humour’ (*ibid.*, p. 22).

¹⁰⁶ Notable characteristics of the Sturm und Drang movement were its idea of ‘genius’: the inspired artist, passionate and uncontrolled emotion, intensity, and the (often unsuccessful) attempt to assert individuality over social order (David Hill, *Literature of the Sturm und Drang*, ed. by David Hill (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2003), pp. 22-32.) Mann does fleetingly mention Goethe’s role in the Sturm und Drang movement in a later essay ‘Goethe’s Laufbahn als Schriftsteller’ (‘Goethe’s Career as a Man of Letters’) (1932). In this essay he refers to Goethe’s Sturm und Drang style as a ‘Derbheit’ (‘crudity’) which was ‘veredelt’, ‘gehoben’ and ‘entburscht’ (‘ennobled’, ‘elevated’ and ‘cleansed’) by his engagement with Luther’s Bible which persisted into his old age (*GWIX*, pp. 333-62, (p. 354)). Another interesting line of enquiry, for which there is unfortunately not scope within this thesis, is Mann’s response to the specifically German and middle-class character of the Sturm und Drang movement in relation to his idea of ‘Bürgerlichkeit’. See Roy Pascal, ‘The Sturm und Drang and the Social Classes’, in *The German Sturm und Drang* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1953), pp. 56-86).

combines literary ideas with political and social criticism without distinguishing between the two. This demonstrates the imprecision inherent within Mann's designation of 'bourgeois' characteristics, since he applied the concept both to literary and to social developments.¹⁰⁷ Finally, as already outlined, Mann's notions of nineteenth-century Romanticism and 'Bürgerlichkeit' are united by their specifically German heritage, distancing his own tradition from the 'foreign' qualities of the 'bourgeois'. This highlights Mann's Germanocentrism; emphasising the qualities of the specifically German burgher and failing to clarify the qualities he ascribed to the 'bourgeois' in any detail.

Mann refers only to *German* Romanticism in his praise of the movement. This is well illustrated by his comment that *Tonio Kröger* was testimony to his [Mann's] Germanness since the eponymous character is essentially a latecomer of Romanticism, 'zwar einer sehr deutschen Romantik', and that Tonio is the brother of Schlemihl, Undine and Heiling.¹⁰⁸ Similarly, Mann was explicit in the connection he made between Germany and 'Bürgerlichkeit' stating that 'das Deutsche und das Bürgerliche, das ist eins'.¹⁰⁹ In the same passage, he claims that the German mind is burgherly in a special way which is formed from the 'ethisch-pessimistische Luft' ('ethical-pessimistic air') and that 'die deutsche *Bildung* ist bürgerlich, die deutsche Bürgerlichkeit *human*'.¹¹⁰ The connection which Mann makes between the cultural education of Germans and 'Bürgerlichkeit', along with its 'ethical-pessimistic' inheritances and humanist slant, aligns it with his own 'ethical-pessimistic' and humanistic education deriving from Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Wagner and Goethe. As will

¹⁰⁷ Examples of this will be given in the following pages through Mann's application of his 'Bürger/bourgeois' distinction to *Buddenbrooks*.

¹⁰⁸ 'indeed, a very German Romanticism' (*GWXII*, p. 92). Peter Schlemihl is the title character of Adelbert von Chamisso's 1814 novella *Peter Schlemihls wundersame Geschichte*; Undine is a water spirit who is the title character of Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué's 1811 fairy-tale novella *Undine*; *Hans Heiling* is an opera from 1833 by Heinrich Marschner, the title character is based on German folklore and is cited as a source of inspiration for Richard Wagner's *Der Fliegende Holländer* (Thomas Grey, *Richard Wagner: Der Fliegende Holländer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 153).

¹⁰⁹ 'the German and the burgherly are one and the same' (*GWXII*, p. 107).

¹¹⁰ 'German *education* is burgherly, and the German burgherly way of life is essentially *human*' (ibid) (italics in original). The word 'Bildung' ('education') here implies education in a broader cultural sense rather than referring more specifically to the education system.

be considered more thoroughly in the following chapter, Mann defined all of these figures as burgherly, although to differing degrees. Mann further related ‘Bürgerlichkeit’ to the intellectual and spiritual sphere by claiming that it was an historical fact that ‘Geist’, in the political-civilising sense, was a ‘burgherly’ concern.¹¹¹

These characteristics further distance Mann’s idea of the German burgher from a purely class-based analogy. This is not to suggest that Mann’s notion of ‘Bürgerlichkeit’ was not related to the middle classes, as his reference to Schopenhauer’s merchant roots demonstrated, but that it was a multifaceted concept rather than a simple designation of class. Similarly, Mann’s reflections on the ‘bourgeois’ are only partly related to social status. His tracing of the development of the ‘bourgeois’ from the mid-nineteenth century into the twentieth becomes increasingly opaque as he attempts to describe the assimilation of the ‘bourgeois’ into German culture. Mann describes how the ‘bourgeois’ had been internationalised by capitalism and was now at home in Germany as everywhere, before claiming that the German burgher had been dehumanized, lost his soul and had hardened into the capitalistic-imperialistic bourgeois: ‘Der *harte* Bürger: das ist der Bourgeois’.¹¹²

Michael Zeller argues that Mann’s thinking in the *Betrachtungen* presents a contradiction since the authors also refers to the ‘bourgeois’ as ‘die modern-heroische Lebensform und –haltung des überbürdeten und übertrainierten, “am Rande der Erschöpfung arbeitenden” *Leistungsethikers*’.¹¹³ Yet these definitions are not entirely paradoxical, and closer attention to the passage in which Mann stated this reveals that his perspective on the new type of ‘bourgeois’ was purely psychological rather than social or political. Further to this, Mann was forming these ideas by retrospectively applying them to *Buddenbrooks* in an

¹¹¹ ‘Daß “der Geist” in diesem politisch-zivilisatorischen Sinne eine bürgerlich *Angelegenheit* [...] das ist eine geschichtliche Tatsache’ (ibid., pp. 51-52) (italics in original).

¹¹² ‘the *hard* Bürger: that is the Bourgeois’ (ibid., p. 137) (italics in original).

¹¹³ ‘the modern-heroic life form and attitude of the overburdened and overdisciplined *moralist of accomplishment* “working on the edge of exhaustion”’ (ibid., p. 145) (italics in original); Michael Zeller, *Bürger oder Bourgeois? Eine literatur-soziologische Studie zu Thomas Manns ‘Buddenbrooks’ und Heinrich Manns ‘Im Schlaraffenland’* (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1976), pp. 17-18.

attempt to highlight the novel's sensitivity to social developments. It is worth considering Mann's definition of the new 'bourgeois' in relation to the novel in order better to understand his thinking.

It may seem initially that the Buddenbrook family, with its tenacious working methods and the long tradition, represents Mann's burgherly ideal, while the upstart Hagenströms represent the new form of the 'bourgeois', dehumanized and hardened by capitalism.¹¹⁴ Zeller has attempted to clarify, in detail, the distinction which Mann made between 'Bürger' and 'bourgeois' in relation to *Buddenbrooks*.¹¹⁵ He argues that in fact Hermann Hagenström is a true burgher, pointing out his desire to maintain the traditional features of the Buddenbrook house after purchasing it, his sensitivity to the Buddenbrooks' declining fortunes and his biological vitality, with his five strong, healthy children.¹¹⁶ It is Thomas Buddenbrook who represents, as Mann himself claimed, both the German 'Bürger' and the modern 'bourgeois'.¹¹⁷ Mann suggested that Thomas Buddenbrook was the first character to embody the development of the burgher into the new bourgeois and described the exhausted 'Leistungsethiker' ('moralist of accomplishment') precisely in relation to this protagonist.¹¹⁸

Zeller also points out that the Hagenströms are mostly viewed from the suspicious perspective of the Buddenbrooks throughout the novel.¹¹⁹ Swales expands on this point, claiming that the Hagenströms are not entirely different from the Buddenbrooks but the

¹¹⁴ Jack Lindsay refers to the Buddenbrooks as 'Bürgers' and the Hagenströms as 'bourgeois', stressing the latter's lack of tradition but without any further reference to Mann's definition of 'bourgeois' (Jack Lindsay, *Thomas Mann* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1954), p.17). Martin Swales points out that 'much ink has been spilt over the question whether the Buddenbrooks and the Hagenströms do, in fact, adequately represent two radically divergent forms of economic activity', citing as evidence: Kurzke, pp. 49-50; *Buddenbrooks Handbuch* ed. by Ken Moulden and Gero von Wilpert (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1988), pp. 196, 254; Jochen Vogt, *Thomas Mann: Buddenbrooks* (Munich: Fink, 1983), p. 69 and Zeller, *Bürger oder Bourgeois?*, pp. 22-29 (Martin Swales, *Buddenbrooks: Family Life as the Mirror of Social Change* (Boston: Twayne, 1991), p. 91).

¹¹⁵ Zeller, pp. 22-29.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-6.

¹¹⁷ *GWXII*, p. 145; Zeller, p. 19.

¹¹⁸ Mann claimed that this development continued in his following works, *Fiorenza*, *Königliche Hoheit* and *Der Tod in Venedig* (*GWXII*, p. 145).

¹¹⁹ Zeller, p. 23.

importance lies in the *perception* of difference on the part of the latter. This is most notable through Thomas and Tony's views of the Hagenströms, which come to symbolise their perception that social, economic and mercantile values are changing all around them. Swales argues that this demonstrates the 'inwardly felt change in value-heavy symbolizations' which represent social life.¹²⁰ This view is supported by Mann's statement in the *Betrachtungen* that he had not given much thought to the Hagenströms when writing *Buddenbrooks*:

und wenn ich neben dem Verfallsbürger den Aufstiegsbürger, den Neuankömmling, Aufkäufer und Nachfolger stellte, so geschah es flüchtig und ohne daß ich an diesem Gegentyp in irgendeinem Sinne sonderlich teilgenommen hätte.¹²¹

Mann's reference here to both the Buddenbrooks and the Hagenströms as 'Bürger' provides further evidence that both families are 'burghers'—although in Mann's analysis Thomas is also 'bourgeois'. Mann's admission that he had not given much thought to the rising burgher supports the argument that his view of what followed the decline of the Buddenbrooks—of what society should look like after the inevitable collapse of the 'Leistungsethiker'—was vague and undefined. If Hermann Hagenström did in fact represent the old type of burgher, as Zeller has argued, then he should have been just as susceptible to the changing social values and influx of the new 'bourgeois' as the Buddenbrooks were. That he is not susceptible and that the reasons for this are undefined, support Mann's claim that he did not pay the Hagenströms much attention. For this reason, the Hagenströms' allegorical function should be considered less in terms of the social and historical implications attached to Mann's 'Bürger/bourgeois' distinction and more as a foil to the Buddenbrooks' physical and psychological decline. The success of the Hagenströms simply confirms the cyclical nature of the eternal rise and fall of families, demonstrating that Mann's focus was on philosophical, psychological and biological patterns and the culmination of these conditions in the creation

¹²⁰ Swales, *Buddenbrooks: Family Life as the Mirror of Social Change*, pp. 92-93.

¹²¹ and if I contrasted the rising burgher, the newcomer, the speculative buyer and successor with the declining burgher, it was only in passing, without my being particularly interested in this opposing type (*GWXII*, p. 140).

of the young artist, Hanno.¹²² Any attempts at mapping social developments were secondary and, arguably, deficient.

As well as Mann's unclear vision of the future after the turn of the twentieth century, his analysis of the old German 'burgher' becoming the new 'bourgeois'—hardened and simultaneously heroic—creates more uncertainty about his definition of 'bourgeois'. Thomas Buddenbrook's qualities as a 'moralist of accomplishment'; his unwillingness to give up his disciplined routine which causes his exhaustion, stand in contrast to the dominance of 'mood', the 'momentary' and 'genius fed by sensations' which Mann earlier outlined in relation to the 'bourgeois'.¹²³ Both Mann and Zeller's attempts to consider *Buddenbrooks* as allegorical representations of the development of the 'bourgeois' fall short, further reinforcing Mann's lack of clarity in defining the 'bourgeois' and what followed after the demise of the burgherly ideal. *Buddenbrooks* can, however, be considered as an elegy to this vanishing burgherly culture.

At the beginning of the novel Mann displays a robust and thriving 'Bürgerlichkeit' which, even at its height, contains the fractures which lead insidiously to its decline. In many ways, *Buddenbrooks* portrays a way of life which is already dead: the story begins in 1835 with characters who are anachronistic even to their contemporaries.¹²⁴ The novel depicts the impossibility of such an existence continuing in the developing world, as the values of the older generations of Buddenbrooks are outmoded and stagnation has set in. Yet the minute detail in which all the trappings of the family's lifestyle is described displays Mann's deep investment in this society. The narrative draws out these descriptions, relishing the luxury of the family's material wealth and lifestyle. The dinner party which opens the novel exemplifies this, whilst also implying a large degree of empathy with the concerns of the

¹²² This eternal rise and fall of families can be considered in relation to Mann's application of Nietzsche's theory of Eternal Recurrence, which will be considered in detail in chapter 4.

¹²³ *GWXII*, p. 103.

¹²⁴ In the opening scene of the novel, the reader is informed that the old M. Johann Buddenbrook remains true to the style of his youth and has never in his life worn long trousers (*B*, p. 10).

family, from the care shown for the seating plan to the nervous glances at the servants' handling of the Meissen porcelain.¹²⁵ Although such insights are loaded with comic irony, it is clear that Mann's work has a deep emotional investment in the minutiae of middle-class existence. The affection with which he portrays the family and its lifestyle is testimony to this, and contributes in large measure to the novel's nostalgic charm.

Yet Mann's presentation of the 'burgher' in *Buddenbrooks* also contains a less favourable aspect which undermines this reading, namely, the robust, healthy burgher, as we have seen from the example of Hermann Hagenström. This type of character can be seen in a number of Mann's early works such as *Tonio Kröger* and *Tristan* (1903), in which burghers such as Hans Hansen, Ingeborg Holm and Herr Klöterjahn are depicted as possessing exaggerated vitality and health. The latter is arguably the most extreme example since the name 'Klöterjahn' contains an obvious allusion to the character's virility through the word 'Klößen', a north German slang term for testicles.¹²⁶ The vulgar connotation within the name achieves its desired effect by offending the excessively sensitive 'artist' of the novella, Spinell.¹²⁷ Although in less extreme forms, these burghers all function to highlight the weak and sensitive natures of the more creative, artistic characters who are at the centre of these texts. This highlights another inconsistency in Mann's idea of the middle classes in his early works. The health and vitality of these burghers—set up in opposition to the artistic protagonists—presents a direct conflict with his idea that the 'burgher' was in decline.

One explanation for this could be that, just as the 'bourgeois' was little more than a foil to Mann's idea of 'Bürgerlichkeit' in the *Betrachtungen*, these burghers are foils to Mann's artist figures and should not be considered as indicators of wider social trends. As

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 25.

¹²⁶ The most direct English translation of 'Klößen' would be 'balls'. Anthony Heilbut claims that the local idiom refers more specifically to 'ample testicles' and cites this as evidence of the antithesis between the virile Klöterjahn and the hairless, almost pre-pubescent Spinell (Heilbut, p. 158).

¹²⁷ Spinell calls it 'Barbarei und Niedertracht' ('barbarism and baseness') to refer to Gabriele as 'Frau Klöterjahn', instead referring to her by her maiden name (*T*, p. 232). *Tristan* must be treated with some caution since Spinell is certainly a parody of the artist but whether he is a genuine artist is doubtful. Similarly, Herr Klöterjahn's offensiveness to Spinell is exaggerated for comic effect.

noted above, ‘artists’ and more sensitive figures are at the centre of Mann’s early works, for example, Thomas and Hanno Buddenbrook, Tonio Kröger, and Detlev Spinell. Burghers such as Hermann Hagenström, Hans Hansen, and Herr Klöterjahn are paid relatively little attention in comparison and are all narrated with greater sympathy towards the artistic characters. Although the ‘artist’ figures are also all burghers, they are distinguished by their sensitivity and feel themselves to be exceptions, isolated in bourgeois society.¹²⁸ The common feature of Mann’s early works, up to and including *Der Tod in Venedig*, is their central focus on the problem of the artist. *Der Zauberberg* marks a step away from the artist as the central focus.

Although Mann’s thoughts in the *Betrachtungen* were still somewhat vague, as seen by his definition of ‘bourgeois’, the extended essay nevertheless demonstrates that the idea of the German burgher was a primary concern for Mann and a concept which became increasingly important and consistent throughout his later essays and speeches.¹²⁹ Lindsay’s argument that Mann only really confirmed his attitude towards ‘Bürgerlichkeit’ during the First World War is convincing. He claims that before then Mann did not consciously distinguish between ‘Bürger’ or ‘bourgeois’, and even in the *Betrachtungen* some confusion remains.¹³⁰ This is supported by the evidence above, detailing the seemingly opposed artistic burghers and the healthy, robust burghers, and the unconvincing argument that Thomas Buddenbrook is a modern ‘bourgeois’. However, Mann’s essays after 1918 affirm his clearer attitude to ‘Bürgerlichkeit’ as a mode of existence which should not be discarded in the twentieth century, while the ideas expressed in the *Betrachtungen* on the new ‘bourgeois’ were not pursued further in later critical works. While the problem of the artist continues to

¹²⁸ See the chapter ‘The Artist’s Isolation in a Bourgeois World’ in Brennan, pp. 3-36.

¹²⁹ See ‘Goethe als Repräsentant des bürgerlichen Zeitalters’ (*GWIX*, pp. 297-332); ‘Leiden und Grösse Richard Wagners’ (*GWIX*, pp. 363-426); ‘Nietzsche’s Philosophie im Lichte unserer Erfahrung’ (*GWIX*, pp. 675-712) and ‘Lübeck als geistige Lebensform’ (*GWXI*, pp. 376-98). Mann’s continued discussions of burgherly nature in these essays will be considered in more detail in the following chapter.

¹³⁰ Lindsay, *Thomas Mann*, pp. 19-21.

be a major theme throughout Mann's entire oeuvre, *Der Zauberberg* presents a growing concern for the future of 'Bürgerlichkeit'.

Significant for the following chapters is the fact that Mann's ideas about the new 'bourgeois' and the old 'Bürger' were central to his thinking when he was composing *Der Zauberberg*. For this reason, Mann's second major novel provides a much more interesting study for his ideas about the middle classes and burgherly nature than *Buddenbrooks*, to which these ideas were only retrospectively applied. Although Mann certainly does not present an allegorical analysis of the development of the 'Bürger' or the 'bourgeois' in *Der Zauberberg*, the social ideas behind the novel are more clearly formulated than those behind *Buddenbrooks*, and the ambivalence with which they are presented in the later novel can be considered to be more deliberate.¹³¹

The absence of Eliot from the above discussion about the definitions of 'bourgeois' and 'Bürgerlichkeit' is significant in itself. Much less can be said about Eliot in terms of direct commentary on his interpretation or definition of 'bourgeois' although he does offer some analysis of this class through his 'Baudelaire' and 'Marie Lloyd' essays and his short prose piece, 'Eeldrop and Appleplex', all of which will be considered in detail throughout the following chapters. Further to this, the upper-middle classes play a dominant role in his early poetry—as will be considered throughout this thesis—and his social position was integral to his upbringing and education. As we have seen, Mann was forthcoming with his opinions and theories about the middle classes and drew direct links between his social criticism and his creative works—although a degree of ambivalence is also integral to his novels and short stories. What Mann and Eliot both agreed upon, and presented in their creative works and critical outputs, was that they were living in a time of great social and cultural change. Mann believed that with the emergence of the twentieth century, the previous 'burgherly' era had

¹³¹ Reed argues that from *Der Tod in Venedig* onwards, Mann's works moved away from allegory to be dominated by ambivalence, although both methods were still employed. (Terence James Reed, *Thomas Mann: The Uses of Tradition*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), p. 178).

come to an end. In contrast, Eliot regarded the twentieth century to be merely a continuation of the decline in culture which had begun in the seventeenth century, largely based on increasing secularisation across Europe, as the following parts of this chapter will discuss.¹³² How both authors characterised, and responded to, this declining era relates directly to their presentations of the middle classes in their works.

iii) Divergent Perspectives of Cultural Decline

Central to both Mann and Eliot's works in the early twentieth century was their perception of an overwhelming sense of decline which prevailed in the nineteenth century. Their ideas about the definition of the ages in which they existed and the timespans of these are in direct contrast, although their characterisations of the past display some similarities. Any attempt to define an epoch by naming it presents a bias on the part of the person defining it.¹³³ The fact that Mann referred to the era which he considered to have just passed as the 'bürgerliches Zeitalter' ('burgherly age') reveals a great deal about his perspective of the past and its most significant characteristics.¹³⁴ From what has been established about Mann's attitude to 'Bürgerlichkeit' during and after the *Betrachtungen*, it is clear that his definition elevates the past age and places emphasis on its 'burgherly' characteristics. Eliot was more reluctant to provide any overarching definition of the previous epoch. Eliot did, however, discuss many of the characteristics defined by Mann as 'burgherly', through which the authors' notions of the past can be compared. Eliot's 'Goethe as Sage' (1954) and 'Baudelaire' (1930) essays are

¹³² This largely comes down to Eliot's notion of the 'dissociation of sensibility', expressed in 'The Metaphysical poets', in which he traces how the declining quality of literature can be seen as a consequence of social decline (CP2, p. 380). See below, pp. 58-59.

¹³³ For this reason, this thesis avoids defining the age by name. The focus is on Mann and Eliot's definitions of this age. Since Eliot offers no definition which can easily signify the age, Mann's 'burgherly age' will be employed in inverted commas to acknowledge that it is Mann's definition, not Eliot's or the author's.

¹³⁴ As will be discussed throughout this section, Mann referred to the past epoch as 'burgherly' in *Betrachtungen* (1918) (GWXII, pp. 107, 114, 131, 143, 235); 'Goethe und Tolstoi' ('Goethe and Tolstoy') (1921) (GWIX, p. 165), and 'Goethe als Repräsentant des bürgerlichen Zeitalters' ('Goethe as Representative of the Burgherly Age') (1932) (GWIX, pp. 297-332).

particularly illuminating in this regard and will be discussed in due course. First, this section will outline Mann's definition of the 'burgherly age', the timeframe it spanned and how he characterised it. It will then discuss how Eliot viewed the same age with more critical distance and less certainty regarding its timespan. This will lead to an analysis of how both authors considered their contemporary period in relation to the past, with a particular focus on the deterioration of the 'burgherly' characteristics outlined above.

Mann's recognition that the age of the 'burgher' had ended was sketched in the previous section, but in the *Betrachtungen* his diagnosis of the cultural shift was more explicit. Here, Mann recognised that the elements of his character which were formed by the nineteenth century (Romanticism, Nationalism, burgherly nature, music, pessimism, humour) were from a past age and that, artistically and intellectually, his needs and instincts now—during the First World War—belonged to a new epoch.¹³⁵ He identified the root of the decline of the 'geistiger Bürger' ('spiritual/intellectual burgher'), who existed before 1850, to be:

Die Verwissenschaftlichung der Industrie und die Industrialisierung der Wissenschaft; die Regelung, Erkältung, Verfeindseligung des unmöglich gewordenen patriarchalisch-menschlichen Verhältnisses von Brotherr und Arbeitnehmer durch das soziale Gesetz, Emanzipation und Ausbeutung; Macht, Macht, Macht!¹³⁶

Although this extract from the *Betrachtungen* is critical of the closer ties between science and industry, and the deteriorating relationships between worker and employer, Mann's hostility towards this form of social and industrial development is aimed at the lack of humanity, reason, and intelligence which he considered the 'geistige Bürger' to have brought to this field previously. Mann was not opposed to industrial development or capitalistic gain, as will

¹³⁵ 'Ich finde wohl in mir artistisch-formale wie auch geistig-sittliche Elemente, Bedürfnisse, Instinkte, die nicht mehr dieser Epoche, sondern einer neueren angehören', 'I find in myself both artistic-formal and intellectual-moral elements, needs and instincts which no longer belong to that epoch' (*GWXII*, p. 21).

¹³⁶ The entry of science into industry and industry into science; the regulation, cooling and turning to hostility of the patriarchal-human relationships between employer and worker which had become impossible due to social legislation; emancipation and exploitation; Power, Power, Power! (*ibid.*, p. 138).

be considered in relation to *Der Zauberberg*. It was the callous extremity which industrial and social organisation reached in the latter half of the nineteenth century to which Mann was opposed, emphasised by the multiple clauses of the extended sentence, the repetition of ‘Macht’ (‘power’) and the exclamation mark.

Although in the *Betrachtungen* Mann offers such insights into the causes of the decline of the previous age, he repeatedly mentions the ‘burgherly age’ and the ‘burgherly epoch’ without offering any clarification of when he considers this age to have begun.¹³⁷ It was not until three years later, in his ‘Goethe und Tolstoi’ essay of 1921, that Mann suggested that the ‘burgherly age’ began in the fifteenth century and ended with the close of the nineteenth century.¹³⁸ He states, ‘Die bürgerlich-humanistisch-liberale [Epoche], die, in der Renaissance geboren, mit der Französischen Revolution zur Macht gelangte und deren letzten Zügen und Zuckungen wir anwohnen’.¹³⁹ The other characteristics by which Mann defines the epoch here are also vital to his notion of ‘Bürgerlichkeit’ and the age more broadly. Its close ties with liberalism, in Mann’s view, complement his description of the burgherly traits which he attributed to Schopenhauer: his precision as a capitalist, tempered by sensible economy.¹⁴⁰ Mann’s idea of humanism, stemming from the Renaissance, is also central to the classical education which he saw as integral to the formation of the ‘Geist’ of the ‘geistige Bürger’. The values of humanism and liberalism which Mann came to defend in *Der Zauberberg* are particularly important in comparison with Eliot, whose rejection of many of these values will be considered in the final section of this chapter.

¹³⁷ Ibid., pp. 107, 114, 131, 142, 234-35.

¹³⁸ It should be noted, however, that Mann saw the beginning of the end as setting in much earlier than this. As evidenced by *Buddenbrooks* and in particular the pressures felt by Thomas Buddenbrook from the middle of the nineteenth century. The next chapter will also detail how Mann saw the death of Goethe (1832) as a significant marker of the decline of the ‘burgherly’ values of that age.

¹³⁹ ‘The bourgeois, humanistic, liberal epoch, which was born at the Renaissance and came to power with the French Revolution, and whose last convulsive twitchings and manifestations of life we are now beholding’.
(*GWIX*, pp. 165-66).

¹⁴⁰ *GWXII*, pp. 107-08.

Mann's claim about the timespan of the 'burgherly age' is repeated in his 1932 speech 'Goethe als Repräsentant des bürgerlichen Zeitalters' ('Goethe as Representative of the Burgherly Age').¹⁴¹ In this speech, Mann expressed three ways in which Goethe could be viewed historically: first as representative of the age in which he lived—the 'classic humanistic educational epoch'.¹⁴² Second as representative of greatness covering an expanse of time which may span millennia to come.¹⁴³ Finally, as representative of the 'bürgerliche Epoche' ('burgherly epoch'): the five hundred years from the beginning of the fifteenth century to the end of the nineteenth.¹⁴⁴ Mann supports his assertion that the 'burgherly age', represented by Goethe, stretches back as far as the fifteenth century by citing Goethe's translation of Benvenuto Cellini, his transferral of the Weimar court to Ferrara in *Tasso*, the classical character and structure of *Achilleis* and *Hermann und Dorothea*, and Goethe's confession that he preferred to read the latter work in its Latin version.¹⁴⁵ Mann's assertion that the age in which Goethe lived was 'classic, humanistic, educational' aligns it more closely with the age he described as 'bürgerlich' in 'Goethe und Tolstoi'. This indicates that Mann considered the age in which Goethe lived, and its defining principles, to be an integral

¹⁴¹ *GWIX*, pp. 297-332. This speech was given in Berlin on 18. March, 1932 on the occasion of the centenary of Goethe's death. The following chapter will analyse Mann and Eliot's responses to Goethe in more detail, but for now it is important to note that both authors considered the German poet as representative of his age (Eliot discusses Goethe as representative of his age in 'Goethe as Sage' (1954) and 'Baudelaire' (1930).

¹⁴² 'Goethe als Repräsentanten dieser klassisch-humanen Bildungsepoche zu sehen, ist also der engste Gesichtswinkel, unter dem man seine Gestalt visieren mag.' 'To see Goethe as representative of the classic-humanistic educational epoch is the narrowest way in which his figure can be viewed.' (*GWIX*, p. 298).

¹⁴³ 'und niemand kann sagen, in welches Maß seine Gestalt mit der Zeit noch hineinwachsen mag.' 'and nobody can say to what extent his figure may yet in time expand' (*ibid.*, p. 299).

¹⁴⁴ 'ihn nämlich als Repräsentanten des Halbjahrtausends zu betrachten, das wir die bürgerliche Epoche nennen, und das vom fünfzehnten bis zur Wende des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts reicht', 'to consider him [Goethe] namely as the representative of the five hundred years which we call the burgherly epoch, and which spanned from the fifteenth century until the turn of the nineteenth century' (*ibid.*, p. 299). Significantly, Mann refers to this view as the 'mittlere' (middle) way of viewing Goethe, subtly placing value on the importance of the middle, rather than the more extreme perspectives either side of it, in line with Goethe's middle-class status.

¹⁴⁵ 'er hat den Benvenuto Cellini übersetzt, er hat dichterisch spielend im "Tasso" den Weimarer Hof verwechselt mit dem Renaissancehof von Ferrara, und namentlich seine Versepen, "Hermann und Dorothea", die "Achilleis", tragen in ihrer Formung und Gruppierung den Kunstcharakter jener Zeit, sie wirken wie antikisierende, aus der Fläche hochgetriebene Bildwerke von damals, und er selbst gesteht, daß er "Hermann und Dorothea" mit Vorliebe in lateinischer Übersetzung gelesen habe', 'he translated Benvenuto Cellini, in *Tasso* he poetically transferred the Weimar court to the Renaissance court of Ferrara, and more convincing still, his verse epics *Hermann und Dorothea* and the *Achilleis* are characteristic of the period in structure and composition; they are antique-like in effect, like the high-relief statutory of the time. He himself confessed that he liked to read *Hermann und Dorothea* in a Latin version' (*ibid.*, p. 301).

part of the overarching ‘burgherly age’. Mann argued that the final view of Goethe—as representative of the ‘bürgerliche Epoche’—was the most important one for contemporary society:

für uns, die wir ein Zeitalter, das bürgerliche, sich enden sehen und deren Schicksal es ist, in Nöten und Krisen des Überganges den Weg in neue Welten, neue Ordnungen des Innen und Außen zu finden.¹⁴⁶

Particularly significant here is that as late as 1932 Mann still considered the contemporary period to be in a state of transition, over thirty years after the turn of the century which he argued saw the end of ‘burgherly age’. This has interesting implications for *Der Zauberberg*, written and published in the midst of this transition. The readings of the novel presented in the following chapters address this sense of confusion and liminality but ultimately argue that Mann’s praise of the ‘burgherly’ values of the previous age are also integral to the novel.

Eliot’s ‘Goethe as Sage’ is particularly illuminating about his idea of the age which Goethe represented. It is important briefly to outline the context of this essay, which was written as Eliot’s speech of thanks when he was awarded the 1954 Hanseatic Goethe-Prize. The speech was given at Hamburg University in May 1955.¹⁴⁷ Although this is later than the period with which this study primarily deals, Eliot provides a retrospective analysis of his earlier responses to Goethe and the reasons for his previous failure to enjoy the German poet’s work.¹⁴⁸ Eliot states that he had come to realise that his earlier quarrel with Goethe was ‘primarily a quarrel with his age’. He cites Tennyson, Browning, Arnold, and Meredith as ‘English poets’ of the ‘Romantic Movement and the Victorian Period’ who, in his view,

¹⁴⁶ for us, who are witnessing the end of an age, the burgherly age, and whose fate it is to seek out, in the difficulties and crises of the transition, the path into new worlds and to find new orders, both within and without (ibid., p. 299).

¹⁴⁷ *OPP*, p. 207. Eliot addresses the cynical suspicion that he may only now be revising his attitude to Goethe upon receiving the prize by claiming that Goethe is one of the few authors whom he has ‘never really known’ but has been wanting for some years to reconcile himself to and ‘settle [his] account with’ (p. 210).

¹⁴⁸ Eliot’s reasons for this are discussed in the following chapter, where both authors’ responses to Goethe are analysed in detail.

were typical of this age, and from whose work and philosophies he felt alienated.¹⁴⁹ Eliot recognised Goethe as a representative of this time, but with the qualification that the term ‘representative’ does not always mean ‘in accordance with’. Indeed, he states that the man who is most ‘representative’ of his time may in fact have been the most opposed to and critical of ‘the most widely accepted beliefs of his time’.¹⁵⁰ The reasons for Eliot’s sympathetic attitude towards Goethe, developed only in his later life, will be discussed in the following chapter.¹⁵¹ Significant here is the fact that Eliot had previously considered the ‘Romantic Movement’ to be characterised by *English* writers such as Tennyson, Browning, Arnold, and Meredith—implicit in his definition of the period, in this instance, as ‘Victorian’. This also illustrates that Eliot’s interpretation of ‘Romantic’ writers was at odds with Mann’s, as discussed above.

Eliot’s response to bourgeois society—and particularly its development in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—can also be considered through the ways in which he chose to define this period. In his 1921 essay ‘The Metaphysical Poets’ he claimed that in the seventeenth century ‘a dissociation of sensibility set in from which we have never recovered’.¹⁵² Eliot is here referring to fusion of thought and feeling, a skill which he believed poets and dramatists of the sixteenth century exemplified but which later poets have failed to accomplish. He states: ‘Tennyson and Browning are poets, and they think; but they do not feel their thoughts as immediately as the odour of a rose. A thought to Donne was an experience; it modified his sensibility’.¹⁵³ His criticism of Tennyson and Browning is clarified by his statement that as ‘language became more refined, the feeling became more crude’.¹⁵⁴ Eliot attributed this change to ‘something which had happened to the mind of

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

¹⁵¹ See chapter 2, pp. 91-94.

¹⁵² *CP2*, p. 380.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 381.

England between the time of Donne or Lord Herbert of Cherbury and the time of Tennyson and Browning', claiming that the former were 'intellectual' and the latter 'reflective'.¹⁵⁵

While Eliot does not go into much more detail about the change in 'the mind of England' in this essay, his later 'Milton II' essay offers a greater insight. Eliot claims:

The fact is simply that the Civil War of the seventeenth century, in which Milton is a symbolic figure, has never been concluded. The Civil War is not ended: I question whether any serious civil war ever does end. Throughout that period English society was so convulsed and divided that the effects are still felt.¹⁵⁶

As the final section of this chapter will argue in greater detail, Eliot's view of cultural decline is largely informed by increasing secularisation, for which he considers the Civil War to have been, for England, a decisive factor.¹⁵⁷ Eliot offers further insight into how the transformation of 'intellect' into 'reflectiveness' showed no signs of reversal, claiming that 'the sentimental age began early in the eighteenth century, and continued'.¹⁵⁸ This indicates that, unlike Mann, Eliot did not consider the end of the nineteenth century to be the end of the previous epoch. Eliot's comment also presents one aspect of his difficulty with the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: because thought and feeling were 'disassociated' after the seventeenth century, there was a tendency towards extremes of *either* one or the other. The dominance of sentimentality which he described as a revolt against the 'ratiocinative' by 'reflective' writers who were 'unbalanced' and 'thought and felt by fits' is evidence of this.¹⁵⁹ Although Eliot was referring specifically to England, a clear comparison can be made here to the dominance

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 380. Eliot comments on Tennyson's refinement of language at the expense of expressing feeling in 'Christopher Marlowe' (1919) (*CP2*, p. 97); 'Dante' (1929) (*CP3*, pp. 709-11); 'William Blake' (1920) (*CP2*, pp. 188-9); and 'In Memoriam' (1936) (*SE*, pp. 328-38) in which Eliot discusses Tennyson in more detail.

¹⁵⁶ *OPP*, p. 148.

¹⁵⁷ This increasing secularisation is suggested as Eliot continues in 'Milton II': 'It is now considered grotesque, on political grounds, to be of the party of King Charles; it is now, I believe, considered equally grotesque, on moral grounds, to be of the party of the Puritans; and to most persons today the religious views of both parties may seem equally remote' (ibid., p. 148).

¹⁵⁸ *CP2* p. 381.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

of ‘mood, the momentary and genius fed by sensations’ in Lukács’ definition of ‘bourgeois’, as cited by Mann.¹⁶⁰

Eliot’s summary of Flaubert (the best representative of the ‘bourgeois’, according to Lukács) also helps to clarify how Eliot’s response to the previous century was a response to the rise and fall of the middle classes. He claims that Flaubert was an ‘analyst of the individual soul as it is found in a particular phase of society’ and, along with Proust, Stendhal and Balzac, a chronicler of ‘the rise, the regime and the decay of the upper bourgeoisie in France’.¹⁶¹ At the centre of Eliot’s argument in this instance is, again, the superiority of the Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists who ‘believed in their own age, in a way in which no nineteenth- or twentieth-century writer of the greatest seriousness has been able to believe in his age’.¹⁶² This presents Eliot’s diagnosis of the decline which increasingly dominated the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. His statement that nobody of this later period could ‘believe in his age’ is vague, although perhaps deliberately so. Eliot’s reference to a lack of ‘belief’ has connotations of the lack of religious faith which he saw as a major factor contributing to the decline of culture.

One common feature of Mann and Eliot’s diagnoses of the decline of culture that overtook the nineteenth century is the rise of industrialism. Eliot was certainly aware of this phenomenon in relation to the growing prominence of the middle classes as evidenced in his ‘In Memoriam’ essay: ‘Tennyson by no means regarded with complacency all the changes that were going on about him in the progress of industrialism and the rise of the mercantile and manufacturing and banking classes.’¹⁶³ Yet the clearest example of Eliot’s hostility towards these developments is found in his 1930 essay ‘Baudelaire’:

¹⁶⁰ *GWXII*, p. 103.

¹⁶¹ *CP4*, p. 481.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

¹⁶³ *SE*, p. 336.

In the middle nineteenth century, the age which (at its best) Goethe had prefigured, an age of bustle, programmes, platforms, scientific progress, humanitarianism and revolutions which improved nothing, an age of progressive degradation, Baudelaire perceived that what really matters is Sin and Redemption.¹⁶⁴

It is important to note that Eliot makes a subtle distinction between Goethe's 'age' and Baudelaire's 'age', which is further evidence that he did not think in terms of a more overarching definition of the period which Mann defined as the 'burgherly age'.¹⁶⁵ This also helps to clarify how Eliot perceived the mid-nineteenth century to mark a distinct acceleration in the decline of culture which began in the seventeenth century. The references to social and scientific progress combined with 'bustle' and 'degradation' display Eliot's hostile attitude towards this form of development. Although his tone is not as vitriolic as Mann's in *Betrachtungen*, Eliot was in fact much more dismissive of industrial progress and did not consider it as having value in a more moderate and refined 'burgherly' form, as Mann did. Eliot's focus on 'Sin and Redemption' as what 'really matter' raises the important issue of the Christian tradition which became so central to his social and political thinking, as will be discussed in the following section.

It is useful to consider 'Baudelaire' further since this essay expressed Eliot's frustration with the modern world and the state of decline he considered it to have reached. This is apparent in Eliot's belief that what Baudelaire was trying to express was that:

The possibility of damnation is so immense a relief in a world of electoral reform, plebiscites, sex reform and dress reform, that damnation itself is an immediate form of salvation—of salvation from the ennui of modern life, because it at last gives some significance to living.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴ *CP4*, p. 161.

¹⁶⁵ 'he [Baudelaire] represents his own age in somewhat the same way as that in which Goethe represents an earlier age' (*ibid.*, p. 156). Goethe was born in 1749 and died in 1832, Baudelaire was born in 1821 and died in 1867.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

The stress which Eliot places here on political processes which were intended to foster progress but which, in his view, resulted instead in ennui and a reduced significance to life is similar to Mann's complaint about social reforms which resulted only in alienation and hostility between the 'Brotherr und Arbeitnehmer' ('employer and worker'), although, as will be demonstrated, Mann's views on industrial development were far more sympathetic.¹⁶⁷ Eliot's statement is of central importance in the reading of *The Waste Land* which this thesis presents; his view that sin and damnation are preferable to ennui will be central to the analyses presented in chapters 3 and 4 below.

This extract from 'Baudelaire' further reinforces the point that Eliot's religious belief was integral to his response to social developments. Eliot's view of the decline of culture was inseparable from his view of the decline of Christian faith. His essay 'Religion and Literature' (1935), which presents three phases of the secularization of the novel, further illustrates this point as well as Eliot's vagueness in dating these developments. Eliot stated that since Defoe (1660-1731) the secularization of the novel had been continuous, with three chief phases: firstly Dickens (1812-1870), Fielding (1707-1754) and Thackeray (1811-1863), who all took faith for granted. Secondly, George Eliot (1819-1880), Meredith (1828-1909) and Hardy (1840-1928), for whom faith was doubted or contested. Eliot's third and final phase was the contemporary period and he applied it to almost all novelists except Joyce. In this phase he claimed that the Christian faith was spoken of only as an anachronism.¹⁶⁸ Only a few years separate Dickens and Thackeray from George Eliot and Meredith, displaying the difficulty of dating these trends too precisely and Eliot's seeming lack of concern to do so.

The wider implications of this secularization according to Eliot—its spread across Europe and its effect on literature—will be analysed in the following section primarily through Eliot's *After Strange Gods*. This will be considered as a manifesto for the Christian,

¹⁶⁷ *GWXII*, p. 138.

¹⁶⁸ *SE*, p. 392. The dates of the authors' lifespans given in parentheses are not in Eliot's essay, they have been given here to emphasise the relatively short time between the first and second phases which Eliot delineates.

Latin, classical tradition around which Eliot centred his literary, social and political values. This will be compared with Mann's 'tradition' of 'Bürgertum' which began to be established through the *Betrachtungen*, as outlined above.¹⁶⁹ These traditions will be considered as responses by both authors to the political turmoil in Europe from the end of the First World War until the end of the Second World War: a period which forced both authors to question their previous literary ideals. These ideals, which will now be analysed, can largely be considered as the authors' responses to perceived social and cultural decline, particularly in the nineteenth century, described above. The two authors were born into this era of decline, which is how both of them characterised the late nineteenth century. Consequently, their early works are attentive to the decadence, aestheticism and delight in disease and morbidity which dominated the fin de siècle. As we have seen, Mann openly embraced many aspects of the previous age and proudly positioned himself as a descendant of German Romanticism within the 'burgherly' tradition. Eliot, on the other hand, was largely dismissive of the nineteenth century and the development of Romantic individualism, as well as of the growth of bourgeois society. His reaction against 'personality' will be considered in the following section.

The overarching aim of this thesis, to demonstrate the divergent traditions underlying apparent commonalities between Mann and Eliot's works, will also be demonstrated through considering the similar ideas about artistic creation as expressed in Mann's *Tonio Kröger* (1903) and Eliot's famous essay 'Tradition and the Individual Talent' (1919). However, it will be argued that Mann's novella is only a fictional exploration of the ideas expressed by Eliot. Mann's own approach to the creation process is best understood through reference to the *Betrachtungen*, which stands in direct contrast to Eliot's essay.

¹⁶⁹ Lindsay stresses Mann's notion of 'Bürgertum' as a tradition to which he belonged (Lindsay, *Thomas Mann*, p. 26).

iv) Theories of (Im)personality

In the early twentieth century both Mann and Eliot expressed ideas about the role of the artist in relation to the work of art. Eliot wanted to distance the ‘man who suffers’—the personal—from the ‘mind which creates’—the poetic.¹⁷⁰ One of Mann’s most famous characters, Tonio Kröger, had expressed similar ideas sixteen years earlier. This section will compare these notions of ‘impersonality’ before arguing that Mann did not agree with the belief that the artist and work should be separated. Indeed, an important factor in his tradition of ‘Bürgertum’ was the incorporation of the (‘burgherly’) personality into the craftsmanship of the work.

The essential belief of Tonio Kröger, the writer around whom Mann’s story is based, is that the artist is a fraud.¹⁷¹ This belief stems partly from the fact that he is torn between the world of the solid, respectable ‘Bürger’ and the sordid, bohemian realm of the ‘Künstler’ (‘artist’). Another dimension is added to the polarities through Tonio’s northern (Bürger) father and his southern (Künstler) mother, reflecting Mann’s own parentage.¹⁷² The character’s mixed ancestry means that he cannot exist fully in either sphere and therefore has a degree of distanced insight into both. The fourth chapter of *Tonio Kröger* presents some detailed philosophising over the true nature of the artist and the creative process. Tonio suggests to his friend Lisaweta, a Russian painter, that the artist cannot become too involved in the emotions which he wishes to express:

denn das, was man sagt, darf ja niemals die Hauptsache sein, sondern nur das an und für sich gleichgültige Material, aus dem das ästhetische Gebilde in spielender und gelassener Überlegenheit zusammensetzen ist. [...] Es ist nötig, daß man irgend

¹⁷⁰ CP2, p. 109.

¹⁷¹ A working title for *Tonio Kröger* was ‘Litteratur’ (‘Literature’) which places the emphasis on the problem of writing, discussed at length in the middle section of the novella, rather than Tonio’s dual nature as his name ‘Tonio Kröger’, expresses. For a more detailed discussion of this see Esther H. Lesér, *Thomas Mann’s Short Fiction: An Intellectual Biography* (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1989), pp. 112-14.

¹⁷² This parentage also returns in *Der Tod in Venedig* through Aschenbach’s parents. There is, incidentally, also a resemblance to Eliot here, whose father was a businessman and whose mother wrote poetry (Lyndall Gordon, *Eliot’s Early Years* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 4).

etwas Außermenschliches und Unmenschliches sei, daß man zum Menschlichen in einem seltsam fernen und unbeteiligten Verhältnis stehe.¹⁷³

Parallels can be drawn here to Eliot's essay 'Tradition and the Individual Talent', in which he claims that 'the progress of an artist is a continual self-sacrifice, a continual extinction of personality'.¹⁷⁴ He goes on to discuss the poet's mind simply as a 'receptacle', claiming that:

the poet has, not a 'personality' to express, but a particular medium, which is only a medium and not a personality. [...] Impressions and experiences which are important for the man may take no place in the poetry, and those which become important in the poetry may play quite a negligible part in the man, the personality.¹⁷⁵

David Ward has suggested that Mann's aesthetic, particularly in *Tonio Kröger*, was a possible influence on Eliot's idea of impersonality as outlined in 'Tradition and the Individual Talent'.¹⁷⁶ It is easy to see the connection which Ward establishes between Mann's novella and Eliot's essay. If his suggestion is correct, then we would have to assume that the other of Mann's works which Eliot claimed to have read in his 1927 letter was *Tonio Kröger* but, as we have seen, this is unlikely. Although the similarity of the theories is initially striking, the essential differences between Mann and Eliot's views about artistic creation become clear when the two works are explored further.

Tonio's discomfort with his role as an artist stems from the shame he believes the burgherly attitude casts upon his choice of career.¹⁷⁷ It is not surprising, then, that he opts for a mode of creation which separates him from his art, allowing him to maintain his outwardly

¹⁷³ Because, that which one says must never be one's main concern, it must merely be the raw material, quite indifferent in itself, out of which the aesthetic work of art is playfully assembled with serene mastery [...] It is necessary for one to be something inhuman, even something standing outside humanity in order to be able to stand in relation to the human with such strange distance and passivity (*TK*, pp. 295-96).

¹⁷⁴ *CP2*, p. 108.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

¹⁷⁶ David Ward, *T. S. Eliot Between Two Worlds: A Reading of T. S. Eliot's Poetry and Plays* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), p. 53.

¹⁷⁷ Tonio repeatedly says to himself that he is not a 'Zigeuner im grünen Wagen' ('gypsy in a green caravan') suggesting that he associates his role as an artist with a bohemian, unregulated lifestyle (*TK*, p. 275.) It should be noted that in this early novella the main focus is the dichotomy between artist and burgher which, as discussed above, results in the presentation of burgher characters largely as two-dimensional, healthy philistines, designed to exaggerate Tonio's duality.

bourgeois appearance and lifestyle whilst also answering his creative calling. Parallels can be drawn here to Eliot who, as we have seen, distanced his personal ‘impressions and experiences’ from his creative output while maintaining a respectable public persona. Spender outlines how Eliot ‘felt that his private life, which he had taken such pains to keep out of his work, was irrelevant to his poetry. His relationship with his public should be through his poetry, not through his biography’.¹⁷⁸ However, Spender does not mention Eliot’s essays here, which present a more directly authorial voice than his poetry. Indeed, closer attention to ‘Tradition and the Individual Talent’ reveals that deeply personal reasons may underlie Eliot’s insistence on impersonality:

Poetry is not a turning loose of emotion, but an escape from emotion; it is not the expression of personality, but an escape from personality. But, of course, only those who have personality and emotions know what it means to want to escape from these things.¹⁷⁹

This final sentence is particularly revealing. It carries a personal tone which is only rarely found in Eliot’s essays and clearly identifies his desire for escape from his personality and emotions.

Mann’s interest in art as separate from life, particularly as expressed in *Tonio Kröger*, presents a paradox when the reader is faced with the character’s heavily autobiographical nature. One does not need to delve far into the author’s biography to recognise the overwhelming number of similarities between himself and Tonio Kröger.¹⁸⁰ Yet Mann did not deny this, he allowed his character to speak of impersonality without directly claiming to practise it himself. A more direct comparison of Eliot’s theory of impersonality with Mann’s

¹⁷⁸ Stephen Spender, *Eliot* (London: Fontana, 1975), p. 22.

¹⁷⁹ *CP2*, p. 111.

¹⁸⁰ For more details about the biographical nature of *Tonio Kröger* see; Heilbut, pp. 15-16, 160-68; Lesér, pp. 112-15; Kurzke, pp. 134-36.

own creative theory is not to be found in *Tonio Kröger* but, rather, in the *Betrachtungen*.¹⁸¹

Mann's genuine creative theory is in line with the establishment of his 'burgherly tradition':

Ein Artistentum ist dadurch bürgerlich, daß es die ethischen Charakteristika der bürgerlichen Lebensform: Ordnung, Folge, Ruhe, "Fleiß"—nicht im Sinne der Emsigkeit, sondern der Handwerkstreue—auf die Kunstübung überträgt.¹⁸²

Mann's 'burgherly tradition' relies heavily upon the personality and creative process of the artist to inform and shape his or her creative output. The practical application and expression of this in *Der Zauberberg* and its development in Mann's thinking after *Betrachtungen* will be demonstrated in the following chapter through an analysis of his essays on Goethe, Nietzsche, and Wagner. The contrast between Mann's focus on personality and Eliot's theory of impersonality supports the framework of difference which this thesis presents. However, while Mann's sense of 'burgherly tradition' strengthened after the *Betrachtungen*, Eliot's notion of impersonality altered. Indeed, Eliot later made exceptions to separating the artist from their work—as will be demonstrated in the following chapter through his response to Goethe. It is necessary to trace Eliot's ideas about the creative process and the value of literature after 1919 and how his social, political and religious consciousness formed a new 'tradition', with the classical, Latin, and Christian values of Europe at its core.

It is important to outline how Eliot's notion of 'tradition' developed and what it came to encompass. This helps to situate *The Waste Land* in the context of Eliot's developing social, religious and political views, and offers the possibility of seeing the germination of these ideas in that poem. As Eliot more firmly began to uphold the classical, Latin, Christian tradition, which becomes increasingly clear in his essays and poetry in the 1930s and 1940s, he distanced his work even further from the problem of social class. The contrast with Mann's 'burgherly tradition' will emphasise this.

¹⁸¹ These two texts are also more contemporaneous, published within a year of one another.

¹⁸² An artist is burgherly when he transfers the ethical characteristics of the burgherly way of life: order, sequence, rest, "diligence"—not in the sense of industriousness but of faithful workmanship—to the exercise of art (*GWXII*, p. 104).

The final part of this chapter will outline Eliot's literary notion of 'tradition', as expressed in 'Tradition and the Individual Talent', and his search for a judgemental authority outside of the individual, as clarified in 'The Function of Criticism' (1923). It will then consider how his later writings, particularly *After Strange Gods* (1934), *The Idea of a Christian Society* (1939) and 'The Unity of European Culture' (1946), develop the idea of 'tradition' with more overt attentiveness to the religious, the social, and the political. This does not, however, suggest that Eliot explicitly supported any social or political regime. The elusive and vindicating context of his famous 'classicist, royalist and Anglo-Catholic' statement given above is evidence of this evasiveness.¹⁸³ His religious beliefs did, however, play a dominant role in his rejection of committing to any political ideology, even in the highly polarised political climate of the 1930s and 1940s. This stands in stark contrast with Mann who became an outspoken opponent of fascism, particularly National Socialism. Eliot's later essays will also be considered in this context in order better to understand Mann's increasingly hostile attitude to Eliot in the late 1940s.

v) Opposing Traditions

Eliot's idea of 'tradition', as expressed in 'Tradition and the Individual Talent' is essentially a literary theory. Eliot states that 'tradition' involves 'the historical sense' which is only obtained by 'great labour' and which

compels a man to write not merely with his own generation in his bones, but with a feeling that the whole of the literature of Europe from Homer and within it the whole of the literature of his own country has a simultaneous existence and composes a simultaneous order.¹⁸⁴

It is important to consider that Eliot was thinking in predominantly literary terms about the creative process and the criterion by which to judge this. When Eliot claims that 'the poet

¹⁸³ CP3, p. 513; see above, pp. 36-37.

¹⁸⁴ CP2, p. 106.

must develop or procure the consciousness of the past', he does not offer much detail about what is meant by 'the past' but his earlier references to Homer and Shakespeare point to the fact that he is thinking in strictly literary terms.¹⁸⁵ The value of a piece of literature, according to this essay, lies in its relation to the entire existent literary canon.

Fifteen years later, in *After Strange Gods*, Eliot confirmed the narrow literary scope of his earlier essay, claiming that the problem of 'tradition' was no longer as simple to him as it had been in 'Tradition and the Individual Talent' and that he could not treat it now as a 'purely literary' problem.¹⁸⁶ Materer discusses this change in relation to Eliot's role as editor of the *Criterion*, which introduced an 'increasing concern with the political, social and religious' issues in Eliot's essays.¹⁸⁷ He claims that Eliot was deeply concerned throughout his critical writing with the problem of authority in relation to individual judgement, and that Eliot was always drawn to the side of the former.¹⁸⁸ This can be seen in 'Tradition and the Individual Talent' by the authority given to the literary tradition over the individual writer's place within it. This adherence to external authority is taken further in 'The Function of Criticism' (1923). In this essay Eliot expresses his agreement with John Middleton Murry's idea that Catholicism 'stands for the principle of unquestioned spiritual authority outside the individual; that is also the principle of Classicism in literature'.¹⁸⁹ Materer convincingly illustrates how Eliot was searching for a 'criterion of judgment and a principle of order outside a strictly literary tradition' and also 'outside the self'.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., pp. 106-07.

¹⁸⁶ *ASG*, p. 15. This text was first delivered as a series of three lectures at the University of Virginia in 1933. Although these lectures were delivered fourteen years after 'Tradition and the Individual Talent' was published, Eliot states 'fifteen' years ago in the published edition of the lectures.

¹⁸⁷ Timothy Materer, 'T. S. Eliot's Critical Program', *The Cambridge Companion to T. S. Eliot*, ed. by David Moody (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 48-59 (p. 56). The *Criterion* was launched in October 1922.

¹⁸⁸ Materer, pp. 55-58.

¹⁸⁹ *CP2*, p. 460.

¹⁹⁰ Materer, p. 57.

In 'The Function of Criticism' the origins of Eliot's later 'classicist, royalist and Anglo-Catholic' declaration can be discerned.¹⁹¹ Materer argues that this was prompted by Eliot's 1927 conversion to the Catholic faith and claims that this was the key factor which gave him a principle of order outside the self.¹⁹² The centrality of Eliot's religion in his later 'tradition' will be substantiated below. However, Eliot's assessment that Christianity, and specifically Christianity within the Latin tradition, provided the framework for the best literature can also be found much earlier, in his 1920 'Blake' essay. Here Eliot argues that Blake's creation of his own philosophy damaged his (Blake's) ability as a poet.¹⁹³ He speculates 'whether it would not have been beneficial to the north of Europe generally, and to Britain in particular, to have had a more continuous religious history' and that 'perhaps our mythology was further impoverished by the divorce from Rome'.¹⁹⁴ He goes on to state that this break from the Latin, Christian tradition frequently produces 'crankiness' and 'eccentricity' in writers, of which Blake can be taken as an example.¹⁹⁵ Blake's detrimental reliance on his own philosophy is compared to Dante who 'borrowed' his philosophy and 'theory of the soul' and was therefore able to produce a stronger 'form'.¹⁹⁶ This illustrates Eliot's preference for an authoritative framework within which to create and judge literature along with his intolerance of individualistic attempts at creating personal philosophies. His attack on Nietzsche's *Also sprach Zarathustra* as demonstrating 'confusion of thought, emotion and vision' which is 'eminently not a Latin virtue' is evidence of this.¹⁹⁷ Finally, 'Blake' reveals how, early in his literary career, Eliot was thinking about the connection between the decline of the Latin, Christian tradition and the decline of culture in England which he saw as beginning in the seventeenth century.

¹⁹¹ CP3, p. 513.

¹⁹² Materer, p. 57.

¹⁹³ CP2, pp. 189-90.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 190.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 191. Eliot's response to Nietzsche will be analysed in detail in the following chapter.

As seen throughout this chapter, Eliot often alludes only vaguely to the historical reasons behind the beginning of this decline in culture, choosing instead to focus mainly on its literary symptoms. However, it is important to address these historical factors, particularly in relation to Mann's 'burgherly age'. One of the key figures in Eliot's discussion of the decline of culture is Milton, a supporter of Cromwell and the Puritan revolution, an association which Eliot believed to be detrimental to Milton's poetry.¹⁹⁸ The Puritan insurrection and the beheading of Charles I in 1649 are clearly important landmarks in the decline of orthodox authority in Eliot's view.¹⁹⁹ Yet Eliot's usual precision of language in his criticism emphasises how his vagueness about the historical factors in the decline of culture is deliberate, allowing the many other cultural changes of that era not to be discounted while his primary focus remains on his area of expertise, literary criticism. In 'Blake', however, Eliot provides a clue to another major factor which he thought had played a role in the decline of culture, when he includes 'the north of Europe generally' as suffering from the break with the Latin, Christian tradition.²⁰⁰ This clearly points to the Reformation and the break with the Catholic Church. Eliot's *After Strange Gods* sheds more light on his response to Protestantism and his view that in many cases it led to agnosticism and a lack of faith rooted in external authority.

In *After Strange Gods*, Eliot is most concerned with what he saw as the contemporary 'decay of Protestantism' but claims that he is 'not concerned with Protestantism itself' for which one 'would have to go back to the seventeenth century'.²⁰¹ Significantly, as we have seen above, this is the period in which, according to Eliot, the decline of culture began. He attacks the Protestant faith specifically: 'amongst writers the rejection of Christianity—Protestant Christianity—is the rule rather than the exception' and he includes 'agnosticism—

¹⁹⁸ Eliot refers to defects in Milton's poetry in 'Blake' (CP2, p. 190); 'The Metaphysical Poets' (CP2, pp. 380-81); 'Andrew Marvell' (CP2, pp. 310-11); ASG, pp. 32-33.

¹⁹⁹ Materer, p. 54.

²⁰⁰ CP2, p. 190.

²⁰¹ ASG, p. 38.

Protestant agnosticism’ in this diagnosis.²⁰² Eliot’s italicisation of the second ‘Protestant’ emphasises the faults he attributes to Protestantism and, especially, its watered-down versions which he believed had laid the foundations for agnosticism and, eventually, secularisation. He further suggests the lack of moral value instilled by faith through the example of D. H. Lawrence’s mother, claiming that her ‘vague hymn-singing pietism’ did not provide her ‘with any firm principles by which to scrutinise the conduct of her sons’.²⁰³ For Eliot, Protestantism’s licence to exercise greater individuality in religion and to move away from external authority, was the first step towards agnosticism, secularisation, and liberalism. He argues that writers can be judged by the state of the decay of Protestantism and Protestant agnosticism which surrounded their infancy; the more ‘advanced’ that decay, the more ‘provincial’, ‘crude’ and ‘immature’ the writing seems to the ‘major intellectual centres of Europe’.²⁰⁴ Importantly, Eliot excludes ‘northern Germany and perhaps Scandinavia’ from the ‘intellectual centres of Europe’, implying that because of their Protestantism, they are also ‘provincial’ and ‘crude’, and do not have the necessary system of orthodox authority by which to judge literature.²⁰⁵

This assessment takes on a new significance when compared to Mann, whose view of Protestantism requires some explanation, but ultimately can be considered as an aspect of his ‘burgherly tradition’. He opens the first chapter of the *Betrachtungen* by discussing Dostoevsky’s view of Germany: ‘Solange es überhaupt ein Deutschland gebe, sagt er, sei seine Aufgabe das Protestantentum gewesen’.²⁰⁶ However, Mann argues, Dostoevsky only saw one of two ‘großen symbolischen deutschen Ereignissen’.²⁰⁷ The Russian author saw ““Luther in Rom”; aber er sieht nicht das andere, manchem Deutschen noch teurere und

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Ibid., p. 39.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 38.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ ‘As long as there has ever been a Germany, he says, its task has always been Protestantism’ (*GWXII*, p. 42).

²⁰⁷ ‘great, symbolic German events’ (ibid., p. 46).

wichtigere, das Ereignis "Goethe in Rom".²⁰⁸ Although Mann considered Luther, and the formation of Protestantism, as integral to the formation of the German national character, he places greater value on Goethe, who rejected Christian faith altogether.²⁰⁹

Further exploration of Mann's analysis of Luther and Goethe's positions in German history reveals that Mann's ideas about the German national character in the *Betrachtungen* were very similar to those traits which Eliot was condemning in *After Strange Gods*. Mann states that:

Aber auch Luthers eigentliche und tiefste Wirkung war aristokratischer Art: er vollendete die Freiheit und Selbstherrlichkeit des deutschen Menschen, indem er sie verinnerlichte und sie so der Sphäre politischen Zankes auf immer entrückte. [...] Wir haben von Kant den Glauben an die Vorherrschaft der "praktischen Vernunft", der Ethik, wir haben von ihm den sozialen Befehl. Aber das Ereignis Goethe's war eine neue Bestätigung der Legitimität des Einzelwesens.²¹⁰

Mann's praise of the autonomy which Luther promoted among Germans, supported by Kant's practical reason and followed by Goethe's confirmation of the legitimacy of the individual being are precisely the phenomena which Eliot believed to have contributed to the cultural decline of literature and taste in northern Germany. Common to both Mann and Eliot's beliefs at this stage was the separation of literature (and, in Mann's case, also the

²⁰⁸ "Luther in Rome"; but he did not see the other event which to many Germans is much more precious and important, the event of "Goethe in Rome" (ibid.).

²⁰⁹ Goethe did not subscribe to the doctrines of any branch of Christianity and his concept of God is usually considered pantheistic. Walter Naumann argues convincingly that Goethe's religious views were based on 'Nature' and on humans' close relationships with nature, predominantly in *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* and *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre* (Walter Naumann, 'Goethe's Religion', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 13 (1952), 188-99). See also *Goethe and Religion*, ed. by Paul Kerry, Richard Cracroft and John Murphy (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 2000). Goethe's opposition to Christianity is stated humorously but unmistakably in one of his Venetian Epigrams: 'Vieles kann ich ertragen. Die meisten beschwerlichen Dinge / Duld ich mit ruhigem Mut, wie es ein Gott mir gebet. / Wenige sind mir jedoch wie Gift und Schlange zuwider, / Viere: Rauch des Tabaks, Wanzen und Knoblauch und Kreuz' 'I can put up with a lot. The things that are most of a bother / Cool and calm I endure, thanks to the gift of a god. / Just one or two are the things I abominate, or, more precisely, / Four: tobacco (the smoke), bedbugs and garlic and the cross' (Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Selected Poems*, ed. and trans. by Christopher Middleton (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), *Venezianische Epigramme*, 66, pp. 126-27).

