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Thomas Mann's Joseph Tetralogy : Echoes Across the Coulisses

Molly Miron

THOMAS MANN'S JOSEPH TETRALOGY: ECHOES ACROSS THE COULISSES

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MOLLY MIRON

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This thesis is approved as a creditable and independent investigation by a candidate for the degree, Master of Arts, and is acceptable for meeting the thesis requirements for this degree. Acceptance of this thesis does not imply that the conclusions reached by the candidate are necessarily the conclusions of the major department.

Margaret Duggan Date
Thesis Advisor

Ruth Alexander Date
Head, English Department

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Part 1: Introduction: Mythical Recurrence

In his Prelude to Volume I of *Joseph and His Brothers*, Thomas Mann speculated about the nature of time. In several senses for Mann the time factor itself became a character and a motivating force in the novel, absorbing the author and the reader as well as the actual protagonists. In this introductory essay before he began the chronicle of the family of Jacob, Mann considered the illusory characteristics of variable time as opposed to what the reader perceives as time's reality, measurable in units of centuries, generations, and seasons. Mann set at odds the reader's mundane acceptance of time's regular predictable progress with its variable significance in an earlier era. Specifically he contrasted the generalized, imprecise time sense of the people of Joseph's period with their awareness of vaguely overlapping generations from Abraham through Jacob with the exactly calculated, highly individualized time reckoning of twentieth century western cultures such as our own. Mann insisted that while human beings experienced the same emotions in the distant past as we do now, their attitudes and world outlook contrast

with ours and we do not know how to see with their eyes. To understand Joseph at all we must give up some of our twentieth century prejudices in favor of our own singularity and peculiarity. According to Roger Tomes, "Going down into the past is therefore something like death ... You do not know how you will view your own life, or what kind of person you will have become when you return" (73). That is, the study of history affects a person's future behavior according to his or her knowledge of precedent. The people of Joseph's time, so immersed in their history that they did not bother to clarify the divisions between generations, copied the actions of characters from the past and identified with them to an extent unknown to modern people. And Mann himself, because of his twenty-year study of Joseph, also adopted some of that character's attitudes and behavior as well as his deeds.[1]

The perception of history and of the time in which events occur varies according to the biases of the

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[1]The following critics also emphasize the premise that time varies according to the perception of the observer: Frederick J. Hoffmann 222; V. S. Pritchett 854; Gabrielle Reuter 8; Harold Rosenberg, "Thomas Mann's Joseph" 156; Dorothy Thompson, "The Most Eminent" 2; Harold von Hofe 148; Howard Coxe 442 - 444; A. F. B. Clark 102; Georg Lukacs 54; Joseph Campbell 230; Charles A. Brady 598; Donald B. Redford 67; Fitzroy K. Davis 9; Robert Pick 11; Grace Goldin 11; Ronald Gray 189; Frank Donald Hirschbach 182; Alfred Kazin 1; Edwin Muir, "The Tales of Jacob" 1020 and "The Young Joseph" 552.

observers and in Joseph and His Brothers the reader intrudes into the ancient time of these characters rather than bringing them forward to the present for examination. Mann also used a complicated and rambling style in the Prelude to reproduce something like Jacob and Joseph's theological musings in an illustration of the old-fashioned, open-ended attitude toward time which the reader can readily grasp ("The Tales of Jacob" 418 and "A Biblical Trilogy" 907). With this somewhat playful juxtaposition of our modern understanding of time and the antique, diffuse time sense of the people of Joseph's time, Mann emphasized the differences between western twentieth century manner of thought and oriental second millenium perceptive style.

Bruno Boesch comments on the accuracy of Mann's historical details which make the legendary settings seem real to the readers (163). According to Henry C. Hatfield, Mann created the settings as distinct and realistic in order to clearly "...reveal basic human archetypes as they recur in the myths of the gods" (Hatfield, Thomas Mann 98). Wilson Follett contrasts "...the tumultuous haste and pressures of this time-hounded age" with the "spacious inward experiences" of the characters Mann portrayed (792). Hatfield also states that the author took Joseph out of the old Hebrew legend to reinforce his own belief in the myth of the typical human being (Thomas

Mann 120), since Mann's concept as he explained in "Freud and the Future" holds that myth illuminates the typicality, the generality, the racial consciousness in the individual (Mann, Essays of Three Decades 421).

According to John Franklin Bardin, most historical novelists base their plots on the premise that the external and material aspects of life change, but that human nature remains the same throughout the ages (10). And Mann had originally planned to write an historical novel of this sort or a novella about Joseph (Hatfield, Thomas Mann 36). The author stated in the Forward to the Knopf 1948 edition of Joseph and His Brothers that he had outlined a "triptych" of short stories (Joseph vi), but in the execution the novel became much more extensive both in length and in scope. In a letter to his daughter Erika in 1926 Mann stated that he hoped to explore the ambiguity between the myth and the individual, to pursue "...meaning and being, myth and reality, [which] are constantly passing into one another" (Letters 155). And a little later that year Mann wrote to his friend Ernst Bertram that the project included an exploration of the ancient attitude of "...experiencing the self as myth" (Letters 156). Unlike the main character in an ordinary historical novel, Joseph, as Mann portrayed him, not only manages his old-fashioned physical accoutrements, like any historical fictional character, but also reacts differently in his

assumptions and thought processes than do modern people (Bardin 10). The reader generally accepts the world an author establishes in a historical novel because, while the practical tools of living, the architecture, transportation, and even the social structure may seem strange, the reader can identify with the characters as thinking and reacting in understandable ways. Joseph and his contemporaries, however, perceive and analyse their world in a manner quite alien to the reader. For example, no matter how attractive and idolized a young man of today, a high school prom-king perhaps, might be, he would not even secretly visualize himself as Adonis, Tammuz, and Osiris reborn, as Joseph does, and the difference is not simply because of his ignorance of these mythical figures. Joseph does see himself as Adonis and Tammuz when he and Benjamin enter the sacred grove (Joseph 302 - 306) and accepts these titles of admiration in Egypt (1052). Later when examining the evidence of a predator in the torn and bloody coat and mourning Joseph's contrived death, the family keen a chorus of "Adon," "Dumuzi," and "Lord" (426 - 428). Mann discussed the triple-god pattern in several letters to Karl Kerenyí in 1934 as he worked with the Adonis/Tammuz/Osiris/Joseph connection (Karl Kerenyí 15, 21, 38), and Ignace Feuerlicht remarks as well on Joseph's eager, semi-self-conscious impersonations of the beautiful sacrificed gods (51). Marguerite Yourcenar states that

Mann's characters operate as both themselves and as mythical representations and strive to repeat generations (160), imitating the heroes of the past, taking Jacob and Abraham's actions, even their ill-advised and despicable deeds, as worthy precedents. No, a modern youth, even an extremely vain one, always considers himself as an individual, and while he may compare himself favorably to Adonis (or Valentino, or Elvis) he never relinquishes his uniqueness. Edith Hamilton describes Mann's writing style and use of myth as that of "romantic archeology" rather than that of the historical novel. She writes that "Thomas Mann does not bring the time of Joseph to the readers, but the opposite" (11). Bardin continues with the assertion that Joseph generalizes rather than individualizes; he is a man with more than one face, with many talents, who can play a wide range of roles, whereas modern people specialize and treasure their individuality. The main character in Mann's Joseph novels knows that anything he does both echoes the past and reverberates into the future. "Anything he undertook to do was certain to result in the predestined re-enactment of any number of traditional roles that were inevitably his, in his turn, from his birth" (Bardin 10). The individuals of the far past that Mann depicted collectivize in spirit and measure themselves by analogy with mythic characters so that the line between the person and the group blurs.

While Joseph as the protagonist absorbs most of the reader's attention, other characters accept role-play and recognize themselves as embodiments of historical or mythic figures as well. Adèle Bloch defines this identification of characters with past personages as tribal thinking. She writes that characters like Eliezer and Jacob identify themselves more as representatives of the extended family itself than as conscious independent persons (152). In this context, despite his numerous mythic attachments, Joseph stands out as an exception because of his greater understanding of himself as an individual separate from the tribe, his superior talents, and his overwhelming self-confidence.[2] J. M. Lindsay states that Joseph seems almost like a modern person as compared to the other characters because he adopts a more reasonable attitude and reacts to situations more rationally than do they whom the myth nearly completely absorbs (103 - 104).

Henry James Forman describes this mixture of time textures and mythical repetition and states that Mann "...understands well the long and echoing corridors of time and the cycles of eternal recurrence" (15). Clifton

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[2]Other critics remark on Joseph's outstanding qualities in the midst of the generality of the tribe: Waldo Frank 22; T. J. Reed, Thomas Mann 341; Horst S. Daemmrich, "Fertility-sterility" 467; J. M. Lindsay 104.

Fadiman refers to the author as a modern man with extraordinary sympathy for ancient times. "If, as some insist, there exists racial memory, Thomas Mann has tapped the sources of that deep-flowing stream" (58). One of the metaphors Mann used to describe the illusion of time's inconsistent significance emphasizes his concept of recurring patterns of events and personae in history. The author illustrated this mythic repetition of the basic human drama of family conflict, death, and rebirth in the Joseph novels and employed the image of the "time-coulisse" (Joseph 10), or die Zeitkulisse, to clarify these recurring cycles. Technically, coulisses are, in a small sense, grooves, as a carpenter might incise in a board, or, in a large sense, canyons, as a hiker might encounter in a rough landscape. Joseph in particular, but Jacob and to some extent Eliezer as well, perceive their own time, but can project into the past and future as well. Ordon states that "... time is not only three-dimensional, it is also eternally present and one cannot always distinguish between past and present" (288), and, similarly, Hatfield defines time as an illusion, "...the only tense is the eternal past" ("Achieving the Impossible" 512). In the "Dürer" essay Mann described history expressed as myth as always present, much the same as Hatfield, and remarked that "...we are much less individuals than we either hope or fear to be" (Mann, Past Masters 153). In the Prelude

to Joseph Mann wrote that "...we must keep on being lured from one time-coulisse to the next, backwards and backwards into the immeasurable" (10) in order to differentiate the manner of thought and world view of the people of Joseph's time. Or, as I imagine the analogy, time consists of flexible corrugations like those of an accordion, so that at one period of history time compresses and events and changes occur rapidly, while at other periods time stretches out and generations pass uneventfully. Consequently we twentieth century people live in an era of compressed history in which every second counts and we have difficulty capturing the mind-set of even our recent ancestors of the previous century. Joseph's people, conversely, live seasonally and feel no great separation between themselves and father Abraham, who was actually their grandfather twenty-five generations removed. According to Mann, these ancients accept the principle of mythic recurrence with equanimity and even base their life decisions on the role they perceive themselves as playing. The most thoughtful characters, Joseph in particular, sometimes recognize and acknowledge that they play a part in a familiar mythic drama which they can observe as it unfolds and applaud the expected highlights which they can also assist in resolving according to precedent. Millicent Lang refers to this thought style as "causation-in-reverse" (12). Life climaxes do not hold

much suspense. Frederick W. Dupee states that Joseph expects his story will "complete itself as it proceeds" ("Thomas Mann's Farewell" 25) and another reviewer remarks that Joseph sometimes acknowledges and cooperates with the divine plan, sometimes rebels and tries to control his own destiny, but in either case portrays the charm and self-confidence of the mythic hero (Helen MacAfee viii and x). Goldin also notes that this self-conscious role-play can occur now too, as modern charismatic leaders attempt to arrange their scenes to advantage, determined to create the stuff of legends (12). However, anyone nowadays who seriously attempts to duplicate a historic figure attracts suspicion concerning his or her motives or sanity. The figure dressed as Napoleon lying on the psychiatrist's couch is part of current folk humor.

One of the basic tenets of mythology is the birth-death-rebirth cycle and Mann employed this pattern repeatedly throughout Joseph. Joseph's descents into the pits and subsequent resurrections rise as the most obvious examples of this recurring motif. Jethro Bithell points out that Christ's resurrection culminates this mythical pattern (315), and Mann in "Freud and the Future" noted that when Jesus shouted, "My God, my God, why have you abandoned me!" as he was dying, he quoted Psalm 22:1a, not as a cry of despair, but as an announcement of himself as the Messiah. Jesus's dying quotation demonstrates that he

too lived to fulfill the myth, and Christians celebrate his birth and death every year in the ancient repetitive mythical way (Mann, Essays of Three Decades 425). Mythic recurrence also repeats itself in the readily observable biological fact that creation leads to death, and out of death comes life (Bithell 94), as the fruit must rot before the seed can sprout. The death-rebirth cycle also illustrates the quality of duality in myth, its "markedly binary aspect" (Edmund Leach 8) which can comfort those who accept such recurrence as a natural part of life. Clark, on the other hand, refers to "circularity of time" and states that human progress does not repeat exactly, but varies according to the person playing the role. Clark uses the image of a spiral rather than a closed circle in an analogy which allows for human development (102). Mann also imagined mythic recurrence as a hopeful, progressive feature of life and called it "Sonnenmythus" in a 1926 letter to Ernst Bertram (Günther Neske 154). This expression translates literally as "sun myth," but Mann's cheerful connotation implies a phrase more like "sunshine myth." Joseph W. Slade accepts this optimistic interpretation of the recurrence theory too. "Tradition, if properly utilized as a storehouse of archetypes, fosters not inertia, but progress... Environmental time, as well as individual uniqueness, modulate human repetition" (195). A successful person chooses a compatible role and

lives it, recognizing the beneficial patterns and eschewing the harmful ones. Joseph continually figures as the god who rises from the dead (Hatfield, "Achieving the Impossible" 511), and this pattern with minor variations appears in every culture (Anna Jacobson 418 and Peter Heller 200). Slochower in "Thomas Mann and Universal Culture" also notices the variations in the pattern: "Time is real, man is a factor, and history never quite repeats itself" (729). Human will and ingenuity make the differences in the cycles. J. Robin King describes the Joseph stories as only part of the myth which began with Adam and Eve (428), so that Mann's character acts his piece sometime in the early acts of the great drama which ever continues.[3]

Mann exemplified and detailed his characters' shifting, sliding, and redundant time sense and mythic identification in the description of Eliezer's position in the tribe of Jacob. Eliezer works as Joseph's tutor and identifies himself as Abraham's servant who carried the same name, though, of course, the span of 600 or so years

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[3]Many other critics have noted the importance of the principle of recurrence in Joseph as well: Joseph Gerard Brennan, Three Philosophical Novelists 225; Slade 182; Harry Slochower, Thomas Mann's Joseph Story 13; Peter Heller 225; Charles Neider, The Stature of Thomas Mann 376; J. P. Stern, "Mann in His Time" 622 and Thomas Mann; and William Troy, "Myth as Progress" 606.

between Abraham's and Joseph's generations precludes this possibility despite Old Testament traditions of longevity. "When Jacob spoke of Eliezer he did mean his own steward and first servant - him too, that is; both at once, and not only both but THE Eliezer altogether; for since the time of the oldest Eliezer, Eliezer the freedman had often been in existence in the camp of the head of the tribe, and often had sons named Damesek and Elinos" (Joseph 77). The Eliezer character current with Joseph adopts the name and, as much as possible, the attributes, of all the men who came before him who occupied similar positions of responsibility in the group. The extension of his personality into the mythic past of the family enhances his importance and prestige; Eliezer expands to include qualities greater than his own. Willa Cather states in "The Birth of a Personality" that Mann did not use the standard historical method in which the author positions himself as a modern observer making comparisons and analogies across the ages. On the contrary, Mann set himself up in the pre-recorded past before Joseph's own time and sighted toward the present. Cather postulates a connection between our post-industrial technical and mechanical culture, our insistence on a definite manner of keeping track of time's passage, and our concrete logical style of thinking. She contrasts these attributes of modern life with what she refers to as the "dreamy indefiniteness" of

the people of Joseph's time as described by Mann (3). His characters wander through life at the pace and with the goallessness of their grazing sheep for whom "... the end is nothing, the road is all. In fact, the road and the end are literally one" (Cather, "The Birth of a Personality 3). In another essay from Not Under Forty Cather christens this sense of time and style of thought "Mediterranean time, 1700 B. C." (100).

Mann compared the length of years between Joseph's forefather Abraham, whom the protagonist casually designates as his great-grandfather, and Joseph's own generation to the distance between the Gothic Middle Ages, when the great cathedrals such as the one at Chartres rose, and our century. "Between the boy Joseph and the pilgrimage of his ancestor in the spirit and the flesh there lay, according to the system of chronology which his age and sphere rejoiced in, fully twenty generations, or, roughly speaking, six hundred Babylonian years, a period as long as from our time back into the Gothic Middle Ages" (Joseph 7). I have difficulty imagining the world view of my grandparents, born in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, who had to expect half their children to die in childhood of diseases like diphtheria and influenza. Even my own parents, who grew up without the nuclear nightmare in the background of their thoughts, must have had a different attitude towards life than I do. So how much more

difficulty we have to enter the thought patterns of our European ancestors of the fourteenth century. However, that same measure of time back to Abraham for Joseph was, according to Mann, negligible. Mann stated: "Six hundred years at that time and under that sky did not mean what they mean in our western history. They were more level ... time was less effective, her power to bring about change was both weaker and more restricted in its range..." (Joseph 7). We can hardly imagine how our grandparents of 600 years ago, who watched the building of the great cathedrals, or who perhaps paid work tax for their masters and helped in the building of them, thought, felt, or saw the world. They certainly looked at their environment differently than twentieth century westerners do: everyday cause-and-effect logic was not obvious to our medieval peasant ancestors, for example, nor was the immorality of torturing a person in order to save his or her soul. Unlike our fourteenth century forebears, we accept these logical and ethical premises without thought or question. So the distance into the past for Mann's reader stretches as history compresses and ancient people become more alien, but for Joseph to refer to Abraham as his great-grandfather is valid, or at least moot.

