The thirty-five years preceding the outbreak of World War I, the period extending roughly from 1880 to 1915, present the student of history and literature with a curious confusion of ideas and ideals, of movements and trends, which are contradictory and puzzling. In the light of subsequent events World War I is seen today as having been a turning point in the history of German life and thought. Hence a study of the years immediately preceding it should be especially rewarding. Those years witnessed the impact of the great French naturalists and of the Russians, Tolstoi and Dostoievski, as well as the growing influence of Scandinavian literature. Theysaw the decline of German romanticism and the meteoric flashing of a German naturalistic school which died as suddenly as it had been born; they saw the rise of symbolism and a preview of the expressionistic movement. They were the years when Hugo von Hofmannsthal and Friedrich Nietzsche, Richard Wagner and Johannes Brahms, Gerhart Hauptmann and Stefan George lived and wrote in the same Germany.

No path of logic, no trail of cause and effect leads through that era, crowded as it was with men and events, with ideas and ideologies, many of which presaged the catastrophes of the twentieth century. Fortunately for the student, an occasional personality emerges from the confusing tapestry of history who, although obscure and unknown, has had such influence on the heroes of that age that he becomes a link, a bridge, so to speak, between them. Such a personality is Lou Andreas-Salomé, a highly intellectual novelist, a respected critic, and a friend of both Nietzsche and Rilke. From her and through her can be traced

some of the main literary and intellectual currents of the last decades of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth.

Lou Andreas-Salomé had an unusually large number of famous friends. She knew Gerhart Hauptmann and criticised some of his plays as they were given their first performances in Berlin.[1] She wrote biographies of Rilke and Nietzsche which have become invaluable to the student of literature. More than fifty articles and critical reviews for literary magazines, particularly Die Neue Rundschau and Das literarische Echo, were published by her. She wrote a penetrating study of women in Ibsen's plays, which was published in book form. Between 1885 and 1923 no less than five novels, four volumes of short-stories, and one play were written by her.[2] To round out her career as a twentieth century Mädame de Staël she studied psychoanalysis with Sigmund Freud in Vienna. A personal friend of his wife Anna, Lou Andreas-Salomé dedicated to her the novel Rodinka; she contributed to Freud's journal of applied psychology Imago, and published five psychoanalytic studies, among them a play entitled Der Teufel und seine Grossmutter, a series of letters, Drei Briefe an einen Knaben, and a eulogy of her tutor which she wrote for the celebration of Freud's seventy-fifth birthday and called Mein Dank an Freud. Lou Andreas-Salomé herself practiced psychoanalysis for a number of years.

Lou Andreas-Salomé represents, if not a focal point of history, then surely a reference point for the literary historian. Not only was her friendship of major importance in the lives of Rilke and Nietzsche, but she was instrumental in bringing before the German public two of the

most important to them of foreign authors, Tolstoi and Ibsen. Her criticism of Hauptmann's efforts at a new drama, and her own fiction reveal, significantly, a transition from the naturalistic to the symbolistic style. It was the transition which Rilke made because of her influence; but for her, the Stundenbuch could never have been written. It was the transition which Nietzsche was making when he met her; without her Also sprach Zarathustra would have appeared in a radically different form. The transition from naturalism to symbolism now appears to have been the dominant literary trend of her time.

Three convenient chapters under which the importance of Lou Andreas-Salomé for German intellectual and literary history may be considered present themselves: 1.) the friendship with Nietzsche; 2.) the fiction and the critical essays of Lou Andreas-Salomé herself; 3.) her friendship with Rilke. Lou Andreas-Salomé may be conceived of as a common denominator between some of the most significant men and movements of her day. If this essay, by tracing, as it were, the threads of her writing and her thought, succeeds in relating even a few of the correlative themes and corresponding problems in Rilke and Nietzsche to each other and to their historical roots, it will have accomplished its first purpose; but if it shows how Lou Andreas-Salomé's dilemmas and the solutions she found to them were, in a certain sense, microcosmic images of the intellectual and moral conflicts of her era, it will have gained its more ambitious goal.

I

Lou Salomé was born in St. Petersburg in Russia in 1861, the daughter of a Russian general of French Huguenot extraction and a German mother. Her parents came from two extremes of the nineteenth century bourgeoisie. Her father had been General Inspector[1] of the Russian army under three czars; her grandfather on the mother's side had been director of the Prussian Thaler Bank. Lou Salomé's childhood was spent in the German atmosphere of her Russian home. The sensitivity of the child is reflected in the fiction of the mature woman. The short story cycle Im Zwischenland is an emotionally motivated reconstruction of the atmosphere of childhood, and is dedicated to a friend "in Erinnerung an unsere Kindheit." That the sources of her writing lay in the rich impressions of her childhood days, she admitted herself;"- And therefore I began to write, to make the symbols by means of which life remembers itself."[2] The titles of her essays, such as Kind und Kunst, her adoration of Hauptmann's Hannele, and the psychoanalytic studies of children in Mein Dank an Freud show how her thought was dominated by the remembrances of childhood. Part of her youth Lou Salomé spent in a Dutch boarding school. Until she met Nietzsche her thought seems to have concerned itself primarily with religion. "My earliest recollection is my relationship to God", she wrote later.[3] She was indeed endowed with a propensity for the symbolic rites and the mystical experiences of religion, and in the sense that she cherished a reverence for the phenomena of the visible and invisible worlds alike, she remained deeply religious throughout her whole life. But Lou was endowed as well with a brilliant and uncompromising mind which oftentimes found itself in conflict with the religious tendecies

in her life. The child had been reared in an orthodox protestant atmosphere, an orthodoxy which she would not and could not tolerate. She was exposed, and to some extent she became the victim of the conflict between religion and science which tore at the moral and cultural foundations of nineteenth century Europe. Not only was she unable to make the choice which for her, unlike most people, was not predetermined by accident of birth or education, but she was too intelligent to be blind to the implications of the problem; she was too profound in her emotional experiences to ignore them. Her development, accordingly, was the semi-conscious search for a solution which led her to the psychoanalytic studies in Vienna. Thomas Mann stated the problem in general terms when he wrote that the psychologist was the mean, the rationalistic combination of the humanist and the theologian.[1]

The psychic shocks which Lou Salome suffered during her boarding school days made an indelible impression upon her character. She seldom spoke of them and never consented to having that chapter in her biography written. There is some evidence, confused by conflicting reports, that Lou had an unhappy love affair with one of her instructors which almost ended in tragedy.[2] She enrolled in the university at Zürich to study the philosophy of religion. It was a serious attempt to find an intellectual solution for the religious conflict haunting her.

The solution at which Lou Salome arrived was a compromise. To satisfy the intellect she accepted an historical approach to tradition and orthodoxy. To satisfy the emotions, - or the soul as she would have said, - she forewent a logical solution of the opposing arguments.