²¹⁰ But Luther's most original and profound impact, too, was of an aristocratic nature: he perfected the freedom and self-authority of the German human being by internalizing them and thus removing them forever from the sphere of the political argument. [...] From Kant we have the belief in the predominance of "practical reason," of ethics, and also from him, the social imperative. But the coming of Goethe was a new confirmation of the legitimacy of the individual being (*GWXII*, p. 279).

burgher) from politics. Yet Mann's notion of the 'non-political burgher' was soon to change after the publication of the *Betrachtungen*. Mann supports his argument for the burgher's lack of politicisation through his assertion that in Germany alone, the seemingly opposing ideals of the individualistic and the social are not at odds with each other, indeed that 'des deutschen Individualismus' ('German individualism') gets on very well with 'ethischem Sozialismus' ('ethical socialism').²¹¹ This is at the core of his 'burgherly ideal' as expressed in the *Betrachtungen*. He states that 'der Bürger ist romantischer Individualist, denn er ist das geistige Produkt einer überpolitischen oder doch vorpolitischen Epoche, einer Humanitätsepoche'.²¹² The 'romantic individualistic' characteristics which he ascribes to the burgher—and the individual's own sense of ethical reason and humanism—are precisely those against which Eliot was arguing in *After Strange Gods*.

The significance of Massis' article in *Criterion*, discussed in the first part of this chapter, now becomes clearer. Massis' insistence on the restatement of the Latin-European tradition in western Europe is clearly in line with Eliot's thinking throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Eliot knew from this article that Mann's sympathies were predominantly with the German people, who were suffering from the emotional and economic consequences of the First World War.²¹³ Yet he had also read in Rychner's response to Massis that Mann ultimately adhered to western ideals and that his continuation of Goethe's indebtedness to Græco-Latin culture was helping to secure Germany's position in the Latin-European western tradition.²¹⁴ This is testimony to Mann's ambivalence and to the complexity of his works. Although many of Mann's ideals in *Betrachtungen* were in direct contrast with Eliot's argument for an orthodox tradition in *After Strange Gods*, his 'burgherly tradition', with

²¹¹ Ibid., pp. 279-80.

²¹² 'The burgher is a romantic individualist, since he is the spiritual product of a suprapolitical, or rather prepolitical epoch' (ibid., p. 136).

²¹³ Massis, pp. 233-34.

²¹⁴ Rychner, pp. 729-30.

Goethe at its core, had its roots in Rome and classical culture, which is perhaps one reason for Eliot's qualified approval of Mann's work.

Yet as we have seen, Mann's response to Eliot was not as complimentary, and the German author's increasing politicisation after 1918 made him hostile to Eliot's conservative stance. In order to illustrate this further, the political and historical context of both authors' responses to the rise of fascism across Europe must be considered in relation to what has already been established about their knowledge of each other and the formations of their divergent traditions.

Mann's insistence on the burgher's lack of political engagement quickly changed after writing the *Betrachtungen*. It is important first to consider that when Eliot was delivering his *After Strange Gods* lectures in Virginia, Mann had already been exiled from Germany and had been delivering and publishing speeches in response to the growing threat of fascism across Europe (although it should be noted that at that point, Mann was not explicitly criticising the National Socialist regime).²¹⁵ As we have seen, Eliot was aware of at least two of Mann's increasingly politicised speeches since they were published in translation in the *Criterion*. In both of these speeches, Mann presents a dismayed attitude to fascist ideology and appeals to the German public to resist. This is especially clear in 'Ein Appell an die Vernunft' (1930), in which Mann condemns the violence and brutality taking place across Europe and the lack of reason and humanity in the nationalist frenzy.²¹⁶ Yet Mann's burgherly ideal is at the centre of this opposition. He claims that 'Ich bin ein Kind des deutschen Bürgertums, und nie habe ich die seelischen Überlieferungen verleugnet, die mit

²¹⁵ Mann left Germany in February 1933 on a tour of his speech 'Leiden und Grösse Richard Wagners' ('The Sorrows and Grandeur of Richard Wagner'). During this time, it was clear to Mann that the political developments in Germany meant that his safety could not be guaranteed if he returned (Prater, pp. 202-03). Mann did not speak out openly against the Nazis until 1936, after he had been stripped of his citizenship (see Prater, pp. 248-50).

²¹⁶ *GWXI*, pp. 878-79.

einer solchen Herkunft gegeben sind'.²¹⁷ He acknowledges that the 'burgherly moral sympathy' of Germany has sustained his work and appeals to this German middle class to preserve the 'geistige Ebene' ('spiritual/intellectual plane') which belongs to German 'Bürgerlichkeit'.²¹⁸ Mann further characterises German 'Bürgerlichkeit' in this speech as embodying the principles of 'Freiheit, Gerechtigkeit, Bildung, Optimismus, Fortschrittsglaube'.²¹⁹ This 'faith in progress' which Mann sees as integral for the middle classes is particularly important in *Der Zauberberg*. As will be argued below, in chapter 5, Settembrini's faith in 'Menschheitsfortschritt' ('human progress') is shown to be something worth salvaging from the 'burgherly age', despite being presented as an outmoded belief.²²⁰

In comparison with Mann's public appeals to reject fascism, Eliot's literary and religious concerns in *After Strange Gods* represent a marked difference in their responses to political developments. As noted above, the more Mann learned about Eliot's seeming lack of concern for the crimes of fascist regimes, the more hostile his attitude towards him became. This was most evident in Mann's reaction to Eliot's award of the Bollingen Prize to Pound in 1949. Yet Eliot's apparent political detachment must be understood in relation to his Anglo-Catholic tradition. When properly contextualised, it becomes clear that Eliot was not insensitive to political developments and the rise of fascism (as his respect for Mann's 'courage' and willingness to print the German author's essays demonstrates), but his main concern was to express the need for a Christian society with religious authority at its core and a more permanent sense of morality than any political ideology could offer. Eliot states that his aim in *The Idea of a Christian Society* is not to set out how this society should be brought about but to demonstrate that England was not a properly Christian society, as it believed

²¹⁷ 'I am a child of the German burgherly way of life, and never have I disowned the spiritual traditions which belong to my origin' (ibid., p. 873).

²¹⁸ 'von der Sympathie breiter deutscher bürgerlicher Gesittung war meine Arbeit getragen [...] auf jener geistigen Ebene möchte ich mich mit Ihnen finden, auf welcher selbst der Begriff deutscher Bürgerlichkeit eigentlich angesiedelt ist und die deutsch-bürgerlicher Denkungsart wenigstens bis gestern noch natürlich war' (ibid.).

²¹⁹ 'freedom, justice, education, optimism, faith in progress' (ibid., p. 877).

²²⁰ Z, p. 340.

itself to be, but was in danger of becoming as ‘pagan’ as the totalitarian nations.²²¹ Further to this, Eliot also believed that England should set its ‘own affairs in order’ before criticising other countries’ shortcomings.²²²

Eliot’s decision not to intervene directly in political discourse was in large measure a consequence of his religious belief. In ‘The Literature of Fascism’ he stated with disapproval that ‘many political beliefs are substitutes for religious beliefs’.²²³ Eliot also defended his lack of political engagement in the *Criterion*, claiming in his ‘Commentary’ in the January 1936 edition that political issues should be dealt with in political journals, not literary ones.²²⁴ In *Die Einheit der europäischen Kultur (The Unity of European Culture)* (1946) Eliot attributed the failure of the *Criterion* in 1939 to ‘the gradual closing of the mental frontiers of Europe’.²²⁵ In the third of these speeches he states his overarching argument that it is the Christian and classical tradition which is central to Europe’s common heritage and essential for the future continuation of its culture. By this, as we have seen, he meant more specifically a Catholic, Latin tradition. He appealed to the men of letters of Europe to preserve and transmit this common culture, ‘untainted by political influences’.²²⁶

Eliot’s continued avoidance of ‘political influences’ on literature stands in direct contrast with Mann’s increasing politicisation. This thesis positions itself within the framework of Mann’s belief in the ‘burgherly tradition’ and the prominence of the individual set against Eliot’s ‘impersonality’ and growing affirmation of his Anglo-Catholic faith, and the classical, Latin tradition. This chapter has established Eliot’s belief that the creative

²²¹ *ICS*, p. 9. For more detail on how Eliot employed German fascism only to highlight England’s state of moral ill health see Steve Ellis, ‘T. S. Eliot, Munich, and the “Germanization” of Society’, *Yeats Eliot Review*, 26 (Fall-Winter 2009), 21-29.

²²² *ICS*, p. 20.

²²³ T. S. Eliot, ‘The Literature of Fascism’, *Criterion*, 8 (December 1928), 280-90 (p. 282).

²²⁴ ‘The *Criterion* has never undertaken, but has rather avoided the discussion of topical political issues, however extensive. There are enough other periodicals, of every shade of opinion, which exist primarily for such discussion: discussion which in any case can be more adequately conducted in journals appearing at more frequent intervals’ (T. S. Eliot, ‘Commentary’, *Criterion*, 15 (January 1936), 265-269 (p. 265)).

²²⁵ T. S. Eliot, *Die Einheit der europäischen Kultur* (Berlin: Carl Habel, 1946), p. 30. This edition provides the original German text alongside the English translation.

²²⁶ Eliot, *Die Einheit der europäischen Kultur*, pp. 50-58.

process should be separate from the personality of the creator. This was contrasted with Mann's reliance on biography in his creative works. The establishment of Mann's 'burgherly tradition' in the *Betrachtungen*, after his paradoxical presentation of the 'Bürger' in his early works, has been presented as the foundation for Mann's later, affirmative ideas about 'Bürgerlichkeit', upon which *Der Zauberberg* was built. Finally, the development of Eliot's classical, Latin, Christian tradition has been outlined, particularly in relation to his belief in the decline of culture and literary standards and his conscious avoidance of placing too much value on political regimes. It has been argued that this apparent political detachment and conservative stance was one of the major reasons for Mann's increasingly unreceptive attitude to Eliot. These major differences between the two authors' outlooks form the framework through which this thesis will analyse their creative works.

The following chapter will consider the development of Mann's 'burgherly tradition' through his analyses of Goethe, Nietzsche and Wagner, three figures whom he venerated and placed at the centre of this tradition. Although Mann viewed these three men as representatives of 'Bürgerlichkeit' to varying extents, his presentation of all three relies heavily on his insistence on the importance of personality and his focus on the individual. Eliot's reaction to these figures will also be analysed comparatively to demonstrate a different approach and his rejection of overtly bourgeois values. However, Eliot's indebtedness to Goethe, Nietzsche and Wagner in his creative works will also be discussed in order to suggest the complex and ambiguous nature of Eliot's response to the middle classes, particularly in his early works.

2: GOETHE, NIETZSCHE, WAGNER: MANN'S 'BURGHERLY TRADITION' AND ELIOT'S OPPOSITION

As the previous chapter argued, Mann's attitude towards 'Bürgerlichkeit' became more favourable and firmly established during his writing of the *Betrachtungen*. As seen by his own admissions, and through references to *Buddenbrooks* and some of his short stories from the beginning of his literary career, his presentation of the burgher was ambiguous. This chapter will analyse the development of Mann's 'burgherly tradition' more closely from the *Betrachtungen* onward. The previous chapter also outlined the parameters of the Classical, Latin, Christian tradition which Eliot drew upon as the framework for his own writing. The opposition between these two traditions rests largely on the importance of personality and individualism, which Mann's 'burgherly tradition' actively embraced and which Eliot believed to be symptomatic of the decline of culture. This chapter will consider the notions of personality and individualism more closely in relation to the writers' respective traditions. This will be accomplished through a focus on the authors' responses to three influential proponents of bourgeois and anti-bourgeois thought in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries whom both authors openly responded to and engaged with throughout their careers: Goethe, Nietzsche and Wagner. Indeed, these are three of Mann's most significant literary forebears. The epigraphs to the 'Bürgerlichkeit' chapter of *Betrachtungen* are taken from Goethe and Nietzsche, with the latter referencing Wagner.¹

¹ These epigraphs are: 'Wie alles war in der Welt entzweit, / Fand jeder in Mauern gute Zeit: / Der Ritter duckte sich hinein, / Bauer in Not fand's auch gar fein. / Wo kam die schönste Bildung her, / Und wenn sie nicht vom Bürger wär'?', 'When everything in the world was hostile, / Everyone found refuge within the walls: / The knight ducked inside, / the farmer in trouble found it quite nice. / Whence came the finest culture, / If not from the burgher?' (Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Zahme Xenien* IX, in *Gesamtausgabe der Werke und Schriften in zweiundzwanzig Bänden: Poetische Werke*, ed. by Liselotte Bäuerle Lohrer and others, vol. I (Stuttgart: Cotta, n.d.), p. 1131) and 'Meistersinger: Gegensatz zur Zivilisation, / das Deutsche gegen das Französische', 'Meistersinger: Opposite of civilisation, / German tradition against the French' (Nietzsche, *Nachgelassene Fragmente -1875-1879*, 12 [29], quoted in *GWXII*, p. 102).

For Mann, as we have seen, Goethe was the greatest representative of the ‘burgherly age’ and both Mann and Eliot considered him as one of the key representatives of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. However, Eliot’s definition of the term ‘representative’ in relation to Goethe subtly highlights the authors’ differing attitudes towards that epoch. Comparing Mann and Eliot’s responses to Goethe will demonstrate how each author applied their views about the role that personality should play in the writing process in accordance with those outlined in the previous chapter. This analysis demonstrates how Mann further entrenches his idea of the ‘burgherly tradition’ after the *Betrachtungen* and how Eliot maintains his theory of impersonality, but makes provision for a very slight exception in the case of Goethe.

Nietzsche’s role as one of Mann’s most revered icons complicates his response to the bourgeoisie. Although Mann does appropriate Nietzsche’s philosophy, and his subtly comedic and simultaneously scathing irony, in order to mock the middle classes, he also sees the philosopher as inescapably rooted in his ‘burgherly’ heritage. Ruehl argues that in the *Betrachtungen*, Mann was reclaiming Nietzsche from the aestheticist decadence of his brother, Heinrich, and establishing him within his own ‘ascetic identity as writer and Bürger’.² Mann’s 1947 essay on Nietzsche further attempts to portray the philosopher as part of Mann’s ‘burgherly tradition’, this time defending him from the Fascist appropriation of his theories. Mann’s focus on Nietzsche’s personality and his use of irony will be considered in order to demonstrate that Mann’s ambivalent presentation of the burgher in his fictional works is accompanied by affection. Eliot’s relation to Nietzsche is also significant, displaying

² Martin A. Ruehl, ‘A Master from Germany: Thomas Mann, Albrecht Dürer, and the Making of a National Icon’, *Oxford German Studies*, 38 (2009), 61-106 (pp. 80-1). Ruehl’s article focuses on Mann’s response to Dürer’s engraving known as ‘Ritter, Tod und Teufel’. He states that ‘the image served as a national symbol in Mann’s anti-French and anti-*Entente* polemics, adding a powerful visual dimension to his loaded distinctions between North and South, German and ‘Latin’, *Kultur* and *Zivilisation*’ (p. 81).

a degree of hostility towards the philosopher in a number of critical works.³ He derided Nietzsche's individualism as an attempt at 'self-dramatization' and considered his poses to be a consequence of 'the individual' attempting to find 'refuge' in 'an indifferent or hostile world too big for him'.⁴ In spite of this condemnation, traces of Nietzsche's style can be found in Eliot's work. An assessment of Eliot's short prose piece, 'Eeldrop and Appleplex', in light of Mann's view of Nietzsche's ironic style, will reveal Eliot's employment of Nietzschean irony in order—ironically—to reject the philosopher's individualism.

Finally, Mann's ambivalent presentation of the middle classes in his fiction takes on another aspect of duality based on his view of Wagner's position as simultaneously 'burgherly' and 'bourgeois'—a middle-class figure with a taste for grandeur and excess.⁵ Mann highlights the dangers of Wagner's opulent appeal and presents this in his fiction, as will be considered with reference to his novella *Tristan* (1903). Mann's analysis of Wagner also demonstrates his focus on the artist and his work as inseparable, and considers the composer's appeal to both the masses and the elite alike as evidence of his ambitious personality. Eliot's response to Wagner is initially extremely critical, as evidenced by his poem 'Opera' (1909). The later inclusion of lines from *Tristan und Isolde* in *The Waste Land* has led to assumptions that Eliot enjoyed Wagner's work, particularly due to the enthusiasm of his close friend, Jean Verdenal, for the composer.⁶ It will be argued here that, based on Eliot's initially unsympathetic response to Wagner's opera and his generally hostile attitude to bourgeois individualism and excessive nineteenth-century 'grandeur', as evidenced by his responses to Goethe and Nietzsche, the inclusion of Wagner in *The Waste Land* is not an indication of such an endorsement.

³ As will be discussed in more detail in this chapter, Eliot was critical of Nietzsche in 'William Blake' (1920), 'John Bramhall' (1927) and 'Shakespeare and the Stoicism of Seneca' (1927).

⁴ *CP3*, p. 249.

⁵ Mann makes this claim both in the *Betrachtungen* (*GWXII*, p. 108), and in 'Die Leiden und Grösse Richard Wagners' (*GWIX*, p. 411).

⁶ See John T. Mayer, *T. S. Eliot's Silent Voices* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 318; James E. Miller, *T. S. Eliot: The Making of an American Poet, 1888-1922* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), p. 124.

The pattern which emerges through the comparison of Mann and Eliot's responses to these figures is Mann's focus on the personality as inextricably tied up with the work while Eliot, on the other hand, remains relatively consistent in his attempts to separate the man from the 'mind which creates'.⁷ Both authors' contrasting 'traditions', outlined in the previous chapter, also clearly inform their responses to Goethe, Nietzsche and Wagner and how Eliot and Mann employ them in their works. By considering Mann and Eliot's responses to these figures alongside each other, their divergent traditions will be more clearly established, around which the following chapters' literary analyses will be centred. Furthermore, the literary analyses of *Der Zauberberg* and *The Waste Land* presented in chapters 3, 4, and 5 refer heavily to Goethe, Nietzsche, and Wagner. For this reason, it is useful first to establish precisely how Mann and Eliot positioned themselves in relation to these figures.

As Goethe, Nietzsche and Wagner were three of the greatest influences on Mann, he wrote extensively about them in his critical works.⁸ Eliot, on the other hand, although aware of all three figures, did not revere them to the same extent. However, the fact that Eliot was aware of them from an early age without showing much enthusiasm for them is an important point of difference. Mann's veneration of Wagner and Nietzsche is most famously expressed through his declaration that, along with Schopenhauer, they form 'ein Dreigestirn ewig verbundener Geister'.⁹ Perhaps more appropriate, but less widely referred to in Mann scholarship, is the statement which Mann made in 'Goethe als Repräsentant des bürgerlichen

⁷ CP2, p. 109.

⁸ Mann's essays on these figures include: 'Goethe und Tolstoi' (1921), 'Zu Goethe's *Walhverwandtschaften*' (1925), 'Goethe's Laufbahn als Schriftsteller' (1932), 'Über Goethe's *Faust*' (1939), 'Goethe's *Werther*' (1941), 'Phantasie über Goethe' (1948); 'Goethe und die Demokratie' (1949); 'Über die Kunst Richard Wagners' (1911); 'Wie stehen wir heute zu Richard Wagner?' (1927); 'Richard Wagner und der "Ring des Niebelungen"' (1937); 'Ibsen und Wagner' (1928); 'Vorspruch zu einer musikalischen Nietzsche-Feier (1924) (*GWIX; GWX*). For reasons of space, this chapter limits itself mostly to the essays in which Mann discusses these figures in relation to their 'Bürgerlichkeit', namely 'Goethe als Repräsentant des bürgerlichen Zeitalters' (1932); 'Nietzsche's Philosophie im Lichte unserer Erfahrung' (1947) and 'Leiden und Grösse Richard Wagners' (1933).

⁹ 'a triumvirate of three eternally joined spirits' (*GWXII*, p. 72). On the popularity of this term within Mann criticism, see Ridley, p. 121.

Zeitalters' recalling the moment when Goethe met Schopenhauer. Mann describes Schopenhauer, who was at the time writing *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, 'das Standardwerk des europäischen Pessimismus der zweiten Hälfte des hochbürgerlichen, des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, das auf Wagner einerseits und auf Nietzsche andererseits so entscheidend eingewirkt hat'.¹⁰ Mann states, 'Goethe, Schopenhauer, Wagner, Nietzsche, — da ist er, der Fixsternhimmel unserer Jugend, Deutschland und Europa auf einmal, unsere Herkunft'.¹¹

Schopenhauer is of course an important figure, particularly for Mann, although his influence can also be traced in Eliot's early works and even into his later poetry, even if the poet does not engage with him as directly or as openly as he does with Goethe, Nietzsche and Wagner.¹² For Eliot, Schopenhauer's philosophy is largely mediated through the ironic pessimism of Laforgue and Baudelaire, and the philosophy of Bergson. Similarly, although Mann was keen to stress his importance in the history of German and European philosophy, Schopenhauer's influence became more diluted after *Buddenbrooks* and, particularly after the *Betrachtungen*, his influence in Mann's works is less pronounced.¹³ It is for these reasons that Schopenhauer is not given the same weight of attention in this study. However, it is important briefly to address the philosopher's deeply pessimistic attitude which was so emblematic of the sense of decline prevalent in the nineteenth century and which finds expression in both *Buddenbrooks* and 'Prufrock'.

¹⁰ 'that great work of European pessimism for the second half of the highly burgherly nineteenth century, which so decisively influenced on the one hand Wagner, and on the other Nietzsche' (*GWIX*, pp. 328-29). Mann's use of the term 'hochbürgerlich' ('highly burgherly') serves to associate these figures more closely with his 'burgherly tradition'.

¹¹ 'Goethe, Schopenhauer, Wagner, Nietzsche, -- there it all is, the firmament of our youth with its fixed stars, Germany and Europe all in one, our origins' (*GWIX*, p. 329).

¹² See Aakanksha Virkar-Yates, 'Erhebung, Schopenhauer and Eliot's *Burnt Norton*' in *Notes and Queries*, 61, 1 (2014), 126-127; J. M. Kertzer, 'T. S. Eliot and the Problem of Will', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 45 (1984), 379-89.

¹³ *Königliche Hoheit (Royal Highness)* (1909) is the most obvious example of Mann's move away from the pessimism of Schopenhauer. Although *Der Zauberberg* and *Doktor Faustus* end in the despair of the First and Second World Wars, respectively, their endings both contain notes of hope for the future which are largely absent in the earlier (pre-*Betrachtungen*) works. Koopmann states that *Der Zauberberg* marks a distinct phase in Mann's works which sees a critical distancing from Schopenhauer's philosophy. See Helmut Koopmann, *Der schwierige Deutsche: Studien zum Werk Thomas Manns* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1988), p. 19.

Thomas Buddenbrook's reading of Schopenhauer shortly before his death triggers his epiphanic realisation of the brutality of the society in which he is forced to exist.¹⁴ Schopenhauer's assertion that the human being's sense of uniqueness and importance is a delusion, and that the only reality is blind and purposeless will, clarifies for Thomas Buddenbrook everything he has experienced but failed clearly to comprehend until this point in his life.¹⁵ Habib points out the same phenomenon in 'Prufrock', citing Schopenhauer's vision of the artist stepping outside the human drama and viewing bourgeois existence as a play of puppets which Prufrock is able to observe as if he also were outside its mechanism.¹⁶ This is particularly prominent through the repetition of the women who 'come and go', giving the impression that he will remain trapped in this bourgeois scene, eternally listening to their same conversations.¹⁷ The tragedy for both Thomas Buddenbrook and Prufrock is that, while both characters have a heightened awareness of the vanity of their existence and the reductive consequences of their bourgeois commitments, they are still rooted within the social mechanism, physically unable to escape. Habib does, however, point out that complaints of 'the bourgeois reduction of everything to its commercial aspect' is common not only to Schopenhauer but also to Bergson, Baudelaire, Laforgue and Marx, all of whom can be traced more directly in Eliot's works.¹⁸

Thomas Buddenbrook's experience of Schopenhauer, on the other hand, is much more direct than Prufrock's and has a more affirmative effect. This becomes clearer when considered in light of Mann's later description in the *Betrachtungen* of how he transferred this episode of the novel almost directly from his own personal experience of reading *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* for the first time: 'Einsam-unregelmäßige, welt- und

¹⁴ *B*, pp. 654-55.

¹⁵ Larry David Nachman and Albert S. Braverman, 'Thomas Mann's *Buddenbrooks*: Bourgeois Society and the Inner Life', *Germanic Review*, 45, 3 (1970), 201-225 (p. 221).

¹⁶ M. A. R. Habib, *The Early T. S. Eliot and Western Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 75-76.

¹⁷ LSP, l. 13; l. 35; l. 14; l. 36.

¹⁸ Habib, pp. 69-70.

todsüchtige Jugend – wie sie den Zaubertrank dieser Metaphysik schlürfte, deren tiefstes Wesen Erotik ist und in der ich die geistige Quelle der Tristan-Musik erkannte!’¹⁹ He goes on to describe how just a couple of steps away from the sofa on which he was reading Schopenhauer lay the open manuscript of *Buddenbrooks* which had reached the point at which Thomas Buddenbrook must die.²⁰ This demonstrates not only Mann’s direct use of personal experience but also his proud acknowledgement of it. Indeed, the language and tone through which he describes this scene are more novelistic than essayistic.²¹ The passionate, dramatized way in which Mann recounts his discovery of Schopenhauer reflects the enticement and attentiveness with which Thomas Buddenbrook becomes immersed in the same text. Although Schopenhauer reveals to this character the emptiness and futility of his existence, the experience of gaining this knowledge is cathartic. When reading the philosopher’s work, ‘eine ungekannte, große und dankbare Zufriedenheit erfüllte ihn’.²²

This sense of enticement and catharsis is absent from the Schopenhauerian element of ‘Prufrock’. However, Thomas Buddenbrook’s experience is fleeting and he quickly returns to his civic responsibilities and routines. After his profound emotional and intellectual insight, in which he believes that the meaning of death is revealed to him, his ‘bürgerlichen Instinkte’ (‘burgherly instincts’) work against his metaphysical vision and he does not indulge his explorations any further out of ‘vanity’ and fear of ‘playing an eccentric and ridiculous

¹⁹ ‘Lonely, erratic youth, passionately craving the world and death – how it drank in the magic potion of this metaphysical world whose deepest essence is eroticism, and in which I recognised the spiritual source of the music of *Tristan!*’ (*GWXII*, p. 72).

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Reed suggests that Mann’s connection of Schopenhauer to *Buddenbrooks* was, like his use of Nietzsche and Wagner, aimed at creating a ‘wealth of connection, not autobiographical accuracy’ (Reed, *The Uses of Tradition*, p. 80).

²² ‘He was filled with an unknown, great and rewarding satisfaction’ (*B*, p. 654). During the night, after Thomas Buddenbrook has read Schopenhauer, his metaphysical experience involves the meaning of death being revealed to him. With a hint of free indirect discourse, the narrative voice opens the paragraph, ‘Was war der Tod?’ (‘What was death?’) (*B*, p. 656). This scene is mirrored with some inversions during Hans Castorp’s ‘research’ phase as he lies in bed at night and the narrative, partly reflecting his own thoughts, repeatedly opens three consecutive paragraphs with the question ‘Was war das Leben?’ (‘What was life?’) (*Z*, pp. 383-84). This provides further evidence of Mann’s move away from Schopenhauer after the First World War as he focused on a more affirmative stance which placed ‘life’ rather than ‘death’ at its centre. It is, however, also important to acknowledge that this was a development, not a turning away from Schopenhauer altogether. As the similarities between the two scenes suggest, Mann was still acknowledging debts to the philosopher within his works.

role'.²³ This choice of language emphasizes the notion of performativity associated with maintaining his social respectability. Similarly, Prufrock explicitly considers himself as playing several roles, including those in Shakespearean drama.²⁴ Like Thomas Buddenbrook, he expresses concerns about appearing 'ridiculous' and playing 'the Fool', although with greater resignation to assuming this role.

These examples reinforce Habib's analysis of the puppetry of the bourgeois lifestyle.²⁵ The distinction which Eliot makes between the inner self and superficial bourgeois existence in 'Prufrock' is developed in *The Waste Land* and acted out on a larger scale, although, importantly, with little regard for class distinctions—all classes in the latter poem are condemned.²⁶ It will also be argued below that *The Waste Land* presents society in an even greater state of decline since many of the characters do not realise that they are within the mechanism. However, the direct connection which Mann made in the *Betrachtungen* between his personal experience and that of his protagonist is one of the essential differences between Mann and Eliot which the rest of this chapter will explore. Through the establishment of his 'burgherly tradition', Mann moved away from the pessimistic outlook of *Buddenbrooks*. Although he still treated the subject with irony and humour, he merged what was left of the exhausted and value-empty burgher of the late nineteenth century with an intellectual and philosophical awakening through the figure of Hans Castorp. His fondness for the middle-class lifestyle and his corresponding appropriations of Goethe, Nietzsche and Wagner are central to understanding how this is achieved.

²³ 'Auch seine Eitelkeit regte sich: die Furcht vor einer wunderlichen und lächerlichen Rolle' (*B*, p. 659).

²⁴ 'No! I am not Prince Hamlet, nor was meant to be; / Am an attendant lord, one that will do / To swell a progress, start a scene or two, / Advise the prince; no doubt, an easy tool, / Deferential, glad to be of use, / Politic, cautious, and meticulous; / Full of high sentence, but a bit obtuse; / At times, indeed, almost ridiculous— / Almost, at times, the Fool' (LSP. ll. 111-18).

²⁵ Habib, pp. 75-76.

²⁶ Gish argues that 'the experience of *The Waste Land* is a natural development from those of 'Prufrock' and 'Gerontion', claiming that 'by changing from monologue to a fluid, shifting perspective, Eliot was able to retain the sense of individual futility and despair while placing individuals in a context of all time, and to present both the misery of daily routine and the terror of emptiness as part of a larger horror' (Nancy K. Gish, *Time in the Poetry of T. S. Eliot: A Study in Structure and Theme* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1981), pp. 49-50).

i) Goethe: Representative of the ‘Burgherly Age’

Thomas Mann’s attitude towards Goethe combined deep respect, admiration, affection, and imitation. Indeed, he claimed that he ‘could not speak of Goethe other than with love’.²⁷ Of his numerous essays on Goethe, this study must confine itself to the 1932 essay, ‘Goethe als Repräsentant des bürgerlichen Zeitalters’. Although this essay was written eight years after the publication of *Der Zauberberg*, many of the ideas expressed, particularly in the opening of the essay, are prevalent throughout Mann’s works. Through comparison with Eliot’s critical responses to Goethe, this section will demonstrate the reinforcement of Mann’s idea of the ‘burgherly tradition’ in contrast to Eliot’s eventual softening of his theory of impersonality in ‘Goethe as Sage’, the 1954 essay which Eliot delivered when he received the Hanseatic Goethe-Prize.

As outlined in the previous chapter, both Mann and Eliot came to view Goethe as representative of the time in which he lived. However, the differing ways in which they employ the term ‘representative’ is key to understanding their responses to the poet and the ages which they claimed he represented. Mann’s assertion that Goethe could be seen as ‘representative’ of three different ages—the age in which he lived, the one which may span millennia to come, and the ‘burgherly age’—demonstrates the high esteem in which Mann held Goethe and his cultural legacy.²⁸ For the first of these ages, Mann states that Goethe was:

Herr und Meister einer deutschen Bildungsepoche, der klassischen Epoche, der die Deutschen den Ehrentitel des Volkes der Dichter und Denker verdanken, der Epoche eines idealistischen Individualismus, die den deutschen Kulturbegriff recht eigentlich begründet hat und deren humaner Zauber, bei Goethe besonders, in einer

²⁷ ‘Ich kann von Goethe nicht anders sprechen als mit Liebe,’ (*GWIX*, p. 297).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 298-99.

eigentümlichen psychologischen Verbindung von autobiographischer Selbstausbildung und Selbsterfüllung mit dem *Erziehungsgedanken* besteht, und zwar so, daß die Erziehungsidee Brücke und Übergang bildet aus der Welt des persönlich Innermenschlichen in die Welt des Sozialen.²⁹

The proud and passionate way in which Mann describes this era, and Goethe's role as 'Herr und Meister' ('lord and master') of it, makes it clear that 'representative', in this context, refers to the values which Mann favoured and of which, in Mann's view, Goethe was the finest embodiment. Mann then describes this view of Goethe as the 'engste' ('narrowest').³⁰ This statement contains a subtle comedic effect after such a long, portentous sentence, although the rest of the essay backs up this claim by going on to describe Goethe's other 'representative' roles more elaborately.

The emphasis which Mann places on 'idealistic individualism' is continued throughout his assertions about Goethe's representative status for the other two periods of which he is seen as representative. For the second of these, Mann cites Thomas Carlyle's claim that some great men have a lasting influence which does not reach its height for thousands of years and which continues to have an effect through its 'Individualität' ('individuality').³¹ It is through this statement that Mann considers the potential of Goethe's lasting influence through his exceptional personality, referring to him as a 'Persönlichkeitswunder' ('miracle of personality').³² The term 'representative' again refers to Goethe as a cultural figurehead, based on the traits of his personality. Although the values he

²⁹ Lord and master of a German cultural epoch, the classical epoch, to which the Germans owe their honourable title of the race of poets and thinkers, the epoch of an idealistic individuality, which essentially laid the foundations for the German concept of culture, and whose humane enchantment, in Goethe in particular, consists in a specific psychological combination of autobiographical self-education and self-fulfilment with the idea of *education* and *upbringing*, in such a way that this idea forms a bridge and transition from the personal world of the inner-self to the world of society (ibid., p. 298).

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ 'daß es auf dieser Erde Menschen gegeben hat, deren Impulse nicht vor fünfzehnhundert Jahren ihren vollkommene Entwicklung erreicht hätten, und die vielmehr noch nach zweitausend Jahren in völliger Individualität fortwirkten', 'that there have been people on this earth whose influence did not reach its height for fifteen hundred years, and even after two thousand years was still at work in its full individual force' (ibid., pp. 298-99).

³² Ibid., p. 299.

might stand for in the future are not defined, Mann works on the premise that Goethe represents—and will continue to represent—the best human and social qualities.

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, this favouring of individuality and personality stood in direct opposition to Eliot's thinking. Mann's description of the relationship between the self and society, particularly his praise for the idea that the individual should primarily be formed by self-education and development, is precisely what Eliot was arguing against in *After Strange Gods*. Eliot's responses to Goethe before his acceptance of the 1954 Hanseatic Goethe-Prize reflect some of this hostility.³³ In his earlier essays, Eliot repeatedly stated his major objection to Goethe: that the poetry is inseparable from the personality. This is best expressed in his 'Dante' essay, where Eliot states that with Goethe,

I often feel too acutely 'this is what Goethe the man believed,' instead of merely entering into a world which Goethe has created; [...] Goethe always arouses in me a strong sentiment of disbelief in what he believes: Dante does not.³⁴

Eliot goes on to claim that he believes that this is because Dante was the 'purer poet', not because of any greater sympathy he might have with Dante's beliefs.³⁵ Although Eliot recognised and praised the skill of Goethe's work, calling *Faust* a 'very able and brilliant poem', and claiming that 'one cannot escape the authentic feeling of greatness' in Goethe's poetry, he could not overlook the invasive personality of the poet in the work.³⁶ In 'The Possibility of a Poetic Drama' (1920), Eliot expresses this dissatisfaction with Goethe's *Faust*, claiming that his Mephistopheles 'embodies a philosophy', but that the work of art

³³ For more on Eliot's critical responses to Goethe, see Robert Beare, 'T. S. Eliot and Goethe', *Germanic Review*, 28 (1953), 243-253. Although Beare's article predates Eliot's reception of the Hanseatic Goethe-Prize and his corresponding speech, 'Goethe as Sage' (1954), he provides a number of examples of and convincing insights into Eliot's responses to Goethe before 1953.

³⁴ *CP3*, p. 718.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ 'The Possibility of a Poetic Drama' (*CP2*, p. 281); and 'Introduction to Goethe' (*CP3*, p. 576).

should instead ‘replace’ the philosophy.³⁷ Eliot believes Goethe to be a lesser poet than Dante because he sees *Faust* as a means of expressing Goethe’s own philosophy rather than being, as *La Divina Commedia* is, the poetic embodiment of an impersonal philosophy. Eliot’s response to Goethe in these essays supports his theory of the artist as impersonal creator and the application of this theory in his criticism. By comparing these aspects of Eliot and Mann’s responses to Goethe, it becomes clear that their opposing attitudes to the role that the author’s personality should play in his or her work are consistent with their responses to the German poet.

Yet in ‘Goethe as Sage’, Eliot shows a slight relaxation of his theory in the case of Goethe. He reflects on his earlier resistance to the writer and confesses that he had been irritated by some of his ‘personal traits’.³⁸ Further to this, he states that ‘for anyone like myself, who combines a Catholic cast of mind, a Calvinistic heritage, and a Puritanical temperament’, Goethe presented ‘some obstacles to be surmounted’.³⁹ There is a sense of light-heartedness in the tone of this statement, playing on the fact that his own religious background is eclectic, but nonetheless highlighting Goethe’s lack of formal religion.⁴⁰ Eliot does not discuss Goethe’s religious beliefs in any more detail in this essay but he makes an important distinction between Goethe and the English poets, outlined in the previous chapter, whom he saw as part of the Romantic Movement (Tennyson, Browning, Arnold, Meredith). He claims that the English poets’ ‘philosophy of life came to seem [...] flimsy, their religious foundations insecure’, while for Goethe, ‘it seems right and necessary that he believed what he did’.⁴¹ This statement is surprising, given the links Eliot had previously made between

³⁷ CP2, p. 281 (Eliot’s own emphasis on ‘replace’).

³⁸ OPP, p. 209.

³⁹ Ibid. Eliot also mentions his earlier dismissal of Goethe’s scientific theories of which he had since gained a better understanding (pp. 214-15). It is revealing that Eliot draws on his Calvinistic heritage as well as his Catholic faith, given his earlier comments about the dangers of weakened orthodoxy inherent in Protestantism. The light-hearted tone partially eases this apparent contradiction but another reason for this statement is to show that throughout Eliot’s life, he had never held the same, or even a similar, belief system to Goethe.

⁴⁰ See p. 73, fn. 209, above.

⁴¹ OPP, pp. 209-10.

secularisation, particularly in the form of reduced orthodox Christian practices, and the decline of culture.⁴² Indeed, as will be considered in the following section, his comments on Nietzsche's individualism and heretical philosophies were disparaging. It will be demonstrated that the reasons for Eliot's making an exception of Goethe's individualism partly come back to the time in which he lived and the term 'representative', but ultimately rests on what Eliot deems Goethe's wisdom.

Although Eliot's religious heritage and faith go some way towards explaining his previous difficulty with Goethe, he also admits that his 'quarrel with Goethe was [...] primarily a quarrel with his age'.⁴³ Eliot's views about the eras which Goethe can be seen to 'represent' are largely in agreement with the first two views which Mann outlined in his 'Goethe als Repräsentant' essay. Eliot states that 'certainly Goethe was of his age'.⁴⁴ He expressed the same sentiment twenty-five years earlier, in 'Baudelaire', claiming that Goethe, like Baudelaire, had a 'sense of his age'.⁴⁵ However, Eliot's more critical attitude to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries quickly becomes apparent as he states that this meant that he was 'exposed to its follies as well as sensitive to its inventions' and that 'in Goethe, is some of the out-moded nonsense of his time'.⁴⁶ Since Eliot did not see the same redeeming qualities in the age for which Mann believed Goethe to be paradigmatic, he qualifies the term 'representative' more cautiously. He states that 'we tend to think of an Age in terms of the man whom we take as representative of it, and forget that equally a part of the man's significance may be his battle with his Age'.⁴⁷ Eliot states that the more he has recently learned about Goethe's life, the more he has begun to realise that Goethe cannot easily be

⁴² This was outlined in the previous chapter, with reference in particular to Eliot's response to D. H. Lawrence in *After Strange Gods*.

⁴³ *OPP*, p. 209.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

⁴⁵ *CP4*, p. 156.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *OPP*, p. 219.

identified with his age and even seems to stand in opposition to it.⁴⁸ One of the central arguments in ‘Goethe as Sage’ is to express Goethe’s quality of ‘Wisdom’ which sets him, along with Dante and Shakespeare, apart from his age or, more specifically, ‘above it’.⁴⁹ Importantly, Eliot also argues for a ‘distinction between the *philosophy* of a poet and his *wisdom*’.⁵⁰ In this way, Eliot defends himself against the accusation that he is contradicting his previous claims about Goethe’s presentation of his own philosophy in his poetry and simultaneously makes some acknowledgment of Goethe’s achievement.

Although ‘Goethe as Sage’ can be interpreted as an attempt by Eliot to overcome his previous inability to engage with Goethe, seen most clearly when he refers to his own earlier ‘grudging and denigratory’ references in his criticism, there are clues in ‘Baudelaire’ that Eliot recognised some of Goethe’s qualities earlier on.⁵¹ If we consider more closely his statement about the mid-nineteenth century, quoted in the previous chapter, the parenthesized claim that Goethe prefigured this era ‘(at its best)’ opens up a number of questions.⁵² A sense of irony may be inferred in these three words. Given the list of criticisms which follows, to say that Goethe prefigured the ‘best’ of this age could be construed as a faintly disguised snub. This interpretation would be understandable when Eliot’s other uncomplimentary, or in his own words ‘grudging and denigratory’, comments about Goethe are taken into account.⁵³ On the other hand, if the parenthesized claim is taken at face value, that Goethe prefigured the ‘best’ elements of the nineteenth century, it would seem that Eliot recognised Goethe as embodying the more favourable aspects of his age. This interpretation is supported by the fact that Eliot draws parallels between Baudelaire and Goethe throughout the essay, presenting

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 220; p. 218. Eliot capitalises ‘Wisdom’ in a number of instances throughout this essay (pp. 220-21; p. 226). In the opening paragraphs, Eliot justifies his careful decision to include the word ‘sage’ in the title of the essay by suggesting that another description for his essay could be ‘Discourse in Praise of Wisdom’ (p. 207).

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 224 (italics in original).

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 210.

⁵² ‘In the middle nineteenth century, the age which (at its best) Goethe had prefigured, an age of bustle, programmes, platforms, scientific progress, humanitarianism and revolutions which improved nothing, an age of progressive degradation, Baudelaire perceived that what really matters is Sin and Redemption’ (CP4, p. 161).

⁵³ OPP, p. 210.

them as ‘men with restless, critical, curious minds’.⁵⁴ It is this insight which makes the second interpretation more convincing and helps to clarify the aspects of Goethe’s personality which Eliot valued. Eliot’s condemnation of the nineteenth century rests largely on its faith in liberal and secular advancement and the attending ennui which Baudelaire had diagnosed, or as he expresses it in ‘Baudelaire’, the lack of ‘significance to living’.⁵⁵ Goethe’s vitality and passion for life stand in opposition to some of the elements which Eliot saw as central to the decline of the age. The seeds of Eliot’s later, more explicit, assertions about Goethe being both of his age and standing apart from it can be traced here. This is a hint that, although Eliot was still critical of many aspects of Goethe, from as early as 1930 he saw favourable qualities in the German poet’s character.

In ‘Goethe as Sage’, there is an even clearer softening of Eliot’s earlier aversion to Goethe’s ‘personal traits’.⁵⁶ He picks up on this enthusiasm for life and discusses how Goethe seems to have ‘lived more fully and consciously on several levels than most other men’.⁵⁷ As evidence of this, Eliot states that ‘the Privy Councillor, the lion of a small court, the collector of prints, drawings and intaglios, was also the man who lay awake in anguish in Weimar, because an earthquake was taking place in Messina’.⁵⁸ It is this recognition of Goethe’s humanity, sensitivity and empathy for human suffering on a world scale which seem to bolster Eliot’s respect for him.⁵⁹

Eliot’s final piece of praise for Goethe in this essay is the one which most contradicts his earlier theory of impersonality. The eloquence of his admission is worth quoting directly:

That Goethe was one of the wisest of men I have long admitted; that he was a great lyric poet I have long since come to recognize; but that the wisdom and the poetry are

⁵⁴ *CP4*, p. 156.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

⁵⁶ *OPP*, p. 209.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* Settembrini and Hans Castorp also briefly refer to Goethe’s response to the earthquake in Messina (*Z*, p. 349).

⁵⁹ As the conclusion to this thesis will suggest, this softening of opinion, and respect for Goethe’s humanity, provides evidence that Mann and Eliot’s views became slightly more aligned as they grew older.

inseparable, in poets of the highest rank, is something I have only come to perceive in becoming a little wiser myself.⁶⁰

Eliot points out that this form of wisdom in poetry only occurs in very rare cases but this is nonetheless a modification of his earlier insistence on impersonality, bringing the man and the work together to the extent that the ‘wisdom and the poetry are inseparable’. Despite his attempt to pre-empt any accusation of inconsistency by separating ‘philosophy’ from ‘wisdom’, the emphasis which Eliot places on Goethe’s personality throughout this essay makes it difficult to be convinced by this defence. Further to this, Eliot’s definition of wisdom links it firmly to personality: ‘wisdom is a native gift of intuition, ripened and given application by experience, for understanding the nature of things, certainly of living things, most certainly of the human heart’.⁶¹ This also helps to clarify Eliot’s claim that it was ‘right’ that Goethe ‘believed what he did’—basing his belief system on his experience and wisdom—as distinguished from the ‘flimsy’ and ‘insecure’ religious foundations of Tennyson, Browning, Arnold, and Meredith.⁶²

Eliot closes the essay by claiming that the survival of European culture rests on the ability of the people of Europe to continue to produce such poets.⁶³ If we accept that Eliot’s earlier insistence on impersonality is connected to his desire to escape from the individualism which contributed to the post-Romantic decline of culture, this admission that the future of European poetry lies with poets who are able to transmute their personal wisdom into their poetry suggests a tempering of his hostility towards some aspects of individualism. This is reinforced by the fact that Eliot heaps this high praise on Goethe, an icon of bourgeois culture. In this way, Mann’s third, and most important, view of Goethe as representative of the ‘bürgerliches Zeitalters’ (‘burgherly age’) problematizes Eliot’s acceptance of the merits

⁶⁰ *OPP*, p. 226.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 221.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 209-10.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 227. In this way, Eliot’s ideas about Goethe’s legacy are in line with Mann’s second view of Goethe’s ‘representative’ status lasting for an immeasurable number of years in the future (*GWIX*, pp. 298-99).

of Goethe's personality by seeing it not as exceptional but as symptomatic of a developing, bourgeois world-view to which Eliot remained opposed.⁶⁴

The majority of Mann's 'Goethe als Repräsentant' essay, true to its title, is dedicated to reinforcing Goethe's position as representative of the 'burgherly age'. Through this, it entrenches many of the ideas central to Mann's 'burgherly tradition'. The essay begins by describing Goethe's Frankfurt house and depicting his middle-class upbringing with a nostalgic sense of homeliness. Mann describes the minute details of Goethe's domestic existence with veneration and delight, citing the care that went into his outward appearance, his love of order, his appreciation of good food and his business acumen.⁶⁵ Typically, Mann suggests an underlying parallel between the traits he praises and his own artistic practices; for example Goethe's achievement through persistence, the practice of using the morning hours for work and productivity, the long composition process of many of his works, the adherence to his father's lesson that he must finish what he starts, and his honourable position as a national writer who speaks to the nation.⁶⁶ This list of Goethe's burgherly traits also echoes and expands on the characteristics which Mann ascribed to Schopenhauer's 'Bürgerlichkeit' in the *Betrachtungen*.⁶⁷ This provides evidence that Mann's notion of the burgherly traits necessary for the creation process became more firmly established in his thinking after 1918 and displays how for Mann, Goethe became the best representative of these traits. Clayton Koelb's article on the genesis of Mann's 'Goethe und Tolstoi' (1921) essay also emphasises

⁶⁴ *GWIX*, p. 299.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 301-03.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 303-26. Mann explicitly links his life to Goethe's (and also to Tolstoy's) in a diary entry of 13. December 1918: 'Abends Tolstoi-Tagebuch. Er ist neben Goethe unter den fortlebenden Geistern derjenige, dessen Lebensform mich am meisten anzieht, und dessen Lebensgefühl durch alle seine Äußerungen das meine am unmittelbarsten belebt. Sein Künstlertum, eine großartige und organische Verbindung von Sinnlichkeit und Moralismus', 'In the evening Tolstoy's diary. He is, next to Goethe, among the spirits who live on, whose way of life most attracts me, and whose feeling for life most directly enlivens my own. His artistry, a magnificent and organic combination of sensuality and morality' (Thomas Mann, *Tagebücher 1918 – 1921*, ed. by Peter de Mendelssohn (Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer, 1979), p. 107.

⁶⁷ These were 'his Hanseatic-merchant origins; his sedentary life in Frankfurt; the Kantian pedantic stability and punctuality of his daily life; his wise care for his health based on sound physiological knowledge [...]; his precision as a Capitalist (he wrote down every penny and by clever management he doubled his fortune during his lifetime); the tranquillity, tenacity, economy and steadiness of his working methods (—he wrote for publication exclusively during the first two morning hours)' (*GWXII*, pp. 107-08).

the importance which Mann placed on Goethe as a ‘literary personality’ rather than as a ‘literary artist’.⁶⁸ This focus on Goethe’s literary personality is equally clear in ‘Goethe als Repräsentant’.

The portrayal of Goethe’s family home and his bourgeois roots in this essay reflect Mann’s novelistic style. He opens the essay by combining the homely with the sacred as he recollects his personal experience of visiting Goethe’s Frankfurt house for the first time: ‘Diese Treppen und Zimmer waren mir nach Stil, Stimmung, Atmosphäre urbekannt. Es war die “Herkunft”, wie sie im Buche, im Buch meines Lebens steht, und zugleich der Anfang des Ungeheueren’.⁶⁹ This passage can be compared to *Buddenbrooks*, which is explicitly concerned with portraying the bourgeois home and lineage, often with exaggerated veneration and sanctity, most obviously in the form of the Buddenbrook house and the family book.⁷⁰ Similarly, the second chapter of *Der Zauberberg*, which is dedicated to a detailed description of Hans’ early life, employs realist techniques to anchor the novel in the ‘burgherly tradition’. This chapter presents an overview of the protagonist’s formative years, detailing his parents’ early deaths, his relationship with his grandfather, the material facts of his inheritance and his upbringing by the Tienappels.⁷¹ The clearest connection between *Der Zauberberg* and the reverence displayed by Mann at Goethe’s family home appears in this chapter when the young Hans Castorp views the family christening bowl and plate. Hans displays fascination and veneration as he mouths the ‘Ur-Ur-Ur-Ur,’ of the generations which have gone before him. Mann’s choice of the term ‘urbekannt’ in relation to Goethe’s home,

⁶⁸ Clayton Koelb, ‘The Genesis of Thomas Mann’s “Goethe und Tolstoi”’, *Monatshefte*, 75 (1983), 55-78 (p. 56).

⁶⁹ ‘These stairs, these rooms, were familiar to me of yore; their style, their mood, their atmosphere. It was the “origin”, just as it is in the books, and in the book of my life, and at the same time it is the beginning of the tremendous one’ (*GWIX*, p. 297).

⁷⁰ The Buddenbrook family book is first introduced at the beginning of part two as Johann Buddenbrook records the birth of his daughter Clara and looks over the records of his family history (*B*, pp. 52-59).

⁷¹ *Z*, pp. 32-56.

takes on greater significance in light of this passage.⁷² The ‘ur’ suggests a familiarity with Goethe’s home which may go back beyond the author’s own lifetime and hints towards a more instinctual familiarity with burgherly heritage. Both of these scenes taken together demonstrate how Mann anchors the ‘burgherly’ in a strong sense of the past and an almost religious reverential tone.

The delight and humour conveyed in *Buddenbrooks* through the minute insights into middle-class existence are also carried over into *Der Zauberberg* and into Mann’s descriptions of Goethe. Hans’ reluctance to eat butter which is served to him in pats rather than in fluted little balls exemplifies the author’s attention to detail and gentle mocking of excessive refinement.⁷³ Similarly, the lengthy descriptions of the luxurious lifestyle upheld at the sanatorium: the lavish meals; the organised entertainment and the care shown in describing the inhabitants’ clothing all display Mann’s willingness to indulge his readers in sharing this delight in attention to refined detail whilst simultaneously exposing and gently mocking its superficiality. A clear example of this can be seen through Frau Stöhr’s ‘Mut’ (‘courage’) to claim

daß sie achtundzwanzig verschiedene Fischsaucen zu bereiten verstehe [...] obgleich ihr eigener Mann sie gewarnt habe, davon zu sprechen. “Sprich nicht davon!” habe er gesagt. “Niemand wird es dir glauben, und wenn man es glaubt, so wird man es lächerlich finden!”⁷⁴

Such details contribute to the charm of the novel through the insight into such domestic trivialities and their subtle dramatization and heightened sense of importance.

⁷² Ibid., p. 36. The prefix ‘ur’ has various translations in English depending on the context. In relation to ancestry it translates to ‘great’, e.g. ‘Urgroßvater’ translates to ‘great grandfather’. In relation to ‘urbekannt’, the prefix is not as directly translatable. ‘Ur’ more generally can translate to ‘ancient’ or ‘primal’ while ‘bekannt’ simply translates as ‘familiar’ or ‘known’. The translation given above opts to translate ‘urbekannt’ as ‘familiar of yore’ to reflect the archaic inference of the ‘ur’, suggesting a familiarity which goes back for an unspecified number of years.

⁷³ Z, p. 49.

⁷⁴ that she knows how to prepare twenty-eight different types of fish sauce [...] even though her own husband had warned her not to tell anyone this. “Do not speak of this!” he had said. “No one will believe you, and if they do believe it, they will find it ridiculous!” (ibid., p. 119).

This example also serves to highlight the focus on food throughout *Der Zauberberg* and the stress laid on good eating and drinking. This is also highlighted in relation to the middle classes in ‘Goethe als Repräsentant’. Mann explicitly mentions this trait of Goethe’s as an example of the ‘humoristischen Bild von Bürgerlichkeit’ which he builds around the poet.⁷⁵ Mann offers two light-hearted anecdotes relating to Goethe’s appreciation of food. He first states that the poet’s friendship with Zelter was undoubtedly much improved by the fact that the latter provided him with the most favourable Teltow turnips.⁷⁶

His second anecdote goes into more detail, describing a scene in which Martin Friedrich Arendt, ‘ein Bohemgelehrter von etwas wunderlichem Äußeren und nicht sehr gepflegten Gewohnheiten’, came to visit Goethe in Weimar.⁷⁷ Mann describes how Arendt was invited to dinner with Goethe and some of his close friends, at which roast mutton and cucumber salad were served.⁷⁸ He states that ‘nach Verspeisung mehrerer Portionen bringt der gute Arendt es nicht über das Herz, die mit Gurkensaft vermischte Bratenbrühe umkommen zu lassen’.⁷⁹ Mann then describes how Arendt ‘faßt seinen Teller mit beiden Händen und hebt ihn zum Munde, erschrickt aber im letzten Augenblick und blickt um Erlaubnis bittend auf den Hausherrn’.⁸⁰ Goethe, the ‘große Wohlerzogene’ (‘great well-bred one’):

legt volles Verständnis für die Begierde seines Gastes an den Tag; mit der größten Bonhomie und Treuherzigkeit fordert er ihn auf, sich nur ja nicht zu genieren, und während er ihn schlürfen sieht, läßt er nicht etwa ein Schweigen aufkommen, das auf den Genießenden doch vielleicht bedrückend wirken könnte, sondern er *spricht*, er

⁷⁵ ‘humoristic picture of Bürgerlichkeit’ (*GWIX*, p. 303).

⁷⁶ ‘daß Zelter ihn regelmäßig mit den besonders bevorzugten Teltower Rübchen versorgte, zweifellos der Freundschaft mit ihm zugute gekommen ist’ (ibid.). Carl Friedrich Zelter (1758 – 1832) was a German composer who set a number of Goethe’s poems to music. For more on their relationship see Lorraine Byrne Bodley, *Goethe and Zelter: Musical Dialogues* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009).

⁷⁷ ‘a Bohemian scholar with an odd appearance and not very refined manners’ (*GWIX*, p. 303).

⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. 303-04.

⁷⁹ ‘after numerous second helpings, the good Arendt did not have the heart to leave the mixture of gravy and cucumber juice on his plate’ (ibid., p. 304).

⁸⁰ ‘with both hands, raised his plate to his mouth, but at the last moment he looked to the master of the house for permission’ (ibid., p. 304).

setzt mit wärmster Überzeugung das Leckere einer solchen Mischung von Bratenbrühe und Gurkensaft auseinander.⁸¹

Mann's portrayal of Goethe in this domestic scene anchors him in the mundane aspects of the 'burgherly tradition' while also highlighting Goethe's masterful authority and social expertise in such situations.⁸² The subtle dramatization of the scene creates a similar comic effect to Frau Stöhr's fish sauces but while this character is subjected to ridicule, there is little trace of mockery in the presentation of Goethe. Once again, as 'representative' of the 'burgherly age', he exemplifies the best possible characteristics of that era unlike Frau Stöhr, who exhibits no such social refinement.

After providing this anecdote, Mann points out that a contemporary described Goethe's nature as 'höflich und einfach' ('courteous and simple'), in opposition to more eccentric characteristics often found in men of 'genius'.⁸³ These two words, 'höflich' and 'einfach', are repeatedly stressed in the characterisation of Hans Castorp.⁸⁴ Indeed, this description can be seen through the introduction of Hans in the very first line of the novel as 'Ein einfacher junger Mensch'.⁸⁵ This connection to Goethe suggests the positive aspects of Hans' 'simple' nature and highlights the protagonist's 'burgherly' qualities. Although there is an element of mockery in the narrator's repeated emphasis of Hans' simplicity and politeness, these are the qualities which, in combination with his curious mind, allow him to be educated. Mann made this connection with Goethe more explicit, stating that *Der Zauberberg* was, 'auf

⁸¹ with complete understanding of his guest's appetite, and with hearty good-feeling begged his guest to go on without any embarrassment, and as he saw his guest gulp down the juice, he allowed no awkward silence to arise but rather spoke with the warmest conviction on the delicious merits of such a mixture of gravy and cucumber juice (ibid., p. 304).

⁸² Mann may also have included this anecdote for the amusement of his audience, suggesting that the ideal audience for this speech would have appreciated such a 'humoristic picture of "Bürgerlichkeit"' (ibid., p. 303).

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ 'höflich' is used to describe Hans on Z, pp. 19; 49; 62; 64; 98; 102; 165; 225; 236; 547; 869; 985 and 'einfach' on pp 100; 287; 398; 467; 512; 715; 994.

⁸⁵ 'A simple young man' (Z, p. 11).

seine parodistische Art ein humanistisch-goethischer Bildungsroman, und H[ans] C[astorp] besitzt sogar Züge von W. Meister'.⁸⁶

While Hans may indeed demonstrate these burgherly traits, the 'parodistische' ('parodistic') way in which Mann applies them marks a vital distinction between Goethe's Bildungsroman and Mann's. It could be suggested that the ironic treatment of burgherly qualities in *Der Zauberberg* comes back to Mann's historical context, writing after the end of the 'burgherly age' such 'burgherly' qualities could no longer be taken at face value. Towards the end of 'Goethe als Repräsentant', Mann claims that, in *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre*, Goethe predicted the demise of the liberal burgherly ideal of the individual which provided a glimpse into a new, 'nachbürgerliche Welt' ('post-burgherly world').⁸⁷ The final part of Mann's essay warns that although the 'Bürger' is lost, the moral and intellectual potential of the middle classes ('Bürgertum') should not be forgotten.⁸⁸ It must be taken into account that this speech was given in late 1932, at the height of political instability in the Weimar Republic and shortly before the National Socialists gained power. This is clear in Mann's call for the middle classes to remember their moral responsibilities and the importance of democracy in the face of those who wish to defeat it.⁸⁹ However, many of the values called for at the end of this speech were already present in *Der Zauberberg* eight years earlier. Mann's claim that the burgherly epoch reached its final stage of decline with the close of the nineteenth century, is vitally significant for this analysis of his novel. Hans Castorp's adulthood coincides with the turn of the century which Mann claims to be the end of the epoch. Unlike characters such as Thomas Buddenbrook, Tonio Kröger, and Gustav von Aschenbach, who have gone before him and who bore witness to the decadence and decline

⁸⁶ 'in its own parodistic way, a humanistic-Goethesque Bildungsroman, and Hans Castorp possessed characteristics of Wilhelm Meister' (Mann, *Tagebücher 1918 - 1921*, p. 531).

⁸⁷ *GWIX*, p. 330.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 331-32.

⁸⁹ 'Die Zeit ruft das Bürgertum auf, sich dieser seiner eingeborenen Möglichkeiten zu erinnern und sich geistig und sittlich zu ihnen zu entschließen', 'The times challenge the middle-classes to remind itself of its native potentialities and to become spiritually/mentally and morally equal to them' (*ibid.*, p. 332).

of the nineteenth century, Hans finds himself in an age which requires a new social and cultural ethic in order to continue.⁹⁰

Although Mann and Eliot disagree in their opinions about Goethe's 'representative' status in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century, they both respond to him, and characterize him, through his historical context. For Eliot, Goethe resisted the cultural decline which had begun in the seventeenth century, by maintaining his curiosity of mind and his wisdom. For Mann, Goethe represented the peak of burgherly values which had begun in the fifteenth century. After Goethe's death in 1832, there was no other figure to stand against the cultural decline and decadence which led to the eventual demise of the 'burgherly age' at the end of the nineteenth century. It is in this historical context that Nietzsche becomes such an important figure. For Mann, Nietzsche was rooted in the 'burgherly age' but foresaw its imminent dissolution. For Eliot, Nietzsche was one of the greatest examples of the symptoms of cultural decline and excessive individualism. The authors' critical responses to the philosopher are oppositional, Mann treating him with affection and dignity while Eliot dismisses him as an egoist, but both saw him as a product of his age and both exhibit aspects of his ironic style in their own creative works.

ii) Nietzsche: Burgher or 'mob-man'?

More so than his relatively straight-forward response to Goethe, Mann's response to Nietzsche helps to demonstrate his complex, often mocking and ironic, attitude to bourgeois society. His lifelong admiration for Nietzsche and the importance of the philosopher in his work cannot be overstated. The association of the 'burgher' in Mann's early works, before the *Betrachtungen*, with health, life and vitality as opposed to his linking of the artist with

⁹⁰ Although Aschenbach's death does not occur until an unspecified year in the early twentieth century, his formative years and the principles he lives by were shaped by the declining bourgeois culture of the previous century.

disease and death, as outlined in the previous chapter, is largely drawn from, or confirmed by, Nietzsche.⁹¹ Yet the ambiguity which this created in Mann's presentation of burgherly characters before the *Betrachtungen* reflects the author's difficulty in squaring his enthusiasm for Nietzsche with his own inherent respect for the middle classes. This section will demonstrate Mann's attempt to emphasise the burgherly aspects of Nietzsche's character and to integrate these with his ironic style, remodelling him, in and after the *Betrachtungen*, as an integral part of his 'burgherly tradition'. As Ruehl argues, 'Mann sought to reclaim Nietzsche as a Protestant, bourgeois moralist from the literary avant-garde of Wilhelmine Germany which for the past twenty years had cried up the anti-Christian and anti-bourgeois elements of his philosophy'.⁹² This section will consider Mann's focus on Nietzsche's personality in order to highlight these characteristics and portray the philosopher as a 'burgher', albeit a deeply ironic one.

Eliot's response to Nietzsche was less ambivalent. As this section will discuss in detail, his largely autobiographical character, Eeldrop, denigrates the philosopher as a 'mob-man'.⁹³ Further to this, Eliot's direct critical responses to Nietzsche display an even stronger rejection, particularly of his individualism. Eliot criticizes the philosopher in his 'Blake' essay (1920), in which he condemns Nietzsche's 'confusion of thought, emotion and vision' in *Also sprach Zarathustra*.⁹⁴ Eliot mentions Nietzsche again in his 'John Bramhall' essay (1927), comparing him to Hobbes and claiming that both men's 'belief in violence is a

⁹¹ Caroline Picart, *Thomas Mann and Friedrich Nietzsche: Eroticism, Death, Music, and Laughter* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999), pp. 18-9. See also Reed, *The Uses of Tradition*, pp. 17-21; p. 48. Reed's monograph analyses the importance of Nietzsche throughout Mann's entire oeuvre, not only his early works. The importance of Nietzsche's theories of 'Eternal Recurrence', Apollonian order versus Dionysian chaos, and differing approaches to time in the East and the West will be considered in the following chapters in relation to *Der Zauberberg*.