Grandfather, grandsire, forefather, remote forbear - all titles of this sort have equal truth in them for Joseph as Mann depicted him and his people. And for

Joseph to imagine how Abraham saw the world as his ancestor sat by his tent at sunset in the middle of the eastern grazing lands of Canaan exercises the young man's fancy not at all since the same scenes meet Joseph's own eyes and ears, the same sensations of rough clothing and proximity of family members impinge on him at close of day. So while geologic and climatic alterations would have occurred in the generations between Joseph and Abraham, and Mann mentioned the cataclysm that Joseph knows had destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah (Joseph 8), social and intellectual changes would have been minimal. This folk live by the model of the past and precedent looms vastly important for them. Kenneth Burke writes that this concentration on precedent consists not only of legal or customary considerations, but works as a positive instructive aspect in the lives of Joseph's people as well. "The reference to precedent was REVEALING rather than OBSTRUCTIVE, precisely because the conditions and purposes had remained intact" (186). The models from the past not only offer Joseph's society pro- and prescriptive examples for action, but also allow the people to ally themselves with correct, thoroughly-tested principles based on a culture intrinsically the same as their own. Clarence Seidenspinner states that human nature searches out the familiar and typical in any new experience (262). According to Mann in his essay of 1936, "Freud and the Future,"

this attraction of the individual toward the known pattern constitutes mythical identification. "For the myth is the foundation of life; it is the timeless schema, the pious formula into which life flows when it reproduces its traits out of the unconscious" (Mann, Essays of Three Decades 422). Seidenspinner continues that people usually assume the mythical parallels and similarities unknowingly, but sometimes a person recognizes him or herself repeated from the past, and this feeling of happy déjà vu negates time and compresses history. "Proudly and joyously a man may recognize his life to be but another expression of the typical, a fresh incarnation of the ancient pattern" (Seidenspinner 462). Bithell differentiates between myth and culture in that the latter allows a person to understand the symbolism of the myth (314). Culture offers the framework for mythical interpretation. Brennan defines myth as the "externalization of the human soul" and "history from the inside" (157), and Frederic C. Sell writes of myth as a condensation of common problems to their essences with all accidental and non-essential elements eliminated (291).[4]

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[4]Other critics also emphasize the importance of myth and repetition in the Joseph novels: Slade 182; Taylor 342; Troy, "Thomas Mann: Myth and Reason" 25; Slochower, "Social Implications" 10 and "Thomas Mann and Universal Culture" 726, 729; and Reed, Thomas Mann 348.

Therefore, for modern people time has a different meaning than it did in the distant past. We are clear about our individuality, but Joseph melds time, events, and people since they have little discrete existence, mainly general mythological existence, as types and examples of the expected models. Our current sense of uniqueness, entity, separateness, and distinction from one another and our insistence on careful compartmentalization of historical events according to exact place and date cause Mann's readers to think differently about their own lives and times than someone during Joseph's age would have. We consider individual choices existentially, but Joseph's contemporaries think tribally and communally and find distinctions between generations unclear and unimportant. They pay attention, according to Mann, to patterns, precedents, and models while we modern people focus on our differences, exceptions, and anomalies.

The main pattern of thought that Mann illustrated in Joseph is mythical recurrence which the tribal people of Joseph's time with their generalized attitudes would naturally embrace. Their family relationship owes much to their acceptance of Abraham's revolutionary concept of God as a spiritual essence - One unconfined by geographical or physical boundaries and untrammeled by theological or legendary limitations: "I am who I am....I AM" (Exodus 3:14). Cather in Not Under Forty states that admission to

Abraham's tribe related more to agreement with his theological ideas and covenant with God than to consanguinity. Anyone who adopted this new concept became Abraham's grandson no matter how many generations lay between them, and anyone who felt the truth of God as a force, rather than matter, inherited the blessing. In accepting the grand idea people became family members and inheritors of the repeating pattern of the family. "Abraham's seed were not so much 'the chosen people' as they were THE PEOPLE WHO CHOSE" (Not Under Forty 104). Part of the premise of choice always includes the possibility of not choosing, of refusing, of falling away from God, and by the contract He cut with Abraham God does not force allegiance. Gray interprets Mann's theological basis for the Joseph novels in relation to freedom (188). Eventually, when the world ripens sufficiently, all humankind will worship God, not like the angels in Mann's Prelude, programmed automatically to "psalm-chanting purity" (Joseph 28), but freely and with full understanding. Abraham's breakthrough in comprehension of the deity demonstrates a great intellectual and spiritual leap, not an idea formed in an evolutionary manner, and someone must have originally thought of it. As Cather states, "... such revelations never come to committees or bureaus of research" (Not Under Forty 106). Mann described in a charming manner God's joy at Abraham's grand insight: "God had kissed His finger-tips and cried,

to the private resentment of the angels: 'It is unbelievable, what knowledge of Me is possessed by this son of earth! Have I not begun to make Myself known through his means? Verily, I will anoint him!'" (Joseph 290). This novel spiritual theology derives the blessing inherited through the family, and indeed Abraham's tribe owns the true blessing since they recognize a larger reality than their neighbors, that God is not independent of people. Reed in Thomas Mann calls this discovery, with wry understatement, "...a promising theological idea" (343). As soon as people understand themselves as part of God they become aware of their mythic importance - they see their part in the big picture. Van Meter Ames accommodates Abraham's revolutionary theology with mythic recurrence this way: "Spirit is presented as the principle of the future toward which man is striving while looking back with piety toward fixed forms in the past" (250). The God of the patriarchs (and Joseph), according to Ames, encourages a scientific outlook on life, "... open-minded, flexible, eager for new departures; full of wonder and humility in a world unfinished, where even God has a future, which depends upon the creative intelligence of man" (253). Mann emphasized this broad and hopeful outlook in the essay "Freud and the Future" when he stated that the individual recognizes his or her mythic and typical characteristics in the deeper spiritual consciousness, rather

than in his or her own uniqueness: we identify ourselves by pattern. "For the truth is that life is a mingling of the individual elements and the formal stock-in-trade; a mingling in which the individual, as it were, only lifts his head above the formal and impersonal elements," and further "...man sets store by recognition, he likes to find the old in the new, the typical in the individual" (Mann, Essays of Three Decades 421 - 422).

In Joseph's manner of thinking, agreeing to the covenant and adopting a mythic role in the family amount to concommitant choices and make life more real and satisfying rather than less, and more sensitive and self-conscious than anonymous. Erich Heller in The Ironic German states that this group identity also acts as a psychic preservative. "For the ways of death are more devastating with the unique than with the typical. The singular is also singularly perishable,... but mythologies are about resurrection" (220). Modern people recognize this truth also in that most can accept individual death, their own or that of a beloved, but no one can live sanely if he or she sincerely believes in the inevitability of imminent human extinction. Joseph and his folk survey history and fit themselves into typical parts in a well-known play because they thereby derive legitimacy for their lives. In "Freud and the Future" Mann spoke of the mythic man of the past: "His dignity and security lie all unconsciously

in the fact that with him something timeless has once more emerged into the light and become present; it is a mythical value added to the otherwise poor and valueless single character..." (Mann, Essays of Three Decades 423). And Peter Heller writes that this prestige does not apply only in the positive sense. "Jeder Stand ist ein Ehrenstand",[5] every part in the great drama is important," and this knowledge gives assurance and proper bearing to villain and hero alike" (177).

Mann wrote Joseph amd His Brothers with this mythical quality of life rather than the individual quality as its crux. In the Prelude to the novels Mann stated that myth always speaks in the present tense so that traveling back to Joseph's time makes sense, even if we cannot completely understand the attitudes of the people of that time (Joseph 33). In his elaboration of Eliezer's complicated point of view Mann further explained the enhancement of life through mythic identification: "... the old man's ego was not clearly demarcated, ... it opened at the back, as it were, and overflowed into spheres external to his own individuality both in space and in time" (Joseph 78). Mann only partly grasped, however, the effects of this mythic recurrence in his own life. Many echoes,

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[5]Trans. "Every situation is a situation of honor."

parallels, and reflections resonate between the Joseph novels and Mann's own personality, beliefs, and life history. These parallels between the life of the author in his early years, later while he wrote the Joseph novels, and in his old age stand as cross-coulisse bridges which connect the main character, Joseph, and Mann himself. In his speech to the Library of Congress in 1943, "The Joseph Novels," shortly after he finished the last volume of the tetralogy Mann said that he had written the last section, Joseph the Provider, "...largely under the serene, Egyptian-like sky of California..." (Mann, "The Joseph Novels" 96). The author indicated in this speech that the Joseph legend and character had evolved from his early life and he traced his interest in the story back to his childhood (92). Naturally, part of the human recognition and identification process relies on pattern response and fitting the new element into our experience by way of some familiar model. As Watts states, the novel does not simply retell the Bible story, but relates the myth to the current world as well. This novel concerns us as well as our remote ancestors. Rather than attempt to re-create the ancient time, Mann posed the reader two questions relating to the novels: how they alter our world view, and what implications this change of perspective has for our own lives (Harold H. Watts 299 - 301). Mann transformed the tradition to suit his needs as a modern writer and

puzzled the reader with his or her own fit in the mythic patterns. Reed writes that "tradition offers possibilities,... the individual selects and uses. In the process he may discover an identity of his own" (Thomas Mann 5). But Mann thought too much as a twentieth century individualist to notice, or only to acknowledge in a few superficial comments, the strong connections between Joseph and himself. During the twenty years in which he planned and wrote the long four-volume work the author actually was working on his own autobiography in Joseph and His Brothers and his own character sketch in the main character. The parallels do not make perfect intersections, and the reflections and echoes show certain distortions over the millenia, but the theme of mythic recurrence captures the author as well as his characters and the reverberations across the time-coulisses continue to ring.

Part 2: Childhood and Youth

The traditional Bible story documents Joseph's childhood and family life, including his famous conflict with his brothers, and his successes which imply his numerous personal talents. Similarities obtrude between Joseph's life and personality and Mann's own history and qualities of character. Readers can view the many comparisons between the two as coincidences or as examples of Mann's theory of mythic recurrence echoing across the time-coulisses. As the incidental and situational evidence increases for the parallels and the patterns repeat throughout the author's life and the novel's duration, the random indeterminacy of the likenesses between Mann and his main character glides into the shade of improbability. We cannot choose chance. Mann said in his speech to the Library of Congress in 1943 that a theme had to have deep roots in his past to appeal to him, "...secret connections must lead from it to earliest childhood dreams, if I am to consider myself entitled to it" (95). He remembered his interest sparking to ancient Egyptian history and his attraction kindling to the Joseph story from his early school days in the city of Lübeck, North Germany in the last quarter of the Nineteenth Century (Jacobson 418). As Mann elaborated the Biblical chronicle, in a fashion he unconsciously wrote about himself.

Mann recalled his early years as sheltered and happy ones: "That idyllic life - well-tended, carefree ... appealed to me inexpressibly. It encouraged my native tendency to idleness and dreams" (Mann, A Sketch of My Life 4). Eva Schiffer describes Mann, in a somewhat uncomplimentary sense, as a "Wunderkind" who recognized himself as such (72) and Mann himself nonchalantly admitted in A Sketch of My Life that he expected success in whatever he attempted. "It lay, I suppose, upon my path in life - I say this without presumption, with calm if not uninterested insight into the character of my destiny" (73). Similarly, Joseph takes pleasure in a happy childhood, self-satisfied and contented. In the novel Joseph spends his youth petted and indulged by Jacob and luxuriating in dreamy musings. For example, the reader first meets Joseph enjoying such a fantasy as he stands in the moonlight by the well at Hebron chanting mystical names of the moon until he hypnotizes himself into a seizure (Joseph 37 - 40). The economic prosperity of Mann's and Joseph's families during their childhoods also correspond. Mann's father's grain exporting company in Lübeck brought the family prestige and financial comfort (Slochower, Thomas Mann's Joseph Story 73), and Redman describes their upper-class house, which boasted a ballroom and employed a staff of servants, as a definitely plush establishment (23). Joseph's father's business, his flocks and herds

which he manages with the help of his extended family, also increased and brought riches to the family (Genesis: 30:30 - 43 and 36: 7). According to their respective historical periods, both families enjoyed the benefits of ease and contentment that come with a wealthy Bürgerleben (Neider, "Thomas Mann's Joseph Myth" 291).

As both Mann and Joseph were growing up they felt favored and especially loved of all their siblings, Mann by his mother and Joseph by his father Jacob. Also for both the author and his character, their smug assumptions of favoritism caused conflict with their brothers. Loved and petted by his father, Joseph naturally and innocently concludes that God too loves him best: "The habitual knowledge that he was loved and preferred conditioned and colored his being; it was decisive likewise for his attitude toward the Highest, to Whom, in his fancy, he ascribed a form, so far as was permissible, precisely like Jacob's. A higher replica of his father, by Whom, Joseph was naively convinced, he was beloved even as he was beloved of his father" (Joseph 30). Mann as well believed in his preferred position in the family. As a child Mann lived rather in awe of his busy father, but he basked complacently in his mother's affection and later said he was surely the closest to her of all the five brothers and sisters (Nigel Hamilton 23). Mann's mother, a German-Brazilian Creole woman, possessed many artistic

talents, especially musical ability. Her character contrasted with her husband's practical business aptitude. Richard Winston refers to Mann's mother as a rare import into Lübeck, but a "...modified, tamed exoticism" (10). Mann credited her as endowing him with his artistic ability and supplying encouragement to his creative inclinations (Slochower, Thomas Mann's Joseph Story 74). This artistic bent lacked usefulness and purpose in the opinion of Mann's father, Herr Senator Mann, the civic leader and grain merchant, who worried about his son's future. (Neider, The Stature 25 and "Thomas Mann's Joseph Myth" 298). Jacob frets about Joseph's unusual imagination too and suspects Joseph of flirting with possible heathan rituals when he comes upon his son half-stripped and posturing in the moonlight (Joseph 37 - 42), and later Jacob chides Joseph for what the father recognizes as destructive fantasies and dreams: "'Jehosiph! What sort of dream is this thou hast dreamed, and how couldst thou dream so unsavoury a thing and tell it unto us?'" (Joseph 348).

This security in parental affection and concern that both Mann and Joseph assumed led to unperturbed complacency with life as they grew from childhood to youth, and encouraged also a tendency to thoughtlessness about others' needs and a certain arrogance. Joseph deduces from his father's great affection and the manner in which

Jacob gives him special privileges and presents, only asking him to help with the flocks when the boy feels in the mood or the weather favors outdoor work (Joseph 12 - 13), that all the world loves and values him more than themselves (Joseph 324). Mann also derived from his protective and loving parents and contented childhood a self-centeredness and an assumption that he was bound to good fortune, lucky stars, as he put the idea (Winston 13). This outlook could lead to conceit, on the one hand, but in a more positive sense, to an optimistic point of view, and according to Winston, these happy early years caused Mann "...to assert his feeling of the world's being kindly disposed toward him" (450). He also directly compared himself to Joseph in a 1941 letter to Agnes E. Meyer as "ein Sonntagskind," a Sunday-child. This label is equivalent to the English expression of one born with a silver spoon in his mouth, a favorite of fortune, so that despite passing troubles, Mann believed that life would always give him the happy ending (Mann, Letters 376). Mann expected success from an early age and expressed no surprise when he achieved it. He "...enjoyed the subjective and objective certainty that life would be blessed by fulfillment within some established order" (Reed, "Confrontations" 413). This happy expectation, which Joseph also shares, traditional theologians accept as trust in God's plan. Even in the pit, slavery, or prison Joseph

hardly doubts that the story will come out right, and Mann too, despite various youthful difficulties and true tragedy in later life, maintained a positive point of view. H. M. Waidson quotes Mann from a 1941 interview in support of this hopeful outlook: "In principle I feel it gratefully as a HAPPY, BLESSED life - I say 'in principle,' for it is not a question naturally of all kind of suffering, darkness and danger not being present in such a life, but of its basis being gay, so to speak sunny..." (15).

In both Mann's and Joseph's cases this naive and easy presumption of the benefits of the favorite son stirred resentment and jealousy in their brothers. Joseph announces his dreams, parades his superiority, and incurs his brothers' near-murderous hatred. "'Look, there he cometh swaggering ... we should beat him - as now we dare not, for fear of Jacob'" (Joseph 272). Rosenberg states in "Thomas Mann's Joseph" that long before they goad themselves into throwing Joseph into the well and selling him into slavery, even as young children, Joseph and his brothers have no sympathy for each other (157). "It is his 'I' - knowing and visions, and his father's loving recognition of his superiority, that ... draw Joseph apart from the rough community of Jacob's sons and establish the first phase of his alienation" (Rosenberg, "Thomas Mann's Joseph" 157). Cather also emphasizes that his brothers hate Joseph because of his innate ascendancy over them.

She refers to the conflict as "the natural antagonism between the sane and commonplace, and the exceptional and inventive, [which] is never so bitter as when it occurs in a family" (Cather, Not Under Forty 114). So in the dream story when Joseph tells of all the sheaves bowing to his sheaf (Genesis 37: 5 - 7 and Joseph 336 - 342) he does not boast, nor does he simply lack humility; instead he naively recounts to his brothers his fantasy which, despite their anger, disgust, amd disbelief, does eventually occur (Redford 69). "Joseph accepts men for what they are, and himself for what he is ... gifted far more than the common run" (Gray 190). Samuel A. Nock states that this anger and hatred that Joseph's brothers have for him generates partly from an intuition that God has special plans for their brother, and partly because Joseph, whom Nock calls a prig, "... never considered other people and what was dear to them; sure of his superiority, he went his way and treated with an unbearable if unwitting pride those whom he considered of less importance than himself" (10). Rice refers to Joseph's self-centeredness as something akin to hybris which "...in the sphere of human relationships ... takes the form of insensibility to the feelings of others" (Neider, The Stature 263). Mann also acquired his brother Heinrich's dislike, and while, in their later years they admired and appreciated each other's work, a sense of unfriendly competition always stood as a barrier between

them. Howard Baker describes Joseph's conceited attitude as justified, and the brothers themselves privately acknowledge the younger man's superiority, but his arrogance enrages them nonetheless (179). Mann also throughout his life exhibited an unconcern for things and people who did not impress him as important.

Heinrich Mann told a story from his childhood about a little violin which exemplifies both his brother's self-centeredness and the resentment he kept toward Thomas. Heimrich loved to try to play this miniature instrument, but his little brother broke the violin and their mother reproached Heinrich for his bad temper rather than Thomas for his carelessness. Heinrich felt great anger and jealousy over the incident and his mother's reaction and sulked for a long time about the injustice (Nigel Hamilton 22). Everyone who has a sibling can recall similar situations and has long since recovered from them. But that Heinrich deemed the event important enough to include in a published story ("Zwei gute Lehren") demonstrates the sort of injury and envy he lived with as a child and sharpens more poignantly Thomas Mann's complacent acceptance of himself as his mother's favorite (Nigel Hamilton 23).

In writing Joseph Mann perhaps recognized some of the parallels between his main character's unhappy relationship with his brothers and his and Heinrich's

difficult kinship. In the episodes in which the brothers attack and imprison Joseph in the dry well and then sell him as a slave the author presented all the characters so that the reader can empathize with their temptations, inner struggles, sorrow, and guilt. Jones writes that Mann balanced the sympathy we feel for the abused Joseph with the understanding we have for the exasperated brothers, and in this way the work is more like a psychological novel than a mythical allegory. All the characters "...fill out their predestined pattern without offending either probability or the reader's lifelong, if meagre, familiarity with them" (532). Whether or not Mann consciously connected his early family situation and the family relationships that his character Joseph experiences, the childhood and youth of both author and main character display remarkable correspondances and echo the author's statement that the story had long roots into his life. Mann may have chosen to write about the Biblical character Joseph because of a sense of familiarity about him, or the similarities between the two may appear because of the repetition in the author of many of Joseph's personal qualities. However the parallels occur, they recur from childhood throughout the author's life. Arthur Eloesser writes that Mann declared that he always wrote about himself and later noticed that he also wrote about the world in general (239), and Winston comments that he had a

"...sense of family identical with the sense of history" (7). This unconscious sense of self repeated in the personality of the main character probably helped attract Mann to the Joseph story when he began the project. The similar awareness of a parent's favoritism and the arrogant acceptance of their own superiority in both Mann and Joseph caused a rift with their brothers. In the case of the Joseph novels Mann elaborated a brief chronicle about an ancient semi-historical, semi-legendary figure, and the reader later discovers that the author also depicted himself.

