

ALBERT & the WHALE - SOURCE NOTES

MERCY

2 'Gorillas consider it rude', Virginia Morell, 'What do mirror tests test?' aeon.co.

8 'Santa Claus Is On His Way': syndicated in US papers; for instance, *St Petersburg Times*, 25 November 1940.

9 'It was the turning point', see 'The god of colours: researchers shed new light on artist Albrecht Dürer', *Der Spiegel*, 1 May 2012, spiegel.de.

9 'Dürer is in bad shape', Erwin Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer*, Princeton University Press, 2007, 198 (hereafter 'Panofsky').

9 'If I lose my sight and dexterity', quoted Walter L. Strauss, *The Complete Drawings of Albrecht Dürer*, Vol. 4, 1520-1528, Abaris Books, 1974, 1904.

10 'Charles, was to visit': Charles V returned to England in 1522, having reluctantly reduced his retinue of horses from 1100 to 700. Henry VIII accompanied him to Southampton, where the emperor's departure was saluted by the town's cannons with a hundredweight of gunpowder at a cost of forty-two shillings. Charles would die of malaria in 1558. (See Edward Armstrong, *The Emperor Charles V*, Vol. I, Macmillan 1910, 66; Charles V to the Ambassadors in England, 13 May 1522, 'The Ambassadors in England to Margaret of Savoy', 14 July 1522, *Calendar of State Papers, Spain: Further Supplement to Vols 1 and 2, Documents From Archives in Vienna*, Stationery Office, London, 1947, British History Online; Cheryl Butler, *Powder, Prisoners & Paintings: The History of God's House Tower*, Southampton Cultural Services, 2019, 28-29).

10 'plague was raging': Dürer's desire to leave Nuremberg was as much influenced by infection as by his intention to petition for a pension. Mathias Beer notes that Nuremberg suffered from extended waves of the plague from 1519 to 1521; a council decree of 1520 provided for emergency administration of the city as thousands of citizens died. Hans Imhof and his wife Katharina had already fled, followed by their son, Endres, his wife and brother-in-law, who left on 20 July 1520, a week after Dürer. As we have seen in our own times, the rich are the first to go, leaving behind those who made them wealthy. (See Mathias Beer, 'Private Correspondence in Germany in the Reformation Era: A Forgotten Source for the History of the Burgher Family', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 32, No.4, 2001, 396; Corine Schlieff & Volker Schier, *Katherina's Windows: Donation and Devotion, Art and Music*, Pennsylvania State University Press, 385).

10 'Roger Fry': Fry remained sceptical about Durer, seeing his art as 'a magnificent and heroic but miscalculated endeavour', too keen on impressing with his technical ability to rise to the level of genius. (See Fry, 'Dürer and his contemporaries', *Vision and Design*, Chatto & Windus, 1920, 129; *Records of Journeys to Venice and the Low Countries*, introduction, Roger Fry, Merrymount, 1913, xxi, xxii; Malcolm Letts, editor, *The Travels of Leo of Rozmital through Germany, Flanders, England, France, 1465-1467*, Hakulyt, 1957).

11 'Professor Challenger': 'It was the devil of our childhood in person', Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Lost World*, John Murray, (1912), 1956, 206-207.

11 'dragons of our unconscious', 'Carl Jung on the meaning of the "Dragon"', Zarathusa seminar, carljungdepthpsychologysite.blog, 13 August 2019.

11 'he'd shown his passport', Fry, 33, 41.

12 'we hear so little of great Flemish works of art?', *ibid*, xxiv.

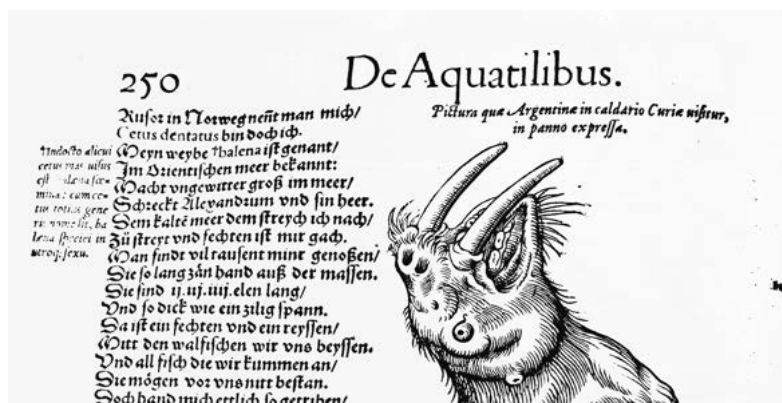
- 12 'The way he exchanged his beautiful works', Wilhelm Waetzoldt, *Dürer And His Times*, Phaidon, 1950, 7.
- 12 'a print of St Jerome', Panofsky, 206-7; William Martin Conway, *Literary Remains of Albrecht Dürer: with transcripts from the British Museum and notes upon them by Lina Eckenstein*, Cambridge University Press, 1889, 112. Conway, art historian, politician, and mountaineer, wrote his book with the assistance of Eckenstein, the daughter of a German Jewish socialist from Islington; she would later become a suffragist and archaeologist. Conway relied on her judgments, though his own were fierce enough. He thought *The Torment of the Ten Thousand Christians*, with which depicted terrible scenes of torture and death, the ugliest picture Dürer ever made. 'Fate, which has seriously injured some of Dürer's masterpieces and utterly destroyed others has unkindly left this one to hang in faultless preservation upon the walls of the Vienna gallery'. (62)
- 12 'I bought a pair of socks for 1 stiver', *Literary Remains*, 125.
- 13 'the painters' guild stood up', *ibid*, 96.
- 13 'Dürer watched the great procession', *ibid*, 99.
- 13 'His leg above the knee', *ibid*, 104 (see also Nicholas Redman's wondrous *Whales' Bones of The Netherlands & Belgium*, Redman, 2010, 108, 113).
- 14 'a vast monstrosity', *Literary Remains*, 102.
- 14 'In the Cathedral of St Stephen', see J. Simmons, 'The Power of Objects', *Museums: A History*, Rowman, 2016, 51; Peter Mason, Peter Mata, *Infelicities: Representations of the Exotic*, JHU, 1998, 68; Pieter Saenredam, rijksmuseum.nl.
- 15 'The thirteenth-century monk, Albertus', see Colin Eisler's gloriously inspired *Dürer's Animals*, Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991, 7. Eisler, another refugee from Hamburg, was invited by Panofsky to become a fellow at Princeton.
- 15 'Oh, Time, Strength, Cash, and Patience!' Melville visited Cologne in December, 1849: 'found my way to the famous cathedral, where the everlasting "crane" stands on the tower'. (See 'Cetology', *Moby-Dick*, Arion Press, 1979, 148; Jay Leda, *The Melville Log*, Vol. I, Gordian Press, 1969, 344).
- 16 'the gift of *philosophiae scientia*', Joachim Sighart, translated by T. A. Dixon, *Albert the Great of the Order of Friar Preachers*, R. Washbone 1876, 23, 26.
- 16 'Kenneth F. Kitchell Jr', 'Albertus the Great on whales, whaling and sea mammals', MS, New Bedford Museum Library.
- 17 'You have destroyed in an instant', Sighart, 128, 145.
- 17 'Victor Frankenstein', Mary Shelley, *Frankenstein*, Penguin 1975, 268, 298.
- 17 'On their way to Switzerland', William Michael Rossetti, editor, *The Diary of Dr John William Poldori, relating to Byron, Shelley, Etc*, 1911.
- 17 'Thomas, my son in Christ', Sighart, 366.
- 17 'remained incorrupt', see Pauline Aiken, 'The Animal History of Albertus Magnus and Thomas of Cantimpré', *Speculum*, The Medieval Academy of America, 2019, Vol. 22, No. 2, 1947, 205-225.
- 18 'especially interested by marine mammals', Kitchell, 65.
- 19 'infected with the decayed fat', see C.B. Hawes, *Whaling*, Doubleday, 1924, 6.
- 19 'Sir Isaac Newton', see *Frankenstein*, 298.
- 19 'Conrad Celtes composed', see Eisler, 8.
- 19 'sight of some creatures', *ibid*, 9.
- 20 'leviathan's true nature', 'Of the Monstrous Pictures...' *Moby-Dick*, 272.

- 20 'Béla Tarr': Tarr's film is based on László Krasznahorkai's *The Melancholy of Resistance* which W.G. Sebald described, in a quote used on its cover, as a book about a world into which the Leviathan has returned. (New Directions, 2000).
- 20 'At Zierikzee', November 1520, *Literary Remains*, 109; also Jane Campbell Hutchison, *Albrecht Dürer: A Biography*, 152.
- 21 'a portent from God', Martin Luther, 13 June 1522, B.C. Sliggers and A.A. Wertheim, *Op her strand gesmeten': Vijf eeuwen potvisstrandingen aan de Nederlandse kust*, Walburg Pers, 1992, 37, translated by Jeroen Hoekendijk.

SEA

- 22 'On St Barbara's eve', *Complete Drawings*, 1962, 1970.
- 22 'I paid 12 stivers for the horse', 3 December 1520, *Literary Remains*, 110.
- 22 'I have spent 5 white pf. on a bath', *ibid*, 106.
- 22 'Markus Ulstatt': A regimental history lists Marx Ulstatt, of Augsburg as an officer; he came from a wealthy family that included the physician and alchemist, Philipp Ulstat. (See *Sketchbook of the Journey to the Netherlands*, Phoebus, 1960, rebound, Boston Book & Art Shop, 1968; *Jahres-bericht des Historischen vereines von Oberbayern*, 1869, Vol. 31-34, 171; 'Kopf eines Walrosses', de.wikipedia.org).
- 22 'my Lords of Nuremberg', 3 September 1520, *Literary Remains*, 103.
- 22 'little Bernard', 9 Dec 1520, 17 March 1521, *ibid*, 111, 116. Von Reesen was a merchant from Gdansk, living in Antwerp; Dürer painted his portrait in 1521.
- 23 'We passed by', 7 December 1520, *Literary Remains*, 110.
- 24 'As we were', 8 December 1520, *ibid*, 111.
- 24 'And what shall we do then?', William Bell Scott, *Albert Durer: His Life and Works*, Longmans, 1869, 143; see also Eisler, 126; *Literary Remains*, 111.
- 24 'Centuries later his followers', Hutchison, *Albrecht Dürer: A Biography*, 154.
- 25 'Indian cocoa-nuts', *Literary Remains*, 111.
- 25 'A strange illness': 'A violent fever seized me, with great weakness, nausea, and headache. And before, when I was in Zeeland, a wondrous sickness overcame me...' April 1521, *Literary Remains*, 118; Fry, 80-81.
- 25 'the British would attempt', Martin R Howard, 'Walcheren 1809: a medical collapse', *British Medical Journal*, 319 (7225) 1642-45; John Lynch, 'The lessons of Walcheren Fever, 1809', *Military Medicine*, 174 (3), 316-9; 'Walcheren Expedition', threedecks.org. In the 19th century Whale Island became the site of an ark-like Sailors' Zoo, housing unwanted pets donated to the monarchy, including lions, parrots, and polar bears. (See RISINGTIDEFALLINGSTAR, 302).
- 26 'the most important event', Panofsky, 207.
- 26 'sub-sub-librarian', 'Extracts', *Moby-Dick*, x.
- 26 'a Norse trader', Michael Pye, *The Edge of the World*, Penguin 2014, 74.
- 27 'other names', see V. Kiparsky, *L'Histoire du Morse*, Finnish Academy of Sciences, 1952, 10, 46, and Natalie Lawrence's excellent 'Decoding the Morse: The History of 16th-Century Narcoleptic Walruses', publicdomainreview.org.
- 27 'William Caxton recorded one', Kiparsky, 5.
- 27 'Martin Frobisher returned', see Dr Edward Dodding, 'Death of an Inuit Man in England', 2006, nationalhumanitiescenter.org; Robert M. Ehrenreich, 'Culture Contact and the Frobisher Voyages', ultimatehistoryproject.com. Odell Shepard's *The Lore of the Unicorn* notes walrus tusks were also carved to masquerade as more valuable unicorn horns. (Harper & Row, 1979, 132)

- 27 'sea-shouldering Whales', Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, II. xii; see also 'Extracts', *Moby-Dick*: 'Like as the wounded whale / to shore flies from the maine'.
- 27 'this strange fraternity', 'Sea-Unicorns and Land-Unicorns', *The Dial*, Nov 1924; *New Collected Poems*, edited by Heather Cass White, Faber, 2017, 96; see also, 'Albrecht Dürer', *Marianne Moore: Poetry*, moore123.com blog.
- 27 'led Albertus to believe', Fridtjof Nansen, *In Northern Mists: Arctic Exploration in Early Times*, Cambridge University Press, 2014, 163.
- 27 'Olaus Magnus', *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus / A History of the Northern Peoples*, Rome, 1555.
- 28 'hides made into ropes', Kitchell, 61-2.
- 28 'This sleepy animal': *dasig*, a word with Bavarian roots formerly translated as 'sleepy', should read as 'of this place' or 'local' (J. M. Echols, 'Early Modern High German *dasig*', *Language*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (1940), 161-163).
- 28 'Whatever the truth': Dürer's walrus has endured many definitions: see *Complete Drawings*, 2048; Janus Møller Jensen, *Denmark & the Crusades*, Brill, 2007, 196; Jean Michel Massing, 'The Quest for the Exotic: Albrecht Dürer in the Netherlands', *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration*, Yale, 1991, 116; 'Dürer's Walrus', britishmuseum.org; Kirsten A. Seaver, 'A Very Common and Usual Trade: the relationship between cartographic perceptions and "fishing" on the David Strait circa 1500-1550', *British Library Journal*, 1996; Nansen, 155-158.
- 29 'Melville would invent Nantucket', see 'Nantucket', *Moby-Dick*, 66.
- 30 'Dürer was fond of his walrus', see Panofsky, 216-217, 229.



Conrad Gesner, *Historiae animalium*, 1551-1587, 1604

- 31 'Pliny had considered', 'The Rhinoceros', Pliny the Elder, *The Natural History*, edited by John Bostock, Taylor & Francis, 1855, 8.29.
- 31 'the sultan of Cambaia', István Orosz, 'A Rhino Remembered', *Hungarian Review*, Vol. IX, No.3, hungarianreview.com.
- 31 'An eyewitness described', Luís Tirapico, 'The Rhinoceros of Dürer', *Instituto Camões*, 2004-2005, cvc.instituto-camoes.pt.
- 32 'Ganda was duly', L.C. Rookmaaker, 'Captive Rhinoceroses in Europe from 1500 to 1810', *Bijdragen Tot de Dierkunse*, 43, (1), 1973, 40; also Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, Vol. 2, University of Chicago Press, 2010, 162n.
- 33 'The beast was well-armed', *Literary Remains*, 144; also Neil MacGregor, *A History of the World in 100 Objects*, Episode 75, bbc.co.uk.
- 33 'On the first of May', Orosz, *op cit*.

- 33 'an accurate representation', *Rhinoceros* broadside, britishmuseum.org.
- 34 'A horn honed on stones', see Jay A. Levenson, *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration*, Yale, 1991, 300.
- 34 'a kind of fungus', see Eisler, 270.
- 35 'robo-leo', Herbert Bruder, 'Leonardo da Vinci's Robot Lion', cacm.acm.org; John Lichfield, 'Pride of Da Vinci's genius', *Independent*, 23 Oct 2011.
- 35 'a Medici duke of African descent'; Alessandro's mother was Simunetta, a servant to his father, Lorenzo de' Medici (Matthew Lyons, review of Catherine Fletcher, 'The Black Prince of Florence', *Financial Times*, 29 April 2016).
- 35 'Dürer added sea unicorns', see Eisler, 272.
- 36 'washed ashore', Sarah Luskow, 'A 16th century pope buried his pet elephant under the Vatican', atlasobscura.com; T.H. Clarke, 'The first Lisbon or "Dürer" rhinoceros of 1515', *The Rhinoceros: From Dürer to Stubbs*, Sotheby's, 1986, 16-27, rhinoresourcecenter.com.
- 36 'Colombian villa', the House of the Scribe, Tunja (see Maya Jiménez, 'Early Viceregal Architecture and Art in Colombia, khanacademy.org); Eisler conjures up other rhino iterations in his excellent section, 269-275.



- 36 'Behemoth battled Leviathan', William Blake, plate 15, *Illustrations of the Book of Job*; see 'William Blake: Behemoth and Leviathan', tate.org.uk.

GENIUS

- 38 'son of Albrecht Dürer', see Panofsky, Introduction, 4, and following for details of Dürer's family and early life.
- 38 'Skeletons of highway robbers', see *Literary Remains*, 126.
- 39 'the discovery of the ocean', 'Nuremberg', *British Encyclopedia*, 1933, 451.
- 40 'they mixed flax oil', Martin Smick to Philip Hoare, Rhode Island School of Design, 18 January 2019.
- 40 'thought it was alchemical', Jonathan Jones, 'Van Eyck and the Ghent Altarpiece', *Guardian*, 1 February 2020; Daniel Keenan, 'Kultur and acculturation: Erwin Panofsky in the USA', thesis, University of Glasgow, 140.
- 40 'to escape a new wave', see 'The god of colours', *Der Spiegel*.
- 41 'Ah! how often in my sleep', *Literary Remains*, 180.
- 41 'Blake, speaking for Dürer', Mark Evans, 'Dürer and Italy Revisited; the German Connection', britishmuseum.org.
- 41 'Now let the arc of a circle', *The Roman Alphabet of Albrecht Dürer*, translated by Guy Coates, London College of Printing, 1969.