⁹² Ruehl, p. 87. Ruehl discusses Mann's use of the phrase 'nordisch-moralisch-protestantische' ('northern-moralistic-Protestant') to describe Nietzsche in the *Betrachtungen*. He explains Mann's appropriation of Nietzsche in the *Betrachtungen* in relation to Dürer's engraving 'Ritter, Tod und Teufel' (1513). Ruehl emphasizes Mann's friendship with Ernst Bertram as an important influence on the *Betrachtungen*, claiming that the phrase 'nordisch-moralistisch-protestantische' is taken almost directly from Bertram's *Nietzsche: Versuch einer Mythologie* (Berlin: Bondi, 1918), p. 183 (Ruehl, pp. 81-83).

⁹³ T. S. Eliot, 'Eeldrop and Appleplex', part I appeared in *The Little Review*, IV, 1 (1917), pp. 7-11. Part II appeared in the September issue, IV, 5 (1917), pp. 16-19 (I, p. 11).

⁹⁴ CP2, p. 191.

confession of weakness'.⁹⁵ These references to the philosopher are only passing ones, which is significant since Eliot had studied Nietzsche and was aware of his work but chose not to grant him any sustained attention in his criticism.⁹⁶ Yet even from these brief references, Eliot's lack of respect for Nietzsche's work is obvious.

This disrespect becomes even clearer and slightly more personal in 'Shakespeare and the Stoicism of Seneca' (1927). In this essay Eliot argues that 'stoicism is the refuge for the individual in an indifferent or hostile world too big for him; it is the permanent substratum of a number of versions of cheering oneself up'.⁹⁷ He then states that Nietzsche 'is the most conspicuous modern instance of cheering oneself up' and that this 'attitude is the reverse of Christian humility'.⁹⁸ Eliot's choice and repetition of the term 'cheering oneself up' deviates from his usual erudite tone and implies an ingenuous quality in Nietzsche himself, making the criticism seem more personal. The phrase also suggests self-indulgence and self-interest on Nietzsche's part. This hint at Nietzsche's egoism is confirmed and exaggerated at the end of the essay when Eliot claims that 'his attitude is a kind of stoicism upside-down: for there is not much difference between identifying oneself with the Universe and identifying the Universe with oneself'.⁹⁹ This relates back to Eliot's belief in the external authority of Catholicism as in stating earlier in the essay that a 'man does not join himself to the Universe so long as he has anything else to join himself with', offering 'Christianity' and 'a thriving Greek city-state' as examples of better alternatives.¹⁰⁰ Taken in this context, the criticism of Nietzsche's egoism and individualism is clearer. There is, however, a trace of pity in this

⁹⁵ CP3, p. 148.

⁹⁶ Eliot's review of Abraham Wolf's *The Philosophy of Nietzsche* (1915) in the April issue of *The International Journal of Ethics*, 26 (1916), 426-27, demonstrates that Eliot had some knowledge of Nietzsche's philosophy by 1916. For more on this, see Michael Beehler, 'Eliot, Burglary, and Musical Order', *The Bucknell Review*, 30, 2 (1987), 117-29, (pp. 118-19); Linda Leavell, 'Nietzsche's Theory of Tragedy in the Plays of T. S. Eliot', *Twentieth Century Literature*, 31, 1 (1985), 111-26 (p. 111), and John Zilcosky, 'Modern Monuments: T. S. Eliot, Nietzsche, and the Problem of History', *Journal of Modern Literature*, 29, 1 (2005), 21-33, p. 21.

⁹⁷ CP3, p. 249.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 255.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 249.

assessment, since it is implied that Nietzsche lacked anything better to ally himself with. Although Eliot does not discuss this further in relation to Nietzsche, his broader criticism of the nineteenth century makes it easy to see how it is implied that Nietzsche was exposed to, and became the best example of, some of the weaknesses of his age.

Mann elaborates on Nietzsche's historical position in much greater detail. Goethe, as we have seen, became Mann's representative of the 'burgherly age', rooted in the eighteenth century which had helped to shape his ideas and his writing. Nietzsche, however, was born in 1844, ninety-five years after Goethe's birth and twelve years after his death. This placed him, according to Mann, in the position to experience the final stages of decadence and decline of this age and to prophesy its demise, while at the same time still being a product of it. Mann explains Nietzsche's historical position in 'Goethe als Repräsentant'. After describing Goethe, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche and Wagner as the 'Fixsternhimmel unserer Jugend', as quoted above, Mann stresses the 'burgherly' qualities which these figures represented for him:

Es ist die große Heimatwelt, deren Zöglinge wir sind, die bürgerliche Geisteswelt, die eben als Geisteswelt zugleich eine überbürgerliche ist und durch Nietzsche, den Goetheschüler, in neue, nachbürgerliche, noch namenlose Zukunftswelten hinüberführt.¹⁰¹

This statement emphasises the burgherly qualities of the preceding age and demonstrates Mann's opinion that the age in which he was delivering the address (1932) was 'nachbürgerlich' ('post-burgherly'). Nietzsche's role as the figure who led from Goethe into the 'post-burgherly age' lends him an element of duality. In the same essay, Mann highlights Nietzsche's burgherly background: his pastor father, and the strong influences of Goethe and

¹⁰¹ 'firmament of fixed stars of our youth'; 'It is the great world of our home, whose pupils we are, the burgherly world of 'Geist', which precisely as the world of 'Geist' is an extra-burgherly world and through Nietzsche, Goethe's pupil, navigates through into the new, post-burgherly, still yet unnamed, world of the future' (*GWIX*, p. 329). Goethe is the one figure in Nietzsche's work who is almost above criticism. In this sense Nietzsche is Goethe's 'pupil', as well as the more straightforward sense that Nietzsche came after Goethe and learned from him.

Schopenhauer, stressing that for all his anti-burgherly sentiment, Nietzsche's roots lie in the 'soil of burgherly humanity'.¹⁰² It is this double aspect of being a part of the 'burgherly tradition' yet desperately seeking substitutes for it as it declined, which Mann takes from Nietzsche. The major difference lies in the fact that, even in his early works, Mann looked to the middle classes for these substitutes, whereas Nietzsche did not.¹⁰³

This interpretation of Nietzsche's role as a rebellious voice, inextricably a part of, and simultaneously predicting, the end of, the burgherly epoch is explained more fully in Mann's later essay 'Nietzsche's Philosophie im Lichte unserer Erfahrung' ('Nietzsche's Philosophy in Light of Contemporary Events') (1947).¹⁰⁴ Like Mann and Eliot's essays on Goethe, this essay was composed later than the period in question in this study. This does not diminish the relevance of the essay since Mann elucidates Nietzsche's complex response to bourgeois society throughout his life and work. Mann's at times over-sympathetic depiction of Nietzsche can be attributed to his attempt in this essay to rescue Nietzsche from the association with Fascist and National Socialist ideologies and movements of the 1930s and 1940s, which had drawn heavily on his ideas and appropriated him for their own ends.¹⁰⁵ Examples of this over-sympathetic attitude include Mann's characterization of Nietzsche as 'einer überlasteten, über-beauftragten Seele, welche zum Wissen nur berufen, nicht eigentlich

¹⁰² 'Friedrich Nietzsche—, wo lagen den seine Wurzeln als im Erdreich bürgerlicher Humanität?', 'Friedrich Nietzsche—, where do his roots lie if not in the soil of burgherly humanity?' (ibid.).

¹⁰³ Mann states Nietzsche's indifference to the masses in 'Nietzsche's Philosophie im Lichte unserer Erfahrung': 'Nietzsche weiß nichts von Massen und will nichts von ihnen wissen', 'Nietzsche knew nothing of the masses and wanted to know nothing of them' (ibid., p. 690).

¹⁰⁴ This translation of the title is the original version of the speech given by Mann at the Library of Congress on 29 April, 1947, which later appeared in an extended German version in *Die Neue Rundschau*, 58 (1947), 359-89.

¹⁰⁵ In this essay, Mann explicitly defends Nietzsche's philosophy from the Fascist appropriations of it; 'daß das deutsche Bürgertum den Nazi-Einbruch mit Nietzsche's Träumen von kultureller Erneuerung verwechselte, war das plumpste aller Mißverständnisse', 'that the German middle classes should have confused the Nazi-invasion with Nietzsche's dreams of a culturally renewing form of barbarism is grossest of all misunderstandings' (*GWIX*, p. 703). More detailed analyses of the National Socialist appropriation of Nietzsche can be found in *Nietzsche, Godfather of Fascism?: On the Uses and Abuses of a Philosophy*, ed. by Jacob Golomb and Robert S. Wistrich (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

dazu geboren war [...] wie Hamlet', and the claim that 'sein Schicksal war sein Genie'.¹⁰⁶ These examples also highlight the sharp contrast with Eliot's critical responses to Nietzsche.¹⁰⁷

Mann opens this 1947 essay with a personal account of Nietzsche's heritage and upbringing, just as he had given a detailed depiction of Goethe's family home in his 'Goethe als Repräsentant' essay fifteen years earlier.¹⁰⁸ He again details Nietzsche's father's profession as pastor and courtier, as well as the burgherly values of moral strictness, honour and love of order which held sway in his family home.¹⁰⁹ The importance which Mann placed on Nietzsche's middle-class upbringing linked him directly to Goethe and also to Mann himself. This focus on the person as well as the philosophy is consistent with Mann's presentation of Goethe. His description of Nietzsche's upbringing repeats a number of the burgherly values, such as morality and order, which Mann had also previously attributed to Schopenhauer and Goethe.¹¹⁰

While Mann criticises a number of Nietzsche's theories in the essay, mainly those which allowed his ideas to be misappropriated, he is always quick to defend Nietzsche's errors. He does this by returning to Nietzsche's personality, invoking his sensitivity to his age and presenting him as a tortured soul, as the above-quoted comparison to Hamlet illustrates.¹¹¹ An example of this defence can be seen when Mann considers what he saw as a

¹⁰⁶ 'an overburdened, over-commissioned soul, who has been called to knowledge to which he was not born [...] like Hamlet' and 'his fate was his genius' (*GWIX*, p. 676; p. 678).

¹⁰⁷ On a basic level, the vast amount of attention which Mann paid to Nietzsche in both his literature and criticism (this essay alone comprises thirty-seven pages) presents a stark contrast with Eliot's short review and the few passing comments which he made about the philosopher.

¹⁰⁸ See above, p. 96-97.

¹⁰⁹ 'Sein Vater war etwas wie ein Hofmann, Erzieher der preußischen Prinzessinnen, und verdankte seine Pfarrstelle der Gunst Friedrich Wilhelms IV. Sinn für aristokratische Formen, Sittenstrenge, Ehrgefühl, peinliche Ordnungsliebe waren denn auch in seinem Elternhause heimisch', 'His father was something like a courtier, tutor to the Prussian princesses, and owed his parish to the patronage of Friedrich Wilhelm IV. The sense for aristocratic forms, high moral standards, a sense of honour, scrupulous love of order were, then, also familiar in his parental home' (*GWIX*, pp. 676-77).

¹¹⁰ *GWXII*, pp. 106-07; *GWIX*, pp. 301-03.

¹¹¹ The two main errors which Mann sees in Nietzsche's thought are: 1) his assertion that the intellect has too much dominance over instinct and 2) the opposition which Nietzsche sets up between life and morality, which Mann claims belong together (*GWIX*, pp. 695-96).

major error in Nietzsche's philosophy, his 'Kampf gegen die Moral'.¹¹² He compares the philosopher's separation of life and morality with the aestheticism of Oscar Wilde, presenting alongside one another a number of Wilde and Nietzsche's aphorisms about the worth of appearance over reality. Mann notes their similarity and claims that the latter's statements would equally 'get a laugh in the St. James Theatre'.¹¹³ He later argues that, despite their differences, Wilde and Nietzsche belong together 'als Revoltierende [...] im Namen der Schönheit'.¹¹⁴ Mann places as much weight on Nietzsche and Wilde's personalities as on their philosophies, claiming that although Wilde was a dandy and Nietzsche a 'Heiliger des Immoralismus' ('Saint of immorality'), Nietzsche's 'entire sympathy would have been awakened' for Wilde's 'more or less deliberate martyrdom in Reading gaol'.¹¹⁵ The personal nature of Mann's assessment displays his readiness to present speculative statements about Nietzsche's emotions with confidence and assurance.¹¹⁶ He imbues his presentation of the philosopher with the respect and sympathy which he felt for him. The criticism of Nietzsche's separation of life and morality can easily get lost amid the entertaining aphorisms, religious and hyperbolic language, and the carefully constructed image of Nietzsche's imagined saint-like sympathy for Wilde in Reading gaol.

Mann continues to appropriate Nietzsche for his own ends, arguing that many of Nietzsche's cruel words, including his vicious insults against Wagner, music, morality, and

¹¹² 'fight against morality' (ibid., p. 691).

¹¹³ Mann makes the above quoted statement in English. The examples he gives include Wilde's statement 'For, try as we may, we cannot get behind the appearance of things to reality. And the terrible reason may be that there is no reality in things apart from their appearances' (Mann quotes Wilde in the English original) and Nietzsche's statement 'Es ist nicht mehr als ein moralisches Vorurteil, daß Wahrheit mehr wert ist als Schein' ('It is no more than a moral prejudice that truth holds more value than appearance'). *Oscar Wilde's Wit and Wisdom*, ed. by Paul Negri (New York: Dover, 1998), p. 4; Nietzsche, JGB § 34; *GWIX*, pp. 691-92.

¹¹⁴ 'revolters in the name of beauty' (*GWIX*, p. 707).

¹¹⁵ 'Und doch gewinnt durch das mehr oder weniger gewollte Märtyrertum seines Lebensendes, das Zuchthaus von Reading, Wilde's dandyism einen Anflug von Heiligkeit, der Nietzsche's ganze Sympathie erweckt hätte' (ibid., p. 692).

¹¹⁶ It is also rather speculative of Mann to claim that Wilde's incarceration was 'more or less deliberate' (on Wilde's part).

Christianity, were really a form of homage.¹¹⁷ He later repeats this sentiment, stating that although Nietzsche has thrown the most vicious and damning insults at the Germans, no one could be more German than he.¹¹⁸ Mann's desire to restore Nietzsche's reputation, and to examine and rectify the Fascist misappropriation of his thought, particularly in Germany, may lie behind this sympathetic presentation. However, Martin offers an equally convincing explanation, claiming that Mann's own relationship with Nietzsche's outlook and character had become so much a part of his self-understanding that rejection of the philosopher could hardly be countenanced.¹¹⁹ The weight which Mann placed on the connection between the individual and his work, not excepting himself, meant that any break with Nietzsche would be a break with his own previous works and his own previous self.

There is also a third way in which Mann's presentation of Nietzsche in this essay can be interpreted, namely through his inheritance of the philosopher's deeply ironic style. His claim that Nietzsche's vicious criticisms of Wagner, music, morality, and Christianity were really forms of homage, demonstrate such irony. Mann interprets Nietzsche with a degree of dissociated humour which he believes to be necessary for any true appreciation of the philosopher; he states, 'Wer Nietzsche "eigentlich" nimmt, wörtlich nimmt, wer ihm glaubt, ist verloren'.¹²⁰ It is the irony central to Nietzsche's work which Mann is most indebted to

¹¹⁷ 'Indem ich so spreche, erinnere ich mich an die verzweifelte Grausamkeit, mit der Nietzsche über so vieles gesprochen hat: über Wagner, über die Musik im allgemeinen, über die Moral, über das Christentum, — ich hätte beinahe gesaget: auch über das Deutschtum, — und wie er bei den wütendsten kritischen Ausfällen gegen diese im Innersten stets hochgehaltenen Werte und Mächte offenbar nicht das Gefühl hatte, ihnen wirklich zu nahe zu treten, sondern, wie es scheint, die fürchterlichsten gegen sie geschleuderten Beleidigungen als eine Form der Huldigung empfand', 'As I say this I remember the desperate cruelty with which Nietzsche spoke about so many things: about Wagner, about music in general, about morality, about Christianity, — I almost also said: about Germanness, — and how in his most furious critical diatribes against these values and powers, which within his innermost self he venerated, he never, obviously, had the feeling of doing them harm but seemed to feel, rather, that the most terrible insults he hurled at them were a form of homage' (*GWIX*, p. 683).

¹¹⁸ 'Auch gegen die Deutschen, [...] hat er seine schweflichten kritischen Blitze geschleudet. [...] Aber wer, zuletzt, war deutscher als er,', 'Also against the Germans, [...] he flung his most sulphurous bolts of criticism. [...] But who, at the end of it all, was more German than he' (*ibid.*, p. 709).

¹¹⁹ Nicholas Martin, "'Ewig verbundene Geister": Thomas Mann's Re-engagement with Nietzsche, 1943-1947', *Oxford German Studies*, 34 (2005), 197-203 (p. 198).

¹²⁰ 'Anyone who takes Nietzsche at face value, literally, who believes him, is lost' (*GWIX*, p. 708). Mann made a similar distinction in the *Betrachtungen*, stating that 'Es sind in geistig-dichterischer Hinsicht zwei brüderliche Möglichkeiten, die das Erlebnis Nietzsche's zeitigt. Die eine ist jener Ruchlosigkeits- und Renaissance-

and it is this irony which Mann employs in his humorous, critical and simultaneously respectful and sympathetic portrayal of the middle classes, and which underlies the ambivalence towards the bourgeoisie in his fiction. Just as he suggests that Nietzsche may criticize Wagner but really respects him, Mann is able to mock the middle classes while maintaining his deep respect for them. The simultaneous mockery and affection present in the above-quoted description of Frau Stöhr's knowledge of twenty-eight different fish sauces is a good example of Mann's ambivalence.¹²¹

A Nietzschean form of irony and an ambivalent presentation of the middle classes are also present in Eliot's early works, although the critical aspect is more easily detectable than the affectionate aspect. 'Portrait of a Lady' can be taken as an example of this. The setting of the poem is presented as overly dramatized and too carefully arranged; the protagonist interprets and expresses the atmosphere as utterly contrived, much like the conversation. The ornaments decorating the lady's room are dismissed as 'bric-à-brac' and maintaining conversation with her reduces the protagonist to a series of animal roles, 'bear', 'parrot', and 'ape', suggesting that the content of polite drawing room conversation is an activity more suited to captured and trained animals.¹²² The derogatory tone and cynical outlook convey a deeply negative attitude towards the bourgeois customs upheld by the lady. Yet the protagonist of the poem chooses to spend time in this environment, visiting the lady at least three times and disconcerted at the end of the poem by the possibility that she holds the moral advantage in their relationship. Roper supports a more sympathetic interpretation of the lady, claiming that the animal noises are the narrator's clumsy attempts to maintain his pose after

Ästhetizismus, jener hysterische Macht-, Schönheits- und Lebenskult, worin eine gewisse Dichtung sich eine Weile gefiel. Die andere heißt *Ironie*, — und ich spreche damit von meinem Fall', 'From a 'geistig'-poetic viewpoint, there are two brotherly possibilities brought forth from the experience of Nietzsche. One is that profane- and Renaissance-aestheticism, that hysterical power-, beauty- and life-cult, in which a certain type of poetry took pleasure for a while. The other is called *irony*, — and with this I speak of my own case' (*GWXII*, p. 25).

¹²¹ Z, p. 119.

¹²² PL, III, l. 9; III, ll. 28-29

the lady shocks him with the honesty of her statement that they ‘have not developed into friends’.¹²³

Roper discusses the variety of critical interpretations of the lady, demonstrating the ambiguity of the relationship between the protagonist and this character.¹²⁴ The young man’s attitude to the lady and to bourgeois society more broadly remains difficult to pinpoint precisely. It is, however, significant that the lady is only portrayed through the narrator’s perspective. Although her statements are given as direct speech, only snippets of conversation are presented. These have been selected by the narrator in order to present those aspects of the lady which best express her attempts at bourgeois refinement. The most prominent example of this is her statement about Chopin: ‘I think his soul / Should be resurrected only among friends’.¹²⁵ The narrator is then able to invite the reader to share in his ridicule of her efforts, with an implied sense of superiority in the shame and awkwardness he feels for her ignorance of her own affectation.¹²⁶ This is strikingly similar to the narrative style of *Der Zauberberg* when it invites the reader, along with Hans, inwardly to mock and pity Frau Stöhr’s attempts to flaunt her refinement.¹²⁷ In both cases the ironic narrative voice creates a deliberate ambivalence, but in the case of Frau Stöhr, the comedy and warmth of her character are more pronounced. In contrast, the excessive irony of the narrator of ‘Portrait of a Lady’ makes it difficult for the reader to detect the presence, or absence, of sincerity beneath.

Habib makes a direct link between Nietzsche and Eliot’s use of irony, arguing that the poet was exposed to irony and humour, as expounded by Schopenhauer, through

¹²³ Derek Roper, ‘Eliot’s *Portrait of a Lady* Restored’, *Essays in Criticism*, 57, 1 (2007), 42-58, p. 54; PL III, l. 15.

¹²⁴ Roper, pp. 43-44.

¹²⁵ PL, I, ll. 10-11.

¹²⁶ In this interpretation, the quotation marks also function further to distance the narrator from the lady’s words.

¹²⁷ Z, p. 119.

Nietzsche.¹²⁸ He explains Eliot's interpretation of the form of irony which Nietzsche inherited from Schopenhauer as the attitude that 'rational knowledge can never be adequate to ideas of perception'. He clarifies this further, explaining that it is this incongruity between thought and perception, indeed the triumph of perception over thought, which is the cause of laughter.¹²⁹ This is very similar to the parallels which Mann drew between Nietzsche and Wilde's comedic aphorisms about appearance and reality. Habib's analysis considers the similarities between Eliot's perceptions of reality in his doctoral dissertation and Nietzsche's claims about the nature of reality being based on appearance.¹³⁰ While Habib notes similarities in thought, and even phrasing, between the two men's philosophies, he does not assess Eliot's response to Nietzsche's ironic style.¹³¹ This was essential to Mann's understanding of the philosopher, an understanding which opens the door to an enlightening and original reading of Eliot's response to Nietzsche.

Mann's interpretation of Nietzsche suggested that his ironic style meant that he did not always state his ideas directly and that a degree of distanced humour is often required to appreciate the larger unity of his philosophy.¹³² In this view, Nietzsche's work cannot be read in the same way as many of the other philosophers whom Eliot was reading during his studies, such as Bradley, Kant, or even Schopenhauer. Although Eliot paid little attention to Nietzsche in his critical work, the few comments he did make do not suggest that he read the philosopher in the style which Mann suggested. However, Eliot's short prose piece, 'Eeldrop and Appleplex', published in *The Little Review* in 1917, reinforces the hostile response to Nietzsche displayed in his criticism yet simultaneously adopts many elements of the philosopher's ironic style in a much more pronounced way than in 'Portrait of a Lady'. The

¹²⁸ Habib, p. 65.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid., pp. 145-48.

¹³¹ Ibid., pp. 145-47. Habib also largely underplays Eliot's explicit rejection of Nietzsche, only once mentioning this hostility in passing throughout the monograph.

¹³² In spite of the fragmentary nature of Nietzsche's aphoristic philosophy, Mann insists that there is a unity to Nietzsche's work which is based on his aesthetic principles (*GWIX*, p. 706).

short story also explores ideas about perception and reality and presents an ironic take on the role of the individual within bourgeois society.

The absurd names of the title characters can be seen as an attempt to distance the story from the factual, lending it an aspect of surrealism. There are also elements of the uncanny, and Kafkaesque motifs such as the files which the characters keep on seemingly all people and places in their ‘Survey of Contemporary Society’.¹³³ Yet the text opens in a matter-of-fact tone which introduces the main characters and sets the scene for the action. The story then adopts elements of popular detective fiction through its description of the title characters’ methods of information gathering and investigation. Amongst other inheritances from Wilde, which will be returned to, Bush cites ‘Eeldrop and Appleplex’ as an example of Eliot’s adoption of Wilde’s characteristic form, the philosophical dialogue.¹³⁴ Although the dialogue dominates the text, there is a clear narrative voice which describes the scenes in some detail, plays a large role in characterisation, and prevents the piece from being classed solely as a philosophical dialogue. The piece deliberately evades clear categorization of genre or style. In this sense, a connection to Nietzsche can be traced through the philosopher’s abstract, often narrative-based, sometimes dialectical approach to his writing. His use of strange and absurd characters and refusal to distinguish between literature and philosophy, particularly in *Also sprach Zarathustra*, further demonstrates stylistic similarities to ‘Eeldrop and Appleplex’.

The insistence on defying categorisation is central to the content of the text which openly claims that Eeldrop and Appleplex’s motive for separating themselves from their ‘daily employments and their ordinary social activities’ was not to escape ‘the commonplace, respectable or even the domestic, but the too well pigeonholed, too taken-for-granted, too

¹³³ Eliot, ‘Eeldrop and Appleplex’ II, p. 16.

¹³⁴ Ronald Bush, ‘In Pursuit of Wilde Possum: Reflections on Eliot, Modernism, and the Nineties’, *Modernism/Modernity*, 11, 3 (2004), 469-485 (p. 475).

highly systematized areas'.¹³⁵ Their aim, 'in the language of those whom they sought to avoid', was "'to apprehend the human soul in its concrete individuality'".¹³⁶ Echoes of Prufrock's fear of being 'formulated' and fixed sound loudly in this statement, suggesting the same desire in Eeldrop and Appleplex to escape from the systematic judgements of bourgeois society. The seeming sanctity and freedom they find in each other's company, and the carefully chosen suburb, suggests that they are more successful than Prufrock at achieving their escape. Yet this prose piece has more philosophical overtones than Eliot's earlier poem, with their aim to 'apprehend the human soul', and the methods they employ to achieve this, being discussed in detail.

The language they seek to avoid is that of bourgeois rationalism, precisely the language and value system which Bergson, Nietzsche and Bradley, amongst many others, were also trying to escape. This list also includes Eeldrop and Appleplex's real-life counterparts, Eliot and Pound.¹³⁷ The difficulty of finding language to express ideas which paradoxically cannot be expressed in language is apparent throughout Eliot's creative oeuvre, from 'Prufrock' to *Four Quartets*.¹³⁸ In this context, however, the failure of language also represents the wider issue of ignorance among the majority of the population who do not seek precision of language or understanding of themselves but are happy to be classified as a type and look no further for genuine knowledge or expression. Eeldrop states of these so called 'generalized men':

they are first of all government officials, or pillars of the church, or trade unionists, or poets, or unemployed; this cataloguing is not only satisfactory to other people for

¹³⁵ Eliot, 'Eeldrop and Appleplex', I, p. 8.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Michael North explains that while Eeldrop is generally assumed to be Eliot, and Appleplex, Pound, the latter also has a number of similarities with Aiken (Michael North, 'The Dialect in/of Modernism: Pound and Eliot's Racial Masquerade', *American Literary History*, 4, 1 (1992) 56-76 (p. 73)).

¹³⁸ The clearest instances from these poems are: 'It is impossible to say just what I mean!' (LSP, I, 104) and 'Twenty years largely wasted, the years of *l'entre deux guerres* – / Trying to learn to use words, and every attempt / Is a wholly new start, and a different kind of failure / Because one has only learnt to get the better of words / for the thing one no longer has to say, or the way in which / One is no longer disposed to say it' (EC, V, II. 2-7).

practical purposes, it is sufficient to themselves for their 'life of the spirit.' Many are not quite real at any moment.¹³⁹

The classification of people who are happy to be categorised by their occupation and status, with no interest in developing their 'life of the spirit', could be applied to Hans Castorp before he undergoes his education on the mountain. Indeed, he begins his visit by introducing himself by his career, as an engineer, but quickly gives up this form of self-identification as he becomes disenchanted with his former life.¹⁴⁰ Eliot's choice of the term 'life of the spirit', and use of inverted commas, suggests a connection to 'Geist'. However, the term he employs contains a more overt religious aspect, reinforcing the link between secularization and cultural decline. This contrasts with the more intellectual and spiritual associations of 'Geist' which was so central to Mann's 'burgherly tradition'. Again, both Mann and Eliot's works recognise the spiritual vacuity of the age but their major point of divergence is on the issue of individualism, as further reference to Nietzsche can demonstrate.¹⁴¹

At the end of section I of 'Eeldrop and Appleplex', Nietzsche is referred to directly. In response to Appleplex's question as to what their philosophy should be, Eeldrop replies that their philosophy should spring from their point of view rather than returning upon itself to explain their point of view.¹⁴² When Appleplex responds by intuiting that this means that

¹³⁹ Eliot, 'Eeldrop and Appleplex', I, p. 10.

¹⁴⁰ Hans' first introduction at the sanatorium is to Doctor Krokowski in which he states directly, 'Ich bin Ingenieur' ('I am an engineer') (Z, p. 30). Later, during his three weeks in bed, Hans plays down his position by informing Settembrini that he is only a 'Volontär' ('trainee') (p. 276). Approximately five months later, after his first Christmas at the sanatorium, Hans introduces himself to the gentleman horserider's widow by saying that 'er sei Techniker "gewesen"' ('he "had been" an engineer') (p. 408).

¹⁴¹ The connection between the spiritual vacuity of the age and the reliance on a career to define one's personality is stated explicitly in the second chapter of *Der Zauberberg*: 'Wie Hätte Hans Castorp die Arbeit nicht achten sollen? Es wäre unnatürlich gewesen. Wie alles lag, mußte sie ihm als das unbedingt Achtungswertes außer ihr, sie war das Prinzip, vor dem man bestand oder nicht bestand, das Absolutum der Zeit, sie beantwortete sozusagen sich selbst. Seine Achtung vor ihr war also religiöser und, soviel er wußte, unzweifelhafter Natur', 'How could Hans Castorp not have held work in high esteem? That would have been unnatural. As things stood, work had to be regarded as unconditionally the most estimable thing in the world, ultimately there was nothing one could esteem more, it was the principle by which one stood or fell, the absolute of the age, the answer, so to speak, to its own question. His respect for work was, in its way, religious and, so far as he knew, unquestioning' (Z, pp. 52-53).

¹⁴² Eliot, 'Eeldrop and Appleplex', I, p. 10.

they are at least ‘individualists’, Eeldrop sternly cuts him off and claims that they are not; neither are they ‘anti-intellectuals’, since both are labels. He states:

the “individualist” is a member of a mob as fully as any other man: and the mob of individualists is the most unpleasing, because it has the least character. Nietzsche was a mob-man, just as Bergson is an intellectualist.¹⁴³

Eeldrop recognises Nietzsche as a paradox, one who attempted to be an individualist but could not avoid being part of a social trend, or as Eliot’s character more crudely and offensively terms him, ‘a mob-man’. This terminology reinforces the connection between the character, Eeldrop, and his author. Eliot’s outward rejection of Nietzsche and the issue he took with the philosopher’s attempt at being an individualist are apparent in this character’s remark. However, the influence of Wilde can easily be detected in the confident, comedic, paradoxical tone of Eeldrop’s dismissive statement, connecting Eliot to Wilde’s and, therefore in Mann’s opinion, to Nietzsche’s aestheticism and ironic style.¹⁴⁴ Carol Yang also makes this connection to aestheticism, claiming that ‘like the aesthete-decadents of the fin de siècle, Eeldrop and Appleplex accept the disconnection between appearance and reality, but they do not fashion or flaunt an aristocratic, dandified aesthetic of surface impressions and cosmopolitan observations’.¹⁴⁵ Eeldrop’s above-quoted statement seems to contradict Yang’s argument. Eeldrop and Appleplex do, however, differ from the aestheticists in their aim to find substance beneath the surface; while they accept the disconnection between appearance and reality, they still seek an understanding of the human soul.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ Ibid., pp. 10-11.

¹⁴⁴ Further associations with Wilde can be seen in ‘Eeldrop and Appleplex’ through the characters’ flâneur-like habit of exploring the seedier parts of the city – Bush provides a quotation from *Dorian Gray* describing the protagonist’s exploration of these parts of London, claiming that Eliot’s early work is more indebted to this passage than he liked to admit. He also cites a number of phrases in Eliot’s criticism which display Wildean erotics and love of paradox (Bush, p. 473).

¹⁴⁵ Carol Yang, ‘Revisiting the Flâneur in T. S. Eliot’s “Eeldrop and Appleplex – I”’, *Orbis Litterarum*, 66, 2 (2011), 89-120 (p. 106).

¹⁴⁶ Eliot, ‘Eeldrop and Appleplex’, I, p. 8.

While Eeldrop is clearly irritated by the paradox of philosophical labelling, he accepts that they ‘cannot escape the label’.¹⁴⁷ He then confesses that in private life, he is a bank-clerk, to which Appleplex responds that he should then ‘have a wife, three children, and a vegetable garden in a suburb’. Eeldrop affirms this to be the case and states that since tomorrow is Sunday, it will be spent in the garden.¹⁴⁸ Through this addition, Eliot reveals his own form of the irony-imbued paradoxes which are so characteristic of Mann’s inheritance from Nietzsche. Eeldrop’s outward conformity to his bourgeois classification reveals the irony of which he is acutely aware. He then claims that he ‘had not thought it necessary to mention this biographical detail’, displaying another mode of irony through the fact that he has mentioned it.¹⁴⁹ Eliot shows Eeldrop, like the character’s assessment of Nietzsche, to be in a state of flagrant contradiction which he cannot escape but can at least recognise and subtly ridicule.

The whole of ‘Eeldrop and Appleplex’ can be seen as an exercise in highlighting the disconnection between perception and knowledge, forcing readers to question their assumptions. Part II opens with Eeldrop contemplating what became of Scheherazade.¹⁵⁰ This deliberately sets up the reader’s assumed knowledge that Eeldrop is referring to the famous character of *One Thousand and One Nights*, only to undermine it through the revelation that the Scheherazade to whom he refers is actually a lady named Edith who now resides with a Russian pianist in Bayswater.¹⁵¹ The need to avoid labels, discussed at length in part I of the text, before Scheherazade is looked up in the alphabetically arranged filing system which Eeldrop and Appleplex keep, encapsulates Eliot’s comic sense of irony which is the only way for a genuine recognition of the paradox of categorical and genuine knowledge to be presented. The detached humour which Mann applies to reading Nietzsche must be applied in

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Eliot, ‘Eeldrop and Appleplex’, II, p. 16.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 16-17.

this case to an Eliotic position that cannot be taken at face value. Regardless of Eliot's rejection of Nietzsche's philosophy, the similarities in their style in this instance are striking.

However, it is possible that in spite of the complexity with which Eliot has deliberately encoded this text, a more instinctive response can be detected which reveals a deeper compliance with bourgeois values. Eeldrop's disgust at the Spanish man's table manners displays a sensitivity and haughtiness highly reminiscent of Hans Castorp. This is emphasised by the level of detail given over to describing the Spanish man's offences, from his napkin being tucked into his chin and the 'unpleasant noises' he makes 'while eating, and while not eating', coupled with the attention to his attire, and the description of him as 'oppressively gross and vulgar'.¹⁵² Finally, his habit of 'crumbling bread between fat fingers' reveals the same bourgeois snobbery and disgust which Hans feels in his annoyance at Clawdia's breadcrumb-rolling habit.¹⁵³ While Eeldrop may wish to 'apprehend the human soul in its concrete individuality' and 'escape the too well-pigeonholed', he cannot escape his own bourgeois attitude which informs his instinctual responses. In this regard, the pretentiousness of his own attempts at philosophizing on human nature and society is highlighted by his inability to escape his ingrained bourgeois snobbery. Yet when read through Mann's claim that Nietzsche's criticisms were really a form of homage, it could be interpreted that Eeldrop's criticism of Nietzsche actually contains a hidden respect. Implicit here is an ironic acknowledgement of the similarities between this character and the philosopher, both hopelessly trying to escape definition, attempting aesthetic, paradoxical posing but ultimately grounded by their inherent middle-class values. The deeply ironic style and content of 'Eeldrop and Appleplex' serves to back up this reading, contradicting itself at every turn.

¹⁵² Eliot, 'Eeldrop and Appleplex', I, p. 8.

¹⁵³ Ibid.; Z, p. 196.

The duality which Mann considered such a vital aspect of Nietzsche's role—he was both rooted in the middle classes and the prophet of their decline—is apparent in the ironic presentation of both Hans Castorp and Eeldrop. The ambivalent view of bourgeois society demonstrated in 'Portrait of a Lady' and by Hans' response to Frau Stöhr can also be viewed as examples of the form of irony which Mann admired in Nietzsche. Yet Mann and Eliot's opposing responses to the philosopher in their critical works are also evident in their creative output. While the narrator of *Der Zauberberg* mocks both Frau Stöhr and Hans for their bourgeois pretensions, they are both treated with affection and warmth. Mann's attempt to reclaim Nietzsche as part of his 'burgherly tradition' after 1918 is apparent through this critical but affectionate treatment of middle-class behaviour. Eliot's rejection of Nietzsche is similarly apparent in Eeldrop's claim that the philosopher was a 'mob-man'. Although this can be interpreted as ironic in itself, highlighting the character's similarities to Nietzsche, Eliot's distanced and paradoxical treatment of Eeldrop lacks the underlying warmth with which Mann imbues his adaptations of Nietzsche's irony. Just as in 'Portrait of a Lady', the excessive employment of irony in 'Eeldrop and Appleplex' makes it difficult to detect any underlying affection for either the middle classes or for those of their number who ridicule and satirise them, but are unable to escape from the very class they seem intent on undermining.

iii) Wagner: 'contorted in paroxysms': The Burgher's Bourgeois Excess

A similar pattern can be found in Mann and Eliot's responses to Wagner. Mann claims the composer as part of his 'burgherly tradition' but he also highlights his dual nature and imitates aspects of this duality in his fiction. Eliot demonstrates an initially unsympathetic response to Wagner in his poem 'Opera' but goes on to refer to him in *The Waste Land* with a degree of ambiguity. According to Mann, while one aspect of Wagner's dual nature, like

Nietzsche's, is his 'Bürgerlichkeit', unlike Nietzsche, the other aspect of Wagner's nature rests on his bourgeois taste for luxury, opulence and excess. Mann highlights the dangers of this aspect's corruption and decadence but still incorporates it into his work, relying on his Nietzschean irony simultaneously to criticize and pay homage to Wagner. Eliot's initial poetic response to this bourgeois excess also employs a large degree of irony but in this instance there is no ambiguity about whether there is any underlying affection, his distaste for Wagner's music is unmistakable.

If Goethe, for Mann, was representative of the best qualities of the 'burgherly age', and Nietzsche the herald of its demise, Wagner represented the nineteenth century in all its decadence and morbid grandeur. In light of this, Mann presents Wagner as both tempting and dangerous. Yet he complicates this duality by also presenting the composer as burgherly and bourgeois. This contradictory nature which Mann attributes to Wagner in his essays is replicated in his creative works, as will be demonstrated through reference to *Tristan*. Eliot also responded to the decadent sumptuousness and morbidity expressed in Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*, through his sardonic poem 'Opera'. Yet Eliot's response contains none of Mann's ambivalence and can be considered as an outright rejection of the opera. This section will consider this poem in relation to Eliot's later inclusion in *The Waste Land* of lines from the very opera he had scorned. Although this later allusion to Wagner may have signalled a softening of Eliot's rejection of the composer, his broader response to the bourgeois values of which Wagner was so emblematic, suggests that any moderation of his opinion was slight.

Mann assesses Wagner's complex relation to the middle classes in the *Betrachtungen* and in his later essay 'Leiden und Grösse Richard Wagners' ('The Sorrows and Grandeur of Richard Wagner').¹⁵⁴ This later essay opens by emphasising Wagner as the purest expression

¹⁵⁴ This essay was first given as a speech in 1933, marking fifty years since the composer's death. It was while Mann was in Switzerland, after having delivered this speech in various European cities, that he was warned not to return to Germany as his personal safety could not be guaranteed. Just as with the above essays on Goethe and Nietzsche, Mann discusses the importance of Wagner to his entire career.

of the nineteenth century, ‘Leidend und groß, wie das Jahrhundert, dessen vollkommener Ausdruck sie ist, das neunzehnte, steht die geistige Gestalt Richard Wagners mir vor Augen’.¹⁵⁵ Just as in his essays on Goethe and Nietzsche, Mann assesses Wagner through both his music and his personality, summoning the image of Wagner the man in his physical form. His rootedness in the nineteenth century lends him the duality which is apparent in the title and first words of the essay, ‘suffering’ and ‘great’. Mann continues to present the contradictory nature of Wagner throughout this essay, later referring to ‘die unauflösliche Mischung von Dämonie und Bürgerlichkeit, die sein Wesen ausmacht’.¹⁵⁶

On the one hand, Mann includes Wagner as part of his ‘burgherly tradition’. In this essay he stresses many of those same qualities which he emphasized in Schopenhauer, Goethe and Nietzsche. He describes Wagner’s work room in Zurich, ‘Die pedantische Ordnung und auch die bürgerliche Eleganz der Umgebung, die er zur Arbeit braucht, stimmen zu dem Einschlage von Überlegtheit und klugem Kunstfleiß’.¹⁵⁷ Mann highlights Wagner’s careful craftsmanship in direct relation to the ‘Treue und Redlichkeit’ of Schopenhauer’s merchant origins.¹⁵⁸ He further stresses the ‘Solidität, bürgerliche Arbeitsakkuratesse, wie sie sich in seinen keineswegs hingewühlten, sondern höchst sorgfältig-reinlichen Partituren spiegelt’.¹⁵⁹ Mann’s frequent adjectival use of ‘bürgerlich’ in these descriptions lays a clear emphasis on the aspects of Wagner’s personality and working methods which Mann wanted to associate with his ‘burgherly tradition’ and his own artistic practices. This emphasis also helps to create a greater distinction between ‘burgher’ and ‘bourgeois’, which becomes significant in his portrayal of Wagner.

¹⁵⁵ ‘Suffering and great, like the nineteenth century, whose purest expression he is, the ‘geistig’ form of Richard Wagner stands before my eyes’ (*GWIX*, p. 363).

¹⁵⁶ ‘the indissoluble mixture of the demonic and the burgherly, which makes up his essence’ (*ibid.*, p. 408).

¹⁵⁷ ‘the pedantic order and also the burgherly elegance of the surroundings, which he requires for work, correspond with the elements of consideration and calculated artistic industriousness’ (*ibid.*, p. 410).

¹⁵⁸ ‘Das ist die “Treue und Redlichkeit”, die Schopenhauer von seinen kaufmännischen Vorfahren geerbt’, ‘That is the “fidelity and integrity” which Schopenhauer inherited from his merchant forebears’ (*ibid.*, p. 411).

¹⁵⁹ ‘solid, burgherly precision of work, which is reflected in his scores, which show no sign of slovenliness but rather extreme care and tidiness’ (*ibid.*).

In the *Betrachtungen* Mann applies his ‘bourgeois’ and ‘burgherly’ distinction to the composer.¹⁶⁰ He states that one finds in Wagner’s ‘menschlichen und künstlerischen Persönlichkeit’ (‘private and artistic personality’), ‘ein nicht nur bürgerlicher, sondern geradezu bourgeois und parvenühafter Einschlag, — der Geschmack am Üppigen, am “Atlas”, am Luxus, an Reichtum und bürgerlicher Pracht’.¹⁶¹ The inclusion of ‘bürgerlich’ in Mann’s description of the ‘bourgeois’ elements of Wagner’s character indicates that the distinction between the two aspects is not so clear cut. As seen from his portrayal of Goethe, some moderate taste for luxury and comfort is part of the burgherly nature, but it is Wagner’s excessive taste for this which Mann stresses. His analysis of Wagner is repeated in very similar language in his ‘Leiden und Grösse’ essay.¹⁶² Mann also describes in some detail the down-lined silk dressing gowns which Wagner insisted upon wearing when sitting down to his morning’s work.¹⁶³ He claims that while the creative process of the artist is not always necessarily discernible in the finished product, these silks and satins from Wagner’s private life are clearly visible in his creative output.¹⁶⁴ He then suggests that it is precisely this luxurious, sensuous element of the composer’s works which drew the burgherly masses to them.¹⁶⁵ Again, the historical context of this essay must be taken into account. Just as Mann would try to rescue Nietzsche’s reputation from the damage done by Nazi misappropriation after the Second World War, here Mann saw the dangerous alliance of Wagner’s work with Nazi ideology and sought to warn the public against this siren call. However, from as early as

¹⁶⁰ ‘Aber wenn Wagner ein wenig bourgeois war, so war er auch *Bürger* in einem hohen, deutschen Sinn’, ‘But if Wagner was a little bourgeois, he was also a *Bürger* in a high, German sense’ (*GWXII*, p. 108).

¹⁶¹ ‘elements that smack not just of the burgherly, but of the downright bourgeois and *parvenu*: that taste for opulence, for “satins”, luxury, riches, and burgherly ostentation’ (*ibid.*).

¹⁶² ‘Der nicht nur altbürgerliche, sondern modern bourgeoisie Einschlag in seiner menschlichen und künstlerischen Persönlichkeit ist unverkennbar’, ‘The not only old-burgherly, but also modern-bourgeois element of his private and artistic personality is unmistakable’ (*GWIX*, p. 411).

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 413.

¹⁶⁴ ‘der Geschmack am Üppigen, am Luxus, am Reichtum, Samt und Seide und Gründerzeitpracht: ein Zug des Privatlebens zunächst, der aber tief ins Geistige und Künstlerische reicht.’ ‘the taste for opulence, for luxury, for richness, velvet and silk and the splendour of the Gründerzeit: it is primarily a feature of his private life but its roots go deep down into the spiritual/intellectual and creative realms’ (*ibid.*, pp. 411-12).

¹⁶⁵ ‘Ist es nicht [...], mit einem Worte das höchst Luxuriöse seiner Musik, was ihr die bürgerlichen Massen in die Arme trieb?’, ‘Is it not [...], in a nutshell, the highly luxurious quality of his music which drives the burgherly masses into his arms?’ (*ibid.*, p. 414).

1903, Mann's admiring but critical attitude towards Wagner's opulent appeal to the middle classes was apparent in his novella *Tristan*.

Wagner's heavy influence on Mann is obvious from the novella's title, emphasising the centrality of Wagner's opera to the story. However, Mann shows himself primarily to be a student of Nietzsche, treating Spinell's love of Wagner with scathing irony. Mann also indicates the infectious and dangerous elements of Wagner's music, as Gabriele Klöterjahn's death can be seen as a direct result of playing the *Liebestod* from *Tristan und Isolde*. Although Mann's typically distanced and ironic narrator presents a critical and comic view of the events, most notably through Spinell's reaction to her death, the narrative cannot help but get swept up in the grandeur, passion and ecstasy of the music, devoting long and eloquent passages to recreating it.¹⁶⁶ The line between critical irony and passionate enjoyment becomes blurred as overtones of an authentic, romanticised tragedy are allowed briefly to shine through in the novella. Mann highlights the dangers of Wagner's bourgeois decadence, but by emulating his grandeur and opulence in this novella, he allows his readers to indulge in the extravagances of Wagner's music whilst remaining critical of him.

Mann relates his dual perspective of Wagner to Nietzsche's idea of the 'doppelte Optik' ('double optic'), explaining this as the ability to see the artistic and the burgherly 'nebeneinander und auf einmal'.¹⁶⁷ Mann claims that this emerges as 'den Instinkt [...] raffinierte und gutmütigere Bedürfnisse zugleich zu befriedigen, die Wenigen zu gewinnen,

¹⁶⁶ 'Unter ihren arbeitenden Händen vollzog sich die unerhörte Steigerung, zerteilt von jenem beinahe ruchlosen, plötzlichen Pianissimo, das wie ein Entgleiten des Bodens unter den Füßen und wie ein Versinken in sublime Begierde ist. Der Überschwang einer ungeheuren Lösung und Erfüllung brach herein, wiederholte sich, ein betäubendes Brausen maßloser Befriedigung, unersättlich wieder und wieder, formte sich zurückflutend um, schien verhauchen zu wollen, wob noch einmal das Sehnsuchtsmotiv in seine Harmonie, atmete aus, erstarrte, verklang, entschwebte. Tiefe Stille', 'Under her rapidly moving hands the fantastic crescendo mounted to its climax, broken by that almost shameless, sudden pianissimo in which the ground seems to slide away under our feet and a sublime lust to engulf us in its depths. The triumph of a vast release, a tremendous fulfilment, a roaring tumult of immense delight, was heard and heard again, insatiably repeated, flooding back and reshaping itself; when it seemed on the point of ebbing away it once more wove the *Sehnsucht*-motif into its harmony, then breather out its uttermost breath and died, faded into silence, floated into nothingness. Abyssal silence' (*T*, p. 247).

¹⁶⁷ 'side by side and simultaneously as one' (*GWXII*, p. 109). Nietzsche actually calls this Wagner's 'wechselnde Optik' ('alternating optic') (Nietzsche, *Nachgelassene Fragmente: Herbst 1887*, 9 [171]).

und die Vielen obendrein'.¹⁶⁸ Mann explicitly relates this dual ability to Wagner's personality and reinforces his own belief that the artist cannot be separated from their work. He asserts that 'jeder Künstler ohne Ausnahme genau das macht, was er *ist*', suggesting that Wagner's wide appeal is evidence of his 'Sein und Wesen'.¹⁶⁹ This is, of course, in direct opposition to Eliot's theory of impersonality. Yet Mann's analysis of Wagner draws out the contrast with Eliot's belief system even further.

Mann argues that Wagner's 'instinct' to appeal to different levels of sophistication stems from his 'Weltdurst' ('thirst for the world'), employing a quotation from act II of *Tristan und Isolde* to illustrate the individual's ultimate conquest of the world through their total assimilation into it: 'Selbst dann bin ich die Welt'.¹⁷⁰ The link which Mann makes between the composer and the protagonist of the opera again stresses the importance he places on the personality of the artist in relation to their work. Yet Mann's emphasis on the individual's complete assimilation with the world gains significance in light of Eliot's criticism of Nietzsche. Eliot's claim that Nietzsche's identification with the universe (and the resulting identification of the universe with himself) is very similar to the trait which Mann highlights in *Tristan und Isolde*.¹⁷¹ Both observations acknowledge the extreme form of individualism prevailing in the nineteenth century, which, as has been established above, Eliot did not endorse. It is, however, important to note that Mann remains ambivalent about this aspect of Wagner, outlining it as a way of indicating the composer's 'longing' and 'ambition' to appeal to both the 'Feinsten' ('elite') and the 'breite Masse' ('broader masses').¹⁷² This portrayal of Wagner as having an instinct to appeal to all is what gives him

¹⁶⁸ 'the instinct [...] simultaneously to satisfy the needs of the sophisticated and the more good-natured, to win the few and, moreover, the many' (*GWXII*, p. 109).

¹⁶⁹ 'every artist, without exception, creates precisely what he himself *is*'; 'being and essence' (*ibid.*, p. 110). Mann repeats this sentiment almost exactly in 'Leiden und Grösse Richard Wagners': 'jeder Künstler genau das machte, was er *ist*,' 'every artist makes exactly what he *is*' (*GWIX*, p. 414) (italics in original).

¹⁷⁰ 'Even then, I am the world' (*GWXII*, p. 109). Mann also includes this quotation in *Tristan* (*T*, p. 246).

¹⁷¹ *CP3*, p. 255.

¹⁷² 'Er war ein sehnsüchtiger oder, um das kälterer Wort dafür einzusetzen, ein ehrgeiziger Künstler', 'He was a longing, or rather to use the colder term for this, an ambitious artist' (*GWXII*, p. 110).

his dual aspect, making him both ‘burgherly’ and ‘bourgeois’, and explains both Mann’s appreciation for, and scepticism of, the composer.

Eliot’s initial response to Wagner in his creative work was, on the surface, extremely different to Mann’s. His 1909 poem ‘Opera’ details his reaction to *Tristan und Isolde* in direct, derisive and condemnatory terms. In this poem, Eliot recalls the ‘fatalistic horns’, ‘passionate violins’ and ‘ominous clarinet’ which function to display ‘love torturing itself / To emotion for all there is in it, [...] contorted in paroxysms, / Flinging itself at the last / Limits of self-expression’.¹⁷³ Where Mann emulated Wagner in his writing style in ironically lavish, grand and flowing prose to describe the *Liebestod*, Eliot presents a deliberately inelegant poem which expresses how uninspired and flat the poet finds Wagner’s opera. The stilted form and laconic tone of the opening stanza contrast with the content which describes the extremity of emotional experience which Wagner portrays. Any reader who initially misses this formal criticism and irony and is deceived into thinking that the terms ‘fatalistic’, ‘passionate’ and ‘ominous’ were written in praise of the drama and tension of the opera is quickly corrected by the first line of the following stanza: ‘We have the tragic? oh no!’ before the poem goes on to state, ‘These emotional experiences / Do not hold good at all’.¹⁷⁴ This poem expresses the opinion that Wagner wrings out all the emotion of the lovers to the point where it becomes unnatural and forced. The self-obsessed, self-indulgent lovers are judged as undignified particularly through the use of the verbs beginning consecutive lines, ‘writhing’, ‘contorted’, and ‘flinging’.¹⁷⁵ The respect and enjoyment inherent in Mann’s descriptions of Wagner’s music are nowhere to be found here. Eliot’s poem does not seem to respond to either aspect of Wagner’s ‘doppelte Optik’.

While it could be argued that this is merely a narratorial voice rather than Eliot’s personal response, this poem was written in a notebook which Eliot never intended for

¹⁷³ O, ll. 2-10.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., ll. 11-15.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., ll. 7-9.

publication.¹⁷⁶ Furthermore, the poet was only twenty-one when he wrote these lines, the simplicity of which—relative to his later poetry and his poetry intended for publication—suggest a more direct expression of personal opinion. This directness of expression was perhaps another reason for Eliot's desire not to publish the poem. If we take 'Opera' to be Eliot's personal reaction to *Tristan und Isolde*, the 'I' of the penultimate line takes on great significance in the observation 'And I feel like the ghost of youth / At the undertakers' ball'.¹⁷⁷ The obscure image of the 'undertakers' ball' highlights the opera's celebration of morbidity and its glorying in death and annihilation. That Eliot is made to feel like 'the ghost of youth' suggests that the opera leaves one with the impression that youth and vitality are nowhere to be found, only the ghost remaining and, even then, being out of place in the indulgent, overpowering morbidity and extravagance of the deathly expressions of love in the opera. This response suggests that much of Eliot's objection to the opera was to its excessive indulgence and opulence, precisely the qualities which Mann believed gave it its appeal to the middle classes but which came across as hollow and contrived to Eliot.

Eliot's initial scathing response to *Tristan und Isolde* raises questions about the prominent inclusion of quotations from the opera in *The Waste Land*. The answer may partly lie with his close friend Jean Verdenal. In 1912 Verdenal wrote to Eliot of the tremendous effect which Wagner's music had on him:

Tristan et Y., du premier coup vous émeuvent atrocement, et vous laissent aplatir d'extase, avec une soif d'y revenir. [...] Tout de même, je serais heureux de savoir que vous entendez du Wagner vous aussi en Amérique.¹⁷⁸

Verdenal's impassioned championing of the opera through this excitable letter and his hope that Eliot will be able to hear it suggests that Verdenal never read 'Opera' whilst he and Eliot

¹⁷⁶ Eliot, *Inventions of the March Hare*, p. xii.

¹⁷⁷ O, ll. 16-17.

¹⁷⁸ 'Tristan and Isolde is terribly moving at the first hearing, and leaves you prostrate with ecstasy and thirsting to get back to it again. [...] However, I should be happy to know that you too are able to hear some Wagner in America' (*LTSE1*, p. 29) (translation by John Weightman, *LTSE1*, p. 32).

were in Paris together, adding further support to the notion that the poem was a highly personal response since Eliot did not show it to such a close friend.

Mayer considers Verdenal's championing of Wagner as deeply influential in changing Eliot's initially disparaging view of the composer, explaining how the operas which Verdenal urged on Eliot, *Tristan und Isolde* and *Götterdämmerung*, were the very operas that were to assume a prominent role in *The Waste Land*. He even goes on to suggest that 'these Wagnerian references may be read as Eliot's private homage to Verdenal, to whom he owed his introduction to the riches of Wagner's world'.¹⁷⁹ James Miller also acknowledges Eliot's 'outright condemnation' of Wagner in 'Opera' but agrees with Mayer's view, stating that 'obviously Verdenal changed Eliot's view of the opera' [*Tristan und Isolde*], citing the quotations from the opera at the start of *The Waste Land* as evidence for this.¹⁸⁰

Crawford finds evidence to show that Eliot did give Wagner another chance and saw *Tristan und Isolde* again in December 1913.¹⁸¹ Yet Crawford also considers Eliot's use of lines from the opera in *The Waste Land* as evidence to suggest that Eliot, 'like his friend Jean Verdenal' found the opera 'profoundly moving'.¹⁸² Much later, Stravinsky recalled a conversation with Eliot when he was in his sixties. Discussing *Tristan und Isolde* with Eliot, Stravinsky inferred that it must have been 'one of the most passionate experiences of his life'.¹⁸³ All this evidence suggests that while it may be true that Verdenal encouraged Eliot to look more deeply into Wagner's opera, Eliot's decision to incorporate it into *The Waste Land* is not necessarily evidence that his opinion had changed and is certainly not evidence that Eliot admired Wagner's work. Eliot may indeed have had passionate feelings about Wagner's opera, but the nature of his poetic responses do not suggest approval or respect, only a strong reaction.

¹⁷⁹ Mayer, p. 318.

¹⁸⁰ Miller, p. 73; p. 124.

¹⁸¹ Crawford, *Young Eliot*, p. 197.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Igor Stravinsky, *Memories of T.S. Eliot* in *Esquire* (August 1965) quoted in *PTSE1*, p. 1078.

The bourgeois excess, attempts to assimilate the individual with the world, and the composer's direct expression of himself in his work, which Mann outlined as so characteristic of Wagner, were in direct opposition with Eliot's critical attitude to individualism and the relationship between the artist and his work. Eliot's strong response to Wagner can be seen as a product of his hostility towards the overt sentimentality and excess which are present in the composer's works. The allusions to Wagner which appear in *The Waste Land* will be analysed in detail in the following chapter. It will be argued that all three allusions to Wagner's operas in the poem present yet more degraded versions of their decadent operatic counterparts, using Wagner to show the morally contemptable state of the nineteenth century and its subsequent decline into moral apathy.¹⁸⁴

The analysis in this chapter of Mann and Eliot's responses to Goethe, Nietzsche and Wagner has demonstrated that both authors' employment of these figures in their critical and creative works are informed to a large degree by the traditions in which they were writing. Mann's emphasis on the German 'burgherly tradition' meant that these three figures, along with Schopenhauer, came to represent his own version of an ideal German 'burgherly' culture. For Mann, Goethe was the finest representative of these ideals, many of which are transferred, with some irony, to Hans Castorp. This irony, which Mann largely inherited from Nietzsche, is also key to understanding his portrayal of the middle classes. Finally, Mann's acknowledgement of the temptation of excessive luxury and the decadence of the nineteenth century can be considered through his response to Wagner. Although Mann enjoyed Wagner's operas and imitated some of his extravagant style in his own work, he treated the composer with a degree of irony and scepticism. When Mann's essays on all three of these figures are considered alongside one another, the pattern clearly emerges of Mann's heavy emphasis on personality. He offers biographical details about all three figures and directly

¹⁸⁴ These are the quotations from *Tristan und Isolde* surrounding the hyacinth garden episode (*TWL*, ll. 31-42), the allusion to *Parsifal* through Verlaine's poem of the same title (l. 202), and the allusion to the Rhine-daughters of *Götterdämmerung* through the Thames-daughters (ll. 290-306).

relates these to their works, as well as using these details to support his notion of the 'burgherly tradition'.

Eliot's responses to Goethe, Nietzsche, and Wagner are in almost direct opposition to this. He focuses mainly on their works and even stated that his main issue with Goethe was the fact that he did not separate his personal views from his poetry. Yet Eliot's later position on Goethe shows some softening of this view and, although he maintained that a poet's personal philosophy should not be incorporated in their work, his attention to personal details about Goethe in relation to his wisdom complicates this view. Similarly, Eliot's seemingly clear-cut critical rejection of Nietzsche is modified when his excessive use of irony in 'Eeldrop and Appleplex' is taken into consideration. Finally, Eliot's 'Opera' demonstrates an impassioned but still highly critical reaction to Wagner.

By considering Mann and Eliot's differing responses to these three figures, a number of commonalities have been traced. Namely, both authors' employment of Nietzschean irony and humour in ambivalent presentations of the middle classes in their creative works. However, for Eliot this was shown to be at odds with his critical response to Nietzsche. Furthermore, the ambivalence in Mann's presentation of the bourgeoisie is clearly tempered by an underlying affection, in contrast with Eliot's 'Eeldrop and Appleplex' and 'Portrait of a Lady' in which any signs of sympathy for the middle classes are difficult to detect. These comparisons have also more clearly demonstrated Mann and Eliot's divergent traditions, as outlined in chapter 1. Through reference to Goethe, Nietzsche, and Wagner, Mann's 'burgherly tradition' has been clarified, emphasising the individual, personality, and 'burgherly' traits such as order, routine, craftsmanship, and sensible economy, attributed specifically to the middle classes. Eliot's opposition to many of these features, most notably personality and individualism have been demonstrated by his criticisms of these figures' works. Furthermore, this chapter has detailed Mann and Eliot's differing beliefs about the

nature and time-span of cultural decline, in Eliot's case, the continuation of this since the seventeenth century, and for Mann, the end of the 'burgherly age' with the close of the nineteenth century. These often opposing beliefs of the two authors provide the framework of difference around which the literary analyses in the following chapters are built.

As the following chapter will argue, *The Waste Land* can be considered as a critique of cultural decline and a documentation of social degradation. The allusions to Wagner in *The Waste Land* will be considered more closely in order to show how Eliot presented this inexorable decline in culture. By contrast, Mann's use of the composer in *Der Zauberberg* presents a more hopeful outlook, emphasising the redemptive aspects of Wagner's *Parsifal* rather than the composer's decadence. Central to understanding both authors' presentations of social and cultural decline, particularly in relation to the middle classes, is the issue of morality. This will be the main focus of the following two chapters, first assessing how Mann and Eliot present cultural decline in the early twentieth century in chapter 3 and then considering how (and if) they believe this can be countered in chapter 4. These analyses will draw out Mann's faith in the moral authority and social ethics of the individual (in a 'burgherly' sense) in contrast with Eliot's belief that moral authority should be externally ordained.

3: ‘I CAN CONNECT NOTHING WITH NOTHING’: MORAL PASSIVITY AND THE SPIRITUAL VACUUM IN *THE WASTE LAND* AND *DER ZAUBERBERG*

The previous chapters have established that both Eliot and Mann saw the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries to be in a state of cultural and spiritual decline. This chapter will explore how this degeneration is expressed in relation to the bourgeoisie in Eliot’s *The Waste Land* and Mann’s *Der Zauberberg*. This will be done first by considering both authors’ responses to the burgeoning phenomenon of the cinema in the 1920s. This will demonstrate how both Eliot and Mann recognised aspects of this trend to be alienating, advancing moral passivity, and causing a breakdown between performers and their audiences. Both authors also consider this trend specifically in relation to the middle classes. Yet while Mann’s fiction displays the usual ambivalence and fondness for middle-class amusements, presenting the cinema as simultaneously pleasurable and entertaining, Eliot’s published work, notably his essay ‘Marie Lloyd’, is overtly condemnatory of the cinema’s effect on, and perpetuation by, the middle classes. However, while the pleasure of the cinematic experience presented by Mann is absent in ‘Marie Lloyd’, it can be found in the manuscript of *The Waste Land* and to a greater extent in Eliot’s private correspondence. This discrepancy between Eliot’s public, unpublished, and private responses will further display his adherence to his theory of impersonality. This is in direct contrast with Mann, whose creative response to the cinema can be seen as a direct extension of his personal reaction, in line with his theory of the artist’s reliance on personality in his ‘burgherly tradition’.