Part 3: Personality Parallels

Mann based Joseph and His Brothers on his theories of variable time and mythic recurrence and drew the reader into a sympathy with the characters and setting through his exploitation of these devices. The hero Joseph plays his role and the reader recognizes aspects of him and his situation reflected in the character and life of the author. Joseph Campbell in The Hero with a Thousand Faces outlines some generalities about mythic figures which apply to Joseph and to the parallels which the reader sees between Mann and his main character. Campbell writes that one of the principles of myth mandates that the start of something prefigures its end and that the end also mirrors the beginning. Therefore, "creation myths are pervaded with a sense of doom that is continually recalling all created shapes to the imperishable out of which they first emerged" (269). This basic definition of myth affirms the birth/death/rebirth cycle on which the Joseph novels depend and which binds the author and his protagonist together across the intervening ages. "Sequences of events from the corners of the world will draw gradually together, and the miracles of coincidence bring the inevitable to pass" (Campbell 228). As Campbell's title implies, the ancient mythic hero Joseph does have a myriad of

identities, and one of these aspects closely resembles Thomas Mann.

This mostly unconscious sense Mann had of himself in Joseph helped attract the author to the Joseph story. Mann wrote that the idea for the work came to him when he needed it. "I must somehow have been in READINESS to be productively attracted by such subject matter, and my Bible reading was not mere chance" (Mann, "The Joseph Novels" 93). The self-identity also probably caused the novel to grow from the modest original proposal to the vast epic it became. The awareness of a parent's favoritism and the innocent arrogance of superiority which caused a rift between Mann and Joseph and their respective brothers demonstrate two similarities between them, but the reader can observe other pairs of personal peculiarities the author and his main character share as well.

These parallel traits conform to two main categories: the artist and the businessman sides of Mann's and Joseph's personalities. Der Künstler devotes himself to spiritual endeavors, and der Bürger directs his energies to material gain. Throughout Mann's earlier works, Buddenbrooks and The Magic Mountain especially, the artistic character, the man of sensitivity and insight, can never successfully fit into and comply with his society. However, the Joseph series portrays a more fortunate, healthier artist type, a sensitive, intuitive person who

also understands and accepts his duty to society. The young Joseph strikes the reader as a repeat of Mann's earlier withdrawn, self-centered artist characters, but as the volumes progress the hero develops into a responsible citizen as well as a responsive dreamer. Thompson describes Joseph as "the man of intellect and sensibility who lived to please himself [but] will emerge to serve the world" ("Thomas Mann's Magic Allegory" 5), and Bardin strongly avers that Mann turned against his ailing artist types in Joseph in reaction against what the author perceived as a decadent society, and created a hero to affirm the value of humanity. Joseph combines Mann's distaste for modern corruption and his optimistic belief in human potential (10). During the years that he planned and wrote Joseph and His Brothers, Mann himself also developed a sense of social responsibility and changed his notion of an author's role. As a young man he imagined the position of a poet as one who avoided the sullying contact of politics and social commitment, but during the 1920s and '30s, Mann became more aware of the importance of his opinion as a respected writer and more conscious of his duty to express his views on politics and the world condition. John F. White states that Mann's essays and speeches, gradually over about fifteen years, reflect the theme that an artist has a duty to improve society morally and actively, especially during troubled times (6).

Despite their eventual integration into mainstream society, both Mann and Joseph demonstrate the isolation of the artist and the antagonism he feels for those lacking his talents. Victor Lange in "The Janus Voice" remarks on the artist's simultaneous rejection of society and desire for its approval (450), and Peter Heller describes the predicament as a division "... between sublime make-believe and human substratum" (201). The reader sees this effect in Joseph's alternately adversarial and solicitous attitudes to his brothers (Joseph 336 - 342). Brennan writes that Mann sensed this ambiguous position of the artist particularly because of his bourgeois upbringing which gave him a "bad conscience" about his creativity (Thomas Mann's World 13), and Feuerlicht notes that Mann always claimed to stand separate, never joining or instigating any literary movement (157). Mann himself recognized that in some ways he worked as an outsider both to the artistic and the bourgeois worlds because he felt the conflict between them so deeply, and he knew that he was an author difficult to categorize or compare in critical literary terms (Roy Pascal 258). Brennan comments that Mann saw every aspect of life according to this split between artist and society: "... a conflict of opposites in everything, and every phenomenon had two facets" (Thomas Mann's World 167). Mann judged himself an observer and outsider to both artistic and practical life. The

merchant class from which Mann came distrusts the idea of artistic creativity instead of fiscal productivity because the burghers do not equate artistic accomplishment with honest work and wonder, "Why don't they just get real jobs?" Joseph too finds himself isolated from his oafish brothers and even from his thoughtful, but conservative, sober-minded father because of his different talents. Bithell refers to this division between artist and society as Mann's recurrent theme: the life-oriented businessman who is "fit to live" in contrast to the "unheilbar" (unwholesome) poet type who is "... tortured by the inescapable contemplation of his normal fellow-men with blue eyes and the rosy glow of health with no self-consciousness" (309). The talented person both envies and despises the ordinary people who live through their days in unconscious equanimity. Pritchett describes the Joseph novels as a B. C. Buddenbrooks (854) in which father Jacob plays the forerunner of the staid burgher who worries about his gifted but quirky son Joseph, as Mann's father worried about the succession of the management of his grain business. A solitary spiritual life "...at the center of a richly populated panorama of social life" (Stern, "Mann in His Time" 622) necessarily sets the artist character apart from the more normally gregarious types. Joseph observes the antique panorama and appreciates his position in it

isolated from his less gifted contemporaries and Mann too suffered this separation.[6]

Troy refers to Mann's theme of the outcast artist who receives no sympathy from his associates in relation to the author's own style of living, aloof and surrounded by formalities ("Thomas Mann" 25), and John Mander describes the relationship Mann kept with his acquaintances (he had few intimate friends) as one of distance and formality. The reader can note in Mann's letters a polite friendliness, but no closeness or affection for his correspondents (69). German manners differentiate more strongly than do American customs between the true friend and the acquaintance (der Bekannte), but Mann seems to have defended the distance between himself and his companions more severely than most. Americans in general quickly assume first-name informality and bonhommie with everyone they meet. (In some groups and situations one must know a person quite well to learn his or her family name.) Germans, on the contrary, accept personal intimacy more slowly, emphasizing titles and surnames and strongly differentiating between the formal pronoun Sie and the familiar du

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[6]Other authors remark on the division between the artistic and the practical life: Fadiman 58 - 60; Clark 94 and 100; Ernst Kohn-Bramstedt 478; Frederick Morgan 551; and Neider, The Stature 211 - 212.

for _you_. The German language has verb forms (_siezen_, _duzen_) to describe the degree of closeness and the style of address one uses with another. Mann recounted an embarrassing incident in his _Diaries_ in which a long-time acquaintance, after a few beers, began to suggest that they _duzen_. Mann wished to reject this intimacy without insulting his companion and managed to steer the conversation to a different subject and avoid the confrontation. Mann stated, perhaps a little wistfully, that he could count on one hand the number of people he addresses as _du_ (_A Sketch of My Life_ 20). Reed in "The Measure of Mann" also mentions the author's instinctive reticence and reserve (1206) and in another article this critic maintains that Mann destroyed his early diaries to keep his private life separate from his public image ("Confrontations" 413).

The artist types in Mann's earlier works also represent a certain decadence and unhealthiness, in body, spirit, or both as compared to regular folks. To some extent Joseph too shows an unwholesome side in the fits, or self-hypnotic seizures, which he induces (_Joseph_ 39 - 40) so that Jacob warns him : "'Keep thy heart and thy senses and be wise'" (_Joseph_ 75). However, in later life Joseph uses his talents more intelligently to advance himself in the Egyptian government and rescue his family from famine. The young Joseph has what Mann described as

"...the artistic ego of inexcusable egocentricity, ... but because of a sympathy and friendliness which nonetheless it [the ego] never renounces, it finds its way into the social, while it matures, and becomes the provider and benefactor of a foreign people and of its own" ("The Joseph Novels" 98).[7] Rice states that, unlike any of the Buddenbrooks family, Joseph excels at business, art, and personal fulfillment, thus resolving the antithesis between practicality and spirituality (Neider, The Stature 365). As Pharaoh's seneschal, or Minister of the Interior, Joseph turns his gifts of inventiveness, charm and prophecy to benefit society and derives personal satisfaction from his practical triumphs (Joseph 979 - 985). Mann too managed a productive literary career and successful life of material and family comfort as well.

Despite his greater degree of normalcy as compared to Mann's earlier artist characters, Joseph also shows possibly unwholesome tendencies in his seizures or trances. Mann recognized unhealthy aspects in himself as well, but managed to control what he considered defective traits

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[7] In the essay "Schwere Stunde" Mann further elaborated the ambiguity of artistic talent as both a burden and a blessing: "To be known, known and loved by the peoples of this earth! Babble all you will of egotism, you who know nothing of the sweetness of this dream and drive. Everyone who is out of the ordinary is egotistic" (Winston 206).

so that he could fulfill his artistic talent and social responsibilities. Physically, Mann enjoyed relatively good health and lived long and well, but he worried about himself constantly and sounded in his diaries unpleasantly like a hypochondriac enumerating his various symptoms and medicines (Mann, Diaries 51, 86, 148, 280, 285, 297, etc.). He also suffered throughout his life, despite a successful fifty-year marriage which produced six children, from homosexual temptations which worried him greatly, since he considered the indulgence of this desire destructive. In 1933 when Mann realized that Hitler's police searched the houses of intellectuals other than Jews (Mann, Diaries 147) he destroyed his early journals partly, according to Kesten, because they contained accounts of, or references to, some of the loves of his youth which he wished to keep secret (Mann, Diaries vi), but in a letter to Ludwig Ewers Mann admitted to what British public school headmasters once referred to euphemistically as a "sentimental friendship" with a schoolmate: "He was my first love, him I REALLY loved, and a more tender, blissful yet painful one I was never to experience the rest of my life" (Nigel Hamilton 35). This kind of affection occurs regularly among adolescent boys, but Mann in middle-age also described his concern over the tormenting physical attraction he felt for his handsome teen-aged son Klaus, the embarrassing disinterest he had for his wife,

and the passing arousal he experienced in the presence of various other young men (Mann, Diaries 99 - 101). However, Mann eventually made peace with both his physical and emotional distress, the latter by means of a concession that the inappropriate attractions could do no harm in fantasy. As long as he did not actually pursue them, he considered himself free to flirt with the images in his mind (Mann, Diaries 101). In addition he apologized to his wife for his lack of sexual attention and felt great love and gratitude for her sympathetic and good-natured response to the problem (Mann, Diaries 103).

Joseph too toys with forbidden forces when he flirts with pagan religions, for example in the Grove of Adonis praising Tammuz (Joseph 293 - 306) and by the well at Hebron calling on the moon (Joseph 39). He also puts himself in spiritual jeopardy with Potiphar's wife (Joseph 748 - 822) arrogantly practicing what John D. Yohannan refers to as "... moral brinkmanship with the Egyptian temptress" (434). Henry Seidel Canby calls Joseph a "consecrated egoist, a character in which the attributes of godhead are curiously blended with intellectual shrewdness" (5), so that he can experiment with moral issues almost unscathed. Joseph, like Mann with his imaginary romances, feels free to allow a passion to develop in the woman, whom Mann names Mut-em-enet, if he does not pursue the affair to its culmination. Hirschbach states that

Joseph armors himself rationally from the beginning of Mut-em-enet's attempted seduction of him so that he can explore and experiment with his reactions and enjoy the attention of his mistress. He believes he can control himself if the situation comes to a climax and the adventure interests him (206). However, when the crisis occurs, Joseph almost loses control of his desire, and with it some of his self-assurance, when the woman embraces him, "...when eloquent wisdom is given the lie by the flesh and is manifest an ass!" (Joseph 830).

His belief in his ability to control any situation and his lack of concern for Mut-em-enet's desperate longing and sexual frustration further demonstrate Joseph's conceited self-absorption. Similarly, Joseph, as the manipulator of his father's favoritism and his brothers' mental density, incurs the reader's sympathy less than do the main victims of his opportunism, his frustrated, guilt-ridden brothers (Lindsay 104). The young Joseph, adept at flattery, but lacking in tact, nevertheless increases in attractiveness to the reader as he matures and learns to direct his talents to benefit others besides himself (Lindsay 105). Maurice Samuel dislikes Joseph (both the Biblical character and Mann's interpretation of him) and remarks that Joseph often exploits those around him stupidly, boasting as in the episode with the sheaves (Joseph 336 - 342) and never sensing the impending

backlash (Samuel 310 - 314). Joseph's affair with Potiphar's wife (Joseph 816 - 829) and the deceptions with the money and the chalice in the grain sacks (Joseph 1072 - 1079 and 1089 - 1090) also illustrate this self-centered, careless quality. Samuel accuses Joseph of hypocrisy in these cases and especially in his pretence of innocence with Mut-em-Enet's early sexual advances. Samuel rejects Joseph's claim to virtue, since he makes little real effort to dissuade his mistress from her infatuation (328). In all these episodes Joseph exceeds the limits and loses his shirt, twice literally (Joseph 374 and 830).[8] Sometimes, however, Joseph's conceit benefits him as in the interpretations of Pharaoh's dream (Joseph 945 - 953). Without his conceit he would not have the confidence to instruct Egypt's despot. Mann shared Joseph's arrogance which sometimes worked to benefit the author in that it enhanced his self-assurance and spirit of inquiry and allowed him to take himself and his art seriously and

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[8]Other critics comment on Joseph and Mann's arrogance and the advantages and disadvantages this attitude conferred on them: Pascal 270; Dupee 176; Winston 206; Granville Hicks 22; Derek Maurice van Abbé 203; Brady 398; Mark van Doren 292 and 296; Monika Mann, Past and Present 18 and "Eighty Years" 39; and Erika Mann, The Last Year 21.

have confidence in his poetic judgement.[9] Both Mann and Joseph recognized their worth in this way and maintained that spirit of investigation and general confident open-mindedness which always drives the artist to seek the truth. Joseph also possesses a questioning outlook, and the reader sees Joseph "... occupied in the pursuit of knowledge" with Eliezer as his tutor (Joseph 265) and discussing theological possibilities with Jacob (Joseph 64 - 67 and 314 - 320) regularly during the early scenes of the novel. Both Mann and his character Joseph displayed wide interest and eclectic appreciation; both are connoisseurs of cosmopolitan customs, Joseph in Egypt and Mann in Europe and especially the United States. Mann's daughter Monika comments in her book Past and Present that her father took most interest in factual material, but loved fantasy too, and kept his mind open to all possibilities for intellectual growth, even once attending a séance as an experiment in spiritualism (18). Mann corroborated this idea of the necessity of wide study and a questioning attitude in the search for truth in a speech at Yale

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[9]Further critical comments about Joseph's and Mann's arrogance which allowed them to act with perfect self-confidence sometimes to their advantage and sometimes to their detriment: Pascal 270; Dupee 176; Winston 206; Hicks 22; van Abbé 203; Brady 398; van Doren 292 and 296; Monika Mann, Past and Present 18 and "Eighty Years" 39; Erika Mann, The Last Year 21.

University in 1938 in which he stated that a writer's duties lie not in "... the invention of the unreal, but the fulfillment and the enrichment of reality through feeling and significance and singularity, the intensification and enhancement of life, in joy and in sorrow, through sensibility and intellect" (Mann, "Address at the Dedication" 703). Mann's oldest daughter Erika states that her father's creative energy allowed him to take pleasure in everything but that he needed the accomplishment of his literary work. When his writing stalled, his general enjoyment in life balked as well (The Last Year 21). In an address Mann delivered during this last year he criticized Anton Chekhov as too modest and full of self-doubt in his artistic capacities. Hicks comments concerning Mann's reproval of the Russian author, that Mann himself remained always free from this self-effacement: "if he did not exaggerate his abilities he did not fail to place a just value upon them" (22). Dupee agrees that Mann never acknowledged any uncertainty and showed no humility as did Chekhov (176), and Klaus H. Pringsheim states that Mann judged his own works highly and believed in his respected position and worth among his contemporary writers (25). Mann's self-confidence and affirmative self-assessment remained as a sustaining force and source of creative energy, as these same qualities encourage all artists in their efforts.

Here the egotism of the artist intersects with the social sense of the burgher. Mann recognized himself as an important author and realized the power of this position to society. He tried to live according to his belief in his own value to the world and act through his speeches, essays, and fiction as an influence for humanitarian progress, as does Joseph when he achieves a station of authority in Pharaoh's government. Sometimes though the efforts of both the author and his character offer the reader the continuing impression of arrogance. White writes in relation to Mann's conception of society's need for him that the author during the late 1930s saw himself not exclusively as a literary figure, but also as a political figure who could exhibit himself as a positive example to other artists to become politically involved in the world (34). A. S. Byatt remarks that Mann was "...always preoccupied with the idea of the representative, the role of the exceptional man in society" (839), the man whose business led him to examine thoroughly the negative forces of life (Eloesser 225). Of course, the exceptional man must know himself as elevated spiritually, intellectually, and creatively from the ordinary class of people, and this recognition of superiority can lead to arrogance and conceit as it does in Joseph's youth and in the first third of Mann's life. But the sense of superiority can also

develop into an enhancement of the social responses as it did in both in their middle and later years.