Lou Salomé attempted to find her peace in the recognition of the insolubles problems involved and in a confession of faith in the existence of a higher being to whom she was satisfied to give the name God. To formal religion Lou could not reconcile herself. But she achieved a religious conviction so strong that it left indelible impressions on both Nietzsche and Rilke. Her faith was somehow independent of the intellectual and analytical phase of her life; it required neither intellectual justification nor the mediating services of a savior. It found its home in the sensually naive and childlike religion of the Russian orthodox church where she led Rilke. In the land of her birth among the people of her mother country, Lou Salomé had what she now called a spiritual home, a refuge from the religious quarrels dividing the educated levels of European society with such disastrous results. She admired the directness of the bond which binds the Russian peasant to his God, the oneness of his religious experience with his daily life, That faith seemed beautiful to her, which tied the Russian peasant not only to his God, but to his church, his land, and his rulers as well, which subjected him to the service of a dynasty of czars that had always exploited him. But in the face of her own dilemma, and since she herself had never had to suffer the plights of a peasant , she saw in him the fulfillment of the biblical promise: "Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. . . Blessed are the meek; for they shall inherit the earth."

Nevertheless, hers was a sentimental longing for a paradise of naivité, which has characterized much of modern German thought, for Lou Salomé was neither meek nor poor in spirit. The actual beliefs of Rus-

sian orthodoxy she did not accept. The keenness of her perception and the depth of her understanding made it possible for her to live at once in two mutually exclusive realms of thought and feeling. How this dichotomy led her to the study of psychoanalysis and how it was mirrored in Rilke's poetry will appear in the sequel. For the present it made Lou Salomé wholly prepared to understand the causes and the contents of Nietzsche's thought, to recognize and point out to him his difficulties and his problems. Her mind was proud, like that of Nietzsche. With a courage that appears in retrospect Promethean in its daring she stated the stark dilemma which was her own and her contemporaries'. It was a manifest contradiction.

> "Like rationalism, which stared into the face of the mysticism it killed, even so science stares pitilessly into the face of our own occasional emotional elations. But science has become so valuable an acquisition of our development . . . because so often it has represented a victory over ourselves. And yet it can deprive us of nothing which grows from the deep roots of life. And when it [redacted] coldly, silently and calmly, surveys the longing of our time, it nevertheless offers to modern man the almost perversely superior tension of the spectator who watches to see whether his own needs and longings can grant him another savior - or not."[1]

The contradiction existed in her own life. The desire to be spectator of her own inner conflicts led her to psychoanalysis. The contradiction led Nietzsche to call himself, - of all things, - a psychologist. "Zarathustra, Selbstkenner, [redacted], Selbsthenker."[2] (Zarathustra knows himself; Zarathustra hangs himself.) For Nietzsche the contradiction had monstrous implications.

In the spring of 1882 Lou Salomé was convalescing after an illness. She was traveling, accompanied by her mother. The beginning of April saw them in Rome, and Lou Salomé was introduced to Malwida von Meysenbug, the aged socialist who had become friend and adviser to a select number of intellectuals, among them Nietzsche. For some time already the question of finding him a helper or an assistant, that is to say, a secretary with the proper spirit, had been current among Nietzsche's acquaintances. Nietzsche, whose philosophy had been becoming ever more ambitious as his eyes grew worse, wanted a companion and a disciple. In March 1882 he had written to his friend Franz Overbeck[1]:

> "I need a young person in my vicinity who is intelligent and educated enough to work together with me. I would even consider a marriage of two years - in which case, however, some other requirements would have to be considered."[2]

To Malwida von Meysenbug Nietzsche's sister had written in a similar vein. In council with Paul Reé[3] Malwida decided that Lou was born for Nietzsche's philosophy, and that Lou would be not only the perfect assistant but also the perfect companion and perhaps even the perfect wife for her friend Nietzsche.[4] Paul Reé had introduced Lou to Nietzsche's philosophy; Malwida had lent her some of his books.

Nietzsche himself was in Sicily under whose happy sky he composed a wealth of poems and songs, including Scherz, List und Rache,[5] a poetry cycle which reveals an unusually joyous frame of mind, considering that Nietzsche had just survived another torturous winter of illness. Malwida's letter asking him to come to Rome arrived just after the sirocco had unexpectedly overtaken him, and he was glad to have a pretext for leaving. Toward the end of April Nietzsche

arrived in Rome. That he met Lou under the dome of the great cathedral of St. Peter appears in retrospect like an ironic jest of fate.

As might be expected, Nietzsche made a profound impression on Lou. His character, she found, was already apparent in his facial expression which was marked by a concealed apprehension of silent loneliness.[1] One could hardly imagine his appearance at a public gathering. His stature gave the impression of a man separated from society and standing alone. His eyes and his hands expressed with eloquence the character of which they were a part.

> "A similar impression of things hidden and silent was also given by Nietzsche's behavior. . . This inner loneliness is the unchanging frame of all of Nietzsche's emotions out of which his picture gazes at us. ... Suffering and loneliness, - these then arethe two great characteristics in the history of Nietzsche's development, ever more forcefully borne out the closer one approaches to the end."[2]

Nietzsche for his part was reticent. His pride did not permit him a passionate or even an enthusiastic judgment. He admitted that she had a good head, but he surmised that much of what impressed him was merely an echo of Reé's prompting. He wanted time to form a more considered opinion and he asked his sister to invite Lou for the summer, as Malwida had helpfully suggested. "For the rest," wrote Nietzsche, "she is twenty-four years old[3], plain (. . .) but like all plain girls she has cultivated her mind to become attractive."[4] Nietzsche wanted very much to be calm and aloof, but in a footnote to his letter he adds not without fervor:

> "In the interval Malwida has told me that the young girl had confided in her: from the earliest youth she has striven after knowledge and made every sacrifice for it. This has quite shaken me. When she told me this Malwida had tears in her eyes, and she believes that Fräulein Salomé is very closely akin to me in mind."[5]

Nietzsche's suspicion that Malwida von Meysenbug had made a mistake and that there had been no good reason for summoning him to Rome was soon submerged in the confusion that beclouded him. Certainly every reason existed that he should be impressed by Lou. She came from an environment very different from that to which he was used. She was remarkable not only for her intelligence, but also for the sagacity of her spirit and the untouched purity of her character. He had every reason to say of her "Sharpwitted as an eagle, and brave as a lion." Fearless and shy at the same time, she was shy by the nature of her youth against every excessive intimacy, and fearless by the pride of her intellect and the enthusiasm for wisdom and truth. It is not surprising that her charm, her intellect, and not least the translucent clearness of her character and the cleanness of her emotions conquered Nietzsche completely.[1]

Lou Salomé, her mother, Reé, and Nietzsche traveled north, via Orta to Lucerne. Lucerne was for Nietzsche a town of haunting memories, filled with the ghosts of his youthful enthusiasm , of the fire that Wagner's music had first kindled in him, and of the happy portentous days with Wagner and Cosima.[2] In her book Lou describes how they visited Triebschen together, the place where Nietzsche had spent such unforgettable days with Wagner. "For a long, long time he sat there, silent, by the shore of the lake, lost in deep memories; then drawing with his cane in the moist sand, he spoke with a soft voice of the days gone by. And when he looked up, he was crying."[3]

From Lucerne Nietzsche went to Basel to confide to Franz Overbeck and his wife the thoughts of a possible marriage with Lou

which were troubling him.[1] In Rome Malwida had already suggested a marriage, and Nietzsche had rejected the idea.[2] Now he was worried. Probably he asked friend Reé to make Lou an offer of marriage in his name.[3] To Frau Overbeck he expressed his concern over the situation he was in, and he asked her to enlighten Lou regarding his character and his intentions.[4]

Thereupon Nietzsche and Lou parted ways. Lou and her mother accompanied Reé to his home in Stippe, while Nietzsche went to Naumburg to work on the final revision of Die fröhliche Wissenschaft. He was toying with plans to spend the summer in Berlin's Grunewald, but the weather, which he hoped would be fairer in Thüringen, caused him to change his mind. He went to Tautenburg.[5] Lou was to meet him there, later in the summer, after having attended the first performance of Wagner's Parsifal (July 24, 1882) at Bayreuth in the company of Elisabeth Nietzsche and Paul Reé.