- 42 'the modestest German', *Fors Clavigera*, Vol. II, George Allen, 1900, 338.
- 42 'marked his death date', *ibid*, Vol. I, 90. Ruskin called Dürer 'a strange and high genius', but complained that the artist would devote 'a day to a dog's ear'. He might have been talking about himself. (Tim Hilton, *John Ruskin*, Yale, 2002, 322; Keith Andrews, 'Dürer's Posthumous Fame', *Essays on Dürer*, C.R. Dodswell, editor, Manchester University Press, 1973, 91).
- 42 'He told the class', Hilton, 202, 204.
- 42 'Dürer was a spirit of manufacture', Ruskin, *The Power of Seeing*, exhibition, The Guild of St George, Two Temple Place, 26 January—22 April 2019.
- 42 'like a knight's lance', 9 March 1870, *Lectures on Art*, ruskin.ashmolean.org.
- 42 'But what beauty is', Norbert Wolf, *Albrecht Dürer*, Prestel, 2017, 211.
- 42 'St Francis, St George', see Panofsky, 96.
- 42 'St Sebastian's arrows', and following, saints' entries, David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, OUP, 1992.
- 44 'aerial photographs', Panofsky, 82.
- 44 'Even in our university', EP to Margaret Barr, 7 May 1932, Keenan, 46.
- 44 'chinchilla ladies', *ibid*, 55.
- 45 'His son, Wolfgang', Michael Schaaf, ' "Immediately after the Explosion I fell asleep": An Interview with Wolfgang Panofsky', 6 July 2006, uni-hamburg.de.
- 45 'his big black poodle', Keenan, 122.
- 45 'Panofsky would note', Panofsky, xi, l.
- 45 'According to colleagues', William Hecksher, 'Erwin Panofsky: In Memoriam', *Record of the Art Museum*, Princeton University, V.28, No. 1, 1969; H. Van de Waal, 'In Memoriam: Erwin Panofsky', *Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Literature New Series, Vol. 35, 6. Kenneth Clark said Panofsky was 'unquestionably the greatest art historian of our time' (*Oxford Dictionary of Art and Artists*, OUP, 2009), but Eisler, his pupil, saw Panofsky's book as 'oddly sentimental and nationalistic... a sanitized portrait of an artist making Germany safe for the Italian Renaissance or vice versa. Nearer Disneyland than Deutschland, many aspects of Panofsky's "American Dürer" fail to ring true'; with 'too little of Teutonic torment, creative mystery, and the irrational, it was not well received in post-war Germany. Yet Eisler also remembered Panofsky as a 'keen connoisseur of handsome dogs and men', with 'something seductive, sweetly Mephistophelian about him.' ('Panofsky and his peers in a Warburgian psyche glass', *Source: Notes in the History of Art*, Vol. 4, No. 2/3, 1985, 86-87).
- 45 'He could be temperamental', Hugo Buchthal, *A Commemorative Gathering*, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, Spiral Press, 1968, 12; Keenan, 102.
- 45 'Once, walking home', Hecksher, 19.
- 45 'saw a hermit', *ibid*, 8.
- 45 'Out you go!', Keenan, 69. Eisler notes Panofsky 'lost no fewer than thirty-five relatives to his homeland's gas ovens' ('Where's Willibald? A bittersweet NYU Institute of Fine Arts interlude 1963-1965', 4, [arthistoriography](http://arthistoriography.org) blog).
- 46 '5.29 am on 16 July', 'Wolfgang Panofsky', atomicheritage.org; 'Trinity (nuclear test)', Wikipedia.
- 46 'sat reading Baudelaire', David Grubin, 'The Trials of Oppenheimer', BBC Four, 2009. Scenes for *The Man Who Fell to Earth*, (Nicolas Roeg, 1976), in which the figure of Thomas Jerome Newton assumes an Oppenheimer-like character, were filmed near the test site at White Sands.
- 46 'All we were able to do', Wolfgang Panofsky to Ann Finkbeiner, 4 May 2004,

Ann Finkbeiner, *The Jasons: The Secret History of Science's Postwar Elite*, Penguin, 2006, ebook; Schaaf interview.

46 'He had no time to be scared', Erwin Panofsky to Harry Bober, 18 September 1945, Keenan, 195.

47 'The first hit the ground', Simon Monneret, translated by Lucia Wildt, *Dürer*, Ferndale, 1980, 14; also *Complete Drawings*, 2280.

48 'a new Flood', see Waetzoldt, 50.

48 'witnessed by Turner', *Snow Storm: The Author was in This Storm on the Night the Ariel left Harwich*, 1842: 'I did not paint it to be understood, but I wished to show what such a scene was like; I got the sailors to lash me to the mast to observe it; I was lashed for four hours, and I did not expect to escape, but I felt bound to record it if I did'. The Shakespearean overtones and fact that Turner was in his sixties have led some to doubt his account (Peter Ackroyd, *Turner*, Chatto, 2005, 150; James Hall, 'A sublime roller coaster', *Tate Etc*, 1 Sept 2009).

48 'torrents shooting', *The Prelude*, 'Simplon Pass', Book VI; a few lines later, Wordsworth refers to 'Characters of the great Apocalypse / The types and symbols of Eternity'. In *The Enchafèd Flood*, Auden quotes *The Prelude* on 'the fleet waters of the drowning world' (Faber, 1951, 17).

48 'last drawings of deluges', see Martin Clayton, *Leonardo da Vinci: A Life in Drawing*, Royal Collection Trust, 2018, 232-241; as exhibited at Southampton City Art Gallery, 1 February—6 May 2019.

48 'October, 1913', Wouter J. Hanegraaff, 'The Great War of the Soul: Divine and Human Madness in Gustav Jung's *Liber Novus*', L. Greisiger, S. Schüler, A. van der Haven, *Religion and Madness Around 1900*, Ergon, 2017, 101.

48 'Over the next few months', C.G. Jung, *The Red Book: Liber Novus, A Reader's Edition*, edited by Sonu Shamdasani, Norton, 2012, 18, 28-9, 123-4.

49 'he believed his own', Paul Bishop, *Jung in Contexts*, Routledge, 1999, 130.

49 'We contain nature', Jung, *The Seminars*, Vol. II, Part II, 'Nietzsche's Zarathustra Seminar', Routledge, 1989, 901, *Carl Jung Depth Psychology* blog.

49 'If we possess the image', *The Red Book*, 86, 93, 129.

49 'He saw himself as a dog', Algis Valiunas, 'Psychology's Magician'. *The New Atlantis: A Journal of Technology and Society*, Spring 2011.

49 'If I know', to John Freeman, Küsnacht, *Face to Face*, BBC 1959.

49 'the dreamer who lived in reality', *The Red Book*, 82.

49 'No one marvels', *ibid*, 15-16.

49 'full of inward figures', Panofsky, xxxiv.

49 'mercurial as a lion', C.G. Jung, *Dreams*, translated R.F.C. Hull, Ark, 1985, 140.

50 'lay in a golden urn', *The Works of Thomas Browne*, Vol. III, (1658), Bohn, 1846, 475, courtesy Shakespeare & Co., Paris.

51 'a gathering place', Garth Christian, 'The future of England's deer', *New Scientist*, 7 December 1961, 628.

51 'Willibald drank', Lorenz Beheim bequeathed the vessels to Pirckheimer (J. Chipps Smith, 'Albrecht Dürer as Collector', *Renaissance Quarterly* 64, No. 1, 29n).

52 'like Leonardo', Giorgio Vasari, *The Life of Leonardo da Vinci*, translated by Herbert P. Horne, Longmans, 1903, 41.

52 'saw the woods', John Fowles, *The Tree*, Little Toller, 2016, 70.

52 'saw a typically German', Waetzoldt, 67.

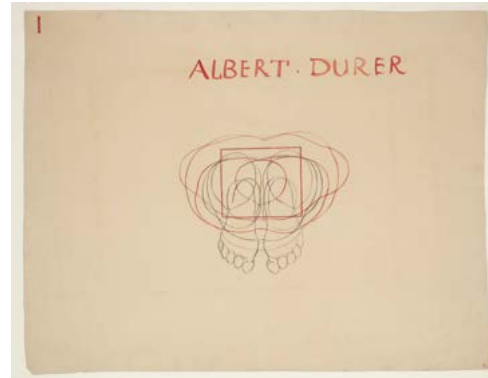
53 'Do not imagine', Monneret, *op cit*, 44.

54 'These images', Panofsky, 38.

54 'Our aptly modern critic', Norbert Wolf, 62.

55 'wavy air': 'One word is sufficient to establish what is the greatest difficulty to the painters Art to produce wavy air as some call The Wind', 'Inscription by Turner, c.1809', tate.org.uk. Turner used Dürer's notes on human proportions for his Royal Academy lessons in 1810, later labelled in red ink by Ruskin.

J.M.W. Turner, *Lecture Diagram 1: Cross-Sections of the Human Body (after Albrecht Dürer)*, c.1810, Tate Gallery, CC-BY-NC-ND 3.0.



55 'Nay, he even depicts', Panofsky, 44.

55 'Joseph Beuys', 'Dürer, ich führe Baader und Meinhof', *Der Spiegel*, 14 June 2007. Beuys lectured at the V&A, 27 July 1983: 'The German insurrectionist... ambled on, felt hat & hunting jacket. The lecture that followed was didactic, incomprehensible at times, and visionary. Questions after, but couldn't hear the speakers (neither could Beuys).'

55 'Tim Birkhead', *The Wonderful Mr Willughby*, Bloomsbury 2018, 105.

56 'having heaven to dip', *Power of Seeing* exhibition, *op cit*.

56 'Botanical pigments', label, Die Dürer-Haus, Nuremberg.

56 'Dürer prized the variety', Pye, 299; *Literary Remains*, 104.

57 'Dürer's patrons', Andreas Burmester and Christoph Krekel, 'The relationship between Albrecht Dürer's palette and fifteenth/sixteenth-century pharmacy price lists, *Studies in Conservation*, Vol. 43, Sept 1998, Issue sup 1, 101-105.

57 'porpoise bristle brushes', *Literary Remains*, 123. Since porpoises lack bristles, I assume these were made of whale baleen. Turner used spermaceti wax as a medium; thus his whaling scenes, created for the owner of a whaling fleet, were painted with whales; like Dürer, Turner was using his patron's industrial products. (Thanks to Elizabeth Marx; Jason Edwards, *Turner and the Whale*, Bloomsbury, 2017, 84; Hoare, *Leviathan*, 251)

58 'Curling its coral feet', 'A Talisman', (1924), *New Collected Poems*, 8.

58 'Would not you fain', *Fors Clavigera*, Vol. I, Letter XII, 232. In turn, Dürer's blue roller would find its echo in Ruskin's watercolour of a kingfisher.



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Ashmolean Museum

59 'illustrated a Greek text', Panofsky, Fritz Saxl, Raymond Klibanksy, *Saturn and Melancholy*, 1964, Kraus 1979, 323.

59 'Robert Burton', *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), Claxton, 1883, 51. 'Albertus Durer paints melancholy, like a sad woman leaning on her arme with fixed looks, neglected habit, etc. and held therefore by some proud, soft, sottish, or half mad'. (quoted Jonathan Sawday, letter to *Times Literary Supplement*, 20 April 2018).

Noga Arikha, in an essay on Burton ('As a Lute out of Tune', *Public Domain Review*, 1 May 2013), notes that Lucas Cranach painted his own version of Dürer's engraving in 1532. The result is a dream-like composition, as if the monochrome scene had turned into three-dimensional colour, complete with a cherub on a swing avoiding the four horsemen in a storm cloud. The painting pre-echoes de Chirico's melancholy, chilly surrealism.

Lucas Cranach, *Die Melancholie*,
oil painting, 1532,
Wikimedia Commons.



59 'Colin Eisler suggests', Eisler, xiii.

60 'The knight'; *Modern Painters*, Vol.5, Dent, 1907, 230-1; Robert Lima, "'Knight, Death and the Devil" ', *Borges the Poet*, Carlos Cortínex, University of Arkansas Press, 1986, 341. Lima notes that in 1968 Borges, his eyesight now impaired, wrote two poems on Durer's knight, '...some ancient day did my own eyes / discover this fantastic work, / the everlasting epic scheme that Dürer dreamed— / the hero and his throng of shades'.

STRANDED

64 'On 22 November 1577', see Sliggers & A.A. Wertheim; Chris Smeenk & Peter G.H. Evans, 'Review of sperm whale (*Physeter macrocephalus*) strandings around the North Sea', 'North Sea Cetacean Special', *Lutra: Journal of the Dutch Mammal Society*, Vol. 61, No.1, September 2018. As I write, seven sperm whales strand on a Yorkshire beach, their tails thrashing at the crumbling North Sea shore.



Photograph by Rob Deaville,
Tunstall, 30 December 2020

- 64 'Adriaen Coenen', see Adriaen Coenen *The Whale Book*, edited by Florike Egmond & Peter Mason, commentaries by Kees Lankester, Reaktion, 2003, 8.
- 65 'Berckhey', *A Village Swallowed by History*, frankjacobs.com, 4 January 2017.
- 65 'Hendrick Goltzius', see *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1911, Vol. 12, britannica.com; also 'Hendrick Goltzius', Wikipedia.
- 66 'the whale's bowels burst open', Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, University of California Press, 1988, 130.
- 66 'A large whale', Victoria Sears Goldman blog, 'Omen and Oracle: Dutch images of beached whales', 22 August 2012; Huigen Leeftang, *Hendrick Goltzius: drawings, prints and paintings*, 2003.
- 66 'Sir Dudley Carleton', Schama, 135.
- 68 'We now know that such tremors', for instance, Anne Helemenstine, 'Can a Solar Eclipse Trigger an Earthquake?', sciencenotes.org, 5 July 2017.
- 68 'Yet Luther lauded the marvellous monster', see Schama, 135.
- 70 'the Dutch wallen', 'Etymology', *Moby-Dick*, viii.
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- 74 'Frank Morley', *Whaling North and South*, Century, 1926, 109.
- 74 'H. G. Wells declared', 'The Impudence of Flags: Our Power Resources and My Elephants, Whales, And Gorillas', *A Year of Prophesying*, T. Fisher Unwin, 1924.
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The History and Antiquities of the City of Dublin, 1766.

THE CITY OF DUBLIN. 265
 an unexpected and providential relief.^{C H A P. XI.}
 For about the 24th of June a prodigious number of large sea fish, called Turlehydes, were brought into the bay of Dublin, and cast on shore at the mouth of the river Dodder (a). They were from 30 to 40 feet long, and so bulky, that two tall men placed one on each side of the fish could not see one another. The lord justice, sir Anthony Lucy, with his servants, and many of the citizens of Dublin, killed above 200 of them, and gave leave to the poor to carry them away at their pleasure.

- 75 'The 1948 film', Review of *Air Whaler*, *Flight* magazine, 27 October 1949.
- 75 'Harry Lillie', Dr Harry R. Lillie, memoir, heritageblog.rcpsg.ac.uk
- 75 'unequalled cruelty', J.N. Tonneson, 'History of Modern Whaling; Pelagic Whaling 1937—1969', Norwegian Whaling Association, 1970.
- 75 'Sir Vyvyan Board', *Popular Science*, January 1953.
- 75 'New Harpoon', Richard Davenport-Hines, *W.H. Auden*, Pantheon, 1995, 155.
- 75 'thanks to whose life-long', 'Grub First, Then Ethics', *Collected Poems*, edited by Edward Mendelson, Faber, 1994, 704.
- 76 'In the stormy winter of 2016', Smeenk and Evans, *op cit*.
- 77 'quartet of scientists', Klaus Heinrich Vanselow, Sven Jacobsen, Chris Hall, Stefan Garthe, 'Solar storms may trigger sperm whale strandings', *International*

Journal of Astrobiology, Vol. 17, Issue 4, Oct 2018, 336-344; 'Mass grey whale strandings linked to solar storms', *CBC News*, 1 March 2020.

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REVELATION

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82 Shaw was a member of the Dürer Society, founded in 1897 to reproduce the artist's work; he displayed many Dürer prints in his apartment overlooking the Thames: 'After luncheon your host may take you to his writing-room, where Walter Crane's "Triumph of Labour" and some Albert Dürer prints decorate the Morris "Woodbine" papered walls'. Via Ruskin, Dürer was the subject of socialist appreciation: Shaw stayed up late at night discussing Dürer with William Morris at Kelmscott Manor, where Morris kept a copy of Melencolia on his study wall. ('Mr George Bernard Shaw in Adelphi Terrace', *World*, 18 July 1900, A.M. Gibbs, *Shaw: Interviews & Recollections*, Palgrave, 1990, 429; Alice McEwan, 'Christ as the Man of Sorrows', nationaltrustcollections.org.uk).

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82 'a symbol', Waetzoldt, 18.

83 'How is it, then', 'The Sperm Whale's Head - Contrasted', *Moby-Dick*, 340.

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84 'Lord Clark', Kenneth Clark, *Civilisation*, BBC/John Murray 1969, 148.

84 'a rustling wind', Waetzoldt, 58.