At this point in the parallel der Künstler and der Bürger merge to become the talented person who serves society. Both Mann and his character Joseph continued the optimistic outlook of their childhoods despite times of trouble, partly because they managed to balance their artistic and inspirational qualities with their bürgerliche practical ones. Peter Heller describes Joseph as the ideal man who learns to measure and control both his spiritual and natural inclinations, who portrays "... a mixture of piety and ruse, ... a compromise between the pure and the spiritual elements" (179). Mann himself lived as a practical worldly man, ein bürgerliches Leben, taken up with a lifelong contemplation of his art and the general spirit of the artist in the world. In the Yale University speech in 1938 Mann stated "... wherever there are laurels, wherever there is love and any degree of trust, there, too, must have been faith and something of that which we call piety" (Mann, "Address at the Dedication" 708), indicating that by this time in his life, late middle age, he had left behind some of the self-congratulation that he and Joseph shared in the years of their youth. He recognized the artist as an integral part of society who must fulfill his duties to others and give some allowance for his accomplishments beyond

himself. Mann decided that the artist must speak for cultural continuity and conservation through politics. One critic explains this development as consisting of three stages: in the first Mann chose the dreamy, withdrawn artist nature; in the second he extended this sense of superiority to a theory of rule of the untalented people by the sensitive elite; but in the third stage he sincerely adopted social responsibility, not as a superior person dominating the lower orders, but as a positive ethical force, an elevating humanizing influence on humanity. He recognized that politics cannot stand removed from other intellectual pursuits ("The Three Thomas Manns" 669).[10] Joseph too broadens his point of view from his early inward-looking self-centered character to the creative administrator, the provider responsible for sustaining his people. He thus resolves the conflict between civic duty and art, community identification and selfish withdrawal.

Mann's self-conscious appreciation and acceptance of his own gifts eventually developed into an understanding of their uses, not in an abstract, isolated sense, but to benefit all the world. Not that Mann in later life saw the artist's position as saintly and altruistic, but he

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[10] Carl E. Purinton 244; Neider, The Stature 330 - 331; and Reed, "Thomas Mann" 84 - 87 also comment on Mann's and Joseph's developing social integration.

believed that the gifted person could occupy two emotional climates at once, the practical and the abstract. Troy writes: "Through the intellect the artist can still enjoy that sensation of an active and everchanging reality that rises from the recognition of the anomaly of his own role" ("Thomas Mann" 28). The artist can both accept himself as separate and superior from others and part of the commonweal as well, and by doing so resolve his own internal conflict between envy and distaste for the world. Borgese, Mann's son-in-law, makes the analogy between the author's participation in politics and a swimmer who keeps to the surface, chin up, partaking and observing, joining and keeping independent at the same time (Neider, The Stature 33). And Mann himself in "The Joseph Novels" speech said that it is "worth a life" to both experience and examine, practice and celebrate the creative spirit (98). Joseph also both participates in and examines the process of the "God-story," conscious of himself as both actor and creator, particularly in the episodes of his revelation of himself to his brothers: "'I invited God and the world to this play'" (Joseph 1114).[11] Neither

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[11]Other critics note the merging of the isolated artist figure with the man of social responsibility: Reed, Thomas Mann 345; Stern, "Mann in His Time" 622; Neider, The Stature 326; Troy, "Thomas Mann" 24;
(Footnote Continued)

nor the author actually renounced his earlier self-centered position; instead, both performed a synthesis and achieved life as *der bürgerliche Künstler* - citizen-artist. Neider continues that in his Joseph character Mann "...recapitulates all his artist themes ... from the isolated to the untimate stage of completion, of sharing the world's sufferings and joys while contributing to the world" (*The Stature* 345). An artist who compromises can have the benefits of both the spiritual and natural worlds.

Slochower remarks on this continuing development of a sense of social duty in the *Joseph* novels from the first scene in which Joseph sits by the well and flirts with the moon (*Joseph* 35 - 40) to his final role as savior of his people. Slochower sees in Jacob's scolding (*Joseph* 42) a hint of the main character's future stages of growth "... from introspection and aloneness to social-mindedness to a collective humanism" (*Thomas Mann's Joseph Story* 17). As Joseph's father calls him from his unhealthy fantasy and self-contemplation (*Joseph* 42 and 48 - 50), Mann also in his later life credited the early influence of his father, the Lübeck Senator and solid businessman, with his

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(Footnote Continued)
Slochower, "A Psychology of Myth" 75; R. J. Hollingdale 115; Henry C. Hatfield and Jack M. Stein 93; and Lindsay 132.

own development of the qualities of perseverance in difficulties and social responsibility. In an address in Lubeck in his last year when he received the freedom of the city and an honorary citizenship in the old Hanseatic League, Mann noted his awareness of "...the personality of my deceased father ... governing my acts and omissions" (Winston 9 and xiv). Idris Parry describes this knowledge of his debt to his heritage as a "... fusion of discipline and licence [in which] the intellect controls imagination and imagination gives the warmth of life to intellect" (241), and the synthesis between artist and practical man succeeds. Mann recognized his bourgeois connections in the Joseph character as well and considered the differences between the Joseph novel and his earlier works as a drawing away from interest in the isolated individual to examine humanity as a whole (Nigel Hamilton 287). Joseph too, by the end of the story, accepts that the idea that he works less as a master of his fate, less as a creator of something new as an artist, than as a stage manager and prop man for the recurrent past patterns which he lives (Rosenberg, The Tradition of the New 126). Joseph and Mann both allowed for their connections to family and history which consummated their resolution of the conflict between the lonely superior artist and the man of the people. Slade states that Joseph eventually learns to use the repetition of the myth in a practical way "...to

conquer the world where spirit and nature intersect" (183). This willingness to adapt and resolve the seemingly impossible split of his youth also allowed Mann to live gracefully and give up cherished ideals and doctrines without equivocation or apology. Mann changed and so does his character Joseph change from a dreamer of self-aggrandizement to a social visionary. Purinton writes that Joseph in Volume IV at last understands other people's problems and uses his superior talents to solve their troubles (245), and in this development Mann and his character parallel each other. Mann in later life became a savior of his people too, both physically in his war work, and culturally in maintaining the difference between what he considered the true Germany and the Nazi aberration. Campbell in his treatise on the mythic hero suggests the "the whole sense of the ubiquitous myth of the hero's passage is that it shall serve as a general pattern for men and women, wherever they may stand along the scale" (121) and Mann unconsciously accepted the Joseph hero model as his own pattern. Both personalities altered from self-centeredness through several stages to social-mindedness and these phases precipitated because of crises in the lives of the actual author and legendary hero.

Part 4: Early Successes and Political Efforts

In addition to similarities of personality and coincidental childhood experiences, the autobiographical aspect of Joseph and His Brothers also repeats the political and social development of Mann and his character Joseph. Partly because of historical situations and partly because of similar personalities, both Mann and Joseph changed and developed through alternating periods of benign contentment, such as their childhoods, and times of personal and public disaster. Mann did not avoid the international struggles during his lifetime and recognized a writer's social duty (Pascal 296) and Joseph learns humility and the use of his charm and talents to benefit rather than simply to manipulate others in his service. Joseph endures descents into the pit (Joseph 372), slavery (400), and prison (852) during his course of education. Mann himself, through critical condemnation, loss of property, homelessness, and exile, also learned to direct his abilities outward in the service of humanity rather than only to concentrate on an abstract definition of art.[12] The

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[12] John Neubauer emphasizes this clear alteration in Mann's world view and states that "the central experience of his maturity was the crisis in the world which led to a personal break with his own youthful outlook" (203).

author's early successes postponed his social coming of age and political commitment until his middle years when he responded with German nationalistic ardor to World War I. In 1914 Mann agreed with the official decree that Germany had a moral duty to defend itself as the aggrieved victim of European aggression and he adopted the German imperialistic attitude that equated democracy with anarchy (Reflections 13). After World War I Mann discovered that he could not maintain this position without jeopardizing his country's newly formed Republic and he consequently modified his opinions several times (Diaries 47, 60, 148). This constant revamping of his point of view not only mitigated his native arrogance, but also kept him politically active so that he could not retreat again into his aesthetic fog as a disinterested artist. The strong critical reaction, negative and positive, to Reflections, Mann's subsequent necessary retraction of his anti-democratic stand, and the attacks of conservatives that followed his renunciation shocked the author into the realization of his own fallibility. Similarly the foppish and conceited Joseph's confrontation with his brothers' fury jolts Mann's character into an understanding of his earlier unsympathetic relations with his family. Both Mann and his Joseph suffered in their respective pits, though the author's downfall avoided the physical impact that Joseph experiences.

Mann gained early success with stories he wrote in the 1890s, while still a teenager, about the sensitive artistic man and the tragic misunderstandings between such a character and the normal run of the population who do not value his talents (Stern, Thomas Mann 19). Then with his novel Buddenbrooks which chronicles the decline of a middleclass north German merchant family something like his own, Mann won international applause (Hans Bürgin and Hans-Otto Mayer 7). Before the twentieth century began Mann entered European intellectual and artistic renown and found himself welcomed, even lionized, by famous writers and thinkers. This adulation surprised Mann little. In A Sketch of My Life he described an exchange with the editor of the magazine Die Gesellschaft on the sale of one of his early articles. The editor sent Mann's pay and wrote in the acceptance letter, "What a gifted creature you are!" Mann, twenty years old at this time, laughed at the editor's wonder which he found "naive" since he had been sure of his talent and eventual literary success since he had decided on writing as his vocation (A Sketch of My Life 14). He did not receive the Nobel Prize for literature until 1929, but expected the honor would come to him some time. "It lay, I suppose, upon my path in life..." (A Sketch of My Life 73). Mann's gracious, but complacent, acceptance of literary acclaim in his youth reflects Joseph's easy assumption that all people love him and want

to give him their best before helping themselves (Joseph 323 - 324). In both cases their smugness generated from their easy early successes and widely recognized talents.

Mann's personal life also bloomed, in part because of his success as a writer. He became a friend of the wealthy Pringsheims and married the daughter of the family in 1905 (Bürgin and Mayer 22). This marriage to Katja subsequently produced six children and sustained Mann for fifty years until his death. During these two decades of success and contentment before World War I, Mann defined his work clearly as study and writing. "My attitude toward life was a compact of indolence, bad conscience, and the sure and certain feeling of latent powers" (A Sketch of My Life 13). From 30 years' hindsight Mann acknowledged here his youthful, self-centered, socially aloof arrogance, but at the time he lived, as does his character Joseph, ignorant of the effects of his conceit on others in "... blissful self-confidence ... like that of a spoilt child" (Joseph 324). Mann also recounted that his sudden early fame both pleased and nonplussed him and referred, not with wholly pleasant reminiscence, to "the youthful love of fame, in one early involved in its toils" (A Sketch of My Life 30). Joseph too finds public adulation satisfying, and also somewhat intimidating and embarrassing when he makes his public progresses through Pharaoh's

city during his seasons of early success in Egypt (Joseph 619 -620).

Mann in his early years differentiated without qualification or apology between the work of the artist and poet, which he saw as his own vocation, and the work of the practical, material laborers. In the latter category Mann deposited all political efforts and concerns and declared that they held no interest or importance to him, involved as he was with his artistic endeavors. Unlike many writers who recognized in the second decade of the twentieth century that war or some comparable crisis impended, Mann reacted to the beginning of World War I with shock and disbelief, but soon sided with the patriotic national conservatives in favor of the war he saw as a defense of German traditions. He welcomed the war as a chance for Germany to show its superiority, moral and cultural as well as tactical, over the rest of Europe. Mann maintained in Reflections that German virtues, in which inventory he included subjectivity, romanticism, and mysticism, would naturally overpower the enemies' qualities of analysis, skepticism, and politics (vii). He wrote in a letter to his brother Heinrich on August 1, 1914 at the outset of the War, "I am going as though in a dream - and yet one should now be ashamed of not thinking it possible, of not having foreseen, that the catastrophe would have to come" (Bürgin and Mayer 35). But by early September, 1918

he wrote in his diary that the Kaiser had forfeited credibility. Mann criticized the Kaiser's speech to some Krupp workers and said that he felt sympathy to Wilhelm's points, but amusement with his imperialistic style. Mann averred that only Germans out of all western people could accept in that year such an undemocratic, patriarchal leader as the Kaiser (Diaries 3-4). World War I agitated Mann and alerted him to the truth that he did have something to do with politics after all. Heinrich wrote some liberal-minded essays condemning the German imperialist spirit at this time and Thomas Mann recognized in these articles a personal condemnation of his own world outlook, which ranged at this time from conservative to apathetic (Reflections viii). At one point in the feud Heinrich referred to his brother as a social parasite, which epithet Thomas Mann naturally resented bitterly (Reflections 158). He therefore interrupted his work on The Magic Mountain to answer Heinrich's allegations with his own political effort, Die Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischens, (The Reflections of a Nonpolitical Man). This collection of essays affirms Mann's belief in the separation between art and politics and continues his contention that the poet has no business with the governing of a country. In this book Mann extrapolated from the personal to the general and maintained that the Germans are a people of culture, like artists, and have no interest or talent

themselves, as a nation, for politics. Reflections became Mann's war effort, his self-justification, as well as a search for personal identity. However, the work developed into a convoluted exercise in connotations in which the author tried to apply specialized meanings to words - national identity as opposed to cosmopolitan spirit, for example, and culture versus intellect. Self-government is alien to Germany, Mann stated, and his people best fulfill the spirit of their culture under a benign dictatorship such as that of Frederick the Great. In his introductory essay for the series Mann wrote "I proclaim my deep conviction that the German people will never take to political democracy ... and I feel that the much abused 'authoritarian state' is the form of government suited to it, best for it and at bottom what it desires." A reactionary declaration of incendiary intensity! Mann considered at this point in his life that political fervor could not stand as a German attribute because it meant "...participation in the state, zeal and passion for the state" (Reflections 107), and true Germans react passionately to beauty, art, literature, music: that is, to human values, not to something as frigidly foreign as politics. This declaration led the author into another set of definitions, especially concerned with what a true German must be. He believed at this time that politicians only mirror mechanics or technicians who manage the government, which

works predictably like machinery. For Mann in Reflections the technician is the antithesis of the artist who concentrates on aesthetics, not simple utility. The politician, unlike the artist, never succumbs to doubt, reverence, irony, or skepticism (Reflections 166) and political effort automatically depersonalizes the politician because he must care about the state rather than the culture of a nation. Mann noted that the "...blossoming of the state and blossoming of culture seem to exclude one another" and offered Bismarck's era as an example of a culturally sterile period caused by the strength and stability of the state (Reflections 183). Mann defined culture and spiritual concerns as opposed to politics and practical pursuits in such a manner as to support his argument for the division he saw between these two aspects of life. However, even as Mann wrote this apologia for his own desire for artistic detachment, Reflections became ever more complicated, snarled, and contradictory, especially when he attempted to suggest practical applications for his theories. For example, he enumerated what a good government should concern itself with. It should separate itself from money and business matters, since the burghers can manage these facets of life decently and honorably on their own. It should also avoid any form of democracy, since concentration on individual human rights negate true humanism. Also a universal sufferage, in which the people

who can never understand the delicate workings of government policy all vote, would be like an orchestra voting how to play a symphony (Reflections 188-193).

Mann's brother Heinrich had correctly interpreted Reflections as personal antagonism in answer to his own aggressively liberal and socialistic opinions which he states in his work Zivilizationsliterat (Erich Heller, The Ironic German 119 and Reed, "Unbrotherly Feelings" 711). Thomas Mann's publication of his war work, this set of introspective essays, aggravated the dissension between him and his brother. They did not repair this rift and speak or correspond with each other for many years and never fully forgave each other until the 1940s, and even then Heinrich remarked cynically that Thomas's egotistical ambition served as the primary fuel for his creativity ("Mann to Mann" 46).[13]

The motivation for Reflections came from Mann's reaction to the generalized German war fervor before and during World War I and, while the book seems like a mild response in comparison to the imperialist ravings of the

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[13]Not until Mann fell seriously ill with lung cancer in 1945 did Heinrich finally tell him that he loved him, and even then he worded the telegram obliquely: "You are indispensible to your great purposes and to all who love you stop there is one who would feel vain to continue without you stop this is the moment for confessing to you my absolute attachment" ("Mann to Mann" 46).

rabid super-jingoes of the time, it stands as an important monument in the author's development of social and political involvement. Besides, he very soon understood that he had made a mistake and that he ought to retract much of his text. Mann wrote Reflections as a self-examination and defense of his conservatism, but he finished the work by convincing himself that he was wrong. Joseph Warner Angell, in his introduction to The Thomas Mann Reader, states that "no sooner had Mann gone through the rigorous process of self-analysis than he discovered that he was wrong about himself and about the position that he had at first rejected. He belonged ... with the forces of political democracy" (490). Mann accepted his error and reversed himself at age 40, but his personal and political evolution continued throughout his life.

Mann wrote the last essay in Reflections on the initial day of the armistice talks between Germany and the Allies (433). He recognized some of the contradictions and confusions in the series and wondered in his Diaries whether and how his war work would affect his country's future (10). Newspapers of liberal editorial policy surprised him by requesting to publish excerpts from the anti-democratic Reflections, and he worried in his journal that perhaps they misunderstood his position against what he saw as the false perceptions of freedom tendered by the western allies, whose democracies he feared would lead to

anarchy (Reflections 33). These illusory ideals of freedom Mann saw exemplified particularly in the American armistice terms (Diaries 14). When Kaiser Wilhelm II abdicated on November 8, 1918 and Mann's province of Bavaria set up as a country independent from Berlin with a communist-based government, Mann could sneer both at the "Imperial House [as a] romantic vestige" and at the unrealistic platform of the communist council of intellectuals and theorists trying to manage an orderly revolution in Munich (Diaries 20). However, in a letter in the spring of 1919 he wrote that communism, while only theoretically valid, at least takes less attention and energy from the people than democracy (W. H. Bruford 242). According to D. J. Enright, Mann's tendency to self-contradiction gained for him much negative critical attention, first for failing in commitment and then for his imperialistic propagandizing (92). Mann's son Klaus further remarks that when his father revoked much of Reflections soon after World War I in order to support the Republic, many of his former colleagues and admirers considered him a turn-coat to German national values ("Thomas Mann: Exile" 11). By the end of 1918, however, political comments in the author's journals diminish and life seems to resume its normal tenor. Mann himself assumed that he could again retreat into political oblivion, despite certain continued unrest in the world, his province, and his city. But he mistook his

position in this hope for retirement. Now that he had identified himself publicly as a political writer, even if in the backhanded manner of calling himself a non-political man (ein Unpolitischer), Mann continued to comment on world events for the rest of his life. Nigel Hamilton states that his "...bitter experience in the Great War, his gradual maturing from reactionary war propaganda to the ideals of humanity and social democracy, gave him now a certainty, a faith which neither Hitler nor McCarthy could destroy..." (245). Mann reneged after World War I from his position of distrust for parliamentary government and declared that he would support the Republic against Hitler's party "...not only with my pen but also my person" (Nigel Hamilton 246). Mann's determination to enter politics as a champion of the Social Democrats and the legal government of post war Germany demonstrates a complete reversal from his earlier apathy and his desire for literary isolation and noninvolvement and his super-conservative stand in Reflections.

