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THE ROLE OF POLITICAL AND SEXUAL IDENTITY IN THE WORKS OF KLAUS MANN

by

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The Role of Political and Sexual Identity in the Works of Klaus Mann

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The Role of Political and Sexual Identity in the Works of Klaus Mann

Foreword

The reception of Klaus Mann's fiction in Germany has focused primarily either on the political aspects of his writings, neglecting its gay content, or on the gay content, neglecting the political aspects. The gay content has been largely overshadowed by the scandal surrounding the post-war West German censorship of the novel Mephisto: Roman einer Karriere (1936). An issue of the series on authors in the journal Text + Kritik devoted to him in 1987 scarcely discussed Mann's importance as a gay writer; several studies of him as a gay writer fail to place his sexual themes sufficiently into the political and historical context.[1] This study proposes to bridge that gap.

There are several reasons for considering Mann in the light of identity questions that have become prevalent in literary studies in the past decade or two. Mann was considered a spokesperson for his generation in Germany, a generation whose literary productivity was disrupted by the rise of Nazism and the ensuing emigration. This cultural and geographical displacement is perhaps more apparent in Klaus Mann's works than in the works of most other German-language writers of the period. Mann was just coming into his own as a writer and cultural figure when the National Socialists gained power in

Germany.

Mann's work has received increased critical attention in Germany and the United States over the past twenty years. The first dissertations on him appeared in the 1970s, and now there are several editions of his works already published or planned. Now more readers have become interested in what he wrote. Mann achieved great prominence during his lifetime, both during the Weimar Republic as well as later during his years in exile, but from the 1950s until the 1970s, there appears to have been relatively little interest in him.

Most of the literature on Mann is predisposed to view him in terms of either an antifascist leftist or a gay writer, or as a family member of a famous clan. Fredric Kroll's excellent and thorough compendium on Mann's life and works traces the themes of non-possession, beauty, and morality.[2] Marianne Krüll directs attention to the intergenerational family patterns of the Mann family and places Klaus within that context.[3] Peter Hoffer has written the only literary biographical monograph in English on Mann's life and works.[4] Michael Töteberg offers new insights into his dramatic creativity, interpreting several hitherto neglected plays.[5] The French scholar Michel Grunewald has written extensively on Mann and France, as well as on Mann's as yet unpublished last novel fragment "The Last Day," and emphasized the sense of political despair Mann felt at the end of his life.[6]

I suggest that Gert Mattenklott's article on Mann's essay "Homosexualität und Fascismus" is one of the first treatments of the interrelationship between Mann's sexual and political identity that questions some of the more traditional cultural assumptions of

previous other critics and scholars.[7] Mattenklott proposes that Mann's somewhat contradictory assertions about sexuality and political movements in the essay meant that there is new fertile territory to explore in Mann's writing. Finally, Gerhard Härle's work on homosexuality in the works of Thomas and Klaus achieves an advance in the ways in which a psychoanalytic approach to an author's sexual identity yields intriguing new insights.

Gustav Gründgens appreciated the status of Mann among his contemporaries. Gründgens wrote that "Die junge Generation hat in Klaus Mann ihren Dichter gefunden . . . er ist nicht nur ein Schilderer der neuen Jugend, er ist vielmehr berufen, ihr Wegweiser zu werden." In the generation of German writers that included Erich Ebermayer, Grete Weil-Jockisch, Annemarie Schwarzenbach and others, Mann assumed a representative role, and thus makes an exemplary figure for a discussion of identity during his time. Elke Nicolai has published the other most recent dissertation on Klaus Mann (1998), and places him at the center of his "Generationsgruppe." This study examines the literary creative process in the formation of political and sexual identity as exemplified in Mann's writings. The concept of identity is currently receiving much critical scrutiny. Originally primarily a philosophical concept, the term identity has increasingly been considered in psychological and sociological terms. Now it is also a political idea which often includes groups and group identities. Comprehensive definitions of the term go beyond the scope of the present study. My aim is instead to consider identity as an aspect of social-psychological experience, in the case of the fictional and non-fictional writings of Klaus Mann.

Mann lived and wrote between the historical and social currents of mid-century

Europe and the United States. Throughout this study, various theorists of identity are consulted to try to understand Mann and his identity questions. But he also looks different now in the light of some of the newer theories on personal identity and the quite current, "queer" theories of sexual identity. Occasionally I turn to these most recent ideas on sexuality and society in order to account for some of the forms of Mann's writing. However, this study dispenses with final, fixed definitions of sexual, political, and personal identity, and rather leaves them open-ended for further investigations. The goal is instead to offer new perspectives on both Klaus Mann and on the role of identity in an author's work and life.

The study's primary focus is on Mann's prose fiction, three autobiographies, and essays, but it also examines his literary criticism, drama, letters, and diaries, as well as his editorial role in literary periodicals in exile, and his role in the group of writers and antifascists after 1933. An overview of Mann's works reveals a development from the earlier plays and fiction of the Weimar period, in which individual and familial concerns dominate, to works from his period of exile that treat broader social concerns. Because this development in Mann's work is peculiarly discontinuous, complex, and nonlinear, the works are examined thematically rather than in chronological order. Interpretation of Mann's novel about Tchaikovsky, Symphonie pathétique, for example, has confounded scholars because of its timing: shortly after the beginning of his exile, Mann turned to a treatment of the nineteenth-century composer. To Mann, Tchaikovsky's sexuality was rather like a tragic disharmony in Tchaikovsky's life, and Mann sought to show the interrelationship of geographical and sexual displacement in the novel.

My treatment of the centrality of displacement in his works includes not merely the physical phenomenon of displacement through exile, but also Mann's shift from the more individual concerns evident in the first half of his literary career to the more social and political material of his later works. Mann suggested in his essay on the stylistics of the Nazi regime that it was precisely the cultural representatives of the new regime who were displaced from the tradition of what he considered to be the best literature in the German language, certain innovative literary aspects of Modernists, rather than those who were actually physically displaced from Germany in exile.[8] Mann had felt that during the 1930s he was writing in a linguistic vacuum, which he sought to overcome by learning to write in English. He composed several works in English; his study of Gide, for example, as well as his autobiography The Turning Point, were both first written in English. Thus he experienced a language displacement in addition to sexual and political displacement. The novel Treffpunkt im Unendlichen (published in 1932 - the year before he went into exile) occupies a key position in his fiction because it exemplifies his move from individual to social or political themes. I deal with this in my first chapter.

The second chapter compares a short story by Thomas Mann with several stories by Klaus and suggests that Klaus sought to establish his own identity through various literary techniques, including his use of the theme of laughter to frame identity. Chapter three continues the thread of Klaus's relationship to his father, and concludes that Mann found in André Gide a surrogate father figure. In addition, his editing of literary and political journals from exile was another way for him to give his own views a forum and establish his public identity. Chapters four and five relate Mann's antifascism and other

political themes in his fiction and essays to his evolving identity by focussing on recurring patterns of identity there. These two chapters examine his literary treatment of political and sexual themes, leading to tentative conclusions about the nature of his shifting political ideas in relation to his sexual identity. I first consider in chapter one Mann's novel Treffpunkt im Unendlichen, which I consider a novel of transition to more political themes, and one of Mann's essays from exile, "Homosexualität und Fascismus," [sic] (1934) the only essay devoted exclusively to the questions of sexual and political identity, placed in the context of the specific historical moment of the year succeeding the rise to power of the National Socialists in Germany.

Accompanying the emergence of a new sensibility has been a shift in how identity is understood. Changing definitions of identity can be divided into three major periods beginning with the latter third of the nineteenth century. This rough division would be from the 1870s-1880s to around 1920, from 1920 until the late 1960s, and from the late 1960s to the late 1990s.

The first period is characterized by the increasing interest in the essentialist self mentioned above, and most of the advances were in the field of psychology. In the 1920s, however, writers became more interested in social aspects of the self and identity. Freud's writings included a move towards social psychology, and his students Karen Horney and Erich Fromm turned to social psychology to help explain and define identity. The rise of political totalitarianism necessitated a view on identity which included social categories and sought to move beyond limited individualistic versions solely centered around psychological definitions of the self and early childhood.

Although numerous studies on the self and literature or identity and literature have been undertaken, little scholarly attention has turned to the actual origins of this century's preoccupation first with the self or selfhood, and then with the later term identity. Wylie Sypher in Loss of Self in Modern Literature and Art traces the concept of self back to Romantic roots and contrasts that to the modernist self. One of the first studies on literature and identity, Robert Langbaum's Mysteries of Identity, surveys twentieth-century literature that thematizes personal identity.[9]

Many scholars and writers suggest that one ought not even attempt to define identity. A sociological study on the topic states that "the concept of identity is as

indispensable as it is unclear. This is why no attempt will be made to define it and we shall keep it in a zone of shaded obscurity."[10] For historians, Philip Gleason writes that there has been insufficient research into the origins and development of the term. He adds: "The historically minded inquirer who gains familiarity with the literature, however, soon makes an arresting discovery -- identity is a new term, as well as being an elusive and ubiquitous one. It came into use as a popular social-science term only in the 1950s." Karen Horney's writings from the 1930s and 1940s focussed on the role of personality and the basic neurotic trends she observed. She also began to view gender as primarily a cultural category, and went so far as to posit "womb envy" as a condition evident in men. Klaus Mann was writing during this second period as identity increasingly came to be viewed in social terms.

Sexual identity, discussed in greater detail in chapters four and five, has increasingly come to be understood in social as well as psychological terms. To attempt to account for the sexual identity of gay men, I propose here a schematic model that synthesizes various theories on homosexual identity. It can be verified that there is such a phenomenon as homosexual desire; there are also homosexual acts in all their varieties. Finally, there are homosexual identities, the ways one describes oneself or recognizes having similar attributes regarding sexuality as others in the society. Erwin Goffman, in his 1963 study Stigma, contended that there are groups whose spoiled identities are somehow "managed" throughout their lives. The Goffman study is significant because it was one of the first sociological treatments of identity following upon Erikson's work on life phases or cycles from the 1950s and early 1960s. Thus this period covers from the

1920s until the early 1960s, from a time of psychological definitions of identity to sociological definitions. After Goffman's work, the next important study in sociology would not appear until the 1970s in The Social Construction of Reality by Berger and Luckman, who emphasized the social aspects and the tenuous quality of personal identity.

Searching for a way or path is an integral element of Mann's identity formation. When Mann was writing in the 1930s and 1940s, identity was still thought of in social and political terms; the work of psychologists since the 1960s has led to the expansion of the term to include sexual and gender identity. Klaus Mann's awareness of belonging to a sexual minority thus makes him a precursor to ideas of sexual identity that became more common later in the century. On the one hand, identity suggests belonging to a larger group; on the other it also expresses what distinguishes one from others, one's particularity.

Mann's identity will be considered in the relational, interpersonal sense, something I will call a "social-self identity," because both the fields of psychology and sociology offer their own definitions of the term identity. For Freud, one's identity was the innermost part of one's being; for William James, life experience was the decisive factor. Psychological definitions of identity underwent revisions with Erikson's studies and findings; now, many advances in object-relations theory offer insights into the creative process and identity formation.[11] Karen Horney's expansion of traditional psychoanalytic concepts is treated in chapter two, because her views on the socially constructed nature of identity formation and her ideas on sexual and gender identity are especially productive in interpreting Mann's life.

Much sociological inquiry emphasizes the phase of youth in arriving at cultural identity in a society, and the preoccupation of youth with finding an identity that sets it apart from the preceding generation.[12] Much of Klaus Mann's fictional work has youth as its theme, and in several of his essays he presents himself as the spokesperson of his generation. He considered his own identity inseparable from his generation's fate, and pondered the political and historical direction of the generation that grew up between the wars and in great numbers supported the Hitler dictatorship. In the documentary film on Mann's life and work mentined above, Mann's childhood friend, the writer Grete Weil-Jockisch, reiterates the widespread feeling that he was the spokesperson for her generation of writers.[13] In the fourth chapter, Erich Fromm's politically-oriented theories on the individual versus the community are shown to be quite applicable to Mann, who was always in search of community and yet never found one, either in his work or his life.

During the first several decades of the twentieth century, science expanded the boundaries of the concept of identity. Subjective experience was studied in psychology by William James and Sigmund Freud; sociology considered identity anew in light of increasing industrialization and urbanization in the western world. Expressions of identity were equated with the ego (though incorrectly, because ego is actually only one part of the personality), the self, and the self-ego, to name just several of the common conceptual constructs. Currently at issue, particularly in view of debates surrounding identity politics, is the degree to which identity can be defined in social terms, that is, widening the scope of psychology to explain historical societal change and, in Berger and Luckmann's terms, to explain the "social construction of reality."[14] Klaus Mann's biography lends itself well to

such an undertaking because of the combination of his lifelong struggle with sexual and political concerns.

Common definitions of identity from the 1920s and early 1930s, the first years of Mann's literary productivity, were limited to broad abstract conceptions, reflecting the period's indebtedness to nineteenth-century philosophical positivism. For example, identity was considered concrete and quantifiable and viewed in a statistical light; political identity was separated from a notion of cultural self and was instead thought to be adequately defined by the parties or individuals for whom one voted in a general election.[15] In addition, the institutional status of psychology and sociology had not yet been firmly established. Erikson's work on identity did not really begin in earnest until the 1940s. Mann's writings reflect his growing awareness of the complexity of identity and its many avatars. In his essays, he thought through both the position of the homosexual in society and the role of the antifascist writer in exile; in his fiction, he probed the categories of personal identity in his generation, first in Der fromme Tanz, then in the plays Anja und Esther, Revue zu Vieren, and Geschwister, and later in the novels he wrote in exile.

Before and after the Second World War, researchers began looking at group identities. National, cultural, regional, linguistic, minority, racial, gender, sexual, political: the adjectives preceding the ubiquitous word identity threatened to erase any worthwhile meaning the word could possibly represent. In philosophy, Martin Heidegger's Identität und Differenz, a work he considered his most important study aside from Sein und Zeit, returned to philosophical roots of identity.[16] In psychology, writers focussing on object-relations, symbolic interaction, or psychodynamics, such as Erikson, Mead, Klein,

Sullivan, Winnicott, and others, made identity formation central to their studies of human personality. Karen Horney drew parallels between the neurotic personality and competitive capitalist society.[17] In sociology shortly after the turn of the century, Georg Simmel had seen personal identity in the light of "webs" of human relations, and identity was increasingly viewed in socially determined categories. Present social theory also addresses the tension between essentialist and constructionist methods. In political vocabulary such terms as "identity politics" and political identity summed up the essence of personal identity in group identity terminology.

Most definitions of identity have in common the idea that it reflects sameness with oneself as well as sharing some kind of essential character with others. In one of Erikson's books on the problem of ego identity, he states that he is studying "something in the individual's inner core with an essential aspect of a group's inner coherence."[18] An introduction to a recent anthology on identity makes the distinction between 'qualitative' and 'numerical' identity.[19] All of these definitions show that the problem lies with the constitutive elements of the concept. A study on constructionist sociology, for example, distinguishes between 'self' and 'identity' by having self refer to the person's "conscious and unconscious striving for continuity and individuality over time," whereas identity refers to the "placement of self in relation to social categories."[20]

In my treatment of Mann's early years, home life, and family relations up to the time of his adolescence I frequently refer to his sense of social-self identity. Because identity places the self in relation to social categories, I find Erikson's life cycles helpful, and consider Mann's political and sexual identity after his adolescence, beginning when he

was nineteen, away from the parents' home and his boarding school education, and living in Berlin. I examine his beginnings as a writer who began writing his first literary texts then (apart from several childhood poems). It is helpful to consider first the early sense of "self," and then identity; in this sense, the self is more intrapsychic, akin to Riesman's "inner directedness" or social theory's "private sphere."[21] Identity is then "outward directed," socially determined, linked to "the public." Following this model, our definition of identity is probably closer to Mann's (and his contemporaries') views on the thing called the "self." This approach can account for object-relations or interactionist ideas about identity, and it is useful for tracing Klaus Mann's search for identity: it eschews addressing any possible "loss of self," nor does it need to examine Erikson's adolescent "identity crisis." It affords a view of Mann's "paths of life," through which he responded to new social, political, and personal realities in pivotal ways.[22]

With increasing visibility, lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered people and their identities have been the object of study in recent theories of sexuality and in critical theory generally. Such writers as Judith Butler have posited a queer theory that attempts to move identity concepts away from strictly binary heterosexual/homosexual oppositions hitherto dominant in gay and lesbian studies, while scholars such as Donald Morton seek to reclaim gender and sexual identity questions within a materialist philosophical tradition.[23]

Much early sexological research was conducted in German and in Germany. Richard von Krafft-Ebing's Psychopathia sexualis, for example, medicalized homosexuality in the nineteenth century. In addition, Magnus Hirschfeld's later early twentieth-century

thought has recently been made accessible to an English-language readership. His theory of the homosexual as a "third sex" is perhaps one of the earliest attempts to move away from binary ideas of sexual identity while still remaining within the paradigm (if there is a "third," it still leaves two of something else).[24] Hirschfeld's ideas were considered progressive at that time, as they advocated the acceptance and recognition of homosexuality, and the end of legal and institutional persecution. (Specifically, the efforts of those seeking tolerance at the time were centered around statute 175 of the German legal code.)

These ideas and other theoretical models and historical documents are important for understanding Klaus Mann's context, and they were widely discussed, especially in Berlin, where Mann lived for a time. In some writings, Mann himself makes explicit reference to those theories, as in his essay on war and sexuality, which even applies Hirschfeld's ideas on war, nationalism, and sexuality to interpreting the First World War.[25]

Thomas Mann, on the other hand, writes in his diary that he considers the concept of "Männerstaat" or "Männerbund" as posited by Blüher to be more valid than Hirschfeld's notions.[26] The two schools of thought were recently summarized in a new English-language overview and anthology of Adolf Brand's "Gemeinschaft der Eigenen" journal Der Eigene: "In many ways the European and American gay movements after the Second World War took up the cause of Hirschfeld's Committee: the striving of a minority for equal rights. The different perspective put forward by the 'Gemeinschaft der Eigenen,' emphasizing the cultural importance of homoeroticism among men in general, was rooted in German history: the tradition of romantic friendship between males in the eighteenth

and nineteenth centuries."[27] The one-generation difference between Klaus and Thomas Mann accounts in large part for their differing views, but their works also concretely reflect these differences.

Mann and his work embodied the two most salient forms of identity for his generation: national identity on the one hand, brought about by the war and its aftermath, and generational identity on the other, his generation's powerful sense of separateness from their parents' generation. He was aware of his generation's derivative historical position: its creative years had been interrupted by the outbreak of war. Whereas the previous generation had experienced the First World War as adults and bore responsibility for it, Mann's age group only knew its after-effects: first the revolutionary upheavals of 1917-1919, then the inflation around 1923, and finally the stabilized years after the Dawes Plan of 1925. In The Turning Point as in Der fromme Tanz, Mann describes the gay writers in his "pantheon" from that previous generation, including George, Hamsun, Whitman, Rimbaud, Herman Bang, and Wilde, and how he yearned to emulate them. He was not an adherent of any particular literary movement; he criticized the excesses of Expressionism (rather one-dimensionally) in his essay on Gottfried Benn.[28]

The interrelationships between characters in Klaus Mann's fiction involve the tension between sexuality, life and death, and the creative process. Mann always felt as though he was in his father's shadow and could not complete his work or life in a similar manner: "Wenn Vater und Sohn den gleichen Beruf haben, und der Vater ist ganz oben, dann kann der Sohn nie glücklich sein. Er (Klaus) fühlte sich immer als Schatten des Vaters. Aber er hat sich dann doch innerlich ziemlich unabhängig gemacht . . . Aber er ist

eben nicht alt geworden, er hätte älter werden müssen, er hätte länger leben müssen, um sich wirklich unabhängig zu machen vom Vater. Andererseits ist Klaus als älterer Mensch nicht vorzustellen. Klaus mußte jung sein."[29] Those are the words of Monika Mann about her brother Klaus in her interview near the end of the documentary film made for television Treffpunkt im Unendlichen: Die Lebensreise des Klaus Mann.[30] The film examines Mann's life and some of his works through the testimony of family members and acquaintances. His sister Monika's description of her brother is interesting because it clearly demonstrates how identities can be constructed. Her comments open with the general indicative statement about sons of famous fathers, and close again in the indicative: "He had to be young." But in between, she speaks in the subjunctive of the possibilities of a life cut short by suicide. She feels that even death cannot make him independent of his father: he would have to have lived a longer life to have achieved a genuine separation. Perhaps the infinity in the title is death, and Mann's life-long journey reached no resolution, no intersection or meeting point. Yet his fictional works do show a clear recurrence of patterns of political and sexual identity. Among these recurring thematic patterns are Mann's partisanship in political matters, the role of individual love versus social duty and obligations, the father figure and its replacement in the family, partner swapping, a despair over politics that Mann voiced throughout his life, his creation of artworks as a kind of progeny, and his obsession with death.

The title of the film derives from Mann's second novel, Treffpunkt im Unendlichen, written in 1932. If one considers Mann's literary development as one from individual concerns towards a broader sociopolitical context, culminating in his antifascist novels of

exile, then this novel is a transitional work in that development. It combines sexual and emotional relationships with a political stance, and the character Gregor Gregori anticipates Hendrik Höfgen from the 1936 novel Mephisto: Roman einer Karriere.

Treffpunkt im Unendlichen recounts the parallel lives of Sebastian and Sonja. The novel begins in the train station in Berlin, where Sebastian is departing for Paris and where, simultaneously, Sonja is arriving from Munich. Sebastian's former friend, Gregor Gregori, fails to join Sebastian's other friends to take leave of him at the station. He is instead waiting to pick up Sonja, whom Sebastian had never met, although he had heard of her. She is coming to Berlin to live with (and possibly marry) Gregor; Sebastian is moving to Paris, where he later becomes involved with Greta, who had been Gregor's girlfriend. By novel's end, nothing is working out for Sebastian and Sonja in Paris and Berlin respectively, and each of them flees to the city of Fez in Morocco, where they meet. Sonja dies after they both take too much hashish; the novel closes with a letter from Sonja's brother in Germany who, full of hope, awaits her return. In addition, the novelist Richard Darmstädter fails in his attempts to gain Tom as a lover, prefiguring many of Klaus Mann's unhappy fictional homosexual protagonists.

The two lives of Sebastian and Sonja thus reflect the parallel lines in the geometric metaphor of the title. In our finite world, the idea of parallel lines may symbolize two entities that can never interact, yet the two entities do have more affinity for each other than for any other thing that exists, because they define each other. The novel, for example, portrays a kind of partner swap not unlike in a Schnitzlerian "roundelay," in which figures are characterized by the other characters with which they have something in

common. In Mann's earlier plays from the 1920s (Anja und Esther and especially Revue zu Vieren), partner switching or swapping was a frequent theme. (Siebenter Engel) In the novel, Sebastian and Sonja are defined in juxtaposition by the characters they have in common, Gregor and Greta.

Mann concludes the novel with a description of the impossibility of a "unio mystica" between the two characters Sebastian and Sonja in Fez and Richard Darmstädter and Tom, because such a fusion would have had to involve mutual possession of one by the other, precisely an act Mann cannot permit. Quoted in the film, Klaus Mann scholar Kroll detects a motif of "nonpossession" throughout Mann's fiction. Indeed, the film clearly shows that Mann's adult life was a saga of nonpossession: restless displacement and uprooted homelessness, moving from city to city and hotel room to hotel room with suitcases, books, and a typewriter. Lack of possession and incessant movement are so characteristic of Mann that the Rowohlt German edition of his autobiography Der Wendepunkt (discussed in chapter three) has the following editor's plug emblazoned across the cover: "Ruhe gibt es nicht, bis zum Schluß" which aptly describes both the author's work and life. (Wendepunkt)

Mann's literary creative process serves the function of setting the parameters for his identity formation, specifically by constructing aspects of his political and sexual identity. Because the theme of displacement, both psychological and geographical, is so prominent in his fiction, his act of writing is a search for a place in the sexual and political spheres. Many observers note that he was in a sense caught between the political and the sexual: as a homosexual, he felt betrayed on the one hand by changes in the Soviet Union's

penal code in 1934 recriminalizing homosexual acts and, on the other hand, by attempts among exiled Germans to show a cause and effect between homosexuality and fascism.

Politically, Mann hoped and yearned for what he termed a "socialist humanism" which would combine strains of thought from systems with economically socialist structures with systems retaining liberal democracy's redeeming (in his view) individualism. However, the novel Treffpunkt im Unendlichen does not present any recommendation or guidance for such a society, and for this reason it was vehemently criticized by leading Weimar writer and critic Siegfried Kracauer.[31] Although sexually gay and politically socialist and antifascist, Mann still never felt completely at home in either of those identities (homeless, as Tchaikovsky from Symphonie Pathétique is homeless). His fiction writing, and especially the 'political turn' presented by this novel, reflect those tensions in a way that his essays cannot because of the freedom of the fictional voice.

After the Röhm purge in Nazi Germany on June 28, 1934, Mann suddenly viewed himself in antifascist exile groups as an outsider among outsiders, and felt it necessary to defend homosexuals from the association with Nazism with this statement in his essay "Homosexualität und Fascismus:" "Mit ein paar Banditen die erotische Veranlagung gemeinsam zu haben, macht noch nicht zum Banditen." ("Homosexualität und Fascismus," 137) Mann had been in exile from Germany for over one year at the time he wrote the essay, living first in Paris and then Amsterdam and there editing the journal Die Sammlung: Literarische Monatsschrift. The scandal surrounding Röhm, the head of the Nazi "Sturmabteilung" (SA), had been festering since 1931, when letters came to light that Röhm had written from Bolivia (where he was a mercenary). In the letters, Röhm had

frankly described his homosexuality, and the public awareness of him at the helm of the SA and in Hitler's inner circle contributed to perceptions of widespread homosexuality in the SA and indeed throughout the Nazi movement. Mann now found himself in a crisis situation through his concern with the position of non-Nazi and anti-fascist homosexuals, both in Germany and in exile.

Two of Mann's exile activities, on the one hand writing, organizing journals, and publishing novels and, on the other, enlisting for active service with the United States Army, manifest aspects of his work against Nazism and his identity as an ardent antifascist. Mann's sexual identity, however, was placed explicitly to the forefront in his "Homosexualität und Faschismus" essay of 1934 and to a lesser degree in his autobiographies, in The Turning Point, written in English in 1942, and in its 1949 German adaptation Der Wendepunkt.

The last years of the short-lived Weimar Republic in Germany were not peaceful, and the National Socialists' ascension to power was not an abrupt rupture of a democratic continuity. The rhetorical atmosphere was marked by an unfortunate constellation on the organized political Left of scapegoating, stigmatizing, and stereotyping, while it sought to come to grips with the fact of the fascists' rise to power. An introduction to a German study of German exile literature describes what preceded the crisis: "Die gemeinsame Bedrohung durch den Nationalsozialismus führte keineswegs zu einer Aktionseinheit. Im Gegenteil, gegenseitige Beschuldigungen, die 'faschistische Gefahr' durch Nachgiebigkeit oder durch Radikalismus zu fördern, gehörten bei den großen sozialistischen Parteien zur Tagesordnung."[32]

A progressive, or indeed any political program had been of little direct concern to Mann throughout most of the years of the Republic. He was instead a somewhat dandified "enfant terrible" who treasured, as he recalled in The Turning Point, an enthroned shrine of gods on his imaginary Olympus, the pantheon of his youth, including George, Rilke, Herman Bang, and Verlaine and Rimbaud. (Turning Point, 196-229) His increasing interest in political matters led him to embrace for a time what he later came to consider the reactionary utopian Pan Europeanism of Count Coudenhove-Kalergi. In spite of some progressive and liberal elements in the Count's program and the fact that Mann had eagerly supported such plans early on, Mann still felt after the mid-1930s that that vision, if realized, would only have led to little more than a continent under the utter control of the "Vatican and Krupp."[33]

During the early months of his exile, many others who would later leave Germany, including Thomas Mann, had still not yet decided whether or not to leave. It was not entirely clear that return to Germany was out of the question, at least on his subconscious level, as a diary account of a dream six months after Hitler's appointment as chancellor attests: "Phantastisch durcheinander geträumt . . . Alptraum: Deutschland. Man hatte mich in die Dichterakademie berufen, das hatte mich verlockt, doch zurück zu fahren. Bei der Eröffnungssitzung saß ich neben einer Art Strichjungen, der Stücke schrieb und auch berufen war. Als Hitler eintrat, -- schwammiges Gespenst -- wurde mir so schlecht, daß ich floh. Skandalös. Jetzt wurde ich sicher verfolgt. Sinnen auf Flucht. Entsetzen." (Tagebücher 1931-1933, 157-58)

Klaus Mann connected flight, horror, and crisis, and he perceived the origins of

that crisis not only in the apparition of Hitler, but also in the causes of the society's economic base. By the time of his 1934 "Homosexualität und Fascismus" essay, he had become disillusioned with antiliberal developments in the Soviet Union and had begun to question whether the exile groups from Germany cared about all the persecuted groups left in the country. Before the essay, Mann had been moving toward a more Marxist interpretation of events and had viewed the Soviet Union positively. He asked in the essay whether the German Marxists had forgotten that the "Führer's dogma and type" were primarily determined by economic facts, and whether Hitler was able to seize power not because " . . . 'die deutsche Jugend homosexuell verseucht' ist, sondern weil Thyssen zahlte und weil bezahlte Lügen die Gehirne Hungernder verwirrten." ("Homosexualität und Fascismus," 136)

In August 1934 Mann had attended the All Union Writer's Conference in Moscow, and he began to revise his initial enthusiasm for the direction the Soviet Union was taking. A gradual five-year development away from earlier liberal policies in the Soviet Union was having its effects: Trotsky had been expelled in 1929, in 1934 the country overhauled its legal code, and the show trials were held a year later. In 1934, the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party passed a statute that recriminalized consenting homosexual relations between men for the first time since the 1917 Revolution. The new statute "'deprived of liberty' for three to five years any man convicted of performing anal intercourse with another, willing, man."[34]

The crisis for homosexuals was now legal reality in the Soviet Union. In Germany, the legal code's statute 175 stated that "unnatural lewdness that is committed between

persons of the male sex" was to be "punished by prison" and that "loss of civil rights may also be imposed," a law which had been the target of repeal by progressive socialists and communists even before the Weimar Republic since Hirschfeld's Scientific Humanitarian Committee had been founded in 1897. The United States retained its various sodomy laws and, as George Chauncey has found in his study of New York, with the closing of the "Broadway pansy acts" in New York City, the government intensified its concomitant police interventions, and daily life of homosexuals had to become increasingly guarded.[35]

But many antifascists were still hoping that the Soviet Union could stand as a model. Mann's essay quoted and criticized the influential Maxim Gorky, and Mann feared that many would actually believe such statements of his as the following: "In the land where the proletariat governs courageously and successfully, homosexuality, with its corrupting influence on the young, is considered a social crime punishable under the law. By contrast, in the 'cultivated land' of the great philosophers, scholars, and musicians, it is practiced freely and with impunity. There is already a sarcastic saying: 'Destroy homosexuality and fascism will disappear'."[36]

The publications of Wilhelm Reich's Sex-Pol and exile journals such as Die Deutsche Revolution, Neues Vorwärts, New York's Neue Volks-Zeitung, Simplicus (not to be confused with the literary journal from earlier in the century Simplicissimus), and the Pariser Tageblatt all interpreted the Night of the Long Knives as a hypocritical act by the Nazis.[37] After the ensuing raids of gay locales and mass arrests, even from private residences, in early December, 1934, those papers claimed that the actions were only directed against homosexual SA members there, even after it later turned out that that had

not been the case.

The reason Mann felt particularly betrayed by the response of the Left after the Röhm incident was because he had held them up to the standards of their historical record of support for repeal of statute 175 since the late nineteenth century, and their general adherence to ideas of progress in the tradition of the European and German Enlightenment. Mann noted that: "den Nazis steht es wohl an, teils homosexuelle Cliquen zu bilden, teils die Homosexuellen einzusperren, zu kastrieren oder zu erschiessen. Die Linke aber sollte objektiver sein." ("Homosexualität und Fascismus," 135) In fact, Mann's anti-homophobic essay had originally been published under the title "Die Linke und das Laster" in Prague and was intended for the exiled Left. Mann posed the question why it was that: "wir in antifaschistischen Zeitungen die Wortzusammenstellung 'Mörder und Päderasten' beinah ebenso häufig lesen, wie in den Naziblättern die von den 'Volksverrätern und Juden'." ("Homosexualität und Fascismus," 131) He perceived a crisis not only within Germany but also in the world's view of the new regime, and he was startled that the exile press was not confronting the regime directly and criticizing it for all of its human rights abuses.

Crisis is etymologically derived from the Greek word meaning "decision" and is defined as a turning point requiring some action. Mann's 1940 journal published in New York was called Decision, and his autobiography published in 1942 had the title The Turning Point. Mann felt that decisions were becoming necessary, and that homosexual antifascists had to speak. The homosexual Nazi was a social construct: before there was Nazism there had of course been homosexuality. There were undoubtedly members of the

National Socialist Party who in the early years of the system could choose to conceal their homosexuality if they were homosexual, although often concealing in vain once they had been denounced, just as there were homosexuals who could choose to support, not support, or oppose Nazism. But Mann felt it was wrong for the Left exiled press to fall prey to common stereotypes and labelling strategies by carelessly connecting homosexuals with fascists.

In work that has attempted to reconcile social constructivist approaches with the ego psychology of Erikson and object relations ideas of Winnicott, sociologist Steven Epstein suggests that identity is a "socialized sense of individuality, an internal organization of self-perceptions concerning one's relationship to social categories, which also incorporates views of the self perceived to be held by others."[38] The internal organization of Mann's identity is recorded in the two versions of his autobiography. The Turning Point, completed in American exile in 1942 while Mann was awaiting his Army enlistment status, excluded many references to his sexual identity because they would have prevented his clearance. He later did discuss homosexuality in the German version Der Wendepunkt seven years later. There he confessed that: "man huldigt nicht diesem Eros, ohne zum Fremden zu werden in unserer Gesellschaft, wie sie nun einmal ist; man verschreibt sich nicht dieser Liebe, ohne eine tödliche Wunde davonzutragen;" [Mann] "wagte es nicht, die Winke und Zeichen (s)eines Schicksals zu begreifen." (Wendepunkt, 335 + 123) On several occasions in his life, Mann had hoped to deny his outsider status, to avoid the fatal wound, and to ignore the reality of his sexual orientation.

Mann also realized that the internal organization of sexual desire and love needed

to be incorporated into how he felt others perceived him and what they expected of him. That was necessary when he was awaiting the decision of the armed service board, especially since we now know that FBI files contained denunciations of him as a homosexual and a communist and that he had been under surveillance.[39]

In this essay, Mann sought to establish a relationship between sexuality and political systems by invoking Walt Whitman's democratic ideal. Mann's first novel of exile, the 1934 Flucht in den Norden, treated in more detail in the following chapter, depicts exiled antifascist activist Johanna falling in love with a Finnish farm owner, which closely paralleled Mann's own relationship with the Finn Hans Aminoff. But Johanna defers love, and joins a "greater cause" to return to Paris to resume the struggle; not as proof of libidinal renunciation, but as a rational decision. Mann was finally drafted into the United States Army in December 1942, a decision that will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter. In The Turning Point he recounted his need to serve and join, first as he remembered himself as a young boy wishing to engage in battle in World War I (albeit as an eight-year-old): "To be an outsider is the one unbearable humiliation . . . In puerile fantasies I tried to deny and to overcome the intrinsic law of my nature which forever prevents me from belonging to the enviable, if pain-stricken, majority." (Turning Point, 34) Upon completing The Turning Point, he expressed that he was "longing for silence and service. Yes, I want to give up my privacy and to become a private." (Turning Point, 363) The German edition's language more clearly reflects the theme of service and joining: "Sehnsucht nach Gemeinschaft. Der Wunsch, sich einzuordnen, zu dienen!" (Wendepunkt, 438)

Mann was to go on to training camps in Maryland and Missouri before he was sent with invading troops to Italy, where he became a reporter for the Army newspaper Stars and Stripes, and finally to Germany. Allan Bérubé, in his work on gays in the United States military during World War II, discovered how construction of gay identity occurred and its function in social and political life. He wrote that his study evolved into a "history of how the military's mobilization for war made soldiers confront homosexuality in their personal lives and changed the ways that homosexuality fit into American institutions."[40] But such movement toward institutional integration would not be complete or lasting as the Cold War evolved. Mann became disillusioned with the course the United States was to follow, and felt that the new antagonistic geopolitical blocks offered little hope for the future. In his autobiography he wrote that: " . . . ein Schriftsteller, der politische Gegenstände in sein künstlerisches Schaffen einbeziehen will, muß in der Politik gelitten haben, ebenso tief und bitter, wie er an der Liebe gelitten haben muß, um über sie zu schreiben." (Wendepunkt, 209) Mann thus connected writing on topics of love or sexuality with political issues.

A writer's creative production presents ways to investigate what is meant by personal identity. One monograph examines English literature under the rubric of "mysteries of identity: a theme in modern literature;" another, comparative, study is called "subjects without selves."[41] From Ernst Toller's Masse Mensch and Ralph Ellison's The Invisible Man to Kafka's short stories, Sylvia Plath's poetic gesture, Toni Morrison's meditations on identities of African-American women, and the literature on the identities of displaced colonialized peoples and their efforts towards cultural and emotional

reterritorialization, the notion of identity has been a common unifying thread and intertextual motif in contemporary literature. The narrative mode of fiction allows for the study of identity formation in the broadest sense because of the reconstitutive nature of fiction's form in which characterization is central and the narrator adds elements to the characters' identities. Literature is not only a formal linguistic construct but also an expression of social and personal experience in which features of identity are most apparent.

Reading Mann's fiction and non-fiction offers an excellent occasion to explore issues of identity construction for several reasons. One of his publishers describes the inseparability of the author's work and life, which are "Beispiele für die totale Verquickung von Werk und Biographie. Der Prozeß der Identifikation und Selbstdarstellung spielt sich bei ihm auf drei Ebenen ab: der direkten Autobiographie, der Anverwandlung im biographischen Essay, . . . und der verhüllten Selbstdarstellung im erzählerischen Werk."[42] First, because he was the son of Thomas Mann, expectations and comparisons with the father contributed to the son's identity as a writer. Second, because his works so frequently treat political and erotic themes, and because in his diaries and letters he wrote of the value of literature to his life, his writings often portray characters who attempt to realize their own political or sexual identities. An analysis of his fiction and his nonfiction essays can show how the creative process is essentially involved in identity formation. Mann's exhaustive review of French writers of his generation, for example, was his attempt to reflect on national identity during the period of the Weimar Republic and to find in the French writers an element he felt was missing in the lives of his

German compatriots. He nurtured close contacts to members of his literary generation in France, personally knew and often visited the writers René Crevel and Julien Green, and looked up to André Gide as his true mentor. Mann's idealization of Gide led to his two biographies of him (the first in English, the second a rewritten version in German).

National identity is perhaps also closely related to both sexual identity and political identity. Current research by historians on nationalism and sexuality has proved helpful in expanding our understanding of national identity in this context.[43] There are several reasons for the bearing of sexuality and sexual identity on national identity and the formation of nationalism. Because group identities and nationalism are frequently structured on and determined by kinship relationships, the role of procreation, lineage, and blood lines have always already been central to ethnicity and national self-definition. The mere existence of sexual minorities throws into relief groups' preceptions of themselves, because categories of gender converge with concepts of reproductive potential and decisions about family structure. Finally, much racialist doctrine from the nineteenth century onward has repeatedly conflated odd concepts of hygiene in its discourse of the "body" with race, often leading to normative ideals of sexual identity and genderedness.[44]

Because Mann began writing while still beholden to the dynamics of the family household in Munich, the relationship between Klaus and his father exerted an important influence on the son's writings. The literary influence of Thomas and Heinrich on Klaus is quite different from that of André Gide. The difficulty with tracing influence is in separating out family loyalties from actual effect and in discerning the nature of these very relationships. Other family relationships significant for Klaus Mann's struggle for identity

are those with his sister Erika, his constant companion with whom he collaborated on several books, and with his mother Katia, to whom he was the favorite son.