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85 'Art is the magic mirror', Shaw, *Back to Methuselah*, Bretano's, 1921, 286.

85 'why his dog', Jane Campion Hutchison, *Albrecht Dürer: A Guide to Research*, Garland, 2000, 3.

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86 'the beard stresses the Viking', Monneret, 12.

86 'An Arabian merchant', Pye, 79; James E. Montgomery, 'Ibn Faldān and the Rūssiyah', *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 3: 1-25, 2000.

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86 'wished for marten fur', E.H. Fairnell, 'The utilisation of fur-bearing animals in the British Isles', University of York thesis, Sept 2003, Chap 1, 5.

86 'the origin of the world': In 1986, Robert Mapplethorpe photographed Patti Smith in Dürer's pose.

Robert Mapplethorpe,

Patti Smith, 1986

© Robert Mapplethorpe Foundation.
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87 'In 1543, Henry VIII', Elspeth M. Veale 'Fashions in Fur', *The English Fur Trade in the Later Middle Ages*, 2003, 133-155, British History Online.

87 'In England', Andrew Graham-Dixon, *Art, Passion and Power*, BBC, Jan 2020.

87 'When sixteen-year-old Charles', see Edward Armstrong, *The Emperor Charles V*, Vol. I, Macmillan, 1910, 22-25.

87 'Sebald describes', W.G. Sebald, *Austerlitz*, Hamish Hamilton, 2001, 2-3.

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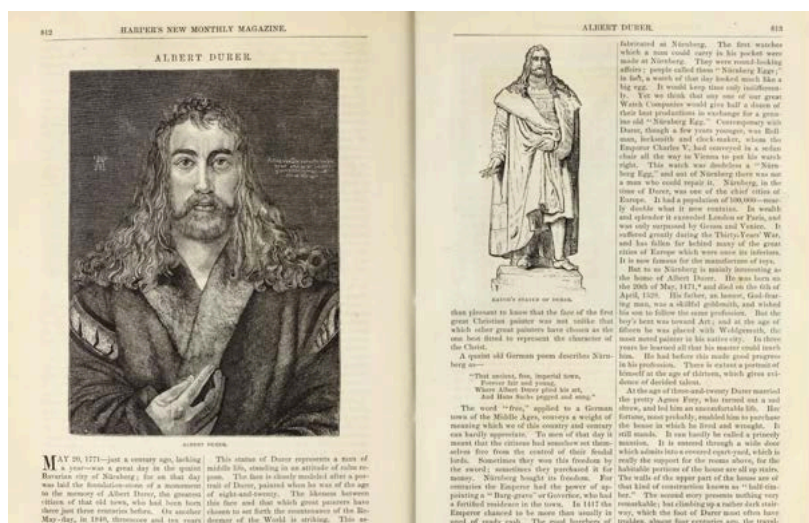
Wilde had heard much of Dürer from Ruskin at Oxford, and wrote in his commonplace book that Dürer and Blake were the best artistic representatives of the Greek spirit in modern times. He cited Blake on Dürer ('the more distinct, sharp and defined the boundary line, the more perfect is the work of art') in his lecture, 'The English Renaissance of Art', delivered in New York in January 1882 as if he were a modern ambassador for the medieval artist whose pose he adopted; art was a continual rebirth and he was its latest genius. Wilde concluded his lecture with an exhortation he might have learned from Dürer, 'We spend our days, each one of us, in looking for the secret of life. Well, the secret of life is in art'. (Oscar Wilde, 'The English Renaissance of Art', Methuen, 1913, 116, 155; David Friedman, *Wilde in America: Oscar Wilde and the Invention of Modern Celebrity*, Norton, 2014, 82-101; Joseph Pearce, *The Unmasking of Oscar Wilde*, HarperCollins, 2000, 32; images: Library of Congress / Mercury Records).



88 'If we were to collect', Joe Nickell, 'John Calvin and the Shroud of Turin', *Skeptical Inquirer*, Vol. 19.3, Sept 2009, Center for Inquiry, csicop.org.

88 'Dürer's father made a gold monstern', see Waetzoldt, 3.

88 'piteous good fellow', 'At The Hostelry', *Complete Poems*, VII, Library of America, 2019, online. In an essay for the Melville Society, Dennis Berthold argues for a 'personal sympathy' between Melville and Dürer, and notes Melville probably saw the 1500 portrait (badly reproduced) in *Harper's* magazine, May 1870 (which claimed that Agnes Dürer 'turned out to be a sad shrew, and led him an uncomfortable life'). Berthold adds that Melville's line in the poem on 'Raphael's concern for Dürer's melancholy estate' indicates the writer knew *Melencolia I*, too; Melville owned *The Works of Eminent Masters* (Cassell, 1854), which begins with a comprehensive entry on Dürer. ('Dürer "At the Hostelry": Melville's Misogynist Iconography', *Extracts*, No. 95, December 1993).



88 'awaited his betrayal': In his excellent book on Dürer, Michael Levey says 'the Dürer-Christ image seems... to wait with dignified foreknowledge for the inevitable betrayal', *Dürer*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1964, 36. Levey became director of the National Gallery in 1973; he was married to Brigid Brophy, the novelist and author of a study of Ronald Firbank.

- 88 'a portrait was Konterfei', see Bell Scott, 141; and John Berger's inspired essay in, *Dürer: Watercolours and Drawings*, Taschen, 2007, 13.
- 88 'Waetzoldt confirmed', 21. Dürer was unwillingly x-rayed like an alien, to discover his secrets, if not for his soul.
- 88 'Heinrich Wölfflin', *The Art of Albrecht Dürer*, (1905), Phaidon, 1971, 18.
- 89 'Kenneth Clark talks', 'Protest and Communication', *Civilisation*, BBC 2, 1968.
- 89 'says that the Large Turf', *Civilisation*, BBC/John Murray, 1969, 148.
- 89 'as one critic said', Martin Gayford, *The Spectator*, 14 May 2014; also Mary Beard, reviewing *Kenneth Clark* by James Stourton, *Guardian*, 1 October 2016.
- 90 'The German mind', *Civilisation*, BBC/John Murray, 155. In the same episode, Clark cites *Hamlet* as the embodiment of the new notion of self.
- 90 'In 1573, it was catalogued', Norbert Wolf, *op cit*, 259.
- 90 'A candid and sallow face', Virginia Woolf, *Orlando*, OUP, 2015, 12.
- 90 'sea-Sodom', *Marino Faliero*, V.iii, 1821, newsteadabbeybyronsociety.org.
- 90 'Venetian tendencies', 'I only hope I haven't got Venetian tendencies', du Maurier wrote to her former governess. 'In fact', says Margaret Forster, "'Venetian tendencies" were precisely what she realises she did have'. (*Daphne du Maurier*, Arrow, 2007, 28; also Olivia Laing, 'Sex, jealousy and gender: Daphne du Maurier's Rebecca 80 years on', *Guardian*, 23 February 2018). On his American tour, Wilde told the *Salt Lake Herald* that his 'Venetian green' necktie was a visible symbol of his poetic principles. (Friedman, 140).
- 90 'the most enigmatical', Panofsky, 117.
- 91 'a blessing, the best', Hecksher, 16
- 91 'Dürer was not unsusceptible', Panofsky, 117.
- 91 'Amongst the Italians', to Pirckheimer, 18 Feb 1506, *Literary Remains*, 49.
- 91 'I do not think', Lorenz Beheim to Pirckheimer 19 March 1507, Panofsky, 117; also Joseph Le Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art*, University of Chicago Press, 1997, 169.
- 91 'Baldung', Dürer's assistant in 1503; he might have worn his hat to Taboo.



Hans Baldung Grein, *Self-portrait*, c.1502, aged around seventeen, courtesy of Kunstmuseum Basel, Inv.U.VI.36, public domain.

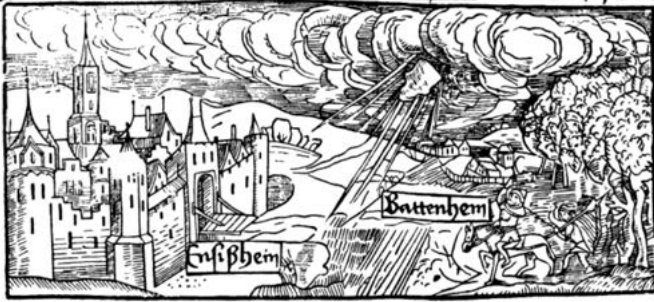
- 92 'Someone says', Elizabeth Garner, 'Secrets: "Live That You Wouldn't be Ashamed to Sell the Family Parrot to the Town Gossip"', 23 June 2013, *The Hidden Secrets in Albrecht Dürer's Life*, albrechtdurerblog.com. Eisler believes Pirckheimer was Dürer's lover (Eisler, 'Where's Willibald?' *op cit*, 4).

- 92 'If you were only as nice', *Literary Remains*, 25.
- 92 'pricks up arses': Dürer added a Greek scrawl to the back of a 1503 silverpoint portrait of Pirckheimer, *Arsenos te psole es ton prokton*, 'with the erect penis in the anus'. There is a debate about the gender of its recipient. (Corine Schleif, 'Frey and Pirckheimer', *The Essential Dürer*, edited Larry Silver, Jeffrey Chipps Smith, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010, 203; 'The god of colour', *Der Spiegel*; Erwin Pokony, 'On Dürer's Sexuality', Christof Metzger, editor, *Albrecht Dürer*, Albertina/Prestel, 2019, 72-73).
- 92 'These cities in those days', Conway in *Literary Remains*, 30, 31.
- 93 'Stefan is arrested', Elizabeth Garner, albrechtdürerblog, 24 February 2018.
- 93 'Dürer's brother', Metzger, *Albrecht Dürer*, 16.
- 93 'wears his artist's smock', Waetzoldt, 11.
- 94 'I know nothing I now more dread', *Literary Remains*, 54.
- 94 'a jar of Tiriach', *ibid*, 124; Robert S. Munger, 'Guaicum: the Holy Wood from the New World', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, Vol. IV, Issue 2, Spring 1949, 196-229.
- 94 'Robert Byron', *Road to Oxiana*, Macmillan, 1937, 3, thanks to James Norton.
- 94 'Can Dürer be excluded', Waetzoldt, 27. Wolf suggests that Dürer's swollen genitals display the signs of syphilis. He also notes that the fold in the artist's right side appears to correspond with Christ's spear wound (Wolf, 128).

STAR

- 96 'a dissolving world', 'a slippery ball of quick-silver of a dissolving world', D.H. Lawrence to Earl and Achsah Brewster, 29 September 1921, *Selected Letters of D.H. Lawrence*, James T. Boulton, CUP, 2000, 220; quoted *TLS*, 1 September 2017.
- 96 'Martin Behaim', 'Copernicus', Wikipedia entries
- 97 'Galileo', 'Galileo', *Chamber's Biographical Dictionary*, 1986, 532; Jonathan White, *Tides: The Science & Spirit of the Ocean*, Trinity University, 2017, 108.
- 97 'But meteor-like', Donne, 'The Calm', poetryfoundation.org. In 1597, aged twenty-five, Donne sailed with an Anglo-Dutch expedition to intercept a Spanish treasure fleet in the Azores; commanding one of the ships, *Garland*, was the Earl of Southampton, Shakespeare's fair youth and lover. The expedition was a disaster. But it is almost certain Donne would have seen pods of sperm whales while his ship was anchored off Fayal, perhaps the origins of his 'great fishes' jaws'. His poem 'Metempsychosis' accounts the whale allegorical, 'At every stroake his brazen finnes do take / More circles in the broken sea they make'. (Albert C. Labriola, 'Donne's Military Career', *Oxford Handbook of John Donne*, 2011; 'Islands Voyage', Wikipedia; Aylin Malcolm, 'Deep Ecologies', pulterproject.northwestern.edu).
- 97 'mirrored here', see Metzger, *Albrecht Dürer*, 99.
- 98 'he gave the keeper three stivers', *Literary Remains*, 118.
- 98 'a human zoo', see Daniel Boffey, 'Belgium comes to terms with "human zoos" of its past', *Guardian*, 16 April 2018.
- 98 '*stellae errantes*', see Wolf, 233.
- 99 'a large meteorite', Brant's broadsheet shares Dürer's rays.

Von dem bonnerstein gefallē jm r̄cū. iar: vor Ensisheim.

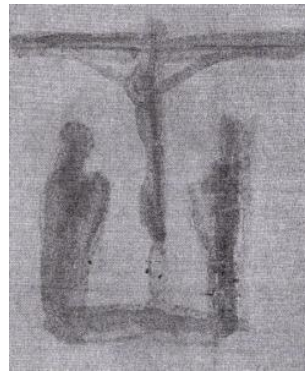


I.D. Rowland, 'A Contemporary Account of the Ensisheim Meteorite', *Meteoritics*, Vol. 25, No.1, 1990, 19-22; Ursula B. Marvin, 'The meteorite of Ensisheim: 1492 to 1992, *ibid*, Vol. 27, 1992, 28-72).

99 'Light and darkness', *Bread in the Wilderness*, Catholic Book Club, 1953, 53.

99 'I have also seen a Comet', *Literary Remains*, 143.

99 'an entire Crucifixion scene': Kathie Coblenz, 'The Rain of Crosses', New York Public Library blog, 29 April 2011, reproduces Dürer's sketch, itself blood-like:



100 'Scientists would see', David Nield, 'Scientists think they've found a (partial) explanation for the blood rain in Spain', *sciencealert.com*, 16 November 2015.

100 'How wonderful it would be', Wolf, 223.

100 'Ruskin called it', *Power of Seeing* exhibition caption, from *Ariadne Florentina: Six Lectures on Wood and Metal Engraving*, 1872, 320.

100 'Like ships of a great merchant', Panofsky, 46.

100 'as Laura Cumming observes', quoted Stefan Zuffi, *Dürer*, Prestel, 2012, 153.

100 'He sent his reps', Zuffi, 142.

101 'He saw Dürer's woodcuts', Panofsky, 136.

101 'the scene in Heaven', *ibid*, 137.

102 'the work of Disney', Panofsky, 50.

102 'Is there anything', *ibid* 44; Wolf, 121.

102 'Occasionally, God gives', Monneret, 120.

103 'Adoration of the Trinity', Panofsky, 139.

104 'The forty Nuremberg presses', Zuffi, 139.

105 'Andrei Tarkovsky': thanks to Michael Holden for identifying this sequence.

105 'Peter Ursem' to Philip Hoare, *St Endellion*, 5 October 2018.

106 'Man of Sorrows', Panofsky, 148.

- 106 'a modern American engraver', Angela Campbell & Andrew Raftery, 'Remaking Dürer', *Art in Print*, Vol. 2, No 4; Andrew Raftery to Philip Hoare, Rhode Island School of Design, 18 January 2019.
- 106 'women's wombs', see Janet Burns, 'Early trains were thought to make women's uterus fly out', *mentalfloss.com*, 26 August 2019.
- 107 'Kent read Nietzsche', see Elizabeth Schulz, *Unpainted to the last*, University of Kansas Press, 1995, 29; Scott R. Ferris, 'The Evolving Legacy of Rockwell Kent', *Fine Art Connoisseur*, 2009, Vol. 5, Issue 1; Paul Cummings, 'Interview with Rockwell Kent', *Archives of American Art Journal*, Vol.12, No.1, 1972, 10-18.
- 107 'barbaric spirit', 'Of Whales In Paint; In Teeth; In Wood: In Sheet-Iron; In Stone; In Mountains; In Stars', *Moby-Dick*, 277.
- 107 'The more lifelike', Panofsky, 57.
- 108 'Dürer's continual and forced', *Modern Painters*, Vol. 5, 226.
- 109 'a vicious life of their own', Panofsky, 37.
- 109 'Though universally', 'Of the Monstrous Pictures of Whales', *Moby-Dick*, 268.

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- 110 'I saw things', and following, *Literary Remains*, 101-102.
- 111 'First, a large gold wheel', Hernan Cortés, edited and translated by Anthony Pagden, *Letters from Mexico*, Yale, 2001, 44.
- 112 'They lifted up the gold', Eduardo Galeano, *Open Veins of Latin America*, translated by Cedric Belfage, Latin America Bureau, 1997, 18-19.
- 112 'Cortés took off', Serge Gruzinski, *The Aztecs*, Thames & Hudson, 1992, 81.
- 113 'Charles brought them to London', see Richard Heath, 'Charles' visits to England', *emperorcharlesv.com*.
- 113 'How do you', Iain Sinclair to PH, Los Guachimontones, 1 December 2015.
- 114 'Archduchess Margaret', see 'Mechelin', *Fraser's Magazine*, Vol. 52, 1855, 386; D. MacDonald, 'Collecting a New World: The Ethnographic Collections of Margaret of Austria', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 33, No. 3, 2002, 649-663.
- 114 'Margaret had shown herself', see *Literary Remains*, 102.
- 114 'But when he visited her in person', see *ibid*, 121.
- 115 'She gave me no recompense', quoted Eisler, 259.
- 115 'He ended up exchanging', Waetzoldt, 129.
- 116 'modern surrealism', Panofsky, 179. The prints were intended to be hand-coloured, and pasted on the walls of princely palaces and town halls.