As Mann changed his mind about the role of artists and poets in general and himself in particular as a political thinker and writer, so Joseph reconsiders his position from the pit and realizes that he must withdraw himself as candidate for the little favorite of all the world. After experiencing the beating his brothers administer to him in their anger, Joseph renounces his claim to

the infallible affection of everyone he chooses to charm. "Joseph was quite aware, he admitted it to himself openly and honourably as he sat at the bottom of the well, that the unashamed presumption which had been the guiding principle of his life had been a game..." and he feels compassion for his brothers whom he had driven to attempt murder (Joseph 385). Mann too, after he understood the errors in his conclusions about freedom and democracy in relation to culture and art, descended into a figurative pit and gave up his hope for complete privacy and an undisturbed literary life. Both the author and his character Joseph found themselves reordering their perceptions of the world and rearranging their priorities in favor of a broader world view. In both cases the dissipation of their conceit and self-centeredness and the maturation of their outlooks grew from the shock of the realization of their own fallibility. According to Hatfield, Joseph grows up in the Bildungsroman tradition and learns how to live successfully as a man of balance (Modern German Literature 96), but the author himself had begun his education in the qualities of balance, tolerance, and objectivity only a few years before he started Joseph's history. Brennan believes that Mann never wanted to write literature with social significance and states that the author tried to keep his art at a distance from his political essays and speeches. But Mann concluded that "... when political

degeneration menaces human values, the artist cannot remain indifferent to politics" (Thomas Mann's World xiii).[14] Mann undertook political responsibility, but managed to maintain his artistic direction as well.

For Mann the initial acceptance of a nationalistic commitment during World War I began a political life in which he strove through several permutations, including imperialist, anti-Nazi, and liberal socialist, to find the philosophy he eventually labeled humanism. Kesten describes Mann's willingness to change and develop in his search for the politics of humanitarianism as "...a very humane ability, and a highly novelistic talent" (Neider, The Stature 24) as if the author's flexibility and at times indecision legitimately reflected his literary and political thinking. After Mann's realization that the Kaiser's Germany did not fit the pattern for his ideal of humane culture, the author descended into a philosophical pit and, when resurrected, applauded humanitarian ideals wherever he recognized them, however mixed the matrix. According to Kesten, Mann's openmindedness in middle-age led him to divers political enthusiasms: "the arch-German ... took the part of Czechoslovak patriots and Spanish

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[14]Daemmrich adds that Mann never "...forgets that a doctrine does not yet constitute a work of art" ("Mann's Portrait of the Artist" 30).

republicans, of the new Russia, the coming German revolution, President Roosevelt and the ostracized of all countries, of Jews, Negroes and fugitive German poets" (Neider, The Stature 25). When Mann acquiesced to his own fallibility, he accepted with tolerance the positive aspects in others' efforts as well. Levin describes Mann's tolerance and expanded world view as a "global conscience" and writes that the author grew from a provincial Lübecker to a citizen of the world - from Bürger to Weltbürger (Neider, The Stature 214 - 216), as does Joseph in the course of his career grow from Palestinian shepherd boy to Minister of the Interior for Pharaoh's kingdom. Mann similarly became more objective and cosmopolitan after he adopted political concern as a social responsibility, and like Mann, Joseph too synthesizes several cultures, and in doing so achieves "... a compromise between the demands of art and those of life in the service of mankind" (Lindsay 110). As Mann's own concept of himself as a political force developed, he also expanded his character Joseph as the artist who gains his greatest satisfaction in the service of humanity, since as the man of talent he naturally inspires attention and respect (Lindsay 127). Slochower states that Joseph could not succeed as he does without experiencing the suffering in the pit; the misery and devastation of his innocent arrogance allows him to mature as a social person. "The pit

marks the death of the egotistical 'young' Joseph, his rebirth to social cognizance" (Thomas Mann's Joseph Story 30 -31).

Mann's mature tolerance did not equate with the kind of pliability that saw Hitler's Reich as a promising means to an end, however. Mann recognized Hitler as an evil force on first acquaintance and wrote denunciations of the National Socialist Party in an essay in which he described Hitler as Preaching a "... pagan folkreligion [sic]... romantic barbarism" in 1922 (Mann, The Thomas Mann Reader 504), a year before the Putsch after which others began to consider Hitler seriously. Mann had to renounce to a degree his artistic arrogance and, like Joseph in the well, reassess his values. Neider writes that "with his Joseph he became the artist who took his place in society without equivocation, aligning himself with progress and truth against reaction and lies" (The Stature 345). In The Story of a Novel Mann commented on his early indecision and contradictory thinking in Reflections but remarked that he could always think clearly about Hitler. "Hitler had the great merit of producing a simplification of the emotions, of calling forth a wholly unequivocal NO, a clear and deadly hatred" (57). In addition in a 1937 speech to the German University in Exile in New York Mann equated his political work with the protection of his artistic freedom: "... the writer who refuses to take a

stand in these vital questions of political faith ... is a traitor to man's spirit, is a lost man" ("The Living Spirit" 266).

When Mann finally agreed to his social duty to write and speak on political matters in his expertise as artist and intellectual, he gave up his youthful self-centered attitude and some of his inborn arrogance as Joseph does when he turns his talents and charm to the benefit of his master's family, to the general aid of his adopted country, and to the rescue of his own people (Joseph 604, 990 - 993, and 1049 - 1117). As a political speaker and writer Mann had to spend the last 30 years of his life on stage as a lecturer and in public in the daily press (Frederic Morton 78). His acceptance of civic duty eventually resulted in the loss of his houses, money, and treasures, his citizenship and homeland, and his readership and critical esteem in his native language. The Hitler government appropriated all he owned by 1934, and only by good luck and the courage of his daughter Erika, who re-entered Munich and burgled her own house while the Gestapo guarded it, did he retrieve his manuscripts including the only copy of the third volume of Joseph and His Brothers (Erika and Klaus Mann, Escape to Life 7). The Nazi government burned his books and printed his obituary in order to obliterate Mann's reputation (The Story of a Novel 117), and the author also had to shamefully

recognize his own part in encouraging something like Hitler's Reich through his early anti-democratic stand. In a 1937 editorial in a German exile periodical published in Stockholm, Mann wrote that his attitude in Reflections helped cause Germany's disaster. He acknowledged that the very notion that one could live in this century as a non-political but cultured person had proven false. Perhaps, he stated in "The Joseph Novels" speech, at one time one could separate aesthetics, religion, or philosophy from politics, but no longer (92). Mann's critics during the 1920s held that the author had betrayed his country, and in the mood of humility of this editorial Mann himself almost agreed. On the contrary, Klaus Mann maintains that rather than a betrayal of the German culture, his father's changing attitudes really demonstrated a logical development of the "Menschheits-Partei" (Human Party) in which Mann had always held membership and whose tenets stand for human dignity and progress ("Thomas Mann: Exile" 10). Sometimes change and development in one's philosophy illuminate truth more clearly, or its best approximation in this ambiguous world, than inflexibility; the most convincing testimony comes from the newly converted.

Mann, like his character Joseph, gave up arrogance and the self-assurance of infallibility in exchange for humane duty and social responsibility. Both suffered spiritually and physically in the transition, but both

succeeded in later life by luck and wit. Mann lost his property but not his children, and managed as well to save most of his more distant family. Joseph's brothers abuse him, but he finds a comfortable niche in the land of his slavery. Mann gained through his development of political awareness the satisfaction of finding the solution to the antithesis between the artist and society, creativity and practicality, Kunst und Leben (art and life). Joseph also acknowledges his social duty and bows to the blessing from above and below, "from the breast of heaven and the womb of earth" (Joseph 1195) and agrees to live as the man of sensitivity in a civil service job. Reflections marks Mann's earliest political awareness, but the shock of retraction and reversal in the early 1920s truly identify Mann's coming of age as a humanist, as Joseph's descent into the pit teaches the conceited young man an appreciation for the sensibilities of others. Eventually, like Joseph in Volume IV, Mann grew into the role, not only of a political commentator, but also of a provider and rescuer of his people.[15]

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[15]Other critics also note Mann's and/or Joseph's conversion from political apathy to social commitment: Malcolm Cowley, "The Golden Legend" 171; Brennan, Thomas Mann's World 153 and Three Philosophical Novelists 168; R. H. S. Crossman 208; Bruford 226; Daemmrich, "Mann's Portrait of the Artist" 30; Lewis Gannett, "Joseph the

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Provider" 17; Anthony Hellbut 312; Fred Genschmer 331 and 334; Erich Heller, In the Age of Prose 151 and The Ironic German 118; King 422; White 6 - 188; George N. Shuster 319; von Hofe 149; H. Lehnert 280 - 283, 289, and 292; J. Lesser, "Thomas Mann's Way" 374 - 376; H. T. Lowe-Porter 266; Pringsheim 26 and 34; Purinton 244; Reed, "Thomas Mann" 84 - 95 and "In Retreat from Reality" 1126; Hans H. Schulte 5 - 18; Slochower, "Thomas Mann's New Message" 317 - 330, "Thomas Mann and Universal Culture" 733, and "The Humanity of Mann" 202; and Stern, "Social Implications" 12.

Part 5: Prophet and Provider: Mann's Attraction to the Joseph Story

Mann, because of the difficult circumstances of his life, eventually relinquished the complacency and arrogant self-absorption he showed after World War I and developed a sense of social responsibility. He became aware of his own duty as artist and intellectual to use his talents not just to satisfy his own poetic whims and inspirations, but to directly benefit humanity as well. Mann relinquished his non-political position to assume the role of the socially integrated artist, at one with the common people rather than at odds with them. According to Reed, Mann planned to write a reasoned, organized political manifesto, something like Reflections, in which he would state the world's case against Fascism. However, the author found himself forced to give up this project because "Nazism was virtually beyond ethical discussion" ("Confrontations" 413). Mann's character Joseph also develops an understanding of his civic duty and turns his gifts of charm and charismatic manipulation to the aid of his adopted country and to the salvation of both the Egyptians and his own extended family of Israel (Joseph 989 - 994).

Mann also exhibited a prophetic ability parallel to Joseph's own famous gift of prophecy. The author used

this insight during the 1920s and 1930s to repeatedly warn his fellow Germans against Hitler and the dangers of succumbing to the promise of the National Socialist Party. In 1921 Mann wrote a letter to the Munich journal Neues Merkur in which he protested against Hitler and predicted national debasement and disgrace worse than the defeat of World War I if the people did not react strongly against the Nazi Party. In this early letter, which the newspaper refused to print, Mann defended the Jews and asserted that they did not carry the responsibility for Germany's recent defeat. The author declared in this article that "a people suffering from injustice [the Germans] should from its innermost core aim for particularly good relations with justice" (Philip Shabecoff 19). Though Mann's warnings stirred little interest among his people, Joseph's cautionary prophecies receive a more productive hearing from the Egyptians; his premonitions about the impending years of famine (Joseph 946 - 948) equal in general accuracy Mann's predictions of Germany's coming disasters under Hitler. Neider remarks that Hitler and Joseph caught the author's attention at about the same time ("Thomas Mann" 290). Mann remained preoccupied with both figures, Joseph and Hitler, for the next two decades, and, after announcing his forebodings about Fascism, he took an active part in social and political work, as does Joseph in Egypt. Throughout the 1920s, '30s, and World War II, Mann wrote

to his people continually in newspaper editorials, as long as the German government allowed him to publish, and then spoke to them extensively by way of radio speeches. Mann also lobbied for sponsoring refugees, and toured, lectured, and published in defense of his fellow exiles in the United States.

As Mann's political awareness grew, he developed an ability to synthesize his creative spirit and the practical world, to combine art and life, and to coordinate his relationship as a poet with the less observant people. To the author's surprise, he discovered in accepting his social duties that the political involvement, which he had shrunk from during the first half of his life, brought unexpected satisfactions. According to White, in a radio speech he broadcast in 1941 Mann referred to his famous anti-Hitler address in the Beethoven Hall in Berlin as one of his most gratifying pieces of work (35). He had been hired to perform a reading from The Young Joseph, but spoke against the government instead. Nazis in the crowd continually interrupted the lecture and the police eventually curtailed it. Mann stated that, while this speech accomplished nothing useful to stem National Socialism's success at the time, making the speech satisified him more even than producing his official life work, his literary art, since on that afternoon he felt perfect confidence in the correctness of his words. White remarks that "it was

not simply a case of the artist having the obligation to go to the rostrum, but rather that the speech represented a more efficient and satisfactory vehicle than a literary or artistic form" (35). As he resolved the division he had established in his early work between the artist and the burgher, Mann wrote in Joseph a parallel story of a talented man who also finds an agreeable resonance between his artistic sensibilities and his social responsibilities.

Joseph as social planner and provider must discipline his artistic tendencies and set them to benefit society (Ames 253), and Mann too made the compromises necessary to bring him in sympathy with other people. "That Joseph finds his way from the 'artistic egocentricity' of his youth, as Mann put it, to social consciousness parallels Mann's development, too" (Feuerlicht 57). While Mann himself did not consciously grasp most of the parallels between his own situation and that of his main character, the Joseph story attracted Mann at the time of the author's early political awakening. He became aware of the anti-Semitic backlash in Germany after World War I and felt a responsibility to speak against this irrational and barbarous expression of social and political dissatisfaction among his people. Mann himself commented with bitterness and disgust on those who achieved wealth through war profiteering, which Hitler used as one of the

accusations against the Jews. In a journal entry of the fall of 1918 Mann remarked on the wife of one of these nouveaux riches whom the author met during the intermission of a performance of Wagner's Parsifal: wearing "...large diamonds in her ears, picking her teeth with her stubby little finger after eating a twenty-mark portion of chicken" (Diaries 8). However, Mann never made the error of directing his general antipathy for those who made fortunes from the War to a single ethnic group, as many of his countryfolk eagerly did with the Jews. In a 1940 speech Mann stated that anti-Semitism reverberates with an irrational animal sound, but a true human being (ein Mensch) "waits until this [bawling, howling] ceases for a moment and into the ensuing silence he speaks his 'NO!'" ("Culture Against Barbarism" 115). Mann emphasized that, like such ethnic hatred, Fascism appeals to the stupid, bestial portions of the populace and people of reason must recognize the false basis for National Socialism and resist its persuasions.

Once Mann chose to speak and write politically he opened himself as a poet to subjects and periods outside of German culture, the subject which had previously given him his inspirations. In his speech to the Library of Congress in 1943 Mann considered his motivations for writing Joseph and His Brothers and stated that, since western civilization owed Judaism much of its ethical and

philosophical basis, the novel fit well with the time as a protest against the prevailing attitudes of post-War Germany ("The Joseph Novels" 96). Mann used the old Joseph story from Jewish tradition as a reaction during the early '20s against the use of myth by the National Socialist Party to create or cultivate a narrowminded, xenophobic populace. Mann presented myth in Joseph rationally rather than mystically or religiously. He meshed his theories of tradition, repetition, and recurrence with the psychological studies of Jung and Freud (Feuerlicht 49).[16] Reed states that Mann welcomed psychology as "the means to take myth from its evil fascist users and give it a humane function" (Thomas Mann 347). Mann recognized that Hitler's philosophy abused mythology so as to isolate Germany from the rest of the world, to reinforce the German people's feelings of self-consciousness, alienation, and betrayal, whereas Mann's growing recognition of his humanist beliefs and Weltbürgerrecht (world citizenship) emphasized the oneness of humankind rather than the separation of peoples. In the 1943 speech, "The Joseph Novels," the author declared that "unity is the word of the historic hour. The world wants to become one.... It is a world

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[16]Other critics remark on Mann's use of a Jewish myth to combat anti-Semitism: Boesch 317; and Bardin 10.

of infinitely mutual implications" (92) and that the novels are not "...an out-of-the-way, evasive, extra-timely product, but inspired by an interest in humanity transcending the individual" (94).

Mann's broadening of focus from the individual, withdrawn artist type to a more general view of humanity reflected both his personal change during this period and the world situation as well. Slochower refers to Hitler's program of "Pan-Aryanism" and his elimination of the Old Testament as a religious source, and writes that Mann did not glorify the Joseph characters because they are Jews, but, in order to counter the Nazi emphasis on racial "purity", he pointed out that these people arise from a racially mixed past (Thomas Mann's Joseph Story 54). In another article Slochower describes Mann's racial references as an attitude "that stamps it [Joseph] as a prototype of mankind itself" ("Thomas Mann and Universal Culture" 730), and Levin directly parallels Pharaoh's bad dreams with the world situation during World War II and writes that "Mann offers the newest application of Joseph's prophecies" (Neider, The Stature 214). The Hitler propaganda corps often incorrectly named Mann himself as a Jew (Shabecoff 19), and Mann wrote that the Nazis so designated any opinionated person "who shows signs of cleverness" (Slochower, "Thomas Mann's New Message" 319), but they also prematurely declared the author deceased and

wrote his obituary in 1940 (Mann, The Story of a Novel 117).[17] Mann used myth, one of Hitler's tools to stir up feelings of national superiority, successfully against Fascism to promote human progress and enlightenment (Neider, "Thomas Mann" 289). Joseph also works as an agent for unity of society rather than for the enhancement of his own individuality in Egypt. He organizes the people in their trouble and brings both spiritual and material benefits, peace and prosperity, through his collective economic system.

Mann also remembered in "The Joseph Novels" speech that his interest in arcane Egyptian lore dated from his childhood and he recounted a schoolboy episode in which he received a sarcastic scolding from his teacher because he knew more about ancient Egyptian theology than the master did and showed off his knowledge. "A work must have long roots in my life," the author stated, "secret connections must lead from it to earliest childhood dreams, if I am to consider myself entitled to it, if I am to believe in the

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[17] Several other critics comment that the use of a Hebrew myth by a famous German author at the height of Jewish hatred in his country not only showed political timeliness. but reflects Mann's love of irony as well: Feuerlicht 43; Baker 181; Thompson, "The Most Eminent" 1; Stern, "Thomas Mann" 245 and Thomas Mann, 27; King 422; Frank 23; John Cournos 440; Byatt 839; Winston ed. The Letters of Thomas Mann xxiv; and Hatfield, Thomas Mann 118.

legitimacy of what I am doing" (95). And earlier, in a 1935 letter to Louise Servicen, he wrote of his youthful fascination with Oriental ideas, especially ancient Egyptian history and religion (Servicen 465). Another one of these links between Mann and the Joseph story connects by way of Goethe whom Mann greatly admired and sought to emulate (Hermann J. Weigand 178). In his autobiography, Dichtung und Wahrheit, Goethe mentioned that as a boy he had revised and expanded the Bible story of Joseph into a substantial narrative for the entertainment of his friends. Though Goethe did not preserve this manuscript he commented in his memoirs that "this natural story is highly amiable; only it seems too short, and one is tempted to carry it out in all its details" ("The Joseph Novels" 93) Mann thought of this remark as he reread the Bible as background study for a commentary he had agreed to write for a set of Old Testament illustrations drawn by a friend of Katja. From this series of captions as an outline the author conceived a novella, just a short work of history, to supply continuity and psychological motivation to the Biblical Joseph narrative (A Sketch of My Life 65 - 69). On December 25, 1925 Mann wrote to Ernst Bertram of the plans and study he had undertaken for the Joseph theme (Neske 147). Seemingly a reasonably manageable project, the work grew in the writing because of its many associations and connections with Mann's past and

contemporary experiences. Once Mann decided on a writing project he always pursued it with resolution of purpose and thorough study of details (A. W. G. Randall 737). And Mann wrote that "every working idea of mine presents itself to me in a harmless, simple, practicable light", but the author felt thankful that he never knew the full extent of the actual long and difficult task beforehand or he would never begin: "love is never ... economical" (A Sketch of My Life 70).