Any definition of Mann's identity must therefore consider his relationships with his family, particularly with his father, his mother, and his sister Erika. There was a rivalry between family members in the literary sphere, a kind of power pyramid: this competitive nature of the relations between family members for literary fame had already been established in the early literary careers of the brothers Thomas and Heinrich.[45] Klaus's personal identity is also reflected in his given name: as middle names, he bore both the father's and the uncle's names. Klaus was closer to Heinrich in political matters; Klaus's approval of Heinrich's francophilia and the mentor status of Gide suggest that perhaps Klaus assigned France the role of a symbol of rebellion against Thomas. The latter's Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen, in which an abstract cultural opposition between Germany and France is constructed, was written in 1918, when Klaus was fifteen and beginning to form political opinions. In a diary entry on April 26, 1920, Thomas had even related Klaus's physical maturation to his political opinions, which were allegedly "revolutionary:" "Er wechselt die Stimme jetzt, sein Kehlkopf wächst, seine bloßen Beine sind kolossal, die Richtung seiner Meinungen revolutionär."[46]

The complex relationship between political and sexual concerns in Mann's novels and essays has not yet been sufficiently examined and clarified. According to Hans Mayer in his study of the cultural situation of outsiders -- the woman, the Jew, and the homosexual -- in German literary history, Klaus Mann symbolized a combination of political and sexual anxieties. His literary creativity, according to Mayer, arose from his

vacillation between erotic desire and a feeling of responsibility in political matters.[47] Mattenklott suggests that Mann's writing reflects not only that duality, but also that he was only tentatively at home in either a sexual or political identity. Mann's literary production seems to display the problem "daß er nicht nur zwischen Eros und Moral, Ästhetik und Politik keinen festen Ort zu finden vermochte, sondern instabil blieb auch als Erotiker und Ästhet, Moralist und Politiker."[48] And Kroll, who has compiled and edited a series of monographs on Mann's works, defines morality and beauty as the two poles of Mann's creativity.[49]

An integral part of Mann's literary creation also included his editorship of the literary periodicals Die Sammlung and Decision, two exile journals, from Amsterdam and New York respectively. These journals were important as a forum for his views. More importantly, however, they reveal how Mann viewed himself in the nexus of exile and antifascist writers and how he saw himself politically. The journal essays included his views on his new places of residence (Czechoslovakia and the Netherlands until 1938, and thereafter the United States until after the war). They ultimately reveal how he fit into the literary and political developments of the 1930s and the 1940s. For indications of Mann's self-perceived sexual identity, his position as mediator between gay exiles and others, and his consideration of the sexual policies of various countries, these literary journals are also valuable sources. His essays from his first years of exile, from 1933 until about 1936, which complemented his editorial work on the literary journals, also offer insights into his changing views on the relationship between sexuality and politics.

During Mann's early years of exile, many social psychologists were trying to come

to terms with the appearance and spread of totalitarian dictatorships in the 1930s and 1940s. On a political level, writers such as Jose Ortega y Gassett grappled with issues of mass psychology, and Wilhelm Reich sought to elucidate the role of sexuality in mass politics during the same period.[50] But Mann was interested in the future of Europe in broader historical terms: he was not interested in the reasons for the turn to totalitarianism, but rather strove to defeat fascism pragmatically. His fiction from his years of exile examines the possibilities for resistance to the Nazi regime by portraying characters who search for ways to reconcile their condition in exile with their attempts to inform the world of the true nature of the new regime in Germany.

Even though Mann did not view his fiction or the events in his life explicitly through the lens of psychology, any study of his works and identity must also account for and consider psychological explanations for what formed his identity. Current advances in object relations theory regarding the whole personality, including changes throughout life cycles, offer clues to the development of personal identity and its meaning at various points in the history of a personality. Some of these clues point to relationships later in life than early childhood. For example, I suggest that Gide was much more of an influence on Mann than hitherto presumed. The concepts of "good" and "bad" objects, also derived from object-relations theory, enable a deeper understanding of some of Mann's conflicts that were then recast in literary form. In the area of identity formation, Thomas Mann's writings on Freud give some insight into how the father considered psychology.

A comparison of the father's short story "Unordnung und frühes Leid" and Klaus's short narrative "Kindernovelle" in the next chapter reveals characterization of the son by

the father and of the father by the son, and both of their insights into and perceptions of family dynamics. (Klaus's novella was written one year after the father's short story and can be considered a literary response to it.)

Mann's fiction is characterized by realism of plot and setting, including a pronounced focus on autobiographical elements. The inseparability of his life experience from his fiction presents pitfalls as well as opportunities. The controversy surrounding the publication and censorship, and subsequent re-publication, of the 1936 novel Mephisto, which lasted until 1984, for example, and the ensuing flurry of speculation about whether the novel is a roman-à-clef, hinder insightful interpretations of the novel. During the debates over the novel during his lifetime, Mann claimed that he had created his characters as types. But "roles" and "types" do not constitute identity (even Riesman with his character types does not make the claim that they do).[51] It is precisely in the spaces between roles and types on the one hand, and an integrated identity on the other, that Klaus Mann's pursuit of identity can be located.

Decisions Mann made in characterizing his fictional figures demonstrate that pursuit. The first such example can be found as early as in his "Kindernovelle" (1926; he was nineteen), where aspects of Mann himself can be found in both the son Heiner but also the Mama's suitor, Till. Their characterization represents both the child and the father, and reflects the integration of identity in the overarching dualistic quality of Mann's identification with both. An even clearer bridging of two identities occurs in a short story written in exile in 1934, "Letztes Gespräch." Here Mann identifies with both the characters Karl and Annette, but Karl is the Klaus Mann of the 1930s and exile, whereas

Annette has views perhaps more likely held by him in the 1920s, and then again in the late 1940s. In other words, Annette embodies a time lapse or time lag, and the author presents a diachronic dialogue with himself in the synchronic time of the short story. Karl is a committed anti-fascist who must join the struggle and leave Annette behind. She is still enthralled by pure aestheticism; at one point, she claims that a kind of collective suicide would be something worth considering (a view that would reappear in Mann's essay from the last year of his life, "Die Heimsuchung des europäischen Geistes," in which he calls for intellectuals to commit suicide out of "protest"). The characters Andreas in Der fromme Tanz, Tchaikovsky in Symphonie pathétique, Alexander in Alexander, Hendrik in Mephisto, Johanna in Flucht in den Norden, Martin Korella in Der Vulkan, and Gregori and Sebastian in Treffpunkt im Unendlichen all represent facets of Klaus Mann's own personality and reflect developing aspects of his sexual and political identities. Through the characters of the jester in "Maskenscherz," the soldier in "The Monk," and Ludwig II in "Vergittertes Fenster," Mann's own position as artist, homosexual, son of Thomas Mann, and representative observer of his time, is worked through: the jester by mirroring the court and playing a Cassandra role, the soldier by his outsider status, and Ludwig II as an artist who has "figured out" his society and historical period, and then takes his own life.

By exploring the creative process as an inner discourse within Mann's oeuvre, we can gain deeper understanding of both work and writer. Interpreting Mann's homosexuality as a "tragic wound," for example, is one possible approach, but it is too narrow and cannot be sustained from the contradictory views found throughout his work.

Likewise, common assumptions about the creative impulse of sexuality, or the outsider status of the writer, tend to bracket creativity as a mysterious realm that remains beyond exegesis, yet Klaus Mann's works can indeed be interpreted. For Hans Mayer, the concept of outsiderhood is central to understanding some writers;[52] in her film interview, Weil-Jockisch referred to Mann's homosexuality as an "Auszeichnung" (badge of honor), for which the interviewer however also suggested the additional term "stigma."[53]

Erwin Goffman's writings on stigma and "impression management" show how sexual identity might now be conceived retrospectively, placed in the historical frame of the period before the societal changes of the late 1960s had occurred. Recent studies such as those of Biddy Martin, Paul Derks, and James Jones have also explored gender and sexual identities of gay writers as well as sexual identities of characters in selected novels.[54] Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick studies Henry James, among others, and Leo Bersani treats such French authors as Genet and Gide.[55] Michael Lucey's study of Gide exhaustively traces his ideas on sexuality and politics, but it does not explore Gide's creative process regarding those issues.[56] Several other studies do examine political and sexual identities but do not concentrate on the creative process and how that may affect developing personality or personal identity.

Political identity for Klaus Mann was complicated by the fact that he was writing during a time when powerful fascist, communist, and liberal capitalist states existed in direct conflict with each other. The situation is very different now, but his reasons for combatting fascism (including an amorphous socialist humanism which offers space for individualism) still resonate. His tenuous position within the progressive movements of his

time finds expression in his fiction. The agony of several of his characters in determining loyalties and allegiances is fascinating as a barometer of his own evolving political identifications. Mann was also aware of Walter Benjamin's warnings against aestheticizing politics. Benjamin's theory of German fascism, formulated primarily in his 1930 review of Ernst Jünger's essays on war, included complaints that those who would later become antifascists had failed to sufficiently address the reasons for the appeal of strains of aestheticism, "*l'art pour l'art*," and decadence in literature. To Benjamin, the art of such authors as Benn and George in Germany and D'Annunzio and Marinetti in Italy betrayed political content precisely while seeming to deny it.[57] But Benjamin felt that modern modes of artistic dissemination necessarily meant that art would henceforth always have political content: aesthetics was already necessarily politicized. Mann was one of the few observers of the time who recognized the problems with heroic depictions of the First World War. He desired a politicized aesthetics, perhaps, especially once he viewed himself as an antifascist writer after the early 1930s, but not an aesthetic political order. He attempted to explicitly include political content in his aesthetic work, specifically in his novels of exile. He knew that the process violated certain tenets once held by others at the turn of the century of art's autonomy, but, because of the changed historical situation, people's perception had changed, and that called for new art forms.

Political and sexual redemption are recurring elements in Mann's fiction. His religious identification and spiritual philosophy are dominant themes; a study of the endings of his novels would offer interesting insights into the role of spiritual redemption as a literary trope. At one point he considered converting to Catholicism: his mother's

grandparents had converted from Judaism to Protestantism: the original faith of the father's family had also been Protestant. Klaus was raised as a nonreligious cultural Protestant in a family that celebrated Christmas, but was otherwise secular. But beginning with Der fromme Tanz, Mann always expressed some interest in mysticism, and his essays returned occasionally to religious themes. For example, as early as 1933 he wrote a sympathetic yet agitated and somewhat polemical essay on the reluctance of German Catholics to defy the Nazi regime, and he concluded his essay on Thomas De Quincey by interpreting De Quincey's opium addiction in quasi-spiritual terms. (Prüfungen, 9-22) And throughout Mann's novels of exile, the recurrent angel motif and his spiritual speculations reflected renewed interest in matters of faith. One recent study examines his work in the context of religious experience.[58]

Yet more problematic redemptive bargaining also characterizes his work, as the essay "Heimsuchung des europäischen Geistes" attests. In this essay, Mann most radically calls into question and even refutes his own earlier political opinions, judgment, and ideals. The redemption in this essay is a negative one: through the figure of a Swedish college student shortly after World War II, Mann gives voice to the despair of many after the war and the horror of the Holocaust, and he calls for a mass suicide of intellectuals as a protest. The essay connects thematically to his 1930 essay "Selbstmörder," a melancholic memorial to peers who had taken their own life. (Heute und morgen, 26-30) This clear lack of redemption evident both before and after fascism sheds light on his working towards sexual and political identity throughout his oeuvre. His "Kindernovelle," written when he was twenty, combines his views of family with sexual tropes and social and

political values. and is therefore a suitable place to begin.

Chapter Two

Klaus Mann's "Kindernovelle," "Der Vater lacht," and "Märchen" and Thomas Mann's "Unordnung und frühes Leid" Reconsidered: Emerging Patterns of Identity

Klaus Mann's "Kindernovelle" (1925) was published one year after his father's fictional portrait of the family in the novella "Unordnung und frühes Leid" (hereafter "Unordnung"). Because both narratives treat what is assumed to be the Mann family's home life, their autobiographical content is often foregrounded in critical discussion. Klaus is thought to have conceived his short story as a form of rebellion against the negative depiction of him as Bert in "Unordnung," as a strategic literary response or a "counter discourse" to the father.[59] Most critical treatment understandably focuses on autobiographical and biographical features of both stories, and certainly the unfavorable negative characterization of Bert in "Unordnung," who has traits of Klaus and was exactly his age, must have been painful for Klaus to read.[60] Bert's father, Professor Cornelius, is also harsh in his judgment of his own fathering abilities, and maintains a distance, even coldness towards the children: it is only because the day described in the narrative is an occasion for a party and a dance, the reader feels, that the Professor is interacting with the younger generation at all.[61]

Yet Klaus Mann's own particular voice and style were still emerging at the time he was writing "Kindernovelle," "Der Vater lacht," and "Märchen." The themes of "Kindernovelle" extend beyond his father and family concerns, pointing instead to his reflections on personal identity in general, and, more specifically, to the merging of sexual

and political identity that would characterize his writings in the decades that followed. In this chapter I will examine the function of his strategic rhetorical use of laughter, joy, and sorrow in these stories, proposing that their relationship to identity is important for several reasons. First, laughter is a form of non-verbal communication, and its presence in these three stories by Klaus (and its absence in the one by Thomas) reveals important clues to understanding the dialogue and characters' motivations. Second, laughter's many objects and multiple meanings, ranging from freedom, lightness, and frivolity to disparagement, insecurity, and contempt, can indicate love and empathy or, conversely, hate, rivalry, and competition, emotions that I will examine throughout his works. Finally, laughter, joy, and sorrow are emotional phenomena, which were and are the subjects of earlier and recent psychological and sociocultural studies on identity.

There have of course been countless interpretations of laughter and its use as a literary technique. My aim here is to relate it, as it is employed as an artistic device by Klaus Mann, to his identity as it manifests itself in the stories. Of particular interest are the views Mann held on concerns that at that time would correspond to today's thinking about identity. Some difficulty lies in ascertaining what cultural feelings on identity and self were current during Mann's lifetime, the ideas about sexual and political identity, and the theoretical foundations for such ideas in psychological and sociological writings of the time. Therefore, I shall trace the predominant ideas on identity (or alternatively, before the term identity became current, "the self") over the last century in order to place Klaus Mann's stories in historical context and in relation to his generation.

Shifts in twentieth-century concepts of identity are exemplified by certain aspects

of "Kindernovelle." Paradoxically, this novella about children with children as its title may illustrate changes in how identity formation are increasingly understood as a process that also includes transformations *after* childhood. Mann wrote the novella as a young adult of nineteen who was depicting family interactions from an adult perspective. From before the turn of the century until around World War I, identity as a term was not used, and the "self" was the terrain of psychology. The self was considered an entity that was increasingly fragmented and dispersed. It was called into question as a concept in psychology and literature, either empirically or esthetically. The self was beginning to be viewed as a construct, and its ability to know was no longer assumed. As such critics as Judith Ryan and others have shown, the degree to which the self was embedded in a social context was also called into question; in literature, modernist writers sought to explore its meaning.[62]

Since the 1920s those who have written on the question of identity have focused on later life-course developments as significant. The psychoanalyst Karen Horney was acutely aware of the way that social forces and systems mold the individual. To Horney, the capitalist economic system and modernity create demands on the individual that can often not be met, leading to neuroses. Moreover, her notion of "womb envy" arose out of her concerns with gender and sexual identity issues. Considering performativity of gender and sexuality, that is the way gender roles are learned and then experienced later in sexual life (Butler), can help to illuminate laughter's place in "Kindernovelle" (as well as in "Der Vater lacht" and "Märchen," in contrast to its absence in "Unordnung"). Recent attempts to apply psychological approaches to Mann's "Kindernovelle" (Härle), and to study the

entire Mann family in genealogical context (Krüll), emphasize the story's central position in Mann's writings and biography. Because the novella was written during a crucial period in Mann's early adult life, it also offers clues to his emerging views of kinship and sexuality and even, in his characterization of Till, to his later political fiction and models of thought.

The romantic relationship Klaus was having with Pamela Wedekind at the time he wrote "Kindernovelle" was at least as central to his story as was his relationship with his father and his reaction to the latter's portrayal of him in "Unordnung." In a letter to Pamela Wedekind from the spring of 1926, in which he described the wedding festivities of his sister Erika and Gustav Gründgens, Klaus suddenly proposed to Pamela, without any explanation except that he and Pamela "belong[ed] together." In a postscript, he added that he was working on a novella, his "weitaus schönste" up to that point. (Briefe und Antworten I, 35) "Kindernovelle" involves not only Klaus and his father, but also more prominently his own plans for his life because he knew he would not marry. The story also gives artistic expression to his desire to start his own family in its portrayal of Christiane and her pregnancy.

Klaus wrote that the year 1925, when he wrote this story and proposed to Pamela Wedekind, was the happiest year of his life. Even after she had turned him down, he persistently continued to write to her for the next several years about their relationship, and about his disappointment at her marriage to Carl Sternheim. Mann felt that the age difference (Sternheim was forty-seven in 1925, and thus a generation older than Pamela), along with the fact that Sternheim had been married before and had already raised a family, would doom her to an unhappy marriage. These fears would be confirmed: the

marriage lasted for only a few years. His joy over his genuine hopes for a married life for himself and Pamela gradually turned to sorrow, perhaps, at his realization that a family such as the one portrayed in "Kindernovelle" would not materialize. That realization is connected to the idealization of children encountered in his novella and even throughout his work.

In the family constellation that Klaus designs in "Kindernovelle," the second-oldest child, Heiner, resembles Klaus himself. If roles were assigned within this to this scenario, Renate would be Erika, Christiane (Mama) would be Katia, and the deceased father would stand for Thomas. Of course, much of both Klaus's and Thomas's fictional writings contains autobiographical elements, but this novella reveals something else as well: Klaus's conception of families, family dynamics, child-bearing, marriage and married life, and children and their role, both in families and in society. "Kindernovelle" is also a literary inventory of Klaus's life to that point. In the combination of the figures Heiner and Till, Klaus depicts himself as creative son and as progenitor, replacing the father figure.

"Kindernovelle" depicts the young widow Christiane living with her four children in a villa in a woods, a setting not unlike the Mann family's retreat at Bad Tölz. Renate is self-confident and daring ("die einzige, die richtig zu schwimmen traute") (Maskenscherz, 132); Heiner, on the other hand, is fearful and dreamy ("wehrte sich ängstlich . . . zierte sich abwehrend und war um sein Leben besorgt"). (Maskenscherz, 133) The children are cared for by both the governess, Konstantine, whom the children fear, and the cook, Afra. The only other adults in the novella, Mama (Frau Christiane), her brother Gaston, and the teacher Burkhardt, are generally weak, withdrawn, and in the background. The exception

is the visitor, Till, who is ten years younger than Mama Christiane and who arrives unexpectedly after the novella's exposition, in the third of ten tableaux or scenes.

The children's father is not named in "Kindernovelle." We learn only that he died before the youngest child's birth. He had been a great and influential philosopher, a former Catholic priest defrocked following a scandal of insubordination, in which he had challenged even the Pope's authority in a pamphlet. He still had worn his habit, though, and had withdrawn to a hermetic existence of writing and devotion to Christiane. All that remains as a visible and ever-present totem is his death mask, which hangs over Christiane's bed. Severity, reserve, and distance characterize the absent father.

Professor Cornelius in "Unordnung" is also depicted as reserved, pessimistic, and striving to preserve his dignity. Following an interior monologue in which the Professor compares his own son Bert unfavorably with Möller, a young friend of the family, the narrator describes the father's thoughts: "Er möchte gerecht sein, sagt sich versuchsweise, daß Bert bei alledem ein feiner Junge ist, mit mehr Fonds vielleicht als der erfolgreichere Möller; daß möglicherweise ein Dichter in ihm steckt oder so etwas, und daß seine tänzerischen Kellnerpläne bloß knabenhaftes und zeitverstörtes Irrlichtelieren sind. Aber sein neidvoller Vaterpessimismus ist stärker." ("Unordnung," 643)

In "Kindernovelle," the young Heiner has just these qualities, a certain nonchalance and dreaminess, creativity, and anxiety. The playfulness of Christiane's children is described, and it is particularly Heiner who is characterized as a budding writer: "Dann verfielen sie wohl auch selbst darauf zu dichten. Heiner vor allem saß viele Stunden vor seinen Schreibheften und wurde ärgerlich, wenn man ihn störte. Nachher verlas er

grausige und arge Balladen." (Maskenscherz, 135) The author here is actually alluding to his real father Thomas: the father often was angered by noise of the children, and that he frequently read aloud to the family the short poems he had included in his fiction.

The portrayal of the father in "Kindernovelle" emphasizes his seriousness. After the children are introduced, their carefree existence is contrasted to the father's aura. The deceased father is unnamed, but his death mask over the bed is described in great detail: the mouth is "unerbittlich verkniffen," the eyes' gaze is "streng," and the mask "beherrscht das Zimmer der Witwe." His writings are incomprehensible to Christiane, and during his lifetime he even forbade her to read them. Her sense of awe, honor, and respect (Ehrfurcht) for him has caused her to leave the room completely unchanged since his death. (Maskenscherz, 135-136) Moreover, the death mask's panoptical overview of the family matches his emotionally dominant stature. In "Unordnung," Professor Cornelius also has a towering presence and elevated position, as described in his entrance to the party: "Die Diele ist hell erleuchtet . . . Auf einer unteren Stufe der Treppe bleibt Cornelius stehen und überblickt die Diele . . . [die] Gesellschaft blendet im ersten Augenblick: der Professor sieht nur das allgemeine Bild. Er hat nicht bemerkt, daß Ingrid [seine Tochter] . . . dicht vor ihm mit Freunden am Fuße der Stufen steht. Sie nickt und lächelt mit ihren schönen Zähnen zu ihm hinauf." ("Unordnung," 635)

The character Till in "Kindernovelle," on the other hand, is close to the children, warm, cheerful, and optimistic, yet also a "leidenschaftlicher Verehrer" of the deceased father. These ambiguous qualities also reflect Klaus's own dilemma in his relationship with his father: although Klaus often complained of his father's remoteness to him, he never

questioned Thomas's basic support for him and for his writing endeavors. When Till arrives in the middle of the story, he is announced by the cook Afra, who describes his "dringliches Wesen:" "So leicht werde man den wohl nicht abweisen können." (Maskenscherz, 141) The novella offers detailed descriptions of his physical attributes in two passages, one set on the beach and the other in the bedroom, settings that underline his qualities as someone who is both close to nature and also a pronounced sexual being. But he is also writing a novel, and is an urbane and cosmopolitan European intellectual who has informed opinions on politics, current developments in Russia (ten years after the Revolution), and young people's role in the future of Europe.

Till is considered by some critics to be modelled on Hans Reisiger, a friend of the Mann family who was often a guest in their home.[63] Till could also connote an ideal male figure or an ideal father figure for Klaus; perhaps he is also his own desired sexual partner. Viewed psychoanalytically, the story could show Klaus's view of himself as Till, who interacts with the mother after the father has been eliminated and reduced to a death mask on the wall above the bed. Because Christiane conceives her fifth child with Till, he also symbolizes fertility and procreation, and he embodies nature through his lithe and agile playfulness with the children and the description of his body as he emerges from the swimming hole. Joy and laughter are introduced into the family through him, accentuating his difference from the father's stern pose and overly civilized or ascetic distance from the natural world. Moreover, the narrator does not describe what the father might have felt for Heiner, whereas Till seems to favor Heiner over the other children: "Nur zu Heiner neigte er sich hinunter und streichelte ihm leicht über die Haare." (Maskenscherz, 145)

In his autobiography The Turning Point, Mann described his "search for the lover," his attempts to find someone upon whom he could model the character Till. He "called him, clamored for him . . . but he refused to show up." Mann wrote that both he and Christiane, the fictional character, were "quite in a fix, she and I . . . I had created her, and now I let her down." (Turning Point, 118-119) Mann then wrote that the French writer with connections to the Surrealists, René Crevel, with whom he had recently become acquainted, finally served as the perfect model for Till. Thus around the age of twenty Mann began meeting the type of writers and intellectuals he idealized, proposed to Pamela Wedekind, and wrote "Kindernovelle." If Till thus represents both Mann's idealized version of himself and also of what a European writer and man of the world should be, then it remains to see what he brings to the family and, more significantly, just which children "Kindernovelle" is really all about.

According to Härle, whose Männerweiblichkeit: Zur Homosexualität bei Klaus und Thomas Mann is perhaps the most perceptive psychological study of the literary works of Klaus and Thomas Mann to date, all of Klaus Mann's literary characters have something "childlike" about them.[64] They never truly outgrow their childhood, and even though they might reach chronological adulthood they in fact never actually leave childlike status. But the reality of "Kindernovelle" is precisely the opposite: the children of the family are "grown up." Already in the first paragraph, the reader discovers that near the villa, across a wild wooded area, there is a home for blind children. The children in the family, however, have insight, history, identity. In the novella's embedded fairy tale, Till describes a Europe of millions of years ago when only "innocent monster-like creatures" reigned.

And finally, in Christiane's dream, "millions" of children are being led up the mountainside by Till, a Pied Piper figure: like the blind children in the home and the millions of undeveloped ogres in the fairy tale (who are repeatedly called "ungeheuerlich unschuldig"), these children too are nameless, faceless swarms, lacking complete identity and standing for a conception of the child who is still too undeveloped to play a role in families and society. But, curiously, Heiner and Renate trail directly behind Till, and appear to be less than innocent beings with more knowledge than the millions of other children in the dream.

Because of the enigmatic place of children in the story, I propose that "Kindernovelle" is actually about procreation, child-bearing, and child-rearing, but in other families, families in general, not the family ostensibly treated in it; and that joy and sorrow structure those themes. Christiane's children in the novella, and the Mann children in Klaus's real life, are the only children possessing "sight," or insight, the only children with identifiable lives, who perceive and understand not only their immediate family but also the otherwise cryptic world of adults and adulthood: they are miniature grown-ups. The fictional children's laughter is part of their code, both between themselves and with Till. They create their own art in the form of castles in the sand, skits, and sketches, and Heiner is a poet. The real Mann children also presented readings and plays, and they also developed their own secret language and fictional world. In their language, Klaus was called "Essi," his mother was "Mielein," and his father the "Zauberer," terms of endearment that Klaus and the rest of the family used in their correspondence all through their adult lives. But of course Klaus in this story could only have drawn from his own

family experience. He appears to have universalized his experiences in the fictional form, which means that he often indirectly derived his identity from his fictional creations. His many uses of fairy tale, parable, and legend forms in this and other stories offer support for refraining from interpreting his narrative prose as so many *romans-à-clef*.[65]

The metaphor of "growing" into and then out of a family, as Klaus experienced his familial relationships at that time, runs as a leitmotiv throughout the story. The German root "wachsen" reflects semantic playfulness: the wood depicted in the novella's exposition is "verwachsen," symbolizing wild nature. Till is also close to nature, whereas the dead father represents everything nature is not, abstractly through his bookishness, his refusal to let Christiane read his works (whereas Till discusses such topical issues as homosexuality and geopolitics with her), and concretely in the form of the death mask. Even Mama appears to be "dead" to her outer world and her children at times, either when she is depressed or later when she is expecting. Once the child has been brought into the world, life resumes. Without new children, continued life would not be possible: after Heiner fearfully asks Mama about the meaning of a dead young baker's apprentice he has seen, she tells him: "Aber dafür werden ja immer neue geboren." (Maskenscherz, 169)

"Unordnung," on the other hand, diminishes the fictional family children to irresponsible characters who cannot measure up, or "grow into," the mature role the other youngsters have already attained. Far from being merely a touching vignette or a charming personal novella, "Unordnung" reveals more about Thomas's view of Klaus than do Thomas's correspondence and diaries. A contrast of the emotions of joy and sorrow in the two stories allows an image of Klaus's views of his father to emerge. The figure Till in

"Kindernovelle" embodies the antithesis of Professor Cornelius's qualities in "Unordnung:" Till brings joy and laughter into the household, like his namesake, the fifteenth-century folk figure Till Eulenspiegel, and likewise has a subversive role as a highly sexual jester. Professor Cornelius, on the other hand, like the deceased father in "Kindernovelle," is characterized by work, heavy-handed sobriety, solemnity. Joy in the Cornelius household in the father's "Unordnung" is only occasioned by the children's party; sorrow, on the other hand, pervades the family, both from the fragile sickliness of the youngest child as well as from Professor Cornelius's realization of the hopelessness of Bert's prospects in life.

The frame story form employed in "Kindernovelle" corresponds to its tightly knit structure that reflects the clearly delineated family dyad with near geometric perfection (a similar frame structure is used in Der fromme Tanz for different reasons). Joy and sorrow, representing emotional extremes of experience, also help to structure the story through depictions of laughing and crying: the first half is full of laughter, while crying dominates after the crisis in the middle, with Heiner's reaction to the dead baker's apprentice. The novella's resolution and closure, and the emotional equilibrium thereby attained, suggest Klaus Mann's awareness of the compromises he would have to be prepared to make in his own later adult life. He wrote the story just as he was beginning his twenties, when he started to realize that he would not have a family, but would instead write to find his identity.

The role of laughter in the novella is significant in its symbolic value and as a technique of characterization. In two other short fiction pieces Mann had written just a few years earlier, "Der Vater lacht" and "Märchen," laughter also serves both for

characterization and to break taboos of sexuality and death. In "Der Vater lacht." for example. Kunigunde is characterized as laughing at her father. Laughter disturbs the family structure, just as others from outside the family intrude into the neatly patterned kinship relations. A comparison of "Kindernovelle" with his other short prose fiction from his late teens shows how Mann employed laughter as an artistic technique to forge his identity and to reflect on family and social rivalry. His use of laughter is a communicative device which shows the social relations between two characters, in lieu of language. That technique relates Mann (and his generation) to shifting ideas on identity, from the time of his beginnings as an author through the 1940s. Finally, although the novella does not directly treat political topics, its depiction of the character Till does reveal dimensions of Mann's nascent political thinking that were to emerge in his later essays and fiction.

In "Kindernovelle" Till, for example, is characterized mostly by his laughter. With his arrival at the family's villa he is depicted as the stranger that he is, suggesting that laughter was not common in the household up to that point. He appears to laugh with his every utterance: he "lachte kurz"; Mama answers a question "worüber der fremde Mann lachte." His laughter is usually cheerful, even childish ("kindliches und schamloses Lachen"), but also threatening ("[er] lachte drohend und rauh").

A veritable cascade of laughter begins to jeopardize the structure and form of the novella itself. Mann's repeated use of laughter amounts to an obsession, nearly causing the narrative to become one-dimensional. To save the style from falling flat, he creatively blends laughter in many grammatical forms (as infinitive, gerund, prefixed verb, nouns, and adverbial infinitive) to characterize the children and Till. Some of these forms include:

lachen, lachend, das Lachen; and vorbeilachen, jubelnd lachen, lachend dahinstolpern, or lachend begrüßen. Laughter is a metaphor which also underscores Till's athletic abilities and masculinity: "[er] kam aus dem Lachen gar nicht heraus, schnaufte und lachte, war atemlos, wie es ein Läufer lacht, der als erster am Ziel ist."

Reasons for the preponderance of laughter in "Kindernovelle" can be found in Mann's emerging personal and sexual subjectivity, whereby a campy sensibility was coupled with his frivolous nature in his early twenties. Certainly Mann must have been aware of how his abundant use of laughter might betray an impoverishment of expression, or worse: the indifference, insignificance, meaninglessness, or interchangeability of emotion. But the laughter can also rebound into its opposite, crying, just as it can mean liberation and joy on the one hand, or scorn and mocking derision on the other. These contradictory emotional reactions corresponded to his own gradually increasing ambivalence toward both his family and Pamela Wedekind, as he was setting out on his own life.

Both "Der Vater lacht" and "Märchen" were included in his short story collection Vor dem Leben published in 1923, thus preceding by a few years his publication of "Kindernovelle" and appearing before Thomas Mann's "Unordnung." Therefore they are useful stories to consider to complement any reading of "Kindernovelle" as simply a reaction to "Unordnung." In both "Der Vater lacht" and "Märchen" laughter functions as a forbidden and subversive force that ultimately represents liberation and release, in the former from incest taboos, and in the latter from societal norms.

"Märchen" is Mann's only story from his first collection that is written from a first-

person perspective. It begins as the narrator comes upon a secluded villa in the middle of a wooded area, similar to the setting of "Kindernovelle." The narrator happens to arrive during a banquet attended by many young people: the only other characters are a "Hausherr," his wife, the Gräfin Imogen, and their daughter Sonja. Laughter pervades the villa ("Von innen kamen Gelächter . . . ; sie nahmen lachend . . . den Nachmittagstee"). (Maskenscherz, 103) The head of the household introduces himself as the "Hausherr . . . und er lachte sehr, weil mich dieses erschreckte." (Maskenscherz, 103) As he speaks he is "immer lachend:" "er lachte und sah mich mit seinen strahlende[n] Augen an." The girls who have gathered around the tables for the banquet " . . . wendeten lachend die Köpfe hin und her." (Maskenscherz, 104)

But as the daughter Sonja shows the narrator around the villa, her laughter is also sarcastic or "spöttisch," and the narrator cannot decipher what she says to him ("sie redete spöttisch . . . aber ich konnte dem Sinn ihres Sprechens nicht folgen"). (Maskenscherz, 106) Eventually the narrator notices that Sonja and her father are also sullen, as he detects sadness in their laughter. The daughter's eyes "waren voll Dunkelheit und Trauer, und doch lachte sie." (Maskenscherz, 107) During a juggling game with the children, the Hausherr has "dunkel lachenden Augen," yet his face has lost its hearty, happy appearance ("Lag nicht Trauer gar in dem Blick, mit dem er die zauberische Spielwelt regierte?"). (Maskenscherz, 107) Whenever the narrator perceives sadness, or cannot understand scornful comments made by the family members, he tries to recall a thought he has been trying to think to its conclusion, although unsuccessfully. It is as though "[er] müsse notwendig einen wichtigen und schönen Gedanken zu Ende denken." (Maskenscherz, 105)

When he notices the sad expression in the father's face, he recalls again what he has been seeking to grasp, a thought "der mich vorhin schon verfolgt hatte und den endgültig zu erfassen mir nicht gelingen wollte." (Maskenscherz, 107)

At the end of "Märchen," the family, visitor, and banquet revellers all board rowboats and ride out onto the water, where they are still laughing. A boy in the narrator's boat then falls overboard, intentionally, it seems, and nobody acts to save him. He drowns, and his apparition rises out of the water. His suicide is followed by a strange description of laughter from all who had witnessed it: the father ("mir war es aber, als begänne er in diesem Augenblicke leise und wie ganz zu innerst zu lachen"), the daughter ("auch Sonja lachte"), the wife Gräfin Imogen ("lachte, halb aufgerichtet auf ihrem Sitz"), and all the other young people on the outing ("von allen Booten lachte es"). (Maskenscherz, 108)

This demonic laughter is the antithesis of Nietzschean laughter. Here the laughter is derisive and scornful, not a liberating laughter that triumphantly reveals inner truths. In Nietzsche's Also sprach Zarathustra (1885), laughter serves the function of separating Zarathustra from those he meets and to whom he preaches. Zarathustra repeatedly turns to laughter as a subversive force that the "good and virtuous" ought to learn; it is also an essential character trait, like intuitive knowledge, of the idealized "overman."

In 1884, at around the same time as the publication of Nietzsche's Zarathustra, Henri Bergson began his academic lectures on laughter; in 1900 he published his seminal essay "Le Rire," posing still unanswered questions about the phenomenon, and relating it to intuition. To Bergson, laughter also directly connected the individual to the social

sphere. Accordingly, the characters' quality of unsociability, or their unawareness of the fact that they are social beings in the world, arouses laughter in the audience of comedy.

In Mann's "Märchen," the water itself laughed the most ("am süßesten und am wehesten aber lachte das Wasser"). (Maskenscherz, 108) At that moment the narrator is able to recall the thought he had been trying to think. But he tells the reader that for various reasons he does not dare to write it down ("ihn lesbar niederzulegen"), he cannot decipher Sonja: the thought constitutes the essence of charm or enchantment ("Anmut").[66] (Maskenscherz, 109)

The laughter in "Der Vater lacht" is only of a scornful, spiteful, mocking, teasing, yet uncontrolled nature, until the two paragraphs shortly before the end. The story recounts the return home of a widower's daughter, Kunigunde, after a long stay at a convent. The father, Ministerialrat Theodor Hoffmann, alone in a large apartment, had led a regimented existence since the death of his wife, alternately writing, sleeping, and taking meals prepared and served by a domestic servant, with occasional distinguished visitors as dinner guests. He is characterized mostly by his seriousness, his diligence in building and establishing his reliable reputation as a devoted and faithful administrator for the state, harboring loving memories of his wife, and his "manliness" ("*Männlich* schaute der Ministerialrat hinter seinen Brillengläsern, männlich und wohlgesinnt"). (Maskenscherz, 49)

Kunigunde disrupts the father's routine by her insolent and unappreciative behavior. But he is also attracted to her boyish-mannish appearance, both in his memory of her as a child ("ein kränklicher Junge") as well as now upon her return ("ein nicht mehr

ganz junger, aber über die Maßen reizvoller Marquis").[67] (Maskenscherz, 52) Yet from the beginning of her stay until the shocking end of the story at a health spa, we learn that the father does not "know" his daughter. To him, she is repeatedly nothing but "fremd"; the father continually seeks to reassure himself of her otherness ("In dieser Stunde trennte der Ministerialrat, ohne Haß, ganz ohne Leidenschaft, seine Person streng von der ihren"). She is to be fought and conquered: his relationship with her deteriorates into an open struggle waged in his mind. He intended to continue "den Kampf gegen die Fremde, den großen Kampf gegen das Fremde, dessen Wesen, dessen wahres und ihm entsetzliches Gesicht sich ihm nach und nach zu zeigen begann -- das ihm deutlich wurde, so wie ein Gesicht hinter sieben Schleiern geheimnisvoll nickend -- nach und nach, so ganz sachte, so ganz unheimlich, allmählich Form, Gestalt, Wahrheit bekommt." (Maskenscherz, 65) She is thus symbolized by a face shrouded with a veil, but the knowledge of who is hidden behind it will also become self-knowledge for the father at the end, in their union of the sexual act and laughter.

During the course of Kunigunde's stay with her father, she invites young jugglers and bohemian types to her room. Her laughter and frivolity, and her friends' carousing ("die jungen Leute kicherten und tänzelten hinter ihr") cause the minister great consternation. It demands iron will on his part to withstand their onslaught on his respectability ("Und es galt: Standhalten, standhalten . . . Jetzt, wo sie so kurze Zeit erst da war, galt es sich zu wappnen gegen extremes Unwesen, welches sie trieb. Der Vater dachte: Standhalten."). (Maskenscherz, 54) Whereas the father typifies sublimation, control, and a cold and austere realm of the mind, Kunigunde exemplifies life lived to its

fullest, a Dionysian figure to his Apollo.

On the minister's fiftieth birthday, his daughter takes him on a daredevil automobile ride, which emphasizes her seductive and carefree sway over him. Eventually, he contracts a psychosomatic illness which he believes will kill him. He retreats to the silence of his room, feeling as though he is under siege. Near the story's end, Kunigunde is able to persuade her father to allow her to accompany him on a convalescent sojourn to a health spa. The story concludes with an incestuous act there between father and daughter ("Lallend, lachend löste sich ihr Mund von seinem . . . Zu einem Zwiegesang, dessen Ton sie angab, fanden sich röchelnd, lachend und singend ihre Stimme"). (Maskenscherz, 71) Their love scene is followed by uproarious laughter, the first time the father laughs in the story. The lovers collapse on the floor and sleep through the night, forgetting their transgression until the next morning. When they awaken, their gaze meets, and they erupt in a strange outburst of uncontrollable laughter: "Genau gleichzeitig setzte das große Gelächter ein. Gleichzeitig brach es auch aus ihnen hervor. Er, zertrümmert ganz auf dem Fußboden, lachte. . . . Er dröhnte und gurgelte. Sein runder, borstiger Bart ragte zuckend gen Himmel. Unter dem Barte hob sich und senkte sich die runzlige Gurgel. Die Tochter aber hatte, ganz gekrümmt in ihrem Jauchzen und Schreien, die Arme wild in die Luft gestemmt. Die hohen und schmalen Fensterscheiben klirrten durchdringend. Die kahlen Wände warfen das Gelächter scheppernd und meckernd zurück. Von ihrem Zimmer aus fuhr der Lärm durch das ganze Hotel . . . " (Maskenscherz, 71-72) The laughter initiated with Kunigunde's arrival thus culminates in this orgiastic spectacle, with her successful seduction of her father at, of all places, the sanctuary of his recovery. The spa then turns

out to be a site of return to both physical and emotional health; his acquired "knowledge" of his daughter is enacted through the incest, and apparent reconciliation between the two is achieved.