When Lou Salomé and Elisabeth Nietzsche arrived at Tautenburg it was August already, and the stage was set for a family quarrel. Whether Nietzsche's plans might have worked out under more favorable conditions is doubtful; yet the fact remains that for several weeks the pedagogical experiment worked. The underlying cause for the ultimate rupture between Nietzsche and Lou was Nietzsche's personality and his philosophy. For Nietzsche's philosophy was born of loneliness and it would stand no intimate companionship. It would tolerate neither disciples nor friends, since it demanded sacrifices that disciples and friends could not make.

The immediate cause of misunderstandings, however, was the fact that Nietzsche's sister Elisabeth had taken a violent dislike to Lou from the very start. In Bayreuth she noticed, as she put it, with great consternation that respect or friendship on the part of Fräulein Salomé for her brother were not in evidence, since she (Fräulein Salomé) seemed to concur and to take sides with those who were inimical to Nietzsche. Elisabeth Nietzsche, who loved her brother dearly, became very jealous of the highly intelligent intruder who immediately won her brother's confidence, perhaps even her brother's love, who was so enthusiastically introduced into his esoteric philosophy, where Elisabeth had been tolerated only like a child. Before long Elisabeth Nietzsche was doing everything in her power to cause a break between her brother and Lou. She suggested that Nietzsche's philosophy which until now, at least in some of its more amoral aspects, had been purely theoretical was finally seeing practical application.

Nietzsche was deeply hurt by this expression of the "Naumburger Tugend" (Naumburg Virtue). After Lou had left, he broke with his sister, and soon after, with his mother as well. Hardly was there time to realize it and the bonds which tied Nietzsche to his home, his mother, his sister, and his father's memory had been burst. Only the uncertain connection with Lou and the friendship with Ree remained of the summer's happy and jubilant visions.

Nietzsche packed his bags and went to Leipzig.[1] He wanted finally to be rid of the vicious pettiness of his sister. "I have defended myself against Elisabeth for years," he complained, "Like

some desperate animal, but she will not stop tormenting and persecuting me."[1] To her he wrote: " I do not like souls of your kind, my poor sister; least of all I do not like them morally. I know the pettiness of you and your sort ! I would rather merit your reproaches."[2] He wrote to his mother:"My sister, incidentally, is a wretched creature - this is the sixth time in two years that she has broken in on my most secret feelings, feelings such as have hardly ever existed on earth. . . . after every letter I am indignant at the dirty libellous manner in which my sister speaks of Fräulein Salomé."[3]

While he attempted to be firm in his attitude toward his mother and sister, Nietzsche was restlessly vacillating. Again he made plans that could not possibly be carried out and he nursed hopes which were destined to become bitter disappointments. Totally unaware of the position that Lou had been forced into by the unpleasant suspicions of his sister, he imagined that things might yet turn out well. "I want to obtain a pupil in her, and if in the long run I don't last, an intellectual successor."[4] He said that he had even been willing to remake the personality according to the picture he had preconceived. "And who knows how far I might have gotten! But they have interrupted me."[5]"According to the energy of her will and the originality of her spirit, she was designed for something great. I miss her even with her bad attributes; . . . I have never found anyone so unprejudiced and so prepared for my kind of problem."[6] Now Nietzsche thought he was realizing his opportunity for remaking Lou Salomé. His plans became ever more extensive and ever more unreal. He was considering whether he should go to the university of Vienna or to Paris, tacitly assuming that Lou would follow him.

His letters at that time were filled with praise for Lou and with chaotic plans. Nietzsche was in an uncomfortable position. All indications point to the fact that Lou had become little less than reticent. No doubt she disliked being the object of Elisabeth Nietzsche's speculations, and the domineering attitude which Nietzsche was ever more prone to take toward her hurt her own sense of independence and pride. On his part Nietzsche was irritated and grieved by the thought, which had taken root in his mind, that Lou was dishonest toward him, that her professed interest in his philosophy, which he had interpreted as a willingness to share his way of life, was but feigned. The awkwardness of the situation added to Nietzsche's discomfort; his pride was wounded by the doubt cast on the purity of his intentions and by the obsessing suspicion that he had thrown himself away on someone who did not value him. The presence of Paul Reé in whom Lou may have made the mistake of confiding did nothing to ease the tension, and perhaps Nietzsche felt pangs of jealousy. He became aware of his dilemma and the fear that he had compromised his integrity tortured him. He was still concerned for his dignity and self-respect when he wrote to a friend some months later; (July 29, 1883): "Notice, if you will, that my position in this affair, the only one of which I am worthy, is that I am its victim."[1] He was convinced that he had "never acted more sublimely"[2], and he felt as though ever afterward he "were condemned to silence or to humane hypocrisy in his relations with all men."[3] In October Lou and Reé left Leipzig for a rendezvous with Reé's mother in Berlin. Future plans were uncertain, and Nietzsche still cherished the remnants of his hopes. But in the same month he was already mentioning

the possibility of another "Genoese loneliness."[1] By the end of November the break was no longer to be concealed. By way of Basel he went to Genoa, where he arrived on November 23, 1882.

The final correspondence between Nietzsche and Lou is, understandably enough, unavailable. A fragment of a letter which Nietzsche composed has been published by Elisabeth Förster:

> "What sort of letters are those that you are writing, Lou! Vindictive little school girls write just like that. What have I to do with these wretched matters! Please understand: I want you to raise yourself before me, not lower yourself. How can I then forgive you if I have still to discover again in you the essential thing on account of which forgiveness can be granted to you at all.
>
> "I make no reproach against you today except that you were not honest to me about yourself at the right time. In Lucerne I gave you my paper on Schopenhauer[2] - I told you that my fundamental ideas were in it and that I believed that they would be yours also. You should have read them and said, No. (In such matters I hate all superficiality!) In your mouth such a poem as 'To Pain'[3] is a profound untruth. . .
>
> "Say nothing, dear Lou, in your favor: I have already done more in your behalf that you could, both to myself and to others. People like you could be endured by other people only through a high aim. ..
>
> "How poor you are in reverence, in gratitude, in piety, in courtesy, in admiration, in modesty - not to speak of higher things. What would you reply if I asked you: Are you brave, are you incapable of treachery?
>
> "Do you not realize that when a man like me is in your neighborhood he requires a great self-conquest . . .
>
> "You have to do with one of the most patient and benevolent of men: but take good note that against all petty self-seekers and sensualists I need no other argument than disgust."
>
> . . .
>
> "Goodbye. I did not read your letter to the end, but I read too much as it was."[4]

*

The most spectacular and the most immediate result of Nietzsche's friendship with Lou Salomé was an emotional upheaval whose anticlimax was a spiritual crisis. Nietzsche's feelings were very intensive; he was of a passionate nature. His books and even the content of his philosophy were direct results of his personal happiness or despair. Accordingly Lou Salomé's influence upon Nietzsche was strongest in so far as she re-awakened his hopes for the future, strengthened the failing faith in the ultimate goodness of life, and momentarily inspired him with a joy that turned within an incredibly short time into its opposite: utter despair.