So Mann's attraction to the Joseph story occurred as a happy conjunction between topic and time as a reflection of the author's personal stage of life and the historical period. He felt ready to move from the circumscribed theme of artistic isolation within the crowd that he had used in his previous works and take on the broader theme of the Joseph myth. One critic remarks that Mann noticed how his life experiences frequently presented him with exactly the inspiration that he needed at the particularly apt moment when he could make use of the idea (Joseph P. Strelka et al. 17). And Mann stated that his perusal of the Bible, which he owned more as an ancestral keepsake than as a source of study, did not occur merely by chance ("The Joseph Novels" 93). During the decade that the author gradually accepted himself as a political force and defined his humanist philosophy, the Fascists emerged as the natural opponents to his world view and he

found the subject to both fulfill his artistic impulses and to combat the hated regime. Mann manipulated the myth for humane purposes against Hitler, using it as "a captured gun [which] is turned around and directed against the enemy" ("The Joseph Novels" 99).

While his boyhood interest and the necessity to turn his talents against the Nazis drew Mann to the Joseph tradition, other attractions between Mann and this story appear less obviously, so that the author himself did not make the connections. Mann as a prophet and provider for his people matched Joseph's role in Egypt when this character accepts the story which is "written down already in God's book" (Joseph 1056). Mann's social development also paralleled Joseph's change from the self-absorbed artist separate from the common people to the socially integrated man of talent. Mann discovered his gift for prophecy along with his acceptance of his political parts. In the essay "The Exiled Writer's Relation to His Homeland" Mann denied that his early anti-Hitler warnings took any particularly astute insight, but only reasoned objective observation. Mann recognized that the Nazi system in Germany equaled an internal war, the government against the people, so war with the outside surely would follow (343). And in the 1936 "Exchange of Letters" Mann declared that Germany would certainly lose this inevitable war, which the country at that time prepared for, because it would

have to fight the whole world (519 - 520). As the contemporary student reads the Sunday issues of the New York Times through the 1930s Mann's predictions seem inescapably obvious, but during the fifteen years in which Hitler rose to power in Germany and began invading other parts of Europe many political scholars and most other ordinary people concerned with their own business either paid little attention or, if they noticed, hoped the problem would confine itself somewhere far away and not involve them. Joseph grasps his prophetic talent in his youth, but while he is always sensitive to his possession of this gift, he must learn to direct the talent from frivolous or malicious interpretations of the future, as in the sheaves' adoration (Joseph 338 - 342), to socially beneficial predictions to save a population from the ravages of famine (Joseph 946 - 947). Mann also set up Joseph's interpretations of dreams and predictions of the future so that the answer to the riddles seem almost self-evident, requiring not much more than rational examination and extension of the analogies, as in Pharaoh's well-known dream of the seven fat kine and the seven thin ones (Joseph 946 - 948). In both cases, however, the author and his character used their insights to rescue their people from catastrophe.

By November of 1936 when Mann lost his German citizenship (Bürgin and Mayer 124), he had already written

and spoken copiously against the National Socialists since 1921 (Shabecoff 19) at which time most analysts, despite Mann's deprecation of his prophecies as mere careful observation, had yet to notice the party at all. In 1936, now a thoroughly political person, he accepted "...a complete and final repudiation of the non-political attitude, violent polemics against German fascism, and an enthusiastic defense of the principles of democracy" (Brennan, Thomas Mann's World 154). Mann saw the Nazi threat early and his precognition of incipient war and national disgrace speeded his growth as a political prophet. According to Slochower, the rise of Fascism was one "...thunderbolt which dynamited Mann's KULTUR concept and showed that estheticism was propagandistic in its consequences" (Neider, The Stature 376). To hear Hitler use excerpts from Reflections or similar nationalistic and reactionary rhetoric humbled Mann and helped him realize his fallibility, as Joseph's abuse at the hands of his brothers gives him an insight into the effects of his arrogance on others. Henry Walter Brann writes that Mann predicted the increasing decadence and barbarism which would follow the Fascists' rise, but, unlike some of his contemporaries, H. G. Wells, for instance, Mann suggested hopeful solutions for humanity and in this respect he presented optimism along with the warnings and offered a positive response. The unity of humankind, the avoidance of specialization

and narrow focus, and the encouragement of multi-faceted talents Mann proposed as some of these possibilities for salvation (365 - 366).

Mann's political reputation, already widely known in literature, grew as a result of his prophecies, partly as a coincidence of the historical moment and the author's personality, and partly because of his immigration to the United States where he could command an audience and expect freedom in his expression. Similarly Joseph fulfills his destiny speaking and acting as prophet and provider because he lived in Egypt as the famine time encroached, and not still isolated with the sheep in the hills of Canaan. Prophets need both inspiration and timing for their warnings to affect change. Both Mann and his Joseph observed and analyzed before they spoke, but a certain element of luck in the subsequent interpretation assisted them both. In the novel Mann played ironically with the theme of fitting specific situations afterwards to generally correct predictions. People make the connections for Joseph's prophecies and slide the particular details around to fit, as with the discussion of seven (or five) bountiful harvests followed by five (or seven) crop failures (Joseph 979 - 981). However, Mann showed little awareness of the effects of coincidence or irony concerning his own warnings. For example, his publishers brought out for sale Mann's prophetic speech "The Coming Victory

of Democracy," in which the author vilified the British as economic collaborators with the Nazis on the day before Chamberlain offered his famous appeasement to Hitler at Munich (Frederic C. Warburg 258 - 259). Mann himself stated in The Story of a Novel that even when prophecies actually achieve unmistakable fulfillment, the forewarning sometimes appears not completely literal (4).

These figurative possibilities relate Mann's political predictions to his art as a novelist. Potiphar's wife, after Joseph rejects her seduction, uses Hitler's rhetoric and reverse logic in denouncing Joseph as not only a rapist, but also as a foreign ravisher whose racial purity is doubtful (Joseph 832 - 833). Slochower also notices the similarity between Mut-Em-Enet's hysterical nationalism and Hitler's frenzied and frothing speeches to raise the spirit of the true children of the Fatherland and sees the repetition of style and topic as part of Mann's intuition about the Nazis reproduced in artistic rather than essay form (Thomas Mann 56 and "Social Implications" 12).

While Joseph's prophetic gifts reflect in the author as well, Mann and his main character did not limit themselves to simply predicting the source and direction of incipient disasters. They also act to prevent or alleviate the miseries that inevitably occurred. Joseph accepts the position of provider for his people (Grand

Vizier, or Minister of the Interior in Pharaoh's government.) The German original title, Joseph der Ernährer carries the paternal connotation of breadwinner and, according to Samuel, the Hebrew term for Joseph, "ha-Tzaddik," translates as the saintly rescuer, with pious implications (360). Joseph helps his people practically by feeding them during a famine, saving their lives, and by lifting their morale, giving them hope. Joseph also arranges with Pharaoh that the Canaanites may settle in exile in the land of Goshen and he vouches for their worthiness as immigrants, their expertise as herdsmen and their general good behavior (Joseph 1118). Mann also gave his people practical help during World War II and the years before. He wrote and spoke to them offering warnings and advice, he helped them get visas and emigrate, and he defended them in their exile, becoming the voice of his people and the representative of their culture to save them from incarceration in an alien land. Cazden writes that most Americans recognized Mann as the leader of the German émigré group and his own people constantly asked for his help (92). Mann himself declared "Wo ich bin ist die deutsche Kultur."[18] According to Reed, this statement denotes less of personal arrogance than a political

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[18]Trans. "Where I am is the culture of Germany."

assertion that the true Germany resided where he and the other immigrants maintained German culture intact, not where Hitler and his Nazis had debased it (Thomas Mann 1).

All the members of Mann's immediate family escaped from their temporary refuges in Germany, occupied France and Belgium, some with great danger and difficulty, but Mann continued to work in the decade between 1937 and 1947 with the American immigration department and various emergency rescue committees to secure visas for people trapped in dangerous areas (Bürgin and Mayer 150 - 151). He also helped with the European Jewish refugees' settlement of Palestine ("Mann Aids" 12). In an address in 1941 Mann urged the United States to allow more homeless persons into the country and, like Joseph suggesting that Pharaoh settle Goshen with Canaanites, he reminded Americans that these people could contribute mightily to the prosperity of the United States (Mann, Order of the Day 271). As Joseph adopted an ambassadorial role to help his people in Egypt, Mann also traveled around the United States and Canada lecturing and demonstrating that not all Germans were Nazis ("Mann in America" 108). However, probably the most important service Mann gave to his fellow Germans in exile in the United States occurred in his opportunity to speak before the Tolan Committee, the Committee Investigating National Defense Migration. This group conducted hearings in 1942 to determine whether to collect aliens

from enemy lands into internment camps to protect the country. The government did gather Japanese aliens in this way and American citizens of Japanese ancestry as well. Partly because of their obviously different race, and partly because the Japanese had no strong and effective spokespersons to defend them, the government appropriated their possessions and moved them to places where they could not threaten national security. Mann recognized this injustice, but felt he could only help his own people. He and six other immigrants, who called themselves "friendly aliens," sent a telegram to President Franklin Roosevelt in which they explained their pro-American position (White 90). Mann testified at the hearing that the immigrants from enemy countries also held the countries that exiled or persecuted them as enemies and they were loyal to the United States (Hearings Before the Select Committee 11725). The refugees from Europe remained free and relatively unmolested primarily because of Mann's eloquent appeal.

In other speeches Mann also emphasized his position as a friend to any country that would defeat his own homeland. In "The Exiled Writer's Relation to His Homeland" he stated that "it is our destiny to carry on this battle against our own land and its cause of whose corruptness we are convinced" (339) and again: "My heart is passionately engaged in this struggle, not at all on the

German side, no, entirely on that of her opponents, and from my very soul I pray that my misguided and brutalised country will receive the frightful and final lesson which alone can restore it to reason" (Lesser, "Thomas Mann's Way" 376). Mann's clear adoption of the United States at this time offered no possibility of question.

As a political person aware of Germany's disastrous errors and loyal to his adopted country, Mann naturally felt the attraction of the Joseph story. The author's development during the twenty years that he worked on the Joseph novel matched that of his character surprisingly well. The allure of the Joseph myth for Mann followed two patterns, one recognized by the author, and one hidden from him. Mann understood some of the attractions the Joseph story held for him, personal and political timeliness, and the echoes from studies of his youth. However, Mann missed the parallels between his main character Joseph and himself as prophets and political analysts and as rescuers of their people in times of emergency. In these categories Mann delineated Joseph as a character very close to himself.[19]

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[19]Other critics also refer to Mann's political insights: Brennan. Three Philosophical Novelists 153; Boesch 323; White 8; Purinton 245; Harold Nicholson 620; Klaus Mann, "Thomas Mann: Exile" 11; Lesser, "Thomas

(Footnote Continued)

(Footnote Continued)
Mann's Way" 376 and "Thomas Mann" 48; H. Lehnert, "Thomas Mann in Exile" 279; Kerenyi 38; Hatfield, "The Domestic Economy" 14; Daemmrich and Haenicke 371; Bruford 246; and Thomas Mann, Letters xxiii and 535, "Radio Broadcast" 45, and The Coming Victory of Democracy 65.

Part 6: Success in Exile

Joseph comes to the conclusion that he is not everyone's best beloved when his brothers, goaded beyond bearing by his conceited manipulation of them and their father Jacob, attack him and throw him into the empty well. In the pit Joseph has time to reassess his past behavior and surprise himself with sympathy for his brothers' anger (Joseph 384 - 391). Mann's first recognition of his fallibility also occurred as something of a shock when soon after World War I he found that he had to recant much of the wishful philosophy he had propounded in Reflections and adopt the role of a political person.[20] Mann's retraction of his conservative ideals in the glare of political reality correlates with Joseph's first experience in the pit. Both Mann and Joseph found that their first exercises in humility culminated in another downfall - exile to an alien land. Neider refers to Mann's banishment to a non-German cultural milieu and foreign-speaking public as the author's second pit into

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[20]Other critics remark that Mann chose a more practical political viewpoint after World War I: Meyer in Neider, The Stature 328; and Angell in Mann, The Thomas Mann Reader 491.

which he descended as an "insufferably loyal purist" in his defense of the truth which he learned when he reconsidered his early political assertions of Reflections ("Thomas Mann's Joseph Myth" 295 and 297). Mann himself in "The Exiled Writer's Relation to His Homeland" described the pain he felt because of leaving "the land whose speech is the spiritual material in which we work ... and whose landscape and atmosphere should be our natural shelter," and at the sight of whose Swastika flag he must now avert his eyes (Mann 339 - 340). Joseph too must relinquish in his exile the birthright of his familiar language, landscape, culture, food - his entire natural ambiance - to achieve his high destiny in Egypt. Mann titled the section of the novel in which he described Joseph's journey as a slave out of Canaan into Egypt as "The Entrance into Sheol" (Joseph 484). The author as well originally felt his loss of German citizenship, exclusion from his homeland, sojourns in various countries, and final settlement in the United States as a similar descent into hell. Like his Joseph, Mann too experienced adversities, but they both achieved material success and a good measure of personal happiness in exile through their hard work, adaptability, and willingness to take risks. Mann made extensive addresses to possibly hostile audiences and Joseph audaciously announces future disaster to Pharaoh. Some critics believe Mann's copious

output and consequent success in the United States derived directly from his homesickness, that he used hard work as a means of buffering himself from his loneliness (Morton 77; Moore 61). Like Joseph, Mann attained a comfortable life in a strange land and discovered that popular opinion had maligned the life of the exile. Both found that, with openmindedness and good humor, they could manage quite comfortably with the horrors of hell and make a success of Sheol.

Mann and Katja and their youngest children began their exile on March 11, 1933 by not returning from a lecture tour (Erika and Klaus Mann, Escape to Life 87). One day they traveled as tourists, the next they relinquished their home. Mann knew he had cultivated a precarious status for himself in Germany during the previous decade by writing against Hitler, and especially during the year before, when he had presented two strong addresses in Berlin and Vienna denouncing the irrational and destructive policies of the Nazi government (Nigel Hamilton 262). However, though Mann had predicted disaster, he continued to hope for Hitler's overthrow and a return to reason and justice in his country. In their book about their family's wanderings Erika and Klaus Mann describe the coded telephone call they made to their parents' hotel in Arosa (Escape to Life 6). Erika told her father that their return to Munich would inconvenience everyone

because of the current bad weather there and the spring cleaners they had hired (Escape to Life 87). With the older children in residence as bait the Gestapo had guarded the house and planned to arrest Mann on his arrival home. Tired of his winter speaking tour, Mann remained obtuse for some time, refusing to understand the hints, and remarking that the weather in Switzerland was miserable too. At last Mann and Katja caught on to the warning and Erika and Klaus, who, due to some fortunate inefficiency in the police system, still had freedom of movement, joined the rest of the family in Arosa, departing Munich on the pretext of taking a skiing holiday in the Bavarian Alps (Escape to Life 87). Erika wrote in this account that the Gestapo officer guarding their exit from Munich told her he wished he could get out of the city to the mountains, too (Escape to Life 7).

Joseph's exile begins somewhat differently with him as a prisoner (Joseph 410 - 411), while Mann chose to save his life at the price of his property rather than at the sacrifice of his conscience. Mann even in 1933 had options other than emigration and could have come to some agreement with the Nazis. According to William Pfeiler, refugee or exile denotes a person who hopes to return home after the crisis has passed and emigrant or émigré defines a person who plans to settle permanently in a foreign country. Half a million people left Germany between 1933

and 1941, 80% of them Jews, but the rest as purely political protesters (3). Cazden also makes this distinction and contrasts the Reichdeutsch with the Freideutsch who nevertheless kept continued contact and interest in their native country (1), "with one foot tentatively in each world" (Cazden 138). Mann could fit in all these categories. He originally hoped to wait out Hitler's government and go home when the country had re-established normalcy; then he decided to reside permanently in the United States. The Nazis referred to him as a runaway Jew, erroneously, because he lost his citizenship for anti-government speeches, but his wife was Jewish, and Mann too, by association, according to Hitler's logic. Henry Hamilton comments that Joseph signals the "extreme of [Mann's] flight from a Germany grown distasteful" (10), and in a reminiscent speech in honor of his brother's seventieth birthday, Heinrich Mann refers respectfully to this difficult choice: "His conscience had a hard journey before it decided against his own country" (Nigel Hamilton 315). Whichever title, refugee or emigrant, fit when he began his banishment, until 1936 Mann had other choices than exile. He could have joined the Inner Emigration, those authors who chose to live in Germany silent on political topics, but unmolested by the government. Mann's daughter Monika writes that until her father's final unequivocal repudiation of Hitler's government in

the 1936 "An Exchange of Letters," Hitler, because of Mann's international renown, would have restored their property and allowed her father to publish if he would only compromise his anti-Nazi stand and submit to the censor's mute (Past and Present 88). And Buck states that Mann rejected such compromise in his post-war political confidence as "the fatal sweetness that is the foretaste of death" (Neider, The Stature 400). Mann wrote that the entire basis of Hitler's Reich bristled with falsehood (Diaries 161) and, in "The Years of My Life" he declared that to agree to any form of totalitarian government - and at this time he referred to communist as well as fascist regimes - one must put "faith in the lie ... as a history-shaping power" (258). He asserted that these philosophies transform falsehood into truth and truth into anathema by means of force and sap the people's energy and intelligence and reduce their will to take responsibility for their actions ("Culture Against Barbarism" 115; This Peace 26; and Monika Mann, Past and Present 81). Cowley writes that "like Joseph he thought that if he consented [to Hitler's compromise] he would be surrendering spirit to matter and life to death" ("Second Thoughts" 198). In another essay,"What I Believe," Mann stated that the search for truth is a worthwhile pursuit even if one only approaches the goal or partially completes the quest (The Thomas Mann Reader 524).