There is no recorded commentary by Thomas Mann on "Der Vater lacht" or "Märchen," but his response to "Kindernovelle," as documented in a letter, is revealing. He laughed at the story ("recht gelacht") although "hie und da [habe sich] Zweifel beschlichen."[68] He does not write what caused either the laughter or the doubts. He must certainly have realized that "Kindernovelle" was at least in part a literary response to "Unordnung," just as he would have recognized in Theodor Hoffmann a figure who, unlike Gustav Aschenbach in "Tod in Venedig," is rescued from death through the healing forces of both sexuality and laughter.

In Thomas Mann's early novellas and other fictional writings written before the 1920s, he showed his true comic gift, although a specific form of laughter prevails that is sometimes related to his irony. Burghard Dedner has analyzed how laughter, satire, and irony were employed by Thomas Mann, and he interprets their use as a kind of defense mechanism in reaction to hostility Mann encountered at the beginning of his career as a writer. Dedner suggests that such experiences of rejection offered the young Thomas his most basic and most central incentives for writing.[69] Dedner contends that behind the masks and shapes of Thomas Mann's outsider figures (from Aschenbach to Cipolla, the hypnotist/magician) lay hidden his own experiences of suffering, the expression of which his society proscribed. Therefore, Mann in his earliest novellas often circumvented the taboo of psychic exhibitionism by translating psychological suffering into the physical

pains and deformities of his fictional heroes -- an ironical procedure.[70]

In addition, Thomas Mann was able to use the longer form of the novel to explain historical conditions under which derision could thrive as a form of social interaction.[71] Concomitantly during this period of his development as a writer (before his Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen of 1918, and well before his affirmative acceptance of Weimar-style democracy) Mann considered political movements not in terms of the suffering of the poor, etc., but rather as Dionysian assaults upon Apollonian culture.[72] On the one hand, Dedner interprets satire and irony in Thomas's works as literary techniques and rhetorical devices that communicated derision and contempt. On the other hand, one could also claim that Thomas Mann's irony contained more than just derision and contempt, sometimes conveying direct humor. In these three short stories by Klaus, the son is deriding the father figure through laughter and lightness, as a counterpole to the mask, which represents the father figure in its strictness, seriousness, and lack of humor.

One recent study explains why laughter and crying are essential indicators of people's personal identity. Helmuth Plessner writes of continuing Bergson's tradition on laughing and crying with distinctions between inside and outside or "eccentricity," the relation of mind to body, and emotions and their constitutive quality for identity.[73] Certain aspects of Klaus Mann's identity are thus uncovered when laughter in these stories is so understood. Mann was here expressing his own ideas on the relation between characters' thoughts and actions, so integral to a sense of social-self identity. Instead of language, laughter was used as an indicator of characters' identities. Till in "Kindernovelle" and Kunigunde in "Der Vater lacht" laughed in a kind of subterfuge of communicating their

feelings towards a father figure. The body language of laughter was an effective dramatic technique for fictional characterization.

In current writing on personal or sexual identity and literature, the themes of laughter, camp, and performativity have attracted critical attention.[74] The mythological laugh of Medusa, whose severed, laughing head turns all who gaze at it into stone, has often been invoked for its applicability to contemporary concepts of identity, particularly gender and sexual identity. In a study of Peter Weiss, Anton Phillip Knittel proposes Medusa as a model for psychoanalytic approaches to literary texts. Such a model considers Medusa's gaze as related to the Lacanian mirroring stage and to the male's fear of castration, leading to the conclusion that Medusa symbolizes an important step in identity formation.[75] Hélène Cixous emphasizes the aspect of shock embodied in Medusa's gaze. The result effectively "shatters the placid surface constituted by the petrifying gaze and exposes the dialectic of Same and Other as taking place through the axis of sexual difference."[76]

In Gender Trouble Judith Butler shows how the explosive power of laughter is related to sexual and gender identity as set forth in her theory of gender performativity .[77] She cites Michel Foucault's response to reading Borges, which supposedly led Foucault to write his Les Mots et les choses, and which apparently "arose . . . out of the laughter that shattered, as I read the passage, all the familiar landmarks of my thought . . . "[78] Butler also lists George Bataille as another philosopher and theorist who has likewise pondered the importance of laughter to his writings.[79]

Historically there has been a transformation of the notion of identity from a

concern within philosophy and logic, to psychology (primarily through Ernst Mach's 1885 Analysis of Sensations), to a question treated mostly by sociologists. A history of the discipline of social psychology would reveal the role "identity" played in constituting the discipline itself. I attribute to Klaus Mann's writings examined here the possibility that they are precursors to certain contemporary sensibilities. The ludic, playful nature of postmodernism has often been accented, as has its relation to a kind of "joyous apocalypse."[80] The impulse of the definitions of the postmodern, however, usually contrast postmodernism primarily to categories operating within modernism itself. Postmodernist literature then acts against those. But Klaus Mann was not specifically seeking mere formal innovations with his fiction. Instead, he was exploring ways of expressing his identity, and seeking to discover his own contributions to broader social and cultural realities.

Chapter Three

Patterns of Political and Sexual Identity in Mann's Nonfiction

a. Rewriting the Father Figure / Surrogate Father Figure André Gide

Mann's three autobiographies, his organizing and editing of the two literary journals, and his essays on and biographies of André Gide reveal examples of his non-fiction writing that reflected his view of his father (as he may have wished him to be) and his own identity formation, and provide evidence of patterns of sexual and political identity found in his fictional works. Although all those projects were undertaken after 1932 when he was well into his twenties and his literary career, they nonetheless molded his still-changing identity towards both concerns for sexuality and its expression and for political issues. In the autobiographies, Mann emphasized different aspects of his life, one for an American readership and the other for Germans. Mann's essays and literary biographies of André Gide, likewise in English and in German, also reveal his identity in his search for a mentor and ideal to emulate. Gide's influence was moreover as much on Mann's life as on his work, and that influence made itself evident in Mann's sexual and political identities after his encounter with Gide's writing. In my discussion of Mann's autobiographies, biographies, and work on the two literary journals he edited, I show how the non-fiction mode complemented his fiction writing and demonstrate his evolving sense of identity, both personal and literary.

In Freud's 1913 collection of essays entitled Totem and Taboo, he seeks to

reconcile theories of totemism and exogamy with psychoanalysis. He attempts to transpose, via Darwin's hypothesis about the primal state of human society and Frazer's ethnology, findings on the Oedipus complex from individual psychology onto social psychology to account for the persistence of certain taboos and religious rites. He compares the compulsion prohibitions of neurotics with taboos from so-called "primitive" societies and finds them to be equally "unmotivated and enigmatic."[81] These prohibitions possess "an extraordinary capacity for displacement; they make use of almost any form of connection to extend from one object to another."[82] Freud describes the relationship between prohibition and impulse, both in individuals and in groups, and the ambivalent emotional attitude evident toward the prohibitions. He writes to account for the displacement whereby one (or a society) seeks "to acquire surrogates for the forbidden in the form of substitutive objects and actions."[83]

According to Freud, ambivalent emotional attitudes can manifest themselves in an entirely different place. Through displacement, they " . . . reach the point where [they] come to our notice."[84] Freud then accounts for objections that could be raised against applying a theory of the individual to groups or society, claiming that "without the assumption of a mass psyche, . . . social psychology could not exist at all."[85] He then concludes that the next difficult task is to account for how a generation can transfer its psychic states to the next generation; his answer is the Oedipus complex, which is universal and observable always and everywhere.

Social psychology thus presents us with the idea of a mass psyche which can be profitably used to account for themes in literature and the role of displacement

mechanisms in the psychic life of a such a writer as Klaus Mann. In one section of his psychoanalytic study of father-son pair Thomas and Klaus Mann, Härle describes the concept of the "titan" and the "average person" as both figures in their fiction as well as tropes in the real mental life of the two writers. In this scenario, Thomas was more accepting of the "titan," strove to emulate him, and portrayed him in his fiction, albeit ironically, as possessing positive qualities. Klaus, on the other hand, chose as his role models and fictional characters figures who were less the titan and more average. Härle claims that: "Durch diese Ablehnung der 'Titanen' erschafft sich Klaus Mann in den beiden homosexuellen Männern André Gide und Peter I. Tschaikowsky Gegenfiguren zum Vater beziehungsweise Ideal-Väter. Sie sind humorlose Halb-Genies von anheimelnder Durchschnittsgröße, bei denen die pathetische Hoffnung des Sohnes auf Liebeserfüllung gut aufgehoben zu sein scheint."[86]

Härle contends that Klaus Mann's ouevre is nothing more than a "Mangelwerk," that his life can be equated with his work, and that his fictional characters are burdened with his own identity. Härle chooses the tropes of light and shadow, greatness and mediocrity, and above and below to investigate the lives and works of the father-son pair. Härle writes about this dichotomy as it pertains to Thomas Mann's novella "Mario und der Zauberer" to show how Thomas understood the relationship between homosexuality and fascism, an understanding that varied greatly from Klaus Mann's views: "Zur Liebkosung 'oben' gesellt sich 'unten' die phallische Bewegung, aber Zärtlichkeit und Trieb, Eros und Sex finden nicht zueinander: daran zerbricht dieses Männerpaar -- das einzige sich küssende Männerpaar in Thomas Mann Werk. In der gewalttätigen, erektiven Geste

meldet sich ein Begehren zur Sprache, das, da es auf willfährige Erwiderung nicht hoffen kann, als faschistischer Habitus gebrandmarkt wird."[87] Härle adds that Thomas Mann's concept of fascist ideology and of homosexual desire were congruent and that both phenomena meet in the idea of "Lebensfeindlichkeit."[88] According to Härle, the effects of the force of drives in Thomas Mann's personality "[konnte] als Symbol des Schicksals Deutschlands funktionieren und es [hat] in die persönliche Lebensgeschichte eines anderen deutschen Autors, Klaus Manns, mit nachhaltiger zerstörerischer Konsequenz eingewirkt."[89]

The limitation of Härle's approach becomes apparent in his neglect of aspects of political identity in Klaus Mann's work, as his focus is instead exclusively on homosexuality and Mann's relationship with his father. But political identity was important to Klaus Mann, and the choice of André Gide as a mentor cannot be explained exclusively because of his status as a homosexual half-genius lacking in humor. His choice is much more "enigmatic," in Freud's sense, and must be considered in its totality and all its paradoxes, including the political views of the French writer.

I suggest that Klaus Mann's political identity was composed of a combination of mostly sincere antifascism, with a slight displacement of his feelings towards his father on to the Nazi regime. Just as Thomas Mann had interpreted his own family history in such works as Buddenbrooks, so too did Klaus attempt to recreate his father figure in various works. In "Kindernovelle," Klaus creates a surrogate father figure in Till. And in his novel Mephisto Klaus rewrote a fascist state as he perceived it based on his own ambivalent feelings towards his father. Klaus Mann found a writer in André Gide who

integrated sexual and political concerns. He met Gide and occasionally corresponded with him. Mann found a role model in Jean Cocteau and revered his generation of French writers, but he viewed Gide as a mentor, and wrote a study of Gide's ideas in English André Gide and the Crisis of Modern Thought, which he later reworked in German. The interdependence of political and sexual themes seen in Mann's novels of exile and essays from the late 1920s on is also evident in Gide's fiction and essays.

Mann's relationship to his father has been most thoroughly examined by Härle, but it is also possible to treat their relationship as an example of the son creating a fictional father more to his liking, a father figure Thomas as seen by the son Klaus. The father's novels Buddenbrooks, Joseph und seine Brüder, and Die Bekenntnisse des Hochstaplers Felix Krull, and his novellas "Mario und der Zauberer" and "Tonio Kröger," offered Klaus his father's own view of the father figure. Klaus was then to rewrite his father figure in some of his own fictional works.

In Buddenbrooks, Thomas has the young son Hanno die as the bourgeois family experiences its decline. More importantly, Buddenbrooks demonstrates the way that Thomas viewed his own descent and his idea of the decline of families over generations. And Marianne Krüll's approach in her intergenerational interpretation of the Manns, for example, also focusses on the Manns' kinship relationships.

Klaus reworked aspects of Buddenbrooks in several of his works: the old Buck family in Mephisto portrays a declining liberal milieu on the eve of Nazism, for example. In Klaus's stories, the father is often dead, absent, or replaced. In Thomas's novella "Mario und der Zauberer," the children are kept out of the plot; the father is the

"Zauberer" or magician. From the father's fictional works in which the father writes himself, Klaus adopts material and tries to rewrite him, as was shown, for example, in my discussion of "Unordnung und frühes Leid" and "Kindernovelle" in the previous chapter.

Mann's conception of his sexual identity and political ideas are tentatively expressed in his first autobiography, The Turning Point: Thirty-Five Years in this Century. In his later German version, Der Wendepunkt: Ein Lebensbericht, he goes into more detail and alters the structure of the work to better fit the new realities and his German and European readership. This latter version also contains an epilogue written in diary form recounting his experiences as an American soldier entering Germany with the invading troops.

In between publication of his two autobiographies, Mann published his English-language biography of Gide, André Gide and the Crisis of Modern Thought (1943; 1948 in German as André Gide: Die Geschichte eines Europäers). This work explained why Mann considered Gide a mentor, and it placed Gide in the historical context of the turbulent times around the Second World War. Mann's reasons for concentrating on Gide were related to his own sexual identity and political worldview, and Gide contrasted with the image of the father as presented in Mann's fiction. In the two journals he edited and published, first from Amsterdam Die Sammlung and in New York Decision, Mann saw his role as an organizer of antifascist opposition among intellectuals; in these endeavors he established further his political identity as a spokesperson and representative German and European.

The Influence of Gide on Mann

Gide was the one major influence on Mann, the one whose writings allowed Mann to discover himself. Der Wendepunkt contains many passages on the influence of Gide on him. Its style is similar to the style of Mann's biography of Gide. But Mann disclaims any influence in the area of sexual identity. Gide gave Mann courage to know himself, but "vom Erotischen ist dabei nicht die Rede, wie ich, um jedem Mißverständnis vorzubeugen, denn doch eigens betonen will." (Wendepunkt, 259) Gide's inspiration for Mann was similar to the role Freud, Dostoyevsky, and Nietzsche had played in forming Gide.[90] Of course Gide influenced Mann's thinking about political and literary topics: the fact that Gide was one of the first openly homosexual writers in the twentieth century must be included as at least somewhat relevant to Mann. In the quote, Mann simply means that he did not need Gide's example to come to terms with his sexual identity, in whatever way Mann accomplished that goal. Gide's homosexuality was important to Mann, but did not initially cause Mann to choose Gide as a mentor.

In fact, Gide's influence on Mann was all-encompassing. Mann claims that Gide was "derjenige, dem ich mich am tiefsten verpflichtet fühle." (Wendepunkt, 256) He continues that he wanted to follow Gide, to be as much like him as possible, and to find his way to himself by way of Gide's life works: "dieser echten, unwiederholbaren Persönlichkeit . . . möglichst ähnlich zu werden" (Wendepunkt, 261): "Die Begegnung mit André Gide -- nicht mit dem Menschen, sondern mit dem Werk, in welchem diese reiche, komplexe Menschlichkeit sich offenbart -- hat mir mehr als irgendeine andere

geholfen, meinen Weg, den Weg zu mir selbst zu finden." (Wendepunkt, 256)

It is thus not surprising that there was an overpowering aura to Gide that swayed the young Mann. In his early twenties, he was searching for literary ideals, and wanted to find them outside his father or uncle and outside German literature. His turn to France was as much a way of defining himself in opposition to his father as it was a way of becoming a "European" in his best sense of the term. Mann gushed with enthusiasm for Gide, using an embarrassing term for him which shows how limitless Mann's positive feelings for him were: "Willkommen mein Führer! Hier bin ich -- zu folgen bereit: mich kümmerts nicht, wem . . . Wer Du auch seist: mit Deiner Hilfe finde ich am Ende -- mich selbst." (Wendepunkt, 135) That shows the somewhat problematic because blind and unquestioned nature of the way Mann related to his mentor. He was more like an empty vessel than a protegé in this explanation of the process along the path to himself.

Sexual and political aspects of Mann's view of Gide are important, as I am defining identity in terms of Klaus Mann's social self. My approach differs from previous studies of Gide's influence on Klaus Mann. Unlike Axel Plathe, I am not covering the broader connection between French and German literary life; unlike Foucart, I am not emphasizing their correspondence, but instead Mann's essays and his biography. And unlike Grunewald I am tracing sexual identity, political, and literary influences from Mann's essays on and biography of Gide, not from the correspondence and diaries. I show the interplay of sexuality, politics, and writing as understood as social practices.

Mann's short story "Der Traum des verlorenen Sohnes von der Heimkehr" shows the influence of Gide's "Retour de l'enfant prodigue." Both writers feel as though there is

a division between life as it was in their childhood and their present existence. The Biblical story in Gide's retold version appealed to Mann, who had read it first in Rilke's 1908 translation. Mann admits that reading that story sufficed to convince him of the " . . . beziehungsreichen Fülle dieses Geistes, von der sublimen Diskretion dieser Kunst . . . " (Wendepunkt, 257) Der Wendepunkt was a precursor to Mann's Gide biography and, just as Gide had "led" Mann to discover himself, so too would his biography of Gide have autobiographical qualities. The question remains as to which aspect of Gide influenced Mann the most: the gay Gide, the political Gide, or the strictly literary Gide.

Mann's literary biography André Gide and the Crisis of Modern Thought was an attempt to place Gide in context of his own development. Mann's study of Gide was published in English shortly before Mann was inducted into the United States Army. Mann turned to Gide at that time because in 1939 Gide's journals were published, and Mann had gained distance from Gide and Europe in the preceding seven or eight years. Claude Foucart had investigated their relationship, and calls it one of master and disciple. But he concentrates on the correspondence between them, failing to round out his view with Mann's numerous essays on Gide. Their relationship was not as close as his study suggests.[91] Michel Grunewald focusses instead on how Mann viewed France, and sees his position vis-à-vis Gide in those terms.

In his biography, Mann embraced the idea of Gide as a mentor, and wrote that he felt secure enough to completely embrace Gide's ideas and incorporate them into his own: "Wer sich selber finden will, sucht die Geheimnisse anderer zu ergründen. Nur der Schwächliche wird fürchten, bei solchen Begegnungen die eigene Originalität einzubüßen .

. . Wo wirkliche Substanz, wahrer Charakter ist, kann die Berührung mit Fremdem nur befruchtend und klärend wirken." (André Gide und die Krise des modernen Denkens, 70)

Mann's search for subjectivity was similar to Gide's postulate of an "être authentique." In Corydon, Gide proposed a view of homosexuality that presented it as something natural. Moreover, Gide's political ideas included sympathies for the Soviet Union for a time. His opinions changed, however, and he recorded them in his Retour de l'URSS. Mann appeared at the First All-Union's Congress of Soviet Writers in 1934, and both Mann and Gide spoke at the First International Writers' Congress for the Defense of Culture against War and Fascism in Paris in June 1935. Mann's spoke on "Der Kampf um den jungen Menschen," and in it he talked of the younger generation in terms that reflect his search for a guide or ideal in Gide.

Critics have often suggested that Mann's choice of Gide as mentor was a reaction to his father's influence, a kind of displacement of fatherly affections. To Axel Plathe, it is only possible to see Mann's relationship to Gide against the background of the father figure, "ohne jedoch einer einfachen Kausalität verfallen zu dürfen."[92] Although there is some plausibility to that explanation, Heinrich Mann's influence on Klaus must also be accounted for, as well as the fact that Mann honored Gide and claimed he was the major influence until well beyond his early adult years. Mann's conception of sexuality and politics, moreover, shows more dissimilarities to Gide than might be supposed. These differences are seen in Mann's less than enthusiastic reception of Corydon. In his biography of Gide, Mann wrote: "If I had to sacrifice one of Gide's major works, I would choose Corydon, without hesitating. It is a useful book but not an inspiring one. Far from

being unduly emotional and bold, it is rather lacking in these qualities. It presents and develops its thesis, sturdily and effectively, and with an impressive display of eloquence and erudition. But it does not include the antithesis; in other words, it is not dialectic, not musical, not artistic, not disinterested. It wants simply to prove its point. In order to be persuasive, Gide sacrifices what is indeed the source and secret of his persuasion -- the iridescent complexity of his style and thought." (André Gide and the Crisis of Modern Thought, 164) Furthermore, Mann never showed the support of the Soviet Union initially shown by Gide. Their similarities can be found in their representative function: Gide became a representative figure for his generation in France, and Mann exemplified aspects of the younger generation in Germany. Ernst Robert Curtius recommended the young Mann to Gide in a letter in which he considered Mann to be representative, not of youth but of a certain element of German youth: "Il s'appelle Klaus, va avoir vingt ans et a déjà publié des nouvelles, un drame, un roman. Ses débuts ont été très remarqués, et en effet il est très doué. Mais ceci mis à part, je crois que vous le trouveriez sympathique et qu'il vous intéresserait comme *représentant* je ne dis pas de la jeunesse, mais *d'une certaine jeunesse allemande* [italics mine]."[93]

Axel Plathe, mentioned briefly previously, has written the only monograph study and the most thorough examination of Mann and Gide. Plathe applies Erikson's life-cycle concept to the relationship between the two. According to this psychosocial model, consciousness of identity during adolescence is most important for determining future life. For Plathe, Mann's identity formation is marked by an extreme individualism the roots of which can be traced back to Mann's stay at the Odenwaldschule boarding school.[94] He

also emphasizes both writers' outsider status, citing work by Hans Mayer on the outsiderhood of homosexual writers. Plathe's main thesis is that Gide played a decisive role ("eine entscheidende Rolle") in Mann's life and work.[95] Plathe also presents a history of the reception of Gide in Germany, primarily focussing on Klaus Mann, but also asserting that it was a symbiotic relationship, with Mann also influencing Gide, as the two are "Vertreter ihrer Nationalkulturen, die sich gegenseitig beeinflussen."[96] Plathe interprets Mann's suicide in relation to their relationship: Mann could not fulfill the tenets on life and the asceticism of Gide and was thus doomed to failure and suicide. Gide was indeed a great influence, but Plathe's view yet again grants their relationship too much emphasis and importance in Mann's life. Plathe rightly suggests that Mann tended to identify totally with his ideal writers, whereas Gide is drawn to them as complementary.[97] Referring to Thomas Mann's essay "Über die Ehe" (1926), Plathe writes that Thomas Mann "versucht noch einmal, seinen Einfluß auf den Sohn in einem öffentlichen Appell geltend zu machen, während dieser sich bereits in André Gide einem Moralisten ganz anderer Art zuwendet."[98] Plathe devotes only two pages to the theme of homosexuality as it appeared in their works, and relates it to criminality and extra-human phenomena.[99] Plathe suggests that Klaus treats homosexuality in the same manner as Thomas, and that all of Klaus's main homosexual characters fail because of their sexuality: "Trotz Klaus Manns Wunsch, die Homosexualität als lebensbejahende Liebe darzustellen, entwickelt sich seine Sicht dieser Liebe in seinem Werk gerade so, wie der Vater sie schildert: Es ist den Figuren Klaus Manns nicht möglich, glücklich zu werden; sie scheitern an ihrer Homosexualität."[100] Plathe then lists these characters: Richard Darmstädter in Treffpunkt

im Unendlichen; Alexander and Kleitos in Alexander; Tchaikovsky's love for Vladimir in Symphonie Pathétique; and King Ludwig of Bavaria in "Vergittertes Fenster." These characters do indeed fail, and their failure is often in their homosexual love, but it does not necessarily follow that they failed because of that love; they could also be said to have triumphed at moments during their lives. For example, Plathe interprets Martin and Kikjou's love from Der Vulkan: "Dieser Versuch der Vereinigung politischer Akzeptierung und erotischer Heterodoxie ist hier, wie auch im Leben Klaus Manns, nicht gelungen. Das Ende der Liebesbeziehung durch den Tod Martins ist die Voraussetzung für das politische Engagement Kikjous."[101] In the following chapter, I understand Kikjou's motive differently: that the love between Martin and Kikjou is successful because it leads to Kikjou's activism as a kind of dedication to Martin. However, Plathe does agree that homosexual identity was a part of their productive "consciousness:" "Das Bewußtsein von der Außergewöhnlichkeit der Homosexualität . . . bedingt die Bedeutung ihrer Thematisierung in André Gides und Klaus Manns autobiographischen und fiktiven Texten sowie in den theoretischen Abhandlungen."[102]

Anthony Heilbut contends that André Gide's friendship was also important to Thomas Mann. Gide was, according to Heilbut, "perhaps the only contemporary author from whom [Thomas] Mann actually expected to learn" and was someone whose "militant homosexuality" was revered.[103] Considering Thomas Mann's essay on marriage, in which he questioned the social usefulness of homosexuality, however, it is doubtful that Gide's views on homosexuality were what drew Thomas Mann to correspond with him.

The French Klaus Mann scholar Michel Grunewald, who has edited the

correspondence between Mann and Gide, places their relationship too much in terms of Mann's identity as Thomas Mann's son: "Die Beziehungen, die Klaus Mann zu André Gide knüpfte, machen darüber hinaus seinen Versuch deutlich, das Identitätsproblem zu bewältigen, das er als Sohn von Thomas Mann sein Leben lang hatte."[104] Undoubtedly Mann chose Gide as a mentor partly as a counteraction to his father, and Mann also chose more French writers to emulate than German writers. But he was also drawn to Gide because of the latter's writing and his sexual and political interests that probably extended beyond overcoming an identity problem resulting from his own father.

Lucey's recent study of Gide, which treats sexuality, politics, and writing, sets out to " . . . bring into focus the shape of his writing practice, his political commitments, and his sexuality -- interwoven shapes inevitably elusive to him even as he came to understand them and to act them out."[105] Lucey covers Gide's writings from around 1920 until 1940, when sexual and political thematics are in the foreground of his texts. Lucey seeks to "investigate the ways he tried, through his writing, to understand and express his own bent."[106] It turns out that in this study, "bent" means identity, which encompasses all Gide's sexual, political, literary, and personal sides. According to Lucey, Gide understood sexuality "as a force both interior and exterior to his identity."[107] The interior aspect of his identity corresponds to my understanding of Mann's identity when I draw from psychological ways of gaining access to it; the exterior face of identity is like my definition of social-self identity, which I posit as a useful approach to conceiving of identity in fiction and non-fiction writing. Lucey also shows how Gide understood the literary influence of writers he admired in a way similar to Mann's view of his influences. Therefore their

process of developing a sense of identity as a writer was also similar.

Mann's Essays on Gide

The years from 1931 to 1935 were crucial to the development of Gide's attitude towards the Soviet Union. His diaries of that period were the source for Mann's "Crisis" chapter in his biography of Gide. The crisis is between Gide's individualism and his new found support of the Soviet Union. and between Catholicism and spirituality in general and official atheism of the new Soviet state. In "Gide and the U.S.S.R.," Mann emphasized his opinion that Gide's positions were consistent with his intellectual leanings and personality, and that Gide's declaration of approval of the Soviet Union affirmed his concept of individualism. But now he felt that "individuals" could best flourish if the economic and social conditions were amenable to them.

In his essay "Der Streit um André Gide" Mann sought to defend Gide after Gide's publication of Retour de l'URSS (1936). He felt that Gide was unfairly attacked, by both the Catholic right in France as well as by international leftists and communists. The debate circled around Gide as though he were the center of a discourse with wider implications. Throughout the controversy, Gide asserted that he was more interested in the left because he felt more of an affinity with it, and that was why his criticism was so thought out and penetrating ("Mein Geist ist so geartet, daß sein Höchstmaß an Strenge sich gegen die wendet, die ich immer durchaus anerkennen möchte"). ("Streit um André Gide," 113)

Three years after Gide's return from the Soviet Union, in 1939, the Hitler-Stalin non-aggression pact would come to shatter many expectations on both right and left outside of Germany and the Soviet Union.

The tension between individualism and collective, more progressive concepts of culture and society was a central theme in Mann's essays on Gide. These issues came to the forefront after Gide's confrontation with communism and the Soviet Union. Mann was also thinking of these issues at the time. Mann saw in Gide a possible ally in the establishment of a common front against fascism: "Gerade daß Gide, dieser unabhängigste Geist, die Einordnung des Individuums in eine sozialistische Gemeinschaft für möglich und wünschbar hielt, erleichterte es manchen -- und manch Wertvollem --, sich mit allen Kräften vorbehaltlos einer gemeinsamen Kampf-Front, einem geistigen Front Commun zur Verfügung zu stellen." ("Streit um André Gide," 111)

The struggle to find a place for the individual in the increasingly mass-culture dominated society, and the increasing commercialization of the gay subculture, was related to the challenges facing the homosexual in Gide. Mann sought to reconcile his views on society and mass political developments with his concern for the possibilities for individuals: "Das Individuum interessiert mich, heute noch, mehr als die Masse; zunächst aber kommt es auf die günstigen Lebensbedingungen für die Masse an, die dem gesunden Individuum erst erlauben, zu gedeihen." ("Streit um André Gide," 111) Moreover, Mann defended Gide's view of socialism at that point in history: "Er [Gide] hält ihn [socialism] für die Form des gesellschaftlichen Zusammenlebens, die der freien Entwicklung des Individuums heute am zuträglichsten ist." ("Streit um André Gide," 111)

In an essay that appeared as a review of Gide's just-published diaries, "André Gides Tagebücher," Mann strove for an understanding of Gide's political viewpoints. Mann knew that Gide was compromising some of his own tenets on the needs of the individual in his turn to socialism. Mann thought that Gide's example showed ". . . daß in gewissen historischen Situationen der geistige Mensch sich zu Tendenzen und zu Kräften eindeutig bekennen kann, mit deren Wesen er sich, bei genauester Prüfung, vielleicht niemals völlig zu identifizieren vermöchte."[108] In this essay, Mann considers Gide as the representative writer of France and even Europe. Integral to Mann's view of Gide is that Gide is openly homosexual. In addition, Gide also wants a political realignment in Europe to preserve peace. Mann comments on Gide's radicalism led to his claim about what Gide had written that: "Diese Stelle eben bewiest uns, daß man Europäer bleiben kann, auch wenn man die radikale Neuordnung Europas will; oder daß man es dann erst in einem voll gültigen Sinne ist."[109]

Mann's Biography of Gide

Mann considered Gide the representative European and set out to write a literary biography of him in the early 1940s. Mann's thoughts on identity are exemplified in the way he describes Gide's identity and search for a voice. Like Mann's works, Gide's oeuvre can also be considered a long autobiography. According to Kroll, Mann's study of Gide is a "verkappte Autobiographie."[110] And Mann writes that "die Essais Gides sind in der Tat

ebenso reich an autobiographischem Gehalt wie seine erzählerischen und dramatischen Werke." (André Gide und die Krise des modernen Denkens, 206)

Identity issues are at the center of Mann's biography. Mann employs organic metaphors to describe Gide's life and work: "The various energies focused in Gide's work and nature have to be visualized as an entity, a living, indivisible organism whose growth is insolubly linked with developments of a larger scale and of more general relevancy." (André Gide and the Crisis of Modern Thought, 39) Later in the biography Mann continues the metaphor. This explanation of Gide's identity shows that Mann conceives of identity in terms of a dialectic growth pattern, as a system that changes by incorporating elements to achieve a new synthesis. This quote demonstrates how sexual, political, and literary elements in Mann's own personality and writing self are interrelated. "Whenever he has assimilated a new ingredient to the organic compound of his identity, he is likely to return to a previous stage: to transpose, as it were, his older experience up to the newly attained level." (André Gide and the Crisis of Modern Thought, 14) Mann's notion of identity reflects his view that a person changes throughout life, and the graphic symbol of assimilating new ingredients show that Mann has a view of the self as an intensely social being incorporating outer elements into it.

Mann also uses a psychological vocabulary to speak of human identity when he describes the duality of human nature. Mann felt that Gide had ambiguous sides, especially in his ideas relating to sexual and political identity. He tried to understand his vision of Gide by again suggesting that he was a typical example of a universal trend. To Mann, Gide's writing was an effort to ward off the disparate contradictions in life and

identity, as Mann suggested that there was a "double proclivity in human nature: The will of every individual to maintain his own identity coherent and consistent, is constantly counterbalanced and at times counteracted by the reverse instinct which is centrifugal and disintegrating, tending towards division, dissociation, and dissolution." (André Gide and the Crisis of Modern Thought, 192)

Any writer, according to Mann's concept of identity, endows his or her characters with aspects of himself or herself. All of Gide's most successful protagonists, according to Mann, are "stigmatized and blessed with his [Gide's] mystery, his charm, his savor, his unmistakable hue [his identity]." (André Gide and the Crisis of Modern Thought, 165) This duality and wonder of Gide's identity is as true of his "fictional self-presentations and self-transformations" as it is of his "essayistic masquerades." (André Gide and the Crisis of Modern Thought, 165)

Mann's review of Gide's Nouvelles Nourritures in his biography focusses on the idea of progress, an idea that, along with democracy, is perhaps the most trite and overused, but also the most profound concept. Mann refers to a place in Gide's text that lists all the wonders of the world, and reveals a Gide who is life-affirming and optimistic, qualities Mann sought but rarely achieved in his own life and work: "Victory, union, faith, identity, time, the indissoluble compacts, riches, mystery, Eternal progress, the cosmos, the modern reports." (André Gide and the Crisis of Modern Thought, 246) Mann claims that progress connotes the "striving for self-identification and self-fulfillment," and that belief in the idea of progress "implies the belief in man and the belief in Utopia." (André Gide and the Crisis of Modern Thought, 248)

Yet the dialectic qualities of Gide's thought faltered at times, according to Mann, and there was lack of progress, either as a writer or politically. In the chapter "Crisis" of the biography, Mann returns to his earlier appraisal of Corydon, and revises it, because he feels that Gide failed to grasp the realities of the Soviet Union in his Retour de l'U.R.S.S. To Mann, not only do sexual and political identity have to include ambiguity and duality, but so does good writing. Mann explains: "The bad thing about Gide's report on Soviet Russia is that it is not quite good enough. Did I say before that I would choose Corydon, if I had to sacrifice one of his writings? Well, I have changed my mind. It's Retour de l'U.R.S.S. I would pick. If in Corydon the antithetic element is lacking, it is disturbingly obvious and unsolved in the Soviet pamphlet. The chiding reprimands of the second half contradict too grossly the eulogies of the beginning." (André Gide and the Crisis of Modern Thought, 265) And formal literary questions also reflected the general nature of the world at mid-century, according to Mann. The problems with art found correspondence in the dilemmas of identity and life in both democracies as well as totalitarianism. In the biography chapter "Fugue," Mann discusses the structure of the modern novel and discovered its crisis. He finds the current novel's particular form lacking and in need of renewal: "There is a crisis of the novel as there is a crisis in economics or in psychology. New patterns, new approaches must be defined and tested." (André Gide and the Crisis of Modern Thought, 178) Mann sees Gide's contribution to the development of the novel in his concern for moral and social issues, a concern he misses in Proust or Joyce and other proponents and representatives of literary modernism. It is the combination of these problems with the contrapuntal form of the novel which is

Gide's hallmark, not any particularly radical new experimentation. Mann considers Gide both a moralist and an artist compared to Proust and Joyce, for example. Gide's Les Faux-monnayeurs Mann calls a fugue, not a symphony, for example, but the themes treated are of the most urgent nature. Moreover, Gide's Journal is "not only the most valid and conscientious self-analysis in modern literature, but also the liveliest survey." (André Gide and the Crisis of Modern Thought, 168) Mann suggests that Gide's "most intimate experiences mirror and at times anticipate the general trend of intellectual motions," another reason he found Gide to be representative and worthy of emulation. (André Gide and the Crisis of Modern Thought, 168) Mann thus appears to have felt he was mostly influenced by Gide for reasons having to do with literature and less with sexuality and politics.

b. Mann's Political and Sexual Identities in His Autobiographies

Mann's two autobiographies in German (Kind dieser Zeit in 1932 and Der Wendepunkt in 1942) and one in English (The Turning Point in 1949) stem from three periods in which we may examine his identity: from childhood through his early twenties; from his exile years; from his induction into the United States Army, when he included his exile years; and from a post-war vantage point from which he viewed his whole life. In the three works, Mann discussed sexuality, homosexuality, political matters, and questions of innovation and tradition in literature and literary taste. The three works reflect his

development towards a sense of his social-self identity. All three begin with descriptions of his childhood and youth: the latter two, written after World War II had begun, clearly show his development into a political writer and activist.

Mann felt that he had to become popular, and he did what he could to achieve fame while he was still young. He wrote that he "had to become famous." (Kind dieser Zeit, 10) He was aware that his status as son of Thomas Mann would cause him problems: "Von nun an war ich in den Augen einer 'literarischen Welt,' . . . der naseweise Sohn eines berühmten Vaters, der sich nicht entblödet, den Vorteil seiner Geburt geschäftstüchtig und reklamesüchtig auszunutzen." (Wendepunkt, 149) One link between the three works is in their depiction of the role of Mann's mentors. He describes a literary "Pantheon" of writers he sought to emulate, almost as though he were refuting his father's influence by listing their names and describing the effect of their works on his life and writing.

Mann's first autobiography offers clues as to how his life would later develop. Kind dieser Zeit was published already at the young age of twenty-six. Mann focussed on his childhood in this work, and his sexual awakening was described in terms of difficulty, his sense of difference being highlighted. For Mann, writing about his life was like writing a treatise on identity, because throughout his autobiographies he always had his own concept of himself in mind. He did this in several ways: through reasoning why he had certain mentors, by placing himself into the social and artistic thought of the time, and by often choosing to address and involve the reader directly, including use of the first-person plural narrative form. To Mann, a literary life included the development of the

philosophical thought of the writer. In his second autobiography The Turning Point, written in 1941-1942 in English while in American exile, Mann put the identity questions in the language of "searching for a way," which was the title of a collection of his writings published in 1931. Mann's view of his social-self identity can be found in many places in the autobiography, both where Mann's turn toward the political occurred (in 1933) as well as earlier. In Kind dieser Zeit, for example, he recounted his growing awareness of political events, as well as the firing of the Manns' domestic servant for allegedly stealing, which showed his realization of class differences.

For his third autobiography, Mann relied on the two previous works, but he expanded them to include his reactions to the war and his feelings about the future. To Kroll, the form of autobiography presents the ideal Gidean "Ideenroman" and the "Roman des Nebeneinanders," because it allows abstract ideas to be discussed concretely and exemplified by life events, and because Mann remembers incidents in his life and wrote about them as a chain of continuity.[111] But the changes Mann made between the English second autobiography and the third German version turned it more into a documentary than a novel. Paradoxically, in this most self-oriented of literary genres, Mann worked through to the third version's realization that he had to serve the broader collective, and his writing had to contain a socio-politically relevant aspect. According to Susanne Klöss, the change at the end of Der Wendepunkt reflects a "Wechsel der Identität zum Menschen 'in der Aktion' zum Schreiben der Gegenwart."[112] The ending of Der Wendepunkt, with its diary form, centers the work in the present and gives it an unusual immediacy that differs significantly from the other two autobiographies.