Nietzsche's positivistic period, paradoxical as it may be, was the first dark period of his thought. The history of Nietzsche's life gives one the impression of a certain dramatic unity, as though it had been lived on a stage. Nietzsche's mature life appears, as it were, a tragedy in three acts, the first act being the period of his friendship with Wagner, when Die Geburt der Tragödie and Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen were written. The second act was the history of the half blind, wandering philosopher whose works, unlike those of the previous period, were not the products of a wealth of thought, but were the result of the broken friendship with Wagner, the result of disillusionment, the documents of how Nietzsche sought his way in the night and gradually ascended to the dawn.

> "Does it not appear, that . . . perhaps he wants his own long darkness, his incomprehensible, hidden enigmatic thing, because he knows what he shall have; his own morrow, his own redemption, and his own dawn. (Morgenröthe)"[1]

Lou Salomé represented for him that dawn. She came to him just as he was finishing the last of his positivistic works, Die fröhliche Wissenschaft, which was filled already with apprehensions of an emotional elation and an intellectual revolution soon to come.[1] Lou Salomé was for Nietzsche the release from the night in which he had been wandering. His boundless enthusiasm, his renewed vigor, and the youthful joy with which he looked forward to his work prove how thoroughly Nietzsche was convinced that he had found his new day.

With only twenty years of her life behind her, Lou was in a much different frame of mind from Nietzsche. Lou Salomé's life lay yet ahead of her, and if she did not think of it as a golden street to success, nevertheless, she trusted in it and had faith in its ultimate goodness. Nietzsche, on the other hand, was ill; he was alone and he had suffered much. Although he was constantly consulting other physicians and attempting new remedies, he had accustomed himself to his pain; he used it as a source of energy for his work. Yet Nietzsche was not a pessimist. He had rejected Schopenhauer's notion that life is suffering, the senseless, restless activity of the will; that the only redemption is the negation of this will to life. Having rejected Schopenhauer's pessimism as inadequate, Nietzsche attempted to arrive at his own affirmation of life, which he hoped to find in some form of positivistic thought. Positivism, for Nietzsche, was characterized mainly by a rejection of pessimism and of transcendentalism, in so far as both of them disparage the physical reality of life. Ironically, as his philosophy took more and more to an uncompromising acceptance of reality

and life, his body did oppositely and became ever more torturous for him. The picture of the suffering philosopher who rejects the artistic ideal[1], who affirms the validity of sense impressions,[2] who prefers Montaigne[3] to Kant is paradoxical. And even more puzzling is that this philosopher should be a German, a citizen of the land which according to Heine ruled the realms of theory and unreality. Nietzsche chose to call himself what Heine was: ein Realist.

The contradiction that existed between Nietzsche's life and his thought is responsible for the uncontrolled enthusiasm with which he responded to Lou Salomé. The letters he wrote her breathe a spirit of bold vitality and unusual emotional vigor and satisfaction:

> "And how happy I am, my beloved friend, to be able to think in regard to both of us now: 'Everything is beginning and yet everything is clear!' Confide in me, then! Let us confide in each other!"[4]
>
> "For it is a victory, and a complete one - for even my bodily health has been restored again, I don't know how. And everyone tells me I look younger than ever.
>
> " - But from now on, when you shall advise me, I will be well advised and I need not fear. . .
>
> "I will no longer be lonely and will learn again to become human."[5]

The gaiety and joy which Lou Salomé brought into Nietzsche's life, and the new horizons that opened themselves to him are told in a poem which he wrote into Lou's copy of Die Fröhliche Wissenschaft:

An L.

Freundin sprach Kolumbus, traue
Keinem Genuessen mehr!
Immer starrt er in das Blaue
Fernstes zieht ihn allzusehr!

Wen er liebt, den lockt er gerne
Weit hinaus in Raum und Zeit -
Ueber uns glänzt Stern bei Sterne,
Um uns braust die Ewigkeit.[1]

One of the suppressed[2] versions of this poem, likewise entitled "To L." closes with the lines:

"Mut! Stehst du doch selbst am Steuer,-
Lieblichste Viktoria!"[3]

Already before she came to Tautenburg, Lou Salomé had written for him a poem which made a profound impression on Nietzsche and strengthened his faith in Lou's loyalty to his philosophy and to his way of life:

An den Schmerz

Wer kann dich fliehn, den du ergriffen hast
Wenn du die ernsten Blicke auf ihn richtest ?
Ich will nicht fluechten, wenn du mich erfasst,
Ich glaube nimmer, dass du nur vernichtest.

Ich weiss durch jedes Erden-Dasein musst du gehen,
Und nichts bleibt unberuehrt von dir auf Erden:
Das Leben ohne dich - es waere schoen,
Und doch - auch du bist werth geliebt zu werden.[4]

Nietzsche was enthusiastic about the poem. It was written by someone who understood his suffering, who valued it, and who would share it with him. He had found someone who like him dared to love suffering for its own sake. His friend Peter Gast[5] had mistaken the poem for one of Nietzsche's own, and the mistake had delighted Nietzsche:

"This poem is by my friend Lou, of whom you have not yet heard. Lou is the daughter of a Russian general and is twenty-two years old; she is as clear-sighted as an eagle and as brave as a lion and yet a very maidenly child who will perhaps not live long. I owe her to Fräulein von Meysenbug and Ree. At present she is on a visit to the Ree's; After Bayreuth she is coming here to Tautenburg and in the

> autumn we are going together to Vienna. In the most remarkable way she is exactly prepared for my thought and manner of thinking."[1]

Nietzsche's ecstasies of joy convinced him that he had found a new aim and a new outlook upon life. "My life is dedicated now to a higher purpose," he wrote,"and I shall do nothing unfitting to that. ... This year . . . has been much beautified for me by the splendor and comeliness of this young, truly heroic soul."[2] Nietzsche's life assumed a gayness wholly foreign to him; he was overcome by a desire for brightness, ornament, lightness of heart and sanity.

> "What years, what weary pains ! What disturbances, upheavals, isolations ! Who has endured as much as I ? . . . And now when I stand above it all with the joy of a conqueror and laden with weighty new plans. . ."[3]

The quintessence of Nietzsche's plans was pedagogy. Jacob Burckhardt[4] said that Nietzsche was the best teacher that Basel had yet seen.[5] When he had resigned his professorship and withdrawn from academic life, Nietzsche had cut himself off from every pedagogical outlet open to him, and it was only natural that for several years afterwards he should have been looking for a disciple, a student who would not only carry forward his his philosophical speculation but who would at the same time be the first product of Nietzsche's applied philosophy to which the rest of the world might look up and take note. How dauntless his pedagogical aspirations were may be gathered from the fact that three years after the wreck of their friendship Nietzsche took the trouble to read Lou Salomé's first novel[6] and was moved to comment upon it, that perhaps his attempt at Tautenburg had been successful to some extent after all.