Albrecht Dürer, *The Triumphal Arch of Maximilian*, 42 woodcuts and two etchings, 1515 (1799), National Gallery of Art, Washington

- 115 'Last Knight', see Panofsky, 174.
- 116 'sanctuary of a noble soul', *Literary Remains*, 77.
- 117 'The word came from the Greek', see Panofsky, 157.
- 117 'Francis of Assisi', Richard Whitwell, *Francis of Assisi*, Daniel, 1939, 174.
- 118 'most analysed object', Wolf, 182; Mark Stocker, *Melencolia I*, tepapa.govt.nz
- 118 'I gave a Melencolia', *Literary Remains*, 108.
- 120 'Elizabeth Garner sees', 'Secrets and Conspiracies', albrechtdurerblog.com.
- 120 'Jonathan Jones airs', *Guardian*, 18 March 2011.
- 120 'Colin Eisler says', 98.
- 120 'Caroline Joan Picart discerns', in 'Thomas Mann and Frederic Nietzsche', *Eroticism, Death, Music, and Laughter*, Rodopi 1999, xv.
- 120 'Others read grief', Wolf, 184.
- 120 'Panofsky, ever phlegmatic', Panofsky, 168.
- 120 'Agrippa, born near Cologne', see 'Cornelius Agrippa', Wikipedia.
- 120 'Frankenstein had also turned', *Frankenstein*, 298.
- 120 'blessed with the gift', Panofsky, 169.
- 120 'As the artist represents', 'Dürer's *Melencolia I*', khanacademy.org.
- 121 '*melancholia generosissima Dureri*', see Panofsky, 171.
- 121 'Ruskin owned', see *Modern Painters*, Vol. 5, 231.
- 121 'Elizabeth Siddal', Ruskin to D.G. Rossetti, May 1855, *Works*, Vol. 36, 201; also Suzanne Fagence Cooper, *To See Clearly: Why Ruskin Matters*, Quercus, 2019, 219). Siddal's pose echoes the angel's (LizzieSiddal.com).



- 121 'Sartre's', Patrick Wright, 'The joy of sadness', *Guardian*, 30 August 2003.
- 121 'show silent films', see Hecksher, 18.
- 121 'Augustine', see Jung, *Dreams*, 31.
- 122 'It was a state', Frank Kermode, *The Sense of an Ending*, OUP, 2000, 68-72.
- 122 'one hundred paintings', Metzger, *Albrecht Dürer*, 51.
- 122 'Since Babylonian times', Panofsky, Saxl, Klibanksy, 324.
- 122 'It brings the disorder', *Modern Painters*, Vol. 5, 232.
- 122 'The sea is our collective unconsciousness', Jung, *Dreams*, 122-3.
- 122 'The *real* sea is cold', Jean Paul Sartre, *Nausea*, (1938), Penguin, 1974, 179.
- 122 'Blake kept', Peter Ackroyd, *Blake*, Sinclair-Stevenson, 1995, 337, 343, 357.
- 123 'paying fifteen stivers', *Literary Remains*, 123.
- 123 'the melancholic Coleridge', see Richard Holmes, *Coleridge: Darker Reflections*, HarperCollins, 199, 61.

- 124 'The Waste Land', see Giuseppina Restivo, 'The Iconic Core of Beckett's Endgame: Eliot, Dürer, Duchamp', *Samuel Beckett Today*, Vol. 6, 1997, 111-124.
- 124 'Anselm Kiefer': Kiefer created a series of works entitled *Melancholia* with the geometric shape from Dürer's engraving attached as a glass polyhedron; see 'Anselm Kiefer, *Melancholia*, 2004, Sotheby's catalogue 13 October 2001, online.
- 124 'We are not of today', Jung interview, *Face to Face*; Jung, *Red Book*, 6.
- 124 'That fixed stare', Panofsky, 171.

TEMPTATION

- 125 'Johann Georg Faust', see Leo Ruickbie, *Faustus: The Life and Times of a Renaissance Magician*, History Press, 2011; and 'Faustus', Wikipedia.
- 126 'His waxen wings', 'Chorus', Christopher Marlowe, *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus*, 1604, edited by The Rev. Alexander Dyce, Project Gutenberg.
- 127 'mad German poet', *Analytical Review*, December 1798, quoted Dafydd Moore, '"An Injury to the Volume": *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* and *The Lyrical Ballads*', Lecture, 23 October 2019, Levinsky Gallery, Plymouth.
- 127 'engaged to translate', see James Fenton, 'Faust lost in translation?', *Guardian*, 12 April 2008.
- 127 'This is then', Goethe, *Faust*, translated by Bayard Taylor, Project Gutenberg.
- 127 'their strangely constructed souls', *Frankenstein*, 301.
- 127 'Carl Gustav Carus', see Panofsky, 11. Carus, who was also a scientist and doctor, studied under Caspar David Friedrich, and was a friend of Goethe.
- 128 'The lie is in our understanding', *ibid*, 12.
- 128 'a resplendent city', Thomas Mann, 'Gladius Dei', *Death in Venice and other stories*, translated by David Luke, Vintage, 1998, 75-6.
- 128 'elegant and remote', see Thomas Mann, *Buddenbrooks*, translated by H.T. Lowe-Porter, (1924), Vintage 1998, 657.
- 128 'its final perfection', *The Observer*, quoted Thomas Mann, *The Holy Sinner*, Penguin, 1961, end matter.
- 128 'roared past', Thomas Mann, 'A Man and his Dog', *Mario the Magician and other stories*, Penguin, 1975, 10.
- 128 'I am partly of Latin-American blood', Martin A. Ruehl, 'A Master from Germany: Thomas Mann, Albrecht Dürer and the Making of a National Icon', *Oxford German Studies*, 38:1, 19 July 2013, 211.
- 128 'the fresh underwear', *Buddenbrooks*, 697.
- 128 'imported into Hamburg', *Accounts and Papers of the House of Commons*, Parliament, 1848, 72.
- 129 'Our native products', *Buddenbrooks*, 203.
- 129 'end of that romanticism', *Thomas Mann Diaries 1918-1939*, Herman Kesten, Richard & Clara Winston, André Deutsch, 1983, 115.
- 129 'the strong German soul', W.D. Robson-Scott & E. Robson-Scott, *The Younger Goethe and the Visual Arts*, Cambridge University Press, 1981, 39; Picart, 2
- 130 'It stands very close to me', Malcolm Brown, 'Nietzsche Chronicle', 1875, Dartmouth College, dartmouth.edu/~fnchron/1875.
- 130 'a chronicler', Introduction, David Luke, *Death in Venice and other stories*, xv.
- 130 'Dürerbund', see Berthold Hinz, *Art in the Third Reich*, Blackwell, 1980, 47; Stadtwiki Dresden, Dürerbundhaus, stadtwikidd.de.

130 'loving beauty', Thomas Mann, 'Dürer', *Past Masters*, translated by H.T. Lowe-Porter, Secker & Warburg, 1933, 151; Ulrich Finke, 'Dürer and Thomas Mann', *Essays on Dürer, op cit*, 121.

130 'an entire world', *Reflections of a nonpolitical man*, Ungar, 1987, 104; Martin A. Ruehl, 'Death in Florence: Thomas Mann and the Ideologies of *Renaissancismis* at the Fin-de-Siècle', *Germany at the Fin-de-Siècle*, Louisiana State University Press, 2004, 219.

130 'of one hundred', Hutchison, *Albrecht Dürer: A Guide to Research*, 15.

130 'Dozens of Dürer's', Egbert Haverkamp Begemann, *Fifteen- to Eighteenth-century European Drawings*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999, 5n, 37; Ruehl, 'A Master from Germany', 43; Hutchison, *Albrecht Dürer: A Biography*, 201.

131 'He was afraid', Hermann Kurzke, *Thomas Mann: Life as a Work of Art*, Princeton University Press, 2002, 365.

131 'I resist even saying the name', 11 February 1934, *Diaries 1918-1939*, 195.

131 'I refuse to apply the term', 19 March 1933, *ibid*, 131.

131 'He was surprisingly ugly', Klaus Mann, *The Turning Point: Thirty-Five Years in This Century*, Victor Gollancz, 1944, 187.

132 'Erika stood up', *ibid*, 191.

132 'mammoth advertising', 17 March 1933, *Diaries 1918-1939*, 129.

132 'told their parents', Anthony Heilbut, *Exiled in Paradise; German Refugee Artists and Intellectuals in America*, Viking Press, 1983, 309.

132 'flew from place to place', 27 March 1933, *Diaries 1918-1939*, 135.

132 'a camp had been established', 20 March 1933, *ibid*, 133.

132 'the drugs still in his limbs', 28 March 1933, *ibid*, 138.

132 'supposedly for weapons', 30 April 1933, *ibid*, 153.

132 'the car's new owner', *The Turning Point*, 209.

132 'Everything revolved', see 30 April 1933, *Diaries 1918-1939*, 154.

133 'Thomas's brother Heinrich', *The Turning Point*, 216.

133 'ways might be found': Mann had already received a burned copy of *Buddenbrooks* in the mail; he carefully preserved the charred remains as a future reminder of 'the German state of mind in the year 1932' (Ronald Hayman, *Thomas Mann*, Scribner, 1995, 396).

133 'the orders had already been issued', Hans Wysling, editor, *Letters of Heinrich and Thomas Mann, 1900-1949*, University of California Press, 1998, 89.

133 'if he had stayed', 29 March 1933, *Diaries 1918-1939*, 139.

133 'Thursday, September 7', *ibid*, 169.

133 'My very persona', 31 January 1935, *ibid*, 233.

133 'swimming with the current', 16 March 1935, *ibid*, 235.

133 'the sealskin satchel', see *Buddenbrooks*, 65.

133 'named The Whale', *ibid*, 86.

133 'a polar bear', 'Tonio Kruger', *Death in Venice and other stories*, 178, 180.

134 'in the dunes at Nidden': Nidden, or Nida, is a fishing village on a peninsula now part Lithuanian, part Russian, a lagoon to one side, the Baltic Sea to the other. In 1929, Mann had a holiday home, his 'little castle of delight', built on the sandy bluff, surrounded by pines and overlooking the beach where Mann would sit reading in bathing suit, socks and suspenders. (Images: Thomas Mann Archiv)



But Klaus Mann remembered it as a 'melancholy country house', in a 'gloomy and picaresque' setting, surrounded by 'desert-like dunes' and elk that wandered about as though they had escaped from a 'fairy-tale zoo—weighty and bewitched, with sad, fathomless eyes' (or perhaps from an engraving by Dürer; in the background of his *Fall of Man* looms a 'melancholic elk'). There was also a large semi-military camp on Nidden where 'hundreds of lads' were training, said Klaus. 'Occasionally we would watch some of them strolling along the beach. Their sweaters and overalls were adorned with swastikas'. The house was later commandeered by Herman Goering as a recreational home for Luftwaffe officers. (Hayman, *Thomas Mann*, 383, 513; *The Turning Point*, 139-140; Eisler, 107; 'Thomas Mann Museum', visitlithuania.net)

134 'daring them to deny his Germanness', *Diaries 1918-1939*, 386, 372; also Herbert Lehnert and Eva Wessell, *Thomas Mann*, Reaktion, 2019, 99.

134 'War will not come', 30 August 1939, *Diaries 1918-1939*, 338.

134 'H.G. Wells has arrived', see 2 September 1939, *ibid*, 339.

135 'German fighters had swooped', 9 September 1939, *ibid*, 340. Katia, told of the previous incident, insisted on swapping places with Thomas, who had been sitting in a window seat. (Erika Mann, trans Richard Graves, *The Last Year of Thomas Mann* Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1958, 62-64; Hayman, *Mann*, 455.)

135 'on the train from Waterloo', 9 September 1939, *Diaries 1918-1939*, 340.

135 'fifteen or sixteen capitalist arch-villains', 16 June 1939, *ibid*, 332.

135 'federated Europe', 16 November 1939, *ibid*, 343. 'Very probably', Mann wrote on an earlier voyage to New York, 'fascism would stretch out its tentacles to America', 20 September 1938, *ibid*, 306.

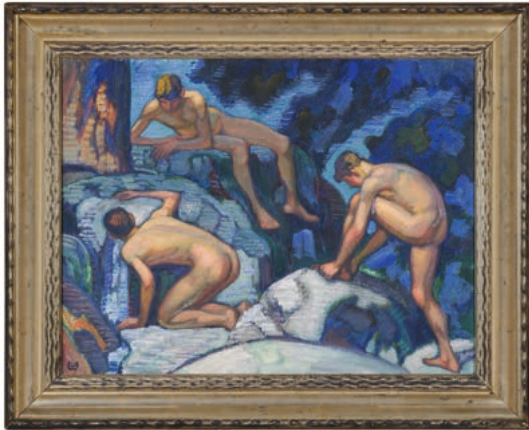
135 'Late, very late!', 2 September 1939, *ibid*, 339.

135 'my friend Pat', RISINGTIDEFALLINGSTAR, 48. Pat de Groot's stepfather, George Backer, sat on refugee committees with Mann and Einstein.

135 'On their Atlantic passage': In 1940 the Manns' second daughter Monika sailed for America with her husband, Jenő Lányi, a Jewish-Hungarian art historian. Their ship, *City of Benares*, was torpedoed: Monika clung to a piece of the wreckage, and heard Lányi call for her three times before he sank. She told Erika he'd given up because he thought she was already lost. (Kurzke, 372, 374; Thomas Mann to Heinrich Mann, 26 November 1939, *Letters of Heinrich and Thomas Mann*, 229; 'Die Kinder der Manns', BR kultur, br.de).

135 'Now he's installed', 7 November 1939, *Diaries 1918-1939*, 343. The house's owner was Rupert Mitford, actor-cousin to the notorious English aristocrats. (Hans Rudolf Vaget, 'The Best of Worlds: Thomas Mann in Princeton', *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, Vol. 75, No 1, 21).

135 'From the start', Thomas Mann to Caroline Newton, 5 November 1939, *Letters of Thomas Mann 1889-1955*, University of California Press, 1990, 250
 135 'as if by magic', Thomas Mann to Erich von Kahler, 19 October 1938, *ibid*, 229. The painting was *Die Quelle (The Spring)* by Ludwig von Hofmann, whose scenes of naked riders on the beach appear in Hans's dream in the 'Snow' chapter of *The Magic Mountain*: 'The muscles of the riders' backs played beneath the sun-bronzed skin' (491). Mann bought *Die Quelle* from a Munich gallery in July, 1914. It travelled with him where ever he established his study, hardly a discreet image. In 1937 Hofmann's art was denounced as degenerate.



Die Quelle, Ludwig von Hofmann,
 Thomas Mann Archiv

135 'He sleeps alone', 19 September 1939, *Diaries 1918-1939*, 341.
 135 'When Dora Panofsky falls ill', Emily J. Levine, 'PanDora & the Private History of Ideas', *Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 83, No 4, 2011, 774.
 136 'Alfred Knopf', 26 September 1938, *Diaries 1918-1939*, 309.
 136 'Roosevelt plans', Anthony Heilbut, *Thomas Mann: Eros and Literature*, Alfred Knopf, 1996, 298; see also Morten Høi Jensen, 'The Unbearable Pathos of Thomas Mann', reviewing Britta Böhler, *The Decision*, *Los Angeles Review of Books*, 25 March 2015. If Mann was the Americans' candidate, Hermann notes, the Russians' was Bertolt Brecht (*Thomas Mann*, 499).
 136 'a foregone conclusion', 28 April 1939, *Diaries 1918-1939*, 327.
 136 'JFK will collect': Kennedy displayed his collection on the Oval Office desk. In 1963, his wife Jacqueline placed in his coffin a scrimshaw tooth she had commissioned for his birthday that year (see Hoare, *Leviathan*, 120).
 136 'a grave stylistic mistake', Thomas Mann, 'Best of Worlds', 27.
 136 '*der von Panowskys*', 7 January 1940, Mann, *Tagebücher 1940-1943*, edited by Peter de Mendelssohn, S. Fischer, 1982, 5.
 136 'in search of the sun', see Mann, 'Best of Worlds', 26.
 136 'The New Yorker', David Laskin, 'When Weimar Luminaries Went West Coast', *New York Times*, 3 October 2008.
 136 'You ought to see', Hillel Aron, 'The Forgotten History of LA's German Exiles', *LA Weekly*, 20 August 2016. The Manns' five-bedroom house, designed for them by Julius Ralph Davidson in Californian Modernist style, was set in an acre of land at 1550 North San Remo Drive. Sunset Boulevard lay at the end of their street, winding down to the sea. The house is now owned by the German government and run as a writers' residency (see vatmh.org).



Pacific Palisades;
Thomas & Elisabeth
Mann, 1946
Thomas Mann Archiv



136 'the blue theatre', Thomas Mann to Erich von Kahler, 31 December 1941, *Letters*, 1990, 294.

137 'It was barely definable', Thomas Mann, *Story of a Novel: The Genesis of Doctor Faustus*, Alfred Knopf 1961, 19-20.

137 'dainty coloured shirts', *The Magic Mountain*, 31.

137 'We don't feel the cold', *ibid*, 430.

137 'overwhelming melancholy', *ibid*, 630.

137 'like a jellyfish', *ibid*, 215.