In Der Wendepunkt, Mann emphasizes the dichotomy between the interests of the individual and the collective. This version is also the most comprehensive, as it comprises summaries of both preceding works. Mann's striving for an alliance to defeat fascism was carried over into the postwar period to become a vision of Russian and American cooperation that was, however, not to materialize. But this yearning was not only on the political level. It was all-encompassing in life, and even had its basis in the Bible: "Der Beruf des Erziehers, wie Paulus ihn auffaßte und auszuüben suchte, besteht darin, in jeder Individualität das ihr immanente Gute, das ihr eigentümliche Gesetz zu stärken und zu entwickeln ('Werde, der du bist!'), gleichzeitig aber dem einzelnen seine Abhängigkeit vom Kollektiv, seine Verantwortung gegenüber der Gemeinschaft einzuprägen." (Wendepunkt, 103) Mann sought to overcome his outsider status by affirming group identifications and identities. The themes of the individual and the social collective run through Der Wendepunkt. By writing his final autobiography, Mann showed how he had changed and how he needed the writing to reassure himself of his standpoint. In Mann's retrospective view of his development, he thought that by joining a collective he could move beyond his position as an outsider: "Es gab . . . nur eine Gefahr, vor der mir graute: ausgeschlossen zu sein vom kollektiven Abenteuer, nicht teilzuhaben am Gemeinschaftserlebnis. Es gibt keine demütigendere, keine traurigere Rolle als die des Außenseiters. So stark ist der Herdeninstinkt im Menschen, daß er jedes Leid den Martern der Einsamkeit vorzieht." (Wendepunkt, 54) The feeling of complete freedom which he enjoyed in his early adult years now comes into contact and conflict with his later life and work. He is searching for meaning, and thought he found it in serving an indeterminate group, or society at large:

"Überdrüssig der Freiheit: überdrüssig der Einsamkeit. Sehnsucht nach Gemeinschaft. Der Wunsch, mich einzuordnen, zu *dienen*!" (Wendepunkt, 438)

There is a noticeable difference in Mann's worldview and experience from that of his father, not least because Klaus and his generation had greater opportunities to see the world. Klaus writes that he began to feel like the prodigal son, and he recalls his father telling him "Viel Glück, mein Sohn, und komm heim, wenn du elend bist!" (Wendepunkt, 177) Much of Klaus's fiction expresses similar sentiments. His short story "Der Traum des verlorenen Sohnes von der Heimkehr," with its juxtaposition of symbols from his childhood past and his adult present, exemplifies the division Mann felt in his own life between the two periods of his life, and how he tried to overcome the nostalgiac sense of loss of place and home by travelling. Klaus's first travel book, Rundherum, written with Erika, has an autobiographical quality. Klaus's description of the difference between New York and America on the one hand and Germany and Europe on the other illustrates well his identity issues. He compares Americans with Europeans: "nach dem Gesetz erotischer Dialektik ziehen die zwei unvermeidlicherweise einander an, der strahlend gesunde Athlet und der introvierte Intellektuelle." (Wendepunkt, 207)

If travel was one way to seek and establish identity, writing was yet another means, and an activity that could even be left for posterity that could then function as his own kind of progeny. Just as Mann's "Kindernovelle" was not unlike a kind of procreation, his other fiction writing also played that role for him: "Von mir kommen keine Kinder, nur Bücher, ein melancholisch-insuffizienter Ersatz. Aber wenn man schon nichts zur Vermehrung der Menschheit tut, so will man die armen Buben kommender

Epochen doch wenigstens mit einiger interessanter Lektüre versorgen . . ." (Wendepunkt, 392)

The confessional nature of autobiographies is an integral element to their success. Mann reveals more of himself in Der Wendepunkt than in The Turning Point. The reasons for the difference might be found in the disparate attitudes towards sexuality in the United States compared to Germany; another contributing factor for his candor in the German version might be his pending induction into the American army. Important issues of self-censorship, like the disclaimer he wrote for Mephisto, arise when one considers these two texts, so similar and yet quite different. The Turning Point is more objective and Mann generalizes more there than in Der Wendepunkt. To add to the textual confusion there was also apparently some posthumous censoring done by Erika Mann. Foucault's idea that confession and the need to communicate the history of one's own sexuality shows the very consequences of that practice of confession.[113] In the west, he contends, society extracts confessions over sexual practices in order to exert inner forms of control and self-censorship. Thus the discourse of sexuality participates unwittingly in its own coercive limitations. It is evident that Mann's ambiguous relationship with the United States, in addition to pragmatism in joining the army and along with the public puritanism in the United States at the time, might have hindered his giving more thorough views on sexual identity in the English version.

In Kind dieser Zeit, Mann claims to have read Bertha von Suttner's pacifist novel Die Waffen nieder! as a young boy, remembering how it complemented his limited contact with the realities of World War I and helped to shape his ideas. But Mann's political

transformation, toward more activism and interest in world affairs, appears throughout Der Wendepunkt. And already in The Turning Point in 1942, Mann had written about the writer's responsibility towards the society in which they lived, even if that meant compromising utopian ideals: " . . . certainly no one system could be a perfect one, but writers need to stand in for ones that are closest to an 'absolute truth'." (Turning Point, 420)

Political Identity

Before the National Socialist takeover in Germany, Mann had not had much interest in political issues, and he did not give much thought to Germany's position in Europe or the world, nor did he think about the fate of the Weimar Republic. In his childhood and teens, writing was more important to him, and he knew that his family was wealthy enough not to be too greatly affected by the inflation. He found politics quite removed from his concerns as a young writer who, at age twenty, could look forward to a long and prolific career. Mann shared many Weimar writers' disdain for the political and social spheres: "Politik war nutzlos und deprimierend; ich lehnte es ab, mich mit ihr zu beschäftigen. Was wußte ich von so entscheidenden Ereignissen wie der Besetzung des Rhein- und Ruhrgebietes durch die Allierten? . . . Es machte wenig Unterschied, ob unser Taschengeld zwanzig Pfennig oder zwanzig Mark betrug: Für Papier zum Schreiben langte es immer." (Wendepunkt, 84)

Until 1933, Mann had not given much thought to politics. His identity and sense of himself as a privileged son of a renowned writer had shielded him from the lower classes, and his schooling was either at home or away in the countryside at one of the two private schools he and Erika were sent to attend. He was well aware of the way his early dabbling in the political realm might be viewed by more seasoned veterans of political conflicts: "Ich aber glaubte lange -- bis zum Jahre 1933, um genau zu sein --, daß das Politische sich gleichsam mit der linken Hand erledigen ließe . . . Eher aus einem naiven Pflichtgefühl heraus als aus Ehrgeiz widmete ich meine 'Freizeit' den entscheidenden Problemen der Epoche. Wie sollte mein Beitrag überzeugend und wirkungsvoll sein? Er war nicht mit Leiden bezahlt." (Wendepunkt, 212) Suddenly faced with exile and an uncertain future, Mann realized the gravity of the situation. From 1933 on, he wrote about political issues with greater confidence, and was read seriously in exile circles, even if some considered his writings sometimes to lack a thoughtful and intellectual tone.

Mann gradually became conscious of Europe's geopolitical dilemmas. His travels had afforded him the opportunity to compare Europe and Germany with other continents, a chance his father had not had, as he had only travelled within Europe until his exile. "Die Begegnung mit den enormen Weiten Amerikas und Asiens brachte mir zum Bewußtsein, daß Europa nicht die Welt ist und daß Europa seine Stellung in der Welt verlieren muß, wenn es fortfährt, sich in selbstmörderischem Bruderzwist zu erschöpfen und zu zerfleischen." (Wendepunkt, 206) He gave the idea of a united and peaceful Europe an esthetic emphasis. His admission of his utopian yearnings clarifies some of his exile writings, and their political nature. He viewed Europe with a mixture of nostalgia

and hopeful idealism, which made the increasing popularity of fascism in many countries and the developing polarization of the continent all the more painful: "Europa! Diese drei Silben wurden mir zum Inbegriff des Schönen, Erstrebenswerten, zum inspirierenden Antrieb, zum politischen Glaubensbekenntnis und moralisch-geistigen Postulat." (Wendepunkt, 203)

After the end of the Second World War, Mann set about to resume his autobiography in German, and had to express his identity in order to do so. He describes his identity as something that is at once given, real, and accurate, but also contains wishful thoughts. He imagined himself as he would like to be or like to have been, thus continuing the idealism from his exile years. In conceptualizing the new autobiography he was to write, based on the previous works but at the same time expanding and revising them, Mann tried to imagine he was writing another person's biography. He sought to envision how this person's story might appear: "Die Geschichte eines Intellektuellen zwischen zwei Weltkriegen . . . innig -- aber erfolglos -- darum bemüht, den Anschluß an irgendeine Gemeinschaft zu finden, sich irgendeiner Ordnung einzufügen: immer schweifend, immer ruhelos, beunruhigt, umgetrieben, immer auf der Suche . . . die Geschichte eines Individualisten, dem vor der Anarchie fast ebensosehr graut wie vor der Standardisierung, der 'Gleichschaltung,' der 'Vermassung;' die Geschichte eines Schriftstellers, dessen primäre Interessen in der ästhetisch-religiös-erotischen Sphäre liegen, der aber unter dem Druck der Verhältnisse zu einer politisch verantwortungsbewußten, sogar kämpferischen Position gelangt . . ." (Wendepunkt, 425) Although Mann was not a communist ("Ich bin kein Kommunist und bin nie einer gewesen" [Wendepunkt, 327-328]), he did not identify

as an anti-communist either, even after the war, when many from the left spoke out against the Soviet Union. He was against nationalism, because he had seen first hand where a rabid nationalism had led that had distorted what he felt were true reasons for patriotism and positive national sentiment. He saw as his only other alternative a broad, Pan-European solution ("Ich war gegen den Nationalismus -- wie hätte ich nicht für Paneuropa sein sollen?" [Wendepunkt, 209]). Later, however, he realized that there were more than just two possibilities, that Europe could include Russia and that a socialist humanism might be possible or would at least be worth seeking. During the war after America's entry, Mann had "dreams of an alliance between Moscow and Paris, London, and Washington that could hold even after the war" and that would assure a lasting peace. (Turning Point, 423) Four years later Mann would come to despair over the impossibility of such an alliance because of new postwar realities.

Sexual Identity

Mann returned often to the topic of sexuality in his autobiographies. He attempted to place his own concept of sexuality into its social place. This endeavor necessarily led him to wonder about his generation's idealization of sexual freedom and liberty, and that naturally caused him to consider the role of the youth movement on his identity and thinking about sexual matters. Mann was considered a spokesperson for German youth, and he sought to have other non-Germans understand the newly felt sexual liberation of

the German youth of the 1920s. He wrote about the youth movement in the 1920s: "Ich habe manchmal versucht, das Wesen, die Bedeutung dieses höchst kuriosen, typisch deutschen Phänomens außerhalb des deutschen Sprach- und Kulturgebietes plausibel zu machen. Es ist hoffnungslos." (Wendepunkt, 100) Such thoughts show us as how inextricably wound together Mann viewed his national and sexual identities. The homoerotic component of the youth movement combined with certain other aspects, such as idolatry of nature, to create a specifically German cultural phenomenon.

Mann did, however, realize that there were elements within this German youth movement whose eroticism combined with reactionary aims, and whose notions of body he considered too closely related to political reaction. In an interesting and revealing turn of phrase, Mann writes about how he came to perceive some of these conservative impulses by describing his political naivete as well as his feelings of erotic bliss: "Damals freilich, in den Tagen politischer Unschuld und erotischer Exaltation, fehlte uns jede Vorstellung von den gefährlichen Aspekten und Potentialitäten unserer puerilen Sexualmystik. Immerhin konnte ich nicht umhin zu vermerken, daß unsere 'Körpersinn'-Philosophie zuweilen von recht unerfreulichen Elementen vorgespannt und ausgebeutet wurde. Die Glorifizierung physischer Tugenden verlor für mich jeden Reiz und jede Überzeugungskraft, wenn sie sich mit einem militant-heroischen Pathos verband, was leider häufig der Fall war." (Wendepunkt, 121)

Mann was also wary of the increase in the influence of the mass sports establishment on Weimar society. Mann found not only reactionary political messages in the public subtext of collective sports experiences, but he also felt that they contained anti-

intellectual and anti-spiritual attitudes. He writes of mass sports as symptoms of what he regarded as social malaise, and yet again sees himself as an outsider because of his lack of interest in these manifestations. "Übrigens hatte ich auch durchaus kein Verständnis für den Sportfanatismus, den wir als ein weiteres Symptom -- vielleicht das wichtigste! -- der damaligen anti-spirituellen Stimmung betrachten müssen. Was fanden die Leute nur so aufregend und wundervoll an Boxkämpfen und Fußball-Matches? Ich begriff es nicht . . ." (Wendepunkt, 121)

In his autobiography, Mann relates incidents from each period of his life in which his sexual identity is given expression. Already as a young pupil Mann had an attraction to a male fellow classmate. The object of his attraction is uncomplicated and has no problems with his identity, unlike Mann. The problematic nature of Mann's homosexual identity is foretold here: Mann dares not understand himself, and the signs of his erotic attraction are called symbols. He would try to deny the consequences of his desire periodically throughout his life and work. He describes the enviable status of that schoolmate Uto: "Es gab keine Probleme für ihn. Mir aber wurde alles zum Problem -- undurchdringlich, beklemmend. Ich wagte es nicht, die Winke und Zeichen meines Schicksals zu begreifen." (Wendepunkt, 123) Mann's status, however, as an outsider, was something of which he gradually became aware. He equated fantasy with denial of his homosexuality. In this passage, he discerns his minority status, without really being cognizant yet of the social movement taking place in Germany for equal rights for homosexuals: "In kindlichen Phantasien versuchte ich, das wahre Gesetz meiner Natur zu verleugnen, das mir für immer verbietet, der bemitleidenswerten, beneidenswerten

Mehrheit anzugehören." (Wendepunkt, 54)

Homoeroticism in Mann takes on a paradoxical quality in these works. On the one hand, it is something that he fears and denies; on the other, it is a phenomenon that not only sets him apart from the majority, but that can also serve as a source of artistic inspiration, especially if it is harnessed and not expressed. Indeed Mann claimed that he "aufhebe und vorbehalte . . . diesen Gegenstand für künstlerische Gestaltung." (Wendepunkt, 351)

But homoeroticism and homosexual identity are also seen to play a role in Mann's fascination with the death instinct. At times, Eros and Thanatos merge in his works and life into one drive. The beauty in death and funeral ceremonies are integral elements in his attraction to them; his death wish, outwardly expressed in several places in the autobiographies, is quite strong and dominant. (Wendepunkt, 440) He depicts his reaction to the death of the baker's apprentice in his autobiography, an event also recounted in "Kindernovelle:" Seeing this dead boy, with both himself and the boy at such a young age, made a deep impression on Mann. He found the death appealing, and the boy displayed on the bier was a delicate, special body surrounded by candles and flowers, a wax figure. (Wendepunkt, 46)

In the autobiographies, Mann's preoccupation with death is more evident than in the fictional works. Near the end of Der Wendepunkt, he describes his death wish with honesty and clarity, without giving a reason. He was probably suffering from withdrawal or other symptoms of drug use at the time. He connected death, desire, and the human condition: "Tod und Lust werden eins. Alles Geschaffene will Lust, alle Lust will den

Tod." (Wendepunkt, 105)[114] He wrote about the erotic nature of the union with God, a view which shows the effects of his interest in mysticism. (Turning Point, 229) As early as 1939, fully ten years before his suicide, he had stated: "Ich *kann* und *will* nicht sehr lange leben. Irgendwann werde ich den Tod doch wieder auf dem holden, schaurigen Umweg über die Droge suchen . . . Dies wird nicht 'Schwäche' sein. Ich werde es *wollen*." (Tagebücher 1938 bis 1939, 95)

c. Mann's Literary Journals Die Sammlung and Decision

In the two journals he edited and published, first from Amsterdam, Die Sammlung, from 1933 to 1935, and in New York, Decision, 1940-1941, Mann saw his role as an organizer of antifascist opposition among intellectuals: in these endeavors he established further his political identity as a spokesperson and representative German and European. His sexual identity was also affected by his work on these journals, as it offered him a task that could distract him and displace his energies away from troubling questions about his own amorous relationships.

Like Gide, who co-founded the publishing house Nouvelle Revue Française, Mann thrived on his publishing activities. When he founded Die Sammlung in June, 1933 in Amsterdam, he looked forward to its possible uniting force among the exiles. Fritz Landshoff, publisher at Kiepenheuer and in exile editor at Querido, recalled: "Klaus hatte

mit dem Namen, den er seiner Zeitschrift gegeben hatte, klar zum Ausdruck gebracht, daß er die Sammlung aller Richtungen des Exiles zum Ziel hatte."[115] According to Kroll, Mann desired that Die Sammlung be " . . . möglichst vielseitig und repräsentativ."[116]

In the Netherlands, the publishers of German books could look forward to a relatively large and regular readership, for there was interest in everything from the classics to the modern writers. But Mann was unable to capitalize on the potential of the publication for several reasons: a dispute erupted with the first issues of the journal regarding its political stance, and Mann, in despair over his personal life, did not have the energy to harmonize the conflicting interests and contributors.

The scandal surrounding the reactions to the first issue of Die Sammlung, on September 1, 1933, has been treated elsewhere.[117] Heinrich Mann's contribution led to several others (René Schickele, Alfred Döblin, and Thomas Mann) having their names removed from the list of contributors, out of fear for their publishers in Germany or family members still there. The scandal shows how Klaus Mann's political identity was formed in part by the public criticism and loathing of such a political journal, about which was said that it misrepresented itself to its contributors as to its political nature.

Mann's work on Die Sammlung and his antifascist publishing and writing activities were also related to certain realizations he had regarding his sexual identity. He saw that these activities gave certain meanings to his life that went beyond his own personal concerns, as he was not going to be having children and raising a family. Mann thought back over his relationship with his sister Erika, and noted that it was time that he met a partner instead of relying on her company: "Das Gesetz unserer Bindung würde es also

gestatten, daß auch ich mich noch nach einer anderen Seite binde. Ich überdenke all die mißglückten oder halbgeglückten Versuche. In einigen Fällen: deutlich das Scheitern am Sexuellen . . . Die so viele anderen. Da es 'Pech' in diesen letzten Dingen kaum gibt, muß eine Schuld, ein Versagen bei mir sein. Eine Erklärung: daß ich selten -- immer seltener -- auf Schwuhle [sic] reagiere; das Zusammenleben mit im Grund Normalen auf die Dauer unmöglich . . . Sogar bei HANS muß ich versuchen, die Schuld für das Versagen irgendwo bei mir zu suchen." (Tagebücher 1931-1933, 153) Mann felt a crisis in his personal life at the same time that the crisis at the beginning of the emigration reached its zenith. His self-loathing and blame, so apparent in the above diary entry, also find their fictional representation in his "Horst Wessel," where he hints at the connection between Nazism and homosexuality in Wessel's milieu. ("Die Mythen aus der Unterwelt -- Horst Wessel: Die Texte aus dem Nachlaß," 116) Now, in his crisis, Mann probably felt that his editorial work would compensate for what he felt was lacking in his sexual identity. A letter from Wilhelm Herzog to Mann also demonstrates how Mann might have perceived his work on the journals as creating progeny: "Sie fühlen sehr richtig . . . wie fragwürdig alles um uns herum geworden ist. Selbst das kaum noch *geborene Kind, die Zeitschrift* [italics mine].[118]

Mann's founding of Decision was altogether different from Die Sammlung: in New York, his journal was not connected to a publishing house as it had been in Amsterdam (to the Querido Verlag). Decision, a review of "free culture," could not claim the patronage of Aldous Huxley, Gide, and Thomas Mann as Die Sammlung had done. Instead, Decision was Mann's attempt to bring out a literary journal that would not be as strongly

identified with the exile community. With the failure of Decision after only one year, Mann's political identity was to evolve further as he enlisted for the United States army and was finally inducted in 1943, a year after the journal had ended. Mann would be returning to Europe two years later.

Chapter Four

Political Development and Sexual Identity in Mann's Novels and His Plays Anja und Esther and Der siebente Engel

After placing Klaus Mann in the context of some of the intellectual and political currents of his time, this chapter continues examining patterns of political and sexual identity that recur in his works. The focus is on two of Mann's plays, Anja und Esther and Der siebente Engel, and most of Mann's novels, including Mephisto, Der fromme Tanz, Der Vulkan, and Flucht in den Norden.

For most writers, whether they treat homosexual themes or not, the question of sexual identity would appear to be irrelevant. But even that assumption has been challenged, and application of such studies as Eve Sedgwick's Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire or Jonathan Katz's The Invention of Heterosexuality to an ostensibly straight novelist could yield interesting findings. Klaus Mann's identity cannot be termed either gay or queer, because those two terms had not yet reached common usage during his own lifetime. All the same, most critics agree that the question of sexual identity occupies a central place in his writing. Stefan Zynda's Sexualität bei Klaus Mann is a recent attempt to explore homosexual themes in Mann's drama and fiction by focussing on sexuality in Mann's works. Certainly one cannot consider his novels, plays, and short stories as purely realistic: as I demonstrated in chapter two, his fictional creations are too ambiguously realistic, combining irrational elements such as laughter with concrete imagery, leading to his own style.

During Mann's lifetime the options for homosexuals to lead fulfilling and open lives were limited, in spite of the fact that by the 1920s the subculture had already become substantially commercialized. In Berlin, the Eldorado nightclub had become one of the centers of gay life, and the city had dozens of gay and lesbian establishments, but only very few could lead a more open homosexual life. Mann's motivation to write had, as Kroll emphasizes, a didactic aspect. His views on the identity questions of the time were, however, rather conventional, which affords us an opportunity to understand them through his works. He wrote many essays specifically about German and European identity. However, he rarely wrote about his German-Jewish ancestry; apparently he felt that his ethnic affiliation was not relevant to his secularized upbringing and family life. Yet many of his novels conclude with visions of angels as agents of redemption. His religious and sexual identifications were intertwined. In his thirties he once considered converting to Catholicism. Mann rarely hid his homosexuality, and wrote extensively about gay themes in his fiction and his drama. In his essay on homosexuality and fascism, he treated homosexuality in detail in its relation to German fascism, taking the political Left to task for what he perceived as scapegoating. But in his induction interview for the United States Army, he denied that he was homosexual, claiming that those were probably rumors arising from the short story "Wälsungenblut" that his father had written decades earlier. In a fictional meditation on personal identity in general written during a period that overlaps with the last two decades of Mann's life, Robert Musil's Mann ohne Eigenschaften addresses what can happen when identities proliferate, how meaningless they themselves become. Every person "hat mindestens neun Charaktere, einen Berufs-, einen National-,

einen Staats-, einen Klassen-, einen geographischen, einen Geschlechts-, einen bewußten, einen unbewußten und vielleicht noch einen privaten Charakter."[119]

Homosexual identity was not given significant direct literary expression in modern German literature until the social movements and the sexual revolutions of the 1960s, at least a decade after Mann had died. Therefore if one is seeking writers who touched on homosexual themes, it is necessary to return to the early and mid-century to find writers who were treating the nascent topic of homosexual identity during Mann's lifetime. The list of such writers would include Christa Winsloe and Hans Henny Jahnn among others. A survey of Mann's relationship to the identity issues of his period also requires attention to other areas of identity. These include his opinions of his precursors in literature, and the degree to which he felt he was an epigone of a gay aesthetics or sensibility; of women in society and women writers; of the position of religious and ethnic minorities, whether assimilated or non-assimilated, or of Europeans and their identifications as Europeans or nationals of particular countries; of political dissidents in any system and those who think differently, either on the margins or conformists; and of his decision to become a soldier and how it fit into his sexual self-conception. All of these identity issues were part of Mann's sexual identity, although they were not framed in the language of identity. Instead Mann explores more generally how the idea and possibility of community existed for himself and his generation. The term community in his writings then functions as a kind of photographic negative to identity.[120]

One explanation for how the theme of homosexuality in literature illuminates identity questions is that it has political and social aspects wherein the private and the

public intersect. Twentieth-century interpretation of private desires, emotions, attractions, and acts, reflected in the slogan that the personal is the political and in the adage that "homosexuality is the vice that dare not speak its name" shows that gay identity overlaps with general personal identity questions. Härle is right to emphasize the communicative aspect of homosexuality and its resultant depiction in literary forms in his study of what he terms "male femininity" or the homosexual component in Thomas and Klaus Mann. Härle writes that homosexuality is a phenomenon in tension with the homosexual reality of individuals, but he sees in that tension that necessarily leads the subject into a crisis its "utopische[r] Verweisungscharakter."[121] Härle continues: "Verwiesen wird auf die Utopie einer Identität, die weder tautologisch erstarrt, noch ins Unbestimmte zerfließt: auf Identität als Prozeß, der ein Prozeß fortdauernder Selbstverständigung, Kommunikation also, ist."[122] Although Härle recognizes the importance of communication to gay identity in his chapter on identity, he does not take the idea a step further to incorporate social or political reasons for the identity issues. His omission of studies on the history of sexuality by Foucault and others illustrates how their reception in Germany has been negligible.[123]

Some critics have suggested that literary productivity is often intimately related to sexuality, the authors' as well as their fictional figures'.[124] Much current psychoanalytic criticism, by such literary scholars as John Brenkman, among others, has focussed on the sexual motivation behind fiction writing. Brenkman suggests, for example, that literary texts offer an alternative path to truth, and has shown how heterosexual assumptions permeate psychoanalytic discourse.[125] Concurrent scientific paradigm-shifts in the twentieth century reflect a change in emphasis from psychological to sociological

categories, and finally to a merger into socio-psychological concepts.

During the Weimar Republic, Klaus Mann was considered one of Germany's enfants terribles and a scourge of the bourgeoisie; after the demise of the republic in 1933 he was to become a vocal antifascist and leading exile publisher and spokesperson. Yet his development from the one role to the other has never been sufficiently explored. Crucial events and his reaction to them, along with his choice of literary themes, offer clues to his turn toward politics. In addition, in his essays and speeches Mann explains his thoughts on politics, explanations that can be read as his continuing search for literary subjectivity and his own agency to effect political change.

The interdependence of political concerns and sexual identity were the forces that motivated Mann to write. This relationship is evident in his novels and short stories from Alexander (1930) to Mephisto (1936) and "Vergittertes Fenster" (1937). In the first of these works, Mann created a protagonist (Alexander the Great) who fails because of thwarted homosexual love, but whose failure nonetheless leads to a worldwide kingdom; in the latter two stories, he created one protagonist (Hendrik Höfgen) who submitted to the object of his desire as to political power itself, and a second protagonist (Ludwig II of Bavaria) who personified power, yet still failed because of his homosexual desires. In each of the three novels from exile discussed in this chapter (Mephisto, Der Vulkan, and Flucht in den Norden), I examine the motivation of the protagonists for making political decisions, and relate those reasons to Mann's own identity issues.

Mann viewed his exile mostly in political rather than racial, religious or ethnic terms. It is not surprising, then, that political and exile themes dominated some (but not

all) of his fiction written in exile.

The political situation in Germany had changed considerably by the end of the 1920s from the early years of the Weimar Republic. Mann was one of the first writers to warn about impending fascism in Germany, and about the nature of Mussolini's dictatorship in Italy. By 1930, the Nazis had achieved significant victories and were represented in the parliament.

In such essays as "Der sozialistische Humanismus," Klaus Mann never tired of describing his political ideal as socialist humanism, a notion that included elements of socialism and liberalism in a progressive and secular society. ("Der sozialistische Humanismus") To Mann, "socialist humanism" would look like this: "er (der sozialistische Humanismus) wird alle Kräfte unseres Herzens und unseres Geistes beschäftigen. Er ist komplex, reich an Eigenschaften und an Möglichkeiten. Er schließt nichts aus -- nur das der Gesellschaft Schädliche. Er begünstigt und fördert das Wachstum des Einzelnen. Er kommt nicht als der Zerstörer, sondern als der Erhalter des besten europäischen Erbes, das er vorm Zugriff des wirklich zerstörenden Faschismus bewahrt." (Auf der Suche, 118)

Mann's political opinions have been characterized as ranging from radically leftist to conservatively bourgeois, depending on which writings are cited and which period of his life is considered. His political radicalization corresponded to the increasing extremes of the political spectrum in the Weimar Republic. By the time World War II was ending, Mann felt that his position as pariah or outcast had ended too, but immediate postwar political developments caused him to despair. From the 1920s to the 1940s it must have been difficult for Mann to see himself undergo the change from spokesperson of his

generation to his role as exile writer and publisher who, when he returned to Europe after the war, found he had few readers. He was disappointed by many writers of his generation, such as Ernst Jünger and, for very different reasons, those a generation older, such as Gottfried Benn and Stefan Zweig. As late as 1931 he still had hope for those of his own generation, which he expressed in such essays as "Die Jugend und Paneuropa," published in May of that year, in which he sought to persuade them of the value of Coudenhove-Kalergi's Pan-Europe ideas.

More than most of his contemporaries, Mann's political development and identity were affected in the Weimar years because of the attention he received as Thomas Mann's son. During the waning years of the Weimar Republic, from about 1930 on, Klaus's literary interests increasingly included political themes. The topic of social responsibility can be traced through his work after the 1920s. Before he turned toward political or politicized literature, Mann had shared with many other writers an aesthetic sensibility of antibourgeois rebellion based on a flight from responsibility. His early plays reflect the disenchantment of his generation with nearly all political themes. He was indeed an early member of Kurt Hiller's anti-authoritarian group "Neuer Klub," but he did not become politically aware until the late 1920s.

Both political activity and writing gave meaning to Mann's life, according to thoughts he committed to his diary. That meaning was in effect worked out through writing fiction and essays, and in his letters. He played a Cassandra role in the last days of the Weimar Republic by warning what a Nazi government would mean for Germany. In exile his two journals Die Sammlung and Decision extended his anti-fascist activities.

After the war ended and the new East-West division emerged, Mann was one of the first to understand the impending anticommunist hysteria in the United States. With postwar changes in the United States, Mann sensed a new threat to intellectuals and freedom of thought in general. Mann's writings, particularly his essays, from the period before Nazism can be read now for what they portend of a future that is now the past. Klaus had been one of the first to convince Thomas Mann of the intentions of the Nazi regime.

The writings of Erich Fromm and Karen Horney, also exiles from Nazism, can help to illuminate certain dimensions of Mann's fiction from the mid-1930s and beyond. Fromm wrote Die Furcht vor der Freiheit in 1941, and a chapter on "Fluchtmechanismen" developed his thoughts on the structure of the authoritarian character. He was interested in the rationalizations and dispositions of people who lived under fascist or totalitarian regimes (although Mann did not). Flight can either be towards a positive freedom, or a regression that seeks to minimize the abyss between oneself and world: "Der erste Fluchtmechanismus . . . ist die Tendenz, die Unabhängigkeit des eigenen Selbst aufzugeben und es mit irgend jemand oder irgend etwas außerhalb seiner selbst zu verschmelzen, um sich auf diese Weise die Kraft zu erwerben, die dem eigenen Selbst fehlt. Es handelt sich also darum, neue 'sekundäre Bindungen' als Ersatz für die verlorenen primären Bindungen zu suchen."[126] Fromm's ideas offer insight into much of the way Mann depicted psychological motivation. They also offer a clue to his novel Mephisto, which treats Germany during the Nazi period, and especially into the protagonist Hendrik Höfgen's relationship to the more powerful figures of the general and the Führer; perhaps they can even explain the fervor with which Mann himself became

politically engaged. The insight is that Mann might have displaced or replaced other objects of his anger onto the Nazi state.

Tensions and Dualism of German Society

Thomas Mann had already described the antagonistic political forces at work in the Weimar Republic in his Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen (1918) and "Von deutscher Republik" (1922). Much has been written about the two opposing poles that were so often invoked to try to understand what was happening to German democracy in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Dualistic thinking had had a long tradition, and it was to return later in the division of West and East Germany, and to their societies' conceptions of the role of art and culture. But in the 1920s, the choices were between nationalism and possibly fascism on the one hand, and communism or bolshevism on the other. I hesitate to place socialism on either side because both sides claimed a "socialism" of their own definition.

Ferdinand Tönnies' Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft, published in 1887, had defined what were to become the basic social dichotomies in Germany for the next half century. Tönnies presented a dichotomy between forces for the most part nostalgic for a return to a sense of community based on *völkisch* or race-based and reactionary notions of regionalism, and forces of "Gesellschaft," who looked toward the future, embraced the metropolis, and sought progressive, leftist political solutions to contemporary problems.

Those proclaiming "Gemeinschaft" joined various groups in Weimar society that were anti-urban and even anti-technology. Other rival terms common at the time included "Seele" and "Geist," and "Körper" and "Geist," diametrically opposed notions standing for "community" and "society" respectively.

The literary manifestations of the two oppositional poles were often interpreted using these various terms, and in the world of "Gesellschaft" it was the literati who were most influential, whereas the "Gemeinschaft" held poets or "Dichter" in higher esteem. The term "Asphaltliterat" was used by conservative proponents of "Gemeinschaft" to attack writers who chose urban themes, particularly if their setting was Berlin. The works of these urban authors were considered too journalistic or too modern in tone, or overly concerned with current political matters. This group of writers tended to admire French "*civilisation*".

Opposed to this group were the more conservative writers who strove for and appreciated traditional realistic styles, or at most neo-romanticism or a recycled symbolism. This group included the elitist Stefan George and his circle, who valued highly an esoteric estheticism that was at once supposedly antimodern, antidemocratic, and antiprogressive. It promoted notions of "Kultur" over the allegedly impersonal, unconnected values of civilization or "Gesellschaft." It was within his concept of this tradition of "Gesellschaft" that Mann, once in exile, sought his readership and found his place; before then, he had been more closely aligned with that latter group upholding their ideas of "Kultur." Mann's shift from Georgian estheticism to Heinrich Mannian politics is one of the interesting aspects of his development.

Mann's Partisanship: Antifascism and Noncommunism

Mann developed from an apolitical ambivalence to increasing support for the left wing of the political spectrum, culminating with his visit to the Soviet Union to attend an international writer's congress in 1934, the same year he was deprived of citizenship by Nazi Germany. He considered himself a liberal leftist and advocated what he termed "socialist humanism." He was a non-communist, but still felt that the danger was from the far right rather than from the far left: "Ich bin kein Kommunist und bin nie einer gewesen . . . Ich glaube, daß die orthodoxen Marxisten viele Fehler auf vielen Gebieten machen . . . Aber ich glaube nicht, daß der orthodoxe Marxismus die große Gefahr des Jahrhunderts repräsentiert." (Wendepunkt, 374)

During the final years of the Weimar Republic, Mann wrote several essays dealing with political issues. He spoke out against Ernst Jünger's effect on impressionable youth who had never experienced trench warfare in the First World War. He also wrote an open letter to Stefan Zweig, one of three such letters he composed. (The others were to Gottfried Benn and to Hermann Göring's wife, Emmy Sonnemann-Göring). In the essay "Jugend und Radikalismus: Eine Antwort an Stefan Zweig" (1930), Mann took a risky political stand by criticizing Zweig's tentative advocacy of conciliation with the Nazi dictatorship. (Heute und morgen, 9-11) According to Bernd Weil, this bold move helped Mann to escape from his image as son of a famous father.[127] And Elke Kerker points out that Klaus's position was precarious: "Bedenkt man die rechtlich ungesicherte Stellung

der Exilierten, so ist der Angriff Klaus Manns gegen die Politik der europäischen Mächte ein äußerst mutiges, von ehrlicher Überzeugung getragenes politisches Engagement."[128]

Love and Politics

In his novels written in exile, Mann frequently associated the theme of love with political activity. They are often the central themes of his fiction, especially in the last two decades of his life. Moreover, his readers, supporters, and critics noted the affinity between the two concepts. As mentioned earlier, Mann's oeuvre nearly always contain significant biographical detail.

The characters Marion and Kikjou from Der Vulkan (1939) and Karl from the short story "Letztes Gespräch" (1934) exemplify how love and politics are interrelated. Marion becomes a leading antifascist in Paris and later in the United States, after her lover Marcel Poiret falls in the Spanish Civil War. Kikjou devotes his political efforts to the memory of Martin Korella, his lover who died in exile. Karl in "Letztes Gespräch" leaves his lover to fight fascism.

Mattenklott's examination of Mann's essay "Homosexualität und Fascismus" probes the question of Mann's gay identity and is a preliminary attempt to ascertain how these themes take form in Mann's fiction.[129] Mattenklott suggests that Mann became such a vehement antifascist as a reaction to how close his feelings and art were to fascist aesthetics and how he had revered Gottfried Benn. Härle, who has written the most

insightful psychoanalytic study of Mann to date, necessarily focusses on sexuality in Mann's earlier fiction and plays, since in Mann's later fiction and essays he was moving away from his father's and family's influence and toward more political topics. His concentration on early childhood occurrences and developments reflects the limitations of that approach when one tries to account for later political viewpoints.

There was an ongoing symbiotic relationship between the two parts of his writing personality. Communicating through writing allowed him to strive for a synthesis of these identities. His sense of continuity with tradition was founded in literature. The answers to such questions as why he became such an ardent antifascist and why he was also anticommunist, what effect his trip around the world with Erika had on him, and what Heinrich Mann's and André Gide's influence was on him all seem to be rooted in his sense of sexual and political identity: Mann was an outsider who had had more opportunities than many his age to become more cosmopolitan in outlook, and to look to France and to the political left in identity issues.

Interpreting Klaus's antifascism as a mere rebellion against the father would be an oversimplification. Although he was aware of his conflict with his father, he never wrote that his father was anything worse than stern and cold. Of course much of his early writing was motivated by the wish to come out from his father's shadow, and several studies have convincingly demonstrated that aspect of Klaus's earlier works.[130] That motivation was artistically but not politically determined, and his rage against the elder generation was not as complete as, for example, Arnolt Bronnen's parricidal vision in his play Vatermord.[131]

The Role of the Author

Mann's second volume of short fiction was entitled Auf der Suche nach einem Weg. It included works that expressed themes of searching for meaning in life. Early in his life he wished to step out from the shadow of his father, the older generation, his family, and later, of the exile community.

In Foucault's essay "What Is an Author?," the author is seen as a constructed entity whose literary productions are separated from other writings;[132] for Mann, diary entries are as important in assessing the role he saw himself playing in his family, in literary circles, and in the exile community, as testimony by people who knew him. For example, in an interview Richard Plant, who worked for some time as Mann's personal secretary on the staff of the journal Decision in New York, stated that Klaus was always busy, almost hyperactive.[133] Although he and his sister Erika sometimes seemed arrogant, Plant pointed out that Klaus always had the interests and concerns of the exile community in mind, and pursued his goal of working for a post-fascist Germany with enthusiasm. Mann's prolific writing output (six novels, countless novellas, short stories, and essays) was a production that related to his sense of social-self identity, of an intellectual with a duty to comment on political and cultural matters. He remained aware of his privileged position in the upper-middle class, but still sought broader views in his political vision.

The Place of the Homosexual

In sexuality, interpersonal relations, communication, and visibility become parts of identity, especially homosexual identity. Mann realized that he was involved in kinship relationships as a sibling and son, in concerns of the state as a citizen of a democracy, however attenuated, and in questions of ethnicity and minority status, status central to Hirschfeld's claim for homosexuals as different beings in his theory of the "third sex."[134]

Mann did not appeal for a homosexual cause separate from general progressive forces in society as a whole. He viewed homosexuals as persons whose many other attributes were just as central to their social self-identities. His yearning for status as a subject functioning in the public sphere thus combined both aspects of sexual identity realization and political activism.

He also did not actively engage in the efforts for homosexual emancipation that occurred during the Weimar Republic, emanating mostly from Magnus Hirschfeld's Institute for Sexual Research, or from Adolf Brand's journal Der Eigene. But his opinions seem closer to Hirschfeld's views, which contained socialist visions similar to Mann's. Mann also notes on occasion in his diary that he had been reading Hirschfeld's publications. There were, however, still differences between Hirschfeld's theory and Mann's views on homosexuality. A strongly biological approach to the genesis of homosexuality was central to Hirschfeld's ideas, because he posited the theory that homosexual men and women actually embodied a third sex. Mann, on the other hand, viewed homosexuality more as a cultural occurrence, once claiming that its incidence was

greater in the northern European cultures of England and Germany.