More immediate proof that Lou had absorbed many of his ideas was given Nietzsche by a poem she wrote, which he liked so well that he wrote a musical score for chorus and orchestra for it. He attempted unsuccessfully to have it performed in Berlin:

Gebet an das Leben

Gewiss, so liebt ein Freund den Freund
wie ich dich liebe, raetselvolles Leben
Ob ich in dir gejauchzt, geweint,
ob du mir Leid, ob du mir Lust gegeben;
ich liebe dich mit deinem Glück und Harme,
und wenn du mich vernichten musst,
entreisse ich mich schmerzvoll deinem Arme,
wie Freund sich reisst von Freundes Brust.

Mit ganzer Kraft umfass ich dich,
lass deine Flamme meinen Geist entzünden;
lass in der Glut des Kampfes mich
die Rätsellösung meines Wesens finden,
Jahrtausende zu denken und zu leben
wirf deinen Inhalt voll hinein -
Hast du kein Glück mehr übrig mir zu geben,
wohlan, noch hast du deine Pein.[1]

In this poem Lou Salomé expresses, less violently, perhaps, but nevertheless sincerely, some of the positive aspects of Nietzsche's philosophy. The heroic overtones of the second stanza remind one of Nietzsche's haughty, arrogant approach to life; the challenge to pain in the last lines is a poetic expression of Nietzsche's attitude towards his suffering. The somewhat forced and artificial, the very conscious enthusiasm for life and for the heat of its battle remind one indeed of Nietzsche's own way of life. The whole tenor of the poem, the unconditional love for life which embraces a courageous acceptance of pain, was the expression of Nietzsche's ideas by the young girl who was subjected to the impact of his personality.

Still, Nietzsche was not wholly deceiving himself. His joyous letters from Tautenburg reveal that he was aware of "the prospect of new, heavier, and still more intimate sufferings and tragedies,"[1] and he was confident that he had the courage to bear them. "No one," he wrote, "has the right to be offended with me if I think well of my medicine. Mihi ipsi scripsi - that is how it stands."[2]

The expected suffering came sooner, heavier, and more intimate than Nietzsche could have imagined. When Lou Salomé was drifting away from him he was still making plans. He had decided to write no more for at least ten years[3] during which he would dedicate himself to a thorough study of the natural sciences at some university where Lou would be also. When Nietzsche suddenly found himself alone with his ambitious plans, when Lou Salomé went to Berlin and wrote him a letter which grieved and angered him very deeply, he assuaged his wounded pride and bandaged the sores of disappointed hopes with arrogance and self-righteousness. The break with Lou Salomé hurt him more than the break with Wagner because Wagner had been only a friend and an artistic idol which proved false, while Lou had drawn him momentarily from his dark life of loneliness into a world of hopes and dreams. Painfully aware of the incongruity of his position, Nietzsche was plagued by the thought that a woman should have been able to deceive him. The characterization of women in Also sprach Zarathustra was a direct consequence of Nietzsche's friendship with Lou Salomé. Only with the passage of time, when it had done him already irreparable harm, did he change his opinion of Lou.

For the present, although, and perhaps because, he felt himself not wholly blameless, Nietzsche was deeply hurt; yet

> "I have never been deluded by a human being: and in you there is that urge toward a holy selfishness which is an urge in obedience to the highest. By some curse or other you have somehow exchanged it for its opposite, the selfishness and lust for gain which wants nothing but life."[1]

Nietzsche, as so often in his life, was motivated by a contradiction. Had he himself not been longing and searching for a new life ? Had he not wanted to find a clear and cloudless sky ? Because Lou was not strong enough to pull him into her orbit he now reviled the joyful affirmation of life which had been his reaction to Lou's companionship.

> "Thus spake the iron to the loadstone: 'I hate thee most because thou attractest, but art too weak to draw me unto thee.'"[2]

Because Lou was not able to bridge the gap of loneliness that separated Nietzsche from the world, - at least not permanently, - he chided her now for the very qualities he was soon to extol. This inversion of Nietzsche's emotions and ideas is characteristic of his last years. The letter to Lou concluded:

> "Realize that cat-like egoism which no longer loves anything, and that feeling in nothingness to which you confess (. . .) are just what is most objectionable to me in a human being. . . If you give rein to all that is wretched in you nature: Who will be able to go about with you!
>
> "You have done harm, you have given pain not only to me but to everyone who has loved me, - this sword hangs over them."[3]

Nietzsche was lonely at Rapallo. He had cut himself off from what few friends he had. Only an occasional letter from Overbeck pierced the loneliness that enveloped him with its cold gray folds. The winter was hard; Nietzsche was without a stove and his health was

bad. It was cold and rainy. Nietzsche's room faced the sea, whose nocturnal moans kept him awake. He took excessive doses of sleeping powders. The painful experiences of the past months tortured him and made him miserable. A letter written half a year later recapitulates Nietzsche's state of mind:

> "It fell upon me like insanity, and it can never be made good in any way, that my imagination and my pity have had to wade for almost a year in the mire of these experiences. I believe I have withstood more, five times more, than what would drive a normal person to suicide, and the end is not yet.
>
> "The contrast of all this to the emotional state in which I lived last spring was altogether grueling and strong enough to shatter glass. . .
>
> "Indeed without the goals of my work and the implacability of such goals I should no longer be living. In that respect the savior of my life is: Zarathustra, my son Zarathustra!
>
> "So far as he is concerned I have done everything that by this Master he might appear among my friends. The rest is silence. - - - - -"[1]

The past seemed to overwhelm him. On December 25, 1882 he wrote to Overbeck from Rapallo: "Unless I invent the alchemist's trick to make of this - dung gold, I shall be lost."[2] A week after having finished the first part of Zarathustra, he wrote again to Overbeck:

> "It is night about me again; I feel as though there had been a stroke of lightning - for a short time I was wholly in my element and in my light. And now it is over. I believe I am inevitably perishing.
>
> "This book of which I wrote you, a matter of ten days, seems now to me to be my testament."[3]

*

We have attempted to show how Nietzsche's friendship with Lou Salomé was the cause of the despair from which Zarathustra sprang. Lou Salomé influenced Nietzsche's life, and Also sprach Zarathustra is at least partially the result of that influence. Before continuing to apply the term influence to Lou Salomé's friendship with Nietzsche, it will be necessary to comment briefly on the limitations and potentialities, the weaknesses and the validity of this prime example of historiographical jargon, the word influence.

Nietzsche's own statement, in a letter to Lou, that the indestructible element of a philosophical system is the personality behind it, points to the fact that the history with which we deal is alive in so far as it is a record of men and their doings. The student breathes into the dead pages of history books the life of his own breath simultaneously with his conception of its meaning. And if it be life, history can be neither abstract nor dead. It should not confuse terminology and reality, classification and event. If history be alive it must partake of all the characteristics of living things. It cannot be static in its concepts, definite in its analyses, sure in its conclusions, or at all complete in its surveys. That which is alive is wavering and unclear, uncertain and undecided. No man acts for any one reason, but is compelled by a multitude of contributing causes he knows not of. Human actions, we might say with Plato, are but uncertain shadows of things more real, of forces more powerful. How can the historian presume to attain a certainty which did not even exist in the real situation ?