Eliot’s ambivalent personal response to the cinema is echoed in his response to Wagner, who, as the previous chapter argued, can be seen as representative of nineteenth-century bourgeois decadence. Although we know that Eliot’s personal response to Wagner may have been passionate, it will be argued here that this passion did not amount to approval,

as will be demonstrated through a close analysis of *The Waste Land*. His use of Wagner in this poem is certainly more ambivalent than in 'Opera' but the later poem presents the composer as a touchstone of nineteenth-century decadence which shows the corruption, self-interest, and lack of genuine moral knowledge which characterised that century. It will be suggested that Eliot employs Wagnerian scenes and characters to create parallels with contemporary characters who are shown to have degenerated into an even more extreme state of decline and moral vacuity than their decadent, nineteenth-century counterparts. Further to this, the Wagnerian allusions provide examples of the web of connections which is central to the poem's enigmatic quality. By exploring these connections in detail with reference to the hyacinth episode of *The Waste Land* and its relation to the Wagnerian quotations framing it, it will be suggested that the poem presents momentary glimpses of escape from temporal existence. However, within the morally vacuous society which the poem presents these glimpses are illusory—offering no genuine possibility for escape—and unsustainable—quickly returning to the corrupt state which governs the poem.

The repetition of this pattern will then be considered in the other two allusions to Wagner in *The Waste Land*, referring to the Rhine-daughters of Wagner's *Ring* cycle and to *Parsifal*. The latter provides a yet more complex framework of allusion through its mediation by Verlaine. It will be suggested that this results in a more intense moment of hope for spiritual redemption which is thwarted by the moral degradation surrounding it. In contrast with this, Mann employs Wagner's *Parsifal* to mirror the *Bildungsroman* structure of *Der Zauberberg* and allow his protagonist, like Wagner's, successfully to find a form of spiritual fulfilment. Unlike Wagner's *Parsifal*, it is not a Christian redemption which Hans finds but a form of spiritual, intellectual, and emotional insight which will allow him to find individual moral authority. This legitimacy of the individual, in the tradition of Luther, Kant, and

Goethe, creates a more ethical society, made humane by such individual contributions.¹ In order to illustrate how this development is possible after the end of the ‘burgherly age’, Mann first presents Hans as representative of the morally passive and spiritually vacant society which existed at the beginning of the twentieth century.

It will be shown here that Mann and Eliot’s texts are deeply embedded within rich mythical contexts which both mirror and juxtapose modern bourgeois alienation. However, in *The Waste Land* this creates a web of interpretative possibilities which all result in an ultimate lack of connection to any greater, spiritually redemptive power. It will be argued that *The Waste Land* demonstrates that neither divine nor human connection can be found within temporal existence and shows a society which does not offer the framework to find meaningful existence. In contrast, Mann creates a wealth of associations which disorientate Hans Castorp but ultimately lead him to a meaningful insight and the realization that spiritual and moral guidance can, and should, be integrated into a more humane social framework. This contrast between Mann and Eliot’s presentation of moral passivity and spiritual decline in their creative works will be the main focus of this chapter. This analysis contributes to the overarching argument that commonalities can be found in the authors’ ambivalent presentations of the middle classes but closer inspection of the differences within these presentations reveals the entirely different outlooks underlying them.

i) Moral Passivity and Mindless Pleasure: The Cinema

Eliot directly comments on the moral corruption of the middle classes and the loss of human connection in contemporary society in his tribute to the music hall singer Marie Lloyd, after her death in 1922. In this short essay, Eliot claims that Marie Lloyd was ‘the expressive

¹ As discussed in chapter 1, p. 73; see also *GWXII*, pp. 280-81.

figure of the lower classes' and that the 'middle classes have no such idol: the middle classes are morally corrupt'.² He further argues that the middle classes do not have 'any independent virtues which might give them as a conscious class any dignity' and warns that 'with the decay of the music-hall, with the encroachment of the cheap and rapid-breeding cinema, the lower classes will tend to drop into the same state of protoplasm as the bourgeoisie'.³ Eliot's choice of such direct and derogatory language expresses the exaggerated and slightly dramatic tone which governs the final paragraph. He cites the example of the Melanesians, claiming that 'the natives of that unfortunate archipelago are dying out principally for the reason that the "Civilization" forced upon them has deprived them of all interest in life'.⁴ The forms of 'Civilization' which Eliot then refers to, like many of the contributing factors to cultural decline described in his 'Baudelaire' essay, are all based on technological developments of the late-nineteenth century. He states:

When every theatre has been replaced by 100 cinemas, when every musical instrument has been replaced by 100 gramophones [...] when applied science has done everything possible with the materials on this earth to make life as interesting as possible, it will not be surprising if the population of the entire civilized world rapidly follows the fate of the Melanesians.⁵

The loss of 'interest in life' to which Eliot refers in relation to the Melanesians and predicts for 'the rest of the civilized world', is juxtaposed with the 'vitality and interest' which he suggests Marie Lloyd to be representative and expressive of in the opening paragraph of the essay.⁶ The death of Marie Lloyd is used as a warning to highlight what Eliot saw as the increasing disconnection between performers and audiences through the rising popularity of

² CP2, p. 419.

³ Ibid., pp. 419-20.

⁴ Eliot refers to W. H. R. Rivers' contribution to *Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia* to support this notion (ibid., p. 420).

⁵ Along with displaying hostility towards the cinema and the gramophone, the 'Marie Lloyd' essay also bemoans the replacement of horses by 'cheap motor cars' and looks to a future in which 'electrical ingenuity' will make 'it possible for every child to hear its bedtime stories from a loudspeaker' (ibid.).

⁶ 'It [Marie Lloyd's popularity] is evidence of the extent to which she represented and expressed that part of the English nation which has perhaps the greatest vitality and interest' (ibid., p. 418).

the cinema and the gramophone. He states that the ‘working man who went to the music-hall and saw Marie Lloyd and joined in the chorus was himself performing part of the act’.⁷ This active engagement and reciprocal human connection are at the core of what Eliot suggests to be lacking in the middle and upper classes, and the lower classes to be in danger of losing. He states that ‘the working man’ will ‘now go to the cinema, where his mind is lulled by continuous senseless music and continuous action too rapid for the brain to act upon, and will receive, without giving, in that same listless apathy with which the middle and upper classes regard any entertainment of the nature of art’.⁸

The hostility towards the middle classes is particularly pronounced in this essay, yet there is evidence to demonstrate that at this time the middle classes were in fact well represented in the music hall audience.⁹ Eliot’s inaccurate presentation of the audience suits his damning description of the bourgeoisie in contrast with the ‘vitality’ of the working classes.¹⁰ Koritz suggests that Eliot’s presentation of ‘authentic working-class art under siege from middle-class mass culture’ is in line with the ‘sense of cultural degeneration found in much of his earlier poetry’.¹¹ The presentation of middle-class characters as contrived and lacking vitality in Eliot’s creative work has already been considered in ‘Prufrock’, ‘Portrait of a Lady’ and ‘Eeldrop and Appleplex’, and will be explored in greater detail below. Eliot’s presentation of the working classes as authentic and vigorous in contrast with the sterile and over-civilized middle classes is only one aspect of a larger trend in his critical and creative

⁷ Ibid., p. 420.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Jonna Mackin, ‘Raising Life to a Kind of Art: Eliot and Music Hall’ in *T. S. Eliot’s Orchestra: Critical Essays on Poetry and Music*, ed. by John Xiros Cooper (New York: Garland, 2000), pp. 49-63 (pp. 51-53). As evidence of the growing middle-class audience at music hall performances Mackin cites *Music Hall: The Business of Pleasure*, ed. by Peter Bailey (Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1986); *Music Hall Performance and Style*, ed. by J. S. Bratton (Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1986), and Amy Koritz, *Gendering Bodies/Performing Art: Dance and Literature in Early Twentieth-Century British Culture* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995). Chinitz also comments on the diverse demographic of the audiences of the specific music hall performances which Eliot is known to have attended (David Chinitz, *T. S. Eliot and the Cultural Divide* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), pp. 94-95).

¹⁰ CP2, p. 418.

¹¹ Koritz, p. 143. Koritz does not specify which poems she is referring to here. She does, however, later mention the typist and clerk of *The Waste Land* and the narrators of ‘Portrait of a Lady’ and ‘Prufrock’ as examples of middle-class figures who lack human connection (p. 150).

work, drawing on a number of better, but not ideal, alternatives to highlight the moral decline which he saw as part of an increasingly secularized and individualistic middle-class culture.

Eliot's assessment of the cinema in 'Marie Lloyd' contains a number of parallels with the description of Hans, Joachim, and Karen's experience of the cinema in *Der Zauberberg*:

Wenn aber das letzte Flimmerbild einer Szenenfolge wegzuckte, im Saale das Licht aufging und das Feld der Visionen als leere Tafel vor der Menge stand, so konnte es nicht einmal Beifall geben. Niemand war da, dem man durch Applaus hätte danken, den man für seine Kunstleistung hätte hervorrufen können. Die Schauspieler, die sich zu dem Spiele, das man genossen, zusammengefunden, waren längst in alle Winde zerstoßen; nur die Schattenbilder ihrer Produktion hatte man gesehen [...] Das Schweigen der Menge nach der Illusion hatte etwas Nervloses und Widerwärtiges. Die Hände lagen ohnmächtig vor dem Nichts. Man rieb sich die Augen, stierte vor sich hin, schämte sich der Helligkeit und verlangte zurück ins Dunkel.¹²

Like Eliot's analogy, this scene highlights the disconnection between performer and audience which the cinema imposes and the act of receiving entertainment 'without giving'.¹³ The narrator's assertion that the silence of the audience is 'nerveless' and 'repulsive' also presents a clear similarity to Eliot's view of the passive cinema audience in 'Marie Lloyd'. The lengthy description of the strangeness of this phenomenon is presented in Mann's novel in direct comparison with the more familiar applause after a 'Spiel' ('play'), a comparison which Eliot also makes, bemoaning the replacement of the theatre by the cinema.¹⁴ The description of hands, unoccupied by applause, as 'ohnmächtig' ('powerless') further suggests the reduced vitality and life force of the cinema audience. John Woods translates

¹² When the last flickering frame of one reel had twitched out of sight and the lights went up in the hall and the audience's panel of visions stood before them like an empty blackboard, there was not even the possibility of applause. There was no one there to clap for, to thank, no artistic achievement to reward with applause. The actors who had been cast in the play they had just seen had long since been scattered to the winds; they had watched only the silhouettes they had produced [...] Once the illusion was over, there was something nerveless and repulsive about the crowd's silence. Hands lay powerless before the void. People rubbed their eyes, stared straight ahead, felt embarrassed by the brightness and demanded the return of the dark (Z, p. 441).

¹³ CP2, p. 420.

¹⁴ Ibid.

‘ohnmächtig’ as ‘impotent’, a connotation implicit in the original.¹⁵ This translation more overtly draws out the connection, made by Eliot, between the declining population of the Melanesians brought about by the “‘Civilization” forced upon them’.¹⁶ This emphasizes the link between lack of sexual virility and lack of vitality, both due to excessive ‘civilization’ in the form of technological advances in entertainment. This is an important aspect of the failure of relationships in *The Waste Land* and of Hans Castorp’s initial spiritual malaise and will be explored in the following chapters.

The novel’s paradigm of middle-class mediocrity, Frau Stöhr, is also present in the cinema and displays many of the traits which Eliot attributes to the contemporary cinema-goer, ‘lulled’ by the ‘continuous music’ and ‘action’.¹⁷ *Der Zauberberg*’s narrator describes how ‘Frau Stöhr [...] erschien ganz Hingabe; ihr rotes, ungebildetes Gesicht war im Genusse verzerrt [...] ähnlich mit allen Gesichtern, in die man blickte’.¹⁸ In this scene, Frau Stöhr and the rest of the audience conform to Eliot’s evaluation and do not appear to be displaying ‘any independent virtues which might give them as a conscious class any dignity’.¹⁹ However, although Frau Stöhr is once again being mocked, and presented in unflattering terms, she is, along with the rest of the audience, shown to be enjoying a pleasurable experience. This is where Mann’s presentation of the middle classes and the cinematic experience most clearly differs from Eliot’s. In ‘Marie Lloyd’, there is no reference to the cinema as pleasurable. Further to this, the ‘listless apathy’ which Eliot attributes to the middle- and upper-classes’ experience of entertainment stands in contrast with Frau Stöhr’s face, which rather than ‘listless’, is ‘im Genusse verzerrt’.²⁰

¹⁵ Thomas Mann, *The Magic Mountain*, trans. by John E. Woods (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), p. 377. Lowe-Porter’s original translation opts for the more direct ‘powerless’ (Thomas Mann, *The Magic Mountain*, trans. by Helen T. Lowe-Porter (London: Penguin, 1960), p. 317).

¹⁶ *CP2*, p. 420.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ ‘Frau Stöhr [...] appeared to have completely surrendered herself to the film; her red, uneducated face was contorted with pleasure [...] much the same as all the faces into which one looked’ (Z, p. 441).

¹⁹ *CP2*, p. 419.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 420; ‘contorted with pleasure’ (Z, p. 441).

The word ‘verzerrt’ (‘contorted’) in conjunction with ‘Genusse’ (‘pleasure’) is particularly expressive of Mann’s ambivalent presentation of the cinema. Describing the audience’s faces as ‘contorted’ suggests that their pleasure is unnatural, even slightly painful. The description of the cinema in Mann’s novel is more ambiguous than Eliot’s critical response. While there are some similarities, the gothic and romantic imagery in Mann’s scene, presenting the actors as ‘silhouettes’ and ‘scattered to the winds’, and the audience’s desire for the ‘return of the dark’, adds a richer dimension to the description. Mann presents the cinema as both dangerous and enjoyable. There is a significant link here to Eliot’s use of the term ‘contorted’ in ‘Opera’, which excludes any notion of pleasure and highlights only the undignified and overwrought nature of *Tristan und Isolde*, ‘contorted in paroxysms’, just as ‘Marie Lloyd’ highlights only the destructive elements of the cinema.²¹

Just as Mann warned against the decadence and extravagance of Wagner’s music while at the same time imitating and revelling in it in *Tristan*, the author presents the cinema in *Der Zauberberg* as a dangerous and overwhelming sensory experience but continues to indulge the reader in a lengthy and excitable description of the film:

am Hofe eines orientalischen Despoten, gejagte Vorgänge voll Pracht und Nacktheit, voll Herrscherbrunst und religiöser Wut der Unterwürfigkeit, voll Grausamkeit, Begierde, tödlicher Lust und von verweilender Anschaulichkeit, wenn es die Muskulatur von Henkersarmen zu besichtigen galt, - kurz, hergestellt aus sympathetischer Vertrautheit mit dem geheimen Wünschen der zuschauenden internationalen Zivilisation.²²

This display of oriental splendour, nudity and barbarism ties in to the novel’s larger presentation of the East as dangerous, tempting and arguably necessary to ‘Zivilisation’ (‘civilization’)—a theme which will be considered in detail in the following chapter. The

²¹ O, l. 8.

²² at the court of an oriental despot, full of gorgeousness and naked bodies, thirst for power and raving religious self-abnegation; full of cruelty, appetite and deathly lust, and slowing down to give a full view of the muscular development of the executioner’s arms. Constructed, in short, to cater to the secret desires of an onlooking international civilization (Z, p. 441).

inclusion of the word ‘geheim’ (‘secret’), is particularly telling, suggesting that this western audience would not openly reveal their desire to see such uncivilized scenes, yet they are happy to sit in a darkened room and savour the images in silence. The narrative reflects the pace of the scenes and the audience’s fascination, quickly reeling through the exciting plot and characters before lingering over and ‘giving a full view of’ the muscular arms of the executioner.

Yet there are more intricate layers of narrative beneath this superficial enjoyment. Significantly, Hans faintly recognises the danger of the audience’s complete abandonment to the film and whispers to his cousin that Settembrini ‘hätte die humanitätswidrige Darbietung wohl scharf verneinen [...] müssen’.²³ With the benefit of Settembrini’s moral guidance, Hans is allowed to gain some critical distance from the rest of the audience. Implicit in the ‘Gesichtern, in die man blickte’ is the suggestion that Hans is observing the audience as well as the film.²⁴ The reader is presented with a narrator observing Hans, who is observing the audience, who in turn are observing the film. This distancing effect draws the reader away from the narrative’s previous indulgent mirroring of the film, allowing him or her to see, and creating the opportunity to empathize with, Hans’ uncertainty about how to respond to the pleasurable but morally questionable cinema. Mann allows Hans to be a part of the masses while also occupying a privileged position, observing them with some distance, a position which is also imposed onto the reader.²⁵ This positioning of the reader of *Der Zauberberg* as both privy to, and able to be critical of, Hans’ education on the mountain is central to the interpretation of Hans’ ‘snow vision’ presented below.²⁶

²³ ‘would have stridently denounced this exhibition as a denigration of humanity’ (Z, p. 441).

²⁴ ‘faces into which one looked’ (ibid.). Further to this, Hans’ critical insight is suggested by the fact that Frau’s Stöhr’s enjoyment is described as ‘dagegen’ (‘in contrast with’) Hans’ response (ibid.).

²⁵ This can be seen as an adaptation of Wagner’s ‘doppelte Optik’, Hans is simultaneously elite and part of the masses.

²⁶ See chapter 4, pp. 190-91.

Mann's personal response to the cinema is in direct agreement with his fictional presentation of it. As his diaries demonstrate, he was an avid cinema-goer, particularly during his later residence in California.²⁷ However, in a short article titled 'Über den Film' ('On Film') (1928), Mann describes his equivocal relationship with the phenomenon, 'Was mich betrifft, so verachte ich ihn auch, aber ich liebe ihn'.²⁸ In this article he distinguishes between film and other art forms such as the theatre or literature, employing strikingly similar language to that of the cinema scene in *Der Zauberberg*. For example, he outlines the difference between the physical presence of the actors at the theatre in contrast with the absence of film actors who 'sind lebendige Schatten'.²⁹ Also, just like the cinema audience in his novel, he describes how he can spend hours on end revelling in the 'musikalisch gewürzten Schauvergnügens'.³⁰ Yet Mann explains that film cannot be considered 'Kunst' ('art') since it is 'Leben und Wirklichkeit [...] krud sensationell im Vergleich mit den geistigen Wirkungen der Kunst'.³¹ Nonetheless, he discusses filmic adaptations of his own novels and demonstrates light-hearted acceptance of the form's popular, intellectually unchallenging appeal when he suggests that *Königliche Hoheit* would make for a successful adaptation since 'es sind dankbare Rollen da, sogar die unfehlbare eines schönes Hundes'.³² Mann's ambivalence about, but ultimate enjoyment of, the cinema is evident in both his personal reflections and his creative work. Furthermore, his willingness to consider the commercial viability of adaptations of his works is in line with the capitalist precision and

²⁷ Hans Vaaget, 'Filmentwürfe' in *Thomas Mann Handbuch*, ed. by Helmut Koopmann (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1990), pp. 619-22 (p. 619).

²⁸ 'For me, I despise it myself, but I also love it' (GWX, p. 899).

²⁹ 'are living shadows' (ibid., p. 900).

³⁰ 'joys of the musically laced visions' (ibid., p. 898).

³¹ 'life and reality [...] crudely sensationalistic in comparison with the spiritual/intellectual effects of art' (ibid., p. 899).

³² 'there are rewarding roles there, not least the infallible role of a lovely dog' (ibid., p. 901). Mann also discusses the lack of success of the film adaptation of *Buddenbrooks* and the failed discussions he had with a director in Berlin about turning *Der Zauberberg* into a motion picture.

sensible economy which he praised in Schopenhauer and Goethe's forms of 'Bürgerlichkeit'.³³

Eliot's responses to the cinema in his personal correspondence hint at a more complex relationship than his critical work suggests. His letters present an ambivalent position, combining sceptical distance with pleasure, which is much closer to the response which Mann presents in *Der Zauberberg* and 'Über den Film'. In a letter to his cousin, Eleanor Hinkley, Eliot relates that he had defended motion pictures in a debate at Oxford in 1914, pointing out 'how much they [Oxford students] owed to Amurrican culcher in the drayma (including the movies) in music, in the cocktail, and in the dance'.³⁴ Trotter argues that critics such as Chinitz 'have been in altogether too much of a hurry [...] to drop "drayma (including the movies)" from the catalogue of forms of popular culture with which Eliot can be said to have engaged productively'.³⁵ Yet Trotter does not comment on the satirical and ironic tone of these comments, already clear from Eliot's deliberate misspelling ('Amurrican culcher in the drayma') to mimic his native mid-west accent.³⁶ Eliot continues his comic tone, presenting England as an American colony, 'And see, said I, what we the few Americans here are losing while we are bending our energies toward your uplift [...] we the outposts of progress are compelled to remain in ignorance of the fox trot'.³⁷ The switch from imitated mid-western drawl to this exaggeratedly formal tone emphasises and simultaneously ridicules

³³ Much later, in 1955, Mann wrote another short article entitled 'Film und Roman' ('Film and Novel') in which he praises both forms, although as distinctly separate genres, and discusses the successful filmic adaptation of *Königliche Hoheit* (ibid., pp. 936-37).

³⁴ *LTSEI*, p. 77. Eliot relates that the subject of the debate was 'Resolved that this society abhors the threatened Americanisation of Oxford'.

³⁵ David Trotter, 'T. S. Eliot and Cinema', *Modernism/Modernity*, 13, 2, (2006), 237-65 (p. 248). Trotter is referring to Chinitz's argument that many of Eliot's 'patented cadences—his characteristic rhythms, the ways he uses rhyme, the tonal contours of his lines—were discovered in the sounds of popular music circa 1911. It is "Amurrican culcher [...] in music, in the cocktail, and in the dance" that gives Eliot's poetry its distinctive resonance' (Chinitz, p. 38). Chinitz does, however, give the full quotation from Eliot's letter elsewhere in his monograph (p. 27) but, as Trotter claims, does not discuss the cinema as a form which Eliot engaged with productively.

³⁶ Chinitz refers to this as Eliot's 'Missouri drawl' (Chinitz, p. 27).

³⁷ *LTSEI*, p. 77.

the bourgeois fashions being imported from America.³⁸ The use of grand and excessively civilized language in order to highlight the triviality of bourgeois customs, such as learning the foxtrot, is highly reminiscent of Mann's fictional writing. Yet Eliot's exaggerated imitations of the language of formal debate at Oxford also demonstrates his ease of switching to this register in order to mock its affectedness, ridiculing not only the triviality of American cultural imports but also the pomposity of Oxford conventions. Eliot may have been arguing for the value of 'Amurrican culcher' and, as Chinitz and Trotter both suggest, he certainly took notice of and incorporated American popular culture into his work, however even in his letter transcribing the debate he employs an ironic tone suggesting that he is not presenting American culture as ideal but as a better alternative to the stuffy pretensions of the Oxford common room.

In the same letter Eliot continues this ironic attitude, exhibiting his familiarity with popular film, specifically the Western. In a running joke with his cousin, Eliot describes in great detail the plot and particular scenes of his imagined 'great ten-reel cinema drama, EFFIE THE WAIF', containing characters such as 'SPIKE CASSIDY' and 'SEEDY SAM':

After a lot of hocus pocus, he [the faquir] produces a crystal sphere into which she [Guendolyne Lady Chumleyumley] gazes. The next reel of course shows what she saw in the sphere: the whole history of the foul abduction of her husband and her babe from their station in Kashmeer, with the aid of a monkey, a cobra, and a man-eating tiger.³⁹

All of Eliot's references to *Effie the Waif* are written in this jovial, light-hearted tone. Like his recollection of the debate, Eliot uses exaggerated language for comic effect, this time poking fun at the outlandish plots, orientalist perspectives and predictable stock characters of the genre. Trotter cites *Effie the Waif* in order to suggest that Eliot was familiar with, and even

³⁸ Eliot reveals that his side won the debate by two votes (ibid.).

³⁹ Ibid., p. 78. Eliot refers to 'EFFIE THE WAIF' in three letters to Eleanor Hinkley, dated 14 October 1914, 27 November 1914 and 3 January 1915 (ibid., pp.67-69; 77-79, 83-84, 86). 'SPIKE CASSIDY' and 'SEEDY SAM' appear in the first letter (ibid., p. 67) (capitalization in original).

‘admire[d]’ the technical aspects of Westerns, which have largely been overlooked.⁴⁰ Although Trotter’s argument that Eliot was familiar with technical cinematic techniques is convincing, the poet’s attitude towards the genre more broadly is brought into question by his satirical tone. An element of revelling in the excesses of the Western genre is certainly present in these letters, but the simultaneous mocking of popular film must also be taken into account. Significant for this study is the fact that the presentation of the cinema loses any traces of this amusement in Eliot’s published poetry and critical works, only the mocking and disapproving aspects found in this letter are carried over. Interestingly, in the deleted passages of *The Waste Land*, the cinema highlights the passivity of the middle classes, as in ‘Marie Lloyd’, but it also touches on the audience’s pleasure.

The explicit reference to the cinema in the first draft of *The Waste Land* is part of the deleted ‘Fresca’ passages which satirise the morning routine of a wealthy socialite in the style of Alexander Pope. In this late part of the passage, Fresca becomes a film star:

So the close rabble in the cinema
Identify a goddess or a star.
In silent rapture worships from afar.
Thus art ennobles even wealth and birth,
And breeding raises prostrate art from earth.⁴¹

That the ‘star’ becomes interchangeable with ‘goddess’ whom the audience ‘worships’ can be seen as a direct comment on the secularization of society. The ‘rapture’ of the audience indicates their extreme pleasure but the term also plays on the religious undertones of the passage, reminding the reader of the audience’s worshipping of false idols. Any notion of interpreting the audience’s pleasure in sympathetic terms is also undermined by the fact that they are referred to as the ‘rabble’. This demonstrates a similar lack of respect for the audience as presented in ‘Marie Lloyd’, but in this case magnified by the presentation of their

⁴⁰ Trotter, p. 250.

⁴¹ T. S. Eliot, *The Waste Land: A Facsimile and Transcript of the Original Drafts, Including the Annotations of Ezra Pound*, ed. by Valerie Eliot (London: Faber, 1971), p. 29.

worship of an individual who is depicted in an unsparingly undignified light as vacuous and morally void.⁴² The detail that the audience's rapture is 'silent' and 'from afar' emphasizes their passivity, drawing out the same shameful allure which Mann presents while also expressing the distance between audience and performer. Trotter points out that 'this is cinema as Eliot had presented it in the essay on Marie Lloyd: a homogenizing mass-medium, a machine for the manufacture of passivity'.⁴³ The term 'breeding' reinforces this connection, used in 'Marie Lloyd' to describe the 'rapid-breeding cinema', suggesting a mindless, animalistic expansion, making the cinema appear as an active threat.⁴⁴ In the above quoted passage, 'breeding' has the overt meaning of Fresca's familial heritage and refinement but also plays on the baser associations of the word, in line with the paradoxical high and base terms by which she is presented throughout.

The implication that Fresca is 'ennoble[d]' by her venture into 'art' is loaded with more vitriol than the satirical wit which governs the rest of the 'Fresca' passage. This is demonstrated by the inclusion of the word 'even', that 'even wealth and birth' can be ennobled by 'art' through the medium of popular film. Unlike Marie Lloyd, who captivates and connects with her audiences through talent and vitality, Fresca is able to become a 'star' through her wealth and birth, by means of the cinema, appealing to a silent and distant audience. The term 'art' must be interpreted with some irony here, allowing the morally void star to gain fame amongst the morally void cinema audience. The word 'ennobles' further plays with the class system, suggesting that the upper-middle-class Fresca can become

⁴² The opening stanzas of the deleted 'Fresca' passages demonstrate this: 'Admonished by the sun's inclining ray, / The white-armed Fresca blinks, and yawns, and gapes, / Aroused from dreams of love and pleasant rapes. / Electric summons of the busy bell / Brings brisk Amanda to destroy the spell; / With coarsened hand, and hard plebeian tread, / Who draws the curtain round the lacquered bed, / Depositing thereby a polished tray / Of soothing chocolate, or stimulating tea. // Leaving the bubbling beverage to cool, / Fresca slips softly to the needful stool, / Where pathetic tale of Richardson / Eases her labour till the deed is done. / Then slipping back between the conscious sheets, / Explores the Daily Mirror as she eats. / Her hands caress the egg's well-rounded dome, / She sinks in revery, till the letters come. Their scribbles contents at a glance devours, / Then to reply devotes her practis'd powers (ibid., p. 23).

⁴³ Trotter, p. 255.

⁴⁴ CP2, p. 419.

ennobled through 'art', or at least what her audience perceive as art, mocking both the middle classes and exposing the artifice of the hierarchical class system. Although this scene certainly elaborates on the condemnation of the middle-class cinema-goers seen in 'Marie Lloyd', the playfulness and duality of the passage still presents some ambivalence towards the cinema. Its deletion from the poem contributes to distancing Eliot's ambivalent personal position from the published work. This presents a clear contrast with Mann's presentation of the cinema in his critical and creative works which, in line with the importance placed on personality in his 'burgherly tradition', is in direct agreement with his personal response.

As this section has shown, Mann was openly ambivalent about the cinema in his personal, critical and creative output. His fictional presentation of the phenomenon can be seen as reliant on his personal response. Mann's presentation of increasing alienation is tempered by an (albeit ironic) sympathy with middle-class pleasure; the same will be seen in his use of Wagner in *Der Zauberberg*. In contrast with this, there is a clear discrepancy between Eliot's personal and public responses. His public response is, however, in line with his critical condemnation of cultural and social decline, as outlined in the previous chapters, while his private response is more ambivalent. This distinction between personal and public further reinforces Eliot's theory of impersonality. 'Marie Lloyd' agrees with Eliot's wider critical assertions about the decline of culture, beginning in the seventeenth century and continuing to decline. Eliot's familiarity with and partial enjoyment of popular film, displayed in his letters, suggests that his critical complaints about the cinema had less to do with film *per se* but were rather reactions against the passivity produced by its mass production and the disconnection between audience and performer which were part of the cinematic experience. It is this passivity, symptomatic of moral permissiveness, which is central to his critique of the middle classes and what Eliot seemed to be reacting against in his critical and creative works. It is precisely the loss of 'vitality' and 'interest in life' which

the final version of *The Waste Land* can be seen to depict. Indeed, the allusions to Wagner in the poem all exhibit this loss of human connection and vitality.

ii) The Impossibility of Transcendence from Bourgeois Isolation: *Tristan und Isolde* in *The Waste Land*

As the previous chapter demonstrated, Eliot's response to Wagner was, like his response to the cinema, ambivalent but largely condemnatory; 'Opera' demonstrated a particularly derisive response to *Tristan und Isolde*. This was further supported by considering Wagner's status as a byword for nineteenth-century excess and decadence and Eliot's broader rejection of these values. A more detailed literary analysis of *Tristan und Isolde* in *The Waste Land* will now be considered further to support this interpretation and to demonstrate the emotionally empty, unfulfilled characters who populate the poem. In each instance that Eliot alludes to Wagner in *The Waste Land*, a possibility for human or divine connection is hinted at, but in each case the connection is undermined, and the emptiness of modern existence is confirmed. This section will focus on the allusion to *Tristan und Isolde*, exploring the wealth of connections and interpretative possibilities which Eliot sets up between his poem and the opera. Herbert Knust has noted these thematic similarities, pointing out both works' employment of 'the light and darkness motifs, the flower and garden motif and the water and silence motifs'.⁴⁵ This analysis will focus predominantly on the 'light' motif, suggesting that *The Waste Land* plays on the ambiguity of the term, which has overt religious connotations but, in the context of Wagner's opera, also relates to the phenomenal world of day, and restrictive social convention. The main focus of this section will be on Eliot, in order to establish the extent to which social decline and moral passivity are portrayed in *The Waste Land* and to demonstrate how this fits in with his ideas about continued cultural decline since

⁴⁵ Herbert Knust, *Wagner, the King, and 'The Waste Land'* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University, 1967), p. 46.

the seventeenth century. However, slight reference will be made to Mann's analysis of the love potion in *Tristan und Isolde*, which highlights the lovers' desire to escape from the entrapment of their social obligations. This will help to highlight the failure of the social framework presented in *The Waste Land* to facilitate human, or divine, connection. It will be argued that any seeming possibilities for transcendence, or genuine human connection, presented within the poem are entrenched in the morally vacant landscape which dominates the poem.

In the first allusion to Wagner in *The Waste Land*, the direct quotations from *Tristan und Isolde* frame an exchange between the hyacinth girl and her partner. The couple appear to have experienced the possibility of a romantic connection in the 'hyacinth garden'.⁴⁶ This is suggested by details like 'arms full' and 'hair wet', countering the prominent themes of barrenness and aridity throughout the poem.⁴⁷ Yet on the return from the garden, the partner experiences a state of paralysis and cannot reciprocate the connection:

I could not
 Speak, and my eyes failed, I was neither
 Living nor dead, and I knew nothing,
 Looking into the heart of light, the silence.⁴⁸

The state between life and death directly connects the speaker of this passage to the commuters over London Bridge who are 'undone' by 'death', the speaker in the final section of the poem who states that 'We who were living are now dying', the ancient Tiresias 'throbbing between two lives', and the Sibyl of the epigraph who longs only to die.⁴⁹ Significantly, Eliot directly connects the indeterminate state of the commuters over London

⁴⁶ *TWL*, l. 37.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, l. 38. The major themes of aridity and infertility run through the poem from the initial 'dead land' (l. 2), 'dull roots' (l. 4) and 'dried tubers' (l. 7) to the final 'arid plain' which the impotent Fisher King sits in front of while he fishes (l. 424).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, ll. 38-41. The speaker of this section is commonly considered to be a male, heterosexual partner of the 'hyacinth girl', but the gender of the speaker is not explicitly stated, for this reason the speaker will be referred to in gender neutral terms. For more on the gender identity of this speaker see Cyrena N. Pondrom, 'T. S. Eliot: The Performativity of Gender in *The Waste Land*', *Modernism/Modernity*, 12, 3 (2005), 425-411 (pp. 427-31).

⁴⁹ *TWL*, ll. 62-68; l. 329; l. 218; p. 53.

Bridge to Dante's *Inferno* III, 55-57 in the Notes to the poem.⁵⁰ These lines refer to Dante's first impressions of hell, where he sees people who did neither good nor evil, and are mixed with the squadron of angels who neither rebelled nor remained faithful to God but thought only of themselves.⁵¹ For this reason they now exist eternally without even the hope of death.⁵² This liminal state between life and death, caused by moral passivity and self-interest, can be seen as directly related to the 'neither living nor dead' state experienced by the hyacinth girl's partner. When this is considered in light of Eliot's views on increasing moral passivity, declining spiritual awareness, and his claim in 'Baudelaire' that 'it is better, in a paradoxical way, to do evil than to do nothing: at least, we exist', the liminal state experienced in the hyacinth episode suggests a condemnation of the speaker, who shows signs of the punishment incurred by the morally passive and self-interested in the *Inferno*.⁵³

Yet the 'heart of light' is a particularly ambiguous term, containing within it an overt allusion to the possibility of divine transcendence.⁵⁴ Just as there was a possible human connection between the couple when they were in the hyacinth garden, a possible connection to god is hinted at here. However, this possibility is only faint, and one of a number of other connotations which the term suggests. One of the most notable of these is the allusion to Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1889), to which Eliot's originally intended epigraph to *The Waste Land* referred.⁵⁵ This epigraph highlights Kurtz's choice to commit genuine evil, rather

⁵⁰ NTWL, p. 73. Eliot provides the passage in the Notes: "si lunga tratte / "di gente, ch'io non avrei mai creduto / "che morte tanta n'avesse disfatta" (NTWL, p. 73). This can be translated as, 'so long a trail / of men and women I should not have thought / that death could ever have unmade so many' (Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy*, trans. by Robin Kirkpatrick (London: Penguin, 2012), p. 13). Rainey suggests that there is also a connection between 'I was neither / Living nor dead' (ll. 39-40) and Dante's *Inferno* XXXIV, 25, when Dante first sees Satan: 'Com' io divenni allor gelato e fioco / nol dimandar, lettor, ch' I' non lo scrivo, / però ch' ogni parlar sarebbe poco. / Io non mori, e non rimasi vivo' ('How chilled and faint I turned then, / Do not ask, reader, for I cannot describe it, / For all speech would fail it. / I did not die, and did not remain alive') (Lawrence Rainey, *The Annotated Waste Land with Eliot's Contemporary Prose*, 2nd edn (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 79) (trans. by Rainey).

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 34-42.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 46.

⁵³ *CP4*, p. 162.

⁵⁴ *TWL*, l. 41.

⁵⁵ Eliot, *The Waste Land: A Facsimile*, p. 3. The originally intended epigraph was: "Did he live his life again in every detail of desire, temptation, and surrender during that supreme moment of complete knowledge? He cried

than passively existing in a state without any recognition of morality. It will be suggested here that in the context of Wagner's opera, and what we know of Eliot's earlier response to the composer, the 'heart of light' suggests not an inversion of Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* in the sense of genuine good (and divine transcendence) in opposition to genuine evil, but rather the 'light' functions to show how social convention cuts off connection to any form of morality—good or evil. It will be argued that the transcendence presented in *Tristan und Isolde* can be seen as egoistic, decadent, and deathly while the transcendence presented in the hyacinth episode shows a more advanced state of decline, resulting only in isolation and waste.

As the previous chapter demonstrated, in 'Opera' Eliot presents Tristan and Isolde's love as disingenuous and overwrought, and the lovers as self-indulgently wringing out 'emotion for all there is in it'.⁵⁶ The final, short clause of the hyacinth girl's partner, 'the silence', creates a sombre, reflective pause, lending the following line from *Tristan und Isolde* which ends the stanza, 'Oed' und leer das Meer', a degree of gravity which Wagner's music was denied in 'Opera'.⁵⁷ Yet the meaning of the words, 'waste and empty', reinforce the failure of 'the silence', and show that any possibility for connection in the garden has been denied. The line from Wagner is partly what denies this and strongly hints at the failure of the hyacinth couple's relationship, in parallel with that of Tristan and Isolde's insincere love as it is presented in 'Opera'.⁵⁸

in a whisper at some image, at some vision, —he cried out twice, a cry that was no more than a breath— / 'The horror! the horror!'" (Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness and Other Tales* ed. by Cedric Watts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 177-78). For more on the relationship between *The Waste Land* and *Heart of Darkness* see Eloise Knapp Hay, *T. S. Eliot's Negative Way* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), pp. 52-55.

⁵⁶ O, l. 6.

⁵⁷ *TWL*, ll. 41-42.

⁵⁸ F. N. Lees points out that both Eliot and Nietzsche quote the line 'Oed' und leer das Meer' from Wagner. Lees article considers *Die Geburt der Tragödie* as a probable source for *The Waste Land* (F. N. Lees, 'T. S. Eliot and Nietzsche', *Notes and Queries*, 11 (1964), 386-87). This connection is explored below in relation to Nietzsche's idea of the Dionysian, see pp. 217-19.

Brooker and Bentley discuss the isolation of the hyacinth-garden partners and draw attention to the lack of direct communication between all the major figures in these scenes (Tristan, Isolde, King Mark, the hyacinth girl, and her partner).⁵⁹ They point out that all the romantic connections between the characters occur in the background: memories of a ‘passionate encounter of a year earlier’, Isolde’s arranged marriage to Mark, and Tristan and Isolde’s consummation of their love, claiming that this provides a background which shows ‘not isolation but intense and ecstatic union’, which they claim to be in contrast with the foregrounded isolation of the characters.⁶⁰ Although this is true for the latter consummation, Eliot’s presentation of Tristan and Isolde’s love as insincere in ‘Opera’, and the fact that it is not necessarily a passionate union which the hyacinth couple remember, only the possibility of it, undermine this suggestion.⁶¹ Pondrom’s argument that it is important that the reader is not told precisely what happened in the garden is more convincing. She claims that by not stating what happened ‘the text maintains simultaneously connotations both erotic and metaphysical. It becomes the founding site of one of the central conceits of the poem, the wastage of human erotic love, simultaneously figuring the absence of connection with a Divine Love; the interruption of desire in language; deferral of union of signifier with signified; and the failure of consciousness to be coterminous with its object’.⁶²

Although Brooker and Bentley’s claim about the passionate encounters underlying the episode may be misjudged, their broader reading of the passage offers a greater insight into this ‘failure of consciousness to be coterminous with its object’, and opens up a number of more enlightening comparisons with Wagner’s opera. They interpret the passage in relation to Eliot’s dissertation on Bradley, detailing the concepts of immediate experience and

⁵⁹ Jewel Spears Brooker and Joseph Bentley, *Reading ‘The Waste Land’: Modernism and the Limits of Interpretation* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1990), p. 74.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.

⁶¹ Further to this, Isolde’s arranged marriage to Mark can hardly be considered as an ‘intense and ecstatic union’ since the marriage is loveless and adulterous on Isolde’s part.

⁶² Pondrom, p. 429.

relational experience. They explain that immediate experience comes ‘before the consciousness of knowing [...] before perceptions have been organized into subjective and objective polarities’ and that the failure of immediate experience produces relational experience, which creates time, space, and selves.⁶³ They present the quotations from Wagner’s opera as a frame for the internal story of the hyacinth episode but suggest that the ‘historical and artistic potency of the Tristan story resists its designation as a frame’, vying for the central position.⁶⁴ By relating this to Eliot’s dissertation they show that he was deeply concerned by the relational nature of reality which the shifting focus between frame and picture, subject and object, signifies.⁶⁵ They conclude by examining the partner’s recalled vision of ‘light and silence’ as representing a moment of altered consciousness in the form of ‘immediate experience’ in the Bradleian sense. They then argue that this character’s glimpse into immediate experience is ‘an opening onto this timeless and selfless ground upon which time and selfhood are built [...], a reversion to a primal state’.⁶⁶ They claim that the love potion in *Tristan und Isolde* is an important aspect in this regard since it ‘serves as a counterbalance to the modern lover’s report of an experience of an altered state of consciousness’.⁶⁷

This interpretation opens up a clear comparison with the transcendental state which Tristan and Isolde experience during their union in Act II, becoming one with each other and with the world, ‘selbst dann / bin ich die Welt’.⁶⁸ Wintle connects Tristan and Isolde’s desire for transcendence to Eliot’s statement in ‘Tradition and the Individual Talent’ that ‘only those who have personality and emotions know what it means to want to escape from these things’, stating that ‘the idea of escape from the wearisome condition of individuality obsessed the

⁶³ Brooker and Bentley, p. 76.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 70.

⁶⁵ They suggest ‘the stairs in a picture by Escher’ and ‘the way a shaded circle in a piece of optical illusion art will seem to change rapidly back and forth between concave and convex’ as useful analogies for this phenomenon (ibid.).

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 76.

⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 75-76.

⁶⁸ Richard Wagner, *Tristan und Isolde*, Act II, scene ii; see chapter 2 above, p. 123.

young Eliot'.⁶⁹ However, this is arguably a step too far, particularly given Eliot's rejection of the egoistic form of recognition of the self with the world, which the quotation from *Tristan und Isolde* implies, which has been detailed in the previous chapter in relation to both Nietzsche and Wagner. The escape which Eliot was seeking with his theory of impersonality was a separation of the creator from their work, not the far more dramatic escape from the world which Wagner's lovers seek. Similarly, although a connection can be made between Tristan and Isolde's escape from the world and the Bradleian immediate experience described in Eliot's dissertation, this connection presents more differences than similarities. A brief comparison of the Bradleian form of immediate experience (which Brooker and Bentley discuss in relation to the hyacinth partner) and the transcendental experience of Tristan and Isolde sheds more light on this.

There are notable similarities between Bradleian immediate experience and Tristan and Isolde's transcendence, for example the momentary escape from time, space, and self, and reversion to a primal state. Tristan and Isolde's longing for death and night, emphasized most notably throughout Act II, scene ii, is emblematic of longing for such an escape. Poletti states that in this scene 'the metaphorical world of night, love and death becomes the new reality through a process of perception to which the world of day appears as empty form, as a deception', explaining that the words 'Täuschung' ('deception'), 'Lüge' ('falseness'), and 'Verrat' ('treachery') occur repeatedly in conjunction with 'Tag' ('day') or 'Licht' ('light').⁷⁰ Wagner himself made it clear that the inspiration for this distinction was drawn directly from Schopenhauer's philosophy on the realm of 'will' which underlies the phenomenal world of

⁶⁹ CP2, p. 111; Sarah Wintle, 'Wagner and 'The Waste Land'—Again', *English*, 38, 162 (1989), 227-50 (p. 246).

⁷⁰ Elena Poletti, *Love, Honour and Artifice: Attitudes to the Tristan material in the medieval epic poems and in selected plays from 1853-1919* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1989), p. 149. Translations in parentheses are my own, not provided in the original.

representation.⁷¹ Scott explains that ‘once this wondrous nightly realm, which offers a glimpse of the final noumenal absolute, has been experienced, the falsity of the phenomenal world of light is laid bare’.⁷²

Thomas Mann’s assessment of the love potion in Wagner’s opera further encourages a connection between the ‘phenomenal world of light’, or what Poletti refers to as the ‘empty form’ of day, and the social and moral obligations to which the couple must adhere. He states:

Die Umdeutung des naiv-epischen Zaubermotivs des “Liebestrankes” in ein bloßes Mittel, eine schon bestehende Leidenschaft frei zu machen – in Wirklichkeit könnte es reines Wasser sein, was die Liebenden trinken, und nur ihr Glaube, den *Tod* getrunken zu haben, löst sie seelisch aus dem Sittengesetze des Tages –, ist die dichterische Idee eines großen Psychologen.⁷³

Mann’s suggestion that they are freed from the moral laws of ‘day’ only by the placebo of the ‘death’ potion highlights an important distinction between Bradleian immediate experience and the escape which Wagner’s lovers seek: the latter’s transcendence is explicitly based in death while Bradleian immediate experience is more concerned with an experience outside of consciousness. Further to this, Tristan and Isolde’s transcendence is a union of the two characters which provides them with an escape from society, whereas the hyacinth partner’s transcendent experience is isolating and contributes to breaking down the potential for the

⁷¹ Jill Scott, ‘Night and Light in Wagner’s *Tristan und Isolde* and Novalis’s *Hymnen an die Nacht*: Inversion and Transfiguration’, *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 67, 4 (1988), 774-80 (p. 777). For a more detailed account of Wagner’s relationship to Schopenhauer see Eric Chafe, *The Tragic and the Ecstatic: The Musical Revolution of Wagner’s ‘Tristan und Isolde’* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

⁷² Scott, p. 777. Scott, however, goes on to outline Wagner’s major departure from Schopenhauer by basing Tristan and Isolde’s transcendental experience in eroticism rather than the asceticism which Schopenhauer suggests. For more on this see also Russell J. A. Kilbourn, ‘Redemption Revalued in *Tristan und Isolde*: Schopenhauer, Wagner, Nietzsche’, *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 67, 4 (1988) 781-88.

⁷³ The reframing of the naive-epic magical motif of the “love potion” as a mere agent to set free an already existing passion is the poetic idea of a great psychologist, in reality the potion which the lovers drink could have been pure water, it is only their belief that they have drunk *death* which releases them from the moral laws of the day (*GWIX*, p. 369) (italics in original). For more on the potion’s significance in *Tristan und Isolde* see Roger Scruton, *Death Devoted Heart: Sex and the Sacred in Wagner’s ‘Tristan und Isolde’* (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2004), pp. 44-50; Poletti, pp. 251-63; and for an amusing short article on what the potion is likely to have contained from a medical perspective, see Jeff Aronson, ‘Signs of Love, Not a Love Potion’, *BMJ*, 327 (2003), 1471. For a discussion of the potion in Gottfried see Christoph Huber, *Gottfried von Straßburg: Tristan* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2000), pp. 73-85.

couple's connection. However, this does not demonstrate that the lovers of Wagner's opera are presented as an ideal alternative in *The Waste Land*. Eliot's choice of quotation from Wagner's opera again becomes important here since 'Oed' und leer das Meer' deliberately excludes the scenes of passionate union between Tristan and Isolde which precede and succeed this line—precisely the scenes which Eliot lampooned in 'Opera'. This suggests that Eliot's allusion to the opera in *The Waste Land* is a more subtle continuation of the condemnation expressed in the earlier poem. The 'waste' and 'empty' of this quotation emphasizing the state of neither life nor death, and knowledge of 'nothing' highlighting the associations with the Dantesque state of living death rather than a passionate *Liebestod*. This in turn picks up on the lines from 'Opera', 'Life departs with a feeble smile / Into the indifferent'.⁷⁴ While *Heart of Darkness* presents genuine evil, in *The Waste Land*, the 'heart of light', followed by 'silence', 'waste' and 'emptiness', shows the 'light' not to be the opposite of genuine evil (genuine good and divine connection) but rather the 'empty form of day' and social convention.⁷⁵

Furthermore, both of the quotations from *Tristan und Isolde* in *The Waste Land* place emphasis on the social restrictions which are imposed on the eponymous couple. The first allusion ('Mein Irisch Kind, / Wo weilest du?') echoes Mark's expectation of marriage to Isolde and the second allusion ('Oed' und leer das Meer') highlights Tristan's banishment after their affair has been discovered.⁷⁶ Mann's observation also emphasizes the conflict between passion and society which is central to both *Tristan und Isolde* and the hyacinth episode. Once the hyacinth couple leave the garden and return to society, their disunity is confirmed. While Eliot's presentation of *Tristan und Isolde* in 'Opera' presented a parallel with this perceived failure of love, Mann's interpretation of the opera provides a contrast. The latter sees a genuine passion between the lovers, which is crippled by the social and moral

⁷⁴ O, ll. 12-13.

⁷⁵ *TWL*, ll. 41-42.

⁷⁶ 'My Irish child / where are you lingering?'; 'Waste and empty the sea' (*TWL*, ll. 33-34; l. 42).

obligations forced upon them by day. Poletti takes this interpretation a step further and argues that:

The failure on the part of both the lovers [Tristan and Isolde] to see beyond the forms of society is a failure to give due priority to the claims of the individual, and the potion reveals to them, not that they are in love, but that such a failure was inevitable so long as they continued to attempt to come to terms with their love in the manner provided for by the forms of their society, which are inadequate and inappropriate to the task.⁷⁷

The failure of society to provide the framework for passionate love or genuine emotional connection, and the division of the social obligations of ‘day’ and the intimate passions of ‘night’ can be applied to a reading of the hyacinth couple. Through this perspective, another dimension is added to the events in the hyacinth garden which occur ‘late’, suggesting the passionate encounters of night, reinforcing the notion that a connection between the couple was possible. This possible connection—whether it was achieved or not—is thwarted by the ‘light’ of the partner’s vision, signifying the return to the ‘empty form’ of day, relational experience, and social obligation.⁷⁸ Although the reader cannot know what happened in the garden, it is certain that the *potential* for a meaningful connection between the hyacinth couple existed but, significantly, upon their return to society the relationship immediately breaks down. Just as the ‘heart of light’ has the possibility of a positive function, this cannot be realised within the poem.

This interpretation draws on the Schopenhauerian readings of ‘Prufrock’ and *Buddenbrooks* discussed in the previous chapter in which there is a clear distinction between the routines and obligations of bourgeois existence and the desire to step outside of them in search of a more fulfilling, primal experience. Indeed, it is no coincidence that Thomas Buddenbrook’s metaphysical vision, to which Prufrock’s desire for a more meaningful

⁷⁷ Poletti, p. 149.

⁷⁸ *TWL*, l. 37; l. 41; Poletti, p. 149.

existence was compared, occurred at night while his decision not to pursue the matter further was made in the cold light of day.⁷⁹

However, both *The Waste Land* and *Der Zauberberg* are developments from these earlier texts. The multiple readings which can be produced by the association which Eliot sets up between *Tristan und Isolde* and the hyacinth couple are evidence of a more deliberately complex system of relations. Indeed, the light motif discussed in relation to Act II of Wagner's opera presents yet another layer of meaning when considered in relation also to Act III, where the motif is inverted. Tristan's words upon seeing Isolde's ship approaching are 'Hell am Tag / zu mir Isolde', and she refers to him 'immer lichter / wie er leuchtet' in the *Liebestod*.⁸⁰ Scott claims that this revaluing of light 'destabilizes the clear opposition of the noumenal and the phenomenal [...] inviting his [Wagner's] audience to embrace the uncertainties of any fixed system of polarities'.⁸¹ In this way, just as the previous chapter demonstrated that while Eliot explicitly rejected Nietzsche's philosophy, his creative work has more in common with Nietzsche's aesthetic than might first appear, a similar parallel can be traced between this aspect of Wagner and Eliot's works. This interpretation supports both Pondrom, and Brooker and Bentley's respective suggestions that deliberate ambiguity and continually shifting focus are key to understanding this passage. These function to create a web of interpretative possibilities, all of which lead to nothingness. Eliot sets up glimpses of what appear to be transcendental possibilities only to show that escape from the relational world of experience is impossible within a morally vacuous society.

The entrenchment of both the couples in societies which fail to provide a stable framework for meaningful connection, either to another human or to God, presents a moral

⁷⁹ Mann's own emphasis on the influence of Schopenhauer on Thomas Buddenbrook's epiphany was made clear in the previous chapter (p. 85). There is also scope here for an analysis of 'Prufrock' through Schopenhauerian night/day distinctions, particularly since the narrative opens in the evening descending into night while referring frequently to the daytime routines of the phenomenological world.

⁸⁰ 'In the brightness of day / Isolde comes to me' (Act III, scene 1); 'ever brighter / how he glows' (Act III, scene 3); Scott, p. 779.

⁸¹ Scott, p. 779.

framework which is more akin to adherence to social convention and obligation rather than a profound, religious understanding of morality. It is this move away from ‘Sin and Redemption’ to a watered down morality in which good and evil are not acknowledged which both creates and perpetuates the predominance of characters experiencing the state of Dante’s eternally doomed living-dead, and confirms the banality and lack of possibility for profound connection within society.

The following section will consider the continuation of this trend in *The Waste Land*, first through the Thames-daughters.⁸² These characters demonstrate another instance of a slightly more ambivalent presentation of the middle classes in the deleted passages of the poem. The focus will then turn to Eliot’s use of the Parsifal myth, inherited from Wagner but—importantly—mediated through Verlaine, to show yet more decadence and alienation but also the futility and false hope of watered-down Christianity in contemporary society. This section will also consider how both authors employ Wagner to show the extreme state of spiritual decline in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century Europe by transplanting versions of Wagnerian characters into modern, morally void settings. In opposition to the continual spiritual degradation and lack of possibility for redemption within the morally vacuous society of *The Waste Land*, Mann employs the Parsifal myth with more light-hearted humour, showing sympathy for the middle classes and hope for a form of moral enlightenment firmly rooted within an overtly middle-class society, in line with his ‘burgherly tradition’.

⁸² Eliot explicitly makes the link between the ‘Thames-daughters’, whose song he says begins at line 266 and who ‘speak in turn’ from line 292 to 306 and the ‘Rhine-daughters’ from *Götterdämmerung*, III, i. (NTWL, p. 75). The Rhine-daughters of *The Ring Cycle* also appear in Act III, iii of this opera and in the first opera of the cycle, *Das Rheingold*.

iii) The Spiritual Vacuum of Over-Civilized Society: The Wagnerian Transplanted into the Modern Bourgeois

The shifting relationship between Wagner's mythic lovers and the contemporary hyacinth couple ironically imbues the latter with the semblance of an heroic legacy—a legacy already ambivalently portrayed by its filtration through Wagner—which is further impaired by the alienation which governs their relationship. This pattern is repeated in the other allusions to Wagner in *The Waste Land* and also, although in more comic terms, in Mann's use of Wagner's *Parsifal* in *Der Zauberberg*. This final part of the chapter will consider Eliot and Mann's inversions, parodies, and transplantations of Wagnerian epic myth into contemporary bourgeois characters and settings, and the divergent results this produces.

Nietzsche's condemnation of what underlies Wagner's tendency towards excessive drama predicts, and possibly informs, this trend:

“Aber der Gehalt der Wagnerischen Texte! ihr mythischer Gehalt, ihr ewiger Gehalt!” — Frage: wie prüft man diesen Gehalt, diesen ewigen Gehalt? — Der Chemiker antwortet: man übersetzt Wagner in's Reale, in's Moderne, — seien wir noch grausamer! in's Bürgerliche! Was wird dabei aus Wagner? — Unter uns, ich habe es versucht. Nichts unterhaltender [...] Würden Sie es glauben, dass die Wagnerischen Heroïnen sammt und sonders, sobald man nur erst den heroischen Balg abgestreift hat, zum Verwechseln Madame Bovary ähnlich sehn!⁸³

The philosopher's humorous suggestion is almost prophetic of aspects of Eliot and Mann's adaptations of Wagner's operas. Given both authors' knowledge of Nietzsche, discussed in the previous chapter, it is certain that Mann would have been aware of this response to Wagner, and likely that Eliot would have too. Mann's transplantation of a Wagnerian story

⁸³ “But the substance of the Wagnerian texts! Their mythical substance, their eternal substance!” — Question: how does one test this substance, this eternal substance? — The chemist answers: one transplants the Wagnerian into the real, into the modern, — let's be even crueller! Into the bourgeois! What would then become of Wagner? — Just between us, I have tried it. Nothing could be more entertaining [...] Would you believe that the Wagnerian heroines, one and all, as soon as they are stripped of their heroic pelts, they become the spitting image of Madame Bovary! (Nietzsche, *Der Fall Wagner*, § 9). Wintle discusses this passage from Nietzsche, picking up on his stress on 'heroines', specifically in relation to the female characters of *The Waste Land* and the 'very nineteenth-century and Germanic notion of the salvation of man through woman' which she argues is denied in Eliot's poem (Wintle, pp. 234-43).

and character (Parsifal in the form of Hans Castorp) into the middle-class settings of Hamburg and the Swiss sanatorium conducts Nietzsche's 'test' faithfully. Yet—although his results are indeed 'entertaining'—Mann's incorporation of his 'burgherly tradition' helps his protagonist to avoid the Flaubert-like 'bourgeois' trappings in favour of a more moderate, rational 'Bürgerlichkeit'. The setting of *The Waste Land*, however, can only occasionally be described as bourgeois although it is significant that all three allusions to Wagner occur in, and arguably contribute to creating, these bourgeois scenes. However, Eliot's poem does reveal the Madame Bovary-like trivialities underlying the mock-heroism of Wagnerian characters. This is evident in the Thames-daughters passage.

The Thames-daughters of *The Waste Land*, explicitly connected to Wagner by the repeated 'Weialala leia / Wallala leialala' and 'la la' refrain of *The Ring Cycle*'s Rhine-daughters in 'The Fire Sermon' and in the Notes to the poem, continue the pattern of emphasis on social convention and inability for meaningful human connection.⁸⁴ Both the 'Highbury' and 'Moorgate' Thames-daughters relate experiences of sexual encounters with little trace of emotion: 'Highbury bore me. Richmond and Kew / Undid me. By Richmond I raised my knees', and:

'My feet are at Moorgate, and my heart
Under my feet. After the event
He wept. He promised "a new start."
I made no comment. What should I resent?'⁸⁵

The short, disjointed sentences express their emotional brusqueness and suggest resigned, defensive characteristics. Their experiences appear to be symptomatic of a sense of disconnection which is worsened by the lack of emotional fulfilment gained from their sexual

⁸⁴ *TWL*, ll. 277-78; ll. 290-91; l. 306; Eliot's note states: '266: The song of the (three) Thames-daughters begins here. From line 292 to 306 inclusive they speak in turn. V. *Götterdämmerung*, III, i: the Rhine-daughters' (NTWL, p. 75). Further connections have been made between the simple, two-stress rhythm of the Rhine-daughters' songs with the 'Elizabeth and Leicester' passage, and the similar pattern of the names of the Thames-daughters to the Rhine-daughters—Richmond, Moorgate, Margate and Flosshilde, Woglinde, Wellgunde (Knust, pp. 58-59).

⁸⁵ *TWL*, ll. 293-94; ll. 296-99.

encounters. Concern for social reputation is implicit in the Highbury Thames-daughter's statement that Richmond and Kew 'Undid' her, suggesting that any former social respectability which she may have held, has been lost. However, any concern for social reputation which she may previously have had, is overtaken by a nonchalant acceptance of her lost respectability, mechanically recounting her sexual misconduct. Her recollection, 'I raised my knees / Supine on the floor of a narrow canoe' contains a hint of tragedy in its tone but this is overshadowed by the indignity and sordidness of her description.⁸⁶ Furthermore, her 'supine' position in the coffin-like 'narrow canoe' emphasizes the deathliness of her sexual act. This is reinforced in the Notes to the poem where Eliot directs the reader to La Pia in Dante's *Purgatorio*, who died a violent death.⁸⁷ By changing the original 'unmade' to 'undid' Eliot shifts the connotation from La Pia's murder to the Thames-daughter's loss of reputation, again showing the degradation from the heroic to the trivial. The term 'Undid' also relates more directly back to the Dantesque hordes 'undone' by death, reinforcing the link between moral vacuity and eternal living death.⁸⁸ This connection is further emphasised by the 'nothing', repeated three times by the Margate Thames-daughter, picking up from the hyacinth partner's knowledge of 'nothing'.⁸⁹ The agelessness of the Rhine-daughters adds another parallel to the eternal state of living death of the Thames-daughters. Yet the Rhine-daughters' agelessness is that of mythical water-nymphs whereas the Thames-daughters' state of living death can be seen as a consequence of their moral apathy. Similarly, where La Pia asks Dante to remember her when he returns from his journey so that her progress through purgatory may be hastened, the Thames-daughters ask for nothing.⁹⁰ In *The Waste Land* the

⁸⁶ *TWL*, ll. 294-5.

⁸⁷ 'Cf. *Purgatorio*, V. 133: "Ricorditi di me, che son la Pia; / "Siena mi fe', disfecemi Maremma"', 'please, do remember me. I am La Pia. / Siena made me, unmade by Maremma' (*NTWL*, p. 75; Dante, *The Divine Comedy*, trans. by Kirkpatrick, p. 182).

⁸⁸ *TWL*, l. 63.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, l. 302; l. 305; l. 40.

⁹⁰ 'When you return, pray Heaven, to the world, / and, having rested from your long travelling,' / (with these few words a third soul joined the group) / 'please, do remember me. I am La Pia' (Dante, *The Divine Comedy*, trans. by Kirkpatrick, pp. 181-82).

mythical Rhine-daughters, who eventually regain their gold, and La Pia who at least desires redemption, are transformed into contemporary, impassive women who appear not only incapable of spiritual redemption but incapable of even realizing that redemption is a possibility.

In the published version of the poem, the social class of the Thames-daughters is ambiguous. Implicit in the locations mentioned by the Margate and Highbury Thames-daughters, and the latter's leisure time and canoe-boating, is their middle-class status, although this is not conclusive evidence.⁹¹ Indeed, Mayer argues that the Highbury Thames-daughter is 'born "high" but "bored", she is "buried" and "undone" by sex' whereas 'Moorgate is moored by her working-class toughness' and 'the humble Margate is marred by her background; expecting nothing'.⁹² Yet, contrary to Mayer's interpretation, the Thames-daughters speak in the same tone, following the same metrical irregularity and fixed rhyme scheme suggesting that, like Wagner's Rhine-daughters, they are different aspects of a single unit—all representing the same morally dubious class. This is supported by reference to the first draft of the poem which explicitly stresses the Highbury Thames-daughter's middle-class background and directly links the 'humble people' of the final stanza spoken by the Margate Thames-daughter with the opening passage of the Highbury Thames-daughter:

Mine were humble people and conservative
 As neither the rich nor the working class know.
 My father had a small business, somewhere in the city
 A small business, an anxious business, providing only

⁹¹ Rainey states that 'Highbury was a drab, middle-class suburb in the north of London which had been developed in the late Victorian and Edwardian eras' and that the majority of tourists visiting the seaside resort of Margate 'were from the lower-middle classes, shopkeepers and typists' (Rainey, p. 113). John Hayward has suggested that Moorgate was in the heart of the financial district in London suggesting that this Thames-daughter is presumably a typist in one of the offices in that quarter (*PTSEI*, p. 339). Dana, however, refers to the Thames-daughters' stories as 'lower-class' (Margaret E. Dana, 'Orchestrating *The Waste Land*: Wagner, Leitmotiv, and the Play of Passion' in *T. S. Eliot's Orchestra: Critical Essays on Poetry and Music*, ed. by John Xiros Cooper (New York: Garland, 2000), pp. 267-94 (p. 279)).