Yet Mann did have definite views of where gays and lesbians could find a place within society. These ideas were described several times in his essays, most clearly in the essay on homosexuality and fascism discussed above, in which he asserted that homosexuals should be allowed to serve society in any capacity in which they can "so der Gemeinschaft nutzbar zu machen". ("Homosexualität und Fascismus," 137) He envisioned an emotional, social, and political community in which there would be room for everyone ("hier hat doch alles Platz"), his idea of community again based on his concept of a kind of socialist humanist society. ("Der Kampf um den jungen Menschen")

Mann's Views on Ernst Jünger, Gottfried Benn, and Expressionism

Klaus Mann's views on fellow writers and on the literary current of Expressionism reveal more about his political identity. In a comparison between Ernst Jünger and Klaus Mann, Armin Kerker concludes that there are more similarities between the two than had hitherto been assumed. Both were political writers whose rhetorical strategies in their fiction and non-fiction writings reflected similar techniques, according to Kerker, who concedes that their political goals were different. In a section entitled "Beginn einer Politisierung," Kerker demonstrates Mann's increasing politicization and his achieved subjectivity.[135] Kerker shows that the early Mann was characterized "von der

impressionistisch stilisierten Einsamkeit des in dieser Welt 'Unbehausten.'" According to Kerker, Mann's political development is marked by "wachsende Zunahme gesellschaftlicher Bewußtheit und der konsequenten Politisierung des ästhetischen Literaten Klaus Mann."[136] Although both Jünger and Mann were idealists and to a certain degree anti-rationalists, Mann, unlike Jünger, did not advocate an elite dictatorship, but instead proposed increased democratization of the Weimar Republic. Mann was particularly interested in how expressionist writers such as Hanns Johst could have "fallen for" National Socialism.

One of Mann's essay on Benn ("Gottfried Benn: Die Geschichte einer Verirrung"), however, displays a fear of his own proximity to Benn, because Mann had also embraced elements of irrationalism in literature and politics. The yearning of the expressionists and their generation for a new society was something that could be exploited by the new regime. In "Gottfried Benn oder Die Entwürdigung des Geistes," Mann suggests that Benn's new irrationalism is nothing new; what is new is his "hingerissenes Bekenntnis zum 'totalen Staat'" and the assertion that the people want "Züchtung." ("Gottfried Benn oder die Entwürdigung des Geistes," 40-43 in Zahnärzte und Künstler) Gottfried Benn even later defined his irrationalism this way: "dieser Siebenundzwanzigjährige hatte die Situation richtiger beurteilt, die Entwicklung der Dinge genau vorausgesehen, er war klardenkender als ich, meine Antwort war demgegenüber romantisch, überschwenglich, pathetisch."[137] Mann drew a distinction between rebellion and irrational defiance on the one hand, and total capitulation to a dictatorial power on the other. Mann also felt that Ernst Jünger, although not a Nazi Party member, had acquiesced to the wishes of the new

state in part because his writings had been appropriated by the Nazis.

The Prophetic Mann and Dreaming of Hitler

Mann actually did meet Hitler once, by coincidence, in a restaurant. But in his autobiography he recounted the many dreams in which Hitler appeared. The tone he chose to describe the German chancellor and "Führer" reveals as much as the impression itself of a coarse and repulsive figure. His dreams ("mit *schauerlicher* Lebhaftigkeit geträumt") included one in which Thomas Mann is driven to suicide by the Nazis. (Tagebücher 1931-1933, 41) The dream is recalled vividly, and the subject matter shows how closely Klaus identified his own family's situation with the political developments in Germany.[138]

For a time Mann dallied with the ideas of Graf Coudenhove-Kalergi for a united Europe that would offset fascism in individual countries as well as hold communism in check. But the omission of England and Russia from such a future worried Mann; he broke with the Pan-Europe supporters in his essay "Europa erwacht" of 1935. ("Coudenhove-Kalergi: 'Europa erwacht!'")

A year earlier, Mann again had seen himself as acting in the political world when his essay "Krieg und Saar" appealed to the Saarländers to vote against annexation by the Reich. Publication of that essay led to his expatriation on 13 November 1934. He wrote that he felt honored to be on the first "Ausbürgerungsliste," which again emphasizes how

he viewed his own political identity. Mann had predicted that the Saarländers would vote against annexation, and their vote for it was a rare example of his misjudgment in political matters. But he came to be considered a prophetic voice when what he predicted about the National Socialists began to become true.

Individual Love versus Social Duty and Obligation

From the beginning of Mann's exile, the themes of responsibility, duty, and obligation appear in his works. Kroll considers his oeuvre to be a treatment of beauty and morality that strives for a synthesis: those two themes are similar to my focus on the relationship between sexual identity and political zeal. To Kroll, Mann's works reflect a dichotomy between beauty, grounded in Mann's aestheticism, and morality. The moral impetus to his works can be found primarily in aspects of his political identity, as he was a political moralist. Standards of aesthetic beauty could then be related with Mann's sexual identity, as he at times portrayed the homosexual as almost an aesthetic construct, and homosexuality as an aesthetic experience. All four themes (beauty, morality, sexuality, and political awareness) involve responsibility in some way: either responsibility of the artist for the integrity of the work of art, or of the political activist for the social welfare, or of the homosexual for openness about one's sexuality. After the Second World War was over, Mann despaired: "Do the German people realize their responsibility? Do they repent their guilt? Are there any signs indicative of a moral and political awakening? What

will be Germany's future place and function within the family of European nations? What kind of role may the country be destined to play in the future drama of mankind?"[139] Commenting on his novella on Ludwig II of Bavaria, "Vergittertes Fenster," Mann wrote in his autobiography that "even if it is not a presumptuous story, the curious choice of material does seem to me to evidence a certain coarse audacity, which is not far from presumption. Because it still is somewhat curious when an author, who knows and recognizes his political and moral obligation, permits himself such an escapade, a cheerful excursion into the melancholic-aesthetic, into dear old familiar-morbid fairyland." (Turning Point, 370) Here Mann seems to be emphasizing how aesthetics differ from moral and political obligation. He felt as though he were allowing himself an extravagant luxury in his treatment of the aristocratic trimmings of a bygone era. Yet the novella can also be read as an appeal for humanity and the fallibility of power: the reader is made to sympathize with Ludwig II.

Mann was mostly concerned that his antifascist efforts be effective. He claimed that he had become interested in political matters even before his exile: "Eher aus einem naiven Pflichtgefühl heraus als aus Ehrgeiz widmete ich meine 'Freizeit' den entscheidenden Problemen der Epoche. Wie sollte mein Beitrag überzeugend und wirkungsvoll sein?" (Wendepunkt, 210) Flucht in den Norden (1934) is Mann's attempt at effectiveness in political writings. It is his most uncharacteristic novel but also the one that thematizes most clearly love versus social duty. Its ten "scenes" portray a love story, with majestic landscape descriptions of the vastness of Finland. Martin Gregor-Dellin suggests that "ein Liebesmärchen wäre es gewiß ohne Hitler geblieben, oder ein

abenteuerlicher Reisebericht wie Rundherum." (Flucht, 289) He also explains how Thomas Mann "heard" landscapes, because Thomas had a truly musical sensibility, whereas Klaus, whose imagery and senses were more visual, instead "saw" them. (Flucht, 291)

Mann had travelled to Finland in 1932 with Erika, after their mutual friend Ricki Hallgarten had committed suicide. Mann supposedly modelled his protagonist, Johanna, on the Mann siblings' Swiss friend Annemarie Schwarzenbach. Mann wrote that "[Annemarie] . . . wußte vielleicht aus eigener Erfahrung manches über den Konflikt, den ihre fiktive Doppelgängerin (Johanna) in meinem nordischen Liebesmärchen zu bestehen hat." (Wendepunkt, 288-289) That conflict is between romantic love and political duty, the common theme throughout most of Mann's exile works. But his assertion that Johanna is Annemarie Schwarzenbach's double hides the fact that she could be considered his own double as well.

The novel sketches Johanna's trip to Finland, where she lodges with Karin and Ragnar on their farm estate. Johanna, a German, had met Karin in Germany and was invited to visit Karin's family in Finland. As Gregor-Dellin contends that Mann's specific talent included " . . . die totale Verquickung von Leben und Schreiben," (Flucht, 287-288) Mann's claim that the novel reveals the " . . . klassischer Konflikt zwischen Liebe und Pflicht" (Wendepunkt, 289) means that Johanna's adventures are also his own, based on the trip to Finland Klaus and Erika took and stayed with their acquaintance Hans Aminoff.

The novel opens with Johanna's arrival and ends with her departure. She had fallen in love with Ragnar (Aminoff), but receives a telegram from her brother Georg in Paris, in

which she learns that their comrade Bruno has been shot in Cologne while trying to flee. Johanna decides to leave her new lover, and travel to Paris to work in the Resistance.

Mann's feeling of remoteness from Europe is reflected by light, the great distances and strangeness of the difficult language, unusual air, and Scandinavian landscape. The setting of the novel is almost one of its protagonists, and it reveals and explores Johanna's situation in life, as she has become a "homeless" refugee from Nazi Germany. The strangeness of the landscape portends the unfamiliarity Mann had in his new role as exiled writer: "Du hattest Ziel und Weg der Reise nicht zu bestimmen, man hat dich entführt, du warst leicht von der Stelle zu bringen, denn du hattest keinen Boden unter den Füßen. Du Heimatlose bist in eine Mondlandschaft verschlagen." (Flucht, 258) Mann's change to second-person narration enjoins the reader to evaluate Johanna and her decisions. It also suggests a point of view that engenders sympathy for the character, since the initial reason for her trip was personal and not the antifascist struggle.

The telegram arrives on the third to last page of the novel, which resolves itself suddenly with Johanna's departure. She and Ragnar had wanted to travel by ferry to Iceland, and Johanna's decision to leave for Paris unleashes a tirade of anti-German insults from Ragnar. This outburst again exemplifies Mann's warnings as he claims that whatever comes after Nazism in Germany will also "imprison" the people. Immediately before the telegram arrives, Johanna admits to Ragnar her deathwish, another sign that Johanna is also Mann's own double. Apparently death would be located somewhere between sexuality and political themes. And the impossibility of devotion to both politics and another person is depicted in Johanna's inner monologue: " . . . dumme Bewegungen . . .

die doch kein Ziel haben: denn sie führen uns doch nicht zueinander, ganz zueinander führen sie doch nie . . . " (Flucht, 258) The final scene is a kiss with closed mouths, lips that do not open, signifying the separation between Johanna and Ragnar (and possibly reflecting the separation between Mann and his lovers).

Love and social obligation also recur in Der Vulkan, Mann's major novel of exile, written in hotel rooms in Amsterdam, Prague, and Paris, and published the same year (1939) that Mann finally moved to the United States. It is a "novel among emigrants" that employs the technique of "Nebeneinander," a contrapuntal structuring in which many plots unfold at the same time. It is almost a visual technique, not unlike film montage. The novel is one of Mann's few attempts at significant formal experimentation. Mann's conception was probably influenced by Aldous Huxley's Point Counter-Point (1928) and André Gide's Les Faux-monnayeurs (1925).

Der Vulkan functions as a *roman-à-clef* of the German emigration, with its many sub-plots and side-plots, including the development of the Germans Marion von Kammer and her sister Tilly, the actress Tilla Tibouri, Dora Proskauer and Walter Konradi, the German-Jewish intellectuals David Deutsch and Professor Benjamin Abel, the Frenchmen Marcel Poiret and his brother Kikjou, and the German Martin Korella and his parents. The novel recounts how these characters manage their existence in exile or in the Resistance or both. I will focus on Kikjou and Martin, as their development shows most clearly the relationship Mann was trying to develop between sexual and political identities.

Martin, a poet, and Kikjou, his elfin lover, live in a pension in Paris, where they have difficulty paying the weekly rent: they take a lot of morphine, sleep late every day,

and stay up late. Their morphine addiction becomes serious enough that they decide to go to southern France for treatment. But once there Martin goes back on the drug, and later, severly ill, must check into a clinic. Kikjou has since left him and become religious. Martin dies, and his parents, Kikjou, and other friends from the pension and the exile community activities attend the funeral.

After the funeral, the friends gather at their usual cafe, and end up discussing political issues. Kikjou is quite impressed by their perseverance and commitment to the anti-fascist cause, and undergoes a political awakening. He leaves as the others around the table are discussing socialism, democracy, and the way they envision Germany once the Nazi regime is no longer in power. Nobody, including the reader, notices at first that Kikjou has gone.

After Kikjou has experienced this awakening, an angel appears to him. Together they fly over Spain, where the angel shows Kikjou Marcel dying for the republican cause. Then they hover over Germany, where they witness the arrest of Martin's parents upon their return from Martin's funeral in Paris. It turns out that there had been a spy in the group who had informed on them. Kikjou returns to the group, and the second part of the three-part novel ends. The subsequent action leaves Europe for the United States.

By adopting the struggle against fascism on behalf of his dead lover Martin and himself, Kikjou represents the symbiosis of sexual and political identity in the novel. Whereas Martin had been the protagonist until his death, Kikjou, as Martin's lover, turns out to be the one character who can synthesize religious, ethical, and moral elements.

The actions of Martin and Kikjou share central importance in the novel with

Marion von Kammer's development. She delivers Marcel's child in America, after having married Professor Abel. Thus Mann created another birth, a procreation where the father is absent, as he also is in Der siebente Engel, discussed in the next section. The mother Marion's story is then traced alongside those of Marcel and Martin, whose names alliterate with hers and connect them with her, until their deaths.

Marion's life resumes in the United States with the professor who bears some resemblance to Thomas Mann. As in "Kindernovelle," in Der Vulkan the father is again not the procreator but is instead an imperfect substitute representing pure authority. And Klaus's work is like a procreation spoken through Martin. Martin is writing his novel's preface, reflecting on who his audience is. The reader becomes aware that the book is a created offspring of sorts: "Martin schrieb. Von dem großen Roman, den er plante und von dem er sich soviel versprach, war noch nicht viel mehr da als ein paar Notizen. Nun aber wollte er das Vorwort machen . . . Für wen schreibe ich . . . ? Wer wird mir zuhören? Wer wird Anteil nehmen? Wo ist die Gemeinschaft, an die ich mich wenden könnte . . . ? Für wen schreibe ich? . . . Für die Kommenden! Nicht euch, den Zeitgenossen, gehört unser Wort; es gehört der Zukunft, den noch ungeborenen Geschlechtern." (Vulkan, 193-194) Mann, who always wondered about his own readership and effect, thus identifies with Martin in the novel.

Absent or Surrogate Father Figure / Intruder into Isolated Family Sphere

Mann's late play Der siebente Engel (1946) is ostensibly about a seance and the occult. The play contains elements that relate it to his earlier "Kindernovelle" and Der fromme Tanz. Like "Kindernovelle," Der siebente Engel includes the character Till, whose role is here similar to that in "Kindernovelle." Till here is also a figure who symbolizes fertility and virility, and the father is an absent figure. And just as in Der fromme Tanz, in Der siebente Engel, Mann includes another imaginary conception in the plot.

The seventh angel is the seventh child who is to join the other six children's conjuring dance ("Locktanz") during the deceased master's seance, at which the master himself is to appear. The master and father of the children, Jan Vanstraaten, is the leader of an international occult group named after him, the Vanstraaten Society. The master has died falling off the devotional cliff ("Andachtsklippe") on their isolated island.

Now the master's bereaved wife Vera lives on with her six children, the master's evil sister Judith (in a wheelchair), and a maid and a cook on the deserted island. (Böcklin's painting "Die Toteninsel" hangs in the temple-like foyer, near a bust of the master.) Vera is the clairvoyant priestess who receives messages from "the other side" and interprets them for the Vanstraaten Society, but Judith is the one directing most of the Society's dealings. For this special evening Judith has invited three distinguished former professors, board members of the Society, from various parts of the world. On this evening, because Vera has foretold the end of the world, she will attempt a

"materialization" of the master to verify the prophecy.

The guests arrive, the children prepare for the seance and their dance, and Vera and Judith anxiously await the beginning of the seance. There is a materialization, but it is an outsider, Till, whose boat has been wrecked at the foot of the devotional cliff, and who appears to the group through a window, as a spirit might. He is unaware of who they think he is until Vera later tells him that they take him for a messenger from "the other side," sent by the master.

Vera eventually falls in love with Till and becomes pregnant with the seventh child. Kroll has suggested that the character of Vera was a combination of Klaus himself, whose many relationships ended soon after they began, and the fate of his sister Monika, whose husband Jenö Lányi drowned in front of her eyes when their ship was torpedoed in 1940, while she was able to save herself.[140] Yet Klaus probably considered not Till, but the child Kaspar as himself.

Der siebente Engel is particularly relevant to an understanding of Mann's sexual identity because of its theme of progeny and the promise of a seventh child, or angel. In addition, its vision of apocalypse shows how Mann identified himself politically during the few postwar years he experienced because of the play's treatment of nuclear threat and end-of-the-world scenarios. The play also deals with the occult and "the other side," reflecting Mann's increasing interest in mysticism and obsession with death.

Hoffer emphasizes the play's central theme of spiritualism, and offers a religious interpretation. He also compares this play with "Kindernovelle:" "Much of the characterization and plot material for the work can be traced directly to "Kindernovelle" . .

. whereas the former merely presents a psychological portrayal of a lonely woman who gains a sense of release by giving birth to the child of a nameless vagabond. the latter combines essentially the same components of the mystery of birth. or. in this instance. rebirth. to form a messianic allegory."[141]

But the birth of the seventh angel is also a birth connected with the real world outside the isolated island. Mann is actually critical of Judith's notions of spirituality because he undermines her power by having the potent Till disrupt the seance and occult ceremonies of Judith and the Vanstraaten Society. Hoffer summarizes the play as a series of events leading up to the creation of the seventh angel as having " . . . deeply-rooted religious connotations as well as an affinity to the more recent concept of the New Man. which is an essential component in the ideology of German Expressionism."[142] Expressionism. however. was probably not on Mann's mind in 1946.

For Krüll. the play is rather about Mann's yearning for death. She suggests that the play " . . . liest sich wie ein Schlüssel zu seiner Seele: es zeigt seine Verwirrung und gleichzeitig eine erstaunliche Klarsicht über sich und seine verzweifelte Situation."[143] She also discerns Mann's repressed feelings of hatred toward his parents and himself. Krüll continues: "Zugleich aber spricht diese Geschichte für seine große Liebe zur Mutter. deren Lebendigkeit er wecken wollte. zum Vater. dessen Sehnsucht nach Verschmelzung er erfüllen wollte. und für sich selbst. der mit Vater und Mutter eins sein wollte."[144] But the love of Vera for her husband was conditioned on respect and admiration. He was " . . . weit fortgeschritten auf dem Pfad der Erkenntnis, aber er war kein Medium" (Siebenter Engel, 390); he lacked the qualities of Till; thus Mann was again, as in "Kindernovelle."

critical of the father figure.

When Vera realizes that she loves Till, she breaks with the group on the island and attacks Judith. She cries that she loves him, " . . . ich will mit ihm leben. Ich will leben -- verstehst du, Judith? Leben will ich, leben!" (Siebenter Engel, 392) The emphasis on life as the opposite of existence on the island is linked to the title of Mann's first collection of short stories, Vor dem Leben. Mann felt that life at home, in the sphere of the Mann family, was stifling. Real life was "on the outside," where Mann could establish his own identity. For Judith, her calling was to the master, her brother. There she found her identity. She says that "es gab Zeiten, da träumte ich von Liebe, Ehe, Kindern . . . ich mußte mir's versagen. Dienst und Glück schließen einander aus." (Siebenter Engel, 405) She expresses the feelings of Klaus regarding service to others and one's own happiness. In Mann's life, these two goals also became unattainable. Mann's identity through his work in political writing and reporting also seemed to preclude any personal, family, or sexual happiness, because he viewed himself as selflessly working for the greater common good.

Härle's analysis of the play considers it partially in terms of an Oedipal conflict (" . . . der oedipale Triumph soll nicht das letzte Wort behalten"), Mann's own and through Mann, Kaspar's.[145] He correctly interprets the seance as a kind of reconciliation between the two figures Till and Kaspar, as they both answer to the medium Vera and announce the arrival of her child, the seventh angel. But he writes that "nachdem Till mit Vera ein Kind erzeugt hat, stürzt er von den Klippen wieder ins Meer . . . "), thus missing one of the important aspects of the social and family relations in the play.[146] Judith had in fact

ordered the children to push him off the cliff. Till is a substitute father figure, not a son figure. Klaus identitfied with the figure of Kaspar, one of the children, and not with Till. As in the plot of "Kindernovelle," Till represents a father as Kaspar (Klaus) would have wanted him. In this final play and one of Mann's last works, however, the surrogate father figure does not survive. Mann has resolved the problem of an imperfect father by erasing both the father and the substitute, leaving only the son Kaspar. The name Kaspar also alludes to Mann's poem of the "Kaspar-Hauser-Legende," in which the child is also granted extraordinary gifts. Klaus replaced his real father with figures such as Till, or he eliminated the father figure altogether in his fiction, leaving the fathering up to the child.

Mann had hoped that Cocteau would adapt the play for a French production. (Briefe und Antworten II, 83) Der siebente Engel failed, according to Töteberg, because "zu deutlich ist die Hilflosigkeit des Autors, die ersehnte und propagierte positive Haltung angesichts der drohenden Katastrophe glaubwürdig zu gestalten."[147] But the play does not actually have a positive message: at the end, Vera decides against her work as a medium ("Mein Zwiegespräch mit drüben ist zu Ende"). (Siebenter Engel, 414) The chance to save the world from its end is over; Judith and the Society have lost the possibility of averting tragedy. Mann's final message regarding apocalypse is thus highly ambivalent. The play reflected Mann's views toward the new postwar world. The reason the play was not staged during Mann's lifetime was because of his difficulties publishing his material after the war. He was despairing, and his lack of success in the last years of his life can in part explain why.

Supernatural or Imaginary Conception and the Artwork as Progeny

In discussing sexual identity and Mann, there are several logical reasons for turning to his first full-length published story. Der fromme Tanz, published in 1926. Der fromme Tanz treats homosexuality with a hitherto unknown degree of openness. Because of this, Kroll claims that it can be considered a "precursor to gay literature in Germany."[148] Such writers as Hubert Fichte would be among the first to focus on homosexuality in their fiction again, and that was not until the 1960s. The assertion must be qualified, however, as there were other works, such as Thomas Mann's "Tod in Venedig," which also suggested homosexuality early in the century. The gay identity theme may account for increases in both critical and popular recent interest in Klaus Mann and for his growing readership in Germany over the last two decades. Part of that interest is also due to Mann's characterization of the artist. In Der fromme Tanz and later in Anja und Esther, the work of art is considered as progeny.

As Der fromme Tanz begins, Andreas Magnus, the protagonist, is sitting in front of his easel trying to render a "pious dance" in watercolors. God's face is intended to be in the center, surrounded by dancing children (the frivolity presumably derivative of *Jugendstil* graphics and book illustrations). But Andreas cannot finish the picture because he is interrupted by thoughts that he is not a good painter. He is envious of his father's friend, Frank Bishop, a painter of renown, to whom he, Andreas, will never measure up. After discussing the painting with Frank's daughter, Ursula Bishop, Andreas despairs, gives up, and moves to Berlin. The next sections depict his bohemian life in the

metropolis, where he is befriended by Franziska, a prostitute and dancer from the cabaret "Die Pfütze," who finds a room for him at a boarding house. Andreas himself becomes a cabaret performer and male prostitute. Paulchen, who lives in the pension, falls in love with Andreas and later commits suicide over his unrequited love.

On an outing with Franziska to see the Hofrätin Gärtner, Andreas meets her protegé, Niels, and falls in love with him, but Niels falls in love with Franziska, and Franziska later falls in love with Andreas. Niels sleeps with women and is seemingly heterosexual, but perhaps bisexual. He has sexual intercourse with Franziska in the presence of Andreas, and Franziska conceives a child, reassuring Andreas that the baby is really Andreas and Franziska's. Andreas, however, smitten by Niels, finishes his painting after all: it is a picture of Marie Therèse and Peterchen, the younger brother and sister of Andreas, playing ball with Niels in the center. Instead of depicting God he has sketched His creation; the allusion to the Biblical taboo against the graven image is thematized here. Andreas wants to write a letter to his father and day-dreams about returning home, to his father and his bride, Ursula Bischof, when a telegram arrives from Niels in Paris. Andreas flies to meet Niels there. They attend an artist's ball together, but then Andreas loses sight of Niels in the markets of Les Halles as the story ends.

In his first full-length work of fiction, the young Mann was still trying out various themes and approaches, along with a wide variety of writing styles, some of which would later be discarded. Kroll suggests that " . . . der gläsern-neuromantische Jugendstil herrschte in Klaus Manns frühesten Werken vor. Der grotesk-naturalistische Stil bricht erst im Frommen Tanz durch."[149] But the opening frame of Der fromme Tanz is still

written in the neo-romantic style, describing the ambience and decoration of Andreas's room. Kroll's work was from the mid-1970s; with more distance now we might consider the naturalistic style an example of "Neue Sachlichkeit." The affected style of the story's protagonist, the struggling young painter Andreas, shows stylistic confusion. Andreas fuses a clear, sober representationalism with neo-romanticism and cannot seem to find his own voice.

In Der fromme Tanz, Mann probed the parameters of workable character types and actions that would function in his literary universe. The year of the book's appearance (1926) also signalled the beginning of Mann's shifting his attention from Germany to France and French writers, and his increasing interest in French Surrealism. As previously noted, Mann seemed to have found in René Crevel a role model who could inspire him both artistically and erotically.

Mann dedicated the story to Pamela Wedekind, a central figure in his life, because they had planned to wed. In the story's prologue, Andreas in a dream brings a rosary as an offering to the Virgin Mary, but she rejects it, saying that he must finish his life's task, that he is not ready yet, he has not suffered enough and is too arrogant. (Frommer Tanz, 15) Andreas and his picture, his own notion of himself as well as his artistic productions, are still unformed and incomplete. Andreas loses hope, and almost drowns himself before he decides to leave for Berlin, abandoning family, home, and Ursula Bischof. He writes letters to his father and to Ursula; he also is writing them near the end, when he receives the telegram from Niels. Thus Der fromme Tanz is a frame story with a unique framing effect, as the story opens with the "last" scene and closes with the penultimate scene. It

frames Andreas's (Mann's?) creative process, and unites it with his loves and his position in a family. Just like his painting and his own life, the novel reflects the tension between concrete, objective reporting of events (there are many inlays of literary commentary on real writers) and the "Tändelei" of the bar scene, the ball scene, the frivolity at the Hofrätin's, and in the cabaret.

A poem that Mann had written as a sixteen-year old, entitled "Mein Lied vom großen Lächeln," illustrates the importance of the smile in Mann's oeuvre.[150] In the poem, the bodies of boys lying in the sun make him smile along with the thought that somewhere there are snow-covered fir trees and that he is so young. The poem is also a song, which signifies how all creation and creativity rest in the smile. Andreas identifies through his image in the mirror too closely with his own artistic work.

In Der fromme Tanz, the smile signifies the secret relationship arising in the mind of Andreas between artistic production, sympathy with and nearness to death along with the knowledge of belonging to a declining class ("einer ganzen, aussterbenden Klasse"). (Frommer Tanz, 34) Smiling is first shown when Andreas is standing in front of the mirror: "Aber plötzlich stieg ein Lächeln in ihm auf -- und er wußte nicht, woher. Es ergriff ganz Besitz von ihm, legte sich um ihn. 'Das also bin ich - - ,' dachte er lächelnd, 'so jung, so vierzehnjährig jung'." (Frommer Tanz, 22) Like Dorian in Wilde's The Picture of Dorian Gray, for example, here is an adolescent, not an adult, seeing his reflection. He realizes that he is young, and with that he knows he must produce; he also knows that it will be a difficult journey, in which both life and art will be challenges: "Jetzt willst du ja einen verwunschenen Gott malen, ließ ich mir sagen, und Kindermasken, die

tanzen. Nun, wollen mal zusehen --." (Frommer Tanz, 22)

Instead of creating a masterpiece, Andreas actually lives a piece of art, through all his travels and his story which is the plot, while his painting is insufficient and lacking. He refers to himself as the "prodigal son," and seeking to live a life with Niels replaces his artistic motivation. But at the end even that is unattainable, as he loses Niels at the market and returns to the train station to travel to yet another destination. Thus God cannot be depicted, art cannot be complete, bearing a child is creativity like art, and life never stands still. If Andreas grows at all in the novel, it is through those realizations. The writer Mann tells the reader what his own role in life will be because he speaks through Andreas of his sexual desire: "Man liebte das Leben in seiner schimmernden Rätselherrlichkeit, und in der Liebe zu des Menschen Leib verdichtete sich alle Liebe zum Leben. Die aber niemals völlig eins werden durften mit dem geliebten Leib, die mußten auch immer Fremdlinge bleiben im großen Leben, in welchem aufzugehen ihre Sehnsucht war." (Frommer Tanz, 152)

As with "Kindernovelle," this story also contains a procreative act, and again it depicts the act from outside: whereas in "Kindernovelle" Till plays the role of the stand-in, here it is Niels who "creates" the baby that will be born to Andreas and Franziska. Mann imagines the sexual union as a voyeur, as "imagined" intercourse.[151]

This "Abenteuerbuch einer Jugend" contained one of the first open treatments of homosexuality in German literature.[152] The plot connected Berlin's place as a site of sexual tolerance and freedom with the question of youth's role in Germany in the 1920s. Mann used an omniscient narrator, except in the prologue and the conclusion, which are

narrated partially in straightforward first-person narration and partially in the interior monologue of free indirect style ("erlebte Rede"). The distancing narrative stance enabled Mann to keep a distance from Andreas and the other characters, a strategy that was due in part to the story's homosexual theme. The story's recurring devices act as signals of identity. Instead of a focus on laughing, however, as a literary technique that served as a possible indicator of identity, here attention is drawn to the smile, and to the motif of the dance, both outwardly directed but nonverbal physical signs. Kroll suggests that the smile and the dance are the two actual themes of the story.[153] I would agree that the smile here also signals sexual identity for Mann. Like the laughter in "Kindernovelle," the smile also plays the role in general personal social-self identity formation and consolidation of defining characters in juxtaposition with each other.

This story as well as Mann's later novels reflect a conceptualization of homosexuality in which the role of social stigma, as developed by Erwin Goffman in his 1963 book on Stigma, is central to understanding the texts and Mann's sexual identity. Mann was sensitive to the stigma of the homosexual, and he was a product of decades during this century in which the stigma was greater than it is now. Goffman contended that there were groups whose spoiled identities (spoiled because society disapproves of them) are somehow "managed" throughout their lives. His book was the first sociological treatment of identity following upon Erikson's published in articles of the 1950s. Goffman's investigations were conducted during the 1950s and the early 1960s, thus shortly after Mann's death, and yet they preceded the social movements and radically shifting sexual mores that began in the late 1960s. Goffman defined stigma as an " . . .

attribute that is deeply discrediting, but it should be seen that a language of relationships, not attributes, is really needed."[154] The characteristics of supposedly stigmatized people included traits that were " . . . perceived as weak will, domineering or unnatural passions, treacherous and rigid beliefs, and dishonesty, these being inferred from a known record of, for example, mental disorder, imprisonment, addiction, alcoholism, homosexuality, unemployment, suicidal attempts, and radical political behavior."[155] The stigmatized person then had to enact a program of "stigma management" in order to function and gain some control over the consequences. In the case of homosexuality, Goffman described concealment as a common strategy.[156]

Klaus Mann's own "identity management" was not a concealment but an openness, and is recorded in his diaries, letters, and fictional writings. Härle proposes underlying archaic, mythic, or even atavistic patterns that reveal the nature of his sexual identity. Härle's interest is limited to the relationship between the father and the son, a perspective which is undoubtedly of a central importance. Yet including Goffman's definition of personal identity may offer additional clues as to how to best approach Mann's sexual identity, in which other interpersonal facts and consequences of social organization contribute to an understanding of how that sexual identity is reflected in his work. For Goffman, "personal identity . . . has to do with the assumption that the individual can be differentiated from all others and that around this means of differentiation a single continuous record of social facts can be attached, entangled, like candy floss, becoming then the sticky substance to which still other biographical facts can be attached."[157]

Stigma in this story is apparent not only in the bar scene with the fighting drag

queens and transvestites (Frommer Tanz, 82), but also in some of the actions of Andreas. Niels is ultimately unapproachable and must remain an entity or a body to which one pays homage, as Andreas drapes the rosary meant for the Madonna around a photograph of Niels instead. (Frommer Tanz, 151ff.)

Mann's ambiguous feelings about homosexuality are also evident in his description of the love Andreas feels for Niels. Mann succinctly captures his idea of gay love, even though the last sentence reveals that he recognizes the stigma associated with it. This paragraph is perhaps the most direct statement in the novel on the subject, and might have partially been the cause for negative reactions at the time and gay filmmaker Rosa von Praunheim's recent praise: "Andreas gab sich dieser Liebe ganz hin, die er nicht als Verirrung empfand. Ihm kam es nicht in den Sinn, sie vor sich zu leugnen, sie zu bekämpfen als 'Entartung' oder als 'Krankheit.' Diese Worte berührten die Wahrheit so wenig, sie kamen aus anderer Welt. Gut hieß er diese Liebe vielmehr ganz und gar, er lobte sie, wie alles, was Gott gab und verhängte -- sei es noch so leicht oder schwierig zu tragen." (Frommer Tanz, 152)

The reception of Der fromme Tanz in the German press was influential in forming Mann's view of himself, and where the homosexual could, and could not, fit into the society of the Weimar Republic. The negative reactions included a comparison with Arnolt Bronnen, concluding that their work was like a " . . . geplatztes Kloakenrohr."[158] One reviewer sides with Thomas Mann's notion of marriage in the essay "Über die Ehe," published a short time before Der fromme Tanz.[159] There Thomas Mann had claimed that " . . . Homosexualität [sei] erotischer Ästhetizismus," a living example of "l'art pour l'art"

and thus unsupportable.[160]

The open depiction of homosexuality in this adventure story has also recently been cited and emphasized.[161] Rosa von Praunheim regards it as the quintessential portrayal of Berlin's 1920s demimonde. Indeed, its publication focussed heightened attention on young Mann, just nineteen, who desperately wanted to emerge from his father's shadow. Among Mann's fictional works, Der fromme Tanz attracted the most attention and the most critical acclaim, both positive and negative. For Hans Mayer, the concept of the homosexual as outsider is central to understanding Mann as a writer;[162] in the film interview, Weil-Jockisch referred to Mann's homosexuality as an "Auszeichnung" (a badge of honor), for which the interviewer however also suggested the additional term "stigma."[163] Thus two poles of sexual identity are established for a homosexual identity, which includes both positive and negative qualities.

Mann wrote about Anja und Esther, another work treating the work of art as progeny, after several performances that the play "wirkt nur in exquisiten Aufführung, *eine* Nuance zu plump und es ist ein lächerliches Sexualstückchen." (Briefe und Antworten I, 18) Thus he expressed his fear that the play would be too scandalous if not staged just right. The sexuality of the young characters of the play is foregrounded with a directness to which the public had not yet become accustomed, as the reviews of the play upon its first performances indicate. As we have seen with "Kindernovelle" and with Der siebente Engel, Anja und Esther has a male character who arrives on the scene and breaks up relationships, draws one of the figures away from a group, or falls in love. And also like the defrocked priest in "Kindernovelle," here too "der Alte," Esther's father, was a

defrocked priest who still wore his habit around the house. (Siebenter Engel, 31)

The play is set in a home for wayward children ("gefallene Kinder"). (Siebenter Engel, 19) It is a cross between a ballet school and a sanatorium, with a mixture of a prison, a brothel, and a monastery. (Wendepunkt, 175) Thus from the beginning the older children (Anja, Kaspar, Esther, and Jakob) are treated as compromised, out of line in some way or in trouble. The children are actually playing adult roles in the home, where they grew up and which they apparently will never leave. An opposition is established between the home and the world "out there." The children's identities are set by their relationships to each other in the isolated environment of the home.

Anja und Esther begins with the children rehearsing a play directed by the older four. This rehearsal is interrupted shortly thereafter by the arrival of Erik, a boy who had been a tap dancer and shows up inexplicably at the home. Erik is so appealing that both Kaspar and Esther soon fall in love with him. They decide to leave the home with Erik, leaving Anja, Jakob, "der Alte," and the children behind.

Homosexuality in the play highlights a central difference between the milieus of the older children and everyone else. Sexuality is related to artistic production several times. Kaspar is the main artistic creator among the older children, and he is destined to carry on his "Werk" on the outside, when he leaves with Esther and Erik at the play's end. Kaspar is the one most likely to do "das Werk -- das Lied singen -- oder den Tanz tanzen -- oder das Märchen erzählen: unser Märchen." (Siebenter Engel, 55) He is also searching for the way to create the work of art. He wonders what it will be: " . . . aus alldem muß doch einmal irgend etwas kommen -- eine Art Werk -- eine Art Gestaltung. -- Einer von uns

muß das Lied singen, unser Lied. -- Wie wird es sein?" (Siebenter Engel, 39) But Kaspar's artistic products are mere substitutes and replacements for his unrequited love for Erik, whom only Esther, not Kaspar, is able to have as a lover.

Esther had initially been the lover of Anja. Before the arrival of Erik, Esther wonders what her relationship with Anja might mean. She says, "Ich habe nämlich gedacht, ob wir beide, du und ich, wohl einmal heiliggesprochen werden . . . Dann wäre heilig alles, was wir tun -- (*Plötzlich ganz leise*): -- auch das, was wir immer miteinander tun." (Siebenter Engel, 17) Esther says to Anja after her practice in the children's dance number that it was as if "[du hättest] . . . heute das Märchen getanzt -- unser Märchen" (Siebenter Engel, 41), meaning the expression of their love for each other. Moreover, as long as the two are in a homosexual relationship, their distance to the outside world and the older generation is emphasized. But as soon as Esther falls in love with Erik, there is a reconciliation between the generations. After falling in love with him, Esther says: "Erik -- ich habe heute abend Schlimmes gesagt, in der Garderobe -- vom Leben und daß wir nicht hätten geboren werden dürfen. Du mußt mir das verzeihen, Erik. Jetzt schelte ich die Eltern nicht mehr. Jetzt danke ich ihnen: da ich dich gefunden habe, öffnet sich mir der Sinn des Ganzen -- ." (Siebenter Engel, 47) This "Sinn" appears to be the revelation of a heterosexual relationship and rapprochement with the parents.

Esther's insecurity in the new relationship, and her indecisiveness about leaving the home with Erik become apparent near the end of the play. She is unsure both of going off with him and of her role as someone who will give birth on the outside. A dialogue between Anja and Esther, in the seventh and final scene, after Anja has discovered that

Esther is leaving the home to live with Erik on the outside, concentrates the culmination of the play's themes of sexuality, progeny, and artistic creation:

Anja: Wenn du -- draußen -- ein Kind bekommen solltest -- dann schicke es doch lieber dem Alten ins Stift.

Esther: (*lacht viel zu laut*) Aber wo denkst du denn hin? Aber wie sollte ich denn ein Kind bekommen!!

Anja: Denn mit dem Kind, das habe ich mir jetzt überlegt, ist es doch ungefähr wie mit dem Werk -- das Kaspar draußen tun will, unserem Werk, das geboren ist aus der leidenschaftlichen Hingabe an das Leben, aber mit der Sehnsucht stets nach Haus. (*In nicht verkrampfter, sondern weiter und reiner Verzückung*): Und dein Kind -- wer weiß, wie es wird. Wenn der schmalste Leib den Samen empfängt, dann darf er vielleicht die köstlichste Frucht gebären.