When the historian speaks of influences he is abstracting. He is determining something as static which was to begin variable or at least indeterminable. Influences are not Platonic ideas

which are more real than appearances. On the contrary, Influences are artificial aids to our understanding which enable the untrained mind to grasp the connectives that extend between historical events. Influences are necessary crutches which in time must be discarded, not wings on which one flies to the world of historical reality.

Since it has become necessary to use the term influence, we would define what it means and what it does not mean. The mechanical transmission of ideas by voice or writing is often taken as a proof of influence. In this sense Nietzsche was influenced by the Maximes of La Rochefoucauld or by the Pensées of Pascal. His ideas concerning Greek culture were influenced by conversations with Jacob Burckhardt; his ideas concerning religion, by Lou Salomé. But influence need not be obvious, it may also denote the act of producing an effect without apparent cause. Thus Nietzsche, although he denied it, was influenced by Darwinian ways of thought. In the same manner he was influenced by Lou Salomé's character which had been shaped by a Russian home, an unhappy love affair, and religious doubts. Finally, the original meaning of influence, an ethereal liquid thought to flow from the stars and to affect the actions of men, must remain a closed book for the historian, - at least until telepathy has been developped into a science.

The fact remains that influence is infinitely more complex than appears on the surface. Lou Salomé influenced Zarathustra not only through the disappointments of broken friendship which drove Nietzsche to write it at the time he did, not only through the theological insights which have to do with Zarathustra's mysticism and prophecy, but in very human ways also. One must not forget that to a limited extent Zarathustra was a work of ressentiment and self-justification. It was also the embodiment of pedagogical aspirations

disappointed and hurt by Lou's inflexibility and shocked by the rude awakening from a dream.

How do the various factors work together to produce the ultimate effect ? Gundolf in his treatise on Shakespeare's influence on German thought, Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist, solves the problem by considering influences to be like streams merging together to form a river and mingling completely. Would Zarathustra have been written even without Lou Salomé's influence ? Materialistic science would say, no. Hegel would say, yes. Plato said that knowledge was innate, the recollection of fundamental truth stimulated by external circumstances. To some extent everything of which we are convinced is rooted in our own experience and only assumes the shape of whatever ideas we accept. Goethe's statement that perhaps he got nothing from Spinoza which he did not put into him shows how easily influence may be overemphasized. The term influence may be stretched until it becomes meaningless. Because Mussolini's politics were Machiavellian, Mussolini was not necessarily "influenced" by Machiavelli. Nor was Hitler "influenced" by Nietzsche, who would have hated him.

Influence, when deprived of the concept of causality, comes to stand for intimate intellectual and emotional kinship. No set of scales exists in which one can weigh influences against each other. Whether Lou's experiences or Nietzsche's philosophy predominated in their conversations we cannot tell. The fact remains that emotionally as well as intellectually, they were prepared for each other. If we find certain of Lou Salomé's ideas expressed by Zarathustra it is not to prove that Nietzsche received them from her or that they originated with her; it might be precisely the other way. The influence of Lou Salomé on Zarathustra is a misleading statement. It is merely to denote

a relationship, which, in the end, will make Nietzsche's controversial book appear in a truer light by relating it to some of the moral and intellectual problems of nineteenth century Europe.

*

Also sprach Zarathustra was written in four parts. The time of its composition is a full two years, from January 1883 to February 1885. The first part which originated at Rapallo during the last week in January and the first three days of February 1883, determined the theme and set the style of the whole work. This first part was written immediately under the shadow of Nietzsche's encounter with Lou Salomé. "It was my weakest and sickliest winter,"[1] Nietzsche wrote later. To Franz Overbeck he confided his loneliness and his despair. "Now I am all alone as I face my task, and I know what will await me after its solution. I need a bulwark against the unbearable."[2] Zarathustra[3] was the literary outlet for the grief and the suffering which Nietzsche had caused himself in the preceding months. It was the justification of his disappointed hopes. Nietzsche gave to Zarathustra the very life of his own soul; presumptuously he called it the greatest book that was ever written. The sheer power of Zarathustra's prophecy is the literary equivalent of the incalculable forces that tore Nietzsche from happiness into suffering, from life into a sort of living death, from what promised to be heaven into a veritable hell.

That Also sprach Zarathustra is the immediate result of an emotional and intellectual revolution was first postulated by Lou Andreas-Salomé herself in a critical essay on Nietzsche published in die Freie Bühne (1892)[4] which was subsequently incorporated into her book. Still Lou Salomé does not insist that she herself was one of the determing factors of Nietzsche's change, although her analysis of Nietzsche's thought points unmistakably to that conclusion.

Lou Salomé interpreted the history of Nietzsche's thought as a series of revolutions, each of which was accompanied by violent psychical shocks and severe intellectual autoanalysis. According to the theory expounded in Friedrich Nietzsche in seinen Werken[1] the first of these revulsions against his own character took place when Nietzsche was yet young, a student at Schulpforta, when he decided to study philology instead of becoming a theologian. Nietzsche lost his formal and orthodox faith; he broke with the ideal that his father had represented for him. Lou Salomé places into the days of Nietzsche's youth the first premonition of the Zarathustra tragedy: that God is dead. Unfortunately Lou Salomé does not make it clear whether her conclusion is based on Nietzsche's own utterances, or whether it is merely an interpretation of Nietzsche's character according to her own experiences. Such writings of Nietzsche however, as the poem Dem unbekannten Gott[2] support her theory.

Thus, according to Lou Salomé, Nietzsche's adoration of Wagner[3] and Schopenhauer[4], the enthusiasm for Greek art[6], and his criticism of the historical method,[5] which characterizes the first mature period of his thought began and ended with a violent change. The period which followed, the second act of the Nietzschean tragedy, which has been discussed already with regard to Lou Salomé's entrance into Nietzsche's life, must now be examined briefly for its thought content.

The positivistic, the second act in Nietzsche's development opens with the writing of Menschliches, Allzumenschliches (1874 - 1878). Paul Reé was the star which guided Nietzsche into the world

of English philosophy. Reé's favorite authors became Nietzsche's own. "Long live Reéalism", he punned.[1] The great French authors[2] who wrote in aphorisms, La Rochefoucauld, La Bruyère, Vauvenargues, and Chamfort influenced Nietzsche's thought and his writing at this time. From these French sources Nietzsche derived the insight into human nature; the shrewd analyses of La Bruyère and La Rochefoucauld's cynical admission that into the composition of our virtues vices enter, as poisons do into the compositions of medicines are akin to Zarathustra in spirit. Like Reé, Nietzsche liked Pascal and Voltaire among the French philosophers; Stendhal and Merimée among the French novelists.[3] Socrates had replaced Dionysus[4], and Montaigne's scepticism was more acceptable than Spinoza's panpsychism for the positivistic Nietzsche. From English philosophers, whom at that time he called "die ganzen, vollen und füllenden Naturen"[5] Nietzsche derived the concept that morality is not absolute, but is rather of pragmatic origin, inculcated by habit. This concept of morality, pathologically corrupted, is the basis of Nietzsche's Antichrist, and of his theory of ethics. The ragout of positivistic philosophy, drawn from sources foreign to Nietzsche's background, he published as Menschliches Allzumenschliches, and dedicated it to Voltaire in remembrance of the day of his death.[6]

Subsequently Nietzsche repudiated this philosophy[7] as something foreign to him. Its clear and virile free-thinking he exchanged for a somber theologically motivated mysticism. But the dangerous aspects of British and French philosophy, La Rochefoucauld where he borders on immorality and Hobbes where he borders on amorality Nietzsche retained. Pathologically intensified they became the most

frightful features of his own system.