Mann chose exile freely and Joseph left his native country under physical compulsion, but in both cases the great loss of the ties of language and culture permanently separated them from their homelands. This crisis in Mann's life and that of his character Joseph helped develop their cosmopolitan attitudes and extend their world views. Mann's son Klaus in "A Portrait of Our Father" describes the family's situation after 1933. They all gave up acting as tourists or visitors and became intimately acquainted with their countries of sojourn because they could not choose to do otherwise and still survive (Neider, The Stature 68). Mann consoled himself in his displaced state by narrowing his definition of home: "My home is in the works I carry with me. Engrossed in them I experience all the familiarity of home: they are language, German language and thought, a personally developed inheritance from my country and my people" (Nigel Hamilton 304). And Mann's longtime friend in the United States, Lion Feuchtwanger, praises banishment as a strengthening adversity: "exile weakens only the weak, while it benefits him who already demonstrated his worth in his home land" ("Thomas Mann im Exil" 141).[21]

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[21]Other critics mention exile as an educational experience: Boesch 332; Lehnert, "Thomas Mann in Exile"

(Footnote Continued)

While both Mann's and Joseph's talents had gained recognition for them in the homelands before they emigrated, they also increased their fame and effectiveness during their years of exile. They both had to give up treasured possessions, rituals, and preconceptions and learn greater flexibility. Pascal sees this tendency to openmindedness in Joseph's conditional acceptance of contemporary Egyptian values, those which do not directly violate his inherited Hebrew beliefs (263). Harry Levin remarks on Mann's adaptability and his popularity in the United States in relation to the author's sense of humor (Neider, The Stature 212), and Joseph's esteem at Pharaoh's court also derives from his tolerant attitudes and good nature. "Just as Joseph considers the Egyptians a 'quaint and comic' people, so Mann in the environs of Hollywood must know what it feels like to live in a 'monkey land'" (Neider, The Stature 212), which is the mildest of the pejorative terms Jacob uses in the novel to describe Egypt (Joseph 60). On a darker level Mann also realized that Germany represented death and saw his own country as a Kingdom of the Dead in which death reigned

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(Footnote Continued)
277; Brennan, "Three Novels of Dépaysment" 225; Edwin Berry Bergum 403; Slochower, Thomas Mann's Joseph 21; Erika and Klaus Mann, Escape to Life 88; "In Exile" 20; and Thompson, "The Most Eminent" 2.

over life, and a place where people worshipped, and lived in awe of, death. In "The Exiled Writer's Relation to His Homeland" Mann thought anxiously about some of his acquaintances who had been deported from their countries of refuge and who had disappeared into Hitler's concentration camps. Referring to these unfortunates, Mann used, with a sense of horror, the phrase "to be taken to Germany" as meaning silent, anonymous eradication (340) as Joseph's journey down into Egypt seemed to the Hebrews (Joseph 447). Mann applied another of Jacob's descriptions of Egypt to Germany, describing it as the land in which the people worship and "cohabit with ... corpses" (Joseph 450 and 60).

Mann and Joseph both had to reassess some of their early biases. In several of the aspects of their lives, they had to break some ingrown habits and abandon their instinctive rigidity as they searched for a haven, Mann in France, Switzerland, New Jersey, and finally California, and Joseph in Akhnaton's kingdom. In his resiliancy in exile Mann seemed younger in middle and old age than in his youth. Critics also observe that Mann's social development reversed the norm during these years since he tended to liberal politics as he aged rather than to moderate or conservative (Schulte and Chapple 5; Lion Feuchtwanger 141). Mann described his continued growth in the essay "The Years of My Life" and sensed no

contradiction in his evolving liberal opinions: "My times - they were changeful, but my life in them is of one piece" (258).

The confiscation of his property by the Nazi government caused Mann immediate material difficulty since, besides missing his comfortable villa, he needed his bank accounts to live on. He felt the loss of his Nobel Prize money as particularly devastating since that money did not come from his German audience, but from outside and had no relationship to his crusade against Hitler (Diaries 156). The family spent the summer of 1933 in the Midi, living as cheaply as possible on Mann's income from foreign royalties. During this time Mann suffered from depression and despair not only because of his personal losses (Monika Mann, Past and Present 86), but also because of the news of the atrocities committed on his fellow Germans by Hitler's minions - Jewish persecution, censorship, and police bullying. In an April entry of his journal Mann described the Nazi regime in nihilistic terms as "an antifuture, a philosophy devoid of all ideas, a mammoth advertising campaign for nothingness" (Diaries 129). He saw everything in Germany regressing to a "domestic Versailles" much worse than anything ever imposed on the country by its enemies (Diaries 130). He also later noted with bitter irony that Germany had invented a new form of national disgrace. In ancient

times uncouth invaders inflicted barbarism on civilizations, but in his country the people chose such brutality for themselves, and the rest of the world would ever despise them for their choice (Diaries 153). During the first spring of his exile Mann withdrew for a time into psychological depression, hypochondria, and silence, unable to concentrate on any work. René Schickele, neighbor of the Manns at this time, noted in his diary how ill Mann looked and wrote that "however much he had expounded politically in the past few years, [he] has really tumbled down from the clouds.... If anyone does not have the stuff of a martyr, it is Thomas Mann," and Mann complained about his effort to adjust to homelessness that "Whichever way you do it is wrong" (Nigel Hamilton 272 - 273). Like Joseph in the pit and in prison, Mann experienced outraged shock to have his "blessed" life suddenly go awry. In a June, 1933 letter Mann tried to explain this uncharacteristic quiescent and barren period and wrote that his silence characterized his usual desire to think problems through objectively before making decisions, "although in my case there would be many reasons for subjectivity. My situation is difficult and my bitterness great over the decisions I must make, for the only solutions are perilous to life itself" (Nigel Hamilton 268). Joseph too suffers depression in the pit and in prison. Slochower thinks that Joseph's optimistic rebound

from his imprisonment after the denunciation by Potiphar's wife is surprising since Mann himself worked in uncertain circumstances of homelessness at this time (1938 - 1940) and Hitler appeared unstoppable in his conquests. This critic expects a gloomier outlook from the author ("Mann's Latest" 4). Tomes notes that, since Hitler had yet to experience defeat by the time Mann finished Joseph in January, 1943, the author showed particular prophetic sensitivity and insight in the hopeful future he depicted for the people of Israel (73). In a letter to Alexander Frey during his first indecisive exile summer in the South of France Mann wrote, "everything becomes, not easier, but harder" (Letters 203).

Despite financial difficulties, family worries, and personal depression, however, Mann gradually collected his energies and continued writing the Joseph manuscript after Erika, his "brave child," as he called her in "The Joseph Novels" speech (95), returned to Munich and smuggled his papers out to him (Erika and Klaus Mann, Escape to Life 7 and 88). As soon as Mann could face the work again, this novel became his good companion in trouble. He noted nostalgically in his diary years later, when he finally had the last volume published, that "only now do I realize what it means to be without the Joseph work, the task which always stood beside me, before me, all through this deacde ... insuring me the unity of my life" (The

Story of a Novel 14 and 18).[22] Angell in his introduction to The Thomas Mann Reader describes the Joseph novels, the first volume of which appeared in 1933, Mann's first year of exile, as partly a refuge for Mann before the author accepted the permanence of his homelessness, and partly an answer to Mann's previous and continuing situation of spiritual and physical alienation from his country. The Joseph work stood as a "...symbol of steadfastness ... in the tempestuous change of things" (Mann 530).[23]

For the first three years of his exile Mann tried to abandon his political vocation. He decided to adopt political silence as a protest against the injustices of the German government, injuries to him and his family personally and to the population in general. He determined in his journal to concentrate on writing Joseph as his way of supporting German culture (Diaries 130). His publisher, Bermann, persuaded him of the importance of keeping his readership in Germany (Nigel Hamilton 273).

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[22]Several other critics comment on Mann's particular fondness for Joseph: King 423; Gray 186; Paul Kurt Ackermann 197 - 199; and Monika Mann, "Eighty Years" 9.

[23]Others note that Mann counted on his work during his exile as something permanent that he could rely on and control as well as a refuge that offered escape from miserable reality: Tomes 72; Henry Hamilton 97; and Mann, Letters 354.

However, in a 1934 letter to Karl Kerenyi Mann determined that he must speak against the Nazi government again soon or he might forget how to use his political position (Kerenyi 38), and in 1935 he wrote to Alfred Kurbin and insisted that he had not relinquished the fight and that Joseph was a true war effort, a piece to stir the German revolution (Servicen 476). During this first year of exile at least, Mann also hoped pragmatically to recover, if not his bank accounts and real estate, at least his papers and some family keepsakes (Diaries 137, 144, 154, etc.), and indeed in November, 1933 their family lawyer in Munich managed a shipment to them including some books, manuscripts, and family photographs (Diaries 179), for some reason, however, withholding and refusing to give up Mann's love letters which he wrote to Katja from 1904 to 1933 (Mann, Letters viii).

This political silence Mann maintained for three years during which time the German government allowed his publishers to continue to produce the first two volumes of Joseph. Later Mann declared that by not attacking the Nazis between 1933 and 1936 he hoped to keep communication with his public possible in order to influence his fellow Germans for the truth with his timely novels on the Old

Testament theme (Letters xxvii).[24] Mann also spent these three years normalizing his family life, finding affordable lodging, dealing with overseas publishers, and generally living through the days as they came. In a 1934 letter to René Schickele in response to this editor's suggestion for an extended series of articles for his expatriate pacifist journal, Mann declined to take on such a long-term political task since he felt that he really had no future that he could plan for "...who thinks beyond a year and a half these days?" (Letters 216). He tempered his refusal, however, by identifying Schickele, himself, and their fellow refugees as "the real Germany" which someday everyone would willingly acknowledge as such (Letters 219).[25]

Mann changed his position irrevocably on December 3, 1936 and again began writing against Hitler. That November Hitler's government had printed a retraction of Mann's citizenship and that of his wife and four younger

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[24]Other critics also remark on Mann's excuse for silence: Egbert Krispyn 19, Lehnert, "Thomas Man in Exile" 285; and Mann, "An Exchange of Letters" from The Thomas Mann Reader 517.

[25]Several commentators note the distinction Mann made between the false Germany ruled by Hitler and the true Germany represented by him and his fellow exiles: Erika and Klaus Mann, Escape to Life 89; Heinz Politzer 91; Schulte and Chapple 31; Slochower, Thomas Mann's Joseph 84; Bürgin and Mayer 125; and Pringsheim 31.

children in the Munich newspaper Völkischer Beobachter. The announcement claimed that Mann had written against the National Socialists "under Jewish influence," had made "treasonous attacks against the Reich," and had sympathized with his brother Heinrich and son and daughter, Klaus and Erika, all of whom had already lost their citizenship because of their anti-government agitation. So as to own a nationality and a passport, Mann and his family became Czechs (Diaries 263 - 264 and Bürgin and Mayer 124). In his Diaries Mann considered an effective public answer to his family's disenfranchisement (264), and found inspiration in Jakob Grimm's protest pamphlet of 1838 following his firing from a teaching job in Göttingen because of his political activities (Diaries 271 and 375). In response to the subsequent immediate withdrawal of his honorary doctorate by the Dean of Philosophy of Bonn University, Mann wrote an open letter, "An Exchange of Letters," in which he lay much of the responsibility for the Nazi usurpation of the legal German government on the university professors who, Mann charged, had education and understanding of German culture and a mandate to defend the truth. Mann declared that they had abdicated miserably from their rightful professions and social reponsibilities to preserve German culture in order to acquiesce to the Hitler lie in all of these categories. The author cursed the universities as institutions run by

book-burners (John D. Weaver 212) and closed the letter with the supplication: "God help our darkened and desecrated country and teach it to make its peace with the world and with itself" (The Thomas Mann Reader 516 and 521).

So long as Hitler remained supreme Mann and his family could never return to Germany. On February 3, 1937 Mann published another letter in Switzerland in Die Neue Züricher Zeitung in which he officially announced his exile status (Letters to Paul Amann 26)and condemned the Nazi government as anti-everything: anti-Semitic, anti-Christian, anti-civilization (Nigel Hamilton 293). At this point Mann gave up his hope of keeping an audience in Germany and soon the government held a burning of his books (A Sketch of My Life 117). Hitler had completely deprived him of his homeland. Cowley compares Hitler's Reich at this time to Pharaoh's all-powerful theocracy in that the people in both countries cowered in complete subjugation to one almighty despotic ruler ("Second Thoughts" 198). Here, once again Mann's situation clearly parallels that of his Joseph. Bergum connects Joseph and Mann as two who shared "... the fate of all who suffer and are exiled, not merely Jews, but all antifascists who have been forced into exile from their native lands" (403) and Mann furthered the parallel himself by using the word for the ancient dispersal of the Jews, Diaspora, in reference

to his homeless wanderings ("The Joseph Novels" 100). Slochower remarks on Mann's affinity to Joseph and the patriarchs, Jacob and Abraham, as wanderers and quotes the author: "To me too has unrest been ordained .... Ich komme nie zur Ruh"[26] ("Thomas Mann and Universal Culture" 741).

Despite the tragedy of displacement and the confusion of disenfranchisement, both Mann's and Joseph's accomplishments in exile brought benefits to themselves, their families, and their adopted countries. Erich Heller writes that Joseph's exile "spells no doom. It means the vocation to mediate" ("Thomas Mann's Place" 1016). Joseph saves his people from famine and instigates economic reforms and public works projects in Egypt, while Mann defended his fellow refugee Germans and broadcast heartening speeches to those in occupied lands. While they fulfilled their social responsibilities, Mann and Joseph also satisfied their creative artistic instincts and gained material success too. Mann wrote two of his greatest novels, Joseph and Doktor Faustus, in exile (van Abbé 191) and he earned wealthy royalties from the publication of their foreign translations. Joseph as well acquires prestige and treasure from his innovative social programs in a strange land. While Mann and his main

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[26]Trans. "I never come to rest."

character showed flexibility and tolerance in adapting themselves to the customs of their new lands and Mann spoke often of Weltbürgerrecht and the contribution of immigrants to America, both also maintained a strong attachment to their homelands and kept private traditions to ward off homesickness, Mann in his table manners and social formality, Joseph in his family arrangements. Politzer remarks that Pharaoh's Egypt exhibits a mixture of races and civilizations in process of assimilation like the ethnic melange of the United States, but neither Mann nor Joseph saw this mix as a classless society in which they could ignore individual differences (95). Joseph also demonstrates his awareness of his Canaanite connections and that he must show his heritage to advantage by continuing the ritual of the inherited blessing and giving his Egyptian sons Hebrew names (Joseph 1181).

In this juggling of public and private identities Joseph discovers that he knows the story line, if not all the details of the plot, of "the God-invention" of his life (Joseph 1207), and Mann too usually believed that he understood the general outcome of his adventures. "His personal impulses and responses seemed to repeat the patterns of the past" (Reed, Thomas Mann 5). Joseph feels fearful in the pit (Joseph 384), but soon he remembers his part in the "cosmic plan, a preordained whole" and his fear lessens as his curiosity perks up to see what will

happen next (Stern, Thomas Mann 33). Despite occasional and understandable brief periods of pessimism, Mann also frequently felt curious and hopeful about taking on new stages of his life and saw interest and attraction even in his hardships, as he wrote in "The Exiled Writer's Relationship to His Homeland" that he found advantages to belonging in two worlds (344) even as he mourned the loss of his home and German audience. And in a speech in 1934 Mann stated that "the sorrows and stirring adventures which have been our lot these past twenty years...[have produced] the peculiar new and burning interest ... in the problem of mankind, in his place in the universe, his long-forgotten past, and enigmatical calling" ("Thomas Mann's American Address" 750). Even though life offered obstacles, it presented the writer with useful material as well. As Thompson writes about Joseph's thoughts in the pit concerning what possible benefits he will gain from the experience, "...one suspects, the poet [Mann] himself contemplating his universe and enquiring: Why?" ("Thomas Mann's Magic" 5). In a letter to Agnes Meyer Mann wrote that, like Joseph, he expected the story of his life to work out well despite the daily difficulties. He kept a generally hopeful attitude (Letters 376). Schulte and Chapple describe his life, "as if its major watersheds were preordained according to some divine scheme" (24). Both Mann and Joseph survived and succeeded through exile

and adversities and managed to turn their handicaps to positive advantages because they knew the mythic plot outline. They drew strength from both their personal talents and their traditions. In the recurring myth the individual chooses the part of the pattern that suits his or her personality, and this mythic identification gives both a personal role in society and also allows modification of society as well. The individual can become more civilized by citing the appropriate traditional references. Slochower writes that "the individual can humanize the social past and present" by following the correct mythic patterns (Thomas Mann's Joseph 15). Any particular present recalls the past, and both Mann and his character Joseph recognized and used the traditions to their advantages.

Mann accepted his predestined position as the intellectual leader and "patron saint" (Frey 84) of the European émigrés in 1936 when he gave up hope of returning soon to his normal life in Munich. By his first summer of exile he remarked in his journal that he fully grasped the fact that his old accustomed life had disappeared forever (Diaries 166 -167). He reaffirmed this status when he left Europe permanently in May, 1938 to begin work as lecturer in residence at Princeton University (Bürgin and Mayer 133 - 138). Then in 1941 he established his family in a new house on the California coast. In a short time

his home became the artistic and intellectual meeting place for the large colony of refugee Germans on the West Coast (Bruford 255; Maier 385). Mann and Joseph both succeeded materially and spiritually in a strange land and neither lived what Karl Marx referred to as "the dark night of exile." Their homelessness, despite the inherent hardships of such a situation, suited both the author and his character satisfactorily. According to Stern, while Mann earned a comfortable living from his literary works and lecture tours, he still worried anxiously and constantly about the events in his home country (Thomas Mann 26). Critics suggest that Mann's account of Joseph's finding Egypt fairly tolerable reflects the author's own comfort in Pacific Palisades (Tomes 73; Beutin 321) where he spent most of his American years, 1941 to 1952 (Bürgin and Mayer 151 and Pfanner 156). He lived there contentedly "under the serene, Egyptian-like sky of California" ("The Joseph Novels" 96). Similar to the way in which Joseph deals with his difficulties and harnesses his hardships to his benefit, Monika Mann writes that "my father too surmounted hardships and wholly attained the new and predestined status" (Past and Present 87).

From Mann's first trip to the United States in 1934 to promote Volumes I and II of Joseph for his publisher, Alfred Knopf (Bürgin and Mayer 110), he found the country agreeable and attractive despite some surprises

about American culture, manners, and some differences between ostensible praiseworthy public policy and social fact. Frey writes that Mann generally appreciated "the uninhibited enthusiasms, openness and good will of average Americans" (91), though his publisher disconcerted him during his first promotional tour by patting him frequently on the arm and shoulder and introducing him at all the receptions as "Tommy." Mann portrayed the melting pot of ancient Egyptian society as finding Joseph's foreign accent, manners, and dress amusing and attractive at the same time so that the people alternately laugh at him at first and then imitate him (Hirschbach 190). Mann also felt Americans both admired and despised him and his fellow émigrés in that the people of the United States bought his books and listened to his lectures, but also distrusted the foreigners as unfriendly aliens. As another minor instance of the alterations imposed by exile, Mann, who never composed on a typewriter, had to change his handwriting for the convenience of his American copyists from the German fraktur to the American italic style ("Mann in America" 108). Mann also understood the more serious failings in the fulfillment of American democratic principles, such as the inequalities borne by the Blacks, and acknowledged that he respected the United States anyway because this country strives for the truth even though it is not "a paradise of virtue and the purest form of the

democratic ideal" (Lehnert, "Thomas Mann in Princeton" 27). Despite these disadvantages in the social system of the United States, Mann declared that this country must act as the defender of civilization, and be wary of taking its democracy for granted, now that Europe had abdicated its position as the center and protector of Western culture (Mann, The Coming Victory of Democracy 9 and 67; Benjamin 32).