Esther (*ganz verwirrt zwischen den Koffern*): Aber ein Kind -- aber wie soll ich denn wohl ein Kind bekommen? (Siebenter Engel, 62)

None of the secondary literature points to the importance of Kaspar in the plot, yet he is the one referred to as creating the group's work. His artistic creations are clearly related to the sexual feelings that he has for Erik. Kaspar even thanks Erik for his inspiration. After Kaspar has decided to leave the home with Esther and Erik, Kaspar tells Erik, in a rewritten replay of the father's "Tonio Kröger:" "Wenn ich jetzt draußen etwas schaffen darf, etwas, das ich hier nicht hätte schaffen können -- dann sollst du wenigstens

wissen, daß du mir die Kraft dazu gabst. Wenn ich etwas vollenden darf, Erik, dann sollst du immer wissen, daß ich dir dafür danken muß." (Siebenter Engel, 65) Earlier, Kaspar had hinted that he meant a sexual relationship as his reason for teasing Anja and Esther, because of "erotische Komplikationen." (Siebenter Engel, 14) Esther says to Anja: "Als ich vorhin zu deinem Bruder sagte -- daß ich schon wisse, welches Märchen er meinte -- wollte ich doch natürlich damit nur ausdrücken -- daß ich schon wisse, daß er unser Märchen meinte -- und daß er uns damit nur ein bißchen necken wollte." (Siebenter Engel, 41)

Härle's psychoanalytic study understandably focuses on the figure of "der Alte" whom he equates with father Thomas. But with that focus he neglects to account for the actions of Kaspar, Esther, and Erik, and sees "der Alte" as a more central figure in the play than he really is. Härle considers Anja und Esther an example of Klaus's wanting to destroy his father's mask.[164] Härle suggests that "Die Figuren 'Vater' und 'der Alte' repräsentieren den Antagonismus von Haltung und Haltlosigkeit, und darin eben jenen innerpsychischen Konflikt Thomas Manns mit seiner Sexualität, den er auf seinen Sohn projiziert."[165] However, the mechanism of how Klaus's internal conflicts become apparent in the play remains unclear. Härle continues with an account of Jakob's attack on Erik. Jakob had tried to shoot Erik for tearing Esther away from Anja, whom Jakob loved and cared for: "Wie Jakob das junge Fleisch beschimpft, so verdammt Esther die 'Sittlichkeit der Väter,' die sich 'gar noch erschrocken ab(wenden) von dem fragwürdigen Geschlecht, das sie verschuldet haben.' In Anja und Esther wird mit dem sündig-geschlechtlichen Fleisch und dem fleischlich begehrenden Alten das Debetkonto einer unvergebbaren

Schuld eröffnet."[166] But as mentioned above Esther retracted her damnation of the parents' generation once she gained Erik, and she takes back her complaints of guilt.

Hoffer considers Erik to be the main character in the play. He writes that "it becomes evident that Erik is the key figure in the plot because his relationship with Esther is the liberating force in the dissolution of all the other relationships."[167] Kaspar, however, does not dissolve any relationships, but instead finds new impetus with Erik's appearance to continue his "work" outside the home. Hoffer also somewhat understates the generational conflict so integral to the play when he writes that "there are also indications of a conflict between the main characters and their parents in both plays Die Jungen and Anja und Esther, the existence of which Klaus Mann was loath to acknowledge as far as his own life was concerned."[168] With this interpretation the other extreme is shown, according to which Klaus was supposedly reluctant to admit conflict with his parents. The character of "der Alte" in the play treats the children with more ambivalence, Kaspar in particular. Kaspar seems to be saved from conflict by his artistic creations, whether by his poems and songs in the home or by the major work he will create afterwards.

Kroll emphasizes the lyricism of the play. To him, "Anja und Esther ist viel eher lyrisch als dramatisch;"[169] Mann had subtitled it a "Romantic" play, probably referring to that lyrical quality. The lyricism shows how this play, more than any of Mann's other works, contains his views on art.

To Mann, art can speak for a particular generation. It needs to find its own style. Art is also for Mann a collective experience, and creativity must also be representational. Generational and sexual identity are expressed through the work of art, which comes into

being through a process of searching and striving. Unlike Thomas Mann's conception of art and life as separate realms, to Klaus, art and life are ultimately inseparable.

Identity issues are presented and thematized in these plays in their correlation between art and life. Mann admittedly approached his dramatic material by drawing from his own life. Indeed, he wants to be Kaspar as much as Kaspar is reflected in his own life. Kroll asserts that "auch Kaspar, Anjas Halbbruder, verliebt sich in Erik und folgt ihm ebenfalls in die Stadt, in der Hoffnung, dort ein für seine Generation repräsentatives Werk schaffen zu können."[170] Anja's decision to remain behind and her identity are puzzling. She is too ready to give up Esther to Erik. In Anja's actions, Kroll recognizes one of the main ideas throughout Mann's work, that of non-possession: "Anja erfüllt das Ethos des Nichtbesitzens, indem sie, ohne zu klagen, auf Esther und Kaspar verzichtet und allein zurückbleibt."[171] The recurring trope of non-possession reflects Mann's treatment of identity issues, because finding a partner, or working for a political cause, are both ways of possessing another person or idea.

In her "intergenerational" study of the works of the Mann family, Krüll emphasizes how much Klaus wanted to be a spokesperson for his generation with Anja und Esther: "er wollte . . . ein Stück über die Jugend seiner Zeit schreiben."[172] But she does note that Kaspar and his "work" were really Klaus and his literary creations, and that he tried to impress his father, "der Alte," with them. Krüll examines the relationship between Kaspar and Klaus, and concludes that this conflict explains Klaus's suicide. She poses the question of whether "[er hat] in seinen eigenen Augen am Ende dieses Werk geschaffen, das Werk, das vor allem dem 'Alten' imponierte, ihm gefiel? Nein, und weil es ihm nicht

gelang, konnte er nicht mehr leben."[173] Thus she goes so far as to say that Klaus committed suicide because he could not please Thomas with his literary creations, which may have only been part of his motivation.

The reviews of the play's performances were generally negative: reviewers reacted with shock at what was being presented on the stage. One critic reflected the common response to the play and its homosexual theme: "das Ineinandergreifen der homosexuellen und bisexuellen 'Stimmungen' nachempfunden, nachgezärtelt . . ."[174] Klaus Mann was said to have written the "Marlittroman der Homosexualität."[175] This critique refers to the light novels of Eugenie Marlitt, whose trivial and popular novels were serialized for the periodical Der Gartenlaube in the nineteenth century, and is thus less than positive.

Töteberg highlights the importance of the sexual themes in Mann's plays: "Die unterschwellige Erotik, die Darstellung von homosexuellen und anderen verbotenen Liebesbeziehungen gaben den Stücken den Beigeschmack des Anrüchigen, zumal der Autor sie als 'persönlichste Beichte' präsentierte."[176]

Töteberg also emphasizes that the plays reflect Mann's sense of social identity because of the ways in which the children reenact adult ways of relating to each other. Here the opposition between artist and citizen are again mentioned. It also appears as though the Mann parents are the ones who provide the impetus to the children's artistic pursuits and who have their identity reconfirmed by what they see: "Hier [ist] das Theater Sozialisationsinstanz: Die Kinder spielten nicht für sich, sie inszenierten ein kleines gesellschaftliches Ereignis im Haus der Eltern oder befreundeter Familien. Sie imitierten die Konventionen des Bildungsbürgertums, bemühten sich aber zugleich um den

Gegenpart, die nicht weniger konventionelle, aber reizvollere Aura des Künstler-Milieus."[177]

Despair over Politics I

Absolute despair -- he realized -- had tremendous power, a dynamic impact. It could be organized, exploited, could be made an argument of irrestible persuasiveness (. . .) A man who has given up hope becomes invincible.[178]

The novel Mephisto deals with the acting career of its protagonist, Hendrik Höfgen, but it is also a novel about the despair Mann felt over political developments in Germany in the Third Reich. Höfgen bears similarities to Gustaf Gründgens, the real actor and Mann's brother-in-law who became the director of the state theater during Nazism, and who afterward continued his career until his death in 1963. He achieved precisely the career that Klaus Mann did not. It is interesting to contrast Mann's characterization of Höfgen with his view of Gründgens. Mann considered his novel a depiction of a regime that also had the qualities of an actor: unreal, replete with deception, façades, and artifice. Mephisto is also a significant work for Mann's own identity, partly because his suicide followed receipt of a letter from a potential publisher in Munich informing him that the novel would not be published in postwar Germany.

Höfgen plays the role of Mephistopheles, but he is also a Faustian figure who enters into a pact with the regime, sealed when he meets "der Dicke" (as General and Prussian Minister President Göring) in his loge during the intermission: "Der Ministerpräsident hatte sich erhoben: da stand er in all seiner Größe und funkelnden Fülle, und er streckte dem Komödianten die Hand hin . . . Im Parkett riß man Mund und Augen auf. Man verschlang die Gesten der drei Menschen dort oben in der Loge, als das außerordentliche Schauspiel, als die zauberhafte Pantomime, deren Titel lautet: Der Schauspieler verführt die Macht." (Mephisto, 232) Mann had prefaced the novel with a quote from Goethe's Wilhelm Meister on the actor's precarious balance between life and art: "Alle Fehler des Menschen verzeih' ich dem Schauspieler, keine Fehler des Schauspielers verzeih' ich dem Menschen."

In his psychoanalytic study of the double in literature, Robert Rogers posits six typical psychological occurrences of doubling.[179] These doublings occur within a work of literature, but they can also represent writers doubling with their fictional creations. According to Rogers, the double serves to dramatize qualities of conflict; to function as representation (as a technique of characterization in which the reader begins to think in terms of the pairs presented); to appeal to the reader's psychological nature (readers relate their own divergent traits within themselves); to stimulate defensive adaptations (defense of reader in introspection of reader's own motivations and life decisions); to distort or censor one's own productions (displacement, reversal, projection, etc.); and finally to establish aesthetic distance such that the intimate becomes distanced.

Mann utilized all these effects of doubling, including the distancing technique,

which would have considerable impression on the exiles who knew Germany well and could imagine such a plot. The double reflects a decomposition of the writing subject's ego: Mann reflected himself in several of the characters, and his position in the antifascist exile was a counterpoint to Hendrik's position in Nazi Germany. But Mann felt for Gründgens/Höfgen because Mann knew that Gründgens had compromised part of himself and part of his ideals from the Hamburg days, whereas Mann felt that he himself could support the antifascist movement wholeheartedly. His doubts about Soviet communism were repressed which made him support the cause all the more vigorously. Klaus's career as an activist outside Germany was like a mirror image of Gründgens' role within Germany.

Gründgens was in many respects Mann's double. Krüll lists their affinities: "Beide . . . waren homosexuell, beide hatten einen Hang zur Selbststilisierung, beide waren fleißig, beide fanden ihre Aufgabe im Dritten Reich (the one for and the other against). . . beide zeigten einen Hang zu Drogen, beide starben durch eine Überdosis an Schlaftabletten."[180] However, whereas the double in literature typically appears in the work itself, here the double is the writer and the protagonist. This formal incongruity also reflects the unclear nature of who plays the character Mephistopheles and who plays Dr. Faustus in Goethe's Faust.

Mann's characterization of Gustaf Gründgens in Mephisto has been the object of much critical speculation, and also led to the banning of the novel in West Germany from 1968 until the 1980s on grounds of libel. Yet it was not Klaus Mann, but Hermann Kesten who had first had the idea for the novel. In a letter to Mann from November 15,

1935, thirteen months after Gründgens had been named as director of the state theater, Kesten proposed making the protagonist a homosexual and a careerist in the theater world, and named Gründgens as the model: "Sie sollten den Roman eines homosexuellen Karrieristen im dritten Reich schreiben, und zwar schwebte mir die Figur des von Ihnen künstlerisch (wie man sagt) schon bedachten Herrn Staatstheaterintendanten Gründgens vor (Titel: 'Der Intendant'). Dabei denke ich nicht daran, daß Sie eine hochpolitische schreiben, sondern -- fast -- einen unpolitischen Roman, Vorbild der ewige Bel-Ami von Maupassant, der schon Ihrem Onkel das köstliche Schlaraffenland entdecken half." (Briefe und Antworten, I: 1922-1937, 238-39) Heinrich Mann's novel Der Untertan (1914), a satire about the escapades of the young, lower-middle-class, provincial-turned-Berliner Diederich Heßling, was also an influence on Mephisto. Kesten imagined a social satire, a "Satire auf gewisse homosexuelle Figuren. Satire auf den Streber, auf -- vielleicht -- viele Arten von Streber. Im Ganzen: der Hauptstadt erzählt, wie man Intendant wird." (Briefe und Antworten, I: 1922-1937, 239)

But Mann decided instead to portray Höfgen as heterosexual. This significant alteration of the plot and the reality (for Gründgens was gay and married) demonstrates that Mann was concerned about negative depictions of homosexuality. Höfgen is characterized as a masochist who visits the apartment of his Congolese mistress Princess Tebab for "dancing lessons" that were an acting out of his sexual fantasy of being dominated and whipped by her. Ultimately, Princess Tebab must move to Paris, and to quell rumors, Höfgen quickly marries Nicoletta. The portrayal of Göring and Lotte Lindenthal, his wife and Höfgen's protector, is closer to reality, as Gründgens' biographer

attests: "Es entsprang wohl zuvörderst seiner (Görings) primitiven Freude an Pracht und Glanz, daß er sich auch für 'sein' Theater die glänzendsten Namen holte: Furtwängler für die Oper, Gründgens fürs Schauspiel. Dazu mochte ihn seine spätere Gattin, die Schauspielerin Emmy Sonnemann, die kein großes Gestaltungsvermögen, aber einen guten Theaterverstand besaß, auf die hervorragende fachliche Qualifikation von Gründgens aufmerksam gemacht haben."[181]

While in Spain shooting a film, the German cast learns that Hitler has become Chancellor. After much anguish and deliberation, Höfgen is relieved to be a non-Jew, which will permit him to return to Germany and possibly to resume his career there. Yet he knows that because of his flirtation with communism, and his dabbling in revolutionary theater in Hamburg, he is still not viewed positively by all the new government's leaders. He realizes that he will need protection, which he receives, in a letter from a theater colleague, Angelika Siebert. She urges him to return to Germany, hinting that former fellow actress Lotte Lindenthal, the wife of "der Dicke," would indeed protect him. "Man durfte -- nach Angelikas Meinung -- sicher sein, daß diese herzensgute und liebliche Dame ihren mächtigen Freund in jeder Hinsicht auf das günstigste beeinflussen werde." (Mephisto, 209) The rest of the novel depicts Höfgen's maneuvering to remain in favor with power.

In a 1933 essay entitled "Die Konsequenten," Mann describes how the nature of the regime can be summarized by its yearning for power, something that transcended ideology: "In diesem qualligen Chaos von Lüge und boshaft beabsichtigter Konfusion bleibt eine Tendenz allein deutlich und unverrückbar: *ihre (the rulers') Machtgier*, die

schauerlich wächst." ("Die Konsequenten," 86) Power is the source of Höfgen's motivation. He must maintain a favorable connection to power, personified in the figure of "der Dicke," also referred to as simply "die Macht," the minister-president who resembles Hermann Göring. Göring did in fact protect Gründgens, and Gründgens did indeed have a strained relationship with the Minister of Propaganda, Goebbels. In the novel, political power becomes inextricably bound up with artistic production which is answerable to it, leading to an arts landscape devoid of any experimentation, new ideas or development.

Mann saw many different personality traits in the character of Höfgen: ambition, subservience to power, and severity toward his actors and actresses. Yet Sebastian is barely characterized at all, though he is the figure who would seem to be Klaus Mann himself. Mann wanted to see the many sides of his own personality depicted in several characters. For example, the disappointment of the lighting engineer and Nazi Miklas with the Nazi regime might have mirrored Mann's own disillusionment with the Soviet regime after his return from a visit there in 1934 to witness their All Union's Writers' Congress. And the communist agitator Otto Ulrichs, whom Höfgen cannot save from torture and death at the hands of the Nazis, might have been Mann's political activist alter-ego, as Ulrichs is the one who sends the messenger to serve as a warning to Höfgen.

My thesis that political and sexual identity are interrelated in Klaus Mann's work finds that connection in Mephisto primarily in his depiction of Höfgen as heterosexual. There is a gay character, Monsieur Larue, a French journalist who is presented in an unfavorable light. He was possibly based on the French writer Jules Romains, who

expressed sympathies for Hitler.

It was quite risky for Mann to write the novel, whether or not it is read as a *roman-â-clef*. Mephisto is one of the few novels to describe life inside Nazi Germany from a vantage point in exile, along with Anna Seghers' Das siebte Kreuz and Lion Feuchtwanger's Die Geschwister Oppermann. Neither of these other novels is a satire, and their milieus are not the leadership ranks of the society. The regime with its "Volksfeste" is made to appear ridiculous, Höfgen's sex life and fear of power are both silly and disturbing. In a letter to Emily Sonnemann-Göring, which Mann really did write and publish with a clandestine book cover called "Deutsch für Deutsche," Mann appeals to her conscience for the thousands of victims who were already being tortured in the concentration camps in 1936. [A letter from Kadidja Wedekind to Rolf Kieser describes how "Besonders nach dem Röhm-Putsch wurden die Homosexuellen zu tausenden in den Konzentrationslagern gequält."[182]]

Gustaf Gründgens did save numerous potential victims of Nazism from a terrible fate. The Nazis knew of Jews and communists who were employed at the State Theater and for whom Gründgens provided a shield of protection. This fact is also depicted in the novel, in passages depicting Höfgen's despair over the "excesses" of the regime, and his protection of his Jewish assistant.

In the last chapter of the novel, "Die Drohung," Höfgen is portrayed as someone who has figured out how the system works. But then he gradually loses control over events: his Hamlet-role is weak; he marries Nicoletta, but their alliance is described as fatefully doomed; finally, he receives word from a messenger at the end which reveals that

Otto Ulrichs, though dead, has triumphed and that he, Höfgen, has faltered in life. Höfgen's career runs a course that is inversely related to the roles he plays: when he plays the evil Mephisto, he is at the top of his form; when he plays the better (or at least more ambiguous) role of Hamlet, he fails and it signals the beginning of his downfall.

Chapter Five

Identity Patterns in Mann's Plays Revue zu Vieren and Geschwister, the Novels Symphonie Pathétique and Alexander, and His Filmscript, Novel Fragments and Story "The Monk," and Last Essay

Sexuality and politics are two of the central themes in Mann's early plays, written and performed when he was in his late teens and early twenties. These plays reveal an interdependence of sexual and political identities framed as intergenerational conflict, with young people's secret codes, their play, and their ways of setting themselves apart from their parents and their parents' generation. Written and performed after the end of Expressionism on the German stage after the early 1920s, these plays, which were performed on both mainstream and avant-garde stages, still contain such Expressionist stylistic elements as exclamation and ellipses and such Expressionists' concern with questions of personal and especially generational identity as visions of the "new man," and gender and age differences. Moreover, the dramatic dialogue presents characters who reveal much more of themselves than do the figures in Mann's prose fiction.

In the play Anja und Esther (1925), as we have seen, Mann creates an initial lesbian relationship that ends with a heterosexual object choice. In Geschwister (1930), an incestuous relationship is suggested, and in Revue zu Vieren (1927), Mann ends the play with partner-swapping. His later Der siebente Engel (1946) is a lengthier and more developed work than the other three plays, and it offers insight into Mann's sexual identity in the years near the end of his life. Its apocalyptic vision prefigures Mann's last essay,

"Die Heimsuchung des europäischen Geistes" (hereafter "Heimsuchung"). This essay in turn reflects Mann's despairing tone in his last novel fragment, "The Last Day" (1949).

Mann's sense of social-self identity reaches its pinnacle in Der siebente Engel, and both sexual and political aspects of his own identity become most apparent here. All the plays thematize the idea of progeny (the failure of realizing it and relating it to artistic production). I omit Mann's two other plays, Athen (1932) and Gegenüber von China (1930). (Siebenter Engel, 239-316 + 135-192) Athen thematizes the role of intellectuals and reason in a democracy, but is not sufficiently relevant to political identity; Gegenüber von China thematizes the difference between optimistic American youth and world-weary European young people, and does not address sexual and political topics as clearly as the other plays. This chapter also discusses various aspects of Mann's identity in his work on the film Paisà, Mann's two novels on famous homosexuals from history, Symphonie Pathétique and Alexander, and his final essay on "Die Heimsuchung des europäischen Geistes."

As I have defined identity as a product of social relationships, in my investigation of Mann's plays I am interested in how he actually staged various identities. In staging identities in the plays, Mann seeks to work out various interpersonal and social ideas that include both sexuality and political views. Der siebente Engel, for example, dramatizes despair at the possible end of the world. (This despair culminates in the essay "Heimsuchung" and the novel fragment "The Last Day".) Mann continues the despairing tone of European intellectuals in the face of postwar divisions, reflecting his views on the evolving cold war and the aftermath of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

In the only single discussion of them to appear thus far. Mann's plays are the topic of an essay by Töteberg, one of his publishers. Härle. Krüll. and Kroll also cover the plays in their more general studies of Mann. Töteberg's analysis describes Mann's motives for writing the plays. The identity elements in my treatment correspond to what Töteberg calls self-revelation and the confessional nature of these works. According to Töteberg. particularly in Anja und Esther and Revue zu Vieren, plays in which Klaus. Erika. and Pamela Wedekind appeared in the starring roles. Mann's autobiographical tendency becomes most clear. Töteberg suggests that Mann wanted a public production of himself. and notes the elements of theater that corresponded to his temperament: "Verwandlung und Maskerade. Selbstdarstellung vor Publikum -- Theater mußte eine Faszination sein für einen Menschen. der einen engen Zusammenhang zwischen Exhibitionismus und dem Phänomen der künstlerischen Begabung sah. die tiefe Lust jedes artistischen Menschen am Skandal. an der Selbstenthüllung: die Manie zu beichten."[183]

Soldier Klaus Mann

In "The Monk." written in English during Mann's service in the United States Army. the position of the homosexual is depicted again. although not explicitly stated in the text.[184] The "monk" is a recruit in the army who gets the nickname from his fellow soldiers. and the story is Mann's only effort at depicting his life in the armed forces. The "monk's" colleagues cannot understand his strange ways: they think that he is either

religious or that he might be married, because he fails to join in their sexual joking and kidding. He cuts out silhouettes made by the shadows of his soldier colleagues to pass the time. One evening while on guard duty, he passes by a cemetery that is near the fence to the base. His mind races with thoughts of death, and he recalls his life. He finds a forlorn woman who is drunk and wandering about by the fence. He takes her in; it turns out that she is a prostitute. The other soldiers are amazed at and suspicious of the woman, and chidingly ask the "monk" to make a silhouette of them together, intimating that they had had a sexual encounter. The "monk" agrees to it, but the result is only a man and a woman standing apart, with a cross and a grave between them.

The "monk" is an outsider by age and nationality, and by his physique, his lack of masculinity and masculine traits. The stigma associated with being a sexual outsider is prominent in the story: the "monk" has an affinity with the prostitute. He is also recalling his own life's story when he sees the cemetery; he connects sexual identity with death, both at the fence and later when he makes his cut-out. Mann again emphasized a correspondence between homosexuality in his art and in his life.

Before he entered Germany with the American and Canadian troops, Mann was able to work in film after he had met the Italian film director Roberto Rossellini in Italy. Mann's efforts in the newer medium coincided with his frustration with his status as a writer in the postwar period. Two examples give expression to that disappointment: his essay on the "ordeal" of European intellectuals, and his angry response to a publisher who had rejected his novel Mephisto because of Gründgens' postwar esteem and the political climate in Germany in the late 1940s.

Mann had met Rossellini in Rome in June, 1944, when Mann was with the invading North American troops. They conceived the film Paisà, originally called The Seven from the U.S., which was to be a fictional account based on the liberation of Italy.[185] According to Kroll, Mann's role in the writing of the film was appropriate: "Soweit man der Interpretation des Regisseurs Rudolf Thome zustimmt, Paisà sei einer der 'trostlosesten' ihm bekannten Filme, war Klaus Mann zweifellos von vornherein ein denkbar geeigneter Mitarbeiter für ein solches Werk."[186] The desperation shown in the film, which ends with Italian partisans and American O.S.S. officers massacred by German troops, thus matches the hopeless notes of "Heimsuchung" and "The Last Day."

The film's credits show that the "scenario and dialogue [were written] in collaboration with Klaus Mann." But Mann had seen the film in an early version without his name credited, which led to later legal battles between him and Rossellini.[187] The film depicts the initial landing of the troops in Sicily, with episodes following in Naples, Rome, Florence, a monastery in the Arno river valley, and finally the Po valley in the north.

Mann contributed several scenes to the film, including the opening scene in Sicily, in which the Italian peasant girl Carmela shows the Americans to a tower in town from which they can better observe the movements of the German troops. In the scene "The Nurse," Mann recounts an episode in which the American nurse Ellen Mackay is blamed for the death of a townswoman's infant, flees through the streets of Naples, and finally recognizes the doctor as her lover who will take care of her. In the final version of the film, the nurse scene is moved to Florence, and concludes with the nurse Harriet trying to locate the partisan fighter Guido in the city.

The episode in which the nurse flees through the city is moved to Florence in the final version and concludes with the partisans capturing several fascist troops. The camera perspective shows how Mann identified with Carmela, a female figure like Vera Vanstraaten in Der siebente Engel and Christiane in "Kindernovelle" in her central role.

In his discussion of Mann's scripts for the film, Kroll suggests that Mann's version of this nurse-episode reflects his sexual identity: "Charakteristisch für Klaus Mann ist, daß er den Zuschauer wieder einmal mit der weiblichen Hauptfigur identifizieren und somit den Standpunkt des passiven Homosexuellen einnehmen läßt, der auf den von ihm begehrten Mann wartet, anstatt selbst die Initiative zu ergreifen."[188]

It is unlikely, however, that Mann identified solely with the nurse. It is too narrow a limitation. Moreover, such an interpretation too easily conflates gender (of the character Carmela) with the supposed sexual practices of the author. Judith Butler in Gender Trouble has warned of the pitfalls of such a critical approach to understanding sexuality and sexual object choice. She is concerned to what extent "regulatory practices . . . constitute identity," and develops a theory of identity that results from "compulsory heterosexuality."[189] Mann surely wrote the script for the film with the fate of the many characters in mind. As a conscript in the United States army at the time of the film, Mann would not likely have automatically identified homosexuality with passivity.

His process of identification is instead distributed among elements and characters in the script. He identified closely with partisans who appear in several other scenes. In addition, he sympathized with the Catholic Army chaplain in the episode "The Chaplain," in which the chaplain is as ineffectual as Mann felt intellectuals were who, like Mann as a

reporter for the Army newspaper Stars and Stripes, accompanied the invading forces.[190]

The Historical Homosexual Figure

Mann wrote two novels and one novella about the historical, reputedly homosexual figures Tchaikovsky, Alexander the Great, and King Ludwig II of Bavaria. Mann identified with them, but he also chose them to try out as various models for sexual identity. Each of the figures was just as unhappy in love as Mann was throughout his life.

In "Vergittertes Fenster" the reader feels enclosed and trapped, just like the Bavarian ruler. Written in exile in 1937, it is a story of exile in one's own home, indeed in one's own mind. The novella consists of Ludwig's long interior monologue in which he wonders how he could be imprisoned and overthrown, and decides what action to take next. Creative urging of course finds no outlet in the prison cell of Ludwig's mind, in the same way that Alexander's conquests cease to motivate him sufficiently at the end. Likewise, Ludwig's solitude and loneliness are central to his story, and Ludwig's realization that he will never again converse with Richard Wagner or hear his music makes life unbearable to him. Kroll finds too much detail in Alexander and Symphonie Pathétique, but I view them as ruminations on the author's sexual identity, an identity that must be all-inclusive. In each novel, Mann had to create an atmosphere that could convey the protagonists' homosexual identification without repeatedly stating it.

Two of Mann's early novels have as their subject topics that did not appear

relevant to the historical moment, in contrast to his later novel Mephisto. The first novel, Alexander: Roman der Utopie, was written in 1929, the year of the beginnings of the world economic crisis which signalled the end of the boom years of the late 1920s in the Weimar Republic. Symphonie Pathétique: Ein Tschaikowsky-Roman, his first novel written in exile, was published in Amsterdam by Querido in 1935, the same year Mann published his essay on homosexuality and fascism. If the question of Mann's sexual identity is moved to the forefront, then it becomes quite evident why he turned to these two historical figures when he did. These two novels have homosexual protagonists. A brief comparison of them with "Vergittertes Fenster," a novella about another historical figure, adds to an understanding of how Mann viewed homosexuals.

Mann's purpose in beginning a biographical novel about the conqueror Alexander the Great of Macedonia in 1929 remains unclear, although he felt at this time (in his mid-twenties) that he needed to produce something substantial, and that his world travels caused him to begin thinking in "planetären Maßstäben." (Wendepunkt, 217) He sensed the increased appeal of social utopias, not unlike those of Ernst Bloch, and felt that they were "nicht nur denkbar, das heißt formal möglich -- oder erfüllbar, das heißt objektiv möglich --, sondern schlechterdings notwendig." (Auf der Suche, 52) And his novella about Ludwig II, "Vergittertes Fenster," written in 1937, also seemed an odd undertaking for the period characterized by worldwide depression and social upheaval. It seems as though Mann were belatedly treating in 1929 the rise of totalitarianism, six years after the fascists had attained power in Italy. Alexander's conquests could be considered examples of overcompensation; the novel is, however, also about vastly different cultures with

differing value systems coming into contact with each other. Mann thought of himself as a mediator between cultures, at least between those of France and Germany, and in his later years in exile as a kind of ambassador of European culture in the United States. And in one essay from 1940, Mann discussed the positive aspects of two cultures coming together in his partly Jewish heritage from his mother's side of the family and the Brazilian background from his father's side. ("Lob der gemischten Rasse," 7)

Härle examines both the Alexander novel and the novella on Ludwig II in a brief discussion of "Könige und Prinzen."[191] For Härle, Klaus Mann's identity revolves around mythic structures treated in his works. Härle proposes that the father-son conflict in Klaus's works is actually the mythical universal Oedipal struggle, much the way I suggested that the family in "Kindernovelle" stands for a universal idea of the family unit, and the sexual unions in Der fromme Tanz and "Kindernovelle" represent procreation and creation in general. According to Härle, the "prince" must conquer " . . . ödipale Herausforderungen."[192] Härle notes how this mythical constellation is apparent in Alexander and "Vergittertes Fenster." Philipp of Macedonia becomes a "Projektionsfläche" for Klaus's own notion of fathers and kings. Grandiosity and overcompensation may of course explain Alexander's motivation ("Was mich reizte, . . . war . . . die enormen Dimensionen seines Abenteuers" [Wendepunkt, 217]), and Ludwig's alleged insanity and grandiosity. Ludwig's castle-building mania would then appear to be a phallic emblem.

But Mann's reasons for portraying these figures may in fact have more to do with his ideas on social interrelatedness and feelings toward community in the broadest sense.

The roles played by two leaders (Alexander and Ludwig II.) contrast with the social position of the artist Tchaikovsky. Mann sought out a community to which he could belong throughout his life, and created communities in his works, whether it was a bohemian community (Der fromme Tanz and Treffpunkt im Unendlichen) or a political one (Alexander, "Vergittertes Fenster"), or the imagined communities (generational or military) in Der Wendepunkt. Devoted service to the community, to the social totality, as a life task, an assignment, are themes throughout Mann's work. His character Alexander wishes to establish a matriarchal world empire; Tchaikovsky emerges as a composer who mediates between the west and a Russia portrayed as Asiatic; and Ludwig II is surprisingly turned into a ruler who benevolently desires the establishment of a "People's Kingdom," a "Volkskönigtum." (Speed, 74)

The pair of emotions, duty on the one hand and a socially and interpersonally thwarted love on the other, are also common themes in Mann's fiction. In Alexander, moreover, the tropes of laughter and derision also appear, this time in the voice of Kleitos, who is the object of Alexander's love: "Heute wie damals waren die Männer der Leistung Gegenstand seiner [Kleitos's] geschwinden und spöttischen Redensarten. Er mokierte sich über die Wirklichkeit, in der er alles hätte erreichen können. Keinen Sieg nahm er ernst, auch keine Niederlage wäre ihm nahegegangen." (Alexander, 135-136) In Kleitos's final words to Alexander before Alexander kills him, he makes clear that he is not in Alexander's world and that he does not even know him: "Auch habe ich nicht darauf geachtet, ich hatte doch an anderes zu denken. In der Welt, in der ich lebe, Alexander, hast du nichts ändern können. Nicht einmal gestört hast du mich. Ich kenne dich gar

nicht." (Alexander, 149)

Härle neglects to mention the irony that Alexander (1930) was completed one year after Thomas Mann was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature, which would indicate that this novel is in fact a response to the present, and that the mythic components are secondary. Alexander then is just a man of will, devoted only to work, like Thomas Mann. Alexander is blind to the needs of Kleitos, and is too preoccupied with his world conquests to care for those around him. Likewise, Thomas Mann's ascent to the top of the literary world took a toll on his family, and Klaus always wished that he could please his father more and gain his approval.

Although Klaus was very close to his sister Erika, and dedicated Symphonie Pathétique to her, he probably harbored a jealousy of his sister near the end of his life, when they differed on political matters and when she became Thomas's closest confidant and executor of the literary estate. Klaus had been shocked to learn of her marriage to W. H. Auden in 1934. Finally, Erika had accompanied her parents to Sweden again, in 1949, for Thomas Mann to receive an honorary doctorate from the University of Lund, in the same month that Klaus committed suicide in Cannes, perhaps because, among other reasons, he felt abandoned by his entire family.

The alienation from his own family corresponds to Mann's sexual identity in several aspects. In Alexander, Mann describes the failed sexual union of Alexander with Queen Roxane of the defeated Amazons. (Alexander, 156-157) Kroll speaks of the " . . . Qual des Homosexuellen angesichts der Vereinigung mit der Frau, die Mann sehr lebendig beschreibt."[193] The utopia projected in Alexander would be a universe that differed

completely from Mann's own experiences, yet it is specifically detailed. It is a novel of utopias in general, not of any one particular utopia. Kroll asserts that Mann " . . . will erreichen, daß der Leser sich um die Verwirklichung der Utopie bemüht."[194]

A puzzle for critics familiar with Mann's work, Symphonie Pathétique: Ein Tschaikowsky-Roman, was published one year after the appearance of his antifascist novel Flucht in den Norden. It is perplexing because of its theme: the life, loves, and death of the Russian composer. Scholars have pondered why Mann would turn to Tchaikovsky when he was otherwise so concerned with political matters of the day. But Mann also wrote about Tchaikovsky because he identified closely with him: " . . . er war ein Emigrant, ein Exilierter, nicht aus politischen Gründen, sondern weil er nirgends zu Hause war. Er litt überall." (Wendepunkt, 332) The double meaning in that idea is clear: he suffered in himself as well as in the world. Mann continues: "Wie hätte ich nicht von ihm wissen sollen? Die besondere Form der Liebe, die sein Schicksal war, ich kannte sie doch, war nur zu bewandert in den Inspirationen und Erniedrigungen, den langen Qualen und flüchtig kurzen Seligkeiten, welche dieser Eros mit sich bringt." (Wendepunkt, 333) Mann wrote that he was prepared to accept the composer in his entire being, in spite of the stigma of his homosexuality and his mediocrity. The theme of stigma plays an important part here in Mann's understanding of Tchaikovsky, both in the socially constructed nature of stigma and the stigmatized inner reaction and failure to manage it.

Mann saw the composer as someone who was trapped between two worlds: to the Russians he embodied too much the Western tradition, and to the Europeans he was too Russian, too melancholy, and too alien. The social awareness of being an outsider led

Tchaikovsky to despair and depression, and his death remains a mystery. Mann called the novel a *Künstler-Roman*, a novel in which Mann found a home in an artist's life from an earlier century. The idea of historical epochs representing territory is interesting for what it says about geography and its relation to temporal displacement: "Ja, ich gebe es zu: dieser Künstler-Roman wurde mir zum Ausflug in das an zauberhaften Überraschungen reiche Land des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts." (Wendepunkt, 333)

Like Ludwig II and his yearning for an era that had passed, the eighteenth century, before the rise of science, materialism, and psychology, Mann considers Tchaikovsky to embody Mann's own feeling of the loss of an earlier time. There are similarities between "Vergittertes Fenster" and Symphonie Pathétique that are not only biographical. Both also include extensive inner monologues in which the reader is transported to the inner reasoning of the protagonist. Both characters are alienated in fundamental ways from their time and their own existence in it. Tchaikovsky's sixth symphony was written during a time of emotional instability in his life, and the reader only sees Ludwig II in his time of crisis.

Structurally, Symphonie Pathétique is meant to reflect the actual symphony. The symphony is also made to mirror the composer's life, including decades of good fortune from his wealthy patron along with painful incidents with hustlers, a failed marriage, and his tragic love for his nephew Bob. Tchaikovsky also wrote to Bob that his Symphony No. 6 in B minor, Op. 74 would be a puzzle and enigma. (Symphonie Pathétique, 280) Thus Mann in this novel was treating both Tchaikovsky's geographic and emotional homelessness: geographically homeless because he was too Asian for the Europeans and

too European for the Russians, and emotionally homeless, once his love affair ended and his patroness deserted him. Mann strove to show how pain was transformed into musical tones; life history and the dilemma of homosexuality here are the wellspring, the creative impulse of literary productivity.

But the question remains what shape and form the end result of such creative impulse might take. In his discussion of Der fromme Tanz, Kroll considers Mann's artistic tendency toward kitsch "bedenklich," and that concern can be raised for several passages in this novel as well. But the kitsch in this novel, like the obvious kitsch in the later Tchaikovsky film Es war eine rauschende Ballnacht with Zarah Leander (1938), is meant to reflect the superficial aspects of Tchaikovsky's musical style. It is also precisely Mann's utilization of kitsch that is in reality a critique of it and its association with nostalgia and even political conservativism. As in "Kindernovelle" and "Der Vater lacht," emotions related to crying and laughing also predominate here. Tchaikovsky cries tears of ". . . Rührung, des Stolzes, des Heimwehs und der Müdigkeit." (Symphonie Pathétique, 55) Melancholy, depression, and self-pity characterize the composer. Tchaikovsky said of his sixth symphony that he loved it as he had never loved any other of his offspring. The view that his works of art were considered offspring recalls Mann's own themes of the work of art as progeny in, for example, Der fromme Tanz and Der siebente Engel.

Partner Switching and Various Family Constellations

"Mit Revue zu Vieren war Klaus Mann dabei, allen Kredit zu verspielen, den trotz Einwänden Anja und Esther dem jungen Autor gebracht hatte . . . Waren die Dichterkinder bei Anja und Esther noch als Kuriosität belächelt worden, so schlug ihnen jetzt hart der Wind der Kritik entgegen."[195] This judgment by Töteberg reflects most opinions of Mann's second play, Revue zu Vieren, which premiered in Leipzig in April 1927. More rough-hewn than Anja und Esther, it nonetheless contains elements of Mann's views on identity questions and can therefore be interpreted as representative of some of the identity issues, in particular, social and sexual identity.

In Revue zu Vieren, Mann stages two approaches to creativity that can express the identity of the new generation. Michael is writing an immense philosophical work that will synthesize the striving and concerns of the youth of the time, while Allan hopes to initiate a gigantic, all-encompassing revue. This revue is to be something that will ennoble and unite the youth of the day: a spectacular event, it will contain singing, shows, and demonstrations. It will play in capital cities around the globe. It is ultimately to be the expression of Mann's own generation, as is the related journal Allan plans to publish, "Europäische Jugend."

This play again features the symbiosis of a group of four main characters who are trying to coexist and arrange lives for themselves. The positioning of the relationship between the four (Michael, Ursula Pia, Allan, and Renate) is the theme of the play itself. Ursula Pia asks Allan: "Weißt du, wie ich zu Michael stehe? Weißt du, wer Michael ist?

Weiß ich, wer du bist? Weißt du denn, wie ich zu dir stehe? -- Alles würde zum Lachen einfach sein, dürfte einer den anderen kennen." (Siebenter Engel, 94)

Renate and Michael are a couple visited at Renate's hat shop by Ursula Pia and Allan. Ursula Pia and Michael engage in conversation, and Ursula Pia is fascinated by him. Renate and Allan discuss the revue while Renate considers which hats Ursula Pia might like. Eventually, Allan convinces Michael to give up his idea of writing his great philosophical work, because a book can be contradicted, and to work together with him on the revue.