With Die Morgenröthe (The Dawn)(1881) Nietzsche's positivism had reached its climax and its turning point. "In none of his books so much as in Die Morgenröthe can the delicate transitions and connectives of thought be seen that lead from Nietzsche's positivistic period to the mystical philosophy of the will which follows it."[1] Die Fröhliche Wissenschaft (1882) already mirrors two opposing tendencies. On the one hand, Nietzsche believed that he had finally achieved a solid basis for his thought.[2] He was confident of the intrinsic value of his system. On the other hand, Nietzsche was plagued already by the thought of the eternal return (Die ewige Wiederkunft);[3] he was contemplating already the message of Zarathustra;[4] and he was writing already "Incipit Tragoedia". The last[5] sentence of the Fröhliche Wissenschaft is "Behold ! This cup would become empty again, and Zarathustra will become human. Thus began Zarathustra's decline"[6] Nietzsche had a certain dramatic premonition of what was to come.

At this point in his writings Nietzsche's suffering becomes apparent, the schism of his thought and his feelings. At this point the religious element comes into the foreground, and we hit upon so passionate rejection of religion, of the faith in God and of the desire for redemption, because he himself comes so dangerously close to them. At this point Lou Salomé entered into Nietzsche's life and thought.

Lou Salomé and Nietzsche supplemented each other. While Lou was growing away from formal religion, she had rejected orthodoxy, studied theology, and would soon turn to psychoanalysis; Nietzsche had just passed through the realistic, scientific period of his thought. If he planned to study science for ten years, or if he defended free-thinking against religion, it was a last desperate effort to stave off the future. From different positions they had both arrived at the same problem. Lou Salomé had found orthodox religion an untenable anachronism in a modern world. Nietzsche had found that at least for himself a modern world without God was impossible. Both of them arrived at the frightening conclusion that God was dead.

Lou Salomé tells about her experience in an essay[1] written in 1892:

> "My earliest recollection of childhood is my relationship to God . . .
> "It was something that concerned me alone and it was altogether hidden. It concerned, I would say, not primarily the God of the church or of the family, but only my highly personal God, whom I had accidentally discovered in the God of church and family. . .
> "In what relationship I stood to my own religious concepts I first realized fully, when I came into contact with the opposite tendency. Until then everything that related to my very beautiful childhood religion had been imaginative association. Now, in confirmation class, I would see how things stood when they were illuminated and illustrated by orthodox thought. The deep sympathy which until then had bound me to my childhood faith vanished before a vivid revulsion for its rational explanation. And simultaneously vanished the remainder of my sorrow, mourning that which had been lost."[1]

The difference between Nietzsche and Lou was that where Lou had her whole life before her, the knowledge that there was no god in

the modern world was an opportunity and a challenge. For Nietzsche, on the other hand, it was a frantic recognition, it was - and this was the terrifying thing about it - a return to something which he thought he had long since left behind. His revolutions, the practice of his ideal that each day one should lose a preconceived notion had brought him not to a goal but to his beginning. According to Lou Salomé's reports Nietzsche was at bottom religious. A conversation she recorded runs as follows:

> "In a discussion of the changes which already lay behind him, Nietzsche once said, half-seriously:
> 'Yes, so the road (der Lauf) begins and is continued, - to where ? When all things have been passed through (durchlaufen) where does one go (laufen) then ? When all the possibilities of combination have been exhausted, what would follow then ? Well ? Would we not arrive at faith again ? Perhaps at a Catholic Faith ? [1]
> 'In any case the circle would be more probable than stasis.'"

In a paragraph of shocking impact Nietzsche reveals his recognition of Lou Salomé's dilemma and his own; written some months before he met her.

> "Have you not heard of the mad man who lighted a lantern on a bright forenoon, ran to the market place and cried without ceasing: 'I am looking for God! I am looking for God!' Since at that time many were standing about who did not believe in God, he raised a great laugh. Has he been lost ? asked one. Has he lost his way like a child ? said the other. Or is he in hiding ? Is he afraid of us ? Did he board ship ? Did he emigrate? - they shouted and laughed in confusion. The mad man leaped into their midst and pierced them with his looks. Where has God gone ? he cried, I will tell you! We have killed him - you and I. All of us are his murderers. But how did we do it ? How were we able to drink dry the sea ? Who gave us the sponge with which to wipe away the whole horizon? What did we do when we unchained the earth from its sun ? Where is it moving now ? Where are we moving ? Away from all suns ? Are not we constantly falling ? And backwards, sideways, forward, to all sides ? Is there still an above and a below ? Do we not err through an infinite nothing ? Do we not feel the breath of empty space ? Has it not become colder? Is not ever more night coming and evermore night? Must not lanterns be lighted on forenoons ? Do we not hear nothing of the noise of the gravediggers who are burying God ? Do we smell nothing of divine decay? - even gods decay. God is dead! God remains dead! And we have killed him. . . "[2]

The problem was common, but the solutions were different. How Lou Salomé evaluated the search for God will appear in the sequel. Nietzsche sought a solution in the mythical, mystical prophecy of Zarathustra. That the concept of Zarathustra arose long before the friendship with Lou is commonly admitted. Indeed, by the Nietzsche family historians it is insisted upon.

The editors of Nietzsche's works have been able to trace the conception of Zarathustra back as far as the beginning of the seventies[1]. Nietzsche himself, however, first received the notion in August 1881 while he was taking a walk at Sils Maria, "6000 feet above sea level, and much higher above all human things."[2] It has been emphasized how many indications Die fröhliche Wissenschaft contains of Zarathustra's impending doom. Yet "In spite of various cooperating causes, Lou has a direct part in having brought Nietzsche to the philosophically religious and morally prophetic expression of a substitute for religion."[3] The indications which lead to this conclusion are many and various. In the first place there are repeated utterance of Nietzsche himself. Frau Overbeck[4] quotes Nietzsche as saying to her husband that the only experience which Fräulein Salomé had known was her confirmation, and that this had been the one and only topic of conversation between them. Bernoulli[5] related that Nietzsche described his connection with Lou as an unbelievable benefit (Wohltat) through which he had finally become mature for his Zarathustra. To Overbeck Nietzsche wrote[6] that in Lou he had found a real treasure, that "she was prepared for the part of my philosophy which has until now been hidden, as no other person."

Lou Salomé was an equivocal factor in Nietzsche's intellectual development, being both the object of his pedagogical aspirations and contributing, at the same time, to their more rapid and more dramatic maturation. Wholly isolated from the world, Nietzsche imparted to the manuscript what he had been unable to teach Lou Salomé. The figure of Zarathustra in his role as teacher is the pedagogical self-justification, the self-evaluation by Nietzsche of the pedagogical attempts of the previous summer. Where Nietzsche was unable to teach Lou Salomé in person, he compensated by having Zarathustra teach the whole world; for Zarathustra as for Nietzsche the pedagogical activity is basic to the philosophy; the pupil is an integral part of the system. And as the pupil occasionally enriches his teacher's work, Lou Salomé gave Zarathustra of the pliable suppleness of a woman's mind and soul; Nietzsche alone would perhaps have been unable, hard and brittle as he was on the outside, to create Zarathustra who spoke his wisdom with so tragic and so prophetic a voice.