⁹² Mayer, pp. 276-77.

The house in Highbury, and three weeks at Bognor.⁹³

If this deleted passage is taken into account, and considered as representative of all three Thames-daughters' middle-class status, it could be suggested that as a single unit, they are paradigmatic of Eliot's statement in 'Marie Lloyd' that 'the middle-classes are morally corrupt'.⁹⁴ In this reading, the Thames-daughters can also be considered as fulfilling Nietzsche's suggestion, showing Wagnerian characters who when stripped of their heroic and mythical pelts become little more than Madame Bovary.

Yet the deleted passage is not quite as directly condemnatory of the middle classes as 'Marie Lloyd' since, like the deleted Fresca scenes although not as overtly satirical, there is a touch of humour in this passage created by the solemn, serious tone which bemoans the character's relatively comfortable lifestyle. This shows an insight into bourgeois society while simultaneously mocking it, a style which—highly reminiscent of Mann's work—is itself typically bourgeois. Although the deleted Highbury passage is condemnatory, its simultaneously satirical aspect creates a slightly more light-hearted quality which is absent from the Thames-daughters' published complaints. This supports the notion that much of the personal ambivalence towards the bourgeoisie on Eliot's part, such as that seen in his private response to the cinema, is omitted from the published version of *The Waste Land*, again exemplifying his theory of 'impersonality'. Importantly, the published poem's exclusion of this emphasis on class also functions to encourage the deliberate ambiguity of the poem, leaving the Thames-daughters more open to interpretations such as Mayer's. Furthermore, in *The Waste Land* all classes are subject to the consequences of spiritual and moral decline,

⁹³ *TWL*, l. 304; Eliot, *The Waste Land: A Facsimile*, p. 51. In the manuscript, this passage appears directly before the 'Trams and dusty trees' which appear in the published poem (*TWL*, l. 292).

⁹⁴ *CP2*, p. 419.

notably demonstrated by the inclusion of ‘Elizabeth and Leicester’ preceding the Thames-daughters but still within the Rhine-daughters’ refrains.⁹⁵

Eliot’s use of the Rhine-daughters mirrors the first allusion to *Tristan und Isolde*, displaying parallels between Wagner’s characters and contemporary characters in order to present the latter in a mock-heroic framework. Yet Eliot also presents distinctions between the Wagnerian characters and their modern counterparts which demonstrate the more advanced state of moral decline in contemporary society. In its development from the earlier poems, *The Waste Land* incorporates these harmonies and dissonances between the Wagnerian and the modern into a larger web of allusion which always results in futility. This trend is repeated again in the final reference to Wagner’s *Parsifal* but within a yet more complex framework.

This extra layer of complexity lies in the important distinction which must be made between *The Waste Land*’s allusion to *Parsifal* and the operas discussed above. That is, the allusion to *Parsifal* is not direct but is mediated through Verlaine. The line quoted is from Verlaine’s sonnet ‘Parsifal’, which is based on Wagner’s *Parsifal* and was first published in the *Revue Wagnérienne* (1896) as part of a collection of sonnets under the title ‘Hommage à Wagner’.⁹⁶ Interestingly, Eliot does not make this link to Wagner in the Notes, he only refers to Verlaine.⁹⁷ However, the poem’s link to Wagner is obvious from its publication details and the poem itself does a good job of summarising the opera’s plot in its fourteen lines. Although there is no evidence to confirm that Eliot saw a performance of *Parsifal*, it is highly likely that he had heard about and seen Wagner’s opera, and his knowledge of Verlaine’s poem shows that he was at the very least familiar with the story of Wagner’s *Parsifal*.⁹⁸ This

⁹⁵ *TWL*, 1. 279.

⁹⁶ Philip Waldron, ‘The Music of Poetry: Wagner in *The Waste Land*’, *Journal of Modern Literature* 18, 4 (1993), 421-34 (p. 426).

⁹⁷ The note for line 202 simply states ‘V. Verlaine, *Parsifal*’ (NTWL, p. 74).

⁹⁸ This likelihood stems from the fact that Wagner had always insisted that *Parsifal* be performed only in the ‘Festspielhaus’ theatre in Bayreuth, a tradition which his widow Cosima vehemently upheld after the

raises the question of the significance of this allusion to Wagner's *Parsifal* through Verlaine rather than directly to Wagner. One answer to this is that if, as has been suggested so far, Wagner's operas are quoted in order simultaneously to condemn the decadence and mock-heroism of the nineteenth century and show its subsequent decline even further into moral vacuity, then *Parsifal* seems to be distanced from such censure. Unlike the other Wagnerian operas referred to in *The Waste Land*, *Parsifal* is overtly religious and deeply concerned with Christian morality. Further to this, the scene to which Eliot alludes comes at the end of the opera after Parsifal has overcome temptation, healed Amfortas' wound, and beholds the glowing Grail.⁹⁹ Yet, as has been and will continue to be argued here, there is no genuine Christian faith to be found in *The Waste Land*, only a society marred by moral passivity—the apparent glimpse into Christian redemption offered here only makes its falsity more cruel.

Dana offers an answer to the question of mediation through Verlaine, stating that the line from the sonnet is

an allusion within an allusion, an ecstatic response to an ecstatic moment in Wagner's opera [...] It occurs here as a sudden and piercing evocation of the beauty and joy whose absence the speaker has been lamenting [...] Yet, despite or perhaps because of these moments of intensity, the river of consciousness does not carry the protagonist toward his quest but toward conflagration and dissolution.¹⁰⁰

composer's death in 1883. However, at the end of 1913 the copyright on all of Wagner's stage works expired, meaning that Cosima's legal right to ban performances of *Parsifal* anywhere other than the 'Festspielhaus' was no longer valid. This consequently led to an explosion of productions of *Parsifal* all around the world. *Parsifal* was staged not only in major cultural capitals, but also in regional centres. There were also rival productions being staged simultaneously in Berlin, Buenos Aires, Paris, Prague and Vienna. By June 1914, almost fifty new stagings of *Parsifal* had opened (Anthony J. Steinhoff, 'Embracing the Grail: *Parsifal*, Richard Wagner and the German Nation' in *German History*, 30, 3 (2012), 372–94, p. 372). Further to this Jessie Weston, whose *From Ritual to Romance* was a prime source for the Grail narratives in *The Waste Land*, was an ardent Wagnerian and had already written a book entitled *The Legends of the Wagner Drama* and translated Eschenbach's *Parzival* (Jessie Weston, *The Legends of the Wagner Drama: Studies in Mythology and Romance* (London: D. Nutt, 1896); Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival: A Knightly Epic*, trans. by Jessie Weston (London: D. Nutt, 1894)). See also Stoddard Martin, *Wagner to 'The Waste Land': A Study of the Relationship of Wagner to English Literature* (London: Macmillan, 1982), pp. 217–18, for discussion of Eliot's possible further knowledge of *Parsifal* through Pound and through similarities between *The Tempest* and *Parsifal* which he suggests that Eliot may have perceived.

⁹⁹ Wagner, *Parsifal*, Act III.

¹⁰⁰ Dana, p. 285.

Dana's main argument centres on the orchestral rhythm of *The Waste Land* which carries along its characters and—importantly for her theory—its protagonist, who occasionally experiences moments of intensity such as this one.¹⁰¹ For Dana the allusion within the allusion serves to heighten this intensity. She argues that the 'imagery of rats, decay, and cacophony leads to the sublime moment of the choirboys' song from the Verlaine sonnet. [...] But the poem uses such moments sparingly'.¹⁰² She recognises that in such moments of intensity 'there is a psychological and spiritual problem [...] with which Christianity is familiar: a conviction of sin is necessary for salvation, but it can easily become a debilitating despair rather than a call to action'.¹⁰³ In this instance, her protagonist finds only 'conflagration and dissolution' but she then argues that he is 'reborn' in section V into a 'context full of Christian allusions (which until this point have been sparse)'.¹⁰⁴ She states that this final section is where the protagonist finally becomes a 'quester', and driven by his 'most basic of human needs—thirst', he is forced to confront the Chapel Perilous of the Grail legends.¹⁰⁵

Yet the 'context full of Christian allusions' in section V is deeply ambiguous. To give just some examples, the 'gardens' opening the section can equally be interpreted as Gethsemane or the hyacinth garden, the 'third who walks always beside you' may be Christ or Tiresias, and the 'cock' on 'the roof tree' may be the cock which reminds Peter of his betrayal or the cock heralding the dawn in *Hamlet*—amongst numerous other interpretative possibilities.¹⁰⁶ The formal Upanishad ending used to end the poem, 'Shantih, shantih,

¹⁰¹ Dana employs the original title for the poem 'He Do the Police in Different Voices' to suggest an authorial presence which places and interprets the variety of voices heard throughout the poem (p. 273). For a more thorough explication of this theory see Calvin Bedient, *He Do the Police in Different Voices: 'The Waste Land' and its Protagonist* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

¹⁰² Dana, p. 287.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., pp. 287-88.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 288. Dana ultimately argues that the quest is both a failure and a success since although the quester does not achieve renewal, the quest 'provides the vision and interpretation, however incomplete, which enable the quester to continue his life and search' (p. 290).

¹⁰⁶ *TWL*, ll. 323; 360; 391.

shantih’, confirms this lack of a sincere commitment to Christian faith and leaves the reader only with the ‘fragments’ offered by the poem.¹⁰⁷ Further to this, the suggestion that the poem has a protagonist, based largely on the discarded original title of the poem, is unconvincing. My reading has recognised the important distinction between the published poem and its manuscript versions, versions which were deliberately omitted. The final title, *The Waste Land*, is strongly indicative of the futility depicted throughout the poem. Proposing that there is a protagonist imposes a forced unity where the poem demands recognition of its deliberate fragmentation and ambiguity.

Dana’s suggestion that the allusion within the allusion creates intensity is true, given that the line breaks sharply from the preceding music-hall style ballad to a glittering vision of angelic voices celebrating redemption. However, when the deliberate abstruseness, shifting focus, and denial of genuine insight which recur throughout the poem are taken into account, the double allusion becomes alienating, further distancing the reader from the redemption seemingly offered by the Grail. The distancing effect of the allusion within the allusion only confirms the dilution of Christian morality, first through the excessively bourgeois Wagner and then through the decadence and moral and mental instability, and subsequent breakdown, of Verlaine.¹⁰⁸

The idea that the music and vision from the final scene of *Parsifal*, which the quote from Verlaine captures, are illusory and highlight the harsh reality surrounding them, is taken up by Stoddard Martin. He describes the moment when the opera ends and the suffering of the audience who have been ‘high in a realm of ideal reverie’ but realise that

all has been only a dream of art and illusion. Now they must return to the light and artless cacophony of the outer world, infected with nostalgia for that magical aesthetic

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., l. 433; 430.

¹⁰⁸ Martin discusses the conflict between sexual indulgence and Christian purity which dominated Verlaine’s life and poetry at the time when ‘Parsifal’ was written, just after the death of the poet’s young lover Lucien Létinois (Stoddard Martin, pp. 197-98).

effect, which allowed a few hours oblivion of the paltry reality and absence of the heroic in the modern existence in which they must live.¹⁰⁹

This description is strikingly similar to the experiences of the cinema discussed above, lending yet more support to the notion that the line does not offer genuine insight or redemptive possibility but instead, like the pacifying and illusory experience of the cinema, shows only the illusion of redemption in an overtly bourgeois form. The images and associations surrounding the line from Verlaine support Martin's reading. Directly after the allusion are the abrupt, unembellished cries of Philomela after her rape, mutilation and transformation into a nightingale: 'Twit twit twit / Jug jug jug jug jug jug'.¹¹⁰ Adding to this stark contrast, Rainey suggests that 'jug jug' was also a crude reference to sexual intercourse'.¹¹¹

The lines preceding the allusion to Verlaine further demonstrate the corruption surrounding the passage while also creating degraded parallels with the Parsifal myth:

O the moon shone bright on Mrs Porter
 And on her daughter
 They wash their feet in soda water
 Et O ces voix d'enfants, chantant dans la coupole!¹¹²

The link between Mrs Porter's foot-washing and the foot-washing scene from Wagner's *Parsifal* is relatively clear given that the quotation from Verlaine's poem is placed directly after Mrs Porter and her daughter washing 'their feet in soda water'.¹¹³ Moody states that after Parsifal has overcome the temptations and found his way back to the grail domain for the Good Friday ceremony and restoration of Amfortas, the children's singing is 'like the ecstasy of his passing from natural to immortal life. Heard here, however, it is ironic and

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 230.

¹¹⁰ *TWL*, ll. 203-04.

¹¹¹ Rainey, p. 95.

¹¹² *TWL*, ll. 199-202.

¹¹³ Ibid., l. 201; ll. 195-201.

lacerating'.¹¹⁴ The line is placed both figuratively and syntactically at the feet of a prostitute. This lends further irony to the line from Verlaine's poem, celebrating Parsifal's triumph after resisting the lustful temptations of the flower maidens and Kundry, which is quoted directly after Sweeney visits Mrs Porter to indulge his lust. The character Sweeney, who recurs in a number of Eliot's poems, will be considered in detail in the following chapter as a figure who embodies sexual indulgence and moral transgression, which proves preferable to social convention and moral passivity, like that shown by the hyacinth couple and the Thames-daughters. His appearance here contains elements of his usual vitality, coming 'in the spring', the natural time for copulation, and bringing with him the rhythmic cadences and rhyming couplets of the music-halls.¹¹⁵ However, this is tempered by the 'horns and motors' which signal his arrival and with it the encroaching technological advancements which further induce moral decline.

It could be suggested that Parsifal represents the greatest potential for hope of redemption in the whole poem, since unlike the various glimpses of other forms of salvation (the immediate experience of the hyacinth partner, the 'Shantih, shantih, shantih' of the ending), the Grail legend runs throughout the poem creating the most stable semblance of unity which can be found among the fragments. Yet the allusion to *Parsifal*, filtered through Verlaine and debased by its contemporary surroundings, only confirms that even in the most hopeful moments, salvation cannot be found within the poem's society. As we have seen from Eliot's broader poetic and religious beliefs, the only way to salvation is through faith in God, a faith which is absent in *The Waste Land*.

This absence of Christian faith (or religious faith of any kind) is also notable in the opening of *Der Zauberberg* which provides many examples of Hans' lack of spiritual and moral knowledge. In place of this, Hans clings to bourgeois respectability and social

¹¹⁴ A. D. Moody, *Thomas Stearns Eliot: Poet* 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 89-90.

¹¹⁵ *TWL*, I. 198.

convention to provide his moral guidance. Like the Thames-daughters, he does not realise that any form of spiritual redemption may be possible. However, in contrast with *The Waste Land*, Mann mirrors Wagner's *Parsifal* in the *Bildungsroman* structure of his novel to allow Hans to develop and ultimately to discover a genuine form of spiritual insight, first fully revealed in the snow vision and later put into practice on the battlefield at the end of the novel. Importantly, Mann's character is able to synthesize his spiritual education with his social obligations and finds a compromise between the two *within* society and temporal existence. This is in direct contrast with *The Waste Land* which demonstrates that no such compromise is possible.

Mann's ambivalent but largely reverential attitude towards Wagner has already been established, particularly in his early novella *Tristan*. Although the composer is conspicuously absent from Hans' cherished collection of records in *Der Zauberberg* and is not mentioned directly anywhere in the novel, his final opera *Parsifal* plays an important role. After attending a performance of the opera in September 1919 with his companions Ernst Bertram and Ernst Glöckner, Mann noted in his diary:

Sehr starker Eindruck: Rührung, Bewunderung und das gewohnte interessierte Mißtrauen. Nie war ein Kunstwerk so sehr naives Künstlerwerk, Produkt aus sakralem Willen, schlimmer Wollust und sicherstem Können, das als Weisheit wirkt. Die Krankheitssphäre: 'Rettungslos zu Hause' fühlte ich mich darin, sagte ich zu Bertram. Worauf wir beide wie aus einem Munde: 'Es ist eben der Zauberberg'.¹¹⁶

Unlike the allusions to Wagner in *The Waste Land*, which play on the ambiguity of Eliot's response and the ambiguity of the poem, Mann's comment makes the connection between *Parsifal* and *Der Zauberberg* strikingly clear. The religious impulses, lasciviousness, and

¹¹⁶ Very powerful impression: emotion, veneration, and the usual intrigued mistrust. Never was a work of art so naively contrived a product, a compound of religious impulse, sheer lasciviousness, and sure-handed competence that comes across as wisdom. The sphere of sickness: I feel 'hopelessly at home' in it, I said to Bertram. Whereupon both of us, as if speaking with one voice, exclaimed: 'Of course, it is *The Magic Mountain*' (Mann, *Tagebücher 1918 - 21*, pp. 303-04).

aura of sickness which Mann attributes to his novel and to Wagner's opera all form part of Hans' development, discoveries, and insights which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter. For now it is important to establish the extent of Hans' Parsifal-like naivety through his spiritual vacuity at the beginning of the novel.

Just as *The Waste Land* can be seen as a development from Eliot's earlier poetry in its excessively pessimistic presentation of the spiritual vacuum and lack of moral guidance in the early-twentieth century, *Der Zauberberg* initially presents a more extreme state of spiritual decline than *Buddenbrooks*. As discussed in the previous chapter, a few days after reading Schopenhauer and having his proud epiphany about the meaning of death, Thomas considers talking to Pastor Pringsheim about his experience and his thoughts on death but refrains 'aus Furcht vor der Lächerlichkeit'.¹¹⁷ This decision against spiritual advice, and the shame implicit in expressing an interest in larger existential questions, shows the declining state of Christianity in the late-nineteenth century. Thomas Buddenbrook's inability to process the knowledge he gains from Schopenhauer leads him to the possibility of discussing these ideas with a pastor. Yet in *Der Zauberberg*, which begins over three decades after Thomas Buddenbrook's death, the thought of discussing ideas about life and mortality with a pastor would never occur to Hans Castorp.¹¹⁸ Although he expresses a deep respect for that profession, this rests on his respect for refined manners and adherence to social convention; he does not comprehend a connection between Christianity and moral guidance. This is all demonstrated through an episode soon after Hans' arrival at the sanatorium with the Mexican lady known as 'Tous-les-deux'.

In his first week at the sanatorium he learns from Joachim, with unashamed delight, of 'Tous-les-deux'. Her two sons are both terminally ill and she does not speak German or

¹¹⁷ 'for fear of appearing ridiculous' (*B*, p. 659).

¹¹⁸ Thomas Buddenbrook dies in 1875 and *Der Zauberberg* begins in 1907.

French save the words ‘Tous les deux’.¹¹⁹ When Joachim explains this to Hans, the latter responds by wondering if she will say it to him and how it would feel if she did.¹²⁰ There is a touch of narcissism in his response, a desire that she might perhaps respond differently to him, and a fascination only with how *he* would be made to feel by this tragic character. His treatment of sanatorium inhabitants as though they were a form of experiment and entertainment for him is also representative of his self-obsessed naivety at the start of the novel. He goes as far as telling Joachim that he is happy to be introduced to ‘Tous-les-deux’ since he knows exactly how to respond: ‘ich bin ja vorbereitet und verstehe den Sinn und werde schon das richtige Gesicht dazu machen’.¹²¹ This is evidence of the pride he takes in his learned social responses to death—making the ‘right face’ rather than responding with any deeper emotion or empathy. When Hans gets the chance to prove his adeptness in responding to this woman’s acute misery, his response is ‘exemplary’ and the narrator explains that, ‘da er sich vorbereitet hatte, so bewahrte er gute Haltung dabei und konnte nachher zufrieden mit sich sein’.¹²² It is clear from this description that Hans’ major concern is for the propriety of his own response, showing no genuine sympathy for the woman’s suffering. The only moral code present at the beginning of the novel is ‘gute Haltung’ (‘suitable demeanour’).

Mann makes this spiritual void even clearer as after Hans has taken great pleasure in decorously expressing his sympathies in French to ‘Tous-les-deux’, he tells Joachim, in naïve earnestness, that he often thinks he should have been a pastor. His reasons for this are his

¹¹⁹ Z, p. 61.

¹²⁰ “‘So ist es also mit der’, sagte Hans Castorp. “Ob sie wohl auch zu mir sagen wird, wenn ich sie kennenlerne? Das wäre doch sonderbar, - ich meine, es wäre komisch und unheimlich zu gleicher Zeit”’, “‘So that’s the case with her”, said Hans Castorp. “I wonder if she will say the same to me when I make her acquaintance? That would be peculiar, - I mean it would be funny and uncanny at the same time”’ (ibid.).

¹²¹ ‘I am prepared, and I know the meaning of it, and I will make the correct face in response’ (ibid., p. 62).

¹²² ‘Since he had been prepared, he was able to maintain a suitable demeanour and could therefore be satisfied with himself afterwards’ (ibid., p. 154).

enjoyment of funerals and his perceived sense of his own skill at dealing with ‘traurige Menschen’.¹²³ Hans states:

Begräbnisse haben so etwas Erbauliches, - ich habe schon manchmal gedacht, man sollte, statt in die Kirche, zu einem Begräbnis gehen, wenn man sich ein bißchen erbauen will. Die Leute haben gutes schwarzes Zeug an und nehmen die Hüte ab und sehen auf den Sarg und halten sich ernst und andächtig, und niemand darf faule Witze machen, wie sonst im Leben.¹²⁴

It is clear from this statement that Hans’ notion of spiritual edification has more to do with stricter adherence to formal social convention than gaining any genuine spiritual insight. This demonstrates the extent of the spiritual vacuum of the society in which he has lived and become representative of.

There is, however, also a gentle humour in both Hans’ response to ‘Tous-les-deux’ and his confessed love of funerals. Mann’s narrator is almost always willing subtly to draw out the comedy of Hans’ naivety and bourgeois upbringing. This comedy is an essential aspect of Mann’s fondness for trivial middle-class concerns and his broader social attitude which places middle-class Germany at the heart of his ‘burgherly tradition’ and his hopes for the continuance of those aspects of the ‘burgherly age’ which must be salvaged after the First World War. The gentle humour at the expense of Hans’ naivety also—like the simultaneous indulgence of and critical distance from the cinema presented in the novel—functions to encourage the reader simultaneously to be critical and sympathetic. This sympathy allows the reader to see that there is a faint suggestion in his love of funerals that Hans (not entirely consciously) longs for a form of spiritual fulfilment. However, the only values he has experienced before the mountain have been based on social convention and economic drive.

¹²³ ‘unhappy people’ (ibid., p. 155).

¹²⁴ There’s something so edifying about funerals—I’ve sometimes thought that when we need a little spiritual uplift, we should attend funerals rather than church. People wear their best black clothes and take their hats off and gaze at the coffin and seem so serious and pious, and no one dares to make bad jokes, the way they do in ordinary life (ibid.).

Similarly, beneath his naivety and narcissism, there is a genuine desire to provide support for the grieving ‘Tous les deux’. However, at this early stage in the novel Hans has only his refined knowledge of social propriety to offer rather than any genuine empathy. This directly mirrors Parsifal’s initial witnessing of the Grail ceremony and realization of Amfortas’ pain but inability to understand its significance.¹²⁵

Dana’s interpretation of *The Waste Land* offers a particularly interesting comparison in this regard since she argues that the ‘pattern of a protagonist who is unable to respond to his first vision but is given a second chance becomes a crucial paradigm for *The Waste Land*’, suggesting that ‘he [the protagonist of the poem] experiences a failure similar to Parsifal’s in the early Hyacinth garden episode. And although he never returns triumphantly to the Grail castle, he does have a moment of insight when the Thunder speaks in section V’.¹²⁶ She cites the thunder’s second command ‘Dayadhvam’ (‘sympathize’) as further evidence of this but points out that ‘the speaker’s rueful response is that we live each alone in Bradleyan isolation’.¹²⁷ While I am sceptical that we can identify a ‘protagonist’, the failure of the hyacinth episode—and subsequent triumph not of the command ‘Dayadhvam’ but of Bradleian isolation—agrees with my interpretation of the poem. Dana’s comparison of *The Waste Land* with *Parsifal* also usefully highlights the similarities between the failure in the hyacinth garden, and indeed the failure of the Thames-daughters and the Verlaine allusion—with the initial failure of Hans Castorp. His first ‘test’ with ‘Tous-les-deux’ leaves him none the wiser. However, unlike the characters of Eliot’s poem, Hans is given many more opportunities gradually to develop his capacity for redemption and, eventually, to achieve it.

¹²⁵ At the end of Act I, scene ii, Parsifal clutches his heart upon hearing Amfortas’ cries of pain but when asked by Gurnemanz if he understands what he has seen he responds only by holding his heart and shaking his head (Wagner, *Parsifal*, Act I, scene ii).

¹²⁶ Dana, pp. 269-70.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 270. Dana also points out here that it is significant that neither Wagner nor Eliot treats the development of the protagonist as ‘a gradual accretion of experience through the course of time’ but rather ‘in terms of epiphanies, timeless moments that are unexplainable in rational causative terms’.

These examples from *The Waste Land* also highlight an important aspect of Hans' initial naivety which is based largely on his rigorous reliance on social propriety: his inability for meaningful human connection through sexual desire. Hans Castorp's sense of propriety and commitment to civilised social conventions compels him—initially—to show disgust at sexual desire, going as far as connecting it with barbarism. This disgust is displayed on Hans' first morning at the sanatorium. The Russian couple in the room next door to him provide a somewhat comic display of what Hans considers barbaric. As he dresses for breakfast in his room, he hears gasping, giggling and grappling.¹²⁸ He attempts to assume his default position of 'Sittsamkeit' ('propriety') but as the noises continue he listens 'wider besseren Willen' ('against his best intentions').¹²⁹ As the scene continues Hans blushes beneath his powder realising that the game had turned into something 'tierisch' ('bestial'): 'Herrgott, Donnerwetter! dachte er, [...] Nun, es sind Eheleute, in Gottes Namen, soweit ist die Sache in Ordnung. Aber am hellen Morgen, das ist doch stark'.¹³⁰ Although there is a great amount of comedy in Hans' reaction, the choice of vocabulary is particularly revealing of his attitude towards this behaviour. This married couple are simply making love in private, perhaps with less regard for social propriety in their noise levels than the sensitive protagonist desires, but nonetheless they are expressing their will and sexual vitality. Yet Hans considers this bestial and becomes indignant. The fact that he is so self-conscious and aware of the propriety of his reaction when he is alone displays the extremity of his sensitivity and high regard for social respectability. This can be viewed as a sign of the extent to which civilised western man has become so lacking in vitality that he depends on social convention not only to inform how he conducts himself in public but also internally in place of any natural reaction, thought or emotion.

¹²⁸ Z, p. 59.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ 'Good God in heaven! he thought, [...] Well they're married, for heaven's sake, that's as it should be at least. But in broad daylight, that is a bit much' (ibid.).

Yet there is a small clue revealing that Hans still has a spark of human vitality and sexual desire within him, in the detail that he listens against his best intentions. Hans' prioritizing of the appearance of 'gute Haltung' rather than genuine 'gute Haltung' becomes apparent when he discusses the couple with Joachim. He describes them as 'gewissermaßen Barbaren, unzivilisiert mit einem Wort' and insists to Joachim that he does not want to be introduced to them.¹³¹ This is particularly revealing, since a genuinely polite and socially refined citizen would not discuss what he had heard; however, Hans is more concerned with openly displaying his own disgust at such behaviour. He delights in displaying his social refinement on the matter of sex and by distancing himself from the 'uncivilised' couple, he attempts to highlight his own civility. His assumed expression of disgust adds to the comedy of his initial naivety.

Yet just as Hans' perfectly executed social responses to death mask his inner fascination with it, his overt disgust at sexual activity masks, rather thinly, his inmost sexual passions. His reliance on social convention does not offer him a suitable framework to process or express his desires. However, his removal from the society in which he has learned this behaviour into a realm where men do not wear hats, doors are left to slam shut, and numerous pedagogical conversations become available, gives him the opportunity—like Parsifal—to learn. In Wagner's opera the protagonist must only learn empathy, in *Der Zauberberg* Hans learns a great deal more. While in *The Waste Land* adherence to the frail and inadequate social framework results in isolation and failure, in *Der Zauberberg* it results in comedy and the opportunity for development.

This chapter has demonstrated that this comedy is central to Mann's narrative fiction. The gentle humour with which typically bourgeois actions or forms of entertainment are treated expresses Mann's more sympathetic attitude to the middle classes. Although he still

¹³¹ 'certainly barbarians, in a single word; uncivilized' (ibid., p. 63).

treats subjects such as the cinema, Wagner, or excessive bourgeois decorum with critical concern, his belief that the middle classes are capable of spiritual and intellectual insights, tempered by 'burgherly' moderation, rationality, and ethics, allows him to display such sympathy. Although Eliot also displays some capacity for such forms of humour in relation to the middle-classes he is still much more critical. Furthermore, these are contained within his private correspondence and the unpublished manuscript of *The Waste Land*. His decision to allow these sections to be omitted creates a deliberately bleaker poem in which condemnation is the keynote.

It has been shown above that both Mann and Eliot presented early-twentieth-century civilisation in a state of dire spiritual and moral decay. *The Waste Land* is the most extreme example of this lack of hope in Eliot's creative oeuvre. Any traces of redemption or transcendence are false and society is shown to be in a state of living death due to its alienation and moral passivity. Wagner's role in this poem is as a touchstone of nineteenth-century decadence, introducing a mock-heroism which only highlights the subsequent degradation which such decadence has helped to perpetrate. His operas also serve to create complex webs of allusion, offering glimmers of hope or transcendence which prove to be illusory and confirm the state of spiritual futility. Mann also demonstrates the spiritual vacuum of social respectability at the beginning of the twentieth century through the Parsifal-like naivety of Hans Castorp. However, his use of Wagner is more openly enthusiastic and allows his protagonist to develop, learn, and find a form of redemption.

The following chapter will consider how Hans Castorp achieves this redemption through his exploration of moral boundaries. His sojourn at the sanatorium introduces him to a number of morally transgressive characters, such as Clawdia Chauchat and Mynheer Peeperkorn, who express vitality and sexual freedom. Similarly, a number of Eliot's early poems also present morally transgressive characters with great vitality and little concern for

social convention, such as Sweeney and Grishkin. Both authors' present these morally dubious characters deliberately to juxtapose and enliven the moral passivity which has been outlined in this chapter. However, it will be argued that for Mann, Hans' introduction to sin acts as an injection of vitality which must be tempered by burgherly reason and incorporated into a humane social framework. For Eliot, the performance of sin is vital for the possibility of salvation: 'damnation itself is an immediate form of salvation – of salvation from the ennui of modern life'.¹³² For this reason, his sinful characters are presented not as ideal but as preferable to the morally apathetic characters who dominate *The Waste Land*.

¹³² CP 4, p. 161.

4: VITALIZING MORAL TRANSGRESSIONS

As the previous chapter demonstrated, in *Der Zauberberg* and *The Waste Land*, both Mann and Eliot portrayed civilised society to be in a state of spiritual—and in some cases, physical—ill-health, presenting this society as contrived, excessively dull and morally vacuous. This chapter will consider how these, and other works, which contain a number of instinctually driven, morally questionable characters who all display vitality, usually in the form of sexual freedom and disregard for social convention. However, by considering the presentation of these characters through the framework of Mann and Eliot's conflicting traditions, it becomes clear that beneath these apparent similarities, radically different approaches to the issues of civilisation and morality can be identified. Contributing to the overarching aim of this thesis, this chapter will assess commonalities between Mann and Eliot's works: their employment of the common theme of moral transgression, their presentation of primal, sensual characters, and their allusions to ancient ritual and myth. However, in line with the divergent traditions set out in chapters 1 and 2, Mann's novel searches for a moral authority within the individual whereas Eliot's works present a society in decline due to its lack of external moral authority.

Eliot's disapproval of increasing spiritual decline, and the role of technological developments in encouraging this, was seen in the previous chapter through reference to 'Marie Lloyd' and the cinema. It is also worth repeating Eliot's praise of Baudelaire in relation to the middle of the nineteenth century:

in an age of bustle, programmes, platforms, scientific progress, humanitarianism and revolutions which improved nothing, an age of progressive degradation, Baudelaire perceived that what really matters is Sin and Redemption.¹

¹ *CP4*, p. 161.

Eliot's focus on primitive ritual and the mythic method to counter these developments and invoke a sense of morality will be considered in relation to *Sweeney Agonistes* (1926-27). But Eliot learned this from Baudelaire's poetry much earlier, as evidenced by his shorter essay 'The Lesson of Baudelaire' (1921), where he states that 'all first-rate poetry is occupied with morality: this is the lesson of Baudelaire'.² This sentiment is continued in *After Strange Gods* (1934) when Eliot laments the lack of spiritual awareness in contemporary society stating that 'most people are only very little alive; and to awaken them to the spiritual is a very great responsibility'.³ Although the previous chapter demonstrated that *The Waste Land* is preoccupied with depicting this 'lack of spiritual awareness', a number of Eliot's other works from this period present morally transgressive characters who, through their sins, are more awake to morality. The sexual primacy and animalistic aspects of Sweeney, Rachel *née* Rabinovitch, Cousin Nancy, and Grishkin will be analysed in relation to Eliot's claim that 'Baudelaire has perceived that what distinguishes the relations of man and woman from the copulation of beasts is the knowledge of Good and Evil (of *moral* Good and Evil which are not natural Good and Bad or Puritan Right and Wrong)'.⁴ The sexually aggressive, animalistic qualities of these characters will be compared to Mann's Peeperkorn and Clawdia, in order to show that both authors draw on a number of similar tropes in order to highlight the existence of the primal in modern civilisation. For Eliot, these characters are not ideal but are preferable to the spiritually void characters discussed in the previous chapter. Central to this interpretation is Eliot's claim that since Baudelaire had 'an imperfect, vague romantic conception of Good, he was at least able to understand that the sexual act as evil is more dignified, less boring, than as the natural, "life-giving", cheery automatism of the modern world'.⁵

² CP2, p. 306.

³ ASG, p. 60.

⁴ CP4, p. 162 (italics in original).

⁵ Ibid.

Mann's novel also explores the notion that a recognition, and even exploration, of sin is necessary for a knowledge of right moral action. He even made the direct comparison between Hans' education and Christian dogma:

My hero, simple and smooth, who has to go his way midst all these [characters], must learn to understand that all higher sanity and health must have proceeded through the deep experiences of sickness and death – just as the knowledge of sin is a prerequisite of redemption.⁶

However, the important distinction between Mann and Eliot's works is that Mann's exploration of sin and redemption does take into account the 'natural Good and Bad', in secular terms, which Eliot disparages. Mann's novel is in line with his 'burgherly tradition' which places moral responsibility with the individual rather than viewing it as externally ordained. *Der Zauberberg* explicitly explores the problem of individually ordained morality through Naphta and Settembrini's debates as well as through Hans' increasing awareness of morality by being exposed to these debates and his reflections on the nature of life. Hans' receptivity to various other characters with different worldviews allows him, and the reader, to be exposed to a number of ideologies. Hans acknowledges these often oppositional standpoints but takes a middle way, based firmly in the 'burgherly' values expressed by Mann in his essays, which affirms human capacity for goodness through acknowledging human capacity for evil.⁷

Der Zauberberg is also deeply concerned with rationalism, although Naphta and Settembrini's debates never reach any clear conclusions, the ability to consider ethical problems from different perspectives is in itself important. The development of Hans' character rests largely on his increasing ability both to think independently and critically, and to recognise and control his emotions based on knowledge and reason rather than on social

⁶ Thomas Mann, *On Myself and Other Princeton Lectures*, ed. by James Bade, 2nd edn. (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 1997), p. 64.

⁷ This will be demonstrated through the analysis of Hans' snow vision below.

convention. It will be suggested that the novel performs a didactic function, offering the reader the opportunities for reflection which befall Hans and posing the snow vision's message directly to the reader at the end of the novel.

In order to show the significance of the morally dubious but vigorous characters of *Der Zauberberg* in contrast with those presented by Eliot, the complex nature of a number of the novel's underlying sources and its central message must first be understood. For this reason, the first half of this chapter will focus almost entirely on interpreting and analysing the morality which Mann's novel presents, predominantly as it is expressed in Hans' snow vision and how this relates to his 'burgherly tradition'.

Mann's novel sets up a range of often opposing drives and concepts to which its protagonist is exposed. The 'Schnee' ('Snow') subchapter of the novel encapsulates many of these polarities and offers a way of understanding them which, although deliberately ambiguous, is ultimately an affirmation of multifaceted forms of 'life' and 'love' which, for Mann, are rooted in humanity rather than in any external deity. Like the manifold webs of interpretive possibility which Eliot sets up in *The Waste Land*, as seen through the previous chapter's examination of the hyacinth episode, 'Schnee' deliberately draws on a wealth of connections. Yet unlike *The Waste Land* which offers no resolution, the emphatic 'message' of *Der Zauberberg* is clearly stated in this chapter and even emphasised by italics: '*Der Mensch soll um der Güte und Liebe willen dem Tode keine Herrschaft einräumen über seine Gedanken*'.⁸ Mann himself claimed that this was the ultimate message of the novel and even considered that he should have placed it at the end rather than in the middle, for greater emphasis.⁹ The message appears simple enough on the surface, but the terms 'Güte'

⁸ 'For the sake of goodness and love, man should let death have no sovereignty over his thoughts' (Z, p. 686). I have placed 'message' in inverted commas here because, although this may be the clearest message of the novel—the one emphasised by Mann, and the one on which this chapter will focus—it is certainly not the only message which can be taken from the novel, particularly given its multifarious and ambiguous nature.

⁹ 'es sei ein Fehler, daß die metaphysische Vision im Schneetreiben, als die hohe Stunde Castorps, in der Mitte steht statt gegen den Schluß', 'it is a mistake, that the metaphysical vision in the driving snow, Castorp's high

(‘goodness’), ‘Liebe’ (‘love’), and ‘Tod’ (‘death’) are extremely vague or, rather, manifold. This ambiguity and multiplicity is central to a proper understanding of this message which must be considered in the context of the whole subchapter, and indeed the whole novel, as well as Mann’s broader ‘burgherly tradition’. It will be argued here that by combining philosophical, social, and psychological allusions within the vision, the binaries of ‘Güte/Liebe’ and ‘Tod’ signify a number of possibilities which can hold various meanings but which ultimately are seen as inseparable oppositions forming a wholeness and affirmation of life when overcome with reason and knowledge. These broad concepts are brought back to the everyday, in keeping with Mann’s ‘burgherly tradition’, through the detailed, sympathetic, and gently comical presentation of human nature in the various characters of the novel.

By first considering the snow vision’s allusion to Nietzsche’s ideas of the Apollonian and Dionysian, it will be demonstrated that the vision can be viewed as an allegorical statement declaring the necessity for an injection of Dionysian vitality and barbarism into the stale and excessively cerebral Germany of the early-twentieth century. Yet the issue of the barbarity of the hags’ dismemberment and consumption of the child is problematic in this reading. How can a humanist tradition endorse such barbarity? In order to answer this question, the broader symbolic value of the passage must be considered. First, in terms of the contemporary trend which saw much of western European literature and culture, particularly in Germany, turning towards eastern philosophy in the early-twentieth century, as outlined in Massis’ article ‘Defence of the West’.¹⁰ These polarities will be considered in light of their translation to the idealistic standpoints of Settembrini and Naphta, who are also embroiled in the complex system of polarities which the novel sets up. In this way, the ambiguity of

lesson, stands in the middle rather than at the conclusion’ (*Thomas Mann-Robert Faesi Briefwechsel*, ed. by Robert Faesi (Zurich: Atlantis, 1962), p. 16). As is considered below, the ending of the novel is in a sense a repetition of this message.

¹⁰ As discussed in chapter 1, pp. 25-26.

Mann's term 'Tod' places the hags' barbarity in a more figurative role, avoiding a literal interpretation. Further to this, the 'Liebe' of the novel's central message will be considered in light of the 'Liebe' which, it is hoped, will rise from the horrors of the battlefield at the end of the novel, meaning that the barbarism of the hags can be considered as symbolic of the brutal, dismembering violence of the First World War.¹¹ Further to this, the sacrificial, ritualistic aspect of their act will be considered in relation to Mann's later essay on Freud, 'Die Stellung Freuds in der modernen Geistesgeschichte' ('Freud's Position in the History of Modern Thought') (1929) in order to place this barbarism within the moral codes of tribal and religious ceremonies throughout history.

This connection between primitivism, religion, and sacrifice is central to the following readings of Peeperkorn and Sweeney. Mann's 1929 essay also draws on (again deliberately vague) polarities between enlightened rationalism and morbid romanticism in order to suggest the importance of psychoanalysis which explores and acknowledges the darkest depths of the human psyche in order, scientifically and rationally, to expose and study it. Part of the ambiguity of this analogy is to allow it very thinly to veil an attack on the National Socialist ideologies which were prevailing at the time, and urging the middle classes to recognise this danger. This in turn sheds light on the value of Hans Castorp's education, allowing him to explore many aspects of human morality and sin and overcome his attraction to dangerous ideals. It also places the hags' barbarity in a larger historical tradition of ritualistic sacrifice which Mann discusses in terms of Freud's theories on the development of Christianity.

It is in the light of the complexity of the novel's meaning that its morally transgressive characters can be considered as contributing to this web of polarities and Hans

¹¹ 'Wird auch aus diesem Weltfest des Todes, auch aus der schlimmen Fieberbrunst, die rings den regnerischen Abendhimmel entzündet, einmal die Liebe steigen?', 'Will it be that also out of this worldwide festival of death, also out of this terrible rutting fever which sets fire to the rainy evening sky, that one day love will rise?' (Z, p. 994).

Castorp's eventual ability to overcome them. The second part of this chapter will go on to compare the 'burgherly', individualistic morality which is set out in *Der Zauberberg* with the Christian morality within which Eliot's works will be considered. This will also highlight the way in which the morally questionable characters of Eliot and Mann's works are placed at odds with bourgeois convention, often placed on the peripheries of respectable society. In both cases this often adds to the characters' vigour and charm, however Mann's novel attempts to assimilate their favourable aspects into the middle classes, whereas in Eliot's poems they serve to highlight the flaws of the bourgeoisie.

i) The Moral(ity) of *Der Zauberberg* in Light of Mann's 'Burgherly Tradition'

Nietzsche's ideas about the need for barbaric eastern vitality to invigorate western civilization are essential for understanding *Der Zauberberg*. Nicholas Martin explains how Nietzsche saw 'a correspondence between "barbarians" ("Barbaren") and other key figures on the positive side of his cultural balance sheet, namely, "higher men" ("höhere Menschen"), "free spirits" ("freie Geister") and the "blond beast" ("blonde Bestie)". He goes on to explain that 'these figures best embody the kind of vital, creative instincts Nietzsche is seeking to promote, which includes the sense of "living dangerously," in order to overcome nihilism and *décadence*'.¹² These aspects of vitality and 'living dangerously' can clearly be seen in characters such as Clawdia Chauchat and Mynheer Peepkorn, as will be discussed below. Yet Nietzsche's relevance does not stop here; Martin goes on to describe Nietzsche's 'hoped-for marriage of Russian barbarism and western European decadence'; Nietzsche 'sees a conjunction of forces as epoch-making as the moment in the sixth century BC when the

¹² Nicholas Martin, 'Inviting Barbarism: Nietzsche's Will to Russia' in *Germany and the Imagined East*, ed. by Lee M. Roberts (London: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2005), pp. 80-93 (p. 88); *FW*, § 283.

ancient Greeks absorbed Oriental barbarism (symbolized by Dionysus) and tamed it with light and reason (symbolized by Apollo).¹³

This need for reinvigoration of a sterile culture, offered by Dionysus, is most clearly expressed in *Die Geburt der Tragödie*:

Was wüssten wir sonst zu nennen, was in der Verödung und Ermattung der jetzigen Cultur irgend welche tröstliche Erwartung für die Zukunft erwecken könnte? Vergebens spähen wir nach einer einzigen kräftig geästeten Wurzel, nach einem Fleck fruchtbaren und gesunden Erdbodens: überall Staub, Sand, Erstarrung, Verschmachten. [...] Aber wie verändert sich plötzlich jene eben so düster geschilderte Wildniss unserer ermüdeten Cultur, wenn sie der dionysische Zauber berührt!¹⁴

The most direct application of these ideas in Mann's work appears in *Der Tod in Venedig*, to which *Der Zauberberg* was initially intended as a counterpart.¹⁵ The earlier novella records the extreme—and extremely rapid—transition of the protagonist, Gustav von Aschenbach, from a rigidly Apollonian to an uncontrollably Dionysian state of mind, based on Nietzsche's concepts of the gods in *Die Geburt der Tragödie* (1872).¹⁶ Reed explains that Nietzsche believed that late-nineteenth-century Germany was 'excessively cerebral, and its creativity

¹³ Martin, 'Inviting Barbarism', p. 89. See also: Susan Ray, 'Afterword: Nietzsche's View of Russia and the Russians' in *Nietzsche in Russia*, ed. by Bernice Glatzer Rosenthal (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 393-401.

¹⁴ What else can we name, that in the desolation and exhaustion of contemporary culture, could awaken a comforting expectation for the future? In vain we look for a single vigorously branching root, for a speck of fertile and healthy soil: but everywhere is dust, sand, torpor, languish. [...] But how suddenly this so bleakly depicted wilderness of our exhausted culture changes when it is touched by Dionysian magic! (*GT*, § 20). It is worth noting that this quotation is taken from one of the two passages in *Die Geburt der Tragödie* in which the term 'Der Zauberberg' is mentioned, the other is § 3. Interestingly, Stan Smith highlights the similarities between this passage and the language of *The Waste Land*, using Haussmann's 1910 translation (upon which my translation given here is based) (Stan Smith, *The Origins of Modernism* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1994), p. 256; Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy or Hellenism and Pessimism*, trans. by W. A. Haussmann (Edinburgh and London: T. N. Foulis, 1910), pp. 156-57). Smith's analysis of the Dionysian in *The Waste Land* will be considered below.

¹⁵ *Der Zauberberg* is first mentioned in a letter to Ernst Bertram of 24 July 1913: '[ich] bereite zunächst noch eine Novelle vor, die eine Art von humoristischem Gegenstück zum "Tod i[n] V[enedig]" zu werden scheint', '[I] have been preparing a novella which seems to be a kind of humorous counterpart to *Death i[n] V[enice]*' (Thomas Mann, *Briefe 1889 - 1913: Grosse kommentierte Frankfurter Ausgabe: Werke—Briefe—Tagebücher*, ed. by Heinrich Dietering and others, vol. 21 (Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer, 2002) p. 527). For more on *Der Zauberberg* as a counterpart to *Der Tod in Venedig* see Reed, *The Uses of Tradition*, pp. 228-33.

¹⁶ See Terence James Reed, *Death in Venice: Making and Unmaking a Master* (New York: Twayne, 1994), pp. 76-79.

weighed down by the accumulated knowledge [...] of an “advanced” civilisation—a diagnosis which meant incidentally that Germany needed Dionysus more urgently than it needed Apollo.¹⁷ Yet while the initially ‘excessively cerebral’ Aschenbach achieves this intense Dionysian intoxication, he submits to it entirely, as evidenced in his second vision which takes the form of a vivid dream of a cannibalistic orgy.¹⁸ These horrific, cannibalistic images appear again, although importantly in an altered form, in Hans Castorp’s snow vision. Aschenbach’s failure to temper his Dionysian lust and longing with Apollonian light and reason results in his demise. Hans Castorp’s experience is more complex.

On the surface it may seem that Hans’ snow vision affords him glimpses of an extremely Dionysian scene, similar to that of Aschenbach’s dream, in the form of the terrible bloody sacrifice performed by the hags. This comes directly after his admiration of the superficially excessively Apollonian society of the peaceful, orderly ‘Sonnenleute’ (‘Sun people’), suggesting an almost microcosmic retelling of Aschenbach’s extreme change of states from Apollonian to Dionysian.¹⁹ Yet when the vision is studied more closely, it becomes apparent that the distinction is not so clear-cut. The peaceful and graceful ‘Sonnenleute’ are described as performing a number of traits more closely associated with

¹⁷ Reed, *The Uses of Tradition*, p. 77.

¹⁸ ‘Mit den Paukenschlägen dröhte dein Herz, sein Gehirn kreiste, Wut ergriff ihn, Verblendung, betäubende Wollust, und seine Seele begehrte, sich anzuschließen dem Reigen des Gottes. Das obszöne Symbol, riesig, aus Holz, ward enthüllt und erhöht: da heulten sie zügelloser die Losung. Schaum vor den Lippen, tobten sie, reizten einander mit geilen Gebärden und buhlenden Händen, lachend und ächzend, stießen die Stachelstäbe einander ins Fleisch und leckten das Blut von den Gliedern. Aber mit ihnen, in ihnen war der Träumende nun und dem fremden Gotte gehörig. Ja, sie waren er selbst, als sie reißend und mordend sich auf die Tiere hinwarfen und dampfende Fetzen verschlangen, als auf zerwühltem Moosgrund grenzenlose Vermischung began, dem Gotte zum Opfer. Und seine Seele kostete Unzucht und Raserei des Unterganges. / Aus diesem Traum erwachte der Heimgesuchte entnervt, zerrüttet und kraftlos dem Dämon verfallen’, ‘His heart throbbed with the drumbeats, his brain whirled, fury seized him, blindness, stupefying lust, and his soul craved to join the round-dance of the god. The obscene symbol, gigantic and wooden, was uncovered and raised up: and more unbridled grew the howling of the rallying-cry. With foaming mouths they raged, they roused each other with lewd gestures and licentious hands, laughing and moaning they thrust the prods into each other’s flesh and licked the blood from each other’s limbs. But the dreamer now was with them and in them, he belonged to the stranger-god. Yes, they were himself as they flung themselves, tearing and slaying, on the animals and devoured steaming gobbets of flesh, they were himself as an orgy of limitless coupling began on the trampled, mossy ground, as an offering to the God. And his soul savoured the lascivious delirium of annihilation. / Out of this dream the stricken man woke unnerved, shattered and powerlessly enslaved to the demon-god’ (*DTiV*, p. 517).

¹⁹ Z, p.680; pp. 684-85.

Dionysus, for example dancing and playing a tune on a pipe.²⁰ Similarly, the Apollonian structure and fixity of the temple which houses the hags is stressed, with its ‘mächtige Säulen’, ‘Propyläen’, ‘Säulenreihen’, and ‘Statuengruppe’.²¹ Further to this, when Hans first sees the ‘Sonnenleute’, he refers to them as ‘Sonnen- und *Meereskinder*’.²² This is significant since the sea most prominently functions as a symbol of the eternity of death within the novel, another clue that this civilisation has incorporated death into its core. There is also a complete absence of sexual desire in Hans’ vision of the hags, an important contrast with Aschenbach’s Dionysian dream. Yet the ‘Sonnenleute’ are sexualised. For example, Hans observes that ‘die Muskeln ihrer Rücken unter der goldbraunen Haut in der Sonne spielten’.²³ This is more reminiscent of Aschenbach’s restrained appreciation of Tadzio on the beach rather than the wild, orgiastic scenes of his dream.²⁴ This inextricable mixture of Apollonian and Dionysian suggests the idealized absorption of oriental barbarism into ancient Greek civilization, referred to by Nietzsche in section 2 of *Die Geburt der Tragödie*. The ‘große Freundlichkeit und gleichmäßig verteilte höfliche Rücksicht’ of the civilised ‘Sonnen- und

²⁰ Ibid., p. 679.

²¹ ‘huge columns’, ‘propylaea’, ‘rows of columns’, and ‘group of statues’ (ibid., p. 682).

²² ‘Children of the sun and *sea*’ (ibid., p. 679) (emphasis my own). It is only after this that they are referred to simply as ‘Sonnenleute’. The connection between death and the ocean can be seen most clearly in the ‘Strandspaziergang’ subchapter: ‘und dieses wirre und allgemeine, sanft brausende Getöse sperrt unser Ohr für jede Stimme der Welt. Tiefes Genügen, wissentlich Vergessen . . . Schließen wir doch die Augen, geborgen von Ewigkeit!’, ‘and this turmoil and universal, softly roaring clangour closes off our ears to every other voice in the world. Deep contentment, knowing forgetfulness . . . Let us close our eyes, secure in eternity’ (ibid., p. 756). The sea is also symbolic of death in a number of Mann’s earlier works, including *Buddenbrooks* and *Der Tod in Venedig*. He makes the connection even more explicitly in ‘Lübeck als geistige Lebensform’: ‘Das Meer ist keine Landschaft, es ist das Erlebnis der Ewigkeit, des Nichts und des Todes’, ‘The ocean is not a landscape, it is the experience of eternity, nothingness and death’ (*GWXI*, p. 394).

²³ ‘the muscles of the boys’ golden-tan backs played in the sunlight’ (*Z*, p. 679).

²⁴ The strongest similarity to Aschenbach’s appreciation of Tadzio is the beautiful young man of Hans’ vision who acts as a signifier of doom, pointing Hans in the direction of the deathly temple with his serious gaze, just as Tadzio appears to beckon Aschenbach to the ocean (and death) at the end of the novella (*DTiV*, pp. 524-25). The erotic nature of the descriptions of the ‘Sonnenleute’ in Hans’ vision reaches its peak with this ‘schöner Knabe’ (‘pretty boy’) whose thick hair falls across his forehead and temples, around his ‘schönen, streng geschnittenen, halbkindlichen Gesicht’ (‘beautiful, finely chiselled, almost childlike face’) (*Z*, p. 681). It should further be noted that it is in this state of restrained lust, watching Tadzio on the beach, that Aschenbach is creatively productive, writing ‘elesener Prosa’ (‘exquisite prose’) (*DTiV*, pp. 492-93).

Meereskinder' is a product of their ability to acknowledge and incorporate Dionysian barbarity into their core without being consumed by it.²⁵

While this has been a common analysis of the snow vision in criticism on Mann's novel, it provides only a very narrow view of the episode and raises a number of problematic questions if it is taken as allegorical for the needs of contemporary Germany.²⁶ For example, how can the idealized but essentially primitive Mediterranean lifestyle of the 'Sonnenleute' function as a model for the increasingly scientifically and technologically developing Germany—particularly in light of Mann's ambivalent but generally favourable presentation of such developments?²⁷ The most pressing question, however, is the extremity of the hags' barbarity. Can Mann really be endorsing the incorporation of such savagery into society? The milder forms of Dionysian vitality, of which Clawdia and Peeperkorn can be seen as representatives and which will be considered below, are more easily acceptable, but they do not hold the same symbolic value, nor do they provoke the same degree of gentility to counter them. Both Swales and Robertson have considered the barbarity of the hags' sacrifice and taken issue with the common interpretation of this scene as a simple philosophical allegory.²⁸ Robertson praises Swales as the only critic he knows 'who has asked the obvious question: if they [the Sonnenleute] know what is happening, why don't they try to stop it?'²⁹ Swales does take the allusion to *Die Geburt der Tragödie* into account, along with other 'cultural echoes' such as Böcklin's painting 'Der heilige Hain', suggesting that the vision

²⁵ 'great friendliness and homogeneously distributed polite regard' (Z, p. 680).

²⁶ For examples of the common interpretation of the snow vision being based on classical and philosophical sources see: Manfred Dierks, *Studien zu Mythos und Psychologie bei Thomas Mann* (Bern: Francke, 1972), p. 124; Børge Kristiansen, *Uniform — Form — Überform: Thomas Manns 'Zauberberg' und Schopenhauers Metaphysik* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1978), pp. 224–25; Hartmut Reinhardt, 'Das Schreckliche als des Schönen Ende. Träume und Traumexperimente in Thomas Manns Der Zauberberg', in *Das Ungenügen an der Normalität: Literatur als Gegenwelt*, ed. by Jürgen Daiber, Georg Guntermann and Gerhard Schaub (Paderborn: Mentis, 2003), pp. 83–99; Erkme Joseph, *Nietzsche im 'Zauberberg'* (Frankfurt a.M.: Klostermann, 1996), p. 208.

²⁷ For example, the cinema, as discussed in the previous chapter, the X-ray machine, the gramophone, and Hans' engineering career.

²⁸ Robertson's tracing of the hags' barbarism back to tribal and religious rituals will be discussed below.

²⁹ Ritchie Robertson, 'Sacrifice and Sacrament in *Der Zauberberg*', *Oxford German Studies*, 35, 1 (2006), 55–65 (p. 57); Martin Swales, *Mann 'Der Zauberberg'* (London: Grant and Cutler, 2000), p. 46.

becomes ‘a kind of allegorical tableau’.³⁰ However, he ultimately argues that the value of the snow vision lies precisely in its refusal to function as ‘the definitive distillation and articulation of human wisdom’ and that it should be taken as ‘an impressive, moving, but ultimately imperfect attempt to say and body forth the wholeness of humanity’.³¹ He suggests that the episode invites the reader to reflect on the search to ‘envisage, symbolize and express human totality’ and how the realization of this search is unachievable.³² Swales’ view that the snow vision does not in itself offer a definitive meaning is undeniable—the deliberate ambiguity of the terms ‘Güte’, ‘Liebe’, and ‘Tod’ are evidence of this. However, I respectfully disagree with his conclusion and will argue below that when the whole ‘Schnee’ subchapter is considered in the wider context of Naphta and Settembrini’s debates and their relation to Mann’s own ideas about ‘Bürgerlichkeit’, and the ending of the novel, an affirmation of a form of day-to-day burgherly existence which incorporates this search for (although not necessarily discovery of) ‘human totality’ can be found.

Swales’ reading of the episode in relation to the larger pattern of ‘learning and forgetting [...] insight and blurring’ which is ‘central to the novel’, does however open up an interesting comparison to *The Waste Land*.³³ The pattern of apparent insight and the failure of this insight to provoke change or action is, on the surface, similar. This pattern was seen through Dana’s reading of Eliot’s poem as comparable to *Parsifal*, with its moments of intensity leading to dissolution, in particular the Hyacinth episode as Parsifal’s initial failed Grail test.³⁴ The link which Mann made between the snow scene and the Grail legend further encourages this comparison but also highlights an important difference:

³⁰ Swales, *Mann ‘Der Zauberberg’*, p. 46. For more on the importance of Böcklin’s painting to the snow vision see Reed, *The Uses of Tradition*, pp. 243-44.

³¹ Swales, *Mann ‘Der Zauberberg’*, p. 47.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Swales cites Hans’ medical research, visiting the dying, and discovering the ‘Lindenbaum’ as examples of this (*ibid.*, p. 45).

³⁴ Dana, pp. 269-70.

The Grail, which Hans Castorp may not find but does perceive in a dream close to death — is the idea of man, the conception of a future humanity that has passed through the profoundest knowledge of sickness and death.³⁵

As the previous chapter argued, *The Waste Land* sets up a number of instances in which, like Parsifal's first Grail test, hope for meaningful insight is offered but not realised.³⁶ Yet it was also argued that within the deathly landscape of the poem (contrary to Dana's thesis) even these moments of potential insight are illusory. In Mann's version of the 'Grail vision', although not fully realised by Hans, insight is at least perceived. Furthermore, it offers the hope for a future form of humanity which draws on its knowledge of sickness and death but, as the message of the novel suggests, is not dominated by them.

The notion that this pattern of insight and forgetting is only superficial is further supported by the questionability of Swales' assertion that 'we are told quite explicitly that Hans Castorp forgets what he has seen and thought' as soon as he returns to the sanatorium that same evening.³⁷ Closer inspection of the passage reveals Mann's precision when it comes to ambiguity: 'Was er geträumt, war im Verbleichen begriffen. Was er gedacht, verstand er diesen Abend nicht mehr so recht'.³⁸ Although we can be certain that Hans does not maintain his insight as clearly as he grasps it in his vision, it only fades and blurs to an indeterminate extent, it is not explicitly *forgotten*. Speirs recognises that this may be the case and that 'the effects of the experience could lie at a deeper level of the psyche and prove to have longer-term formative effects'.³⁹ In spite of this recognition, Speirs' argument (which centres around the novel's relationship to the classic German form of the *Bildungsroman*) suggests that since Hans does not change his actions based upon his lesson, continuing his obsession with death,

³⁵ Mann, 'On Myself', p. 65.

³⁶ A further superficial similarity between *Der Zauberberg* and *The Waste Land*'s use of the Parsifal myth to present 'tests' (failed or otherwise) is the allusion to the Chapel Perilous, in the form of the hut against which Hans shelters during his vision and the 'empty chapel' of *The Waste Land* (TWL 1. 388).

³⁷ Swales, *Mann 'Der Zauberberg'*, p. 45.

³⁸ 'What he had dreamed was fading. What he had thought, he no longer so clearly understood this evening' (Z, p. 688).

³⁹ Ronald Speirs, 'Mann, *Der Zauberberg*' in *Landmarks in the German Novel (1)* ed. by Peter Hutchinson (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007), pp. 117-33 (p. 126).

the vision is not ‘compatible with the classic Enlightenment notion of moral “Bildung”’.⁴⁰ As evidence of Hans’ continued obsession with death, Speirs cites Hans’ ‘fascination with Mynheer Peeperkorn’s attention-seeking pursuit of pleasure to the point of self-destruction’ and ‘his growing passion for music’.⁴¹ However, in accordance with the message of the snow vision, Hans keeps faith with ‘death’—in this instance represented by Peeperkorn’s self-destruction, and music—but does not allow it sovereignty. As will be argued below, Hans’ fascination with Peeperkorn is part of his education, his path through death to life. Just like his love for music, Hans immerses himself in Peeperkorn’s personality, learns from it, and overcomes it by balancing it with reason and an affirmative attitude to life.

Part of this affirmative stance does not rest on Hans’ understanding of his vision, but on the reader’s. The ambiguity with which Hans’ recollection of the vision is presented is evidence of this. The message of the snow vision is not entirely intended for Hans’ benefit, it is also for the reader’s. We are not told explicitly the extent to which Hans remembers his vision, just as we are not told explicitly whether he lives or dies at the end of the novel; it is not deemed important by the narrator. Although the reader may, like Hans, fail to recall the vision’s message as the narrative moves much more quickly after ‘Schnee’—covering Joachim’s return and death, the Peeperkorn episodes, the introduction of the gramophone, occult adventures, and Naphta and Settembrini’s duel—its restatement in the final lines of the novel takes the form of a question directed to the reader, not to Hans. Whether or not Hans has learned this lesson is open to debate, however it is unequivocally clear that the reader is left with this message.

Another reason for Hans’ failure clearly to recall the message is that he is not a character with whom the reader should entirely identify, as the narrator’s continued mocking and critical scorn makes clear. The reader’s relationship to Hans is in line with the broader

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 128.

attitude to bourgeois society presented in the novel, which is sympathetic yet critical. Although *Der Zauberberg* is in many ways a *Bildungsroman*, its scope goes far beyond this, as Speirs concludes, ‘by diagnosing what had become of the idea and project of “Bildung” under a new set of intellectual, social and historical circumstances, *Der Zauberberg* took the intellectual novel in Germany a decisive step forward’.⁴² Part of its status as an intellectual novel relies on a readership willing to engage with the ideas it sets forth. Implicit within the Apollonian and Dionysian polarities which the snow vision magnifies are much broader intellectual and cultural binaries of West and East, binaries which are also represented by Settembrini and Naphta, respectively. In order to gain a fuller understanding of the meaning of Hans’ snow vision, these ‘intellectual, social and historical circumstances’ and their representation in the novel require further exploration. These circumstances rest largely on the cultural, social, and religious trends and concerns which dominated intellectual exchange at the time.

Massis’ ‘Defence of the West’ which, as outlined in chapter 1, Eliot deemed important enough to merit translating and publishing in the *Criterion*, offers a good insight into the perceived threat posed by the East to western society after the First World War. He targets Germany specifically as being at the greatest risk of ‘surrendering’ to the East, ‘perpetually hesitating between Asiatic mysticism and the Latin spirit’.⁴³ Massis’ placement of Mann within this dichotomy was as a writer who was ‘denouncing these Asiatic tendencies as a danger to the national spirit’ but who was also asking whether the ‘humanist tradition of classicism’ was ‘merely the spiritual form of an age that [was] passing’.⁴⁴ Massis does not state whether he is referring to Mann’s fictional work as well as his essays, but this statement can certainly be considered in relation to *Der Zauberberg*, most obviously through the

⁴² Ibid., p. 133.