But Michael's planned work tells much about what Mann wanted to present about his generation. Michael says that he plans to write about Soviet Russia and America, with a Pan-Europe in between. According to Michael, "der politische Teil hat mir beinah am meisten Kopfzerbrechen gemacht." (Siebenter Engel, 78) That view might reveal Mann's own political ideas. Around the same time, Mann was also drawn to the ideas of anti-nationalist, European unity of Coudenhove-Kalergi, about whom he wrote several essays: he was striving to find his own political identity by identifying with a political ideal and writing about the future of Europe.

Moreover, Michael's ambition for his work would go beyond political concerns. The order he gives to the themes of his work: "Erotik, Politik, Religion und Kunst" (Siebenter Engel, 77) puts eroticism first.

Ursula Pia: Der erotische Teil Ihres Werkes wird selbstverständlich der gefährlichste und schwierigste von allen sein.

Michael: Aber bedenken Sie doch, wie eng er [der erotische Teil] sich dafür auch mit allen anderen Teilen verbindet. Ich stelle die Kapitel, die unsere Erotik behandeln, an erste Stelle, von dort aus erklärt sich so vieles, ich finde den einfachsten Weg zu so manchen politischen, sozialen, religiösen Phänomenen. (Siebenter Engel, 79)

Michael's (Klaus's?) philosophical work is never written, as Michael agrees to work on the revue. But that project also collapses after Ursula Pia sabotages Renate's debut. The critics are so outraged, and the youth of the city so disappointed, that they chase the four showy ringleaders out of town. The play ends in a hotel on the outskirts of the city, where the four, having now switched partners, pretend to be a "Geheimrat" and "Hoher Prinz" accompanied by their rich and famous spouses. The entire revue, indeed the entire play, turns out to be nothing but a farce. It seems as though Michael's plans for his philosophical work must also have been insincere and frivolous.

Yet Mann was addressing concerns of the time and the search for answers to sexual and political identity problems of the day. The criticism of the play was generally negative. Herbert Ihering wrote that "nichts Privates existiert, das sie nicht preisgeben."[196] In my view, the play is a continuation of the constellations of figures initiated in Anja und Esther. Hoffer does not mention the play, although in his preface he writes that the play's unavailability in published form led him to omit it. To Kroll, the play is a "Machwerk," and Krüll is most interested in the songs from Mann's "Kaspar-Hauser-Legende" that relate the play to his Kaspar Hauser cycle of poems.

Töteberg offers the first longer treatment of the play, aside from Kroll's discussion

of it. According to Töteberg, the play "ist auch nicht mehr als Bluff und Hochstapelei."[197] without consideration of why those were its theme. He suggests that there was no shape given to the play's political slogans and catch-phrases. But Mann was attempting to show the waywardness of his generation precisely by showing the superficiality with which some political programs were conceived.

Härle introduces his discussion of Mann with the critics' appraisal of Revue zu Vieren. Härle considers the sexual innuendo contained in the critics' responses, and comes to the conclusion that "hinter den boshaft-heiteren Zurechtweisungen liegt ein tieferer Sinn."[198] He then interprets the position of Klaus as one assigned (primarily by the critics) to the back and below -- anal zones. That interpretation is a response to other earlier critics' literary homophobia. I agree that the sexual connotations and implications of Revue zu Vieren led to the critics' negative reaction to the play. But Mann had preempted just such criticism when he had Michael describe his work with the emphasis on the chapters on eroticism. In the world as it was [is], there is no possible way to complete such a work, as the world was not ready for a compendious volume on the erotic desires of youth.

Geschwister, yet another play centering on four characters, is based on Cocteau's novel Les Enfants terribles. Mann had met Cocteau in Paris in 1926, and he was intrigued by the French writer's openly gay life and "fasziniert von der kühnen Bravour seines Virtuosentums, von der radikalen Unbedingtheit seines Ästhetizismus." (Wendepunkt, 219) Cocteau also wrote the foreword to Mann's novel Alexander, and claimed that Mann was his partner in suffering, unfit for this world. (Alexander, x)

In Geschwister, Paul and Elisabeth are being supported in Paris by their friend Gérard's uncle, when Elisabeth takes a job as a mannequin. She becomes acquainted with Agathe and with Michael, an American, whom she marries. Michael then dies in an automobile accident.

Paul had been hit on the forehead by a snowball packed around a stone thrown by Dargelos, who does not appear in the play. The brother and sister Paul and Elisabeth keep a "collection" of music-boxes, pictures, and a white ball representing the snowball. Paul feels that he is in love with Dargelos ("Warum zielte Dargelos ausgerechnet auf mich? Er konnte gar nicht wissen, daß ich so viel an ihn dachte"). (Siebenter Engel, 201) Dargelos has the only face Paul believes he can love, until Paul sees in Agathe's face the visage of Dargelos (Gérard: "Man würde schwören: ein Bruder Agathes"). (Siebenter Engel, 228)

Paul next falls in love with Agathe (Paul: "Ich habe nie geglaubt, daß ich eine Frau lieben könnte"). (Siebenter Engel, 223) When Elisabeth discovers that Agathe really loves Paul, she becomes jealous and burns Agathe's love letter to Paul. Elisabeth persuades Agathe to marry Gérard instead, and they move out. Gérard inherits his uncle's factory and later receives a present from Dargelos: a black ball of drugs from India. Paul takes it with him and eats it, slowly killing himself, as he telegraphs Agathe that he is dying. Agathe tries to save Paul, and realizes that Elisabeth had intercepted her love letter to him. After Agathe is forced to leave, Elisabeth takes a revolver out of the collection and prepares to shoot herself to die with Paul.

The plot of Geschwister is tightly woven, reflecting the entangled nature of the relationships in the play. Elisabeth loves Paul, Paul loves Dargelos and Agathe, Agathe

loves Paul, and Gérard loves Elisabeth. None of this love is realized or consummated, and the tragedy resolves itself in a double suicide. Sexual identity is complicated here for the figure of Paul, because he actually loves three characters: Elisabeth, Agathe, and Dargelos.

The play treats the theme of incest, and touching ("anfassen") is a leitmotif. Elisabeth and Paul had been warned as children that if they touch each other they will go to hell: "Als Kinder hat man Elisabeth und mir eingeredet, daß wir sofort in die Hölle kämen . . . wenn wir uns gegenseitig anfaßten: oder einen Kuß gäben: oder uns sonst wie zu nahe kämen." (Siebenter Engel, 208) Paul embodies the pansexual nature that Klaus might have felt himself.

Paul and Elisabeth can "touch each other" once they commit suicide (the play's closing line is Esther's "Jetzt dürfen wir uns endlich anfassen"). (Siebenter Engel, 237) They are so close that they have "wochenlang dieselben Dinge geträumt." (Siebenter Engel, 219) As I have said, Elisabeth turns on and thwarts all relationships in the play. Klaus was extremely close to his sister Erika. Indeed, Klaus felt abandoned by Erika when she became so close to their father after they returned to live in Switzerland after the war. And an instance of competition between Klaus and Erika was in the way Klaus was also infatuated with Gustav Gründgens, whom Erika had married in 1922.

Härle neglects discussion of this play about siblings. His omission is all the more puzzling because he treats homosexuality in such detail in Mann's other works. Härle's study was published in 1988, a year before the publication of all of Mann's plays in Der siebente Engel in 1989, which might explain why he omitted it, because it had not yet been widely available to the reading public. Hoffer's biographical study, published in 1978, also

omits any discussion of Geschwister, and even omits it in a chronology of Mann's life and works.[199]

Krüll suggests that Klaus's relationship to his sister might have been the reason for his suicide, and sees the conclusion of the play in this light. This relationship was a "fatale Verstrickung, die zu Trennung und schließlich zum Tod führen mußte."[200] Krüll then advances the notion that the relationship mirrored Carla Mann's affinity for Heinrich Mann a generation earlier, and that the play's suicides reenacted Carla's suicide. Krüll proposes that Klaus was not consciously aware of the possible connection, even though he would later portray other incestuous attractions, particularly in his 1932 novel Treffpunkt im Unendlichen.[201] A discrepancy arises in the secondary literature about the première of Geschwister: Krüll writes that Erika played the role of Elisabeth,[202] but Töteberg says that the original plan to have Klaus and Erika in the starring roles was not carried out.[203]

Kroll emphasizes the effective staging and structure of the play, and says little about the themes of incest or homosexuality. He notes how the synesthesia of color, taste, and touch helps form the plot: the white snowball and the white wedding dress from the first half of the play become the black ball of drugs and the mourning-dress of the second half. Kroll points out how the verb "anfassen" recurs throughout the play, as a symbol of sexual relationships.[204]

Neither Krüll nor Kroll discuss the characterization of Paul by Mann as reflecting Klaus himself, and what Paul's multiple attractions and affinities might mean in that light. Töteberg comments on how Mann foregrounds and makes visible the incest theme, whereas in Cocteau's novel the author's "unentschiedene Sexualität" remained on an

unconscious level.[205] Töteberg does not draw conclusions from the actions of Paul and what they might have said about Mann, but he does note the way that the "Todessucht [ist] ständig präsent."[206]

Paul's attraction to Dargelos is essential to the plot of Geschwister. In Cocteau's novel, Dargelos is included in the action. But Mann shifts the action to a time six years later when the snowball fight is a thing of the past, merely a memory, and the twenty-year-olds are struggling to grow up. Paul was hit on the forehead, a mark or a stigma for his attraction to Dargelos. Elisabeth insists that Paul must forget Dargelos and Agathe: "Schau mich nur an. Es gibt ja doch kein anderes Gesicht mehr für dich." (Siebenter Engel, 234) Later, she says that since the snowball hit Paul, "[er] ist nicht mehr normal." (Siebenter Engel, 221)

The absent Dargelos personifies an unattainable and impossible love object in the play. Perhaps this impossibility reflects Mann's own life in which he also failed to have any lasting relationships with men. Fritz Landshoff commented on how Mann was always attracted to men who could not return the feelings he had for them.[207] Thus Mann could identify with the character Paul in Geschwister, someone who was unhappy in love, for whom any relationship was doomed to failure, and whose actions end in death.

Despair over Politics II

"Die Heimsuchung, die seit dem Ersten Weltkrieg ständig zugenommen hat an Schwere und Wucht, tritt jetzt in ihre letzte, entscheidende Phase." ("Heimsuchung," 323)

Besides several essays about the postwar literary scene in Europe and the United States, Mann's only substantive essay after the war was "Heimsuchung," in which he gives expression to his thoughts and feelings of hopelessness in light of the new realities of the beginning Cold War. The posthumously published essay presents the views of an imaginary Swedish student, through whom Mann speaks about the despair and gloom of the position of the intellectual confronted with two opposing and oppressive, mutually exclusive systems.

Mann's essay writing forms a complete circle, beginning and ending with despair. Martin Gregor-Dellin points out that, from one of his first essays "Auf der Suche nach einem Weg" to the "Heimsuchung" essay, Mann created a "Ring seines essayistischen Schaffens," which included despair over politics driven by "Angst vor dem drohenden Ende der bisher gekannten Zivilisation." (Heute und morgen, 364)

In the "Heimsuchung" essay, Mann contended that to have to choose between the two superpowers America and Russia "läßt keinen Raum mehr für intellektuelle Unabhängigkeit und Integrität." ("Heimsuchung," 337) According to Mann, the intellectual leadership of Europe began to lose all sense of perspective and direction ("Maß und Richtung") as early as the second half of the nineteenth century.

("Heimsuchung," 320-321) He asks what the intellectual of the time can now believe in. ("Heimsuchung," 317)

Mann offers despair as an appropriate response to the catastrophe into which he felt that the world was headed. Mann suggests that the writers and intellectuals must focus on the world situation in their art, that they must "kämpfen, Soldat sein." ("Heimsuchung," 330). Thus he connects the despair he feels after the war with his position during the war as a soldier fighting for a just and noble cause of anti-fascism. But in the new world order arising from the ashes of the Second World War, it is unclear for which side one should actually become a soldier. Mann feels that " . . . die verstörte Jugend Europas braucht . . . Führung und Trost, neue Ideale und Hoffnungen, einen Glauben." ("Heimsuchung," 326) Mann fears that all the traditional desirable qualities of the intellectual, "Neutralität, Weisheit, Objektivität," are now considered high treason. ("Heimsuchung," 330)

Mann asserts that the only response possible in the postwar world is one of despair: "Der absoluten Verzweiflung sollten wir uns überlassen. Nur das wäre ehrlich und nur das könnte helfen." ("Heimsuchung," 338) But in the postwar years, Mann also planned to found a journal to be called Synthesis. It was to have been published in four languages, English, Russian, French, and Spanish. Mann sought with it to build a bridge not only between capitalist democracy and socialism, but also between the academic disciplines.[208] Thus Mann considered his political identity at this time near the end of his life to act as a mediating force between the new postwar divisions. Mann had turned on America, because he perceived that America had betrayed her intellectuals. "Sie, die

Amerikaner, würden uns alle umbringen: alle 'Intellektuelle,' alle, die für den Präsidenten Roosevelt und gegen Hitler gewesen seien. Das sei des Krieges wahre Frucht." ("Heimsuchung," 281)

After the Second World War and during the last four years of his life Mann wrote only one play, Der siebente Engel, several essays, the novel fragments "The Last Day" and "Windy Night, Rainy Morrow," and contributed to the film script for the Italian film Paisà. The essay "Die Heimsuchung des europäischen Geistes" demonstrated his political identity with his despair over the onset of the cold war. In the film Paisà, Mann contributed to a political tribute to the Italian partisans fighting the fascists in the waning days of the war. Mann's planned novel "Windy Night, Rainy Morrow" (which only made it to the stage of a "general treatment"), on the other hand, was to have been an openly gay novel, the first in the English language by a German writer, that Mann was going to write in collaboration with his American friend Christopher Lazare in 1942. "The Last Day" reflects his sense of hopelessness toward the future and how difficult he felt it would be for free-thinkers and intellectuals to retain their integrity in the realities of the postwar world.

From 1945 on, Mann lived in Europe again, then briefly in America, and finally on the French Riviera. The decision to live in non-German Europe was a political one: his loathing for America at the onset of the cold war began to grow as much as did his conviction that the Germans were neither contrite nor changed. He had entered Europe with the invading forces in Italy and made his way northward to Germany. When Mann visited his family's former villa on Plochingerstrasse in Munich, he discovered that it had been used as a breeding ground for the *Lebensborn* movement, a racialist Nazi program

that worked toward conceiving "pure" Germans. That irony is depicted by Mann in his autobiography Der Wendepunkt, in his account of his meeting with a young woman on the villa's balcony. The question of offspring, related to his sexual identity as discussed in "Kindernovelle" and Der siebente Engel, was thus a theme that Mann treated both at the beginning and near the end of his writing career.

"Peter and Paul" was the original title of Mann's uncompleted novel, planned with a homosexual theme and then renamed "Windy Night, Rainy Morrow." Its fictional author was to have been named Martin Laroche (Martin alluded to Mann and Laroche suggested his co-author's name Christopher Lazare; also a friend of Tchaikovsky was named Hermann Laroche). Mann wrote that with this novel, it was " . . . the author's ambition to present the first complete, unbiassed [sic] picture of a certain aspect of American life neglected or distorted, so far, by American writers."[209] In the "General Treatment" for the novel, Mann writes that " . . . the homosexual, under present conditions, either develops a guilt complex and morbid sense of self-castigation, or else he goes to the other extreme and turns opportunistic, reckless, cynical -- ignoring the code of normal morality out of a defiant desire to punish society for its prejudice."[210] It remains unclear why Mann never finished the novel, but these words nevertheless shed light on Mann's sexual views during his final years in the United States before joining the army. He had come to know the position of the homosexual in America, and was critical of the way that other American homosexuals had never been able to present an accurate depiction of their condition.

In Mann's last prose fiction piece, the novel fragment "The Last Day" (1949), his

desperation and resignation are depicted in the last day in the lives of two men from each political bloc, east and west. True to its title, the storyline lasts exactly twenty-four hours. The novel narrates the two intellectuals' same last day, with a parallel structure creating a symmetrical effect or mirror image, just as the world's situation had divided it into two halves, communist and capitalist.

According to Michel Grunewald, Mann's reason for beginning this novel was similar to his pronouncements in the "Heimsuchung" essay. In the planned novel, " . . . il [Mann] voulait montrer que la crise secouant le monde après 1945 plaçait les intellectuels dans une situation désespérée et qu'il n'y avait plus de place pour eux nulle part."[211] The suicides of the two protagonists were supposed to reflect the general trend of the time, evident even in art, in " . . . der vereinsamten, wirkungslos und stillos gewordenen Kunst," towards decline. ("Chaplin und Garbo," 83) Grunewald suggests that in the novel " . . . le suicide de Julian est le geste d'un homme qui cède à un mouvement irrésistible et sa dimension politique n'est que secondaire."[212] However, if one considers the plot of this novel together with what Mann wrote in his essays of the time, it would appear that the gesture of suicide is anything but secondary. Instead, the act reveals what Mann's political identity meant in the last years of his life, how centrally he viewed actions of intellectuals to give voice to the despair of the immediate postwar years. Grunewald is correct, on the other hand, to consider Julian as Klaus Mann's double, because of the suicide which anticipates Mann's own suicide months later: "Julian peut être considéré comme un double de l'auteur: comme lui, il a été accusé d'être communiste et a perdu toute confiance dans les Etats-Unis et son suicide préfigure la mort de Klaus Mann."[213]

Obsession with Death and Mann's Suicide

"The rash and cruel gesture of suicide is more impressive and lovable than the vulgar motions of struggle or embrace." (Turning Point, 247)

In his final essay, "Heimsuchung," Mann even went so far as to call for a collective suicide of intellectuals to protest the situation in the world at the time. He wrote that " . . . eine Selbstmordwelle, der die hervorragendsten, gefeiertsten Geister zum Opfer fielen, würde die Völker aufschrecken aus ihrer Lethargie, so daß sie den tödlichen Ernst der Heimsuchung begriffen, die der Mensch über sich gebracht hat durch seine Dummheit und Selbstsucht." ("Heimsuchung," 338)

Mann imagined death as the end of identity. "Either [death is] the end -- which would be all right with me; or there's something new, something different -- which would be extremely interesting . . . My personal guess: temporary end of individual consciousness, *one loses one's identity* -- for some time, maybe for hundreds of years. Soul passes through various phases -- re-materialized or not. Later, at some very advanced point, one remembers all the previous incarnations. Not too bad . . . " Thus Mann was striving with his suicide for an end to consciousness and a temporary loss of identity. Golo Mann speculated that Klaus might not have killed himself if their father had died in the winter of 1949. (Briefe und Antworten II, 349) In his explanation for Mann's suicide, Kroll concentrates on the father's writing block in the last six years of his life after

Klaus's suicide.

Mann had attempted suicide several times before succeeding in 1949. Those incidents gave him the opportunity to consider his father's reactions to them. Father Thomas seemed primarily worried about the effect a suicide would have on Klaus's sister and mother. Thus at the end of his life, Mann faced the same uncaring qualities in his father he had treated in his early work "Kindernovelle." His sense of identity as a failed son could only have been increased from such responses. Thomas had created such austere distance between his son and himself that he could not imagine that the suicide attempts might hurt himself as well as the rest of the family. Krüll poses the rhetorical question " . . . Wie konnte er [Klaus] sich bei einem Vater aufgehoben fühlen, der immer nur davon sprach, daß die Mutter und Erika von seinen Selbstmordversuchen betroffen waren, nie aber zum Ausdruck brachte, daß er auch darunter litt?"[214] Krüll contends that Klaus died " . . . als einer, der wußte, daß er allen eine Last war, als einer, der sich aufgegeben hatte."[215]

There might have been a connection between Mann's suicide and his consideration of converting to Roman Catholicism while he was stationed at Camp Chowder in Missouri. In addition, his problems in finding German publishers after the war added to his financial insecurity, and may have also been a factor leading to the suicide.

Mann was also intrigued by the literary quality of death. According to Kroll, Mann ". . . habe sich in seiner Jugend mit der Figur des Moritz Stiefel aus Frank Wedekinds Frühlings Erwachen, mit dessen Begründung seines Selbstmords identifiziert."[216] Mann also thematized death freqeuntly in his fiction, beginning with the

dead baker's apprentice in "Kindernovelle" through to his last prose fiction piece "The Last Day." For these characters, death is a kind of release, a suspension or even loss of identity so sought after by Mann himself.

Aside from Kroll's discussion of Mann's suicide, there has been no in-depth scholarly treatment of his reasons for taking his own life. Perhaps near the end of his life Mann internalized society's disapproval of homosexuality, and felt the stigma of being gay greater once the war had ended and he had no external struggle left. To Kroll, " . . . für Klaus Mann [bestünde] eine sehr tiefsitzende, enge Assoziation der beiden verbotenen Wünsche homosexuelle Befriedigung und Selbstmord: da eine ausschließlich homosexuelle Veranlagung sich faktisch der Fortpflanzung des Lebens widersetzt."[217] Thus suicide might have meant the nexus between political and sexual identity for Mann. His despair in the political arena then matched his feelings of helplessness in his sexual life. His sense of social-self identity became weak once there was no more cause, and he sought to lose his identity through suicide. Literary depictions of homosexuality and death coincide, negating life.

Another explanation would, however, relativize or at least reinterpret the factor of homosexuality. Homosexuality and homoeroticism in Mann's works could alternately be viewed as life-affirming phenomena. Mann's creative sense of identity might have been strengthened by the possibilities he perceived deriving from his sexuality.

Some of Mann's critics fail to question the multiple meanings of homosexuality to Mann and his sexual identity in general. Kroll's suggestion above, for example, that necessarily connects Mann's sexuality with a death instinct, neglects certain complicating

factors brought to light in several contemporary theoretical perspectives, for example, the observation that gender and sexual identities do not essentially originate from the same thoughts and desires. Härle also sometimes draws conclusions that confuse sexual and political identity, as in his interpretation of "Mario und der Zauberer" and of Thomas Mann's influence on Klaus (see page 65).

Sedgwick's study on the epistemology of the closet seeks to destabilize the very definitional assumptions surrounding sexuality. She proposes that "'homosexuality as we conceive of it today' itself comprises a coherent definitional field rather than a space of overlapping, contradictory, and conflictual definitional forces."[218] Sedgwick and some of the more recent queer theory would denaturalize the way we think of sexuality in the present in order to understand the gay realities of such figures as Klaus Mann. Butler's extensive explorations of sexual identity, and her idea of the performative qualities of gender and sexual identity, are particularly relevant to Mann, whose early plays Geschwister, Anja und Esther and Revue zu Vieren, for example, problematized gender identification. A more historically oriented study, Chauncey's investigation of gay New York, sheds light on the life-world of Mann and his time in New York, thematized in such works as his fragment co-authored with Christopher Lazare Peter and Paul and his short story "Speed." Paul Derks has studied homosexuality and the public sphere in German literature in the period two centuries before Mann's life, but his new approach could also be applied to Mann, whose publication activities also exemplify the tradition of intervention in the public journalistic sphere.

Contemporary discussion of homosexuality usually revolves less around repressed

"forbidden desires" and more around the ways that lives are created and imagined. Even the strict dichotomy between homosexual and heterosexual is called into question, which was also the project Mann supported in some of his works and particularly in his essay on homosexuality and fascism. Mann in fact never really thought of his sexuality in terms of proscriptions and forbidden wishes. Instead, he objectively thematized sexual and erotic elements in his plays and fictions, eschewing possible negative reactions and seeking a new ethics of sexual and gender relations. One goal of this study has been to show how Mann criticism might be enhanced and refreshed by more original approaches to his sexual and thus political identity.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

Mann's struggle with personal identity was more central to his writing than to many other writers. Several of his titles are revealing in their emphasis on searching for a way to live and the role of growing up: "Auf der Suche nach einem Weg," "Woher wir kommen und wohin wir müssen," "Kindernovelle," The Turning Point, Prüfungen, "Ich soll kein Deutscher mehr sein," "In zweierlei Sprachen," "Maskenscherz," Vor dem Leben, and Kind dieser Zeit. This brief list contains metaphors of progress, direction, and development, as well as the linguistic awareness that came from writing in two languages and the knowledge from an acquaintance with several cultures.

Throughout his fictional work Mann manifests developing political and sexual identities. His creative engagement with politics and issues of sexual policy demonstrates, among other things, how much he was a product of his time, when abundant research in sexology coincided with the proliferation of political systems, with the choices ranging from monarchism to democracy. Mann also anticipated the later twentieth-century's thematizing of the relationship between the political and the sexual. In the light of this investigation, we can revisit the problems of identity in view of the twentieth-century theories as set forth in the Foreword and Introduction. Mann's life, fiction, and essays contain the seeds of possible further studies on the connection between sexuality and political organization, examined by such writers as Foucault, for whom expressions of

sexual identity necessarily also lead to embeddedness in social control.[219]

In varying degrees, each of Mann's novels, plays, and short stories presents political and sexual themes. The different identities that the characters embrace are usually seen as liberating achievements. Identity is foregrounded and celebrated: it is a positive, reiterative act. Whether the character's identity is as an antifascist activist (Martin in Der Vulkan and Johanna in Flucht in den Norden), or as a gay outsider (Richard Darmstädter in Treffpunkt im Unendlichen), or a careerist striver trying to please the Nazi heads of state (Hendrik Höfgen in Mephisto), it is usually unambiguous, set, and within expected character and artistic boundaries. In contrast, recent thinking about identity has tended to question the usefulness of identity categories.

In my discussion of Klaus Mann's works, I frequently focused on their autobiographical aspects. Stephan Braese has written how "das Private -- in seiner Summe und in seiner Disparatheit, auch Rätselhaftigkeit -- war von Klaus Mann immer als ein Potential empfunden worden, ein Bestandteil der Identität, Rohstoff des Schriftstellers."[220] John Brawner's dissertation has examined the interrelationship of autobiography and fiction in Mann, but he concentrated primarily on Mann's early works. Klaus Mann scholars have offered numerous readings of Mann's fiction and drama from various angles and theoretical assumptions, and I have sought to broaden the scope of criticism by exploring a combination of Mann's political themes and his sexual themes.

Klaus Mann's political development can be traced through his works. In his early writings, he showed little or no interest in political matters. His first novel, Der fromme Tanz, contains none of the political zeal of his later works. In his twenties, he gained an

interest in the Pan-Europe program current at the time. In his play Revue zu Vieren, for example, these ideas (anti-nationalist, Europe-wide unification of youth) are treated. After the rise of fascism, most of Mann's writings took on an antifascist tone. His novel Mephisto (1936) was one of the first antifascist novels to appear. In my discussion of that novel, I suggested that the character Höfgen was a literary double of Mann himself, as Mann depicted so clearly the ways that identification processes functioned in the actor's political development. When Mann wrote about André Gide, or about his ideas of socialist humanism, in his essays and his biographies, Mann's political identity was always emphasized. Mann's two novels about the emigration from Germany, Flucht in den Norden and Der Vulkan, likewise thematize politics, this time including the conflict between identification with a community (the exile community) and the need for individual love and devotion.

I showed that Mann's sexual identity also displayed a development in his fiction and non-fiction essays. Already in Der fromme Tanz a homosexual relationship between Andreas and Niels is depicted. His later works included two novels and one novella on homosexual figures from history. In Alexander the Great, Peter Tchaikovsky, and Ludwig II, Mann perceived historical figures with whom he identified. He foregrounded their homosexuality, and this identification also revealed what Mann thought of homosexuality and sexual identity: there was pain and misfortune involved in that life, but also the possibility for creative strivings and expression. In Der Vulkan, the relationship between Martin and Kikjou reflects the tension between sexuality and politics in a homosexual pair, and, as an antifascist activist becomes central to the plot, the struggle between devotion to

a lover as an individual and devotion to a community.

Contemporary and queer theories on sexuality and literary portrayals of sexuality, however, complicate this limited, straightforward account of sexual and political identity in Mann's works. These contemporary theories are characterized by the multiplicity and indeterminate nature of sexualities, as well as the historical context through which they have to be considered. This newer approach also highlights the connection between political and sexual identities. In addition, it tends to emphasize the interplay of other identifications and social practices and institutions that modify identity.[221] Identifications other than sexual orientation and sexual object choice are part of a queer approach, including the categories of race, class, and gender, in addition to new ways of conceiving of political work.

Seen in this different light, Mann may also be considered a possible precursor to some of these expanded positions of sexual identity. In his fiction and essays, Mann nearly always assumed a society that was mutable and could be changed and in which transformation was possible. In this stance he anticipated some of the gay and lesbian movements' initial impulse to change society, before the movements moved towards more assimilationist politics of securing civil rights based on an ethnic minority model. Queer approaches to politics, however, return to a meta-critique of society, as all gender and sexual assumptions are called into question. On the one hand, Mann's essay on homosexuality and fascism, for example, included a general criticism of the exile press, attacking their inability to differentiate between accepted stereotypes of homosexuals and the more complicated reality.

On the other hand, certain aspects of the writings of Klaus Mann do not lend themselves well to so-called queer readings that would apply the approaches described above, for two reasons. In many respects, Mann still represents the more traditional static binary model in theories of sexuality, viewing gays and lesbians as discrete minorities with set identities. Mann considered that there were essentialist, naturalized differences between people with different sexual orientations, an opinion that is made clear in his essay on homosexuality and fascism. This view of sexual identity found a correspondence in his ideas on political identity. He perceived clear divergence between the fascist ideology and the world view that he saw and supported among the antifascist groups.

Another reason why Mann might not be ideally approached from a queer perspective is because of his openness regarding both his own homosexuality as well as the sexualities of his characters. One common element in a queer reading of a literary text is in the notion of the sexual or affectional secretiveness of one or more characters, or of the author.[222] A queer interpretation can then demonstrate how the closet functions and serves to conceal the reader's knowledge about a character or characters. Sedgwick approaches some of the fiction of Henry James in this way, for example. Queer readings thus often yield more interesting insights when applied to ostensibly "straight" or at least closeted writers.

Due to these limitations, a queer approach to Mann and his identity issues is most helpful for the contrast it reveals between historical mid-century thinking and realities and more contemporary theoretical concerns. One of the main criticisms of traditional gay and lesbian perspectives by the more current queer writers has been that the former's static,

binary model of identity has been shown to inhibit the formation of political coalition building. This impediment is said to result from the fact that if minority models of sexual outsiders are used, then within the minority group the hierarchical structures (of class, race, etc.) prevalent in the dominant society continue to exert influence.[223] Therefore, according to this queer view, destabilized identities are required in order to universalize sexual minorities and enable political activism from a wider scope.

A consideration of the example of Klaus Mann, however, leads to a new evaluation of that reasoning. Even though Mann was a captive of his time in his perception of strict distinctions between sexualities and genders and their roles, he was still able to envision the possibilities for coalitions between various disenfranchised, marginalized, or outsider groups in the society. Precisely in his antifascist activities, Mann sought to build connections between different groups within the exile community and the progressive, antifascist forces in the host countries. Throughout the mid-1930s, Mann travelled on lecture tours widely around Europe and the United States, disseminating what he felt to be the truth about the new fascist regimes.

Much of the discussion of Mann and identity has been closely related to issues of political and sexual subjectivity. Current theories, in particular those of Judith Butler and Michael Trask, often question the very possibility of authorial or sexual subjectivity.[224] The subject position of a writer like Mann, who lived through and witnessed some of this century's worst crises and catastrophes, is a subtext to all of his works. Between the lines of his political essays, for example, runs a difficult probing of the role and efficacy of the writer.

If Mann is interpreted through the lens of queer theory, which is really more of an approach than a coherent set of specific ideas on sexuality and gender, then the concept of performativity of gender and sexuality developed by Judith Butler allows access to his views and fiction.[225] The performative notion explores how gender and sexuality are in reality performed stances rather than naturalized, essential categories. The once static and stable perceptions of gender and sexuality become identities that are adopted and performed, because they result from nothing more than social discourses and are thus societal constructs. Pre-queer theory ideas about the management of impression and everyday life for stigmatized individuals, advanced by Goffman and discussed elsewhere, were some of the sociological precursors to Butler's more philosophical proposals on performativity.

From his earliest adult years, Mann performed an outsider role as enfant terrible and scourge of the Weimar bourgeoisie during the 1920s. He relished his role as a young gay writer, and included gay themes in his works from his first novel Der fromme Tanz. The very notion of the dance in this novel reflects the performative nature of Mann's understanding of identity: Andreas moves to Berlin, and engages in a burlesque show, where he sings his songs about hustling, among other topics. The dance motif is adapted again to his later novel about the emigration, Der Vulkan. Here the image of the exiled groups dancing on the edge of a volcano occurs throughout, and identities (as exiles) are thus in a sense performed. Finally, from his early plays, particularly Anja und Esther, sexual roles and identities are expressly performed. Moreover, the arbitrary positions of the characters in Treffpunkt im Unendlichen and Revue zu Vieren suggest that Mann

considered partner identities as exchangable roles and stances related to performed gender.

However, Butler is careful to point out that she does not intend a literal interpretation of her concept of gender performativity. She writes that "performativity is neither free play nor theatrical self-presentation; nor can it be simply equate with performance."[226] "Performativity" in Mann's writing can be more broadly seen in his various depictions of gender and sexuality such as the androgynous Kikjou in Der Vulkan and Annette in "Letztes Gespräch." In his play Anja und Esther, Mann also obscured familiar, clear gender and sexual identifications of the leading characters.

I divided my discussion of Mann's identity into certain recurring patterns of political and sexual themes in many of his works in order to illustrate his identity concerns. Individual love and happiness versus social or community duty and obligation, an absent or replaced father and an intruder into an isolated family sphere, a supernatural or imaginary conception along with the artwork as progeny, partner switching and other family constellations, and Mann's despair over politics and obsession with death all presented access to his works and offered insight into many of his identity issues. In many of Mann's works, the child that arrives at the end represents a symbolic bearer of hope. Albert's son and the potential child of Julian and Nancy both personify hope in the future in "The Last Day," like Peti at end of Treffpunkt im Unendlichen, Marion's son in Der Vulkan, Vera's seventh child in Der siebente Engel, and Caloub at the end of Gide's Les Faux-monnayeurs. These recurrent thematic patterns also showed Mann's unified artistic vision and attenuated optimism for the future.

Mann's continual return to the treatment of progeny and supernatural births also relates his work to contemporary ideas and debates on gender and sexuality. The concept of so-called natural gender is of course most clearly reflected in matters of childbirth, and reproduction has been a focal point of some of the explorations into the cultural meanings of gender and genderedness. Mann sought to offer to the future the only progeny he could, namely his works, in which many characters correspond to his own real life wishes. This curious theme is especially evident in the novel Der fromme Tanz, where Mann depicts Franziska's conception with Andreas as the imaginary but intended father, opposed to the natural father Niels. In Der Vulkan, Mann pays tribute to the exile community and emphasizes his hope in its continuity and victory over fascism when he has the son of Marion and Professor Benjamin Abel born in exile, even though to unmarried parents.

The indeterminate and nebulous quality of identity has prompted a proliferation of theoretical attempts at definitions since the term gained currency in the 1950s with the work of Erik Erikson. In this study of Klaus Mann and identity, I have posited a development of the concepts of self and identity since the end of the nineteenth century to the present. In the first phase, beginning with the growth of psychology from the 1880s to the 1920s, the emphasis was on the self, and identity was basically an essential category that connoted self-sameness and continuity over time. Identity was, according to Freud and James, one's innermost being, unchanging and, once established, relatively fixed.

I demonstrated that during the period from the 1920s until the 1960s, thinking about the self was increasingly seen as an area for sociological categories. I proposed the term "social-self identity," and transported it back in time to discuss Klaus Mann and the

identity issues that appear throughout his works. This period, in which Mann lived his adult years, witnessed the emergence of social psychology, as several prominent Freudians, Karen Horney and Erich Fromm and others, sought to incorporate later-life and social changes into thinking about personality, the self, and identity. They were, like Mann (and Erikson), emigrants from Germany to the United States. Their experience of having to acculturate to a new society during adulthood affected their psychological theories and writings. Horney considered the effects of a competitive society on personality. She also suggested that gender considerations were necessary to enhance psychoanalysis, and thought that such concepts as womb envy might help explain male psychological development. The concept of womb envy can perhaps account for the imaginary and supernatural births in several of Mann's works that I discussed. Finally, Fromm expanded his theories to include tropes of escape, flight, and freedom to characterize social psychology and coping mechanisms in modern society. Klaus Mann's works reflect all these ideas.

The third and final period, since the 1960s, has been characterized by continued interest in the term identity, the emergence of identity politics, and, since the 1980s, the advent of queer approaches in literary studies, cultural studies, and social theory to sexual-political identity. Berger and Luckmann's work emphasized the constructed nature of social reality, and identity became to be viewed in terms of its fluidity and its socially constructed aspects. Erwin Goffman investigated how integral the management of everyday life is for identity continuity. His thoughts on stigma began to include outsiders into considerations of socialization. Klaus Mann's works also thematize stigma, especially

the stigma of the homosexual in society. In his own life as well Mann felt the pain of stigma for his homosexuality.

During this period since the 1960s, political identity has been no longer considered merely a product of party affiliation, but has been seen to be an important part of a personal identity generally. Sexual identity, and particularly gay and lesbian identity, has been viewed increasingly in terms of minority status in an effort to obtain civil rights. With this minoritizing view of sexual identity, however, questions have arisen about the normative, exclusionary, and hegemonic claims of the binarism of heterosexuality/homosexuality. These concerns in turn have spawned new theories and such terms as "queer," thus destabilizing conventional ideas about sexual identity. Sexual identity has also increasingly incorporated political identity, and it has become possible to invoke queerness from several sexual standpoints. The writings of Sedgwick on homosocial and homosexual elements in English literature, and Butler on the social and philosophical ramifications of compulsory heterosexuality, for example, present fresh alternatives to our ways of thinking about sexual and political identities and their effects on the work of an author such as Klaus Mann. These alternatives include expanding our definition of what constitutes sexual identity, and moving away from considering it only self-identical, unified, persisting through time in the same form, and internally coherent.[227]

This study has sought, through the application of various theories both from the time of Klaus Mann as well as from the present, to determine the connection between political and sexual identity in his works. My investigations included the attempt to bridge the gap in Klaus Mann reception based on traditional or somewhat narrower views of his

works. Recurrent identity patterns appeared during the course of the study, leading to a thematic treatment of Mann's works. Some of the thematic patterns that structure Mann's writings were found to include his political partisanship, individual love versus social duty, a common replacement father figure in the family, partner swapping and free love, Mann's despair over politics, the artwork as progeny, supernatural births, and his obsession with death. The phenomenon of geographical and cultural displacement was also shown to permeate his works, not surprising in the writings of one of the leading German exile writers.

Mann was attracted to the literary tradition of social commitment balanced by a sense of individualism he saw embodied in the French writer André Gide. Mann was not, however, drawn to Gide solely for the latter's political and sexual identity. In fact, Mann valued least among Gide's works Corydon and Retour de l'U.R.S.S., the two Gide texts in which political and sexual identity topics are most prominent. Mann instead found in Gide a figure in whose work the major currents and crises of contemporary, modern thought were most clearly and thoroughly treated. The recurrence of difficult ethical and moral dilemmas in Gide's works was the most important aspect of the author to whom Mann turned in writing two biographies, one in German and the other in English, and numerous critical essays. Gide also influenced Mann stylistically and technically. The contrapuntal formal plot structure of Mann's novels Treffpunkt im Unendlichen and Der Vulkan, for example, relates these works to Gide's Les Faux-monnayeurs.

Among Mann's works, two were considered to be of central importance for what they reveal about his ideas on sexuality and his political views: his novel Treffpunkt im

Unendlichen (1932) and his essay "Homosexualität und Fascismus" (1934), discussed in chapter one. The years in which they were written are relevant because the novel was written shortly before Mann went into exile, and the essay was written in response to developments inside Germany in the early years of the Nazi state.