In a 1936 journal entry Mann mentioned that acquiring United States citizenship would answer some of his family's problems (Diaries 256), and in a letter the next year to Karl Kerenyí he suggested that if his correspondent improve his English Mann could arrange an informal faculty position for him at Princeton, similar to his own as lecturer, since Europe offered no future security. Mann also wrote that his own soul's freedom and serenity depended on such a definitely wholesome distance from Europe as the United States[27] (Kerenyí 62). Later Mann described the Princeton years as a "brief interlude", a resting stage during which he gathered his mental and financial resources before establishing a permanent home (Frey 84). A parallel preparatory stage in Joseph's life

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[27]Trans. "Meiner seelischen Freiheit und Heiterkeit wäre eine solche Distanzierung von Europa unendlich zuträglich" (Kerenyí 62).

occurs while he works for Potiphar readying himself for his ultimate success (Joseph 550 - 636). Mann saw the United States as a suitable haven for himself and his family and the country welcomed him. Time wryly records the acclaim Mann received in New York City during his first visit in 1934 as partly due to his literary achievement and partly to his denouncements of Hitler and consequent displacement: "Hitler's victims, if sufficiently presentable, are popular in Manhattan" ("Great Mann" 7). Klaus and Erika Mann write in their book Escape to Life of the gracious acceptance their father experienced in this country: "here in a foreign land, which has long ceased to be 'foreign' to him, a home has been made ready for him" (89). The climate of the United States - social, political, economical, as well as physical - suited their father admirably and his success and prestige burgeoned during his years here as Joseph's career also blooms in Egypt. Mann and Katja eventually felt practically at home and acquired United States' citizenship in 1944 (Daemmrich and Haenicke 371).

Because of his success, ease of assimilation, and respect for the social and political system of this country, Mann incorporated many reflections of the American scene in Volumes III and IV of Joseph. In a letter to his friend Agnes Meyer the author joked about this correspondence between the United States and Egypt. President

Roosevelt, who admired Mann's works and read the Joseph novels as they appeared, had invited Mann and Katja to dinner at the White House and Mann, excited by the honor, wrote that "Joseph had just been fetched to court by a breathless messenger!" (Letters 355). As another example of the United States translated into ancient Egypt, Politzer compares the Fortress of Thel on the Egyptian border through which Joseph's family must pass before they settle in the Land of Goshen (Joseph 1050) to the European emigrants' first stop in America, Ellis Island (93).[28]

Mann prospered in exile and produced the Egyptian parts of the Joseph novels while he lived in the United States. His work became very popular here and Volume IV, Joseph the Provider, was the Book of the Month Club choice for June, 1944 (Burgin and Mayer 188), a sure sign of an author's American acceptance. Because of this parallel worldly success between the author and his character Joseph, Neider describes Mann as both "the prophet as well as the tool of events" ("Thomas Mann's Joseph" 290); they both predicted and made history rather than simply experiencing it. Joseph's promotion from slave to seneschal

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[28]Several other commentators also remark on the similarities between Franklin D. Roosevelt's economic and humanitarian projects of the New Deal era and Joseph's public works: Politzer 96; Frey 89; Nigel Hamilton 320; White 425; and Hinton R. Thomas 113.

reflects a similar facility for social advancement. In another article Neider defines the mixture of spirituality and worldliness in the personalities of Mann and Joseph. Even though they tended to dreaminess and concern with mystical matters they readily accepted material rewards (The Stature 353). Mann and Joseph gained their highest successes as exiles in foreign lands. Both the author and his character recognized their accomplishments as predestined for their own benefit and the betterment of their people (Joseph 1050 - 1056 and Strelka et al. 16). Their lives also vindicated their use of prophetic gifts, their solution of difficult decisions of conscience, and their adoption of confident philosophical positions. Exile became for him a definite advantage to cultivate rather than merely a hardship to survive: "it is no longer a period of waiting to return home, but instead it points to a dissolution of separate nations and, ultimately, to a unification of the world" (Ley et al. 281). Mann prospered in America like Joseph in Egypt. Nigel Hamilton asserts that Mann owed the United States everything - life, freedom, family, an expanded audience, honor and respect - and that the author "had been accepted and 'raised to high office' in a foreign country" as Pharaoh elevates Joseph (364).

In his testimony before the Tolan Committee, Mann described himself as not an enemy but a friendly alien and wrote that all who wished Hitler's defeat, wherever they

originated, he considered true Americans (Order of the Day 270). Joseph's status in Egypt repeats Mann's designation as friendly stranger. Mann's canny handling of the American system reflects Joseph's own wise manipulation of Egyptian culture. Erika and Klaus Mann write in their essay "Portrait of Our Father" that they always recognized Mann in his earlier fictional characters and situations, but not at first in Joseph. "Yet what a thrill of surprise it gives us to discover and recognize it even here. For those characters from a far distant time and an alien scene take on strangely familiar traits" Neider, The Stature 69). Joseph mirrors his creator, Mann, autobiographically. From the aspect of mythic recurrence Mann unconsciously adopted Joseph as an appropriate historical role and melded the character to his own personality and time. Because of his exceptional sensitivity and insight as an artist figure, Joseph repeatedly demonstrates more complete awareness of his mythic part than the rest of his family and can use this role to his own and their advantages. Mann too succeeded in exile because in his artistic ingenuity he recognized the mythic patterns he could apply to his own advancement. He tailored the Joseph myth to fit himself and the times.

Part 7: No Way Home

In their final years Mann and his character Joseph share a last autobiographical coincidence and repetition of life pattern. After years of initially traumatic exile, then years of comfort and success in their adopted countries of refuge, both had the opportunity to return to their homelands, and both found that a real permanent homecoming evaded them. Mann made his first return visit to Europe after World War II for a lecture and book-promotion tour in 1947 and included Germany in his itinerary (Politzer 96). Joseph makes his peace with his brothers, receives his blessing from his father, and earns his freedom in Egypt (Joseph 1114, 1194, and 1204). Reminiscent of Joseph, Mann accepted his renewed public respect in Germany and the apology of the Dean of Philosophy at Bonn University who reinstated him in his honorary doctorate which the university had rescinded in 1936 (Mann, The Story of a Novel 214). Nevertheless, both Joseph and the author discovered that they could not live comfortably in their native countries after their years in exile. Joseph obtains leave from Pharaoh to take Jacob's body home for burial in the family grave at Hebron, but he cannot abide in the hills and tents of his people. He has outgrown the role of shepherd boy and must remain in his cosmopolitan country of adoption and work as Provider of

Egypt (Joseph 1202 - 1207). Mann too outgrew his German burgher status during his years in France, Switzerland and especially the United States. He considered himself no longer a Lübecker, Münchener, or even a merely just a German citizen, but defined himself as a citizen of the world. In a speech to the Writers' Congress of 1943 Mann stated that "...it is of no consequence in what place one completes the life's work which, on the whole, is already established and which in a certain sense is already history" (Spalek and Bell 192 - 193). And Michael Mann quotes his father as saying that exile had become the normal way of life for him, not simply a temporary period in which he waited for his return home. This adaption to his new country Mann recognized as an affirmation of his philosophy of humanism as opposed to any sort of nationalism. Michael repeats his father's sentiment: "It points to a dissolution of separate nations and, ultimately, to a unification of the world" (Ley et al. 281). Michael Mann manages in this sentence to extract the hope his father gained from his own exile for the continuation of civilization. Mann also followed the plan and pattern of most of his fellow refugees in the United States, who did not return home when they had the opportunity, but remained freely in their newly established homes (Spalek and Bell xii).

Mann had determined, when he became a naturalized citizen, to stay in the United States until he died. He understood that his exile had not simply interrupted for a certain span of years the calm flow of his earlier life, but had changed him irrevocably. He realized that his children and American-born grandchildren would never be Germans (Mann, "The Exiled Writer's Relation to His Homeland" 343). Similarly Joseph discovers that his children, Ephraim and Manasseh, despite their Hebrew first names, owe their attitudes, tastes, and interests to their Egyptian upbringing (Joseph 1178 - 1183). The parallels between the author and his character continue as Joseph returns to Canaan for his father's funeral, then comes back to his duties as seneschal in Egypt, and Mann made speaking tours and visits in Germany but could never live there permanently after World War II. He believed himself to be thoroughly Americanized (Benjamin 30) and considered that the ideal political party would safely balance democracy and socialism (Spalek and Bell 190). However, when the McCarthy trials began Mann grieved to see what he perceived as a tendency toward Fascism in the United States and expressed great disappointment with America's waiving of its democratic ideals (Stern, "Thomas Mann's Last Period" 244; Pringsheim 26; Mander 70). Heilbut also describes Mann's disillusionment with the United States as

"the rescuer of humanity [which] began to resemble its scourge" (302).

Mann never had to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee, but an acquaintance and fellow emigre, Berthold Brecht, did answer such a summons and remarked afterwards that his questioners reminded him of the time when he was a political detainee in Nazi Germany. Then he amended his statement to concede that the Americans treated him in a more civilized manner than did Hitler's goons; the Americans had allowed him to smoke (Brecht, Testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee, 1947). In a 1943 speech, "I Am an American," Mann suggested that the people of the United States learn to temper their insistence on personal freedom so as to allow the greatest benefit for everyone (Benjamin 34 - 35). This attitude follows Mann's attempt to balance socialism and democracy. He received no approbation during the War for expressing this belief, but in the hysteria of the McCarthy era this philosophy labeled him a communist. Later, in the article "The Years of My Life" Mann warned the United States against the reactionary inclination he witnessed after World War II. He asserted that Communism and Fascism share the characteristic of aversion to the truth; both systems base their philosophies on lies supported by the threat of violence. Again he recommended balancing democracy with socialism as the most humane

possibility (262 - 264). At this time Mann's politics had become suspect by the conservative majority in the United States and he had to defend himself. In a 1952 BBC broadcast he denied that he had ever been a communist and pointed out that he had always committed himself to search for the truth rather than support the convenient lie. In this speech he borrowed an American phrase and declared that he had "pledged allegiance to the word" and would not abrogate his commitment to suit partisan politics ("The Artist and Society" 911 - 912).

Mann had admired Franklin D. Roosevelt greatly and viewed this president's policies as the embodiment of Mann's own political philosophy of democratic humanism. He campaigned actively for Roosevelt's election to his fourth term (Mann, The Story of a Novel 98) and went so far as to mirror the New Deal in Joseph's economic and agrarian reforms in Egypt, though Joseph's projects reflect a more radical socialism than did Roosevelt's (Politizer 96). For example, in Joseph the wealthy pay for the grain they need with treasure and political concessions, while the poor receive their food free (991 - 994). Mann feared the gradual conservative political shift he sensed in the United States during President Roosevelt's last illness and after the president's death. According to Katja, when Adlai Stevenson lost the 1952 presidential election to Dwight Eisenhower, Mann finally determined to

leave the United States (Pfanner 156). If he had been a younger man and not nearly eighty years old, he might have contended against what he perceived as a dangerous reaction as he had fought against the rise of Fascism in Germany during the 1920s and 1930s. He had insufficient energy for such resistance, though despite his worries, he insisted on his faith in the resiliancy and durability of American democracy to weather passing vicissitudes of conservatism (Mann, "The Exiled Writer's Relation to His Homeland" 343; Pringsheim 34).

Although by 1950 Mann had already lost much popular sympathy in the United States, he had also accepted the impossibility of returning to Germany to live. The choice offered him an unpleasant dilemma. He had been turned out of a meeting at which he meant to lecture in the Beverly-Wiltshire Hotel in California, and the Library of Congress had cancelled without explanation or apology the annual speech the trustees had hired him to present, "The Artist and Society" (Heilbut 309). These embarrassing rejections reminded Mann too clearly of the telephone call Erika and Klaus had made to him and Katja in 1933 warning them not to come home to Munich because of the "bad weather" (Escape to Life 6). The democracy of the United States looked somewhat dim to Mann and many others at this time. However, in his visits to Germany, while the evidence of rebuilding and re-emergence of normalcy

pleased him, he imagined that he could still sense the Nazi taint in his people. So he left the United States as a sojourner again. Mann retained his American citizenship and averred that he still felt love, admiration, and optimism for his adopted homeland (Maier 399). He graciously accepted speaking engagements in both East and West Germany, and an honorary citizenship in his native city of Lübeck, but he refused resettlement there. He saw his role in these last years of his life as that of an ambassador to his own country to help integrate it back into normal Western civilization. In 1950 Mann wrote to the mayor of Weimar, Goethe's city, to thank him for the honorary citizenship the city had conferred on him. In the letter he stated that "it is the duty of both sides to strive to alleviate the baneful schism which today threatens to plunge humanity into barbarism" (Harry Pross 80). And in The Story of a Novel the author described the end of World War II as really just the continuation of the economic and social changes that had started before 1914. At this time Mann saw his duty to help stabilize and reinforce any humane tendencies that had come out of the terrible conflict (133). When the author at last sought a refuge for his final years outside of Germany which could offer him the comfort of German language and culture, he chose Switzerland. This country more nearly fulfilled Mann's humanistic ideal of world citizenship than did

either East or West Germany or the United States. Joseph too chooses a cosmopolitan country, Egypt, for his old age, since there he can also live out his destiny, his role in God's drama. While neither Joseph nor Mann could return to his original home, both made their final years a time of comfort in an adopted country. Their lives run parallel to the end.

Part 8: Afterword

In childhood experiences and youthful success, in personality and inclinations, and in successful use of exile Mann's life repeated that of the legendary figure Joseph, closely enough to seem like a mythic recurrence or an unplanned autobiography. Mann as a realistic twentieth century person could not declare aloud, or probably even whisper in his secret thoughts, "I am he!" as Joseph consciously models himself after Adonis and Osiris. However, the author's attraction to the Joseph myth, which he recognized as a politically timely topic, demonstrates that the story was personally appropriate as well. Mann did not plan to leave his homeland and live as an exile and neither did Joseph, but once in their homeless situations they achieved success and comfort out of their adversities. Mann remarked that the work with Joseph kept him from succumbing to despair during the confused and seemingly hopeless years when Hitler compounded his victories and when civilization apparently lacked the moral energy and organization to resist the dictator's advances. Mann had little sympathy for those writers who chose what they called the inner emigration; that is, silence and acquiescence to Hitler's government in exchange for personal safety. Some of these writers accused Mann and the other exiles of abandoning their homeland in its time of crisis,

but according to Pringsheim, Mann countered with a question about the status of the inner emigrants had Hitler won. They would have taken part in the Nazi victory (Schulte 23). Other critics note the horror Mann felt concerning the compromise these writers accepted along with their safety. Mann said he could not return among such people because he would live as a stranger among his own country folk. He denied that they were any longer his people because they had traded in their moral principles too easily (Pross 75; Leonhardt 52). When Mann heard that the playwright Gerhardt Hauptmann had died, he remarked in The Story of a Novel that his former colleague had lost everything that made life worthwhile long before his death. When Hauptmann agreed to collaborate with Hitler by refraining from writing anything against the Nazis and submitting to the censor, he gave up his independence and all self-respect (199).

Mann managed to keep his own sense of identity and rightness and Joseph stood as the author's good companion and perhaps his alterego during this troubled time of exile. When Mann reminisced about his works at age eighty, he thought of the epic novel as his "favorite child" (Morton, "A Talk" 6). Mann marveled that his life and work seemed guided by a kind of destiny so that the right project occurred to him at propitious times. On the other hand, perhaps Mann chose the topic because he identified

with the Joseph character and had premonitions of future parallels between himself and the mythic figure. Mann's return to Lübeck in 1955 to make a speech in commemoration of Schiller's anniversary and to accept honorary citizenship in the city of his birth, shortly before his death exemplifies one of these neat repetitions. Pringsheim states in relation to this visit that "life had come full circle as if its major watersheds were preordained according to some divine scheme" (Schulte 24). In the case of Joseph this inspiration allowed the author to both write his autobiography, which he always refused to do in literal terms, and predict his role in the great drama of his life between 1925 and 1943. Heilbut refers to Mann's vision of himself as a maker of history, not just as an isolated person (x). The character Joseph too more and more helps God orchestrate the theme of his life as he becomes aware of the plot of the piece he must play in what Mann calls the "God-story" (Joseph 1043). Joseph announces, at the point of revealing himself to his brothers after they have come to Egypt to buy grain for their hungry families, "'I invited God and the world to this play'" (Joseph 1114). And Mann too commented that he recognized his role in life and felt his duty to act it with dignity and distinction. It was all "...in the play, God's play. God turned it all to good" (Joseph 1207), and this summary by

Joseph of his life echoes Mann's own retrospect in his old age.

When the author wrote the final line of the Joseph tetralogy: "And so endeth the beautiful story and God-invention of Joseph and His Brothers" (1207) he discovered that he could not go home again and that he did not need to. In fact, the very concept of "home" became ephemeral to him as he expanded his countrypeople to include all of humanity. Heilbut writes that Mann believed his exile "...signified the transcendence of all nationalist postures; there no longer existed any real or metaphorical 'homeland' for him to regain" (299). Mann found, as does Joseph, that such a return was both impossible and unnecessary, because of both political and moral restraints. Joseph makes his home among the mixed ethnic population of Egypt because he is unwilling to restrict himself to the tents of his family in Canaan, and Mann established his home wherever he set up his writing table (Erika and Klaus Mann, Escape to Life 88).

Home equalled work for Mann and in his work he had contentment. According to Mann's daughter Erika, he continued his writing career and lecture tours until just a few weeks before he died, two months after his eightieth birthday. Even in Mann's final illness he kept his voluminous correspondence up to date and welcomed his visitors genially, but formally (The Last Year 65). He had the

good fortune, as he had predicted, to die easily, surrounded by family and friends. He joked with the Swiss doctors about an hour before his death, punning in French and English and he continued to play, up to his last breath, his role of ironic erudition. His daughter Erika describes his face after death, not as peaceful, as one might expect, but as similar to the interested expression of concentrated listening he had always assumed on hearing favorite music, as if he had had something important to pay attention to. She might have repeated a variation of her father's valedictory lines of Joseph echoing across the time-coulisses: Thus endeth the wonderful story and God-invention of Thomas Mann.

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