- 137 'the spirit of a poet', see *ibid*, 663-5.
- 138 'intended as a comic', see Michael Palencia-Roth, 'Albrecht Dürer's "Melencolia I" & Thomas Mann's "Doktor Faustus"', *German Studies Review*, 3 (3), October 1980, 363; 'The Making of Magic Mountain', *The Magic Mountain*, 720.
- 138 'as he walked', 20 September 1918, *Diaries 1918-1939*, 8; also 4-14.
- 138 'Thursday, June 19', 19 June 1919, *ibid*, 60.
- 139 'Extraordinary creature!', 'A Man and his Dog', 29.
- 139 'That he was Baschan', *ibid*, 33-4.
- 139 'For a second', *ibid*, 69.
- 139 'out of love for the sea', 31 July 1919, *Diaries 1918-1939*, 64.
- 139 'It seems I am done with women', 25 July 1920, *ibid*, 101.
- 140 'He takes pleasure', 26 May 1920, *ibid*, 98.
- 140 'to the animal hospital', 31 December 1919, *ibid*, 79. Bought in Bad Tölz, July 1916, Bauschan was a short-haired German pointer with 'very fine' colouring, a 'rusty brown coat with black stripes and a good deal of white on chest, paws, and under side'. He was put down in January 1920, suffering from distemper. Mann felt he had 'harmed the defenceless creature by bringing him to life' in his book. As far as I can discover, no photographs survive of Bauschan. (*A Man and His Dog*, 8; Hayman, 319).
- 140 'Sunday, May 22', 1921, *ibid*, 115.
- 141 'The frightful bombardment', *Doctor Faustus*, Vintage, 1999, 251.
- 141 'He meets Johnny Weissmuller', Laskin, *New York Times*, *op cit*.
- 141 'the neighbours complained', Ben Eastham, 'Kissed by Magic', *Even* magazine, No 5, fall 2016; see also Heilburt, *Eros*, 454.
- 141 'Caught on cine film', 'Thomas Mann in Malibu, California', [youtube.com/watch?v=x08L1KfeGsM](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x08L1KfeGsM).
- 141 'this heavy, faulty, hateful', *Buddenbrooks*, 742.
- 141 'almond eyes', see *The Magic Mountain*, 144, 207, 255.
- 141 'I've wondered for a long time', *ibid*, 256.
- 141 'Wolf eyes', *ibid*, 478.
- 142 'a short reefer jacket', 'Tonio Kruger', *Death in Venice*, 138.
- 142 'Paul Ehrenberg', Mann, *A Sketch of My Life*, Knopf, 1960, 6; Heilbut, *Eros*, 123-124, 134.



Paul Ehrenberg, 1902
Thomas Mann Archiv
TMA 3951

- 142 'still a young boy', Cecil Cullander, 'Why Thomas Mann Wrote', *VQR*, Vol. 75, 1999; Mann, *Confessions of Felix Krull*, (1954), Vintage, 2019, 10.
- 142 'a fancy-dress boy', *Felix Krull*, 22, 24.
- 142 'anchored in his heart', Erika Mann, *The Last Year of Thomas Mann*, 26.
- 142 'there'd be no paragraphs', *Doctor Faustus*, 255.
- 142 'exotic lepidoptera', *ibid*, 22; see also *ibid*, 27, 31.
- 143 'strange things', *ibid*, 53-55.

Wilhelm Waetzoldt, *Dürer und Seine Zeit*, Phaidon, 1936. This copy, the third German edition, was purchased in London, September 1937.

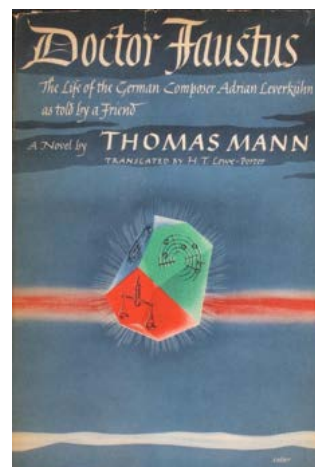


- 144 'What makes it such a delight', quoted Finke, 138.
- 144 'marked, but harmless, masculine vanity', Waetzoldt, 1.
- 144 'one of the worst places', 25 March 1934, *Diaries 1918-1939*, 204.
- 144 'special trains', Alfred Rosenberg, August 1927, quoted *German Propaganda Archive*, Calvin University, research.calvin.edu.
- 145 'Deutschland, Vaterland!', Waetzoldt, 'Vorwort,' *Dürer*, 1936.
- 145 'entseztlich nationalistischen Buch', 21 April 1944, Thomas Mann, *Tagebücher 1944-1946*, edited by Inge Jens, Fisher, 1986, 47.
- 146 'Mann gathered his sources', *Story of a Novel*, 43, 45, 91, 212, 219.
- 146 'medieval chapbooks', *Doctor Faustus*, 702. Mann consulted *Historia von D. Johann Fausten*, published in Frankfurt by Johann Spies in 1587; the same source that Marlowe used for his play (Hayman, 491; 'Johann Spies', Wikipedia).
- 146 'How would you do it', *Story of a Novel*, 151.
- 146 'the strangest, most bizarre features', *ibid*, 159-160.
- 146 'Astromental age', Franz Werfel, *Star of the Unborn*, translated by Gustave O. Arlt, Viking, 1946, Contents page, and 59.
- 146 'the consul's brother regularly', *Buddenbrooks*, 656.
- 146 'schönes, sonniges', 16 December 1945, Mann, *Tagebücher 1944-1946*, 286.
- 146 'get Niko's black coat', 19 April 1943, Mann, *Tagebücher 1940-1943*, 563.



Thomas Mann and Niko,
George Platt Lynes, 1946,
©The Art Institute of Chicago.

- 146 'In our own days', Waetzoldt, 6.
- 146 'blood and soil', see *Doctor Faustus*, 524.
- 147 'human rights', *ibid*, 527.
- 147 'advocates terror', *The Magic Mountain*, 692.
- 147 'Mere dull unconscious being', *Doctor Faustus*, 166.
- 147 'as soulful youth', *ibid*, 171.
- 147 'In his darkened room', and following, see *ibid*, 324-362.
- 148 'Halfway through', see Sontag, 'Pilgrimage', *New Yorker*, 14 December 1987.
- 148 'in the next scene', see *Doctor Faustus*, 386-398.
- 149 'I cannot express', Carol Grant Gould, *The Remarkable Life of William Beebe*, Shearwater, 2004, 37.
- 150 'National Geographic', 'A Half Mile Down...', December 1934, 661-704.
- 150 'some critics claimed', Gould, *William Beebe*, 327.
- 151 'in den Ozean', *Doctor Faustus*, 390.
- 151 'Phosphorescence de la mer', *ibid*, 579.
- 151 'obscene jaws', see *ibid*, 388-389.
- 151 'an influenza epidemic', *Doctor Faustus*, 396-7.
- 151 'suddenly spins', *ibid*, 391-398.
- 152 'The composer excitedly explains', *Doctor Faustus*, 511 and following.
- 152 'scored in jazz sequences', *ibid*, 544.
- 152 'the Dürer symbolism is really very fine', 3 October 1948, *Letters of Thomas Mann*, Vol. II, Richard & Clara Winston, editors, Secker & Warburg, 1970, 562.



- 153 'manages to get away', see Tobias Rüther, *Heroes*, Reaktion, 2014, 26.
- 153 'There is outcry', *Doctor Faustus*, 251.
- 153 'All that is German', *ibid*, 488.
- 153 'Peter Pringsheim': Pringsheim used a special quartz mercury lamp for his experiments; his science also found its way into *The Magic Mountain*, as did Einstein's. (Erika Mann, *The Last Year of Thomas Mann*, 20; Pringsheim to Albert Einstein, 17 November 1923, Vol. 14, *Albert Einstein: The Berlin Years: Writings & Correspondence, April 1923-May 1924*, 250, einsteinpapers.press.princeton.edu.
- 153 'The secret has come to light', Lehnert and Wessell, *Thomas Mann*, 140.
- 153 'wide-eyed Oppenheimer', John Adams' opera *Doctor Atomic* would compare Oppenheimer to Faust; Jenny Blair, 'Nixon, Oppenheimer, Faust, and John Adams at Yale', emdashes.com.
- 154 'something monstrous', see Alex Ross's essay on Nietzsche, 'The Eternal Return', *New Yorker*, 14 October 2019.
- 154 'One of the scientists', Robert Wilson compared the mountain setting of Los Alamos to *The Magic Mountain*; see Alex Ross, 'Countdown: John Adams and Peter Sellars create an atomic opera', *The New Yorker*, 3 October 2005.
- 154 'raving-mad lads', *Doctor Faustus*, 693.
- 154 'with the addition', *ibid*, 697. The explosiveness of *Doctor Faustus* is caught in this metamorphosis from Leverkühn to Mann, Nietzsche, Dürer, and Faust.
- 154 'wainscotted', *ibid*, 301. There's no record of Mann visiting the Dürer-haus.
- 154 'a bizarre speech', *ibid*, 714 and following.
- 154 'born for hell', *ibid*, 719.
- 154 'the Icarus-flight', *ibid*, 730.
- 154 'up to his neck', *ibid*, 732.
- 156 'a long-held resolve', Herman Kesten, Foreword, *Diaries 1918-1939*, vi; see also Hans Rudolf Vaget, 'Confessions and Camouflage: The Diaries of Thomas Mann', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, University of Illinois Press, Vol. 96, No. 4, 1997, 569. Vaget concludes that, with the posthumous publication of Mann's remaining diaries, 'we can no longer ignore, or euphemistically relativise, the central place of homosexuality in Mann's life and work. Indeed, the diaries simply command us to look at his writing as a life-long exercise in coming to terms with homosexuality'; and in the process, 'realise that it was the source of his creativity'. (590) See Mann's diary, 17 September 1919: 'As for myself there is no doubt in my mind that "even" the *Betrachtungen* are an expression of my sexual inversion'. (*Diaries 1918-1939*, 66).
- 156 'says Mann', see *Story of a Novel*, 142.
- 156 'an immensity rich', *Death in Venice*, 267.
- 156 'the voluptuousness of doom', quoted Heilbut, *Eros*, 76.
- 156 'unparalleled melancholy', Thomas Mann to Erika Mann, 25 May 1932, Erika Mann, *Mein Vater, der Zauberer*, Rowohlt, 1996, 74-75.
- 157 'I can feel myself waning', *Story of a Novel*, 118-9.
- 157 'I can recall every item', *ibid*, 167.
- 157 'Discharged', see *ibid*, 6.
- 157 '29 January 1947', *ibid*, 231.
- 157 'his walk on the beach', Katia would drive him down and take a swim while he strolled; see Hayman, *Thomas Mann*, 476.
- 157 '11 May', see *Story of a Novel*, 233.

157 'stranded jellyfishes', and following, 'Tonio Kröger', 183, 194; see also 17 September 1921, *Diaries 1918-1939*, 119; *Buddenbrooks*, 721-722.

158 'the great seaboard city', *The Magic Mountain*, 30.

158 'The island of Sylt', *ibid*, 476.

158 'Bauschan dipped in the water', see 'A Man and His Dog', 46, 70.

158 'For man is water's child', *ibid*, 45.

158 'He liked best', Thomas Mann to Viktor Polzer, 23 March 1940, *Letters of Thomas Mann*, Vol.II, 257.

158 'broad ocean dunes', *Magic Mountain*, 546-7; 491-3; *Story of a Novel*, 153.

158 'foam on the sea', *Doctor Faustus*, 497.

158 'On this tremulous ocean', see 'Haus Kliffende' Wikipedia; Kurzke, 354-5.

158 'It was the last time I loved', Heilbut, *Eros*, 458.

158 'He even admitted', see Vaget, 'Confession and Camouflage', 576. 'What form will the boy's life take?' Mann wrote on 20 September 1918, after finding Klaus on his bed with the light on, 'in a fantastic state of undress... Admittedly, someone like me "ought" not to bring children into the world', he added, if ironically. Two years later, on 25 July 1920, he wrote, 'Find it quite natural that I should fall in love with my own son'. On 17 October 1920 he found Klaus 'totally nude and up to some nonsense' by his younger brother's bed. Deeply struck by his radiant adolescent body; overwhelming—[...] [editor's excision, 1977]'. (*Diaries 1918-1939*, 7, 101, 103).

159 'Aschenbach had a feeling', *Death in Venice*, 211. Luchino Visconti's film of *Death in Venice* (1971) derived its power from the director having met his 'literary god' in Rome, April 1953; Mann apparently described to him an ageing queen he had seen in Venice, his hair dye dripping over his forehead. 'In one way or another, all my films are dipped in Mann', said Visconti. He included elements of *Doctor Faustus* in his film (including symbolic scenes with an hour glass, and Ashenbach in a brothel), and Dirk Bogarde's portrayal evokes Mann writing by the sea. (Gaia Servadio, *Visconti*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1981, 126, 197; Elisabetta Mazzetti, *Thomas Mann und der Italiener*, Lang, 2009, 61)



BETRAYAL

160 'desolate, distracted times', 'Disorder and Early Sorrow', (1925) *Mario and the Magician and Other Stories*, 84.

160 'he sees his own son', see *ibid*, 79-82



Klaus Mann, 1920, Thomas Mann Archiv, TMA 1208

160 'Thomas writes to Erika and Klaus', 'I'm already old and famous', Mann wrote, 'and why should the two of you alone sin as a consequence?' 19 October 1927, quoted Heilbut, *Eros*, 456; and Kurzke, 355.

161 'We tried to be urbane and seditious', *The Turning Point*, 103

161 'an inconsolable angel', *ibid*, 219. Klaus described Annemarie as having 'the bold and lovely face of a tragic page', *ibid*, 201

Annemarie Schwarzenbach,
private collection



161 'Don't think, obey', *Mädchen in Uniform*, imdb.com/title/tt0022183. Erika Mann's appearance comes in at 49 minutes. See also Irmela von der Lühe, *Erika Mann: eine Biographie*, S. Fischer, 1996, 68-69.

162 'Perhaps in the Middle Ages', *Goodbye to Berlin*, Penguin (1945), 1974, 52.

162 'his hero, Ludwig', *The Turning Point*, 239.

162 'All seas wait for me', Peter T. Hoffer, *Klaus Mann*, Twayne, 1978, 51.

162 'Brian Howard', Isherwood, *Christopher and His Kind*, Methuen, 1977, 163-5

162 'I beg your pardon', *The Turning Point*, 154

162 'Klaus asked Christopher to marry Erika', see Harman, *Thomas Mann*, 418.

162 'After all, he said', Charles Osborne, *W.H. Auden: The Life of a Poet*, Methuen, 1980, 119; P.N. Furbank *E.M. Forster: A Life*, Vol. II, Secker & Warburg 1987, 213.

On 12 October 1935, Auden visited the Manns in Küsnacht. Golo Mann thought his father 'impressed and amused' by the poet, although Thomas Mann knew nothing about his work, and Auden later declared his father-in-law's books were boring. (Humphrey Carpenter, *W.H. Auden*, Houghton Mifflin, 1981, 186). In 1936 Auden dedicated his new collection, *Look, Stranger!* to Erika.



Auden and Erika Mann at the time of their marriage, 1935, © Estate of Dr Alec Bangham, National Portrait Gallery, Creative Commons Non-Commercial Licence

162 'Stephen Tennant', see *RISINGTIDEFALLINGSTAR*, 153. Tennant began *Lascar: A Story of the Maritime Boulevard*, soon after, inspired by Melville's *Benito Cereno* where found the word, lascar. He intended it to be 'a restless glittering book about men who have no homes', but *Lascar* sprawled to the size of *Moby-Dick* and remained incomplete when I visited him in 1986 at Wilsford Manor, its tattooed pages scattered like leaves across the ink-splattered carpets.

163 'their father is told', Thomas Mann to Agnes E. Meyer, 18 July 1938, *Letters 1889-1955*, 1990, 228.

163 'looking like a wedding cake', see *Christopher and His Kind*, 251.

163 'Panofsky describes', Erwin Panofsky, 'Three Decades of Art History in the United States', *College Art Journal*, Vol. 14, No.1, Autumn 1954, 13.

163 'Their house', Thomas Mann to A.M. Frey, 10 August 1940, *Letters 1889-1955*, 1990, 343; also Keenan, 34.

164 'Christopher is the family pimp', see *Christopher and His Kind*, 158.

164 '7 Middagh Street', see Sherill Tippins' excellent *February House*, Houghton Mifflin, 2005.

164 'We've got a roast and two veg', *ibid*, 181; also Osborne, 197.

164 'In the evenings', Tippins, 250.

164 'Thomas accepts the post', Emily Setina, 'Marianne Moore's "Light is Speech," *Decision* magazine and the Wartime Work of Intellectual Exchange', *Twenty-First Century Marianne Moore: Essays from a Critical Renaissance*, edited by Elizabeth Gregory and Stacey Carson Hubbard, Springer, 2017, 172.

164 'Auden says', Tippins, 144-145, 187-188.

165 'he once had to throw', Osborne, 43.

165 'like Garbo', Tippins, 98.

165 'dolphin-graceful', 'A Carriage from Sweden', *New Collected Poems*, 168.

165 'the effortless continuity', *Decision*, May 1941; *Complete Prose*, 366.

165 'hoops of steel', Marianne Moore to Elizabeth Bishop, 16 November 1943, quoting *Hamlet*, I. iii: 'The friends thou hast, and their adoption tried / Grapple them to thy soul with hoops of steel', *Selected Letters of Marianne Moore*, Bonnie Costello, Celeste Goodridge, Cristanne Miller, editors, Faber, 1998, 442; quoted Linda Leavell, *Holding on Upside Down: The Life and Work of Marianne Moore*, Faber, 2013, 316.