Treffpunkt im Unendlichen can be viewed as a novel of transition for Mann by those who focus on Mann's development into a political writer. It marked a shift in his focus, from more personal concerns to broader social questions and political subject matter. The political turn is marked by several elements. The figure Gregor Gregori, in his striving for career success and acquiescence to political power and a corrupt regime, prefigures Mann's characterization of Gustav Gründgens as Hendrik Höfgen in his novel of four years later, Mephisto. The decision by Sebastian and Sonja to leave Germany and travel to Morocco at the novel's end foreshadows Mann's own later exile experience. Mann's characters in this novel begin to be faced with crucial decisions that would affect their later lives, and these decisions in turn are increasingly shown to be influenced by political developments. Whereas such earlier novels as Der fromme Tanz contained no references to wider political and social reality, from Treffpunkt im Unendlichen on Mann would become a more politicized writer.

Treffpunkt im Unendlichen also reflects Mann's thinking about sexual relationships and contains patterns that would emerge throughout his works, and that were discussed in chapters four and five. The constellation of characters Sebastian and Sonja and Gregor and Greta revolve around an initial partner swap, also depicted in several of Mann's plays, such as Revue zu Vieren. At the novel's end, the writer Richard Darmstädter, on vacation

with his lover Tom, realizes that he has failed in love and commits suicide, incapable as a homosexual of obtaining love and happiness. His fate is similar to Martin's in Der Vulkan, who desired a relationship with Kikjou that could not be sustained.

Mann contended that homosexuals and lesbians should be considered as people like everyone else, with similar hopes, life plans, and a multiplicity of political and world views. He claimed that it was in the contradictory nature of fascism to both form homosexual cliques on the one hand while simultaneously persecuting homosexuals on the other. Mann appealed to the reader's sense of tolerance and justice when he proposed that homosexuality was a love like any other, no better and no worse.

Yet Mann also emphasized the unique position of the homosexual in society, and the way in which society can benefit from the efforts of sexual outsiders. He considered how throughout history homosexuals have contributed in culturally enriching ways when the opportunity has been offered to them. He wrote that a society benefits when it makes room for all kinds of people: "hier hat doch alles Platz" in his ideal world scenario.

Mann actually anticipated in arguments he made in this essay some of the current and queer thinking about homosexuality and homosexuals in modern society. Sedgwick has proposed the categories "minoritizing" and "universalizing" as two trends in the recent development of political strategies and approaches to better integrate homosexuals.[228] By these opposing tendencies Sedgwick means that one approach in the gay and lesbian movement has been to consider the homosexual a minority, and that thus granting equal rights is a goal, as it is with other minority social movements. Other forces tend to universalize sexual minorities, emphasizing their commonality with all people and the ways

in which sexuality should be conceived in pluralistic and more diffuse terms.

Mann held both opinions simultaneously in this essay. He argued that sexual identity should not be considered something so important that it leads to persecution or segregation or lack of tolerance. But he also suggested, in an attempt to garner support in the wake of the Röhm purge in 1934, that sexual minorities should be seen as groups who have special talents and contributions to offer a society willing to assimilate and integrate them.

Two stories that Mann wrote in exile can illustrate both how his works reflected autobiographical elements as well as how his identity issues can be highlighted and contemporary ideas contrasted with earlier identity theories. These two short stories are significant for the two different understandings of identity that they show. Their importance extends beyond my previous discussion of Mann's works, because they bring identity questions to the fore so clearly. They were both written in the middle of Mann's most productive years, during exile, when he probably pondered his own identity more than at other times in his life. Their approaches to identity, that it is at once stable and quantifiable (in the first story), yet at the same time malleable and necessarily containing a political component (the second story), shed light on Mann and his works that might lead to further inquiries.

In the first story, "Afrikanische Romanze" (1942), Mann recounts the adventures in Fez, Morocco of the two European exiles, Doris and Marcel, based loosely on his own trip there with his sister Erika years earlier. The two visitors spend their days wandering through the city, where they one day purchase some hashish and try it, resulting in their

overdosing and subsequent nightmarish psychological bad trip. Marcel's experiences and hallucinations over the dissolution of his own physical identity are described in detail. Marcel " . . . zerplatzte buchstäblich. Er explodierte, löste sich auf, zerfiel in tausend Stücke. Seine Identität zerbrach: die Bruchstücke seines Organismus flatterten durch den Park. Er durchlebte das unbeschreibliche Gefühl vollständiger Auflösung." (Speed, 213) He and Doris are finally picked up by the police because of their strange behavior and are taken to a clinic to recover from their overdose.

Once at the clinic, their recovery begins as they are administered antibiotics and are allowed to sleep. They recuperate slowly, and Marcel experiences his identity anew as the story ends: "Marcel seinerseits hatte das Gefühl, daß sich seine Identität wieder zusammenfüge -- Stück für Stück und langsam: das Schlimmste vom Schlimmen jedoch war vorüber."[229] (Speed, 216)

"Letztes Gespräch" was one of the first pieces of fiction Mann wrote in exile, published in his journal Die Sammlung already in February, 1934. It contains many of the themes of his later exile fiction, particularly the tension between individual love and happiness and social duty and obligation in his first novel of exile, Flucht in den Norden. In this short story, the lovers Karl and Annette are two young German political exiles living in Paris shortly after the Nazi takeover. Karl wants to move out of their "pension" and to friends with whom he plans to engage in political activist work, but Annette, a dreamy, romantic personality, wants only to remain at the hotel, resign from political struggles, and seek her privacy and happiness with Karl.

After Annette tells Karl that she wants to stay, that she is tired and that she does

not want to get involved with underground activities, Karl " . . . spürte plötzlich Haß gegen Annette, wegen der Seidenlümpchen und der leeren Flacons. Sie will eine Stimmung um sich herstellen, die ihr sozial nicht mehr zukommt. . . . Décadence, die noble Pathologie; Einsamkeit mit Drogen und Huysmans A Rebours in kostbarem Einwand --: ich weiß schon, was ihr da vorschwebt, dem Kindskopf. . . . " (Speed, 24) Annette only wants Karl to give her a kiss and to stay with her. Karl then reprimands her for her attitude, and pleads with her to join him in the antifascist movement. "Auf wen soll die Bewegung denn rechnen, wenn wir so verkommen, und wir sind jung? In Deutschland herrscht das Grauen und die Barbarei, in andren Ländern steht es vor der Tür; wir sollen kämpfen -- kämpfen, verstehst du, Annette? -- , auf uns kommt es an! Und du liegst hier mit deinen Seidentüchlein." (Speed, 25)

Uwe Naumann, editor of the collection in which the two stories were published, wrote that what is usually described as Mann's development from an aesthete to a moralist, was really rather a "bleibendes Spannungsverhältnis. . . . Klaus Mann lebte ständig in dem Widerspruch zwischen zwei Polen; in seiner Autobiographie hat er sie selbstironisch benannt: auf der einen Seite 'die großen Mysterien des irdischen Daseins: Lust, Tod, Rausch, Einsamkeit . . . ,' auf der anderen Seite 'unsere sozial-politische Verantwortung -- eine verdrießliche Sache, aber nun einmal nicht aus der Welt zu schaffen.'" (Speed, 235) Naumann sees a direct thematization of that conflict in the plot of "Letztes Gespräch." The story ends with Karl leaving to join his comrades, while Annette stays behind, lies back on the pillows and cushions, and longingly ponders her sleeping pills and the other drugs at her bedside.

These two stories are important for the two very different conceptions of personal identity that they put forth. In the first story, Mann describes identity as something quantifiable. Like earlier theories of identity (of Erikson, for example), identity is seen as a unity. It is a property that can dissolve, and yet also be reconstituted again. Identity here is a natural condition and is considered relatively stable, even when it flies apart and becomes fragmented, because it will later return to incorporate an integrated whole, when Marcel heals and regains his "sense" of self (compare with Erikson's "sense of identity").

In the second story, however, Mann has demonstrated the relationship of personal identification to political organization. Karl and Annette stand at two ends of an identity continuum to Mann. In fact, Mann projects himself into both characters, as they reflect two sides within his own personality. Identity here by contrast is considered a process (for example, Karl comes to or grows into political awareness). Identity is defined as the discursive effects of available cultural categories (Karl as activist; Annette as aesthete décadent). The title of the story emphasizes that discourse will be central to Karl and Annette's characterization. Identity issues for the two are interrelated, and their identities are more malleable and fluid than Marcel's in "Afrikanische Romanze."

In a chapter on the limits of identity in her introductory study of queer theory, Annamarie Jagose delineates the problems that arise from normative, concrete identity categories as they pertained to sexual identity.[230] Influenced by poststructuralism and its contention of destabilized and decentered subject positions, queer theory is necessarily derived from the limitations of identity politics that preceded it. Marcel's fixed identity as portrayed in "Afrikanische Romanze" adheres to the earlier (pre-1980s) notions of

identity, whereas Karl and Annette in "Letztes Gespräch," ostensibly reflecting two contradictory sides of Mann himself, lend themselves to a more contemporary interpretation.

The interrelatedness of sexual and political identities in Klaus Mann's works shows how he can be viewed from a post-1980s perspective. His choices of homosexual protagonists include two from the nineteenth century (Ludwig II and Tchaikovsky), a period before the creation of the phrase of the "modern homosexual." In my rough outline of a teleology of the term "identity," Mann can be placed historically before the term developed and affected political and social life so profoundly in the second half of the century.

In a linear account of the term's coming into currency, Erikson's consolidation and definitions of identity led to identity categories becoming adopted by political movements. Sexual identity became the organizing principle for the gay and lesbian movements, and identity politics was spawned.

But more recent questioning of those binary normative distinctions and suspicion of classification have led many to "resist identity categories and their promise of unity and political effectiveness," according to Jagose.[231] This broader thinking about sexuality, politics, and sexual politics refashions Mann as much more than the sum of his parts as antifascist and gay writer.

Notes

1. See for example Stefan Zynda, Sexualität bei Klaus Mann (Bonn: Bouvier, 1986), and Gerhard Härle, Männerweiblichkeit: Zur Homosexualität bei Thomas und Klaus Mann (Frankfurt: Hain, 1993).

2. Fredric Kroll, Klaus-Mann-Schriftenreihe, Vols. 1-6 (Hannover: Edition Klaus Blahak, 1974-1996).

3. Marianne Krüll, Im Netz der Zauberer: Eine andere Geschichte der Familie Mann (Zurich: Arche, 1991).

4. Peter Hoffer, Klaus Mann (Boston: Twayne, 1976).

5. Michael Töteberg, "Eine unglückliche Liebe zum Theater: Unbekanntes und Unveröffentlichtes im Werk Klaus Manns: Sechs Theaterstücke aus zwanzig Jahren," Text + Kritik 93/94 (Jan. 1987): 14-36.

6. Michel Grunewald, "Le dernier roman de Klaus Mann," Etudes germaniques 2 (1975): 193-203.

7. Gert Mattenklott, "Die Wunde Homosexualität: Klaus Mann," Nach links gewendet: Über neuere Literatur. Argument Studienheft 42 (1980): 12-21.

8. Mann's essay on the stylistics of the new Nazi writers, "Stilkritisches" (21 April 1934), in Heute und morgen: Schriften zur Zeit, ed. Martin Gregor-Dellin (Munich: Nymphenburger, 1969) 101-04.

9. See Langbaum; and Wylie Sypher, Loss of Self in Modern Literature and Art (New York: Random House, 1962).

10. S. Moscovici and G. Paicheler, "Social Comparison and Social Recognition: Two Complementary Processes of Identification," 251-66 in H. Taifel, ed., Differentiation between Social Groups; quoted from Kay Deaux, "Social Identification," 777-98 in E. Troy Higgins and Arie W. Kruglanski, eds., Social Psychology: Handbook of Basic Principles (New York: Guilford, 1996).

11. See Robert Stoller, Observing the Erotic Imagination (New Haven: Yale UP, 1985); D. W. Winnicott, Playing and Reality (London: Tavistock, 1971); and Melanie Klein, Contributions to Psychoanalysis, 1921-1945 (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964). An excellent discussion of possible syntheses of sociology and psychology for determinations of sexual identity formation can be found in Epstein.

12. See Mark Roseman, ed., Generations in Conflict: Youth Revolt and Generation Formation in Germany, 1770-1968 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995).

13. Interview in Breloer.

14. See Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman, The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge (New York: Penguin, 1966).

15. From the 1968 edition of International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 7, p. 61; this is the first year in which this authoritative source treats identity with significant attention, a fact which demonstrates the centrality of the concept to the sciences in the last thirty years. See also Craig Calhoun, Critical Social Theory: Culture, History, and the Challenge of Difference (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1995); and Berger and Luckmann.

16. See Martin Heidegger, Identität und Differenz (Pfullingen: Neske, 1957).

17. See Karen Horney, The Neurotic Personality of Our Time (New York: Norton, 1937).

18. See Erik H. Erikson, Identity: Youth and Crisis (New York: Norton, 1968) and Insight and Responsibility (New York: Norton, 1964), especially chapter 5.

19. See Henry Harris, Identity: Essays Based on Herbert Spencer Lectures Given in the University of Oxford (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1995).

20. Michael Ruse, "Sexual Identity," in Harris 97-98.

21. See David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character (New Haven: Yale UP, 1961); and Jürgen Habermas, "On Social Identity," Telos 19 (1974): 91-103.

22. See Erik H. Erikson, Identity and the Life Cycle: Selected Papers (New York: International UP, 1959).

23. See Judith Butler, Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity (New York: Routledge, Chapman & Hall, 1990). Donald Morton also reviews Eve Sedgwick's Epistemology study in "The Birth of the Cyberqueer," PMLA 110.3 (1995): 369-81; although I agree with much of his questioning "ludic" postmodern approaches, he conflates several theorists into one generalized line of literary criticism, without recognizing the many sources of queer theory.

24. See James Steakley's introduction to the bibliography on Hirschfeld, The Writings of Magnus Hirschfeld: A Bibliography (Toronto: Canadian Gay Archives, 1985).

25. "Krieg und Sexualität," published 1930 under the title "Magnus Hirschfeld 'Sittengeschichte des Weltkrieges'" in Auf der Suche nach einem Weg.

26. Thomas Mann, "Über die Ehe," Gesammelte Werke in dreizehn Bänden (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1974).

27. Cf. also Meingast as Ludwig Klages in Robert Musil, Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1978). See also Harry Oosterhuis and Hubert Kennedy, Homosexuality and Male Bonding in Pre-Nazi Germany: The Youth Movement, the Gay Movement and Male Bonding before Hitler's Rise: Original Transcripts from "Der Eigene," the First Gay Journal in the World (Binghamton: Harrington Park P, 1991).

28. All of Klaus Mann's essays on Gottfried Benn are to be found in Prüfungen: Schriften zur Literatur, ed. Martin Gregor-Dellin (Munich: Nymphenburger, 1968).

29. Heinrich Breloer, dir, Treffpunkt im Unendlichen: Die Lebensreise Klaus Manns, NDR, 1982.

30. Ibid.

31. Kroll, vol. 3, 178-179.

32. Hans-Helmuth Knütter, "Zur Vorgeschichte der Exilsituation," in Manfred Durzak, ed., Die deutsche Exilliteratur 1933-1945 (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1973) 30.

33. Mann, Wendepunkt 209: "Wollten wir ein Paneuropa unter der Herrschaft des Vatikans, des Monsieur Schneider-Creuzot und der IG-Farben?" For a more detailed account of the development in Mann's political opinions, see Armin Kerker, Ernst Jünger -- Klaus Mann: Gemeinsamkeit und Gegensatz in Literatur und Politik: Zur Typologie des literarischen Intellektuellen (Bonn: Bouvier, 1974); on Mann on Coudenhove-Kalergi, see "R. N. Coudenhove-Kalergi: Los vom Materialismus," Die neuen Eltern: Aufsätze, Reden, Kritiken 1924-1933, ed. Uwe Naumann and Michael Töteberg (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1992) 336-37. That essay was published in February 1931; in an essay published three months later, Mann writes of an "empire or domination of the mind" (Reich des Geistes), thus positing a more idealistic worldview and setting the stage for his more embattled antifascist stance. The essay also warns of the nationalism of such writers as Ernst Jünger. See "Die Jugend und Paneuropa," Neue Leipziger Zeitung (16 May 1931), rpt. in Zahnärzte und Künstler: Aufsätze, Reden, Kritiken 1924-1933, ed. Uwe Naumann and Michael Töteberg (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1992) 254-75.

34. Laura Engelstein, "Soviet Policy toward Male Homosexuality: Its Origins and Historical Roots," in Gert Hekma, Harry Oosterhuis, and James Steakley, eds., Gay Men and the Sexual History of the Political Left (Binghamton: Harrington Park P, 1995) 136.

35. George Chauncey, Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Male Gay World, 1890-1940 (New York: HarperCollins, 1994).

36. Gorki quoted in Engelstein, in Hekma, Oosterhuis, and Steakley, eds. 170.

37. The most thorough accounts of the reaction of the exile press to the Röhm Putsch are to be found in Alexander Zinn, "'Die Bewegung der Homosexuellen:' Die soziale Konstruktion des homosexuellen Nationalsozialisten im antifaschistischen Exil," in Detlef Grumbach, Die Linke und das Laster: Schwule Emanzipation und linke Vorurteile (Hamburg: MännerschwarmSkript, 1995) 38-84; and the two differing interpretations by Manfred Herzer, "Communists, Social Democrats, and the Homosexual Movement in the Weimar Republic," and Harry Oosterhuis, "The 'Jews' of the Antifascist Left: Homosexuality and Socialist Resistance to Nazism," in Hekma, Oosterhuis, and Steakley, eds. Herzer notes that the attacks on Röhm's homosexuality need to be understood in the context of the Left's general support for emancipation, a tradition which Klaus Mann also acknowledges in his essay.

38. Steven Epstein, "Sexuality and Identity: The Contribution of Object Relations Theory to a Constructionist Sociology," Theory and Society 20 (1991): 827.

39. Alexander Stephan, "'Confidential Informant T 3 Reports . . . :' Klaus Mann und das FBI." in Eijiro Iwasaki, ed., Begegnungen mit dem "Fremden:" Grenzen -- Traditionen -- Vergleiche. Akten des VIII. Internationalen Germanisten-Kongresses, Tokio 1990. Vol. 8: Sektion 14. Emigranten- und Immigrantenliteratur (Munich: Iudicium, 1991) 109.

40. Allan Bérubé, Coming Out under Fire: Lesbian and Gay Americans and the Military during World War II (New York: Free Press, 1989) x. His discussion of Harry Stack Sullivan shows the dilemma of interpreting views towards homosexuality held by what had become an official psychoanalytic establishment by the 1940s. Sullivan originally had proceeded from an antihomophobic beginning but, as the psychiatric rules and procedures became routinized, they were changed by military bureaucrats with the entry of the United States into the war in 1941.

41. See Robert Langbaum, The Mysteries of Identity: A Theme in Modern Literature (New York: Oxford UP, 1977); and Kenneth Gergen, The Saturated Self: Dilemma of Identity in Contemporary Life (New York: Basic Books, 1991).

42. Martin Gregor-Dellin, the executor of Klaus Mann's literary estate, in the afterword to the 1977 edition of the novel Der Vulkan (Hamburg: Rowohlt), 563.

43. See George Mosse, Nationalism and Sexuality: Middle Class Morality and Sexual Norms in Modern Europe (Madison: U Wisconsin P, 1988).

44. See Sander Gilman, Freud, Race, and Gender (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1993).

45. See Krüll.

46. Thomas Mann, Tagebücher 1918-1921 (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1979). Krüll suggests the onset of conflict between father and son and the connection between political and "Oedipal" struggle with "Verwirrung und Revolution im Hause Thomas Manns" as the title of her chapter covering the crucial years from the end of the war until the early to mid-twenties (268-81).

47. Hans Mayer, Außenseiter (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1975) 292.

48. Mattenklott, 12.

49. Kroll, vol. 1, ix.

50. See Wilhelm Reich and his work in the journal Sex-pol and The Mass Psychology of Fascism (New York: Orgone Institute P, 1946). Jose Ortega y Gassett's monograph, The Revolt of the Masses (New York: Norton, 1957) appeared also as a response to fascism in Europe.

51. See Riesman on types and character.

52. See Mayer.

53. Interview in Breloer.

54. This is merely a sampling of the numerous recent publications in this area. Consult the appended bibliography for additional titles. See also Biddy Martin, Woman and Modernity: The Life(Styles) of Lou Andreas Salomé (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1991); and James Jones, "We of the Third Sex:" Literary Representations of Homosexuality in Wilhelmine Germany (New York: Peter Lang, 1990).

55. These are some of the examples of the more numerous studies in American, English, and French literatures: see Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, The Epistemology of the Closet (Berkeley: U of California P, 1990); and Leo Bersani, Homos (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1995).

56. Michael Lucey, Gide's Bent: Sexuality, Politics, Writing (New York: Oxford UP, 1995); Lucey's work is too uncritical of Gide's views on colonialism according to Jarrod Hayes. See his dissertation, "Something Queer about the Nation: Sexual Subversions of National Identity in Maghrebian Literature of French Expression," diss., City U of New York, 1996.

57. Walter Benjamin, "Theorien des deutschen Faschismus," Gesammelte Schriften III (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1972). See also the perceptive connection between Benjamin's essay on Jünger and his essay on the "Kunstwerk im Zeitalter der mechanischen Reproduzierbarkeit" in Ansgar Hillach, "Der Anteil der Kultur an der Prägung faschistischer Herrschaftsmittel: Was leistet Benjamins Diagnose des Faschismus?" in Norbert W. Bolz and Richard Faber, eds., Walter Benjamin: Profane Erleuchtung und rettende Kritik (Würzburg: Königshausen + Neumann, 1985).

58. See Gunter Volz, Sehnsucht nach dem ganz anderen: Religion und Ich-Suche am Beispiel von Klaus Mann (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1994).

59. See Krüll, "Des Vaters 'Unordnung und frühes Leid' -- des Sohnes 'Kindernovelle'," 311-17.

60. In a letter dated January 15, 1926, to Erich Ebermayer (one of the only other few writers of the Weimar period to write fiction on gay themes), Mann wrote that he did not like his father's reading the story "überall." See Klaus Mann, Briefe und Antworten I: 1922-1937, ed. Martin Gregor-Dellin (Munich: Ellermann, 1975) 29-30.

61. Thomas Mann, "Unordnung und frühes Leid," Gesammelte Werke in dreizehn Bänden (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1974) 618-57.

62. See Judith Ryan, The Vanishing Subject: Early Psychology and Modernism (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1991).

63. See Kroll's discussion of "Kindernovelle," vol. 2, 157-60; and Krüll 314.

64. Härle, Männerweiblichkeit, 261.

65. The debate over whether Mephisto: Roman einer Karriere is a roman-à-clef, for example, has dominated the reception of that novel.

66. For a discussion of "Anmut" and its relationship to beauty and morality, see Kroll, vol. 2, 117.

67. The phrase "über die Maßen" is important in Mann's works because of the role that excess of emotions plays in his works. In his diaries and his autobiography, her writes of being "über die Maßen" in love with his mother as she tucked him in at night, and how he wanted to smother her with affectionate kisses in those intimate moments.

68. Letter from October 17, 1926, to Erika Mann. In Thomas Mann, Briefe 1889-1955, vol. 1, ed. Erika Mann (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1961-1965) 259.

69. Burghard Dedner, "Entwürdigung: Die Angst vor dem Gelächter in Thomas Manns Werk," 87-102 in Gerhard Härle, ed., "Heimsuchung und süßes Gift:" Erotik und Poetik bei Thomas Mann (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1992).

70. Ibid. 90.

71. Ibid. 94-95.

72. Ibid. 96 + 98-99.

73. See Helmuth Plessner, Laughing and Crying: A Study of the Limits of Human Behavior (Evanston: Northwestern UP, 1970).

74. See Butler, Gender Trouble, on performativity.

75. Anton-Philipp Knittel, "Medusa als Modell literarischer Psychoanalyse: Ernst Weiß' Die Galeere und Peter Weiß' Das Duell," Wirkendes Wort 42.2 (Aug. 1992): 231: "Die Gefährlichkeit des frontalen Blicks der Medusa symbolisiert die Furcht des Knaben vor der Kastration sowie seine Angst, seinen Schrecken vor dem Geschlechtsorgan der Mutter . . . das Motiv der enthaupteten Medusa symbolisiert also einen wichtigen Schritt im Prozeß der Identitätsbildung."

76. Hélène Cixous, "The Laugh of the Medusa," 245-64 in Elaine Marks and Isabelle de Courtivron, eds., New French Feminisms: An Anthology (Amherst: U of Massachusetts P. 1980).

77. Butler, Gender Trouble.

78. Ibid. 102-03.

79. Ibid. 10. See also for laughter in literature Angela Bader, Annemarie Eder, Irene Effen, and Ulrich Müller, Sprachspiel und Lachkultur: Beiträge zur Literatur- und Sprachgeschichte: Rolf Bräuer zum 60. Geburtstag (Stuttgart: Heinz, 1994).

80. Morton 369.

81. Sigmund Freud, 'Totem and Taboo," The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud (New York: The Modern Library, 1938) 827-28.

82. Ibid. 828.

83. Ibid. 830.

84. Ibid. 861.

85. Ibid. 927.

86. Härle, Männerweiblichkeit, 72-3.

87. Ibid. 19.

88. Ibid. 15.

89. Ibid. 19.

90. Kroll, vol. 3, 226.

91. See Claude Foucart, "Le jeu du maître et du disciple: André Gide et Klaus Mann," Bulletin des Amis d'André Gide 20.94 (Apr. 1992): 177-86.

92. Axel Plathe, Klaus Mann und André Gide: Zur Wirkungsgeschichte französischer Literatur in Deutschland (Bonn: Bouvier, 1987) 3.

93. Ernst Robert Curtius, letter to André Gide; quoted in Kroll, vol. 2, 76.

94. Plathe 82.

95. Ibid. 1.

96. Ibid. 8.

97. Ibid. 17.

98. Ibid. 114.

99. Ibid. 114-15.

100. Ibid. 127.

101. Ibid. 128.

102. Ibid. 115-16.

103. Anthony Heilbut, Thomas Mann: Eros and Literature (New York: Knopf, 1996) 468.

104. Michel Grunewald, "Klaus Mann und Frankreich." Text + Kritik 93/94 (Jan. 1987): 43.

105. Lucey 4.

106. Ibid. 4.

107. Ibid. 8.

108. André Gide, Journal, 1889-1939 (Paris: Gallimard, 1970) 109.

109. Ibid. 106.

110. Kroll, vol. 6, 473.

111. Ibid., vol. 6, 480.

112. Susanne M. Klöss, Die 'Zeit'Problematik in der deutschsprachigen Schriftsteller-Autobiographie des 20. Jahrhunderts unter spezieller Berücksichtigung von Klaus Mann: Ein Beitrag zur autobiographischen Paradoxie (Augsburg: AV-Verlag, 1989) 164.

113. Michel Foucault, "Preface to the History of Sexuality, Vol. 2," in Paul Rabinow, ed., The Foucault Reader (New York: Pantheon, 1984) 337-39.

114. Compare Nietzsche's "Das trunkene Lied."

115. Fritz Landshoff, Amersterdam, Keizersgracht 333, Querido-Verlag: Erinnerungen eines Verlegers: Mit Briefen und Dokumenten (Berlin: Aufbau, 1991) 60.

116. Kroll, vol. 4, 61.

117. Ibid. vol. 4, 84 for a review of these accounts.

118. Letter from Wilhelm Herzog to Klaus Mann, 18 July 1933, Klaus-Mann-Archive (quoted in Kroll, vol. 4, 68).

119. Musil 34.

120. Mayer proposes that Klaus Mann's work all represents a search for community, but to what degree that community was only homosexual is debatable. His search for community also included artists, intellectuals, and political antifascists.

121. Härle, Männerweiblichkeit, 122.

122. Ibid. 122.

123. Robert Holub has written on the sparse reception of Foucault in Germany. See "Trends in Literary Criticism: Remembering Foucault." German Quarterly 58.2 (Spring 1985): 238-56.

124. See Stefan Zynda, Sexualität bei Klaus Mann (Bonn: Bouvier, 1986); and Lucey.

125. See John Brenkman, Straight Male Modern: A Cultural Critique of Psychoanalysis (New York: Routledge, 1993).

126. Erich Fromm, Gesamtausgabe, Rainer Funk, ed. (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1989) 299.

127. Bernd Weil, Klaus Mann: Leben und literarisches Werk im Exil (Frankfurt: R.G. Fischer, 1983) 22.

128. Elke Kerker, Weltbürgertum -- Exil -- Heimatlosigkeit: Die Entwicklung der politischen Dimensionen im Werk Klaus Manns von 1924 bis 1936 (Meisenheim/Glan: Anton Hain, 1977) 131f.

129. Mattenklott 13.

130. Härle's Männerweiblichkeit, which applies a psychoanalytic approach to the works of Thomas and Klaus, contains the most insightful commentary on this subject.

131. Arnolt Bronnen, Vatermord (Nendeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus, 1973).

132. Michel Foucault, "What Is an Author?," in Rabinow 112-13.

133. Interview with Richard Plant, November 3, 1996, New York.

134. See Magnus Hirschfeld, Berlins Drittes Geschlecht, ed. Manfred Herzer (Berlin: Rosa Winkel, 1991).

135. Armin Kerker 43ff.

136. Ibid. 43.

137. Erika Mann, ed., Klaus Mann zum Gedächtnis (Amsterdam: Querido) 16.

138. In fact, Klaus and Erika went on the road in the United States for a lecture series entitled "A Family against a Dictatorship."

139. Klaus-Mann-Archive, quoted in Hoffer 117.

140. Kroll, vol. 6, 335.

141. Hoffer 125.

142. Ibid. 125.

143. Krüll 382.

144. Ibid. 385.

145. Härle, Männerweiblichkeit, 306.

146. Ibid. 306.

147. Töteberg 34.

148. Kroll, vol. 2, 149.

149. Ibid., vol. 2, 141.

150. Ibid. 148.

151. Kroll suggests that the union between Niels and Franziska represents another example of "übersexuelle Zeugung," similar to the incident in Goethe's Wahlverwandtschaften (Kroll, vol. 2, 146).

152. Ibid. 141.

153. Ibid. 148.

154. Erwin Goffman, Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity (Englewood Cliifs: Prentice Hall, 1963) 3.

155. Ibid. 4.

156. Ibid. 54.

157. Ibid. 57.

158. Werner Deubel. "Kurt Klein: 'Davos'," Die schöne Literatur (Leipzig), 27:7 (July, 1926): 334.

159. Harald Braun, "Klaus Mann: 'Der fromme Tanz'," Eckart II (1926): 118-19.

160. Thomas Mann, "Über die Ehe."

161. Zynda's study is still the only singular treatment of Mann and sexuality, but most recent work at least problematizes the relationship.

162. Mayer.

163. Breloer film.

164. Härle, Männerweiblichkeit, 265-72.

165. Ibid. 267.

166. Ibid. 268.

167. Hoffer 44.

168. Ibid. 47.

169. Kroll, vol. 2, 130.

170. Ibid. 130.

171. Ibid. 130.

172. Krüll 297.

173. Ibid. 298.

174. Herbert Ihering, Von Reinhardt bis Brecht: Vier Jahrzehnte Theater und Film, II 1924-1929 (Berlin: Aufbau, 1959) 192.

175. Ibid. 192.

176. Töteberg 15.

177. Ibid. 14.

178. Klaus Mann. The Last Day, quoted in Krüll 388-89.

179. Robert Rogers. A Psychoanalytic Study of the Double in Literature (Detroit: Wayne State UP. 1970).

180. Krüll 377.

181. K. H. Ruppel. "Der Intendant des Preußischen Staatstheaters Berlin 1934-1944." 9-30 in Henning Rischbieter. ed.. Gründgens: Schauspieler. Regisseur. Theaterleiter (Velber: Friedrich. 1963).

182. Kadidja Wedekind Biel. letter to Rolf Kieser. 3 September 1984.

183. Töteberg 14.

184. This work was written in English. but the only published version in existence is in German. in a Rowohlt collection. Excerpts of the story appeared in the German journal Literatussi: Männerschwarm Buchinfo 2 (June 1990).

185. Roberto Rossellini. dir.. Paisà. 1946.

186. Kroll. vol. 6. 186.

187. Ibid. 186.

188. Ibid. 189.

189. Butler. Gender Trouble. 16.

190. Kroll. vol. 6. 192.

191. This section is preceded by a brief discussion of how sexuality is no utopia. See Härle. Männerweiblichkeit. 292ff.

192. Ibid. 279.

193. Kroll. vol. 3. 73.

194. Ibid. 75.

195. See Töteberg. 24. for an overview of the criticism of the play in the press.

196. Ihering 266.

197. Töteberg 24.

198. Härle, Männerweiblichkeit, 94.

199. Hoffer 11-12.

200. Krüll 320.

201. Ibid. 321.

202. Ibid. 320.

203. Töteberg 29.

204. Kroll, vol. 3, 116ff.

205. Töteberg 28.

206. Ibid. 29.

207. Fritz Landshoff, interview with Kroll, vol. 6, 421: "Die Homosexualität, die er nie als Abweichung empfand, konfrontierte ihn mit einem Problem, das mit den Jahren hinderlicher für ihn wurde: Allzu oft richtete sich seine Zuneigung auf viel Jüngere, nicht Homosexuelle, die -- weit entfernt davon, seine Emotionen zu teilen -- ihn bezahlen ließen oder ihn finanziell ausbeuteten, was ihn tief enttäuschte und kränkte."

208. Ibid. 304.

209. Ibid. 272-73.

210. Ibid. 274.

211. Grunewald, "Le dernier roman de Klaus Mann," 194.

212. Ibid. 202.

213. Ibid. 203.

214. Krüll 387.

215. Ibid. 389.

216. Kroll, vol. 6, 498.

217. Ibid. 371.

218. Sedgwick, Epistemology of the Closet, 45.

219. See Foucault, "Preface to the History of Sexuality, Vol. 2."

220. Stephan Braese, "Der Widerstand und das Private: Klaus Manns Tagebücher," Literatussi: Männerschwarm Buchinfo 2 (June 1990): 6.

221. In addition to Butler's and Sedgwick's studies that have both applied and helped shape queer theory, several examples in German literary criticism include Alice Kuzniar, ed., Outing Goethe and His Age (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1996) and the "Queering Brecht" session at the 1997 Modern Language Association conference.

222. See Sedgwick's discussion of "The Beast in the Jungle" by Henry James in Epistemology of the Closet 182-212. She writes: "I would argue that to the extent that Marcher's secret has a content, that content is homosexual" 201. Brecht's short story "Bargan" also contains secretive homosexuality, according to James Steakley in his paper "Only a Passing Phase? The Queer Dimension of Brecht's Early Berlin Years," given at the "Queering Brecht" session of the 1997 Modern Language Association conference.

223. Butler's "Critically Queer" chapter in Bodies That Matter (223-42) argues this point.

224. See Michael Trask, "Merging with the Masses: The Queer Identity Politics of Leftist Modernism" differences 8.1 (Spring 1996): 94-131.

225. Butler, Gender Trouble, 18-25.

226. Butler, Bodies That Matter, 95.

227. Butler, Gender Trouble, 16.

228. Sedgwick, Epistemology of the Closet, 1. The distinction grows out of such other pairs of terms common to gay and lesbian studies and political writings as essentialism/social constructionism (for accounting for homosexuality) or separatist/assimilationist (in discussions of political strategy).

229. The character Marcel may also be loosely based on the convalescing Marceline in Gide's L'Immoraliste (1921).

230. Annamarie Jagose, Queer Theory: An Introduction (New York: New York UP, 1996) 58-72.

231. Ibid. 69.

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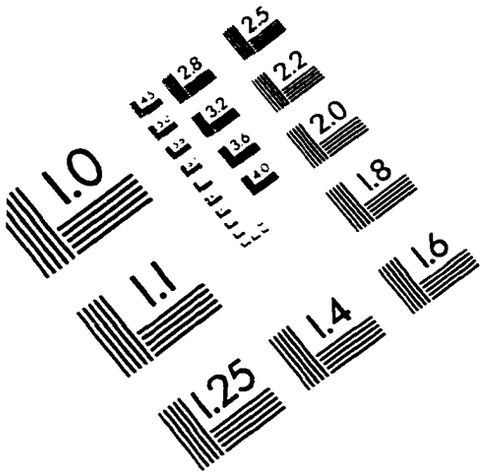

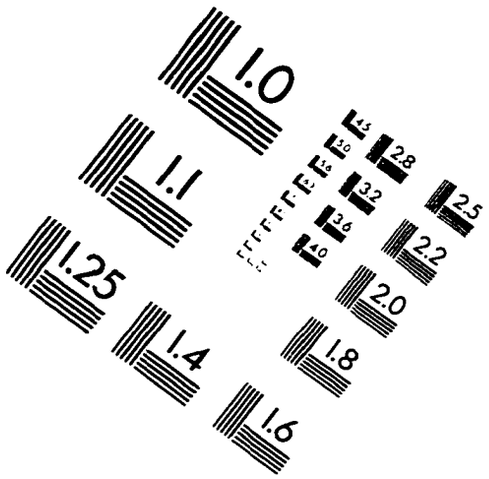

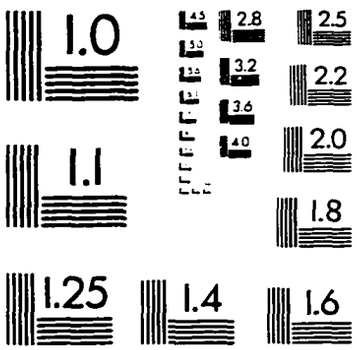

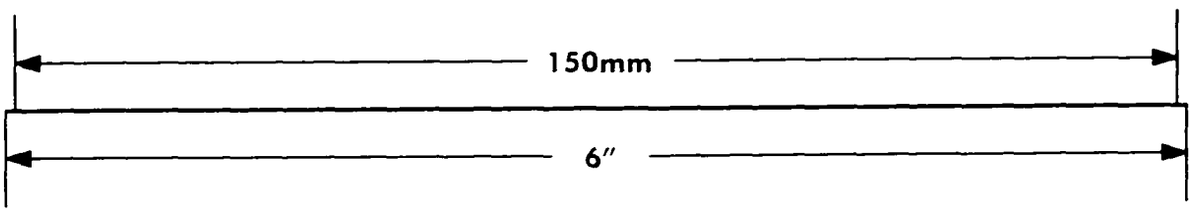

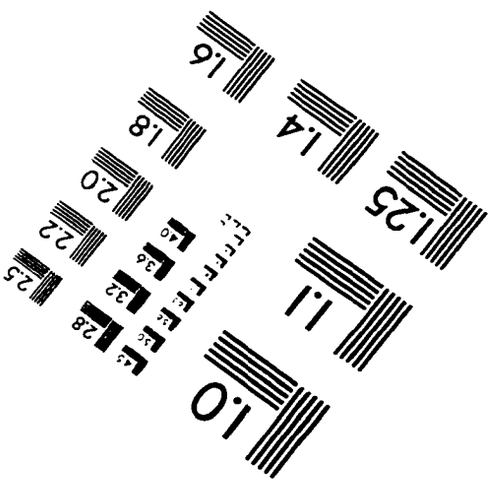

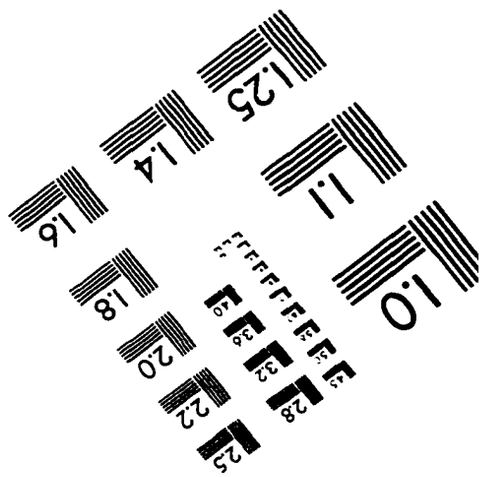

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