⁴³ Massis, (April 1926), p. 231.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 236.

novel's consideration and eventual refutation of both Naphta and Settembrini's ideals. In one sense, Hans Castorp can almost be seen as the personification of Massis' argument:

There is nothing worse for the West than this [Asiatic] method of thought, which aims at abolishing the lines of demarcation, both those of human personality and those of property. These Asiatic doctrines are all the more likely to destroy the West because it is no longer sure of its laws nor of its institutions and because it has a divided mind in a sick body.⁴⁵

Massis' delineation between East and West is much more clear-cut than anything we encounter in Mann's novel but the battle between ideas from the two philosophical domains is one of its major themes. Settembrini and Naphta act as the main spokespeople for these ideas and their debates dominate lengthy portions of the text. Robertson's discussion of the snow vision demonstrates how these two figures function as representatives of characteristics typically associated with East and West while also showing why Massis thought that Mann was asking whether traditional humanist classicism was a relic of an age which was passing. Robertson states that:

The People of the Sun know that life is always overshadowed by death, not to mention cruelty and violence. But instead of letting this knowledge license barbarism (like that advocated by the authoritarian Naphta), they have created a way of life which neither denies death (like the benevolent but shallow rationalism represented by Settembrini) nor submits to it.⁴⁶

In the subchapter 'Operationes spirituales', immediately preceding 'Schnee' and laying the foundations for the ethical issues at the heart of Hans' vision, Naphta and Settembrini debate issues of morality, religion and life before reaching a heated impasse.

The debate is provoked by Settembrini's deriding of Hans' sympathy with death through his habit of visiting and sending flowers to the severely ill patients of the

⁴⁵ Massis (June 1926), p. 491.

⁴⁶ Ritchie Robertson, 'Primitivism and Psychology: Nietzsche, Freud, Thomas Mann', in *Modernism and the European Unconscious*, ed. by Peter Collier and Judy Davies (Cambridge: Polity, 1990), pp. 79-93 (p. 88).

sanatorium.⁴⁷ Naphta quickly interjects that in the Middle Ages there were cases of fantastic displays of fanaticism in taking care of the sick, setting up the division between his own sympathy with illness and death against Settembrini's denial of its worth for a healthy, progressive civilisation.⁴⁸ After the debate has proceeded through the topics of mental illness, corporal punishment, torture, and the death penalty (all of which Naphta sympathises with and Settembrini rejects), the two men arrive at religion and morality. Naphta claims that 'Tugend' ('virtue') and 'Gesundheit' ('health') have nothing to do with the religious condition: 'Es sei viel gewonnen, sagte er, wenn klargesellt sei, daß Religion mit Vernunft und Sittlichkeit überhaupt nichts zu tun habe. Denn, fügte er hinzu, sie habe nichts mit dem Leben zu tun'.⁴⁹ Naphta goes as far as claiming that life is hostile to religion, 'denn sie seien es eben, die das Leben ausmachten, die sogenannte Gesundheit, das heiße: die Erzphilisterei und Urbürgerlichkeit, als deren absolutes, und zwar absolut geniales Gegenteil die religiöse Welt eben zu bestimmen sei'.⁵⁰

The relevance of this viewpoint for understanding the snow vision will be returned to shortly but it is worth examining the similarities between some of the Catholic views espoused by Naphta and those of Eliot. Vanheste has noted the similarity between the problem as it is raised here by Naphta, and that raised by Eliot in his discussions with Babbitt, that if God does not exist, then all morality is relative and chaotic.⁵¹ Vanheste refers

⁴⁷ Z, p. 622.

⁴⁸ 'Und ehe Settembrini ihn [Hans] zurechtweisen konnte, begann Naphta von frommen Ausschreitungen der Liebestätigkeit zu reden, die das Mittelalter gesehen, erstaunlichen Fällen von Fanatismus und Verzückung in der Krankenpflege: Königstöchter hatten die stinkenden Wunden Aussätziger geküßt', 'And before Settembrini could set him [Hans] right, Naphta began to speak of pious excesses of charitable activity which had been seen in the middle ages: princesses had kissed the stinking wounds of lepers' (ibid.).

⁴⁹ 'There is much to be gained, he said, by making it clear that religion has absolutely nothing to do with reason and morality. Since, he added, it has nothing to do with life' (ibid., p. 639).

⁵⁰ 'since the constituents of life, or so-called health, which really meant: the ultra-philistine and the utterly burgherly, of which the religious world was determined as the absolute, and even absolutely divinely determined, opposite' (ibid.).

⁵¹ Jeroen Vanheste, *Guardians of the Humanist Legacy: The Classicism of T. S. Eliot's 'Criterion' Network and its Relevance to our Postmodern World* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), p. 317. Vanheste quotes one of Naphta's arguments from Lowe Porter's translation of *Der Zauberberg* to support this claim: 'either Ptolemy and the schoolmen were right, and the world is finite in time and space, the deity is transcendent, the antithesis between God and man is sustained, and man's being is dual; from which it follows that the problem of his soul

to Eliot's essays 'The Humanism of Irving Babbitt' (1928) and 'Second Thoughts About Humanism' (1929) in order to make this comparison.⁵² In the latter essay, Eliot raises the problem that if humanism claims to do without any outer authority then 'where do all these morals come from?'⁵³ He states that 'either everything in man can be traced as a development from below, or something must come from above. There is no avoiding that dilemma: you must be either a naturalist or a supernaturalist'.⁵⁴ As has been firmly established, Eliot opted for the latter, however, the comparison to Naphta, who also expresses communistic and terroristic ideals, does not go much further. This does, however, bring us back to a major point of difference between Eliot and Mann: Eliot's Christian tradition in which moral authority is found externally in contrast with Mann's 'burgherly tradition' in which morality, rooted in humanity, is less easily definable and therefore more problematic.

Der Zauberberg's exploration of morality *within* society, and in particular within bourgeois society, expresses this problem towards the end of the debate in 'Operationes spirituales'. Naphta's dismissal of Settembrini's social ethics places this issue firmly with the middle classes:

Was sie denn sei und wolle, die Sittlichkeit des Herrn Settembrini! Sie sei lebensgebunden, also nichts als nützlich, also unheroisch in erbarmungswürdigem Grade. Sie sei dazu da, daß man alt und glücklich, reich und gesund werde und damit Punktum. Diese Vernunft- und Arbeitsphilisterei gelte ihm als Ethik. Was dagegen

consists in the conflict between the spiritual and the material, to which all social problems are entirely secondary [...] or else on the other hand, your Renaissance astronomers hit upon the truth, and the cosmos is infinite. Then there exists no suprasensible world, no dualism; the Beyond is absorbed into the Here, the antithesis between God and nature falls; man ceases to be the theatre of a struggle between two hostile principles, and becomes harmonious and unitary, the conflict subsists merely between his individual and his collective interest; and the will of the State becomes, in good pagan wise, the law of morality. Either one thing or the other.' (Thomas Mann, *The Magic Mountain*, trans. by Helen Lowe-Porter, 2 vols (New York: The Heritage Press, 1962), vol. 2, pp. 54-55).

⁵² Vanheste, p. 125.

⁵³ *CP3*, p. 617.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* The phrasing of Eliot's 'either/or' dilemma is remarkably similar to Naphta's 'Either one thing or the other'. Eliot justifies his use of the term 'supernatural' by stating that 'I avoid the word "spiritual" because it can mean almost anything' (*ibid.*). This presents an interesting contrast with Mann, who frequently uses the even more ambiguous term for 'spiritual': 'geistig'.

Naphta betreffe, so erlaube er sich wiederholt, sie als schäbige Lebensbürgerlichkeit zu kennzeichnen.⁵⁵

Naphta's association of moral vacuity with middle-class society unable (and largely unwilling) to look beyond temporal life resonates with Eliot's presentation of the state of society in *The Waste Land*. This form of 'morality' which is bound to life and nothing more is also precisely what Eliot was arguing against in *After Strange Gods*.⁵⁶ Although, through Naphta, Mann expresses the idea that striving only for comfort and success within life is directly opposed to morality, this suggestion is immediately rejected by Settembrini. The humanist finds it 'unerträglich' ('unbearable') 'daß Herr Naphta beständig von "Lebensbürgerlichkeit" in einem, Gott wußte, warum, aristokratisch wegwerfenden Tone redete, wie als ob *das Gegenteil* – und man wußte ja, was das Gegenteil des Lebens sei – etwa gar das Vornehmere gewesen wäre!'⁵⁷ The disagreements over illness, corporal and capital punishment, and torture reach a head in this dispute, and in this way it becomes clear how a broad range of issues become reduced to the polarities of 'life' and 'death' which form the basis of the message of Hans' snow vision. The ambiguous terms 'Leben' and 'Tod' are able to signify these manifold associations while simultaneously remaining independent concepts.

Although neither Settembrini nor Naphta is shown to be entirely correct in their moral views, the term 'Lebensbürgerlichkeit' is particularly significant for understanding how the

⁵⁵ Just what was this morality of Herr Settembrini's, what was its point! It was bound to life, and thus nothing but utilitarian, thus unheroic to the most pitiable degree. It was merely there in order that a person could become old and happy, rich and healthy, and that's that. This philistinism of reason and work is what qualified for him as ethics. But as far as he, Naphta, was concerned, he once again took the liberty of identifying this as a shabby life-burgherliness (Z, p. 641) (italics in original). Woods translates 'Lebensbürgerlichkeit' as 'bourgeoisness [sic] of life' (Woods, p. 549) while Lowe-Porter opts for 'bourgeoisdom' (Lowe-Porter, p. 464). I have offered the less elegant but more literal translation 'life-burgherliness' in part to present the most direct translation possible and also to retain the 'burgher' which forms part of the original term, rather than the 'bourgeois' which both Woods and Lowe-Porter adopt.

⁵⁶ For example, Eliot's criticism of D. H. Lawrence's mother and the claim that her 'vague hymn-singing pietism' did not provide her 'with any firm principles by which to scrutinise the conduct of her sons' (*ASG*, p. 39) as discussed above, p. 72.

⁵⁷ 'that Herr Naphta kept talking about "Life-burgherliness" in a, god only knew why, aristocratic, dismissive tone, as if *the opposite* – and one knew, of course, what the opposite of life was – had been something somehow more noble' (Z, p. 641) (italics in original).

issue of humanly governed morality fits in with the message of the novel in the light of Mann's 'burgherly tradition' and how Settembrini's 'Leben' is presented as preferable to Naphta's 'Tod'. The term recurs in Hans' mind before his vision, when he is battling through the worst of the snowstorm. He is lost, disoriented, and exhausted, and the temptation to lie down in the snow and let it cover him, which he knows will result in death, is overwhelming. Yet he resists this temptation and eventually finds the hut where his dream-vision takes place. We are told that 'das Pflichtgefühl, das ihn anhalten wolle, die verdächtigen Herabminderungen zu bekämpfen, sei nichts als bloße Ethik, das heiße schäbige Lebensbürgerlichkeit und irreligiöse Philisterei'.⁵⁸ The fact that these terms are repeated with Naphta's disparaging qualifiers 'bloß' ('mere'), 'schäbig' ('shabby'), and 'irreligiös' ('irreligious') functions partly as free indirect discourse, letting us know that Hans thinks in the same terms that he has heard rather than being able to reformulate them himself. It also adds to the dream-like quality building up to the vision, as Naphta's previous words echo amidst other impressions and ideas to which Hans has been exposed.⁵⁹ Even though the terms by which Hans' will to continue living are derogatory, and frames Hans' striving with typically ironic critical distance, he carries on living nonetheless.

This is one of the greatest developments of *Der Zauberberg* (1924) from its predecessor *Der Tod in Venedig* (1912): where Aschenbach gives in to temptation, Hans resists. The intervening writing and publication of the *Betrachtungen* (1918) plays a notable role in this change. The importance of the turn towards an overtly favoured type of 'Bürgerlichkeit' which the *Betrachtungen* set forth is central to this development. Hans' will to continue surviving—expressed explicitly as 'Lebensbürgerlichkeit'—is what allows him to see the snow vision and divine its lesson, muddling through the ideas set out in the previous

⁵⁸ 'the feeling of duty which kept telling him to fight off the suspicious diminishing of the senses was nothing but mere ethics, that is, a shabby life-burgherliness and irreligious philistinism' (ibid., pp. 670-71).

⁵⁹ For example, Hans also vividly recalls passages from books he has read about survival, thinking of how in a sandstorm, Arabs would throw their burnous over their head and wait for it to pass (ibid., p. 671).

chapters (most directly from the immediately preceding ‘Operationes spirituales’), reaching his own verdict to overcome the opposing principles. At the height of his realizations, Hans dismisses both of his mentors’ arguments and oppositions as ‘guazzabuglio’, realising that ‘Tod oder Leben—Krankheit, Gesundheit—Geist und Nature’ are not really contradictory at all.⁶⁰ There is, however, clearly a stronger tendency for sympathy, on the parts of both Hans and the narrator, towards Settembrini.⁶¹ This sympathy is largely reliant on the novel’s (and Mann’s) sympathy with the ‘burgherly’ principles for which he argues. The characteristics which Mann praised in Schopenhauer and Goethe as expressive of the greatest form of ‘Bürgerlichkeit’, their stability, steadfast daily routines, work ethics, care for their health, precision as capitalists, are largely in line with the ‘Lebensbürgerlichkeit’ aims which Naphta criticises.⁶²

Mann’s use of the term ‘Lebensbürgerlichkeit’ in his ‘Goethe als Repräsentant’ essay of 1932 offers a greater insight into the author’s own understanding of the term and sheds light on its employment in *Der Zauberberg*. In this essay, Mann links the term ‘Lebenswürdig’ (‘life-worthy’), the concept of regarding ‘life’ as the highest criterion of which to be worthy, with his notion of ‘Lebensbürgerlichkeit’:

Und wirklich ist die eigentümliche Wortbildung ja erfüllt von einem trotzigem Lebenspositivismus, von einer überpessimistischen Lebensbejahung, die in meinen Augen eine höchste und allgemeinste Form der Bürgerlichkeit ausmacht: *Lebensbürgerlichkeit*, das ist das breitbeinige Fußten im Leben, der

⁶⁰ ‘guazzabuglio’ is an Italian term meaning ‘confusion’ or ‘muddle’; ‘death or life—illness, health—spirit/intellect and nature’ (ibid., p. 685).

⁶¹ Even the use of the term ‘guazzabuglio’ is expressive of this greater sympathy with Settembrini. This sympathy is expressed even more explicitly at the beginning of Hans’ adventure in the snow, thinking about Settembrini, he concludes: ‘Übrigens habe ich dich gern. Du bist zwar ein Windbeutel und Drehorgelmann, aber du meinst es gut, meinst es besser und bist mir lieber als der scharfe kleine Jesuit und Terrorist, der spanische Folter- und Prügelknecht mit seiner Blitzbrille, obgleich er fast immer recht hat, wenn euch zankt. . .’, ‘After all, I like you. You are indeed a windbag and an organ grinder but you mean well, mean far better and are far preferable to that severe little Jesuit and terrorist, the Spanish torturer and flogger with his flashing glasses, although he is almost always right when you two argue...’ (ibid., p. 660).

⁶² For Mann’s description of Schopenhauer’s ‘Bürgerlichkeit’ see *GWXII*, pp. 107-08, and for his description of Goethe’s see *GWIX*, pp. 301-03.

Lebensaristokratismus des von der Natur Bevorteilten und Bevorzugten, der, dem Brutalen nicht ganz fern [sind].⁶³

This championing of ‘Lebensbürgerlichkeit’ reinforces the stronger sympathy with Settembrini which is present in *Der Zauberberg* and demonstrates an acceptance of life’s ‘straddle-legged’ indignity and the ‘brutishness’ to which it is closely related. It should, however, be noted that this is not exactly the callous brutishness of a Hermann Hagenström or a Herr Klötterjahn but rather the vital, and gently humorous ‘brutish’ life-force of Goethe.⁶⁴ Kunisch makes the connection between Mann’s use of ‘Lebensbürgerlichkeit’ in this essay and in *Der Zauberberg*, before pointing out the further connection which Settembrini makes—again, in ‘Operationes spirituales’—between ‘Lebenswürdigkeit’ (‘life-worthiness’) and ‘Liebenswürdigkeit’ (‘love-worthiness’).⁶⁵ This connection completes the superficial antithesis of ‘life’ and ‘love’ on the one hand, and ‘death’ on the other, which is most apparent in the snow vision’s message and the final line of the novel. Yet, as the culmination of the snow vision establishes, these are not really antitheses at all. Kunisch’s analysis of *Der Zauberberg* does not recognise this, considering the connection made by Settembrini to be ironic and stating that when ‘Lebensbürgerlichkeit’ and ‘Lebenswürdigkeit’ are played off

⁶³ And really the striking combination is full of a defiantly positive attitude to life, an affirmation of it above and beyond all pessimism, which in my eyes constitutes a very high and universal manifestation of burgherliness: *Life-burgherliness*, which is to have one’s straddle-legged feet planted firmly in life, the aristocratic bearing of those who are favoured and privileged by nature, who [are] not too far distant from the brutish (*GWIX*, pp. 320-21) (italics in original).

⁶⁴ The ‘brutishness’ to which Mann refers here is directly related to Goethe’s reliance on life-force and ‘vitality’ expressed in a humorous anecdote in which ‘the eighty-one-year-old Goethe jokes about the weaklings who have made early exits from life, for example the poor Sömmering who had just died aged seventy-five’: ‘denn es liegt ja wirklich etwas von Brutalität in dem Pochen auf das Vitale, wie es etwa aus den Worten des einundachtzigjährigen Goethe über die Lumpe von Menschen spricht, die sich so früh aus dem Leben davonmachen wie der arme Sömmering, der gerade mit fünfundsiebzig Jahren gestorben war’ (ibid., p. 321).

⁶⁵ Hermann Kunisch, *Von der Reichsunmittelbarkeit der Poesie* (Berlin: Duncker & Humboldt, 1979), p. 360. This connection is made as Settembrini admonishes Hans for falling into his romantic habit of connecting death and disease with genius and respectability. Settembrini states: “‘Lebenswürdigkeit’: und sogleich, auf dem Wege leichtester und rechtmäßigster Assoziation, stelle sich auch die Idee der Liebenswürdigkeit ein, so innig nahe verwandt jener ersten, daß man sagen dürfe, nur das wahrhaft Liebenswürdige sei auch wahrhaft liebenswürdig. Beides zusammen aber, das Lebens- und also Liebenswürdige, mache das aus, was man das Vornehme nenne”, “‘Life-worthiness’: and at the same time, by means of the most simple and legitimate association, one was reminded of the idea of love-worthiness, so intimately related to the former that one could say that only that which is truly life-worthy is also truly love-worthy. Both together, however, the life- and the love-worthy, became what one called noble’ (Z, p. 642). The fact that the ‘Sonnenleute’ are praised as ‘liebenswürdig’ further supports the preference shown to Settembrini’s values (Z, p. 680).

against each other in *Der Zauberberg* it is only because of the exceptional circumstances of the enchanted mountain.⁶⁶

Kunisch suggests that it is only from the 1932 ‘Goethe als Repräsentant’ essay onwards that Goethe is placed between all the polarities for which Mann is famous, not belonging fully to either side. According to Kunisch, for Mann, Goethe becomes ‘deutsch-volkhaft, nordisch-gotisch und mediterran-europäisch, Dämonie und Urbanität, barbarisch und human, Genie und Vernunft, Geheimnis und Klärheit, Lyrik und Psychologie, Luther und Erasmus’.⁶⁷ Although Kunisch does not apply this attitude retrospectively to *Der Zauberberg*, when Hans’ realisation that such polarities are not necessarily polarities at all, along with the novel’s more sympathetic attitude to Settembrini’s affirmation of ‘life’ and ‘love’ in an explicitly burgherly sense, are taken into account, it seems that Mann’s later descriptions of Goethe are more in line with the novel than might first be assumed. Further to this, Mann’s affirmative ‘burgherly tradition’, with Goethe at its core, was set out in the *Betrachtungen*, before the majority of *Der Zauberberg* was completed. While Mann’s view of Nietzsche provides the clearest source for the snow vision, his view of Goethe provides a better way of understanding its message.

Mann’s own evaluation of the novel supports this humanistic, affirmative interpretation, which favours a social form of morality. He stated of *Der Zauberberg*: ‘Und doch ist er der Weg hinaus aus seiner individuellen Schmerzenswelt in eine Welt neuer sozialer und menschlicher Moralität’.⁶⁸ The novel’s humanity is not only expressed through Hans’ education and development, it is also subtly but overwhelmingly built into the narrative’s treatment of the characters. While some critics have considered *Der Zauberberg*

⁶⁶ Kunisch, p. 360.

⁶⁷ ‘German-folkish, northern-gothic and Mediterranean-european, demonic possession and urbanity, barbaric and humane, genius and reason, secrecy and clarity, poetry and psychology, Luther and Erasmus’ (ibid., p. 358).

⁶⁸ ‘And yet it is the path out of an individual world of pain into a world of new social and humane morality’ (Thomas Mann, ‘On Myself’, in *Gesammelte Werke in dreizehn Bänden, XIII: Nachträge* (Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer, 1990), pp. 127-69 (p. 152)). Directly after this, Mann restates the italicised words of the snow vision.

simply as a novel of ideas, full of characters who are little more than representatives of philosophies and world-views, closer inspection of the narrative reveals a more rounded presentation which is rooted in a particularly bourgeois form of human nature.⁶⁹ Mann's invocation of Goethe's statement that 'Das eigentliche Studium der Menschheit ist der Mensch' is key to this.⁷⁰ Even at the height of the intellectual battles of Naphta and Settembrini's debates, the narrative always comes back to the human. For example, the subtle but telling narrative interjection that Hans notices that it is Wehsal who brings up the subject of flogging, and the excitement which this provokes as visible in the latter's face.⁷¹ Although the topic itself is far from humane the narrative interruption, breaking from the debates to document this telling detail, brings some comic relief to the scene. This attention to detail in describing Wehsal reminds the reader that what is being presented is more than an intellectual debate, it is a description of a social interaction.⁷²

Similarly, Ferge's inability to understand Naphta and Settembrini's arguments but outraged interjection when he hears the latter diminishing the seriousness of pleural shock treatment demonstrates an acute narrative presentation of his personality.⁷³ While his 'good

⁶⁹ Vanheste claims that *Der Zauberberg* is 'a novel of ideas, not one of psychology', and also cites Curtius' review which suggests that the characters of the novel are 'keine Menschen, sondern Karikaturen' ('not humans, but rather caricatures'), Vanheste, p. 313; E. R. Curtius, 'Briefe aus Deutschland. Thomas Mann und die Republik' in *Goethe, Thomas Mann und Italien. Beiträge in der 'Luxemburger Zeitung' (1922-1925)* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1988), p. 126. Mann himself was fully aware that his characters were 'exponents, representatives, emissaries from worlds, principalities, domains of the spirit' but claimed that this did not make them 'mere shadow figures and walking parables' but on the contrary, he had been reassured 'that readers find these characters [...] to be real people, who are remembered as are acquaintances in real life' (Mann, 'On Myself', pp. 63-64).

⁷⁰ 'The proper study of humanity is the human' (*GWIX*, p. 320). The quotation is taken from Goethe's *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* (Tübingen: Cotta, 1810), p. 191.

⁷¹ 'Es war Ferdinand Wehsal, der die Prügelpöñ aufs Tapet gebracht hatte, und die Anregung stand ihm zu Gesichte, wie Hans Castorp fand', 'It was Ferdinand Wehsal who brought up the topic of flogging, and the excitement could be seen in his face, or so Hans Castorp thought' (*Z*, p. 629).

⁷² The description also reveals Hans' acute awareness of the characteristics of his companions and ability to read and navigate social interactions.

⁷³ 'Hier beehrte Anton Karlsowitsch Ferge auf und verteidigte den Pleurachok gegen Verunglimpfungen und Despekterlichkeiten. Wie, was, zu ernst genommen sein Pleurachok? Da danke er, und da müsse er bitten! Sein großer Kehlkopf und sein gutmütiger Schnurrbart wanderten auf und nieder, und er verbat sich jeder Mißachtung dessen, was er damals durchgemacht. Er sei nur ein einfacher Mann, ein Versicherungsreisender, und alles Höhere liege ihm fern, - schon dieses Gespräch gehe weit über seinen Horizont. Aber wenn Herr Settembrini etwa zum Beispiel auch den Pleurachok mit einbeziehen wolle in das, was er gesagt habe, - diese Kitzelhölle mit dem Schwefelgestank und den drei farbigen Ohnmachten, - dann müsse er schon bitten und

natured moustache' and 'inability to understand higher things' become part of his comical motif, the charm and warmth by which his failings are presented suggests a narrative fondness for his personality. Although Ferge and Wehsal have relatively minor roles in the novel, it is the detailed attention to human nature through which they are presented, particularly the subtle comedy arising from social interaction and observation, which governs the narrative of *Der Zauberberg*.

This presentation of the worth of the individual and the worth of life ('Lebenswürdigkeit') is most obviously demonstrated through Hans. Although the extent to which he understands and values 'Lebenswürdigkeit' is ambiguous, the lesson of the great worth of individual life is again directed more squarely at the reader. One of the most resonating notes of *Der Zauberberg* is its expression of the waste of human life caused by the First World War. After spending seven years of narrated time and over a thousand pages of narrative time with Hans Castorp, watching him learn, eat, love, think, converse, and develop, his worth as an individual is brought into tension when he is only one amongst three thousand, who will become only two thousand by the time they reach their destination.⁷⁴ Although Hans is not a particularly admirable character, the reader feels his loss. His personality is presented throughout the novel in the same comical and insightful way in which the narrative treats all the characters, as seen above through reference to Ferge and Wehsal, but attention to Hans' personality—as the protagonist whom the narrative rarely takes leave from—is intensely magnified. In this way, the centrality of the 'Mensch'

danke ergebenst', 'Here Anton Karlsowitsch Ferge flared up to defend his pleural shock against such disparagements and disrespectfulness. How, what, taken his pleural shock too seriously? Well thank you very much but beg your pardon! His large Adam's apple and his good-natured moustache bobbed up and down, and he demanded some respect for what he had gone through. He was just a simple man, a traveling insurance agent, and higher things were utterly foreign to him, - indeed, this conversation went far beyond his horizons. But if Herr Settembrini presumed to include pleural shock, for example, in what he said—that ticklish hell with its sulphur stench and its palsies in three colours—then he must say I beg your pardon and thank you very much' (ibid., p. 624).

⁷⁴ 'Sie sind dreitausend, damit sie noch ihrer zweitausend sind, wenn sie bei den Hügeln, den Dörfern anlangen; das ist der Sinn ihrer Menge', 'There are three thousand of them, so that there will be two thousand of them by the time they reach the hills next to the villages, that is the meaning of their numbers' (ibid., p. 991).

(‘human’) to ‘Menschlichkeit’ (‘humanity’) which Mann admired in Goethe becomes central to the novel’s values.

Returning to the snow vision and how these values inform an understanding of it, particularly in light of Hans’ individuality and his likely death at the end of the novel, it could be suggested that the child being eaten by the hags is symbolic of Hans himself, foreshadowing the bloody violence he is likely to suffer. This notion is supported by Robertson’s claim that the child’s blond hair signifies that it is German.⁷⁵ The frequent references to Hans’ blond hair makes the connection not only to a German but specifically to Hans more plausible.⁷⁶ The detail that the hags curse Hans in his native Hamburg dialect reinforces this connection.⁷⁷ Although these could all quite easily be considered as more general references to Hans’ native city, when the dismembering of the child is considered as foreshadowing Hans’ likely dismemberment on the battlefield, the connection is more convincing. Speirs makes this connection, referring to the shells which rip ‘apart human beings in mechanical imitation of the hags dismembering the child’.⁷⁸ Reading the horror of the hags’ cannibalism as representative of the horror of the First World War sheds another light on how it can be interpreted, particularly in light of the emphasis placed on ‘Lebenswürdigkeit’ in the passages preceding the vision. In this reading, the snow vision is not endorsing such horrific violence, but instead saying to the reader that it has already happened (in the shape of the First World War), and as such the grace, dignity, and respect with which the ‘Sonnenleute’ treat one another in light of such violence, can act as a model—albeit in a modified burgherly sense—for how to live in acknowledgement of such horror.

⁷⁵ Robertson, ‘Sacrifice and Sacrament’, p. 64.

⁷⁶ Hans’s blondeness is described as his: ‘blonden Korrektheit’ (‘blond correctness’) (Z, p. 47); ‘blonden Scheitel’ (‘blond parting’) (p. 518); and ‘strohblonden Kinnbärtchen’ (straw-blond little chin beard) (p. 981).

⁷⁷ ‘Da hatten sie ihn schon gesehen bei ihrem greulichen Geschäft, sie schüttelten die blutigen Fäuste nach ihm und schimpften stimmlos, aber mit letzter Gemeinheit, unflätig, und zwar im Volksdialekt von Hans Castorps Heimat’, ‘They had already seen him as they went on with their grisly work, shaking their bloody fists at him and silently cursing him with the most awful vulgarity and obscenity, and furthermore in the dialect of Hans Castorp’s hometown’ (ibid., p. 745).

⁷⁸ Speirs, p. 130.

This section has shown how *Der Zauberberg* explores the problems of morality but ultimately champions the values at the core of Mann's 'burgherly tradition', focusing on the individual and their capacity for rationalised, independent moral choices. The novel presents a variety of viewpoints, most prominently those of Naphta and Settembrini, to allow its protagonist and the reader to reflect on the issue of divinely ordained morality in contrast with humanly ordained morality. The greater sympathy which Hans and the narrator show towards Settembrini, coupled with his championing of life and love ('Lebenswürdigkeit' and 'Liebenswürdigkeit') being later connected by Mann to Goethe—the author's favoured representative of 'Bürgerlichkeit'—clearly points to the novel's affirmation of 'life' in a particularly middle-class way.

While it has been argued above that Mann's novel ultimately takes this affirmative, 'burgherly' stance, the aspect of the novel's message that the route taken to this conclusion must go through 'death' has only been touched upon. The following part of this chapter will consider how *Der Zauberberg* explores this morally dubious path in comparison with Eliot's exploration of sin in a number of his works, most notably through the character Sweeney. This comparison will demonstrate that Mann and Eliot draw on many common sources and motifs, and both show that sin and lust can be invigorating and necessary for the possibility of redemption. However, the major difference between these explorations of sin is that in Eliot's work they highlight the possibility of Christian redemption whereas in Mann's work they prepare the way for the burgherly affirmation of life described above. This contrast reinforces the framework of difference around which this thesis is centred, showing the importance of the authors' opposing belief systems. Further to this, the way in which both authors often present sinful, morally transgressive, and highly sexualised characters as incongruous with respectable bourgeois society will be considered. However, it will be argued that while Mann looks outside bourgeois respectability for invigoration and vitality,

he still places the middle classes firmly at the centre of his tradition, highlighting the way in which the redemption sought by Eliot's Christian tradition stands above class divisions.

ii) The Invigorating Morality of the Primal: Freud, Peeperkorn, and Sweeney

As the first part of this chapter has demonstrated, the sacrifice at the heart of the snow vision suggests not only a foreshadowing of the violence of war but it also indicates through its connection to Dionysus, fertility rituals and religious sacrifice, a wider variety of morally questionable actions and signifies their continuation in different forms throughout history. This section will begin by considering the presentation of such rituals in Mann and Eliot's works. By considering Mann's response to Freud's ideas of religion and primitivism, further evidence of the problems of moral relativity within society can be detected in the snow vision. However, Mann's essay on Freud is itself a direct call to the middle classes to learn the 'humanistisch-ethische' ('humanistic-ethical') lesson of psychology which explores the depths of the mind in the interest of 'Lösung' ('redemption') and 'Heilung' ('healing').⁷⁹ In the essay's historical context, this is a warning that the dangers of National Socialist ideology must be acknowledged and resisted. In the context of the snow vision, this is another confirmation of the need to acknowledge death, but in the service of life. The latter provides the framework in which the morally questionable characters of *Der Zauberberg* must be considered: as part of a larger whole, testing the limits of moral codes in order to establish a form of humanism which can recognise and rationalise, in the most basic sense, right moral action from wrong moral action. Mann places faith in the intellect and reason of the individual to recognise the limits of moral appropriateness.

⁷⁹ GWX, pp. 274-75.

In contrast, Eliot's firm belief in external, divinely ordained morality situates the morally transgressive characters of his poems in a completely different framework. They are preferable to the morally vacuous characters considered in the previous chapter, since they at least hold themselves open to damnation. As stated in 'Baudelaire': 'Genuine blasphemy, genuine in spirit and not purely verbal, is the product of partial belief, and it is as impossible to the complete atheist as to the perfect Christian. It is a way of affirming belief'.⁸⁰ However, while characters such as Sweeney, Rachel, and Grishkin could be considered as blasphemous 'in spirit', they do not necessarily show an awareness of their 'genuine blasphemy' in the sense in which Eliot attributes this to Baudelaire. These characters are arguably also analogous to 'the copulation of beasts' with no knowledge of Good and Evil which distinguishes them from 'the relations of man and woman'.⁸¹ It will be argued below that since these characters are invested with vitality, largely through more dynamic rhythmic meter and rhyme, and animalistic characterizations, that they are somewhere between 'genuine blasphemy' and the 'copulation of beasts'. Sweeney, Grishkin, and Rachel have this vitality and animalistic baseness in common with Clawdia and Peeperkorn. They are also all subjected to critical, often comical, mockery, and presented as undignified and sexually aggressive. The following section will consider how these commonalities are superficial in light of Eliot and Mann's differing views of morality and their divergent Christian and 'burgherly' traditions.

Mann's 1929 essay, 'Die Stellung Freuds in der modernen Geistesgeschichte' ('Freud's Position in the History of Modern Thought') continues *Der Zauberberg's* message that the darker side of humanity must be explored, acknowledged and rationalised in order that the gentler, more humane aspects of humanity can prevail. Mann did not read Freud's

⁸⁰ CP4, p. 157.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 162.

work directly until 1925, before which his knowledge was ‘almost entirely second-hand’.⁸² However, *Der Zauberberg* clearly presents a strong knowledge of psychoanalysis, most obviously through Krokowski, and of primal drives and their relationship with the conscious mind, as evidenced in the snow vision. By considering aspects of *Der Zauberberg* through Mann’s later essay on Freud, a greater insight into the novel’s scheme of polarities and its investigation of moral relativity can be gained. First published in 1929, and in English translation in the *Criterion* in 1933, the essay predominantly uses Freud as a thinly veiled warning against National Socialist ideologies, which were drawing on the German Romantic legacy.⁸³ The essay attempts to distance the Romantic tradition from National Socialism and appeals to the German public to guard against such irrationalism and false Romantic ideals with intellect, rationalism, and the restoration of Mann’s notion of genuine Enlightenment and Romantic values.⁸⁴ Mann praises Freud, and the emerging field of psychoanalysis, as delving into ‘the depths’—a deliberately broad term encompassing irrationalism, primal subconscious urges, sickness, and death—not for its own sake but rather, scientifically and

⁸² Robertson, ‘Primitivism and Psychology’, pp. 87-89.

⁸³ The essay was first delivered as a speech on 16 May 1929 in Munich and first published in *Die Psychoanalytische Bewegung*, Vienna, 1, 1 (May/June 1929) (GWX, p. 943). The essay’s later publication in the *Criterion* indicates the difference between Eliot’s role as a poet and his role as a journal editor. As discussed in chapter 1, his editorial position took a balanced approach in giving a voice to the intellectual concerns of contemporary Europe. In contrast, as this thesis argues, his poetry is securely fixed in his classical, Latin, Christian tradition.

⁸⁴ For example, Mann states in relation to Enlightenment values: ‘Und man muß versuchen, sich diesen großen, duldsamen und gläubigen Gesichtspunkt zu eigen zu machen, wenn man nach alldem die Geistfeindlichkeit von heute wieder ins Auge faßt: diesen überall verbreiteten, die Zeit beherrschenden antiidealistischen und antiintellektualistischen Willen, den Primat des Geistes und der Vernunft zu brechen, ihn als die unfruchtbarste der Illusionen zu verhöhnen und die Mächte der Dunkelheit und der Tiefe, das Instinktive, das Irrationale triumphierend wieder in ihr Lebensrecht einzusetzen. Diesen Zeitwillen, der heute fast überall, am besten aber in Deutschland zu Hause ist, romantisch zu nennen, wäre kritisch gewagt; Geistliebe, leidenschaftlicher Utopismus, Zukunftsorientierung, Bewußtheitsrevolutionarismus sind viel zu entscheidende Elemente und Merkmale der Romantik, als daß ihr Name hier eigentlich anwendbar sein könnte’, ‘And one must try to cling on to, and become one with, this great, tolerant and faithful viewpoint, when one observes the hostility to the intellect which prevails everywhere today, the widespread reigning of an anti-idealistic and anti-intellectual determination to breach the primacy of mind and reason, to mock it as the most unfruitful of illusions while triumphantly restoring the powers of darkness and the depths, the instinctual, the irrational to their primal rights to life once more. This mood of the times, which prevails nearly everywhere today, but which is most at home in Germany, to call this Romantic would be a reckless criticism, since love of the intellect/spirit, passionate utopianism, orientation toward the future, conscious revolutionary spirit are far too decidedly elements and characteristics of Romanticism, that that name cannot be rightly used here’ (GWX, pp. 267-68).

rationally, for the purpose of ‘redemption and healing’.⁸⁵ He concludes the essay by stating that psychoanalysis is ‘einer der wichtigsten Bausteine, die beigetragen worden sind, zum Fundament der Zukunft, der Wohnung einer befreiten und wissenden Menschheit’.⁸⁶ This emphasis on freedom, consciousness, and humanity as necessary for the future restates the ideals which are central to *Der Zauberberg*. Robertson argues that Mann merges Freud with Nietzsche and Schopenhauer, and the German Romantic tradition and the Enlightenment, in order to ‘wrest the German intellectual tradition away from the reactionaries of the Weimar Republic by disclosing in it a tradition of critical inquiry which acknowledges irrational forces in order to comprehend and master them’.⁸⁷ In this way, Freud is discussed in relation to the contemporary historical context and as a means of reasserting the importance of the key figures in Mann’s ‘burgherly tradition’ and restating *Der Zauberberg*’s message that death must be acknowledged but not granted dominion. Yet Mann’s essay on Freud also highlights the role of religion in relation to humanly determined morality.

As suggested above, the snow vision can be seen as emblematic of the uncertainty of moral relativity when absolute, divinely ordained morality has been removed. Yet, ironically, it also alludes to the moral relativity of religious practices throughout history. ‘Die Stellung Freuds’ reveals Mann’s interest in the connection made in Freud’s *Totem und Tabu* (*Totem and Taboo*) between sacrifice (animal and human) and the Christian Eucharist.⁸⁸ This offers another insight into the barbarity of the hags’ actions. The ritualistic aspect of their deed—

⁸⁵ ‘der tiefste Kennersinn für die Krankheit nicht endgültig um der Tiefe und um der Krankheit willen, nicht im vernunftfeindlichen Sinn also, die der Lebenserkenntnis aus der Erkundung des Dunkels erwachsen, zuerst und zuletzt um Lösung und Heilung, um “Aufklärung” in des Wortes menschenfreundlichster Bedeutung geht’, ‘Its profoundest expertise in morbid states is not at work for the sake of the depths and disease in themselves, not, that is, in a sense which is hostile to reason, but first and last, armed with the recognition of life which accrues from exploration of the darkness, for the sake of redemption and healing, for “Enlightenment” in the word’s philanthropic sense’ (ibid., pp. 274-75).

⁸⁶ ‘one of the most important foundation stones underpinning a future in which a free and conscious humanity may dwell’ (ibid., p. 280).

⁸⁷ Robertson, ‘Primitivism and Psychology’, p. 90.

⁸⁸ ‘Wie er hier [in *Totem und Tabu*] “durch die Länge der Zeiten die Identität der Totem-Mahlzeit mit dem Tieropfer, dem theanthropischen Menschenopfer und mit der christlichen Eucharistie verfolgt”’, ‘How he here [in *Totem and Taboo*] “traces through the history of the ages the identity of the totem feast with animal sacrifice, theanthropic human sacrifice and with the Christian Eucharist”’ (GWX, p. 260).

being performed in a temple, complete with ‘Feuerpfannen’ (‘firepans’) and a basin to catch the blood—places this act in a long tradition of ritualistic, religious sacrifice.⁸⁹ Robertson’s analysis frames this scene within the context of the early-twentieth-century fascination with primitivism and Freud’s anthropological interests, in particular the ritual sacrifices of totem animals by Australian aborigine tribes.⁹⁰ The connection which Mann makes between such primal sacrifice and Christianity is clearly expressed in ‘Die Stellung Freuds’:

Ja, das Christentum selbst, welche unschätzbare Bedeutung für die Vermenschlichung des Menschen, für seine seelisch-sittliche Verfeinerung es auch gewonnen haben möge und welche Fortschrittsmacht es also vom Augenblick seiner Haupterhebung an darstellte: wer begreift den nicht, daß es mit seinem schauerlichen Heraufholen und Wiederleben des Ur-Religiösen, seiner seelischen Vorweltlichkeit, seinen Blut- und Bundesmahlzeiten vom Fleisch eines göttlichen Schlachtopfers der zivilisierten Antike als ein wahrer Greuel von Rückfälligkeit und Atavismus erscheinen mußte, durch welchen buchstäblich und in jedem Sinn das Unterste der Welt zuoberst gekehrt wurde?⁹¹

Interpreting the snow vision in light of this statement raises questions about the changeability of religious practice throughout history. The primal, ritualistic sacrifice of the hags becomes representative of the primitive origins of the Eucharist, in line with Freud’s theory. The baseness of the barbaric sacrifice in the temple may be the counterforce to the high civility of the ‘Sonnenleute’ but it also highlights the way in which ritualistic sacrifice can in itself be seen as both ‘high’ and ‘base’, depending on the historical and religious perspective. The way in which Mann plays here with ‘high’ and ‘base’ is also reminiscent of the novel’s playfulness between the height and depth of the mountain, setting up polarities which are

⁸⁹ Z, p. 683.

⁹⁰ Robertson, ‘Primitivism and Psychology’, pp. 79-85.

⁹¹ Yes, Christianity itself, for all its inestimable impact on humanizing people, for the refinement of their souls and ethics which it has achieved and the power for development which it has presented since its initial inception: who does not recognise that with its awful revival and reanimation of the primal religions, its belief in the superiority of the soul over the physical world, its blood- and bond-meal of the flesh of the divine sacrifice, which to civilized antiquity must have seemed like a hideous relapse and atavism through which—literally and in every sense—the most base things in the world are turned into the highest? (GWX, p. 259).

inextricably linked and interchangeable.⁹² Exploring the ‘depths’ can simultaneously mean exploring the ‘heights’ as these transposable extremes represent the confusion and disorientation left after the decline of the ‘burgherly age’. That the way through these extremes is by compromise—a middle way which acknowledges extremes—is evidence of the primacy of the middle classes in Mann’s attempt to promote his ‘burgherly tradition’ and the trust he places in this class’s ability to overcome such extremes.

Importantly, in Mann’s scheme, Christianity becomes another aspect of the problems of individually-ordained morality through which Hans and the reader must navigate. As the passage just quoted makes clear, the primary values which Mann attached to Christianity were related to its ability to humanise and refine people—showing concern only for the temporal world and humanity rather than anything beyond this. Interestingly, Mann goes on to relate tracing the history of the primal to Freud as an individual: ‘das hält zu mehrerem Nachdenken an als nur über die seelisch-urgreuelhafte Herkunft des Religiösen und die tief konservative Natur aller Reformationen: es legt vor allem Gedanken nahe über den Autor selbst und seine geistesgeschichtliche Stellung und Zugehörigkeit’.⁹³ True to Mann’s analytical style, and his ‘burgherly tradition’, he places great importance on the individual, considering Freud’s personal knowledge of, and relations to, the German Romantic tradition.⁹⁴ This focus on the importance of the individual is demonstrated throughout *Der Zauberberg*, not least by its tracing of Hans’ development and attention to the minute details

⁹² This playfulness with height and depth is made clear in Hans’ first conversation with Settembrini, who states: “‘Welche Kühnheit, hinab in die Tiefe zu steigen, wo Tote nichtig und sinnlos wohnen —’ / “In die Tiefe, Herr Settembrini? Da muß ich doch bitten! Ich bin ja rund fünftausend Fuß hoch geklettert zu Ihnen herauf —” / “Das schien Ihnen nur so! Auf mein Wort, das war Täuschung”, sagte der Italiener [...] “Wir sind tief gesunkene Wesen”, “What boldness, to climb into the depths where the dead futilely and senselessly dwell” / “Into the depths, Mr Settembrini? I must beg your pardon! I climbed around five thousand feet high to get up here to you —” / “That only appears so to you! On my word, that was deception” said the Italian [...] “We are creatures who have sunk to great depths,” (Z, p. 84). For more on Nietzsche’s use of height and depth, with reference to *Der Zauberberg*, see F. D. Luke, ‘Nietzsche and the Imagery of Height’, in *Nietzsche: Imagery and Thought*, ed. by Malcolm Pasley (London: Methuen, 1978), pp. 104-22.

⁹³ ‘that leads one to consider more than just the spiritual-primitive abominations which form the origins of religion and the deeply conservative nature of all reforms: it places one’s thoughts above all on the author himself and the spiritual/intellectual historical position to which he belongs’ (GWX, p. 260).

⁹⁴ The essay focuses heavily on Freud’s relation to Nietzsche and Novalis, stating Freud’s lack of knowledge of these figures but the close resemblances between many of their ideas.

of his character. However, the character Mynheer Peeperkorn more forcefully expresses this focus on the individual while also explicitly experimenting with connections between primitive sacrifice and Christian ritual.

Peeperkorn's dual nature, representing both Dionysus and Christ, and the mock-Eucharist which he performs shortly after his arrival, reveal the way in which Mann blurs the lines between primitive ritual and Christian ritual. Further to this, just as the previous chapter considered how Mann recasts the Wagnerian heroic into the petty bourgeois through Hans Castorp, the figure of Peeperkorn comically recasts Christianity and the Dionysian into excessively middle-class naturalism. This can be seen through Peeperkorn's insistence on being brought 'Brot' ('bread') with each of the lavish sanatorium meals, although, as he explains to the waitress, 'nicht gebackenes Brot [...] sondern gebranntes'.⁹⁵ The 'bread' of Christ's body becomes Belgian schnapps. The inversion of the Christian allusion becomes even clearer when he refers to the drink as 'Gottesbrot' ('God's bread').⁹⁶ Peeperkorn also makes it his habit to order a bottle of red wine at every main meal but the Eucharistic association is flouted as he drinks multiple bottles of it in Bacchanalian excess.⁹⁷ The allusion is further stressed when Hans struggles to distinguish whether the red flecks on Peeperkorn's sheets are blood or red wine stains.⁹⁸

The parody reaches its height in the subchapter 'Vingt et un' when Peeperkorn hosts a party, complete with twelve guests, unconsciously re-enacting the Last Supper in the salon of the sanatorium.⁹⁹ In this scene the origin of the Eucharist becomes a long night of gambling (hence the title of the subchapter), drunkenness, gluttony, and flirtation. Along with the obvious allusions to Peeperkorn as Christ, he is also explicitly compared with Dionysus in his

⁹⁵ 'not baked bread, but rather distilled' (Z, p. 764).

⁹⁶ Ibid. Peeperkorn also later solemnly praises a pretzel as 'göttlich' ('divine') (ibid., p. 777).

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 768.

⁹⁸ 'Ich bleibe vorderhand bei diesen Blutflecken, Rotweinflecken hier im Laken', 'I'll just keep looking for the time being at these flecks of blood, flecks of red wine, on the sheet' (ibid., p. 841).

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 777.

Roman form, ‘Auch Bacchus selbst, dachte Hans Castorp, stützte sich betrunken auf seine enthusiastischen Begleiter, ohne darum an Gottheit einzubüßen’.¹⁰⁰ Significantly, Bacchus’ divinity is stressed here reinforcing the connection which Mann later made between primitive rituals and religion. Peeperkorn uses his gravitas, magnetic personality, and charm to encourage the other guests to break sanatorium rules, dismissing their final rest cure and staying up late into the night, as well as keeping up the waiting and kitchen staff to fulfil his demands. Although this is hardly the chaotic, cannibalistic orgy of Aschenbach’s dream-vision, it recalls elements of its euphoric carousing in a muted, bourgeois form.

This comical and ironic transplantation of the primitive into the modern has a number of commonalities with Eliot’s unfinished drama *Sweeney Agonistes*.¹⁰¹ The first scene of this work, set in a contemporary London flat, opens with Dusty and Doris attempting to interpret their future from a pack of playing cards, recalling Madame Sosostris’ tarot reading of *The Waste Land* but in a more light-hearted, amateur attempt at prophecy. Their efforts are interrupted by visitors and they engage in polite, but meaningless, stilted conversation with Klipstein and Krumpacker, who are visiting from America.¹⁰² Sweeney’s presence in the following scene, ‘Fragment of an Agon’, dramatically changes the dynamic. He dominates the dialogue. The vernacular, conversational patter of the previous scene becomes more intense and fast-paced with a stronger rhythm and a more regular rhyme scheme, largely through repetition. This can be seen from the outset, as the scene opens with his threat to carry Doris off ‘to a cannibal isle’:

SWEENEY: I’ll gobble you up. I’ll be the cannibal.

¹⁰⁰ ‘even Bacchus himself, thought Hans Castorp, had drunkenly propped himself up on his enthusiastic companions without losing any of his divinity thereby’ (ibid., p. 783). Peeperkorn is, in part, a parody of Gerhart Hauptmann, Mann’s literary rival and a notoriously ‘Bacchic’ figure. See Mann’s 1932 essay on Hauptmann’s 70th birthday – ‘An Gerhart Hauptmann’ (GWX, pp. 331-39).

¹⁰¹ Although this play was not published until 1926-27, it was in draft form by April 1923 (Moody, *Thomas Stearns Eliot: Poet*, p. 114). Crawford explains that this period in the early 1920s was when Eliot’s interest in anthropology was at its strongest, with exception of his Harvard years (Robert Crawford, *The Savage and the City in the work of T. S. Eliot* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1987), p. 161).

¹⁰² The repetition of phrases such as ‘How do you do’ and generic questions about their impressions of London evidence this (FP, I. 115; 121; 135; 139).

DORIS: You'll carry me off? To a cannibal isle?

SWEENEY: I'll be the cannibal.

DORIS: I'll be the missionary.

I'll convert you!

SWEENEY: I'll convert *you*!

Into a stew.

A nice little, white little, missionary stew.¹⁰³

As Chinitz points out, this could be considered 'mere flirtation' but we learn that Sweeney is serious when he later reveals that he 'knew a man once did a girl in'—'a man' who is likely to be himself.¹⁰⁴ Nonetheless, the exchange is comical and engaging, relying heavily on a range of popular art forms including jazz, vaudeville, burlesque, melodrama, minstrelsy, and the music hall.¹⁰⁵ The entrance of Sweeney creates a similar effect to the entrance of Peeperkorn, both characters' vital energy and curiously magnetic personalities cause their audiences (both within the fictional works and those reading, or viewing, them) to be mesmerized by, and keenly attentive to, them.

Another important similarity which underlies both Sweeney and Peeperkorn's magnetism is their uninhibited sexual voracity, anchoring both figures in their roles as representatives of ancient fertility rituals. True to Mann's love of polarities and ambivalence, Peeperkorn's belief that 'life' is a woman waiting to be satisfied by the potent desire of man is underscored by the irony that he is impotent.¹⁰⁶ Nonetheless, his hosting of the parodic Last

¹⁰³ FA, II. 2-11.

¹⁰⁴ Chinitz, p. 109; FA, I. 94.

¹⁰⁵ For more on the influence of these sources, as well as the Senecan use of wordplay, on *Sweeney Agonistes* see Chinitz, pp. 107-17. Kevin McNeilly's chapter 'Interrogating Culture: "I gotta use words when I talk to you"' also offers some valuable insights into the connection between revitalisation and popular beat (mainly jazz), as well as reducing language to the closest possible relationship with action *T. S. Eliot's Orchestra*, pp. 25-47).

¹⁰⁶ Peeperkorn explains to Hans 'Das Leben – junger Mann –es ist ein Weib, ein hingespreitet Weib, mit dicht beieinander quellenden Brüsten und großer, weicher Bauchfläche zwischen den ausladenden Hüften, mit schmalen Armen und schwellenden Schenkeln und halbgeschlossenen Augen, das in herrlicher, höhnischer Herausforderung unsere höchste Inständigkeit beansprucht, alle Spannkraft unserer Manneslust, die vor ihm besteht oder zuschanden wird', 'Life—young man—is a woman, a woman sprawled before us, with close-pressed bulging breasts and a large, soft belly between broad hips, with slender arms and swelling thighs and half-closed eyes which are gloriously, mockingly demanding and laying claim to the highest imploration, all the vigour of our manly lust will either survive or be ruined before her' (*Z*, p. 784).

Supper along with his insistence on sexual primacy and close association with Dionysian ritual recall the sacrifice in the temple of Hans' snow vision. The horror of the literal cannibalism of the hags is echoed, but in an excessively bourgeois and comical form, in the metaphorical cannibalism of Peeperkorn's Eucharistic ritual. Mann draws on this earlier scene to show the continued and inescapable existence of the primal in the civilised in a more realistic form. Similarly, Sweeney's cannibalism is simultaneously comic, sexualised, and terrifying. Although his threat to carry Doris off is more than 'mere flirtation' it is nonetheless overtly flirtatious, even violently so. This is reinforced by the fact that in all of the poems in which Sweeney appears, he is presented as a lustful, sexually charged character, often in the company of prostitutes.¹⁰⁷ However, unlike the invocation of cannibalism in *Der Zauberberg* which highlights the savage origins of Christian ritual, both in the snow vision and in Peeperkorn's Last Supper, here it alludes more overtly to the comical, clichéd image of the missionary in the cooking pot, drawing on popular sources and aligning cannibalism more closely with the primitive—the missionary is a victim of savagery rather than, as in Mann's novel, savagery being presented as a precursor of Christianity. Both Mann and Eliot's works present a close connection between modern, civilised society and the primitive which exists within it. However, the way in which these are presented is largely informed by their differing responses to bourgeois society and to Christianity.

The primitive island to which Sweeney threatens to take Doris is far removed from the civilised drawing rooms of 'Prufrock' and 'Portrait'. Sweeney describes 'life on a crocodile isle':

There's no telephones

There's no gramophones

There's no motor cars

¹⁰⁷ The poems in which Sweeney appears are 'Sweeney Erect', 'Mr. Eliot's Sunday Morning Service', 'Sweeney Among the Nightingales' and *The Waste Land*. 'Mr. Eliot's Sunday Morning Service' is the only one of these in which Sweeney is not visiting a prostitute.

[...]
 Nothing to eat but the fruit as it grows.
 Nothing to see but the palmtrees one way
 And the sea the other way,¹⁰⁸

The connection to the technological developments which Eliot disparaged in ‘Marie Lloyd’ as damaging to civilisation is obvious here.¹⁰⁹ The simplicity of life on the crocodile isle is presented with a vitality and as preferable to the ‘cheery automatism’ of the modern, western world.¹¹⁰ For this reason, it is *because* of the comical but nonetheless horrific threat of cannibalism, rather than despite it, that life on the crocodile isle is preferable. The terror which Sweeney presents here at least creates an awareness of ‘Good and Evil’.¹¹¹

Furthermore, the connection which Eliot makes in ‘Marie Lloyd’ between the kind of ‘civilisation’ brought about by technological developments and the decreasing population of the Melanesians is countered by the sexual virility and fertility cycles which prevail on the ‘crocodile isle’. Sweeney states that there are:

Nothing at all but three things
 [...]
 Birth, and copulation and death.
 That’s all, that’s all,’ that’s all, that’s all,
 Birth, and copulation, and death.¹¹²

This is reminiscent of Hans’ research into biology and his subsequent discovery that ‘Life’ is essentially the warmth created by the continual decay and renewal of protein molecules.¹¹³

¹⁰⁸ FA, II. 17-25.

¹⁰⁹ ‘When every theatre has been replaced by 100 cinemas, when every musical instrument has been replaced by 100 gramophones [...] when applied science has done everything possible with the materials on this earth to make life as interesting as possible, it will not be surprising if the population of the entire civilized world rapidly follows the fate of the Melanesians’ (CP2, p. 420). Crawford points out that the relation between these two passages ‘is clear, and has often been indicated’ (Crawford, *Savage and the City*, p. 171).

¹¹⁰ CP4, p. 162.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² FA, II. 27-31.

¹¹³ ‘Was war also das Leben? Es war Wärme, das Wärmeprodukt formerhaltender Bestandlosigkeit, ein Fieber der Materie, von welchem der Prozeß unaufhörlicher Zersetzung und Wiederherstellung unhaltbar verwickelt, unhaltbar kunstreich aufgebauter Eiweißmolekel begleitet war’, ‘What, then, was life? It was warmth, the warmth produced by instability attempting to preserve form, a fever of matter which was accompanied by the

This lesson is largely in line with Behrens' view of life. While Hans' education takes him beyond this conclusion to the more holistic, middle-class affirmation of the value of life discussed above, its focus on the basic nature of physical existence is central to Peeperkorn's outlook. Mann and Eliot draw on the same symbol to represent this life-cycle: the egg. The German word for 'protein', 'Eiweiß', translates literally as 'egg white', making the play on the life-cycle of protein cells and the reproductive symbolism of eggs more obvious.

Sweeney also uses the egg as a symbol of the simplicity of 'life on a crocodile isle' and its continual cycle of 'birth, and copulation and death'.¹¹⁴ The drafts of the play make this connection even more explicit as Sweeney scrambles eggs and distributes them, an act which Crawford links to Eliot's reading about fertility rituals in Cornford.¹¹⁵ Crawford points to the distribution of eggs in *Sweeney Agonistes* as comparable to the 'basic ritual scheme in which "the cooking and eating of a Feast" are "canonical", part of a "Sacramental meal . . . through which God passes to his resurrection"'.¹¹⁶ This bears a striking resemblance to the omelettes served at Peeperkorn's Last Supper feast. The description of the omelettes is rich in symbolism. Peeperkorn angrily rejects the lavish selection of meats, intricately presented like 'prangenden Blumenbeeten' ('showy flowerbeds') first brought out, in favour of the simple eggs described as 'Gottesgabe' ('gifts of God').¹¹⁷ The ritualistic nature of consuming the eggs is reinforced by the round of Belgian gin—Peeperkorn's version of the wafer—of which he insists his guests partake with their omelettes.¹¹⁸ Peeperkorn's praise for the simplicity of the eggs spurs him on to his statement that life is a sexually expectant woman, further strengthening the connection between eggs and copulation.

incessant disintegration and recreation of untenably intricate, untenably, ingeniously constructed protein molecules' (Z, p. 384).

¹¹⁴ FA, I, 17; 28.

¹¹⁵ Crawford, *Savage and the City*, pp. 164-5, Crawford refers to the draft synopsis of *Sweeney Agonistes* (King's College Library). For a more detailed discussion of the original plan for the drama see Chinitz's chapter 'Sweeney Bound and Unbound', pp. 105-27.

¹¹⁶ F. M. Cornford, *The Origin of Attic Comedy* (London: Edward Arnold, 1914), pp. 83-84 and 99-100, quoted in Crawford, *Savage and the City*, p. 165.

¹¹⁷ Z, pp. 780-81.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 781.

While both Mann and Eliot clearly draw on fertility rituals and the most basic life-cycles to question and criticise the overcomplicated, over-refined nature of western civilisation, the way in which other characters respond to Peeperkorn and Sweeney reveals more about their authors' divergent traditions. Hans is initially critical of Peeperkorn and falls back on his bourgeois standards, noting that the Dutchman's trouser pockets are sewn in vertically rather than at a slant like his own, as is the custom for the 'höheren Gesellschaftsklassen'.¹¹⁹ Although part of this hostility is due to the love rivalry, Hans later notices how Peeperkorn's woollen shirt makes him appear more working class than middle class.¹²⁰ However, this observation is countered by the simultaneous majesty of Peeperkorn's countenance. The Dutchman does not conform to Hans' bourgeois standards, but Hans is nonetheless fascinated by, and drawn to, Peeperkorn's personality. Merging aspects of it with his own, imitating his confidence, Hans begins to express his own ideas 'zu Ende' and 'wie ein Mann'.¹²¹ The latter point suggesting that Hans borrows some of Peeperkorn's masculine dominance, although not without a hint of irony from the narrator. Most expressive of Hans' eventual deep respect for Peeperkorn is the alliance formed with Clawdia in honour of him.¹²² Peeperkorn functions as a clear example of the way in which Mann incorporates a range of polarities which are inextricably linked (his roles as Christ and Dionysus, his vitality and impotence, his regal and working-class appearance) and presents them in a way which places the individual at its core in a humane manner, as expressed by Hans and Clawdia's deep respect for him. Hans acknowledges Peeperkorn's excesses and theory of worshipping the simple, physical gifts of life and tempers it with his own reason and intellect, all in an overtly

¹¹⁹ 'higher social classes' (ibid., p. 760).

¹²⁰ 'dem Bürgerlichen entrückt durch diese Tracht, die seiner Erscheinung ein teils volkstümlich-arbeitermäßiges, teils verewigtbüstenartiges verlieh', 'this outfit lent him a less burgherly appearance, and more that of a partly folky-working-class and partly immortalized bust-like appearance' (ibid., p. 798).

¹²¹ 'to the end' and 'like a man' (ibid., p. 809).

¹²² Ibid., pp. 830-31.

bourgeois mode.¹²³ This is directly in line with the novel's broader message, presenting extreme polarities which must be reckoned with and incorporated into a (middle-class) middle way which can balance them.

Doris' response to Sweeney's primal allure is, in contrast, more direct and dismissive: 'I don't like eggs; I never liked eggs'.¹²⁴ By rejecting the natural cycle of life represented by the eggs, and rejecting Sweeney's vitality, she aligns herself more closely with the disconnected, spiritually empty characters who populate *The Waste Land*. Although her act of reading cards presents her as engaged in a modernised ritual, this version is even more degraded than Madame Sosostris', using playing cards rather than the tarot pack, and proves to be more parodic than in earnest. While the reader genuinely believes that Sweeney would 'do a girl in' (or indeed, may already have done so), when Doris is faced with the coffin card and the threat of death underlying Sweeney's story, she becomes worried and disengaged, her input reduced to short, fearful, and defensive sentences.¹²⁵

A parallel with *The Waste Land* can be seen here. Just as the previous chapter discussed the possibilities for transcendence in the poem which relapse into ennui and spiritual dissociation, a glimpse into genuine evil is presented here but is rejected by Doris who does not want to explore the matter any further. Smith's reading of *The Waste Land* in relation to Nietzsche's *Die Geburt der Tragödie* provides an interesting perspective on this. Smith argues that 'Nietzsche's account of the struggle between the Apollonian principle of "individuation" and the Dionysian impulse to "absorb the entire world of phenomena" [...] mediates between the poem's Wagnerian elements and its range of classical and anthropological allusion'.¹²⁶ He compares Nietzsche's assertion that Dionysus undergoes a

¹²³ Another good example of this can be seen during the 'Last Supper' party, as Peeperkorn begins to work himself into a rage, Hans calms him with clever words rather than allowing the situation to lapse into violence (Z, p. 787).

¹²⁴ FA, I, 71.

¹²⁵ Ibid., I, 104.