165 'Her life was determined', see Leavell, chapter 2 *passim*; also Dan Chaisson, 'Marianne Moore's Family Romance', *New Yorker*, 3 November 2013; and Elizabeth Phillips, *Marianne Moore*, Frederick Ungar, 1982, 3, 10, 19.

165 'cut off his right hand', Leavell, 24-25.

165 'she'd spent most of her time', 'Interview with Donald Hall', *A Marianne Moore Reader*, Viking, 1961, 253.

165 'learned to swim', see Leavell, 178, 68.

'I do not appear', Marianne Moore to Ezra Pound, 9 January 1919, *Selected Letters of Marianne Moore*, 123.

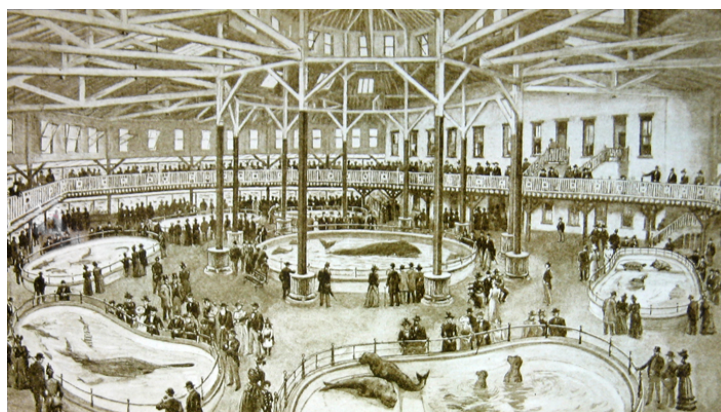
166 'Sojourn in the Whale', Marianne Moore to John Warner Moore, 19 December 1915, *ibid*, 107.

166 'The city was Nineveh', 'Is Your Town Nineveh?', *New Collected Poems*, 13

166 'beluga whales, dolphins': The bottlenose dolphins were captured off Cape Hatteras, North Carolina, in 1915.



The Aquarium had previously kept dusky dolphins, harbour porpoises, and belugas, the latter of whom had brief lives, to be replaced by 'stand-in' whales kept in a pen in the harbour. The Aquarium was closed by Robert Moses's redevelopment in 1941, and relocated to Coney Island, where it still housed belugas until 2007. (George Pindar, Mabel H. Pearson, G. Clyde Fisher, *Guide to the Nature Treasures of New York City*, Scribner's, 1917, 136; *Zoological Society Bulletin*, New York Zoological Society, 1914, Vol. 17-19, 1082, 1297).



166 'People only called them', Marianne Moore to Donald Hall, *A Marianne Moore Reader*, 258.

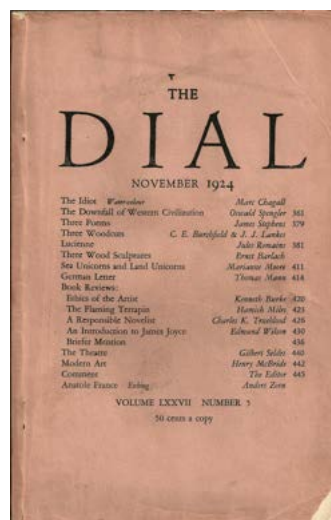
166 'written to be looked at', Roberta Smith, 'Thoroughly Modern In More Than Her Poetry', *New York Times*, 26 January 1997.

166 'She'd wanted to be', Marianne Moore to Donald Hall, *op cit*, 253

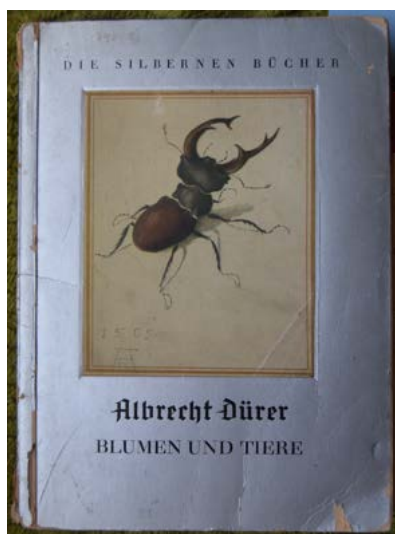
166 'It sounds rather bizarre', *ibid*, 254.

166 'I do not like artists', Marianne Moore to Bryher, 4 August 1921, noted 18 January 1934, Notebook 1920-1940, 07-03-11, page 28; Rosenbach Library, Philadelphia; see: moorearchive.org/custom/notebooks.

- 166 'magnificent little thing of the sea', Marianne Moore to John Warner Moore, 12 December 1915, *Selected Letters of Marianne Moore*, 103.
- 166 'Man Ray', Marianne Moore to Bryher, 5 July 1923, *ibid*, 200.
- 166 'She raves', Marianne Moore to Bryher, 9 May 1921, *ibid*, 160.
- 166 'she will love *Mädchen in Uniform*', Marianne Moore to Bryher, 22 February 1933, *ibid*, 296. The film was nearly banned in 1932, until Eleanor Roosevelt announced her approval of it.
- 166 'Stieglitz tells', Gail Levin, 'Marsden Hartley's "Amerika" between Native American and German Folk Art', *American Art Review*, Vol.V, No. 2, Winter 1993, *Resource Library*, 18 December 2006, tfaoi.com.
- 166 'a cross-bred Amerika', *ibid*.
- 166 'live like anchorites', Leavell, 178.
- 167 'Provincetown Playhouse', see *ibid*, 148. The Provincetown Players would arrive by ferry from Cape Cod; their theatre was on Macdougall Street.
- 167 'a pterodactyl, with craving for peacock blue', Marianne Moore to Bryher, 23 January 1921, *Selected Letters*, 142.
- 167 'Some sort of handy mask', Marianne Moore to John Warner Moore, 2 November 1919, *ibid*, 125.
- 167 'It was a place', Marianne Moore to Hilda Doolittle, 11 January 1921, 139.
- 167 'An Octopus', *New Collected Poems*, 72.
- 167 'amber-tinctured amethyst', 'A Jellyfish', *ibid*, 211.
- 167 'the recurring phosphorescence of antiquity' and 'the sea-serpented regions', see 'Novices', *ibid*, 61.
- 167 'the sea as a chasm', see 'What are Years?', *ibid*, 147.
- 168 'My writing is, if not a cabinet of fossils', *A Marianne Moore Reader*, xv.
- 168 'curiosity from top to toe', quoted *Complete Prose*, 516.
- 168 'I fairly sparkle', quoted Nick Laird, 'The Cold Eye of Marianne Moore', *New York Review of Books*, 10 May 2018.
- 168 'elusive foreign correspondent', *Complete Prose*, 358-359. Mann's letter from Munich, describing Brecht's debut there, appeared in *The Dial*, November 1924, following 'Sea Unicorns and Land Unicorns'. The same issue published Oswald Spengler's *The Downfall of Western Civilisation*, Edmund Wilson on James Joyce, and a tipped-in plate of Marc Chagall's watercolour, 'The Idiot'.



- 168 'the great highway', *The Rotarian*, February 1927, 39.
- 168 'Roger Fry', Marianne Moore to James Sibley Watson, 3 March 1927, *Selected Letters*, 229-230.
- 169 'A deluxe lot', Marianne Moore to John Warner Moore, 5 July 1911, *ibid*, 91.
- 169 'Any zoo, aquarium, library', Leavell, 233.
- 169 'She wrote about animals', Foreword, *A Marianne Moore Reader*, xvi.
- 170 'We were right above the sea', Marianne Moore to John Warner Moore, 31 July 1927, *Selected Letters*, 232.
- 170 'Ocean, Surf, Mermaid', Marianne Moore 'Brooklyn from Clinton Hill', *Vogue*, 1 August 1960, *A Marianne Moore Reader*, 191.
- 171 'PART OF A NOVEL', *New Collected Poems*, 93; see also Laurence Stapleton, *Marianne Moore: The Poet's Advance*, Princeton University Press, 2015, 97.
- 171 'she said so', *The Dial*, 85, July 1928, 89-90, *Complete Prose*, 203-204.
- 171 'a modest show', Frank Weitenkampf, *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, Vol. 32, 1928, 254.
- 171 'the summer of 1911', MM to John Warner Moore, 20 June, 1911, *Letters*, 89.
- 171 'piggy eyes', MM to John Warner Moore, 13 August, 1911, *ibid*, 93.
- 172 'woodblocks', 'Woodblock for Samson Rending the Lion', metmuseum.org.
- 172 'a sea the purple', 'The Steeple-Jack', *New Collected Poems*, 93.
- 173 'with the power of implosion', *ibid*, 197
- 173 'a dull silver book', Kurt Gerstenberg, *Albrecht Dürer: Blumen Und Tiere*, Die Silbernen Bücher, Berlin, 1936. Gerstenberg was a student of Heinrich Wölfflin.



- 173 'laboratory-like rooms', quoted by Linda Leavell, 'Prismatic Color: Marianne Moore and the Visual Arts', thesis, Rice University, Texas, May 1986, 93.
- 173 'By probably the greatest painter', MMoore to Monroe Wheeler, 29 December 1950, *Selected Letters*, 482.
- 173 'White Whale', Olson, *Call Me Ishmael*, 1947, Jonathan Cape, 1967, 18-19.
- 174 'Howard P. Vincent would observe', in *The Trying-Out of Moby-Dick*, Southern Illinois University Press, 1949, 177.
- 174 'When I first arrived in Brooklyn', 'Crossing Brooklyn Bridge at Twilight', *New York Times*, 5 August 1967, *A Marianne Moore Reader*, 610.
- 175 'Lafayette Avenue', see lapcbrooklyn.org; Rev Theodore L. Cuyler, *Lafayette Avenue Church: Its History, 1860-1885*, Robert Carter, Broadway, 1885.

175 'stupendous storm', see Frederick Douglass, *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, 127; Madison Smartt Bell, 'The Fugitive', *New York Times*, 24 June 2007; Walt Whitman, 'A Lincoln Reminiscence', *Notes Left Over, Prose Works* 1892, Vol. II, New York University Press 206, 537.

176 'Frank Morley', Linda Leavell to Philip Hoare, email, 28 June 2020; Leavell adds, 'I hope my book conveys how much Moore shares your love of the sea'.

176 'Morley drew a sketch of himself', Frank Morley to Marianne Moore, 12 February 1934, Moore V-42-20, courtesy The Rosenbach, Philadelphia.

176 'his plaid raglan coat', Marianne Moore to John Warner Moore, 1 March 1934, *Selected Letters*, 319.

176 'SINCE we all began reading', *The Radio Times*, Issue 197, 8 July 1927, 21.

176 'two kinds of whales', 'Legend and Myth', *Whaling North and South*, 17

176 'Marble would not be good enough', 'The Whale Hunt', *ibid*, 84-85.

177 'Radio wjz', Marianne Moore to John Warner Moore, 3 June 1935, Moore VI-33-07, courtesy The Rosenbach, Philadelphia.

177 'American Pacific Whaling Co', notebook 1922-1930, Notebook No 07-04-04, 86; The Rosenbach, Philadelphia, and moorearchive.org.

177 'Eliot was considering', T.S. Eliot to Ian Cox, October 1938, T.S. Eliot, *Letters of T.S. Eliot*, Vol. 8, 1936-1938, Faber, 2019, ebook.

177 'Every port had a name', see W.H. Auden and Louis MacNeice, *Letters from Iceland*, Faber, 1937, 23, 25; also Osborne, 129.

177 'There were three acts', Tippins, 101.

177 'Klaus surprised everyone', *ibid*, 254-255.

178 'Middagh Street was demolished', see *ibid*, 255.

178 'federated Europe', Hoffer, *op cit*, 129.

178 'There is no hope', Klaus Mann, quoted by Pope Paul IV during a general audience, 20 November 1968, 'Thomas and Klaus Mann: Two Homosexuals', *Gay Project Forum* website, 21 March 2018. The pontiff was bemoaning modern claims to the death of God and the death of Man.

178 'According to Isherwood', Chester Aaron to *London Review of Books*, Vol. 30 No 23, 4 December 2008, responding to Colm Tóibín's review of Andrew Weiss, *In the Shadow of the Magic Mountain: The Erika and Klaus Mann Story*, *London Review of Books*, Vol. 30 No. 21, 6 November 2008. (Isherwood spent part of that summer of 1947 on Nantucket with Truman Capote and Newton Arvin; Capote was writing *Other Voices, Other Rooms*; Arvin was writing his acclaimed study of Herman Melville; see Gerald Clarke, *Capote*, Hamish Hamilton, 1988, 146-147).

178 'Its water felt so heavy', *The Turning Point*, 31-32.

179 'like a protestor': During the 1980s *Act Up* campaign in New York, as Olivia Laing notes in her book, *The Lonely City*, the artist David Wojnarowic sewed up his lips in protest at the authorities' silence in the AIDS pandemic.

179 'He began with a long quote', Auden, *The Enchafèd Flood*, Faber 1951, 15-18.

179 'Knight of Faith', *ibid*, 18-9.

179 'Isherwood said Auden', Christopher Isherwood, 'Some notes...' Stephen Spender, editor, *W.H. Auden: A Tribute*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1975, 76.

179 'Melville... Wilde', see RISINGTIDEFALLINGSTAR, 330, 251.

179 '*The Cruise of the Cachalot*', Osborne, 12; Davenport-Hines, 152. The teenage Auden had a passion for cetaceans: 'Crazes had come and gone in short, sharp gales, / For motor-bikes, photography, and whales' ('Letter to Lord Byron', *Letters from Iceland; Collected Poems*, 109).

179 'Actual Warfare', Frank Bullen, *The Cruise of the Cachalot: Round the World after Sperm Whales*, John Murray, 1922, 11.

179 'A whale is the most beautiful animal', *Letters from Iceland*, 149.

180 'Animals are our past and our future', 'The Creatures', *Another Time*, Faber, 2019, 8. The line predates the trip to Iceland, written for *Our Hunting Fathers*, a libretto Auden composed in the winter of 1935-6 (see Carpenter, 188).

180 'Evil was unspectacular', 'Herman Melville', *Another Time*, 21. Auden sees Ahab's manhood as maimed by Moby Dick, the 'rare ambiguous monster'.

180 'a single Jew', Carpenter, 413. Auden's lover, Chester Kallman, was Jewish.

180 'No one is ever spared', 'Herman Melville', *Another Time*, 22.

181 'the grand explanatory image', *The Enchafèd Flood*, 40.

181 'Most melancholy', 'The Ship', *Moby-Dick*, 71.

181 'returned to Germany', *Story of a Novel*, 141. On arrest, Goering seemed 'a dissolute voluptuary', obese, with 'red lacquered fingernails and toenails'.

(Elizabeth Borgwardt, *A New Deal for the World: America's Vision for Human Rights*, Harvard University, 2005, 200).

181 'a sea of devastation', Erika Mann, quoted Lara Feigel, *The Bitter Taste of Victory: Life, Love, and Art in the Ruins of the Reich*, Bloomsbury, 2016, ebook.



Erika Mann, Pacific Palisades, 1942,
Thomas Mann Archiv, TMA 0732

181 'A report published years later', see *New York Times*, 18 July 1993.

181 'I have no desire to rest my bones', quoted Heilbut, *Exiled in Paradise*, 310.

181 'removing forty pages', *Story of a Novel*, 205; Erika Mann, *The Last Year*, 50.

181 'he fell in love', see Kruze, 535-7.

182 'The dark angel', *ibid*, 563.

182 'The questioning look', Erika Mann, *The Last Year*, 107

182 'And my ending', *ibid*, 8: Prospero's Epilogue: '...Now I want / Spirits to enforce, art to enchant; / And my ending is despair / Unless I be relieved by prayer', *The Tempest*.

182 'time become sea time', *The Magic Mountain*, 547.

182 'one of his favourite places', Thomas Mann to Herman Hesse, 25 November 1947, *Letters*, 1970, Vol. II, 541.

182 'swimming in the cold', 18 June, 5 & 19 July 1939, *Diaries 1918-1939*, 332-3.