Equivocal also is Lou Salomé's relationship to the actual content of Zarathustra. Her solution of the religious problem encompassed two clauses: one is the continuing search for truth which led her to Freud's analytic laboratories; she felt called upon, so to speak, to take some of the cognitive faculties of God into her own hands. This phase of her solution has special bearing on Rilke's life. The other clause was in line with Nietzsche's thought. One of her first critical essays she called "Gottesschöpfung" (Creating God), her first novel was entitled Im Kampf um Gott.

The dignity and glory of modern man lies in the opportunity of which he may avail himself to create God, i.e. so far as Lou Salomé is concerned, to find in his own being the strength to live, the affirmation of life, and an ethical standard of values.

> "The truly valuable and really profound meaning of such an apparently purely individual developemt (as her own religious experience) consists in the fact, that not emotional surges or moods are involved, but a new force, which organizes, a force which changes (umschaffen) life. Not only the mind must be seized, but the whole human being (Menschenwesen) must be overcome religiously, in order that it might rise thereby to highest productivity, that it might be able to create above and beyond itself its God and its law."[1]

Just exactly that is what Nietzsche attempted, but because he was ill[2] or because of his character, - the question of Nietzsche's insanity, its causes and its relation to his work has been obscured rather than solved in the course of time, - the solution was a distorted one, and the cure was far more frightful than the disease.

"The history of Nietzsche's mind is the history of the possibility of finding a substitute for the God who has been lost in the various forms of self-deification."[3] In Scherz, List und Rache, written just before he met Lou in Rome, Nietzsche anticipates in a very witty vein the concept of man's search for God, of man's creation of God which the summer's conversations with her would make relevant and real for him.

Der Fromme spricht

> Gott liebt uns, weil er uns erschuf! -
> "Der Mensch schuf Gott!" - sagt drauf ihr Feinen.
> Und soll nicht lieben, was er schuf ?
> Soll's gar weil er es schuf, verneinen ?
> Das hinkt, das trägt des Teufels Huf.[4]

Lou Salomé's function was to mold, at least to a limited extent this last period of Nietzsche's thought, to aid in determining its direction by being instrumental at its birth. Lou Salomé accepted the notion that man must be creative. But Nietzsche, affirming now the cult of genius of Schopenhauer which he had rejected, went further: "If there were gods, how could I stand not being god. Therefore there are no gods."[1] But there is a substitute for God, the superman. Out of the flux of uncertainty and decaying ideals, Nietzsche created the archetype of the strong and healthy master of the earth who has the will to power and the giving virtue (Schenkende Tugend). Zarathustra is and yet he is not that superman. He is, in so far as he preaches the new morality, in so far as he decries the decay of values and the decadence of virtue. But he is not the superman in so far as he is only a prophet, lonely and misunderstood, descending to the common crowd which does not understand him, from the height of his mountains. Zarathustra is Nietzsche's glorified alter ego; he is the summa of Nietzsche's aspirations as a teacher, of his ambitions as a philosopher, and of his sufferings as a human being. As prophet, Zarathustra's message is:

"Dead are all the gods: now we would have the superman live."[2]

But Zarathustra's poetry is human; his song is a lament of loneliness. In Zarathustra's loneliness Lou Salomé also had her share.

"Nacht ist es: nun bricht wie ein Born aus mir mein Verlangen, - nach Rede verlangt mich.
"Nacht ist es: nun reden lauter alle springenden Brunnen. Und auch meine Seele ist ein springender Brunnen.
"Nacht ist es: nun erwachen alle Lieder der Liebenden. Und auch meine Seele ist das Lied eines Liebenden. -
"Also sang Zarathustra."[3]

Lou Salomé interpreted Zarathustra as the reflection of a schism in Nietzsche's mind. "One is fruitful only at the price in being rich in opposites."[1] Many of these opposites were made acute for Nietzsche by the emotional and intellectual storm which his disappointment with Lou raised in him. They are carried through all of Zarathustra as manifest contradictions , which may be illustrated by a particularly striking and beautiful passage:

> "But the worst enemy thou canst meet, wilt thou thyself always be; thou waylayest thyself in forests and caverns.
> "Thou lonesome one, thou goest the way to thyself! And past thyself and thy seven devils leadeth thy way!
> "A heretic wilt thou be to thyself, and a wizard and a soothsayer, and a fool, and a doubter, and a reprobate and a villain.
> "Ready must thou be to burn thyself in thine own flame; how couldst thou become new if thou have not first become ashes ! Thou lonesome one, thou goest the way of the creating one : a God wilt thou create out of thyself out of thy seven devils!
> "Thou lonesome one, thou goest the way of the loving one: thou lovest thyself, and on that account thou despisest thyself as only the loving ones despise.
> "To create desireth the loving one, because he despiseth! What knoweth he of love who hath not been obliged to despise just what he loved.
> "With my love go into thine isolation, my brother. I love him who seeketh to create beyond himself and thus succumbeth."[2]

Nietzsche was writing for himself, describing, explaining, and apologizing for himself. The internal contradictions are characteriztic for Nietzsche's writing after 1882. The shock of his encounter with Lou Salomé, from which he never recovered fully, evoked them latent in his soul; the god whom man creates, the love which despises, the fire which consumes itself, the antithesis between living and creating, which Th. Mann described in the terms Künstler vs. Bürger, the suffering of loneliness, the suffering in life which Nietzsche now felt more than ever before. The soul which has cleft itself in two, the creator who has succumbed to his own creation is the symbol that stands above Nietzsche's Zarathustra.

At times Nietzsche changed sides. No longer was he the artist, the creator who burned in the flame of his own creation; instead the positivist was speaking, praising life and the new dawn which he had hoped to find in Lou Salomé. Then he damned and chastised the artist in him, who like Schopenhauer saw only death in life:

> "'The yellow ones': so are called the preachers of death, or 'the black ones'. But I will show them to you in other colors besides.
>
> "There are the terrible ones who carry about in themselves the beast of prey, and have no choice except lusts or self laceration.
>
> "They have not yet become men, those terrible ones: may they preach desistance from life and pass away themselves.
>
> "They are the spiritually consumptive ones: hardly are they born when they begin to die, and long for doctrines of lassitude and renunciation."[1]

He damned himself and praised the life that had brought him so much suffering, and he chided those who said that life was refuted. But he wrote Lou Salomé once in a fit of pain, while he was setting her "Gebet an das Leben" to music:"I hate life."[2] The curse on him was the contradiction that made his mind continually turn upon itself, and as he would have said, devour itself. The only escape open to him was to flee into ever more drastic and terrible extremes.

The corrupted theory of the blond beast, standing essentially for unrestricted, unhampered, and unfettered life was the pathological result of an insoluble conflict which Lou, and the dawn she had momentarily brought, had posed for him. By a process of self-torture, Nietzsche magnified and distorted issues he could not solve into such extreme notions as the superman, the will to power, the slave morality, and the revaluation of all values. That these extremes had to do also with the impending insanity there can be no doubt, but whether they were related to it as cause or as effect has never been answered.