¹²⁶ Stan Smith, p. 129.

dismemberment and transformation into air, water, earth and fire to the fact that these elements preside over the first four sections of *The Waste Land*.¹²⁷ He claims that ‘the final section brings all four together at a moment of possible rebirth where Christ merges with Dionysus’ at the ruined chapel and the thunder (with which Dionysus is associated in Euripides’ *Bacchae*) appears.¹²⁸ However, as Smith points out, it is Tiresias, not Dionysus, who really presides over Eliot’s poem, a figure who is more comparable to Nietzsche’s ‘mythless man [...] eternally hungering among all the by-gones’ who ‘digs and grubs for roots’.¹²⁹ Nietzsche’s Dionysus, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter, offers a reinvigorating power for the stale, over-cerebral modern waste land. Yet in Eliot’s waste land, Tiresias remains the ‘most important personage of the poem’, the chapel remains empty and the thunder does not revitalize, ‘its commands merely provoke a further series of inadequate answers’.¹³⁰

Smith also considers Nietzsche’s philosophy in relation to the failure of the narrative method and reliance on the mythic method, which governs the poem:

All the voices of *The Waste Land* are uprooted from a narrative community which would make sense of and give substance to their personal narratives. This is the modern wilderness Nietzsche decried, redeemable only by a return to the origin, to that Dionysaic flood from which the individuated subject is a belated extrusion.¹³¹

Yet *The Waste Land* does not offer a genuine ‘return to the origin’: while its invocation of myth provides the structure of the poem, references to the primal show only the fragmented ruins of it lingering in degraded forms in contemporary society. Unlike *Der Zauberberg*, which merges the narrative method with myth, and incorporates a modified version of Nietzsche’s Dionysus into the middle classes for an injection of vitality, *The Waste Land*

¹²⁷ Ibid. Stan Smith refers to Haussmann’s translation *The Birth of Tragedy or Hellenism and Pessimism*, pp. 81-82.

¹²⁸ Ibid., pp. 129-30.

¹²⁹ Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*, trans. by Haussmann, pp. 174-75, quoted in Stan Smith, p. 130.

¹³⁰ NTWL, p. 74; Stan Smith, p. 134.

¹³¹ Stan Smith, p. 143.

rejects Nietzsche's Dionysus. Peeperkorn's merging of Christ and Dionysus mocks primitive and Christian ritual but shows them as aspects of human nature which still hold relevance and can be meaningful for contemporary society. The confluence of Christ and Dionysus in *The Waste Land*, by the very fact of its merging the two, is doomed to failure. Just as Doris' half-hearted attempts at prophecy show only a popularised, degraded version of myth and a character unwilling genuinely and fully to commit to a belief system.

Crawford suggests that, for Eliot, the search in *Sweeney Agonistes* for 'a vital relation between ritual and art' was not satisfactory and that 'all his probing to the roots of religion had discovered simply the bankruptcy of those roots, or at least their apparent irrelevance to the job of finding a meaning in modern life'.¹³² For this reason, Eliot's abandonment of *Sweeney Agonistes* is itself significant. It demonstrates how 'the perception that a cruel savage cycle of fertility underlying all the trappings of modern life only served to emphasize for Eliot that there was a higher life, though one infinitely difficult to attain'.¹³³ Both Crawford and Chinitz recognise the abandonment of *Sweeney Agonistes* as an important step in Eliot's formal conversion to Anglo-Catholicism in 1927.¹³⁴ However, as Chinitz points out, this was 'a change of focus rather than a reversal of principle'.¹³⁵

The final section of this chapter will consider how Eliot's presentation of an earlier version of Sweeney draws on his primal, animalistic characteristics, showing an ambivalent but predominantly unfavourable attitude to him. However, when Sweeney and other more sensual or outlandish characters are set against the bourgeoisie, they are presented as preferable for their vitality and knowledge of sin rather than moral passivity. The connection between the animal, the sensual, and sin presented in *Der Zauberberg*, most notably through Clawdia Chauchat, will be considered in relation to this.

¹³² Crawford, *Savage and the City*, p. 180.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 183-84; Chinitz, p. 84.

¹³⁵ Chinitz, p. 84.

iii) Animalistic Sensuality in *Discord with the Bourgeois*

In order to understand the primal, animal nature of some of the characters in Eliot's early poems, it is worth going back to the claim in 'Baudelaire' that the French poet 'perceived that what distinguishes the relations of man and woman from the copulation of beasts is the knowledge of Good and Evil' and that conceiving 'the sexual act as evil is more dignified, less boring, than as the natural, 'life-giving', cheery automatism of the modern world'.¹³⁶ Sweeney is often associated with animals and animalistic actions. The opening of 'Sweeney Among the Nightingales' exemplifies this describing his 'Apeneck', hanging arms, 'zebra stripes' and 'swelling to maculate giraffe'.¹³⁷ The poem continues:

The person in the Spanish cape
Tries to sit on Sweeney's knees

Slips and pulls the table cloth
Overturns a coffee-cup
Reorganized upon the floor
She yawns and draws a stocking up,¹³⁸

The brothel setting is far removed from the drawing rooms of 'Prufrock' and 'Portrait', yet the overturned coffee-cup and dishevelled lady mirror aspects of the Prufrockian world of afternoon tea in a distorted, chaotic, sordid form. The animalistic associations continue throughout the poem, reducing all of the characters in this highly sexualised setting to the status of animals. There are also elements of exoticism associated with the debauchery, the 'oranges / Bananas figs and hothouse grapes' brought in by the waiter are examples of foreign fruits grown in hot climates across various continents.¹³⁹ This associates the scene of sexual debauchery with the foreign and exotic. The selection of animals mentioned are mainly native to Africa and Asia which reinforces this connection. Rachel *née* Rabinovitch is

¹³⁶ CP4, p. 162.

¹³⁷ SAN, ll. 1-4.

¹³⁸ Ibid., ll. 11-16.

¹³⁹ Ibid., ll. 19-20.

also directly attributed animalistic qualities as she ‘tears at the grapes with murderous paws’.¹⁴⁰ The fact that these brutal, animalistic, and highly sexualised traits are attributed to a foreign, exoticized character, further distances her from the sterile monotony of the middle classes.

Another example of Eliot’s more critical presentation of the bourgeoisie than of those who break out of it is the eponymous character ‘Cousin Nancy’ who ‘strode across the hills and broke them’.¹⁴¹ Not quite animalising Nancy, the image of her striding across the hills and breaking them makes her seem like a giant. Furthermore, the detail that the ‘New England hills’ which she breaks are ‘barren’ aligns her in opposition to this as fertile and sexually liberated.¹⁴² The poem also states that ‘Miss Nancy Ellicott smoked / And danced all the modern dances’.¹⁴³ Chinitz argues that the poem registers a certain enjoyment of Nancy’s transgressions, the confusion of her aunts, and recognition of the New Woman. He points out that ‘like “Portrait of a Lady,” “Cousin Nancy” is an expression of a profound ambivalence in which Eliot deliberately yet reluctantly allies himself with the modern, and with popular culture, against an unpalatable and moribund tradition’.¹⁴⁴ Although the presentation of the aunts does contain some subtle comic imitation of their bemusement, their status as representatives of this ‘moribund tradition’ is reinforced by their passivity. They accept that Nancy’s behaviour is ‘modern’ and neither approve nor disapprove, thereby taking no moral position.

Finally, one of the most notable instances of the stale, over-civilized bourgeoisie in opposition with the primal, animalistic, and exoticized is found in ‘Whispers of Immortality’. Eliot’s descriptions of Grishkin as temptress and comparison of her to a Brazilian jaguar

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., l. 24.

¹⁴¹ CN, l. 2.

¹⁴² Ibid., l. 4.

¹⁴³ Ibid., ll. 7-9.

¹⁴⁴ Chinitz, p. 26.

display a primal sexuality which is out of place in the drawing room and also serves to highlight a number of interesting comparisons with Clawdia Chauchat:

Grishkin is nice: her Russian eye
 Is underlined for emphasis;
 Uncorseted, her friendly bust
 Gives promise of pneumatic bliss.

The couched Brazilian jaguar
 Compels the scampering marmoset
 With subtle effluence of cat;
 Grishkin has a maisonette;

The sleek Brazilian jaguar
 Does not in its arboreal gloom
 Distil so rank a feline smell
 As Grishkin in a drawing-room.¹⁴⁵

The immediate feline comparison which can be made with Clawdia Chauchat is obvious since the latter's surname, containing the French 'chat' ('cat'), emphasises her slinking, catlike attributes. Along with the standard translation of 'chat', there is also the more vulgar implication of 'chatte', the French equivalent of 'pussy', highlighting the crudely sexual aspect of the character. She is also later referred to as a cat in slightly derogatory terms by Hofrat Behrens as he explains to Hans that 'Französisch oder auch Neuhochdeutsch miaut das Kätzchen ja allerliebste'.¹⁴⁶ While these qualities emphasise her feline appeal and ability to come and go as she pleases, it could also be a suggestion that, unlike the barbaric, bestial Russians of the 'bad' Russian table, Madame Chauchat has, through her connection with France, been somewhat domesticated and is therefore able to sit at the 'good' Russian table.

¹⁴⁵ WI, II, 17-28.

¹⁴⁶ 'the little kitty can meow some very pretty French and High German' (Z, p. 491).

Grishkin, however, has not been domesticated in this sense. The feline furtiveness begins by empowering her, making her out to be an intimidating, accomplished hunter, stealthily flowing through her natural environment while the ‘scampering marmoset’ runs in fear. The seemingly unrelated statement that ‘Grishkin has a maisonette’ could be interpreted as an expression of her freedom and independence. However, the portrait of the sleek, liberated Russian woman quickly becomes ‘rank’ smelling when taken out of the ‘gloom’ of her natural environment and into the acme of western society, the ‘drawing-room.’ The juxtaposition between polite, civilized society and natural, sexualized, offensive behaviour, seen in ‘Sweeney Among the Nightingales’ and ‘Cousin Nancy’ is here intensified. There is no hint in this poem that this ‘cat’ can be domesticated since it is implied that Grishkin is even more rank and offensive in polite society than the ‘Brazilian jaguar’ would be.

Returning to the introductory depiction of Grishkin which describes her plainly as ‘nice’, highlights her ‘underlined eye’ and ‘uncorseted, friendly bust’, she appears, much like Clawdia, to be a great Russian seductress, highly sexualised and desirable without being explicitly romanticized. However, we come to an extremely important point of difference when we are told that Grishkin’s seduction ‘gives promise of pneumatic bliss’.¹⁴⁷ In one sense this is a simple play on the word serving inventively to emphasise the inflatedness of Grishkin’s bust. However, if we consider the mechanisation of humans in *The Waste Land*, then the association of ‘pneumatic’ with industrial machinery hints towards another aspect of Grishkin’s character. The ‘pneumatic bliss’, in this sense, conjures images of forceful, mechanized, emotionless, intercourse. These images anticipate the ‘typist’ episode of *The Waste Land*. The ‘food in tins’ sets the inorganic, pre-prepared scene for the mechanical, indifferent intercourse in a society in which people are reduced to a ‘human engine’ and

¹⁴⁷ WI, l. 20.

‘automatic hand’.¹⁴⁸ The mechanisation of humans, although far from ‘cheery’ displays the automatism of modern society and the sexual act as neither ‘Good nor Evil’, as stated in ‘Baudelaire’.

Grishkin avoids such harsh treatment as that of the typist and clerk but neither can she be considered as showing an awareness of Good or Evil, she is somewhere in between. However, her main role seems to be as a foil to ‘our lot’ who crawl ‘between dry ribs’, referring back to the deathly, excessively cerebral tendencies of Webster and Donne in the opening stanzas.¹⁴⁹ Grishkin’s charm, endowed through her pneumatic bust and primal sexuality may be ambiguous but they are clearly presented as superior to abstract, metaphysical writing about sex rather than the direct, uninhibited experience of it. *Der Zauberberg* similarly presents Clawdia most prominently as representative of dangerous sexual experience which is often preferable to the over-intellectualisations of Settembrini and Naphta. Mann also complicates the attractiveness of Clawdia’s bust by associating it with the X-ray image of her chest, another way in which machinery becomes an inescapable part of civilisation. This motif also literally combines the ‘dry ribs’ of sterile bourgeois convention with intense sexual desire.

Yet Clawdia is more than simply a Russian seductress. Her heritage automatically joins her with the broader associations which the novel sets up with the East. Furthermore, she proves to be an intelligent, even sarcastic, character with her own views on morality which, interestingly, are largely in line with those which Eliot attributes to Baudelaire. In her conversation with Hans on carnival night, she states:

Eh bien, il nous semble qu’il faudrait chercher la morale non dans la vertu, c’est-à-dire dans la raison, la discipline, les bonnes moeurs, l’honnêteté, — mais plutôt dans

¹⁴⁸ *TWL*, l. 223; l. 216; l. 255. Anthony Cuda discusses the disproportionate focus on the ‘typist’ scene of *The Waste Land*, suggesting that the helplessness, passivity and intimate suffering are at the core of this attraction but he argues that a ‘more wide-reaching and paradoxical sort of suffering’ is central to Eliot’s thought about passion and poetics. He also provides an overview of criticism surrounding the ‘typist’ episode in his notes (Cuda, p. 3).

¹⁴⁹ *WI*, l. 31.

le contraire, je veux dire: dans le péché, en s'abandonnant au danger, à ce qui est nuisible, à ce qui nous consume.¹⁵⁰

Although Hans follows this idea to some extent, pursuing Clawdia physically as well as the dangerous ideas represented by the East more broadly, the irony that this is spoken in French rather than Russian, and takes place in an expressly bourgeois setting is inescapable. This highlights an important difference between Mann and Eliot's presentations of the primal and the bourgeois, which is indicative of their divergent traditions: Mann attempts to assimilate the two, looking for a middle way, while Eliot presents them as irreconcilable extremes. Unlike Mann, Eliot holds to the antitheses between the two worlds, because both are fundamentally unacceptable—the bourgeois in particular is beyond redemption. While Eliot's praise of the recognition of sin in 'Baudelaire' is ultimately to awaken the individual to 'Good' and to redemption, for Hans an exploration of sin leads to a greater understanding of human nature and the relationship between the physical and the spiritual and intellectual (as well as the begrudging respect of Wehsal).

Der Zauberberg uses Wehsal to explore this connection between animalistic, physical desire and a more human form of love in greater detail. In his frustrated infatuation he asks Hans: 'Was will ich denn, Castorp? Will ich sie morden? Will ich ihr Blut vergießen? Ich will sie nur liebosen! [...] Es ist doch auch was Höheres dabei, Castorp, ich bin doch kein Vieh, in meiner Art bin ich doch auch ein Mensch!'¹⁵¹ He goes on to justify this by claiming that he loves her face and therefore her individual soul, and it is for that reason that he longs for her body and no one else's.¹⁵² As Wehsal's descriptions of his lust and suffering become

¹⁵⁰ All right – it seems to us that one ought not to search for morality in virtue, which is to say in reason, in discipline, in good behaviour, in respectability – but in just the opposite, I would say: in sin, in abandoning oneself to danger, to whatever can harm us, destroy us (Z, p. 473) (trans. by Woods, p. 404).

¹⁵¹ 'What do I want, then, Castorp? Do I want to murder her? Do I want to spill her blood? I only want to fondle her! [...] There is, also however, something higher to it, Castorp, I am no beast, in my own way I am also however a human!' (Z, p. 856).

¹⁵² Die Fleischbegierde gehet dahin und dorthin, sie ist nicht gebunden und nicht fixiert, und darum so heißen wir sie viehisch. So sie aber fixiert ist auf eine Menschenperson mit einem Angesicht, alsdann so redet unser Mund von der Liebe. Mich verlangt doch nicht bloß nach ihrem Körperrumpf und nach der Fleischpuppe ihres

more intense Hans admonishes him, stating that the driver can hear and understand them. To which Wehsal replies that if they were discussing ‘Palingenesie’ (‘palingenesis’) or ‘Hydrostatik’ (‘hydrostatics’), the driver would not listen in, but ‘die Angelegenheit vom Fleische und von der Seele, siehe, die ist zugleich die populärste Angelegenheit, und jeder versteht sie’.¹⁵³ Although Wehsal expresses his infatuation in the only terms he knows, those of the body and of torture, he raises the same issue as Peeperkorn and Sweeney—that of the physical, and of lust, and its relation to the ‘higher’. Wehsal’s attempt to justify his lust for Clawdia is pathetically stated and obviously comical but it also makes a serious point, one which is closely related to the point Eliot makes in ‘Baudelaire’. Wehsal recognises that there is a difference between carnal lust—which is likened to animals—and a specifically human form of love which recognises the individual soul of another human. However, for Wehsal, this form of human love is not at odds with carnal lust. His carnal desire for Clawdia’s body is attached to his desire for her (as he crudely states it) ‘face’, and therefore her ‘soul’. Again, the division between the values expressed by Eliot—that the sexual act as sinful at least evokes a sense of Evil (and therefore Good)—against those expressed by Mann—that carnal lust can be integrated with a higher form of humane love—is directly representative of their divergent traditions.

The physical world in Mann’s novel is counterbalanced by humanity and the intellect, not by the divine. As this chapter has demonstrated, Mann sets up various polarities such as the physical and the intellectual, horror and humanity, East and West, Dionysian and Apollonian, height and depth, in order that his protagonist, and reader, may navigate through

Leibes, sondern wenn in ihren Angesicht auch nur ein kleines Etwas anders gestaltet wäre, siehe, so verlangte mich’s möglicherweise nach ihrem ganzen Leibe gar nicht, und daher so zeigt sich’s, daß ich ihre Seele liebe, und daß ich sie mit der Seele liebe. Denn die Liebe zum Angesicht ist Seelenliebe’, ‘Lust for the flesh wanders here and there, it is not bound and not fixed, and that’s why we call it bestial. But when it is fixed to a single human person with a face, well then our mouths speak of love. I do not just desire merely her bodily torso and the fleshly puppet of her body alone, but rather if only the slightest thing in her face were different, see, then I might not long for her whole body at all, and there that shows that I love her soul, and I love her with my soul. Then loving the face is loving the soul’ (ibid.).

¹⁵³ ‘the topic of flesh and the soul, see, that is the most popular topic, and everyone understands it’ (ibid., p. 857).

these binaries to find a middle way. The *exploration* of these extremes, in order to understand and rationalise them, is an important part of the process. As the snow vision and Mann's essay on Freud emphatically contend, the depths must be explored and understood in order to be overcome. As Reed explains:

Denying the forces which lie beneath the surface is more insidiously dangerous than simple self-abandonment. That is why, for his own art, he set up the principle of maintaining contact with the depths but through the instrument of the conscious mind.¹⁵⁴

The conscious mind is central to the form of morality which Mann endorses in *Der Zauberberg*, a morality based on the individual's ability for reason and rational thought stemming from education and experience. This forms part of Mann's 'burgherly tradition', as set out in the *Betrachtungen*, and discussed in chapter 1, which holds individualism and ethical socialism—which forms part of Mann's humanism—at its core.¹⁵⁵ The detailed discussion of the snow vision in the first part of this chapter demonstrated how Mann presents these values in a distinctly 'burgherly', affirmative way which venerates 'life' and human 'love' above all else but which also considers the manifold forces acting against this as unavoidable counterbalances.

In contrast to this, Eliot's notion of morality, as presented in his essays and his poetry, is informed by his Christian faith, long before his formal conversion. The state of moral passivity analysed in the previous chapter is presented as worse than acting immorally since at least the latter shows an awareness of Good and Evil. In *Sweeney Agonistes* and *The Waste Land*, Eliot employs ancient fertility rituals and the mythic method in order to point to a more primal existence which is not overburdened by the tenets of modern civilisation which contribute to the state of moral decline. Sweeney demonstrates a vital life-force along with a keen awareness of man's (and possibly his own) murderous impulses. Like other morally

¹⁵⁴ Reed, *The Uses of Tradition*, p. 406.

¹⁵⁵ *GWXII*, pp. 279-80.

transgressive characters in Eliot's earlier poetry, such as Cousin Nancy, Rachel *née* Rabinovitch, and Grishkin, Sweeney has a sexual energy and explicitness which separates him from the respectable, polite conventions of bourgeois society and the 'cheery automatism' of the modern world. However, since these characters only act immorally rather than showing an awareness of morality, they are still condemned by narrative irony and ridicule, and often presented as bestial.

The presentation of religion in *Der Zauberberg*, particularly in the light of Mann's essay on Freud, also raised an important difference between Eliot and Mann's presentations of primitive religious ritual. For Mann, primitive ritual shows violent and horrific aspects of human nature which need to be acknowledged and tempered. The continuation of such rituals in Christianity, even in their symbolic form, confirm for Mann that religion, created by humans, is subject to the relativity of changing social and historical moral standards. To Eliot, by contrast, primitive ritual confirms the necessity of religious practice to all civilizations to awaken the spiritual in the human. Through his study of anthropology, he came to realise that a higher form of existence can be found, and should be sought, beyond the cycle of fertility to which humans are bound. Where Mann incorporates the primal into the human, Eliot looks beyond the primal and the human to the divine. This analysis is in line with the overarching aim of this thesis: to show how both Mann and Eliot employ the same themes, in this case primitive barbarism and sensuality, myth, and ritual, but that entirely different outlooks underlie these similarities. Mann's focus on the individual's capacity for inner ethical judgement, which is a key feature of his 'burgherly tradition', was demonstrated in contrast with Eliot's religious framework, which adheres to an externally ordained morality.

This important distinction between the writers will be the basis of the following chapter's analysis of how concepts of time are presented in *Der Zauberberg* and *The Waste*

Land. Both authors recognised that time measured by the clock, prevalent in industrial centres, was contributing to the perceived spiritual malaise and decline at the end of the nineteenth century. Both authors also present cyclical time as an alternative, although not necessarily a preferable one. Mann uses Hans' escape from the rigidly controlled experience of time in Hamburg in order to show the human capacity for insight and growth when allowed time to reflect on the nature of time itself. However, it will be argued that the novel ultimately presents the need to balance this kind of reflection with the linear time needed for human progress, again, suggesting a middle way. In contrast with this, Eliot presents clock-time as bound to the transient, temporal realm while cyclical time represents the eternal cycle of 'birth, and copulation and death' to which the physical realm is bound. Again, he looks beyond this for an escape from both systems.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁶ FA, I, 28.

5: TIME: A TORMENT OR A GIFT?

As the previous chapters have indicated, both Eliot and Mann considered the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries to be in a state of decline. Chapter 3 showed how the authors presented this decline in terms of moral and spiritual degeneration. For Eliot this was part of a continuing trend largely relating to increasing secularisation. Mann considered the end of the nineteenth century to be the end of the ‘burgherly age’, opening the way for a new but only vaguely specified era for which Mann believed some of the ‘burgherly’ values of the previous epoch were salvageable. Chapter 4 discussed how morally transgressive, primal characters in Mann and Eliot’s works present vitality, and the necessity for the recognition of sin for redemption, as a partial antidote to this social and cultural decline. In *Der Zauberberg* this was shown to be part of the exploration of the extremes of human capability in order that a well-informed, rational middle way could be found, rooted in the middle classes. In Eliot’s work moral transgression and the human capacity for evil were shown to be preferable to the morally passive characters of *The Waste Land*, but ultimately all the characters discussed in Eliot’s early poetry are bound to the endless cycles of the temporal world, with no possibility for escape due to their lack of moral awareness. This final chapter will follow the same pattern of analysis in relation to the concept of time, first considering how both authors present time as contributing to, and emblematic of, the cultural and social decline in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries before analysing how Mann and Eliot’s divergent traditions inform their presentations of time. It will be argued that due to the humanistic values at the core of *Der Zauberberg* time is ultimately presented as a gift which can be used for human progress in terms of industrial, as well as intellectual and spiritual (‘geistig’) development. However, this can only be achieved through a conscious approach to the nature of time which balances the polarised forms of linear and cyclical time presented in the novel. In Eliot’s works, similar forms of linear and cyclical time are employed but, since these are

bound to the human rather than the divine, both are shown to be tormenting to the characters in the poems and symptomatic of cultural and spiritual decline. This is directly in line with the broader aim of this thesis, which is to show the apparent similarities between Mann and Eliot's works before explaining how their differing traditions and values imbue these works with radically different meanings.

This chapter will begin by analysing how both authors depict time as contributing to the sense of decline at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century through its representation as standardized, linear clock-time.¹ Eliot depicts clock-time as controlling and exhausting to the extent of being dehumanising in 'Preludes', 'Rhapsody on a Windy Night', 'Prufrock', and *The Waste Land*. These works all combine the degradation of daily life, particularly in the city where people's lives tend to be governed by clock-time (time measured by the hours of the clock). Similarly, Mann also shows industrial life to be alienating, exhausting, and dehumanising as will be seen through Hans' initial characterisation, and his unwillingness to return to this form of existence in Hamburg. Mann's earlier presentation of this form of time was touched upon in chapter 1 through the depiction of Thomas Buddenbrook as the "am Rande der Erschöpfung arbeitenden" *Leistungsethikers*.²

The second part of this chapter will then consider how *Der Zauberberg* explicitly highlights the increasing pressure placed upon the individual in western society through narrative reflections, as well as Settembrini's monologues, and their indebtedness to Nietzschean philosophy. The distinction between West and East, discussed in the previous chapter, is here delineated in terms of time, the latter presenting an attitude to time which

¹ The term 'clock-time' simply defines time as measured by the clock. Lindsay employs the compound noun 'clocktime' while Gish chooses to separate the terms: 'clock time' (Jack Lindsay, *Decay and Renewal: Critical Essays on Twentieth Century Writing* (London: Sydney, Wild & Woolley, 1976)). I will be hyphenating the term in order to maintain the emphasis of each word separately whilst suggesting also that 'clock-time' is a unified concept.

² 'moralist of accomplishment "working on the edge of exhaustion"' (GWXII, p. 145).

shows greater freedom and laxity. Just as was the case with Hans' moral explorations, it will be argued that his reflections and experiences relating to the nature of time present a middle way which shows the necessity of clock-time for the continuance of the western lifestyle, but in a form which can also incorporate more time to think and develop intellectually.

The third part of the chapter will continue to explore the importance of Nietzsche's thinking for Hans' discoveries about the nature of time. Mann replicates Nietzsche's theory of eternal recurrence (in a distinctly bourgeois setting) as Hans relives the same day over and over, most strikingly during the subchapter entitled 'Ewigkeitssuppe und plötzliche Klarheit' ('Eternal soup and sudden clarity'). Mann presents cyclical time with his usual degree of ambivalence but ultimately, with the balancing force of Settembrini, the experience is liberating and educational for Hans. This will be contrasted with the experience of a similar form of seemingly eternal repetition in *The Waste Land* through reference to 'the hot water at ten' routine which is presented as simultaneously horrifying and boredom-inducing.³ The episode's possible source in ancient ritual will be considered to show how eternal repetition is modified to present the pervasive degradation and triviality of the modern world. This presentation of eternal cyclicity again brings out the point of difference between Mann and Eliot outlined in the previous chapters: Mann's focus on the individual's development within secular, bourgeois society contrasts with Eliot's Christian framework which shows a society without faith to be corrupt and misguided. The previous chapter's analysis of how this difference functioned in the authors' presentations of primal religious ritual is underscored, as rituals are repeated in degraded forms. By considering *The Waste Land* through the framework of Eliot's Christian tradition, this reinforces the notion that without Christian redemption, the temporal realm is bound to the cycle of 'birth, and copulation and death'.⁴

³ The episode referred to spans ll. 111-38 of *The Waste Land*.

⁴ FA, l. 28.

The fourth and final part of this chapter will consider how this difference between the authors' traditions is played out in the presentation of the seasons in *Der Zauberberg* and *The Waste Land*. Both authors mix the seasons to show societies which are divorced from nature and the rhythm of the seasons. In Mann's novel the seemingly eternal snow on the mountain functions in a similar way to Hans' experience of 'eternal soup', encouraging him to reflect on the nature of time and the value of life. Yet this is punctuated by glimpses of regularity, which will be shown to be an essential part of the 'burgherly tradition' through reference to Mann's essay 'Goethe als Repräsentant des bürgerlichen Zeitalters' (1932). In Eliot's poem, seasonal confusion presents a society out of touch with nature and regularity. Like Mann, Eliot presents seasonal disorder, seeming eternity (through eternal desert rather than eternal snow), and glimpses of seasonal regularity. These function to show the futility of both the regular and irregular schemes of time in the temporal world. They draw together both past and future into a seemingly eternal present, which emphasises the tormenting character of time for humanity. The hope of escape from the temporal realm becomes more pronounced in Eliot's later, more explicitly Christian, poetry, but up to and including *The Waste Land*, little hope is offered.

i) Clock-Time: A Cause and Symptom of Social and Cultural Decline

Quinones, whose comparison of Mann and Eliot in relation to time will be considered below, assesses the rapid scientific and industrial progress which characterised the nineteenth century, in which the pressures of clock-time became increasingly dehumanising. He traces the phenomenon of clock-time back to the Renaissance when the emergence of the act of measuring time 'lent itself to quantitative precision' but consequently also to 'an increased

control over human life'.⁵ With the rapid increase of technological and scientific developments in the nineteenth century, the controlling aspect of clock-time over human life became more pronounced. He cites Nietzsche, who recognised this trend and predicted its consequences: 'If you try to further the progress of science as quickly as possible, you will end by destroying it as quickly as possible; just as the hen is worn out when you force it to lay too many eggs'.⁶ Quinones calls this phenomenon 'the paradox of time', explaining that 'in the full glory of its abundance, scientific industrial culture had created its own dissidence'.⁷ He argues that while the Renaissance upheld measurable time (which he refers to as 'predictive'), it also allowed for a more 'innovative' use of time. In the nineteenth century, this 'predictive', measurable form of time—which I refer to as 'clock-time'—had become too dominant.⁸ The race for ever more efficient industrial and scientific development resulted in the automatisisation and exhaustion of humans. It is this phenomenon of increased control over human life and the consequent fatigue it induces which Mann and Eliot both portray.

Eliot was keenly aware of the close relationship between clock-time and the increasing technological and industrial development of the nineteenth century. In his 'In Memoriam' (1936) he states:

Tennyson lived in a time which was already acutely time-conscious: a great many things seemed to be happening, railways were being built, discoveries were being made, the face of the world was changing. That was a time busy in keeping up to date.⁹

A clear example of Eliot's association of industrialisation with clock-time can be found in 'Preludes', in which the stale, dirty setting and its anonymous inhabitants are controlled by

⁵ Quinones, p. 37.

⁶ Quoted in Quinones, p. 38. Nietzsche's original aphorism is: 'wollt ihr die Wissenschaft möglichst schnell fördern, so werdet ihr sie auch möglichst schnell vernichten; wie euch die Henne zu Grunde geht, die ihr künstlich zum allzusehnlichen *Eierlegen* zwingt' (Nietzsche, *Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Historie für das Leben* (*The Use and Abuse of History for Life*), § 7).

⁷ Quinones, p. 65.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁹ *SE*, p. 337.

their predictable daily routines. The third line, stating only ‘Six o’clock’, interrupts the regular iambic tetrameter of the surrounding lines, chiming in the unavoidable reminder of the hour.¹⁰ The poem goes on to liken commuters walking home to the continual stomping march of clock-time: ‘trampled by insistent feet / At four and five and six o’clock’.¹¹ The oppressive nature of this form of time is stressed by the term ‘trampled’, while the listing of the hours in quick succession imitates the monotonous regularity of inexorable clock-time.

The poem suggests that it is time alone which drives the routines of the city, pressing to ‘coffee stands’ before work, ‘raising dingy shades’ in the morning, and ‘the other masquerades / That time resumes’.¹² Gish describes the effect to be that of ‘a rootless urban life consisting only of mechanical cycles’.¹³ The term ‘masquerade’ is particularly suggestive of the falsity of this daily existence. The futility of the routine of the day is, however, underscored by the glimpse of the soul which is revealed to the dreamer of section III.¹⁴ The night in ‘Preludes’ clearly indicates an escape from the demands of daily, clock-time-bound routine, as the morning arrives we are told that ‘all the world came back’.¹⁵ This is reminiscent of Thomas Buddenbrook’s vivid night-time realisations after reading Schopenhauer and the drudgery and emptiness of the daily routines which follow.¹⁶ This is reinforced by the fact that the visions of the dreamer in Eliot’s poem are described as ‘sordid’ and reveal the nature of the dreamer’s soul, suggesting that the night provides a livelier alternative to daily routine, while also highlighting the perceived shame connected with the exploration of human nature, just as Mann’s character is ashamed to discuss his insight into his existence. This clear distinction between the time-bound, predictable and alienating world of day and the livelier, more direct access to the true nature of the human soul at night is in

¹⁰ P, I, l. 3.

¹¹ Ibid., IV, ll. 3-4.

¹² Ibid., II, ll. 4-9.

¹³ Gish, p. 5.

¹⁴ ‘You dozed, and watched the night revealing / the thousand sordid images / Of which your soul was constituted’ (P, III, ll. 3-5).

¹⁵ Ibid., III, l. 7.

¹⁶ See chapter 2 above, pp. 86-87.

line with the Schopenhauerian assertion of the illusory nature of reality and the blind and purposeless will underlying it, as discussed in chapter 2. However, both Mann and Eliot's works play with these concepts and develop beyond them.¹⁷

Eliot's 'Rhapsody on a Windy Night' does exactly this, presenting the escape from daily routine offered by night while simultaneously intensifying the utter futility of urban life by applying oppressive clock-time to the darkest hours of the night. The opening line of the poem, 'Twelve o'clock', immediately establishes the importance of clock-time.¹⁸ This pattern continues as four of the following five stanzas are also introduced by their exact time.¹⁹ The fact that these reminders of time are spoken by streetlamps emphasises the artificial light of the city—as well as adding a touch of surrealism—implying that clock-time is also able to penetrate the night in well-lit urban streets. The interjections structure the poem more rigidly. They also draw the narrative back from its meandering memories to the present moment and pressurise the narrator into recognising the dwindling night and the coming morning. Yet unlike the bustling streets during the day in 'Preludes', the night-time streets of this poem are almost deserted except for a prostitute and a cat—which, like those of Grishkin and Clawdia Chauchat discussed in the previous chapter, suggest more sordid, immoral associations.²⁰ Many of the images projected are those of the narrator's internal mind, just like the images of the dreamer's soul which 'flickered against the ceiling' in 'Preludes'.²¹ Yet in 'Rhapsody' images from the narrator's memory are directly projected by the narrative, intermingling with the images witnessed on the street, blurring reality and memory. This haziness is juxtaposed with the regularity of the almost hourly interjections of time which punctuate it. Just as in 'Preludes', the precise times are given their own lines, standing apart from the rest of the

¹⁷ In the case of *The Waste Land*, this was seen through the varied interpretative possibilities in the 'heart of light' (*TWL*, l. 41), see above, pp. 147-48.

¹⁸ *RWN*, l. 1.

¹⁹ 'Half-past one'; 'Half-past two'; 'Half-past three'; 'Four o'clock' (*ibid.*, l. 13; l. 33; l. 46; l. 70).

²⁰ See chapter 4, pp. 221-23.

²¹ *P*, III, l. 6.

narrative to create a stronger sense of interruption and to mimic the chiming clock. Although the night is sordid, like the vitality of Eliot's characters considered in the previous chapter, it is only preferable in its ability to reveal the emptiness of the day.

At the end of the poem, the narrator's night-time adventures succumb to the demands of clock-time, and a highly mechanised routine preparing for sleep, and the coming morning, takes over. The lines of the final stanza become shorter, more direct, and more heavily punctuated in order to suggest this mechanisation.²² The horror expressed by the narrator at the thought of facing the working day, even more rigorously controlled by clock-time, is expressed by the suggestive terms 'mount' and 'hang', conjuring the image of the condemned man mounting the scaffold.²³ There is an element of comic irony here as Eliot transposes the horror of the condemned with the mundane process of brushing one's teeth and climbing into bed. Yet this dark humour only faintly underlies the dramatic horror and suspense which dominate the tone. This tone is crystallised by the pain and revulsion implicit in the fact that the necessity to return home and 'prepare for life' is characterised as the 'last twist of the knife'.²⁴ This phrase reinforces the idea that 'life', the activity of the day time, is so abhorrent to the narrator that it is comparable to death—adding irony to the term 'life'. The living death by which the activities of daytime are characterised here foreshadows the living dead characters of *The Waste Land*. The narrator's reluctance to partake in daily existence suggests that although night does not provide a complete escape from clock-time in the city, it is at least preferable to the stricter routines and demands of the day. However, both day and night can be pervaded by clock-time, which has a deadening effect on the characters of both 'Rhapsody' and 'Preludes'.

²² 'You have the key, / The little lamp spreads a ring on the stair. / Mount. / The bed is open; the tooth-brush hangs on the wall, / Put your shoes at the door, sleep, prepare for life' (RWN, ll. 72-77).

²³ Ibid., ll. 75-76.

²⁴ Ibid., ll. 77-78.

Gish argues that ‘Preludes’ and ‘Rhapsody’ are the two poems in which Bergson’s short-lived influence over Eliot’s thinking about time is most apparent.²⁵ She traces the delineation between ‘a qualitative, enduring self and a quantitative, discontinuous world’, noting the association of the former with night and the latter with day.²⁶ Although this is true to a great extent, as established above, Eliot does not entirely separate the night from the organised clock-time of the day, since the former is only a milder form of controlled time. Gish’s discussion of Bergson in relation to these poems helps to clarify how different time systems are presented but none of these systems offers hope or meaning to the characters. She claims that two aspects of Bergson’s philosophy dominate the poems, the first, as touched upon above, is the split between the inner world of the qualitative, enduring self and the outer world of quantitative clock-time. The main characters in both poems are seemingly alienated and disillusioned by the outer world of clock-time, which is in discord with their internal consciousnesses. The second aspect of Bergson’s philosophy which Gish claims is central to these poems is the notion that memory is the only source of unity in the discontinuous world in which the characters exist.²⁷ This offers an explanation for the opposition between day and night which simultaneously are united in their roles as opposites of the internal consciousness. Gish explains that human consciousness in the form of memory is able to retain the past in the present which the external world, consisting only of moment after moment, is unable to do. She suggests that ‘Preludes’ and ‘Rhapsody’ both place ‘consciousness against a background of the cycle of time’, and both suggest ‘the capacity of consciousness for some insight transcending or unifying the fragmented images of the

²⁵ Gish, p. 4. Eliot attended Bergson’s popular weekly lectures at the Collège de France from 1910-1911 (Crawford, *Young Eliot*, p. 145. For a detailed analysis of Eliot’s engagement with (and subsequent disengagement from) Bergson, see Maud Ellmann, *The Poetics of Impersonality: T. S. Eliot and Ezra Pound* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), pp. 23-61. Gish does acknowledge that the 1917 poems do not necessarily endorse Bergson’s ideas but rather ‘depict a world seen through them’ (Gish, p. 3).

²⁶ Gish, p. 4.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

external world, not a timeless perfection but a recognition of time's nature and meaning'.²⁸ However, although she states that 'memory provides the key to some transcending awareness', an awareness which the night's relatively freer time-structure helps to reveal, the characters of both poems remain 'at the level of awareness', only passively receiving impressions and unable fully to distinguish inner self from the outer world.²⁹ The memories which the narrator of 'Rhapsody' recalls resemble the disjointed and fragmented images which the streetlights illuminate.³⁰ Gish argues that the characters of these poems are able to recognise the futility of the external world, which, coupled with their inability to control or change this separation, is a cause of their isolation, loneliness and frustration, while their continued adherence to daily routines is a measure of their sterility.³¹

This awareness of the vacuity of the outer world of clock-time, while having to adhere to it, is also evident in 'Portrait of a Lady'. The protagonist finds a semblance of peace only in the outer world as he displays his subservience to bourgeois custom through the correction of watches 'by the public clocks'.³² It is presumably this character's inability to relate to the lady with sincerity or genuine emotion which accounts for the failure of their friendship. His reliance on custom rather than an expression of his inner self is reiterated in the final stanza as he imagines that her death would leave him 'not knowing what to feel'.³³ Like Hans at the beginning of *Der Zauberberg*, this character is so reliant on custom and convention that his inner state has become almost completely hollow. However, part of Eliot's character's tragedy is that he recognises this hollowness but maintains his attitude to life regardless. Gish compares this to 'Prufrock', who also suffers from the recognition that his inner self is

²⁸ Ibid., p. 4.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Riquelme offers a detailed discussion of 'Rhapsody on a Windy Night' as a deliberate ironising of the English Romantic tradition (see John Paul Riquelme, *Harmony of Dissonances: T. S. Eliot, Romanticism, and Imagination* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), pp. 44-61). He considers the relationship between memory and the speaking streetlamps of the poem as mediators of memory (p. 56).

³¹ Gish, p. 10; p. 3.

³² PL, I, l. 39.

³³ Ibid., III, l. 36.

separated from the outer world, claiming that in both poems ‘the inner world of feeling and the detached, empty world of clock time and public life are opposed, and neither offers meaning’.³⁴

Prufrock is perhaps the clearest example of the split between the inner self and the outer world, which is expressed explicitly in terms of the pressures of clock-time. Prufrock’s desperate repeated assertions that ‘there will be time’ ironically imply the opposite: that he is hounded by the inexorable march of time.³⁵ Time expands and contracts throughout the poem but it always looms overwhelmingly over the narrator’s consciousness. On one level Prufrock expresses a sense of ennui gained from his lifespan seeming to stretch on endlessly into the past (and future), listing his repeated experiences and all-too-familiar knowledge of the routines of bourgeois existence.³⁶ Time is felt to be experienced in a magnified form, expressing the tumultuous and manifold ‘decisions and revisions’ of a single minute.³⁷ Yet Prufrock’s magnification of the trivial is a weak attempt to mask the horror of eternity. Quinones points out that ‘behind all his aborted statements and gestures of defiance Prufrock hears the snickers of eternity and senses the vast spaces that reduce to insignificance (and ultimate futility) all human endeavour’.³⁸

The perception that human endeavour is futile can be seen as a product of the time in which Prufrock lives. Time is personified in the poem and explicitly associated with lethargy and illness. For example, the opening evening is characterised as a ‘patient etherised’ and later, ‘the afternoon, the evening, sleeps so peacefully! [...] Asleep . . . tired . . . or it

³⁴ Gish, p. 19.

³⁵ LSP, l. 23; l. 26; l. 28; l. 37.

³⁶ ‘For I have known them all already, known them all— / Have known the evenings, mornings, afternoons, I have measured out my life in coffee spoons; / I know the voices dying with a dying fall’; ‘And I have known the eyes already, known them all—’; ‘And I have known the arms already, known them all—’ (ibid., ll.49-52; l. 55; l. 62).

³⁷ Ibid., l. 48.

³⁸ Quinones, p. 41.

malingers’.³⁹ The ellipses of the latter quotation slow down the narrative dramatically to emphasise this lethargy while also adding an element of suspicion. Eliot’s use of the term ‘malingers’ is particularly interesting. Schmidt suggests that there is a strong possibility that rhyme-necessity was an influence here, since although the word has apt associations with ‘malign’ and ‘lingers’, the notion that the evening itself is ‘feigning illness seems absurd’.⁴⁰ Yet when ‘Prufrock’ is considered in light of the broader historical context, and in comparison with *Der Zauberberg*, the word may be in fact be more appropriate than Schmidt claims. As this thesis has already established, both Eliot and Mann considered the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-centuries to be in a state of moral and social decline. This is clearly expressed in the opening of *Der Zauberberg* when the narrator claims that:

Dem einzelnen Menschen mögen mancherlei persönliche Ziele, Zwecke, Hoffnungen, Aussichten vor Augen schweben, aus denen er den Impuls zu hoher Anstrengung und Tätigkeit schöpft; wenn das Unpersönliche um ihn her, die Zeit selbst der Hoffnungen und Aussichten bei aller äußeren Regsamkeit im Grunde entbehrt, wenn sie sich ihm als hoffnungslos, aussichtslos und ratlos heimlich zu erkennen gibt und der bewußt oder unbewußt gestellten, aber doch irgendwie gestellten Frage nach einem letzten, mehr als persönlichen, unbedingten Sinn aller Anstrengung und Tätigkeit ein hohles Schweigen entgegensetzt, so wird gerade in Fällen redlicheren Menschentums eine gewisse lähmende Wirkung solches Sachverhalts fast unausbleiblich sein, die sich auf dem Wege über das Seelisch-Sittliche geradezu auf das physische und organische Teil des Individuums erstrecken mag.⁴¹

³⁹ LSP, I, 3; II, 75-7. This technique is also employed in ‘Preludes’, ‘The winter evening settles down’ and ‘The morning comes to consciousness’ (P, I, l. 1; II, l. 1).

⁴⁰ A. V. C. Schmidt, ‘T. S. Eliot and the English Language’, *English Studies in Africa*, 25, 2 (1982), 117-43 (p. 136).

⁴¹ All sorts of personal goals, purposes, hopes and prospects may float before the eyes of a given individual, out of which is created the impulse to exert oneself and take action; if the impersonal world around him, however, if the times themselves, despite all their hustle and bustle, provide him with neither hopes nor prospects, if they secretly supply him with evidence that things are in fact hopeless, baffling and without prospect, if the times respond with hollow silence to every conscious or subconscious question, however it may be posed, about the ultimate, unequivocal meaning of all exertions and deeds that are more than exclusively personal, then it is almost inevitable, particularly if the person is a more upright sort, that the situation will have a laming effect, which, following moral and spiritual paths, may even spread to that person’s physical and organic life (Z, p. 50).

Although 'time' here is not as explicitly personified as it is in 'Prufrock' and refers specifically to 'the times' rather than 'time' more broadly, it is still characterised as unresponsive, just as it is in Eliot's poem. In 'Prufrock', time itself is paralyzed and sickly, in *Der Zauberberg* the times have this effect on individuals. Both authors associate sickness and paralysis with time and the effects which the age was inflicting on individuals. The hypothetical individual described in the passage just quoted, who is the paralyzed victim of the times, mirrors the condition of Hans Castorp at the beginning of the novel. Hans, seeing no prospects for a meaningful life in Hamburg, manages to turn malingering into an art form and stays on the mountain for seven years, until he is forced to leave. While it may seem 'absurd' that in 'Prufrock' time also malingers, time, as Prufrock experiences it, is personified to reflect the character's own state of paralysis and his perception that time offers no hope for a meaningful existence in contemporary society. Time is presented as a symptom of social decline, which in turn contributes to a paralysing effect on individuals, causing intellectual and even physical illness.

However, an important difference between Hans at the beginning of the novel and Prufrock is that the latter is aware of this phenomenon. What constitutes the horror of the poem is his recognition of the futility of his existence and, as Gish has pointed out, his inability to change this situation and take control of time or to use it in a way which would offer meaning to his existence. At the beginning of *Der Zauberberg* Hans is not consciously aware of the malaise of the times which the narrator describes, but as he begins to delay his return home and takes an increasing interest in the nature of time on the mountain, the reader is able to detect that he is subconsciously aware of the futility of life in the 'flatlands'. The reader witnesses his gradual awakening to the fact that Hans' life so far has been based on empty convention. When he first begins to philosophise about time, Hans expresses a belief that time as it is felt or perceived by the conscious mind is more accurate than time as it is

measured by clocks and calendars. He states: ‘Um meßbar zu sein, müßte sie doch *gleichmäßig* ablaufen, and wo steht denn das geschrieben, daß sie das tut? Für unser Bewußtsein tut sie es nicht, wir nehmen es nur der Ordnung halber an, daß sie es tut, und unsere Maße sind doch bloß Konvention’.⁴² These are some of the first signs that Hans has the capacity to see beneath the surface of the life he has previously lived and recognise the way in which time functions to control and order life in the city. Unlike Prufrock, Hans is in the privileged position of being removed from the pressures of clock-time, which allows him not only to make this initial recognition but also to reject the idea of returning to the city and the time-pressures and conventions associated with it. Hans’ experience of time at the sanatorium and his consequent education and development will be considered in detail below. Before this, his initial state of vacuity and blind adherence to the conventions of clock-time can be seen as more comparable to the condition of characters in *The Waste Land* than to Prufrock or the narrator of ‘Rhapsody’. While these latter characters at least recognise that they are trapped in a time system which offers no possibility of meaning for their lives, many of the characters of *The Waste Land* are so automated that they do not begin to perceive the meaninglessness of their existence.⁴³

The mechanising and dehumanising effects of industrial and technological developments on many characters in *The Waste Land* were considered in detail in chapter 3. However, Eliot also employs allusions to clock-time in the poem which reinforce these effects and demonstrate the connection between the pressures of clock-time and its alienating consequences. One of the most direct allusions to the power which clock-time holds over the characters of the poem can be seen through the reference to ‘Saint Mary Woolnoth’, as the

⁴² ‘In order to be measurable it would have to flow *evenly*, and where is it written that that is so? For our conscious minds it doesn’t do so, we simply accept that it does for the sake of order, and our measurements are mere convention’ (ibid., p. 96) (italics in original).

⁴³ The exceptions in *The Waste Land* include speaker of the ‘hot water at ten’, Tiresias, and Sibyl, who will be considered below.

commuters file into their offices for the ‘the final stroke of nine’.⁴⁴ The authority which the chiming clock holds over the commuters is directly connected to their state of living death, reinforced by the term ‘dead sound’ to describe the silence which falls once the commuters have all entered their offices.⁴⁵ The description suggests the lifelessness of the city whose inhabitants are bound by the clock-time of the working day.

The mass of people filling the streets before disappearing in an orderly fashion to the chime of the clock echoes Hans’ comment, quoted above, that measurable time is a means of maintaining order.⁴⁶ In an article which traces the disconnection between the modern and the mythic in *The Waste Land*, Young makes the link between the Dantesque state of living-death of the commuters and their lack of knowledge of genuine Good or Evil.⁴⁷ He then suggests that there may be a significant connection between the ‘crowd’ flowing over London Bridge and Eliot’s view on the effects of increasing industrialisation. He argues that Eliot’s comment in *The Idea of a Christian Society* can be applied retrospectively to *The Waste Land*:

Britain has been highly industrialized longer than any other country. And the tendency of unlimited industrialism is to create bodies of men and women - of all classes - detached from tradition, alienated from religion and susceptible to mass suggestion: in other words, a mob. And a mob will be no less a mob if it is well fed, well housed, and well disciplined.⁴⁸

Eliot’s bleak view of the state of contemporary Britain in relation to increasing industrialisation and spiritual decline, which has been presented throughout this thesis, is, as Young suggests, clearly applicable to the ‘crowd’ of *The Waste Land*. Eliot’s use of the term

⁴⁴ *TWL*, l. 68.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Z, p. 96. Although Hans does not specify what he means by ‘order’, it is implicit that he is referring to the order needed to maintain an industrial society, like that of his native Hamburg.

⁴⁷ R. V. Young, ‘Withered Stumps of Time: *The Waste Land* and Mythic Disillusion’, *Intercollegiate Review*, 38, 2 (2003), 24-32 (p. 27).

⁴⁸ Young, p. 27. Young quotes Eliot from *Christianity and Culture* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1949), p. 17.

‘mob’ is also reminiscent of the same term used to characterise Nietzsche in ‘Eeldrop and Appleplex’, as discussed in chapter 2.⁴⁹ Although in that instance the term is employed with a degree of irony and wit, the essential objection to the ‘mob’ as uncritical and unthinking is the same in both cases. Eeldrop’s derision of the ‘generalized men’, people who are happy to be classified by their social role and seek no deeper understanding of themselves or of the ‘life of the spirit’ can be seen as a parallel to the spiritually vacuous, unthinking crowd of *The Waste Land* who are the slaves of clock-time.⁵⁰

Yet it is not only the indiscriminate ‘crowd’ who are subject to this criticism, specific characters within the poem are also shown to be unthinking and mechanised in relation to their subservience to clock-time. The most striking example of Eliot’s depiction of mechanised humanity and the dehumanisation of the individual in *The Waste Land* was mentioned in the previous chapter through reference to the typist episode.⁵¹ This scene conveys mechanisation most obviously through images such as the ‘human engine’ and ‘automatic hand’, as well as the ‘food in tins’.⁵² Furthermore, the breaking of the narrative flow through Tiresias’ interjections adds a stilted quality to the tone.⁵³ It also distances the reader from the action, witnessing the typist and the clerk through Tiresias’ perception of them as just one couple in a long line of failing relationships, reducing their status as individuals. The characterisation of the couple further achieves this, wholly relying on their possessions, physical actions and social roles. Their internal states amount to little more than the typist’s ‘one half-formed thought’ before the mechanised music of the gramophone takes

⁴⁹ See chapter 2, p. 115.

⁵⁰ Eliot, ‘Eeldrop and Appleplex’, I, p. 10.

⁵¹ By ‘typist episode’ I am referring to ll. 215-256 of *The Waste Land*. I have chosen to refer to the episode thus due to the typist’s centrality to the scene and also to highlight the prominence of her social role over any personal characteristics.

⁵² *TWL*, l. 216; l. 255; 223.

⁵³ Tiresias interrupts the narrative three times: l. 218; l. 228; l. 243.

over, denying her even a whole thought and with this her individualism and capacity for development.⁵⁴

In one sense, time is used in the typist episode in the same way as it is in ‘Preludes’ and ‘Rhapsody’, since the working day is separated from the night, or in this case the evening. The passage opens when the ‘eyes and back / Turn upward from the desk’ which is further dehumanising by reducing the character only to body parts.⁵⁵ As in ‘Prufrock’, time is personified here as ‘the evening hour that strives / Homeward’ and brings the ‘typist home at teatime’.⁵⁶ The verb ‘strives’ in connection with the hour and with the ‘sailor home from sea’ begins a grandiose narrative which is then reduced to the triviality of the typist returning home from work. This is another example of the heroic being reduced to the bourgeois, as discussed in chapter 3.⁵⁷ Significant for this discussion, however, is the fact that the typist and clerk’s free time—away from their prescribed hours of work—brings no escape from their automatism. This is where *The Waste Land* shows a significant development from the earlier poems. Where the characters in ‘Rhapsody’ and ‘Preludes’ were able to experience at least a loosening of the pressures of time at night to realise their entrapment within it, these characters show no such awareness. The automatism induced by clock-time pervades their whole lives. In this way, the increasing control of automated time over characters in *The Waste Land* can be seen as indicative of the increasing industrialisation, mechanisation and spiritual vacuity which Eliot saw as part of the continuing social and cultural decline since the seventeenth century.

Quinones offers a different analysis of the development from Eliot’s earlier poetry to *The Waste Land*. His monograph, which attempts to draw out broader patterns between the works of a selection of modernist authors, presents some complex ideas about the nature of

⁵⁴ Ibid., l. 251.

⁵⁵ Ibid., ll. 215-16.

⁵⁶ Ibid., ll. 220-22.

⁵⁷ See chapter 3, pp. 157-76.

time and its presentation in literature. However, since this work is one of the few instances in which *Der Zauberberg* and *The Waste Land* are compared in detail, it is worth exploring Quinones' analysis in greater detail.⁵⁸ This will not only draw out some of his interesting analyses of the presentation of time in Modernism but will also show the importance of this thesis in going beyond generalisations which see only the superficial similarities between Mann and Eliot and miss essential differences which underlie their outlooks and their works.

Quinones attempts to trace the pattern of how modernist authors presented cultural and social decline in relation to time in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.⁵⁹ He applies the idea of the 'paradox of time' (rapidly accelerating scientific and industrial progress leading to its own decline through exhaustion), to a number of characters in the earlier works of notable modernist authors.⁶⁰ Quinones' discussion of the exhaustion and paralysis brought about by time that is too rigorously controlled is broadly in line with the analysis of 'Prufrock', as presented above, but focuses on a wider range of authors. However, he suggests that the prevailing sense of frustration and exhaustion evident in earlier modernist works (the works to which he refers date from the period 1899-1920) is overcome in later works (1920-1931) by a phenomenon which he calls the 'complex central consciousness'.⁶¹ This argument is at odds with Eliot's belief, presented in this thesis, that society and culture had been in continual decline since the seventeenth century.

Quinones suggests that there is a clear distinction between characters such as Thomas Buddenbrook, Aschenbach, and Prufrock, who are victims of the paradox of time, and later characters such as Hans Castorp and Tiresias who are examples of the 'complex central

⁵⁸ See 'Introduction', pp. 4-11.

⁵⁹ Throughout his monograph, Quinones focuses mainly on Eliot, Joyce, Kafka, Lawrence, Mann, Pound, Proust, and Woolf.

⁶⁰ As examples of characters who suffer from the 'paradox of time' affecting the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, Quinones cites Thomas Buddenbrook, Gustav von Aschenbach, and Prufrock, along with Lawrence's Gerald Crich, Conrad's Kurtz, Joyce's Gabriel Conroy, Pound's Mauberley, and the protagonists from Kafka's *The Judgement*, *The Metamorphosis*, *In the Penal Colony* and *The Trial* (Quinones, pp. 40-65). For reasons of space and relevance only Quinones' analyses of Mann and Eliot will be considered here.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 91-114.

consciousness'. He claims that what separates these later characters (along with others such as Proust's Marcel and Joyce's Leopold Bloom) from their predecessors is that they are 'marked by an absence of will'.⁶² This absence of will allows these characters to be 'reflective, passive, selfless and tolerant witnesses' unlike the earlier characters whose wills and egos bind them 'masochistically to an injurious relationship [with time] from which they cannot liberate themselves'.⁶³ Quinones goes on to suggest that, paradoxically, this absence of will 'is allied with the need to come into possession of some self-control, some separate identity and equanimity in relation to one's own will and that of others'.⁶⁴ Through this notion, he directly compares Tiresias with Hans Castorp. He suggests that Tiresias' 'suffering passivity reflects the city's many scenes of misery' and cites the voice at the end of the poem asking 'Shall I at least set my lands in order?' as evidence of this search for self-control.⁶⁵ Quinones compares this with Hans' passivity which 'is the means by which he transcends his own mediocrity' and the control he maintains through his 'impertinence of the docility that tries all and accepts none fully'.⁶⁶ He suggests that the 'complex central consciousness' created a 'new type' who realised that 'total mastery of time seeks timelessness, and absolute will results in will-lessness'.⁶⁷ Quinones' attempt to draw out apparent similarities between Eliot and Mann's texts only scratches the surface and does not take into account the authors' broader historical perspectives.

His suggestion that the speaker at the end of *The Waste Land* who contemplates setting their lands in order is Tiresias, or is at least reflected by Tiresias' presence in the background of the poem, is not entirely convincing. As Eliot's note on the preceding line

⁶² Ibid., p. 92. This list of characters is further extended to Lawrence's Rupert Birkin, Woolf's Jacob, Clarissa Dalloway, Lily Briscoe, and the 'many facets shown in the characters in *The Waves* (but particularly Bernard)' (p. 95).

⁶³ Ibid., p. 95; p. 92.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 100.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 100; *TWL*, l. 425.

⁶⁶ Quinones, pp.100-01.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 96.

suggests, this passage is more clearly connected to the Fisher King.⁶⁸ The line also has an obvious biblical connection: 'Thus saith the Lord, Set thine house in order: for thou shalt die and not live'.⁶⁹ In one way this allusion could be seen to offer hope as it may indicate that the purgatorial state between living and dying is nearly over. At his moment of resignation, the Fisher King is finally offered the hope of death. However, in the poem this is formulated as a question which goes unanswered, not as a confirmation that death is coming. Furthermore, the final lines which follow are arguably the most chaotic of the poem, with no semblance of order being restored. The manifold allusions and 'shored' 'fragments' suggest a sense of desperation rather than control.⁷⁰ Any hope garnered from the biblical allusion is undermined by the reference to the Upanishads.⁷¹ Many possibilities for salvation are grasped at, but no genuine faith is shown in any of them. If Tiresias is indeed the unifier of the poem, the only 'unity' he offers is that of failure. Although Tiresias can be seen to embody the passivity which dominates the poem, there is little evidence that this is countered by any form of control or sense of 'timelessness' or 'will-lessness' which allows him paradoxically to achieve mastery of time or will. The development from 'Prufrock' shows only a greater descent into being controlled by time and a more extreme passivity contributing to increased automatism and spiritual vacuity.

This objection to Quinones' reading of *The Waste Land* also brings into question his suggestion that Tiresias and Hans Castorp are both 'new types' representing the 'complex central consciousness'. His analysis of Hans' absence of will and ego which allows him passively to observe a variety of views and preserve himself from the destruction which the earlier types such as Thomas Buddenbrook and Aschenbach suffered is convincing. As has been argued thus far and will be argued below in relation to time in *Der Zauberberg*, through

⁶⁸ '424. V Weston: *From Ritual to Romance*; chapter on the Fisher King' (NTWL, p. 77).

⁶⁹ Isaiah 38:1.

⁷⁰ *TWL*, l. 430.

⁷¹ 'Datta, Dayadhvam, Damyata. / Shantih shantih shantih' (*ibid.*, ll. 432-33).

Hans Castorp Mann presents a seemingly contradictory need both to move forward after the end of the ‘burgherly age’ and to preserve many of the defining ‘burgherly’ traits of that era. Hans is a figure who explores this contradiction; by acknowledging the range of polarities and different modes of time presented to him throughout the novel, he is able to overcome them and find a compromise. In line with Mann’s ‘burgherly tradition’, Hans shows that after the mood of exhaustion and emptiness prevailing at the end of the nineteenth century there is the possibility in the twentieth century for humans to use time for industrial, scientific, and technological progress while balancing this with a more reflective attitude towards time which puts the human at its core. Tiresias, on the other hand, uses his knowledge of the past to predict only a recurrence of the same failures in the future. Not only has he ‘foretold’ the mechanical encounter between the typist and clerk but he has ‘foresuffered all’, suggesting little hope for the future.⁷² While Quinones’ monograph is one of the few instances in which *The Waste Land* and *Der Zauberberg* are considered in detail alongside one another, his attempt to trace a broader pattern across Modernism overlooks some vital differences between, and details within, Mann and Eliot’s texts.

ii) Time in the West and East

In his discussion of time in Proust and Joyce, Jack Lindsay looks to Marx to explain the reduction of humanity caused by increasing industrialisation and clock-time. Lindsay cites Marx’s claim ‘that in the capitalist world, “Time is everything; man is nothing; he is at the most time’s carcass. Quality no longer matters. Quantity alone decides everything”’.⁷³

Lindsay claims that in this environment:

it was then natural for the writer, seeking the sources of humanity in a situation against which he bitterly reacted, to affirm the “inner wealth” of which men were

⁷² Ibid., l. 229; l. 243.

⁷³ Lindsay, *Decay and Renewal*, p. 55; Karl Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, n.d.), pp. 58-59.

being robbed, and to identify clocktime, the workaday world of habit, repetition, and exploited labour-power, with the forces that robbed, stereotyped, and dried up the springs of joy and creativeness.⁷⁴

While this analysis certainly resonates with the state of the characters in *The Waste Land* described above, Eliot's view of Marxism suggests that the lack of Christian faith expressed by any character within the poem is a more important factor than the economic system in which they exist (although this does not escape criticism, as seen by the condemned state of the commuters). In a 'Commentary' in the *Criterion*, Eliot discusses Communism in response to a form of Marxism outlined by John Middleton Murry and John Macmurray earlier in 1935. With the precision and balance typical of his critical writing, Eliot asserts that economic systems should be separate from religious experience, rejecting Murry and Macmurray's monism. Eliot's view of Marxism is succinctly expressed in his concluding sentence: 'Marxism may be, for a few philosophers, a religious experience: for the man of action it will only be another style of the art of ruling men'.⁷⁵ Eliot was clearly reluctant to see new forms of social and economic order as holding the answers to the problems of humanity. From this commentary it can be concluded that although clock-time in *The Waste Land* can be seen as a mode of capitalist control which, as Marx suggested, mechanises individuals and reduces them to their social roles, Eliot does not present Marxism—or any other form of economic or social system, bourgeois or otherwise—as an ideal alternative; the only hope for redemption, if redemption can be achieved at all, is religious.

Mann, on the other hand, expresses and explores the tension between Capitalism and Communism by setting them up amongst the many other polarities of *Der Zauberberg*, which come to be represented by Settembrini and Naphta (although not in such direct terms since

⁷⁴ Lindsay, *Decay and Renewal*, pp. 55-56.

⁷⁵ T. S. Eliot 'A Commentary', *Criterion*, 14 (1934-35), pp. 431-36 (p. 436).

Naphta in particular represents much more besides, as discussed in the previous chapter).⁷⁶ The multiplicity and richness of allusion which Mann creates in *Der Zauberberg*, setting out and aligning a range of polarities, is continued in his presentations of the Capitalism of the West and the Communism of the East. The geographical polarities which Mann sets out in relation to time and the two economic systems are based to a large extent on the notions of West and East considered in the previous chapter. Communism becomes embroiled in the associations of the East with freedom, slothfulness, creativity, and Dionysian excess, while Capitalism is aligned with the West, industrialisation, social convention, and Apollonian refinement. In Mann's text, Communism is more heavily associated with inwardness and emotion, and Capitalism with external formality and clock-time. In this way, the distinction between 'inner' and 'outer' set out by Lindsay in relation to Marx's philosophy in Proust and Joyce is also apparent in Mann's novel and will be considered in more detail below. However, Nietzsche's ideas about time are more clearly visible in *Der Zauberberg* than Marx's and these must be considered in detail to grasp the conception of the relationship between western Capitalism and eastern Communism in Mann's novel.