- 182 'The weather had been unusually fine', Thomas Mann to Lavinia Mazzucchetti 10 August 1955, *Letters*, 1970, Vol. II, 689.
- 182 'For writing', Mann to Viktor Polzer, 23 March 1940, *Letters*, 1990, 257.
- 182 'he sat in his sandy retreat', see Thomas Mann to Carl Jacob Burckhardt, 14 July 1955, *Letters*, 1970, Vol. II, 686.
- 182 'he felt especially well', Mann to Herman Hesse, 25 November 1947, *ibid*, 541; also Erika Mann, *The Last Year*, 75, 86.
- 182 'He chose Billy Budd', Andrew Delbanco, *Herman Melville*, Alfred Knopf, 2005, 321-2; Andreas Platthaus, 'Oh, hätte ich das geschrieben!', *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, 1 August 2019; Mann to Lavinia Mazzucchetti 10 August 1955, *Letters*, 1970, Vol. II, 689.
- 182 'Love of the sea', Erika Mann, *The Last Year*, 96.
- 'the Hotel Amstel', *ibid*, 75.
- 183 'planning a new gallery', *ibid*, 17
- 183 'wearing a collar of Florentine gold leather', *ibid*, 29

Lux, Nidden,
Thomas Mann Archiv
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- 183 'You cannot imagine how sorry', Thomas Mann to Konrad Kahl, 30 July 1955, *Letters*, 1970, 686. The clinic in which Mann died was the same one that treated Visconti for the stroke that ended his career; the coincidence made him more determined to film *The Magic Mountain*, an ambition he'd never achieve.
- 183 'she'd longed': 'At Keebler's', Marianne Moore told her mother on 5 April 1908, 'I like very much the plain 3-cornered sailor [hat] and should invest in such (black) if you would allow me'. Forty-two years later, on 24 August 1950, she told her friends Hildegard and James Sibley Watson, 'wore my taffeta & velvet hat...over my sailor hat and no one seemed to detect an outrage...' (*Selected Letters*, 46, 476). For more on Moore's hats, see Alison Rieke, 'Plunder or "Accessibility to Experience": Consumer Culture and Marianne Moore's Modernist Self-Fashioning', *Journal of Modern Literature*, Indiana University Press, Vol. 27, 1/2, Modern Poets (Autumn, 2003), 149-170.
- 183 'luminescent Paul Revere', Leavell, 349.
- 183 'airline commercial', georgelois.com/braniff-moore-spillane-tv-spot.html. Warhol's voice was declared too weedy and he was revoiced by an actor.
- 184 'Capote's black and white ball', *Life*, 9 December 1966. Evie Backer, Pat de Groot's mother, designed the Ball. *Vogue* noted 'Mrs George Backer gave her dinner party as calmly as if she hadn't spent a hectic afternoon at The Plaza, supervising the ballroom decoration which she had designed', then saw 'Marianne Moore, without her tricorne hat, surveying an elevator full of ladies in silks and feathers; eyes shining for the party' (15 January 1967, 53; see also *RISINGTIDEFALLINGSTAR*, 50).

184 'She compared him,' 'He is literary—in the tradition of Sir Philip Sidney, defender of Poesie', she wrote for *I Am the Greatest!* 'His verse is ornamented by alliteration' (Columbia Records, 1963, *Complete Prose*, 660).



184 'the elephant', see *New Collected Poems*, 164.

184 'the paper nautilus', *ibid*, 158

184 'the unconvivial giraffe', *ibid*, 239.

184 'rhinoceros-skin whip and her ivory walrus tusk', see *Complete Prose*, 599.

185 'Joseph Cornell': In his letter, Cornell cited a powdered rhinoceros horn, an armadillo's octagonned damascened coat, and the shapely claws of a pangolin. The two corresponded for twenty years. (MM to Joseph Cornell, 26 March 1943, *Selected Letters*, 431; Joseph Cornell Study Center blog, 'Joseph Cornell: In Celebration of National Poetry Day, 3 October 2019; Leavell, 318-319).

185 'She wore two watches', interview with George Plimpton, *Harper's*, November 1964, *Complete Prose*, 681.

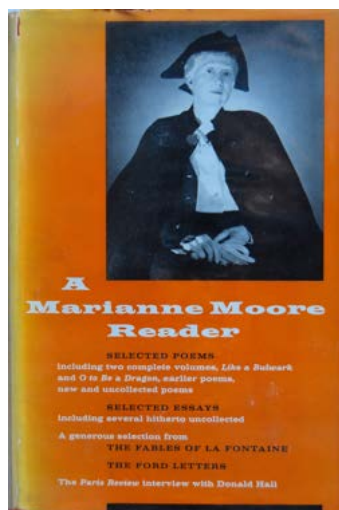
185 'Pluto the crow', 'My Crow, Pluto—A Fantasy', *Marianne Moore Reader*, 193.

185 'A visit to her apartment', Elizabeth Bishop, *Efforts of Affection: A Memoir of Marianne Moore*, *Vanity Fair*, Vol. 46, No. 4, June 1983; Elizabeth Bishop, *Poems, Prose, and Letters*, Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2006, 484.

185 'elegance, fleetness, and advanced features', Robert B. Young to Marianne Moore, 19 October 1955, *A Marianne Moore Reader*, 215.

185 'I have always had a fancy', Marianne Moore to Robert B. Young, 13 November 1955, *ibid*, 220.

186 'If you weren't willing', MM to Donald Hall, *ibid*, 273.



- 186 'Human beings are returning to the sea', *People*, 15 September 1980.
- 186 'Life is a good deal like the ocean', Leavell, 160. Dalhousie University, Nova Scotia, where Elisabeth Mann worked, became celebrated for its research on sperm whales directed by Hal Whitehead, who notes her reputation there as 'a wonderful person'. (Hal Whitehead to Philip Hoare, 17 February 2020). Mann was also the only female founding member of the Club of Rome.
- 186 'Stabius': Stabius also devised Maximilian's *Triumphal Arch*; Dürer sought his help in securing payment for his work (Panofsky, 175; *Literary Remains*, 82).
- 187 'Bernard Walther', Anthony Christie, 'The Albrecht Dürer or should be the Bernhard Walther House?', *The Renaissance Mathematicus* blog, 2 Nov 2017.
- 187 'the city was the best place', see Eisler, 251.
- 187 'The extent of the Earth', see Monneret, 47.
- 187 'O flashing Orion', 'Baseball and Writing', *New Collected Poems*, 238.
- 187 'Nor when expandingly', 'Of Whales in Paint', etc, *Moby-Dick*, 278.
- 188 'a crater on Mercury', see 'Mercury craters', Gazetteer of Planetary Names, International Astronomical Union, planetarynames.wr.usgs.gov.
- 188 'black and white': *Isolar*, 1976.

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- 190 'When Maximilian died', see Wolf, 168.
- 190 'The water runs away', see *The Magic Mountain*, 264.
- 190 'Death is the most dissolute power', *ibid*, 411
- 190 'The sea has nothing to give', 'A Grave', *New Collected Poems*, 52
- 190 'was not inside', Estella Weiss-Krejci, 'The Deviant Burial of Maximilian I', *Deviant Burial in the Archaeological Record*, Eileen Murphy, Oxbow, 2008, 186.
- 191 'These poses and gestures', see Panofsky, 203.
- 193 'Everything is archetype', Jung, *Red Book*, 159.
- 193 'did violence', Panofsky, 264.
- 193 'Ruskin thought', Keith Andrews, 'Dürer's Posthumous Fame', Levey *etc*, 91.
- 193 'We have various kinds', Wolf, 174.
- 194 'Besides, there are two races', Monneret, 46.
- 194 'Katharina', March 1521. The Portuguese began importing enslaved African people in 1444. The other portrait, in charcoal, is dated 1508. In 2017, John Akomfrah's film, *Peripeteia*, imagined the lives of these two people. Dürer also included a 'Moor' on his own coat of arms. Moors were used in medieval Bavarian heraldry as symbols of the universal reach of the church. (*Literary Remains*, 116; *Complete Drawings*, 2012, 2206, 2340; Peter Erickson, 'Representation of Blacks and Blackness in the Renaissance', *Criticism*, Vol. 35, No. 4, 1993, 499-527; Jeff Bowerstock, 'Moors on crests', blackcentraleurope.com).
- 194 'Dürer found none', see Panofsky, 275.
- 194 'The Creator made men', see Waetzoldt, 218.
- 195 'Its preparatory drawings', Panofsky, 226.
- 195 'violet, red, blue', 'Madonna with Eight Saints', *Complete Drawings*, 2180.
- 195 'When I was young', *ibid*, 230.
- 196 'Sebald heard the roars', *Austerlitz*, 349-50.

- 197 'I hate museums', Laura Dassow Walls, *Henry David Thoreau: A Life*, University of Chicago Press, 2017, 161.
- 197 'Marianne Moore finds', see Leavell, 116.
- 197 'Georg Wilhelm Steller', Jacob Mikanowski, 'What Happened to Steller's Sea Cows?', *The Atlantic*, 19 April 2017; Georg Steller (1751), translated by Walter Miller and Jennie Emerson Miller, *De Bestis Marinis*, University of Nebraska, 42.



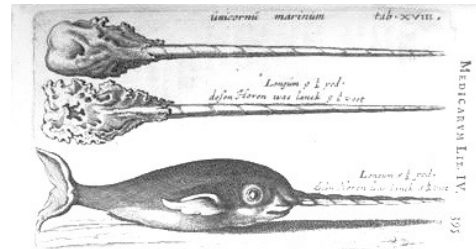
- 198 'New Scientist', Colin Bertram, Kate Bertram, 'Does the "extinct" sea-cow survive?', *New Scientist*, 29 October 1964, 415.
- 198 'Les rorquals, cachalots, dauphins', and following, Luc Vives and Cécile Colin-Fromont, preface, Philippe Taquet, *Les galeries d'Anatomie comparée et de Paléontologie*, Muséum d'Histoire naturelle, Les Éditions du Muséum 2015.
- 199 'star-like eyes', *Confessions of Felix Krull*, 293.
- 199 'That is how it is', *ibid*, 321.
- 200 'Having outlived Year I', A. Péquignot 'The rhinocerosa (*fl*, 1770-1793) of King Louis XV and its horn', *Archives of Natural History*, 40.2: 213-227, Edinburgh University Press, 2013.
- 201 'I am full': On 4 December, Melville 'met Adler at the "Bibliothèque Royal"... Looked over plates of Albert Durer, & Holbein'. In 1857, he saw the 'Curious Holy Family of Albert Dürer (the old nurse)' at the Sciarra Gallery, Rome. (Leyda, 321, 340-3; Raymond M. Weaver, *Herman Melville: Mariner and Mystic*, Doran, 1921, 304; Berthold, *Extracts*, 1993).

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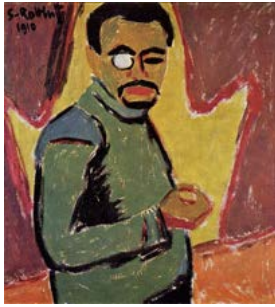
- 204 'I read about a Scottish sailor', Dr Kristján G. Gudmundsson, Thorbjörn Jónson, Reynir Arngrímsson, 'Guillaume Dupuytren and finger contractures', *Eponym*, Vol. 322, 165-168.
- 205 'He described his tutor', Adrian E. Flatt, 'The Vikings and Baron Dupuytren's Disease', *Baylor University Medical Center Proceedings*, October 2001, 14 (4), 378-384; see also Paul Wylock. *The Life and Times of Guillaume Dupuytren*, Brussels University Press, 2010, 73.
- 205 'Pierre-François Percy', 'Baron Dupuytren', Wikipedia.
- 205 'he prepared genteel female patients', David Pearce, 'Guillaume Dupuytren', BLTC Research, general-anaesthesia.com/people/guillaume-dupuytren: 'Guillaume's Dupuytren's technique was unorthodox even by the standards of the age. His remarks to upper-class female patients were reputedly of a coarseness so shocking that it caused them to fall into a fall'. 'better to die of the disease', Flatt, *op cit*.
- 206 'As a boy', see 'Bourdon's Memoirs of Eminent Medical Men', *The Foreign Quarterly Review*, Chapman & Hall, 1844, Vol. 32-33, 235.

- 206 'In Balzac's story', Honoré Balzac, 'The Atheist's Mass', *Little Blue Book No. 15*, Halrdeman-Julius Company, Kansas 1923, 5, 7. For Flaubert and Hugo references, see "Baron Dupuytren", Wikipedia.
- 206 'RETRACTION of the fingers', *Lancet*, V. 22, Issue 558, 10 May 1834, 222-224
- 206 'J.M. Barrie', Barrie's right hand seems to have been clawed, like Hook's prosthesis; he suffered from the condition for some time, and in 1918, was forced to give up writing with his right hand (see Lisa Chaney, *Hide-and-Seek With Angels: The Life of J.M. Barrie*, St Martin's Press, 2005, 332-333).
- 206 'Beckett complained', Beckett wrote his condition into *Catastrophe*, (1982) and its protagonist with clenched fists. 'In my mind was Dupuytren's contracture (from which I suffer) which reduces hands to claws'. See Finan O'Toole, 'Beckett Plays Beckett', *New York Review of Books*, 24 November 2016.
- 208 'I am in the weeds', 'Melancholy Case Of Drowning In Lough Erne', *Impartial Reporter*, 8 November 1866, as retold in Heather White's intriguing study, *Forgotten Schooldays: Oscar Wilde at Portora*, Principia, 2002, 82.
- 209 'Longer Saga of Magnús', Haki Antonsson *St Magnús of Orkney: A Scandinavian Martyr-Cult in Context*, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2007, 26; also *Icelandic Sagas Vol. 3: Addenda to the Orkneyingers' Saga: Magnús' Saga the Longer*, Wahley *et al*, 1993, 1994; also Wylock, *op cit*, 90-92.
- 210 'a gigantic cigar-shaped object', *Guardian*, 12 December 2017.
- 211 'Queequeg's arm', 'The Counterpane', *Moby-Dick*.
- 211 'Marianne Moore's father', see Leavell, 24-25.
- 211 'Three o'clock, says Sartre', *Nausea*, (1938), Penguin 1974, 27.
- 211 'Panofsky, the anatomist', Panofsky, 63.
- 213 'a philosopher once said': 'Repetition is a beloved wife of whom one never wearies, for one becomes weary only of what is new. One never grows weary of the old... life is a repetition and... this is the beauty of life', Søren Kierkegaard, quoted Stuart Dalton, 'Repetition as a Comedy in Two Acts', University of Hartford, *Janus Head*, Fall 2002, 4.2.
- 214 'Dog Star', see W.G Sebald, *The Rings of Saturn*, Harvill, 1998, 3.
- 214 'deep despair', see Eisler, 179.
- 214 'he encounters scenes', wgsebald.de/otherworld; Lise Patt, Christel Dillbohner, *Searching for Sebald: Photography After W.G. Sebald*, The Institute of Cultural Inquiry, 2007.
- 214 'the Greeks recommended', Panofsky, Saxl, Klibanksy, 54; Erika Duffel, 'Curative Power of Fever', *Lancet*, Vol. 358, Issue 9289, 1276, October 13, 2001
- 214 'One of Sebald's characters', see *The Rings of Saturn*, 226.
- 215 'Edward FitzGerald, the Victorian', *ibid*, 200-207.
- 215 'In an earlier essay', Michael David Hutchins, 'Tikkun: W.G. Sebald's Melancholy Messianism, PhD dissertation, University of Cincinnati, 2011, quoting 'Gedanken zu Elias Canetti', *Literatur und Kritik* 65, 1972, 280-8.
- 215 'Vertigo', Harvill, 1999, 43.
- 215 'See'st thou yon black dog', Goethe, *Faust*, *op cit*, Part I, II.
- 216 'on a bank of dwindling sand', Joyce, *Ulysses*, 46.
- 216 'The only way', interview by Joe Cuomo, *New Yorker*, 27 August 2001.
- 216 'signed himself as Max', W.G. Sebald to Philip Hoare, 18 April 2001.
- 216 'I hope you don't mind', W.G. Sebald to Philip Hoare, 24 September 2001.
- 217 'he'd told a magazine a few weeks before', Cuomo interview.

- 217 'a colleague who hoards all her files', *The Rings of Saturn*, 9. The papers tumble like a glacier into the sea, Sebald says.
- 217 'Trams squeal', *ibid*, 81
- 218 'Tulp was the first', Tulp (his name means tulip) published his 'book of monsters', *Observationes medicae*, in Amsterdam, 1652, in which the narwhal was described, fairly accurately.



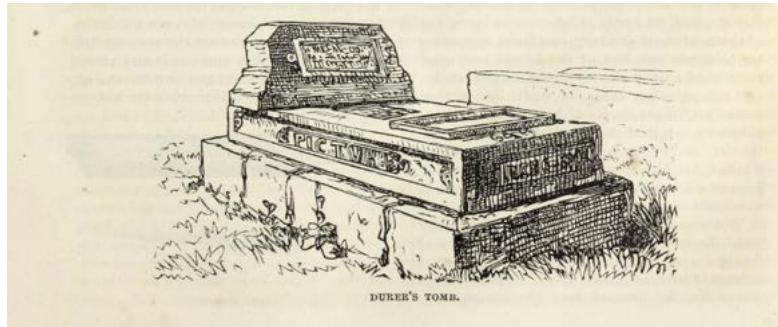
- 218 'We need the dead', John Berger, *The Art of Looking*, BBC film, 2016.
- 218 'a crack'd Archangel', Evert to George Duyckinck, 18 March 1848, Leyda 273
- 219 'all knowledge is enveloped', *The Rings of Saturn*, 19.
- 219 'He asks his correspondent', 'Of Greenland', *Works of Thomas Browne*, Vol III, Bohn, 1846, 375. Browne 'took Orlando's fancy amazingly', says Woolf (44).
- 219 'That men swim naturally', 'On Swimming and Floating', *Works*, Vol. III, 24.
- 219 'Every man is a bubble', 'Extracts from Common Place Books', *ibid*, 443.
- 219 'That there are demoniacal dreams', *Works*, Vol. IV, 359, 356.
- 220 'Melancholia', Sebald, quoted Lara Fiegel, 'Kind of Blue: Making Sense of Melancholia', *Financial Times*, 22 September 2017; Jo Catling, 'Silent Catastrophe: In Memoriam W.G. Sebald 1944 - 2001', *New Books in German*, Spring 2002.
- 220 'I saw a regal, feathery thing', 'The Whiteness of the Whale', *Moby-Dick*, 192.
- 220 'I stood here and lived for him', see Krazke, 359.
- 220 'The sea is', 'A Grave', *New Collected Poems*, 52.
- 221 'I'm attached to this landscape', Mann, 'One Man and His Dog', 50
- 221 'Miss Austen was rowed across', Letter dated 24 October 1808, Audrey Hawkrige, 'Jane Austen and Hampshire', *Hampshire Papers*, March 2001, 17.
- 221 'I have seen one or two things', Dorothy Shakespear to Ezra Pound, Stanswood Cottage, Fawley, 7 September 1911, courtesy of James Dowthwaite.
- 221 'Where fallen archangels', Joyce, *Ulysses*, 232.
- 223 'too bright to observe', Herbert S. Zim and Robert H. Baker, *Stars: A Guide to Astronomy; A Little Guide in Colour*, Paul Hamlyn, 148.
- 223 'Shakespeare said', Panofsky, 166; *The Winter's Tale*, I. ii: 'Nine changes of the watery star have been / The shepherd's note since we have left our throne'.
- 223 'Medieval illuminations', see Jung, *Dreams*, 149.
- 223 'The ocean, says Ishmael', quoted Auden, *Enchaféd Flood*, 92.
- 223 'Civil twilight', see 'Civil Dawn and Dusk', timeanddate.com.
- 224 'Night, says Sebald', *The Rings of Saturn*, 174.
- 226 'Warhol's grave', see warhol.org.
- 227 'bony hands', Monneret, 16; Wolf notes Dürer was following a Renaissance tradition of 'cerebalizing the hand' as an 'emblem of learnedness' (126).
- 227 'Die Brücke', see theartstory.org. In 1910 Karl Schmidt-Rottluff updated the 1500 portrait with a monocle and a rollneck jumper (Staatliche Museum, Berlin).