The way in which Mann applies notions of time to these polarities is taken directly from Nietzsche's proclamations about the East and West in relation to time. Nietzsche claimed that the Russian Empire was 'ein Reich, das Zeit hat'.⁷⁷ He described the might of Russia's physical space and the symbolic importance of its continental position as the 'ungeheures Zwischenreich, wo Europa gleichsam nach Asien zurückfließt'.⁷⁸ These views, connecting the geographical vastness of Russia with its inhabitants' more relaxed attitude to time, are apparent in *Der Zauberberg*. Settembrini claims that four hours to a Russian is the

⁷⁶ Naphta is aligned with the East, medieval religious extremism, terror, Marxism, and the Asiatic sympathy with sickness and death (as well as being a Jesuit and a Jew).

⁷⁷ 'an Empire which has time' (Nietzsche, JGB [1886] §251).

⁷⁸ 'vast empire-in-between, where Europe flows back into Asia' (ibid., §208). For more on the connection between Nietzsche and Asiatic time in *Der Zauberberg* see Koopmann, *Der schwierige Deutsche*, pp. 17-18.

equivalent of one hour to a European.⁷⁹ He also points out the popularity of the sanatorium with inhabitants of ‘moskowitischen Mongolei’ (‘muscovite Mongolia’) and highlights this race’s experience of time in connection to the expanse of their land:

Wo viel Raum ist, da ist viel Zeit, - man sagt ja, daß sie das Volk sind, das Zeit hat und warten kann. Wir Europäer, wir können es nicht. Wir haben so wenig Zeit, wie unser edler und zierlich gegliederter Erdteil Raum hat, wir sind auf genaue Bewirtschaftung des einen wie des anderen angewiesen, auf Nutzung, Nutzung, Ingenieur!⁸⁰

The connection between time and space is clear, as is the propensity of the large number of ‘eastern’ patients at the sanatorium towards a relaxed attitude to time. Of course, Settembrini adds his own agenda to the description, twice emphasising ‘Nutzung’ (‘utilisation’) at the end of this extract, attempting to urge Hans to go back to Hamburg and contribute to his country’s technological developments. Unlike the ‘typist’ and the ‘clerk’ of *The Waste Land*, who are dehumanised by being reduced only to their professions, Settembrini’s constant addressing of Hans by his profession: ‘Ingenieur’ (engineer) is intended to be encouraging. Settembrini admires Hans’ profession, employing the address in an affirmative sense and at the same time attempting to remind Hans of the function to which Settembrini believes he should return as quickly as possible. Settembrini’s intentions and according use of language are based squarely on his belief that the western system of clock-time is beneficial to humanity. This further serves to highlight the differences between Eliot’s portrayal of individuals destroyed by clock-time and the optimism of Mann’s character who believes that the individual can use time productively. Yet despite his good intentions, Settembrini’s address is still reductive. For Hans, being defined by his career alone is not enough, hence his malingering on the

⁷⁹ ‘Haben Sie nie bemerkt, daß, wenn ein Russe “Vier Stunden” sagt, es nicht mehr ist, als wenn unsereins “eine” sagt?’, ‘Have you never noticed that when a Russian says “four hours” it is no more than when one of us says “one”’ (Z, p. 339).

⁸⁰ Where there is lots of space, there is lots of time. It has been said that they are a nation with too much time on their hands – they can afford to wait. We Europeans can’t wait. We have just as little time as our noble, tidily segmented continent has space; we must carefully husband the resources of the former just as we do those of the latter – put them to good use, use, engineer! (ibid.).

mountain. Settembrini's calls for industrial productivity must be met with intellectual and spiritual development, which Hans discovers through his exploration of both western and eastern ideals.

Settembrini goes on to connect the European need for precision and efficiency with time to its great cities, claiming that they are centres of civilisation and intellectual activity where wasting time, like wasting space, is an impossibility since both are at a premium.⁸¹ In his analysis of these passages Lindsay states that 'Settembrini thus identifies clock-time with the sphere of exploitation, of commodity-production and market-value'.⁸² While Settembrini does indeed connect clock-time with the West, capitalist production and the increasing pressure to use time, he does not see it as exploitation or commodification but rather as 'human progress': Settembrini argues that 'die Zeit ist eine Göttergabe, dem Menschen verliehen, damit er sie nutze – sie nutze, Ingenieur, im Dienste des Menschheitsfortschritts'.⁸³ Again, Settembrini twice emphasises action, this time in the verb form 'nutze' ('use'), stressing his belief that there is value in time when it is used for production and implying that wasting time is detrimental to 'human progress'.⁸⁴

However, Settembrini's ideal does not tally with Hans' experience of time in Hamburg and the feeling that the times themselves had nothing to offer him. Settembrini's idealised view of time in European cities is outdated. Quinones claims that this character is 'the fading voice of nineteenth-century liberal humanism', however, he is also 'the figure embodying its origins in the Italian cities of the Renaissance, with their growing awareness of

⁸¹ 'Nehmen Sie unsere großen Städte als Sinnbild, diese Zentren und Brennpunkte der Zivilisation, diese Mischkessel des Gedankens! In demselben Maße, wie der Boden sich dort verteuert, Raumverschwendung zur Unmöglichkeit wird, in demselben Maße, bemerken Sie das, wird dort auch die Zeit immer kostbarer', 'Take as an emblem our great cities, these centres and focal points of civilisation, these crucibles of thought! Just as land becomes more expensive in cities, wasting space becomes an impossibility, in the same way time becomes more valuable there too' (ibid., pp. 339-40).

⁸² Lindsay, *Decay and Renewal*, p. 79.

⁸³ 'Time is a gift of the gods to humankind, that we may use it – use it, my good engineer, in the service of human progress' (Z, p. 340).

⁸⁴ Settembrini's statement that time is a 'Göttergabe' ('gift of the gods') to be used for 'Menschheitsfortschritts' ('human progress') reinforces the argument made in the previous chapter that religion is employed and alluded to in *Der Zauberberg* but the human is placed firmly in the centre.

time, of the need for energetic action, and their code of civic identity'.⁸⁵ This helps to explain the relatively gentle treatment of Settembrini by the narrator and the preference which Hans shows towards him, as discussed in the previous chapter. Although the Italian does not escape mockery, most notably for his single, threadbare outfit, he gives expression to his ideas with eloquence and enthusiasm. Although Settembrini's ideals are outworn, there is still value in them to be salvaged. His Renaissance humanism and enlightenment ideals are, after all, vital to the 'burgherly age', spanning the fifteenth century to the nineteenth century; precisely the years which Mann thought were best represented by Goethe.⁸⁶ Furthermore, when Hans' experience of capitalistic clock-time in Hamburg is compared with the way in which Eliot presents its effects in *The Waste Land*, it is clear that *Der Zauberberg* is less damning. In Eliot's cities we see the very opposite attitude to clock-time which Settembrini idealistically presents: the ticking clock functions more as a symbol of the meaninglessness of life than a 'God-given gift' to advance 'human progress'—ironically due to its focus on *human* progress rather than God. The sympathetic attitude to Capitalism in Mann's 'burgherly tradition', seen for example in its referencing of Schopenhauer and Goethe's sensible economy and wise business choices, also contributes to explaining Mann's more lenient treatment of clock-time. Unlike Eliot, for whom economic systems were part of the temporal world, and hence inferior to religious faith, Mann was not averse to a capitalist system. Indeed, it was central to the mercantile origins of his middle-class heritage. What Mann criticises is the aspect of Capitalism which Settembrini fails to recognise, namely, the alienating, exhausting mode of industrialism which at the end of the nineteenth century resulted in the kind of exhaustion exemplified by Thomas Buddenbrook and, ultimately, in the demise of the 'burgherly age'.

Der Zauberberg seeks to overcome the problem of time that is too rigorously controlled, which was a cause and symptom of the excessive industrialisation and prevailing

⁸⁵ Quinones, p. 34.

⁸⁶ See p. 56 above.

exhaustion at the end of the nineteenth century. Just as Hans looked to the East and his experiences on the mountain to explore the depths of the human capacity for evil in his search for a morality suitable for the ‘post-burgherly age’, he also looks to the East and the atmosphere of the mountain for alternative modes of experiencing time. Just like his moral encounters, these experiences of time as cyclical and endless present a danger which must be acknowledged and understood before being incorporated into a form of time which allows for ‘human progress’ while also being able to reflect on the individual’s place in eternity.

The most notable representative of more relaxed, Russian attitudes to time is Clawdia, who draws attention to her lateness to meals at the sanatorium by allowing the dining room doors to crash behind her.⁸⁷ Clawdia’s Russian heritage connects her to all the associations with the East already discussed.⁸⁸ Lindsay explains Clawdia’s appeal in the context of the modes of time set out in the novel:

The Slav world is seen as yet free from the articulations of the cash nexus, the bourgeois reduction of time to mere quantitative repetition (in both post-Galilean science and commodity production). So in Mann’s system the Slav is invested with an aura of desirable qualities, expressing one aspect of the freedom for which Castorp seeks, and yet embodying the love-death dream.⁸⁹

Koopmann connects the eastern attitude to time back to Nietzsche’s ideas of reinvigorating the stale and decadent West. He states, ‘Der Osten gehört zu den topographischen Realisationen einer antihistorischen, antizivilisatorischen Weltsicht, wie Nietzsche sie immerhin als Möglichkeit beschreibt’.⁹⁰ This once again brings about the dilemma of the previous chapter as Hans is forced to navigate between the West and the East, or as

⁸⁷ Z, p. 109.

⁸⁸ Koopmann offers a good summary of this representative status, suggesting that Clawdia symbolises ‘Auflösung, Unform, Lässigkeit, Gleichgültigkeit, eine verschwenderisch freier Gebrauch der Zeit’ ‘dissolution, formlessness, remissness, indifference, a wasteful attitude to using time’ (Koopmann, *Der schwierige Deutsche*, p. 13).

⁸⁹ Lindsay, *Decay and Renewal*, pp. 83-84.

⁹⁰ ‘The East belongs to the topographical realisations of an anti-historical, anti-civilized world view, like that which Nietzsche described as a possibility’ (Koopmann, *Der schwierige Deutsche*, p. 18).

Koopmann frames it, between ‘Zivilisation und der euphorischen Barbarei’.⁹¹ Unlike Nietzsche’s assertion that Russia is the ‘Zwischenreich’ (‘empire-in-between’), in Mann’s novel it is Germany which is stuck in the middle, with Hans as his nation’s representative, forced to mediate between the two time systems.

Clawdia’s sexual allure is the obvious reason for Hans’ decision to stay on the mountain (aside, of course, from the formal excuse Behrens gives him in his physical examination), allowing him to explore the time systems presented to him there. However, his desire for timelessness has long been dormant within him.⁹² The idolisation of his grandfather and his childhood fascination with the baptismal bowl are evidence of this. The description of Lorenz ritualistically showing his grandson the baptismal bowl connects Hans’ joy at hearing his grandfather express the ‘Ur-Ur-Ur-Ur’ of his family history to the ‘moldrig-kühle Luft’ of the church crypt.⁹³ History, death and an escape from time are further combined in Hans’ memory of his grandfather’s portrait which seems to him to be a more accurate depiction of Lorenz’s character than the man’s everyday appearance was in reality.⁹⁴ As Dowden points out, Lorenz Castorp’s portrait symbolises ‘form, power, and permanence’, making him stand

⁹¹ ‘civilisation and euphoric barbarism’ (ibid., p. 19).

⁹² Hans sees (or at least perceives that he sees) Clawdia smiling at him immediately before his first examination with Behrens which is intended to check whether or not his cold will prevent him from travelling home and wonders whether she knew he had an appointment to go to: ‘Und doch war es fast ebenso unwahrscheinlich, wie daß sie hätte wissen sollen, daß er soeben noch, in der jüngstvergangenen Minute, sich gefragt hatte, ob er nicht dem Hofrat durch Joachim sagen lassen sollte, seine Erkältung habe sich schon gebessert und er betrachte die Untersuchung als überflüssig: ein Gedanke, dessen Vorzüge unter jenem fragenden Lächeln freilich dahingewelkt waren und sich in lauter abstoßende Langweiligkeit verwandelt hatten’, ‘And yet it seemed quite as unlikely as her knowing that he had just, not a minute before, asked himself whether he should not ask Joachim to tell the director that his cold was already better and that he now thought the examination was superfluous: the advantages of this idea withered beneath that questioning smile and suddenly became repulsively boring’ (Z, p. 248).

⁹³ ‘Great-great-great-great’; ‘mouldy-cool air’ (Ibid., p. 36). For more on the prefix ‘Ur’ see chapter 2, p. 97, fn. 72.

⁹⁴ ‘Für den Siebenjährigen [Hans] aber sowohl wie später in der Erinnerung des Herangewachsenen war die alltäglich Erscheinung des Alten nicht seine eigentliche und wirkliche. In eigentlicher Wirklichkeit sah er noch anders, weit schöner und richtiger aus als gewöhnlich, - nämlich so, wie er auf einem Gemälde, einem lebensgroßen Bildnis erschien’, ‘For the seven-year-old [Hans] and later in the memory of the adult, the everyday appearance of the old man was not what was essential and real about him. His essential reality was very different, more handsome and correct than his everyday appearance – that reality was apparent in a life-sized painting of him’ (Z, p. 40).

‘above time.’⁹⁵ Although Hans is fascinated by his grandfather, the baptismal bowl and the sense of timelessness they represent, he is unable to understand why or explore his fascination further. His face expresses this: ‘mit nachdenklich oder auch gedankenlos-träumerisch sich feststehenden Augen und andächtig-schläfrigem Munde’.⁹⁶

It is only once he arrives on the mountain that Hans is able to begin to explore this latent attraction to the timeless which the demands and atmosphere of his life in Hamburg prevented him from doing. On his first day on the mountain he already begins to recognise the arbitrary nature of measured time, as shown above.⁹⁷ Although Clawdia can be seen as the driving force behind Hans’ decision to stay on the mountain, it is the free time which the sanatorium lifestyle provides which allows Hans to think and develop his capacity for thought. And, just as with Hans’ exploration of morality, the reader is also subjected to his lessons, invited to share his, and the narrator’s, reflections on the nature of time. Furthermore, the reader experiences time in the same way as the protagonist, with the first three weeks of the novel, which seem like a very long time to Hans, taking up almost a third of the seven years which are narrated and the first day alone taking up almost a tenth.⁹⁸ After this, as Hans becomes accustomed to life on the mountain, time seems to him to pass more quickly. Weigand explains this:

we should then be gradually imbued with a sense of the passage of time, that we should feel it slip by at a progressively faster rate, coming to lose count by and by, and imperceptibly finding ourselves become dwellers, with Hans Castorp, in a charmed circle, more and more approaching a state of pure, changeless duration.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Stephen Dowden, ‘Mann’s Ethical Style’, in *A Companion to Thomas Mann’s Magic Mountain*, ed. by Stephen Dowden (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2002), pp. 14-40 (p. 20).

⁹⁶ ‘with eyes that were fixed, thoughtfully but also dreamily thoughtless, his mouth drowsily devotional’ (Z, p. 36).

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁹⁸ For more on the narrative structure of *Der Zauberberg* and Mann’s use of narrative time and narrated time see Ursula Reidel-Schrewe, *Die Raumstruktur des narrativen Textes: Thomas Mann, ‘Der Zauberberg’* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1992), pp. 8-11.

⁹⁹ Hermann J. Weigand, *The Magic Mountain: A Study of Thomas Mann’s Novel Der Zauberberg* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1964), p. 15.

While this ‘pure, changeless duration’—a purely subjective experience of time—may be the final experience for Hans, it will be argued here that the culmination of the novel’s lessons about time, in light of Mann’s ‘burgherly tradition’, encourage the reader to consider a more balanced approach to how time can be used. Although, like the lesson of the snow vision, Hans himself may not consciously be aware of this at the end of the novel, it is left to the reader to learn from his experience. The first major test that Hans faces on the way to this conclusion comes after the results of his first examination. It is during the subsequent three weeks, when he is confined to bed, that Hans really begins to experience and contemplate timelessness and eternity.

iii) Eternal Recurrence

Once again Mann looks to Nietzsche, and in this instance to his theory of eternal recurrence, to challenge Hans’ (and the reader’s) perception of time. Nietzsche’s famous thought-experiment involves asking yourself whether or not it would enhance the worth of your existence if you were to repeat a given action or decision over and over again for all eternity.¹⁰⁰ Nietzsche frames the notion with a demon appearing at the moment of one’s ‘einsamste Einsamkeit’ (‘loneliest loneliness’) and asking if one would repeat one’s life eternally. The demon stresses that every pain, desire, thought and sigh must be repeated, always in the same order, and concludes that ‘die ewige Sanduhr des Daseins wird immer wieder umgedreht — und du mit ihr, Stäubchen vom Staube!’¹⁰¹ Ansell Pearson reflects on this, explaining that the idea of eternal recurrence ‘comes at a critical hour of life, confronts us with our ultimate insignificance (we specks of dust) and offers no final consolation’.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ *FW*, §341

¹⁰¹ ‘The eternal hourglass of existence is turned over again and again – and you with it, speck of dust!’ (*FW*, §341).

¹⁰² Keith Ansell Pearson, *How to Read Nietzsche* (London: Granta Books, 2005), p. 76.

Yet Nietzsche's theory can also be seen as more affirmative. The aphorism goes on to state that if one can keep in mind the thought that every moment would eternally be repeated, then every action would be taken more decisively, and one's attitude to life and oneself would become more affirmative.¹⁰³

Der Zauberberg's adaptation of Nietzsche's eternal recurrence occurs most clearly in the subchapter 'Ewigkeitssuppe und plötzliche Klarheit' ('eternal soup and sudden clarity').¹⁰⁴ After Hans' examination at the end of his third week on the mountain Behrens advises that he stay in bed for the following three weeks. Hans' prescribed three weeks in bed is another example of narrative and narrated time merging closer together, the three weeks in bed seem very short to Hans and they are narrated in a single subchapter. The specific length of time, three weeks, also exactly mirrors the first three weeks in measurable clock-time but is drastically shorter in narrative time, further emphasising the subjective way in which time is narrated in the novel. Hans' period of bed rest gives the narrator an opportunity to reflect on the nature of time and illness:

es ist immer derselbe Tag, der sich wiederholt; aber da es immer derselbe ist, so ist es im Grunde wenig korrekt, von "Wiederholung" zu sprechen; es sollte von Einerleiheit, von einem stehenden Jetzt oder von der Ewigkeit die Rede sein. Man bringt dir die Mittagssuppe, wie man sie dir gestern brachte und sie dir morgen bringen wird.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ 'Wenn jener Gedanke über dich Gewalt bekäme, er würde dich, wie du bist, verwandeln und vielleicht zermalmen; die Frage bei Allem und Jedem "willst du diess noch einmal und noch unzählige Male?" würde als das grösste Schwergewicht auf deinem Handeln liegen! Oder wie müsstest du dir selber und dem Leben gut werden, um nach Nichts mehr zu verlangen, als nach dieser letzten ewigen Bestätigung und Besiegelung?', 'If that thought acquired power over you as you are, it would transform you, and perhaps smite you: the question with regard to all and everything "do you want this once again and countless times again?" would lie as the heaviest burden on all your actions! Or, how you would have to make good with yourself and your life so as to long for nothing more ardently than this last eternal sanctioning and sealing?' (*FW*, §341).

¹⁰⁴ For further discussion of Mann's use of Nietzsche's theory of eternal recurrence, see Ulrich Karthaus, '*Der Zauberberg* - ein Zeitroman (Zeit, Geschichte, Mythos)', *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, 44, 2 (1970), 269-305.

¹⁰⁵ It is always the same day – it just keeps repeating itself. Although since it is always the same day, it is surely not correct to speak of "repetition." One should speak of monotony, of an abiding now, of eternalness. Someone brings you your midday soup, the same soup they brought you yesterday and will bring again tomorrow (*Z*, pp. 257-58).

The patient seems fated to relive exactly the same day over and over again for eternity. The extract exemplifies the way in which daily routine appears to make of linear time a cyclical eternity.¹⁰⁶ Just as Mann took up Nietzsche's challenge to transfer the Wagnerian epic into the petty-bourgeois realm through his use of the Parsifal myth, as discussed in chapter 3, here we see Mann's transferral of Nietzsche's own philosophy into the bourgeois and trivial setting of the patient being served their 'midday broth'.¹⁰⁷ This is a far cry from Nietzsche's dramatic, almost gothic, daemon appearing in the lonely hours and challenging one's existence. Here we see a literary illustration of Mann's attempt to reformulate Nietzsche into his 'burgherly tradition' (discussed in chapter 2) by emphasising his 'burgherly' heritage and by reading him ironically.

Yet Mann's association of Nietzsche's eternal recurrence is not without some dramatic content and a lesson in the value of the worth of life and time; the association with sickness is particularly significant in this regard. The theory of eternal recurrence could easily be applied to the daily routine of the sanatorium, which varies very little, but Mann emphasises Nietzsche's influence most heavily when Hans is at his sickest. It is made clear that during this sickness, no form of linear progression of time is possible, since the eternal recurrence of the same day is adhered to so precisely, creating a sense of cyclical inevitability. As Engelberg explains, 'illness suits itself to temporal isolation' before going on to point out the connection between illness, the East and the 'loss of "normal" indicators of time'.¹⁰⁸ Yet while Hans' experience of time as eternity in his sickbed mirrors the eternal

¹⁰⁶ Erich Heller discusses Nietzsche's Eternal Recurrence in relation to Hans' circular expedition in 'Schnee', leaving the hut, only to return to it, and also to Mann's use of leitmotif in *Der Zauberberg* to create a sense of cyclicity throughout the novel. As part of his dialectical chapter 'Conversation on the Magic Mountain', he expresses the argument that Mann's application of Nietzsche's idea contributes to the novel's presentation of the age in which it is set as 'dispossessed of meaning' (Erich Heller, *Thomas Mann: The Ironic German* (Indiana: Regnery/Gateway, 1979), pp. 193-99).

¹⁰⁷ The point is further emphasised by the fact that the narrator goes on to point out that 'midday broth' is only a 'symbolic' term for what actually was brought to Hans, which was the full six-course Berghof dinner (Z, p. 266).

¹⁰⁸ Edward Engelberg, 'Ambiguous Solitude: Hans Castorp's Sturm und Drang nach Osten', in *A Companion to Thomas Mann's Magic Mountain*, ed. by Stephen Dowden (Rochester NY: Camden House, 2002), pp. 95-108

repetition set out in Nietzsche's theory, the accompanying call for an affirmation of one's actions is not easily detectable since Hans does nothing but eat, sleep, and think. True to the scheme of polarities set out in the novel, Hans' experience of extreme eastern timelessness and sickness is countered by an intrusion from Settembrini's western commitment to health and measurable time. In the middle of the 'Ewigkeitssuppe und plötzliche Klarheit' subchapter Settembrini enters Hans' room, physically and symbolically turning on the light: 'den Raum im Nu mit zitternder Klarheit überfüllte', fulfilling the second ('sudden clarity') part of the subchapter's title.¹⁰⁹ In their subsequent conversation Hans expresses his realisation that the customs of his native city, to which he has never before given proper thought, actually have a crudeness and cruelty about them.¹¹⁰ This realisation brings Hans into a similar state to Prufrock and the narrator of 'Rhapsody'; all three are able to see the injustices of their societies yet they are unable to change them. By contrast, however, Hans' observations lack the horror and immediacy of Eliot's characters, who are trapped within the societies which torment them. Hans occupies a privileged position of distance.

He also has another advantage over Eliot's characters in that he has a guide to help him through his reflections. In the final part of the subchapter Hans agrees to a pact with Settembrini, allowing the Italian to guide him in his thoughts and correct him 'wenn die Gefahr verderblicher Fixierungen droht'.¹¹¹ As the quasi-representative of the Renaissance,

(pp. 97-98). Engelberg stresses Settembrini's warnings against the slovenliness with time in the East before pointing to Eliot's 'hooded hordes' to demonstrate the common fear of the East in Modernism. Engelberg's focus is on Hans' fascination with the East in *Der Zauberberg*, for this reason, he does not go into great detail about the concept of time in the novel or offer any further comparison of Mann and Eliot.

¹⁰⁹ 'in a flash the room was overflowing with shivering clarity' (Z, p. 270). For an interesting discussion of the development of lighting technology in relation to broader technological developments which were central to modernist literature, see Ronald Schleifer, *Modernism and Time: The Logic of Abundance in Literature, Science, and Culture, 1880-1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 122-24.

¹¹⁰ Hans offers an example, stating that if someone does not serve the best wine at their dinner party, people simply will not go again and their daughters will be left unmarried. He states: 'So sind die Leute. Wie ich hier so liege und es von weitem sehe, kommt es mir kraß vor. Was brauchten Sie für Ausdrücke, - phlegmatisch und? Und energisch! Gut, aber was heißt das? Das heißt hart, kalt. Und was heißt hart und kalt? Das heißt grausam', 'That's the way people are. The way I lie here and can see it from a distance, it appears crude to me. What was the expression you used, - phlegmatic and? And energetic! Fine, but what does that really mean? It means hard and cold. And what do hard and cold mean? They mean cruel' (Z, p. 277).

¹¹¹ 'whenever the danger of corrupting fixations threaten' (ibid., p. 281).

the Enlightenment, and the five hundred years of the ‘burgherly age’, Settembrini stands for many of the values represented by Goethe in Mann’s ‘burgherly tradition’. At this point in the novel, Hans cannot embrace Nietzsche’s demon’s offer and act with surety and decisiveness because his society offers no hope for a meaningful existence and he still has much to learn on the mountain. But the experience of eternal repetition in itself, coupled with Settembrini’s guidance, allows him to gain new insights. Just like the snow vision, Mann draws directly from Nietzsche’s philosophy but is guided by the principles represented by Goethe. This highlights a major difference between *Der Zauberberg* and *The Waste Land* which will be considered further below: in Eliot’s poem the characters are also stuck in cycles of eternal repetition but there is no Settembrini to turn on the light in the patient’s sick room.

Given Eliot’s critical and dismissive attitude towards Nietzsche, which was discussed in chapter 2 above, it is unlikely that Eliot drew directly on Nietzsche’s theory in the same way as Mann. However, patterns of eternal recurrence are visible in *The Waste Land*. A clear example of futile and seemingly endless routine appears in ‘A Game of Chess’. The problem of daily routine immediately becomes the problem of eternity as one speaker asks, ‘What shall we do tomorrow? / What shall we ever do?’.¹¹² The reply: ‘The hot water at ten. And if it rains, a closed car at four’ confirms how routine is needed for stability, attempting to give meaning to an existence which seems to have none.¹¹³ By following the first question’s ‘tomorrow’ immediately with the second question’s ‘ever’ the daily cycle is connected to the eternal, creating a similar cycle of time to that which Hans experiences in his sickbed. In this instance in *The Waste Land*, the use of clock-time is intended to provide structure and certainty (in a rather desperate way) in response to the fear of the empty expansive eternity expressed in the desperate second question. Gish comments on the futility of the attempt: ‘as if the carefully controlled repetition of hot water at ten and a car at four could hold back

¹¹² *TWL*, ll. 133-34.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, ll. 135-36.

chaotic emotion by concentrating on the outer crust of existence'.¹¹⁴ Eliot shows the fixity of clock-time to be useless in the face of existential anxiety and the horror of eternity. In contrast with this, *Der Zauberberg* incorporates clock-time into Hans' experience of eternal recurrence, the repeated 'midday' broth, the same 'midday' of yesterday and tomorrow, is what creates the eternal present. The two time systems are merged into each other. In the passage from *The Waste Land*, clock-time creates eternity in the same way but it is simultaneously set up as an attempt to counter eternity, ultimately showing that neither time system offers meaning or hope to the couple. Where Hans is open to exploration of time as eternity, to the couple in *The Waste Land* it is terrifying. Williams' analysis of the poem reinforces this reading, as she highlights the 'closed car' in relation to the poem's search for invigorating rain, suggesting that if it rains, 'they are protected'.¹¹⁵ Just as Doris of *Sweeney Agonistes* rejected the glimpse into vitalizing barbarity offered by Sweeney, this couple shield themselves from exposure to the metaphorical invigoration offered by the rain.

Yet the regularly timed routines of the hot water and closed car can be seen to have another meaning. Langbaum has argued that while on the surface the daily routines suggest 'vacancy', there is also a 'positive implication, deriving from the poem's underlying patterns, that these routines are unconscious repetitions of ancient rituals'.¹¹⁶ He suggests that the 'hot water at ten' is representative of the morning bath, which 'recalls rituals of purification and rebirth through water'.¹¹⁷ In this sense the modern couple's morning routine, ordered by clock-time, could be seen also to have its roots in eternal repetition through the cycle of 'purification' and 'rebirth'. However, the couple are marked by a sense of sterility, in a seemingly loveless relationship in which the one partner's panic receives only automated and

¹¹⁴ Gish, p. 55.

¹¹⁵ Helen Williams, *T. S. Eliot: The Waste Land* (London: Edward Arnold, 1973), p. 23.

¹¹⁶ Robert Langbaum, 'New Modes of Characterization in *The Waste Land*' in *Eliot in His Time*, ed. by A. Walton Litz (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1973), pp. 95-128 (p. 100).

¹¹⁷ Langbaum, p. 101.

inadequate responses from the other.¹¹⁸ Rather than having a ‘positive implication’, the ‘hot water at ten’ is more like a modern version of ancient daily routines in a degraded and trivialised form. This is similar to Mann’s ironising of eternal recurrence, but in a more derisive way which contains none of the sympathy and humour with which *Der Zauberberg* treats Hans’ ‘midday broth’. The eternal repetition is not of the same events but of increasingly more sterile versions of the past. Just like the transferral of the heroic and the mythic into the modern discussed in the previous two chapters, this allusion to ritual and rebirth in the past only highlights the sterility and degradation of contemporary society. While clock-time and routine may be seen as combined in this sense, they still function to show the hopelessness of both systems and the increasingly degraded state of society. Nietzsche’s theory that the prospect of eternal recurrence should affirm one’s existence is far removed from these characters’ experience of routine and repetition.

Tiresias can be considered as another example of a form of eternal recurrence in *The Waste Land* which, rather than repeating the past exactly and affirming life—as Nietzsche’s theory calls for—presents gradual decline and a wasted existence. Although Tiresias appears to see the same events repeated over and over, he himself becomes more diminished, as evidenced by the repeated descriptions of him as ‘old man’ and ‘wrinkled’.¹¹⁹ Furthermore, the sense of ennui in his claim to have ‘foresuffered all’ suggests that he does not relish the thought of the eternal repetition of events lying ahead of him.¹²⁰ Like the Sibyl of the poem’s epigraph, Tiresias’s existence seems only to consist of gradually wasting away without the hope of death. This is in line with the poem’s broader presentation of characters experiencing a state of living-death—death is shown not as a physical finality but rather as a dull presence. The prospect of eternity for many of the characters of *The Waste Land* brings only fear or

¹¹⁸ For example: “I never know what you are thinking. Think.” / I think we are in rats’ alley / Where the dead men lost their bones. / “What is that noise?” / The wind under the door. / “What is that noise now? What is the wind doing?” / Nothing again nothing’ (*TWL*, ll. 114-20).

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, l. 219; l. 228.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, l. 243.

boredom. Nietzsche's call to affirm life, and not to waste one's existence, is a far cry from this presentation of eternal repetition. Furthermore, if Tiresias is considered as the closest the poem comes to a unifying presence, this interpretation of him as presenting only eternal repetition of failed relationships and the gradual degradation of society emphasises the absence of a guiding figure like Settembrini to present an opposing set of ideals.

Der Zauberberg mixes time systems to reveal to Hans the cruelty of his middle-class existence in Hamburg but, with its roots in the Parsifal myth and the *Bildungsroman* tradition, also shows that these time systems have value and can be used for both reflection and action. It is only through Hans' removal from clock-time that his inner life is revealed to him and he is able to begin to learn about the nature of time itself and how to use it. *The Waste Land*, on the contrary, offers no respite from the pressures of clock-time and presents eternity as a magnification of daily miseries along with the increasing degradation of the temporal world throughout history. The final part of this chapter will consider how both works employ the seasons to present a mixture of linear and cyclical time. In Eliot's poem the mixing of the seasons further confirms the futility of the temporal world and the chaotic, corrupted state of industrialised society. In Mann's novel, the seasons are also distorted revealing representations of eternity and regularity in opposition to one another. Yet by reading this in light of Mann's 'burgherly tradition', it becomes clear that these opposing concepts can be united to create a balanced middle way.

iv) Eternity and Regularity: The Seasons

When Hans arrives on the mountain, one of the first topics of conversation with Joachim is that it snows there all year round: "In ewigem Schnee", sagte Hans Castorp. / "Ja, ewig,

wenn du willst””.¹²¹ Joachim’s ‘wenn du willst’ (‘if you like’) displays his mild shock but quick dismissal of Hans’ choice of the word ‘ewig’ (‘eternal’) suggesting that Hans is already enchanted by the possibility of new time systems. The mountain is characterised by this sense of eternal snow throughout the novel.¹²² The snow on the mountain represents eternity in two ways, first in a physical sense by its permanent monochrome covering of the vastness of the landscape. And second, by the way in which it snows during every month of the year. Joachim explains how the seasons ‘vermischen sich sozusagen und halten sich nicht an den Kalender’.¹²³ The phrasing of this explanation paves the way for a clearer link between the irregularity of the seasons and removal from the clock-time of the ‘flatlands’. Just as Hans’ experience of time as eternity in ‘Ewigkeitssuppe’ allows him to think more clearly about his previous lifestyle, the ‘eternal snow’ similarly encourages this freedom of thought. This connection is reinforced by the fact that the first major snowfall in the novel appears at the beginning of the ‘Forschung’ (‘Research’) subchapter, and that Hans’ most important discoveries about human nature occur in the subchapter ‘Schnee’ (‘Snow’).¹²⁴

Yet the novel also presents some aspects of regularity in the seasons on the mountain. There are romantically described breaks in the snow when glimpses of recognisable, regular seasons are revealed:

Das Rad schwang. Der Weiser rückte. Knabenkraut und Akelei waren verblüht, [...] Die tiefblauen Sterne des Enzian, die Herbstzeitlose, blaß und giftig, zeigten sich wieder im feuchten Grase, [...] Herbstnachtgleiche war vorüber.¹²⁵

The beauty and sensitivity with which the flowers and the changing of the season are described presents a form of time in line with the regularly changing seasons to be idealised.

¹²¹ ““In eternal snow”, said Hans Castorp. / “Yes, eternal, if you like”” (Z, p. 18).

¹²² The most obvious illustration of this is the ‘Schnee’ (‘snow’) subchapter, discussed at length in the previous chapter.

¹²³ ‘mix in together, so to speak, and don’t keep to the calendar’ (Z, p. 134).

¹²⁴ Ibid., pp. 373-5.

¹²⁵ The wheel revolved. The hand on time’s clock moved forward. Orchids and aquilegias were out of bloom, [...] The deep-blue, star shaped gentian and the autumn crocus, pale and poisonous, appeared again among the damp grass, [...] The autumn equinox was past (ibid., p. 588).

The joy in nature and timeliness of the flowers could easily be considered as a homage to Goethe. Mann's later 'Goethe als Repräsentant' essay provides evidence for this as well as giving an excellent insight into the way in which the regularity of the seasons can be connected with both the 'burgherly' and the 'geistig'. Mann states:

Der Begriff des "Behagens" spielt bei den wohlwollenden Lebensratschlägen, die er den Menschen erteilt, eine besondere Rolle, und es ist echt bürgerlich in einem schon sehr geistigen Sinn empfunden, daß er in "Dichtung und Wahrheit" alles Behagen am Leben auf eine *regelmäßige Wiederkehr* der äußeren Dinge zurückführt, auf den Wechsel von Tag und Nacht, der Jahreszeiten, der Blüte und Früchte und was uns sonst von Epoche zu Epoche entgegentritt.¹²⁶

Through this statement it can be construed that Mann's presentation of Nietzsche's eternal recurrence in *Der Zauberberg* and the 'eternal snow' on the mountain symbolise the way in which more contemplation and time to think about the nature of life was needed at the end of the 'burgherly age'. Yet, in the light of Mann's 'burgherly tradition', established in the *Betrachtungen*, the values of the previous age, represented at their best by Goethe, should not be dismissed. Significantly, in the passage quoted above, Mann mentions both the 'burgherly' and the 'geistig' in his praise of Goethe's recognition of timeliness and regularity.

Yet while Hans experiences both time as eternity for contemplation and glimpses of regularity on the mountain, these lessons do not culminate in an idealised version of how time should be used at the end of the novel. He seems to fall increasingly into timelessness as the novel continues, ending up on the 'Schlechten Russentisch' ('Bad Russian Table') and giving up on his pocket watch and calendars.¹²⁷ Although the onset of the First World War forces him out of this, his experience of war does not present him with a better experience of time.

As the previous chapter asserted, the ending of the novel does not reveal Hans' ultimate fate

¹²⁶ The concept of 'ease and pleasure' played a special role in the benevolent life-advice he gave to people, and this is felt to be especially burgherly in an already very 'geistig' sense, when in *Poetry and Truth* he claimed that all pleasure in life comes back to the *regular recurrence* of outward things, the succession of day and night, the seasons, blossom and fruit, and the other things that we encounter from epoch to epoch. (*GWIX*, p. 303) (italics in original).

¹²⁷ *Z*, p. 981; p. 984.

and remains ambiguous about whether or not Hans has learned the lessons of his education on the mountain. Yet the reader with knowledge of Mann's broader views on time in relation to his 'burgherly tradition' can understand that Hans' initial life in Hamburg had little value; it was too deeply embedded in the 'hart und kalt' ('hard and cold') conventions which were symptomatic of society run on clock-time alone, prevailing at the end of the nineteenth century.¹²⁸ Yet his indulgent attitude to time at the end of his seven years on the mountain has become too mired in lethargy and leaves him equally alienated, with an existence of little value. It is only through a balance of the two systems that both 'Bürgerlichkeit', with its reliance on action, commerce, industrial development, and 'Geist', offering a spiritual and intellectual dimension to temper the crudeness of the former, can be achieved.

Similarly, when Eliot's Christian tradition is applied to interpreting the use of seasons in *The Waste Land*, a clearer view of the time systems in the poem becomes evident. Like Mann, Eliot blurs seasonal irregularity with glimpses of regularity, but unlike in *Der Zauberberg* this mixture of seasons shows only the futility of the temporal realm. From the opening line's famous inversion of the traditionally hopeful, life-giving April as the 'cruellest month', the reader is aware of the poem's subversive nature.¹²⁹ The inversion of expectations continues throughout the poem which thwarts a sense of natural normality. The many indoor settings in the first three sections, such as taverns, dressing rooms, cramped houses and brothels, shut out nature from their oppressive atmospheres, just as the 'closed car' shuts out the rain.¹³⁰ The glimpses of seasons which are described in the poem continue to disorientate the reader, deeming winter as 'warm' and summer as surprising with its 'shower of rain'.¹³¹ There is also Marie who goes 'south in the winter' in order to avoid the natural seasons.¹³²

Along with this seasonal irregularity, Eliot's poem presents a perceived eternal

¹²⁸ Ibid., p. 277.

¹²⁹ *TWL*, l. 1.

¹³⁰ Ibid., l. 136, see above, p. 264.

¹³¹ Ibid., l. 5; l. 9.

¹³² Ibid., l. 18.

season, like the ‘eternal snow’ of *Der Zauberberg*, but in the form of eternal desert. The ‘stony rubbish’, ‘dead trees’ and ‘dry stone’ imagery from section I of *The Waste Land* is carried through to the ‘sandy road’ and ‘rock without water’ of section V, helping to create the desiccated, sterile atmosphere which runs throughout the poem; reinforcing the mood of the title and the prospect of eternal desert.¹³³

Yet rather than presenting a completely unrecognisable seasonal landscape, Eliot also maintains some predictable and established features of the seasons. For example, in the opening section of the poem there is ‘spring rain’, and ‘snow’ in winter.¹³⁴ Seasonal regularity is also displayed in section III as the present tense refers to the ‘winter evening’ and ‘winter noon’ but looks forward in the future tense to the arrival of Sweeney ‘in the spring’.¹³⁵ By placing recognisable aspects of seasonal time alongside inverted seasons and the prospect of eternal desert, Eliot shows a society which is severely out of touch with nature and regularity, but not entirely detached from it. Yet unlike Mann’s novel, in which the glimpses of seasonal regularity act as a reminder of the salvageable aspects of the past epoch, here they serve only to reinforce the sense of disorder and the hopelessness of the temporal realm. The planted corpse of section I exemplifies this mixture of order and disorder, showing how the regular but distorted seasonal cycles create the arid ground which is fertile only for living death.¹³⁶ Williams notes how the planted corpse encapsulates the way in which the extremes of life and death in *The Waste Land* become blurred, citing the allusions to Dante’s limbo, the Sibyl, and Tiresias as further evidence of this.¹³⁷

¹³³ Ibid., l. 20; l. 23; l. 24; l. 332; l. 334.

¹³⁴ Ibid., ll. 4-6.

¹³⁵ Ibid., l. 190; l. 208; l. 198.

¹³⁶ Ibid., ll. 71-5.

¹³⁷ Williams, p. 33. Furthermore, just as Langbaum notes the origins of the bath rituals implicit in the ‘hot water at ten’, Williams suggests that the sprouting corpse is a ‘parody of the corn effigy of nature rituals’, again showing how ancient rituals are presented in a degraded form (Langbaum, p. 100; Williams, p. 33). For a more detailed discussion of the relationship between myth, sacrificial rituals, and time in *The Waste Land* see Thomas E. Helm, ‘Hermeneutics of Time in T. S. Eliot’s *The Waste Land*’, *The Journal of Religion*, 65, 2 (1985), 208-24.

McIntire offers a complementary, and convincing, interpretation of the significance of the seasons in relation to time in *The Waste Land*. She outlines the fact that the cruelty of April lies in its mixing of ‘memory and desire’, explaining that memory deals with the past while desire has implications of futurity. She then explains that April is therefore cruel because ‘it yokes together what is painfully opposite and seemingly through a dramatic revolution of the earth’s cycles’.¹³⁸ The planted corpse can be interpreted through this perspective. Like memory and desire, it represents both the past—the corpse is the physical remains of a life which has ended—and the future—the desire that it will bloom—in a tormented and hopeless present which clings to regular seasonal cycles but which produces only the eternal living death which permeates the poem. The image yokes together not only life and death but also past and future into living death. In this way, the poem’s blurring of regular and irregular seasons functions as another method of mixing together past and future, regularity and chaos, and life and death in a hopeless, eternal present. Although Eliot presents a mixture of different seasonal time schemes within the poem, all are shown to be rooted in the temporal realm, which, without religious faith, offer no hope for escape.

It has been demonstrated in this chapter that both Eliot and Mann present clock-time, particularly in relation to increasing industrialisation, as alienating and dehumanising but Eliot offers no solution to this issue, at least not in the temporal realm. No progressive way of using time in the temporal realm is offered in Eliot’s early poetry or in *The Waste Land*. By contrast, Mann’s ‘burgherly tradition’ encourages an element of capitalistic and technological progress, but with the human at its core. In light of this, it was shown that *Der Zauberberg* presents the extremes of the cruelty of clock-time in Hamburg and the formlessness of time as eternity in Hans’ lethargic state at the end of his stay on the mountain, in order to imply to

¹³⁸ Gabrielle McIntire *Modernism, Memory, and Desire: T. S. Eliot and Virginia Woolf* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 40.

the reader that a balance of the two is necessary for human progress in the 'post-burgherly age'.

It was also shown that *Der Zauberberg* draws on Nietzsche's theory of eternal recurrence, transferring it to the bourgeois routine of the patient's midday broth, in order to encourage Hans' contemplation about the nature of time and further associate sickness with timelessness. In *The Waste Land* Eliot presents a similar form of eternal repetition, however, rather than encouraging contemplation, this asserts the horror of the state of seeming eternity and the desire to mask the prospect of its continuation into the future. It was also argued that, unlike Quinones suggests, Eliot's presentation of modes of time is more condemnatory in *The Waste Land* than in the earlier poems, since the majority of characters in the later poem do not recognise their enslavement to clock-time, whereas the narrators of 'Preludes', 'Rhapsody', and 'Prufrock' are at least able to recognise their entrapment, even if they are unable to escape it. Quinones' argument that Tiresias can be seen as comparable to Hans Castorp in their roles as the 'complex central consciousness', passively observing the action surrounding them paradoxically to assert control over it, was disputed. While both characters are in many ways passive observers, there are important divergences. Most notably, the fact that Tiresias confirms the changelessness of the temporal world, whereas Hans, with pedagogical guidance from Settembrini (and others), is presented as capable of development.

Mann's presentation of time has been shown to concentrate almost exclusively on how time can be used, productively or otherwise, by humans. While he also shows the potentially dehumanising and dangerous aspects of both clock-time and time as eternity, Mann maintains his tradition of compromise and of seeking the middle way by implying that the ideal is a balanced approach which can incorporate both time systems. The values of 'Bürgerlichkeit' and 'Geist', as represented by Goethe, are at the centre of Mann's approach, advocating the harmonious co-existence of both action and contemplation. The continuation

of this approach to the presentation of time which places the human at its centre will also be considered in Mann's later works in the conclusion to this thesis. Eliot also continued to incorporate the theme of time in his later poetry. However, after his formal conversion to Anglo-Catholicism in 1927, a more overtly Christian message can be seen in his poetry. Where the earlier poems, studied above, present time as hopelessly bound to the temporal, in Eliot's later poetry, most notably *Four Quartets*, a more hopeful prospect of escape from the torments of temporal time systems is presented.

Conclusion

This thesis has analysed a number of instances in which Mann and Eliot draw on common sources, such as Wagner's operas and Nietzsche's philosophy, employ common themes such as time, the mythic, the primal, the barbaric, and respond to common contemporary developments such as the cinema. As this investigation has demonstrated, these commonalities are underscored by radically different authorial approaches and belief systems. These divergent approaches can be separated into three interconnected aspects which form the basis of Mann and Eliot's differing traditions. The first aspect is Eliot's religious framework for literature and his later religious faith, in contrast with Mann's secular framework and belief that ethical judgements should be formed by the individual. Second, Eliot's belief that culture had been in continual decline since the seventeenth century in contrast with Mann's belief that the beginning of the twentieth century marked a new epoch after the demise of the 'burgherly age' at the end of the nineteenth century. Third, Eliot's assertion that the artist should be separate from the work he or she creates in contrast with Mann's heavy focus on the personality of the artist and the notion that this should be incorporated into the creative work.

It has been shown that in their creative works both Mann and Eliot present the middle classes ambivalently but that the differences in these presentations illustrate the more fundamental differences outlined above. This original study of two authors who have never previously been compared in such detail has proposed answers to a number of important questions: what did Mann and Eliot know (and think) about each other? How can their presentations of bourgeois society in their critical and creative works be compared? What commonalities exist between their landmark modernist epics *Der Zauberberg* and *The Waste Land*? How can these commonalities be understood in light of the authors' divergent traditions?

This study has had to limit itself to Mann and Eliot's works from the early period of the twentieth century in order to present detailed analyses of the texts which it has considered. Yet the framework of difference between the authors' belief systems, which this thesis has established, could well be applied to their later works. The nature of these later works also raises further questions about whether the authors' developing ideas about religion and their later attitudes toward bourgeois society indicate that the differences between their traditions became less pronounced. Mann's later works are heavily informed by religious myth and experience, as evidenced by the *Joseph* tetralogy (1943), *Doktor Faustus* (1947), and *Der Erwählte (The Holy Sinner)* (1951).¹ Furthermore, as discussed in chapter 2, Eliot's initially critical attitude towards Goethe's reliance on personality softened as Eliot himself became older and, in his own words, 'a little wiser'.² Noble also notes the modification of Eliot's 'Impersonality' theory as the poet got older, suggesting the connection between Eliot's public conversion to Anglo-Catholicism and his overtly Christian poetry and drama as evidence of this.³ Noble's comparison of Mann and Eliot's later works in relation to religion is particularly enlightening in this regard, and would make an ideal starting point for further investigations in this field. Some of the potential areas of comparison for future investigations of Mann and Eliot, building on the research presented above and Noble's existing comparison of the authors' later religious attitudes, will be outlined briefly here.

¹ The *Joseph* tetralogy consists of *Die Geschichten Jaakobs (The Stories of Jacob)* (1933); *Der junge Joseph (Young Joseph)* (1934); *Joseph in Ägypten (Joseph in Egypt)* (1936) and *Joseph, der Ernährer (Joseph the Provider)* (1943) (Thomas Mann, *Gesammelte Werke in dreizehn Bänden, IV: Joseph und seine Brüder 1* (Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer, 1990); Thomas Mann, *Gesammelte Werke in dreizehn Bänden, V: Joseph und seine Brüder 2* (Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer, 1990); Thomas Mann, *Gesammelte Werke in dreizehn Bänden, VII: Der Erwählte: Roman; Bekentnisse des Hochstaplers Felix Krull: Der Memoiren erster Teil* (Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer, 1990), pp. 9-261. Russell Berman also notes this turn to religious sources in Mann's later works, connecting it to the historical context of what he refers to as the 'era of catastrophe' (Russell Berman, 'Deliver Us from Evil: Faith and Fiction for Thomas Mann', *South Central Review*, 25, 3 (2008), 30-44 (p. 41)).

² *OPP*, p. 226; see chapter 2, p. 94.

³ Noble, p. 121. Noble cites Gerd Schmidt, who also recognises this 'modification of Impersonality' (Gerd Schmidt, *Die Struktur des Dramas bei T. S. Eliot* (Salzburg: Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur, Universität Salzburg, 1978), p. 9).

Noble recognises that the *Joseph* novels and *Der Erwählte* are not the work of a ‘Glaubensfanatiker’ (‘religious fanatic’); they contain Mann’s usual irony and humour, but Noble suggests that Mann did not choose such biblical figures by accident.⁴ He cites an interview with Mann conducted in 1935, in which Mann claimed: ‘Ich selbst bin als Schriftsteller zum Mythos gekommen, weil mir die Ebene des Bürgerlichen nicht mehr genügte’.⁵ Noble also points out that while religion becomes prevalent in Mann’s later works, most notably in the *Joseph* tetralogy, religious problems such as duty, guilt, and grace can be traced throughout his entire oeuvre.⁶

He suggests a comparison between *Der Zauberberg* and Eliot’s *Four Quartets*, which opens up a number of further areas of exploration. Noble points to ‘The Dry Salvages’:

I have said before
 That the past experience revived in the meaning
 Is not the experience of one life only
 But of many generations—not forgetting
 Something that is probably quite ineffable:
 The backward look behind the assurance
 Of recorded history, the backward half-look
 Over the shoulder, towards the primitive terror.⁷

He then connects this to *Der Zauberberg*’s snow vision, specifically Hans’ realisation that ‘Man träumt nicht nur aus eigener Seele [...] man träumt anonym und gemeinsam’, claiming that in both cases the individual and the mythical merge into one.⁸ He also links Eliot’s ‘primitive terror’ to the terror of the hags in the snow vision.⁹ Yet as this investigation has

⁴ Noble, pp. 32-3.

⁵ ‘I myself, as a writer, came to myth because the burgherly plane no longer sufficed’ (Stephan Lackner, ‘Ein Gespräch mit Thomas Mann’, *Neue Deutsche Hefte*, 145 (1975), 118-23 (p. 121) in Noble, p. 106. As will be demonstrated below, this claim should perhaps not be taken at face value.

⁶ Noble points to Lehnert’s reading of the ‘Wiedersehen’ (‘reunion’) at the end of *Buddenbrooks* (Noble, p. 19; Herbert Lehnert, ‘Thomas Mann’s Lutherbild’ in Georg Wenzel (ed.), *Betrachtungen und Überblicke Zum Werk Thomas Manns* (Berlin and Weimar: Aufbau, 1966), p. 337; *B*, p. 758).

⁷ DS, II, ll. 48-55.

⁸ ‘One dreams not only out of one’s own soul [...] one dreams anonymously and collectively’ (Z, p. 684); Noble, p. 113.

⁹ *Ibid.*

suggested, the ritualistic aspect of the hags in the temple points to Mann's agreement with Freud's theory that religious rituals can be traced back to primitive sacrificial rituals, emphasising the violent aspects of human nature rather than the confirmation of religious faith that Noble's comparison implies. Noble's attempts to draw out similarities between *Der Zauberberg* and *Four Quartets* indicate that while interesting parallels can be drawn, more detailed analysis is required fully to understand the intricacies of the texts' relation to each other.

Notwithstanding his claim that the burgherly plane no longer sufficed, Mann clearly returns to the burgherly realm in *Doktor Faustus*. Noble's focus on religion fails to take account of Mann's later attitude to 'Bürgerlichkeit'. Closer attention to *Doktor Faustus* reveals that Mann's usual irony and humour is also rooted in his customary ambivalence to the bourgeois realm. The narrator Serenus Zeitblom perfectly epitomises Mann's critical but sympathetic attitude to the middle classes. Yet while *Der Zauberberg* explored problems of humanity through this sympathetic, middle-class perspective, the focus in *Doktor Faustus* is the issue of religion. Two examples from the novel indicate that, regardless of any personal religious feelings which Mann may have had, both Catholicism and Lutheranism are subjected to mockery in this novel. In the first instance, Zeitblom relates a story told by Schleppfuss about a woman who slept with an incubus three times a week for six years and had pledged her soul to the devil after seven years. She fell into the hands of the Inquisition and provided a full confession:

Welche schöne Geschlossenheit der Kultur aber sprach aus diesem harmonischen Einvernehmen zwischen dem Richter und dem Deliquenten und welche warme Humanität aus der Genugtuung darüber, diese Seele noch im letzten Augenblick

durch das Feuer dem Teufel entrissen und ihr die Verzeihung Gottes verschafft zu haben!¹⁰

The darkly comic and sarcastic tone with which medieval Catholic extremism is treated here implies that the barbarism associated with Naphta's Catholicism in *Der Zauberberg* is also present in this later work. And the Lutheran Church is also mocked in *Doktor Faustus*. A second example from the novel describes the dean of the church in Munich's response to Zeitblom's inquiries about Clarissa's funeral after her suicide:

Ich gestehe, daß es eine Weile dauerte, bis ich begriff, daß zwar einerseits die Kirche sich nicht inaktiviert zu sehen wünschte, daß sie aber nicht bereit war, den erklärten, wenn auch noch so ehrenhaften Selbstmord auszusegneten, - kurzum, daß der kräftige Mann nichts anderes wollte, als daß ich löge. So lenkte ich den fast lächerlich unvermittelt ein, bezeichnete alles als unaufgeklärt, ließ einen Unglücksfall, eine Flacon-Verwechslung als möglich, ja wahrscheinlich zu und erreichte so, daß der Dickkopf, geschmeichelt denn doch für seine heilige Firma, durch das Gewicht, das man auf ihre Teilnahme legte, sich bereit erklärte, die Exequien vorzunehmen.¹¹

Both examples demonstrate that Mann's later novel presents clear resemblances in tone to that of *Der Zauberberg*. Mann frames the above-quoted stories so that the reader's sympathy is more inclined to Zeitblom's perspective, while simultaneously exposing Zeitblom's pomposity and self-importance to gentle mockery.

Another interesting area for comparison is opened up when we consider reading *Faustus* through the moral framework which Eliot presents in 'Baudelaire', as discussed in chapters 3 and 4, namely that it is better 'to do evil than to do nothing'.¹² This interpretation

¹⁰ What beautiful integration of an entire culture was expressed in the harmonious understanding between judge and delinquent, what warm humanity in the satisfaction of having employed fire to snatch this soul from the Devil at the last moment, thereby obtaining for her God's forgiveness! (*DF*, p. 138).

¹¹ I admit that it took a while before I realised that although on the one hand the Church did not wish to be seen as uninvolved, neither was it ready to bless an avowed suicide, however honourable—in short, that what this sturdy gentleman really wanted was for me to lie. And so I relented with almost ridiculous abruptness, pronounced the entire affair to be quite inexplicable, admitted the possibility, indeed probability of an accident, a mix-up of bottles, and by letting the thick-headed fellow feel flattered by the importance attached to the participation of his sacred firm, managed to get him to consent to perform the funeral service (*ibid.*, pp. 510-11).

¹² *CP4*, p. 162.

would cast the protagonist Adrian Leverkühn, who is damned, as preferable to Zeitblom, who can be viewed as another morally passive, middle-class figure.¹³ When considered in light of the historical context of Mann's novel, as a response to the horrors of the Third Reich, this opens up yet more areas for exploration. In *After Strange Gods*, Eliot repeats the belief expressed in 'Baudelaire' that blasphemy 'might now be taken [...] as a symptom that the soul is still alive', before claiming that 'we should do well, therefore, to look elsewhere than to the blasphemer, in the traditional sense, for the most fruitful operations of the Evil Spirit today'.¹⁴ While Eliot's reluctance to engage in politics has been established, this statement could be considered as a reference to the European political climate in 1933, when Eliot was delivering these lectures. The forthcoming publication of Eliot's prose and letters from the mid-1930s may shed more light on this subject, as well as opening up more insightful comparisons of Mann and Eliot's political positions and the way in which they relate these to the concept of 'Evil' in their later works.

Returning to the authors' later religious perspectives, Kurzke points out the difficulty that Mann faced even before *Der Zauberberg*, realising that the direction in which his work was going demanded an affirmative relationship with Christianity, which seemed to be at odds with his intellectual education as a pupil of Nietzsche.¹⁵ The above-quoted examples from *Faustus* demonstrate one way in which Mann achieved this: through the ironic tone

¹³ This would be particularly interesting in light of the devil's speech in *Faustus*: 'Glaube mir! sogar auf Theologie versteht sie sich besser, als seine vom Kultus abgefallene Kultur, die auch im Religiösen nur eben Kultur sah, nur Humanität, nicht den Exzeß, das Paradox, die mystische Leidenschaft, die völlig unbürgerliche Aventure. Ich hoffe doch, du wunderst dich nicht, daß dir Sankt Velten vom Religiösen spricht?', 'Believe me, barbarism has a better understanding even of theology than does a culture that has fallen off from the cult, which even in things religious saw only culture, only humanitarianism, but not excess, not the paradox, the mystical passion, the ordeal so utterly outside burgherly experience. I hope you are not mazed that Old Cloutie speaks of things religious?' (*DF*, p. 324).

¹⁴ *ASG*, p. 53.

¹⁵ 'Er erkennt, daß seine ganze Richtung eigentlich ein zustimmendes Verhältnis zum Christentum verlangt. Er erkennt, daß er religiös sein will. Er weiß nur noch nicht, wie das gehen soll ohne Verrat an einer durch Nietzsches Schule gegangenen Intelligenz. Er wird weiter suchen, erst im *Zauberberg*, dann aber vor allem in dem großen biblischen Roman *Jospeh und seine Brüder*, und er wird schließlich einen schmalen Pfad finden' (Kurzke, pp. 266-67).

which he learned from the philosopher, as outlined in chapter 2 above.¹⁶ As another point of contrast, Eliot's ironic, Nietzschean style in 'Eldrop and Appleplex' is completely absent from *Four Quartets*. The sermon-like tone of the poems mark a clear development away from the earlier work's irony and posturing.

Along with the complex of possibilities which is opened up by a comparative study of *Faustus* and *Four Quartets* in relation to the authors' later religious beliefs, the two works' thematic and stylistic similarities can also be considered. For example, both works, like their predecessors, explore the nature of time. The pressure which the clock-time of Hamburg society placed on Hans becomes the pressure of the sand trickling through the hour-glass, counting down Adrian's twenty-four years. *Four Quartets* also presents a continuation of the vacancy of the commuters flowing over London Bridge in *The Waste Land*, portraying the London tube as 'a place of disaffection', and noting the 'strained time-ridden faces' of the Tube passengers.¹⁷

Both works also employ music in order to express the passage of time and the possibility of transcendence. Related to this is the consideration in both works of the theme of eternity. Unlike the feeling of hopelessness which overwhelms *The Waste Land*, and the experience of time as an eternity that only reinforces the misery of the temporal realm, there is a distinct development in Eliot's later poem. The hope for moments of transcendence and escape from the temporal realm, which are only perceived in *The Waste Land* and revealed to be futile are more hopefully presented in *Four Quartets*. Such moments of realisation are notably expressed in 'Burnt Norton':

At the still point of the turning world. Neither flesh nor fleshless;
Neither from nor towards; at the still point, there the dance is,
But neither arrest nor movement. And do not call it fixity,

¹⁶ The novel's basis in Nietzsche's biography is another evident way in which Mann continued to engage with Nietzsche while exploring the Christian faith.

¹⁷ BN, III, l. 1; l. 11.

Where past and future are gathered. Neither movement from nor towards,
Neither ascent nor decline. Except for the point, the still point.¹⁸

This search for stillness out of movement is comparable to Adrian Leverkühn's thoughts about music in *Doktor Faustus*. He is deeply occupied with 'das Problem der Einheit, Vertauschbarkeit, Identität von Horizontale und Vertikale'.¹⁹ Ellis' assessment of the modes of time in *Four Quartets* is particularly enlightening in this respect. He suggests that life bound to the temporal realm is plotted along the horizontal axis, 'represented in the image of the tube-train' while the soul's journey can be seen as plotted along an 'intersecting "vertical" axis, which either leads upwards into the light or downwards into a "purifying" darkness'.²⁰ This scheme of the poem running along a horizontal axis (representing the temporal and human) against the vertical axis (which represents the spiritual journey of the soul), can further be applied to this investigation's comparison of Mann and Eliot. For Eliot, the temporal is secondary, often presented as a place of confusion, misery, and distraction. The vertical journey, the journey of the soul, is primary. In Mann's work, we have seen that the temporal, the human, is of the greatest importance; religious concerns are secondary to this.

It has been demonstrated that Mann's faith in the moral integrity of the middle classes, and their capacity for reason, rationality, and education, is at the centre of *Der Zauberberg's* ambivalent but ultimately sympathetic presentation of this class. Furthermore, the placement of the individual and humanity at the core of Mann's 'burgherly tradition' reinforces the novel's ultimately hopeful 'message' that the individual can overcome the darker aspects of humanity and establish forms of 'life' and 'love' which can acknowledge, and overcome, these forces. By contrast, Eliot's presentation of the middle classes has been shown to be far more denigrating. Although he, like Mann, presents the bourgeoisie with a degree of ambivalence and occasionally humour in his early works, his criticism of this class

¹⁸ BN, II, ll. 16-20.

¹⁹ 'the problem of unity, interchangeability, and identity of the horizontal and vertical' (*DF*, p. 101).

²⁰ Steve Ellis, *T. S. Eliot: A Guide for the Perplexed* (London: Continuum, 2009), p. 104.

is often aimed at their moral vacuity and their preoccupation with the trivial and the temporal, rather than the divine. In light of this, it can be observed that the direction of Mann's journey is through, finding a middle way along the horizontal axis; the direction of Eliot's journey is up or down, along the vertical axis. The framework which this thesis has set out could be applied to future investigations of Mann and Eliot's later works. An indication of this can be seen through Frau Schweigestill's call for human understanding after Adrian's collapse at the end of *Doktor Faustus* in contrast with Eliot's overtly Christian, hopeful ending to the *Four Quartets*:

Viel hat er von der ewigen Gnaden g'redt, der arme Mann, und i weiß net, ob die langt. Aber a recht's a menschlich's Verständnis, glaubt's mir, des langt für all's.²¹

And all shall be well and
 All manner of thing shall be well
 When the tongues of flame are in-folded
 Into the crowned knot of fire
 And the fire and the rose are one.²²

²¹ He talked a lot about eternal grace, the poor man, and I don't know if it reaches that far. But real human understanding, believe me, that reaches far enough for all (*DF*, p. 667).

²² *LG*, V, ll. 42-6.

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