- 227 'emblematic', Panofsky, Saxl, Klibanksy, *Saturn and Melancholy*, 54.
- 228 'read Mann in their apartment', Nick Coleman, *Independent*, 2 March 2008.
- 228 'brown tweed', M to Hilde Watson, 11 November 1948, *Selected Letters*, 418.
- 228 'In some ways', Tim Adams, reviewing Tristan Garcia, *The Life Intense: A Modern Obsession*, *Guardian*, 8 December 2018.
- 228 'contracted scurvy', Jason C. Anthony, 'The importance of eating local: slaughter and scurvy in Antarctic cuisine', *Endeavour*, Vol. 35. No. 4, 2011, Geoff Manaugh, 'Infinite Exchange', cabinetmagazine.org. Mann's doctor on the mountain says 'the skin is your outside brain' (*The Magic Mountain*, 261).
- 229 'She had seen something frightening', Wolf, 173.
- 229 'had no one to correct': In 1932, the art historians Hans and Erica Tietze (whose radical views on Dürer drew contempt from traditional critics, and were soon to be driven out of Vienna by the anti-Jewish Nuremberg Laws) pointed out that this must be Dürer's own left hand, not only because he could not draw his right hand, but because both images show a deformed, swollen thumb, another symptom of Dupuytren's contracture. (*Complete Drawings*, 2162, quoting Tietze and Tietze-Conrat, 1932, 119; see also Jane Campbell Hutchinson, 'Tietze, Hans and Tietze-Conrat', *Albrecht Dürer: A Guide to Research*, Routledge 2013, 238). In 1909, Oskar Kokoschka painted a portrait of the Tietzes in Vienna, which appeared to be a record as much of their hands as their faces, and in which the artist himself used his fingernails to scratch into the paint.



- 229 'The art of painting', Waetzoldt, 108,
 230 'And then he', Pirckheimer to Ulrich Varnbühler, *Literary Remains*, 180n.
 230 'withered like a bundle of straw', Wolf, 25.
 231 'the final engraving': After the death of Dürer's last relative in 1560, Willibald Imhoff, grandson of Pirckheimer, acquire Dürer's estate (Hutchison, *Albrecht Dürer: A Guide*, 213; 'Imhof Family', britishmuseum.org).



Whatever was mortal of Albrecht Dürer lies beneath this mound,
 emigration 8th April, 1528

ADORATION

- 234 'A hundred million euros', see 'The god of colours', *Der Spiegel*.
 236 'watched the eccentrics', see *Confessions of Felix Krull*, 114.
 238 'Gesner was a physician', see 'Conrad Gessner', Wikipedia.
 238 '*Historiae Animalium*', *Historiae animalium*, 1551-1587, 1604, New Bedford Whaling Museum Library, Massachusetts.
 240 'an act of appropriation', see S.Kusukowa, 'The sources of Gessner's pictures for the *Historia animalium*', *Annals of Science*, Vol. 67, No. 3, July 2010, 303-328.
 240 'Dr Jung', C.G. Jung, editor James L. Jarrett, *The Seminars*, Vol. 2, Part II 'Nietzsche's Zarathustra Seminar', Routledge, 1989, 901; also quoted Carl Jung Depth Psychology blog, 13 August 2018.
 241 'Thomas Mann', 16 March 1935, 13 May 1936, *Diaries 1918-1939*, 235, 259. In an essay for *Esquire* Mann cited his 'private suspicion' that the Anschluss of 1938 and the 'élan' of German march into Vienna were in fact 'directed towards the venerable Freud, the real and actual enemy, the philosopher and revealer of the neuroses, the great disillusioner, the seer and sayer of the laws of genius'; 'That Man Is My Brother', *Esquire*, 1 March 1939.
 241 'crazy Dewey system', 'Cetology', *Moby-Dick*, 136.
 241 'in deadpan Latin', Gesner, *Historiae Animalium*, Vol. IV, 247.
 242 'The drawing that can be seen', see Erling Sandmo, 'Circulation and monstrosity: The sea-pig and the walrus as objects of knowledge in the sixteenth century', Östling et al, *Circulation of Knowledge: Explorations in the History of Knowledge*, Lund University, 2018, 187.
 243 'eenhoorn-hoorns': Rijksmuseum label; Pye, 295; Andrew Brown, *Court and Civic Society in the Burgundian Low Countries*, Manchester Medieval Sources, 2007, 66, 97; Carl Zimmer, 'The Mystery of the Narwhal', *National Geographic*, 17 March 2014; Shepard, *The Lore of the Unicorn*, 119.
 246 'original watercolours', see Florike Egmond's fascinating 'A collection within a collection: rediscovered animal drawings from the collections of Conrad

Gesner and Felix Platter', *Journal of the History of Collections*, Vol. 25, Issue 2, 2013, 149-170. After Gesner's death in 1565 the images passed to Platter, his pupil, a doctor who made the first modern diagnosis of Dupuytren's: 'A certain well-known master mason, on rolling a large stone, caused the tendons to the ring and little fingers in the palm of the left hand to cease to function. They contracted and in doing so were loosed from the bonds by which they are held and became raised up, as two cords forming a ridge under the skin. These two fingers will remain contracted and drawn in forever.' (C. Eaton, 'Dupuytren's Disease and Related Hyperproliferative Disorders', Springer, 2012, 197).

247 'sealish courtier', see Egmond, 161.

247 'David said', David Neiwert, *Of Orcas and Men*, Overlook, 2016, 49.

248 'We'd been looking for days', Hoare 'An extraordinary battle between sperm whales and orcas', *Guardian*, 29 March 2017'; Ranil P. Nanayakkara, Andrew Sutton, Philip Hoare, Thomas A. Jefferson, 'Killer Whale predation on Sperm Whales', *Journal of Threatened Taxa*, Sept 2020, Vol. 12, No. 13, 16742-16751.

REMAINS

252 'Where would you', Martin Kreuz to Philip Hoare, Vienna, 4 July, 2018.

253 'A bracelet of bright haire', John Donne, 'The Relique', *Metaphysical Poetry*, Herbert J.C. Grierson, editor, Oxford University Press, 1921, 21.

255 'I hope you', Christof Metzger to Philip Hoare, Vienna, 4 July 2018.

256 'The time the grass keeps', *The Magic Mountain*, 707.

257 'the little genius of the place', *One Man and his Dog*, 69.

260 'Thoreau's family business', see Laura Dassow Walls, *Thoreau*, 94.

261 'It's exactly what', Christof Metzger to Philip Hoare, Vienna, 5 July 2018.

261 'Wolf-Alarm', *OE 24*, Vienna, 4 July 2018.

262 'that is black', *The Magic Mountain*, 504.

262 'Jim sends a photograph', courtesy James Balla, Albert Merola Gallery.



263 'Antonio Saura said', Stephen Phelan, 'Goya's Black Paintings', *Guardian*, 30 January 2019; also Antonio Saura, *Imaginary Portrait of Goya*, tate.org.uk.

263 'Such inordinate vanity', see Clark, *Civilisation*, 148.

264 'as beautiful as a young god', *Death in Venice*, 227.

264 'How I shall freeze after this sun!', Albrecht Dürer to Willibald Pirckheimer, c. 13 October 1506, *Literary Remains*, 58.

264 'There's always some defect', E.M. Forster and Eric Crozier, libretto for Benjamin Britten, *Billy Budd*, Royal Opera House programme, May 2019.

264 'All the mediocrities', Mann, 'Black Swan', *Mario the Magician*, 303.

264 'Eve: beautiful woman', Marianne Moore, *New Collected Poems*, 63.

264 'My twelfth rib is gone', 'She ought not to have a navel', *Ulysses*, 38, 22.

265 'Queen of Sweden', see Wolf, 259.

266 'half a century with Charles': The portrait was given to Charles I by the City of Nuremberg in 1636. In 1649, after Charles's execution, his art collection was put on view at Somerset House, for sale at shockingly low prices. A Dutch visitor recorded, 'There was also a unicorn cane as thick as an arm, with a large crystal knob'. Dürer's self portrait was bought by the Spanish ambassador, and passed into the possession of Charles II of Spain. (Wolf, 235-236; Susan Foister, 'Dürer's Nuremberg Legacy: The case of the National Gallery portrait of Dürer's father', nationalgallery.org; Lisa Jardine, *Going Dutch*, Harper, 2008, 116).

BEAUTIFUL

268 'The delight of the streets', *Modern Painters*, Vol. V, 225.

269 'Albrecht Dürer is to be advised', 18 June 1527, 'Record of Proceedings of the City Council', *Complete Drawings*, 2350.

270 'He was a bad driver': Stern felt secretly terrified every time he got in a car with Auden behind the wheel (James Stern, *Auden: A Tribute*, 123-127).

270 'he found no whales': In 'A Summer Night' Auden elided the threats to Europe with images of 'dykes of our content', broken by 'the crumpling flood', leaving 'stranded monsters gasping'. (June 1933, *Collected Poems*, 118).

271 'surrounded by deep holes', James Stern, *The Hidden Damage*, Harcourt, Brace, 1947, 286 and following.

272 'There must have been a call', *ibid*, 277.

272 'When the starman', '[He] gave me three clues—power, Nuremberg and Fritz Lang's *Metropolis*', Mark Ravitz, 1985, 'Golden Years' website. Adam Sweeting called *Diamond Dogs* 'Weimar soul music' (*Guardian*, 24 June 2004).

272 'burying their own breed', *The Hidden Damage*, 211.

272 'Thomas Mann met them,' 9 April 1937, Mann, *Diaries 1918-1939*, 275.

272 'prone to a disabling melancholy', see Nicholas Jenkins, 'Solitude, for Company: W.H. Auden after 1940', *Auden Studies 3*, Clarendon Press 1995, 37-49.

273 'his lunch hour', *The Hidden Damage*, 85.

273 'deformed creatures in men's clothes', *ibid*, 89.

273 'He heard himself in the silence', *ibid*, 83.

273 'an emaciated figure', *ibid*, 34.

273 'No sign or a word', *ibid*, 71.

274 'like a living story', *ibid*, 227.

274 'Stern is met by two young boys', *ibid*, 204, and following.

274 'The silence of sudden death', *ibid*, 289.

275 '* Raids: 47', *ibid*, 274n.

275 'stumbling down the hill', *ibid*, 286.

275 'Jimmy, you have known', Malcolm Cowley to James Stern, 'The Stories of James Stern, 1968', neglectedbooks.com. In reply to a letter from Stephen Tennant, his near-neighbour in Wiltshire, suggesting they perform together,

Stern said, "Tania can give gymnastic lessons in 3 languages... Wystan can join us with a case of Vodka, and Chester in drag..." (1973, with thanks to Hugo Vickers).

275 'the sound of voices', *The Hidden Damage*, 291-2.

275 'a gang of powerful-looking', *ibid*, 285.

275 'to be used by Mr. Moses', *ibid*, 95. The site in New York became known as Bristol Basin (see Michael Pollak, 'F.Y.I.', *New York Times*, 26 June 2009).

275 'Sebald, born nearby': Sebald was born in Wertach, Allgäu, in 1944: Auden and Stern were quartered in the nearby town of Kempten in 1945. (See *On The Natural History of Destruction*, Hamish Hamilton, 2003, 56).

276 'a German art historian', *The Hidden Damage*, 282-3; Stern names him as 'Möricke', from the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (now Bode Museum) in Berlin, but the Bode has no record of him.

276 'Look out!', *ibid*, 263.

276 'We asked them', 1963 interview, quoted Cornelia Pearsall, 'The Poet and the Postwar City', *Raritan*, Fall 1997, 17, 2, 108; Stephen Brookman, *Nuremberg, the Imaginary Capital*, Camden House, 2006, 222. Auden's poem, *Memorial for the City*, draws on his experiences of Germany: 'Across the square, / Between the burnt-out Law Courts and Police Headquarters, / Past the Cathedral far too damaged to repair'. The poem evokes *Melencolia I*, with its 'eyes of the crow and the eye of the camera open', and tankers sinking into a dedolent sea. It ends: 'I was the just impediment to the marriage of Faustus with Helen; I know a ghost when I see one // I was innocent of the sin of the Ancient Mariner; time after time I warned Captain Ahab to accept happiness. / As for Metropolis, that too-great city; her delusions are not mine', June 1949, *Collected Poems*, 591-596.

277 'Das Grab des heiligen Sebald', St Sebald's Church, Nuremberg; Prof. Dr. Gerhard Weilandt, translated Dr. Manjula Dias-Hargarter, *St. Sebaldus Church, Nuremberg*, Schnell & Steiner, 2017; *A Handbook for Travellers in Southern Germany*, John Murray 1858, 97; Cecil Headlam, *Peter Vischler*, George Bell, 1901.

279 'The Rings of Saturn', 86-88.

280 'Masses for the dead', see *Literary Remains*, 18.

280 'his bones are still', Pastor Dr. Petra Seegets to Philip Hoare, 20 April 2020.

281 'A futuristic approach', 17 March 1933, Mann, *Diaries 1918-1939*, 129.

282 'sea-green suit', Charles Olson to Robert Creeley, 23 June 1950. Hartley, a frequent visitor to Provincetown, was wearing his green suit when he called on Charles Olson in Greenwich Village, 1941. Olson had written a poem about Hartley's friend, Hart Crane, whose work Marianne Moore had published in *The Dial*. Crane was known for poems such as 'At Melville's Tomb' ('a fabulous shadow only the sea keeps') and 'The Marriage of Faustus and Helen' (in which Faust finds Helen in a jazz club in 'snarling hails of melody'). He lived on Brooklyn Heights with a Danish mariner; in 1932, he drowned himself by jumping off a steamer in the Gulf of Mexico. (Peter Anastas, 'Marsden Hartley and Charles Olson: Two Poets of Dogtown', Cape Ann Historical Museum, 11 August 2012; 'Hart Crane, 1899-1932', poetryfoundation.org).

283 'the best portrait', Marsden Hartley to Norma Berger, 3 November 1933, Marsden Hartley, *Somehow a Past*, edited Susan Elizabeth Ryan, MIT, 1997, 15.

284 'The Latin caption', Martin Schawe to Philip Hoare, Munich, 23 May 2019.

285 'a mad dog': *Un Chien Andalou* (1929) was shown on the 1976 *Isolar* tour.

286 'Monarchs commissioned', Hutchison, *Albrecht Dürer: A Guide*, 4.

286 'It attests to the blindness of the world', 'Gladius Dieu', *Death in Venice*, 90.

GRACE

- 288 'Adam tells me', Adam Biles to Philip Hoare, Paris, 30 July 2020.
- 288 'Burroughs and Ginsberg', see Krista Halverston, 'Shakespeare & Company: a "socialist utopia masquerading as a bookstore"', *Guardian*, 14 October 2016.
- 288 'Baudelaire took', Anthony Glyn, *The Seine*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson 1966, 91.
- 289 'Thomas Mann was taken', by Frederic Saxl of the Warburg Institute, Panofsky's colleague; 22 August 1939, *Diaries 1918-1939*, 334.
- 289 'Marianne signed it', Zhaoming Qian, 'Marianne Moore and The Tao of Painting', University of New Orleans, 2003, 261n, scholarworks.uno.edu. Melville visited the museum in November 1849 and noted its 'comical librarian', the possible origin of *Moby-Dick's* Sub-Sub-Librarian (Leyda, 339).
- 290 'Partaking of the miraculous', 'Apparition of Splendor', *Collected Poems*, 196.
- 293 'If what you have been reading', 'My Crow, Pluto—A Fantasy', *Harper's Bazaar*, October 1961, *A Marianne Moore Reader*, 195.

